



Agreement in the Itelmen Inclusive Imperative revisited: Contextual allomorphy beyond Probes and Goals

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- (1) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative)
(Khrakovskij 1992; Dobrushina & Goussev 2005; Гусев 2005))
- a. Let's go! [English]
 - b. Gehen wir! (Gemma!) go.PL we [German]
 - c. pojd-**em**-(**te**)! go-**1PL**-(**2PL**) [Russian]
 - d. ɪl-**iax**! 'let's take!' ɪl-**iaɣ**-**ɪŋ** 'let's take! [Sakha] (Nevskaya 2005)
(‘dual’ = you and me)’ (you-PL and me)
 - e. **mn**-iɬ-k(**ičɛn**)! or: **mn**-iɬ-**sx**! [Itelmen]
1PL.IRR-go-1PL 1PL.IRR-go-**2PL**

Three theoretical themes:

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

Referents	a. Clusivity Evenki	b. General <i>we</i> English	c. * <i>sy</i> ou * <i>n/a</i> *
AUTH (not ADDR)	bu	we	* <i>swe</i>
AUTH and ADDR	mit	we	* <i>sy</i> ou
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	* <i>sy</i> ou
neither	nungartyn	they	they

- (3) Neo-Performative Hypothesis: Speech Act (Participant)s in the left periphery?

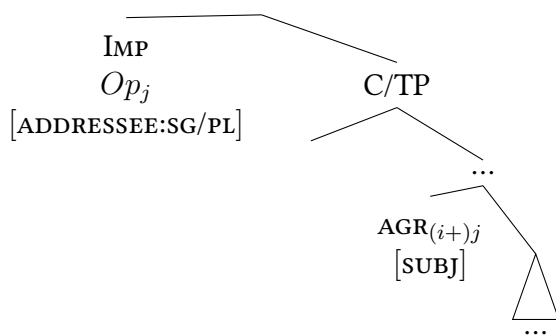
[ActP ... [CommitP ... [JudgeP ... [CP ... (Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023)

- (4) Multiple Exponence (Agreement vs. Allomorphy, Portmanteaus)

- a. t'-iɬ-k(**ičɛn**)! b. t'-əɬčku-**čɛn** c. n-əɬčku-**nɛn**
1SG-go-1.S 1SG-see-**1>3SG** 3PL-see-**3>3SG**
'I went' 'I saw it.' 'They saw it.'

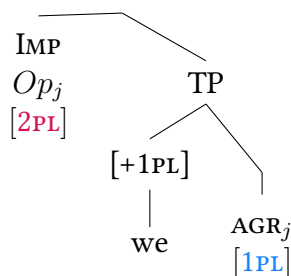
1 Asymmetry I: Composed inclusivity without an “inclusive”

(5) Imperative operator

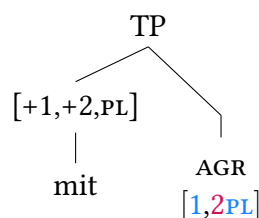


- cf. Jussive: Zanuttini (2008) (but see also Kaufmann 2011)
but: no -sx in Itelmen Jussive (3PSN)
- Semantics: ADDRESSEE-oriented, ADDRESSEE must be included in subject
- (Relation to allocutive agreement? Antonov 2015; McFadden 2020)
- ADDRESSEE-# vs. SUBJECT-# at distinct nodes!

(6) Composed Inclusive Itelmen, Russian, Siberian Turkic



(7) Contrast True Inclusive Evenki etc.



- (8) 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)

(9) Imperative only, not indicative

- a. qat n-niŋ-kičēn [*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-ləm-čēŋn [*-sx-ŋiŋn], xałč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiŋn
 10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO -2PLS-2>3PLO HORT to.camp 1PL.S-take-ASP-2PLS-2>3PLO
 'We killed 10. Let's take them to camp.' (Bogoras 1901, Bobaljik et al. 2023)

- Itelmen: suffix replacement, not stacking: not a (simple) Russian calque

- (10) a. regular b. composed c. unattested d. phon OK e. morph OK
 [mn-ił-k] [mn-ił]-sx * [mn-ił-k]-sx q-ŋi ksx-č q-ančp-miŋ-sx
 [mn-ił-kičēn] [mn-ił]-sx * [mn-ił-kičēn]-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!'

