

Conspiracies in Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

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MOWL
13 June 2009

Structure of talk

- Comrie (1980): C-K *ne-* mismatch in form and function
 - formally agreement marker (position)
 - functionally (partial) inverse marker
 - also: inverse function distributed across positions
- Inverse distribution is epiphenomenal.
 - *ne-* is 3 trans agreement
 - deviations due to deletion rules (impoverishment)
 - rules have independent (diachronic) explanations
- no appeal to functional alignment in/of paradigms
- no inverse conspiracy in CK

The issue in a nutshell

(1) The Chukotko-Kamchatkan Verb

Agr-	Md-Tns-(AP)-Stem-(AP)-Tns/Asp	-Agr
Subject (mood)		(intrans) subject (trans) object add'l complexities

The issue in a nutshell

(2) Intransitive prefixes (schematic)

Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
	A-	B-	C-	D-		

The issue in a nutshell

(3) 'expected' transitive prefixes (schematic)

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		C-		D-	
1 pl		*		C-			
2 sg		A-	B-	*			
2 pl				*			
3 sg				C-			
3 pl				C-			

The issue in a nutshell

(4) Actual transitive prefixes (Koryak indicative)

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		special			
1 pl		*					
2 sg		A-	B-	*		ne-	
2 pl	*						
3 sg				C-			
3 pl							

The issue in a nutshell

- (5) Comrie (1980): ne- formally an agreement marker, functionally an inverse
- (6) today: ne- 3rd person (transitive) subject

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		special			
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		A-	B-	*			
3 sg				C-			
3 pl							

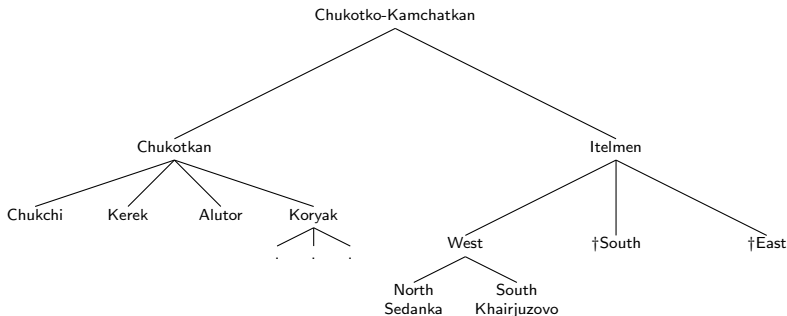
The issue in a nutshell

- (5) Comrie (1980): ne- formally an agreement marker, functionally an inverse
- (6) today: ne- 3rd person (transitive) subject
 - a. special statements needed for precise distribution of ne- on either account
 - b. extension of ne- beyond 3rd person:
Koryak - 2nd person, Itelmen - 1st person
only one of these is inverse
 - c. extension best described via impoverishment rules
 - d. 'inverse' adds little (or nothing) to account beyond (a)
 - e. new diachronic proposal for distrib of ne-

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 - Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics
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 - Prefix Agreement 1
 - Assumptions
 - Analysis - Sedanka
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- 3 Chukchi
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 - 3sg>3
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- 4 Koryak
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- 5 Summary
 - Summary
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Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics

(7) Chukotko-Kamchatkan



Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics

(8) The Chukotko-Kamchatkan Verb

Agr-Md-	Tns-(AP)-Stem-(AP)-Tns/Asp	-Agr
Subject (mood)		(intrans) subject (trans) object add'l complexities

Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics

(9) The Chukotko-Kamchatkan Verb (Itelmen)

a. t'- əlčqu- -(γ)in
 1SG.SUBJ- see -2SG.OBJ

I saw you.

b. t- k'ot- -kičen
 1SG.SUBJ- come -1SG.SUBJ

I came.

Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics

(10) The Chukotko-Kamchatkan Verb (Chukchi)

a. t- re- ʃʔu- -rkən -itək
 1SG.SUBJ- FUT see ASP -2PL.OBJ

I will see you (pl).

b. t- r- ine- βiriŋ- -ərkən
 1SG.SUBJ- FUT AP defend ASP

I will defend (someone).

