

CHUKCHI VERB STEM: NOUN INCORPORATION AND BEYOND

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Outline

- Incorporation in Chukchi: overview of patterns
- Cases from Noun Incorporation
 - NI and analytic constructions
 - NI and promotion to absolutive

INCORPORATION IN
CHUKCHI:
MULTIPLE PATTERNS

Contents

- 'Classic' NI
- Oblique/Adjunct NI
- Verb and Adverb Incorporation

'Classic' P participant NI

(1)

a. *ɲinqeɟ-e* *watə* *pəne-ni-n* *wəkʷ-a*
boy-ERG knife.ABS sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O stone-ERG

b. *ɲinqeɟ* *watə-mna-γʔ-e* *wəkʷ-a*
boy.ABS knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S stone-ERG

'The boy sharpened the/a knife with a stone'.

'Classic' P participant NI

(1)

a. *ɲinqej-e* *watə* *pəne-ni-n* *wəkʷ-a*
boy-ERG knife.ABS sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O stone-INS

b. *ɲinqej* *watə-mna-γʔ-e* *wəkʷ-a*
boy.ABS knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S stone-INS

'The boy sharpened the/a knife with a stone'.

'Classic' P participant NI

- No case-marking; no pronominal indexation
- One word
- 'Direct Object'-oriented (although see further)

(1)

a.	<i>ɲinqej-e</i>	<i>watə</i>	<i>pəne-ni-n</i>	<i>wəkʷ-a</i>
	boy-ERG	knife.ABS	sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O	stone-INS
b.	<i>ɲinqej</i>	<i>watə-mna-γʔ-e</i>	<i>wəkʷ-a</i>	
	boy.ABS	knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S	stone-INS	

'The boy sharpened the/a knife with a stone'.

'Classic' P participant NI

- No case-marking; no pronominal indexation
- One word
- 'Direct Object'-oriented (although see further)
- Highly productive & regular (apparently)

(2) ...t-r-awerʔ-epə-γʔa t-ra-**sapok**-γəp-γʔa
 1SG.S/A-FUT-clothes-put.on-TH 1SG.S/A-FUT-boots-put.on-TH
 'I dress, I put on my boots'. (boots_text)

'Classic' P participant NI

➤ Inactive S can be incorporated

General pattern: [+ volitional]; [+ controlling] S resists incorporation

- (3) *enaraʔə-n* *akka-tʔəʔə-ηηo-γʔ-e*
neighbor-ABS.SG son-be.ill-INCH-TH-2/3SG.S
‘Neighbor’s son fell ill’.
- (4) **ekke-miysir-γʔ-i*
son-work-TH-2/3SG.S
‘Her son worked’.

'Adjunct' NI

➤ Less productive

(5) *ŋinqeɟ-e* *watə* *wəkwə-mna-ne-n*
boy-ERG knife.ABS.SG stone-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The boy sharpened the/a knife with **a stone**'.

(6) **tekisyə-n* *watə-swe-ne-n*
meat-ABS.SG knife-cut-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'She cut the meat with a knife'.

'Oblique' NI

➤ Path participants -> Motion verbs

(7) Goal incorporation

ɲinɟej *kaɬetkor-akwat-ɣʔ-e*

boy.ABS.SG school-depart-TH-2/3.SG.S

'The boy went from home to school'. (#The boy went away from school)

(8) Source incorporation

ɲinɟej *kaɬetkora-pker-ɣʔ-e*

boy.ABS.SG school-arrive-2/3.SG.S

'The boy came back from school'. (#The boy arrived to school)

Verb Incorporation

➤ Multiple patterns which differ in productivity

(9) What is incorporated?

tə-re-rʔit-ekwet-γʔ-e

1SG.S/A-FUT-ride.in.a.reindeer.race-depart-TH

'Father went away to take part in a reindeer race'. (#left a reindeer race)

(10) What is incorporated?

atʔəγə-n *rəju-pkir-γʔ-i*

father-ABS.SG pasture.herd.at.night-arrived-TH-2/3SG.S

'Father came back from the night watch in tundra'. (#came to a night watch)

Adverb Incorporation

- Productivity depends on a given adverb
- Mostly: manner and some aspectual adverbs

(11) *ʔegetʔ-e* *winwə-pəne-ni-ne-t* *watə-t*
enemie-ERG secretly-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL knife-ABS.PL

'An enemy secretly sharpened his knives'.

