

THE LIMITS OF DEPONENCY:
A CHUKOTKO-CENTRIC PERSPECTIVE*

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Abstract. This paper investigates the question of whether there should be a general theory of (voice-related) deponency, in the sense of a common analysis to deponent patterns across languages. The main empirical focus here is the “spurious antipassive” (SAP) of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages. The hallmark of this construction is non-active, intransitive morphology on the verb, in an active, transitive morphosyntactic environment, satisfying the central criteria for characterization as a deponency mismatch. Consideration of a detailed theoretical analysis of the spurious antipassive (Bobaljik and Branigan 2006) suggests a negative answer to the research question. It is possible to derive many properties of the spurious antipassive from the interaction of independently motivated aspects of the theory of syntax with independently observed language-particular properties of Chukchi. However, the analysis in question suggests that at a formal level, the Chukchi construction bears a greater affinity to, for example, the Basque ergative displacement than it does to classical examples of deponency in Latin and Greek. While deponent patterns provide challenging windows into the range of possible morpho-syntactic mismatches, deponency as a descriptive term—even when restricted to examples of voice mismatches—does not necessarily denote a natural class of phenomena.

1. Introduction.

Deponency, with reference to Latin verbs, is characterized by Baerman (this volume) as in (1).

- (1) Deponency is a mismatch between form and function. Given that there is a morphological opposition between active and passive that is the normal realization of the corresponding functional opposition, deponents are a lexically-specified set of verbs whose passive forms function as active. Conversely, the normal function (passive) is no longer available.

The Latin example in (2) illustrates the phenomenon. The verb bears morphology from the passive paradigm, yet the syntax of the clause is active, as evidenced, for example, by the accusative case marking on the pronoun.¹

* For useful comments and suggestions, the audience at the deponency workshop and particularly to Andrew Spencer, Susi Wurmbbrand, and Phil Branigan, my collaborator in developing the analysis of Chukchi reported here. Comments from the editors of this volume have been particularly useful in attempting to identify and frame the issues. I also thank Itziar Laka for suggesting the similarity to Basque. Funding for portions of this research were provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, grant number 410-2002-0581. All errors are my own responsibility.

¹ Abbreviations in glosses: ABLative, ABSolute, ACCusative, ALLative, DATive, ERGative, INSTRumental, SG = singular, PL = plural, SUB/OBJ = subject/object (for agreement affixes), SUB(T/I) = transitive / intransitive subject agreement, AP = antipassive, PROG = progressive aspect, SBJV = subjunctive.

- (2) me=que hort-antur ut magn-o anim-o sim
 me.ACC=and exhort-3PL that great-ABL.SG spirit-ABL.SG be.1SG.SBJV
 ‘...and they exhort me to be of good courage’
 (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, book 11, letter 6; via Baerman this volume)

This paper aims to shed a small amount of light on two questions regarding the phenomenon of deponency, as given in (3).

- (3) a. Do deponent paradigms constitute evidence for special devices in an autonomous morphological component, or can they be handled in some other way?
 b. Do deponent paradigms constitute a natural class, with a common morpho-syntactic analysis or is deponency a descriptive cover for distinct phenomena with different analyses in different languages?

The first of these questions constitutes one of the motivations for the present volume. The second question is related to the first, but differs in emphasis, focusing instead on separating the universal from the language-particular. This second question looms large in research traditions that stress the universal, such as versions of generative grammar that seek universal principles as a partial answer to the logical problem of language acquisition, and will be the main focus here. Of course, approaching question (3b) in particular requires a definition of *deponent* that extends beyond Latin, yet is limited enough in scope so as to make (3b) a reasonable question to pursue. Thus, the definition of ‘extended deponence’ offered by Baerman (this volume) and Corbett (this volume), is so broad that a negative answer to (3b) on that definition seems a safe bet. The research strategy pursued here is to approach (3b) with reference to a more restricted subset of what Baerman and Corbett would term ‘extended deponency’, namely those that involve verbs whose non-active form assumes an active function. At the risk of compounding terminological confusion, I thus define the term *v-deponent* to refer to this particular range of (extended) deponency.²

- (4) *v-deponent*_{def}

Given a morphological opposition between active and non-active that is the normal realization of the corresponding functional opposition, *v-deponents* are those verbs whose non-active forms function as active.

With the sense of ‘deponent’ limited to ‘*v-deponent*’, it seems to me that (3b) is a reasonable question to ask. My specific target of investigation is an apparently (*v-*)deponent configuration in the Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages, the “spurious antipassive” (henceforth, SAP). With regard to (3a), I will conclude that no special deponency devices are necessary for the analysis of this construction, and that its properties arise from the independently observed properties of Chukchi grammar interacting in a predictable fashion with independent principles of morphology and syntax. I will also reach a negative conclusion regarding (3b), arguing that deponent

² The definition is modelled on Baerman’s, above. The choice to consider the active use of non-active voice as the defining criterion is not specific to the current paper, but rather seems to me to be the most commonly used sense of the term in the grammatical literature. Compare the definition of ‘deponent’ in the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

deponent, adj. Gram. Of verbs: Passive or middle in form but active in meaning: originally a term

constructions (even in within the limited sense of v-deponent), despite sharing characteristics at a descriptive level, do not constitute a natural class, subject to a uniform analysis, but instead, deponent configurations may arise in different languages for a variety of unrelated reasons.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I lay out the basic case for treating the SAP as an instance of deponency as I am using the term, providing just as much discussion of the complicated morphosyntax of Chukchi as is necessary to appreciate the pattern. Some further information on verbal agreement, with sample paradigms, is presented in the appendix. I then touch briefly on differences between Chukchi and Latin. In section 4, I turn to the first of the questions in (3), namely, the detailed theoretical analysis of the Chukchi SAP. The analysis is presented in detail in Bobaljik and Branigan (2006), and I will simply report the highlights here, with a particular emphasis on how the deponent pattern is handled with no new theoretical devices. That section brings us to the conclusion that the considerations that yield the v-deponent pattern in Chukchi are independent of whatever underlies (v-)deponency in Latin and Greek. Confirming evidence that surface deponency in Chukchi is derived by considerations independent of deponency as such comes, perhaps, from a consideration of the phenomenon of ergative displacement in Basque, discussed in section 5. This peculiar phenomenon has all of the important characteristics of the Chukchi SAP, save the spurious morphological marking of a voice alternation.

2. A Deponency mismatch in Chukotkan

The phenomenon of interest for the present study is a construction in the Chukotkan languages dubbed the *spurious antipassive* by Ken Hale (Halle and Hale 1997), and referred to by many others as an "inverse" alignment (following Comrie 1980). Examples from Chukchi are given in (5).³ In this pattern, the verb form is drawn from the non-active paradigm (note the antipassive prefix *ine-* boldfaced in the examples), yet the verb-external morphosyntax remains active and transitive, illustrated (as in Latin) by case-marking.⁴

of Latin Grammar. (*Online edition, consulted July 2006*).

³ The SAP also occurs in Koryak, though with more limited distribution. Most of the points made here carry over to the Koryak SAP. See Comrie (1979), Spencer (2000) for the Koryak facts, and Zhukova (1972, 1980) for the standard description of Koryak.

