Dataset 'Formal variation in incorporation: A typological study and a unified approach'

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This document includes the data and information that has been used to decide whether a particular form can or cannot be incorporated in each of the 30 sample languages. '+' means that the form can be incorporated in the language, '−' shows that the form cannot be incorporated in the language and '#' indicates that the form is irrelevant for the parts of speech that can be incorporated in the language. Incorporated elements in the examples are displayed in bold. Glosses in the examples follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). Abbreviations used:

1 = first person	AN = animate
2 = second person	ANTIP = antipassive
3 = third person	APPL = applicative
I = gender class I	ART = article
II = gender class II	ASP = aspect
V = noun class V	AU = augmented
VII = noun class VII	AUG = augmentative
A = agent-like argument of canonical	AUX = auxiliary
transitive verb	BAS = basic (nominal suffix, in contrast to
AB = absential	INV)
ABL = ablative	BE = bound element
ABS = absolutive	BEN = benefactive
ABSS = absolute state	BR = bound root
ACC = accusative	CAUS = causative
ACSBJ = subject of active verb	CLF = classifier
ADVZ = adverbializer	CO = co-participant
AFF = affirmative	COM = comitative
ALL = allative	COMPL = completive

COND = conditional

CONT = continuative

DAT = dative

DDEIX = distal deixis

DECL = declarative

DEF = definite

DEM = demonstrative

DEP = dependent form

DET = determiner

DIM = dimunitive

DINC = dependent incompletive

DR = bivalent direct

DR2 = secondary direct marker

DS = different-subject marker

DSCM = discourse marker

DU = dual

DUR = durative

E = epenthesis

EMPH = emphatic

ERG = ergative

F = feminine

FUT = future

GOAL = goal postposition

HAB = habitual

HORT = hortative

IMM = immediate (aspect)

IMP = imperative

INAN = inanimate

INCL = inclusive

INCOMPL = incompletive

IND = indicative

INDF = indefinite

INF = infinitive

INS = instrumental

INT = intentional

INTENT = future intentive

INTR = intransitive

IPFV = imperfective

IRR = irrealis

ITER = iterative

IVF = incorporating verb form

LNDEIX = location/negation deixis

LOC = locative

M = masculine

MS = morphotactic separator – inserted due to morphonological rules

MULT = multiple

N = neuter

NEG = negation/negative

NF = nonfeminine

NMLZ = nominalizer/nominalization

NOW = contemporaneous

NPST = nonpast

NSPEC = nonspecific aspect

OBJ = object

OBL = oblique

P = patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb

PASS = passive

PERAMB = perambulative

PFV = perfective

PL = plural

PNCT = punctual

POSS = possessive

POT = potential aspect

PRE = nominal inflection prefix

PRF = perfect

PRO = emphatic or contrastive proform

PROG = progressive

PRS = present

PST = past

PTCP = participle

QU = qualifier

QUOT = quotative

R = realis

RC = relative case

RECP = reciprocal

REFL = reflexive

REL = relative

RES = resultative

RMA = remote aspect

RMP = remote past

RSBJ = redundant subject agreement
marker in verbs

S = single argument of canonical
intransitive verb

SBJ = subject

SBJV = subjunctive

SCE = source

SG = singular

SHIFT = perspective-shifting suffix

SIM = simultaneous

SPORT = sportive, imitative

SS = same-subject marker

STM = stem

SUB = subordinator

SUF = nominal inflection suffix

TC = thematic consonant

TEL = telic

TH = thematic prefix

TR = transitive

VBLZ = verbalizer/verbalization

VO = voice

Bininj Kun-Wok

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal +	*Barri-**ganj**-ngune-ng.*
	3AU>3.PST-meat-eat-PST.PFV
	'They ate the meat.'
	(Evans 2003: 330)
	ganj 'meat' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Evans 2003: 330).
Verbal	Verbal lexical morphemes cannot be incorporated (Evans 2003: 319, 536). Verbal lexical morphemes do exist (Evans 2003: 364).
Adjectival	

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Adverbial +	*Djama ba-**wernh**-ngomga-yi.*
	not 3.PST-properly-swim-IRR
	'He couldn't swim properly.'
	(Evans 2003: 500)
	wernh 'properly' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Evans 2003: 130, 611).
Adpositional	
<u>Derived stem +</u>	
Nominal +	*Nga-**godj-mud**-djobge-rre-n.*
	1-head-hair-cut-REFL/RECP-NPST
	'I'm going to cut my hair.'
	(Evans 2003: 331)
	godj-mud 'hair' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (Evans 2003: 331).
Verbal	Verbal derived stems cannot be incorporated (Evans 2003: 319, 536). Verbal derived stems do exist (Evans 2003: 323–336).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Evans 2003: 130, 596).
Adpositional	
<u>Inflected word +</u>	
Nominal	No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found. Nominal inflected words do exist (Evans 2003: 133). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement

marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Evans 2003: 133, 136).

Verbal +	*Ga-**wayini-hmi**-re.* 3-sing-IVF-go.NPST 'He goes along singing all the way.' (Evans 2003: 543) *wayini-hmi* 'singing' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *wayini* 'sing' (Evans 2003: 507) and an inflectional gerundive ("incorporating verb form") affix (contextual inflection) *-hmi* (Evans 2003: 543). The host *re* 'go' is a stem (with tense marking): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Evans 2003: 480).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	
Phrase −	
Nominal	Noun phrases do not exist (Evans 2003: 227).
Verbal	Verb phrases do not exist (Evans 2003: 317).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrases found.
Adpositional	

Clause −   *Ga-**ganj-ngu-nihmi**-re.*

3-meat-eat-IVF-go.NPST

'He goes along eating meat.'

(Evans 2003: 536)

No conclusive evidence for clause incorporation: *ganj-ngu-nihmi* 'eating meat' can either be a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation structure) or a clause. The host *re* 'go' is a stem (with tense marking): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Evans 2003: 480).

References

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Chimalapa Zoque

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +   *də=**šək**-wiš-tam-wə*

1.ABS=bean-uproot-1/2PL-COMPL

'We were uprooting bean plants.'

(Johnson 2000: 268)

šək 'bean' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 254).

Verbal +   *ya   də=**wit**-poc-wə*

NEG   1.ABS=walk-get.tired-COMPL

'I didn't get tired from walking (but I did walk).'

(Johnson 2000: 222)

wit 'walk' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 268).

Adjectival +   *nəmmə*   *ʔəy=**wəhə-**cək-šuk-wə*

PROG   3.ERG=good-do-2/3PL-DINC

'They were repairing it.'

(Johnson 2000: 278)

wəhə 'good' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 105). *wəhə* is an adjective (Johnson 2000: 68), but functions here as an adverb (Johnson 2000: 278). The host *cək* 'do' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 14).

