Allomorphy in Agreement
Some Itelmen evidence

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Syntactic Pathways to Morphology
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(1) The Itelmen finite verb

AGR1 – COND'L – AP – CAUS – $\boxed{\surd}$ – VB – DERIV* – ASP – TNS – **CLASS** – **AGR2.COMPLEX**

(2)

PREFIX	- STEM -	SUFFIX
Subject / *Mood*		*Subject*(*Intransitive*) / *Object*(*Transitive*)

(3) t'- əłčku -(ɣ)in
1SG.S- see -2SG.O
'I saw you.'

(4) n- əłčku -(ɣ)in
3PL.S- see -2SG.O
'They saw you.'

(5) n- əłčku -βum
3PL.S- see -1SG.O
'They saw me.'

(6) t- k'oł- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'

(7) Ø- k'oł- -č
2.S- come -2SG.S
'You came.'

(8) Multiple Exponence (Agreement vs. Allomorphy, Portmanteaus)

a. t'-iɬ-k(ičen)!
1SG-go-1.S
'I went'

b. t'-əłčku-čen
1SG-see-1>3SG
'I saw it.'

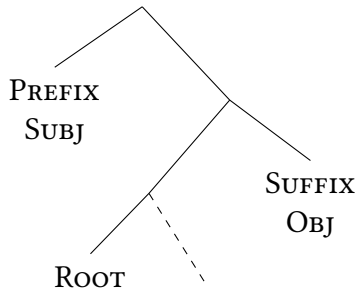
c. n-əłčku-nen
3PL-see-3>3SG
'They saw it.'

Proposal: Some agreement directly reflects "probes"

Some agreement is allomorphy, conditioned by features on another node

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

/-βum/	⇔	[1SG]		
/-sx/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[2PL ...[__
/-nen/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[3 ...[__
/-čen/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[1 ...[__
exponent		exponed features primary exponence (Carstairs 1987		context (allomorphy) secondary exponence Noyer 1997)



1 A new route to the argument: the Inclusive Imperative

(10) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative, Khrakovskij 1992; Dobrushina & Goussev 2005)

a. Let's go! [English]

b. Gehen wir! (Gemma!) go.PL we [German]

c. pojd-em-(te)! go-1PL-(2PL) [Russian]

d. ɪl-ɪax! 'let's take!' ɪl-ɪaɣ-ɪŋ 'let's take! [Sakha] (Nevskaya 2005)
('dual' = you and me)' (you-PL and me)

e. mn-iɬ-k(ičen)! or: mn-iɬ-sx! [Itelmen]
1PL.IRR-go-1PL 1PL.IRR-go-2PL

(11) a. Why imperative only? Morph(eme)s are available in the indicative.

b. Itelmen: why 1PL-stem-2PL not why 2PL-stem-1PL?

c. Itelmen: why suffix replacement, not stacking?

Two additional theoretical themes:

(12) Clusivity (Zwicky 1977) – Parameter or Syncretism?

Referents	Evenki	English	*n/a*
AUTH (not ADDR)	bu	we	*swe
AUTH and ADDR	mit	we	*syou
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	*syou
neither	nungartyn	they	they

(13) Performative Hypothesis: Representing Speech Act (Participant)s in the left periphery? (Ross 1970; Wiltschko 2021; Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023; Baker 2024)

[$_{\text{ActP}}$ … [$_{\text{CommitP}}$ … [$_{\text{JudgeP}}$ … [$_{\text{CP}}$ …

Itelmen imperatives:

(14) m(ə)n-əɬčku-čen
1PL.IRR-cross-1>3SG
'Let's watch it!' (Vol′)

(15) q-taβoŋ-xeʔn
2.IRR-try-2SG>3PL
'Try these on!'

Transitive

(16) m(ə)n-iɬ-k(ičen)
1PL.IRR-go-1.S
'Let's go!'

(17) q-iɬ-sx
2PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A
'Go!'

Intransitive

(18) Composed Plural Inclusive

m(ə)n-iɬ-sx
1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A
'Let's go!'

Not recognized in previous descriptions (Ono 2021: 95-96)
Well attested in texts (1901, 1910, 1960s)

(19) **Asymmetry I**: Composed inclusive: Imperative only, not indicative

a. qat n-niŋ-kičen [*n-niŋ-sx], xałč mn-ənta-qzu-sx
already 1PL-load-1PLS 1PL-load-2PL HORT 1PL.IRR-cross-ASP-2PL
'We've loaded up. Let's go across!'

