

Nivkh Incorporation revisited*¹

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1. Leningrad Discussion on Nivkh Incorporation

In *Journal of Chiba University Eurasian Society (CES)* No.2, 1999, pp. 1-50, I summarized the debate on the incorporation structure of Nivkh language carried out in the years 1954 - 1966 at the linguistic circle of Soviet Academy Leningrad Division. The discussion was published in forms of papers in the organ of Soviet Academy Linguistic Department *Вопросы Языкознания (ВЯ)*, issues of 1954 to 1966. The main papers are the followings:

(P1):Панфилов,В.З.(1954), К вопросу об инкорпорировании --- на материалах нивхского языка.

ВЯ 54-6

(K1):Крейнович,Е.А.(1958), Об инкорпорировании в нивхском языке. *ВЯ* 58-6

(P2):Панфилов,В.З.(1960), Проблема слова и "инкорпорировании" в нивхском языке. *ВЯ* 60-6

(K2):Крейнович,Е.А.(1966),

Об инкорпорировании и примыкание в нивхском языке. *ВЯ* 66-3

(P3):Панфилов,В.З.(1966), К типологической характеристике нивхского языка. *ВЯ* 66-5

Here, the symbols in () indicates paper number, *ВЯ* x-y the issue year and the number.

The discussion came to end in 1966 with the paper of Panfilov P3*², with the conclusion that the language Nivkh belongs to agglutinative language type as he asserted in the papers above. However, the crucial issue was posed by Krejnovich whether this language makes use of an incorporative technique to form a compound verb remains yet unsolved, though Panfilov insisted consistently that the prefixed nominal element has to be regarded as an independent noun phrase concatenated to a

transitive verb stem in agglutinative way.

The discussion in Leningrad a half century ago has contributed to give chance to the linguistic academy to turn their eyes to one of the Paleo-asiatic minority languages in the Far-East of Eurasian Continent. Russian linguists have already got an excellent result in the field of Caucasian languages especially since N. Ya. Marr's (1864-1934) description of Georgian languages, and even after his theory was fatally criticized by the so-called Stalin linguistics. But the linguistic description of minority languages in other districts has not made no remarkable progress except some works by V. G. Bogoras-tan (1865-1936) and others. In the critical situation after the Stalin's *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics* 1950 it would have to be appreciated that the Leningrad academy attempted to organize a series of collective discussion on the linguistic structure of minority languages in the "Far-East". The discussion also contributed to wider insight in linguistic phenomena which are found in Palo-asiatic group of languages. It pointed out a lot of remarkable grammatical structures of the language Nivkh. **P1**, e.g. brought up, the morpho-phonological rules of consonant alternation of concatenated elements in nominal and verbal compounds like *utuk-rəf* (fathers house, *rəf* (house) < *tə* ; *q^heg-xo həjk-xo zif-ku* (footprints of foxes and rabbits, *-ku* < *-gu*: plural-suffix) ; *hoyat men k^hu-go pundⁱ-go vodⁱ vidⁱ-gu* (then they went out bows and arrows in hands, *vodⁱ* < *əvdⁱ*, *podⁱ*, *vodⁱ*, *bodⁱ* (to carry)). Panfilov ascribed the alternation simply to a series of Sandhi rules which applies to the dense concatenation of morphemes though they are mentioned its detailed morpho-phonological nor syntactic motivation*². The other papers also provided with many important issues on the grammatical structure of the language. In **K1** e.g. Krejnovich pointed out among others that the language Nivkh makes use of grammatical operation of incorporation in a wide range of verbal compounding. Under incorporation he understood , according to Franz Boaz (1858 –1942), the formal procedure to take nominal objects into verbal predicate. The typical examples he showed are:

- (1) a. *qan-ardⁱ* (to feed dog) < *jadⁱ*
 b. *co-xudⁱ* (to take fish) < *iydⁱ/xudⁱ/k^hidⁱ*
 c. *tⁱago-vodⁱ* (to hold a knife) < *əvdⁱ/bodⁱ/bodⁱ*

Incorporative compounds like these are constructed by way of prefixing of the direct object to the verb stem, where the prefixed noun has to be indefinite/unspecific. This quantificational feature can be illustrated with the sentence pair (2a, b) *³

- (2) a. *crərx mu xləda* (602) *³ (Let us the/our ship approach to the shore)
 shore-DIR ship approach-FINPART
- b. *tur xrə urd'ra. mxləd'da* (605) (This shore is good. Let us do ship-approach)
 this shore good-FIN-AFFIRM. ship' approach-FIN-FINPART