(Skorik 57, 116)

Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Basics

- 3 persons (no inclusive)
- number: basic singular v non-singular,
- secondary dual/plural in Chukotkan (suffixes)
- 2 or 3 moods, some fusion with prefixes
- Itelmen: no case on subject/object; Chukotkan: ergative
- Agreement alignment - mostly subject/object, not ergative

Prefix agreement 1: Itelmen

(11) Itelmen intransitive prefixes (Sedanka)

Indicative			Irrealis		
	sg	pl		sg	pl
1	t-	nt-	1	m-	mən-
2	∅	∅	2	q-	q-
3	∅	∅	3	xən-	xən-

- 1 (Indic) person: [1] vs [2,3]
- 2 (Irrealis/Imperative): 3-way person contrast, # only in 1 psn
- 3 pattern common to all C-K

Prefix agreement 1: Itelmen

(12) Itelmen transitive prefixes (Sedanka)

Indicative			Irrealis		
	sg	pl		sg	pl
1	t-	nt-	1	m-	mən-
2	∅	∅	2	q-	q-
3	∅	n-	3	xən-	xən-

- 1 3pl transitive subject: n-
- 2 Also impersonal/passive, agreement prefix n- (see end)
- 3 In all C-K, n- includes 3pl trans, but quirky distrib

Prefix agreement 1: Itelmen

(13) Itelmen transitive prefixes (Sedanka)

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		∅			
1 pl		*		∅			
2 sg				*			
2 pl		t-	nt-	*		∅	n-
3 sg				∅			
3 pl				∅			

Prefix Agreement 1: Itelmen

- (14) Assumptions
- Realizational morphology (exponence)
 - 3rd person as default person
 - Impoverishment: neutralization and deletion (cf Nevins)

Person: assumptions

- (15) Person: $[\pm 1, \pm 2]$ (lit. review Bobaljik 2008)
- a. $[+1, +2]$ = inclusive (not relevant to CK)
 - b. $[+1, (-2)]$ = first person
 - c. $[(-1), +2]$ = second person
 - d. $[(-1, -2)]$ = third person (default)

Person: assumptions

- (15) Person: $[\pm 1, \pm 2]$ (lit. review Bobaljik 2008)
- a. $[+1, +2]$ = inclusive (not relevant to CK)
 - b. $[+1, \quad]$ = first person
 - c. $[\quad +2]$ = second person
 - d. $[\quad \quad]$ = third person (default)

Impoverishment

- (16) Impoverishment outcomes (cf. Nevins)
- a. Deletion of feature (node) = \emptyset
 - b. Deletion of (marked) value = unmarked value
(neutralization; Noyer)
- [+PL] \rightarrow [-PL] / context

Itelmen prefixes

(17) Itelmen prefixes (Sedanka)

Irrealis		
	sg	pl
1	m-	mən-
2	q-	q-
3	xən-	xən-

mən-	⇔	[+1 +PL]
m-	⇔	[+1]
q-	⇔	[+2]
xən-	⇔	[]

Itelmen prefixes

(18) Itelmen prefixes (Sedanka)

Indicative		
	sg	pl
1	t-	nt-
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅/n-

nt- ⇔ [+1 +PL]
 t- ⇔ [+1]
 n- ⇔ [-1 -2 +PL]

Impoverish: delete [-1,-2] person, when intransitive (subject)

Itelmen prefixes

(19) Itelmen prefixes (Khairjuzovo)

Indicative		
	sg	pl
1	t-	n-
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅/n-

Itelmen prefixes

(19) Itelmen prefixes (Khairjuzovo)

Indicative		
	sg	pl
1	t-	n-
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅/n-

t- ⇔ [+1]

n- ⇔ [-1 -2 +PL]

Impoverish: delete [-1,-2] person, when intransitive (subject)

Itelmen prefixes

(19) Itelmen prefixes (Khairjuzovo)

