Two agreement affixes in Russian exhortatives: not what they seem

Daniar Kasenov

antidanyar@protonmail.com

Abstract

This paper discusses the morphosyntax of Russian synthetic exhortatives, with the focus on the two φ-affixes, 1PL -*m* and 2PL -*te*, on the exhortative form. Such forms constitute a problem, given that, usually, there is only one person-number agreement affix per finite clause in Russian. The core claim of the paper is that only one of these affixes is a true agreement affix (namely, -*m*), while the other is the exponent of the number features of the clause-peripheral Jussive head, found only in imperative and exhortative clauses. The additional support for the clause-peripherality of -*te* comes from periphrastic exhortatives and non-imperative uses of 'imperative' verbal forms. The paper thus adds to the evidence in the favor of clause-peripherality of directive morphology, while dissolving a problematic pattern in Russian verbal morphology.

1   Introduction

This paper discusses a case of multiple agreement affixes on a single verbal form in Russian, exemplified below. The example of an exhortative sentence in (1) shows that a single verbal form consists of the verbal base and two agreement affixes: the 1PL agreement affix -*m* and the 2PL agreement affix -*te*. The main issue of the pattern can be characterized as follows: assuming that both affixes are exponents of a single φ-feature set, we see multiple (or extended) exponence of the [PL] feature, which is realized both on the 1PL affix and the 2PL affix.

(1)   Two agreement affixes on an exhortative verbal form in Russian

pojdë-m-te   domoj!
go-1PL-2PL   home
'Let's go home!'

Although apparent multiple exponence of agreement is attested (e.g. in South Caucasian, see Bondarenko & Zompı 2024 and references therein, in Semitic, see Hewett 2023 and references therein; also see the discussion in Harris 2017), nowhere else in Russian grammar does one observe (i) two agreement affixes on

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a verbal form; (ii) realization of a single set of agreement features across multiple affixes is not found elsewhere in the verbal agreement paradigm. Thus, even though the pattern does not pose a problem on its own, such a phenomenon is not expected to arise in Russian grammar, which creates the motivation for the main claim of the paper: the two φ-affixes in (1) realize two distinct sets of φ-feature. Core data supporting the claim comes from periphrastic exhortatives (shown in 2), in which the two affixes are found on two parts of the periphrastic form: the 2PL affix *-te* is found on the periphrastic auxiliary and the 1PL affix *-m* is found on the lexical verb.

(2) Two agreement affixes end up on different parts of the periphrastic exhortative

davaj-te pojdë-m domoj!
AUX-2PL go-1PL home
'Let's go home!'

Should the claim that *-te* and *-m* realize features of different syntactic objects be correct, the *-te* affix requires an explanation regarding its syntactic origin. In this regard, my analysis is that the *-te* affix comes from a clause-peripheral Jussive head, responsible for the properties of directive (imperative or exhortative) clauses (Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). Core data supporting this analytical choice comes from the subjunctive uses of Russian imperative verbal forms (which I dub 'bare subjunctives'), exemplified in (3), the main observation being that they disallow *-te* agreement affix across the board. From that, I draw the conclusion that the *-te* affix is intrinsically connected to directive (imperative or exhortative) syntax-semantics.

(3) Subjunctive uses of Russian imperatives disallow plural agreement

pridi-(*te) vy vovremja, vas ne narguali by.
come.IMP-2PL youl.PL on.time, you.ACC NEG scold.PST SUBJ.
'If you came on time, you would not get scolded.'

The paper thus has a two-fold goal. The first one is to provide a morphosyntactic analysis of the Russian verbal form with two agreement affixes and the second one is to provide a morphosyntactic analysis of a number of previously untreated grammatical patterns, such as periphrastic exhortatives and subjunctive uses of imperative verbal forms. The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the issues raised by the exhortative forms like (1) with respect to (multiple) exponence and informally fleshes out an argument based on periphrastic exhortatives in favor of two agreement affixes corresponding to two distinct φ-feature sets in the syntax. Section 3 provides the evidence from bare subjunctives for the clause-peripheral status of the *-te* agreement affix in the imperative and exhortative clauses. Section 4 puts forward a morphosyntactic analysis of discussed patterns. Section 5 concludes.

2 Exponence in Russian exhortatives

This section introduces the general system of subject-predicate agreement in Russian and presents the core data of exhortative morphology in more detail. To summarize, the argument in this section is structured as follows: first, I review the evidence that Russian agreement system is generally characterized by there being a single agreement affix which expones (some of) the φ-features of the nominative subject. Then, I show that synthetic exhortatives appear to be an outlier in having two distinct agreement affixes, which both correspond to the φ-features of the unpronounced exhortative subject. Finally, I suggest that exhortatives are unproblematic and that they simply combine together two independently attested affixes corresponding to two distinct sets of φ-features in the clausal structure of Russian: (i) the φ-probe on T, responsible for subject-predicate agreement in finite clauses; (ii) a clause-peripheral Jussive head, responsible for plural addressee marking in directive clauses. The final suggestion sets the ground for the next section, which presents independent evidence in favor of the imperative addressee marking being clause-peripheral and dependent on the illocutionary force.

2.1 Morphosyntax of verbal agreement in Russian

The basic paradigm of Russian verbal person-number agreement is presented in the tables in (4), the first table showing the agreement affixes and the second table showing the full forms for the verb *pojti* 'to go'. A proper analysis of Russian verbal inflection is out of scope of this paper, so I take the previously established results as granted and direct the reader to many thorough works on the subject, such as Coats & Lightner 1975; Pesetsky 1979; Melvold 1989; and many, many others (see, e.g., Matushansky 2024 and references therein). Here, I will only note that I gloss the tense affix as PRES (following Melvold 1989 among others), even though present tense is interpreted as future tense with perfective verbs.

(4) Russian verbal agreement

    a. The basic paradigm (following Melvold 1989)

	SG	PL
1	-u	-m
2	-š	-te
3	-t	-ut/-nt

    b. Example of a verbal paradigm (the verb *pojti* 'to go')

	SG	PL
1	*poid-u* go-PRES.1SG	*poid-ë-m* go-PRES-1PL
2	*poid-ë-š* go-PRES-2SG	*poid-ë-te* go-PRES-2PL
3	*poid-ë-t* go-PRES-3SG	*poid-u-t* go-PRES-3PL

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There is a core observation about the morphosyntax of Russian agreement, which I want to focus on: in any given finite clause, there is only one agreement affix. With the exception of the exhortative pattern treated in the paper, there is no verbal form or construction, which exhibits two person-number agreement affixes. Whenever there are two 'verbal elements' in the finite clause, the syntactically lower one is realized as a non-finite clause (as exemplified by constructions with non-finite clausal embedding in examples 5b-c). Usually, this observation is captured by positing a single φ-probe on the finite T head in the Russian finite clause structure ([Bailyn 2012](#)).

(5)   Only one agreement affix per clause in Russian

   a. One verbal form, one agreement affix

   On broš-a-e-t   gnilye pomidory.
   3SG throw-TH-PRES-3SG rotten tomatoes.
   'He is throwing rotten tomatoes.'

   b. Two verbal forms (one lexical, one auxiliary) , one agreement affix

   On budet   bros-a-t'   gnilye pomidory.
   3SG AUX.FUT throw-TH-INF rotten tomatoes.
   'He wants to throw out this rotten tomato.'

   c. Two verbal forms (both lexical) , one agreement affix

   On xočet bros-a-t'   gnilye pomidory.
   3SG wants throw-TH-INF rotten tomatoes.
   'He wants to throw this rotten tomato.'

Thus, we do not expect two agreement affixes to arise in the grammar of Russian, given that there is only one agreement probe per finite clause. The rest of the paper discusses a counterexample: presence of two agreement affixes (namely, the 1PL and 2PL agreement affixes) in Russian exhortative forms. In what follows, I aim to show that the pattern is both real (that these are indeed two distinct affixes) and that the pattern is best understood as additional φ-features being present in the clausal structure of exhortative clauses of Russian, in addition to the φ-probe on the finite T head.

2.2   Agreement in exhortatives

The problematic forms are exemplified in (6) by using the synthetic exhortative forms of two verbs, *pojti* 'to go' and *vypit'* 'to drink'. These exhortative forms seem to bear both a 1PL (-*m*) and a 2PL (-*te*) agreement affix. It should be noted that the problematic forms are only possible when the addressee is plural: the plurality of the subject is not enough for the -*m-te* forms to be felicitous. This observation suggests that the presence of -*te* does not constitute extended exponence of the PL feature of the subject, contrary to

appearances.