⁴ Chukchi examples are offered in broad transcription. Glosses are simplified somewhat for expository reasons. Certain phonological processes have not been factored out, hence the same underlying morpheme may be represented with various surface forms in the examples. Thus, *ine-* and *ena-* are vowel harmony alternants, as are *-yʔi* in (5a) and *-yʔe* in (7b), the final vowel of *ine-* is elided before another vowel, as in (5b), and schwa is generally epenthetic, but assigned in the examples to one morpheme or another arbitrarily. Note that although Chukchi has no conjugation classes (all verbs take the same inflectional morphology), inflectional morphology shows significant internal allomorphy, with agreement markers showing allomorphy for tense, aspect and mood. Only those aspects of this allomorphy directly relevant to the discussion are indicated here, thus the reader may note the same features in the gloss having different phonological forms (The suffix for 3SG.SUB(1) is *-yʔi* in the aorist, but $-\emptyset$, or *-n*, in other paradigms.) Some morphemic glosses are subject to further segmentation, not affecting the argument made here. Zero inflectional affixes have been added for expository reasons, where well motivated, and are not crucial to the analysis. Note that word order in Chukchi is reported to be free. Thus examples are presented here as given in the sources and I take surface order in Chukchi to be unenlightening for the issues under investigation.

- (7) a. $\gamma\text{əm}$ $t\text{ə-kət}\gamma\text{əntat-}\gamma\text{ʔak}$
 I (ABS) 1SG.SUB-run-1SG.SUB(I)
 'I ran.' (Skorik 1977: 19)
- b. $\text{ət}\text{ʃj}\text{on}$ $\text{Ø-kət}\gamma\text{əntat-}\gamma\text{ʔe}$
 he.ABS 3.SUB(I)-run-3SG.SUB(I)
 'He ran.' (Skorik 1977: 19)

The examples in (6)-(7) also illustrate aspects of Chukchi verbal agreement. Finite predicates show agreement with both subject and object (if there is one). As a rough approximation, agreement is typically marked twice on the finite predicate: a prefix (sometimes zero) marks subject agreement for transitive and intransitive verbs alike, while an agreement suffix marks agreement with the object if there is one, else with the subject. This yields a characteristic quirk of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages, whereby intransitive subjects are cross-referenced twice on the verb, once by a prefix and again by a suffix (see Bobaljik 1998, Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2002). Representative paradigms for agreement are given in the appendix.

2.2 Voice

As is typical for ergative languages, the major voice alternation in Chukchi is between active and antipassive (rather than passive). This is illustrated in (8). The (a) example is an active clause, with an ergative-absolutive case array and transitive agreement on the verb. Example (8b) is the corresponding antipassive; the logical object is demoted (expressed in an oblique case) and the clause is correspondingly intransitive in both case marking and agreement properties.

- (8) a. $\text{ʔaa}\check{\text{c}}\text{ek-a}$ $\text{kimit}\text{ʔ-}\text{ən}$ $\text{ne-n}\text{ʔet}\text{et-}\text{ən}$
 youth-ERG load-ABS 3.SUB(T)-carry-3SG.OBJ
 '(The) young men carried away the load'
- b. $\text{ʔaa}\check{\text{c}}\text{ek-}\text{ət}$ $\text{Ø-ine-n}\text{ʔet}\text{et-}\gamma\text{ʔet}$ $\text{kimit}\text{ʔ-e}$
 youth-PL (ABS) 3.SUB(I)-AP-carry-3PL.SUB(I) load-INSTR
 '(The) young men carried away a load'
- (Kozinsky, et al. 1988: 652)

There is a second antipassive, marked by the suffix *-tku*, typically described as having an iterative function (Dunn 1999: 216). The active / antipassive alternation with this suffix is illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. $\text{m}\text{or}\gamma\text{ə-nan}$ $\text{m}\text{ət-viri}\eta\text{-}\text{ər}\text{k}\text{ən-}\text{et}$ $\text{tum}\gamma\text{-}\text{ət}$
 we-ERG 1PL.SUB-defend-PROG-3PL.OBJ comrade-PL.ABS
 'We are defending our comrades.'
- b. muri $\text{m}\text{ət-viri}\eta\text{-}\text{tku-}\text{rk}\text{ən}$ $(\text{tom}\gamma\text{-}\text{et}\text{ə})$
 we.ABS 1PL.SUB-defend-AP-PROG comrade-PL.DAT
 'We are defending our comrades.' (Skorik 1977: 124-125)

Note that both antipassives are morphologically marked (they bear an overt morpheme) relative to the unmarked active. In all other respects, the true antipassive is identical in form to intransitives, showing regular intransitive inflectional morphology in all (or

nearly all) cells of the paradigms.⁷ Note in addition that the antipassive morphemes occupy a different position in the verbal template than agreement morphemes. Agreement morphemes (both prefixes and suffixes) occur peripherally in the word, for example outside of tense and aspect markers, while the antipassive morphemes occur between tense/aspect and the verb root. This is not evident in (8b), but can be seen in the suffix orders in (9), and is readily demonstrable from the paradigms in Skorik (1977) and Dunn (1999), see also Spencer (2000). Thus the template for Chukchi verbs is as in (10).

(10) Agreement – Mood – Tense – AP_{ine} – verb.root – AP_{tku} - Aspect - Agreement

As a final remark on the true antipassive, it should be noted that the antipassive morphology is not incompatible with transitive agreement. The antipassive construction involves the demotion of the underlying direct object to an oblique function. All else being equal, this yields a construction that is morphologically and syntactically intransitive, as seen above, and again in (11a-b). However, as Kozinsky, et al. (1988) and Dunn (1999) note, it is also possible for the antipassive to cooccur with applicativization (not marked morphologically) whereby an underlying oblique is promoted to surface direct object status when the underlying direct object has been demoted. This yields so-called “conversive” antipassives, which are formally transitive on the surface and thus have transitive agreement morphology, where object agreement picks out the promoted object *utkučʔ-ən* ‘trap’ in (11c).

- (11) a. əʔəɣ-e təkɛčʔ-ən utkučʔ-ək peʔa-nen
 father-ERG bait-ABS trap-LOC leave-3SG>3SG
 ‘Father left the bait at/in the trap.’
- b. əʔtʃon təkɛčʔ-a Ø-ena-peʔa-ɣʔe
 he.ABS bait-INSTR 3.SUB(I)-AP-leave-3SG.SUB(I)
 ‘He left the bait.’
- c. əʔəɣ-e təkɛčʔ-a utkučʔ-ən ena-peʔa-nen
 father-ERG bait-INSTR trap-ABS AP-leave-3SG>3SG
 ‘Father left the bait at/in the trap.’

(Kozinsky, et al. 1988: 663-665)

2.3 The SAP

With this much background in Chukchi morphosyntax, we may now return to the SAP in (5), repeated here, with an additional example, illustrating an SAP with the *-tku* suffix.⁸

- (12) a. ə-nan ɣəm Ø-ine-ʔu-ɣʔi
 he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUB(I)-AP-see-3SG.SUB(I)
 ‘He saw me.’