(12) ...**nə-in-iyət-pəne-qine-t* *watə-t*
ST-INV-now-sharpen-ST.3SG-PL knife-ABS.PL

Adverb Incorporation

- Mostly: manner and some aspectual adverbs
- Can not intervene between V and IN

(13) *ʔeqetʔə-n wenwə-waʔa-mna-γʔ-e*
enemie-ABS.SG secretly-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
'An enemy secretly sharpened his knives'.

(14) **ʔeqetʔə-n waʔa-wenwə-mna-γʔ-e*
enemie-ABS.SG knife-secretly-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
'An enemy secretly sharpened his knives'.

Adverb Incorporation

- Multiple adverb incorporation is attested (although considered to be 'difficult')
- Sometimes: scope effects

(15) *kəsʔəm-pətqə-waʔa-mna-ɣʔ-e*

with.pleasure-again-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

'(The boy) sharpened the/a knife with pleasure again'. (although the first time he did not want to do it).

(16) *pətqə-kəsʔəm-waʔa-mna-ɣʔ-e*

again-with.pleasure-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

'(The boy) again sharpened the knife with pleasure'. (because he is happy that he was allowed to do it)

Back to Verb incorporation

➤ Another subtype: manner-of-motion NI

(17)a. *tə-kətyəntə-rəjo-ʔqət-γʔa-k*

1SG.S/A-run-pasture.herd.at.night-go-TH-1SG.S

b. **tə-rəjo-kətyəntə-ʔqət-γʔa-k*

1SG.S/A-pasture.herd.at.night-run-go-TH-1SG.S

c. *tə-kətyəntə-ʔqət-γʔa-k*

emre-rəju-ŋe

1SG.S/A-run-go-TH-1SG.S

PURP-pasture.herd.at.night-PURP

'He ran to pasture herd at night'.

Back to Verb incorporation

➤ Another subtype: manner-of-motion NI

(17)a. *tə-kətyəntə-rəjo-ʔqət-ɣʔa-k*

1SG.S/A-run-pasture.herd.at.night-go-TH-1SG.S

b. **tə-rəjo-kətyəntə-ʔqət-ɣʔa-k*

1SG.S/A-pasture.herd.at.night-run-go-TH-1SG.S

c. *tə-kətyəntə-ʔqət-ɣʔa-k* *emre-rəju-ŋe*

1SG.S/A-run-go-TH-1SG.S PURP-pasture.herd.at.night-PURP

'He ran to pasture herd at night'.

➤ Some patterns of 'V Inc' are more like Path NI; some – more like Adverb Inc

NOUN INCORPORATION IN
CHUKCHI:
SOME PROBLEMS

Contents

- I(ncorporated) N(ouns) and its modifiers
- 'DO' Incorporation and derivational approaches
- Noun Incorporation and DO promotion
- S-incorporating constructions

INs and modifiers

- No modifiers (typical of Type III lgs, see Mithun 1984 and Baker et al. 2005)

(18) **η̄aroq ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e* / #*η̄aroq ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-w-ne-n*
three dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S three dog-TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
Intended: 'She fed three dogs'.

(19) **n-ewətqə-qin waf̄a-mna-γʔ-e*
ST-dull-ST.3SG knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened a dull knife'.

(20) **η̄otqen waf̄a-mna-γʔ-e*
this knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened this knife'.

