

Baure

Specialist

Swintha Danielsen

Corpus

Name: Baure corpus-Dobes

Recorded words/hours: ca. 126 hours

Type of data: spoken (narratives, conversation, songs (elicitation is part of the corpus but this is mostly excluded for the present study))

Website: <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/baure/>

Description of noun incorporation in Baure

Incorporated nouns are directly preceded by the incorporating verb root and can be followed by verbal morphology (Admiraal and Danielsen 2014:104). A distinction is made between constructions in which a (bound) noun functioning as a classifier is incorporated and constructions with an incorporated nominal “Ground” (Danielsen 2007: 207). Incorporated classifying nouns that are incorporated into transitive verbs are combined with a verb-stem final linker (Danielsen 2007: 208). In addition, incorporated classifying nouns may be followed by several verbal suffixes and, in the case of a transitive incorporating verb, by the optional clitics marking the person and number of the object (Danielsen 2007: 208-209, 211). Incorporated nouns functioning as Ground are followed by an absolute stem suffix and, optionally, by verbal suffixes and clitics marking the person and number of the object, if the verb is transitive (Danielsen 2007: 209-211).

References

- Admiraal, Fenny & Swintha Danielsen. 2014. Productive compounding in Baure (Arawakan). In Swintha Danielsen, Katja Hannss & Fernando Zúñiga (eds.), *Word formation in South American languages* (Studies in Language Companion Series 163), 79-112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Danielsen, Swintha. 2007. *Baure: An Arawak language of Bolivia*. Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen dissertation.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
ASK FOR		<i>-ajach-</i>	
BE HUNGRY		<i>-ve'in-</i>	
BE SAD	(i)	<i>-aro'inok-</i>	
	(ii)	<i>-kos'in-</i>	
BREAK (TR.)	(i)	<i>-aparoch-</i>	
BURN (INTR.)		<i>-kajarok-</i>	
BUY		<i>-imono-</i>	
COVER	(ii)	<i>-jashcho-</i>	
DIE		<i>-epen-</i>	
FEAR		<i>-ipik-</i>	
FEEL COLD		<i>-mane-</i>	
FEEL PAIN	(ii)	<i>-kotich-</i>	
FRIGHTEN		<i>-ipi'nok-</i>	
GIVE		<i>-pa-</i>	
GO		<i>-kach-</i>	
HAVE		<i>-kotir-</i>	
HELP		<i>-asko-</i>	
HIT	(ii)	<i>-amitorok-</i>	
HUNT		<i>-kasach-</i>	
KILL		<i>-ikomorik-</i>	
KNOW		<i>-chow-</i>	
LEAVE		<i>-etorok-</i>	
MAKE/DO		<i>-woyik-</i>	
MEET		<i>-ikomorich-</i>	
NAME		<i>-ewoyiyk-</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
PLAY	(j)	<i>-kotoriach-</i>	

	(ii)	<i>-iparech-</i>	
RUN		<i>-ponokia-</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
SAY			No (verbal) equivalent
SEARCH FOR		<i>-jinoek-</i>	
TAKE		<i>-am-/im-</i>	This verb means both 'put' and 'take'. This verb is included for both meanings, but only the examples with the meaning take are considered here.
TELL		<i>-kich-</i>	
THINK		<i>-jino'inok-</i>	

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning		Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
BE DRY		<i>-morok-</i>	24/36	67%	
BREAK	(ii)	<i>-esasa-</i>	3/3	100%	
CATCH		<i>-kotok-</i>	2/59	3%	
COOK		<i>-shoerek-</i>	4/27	15%	
COVER	(i)	<i>-kochapo-</i>	6/9	67%	
CUT		<i>-piria-</i>	8/34	24%	
EAT		<i>-nik-</i>	1/420	0.2%	
FALL		<i>-ejevi-</i>	45/45	100%	This verb means both 'fall' and 'jump', but only the examples with the meaning 'fall' are counted here. Obligatory incorporation.
FEEL PAIN	(i)	<i>-shinik-</i>	1/1	100%	
HIT	(i)	<i>-ipok-</i>	2/2	100%	
JUMP		<i>-ejevi-</i>	21/21	100%	This verb means both 'fall' and 'jump', but only the examples with the meaning 'jump' are

					counted here. Obligatory incorporation.
PUT		<i>-im-/-am-</i>	2/55	4%	This verb means both 'put' and 'take'. This verb is included for both meanings, but only the examples with the meaning 'put' are counted here.
SEE		<i>-jinok-</i>	3/250	1%	
SHAVE		<i>-siriashko-</i>	1/2	50%	
SING		<i>-ak-</i>	1/31	3%	
SINK (INTR.)		<i>-arom-</i>	0/12	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on knowledge of the language specialist.
SIT		<i>-jirik-</i>	30/95	32%	This verb means both 'sit' and 'sit down'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings.
SIT DOWN		<i>-jirik-</i>	30/95	32%	This verb means both 'sit' and 'sit down'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings.
TAKE		<i>-im-/-am-</i>	1/37	3%	This verb means both 'put' and 'take'. This verb is included for both meanings, but only the examples with the meaning 'take' are counted here.
THROW	(i)	<i>-ejevik-/-ejw-/-ejewe-</i>	17/35	49%	This verb is similar to the one for 'fall' and 'jump', but treated as a separate verb here.
	(ii)	<i>-ejoro-</i>	15/20	75%	
WASH	(i)	<i>sipa-</i>	35/55	64%	

	(ii)	-ejk-	21/22	95%	
--	------	-------	-------	-----	--

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

BE DRY:

romorochipiw te echpi’.

ro=moro-chipi-wo te echpi’

3SG.M=be.dry-roof-COP PRESDEM.M roof

‘The roof is dry.’

[DC-22/3/06-55] (Danielsen 2007: 210, with adapted modern orthography)

BREAK (ii):

nesaser.

ni=esa-so-a=ro

1SG=crack-CLF.seeds-LK=3SG.M

‘I break/crack the nut.’

[RP-N081212LF.178]

CATCH:

Rokiew to monchi: "Kewon pikotsiapa to yakis!"

ri=ke-wo to monchi kewon pi=koto-si-a-pa to yakis

3SG.F=say/do-COP ART child come! 2SG=catch-CLF.stick-LK-INT ART firewood

‘The child said: “Come to get the firewood!”’

[MD-N090103F 518]

COOK:

varikier ach vishoere- vishoerejiser.

*vi=arik=ro ach *- vi=ishoere-ji-se(-a)=ro*

1PL=grind=3SG.M and - 1PL=cook-WTE-CLF.oval(-LK)=3SG.M

‘We grind it and we cook it (an oval type of fruit).’

[DC-081211LF-5.062]

COVER (i):

Ekochapomow, rokochapomirow.

e-kochapo-mo-wo *ro=kochapo-mir-wo*

UNSP-cover-CLF.cloth-COP 3SG.M=cover-face-COP

‘It is covered (with a cloth), he covers his face.’ (lit. ‘[...] he is with his face covered.’)

[DC-091122F 331]

CUT:

nipirichipiaw.

ni=piri-chipi-a-wo

1SG=cut-CLF.roof-LK-COP

‘I am cutting the armadillo into halves.’

[DC-16/3/06-21] (Danielsen 2007: 210, with adapted modern orthography)

EAT:

ronipapow shep.

ro=ni-po-a-po *shep*

3SG.M=eat-CLF.tiny&swarm-LK-PFV.REFL chivé

‘He ate chivé (manioc meal).’

[GP-A4-2] (Danielsen 2007: 209, with adapted modern orthography)

FALL:

Ripijik ti ndovian ach riejevipekekow noiy pekaki-ye.

ri=pijik *ti* *ni=toavian* *ach* *ri=ejevi-peko-i-ko-wo* *noiy* *pekaki-ye*

3SG.F=PASS PRESDEM.F 1SG=neighbour and 3SG.F=fall-ditch-DUR-ABSM-COP there ditch-LOC

‘My neighbour passes by and falls into the hole.’

[RP-081128L.006]

FEEL PAIN (i):

nishinipo’ew.

ni=shini-po’e-wo

2SG=be.hurt-head-COP

‘I have a headache.’

[RP-19/7/04-102] (Danielsen 2007: 208, with adapted modern orthography)

HIT (i):

roepokchipikier.

ro=ipoko-chipi-ko=ro

3SG.M=hit-back-ABSM=3SG.M

‘He hit him on the back.’

[RP-6/7/04-49] (Danielsen 2007: 210, with adapted modern orthography)

JUMP:

To sipori rejeviamkow nikamo-ye.

to sipori ro=ejevi-amok-wo ni=kam-ye

ART frog 3SG.M=fall-CLF.flat&raised-COP 1SG=bed-LOC

‘The frog jumps into my bed.’

[RP-081124L.069]

PUT:

-imbo’e-

-im-bo’e-

put-head

‘put head in’

SEE:

nga rochowori, nga nojinomirawe' koech ti jeni, ti kon ti ja ti wokow ni- ja riepshekow ti.

nga ro=chowori nga no=jino-mir-a-w-e' koech ti jeni

NEG 3SG.M=know=3SG.F NEG 3PL=see-face-LK-COP-EMPH because PRESDEM.F yes

*ti kon ti ja ti wokow *- ja ri=epshek-ow*

PRESDEM.F who PRESDEM.F HES PRESDEM.F not.yet - HES 3SG.F=appear/be.born-COP

ti

PRESDEM.F

‘He didn’t get to know to her, they didn’t see the face, because she, well, she –er- had not been born yet.’

[CS-080928S 215]

SHAVE:

rosiriashawnokow.

ro=siria-shawno-k-wo

3SG.M=shave-beard-ABSM-COP

‘He shaved his beard.’

[AD-06????S-2nr.001]

SING:

rakpiaw.

ro=ak-pi-a-wo

3SG.M=sing-CLF.words-LK-COP

‘He is singing a verse (with words).’

[MD-030823S.013]

SINK (INTR.):

raromosewapa to yashor.

ro=aromo-se-wapa to yashor

3SG.M=sink-CLF.oval-COS ART boat

‘The boat has sunk.’

[HC-L-81] (Danielsen 2007: 208, with adapted modern orthography)

SIT:

nijiriarokow.

ni=jiri-aro-ko-wo

1SG=sit-CLF.liquid-ABSM-COP

‘I am sitting in the water.’

(Admiraal and Danielsen 2014: 104)

SIT DOWN:

ver kach rojiriarok.

ver kach ro=jiri-aro-ko

PFV INT 3SG.M=sit-CLF.liquid-ABSM

‘It is already going to settle down in the liquid.’

