

Dataset ‘Referentiality and modifiability of incorporated nouns: cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation’

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This document includes the data and information that has been used to determine to which pragmatic-semantic types incorporated nouns in the 21 sample languages can belong. “+” means that incorporated nouns in the language can be of the relevant type, while “–” shows that incorporated nouns of this type do not occur in the language. The use of “#” indicates that an example is semantically anomalous, whereas the use of “*” shows that an example is ungrammatical. Incorporated elements in the examples are displayed in bold. Glosses in the examples follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules

(<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>). Abbreviations used:

1 = first person	DEM = demonstrative
2 = second person	DES = desiderative
3 = third person	DR2 = secondary direct marker
IV = noun class IV	DUR = durative
VII = noun class VII	ERG = ergative
ABS = absolutive	F = feminine
ACSBJ = subject of active verb	FUT = future
AFF = affirmative	H = higher object
AN = animate	IMM = immediate (aspect)
AOR = aorist	INACSBJ = subject of inactive verb
APPL = applicative	IND = indicative
AUX = auxiliary	INDF = indefinite
BE = bound element	INS = instrumental
CLI = clitic	INTR = intransitive
COND = conditional	IPFV = imperfective
DEF = definite	IRR = irrealis

JR = joiner	PST = past
LOC = locative	PTCP = participle
M = masculine	QUOT = quotative
N = neuter	RE = repetitive
NEG = negation/negative	REFL = reflexive
NMLZ = nominalizer/nominalization	REL = relative
NOM = nominative	RES = resultative
NPST = nonpast	S = single argument of canonical
NSPEC = nonspecific aspect	intransitive verb
NTR = neutral	SBJ = subject
OBJ = object	SBJV = subjunctive
P = patient-like argument of canonical	SG = singular
transitive verb	SHIFT = perspective-shifting suffix
PFV = perfective	SR = switch reference
PL = plural	STAT = stative
POSS = possessive	TC = thematic consonant
PRED = predicative	TEL = telic
PRF = perfect	TH = thematic prefix
PRS = present	TR = transitive
PRT = particle	VE = vegetable

Bininj Kun-Wok

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (1) *Nga-murrng-bimbom na-mekke.*
 1>3-bone-paint.PST.PFV M-DEM
 ‘I painted those bones.’
 (Evans 2003: 235)

The incorporated noun *murrng* ‘bone’ in example (1) is referential and modifiable: it is combined with an external modifier in the form of a demonstrative, i.e. *na-mekke*.

- (2) *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng. Gun-nud*
 3>3H.PST-sore-dig-PST.PFV 3>3H.PST-pus-burst-PST.PFV IV-pus

ba-rrolga-ng *an-ege*.
 3.PST-get.up-PST.PFV VE-that
 ‘He dug in his sore and burst his pus out. All the pus rushed out.’
 (Evans 2003: 368)

The incorporated noun *nud* ‘pus’ in example (2) is referential: it is used in a co-reference relation with another referential element in the discourse, i.e. *gun-nud* ‘pus’.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Bininj Kun-Wok cannot be non-referential and modifiable. Bininj Kun-Wok makes use of five types of constructions in which “a nominal root can appear as part of a verbal word” (Evans 2003: 323). The first two types, “denominal verb formation” and “noun-verb compounding” are described as lexical processes and are not analysed as incorporation in the present study because “their semantics cannot be compositionally derived” (Evans 2003: 324). The other three types are “generic noun incorporation”, “body-part noun incorporation” and “secondary predicate incorporation” (Evans 2003: 323). Incorporated generic nouns and incorporated body-part nouns are referential and modifiable (Evans 1996: 73–74, 2017: p.c.), whereas incorporated secondary predicate nouns are non-referential and non-modifiable (Evans 1999: 261, 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

(3) *An-yau-bawo-ng* *kure bedda*.
 3>1-child-leave-PST.PFV LOC them
 ‘My mother left me, as a child, with them.’
 (Evans 2003: 336)

The incorporated noun *yau* ‘child’ in example (3) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it functions as a secondary predicate noun and it cannot be combined with modifiers (Evans 1999: 261, 2017: p.c.).