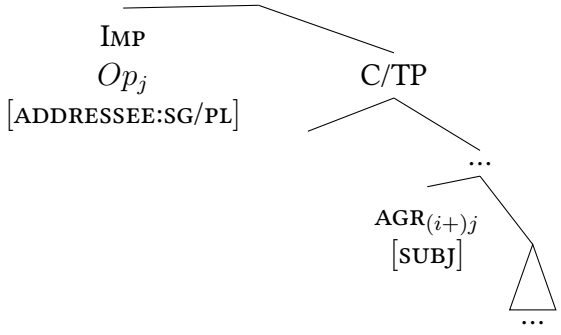
b. desjat n-ɬəm-čeʔn [*-sx-ŋiʔn], xałč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiʔn
10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO -2PLS-2>3PLO HORT to.camp 1PL.S-take-ASP-2PLS-2>3PLO
'We killed 10. Let's take them to camp.' (Bogoras 1901, Bobaljik et al. 2023)

(20) **Asymmetry II**: Itelmen-specific questions (composed inclusive)

- Why suffix replacement, not stacking (cf. Russian, Turkic) esp. if calque?
- Why 1PL-V-2PL not 2PL-V-1PL?

2 Asymmetry I: Composed inclusivity without an "inclusive"

(21) Imperative operator



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

(22) (Basic) 1PL imperative always inclusive (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005; Goussev 2005)

(23) a. Imperative: requires that ADDRESSEE be (part of) subject (cf. Daniel & Volkov 2017)
b. vs. Jussive, others: ADDRESSEE control, but not part of subject

(24) Diverse morphological strategies

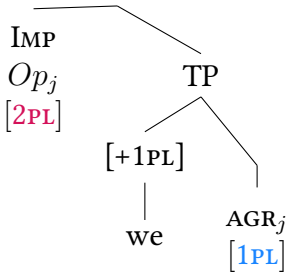
- **Attested**: Composed plural inclusives in imperative, no inclusive in indicative
  - Even if they lack an inclusive category elsewhere
  - Subset draw addressee-number distinction (composed incl)
  - Subset of those: morphologically composed: 1PL + (2)PL
- **Unattested**[?]: Composed inclusivity in indicative only

(25) Composed Minimal-Augmented Imperative (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005: 202):

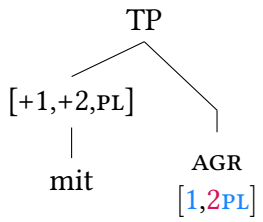
	2PL	1PL	1PL+2PL	
a.	idi-te	id^{j}-em	id^{j}-em-te	[Russian] (from 17th C)
b.	-yŋ	-yax	-yaɣ-yŋ	[Sakha]
c.	-yŋ	-aly	-aly-ŋ	[Turkmen] < Middle Turkish, 13th C (Erdal 2004: 237)

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

(26) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Siberian Turkic



(27) Contrast True Inclusive
Evenki etc.



(28) cf. Russian (roughly):

davaj-(te)	po-id-em	cf. nu=te, na=te, brys'=te
~~davaj~~-(te)	po-id-em-te	interj=pl clitic
let's-2pl	po-go-1pl-(2pl)	(Jakobson 1932; Kasenov 2024)

(29) Interim conclusions

- Zwicky's puzzle: clusivity (as a person Category) is parametrized
- Languages without an inclusive person category may compose inclusives
- One strategy: limited to imperatives (addressee) plus subject (1pl)
- Always 1pl subject, plus addressee number
- Apparent duals in languages with no dual number

3 Itelmen

3.1 Itelmen form is not a direct calque from Russian

(30)

a. regular	b. composed	**c. unattested**	d. phon OK	e. morph OK
[mn-iɬ-k]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-k]-sx	q-ŋiksx-č	q-ančp-miŋ-sx
[mn-iɬ-kičen]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-kičen]-sx	2.irr-sleep-2sg	2.irr-teach-1sg.O-2pl
1pl.irr-go-1.S	1pl.irr-go-2pl	1pl.irr-go-1.S-2pl	'sleep!'	'teach me!'