[HC-2/7/04-8] (Danielsen 2007: 211, with adapted modern orthography)

TAKE:

Vimarekpa to yashor.

vi=im-aro-i-ko-pa *to* *yashor*

1PL=take-CLF.liquid-APPL-ABSM-INT ART canoo

‘We take the canoo out off the water.’

[DC-081119L.047]

THROW (i):

Rejwesaw ne' nerono-ye.

ro=ejewe-iso-a-wo *ne'* *ni=er-no-ye*

3SG.M=throw-CLF.water-LK-COP here 1SG=drink-NMLZ-LOC

‘It jumps into my drink.’

[DC-081122L-1.024]

THROW (ii):

ach tech royoriripi rejarekisani jajap

ach *tech* *ro=yori~ri-pi* *ro=ejoro-kis-a=ni* *jajap*

and PROXDEM.M 3SG.M=be.angry~INTS-NMLZ 3SG.M=throw-eye-LK=1SG sand

‘And because of his anger he threw sand in my eyes.’

[SIL3-N.078]

WASH (i):

pisipapoiyap

pi=sipa-poiy-a-po

2SG=wash-foot-LK-PFV.REFL

‘You wash your feet.’

[JP-20-/8/03-14] (Danielsen 2007: 98)

WASH (ii):

[...] nejmasha te naron [...]

ni=ej-mo-a-sha *te* *ni=aroni*

1SG=wash-CLF.textile-LK-IRR PRESDEM.M 1SG=clothes

‘[...] when I’m going to wash my clothes [...]

[DC-081119L.021]

Ese Ejja

Specialist

Marine Vuillermet

Corpus

Name: Documentation of the Ese Ejja language of the Amazonian region of Bolivia

Recorded words/hours: > 7 hours

Type of data: mostly spoken (narratives)

Website: <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1029726>

Further information: Vuillermet (2012)

Description of noun incorporation in Ese Ejja

In Ese Ejja, the incorporated noun directly precedes verb root or stem and may itself be preceded by valency and tense markers (Vuillermet 2012: 514). In addition, incorporation of nouns belonging to the e-noun class, which includes frequently incorporated body-part nouns, can be recognized based on the absence of the e-prefix (Vuillermet 2012: 299, 515).

References

Vuillermet, Marine. 2012. *A grammar of Ese Ejja, a Takanan language of the Bolivian Amazon*. Lyon: Lumière University Lyon 2 dissertation.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
ASK FOR	(i)	<i>a'ajja</i>	
	(ii)	<i>wowi'ajja</i>	
BE HUNGRY		<i>sho-ka-ani</i>	
BE SAD			No (verbal) equivalent
BREAK (TR.)		<i>kwiaja-</i>	
BURN (INTR.)		<i>jiji-</i>	
COOK		<i>kwakwa-</i>	

COVER		<i>paa-</i>	
DIE		<i>mano-'io-</i>	
FALL		<i>'oke</i>	
FEAR		<i>mete-</i>	
FEEL COLD			No (verbal) equivalent
FRIGHTEN		<i>jjasowa-</i>	
GO		<i>poki-</i>	
HAVE			No (verbal) equivalent
HELP			No (verbal) equivalent
JUMP		<i>towaa</i>	
KILL			No (verbal) equivalent
KNOW		<i>'ba-</i>	
LEAVE		<i>jiña</i>	
MAKE/DO		<i>a-</i>	
MEET			No (verbal) equivalent
NAME		<i>bajjani-</i>	
PLAY		<i>we'e-</i>	
PUT		<i>wana-</i>	
RUN		<i>kwajikwaji-</i>	
SHAVE			Unclear
SING		<i>sowi-kwaya-</i>	
SINK			No (verbal) equivalent
SIT		<i>ani-</i>	
SIT DOWN		<i>ani-'oke-</i>	
TAKE		<i>'dojo-</i>	
THINK		<i>jjasawa-'baki-</i>	

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Raw frequency ¹	Percentage	Remarks
BE DRY		<i>joka-</i>	1/3	33%	
BUY		<i>jjeshe-</i>	6/21	29%	This verb means both 'buy' and 'get', but only the examples with the meaning 'buy' are counted here.
CATCH		<i>iña-</i>	3/20	15%	
CUT	(i)	<i>jaja-</i>	2/5	40%	
	(ii)	<i>jewi-</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data and data from a missionary text. This verb was not attested in the spontaneous texts of the corpus.
EAT		<i>ijjia-</i>	2/100	2%	This verb means 'press with the same pressure from both sides', which in the context of food means 'eat'. Only the examples with the meaning 'eat' are counted here.
FEEL PAIN		<i>nee-</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data. This verb was not attested in the spontaneous texts of the corpus.
GIVE		<i>kia-</i>	2/18	11%	
HIT		<i>kwia</i>	1/27	4%	
HUNT		<i>kekwa</i>	2/41	5%	
SAY		<i>wowi-</i>	3/48	6%	This verb means both 'say' and 'tell'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples

¹ The frequency information is only based on the part of the corpus that consists of spontaneous texts, i.e. elicitation/volunteered examples and missionary texts that are also included in the corpus are not taken into account here.

					are counted for both meanings.
SEARCH FOR		<i>sa-'ajja-</i>	1/12	8%	
SEE		<i>'ba-</i>	31/127	18%	
TELL		<i>wowi-</i>	3/48	6%	This verb means both 'say' and 'tell'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings.
THROW		<i>jia-</i>	5/23	22%	
WASH		<i>tajja-</i>	3/6	50%	

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

BE DRY:

Besa-majje eya jee-joka-'io-naje.

bathe-TMP.SS 1SG.ABS skin-dry-TEL-PST

'After bathing, my skin dried completely.'

{joka.004} (Elicited/volunteered example, Vuillermet 2012: 517)

BUY:

daki jjeshe-pokia-jji, akiana=kwana jjeshe-xi

cloth buy-CONTU.TR-PURP things=PL buy-CONTU.TR-PURP

'to buy clothes and various things'

(Spontaneous text example, KaEkí.056)

CATCH:

Oya wi-iña-'ba'e nawoo=jo; wi-iña-majje ijia-ka-ani.

3.ABS nose-grab-float.PRS fish=LOC nose-grab-TMP.SS grab-3.A-PRS

'It (neotropical.cormorant) is diving/plunging to fish.' (lit. 'It is nose-grabbing to fish.')

(Spontaneous text example)

CUT (i):

Majoya eyaa oya ekwe='baa=a sapa-jaja-wejja-jia-'ajja-naje.

then 1SG.ERG 3.ABS 1SG.GEN=machete=INS head-cut.with.axe-open-DEPR-FRUST-PASS

‘Then I tried to cut its head off (of the viper) (lit. I head-cut-off it) with my machete.’

(Spontaneous text example, KaPey.040, Vuillermet 2012: 492)

CUT (ii):

Wi-sa-ta-jeyo-majje, shasha-jewi-sejja-ka-jji.

nose-bone-cover-finish-TMP.SS flower-cut-tear.apart-3.A-OBL

‘After covering the nose bones (the structure of the roof?), then one has to cut the eaves.’

EAT:

lñawewa 'ba'e-sowa-ki-ani meemee-ijjia-jji-nisho.

dog float-go.up-go.to.do-PRS fly-eat-PURP-in.vain

‘The dog is jumping to eat flies (but he does not manage to).’

(Spontaneous text example)

FEEL PAIN:

kia-wesha poki-majje eya jiojji-nee-naje, kise-nee-naje, me-kishe-nee-naje

APF-far go-TMP.SS 1.ABS foot-hurt-PASS leg-hurt-PASS hand-nail-hurt-PASS

‘After walking my foot hurts (feet hurt), leg hurts (legs hurt), my nails hurt (??).’

(Elicited example)

GIVE:

Sose[3]-kia-jjima ekwaa a-naje.

price/value-give-not.yet 1.ERG do-PASS

‘We did not pay.’

HIT:

wi-kwia-wojja-jia-ka-'io-a=poa

nose-hit-penetrate-DEPR-3.A-TEL-RMP=RMP

‘He hit her strongly in the nose (killing her).’ (the idea of ‘kill’ comes from the telic marker -'io ‘for good’; *wojja-* means that it had an impact on the surface he hit).

HUNT:

Ewi-kekwa-jji, ijjiakajji-kekwa-jji owaya a-ka-ani-naje fleche ¿no?

bird-hunt-PURP animals-hunt-PURP 3.ERG do-3.A-IPFV-PASS arrow

‘To kill birds, to kill animals he made arrows, right?’

(Spontaneous text example, ErBem.036-37)

SAY:

sowi-wowi

tongue/word-say/tell

‘teach X (to x)’

(Spontaneous text and elicited example, Vuillermet 2012: 258, 518)

SEARCH FOR:

Jaa’oke-ki-ani=pia’ai *’bo’bi-ijjia-a,* *’bo’bi-sa’ajja-a.*

go.down-go.to.do-PRS=also food-eat-MOTPURP food-search-MOTPURP

‘They (partridge) go down (on the floor) to look for food, to eat food.’

{KoAni.076-77} (Spontaneous text example, Vuillermet 2012: 368)

SEE:

’Ba-nei~nei-naje, *kojja-’ba-nei~nei-’io-naje*

see-very~RDPL-PASS eye-see-very~RDPL-TEL-PASS

‘I saw (her) very (well), I saw (her) eye very (well).’

(Spontaneous text example, OtEkw.015)

TELL:

sowi-wowi

tongue/word-say/tell

‘teach X (to x)’

(Spontaneous text and elicited example, Vuillermet 2012: 258, 518)

THROW:

Nawoo *ka-see-jja-ka-awal*

fish JUSS-bowels-throw-3.A-JUSS

‘Let him disembowel the fish!’

(Elicited example, Vuillermet 2012: 369)

WASH:

E-shawa y-ani meenei daki-tajja po ani ijja-ka-je.

NPF-spirit EXS-sit 2SG.ABS.alone clothe-wash be sit.PRS eat-3.A-FUT

‘There are (lit. sit) devils that eat you while you are washing the clothes.’