- (11) last ... łəm-**sx-ŋiʔn**? skəžem desjat **n-łəm-čēʔn** [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)

- (12) Attested 2PLA>3O

Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:

mən -čanzo- sx	let’s follow (it)	mən-čanzo- čēn	Bog.	Class I
mán -łam- sxen	let’s kill them	mán-łam- čēʔn	Joch	
x[ǎ]n -əntxla- s[x]ŋin	let’s take him	x[ǎ]n-əntxla- kičen	Vol.	Class II
mn -əntxla-qzu- sxŋiʔn	let’s take them	mn-əntxla-qzu- kičēʔn	Bog.	

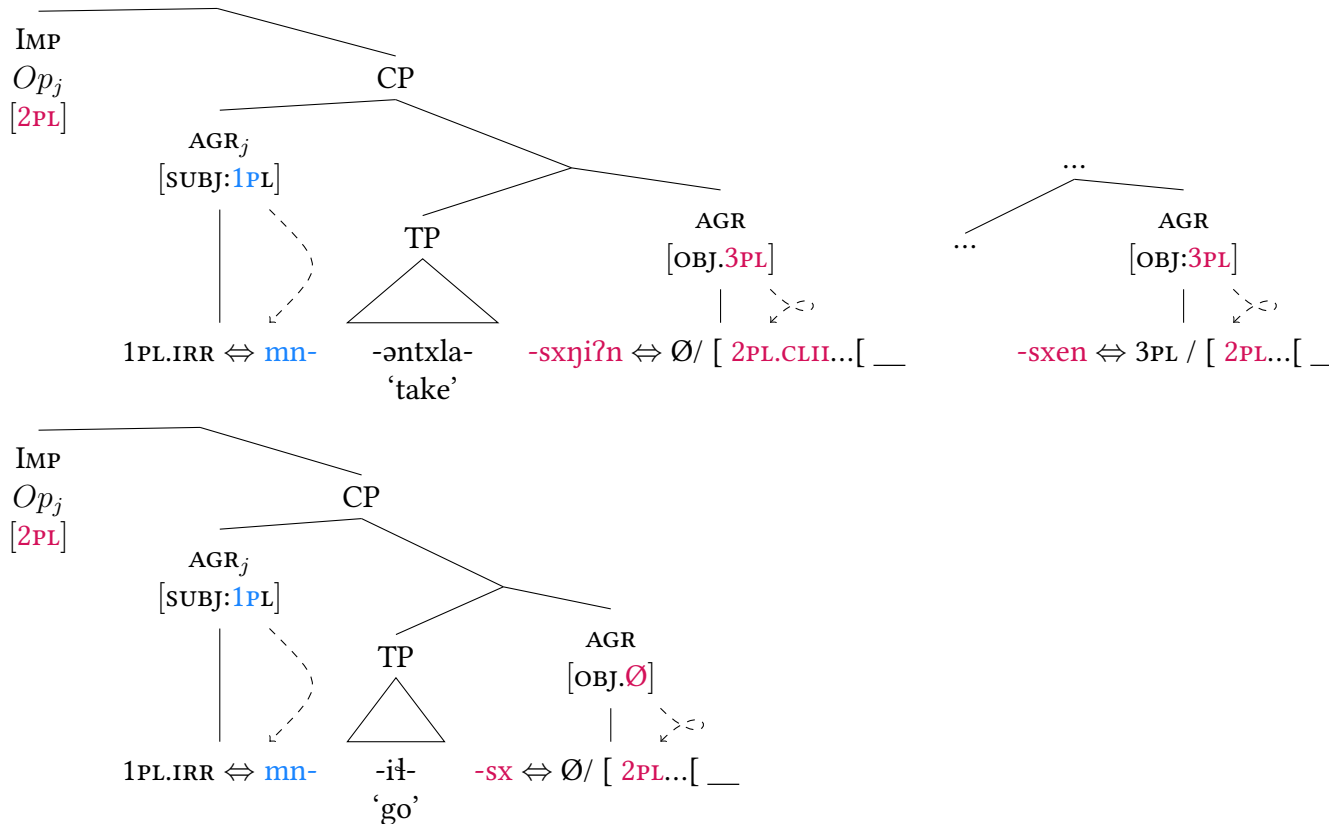
- (13) **Asymmetry II:** Itelmen-specific questions (composed inclusive)

