Non-syntactic restrictions on incorporation in Chukchi

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Incorporation in Chukchi: well-known, well-studied. Or not?

- Incorporation is highly productive [Skorik 1948, Dunn 1999].
- Only Noun Incorporation of core arguments is thoroughly studied [Spencer 1995], [Polinskaja, Nedjalkov 1987], [Kozinsky et al. 1988] and [Nedjalkov 1976], [Polinsky 1990]
- Most theoretical approaches to Incorporation are dealing only with DO or S incorporation [Rosen 1989]
- Some of them offer purely syntactic explanations [Baker 1996], [Muro 2009]

Are other types of incorporation really 'arbitrary'? Can any rules be found and what is the nature of these rules?

Our study

Based on 2016's HSE and MSU fieldwork in Chukotka. All the data presented here is ours (except elsewhere stated). The work is dealing with:

➢ Incorporation of verb (participle) into noun

➢ Of oblique noun (Allative/Ablative) into verb

➢ Of verb (converb head) into verb

Verb-Noun incorporation

Participle in Chukchi

- No distinction in form between resultative and non-resultative interpretations:

ənan   Ø-ɬʔu-ni-n   peqentatə-ɬʔə-n   ŋinqej-Ø
he.INS   2/3.S/A-see-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   fall-ATR-NOM.SG   boy-NOM.SG
He saw a boy that was falling. / He saw a boy that had fell.

- Distinction between S-oriented and P-oriented participles:

*Ø-ɬʔu-ni-ne-t   **tajkə**-jo-t   jara-t*
2/3.S/A-see-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   make-PTCP.PASS-NOM.PL   house-NOM.PL
He saw the houses that had been built.

Verb-noun incorporation

Participle is the analytic equivalent of verb-noun incorporation.

tə-piri-ɣʔe-n
1SG.S/A-take-TH-3SG.O

patkantə-ɬʔə-n
burst-ATR-NOM.SG

qepəɬ-Ø
ball-NOM.SG

tə-piri-ɣʔe-n
1SG.S/A-take-TH-3SG.O

patkantə-*qepəɬ-Ø*
burst-ball-NOM.SG

I took a **burst** ball.

Verb-noun incorporation

Participle is the analytic equivalent of verb-noun incorporation. But sometimes the meaning of the compound is different.

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n   *kətɣantə-ɬʔə-n*   *ŋinqej-Ø*
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   run-ATR-NOM.SG   boy-NOM.SG
He called the **running** boy.

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n   *kətɣantə-ŋenqaj-Ø*
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   run-boy-NOM.SG
He called the **constantly running** boy.

Restrictions

There are several cases (found so far) where incorporation is not allowed:

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

jetə-łʔə-n
come-ATR-NOM.SG

ŋinqej-Ø
boy-NOM.SG

**Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n*
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

jet-ŋinqej-Ø
come-boy-NOM.SG

He called the boy who had come.

Restrictions

There are several cases (found so far) where incorporation is not allowed:

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n   *ekwetə-ɬʔə-n*   *ətɬəɣə-n.*
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   go.away-ATR-NOM.SG   father-NOM.SG

*Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-n   *ekwet-ətɬəɣə-n.*
 2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   go.away-father-NOM.SG
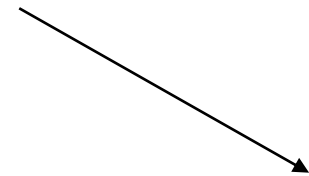
He called the leaving father.

Verb-noun incorporation

A-like participants

↓

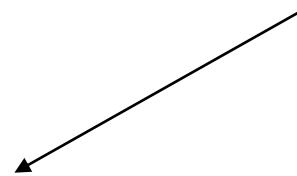habitual
interpretation

P-like participants

↙   ↘

resultative
interpretation

habitual
interpretation

permanent characteristic

A-like participants

Habitual interpretation with permanent characteristic:

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-ne-t   *tipʔejŋe-ŋewəsqet-ti*
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   sing-woman-NOM.PL

He called the **constantly singing** women.