In (2a) the object in absolutive case stands in the normal syntactic position, on the directly left side of the finite verb. But in (2b) it is abridged into a single consonant *m-* and attached to the verb, making an incorporated compound verb. But the quantificational feature of the incorporated noun seems to have been clear. He cited some other examples which he supposed to be incorporative like in (3). Panfilov would judge them as typical cases of agglutinative concatenation of specific noun phrases (hyphenated by him)*⁴:

- (3) a. *n'i qan-nr'həd'i* (I saw a dog)
 b. *n'i qan-n'ən'i-nr'həd'i* (I saw one dog)
 c. *n'i qan-n'ən'i-bark-nr'həd'i* (I saw only one dog)
 1SG dog one only see-FIN

It was also pointed out by Krejnovich that the incorporated transitive verbs in (1) and (2) correspond to intransitive verbs with unspecific pronominal prefixes respectively:

- (4) a. *j-ard'i* (to feed someone) ~ *qan-ard'i* (to feed a dog/dogs) (1a)
 b. *i-gd'i* (to catch something) ~ *co-xud'i* (to take fish) (1b)
 c. *ə-vd'i* (to hold something) ~ *t'ago-vod'i* (to hold a knife) (1c)

Here we see that the incorporation procedure in this language is related to some crucial morpho-syntactic structures which we discuss about below.

In this discussion it has been often referred to the definition what they understood under incorporation in general. P2 pointed out the main features of incorporation as follows:

- (5) a. The incorporated element is not a word, but a stem,
- b. the concatenated form as the whole is a compound word,
- c. the compounded elements preserve their inherent meaning,
- d. the incorporated element is transparent in its inherent syntactic relation.

Panfilov brought about this set of features presumably in order to demonstrate the official understanding of Soviet linguistics, in a authoritarian manner which seems to have been usual in the academic world of this country. Their understanding is not false per se, but it is not yet sufficient to characterize the incorporative structure of this language. In K2 Krejnovich added two more conditions necessary to apply the definition to the language Nivkh:

- (6) a. In this language the paradigm of free versus bounded morphemes is relevant in nominal as well as verbal domains,
- b. in this language the frame work of concatenation: prefix - primary element - suffixes constructs a synthetic complex in which the incorporated element is located in the place of prefix.

In the next chapter we see how these general and particular features of an incorporative structure are realized in concrete cases of this language.

There is yet one more thing to notice in the process of the discussion which seems to be relevant for us to describe complex linguistic structure. In his earlier works Krejnovich has never mentioned about incorporation, he made use of the linguistic terms *синтезизм* (synthesis) to characterize the

linguistic structure of Nivkh, especially in his works as:

Крейнович, Е.А., Нивхский (гилякский) язык. in: "Язык и письменность народов Севера" АН 1934

--- --- Фонетика нивхского (гилякского) языка. УЧПЕДГИЗ 1937

In his first paper of the debate, P1 (1954, p. 13, line 33), Panfilov replaced the term synthesis with incorporation. It might be even said that this exchange of the basic term gave a start for the whole discussion. We find no evidence whether the replacement came from some malicious purpose or an innocent failure, but Kreynovich curiously never mentioned this change nor even protested against it as long as we observe the debate. We may rather suppose that both linguists confused these terms and concepts throughout the discussion without making any effort to make the problems clear. Panfilov at least seems to have thought that synthesis includes incorporation and, further more, the latter presupposes a synthetic structure. He asserted in reality that Nivkh is agglutinative, so that it has no incorporation. Kreynovich looked like to have no firm concept about this matter, too. He made no clear assertion that incorporation does coexist with agglutination though he could do it in his concluding paper "About incorporation and agglutination in Nivkh language" K2 (1966).

In my understanding both concepts, incorporation and synthesis, are not in opposition to one another. There are languages which, belonging to polysynthetic type, do not allow incorporation, e.g. Itelimen, and, on the contrary, there are languages, too, which utilize incorporation, but belong to agglutinative language type, e.g. Japanese. Synthesis requires prefixing as well as suffixing. An incorporated element is not necessarily an affix, it is rather a bigger unit in normal cases and the incorporated element is not necessarily located in prefix position. Incorporation is, in essence, a word formation technique for making a verbal compound, whereas synthesis is a concatenation technique for predication. Both types of technique work in different domains as concatenation procedures; incorporation brings a deep argument into verb compounding, whereas synthesis makes up an affix chain around a verb stem making a chain of a verb complex. Therefore, if an incorporated element changed into a bound form which is attached to a verb stem along with other

morphemes together, it looks like a synthetic verbal concatenation. But both techniques are different grammatical operations*⁵.

