

# 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:

*anan*  $\emptyset$ - $\text{ʔu-ni-n}$       *peqentata*- $\text{ʔə-n}$       *ŋinqej*- $\emptyset$   
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:

$\emptyset$ - $\text{ʔu-ni-ne-t}$       *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

*pətkəntə-ʔə-n*  
burst-ATR-NOM.SG

*qepəʔ-∅*  
ball-NOM.SG

*tə-piri-ɣʔe-n*  
1SG.S/A-take-TH-3SG.O

*pətkəntə-qepəʔ-∅*  
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.

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*      *katyanta-ʔə-n*    *ɲinqej-∅*  
2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O    run-ATR-NOM.SG    boy-NOM.SG  
He called the **running** boy.

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*      *katyanta-ɲenqaj-∅*  
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:

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

*jetə-ʔə-n*

come-ATR-NOM.SG

*ŋinqej-∅*

boy-NOM.SG

\* *∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

*jet-ŋinqej-∅*

come-boy-NOM.SG

He called the boy who had come.



# Restrictions

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

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

*ekwetə-ʔə-n*

go.away-ATR-NOM.SG

*atʔayə-n.*

father-NOM.SG

\**∅-ʔejnew-ni-n*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

*ekwet-atʔayə-n.*

go.away-father-NOM.SG

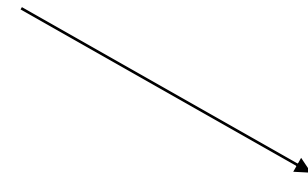
He called the leaving father.

# Verb-noun incorporation

A-like participants



habitual  
interpretation



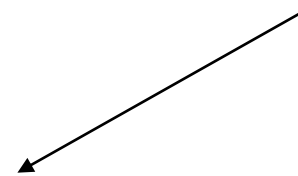
P-like participants



resultative  
interpretation



habitual  
interpretation



permanent characteristic

# A-like participants

Habitual interpretation with permanent characteristic:

*Ø-ʔejnew-ni-ne-t*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

*tipʔejne-ŋewasqet-ti*

sing-woman-NOM.PL

He called the **constantly singing** women.

# A-like participants

Durative interpretation → incorporation is not allowed:

\*  $\emptyset$ -*ʔejɲew-ni-n*                      *ekwet-atɬayə-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:

\*  $\emptyset$ -*ʔejɲew-ni-n*                      *jet-ɲinɟej- $\emptyset$*   
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=watajnə-n jato-ne-n oryawatʔə-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*

1SG.S/A-take-TH-3SG.O

*semat-kojŋə-n*

break-cup-NOM.SG

I took the broken cup.

*paŋʔewat-ʔorawetʔa-n*

become.tired-man-NOM.SG

*∅-ra-ɣtə-ɣʔ-e*

2/3.S/A-house-GO.TO-TH-2/3SG.S

An exhausted man came home.

# P-like participants

## Resultative interpretation with permanent characteristic?

*∅-resqik-wʔ-i*                      *ŋəʔat-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*    *∅-ʔu-ni-n*                      *peqentat-ŋenqaj-∅*  
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:

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-ne-t*

2/3.S/ A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

\* *∅-ʔejnew-ni-ne-t*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

*tipʔejne-ʔ-et*

sing-ATR-NOM.PL

*newəsqet-ti*

woman-NOM.PL

*tipʔejne-newəsqet-ti*

sing-woman-NOM.PL

He called the singing women.

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-ne-t*

2/3.S/ A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

*∅-ʔejnew-ni-ne-t*

2/3.S/A-call-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

*tipʔejne-ʔ-et*

sing-ATR-NOM.PL

*newəsqet-ti*

woman-NOM.PL

*tipʔejne-newəsqet-ti*

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

*yaɬya-t*

bird-NOM.PL

*∅-ekwetə-rkət*

2/3.S/A-go.away-IPFV.PL

*yaɬya-t*

bird-NOM.PL

*∅-riŋ-ekwet-ə-rkət*

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) *ŋinqeŋ-∅*     *jara-ɣtə*     *∅-ekwet-ɣʔe*     *kətyəntat-a* *kaʔetkora-ŋpə*  
boy-NOM.SG     house-ALL     2/3.S/A-go.away-2/3.SG.S     run-INS     school-ABL

(b) *ʔŋinqeŋ-∅*     *jara-ɣtə*     *∅-kətyəntə-ɣʔe*     *kaʔetkora-ŋpə*  
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'

*atʃəγə-n*      *∅-pkir-γʔi*      *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) *peʃqəntet* 'come back'

*t-peʃqəntet-γʔak* \\      *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’

<i>ətʃəy-n</i>	<i>ŋaʃwəʃ-epə</i>	<i>∅-ekwet-yʔi</i>	<i>ramaj-etə</i>
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) *ʃqət* ‘go to’

<i>miysir-etə</i>	<i>∅-ʃəqət-yʔi</i>
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) *ɲinɟej-∅ ∅-jara-pker-ɣʔe kaʔetkora-ɣtə*  
boy-NOM.SG 2/3.S/A-house-arrive-2/3.SG.S school-ALL

The boy came to school from home.

(b) \**ɲinɟej-∅ ∅-jara-pker-ɣʔe kaʔetkora-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) *peʔqəntet* ‘come back’ incorporates only the Source participant

*∅-ramaj-paʔqəntat-yʔe*

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

*ninqej-∅*    *∅-kaʔetkora-akwat-yʔe*    *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

\**ninqej-∅*    *∅-kaʔetkora-akwat-yʔe*    *jara-ytə*  
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

*∅-kopra-nta-yʔe*

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

*∅-kopra-ytə-yʔe*

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

He went to the nets.





# Verb-Verb compounds: same principles!

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

(16) Lexical affix attaches to the Goal of motion

*alesa-∅* \ \      *∅-ra-reɬa-yt-yʔa?*

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)

*atʃəɣə-n*      *∅-riu-pkir-ɣʔi*      *amŋon-ɣəpə*

father-NOM.SG 2/3.S/A-be.on.night.watch.in.herd-arrive-2/3SgS      tundra-ABL

*atʃəɣə-n*      *∅-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!

