

Morphological conditions on copy spell-out: Insights from Inuktitut noun incorporation*

Michelle Yuan // mmxyuan@uchicago.edu // LSA 2019, New York

1 Introduction

- According to the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky, 1995), movement chains consist of **identical copies** of a syntactic object.

▷ In English, generally only the highest movement copy is pronounced, while all lower copies are deleted, (1).¹

(1) **What** do you think [_{CP} <what> Mary bought <what>] ?

- It has also been shown that copy spell-out may be regulated by **well-formedness conditions at PF** (e.g. Landau, 2006; Kandybowicz, 2008; van Urk, 2018).²

▷ For instance, such conditions block lower copy deletion in Hebrew V(P)-topicalization, resulting in verb doubling (Landau, 2006), (2).

▷ Whereas the higher copy of the verb is spelled out due to intonational requirements on topics, the lower copy is *also* pronounced to support tense morphology in T⁰.

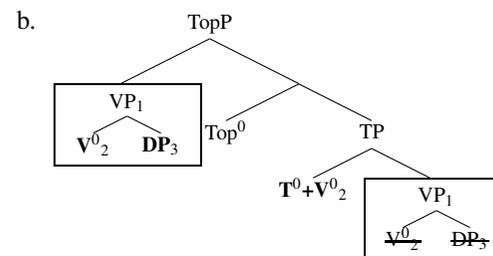
(2) **Hebrew: Verb doubling in VP-fronting**

a. [le'hasbir et ha-kišalon], hu lo **hisbir**
 INF.explain ACC the-failure he not PST.explain
 'As for explaining the failure, he didn't explain.' (Landau, 2006)

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¹In (1), I have omitted intermediate movement through the vP-edge.

²Bennett et al. (to appear) also demonstrate that a similar interaction applies to deletion operations beyond copy deletion, e.g. ellipsis. In Irish, subject pronouns, which incorporate into the verb, may survive ellipsis of post-verbal material.



→ The **Stray Affix Filter** (cf. Lasnik, 1981, 1995)—in the context of phrasal movement.

This talk presents a novel case study of this type of interaction, from noun incorporation in Inuktitut.

- In Inuktitut, objects that surface as incorporated into the verb complex nonetheless behave as though they are syntactically active.
- May be cross-referenced by ϕ -agreement, participate in (dependent) case calculations, and, crucially, may undergo **A-/Ā-movement**, (3).

(3) **Passivization of incorporated object**

ujami-liuq-ta-u-jut Suusa-mut
 necklace-make-PASS.PART-be-3P.S Susan-ALLAT
 'The necklaces were made for Susan.'

- ★ **Analysis:** Noun incorporation in Inuktitut is postsyntactic, derived by Merger between the verb and its nominal complement (Bok-Bennema and Groos, 1988; Phillips, 2016).

- ▷ In (3), the nominal undergoes A-movement to subject position.
- ▷ Merger with the verb forces pronunciation of the base copy, while the higher copy is deleted for reasons of Economy.

Roadmap:

§2 Overview of Inuktitut morphosyntax

§3 Noun incorporation as postsyntactic Merger

§4 Interaction of movement and Merger of incorporated objects

§5 Obligatory incorporation beyond Inuktitut

2 Overview of Inuktitut morphosyntax

- The Inuit languages (Eskimo-Aleut) are a dialect continuum spanning the North American Arctic and Greenland. **Inuktitut** is the dialect group spoken primarily in Nunavut, Canada.³
- Inuktitut displays an **ergative-absolutive case patterning**, as well as ϕ -agreement with ERG and ABS arguments.⁴

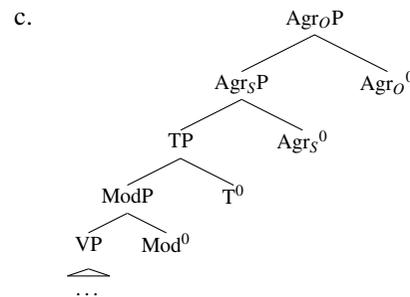
(4) Ergative case patterning

- a. Taiviti-**up** surak-tanga **igalaaq**
Taiviti-ERG break-3S.S/3S.O window.ABS
'David broke the window.'
- b. **Miali** ani-qqau-juq
Miali.ABS leave-REC.PST-3S.S
'Miali left.'