(Spontaneous text example, SoCre.063-65, Vuillermet 2012: 651)

Guarayu

Specialist

Swintha Danielsen

Corpus

Name: GIZAC - Gwarayu and the Intermediate Zone (Amazonia - Chaco, Bolivia) documentation project

Recorded words/hours: ca. 124 hours and 60 text-only files

Type of data: spoken and written (narratives, conversation, speeches, songs, descriptions)

Website: <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032005>

Description of noun incorporation in Guarayu

In Guarayu, incorporated nouns directly precede incorporating verb roots but follow the verbal person markers. This language makes a distinction between active and nominal/stative alignment (Danielsen et al. 2019.). We include incorporation constructions with active alignment and constructions with nominal/stative alignment that are translated as verbal constructions. Verbs with active alignment combines with prefixes marking person and number (Danielsen et al. 2019). In noun incorporation constructions with active alignment, the incorporated noun can be preceded by such a person prefix or, if the prefix marks a third person singular, it can replace the prefix (Danielsen et al. 2019). Constructions with nominal/stative alignment combine with pronouns or, in the case of a third person singular, a prefix (Danielsen et al. in prep.). In these constructions, the incorporated noun follows the pronoun or prefix and directly precedes the verb.²

References

² The syntactic composition of the two constructions looks the same, however. The fact that the latter are structurally nominal roots that take possessor marking, also means that many of the stative/nominal predicates that incorporate can occur as non-predicative nouns (in which case they form nominal compounds); these were not included for the counts of incorporating verbs.

Danielsen, Swintha and Sell, Lena and Terhart, Lena. 2019. Guarayu. A revised dictionary by Alfred Hoeller. Dictionaria 6. 1-3590 (Available online at <https://matthew.clld.org/dictionaria/contributions/Guarayu>, Accessed on 2019-07-11.)

Lacueva, Francisco & Manuel Viudes. 1841. *Arte de la Lengua Guaraya ó Chiriguana*. Legajo no 23 de la Colección Andrés Bello (1849-1894) del Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
ASK FOR		<i>-porandu</i>	
BE HUNGRY		<i>-yumbiasii</i>	
BUY		<i>-rokwa</i>	
DIE		<i>-mano</i>	
FALL		<i>-vi'api</i>	
FEAR		<i>-sikiye</i>	
GO		<i>-so</i>	
HELP		<i>-ipitivii</i>	
HIT	(i)	<i>-kwa/-gwa</i>	
HUNT			No (verbal) equivalent
JUMP		<i>-po</i>	
KNOW		<i>-ikwa</i>	
LEAVE		<i>-seya</i>	
MEET			No (verbal) equivalent
PLAY		<i>gwayi</i>	
PUT			No (verbal) equivalent
RUN		<i>-ña</i>	
SAY		<i>-e</i>	
SING		<i>-sapukai</i>	
SINK (INTR.)		<i>-nduru</i>	
SIT	(ii)	<i>-ĩ</i>	

THINK		-yesaereko	
-------	--	------------	--

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
BE DRY	-piru	2/28	7%	
BE SAD	-nd-...-vi'a-i'	2/6	33%	
BREAK (TR.)	(i) -mopë	8/27	30%	
	(ii) -iyoka	4/17	24%	
BURN (INTR.)	-kai	2/16	13%	
CATCH	-ipisi	1/28	4%	
COOK	-mōi	1/7	14%	
COVER	-yopi	4/13	31%	
CUT	(i) -ikichi	2/15	13%	
	(ii) -(y)asia	5/16	31%	
EAT	-'u	6/30	20%	This verb means both 'eat' and 'drink'. All examples with the verb are counted here.
FEEL COLD	ro'i/so'i	2/43	5%	
FEEL PAIN	-rasi	14/30	47%	
FRIGHTEN	-mbosikiye	3/4	75%	
GIVE	-mondo	10/95	11%	
HAVE	-reko	9/161	6%	This verb means both 'have' and 'live', but only the examples with the meaning have are counted here.
HIT	(ii) -nupa	1/11	9%	
	(iii) -ipete	6/7	86%	
KILL	-yuka	17/142	12%	
MAKE/DO	-yapo	21/428	5%	

NAME		<i>-senoi/-renoi</i>	2/7	29%	
SEARCH FOR		<i>-seka/-reka</i>	60/160	38%	This verb means both 'search for' and 'find'.
SEE		<i>-repia/-sepia</i>	6/80	8%	
SHAVE		<i>-apī</i>	1/3	33%	
SIT	(i)	<i>-gwapī</i>	0/16	0%	This verb means both 'sit' and 'sit down'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings. Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data and old data.
SIT DOWN		<i>-gwapī</i>	0/16	0%	This verb means both 'sit' and 'sit down'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings. Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data and old data.
TAKE		<i>-nosë</i>	6/57	11%	
TELL		<i>-mombe'u</i>	2/69	3%	
THROW		<i>-mombo</i>	5/12	42%	
WASH		<i>-(yo)sei</i>	6/10	60%	

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

BE DRY:

ipopiru

i-po-piru

3-hand-dry

'his dry hand/his hand is dry'

[JLC_e20190327sd.011]

BE SAD:

ndipɪʔavɪʔai

nd-i-pɪʔa-vɪʔa-i

NEG-OBJ-heart-be.happy-NEG

‘my heart is sad’

[JLC_e20190327sd.021]

BREAK (TR.) (i):

aivɪramopë

a-ivira-mo-pë

1SG-stick-CAUS-break

‘I break the stick’

[JLC_e20190327sd.030]

BREAK (TR.) (ii):

añaʔëyoka

a-ñaʔë-yoka

1SG-pot-break

‘I break the pot/plate’

[JLC_e20190327sd.044]

BURN (INTR.):

che pokai

che po-kai

1SG hand-burn

‘my hand is burning.’

[JLC_e20190403sd]

CATCH:

aipopisi

a-i-po-pisi

1SG-OBJ-hand-grab

‘I grab (his/her) hand’

[JLC_e20190327sd.062]

COOK:

amba'emöi

a-mba'e-möi

1SG-thing-cook

'I cook (lunch/ food)'

[JLC_e20190327sd.063]

COVER:

ayesapi

a-ye-esa-pi

1SG-REFL-eye-cover

'I cover my eyes'

[JLC_e20190327sd.074]

CUT (i):

aiso'okichi

a-i-so'o-kichi

1SG-OBJ-meat-cut

'I cut the meat'

[JLC_e20190327sd.080]

CUT (ii):

ayasa

a-y-a-asia

1SG-OBJ-hair-cut.off

'I cut off the hair'

[JLC_e20190327sd.082]

EAT:

ai'u

a-i'u

1SG-water-eat/drink

'I drink water'

[JLC_e20190327sd.099]

FEEL COLD:

che poro'isa

che po-ro'i-sa

1SG hand-cold-NCIRC

'my hand is cold'

[JLC_e20190327sd.116]

FEEL PAIN:

che akä-rasi

che akä-rasi

1SG head-have.pain

'my head aches'

[JLC_e20190327sd.118]

FRIGHTEN:

aipi'ambosikiye

a-i-pi'a-mbo-sikiye

1SG-OBJ-heart-CAUS-fear

'my heart fears (I am very afraid in my heart)'

[JLC_e20190327sd.108]

GIVE:

amba'emondo

a-mba'e-mondo

1SG-thing-give

'I give a thing'

[JLC_e20190327sd.122]

HAVE:

eresepira ni'ä kuritëi ayukara apo e'i ni'ä onda vireko.

ere-sepia ni'ä kuritëi a-yuka-ra a-po e'i ni'ä onda vi-reko

2SG-see.3 well yet 1SG-kill-FUT 1SG-finish 3.say well slingshot 3.COREF-have

‘you see, well, I will kill it, he said, well, he has a slingshot’

[avu_n161012ay_2]

HIT (ii):

che resanupanupa

che resa-nupa~nupa

1SG eye-hit~INTS

‘he hit my eyes again and again’

[JLC_e20190404sd]

HIT (iii):

aipopete

a-i-po-pete

1SG-OBJ-hand-hit

‘I hit his/her hand’

[JLC_e20190327sd.135]

KILL:

omba’eyuka

o-mba’e-yuka

3-thing-kill

‘(s)he hunts an animal (kills an animal)’

[JLC_e20190327sd.138]

MAKE/DO:

che aikavii’apo

che a-i-kavii-apo

1SG 1SG-OBJ-chicha-make

‘I make chicha’

[JLC_e20190327sd.158]

NAME:

atüparenoi

a-tüpa-renoi

1SG-god-name

‘I name God (say the name of God)’

[JLC_e20190327sd.168]

SEARCH FOR:

amba’ereka

a-mba’e-reka

1SG-thing-find/search

‘I search for/find a thing’

[JLC_e20190327sd.189]

SEE:

amba’erepia

a-mba’e-repia

1SG-thing-see

‘I see a thing’

[JLC_e20190327sd.190]

SHAVE:

ayembotapi

a-ye-ambota-api

1SG-REFL-beard-cut.hair

‘I shave myself’

[JLC_e20190327sd.198]

SIT (i)/ SIT DOWN:

che pi’agwapi

che pi’a-gwapi

1SG heart-sit

‘my heart is settled (I am heart-settled)’

[Lacueva/Viudes 1841: 43]³

³ Constructions with incorporated *pi’a* ‘heart’ are rather rare nowadays and people identify them as archaic language.

TAKE:

ai'arenosë

a-i'a-re-nosë

1SG-fruit-REL-take.away

'I take the fruit'

[JLC_e20190327sd.213]

TELL:

aiñe'emombe'u

a-i-ñe'e-mombe'u

1SG-OBJ-word-tell

'I tell the word'

[JLC_e20190327sd.221]

THROW:

omba'emombo

o-mba'e-mombo

3-thing-throw

'(s)he throws the thing'

[JLC_e20190327sd.228]

WASH:

oiposei

o-i-po-sei

3-OBJ-hand-wash

'(s)he washes his/her hands'

[JLC_e20190327sd.235]

Iraqw

Specialists

Tjeu Claessen

Maarten Mous

Corpus

Name: Berger, Paul and Roland Kießling (eds.) 1998. *Iraqw Texts*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Recorded words/hours: ca.29,000 words⁴

Type of data: spoken (narratives)

Description of noun incorporation in Iraqw

Noun incorporation can be recognized in Iraqw on the basis of word order. Iraqw main verbs are obligatorily preceded by a selector (inflectional element) (Kooij and Mous 2002: 633; Mous 1993: 238). When an unmarked noun appears between the selector and the main verb and is directly adjacent to the main verb, it is considered to be incorporated (Kooij and Mous 2002: 633-634; see also Mous 1993: 257). It is important that the noun is unmarked and no adverb can appear between the noun and the main verb: constructions in which a noun with a construct case marker, demonstrative suffix, or possessive suffix occurs between the selector and the main verb and in which an adverb may separate the noun and the main verb are called noun encapsulation rather than noun incorporation (see also Mous 1993: 242; Kooij and Mous 2002: 633-634). Encapsulation is a productive construction with the function of demoting a core constituent (Kiessling 1990). The availability of this competing construction explains the relatively low frequency of noun incorporation in Iraqw texts.

