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Verbal deponency in the Chibchan family: the case of Bribri

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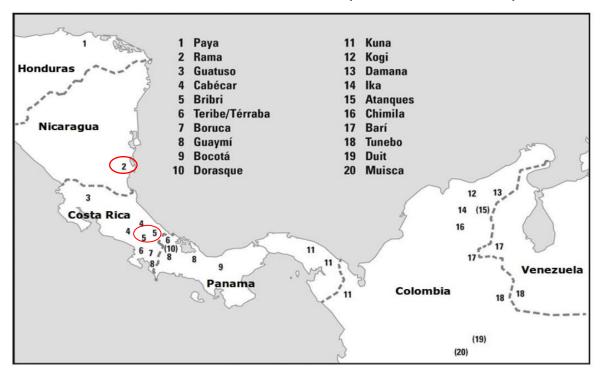**sarap@uoregon.edu**

1. Introduction

DEPONENCY was coined for a restricted class of verbs in Latin which were morphologically marked by passive voice suffixes but appeared in active syntactic contexts (Baerman 2007: 1).

(Verbal) deponency has been broadened to mean (roughly) <u>any mismatch between a given morphological form and the syntactic function usually associated with that form</u>. Within a typological perspective, verbal deponency has been observed in several language families, including Indo-European, Paleosiberian, Algic and Bantu (see Baerman et al. 2006 and Baerman et al. 2007 for language-specific references).

Within the Chibchan family, cases of verbal deponency involving derivational morphology have been noted in Rama (Chibchan, Nicaragua) by Baerman et al. (2006). I argue that Bribri (Chibchan, Costa Rica) also displays deponency in its verbal system. About the Chibchan family:

– Established via the comparative method by Uhle (1890) and confirmed by Constenla (1981, 1989, 2008, *inter alia*) and Holt (1986). Typologically heterogeneous. Only a hard core of mostly basic vocabulary can be reconstructed (Matthias Pache, p.c.).

– Constenla (2008: 131) reconstructs the following valence-reducing morphology for Proto-Chibchan: a marker of "middle voice" *-de- and a reflexive prefix *aL-.

FIGURE 1: APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF CHIBCHAN LANGUAGES (taken from Pache 2015: 81)

2. A possible case of verbal deponency in Rama

Rama has a reflex of Proto-Chibchan *aL- > *al-* which functions mostly as an anticausative marker as in the pair *malngi* 'to kill' / *al-malngi* 'to die' (Grinevald 1989). This derivation is relatively productive. The mismatch involving this prefix consists in the fact that some *al-* verbs are used in transitive constructions and interchangeably with the non-derived transitive verb as in (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. *ung* *mi-auk-i*   b. *ung* *mi-alauk-i*
         pot   2-burn/TR-TNS   pot   2-burn/INTR-TNS
         'You burned the pot.'   'You burned the pot.'

Additional data collection (including elicitation) and data analysis is needed to determine if this is a widespread pattern in Rama (Colette Grinevald, p.c.).

3. Verbal deponency in Bribri

In Bribri, a small number of verbs occur in a construction where: (a) there are two overt core syntactic arguments (A and P)[1], and (b) the verb nevertheless takes obligatory intransitivizing verbal morphology. This is illustrated in (2).[2]

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[1] By 'core syntactic argument' I mean a syntactically required argument of a verb stem in a main clause. By 'overt' I mean a lexical NP or an independent pronoun. In many languages, a core argument is assigned a specific grammatical relation, i.e. the set of morphosyntactic properties which relate an argument to the whole clause (Bickel 2011: 399). In the majority of cases, a core argument will be one of the members of the following set, introduced by Comrie (1978: 334): S 'sole argument of an intransitive verb', A 'most actor-like argument of a transitive verb', and P 'most-patient like argument of a transitive verb'. However, there are cases in which S, A and P might be insufficient labels (see Croft 2001: 164 for a larger set). Morphosyntactic properties will be invoked in establishing whether an argument is a core argument of a given clause.