References

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perspective on body part terms and the part-whole relation (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 14), 65–109. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Evans, Nicholas. 1999. Why argument affixes in polysynthetic languages are not pronouns: evidence from Bininj Gun-wok. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 52(3/4), 255–281.

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Hokkaido Ainu

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (4) *siknu=an* *wa* *yay-cise-ko-hosipi=an*
 be.alive=INDF.S and REFL-house-to.APPL-return=INDF.S
 ‘(Thanks to the goddess) I came back to life and returned to my own house.’
 (Okuda 1993, cited in Bugaeva 2010: 789)

The incorporated noun *cise* ‘house’ in example (4) is referential and modifiable: it has a specific interpretation (Bugaeva 2010: 791–792) and it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of referential possessive marking, i.e. the reflexive prefix *yay-*.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

- (5) *kamuy-or-o-arpa=an* *ka* *e-aykap* *korka*
 god-place-to.APPL-go.SG=INDF.S even of.APPL-be.unable.AUX but
 ‘I couldn't even go to the other world.’ (lit. ‘to the land of gods’)
 (Nakagawa and Bugaeva 2010, cited in Bugaeva 2010: 790)

The incorporated noun *or* ‘land’ in example (5) is non-referential and modifiable: Bugaeva (2010: 791–792) states that it is backgrounded and contrasts with “specific and referential” incorporated nouns such as *cise* in example (4) and it is combined with an internal lexical modifier in the form of a possessor, i.e. *kamuy* ‘god’.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (6) a. *ku-kina-kar*.
 I-vegetable-gather
 ‘I vegetable-gather.’
 b. **keraan ku-kina-kar*.
 delicious I-vegetable-gather
 c. **ku-keraan-kina-kar*.
 I-delicious-vegetable-gather
 (Sato 2017: p.c.)

The incorporated noun *kina* ‘vegetable’ in example (6) is non-referential and non-modifiable: Bugaeva (2010: 791) and Sato (2017: p.c.) state that incorporated nouns in Hokkaido Ainu are usually not referential, and incorporated nouns in Hokkaido Ainu cannot be combined with external modifiers (Kaiser 1998: 159, referring to Nakagawa p.c. and Okuda p.c.; Sato 2017: p.c.) and in most constructions, including the one in example (6), incorporated nouns cannot be combined with internal modifiers either (Sato 2017: p.c.).

References

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Iraqw

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Iraqw are not referential and modifiable (Mous 1992: 196).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Iraqw are not non-referential and modifiable (Mous 1992: 196).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (7) *aga hee-gáas*
 1SG.PRF man-kill.1SG
 ‘I committed manslaughter.’
 (Kooij and Mous 2002: 633)

The incorporated noun *hee* ‘man’ in example (7) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Iraqw “[have] to be non-referential” and “cannot be modified” (Mous 1992: 196).

References

- Kooij, Johannes G. & Maarten Mous. 2002. Incorporation: A comparison between Iraqw and Dutch. *Linguistics* 40(3). 629–645.
 Mous, Maarten. 1992. *A grammar of Iraqw*. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden dissertation.

Kalaallisut

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (8) *illu-mi-niip-puq*
 house-REFL.POSS-be.in-3SG.IND
 ‘He is in his (own) house.’
 (Fortescue 1984: 300–301)

The incorporated noun *illu* ‘house’ in example (8) is referential and modifiable: it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of referential possessive marking, i.e. the reflexive suffix *-mi*.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

- (9) *savaatili-nngur-putin=nguuq* *pikkuris-suq*
 sheep.herder-become-2SG.IND=QUOT be.capable-INTR.PTCP
 ‘They say you’ve become a capable sheep-herder.’
 (Fortescue 1984: 71)

The incorporated noun *savaatili* ‘sheep herder’ in example (9) is non-referential and modifiable: it functions as a clausal predicate noun and it is combined with an external lexical modifier in the form of a participial clause, i.e. *pikkuris-suq* ‘capable’.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (10) (*utuqqar-mik) **palasi-rpalup-puq** (*utuqqaq-Ø)
 old.one-INS.SG priest-be.like-3SG.IND old.one-ABS.SG
 ‘He is like a(n old) priest.’
 (Kristoffersen 1992: 154)

The incorporated noun *palasi* ‘priest’ in example (10) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it functions as a clausal predicate noun and it cannot be combined with external modifiers (Kristoffersen 1992: 156).

