Noun Incorporation in Blackfoot

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Abstract

By some accounts (Frantz 1971; Mithun 1984; Gerdts 1998) Blackfoot has robust noun incorporation phenomena. Here we explore the claim that nouns can incorporate into verbs in Blackfoot with reference to newly elicited data. Several distinct types of incorporation-like phenomena emerge, some of which are not fully productive, though more work is needed . . .

1 Introduction

There are four distinct noun incorporation-like phenomena in Blackfoot.

1.1 Type I: Light Verbs/ Denominals

Blackfoot has a small number of verbal forms that require incorporation of an independent nominal. The order of elements is $Nv$, where $N$ is a nominal and $v$ is the so-called light verb. One thing to note that will become important during comparison with other noun-incorporation-like phenomena is that the argument specification (i.e., transitivity and animacy requirements) is specified by the light verb itself.

Table (1) lists the light verbs identified so far with their meanings and valencies (abbreviations: $\text{SUBJ} =$ subject; $\text{OBJ} =$ direct object; $\text{IN} =$ incorporated nominal).

\begin{align*}
X-yi / -∅ & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ be a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-wa’i / -mi & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ come to be a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-{{h}}kaa & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ have a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-{{h}}ko & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ cause $\text{OBJ}$ to come to have a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-{{imm}} & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ feels for $\text{OBJ}$ as a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-ipitsi & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ be a habitual $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-ipitsi & \quad \text{‘$\text{SUBJ}$ be obsessed with $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-inaattsii & \quad \text{‘$\text{IN}, \text{SUBJ}$ look like a $\text{IN}$’} \\
X-inaamm & \quad \text{‘$\text{AN}, \text{SUBJ}$ look like a $\text{IN}$’}
\end{align*}

1
The following forms exemplify each of these light verbs in their obligatory noun-incorporating constructions. Light verbs are in bold, incorporated nominals are underlined.

(2) *ninaawa*
    *ninaa*-0-wa
    **man-be-3SG**
    ‘he is a man; he is a chief.’
    • Frantz (1991, p. 109); BLD (2008, #15644)

(3) *inawa’si*
    *ninaa-wa’si*
    **chief-become**
    ‘become an appointed leader, e.g. a chief, councillor.’
    • Frantz and Russell (1995); BLD (2008, #2257)

(4) *ihkatsi*
    *mohkát-yi*
    **leg-have**
    ‘he has legs.’
    • Comments: Goal here was to see if BB was familiar with the form “ikinakim” “have legs” from F&R (1995): see formid 15143 and formid 2658.
    • B. Bullshields: BLD (2008, #15142)

(5) *iimitam’sska*
    *imitá-m-hkaa*
    **dog-SENT.POSS-come.to.have**
    ‘he bought a dog.’¹
    • B. Bullshields: BLD (2008, #15506)

(6) *iihpokónsskoyii*
    *anní*
    *John*
    **pokón-hko-yii**
    **ann-yi**
    **John**
    **ball-cause.come.to.have-DIR**
    **DEM-OBV**
    **John**
    ‘he bought a ball for John.’
    • B. Bullshields: BLD (2008, #15169)

¹It appears that when the possessum of a possessive construction (understood in some general sense . . . ) denotes a sentient individual the suffix -(i)m is obligatorily appended: *otómitam* ‘his dog’; *imitámi* ‘he has a dog’; *iimitam’sska* ‘he bought a dog’; *nitakomita(s)híka* Target: ‘I will get a dog’; *nitakomitamásskowaa anní John* ‘I’m gonna buy a dog for John’
(7)  \textit{nitsikoo’sima}
\textit{nit-o’ko’s-imm-aa}
\textit{1-offspring-feel.for.as-DIR}
‘I adopted him.’

- BLD (2008, #15308)

(8)  \textit{kamo’siipitsi}
\textit{kamo’-si-ipitsi}
\textit{thief-be.a.habitual}
‘robber, habitual thief.’

- Comments: The present morphemic analysis effectively proposes that “ipitsi” can compose with a nominal (contra the tendency for composition with verbal forms). Is the end result truly a nominal or can it also be a verb with the following meaning: “he habitually steals; he is a thief”?
- Frantz and Russell (1995); BLD (2008, #957)

(9)  \textit{nitsikaakiipitsi}
\textit{nit-iiik-ipitsi}
\textit{1-INT-woman-be.obsessed.with}
‘I am obsessed with women (male speaker) cf aakii+ipitsi.’

- Frantz and Russell (1995); BLD (2008, #7841)

(10)  \textit{áohpiikiinaattsi}
\textit{mohpiik-in-inaattsi}
\textit{tooth-look.like}
‘corn.’

- Frantz and Russell (1995); BLD (2008, #1373)
- The result here is a nominal (NIN); it is not clear whether it is a deverbal \textit{á}-prefixed nominal. If it were, this would imply that \textit{áohpiikiinaattsi} could mean ‘it looks like a tooth’.

Not all nouns can fulfill the light verb requirement. Appears that only grammatically animate nouns may occur with these light verbs

Interpretation is vague: singular or plural.

Somewhat similar to denominals in English, such as \textit{-ify}: \textit{The evil witch frogified the poor prince.}

Examples.
1.1.1 Possession

There Blackfoot provides three ways to express the proposition that a possessor $x$ possesses a possessum $y$.

**denominal possession**

First, one may use the light verb -mi / -∅ with incorporation of the possessum. The resultant verbal complex is an intransitive verb with possessor is experiencer (thematic role) is subject (grammatical role).

(11) *nitsímitam’i*
    nit-imitá-mi
    1-dog-possess
    ‘I have a dog’
    ‘I have dogs’

    • BLD (2008, #15228)

(12) *imitámi*
    imitá-mi
    dog-possess
    ‘he has a dog.’

    • BLD (2008, #15297)

(13) *nítohpoosimihpinnaan*
    nit-poos-mi-hpinnaan
    1-cat-possess-1PL
    ‘we have a cat’
    ‘we have cats.’

    • Comments: Very interesting morphology here. Contrast this with ‘our cat’ *nítohpoosiminnaan* (form 15497) where the 1PL suffix is the ‘contracted’ -innaan.

    • BLD (2008, #15498)

(14) *iihpóósimi*
    poos-mi
    cat-possess
    ‘he has a cat.’

    • BLD (2008, #15298)

Note that this possessive denominalization does not appear to work with the “medial” counterparts of independent nominal forms. In the following example, the medial meaning ‘leg’ cannot incorporate with to form a predicate meaning ‘has a leg/legs’.
The incorporated nominal may be complex as in the following example where an adjunct-nominal complex is incorporated.

(16) \textit{nits'topookam'i}
\begin{flushleft}nit-ni't-pooká'mi
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}1-one-child-possess
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}‘I have one child.’\end{flushleft}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel
  \item BLD (2008, #15261)
\end{itemize}

However, it is unclear why the simplex \textit{pooká} cannot be so incorporated.