There are a few types of constructions for which it is uncertain if they involve noun incorporation or some other process and which for that reason are excluded from the study. Most importantly, imperative verbs do not combine with a selector (see also Mous 1993: 272-273), such that it is not possible to see whether or not noun incorporation has taken place. For the treatment of nominalizations, see Section 4.1.

References

- Hhao, Basilisa (ed.). in press. *Ama Irmí na hadithi nyingine za Kiiraqw* [Ama Irmí and other Iraqw stories].
- Kiessling, Roland 1990. Preverbal position as a cradle of grammatical innovation in Iraqw. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 21. 67-86.
- Kooij, Jan & Maarten Mous. 2002. Incorporation: A comparison between Iraqw and Dutch. *Linguistics* 40(3). 629-645.
- Mous, Maarten. 1993. *A grammar of Iraqw*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

⁴ There are additional corpora available for Iraqw (Shohei 1976; Mous & Sanko 2009; Hao in press), but these are not glossed and have not been searched for this paper.

Mous, Maarten & Safari Sanka. 2009. *Geesóo Duqangw na hadithi nyingine za Kiiraqw* [Geeso Duqangw and other Iraqw stores]. Nairobi: Kijabe Press.

Wada, Shohei. 1976. *Hadithi za mapokeo ya Wairaqw* [Iraqw folktales in Tanzania] (African Languages and Ethnography 5). Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
BE DRY		<i>kah</i>	
BE HUNGRY		<i>qwariit</i>	
BE SAD		<i>gurhaam</i>	
BREAK (TR.)	(i)	<i>geeqaw</i>	
	(ii)	<i>feehhiis</i>	
BURN (INTR.)	(i)	<i>oh</i>	
	(ii)	<i>daa/</i>	
BUY		<i>tlaaxw</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
CATCH	(ii)	<i>uhiim</i>	
COOK		<i>hu(u)riim</i>	
COVER		<i>tuntuuk</i>	
CUT	(iii)	<i>siik</i>	
FALL		<i>huu'</i>	
FEAR		<i>da'ayuut</i>	
FEEL COLD		<i>tsaquut</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
FEEL PAIN		<i>tlararaa/</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.

FRIGHTEN		<i>naxuxuum</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
GO	(ii)	<i>daqaw</i>	
HELP		<i>/iis</i>	
HIT	(ii)	<i>law</i>	
HUNT		<i>slakaat</i>	
JUMP		<i>/akuut</i>	
KILL	(ii)	<i>tsuu/</i>	
KNOW		<i>xuu'</i>	
LEAVE		<i>geexaw</i>	
MEET		<i>al'aw</i>	
NAME			No (verbal) equivalent found in the dictionary or in the corpus
PLAY		<i>neet</i>	
RUN	(i)	<i>taiim</i>	
SAY	(i)	<i>oo'</i>	
	(ii)	<i>ilaawaats</i>	
	(iii)	<i>kaah</i>	
SEARCH FOR	(i)	<i>leeleehh</i>	
	(ii)	<i>taraaraahhaat</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
SEE		<i>ar</i>	
SING		<i>daa'</i>	
SINK (INTR.)		<i>/aytiis</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
SIT		<i>iwiit</i>	
SIT DOWN			No (verbal) equivalent found in the dictionary or in the corpus
TAKE		<i>tataahh</i>	

THINK		<i>qeeru</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
THROW	(i)	<i>kwaahh</i>	
	(ii)	<i>geeleehh</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
	(iii)	<i>tlaqut</i>	
	(iv)	<i>tsaxaar</i>	
WASH		<i>hamaatl</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning		Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
ASK FOR		<i>firiim</i>	1/15	7%	
CATCH	(i)	<i>ooh</i>	4/106	4%	
CUT	(i)	<i>tsaat</i>	3/24	13%	
	(ii)	<i>laaq</i>	7/28	25%	
DIE	(i)	<i>gwaa'</i>	1/61	2%	
	(ii)	<i>qaatl</i>	1/5	20%	
EAT		<i>/aay</i>	2/148	1%	
GIVE		<i>haniis</i>	0/102	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on data from Mous (1993).
GO	(i)	<i>aw</i>	0/52	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on data from Mous (1993).
HAVE		<i>koom</i>	3/46	7%	
HIT	(i)	<i>slaahh</i>	4/17	24%	
KILL	(i)	<i>gaas</i>	1/192	1%	
MAKE/DO	(i)	<i>tleehh</i>	1/77	1%	

	(ii)	<i>tleehhiit</i>	13/18	72%	
PUT		<i>qaas</i>	0/71	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on data from Mous (1993).
RUN	(ii)	<i>goow</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on data from Mous (1993). This verb was not searched for in the corpus.
SHAVE		<i>deeqw</i>	1/9	11%	
TELL		<i>baw</i>	0/194	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on data from Mous (1993).

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

ASK FOR:

siiyáng firiiriin,

siiyáng firiiriim-t

husband ask.DUR.SBJV-2

‘That is asking for a husband,’

(Corpus example)

CATCH (i):

gana hayso 'óh.

g-a-n-a haysoo 'ooh

3.OBJ-F.OBJ-PROG-PRF tail seize.3.PST

‘He was grabbing its tail.’

(Corpus example)

CUT (i)

dasír doo'ín kari 'isaatsáat.

dasi-r do'-w-'ín g-ta-a-ri 'isa-tsat

girl.CON-F house-M-3PL.POSS 3.OBJ-3.IMPS.SBJ-F.OBJ-NAR neck-cut.3.PST

‘And they cut the throat of the girl of their house (the hero’s wife).’

(Corpus example)

CUT (ii):

na'i 'awéer guri fuqeeni tláaq.

ni-ay 'awed g-u-ri fuqeeni tlaaw

VENT-CONSEC descend.3.PST 3.OBJ-M.OBJ-NAR claws cut.3.PST

‘So he descended and cut the lion’s claws.’

(Corpus example)

DIE (i):

naxés tsaawo # in 'afaa gwagwa'áan #.

naxés tsawoo # i-n 'afa gwagwa'aam-t #

look! axe # 3.SBJ-PROG mouth die.DUR.2-2 #

‘And, naxés, the blade of the axe was being blunted.’

(Corpus example)

DIE (ii):

tari lohi qatlatlín,

ta-ri lohi qatlatliim-í

3.IMPS.SBJ-NAR way die.DUR.HAB-3.PST

‘Many people were dying on the way,’

(Corpus example)

EAT:

naagáy gari 'ilwa /áy.

naagáy g-a-ri 'ilwaa /ag

then 3.OBJ-F.OBJ-NAR milk eat.3.PST

‘From then on he drank its milk.’

(Corpus example)

GIVE:

ilahanmiis

ila-hanmiis

eye-give

‘to translate/interpret’

(Mous 1993: 201, 259)

GO (i):

g-w-a sage áy nee hikwa-wo

3.OBJ-M.OBJ-PRF head go.3SG.M and cows-BACK

‘He went in front of him and the cows.’

(Mous 1993: 258)

HAVE:

'us lamaa kóom.

u-s lama koom

2SG.M.OBJ-CAUS news have.1

‘I have some news for you.’

(Corpus example)

HIT (i):

garmaa # damaa # garii daanda sláahh #.

garmaa # dama # g-a-ri danda slahh #

boy # calf # 3.OBJ-F.OBJ-NAR back hit.3.PST #

‘The boy hit the calf on the back.’

(Corpus example)

KILL (i):

'iri teeri gassáan,

i-ri teeri gaas-áan

2SG.F.OBJ-NAR dust kill-1PL.PST

‘We have wiped out your footprints in the dust,’

(Corpus example)

MAKE/DO (i):

na'ír Gáayo 'adoorós 'atí # geeraawo hhápée kán hhaytleehh nee múk tsár.

naa'i-r Gaayo 'adoo-r-ós a-ti-í # geeraa-o hhapee

game.CON-F Gaayo kind-F-3SG.POSS COP-NMLZ.F-PROXDEM # front-BACK soil

g-ta-a-n hhay-tleehh nee muu-k tsár

3.OBJ-3.IMPS.SBJ-F.OBJ-PROG row-make.3 by people.CON-M1 two

‘The rules of the Gaayo-game are like this: first of all the sand is being arranged in rows by two players.’

(Corpus example)

MAKE/DO (ii):

'alaa 'aasawás tleehhiit.

'alaa i-a-Sawás tleehhiit

but 3.SBJ-PRF-Sawás become.3.PST

‘But they had become Sawás.’

(Corpus example)

PUT:

afaqaas

afa-qaas

mouth-put

‘to join’

(Mous 1993: 202)

RUN (ii):

ilagoow

ila-goow

eye-run

‘to run away from sth., avoid’

(Mous 1993: 259)

SHAVE:

tari maanimóo sláy nee hhiyaawós laqáa mulqumoowós gúrí saga deeqw.

ta-ri maanimo-w slaw-í nee hhiya'-w-ós laqáa mulqumoo-w-ós

3.IMPS.SBJ-NAR Bantu.CON-M find-3 by brother-M-3SG.POSS or friend-M-3SG.POSS

g-u-ri saga deeqw

3.OBJ-M.OBJ-NAR head shave.3

‘Then some Bantu will be summoned by his brother or his friend, and he (the Bantu) will shave his head.’

(Corpus example)

TELL:

adbaw

ado-baw

manner-tell

‘to inform sb.’

(Mous 1993: 201)

Kalamang

Specialist

Eline Visser

Corpus

Name: The Kalamang Corpus

Recorded words/hours: 46000 words

Type of data: spoken (picture matching tasks and other stimuli-based recordings, narratives, conversation)

Website: <https://corpora.humlab.lu.se/ds/asv/?0&openhandle=hdl:10050/00-0000-0000-0003-66A4-2>

Further information: Visser (forthc.)

Description of noun incorporation in Kalamang

Incorporated nouns in Kalamang precede the verb, like regular objects, but do not carry accusative case-marking. In addition, the noun and verb have a single prosodic contour, such that they form a single phonological word.

