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Incorporation as a Linguistic Identity in Koryak¹

Megumi Kurebito
University of Toyama
Toyama, Japan

INTRODUCTION

Koryak,² spoken mainly in the Koryak Autonomous Region on the Peninsula of Kamchatka and in the Severo-Evensk region on the mainland of Russia, has been typologically known as “an incorporating language,” along with the other members of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family (e.g., Zhukova 1965: 156).

Incorporation is, in other words, a productive compounding, whereby a number of root morphemes can be combined together to produce a single word with a complex meaning. In Koryak, mainly two types of incorporation are known: Attribute Incorporation (AI) and Noun Incorporation (NI). AI is a process of compounding one or more attributes (adjectives, participles, possessives and relationals³) productively into the head noun. Although a word formed by AI at a glance appears to be similar to a compound noun in other languages, it is not a lexically fixed unit, but is formed productively. Rather it corresponds to a noun phrase in other languages. NI is a process of productively compounding a noun stem with a verb to yield a derived complex verb. This complex verb is undoubtedly regarded as a lexical unit, if phonologically and morphologically tested. However, it corresponds to a sentence in other languages because it is also formed productively and not fixed lexically. This is why it is often suggested that incorporation is “the most nearly syntactic of all morphological processes” (Mithun 1984: 847).

Although incorporation is known not only in Chukotko-Kamchatkan, but also in some American Indian languages (such as Iroquoian, Caddo, and Algonquian), Polynesian and Micronesian, Koryak, along with the genetically related Chukchi language (T. Kurebito 1998: 97–113), shows a particularly rich variety of incorporation. Furthermore, it seems that the process of incorporating creates a certain identity within the language. Because of the varieties of incorporation used in Koryak, when incorporation is not used where it otherwise would be preferred, it is marked among elderly Koryak speakers. They have even gone as far as identifying the speech of speakers who use analytical phrases rather than incorporation as childlike.

Koryak is now under strong influence of the national language, Russian, and critical interference has been revealed (Kurebito 2002). Thus it is predicted that Koryak incorporation is also experiencing interference from Russian, which has neither AI or NI.

The present paper examines how the typological features of Koryak are undergoing changes. Data for this analysis has been gathered from interviews and observations with Koryak speakers from different generations. Although the incorporation process includes

both AI and NI, the current paper will focus only on NI because of its ability to clearly show how incorporation is changing over the years.

INFORMANTS

The four Koryak speakers whom I chose as informants in the research are Mrs. Kechgelxut Irina Gergol'tagovna (born in 1936), Mrs. Kavavna Tat'jana Jur'evna (born in 1959), Mr. Itek Ivan Aleksandrovich (born in 1987), and Miss Tolpoval Nina Nikolaevna (born in 1986). They are all inhabitants in the village of Evensk and are bilingual in Koryak and Russian, with different degrees of fluency. I chose two informants, Ivan and Nina, from the same generation because I wanted to show that even among the youngest generation, which is said to be almost assimilated into Russian, there are still Koryak speakers with different degrees of fluency and ability.

The brief history of each informant is as follows:

Irina, age 67, a retired elderly woman, is nationally not Koryak but Chukchi with Chukchi parents. She was born in the village of Slautnoe on the Kamchatka peninsular and moved to Verx Paren' in the Severo-Evensk region with her family when she was five years old. Since then she has grown up among Koryaks and uses Koryak as her dominant language. Now, she cannot speak Chukchi but is regarded as one of the most fluent speakers of Koryak in Evensk.

Tat'jana, age 44, was born in the village Verx Paren' and at the age of two moved to the tundra to live with her uncle and aunt who spoke Koryak as their native language. She learned Koryak as her first language and did not know Russian at all until she entered the elementary school in Verx Paren'. From 1977 to 1982 she studied to become an elementary school teacher at the College of Education in Magadan. From 1982 to 1993 she taught Russian at the elementary school in Garmandy, in the Severo-Evensk region. Since 1993 she has been teaching Koryak at the boarding school in Evensk.

Ivan, age 16, was born in Verx Paren' and lived with his grandmother who speaks fluent Koryak from the age of three until he entered the boarding school in Evensk at the age of seven. Even now he stays with her grandmother every time he returns home during summer holidays and talks with her in Koryak. He maintains a high level of fluency in Koryak, even though he speaks Russian in his school life.

