Incorporation, II Other Kinds, Theory

Matthew A. Tucker

Linguistics 105: Morphology Fall 2012

November 16, 2012



1/17

HWs

- Don't worry about HW #6 you did fine.
- HW 7 posted Wednesday mostly about GF-changing.

- No reading for next week; Brame 1974 is last reading.
- Adries Coetzee Colloquium @ 4pm (Stevenson Fireside Lounge)
 "A lexical route to voicing co-occurrence restrictions: The case of Afrikaans."

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TZOTZIL ERGATIVITY

- 1 Tzotzil Ergativity
- **2** Verb Incorporation
- **3** Other Kinds of Incorporation
- 4 Incorporation: Theoretical Thoughts

Ergativity: Not Just about Case

Person	SG	PL
1	j-/k-	
2	a-/av-	
3	s-/y-	

Table : Set A/Ergative

Person	SG	PL
1	-on/-i-	-otik/-otikotik/-i-
2	-ot/-a-	-oxuk/-a-
3	-Ø	-Ø

Table : Set B/Absolutive

- Part IV A–B: The *indirect object* controls absolutive in ditransitives:
- (1) J-k'elan-oj-b-oxuk. 1.sg.erg-sell-asp:perf-appl-2.pl.abs "I've sold it to you."
- Part IV C:
- (2) cha-k-ak'-be-0 chitom.

 FUT-1.ERG-give-APPL-3.ABS pigs

 "I/we'll give you pigs."
- ⇒ The *direct object* controls in the nonperfect
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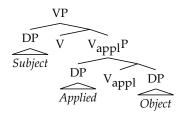


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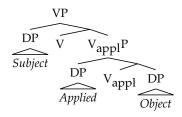
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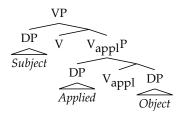
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- Aspect is not a property typically associated with nonverbal predicates (think Chomsky, 1974):
- (3) Vinik-oxuk. men-2.pl.abs "Y'all are men."





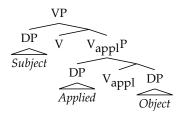
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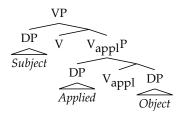
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Examples from Chichewa:

- (4) a. Ndi-ka-pemp-a pamanga AGR-go-beg-ASP maize
 - "I am **going** to **beg** (for) maize."
 - b. Kati madzi banu dza-man-e-ni.
 if water your come-refuse-ASF-IMPERF me
 - c. Ku kasungu si-ku-nga-chok-er-e bangu woipa from Kasungu NEG-PRES-can-come-APPL-ASP people bad
 - "Bad people cannot come from Kasungu."

Conclusion

Perhaps these examples are incorporation of a verb



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In noun incorporation, only objects, not subjects, may incorporate.

- Only possible counterexample for V's: Labrador Inuttut.
- (5) Angutik muuta-mik siqumi-tsi-sagai-juk. man.abs boat-instr break-apass-easy-agr "It was easy for the man to break the boat."
- ⇒ these are intransitives!
- What you never find (according to Baker, 1988):
- (6) a. * John AGR-lie-prove-ASP his unreliability "That John lies proves his unreliability."
 - b. *The dogs AGR-chase-show-ASP the inadequacy of their training.

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 - b. Abusa a-na-dy-ets-a mbuzi udzu. goatherds AGR-PAST-EAT-caus-ASP goats grass "The goatherds made the goats eat the grass."

• Causatives:

- Express a complex event with sub-event parts
- \supseteq Involve V raising to V_{caus} in a lot of languages.
- Always involve movement of the lowest verb.

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OTHER KINDS OF INCORPORATION

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(8) English:

- a. Picard handed the tool to Riker.
- Picard handed Riker the tool.

(9) Chichewa:

- a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a msampha kwa nkhandwe. zebra AGR-PAST-hand-ASP trap to fox "The zebras handed the trap to the fox."
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- Context: Relational Grammar and the nature of Grammar
 - No constituent structure
 - Grammatical relations are primitives
 - Grammatical relations determine (word order, morphology, . . .
 - GF-Changing involves giving new grammatical functions.
- Baker's Counterproposals:
 - There *is* constituent structure
 - Grammatical relations are configurational (Marantz, 1984)
 - Grammatical relations are independent of word order.
 - GF-Changing is Head Movement (plus utah)

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• Head movement is not totally free, however (Travis 1984):

HEAD MOVEMENT CONSTRAINT (ADAPTED)

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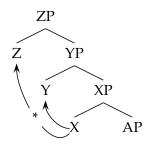
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Incorporation as Head Movement

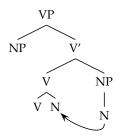
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Incorporation is simply head movement.

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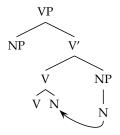
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QUESTION

Why did I switch to NP, suddenly?



Problem: Hyponymous Objects

CLEAR PREDICTION

There should be "nothing" left in the position from which a head incorporates.

• Problem: Hyponymous Objects.

Hyponyms

- Hiaki (Uto-Aztecan; AZ):
- (10) a. Aapo chuu'u-ta kava-'ek. s/he dog-Acc horse-have "S/he has a dog (as a horse)."
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