(17) \textit{*nitopookam'i}
\begin{flushleft}nit-pooká'mi
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}1-child-possess
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}‘I have a child; I have children.’\end{flushleft}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Comments: Note: pronounced by researcher with voiceless final vowel.
  \item With this form I was trying to see whether one could express that one has children using a denominal containing pooká.
  \item BLD (2008, #15264)
\end{itemize}

With a grammatically animate non-sentient possessum, the \textit{-mi} suffix is apparently optional\footnote{Note: perhaps \textit{ko} is not a good verb to use since it has been claimed to be ambiguous between an animate and an inanimate form.}. I posit a phonologically null light verb \textit{-∅} meaning ‘possess non-sentient’.

(18) \textit{nitothko's}
\begin{flushleft}nit-kos'-∅
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}1-dish-possess.NS
\end{flushleft}
\begin{flushleft}‘I have dishes.’\end{flushleft}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Comments: Not a good response to whose dish is this? (form 15360).
  \item Also elicited on June 26, 2008.
  \item Can this mean ‘I have a dish’?
  \item ‘my dish’ is \textit{noohko}'s
  \item BLD (2008, #15311)
\end{itemize}
(19) *nitōko’sim’i*
    nit-ko’s-mi
    1-dish-possess
    ‘I have dishes.’
    • BLD (2008, #15240)

(20) *ɨhhoo’si*
    ko’s-i
    dish-possess
    ‘he has dishes.’
    • Comments: If we assume that Beatrice fails to pronounce or devoices the
    -wa 3SG verbal suffix on verbs, then the contrast between the present form
    and *nitōko’s I have dishes* can be explained by the following morpheme
    breakdowns: (1) ko’s-i-wa dish-PRED?-3SG and (2) nit-ko’s-i
    1-dish-PRED?.
    • BLD (2008, #15312)

Some grammatically animate non-sentient possessums are questionable in this con-
struction.

(21) *?nitststo’an*
    nit-isttoán-∅
    1-knife-possess.NS
    ‘I have a knife.’
    • Comments: Speaker’s comment: “it sounds funny.”
    • BLD (2008, #15523)

With inalienably possessed animate sentient nominals, the -mi suffix appears op-
tional.

(22) *nitśiko’s*
    nit-oko’s
    1-offspring
    ‘I have children.’
    • Comments: This form was re-elicited on June 19, 2008 and Beatrice
    pronounced it as “nitśl1koo’s”, that is with more of a high back vowel
    than a mid back one.
    • Note: ‘my children’ is noko’siks
    • BLD (2008, #15273)
(23) iikóó’si
oko’s-i
offspring-possess
‘he has children.’

- Comments: Originally elicited on June 12, 2008 and transcribed as “iiko’si”, the present form is an amendment based on an elicitation on June 19, 2008.
- BLD (2008, #15274)

(24) nitsíkoo’sima
nit-oko’s-im-wa
1-offspring-POSS-3
‘I have children.’

- BLD (2008, #15309)

Again, a complex nominal (in this case ni’t-oko’s) can be incorporated into a possessive structure.

(25) nitsítoko’s
nit-ni’t-oko’s
1-one-offspring
‘I have one child.’

- BLD (2008, #15268)

This type of construction does not appear to work with nominals above a certain degree of morphological complexity. (Note that iihtáísinaaki’p ‘camera’ is an animate gender noun3.)

(26) *nitsiíhtáísinaaki’hp
nit-iiht-á-sínaki-hp-yi-∅
1-LINK-IMPF-make.image-NOM-INV.NOM-poss.NOM-NS
‘I have a camera.’

- Comments: Speaker’s comment: some words are old ones and you can put them together like that. The implied contrastive ellipsis is (I believe) that you can’t put a new word like the word for chair into such a verbal possessive construction.
- Try the following: nitsíihtáísinaaki’p(i)

3Possessed nominalizations exhibit puzzling morphological complexity in Blackfoot. The word for ‘camera’ when unpossessed (iihtáísinaaki’p) contains the so-called first person inclusive plural nominalizer (21NOM)-’o’p (perhaps paraphrasable as ‘what one makes images with’) but when possessed, as in ‘my camera’, the elsewhere nominalizer (NOM)-’hp is present: nitsóhtaisinaaki’hp (perhaps paraphrasable as ‘what I make pictures with’).
However, certain equally complex nominals do occur in this construction.

(27) *nitsiiksistomotaamahaani*’
    nit-iksissto-omat-omáähkaa-mi
    1-without.apparent.cause-start-move-possess
    ‘I have a car.’

    • Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel. Here is another example of a complex nominal with “3-” IMPF in independent form but lacking this putatively aspectual adjunct in a denominal verbal construction

    • BLD (2008, #15285)

*inaani*

Second, one may use the independent verb *inaani* ‘possess VAI’.

This construction works with nominals that denote non-sentient entities, whether they be grammatically animate or inanimate.

(28) *´amo* *koo’s* *nitsinaan*
    amo   ko’s   nit-naani
    DEM  dish   1-possess
    ‘I own this dish.’

    • Comments: I am pretty sure *nitsinaan* is the predicate here, i.e., that the morphology is *nit-inaani* “1-possess” and not *nit-naan* “1-possession”...

    • BLD (2008, #15501)

(29) *nitsínaan* *isttoan*
    nit-naani  isttoán
    1-possess  knife
    ‘I have a knife; I own a knife.’

    • BLD (2008, #15524)

(30) *nitsínaani* *iihtásinaakio’pi*
    nit-naani  iiht-á-sínaaki-o’p-yi
    1-possess  LINK-IMPF-make.image-21NOM-1N.SG
    ‘I own a camera.’

    • Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on “nitsínaani”.

    • BLD (2008, #15520)

(31) *nitsínaan* *ko’si*
    nit-naani  ko’s-yi
    1-possess  dish-NSPEC
    ‘I own dishes.’
• BLD (2008, #15243)

This verb appears to be incompatible with sentient objects (cf. speaker’s comment).

(32) *nitsinaani őmi  poos
    nit-inaani om-yi  poos
    1-possess DEM-OBV cat
    ‘I own that cat.’

• Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on “nitsinaani”. Why did BB say “őmi” here instead of the proximate/animate “őmi”? Speaker’s comment: “‘nitsinaani’ is for things.”

• BLD (2008, #15499)

Perhaps the above example is ungrammatical because (a) I should have said oma poos and (b) a pseudo-intransitive cannot take a full DP argument.

The following example shows that inaani cannot co-occur with certain sentient nominals. Perhaps this is not truly ungrammatical but a result of the fact that persons cannot be owned…

(33) *nitsínäan oko’s
    nit-inäani oko’s
    1-possess offspring
    ‘I own a child.’

• BLD (2008, #15271)

The verb inaanat is the VTA counterpart of inaani.

(34) nitsínäanata  oma  poos
    nit-inaanat-aa om-wa  poos
    1-possess-DIR DEM-AN.SG cat
    ‘I own that cat.’

• Comments: The VTA form meaning “possess; own” used here is not in F&R (1995) although the VAI and VTI forms “inaani” and “inaanatoo” are.

• BLD (2008, #15245)

The verb inaanatoo is the VTI counterpart of inaani.