Nina, age 17, was born in Evensk and was immediately sent to live in the reindeer breeding community in Verx Paren'. There she lived with her grandmother who spoke fluent Koryak. However, Nina grew up speaking both Koryak and Russian. When she entered the boarding school in Evensk, she spoke Russian better than Koryak. Now she is living with her father and elder brother in Evensk, but they communicate with each other only in Russian.

PROPERTIES OF KORYAK NI

The following information on the general properties of Koryak NI is based on data collected from Irina, who provided the richest variety of NI of all four informants. Koryak permits the incorporation of nouns which have notionally various relations to their verbs. The most common type is NI of the transitive direct object. In addition, the intransitive subject and a number of oblique case-marked nominals, such as instrumental, locative, allative, ablative, and prolativative can be incorporated. A predicate subject noun which stands logically in a predicative relation to the subject can also be incorporated: for example, the sentence 'I cried like a baby' can be converted into the noun-incorporating verb 'I baby-cried'.

Incorporated nouns are not limited to inanimate nouns. Animate nouns including human nouns, which do not seem to be incorporated as often as inanimate nouns, can be incorporated in Koryak. Loanwords from Russian can be productively incorporated as will be seen below. In Koryak, an ergative language, incorporation of transitive direct object is tantamount to antipassivization. When the direct object incorporates into the verb, the subject of the clause is promoted to the absolutive from the ergative and the verb complex inflects intransitively.

The NI process is not limited to a single element. A noun with a modifier can also be productively incorporated into the NI. In addition, Koryak NI is also capable of stranding modifiers in several ways. Possessive and relational modifiers can be stranded away from the verb and they consequently undergo the process of being elevated to direct object. Multiple NI with more than one incorporated noun, for example, an object and an oblique case-marked nominal, or double objects can also be observed in Koryak.

The combination of noun and verb in Koryak NI is undoubtedly regarded as a lexical unit if tested by phonological and morphological criteria.⁴ Vowel harmony, which morphophonologically serves to combine several morphemes together into a single word, also applies to the whole NI complex. The incorporated noun is put directly to the left of the verb stem and is often preceded by inflectional (agreement/tense/mood) prefixes.

Transitive Object Incorporation

Koryak productively permits transitive direct object incorporation. In most cases NI corresponds to an analytic construction (AC) in which the noun is not incorporated into the verb, appearing independently with a case-marking. In the following examples, those of NI are shown in (a) and those of AC are in (b) respectively. For ease of comparison, the subjects of all the examples are shown in the first person singular and the tense is in the past tense. In Koryak the occurrence of the personal pronoun is not obligatory, since person and number of the subject and object are marked on the verb. Thus, in the following examples personal pronouns of first person singular will be omitted except in (1a)(1b), where they occur to show the different case-marking between NI (1a) and AC (1b).

- (1a) *yəmmo t-utt-ə-mle-k-Ø*
I(Abs) 1Sg.Subj-stick-E-break-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (1b) *yəmnən t-ə-mle-n-Ø uttəut*
I(Erg) 1Sg.Subj-E-break-3Sg.Obj-Past stick(Abs.Sg)
'I broke the stick.'
- (2a) *t-ə-kenonva-pat-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-meat-boil-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (2b) *kinuŋi-Ø t-əpat-ə-n-Ø*
meat-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-boil-E-3Sg.Obj-Past
'I boiled the meat.'
- (3a) *t-ə-kale-jəlŋ-at-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-book-read-Ap-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (3b) *kalikal t-ə-jəlŋ-ə-n-Ø*
book(Abs.Sg) 1Sg.Subj-E-3Sg.Obj-Past
'I read the book.'
- (4a) *t'-ecf-ep-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-coat-wear-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (4b) *t-ep-ə-n-Ø icf-ə-n*
1Sg.Subj-wear-E-3Sg.Obj-Past coat-E-Abs.Sg
'I wore the buckskin coat.'

The following (5a)(6a) are examples of animate noun incorporation.