Indicative		
	sg	pl
1	t-	n-
2	∅	∅
3	∅	∅/n-

t- ⇔ [+1]

n- ⇔ [-1 -2 +PL]

Impoverish: delete [-1,-2] person, when intransitive (subject)

Impoverish: [+1] → [-1] / PL

Itelmen prefixes

(20) Itelmen prefixes (Khairjuzovo)

Indicative			Irrealis		
	sg	pl		sg	pl
1	t-	n-	1	m-	mən-/xən-
2	∅	∅	2	q-	q-
3	∅	∅/ n-	3	xən-	xən-

1/3 (PL) neutralization extends beyond accidental homophony
Extension modeled by neutralization rule (feature deletion)

Summary (Itelmen)

- In Itelmen (Khair.), extension of n- to 1pl.
- Not natural class with 3pl under inverse model.
- Readily modeled via impoverishment.
- Evidence of syncretism, against accidental homoph: analogical extension of neutralization to irrealis paradigm
- Synchronic/aquisition - would the Itelmen child be tempted to analyze n- as inverse?

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(21) Chukchi Intransitive prefixes

Indicative		Irrealis	
sg	pl	sg	pl
1 t-	mət-	1 m-	mən-
2 Ø	Ø	2 q-	q-
3 Ø	Ø	3 n-	n-

- 1 Intransitive: Identical distribution to Itelmen (some phonological differences)
- 2 Irrealis 3 n- may be mood, i.e., Ø-n-

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(22) Chukchi transitive prefixes

Indicative		Irrealis	
sg	pl	sg	pl
1 t-	mət-	1 m-	mən-
2 Ø	Ø	2 q-	q-
3 Ø/ne-	ne-	3 n-/?ən-	?ən-

- 1 Transitive: Like Itelmen, special 3pl transitive ne-/?ən-
- 2 Special form extends to some 3sg contexts, not all

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(23) Chukchi transitive prefixes

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Table: -ine-, -tku- are (spurious) antipassive (intransitive)

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(23) Why is ne- missing in 3sg > 3 ?

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		SAP			
1 pl		*		SAP			
2 sg				*			ne-
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Table: Chukchi transitive prefixes (indic)

Comrie (1980), Dunn (1999)

(24) Person Hierarchy

a. General: $1 > 2 > 3$

b. CK version: $1 > 2 > 3 \text{ sg} > 3 \text{ pl}$

(25) A clause is inverse iff

a. Object outranks subject on Person Hierarchy

b. Object outranks **or equals** subject on Person Hierarchy

Comrie (1980), Dunn (1999)

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*					
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*			
2 pl				*			
3 sg						=	i
3 pl						d	=

inverse

direct

- Cells marked = are equal on Person Hierarchy
- Two = cases treated differently

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(23) Why is ne- missing in 3sg > 3 ?

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		SAP			
1 pl		*		SAP			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*		ne-	
3 sg				∅		=	i
3 pl						d	=

Table: Chukchi transitive prefixes (indic)

An alternative: -nin bleeds ne- (Halle and Hale, ms)

(23) Why is ne- missing in 3sg > 3 ?

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		SAP			
1 pl		*		SAP			
2 sg				*			ne-
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Table: Chukchi transitive prefixes (indic)

An alternative: -nin bleeds ne- (Halle and Hale, ms)

- (26) Why is ne- missing in 3sg > 3 ?
 Special portmanteau suffix for 3sg > 3

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		SAP			-yəm
1 pl		*		SAP			-mək
2 sg		-yət		*			-yət
2 pl		-tək		*			-tək
3 sg		-(yʔe)n				-nin	-(yʔe)n
3 pl		-net			-tkə	-nin-et	-net

Table: Chukchi transitive suffixes

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(27) ne- missing exactly where 3 subj expressed in suffix

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅		∅	
3 pl				∅			

Is ne- an inverse in Chukchi?

(27) ne- missing exactly where 3 subj expressed in suffix

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅		-nin	
3 pl						-nin-et	

Alternative: ne-nin impoverishment

(28) Bobaljik (2000)

Impoverishment: delete (3sg) subject features at prefix (outer) node, when -nin-(et) at suffix (inner) node

Deletion: predicted outcome = \emptyset

Note: rule is absent in Itelmen. n- prefix co-occurs with -nen portmanteau suffix in plural.