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

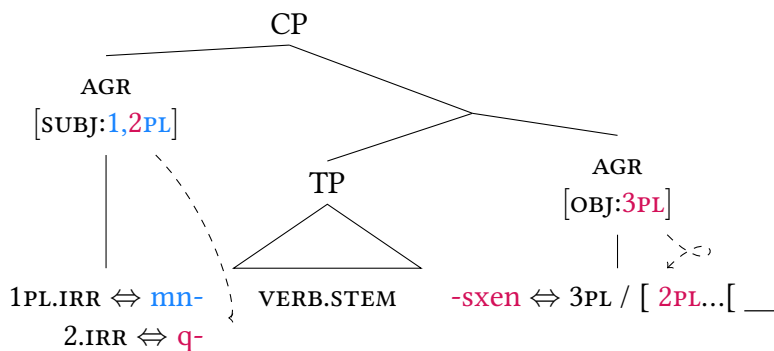
- (14) Answer: special way C-K agreement works (prefix-suffix asymmetries)

Prefix = subject agreement

Suffix = object agreement, plus contextual allomorphy (for mood and higher ϕ)



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



2 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Redux: Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy

(16) The Itelmen finite verb

AGR1 - COND'L - AP - CAUS - $\sqrt{\quad}$ - VB - DERIV* - ASP - TNS - CLASS - AGR2.COMPLEX

Agreement tables at end of handout - Sedanka dialect.

NB: Substantial variation (source, dialect, inter-/intra-speaker) esp. fine detail of Class II forms.

(17) PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX

Subject } { *Subject(Intransitive)*

Mood } { *Object(Transitive)*

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

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

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

(21) t- k'ot- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'

(22) Ø- k'ot- -č
2.S- come -2SG.S
'You came.'

(21) t'- əłčku -čeʔn
1SG.S- see -1>3PL.O
'I saw them.'

(22) Ø- əłčku -(ə)ʔn
2.S- see -2SG>3PL.O
'You saw them.'

< -čen + <ʔ>
1>3SG.O + PL

(23) n- əłčku -neʔn
3PL.S- see -3>3PL.O
'They saw them.'

(24) Ø- əłčku -sxen
2.S- see -2PL>3PL.O
'Y'all saw them.' (Kov.)

cf. -sx
-2PL>3SG.O

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

/-sxen/ $\Leftrightarrow$ [3PL] / [2PL ...[

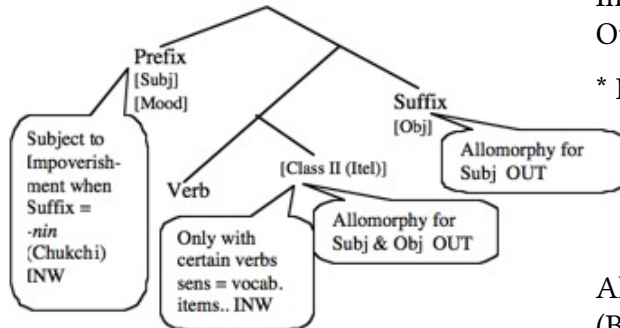
/-neʔn/ $\Leftrightarrow$ [3PL] / [3 ...[

/-čeʔn/ $\Leftrightarrow$ [3PL] /

exponent probed features context (allomorphy) (1 and impersonal)

- (26)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|---|------|---|------------------------|--|--------------------|
| Exponent of: | AGR.PREFIX | - | STEM | - | CLASS | | AGR.SUFFIX-complex |
| Allomorphy for: | Subject | | | | Class II | | Object |
| | Mood | | | | Mood, Subj, Obj | | Mood, Subj |

(27)



Inwards-sensitive = (morpho)-phonology
 Outwards-sensitive = (morpho)-syntax
 * Potentially derivable: cyclic v.i.