- The language is polysynthetic and strictly adheres to the Mirror Principle, with a rigid ordering of morphemes within the word (but flexible sentence-level word order).
 - Verb complexes are invariably composed of a INITIAL ROOT, followed by optional suffixes, and ending with ϕ -morphology, (5a-b).
 - Rule of thumb*: Rightwards in a word → up a syntactic tree. Thus, it is often assumed that the Inuit languages are right-headed, (5c).

(5) Anatomy of Inuktitut complex verb

- a. $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ -(suffixes)-AGR
- b. niri-juma-lauq-tara
eat-want-PST-1S.S/3S.O
'I did not want to eat it.'



³Unless cited, the data included in this talk were elicited in Iqaluit, Nunavut, in August 2016, July 2017, and September 2017, as well as over Skype between October 2017-July 2018, and represent the North Baffin, South Baffin, and Kivalliq varieties of Inuktitut.

⁴In Yuan (2018), I argue that the grammatical status of the object-referencing portion of this ϕ -morphology is a matter of microvariation across Inuit; in Inuktitut, it is object clitic doubling rather than true ϕ -agreement. However, this distinction will be set aside here as it does not affect the present analysis.

- In noun incorporation constructions, the leftmost morpheme in the verb complex is the object, adjacent to the verb (underlined throughout), (6).⁵

(6) Verb complex with noun incorporation

Ulak **ujami-liu**-qqau-juq
Ulak.ABS necklace-make-REC.PST-3S.S
'Ulak made a necklace/necklaces.'

Below, I detail two additional properties of Inuktitut noun incorporation that will bear on our discussion of chain pronunciation:

- Noun incorporation is obligatory with a small set of verbs, and follows from more general processes operative in complex word-formation (Johns, 2007, 2009).
 - Incorporated objects are not structurally reduced, but display the same range of syntactic and interpretive properties as independent (non-incorporated) objects.
- Together, these motivate a **postsyntactic** analysis of noun incorporation (Bok-Bennema and Groos, 1988; Phillips, 2016).

3 Noun incorporation as postsyntactic Merger

- Cross-linguistically, noun incorporation tends to be optional and permitted with a variety of verbs (Mithun, 1984; Baker et al., 2005, a.o.), e.g. Mohawk in (7):

(7) Mohawk: 'Classical' noun incorporation

- a. Wa'-k-hninu-' ne **ka-nakt-a'**
FACT-1SS-buy-PUNC NE NS-bed-NSF
'I bought the/a bed.'
- b. Wa'-ke-**nakt-a**-hninu-'
FACT-1SS-bed-JOIN-buy-PUNC
'I bought the/a bed.'

(Baker, 1996)

⁵That the object is indeed incorporated is indicated by the occurrence of certain phonological processes, which take place between morphemes within a word but not across separate words. Here, the final C of *ujamik* 'necklace' is deleted.

- In contrast, in the Inuit languages, noun incorporation is **obligatory** with a small set of verbs, and otherwise impossible with all other verbs, (8).

(8) **Inuktitut: Obligatory noun incorporation**

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. sivalaar-tuq-tunga
cookie-consume-1S.S
'I am eating a cookie.'
cf. *sivalaar-mik tuq-tunga | b. sivalaar-mik niri-junga
cookie-MOD eat-1S.S
'I am eating a cookie.'
cf. *sivalaar-niri-junga |
|---|---|

- Following Johns (2007, 2009), incorporating verbs are **light verbs** (v^0 s; functional elements), while non-incorporating verbs are **lexical verbs** (i.e. roots).⁶

3.1 Properties of noun incorporation in Inuktitut

- In most literature on noun incorporation (both in Inuit and cross-linguistically), incorporated objects are taken to be structurally reduced, e.g. N^0 or NP (Sadock, 1980; Baker, 1985; Baker et al., 2005; Compton and Pittman, 2010; Barrie and Mathieu, 2016, a.o.).
- However, this does not hold for Inuktitut, in which incorporated objects display the **same syntactic and semantic properties** as their non-incorporated/standalone counterparts.

