Valency-changing derivation in Central Alaskan Yup'ik

MARIANNE MITHUN

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root base</th>
<th>(derivational suffixes)</th>
<th>inflectional suffixes ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nouns and verbs: internal structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: absolute (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 nouns

- qayak
- qayar
- kayak
- kayaks

- qayarmi
- qayar-k
- kayak-loc
- two kayaks in a kayak

- qayacetun
- qayar-ctun
- kayak-pl.vialis
- with kayaks

Nouns may be derivationally complex.

(2) Derived noun

- kipusviliur
- kiput-evik-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 (= [q]), k, q. There is a series of voiced fricatives v, z, I, x, w = [y], ng = [y'], r = [x], ur = [x'], and a series of voiceless fricatives vV = [l], ss = [s], ll = [l], gg = [x], w = [x'], rr = [x], urr = [x']. Nasals are m, n, ng = [g]. There are three prime vowels i, 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.

Work with speakers of Central Alaskan Yup'ik has been made possible by grants from the Academic Senate, University of California, Santa Barbara. I am especially grateful to Elizabeth Ali and George Charles for their help in transcribing and translating the conversations on which this work was based, and for their discussion of the material. I have also appreciated general discussions about the language with Nancy Caplow, Gary Holton, Jim Reed, Ivo Sanchez, Kathy Sands and Robin Shoaps.
(3) Possessive suffixes
qayaq'a
qayar-ka
kayak-1sg/3sg
my kayak
iqvillerminiek
iqvicer-ler-ner-miniek
pick,berries-PAST.NOMINALIZER-R/3pl.ABLATIVE
from her picked berries (lit. [she made it] from the berries she had picked)

On verbs, the inflection 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 contemporaneous (‘when’ in the past), contemporaneous (‘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 complexxes, 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) aqmetullruq
aqme-tu-tiru-u-q
sit-customarily-PAST-INDICATIVE-INTRANSITIVE-3sg
He would sit
(b) tangerrsummitamken
tangerr-yumini-te-a-mken
see-nelt.want-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-1sg/2sg
I do not want to see you
(c) aqammarilnikumeng-llu
agammar-li-nri-te-kumeng=llu
baskets-mkate-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
amillertug
amiller-tu-q
be.much-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg
It is a lot
amrilu- ‘be cloudy’
malri- ‘give birth to twins’
ayarrar- ‘tell a string story’
nakuro- ‘be cross-eyed’
elir- ‘hold a feast’
ur- ‘yelp’
kaig- ‘be hungry’
uite- ‘open one’s eyes, bloom’
kuvviar- ‘drink coffee’
quakete ‘resubmerge after coming to the surface (fish, seal)’
mullu- ‘find a beached carcass’
qamigar ‘go seal-hunting with small sled and kayak in spring’

(6) Transitive only
eguauraq
eguaurar-a-a
persuade-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
She persuaded him
allur- ‘take something from’
kelucar- ‘lock’
eteg- ‘throw (usually away)’
nalug- ‘hoist’
equr- ‘carry on shoulder’
takar- ‘be intimidated by’
kamak- ‘suspect someone’
ulag- ‘approach’
nave- ‘pour from one container to another’
pagrite- ‘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’
ing’ug
igaa
ige-u-q
ige-a-a
swallow-INDIC.TRANSITIVE-3sg
swallow-INDIC.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
She swallowed
She swallowed it

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

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 pasugte- `bring food to':

The semantic patient appears as an ablative (oblique), as can be seen in both (10) and (11). Other verbs with beneficiaries as absolutes include arsuq- `to distribute gifts or shares of a catch' (arsuq he is distributing (things) to them'), qamite- `to give something to take along on a journey' (qamiteq she gave her something to take along') and apete- `to inquire, ask a question' (apataq 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', (maniig she put it out, put it on the stove'), nasvag- `show, display' (nasvagaq she is showing it'), and apertur- `show, point out' (aperturag she pointed it out), in contrast with the derived apertuute- `show, point out to' (apertuutag she pointed something out to him').

3 Valency-reducing derivation

Within its derivational morphology, Yupik 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, Yupik 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, katagluki- tamalkuita
igte-llu-ni tau-ku-lut-llu atsat-ti katag-lu-ki tamalkuita
fall-sun-3sg that-pl=and fruit-pl fall.off-sun-rę-3pl all-3pl
He fell (off of his bicycle) and lost all of the fruit.