2. Some issues on Nivkh Incorporation

In the Leningrad discussion there were pointed out a lot of important linguistic phenomena of Nivkh language. Some of them are actual even in our present studies. In this paper I will take up an issue, the incorporation type of this language, for the further study of an incorporation typology of languages.

2.1. Pronominal Prefixes

As Takahashi 1942 (p.26) pointed out, Nivkh allows prefixes only in a very restricted way. He wrote: "Prefixes are only personal pronouns *tʃ'*-, *n'*-, *pi*-, *i*- ." This is not accurate in detail, e.g. *pi*- must be *p'*- . But he is almost correct in saying that the verbal prefix is limited to personal pronouns. Let us observe some examples from Puxta 2002:

(7) a. *tʰa nʰlɛzɪt habe* (1412) (Do not pass over me = Do stop at me)

PROHIB 1sg-pass-PART have habit-IMP=PL < *lɛzɪr bɪdʲ* : to pass over
(Савельева/Таксами 1970 → CT)

b. *ni cɪmənədʰra*. (1305) (I make and give you)

1sg 2sg-1mə-FUT-FIN-AFFIRM < *imədʲ* (make and give) , *iməhdʲ/kʰidʲ/ximdʲ* (CT)

c. *ecpo dɛf ɚk pʰ əlydʲ la ?* (1104) (Is the shop already open)

shop house already REFL-əly-FIN-INTER < *jəly-dʲ* open / *əly-dʲ* (CT)

Here we have two points to notice: first, the prefixed pronouns are not in a full form, but abridged into bound forms, and second, they correspond to the direct object of the transitive verb. Let us formulate these morphological and syntactic conditions of pronominal prefixing in accordance with Krejnovich **K2** (6a, b) :

(8) a. the prefixed personal pronouns attached to verbs are not free forms *nⁱ*, *ci/tⁱ*, *p^hi*, *if^{*6}* but bound forms, *n^l*,

c-, *p^{h-}*, *i-*.

b. they correspond to the direct objects (прямое дополнение) of transitive verbs.

These pronominal prefixing can be formulated in form of a compositional rule of word formation (9a) and it is verbalized like (9b):

(9) a. {_{VP}X + Vt- } → {V-}

here, Vt= a transitive verb, x= a bound form of personal pronoun, { } : a lexical unit

b. a concatenation of the bound form of a personal pronoun and a transitive verb stem makes a verb stem

It is not clear whether the verb in {V-} on the right side of the arrow is transitive or intransitive. In order to test the argument structure of prefixed verbs, let us add an obligatory argument to verbs in (4a, b, c):

(10) a. *nⁱ jard^j* (I feed) : *nⁱ qan-ard^j* (I dog(s)-feed)

b. *nⁱ iyd^j* (I catch) : *nⁱ co-xud^j* (I fish-catch)

c. *nⁱ əvd^j* (I hold/have) : *nⁱ t'ago-vod^j* (I knife-hold/have)

These sentences require only one argument to be well-formed, the active subject in absolutive case. Therefore, they are intransitive, so that the verbal compounds *jard^j*, *qan-ard^j* etc. are intransitive per se. But we find a counter example in Puxta 2002:

(11) *p^hahky pəxkit əxnanəd^j fora* (420) (The windows, we have to paint them)

window-pl color-INSTR əpaint-FUT-FIN let^us (*p^hahky* : direct object in ABS, which corresponds to ə "them")

Here the topicalized *p^hahky* (windows in absolutive case) is repeated in form of prefixed personal pronoun *ə-* prefixed to a transitive verb *q^hna-nə-d^j < q^hnad^j /xnad^j* (to anoint), -nə :FUT. But we cannot decide *əχnad^j* to be intransitive because of the topicalized object in absolutive case, which must be a direct object of the verb. If we want to regard the prefixed verb as intransitive, we have to add a condition to the rule of normal argument calculus such that, if a reference-identical noun phrase precedes as the topic of the sentence, so it is not a normal argument, but some corresponding phrase to the prefix *ə-* in this case. This prefix functions here as something like an applicative indicator. However, in normal cases, nominal and pronominal prefixes like in the sentences (10) reduce the arguments by one, namely, they change transitive verbs to intransitive. This may be one of the fundamental rules for verbal compounding. A propos, Савельева/Таксами1970 treats the -j/-i/-ə verbs consistently as transitive and adds simple examples with direct object like *p^hoylagu jard^j* (to feed one's own children , *liys k^hud^j* (to kill a wolf), *pitye bod^j* (to bring a letter).

