

# INCORPORATION

## ROOTS WITHIN ROOTS

Matthew A. Tucker

Linguistics 105: Morphology  
Fall 2012

November 14, 2012



# ADMINISTRATIVE MISCELLANY

## HWs

- HW # 6 due right now.
- HW # 7 posted yesterday.

## OTHERS

- Mohanan (1995) will be very useful today.
- Reading: Marantz (1997) – Cancelled.
- Colloquium Friday (4pm; Stevenson Fireside) — Andreas Coetzee

# ADMINISTRATIVE MISCELLANY

## HWs

- HW # 6 due right now.
- HW # 7 posted yesterday.

## OTHERS

- Mohanan (1995) will be very useful today.
- Reading: Marantz (1997) – Cancelled.
- Colloquium Friday (4pm; Stevenson Fireside) — Andreas Coetzee

# ADMINISTRATIVE MISCELLANY

## HWs

- HW # 6 due right now.
- HW # 7 posted yesterday.

## OTHERS

- Mohanan (1995) will be very useful today.
- Reading: Marantz (1997) – Cancelled.
- Colloquium Friday (4pm; Stevenson Fireside) — Andreas Coetzee

# ADMINISTRATIVE MISCELLANY

## HWs

- HW # 6 due right now.
- HW # 7 posted yesterday.

## OTHERS

- Mohanan (1995) will be very useful today.
- Reading: Marantz (1997) – Cancelled.
- Colloquium Friday (4pm; Stevenson Fireside) — Andreas Coetzee

# ADMINISTRATIVE MISCELLANY

## HWs

- HW # 6 due right now.
- HW # 7 posted yesterday.

## OTHERS

- Mohanan (1995) will be very useful today.
- Reading: Marantz (1997) – Cancelled.
- Colloquium Friday (4pm; Stevenson Fireside) — Andreas Coetzee

# INTERIM SUMMARY

1 WRAPPING UP GF-CHANGING

2 INCORPORATION PRELIMINARIES

3 NOUN INCORPORATION

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-naku-ya-chi-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- Maqa-chi-naku-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>i</sub> let someone<sub>j</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-an-ya                      Mwape na   Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-RECIP-CAUS Mwape and Mutumba  
“I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other.”
- Mwape na   Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana                      Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba.  
“Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba.”



# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-chi-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
"He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."
- Maqa-**chi-naku**-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
"They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-an-ya                      Mwape na   Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-RECIP-CAUS Mwape and Mutumba  
"I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other."
- Mwape na   Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana                      Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba.  
"Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba."

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
"He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."
- Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
"They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-an-ya                      Mwape na   Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-RECIP-CAUS Mwape and Mutumba  
"I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other."
- Mwape na   Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana                      Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba.  
"Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba."

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-DUR-**CAUS**-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-an-ya                      Mwape na   Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-RECIP-CAUS Mwape and Mutumba  
“I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other.”
- Mwape na   Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana                      Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba.  
“Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba.”

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-DUR-**CAUS**-3.SG  
"He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."
- Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-PL-3.SG  
"They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-an-ya Mwape na Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-RECIP-CAUS Mwape and Mutumba  
"I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other."
- Mwape na Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba.  
"Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba."

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-DUR-**CAUS**-3.SG  
"He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."
- Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-PL-3.SG  
"They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>."

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-**an**-ya Mwape na Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-**RECIP**-**CAUS** Mwape and Mutumba  
"I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other."
- Mwape na Chilufya baa-mon-**eshy**-ana Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-**CAUS**-**RECIP** Mutumba.  
"Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba."

# MORPHEME SCOPE AND GF-MORPHOLOGY ORDERING

- Data like this *does* exist.

(1) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

- Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-DUR-**CAUS**-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

(2) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):

- Naa-mon-**an**-ya                      Mwape na   Mutumba.  
1.SG.SUBJ-PAST-see-**RECIP**-**CAUS** Mwape and Mutumba  
“I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other.”
- Mwape na   Chilufya baa-mon-**eshy**-ana                      Mutumba.  
Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-see-**CAUS**-**RECIP** Mutumba.  
“Mwape and Chilufya made each other see Mutumba.”

# THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE

## THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE (BAKER, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

- Ordering is, in a sense, “root out” or “bottom up” in the tree.

(3) Quechua, one more time:

- a. Maqa-naku-ya-chi-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- b. Maqa-chi-naku-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

# THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE

## THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE (BAKER, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

- Ordering is, in a sense, “root out” or “bottom up” in the tree.

(3) Quechua, one more time:

- a. Maqa-naku-ya-chi-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- b. Maqa-chi-naku-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”



# THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE

## THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE (BAKER, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

- Ordering is, in a sense, “root out” or “bottom up” in the tree.

(3) Quechua, one more time:

- a. Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-RECIP-DUR-CAUS-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- b. Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-CAUS-RECIP-PL-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

# THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE

## THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE (BAKER, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

- Ordering is, in a sense, “root out” or “bottom up” in the tree.

(3) Quechua, one more time:

- a. Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-**DUR**-**CAUS**-3.SG

“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

- b. Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-**PL**-3.SG

“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

# THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE

## THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE (BAKER, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

- Ordering is, in a sense, “root out” or “bottom up” in the tree.

(3) Quechua, one more time:

- a. Maqa-**naku**-ya-**chi**-n.  
beat-**RECIP**-**DUR**-**CAUS**-3.SG  
“He<sub>i</sub> is causing them<sub>j</sub> to beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”
- b. Maqa-**chi**-**naku**-rka-n.  
beat-**CAUS**-**RECIP**-**PL**-3.SG  
“They<sub>j</sub> let someone<sub>i</sub> beat [each other]<sub>j</sub>.”

# EXPLAINING FEEDING/BLEEDING RELATIONSHIPS

## (4) Cichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a          mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar          to    girl  
"The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl."
- b. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-er-a          mtsikana mpiringidzo.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-APPL-ASP girl          crowbar  
"The zebras handed the girl the crowbar."
- c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-edw-a          kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.  
crowbar          AGR-PAST-hand-PASS-ASP to    girl          by zebras  
"The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras."
- d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-er-edw-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-APPL-PASS-ASP crowbar          by zebras  
"The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras."
- e. \* Mtsikana a-na-perek-edw-er-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-PASS-APPL-ASP crowbar          by zebras  
"The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras."

# EXPLAINING FEEDING/BLEEDING RELATIONSHIPS

## (4) Cichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a          mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar          to          girl  
“The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl.”
- b. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-**er**-a          mtsikana mpiringidzo.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL**-ASP girl          crowbar  
“The zebras handed the girl the crowbar.”
- c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-**edw**-a          kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.  
crowbar          AGR-PAST-hand-PASS-ASP to          girl          by          zebras  
“The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras.”
- d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-**er-edw**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL-PASS**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”
- e. \* Mtsikana a-na-perek-**edw-er**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-PASS-**APPL**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”

# EXPLAINING FEEDING/BLEEDING RELATIONSHIPS

## (4) Cichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a          mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar          to          girl  
“The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl.”
- b. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-**er**-a          mtsikana mpiringidzo.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL**-ASP girl          crowbar  
“The zebras handed the girl the crowbar.”
- c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-**edw**-a          kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.  
crowbar          AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS**-ASP to          girl          by          zebras  
“The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras.”
- d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-**er-edw**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL-PASS**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”
- e. \* Mtsikana a-na-perek-**edw-er**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS-APPL**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”

# EXPLAINING FEEDING/BLEEDING RELATIONSHIPS

## (4) Cichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a          mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar          to          girl  
“The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl.”
- b. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-**er**-a          mtsikana mpiringidzo.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL**-ASP girl          crowbar  
“The zebras handed the girl the crowbar.”
- c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-**edw**-a          kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.  
crowbar          AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS**-ASP to          girl          by          zebras  
“The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras.”
- d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-**er-edw**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL-PASS**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”
- e. \* Mtsikana a-na-perek-**edw-er**-a          mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl          AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS-APPL**-ASP crowbar          by          zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”