(6) Synthetic exhortative forms in Russian

a. *pojd-ë-m*	b. *pojd-ë-m-te*	c. *vypj-e-m*	d. *vypj-e-m-te*
go-PRES-1PL	go-PRES-1PL-2PL	drink-PRES-1PL	drink-PRES-1PL-2PL
'Let's go!'	'Let's go!'	'Let's drink!'	'Let's drink!'
	(>1 addressees)		(>1 addressees)

An important caveat is that synthetic exhortative forms are often judged as 'archaic' by the speakers of Russian (see Piperski 2016 on the diachronic tendencies in exhortative marking in Russian and the undergoing loss of the synthetic exhortative formation). However, all the judgements regarding synthetic forms have been elicited from 5 Russian speakers (the author is not one of them), aged 20-30, who judge the baseline synthetic exhortatives as acceptable. Where I can, I also supplement the constructed examples with internet and corpus data (Russian National Corpus; RNC; www.ruscorpora.ru). For example, sentences in (7) are synthetic exhortatives found in the RNC and judged acceptable by the consulted speakers of Russian.

(7) Data on *-mte* forms (synthetic exhortatives) in RNC

a. *Vypj-e-m-te, Vladimir Alekseevič, za geologiju.*
drink-PRES-1PL-2PL Vladimir Alekseevič for geology
'Vladimir Alekseevič, let's drink for geology.' [Aleksandr Vampilov. Proščanie v ijune (1964)]

b. *Menja zovut Sulejman, pojd-ë-m-te za mnoj.*
me call Sulejman, go-PRES-1PL-2PL after me
'My name is Sulejman, let's go after me.' [Elena Samojlova. «Ljubogo menta pokolotit′ mogu!» «Kommersant″-Vlast′», 2002]//

c. *Spoj-ë-m-te=ka lučše, devčonki!*
sing-PRES-1PL-2PL=PTCL better, girls
'Girls, let's sing for the better.' [Viktor Astaf'ev. Oberton (1995-1996)]

Internet examples are also found, but they are rare. Nevertheless, all such forms are judged acceptable by the consulted speakers of Russian, suggesting that their rarity does not come from ungramamticality. For example, the sentences in (8) are all judged acceptable by the consulted speakers. Whenever I use an internet example, I supplement it with a link.

(8) Internet data on *-mte* forms (synthetic exhortatives)

a. *Pobež-i-m-te pokup-a-t′ skoree!*
run-PRES-1PL-2PL buy-TH-INF faster
'Let's run to buy it faster.' <Link>

b. *Kuril'ščiki, prisjad-e-m-te   k   kaminu.*
   smokers,   sit-PRES-1PL-2PL by fireplace
   'Smokers, let's sit by the fireplace.' <Link>

The issue then is as follows: given other facts of Russian agreement system, one is inclined to think that there is only a single φ-feature set in the clausal domain. There is then a two-to-one relationship: two distinct φ-marking affixes correspond to a single feature set in the syntax. The pattern thus constitutes a case of multiple exponence of the φ-feature set, which does not appear to be unattested in other languages but is certainly puzzling for Russian, given that in no other domain is it found (when focusing on the person-number agreement; the gender-number agreement is less restricted due to the properties of adjectival inflection).

There are three analytical routes to be taken to tackle this issue, two of which are morphological and the third is syntactic. The first one is to deny that there are two distinct affixes and instead to argue that *-mte* is not decomposed and is rather a first person inclusive affix. This analysis completely misses the relationship between the *-m* and *-mte* exhortatives (both morphological and semantic: recall that *-te* marks the plurality of addressees) and is, thus, inadequate. The second option is to take the multiple exponence characterization of the data at face value and to find a formalization for the multiple exponence of the single φ-probe (e.g., as Fission; see the analysis of discontinuous agreement in Egyptian Arabic in Halle 1997).

However, I wish to pursue an alternative approach, which treats *-m* and *-te* as exponents of two distinct φ-feature sets. Crucial evidence for this analysis comes from the periphrastic exhortatives in Russian with *-te*. The observation is that there is an optional exhortative auxiliary (which looks as the imperative form of the verb *davat'* 'to give')[1] and the *-te* affix can only be found on the auxiliary: the configuration with *-te* only on the lexical verb is not possible (see ex. 9).

(9)   Periphrastic exhortative forms in Russian

a.* *davaj pojdë-m-te*   b. *davaj-te pojdë-m(*-te)*
   EXH   go-1PL   EXH-2PL go-1PL-2PL
   Int.: 'Let's go!' (>1 addressees)   'Let's go!' (>1 addressees)

Such forms are easiliy found both in Russian National Corpus and the web. In line with that, studies like Gorlova 2016 and Piperski 2016 converge on the periphrastic exhortative being the dominant exhortative variant in contemporary Russian. Let me note that this pattern of diachronic development may be taken as another indication that the *-te* affix in synthetic exhortatives (*-mte* forms) is indeed separate from the rest of the word-form.

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[1]This characterization is partially incorrect: the *davaj* auxiliary is found in imperatives as well. The issue is discussed in section 4, when a syntactic proposal for Russian directive clauses, including those with *davaj*, is put forward.

(10)   Periphrastic exhortative forms in RNC

    a. *Davaj-te zabud-e-m   ob   etoj istorii.*
       AUX-2PL forget-PRES-1PL about this story
       'Let's forget about this story.' [Leonid Berres. Prokuratura poxoronila delo Kukury «Izvestija», 2003.02.12]

    b. *Davaj-te posmotr-i-m,   kak èto vygljadit s   èkonomičeskoj točki zrenija.*
       AUX-2PL look-PRES-1PL how this looks   from economic   point view
       'Let's consider how this looks from the economic point of view.' [Maksim Blant. Sistema cennostej i cennost′ sistemy «Eženedel′nyj žurnal», 2003.04.01]

The impossibility of *-te* arising on the lexical verb is unexpected, should both *-m* and *-te* expone the same set of φ-features: if that were the case, the presence of an optional auxiliary would not bleed the exponence of *-m* and *-te* on the same word-form. The argument, however, seems to have two problems. The first problem is that the argument is dependent on the difference between synthetic and periphrastic exhortatives only being morphological (the 'optional auxiliary' part). This assumption is challenged by the observation that overt 1PL subject is only possible with periphrastic exhortatives, as shown in the examples in (11). If the sole difference between periphrastic and synthetic exhortatives lied in there being an overt auxiliary, this contrast would not have been accounted for.

(11)   Pronunciation of the pronominal exhortative subject is only possible with the auxiliary

    a.*Davaj-te (my) pojd-ë-m   domoj.*   b. *Pojd-ë-m-te   (*my) domoj.*
      AUX-2PL 1PL go-PRES-1PL home   go-PRES-1PL-2PL 1PL   home
      'Let's go home.'   'Let's go home.'

There are, however, additional complicating factors. The directive auxiliary *davaj(te)* is able attach to any well-formed finite clause in Russian with indicative mood, no matter the properties of the subject. The resulting sentences appear to have semantics of suggestion (the proper characterization of its semantics is out of scope of this paper).

(12)   The auxiliary *davaj(te)* can form 'suggestion' speech acts.

    a. *Davaj-(te) ja   ujd-u.*   b. *Davaj ty   ujd-ë-š′.*
      AUX-2PL   1SG go.away-PRES.1SG   AUX   2SG go.away-PRES-2SG
      'I suggest I go away.'   'I suggest you go away.'

    c. *Davaj-(te) on(a) ujd-ë-t.*   d. *Davaj-(te) my ujd-ë-m.*
      AUX-2PL   3SG   go.away-PRES-3SG   AUX-2PL   1PL go.away-PRES-1PL
      'I suggest I go away.'   'I suggest I go away.'

e. *Davaj-te vy   ujd-ë-te.*
   AUX-2PL 2PL go.away-PRES-2PL
   'I suggest you go away.'

f. *Davaj-(te) oni ujd-ut.*
   AUX-2PL   3PL go.away-PRES.3PL
   'I suggest they go away.'

Given that the exhortative form of the verb is syncretic with the 1PL present form of the verb, it can be argued that the periphrastic exhortative form with an overt subject actually constitute an example of the *davaj(te)* + finite clause construction. There is independent evidence that this analysis is correct: only overt subjects are compatible with exclusive interpretations of the action described in the clause, suggesting that overt subjects result from a non-exhortative structure, since the exhortative subject has to include the addressee (Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012).[2]

(13) Only overt pronominal subjects allow for exclusive interpretations

Davaj-te #(my) pojd-ë-m   na večerinku bez   vas.
AUX-2PL 1PL   go-PRES-1PL on party   without you
'I suggest we go to the party without you.'