(Skorik 1977: 44)

⁷ Although this is the standard presentation (see especially Skorik 1977: 113ff), 3 of the 120 forms of Skorik’s antipassive paradigms are given (without comment) in forms that differ slightly from the corresponding intransitives, pp. 20-38 and 76-94.

⁸ This use is not attested in the Khatyrka dialect of Chukchi (Skorik 1977: passim) nor in Koryak (Comrie 1979: 238).

- b. *torɣə-nan* *ɣəm* *q-in-imti-tək*
 you.PL-ERG I (ABS) 2.SUB-AP-carry-2PL.SUB(I)
 ‘(You PL.) Carry me!’ (Skorik 1977: 83)
- c. *ə-nan* *ɣəm* *Ø-r-ine-ɬu-rkən*
 he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUB(I)-FUT-AP-see-PROG
 ‘He will be seeing me.’ (Skorik 1977: 57)
- d. *ɣə-nan* *muri* *Ø-ɬu-tku-rkən*
 you.SG-ERG us.ABS 2.SUB-see-AP-PROG
 ‘You see us.’ (Skorik 1977: 50)

Inspection of these examples shows that each clause bears a regular, transitive, active case array (ergative subject, absolutive object) while the verb bears antipassive morphology (prefix *ine-* or suffix *-tku*) and the corresponding intransitive agreement. None of the examples in (12) has an object agreement suffix, such as *-ɣəm* (1SG.OBJ, compare (6b)) or *-mək* (1PL), and instead the agreement morphology is drawn from the intransitive paradigm, with prefixes and suffixes cross-referencing the subject (compare (7)). Thus, there is in effect a double mismatch here. One mismatch is that the verbal agreement is intransitive, though the clause is transitive. The second mismatch is that the intransitive agreement morphology, which normally cross-references absolutive nominals, references instead the ergative subject in the SAP.⁹ As noted by Comrie (1979: 231) and Nedjalkov 1979: 254), examples like (12c,d) show that the spurious antipassive morphemes occupy the position of the true antipassives (inside the tense prefix or aspectual suffix) and are not in the more peripheral positions occupied by agreement prefixes (this is demonstrably systematic).

I will return to the distribution of the SAP below (see also the agreement paradigms in the appendix). At this point, I believe it is fair to conclude that the SAP in Chukchi straightforwardly meets the descriptive definition of *v*-deponency offered in (4), constituting a mismatch of non-active verbal morphology alongside active syntax.

3. Chukchi and Latin: Points of Difference

Before turning to the analysis of the Chukchi SAP, I present a few brief remarks on the difference between the manifestations of deponency in Chukchi and Latin. The research question does not hinge on questions of terminology, of course, and could be rephrased even if the term “deponent” is to be limited to Latin and Greek: given that the Chukchi SAP shares with Latin deponent verbs the peculiarity of a mismatch of non-active form with active morphosyntax (“meaning”), do they share a common analysis at some useful level of abstraction? Nevertheless a comparison of the definition of *v*-deponency offered in (4) to Baerman’s characterization of Latin deponency in (1) serves as a useful means to frame the discussion.

There are three points of difference between (1) and (4): (i) passive versus non-active; (ii) lexical specification, and (iii) loss of original function. The first of these differences is

⁹ There is exactly one partial exception. The combination 3SG>3PL in the habitual triggers the SAP, but the plural morpheme there is controlled by the absolutive nominal, i.e., the object (Comrie 1979). I return to this briefly in section 5.

relevant for an extension of the investigation to languages with voice systems other than active-passive, for example ergative languages with an antipassive as the non-active voice, and I take this extension to require no further comment. Brief remarks on the other two differences follow.

3.1 Triggers

The triggering factor for deponent verb forms differs significantly between Latin and Chukchi. In Latin (and Greek), as noted above, the deponent verbs constitute a lexically listed class.¹⁰ In Chukchi, by contrast, the SAP is an integral part of the agreement system of the language—the SAP is the obligatory means of expressing certain combinations of subject and object in certain tenses (see the transitive paradigms in (31) in the appendix). In the active (i.e., non-stative) inflections such as the aorist, the pairings that require the SAP are as listed in (13); they are formulated specifically as filters for reasons that will become clear below.

(13) subject-object agreement combinations requiring SAP (non-participial tenses)¹¹

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

These combinations form a subset of the “inverse” environments, i.e., where the object outranks the subject on the person hierarchy (1>2>3). On these grounds, Comrie (1979) (and subsequent authors) have thus referred to the SAP as a species of inverse construction. I will follow this tradition, with some trepidation, in positing a set of “inverse filters” that disallow the morphological expressions of particular combinations of subject and object. The main aim of the analysis in section 4 is to show that the SAP arises as the automatic consequence of such filters; given particular, independently motivated assumptions about universal grammar and Chukchi; the hope is that positing such filters is all that needs to be said in order for the SAP to arise, thus answering (3a) in the negative, for Chukchi.

The hesitation in labelling these filters “inverse” concerns the expanded range of SAP environments when the habitual tense/aspect is brought under consideration. In this conjugation (see (31)), the SAP is required in many non-inverse contexts in addition to those in (13), including for example, 1SG > 3SG, the reverse of (13a) and the construction that is least inverse in terms of the person hierarchy. This point notwithstanding, the trigger for deponency in Chukchi is a question of feature combinations of subject and object, and unlike Latin is not a matter of lexical specification.¹²

¹⁰ It bears mention that the class, though lexically listed, is by no means small. The “comprehensive list of deponent verbs” at the Saint Louis University Latin Teaching Materials Site (<http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/languages/classical/latin/tchmat/grammar/dep.html>) lists 421 deponent verbs for Latin (May 2006). Some verbs are deponent in part of their paradigm only (see Matthews, this volume). Xu, et al. (2006) argue for a partial basis for deponency in lexical semantics.

¹¹ In the Khatyrka dialect of Chukchi, 2SG/PL>1PL forms are syncretic with 3>1PL, and are thus not SAP environments.

¹² Indeed, it may be the case that certain transitive verbs in Chukchi are lexically specified not to undergo true antipassivization, namely the “labile” verbs, which may freely occur in ERG-ABS case frames (with

3.2 Retention

Another point of difference in the definitions (and the languages) concerns the question of retention of original function of the non-active morphology. In other words, is a deponent verb one that is non-active in form and exclusively active in syntax, or should the definition encompass verbs that are non-active in form but syncretic in distribution, occurring in both active and non-active syntax with no morphological distinction? Although Baerman's definition of a canonical deponent verb excludes the latter (following the apparent original sense of *deponent* as 'put aside', see Matthews (this volume), some modern descriptions of Latin include the "common" verbs under the label deponent, and thus one finds: "[s]ome deponents are occasionally used in a passive sense: as, *criminator*, 'I accuse', or 'I am accused'." (Greenough, et al. 1903: §190). As far as the question is applicable to Chukchi, it seems that the Chukchi forms in question do retain their original function as antipassives. This is trivially true at the level of word-form: the individual forms used to construct the spurious antipassive are drawn from the regular antipassive paradigm, and thus the individual verb forms are all ambiguous between true and spurious antipassives. A somewhat subtler take on the question (suggested by Andrew Spencer) might be whether a given form may serve both an active and a (true) antipassive function with the same syntactic arguments. This is probably not testable in the core (non-stative) conjugations, since it is only first person objects that require the SAP, and these make poor choices as logical objects in the antipassive construction on independent grounds (topicality, perhaps). Yet this is testable for the habitual conjugations, where the SAP pervades the transitive paradigm. And indeed what we do find is that the same form serves both the true and spurious antipassive functions. Thus, with a first person subject and third person (logical) object, the morphology in (14) (where $\sqrt{\quad}$ is a place holder for the root) occurs in the true antipassive paradigm (Skorik 1977: 115) and in the SAP function within the active paradigm (Skorik 1977: 67; Dunn 1999: 192).