▷ Based on this, I argue that incorporated objects in Inuktitut are *full DPs*.

1. Incorporated objects are phrasal, (9):

(9) **Incorporation of phrasal nominals**

- [**iglu-tsiava-nngua**]-**gaq-tuq**
house-great-pretend-have-3S.S
'(S)he has a great pretend house.'
(Compton, 2013)

2. Unambiguously DP-sized nominals may be incorporated, (10):

(10) **Incorporation of pronouns and possessive DPs**

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Guuti uvanga-liu-lauq-tuq
God.ABS 1S-make-PST-3S.S
'God made me.' | b. Kiuru [angaju-ngi]- u-quuji-juq
Carol.ABS elder-POSS.3P-be-see-3S.S
'Carol resembles her elder relatives.' |
|---|---|

⁶As Johns notes, incorporating verbs as a class are semantically underspecified, with few s-selectional requirements. Beyond *-tuq* 'consume,' other such verbs include *-u* 'be,' *-qaq* 'have,' *-liri* 'do/work on,' etc.

3. Incorporated objects may participate in case/ ϕ -agreement processes:

Whereas noun incorporation is typically characterized as detransitivizing, in Inuktitut such constructions **alternate** between intransitive and transitive.

- ▷ In (11b), *both* S and O ϕ -agreement are present, suggesting that incorporated objects may be cross-referenced by ϕ -morphology.⁷

(11) **Incorporated nouns may be targeted by object agreement**

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Taiviti sivalaar-tu-ruma-juq
David.ABS cookie-consume-want-3S.S
'David wants to eat the cookies.' | b. Taiviti- up sivalaar-tu-ruma-jangit
David-ERG cookie-consume-want-3S.S/3P.O
'David wants to eat these cookies.' |
|---|---|

▷ Moreover, in (11b), the subject is not ABS but **ERG**.

- In Yuan (2018), I argue that ERG case across the Eskimo-Aleut language family is *dependent*, assigned in the presence of a local case competitor (Marantz 1991, Baker 2015; cf. Bittner and Hale 1996a,b).⁸
- If so, then incorporated objects may also remain syntactically visible to sentence-level case calculations.

⁷The ability for incorporated objects to be cross-referenced by ϕ -agreement has otherwise only been reported briefly by Johns (2009) for Inuktitut, and do not necessarily extend to other varieties such as Kalaallisut (Jerry Sadock, p.c.). Note also that the target of ϕ -agreement is indeed the incorporated object, not an independent null pronoun in (11b) (in the sense of Rosen 1989 and Chung and Ladusaw 2004). In (i), we see that Inuktitut does not permit hyponymous doubling of incorporated nominals, thus ruling out such an alternative.

- (i) ***tuktu-miniq niqi-tu-ruma-jara**
caribou-former.ABS food-consume-want-1S.S/3S.O
Intended: 'I want to (food-)eat this caribou meat.'

⁸The Inuktitut data thus diverge from the more cross-linguistically common profile of noun incorporation, in which incorporation of the object bleeds dependent ERG case assignment to the subject, as in Chukchi, (i) (Baker and Bobaljik, 2018).

(i) **Chukchi: Object incorporation bleeds ERG case on subject**

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. $\text{\textcircled{e}}$ matqəmət (kawkaw-ək) kili-nin
father-ERG butter.ABS bread-LOC spread.on-3S>3S
'The father spread the butter (on the bread).' | b. $\text{\textcircled{on}}$ (kawkaw-ək) matqə-rkele-nen
father-ABS bread-LOC butter-spread.on-3S>3S
'The father spread butter (on the bread).' |
|---|--|

(Polinskaja and Nedjalkov, 1987)

4. **Incorporated objects may take wide scope:** Seen above, but even more clearly shown in (12).