(13) Intransitive inflection of katag- `fall': EA
katainiguq
katag-lini-u-q
fall.out-apparently-indicative-intransitive-3pl
They must have fallen out

Of course omission of the agent by inflection alone can be accomplished only with patientive ambitransitives. Yupik 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'to steal'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'he stole it'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'it got stolen'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'to hang out to dry'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'she hung it'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>'it's been hung'</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix -cir- (with phonologically conditioned alternants -scir-, -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 mecunguq
    mecungciruq
    mecunge-cir-tu-q
    mecunge-tu-q
    be.soaked-ADVERSAIVE-
    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 adver-
sative 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 neqerhuk
    neqerhluq
    neqerhluq
    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)
    neresciruq qimuq♠tenun
    nere-sciru-tu-q qimuq♠-tu-
    eat-get-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg dog-ALLATIVE
    (ABSOLUTIVE) got eaten by a dog (ALLATIVE)

The second suffix with passive-like meaning is -ma- (with phonologically
conditioned alternants -uma-, -ama- 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'
    melgumaq 'it is closed'

The suffix -ma- may also be attached to ambitransitive stems. Here the pat-
tern 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'iq 'he ate' neraa 'he ate it'
    nermaniuq 'he has eaten' nermaniuq 'it has been eaten'

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

(20) -ma- on patientive ambitransitive stem
    kitugtuq 'it is fixed' kitugtaa 'he fixed it'
    kitugmaq 'it is fixed' kitugmaq 'it is fixed'

The suffix -ma- may also be attached to intransitive-only stems. The argu-
ment 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' tuquaq 'it died'
    ayamaq 'he has left, is gone' tuquaq '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 intrans-
itive. 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'aq '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
essage- '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
    essage-  'to scatter'
    essagnuq  '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
    nanikuqayuktua
    uitaumalun
    nanikuqa-yar-tu-u
    uita-uma-tu-u
    be-distressed-would-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-1sg stay-STATIVE-SUB-1sg
    misvignmi
    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
    cataicimmuliut
    cataic-ima-lini-u-t
    be-absent-STATIVE-apparently-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3pl mask-pl
    The masks were apparently out there.
    avani nunani yaaqvani
    ava-ni numa-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
    ayemquitumaut
    ayem-cir-te-uma-u-t
    snap-get-CAUSATIVE-STATIVE-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-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 gram-
mars 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.
Intransitive inflection of agentive ambitransitive
kitur-
kituraa
kiturtuq

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

(27) Transitive inflection: EA
ayagananarni-am
ayag-ananer-anin=am
leave-PAST,CONTEMPORATIVE-3sg=EMPHATIC
kitukii
kitur-ke-i
pass-PART,TRANS-3sg/3sg
As he was going, he passed a little girl

(28) Intransitive inflection: EA
una mikelnguq kituria
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 aspect.) 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
nitaqluteng cali yugnek
niite-aq-lu-teng cali yugnek
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 -nek and is also not represented in the pronominal suffix complex -tek 'they two'.

(30) Oblique indefinite patient: GC
yaquluanmek-lu-gguq, pitellimilutek tautuk
yaqulek-cuur-mek=lu=gguq pite-ilini-lu-tek taut-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
Manten tangerrtuq, iliit
manten tangerr-lu-q ila-it
suddenly see-INDICATIVE,INTRANSITIVE-3sg one-of-3sg/pl
issrate catanami
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
ciugani-gguq una angum, napami, atsaneq
ciu-ngani=gguq una angute napa-mi atsar-nek
front-3sg/3sg,LOC=HEARSAY this man tree-LOC fruit-PL,ABLATIVE
In the beginning this man, in a tree,
iqvarlia, atsarpagnek, issramun
iqvar-lia atsar-rpug-nek issrate-mun
pick-PART,INTRANSITIVE-3sg fruit-very.large-PL,ABLATIVE basket-ALLATIVE
was picking pears (ABLATIVE), large pears (ABLATIVE),
elliluki, pinqegcarluki
eelli-lu-ki pinqegg-car-lu-ki
put-SUB-3pl neat-TRY-SUB-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 *ikayuruaq)