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

Stem with deriv. morph.:   *ʔən=**cən-kuyʔ-**ciʔ-šuk-wə*   *ʔi*   Ø   *cən-šuk-wə*

1.ERG=sit-INS-give-2/3PL-COMPL   and   3.ABS   sit-2/3PL-COMPL

'I gave them seats and they sat down.'

(Johnson 2000: 276)

cən-kuyʔ 'seats' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *cən* 'sit' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 129) and *-kuyʔ* 'instrumental' is a word-class changing derivational affix (Johnson 2000: 185, 187).

Gramm. compound: *nək-pa*   *ʔəy=**šoš-ʔane**=cak-hay-šuk-wə*

go-INCOMPL   3.ERG=bean-tortilla-leave-APPL-2/3PL-DINC

'They go to leave bean tamales for him.'

(Johnson 2000: 270)

šoš-ʔane 'bean tortilla' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Johnson 2000: 270).

Verbal +	
Stem with deriv. morph.:	*deʔse* *bi* *ʔəm=**wat-ʔoy**-təʔ-tam-pa*

thus   DEF   2.ERG=earn-ANTIP-want-1/2PL-INCOMPL

'This is how you want to be earning.'

(Johnson 2000: 219)

wat-ʔoy 'earning' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *wat* 'earn' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 148) and *-ʔoy* 'antipassive' is a valency-changing derivational affix (Johnson 2000: 148). The host *teʔ* 'want' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 39).

Gramm. compound: *də=**kahwe-ʔuk**-tuk-wə*

1.ABS=coffee-drink-finish-COMPL

'I finished drinking coffee.'

(Johnson 2000: 221)

kahwe-ʔuk 'drinking coffee' is a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation construction) (Johnson 2000: 275). The host *tuk* 'finish' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Johnson 2000: 215, 343).

Adjectival   No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Johnson 2000: 182).

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Inflected word −</u>

Nominal   No examples of nominal inflected words found.

Verbal   No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal
                               inflected words do exist (Johnson 2000: 100). Contextual inflection
                               on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating
                               form) does not exist (Johnson 2000: 114–115).

Adjectival   Adjectival inflected words do not exist (Johnson 2000: 68–69,
                               245–246).

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal   No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do
                               exist (Johnson 2000: 241–242).

Verbal   No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do
                               exist (Johnson 2000: 87–88, 96).

Adjectival   No examples of adjective phrases found.

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause −</u>   No examples of clause incorporation found.

References

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of Texas dissertation.

Chukchi

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal + ʔətt-ə-n   **milute**-piri-ɣʔi-Ø

dog-E-ABS.SG   hare-catch-3SG.S-PST

'The dog caught a hare.'

(Kurebito 2012: 181)

milute 'hare' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme (Kurebito 2012: 181).

Verbal + tə-**gagcaw**-kətgəntat-gʔak

1SG.S-hurry-run-1SG.S

'I ran, hurrying.'

(Skorik 1948: 77, cited in Spencer 1995: 456)

gagcaw 'hurry' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme (Spencer 1995: 456).

Adjectival + n-iw-qin   *"q-**ʔomr**-enanrat-ə-rkən!"*   // orw-etə

HAB-say-3SG.S   INT-strong-hold.on-E-PROG   sled-ALL

n-ʔomr-enanrat-qen

HAB-strong-hold.on-3SG.S

'She says: hold on strongly. He held on strongly to the sled.'

(Dunn 1999: 233)

ʔomr 'strong' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme (Dunn 1999: 295). *ʔomr* is an adjective
(Dunn 1999: 232–233).

Adverbial + məggətkalʔən   qejwe nə-**janot**-pəker-gʔan

many.legged.one   indeed 3SG.S.COND-first-come-3SG.S

'Indeed, the many-legged one would come first.'
(Skorik 1948: 78, cited in Spencer 1995: 456)

janot 'first' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Spencer 1995: 456). *janot* is an adverb (Spencer 1995: 456).

Adpositional

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal +

*tə-**wel-ənnə**-tke-rkən*
1SG.S-rotten-fish-smell-PRS
'I smell of rotten fish.'
(Skorik 1961: 103, cited in Spencer 1995: 481)

wel-ənnə 'rotten fish' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction): *wel-ənnə* cannot be a phrase, because it functions as a non-object complement (Spencer 1995: 481, 1999), and non-absolutive noun phrases do not exist (Dunn 1999: 159).

Verbal

No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Dunn 1999: 221–233).

Adjectival

No examples of adjectival derived stems found. Adjectival derived stems in the form of compounds do not exist (Dunn 1999: 293), but derived relational adjectives do exist (Dunn 1999: 151).

Adverbial

No examples of adverbial derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Spencer 1995: 455).

Adpositional

<u>Inflected word −</u>

Nominal	Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Muravyova 1998: 522; Dunn 2017: p.c.). Nominal inflected words do exist (Dunn 1999: 97). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, non-referential possessive marking) does exist (Dunn 1999: 97).
Verbal	Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Muravyova 1998: 522; Dunn 2017: p.c.). Verbal inflected words do exist (Dunn 1999: 175–195). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Dunn 1999: 80).
Adjectival	Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Muravyova 1998: 522; Dunn 2017: p.c.). Adjectival inflection does exist (Dunn 1999: 66–67). Contextual inflection on adjectives (agreement marking) does exist (Dunn 1999: 151).
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	

Phrase −

Nominal	*ʈə-**tor-taŋ-pəlwəntə-pojgə**-pela-rkən*
	1SG.S-new-good-metal-spear-leave-PRS
	'I am leaving a good, new, metal spear.'
	(Skorik 1961: 103, cited in Spencer 1995: 480)
	No conclusive evidence for noun phrase incorporation: *tor-taŋ-pəlwəntə-pojgə* 'a good, new, metal spear' can either be a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound or a noun phrase. According to Kurebito (2001: 75), noun phrases can be incorporated. According to Dunn (2017: p.c.), phrases cannot be incorporated.

Verbal	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Dunn 2017: p.c.). Verb phrases do exist (Dunn 1999: 325).
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrases found.
Adverbial	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Dunn 2017: p.c.). Adverb phrases do exist (Dunn 1999: 283–284).
Adpositional	
Clause −	ənko mət-mec-**qora-gərke**-plətko-mək then 1PL.S-almost-deer-hunt-finish-1PL.S 'Then we almost finished hunting reindeer.' (Skorik 1948: 83, cited in Spencer 1995: 459) No conclusive evidence for clause incorporation: *qora-gərke* 'hunting reindeer' can either be a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation structure) or a clause. Clauses cannot be incorporated (Dunn 2017: p.c.). *plətko* 'finish' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Dunn 1999: 186).

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Crow

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal +

*Henry huua-sh kaka=**áachiwin**-nuchkit-ak dahkó*

Henry say.PL-DET again=milk-squeeze-SS continue

héelap-ko

middle-area

'while Henry was milking again'

(Graczyk 2007: 375)

áachiwin 'milk' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 72).