Another problem for the position that synthetic and periphrastic exhortatives only differ morphologically comes from a possibility of a bi-clausal re-analysis (I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this issue). This possibility is supported by free-standing occurrences of *davaj(te)*, exemplified in (14). Since *davaj(te)* can stand on its own, what rules out a structure where the "auxiliary" is just a second clause?

(14) Free-standing *davaj* is possible

Davaj-(te)!
AUX-2PL
'Come on!'

While the concern is valid, the auxiliary *davaj-te* and the exhortative form cannot be taken to be positioned in different clauses. One reason is prosodic: all sentences with *davaj* as a directive auxiliary are able to be read without the prosodic break, expected from a bi-clausal configuration (according to the intuition of the consultants). Another reason is that whenever two directive clauses are found in the same utterance, either both are found with *-te* or none, as shown by the sentences in (15). To exclude a possibility of a finite clause with a null 1PL subject, I use imperative-exhortative sequences and vary the marking on the imperative.

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[2]Strictly speaking, this does not show that sentences with overt subjects *must* correspond to non-exhortative structures, it only shows that it is possible to construe them in such a way. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, I consider these sentences to be distinct from 'true' periphrastic exhortatives, which require a covert subject.

186 (15) Distinct directive clauses should correspond in addressee marking

187   a. *Odevaj-te-s'!*   *Pojd-ë-m-te*   *v* *bar!*
       dress.IMP-2PL-REFL go-PRES-1PL-2PL in bar
       'Get dressed! Let's go in a bar!' (spoken to >1 addressees).

188   b. *#Odevaj-sja!*   *Pojd-ë-m-te*   *v* *bar!*
       dress.IMP-REFL go-PRES-1PL-2PL in bar
       'Get dressed! Let's go in a bar!' (spoken to >1 addressees).

189 I conclude that the periphrastic exhortatives differ from synthetic exhortatives only in morphological re-
190 alization of the same syntactic structure. However, there are still issues with the argument for distinct
191 syntactic positions of *-te* and *-m* in exhortatives. The claim that the presence of the directive auxiliary
192 blocks the co-occurence of *-te* and *-m* on the same verbal from appears to be incorrect: double *-te* forms
193 are marginally attested (16), which counterexemplifies the claim in the first place.

194 (16) Double *-te* forms are marginally attested (web data)

195   a. *Davaj-te pojd-e-m-te*   *dal'še*
       AUX-2PL go-PRES-1PL-2PL further
       'Let's go further' <Link>

196   b. *Davaj-te bude-m-te*   *sčitat'.*
       AUX-2PL be-AUX.FUT-1PL-2PL count.INF
       'Let's count.' <Link>

197 However, the argument in favor of distinct positions for *-te* and *-m* only requires the *possibility* of a pe-
198 riphrastic form without *-te* on the lexical verb without any change in the interpretation: if *-m* and *-te* were
199 exponent of the same φ-feature set, one expects them to always co-occur on the same verbal word-form.
200 Thus, it is only the absence of the *davaj* auxiliary without *-te* co-occurring with the *-mte* verbal form (see
201 ex. 9) that is crucial for the argument. Another thing to consider in regard to examples like (16) is that
202 imperative forms with the *-te* affix may also co-occur with *davajte*, as shown in the sentences (17). This
203 pattern suggests that *davaj* is in some way stackable onto already well-formed directive clauses, suggesting
204 a similar analysis for the double *-te* exhortative examples like the ones in (16).

205 (17) Plural imperatives with *davaj-te* 'AUX-2PL'

206   a. *Edu* *prigotovila,*   *davajte* *eš'-te*
       food made.PST.F.SG, AUX-2PL eat.IMP-2PL
       'I made food, eat it.' <Link>

b. *Davaj-te otkryvaj-te   uže   bar v grëbanoj Anape!*
AUX-2PL open.IMP-2PL already bar in fucking Anapa

'Open a bar already in fucking Anapa.' <Link>

To summarize, the periphrastic exhortatives provide an argument against treating both *-m* and *-te* of exhortatives as exponents of the same φ-feature set. Let me repeat the structure of the argument. It is built upon three premises, which together make incorrect predictions regarding the morphology of synthetic exhortatives, which means that one of the premises is wrong. The first premise is that both affixes are exponents of the same feature set. The second premise is that both affixes being exponents of the same feature set leads us to expect them to arise on the same verbal word-form (I take this claim to be uncontroversial). The third premise is that periphrastic exhortatives only differ from synthetic exhortatives in their morphological realization, which I take to be confirmed by the lack of substantive syntactic differences.

Taken together, the three premises lead to the conclusion that periphrastic exhortatives should be found with both *-m* and *-te* affixes on the same verbal word-form, contrary to the fact: periphrastic exhortatives have been shown in this subsection to be able to 'split' *-m* and *-te* onto two distinct verbal word forms. Since the second and the third premise are well-founded, I believe it is appropriate to conclude that the first premise has to go: *-m* and *-te* are not exponents of the same set of morphosyntactic features. Given that it is the 2PL *-te* affix that appears on the auxiliary, and not the 1PL addix *-m*, I suggest that the morphosyntactic position of *-te* is *a clause-peripheral position*. In the next section, I present evidence that *-te* is clause-peripheral in imperatives as well, setting the stage for the morphosyntactic treatment of the directive morphology in Russian, developed in section 4.

3   Peripheral status of plural marking in directives

The previous section has argued in favor of the clause-peripheral nature of the plural affix *-te* in exhortatives. This section presents evidence in favor of the clause-peripheral status of *-te* in imperatives as well. The empirical focus is on the subjunctive uses of Russian imperative morphology, dubbed 'bare subjunctives' in what follows (in order to avoid the ambiguity between "imperative" as a morphological notion (a verbal form) and "imperative" as a semantic-pragmatic notion). Such uses are exemplified below (note that I still gloss the bare subjunctive verbal form as IMP). Their core property with respect to the argument of this paper is that they are incompatible with the agreement affix *-te*, as shown in the example below.

(18) *Pridi-(*te)   vy vovremja, vas ne   narugali   by.*
come.IMP-2PL 2PL in.time,   2PL NEG scold.PST.3PL SUBJ

'If you came in time, you would not have been scolded.'

This section establishes two additional properties of bare subjunctives: (i) they are indeed subjunctive and there is little hope for an analysis that derives their properties from the semantics of true imperatives; (ii) they do not possess the same subject restrictions as true imperatives. Based on these properties, I suggest

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that an analysis tying them together is preferable and suggest an analysis, according to which a single clause-peripheral functional head is responsible for the plural marking morphology, the imperative intepretation, and the subject restrictions (similarly to the Jussive head proposals of Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). The properties of Russian bare subjunctives then follow from their lack of that functional head.

The importance of the bare subjunctives for the discussion of exhortative morphology lies in their non-accidental morphological and semantic relation to imperatives. As I will show in the later pars of the section, whenever a verb has a paradigm gap in the imperative form, it is unable to participate in the bare subjunctive construction, which constitutes evidence against an approach which treats the syncretism between bare subjunctives and imperatives as accidental. The morphosyntactic identity of the two forms is also supported by some strands of literature on the semantic (truth-conditional) unmarkedness of imperatives and subjunctives, tying the two together.

The section is structured as follows. First, I discuss the behavior of bare subjunctives in counterfactuals and which properties they do and do not share with regular imperatives. Then, I show how the proposals of Zanuttini 2008 and subsequent works allow to capture the facts of bare subjunctives, setting up the stage for the morphosyntactic analysis in section 4. Before we proceed, I should acknowledge that this part draws heavily from descriptive work by Russian linguists (most notably, Храковский 1994 and Dobrushina 2008).

3.1 Bare subjunctives in counterfactuals

There are three ways to build a counterfactual in Russian. The first two strategies are rather well-attested across languages: the first strategy employs counterfactual particle *by* and conditional complementizer *esli* 'if' in the antecedent, as shown in example (19a). The second strategy, exemplified in (19b) employs conditional inversion (see Iatridou & Embick 1994 for an overview): the lack of the conditional complementizer is compensated by fronting of the lexical verb. The third strategy, exemplified in (19c) employs conditional inversion just like the second strategy, but the subjunctive verbal form is expressed not using the counterfactual particle *by* but by the bare subjunctive (which is syncretic with the 2SG imperative morphology or rather the lack thereof).