References

- Fortescue, Michael. 1984. *West Greenlandic* (Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars). London: Croom Helm.
- Kristoffersen, Lars. 1992. Derivation and inflection in a functional grammar of West Greenlandic. In Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder & Lars Kristoffersen (eds.), *Layered structure and reference in a functional perspective: Papers from the Functional Grammar Conference in Copenhagen, 1990*, 143–171. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Ket

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (11) **b=kutɔləj-b-a-ta**
 1SG.POSS=whistle.NMLZ-TC-RES-extend
 ‘I’m whistling.’ (lit. ‘My whistling is heard.’)
 (Nefedov 2015: 51)

The incorporated noun *kutɔləj* ‘whistling’, a nominalized verb, in example (11) is referential and modifiable: it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of a referential possessor, i.e. the possessive clitic *b=*.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

- (12) *tab-aŋ-t-o-n-aq*
dog.PL-3PL.AN.SBJ-TC-PST-PST-become
‘They turned into dogs.’
(Vajda 2017: 918)

The incorporated noun *tab* ‘dogs’ in example (12) is non-referential and modifiable: it functions as a clausal predicate noun and it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of grammatical number marking.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (13) *ək-ba-k-a-tij*
lice-1SG.SBJ-TC-PRS-grow
‘I become louse ridden.’ (lit. ‘Lice grow on me.’)
(Vajda 2017: 921)

The incorporated noun *ək* ‘lice’ in example (13) is non-referential and non-modifiable: in Ket a construction without incorporation “can be used to individuate or topicalize [a] natural force noun” like *ək* “while incorporated forms [...] would otherwise be used” (Vajda 2017: 922), and *ək* as used in example (13) cannot be combined with modifiers (Georg 2007: 245–246; Vajda 2017: 912, 921). Note that *ək* is a singular noun (Georg 2007: 63).

References

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Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (14) *Püff pi nga ñi wün ngürü, wichaf-wün-tu-y. [...]*
paff say.3SG.SBJ PRT 3.POSS snout fox become.big-snout-RE-3SG.SBJ.IND
Wichaf-kon-tu-y nga ñi wün; wikürüf-tu-y.
become.big-enter-RE-3SG.SBJ PRT 3.POSS snout tear-RE-3SG.SBJ
‘The fox said “paff!” with his snout, [and] his snout became big again. [...] His snout became big again; it tore.’
(Salas 1992: 303–304, cited in Baker et al. 2005: 167)

The incorporated noun *wün* ‘snout’ in example (14) is referential: it is used in a co-reference relation with two other referential elements in the discourse, i.e. the noun phrases *ñi wun* ‘his snout’. Note also that *wün* as used in these co-referential noun phrases is modifiable: it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of a referential possessive pronoun.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

- (15) *kurü-wentru-feye-l*
black-man-believe-APPL
‘believe someone to be a black man’
(Salas 1992: 197; glosses and translation based on Smeets 2008: 521, 573; Zúñiga 2017: 709)

The incorporated noun *wentru* ‘man’ in example (15) is non-referential and modifiable: it functions as a secondary predicate noun and it is combined with an internal lexical modifier in the form of an adjective, i.e. *kurü* ‘black’ (Zúñiga 2017: 709).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (16) *Mapuche nie-kawell-la-y-ngün.*
Mapuche have-horse-NEG-IND-3PL.SBJ
‘The Mapuche do not own horses.’
(Baker et al. 2005: 145)

The incorporated noun *kawell* ‘horse’ in example (16) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it has a generic interpretation “with no particular reference” and it cannot be combined with modifiers (Baker et al. 2005: 143, 145).