(12) ***Incorporated objects may take narrow or wide scope***

- a. *Context:* Ulak has a seafood allergy.
 Ulak **iqalu-tu**-runna-nngit-tuq
 Ulak.ABS fish-eat-MODAL-NEG-3S.S
 ‘Ulak can’t/won’t eat (any) fish.’ (◊/¬ > ∃)
- b. *Context:* Because there is Arctic char around, Ulak won’t touch salmon.⁹
 Ula-up **iqalu-tu**-runna-nngit-tanga
 Ulak-ERG fish-consume-MODAL-NEG-3S.S/3S.O
 ‘Ulak won’t eat a particular fish.’ (∃ > ◊/¬)

▷ Crucially, this interpretive pattern is an extensively documented property of Inuit ABS *objects* (Bittner, 1994; Bittner and Hale, 1996a; Manga, 1996; Sadock, 2003; Wharram, 2003; Yuan, 2018):

(13) ***Kalaallisut: ABS objects take wide scope (Bittner, 1994)***

- a. suli Juuna **atuakka-mik ataatsi-mik** tigu-si-sima-nngi-laq
 still Juuna.ABS book-MOD one-MOD get-AP-PERF-NEG-3S.S
 ‘Juuna hasn’t received (even) one book yet.’ (¬ > ∃)
- b. suli Juuna-p **atuagaq ataasiq** tigu-sima-nngi-laa
 still Juuna-ERG book.ABS one.ABS get-PERF-NEG-3S.S/3S.O
 ‘There is one (particular) book Juuna hasn’t received yet.’ (∃ > ¬)

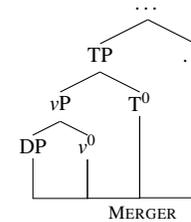
→ In these transitive incorporation examples, the incorporated object behaves like an ABS object **because it is an ABS object**.

3.2 Taking stock

- We have now seen that noun incorporation takes place to satisfy **requirements of the verb**, not requirements of the nominal (Fortescue, 1984; Johns, 2007; Cook and Johns, 2009).
 - ▷ Looking beyond v^0 s, other functional elements along the clausal spine are expounded as suffixes as well
- **Proposal:** Complex words in Inuktitut are created by a postsyntactic operation of **Merger** (e.g. Marantz, 1984; Bobaljik, 1994; Embick and Noyer, 2001; Harley, 2013), iteratively applying between adjacent syntactic nodes along the clausal spine.¹⁰

▷ In noun incorporation, v^0 undergoes Merger with the head of its nominal complement, (14).¹¹

(14) ***Merger between adjacent heads***



Takeaways:

- Incorporated nominals in Inuktitut are not structurally reduced and are accessible to case/ ϕ -agreement operations—on par with independent (non-incorporated) nominals in the language.
- Noun incorporation is derived postsyntactically via a Merger operation between v^0 and its nominal complement.

4 Movement and Merger of incorporated objects

- If incorporated nouns may participate in syntactic phenomena such as case competition and ϕ -agreement, **we also predict the possibility of syntactic movement**.
- ★ **This section:** This is borne out, and displays the interaction between Merger and chain pronunciation discussed in §1.
 - ▷ Though they surface inside the verb complex, the occurrence of phrasal (A-/Ā-) movement is nonetheless detectable from syntactic and semantic diagnostics.
- **Proposal:** Merger between v^0 and DP forces pronunciation of that DP, satisfying the Stray Affix Filter. Higher movement copies are deleted in accordance with Economy conditions on pronunciation.

⁹This context was provided by the consultant.

¹⁰That noun incorporation is postsyntactic in Inuktitut is evidenced by the data in §4, but see also Yuan (2018) for additional arguments.

¹¹The schematization in (14) is somewhat simplified for clarity. I have excluded DP-internal structure, since the rest of the talk will concern phrasal movement of the DP. Moreover, we may assume an intermediate step, not illustrated here, in which pairs of nodes undergoing Merger are successively rebracketed as complex heads.

4.1 A-movement

- A-movement in noun incorporation contexts is illustrated with **passivization**.

▷ *Salient properties in Inuktitut*: Passive verbal morphology, subject ϕ -agreement, creation of new antecedents for binding, (15).

