

3 Valency-changing derivation in Central Alaskan Yup'ik

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Central Alaskan Yup'ik is a language of the Eskimo-Aleut family, spoken in southwestern Alaska by over 10,000 people. Like other languages in the family, Yup'ik has much to contribute to the study of valency-changing derivation, particularly because of its explicit specification of grammatical relations and its wealth of valency-changing devices. The roles of participants in events and states are distinguished both by case suffixes on nouns and by pronominal suffixes on verbs. The language is highly polysynthetic, with hundreds of derivational suffixes, many of which affect argument structure. The rich inventory of valency-changing devices provides a fruitful basis for cross-linguistic comparison, showing us ways in which such devices can vary in their semantic, syntactic and discourse effects.

The basic grammatical structures of the Eskimoan languages are well understood, thanks to pioneering work on Greenlandic by Egede (1750, 1760), Kleinschmidt (1851), and many others working with Eskimo-Aleut languages since that time. Fine descriptions of Yup'ik are now available, especially Woodbury (1981), Jacobson (1984, 1995), Miyaoka (1984, 1987, 1996 and 1997) and Reed, Miyaoka, Jacobson, Afcan and Krauss (1977). These works have proven invaluable in the investigation of the structures discussed here. Additional studies are in Mithun (1996). Material cited in the present work comes primarily from conversations among members of the Charles family and their friends of Bethel, Alaska, especially Nick Charles (NC), Elena Charles (EC), George Charles (GC) and Elizabeth Charles Ali (EA).

1 Basic morphological structure

Yup'ik words are classified as either uninflected (particles) or inflected (nouns and verbs). Inflected words have a straightforward internal structure: an

initial root (traditionally termed a base by Eskimologists), any number of derivational suffixes (termed postbases) and a final inflectional suffix complex (termed an ending).

root base	(derivational suffixes) (postbases)	inflectional suffixes ending
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nouns and verbs: internal structure

On nouns, the inflectional ending encodes number, case, and identification of the possessor if there is one. Singular, dual and plural number are distinguished; 1st, 2nd, 3rd and coreferential person for possessors; and seven cases: absolutive (unmarked), ergative (which also serves as the genitive), ablative ('from, about'), allative ('to, towards'), locative ('in, at'), vialis ('through' and instrumental 'with') and aequalis ('like').

- (1) Some sample nouns¹
- | | | | |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------------|
| qayaq | qayak | qayarmi | qayacetun |
| qayar | qayar-k | qayar-mi | qayar-cetun |
| kayak | kayak-du | kayak-LOC | kayak-pl.VIALIS |
| kayak | two kayaks | in a kayak | with kayaks |

Nouns may be derivationally complex.

- (2) Derived noun
kipusviliurtet
kipute-vik-liur-ta-t
buy-LOCATIVE.NOMINALIZER-be.occupied.with-AGENTIVE.NOMINALIZER-pl
storekeepers (lit. those who take care of the store)

Possession is shown by a transitive pronominal suffix referring to the possessor and the possessed.

¹ The transcription used here is the practical orthography developed by the Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks, Alaska. Stops are plain: *p*, *t*, *c* (= [č]), *k*, *q*. There is a series of voiced fricatives *v*, *s* = [z], *l*, *y*, *g* = [ɣ], *ug* = [ɣ^w], *r* = [ʁ], *ur* = [ʁ^w], and a series of voiceless fricatives *vv* = [f], *ss* = [s], *ll* = [l], *gg* = [x], *w* = [x^w], *rr* = [x], *urr* = [x^w]. Nasals are *m*, *n*, *ng* = [ŋ]. There are three prime vowels *i*, *a*, *u*, and schwa, spelled *e*. Following consonants the apostrophe (') usually indicates gemination, as in *Yup'ik*. In line one of the examples, the orthographic hyphen (-) separates enclitics. In line two, a hyphen separates suffixes and the equals sign (=) separates enclitics.

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- (3) Possessive suffixes
 qayaqa
 qayar-ka
 kayak-1sg/3sg
 my kayak

 iqvallerminek
 iqvar-ller-minek
 pick.berries-PAST.NOMINALIZER-R/3pl.ABLATIVE
 from her picked berries (lit. [she made it] from the berries she had picked)

On verbs, the inflectional ending contains a mood marker and pronominal suffix. The moods include an indicative, interrogative, optative, participial, subordinative and a set of connectives that link subordinate clauses: past contemporative ('when' in the past), contemporative ('while'), precessive ('before'), concessive ('whenever'), contingent ('whenever'), consequential ('because') and a conditional ('if, when in the future'). For each mood there is a pronominal suffix paradigm that specifies the core arguments of the clause, one for intransitives, two for transitives. Four persons are distinguished (1st, 2nd, 3rd, and co-referential or extended reflexive) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural). There is no gender distinction. The pronominal suffixes are now fused complexes, but within the pronominal paradigms for some moods (indicative, participial), traces of an absolutive category can be perceived, while within the paradigms for others (subordinative, the connectives), traces of a subject category can be discerned. Examples of verb morphology can be seen in (4).

- (4) Sample verbs: GC, EA, EC
 (a) aqumetullruuq
 aqume-tu-llru-u-q
 sit-customarily-PAST-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
 He would sit
 (b) tangerrsuumiitamken
 tangerr-yuumiite-a-mken
 see-not.want-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-1sg/2sg
 I do not want to see you
 (c) aguumarlinrilkumeng-llu
 aguumar-li-nrite-ku-meng=llu
 basket-make-not-CONDITIONAL-R.pl=and
 and if they themselves did not make baskets

2 Stem types

The transitivity of every verb is clear from its pronominal suffixes. Verb stems fall into three transitivity classes: intransitive only (inflectable only as

intransitives), transitive only (inflectable only as transitives) and ambitransitive (inflectable either way).

- (5) Intransitive only
 amllertuq
 amller-tu-q
 be.much-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
It is a lot

amirlu-	'be cloudy'	malri-	'give birth to twins'
ayarr'ar-	'tell a string story'	naku-	'be cross-eyed'
elrir-	'hold a feast'	uar-	'yelp'
kaig-	'be hungry'	uite-	'open one's eyes, bloom'
kuvviar-	'drink coffee'	qakete-	'resubmerge after coming to the surface (fish, seal)'
mallu-	'find a beached carcass'	qamigar-	'go seal-hunting with small sled and kayak in spring'
panger-	'paddle with a double-bladed paddle'		

 (6) Transitive only
 eguaquraa
 eguaqur-a-a
 persuade-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
She persuaded him

allurte-	'take something from'	kelucar-	'lock'
egte-	'throw (usually away)'	nalug-	'hoist'
equg-	'carry on shoulder'	takar-	'be intimidated by'
kamak-	'suspect someone'	ullag-	'approach'
naive-	'pour from one container to another'	paqrute-	'discover missing (implying taken without permission)'
qacarte-	'hit or slap with the hand, blow against (of wind)'	qamite-	'give something to take along on a journey to'
tapir-	'give something along with'	uskurar-	'harness'

 (7) Ambitransitive: ige- 'to swallow'
 ig'uq
 ige-u-q
 swallow-INDIC.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
She swallowed

igaa	
ige-a-a	
swallow-INDIC.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg	
<u>She swallowed it</u>	

The ambitransitives fall into two subclasses, termed 'agentive' and 'patientive' ambivalents or ambitransitives. With agentive ambitransitives, the single argument of the intransitive is agentive; it corresponds to the ergative argument of the transitive.

