

# Divergence in the distribution of noun incorporation and applicatives in Koryak and Ainu

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# Languages under consideration



The Chukotko-Kamchatkan

# Similarities that have been noted between Koryak (and Chukchi) and Ainu

- 1) In both languages, all the plosives are voiceless. There is no opposition between voiceless and voiced features in the plosives.
- 2) The subject and the object are marked on the verb either by a prefix or a suffix.
- 3) Both languages have incorporative constructions.
- 4) Both have a prefix coding of 1SG.O and general O.
- 5) Nouns do not have an accusative form that is distinct from a nominative form.

# Points at issue

- Koryak and Ainu share grammatical features that cannot be found in Itelmen, which is located between Koryak (Chukchi also) and Ainu (that is, **Noun Incorporation (NI)** and **Applicatives (APPL)**, both of which are valency-changing operations).
- However, the distribution is reversed.
  - (a) NI (valency-decreasing):  
Koryak: diverse vs. Ainu: limited
  - (b) APPL (valency-increasing):  
Koryak: limited vs. Ainu: diverse
- Some sort of relationship, most likely an influential one, could be speculated between Koryak and Ainu, since there are no other languages in this area that have both NI and APPL.

## Probable Contact between Chukotko-Kamchatkan and Ainu on the Kamchatka Peninsula

- A list of approximately 285 words was collected from the Kuriles and southern Kamchatka by S. P. Krasheninnikov. Murayama (1971) asserts that it consists solely of Kurile Ainu words.

# NI in Koryak

- S-argument, P-argument, oblique nouns such as Instrumental, Locative, Allative, Prolative, Ablative, and Predicate Subjects can be incorporated.
- NI of A-argument is not permitted.
- NP NI and Multiple NI are also widely observed.
- NI of P-argument causes intransitive conjugation, that is, a decreasing of valency.

# Examples

## 【P-argument】

(1a) (γəmmo) t'-ə-jaja-ncemav-ə-k-∅  
1SG.ABS 1SG.S-E-tent-break-E-1SG.S-PF

(1b) (γəm-nan) t'-ə-ncimav-ə-n-∅ jaja-ŋa  
1SG.ABS 1SG.A-E-break-E-3SG.P-PF tent-ABS.SG  
'I broke the tent.'

## 【S-argument】

(2a) peŋa-γala-j-∅  
snow-pass.over-PF-3SG.S

(2b) piŋapiŋ γala-j-∅  
snow(ABS.SG) pass.over-PF-3SG.S  
'The snow passed over.'

## 【Instrumental】

- (3a) t-ə-myū-təle-k-∅  
1SG.S-E-reindeer.caravan-go-1SG.S-PF
- (3b) məyu-te t-ə-lle-k-∅  
reindeer.caravan-INS 1SG.S-E-go-1SG.S-PF  
'I went by a reindeer caravan.'

## 【Locative】

- (4a) t-ə-nəmnəm-jonat-ə-k-∅  
1SG.S-E-village-live-E-1SG.S-PF
- (4b) nəmnəm-ə-k t-ə-junet-ə-k-∅  
village-E-LOC 1SG.S-E-live-E-1SG.S-PF  
'I lived in the village.'

## 【Allative】

- (5a) t-ə-vutq-ə-lqət-ə-k-∅  
1SG.S-E-darkness-E-go.out-E-1SG.S-PF
- (5b) votq-etəŋ t-ə-lqət-ə-k-∅  
darkness-ALL 1SG.S-E-go.out-E-1SG.S-PF  
'I went out towards evening.'



【Ablative】

(6a) t'-ə-qipju-ll'ap-ə-k-∅  
1SG.S-E-hole-look-E-1SG.S-PF

(6b) qepjo-ηqo t'-ə-ll'ap-ə-k-∅  
hole-ABL 1SG.S-E-look-E-1SG.S-PF  
'I looked through the hole.'

【Predicate subject】

(7a) ʃeyəlη-ə-n ko-ʃətʃ-ə-mowwola-η-∅  
wolf-E-ABS.SG IPF-dog-E-bark-IPF-3SG.S

(7b) ʃeyəlη-ə-n təqən ʃətʃ-ə-n  
ABS.SG as.if dog-E-ABS.SG  
ko-mowwola-η-∅  
wolf-E-IPF-bark-IPF-3SG.S  
'The wolf is barking like a dog.'

【NP NI】

(8a) t'-ə-l'əql'aŋ-kemetʃa-n'cocmav-ə-k-∅  
1SG.S-E-winter-clothes-prepare-E-1SG.S-PF

(8b) ləqləŋ-kine-w kimitʃa-w t'-ə-ncocəməw-naw-∅  
winter-REL-ABS.PL clothes-ABS.PL 1SG.A-E-prepare-3PL.P-PF  
'I prepared winter clothes.'

