

[Oral]

The Formation and Typological Characterization of Split-adjectives in Koryak

Koryak (of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan) is classified as an adjectival verb language on Matsumoto's linguistic map, a map which shows the distribution of adjectival verb languages and adjectival noun languages (2007:194). However, I have found clear data that demonstrate Koryak adjectivals are split between the nominal and verbal categories. I demonstrate this by presenting examples of Koryak adjectives, which have the syntactic function of both predication and noun attribution. In addition to describing the split-adjective system of Koryak, this presentation has two aims. First, I will provide evidence demonstrating that Koryak adjectives represent an intermediate lexical category showing gradual distribution from more verb-like adjectives to more noun-like adjectives in the Verb-Noun continuum (Wetzer 1996:44). This pattern is one of the universal properties shared with other split-adjective languages. Second, I will propose a tentative explanation of the formation process of Koryak split-adjectives, by correlating this phenomenon with the incorporative character of Koryak.

There are morphologically six main types of Koryak adjectives, all of which function both predicatively and attributively: (1) *n-..-qin/-qen* (*nəmejəŋqin* 'big,' *niwləqin* 'long'); (2) *ye-/ya-..-lin* (*yec yejlin* 'sandy,' *yawəwwəlen* 'stony'); (3) *-kin/-ken* (*ŋejŋejkin* 'autumnal,' *janoŋken* 'leading'); (4) *-in/-en* (*pəlwənten* 'iron,' *en'picin* 'father's'); (5) *-lʔən* (*ket yulʔən* 'strong,' *ŋujlʔən* 'weak')(see (1)-(5) on the next sheet for examples of their predicative and attributive behaviors).

In the previous literature, types (1) and (2) have been classified as 'qualitative adjectives' and (3) and (4) as 'relational adjectives,' which undoubtedly follows the traditional classification of Russian adjectives. (5) is a participial form traditionally called 'imja dejatelja (actor noun).' If these forms are morphologically examined, they can be divided into two main categories based on which word class they behave like. The first is a verbal category comprised of the adjective types in (1) and (2), which are both derived by the addition of inflectional verbal affixes (see examples (6) and (7)). The second is a nominal category comprised of the adjective types in (3), (4) and (5), which are marked for different degrees of case and number (see examples (8) and (9)). Although on Matsumoto's map (2007:194), Koryak adjectives are identified as verbal, the data I have gathered indicates the picture is not that simple. Rather, Koryak is a split-adjective language in which the adjectives range from verbal to nominal in the Verb-Noun continuum as indicated in the figure on the next sheet.

Furthermore, the classification of Koryak adjectives is closely related to the incorporative nature of the language, because attribution of nouns is also accomplished by adjectival incorporation into nouns (see the examples in (1c)-(5c) which correspond to (1b)-(5b), respectively), as well as by analytical noun phrases. Thus, I will investigate the coexistence of incorporative and analytical attribution of adjectives in Koryak, and tentatively propose the course of development for the Koryak split-adjective system. Koryak is spoken in an area which is geographically located midway between adjectival noun languages such as Even and adjectival verb languages such as Yukaghir. It is possible that these languages might have influenced the formation of the Koryak split-adjective system.

Figure:Koryak adjectives in the Verb-Noun continuum

VERBS ——— ADJECTIVALS ——— NOUNS

N type adjectives KIN// IN// LH type adjectives

GE type adjectives

Examples:

- 1a. *jajaŋa jəqəəm nəmejəŋqin-*
house very big
'The house is very big.'
- 1b. *wuccin nəmejəŋqin jajaŋa*
this big house
- 1c. *wuccin mejŋ-ə-jajaŋa*
this big-E-house
'This is a big house.'
- 2a. *tənuɸ jəqəəm ɣawəwəlen*
hill very stony
'The hill is very stony.'
- 2b. *ŋanko kotvaŋ ɣawəwəlen tənuɸ*
there exists stony hill
- 2c. *ŋanko kotvaŋ wəwə-ə-tənuɸ*
there exists stone-E-hill
'There is a stony hill over there.'
- 3a. *ɣəmnin qəlavol Čajbuqaken*
my husband Čajbuqa's
'My husband is from the village of Čajbuqa.'
- 3b. *Čajbuqaken va ɣalen nataktəŋən*
Čajbuqa's airport closed
- 3c. *Čajbuqa-wa ɣalen nataktəŋən*
Čajbuqa-airport closed
'Čajbuqa airport was closed.'
- 4a. *wuccin ic ɣən en'picin*
this fur.coat Father's
'This fur coat is Father's.'
- 4b. *en'picin ic ɣən ŋanko kotvaŋ*
Father's fur.coat there exists
- 4c. *en'pic-ic ɣən ŋanko kotvaŋ*
Father-fur.coat there exists
'Father's fur coat is over there.'
- 5a. *ŋajen qajuju ŋujl' ɣən*
that baby.reindeer weak
'The baby reindeer is weak.'
- 5b. *qekmit ŋajen ŋujl' ɣən*
catch that weak
qajuju
baby.reindeer
- 5c. *qekmit ŋajen ŋuj- qajuju*
catch that weak-baby.reindeer
'Catch that weak reindeer.'

6. *ənno nəmajqəɣaw*
he(ABS) hard
n-ə-vetat-qen
HABIT-E-work-3SG.SUBJ
'He always works hard.'
7. *qojamtal ɣ-ə-n jaqam*
reindeer.herder immediately
ɣe-lq-ə-lin tənuɸ-etəŋ
RES-go-E-3SG.SUBJ hill-ALL
'The reindeer herder immediately went to the hill.'
8. *Pojt-ə-kena-k umk-ə-k ŋənvəq*
Pareni-E-REL-LOC forest-E-LOC many
ɣəvən ɣ-o
berry-ABS.PL
'There are many kinds of berries in the forest of Pareni.'
9. *qejnew-nin-Ø-Ø*
shoot-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ-PF
kajŋ-ə-n ənp-ə-qlavol-ena-ta
bear-E-ABS.SG old-E-man-POSS-INSTR
mil ɣəj-e.
gun-INSTR
'He shot a bear with the old man's gun.'

【Abbreviation】

ALL=allative	ABS=absolutive
E=epenthesis	HABIT=habitual
INSTR=instrumental	LOC=locative
OBJ=object	PF=perfective
PL=plural	POSS=possessive
REL=relational	RES=resultative
SG=singular	SUBJ=subject