References

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- Smeets, Ineke. 2008. *A grammar of Mapuche* (Mouton Grammar Library 41). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zúñiga, Fernando. 2017. Mapudungun. In Michael Fortescue, Marianne Mithun & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics), 696–712. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mohawk

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (17) *thó ne: ki: iáh é:so te-ionkwa-hwist-a-ien-'*
 there it.is this not much NEG-1PL.P-money-JR-have-STAT
 ‘At that time, we didn’t have much money.’
 (Watshenní:ne Sawyer: p.c., cited in Mithun 2009: 12)

The incorporated noun *hwist* ‘money’ in example (17) is referential and modifiable: it introduces a new referent (Mithun 2009: 12) and it is combined with an external modifier in the form of a quantifier, i.e. *é:so* ‘much’.

- (18) *Ka-nuhs-rakv thikv.*
 3.N-house-white that
 ‘That house is white.’
 (Postal 1962: 395, cited in Baker 1988: 93)

The incorporated noun *nuhs* ‘house’ in example (18) is referential and modifiable: it is combined with an external modifier in the form of a demonstrative, i.e. *thikv*.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Mohawk cannot be non-referential and modifiable: the only incorporated nouns that are modifiable in Mohawk are those that occur in constructions that are classified as “Type IV incorporation” (Mithun 1984: 869–872), in which the incorporated nouns can be combined with external demonstratives (Mithun 1984: 870), which means that they are analysed here as referential.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (19) *r-ukwe’t-í:yo*
he-person-nice
‘He is a nice person.’
(Mithun 1984: 868)

The incorporated noun *ukwe’t* ‘person’ in example (19) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it functions as a clausal predicate noun and it cannot be combined with modifiers (Mithun 1984: 868–870).

References

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Movima

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Movima are not referential and modifiable (Haude 2006: 286, 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Movima are not non-referential and modifiable (Haude 2006: 286, 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (20) **u'ko tilkoy-cha-da'ra di' oy-ra*
3SG.M kill-DR2-rhea REL two-BE.NTR
'He killed two rheas.'
(Haude 2006: 286)

The incorporated noun *da'ra* 'rhea' in example (20) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Movima are not referential and cannot be combined with modifiers (Haude 2006: 286, 2017: p.c.).

References

Haude, Katharina. 2006. *A grammar of Movima*. Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen dissertation.

Nadëb

In Nadëb incorporated elements and their hosts remain phonologically independent words (Weir 1990: 322). Evidence for morphosyntactic incorporation is that verbal proclitics attach to the incorporated noun, which precedes the verbal stem (Weir 1990: 331). In addition, word order is informative. The basic word order in Nadëb is OSV (Weir 1986: 295), but in the case of object incorporation, the order is SOV.

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (21) *õm kad hoonh tób nooh ga-juu dúk*
2SG uncle grandmother house mouth TH-close be.suspended
'Uncle closed the door of your grandmother's house.' (lit. 'Uncle grandmother house-mouth-closed you.')

(Weir 1990: 332)

The incorporated noun *nooh* ‘mouth’ in example (21) is referential and modifiable: incorporation in Nadëb does not lead to non-referentiality of the incorporated noun (Weir 1990: 343–344) and *nooh* is combined with an internal lexical modifier in the form of a possessor, i.e. *hoonh tób* ‘grandmother’s house’.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Nadëb are not non-referential and modifiable (Weir 1990: 343–344).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Nadëb are not non-referential and non-modifiable (Weir 1990: 331–332, 343–344).

References

- Weir, E. M. Helen. 1986. Footprints of yesterday’s syntax: Diachronic development of certain verbal prefixes in an OSV language (Nadëb). *Lingua* 68(4). 291–316.
- Weir, E. M. Helen. 1990. Incorporation in Nadëb. In Doris L. Payne (ed.), *Amazonian linguistics: Studies in Lowland South American languages* (Texas Linguistics Series), 321–363. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Niuean

In Niuean incorporated elements and their hosts remain phonologically independent words (Massam 2001: 192). Evidence for morphosyntactic incorporation is that verbal enclitics attach to the incorporated noun, which follows the verbal stem (Seiter 1980: 69). In addition, word order is informative. The basic word order in Niuean is VSO (Massam 2001: 155), but in the case of object incorporation, the order is VOS.