References

Visser, Eline. forthc. *A grammar of Kalamang*. Lund: Lund University dissertation.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
BE DRY		<i>kararak</i>	

BE HUNGRY		<i>muawese</i>	
BE SAD			No (verbal) equivalent
BURN (INTR.)		<i>din-nan</i>	
CATCH	(i)	<i>jie</i>	Unclear: this verb can incorporate if it has another meaning (evidence from elicitation data), but no examples were found with incorporation when it has the meaning 'catch'.
	(ii)	<i>kinkin</i>	Unclear: this verb can incorporate if it has another meaning (evidence from elicitation data), but no examples were found with incorporation when it has the meaning 'catch'.
	(iii)	<i>kajie</i>	Unclear: this verb can incorporate if it has another meaning (evidence from elicitation data), but no examples were found with incorporation when it has the meaning 'catch'.
DIE		<i>lalat</i>	
FALL		<i>tur</i>	
FEAR		<i>sem</i>	
FEEL COLD		<i>kawes</i>	
FEEL PAIN		<i>patin/patiwatin</i>	
FRIGHTEN			No (verbal) equivalent
GIVE		zero-root	
GO		<i>bo</i>	
HAVE			No (verbal) equivalent
HELP		<i>rup</i>	Evidence against noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
HIT	(i)	<i>pue</i>	Unclear
HUNT			No (verbal) equivalent
JUMP		<i>dalang</i>	Evidence against noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
KNOW		<i>gonggin</i>	
LEAVE		<i>urukmang</i>	
MEET		<i>koluk</i>	Unclear

NAME			No (verbal) equivalent
PLAY		<i>kanggeit</i>	
RUN	(i)	<i>tiri</i>	
	(ii)	<i>kiem</i>	
SAY	(ii)	<i>ewa</i>	
	(iii)	<i>toni</i>	
SEE		<i>kona</i>	
SING		<i>menyanyi</i>	Evidence against noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
SINK (INTR.)		<i>Daren</i>	Unclear: this verb was not found in the corpus, so it could not be verified if noun incorporation is possible.
SIT		<i>melelu</i>	
SIT DOWN			Unclear
TELL			No (verbal) equivalent
THINK		<i>nafikir/napikir</i>	
THROW	(ii)	<i>paruak</i>	Unclear

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
ASK FOR	<i>paning</i>	2/24	8%	
BREAK (TR.)	<i>parair</i>	3/31	10%	
BUY	<i>jie</i>	7/23	30%	This verb means both 'buy' and 'get', but only the examples with the meaning 'buy' are counted here.
COOK	(i) <i>kuar</i>	4/76	5%	
	(ii) <i>ruon</i>	2/6	33%	
COVER	(i) <i>koye</i>	0/10	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data.

	(ii)	<i>sanggie</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data. This verb was not attested in the corpus.
CUT	(i)	<i>tolma</i>	3/12	25%	
	(ii)	<i>potma</i>	3/59	5%	
	(iii)	<i>narari</i>	1/3	33%	
EAT		<i>na(n)(aret)</i>	18/191	9%	This verb means both 'eat' and 'drink'. All examples with the verb are counted here.
HIT	(ii)	<i>tu</i>	3/24	13%	
KILL		<i>rua</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data. This verb was not attested in the corpus.
MAKE/DO		<i>paruo</i>	13/182	7%	
PUT		<i>marauok</i>	0/31	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
SAY	(i)	<i>taruo</i>	1/52	2%	
SEARCH FOR		<i>sanggara</i>	3/49	6%	
SHAVE		<i>sarua</i>			Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data. This verb was not attested in the corpus.
TAKE	(i)	<i>narorar</i>	1/26	4%	
	(ii)	<i>tawie</i>	0/2	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
	(iii)	<i>kahetma</i>	0/12	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation data.
THROW	(i)	<i>mu/mui</i>	1/5	20%	

WASH		<i>waruo</i>	3/15	20%	
------	--	--------------	------	-----	--

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

ASK FOR:

sor-paning-te

fish-ask.for-VLNK

'ask for fish'

BREAK (TR.):

sayang-parair-ta

nutmeg-split-VLNK

'split nutmeg'

BUY:

tabai-jie

tobacco-buy

'buy tobacco'

COOK (i):

wele-kuar

vegetables-cook

'cook vegetables'

COOK (ii):

muap-ruon

food-cook

'cook food'

COVER (i):

nakal-koye-n

head-cover-?

'cover one's head (e.g. with a scarf)'

COVER (ii):

botal-sanggie-n

bottle-cover-?

‘close a bottle (by screwing on a tap)’

CUT (i):

min-tolma

liver-cut

‘cut liver’

CUT (ii)

sek-potmat-kin

bait-cut-IRR

‘cut bait’

CUT (iii):

wele-narari

vegetables-cut

‘cut vegetables’

EAT:

wat-na

coconut-eat

‘eat coconut’

HIT (ii):

buok-tu

betel-pound

‘pound betel’

KILL:

kahamin-rua

bird-kill

‘kill birds/kill a bird’

MAKE/DO:

krupuk-paruo

crackers-make

‘make crackers’

PUT:

ma jualan-maraouk tepeles nerunggo

3SG sales.items-put bottle inside

‘She put the sales items in the bottle.’

SAY (i):

don-taruo

thing-say

‘say things/say a thing’

SEARCH FOR:

pulor-sanggara-n

betel.leaf-search-?

‘search for betel leaf’

SHAVE:

esa bestal-sarua

father hair-shave

‘Father shaves his head (cuts his hair).’

TAKE (i):

kai-narorar

firewood-drag

‘drag firewood’

TAKE (ii):

sor-tawie

fish-take.from.hot

‘take fish from the fire’

TAKE (iii):

gambar-kahetma

picture-take.from.wall

‘take a picture from the wall’

THROW (i):

wien-muk

fishing.line-throw

‘throw a fishing line’

WASH:

dodon-waruo

clothes-wash

‘wash clothes’

Movima

Specialist

Katharina Haude

Corpus

Name: Movima MASTERFILE corpus (2001-2012)

Recorded words/hours: ca. 130,000 words, 30 hours

Type of data: spoken discourse (narratives and conversation)

Website:

[https://archive.mpi.nl/islandora/search/%2A%3A%2A?f%5B0%5D=cmd.Language%3A%22Movima%](https://archive.mpi.nl/islandora/search/%2A%3A%2A?f%5B0%5D=cmd.Language%3A%22Movima%22)

22

Description of noun incorporation in Movima

The incorporated noun follows the incorporating verb stem, which may be suffixed with the bivalent direct marker, in which case the nouns follow this marker (Haude 2006: 368, 379). The incorporated noun may precede clitics marking person and number of arguments of the predicate (see also Haude

2006: 97). The incorporated noun can also be followed by other verbal morphemes like the applicative marker (Haude 2006: 411, 415) and the phasal suffix *-kakaʔ* (Haude 2006: 460).

References

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

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
ASK FOR		<i>dajaja</i>	
BE HUNGRY		<i>maw-'i-n-kwa</i>	
BE SAD		<i>ʔavo:ni</i>	
BURN (INTR.)		<i>ta:-<le:~>les</i>	
FEAR		<i>tino:ka</i>	
FEEL COLD		<i>jilo:ka</i>	
FRIGHTEN		<i>tetapoj</i>	
GIVE	(ii)	<i>kwajna</i>	
GO		<i>joycheʔ</i>	
HAVE			No (verbal) equivalent
HELP			No (verbal) equivalent
HUNT		<i>ba:yeʔ</i>	
LEAVE		<i>ela-</i>	
MAKE/DO	(i)	<i>ji:sa-</i>	
	(ii)	<i>bisapa</i>	
MEET		<i>manaye</i>	
NAME		<i>petna</i>	
PLAY		<i>kuyna:na'</i>	
SAY		<i>jankwa</i>	
SEE		<i>dewajna</i>	

SHAVE			No (verbal) equivalent found in the corpus
SINK (INTR.)		<i>ya:lo</i>	
SIT DOWN		<i>ascheɬ</i>	
TAKE		<i>wayna</i>	
TELL		<i>aj-a-lomaj / aj-a-ra</i>	
THINK		<i>pa:baycho</i>	

Verb meanings found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
BE DRY	<i>wereɫ-</i>	1/50	2%	
BREAK (TR.)	<i>kat-</i>	2/3	67%	
BUY	<i>rim-</i>	5/64	8%	
CATCH	<i>yok-</i>	8/69	12%	
COOK	<i>dej-</i>	1/62	2%	
COVER	<i>chok-</i>	4/11	40%	
CUT	<i>tan-</i>	27/60	45%	
DIE	<i>kayni</i>	9/270	3%	
EAT	<i>kay-</i>	6/76	8%	
FALL	<i>tap-</i>	98/98	100%	
FEEL PAIN	<i>tivij-</i>	17/120	14%	
GIVE	(i) <i>kayɬe-</i>	1/192	1%	
HIT	<i>jat-</i>	1/13	8%	
JUMP	<i>des-</i>	14/30	47%	
KILL	<i>tikoy-</i>	2/106	2%	
KNOW	<i>ona-</i>	618/618	100%	
PUT	<i>bat-</i>	109/167	65%	
RUN	<i>jayi</i>	2/44	5%	
SEARCH FOR	<i>sal</i>	17/129	13%	

SING		<i>lew</i>	34/56	61%	
SIT		<i>as</i>	24/96	25%	
THROW		<i>jara'</i>	9/23	39%	
WASH		<i>loj</i>	38/66	58%	

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

BE DRY:

pet-na=i "powlo di' werel-cho:-ni"

greet-DR=3PL lagoon REL dry-CLF.inside-VBLZ

'They call it "dried-out lake".'

(JGD_130907-08 064)

BREAK (TR.):

kat-a-pit-a=as

break-DR-BE.middle/half-LV=3N.AB

'It (i.e. the wind) broke (them, i.e. the trees) in halves.'

(Kujuylu' 023)

BUY:

rim-a-ye:lo usko ni-kis ney pa:luy, ye:lo

buy-DR-ice 3SG.M.AB OBL-ART.PL.AB DEF cold ice

'He buys ice (lit. he ice-buys) (of) that cold stuff, ice.'

(Antojos II 002)

CATCH:

jayna rey ja' yok-a-juyeni=as

DSC EPIST just catch-DR-person=3N.AB

'Now it just catches people.'

(HRR_120808-tigregente 286)

COOK:

jayna dej-a-mo'incho n-as wereycho

DSC cook-DR-manioc.mass OBL-ART.N roasting.pan

‘Then (we) cooked the chivé mass in a large roasting pan.’

(Chaco III 021)

COVER:

kas chok-a-kwa-n-fe-wa=∅=is

NEG cover-DR-BR.mouth-LN-CO-NMLZ=1SG=3PL.AB

‘I said, I didn’t cover them (in the vessel).’

(Tuncho 031)

CUT:

jayna tam-ba:kwa, jayna it tam-ba:kwa rey jayna

DSC cut-head DSC 1.INTR cut-head EPIST DSC

‘Then (I’ll) be without head (lit. head-cut-off), I’ll be without head then.’ (jokingly: when I cut off my head because I don’t remember things)

(AH, EA&AH 056; Haude 2016: 379)

DIE:

kayni-but-et

die-BR.mud-APPL

‘(They, i.e. the cows) die in the mud.’