[2] In Bribri ortography, <ë> corresponds to /ɪ/ and <ö> to /ʊ/. The symbol <'> represents /ʔ/. The grapheme <y> represents /dʒ/, <j> represents /x/, <r> represents /ɾ/, <l> represents /ɽ/, <ch> represents /tʃ/ and <sh> represents /ʃ/. The marking of nasality follows the conventions established in Constenla et al. (1998), not those of Jara and García (2013). However, unlike Constenla et al. (1998) I use the symbol <ã>, not <a̲>, to mark nasality. The data in this paper comes from the dialectal variety of Bribri spoken in Coroma. In my description, unlike others, falling tone is indicated as <â>, whereas high tone is indicated as <á>. Low tone is not marked in the orthography. The examples report tonal transcriptions found in the original text wherever applicable, adapted to the tonal conventions set out above. Glosses of all examples are my own. In addition, elicited examples are transcribed differently from examples found in other sources. In elicited examples, I transcribe the reduced set of short personal pronouns (1SG [ɟ]/[n], 2SG [b]/[m], 3SG [i]/[j], 1PL [s]) as prefixes, and the negation morpheme *kë́* as a pro-clitic. I refer the interested reader to Chevrier (forthcoming) for phonological arguments in favor of this classification. Abbreviations are as follows: 1= first person, 2= second person, 3= third person, ABS= absolutive, COMPL= complementizer, DST= distal, ERG= ergative postposition, H= human, IDP= ideophone, INCL= inclusive, INF= infinitive, INT= intensifier, INTR= intransitive, IPFV= imperfective, IPFV II= additional imperfective suffix expressing habitual or near future meanings, MVC=middle voice cluster, PFV= perfective, PL= plural, PRX= proximal, RECP= reciprocal, REFL= reflexive, REM= remote, SG= singular, TR= transitive. If the example has an abbreviation in parentheses, this indicates the source from which the example was obtained. The number refers to the page number within that source. IHB: *Itté Historias Bribris* (Jara Murillo 1993), SOA: *Cargos tradicionales del pueblo bribri: Siõ'tãmĩ, Óköm, Awâ* (Jara Murillo and García Segura 2008). Examples for which no source is specified are elicited examples.

	P		V_DEP		A			

	P		**V_DEP**	**A**			
(2)	*e'*	*skê*	*tsakí–n–ẽ*	*i = tö,*	*e'*	*rö*	*Tchõ'dawe*
	that:DST	others	be.born–MVC–PFV	3SG = ERG	that:DST	COP	T.

'He (Sibò̀) created others of those, they were the Tchõ'dawe.' (IHB: 154)[3]

In (2), the verb takes the intransitivizing suffix *–r* (which surfaces as *–n*) and appears in a construction with two syntactic core arguments. The same verb form can also be used in a construction with a single core argument (3).

	mɨ́kã	**Sibő̋**	*tsakí–n–ẽ,*	*kró*	*ő–r:*	*kotereúúúú*
	when	S.	be.born–MVC–PFV	rooster	scream–MVC.IPFV	IDP

'When Sibo was born, Sir Rooster was screaming 'kotereuuuu.' (IHB: 69)

The morphological marker of deponent verbs in Bribri, the *–r* suffix (< */-de-/, with allomorphs /ɾ/ and /n/) is formally identical to the suffix used to: (i) derive passive voice from active voice verb forms; and (ii) verbalize nominal and adjectival roots to produce intransitive anticausative predicates.

Within Deponent Verb Constructions (DVC) in Bribri, two types of marking of the non-absolutive argument can be found: in DVC type 1 the non-absolutive argument is marked by an ergative postposition; in DVC type 2, the non-absolutive argument is marked by a locative postposition lexically determined for each verb. In both situations, the non-absolutive argument retains overt and covert properties that are typical of ergative phrases. This indicates that the construction is **syntactically transitive**, **despite the presence of intransitivizing verb morphology** on the deponent verb form.

3.1   Relevant morphosyntactic features

– Ergative-absolutive alignment system in most areas of grammar. S/P is always unmarked (both on pronouns and lexical NPs) and must appear preverbally; A is marked by means of postpositions. Possible orders: A PV/PV A (latter is unmarked).