(35) nitsínäanatoo’pa  omi  itáísoyo’pi
    nit-inaanatoo-hp-wa om-yi  it-a-iso-oooyi-hp-yi
    1-possess-TL.TH-3SG DEM-IN.SG LOC-IMPF-on-eat-NOM-IN.SG
    ‘I own that table.’

• Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on verb
itstaki

Thirdly, one may use the independent verb *itstaki* meaning ‘have’ or ‘have on hand’.

(36) *nitsitstaki isttoan*

nit-itstaki isttoán
1-have knife
‘I have a knife.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on “nitsitstaki”
- BLD (2008, #15525)

(37) *nitsitstaki itáisoyo’pi*

nit-itstaki it-á-iso-ooyi-o’p-yi
1-have INT-DUR-on-eat-21NOM-IN.SG
‘I have a table (on hand).’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on verb. Comment: could be an extra table
- BLD (2008, #15237)

(38) *nitsítstaki aiksistomatomahkaa*

nit-itstaki á-iksissto-omat-omáahkaa
1-have IMPF-without.apparent.cause-start-move
‘I have a car on hand.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on verb
- BLD (2008, #15286)

This construction is unavailable with nominals that denote sentient things.

(39) *nitsitstaki poos*

nit-itstaki poos
1-have cat
‘I have a cat.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on verb
- BLD (2008, #15236)
1.1.2 Acquisition

The event of acquiring a thing can be expressed via light verb \(-hkaa\) in Blackfoot.

(40) \(iimitam'sska\)

\(imitáá-m-hkaa\)

\(dog-???-acquire\)

‘he bought a dog.’

- BLD (2008, #15506)

(Note: Frantz glosses this as ‘acquire’ but BB seems most often translate it as ‘buy’, although not always)

(41) \(iihpokón'sskowaa\) \(anná\) \(noko's\)

\(pokon-hko-aa\) \(ann-wa\) \(n-okó's\)

\(ball-provide.to-DIR\) \(DEM-AN.SG\) \(1-offspring\)

‘my child got a ball as a present.’

- Comments: I believe this is a transitive form with unspecified actor.

- BLD (2008, #15013)

It appears that \(-hkaa\) is incompatible with grammatically inanimate objects.

(42) \(*anná\) \(iiitáíssoo'ao'pskka\)

\(ann-wa\) \(it-á-iso-opii-o'p-hkaa\)

\(DEM-PROX\) \(LOC-IMPF-on-sit-21NOM-acquire\)

‘he bought a chair.’

- Comments: The morpheme gloss reflects the form that I was trying to elicit from Beatrice. However, looking at the form, it is very unclear why I pronounced it the way I did. It would be good to test ann3 \(iit31soopao'pskka\).

- BLD (2008, #15508)

(43) \(*anná\) \(iiitáíssoopao'pihka\)

\(ann-wa\) \(it-á-iso-opii-o'p-yi\)

\(DEM-PROX\) \(LOC-IMPF-on-sit-21NOM-acquire\)

‘he bought a chair.’

- BLD (2008, #15509)

(44) \(iihpóómmaa\) \(iiitáíssoopao'pi\)

\(ohpommaa\) \(it-á-iso-opii-o'p-yi\)

\(buy\) \(LOC-IMPF-on-sit-21NOM-IN.SG\)

‘he bought a thing that you sit on; he bought a chair.’
-hkaa occurs with deverbal nominals but (as with -hko below) with significant loss of morphology. The independent form for ‘table’ is itáiso’yó’p.

(45) nitsísöyo’sska
    nit-iso-ooyi-hka
    1-on-eat-acquire
    ‘I bought a table.’

-hkaa-derived verbs can occur with tense/ modal marking.

(46) *isttoan’sska
    isttoán-hka
    knife-acquire
    ‘he bought a knife.’

- Comments: Beatrice recognized what I was trying to express, but the form did not sound correct to her.
- BLD (2008, #15179)

(47) nitáakotosóyo’sska
    nit-áak-oto-iso-ooyi-hkaa
    1-FUT-go.to.do-on-eat-acquire
    ‘I am going to go buy a table.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel.
- BLD (2008, #15184)

(48) nitáakomitamsska
    nit-áak-imitáá-m-hkaa
    1-FUT-dog-?-acquire
    ‘I am going to buy a dog.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel. Volunteered form. Very interesting: what is the mysterious “m” that appears to be necessary here?
- BLD (2008, #15190)

(49) nitáakohonokáömítamsska
    nit-áak-ponoka-imitáá-m-hkaa
    1-FUT-elk-dog-?-acquire
    ‘I am going to buy a horse.’
Again, the ‘m’ must be present with incorporated ‘dog’.

(50) *nitáakomitahka
nit-áak-imitáá-hkaa
1-FUT-dog-acquire
‘I will get a dog.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel.
- BLD (2008, #15192)

(51) *nitáakomitasska
nit-áak-imitáá-hkaa
1-FUT-dog-acquire
‘I will get a dog.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel
- BLD (2008, #15187)

**Other ways of expressing acquisition**

Use of the verb ohpommaa ‘buy (vai)’.

(52) nitsítóhpommaa itáiso’pi
nit-oto-ohpommaa iit-á-isoo-yi-hp-yi
1-go.to.do-buy.AI LOC-IMPF-on-eat-NOM-IN.SG
‘I went to buy a table.’

- Comments: Shouldn’t we expect a vai verb here, i.e., like “ophommaa” “buy (s.t.) (vai)”.
- BLD (2008, #15182)

### 1.1.3 Provision

The event of providing a thing to another person can be expressed via light verb -hko in Blackfoot.

It is interesting that animate non-sentient nominals can be incorporated with -hko but not with -hkaa.

(53) nitsísttoan’sskowaa
nit-isttòa-hko-aa
1-knife-provide.to-DIR
‘I bought him a knife.’

- Comments: Interesting that this form should be accepted while “*isttoan’sska” (form 15531) “he bought a knife” was rejected.
Sentient nominals cannot incorporate with -hko without the suffix -m.

(57) *iihpoosskoyii anní John
poos-hko-yii ann-yi John
cat-provide.to-DIR DEM-OBV john
‘he bought a cat for John.’

BLD (2008, #15170)

Interesting that deverbal nominals can incorporate with -hko yet with significant loss of morphology. Note that the independent form meaning ‘table; lit: where one eats upon’ is itíásoyo’pi (iit-á-iso-ooyi-’p-yi) yet the incorporated form appears to retain only the ‘on’ (iso-) and ‘eat’ (ooyi) morphemes.

(58) nitsísoyo’sskowaa
nit-iso-ooyi-hko-aa
1-on-eat-provide.to-DIR
‘I bought a table for him.’

BLD (2008, #15178)

other ways of expressing provision

Use of the verbal root ohpomm with the benefactive suffix -ol -omo. In this construction, the recipient is the direct object and the theme is the so-called secondary object.
These independent verbs do not appear to be able to productively participate in noun incorporation.

