

# Noun Incorporation in Blackfoot

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## Abstract

By some accounts (Frantz 1971; Mithun 1984; Gerdtz 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: SUBJ = subject; OBJ = direct object; IN = incorporated nominal).

(1)	X-yi / -∅	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> be a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-wa'si	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> come to be a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-yi / -mi	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> have a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-hkaa	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> come to have a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-hko	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> cause Y <sub>OBJ</sub> to come to have a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-imm	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> feels for Y <sub>OBJ</sub> as a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-ipitsi	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> be a habitual Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-ipitsi	'X <sub>SUBJ</sub> be obsessed with Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-inaattsi	'X <sub>IN.SUBJ</sub> look like a Z <sub>IN</sub> '
	X-inaamm	'X <sub>AN.SUBJ</sub> look like a Z <sub>IN</sub> '

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) *nínaawa*  
nínaa-Ø-wa  
man-**be**-3SG  
 ‘he is a man; he is a chief.’
- Frantz (1991, p. 109); BLD (2008, #15644)
- (3) *inawa’si*  
nínaa-**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*  
imitáa-m-**hkaa**  
dog-SENT.POSS-**come.to.have**  
 ‘he bought a dog.’<sup>1</sup>
- 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)

<sup>1</sup>It 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’; \**nitáakomita(s/h)ka* Target: ‘I will get a dog’; *nitáakomitamsskowaa anná John* ‘I’m gonna buy a dog for John’

(7) *nitsítkoo'sima*  
 nit-oko's-imm-aa  
 1-offspring-feel.for.as-DIR  
 'I adopted him.'

- BLD (2008, #15308)

(8) *kamó'siipitsi*  
 kamó'si-**ipitsi**  
 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) *nitsíkaakiipitsi*  
 nit-iik-aakí-**ipitsi**  
 1-INT-woman-be.obsessed.with  
 'I am obsessed with women (male speaker) cf aakii+ipitsi..'

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

(10) *áóhpiikiinaatsi*  
 mohpíkin-**inaatsi**  
 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 deverbally á-prefixed nominal. If it were, this would imply that *óhpiikiinaatsi* could mean 'it<sub>NAN</sub> 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 *-ify*: *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) *nitsíúmitam'i*  
nit-imitáá-mi  
1-dog-possess  
'I have a dog'  
'I have dogs'

- BLD (2008, #15228)

- (12) *imitámi*  
imitáá-mi  
dog-possess  
'he has a dog.'

- BLD (2008, #15297)

- (13) *nítóhpoosimihpinnaan*  
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' *nítóhpoosiminnaan* (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'.

- (15) *?ikinakim*  
 ikinaki-m  
 legs-?  
 ‘have legs.’

- BLD (2008, #15143)

The incorporated nominal may be complex as in the following example where an adjunct-nominal complex is incorporated.

- (16) *nitsi'topookam'i*  
 nit-ni't-pookáá-mi  
 1-one-child-possess  
 ‘I have one child.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel
- BLD (2008, #15261)

However, it is unclear why the simplex *pookáá* cannot be so incorporated.

- (17) *\*nitopookam'i*  
 nit-pookáá-mi  
 1-child-possess  
 ‘I have a child; I have children.’

- Comments: Note: pronounced by researcher with voiceless final vowel. With this form I was trying to see whether one could express that one has children using a denominal containing *pook*.<sup>3</sup>
- BLD (2008, #15264)

With a grammatically animate non-sentient possessum, the *-mi* suffix is apparently optional<sup>2</sup>. I posit a phonologically null light verb  $-\emptyset$  meaning ‘possess non-sentient’.

- (18) *nítóhko's*  
 nit-ko's- $\emptyset$   
 1-dish-possess.NS  
 ‘I have dishes.’

- Comments: Not a good response to whose dish is this? (form 15360). Also elicited on June 26, 2008.
- Can this mean ‘I have a dish’?
- ‘my dish’ is *noohko's*
- BLD (2008, #15311)

<sup>2</sup>Note: perhaps *ko's* is not a good verb to use since it has been claimed to be ambiguous between an animate and an inanimate form.

(19) *nitohko'sim'i*  
nit-ko's-mi  
1-dish-possess  
'I have dishes.'