Proposal for diachronic source of rule at end of talk.

Further support

(29) Indicative ne-

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg		t-	mæt-	*		ne-	
2 pl	*						
3 sg				∅	∅		
3 pl							

Further support

(30) Imperative mood: (ne- = ʔə-)

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg				*		ʔə-	
2 pl		m-	mən-	*		ʔə-	
3 sg				q-		∅	
3 pl							

Interim Summary

- The $3 > 3$ contexts provide no evidence for an inverse alignment.
- The distribution of $ne-$ vs. \emptyset (imperative: $ʔə-$ vs \emptyset) is best understood via impoverishment (bleeding by suffix)

The Spurious Antipassive

(31) Spurious Antipassive environments

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku-			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*		ne-	
3 sg				Ø			
3 pl				Ø			

The Spurious Antipassive

(32) The spurious antipassive

Transitive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... -AgrO
Intransitive	Subj		Verb
	ABS		AgrS- ... -AgrS
Antipassive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ABS	OBL	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
SAP	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
		trans syntax	intrans verb morph

The Spurious Antipassive

(32) The spurious antipassive

Transitive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... -AgrO
Intransitive	Subj		Verb
	ABS		AgrS- ... -AgrS
Antipassive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ABS	OBL	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
SAP	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
	trans syntax		intrans verb morph

The Spurious Antipassive

(32) The spurious antipassive

Transitive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... -AgrO
Intransitive	Subj		Verb
	ABS		AgrS- ... -AgrS
Antipassive	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ABS	OBL	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
SAP	Subj	Obj	Verb
	ERG	ABS	AgrS- ... AP ... -AgrS
		trans syntax	intrans verb morph

The Spurious Antipassive

- (33) a. ə-nan γəm Ø-ine-ʈʰu-γʔi
 he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUBJ-**AP**-see-3SG.SUBJ
 'He saw me.'
- b. toɾgə-nan γəm q-ine-imti-tək
 you.PL-ERG I (ABS) 2.SUBJ-**AP**-carry-2PL.SUBJ
 'Carry me!'

The Spurious Antipassive - Analysis

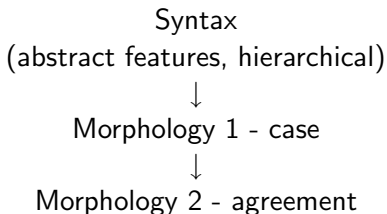
Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) and refs. therein

- Feature deletion: deletion of object features
- Result: derived intransitive verb, only features of subject expressed
- AP as realization of derived intransitive configuration

Alternatives: Spencer (2000), Halle and Hale (ms)

The Spurious Antipassive - Analysis

(34) Architecture (Bobaljik 2008)



The Spurious Antipassive

(35) Regular transitive derivation

3PL	1SG	SEE [3PL > 1SG]
əɾɣə	ɣəm	-ʃʔu-
they	I	-see-
'They saw me.'		

The Spurious Antipassive

(35) Regular transitive derivation

3PL	1SG	SEE [3PL>1SG]	
əɾɣə- nan	ɣəm	-ʃʔu-	case
they. ERG	I (ABS)	-see-	

'They saw me.'

The Spurious Antipassive

(35) Regular transitive derivation

3PL	1SG	SEE [3PL>1SG]	
əɣə-nan	ɣəm	ne--ʈʰu-ɣəm	agreement
they.ERG	I (ABS)	3PL.S--see-1SG.O	

'They saw me.'

The Spurious Antipassive

(36) SAP derivation

3SG	1SG	SEE [3SG>1SG]
ə-	γəm	-ʈʔu-
(s)he	I	-see-
'(S)he saw me.'		

The Spurious Antipassive

(36) SAP derivation

3SG	1SG	SEE [3SG>1SG]	
ə-- nan	γəm	-ʃʔu-	case
(s)he. ERG	I (ABS)	-see-	
'(S)he saw me.'			