– 'Surface ergative': morphologically ergative but syntactically accusative. Pervasive S/A pivot in behavioral properties such as: control of co-reference of a third person anaphoric pronoun in a following possessive NP, control of co-reference under coordination (Pacchiarotti, to appear), NP equi-deletion in infinitival complement clauses, Subject to Object raising and passive voice derivation (Dickeman -Datz 1984).

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[3] In the original, the ergative phrase is marked by *di*, an ergative postposition heavily used in story-telling exclusively with 3rd person singular or plural referents. This postposition, however, can be freely substituted with the more common ergative marker *tö* (Alí García Segura, p.c.).

- Intermittent ergative marking: ergative marking tends to be absent when the ergative NP is less prominent or salient in discourse (Quesada Pacheco 1999: 36 and ff).
- Differential ergative marking: two non-allomorphic ergative markers are present (*wã, tö*).
- Dependent-marking language with no obligatory verb agreement. Only third person plural animate absolutives can be optionally indexed on the verb.
- Ergative phrases share coding properties (i.e. word order and postpositional case marking) with obliques. Therefore, in order to claim Subject status [4] for a given NP behavioral properties will be invoked.
- Verbal system based on voice (active vs. "middle") and aspect.
- Transitivity is highly lexicalized at the stem/root levels (cf. Payne 2009). In the imperfective aspect of active voice, verbs take different imperfective suffixes depending on whether they are transitive or intransitive (Constenla Umaña *et al.* 1998: 82). In the perfective aspect this distinction is neutralized but intransitive verb roots can never appear in a transitive construction (and vice versa). Derivational morphology usually signals a change of valency in order for any given root to appear in a transitivity-related construction which is not the root-determined one.

3.2 The *–r* suffix with passive voice function

In Bribri, the passive voice[5] suppresses the A argument when applied to a transitive verb root and the S argument when applied to an agentive intransitive verb root. The *–r* suffix is realized as [ɾ], orthographically <r>, when in final position or followed by a consonant, and as [n] when followed by a nasal vowel. Passive voice endings are *–Ø* for the imperfective and *–ẽ* for the perfective.

The suffix *–r* is used in three types of passive constructions: (i) obligatory Agentless Passive ((5), cf. (4)); (ii) Impersonal Passive (in the sense of Mal'chukov and Siewierska 2011) ((7), cf. (6)); and (iii) Potential Passive.

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[4] By 'Subject' status I mean the syntactic grouping of S and A, as is most typically found in nominative-accusative languages. The emic category of Subject exists in Bribri outside of main clause syntax.

[5] The term VOICE is defined here on the basis of Kulikov (2011), who follows the theoretical framework of the Leningrad Typology Group. In this framework, voice choices *sensu stricto* refer only to modifications in the mapping of semantic roles onto syntactic functions: this means that the number of semantic roles present in a given construction does not increase nor decrease. Even in the case of languages where the expression of an Agent phrase is not allowed, this approach assumes that the semantic Agent is unexpressed but its existence is necessarily implied by the meaning of the clause.

(4) *ie'* *tö* *balo'* *ya'* *tã̃ĩ*

3sg:prx:h erg chicha drink:pfv.rem much

'He drank a lot of chicha.'

(5) *balo'* *ya–r* *tã̃ĩ*

chicha drink–MVC:IPFV much

'A lot of chicha is drunk.'

ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION

(6) *ie'* *tsë'* *tã̃ĩ*

3sg:prx:h sing:pfv.rem much

'He sang a lot.'

IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

(7) *tsế–n–ẽ* *tã̃ĩ*

sing–MVC–PFV much

'There was a lot of singing/It was sung a lot.'

3.3 The *–r* suffix as an intransitive anticausative verbalizer

The *–r* suffix can be used (synchronically) to derive intransitive anticausative verbs from adjectival and nominal roots. In (8) and (9), the adjectival root *bâ* 'hot' combines with the verbalizer *–r*, yielding 'to become hot'.

(8) *tsuru'* *bá–r*

chocolate hot–MVC:IPFV

'The chocolate (always) becomes hot'

(9) *tsuru'* *bá–n–ẽ*

chocolate hot–MVC–PFV

'The chocolate became hot (and is hot now)'

Table 1 shows few examples of this highly productive derivation.