(15) **Passives involve A-movement to subject position**

- a. angajuqa-tua-mma sua-qqau-jaanga
parent-only-POSS.1S/3P.ERG scold-REC.PST-3S.S/1S.O
'Only my parents scolded me...'
- b. **asi-kka** suak-ta-u-qqau-nngit-**tu**it
other-POSS.1S/3P.ABS scold-PASS.PART-be-REC.PST-NEG-3P.S
angajuqa-**mi**-nut
parent-POSS.REFL-ALLAT
'The others_i were not scolded by their_i parents.'

- Passivization of incorporated objects**: Passivized incorporated objects behave just like their non-incorporated counterparts.

▷ Incorporated nominals understood as plural are cross-referenced by plural subject ϕ -agreement (thus ruling out *default agreement* as an analysis), (16).

(16) **Incorporated nominals with subject ϕ -agreement**

- a. Ulak **ujami-liu**-qqau-juq
Ulak.ABS necklace-make-REC.PST-3S.S
'Ulak made a necklace/necklaces.'
- b. **ujami-liuq**-ta-u-**ju**it Suusa-mut
necklace-make-PASS.PART-be-3P.S Susan-ALLAT
'The necklaces are being made for Susan.'

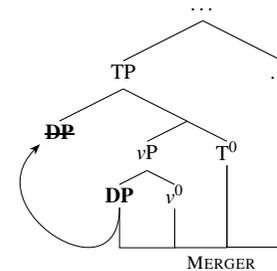
▷ Passivization of an incorporated nominal moreover permits it to bind lower anaphora, (17).

(17) **Passivized incorporated nominals as antecedents for binding**

- aasiva-tuq**-ta-u-juq nulua-**mi**-nut
spider-consume-PASS.PART-be-3S.S mate-POSS.REFL-ALLAT
'The spider_i is being eaten by its_i mate.'

- Derivation:**

(18) **A-movement in Inuktitut NI**



4.2 \bar{A} -movement

- The same pattern is borne out in **relative clauses (\bar{A} -movement)**.

- As shown in (19), the surface position of a relativized argument may be determined by the **incorporating properties** of the matrix and embedded verbs.¹²

(19) **Three patterns of copy spell-out, dependent on incorporation**

- a. **tii**-tu-ruma-junga [RC ibbit niuvi-lauq-tanga]-nit
tea-consume-want-1S.S 2S.ERG buy-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you bought.'
- b. imi-ruma-junga [RC ibbit **tii**-taa-ri-lauq-tanga]-nit
drink-want-1S.S 2S.ERG tea-get-TR-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you got.'
- c. **tii**-tu-ruma-junga [RC ibbit **tii**-taa-ri-lauq-tanga]-nit
tea-consume-want-1S.S 2S.ERG tea-get-TR-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you got.'

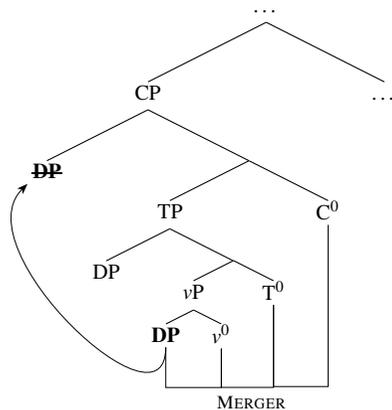
- Proposal**: The constructions in (19) are **structurally identical**, differing only in whether Merger applies between the verb and its object.

- See the **Appendix** for evidence, based on quantificational scope (cf. Basilico, 1996; Shimoyama, 1999; Hastings, 2004; Bogal-Allbritten et al., 2016).

¹²Note that this can only be seen with relativization of direct objects, since only these arguments may undergo noun incorporation.

- **Derivation:**

- ▷ \bar{A} -movement to Spec-CP in the syntax;¹³
- ▷ Postsyntactic Merger of v^0 and object DP;
- ▷ Deletion of higher movement copy in Spec-CP (possible spell-out of matrix copy depending on the matrix verb).