- BLD (2008, #15240)

(20) *tihkoo'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 *nItohko'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 construction.

(21) *?nitsísttoan*  
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 optional.

(22) *nitsítko's*  
nit-oko's  
1-offspring  
'I have children.'

- Comments: This form was re-elicited on June 19, 2008 and Beatrice pronounced it as "nitsI1koo'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) *nitsútkoo'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) *nitsútko'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 *iihtáísinaakio'p* 'camera' is an animate gender noun<sup>3</sup>.)

(26) *\*nitsiihtáísinaakihpi*  
 nit-iiht-á-sínaaki-hp-yi-∅  
 1-LINK-IMPF-make.image-NOM-IN.SG-possess.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: *nitsiihtáísinaakio'p(i)*

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<sup>3</sup> Possessed nominalizations exhibit puzzling morphological complexity in Blackfoot. The word for 'camera' when unpossessed (*iihtáísinaakio'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: *nitóhtaisinaakihpi* (perhaps paraphrasable as 'what I make pictures with').

- BLD (2008, #15521)

However, certain equally complex nominals do occur in this construction.

- (27) *nitsiiksistomatomaahkaam'i*  
 nit-iksissto-omat-omááhkaa-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) *ámo koo's nitsinaan*  
 amo ko's nit-inaani  
 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-inaan* “1-possession”...
- BLD (2008, #15501)

- (29) *nitsínaan isttoan*  
 nit-inaani istoán  
 1-possess knife  
 'I have a knife; I own a knife.'

- BLD (2008, #15524)

- (30) *nitsínaani iihtáísinaakio'pi*  
 nit-inaani iiht-á-sínaaki-o'p-yi  
 1-possess LINK-IMPF-make.image-21NOM-IN.SG  
 'I own a camera.'

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on “nits1naani”.
- BLD (2008, #15520)

- (31) *nitsínaan ko'si*  
 nit-inaani ko's-yi  
 1-possess dish-N.SPEC  
 'I own dishes.'

- BLD (2008, #15243)

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

- (32) \**nitsinaani omi 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 “omi” here instead of the proximate/animate “om”? 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) \**nitsinaan oko’s*  
 nit-inaani oko’s  
 1-possess offspring  
 ‘I own a child.’

- BLD (2008, #15271)

The verb *inaanat* is the VTA counterpart of *inaani*.

- (34) *nitsinaanata 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) *nitsinaanatoo’pa omi itáísoyo’pi*  
 nit-inaanatoo-hp-wa om-yi it-á-iso-ooyi-hp-yi  
 1-possess-TI.TH-3SG DEM-IN.SG LOC-IMPF-on-eat-NOM-IN.SG  
 ‘I own that table.’

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel on verb

- BLD (2008, #15246)

**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 itásoyo’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 aiksistomatomaahkaa*  
 nit-itstaki á-iksissto-omat-omááhkaa  
 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-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.
- BLD (2008, #15013)

It appears that *-hkaa* is incompatible with grammatically inanimate objects.

- (42) *\*anná iitáísoo'ao'psska*  
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'psska*.
- BLD (2008, #15508)

- (43) *\*anná iitáísoopao'pihka*  
ann-wa it-á-iso-opii-o'p-hkaa  
DEM-PROX LOC-IMPF-on-sit-21NOM-acquire  
'he bought a chair.'

- BLD (2008, #15509)

- (44) *iihpóommaa iitáísoopao'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.'

- BLD (2008, #15510)

*-hkaa* occurs with deverbal nominals but (as with *-hko* below) with significant loss of morphology. The independent form for ‘table’ is *iitáísoyo’p*.

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

- BLD (2008, #15179)

It also appears that *-hkaa* is incompatible with animate non-sentient objects.

- (46) *\*isttoan’sska*  
 istoán-hkaa  
 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, #15531)

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

- (47) *nitáákotosóyo’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) *nitáakohponokáómitamsska*  
 nit-áak-ponoka-imitáá-m-hkaa  
 1-FUT-elk-dog-?-acquire  
 ‘I am going to buy a horse.’

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

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, #15187)

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

- Comments: Note: voiceless final vowel
- BLD (2008, #15186)

#### Other ways of expressing acquisition

Use of the verb *ohpommaa* ‘buy (vai)’.