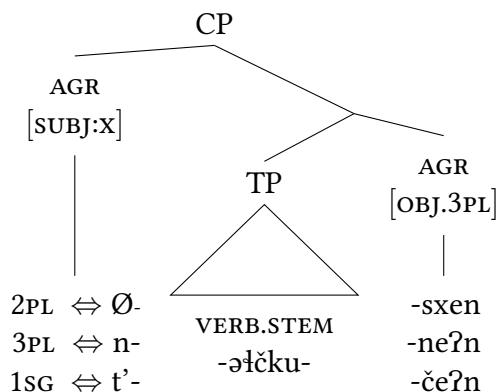
Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
 (Béjar & Rezac 2009)

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

- (29)
- | Agr Prefix | | Class | | Agr Suffix (Complex) |
|------------|---------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| m(ə)n- | 1PL.IRR | -čij- | 3SG>3 | -βuʔm >1PL |
| m- | 1SG.IRR | -čɨ- | %2SG>3.IN | -βum >1SG |
| nt- | 1PL | -čɣ ^w (i)- | 3PL>3; 2SG>3PL.IR %2SG>3.IN | -sx >2PL |
| t- | 1SG | -ik | 2PL>3SG; 2SG>3SG.IR | -(ɣ)in >2SG |
| q- | 2PL.IRR | -xk- | 2PL>3PL; >2SG; >1 | -sxen 2PL>3PL |
| xǎn- | 3.IRR | -ki- | >2PL; {1,∅}>3; >3IO | -ne(?)n 3>3(PL) |
| n- | 3PL.TR | -kn- | PRTC = INTRANS | -če(?)n 1>3(PL) |
| ∅ | <else> | -k- | NON-FINITE = INTRANS | INTRANS |
| | | (-ɨ) | (2PL>3 Bog.) | -k 1>∅ |
| | | | | -sx 2PL>∅ |
| | | | | -č 2SG>∅ |
| | | | | ... |

Bobaljik (2000); Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2001)

- (30) Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy (Bobaljik 2000; Feng 2018, 2024)



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

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

- (31) OBJ:3PL ⇔ -sxen / [2PL ...[____
 OBJ:3PL ⇔ -neʔn / [3 ...[____
 OBJ:3PL ⇔ -čeʔn / ____

(32)	[SUBJ:X]	INTRANS	[OBJ:Ø]			
	2PL $\Leftrightarrow$ Ø-		-sx	OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -sx	/ [2PL ...[	__
	1PL $\Leftrightarrow$ nt'-	VERB.STEM	-k	OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -k(iče?n)	/ [1PL ...[	__
	3PL $\Leftrightarrow$ Ø-		-i?n	OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -(y)i?n	/ [PL ...[	__

3 Probing alternatives

- What would it take to do this with Probe-Goal agreement only?

(33) Mimic account here:

- Upward probing needed to get 2PL from IMP
- All probing is upwards (Reverse Agree, Wurmbrand 2011 a.o.)?
- (Or first downwards, then upwards, cf. Béjar & Rezac (2009))

(34) Implausible (Mirror Generalization):

- agreement (and class) morphology is peripheral (outside of ASP, TNS).
- Moving SUBJ, OBJ, OBL to high heads first would need another set of probes
- prefix-suffix asymmetry re: IMP[2PL] ?
- Special problem with oblique agreement / prominence (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2002)
- NB. Chukotkan might be “high ABSOLUTIVE” (Royer 2025)