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (22) *Fai menakai a ia ia he fano, ko e fua niu.*
 have thing food ABS she her at go PRED ABS fruit coconut
 ‘She had food with her when she went: (namely) a coconut.’
 (Institute of Pacific Studies 1982, cited in Massam 2001: 174)

The incorporated noun *mena kai* ‘food’ in example (22) is referential and modifiable: it is used in a co-reference relation with another referential element in the discourse, i.e. *e fua niu* ‘a coconut’ (Massam 2001: 174), and in Niuean incorporated nouns in “existential incorporation” constructions like the one in example (22) can be combined with a lexical modifier in the form of a relative clause (Massam 2001: 175–177).

(23) *Ne fai fale a Sione ne tā e au.*

PST have house ABS Sione PST build ABS I

‘Sione has a house that I built.’

(Massam 2001: 175)

The incorporated noun *fale* ‘house’ in example (23) is referential and modifiable: incorporated nouns in “existential incorporation” constructions like the one in example (23) can be used in a co-reference relation with another referential element in the discourse (Massam 2001: 174, 177) and *fale* is combined with an external lexical modifier in the form of a relative clause (Massam 2001: 175).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

(24) [...] *ke kumi menake nonofo=ai a lautolu.*

SBJV seek thing SBJV settle=there ABS they

‘[...] they sought a place to settle.’

(Institute of Pacific Studies 1982, cited in Massam 2001: 169)

The incorporated noun *mena* ‘thing’ in example (24) is non-referential and modifiable: it cannot be used in a co-reference relation with a referential element in the discourse (Massam 2001: 169–172) and it is combined with an internal lexical modifier in the form of a relative clause, i.e. *ke nonofo=ai* ‘to settle’.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Niuean cannot be non-referential and non-modifiable. Niuean makes use of three types of noun incorporation: “general”, “existential” and “instrument” incorporation. In all three types the incorporated nouns are modifiable (Massam 2001: 169, fn. 18, 175–178, 2009: 170).

References

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Northern Gumuz

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Northern Gumuz are not referential and modifiable (Ahland 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Northern Gumuz are not non-referential and modifiable (Ahland 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (25) *fwítʃ-ílis* *dua* *d-a-k'áŋ-↓ílis* *á-faxaaʒa*
blow-mouth child AFF-3SG.TR-bite-mouth NOM-hot.pepper
'Blow on the child's mouth; the hot pepper is burning him.'
(Ahland 2012: 262)

The incorporated nouns *ílis* and *↓ílis* 'mouth' in example (25) are non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Northern Gumuz cannot be combined with modifiers (Ahland 2017: p.c.).

References

- Ahland, Colleen. 2012. *A grammar of Northern and Southern Gumuz*. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon dissertation.

Nuu-chah-nulth

Referential and modifiable nouns +

(26) *ʔu-naak-sis sapnii. ʔuyii-mit-ʔis sapnii-ʔap ʔam'iimitʔi.*

Ø-have-1.IND bread when-PST-3.IND bread-buy yesterday

‘I have some bread. I bought the bread yesterday.’

(Sawai 2002: 10, cited in Cable 2008: 6)

The incorporated noun *sapnii* ‘bread’ in example (26) is referential: it is used in a co-reference relation with another referential element in the discourse, i.e. the noun *sapnii* (Cable 2008: 6, see also Stonham 2004: 222).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

(27) *ʔa:<t>na-na-k-ʔaʔ-at-qu:*

child<PL>-having-TEL-SHIFT-2SG.COND

‘when you have children’

(Nakayama 2001: 64, 2014: 454)

The incorporated noun *ʔaatna* ‘children’ in example (27) is non-referential and modifiable: it does not introduce a referent into the discourse and cannot be used in a co-reference relation with a referential element in the discourse (Nakayama 2014: 454) and it is combined with a grammatical modifier in the form of grammatical number marking, a plural infix *-t-* (Stonham 2004: 139–140).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Nuuchahnulth cannot be non-referential and non-modifiable. Nuuchahnulth makes use of two types of incorporation: “syntactic” and “lexical” incorporation (Stonham 2004: 215). Incorporated nouns in “syntactic” incorporation are referential (Stonham 2004: 222, 233) and incorporated nouns in “lexical” incorporation are non-referential and modifiable (Stonham 2004: 215–219; Nakayama 2014: 454).