# EXPLAINING FEEDING/BLEEDING RELATIONSHIPS

## (4) Cichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a      mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar      to      girl  
“The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl.”
- b. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-**er**-a      mtsikana mpiringidzo.  
zebras AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL**-ASP girl      crowbar  
“The zebras handed the girl the crowbar.”
- c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-**edw**-a      kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.  
crowbar      AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS**-ASP to      girl      by      zebras  
“The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras.”
- d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-**er-edw**-a      mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl      AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL-PASS**-ASP crowbar      by      zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”
- e. \* Mtsikana a-na-perek-**edw-er**-a      mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi.  
girl      AGR-PAST-hand-**PASS-APPL**-ASP crowbar      by      zebras  
“The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.”



## GF-CHANGING MORPHOLOGY CONCLUSIONS

- (5)      y-                      lə-                      cə-    r-                      z-    a-  
 ABS.3.SG.NEUT- APPL.3.SG.FEM- COM- APPL.3.PL- BEN- APPL.3.SG.N-  
 la-      ħ-                       $\sqrt{\check{c}jpa}$ -t'  
 INSTR- ERG.1.PL-  $\sqrt{DO}$ - DYN  
 “We did it with her for them with it.”

# INCORPORATION PRELIMINARIES

1 WRAPPING UP GF-CHANGING

2 INCORPORATION PRELIMINARIES

3 NOUN INCORPORATION

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:nvht-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-nvht-aruko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-CORN-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-corn-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions...

- ① How does that word get there?
- ② Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- ③ Why do some languages have this and others not?

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:~nvhst-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-**nvhst**-aru:ko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-corn-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-**corn**-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions...

- ① How does that word get there?
- ② Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- ③ Why do some languages have this and others not?

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:invhst-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-**nvhst**-aru:ko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-corn-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-**corn**-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions. . .

- 1 How does that word get there?
- 2 Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- 3 Why do some languages have this and others not?

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:invhst-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-**nvhst**-aru:ko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-corn-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-**corn**-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions. . .

- 1 How does that word get there?
- 2 Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- 3 Why do some languages have this and others not?

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:invhst-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-**nvhst**-aru:ko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-corn-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-**corn**-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions. . .

- ① How does that word get there?
- ② Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- ③ Why do some languages have this and others not?

# WHAT IT IS

## INCORPORATION

When an otherwise free lexical stem/root  $\alpha$  appears inside another word with its own stem/root  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$  is said to have INCORPORATED into  $\beta$ .

(6) Mowhawk:

no:nv akwe: yo-stathv no:invhst-e sok nu:wa v-tsaka-**nvhst**-aru:ko  
 when all AGR-dry PRE-corn-SUFF then now FUT-AGR-**corn**-takeoff

“When the corn was completely dry, it was time to shell it.”

- Just a few questions. . .

- ① How does that word get there?
- ② Are there limits to what can incorporate? be incorporated into?
- ③ Why do some languages have this and others not?



# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages



# WHERE IT IS FOUND

- Indigenous languages of N. America
- Indigenous languages of S. America
- Languages of the Caucasus and Russian
- Languages of Oceania
- Tibeto-Burman languages
- Indigenous languages of the Australian interior
- Scattered African languages
- Scattered constructions in other languages (*e.g.*, Hindi)
- Various sign languages

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. \*She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
“Where is the knife?”

b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
“He cut the bread with it.”

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. "She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
"Where is the knife?"

b. Ya' ki-kočillo-tete'ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
"He cut the bread with it."

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. "She cried all night."

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
"Where is the knife?"

b. Ya' ki-kočillo-tete'ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
"He cut the bread with it."

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. "She cried all night."

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
"Where is the knife?"

b. Ya' ki-kočillo-tete'ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
"He cut the bread with it."

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. #She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
“Where is the knife?”

b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
“He cut the bread with it.”

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. #She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
“Where is the knife?”

b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
“He cut the bread with it.”