- (14) n-ine- $\sqrt{\quad}$ -muri
PRESII-AP-VERB-1PL.SUBJ

Within the terminology established by Baerman and Corbett, the Chukchi SAP forms are thus both deponent and syncretic, to the extent that this is testable (see especially Baerman, this volume, section 9).

In sum, to this point I have argued that the Chukchi SAP shares with Latin deponent verbs the key property of non-active morphology with active syntax. A comparison with Baerman's Latin-based characterization of deponency highlights points of difference between the two phenomena. We now have before us sufficient understanding to proceed to finer questions of analysis. In the next section, I will briefly outline the analysis of the Chukchi SAP as presented in Bobaljik and Branigan (2006), showing how the various properties of the construction arise from independently justifiable assumptions. As it happens, these considerations will lead us away from Latin, thus suggesting the negative answer to the question of unification.

transitive morphology) or in ABS-OBL case frames, with intransitive morphology (Nedjalkov 1979: 244). However, all descriptions of Chukchi verb inflection imply that in their transitive array, even these verbs will indeed participate in the SAP. I have not located relevant examples yet.

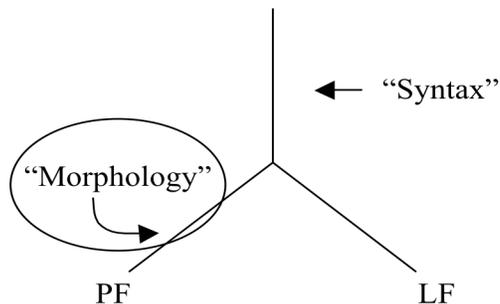
4. The Chukchi SAP: Analysis

In this section, I highlight the key properties of the analysis of the Chukchi SAP put forward in Bobaljik and Branigan (2006, henceforth B&B). The presentation here will be rather cursory, and the reader is referred to the work cited for justification, additional detail and consideration of alternatives.

Distilled to its core, the intuition behind the B&B analysis is that the detransitivization of the verb (in its morphology, but not its syntax) is a predictable response of the morphological component to the “inverse filters” such as those in (13) (cf., Comrie 1979). We take it that the syntactic structure is logically prior to morphology, and thus adopt a realizational theory of morphology (specifically, Distributed Morphology, though on this point, any theory in which the morphology realizes, sometimes imperfectly, the feature structure generated by the syntax will suffice). The syntax applies unremarkably in all transitive clauses, but certain combinations are barred from controlling transitive agreement morphology on the verb. For SAP configurations, deletion of the offending features, in the morphological component, “repairs” the morphological structure, so that it no longer violates the inverse filters, but this results in a morphological agreement pattern that is effectively intransitive, thus yielding the observed mismatch. The tricky part of the analysis, as Spencer (2000) points out, lies not in the detransitivization as such (which can be achieved in many theories), but in having the deletion of agreement features force the appearance of the syntactically unmotivated antipassive morphology. B&B argue that recent advances in the study of movement dependencies and their interaction with phonological considerations point to a solution to this part of the puzzle, and more specifically, a solution which all but necessitates that it is the antipassive (as opposed to any other morpheme) that must occur spuriously as the signal of the morphological detransitivization.

The B&B analysis is set within the general GB/Minimalist syntactic framework, supplemented by a realizational approach to morphology, as noted above. This framework includes a commitment to a model of grammar whereby syntactic structures are generated by the syntactic component, and the output of this component is then subject to interpretation by a semantic (LF) and a morpho-phonological (PF) component, as in the familiar “Y” model in (15) and related models.

(15)

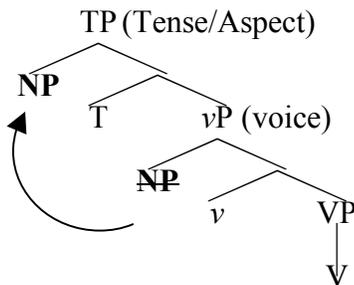


These commitments take matching of form and meaning to be the null case, with mismatches to be explained with a theoretical apparatus that is permissive enough to account for observed variation, yet restrictive enough to generate (correct) predictions about new phenomena. As a realizational theory, the syntactic structures are taken to be

abstract (thus syntax manipulates features and nodes, not “words”), and the interpretive components assign to these structures appropriate sound and meaning representations. Within this architecture, one source of potential form-meaning mismatches lies in the “morphology”, that is, the mapping procedure that assigns morpho-phonological representations to syntactic structures. We exploit this potential for mismatch in the account of the SAP.

In line with recent theorizing in this general framework, we assume that core (i.e., non-oblique) nominal arguments in active clauses enter into two local relationships, which we express in terms of phrase structure and movement (or chain formation). After movement, the nominal features are inactive in their lower position, which we indicate in the trees below with strikethrough; for present purposes, this is equivalent to traces in GB. It should be noted that these structures define relations among features, and do not necessarily indicate word-order; they are thus partially analogous to f-structures in LFG and similar constructs, although the framework differs from LFG in taking these structures to be fundamentally hierarchical in the phrase-structural sense. The following diagram illustrates the basic derivation we would assign to a basic intransitive clause.¹³

(16) Intransitive Clause



“Subject agreement” in general, and more narrowly, the suffixal agreement in Chukchi, is a property of the T node, and is controlled exclusively by the features of the nominal that enters into a local dependency with this node, as sketched in this diagram. For Chukchi, we assume an additional CP layer dominating the TP in (16). I assume that the subject agreement prefixes are part of this higher projection. Evidence for this includes the observation that the (subject) agreement prefixes show a significant degree of fusion with markers of mood, but no significant interactions with lower features (tense, aspect), in contrast to the agreement morphology realized at T. For additional discussion of the internal hierarchical structure of the Chukotko-Kamchtkan verb, see Bobaljik (2000) and Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2001). I omit further discussion of the CP layer.¹⁴

¹³ An unaccusative clause would be minimally different in that the lower position of the sole NP argument would be in the complement of VP, rather than the specifier of vP.