(60) *nitáakomitéamohpommataa
    nit-áak-imítáá-m-ohpommat-aa
    1-FUT-dog-?-buy-DIR
    ‘I’m gonna buy a dog for him.’
    • BLD (2008, #15195)

(61) *nitáakomitéamohpomma
    nit-áak-imítáá-m-ohpommaa
    1-FUT-dog-?-buy
    ‘I’m gonna but a dog.’
    • Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel.
    • BLD (2008, #15196)

1.1.4 Emotion

The state of feeling a certain way towards a sentient being seems to be expressible via the root -imm. This root forms VTA verbs, while its counterparts -i’tsi and i’taki form VTI and VAI verbs respectively.

- ihtsiyiimm ‘admire VTA’
- ihtsiyi’tsi ‘admire VTI’
- ohkówaitisi ‘find useful or handy VTI’
- ohkowaimm ‘find useful or beneficial or helpful VTA’
- ohko ‘have the wherewithal for ADT’
- omaitisi ‘believe VTI’
- omaitaki ‘believe VAI’

Nominals can compose with -imm.

(62) nitsítkoo’sima
    nit-oko’s-imm-aa
    1-offspring-feel-DIR
    ‘I adopted him.’
    • BLD (2008, #15308)
(63) *onnimm*
inn-imm
father-feel
‘develop an emotional attachment for as a father.’

- BLD (2008, #3362)

(64) *ohkoimm*
ohkó-imm
son-feel
‘adopt as son or develop an emotional attachment for as a son.’

- BLD (2008, #3247)

Expressing that something looks like or resembles another thing is expressed with *inaattsii*.

(65) *áóhpiikiinaattsii*
mohpíik-in-inaattsii
tooth-look.like
‘corn.’

- BLD (2008, #1373)

(66) *áótooksiinaattsii*
mótookis-in-inaattsii
kidney-look.like
‘bean.’

- BLD (2008, #1257)

(67) *aamio’kakikinaattsii*
mamí-mó’kakíik-in-inaattsii
fish-spine-look.like
‘muskrat root (bitter mot), *Acores calamus.*’

- BLD (2008, #1656)

(68) *ohtookiinaattsii*
mohtóókis-in-inaattsii
ear-look.like
‘dried apples, lit: appear like ears.’

- BLD (2008, #1412)
1.2 Type II—NV—True Incorporation

In this construction, independent intransitive verbs can incorporate with nominals that would otherwise be the direct objects of their transitive counterparts.

In complementarity with the habitual interpretation of these forms, the imperfective aspectual marker seems obligatory (although perhaps the past habitual marker aisooka-can be substituted for the imperfective).

(69) nitámitaoy
    nit-á-imitáa-ooyi
    1-IMPF-dog-eat
    ‘I eat dogs.’

    • BLD (2008, #15538)

(70) nitáhoossoy
    nit-á-poos-ooyi
    1-IMPF-cat-eat
    ‘I eat cats.’

    • BLD (2008, #15539)

The following examples require further consideration . . . The first of the following four forms appears to be distinct from the second, although perhaps it was just a mistake on the speaker’s part. That is, “buy” seems like a stretch as a gloss for ohko ‘give’ . . .

(71) nitohponohkowa
    nit-pókón-ohko-wa
    1-ball-give-3
    ‘I bought him a ball.’

    • BLD (2008, #15085)

(72) iihpónsskoyii anní John
    pokón-hko-yii ann-yi John
    ball-provide.to-DIR DEM-OBV john
    ‘he bought a ball for John.’

    • BLD (2008, #15169)

(73) *nítokonohkotaa anná noko’s
    nit-pókón-ohkot-aa ann-wa n-oko’s
    1-ball-give-DIR DEM-PROX 1-offspring
    ‘I gave a ball to my child.’

    • Comments: Attempt to incorporate “pok2n” “ball” into “ohkot” “give”. Contrast form with formid 15015.
• BLD (2008, #15083)

(74) \*nîtohpokonohkotaa anná noko’s
nit-pokón-ohkot-aa ann-wa n-oko’s
1-ball-give-DIR DEM-PROX 1-offspring
‘I gave a ball to my child.’

• Comments: Another unsuccessful attempt to incorporate “ball” into “give”. Beatrice had some hesitation with this form but ultimately decided it was no good.

• BLD (2008, #15084)

Animate non-sentient nominals appear non-compatible in this position.

(75) \*nîtsítstoanoyi
nit-isttoán-ooyi
1-knife-eat
‘I eat knives.’

• BLD (2008, #15540)

To express the intended meaning, a non-incorporating form must be used.

(76) ñowats\* isttowais
á-oowat-yii isttoán-iksi
IMPF-eat-DIR knife-AN.PL
‘he eats knives.’

• Comments: Speaker’s comment (paraphrased): this form, i.e., the one where “isttowais” is after the verb, is more shocking than the form with the opposite ordering.

• BLD (2008, #15541)

Certain nominals can occur with certain verbs and not others.

(77) dyaamoyi’pooyi
á-yaam-maoó-i’poyi
IMPF-twisted-mouth-speak
‘he is talking with a twisted mouth.’

• Comments: See form “yaamoyi’l’pooyi” (formid 2717) meaning “joke or jest from a twisted mouth”.

• BLD (2008, #15295)

(78) \*áyaamoyi’pápisa
á-yaam-maoó-ipápisa
IMPF-twisted-mouth-yell
‘he’s yelling from a twisted mouth.’
• Comments: Researcher wanted to see if the “twisted mouth” incorporation was productive and could be used with the predicate “ip3pisa” “yell”.

• BLD (2008, #15296)

### 1.3 Type III—Vn—Verb plus Medial

A set of verbs is able to occur with a medial nominal in the verbal complex.

Medials are a small set of morphemes that denote parts of the human body or basic elemental entities (i.e., wood, liquid). In general, the medial does not resemble its independent counterpart(s).

- isttsi ‘XSUBJ’s ZMED hurts’
- ipak ‘XSUBJ hit YOBJ’s ZMED’
- yåak ‘XSUBJ change shape of YOBJ as a ZMED’
- yåak ‘XSUBJ change shape of Y’s ZMED’
- ssi ‘XSUBJ wipe or wash Y’s ZMED VTA’
- ssi ‘XSUBJ wipe or wash X’s ZMED VAT’
- apak ‘XSUBJ’s ZMED is wide VAT’

(79) nitsåtsåtsikånikå
    nit-isttsi-ikanikå
    1-pain-legs
    ‘my legs ache.’

• Comments: Voiceless final vowel

• BLD (2008, #15144)

(80) nitsåpåksåkåoka
    nit-ipak-ika-ok-wa
    1-hit-foot-INV-3SG
    ‘he hit me on the legs.’

• Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel. This form volunteered after I unsuccessfully tried “ipâkksåkinikå” (see formid 15149).

• BLD (2008, #15150)

(81) nitsåpåksåkåkå
    nit-ipak-ika-aa
    1-hit-foot-DIR
    ‘I hit him on the legs.’