- (8) Agentive ambitransitives: akqe- 'promise'
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| akqua | | akqaqa | |
| akqe-u-a | | akqe-ar-ka | |
| promise-INDIC.INTRANSITIVE-1sg | | promise-INDIC.TRANSITIVE-1sg/3sg | |
| I promised | | I promised him | |
| amllir- | 'step over (something)' | makete- | 'get up; set (something) upright' |
| anger- | 'agree (with)' | | |
| callug- | 'fight (with)' | naqe- | 'ooze (on)' |
| callur- | 'be too big (for)' | pai- | 'stay behind; babysit for' |
| kaaleg- | 'rummage (through)' | qakvar- | 'win; beat' |
| kanar- | 'emerge from woods down to body of water; emerge at' | kagi- | 'sweep (something)' |
| | | yuu- | 'disembark; remove (net, snare), take off (clothing)' |

With patientive ambitransitives, the single argument of the intransitive corresponds to the absolutive of the transitive. It thus tends to be a semantic patient.

- (9) Patientive ambitransitives: cagte- 'scatter, spread out, be in disarray'
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| cagtuq | | cagtaqa | |
| cagte-u-q | | cagte-ar-ka | |
| scatter-INDIC.INTRANSITIVE-3sg | | scatter-INDIC.TRANSITIVE-1sg/3sg | |
| it is spread out, in disarray | | I am spreading it out | |
| akag- | 'roll (something)' | mecir- | 'be soaked; soak' |
| akngirte- | 'get hurt; hurt' | nalke- | 'be found; find' |
| alleg- | 'get torn; tear (something)' | tallegte- | 'get scratched; scratch' |
| amu- | 'come out; extract' | tamar- | 'be lost; lose, misplace' |
| egua- | 'burn (something)' | palarte- | 'not get; not give enough' |
| kape- | 'get stabbed; stab, poke, inoculate' | qacu- | 'be loose, wrinkled; gather (cloth), wrinkle' |
| passi- | 'get squashed; smash flat' | | |

There are never more than two core arguments in a verb. When a beneficiary is involved in an event, it is often coded as the absolutive, as in *cikir-* 'give' and *payugte-* 'bring food to':

- (10) *cikir-* 'give': EA
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| wani-wa, | carrakuinegmek | | <i>cikirciqamken</i> |
| wani=wa | ca-rraq-kuineg-mek | | <i>cikir-ciqe-a-mken</i> |
| here=EMPH | thing-little.bit-small.amount-ABL | give-FUT-INDIC.TR-1sg/2sg | |
| All right, I (ERGATIVE) | will give YOU (ABSOLUTIVE) | a little bit (ABLATIVE) | |
- (11) *payugte-* 'bring food to': EA
- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| taukunek | payugeskii, | apa'urluni |
| tau-kunek | payugte-ke-ii | apa-urluq-ni |
| that-pl.ABL | bring.food-PART.TR-3sg/3sg | grandpa-dear-3sg/3sg |
| <u>She</u> (ERGATIVE) | brought those things to | <u>her dear grandfather</u> (ABSOLUTIVE) |

The semantic patient appears as an ablative (oblique), as can be seen in both (10) and (11). Other verbs with beneficiaries as absolutives include *aruqe-* 'to distribute gifts or shares of a catch' (*aruqai* 'he is distributing (things) to them'), *qamite-* 'to give something to take along on a journey' (*qamitaa* 'he gave her something to take along') and *apete-* 'to inquire, ask a question' (*aptaa* 'he asked her'). But beneficiaries need not always be coded as core arguments. The language offers extensive lexical and derivational alternatives. Other verbs cast the patient (object given/shown) as the absolutive, such as *mani-* 'show, display, put out on view, put on the stove', (*maniq* 'she put it out, put it on the stove'), *nasvag-* 'show, display' (*nasvagaq* 'she is showing it'), and *apetur-* 'show, point out' (*aperturaq* 'she pointed it out'), in contrast with the derived *apertuute-* 'show, point out to' (*apertuutaq* 'she pointed something out to him').

3 Valency-reducing derivation

Within its derivational morphology, Yup'ik contains several devices for reducing valency. Some permit the omission of the agent from the set of core arguments, a typical function of passives. Others permit the omission of patients, a typical function of antipassives.

3.1 Agent omission

As seen in the previous section, Yup'ik contains a simple device for eliminating the agent from the set of core arguments. The verbs called patientive ambitransitives, such as *katag-* 'drop', may be inflected as intransitives. The single argument of the intransitive is the semantic patient: 'fall'. A comparison of the transitive and intransitive forms of 'drop/fall' can be seen in (12) and (13).

- (12) Transitive inflection of *katag-* 'drop': EA
- | | | | | |
|--|-------------|----------|--------------------|-------------|
| iggluni | taukut-llu | atsat, | <i>katagluki-</i> | tamalkuita |
| igte-lu-ni | tau-kut=llu | atsar-t | <i>katag-lu-ki</i> | tamalkur-it |
| fall-SUB-3sg | that-pl=and | fruit-pl | fall.off-SUB-R/3pl | all-3pl |
| <u>He</u> fell (off of his bicycle) and lost <u>all of the fruit</u> | | | | |
- (13) Intransitive inflection of *katag-* 'fall': EA
- | |
|---|
| katalliniug |
| katag-llini-u-q |
| fall.out-apparently-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3pl |
| <u>They</u> must have fallen out |

Of course omission of the agent by inflection alone can be accomplished only with patientive ambitransitives. Yup'ik also contains derivational devices

that can exclude agents from the core. Two suffixes in particular, *-cir-* and *-ma-*, appear to be passive in function.

- (14) Passive-like suffixes
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>-cir-</i> | tegleg- | 'to steal' | |
| | telegaa | 'he stole it' | TRANSITIVE |
| | telegcirtuq | 'it got stolen' | INTRANSITIVE |
| <i>-ma-</i> | ini- | 'to hang out to dry' | |
| | inia | 'she hung it' | TRANSITIVE |
| | inimauq | 'it's been hung' | INTRANSITIVE |

The suffix *-cir-* (with phonologically conditioned alternants *-sciur-*, *-scir-* and *-ciur-*) can be seen in (15). As a boat was being loaded in a rush, it tipped. Water in the bottom got onto the bedding and soaked it. A comparison of this verb with the basic form *mecunguq* 'it is wet', shows that the *-cir-* form does imply that the state of wetness resulted from an earlier event:

- (15) Suffix *-cir-*: EA
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| mecungcirtuq | cf. mecunguq |
| mecungecir-tu-q | mecunge-u-q |
| be.soaked-ADVERSATIVE- | be.soaked- |
| INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg | INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3SG |
| It was caused to get wet | It is wet |

A survey of the uses of *-cir-* indicates that it consistently carries an adversative meaning. As noted by Shibatani (1996) and others, this is a common though by no means necessary feature of many passives. In fact, it is the valency-changing effect of the suffix seen in (15) that is not a necessary element of its function. The example in (16) was used when someone had allowed the fish to become damp. Both the original verb base and the derived verb are intransitive, with the semantic patient as absolutive. There was thus no change in argument structure.

- (16) Adversative *-cir-*: EA
- | | |
|--|---|
| neqerrluk | yukucirtuq |
| neqe-rrluk | yuku-cir-tu-q |
| fish-departed.from.natural.state | be.mouldy-get-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg |
| That beautiful piece of dry fish (ABSOLUTIVE) got mouldy | |

If an agent is mentioned in such constructions, it is expressed in the allative (oblique) case. (Jacobson 1995 notes that in some areas, the ablative is used for this purpose.)