(20) \bar{A} -movement in Inuktitut NI**Takeaways:**

- That phrasal movement has taken place in both cases may be detected by various diagnostics for A-/ \bar{A} -movement.
- The fact that the incorporated nominal is spelled out broadly provides evidence for the Copy Theory of Movement (see also van Urk 2018 for recent discussion),
- ... and, more narrowly, shows that the spell-out and deletion of movement copies may be regulated by morphological considerations.

5 Obligatory incorporation beyond Inuktitut

- While the Inuktitut data shown here are cross-linguistically unusual, **they are not unique**—as we might expect, if this interaction between syntactic movement and Merger reflects **general well-formedness conditions at PF**.

¹³Note that the fact that the relativized argument surfaces within the embedded clause motivates a *raising* or *matching* analysis of RCs (Bhatt, 2002; Hulsey and Sauerland, 2006; Deal, 2016), as opposed to the null operator analysis.

- **Obligatory NI in Nuu-chah-nulth:** As discussed by Wojdak (2008), Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan) also has a class of verbs which obligatorily incorporate a nominal, and other verbs which disallow incorporation, (21).¹⁴

(21) *Nuu-chah-nulth: Obligatory noun incorporation*

- a. **maht'a-**aap-mit-ʔiiš čakup
house-buy-PST-3.IND man
'A man bought a house.'
cf. *aap-mit-ʔiiš **maht'ii** čakup
 - b. maakuk-mit-ʔiiš čakup **maht'ii**
buy-PST-3.IND man house
'A man bought a house.'
cf. ***maht'a-**maakuk-mit-ʔiiš čakup
- (Wojdak, 2008)

- Interestingly, Nuu-chah-nulth also permits incorporated nominals to be **passivized**:

(22) *Nuu-chah-nulth: Incorporated nominals can be passivized*

- a. **k'w**aq-iic-ʔiiš k^waaʔuuc
s.h.eggs-consume-3.IND grandchild
'Grandchild is eating spawned herring eggs.'
- b. **k'w**aq-iic-ck^wi-'at-ʔiiš ʔuuš-qh-'at
s.h.eggs-consume-EVID-PASS-3.IND some-do.by-PASS
'Spawned herring eggs must have been eaten by someone.' (Wojdak, 2008)

- ... and relativized:¹⁵

(23) *Nuu-chah-nulth: Object relative pronouns undergo incorporation*

- a. ʌ'iih-umʔ-ʔiiš [ʃuwis [**yaq-čič-mit-ii** maakuk čakup-ʔii]]
red-RD-3SG.IND shoes REL-AUX-PST-3SG.IRL buy man-DET
'The shoes the man bought are red.'
 - b. k^winʔat-mit-ʔiiš John [ʔučʔin [**yaq-aap-mit-ʔiitk]]
like-PST-3.IND John dress REL-buy-PST-2SG.RL
'John liked the dress you bought.'**
- (Wojdak, 2008)

¹⁴While the exact implementation differs, Wojdak (2008) also pursues a postsyntactic analysis of Nuu-chah-nulth complex word formation, in a similar spirit to the one proposed here, and briefly notes the similarity between Nuu-chah-nulth and Inuit (based on Kalaallisut).

¹⁵A difference, though, is that relativization in Nuu-chah-nulth involves the usage of a relative pronoun. The fact that the incorporated nominal is a relative pronoun, not a full nominal, presumably reflects a cross-linguistic difference in the formation of relative clauses, though I leave the exploration of this idea for future work. Note also that the (non-incorporated) relative pronoun in (23b) bears second-position enclitics such as tense and Q-morphology.

That Nuu-chah-nulth displays a similar incorporation pattern to Inuktitut is unsurprising, given that the two share a similar morphological profile.

- Both languages are polysynthetic and have a class of affixal verbs that morphologically attach to their complements.
- **Further explorations?** Although Wojdak (2008) does not provide concrete evidence for A-/Ā-movement, we might expect such evidence to exist in the language.