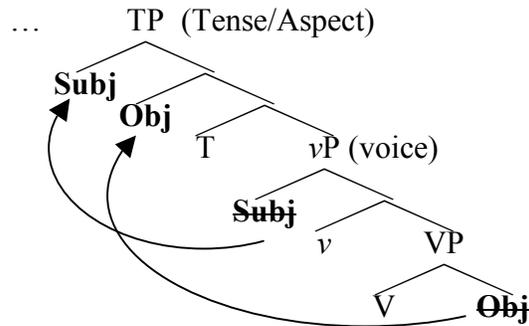
¹⁴ By treating the subject agreement prefixes as occurring in CP, we treat the double agreement in intransitive clauses in particular as analogous to, e.g., the complementizer agreement phenomena found, for example, in various Germanic languages, as illustrated in (i), from Bavarian.

(i) ... ob-st noch Minga kumm-st
 whether-2SG to M. come-2SG
 ‘whether you’re coming to M.’

(Bayer 1984)

The next tree indicates the structure we assign to an active, transitive derivation in Chukchi (with CP omitted). The labels “subject” and “object” are for expository convenience, and serve no role in the formal analysis, beyond identifying the features associated with particular nominals.

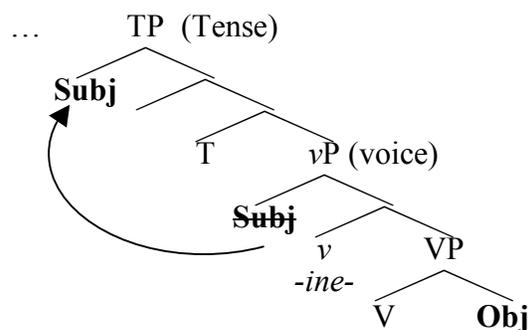
(17) Transitive Clause (Active, Ergative)



This derivation incorporates the premise that the relationship of syntactic configurations to argument structure is universal, and that ergative languages do not vary from nominative ones in this regard. In current terms, this means that the internal argument is merged in VP and the external argument is introduced in the specifier of a functional projection, vP. The difference between (the abstract structures underlying) ergative and accusative case arrays lies in the formal licensing relations in the higher part of the tree. For familiar nominative-accusative systems, a standard assumption within this framework is that the functional head *v* is responsible for formal licensing of the object (“structural accusative case”, see Wurmbrand, to appear, for evidence and discussion). B&B propose, following Bok-Bennema (1991) and Nash (1995), that the basic property that differentiates the ergative system in Chukchi is that in Chukchi, the *v* head cannot check/license object case. Given this assumption, both subject and object raise to the domain of T° for checking. The specific ordering of subject above object within TP is determined by the principle of “Tucking In” (Richards 2001). We argue that independent evidence for this multiple-checking by T, comes from the existence of portmanteau morphology (for subject-object combinations) on the agreeing head T°.

A special case of an intransitive derivation is the (true) Antipassive, such as (8b), for which the derivation is given in (18).

(18) True Antipassive Clause

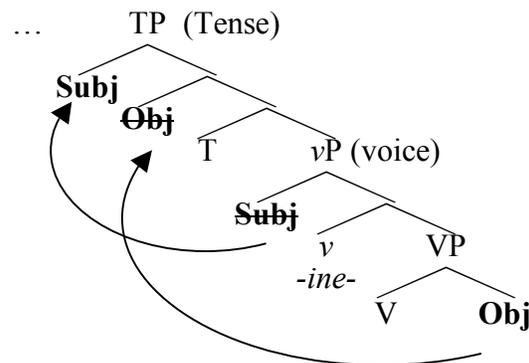


Salient properties of the antipassive derivation include the following. The syntactic representation of the argument structure is the same as that of a transitive clause, with a

subject and object, base-generated (“merged”) in the appropriate positions. Unlike an active clause, though, in the antipassive, the object does not raise out of the VP/vP into the functional domain. As the object remains in VP, it is not formally licensed by T, and requires a special licensing, namely, an oblique case.¹⁵ Since the object remains in the VP, the TP domain (where, by hypothesis, agreement relations are calculated) is formally intransitive, despite the transitive argument structure lower in the tree. Recall that we assume a realizational theory of morphology, and under this view, the overt antipassive morpheme *-ine-* does not cause the syntactic configuration in (18), rather the morpheme is introduced as a reflection of the antipassive syntax. One may think of *-ine-* as the *exponent* or *spell out* of the *v* head when there is an object in its local domain, the head being spelled out as \emptyset otherwise (e.g., when there is no object or when the object has raised out).

At this point, most of the pieces are in place for our analysis of the SAP, which we sketch in (19).

(19) Spurious Antipassive



In our view, the SAP is a normal transitive clause syntactically. Thus, it has a normal transitive derivation, as the arrows indicate: both subject and object raise to T for case-checking, as in (31). What “goes wrong” is the morphological interpretation of such a clause. As pointed out above, the SAP is obligatory with certain combinations of subject and object. We propose that such inverse filters are computed locally, i.e., when the two arguments are in a checking relationship with the same functional head. The offending configuration is resolved, in the mapping to the morphological component, by deleting the features of one of the arguments (the lower one) at the checking head. This is indicated by strikethrough of the top copy of the object in (19). If we focus on the T domain, the deletion of the object features makes \bar{T} (the locus of agreement) appear intransitive.

Now, the key to understanding what happens in the lower part of the tree comes from recent work in the syntax of chains which has shown that the automatic consequence of

¹⁵ Within the framework we are assuming, see (15), syntactic structure underlies both morphological realization and semantic interpretation. Since all structures are hierarchical, this perspective on the antipassive not only characterizes the morphological form of the verb, but also finds confirmation in properties that demonstrate that the logical object of an antipassive is in a position lower than the corresponding object in an active clause. This has been demonstrated for languages other than Chukchi (see Bittner 1994, Bittner and Hale 1996, Wharram 2003), and the available Chukchi evidence is consistent with this view.

the deletion of a higher copy in a chain is the exceptional activation of a lower copy. A straightforward example can be drawn from multiple *wh*-questions in certain Slavic languages, including Serbo-Croatian (examples and analysis from Bošković 2002).¹⁶

In Serbo-Croatian, as in some other Slavic languages, there is a syntactic requirement that all *wh*-words in a multiple question must front, as in (20). Failure to do so yields unacceptability, except perhaps under certain special interpretations such as echo questions.

- (20) a. Ko šta_i kupuje t_i? b. ?*Ko kupuje šta?
 who what buys who buys what
 ‘Who buys what?’ ‘Who buys what?’ (p.355)

The requirement that all *wh*-words front appears to be relaxed just in case the fronting would yield a sequence of homophonous *wh*-words, as in (21).¹⁷ In exactly this environment, the object *wh*-word is pronounced in its lower, rather than its higher position.

- (21) a. *šta šta uslovljava t_i? b. šta uslovljava šta?
 what what conditions what conditions what
 ‘What conditions what?’ ‘What conditions what?’ (p.364)

Bošković’s account (with subject traces/copies suppressed) is given in (22). In a normal clause, all *wh*-words front, creating chains that consist of sequences of copies of the moved item. In the normal case, all but the highest of these copies are deleted as in (22a), yielding the surface order in (20). The interpretation of (21b) as a regular multiple-question indicates that the representation which feeds semantic interpretation is that arising from movement. Post-syntactically, then, where highest-copy pronunciation is expected, a morphological anti-homophony filter applies, blocking pronunciation of the highest copy, and automatically triggering the pronunciation of the next lower copy, as in (22b).