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. #She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
“Where is the knife?”

b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
“He cut the bread with it.”



# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. #She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

- a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
where AGR knife  
“Where is the knife?”

- b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
He AGR-knife-cut bread  
“He cut the bread with it.”

# WHAT IT IS NOT

## COMPOUNDING

- Incorporation is fully productive, discourse permitting.
- Incorporation DOES NOT CHANGE CATEGORY (*cf.*, *tobacco-buying*).
- Incorporation usually has a PERIPHRASTIC COUNTERPART:

(7) \* I sat the baby for the Bluths last week.

- The incorporated element still potentially REFERS.

(8) Last night I babysat. #She cried all night.

(9) Nahautl

- a. Kanke eltok kočillo?  
 where AGR knife  
 “Where is the knife?”

- b. Ya’ ki-kočillo-tete’ki panci.  
 He AGR-knife-cut bread  
 “He cut the bread with it.”

# NOUN INCORPORATION

1 WRAPPING UP GF-CHANGING

2 INCORPORATION PRELIMINARIES

3 NOUN INCORPORATION

## BASIC DATA

## (10) Onondaga (Iroquoian; NYS):

- a. Pet wa?-ha-htu-?t-a?                      ne? o-hwist-a?.  
 Pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-money-SUF  
 "Pat lost the money."
- b. Pet wa?-ha-hwist-ahtu-?t-a?.  
 pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-money-lost-CAUS-ASP  
 "Pat lost money."

## (11) S. Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan; NM &amp; TX):

- a. **Seuan**-ide ti-muu-ban.  
**man**-SUFF 1.SG.SUBJ-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."
- b. Ti-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 1.SG.SUBJ-man-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."

## BASIC DATA

(10) Onondaga (Iroquoian; NYS):

- a. Pet wa?-ha-htu-?t-a?                      ne? o-**hwist**-a?.  
 Pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-**money**-SUF  
 "Pat lost the money."
- b. Pet wa?-ha-**hwist**-ahtu-?t-a?.  
 pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-**money**-lost-CAUS-ASP  
 "Pat lost money."

(11) S. Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan; NM & TX):

- a. **Seuan**-ide ti-muu-ban.  
**man**-SUFF 1.SG.SUBJ-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."
- b. Ti-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 1.SG.SUBJ-**man**-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."

## BASIC DATA

(10) Onondaga (Iroquoian; NYS):

- a. Pet wa?-ha-htu-?t-a?                      ne? o-**hwist**-a?.  
 Pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-**money**-SUF  
 "Pat lost the money."
- b. Pet wa?-ha-**hwist**-ahtu-?t-a?.  
 pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-**money**-lost-CAUS-ASP  
 "Pat lost money."

(11) S. Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan; NM & TX):

- a. **Seuan**-ide ti-muu-ban.  
**man**-SUFF 1.SG.SUBJ-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."
- b. Ti-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 1.SG.SUBJ-**man**-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."

## BASIC DATA

(10) Onondaga (Iroquoian; NYS):

- a. Pet wa?-ha-htu-?t-a?                      ne? o-**hwist**-a?.  
 Pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-**money**-SUF  
 "Pat lost the money."
- b. Pet wa?-ha-**hwist**-ahtu-?t-a?.  
 pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-**money**-lost-CAUS-ASP  
 "Pat lost money."

(11) S. Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan; NM & TX):

- a. **Seuan**-ide ti-muu-ban.  
**man**-SUFF 1.SG.SUBJ-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."
- b. Ti-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 1.SG.SUBJ-**man**-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."

## BASIC DATA

(10) Onondaga (Iroquoian; NYS):

- a. Pet wa?-ha-htu-?t-a?                      ne? o-**hwist**-a?.  
 Pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-**money**-SUF  
 "Pat lost the money."
- b. Pet wa?-ha-**hwist**-ahtu-?t-a?.  
 pat PAST-3.MASC.SG-**money**-lost-CAUS-ASP  
 "Pat lost money."