INs and modifiers

➤ No modifiers

(18) **η̄aroq ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e* / #*η̄aroq ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-w-ne-n*
three dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S three dog-TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
Intended: 'She fed three dogs'. 'She fed three dogs for two Xs'.

(19) **n-ewətqə-qin waf̄a-mna-γʔ-e*
ST-dull-ST.3SG knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened a dull knife'.

(20) **η̄otqen waf̄a-mna-γʔ-e*
this knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened this knife'.

INs and modifiers

- No modifiers
- An IN can be internally complex

(21) *awəʔqə-waʔa-mna-ɣʔ-e*

dull-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

'He sharpened a dull knife'.

(22) **ŋəron-ʔəttʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e*

three.INC-dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S

Intended: 'She fed two dogs'.

(23) **ŋoten-waʔa-mna-ɣʔ-e*

this.INC-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

Intended: 'He sharpened this knife'.

INs and modifiers

- No modifiers
- An IN can be internally complex

Why (22), (23) are impossible?

- (21) *awəʔqə-waʔa-mna-γʔ-e*
dull-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
'He sharpened a dull knife'.
- (22) **ηəron-ʔəttʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e*
three.INC-dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'She fed two dogs'.
- (23) **ηoten-waʔa-mna-γʔ-e*
this.INC-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened this knife'.

INs and modifiers

- No modifiers
- An IN can be internally complex

(21) awəʔqə-waʔa-mna-γʔ-e
dull-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
'He sharpened a dull knife'.

(22) *ηəron-ʔəttʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e
three.INC-dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'She fed two dogs'.

(23) *ηoten-waʔa-mna-γʔ-e
this.INC-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
Intended: 'He sharpened this knife'.

Why (22), (23) are impossible?

*[NUM-N]_{ABS} / *[DEM-N]_{ABS} banned (see 1st lecture)

*ηoten-waʔə this.INC-knife.ABS.SG

INs and modifiers

- No modifiers
- An IN can be internally complex

(24) *awətqə-watā-mna-γʔ-e*

dull-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

'He sharpened a dull knife'.

(25) ...*saj-koka-kayəɣajpə-n-təmnek-wʔ-e*

tea-pot-cover-TR-loose-TH-2/3SG.S

'(The girl) lost a tea pot cover'.

IN and number

➤ General pattern – unmarked number (see Borik & Gehrke 2014)

(26) *ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e*

dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S

'She fed dogs / a/the dog'

(27) *watʌ-mna-ɣʔ-e*

knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S

'(The boy) sharpened a/the knife / knives'

IN and number

- General pattern – unmarked number (see Borik & Gehrke 2014)
- Several ways to indicate IN's plurality
 - -mæk- 'numerous' incorporation

(28) *mæk-ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e*

numerous-dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S

'She fed many dogs / *She fed a/the dog'.

IN and number

- General pattern – unmarked number (see Borik & Gehrke 2014)
- Several ways to indicate IN's plurality
 - -mæk- 'numerous' incorporation
 - Pluractional –rʔu '≈multiple S'

(29) *orwə-t* *sime-rʔu-γʔe-t*
sledge-ABS.PL break-DISTR.S-TH-PL
'Sledges broke'

(30) **orw~oor* *sime-rʔu-γʔ-i*
sledge~ABS.SG break-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
'A sledge broke'

IN and number

- General pattern – unmarked number (see Borik & Gehrke 2014)
- Several ways to indicate IN's plurality
 - -mæk- 'numerous' incorporation

➤ Pluractional –rʔu '≈multiple S'

(29) *orwə-t* *sime-rʔu-γʔe-t*
sledge-ABS.PL break-DISTR.S-TH-PL
'Sledges broke'

(30) **orw~oor* *sime-rʔu-γʔ-i*
sledge~ABS.SG break-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
'A sledge broke'

(31) *orwə-sema-rʔo-γʔ-e*
sledge-break-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
'A lot of his sledges broke'