• BLD (2008, #15153)

(82) nitsåpåksåstooki-oyokåka
    nit-ipak-stooki-oka-wa
    1-hit-ear-INV-3SG
    ‘he hit me on the ears.’
• BLD (2008, #15154)

(83) *nitsipaksstoookiayaa*

nit-ipak-sstooki-aa
1-hit-ear-DIR

‘I hit him on the ears; I swatted him on the ears.’

• BLD (2008, #15155)

(84) *nitsípakyokínyoka*

nit-ipak-yo'kin-ok-wa
1-hit-chest?-INV-3SG

‘he hit me on my chest.’

• Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel. BB volunteered this form and initially translated it as “he hit me on my back”. Is something like “yo’kin” the medial form for “chest”? See “31mmoyo’kinimitaat” “lion, lit: fur chested dog” (formid 784) and “m32kayis” “breast; chest” (formid 1345).

• BLD (2008, #15156)

(85) *nitsipaksskioka*

nit-ipak-sski-ok-wa
1-hit-face-INV-3SG

‘he swatted me in the face.’

• BLD (2008, #15157)

(86) *nitsípaksskíniyoka*

nit-ipak-hskin-ok-wa
1-hit-back-INV-3SG

‘he hit me in the back.’

• Comments: Note: devoiced final vowel. Sounded to me like a geminate “k” in the verb root, but perhaps the expected geminate “s” confused me. The last “i” in the form transcription is unaccounted for and may signal the presence of a final (“si” or “I”)?

• BLD (2008, #15159)

(87) *nitáaksikaki*

nit-yáak-ika-aaki
1-arrange-foot-PS.INTR

‘I bent my legs.’

• Comments: Note: devoiced final vowel.

• BLD (2008, #15165)

20
(88) nitáakskínyaki
nit-yáak-hskin-aaki
1-arrange-back-PS.INTR
‘I bent my back.’

- Comments: Note: devoiced final vowel. Glide after second nasal suggests another morpheme hidden in here...
- BLD (2008, #15167)

(89) nitsyyaasksiksí’pa
nit-yáak-iksi-hp-wa
1-shape-wood-TI.TH-3SG
‘I carved it.’

- Comments: Compare form with formid 3860 where “yaakaahkio’tsi” means “shape by hand” and where the apparent final “aahkio’tsi” appears to mean “by hand”. I wonder whether the wood medial could occur here too: “yaaksIKSIaahkio’tsi”.
- BLD (2008, #15001)

(90) nítsiiikaawaatstima
nit-si-ika-atw-yii-m-wa ann-wa Sam
1-wipe-foot-TRANS-DIR-???-PROX DEM-PROX sam
‘I washed Sam’s feet.’

- BLD (2008, #15048)

It is unclear whether one ought to classify ADJUNCT-MEDIAL complexes with Type I possession forms: i.e., X has an ADJUNCT-MEDIAL...

(91) anná John ikoopakksksísí
ann-wa John iik-apak-hksis-si
DEM-AN.SG john INT-wide-nose-PRED
‘John has a wide nose.’

- BLD (2008, #15105)

(92) íköomahksika
iik-ómahk-ika
INT-big-foot
‘he has big feet.’

- Comments: No obvious final is present...
- BLD (2008, #15106)
Some puzzling forms have been elicited where $ssi$ clearly has a reflexive interpretation (‘$X_{SUBJ}$ wipe or wash $X$’ s $Z_{MED}$’) but no reflexive morphology is apparent.\footnote{Perhaps the fact that the independent counterparts of these medials are inalienably possessed has something to do with the inherent reflexivity.} Note further that the morpheme break given for the form above and the two below is highly tenuous: why use a sentient-acting-on-non-sentient-third-person morpheme to express a reflexive first person plural action?\footnote{Perhaps the morpheme break is $nit$-$SSI$-$ika$-$wa$-$tsi$-$im$-$aa$-$wa$ $1$-wipe-foot-$TRANS$-$DIR$-$??$-$1$-$PL$. Confer the fact that all 11 verbal forms ending in $tsim$ are also VTA forms.}

(93) $nit$-$SSI$-$ika$-$wa$-$tsi$-$im$-$aa$-$wa$ $1$-wipe-foot-$TRANS$-$DIR$-$??$-$1$-$PL$

\begin{itemize}
\item BLD (2008, #15049)
\end{itemize}

(94) $amn$ $Sam$ $aahk$-$SSII$-$ka$-$wa$-$at$ $Sam$

\begin{itemize}
\item Comments: This means “Sam always washes his own feet”
\item BLD (2008, #15047)
\end{itemize}

It appears that $ssi$ is a VTI verb. (Can a VTA verb be formed so that one can say ‘John is wiping that dog’?)

(95) $amn$ $John$ $a$-$SSII$-$im$ $osstoks$ $Sam$

\begin{itemize}
\item BLD (2008, #15062)
\end{itemize}

Although, perhaps the above form is VAI with a secondary object and the following form is the true VTI form. An alternative hypothesis is that the $ist$-$stoom$ sequence in the following form adds some content beyond transitivity...

(96) $amn$ $John$ $a$-$SSII$-$ist$-$stoom$ $osstoks$ $Sam$

\begin{itemize}
\item BLD (2008, #15063)
\end{itemize}

By changing the morphology to the right of the incorporated medial, an intransitive verb can be formed.
(97) áissiikaasi
á-s-si-ika-si
IMPF-wipe-foot-???
‘he is wiping his feet.’

• BLD (2008, #15054)

In such cases, a pseudo-direct object (i.e., secondary object), cannot be present if it denotes the same set of entities as the incorporated medial. (What about áissiikaasi aakíi ‘he is foot-wiping a woman’?)

(98) *áissiikaasi oi̲ká̲tsi
á-s-si-ika-si mohká̲t-yi
IMPF-wipe-foot-PRED foot-IN.SG
‘he is wiping his foot.’

• BLD (2008, #15055)

Some verb-medial complexes are ungrammatical, perhaps indicating that this verb formation process is not productive.

(99) *ntsípaksikinakoka
nit-ipak-ikinaki-ok-wa
1-hit-legs-INV-3SG
‘INTENDED: he hit me on the legs.’

• BLD (2008, #15151)

(100) *ntsípaksikinakiyoka
nit-ipak-ikinaki-ok-wa
1-hit-legs-INV-3SG
‘INTENDED: he hit me on the legs.’

• Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel pronounced by myself as would be expected. Compare the also ungrammatical form “ntsípaksikinakoka” (formid 15151). In this form I tried pronouncing the final “i” in “ikinaki”.

• BLD (2008, #15152)

The information provided by the medial cannot be duplicated by an independent nominal.

(101) *ntsípáksskioka nosstoksís
nit-ipak-sski-ok-wa n-mosstoksís
1-hit-face-INV-3SG 1-face
‘INTENDED: he hit me on the face.’

• Comments: Note: devoiced final vowel on verb. Another example of “doubling” disallowed with “medial incorporation”.

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Note that the verb does not agree with the incorporated nominal as can be seen by the VTA verb forms. Attempting to put the independent counterpart of the incorporated medial in direct object position results in ungrammaticality, *a fortiori* because of the conflict of VTA morphology and inanimate object.