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:
  ulillige- 'to cut fish for drying in the traditional manner'
  ulilltgaa 'she cut it for drying' TRANSITIVE
  ulilliguq ‘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
  ikayurut-uq 'she is helping out' DERIVED INTRANSITIVE
  ulillige- 'to cut fish for drying'
  ulillggaa 'she cut it (the fish)' TRANSITIVE
  ulilligci-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’
  teguug ‘he took (something)’

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

(37) Detransitivized patientive ambitransitive: GC
  camiliinu taisi maursuqa
  camiliinu taisi maursuq-ka
  sometimes and grandmother-1sg/3sg
  And sometimes my grandmother
  ulilligci-nuurtuq
  ulillig-i-naur-tu-q
  cut fish-DETRANSMITIZER-HAB-INDICATIVE-INTRANSITIVE-3sg
  luqruuyaneq
  luqruuyag-neq [...] 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-
  quuyurni-te-a-a
  smile-BENEFACITIVE-INDICATIVE-INTRANSITIVE-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
  qimugte-m nere-i-a-a
  angun
  angun
  dog-ERGATIVE eat-MALEFACTIVE-INDICATIVE-INTRANSITIVE-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akngirte-</td>
<td>to get hurt (INTR), to hurt someone (TR)</td>
<td>INTRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akngirt-un</td>
<td>he got hurt</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akngirt-aq</td>
<td>he hurt her</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-vkar-/cete-</td>
<td>let, allow, permit, cause, compel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te-</td>
<td>let, allow, cause, compel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nar-</td>
<td>cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-roqe-</td>
<td>intentionally or deliberately cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cetaar-</td>
<td>try to cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-narqe-</td>
<td>tend to cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nait-</td>
<td>tend not to cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cir-</td>
<td>let, wait for, make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(rl)i-</td>
<td>become or cause to become</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

alularegeungramku
alular-set-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
ner-evkar-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

igtekarakaa
igte-vkar-aq
full-cause-indicative.transitive-3sg/3sg
He made her fall / He dropped it

(45) ‘make’: EC

geralivkarluku-II
gera-agli-vkar-lu-ku-llu
fishrack.make-cause-sub-r/3sg=too
and I made him build fish racks

(46) ‘force’: GC

tuai-q, ilateng, anevkangnaqulki ...
tuai=wa ila-teng an-vkar-ngnaqle-ku-ki
and.then=emphatic relative-r/3pl=go.out-compel-try-sub-r/3pl
They would try to force their relatives out


(47) Causative -te-: EA

uitasenga
uit-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):
    kegennartenq qatimna
    kegenn-nar-tu-q qatim-nar
    love-cause-indicative.intransitive-3sg sting-cause
    She is lovely

    nettle

The causatives themselves may be causativized.

(49) Causative of causative: EA
    igte-yakartaanga
    igte-yar-te-a-anga
    fall-cause-cause-indicative.intransitive-3sg/1sg
    He made me drop 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' (qiavkarra '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
    anluki kinercirkuki
    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) tumorviit, anergaatuuki
    tumorvag-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
    naqgtaarvigta
    nau-cetaar-vig-tun
    grow.try.to-cause-place-aqalii
    like a place to try to grow things
    ayuqelargt
    ayuqel-tu-t
    be.alike.habitually-indicative.intransitive-3pl
    they are the same as
    They are like flower pots

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

(53) -nqra- 'tend to cause' on intransitive: EC
    ailing eqmpigunarglelull-ili-wall
    ailing epq-yar-lngu-nqra-llru-llin=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) -nqra- 'tend to cause' on agentive ambitransitive: EA
    irinrrut irinmarqt
    irinrrar-ir-nqra-a-t
    little.people-pl stare-tend.to.cause-indicative.intransitive-3pl
    The Little People are to be marveled at

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

(55) -nqra- 'tend to cause' with emotional root: GC
    anglalnaqqalelruuq,
    angla-nqra-llru-uu-qq
    be.fun.tend.to.cause.habitually-past-indicative.intransitive-3sg
    akakigneq, gaulleq
    akakig-neq gau-ler
    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 -njar- and the negative -ngiite- (Jacobson 1984: 502).

(56) -naite- 'tend not to cause': EA
    takumunaitaq
    takumun-nait-uu-qq
    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'.
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 uksurpailegan, ayunek
kiag-mi uksur-paileg-an ayut-nek
summer-LOC be.winter-PRECESSIVE-3sg Labrador.tea-pl.ABL
in summer before winter Labrador tea
'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.'