(GCM_290806_4 073)

EAT:

n-os kay-a-waka-wa=us

OBL-ART.N.PST eat-DR-cow/meat-NMLZ=3.M.AB

‘(so that he could) eat meat’ (lit. ‘for his meat-eating’)

(HRR_120808-tigregente 368)

FALL:

tam-vo:s-et is loj-a-’oj-a=is juyeni

get.down-BE.wood-APPL ART.PL wash-DR-BE.clothes-LV=ART.PL person

‘The peoples’ laundry fell down.’

{EA 19, 156 sp} (Haude 2016: 370)

FEEL PAIN:

bo n-os kay-wa=sne tivij-chodowi:-ni †at

REAS OBL-ART.N.PST eat-NMLZ=3.F.AB ache-belly-VBLZ EV

‘Because when she ate, (she) had pain in her stomach.’

(EAO, Flaca 009)

GIVE (i):

n-as koro'-niwa kos ka:na kay<a>†e-cha:-ye

OBL-ART.N DEM.N.AB-NMLZ ART.N.AB food give<DR>-DR2-CLF.person

‘When I have food, I give (it) to people.’

(GCM_290806_3 236)

HIT:

jat-a-di:-n-et=∅=is

hit-DR-BR.nut/grain/seed-LN-APPL=1SG=3PL.AB

‘I hit the grains out of them.’ (lit. ‘I grain-hit them.’)

(HRR_2009_tape1_A 398)

JUMP:

chabo:na †at os des-ka-tolej-et daya'

cipió(Sp.) EV ART.N.PST jump-MULT-BR.branch-APPL DUR.NSTD

‘A bird was jumping around in the branches.’

(HRR_120808-tigregente 508)

KILL:

n-as chot tikoy-cha-jokme:-wa=∅

OBL-ART.N HAB kill-DR2-bird-NMLZ=1SG

‘Every time I slaughter chicken, (I get only the neck to eat).’

(EAO 12, 333j)

KNOW:

jo'mi rey ona-poy-na=∅ os rulrul

recently EPIST know-BR.animal-DR=1SG ART.N.PST jaguar

‘Only then I got to know (lit. to animal-know) the jaguar.’

<i>bat-a-vos-et-a-is</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>be~bet-kwa</i>
put-DR-CLF.pole/tree/wood-APPL-LV=3PL.AB	ART.N.PST	RDPL~BR.hide-ABSS
'They put the hide on a pole.'		
(HRR 120808-tigregente 187)		

asko *n-os* *ʔat* *jayi-siʔ-wa=as* *n-os* *siʔ-kwa*
 3.N.AB OBL-ART.N.PST EV run-BR.hole-NMLZ=3.N.AB OBL-ART.N.PST hole-ABSS
 ‘That’s when it ran into the hole.’
 (HRR 2009 tape1 A 203)

de<ja:~>jal, sal-a-ko'o, pul-a-lo:los, ja:mi.
 cook<MD~> search.for-DR-tree/wood sweep-DR-yard fetch.water
 'I cooked, went for firewood, swept the yard, fetched water.'
 (PCM Patrona 031)

ji<wa:>wa *bo* *as* *lew-a-bet-wa=∅* *no-kos* *li:wro*
 come<MD> REAS ART.N sing-DR-CLF.hide-NMLZ=1SG OBL-ART.N.AB book
 ‘(She) came so that I would read (to her) in the book.’
 (GCM 290806 3 273)

as-poy-e:t-e *n-is* *kori:di*
sit-BR.animal-APPL-NMLZ OBL-ART.PL.AB stick
'We rode on the sticks (i.e., our hobbyhorses).'
(EAO, Dichiyeye 013; Haude 2016: 386)

jara-t-lo- \dagger -kay=Ø *n-os* *to:mi*

throw-CLF.water-APPL-INV=1SG OBL-ART.N.PST water

‘(He) threw me in the water.’

(EAO Aros I 027)

WASH:

kas loj-a-‘oj-wa=∅ n-is dokwe, kaw-ra is dokwe
NEG wash-DR-CLF.clothes-NMLZ=1SG OBL-ART.PL my.clothes much-CLF.NTR ART.PL my.clothes

‘I didn’t wash my clothes, I had many clothes.’

(EAO Tomina’ 070)

Plains Cree

Specialist

Arok Wolvengrey

Corpus

Name: Ahenakew-Wolfart Texts

Recorded words/hours: 80,000-90,000 words

Type of data: spoken (narratives and conversations)

Further information: the corpus consists of the following texts:

Ahenakew, Alice. 2000. *āh-āyīṭaw isi ē-kī-kiskēyihṭahk maskihkiy / They knew both sides of medicine* (Freda Ahenakew & H.C. Wolfart, eds.). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Bear, Glecia, et al. 1998. *kōhkomīnawak otācimowiniwāwa / Our grandmothers’ lives as told in their own words* (Freda Ahenakew & H.C. Wolfart, eds.). Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center.

Kā-Nīpitēhtēw, Jim. 1998. *ana kā-pimwēwēhahk okakēskihkēmowina / The counselling speeches of Jim Kā-Nīpitēhtēw* (Freda Ahenakew & H.C. Wolfart, eds.). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Masuskapoe, Cecilia. 2010. *piko kīkway ē-nakacihtāt: kēkēk otācimowina ē-nēhiyawastēki* (H.C. Wolfart & Freda Ahenakew, eds.). Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics.

Minde, Emma. 1997. *kwayask ē-kī-pē-kiskinowāpahtihicik / Their example showed me the way* (Freda Ahenakew & H.C. Wolfart, eds.). Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press.

Vandall, Peter & Joe Douquette. 1987. *wāskahikaniwiyiniw-ācimowina / Stories of the house people* (Publications of the Algonquian Text Society) (Freda Ahenakew, ed.). Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press.

Whitecalf, Sarah. 1993. *kinēhiyāwīwininaw nēhiyawēwin / The Cree language is our identity: The Laronge lectures by Sarah Whitecalf* (Freda Ahenakew & H.C. Wolfart, eds.). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Description of noun incorporation in Plains Cree

In Plains Cree, incorporated nouns appear as medials between the two obligatory parts of the verb stem, i.e. the initial and final (Bakker 2006: 8-9).

References

Bakker, Peter. 2006. Algonquian verb structure: Plains Cree. In Grażyna J. Rowicka & Eithne B. Carlin (eds.), *What's in a verb? Studies in the verbal morphology of the languages of the Americas* (LOT Occasional Series 5), 3-27. Utrecht: LOT.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning		Translational equivalent	Remarks
BE HUNGRY		/hkatê-/ , /-(â)hkatoso-/	
BE SAD		/pîkiskât-/	
BURN (INTR.)	(i)	/-itê/	
	(ii)	/-hkahtê/	
	(iii)	/-iso/	
	(iv)	/hkaso/	
BUY		atāwê-	
CATCH		/kâhcit-/	
COOK	(i)	-hkatê ~-hkaso ~-hkat	
	(ii)	paminawaso-	
	(iii)	kîsitêpo-	
DIE		nîpi-	
FEAR		kost-	
FRIGHTEN		sêkih-	

GIVE	(ii)	<i>miy-</i>	
GO		<i>itohtë</i>	
HELP		<i>wîcih-</i>	
HIT	(i)	<i>/pakam-/</i>	
	(ii)	<i>/tâw-/</i>	
JUMP		<i>/kwâskwê-/, kwâskohti</i>	
KNOW		<i>kiskêyiht-, kiskêyim-</i>	
MAKE/DO		<i>/ihkê/, /ihkaw/</i>	
MEET		<i>nakiskaw</i>	
NAME		<i>wîhowin</i>	
PLAY		<i>mêtawê</i>	
PUT		<i>ah-, astâ-</i>	
RUN		<i>/-pahtâ/</i>	
SAY		<i>itwê</i>	
SEARCH FOR		<i>ninotaw-, niton-</i>	
SEE		<i>/(w)âp-/, (w)âpam- , (w)âpaht-</i>	
SHAVE		<i>kâskipât-, kâskipâso-</i>	
SING		<i>nikamo</i>	
SINK	(i)	<i>/kosâ-/</i>	
	(ii)	<i>/kotâw-/</i>	
SIT		<i>(-)api-</i>	
SIT DOWN		<i>nahapi-</i>	
TAKE		<i>/-ohtatâ/, /-ohtah/</i>	
TELL		<i>/ât-~/âc-/</i>	
THINK		<i>/-êyiht/ ~/êyim/</i>	
THROW		<i>wêpin-</i>	

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent	Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
ASK FOR	<i>nitom-</i>	1/18	6%	
BE DRY	<i>/pâhkw-/</i>	2/10	20%	
BREAK (TR.)	<i>/kaskat-/</i> , <i>/kask-/</i>	2/3	67%	
COVER	<i>/akw-</i> <i>/~akwan(â)-</i> <i>/</i>	3/5	60%	
CUT	<i>/kîsk-/</i>	2/23	9%	
EAT	<i>mow-</i>	0/25	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on a dictionary example
FALL	<i>/kaw-/</i>	0/24	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on a dictionary example
FEEL COLD	(i) <i>/kawat-</i> <i>/~kawaci-</i>	0/9	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on a dictionary example
	(ii) <i>/tahk-/</i>	1/8	13%	
FEEL PAIN	(i) <i>/têw-/~têy-/</i>	1/1	100%	
	(ii) <i>/wîsak-/</i>	4/16	25%	
GIVE	(i) <i>mêki-</i>	1/20	5%	
HAVE	<i>/o(t)-...-i/</i>			Obligatory noun incorporation. Not possible to get frequency data from the corpus.
HUNT	<i>/nôt-/</i>	10/21	48%	
KILL	<i>nîpah-</i>	1/65	2%	
LEAVE	<i>nakat-</i>	16/123	13%	
WASH	<i>/kîsîpêk-/</i> , <i>kîsîpêkin-</i>	8/29	28%	

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

ASK FOR:

[...]; *kîtahtawê kâ-kî-ay-ispayik ôm ôtê nakiwacîhk, nikâwiy aw ê-pê-nâh-nitomiskwêwâtikot pêyak êkotê môsâpêwa.*

kîtahtawê kâ-kî-ay~ispayik ôma ôtê nakiwaciy-ihk
eventually CNJ-PST-RDPL~VII.happen-3SG.IN IN.this over.here Sweetgrass-LOC
ni-kâwiy awa ê-pê-nâh~nitomiskwêwât-iko-t pêyak êkotê
1-NDA.mother AN.this CNJ-come-RDPL~ask.for.woman-INV-3 one over.there
môsâpêw-a
NA.bachelor-OBV

‘[...] eventually it happened over here at Sweetgrass Reserve, my mother was sought out for marriage by this one bachelor over there.’