Portmanteaus – not stacking:

(31) t'- əɬčku **-čeʔn**
1sg.S- see -1>3pl.O
'I saw them.'

(32) t'- əɬčku **-čen** < -čen + ⟨ʔ⟩
1sg.S- see -1>3sg.O 1>3sg.O + pl
'I saw it.'

(33) n- əɬčku **-neʔn**
3pl.S- see -3>3pl.O
'They saw them.'

(34) Ø- əɬčku **-sxen** cf. -sx
2.S- see -2pl>3pl.O -2pl>3sg.O
'Y'all saw them.' (Kov.)

(35) last ... ɬəm-sxŋiʔn? skažem desjat n-ɬəm-čeʔn [portmanteaus]
how.many kill-2plS-2>3plO say 10 1pl.S-kill-1>3plO
'How many did y'all kill? Let's say we killed 10.' (Bogoras 1901)

(36)

Attested 2PLA>3O		Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:		
mən-čanzo-sx	let's follow (it)	mən-čanzo-čen	Bog.	Class I
mán-łam-sxen	let's kill them	mán-łam-čeʔn	Joch	
x[ă]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin	let's take him	x[ă]n-əntxla-kičen	Vol.	Class II
mn-əntxla-qzu-sxŋiʔn	let's take them	mn-əntxla-qzu-kiče?n	Bog.	

3.2 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement: Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy

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

/-βum/	⇔	[1SG]		
/-sx/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[2PL …[__
/-nen/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[3 …[__
/-čen/	⇔	[3(SG)]	/	[1 …[__
exponent		exposed features primary exponence		context (allomorphy) secondary exponence

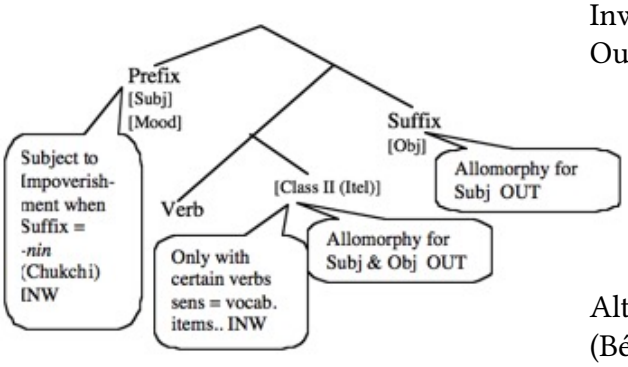
(38)

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

(39) [t]- tɸ -s -ki -čeʔn (č'eβuzlaχaʔn kɬčleʔn)
1SG.SUBJ- bring$_{II}$ -PRES -CL$_{II}$ -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)
'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes: KL25)

(40)

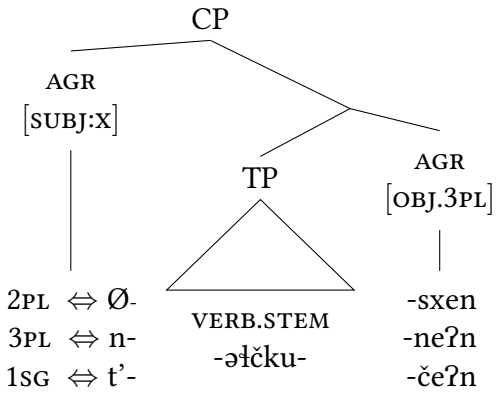
Agr Prefix		Class		Agr Suffix (Complex)	
	Subject Mood		Class S,O,Mood		Object S, Mood
m(ə)n-	1PL.IRR	-čiŋ-	3SG>3	-βuʔm	>1PL
m-	1SG.IRR	-čŋ-	%2SG>3.IN	-βum	>1SG
nt-	1PL	-čɣ^{w}(i)-	3P>3; 2S>3P.IR %2S>3.IN	-sx	>2PL
t-	1SG	-ik	2P>3S; 2S>3S.IR	-(ɣ)in	>2SG
q-	2PL.IRR	-xk-	2P>3P; >2S; >1	-sxen	2PL>3PL
xăn-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



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

Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
(Béjar & Rezac 2009)