- (5a) *t-ə-tumy-ə-ləfu-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-friend-E-see-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (5b) *t-ə-lefo-n-Ø tumyətum*
1Sg.Subj-E-see-3Sg.Obj-Past friend(Abs.Sg)
'I saw the friends.'
- (6a) *t-ə-qoja-nm-at-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-reindeer-kill-Ap-E-Past
- (6b) *qoja-ŋa t-ə-nm-ə-n-Ø*
reindeer-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-kill-E-3Sg.Obj-Past
'I killed the reindeer.'

NI of loanwords from Russian is also commonly observed in Koryak. *qləva* in the following examples are from Russian *xleb*.

- (7a) *t-ə-qleva-akmet-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-bread-take-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (7b) *qleva-n t-ekmit-ə-n-Ø*
bread-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-take-E-3Sg.Obj-Past
'I bought bread.'

Intransitive Subjective Incorporation

Koryak also permits NI of intransitive subjects. However, the verbs which can incorporate subject nouns are limited to those referring to natural phenomena.

- (8a) *ku-wajam-qit-ə-ŋ-Ø*
Pres-river-freeze-E-Pres-3Sg.Subj
- (8b) *wejem-Ø ku-qit-ə-ŋ-Ø*
river-Abs.Sg Pres-freeze-E-Pres-3Sg.Subj
'The river is getting frozen.'
- (9a) *moqa-yala-j-Ø*
rain-pass.over-Past-3Sg.Subj
- (9b) *muqemuq yala-j-Ø*
rain(Abs.Sg) pass.over-Past-3Sg.Subj
'The rain passed over.'

Oblique Case-marked Nominal Incorporation

In Koryak, oblique case-marked nominals such as instrumental, locative, allative, prolativ and ablative can also be incorporated.

Instrumental

- (10a) *t-ə-qapl'-ujcivat-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-ball-play-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (10b) *qapl-a t'-ujcivet-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-Instr 1Sg.Subj-play-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
'I played with the ball.'
- (11a) *t-ə-kinuŋva-kokajv-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-meat-boil-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (11b) *kinuŋva-ta t-ə-kukejv-ə-k-Ø*
meat-Instr 1Sg.Subj-E-boil-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
'I boiled the meat.'

- (12a) *kuke-ŋe ko-ken'ogva-tke-ŋ-Ø*
 pot-Abs.Sg Pres-meat-smell-Pres-3Sg.Subj
- (12b) *kuke-ŋe kinuŋva-ta ko-tke-ŋ-Ø*
 pot-Abs.Sg meat-Instr Pres-smell-Pres-3Sg.Subj
 'The pot smells of meat.'
- (13a) *t-ə-nki-kjav-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-midnight-wake-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (13b) *nəki-ta t-ə-kjev-ə-k-Ø*
 midnight-Instr 1Sg.Subj-E-wake-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
 'I woke at midnight.'

Locative

- (14a) *t'-ə-t'all'-ə-t'al'acet-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-door-E-knock-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (14b) *t'-ə-t'al'acet-ə-k-Ø t'all-ə-k*
 1Sg.Subj-E-knock-E-1Sg.Subj-Past door-E-Loc
 'I knocked at the door.'
- (15a) *t-ə-vutq-ə-ŋeqev-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-darkness-E-go.out-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (15b) *vutq-ə-k t-ə-ŋeqev-ə-k-Ø*
 darkness-E-Loc 1Sg.Subj-E-go.out-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
 'I went out at dark.'

Allative

- (16a) *t-ə-tnup-təpy-et-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-hill-climb-Ap-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (16b) *t-ə-təpy-ə-k-Ø tənop-etəŋ*
 1Sg.Subj-E-climb-E-1Sg.Subj-Past hill-All
 'I climbed the hill.'

Ablative

- (17a) *t'-ə-qipju-ll'ap-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-hole-look-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (17b) *qepjo-ŋqo t'-ə-ll'ap-ə-k-Ø*
 hole-Abl 1Sg.Subj-E-look-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
 'I looked through the hole.'

Predicate Subject

Koryak also permits NI of the predicate subjects, such as 'I child-cried' (equivalent to 'I cried like a child.' The predicate subject is accompanied by the preposition *təqən* 'like, as if' in AC.