(52) *nitsútohpommaa itáiso’pi*  
nit-oto-ohpommaa iit-á-iso-ooyi-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 “ohpommaa” “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-isttoán-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.

- BLD (2008, #15533)

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

- BLD (2008, #15169)

(55) *iihkóó’sskoyii anní John*  
 ko’s-hko-yii ann-yi John  
 dish-provide.to-DIR DEM-OBV john  
 ‘he bought dishes for John.’

- BLD (2008, #15173)

(56) *nitáakomitamsskowaa anná John*  
 nit-áak-imitáa-m-hko-aa ann-wa John  
 1-FUT-dog-?-provide.to-DIR DEM-PROX john  
 ‘I’m gonna buy a dog for John.’

- BLD (2008, #15194)

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 *iiáísoyo’pi* (*ii-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 *-o/ -omo*. In this construction, the recipient is the direct object and the theme is the so-called secondary object.

- (59) *iihpómmoyi anní John pokón*  
 ohpomm-o-yii ann-yi John pokón  
 buy-BEN-DIR DEM-PROX john ball  
 ‘he bought a ball for John.’

- BLD (2008, #15172)

These independent verbs do not appear to be able to productively participate in noun incorporation.

- (60) \**nitáakomitamohpommataa*  
 nit-áak-imitáa-m-ohpommat-aa  
 1-FUT-dog-?-buy-DIR  
 ‘I’m gonna buy a dog for him.’

- BLD (2008, #15195)

- (61) \**nitáakomitamohpomma*  
 nit-áak-imitáa-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.

- ihtsiyimm* ‘admire VTA’  
*ihtsiyi'tsi* ‘admire VTI’  
*ohkówaitsi* ‘find useful or handy VTI’  
*ohkowaimm* ‘find useful or beneficial or helpful VTA’  
*ohko* ‘have the wherewithal for ADT’  
*omaitsi* ‘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) *ohkoyimm*  
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 *inaattsi*.

(65) *áóhpiikiinaattsi*  
mohpíkin-inaattsi  
tooth-look.like  
'corn.'

- BLD (2008, #1373)

(66) *áótooksiinaattsi*  
mótookis-inaattsi  
kidney-look.like  
'bean.'

- BLD (2008, #1257)

(67) *aamio'kakiikinaattsi*  
mamí-mo'kakíkin-inaattsi  
fish-spine-look.like  
'muskrat root (bitter mot), \*Acores calamus.'

- BLD (2008, #1656)

(68) *ohtookiinaattsi*  
mohtóókis-inaattsi  
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) *nitáómitaoy*  
nit-á-imitáá-ooyi  
1-IMPF-dog-eat  
'I eat dogs.'

• BLD (2008, #15538)

- (70) *nitáóhpoosoy*  
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) *nítóhpokonohkowa*  
nit-pokón-ohko-wa  
1-ball-give-3  
'I bought him a ball.'

• BLD (2008, #15085)

- (72) *iihpokónsskoyii*     *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) *\*nípokonohkotaa*     *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: Attempt to incorporate "pok2n" "ball" into "ohkot" "give".  
Contrast form with formid 15015.

- BLD (2008, #15083)

(74) \**nítóhpokonohkotaa 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) \**nitsísttoanoyi*  
 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) *áowatsi isttowaiks*  
 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 “isttowaiks” 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) *áyaamoyí'pooyi*  
 á-yaam-maoó-i'poyi  
 IMPF-twisted-mouth-speak  
 'he is talking with a twisted mouth.'

- Comments: See form “yaamoyli'poyi” (formid 2717) meaning “joke or jest from a twisted mouth”.

- BLD (2008, #15295)

(78) \**áyaamoyipápisa*  
 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).

<i>isttsi</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> ’s Z <sub>MED</sub> hurts’
<i>ipak</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> hit Y <sub>OBJ</sub> ’s Z <sub>MED</sub> ’
<i>yáak</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> change shape of Y <sub>OBJ</sub> as a Z <sub>MED</sub> ’
<i>yáak</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> change shape of Y’s Z <sub>MED</sub> ’
<i>ssi</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> wipe or wash Y’s Z <sub>MED</sub> VTA’
<i>ssi</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> wipe or wash X’s Z <sub>MED</sub> VAI’
<i>apak</i>	‘X <sub>SUBJ</sub> ’s Z <sub>MED</sub> is wide VAI’

(79) *nitsísttsikinaki*  
nit-isttsi-ikinaki  
1-pain-legs  
‘my legs ache.’