2.2. Nominal Prefixing

In place of x in the lexical compounding rule (9) can occur a nominal stem. This replacement is productive and has to be regarded as standard case of Nivkh incorporation. Let us rewrite the lexical rule (9) into the following version:

(9') a. {_{VP}N_{stem} + Vt- } → {Vi-}

where N_{stem} indicates a nominal stem and Vi an intransitive verb

The examples are numerous; the rule, e.g. *co-ηəηd^j* (to fish : co=fish) *ηa-ηəηd^j* (to hunt : ηa=beast). Panfilov 1965 Vol.2. § 3- § 17 mentioned a lot of examples produced by this compounding technique.

Puxta 2002 includes the interesting sentence (12) which contains three case of incorporation, two are pronominal *p^h-* and *n^l-* and the other nominal *ηa-*:

(12) *anak-xo, nⁱ-oηzu -ve, njax p^h-iyrət ηa-ηəη-gu-ve!* (1403)
 uncle-VOC 1sg-take-pity-IMP 1sg=CAUSEE REFL-accompany-PART
 beast-take-CAUSE-IMP=PL

(Uncle, take pity of me, let me go hunting together)

Krejnovich noticed some other incorporative nouns which do not appear to be direct object of the incorporating verbs in "Russian sense".

(13) a. *nⁱ t^hiffⁱ-r^hivdⁱ* (I set myself on the bench)

1sg bench=ABS-sit=FIN (*r^hivdⁱ < ir^hptⁱ ~ t^hvidⁱ*)

b. *nⁱ t^hagoγe tuxke p^h-əkən-k^himdⁱ* (I gave the knife and ax to my brother)

1sg knife-COM ax=COM REFL-brother give=FIN (*k^himdⁱ < imGdⁱ ~ ximdⁱ* (give))

In (13a) incorporated *t^hiffⁱ-* (bench) would be locative/directive or dative in Russian sense. But in Nivkh it stands in absolutive case when it is combined with the verb *r^hivdⁱ / t^hvidⁱ* (sit). In (13b) the indirect object *p^h-əkən-* (his own brother) is incorporated into *k^himdⁱ* (give). According to Савельева/Таксами1970 this verb takes a direct object (что-кого) in normal, i.e. it is transitive. From my scanty data I have found no sentence in which the direct object is incorporated. In such a case the *i*-prefixed form *imGdⁱ* may be used perhaps. Or it is also possible that the contrary is the case, i.e. *i-* of *imGdⁱ* refers to the indirect object in patient/benefactive sense. Anyway, a native information is necessary.

Now, take another verb with three arguments. *xrodⁱ* ("hang", pronominal incorporative form: *əγrodⁱ*) is used as in (14a) in a standard way (Савельева/Таксами1970). But we have incorporative sentence like (14b, c):

(14) a. *nⁱ haχckuq^hrobuin oq xrod^j* (I hung the gown to the rack) <Савельева/Таксами1970
əɣrod^j

1sg gown-rack-DIR overcoat hung

where *haχckuq^hrobuin* < *haχc-kuq^hrof-uin*

b. e. *nⁱ taqi-xrod^j* (I hung to fish-hanger) < **K2**

1sg fish-hanger hung (*taqi* : a hanger for fish to dry)

c. *nⁱ huxt hur-xrod^j* (I hung the gown there) < **K2**

1sg robe there-hung

In (14b) is the directive/locative argument is incorporated and the object is covert. What is hung to *taqi* is nothing but *ma* (sliced salmon), so that it is not mentioned. On the contrary, in (14c) the object in absolutive case is overt, and the directive/locative argument is prefixed, too. This prefixed element is adverb which is derived from verbal participle *hu-r* from *hud^j* ("this/here-is", verb).

Examples (13) and (14) imply that not only object in absolutive case, but also arguments for patient/benefactive or directive/locative can be incorporated. The restriction is, I suppose, that they are necessary arguments.

