

## Valency-changing derivations in Chukchi

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Chukchi is a language of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan family, spoken in the far northeast of Siberia, of the Russian Federation. The Chukchi population is approximately 15,700, and 40.7% people speak own language Chukchi. But Chukchis under the age of 20 years, hardly speak language fluently. Hence Chukchi language can be considered as endangered.

In this paper I will examine the valency-changing operations in Chukchi, focusing on morphological processes which have both valency-increasing and valency-reducing effects. Specifically, the causative and the benefactive increase valency, and the antipassive, the reflexive, and the anticausative reduce valency. Our purpose is to expand our theoretical understanding of verbal morphology of Chukchi.

The valency-increasing derivation is more than valency-reducing derivation. Transitive formation from intransitive verbs is highly productive. In addition, Chukchi makes three different processes to form causatives: morphological, analytic and lexical. The morphological causative operates not only on intransitive verbs, but also on transitive verbs. The morphological causative includes the ‘single causative’, marked by one causative affix, and the ‘double causative’, marked by two causative affixes.

The benefactive is also related to valency-increasing derivation. Chukchi does not have a special benefactive marker. But the intransitive verbs can be used as transitive verbs when they have to express the beneficiary meaning. Compare the following two sentences.

- (1)      *əl ʔa*                      *tip ʔejɲe-γʔ-Ø*  
mother (ABS.SG)      sing-3SG.OB-PAST  
‘The mother sang a song’
- (2)      *əl ʔa-ta*              *tip ʔejɲe-nin-Ø*                      *nenenə*  
mother-ERG      sing-3SG.SB/3SG.OB-PAST      child (ABS.SG)  
‘The mother sang a song for the child’

In (1), *tip ʔejɲe* ‘sing’ is an intransitive verb, but if the speaker needs to express a beneficiary meaning such as (2), the verb can be inflected as a transitive.

The analytic causative is formed by the combination of the causative suffix *-jɲut* and the auxiliary verb *rt*. The lexical causative is formed by the lexical circumfix *te-...-ŋ*, etymologically related to the verb ‘to make’.

In Chukchi, there are three types of valency-reducing derivations, which can be derived: the

antipassive, the reflexive and the anticausative. These are formed by adding the prefix *ine-*, the suffix *-et*, the suffix *-tku*, or the suffix *-twa* to a transitive verb stem.

(3a) is a transitive sentence, and (3b) is an antipassive sentence with *ine-* is similar in meaning, there are a few pragmatic differences: the most obvious difference is that the transitive has a definite meaning and the antipassive has an indefinite meaning.

- (3a)     ***all̩y-e***            ***kən̩ ʔu-nin-Ø***                            ***peeswaq***  
 father-ERG    catch-3SG.SB/3SG.OB-PAST        female reindeer (ABS.SG)  
 ‘The father caught the female reindeer’
- (3b)     ***all̩y-ə-n***            ***ine-kən̩ ʔu-γʔ-Ø***                            ***peeswaq-ə-k***  
 father-ERG    AP-catch-3SG-PAST        female reindeer-E-LOC  
 ‘The father caught a female reindeer’

The reflexive forms by adding the suffix *-et* and *-tku* to a transitive verb stem, just as with the antipassive. The following examples, (4) is a transitive sentence, and (5) is its corresponding reflexive sentence, with the added morpheme *-tku*.

- (4)     ***t-ə-lpiw-γʔen-Ø***                            ***ott-ə-lγən***  
 1SG.SB-E-cut-3SG.OB-PAST    wood-E-ABS.SG  
 ‘I cut the wood’
- (5)     ***t-ə-lpiw-tku-γʔek-Ø***  
 1SG.SB-E-cut-INTRS-1SG.SB-PAST  
 ‘I cut myself’

The anticausative is formed by adding the suffix *-et* and *-twa* to a transitive verb stem. So far, we have found few transitive verbs that may appear as an anticausative. See the following pair of words, where (6) *pela* ‘leave’ is transitive and (7) *pela-et* ‘leave’ is intransitive.

- (6)     ***t-ə-pela-γʔan-Ø***                            ***ekək-Ø***  
 1SG.SB-E-leave-3SG.OB-PAST    son-ABS.SG  
 ‘I left the son’
- (7)     ***ekək-Ø***                            ***pela-t-γʔe-Ø***  
 son -ABS.SG            leave-INTRS-3SH.S-PAST  
 ‘The son remained’