

# THE PALEOSIBERIAN MODEL OF INCORPORATION IN COMPARISON WITH THE OCEANIC ONE

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The purpose of the present paper is to compare incorporation models represented in synthetic and analytic languages. The Chukchee language is chosen here as the representative of Paleosiberian type of synthetic incorporation. Analytic incorporation is represented in the paper by examples from different groups of Oceanic languages.

## 1. The Notion of Incorporation

The notion of incorporation was originally used only with respect to synthetic incorporating languages, but later on it was extended to analytic languages as well.

The notion "incorporation", suitable for both synthetic and analytic languages, may be formulated in the following way - see also Muravyova (1989). Incorporation consists in using a subordinate lexical unit tightly bound to the corresponding dominant lexical unit, so that the subordinate unit has no category marking, typical for it in some other circumstances, and the whole combination is a compound marked according to the grammatical class of the dominant element. The properties of this compound (syntactic, morphological and phonological) allow to consider it a single unit: a word - in synthetic languages, a morphosyntactic complex - in analytic languages. With respect to incorporating languages we will call such compounds "incorporative complexes".

An incorporative complex is not a ready-made lexical compound. It is formed by the speaker during a speech act in such a way that its lexical meaning depends entirely on the meaning of its components. Thus, an incorporative complex should be distinguished from a ready-made lexical compound with idiomatic meaning that belongs to the lexicon and must be registered in a dictionary. On the other side, an incorporative complex is usually opposed in meaning to a syntactic word-combination (see section 2).

It is evident enough that compounds of this type may be found in many languages, including those that are treated as non-incorporating. The idea of prototypical incorporation is connected in the first place with the sentence nucleus - a verbal phrase consisting of a noun and a verb, more often - of a noun object and a verb. Thus, only languages having regular compounds of the type "noun (object) + verb" are considered incorporating. At the same time, some other types of incorporative complexes are possible there as well (see section 3).

## 2. Semantics of Incorporation

A sentence (or a part of it) with an incorporated unit is usually opposed in meaning to the corresponding sentence without incorporation in which this unit is used as an autonomous element and is marked in the usual way.

Semantics of incorporation is closely connected with the structure of text. Although it is rather difficult to describe the semantics of incorporation in detail, still we will try here to point out the most important aspects. Incorporation is usually used to express one of the following semantic features (or a combination of them):

1. Referential status of a noun phrase. As a rule, an incorporated noun is non-referential, or categorial.
2. Thematic/rhematic structure of an utterance. An incorporated unit cannot be a separate theme or a separate rheme of an utterance.
3. Focus/background information. An incorporated unit usually refers to the background information of narration.

For example, a Chukchee phrase *gem-nan wala te-mne-g?en* 'I sharpened the knife', where the lexical unit *wala* 'knife' is expressed as a separate word-form, describes an action carried out with a certain knife, while the parallel phrase *gem te-wala-mna-g?ak* 'I did knife-sharpening', where the lexical unit 'knife' is incorporated into a verb-form, describes the action performed by the speaker with one or many objects of the categorial class, expressed by the stem *wala-*.

Besides examples of this type, in some incorporating languages there are also examples when incorporation is obligatory due to some syntactic position. In such cases a sentence with incorporation has no parallel sentence without incorporation and is likely to express no specific semantics at all (if not the background information). For example, in Chukchee a cardinal numeral used attributively is expressed as a

separate word if the dominant noun is an absolutive case noun-form, but if the dominant noun is an oblique case noun-form (i.e. instrumental, dative, locative, etc.), the numeral is obligatory incorporated: *yireq jara-t* 'two houses' - *yeran-jara-ta* 'by two houses'. The same situation is observed for most types of adjectives, e.g.: *n-ilga-qin kojy-en* 'a white cup' - *elga-kojy-a* 'by a white cup'.

We call this type of incorporation "syntactic" in opposition to more common "semantic" incorporation, used to express certain meaning.

### 3. Types of Incorporation in Chukchee

Chukchee is a synthetic language of prefixal-suffixal type - see Skorik (1961;1977). Each part of speech here is either inflected or marked with special categorial markers (but, naturally, some auxiliary types of speech have no markers at all).

Chukchee is an ergative language. The subject of a one-actant intransitive verb or of a two-actant verb without a direct object is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form, so the construction used in such cases is nominative. The direct object of a transitive or bitransitive verb is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form and the subject is expressed by an instrumental case noun-form, so the construction used here is ergative.

Chukchee is characterized by a great variety of grammatical classes involved in incorporation - see Skorik (1961;1977) and also (1948). These classes are: nouns, noun-participles (a separate part of speech - see Skorik (1961)), verbs, adjectives, adverbs, numerals. The subordinate component here always precedes the dominant component, so Chukchee incorporation is of the prepositional type. Besides, incorporative complexes here may be multicomponential.

An incorporative complex in Chukchee is characterized by the majority of properties of a simple word-form. It has unique affixation (prefixes and postfixes), unique accentuation, and demonstrate harmony of vowels and internal sandhi. Besides, verbal complexes have some syntactic features that distinguish them from word-combinations (see section 5).

The following parts of speech may be incorporated: nouns, noun-participles, adjectives (both qualitative and relative, including pronominal adjectives), numerals (both cardinal and ordinal, the latter similar to adjectives), adverbs (usually qualitative), verbs (only verbal participles). Most of these words have certain paradigmatic word-forms, but at the same time

they may be expressed as a stem. Thus, each of these parts of speech has two main grammatical representations:

- 1) autonomous - a separate word;
- 2) incorporated - a stem without any category marking.

Being used as separate words, nouns are usually inflected for case and number or for person and number (the latter - mostly in predicative position). Adjectives are usually inflected for person and number, in some rare situations - for case and number. Numerals have no special markerage (except stem formatives). Qualitative adverbs have special categorial markers. Finite verb-forms are inflected for tense, mood and person-number of subject and object (if there is any). Non-finite verb-forms have different categorial markers according to the meaning of this or that form. Being incorporated, all these parts of speech lose their inflections and categorial markers.

The parts of speech used as dominant component are verbs and nouns (including noun-participles). Since incorporative complexes are inflected according to the grammatical class of the dominant component, there are two main classes of complexes in Chukchee: verbal and nominal. A verb-form with an incorporated noun is usually marked differently than a verb-form with a subordinate noun-form (see section 5).

According to the part of speech of the subordinate component verbal complexes display the following two main types of incorporation: noun incorporation and adverbial incorporation (the latter represented by adverbs and verbal participles). Noun incorporation may be of two types: subject incorporation (incorporation of the 1st actant) and object incorporation (incorporation of the 2nd actant - direct or oblique object). All verbal complexes demonstrate semantic incorporation.

Nominal complexes may have different parts of speech as subordinate component (see Skorik (1948); (1961)). Some of them display semantic incorporation, some other types - those with an adjective or numeral as subordinate element - display syntactic incorporation (see section 2).

#### 4. Types of Incorporation in Oceanic Languages

On the whole Oceanic languages belong to the analytic type of language, with some features of synthetism. Grammatical categories and syntactic functions of lexical units are marked here either with auxiliary words - particles, which have only