The Spurious Antipassive

(36) SAP derivation

3SG	1SG	SEE [3SG> 1SG]	
ə-nan	γəm	ine-ʈʷu-	impov
(s)he.ERG	I (ABS)	-AP-see-	
'(S)he saw me.'			

The Spurious Antipassive

(36) SAP derivation

3SG	1SG	SEE [3SG>1SG]	
ə-nan	γəm	∅-ine-ʔu-γʔi	agreement
(s)he.ERG	I (ABS)	3SG.S-AP-see-3SG.S	
'(S)he saw me.'			

The Spurious Antipassive

(37) SAP environments

- a. *3SG > 1SG -ine- SAP
- b. *2 > 1SG -ine- SAP
- c. *2 > 1PL -tku- SAP lacking in some dial, cf. Koryak

- d. *1,2 > X -ine- SAP Habitual mood only
- e. *3SG > 3 -ine- SAP Habitual mood only

Chukchi: Summary

- ne- is 3 trans subj, except where bled
- \emptyset in 3>3 best described with reference to portmanteau suffix
- SAP bleeds ne- (whether inverse or 3 trans)
- SAP environments are synchronically stipulated.
- function 'inverse' plays no role in synchronic analysis of Chukchi

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(38) Chukchi

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*		-tku			
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				Ø			
3 pl							

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(39) Koryak = Chukchi, minus -tku- SAP

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(40) 3sg > 1sg SAP, as above

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(41) 3sg > 3 bleeding by -nin suffix, as above

	Sub	1	1	2	2	3	3
Obj		sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(42) 2>1pl

	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		-ine-			
1 pl		*					
2 sg				*		ne-	
2 pl		t-	mət-	*			
3 sg				∅			
3 pl							

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(43) Proposal: Impoverishment (neutralization)

subject: [+2] → [-2] / object = [1pl]

cf. Itelmen (Khair): subject [+1] → [-1] / plural

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

- (44) 2=3 neutralization common C (intransitive indicative)
 unrelated to inverse
- (45) Koryak Intransitive inflection (indicative, unmarked Tns)

	Singular		Plural	
	pref	suff	pref	suff
1	t-	-k	mət-	-la-mək
2	∅	-i	∅	-la-tək
3	∅	-i	∅	-la-j

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

- (46) Further evidence for neutralization: suffixes
- Suffixes: object agreement
 - Special 2du/pl subject suffix -tkə (Itel: -sx)
 - only consistent marking of transitive subject in suffix
 - peripheral to regular object suffixes
 - -tkə missing precisely in ne- prefix context

Is ne- an inverse in Koryak?

(47) Further evidence for neutralization: suffixes

Obj	Sub	1 sg	1 pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg	3 pl
1 sg		*		SAP		ne- -γəm	
1 du		*		ne- -mæk			
2 sg		t- -γi	mət- -γi	*		ne- -γi	
2 du		t- -tək	mət- -tək	*		ne- -tək	
3 sg		t- -n	mət- -n	-n	-tkə	-nin	ne- -n
3 du		t- -net	mət- -net	-net			ne- -net

Table: plural affix -la- omitted; Zhukova 252-254

Summary of rules

- (48)
- a. 3sg > 3 -nin bleeds ne- (all Chukotkan)
 - b. -ine- SAP, intrans (all Chukotkan)
 - c. -tku- SAP, intrans (Chukchi only)
 - d. subject: [+2] → [-2] / object = [1pl] (Kor)
 - e. subject [+1] → [-1] / plural (Itl Kh)
- positing 'inverse' alignment explains only d.
 - but d. better explained as neutralization (cf suffixes)

On the origin of ne-

(49) Itelmen 3 person finite constructions:

a. Active

Subject	Object	Agr-verb-Agr
∅	∅	subj-verb-obj

b. Impersonal / Passive

Subject	Object	n-verb-Agr
LOC/INSTR	∅	n-verb-obj

On the origin of ne-

- (50) tsxal-enk miɬ iʔ . . . n-yil-čen
fox-LOC all water . . . IMP-drink-3SG.OBJ
All the water in the little lake was drunk by the fox. [AS:3]