(102) *ássissiikawaatsi ohkátsi*
á-ssi-ika-atsi mohkát-yi
IMPF-wipe-foot-CAUS foot-IN.SG
‘he is washing his foot.’

When one wants to make an inanimate *washee* a direct object, a form with the characteristic VTI suffix *-atoo/ -istoo* and another morpheme (perhaps a general or classifier-like medial) *ist*.

(103) *ássissiststoom*
á-ssi-ist-stoo-m m-atsikí
IMPF-wipe-???-TI.TRANS-TI.TH 3?-shoe
‘he is washing his shoe.’

The independent nominal *moistóm* appears to be able to occur in this “medial” position as well.

(104) *ássissiststoom ohkátsi*
á-ssi-ist-stoo-m mohkát-yi
IMPF-wipe-???-TI.TRANS-TI.TH his-foot-IN.SG
‘he is washing his foot.’

The independent nominal *moistóm* appears to be able to occur in this “medial” position as well.

(105) anná John ikoopaksistomi
ann-wa John iik-apak-moistóm-si
DEM-PROX john INT-wide-body?-PRED
‘John is wide; John’s body is wide.’
1.4 Type IV—vN—Verb plus Medial

This type is similar to Type III.

To predicate a property of a wooden thing, one may use a simple verb derived from an adjunct or one may use a complex verb derived from an adjunct and a medial classifier.

(106) óma miistsis iikis'naksi
om-wa miistsis iik-i'nák-si
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-small-PRED
‘that tree is small.’

• BLD (2008, #15094)

(107) óma miistsis iikis'naksiksi
om-wa miistsis iik-i'nák-iksi-m
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-small-wood-???
‘that tree is small.’

• Comments: This form was not the volunteered translation for “that tree is small” (see formid 15094). I volunteered “iiks1'naksiksi” and BB gave the form as it stands. Why the “m” suffix?

• BLD (2008, #15095)

(108) óma miistsis iiksspiks'm
om-wa miistsis iik-ssp-iksi-m
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-high-wood-???
‘that tree is tall.’

• BLD (2008, #15096)

(109) óma miistsis iiksspiksi
om-wa miistsis iik-ssp-iksi
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-high-wood
‘that tree is tall.’

• Comments: Here we have sspiksi, assumedly used to speak of tall or high wooden (perhaps also stone) things (see form with formid 13241). Contrast with sspitaa used to talk about people (animals too?).

• BLD (2008, #15024)

(110) óma a'pahtookii iiksspiks'im
om-wa pahtóók iik-ssp-iksi-m
DEM-AN.SG pine.tree INT-high-wood-???
‘that pine tree is tall.’
The medial *ikim* meaning ‘water’ or ‘liquid’ can also occur in the same structural position when the argument is a liquid.

(113) *ómi* niitahtan ikoopaksikimii
om-yi niitahtaa iik-apak-ikim-yi
DEM-IN.SG river INT-wide-liquid-be
‘that river is wide.’

It appears that the medial *iksi* can only classify an animate argument. In the following examples, the determiner shows that the nominal *miistsis* is inanimate and means ‘stick’. Perhaps

(114) *ómi* miistsis íkspipi
om-yi miistsis iik-ssp-iksi-m
DEM-IN.SG tree INT-high-wood-???
‘that stick is tall; that stick is high.’

The medial *iksi* perhaps is far more vague than thought. Confer the following examples where *ikim* is incompatible with a waterfall but *iksi* is compatible.

(115) *ómi* ánnossponaka’si íkspipi
om-yi ánnossponaka’si iik-ssp-yi
DEM-IN.SG waterfall INT-high-be
‘that waterfall is high.’

Comments: Speaker offered this form after I tried the ungrammatical “2mi 3nnossponaka’si 11kspipi” (formid 15028).
• BLD (2008, #15029)

(116) *ómi ánnoßponaka’si íksspikimi
om-yi ánnoßponaka’si iik-ssp-ikim-yi
DEM-IN.SG waterfall INT-high-liquid-be
‘that waterfall is high.’

• Comments: Speaker’s comment: ‘“1íksspikimi’ would refer to a dog or an animal’! I attempted this form thinking that “ikim”, the medial for water or liquid would work well with waterfall...

• BLD (2008, #15028)

(117) ómi ánnoßponaka’si íksspiki
om-yi ánnoßponaka’si iik-ssp-iksi
DEM-IN.SG waterfall INT-high-wood
‘that waterfall is high.’

• Comments: This was expected to be wrong since a wood medial is used with a liquid object. Is there a final here (“-yi“)?

• BLD (2008, #15030)

The medial íksi can also be used when the direct object is a stone.

(118) nits’yaakski’pa ómi óhkotoki
nit-yáak-iksi-hp-wa om-yi óóhkotok-yi
1-shape-wood-TI.TH-3SG DEM-IN.SG stone-IN.SG
‘I carved that stone.’

• Comments: Notice here the apparent “stone” classifier medial can be used when the object is not made of wood.

• BLD (2008, #15002)

1.5 What the Heck???

The following two forms were volunteered by the consultant.

(119) iihkóómitami
hko-imitáá-mi
provide.to-dog-possess
‘somebody gave him a dog.’

• BLD (2008, #15299)

(120) iihkoohpoosimi
hko-poos-mi
provide.to-cat-possess
‘somebody gave him a cat.’
I have glossed these forms with the assumption that the initial morpheme is the ‘provide to’ morpheme -hko. However, this is most unusual given that we usually see the opposite ordering of incorporated nominal and light verb. Another possibility is that the initial morpheme is actually ohkot ‘give’.

2 What is Noun Incorporation

Noun incorporation has been claimed to have (at least) the following properties:

1. IN related to independent N
2. V used independently of N
3. Argument structure:
   (a) affected or not (i.e., IN does or does not detransitivize verb)
   (b) can be manifested:
      i. morphologically (intransitive morphology rather than transitive; ABS on subject rather than ERG (in ergative languages); etc.)
      ii. syntactically (NI may or may not be doubled)
4. IN is morphologically simple

3 Noun Incorporation in Blackfoot

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3.1 Some Definitions

1. Adjunct: “used only with other roots or stems to form a (new) stem. Many adjuncts combine with a final to form a stem; in such cases adjuncts are no different from verb roots” (Frantz and Russell 1995, p. xv)

2. Verb Root: “require a final to make up a verb stem” (Frantz and Russell 1995, p. xv) (see Appendix C)

3. Medial: “noun roots, such as -sski ‘face’, which must be incorporated into a verb or noun as a suffix” (Frantz and Russell 1995, p. xv) (see Appendix A)

---

6 Frantz calls preverbs adjuncts. They include morphemes of tense, aspect, modality, negation as well as adjectivals and adverbials.

7 Modes: subjunctive, imperative, unreal and perhaps conjunctive.
4. Final: “suffixes that must attach to other verb roots or stems, and which determine the category of the resultant stem” (Frantz and Russell 1995, p. xv) (see Appendix B)

5. Stem: root plus final with optional intervening medial (Muehlbauer 2005)

3.2 Incorporated Medials

- medial noun-like elements do not, in general, resemble their independent noun counterparts (cf. Appendix (A)).

