



Limits on Contextual Allomorphy - no Inverse

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(1) Transitive realis (Itelmen, class I - Sedanka dialect)

Obj	1 SG	1 PL	2 SG	2 PL	3 SG	3 PL	Ø IMPER/PASS
1 SG	*		Ø-V-βum	Ø-V-βum-sx	Ø-V-βum	n-V-βum	n-V-βum
1 PL			Ø-V-βu<ʔ>m	Ø-V-βu<ʔ>m-sx	Ø-V-βu<ʔ>m	n-V-βu<ʔ>m	n-V-βu<ʔ>m
2 SG	t-V-γin	nt-V-γin	*		Ø-V-γin	n-V-γin	n-V-γin
2 PL	t-V-sxen	nt-V-sxen	*		Ø-V-sxen	n-V-sxen	n-V-sxen
3 SG	t-V-čen	nt-V-čen	Ø-V-ən	Ø-V-sx	Ø-V-nen	n-V-nen	n-V-čen
3 PL	t-V-če<ʔ>n	nt-V-če<ʔ>n	Ø-V-ə<ʔ>n	Ø-V-sx-iʔn	Ø-V-ne<ʔ>n	n-V-nen	n-V-če<ʔ>n

-γ noted in 20th C sources, probably [u], now typically Ø

(2) Transitive realis (Chukchi) (Skorik 1977)

Sub Obj	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg	*		Ø-ine-V-γʔi	Ø-ine-V-tək	Ø-ine-V-γʔi	ne-V-γəm
1 pl			Ø-V-tku-γʔi	Ø-V-tku-tək	ne-V-mək	ne-V-mək
2 sg	t-V-γət	mət-V-γət	*		ne-V-γət	ne-V-γət
2 pl	t-V-tək	mət-V-tək	*		ne-V-tək	ne-V-tək
3 sg	t-V-(γʔe)n	mət-V-(γʔe)n	Ø-V-(γʔe)n	Ø-V-tkə	Ø-V-nin	ne-V-(γʔe)n
3 pl	t-V-net	mət-V-net	Ø-V-net	Ø-V-tkə	Ø-V-ninet	ne-V-net

(3) Transitive realis (Koryak) (Zhukova 1972: 307-308)

Sub Obj	1 SG	1 PL	2 SG	2 PL	3 SG	3 PL
1 SG	*		Ø-ine-V-i	Ø-ine-V-tək	Ø-ine-V-i	ne-V-γəm
1 NSG			ne-V-mək	ne-V-mək	ne-V-mək	ne-V-mək
2 SG	t-V-γi	mət-V-γi	*		ne-V-γi	ne-V-γi
2 NSG	t-V-tək	mət-V-tək	*		ne-V-tək	ne-V-tək
3 SG	t-V-n	mət-V-n	Ø-V-n	Ø-V-tkə	Ø-V-nin	ne-V-n
3 NSG	t-V-net	mət-V-net	Ø-V-net	Ø-V-tkə	Ø-V-ninet	ne-V-net

NSG = dual object forms, plural = V-la-AGR

- (4) A clause is inverse iff
Object outranks subject on Person Hierarchy: $1 > 2 > 3$
- (5) Menominee (Bloomfield 1962)
- ke-na:n-a:-w-a:w
2-fetch-DIR-3-[-1 PL]
'You (pl) fetch him.'
 - ke-na:n-**eko**-w-a:w
2-fetch-INV-3-[-1 PL]
'He fetches you (pl).'
- (6)
- Towards an understanding of Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement
 - Towards a general theory of allomorphy
 - Why are things the way they are ... and not otherwise?
- (7)
- Is the Chukotkan prefix an inverse? *næ*-
 - Incidental: proposal for source of ergative case alignment in Chukotkan
 - Is the Algonquian inverse an inverse? (Oxford 2024a)

1 Towards a general theory of Allomorphy?

- (8) Allomorphy: Under what conditions can a morpheme μ_1 condition allomorphy of a distinct morpheme μ_2 ?
- (9)
- $F_1 \rightarrow [ba]$
 - $F_1 \rightarrow [ba] / __ \dots X$
 - $F_1 \rightarrow [ba] / X \dots __ \dots Y$
 - $\emptyset \rightarrow [ba] / \text{if OBJ} > \text{SUBJ on person hierarchy}$
- (10) Locality
- Inward vs. outwards (Tuesday)
 - Adjacency - no? (Monday, Tuesday, (11))
 - Domains (RSG (12), Bobaljik & Caha: 2025)
- (11) Basque comparatives
- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------|--|---------------------------|----------------|
| ADJ | CMPR | -XE- | | gloss | |
| asko | gehi-ago | gehi-xe-ago | | much, more, a little more | (de Rijk 2008) |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|----------|---------------|---------------|--|
| ADJ | CMPR | ADV | ADV.CMPR | gloss | |
| berri | berri-ago | berri-ki | berri-ki-ago | 'new, recent' | |
| on | hobe-(ago) | on-gi | hobe-ki-(ago) | 'good, well' | |
- (12) The Root Suppletion Generalization (RSG)