References

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Stonham, John. 2004. *Linguistic theory and complex words: Nuuchahnulth word formation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Palikúr

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Palikúr are not referential and modifiable (Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 453–454; Aikhenvald 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Palikúr are not non-referential and modifiable (Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 453–454; Aikhenvald 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

(28) *nah sumpah-hot-aw*

1SG wash-eye-REFL

‘I washed (both of) my eyes.’ (lit. ‘I eye-washed myself.’)

(Aikhenvald and Green 1989: 453)

The incorporated noun *hot* ‘eye’ in example (28) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Palikúr are not referential and cannot be combined with modifiers (Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 453–454; Aikhenvald 2017: p.c.).

References

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Panare

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (29) *Y-pu-kitě-ñe* *amën.*
3-head-cut-NSPEC.TR 2SG
'You cut off its head.' (lit. 'You head-cut it.')
- (Payne and Payne 2013: 331)

The incorporated noun *pu* 'head' in example (29) is referential: in Panare incorporation does not have the effect of “‘downplaying’ the identity, referentiality or identifiability of an O argument” (Payne and Payne 2013: 330) and an incorporated noun may refer “to a highly referential and specific entity” (Payne 1995: 309).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Panare are not non-referential and modifiable (Payne 1995: 309; Payne and Payne 2013: 330).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Panare are not non-referential and non-modifiable (Payne 1995: 309; Payne and Payne 2013: 330).

References

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Paraguayan Guaraní

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Paraguayan Guaraní are not referential and modifiable. Paraguayan Guaraní makes use of two types of noun incorporation: body-part noun incorporation and non-body-part noun incorporation (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 673). Incorporated nouns in both

types of incorporation are non-referential and non-modifiable (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 677–678, 694).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Paraguayan Guaraní are not non-referential and modifiable. Paraguayan Guaraní makes use of two types of noun incorporation: body-part noun incorporation and non-body-part noun incorporation (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 673). Incorporated nouns in both types of incorporation are non-referential and non-modifiable (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 677–678, 694).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (30) *A-**hova**-hei-se pe-mitã, pero i-sy he'i
 1.ACSBJ-face-wash-DES that-child but 3.INACSBJ-mother say
 nda-i-ky'a-i ha.
 NEG-3.INACSBJ-dirty-NEG that
 'I wanted to wash the child's face but his mother said that it wasn't dirty.'
 (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 694; Velazquez Castillo 1996: 144)

The incorporated noun *hova* 'face' in example (30) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated body-part nouns in Paraguayan Guaraní cannot be used in a co-reference relation with a referential element in the discourse and cannot be combined with modifiers (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 694).

- (31) (Che) A-**mba'e**-jogua-ta ko-ka'aru
 I 1.ACSBJ-thing-buy-FUT this-afternoon
 'I'll go shopping this afternoon.'
 (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 673)

- (32) *A-ha-ta a-**mba'e-hepy**-jogua Paraguay-pe.
 1.ACSBJ-go-FUT 1.ACSBJ-thing-expensive-buy Asuncion-in
 'I will go shopping (for expensive items) in Asunción.'
 (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 677)

The incorporated noun *mba'e* ‘thing’ in example (31) and example (32) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated non-body-part nouns in Paraguayan Guaraní cannot be used in a co-reference relation with a referential element in the discourse and cannot be combined with modifiers (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 677).

References

- Velázquez-Castillo, Maura. 1995. Noun incorporation in Guaraní: A functional analysis. *Linguistics* 33(4). 673–709.
- Velazquez Castillo, Maura. 1996. *The grammar of possession: Inalienability, incorporation and possessor ascension in Guaraní* (Studies in Language Companion Series 33). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Sora

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (33) *drban nen jem-dʒaʔt-li-n-aj*
 yesterday I catch-snake-PST-INTR-1.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday I caught a/the snake.’
 (Anderson 2017: 941)

The incorporated noun *dʒaʔt* ‘snake’ in example (33) is referential: it can have a definite interpretation (Anderson 2017: 941, fn. 12).