(Corpus example)

BE DRY:

êkwa aya, ê-kî-âpacihtâhk aya, kâsîhkwêwiyâkan êkwa aya, pahkohkwêhon anima, pâhkohkwêhonis aya, ê-ohci-mosci-kisêpêkinihcik.

êkwa aya ê-kî-âpacihtâ-hk aya kâsîhkwêwiyâkan êkwa aya pahkohkwêhon
and umm CNJ-PST-VTI.USE-UNSPA umm NI.wash.basin and umm NI.face.towel
anima pâhkohkwêhon-is aya ê-ohci-mosci-kisêpêkin-ihk-ik
IN.that NI.face.towel-DIM HES CNJ-INS-manually-VTA.clean-UNSPA.3-PL

‘And, umm, a wash-basin was used and, umm, a face-towel, a face-cloth, umm, with which they were washed up.’

(Corpus example)

BREAK (TR.):

k-âti-kiskêyitamân, niy ês ôm ê-kaskâwikanêsiniyân – nicisk ês ôma kâ-kitâpahtamân!

kâ-ati-kiskêyit-am-ân niya êsa ôma ê-kaskâwikanêsiniyân

CNJ-PROG-VTI.know-THE-1SG 1SG EV FOC CNJ-VAI.break.back.in.fall-1SG

ni-cisk êsa ôma kâ-kitâpaht-am-ân

1-NDI.anus EV FOC CNJ-VTI.look.at-THE-1SG

‘Then it dawned on me that I had broken my back in the fall – and it was my own anus I was looking at!’

(Corpus example)

COVER:

êkwa ês âwa, Joe Minde ês âwa, niwîkimâkan êkwa (nik-êtâhkômâw, âsay êkwa ê-kî-nakasit), ê-kî-akwanâhkwêyâmot êsa kê-pîhtokwê-yâhk.

êkwa êsa awa, Joe Minde êsa awa ni-wîkimâkan êkwa ni-ka-itâhkôm-â-w
and EV this EV this 1-NDA.spouse now 1-FUT-VTA.be.related-DIR-3
âsay êkwa ê-kî-nakas-it ê-kî-akwanâhkwêyâmo-t êsa kê-pîhtokwê-yâhk
already now CNJ-PST-VTA.leave-3>1 CNJ-PST-VAI.cover.face.fleeing-3 EV CNJ-VAI.enter-1PL
'This was Joe Minde, my husband (I will call him by that kinship term even though he has already left me behind), he had hidden his face under the covers when we came in.'

(Corpus example)

CUT:

[...] tâpîtonêhpicikanihk êtokwê nânîkaw ê-s-~ ê-sêkopayiniyik pîwâpisk, kêkâc ês ê-kî-kîskicihcêpitikot, ê-simacîyit.

tâpîtonêhpicikan-ihk êtokwê nânîkaw ê-sêkopayin-iyik pîwâpisk
NA.bridle-LOC DUB somehow CNJ-VII.go.underneath-3PL.IN.OBV NI.metal
kêkâc êsa ê-kî-kîskicihcêpit-iko-t ê-simacî-yit
almost EV CNJ-PST-VTA.pull.finger.off-INV-3SG CNJ-VAI.rear.up-3SG.OBV
'[...] the metal on the bridle must have gotten caught under (the ring) somehow, and (the horse) almost tore her finger off when it reared up.'

(Corpus example)

EAT:

mow-âkon-ê-
eat-snow-VAI-
'eat snow'

(Dictionary example)

FALL:

kaw-âkon-ê-
down-snow-VAI-
'fall down into deep snow'

(Dictionary example)

FEEL COLD (i):

kawa-cihc-êwaci-

be.cold-hand-VAI-be.cold

‘feel cold on one’s hands’

(Dictionary example)

FEEL COLD (ii):

[...], *katisk ê-pê-takohtêt, âsay awa nâpêsis k-âti-nôkosit, mêton ê-tahkicihcêt, konita kê-ma-mawimoyit ê-otihtinât ana nôtikwêw.*

katisk ê-pê-takohtêt âsay awa nâpêsis k-âti-nôkosit, mêtoni

barely CNJ-come-VAI.arrive.3SG already this NA.boy CNJ-PROG-VAI.appear really

ê-tahkicihcêt konita kê-ma~mawimoyit ê-otihtinât

CNJ-VAI.have.cold.hands.3SG for.nothing CNJ-RDPL~VAI.wail.3SG.OBV CNJ-VTA.reach.DIR.3SG

ana nôtikwêw

that NA.old.woman

‘[...], just as he was arriving, already this boy was appearing, really he had cold hands, he was just whimpering as the old lady reached him.’

(Corpus example)

FEEL PAIN (i):

ê-têwistikwânêyan?

ê-têwistikwânêyan

CNJ-VAI.have.headache.2SG

‘Do you have a headache?’

(Corpus example)

FEEL PAIN (ii):

iyikohk mân ê~ê-wîsakitêhêyahk, oskayisiyiniwak kê-misiwanâcihisocik, oskinîkiwak êkwa oskinîkiskwêwak.

Iyikohk mâna ê-wîsakitêhê-yahk oskayisiyiniw-ak

so.much usually CNJ-VAI.have.heartache-1/2PL.INCL NA.young.person-PL

kê-misiwanâcihisocik oskinîkiw-ak êkwa oskinîkiskwêwak

CNJ-VAI.destroy.oneself-3PL NA.young.man-PL and NA.young.woman-PL

‘We are always so heart-broken, when the young people destroy themselves, the young men and women.’

(Corpus example)

GIVE (i):

[...] êtikwê êkot[ê] êkwa awa nipâpâ kâ-mêkiskwêwê-t niya.

êtikwê êkotê êkwa awa ni-pâpâ kâ-mêkiskwêwê-t niya

DUB over.there then this 1-NA.father CNJ-VAI.give.woman.away-3SG 1SG

‘[...] then I guess my father gave me away over there as a wife (in an arranged marriage).’

(Corpus example)

HAVE:

o-cahkisêhikan-i-

have-flint-have-

‘have a flint’

(Dictionary example)

HUNT:

êkotê êkwa ê-mâci-nôcacaskwêhk, môy niy ânima êkospî ê-ohci-misikitiyân, [...].

êkotê êkwa ê-mâci-nôcacaskwê-hk môy niya anima êkospî

over.there then CNJ-start-VAI.hunt.muskrat-UNSPA NEG 1SG FOC at.that.time

ê-ohci-misikiti-yân

CNJ-PST-VAI.be.big-1SG

‘Then muskrat-hunting was starting over there, I wasn’t big at that time, [...].’

(Corpus example)

KILL:

sôskwâc ê-kî-nipahâkonêcik pisiskiwak, apisimôsosak, ê-kî-wî-nipahâhkatosocik, [...].

sôskwâc ê-kî-nipahâkonê-cik pisiskiw-ak apisimôsos-ak,

merely CNJ-PST-VAI.die.from.snow-3PL NA.animal-PL NA.deer-PL

ê-kî-wî-nipahâhkatoso-cik

CNJ-PST-PRSP-VAI.starve.to.death-3PL

‘The animals simply died from the snow, the deer, they were going to starve to death, [...].’

(Corpus example)

LEAVE:

môy kayâs ôta aya kê-nakatikoyâhk, ê-kî-nakataskêt aya, ayîki-pîsim ê-mêkwâ-akimiht, [...].

môy kayâs ôta aya kê-nakat-iko-yâhk ê-kî-nakataskê-t aya ayîki-pîsim

NEG long.ago here HES CNJ-VTA.leave-INV-1PL CNJ-PST-VAI.die-3PL HES NA.frog.moon

ê-mêkwâ-akim-iht

CNJ-SIM-VTA.count-UNSPA.SG

‘It was not long ago here, ah, that he left us, that he died, ah, during April [...].’

(Corpus example)

WASH:

tânisi mân ê-kî-kisîpêkistikwânêyêk, kîkwây k-âpacihtânâwâw?

tânisi mâna ê-kî-kisîpêkistikwânê-yêk kîkwây k[it]-âpacihtâ-nâwâw

how usually CNJ-PST-VAI.wash.hair-2PL what 2-VTI.use-2PL

‘How did you used to wash your hair, what did you use?’

(Corpus example)

Yucatec Maya

Specialists

Nico Lehmann

Elisabeth Verhoeven

Corpus

Name: Yuctext Corpus

Recorded words/hours: 159,284 words

Type of data: spoken (mostly retellings and stories, but also conversations, prompted or staged data, and elicitation data)

Description of noun incorporation in Yucatec Maya

In Yucatec Maya, incorporating verbs have the following morphological template: specifier - base - distributive - incorporated noun - derivational operators - tense/aspect/mood - absolutive (Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 148). The incorporated noun follows the stem of the incorporating verb. Only one morpheme, the distributive suffix *-lan*, may be placed between the incorporating verb and the

incorporated noun. Derivational morphology, marking for aspect or mood, and the absolutive person marker may follow the incorporated noun, showing that the noun is morphosyntactically part of the verb. There is one case where the verbal base can be complex itself: overtly causativized verbs take the intransitive suffix *-aj* when combining with an incorporated noun (cf. Gutiérrez Bravo 2002, see e.g. *kíin-s-aj* ‘die-CAUS-INTR’ below).

References

- 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.
- Gutiérrez Bravo, Rodrigo. 2002. Formas verbales incorporadas transitivas en maya yucateco. In Paulette Levy (ed.), *Del cora al maya yucateco: Estudios lingüísticos sobre algunas lenguas indígenas mexicanas* (Estudios sobre Lenguas Americanas 2), 131-178. México: UNAM.