There appear to be two types of medials that are involved in incorporation-like phenomena in Blackfoot: classifier-like medials and inalienably possessed medials.

- We suspect that the classifier-like incorporated medial is a restrictor (in the sense of Chung and Ladusaw (2004)); it might be a modifier (in the sense of Wiltschko, p.c.)
- Inalienably possessed medials participate in a possessor raising construction

3.2.1 Classifier-like Medials

- so far, only two medials identified in this grouping: *ikim* ‘water/liquid’ and *iksi* ‘wood’
- similar to Hirose (2003)’s medial incorporation:
  - same morpheme order
  - appears to have similar distribution (i.e., can appear with unaccusatives)
  - BUT: no incorporation with transitives observed thus far…

In (121), the medial *-ikim* ‘liquid’ is followed by the final *-yi PRED* and preceded by the adjunct/verb root *sik-* ‘black’. Notice the parallel structure in Cree (122). In both cases the classifier-like medial incorporates to the right of an unaccusative root.

(121) ámọ́ sik-sikimí ik̄ssto-ikimí
    ámọ́ sik-ikim-yi iik-ssto-ikim-yi
    DEM black-liquid-PRED INT-cold-liquid-PRED
    ‘this tea is cold’

(122) kinwâskosiw Hirose (2003, p. 163)
    kin-âsko-si-w
    long-wood-STAT-3
    ‘s/he (tree) is long’

Though (Frantz 1991, 109) calls *-yi* a “denominal” verb, its ability to combine with an adjunct (sans medial) as in (123) shows that it is not so restricted (cf. similar examples for Cree *-si* (124)).
(123) **sstoyii** BLD (2008, 13799); Frantz and Russell (1995, p. 230)
    ssto-yi
cold-PRED
    ‘be cold (weather) or be winter’

(124) **kinosiw** Hirose (2003, p. 129)
kino-si-w
long-STAT-3
‘s/he is tall’

In both Cree and Blackfoot, medials can incorporate to the right of a transitive root and the transitivity is not affected.

(125) **kāsīyāpiskaham(-w)** Hirose (2003, p. 163)
kāsīy-āpisk-ah-am(-w)
wipe-mineral-by.tool-I.TH-3
‘s/he wipes it as metal’

(126) **nītsīyaaksīs′pa**
nit-yāak-iksi-hp-wa
1-shape-wood-TI.TH-3SG
‘I carved it.’

* BLD (2008, #15001)

In (126) and (127), the meaning would seem to be something paraphrasable as: “shape something in the fashion that one typically uses in shaping wood (i.e., carve)’.

(127) **nītsīyaaksīs′pa**  ᦠᓃ ᕑᒃᑎᒃᑎᒃ ᐅᑦᑐᑦ
nit-yāak-iksi-hp-wa om-yi ᕑᒃᑎᒋᑦ ᕑᔅᑦ ᐅᑦᑐᑦ
1-shape-wood-TI.TH-3SG DEM-IN.SG stone-IN.SG
‘I carved that stone.’

* B. Bullshields; BLD (2008, #15002)

(128) **nītsīyāaksistīpisski**
nit-yāak-niistsīpisskaan
1-arrange-fence
‘I built a fence’

* niistspisskaan ‘fence (nin)’

* Frantz and Russell (1995)

A transitive root can be de-transitivized with the help of a final like “-aaki”.

30
(129) nitáaksiksaaki
    nit-ýáak-iksi-aaki
    1-arrange-wood-PS.INTR
    ‘I sculpted’

- Frantz and Russell (1995)

3.2.2 Inalienably Possessed Medials

- the rest of the medials in Appendix A belong to this grouping.

- similar to Hirose (2003)’s medial incorporation:
  - same morpheme order
  - similar distribution (i.e., can appear with unaccusatives AND transitives)
  - BUT: semantics appear different: unincorporated possessor of incorporated
    inalienably possessed medial is internal argument in Blackfoot (130, 131)
    while incorporated medial encodes manner (125) or restricts range of internal
    argument (122) in Cree.

Like the classifier-like medials above (121), inalienably possessed medials can
incorporate to the right of unaccusative verb roots (130).

(130) iiksino(w)isspi
    iik-inno-ssp-yi
    INT-long-hair-PRED
    ‘she has long hair’

The transitive root ss(ik) remains transitive when an inalienable-possessed medial
is incorporated (as indicated by the vta relators).

(131) nítssiko’kakínaw
    nit-ssik-mo’kakín-aa-wa
    1-break-back-DIR-3SG
    ‘I broke the man’s back’

- Frantz (1971)

(132) issiksín’stsii
    ss-ikinsst-yii
    break-arm-DIR
    ‘he broke his (somebody else’s) arm’

- BLD (2008, #14715)
(133) iihtssikssapínawa oма saahkómaapiwi miistsiít
    iih-t-sik-aap-in-a-a-wa om-wa saahkömaapi-wa miistsis-yi
    LINK-black-eye-DIR-3 DEM-PROX boy-PROX stick-IN.SG
    ‘a stick blackened that boy’s eye.’

    • Comments: See (Frantz 1971: 40)
    • BLD (2008, #15570)

    Digression: there must be two right-edge things in the verbal complex: ‘-inn’ is
    said to be a medial and ‘-aaki’ is said to be a final . . .

(134) ssinn
    ss-inn
    break-by-hand
    ‘break with the hand’ (vta)

(135) ssinnaki
    ss-inn-aaki
    break-by-hand-PS.INTR
    ‘break something with the hand’ (vai)

(136) si’ki
    si’k-i
    cover-FINAL???
    ‘cover’ (vti)

(137) si’kinni
    si’k-inn-i
    cover-by-hand-FINAL???
    ‘cover (while holding)’

3.2.3 On the Dissimilarity of Incorporated and Independent Forms

    • Why is it that incorporated medials are so dissimilar from their independent
      counterparts (root allomorphy)? (Note: Blackfoot does not appear to have an
      independent form for “liquid” (fieldwork)).

    • Similar to Salish lexical suffixes (cf. Gerdz (2003) who argues for an incorpo-
      ration analysis of such suffixes and Wiltschko (2007))

3.2.4 Salishan Lexical Suffixes

Gerdz (2003) Main Argument: Salish lexical suffixes can occupy argument positions
in underlying structure and are therefore similar to incorporated nouns.

Similarities between lexical suffixes and medials

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• both have substantive meaning (i.e., meaning usually carried by nouns in other languages)

• both “bear little or no phonological similarity to freestanding nouns of similar meaning” (Gerdts 2003)

• both are few in number: Halkomelem: ca. 100; Blackfoot: 17 so far...

• both denote body parts (Bf. ikinsst, mo’kakín), basic physical/environmental concepts (Bf. iksi, ikim), cultural items (Bf. ko’s???) and human/reational terms (Bf. matápi???)