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.

(57) -(r/I)- ‘cause to become’; GC
uqmarjìpàparjìlu camiliini-lu yuut.
uqmarìjìpàparjìlu camiliini-lu yuq-et
burning-hot/make.-very-SUB/R/3sg sometimes=also person-pl.ERG
And sometimes the people would make it (the steambath) very hot

(58) Secondary agent of intransitive is absolutive: EA; EA (elicited)
(a) tugara’urluq tauna ayavkaqi
    tugarara’urluq tauna ayag-vkar-ke-i
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
qerrulliggine
qerrullii-gmine
pant-3sg/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 causative (ergative) and the entity ultimately affected (absolutive). The intermediate agent, the causee, may be identified by an ablative nominal.

(59) Secondary agent of transitive is absolutive: GC; EA (elicited)
(a) ciin yungcaristamun kitugtvekarluku pilmuunitececu
    ciin yungcaristamun kitugtvekar-lu-ku pi-ilru-nite-ce-ciu
why doctor-ALLATIVE repair-cause-SUB/R/3sg do-PAST-NEG-O-2du/3sg
Why didn’t you (ERGATIVE) get him (ABSOLUTIVE) fixed by the doctor (ALLATIVE)?
(b) angutem paniminun
    angute-m panig-migun
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))
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.

    yuurtellirunga    apa-urluqa
    yug-urti-lu-nga    apa-lur-ka
    person-become-PASS-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-1sg grandfather-1sg/3sg
    I was born
    my grandfather
    tuquraarcilluku
    tuqu-rrar-se-ta-li-ku
    die-first-ALLOW-SUBJ-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 ayagteciqua
    nat-mun ayag-te-cilq-a-a
    where-ALL go-cause-PUT-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg
    anyyarluku.
    anyyar-(0)-lu-ku
    go.by.boat-(cause)-SUBJ-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 -sge- ‘request that, want’, -mi- ‘claim, say that’ -yuke- ‘think that’ and -nayuke- ‘think that perhaps, expect’.

4.2.1 -sge- ‘request that, want’
The suffix -sge- can be added to both intransitive and transitive bases. When added to intransitives, it derives a transitve 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-sge-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) uyantgerrasqeluku pitangertassirulu
       uyantgerr-sge-lu-ku pitar-ngerr-tassir-ulu-ku
       look-leaning.forward-first-ASK-SUBJ-3sg game-have-determine-SUBJ-3sg
       (You (ERGATIVE)) have him (ABSOLUTIVE) look to see if there is game

When the suffix -sge- 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 piyungnakun, tutrar-gka api-a-k pi-yungna-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)

(b) tekiteqataquna, pairrsaageqaqluq tekite-qatar-qu-ma pairtte-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) annagama panimunin annag-ma panim-minun
older.brother-1sg/3sg erg daughter-3r.sg/3sg.all
atuteskai
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) kaigniuq kaig-ni-a-e
hungry-claim-indicative.transitive-3sg/3sg
She (ergative) says he (absolutive) is hungry

(b) kainayukuluq ukliluq kaig-nayuku-lu-ki uklil-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):
amaq ikayulruniujuk angutmun
amaq ikayu-lruni-u-q angut-umun
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):
aatavmun civteltituukaq kuyuq
aat-aknum civte-lruni-yuke-ar-ka kuyvar
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 invited the Yup’ik people (them) to come to their house’, Mrs Ali used a derived request form: ‘They invited them, they requesting them to come’.

(70) Request for intransitive action with -s-qa-: EA
(yuut keellinikait, enitmun
yuut keel-liniki-a i-enit-mun
person-pl invite-apparently-past.tr-3pl/3pl house-3pl/sg.all
ayagukli ayag-sqa-lu-ki
go-request-sub-r/3pl
It seems they invited the Yup’ik people to come to their house
The same strategy is used with transitives. Rather than saying 'He requested that she sing-for them', Mrs Ali volunteered 'He requested her, he asking (her) to sing for them'.