(19)   a. *Esli* 'if' + subjunctive particle *by*

   Esli by   vy veli   sebja prilično, nas by   ne vygnali s   večerinki.
   if   SUBJ 2PL behaved SELF properly, 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
   'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

   b. Conditional inversion + subjunctive particle *by*

   Veli   by   vy sebja prilično, nas by   ne vygnali s   večerinki.
   behaved SUBJ 2PL SELF properly, 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
   'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

c. Conditional inversion + bare subjunctive form

Vedi   vy sebja prilično, nas by ne vygnali s   večerinki.
behave.IMP 2PL SELF properly, 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

There are two things that I consider necessary to show for the argumentation to proceed. The first fact to be established is that the third way of building counterfactuals in Russian employs an embedded clause with a bare subjunctive form rather than some variant of the conditional conjunction construction, exemplified in (20), which is attested across languages and often argued not to constitute a structure similar to regular conditionals (Culicover & Jackendoff 1997; Weisser 2015). The second thing to show is the differences between bare subjunctives and regular imperatives, which constitute the goals for an analysis presented later in the section.

(20)   Conditional conjunction in English and Russian

a. Come closer and I will shoot!

b. *Podojdi   bliže i   ja   tebja zastrelju!*
come.IMP closer and 1SG 2SG   shoot
'Come closer and I will shoot you!'

Regarding conditional conjunction, the linear order allows to distinguish between alternative treatments of bare subjunctive conditionals. Conditional conjunction is sensitive to the linear order: the conditinal-like interpretation cannot arise if the order of conjuncts is reversed. Putting one conjunct in another is impossible as well. The conditional conjunction construction is Russian is only possible when the imperative clause precedes the declarative clause, as shown in the sentences in (21).

(21)   Linear order in Russian conditional conjunction

a. *Podojdi   bliže i   ja   tebja zastrelju!*
come.IMP closer and 1SG 2SG   shoot.PRES.1SG
'Come closer and I will shoot you!'

b. *#Ja tebja zastrelju   i   podojdi   bliže!*
1SG 2SG   shoot.PRES.1SG and come.IMP closer
'Come closer and I will shoot you!'

c. *#I ja   tebja, podojdi   bliže, zastrelju!*
and 1SG 2SG   come.IMP closer shoot.PRES.1SG
'Come closer and I will shoot you!'

Regular conditionals, on the other hand, allow for all three linear orders: the antecedent may precede the

consequent (22a), follow the consequent (22b), and be embedded inside of it (22c).

(22)   Linear order in Russian regular conditionals

    a. *Esli by vy veli sebja prilično, nas by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
       if SUBJ 2PL behaved SELF properly 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

    b. *Nas by ne vygnali s večerinki, esli by vy veli sebja prilično.*
       1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party if SUBJ 2PL behaved SELF properly
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

    c. *Nas, esli by vy veli sebja prilično, by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
       1PL if SUBJ 2PL behaved SELF properly SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

The counterfactual conditionals with conditional inversion behave the same way: they allow all options regarding the linear order of the antecedent and the consequent, as shown in sentences in (23).

(23)   Linear order in Russian conditionals with conditional inversion

    a. *Veli by vy sebja prilično, nas by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
       behaved SUBJ 2PL SELF properly 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

    b. *Nas by ne vygnali s večerinki, veli by vy sebja prilično.*
       1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party behaved SUBJ 2PL SELF properly
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

    c. *Nas, veli by vy sebja prilično, by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
       1PL behaved SUBJ 2PL SELF properly SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

Conditionals with bare subjunctives pattern with regular conditionals and conditionals with conditional inversion in allowing all three linear order options (see exx. in 24), which constitutes evidence against the conditional conjunction analysis. Such behavior would be unexpected if the counterfactuals with bare subjunctives would constitute an example of conditional conjunction with a covert conjunction.

(24)   Linear order in Russian conditionals with bare subjunctives.

    a. *Vedi vy sebja prilično, nas by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
       behave.IMP 2PL SELF properly 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
       'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

b. *Nas by ne vygnali s večerinki, vedi vy sebja prilično.*
   1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party behave.IMP 2PL SELF properly
   'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

c. *Nas, vedi vy sebja prilično, by ne vygnali s večerinki.*
   1PL behave.IMP 2PL SELF properly SUBJ NEG kick.out from party
   'If you behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

However, even if reducing the bare subjunctive counterfactuals with conditional conjunction is not feasible, it does not automatically follow that the clause with the bare subjunctive is structurally embedded inside the consequent clause (which would suggest their structural similarities with true conditionals). Here, the following diagnostic of embedding is of use: possibility of binding a pronoun in the antecedent clause by the quantifier in the subject position of the consequent clause (I thank Yasutada Sudo for the suggestion; see Bhatt & Pancheva 2017 for application of binding to probe the structure of conditionals). Assuming c-command condition on quantificational binding (Reinhart 2016; a weakened condition like precede-and-command of Bruening 2014 works as well), the quantificational subject may only bind something embedded in the consequent clause (assuming that the subject resides in Spec,TP, see Slioussar 2011 for the evidence in favor of Spec,TP being the position of Russian subjects, at least in the SVO word order).

As shown in the pair of examples below, both regular conditionals and bare subjunctive conditionals allow this kind of a binding configuration, suggesting that the clause with the bare subjunctive form is, indeed, embedded and is likely to constitute a variation of the conditional structure where the antecedent clause is a CP headed by a silent complementizer, which triggers verbal fronting (Iatridou & Embick 1994).

(25) Quantificational binding into the antecedent of counterfactual conditionals

a. *[Každyj roditel']$_i$ byl by sčastliv, esli by ego$_i$ rebenok xorošo učilsja.*
   every parent be SUBJ happy if SUBJ his child well studied
   '[Every parent]$_i$ would be happy, if their$_i$ child studied well.'

b. *[Každyj roditel']$_i$ byl by sčastliv, učis' ego$_i$ rebenok xorošo.*
   every parent be SUBJ happy study.IMP his child well
   '[Every parent]$_i$ would be happy, if their$_i$ child studied well.'

I conclude that the bare subjunctive conditional is structurally parallel to regular conditionals. The first difference between bare subjunctives and imperatives is thus clear: the semantic-pragmatic behavior of bare subjunctives is different from true imperatives. The second difference lies in the range of possible subjects: imperatives are incompatible with first and third person subject, as shown in the examples (26a-b) below. Bare subjunctives, on the other hand, allow subjects of all φ-feature specifications (26c).

(26) Subject restrictions in imperatives and lack thereof in bare subjunctives

    a. *Uxodi   ty/ *ja/ *on otsjuda!*
       go.away.IMP 2SG 1SG 3SG from.here

       'Go away from here!' (2SG; no intended interpretation for 1SG and 3SG)

    b. *Uxodi-te   vy/ *my/ *oni otsjuda!*
       go.away.IMP-2PL 2PL 1PL 3PL from.here

       'Go away from here!' (2PL; no intended interpretation for 1PL and 3PL)

    c. *Vedi   ya/ ty/ on/ my/ vy/ oni sebja prilično, nas by   ne   vygnali s*
       behave.IMP 1SG 2SG 3SG 1PL 2PL 3PL SELF properly 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from
         večerinki.
         party

       'If I/ you/ he/ we/ you/ they behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

The final difference, already mentioned in this section, is that the agreement affix *-te* is incompatible with bare subjunctive conditionals. Neither [PL] feature, nor the [2PL] feature set of the subject is able to trigger plural marking on bare subjunctives.

(27) **Vedi-te   my/ vy/ oni sebja prilično, nas by   ne vygnali s   večerinki.*
     behave.IMP-2PL 1PL 2PL 3PL SELF properly 1PL SUBJ NEG kick.out from party

     'If we/ you/ they behaved properly, we would not have been kicked out from the party.'

The morphosyntactic nature of *-te*, then, is dependent on the analysis of bare subjunctives, when constrasted with true imperatives, which predicts the semantic-pragmatic differences, the lack of subject restrictions in bare subjunctives, and the unavailability of *-te* for the bare subjunctives. I make the first steps in the direction of such analysis in the next subsection.