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



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

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

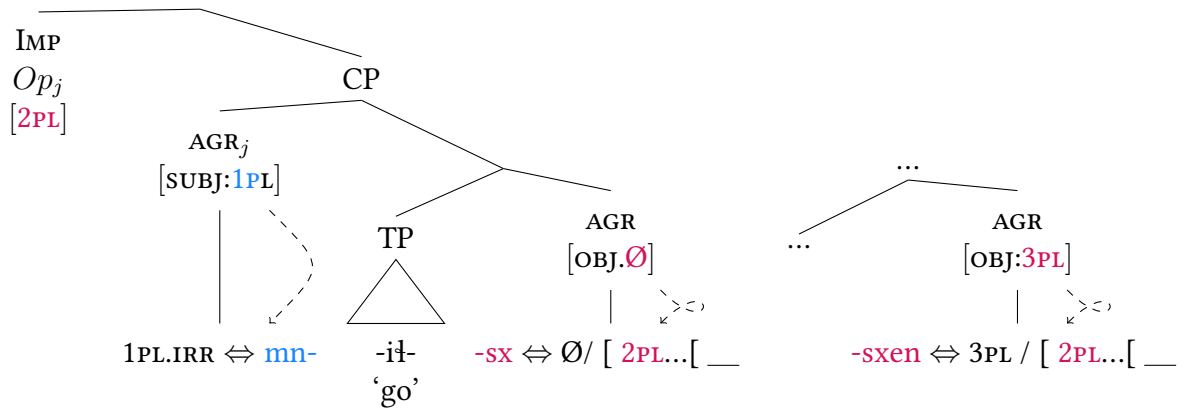
(42) OBJ:3PL ⇔ -sxen / [2PL ...[__
OBJ:3PL ⇔ -neʔn / [3 ...[__
OBJ:3PL ⇔ -čeʔn / __

(43)

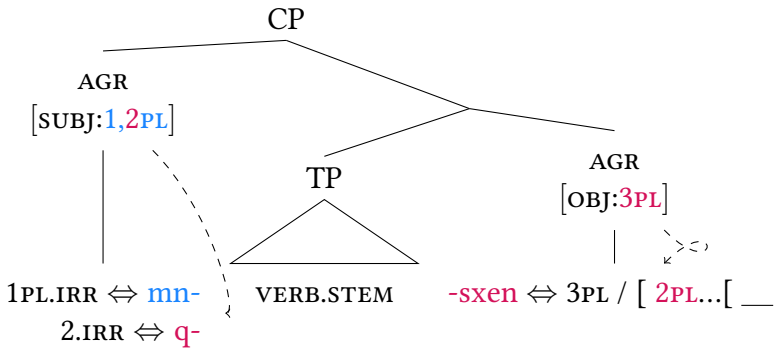
[SUBJ:X]	INTRANS	[OBJ:Ø]
2PL ⇔ Ø-		-sx
1PL ⇔ nt'-	VERB.STEM	-k
3PL ⇔ Ø-		-iʔn

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

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



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



4 Conclusion

- Clusivity is parametrized (categories) – languages without inclusive *category* can have **composed** inclusive *forms* (inclusive imperative/hortative = imperative(2SG/PL) + 1PL)
- Performativity – ADDRESSEE feature is introduced by IMPERATIVE Operator, so only (morpho-syntactically) able to compose with 1PL in IMPERATIVE
- If all agreement exponence is Probe-Goal relations, no clear account of asymmetry - can describe the facts we see, but also the inverse
- But if subject features in the suffixes (portmanteaus, intransitives) are contextual allomorphy: prefix-suffix asymmetry in composed forms is a contingent property of the Itelmen agreement exponent inventory and their independently observable allomorphy contexts

A History of Russian *id-em=te*

"13th C: loss of distinct forms of the imperative conjugation of the 1st and 2nd pl. (and others) (in *-ěmъ, -ěte* "appearance of forms of the type *nesite, vedite, tolknite* with *-ite* in place of the Old Russian *-ěte*, e.g., *vozmite* in place of *vъzměte*" in Dukhovaja Klimenta 1270. (Иванов 1983: 357)

"The earliest examples of ...the formation [with *-te*] are noted in the historical texts of the 17th C:" (Белоусов 1982: 152)

(46) поспѣшимъте, милая братья, къ своему царю Соломону
po-spěš-imъ-te, milaja brat'ja kъ svoemu tsarju Solomonu
PRF-hurry-1PL-2PL dear brothers to self's tsar Solomon
'Let's hurry, dear brothers, to our tsar, Solomon!" (*Pov. ts. Dav.*)

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