(71) Request for transitive action with -sqa-: EA (elicited)  
   ellimeraa  atutuestqeluuki  
   ellimer-a-a  atut-ute-sqa-lu-ki  
   request-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-3sg/3sg sing-for-ask-SUB-R/3pl  
   He ordered her to sing for them

The same strategy can be seen with -ni- 'claim' in (72). Rather than saying 'When we were about to stop playing tag, the one who was it was the winner', Mrs Charles said, 'When we were about to stop playing tag, we would proclaim the one who was the winner'.

(72) Claiming with -ni-: EC  
   taqekuqtaquna  piaquta  unal-lu  
   taqe-kugte-aqa-nu  pi-qa-qa-lu-ta  unal-lu  
   stop-about-to-COMPONENT-1pl do-habitually-SUB-1pl this=and  
   when we were about to stop we would say and this one  
   taqvailema  agturugte-nniteleq  
   taqe-vailag-nu  agtur-cir-te-nnite-ller  
   qui-PRECESSIVE-1pl touch-get-APPLICATION-NOT-PAST.NOMINALIZER  
   before we stopped the one who had not been touched  
   qalliniluku  
   qalli-ni-lu-ku  
   one.on.top-claim-SUB-R/3sg  
   we claimed him/her winner  
   And when we were about to stop (playing tag), we would say that the one who had not been touched before we stopped was the winner

5 Applicatives

Yup'ik contains several applicative suffixes that function to derive transitives by adding an absolutive argument. The base may be either intransitive or transitive. The most productive applicative is the general -(nu)te- 'to, for, with, together, reciprocally'. Its precise function depends on the meaning of the verb to which it is attached.

(73) Verbs of communication: 'to' EA  
   umikku  qalarugiqamken  
   umikku  qalarte-ute-ciqa-at-mken  
   next.time talk-FUTURE-INDIC.TR-1sg/2sg  
   I'll talk to you later

(74) Benefactive 'for': EC  
   kalukaqjuuta  unuaqani  
   kalukar-ute-lu-ta  unuaqu-anu  
   hold-feast-FOR-SUB-R/1pl next.day-3sg/3sg.ABL  
   They made us a Kalukaaq the next day.

(75) Verbs of motion: comitative 'with' EA  
   eliin  ayaujalua  
   eliin  ayag-ute-lu-a  
   3sg.ERG go-with-SUB-R/1sg  
   He took me with him

The applicative is also used with dual or plural intransitive inflection to derive reciprocals.

(76) Intransitive applicative for reciprocal: EC  
   anguyugte-lratni, . . .  
   anguyag-ute-l-ler-atni  
   fight.in.battle-with.each.other-customarily-PAST.COMPARATIVE-3pl  
   When they used to fight each other = when there were wars . . .

If the base is transitive, the semantic patient may be overtly identified by an ablative noun.

(77) Semantic patient as ablative: EC  
   aanim-wa  qanruqalirulik  
   aana-an=sa  qan-ute-lrat-llru-li-ki  
   mother-3sg/3sg.ERG=EMPHATIC say-to-habitually-PAST-OPT.TR-3sg/3pl  
   her mother she used to tell her  
   I guess her mother used to tell her  
   ililirin  atabin  
   ila-ler-in  ater-itmeg  
   relative-PAST/R-3pl.ERG name-3pl/pl.ABL  
   her relatives that used to be their names  
   the names (ABLATIVE) of her deceased relatives

As seen earlier, Yup'ik also contains a malefactive suffix -(gi)r- The transitive malefactive in (39) is from Jacobson (1995). More usual for the Charles family are intransitive malefactives.

(78) Intransitive malefactive: EA  
   tulukaruluku  neriukugtu-r-um  
   tulukarug-likug  nere-i-ur-liug-ru-=am  
   raven-despicable eat-MALEFACTIVE-purposely-despicably-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3sg.EMPHATIC  
   That darned raven (ABSOLUTIVE) is deliberately eating food intended for someone else
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
elagiqt  avelnganeq
clag-1-i-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 absolute argument of the derived malefactive is the victim.

(80)  Malefactive on intransitive-only: absolute victim (Jacobson 1984: 452):
[While he was boating in rough water,]
anajq  kevingutnek
ane-1-i-q  kevingut-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  naurlugaaq
tuai=wa naurlug-a-an
because=well ill-consequential-3sg
unegutqaa
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

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 -(tu)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’; -cet- ‘let, wait for, make’; -rge- ‘intentionally or deliberately cause’; -cetaar- ‘try to cause’; -narg- ‘tend to cause’; -nate- ‘tend not to cause’; and -(r/l)i- ‘become or cause to become’. A second set of derivational suffixes add evidential-like meanings: -sge- ‘request that, want’; -ni- ‘claim that’; -yu- ‘think that’; -nay-u- ‘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 -(tu)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, -(tu)te- ‘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 transitiveness 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.