3.2 Approaching a morphosyntactic proposal

In this subsection, I make the following claims. First, I list the reasons to treat bare subjunctives as the as the same morphosyntactic entity as the singular imperative form. The first reason is the 'cost' of an analysis where there is a verbal form, which is always homophonous with the singular imperative. The second reason is that whenever the verb has a paradigm gap in the imperative (meaning that the verb has no imperative form), the verb cannot form the bare subjunctive. The third reason is that it makes semantic sense to treat subjunctives and imperatives on par, should we follow the literature claiming that both have 'unmarked' status with respect to the indicative forms (see Schlenker 2005 for subjunctives, see Portner 2004 for imperatives)

    The second goals of the subsection is to present an account of the differences between bare subjunctives and imperatives, which include the pragmatic interpretation, the subject restrictions and the availability of

-te plural marking. Building on Zanuttini 2008 and related work, I suggest that all three properties follow from there being no Jussive head in the structure behind bare subjunctives, the Jussive head being the special functional head in directive clauses, responsible for their unique properties. Under this approach, the -te affix is rendered clause-peripheral in the directive clauses, converging with the suggestions made in the previous section.

3.2.1 What unites imperatives and bare subjunctives

One reasons to treat imperatives and bare subjunctives as (partially) the same is that they are the same morphological form: there is no verb in Russian which has an imperative form but is unable to form bare subjunctives. Treating the morphological relation between singular imperatives and bare subjunctives as accidental homophony appears to be a non-economic analysis, at best. The argument against a homophony approach is made even stronger by the observation that whenever a Russian verb does not form an imperative, it cannot form a bare subjunctive. For example, Russian possibility modal verb *moč* 'can' does not form an imperative, as ex. (28a) shows. Another verb unable to form an imperative is the Russian desire predicate *xotet'* 'want' (28b).

(28)   Paradigm gap in the imperative: *moč* 'can', *xotet'* 'want'

    a.* *Mogi   begat'!*   b.* *Xoti   ženit'sja na mne!*

       can.IMP run.INF.   want.IMP marry   on me.

       Int.: 'Be able to run!'   Int.: 'Desire marrying me!'

Importantly, these paradigm gaps seem to be of morphological nature (the forms above seem not to be ruled out for interpretational reasons). Semantically related verbs such as *umej* 'be able to' and *želat'* 'desire/wish' can form imperatives without any problem, as the corpus examples in (29) show.

(29)   No paradigm gap in the imperative: *umet'* 'be able to', *želat'* 'desire/wish' (RNC data)

    a. *Xočeš'   byt'   zvezdoj — umej   upravljat'   svoimi   folloverami.*

       want.2SG be.INF star   be.able control.INF SELF   followers

       'If you want to be a star, be able to control your followers.' [Vjačeslav Surikov, Sergej Baldin. Nevidimaja storona šou-biznesa «Èkspert», 2015]

    b. *Tol'ko smerti nikomu ne   želaj.*

       only   death no.one NEG wish

       'Just do not wish death upon anyone.' [Guzalija Aritkulova. Kontur, vyžžennyj na asfal'te. «Bel'skie prostory», 2018]

Crucially, the verbs that have a paradigm gap in the imperative form cannot participate in the bare subjunctive conditional (see 30b,d) , despite them being available in other conditional constructions, as shown in examples (30a,c) for *moč* 'can', *xotet'* 'want'. If the relationship between imperative forms and bare sub-

junctive forms were homophony, the paradigm gaps in those forms would not be expected to co-occur. I consider the paradigm gaps data to be conclusive in the question of the relation between the imperative and the bare subjunctive forms: they are the same form, albeit in different syntactic-semantic contexts.

(30) Paradigm gap in the imperative $\Rightarrow$ no bare subjunctive form as well

　　a. *esli by on mog mne èto zapretit', davno by uže zapretil*
　　　　if SUBJ 3SG could 1SG.DAT this forbid.INF, long.ago SUBJ already forbid.PST.M.SG
　　　　'If he could forbid me this, he would have done so long time ago.'

　　b.* *mogi on mne èto zapretit', davno by uže zapretil*
　　　　can.IMP 3SG 1SG.DAT this forbid.INF, long.ago SUBJ already forbid.PST.M.SG
　　　　Int.:'If he could forbid me this, he would have done so already.'

　　c. *esli by on xotel brosit' kurit', davno by uže brosil*
　　　　if SUBJ he want.PST.M.SG stop.INF smoke.INF, long.ago SUBJ already stop.PST.M.SG
　　　　'If he wanted to stop smoking, he would have done so already.'

　　d.* *xoti on brosit' kurit', davno by uže brosil*
　　　　want.IMP he stop.INF smoke.INF, long.ago SUBJ already stop.PST.M.SG
　　　　Int.: 'If he wanted to stop smoking, he would have done so already.'

An anonymous reviewer raises the question of the relationship between bare subjunctives and true imperatives, namely, what allows "imperative" forms to be used in such a manner. My answer is the following: both subjunctives and imperatives may be understood as semantically unmarked situation descriptions, realized as a morphologically reduced form of Russian verbs. The idea builds upon two distinct strands of semantic literature. The first one concerns the semantic unmarkedness of subjunctives. Schlenker 2005 argues that a default status in the grammar is the best option for the French subjunctive (the distribution of which is a notoriously hard problem; consider the contemporary treatments in Portner & Rubinstein 2020; Baunaz & Puskás 2022 and their issues). Schlenker suggests that French subjunctive, by having no semantic import in the truth-conditions of the sentence, is in competition with other forms (such as indicative), which are semantically contentful. Similarly, Crowley 2022 argues that forms used in counterfactuals are semantically unmarked, accounting for the fact that the counterfactual semantics arises as an implicature (see Anderson 1951). Given that the bare subjunctive form is used in counterfactuals, works arguing in favor of semantic vacuousness of counterfactual marking support the idea to ground the bare subjunctive/imperative ambiguity in Russian in semantic unmarkedness. Finally, I wish to highlight that Sæbø 2023 has recently presented evidence in favor of truth-conditional emptiness of subjunctives in Russian (in addition to Czech, German, and Norvegian) based on factual inferences sometimes associated with counterfactual morphology. Similarly to subjunctives, imperatives have been given an unmarkedness analysis as well. Portner 2004, Von Fintel & Iatridou 2017, Roberts 2023 argue in favor of reduced semantic denotation for imperatives, pursuing an approach where the interpretational properties of imperatives are rather

pragmatic in nature.

Given the reduced verbal morphology on both imperative forms and bare subjunctives, the semantic proposal makes morpho-semantic sense as well: we do expect a verbal form with little to no mood/tense morphology to denote minimal situation descriptions, which is what 'minimal' approaches to subjunctives and imperatives boil down to. It is then plausible that the imperative forms and bare subjunctives share a semantic core, which (plausibly) corresponds to a verbal phrase in the structure of the sentence. The differences, then, have to be attributed to the surrounding syntactic-semantic context. The next subpart of this subsection approaches this idea.

3.2.2 What distinguishes imperatives from bare subjunctives and vice versa

To repeat what is required of a morphosyntactic analysis of the pattern of imperatives and bare subjunctives: there should be a structural difference between bare subjunctives and regular imperatives which captures their distributional and semantic differences. The theoretical literature on the imperatives often argues in favor of a dedicated functional head, responsible for many idiosyncratic properties of imperatives clauses, such as their being a main clause phenomenon, their subject restrictions, their interpretation etc. For clarity, I will build upon the Jussive head analysis (Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). The difference between bare subjunctives and regular imperatives can thus be attributed to the absence of the Jussive head in bare subjunctives. The lack of subject restrictions follows, given that it is the Jussive head that imposes these restrictions, according to Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012. The lack of *-te* in bare subjunctives follows if one assumes that the *-te* affix expones the φ-features on the Jussive head (i.e., if the *-te* affix is clause-peripheral, as the discussion of periphrastic exhortatives has lead us to believe). A sketch of differences between bare subjunctives and imperatives in clausal structure is given in (31).

(31)   Sketch of the clause structure in bare subjunctives and in imperatives

   a. Bare subjunctives:
      CP » TP (empty morphologically and semantically) » bare *v*P (semantically unmarked)

   b. Imperatives:
      JussiveP (locus of imperative properties) » bare *v*P (semantically unmarked)

However, even if this is correct, no clear picture of Russian exhortatives or imperatives emerges. I believe there are two main questions on the table, both highly relevant for the explicit analysis of the problematic pattern of Russian exhortative moprhology. The first question concerns the nature of the *davaj* auxiliary. The discussion leads to the analysing *davaj* as realization of the Jussive head, which seems to be puzzling in light of *davaj*+IMP constructions, see examples (17). The second question concerns the *-m* agreement affix in the exhortatives. Given the argument that the *-te* agreement affix is related to the Jussive head, does the same possibility arise for the *-m* affix? Or is it best understood as a realization of the φ-probe on T?