- (22) a. Ko šta_i kupuje šta_i
 who what buys what
 ‘Who buys what?’
 b. šta šta_i uslovljava šta_i?
 what what conditions what
 ‘What conditions what?’

In sum, the automatic consequence of deletion of an element in a high position, to satisfy a PF filter, is the exceptional re-activation or re-appearance of that element in its low (trace) position. That this occurs on the “left branch” of the derivation in (15) is evidenced by the observation that to the extent that *wh*-words can remain in situ with

¹⁶ Other phenomena illustrating this effect include restrictions on Object Shift in Germanic (Bobaljik 1995, 2002), on *wh-in situ* in English multiple questions (Pesetsky 1998) and on unexpectedly “low” clitics in Slavic (Franks 1998).

¹⁷ See Menn and MacWhinney (1984) for an extensive survey of constraints on repeated morphemes, and various responses / repair strategies that are used.

special effects (echo questions), such special effects are conspicuously absent *just when* the anti-homophony constraint forces high deletion and thus the lower pronunciation.

It is this effect which fills in the missing pieces of the SAP derivation in (19). In a normal transitive derivation, as in (17), the features of the object are active in the TP domain, yielding object agreement, and are thus deleted from the VP domain, which contains only traces of arguments. In the SAP, although the object has syntactically undergone movement to the TP domain (unlike a true antipassive), deletion of the object's features in the TP domain, to satisfy the inverse filters, has the automatic consequence that the lower instantiation of those features is reactivated, but only in the morphology. In this regard, the v P domain for an SAP "looks like" an antipassive clause (18), rather than a true transitive clause: the v P contains an active (non-strike-through) object, but only a trace of the subject. Recall now that we assumed for (18) that the appearance of antipassive morphology is a reflection of the feature structure of the clause, rather than the cause of that structure. Since the outcome of deletion in (19) looks like an antipassive, the same consideration will trigger the insertion of the antipassive morpheme in the morphology. Like the Serbo-Croatian multiple question paradigm, the effects here happen in the post-syntactic, morphological realization of syntactic structure, and thus the syntactic and semantic effects of true antipassivization are conspicuously absent.¹⁸

In sum, the core theoretical devices used in the Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) analysis of the Chukchi SAP are general devices none of which is specifically tailored to derive deponency. Under our conception of things, the deponent pattern (spurious detransitivization) arises in Chukchi because of a confluence of independent properties. Key among these is the filters that regulate the morphological expression of combinations of arguments that undergo checking/licensing at a single functional head. This consideration provides some predictive power regarding the distribution of this type of deponent pattern.

Recall from the discussion of (17) that we assume that the licensing of subject and object by T is a property of ergative systems, where the syntax underlying nominative-accusative alignments involves checking at distinct heads. If this is correct, we are led to expect that the kind of feature-driven detransitivization exemplified by the Chukchi SAP will be limited to ergative arrays. A possible consideration in favour of this view comes from Itelmen, Chukchi's southern cousin.¹⁹ The Itelmen agreement morphology is clearly cognate to Chukchi and shares most of the quirks that are characteristic of this family (see Comrie 1983, Bobaljik 1998). However, Itelmen is alone among the Chukotko-

¹⁸ One remaining question is in the distribution of *ine-* vs. *-tku* allomorphs of v in the SAP. In all conjugations except the habitual, the SAP is used only with first person objects, and the allomorphy reflects number. It is thus tempting (cf. Comrie 1979) to relate this to the iterative function of the *-tku* antipassive. A proposal implementing this within *phase* theory is hinted at in Bobaljik and Branigan (2006: 77 n.23). Formalizing this presents various hurdles. Most glaringly, treating the *ine-* vs. *-tku* as number agreement on v works for all the non-stative moods but fails for the habitual, where 2PL and 3PL objects trigger the *ine-*SAP (though 3PL objects are special in other regards, see n. 9). Note also that while *-tku* may carry iterative meaning (related to plurality or pluractionality), it is not reported that number of the logical object plays a role in choice of antipassive among true antipassives. This issue is thus left as an unresolved problem for the analysis.

¹⁹ This should be set against the possible counter-evidence from Yurok, as described by Baerman (this volume). Yurok is not ergative, and may have a deponent aspect to its agreement paradigm, conditioned by subject-object interactions. As Baerman notes, though, there are a variety of qualifications to be made in considering the forms in question to be morphologically passive.

Kamchatkan languages in lacking ergative morphosyntax, and in addition, lacks any analogue to the SAP, with regular transitive morphology throughout the transitive paradigm. This state of affairs is of course what is predicted by the view sketched here.²⁰

A related prediction concerns the status of ergativity as a natural class. The emerging consensus appears to be that there is no single unified account of ergativity that holds for all languages with an ergative case array (see the papers collected in Johns, et al. 2006). While ergative case in Chukchi is clearly structural, it appears there are other languages in which ergative may be a thematic case, restricted by theta-role rather than surface transitivity, and with a passive-like derivation rather than the active derivation in (17) (Hindi-Urdu has been suggested as such a language). If such languages exist, then they would not involve multiple licensing by a single functional head, and hence would not be subject to the kinds of filters posited in (13), and hence could not have a construction like the SAP (even if they have an antipassive). Considerations such as those mentioned in this and the previous paragraph thus go some way to answering the question of why deponency seems so rarely attested. It arises only when a particular constellation of other conditions are met.

Thus, the Chukchi SAP has the properties it has, and in particular, the property of active syntax with derived, non-active morphology, as a result of the application of a set of language particular filters, interacting with the cross-linguistic principle that suppression of the higher copy of a moved element triggers activation of the lower copy (trace) of that element. There is no reason to suspect that these mechanisms are at play in Latin (and Greek) deponent verbs.²¹ Thus, we reach the conclusion that despite sharing the descriptive property of v-deponency, at the level of formal analysis, Latin deponent verbs and the Chukchi SAP have nothing in particular in common. A further consideration in favour of this (negative) conclusion is presented in the next section.

²⁰ Note that various authors have proposed that in nominative-accusative languages, the direct and indirect object may be licensed by the same functional head (see, for example, Anagnostopoulou 2002). Thus, where filters restricting combinations of subject and object are expected in ergative languages, the analogue for nominative-accusative languages would be conditions on the morphological expression of various combinations of direct and indirect objects. The Person Case Constraint family of phenomena (such as the French **me-lui* restriction on clitics, see Bonet 1994) seem at first blush to fit the bill.

²¹ For an account of Latin deponency set within the general framework adopted here, see Embick (2000).

5. Basque: SAP without Antipassive

Armed with the analysis of the Chukchi SAP presented above, we may now turn to another phenomenon in an ergative language involving apparent detransitivization in response to agreement filters. The relevant construction is the “ergative displacement” in Basque (for detailed description, and prior accounts, see Laka 1993, Rezac 2003, and Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003). A synopsis of the defining characteristics of this phenomenon is given in (23); according to the available descriptions, Ergative Displacement is obligatory when the conditions in the first line are met.