TABLE 1: INTRANSITIVE ANTICAUSATIVE VERBS FORMED BY THE VERBALIZER *–r*

ROOT(S)	DERIVED ANTICAUSATIVE VERB (*–r* + *–ūk* > *–n–ūk*)
akế 'ripe' (Adj)	*akế-n-ūk* 'to become ripe', 'to become old'
apá + tó 'body + soft' (N + Adj)	*apátó-n-ūk* 'to become soft with water'
dukuá 'flower' (N)	*dukuá-n-ūk* 'to blossom'
sichố 'white moth' (bad omen) (N)	*sichố-n-ūk* 'to become a widow' 'to miscarry (after 4 months)'
wố + aế 'face + color' (N + N)	*wốaế-n-ūk* 'to feel shame'

3.4 A language-specific definition of verbal deponency

Deponent verbs in Bribri are a lexically restricted set of verbs, mostly non-agentive in meaning, which display a mismatch between form and function in one of their uses. Given the formal morphological opposition between active versus (i) passive voice and (ii) derived intransitive anticausative verbs (by means of a verbalizer), deponent verbs are passive or anticausative in form but active or non-anticausative in function when in constructions with two core syntactic

arguments. The functions that "match" with their forms (i.e. derived intransitive anticausative or passive voice) are still available when verbs in Table 2 appear in constructions with a single core argument.

TABLE 2: BRIBRI DEPONENT VERBS

INFINITIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	MEANING 1	MEANING 2
chḗ–n–ūk	*chḗ–r*	*chḗ–n–ẽ*	'to be known'	'to know'
ṓ–n–ūk	*ṓ–r*	*ṓ–n–ẽ*	'to fall'	'to understand'
kiá–n–ūk	*kiá–r*	*kiá–n–ẽ*	'to be wanted/needed'	'to want, to need, to desire'
kū́–n–ūk	*kū́–r*	*kū́–n–ẽ*	'to be born' (of human)	'to find, to give birth'
tsakí–n–ūk	*tsakí–r*	*tsakí–n–ẽ*	'to be born' (of animal)	'to create'
dalḗ–n–ūk	*dalḗ–r*	*dalḗ–n–ẽ*	'to suffer, to feel pain'	'to respect, to love, to exert oneself'

Retention of the 'matching' function results in syncretism (vs. defectiveness for instance):

TABLE 3: DEFECTIVENESS IN LATIN DEPONENT PARADIGM (adapted from Baerman 2007: 14)

	Normal paradigm verb	Deponent paradigm verb
function X (active)	form A	form B
function Y (passive)	form B	-

TABLE 4: SYNCRETISM IN BRIBRI DEPONENT PARADIGM

	Normal paradigm verb	Deponent paradigm verb
function X (active)	form A	form B (*–r*)
function Y (passive; anticausative)	form B (*–r*)	form B (*–r*)

3.5   Evidence of a syntagmatic mismatch between morphology and syntax

a) Ergative marked argument in (11) cannot be (at least synchronically) an Agent *by*-phrase:

(10) *ttê*   *chḗ–r*
      story   know–MVC:IPFV
      'The story is known (by someone).'

(11) *ie'*   *wã*   *ttê*   *chḗ–r*
      3SG:PRX:H   ERG   story   know–MVC:IPFV
      'He knows the story.' (*The story is known by him)

b) In Bribri, transitive verbs in matrix clause (MC) allow complete Subject-to-Object raising of the S/A argument out of a complement clause (CC).[6] Deponent verbs in matrix clauses behave like transitive verbs in that they also allow complete Subject-to-Object raising.[7]

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[6] For examples of raising of S arguments out of complement clauses see Dickeman-Datz (1984). 'Complete' Subject-to-Object raising is a term also introduced by Dickeman-Datz (1984) to refer to the fact that after the S/A argument of the complement clause is raised to become the Object of the matrix clause it leaves a zero in the complement clause (cf. (14)).

[7] Other deponent verbs such as *ṓnũk* 'to fall, to understand, to remember' in matrix clauses allow incomplete Subject-to-Object raising.