- (17) Oblique agent: EA (elicited)
- | | |
|---|--------------|
| neresciurtuq | qimugtemun |
| nere-sciur-tu-q | qimugte-mun |
| eat-get-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg | dog-ALLATIVE |
| It (ABSOLUTIVE) got eaten by a dog (ALLATIVE) | |

The second suffix with passive-like meaning is *-ma-* (with phonologically conditioned alternants *-uma-*, *-ima-* and *-nga-*). It may be attached to verbs of all transitivity types. On transitive-only stems, it derives an intransitive with just a patient argument, as might be expected of a passive.

- (18) *-ma-* on transitive-only stem
- | | |
|-----------|----------------|
| meleg- | 'to close' |
| melgaa | 'he closed it' |
| melgumauq | 'it is closed' |

The suffix *-ma-* may also be attached to ambitransitive stems. Here the pattern is slightly more unexpected. On agentive ambitransitives, the derived intransitive may have either an agent argument, as on the left below in (19), or a patient argument, as on the right.

- (19) *-ma-* on agentive ambitransitive stem
- | | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------|---------------------|
| nere- | 'to eat' | | |
| ner'uq | 'he ate' | neraa | 'he ate it' |
| nerumauq | 'he has eaten' | nerumauq | 'it has been eaten' |

On patientive ambitransitives, the derived intransitive always has a patient argument.

- (20) *-ma-* on patientive ambitransitive stem
- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| kitugte- | 'to repair' | | |
| kitugtuq | 'it is fixed' | kitugtaa | 'he fixed it' |
| kitugngauq | 'it is fixed' | kitugngauq | 'it is fixed' |

The suffix *-ma-* may also be attached to intransitive-only stems. The argument of the derived intransitive is the same as that of the base stem, semantic agent or patient.

- (21) *-ma-* on intransitive-only stems
- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------|----------|--------------|
| ayag- | 'to leave, go' | tuqu- | 'to die' |
| ayagtuq | 'he left' | tuquuq | 'it died' |
| ayaumauq | 'he has left, is gone' | tuqumauq | 'it is dead' |

The pattern is not actually as complex as it first appears. In all derivations, the absolutive argument of the base is the absolutive of the derived intransitive. But what of the agentive ambitransitives, such as 'eat', for which the

derived intransitive may be either the eater or the food eaten? As Jacobson points out (1995), the two possibilities result from the ambitransitive status of these stems. They have both agentive intransitive forms (*ner'uq* 'he ate') and transitive forms (*neraa* 'he ate it'). If the base of the derivation is assumed to be the intransitive form, the pattern matches that of 'leave', and the absolutive ('he') of the base remains the absolutive of the derived intransitive ('he ate' → 'he has eaten'). If the base of the derivation is assumed to be the transitive form, the pattern matches that of 'close', and again the original absolutive is retained as the absolutive of the derived intransitive ('he ate it' → 'it has been eaten').

There has been considerable discussion in the literature on the primary function of passives cross-linguistically, whether it is best viewed as the demotion of an agent, the promotion of a patient, or a focus on the state resulting from an action. An examination of the usage of Yup'ik *-ma-* shows that it has only this third function: it focusses on the lasting resultant state of the most significantly involved participant, the absolutive. It may or may not alter argument structure. It is thus a resultative, in the sense of Nedjalkov (1988). Like the adversative *-cir-*, it denotes the result of an action, rather than an inherent condition. The verb in (22) for example, built on the base *essagte-* 'scatter', was appropriate for beads spilt by someone knocking over a jar, but it would not be used for rocks found here and there on a hillside.

- (22) Resultant state: EA
 essagte- 'to scatter'
 essagtuq 'they are scattered'
 essagcimaut 'they (beads) are scattered'

In fact, the only semantic contribution of the suffix *-ma-* may be an emphasis on the enduring time of the resultant state. Mrs Ali recounted that, while waiting at the airport, she became so engrossed in her reading that she failed to hear the announcement of her flight. She exclaimed:

- (23) Length of state: EA
 nanikuayartua uitaumalua
 nanikuqa-yar-tu-a uita-uma-lu-a
 be.distressed-would-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-1sg stay-STATIVE-SUB-1sg
 misvigmi
 mit'e-vig-mi
 alight-place-LOC
 I would have been distressed at having to stay a long time at the airport

As she viewed masks that had been collected by early Moravian missionaries and sent to Europe, she mused:

- (24) Length of state: EA
 cataicimalliniut kegginaguat
 cataite-ima-llini-u-t kegginagur-et
 be.absent-STATIVE-apparently-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3pl mask-pl
 The masks were apparently out there .
 avani nunani yaaqvani
 ava-ni nuna-ni yaaqva-ni
 over.there-LOC land-LOC area.far.away-LOC
 in some indefinite place for a long, long time

As can be seen, though both *-cir-* and *-ma-* might seem at first to function as passives, in many cases converting a transitive stem into an intransitive with just a patient, neither suffix serves the full range of functions expected of prototypical passives. Both imply an event leading up to the resultant state predicated, but neither necessarily produces a change in argument structure. For this reason, neither is heavily utilized for syntactic or discourse functions. The primary function of the suffix *-cir-* is to focus on the adversity of a resultant state, and that of the suffix *-ma-* is to focus on its lasting effect. The fact that their specific functions are distinct is confirmed by their ability to co-occur within a single verb. The sentence in (25) was uttered by a speaker who had been away travelling for some time. She returned home to find that all of her dance wands (drumsticks) had been broken. The suffix *-cir-* emphasizes the adversity, and the suffix *-ma-* emphasizes the time that had elapsed since the breaking.

- (25) Combination of adversative and lasting effect: EA
 ayemcirtumaut
 ayem-cir-te-uma-u-t
 snap-get-CAUSATIVE-STATIVE-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3pl
 They're all broken!

It should be noted that the various Eskimo-Aleut languages apparently show different patterns in their uses of passive morphology (Tony Woodbury, p.c.; Fortescue 1984: 265–8 on Greenlandic; and others). Comparison of grammars of the modern languages suggests that they differ both in the forms of the derivational suffixes and in their functions.

3.2 Patient omission

Yup'ik also contains several devices for eliminating semantic patients from the set of core arguments of the clause, a function often termed 'antipassive'. A reduction in valency may be accomplished by inflection alone. Agentive ambitransitive verbs like *kitur-* 'to pass (someone/something)' may simply be inflected intransitively, with no mention of the person or object passed.

- (26) Intransitive inflection of agentive ambitransitive
- | | | |
|----------|------------------------|--------------|
| kitur- | 'to pass' | |
| kituraa | 'he passed him/her/it' | TRANSITIVE |
| kiturtuq | 'he passed by' | INTRANSITIVE |

Examples of the use of the transitive and intransitive counterparts can be seen in (27) and (28) respectively.

- (27) Transitive inflection: EA
- | | | |
|--------------------|--|----------------------|
| ayaginanerani-am | | una nasaurlyyagaq |
| ayag-inaner-ani=am | | una nasaur-lur-yagar |
- leave-PAST.CONTEMPORATIVE-3sg=EMPHATIC this girl-little
kitukij
kitur-ke-ij
pass-PART.TRANS-3sg/3sg
As he was going, he passed a little girl
- (28) Intransitive inflection: EA
- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| una mikelnguq kitulria | |
| una mikelnguq kitur-lria | |
- this child pass-PART.INTRANSITIVE.3sg
A child passed by

This pattern of excluding semantic patients from the core by inflection serves an important discourse function in Yup'ik. In Yup'ik, as in a number of ergative languages, there is a grammatical requirement that absolutive arguments of transitives be identifiable (essentially definite; Mithun 1994). Unidentifiable (indefinite) semantic patients must be cast as obliques. In Yup'ik, the oblique category used for this purpose is the ablative. (The Eskimoan languages differ in this area.) An example of a nonspecific indefinite semantic patient can be seen in (29). It is not represented in the pronominal suffix on the verb, since it is not a core argument. The noun carries the ablative plural case suffix *-nek*.