- (34) *nen suʔa jam-dʒaʔt-mar*
 I big catch-snake-NMLZ
 ‘I am a catcher of big snakes.’
 (Anderson 2017: 943)

The incorporated noun *dʒaʔt* ‘snake’ in example (34) is referential and modifiable: it is combined with an external modifier in the form of an adjective, i.e. *suʔa* ‘big’ (Anderson 2017: 943), and non-referential and modifiable incorporated nouns have not been attested in Sora (Anderson 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Non-referential and modifiable incorporated nouns have not been attested in Sora (Anderson 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

(35) *jen dzum-te-ti-n-ai*

I eat-banana-NPST-INTR-1.SBJ

‘I am eating (a/the) banana.’

(Anderson 2017: 937)

Incorporated nouns in Sora can “function non-referentially” and non-referential and modifiable incorporated nouns have not been attested in Sora (Anderson 2017: p.c.).

References

Anderson, Gregory D. S. 2017. Polysynthesis in Sora (Munda) with special reference to noun incorporation. In Michael Fortescue, Marianne Mithun & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics), 930–947. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ute-Southern Paiute

Referential and modifiable nouns +

(36) *’ú kava way-ku kwasia-gha-puga*

that.SBJ horse.SBJ two-OBJ tail-have-NMLZ

‘That horse had two tails.’

(Givón 2011: 336)

The incorporated noun *kwasia* ‘tail’ in example (36) is referential and modifiable: nouns incorporated into possessive verbs have a specific interpretation (Givón 2018: p.c.) and *kwasia* is combined with a lexical modifier in the form of a numeral, i.e. *way-ku* ‘two’.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Ute-Southern Paiute cannot be non-referential and modifiable: incorporated nouns that are incorporated into possessive verbs are referential in Ute-Southern Paiute (Givón 2011: 159–160, 2018: p.c.) and no examples of nouns that are incorporated into other verbs and combined with modifiers were found in Givón’s *Ute texts* (Givón 2013).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (37) *wií-tʰka-y-akh*
 knife-eat-IMM-it
 ‘(S/he) is knife-eating it.’
 (Givón 2011: 58)

The incorporated noun *wií* ‘knife’ in example (37) is non-referential and non-modifiable: only incorporated nouns that are incorporated into possessive verbs can be referential in Ute-Southern Paiute (Givón 2011: 159–160, 2018: p.c.) and no examples of nouns that are incorporated into other verbs and combined with modifiers were found in Givón’s *Ute texts* (Givón 2013).

References

- Givón, T. 2011. *Ute reference grammar* (Culture and Language Use: Studies in Anthropological Linguistics 3). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
 Givón, T. 2013. *Ute texts* (Culture and Language Use: Studies in Anthropological Linguistics 7). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Washo

Referential and modifiable nouns +

- (38) *diʔyu-a di-dule-a:š-aʔ-š* *Ø-dopoš-i*
 fire-LOC 1.SBJ-hand-in-AOR-SR 3.SBJ-burn.up-IPFV
 ‘I put my hand in the fire, (and) it got burned up.’
 (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 265)

The incorporated noun *dule* ‘hand’ in example (38) is referential and modifiable: it functions as the antecedent of the referential person marker *Ø-* on the verb *Ø-dopoš-i*, as evidenced by

the absence of a first person marker on this verb and the presence of the switch-reference marker *-š* on the verb *di-dule-a:š-aʔ-š* (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 258, 265), and incorporated body-part nouns (“initials”) in Washo can be combined with external modifiers (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 266–267).

- (39) *John t'-i:yeliʔ-lu tuʔm-aʔam-i*
 John NMLZ-big-INS foot-into.water-IPFV
 ‘John is putting his big foot into the water.’
 (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 266)

The incorporated noun *tuʔm* ‘foot’ in example (39) is referential and modifiable: incorporated body-part nouns (“initials”) in Washo can function as antecedents in anaphoric reference (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 264–265, 267) and *tuʔm* is combined with a lexical modifier, i.e. *t'-i:yeliʔ-lu* ‘big’.

Non-referential and modifiable nouns +

- (40) *#t'anu pelew ʔ-ug-at'g-i Ø-gilga-i-š*
 person rabbit 3-with.club-kill.SG-IPFV 3.SBJ-break-IPFV-SR
 Intended: ‘Someone killed a rabbit (with a club) (and) it broke.’
 (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 270)

The incorporated noun *ug* ‘(with) club’ in example (40) is non-referential and modifiable: it cannot function as an antecedent in anaphoric reference (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 269–270) and incorporated instrument nouns (“initials”) in Washo can be combined with external modifiers (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 270–271).