COMPLETE SUBJECT-TO-OBJECT RAISING WITH THE TRANSITIVE VERB *sãũk* 'to see' IN THE MC

EMBEDDED CC IN ABSOLUTIVE POSITION WITHIN THE MC (12)

	[A$_{MC}$	[A$_{CC}$	p$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] = P$_{MC}$		V$_{TR}$] $_{MC}$
(12)	*ye'*	*tö*	*[Alí tö*	*ali'*	*ñ–ế*	*e']$_{CC}$*	*sãw–ế*
	1SG	ERG	A. ERG	manioc	eat–IPFV:TR	that:DST	see–IPFV:TR

'I see that Alí eats manioc.' (lit: 'I [Alí eats manioc that] see')

EXTRACTION OF CC AND REPLACEMENT BY DUMMY ABSOLUTIVE *i =* (13)

	[A$_{MC}$	P$_{i[CC]}$ = P$_{MC}$ V$_{TR}$	[	A$_{CC}$		P$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] = P$_{i[CC]}$
(13)	*ye'*	*tö*	*i = sãw–ế*	*[tö*	*Alí tö*	*ali'*	*ñ–ế]$_{CC}$*
	1SG	ERG	3SG = see–IPFV:TR	COMPL	A. ERG	manioc	eat–IPFV:TR

'I see that Alí eats manioc.' (lit: 'I see it [that Alí eats manioc]')

A ARGUMENT OF CC IS RAISED TO BECOME THE ABSOLUTIVE WITHIN THE MC (14)

	[A$_{MC}$	P$_{MC}$ < A$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] $_{MC}$	[A$_{CC}$ > (Ø)	P$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] $_{CC}$
(14)	*ye'*	*tö*	*Alí*	*sãw–ế*	*[Ø*	*ali'*	*ñ–ũk]$_{CC}$*
	1SG	ERG	A.	see–IPFV:TR		manioc	eat–INF

'I see Alí eating manioc.'

COMPLETE SUBJECT-TO-OBJECT RAISING WITH THE DEPONENT VERB *chếnũk* 'to know' IN THE MC

EMBEDDED CC IN ABSOLUTIVE POSITION WITHIN THE MC (15)

	[A$_{MC}$	[A$_{CC}$	p$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] = P$_{MC}$		V$_{DEP}$] $_{MC}$
(15)	*ye'*	*wã*	*[nãmấ tö*	*kró*	*kốt–ulur*	*e']$_{CC}$*	*chế–r*
	1SG	ERG	tiger ERG	rooster	kill:PFV:REM–3PL:ABS	that:DST	know–MVC:IPFV

'I know that the tiger killed roosters.' (lit: 'I [the tiger killed roosters that] know)

EXTRACTION OF CC AND REPLACEMENT BY DUMMY ABSOLUTIVE *i =* (16)

	[A$_{MC}$	P$_{i[CC]}$ = P$_{MC}$ V$_{DEP}$	[	A$_{CC}$		P$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] = P$_{i[CC]}$
(16)	*ye'*	*wã*	*i = chế–r*	*[tö*	*nãmấ tö*	*kró*	*kốt–ulur]$_{CC}$*
	1sg	erg	3sg = know–mvc:ipfv	compl	tiger erg	rooster	kill:pfv:rem–3pl:abs

'I know that the tiger killed roosters.' (lit: 'I know it [that the tiger killed roosters]')

A ARGUMENT OF CC IS RAISED TO BECOME THE ABSOLUTIVE (P) WITHIN THE MC (17)

	[A$_{MC}$	P$_{MC}$ < A$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] $_{MC}$	[A$_{CC}$ > (Ø) P$_{CC}$	V$_{TR}$] $_{CC}$
(17)	*ye'*	*wã*	*nãmấ*	*chế–r*	*[Ø kró*	*kốt–ulur]$_{CC}$*
	1sg	erg	tiger	know–mvc:ipfv	rooster	kill:pfv:rem–3pl:abs

'I know that the tiger killed roosters.' (lit: 'I know the tiger killed roosters')

If *chếnũk* 'to know' appears in the embedded CC, its A argument can be raised to become the absolutive of the MC, but it cannot leave a zero in the complement clause; instead it must be

pronominalized. This has been called 'incomplete' Subject to Object raising: again <u>only</u> the A/S grouping can undergo this kind of process (Dickeman-Datz 1984: 124-125).

