

THE PALEOSIBERIAN MODEL OF INCORPORATION IN COMPARISON WITH THE OCEANIC ONE

Irene A. Muravyova
Researcher, doctor of philology
Institute of Oriental Studies
103031 Moscow, Rozhdestvenka, 12

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

grammatical meaning, or with inflections. A lexical unit (sometimes - with morphological markers) used together with its particles forms a so-called morphosyntactic complex, which is to some extent similar to a synthetic word-form in synthetic languages (see also Biggs (1960)). In most languages there are two main grammatical classes: nominal class (with pronouns and proper names, opposed to common nouns) and verbal class (including adjectives and numerals), each characterized by a certain set of particles. Besides, in some languages there is a morphological opposition of intransitive and transitive verbs.

Oceanic languages demonstrate both nominative and ergative types of languages. Some Oceanic languages belong to the nominative type (for example, Hawaiian), some - to the ergative type (for example, Niuean, Tongan). In an ergative language the subject of an intransitive verb is marked differently than the subject of an intransitive one, and the direct object of a transitive verb is usually marked in the same way as the subject of an intransitive verb.

The main parts of speech involved in incorporation are nouns and verbs, so the types of incorporation displayed by Oceanic languages are not numerous. The main type registered here is that of the structure "noun (object) - verb", with two subtypes: direct object and oblique object. Thus, there are only verbal incorporative complexes, and only nouns may have two grammatical representations. The autonomous representation is a nominal lexical unit marked with particles, i.e. a separate morphosyntactic complex, while incorporated representation is a non-marked lexical unit, which is only a component of a verbal morphosyntactic complex. A construction with a verbal incorporative complex may differ in markerage from a verbal complex used with an autonomous noun (see section 5).

As the subordinate nominal component here always follows the dominant verbal component, Oceanic incorporation is of the postpositional type.

5. A Comparative Study of Paleosiberian and Oceanic Models of Incorporation

In this section we will consider only verbal complexes, because only this class may be the subject for comparison. The following types will be analyzed here: subject incorporation, direct object incorporation and oblique object incorporation.

5.1. Subject Incorporation

Subject incorporation in Chukchee is observed only for one-actant intransitive verbs. Only non-agentive subjects can be incorporated.

In case of a one-actant verb there is a transformation of a personal construction into impersonal one. When the subject is used as a separate word, it is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form and the verb agrees only with the subject, so the construction is personal and nominative - see (1a). But when the subject is incorporated, the nominal stem is not marked, the verbal complex has a zero subject and agrees with it as if it were 3rd person singular, so the construction is impersonal - see (1b). E.g.:

1. (a) *W?eg-ti inini-g?et*
GRASS-abs.pl APPEAR-past,3pl
'The grasses appeared'
- (b) *W?ej-inini-g?i*
GRASS=APPEAR-past,3sg
'[It] grass-appeared'

A special type of subject incorporation in Chukchee, when some other actant may occupy the position of subject, was described in Nedjalkov (1977). This type of incorporation is called "possessive", because the relation between the "new" subject and the incorporated one is of the type "possessor - possessed" (in the broad sense of these notions).

In Oceanic languages subject incorporation is not registered.

5.2. Direct Object Incorporation

This is the most widespread type of incorporation.

Direct object incorporation in Chukchee is observed for two- and three-actant verbs.

In case of a two-actant verb there is a transformation of a transitive ergative construction into an intransitive nominative one. When the direct object is used as a separate word, the construction is ergative: the subject is expressed by an instrumental case noun-form, the direct object is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form, and the verb agrees both with the subject and direct object - see (2a). But when the direct object is incorporated, the construction is nominative: the subject is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form, and the verb agrees only with the subject - see (2b). E.g.:

2. (a) *Gəm-nan tekiç-en tə-pela-gʔan*
 I-instr. MEAT-abs.sg LEAVE-past,1sg-3sg
 'I left the meat'
 (b) *Gəm tə-takeçə-pela-gʔak*
 I-abs. MEAT=LEAVE-past,1sg
 'I meat-left (=I did meat-leaving)'

The direct object is often incorporated when it denotes the possessed and the subject denotes the possessor, e.g.:

3. (a) *Gəm-nan jəkərg-en tə-lwə-gʔen*
 I-instr. MOUTH-abs.sg BURN-past,1sg-3sg
 'I burnt [my] mouth'
 (b) *Gəm tə-jəkərgə-lwə-gʔek*
 I-abs. MOUTH-BURN-past,1sg
 'I mouth-burnt'

In case of a three-actant verb only the direct object may be incorporated, the 3rd actant being always expressed as a separate word. The 3rd actant in such constructions usually denotes a benefactive, but it may be a possessor as well (see further). Here an optional promotion of the 3rd actant is observed (see Nedjalkov (1977)). When the direct object is expressed as a separate word, the construction is ergative: the subject is expressed by an instrumental case noun-form, the direct object is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form, the indirect object is expressed by an oblique case noun-form (usually dative), and the verb agrees both with the subject and direct object - see (4a). When the direct object is incorporated, the 3rd actant may be optionally promoted. In case it is not promoted, the construction becomes nominative: the subject is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form, the indirect object - by an oblique case noun-form, and the verb agrees only with the subject - see (4b). But if the 3rd actant is promoted, it occupies the syntactic position of direct object and is expressed by an absolutive case noun-form. In this case the construction remains ergative, because the verb agrees not only with the subject, expressed by an instrumental case noun-form, but also with the "new" object, expressed by an absolutive case noun-form - see (4c). E.g.:

4. (a) *Gəm-nan akka-gtə qora-t tə-nmə-gʔet*
 I-instr. SON-dat. REINDEER-abs.pl KILL-past,
 1sg-3pl
 'I killed several reindeer for the son'

- (b) *Gem akka-gtə tə-qora-nmat-gʔak*
 I-abs. SON-dat. REINDEER=KILL-past, 1sg
 'I reindeer-killed for the son'
- (c) *Gem-nan ekək tə-qora-nmə-gʔan*
 I-instr. SON-abs.sg REINDEER-KILL-past, 1sg-3sg
 'I reindeer-killed [for] the son'

The direct object is often incorporated when it denotes the possessed and is related to another actant that may become a "new" direct object, e.g.:

5. (a) *Gem-nan genin pilg-an tə-re-cwitku-gʔen*
 I-instr. YOUR THROAT-abs.sg CUT-fut., 1sg-3sg
 'I'll cut your throat'
- (b) *Gem-nan get tə-re-pilgə-cwitku-get*
 I-instr. YOU-abs. THROAT=CUT-fut., 1sg-2sg
 'I'll throat-cut you'

Direct object incorporation is widely represented in different groups of Oceanic languages. See, Hawaiian examples (6a,b) from Belikov (1976), and Ponapean examples (7a,b) from Sugita (1973):

6. (a) *Ke kaakau ana / au / i leka*
 WRITE-pres.dur. I LETTER-obj.
 'I am writing a/the letter(s)'
- (b) *Ke kaakau leka ana / au*
 WHRITE=LETTER-pres.dur. I
 'I am letter-writing'
7. (a) *I / pahn doakoa / mwahmw-o*
 I SPEAR-fut. FISH-def.
 'I will spear the fish'
- (b) *I / pahn doko-mwomw*
 I SPEAR=FISH-fut.
 'I will be engaged in fish-spearings'

In the ergative languages an originally transitive verb with an incorporated noun is marked like an intransitive one - examples (8a,b) from Tongan (see Polinskaya (1986)). When the object is expressed as a separate unit, the subject is marked with an ergative marker, the object - with an absolutive marker, and the construction is transitive and ergative. But when the object is incorporated, the verb loses its actant and becomes intransitive, so the subject has an absolutive marker, and the whole construction is nominative. E.g.

8. (a) *Naʔa fakatau / ʔe tama-siʔi / ʔa e kahoa*
 SELL-pres. BOY-erg. NECKLACE-abs.
 'The boy is selling the necklaces'

- (b) *Naʔa fakatau kahoa / ʔa e tama-siʔi*
 SELL=NECKLACE-pres. BOY-abs.
 'The boy is engaged in necklace-selling'

We can also find similar evidence in Drehu (see Moyse-Fleurie (1988)). When a common noun is used as a separate unit, the determined form of the verb is used, but when the common noun is bound tightly to the dominant verb, i.e. incorporated, the verb is in the non-determined form. In some verbal tense forms, for example, in the durative, inchoative, the agentive subject of a transitive verb is marked with the particles *hnen/hnei*, while the subject of an intransitive verb is not marked at all. A verb with incorporated noun is marked like an intransitive one. E.g.:

9. (a) *Xen ʔe hi / la ite koko / hnei aʔat*
 EAT-det.,inh. IGNAME-def.pl THEY-ag.m
 'They began to eat the ignames'
 (b) *Xeni ita ʔe hi / aʔat*
 EAT=BUNIA-non-det.,inh. THEY
 'They began bunia-eating'

5.3. Oblique Object Incorporation

This type of incorporation is represented mostly by instruments and locations.

In Chukchee instrument is usually expressed by an instrumental case noun-form - see (10a), location - by different locational case forms - locative, dative, ablative - see (11a). When the noun is incorporated, the verb loses its actant, but the construction remains nominative. E.g.:

10. (a) *Gem qepl-e t-uwicwet-gʔek*
 I-abs. BALL-instr. PLAY-past,1sg
 'I played with a ball'
 (b) *Gem tə-qepl-uwicwet-gʔek*
 I-abs. BALL=PLAY-past,1sg
 'I ball-played (= I was engaged in ...)'
11. (a) *Gem ʔalwalʔ-eto t-ekwet-gʔek*
 I-instr. HERD-dat. GO-past,1sg
 'I went to the herd'
 (b) *Gem ʔelwalʔ-ekwet-gʔek*
 I-abs. HERD=GO-past,1sg
 'I herd-went'

In Oceanic languages the oblique object is marked with corresponding particles, which are lost when the unit is incorporated. This may be illustrated by examples (12a,b) from Niuean, borrowed from Polinskaya (1986):

12. (a) *Kua o kehe tuai / a lautolu / ki Okalani /*
 GO-perf. THEY-abs. OAKLAND-abs.
he vakalele
 AIRPLANE-instr.
 'They went to Oakland by airplane'
 (b) *Kua o vakalele kehe tuai / a lautolu /*
 GO=AIRPLANE-perf. THEY-abs.
ki Okalani
 OAKLAND-dir.
 'They airplane-went to Oakland'

Unlike the Chukchee language, here we may come across oblique object incorporation when the direct object is not incorporated, see Niuean examples (13a,b) from Polinskaya (1986):

13. (a) *Kua fa fakahu tuai / he magafaoa / e tau tohi /*
 SEND-past,habit. FAMILY-erg. LETTER-abs.pl
he vakalele
 AIRPLANE-instr.
 'The family usually sent [their] letters
 by airplane'
 (b) *Kua fa fakahu vakalele tuai / he magafaoa /*
 SEND=AIRPLANE-past.,habit. FAMILY-erg.
e tau tohi
 LETTER-abs.pl
 'The family usually sent-by-airplane [their]
 letters'

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