- (41) *bediliʔ miʔleši-lu le-de-išl-i*
 match both-INS 3>1-with.hand-give-IPFV
 ‘He is handing me the match with both (hands).’
 (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 271)

The incorporated noun *de* ‘(with) hand’ in example (41) is non-referential and modifiable: incorporated instrument nouns (“initials”) in Washo cannot function as antecedents in

anaphoric reference (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 269–271) and *de* is combined with a lexical modifier, i.e. *miʔleši-lu* ‘both’.

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Washo cannot be non-referential and non-modifiable. Washo makes use of two types of incorporation: the incorporation of body-part nouns (“initials”) and the incorporation of instrument nouns (“initials”) (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 254). Incorporated body-part nouns are referential and modifiable (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 267), while incorporated instrument nouns are non-referential and modifiable (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 271).

References

Bochnak, M. Ryan & Alice Rhomieux. 2013. Limited noun incorporation in Washo. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 79(2). 253–281.

Western Frisian

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Western Frisian are not referential and modifiable (Dijk 1997: 15–16, 44, 71, 79).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Western Frisian are not non-referential and modifiable (Dijk 1997: 15–16, 44, 71).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (42) *Heit sit te (*de/*in/*dy) jerappel-skilen*
father sits to (DEF/INDF/DEM) potato-peel
‘Father is sitting, peeling (*the/a/that/those) potatoes.’
(Dijk 1997: 44)

The incorporated noun *jerappel* ‘potato’ in example (42) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it cannot be combined with modifiers in the form of articles or demonstratives (Dijk 1997: 44).

(43) **Heit sit te grouwe jerappel-skilen*

father sits to huge potato-peel

‘Father is sitting, peeling huge potatoes.’

(Dijk 1997: 16)

The incorporated noun *jerappel* ‘potato’ in example (43) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Western Frisian are not referential (Dijk 1997: 44, 79) and cannot be combined with modifiers (Dijk 1997: 16).

References

Dijk, Siebren. 1997. *Noun incorporation in Frisian*. Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen dissertation.

Yimas

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Yimas are not referential and modifiable (Foley 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Yimas are not non-referential and modifiable (Foley 2017: p.c.).

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

(44) *narm p-na-urkpwica-k-m-ti-n*

skin.SG(VII) VII.SG.S-DEF-blacken-IRR-VII.SG-become-PFV

‘The skin is turning black.’

(Foley 1991: 297)

The incorporated noun *urkpwica-k-m* ‘black’, a nominalized verb, in example (44) is non-referential and non-modifiable: it functions as a clausal predicate noun and incorporated nouns cannot be combined with modifiers in Yimas (Foley 2017: p.c.).

References

Foley, William A. 1991. *The Yimas language of New Guinea*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Yucatec Maya

Referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Yucatec Maya are not referential and modifiable (Sullivan 1984: 142; Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 150–153; Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 145).

Non-referential and modifiable nouns –

Incorporated nouns in Yucatec Maya are not non-referential and modifiable (Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 150–153; Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 145)

Non-referential and non-modifiable nouns +

- (45) **tun* *boč-nal* *le* *nohoč-o?*
DUR.ERG.3SG peck-corncob DEM big-CLI
‘He is pecking the big corncob.’
(Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 152)

The incorporated noun *nal* ‘corncob’ in example (45) is non-referential and non-modifiable: incorporated nouns in Yucatec Maya are not referential (Sullivan 1984: 142) and cannot be combined with modifiers (Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 150–153; Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 145).

References

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- Lehmann, Christian & Elisabeth Verhoeven. 2005. Noun incorporation and participation: A typological study on participant association with particular reference to Yucatec Maya. In Christian Lehmann (ed.), *Typological studies in participation* (Studia Typologica 7), 105–188. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Sullivan, Paul R. 1984. Noun incorporation in Yucatec Maya. *Anthropological Linguistics* 26(2). 138–160.