IN and number

- General pattern – unmarked number (see Borik & Gehrke 2014)
- Several ways to indicate IN's plurality
 - -mæk- 'numerous' incorporation
 - Pluractional –rʔu '≈multiple S'

(29) *orwə-t* *sime-rʔu-γʔe-t*
sledge-ABS.PL break-DISTR.S-TH-PL
'Sledges broke'

(30) **orw~oor* *sime-rʔu-γʔ-i*
sledge~ABS.SG break-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
'A sledge broke'

(31) *orwə-sema-rʔo-γʔ-e*
sledge-break-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
'A lot of his sledges broke'

- ¡Note: Pluractionality is not strictly Participant plurality!

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN

(32) *ənqorə qɫawət-te n-orwə-n-pety-aw-qena-t=ʔəm*

then man-ABS.PL ST-sledge-TR-straight-CS-ST.3SG-PL=EMPH

'And then men put sledges in a row' (making a coral). (transhumance_txt)

(33)

a. *aljek-na taqʔa-t jəto-ne-na-t tajosyə-səko-jpə*

O.-AN.ERG supplies-ABS.PL take.out-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL bag-IN-ABL

b. *aljek taqʔa-nto-γʔ-e tajosyə-səko-jpə*

O.ABS.SG supplies-take.out-TH-2/3SG.S bag-IN-ABL

c. **aljek-na tajosyə-nto-ne-na-t taqʔa-t*

O.-AN.ERG bag-take.out-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL supplies-ABS.PL

'Oleg took supplies from the bag'.



It is a very fine balance.

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

➤ Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN

➤ The real picture is more complex

(34)a. *termesʔə-ŋinqej-e* *ʔattʔə.qej* *taʔajwə-ne-n*
brute-boy-ERG dog.ABS.SG hit.hard-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

b. *termesʔə-ŋinqej* *ʔattʔə-taʔa-jwə-γʔ-e*
brute-boy.ABS.SG dog-hit.hard-TH-2/3SG.S

'A bully hit a dog hard'.

(35) a. *termesʔə-ŋinqej-e* *ʔawt-epə* *ʔattʔə.qej* *taʔajwə-ne-n*
brute-boy-ERG head-ABL dog.ABS.SG hit.hard-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

b. **termes-ŋinqej* *ʔawt-epə* *ʔattʔə-taʔajwə-γʔ-e*
brute-boy.ABS.SG head-ABL dog-hit.hard-TH-2/3SG.S

'A bully hit the dog on the head / Hit the dog's head'.

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN
- The real picture is more complex

(36)a.	<i>termesʔə-ŋinqej-e</i>	<i>ʔawt-epə</i>	<i>ʔattʔə.qej</i>	<i>tatajwə-ne-n</i>
	brute-boy-ERG	head-ABL	dog.ABS.SG	hit.hard-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
b.	<i>#termesʔə-ŋinqej-e</i>	<i>ʔattʔə.qej-in</i>	<i>ʔewət</i>	<i>tatajwə-ne-n</i>
	brute-boy-ERG	dog-GEN	head.ABS.SG	hit.hard-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
c.	<i>*termes-ŋinqej</i>	<i>ʔawt-epə</i>	<i>ʔattʔə-tatajwə-ɣʔ-e</i>	
	brute-boy.ABS.SG	head-ABL	dog-hit.hard-TH-2/3SG.S	
b.	<i>termesʔə-ŋinqej-e</i>	<i>ʔawtə-tatajwə-ne-n</i>	<i>ʔattʔə.qej</i>	
	brute-boy-ERG	head-hit.hard-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O	dog.ABS.SG	

'A bully hit the dog on the head / Hit the dog's head'.

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN
- The real picture is more complex

<I saw someone standing bent over the sledge>...