A-like participants

Durative interpretation → incorporation is not allowed:

*∅-ʔejŋew-ni-n　　　　　　ekwet-ətɬəγə-n.
　2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O　　go.away-father-NOM.SG

He called the leaving father.

Resultative interpretation without permanent characteristic → incorporation is not allowed:

*∅-ʔejŋew-ni-n　　　　　　jet-ŋinqej-∅
　2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O　　come-boy-NOM.SG

He called the boy who had come.

P-like participants

Habitual interpretation:

enmen   **emte**=*waɬajŋə-n*   *jəto-ne-n*   *orɣəwaɬʔə-n.*

                carry=knife-NOM:SG   draw-3SG.S:3O-3SG.O   sledge-NOM:SG

Then he drew his big shoulder-belt knife, which was on the sledge.

[Muravyova et al. 2001 ms.]

P-like participants

Resultative interpretation → permanent characteristic:

tə-piri-ɣʔe-n   *semat-kojŋə-n*
1SG.S/A-take-TH-3SG.O   break-cup-NOM.SG

I took the broken cup.

paŋʔewat-ʔorawetɬʔa-n   *Ø-ra-ɣtə-ɣʔ-e*
become.tired-man-NOM.SG   2/3.S/A-house-GO.TO-TH-2/3SG.S

An exhausted man came home.

P-like participants

Resultative interpretation with permanent characteristic?

Ø-resqik-wʔ-i   *ŋəɬat-jara-k*

2/3.S/A-enter-TH-2/3SG.S   catch.fire-house-LOC

He entered the burning house.

Resultative interpretation without permanent characteristic →
incorporation is not allowed

*ənan *Ø-ɬʔu-ni-n*   *peqentat-ŋenqaj-Ø*

  he.INS   2/3.S/A-see-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O   fall-boy-NOM.SG

He saw a boy that had fell.

Verb-Noun incorporation conclusion

Two sentences which are the same syntactically but differ semantically:

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-ne-t   *tipʔejŋe-ɬʔ-et*   *ŋewəsqet-ti*

2/3.S/ A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   sing-ATR-NOM.PL   woman-NOM.PL

* *Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-ne-t*   *tipʔejŋe-ŋewəsqet-ti*

   2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   sing-woman-NOM.PL

He called the singing women.

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-ne-t   *tipʔejŋe-ɬʔ-et*   *ŋewəsqet-ti*

2/3.S/ A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   sing-ATR-NOM.PL   woman-NOM.PL

Ø-ʔejŋew-ni-ne-t   *tipʔejŋe-ŋewəsqet-ti*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL   sing-woman-NOM.PL

He called the constantly singing women (=singers)

Verb-Verb incorporation

Preface: Chukchi verbs of movement

Manner [Talmy 2000] in Chukchi seems to be lexicalized in verbal satellites which can be omitted or incorporated [Vinyar 2016].

(1) The Path is lexicalized in the verb, Manner can be omitted or incorporated

ɣaɬɣa-t   *Ø-ekwetə-rkət*
bird-NOM.PL   2/3.S/A-go.away-IPFV.PL

ɣaɬɣa-t   *Ø-riŋ-ekwet-ə-rkət*
bird-NOM.PL   2/3.S/A-fly-go.away-IPFV.PL

The birds are going to fly away/are fly away.

Preface: Chukchi verbs of movement

Path is lexicalized in main verb stem (1, 2a). 'Manner verbs' themselves don't lexicalize the path of motion (2b).

(2) Manner is lexicalized in deverbal satellite, 'Manner verb' don't denote the Path

(a) *ŋinqej-Ø*   *jara-ɣtə*   *Ø-ekwet-ɣʔe*   *kətɣəntat-a kaɬetkora-jpə*
      boy-NOM.SG   house-ALL   2/3.S/A-go.away-2/3.SG.S   run-INS   school-ABL

(b) *ʔŋinqej-Ø*   *jara-ɣtə*   *Ø-kətɣəntə-ɣʔe*   *kaɬetkora-jpə*
      boy-NOM.SG   house-ALL   2/3.S/A-run-2/3.SG.S   school-ABL
      The boy ran away from the school heading to home.