(23) Ergative Displacement (Basque)

If clause is non-present, and subject > object = {1,2} > 3
then

The ergative subject governs absolutive agreement

The absolutive object fails to govern (absolutive) agreement

The similarity to the Chukchi SAP is striking. Agreement morphology is intransitive, while verb-external syntax is transitive, as witnessed by case marking. Moreover, in precisely this configuration, the intransitive agreement morphology is controlled by the ergative, rather than the absolutive, argument. There is, however, one remarkable difference between the two constructions, namely that the Chukchi SAP involves a morphological mark of detransitivization (the antipassive morpheme), and it is in virtue of this property that the SAP qualifies as deponent (see Matthews, this volume for remarks on the implicit role of morphological marking in the attention paid to deponency). Basque ergative displacement involves no mark of a voice alternation, and thus does not meet the criteria for deponency, even under the definition in (4). I argue here that this difference is superficial, Basque lacks any morphologically marked voice opposition, and hence, the alternation in Basque may receive the same analysis as the Chukchi SAP, up to the morphological realization of the functional head v , which in Basque remains null whether or not an object is in its local domain. Not only does the Chukchi SAP lack a formal affinity to Latin deponency (despite the superficial resemblance in terms of v -deponency (4)), the family of constructions with which it does form a natural class are not necessarily deponent even in the broad sense. The following paragraphs sketch just enough information about the Basque to admit this conclusion, and then note one final curious point of similarity between Chukchi and Basque that falls outside of the analysis offered here, for both languages.

Basque ergative displacement is exemplified in (25). Example (25a-b) are controls, illustrating the normal agreement pattern in the present tense. This conforms to the template in (24), from Laka (1993: 35). Ergative and absolutive agreement morphology are distinguished both by their form and their position in the word, with the absolutive agreement (object) occurring as a prefix. The example in (25c) illustrates ergative displacement. Although the syntax and semantics of the clause are transitive, the verbal morphology is from the intransitive paradigm, with an absolutive prefix cross-referencing the subject, even though the latter is ergative.

(24) ABSOLUTIVE — VERB — DATIVE — MODAL — ERGATIVE — TENSE
 AGREEMENT ROOT AGREEMENT AGREEMENT

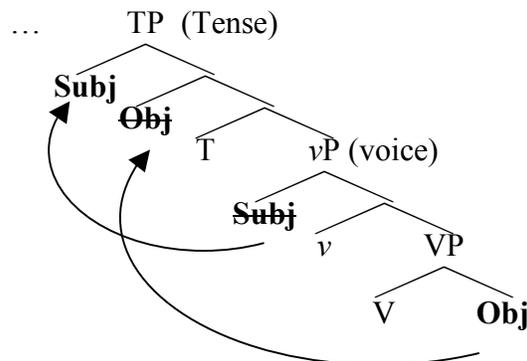
- (25) a. (nik) **d-akar-t**
 I.ERG 3SG.ABS-bring-1SG.ERG
 ‘I bring it.’
- b. **n-akar**
 1S.ABS-bring
 ‘He brings me.’
- c. (nik) **n-ekarren**
 1SG.ABS-bring.past
 ‘I brought it’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 208-210)

In addition to the transitive case array, Laka shows that the distribution of reflexives continues to treat the ergative displacement examples (such as (26b)) as transitive.

- (26) a. Nik neure burua ikusten d-u-t
 1SG.ERG my.own head.ABS see.IMPF 3.ABS-have-1.ERG
 ‘I see myself.’
- b. Nik neure burua ikusten n-u-en
 1SG.ERG my.own head.ABS see.IMPF 1.ABS-have-PAST
 ‘I saw myself.’ (Laka 1993: 54)

The tree in (27) applies the analysis of the Chukchi SAP to Basque ergative displacement. The syntactic and morphological derivations are identical, with the exception that the filters that apply in Basque pick out a different set of person-number combinations of subject and object. The only difference between the derivation in (27) and that in (19) is in the phonological realization of the head *v*; Chukchi has an antipassive morpheme, which is thus used in this environment, where Basque has no such morpheme. The construction in Basque should, and does, look simply like an intransitive verb in terms of its agreement morphology.

(27) Ergative Displacement



Further Basque facts indicate the fine line between syntax and morphology, which is central to the view espoused here. In Basque, the agreement morphology normally surfaces on an auxiliary, rather than on the main verb (as it does in Chukchi). As in other languages, Basque displays a phenomenon of auxiliary selection, governed by argument

structure. As Laka stresses (p.54), although the agreement morphology in ergative displacement constructions is drawn from the intransitive array, the auxiliary used is nevertheless the transitive auxiliary *ukan* ‘have’, rather than the auxiliary *izan* ‘be’ which is expected when there is only an absolutive agreement marker (the form of this auxiliary in (26b) would be *n-intz-en*). The analysis presented here makes the right cut between these two morphological signals of transitivity.²² The choice of auxiliary is determined by argument structure, a property that is unaffected by the filters and their resulting deletion operations, hence auxiliary selection remains transitive. It is only agreement morphology (and voice, relevant only to Chukchi) that is intransitive.²³

Before closing this section, I note one loose end for which I have no account. In Basque, there is a special plural morpheme, not indicated in the template in (24), which occurs between the absolutive agreement marker and the verb root. Ergative displacement does not affect this morpheme: even though the absolutive agreement marker is controlled by the ergative nominal in the construction, the appearance of the plural morpheme is still controlled by the absolutive NP. This is shown in (28b), with the morpheme in question boldfaced. Example (28a) is a present tense control, where both the absolutive agreement and absolutive number are controlled by the absolutive NP.

- (28) a. Nik liburuak irakurri **d-it-u-t**
 I.ERG books.ABS read 3.ABS-PL-have-1.ERG
 ‘I read the books.’
- b. Nik liburuak irakurri **n-it-u-en**
 I.ERG books.ABS read 1.ABS-PL-have-PAST
 ‘I have read the books.’
- (Ortiz de Urbina 1989)

Two avenues of exploration present themselves. On the one hand, we may seek evidence for further articulation of the functional structure of the clause, with a number agreement projection distinct from the locus of the other agreement morphology. The filters may not apply to this node. Care must be taken in fleshing this out so as not to undermine the necessary feature movement chains and their consequences for the post-deletion morphological representation. On the other hand, we might suspect verbal number (pluractionality) here. As noted by Corbett (2000: 253) (see also Durie 1985), it is not uncommon for verbal number to pick out absolutives regardless of what agreement morphology may be doing.

Note incidentally that the same issue arises in Chukchi (as mention in fn. 9, above). In the combination of 3SG subject acting on 3 object in the habitual mood, the SAP is required,

²² The proposal here thus shares some measure of affinity to the suggestion in Heath (1976) that ergative displacement is a species of antipassive. Objections to that analysis have been on the grounds that the construction displays none of the canonical syntactic, semantic, or verb-external morphosyntactic properties of an antipassive. Of course, this is exactly the characteristic behaviour of a spurious antipassive.