(11) S. Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan; NM & TX):

- a. **Seuan**-ide ti-muu-ban.  
**man**-SUFF 1.SG.SUBJ-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."
- b. Ti-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 1.SG.SUBJ-**man**-see-PAST  
 "I saw the/a man."



# PROPERTIES OF NOUN INCORPORATION

## SUBJECT-OBJECT ASYMMETRY (BAKER: 1988)

“The core fact about the distribution of [Noun Incorporation] is that in ordinary transitive clauses, the direct object may be incorporated, but the subject may not be.”

(12) Niuean (Polynesian; Niue Island *et al.*):

Object:

a. Volu nakai he tau fānau e fua niu?  
grate Q ERG PL children ABS-fruit coconut

“Are the children grating the coconut?”

b. [ Volu niu ] nakai e tau fānau?  
[ grate coconut ] Q ABS PL children

“Are the children grating coconut?”

# PROPERTIES OF NOUN INCORPORATION

## SUBJECT-OBJECT ASYMMETRY (BAKER: 1988)

“The core fact about the distribution of [Noun Incorporation] is that in ordinary transitive clauses, the direct object may be incorporated, but the subject may not be.”

- (12) Niuean (Polynesian; Niue Island *et al.*):  
Object:

- a. Volu nakai he tau fānau e fua niu?  
grate Q ERG PL children ABS-fruit coconut  
“Are the children grating the coconut?”
- b. [ Volu niu ] nakai e tau fānau?  
[ grate coconut ] Q ABS PL children  
“Are the children grating coconut?”

# PROPERTIES OF NOUN INCORPORATION

## SUBJECT-OBJECT ASYMMETRY (BAKER: 1988)

“The core fact about the distribution of [Noun Incorporation] is that in ordinary transitive clauses, the direct object may be incorporated, but the subject may not be.”

(12) Niuean (Polynesian; Niue Island *et al.*):

Object:

- a. Volu nakai he tau fānau e fua niu?  
grate Q ERG PL children ABS-fruit coconut

“Are the children grating the coconut?”

- b. [ Volu niu ] nakai e tau fānau?  
[ grate coconut ] Q ABS PL children

“Are the children grating coconut?”

# PROPERTIES OF NOUN INCORPORATION

## SUBJECT-OBJECT ASYMMETRY (BAKER: 1988)

“The core fact about the distribution of [Noun Incorporation] is that in ordinary transitive clauses, the direct object may be incorporated, but the subject may not be.”

(12) Niuean (Polynesian; Niue Island *et al.*):

Object:

- a. Volu nakai he tau fānau e fua niu?  
grate Q ERG PL children ABS-fruit coconut

“Are the children grating the coconut?”

- b. [ Volu **niu** ] nakai e tau fānau?  
[ grate **coconut** ] Q ABS PL children

“Are the children grating coconut?”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

## (13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

## (14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo ana ] a ia (he).  
 [ live cave ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

## (13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou faiaoga ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read teacher ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

## (14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo ana ] a ia (he).  
 [ live cave ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

(13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

(14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo ana ] a ia (he).  
 [ live cave ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

(13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

(14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo ana ] a ia (he).  
 [ live cave ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”



# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

## (13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

## (14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo **ana** ] a ia (he).  
 [ live **cave** ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

(13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
“(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
“Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

(14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
live ABS he in PL cave  
“He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo ana ] a ia (he).  
[ live cave ] ABS he (in)  
“He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, II

(13) Subject:

- a. Fā totou he tau faiaoga e tau tohi.  
 HAB read ERG PL teacher ABS PL book  
 “(The) teachers often read books.”
- b. \*Fā [ totou **faiaoga** ] e tau tohi  
 HAB [ read **teacher** ] ABS PL book  
 “Teachers often read books”

## OTHER RESTRICTIONS

The incorporating noun does not come from a PP (or adjunct).

(14) Niuean:

- a. Nofo a ia he tau ana.  
 live ABS he in PL cave  
 “He lives in caves.”
- b. \* [ Nofo **ana** ] a ia (he).  
 [ live **cave** ] ABS he (in)  
 “He cave-lives (in).”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, III

## MODIFIER STRANDING

Functional material contained in DP can strand under NI — this is taken to be suggestive of movement.