Root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e., morphological) comparatives.

- (13)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|----------|--|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | POS | CMPR | SPRL | | POS | CMPR | SPRL | |
| a. | A | B-er | B-est | | kak-ós | cheiró-ter-os | o cheiró-ter-os | 'bad' |
| b. | A | * more B | * most B | | kak-ós | pjo kak-ós | o pjo kak-ós | 'bad' |

2 The Itelmen n-impersonal / passive (Volodin 1976)

- (14) a. Mit-enk n-qzu-z-um
Miti-LOC N-wait-PRES-1SG.OBJ
'Miti (is) waiting for me.' [KL (38)]
- b. Sinangeβt-enk kma n-txunl-qzu-βum anqle
Sinangewt-LOC 1SG N-raise-ASP-1SG.OBJ winter
'I was raised by Sinangewt in the winter.' [AS (85)]
- c. kma n-oms-qzu-βum
1SG N-leave-ASP-1SG.O
'They left me behind.' or 'I was left behind.' [AS (46)]
- (15) • n-prefix = impersonal or PL (cf. Russian, limited English *They say that...*)
• EA "demoted" – oblique case if overt, no subject agreement
– inanimate, low animate: INSTR: -*l*
– higher animate: LOCATIVE : -(en)k, PL: -*e?nk*
• AI controls object agreement, no evidence of promotion
• Small corpus: 26/318 transitive clauses Bobaljik (In Press)
- (16) Itelmen syntax (Bobaljik In Press)
- flexible word order, underlying/basic (S)OV
 - all arguments can be *pro* (agree or not)
 - *O_{new}* – almost always preverbal
 - *O_{old}* – can be pre- or post-verbal (50:50)
 - = new information in prosodic prominent position (Borise & Bobaljik Next Week)
 - 3/4

Means of allowing for O = topic (Agensausblendung Georg & Volodin 1999: 197)

- (17) a. a bolʃe na qaʔm k'e-nk əlčku-q k'-il-ʔin
CNJ more 3SG NEG who-LOC see-NEG PTCP-AUX-PTCP.TR
'And nobody saw him any more.' [TL (126b)] [*him* = protagonist of story]
- b. mił ʔelʔku-ʔn-k k'-əntxla-kne-ʔn
all mouse-PL-LOC PTCP-carry.away-PTCP-PL
'It was all taken by the mice.' [KL (84b)] [*it* = food item under discussion]
- (18) a. k'-il-ʔin=(n)en mił kəlx^w-čax
PTCP-drink-PTCP.TR=3CL all lake-DIM
'She drank up all the little lake.' [AS (38)]
- b. tixt tsxal-enk mił iʔ kəlx^w-čx-enk n-yil-čen
DEM fox-LOC all water lake-DIM-LOC IMP-drink-3SG.OBJ
'Here, all the water in the little lake was drunk by the fox.' [AS (47)]

(19) Context for (18a)

- a. tsxal k-χaqane-knen: “qa’m k’ot-ał-k-aq s-ič? kma mił knin i?
fox PRT-be.angry-PRT NEG come-DESID-INTR-NEG AUX.PRES-2SG 1SG all 2SG.POSS water
t’-il-ał-čen.”
1SG-drink-FUT-1>3SG

‘The fox became angry. “You don’t want to come? I will drink up all your water.”’

(18a) here - Active: Fox is continuing topic and subject

- b. mił nin k’-il-?in. qneŋ i k-pčinti-t-knen.
all 3CL PRT-drink-PRT.SG.OBJ right.away and PRT-burst-T-PRT
‘She drank all (of it). Then she burst.’

(20) Context for (18b)

- a. “oj, kza, qsas-čax, ljaβał kza qa’m siŋ-k-aq ł-ič?”
INTERJ 2SG goose--DIM why 2SG NEG fly-INTR-NEG AUX-2SG
“‘Oh you, little gosling, why did you not fly away?’”