²³ Compare the Basque case with the Sanskrit periphrastic perfectives discussed by Stump (this volume). In Basque Ergative Displacement, there is a mismatch internal to the form of the auxiliary: the form of the root is justified by the syntactico-semantic context (transitive), while the agreement is unjustifiably intransitive. I take this as evidence that the apparent detransitivization in the agreement is morphological, not syntactic in nature. In the Sanskrit perfectives discussed by Stump (as I understand it), the mismatch is at a different level, with both auxiliary and main verb showing the surface for that arguably fails to match the semantics (argument structure or voice). The differing nature of the facts in the two languages leads to different theoretical treatments.

and the agreement morphology conforms to the intransitive agreement paradigm, except that the absolutive plural marker is still governed by the absolutive NP (see (29b)).

- (29) a. ənan ətʃjon n-ine-ʃʔu-qin
 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS MOOD-AP-see-3SUBJ
 ‘He sees him.’
- b. ənan ətri n-ine-ʃʔu-qin-et
 3SG.ERG 3PL.ABS MOOD-AP-see-3SUBJ-PL
 ‘He sees them.’
- (Skorik 1977: 66)

I will leave further investigation of this issue as a topic for future research.

6. Summary and conclusions

This paper has examined in some detail a construction which meets the main criterion for deponency, namely, a set of verb forms with non-active, intransitive morphology occurring in syntactic environments that are active and transitive. I have offered two conclusions here. First, I have shown that the pattern can be derived with no special morphological devices, and is in fact even expected from certain theoretical perspectives, given a certain constellation of properties. Second, I have argued that at the level of theoretical analysis, the key properties of the Chukchi SAP have no obvious point of connection to deponency in Latin and Greek, and if anything, are related to other person-governed transitivity mismatches, such as Basque ergative displacement, which fail to meet the criteria of deponency even in the sense defined in (4). Thus, I conclude that “v-deponency” as defined in (4) may serve as a useful descriptive label for identifying intriguing patterns, presenting challenging problems for morphological and syntactic accounts, but does not pick out a natural class of phenomena with a common underlying analysis. Both questions with which the paper started are thus answered in the negative for the case at hand, pending resolution of the various loose ends mentioned above.

7. Appendix: Chukchi verb agreement paradigms (partial)

Verbs in Chukchi inflect for ten combinations of tense, mood and aspect, in addition to agreement. There are no conjugation classes, and thus the inflectional morphology is the same for all verbs, aside from phonological interactions. Illustrative paradigms for intransitive verbs are given in (30), and the corresponding paradigms for transitive verbs are given in (31). The Aorist (Skorik’s “Past I”) is the morphologically unmarked conjugation (in the sense that there are no tense, aspect, or mood markers) but involves a variety of thematic suffixes that have an odd distribution. The Future Progressive (Skorik’s “Future 2”) shows both a tense prefix (*re-*) and an aspectual suffix (*-rkən*) in addition to the agreement morphology. Note that agreement markers (prefixes and suffixes alike) are always peripheral to tense, aspect and mood (not shown), while the antipassive markers *ine-* and *-tku*, even in their guise as SAP morphemes, occur inside tense and aspect. The aorist and future progressive are what Dunn (1999) refers to as active inflections (as contrasted with “stative” inflections, not to be confused with the active-antipassive voice alternation). The morphology in the active inflections is specific to verbal inflection. The third column (“habitual”, Skorik’s Present 2) exemplifies one of the two stative conjugations. These conjugations lack agreement prefixes, and the agreement suffixes are largely the same as those used for predicative nouns and adjectives. The primary source for these paradigms is Skorik (1977).

(30) Chukchi intransitive verb agreement

SUBJ	Aorist			Future Progressive			Habitual		
1SG	t-	√	-yʔek	t-re-	√	-rkən	n-	√	-iyəm
2SG		√	-yʔi	re-	√	-rkən	n-	√	-iyət
3SG		√	-yʔi	re-	√	-rkən	n-	√	-qin
1PL	mət-	√	-mək	mət-re-	√	-rkən	n-	√	-muri
2PL		√	-tək	re-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-	√	-turi
3PL		√	-yʔe-t	re-	√	-rkəni-ŋə-t	n-	√	-qin-et

The corresponding paradigms for transitive verbs are given here.

(31) Chukchi transitive verb agreement

SUBJ	OBJ	Aorist			Future Progressive			Habitual		
1SG	2SG	t-	√	-yət	t-re-	√	-rkəni-yət	n-ine-	√	-iyəm
	2PL	t-	√	-tək	t-re-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-ine-	√	-iyəm
	3SG	t-	√	-yʔen	t-re-	√	-rkən	n-ine-	√	-iyəm
	3PL	t-	√	-net	t-re-	√	-rkən-et	n-ine-	√	-iyəm
1PL	2SG	mət-	√	-yət	mət-re-	√	-rkəni-yət	n-ine-	√	-muri
	2PL	mət-	√	-tək	mət-re-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-ine-	√	-muri
	3SG	mət-	√	-yʔen	mət-re-	√	-rkən	n-ine-	√	-muri
	3PL	mət-	√	-net	mət-re-	√	-rkən-et	n-ine-	√	-muri
2SG	1SG	ine-	√	-yʔi	r-ine-	√	-rkən	n-ine-	√	-iyət
	1PL		√	-tku-yʔi	re-	√	-tku-rkən	n-	√	-tku-iyət
	3SG		√	-yʔen	re-	√	-rkən	n-ine-	√	-iyət
	3PL		√	-net	re-	√	-rkən-et	n-ine-	√	-iyət
2PL	1SG	ine-	√	-tək	r-ine-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-ine-	√	-turi
	1PL		√	-tku-tək	re-	√	-tku-rkəni-tək	n-	√	-tku-turi
	3SG		√	-tkə	re-	√	-rkəni-tkə	n-ine-	√	-turi
	3PL		√	-tkə	re-	√	-rkəni-tkə	n-ine-	√	-turi
3SG	1SG	ine-	√	-yʔi	r-ine-	√	-rkən	n-ine-	√	-qin
	1PL	ne-	√	-mək	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-mək	n-	√	-muri
	2SG	ne-	√	-yət	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-yət	n-	√	-iyət
	2PL	ne-	√	-tək	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-	√	-turi
	3SG		√	-nin	re-	√	-rkən-in	n-ine-	√	-qin
	3PL		√	-nin-et	re-	√	-rkən-in-et	n-ine-	√	-qin-et

3PL	1SG	ne-	√	-yəm	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-yəm	n-	√	-iyəm
	1PL	ne-	√	-mək	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-mək	n-	√	-muri
	2SG	ne-	√	-yət	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-yət	n-	√	-iyət
	2PL	ne-	√	-tək	ne-re-	√	-rkəni-tək	n-	√	-turi
	3SG	ne-	√	-yʔen	ne-re-	√	-rkən	n-	√	-qin
	3PL	ne-	√	-net	ne-re-	√	-rkən-et	n-	√	-qin-et

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