Verbal +

hinne bacheé Jesus ak=baa-kawíi-hile ko sapíhkaa-(a)k

this man Jesus REL=INDF-evil-do PRO favour-SS

***áx(p)**-baa-lusshi-k*

be.with-INDF-eat-DECL

'This man Jesus favors sinners and eats with them.'

(Graczyk 2007: 315)

áx(p) 'be with' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 315).

Adjectival

Adverbial +

"Nouns, postpositions, quantifiers, and adverbs all incorporate quite freely" (Wallace 1993: 53).

Adpositional +

*al=al-íhee kúh balee-**aák** óol-ak daachí-h*

REL=3.ACSBJ-bet PRO 1PL.OBJ-with wait.for-SS remain-IMP

'Wait for us with your bet.'

(Graczyk 2007: 388)

aák 'with' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 362, 388). In this example, it is unclear if the incorporated adposition becomes phonologically part of the verb or remains a separate phonological word (Graczyk 2007: 389). The fact that *aák* follows the verbal (Graczyk 2007: 389) person marking prefix is evidence for the morphosyntactic incorporation of the adposition into the verb with the stem *óol* 'wait for' (Graczyk 2007: 387).

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal +

baa-luúsh-*chiili*
INDF-eat-look.for
'look for food'
(Graczyk 2007: 281)

baa-luúsh 'food' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *luúsh* 'eat' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 64) and *baa-* 'indefinite' is a word-class changing derivational affix (Graczyk 2007: 48).

Verbal

No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Graczyk 2007: 312–313, 315–317).

Adjectival

Adverbial

No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Graczyk 2007: 155–163).

Adpositional

No examples of adpositional derived stem incorporation found. Adpositional derived stems do exist: the adposition *-chiisaa* 'at' is a suffix (it can only attach to other postpositions [Graczyk 2007: 372]) and can form compounds with nouns such as *aakaa-chiisáa* 'right over', including *aakaa* 'top' (Graczyk 2007: 366).

Inflected word +

Nominal +

iháahcheche   **is-awus-úu**-*lia-(a)k*   *kuhchée*

different.places   3.POSS-den-PL-make-SS   here.and.there

ee-kulusáa-(a)k

their.food-put.away-SS

'They make their dens in different places and store their food here and there.'

(Graczyk 2007: 282)

is-awus-úu 'their dens' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *awus* 'den' (Graczyk 2007: 44), an inflectional possessive affix (inherent inflection) *is-* (Graczyk 2007: 52) and an inflectional plural affix (inherent inflection) *-úu* (Graczyk 2007: 52). Contextual inflection on nouns (alienability-dependent possessive marking) does exist (Graczyk 2007: 51–52). The host *lia* 'make' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 74, 183).

Verbal +

dáak-kisshe   *xuáhchee-kisshi-m*   *óo-kaashee-sh*   *kalaaxtá-m*

child-SPORT   skunk-SPORT-DET   bring-AUG-DET   forget-DS

óotchia-heelapee-n *baa-chilaá-(a)k*

night-middle-LOC   1.ACSBJ-get.up-SS

bah-kúnnaa-*waa-u-k*

1.ACSBJ-fetch-go.1PL.ACSBJ-PL-DECL

'When he forgot the toy skunk that he brought everywhere, we got up in the middle of the night and went after it.'

(Graczyk 2007: 313)

bah-kúnnaa- 'I/we fetch' is an inflected word consisting of a bound root *kúnnaa-* 'fetch' (Graczyk 2007: 313) and an inflectional person-marking affix (inherent inflection) *bah-* (Graczyk 2007: 133). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Graczyk 2009:

269). The host *waa* 'go' is a stem (with person and number marking): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 135–136).

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional inflected word incorporation found. Adpositional inflected words do exist (Graczyk 2007: 362–363, 375–377). Contextual inflection on adpositions (non-referential person-marking) does not exist (Graczyk 2007: 362–363, 375–377).

Phrase +

Nominal   No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Graczyk 2007: 214–215).

Verbal   No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Graczyk 2007: 203–205).

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverb phrases found.

Adpositional +

ash-bacheeítchi-m	*Apsáalooke*	*kuxshi-kaás-ak*
lodge-chief-SIM	Crows	help-AUG-SS
*ak=**baaiilápxisaahkuua**=ss-dee-sh*		*héelee-la-k*
REL=Washington=GOAL-go-DET		among-be.at-DECL

'As a reservation chief he really helped the Crows, he was among those who went to Washington [as tribal delegates].'
(Graczyk 2007: 412)

Baaiilápxisaahkuua=ss 'to Washington' is a phrase: it consists of two morphosyntactic words (Graczyk 2007: 372). The host *dee* 'go' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Graczyk 2007: 135, 238).

Clause −   […]   *"d-íluu-h*
                                      2.ACSBJ-stand-IMP

                                dii-lii-wah-kúnnaa-wuu-o-k"   *huu-k*
                                2.PRO-2.OBJ-1.ACSBJ-fetch-come.1PL.ACSBJ-PL-DECL say.PL-DECL
                                '[…] "stand up, we have come to fetch you" they said.'
                                (Graczyk 2007: 313)

                                No conclusive evidence for clause incorporation: *dii-lii-wah-kúnnaa* 'to fetch you' can function as a clause (Graczyk 2009: 269) but is formally also just an inflected word.

References

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Eastern Ojibwa

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Bound root: *biis-**kon'y**-e*
                                put.on-clothes-AN.INTR
                                'put on clothes'
                                (Valentine 2001: 412)

-kon'y 'clothes' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Valentine 2001: 411–412).

Stem:	*book-**jaan**-e* break-nose-AN.INTR 'have a broken nose' (Valentine 2001: 330) *jaan* 'nose' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Valentine 2001: 199).
Verbal	No examples of verbal lexical morpheme incorporation found. Verbal lexical morphemes ("initials") do exist (Valentine 2001: 333; Barrie and Mathieu 2016: 11).
Adjectival +	*gii-naboob-ke-w. Apiiji* PST-soup-AN.INTR-3SG.SBJ very *gii-**mino**-waagame* PST-good-taste.[liquid].INAN.INTR 'He/she was making soup$_i$. It$_i$ tasted very good.' (Mathieu 2013: 122) *mino* 'good' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Mathieu 2013: 122). *mino* is an adjective (Mathieu 2009).
Adverbial +	*zaː**mi**-mŋgideːzi* too-be.wide.3 'It's too wide.' (Rhodes 1976: 240)

za:mi 'too' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *zaam* (Rhodes 1976: 239–240; Valentine 2001: 145, 424).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

*gii-naad-**(i)bkwenzh-gan**-ee-w*
PST-fetch-bread-NMLZ-AN.INTR-3SG.SBJ
'He went after some bread.'
(Mathieu 2013: 127)

(i)bkwenzh-gan 'bread' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *(i)bkwenzh* 'bread' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Mathieu 2013: 127) and *-gan* 'nominalizer' is a word-class changing derivational affix (Mathieu 2013: 126).