- b. “kəma-’n sisi-’n-č n¹etu
1SG-POSS.PL wing-PL-DIM NOT.HAVE
“‘I don’t have (little) wings.’

- c. kma n-oms-qzu-βum N-construction: gosling (1 person) is continuing topic
1SG N-leave-ASP-1SG
‘I was left behind.’

(18b) here - N-construction: pond is salient/prominent, first mention of fox

- d. ne’n kma ma? i m-βit-kičen?”
now 1SG where and 1SG.IRR-swim-1SG.SUBJ
‘Now where should I swim?’”

(21)

- a. sillatumx-e?n kəmma n-an^jčp-miŋ brother-PL me 3PL-teach-1SG.OBJ
b. sillatumx-e?n-k kəmma n-an^jčp-miŋ brother-PL-LOC me N-teach-1SG.OBJ
‘The brothers taught me.’ (Volodin 1976: 270), wd. order altered; Kovran -miŋ = Sedanka -βum

(22) Itelmen 3pl logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	n-...-βum	
1pl	n-...-βu?m	
2sg	n-...-(y)in	
2pl	n-...-sxen	
3sg	n-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	n-...-ne?n	n-...-če?n

n- prefix in all forms

(23) Itelmen 3sg logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	Ø-...-βum	n-...-βum
1pl	Ø-...-βu?m	n-...-βu?m
2sg	Ø-...-(y)in	n-...-(y)in
2pl	Ø-...-sxen	n-...-sxen
3sg	Ø-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	Ø-...-ne?n	n-...-če?n

n- prefix optional in 1,2 object

(24) Summary (Itelmen) – observation

- a. n- occurs with all 3psn (transitive) subjects,
b. *except* 3sg subject, with -nen/-ne⟨?⟩n suffix

3 Chukotkan (Chukchi, Koryak [Chauchoven, Nymylan], Alutor)

- (25) Chukotkan morphosyntax (Dunn 1999, Kasyanova in prep)
- Ergative case-alignment (but SUBJ-OBJ agreement, see Bobaljik 2008)
 - inanimate, low animate nouns: INSTR: *-t(e)*
 - higher animate nouns: LOCATIVE : *-ne* PL *-rek* < **(næ)k/-ðæk* (Fortescue 2005)
 - Noun incorporation
 - ? “High absolutive” effects: ABS tends to be old info (Maria Polinsky p.c., but see Kasyanova)
- (26) Proposal: (reanalysis of) the Itelmen *n*-construction is the source of ergativity in Chukotkan (Fortescue 2005; Bobaljik 2019; Kantarovich 2019; cf. Garrett 1990)
- (27) *ine-* and *-tku* are antipassives (derived intransitives) [cognates in Itelmen]
- (27) Antipassive (Chukchi) *ine-* (Itelmen *in-*)¹
- a. ʔaaček-a kimitʔ-ən ne-nʔʔetət-ən
youth-ERG load-ABS 3PL.SUBJ-carry-3SG.OBJ
The young men will carry away the load.
- b. ʔaaček-ət Ø-**ine**-nʔʔetət-yʔet kimitʔ-e
youth-PL.ABS 3SG.SUBJ-**AP**-carry-3PL.SUBJ load-INSTR
The young men will carry away a load. (Kozinsky et al. 1988:652)
- (28) 5 cells in Chukchi table are “spurious antipassive” (like deponents)
- Transitive syntax + intransitive (AP) verb morphology

But other than those:

- (29) Summary (Chukchi) – part of grammar
- ne-* occurs with all 3psn (transitive) subjects,
 - except* 3(sg) subject, with *-nin/-nin-et* suffix
- (30) a. 3.TR → *ne-*
b. AGRS → Ø/ ___ [... -nin]_{AGRO} (Bobaljik 2000)
- (31) For *ne-*, *Inverse* hypothesis (Comrie 1980) does no explanatory work
- (32) And needs to be supplemented for 3>3 cells [!]
- (33) *jəl-* ‘give’ can occur with a 1,2 DATIVE, prefix does not delete

ənan ʔənəkə ənqen **ne-jəl-yət** (cf. Ø-jəl-nen)
3SG.ERG 2SG.DAT s.th.ABS 3-give-2SG 3-give-3>3SG
‘She/he gave you something.’ (Nedjalkov, Dunn, p.c.)

¹The AP varies in productivity.