Preface: Chukchi verbs of movement

Verbs are divided according to what they denote in aorist form. Some of them denote arrival to the Goal (Group A).

Group A:

(3) *pkir* 'arrive'

ətɬəɣə-n	*Ø-pkir-ɣʔi*	*waam-etə*	*vezdehod-a*
father-NOM.SG	2/3.S/A-arrive-2/3.SG.S	river-ALL	all.terrain.vehicle-INS

Father arrived to the river by the all train vehicle.

(4) *peɬqəntet* 'come back'

t-peɬqəntet-ɣʔak \\	*jara-k*	*tə-kametwa-rkən*
1SG.S/A-come.back-1SG.S	house-LOC	1SG.S/A-eat-IPFV

I came back home, now I'm having a meal here.

Preface: Chukchi verbs of movement

Others – leaving the Source (Group B).

Group B:

(5) *ekwet* 'go away'

ətɬəɣ-n	*ŋaɬwaɬ-epə*	*Ø-ekwet-ɣʔi*	*ramaj-etə*
father-NOM.SG	herd-ABL	2/3.S/A-go.away-2/3.SG.S	settlement-ALL

Father went away from the settlement heading to the herd.

(6) *ɬqat* 'go to'

miɣsir-etə	*Ø-ɬəqat-ɣʔi*
work-ALL	2/3.S/A-go.to-2/3.SG.S

He went to the work.

Surprisingly, this division affects the possibility of nouns denoting path participants to be incorporated.

Incorporation in 'arrival to the Goal' verbs (group A)

Verbs denoting 'arrival' incorporate only the Source participant.

(7) *pkir* 'arrive' Incorporates the Source participant (a) but not the Goal participant (b)

(a) ŋinqej-Ø   Ø-jara-pker-ɣʔe   kaɬetkora-ɣtə
    boy-NOM.SG   2/3.S/A-house-arrive-2/3.SG.S   school-ALL
The boy came to school from home.

(b)*ŋinqej-Ø   Ø-jara-pker-ɣʔe   kaɬetkora-jpə
    boy-NOM.SG   2/3.S/A-house-arrive-2/3.SG.S   school-ABL
The boy came home from school.

Incorporation in 'arrival to the Goal' verbs (group A)

(8) *peɬqəntet* 'come back' incorporates only the Source participant

Ø-ramaj-paɬqəntat-ɣʔe
2/3.S/A-settlement-come.back-2/3.SG.S
He came back from the settlement. / # He came back to the settlement.

Incorporation in 'leaving the Source' (Group B)

Only Goal participants can be incorporated (not depending on the presence of Source participant).

(9) *ekwet* 'go away', Goal incorporation

ŋinqej-Ø   Ø-kaɬetkora-akwat-ɣʔe   jara-jpə
boy-NOM.SG   2/3.S/A-school-go.away-2/3SG.S   house-ABL
The boy went away from home heading to school.

(10) *ekwet* 'go away', Source incorporation impossible

*ŋinqej-Ø   Ø-kaɬetkora-akwat-ɣʔe   jara-ɣtə
boy-NOM.SG   2/3.S/A-school-go.away-2/3SG.S   house-ALL
The boy went home from school.

Incorporation in 'leaving the Source' verbs (Group B)

Moreover, some lexical affixes meaning 'leaving the source' behave exactly in the same way.

(11) Lexical affix 'go and do smth with X' incorporates the Goal

Ø-kopra-nta-ɣʔe

2/3.S/A-net-GO.DO-2/3.SG.S

He went for the nets.

(12) Lexical affix 'go to X' incorporates the Goal

Ø-kopra-ɣtə-ɣʔe

2/3.S/A-net-GO.TO-2/3.SG.S

He went to the nets.