- (18a) *ʃeyəlŋ-ə-n* *ko-ʃətʃ-ə-mowola-ŋ-Ø*
 wolf-E-Abs.Sg Pres-dog-E-bark-Pres-3Sg.Subj
- (18b) *ʃeyəlŋ-ə-n* *təqən* *ʃətʃ-ə-n* *ko-mowola-ŋ-Ø*
 wolf-E-Abs.Sg as.if dog-E-Abs.Sg Pres-bark-Pres-3Sg.Subj
- ‘The wolf is barking like a dog.’

Incorporation of Noun Phrases

In Koryak noun phrases can also be incorporated into the verb as in the following (a) examples. Each of the following (b) sentences is an AC example with the modifier incorporated by the head noun. An AC example with the modifier not incorporated into the head noun will also be cited in (c) sentences, where each modifier corresponds to any of the four affixed forms: *n-...-qin* (*n-...-qin/-qen*) for adjective, *ye-...-lin* (*ye-/ya-...-lin/-len*) for participle, *-in* (*-in/-en*) for possessive, and *-kin* (*-kin/-ken*) for relational.

- (19a) *t-iwl-utt-ə-mle-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-long-stick-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (19b) *iwl-ə-uttəut* *t-ə-mle-n-Ø*
 long-E-stick(Abs.Sg) 1Sg.Subj-E-break-3Sg.Obj-Past
- (19c) *n-iwl-ə-qin-Ø* *uttəut* *t-ə-mle-n-Ø*
 Adj-long-E-Adj-Abs.Sg stick(Abs.Sg) 1Sg.Subj-E-break-3Sg.Obj-Past
- ‘I broke the long stick.’
- (20a) *t’-ə-qoja-jənn’-ə-cve-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-reindeer-horn-E-cut-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (20b) *qoja-jənnəlŋ-ə-n* *t’-ə-cvi-n-Ø*
 reindeer-horn-E-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-cut-3Sg.Obj-Past
- (20c) *qoj-en-Ø* *jənnəlŋ-ə-n* *t’-ə-cvi-n-Ø*
 reindeer-Poss-Abs.Sg horn-E-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-cut-3Sg.Obj-Past
- ‘I cut the reindeer’s horn.’
- (21a) *t’-el’ʃa-ecʃ-ep-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-woman-coat-wear-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (21b) *t-ep-ə-n-Ø* *el’ʃa-ecʃ-ə-n*
 1Sg.Subj-wear-E-3Sg.Obj-Past woman-coat-E-Abs.Sg
- (21c) *t-ep-ə-n-Ø* *el’ʃ-en-Ø* *icʃ-ə-n*
 1Sg.Subj-wear-E-3Sg.Obj-Past woman-Poss-Abs.Sg coat-E-Abs.Sg
- ‘I wore the woman’s coat.’
- (22a) *qoja-ŋa* *yətka-mla-j-Ø*
 reindeer-Abs.Sg leg-break-Past-3Sg.Subj
- (22b) *qoj-en* *yətkaŋ-ə-n* *məle-j-Ø*
 reindeer-Poss leg-E-Abs.Sg break-Past-3Sg.Subj
- ‘The reindeer’s leg broke.’

- (23a) *enipic-Ø* *ku-lewt-ə-tʃəl-ə-ŋ-Ø*
 father-Abs.Sg Pres-head-E-have.pain-E-Pres-3Sg.Subj
- (23b) *enipic-in-Ø* *lewət-Ø* *ku-tʃəl-ə-ŋ-Ø*
 father-Poss-Abs.Sg head-Abs.Sg Pres-have.pain-E-Pres-3Sg.Subj
 'Father has a headache.'

- (24a) *ujetik-Ø* *t'-ə-ŋilŋ-ə-cvi-n-Ø*
 sleigh-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-rope-E-cut-3Sg.Obj-Past
- (24b) *ujetik-in-Ø* *ŋilŋ-ə-n* *t'-ə-cvi-n-Ø*
 sleigh-Poss-Abs.Sg rope-E-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-cut-3Sg.Obj-Past
 'I cut the sleigh's rope.'