Verbal +

***gaj-ii**-kaazo*
ashamed-AN.INTR-pretend
'pretend to be shy'
(Valentine 2001: 414)

gajii 'be ashamed' is an alternate form of the derived stem *gaji* (Valentine 2001: 414) that has the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *gaji* contains an alternate form of the stem ("initial") *agad* 'ashamed' and a word-class and valency-determining morpheme ("abstract final") *-i* (Valentine 2001: 325, 333–334, 414–415).

Adjectival

Adjectival derived stems do not exist (Barrie and Mathieu 2016: 18).

Adverbial	No examples of adverbial derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Valentine 2001: 522).
Adpositional	
Inflected word −	
Nominal	Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Barrie and Mathieu 2016: 12). Nominal inflected words do exist (Valentine 2001: 630). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking) does exist (Valentine 2001: 630). Note that the morpheme -*i* 'have' may be considered an incorporating verbal bound root because of its lexical meaning, and this element hosts incorporated "possessive nouns that surface with the third-person possessive *o-*" (Mathieu 2013: 106). Thus, it incorporates inflected nouns, but the inflection is always third person, i.e. frozen, and these nouns do therefore not count as incorporated nominal inflected words.
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Valentine 2001: 635). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person marking for obviative nouns) does exist (Rhodes and Valentine 2015: 1210).
Adjectival	Adjectival inflected words do not exist (Barrie and Mathieu 2016: 18).
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	
Phrase −	
Nominal	No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Valentine 2001: 930).

Verbal	No examples of verb phrases found.
Adjectival	Adjective phrases do not exist (Barrie and Mathieu 2016: 18).
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrases found.
Adpositional	
Clause −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Halkomelem
Lexical morpheme +
Nominal +

Bound root:	*niʔ šk̓ʷ-**əyəɬ** tə Mary.*
	AUX bathe-baby DET Mary
	'Mary bathed the/a baby.'
	(Gerdts 2003: 347)

-əyəɬ 'baby' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Gerdts 2003: 346).

Stem:	*cɬ-i̓θə́x̌tən*
	die.of-poison
	'die of poison'
	(Suttles 2004: 275)

i̓θə́x̌tən 'poison' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Suttles 2004: 536).

| Verbal | No examples of verbal lexical morpheme incorporation found. Verbal lexical morphemes do exist (Suttles 2004: 135). |

Adjectival +	x^w-*cákw*
	move.toward-far
	'go far'
	(Suttles 2004: 275)

cákw 'far' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Suttles 2004: 355). *cákw* is an adjective (Suttles 2004: 219).

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal +	*ƛ̓-néc̓-əwtx^w*
	go.to-different-house
	'visit, call on a neighbor'
	(Suttles 2004: 275)

néc̓-əwtxw 'neighbor' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Suttles 2004: 297; Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 493).

Verbal +	*niʔ c-t̓θáyə-íˑm.* AUX get-fur.seal-die.from 'They died hunting fur seals.' (Suttles 2004: 276)

c-t̓θáyə 'hunting fur seals' is a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation construction) (Suttles 2004: 201, 269).

Adjectival	No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Suttles 2004: 223–224, 291–292).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	

<u>Inflected word +</u>

Nominal +	*c-ʔem̓~iməθ* have-PL~child 'have grandchildren' (Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 492)

ʔem̓~iməθ 'grandchildren' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *ʔiməθ* 'grandchild' (Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 492) and an inflectional plural reduplicated morpheme (inherent inflection) *ʔem̓* (Suttles 2004: 209–210; Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 492). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Gerdts 1982: 2; Suttles 2004: 324–327).

	The host *c-* 'have' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 490). This example shows that *c-* has a lexical meaning.
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Suttles 2004: 137–138). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Suttles 2004: 320–331).
Adjectival	No examples of adjectival inflected word incorporation found. Adjectival inflected words do exist (Suttles 2004: 221–222). Contextual inflection on adjectives (agreement marking) does exist (Suttles 2004: 221–222).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Phrase −</u>	
Nominal	Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 495). Noun phrases do exist (Gerdts and Hukari 2008: 495).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Suttles 2004: 34).
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrase incorporation found. Adjective phrases do exist (Suttles 2004: 418).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Clause −</u>	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Hokkaido Ainu

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Bound root: **he**-*puni*

head-lift.up

'to raise (one's) head'

(Tamura 2000: 197)

he- 'head' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Tamura 2000: 196).

Stem: *A-**mukcar**-tuye.*

INDF.A-chest-cut

'I cut his chest.'

(Shibatani 1990: 64)

mukcar 'chest' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Kaiser 1998: 158).

Verbal +   **mokor**-*kasu*

sleep-exceed

'to oversleep'

(Tamura 2000: 195)

mokor 'sleep' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Tamura 2000: 242). The host *kasu* 'exceed' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Tamura 2000: 117).

Adjectival

Adverbial +

*A-**toyko**-kikkik.*
INDF.A-thoroughly-beat
'I beat (him) up thoroughly.'
(Shibatani 1990: 71–72)

toyko 'thoroughly' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Shibatani 1990: 71).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

*ku-**tek-e**-pase*
1SG.S/A-hand-POSS-heavy
'I feel as if I had aged.' (lit. 'I am my-hands-heavy.')
(Sato 2016: 85)

tek-e 'hand' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *tek* 'hand' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Sato 2016: 84) and *-e* is a derivational affix that forms the relational ("affiliative") form of the nominal stem (Tamura 2000: 85).

Verbal

No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Tamura 2000: 194–198, 213–215, 218–219).

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Adjectival

Adverbial   Adverbial derived stems cannot be incorporated (Shibatani 1990:
                       71). Adverbial derived stems do exist (Shibatani 1990: 71).

Adpositional

<u>Inflected word +</u>

Nominal +   *siknu=an*   *wa*   **yay-cise**-*ko-hosipi=an*
                       be.alive=INDF.S   and   REFL-house-to.APPL-return=INDF.S
                       '(Thanks to the goddess) I came back to life and returned to my
                       own house.'
                       (Okuda 1993: 301, cited in Bugaeva 2010: 789)

                       yay-cise 'my own house' is an inflected word consisting of a stem
                       cise 'house' (Bugaeva 2010: 780) and an inflectional reflexive affix
                       (inherent inflection) *yay-* (Bugaeva 2010: 792). Contextual
                       inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement
                       marking, non-referential and/or alienability dependent possessive
                       marking) does not exist (Shibatani 1990: 31; Bugaeva 2012: 478).

Verbal   No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal
                       inflected words do exist (Tamura 2000: 48). Contextual inflection
                       on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating
                       form) does not exist (Tamura 2000: 48).

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected word incorporation found.
                       Adverbial inflected words do exist (Tamura 2000: 95–109).
                       Contextual inflection on adverbs (non-referential person marking)
                       does not exist (Tamura 2000: 95–109).