- (29) Oblique indefinite patient: EA
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| niitaqluteng | cali yugnek |
| niite-aqe-lu-teng | cali yug- <u>nek</u> |
- hear-repeatedly-SUB-3pl and person-pl.ABLATIVE
And they (ABSOLUTIVE) would hear people (ABLATIVE)

The noun 'small bird' in (30) is specific but still indefinite. It carries the ablative singular suffix *-mek* and is also not represented in the pronominal suffix complex *-tek* 'they two'.

- (30) Oblique indefinite patient: GC
- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------|
| yaqulcuarmek-llu-gguq, | pitellinilutek | taukuk |
| yaqulek-cuar-mek=llu-gguq | pite-llini-lu-tek | tau-kuk |
- bird-little-ABLATIVE=also=HEARSAY catch.game-apparently-SUB-3du that-du
And it seems they (ABSOLUTIVE) must have caught a small bird (ABLATIVE)

Sentential complements are not sufficiently definite to be cast as core arguments.

- (31) Oblique sentential complement: EA
- | | |
|---------------------|--------|
| Maaten tangerrtuq, | iliit |
| maaten tangerr-tu-q | ila-it |
- suddenly see-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg one.of-3sg/pl
issratet cataunani
issrate-t cataite-na-ni
basket-pl absent-SUB-3sg
Suddenly he (ABSOLUTIVE) noticed (INTRANSITIVE) [that one of the baskets was gone]

Once introduced, participants are immediately eligible for absolutive status. In (32), the pears were indefinite when they were first introduced into the discourse ('this man was picking pears'), so they appeared in the ablative case. As soon as they were introduced, however, they could be considered definite, and so were eligible for absolutive status ('putting them into a basket, arranging them carefully').

- (32) Shift to identifiable and core status: EA
- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| ciungani-gguq | una angun, napami, atsane <u>k</u> |
| ciu-ngani-gguq | una angute napa-mi atsar- <u>nek</u> |
- front-3sg/3sg.LOC=HEARSAY this man tree-LOC fruit-pl.ABLATIVE
In the beginning this man, in a tree,
- | | | |
|------------|------------------------|-------------|
| iqvalria, | atsarpagne <u>k</u> , | issramun |
| iqvar-lria | atsar-rpag- <u>nek</u> | issrate-mun |
- pick-PART.INTRANSITIVE.3sg fruit-very.large-pl.ABLATIVE basket-ALLATIVE
was picking pears (ABLATIVE), large pears (ABLATIVE),
- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| elliluki, | pinqeggcarluki |
| elli-lu-ki | pinqegg-car-lu-ki |
- put-SUB-R/3pl neat-try-SUB-R/3pl
putting them (ABSOLUTIVE) into a basket, arranging them (ABSOLUTIVE) carefully

Because of the grammatical restriction against indefinite absolutes, most transitive stems, particularly those that might co-occur with indefinite patients in discourse, have some intransitive counterpart. As we saw above,

agentive ambitransitives like 'pass by' may simply be inflected intransitively for this purpose. But transitive-only stems have no intransitive counterparts.

- (33) Transitive only
 ikayur- 'to help'
 ikayuraa 'he is helping her' TRANSITIVE
 (no *ikayurtuq)

The patientive ambitransitives, such as 'cut fish for drying', do have intransitive counterparts, but their single argument is the semantic patient, the very participant that should be excluded from the core by an antipassive.

- (34) Intransitive inflection of patientive ambitransitive
 ulligte- 'to cut fish for drying in the traditional manner'
 ulligtaa 'she cut it for drying' TRANSITIVE
 ulligtuq 'it is cut for drying' INTRANSITIVE

Yet it would seem that speakers would want to use verbs such as these with indefinite semantic patients as well, in order to say such things as 'she's helping out' or 'she cut things'.

Such expressions are made possible by two derivational detransitivizers, *-(u)te-* and *-(g)i-*, originally termed by Kleinschmidt 'half transitives'. They function as derivational antipassives, eliminating the semantic patient from the set of core arguments.

- (35) Derivational detransitivizers *-(u)te-*, *-(g)i-*
 ikayur- 'to help'
 ikayuraa 'she helped him' TRANSITIVE ONLY
 ikayuut-uq 'she is helping out' DERIVED INTRANSITIVE
 ulligte- 'to cut fish for drying' PATIENTIVE TRANSITIVE
 ulligt-aa 'she cut it (the fish)' TRANSITIVE
 ulligci-uq 'she cut fish for drying' DERIVED INTRANSITIVE

Use of the first detransitivizer with another transitive-only base can be seen in (36).

- (36) Detransitivized transitive-only
 tegu- 'to take'
 - (no basic intransitive *teguuq)
 tegua 'he took it'
 tegutuq 'he took (something)'

Use of the second detransitivizer with another patientive ambitransitive can be seen in (37).

- (37) Detransitivized patientive ambitransitive: GC
 camiliini tuai maurluqa
 camiliini tuai maurluq-ka
 sometimes and grandmother-1sg/3sg
 And sometimes my grandmother
 ulligcinaurtuq
 ulligte-i-naur-tu-q
 cut.fish-DETRANSTIVIZER-HAB-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
 luqruiyanek
 luqruiyag-nek [. . .]
 pike-pl.ABL
 would cut up pike [and make Eskimo ice cream]

The diachronic source of these two detransitivizers is interesting. Jacobson (1984: 453) traces *-(u)te-* to a benefactive and *-(g)i-* to a malefactive. In transitive benefactive constructions, the benefactor appears in the ergative case and the beneficiary in the absolutive.

- (38) Benefactive *-ute-*
 quuyurnitaa
 quuyurni-ute-a-a
 smile-BENEFACTIVE-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 He (ERGATIVE) is smiling at her (ABSOLUTIVE)

In malefactive transitives, the ergative argument acts to the disadvantage of the absolutive.

- (39) Transitive malefactive (Jacobson 1995: 134):
 qimugtem nerja angun
 qimugte-m nere-i-a-a angun
 dog-ERGATIVE eat-MALEFACTIVE-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg man
 akutamek
 akutar-mek
 mixture-ABLATIVE
 The dog (ERGATIVE) ate some dried fish on the man (ABSOLUTIVE) (ate the man's fish)

It might be wondered how applicative morphemes like the benefactive and malefactive, whose primary function is to increase the valency of a stem, could evolve into detransitivizers. The evolution is explicable in terms of the Yup'ik transitivity classes. The applicatives can derive agentive ambitransitives. When the agentive ambitransitives are inflected intransitively, they leave just an agent absolutive as the only core argument. This result is the essence of antipassivation. Thus for the basic transitive-only root *ikayur-* 'help', there can be no intransitive inflection, but benefactive derivation can yield an

agentive ambitransitive: *ikayur-ute-* → *ikayuute-* 'help to the benefit of'. The derived stem can then be inflected intransitively, leaving the helper as the only core argument: *ikayuutuq* 'she is helping out', the desired result. Some semantic motivation can be imagined behind the alternation of the benefactive and malefactive suffixes in this function: helping is usually to the benefit of someone, while cutting up fish is to the detriment of the fish. In general, however, the alternation between the two suffixes in this function is now a lexical matter, not necessarily semantically transparent.