2.3. Verbal Prefixing

A verb stem can be incorporated. Panfilov 1965 mentioned some examples of this type:

(15) *r^hadⁱd^j* (where to set < *r^ha + dⁱd^j < cid^j*), *hudⁱd^j* (here to set < *hu + dⁱd^j, hud^j/ həd^j*)

cf. (13c) *nⁱ huxt hur-xrod^j* (I hung the gown there) (*hur* = *hu*+PART < *hu* < *hud^j*)

There are only scanty examples for this type of verb stem incorporation. But if a prefixed verb stem is enlarged with *-j*, it can stand on the left side of other verbs. Puxta 2002 mentioned the following examples:

(16) a. *ozij gerdʒ* (435) ((he) does not want to get up)

wake-up-EXP dislike-FIN

b. *ozij molodʒ* (436) ((he) is not willing to get up)

wake-up-EXP not willing-FIN

c. *kaskaziya, ci rʰatχ vij -vi-dʒ-ŋa?* (1101) (How do you do. Where are you going?)

well-APP 2sg where-DIR go--EXP -go-FIN-Q

d. *ci rʰaktox vi-ivi-dʒ-ŋa?* < P56 65,p.76

2sg where-DIR go--DUR-FIN-Q

Puxta 2002 writes *ozij* in (16a, b) with a space. She accounted them as separate words, surely. But she writes *vij -vi-dʒ-ŋa* in one word without hyphen. And Panfilov 1965, Vol.2 § 43, p.76 mentions the same sentence also without hyphen for an example of progressive/durative aspect suffix *-iv(i/u)-*. If Panfilov's analysis is right, the complex is durative verb compound, If contrary, it is an example of verbal prefixing*⁷. However, this kind of verbal prefixing can not be regarded as incorporation: the prefixed *vij -* is not any necessary argument of the attached verb *vi-dʒ-*, i.e. it stands in no syntactic relation to the head verb. This does not satisfy the condition (5d) of incorporation which requires that the syntactic relation of compounding elements has to be transparent. Therefore, the case in (16c) is different from (16a, b), in that the enlarged verb stem functions as the direct object of the head verb. But it is not clear whether the elements are bound into a verbal compound or it makes a loose concatenation. Puxta might have said: it does not matter, linguists may decide. But we suppose for a moment that the case in (16a, b) is not a kind of incorporation, but a sort of verb complex whose first element is an enlarged stem .

2.4. Verb reduplication

Puxta 2002 has the following sentence with a reduplicated verb;

(17) *tʰa mu sorχcorguya!* (609) (Don't make the ship shake)

PROHIB shi=ABS shake-shake-CAUSE-IMP

The question is whether this is also the case of verb incorporation, namely, the prefixed verb stem may be regarded as incorporated element. Panfilov mentioned a lot of reduplicated verbs in Panfilov 1965, Vol.2, § 17, pp.37-39 like *xrəyrədʲ* (to serve to someone) , *nədʲnədʲ* (to do work), etc. From all the examples we can draw out the common features: first, the prefixed element does not correspond to any inherent syntactic argument of the simplex verb, second, reduplicated verbs do not change their argument structure of the original simplex verbs, i.e. transitive verbs remain transitive, the intransitive verbs intransitive if they are reduplicated. In short, reduplication makes use of the same template (9') to make a compound, but it shows no transparent internal relation of its elements. Therefore, reduplicated verbs are not incorporative.

3. Incorporation and Agglutination of Nivkh

3.1. Prefixing to verb stem

The language Nivkh has built in a word compounding rule for incorporation (9') above*⁸. This rule says that this language has only one type of verb prefixing, namely the X in the rule, which is a slot for the morphological categories in (18b):

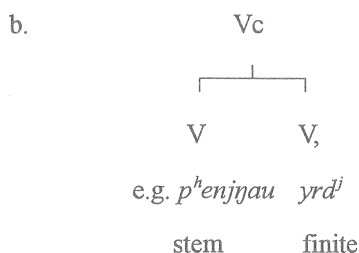
(18) a. $\{_{VP} N_{stem} + Vt-\} \rightarrow \{Vi-\}$ (= (9') a)

b. where $N_{stem} < \begin{array}{|l} \text{pron} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{Adv} < \text{Vt/Vi} \end{array}$