Adpositional

Phrase +				
Nominal +	***kamuy-or**-o-arpa=an*	*ka*	*e-aykap*	
	god-place-to.APPL-go.SG=INDF.S	even	of.APPL-be.unable.AUX	
	korka			
	but			

'I couldn't even go to the other world.' (lit. 'to the land of gods') (Nakagawa and Bugaeva 2010, cited in Bugaeva 2010: 790)

kamuy-or 'the land of gods' is a phrase: it consists of two morphosyntactic words (Tamura 2000: 107, 189). The host *arpa* 'go' is a stem (with number marking): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Tamura 2000: 91).

Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Tamura 2000: 93).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrase incorporation found. Adverb phrases do exist (Tamura 2000: 95–109).
Adpositional	
Clause −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Iraqw

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal +

aga   **hee**-*gáas*

1SG.PRF   man-kill.1SG

'I committed manslaughter.'

(Kooij and Mous 2002: 633)

hee 'man' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Mous 1992: 109).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal +

aa   **si'i-im-a**   *hhe'ées*

3.SBJ.PRF   refuse-DUR-NMLZ   finish.3SG.M.PST

'He refused completely.'

(Mous 1992: 259)

si'i-im-a 'refusing' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *si'i* 'refuse' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Mous 1992: 77) and is

here combined with the durative suffix *-im* (Mous 1992: 77), and *-a* is a nominalizing word-class changing derivational affix (Mous 1992: 77). The host *hhe'ées* 'finish' is a stem (with number marking): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Mous 1992: 134). Note that in this example the incorporated element and its host are presented as independent orthographic words. However, the position of the incorporated element, preceding the verbal stem but following the verbal "inflectional element", and the absence of construct case shows that there is morphosyntactic incorporation (Kooij and Mous 2002: 633–634).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −

Nominal   Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Kooij and Mous 2002: 634). Nominal inflected words do exist (Mous 1992: 90, 92). Contextual inflection on nouns ("construct case") does exist (Mous 1992: 94).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal

Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Kooij and Mous 2002: 634).

Noun phrases do exist (Mous 1992: 229).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause −</u>

Clauses cannot be incorporated (Kooij and Mous 2002: 634).

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Kalaallisut

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal +

Fari-mit **allagar**-si-vuq

Fari-ABL.SG   letter-receive-3SG.IND

'He got a letter from Fari.'

(Fortescue 1984: 214)

allagar 'letter' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Fortescue 1984: 16).

Verbal +

kukku-naviirsaar-puq

make.a.mistake-try.not.to-3SG.IND

'He tried not to make a mistake.'

(Fortescue 1984: 325)

kukku 'make a mistake' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Fortescue 1984: 41).

Adjectival

Adverbial +

*tuqu-**ngajap**-puq*
die-almost-3SG.IND
'He almost died.'
(Fortescue 1984: 326)

-ngajap 'almost' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Fortescue 1984: 326).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

qiqirta-mi   ***qanit-tu**-miip-puq*
island-LOC.SG   be.near-INTR.PTCP-be.on-3SG.IND
'It is on a nearby island.'
(Fortescue 1984: 78)

qanit-tu 'nearby' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *qanit* 'be near' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Fortescue 1984: 151) and *-tu* is a word-class changing derivational affix (Fortescue 1984: 315).

Verbal +

arna-p   *miiraq*   *niqi-mik*
woman-RC.SG   child   meat-INS.SG
***aa-lli**-qqu-aa*
fetch-ANTIP-tell.to-3SG>3SG.IND
'The woman told the child to bring some meat.'
(Fortescue 1984: 87)

aa-lli 'fetch' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *aa* 'fetch' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Fortescue 1984: 38) and *-lli* is a valency-changing derivational affix (Fortescue 1984: 267).

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial derived stems found.

Adpositional

Inflected word +

Nominal +   **illu-mi**-*niip-puq*
                          house-REFL.POSS-be.in-3SG.IND
                          'He is in his (own) house.'
                          (Fortescue 1984: 300–301)

                          illu-mi 'his house' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *illu* 'house' (Fortescue 1984: 32) and an inflectional possessive affix (inherent inflection) *-mi* (Fortescue 1984: 207). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking) does exist (Fortescue 2004: 1391).

Verbal +   *imiq*   **nillir-sima**-*nirar-paa*
                          water   be.cold-PFV-say.that-3SG>3SG.IND
                          'He said the water had been cold (e.g. the day before).'
                          (Fortescue 1984: 274)

                          nillir-sima 'had been cold' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *nillir* 'be cold' (Fortescue 1984: 293) and an inflectional aspectual affix (inherent inflection) *-sima* (Fortescue 1984: 276). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Fortescue 1984: 82).

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Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional

Phrase −

Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Fortescue 2017: p.c.). Noun phrases do exist (Fortescue 1984: 107).

Verbal   No examples of verb phrases found.

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverb phrases found.

Adpositional

Clause −   Clauses cannot be incorporated (Fortescue 2017: p.c.).

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Ket

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Stem: *assano   ke'd   tīb   d=**sal**-a-t-a-kit*

                        hunting   person   dog   3.SBJ=tobacco-3SG.M.OBJ-TC-PRS-rub

                        'The hunter "tobaccoed" the dog (to rid it of fleas).'

(Vajda 2017: 916)

sal 'tobacco' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Vajda 2017: 916).

Alternate stem:	*d-**don**-s'-i-vet*
	1SG.SBJ-knife-PRS-E-make
	'I am making a knife.'
	(Drossard 2002: 235)

don 'knife' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *don'* (Drossard 2002: 236). The host *vet* 'make' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Drossard 2002: 236).

Verbal

Adjectival +	*da=**qa**-a-qan*
	3SG.F.SBJ=big-PRS-become
	'She becomes big.'
	(Vajda 2017: 918)

qa 'big' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Georg 2007: 138). The host *qan* 'become' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Vajda 2017: 919).

Adverbial +	*k[u]-**aka**-ba-t-(s)-aq*
	2SG.SBJ-to.the.forest-RSBJ-DET-(MS)-go
	'You go to the forest.'
	(Georg 2007: 233, Smith 2014: 15 used for glosses)

aka 'to the forest' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Pavlenko 2003: 101). The host *aq* 'go'

is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Vajda 2003: 63; Georg 2007: 210).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +   *da-**haŋ-s'el'**-ɢ-ej*

3SG.F.SBJ-female-reindeer-DET-kill

'She killed a female reindeer.'

(Drossard 2002: 230)

haŋ-s'el' 'female reindeer' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Werner 1997: 50–52; Drossard 2002: 230).

Verbal

Adjectival   No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Georg 2007: 141–142).

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Werner 1997: 71; Georg 2007: 150).

Adpositional

Inflected word +

Nominal +   *d-**don'-aŋ**-s'-i-vet*

1SG.SBJ-knife-PL-PRS-E-make

'I'm making knives.'

(Drossard 2002: 235)

don'-aŋ 'knives' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *don'* 'knife' (Maksunova 2003: 101) and an inflectional plural affix

(inherent inflection) *-aŋ* (Georg 2007: 93). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Vajda 2004: 16–21). The host *vet* 'make' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Drossard 2002: 236).