4 Valency-increasing derivation

Yup'ik contains an extensive set of valency-increasing suffixes. Some are common cross-linguistically, such as the causatives, and some are less common, as will be seen. The Yup'ik causative system is somewhat unusual in its elaboration and its pervasive syntactic use.

4.1 Causatives

A number of causatives are built into the lexicon. Many patientive ambitransitives show a causative relationship between their intransitive and transitive forms, such as *akngirte-* 'get hurt', 'hurt someone'. Causation is automatically indicated by the transitive inflection.

(40)	Causative patientive ambitransitive	
	akngirte-	'to get hurt (INTR), to hurt someone (TR)'
	akngirt-uq	'he got hurt' INTRANSITIVE
	akngirt-aa	'he hurt her' TRANSITIVE

There is also a substantial set of derivational causatives, most with slightly specialized meanings. The nature of the differences among them is not what might be expected, in that they often do not distinguish the degree of compulsion involved.

(41)	Derivational causatives	
	-vkar-/-cete-	'let, allow, permit, cause, compel'
	-te-	'let, allow, cause, compel'
	-nar-	'cause'
	-rqe-	'intentionally or deliberately cause'
	-cetaar-	'try to cause'
	-narqe-	'tend to cause'
	-naite-	'tend not to cause'
	-cir-	'let, wait for, make'
	-(r/l)i-	'become or cause to become'

The most general causative has phonologically conditioned variants *-vkar-*/*-cete-* (*-vkar-* after vowels, *-cete-* after consonants). It is used for a full range of causation, from allowing to compelling. All of the causatives appear on both intransitive and transitive bases.

- (42) 'permit': EC
 alularcecungramku
 alular-cet-yug-ngrar-mku [. . .]
 operate.motor-permit-want-CONCESSIVE-1sg/3sg
 Even if I wanted to let him to operate the motor [Daddy would not ask him]
- (43) 'invite': EA
 nerevkarluki-llu tamalkuita yuut
 nere-vkar-lu-ki=llu tamalkuita yug-et
 eat-cause-SUB-R/3pl=too all person-pl
 and they gave a feast for everyone (lit. And they made everyone eat)
- (44) 'let', 'make': EA
 igtevkaraa
 igte-vkar-aa
 fall-cause-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 He made her fall / He dropped it
- (45) 'make': EC
 qeralivkarluku-ll'
 qer'aq-li-vkar-lu-ku=llu
 fishrack-make-cause-SUB-R/3sg=too
 and I made him build fish racks
- (46) 'force': GC
 tuai-q', ilateng, anevkangnaqluki . . .
 tuai=wa ila-teng anc-vkar-ngnaqe-lu-ki
 and.then=EMPHATIC relative-R/3pl go.out-compel-try-SUB-R/3pl
 They would try to force their relatives out

A second causative *-te-* contributes the same range of meanings: 'let', 'allow', 'cause', 'compel'. Its alternation with *-vkar-*/*-cete-* appears to be lexically conditioned.

- (47) Causative *-te-*: EA
 uitasenga
 uita-te-nga
 stay-let-OPT.2sg/1sg
 Leave me alone!

A third causative is no longer productive, but it appears in a number of verbs and nouns:

- (48) Non-productive *-nar-* 'cause', 'one that causes' (Jacobson 1984: 502):
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| kenegnartuq | qatlinaq |
| keneg-nar-tu-q | qatli-nar |
| love-cause-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg | sting-cause |
| She is lovely | nettle |

The causatives themselves may be causativized.

- (49) Causative of causative: EA
- | |
|--|
| igtevkartaanga |
| igte-vkar-te-a-anga |
| fall-cause-cause-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/1sg |
| He <u>made</u> me <u>drop</u> it |

Additional causative suffixes contribute slightly different shades of meaning. The suffix *-rqe-* includes a component of intention:

- (50) *-rqe-* 'deliberately cause' (Jacobson 1984: 549):
- (a) qia- 'cry'
qiarqaa 'he intentionally made her cry' (qivarkaraa 'he made her cry')
- (b) tupag- 'wake'
tupagqaa 'he woke her up intentionally'

The causative *-cir-* indicates causation without direct effort, by waiting and allowing something to happen.

- (51) *-cir-* 'let, wait for': EC
- (a) anlluki kinercirniki
ane-te-lu-ki kiner-cir-lu-ki
go.out-with-SUB-R/3pl dry-wait.for-SUB-R/3pl
... they would take them out and wait for them to dry
- (b) tuntuviit, anerciraqluki
tuntuvag-et aner-cir-aqe-lu-ki
moose-pl exit-wait-would-SUB-R/3pl
We would wait for the moose to go out

Several causatives with more specific meanings have been formed from the compounding of two suffixes. The suffix *-cetaar-* 'try to cause' is descended from the causative *-cete-* followed by a suffix *-aar-* 'repeatedly' (Jacobson 1984: 439).

- (52) *-cetaar-* 'try to cause': EC
naucetaarvigtun
nau-cetaar-vig-tun
grow-try.to.cause-place-AEQUALIS
like a place to try to grow things
ayuqelartut
ayuqe-lar-tu-t
be.alike-habitually-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3pl
they are the same as
They are like flower pots

Another causative *-narqe-* was formed from a combination of the two causatives *-nar-* and *-rqe-* (Jacobson 1984: 505). It adds the meaning 'tend to cause'.

- (53) *-narqe-* 'tend to cause' on intransitive: EC
aling epsalngunarqellrullini-wall'
aling epe-yar-lngu-narqe-llru-llini=wall'
oh.my suffocate-would-be.indisposed.from-tend.to.cause-PAST-
apparently=EMPHATIC
oh my it was apparently very tedious
It sure was tedious! (epesalngu- 'to feel bad because of lack of fresh air')
- (54) *-narqe-* 'tend to cause' on agentive ambitransitive: EA
ircinrrat irr'inarqut
ircinrrar-t ir'i-narqe-u-t
little.people-pl stare-tend.to.cause-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3pl
The Little People are to be marvelled at

It often occurs with what are termed 'emotional' roots by Jacobson.

- (55) *-narqe-* 'tend to cause' with emotional root: GC
anglanarqelallruuq,
angla-narqe-lar-llru-u-q
be.fun-tend.to.cause-habitually-PAST-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
akakiignek, qalulleq
akakiig-nek qalu-ller
whitefish-pl.ABL dip-PAST.NOMINALIZER
It used to be fun dipnetting whitefish

It has a negative counterpart *-naite-* 'tend not to cause', formed from a combination of *-nar-* and the negative *-(ng)ite-* (Jacobson 1984: 502).

- (56) *-naite-* 'tend not to cause': EA
takumcunaituq
takumcu-nait-u-q
pity-tend.not.to.cause-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
He does not engender pity

Finally, causative meaning can be added by a suffix *-(r/l)i-* whose function is primarily inchoative: 'become or cause to become'.

- (57) -(r/l)i- 'cause to become': GC
 uqnariqapiarluku camiliini-llu yuut.
 uqnarqe-i-qapiar-lu-ku camiliini=llu yug-et
 burning.hot-make-very-SUB-R/3sg sometimes=also person-pl.ERG
 And sometimes the people would make it (the steambath) very hot

4.1.1 The fate of extra arguments

When a causative is added to an intransitive verb, the causer is expressed as an ergative, and the causee or secondary agent, that is the one caused to act, appears as the absolutive.