6 Conclusion

- Previous literature has argued that the pronunciation of movement chains may, in part, be regulated by PF well-formedness conditions (e.g. Landau, 2006).
- I showed that noun incorporation in Inuktitut provides new evidence for this phenomenon:
 - ▷ Objects that are incorporated into the verb nonetheless *behave* as though they have undergone phrasal (A-/Ā-) movement.
- I argued that syntactic movement truly has taken place—however, this is followed by the postsyntactic application of Merger between the verb and its object.
 - ▷ Elements that have undergone Merger must be pronounced in accordance with the Stray Affix Filter (Lasnik, 1981), while copies of such elements may be deleted.
- **More broadly:** Novel morphosyntactic support for **covert movement as lower copy spell-out**, both in A- and Ā-contexts (e.g. Bobaljik, 2002; Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012; Boškovič, 2002; Reintges et al., 2006).

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A Evidence for \bar{A} -movement in Inuktitut relativization

- The three copy spell-out patterns in Inuktitut relative clauses are repeated in (24):

(24) Three patterns of copy spell-out, dependent on incorporation

- $\boxed{\text{tii}}$ -tu-ruma-junga [RC ibbit niuvi-lauq-tanga]-nit
tea-consume-want-1S.S 2S.ERG buy-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you bought.'
- imi-ruma-junga [RC ibbit $\boxed{\text{tii}}$ -taa-ri-lauq-tanga]-nit
drink-want-1S.S 2S.ERG tea-get-TR-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you got.'
- $\boxed{\text{tii}}$ -tu-ruma-junga [RC ibbit $\boxed{\text{tii}}$ -taa-ri-lauq-tanga]-nit
tea-consume-want-1S.S 2S.ERG tea-get-TR-PST-3S.S/3S.O-MOD
'I want to drink the tea that you got.'

- Though the relativized argument surfaces within the relative clause in (24b-c), these sentences are **syntactically head-external**, i.e. they are not canonically internally-headed relative clauses.
- In languages that have both head-internal and head-external RCs, IHRCs contrast semantically with their EHRC counterparts (Basilico, 1996; Shimoyama, 1999; Hastings, 2004; Bogal-Allbritten et al., 2016). Illustrated with Japanese:

(25) Japanese: Different interpretations of EHRCs/IHRCs with 'most'

- Taro-wa [[Yoko-ga reezooko-ni irete-oita] **kukkii-o hotondo**]
Taro-TOP Yoko-NOM refrigerator-NI put-AUX cookie-ACC most
paatii-ni motte itta
party-LOC brought
'Taro brought most cookies that Yoko had put in the fridge to the party.'
- Taro-wa [[Yoko-ga reezooko-ni **kukkii-o hotondo**
Taro-TOP Yoko-NOM refrigerator-NI cookie-ACC most
irete-oita]-no]-o paatii-ni motte itta
put-AUX-NM-ACC party-LOC brought
'Yoko put most cookies in the fridge and Taro brought them to the party.'
(Shimoyama, 1999)

- In contrast to Japanese, incorporated nominals in Inuktitut RCs are interpreted as though they take **RC-external scope**, (26).

- ▷ The provided context *excludes a RC-internal interpretation*. The fact that the constructions are nonetheless felicitous demonstrates that these are *uniformly head-external at LF*.

(26) Inuktitut: IHRCs with numeral 'only one' take head-external scope

Context: Carol made five necklaces to sell, but Taiviti bought only one of them.

- Kiuru tallima-nik ujami- $\boxed{\text{liu}}$ -laur-mat takkua
Carol.ABS five-PL.MOD necklace-make-PST-CAUS.3S.S DEM.PL.ABS
tamarmik niuviaksa-ri-laur-tangit
all.ABS for.sale-TR-PST-3S.S/3P.O
'Having made five necklaces, Carol had them all for sale...'
- kisiani Taiviti-up niuvi-lauq-tanga [RC Kiuru-up $\boxed{\text{atausi-tuaq}}$
but David-ERG buy-PST-3S.S/3S.O Carol-ERG one-only.ABS
 $\boxed{\text{ujami}}$ - $\boxed{\text{liu}}$ -lauq-tanga]
necklace-make-PST-3S.S/3S.O
'... but David bought only one necklace that Carol made.'
Unavailable: # 'Taiviti bought a necklace that Carol made only one of.'