References

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(1)). 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(V(C)) structure where C\(_1\) is an archiphoneme realized as a glottal stop, a glottal fricative or a nasal homorganic to the following consonant (or a vowel nasal wordfinally). Other consonants occupy C\(_2\) slot. They are: stops p, t and k; nasals m, n and ng; fricatives s and h; fricative 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

EDITED BY
R. M. W. DIXON
AND
ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

Research Centre for Linguistic Typology
Le Trobe University, Melbourne
Contents

List of contributors  xi
Preface            xiii
List of abbreviations xiv

1 Introduction by R.M.W. Dixon and
Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald  1
  1 Predicate arguments and clause types  2
  2 Verb classes  4
  3 Changing valency  6
  4 Valency reduction  7
  5 Valency increase  12
  6 An integrated approach  16
  7 Semantic classes of verbs  19
  8 Alternative construction types  21
  9 The studies in this volume  22
  10 Topics for further investigation  25
      References  28

2 A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning  30
by R.M.W. Dixon  30
  1 Introduction  30
  2 Formal mechanisms  33
      2.1 Morphological processes  33
      2.2 Two verbs in one predicate  34
      2.3 Periphrastic causatives  35
      2.4 Lexical causatives  38
      2.5 Exchanging auxiliaries  41
3 Syntax
  3.1 Of intransitives 41
  3.2 Of transitives 45
  3.3 Of ditransitives 47
  3.4 Double causatives 56
4 Semantics 59
5 Meaning–mechanism correlations 61
6 Summary 74
References 78
79

3 Valency-changing derivation in Central Alaskan Yup'ik by Marianne Mithun
  1 Basic morphological structure 84
  2 Stem types 84
  3 Valency-reducing derivation 86
     3.1 Agent omission 89
     3.2 Patient omission 89
  4 Valency-increasing derivation 93
     4.1 Causatives 98
     4.2 Other agent addition 98
  5 Applicatives 105
  6 Summary 108
References 111
113

4 Transitivity and valency-changing derivations in Motuna by Masayuki Onishi
  1 Introduction 115
  2 The structure of basic verbal clauses 115
  3 Verb structure and verb classes 117
     3.1 Verb structure 119
     3.2 Verb classes 119
  4 Valency-changing derivations 121
     4.1 Valency-increasing derivations 126
     4.2 Valency-reducing derivations 126
     4.3 Valency-rearranging (stimulative) 137
  5 Conclusion 138
    Appendix: examples of verbs in each class (§3.2) 139
    References 141
143

5 Transitivity in Tariana by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald 145
  1 Introduction 145
  2 Typological characteristics of Tariana 145
     2.1 Grammatical relations 146
     2.2 Verb structure 147
     2.3 Verb types 148
  3 Decreasing transitivity 150
     3.1 Passive 150
     3.2 Reciprocal -kaka 152
     3.3 Summary 154
  4 Increasing transitivity 154
     4.1 Morphological causatives 155
     4.2 Causative serial verb constructions 159
     4.3 Periphrastic causatives 161
     4.4 Causative mechanisms in Tariana: a comparison 164
     4.5 Argument-adding derivation 166
  5 Transitivity and grammatical relations in Tariana 169
    Appendix 5.1: word classes and functional slots in Tariana 171
    Appendix 5.2: Tariana verbal categories in Tariana 171
    References 172

6 Voice and valency in the Athapaskan family by Keren Rice 173
  1 Background 173
  2 Background on the argument system 174
     2.1 Grammatical roles 174
     2.2 Lexical verb classes 176
  3 On argument-transferring constructions in Athapaskan languages: background 177
  4 On marking middle voice: d 178
     4.1 Middle construction types 180
     4.2 Summary 191
     4.3 Passive revisited 192
     4.4 Summary 199
  5 Causatives 199
     5.1 Intransitive verbs with patientive subjects 200
     5.2 Intransitive verbs with agentive subjects 204
     5.3 Transitive verbs 209