INCOMPLETE SUBJECT-TO-OBJECT RAISING WITH THE DEPONENT VERB *chḗnũk* 'TO KNOW' IN THE CC

EXTRACTION OF CC AND REPLACEMENT BY DUMMY ABSOLUTIVE *i=* (18)

(18)	*ye'*	*tö*	*i=sãw–ḗ*		*[tö*	*Alí*	*wã*	*ttê*	*chḗ–r]*
	1SG	ERG	3SG=see–IPFV:TR		COMPL	A.	ERG	story	know–MVC:IPFV

'I see that Alí knows the story.' (lit: I see it [that Alí knows the story])

A ARGUMENT OF CC IS RAISED TO BECOME THE ABSOLUTIVE (P) WITHIN THE MC (19)

(19)	*ye'*	*tö*	*Alí*	*sãw-ḗ*	*[tö*	*ie'*	*wã*	*ttê*	*chḗ-r]*
	1SG	ERG	A.	see-IPFV:TR	COMPL	3SG:PRX:H	ERG	story	know-MVC:IPFV

'I see that Alí knows the story.' (lit: I see Alí [that he knows the story])

4. Deponent Verb Constructions Type 1: evidence from oral tradition texts

In addition to *chḗnũk* 'to be known, to know' and *tsakínũk* 'to be broken, to be born (of animal), to create', two other deponent verbs take an ergative-marked argument: *dalḗnũk* 'to hurt, to respect, to love' and *kḗnũk* 'to be born (of human), to find, to give birth'.

The verb *dalḗnũk* 'to hurt, to respect, to love' is probably derived from the noun *dalḗr* 'pain' by means of the verbalizer *-r*. This verb means 'to feel pain', when used in a construction with one core argument, as in (20).

(20)	*ye'*	*ulá*	*dalḗ–n–ẽ*
	1SG	hand	hurt–MVC–PFV

'My hand hurts.'

In syntactically transitive constructions, this verb means 'to respect' and the A argument is marked by the ergative postposition *wã*.

Context of (21): the speaker is being interviewed about the process of becoming *awâ*, that is, the shaman and healer of the community. He describes how, when the *awâ* goes on visits in the community, people show him great respect and dwell on finding the best food and hammock for him to sit or sleep in. In the first line, the distal demonstrative *e'* refers to the *awâ*, and the pronoun *i=* in the second and third lines is co-referential with *e'*.

(21)	*e'tã*	*e'*	*dátsĩ–ke*		*tã*	*se'*	*wã*	*i=dalḗ-r*
	so	that:DST	come:IPFV–IPFVII		then	1PL.INCL	ERG	3SG=respect–MVC:IPFV
	tâĩ–ë,		*se'*	*wã*	*i=dalḗ–n–ẽ*			
	much–INT		1PL.INCL	ERG	3SG=respect–MVC–PFV			

'So, when that one (the *awâ*) is about to come, we always respect him a lot, we respect him.' (SOA: 134)

The deponent verb *dalénũk* 'to respect' can combine also with the reciprocal morpheme *añĩ́* (22) and reflexive morpheme *ẽ'* (23). In the latter case, the verb's meaning changes to 'to exert oneself, to make an effort'.

(22) **kêkë–pa**   **añĩ́**   *dalé–r*   *tã̂ĩ*   *iői̋ő*   *tã*
elder–PL   RECP   respect–MVC:IPFV   much   before   then
'Much before, the elders respected each other a lot.' (SOA: 76)

(23) *kêchike–pa*   *bâk*   *iői̋ő*   *êkapë*   ***i = ẽ'***   ***dalé–r***   *tã̂ĩ*
ancestor–PL   exist:PFV:REM   before   that:way   3PL = REFL   suffer–MVC:IPFV   much
'The ancestors were like that, they exerted themselves a lot.' (SOA: 100)

(22) and (23) suggest that the verb *dalénũk* in Bribri is syntactically transitive. The reflexive *ẽ'* and the reciprocal *añĩ́* are <u>valence-decreasing devices</u>. Normally, only formally transitive verb roots can occur in reflexive and reciprocal constructions: when they do, the transitivity value of their root must change to intransitive.