Verbal

Adjectival   Adjectival inflected words do not exist (Werner 1997: 123).

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional

Phrase +

Nominal +   **b=kutɔlɛj-*b-a-ta***
                    1SG.POSS=whistle.NMLZ-TC-RES-extend
                    'I'm whistling.' (lit. 'My whistling is heard.')
                    (Nefedov 2015: 51)

                    b= kutɔlɛj 'my whistling' is a phrase: it includes an action nominal and a possessive clitic, i.e. it consists of two morphosyntactic words (Nefedov 2015: 17–18, 27–30, 51).

Verbal

Adjectival   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Georg 2017: p.c.). Adjective phrases do exist (Werner 1997: 332; Georg 2007: 137, 308).

Adverbial   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Georg 2017: p.c.). Adverb phrases do exist (Werner 1997: 332).

Adpositional

Clause −	Clauses cannot be incorporated (Georg 2017: p.c.).

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Mapudungun

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*Ñi chao kintu-**waka**-le-y.*
	my father seek-cow-PROG-3SG.SBJ.IND
	'My father is looking for the cows.'
	(Salas 1992: 195, cited in Baker et al. 2005: 139)

waka 'cow' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Smeets 2008: 126).

Verbal +	*anü-**püra**-* sit.down-go.up 'to sit up' (Smeets 2008: 150) *püra* 'go up' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Smeets 2008: 74).
Adjectival +	***küme**-künü-n* good-leave-INF 'to leave something good' (Baker and Fasola 2009: 606) *küme* 'good' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Smeets 2008: 71). *küme* is an adjective (Baker and Fasola 2009: 606).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Derived stem +</u>	
Nominal +	*Antonio ngilla-**ilo-trewa**-y.* Antonio buy-meat-dog-3SG.SBJ.IND 'Antonio bought some dog's meat.' (Baker and Fasola 2009: 599) *ilo-trewa* 'dog's meat' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Baker and Fasola 2009: 598).

Verbal +	***nie-püñeñ**-el-*
	have-child-leave-
	'to leave someone pregnant'
	(Smeets 2008: 319)
	nie-püñeñ 'pregnant' is a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation construction) (Smeets 2008: 72, 134, 537).
Adjectival	No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Smeets 2008: 72).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Inflected word #</u>	
Nominal	Nominal inflected words functioning as subjects and objects (which are the nouns that can be incorporated [Smeets 2008: 318–319]) do not exist (Smeets 2008: 61).
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Smeets 2008: 149). Contextual inflection on verbs (referential person marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Smeets 2008: 19).
Adjectival	Adjectival inflected words do not exist (Zúñiga 2000: 17–19; Smeets 2008: 71–72).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Phrase +</u>	

Nominal +	*adkintu-**we-ngilla-n-mansun**-kiyaw-i*
	watch-newly-buy-PTCP-ox-PERAMB-IND
	'He is (going around) looking after a recently bought ox.'
	(Harmelink 1992: 133; translation from Spanish and glosses based on Zúñiga 2017)
	we-ngilla-n-mansun 'a recently bought ox' is a phrase: it consists of three morphosyntactic words (Zúñiga 2006: 181).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Smeets 2008: 74).
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrase incorporation found. Adjective phrases do exist (Smeets 2008: 74–75).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
Clause −	Clauses cannot be incorporated (Zúñiga 2017: p.c.).

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Marithiel

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*ngata*-*nganan* *ngunum-it-**masri**-ya*
	house-SCE 1SG.SBJ.R.paint-pick.up-belly-PST
	'I picked it up from the "belly of" (i.e. inside) the house.'
	(Green 1989: 224)
	masri 'belly' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Green 1989: 224).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial +	*gambu-wurrkama-Ø-na-ya* /
	1.INCL.SBJ.R.sit-work-DU-first-PST
	*gambu-gudak-Ø-**njsjan**-a*
	1.INCL.SBJ.R.sit-drink-DU-then-PST
	'First we worked, and then we drank.'
	(Green 1989: 185)
	njsjan 'then' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Green 1989: 185).

Adpositional

Derived stem −

Nominal	No examples of nominal derived stems found.

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial derived stems found.

Adpositional

Inflected word −
Nominal   No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found.
                            Nominal inflected words do exist (Green 1989: 2). Contextual
                            inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking) does exist (Green
                            1989: 2).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional

Phrase −
Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Green 1989: 227). Noun
                            phrases do exist (Green 1989: 224).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverb phrases found.

Adpositional

Clause −   Clauses cannot be incorporated (Green 1989: 227).

References

Green, Ian. 1989. *Marrithiyel: A language of the Daly River region of Australia's Northern Territory*. Canberra: Australian National University dissertation.

Mohawk

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +   *Yao-wir-aʔa   ye-**nuhs**-nuhweʔ-s.*
PRE-baby-SUF   3.F>3.N-house-like-ASP
'The baby house-likes.'
(Postal 1962, cited in Baker 1988: 82)

nuhs 'house' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Baker 1988: 82). The host *nuhweʔ* 'like' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Baker 1988: 81).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +   *iyáh   te-ha-**hyatu-hsela**-yʌtéːli-ʔ*
NEG   NEG-3SG.M-write-NMLZ-know-ASP
'He is illiterate, uneducated.' (lit. 'He doesn't know book.')
(Bonvillain 1989a: 191)

hyatu-hsela 'book' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *hyatu* 'write' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Baker 1996: 85) and *-hsela* is a word-class changing derivational affix (Bonvillain 1989a: 191).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −
Nominal   Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Mithun 2009: 570). Nominal inflected words do exist (Bonvillain 1973: 229–234; Mithun 1996: 634–637). Contextual inflection on nouns (alienability-dependent possessive marking) does exist (Mithun 1996: 637–642).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Phrase −
Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Bonvillain 1989b: 343; Mithun 2010: 45). Noun phrases do exist (Mithun 1996: 637).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Mithun, Marianne. 2010. Constraints on compounding and incorporation. In Sergio Scalise & Irene Vogel (eds.), *Cross-disciplinary issues in compounding* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 311), 37–56. Amsterdam & Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Movima
Lexical morpheme +
Nominal +

Bound root: *asko*   *yok-a-**mo**-na=is*   *ney=s*   *kara'*

3SG.N.AB   catch-DR-BE.bird-DR=PL.AB   here=DET   red.macaw

di'   *sere:re*

REL   wild

'That [forest isle] (was) where they caught those wild red macaws.'

(Haude 2006: 326)

-*mo* 'bird' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Haude 2006: 224).

Stem: *ij*   *wul-a-**saniya***   *(ni-kis*   *saniya)*

2.INTR   sow-DR-melon   OBL-ART.PL.AB   melon

'You sow melon.'