(35) More conventional? Multiple (or Insatiable Deal (2015, 2024)) Probes

(36) Some issues for both generalized probes and simple probes + allomorphy

- GF-discriminating probes (Itelmen has no Subj v Obj case)
- Optionality in Itelmen? (unlike Russian, Turkic, Udmurt)
- Fine structure of suffix complex

4 Conclusions

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

Table 1: Transitive Agreement: Realis, Irrealis

SUBJECT	OBJECT					
	1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg oblique	3pl oblique
1sg			t-__-(xk)in m-__-(xk)in	t-__-(ki)sxen m-__-(ki)sxen	t-__-(ki)nen m-__-(ki)nen	t-__-(ki)peʔnen m-__-(ki)peʔnen
1pl			nt-__-(xk)in mən-__-(xk)in	nt-__-(ki)sxen mən-__-(ki)sxen	nt-__-(ki)nen mən-__-(ki)nen	nt-__-(ki)peʔnen mən-__-(ki)peʔnen
2sg	__-(xk)um q-__-(xk)um	__-(xk)uʔm q-__-(xk)uʔm			__-(ki)nen q-__-(ki)nen	__-(ki)peʔnen q-__-(ki)peʔnen
2pl	__-(xk)umsx q-__-(xk)umsx	__-(xk)uʔmsx q-__-(xk)uʔmsx			__-(ki)nensx q-__-(ki)nensx	__-(ki)peʔnensx q-__-(ki)peʔnensx
3sg	__-(xk)um xən-__-(xk)um	__-(xk)uʔm xən-__-(xk)uʔm	__-(xk)in xən-__-(xk)in	__-(ki)sxen xən-__-(ki)sxen	__-(ki)nen xən-__-(ki)nen	__-(ki)peʔnen xən-__-(ki)peʔnen
3pl	n-__-(xk)um xən-__-(xk)um	n-__-(xk)uʔm xən-__-(xk)uʔm	n-__-(xk)in xən-__-(xk)in	n-__-(ki)sxen xən-__-(ki)sxen	n-__-(ki)nen xən-__-(ki)nen	n-__-(ki)peʔnen xən-__-(ki)peʔnen
Impsnl	n-__-(xk)um xən-__-(xk)um	n-__-(xk)uʔm xən-__-(xk)uʔm	n-__-(xk)in xən-__-(xk)in	n-__-(ki)sxen xən-__-(ki)sxen	n-__-(ki)nen xən-__-(ki)nen	n-__-(ki)peʔnen xən-__-(ki)peʔnen

Table 2: 3rd person direct object agreement.

DIRECT OBJECT		
SUBJECT	3sg	3pl
1sg	t-__-(ki)čen m-__-(ki)čen	t-__-(ki)če?n m-__-(ki)če?n
1pl	nt-__-(ki)čen mən-__-(ki)čen	nt-__-(ki)če?n mən-__-(ki)če?n
2sg	<i>Class I Class II</i> __-ən __-čy ^w in q-__-x q-__-čik	<i>Class I Class II</i> __-ə?n __-čy ^w i?n q-__-xi?n q-__-čy ^w i?n
2pl	__-sx(ik) q-__-sx(ik)	__-sxi?n __-xki?n q-__-sxi?n q-__-xki?n
3sg	__-(čin)nen xən-__-(čin)nen	__-(čin)ne?n xən-__-(čin)ne?n
3pl	n-__-(čy ^w ə)nen xən-__-(čy ^w ə)nen	n-__-(čy ^w ə)ne?n xən-__-(čy ^w ə)ne?n
Impersonal	n-__-(ki)čen xən-__-(ki)čen	n-__-(ki)če?n xən-__-(ki)če?n

Table 3: Intransitive Agreement

SUBJECT PERSON	SUBJECT NUMBER	
	sg	pl
1	t-__-k(ičen) m-__-k(ičen)	nt-__-k(ičen) mən-__-k(ičen)
2	__-č q-__-xč	__-sx q-__-sx
3	__-in xən-__-in	__-?n xən-__-?n