We exclude the case of a prefixed verb stem with enlarged suffix *-j* like (15) and (16) above, though we find some examples like *ozijgerdʲ* (do not want to get up) where the verb stem + *-j* is attached directly to the following verb, because the head verbs are not transitive, so that the prefixing element cannot be regarded as the object of them. This case does not satisfy the condition (5d), i.e. we find here no transparent syntactic relation between the prefixing element and the attached verb. Notice that there is no other prefixing than the case (18) in this language. The

reduplication has to be excluded, and the others cases have to be considered as verb complex of the form [enlarged verb stem + Vt/Vi] which does not construct a compound, e.g. *ozij gerdⁱ* . This type of verbal constructs is made by a recursive rule like

(19) a. [_v V + V] → Vc Vc, e.g. *p^henjəu yrdⁱ*=dance well < Puxta (1712)



There are some different morphological types for verb complex: the first element can be verb stem, finite form, or adverbial form (Russian deprichastiya) with *-p/-t* and some other. I will write about it in a separate paper.

Anyway, prefixing to verb is limited to the case (18) in this language. The syntactic relation of a direct object to a transitive verb is visible between the concatenated elements of the compounding. So, we can conclude that the structure (18) with the conditions (5) together characterizes a special type of verb compounding of Nivkh language. Therefore, we call this type of compounding as incorporation of this language. It obeys to the concatenation rule (18) and its condition (9) exactly, but it is nothing to do with the pseudo-transformational devices of M. Baker 1988 which would require a sort of lexical insertion rules to derive a compound verb from some syntactic deep structure.

3.2. Suffixing to verb

Nivkh verb structure is characterized by a chain of suffixes following the verb stem to construct a finite verb phrase. To take an example, a reflexive prefix and five suffixes surrounds the stem of the finite verb in (20):

(29) *ci mango qar^h ja:r^h lax p^h-ər^hp γət·ku r^ha·dⁱηa?* (Panfilov1965, p.78)

you strong-COND why black cloud REFL-hide-CON-CAUS-HAB-FIN-QU

(if you strong, why you have always hidden yourself behind the black cloud?)

The suffix class which follow directly the verb stem belong to the so-called aspect forms like *-γət* (resultative), *-ivu/ivi* (progressive), *-xə* (habitual):*⁹. Among them *-γət* precedes *-ivu/ivi*. Confer the next sentence:

(30) *t^hγr^h t^ho3-γət-ivu-dⁱ. ηəhadⁱ* (the fire began to be going out. it was warm) < P65,p.78

fire go-out RESUL-PROG warm-FIN

I found no example, but I suppose that *-ivu* precedes *-xə*, if *-γət* does not occur.

After the aspect class the causative suffix occurs just as we see in the sentence (29) above. Examine the next example:

(31) *jax təvy-ivu-ku-t^h jan^hmagan lili pilkar^h n^hvgu* (let him go into house, looking into the house there were very

3SG-CAUSEEE get-into-PROG-CAUSE-FIN.... big men) <P65, p.60

After the causative comes future suffix *-nə*, which makes a paradigm with modal *-inə* (32a,b):

(32) a. *ni hav lum3 ηəri-gu-nə-dⁱ-ra* (I will now le gather berry-gathering goods) < Puxta 1831

1SG now goods gather-CAUSE-FUT-FIN-AFFIRM

b. *nⁱ ucitel'eldox zadaca p^həckəm-gu-inə-t vidⁱ* <P65 p.50 (I went to teacher wishing to let her explain the

1SG teacher-DIR task explain-CAUSE-WILL-PART go-FIN task)

Next to future/intention suffix the finite marker *-dⁱ* occurs in a normal declarative predication; otherwise other finite forms are attached to the suffix sequence like

(33) a. *o3-γo3o/γa3o* < Puxta 443 (how about getting up?)

wake-weak-IMP

b. *vi-nə-ta* < Puxta 1823 (Let us go!)

go-FUT-INVITE

c. *n^hax p^higrət ηa-ηəη-gu-ve* < Puxta 1403 (Take me with yourself to hunt)

1SG-CAUSEE REFL-take-PART beast-take-CAUSE-IMP

These suffixes belong to the same paradigmatic class as the finite *-dⁱ*.

The plural suffix *-gu* occurs after the finite *-dⁱ* when the subject is marked with plural, i.e. the plural marking of the predicate follows the finite suffix, cf. (34a). Final particles *-ra/-ta/-da* (affirmative), *-ya,-ve* (imperative singular, plural), *-ηa/-la* (interrogative) follow the plural suffix.