(37) <...> *tə-ŋojŋə-kəpʔə-χʔa-n*
1SG.S/A-hip-kick-TH-3SG.O

'... And I kicked him on his bottom'. (hooligan_txt)

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN
- Hit & other contact verbs: IN corresponds to ABL in analytic construction
- Some 'fill' verbs: IN can be either INS or ABS in analytic construction

- (38)a. *jərʔen-ni-n* *tinpuwtə-n* *rətr-e*
fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O ice-can-ABS cloudberry-INS
- b. *tin-puwtə-n* *rətrə-jərʔen-ni-n*
ice-can-ABS cloudberry-fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- c. *tin-puwtə-jərʔet-γʔ-i* (*rətr-e*)
ice-can-fill-TH-2/3SG.S cloudberry-INS

'(The girl) filled the glass jar with cloudberryes'.

'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN
- Hit & other contact verbs: IN corresponds to ABL in analytic construction
- Some 'fill' verbs: IN can be either INS or ABS in analytic construction

- (38)a. *jərʔen-ni-n* *tinpuwtə-n* *rətr-e*
fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O ice-can-ABS cloudberry-INS
- b. *tin-puwtə-n* *rətrə-jərʔen-ni-n*
ice-can-ABS cloudberry-fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- c. *tin-puwtə-jərʔet-γʔ-i* (*rətr-e*)
ice-can-fill-TH-2/3SG.S cloudberry-INS
- '(The girl) filled the glass jar (with cloudberryes).'



'DO'-incorporation and analytic paraphrases

- Simple pattern: 'Absolutive' object (Nedjalkov 1976) / 'Direct internal argument' (Baker 1996) corresponds to an IN
- Hit & other contact verbs: IN corresponds to ABL in analytic construction
- Some 'fill' verbs: IN can be either INS or ABS in analytic construction
- **Summary:**
 - 'What incorporates' is a tricky question
 - Different verb classes = different patterns
 - A single verb may behave differently (the verb 'hit') depending the on construction
 - More fine-grained study of verb classes (like Levin 1993) is a must

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)

<The Soviets tried to execute Anqaj, the shaman. They did not manage to burn him and now they're trying to drown him>.

(39) *ʔinnə-k* *na-wəkwə-n-etʃe-t-ɣʔe-n=ʔəm*
neck-LOC LOW.A-stone-TR-hang-VB-TH-3SG.O=EMPH
ənkə *ne-n-pətq-ek-wʔe-n*
there LOW.A-TR-sink-CS-TH-3SG.O

'They've tied a stone to his neck and they've thrown him into the water'.
(invisible_txt)

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)
- Common pattern: DO is an IN's Possessor

(40) a. *ətʰəy-e* *ekək* *watʰa-mna-ne-n*
father-ERG son.ABS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'Father sharpened his son's knife'.

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)
- Common pattern: DO is an IN's Possessor

(40) a.	<i>ətʰəɣ-e</i>	<i>ekək</i>	<i>watʰa-mna-ne-n</i>	
	father-ERG	son.ABS	knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O	
b?.	<i>ətʰəɣ-e</i>	<i>ekk-in</i>	<i>watʰə</i>	<i>pəne-ni-n</i>
	father-ERG	son-POSS	knife.ABS.SG	sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
	'Father sharpened his son's knife'.			

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)
- Common pattern cross-linguistically: DO is an IN's Possessor

(40) a.	<i>atʔəy-e</i>	<i>ekək</i>	<i>watʔa-mna-ne-n</i>	
	father-ERG	son.ABS	knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O	
b?.	<i>atʔəy-e</i>	<i>ekk-in</i>	<i>watʔa</i>	<i>pəne-ni-n</i>
	father-ERG	son-POSS	knife.ABS.SG	sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'Father sharpened his son's knife'.

(41)	<i>*atʔəy-e</i>	<i>ekək</i>	<i>watʔa-mna-ne-n</i>	<i>enaratʔ-etə</i>
	father-ERG	son.ABS	knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG	neighbor-DAT

Intended: 'Father sharpened his son's knife for the neighbour'.