【Multiple NI】

(9a) t'-ə-n'ke-qoja-nomakav-ək-∅  
1SG.S-E-midnight-reindeer-herd-E-1SG.S-PF

(9b) nəki-ta qoja-w t-ə-numekew-new-∅  
midnight-INS reindeer-ABS.PL 1SG.A-E-herd-3PL.P-PF  
'I herded the reindeer at midnight.'

# NI in Ainu

- NI of S-argument and P-argument are the most common. NI of A-argument and circumstances have been reported as extremely rare by Sato (1992, 2008).
- However, Bugaeva (2005) reports that no A-argument NI can be found in her consultant's idiolect of a Chitose dialect.

# Examples

## 【P-argument】

(10a) ku-wákka-ku  
INTR.1SG.S-water-drink

(10b) wákka ku-kú  
water TR.1SG.A  
'I drink water.'

(Sato 1992:198)

## 【S-argument】

(11a) ku-téke-pase  
INTR.1SG.S-hand(AFF)-heavy  
'I have heavy hands with age.'

(11b) ku-téke ka páse  
1SG.GEN-hand too heavy  
'My hands are too heavy.'

(Sato 1992:197)

## 【A-argument】

(12a) ku-kóy-yanke  
INTR1SG.S-wave-lift.up

(12b) kóy 'éy-yanke  
wave 1SG.O-lift.up  
'Waves lift me up.'

(Sato 1992:196)

## 【Circumstants】

(13) tanto anak ku-tokap-mokor a wa.  
todayTOP INTR.1SG.S-daytime-sleep FIN FIN  
'I took a nap.'

(Sato 2008:220)

# NI of oblique noun or NI of P-argument?

(14a)      kani ka      ku=nepki                      kusu              k=arpa  
I      also 1SG.S=work                      in.order              1SG.S=go.SG  
'I went in order to work.'

(14b)      nepki-e-arpa=an  
work-for.APPL-go.SG=IND.S  
'I went to work.'                      (Bugaeva 2004:52)

# APPL in Koryak

- APPL in Koryak is limited to **Benefactive and Location**.
- As far as I know, APPL is found not in intransitive verbs but is found in transitive verbs. Cf. In Chukchi, APPL is also derived from intransitive verbs.
- APPL construction increases verbal valency by one. That is, Benefactive in the dative case and Location in the locative case is promoted to the absolutive case. Since two arguments are not permitted to take the absolutive case in a sentence, a P-argument is incorporated into the transitive verb stem, which causes intransitivization of the incorporative stem.
- Koryak (Chukchi also) does not have any explicit markers for APPL. Therefore, apparently intransitive verb stem (including incorporative stem of P-argument conjugating transitively.)

# Examples

## 【Applicatives of Intransitive in Koryak: not permitted】

- (15a) \*γәм-nan en'pic-∅ t-ә-vetat-ә-n-∅ ηelvәlҕ-ә-k.  
 1SG-ERG father-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-work-E-3SG.P-PF reindeer.herd-E-LOC
- (15b) γәmmo an'pec-ә-η t-ә-vetat-ә-k-∅ ηelvәlҕ-ә-k.  
 1SG.ABS father-E-DAT 1SG.S-E-work-E-1SG.S-PF reindeer.herd-E-LOC

'I worked at reindeer herd for Father.'

## 【Applicatives of Intransitive in Chukchi: permitted】

- (16a) әлҕа-∅ tipҕejη-γҕi-∅ nana-γtә  
 mother-ABS.SG sing-3SG.S-PF child-DAT
- (16b) әлҕа-ta tipҕejη-nin-∅ nenenә-∅.  
 mother-INS(ERG) sing-3SG.A/3SG.P-PF child-ABS

(Kurebito, T. 2009:115)



## 【Benefactive】

(17a) en'pic-∅                    t-ə-jaja-ηajkətva-n-∅.  
father-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-house-clean-3SG.P-PF

(17b) an'pec-ə-η            jaja-ηa                    t-ə-ηajkətva-n-∅.  
father-E-DAT    house-ABS.SG    1SG.A-E-clean-3SG.P-PF  
'I cleaned the house for Father.'

## 【Location】

(18a) en'pici-te                    icɣ-ə-n                    pəɣone-np-nen-∅.  
father-INS(ERG) coat-E-ABS.SG    button-put-3SG.A/3SG.P-PF

(18b) en'pici-te                    jəp-nin-∅                    pəɣon-∅  
father-INS(ERG) put-3SG.ABS/3SG.P-PF button-ABS.SG  
icɣ-ə-k.  
coat-E-LOC  
'Father put a button on the coat.'

# APPL of Ablative noun or Stranding?

## 【Chukchi】

(19a) ətləγ-e                      ekək-∅                      mane-etka-nen-∅.  
father-INS(ERG)                      son-ABS.SG                      money-take-3SG.A/3SG.P-PF

(19b) ətləγ-e                      akka-jpə                      maneman  
father-INS(ERG)                      money-ABL                      money(ABS.SG)  
itke-nin-∅.

take-3SG.A/3SG.P-PF

‘Father took money from the son.’