(Haude 2006: 368)

saniya 'melon' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Haude 2006: 368).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

Stem with deriv. morph.: *loy*   *iń*   *is-a-**kwinto:-kwa***

INT   1.INTR   roast-DR-cheek-ABSS

'I'll roast [meat of] cheek.'

(Haude 2006: 382)

kwinto:-kwa 'cheek' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *kwinto:* 'cheek' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Haude 2006: 553) and *-kwa* is a derivational affix that forms the non-relational form of the nominal stem (Haude 2006: 243).

Gramm. compound:

oso'-ni-wa	*os*	*rey*	*waka:-pa*	*di'*
DEM.N.PST-VBLZ-NMLZ	ART.N.PST	again	cow-NMLZ	REL

rey	*rim-a-łe-cha-**wa:ka-to:da**,*	*ka:'i*
again	trade-DR-CO-DR2-cow-BR.piece	no

'There was no butcher who would sell meat, no.'
(Haude 2006: 369)

wa:ka-to:da 'meat' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Haude 2006: 504).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −

Nominal

Inflected words cannot be incorporated (Haude 2017: p.c.). No examples of nominal inflected words found.

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Phrase −

Nominal	Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Haude 2017: p.c.). Noun phrases do exist (Haude 2006: 76).
Verbal	
Adjectival	
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
Clause −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

References

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Nadëb

In Nadëb incorporated elements and their hosts remain phonologically independent words (Weir 1990: 322). Evidence for morphosyntactic incorporation is that verbal proclitics attach to the incorporated noun, which precedes the verbal stem (Weir 1990: 331). In addition, word order is informative. The basic word order in Nadëb is OSV (Weir 1986: 295), but in the case of object incorporation, the order is SOV. Adposition phrases usually follow the verb (see examples in Weir [1990]), but in the case of adposition incorporation, the adposition or the full adposition phrase precedes the verb.

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Stem:	*ĩih =**tug** da-tés*
	1SG=tooth TH-hurt
	'I have toothache.' (lit. 'I tooth-hurt.')

tɨg 'tooth' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme (Weir 1990: 323).

Alternate stem:	*õm=**tɨ*** *i-wɨ́ɨ́h*

õm=*tɨ*   i-wɨ́ɨ́h
2SG=eye   ASP-be.big.MULT
'You have big eyes.' (lit. 'You are eye-big.')
(Weir 1990: 335)

tɨ 'eye' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme in the form *matɨm* (Weir 1990: 335).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional +   *hxóóh*   *éé*   ***ga**-hɨng*
canoe   father   in-go.downriver
'Father goes downriver in a canoe.' (lit. 'Father in-goes-downriver
a canoe.')
(Weir 1990: 327)

ga 'in' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
another lexical morpheme in the form *go* (Weir 1990: 327, 357, fn.
8).

Derived stem +
Nominal +   ***dijɨ́ɨ́h***   *bi-nɨɨm*
be.bitter.NMLZ   ASP-be.good
'be bitter but good'
(Weir 1990: 357, fn. 5)

dijúúh 'bitter' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *di-júng* 'be bitter' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Weir 1990: 357, fn. 5) and *dijúúh* is the nominalized form of this stem (Weir 1990: 357, fn. 5).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional derived stems found.

Inflected word #

Nominal   No examples of nominal inflected words found.

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional derived stems found.

Phrase +

Nominal +

õm	*kad*	***hoonh***	***tób***	***nooh***	*ga-jɨɨ*
2SG	uncle	grandmother	house	mouth	TH-close

dúk
be.suspended

'Uncle closed the door of your grandmother's house.' (lit. 'Uncle grandmother-house-mouth-closed you.')

(Weir 1990: 332)

hoonh tób nooh 'the door of grandmother's house' is a phrase: it consists of three morphosyntactic words (Weir 1990: 331–332).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional +

	*õm kalapéé **ting yó** sooh*
	2SG child support on.top.of be.sitting
	'The child is sitting on your seat.' (lit. 'The child is seat-on-sitting you.')
	(Weir 1990: 334)

ting yó 'on seat' is a phrase: it consists of two morphosyntactic words (Weir 1990: 333–334).

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Niuean

In Niuean incorporated elements and their hosts remain phonologically independent words (Massam 2001: 192). Evidence for morphosyntactic incorporation is that verbal enclitics attach to the incorporated noun, which follows the verbal stem (Seiter 1980: 69). In addition, word order is informative. The basic word order in Niuean is VSO (Massam 2001: 155), but in the case of object incorporation, the order is VOS.

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Takafaga **ika**=*tūmau*=*nī*   *a*   *ia.*

hunt   fish=always=EMPH   ABS   he

'He is always fishing.'

(Seiter 1980: 69)

ika 'fish' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Seiter 1980: 69).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

[…] *ti*   *nakai*   *fai*   **falanaki-aga** *e*   *magafaoa* *ki*

        then   NEG   have   lean.on-NMLZ ABS   magafaoa GOAL

a   *ia.*

ABS   he

'[…] to the extent that the magafaoa had no confidence in him.'

(Chapman et al. 1982: 11, 91)

falanaki-aga 'confidence' is a derived stem in the form of a (derived) stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *falanaki* 'to lean on, to depend upon' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Sperlich 1997: 67), and *-aga* is a word-class changing derivational affix (Sperlich 1997: 67). The host *fai* 'have' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Massam 2001: 173). This example shows that *fai* has a lexical meaning.

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word #

Nominal   Nominal inflected words do not exist (Massam 2005: 227).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Phrase +

Nominal +   […] *ke*   *kumi* ***mena***   ***ke***   ***nonofo=ai***   *a*   *lautolu.*
                                     SBJV   seek   thing   SBJV   settle=there   ABS   they
                               '[…] that they would seek a place to settle.'
                               (Institute of Pacific Studies 1982, cited in Massam 2001: 160)

                               mena ke nonofo=ai 'a place to settle' is a phrase: it consists of a
                               nominal word and a modifying relative clause (Massam 2001: 159–
                               160).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause −</u>   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Northern Gumuz

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal +   *d-ée-ʔaf-ár-$^\downarrow$álíc*

AFF-FUT-wash-1SG.INTR-face

'I will face-wash.'

(Ahland 2012: 259)

$^\downarrow$*álíc* 'face' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *líca* (Ahland 2012: 259).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional +   *d-a-**ka**-ngaʃ-áts*   *ka=lekarfóna*

AFF-3SG.TR-INS-speak-body   INS=megaphone

'He said (something) through a megaphone.'

(Ahland 2012: 219)

ka 'instrumental' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without

another lexical morpheme (Ahland 2012: 219).

Derived stem #

Nominal   Nominal derived stems cannot be incorporated (Ahland 2017: p.c.).

Nominal derived stems do exist (Ahland 2012: 87–95).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional derived stems found.

Inflected word #

Nominal   Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Ahland 2017:

p.c.). Nominal inflected words do exist (Ahland 2012: 73).

Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking) does

exist (Ahland 2012: 354).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional inflected words found.