3.1 The spurious antipassive

- (34) Plur(action)al antipassive *-tku* (Itelmen *-sxən*)

- a. moryə-nan mət-viriŋ-ərəkən-et tumy-ət
we-ERG 1PL.SBJ-defend-PROG-3PL.OBJ comrade-PL.ABS
'We are defending our comrades.'
- b. muri mət-viriŋə-**tku**-rkən (tomy-etə)
we.ABS 1PL.SBJ-defend-**AP**-PROG comrade-PL.DAT
'We are defending our comrades.' (Skorik 1977: 124–5)

- (35) Spurious Antipassive

- a. ə-nan yəm Ø-**ine**-ʔu-yʔi (Chk)
he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUBJ-**AP**-see-3SG.SUBJ
'He saw me.'
- b. torgə-nan yəm q-**ine**-imti-tək
you.PL-ERG I (ABS) 2.SUBJ-**AP**-carry-2PL.SUBJ
'Carry me!'
- c. ə-nan yəm Ø-r-**ine**-ʔu-rkən (Chk)
he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-**AP**-see-PROG
'He will see me.' (Skorik 1977:44, 83, 57)²

- (36) cf. Latin deponence (non-active voice, transitive syntax)

me=que hort-antur ut magn-o anim-o sim
me.ACC=and exhort-3PL.NACT that great-ABL.SG spirit-ABL.SG be.1SG.SBV
'and they exhort me to be of good courage'
(Latin, Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum, book 11, letter 6; via Baerman)

- (37) subject-object agreement combinations requiring SAP (non-participial tenses)

- a. * 3 SG > 1 SG requires SAP with *ine*-
b. * 2 > 1SG requires SAP with *ine*-
c. * 2 > 1 PL requires SAP with *-tku*

- (38) Bobaljik & Branigan (2006); Alternatives: Spencer (2000); Halle & Hale (1997)

- Feature deletion: deletion of object features, but not the object
- Result: derived intransitive verb, only features of subject expressed
- AP as realization of intransitive agreement features, in a (notionally) transitive clause³
- Moral: these cells aren't part of the "transitive paradigm"
- (In the stative moods, almost all combinations, including direct ones, are SAP)

²Funky fact I can't explain: in some contemporary varieties, the SAP *ine*- has migrated leftwards.

³This can't quite be right: true antipassive can feed applicative promotion and co-occur with transitive agreement.

4 Koryak

- (39)
- Koryak has lost *-tku* antipassive
 - Concomitantly, has lost the *-tku* SAP (see table p1)
 - *ne*- forms have spread to fill that place
 - Only place in all of CK that 2PL SUBJ not distinctly marked!
- (40) $2 \rightarrow \emptyset / \dots (1\text{PL OBJ})?$
- 2sg = 3sg in intransitive paradigm (all Ch,Ko, some Itel)
 - but ... inwards/outwards? impoverishment $\neq$ contextual allomorphy

5 Are there ever Inverse morphemes?

Oxford (2014, 2017, 2024a) argues that the textbook examples of inverse morphemes in Algonquian aren't inverse markers in this sense (type d). Instead, they are object agreement morphemes, with some measure of contextual allomorphy (type b.)

- (41) Algonquian verb:

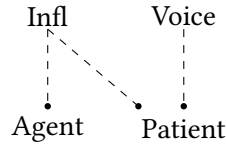
central prefix	-	stem	-	voice	-	central suffix
PERSON				OBJECT		SUBJ/OBJ

- (42) SW Ojibwe (Oxford 2017) [NB Oxford assumes $2 > 1 > 3$]

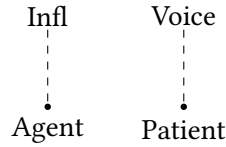
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. ni- wa:pam -a: -na:n -ik
 1- see -DIR -1P -3P
 'We see them.' $1 > 3$ direct</p> <p>b. ni- wa:pam -iko -na:n -ik
 1- see -DIR -1P 3P
 'They see us.' $1 > 3$ inverse</p> | <p>a. k- wa:pam -i
 2- see -DIR
 'You see me.' $2 > 1$ direct</p> <p>b. k- wa:pam -in
 1- see -INV
 'I see you.' $1 > 2$ inverse</p> |
|--|--|

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(43) Proto-A OBJECT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> $[1] \rightarrow -i$ $[2] \rightarrow -e\theta$ $[3] \rightarrow -a:$ $[] \rightarrow -ekw$ | <p>(44) $3 > 3$ Topicality (similar to Itelmen)</p> <p>(45) SAP Hierarchy effects: variation in probe structure on Infl</p> <p>(46) Impoverishment: Delete object features on voice if identical to object features on Infl (Kinyarlolo's Generalization)</p> |
|--|---|