- (58) Secondary agent of intransitive is absolutive: EA; EA (elicited)
 (a) tutgara`urluq tauna ayavkaqii
 tutgarar-urluq tauna ayag-vkar-ke-ii
 grandchild-dear that go-allow-PART.TR-3sg/3sg
 He (ERGATIVE) allowed the grandchild (ABSOLUTIVE) to leave
- (b) aipama mingqevkaraanga
 aipar-ma mingqe-vkar-a-anga
 spouse-1sg/3sg.ERG sew-cause-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/1sg
 qerrulligminek
 qerrullii-gminek
 pant-3Rsg/3du.ABL
 My husband (ERGATIVE) had me (ABSOLUTIVE) sew his pants (ABLATIVE)

When the caused action is transitive, the intermediate agent (causee) is not a core argument. The core arguments are the causer (ergative) and the entity ultimately affected (absolutive). The intermediate agent, the causee, may be identified by an allative nominal.

- (59) Secondary agent of transitive is allative: GC; EA (elicited)
 (a) ciin yungcaristamun kitugtevkarluku pillrunritececiu
 ciin yunggecarista-mun kitugte-vkar-lu-ku pi-llru-nrite-ce-ciu
 why doctor-ALLATIVE repair-cause-SUB-R/3sg do-PAST-NEG-Q-2du/3sg
 Why didn't you (ERGATIVE) get him (ABSOLUTIVE) fixed by the doctor (ALLATIVE)?
- (b) angutem paniminun
 angute-m panig-minun
 man-ERG daughter-3R.sg/3sg.ALLATIVE
 mingqevkarak
 mingqe-vkar-a-k
 sew-cause-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3du
 The man (ERGATIVE) asked his daughter (ALLATIVE) to sew them (his pants (ABSOLUTIVE du))

4.1.2 The syntactic function of causatives

Among the inflectional moods in Yup'ik is one termed the 'subordinative'. The Yup'ik subordinative does much more than mark syntactically subordinate clauses within sentences. It also links sentences over stretches of discourse. It serves to relate sentences, which may be intonationally independent, on a higher level of structure, such as sequences of events in narrative, as in (60). There is a grammatical requirement on such sequences: subordinatives must show the same SUBJECT as the main clause (glossed as the coreferential r).

- (60) Subordinative mood: EC
 kiagmi ukurpailegan, ayunek
 kiag-mi ukur-paileg-an ayut-nek
 summer-LOC be.winter-PRECESSIVE-3sg Labrador.tea-pl.ABL
 in summer before winter Labrador tea
- pit`lallruuq waten
 pite-lar-llru-u-q waten
 hunt-habitually-PAST-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg like.this
 she used to pick (INDICATIVE) this way
- amllervikenaki qillertagluqi.
 amlleri-vke-na-ki qillerte-aqe-lu-ki
 be.many-making-not-SUB-R/3pl tie-habitually-SUB-R/3pl
 not making many (SUBORDINATIVE) tying them together (SUBORDINATIVE)
- enemun agartaqluki, tuai-ll' tamakut
 ena-mun agar-te-aqe-lu-ki tuai=llu tama-kut
 house-ALL hang-cause-habitually-SUB-R/3pl then=and those-pl
 to the house hanging them (SUBORDINATIVE) and then those
- agiieskata, atauciin
 agiirte-ku-ata atauciq-in
 approach.from.distance-COND-3pl one-3sg/3pl.ERG
 when they arrived (CONDITIONAL) one of them
- tegluqi, kumarrlukik amiigem-llu
 tegu-lu-ki kumarte-lu-ki amiig-m=llu
 grasp-SUB-R/3pl light-SUB-R/3pl door-ERG=also
 taking them (SUBORDINATIVE) lighting them (SUBORDINATIVE) and the door
- ciuqranun nangertevkarlua tarvarlua
 ciuqerr-anun nangerte-vkar-lu-a tarvar-lu-a
 front-3sg/3sg.ALL stand-cause-SUB-R/1sg bless-SUB-R/1sg
 in front of it having me stand (SUBORD) blessing me (SUBORD).
- 'In the summertime, before winter, she (my grandmother) used to pick Labrador tea leaves. She would tie them together this way, not very many of them. She would let them hang inside the house. Then when those people

were arriving (people invited to a potlatch), she would take one of the bundles, light it, and have me stand in the doorway, blessing me.'

(In spontaneous speech, the controlling sentence is not always overt.) The fact that subject coreference is a grammatical requirement can be seen in the unambiguous interpretation of sentences like that in (61).

- (61) Subject continuity in subordinatives: EA
 wangakii ayagluni
 tanvag-ke-ii ayag-lu-ni
 look.at-PARTICIPIAL.TR-3sg/3sg leave-SUBORDINATIVE-3sg
 He watched her as he went

The pattern of linking clauses that share the same subject, or mental point of departure, is not surprising. They are portrayed as elements of a larger discourse unit. On occasion, however, a clause might be considered an integral component of this unit, but involve a different subject. It is here that the causatives are exploited for purely syntactic purposes. In the third line of (60) above, for example, the essential message might have been 'She would tie them together, they were not many'. Instead of making the tea-leaves the subject of the second clause, however, Mrs Charles retained her grandmother as subject by adding the suffix *-i-* 'make, cause': 'She tied them together, not making them many'. Causatives can maintain subject continuity by adding a causer that is coreferential with the rest of the sequence. In the last line of (60), rather than 'I would stand in the doorway and she would bless me' with different subjects 'I' and 'she', Mrs Charles used a causative: 'She would have me stand in the doorway and (she) would bless me'.

These uses of the causative in (60) seem quite natural, a way the events might have been expressed regardless of the syntactic requirement of coreference. In some contexts, however, the purely syntactic function of the causative is clear, as in (62) from Jacobson.

- (62) Causative in purely syntactic function (Jacobson 1995: 333):
 yuurtellruunga apa'urluqa
 yug-urte-llru-u-nga apalur-ka
 person-become-PAST-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-1sg grandfather-1sg/3sg
 I was born my grandfather
 tuqurraarcelluku
 tuqu-rraar-cete-lu-ku
 die-first-allow-SUB-R/3sg
 I let him die first
 I was born after my grandfather died

Of course I could not cause or even allow the death of my grandfather before I was born.

A detail adding a final complication to the picture is the fact that purely syntactic causative suffixes are sometimes omitted in natural speech. Their effect is still observable in the argument structures of the pertinent verbs, however, as can be seen in the pronominal suffix 'one/her' on 'go by boat' in (63).

- (63) Omission of purely causative suffixes: EC
 natmun ayagteciqaa
 nat-mun ayag-te-ciiq-a-a
 where-ALL go-cause-FUT-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 angyarluku.
 angyar-(0)-lu-ku
 go.by.boat-(cause)-SUB-R/3sg
 She will be allowed to go somewhere with a boat.

4.2 Other agent addition

In addition to the causatives, Yup'ik contains a more unusual set of valency-increasing derivations that add an agent to the set of core arguments. These are suffixes with meanings something like those of evidentials in certain other languages, but they differ significantly in that they alter argument structure. The suffixes are *-sqe-* 'request that, want', *-ni-* 'claim, say that' *-yuke-* 'think that' and *-nayuke-* 'think that perhaps, expect'.

4.2.1 *-sqe-* 'request that, want'

The suffix *-sqe-* can be added to both intransitive and transitive bases. When added to intransitives, it derives a transitive verb whose ergative argument is the person requesting, and absolutive argument is the person requested to act.