Relational modifiers, whose syntactic behavior is the same as the possessive modifiers, can also be stranded. Although **-kin** is suffixed not only to nominal stems but also to verbal and adverbial stems (e.g. *pəkij-kin-Ø* 'arriving' stem *pkiŋ* 'arrive', *janot-ken* 'lead-off' stem *janot* 'at the head'), stranding is limited to only nominal stems.

- (25a) *cajbuqa-Ø* *ya-wajam-qit-ə-lin*
 Chajbuxa-Abs.Sg Past-river-freeze-E-3Sg.Subj
- (25b) *cajbuqa-kin-Ø* *wejem-Ø* *ya-qit-ə-lin*
 Chajbuxa-Rel-Abs.Sg river-Abs.Sg Past-freeze-E-3Sg.Subj
 'The river in Chajbuxa got frozen.'

- (26a) *ɣəty-ə-n* *ya-qujvi-ty-ə-lin*
 lake-E-Abs.Sg Past-ice-melt-E-3Sg.Subj
- (26b) *ɣəty-ə-ken-Ø* *qujvi-n* *ya-ty-ə-lin*
 lake-E-Rel-Abs.Sg ice-Abs.Sg Past-melt-E-3Sg.Subj
 'The ice on the lake melted away.'

FROM INCORPORATION TO ANALYTICAL EXPRESSION

In this section we shall examine how the three younger informants, Tat'jana, Ivan, and Nina express the above examples which I collected from Irina. First, Tat'jana speaks Koryak much better than the other Koryaks of her age living in Evensk. She works as a teacher of Koryak and always tries to keep her ability and fluency to speak Koryak at a higher level. As for the above examples from (1) to (26), she shows a high ability to produce NI. In 23 examples out of the above 26, she could produce both NI and AC. Specifically she could correctly incorporate all transitive objects and intransitive subjects in the above examples, which might suggest that transitive objects and intransitive subjects are the easiest to be incorporated in Koryak. However, she still regarded NI of the instrumental case-marking nominal in (11), the noun phrase in (18) and the predicate subject in (19) as unacceptable. Only AC was acceptable for these examples.

Next, Ivan, one of Tat'jana's students in the boarding school, also shows a rather high

ability to produce NI even though he is the youngest of all the informants. Out of the 26 examples above, I could only collect 15 examples from him because of his absence during my second data collection in the summer of 2000. However, out of the fifteen examples he could produce 14 NIs. It must also be noted that he showed a high ability to produce various types of NI: he could produce NI not only of the transitive object (2)(3)(5)(6)(7) and the intransitive subject (8)(9), but also that of the instrumental (10)(12), the locative (14)(15), and noun phrases by stranding as in (22)(25)(26). This high ability to produce NI may be related to the fact that he still has opportunities to live and talk with his grandmother in Koryak at least once a year, for about 2 or 3 months during his summer holidays.

On the other hand, Nina, also Tat'jana's student, shows a poor ability to produce NI. In the 26 examples above, she could only produce NI of the transitive object (4)(6) and that of noun phrase by stranding as in (22)(23). In the remaining examples she was able to produce AC, but incorrectly. She puts the personal pronoun in the absolutive singular in all the transitive sentences. The following is an example which she made as a sentence corresponding to (1) above.

- (27) **yəmmo* *t-ə-mle-n-Ø* *uttəut*
 I (Abs.Sg) 1Sg.Subj-E-break-3Sg.Obj-Past stick(Abs.Sg)
 'I broke the stick.'

As mentioned above, case-marking in Koryak in the syntax follows an ergative pattern: the intransitive subject or transitive direct object takes the absolutive, and the transitive subject takes the ergative. Thus, the subject should not be the absolutive *yəmmo* but the ergative *yəmnan*.

This poor ability of Nina to produce NI could be related to the fact that she has much less opportunity to speak in Koryak than Ivan: she lives in Evensk with her father and elder brother, and they talk with each other only in Russian. She has also not been on the tundra for several years. This suggests that the more they are assimilated into Russian, the more difficult it becomes for them to keep the NI feature in their speech.

NI AS A SOLID STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK OF KORYAK

NI is still kept among the young speakers, however, in a somewhat different way. As mentioned above, NI of loanwords from Russian is commonly observed in Koryak. The incorporated loan nouns are not only direct objects as seen above, but also oblique case-marked nominals: instrumentals as in (28a)(29a), locatives as in (30a) and allatives as in (31a).