These questions are treated in the next section. For now, I wish to emphasize the following: there is substantial evidence in favor of *-te* being clause-peripheral, despite apparent syncretism with the regular

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subject-predicate agreement. This observation alone, I believe, is enough to substantiate the core claim of the paper that the two agreement affixes in the Russian synthetic exhortatives are morphosyntactically distinct.

4   A morphosyntactic analysis of Russian directive clauses

This section presents an analysis that deals with (most of) the intricacies presented by Russian imperative and exhortative morphosyntax. The main claim of the previous sections was that *-te* in directive clauses may be associated with a special functional head, only present in directive clauses (Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). For explicitness, I have assumed that *-te* is an exponent of φ-features of the Jussive head. It is now time to substantiate the claim with a more involved morphosyntactic analysis.

As mentioned earlier, there are several question one has to tackle. The first set of questions concerns the morphosyntactic nature of the *davaj* auxiliary. My argument, based on the diagnostics for the Jussive head (taken from Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012; Weir 2012), is that the *davaj* auxiliary realizes the Jussive head. However, the constructions where the *davaj* auxiliary is found with finite clauses seems to constitute a counterexample to the claim that Jussive heads only occur with verbal forms that are deficient in one way or another (see Weir 2012), making a case for a TP projection being possible in sentences headed by the Jussive head, at least in Russian.

Additionally, the constructions where *davaj* co-occurs with finite clauses opens the door for re-evaluation of the link between the Jussive head and the referentially dependent zero imperative subject. I suggest that the examples where overt pronominal subject follows the Jussive head, no syntactic-semantic dependency is established between the subject and the Jussive head, bringing additional support to the idea of Zanuttini 2008 that both the morphological and semantic deficiency of the imperative subject are reflections of its relation with the Jussive head. The discussion converges with work on null subjects in Russian embedded clauses, according to which these are referentially deficient as well and dependent on the matrix subject (Livitz 2016; Shushurin 2018).

Another issue raised by *davaj* concerns the sentences where the plural form of the auxiliary *davaj-te* auxiliary co-occurs with a plural imperative verbal form: assuming one Jussive head per clause, the pattern is ruled out. A natural conclusion to be drawn is that Jussive heads may stack on top of each other. Given that there are attested phenomena, which have received a Jussive head stacking analysis, I consider this option to be the best for *davaj*+IMP sentences.

After I establish the nature of *davaj* as an exponent of the Jussive head, the ability of Jussive to occur with Russian finite clauses, and the possibility of stacking Jussive heads, the analysis of all exhortative patterns become possible. The main claim is that the *-m* affix is indeed the same *-m* as in finite clauses, meaning that it is an exponent of the φ-probe on T, an independently attested structural configuration. Additional evidence for a TP projection being present in Russian exhortatives, synthetic or periphrastic, comes from the verbal tense morphology, assumed to be located in the T head. The occasional *davajte + -mte* examples, which seemingly counterexemplify the analysis, are argued to result from independently attested Jussive

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stacking.

In regard to φ-features and their morphological realization, I suggest that the person features (first person inclusive [SPKR;ADDR], see Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012 on exhortatives) are born on the Jussive head and copied onto T and the subject, while the number features of the subject and of the Jussive head are independent, which I support using the data from predicative adjectives and depictives in exhortatives. The morphological realization goes as follows. For Jussive heads, the person distinctions are neutralized via an Impoverishment rule (see Bonet 1991; Keine & Müller 2024) and the only feature available for morphological realization is the [PL] feature, which underlies the $\varnothing$/-te alternation in directive clauses. For the T head, the first person inclusive/exclusive distinction is neutralized via an Impoverishment rule that deletes the [ADDR] feature in the context of [SPKR] feature, which is independently supported by the patterns of conjunct agreement resolution (see Driemel 2024 for a similar approach).

The end picture regarding the agreement affixes puzzle is thus as follows. The *-m* affix is the only true agreement affix in exhortative clauses, while the *-te* affix is realization of functional material, only present in the directive clauses in Russian, as was preliminarily suggested in section 2. The *-m* affix is the realization of the inclusive first person feature set on the T head, while the *-te* affix is the realizaiton of the [PL] feature on the Jussive head.

4.1 The auxiliary *Davaj* as a Jussive head

One of the arguments in favor of clause-peripheral status of *-te* was the possibility of a periphrastic exhortative form with *-te* only on the auxiliary *davaj*. Given our conclusion that *-te* expones some features of the Jussive head, it is natural to pursue the hypothesis that *davaj* constitutes an optional exponent of the Jussive head. To make the case, let us consider the properties often associated with Jussive heads in the literature (which, as emphasized by Weir 2012, follow from Zanuttini's proposals).

(32) Properties of Jussive heads (Weir 2012:276)

    a. Appear before subjects.

    b. License the optional non-pronunciation of those subjects.

    c. Co-occur with untensed/uninflected verbs.

    d. Impart a jussive(/imperative/exhortative) semantics.

The auxiliary *davaj* meets all four. Morphologically, the auxiliary *davaj* is able to co-occur with non-finite verb (as shown in 33), the main non-finite morphological form of Russian verb. The resulting clause has exhortative semantics, in accordance with the interpretational property of Jussive heads in (32d).

(33) *Davaj-(te) pit' do utra.*
    AUX-2PL drink.INF until morning
    'Let's drink until morning comes.'

Whenever the subject is possible, *davaj* may only appear before it, as shown in the examples in (34), sentences (34a-d) showing that *davaj* must precede subjects of fintie clauses in 'suggestion' environments and (34e-f) showing *davaj* must precede quantificational subjects of exhortatives. Clause-peripheral status of the Jussive head ensures that it precedes subjects, wherever they are positioned in the clause structure. Thus, *davaj* exhibits another property of Jussive heads.

(34) Overt subjects follows *davaj*

  a. *Davaj-(te) my pojd-ë-m domoj.*
     AUX-2PL 1PL go-PRES-1PL home
     'I suggest we go home.'

  b.*My davaj-(te) pojd-ë-m domoj.*
     1PL AUX-PL go-PRES-1PL home
     Int.: 'I suggest we go home.'

  c. *Davaj-(te) oni pojd-ut domoj.*
     AUX-2PL 3PL go-PRES.3PL home
     'I suggest they go home.'

  d.*Oni davaj-(te) pojd-ut domoj.*
     3PL AUX-2PL go-PRES.3PL home
     Int.: 'I suggest they go home.'

  e. *Davaj-te vse pojd-ë-m domoj.*
     AUX-2PL all go-PRES-2PL home
     'Let's all go home.'

  f.*Vse davaj-te vse pojd-ë-m domoj.*
     all AUX-2PL go-PRES-2PL home
     Int.: 'Let's all go home.'

Same goes with optional non-pronunciation of the subjects in directive clauses. Whenever the subject is bound by the Jussive head, it can be optionally non-pronounced (with quantifiers usually being the pronounced subjects). This state of affairs actually corresponds to existing generalizations regarding null subjects and binding across the clause boundary in Russian: Livitz 2016 and Shushurin 2018 argue that null subjects of embedded clauses are bound and are related to their bindees via AGREE, which is exactly the proposal of Zanuttini 2008 regarding zero imperative subjects.

(35) Bound exhortative subjects can be null or quantifiers with a restricted domain of quantification

     Davaj-te (vse) pojd-ë-m domoj.
     AUX-2PL all go-PRES-1PL home
     'Let's (all) go home.'

Notably, however, Russian *davaj* is also compatible with overt subjects of any φ-feature composition, as shown in earlier examples like (34a,c). An important property of such constructions is that there seems to be no referential dependency between the Jussive head and the overt subject, as evidenced by the possibility of explicit exclusion of the addressee(s) from the action, proposed by the clause, by using *bez vas* 'without plural you' and *bez vas* 'without singular you', as shown in the examples in (36).

(36) Overt subjects with *davaj* do not have to include the addressee(s)

    a. *Davaj ja pojd-u   domoj bez   tebja.*
       AUX-2PL 1SG go-PRES.1PL home without 2SG
       'I suggest I go home without you.'

    b. *Davaj-te ja pojd-u   domoj bez   vas.*
       AUX-2PL 1SG go-PRES.1PL home without 2PL
       'I suggest I go home without you.'

To be sure, the examples below show that zero subjects bound by exhortative *davaj* do not allow modifying the predicate using *bez vas* 'without you', both examples in (37) are judged infelicitous by the consultants.