- Comments: Voiceless final vowel
- BLD (2008, #15144)

(80) *nitsípaksikaoka*  
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 “ipakksikinaki” (see formid 15149).
- BLD (2008, #15150)

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

- BLD (2008, #15153)

(82) *nitsípaksstookiyoka*  
nit-ipak-sstooki-ok-wa  
1-hit-ear-INV-3SG  
‘he hit me on the ears.’

- BLD (2008, #15154)

(83) *nitsípaksstookiyaa*  
 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’kiniomitaa” “lion, lit: fur chested dog” (formid 784) and “m32kayis” “breast; chest” (formid 1345).

- BLD (2008, #15156)

(85) *nitsípaksskioka*  
 nit-ipak-sski-ok-wa  
 1-hit-face-INV-3SG  
 ‘he swatted me in the face.’

- BLD (2008, #15157)

(86) *nitsípakksskíniyoka*  
 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)

(88) *nitáaksskínyaki*  
 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) *nitsíyaaksiksi’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) *nítssiikaawaattsima*                      *anná*                      *Sam*  
 nit-ssi-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 ikoopakkssksisí*  
 ann-wa                      John iik-apak-hksis-si  
 DEM-AN.SG    john    INT-wide-nose-PRED  
 ‘John has a wide nose.’

- BLD (2008, #15105)

(92) *úloomahksika*  
 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<sup>4</sup>. 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?<sup>5</sup>

- (93) *nítssiikaawaatssim’ihpinnaan*  
 nit-ssi-ika-atw-yii-m-hpinnaan  
 1-wipe-foot-TRANS-DIR-??-1PL  
 ‘we washed our feet.’

- BLD (2008, #15049)

- (94) *anná Sam aahksaíssiikaawaatssi*  
 ann-wa Sam aahks-á-ssi-ika-atw-yii  
 DEM-PROX sam always-IMPF-wipe-foot-TRANS-DIR  
 ‘Sam always washes his feet.’

- Comments: This means “Sam always washes his own feet”
- BLD (2008, #15047)

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) *anná John átssiim osstoksís*  
 ann-wa John á-ssi-m ot-mosstoksís  
 DEM-PROX john IMPF-wipe-TI.TH 3-face  
 ‘John is wiping his face.’

- BLD (2008, #15062)

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 *iststoom* sequence in the following form adds some content beyond transitivity...

- (96) *anná John átssiiststoom osstoksís*  
 ann-wa John á-ssi-ist-stoo-m ot-mosstoksís  
 DEM-PROX john IMPF-wipe-??-TRANS.VTI-TI.TH 3-face  
 ‘John is washing his face.’

- BLD (2008, #15063)

By changing the morphology to the right of the incorporated medial, an intransitive verb can be formed.

<sup>4</sup>Perhaps the fact that the independent counterparts of these medials are inalienably possessed has something to do with the inherent reflexivity.

<sup>5</sup>Perhaps the morpheme break is *nit-ssi-ika-watssim-aa-wa* 1-wipe-foot-TRANS-DIR-PROX. Confer the fact that all 11 verbal forms ending in *tsim* are also VTA forms.

- (97) *átssiikaasi*  
 á-ssi-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 *átssiikaasi aakíí* ‘he is foot-wiping a woman’?)

- (98) \**átssiikaasi*                    *ohkátsi*  
 á-ssi-ika-si                    mohkát-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) \**nitsipaksikinakoka*  
 nit-ipak-ikinaki-ok-wa  
 1-hit-legs-INV-3SG  
 ‘INTENDED: he hit me on the legs.’

- BLD (2008, #15151)

- (100) \**nitsipaksikinakiyoka*  
 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 “*nitsipaksikinakoka*” (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) \**nitsípaksskioka*    *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”.