• both used to form (nominal) compounds: ómahksikimi, siksikimi,

**Differences between lexical suffixes and medials**

• No examples of Blackfoot medials playing role of oblique nominal adding a locative or manner meaning.

**LS/ M as Theme:** Hl: yes; Bf: ???

(138) qws-ey’en
throw.out-net
‘set a net’

(139) nitssiko’kakínaw óma nínawa
nit-ssik-mo’kakín-aa-wa om-wa ninaa-wa
1-break-DIR-3SG DEM-PROX man-PROX
‘I broke the man’s back’
Example (139) is more like Rosen’s (1989) classifier NI than compounding NI insofar as the verb is still transitive.

**3.2.5 Further Interesting Examples**

(140) sspikinsstsaaaki
ssp-ikinsst-aaki
high-hand-PS.INTR
‘raise the hand’

**3.3 Incorporated Independent Forms**

We recognize two different independent nominal incorporation constructions:

• nominals prefixed to finals (denominalization (Frantz 1991))

• nominals prefixed to stems
3.3.1 Nominals Prefixed to Finals

These constructions (Frantz (1991) calls them denominals) consist of independently occurring nominals prefixed to finals\(^8\). The resultant forms may be intransitive (141) or transitive (143), as determined by the final.

**-hkaa**

(141) iihpōnsskaawa nōko’sa
    (i)h pokon-hkawaw nōko’sa
    ball-acquire-3SG my.child
    ‘my child got a ball’
    
    • Frantz (1971)

(142) iihpōn’sskaa anná noko’s
    pokon-hkawannwa n-oko’s
    ball-acquire DEM-AN.SG 1-offspring
    ‘My child bought a ball.’
    
    • *elicitation:* B. Bullshields; BLD (2008, #15012)

**-hko**

(143) iihpōnsskaawa nōko’sa
    (i)h pokon-hkawa nōko’sa
    ball-provide.to-DIR-3SG my.child
    ‘I provided my child with a ball’
    
    • Frantz (1971)

(144) iihpōn’sskowaa anná noko’s
    pokon-hkowannwa n-oko’s
    ball-provide.to-DIR DEM-AN.SG 1-offspring
    ‘My child got a ball as a present.’
    
    • Comments: I believe this is a transitive form with unspecified actor.
    • *elicitation:* B. Bullshields; BLD (2008, #15012)

**-wa’si**

(145) āakitapiwasiwa
    āak-itapi-wa’si-wa
    FUT-person-become-3
    ‘it will become alive.’
    
    • BLD (2008, #9656)

\(^8\)The existence of this construction appears to contradict Frantz and Russell (1995)’s own definition of final...
3.3.2 Nominals Prefixed to Stems

A small number of independent nominals appear to be able to incorporate to the left of verb stems in Blackfoot (146). This ordering is unlike anything discussed so far.

(146) nitátipiyoyooyi  BLD (2008, 14571)
nit-á-matapi-o-o-yi
1-DUR-person-eat-PRED
‘I eat people’

These nominals can incorporate with transitive nominals as well, in which case argument structure is not affected as evinced by the DP object (147, 148).

(147) nitátipiyowoataaayi    matapiks
nit-á-matapi-o-o-aat-aa-yi    matapi-iks
1-DUR-person-eat-PRED.VTA-DIR-3PL  person-3PL
‘I eat people’ BLD (2008, 14573)

(148) nitátipiyowaaataa     anná    John
nit-á-matapi-o-o-aat-aa    ann-wa    John
1-DUR-person-eat-PRED.VTA-DIR DEM-AN.SG John
‘I’m eating John’ BLD (2008, 14574)

Note that doubling may occur without the independent DP referring to a proper subset of the entities referred to by the incorporated nominal (147a).

4 Discussion and Questions

...
A  Table of Medials (Frantz and Russell 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIAL</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aapini 'eye'</td>
<td>mōāppsp 'eye' (nan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hksis 'nose'</td>
<td>mohksisís 'nose' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hskin 'back'</td>
<td>mo'kakín 'back' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkin 'head/hair'</td>
<td>mo'tokáán 'head/hair' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika 'foot'</td>
<td>mohkát 'leg/foot' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikín 'water/liquid'</td>
<td>aohkii 'water' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikin 'tooth'</td>
<td>mohpiíkin 'tooth' (nin); akookíssin 'canine tooth' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikinaki 'leg(s)'</td>
<td>mohkát 'leg/foot' (nin); mohkinán 'calf' (nan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikinssí 'hand'</td>
<td>mo'tsís 'arm/hand' (nan/nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikís 'wood/root(?)'</td>
<td>o'kısıksi 'green wood/live trees' (nin); miııstsís 'tree; stick' (nan; nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inn. 'by hand'</td>
<td>yinni 'grasp, hold' (vti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ittsi 'belly'</td>
<td>módókoan 'stomach' (nin); issiíststaan 'stomach lining' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otoyí 'tail'</td>
<td>mohsoyís 'tail' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyi 'mouth'</td>
<td>maoó 'mouth' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sski. 'face'</td>
<td>mosstoksí 'face' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssp 'head/hair'</td>
<td>mo'tokáán 'head/hair' (nin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssstooki 'ear'</td>
<td>mohlóókís 'ear' (nin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B  Table of Finals (Frantz and Russell 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FINAL</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'tsis</td>
<td>'tool/associated instrument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attsi</td>
<td>'causative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hkaa</td>
<td>'acquire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hko</td>
<td>'provide to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikimi</td>
<td>'liquid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikoan</td>
<td>'male person/ young being'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imi</td>
<td>'smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imo</td>
<td>'have the odour of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipt..</td>
<td>'causative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipitsí</td>
<td>'be one who VERBS habitually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iststi</td>
<td>'with back and forth motion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohsi</td>
<td>'reflexive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otsiýí</td>
<td>'reciprocal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'si</td>
<td>'turn into/ become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>'be'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table of Verb Roots (Frantz and Russell 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ihkit</td>
<td>‘freeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikahk</td>
<td>‘sever, cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikk</td>
<td>‘hit, strike’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikook</td>
<td>‘regret’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>‘move a tangible object from one point to another, bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipak</td>
<td>‘hit, strike with an object on a specified portion of the body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipakk</td>
<td>‘burst’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipi</td>
<td>‘tattered, riotous, loudly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipohk</td>
<td>‘cut off, pull out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipon</td>
<td>‘terminate, end, be rid of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawa’</td>
<td>‘change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isttsi</td>
<td>‘pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isttsiip</td>
<td>‘itch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyosstsikina</td>
<td>‘fibrous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’ki</td>
<td>‘pink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māak</td>
<td>‘arrange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maan</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otahs</td>
<td>‘bow, bend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’kaas</td>
<td>‘grab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’t</td>
<td>‘grasp by hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikahk</td>
<td>‘set aside, set apart, exclude’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikk</td>
<td>‘decrease the mass of, lower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si’k</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi</td>
<td>‘wash, wipe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssok</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssstss</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yáak</td>
<td>‘arrange, shape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yosstsikina</td>
<td>‘fibrous’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### References