- (64) Derivation from intransitive base: EC; NC
 (a) yungcaristem tagesqaten
 yungcarista-m tage-sqe-a-ten
 doctor-ERG go.up/inland-request-INDIC.TR-3sg/2sg
 The doctor (ERGATIVE) has asked you (ABSOLUTIVE) to go (to the hospital)
 (b) uyangtarrasqeluku pitangqertassiarluku
 uyangte-rrar-sqe-lu-ku pitar-ngqerr-tassiar-lu-ku
 look.leaning.forward-first-ask-SUB-R/3sg game-have-determine-SUB-R/3sg
 (You (ERGATIVE)) have him (ABSOLUTIVE) look to see if there is game

When the suffix *-sqe-* is attached to a transitive base, it yields a transitive verb whose ergative participant requests action on the absolutive by the allative participant.

- (65) Derivation from transitive base: EC; EA (elicited)
 (a) tutraragka, aipak piyugngakan,
 tutrar-gka apia-k pi-yugnga-aqa-an
 grandchild-1sg/3du.ABL other-du do-able-CONTINGENT-3sg
 my two grandchildren one of them if he is able to do
 When I arrive, I (ERGATIVE) will have one of my grandchildren (ALLATIVE)

tekiteqataquma, pairrsaagesqellua
 tekite-qatar-qu-ma pairte-ssaag-sqe-lu-a
 arrive-going.to-COND-1SG meet-try-ask-SUB-R/1SG
 when I am going to arrive asking him to come meet me
 try to meet me (ABSOLUTIVE) if he can

- (b) anngama paniminun
 anngar-ma panig-minun
 older.brother-1sg/3sg.ERG daughter-3R.sg/3sg.ALL
 atuutesqai
 atur-ute-sqe-a-i
 sing-for-ask-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3pl
 My older brother (ERGATIVE) asked his daughter (ALLATIVE) to sing for
 them (ABSOLUTIVE)

4.2.2 -ni- 'claim, say that', -yuke- 'think that' and -nayuke- 'think that perhaps'

The suffixes *-ni-*, *-yuke-* and *-nayuke-* can be added to both intransitive and transitive bases. Any of the derived verbs can then be inflected either intransitively or transitively. In all of these constructions, the absolutive argument of the base remains as the absolutive argument of the derived verb. Intransitive inflection indicates that someone is claiming or thinking something about himself or herself.

- (66) Intransitive from intransitive: EA (elicited)
 (a) kaigniuq
 kaig-ni-u-q
 hungry-claim-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
 She (ABSOLUTIVE) says she's hungry
 (b) kaigyukuq
 kaig-yuke-u-q
 be.hungry-think-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
 She (ABSOLUTIVE) thinks she's hungry

If someone else is making the claim or having the thought, the verb is inflected transitively, with the claimer or thinker in the ergative case.

- (67) Transitive from intransitive: GC (elicited)
 (a) kaignia
 kaig-ni-a-a
 hungry-claim-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 She (ERGATIVE) says he (ABSOLUTIVE) is hungry
 (b) kainayukeluki ukliuq
 kaig-nayuke-lu-ki ukli-u-q
 hungry-think.maybe-SUB-R/3pl cut.up-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
 She is preparing food, (she (ERGATIVE)) thinking they (ABSOLUTIVE) might
 be hungry

(There is no gender distinction. Different genders are used here in the free translations simply to keep reference clear.)

If the claim or thought is about a transitive action, the agent of that act can be identified by a noun in the allative case.

- (68) Intransitive from transitive (Jacobson 1995: 324):
 arnaq ikayullruniuq angutmun
 arnaq ikayu-llru-ni-u-q angute-mun
 woman help-PAST-claim-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg man-ALLATIVE
 The woman (ABSOLUTIVE) says that the man (ALLATIVE) helped her
 (69) Transitive from transitive (Jacobson 1995: 326):
 aatavnun civtellruyukaqa kuvyaq
 aata-vnun civte-llru-yuke-ar-ka kuvyar
 father-2sg/3sg.ALL set-PAST-think-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-1sg/3sg net
 I (ERGATIVE) think your father (ALLATIVE) set the fishnet (ABSOLUTIVE)

4.2.3 Syntactic usage

The derivational suffixes of requesting, claiming and thinking add an agent argument, much like the causatives do. They are exploited in the same way as causatives to ensure the maintenance of subject coreference in subordinative sequences, especially with verbs of requesting, speaking and thinking. Thus rather than saying 'They_i invited the Yup'ik people (them_j) to come to their house', Mrs Ali used a derived request form: 'They_i invited them_j, they_i requesting them to come'.

- (70) Request for intransitive action with -sqe-: EA
 yuut kelellinikait, enitnun
 yug-et keleg-llini-ke-ait ena-it-nun
 person-pl invite-apparently-PART.TR-3pl/3pl house-3pl/sq-ALL
 ayasqeluki
 ayag-sqe-lu-ki
 go-request-SUB-R/3pl
 It seems they invited the Yup'ik people to come to their house

The victim may be expressed obliquely by a nominal in the ablative case. The sentence in (79) came up in the context of a man digging on the tundra, who uncovered a cache of roots stored by mice.

- (79) Ablative victim of malefactive: EA
 elagiuq avelnganek
 elag-i-u-q avelngar-nek
 dig-MALEFACTIVE-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg mouse-pl.ABLATIVE
 He (ABSOLUTIVE) dug to the disadvantage of the mice (ABLATIVE)

As seen in section 3.2, when this suffix is attached to a transitive-only base like 'help', or a patientive ambitransitive like 'cut up', it functions primarily as an antipassive, usually without malefactive sense. When it is attached to an intransitive-only base such as *ayag-* 'leave' or *ane-* 'go out', it again shows its original malefactive sense, but the absolutive argument of the derived malefactive is the victim.

- (80) Malefactive on intransitive-only: absolutive victim (Jacobson 1984: 452):
 [While he was boating in rough water,]
 anuq kevingutnek
 ane-i-u-q kevirngut-nek
 go.out-MALEFACTIVE-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg caulk-pl.ABLATIVE
 his caulking came out (of the boat)
 (lit. he (ABSOLUTIVE) was de-caulked by caulking (ABLATIVE))

Two other applicative suffixes have been formed by suffix compounding. One of these is *-(u)teke-* 'on account of, concerning'.

- (81) *-(u)teke-* 'on account of, concerning': EA
 tuai-w', naurrlugaan
 tuai=wa naurrlug-a-an
 because=well ill-CONSEQUENTIAL-3sg
 unegutkaa
 unegte-uteke-a-a
 remain.behind-on.account.of-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 Well, she remained behind because of him, since he was sick

The other is *-(u)cite-* 'in place of, instead of'.

- (82) *-(u)cite-* 'in place of, instead of' (Jacobson 1984: 446):
 (a) yuracitaa
 yurar-cite-a-a
 dance-in.place.of-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
 He danced in her place

- (b) cikircitaa avukamek
 cikir-cite-a-a avukar-mek
 give.to-in.place.of-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg supplement-ABL
 She is giving bread to eat with tea in his place

Mrs Ali notes that this construction is used often because a child named for a deceased person carries out actions on behalf of that person, in memory of him or her.

6 Summary

The rich inventory of valency-changing devices in Central Alaskan Yup'ik shows us some interesting ways in which such devices may vary cross-linguistically, both in their semantic detail and in their syntactic and discourse functions.