(34) a. *k^həftyu urla nivγgu ηaGsku urvu-nə-dⁱ-gu-ra* (good carpenters build up windows) <

Puxta 1003

axing good men windows bring-up-FUT-FIN-PL-AFFIRM

b. *tə gins-ku mor^hqan humqa sək n^həη nⁱvγgu k^hu-t inⁱ-γət-nə-dⁱ-gu-da* < P65, p.72

this devil-PL live-PART remain-IF all our people-PL dying-PART

lie-PERF-FUT-FIN-PL-AFFIRM

(if these devils remain alive, all of our people would surely be lying killed)

In addition, the verb *hadⁱ* (be accustomed), which constitutes a verb complex for an expression of a habitual behavior in a full verb form, is often shortened in *-r^ha(-dⁱ)* which is used as a suffix like in:

(35) *ci maŋGar^h jaar^h la mangur^h təŋan syk t^hosq-r vi-γət-r^ha-dⁱ-ŋa* <P65, p.78

2SG strong-IF why wind strongly rise-WHEN all break-PART go-PERF-HAB-QU

(if you are strong, when the wind blows strong, why are you, breaking everything, not going out ?)

In this sentence the suffix *-r^ha* occurs after *-γət*, but it is not possible to determine the relative order of this suffix in the whole chain of suffixes. Probably it occurs after the causative *-gu*. I have no example in which it stands after the future suffix *-nə* or modal one *-inə*. But Panfilov showed an example of habitual suffix *-xə* standing right to *-nə* in a adnominal verb phrase with *-la*:

(36) *raju-nə-xə-la nivx* (a (wo-)man who like to write, Panfilov:celavek kotoryj lyubit pisat' <P65,p.76)

write-FUT-WILL-HAB-ADN human-being

If the suffix *-r^ha* is a paradigmatic pair of *-xə*, it can occur in the same position. But the same suffix *-xə* can occur pretty leftwards, even in the same position as diminutive *-jo-*:

(37) a. *if lu smo-xə-jo-dⁱ* (he loves to sing a bit) <P65, p.84

3SG sing(stem) live-HAB-DIM-FIN

cf. b. *mu t^hos-jo-ivi-dⁱ* (the ship has now trouble a bit) <P65, p.84

ship broken-DIM-ASP(DUR)-FIN

The habitual suffix *-xə* can occur, therefore, in two different places, once rightward with other aspect suffix together, and then leftwards after future/modal ones *⁹.

In sum, the aspect suffixes follow directly the verb stem, they include a class of habitual one *-xə*. Then the cause suffix occurs. The future/modal suffixes follow the causal *-gu*. The finite suffix *-dⁱ* divides the initial chain of the predication into two parts. Then the plural suffix *-gu* follows the

finite one, if the subject, not the object, is plural. The suffix chain ends with a final suffix, an affirmative or interrogative. The whole chain looks like, therefore, as follows:

(38) *Vstem* — *-yət-iv(u/i)/-xə* — *-gu*(CAUSE) — *-nəl-inə* — *-xə/-r^ha* ||
-d — *-gu/-ku*(PL) — *-ra/-ŋa*

where —: concatenation, /: disjunctive (paradigmatic) selection, ||: category boundary for final markers

The word compounding element which precedes the verb stem is merely the nominal N in the template (18a). This prefixing element is regarded to be incorporative. Taking (18) and (38) into account together, we get a complete view of affix concatenation of Nivkh predicate phrase. It is characterized with an incorporative prefixing and an agglutinative chain of suffixes which follow the verb stem. It shows that this language is incorporative and at the same time agglutinative, i.e. it utilizes both word compounding techniques on the both sides of the verb stem.

The Leningrad discussion on Nivkh incorporation fifty years ago posed a false alternative, namely the question whether the language has a linguistic technique incorporation built in or it belongs to agglutinative language type. We have seen above that it utilizes the technique of incorporation in a highly specified way, namely under the morphological condition (18) with (5) and at the same time it expands a long suffix chain to make a verbal predicate like (38). The language Nivkh is, therefore, agglutinative as well as incorporative; its predicate structure resembles, typologically, e.g. to Japanese in this sense. Its prefixing structure is much poorer than Ainu, we find little trace of morpho-syntactic intervention from one another, though the languages had lived presumably in neighborhood for a long time. In addition, we can not overlook another language Itelmen which lived on the opposite side of the Okhotsk Sea. This language is highly polysynthetic, but has no incorporation, so that the structure is different from other Chukot-kamchatka languages. The "paleo-asiatic" languages, including Korean, seem to have lived in this part of the Earth relatively

isolated to one another; each of them is characterized with particular linguistic specificities from the typological stand point. The language Nivkh resembles to Japanese more than all the other paleo-asiatic languages in some typological features, but it shows no resemblance in morphemes, so that it permits no historical comparison. A mystery remains.