(15) S. Tiwa

a. Determiner:  
 Yede a-seuan-muu-ban.  
 that AGR-man-see-PAST  
 “You saw that man.”

b. Numeral:  
 Wisi bi-seuan-muu-ban.  
 two AGR-man-see-PAST  
 “I saw two men.”

(16) Mohawk:  
 Ka-**nuhs**-rakv [ nehneh a-ak-ahninu? ].  
 AGR-**house**-white [ that INDEF-AGR-buy ]  
 “The house that she would buy is white.”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, III

## MODIFIER STRANDING

Functional material contained in DP can strand under NI — this is taken to be suggestive of movement.

(15) S. Tiwa

a. Determiner:  
**Yede** a-seuan-muu-ban.  
 that AGR-man-see-PAST

“You saw that man.”

b. Numeral:  
**Wisi** bi-seuan-muu-ban.  
 two AGR-man-see-PAST

“I saw two men.”

(16) Mohawk:  
 Ka-**nuhs**-rakv [ nehneh a-ak-ahninu? ].  
 AGR-house-white [ that INDEF-AGR-buy ]

“The house that she would buy is white.”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, III

## MODIFIER STRANDING

Functional material contained in DP can strand under NI — this is taken to be suggestive of movement.

(15) S. Tiwa

a. Determiner:  
**Yede** a-seuan-muu-ban.  
**that** AGR-man-SEE-PAST  
 “You saw that man.”

b. Numeral:  
**Wisi** bi-seuan-muu-ban.  
 two AGR-man-SEE-PAST  
 “I saw two men.”

(16) Mohawk:  
 Ka-nuhs-rakv [ nehneh a-ak-ahninu? ].  
 AGR-house-white [ that INDEF-AGR-buy ]  
 “The house that she would buy is white.”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, III

## MODIFIER STRANDING

Functional material contained in DP can strand under NI — this is taken to be suggestive of movement.

(15) S. Tiwa

a. Determiner:  
**Yede** a-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
**that** AGR-**man**-SEE-PAST  
 “You saw that man.”

b. Numeral:  
**Wisi** bi-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 two AGR-**man**-SEE-PAST  
 “I saw two men.”

(16) Mohawk:  
 Ka-**nuhs**-rakv [ nehneh a-ak-ahninu? ].  
 AGR-**house**-white [ that INDEF-AGR-buy ]  
 “The house that she would buy is white.”

# PROPERTIES OF NI, III

## MODIFIER STRANDING

Functional material contained in DP can strand under NI — this is taken to be suggestive of movement.

(15) S. Tiwa

a. Determiner:  
**Yede** a-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
**that** AGR-**man**-SEE-PAST

“You saw that man.”

b. Numeral:  
**Wisi** bi-**seuan**-muu-ban.  
 two AGR-**man**-SEE-PAST

“I saw two men.”

(16) Mohawk:  
 Ka-**nuhs**-rakv [ nehneh a-ak-ahninu? ].  
 AGR-**house**-white [ that INDEF-AGR-buy ]

“The house that she would buy is white.”



# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

### • S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khwien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP  
"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khvien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP  
"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khvien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP  
"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khwien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP

"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khvien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP

"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old."

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khvien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP  
"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

# PROPERTIES OF NI, IV

## QUESTION

What about intransitive subjects? Can they incorporate?

- S. Tiwa examples:

(17) a. I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.  
AGR-dipper-old-PRES

"The dipper is old.

b. We-fan-lur-mi.  
NEG-SNOW-fall-PRES.NEG

"Snow isn't falling."

(18) a. \*Khwien-teurawe-we.  
dog-run-PRES

"The dog is running."

b. \*H-ate-tsi?kti-?see-?.  
AGR-REFL-louse-drag-ASP

"The louse crawls (*lit.*, 'drags himself')."

INTRANSITIVE OBJECTS MAY INCORPORATE. . .

. . . if they are an underlying complement of the verb.