- **Why** (41) signals that our translation of (40b) is incorrect?

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)
- Common pattern cross-linguistically: DO is an IN's Possessor

(40) a. *ət̪əχ-e* *ekək* *wat̪a-mna-ne-n*
father-ERG son.ABS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'Father sharpened a knife for his son'.

(41) **ət̪əχ-e* *ekək* *wat̪a-mna-ne-n* *enarat̪ʔ-et̪ə*
father-ERG son.ABS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG neighbor-DAT

Intended: 'Father sharpened his son's knife for the neighbour'.

- **Why (41) signals that our translation of (40b) is incorrect?**
- Ownership of IN is insufficient to become a new DO

NI and 'Promotion'

- The incorporation 'vacates' the syntactic role
- It can be subsumed by another NP (a characteristic of Type II/III incorporation)
- Chukchi: ownership relation is not enough to become a new DO

<context: I've taken Oleg's notepad (instead of mine) to the Chukchi lesson. Oleg himself stays at home>

(42) #*l̥osha-na* *keti-ren-ni-n* *al̥ek* *ŋutku*
L.-ERG book-bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O O. here

Intended: 'Lesha brought Oleg's notepad here'.

Real: 'Lesha brought a notepad to Oleg here'.

NI and 'Promotion'

➤ What can be a DO?

(43) Container/'Affected goal'

ammemə-ne

mom-AN.ERG

sajpatə-ttʔə-ne-n

tea-pour-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

kojŋə-n

cup-ABS.SG

'Mom poured some tea into the cup'.

(44) (Intended) recipient

ətʔəŋə-n

father-ABS.SG

ɣakanqor-peʔa-ne-n

reindeer.team-leave-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'(The son) left the reindeer team for the father'.

(45) Source (in (quasi-)separation contexts)

ewirʔə-nwiriw-ni-n

cloths-take.off-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

pʔa-jme-jotʔə-n

dry-hang-CONT-ABS.SG

'(The housewife) freed the rope from cloths'.

(...)

NI and 'Promotion'

➤ What can **not** be a DO?

(46) *#ətʔa-ta* *stoʔ* *kojŋə-treʔ-ne-n*
mother-ERG table.ABS.SG cup-put-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
Intended: 'Mother put a cup/cups on the table'.

(47) *#ətʔa-ta* *ŋeekək* *awerʔə-jme-ne-n*
mother-ERG daughter.ABS.SG cloths-hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
Intended: 'Mother hang cloths for the daughter'.

(48) **imʔə-ttʔə-ni-n* *kuke-qej* *majŋə-koka-səko*
water-pour-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O pot-DIM.ABS.SG big-pot-IN
Intended: 'She poured the water out of a small pot into a big one'.

NI and 'Promotion'

➤ Summary:

- 'Semantic roles' and 'Syntactic roles' are insufficient to account for 'DO promotion'
- Some events prefer different arguments for promotion
- Different types of 'possession' should be distinguished
- Derivational (in a rough sense) approaches may be problematic

(49)

- a. *jərʔen-ni-n* *tinpuwtə-n* *rətr-e*
 fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O ice-can-ABS cloudberry-INS
- b. *tin-puwtə-n* *rətrə-jərʔen-ni-n*
 ice-can-ABS cloudberry-fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

- '(The girl) filled the glass jar with cloudberryes'.

S-Incorporation: preliminary

General pattern: [+ volitional]; [+ controlling] S resists incorporation

- (50) *enaraʔə-n* *akka-tʔəʔə-ηηo-γʔ-e*
neighbor-ABS.SG son-be.ill-INCH-TH-2/3SG.S

'Neighbor's son fell ill'.

- (51) **ekke-miysir-γʔ-i*
son-work-TH-2/3SG.S

'Her son worked'.

