

**How to identify pseudo-incorporation
in a language without accusative marking: a Kazym Khanty case
Varvara Tiutiunnikova (Moscow)**

Puzzle. Kazym Khanty (KK; <Uralic) lacks accusative marking, and direct objects can have different interpretations, reminiscent of contrasts associated with pseudo noun incorporation (PNI). Sentence (1) is ambiguous and can be translated as (a) with a singular reading of the object and as (b) with a number-neutral interpretation of it ('Petya was catching a hare / hares').

- (1) pet'aj-en šowr weλ-əs
 P.-poss.2sg hare catch-pst[3sg]
 a. 'Petya caught a hare.'
 b. 'Petya was hare-hunting.'

My aim here is to prove that this is indeed an example of PNI, since we can find semantic features that can only be associated with it.

Background on PNI. According to Massam (2001), noun incorporation is a construction where an internal argument forms a single V^0 morphological unit with its verb, rather than being expressed as its independent argument. Pseudo-incorporation differs from 'regular' incorporation in that the pseudo-incorporated nominal is an NP.

Dayal (2011) considers PNI in Hindi and proposes that PNI-ed arguments are NumP, since they can exhibit plural morphology, when they attach to collective predicates. Dayal also argues that number-neutral interpretation arises in PNI only when the predicate has an iterative reading. To explain this fact, she suggests that in an iterative construction there is a covert pluractional operator (Lasnik 1995), which creates different sub-events with a singular object in each. Therefore, possible plural interpretation of a singular object comes from the pluractional interpretation of the predicate itself.

Moreover, PNI-ed arguments are type <e, t>. A pseudo-incorporating predicate selects for a property as its argument, rather than an individual, thus forming a complex event. This results in an obligatory narrow scope reading of the nominal with respect to clause-mate operators such as negation.

Data. To prove that KK exhibits PNI, we have to show that the number-neutral interpretation, already observed in (1b), is compatible with a narrow-scope reading. Indeed, a noun *šowr* 'hare'

scopes below a durational adverb like *tāl mār* ‘all winter’ in (2). Another possible interpretation of this sentence with a singular noun outscoping an adverb is implausible, since it would lead to a reading that Petya was catching only one rabbit all winter. Note that in this example the verb has an iterative interpretation, which is the source of the number-neutrality, according to Dayal (2011).

(2) pet’aj-en tāl mār šowr weλ-əs

P.-poss.2sg winter time hare catch-pst[3sg]

‘Petya was catching hares all winter.’

adv > ∃

This scopal effect can only be observed with internal arguments. Example (3a) illustrates that an argument of an unergative verb cannot scope below the adverb. In (3b), narrow-scope reading is unavailable for the indirect object.

(3) a. #tāl mār pāsti_voj urtət’λ’ə-s

winter time wolf howl-pst[3sg]

‘A wolf was howling all winter.’

Expected reading: ‘#Wolves were howling all winter.’ only ∃ >

adv

b. #mašaj-en tālaŋ ol mār nāwrəm-a akañ mojλ-əs

M.-poss.2sg whole year time child-dat doll give-pst[3sg] only ∃ > adv

Expected reading: ‘#Masha was giving dolls to children for the whole year.’

Discussion. At this point it seems natural to explain that nominals that take narrow-scope and have number-neutral interpretation are pseudo-incorporated, since this process is constrained to internal arguments. The behavior of PNI-ed arguments is predicted by Dayal’s (2011) theory. Despite the fact that we cannot find any morpho-syntactic arguments in favor of PNI in KK, we clearly see its existence from the semantic point of view.

In my talk, I will also consider pseudo-incorporation of the plurals, name-worthiness effects, and discuss the methodology that can be used while collecting data for complex semantic phenomena such as PNI.

References. Dayal, V. (2011). Hindi pseudo-incorporation. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 29(1), 123-167. Lasersohn, P. (2013). Plurality, conjunction and events (Vol. 55).

Springer Science & Business Media. Massam, D. (2001). Pseudo noun incorporation in Niuean. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 19(1), 153-197.