4.1 Evidence of analogical extension

When in a construction with two core arguments, the verb *kű̃nũk* can mean 'to give birth to' or 'to find'. Interestingly, in transitive contexts, this verb shows two competing forms (only) in the perfective aspect: *kű̃nẽ*, the expected one with the /n/ allomorph of the *–r* suffix, and *kũ̃ê̂*, unexpected because the /n/ is absent. Conceivably, the form *kũ̃ê̂* could be the start of a formal re-transitivization process, by which the intransitivizing suffix *–d* becomes lost and the verb form becomes formally similar to other (non-deponent) nasal verb stems. Verb forms such as *kũ̃ê̂*, with a falling tone on the last vowel of the stem <u>are typical perfective recent endings of nasal verb stems</u> such as *sá̃ũk* 'to see', whose recent perfective is *sãw–ê̂* 'X saw (at some moment since the last midnight)'.

<u>Evidence of similar analogical extensions elsewhere in the verbal system</u>:

Other verb forms such as *tû̃nũk* 'to run', *û̃nũk* 'to fly' and *ễnũk* 'to rest' have imperfective forms which indicate that historically they were derived anticausative or passive voice verbs (by means of the *–r* suffix). Their remote perfective forms, however, present a glottal stop, exactly like active voice verb stems ending in *–ũk* (cf. Tables below).

Table 5: **Expected** paradigm of ʔ̂e̅*nūk* 'to rest'

		VOICE	
		ACTIVE	NON-ACTIVE
ASPECT	imperfective I	ê̅–r	ê̅–r
		'X is resting'	'there is resting'
	remote perfective	ê̅–n–ẽ	ê̅–n–ẽ
		'X rested'	'there was resting'

Table 6: **Actual** paradigm of ʔ̂e̅*nūk* 'to rest'

		VOICE	
		ACTIVE	NON-ACTIVE
ASPECT	imperfective I	ê̅–r	ê̅–r
		'X is resting'	'there is resting'
	remote perfective	ê̅–n–ẽʔ	ê̅–n–ẽ
		'X rested'	'there was resting'

Table 7: Paradigm of the intransitive nasal verb stem ĩ*nű̅k* 'to play'

		VOICE	
		ACTIVE	NON-ACTIVE
ASPECT	imperfective I	ĩn–ű̅	ĩnî̅–r
		'X is playing'	'there is playing'
	remote perfective	ĩn–ĩ ʔ	ĩnî̅–n–ẽ
		'X played'	'there was playing'

5. Conclusions: deponency as language change

– At the present synchronic stage, the –*r* suffix has lost its original function with certain verb forms in certain constructions, but it is not clear at all that it has exapted (cf. Lass 1990) to a new function. Rather, at the present stage, the suffix with these verbs appear to be simply meaningless morphology. If analogical extension continues to operate on these verb forms, conceivably morpheme boundary loss will occur and the –*r* suffix will become part of the verb root (maybe?), giving rise to the lexicalization of the erstwhile intransitivizing –*r* suffix in these deponent verb forms.

– Possibly this process is caused by the accidental resemblance between remote perfective forms of nasal verb stems such as ĩnĩʔ 'played', *apaínẽʔ* 'shaked from fear/cold', *kĩnẽʔ* 'waited' and the remote perfective forms of deponent verbs (i.e. *kiánẽ*, *kű̅nẽ*, etc.).

– This type of irregularity aligns very well with the view of language as a historically evolving system – i.e. as an emergent system. Because evolutionary change is never goal-directed, the structures that result from it are never perfectly designed structures (von Mengden 2016). What is more, at the present synchronic stage, these structures seem to be functionally unsuited. How and why did speakers start to use these verb forms in transitive contexts?

– One reason these instances of 'paradigmatic perversity' (Juge 2013) might be interesting is to think in terms of how diachrony can offer an explanation for this kind of language change.

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