- (28a) *t-ə-macina-yakəŋəʃat-ə-k-Ø*
 1Sg.Subj-E-car-go-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
 (28b) *macina-ta* *t-ə-yekeŋəʃet-ə-k-Ø*
 car-Instr 1Sg.Subj-E-go-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
 'I went by car.'

- (29a) *t'-ə-camal'o-jijəŋat-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-airplane-fly-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (29b) *camal'ot-a t-ə-jijəŋat-ə-k-Ø*
airplane-Instr 1Sg.Subj-E-fly-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
'I flew by airplane.'
- (30a) *t-ə-macina-tepektəŋ-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-car-repair-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (30b) *macina-k t-ə-tepektəŋ-ə-k-Ø*
car-Loc 1Sg.Subj-E-repair-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
'I repaired the car.'
- (31a) *t-ə-qleva-kaŋitku-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-bread-bend.down-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (31b) *t-ə-kaŋitku-k-Ø qleva-jtəŋ*
1Sg.Subj-E-bend.down-1Sg.Subj-Past bread-All
'I looked for bread.'

Also, the incorporation of nouns and verbs both of which are of Russian origin can be observed especially among the younger speakers. In the following examples the verbs *čitat* 'read' and *mit* 'wash' from Russian *čitat'* and *myt'* respectively appears in the Russian infinitive form *-t'* [t'] depalatalized into *-t* [t] and *ə* is inserted before the consonant-initial suffix⁵.

- (32a) *t-ə-kniya-citat-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-book-read-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (32b) *kniya-Ø t-ə-citat-ə-n-Ø*
book-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-read-E-3Sg.Obj
'I read the book.'
- (33a) *t-ə-pol-mit-ə-k-Ø*
1Sg.Subj-E-floor-wash-E-1Sg.Subj-Past
- (33b) *pol-Ø t-ə-mit-ə-n-Ø*
floor-Abs.Sg 1Sg.Subj-E-wash-E-3Sg.Obj-Past
'I washed the floor.'

On the one hand, much of the NI in Koryak is being lost because of the influence of non-NI Russian. However, when Koryak young speakers do use NI, they often incorporate using Russian nouns and verbs. This suggests that NI is still preserved as a solid structural framework in Koryak.

FINAL REMARKS

This paper examined how NI in Koryak is changing and how it is being preserved in current Koryak. In current Koryak NI, two opposite directions can be observed; that of loss and that of preservation. The younger speakers such as Nina, who are very much influenced by Russian and have little chance to speak Koryak in their ordinary lives are losing the ability to produce NI and express the same notions only through analytical construction. It is impossible to explain this loss of NI without referring to the Russian influence, which does not have a NI process. The fact that this typological feature is being lost in this way is tantamount to the fact that one of the linguistic identities of Koryak is being lost. This structural changes of Koryak from incorporation to analytical expression is far more serious and critical than those peripheral influences from Russian such as phonological interference and lexical borrowing. However, the fact that NI is still being produced even with loan nouns and verbs from Russian suggests that the typological features are being preserved as a solid structural framework of Koryak.

It is not probable that both trends are going to be maintained for a long time, but is more probable that the typological features will begin to disappear overtime.

Language vitality is judged by whether a language is still learned by children in a traditional way or not. Now in the Severo-Evensk region, Koryak children living on the tundra are pulled apart from their parents who are mostly bilinguals of Koryak and Russian with differing competencies and are sent to the boarding school in Evensk at the age of seven. They live in the school and take almost all of their classes in Russian. As for Koryak classes, they have them three times a week from first to eighth grade (each class for 40 minutes), twice in ninth grade, and only once from tenth to twelfth grade (compared to Russian and Russian literature each of which they have five times a week from first to twelfth grade). Furthermore, except for these rare Koryak classes, the children living in the school have little chance to speak Koryak. In particular, many children suffering from tuberculosis are sent to Magadan and have to stay in the hospital for a long time without listening to any Koryak.