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

➤ Promoted S is in possessive (body-part (52); ownership (53); kin (54); locative (55)) relations with an incorporated S

(52) *a#ek-nin* *ŋeekək* *kərwir-iwʔ-et-ɣʔ-i*
O.-POSS daughter.ABS hair-long-VB-TH-2/3SG.S

'The daughter of Oleg's hair grew longer'.

<the watercar got lost during the snowstorm. The driver of the watercar didn't have any warm clothes. The narrator and other Chukchi helped kolkhoz boss to find the watercar and it's driver>

(53) *naqam* *kowʔ-orwə-tko-ʔʔə-n*
however sphere-sledge-ITER-ATTR-ABS.SG

ɣa-ʔye-mətqə-taʔpə-ŋŋo-ʔen=ʔəm

PF-INTS-fat-run.out-INCH-PF.3SG=EMPH

'Well, the driver was about to run out of fuel'.

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

- Promoted S is in possessive (body-part (52); ownership (53); kin (54); locative (55)) relations with an incorporated S

(54) *itʃə-qenjewə-k* *pkirə-k,*
sharp-canyon-LOC arrive-LOC

aliek *ʃa-ŋaakka-qewja-ŋŋo-ʃen*
O. PF-daughter-be.cold-INCH-PF.3SG

'When we came to Egvekinot (lit. 'sharp canyon'), Oleg's daughter began to feel cold'.

(55) *joo-k* *nəmnəm* *ʃa-ra-semat-rʔo-ʃen*
snowstorm-LOC camp.ABS.SG PF-building-break-DISTR.S-PF.3SG

'During the snowstorm, some jarangas in the camp were broken'.

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

- Nedjalkov (1978; 1981): New S is affected by what happens to incorporated S
- Where is the cut point between affected and unaffected?

(56) *joo-k* *nəmnəm* *ɣa-ra-semat-rʔo-ʔen*
snowstorm-LOC camp.ABS.SG PF-building-break-DISTR.S-PF.3SG
'During the snowstorm, some jarangas in the camp were broken'.

(57) *ʔʔjoo-k* *nəmnəm* *ɣa-ra-semat-ʔen*
snowstorm-LOC camp.ABS.SG PF-building-break-PF.3SG
'During the snowstorm, a jaranga in the camp was broken'.



The wait seems eternal

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

- Nedjalkov (1978; 1981): New S is affected by what happens to incorporated S
- Where is the cut point between affected and unaffected?

(58) *notayse-ma* *ivan* *sapok-semat-γʔ-i*
wander.in.tundra-SIM I. boot-break-TH-2/3SG.S
'Wandering in the tundra, Ivan's boots tore'.

(59) *ivane-na* *jpə-ni-ne-t* *γəm-nine-t* *sapokə-*
t,
Ivan-AN.INS put.on-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.S I-POSS-NOM.PL boot-NOM.PL
nuteysi-γʔ-i *i* *ənkə* **tə-sapok-semat-γʔa*
wander.in.tundra-TH-2/3SG.S and there 1SG.S-boot-break-TH
Intended: 'Ivan put on my shoes, went to the tundra, and there the boots tore'.

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

- Nedjalkov (1978; 1981): New S is affected by what happens to incorporated S
- Where is the cut point between affected and unaffected?

(60) *kʔeʔ-eret-ɣʔ-i*

hat-fall-TH-2/3SG.S

'He lost his hat'. (e.g. while nomading)

S-Incorporation: 'Poss promotion'

- Nedjalkov (1978; 1981): New S is affected by what happens to incorporated S
- Where is the cut point between affected and unaffected?
- Change of property's location does not affect the S (cf. DO promotion)

<Context: Where's my hat?>

- (61) a. *yən-nin* *kʔeti* *shkap-γəpə* *eret-γʔ-i*
 you-POSS hat cupboard-ABL fall-TH-2/3SG.S
- b. *shkap-γəpə* **kʔet-eret-γʔ-i*
 cupboard-ABL hat-fall-TH-2/3SG.S
- 'Your hat fell from the cupboard'.