On the origin of ne-

- (51) Itelmen 'passive' / active verb forms homophonous
- 3 pl subject (1,2 object)
 - non-finite tenses (participial, narrative forms)

On the origin of ne-

(52) Itelmen 3pl subject (high animate)

- a. sillatumx-eʔn kəmma n-anʲčp-miŋ
brother-PL me 3PL-teach-1SG.OBJ
- b. sillatumx-eʔn-k kəmma n-anʲčp-miŋ
brother-PL-LOC me PASS-teach-1SG.OBJ

The brothers taught me.

Volodin 1976:270, wd. order altered

On the origin of ne-

(52) Itelmen 3pl subject (high animate)

- a. kəmma n-an^jčp-miŋ
 me 3PL-teach-1SG.OBJ
- b. kəmma n-an^jčp-miŋ
 me PASS-teach-1SG.OBJ

They taught me.

On the origin of ne-

- (53) Itelmen 'passive' as origin of Chukotkan ergative (Fortescue 1997, etc)
- Agent (higher) animate = locative
 - Agent inanimate = instrumental
 - Chukotkan: innovation of distinct ERG for pronouns, possibly from genitive

On the origin of ne-

(54) Itelmen 3pl logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	n-...-βum	
1pl	n-...-βuʔm	
2sg	n-...-(γ)in	
2pl	n-...-sxen	
3sg	n-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	n-...-neʔn	n-...-čeʔn

n- prefix in all forms

On the origin of ne-

(55) Itelmen 3sg logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	∅-...-βum	n-...-βum
1pl	∅-...-βuʔm	n-...-βuʔm
2sg	∅-...-(γ)in	n-...-(γ)in
2pl	∅-...-sxen	n-...-sxen
3sg	∅-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	∅-...-neʔn	n-...-čeʔn

n- prefix appears optional in 1,2 object

On the origin of ne-

(55) Itelmen 3sg logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	(n-)...-βum	
1pl	(n-)...-βuʔm	
2sg	(n-)...-(γ)in	
2pl	(n-)...-sxen	
3sg	∅-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	∅-...-neʔn	n-...-čeʔn

n- prefix appears optional in 1,2 object

On the origin of ne-

(55) Itelmen 3sg logical subject

object	active	passive
1sg	(n-)...-βum	
1pl	(n-)...-βuʔm	
2sg	(n-)...-(γ)in	
2pl	(n-)...-sxen	
3sg	∅-...-nen	n-...-čen
3pl	∅-...-neʔn	n-...-čeʔn

n- prefix absent for 3sg subject, -nen suffix

On the origin of ne-

(56) Itelmen 3g subject (animate)

- a. $min^j\downarrow$ ənk-čiq-nen
 hare catch-II-3SG>3SG
- b. $min^j\downarrow$ n-ənk-ki-čen
 hare PASS-catch-II-3SG.OBJ

It caught the hare.

On the origin of ne-

- (57) Summary (Sedanka Itelmen)
- n- occurs with all 3psn subjects (either as passive or 3 plural),
 - except* 3sg subject, with -ne(?)n suffix (active)

On the origin of ne-

(57) Summary (Sedanka Itelmen)

- a. n- occurs with all 3psn subjects (either as passive or 3 plural),
- b. *except* 3sg subject, with -ne(?)n suffix (active)

(58) = Chukchi

- a. ne- occurs with all 3psn subjects (sg or pl),
- b. *except* 3sg subject, with -nin(-et) suffix

Conclusions

- Comrie (1980): *ne-* mismatch in form and function
 - formally agreement marker (position)
 - functionally (partial) inverse marker
- Inverse distribution is epiphenomenal.
 - *ne-* is 3 trans agreement
 - deviations due to deletion rules (impoverishment)
 - rules have independent (diachronic) explanations
- no appeal to functional alignment in/of paradigms
- no inverse conspiracy in CK