(37) Bound exhortative subjects have to include the addressee(s)

    a.# *Davaj   pojd-ë-m   domoj bez   tebja.*
       AUX-2PL go-PRES-1PL home without 2SG
       'I suggest I go home without you.'

    b.# *Davaj-te pojd-ë-m   domoj bez   vas.*
       AUX-2PL go-PRES-1PL home without 2PL
       'I suggest I go home without you.'

It appears then that the auxiliary *davaj* passes the Jussive head diagnostic about zero subjects but only if we re-consider the Jussive head's role in licensing and binding zero subjects. I suggest that (at least for Russian) the Jussive head licenses zero subjects in the same way that zero subjects of embedded clauses are licensed — via binding-as-AGREE (cf. Livitz 2016). However, when no AGREE with a deficient subject takes place, no restrictions on the reference of the subjects are imposed. This way, the system allows both syntactic patterns (with zero and overt subjects) and their interpretational differences (the obligatory inclusion of addressee(s) in the referent of the zero subject).

    Taking stock, I have argued in favor of treating both *-te* and *davaj* as exponents of the Jussive head and its features. We thus make the prediction that whenever there is *davaj*, *-te* should be realized on it, not on the lexical verb. A class of problematic examples arises then: directive clauses in the examples (38) have double *-te*'s and only one *-te* is realized on *davaj*.

(38) Multiple *-te*'s in Russian directives

    a. Imperatives

       Davaj-te uxodi-te   otsjuda!
       AUX-2PL go.away.IMP-2PL from.here
       'Go away from here.'

b. Exhortatives

Davaj-te pojd-e-m-te   dal'še
AUX-2PL go-PRES-1PL-2PL further

'Let's go further' <Link>

Although one may take such examples as a counterargument for the analysis, they are not. A true coun-terargument would be an example of a single *-te* being realized on the lexical verb instead of *davaj*. A straightforward re-analysis of examples like (38) posits two Jussive heads on top of each other: the top one is realized as *davaj-te* and the bottom one is realized just as *-te*. Such an analysis is not without a precedent: Weir 2012 discusses that examples like (39) are possible in some English dialects, which seem to exhibit stacking of Jussive heads. Given that such phenomena are attested elsewhere, I suggest that the overt Jussive head *davaj* is able to combine with well-formed JussivePs.

(39)   Jussive stacking in English (Weir 2012:281)

a. Don't let's meet then.

b. Do let's meet then.

c. Let's don't meet then.

d. Let's do meet then.

One issue raised by the Jussive stacking analysis concerns the interpretation of the Jussive heads. However, a first step is already available. Given that the *davaj* auxiliary on top of finite clauses with overt subjects is interpreted as a 'suggestion' of sorts, the same can be argued to happen in examples of Jussive stacking. However, due to the lack of a proper formalization of the 'suggestion' semantics sometimes associated with *davaj(te)*, I leave this issue for further research.

To sum up this subsection, I have explored the consequences of treating the *davaj(te)* auxiliary as an exponent of the Jussive head. Two main consequences are the following. First, the Jussive head is compat-ible with finite clauses in Russian (presumably, with finite TPs). Second, Russian grammar allows stacking of Jussive head, just like some dialects of English do (Weir 2012). These two observations are necessary to develop a Jussive head-based analysis of the morphosyntax of Russian exhortatives, as is done in the next subsection.

4.2   Morphosyntax of Russian exhortatives

This subsection fleshes out the analysis, in which the 1PL affix *-m* is a true agreement affix (an exponent of φ-features on the T head) and that the 2PL affix *-te* is an exponent of the PL features on the Jussive head. First, I establish the necessary structural facts about exhortatives (regarding the clausal structure, Jussive stacking, and featural make-up of the subject) and then I present post-syntactic realization rules required to generate the pattern.

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4.2.1 Structure and subjects

To start this subpart, I shall present what I take to be the structure of exhortatives before agreement (without established φ-feature dependencies). There are several properties that are yet to be motivated: the presence of TP in the structure, the presence of a PL feature on the subject, and the φ-features on the Jussive head. Finally, it should be explicated what goes where after φ-feature dependencies are established.

(40)   Structure of exhortatives
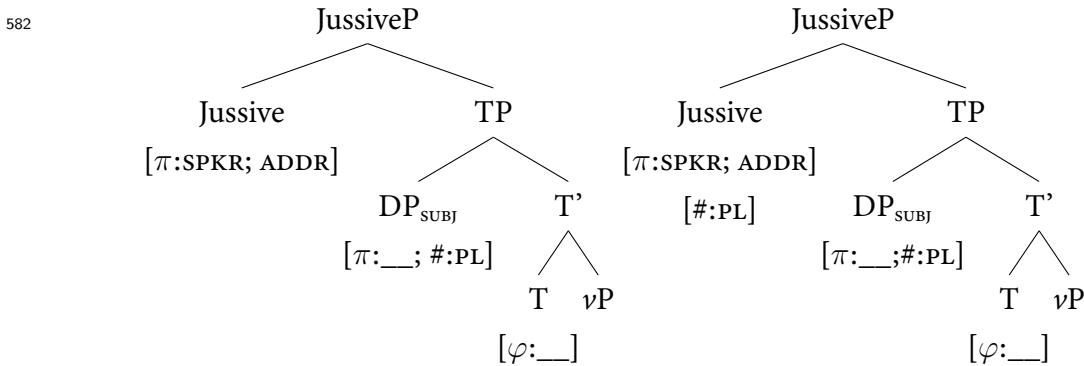
The presence of TP in the structure of exhortatives is motivated by the corresponding verbal morphology. Unlike true imperatives, exhortative forms are found with the present tense morphology. Take, for example, verbs like *pojti* 'to go' and *vypit'* 'to drink'. Their imperative forms lack the *-e/ë-* affix associated with present tense (Melvold 1989 among others), as shown by the examples in (41). I take this observation to indicate the presence of the corresponding clausal structure in exhortatives and thus posit a φ-probe on T, which is present in all finite clauses of Russian. However, see Tatevosov 2011 and subsequent works on a piece of verbal morphology (namely, aspectual) being able to occur in the absence of corresponding syntactic structure.

(41)   Present tense morphology: absent in imperatives, present in exhortatives

a.   *Pojdi   domoj! Vypej   piva!*
     go.IMP home   drink.IMP beer
     'Go home! Drink some beer!'

b.   *Pojd-ë-m-te   domoj! Vypj-e-m-te   piva!*
     go-PRES-1PL-2PL home   drink-PRES-1PL-2PL beer
     'Let's go home! Let's drink some beer!'

The presence of a plural feature on the bound zero exhortative subject is evidenced by the plural morphology on predicative adjectives and depictives in exhortatives, regardless of the presence/absence of *-te*. In examples (42a-b), the adjective *znakom-* bears plural ending regardless of the plural marking on the exhortative form, suggesting that the PL feature on the exhortative subject is independent of it. This conclusion is also supported by the plural marking on secondary predication, as shown in (42c-d).

(42) Exhortative subjects are inherently plural

a. *Bud-e-m(-te)*   *znakom-y!*
be-PRES-1PL-2PL known-PL
'Let's be acquaintances!'

b. *Davaj(-te) Bud-e-m*   *znakom-y!*
AUX-2PL   be-PRES-1PL known-PL
'Let's be acquaintances!'

c. *Pojd-ë-m(-te)*   *v kino*   *pjan-ymi!*
go-PRES-1PL-2PL in cinema drunk-INS.PL
'Let's go to cinema drunk!'

d. *Davaj(-te) pojd-ë-m*   *v kino*   *pjan-ymi!*
AUX-2PL   go-PRES-1PL in cinema drunk-INS.PL
'Let's go to cinema drunk!'

The reason for Jussive head to bear [SPKR and ADDR] is an interpretational one: following Zanuttini, Pak & Portner (2012), I assume that exhortative Jussive heads are specified as first person inclusive (hence, [SPKR and ADDR]). The PL feature on the Jussive head encodes whether the addressee is singular or plural and is thus the featural difference between presence and absence of *-te* in exhortatives. Given the lack of φ-marking on Russian anaphors (see Rappaport 1986 and other work on Russian binding), it does not seem to be possible to present a morphological argument for this particular set of person features.

We are now in a position to go through the φ-feature dependencies in exhortatives. I suggest the following. First, the probe on T establishes a φ-feature dependency with the subject (just like in regular declarative finite clauses). This dependency results in [#:PL] feature being copied onto T. Then, a φ-feature dependency is established between the subject and the Jussive head as a by-product of binding (see Feature Transmission under Binding of Kratzer 2009).