Verb-Verb compounds

Not all verbs denoting independent situation can be incorporated as in (13). Compound heads can be only motion verbs denoting Path. The lexical restriction on incorporated verbs is more unusual: only verbs denoting traditional actions associated with reindeers can be incorporated (compare (13) to (14)).

(13) Incorporation of verb, independent or Manner action interpretation

tə-re-riɬ-ekwet-ɣʔe-k   erɣ-atə-k

1SG.S/A-FUT-run.in.reindeer.race-go.away-TH-1SG.S   light-VB-LOC

Tomorrow I will go to the reindeer race/Tomorrow I will set off racing.

(14) Incorporation of verb, only Manner interpretation

tə-ra-raswəŋ-akwat-ɣʔa

1Sg.S/A-FUT-run.in.race-go.away-TH

I will set off running in the race/*I will go to running competition.

Verb-Verb compounds: same principles!

However, verbal compounds are derived by the same principles as incorporation of Ablatives and Allatives.

Verbs which incorporate the Goal (*ekwet* 'go.away', *ɬqət* 'go to' and *-ɣt* 'GO.TO') incorporate the verbs denoting Goal of motion (analytic equivalent – construction with purposive converb in (15b)):

(15) *ɬqət* 'go to' incorporates the Goal of motion but not the action anterior to motion.

(a) *tə-riu-ɬqət-ɣʔe*   *kətɣant-a*

     1SG.S/A-be.on.night.watch.in.herd-go.to-TH   run-INS

(b) *tə-ɬqət-ɣʔe*   *kətɣant-a*   *em-re-riu-ŋ-e*

     1SG.S/A-go.to-TH   run-INS   REST-DES-be.on.night.watch.in.herd-DES-INS

I ran to night watch in the herd.

Verb-Verb compounds: same principles!

Lexical affix *ɣt* 'GO.TO' behaves with verbs in the same way as with nouns:

(16) Lexical affix attaches to the Goal of motion
alesa-Ø   \\   *Ø-ra-reɬa-ɣt-ɣʔa?*
Alesha-NOM.SG   2/3.A/S-FUT-run.in.reindeer.race-GO.TO-2/3.SG.S
Alesha, will you go to reindeer race?

Verb-Verb compounds: same principles!

Verbs denoting 'arrival to Goal' incorporate converb heads in constructions denoting 'do smth than arrive' (which is quite similar to 'arrive from somewhere'):

(17) *pkir* 'arrive' can incorporate only anterior action, not subsequent (can be seen by converb analytic equivalents)

ətɬaɣa-n	*Ø-riu-pkir-ɣʔi*	*amŋon-ɣəpə*
father-NOM.SG	2/3.S/A-be.on.night.watch.in.herd-arrive-2/3SgS	tundra-ABL

ətɬaɣa-n	*Ø-pkir-ɣʔi*	*amŋon-ɣəpə*	*riu-k*
father-NOM.SG	2/3.S/A-arrive-2/3SgS	tundra-ABL	be.on.night.watch.in.herd-LOC

/*em-re-riu-ŋ-e

/ REST-DES-be.on.night.watch.in.herd-DES-INS

Father came from night watch in herd from tundra.

/ *Father came to night watch in tundra.

Verb-Verb compounds: same principles!

As we have seen, converb stems (anterior action converb and purposive converb) and oblique noun stems (Ablative and Allative participants) have same restrictions on their incorporation: verbs of 'leaving' incorporate only 'Goals' and verbs of 'arriving' incorporate only 'Sources'.

Conclusion

Conclusion

- Possibility of incorporation can be dependent on aspectual characteristics of the situation (Verb to Noun incorporation)

- Can be dependent on the verb's semantics (Oblique noun to Verb and Verb to Verb incorporation)

- Exactly same (morphosyntactically) constructions can be or can be not transformed to constructions with incorporation (Verb to Noun incorporation)

- Completely different (morphosyntactically) constructions allow or disallow incorporation due to the same principles (Allative/Ablative incorporation and Converb head incorporation)

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Thank you for your attention!