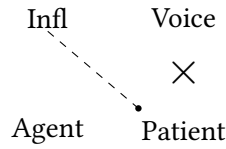
(47) a. *Neutral pattern*



b. *Direct pattern*



c. *Inverse pattern*



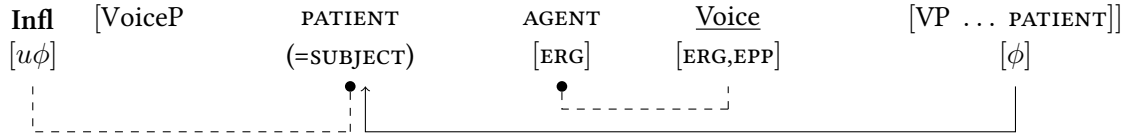
(48) Distribution of transitive agreement patterns in Central and Eastern Algonquian

- a. If both arguments are third person
 - i. More topical third acts on less topical third: always direct
 - ii. Less topical third acts on more topical third: always inverse
- b. If one argument is an SAP and the other is a third person
 - i. SAP acts on third: neutral or direct (languages vary)
 - ii. Third acts on SAP: neutral or inverse (languages vary)
- c. If both arguments are SAPs: almost always neutral

(Oxford 2024b: 495-496)

(49) For 3>3, Oxford invokes ERG and movement (50), but the work is being done by saying that the less topical SUBJ is rendered inaccessible for the subject probe, just as in Itelmen.

(50) Third person inverse voice



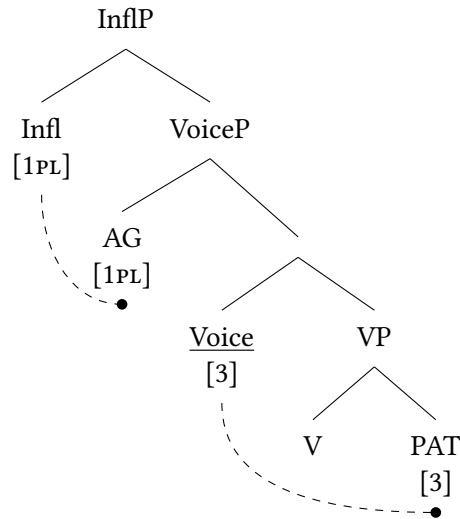
(51) a. *Direct: More topical third acts on less topical third*

ana mahihkan ki:-wa:pame:w wa:poswa.
 ana mahihkan ki:= wa:pam -e: -w wa:poswa
 that wolf.3SG PAST= see -3OBJ -3SG rabbit.3OBV
 ‘The wolf saw (a) rabbit(s).OBV’

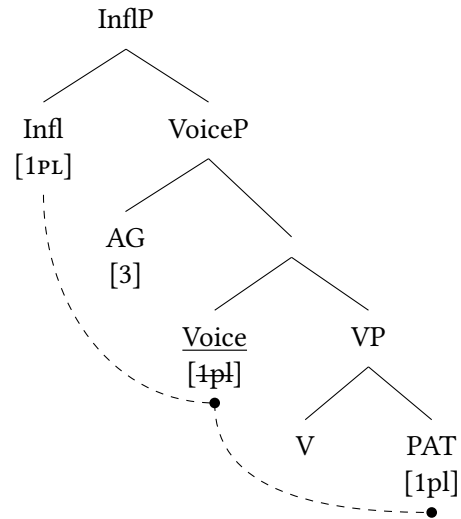
b. *Inverse: More topical third is acted upon by less topical third*

ana mahihkan ki:-wa:pamik wa:poswa.
 ana mahihkan ki:= wa:pam -ikw -w wa:poswa
 that wolf.3SG PAST= see -INV -3SG rabbit.3OBV
 ‘(A) rabbit(s).OBV saw the wolf.’ / ‘The wolf was seen by (a) rabbit(s).OBV.’

(52) Plains Cree 1PL>3 → direct



(53) Plains Cree 3>1PL → inverse



6 Conclusions

- The Chukotkan inverse isn't.
- The paradigm example of inverse also isn't.
- Maybe there are no inverses. Why not?
- From a realizational, as opposed to a classical morpheme-based, perspective, they are complex to state. Maybe too complex?

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