(43) Feature dependencies in exhortatives
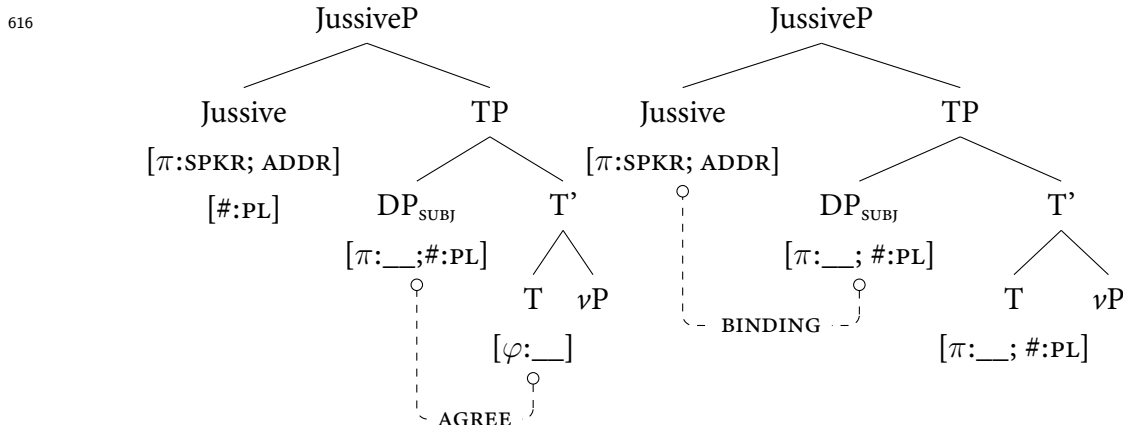
There are two non-obvious things in the analysis. The first is that the person feature dependency between the subject and the Jussive head is established by binding and not AGREE, as Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012 do. I suggest that this is the case because, as we have seen in examples (36), whenever the subject is not featurally dependent on the Jussive head, it is not bound by it. Additionally, given the morphosyntactic independence of Jussive and T in Russian, one cannot argue that the φ-feature dependency between Jussive and the subject is a by-product of nominal licensing, as Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012 suggest. The second non-obvious thing is that only the person features participate in the φ-feature dependency between the Jussive head and the subject. I suggest that this effect is due to the interpretational properties of the PL feature on the Jussive head: it does not introduce the presupposition that the referent of the subject is plural. Its presupposition is rather that there are multiple addresses. This suggestion raises the possibility that the licensing of the person features on the zero subject is semantic in nature: the presuppositions of the subject should match with the presuppositions introduced by the Jussive head. I leave this option open, since it is tangential to the morphological focus of the paper. The resulting φ-features are presented below.

(44)   Resulting φ-features

      a. Jussive: [SPKR,ADDR,(PL)]

      b. Subject: [SPKR,ADDR,PL]

      c. T: [SPKR,ADDR,PL]

With the necessary syntactic properties established, it is now possible to present the morphological analysis and the realization rules of the φ-features presented in this section.

4.2.2   Realization of φ-features

The goal of the analysis is to (i) always expone the featural representation of inclusive first person (1+2) as 1PL agreement affix -*m*; (ii) force the φ-features of the Jussive head to expone as -*te* in presence of [PL] but as -$\varnothing$ in its absence. I suggest to do so using Impoverishment rules (Bonet 1991; Keine & Müller 2024). Namely, I suggest that the person distinctions are neutralized on the Jussive head (accounting for ii) and that the inclusive-exclusive distinction is always neutralized in Russian 1PL (accounting for i).

(45)   The Impoverishment rules

      a. [ADDR] $\rightarrow$ $\varnothing$ / ____ [SPKR]

      b. [SPKR/ADDR] $\rightarrow$ $\varnothing$ / ____ [Cat:Jussive]

The neutralization of person distinctions on the Jussive head are motivated by the lack of the morphological variance seen in Korean (Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). The only morphological contrast seen in Russian Jussives concerns the presence of -*te*, which I assume to be encoded by the privative PL feature on the Jussive head, interpreted as presupposing multiple addressees. The syncretism between first person inclusive and

the first person plural in Russian is independently attested in the resolution of agreement with a [1SG] & [2SG] conjunction as 1PL-agreement (the idea is based on the analysis in Driemel 2024). I therefore take the impoverishment rule in (45a) to have independent motivation in the morphological system of Russian.

(46) Agreement with 1SG&2SG conjunction is realized as 1PL

Ja   i   ty   požen-i-m-sja   čerez 2   goda
1SG CONJ 2SG marry-PRES-1PL-REFL in   two years

'We will get married in two years.'

The Vocabulary Insertion rules necessary to account for the agreement patterns are given below. The *-m* insertion rule is the same necessary for regular verbal inflection while the realization of [PL] in the context of the Jussive head (a head of category Jussive) as *-te*, although stipulated, allows to analyze the zero-*/te/* alternation in Russian directives as absence/presence of a privative [PL] feature.[3]

(47) The Vocabulary Insertion rules

    a. [SPKR, PL] ↔ /-m/

    b. [PL] ↔ /-te/ / ___[Cat:Jussive]

To sum up, the preceding discussion has established that an analysis, according to which *-te* realizes φ-features on a clause-peripheral Jussive head while *-m* realizes regular φ-agreement on T, is supported by the intricacies of the morphosyntax of directive clauses in Russian. The formal implementation depends on the Impoverishment rules which neutralize the first person inclusive/exclusive featural distinction (which is absent in Russian morphological system) and the person distinction on the Jussive head.

4.3 Summary of the section

Let me repeat the claims made in this section. First, I have established that the *davaj(te)* auxiliary is an exponent of the Jussive head. If so, it follows that Russian grammar allows Jussive heads to combine with finite TPs and other JussivePs (resulting in Jussive stacking). Another important consequence of the *davaj(te)* auxiliary being a Jussive head is the re-assessment of the zero subject licensing in directive clauses. I have suggested that the licensing is achieved through binding, in line with work on null subjects in Russian embedded clauses.

    These claims about the Jussive heads in Russian support the morphosyntactic analysis of Russian exhortatives. The possibility of Jussive stacking dissolves the issue of *davajte+-mte* sentences, exemplified in (16). The possibility of the Jussive head combining with finite TPs supports the conclusion that the *-m* affix of exhortatives is the regular subject-predicate agreement in Russian. Finally, the licensing of directive subjects via binding underlies the person feature dependency between the subject and the Jussive head.

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[3]One could pursue an analysis where *-te* is inserted in Jussives via the same VI rule as in the regular φ-agreement on T. I do not follow this idea due to the lack of 2SG agreement affix in singular imperatives and in exhortatives with a singular addressee.

Morphologically, I have argued that the realization of φ-features in exhortatives is determined by post-syntactic Impoverishment rules, which delete the person features on the Jussive head and delete the [ADDR] feature on T bearing a [SPKR] feature. The insertion rule for φ-features on T are the same as in finite clauses (realizing the [SPKR,PL] feature set as *-m*). For Jussives, I stipulated a rule that realizes [PL] on Jussive head as *-te*: employing the VI rules for subject-predicate agreement does not appear to be possible, given the lack of singular addressee marking.

5   Conclusion and outlook

The paper has provided a morphosyntactic proposal regarding Russian exhortative morphology and the puzzle of apparent multiple exponence of the predicate-subject agreement (synthetic exhortatives occur with both 1PL and 2PL agreement affixes). The core claim of the paper is that only the 1PL agreement affix is a true agreement exponent (related to the φ-probe on the T head). The 2PL affix, on the other hand, expones φ-features of a clause-peripheral Jussive head, only present in the directive clauses.

In the end, this paper seems to fall into two independent research agendas. The first one concerns the clause-peripherality of addressee morphology in directive clauses, argued for by Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012, Isac 2015, Norris 2016, Demonie & De Clercq 2023, among others. The second research agenda holds that all cases of apparent multiple exponence constitute exponence of distinct morphosyntactic objects (Caha, De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2019; Caha 2023). While the contents of the paper fully endorsed the clause-peripherality of addressee-marking, the situation is less clear regarding the status of multiple exponence of φ-features on a single head. I do not believe that the contents of the paper have any large-scale consequences for multiple exponence, but do present another case of a re-analysis of apparent multiple exponence as distinct morphosyntactic objects.

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