Notes

*1: The revised English version of my paper I read at the Conference "Language World in Sakhalin" held in Sapporo 2008.08.06. The original Japanese paper is published in *Language World in Sakhalin* forthcoming.

*2: After about 20 years of the debate a linguist published a paper of the same topic:

Жукова.В.З.(1984). Инкорпоративный комплекс как слово-сочитание а языках чукот-камчатской группы. *ВЯ* 1984-6.

But this paper cannot be estimated as contribution to the issue of the Panfilov-Krejnovich debate. She showed only another type of incorporation technique from her inherent field of Koryak investigation.

*3: Shiraiishi 2006 and some other papers pointed out morpho-phonological as well as -syntactic motivations for the consonant alternation in details.

*4: The prefixed noun in (1b) is reduced to a consonant. Such reduction is not usual, but it is symbolic for indefiniteness/unspecificity of a noun. Both examples are taken from Puxta 2003, the numbers indicate the sentence number in the book.

*5: cf. Sapir 1920, p.120ff., ch. Types of Linguistic Structures, esp. the table of pp. 144/143

6: Takahashi's (.., i*) stands for pronominal affixes for 3.person: *j-*, *-i*, *ə-*. These are pronominal variants of the full form *if*.

*7: Here is yet something to notice: First, the thematic vowel of progressive/durative aspect *iv(i/v)-* must be the initial *i-* if there it is. Then it will not be weakened to *j-*. If this is the case Puxta's analysis is correct. Second, this question can be related to the origin of the aspect form: *iv(i/v)-* is perhaps a grammaticalized form of an attached *vidⁱ* ?

*8: The existence of this build-in word formation rule is undeniable in any way. Panfilov 1965

rejected the idea of incorporative structure of Nivkh language. But in § 13 of his Nivkh Grammar 1965 Vol. 2 he made a chapter named словосложение, сдвиги (literally: word-compounding, shift) where he wrote about incorporative compounding, mixing up with other compounding types made of simple suffixation. He is surely correct in classifying incorporative structure in the word formation types, but he overlooked its morpho-syntactic significance of this technique.

*9: An enfeebling suffix, which expresses weaker event, *-jo* precedes or follow an aspect form *-γət* or *-ivu/ivi*, cf. P65

p.84. We can count it as one of the aspect form with a special order rule. Nivkh has at least two suffixes without steady ordering: *-jo* and *-xə*. It is not yet clear why they occur in different places, but I suppose this does not disturb the fundamental ordering of affixes in (38).

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ニヴフ語抱合再考

金子 亨

梗概：

ニヴフ語では、他動詞への名詞語幹相当の拘束形式の接頭だけが抱合的で、接尾辞の連鎖が膠着的であることが分かる。それぞれ本文（18）及び（38）で形式化したとおりである。この二つの文法的技術は、ソ連科学アカデミーレニングラード部会の抱合論争などで Panfilov が述べたようには、互いに矛盾することはなく、共存できる。一方で、抱合と膠着が結合しても、それだけでこのような複合的な語構成を直ちに総合的、いわんや複総合的と言うわけにはいかない。ことをはっきりさせるためには、まず総合的という語構成の技術を明確に定義しなければならない。しかし抱合との関係で総合性を定義した満足できる理論はまだ見あたらない^{補注}。このための最も有力な手懸かりとなるのは、Sapir が名著『言語』の「言語構造類型」の章で「総合性」と「技術」を二本立てにして形態素連鎖のための文法操作の類型を分析していることである。しかし彼はここで抱合を配置していない。それを複合語に含めたからであろう。彼は一貫して抱合を語形成技術と見なしてきたが、彼の言う「総合性」（分析的、総合的、複総合的という形態素結合類型）と抱合との関係を改めて考え直さなければならないであろう。

補注：Baker, M., *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. Oxford 1996 がさしあたり配慮の対象となろう。彼の問題は語彙挿入の変形操作である。これが LF 内部で行われるかどうかである。