## 【Koryak】

(20a) en'pici-te                    akək-∅            cawat-akmen-nen-∅.  
father-INS(ERG)    son-ABS.SG    lasso-take-3SG.A/3SG.P-PF

(20b) en'pici-te                    akk-in-∅                    cawat-∅  
father-INS(ERG)    son-POSS-ABS.SG    lasso-ABS.SG

ekmin-nin-∅.

take-3SG.A-3SG.P

'Father took his son's lasso.'

# Detransitivizing -et/-at deleted in Chukchi but not in Koryak

## 【Chukchi】

(21a) ətləγ-ə-n                      akka-γtə                      qaa-nm-at-γʔe  
father-E-ABS.SG                      son-DAT                      reindeer-kill-ET

(21b) \* ətləγ-e                      ekək-∅                      qaa-nm-an-nen.  
father-INS(ERG)                      son-ABS.SG                      reindeer-kill-ET-3SG.A/3SG.P

‘Father killed the reindeer for the son.’                      (Kozinsky et al. 1988:687)

(21c) ətləγ-e                      ekək-∅                      qora-nm-ə-nen.  
father-INS(ERG)                      son-ABS.SG                      reindeer-kill-E-3SG.A/3SG.P

(Kurebito, T. p.c.)

【Koryak】

(22a) en'pic-∅                      t-ə-qoja-nm-at-ə-n-∅  
father-ABS.SG                      1SG.A-E-reindeer-kill-ET-E-3SG.P-PF

(22b) an'pec-ə-η    qoja-ηa                      t-ə-nm-ə-n-∅  
father-E-DAT reindeer-ABS.SG                      1SG.A-E-kill-E-3SG.P-PF  
'I killed the reindeer for Father.'

(23a) en'pic-∅                      t-utt-ə-pj-et-ə-n-∅  
father-ABS.SG                      1SG.A-stick-E-pull.out-ET-E-3SG.P-PF

(23b) an'pec-ə-η    t-ə-pj-ə-n-∅                      uttəut  
father-E-DAT 1SG.A-E-pull.out-E-3SG.P-PF                      stick(ABS.SG)  
'I pulled out the stick for Father.'

# Applicatives in Ainu

- Three applicative prefixes, e-, ko-, o-, are all valency-increasing. By adding one of these prefixes to the verb, valency increases by one. One-place verbs, i.e., intransitive verbs, become two-place verbs, transitive. Two-place transitives becomes ditransitive (Bugaeva 2006).
- Ainu applicatives have the following typologically idiosyncratic features:
  - (A) applicatives derived from base intransitives are much more numerous than those derived from base transitives.
  - (B) Benefactive proper nouns, distinct from Recipient and Addressee nouns, do not represent the most common semantic role of the applied object.

(Bugaeva 2006:189)

(24) Prefix ko-

- i. 'in/on/at (sth/sb)'
- ii. 'to/towards (sb/sth)'
- iii. 'from/out of (sb)'
- iv. '(together) with (sb)'

Prefix e-

- i. 'in/on/at (sth)'
- ii. 'to/towards (sth/sb)'
- iii. 'about (sth/sb)'
- iv. 'with respect to (sth)'
- v. 'for (sth/sb)'
- vi. 'by (sth)', 'with (the help of sth)'

Prefix o-

- i. 'in/on/at (sth)'
- ii. 'to/towards (sth)'
- iii. 'from sth'

Table 1 Distribution of NI in Koryak and Ainu

Argument	Koryak	Ainu
P項	○	○
S項	○	○
A項		○
Instrumental	○	
Locative	○	
Allative	○	
Prolative	○	
Ablative	○	
Predicate Subject	○	



# Table 2 Distribution of APPL in Koryak and Ainu

Semantic role	Koryak	Ainu		
		e-	ko-	o-
Content		○		
Theme-Patient		○		○
Means-Instrument		○		
Cause		○		
Location	○	○		○
Range		○		
Purpose		○		
Manner		○		
Path		○		
Addressee			○	
Goal			○	○
Comitative			○	
Benefactive	○		○	
Malefactive			○	
Recipient			○	
Source			○	○

# Conclusion

- According to the reverse (complementary?) distribution of NI and APPL, some relationship, most likely an influential one, could be speculated between Koryak and Ainu. For example, the following influential relationship could be speculated about:
  - NI: from Koryak to Ainu
  - APPL: from Ainu to Koryak
- Beyond Koryak, across the Bering Sea, lies Eskimo, which has no NI but rich APPL, and further, the American Indian languages. What is the relationship among these languages? It will become increasingly important to place Ainu among the Chukotko-Kamchatkan and the languages in North America and compare it to those languages.

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