In such a seriously endangered linguistic environment, it is far from easy, even for the children who used to speak both Koryak and Russian on the tundra, to stay bilingual and it is far easier for them to become monolingual in Russian. Thus, we must now realize that Koryak is not experiencing a gradual change through the slow process of structural transformation by the influence of Russian, but rapid changes that may soon lead to its mass extinction.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abl=ablative	Abs=absolutive	Adj=adjective
Adv=adverb	All=allative	Ap=antipassive
Dat=dative	Du=dual	E=epenthetic schwa
Erg=ergative	Instr=instrumental	Loc=locative
Obj=object	Part=participle	Poss=possessive

Pl=plural	Pres=present	Prol=prolative
Rel=relational	Sg=singular	Subj=subject

NOTES

- 1) I am deeply grateful to my language consultants, Mrs. Kechgelxut Irina Gergol'tagovna, Mrs. Kavavna Tat'jana Jur'evna, Mr. Itek Ivan Aleksandrovich, and Miss Tolpova Nina Nikolaevna, who generously gave their time to answer my endless questions and shared their rich knowledge of Koryak with me. I also would like to thank Carleen A. Curley (University of California, Los Angeles) for her invaluable comments and suggestions. The present paper is based on my field research in the villages of Evensk, Severo-Evensk Region, Magadan State, Russia. My fieldwork has been supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture for the project 'Culture Changes and Identities in North-Eastern Asia' headed by Takashi Irimoto (#11691057:1999-2000), and for the project 'Urgent Linguistic Fieldwork of the Pacific Rim' headed by Osahito Miyaoka (#10041021:1999).
- 2) Koryak is a language belonging to the Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family together with neighboring Chukchi, Itelmen, Kerek and Alyutor. The number of speakers of Koryak is estimated at around 4,500. Koryak is characterized by marked dialectal diversity: besides the main dialects, Chawchəvan and Palana, the presence of a number of other dialects, including Paren, Itkan, Kamenskoe, Apuka, and Karaga, has been reported (Zhukova 1968:271). The dialect with which I deal in the present paper is included in Chawchəvan. The phonemic inventory of this dialect is as follows: *p, t, t', k, q, v, γ, f, c, m, n, n', ŋ, l, l', j, w, i, e, a, o, u, ə* (Note: Voicing is not a contrastive feature and all the stops are voiceless. The symbol ' denotes palatalization of the dentals. *c* is used as a symbol of the affricate [tʃ].)
- 3) According to Koptjevskaja (1995: 306), relationals describe an object as being related to or pertaining to a certain place, time, or object.
- 4) Koryak has a large variety of morphophonemic processes which greatly change the shape of an underlying form. Those relevant for the following examples include vowel harmony, epenthesis of schwa, palatalization of dental *t, n, l* by regressive assimilation to *c, t', n',* and *l'*, and a number of consonant assimilations at morpheme boundaries.

One of the most important morphophonemic phenomena is the dominant/recessive type of vowel harmony. In this type of vowel harmony all the vowels except the schwa are divided into two groups, one dominant *e1, o, a* and the other recessive *i, e2, u*. A word must contain either all dominant vowels or all recessive vowels and the coexistence of both members from groups of vowels in a word is not permitted. If a word contains a morpheme with dominant vowels, then all morphemes with recessive vowels anywhere in the word, irrespective of the type of the morpheme, change to their corresponding dominant counterparts. The vowel harmony applies to all words, even to words of high synthesis such as those formed by NI. However, the vowel harmony of Koryak is not as strict as that of Chukchi, and many exceptions may be seen (see Kurebito [Ichinose], M. [1995: 33–36] and Kurebito, M. [1999] for the discussion of such exceptions).

Epenthesis of schwa breaks up impermissible consonant clusters. A schwa is inserted between two contiguous word-initial or word-final consonants and between three contiguous consonants at an internal morpheme boundary, generally after the second consonant, but sometimes between the

first and the second consonant.

- 5) *-t* of *citat* and *mit* might also be regarded as the Koryak antipassive marker *-et* added to the stems, *cita* and *mi*, *e* being deleted in order to avoid an impermissible hiatus. However, this explanation cannot be reconciled with the fact that even in the corresponding ACs (32b)(33b) where the verb complex inflects transitively *-t* is retained.

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