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

➤ Nedjalkov (1981): IN is 'unpossessable'; S is 'expletive' (2/3sg.s) or a location

(62) *weem-rʔite-γʔ-i*

river-run-TH-2/3SG.S

'The river(s) broke through the ice (lit. the rivers ran)'. (the spring has come)

(63) *nəmnəm* *weem-rʔite-γʔ-i*

village.ABS.SG river-run-TH-2/3SG.S

'Here in the village, the river(s) broke through the ice'.

(64) *terk-amesat-γʔ-e*

sun-disappear-TH-2/3SG.S

'The sun set'.

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

- Nedjalkov (1981): IN is 'unpossessable'; S is 'expletive' (2/3sg.s) or a location
- Nedjalkov (1981): the Impersonal Transitive Construction is possible

(65) *ŋetwəʃ* *weem-rʔite-ni-n*
herd.ABS.SG river-run-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The river broke through the ice (lit. on the herd) (so it is no more possible to cross the river).'

(66) *jʔety-amesan-ne-n*
moon-disappear-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The moon disappeared (lit. on him) (so it is hard for him to see the path).'

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

- Nedjalkov (1981): IN is 'unpossessable'; S is 'expletive' (2/3sg.s) or a location
- Nedjalkov (1981): the Impersonal Transitive Construction is possible

(67) *ŋetwəʃ* *weem-rʔite-ni-n*
herd.ABS.SG river-run-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The river broke through the ice (lit. on the herd) (so it is no more possible to cross the river).'

(68) **weem-e* *ŋetwəʃ* *rʔite-ni-n*
river-ERG herd.ABS.SG river-run-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

Intended: 'The river broke through the ice (lit. on the herd) (so it is no more possible to cross the river).'

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

➤ What's unusual with (69) and (70)?

(69) *ŋetwəf* *weem-rʔite-ni-n*
herd.ABS.SG river-run-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The river(s) broke through the ice (lit. on the herd) (so it is no more possible to cross the river).'

(70) *ŋaanqen* *qora-γənretə-ʔə-n* ***ne-weem-rʔite-γʔe-n***
THAT.DISTAL reindeer-pasture-ATTR-ABS.SG LOW.A-river-run-TH-3SG.O

Intended: 'The river broke through the ice (lit. on that reindeer herder) (so he remains on another bank)'. [3PL.A > 3SG.O]

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

➤ What's unusual with (69) and (70)?

(69) *ŋetwəʔ* *weem-rʔite-ni-n*
herd.ABS.SG river-run-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'The river(s) broke through the ice (lit. on the herd) (so it is no more possible to cross the river).'

(70) *ŋaanqen* *qora-γənretə-ʔʔə-n* ***ne-weem-rʔite-γʔe-n***
THAT.DISTAL reindeer-pasture-ATTR-ABS.SG LOW.A-river-run-TH-3SG.O

Intended: 'The rivers broke through the ice (lit. on that reindeer herder) (so he remains on another bank)'. [3PL.A > 3SG.O]

❖ Is it possible to index an incorporated participant?

S-Incorporation: 'Natural phenomena'

➤ What's unusual with (69)?

(69) *ŋaanqen* *qora-γənretə-ʔə-n* *ne-weem-rʔite-γʔe-n*
 THAT.DISTAL reindeer-pasture-ATTR-ABS.SG LOW.A-river-run-TH-3SG.O

Intended: 'The rivers broke through the ice (lit. on that reindeer herder) (so he remains on another bank)'. [3PL.A > 3SG.O]

❖ Is it possible to index an incorporated participant?

❖ Not really

(70) *na-jʔetɣ-amesatə-γʔe-n*
 LOW.A-moon-disappear-TH-3SG.O

'The moon disappeared (lit. on him) (so it is hard for him to see the path)'.
[3PL.A > 3SG.O]

wefənkəquneturi!