Verb meanings that were not found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Remarks
BE DRY			No (verbal) equivalent
BE HUNGRY			No (verbal) equivalent
BE SAD			No (verbal) equivalent
BURN (INTR.)		<i>eel</i>	
BUY		<i>man</i>	
COOK		<i>chak</i>	
COVER	(i)	<i>pix</i>	
	(ii)	<i>mak</i>	
DIE		<i>kíim</i>	
EAT		<i>jaan</i>	
FEAR		<i>saj</i>	
FEEL COLD			No (verbal) equivalent
FEEL PAIN			No (verbal) equivalent
GO		<i>bin</i>	

HAVE			No (verbal) equivalent
HELP		<i>áant</i>	
JUMP		<i>síit'</i>	
KNOW		<i>ojel</i>	
LEAVE	(i)	<i>p'at</i>	
	(ii)	<i>jook'</i>	
MAKE/DO		<i>meet</i>	
MEET		<i>nup-táan</i>	
NAME			No (verbal) equivalent
RUN		<i>áalkab</i>	
SAY		<i>a'al</i>	
SEE		<i>il</i>	
SHAVE		<i>ts'ik</i>	
SING		<i>k'ay</i>	
SINK (INTR.)		<i>em</i>	
SIT		<i>kul</i>	
SIT DOWN		<i>xéekt</i> POSS <i>báaj</i>	
TELL		<i>tsikbal</i>	
THINK		<i>tukul</i>	

Verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

Verb meaning	Translational equivalent		Raw frequency	Percentage	Remarks
ASK FOR		<i>k'áat</i>	22/239	9%	
BREAK (TR.)		<i>pa'</i>	2/14	14%	
CATCH		<i>chuk</i>	22/109	20%	
CUT	(i)	<i>ch'ak</i>	12/46	26%	
	(ii)	<i>xot</i>	4/60	7%	
	(iii)	<i>mus</i>	3/4	75%	

FALL		<i>lúub</i>	0/72	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation.
FRIGHTEN		<i>jáak'-s</i>	0/14	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on elicitation.
GIVE		<i>ts'a'</i>	3/496	0.6%	This verb means both 'give' and 'put'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings.
HIT		<i>k'ol</i>	0/16	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on an example from Lehmann and Verhoeven (2005: 149) and on elicitation.
HUNT		<i>ts'on</i>	0/45	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on an example from Blair (1964: 63, cited in Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 141, 147).
KILL		<i>kiin-s</i>	0/135	0%	Evidence for noun incorporation based on an example from Gutiérrez Bravo (2002: 145) and on elicitation.
PLAY		<i>báaxal</i>	5/49	10%	
PUT		<i>ts'a'</i>	3/496	0.6%	This verb means both 'give' and 'put'. This verb is included for both meanings, i.e. all examples are counted for both meanings.
SEARCH FOR		<i>kaxan</i>	3/33	9%	
TAKE		<i>ch'a'</i>	20/216	9%	
THROW		<i>pul</i>	4/56	7%	
WASH		<i>p'o'</i>	1/29	3%	

Examples of verb meanings that were found with noun incorporation

ASK FOR:

ka tu k'áatchi'itaj ti'e'

káa t=u k'áat-chi'i-t-aj ti'=e'

CONJ PFV=3.SBJ ask-mouth-TR-COMPL LOC=D3

‘and asked him’

(Corpus example: ref yuum_chaak_19.2)

BREAK (TR.):

Juáne', túun pa'a-muuk', mīn yaan ukiimil.

juáan=e' túun pa'a-muuk' mīn yaan u kíim-il

Juan=D3 PROG.3.SBJ break-strength PRESUM EXS 3.SBJ die-INCOMPL

‘Juan is in agony, it’s likely that he will die.’

(Corpus example: ref EMB_0792)

CATCH:

Ma', wa k-jé'elele' ku chukpachtikó'on.

ma' wáaj k=k je'el-el=e' k=u chuk-pach-t-ik-o'on

NEG if IPFV=1PL.SBJ repose-INCOMPL=D3 IPFV=3.SBJ catch-back-TR-INCOMPL-1PL.ABS

‘No, if we rest he will reach us.’

(Corpus example: ref HK'AN_170)

CUT (i):

Yan im bin ch'akche'.

yan in bin ch'ak-che'

DEB 1SG.SBJ go cut-tree

‘I will go chopping trees.’

(Corpus example: ref SME_0014)

CUT (ii):

Le ku ts'ó'okoj k xotxíwtik, [...].

le k=u ts'o'ok-ol k xot-xíiw-t-ik

DEF IPFV=3.SBJ finish-INCOMPL 1PL.SBJ cut-grass-TR-INCOMPL

‘After we finished weeding it, [...].’

(Corpus example: ref TRAB_028)

CUT (iii):

túun musiik'

táan u mus-iik'

PROG 3.SBJ cut-air

'He takes a breath.'

(Corpus example: ref RMC_0881)

FALL:

j lúub-óol-naj-en

PFV fall-mind-COMPL-1SG.ABS

'I got depressed.'

(Elicitation example: Amedee Colli Colli)

FRIGHTEN:

t-u jáak'-s-aj-óol-t-aj-en

PFV-3.SBJ get.scared-CAUS-INTR-mind-TR-COMPL-1SG.ABS

'He/she/it scared/amazed me.'

(Elicitation example: Amedee Colli Colli)

GIVE:

Ka tu jáajan ts'áak'abtaj u siya'o', ku ts'o'okole' ka tu kóochek'taj le mùuláo, [...]

káa t=u jáajan ts'a'a-k'ab-t-aj u silla=o' k=u ts'o'ok-ol=e' káa

CONJ PFV=3.SBJ hurriedly put-hand-TR-COMPL 3.POSS seat=D2 IPFV=3.SBJ finish-INCOMPL=D3 CONJ

t=u kóo-chek'-t-aj le mula=o'

PFV=3.SBJ kick-foot-TR-COMPL DEF mule=D2

'Then he quickly put his hand on its seat and then kicked the mule, [...].'

(Corpus example: ref hnazario_345.1)

HIT:

t-in k'óol-k'ab-t-aj

PFV-3.SBJ hit-hand-TR-COMPL

'I hit him with my hand.'

(Elicitation example: Amedee Colli Colli)

HUNT:

ts'on-kéej-naj-ij.

shoot-deer-COMPL-3SG.ABS

'He shot a deer.'

(Blair 1964: 63, cited in Gutiérrez Bravo 2002: 141, adapted to the official orthography)

KILL:

j kiin-s-aj-k'éek'en-naj-en

PFV die-CAUS-INTR-pig-COMPL-1SG.ABS

'I killed a pig.'

(Elicitation example: Amedee Colli Colli)

PLAY:

Tiin báaxalt'aantik le paalo'.

táan in báaxal-t'aan-t-ik le paal=o'

PROG 1SG.SBJ play-speech-TR-INCOMPL DEF child=D2

'I am kidding the child.'

(Corpus example: ref EMB_0439)

PUT:

Ka tu jáajan ts'áak'abtaj u siya'o', ku ts'o'okole' ka tu kóochek'taj le mùuláo,

káa t=u jáajan ts'a'a-k'ab-t-aj u silla=o' k=u ts'o'ok-ol=e' káa

CONJ PFV=3.SBJ hurriedly put-hand-TR-COMPL 3.POSS seat=D2 IPFV=3.SBJ finish-INCOMPL=D3 CONJ

t=u kóo-chek'-t-aj le mula=o'

PFV=3.SBJ kick-foot-TR-COMPL DEF mule=D2

'Then he quickly put his hand on its seat and then kicked the mule, (...).'

(Corpus example: ref hnazario_345.1)

SEARCH FOR:

jach yojel u kaxant'aant ba'ax u ya'al kex ma' jaaji'.

jach u y-ojel u kaxan-t'aan-t-Ø ba'ax u y-a'al kex-Ø ma'

really 3.SBJ 0-know 3.SBJ seek-speech-TR-SBJV what 3.SBJ 0-say-SBJV although NEG

jaaj=i'

truth=NEGF

‘He knows to find words for what to say even if it's not true.’

(Corpus example: ref ACC_0199.2)

TAKE:

jach tu yu'ubaj u ch'a'achi'ita'aj

jach t=u y-u'ub-aj u ch'a'a-chi'i-t-a'al

really PFV=3.SBJ 0-feel-COMPL 3.SBJ take-mouth-TR-INCOMPL.PASS

‘He heard it being mentioned.’

(Corpus example: ref ACC_0107)

THROW:

Tu pula'ajten le máako'.

t=u pul-ya'aj-t-aj-en le máak=o'

PFV=3.SBJ throw-malice-TR-COMPL-1SG.ABS DEF person=D2

‘The person bewitched (cursed) me.’

(Corpus example: ref ACC_0593)

WASH:

P'o'onook'najen.

p'o'o-nook'-naj-en

wash-dress-COMPL-1SG.ABS

‘I washed clothes.’

(Corpus example: ref BRICK_0055)

Abbreviations used

0 = no meaning

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

A = agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb

AB = absential

ABS = absolutive

ABSM = absolute morpheme

ABSS = absolute state
AN =animate
APF = adjective prefix
APPL = applicative
ART = article
BACK = background
BE = bound element
BR = bound root
CAUS = causative
CLF = classifier
CNJ = conjunct verb form
CO = co-participant
COMPL = completive
CON = construct case
CONJ = conjunction
CONSEC = consecutive
CONTU = continuous
COP = copula
COREF = coreferential
COS = change of state
D2 = distal deictic
D3 = contextually accessible deictic
DEB = debitive
DEF = definite
DEM = demonstrative
DEPR = depreciative
DIM = diminutive
DIR = direct
DR = bivalent direct
DR2 = secondary direct marker
DSC = discontinuative
DUB = dubitative

DUR = durative
EMPH = emphatic
EPIST = epistemic particle
ERG = ergative
EV = evidential
EXS = existential
F = feminine
FOC = focus
FRUST = frustrative
FUT = future
GEN = genitive
HAB = habitual
HES = hesitation
IMPS = impersonal
IN = inanimate
INCL = inclusive
INCOMPL = incompletive
INS = instrumental
INT = intentional
INTR = intransitive
INTS = intensifying
INV = inverse
IPFV = imperfective
IRR = irrealis
JUSS = jussive
LK = linker
LN = linking nasal
LOC = locative
LV = linking vowel
M = masculine
M1 = subgroup of masculine nouns
MD = middle voice
MULT = multiple
MOTPURP = motion purposive

N = neuter
NA = animate noun
NAR = narrative
NCIRC = circumstantial nominalizer
NDA = dependent animate noun
NDI = dependent inanimate noun
NEG = negation/negative
NEGF = negative final
NI = inanimate noun
NMLZ = nominalizer/nominalization
NPF = noun prefix
NSTD = non-standing
NTR = neutral
OBJ = object
OBL = oblique
OBV = obviative
PASS = passive
PFV = perfective
PL = plural
POSS = possessive
PRESUM = presumably
PRESDEM = present demonstrative
PRF = perfect
PROG = progressive
PROXDEM = proximate demonstrative
PRS = present
PRSP = prospective aspect
PST = past
PURP = purposive
RMP = remote past
REAS = reason
RDPL = reduplication
REFL = reflexive
REL = relative

SBJ = subject
SBJV = subjunctive
SG = singular
SIM = simultaneous
SS = same subject
TEL = telic
THE = theme
TMP = temporal subordinate
TR = transitive
UNSP = unspecified
UNSPA = unspecified actor
VAI = animate intransitive verb
VENT = ventive
VBLZ = verbalizer/verbalization
VII = inanimate intransitive verb
VLNK = verbal linker
VTA = transitive animate verb
VTI = transitive inanimate verb
WTE = weather/time/environment morpheme