- BLD (2008, #15158)

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) \**ássiikaawaattsi*      *ohkátsi*  
 á-ssi-ika-attsi      mohkát-yi  
 IMPF-wipe-foot-CAUS foot-IN.SG  
 ‘he is washing his foot.’

- BLD (2008, #15053)

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

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

- BLD (2008, #15051)

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

- BLD (2008, #15052)

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.’

- BLD (2008, #15104)

## 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 iiksí'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 iiksí'naksiksim*  
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 íksspiksm*  
om-wa miistsis iik-ssp-iksi-m  
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-high-wood-???  
‘that tree is tall.’

- BLD (2008, #15096)

- (109) *óma miistsis íksspiksi*  
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 íksspiksim*  
om-wa pahtóók iik-ssp-iksi-m  
DEM-AN.SG pine.tree INT-high-wood-???  
‘that pine tree is tall.’

- BLD (2008, #15100)

(111) *óma miistsis ikoopakksi*  
om-wa miistsis iik-apak-si  
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-wide-PRED  
‘that tree is wide.’

- BLD (2008, #15101)

(112) *óma miistsis ikoopaksiksim*  
om-wa miistsis iik-apak-iksi-m  
DEM-AN.SG tree INT-wide-wood-???  
‘that tree is wide.’

- BLD (2008, #15102)

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.’

- BLD (2008, #15103)

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

- BLD (2008, #15097)

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 ánnosponaka’si úksspi*  
om-yi ánnosponaka’si iik-ssp-yi  
DEM-IN.SG waterfal INT-high-be  
‘that waterfall is high.’

- Comments: Speaker offered this form after I tried the ungrammatical “2mi 3nnosponaka’si 1ksspikimi” (formid 15028).

- BLD (2008, #15029)

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

- Comments: Speaker’s comment: ‘“úkkspikimi” 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*            *ánnosponaka'si* *úkkspiksi*  
om-yi            ánnosponaka'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 *iksi* can also be used when the direct object is a stone.

(118) *nitsíyaaksiksi'pa*            *ómi*            *óhkotokii*  
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.’

- BLD (2008, #15300)

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

BLACKFOOT MORPHEME ORDERING (Muehlbauer 2005)<sup>6,7</sup>

Person	Preverb	Root	Medial	Final	Theme	Mode	Person	Num
Prefixes		Stem			Suffixes			

### 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)

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

<sup>7</sup>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) *ámo síksikimí íksstookimí* BLD (2008, 14555)  
*ámo 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) *kâsiyâpiskaham(-w)* Hirose (2003, p. 163)  
 kâsiy-âpisk-ah-am(-w)  
 wipe-mineral-by.tool-I.TH-3  
 ‘s/he wipes it as metal’
- (126) *nîstýaaksiksi’pa*  
 nit-yáak-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) *nîstýaaksiksi’pa*      *ómi*      *óhkotokii*  
 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.’

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

- (128) *nîstýáaksistsiipiski*  
 nit-yáak-niistsípiisskaan  
 1-arrange-fence  
 ‘I built a fence’

- *niistspisskaan* ‘fence (nin)’
- Frantz and Russell (1995)

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

(129) *nitáaksiksaaki*  
 nit-yáak-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*      BLD (2008, 14569)  
 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) *ntssiko’kaktáaw*      *óma*      *nínaawa*  
 nit-ssik-mo’kaktín-aa-wa    om-wa      ninaa-wa  
 1-break-back-DIR-3SG    DEM-PROX    man-PROX  
 ‘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) *iihtssiksapínawa óma saahkómaapiiwa miistsít*  
 iiht-sik-aapin-aa-wa om-wa saahkómaapi-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. Gerdtz (2003) who argues for an incorporation analysis of such suffixes and Wiltschko (2007))

### 3.2.4 Salishan Lexical Suffixes

Gerdtz (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

- 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” (Gerds 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/ relational 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) *nítssiko’kakínaw*      *óma*      *nínaawa*  
 nit-ssik-mo’kakín-aa-wa    om-wa      ninaa-wa  
 1-break-back-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) *sspikinsstaaki*  
 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<sup>8</sup>. The resultant forms may be intransitive (141) or transitive (143), as determined by the final.