The effects of such devices are particularly clear in Yup'ik, due to the unusually explicit marking of argument structure. The indicative and participial mood suffixes on verbs show distinct transitive and intransitive forms, and all core arguments are specified by pronominal suffixes. The pronominal suffixes, which have now become fused complexes, show traces of an absolutive category in some moods (indicative, participial) but traces of a subject category in others (subordinative, connective). In addition, nouns are inflected for case. Noun case marking follows a clear ergative pattern.

Yup'ik contains both inflectional and derivational valency-decreasing morphology. Several devices can result in the elimination of a semantic agent from the set of core arguments of a clause, a function typically associated with passives. With one class of verbs, the patientive ambitransitives, a passive-like effect may be accomplished by simple intransitive inflection. For other verbs, only derivational suffixes can have such an effect. The uses of the suffixes reveal, however, that their primary function is not to alter argument structure but rather to focus on the state resulting from an action. One suffix, *-cir-*, contributes adversative meaning; the other, *-ma-*, emphasizes the lengthy quality of the resultant state. The two suffixes may affect case relations incidentally, but perhaps because that is not their primary function, they are not generally exploited for syntactic or discourse purposes.

By contrast, several antipassive-like devices play an important syntactic role. Yup'ik has a syntactic requirement that only identifiable (definite) arguments may serve as the absolutes of transitives. Events directed at indefinite patients must be expressed with grammatically intransitive verbs. With one class of verbs, the agentive ambitransitives, intransitive inflection alone is

sufficient: the resulting verb has only a single agentive argument. With other transitives, the derivational suffixes *-(u)te-* and *-(g)i-*, descended from a benefactive and a malefactive respectively, are used as detransitivizers.

Yup'ik also contains a substantial inventory of valency-increasing devices. The language is unusually rich in morphology that adds agents to the set of core arguments, with a rich set of causatives and another set of suffixes with evidential-like meanings. Some causatives are produced inflectionally. Many patientive ambitransitives show a causative relation between their alternate forms, such as *katag-* 'drop/fall'. Transitive inflection alone yields a causative. For other verbs, causatives are formed derivationally. The set of causative suffixes is large, and provides fine semantic distinctions: *-vkar-*, *-te-*, *-nar-* 'let, allow, permit, cause, compel'; *-cir-* 'let, wait for, make'; *-rqe-* 'intentionally or deliberately cause'; *-cetaar-* 'try to cause'; *-narqe-* 'tend to cause'; *-naite-* 'tend not to cause'; and *-(r/l)i-* 'become or cause to become'. A second set of derivational suffixes add evidential-like meanings: *-sqe-* 'request that, want'; *-ni-* 'claim that'; *-yuke-* 'think that'; *-nayuke-* 'think that perhaps'. All of these derivational suffixes may be added to either intransitive or transitive bases. All serve an important syntactic function. Sequences of topically related sentences in Yup'ik are frequently linked in discourse with the subordinative mood. There is a grammatical requirement that all sentences so linked must share the same subject. The causative and evidential agent-adding suffixes are exploited to ensure the maintenance of subject continuity over such sequences. If a linked clause would not otherwise have a coreferent subject, one may be added as the causer, requester, claimer or thinker. (Causatives with a similar function have also been noted in the Pomoan languages of California, in Chechen and Ingush of the Caucasus, and in Coptic (Oswalt 1977, Nichols 1985, O'Connor 1992).)

Finally, Yup'ik contains several applicatives that serve to add an absolutive argument. The general applicative *-(u)te-* 'to, for, with, together, reciprocally' is pervasive. The malefactive *-(g)i-* 'to the detriment of' is rarer. Two more suffixes have come into the language through suffix compounding, *-(u)teke-* 'on account of, concerning' and *-(u)cite-* 'in place of, instead of'. All of these markers function to a certain extent to allow more topical participants, usually humans, to be expressed as part of the core, specified by the pronominal suffixes on the verb.

All of the valency-changing devices may result in the expression of semantic agents or patients outside of the core, with oblique nominals. Passives can result in the exclusion of semantic agents from the core, and antipassives in the exclusion of semantic patients. Valency-increasing processes can result in

the exclusion of certain arguments as well. When they are applied to bases that are already transitive, one of the original core arguments is displaced. With causatives and the evidential-like suffixes, the displaced argument is the intermediate agent. With benefactives and malefactives, the excluded argument is the semantic patient. In Yup'ik, the excluded arguments are handled in a systematic way. Semantic agents are expressed obliquely as allatives, and semantic patients as ablatives.

Valency-changing devices in Yup'ik are numerous, pervasive and often highly productive, but they are not simple mechanical operations. All are closely tied to the lexicon in one way or another. Of course some manipulation of argument structure is accomplished by simple lexical choice. The inflectional devices for altering argument structure are dependent on the transitivity class of individual lexical items (intransitive-only, transitive-only, agentive ambitransitive, patientive ambitransitive). The derivational devices are closely tied to the lexicon as well: they create lexical items that are stored and recognized as units by speakers. In many cases, such as with causatives and antipassives, suffix choice is simply a lexical matter, not predictable by general rule. At the same time, the valency-changing morphology serves important syntactic functions, ensuring that indefinite semantic patients are expressed outside of the set of core arguments, and preserving subject-continuity across subordinative sequences. The morphology also serves a discourse function, allowing speakers to cast important participants as core arguments, as with applicatives. The Yup'ik system, like that of most languages, shows the importance of considering the individual devices exploited for the manipulation of argument structure within the context of the language as a whole.

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4 Transitivity and valency-changing derivations in Motuna

MASAYUKI ONISHI

1 Introduction

Motuna is one of eight non-Austronesian, or Papuan, languages from Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.¹ It has several thousand speakers.²

Typologically, Motuna is an agglutinative language with considerable morphophonological fusion. It is both head-marking and dependent-marking. NPs are marked by case suffixes. Core case markings are ergative/absolutive (ergative marking is optional in certain environments – see §2(I)). Verbs, kinship terms, classifiers and numerals show extremely complex morphology, with both suffixing and prefixing.

Constituent order tends to be verb-final, with A and O in either order. Any NPs can be left unexpressed if understood from the context.

¹ Bougainville is an island on the eastern end of Papua New Guinea, situated next to the border of the Solomon Islands. On the Bougainville main island, there are ten Austronesian languages which concentrate in the north and along the coast, and eight Papuan languages which concentrate in the south and the central part of the island. Siwai, where Motuna is spoken, is situated in the southern part, to the west of Buin.

Among the eight Papuan languages, Motuna, Buin, Nagovisi and Naasioi constitute a group (named 'East Bougainville Stock' by Allen and Hurd 1965), while the other four languages constitute another group ('West Bougainville Stock', *ibid.*). The first group is further divided into two subgroups (Buin Family consisting of Motuna and Buin, and Naasioi Family consisting of Naasioi and Nagovisi) based on their lexico-statistical analysis, but the legitimacy of this subgrouping is yet to be examined.

Motuna has a $C_1V(C_2)$ structure where C_2 is an archiphoneme realized as a glottal stop, a glottal fricative or a nasal homorganic to the following consonant (or a velar nasal word-finally). Other consonants occupy C_1 slot. They are: stops p , t and k ; nasals m , n and ng ; fricatives s and h ; rhotic r ; and glides y and w . It has a typical five-vowel system with front high i , front mid e , back high u , back mid o and back low a .

² The latest figure is 6,600 based on the 1970 census. The 1980 census doesn't give any specific figure of Motuna speakers. The 1990 census was not carried out due to the political conflict on the island since 1989.

Changing valency Case studies in transitivity

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