Valency operators in Kamas

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1. Kamas (Uralic, Samoyed, South Siberia, extinct) had two productive valency operators, one which increases argument places (-Tə), and one which decreases them (-Ō). They may occur in combination in the order "increase-decrease" (-T-Ō) as in (1c), but not vice versa. The aim of the paper is to give a structured account of the functional range of the two markers (with a side glance on other languages of the Sayan area).

2. The first operator derives transitive from intransitive, and causative from transitive verbs as in (1a–b) and (2a–b). The second operator derives intransitive from transitive verbs, e.g., anticausatives like *ardadər=ō-* 'perish, go bad' from *ardadər-* 'spoil, damage' (KW:6a), reflexives—cf. (1c), (3a, b)—, or reciprocals. In addition, probably departing from pairs like *edə-* 'hang up (tr.)' : *ed-ö-* 'hang (itr.)', the intransitivizer acquired the function of specifying durative state-of-affairs, ending up with intransitive verbs as, e.g., *i bə-* 'liɁ down, lie' : *i b-ö-* 'lie' (KW:21–22).

(1)   a.   *köz   bü-nə   üzə-bi*
           coal   water-LAT   fall-PST
           'the coal fell into the water' (KW:88)

      b.   *selə-ne   pi-m   bü-nə   üš-**tə**-bi-em*
           sharpen-PTC   stone-ACC   water-LAT   fall-**TR**-PST-1SG
           'I dropped the grindstone into the water' (KW:85)

      cɁ   *n̉una-nə   te me-źə   üš-**t-ö**-bi*
           cliff-LAT   rope-INS   fall-**TR-REFL**-PST
           'with a rope he let himself down into the cliff' (KW:93)

(2)   a.   *tăn   sima-l   ťazər-la-dən*
           you   eye-2SG   cure-FUT-3PL.OC
           'They will cure your eye' (KW:99)

      b.   *măn   sima-mťazər-**də**-lə-m*
           I   eye-1SG   cure-**CAUS**-FUT-1SG
           'I will have my eye cured' (KW:99)

(3) Ɂ a.   *kuʒu-m   săbəj -bi,   pa -bi*
           brain-ACC   pull.out-PST   cook-PST
           'she pulled the brain out and cooked it' (KW:97)

ə Ɂ b.   *aspa   ed - ,   Ɂ uja-j   sil   pad-**ō**-*
           cauldron   hang-IMP2SG   meat-ADJ   fat   cook-**REFL**-IMP
           'Cauldron, hang up [yourself], meat and fat, cook yourself!' (KW:96)

3. In examples (1–3), the valency operators may be understood as verb derivation suffixes proper, i.e. verbs derived with the suffixes -Tə, -Ō, and their combination -T-Ō are considered new lexical entries. The functional range of these suffixes, however, covers also occurrence in combination with participle and converb endings. With the participle in -NTA (*-na ~ -ne ~ -ta ~ -te*), which itself is unspecified for voice, the argument place decreaser -Ō occurs quite regularly with transitive verbs in order to specify object orientation, i.e. a passive reading of the participle, cf. (4a–b). The

argument place increaser -Tə, on the other hand, in combination with non-finite forms, has a variety of causative readings, and qualifies also as a marker of controlled activity. In (5) it occurs with a converb in the *causative-reflexive* reading; note that the combination of the base verb *t'ür-* 'disappear' with causative -Tə does in no way specify the reflexive component ('makes itself disappear'), leaving this interpretation up to the context. The *causative-permissive* reading (cf. Nedjalkov & Sil'nickij 1969: 39) is found in (6a) (all examples in (6) are formed with the participle in -NTA). In (6b–c), the *causative-instrumental* function can be found: the suffix occurs with NPs which are used in a function specified by the base verb. The selectional criteria are unclear, other instruments do not need the suffix, cf. the grindstone in (1b) (*selə-ne* not **selə-də-ne pi 'sharpening stone'). Examples like the herder in (6c) correspond to what is known as the *charakterizing aktionsart* in Selkup (a language closely related to Kamas), which is derived by the etymologically cognate suffix *-ty* as, e.g., in *təm-ty-* 'be a merchant' (from *təmy-* 'buy') (Xelimskij et al. 1980: 233). The characterizing function is a possible reading also in (6d). In general, as with the Kamas designation of the second month in autumn in (6e), the exact reading of the suffix may be ambigous.

(4) a. *amor-ō̄-na*   *ine*
         eat-**PASS**-**PTC**   horse
         'eaten horse' (KW:178)

     b. *saj*   *ńe bd-ȫ-ne*   *sazən*
         off   tear-**PASS**-**PTC**   paper
         'torn up paper' (KW:57)

(5) *na b bü-nə*   *t'ür-də-j*   *pă -lu -lia*
     duck   water-**LAT**   disappear-**CAUS**-**CV**   immerge-**MOM**-**PRS**
     'the duck plunged into the water' (KW:53b)

(6) a. *mekker-də-ne*   *kuza*
         cheat-**CAUS**-**PTC**   man
         'man who gets cheated (who permits [his own] being cheated)' (KW:39a)

     b. *t'ü*   *tĭl-də-ne*   *baza*
         ground   dig-**CAUS**-**PTC**   iron
         'plough (lit. iron made digging the ground)' (KW:16b)

     c. *mal*   *kadar-də-na*   *kuza*
         cattle   herd-**CAUS**-**PTC** man
         'herder (lit. person made herding the cattle)' (KW:37b)

     d. *orar-də-na*   *men*
         bark-**CHAR**-**PTC** dog
         'barking dog (lit. dog making itself bark, i.e. a dog which barks a lot)' (KW:49b)

     e. *saməj-də-na*   *ki*
         hunt in the forest-**CAUS/CHAR**-**PTC**   month
         'second month in autumn' (KW:57a)

         'month which allows to hunt in the forest' (causer attribute)'
         'month which is used for hunting in the forest' (causee attribute, instrument)
         'month in which people usually hunt in the forest' (charakterizing aktionsart)

Abbreviations

ACC accusative case, ADJ adjective derivation, CAUS causative voice, CHAR characterizing aktionsart, CV converb, FUT future tense, IMP imperative mood, INS instrumental case, LAT

lative case, MOM momentaneous aktionsart, OC objective conjugation (object agreement), PASS passive voice, PRS present tense, PST past tense, PTC participle, REFL reflexive, TR transitive

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