#### **-hkaa**

- (141) *iihpokónsskaawa nóko'sa*  
(iih)pokon-hkaa-wa nóko'sa  
ball-acquire-3SG my.child  
'my child got a ball'

- Frantz (1971)

- (142) *iihpokón'sskaa anná noko's*  
pokon-hkaa ann-wa n-oko's  
ball-acquire DEM-AN.SG 1-offspring  
'My child bought a ball.'

- *elicitation*: B. Bullshields; BLD (2008, #15012)

#### **-hko**

- (143) *iihpokónsskoaawa nóko'sa*  
(iih)pokon-hko-aa-wa nóko'sa  
ball-provide.to-DIR-3SG my.child  
'I provided my child with a ball'

- Frantz (1971)

- (144) *iihpokón'sskowaa anná noko's*  
pokon-hko-aa ann-wa 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) *áakitapiwa'siwa*  
áak-itapi-wa'si-wa  
FUT-person-become-3  
'it will become alive.'

- BLD (2008, #9656)

<sup>8</sup>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) *nitááttapiyooyi*                      BLD (2008, 14571)  
nit-á-matapi-oo-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) *nitááttapiyoowaataayi*                      *matapiks*  
nit-á-matapi-oo-aat-aa-yi                      matapi-iks  
1-DUR-person-eat-PRED.VTA-DIR-3PL      person-3PL  
'I eat people' BLD (2008, 14573)

- (148) *nitááttapiyowaataa*                      *anná*                      *John*  
nit-á-matapi-oo-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)

MEDIAL	INDEPENDENT
<i>aapini</i> 'eye'	<i>moápssp</i> 'eye' (nan)
<i>Hksis</i> 'nose'	<i>mohksisís</i> 'nose' (nin)
<i>Hskin</i> 'back'	<i>mo'kakín</i> 'back' (nin)
<i>ihkin</i> 'head/hair'	<i>mo'tokáán</i> 'head/hair' (nin)
<i>ika</i> 'foot'	<i>mohkát</i> 'leg/foot' (nin)
<i>ikim</i> 'water/liquid'	<i>aohkít</i> 'water' (nin)
<i>ikin</i> 'tooth'	<i>mohpíkin</i> 'tooth' (nin); <i>akookinssin</i> 'canine tooth' (nin)
<i>ikinaki</i> 'leg(s)'	<i>mohkát</i> 'leg/foot' (nin); <i>mohkinán</i> 'calf' (nan)
<i>ikinsst</i> 'hand'	<i>mo'tsís</i> 'arm/hand' (nan/nin)
<i>iksi</i> 'wood/root(?)'	<i>o'ksiksi</i> 'green wood/live trees' (nin); <i>miistsís</i> 'tree; stick' (nan; nin)
<i>inn..</i> 'by hand'	<i>yinni</i> 'grasp, hold' (vti)
<i>ittsi</i> 'belly'	<i>móókoan</i> 'stomach' (nin); <i>issiiistaaan</i> 'stomach lining' (nin)
<i>otoyi</i> 'tail'	<i>mohsoyís</i> 'tail' (nin)
<i>oyi</i> 'mouth'	<i>maoó</i> 'mouth' (nin)
<i>sski..</i> 'face'	<i>mosstoksís</i> 'face' (nin)
<i>sps</i> 'head/hair'	<i>mo'tokáán</i> 'head/hair' (nin)
<i>sstooki</i> 'ear'	<i>mohtóókis</i> 'ear' (nin)

## B Table of Finals (Frantz and Russell 1995)

FINAL	GLOSS
<i>a'tsis</i>	'tool/associated instrument'
<i>attsi</i>	'causative'
<i>hkaa</i>	'acquire'
<i>hko</i>	'provide to'
<i>ikimi</i>	'liquid'
<i>ikoan</i>	'male person/ young being'
<i>imi</i>	'smell'
<i>imo</i>	'have the odour of'
<i>ipi..</i>	'causative'
<i>ipitsi</i>	'be one who VERBS habitually'
<i>iststaki</i>	'with back and forth motion'
<i>ohsi</i>	'reflexive'
<i>otsiyi</i>	'reciprocal'
<i>wa'si</i>	'turn into/ become'
<i>yi</i>	'be'

## C Table of Verb Roots (Frantz and Russell 1995)

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

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