Phrase +

Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Ahland 2017: p.c.). Noun
                        phrases do exist (Ahland 2012: 130).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional +   *ára   ée-kaal-ɗa=ŋgó*   *ma-tsá*   *baʃˈa*
                        1SG   FUT-be.able-1SG.INTR=NEG   NMLZ-go   meat
                        *d-á-**k-áɗa**-ʃîʔ*
                        AFF-3SG.INTR-DAT-1SG-be.heavy
                        'I cannot go; the meat is heavy for me.'
                        (Ahland 2012: 224)

                        k-áɗa 'for me' is a phrase: it consists of two morphosyntactic
                        words (Ahland 2012: 106, 144, 224).

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

References

Ahland, Colleen. 2012. *A grammar of Northern and Southern Gumuz*. Eugene, OR:
    University of Oregon dissertation.

Nuu-chah-nulth
Lexical morpheme +
Nominal +   ***haʔum**-ṅaḥ-ʔaaqƛ-aḥ.*

food-seek-INTENT-1SG.IND

'I am going to look for food.'

(Stonham 2008: 512)

haʔum 'food' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Stonham 2008: 512).

Verbal +   *ẉawaa-**qḥčik**-'aƛ-weʔin.*

say-go.along-NOW-3.QUOT

'He said as he went along.'

(Stonham 2008: 516)

-qḥčik 'go along' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Stonham 2008: 515–516).

Adjectival +   *Ɂiiḥ-cuk*   *łiṁaqsti.*

big-require   mind

'It requires a big mind.'

(Stonham 2008: 520)

Ɂiiḥ 'big' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Stonham 2008: 525).

Adverbial +   *qʷaʔuuḥ-qaatḥ-Ɂiiš*   *taʔił Ken*

purposely-claim-3.IND   sick   Ken

'Ken is pretending to be sick on purpose.'

(Wojdak 2005: 47)

qwaʔuuḥ 'purposely' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Wojdak 2005: 46).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +   **ḥuučuqƛis-ʔatḥ**-*simč-'app-'aƛ-'at*
                 Uchucklesit-tribe-train.for-CAUS-NOW-PASS
                 'They had him train to get Uchucklesits.'
                 (Stonham 2004: 227)

                 ḥuučuqƛis-ʔatḥ 'Uchucklesits tribe' is a derived stem in the form of
                 a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *ḥuučuqƛis*
                 'Uchucklesit Bay' can occur as (part of) a word without another
                 lexical morpheme (Davidson 2002: 231) and -*ʔatḥ* 'tribe' is a
                 word-class changing derivational affix (Davidson 2002: 327, 366;
                 Stonham 2008: 227).

Verbal +   **ʕič-p̓aƚ**-*'inƚ-'at-mit-niiš*   *k̓ʷaq-mis*   *Mary*
                 rotten-taste-serve-PASS-PST-1PL.IND   s.h.eggs-NMLZ   Mary
                 'We were served rotten-tasting spawned herring eggs by Mary.'
                 (Wojdak 2005: 228)

                 ʕič-p̓aƚ 'rotten-tasting' is a verbal (Wojdak 2005: 37) derived stem
                 in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation
                 construction) (Wojdak 2005: 228).

Adjectival   No examples of adjectival derived stems found.

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial derived stems found.

Adpositional

Inflected word +

Nominal +   **t̓aː<t>n̓a**-*naˑk-'aƛ-'at-quː*
                 child<PL>-having-TEL-SHIFT-2SG.COND
                 'when you have children'
                 (Nakayama 2001: 64, 2014: 454)

t̓aː<t>n̓a 'children' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *t̓aːn̓a* 'child' (Stonham 2004: 27) and an inflectional plural affix (inherent inflection) -*t*- (Stonham 2004: 139–140). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Davidson 2002: 109, 299–300, 307–308). The host *naˑk* 'have' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Stonham 2008: 515).

Verbal +	**tuxʷ-a-n̓ak̓uuḥ-mit-ʔiiš** *čakup* *t̓aatn̓aʔis*
	jump-ITER-observe-PST-3.IND man children
	'A man observed the children jumping.'
	(Wojdak 2005: 97)

tuxʷ-a 'jumping' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *tuxʷ* 'jump' (Wojdak 2005: 61) and an inflectional iterative affix (inherent inflection) -*a* (Wojdak 2005: 29). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Davidson 2002: 99–100).

Adjectival	No examples of adjectival inflected words found.
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Stonham 2008: 520, 524). Noun phrases do exist (Stonham 2008: 520).
Verbal	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Stonham 2008: 520, 524). Verb phrases do exist (Davidson 2002: 252).

Adjectival	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Stonham 2008: 520, 524).
	Adjective phrases do exist (Rose 1981: 46–47).
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrases found.
Adpositional	
Clause −	Clauses cannot be incorporated (Stonham 2008: 524).

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Palikúr

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*kuri ig hakis-**ota**-ne han akiw*
	now 3.M rub-eye-CONT.NF thus again
	'He continued rubbing his eyes again.'
	(Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 452)

	ota 'eye' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *utyak* (Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 451).
Verbal	
Adjectival	
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Derived stem −</u>	
Nominal	Derived stems cannot be incorporated (Aikhenvald and Green 1998: 451). Nominal derived stems do exist (Launey 2003: 94, 220–231).
Verbal	
Adjectival	
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Inflected word −</u>	
Nominal	No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found. Nominal inflected words do exist (Launey 2003: 70–74; Valadares 2006). Contextual inflection on nouns (alienability-dependent possessive marking) does exist (Valadares 2006).
Verbal	
Adjectival	

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase</u> −

Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Aikhenvald and Green 1998:
                           451). Noun phrases do exist (Launey 2001: 14).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause</u> −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Panare

<u>Lexical morpheme</u> +

Nominal +   *y-**pu**-kïtë-ñe*   *amën*
                           3-head-cut-NSPEC.TR   2SG

'You cut off its head.' (lit. 'You head-cut it.')

(Payne and Payne 2013: 331)

pu 'head' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Payne and Payne 2013: 331).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem −

Nominal   Nominal derived stems cannot be incorporated (Payne 2017: p.c.).

Nominal derived stems do exist (Payne and Payne 2013: 97–118).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −

Nominal   Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Payne 2017:

p.c.). Nominal inflected words do exist (Payne and Payne 2013:

68). Contextual inflection on nouns (alienability-dependent

possessive marking) does exist (Payne and Payne 2013: 74–82).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Payne 2017: p.c.). Not clear
whether noun phrases exist (Payne and Payne 2013: 67).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause −</u> Clauses cannot be incorporated (Payne 2017: p.c.).

References

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Paraguayan Guaraní

<u>Lexical morpheme +</u>

Nominal + *A-**hova**-hei-ta* *pe-mitã*

1.ACSBJ-face-wash-FUT that-child

'I'll wash that child's face.' (lit. 'I'll face-wash the child.')

(Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 687)

hova 'face' is an alternate stem (the initial *h-* is used only when the noun has a third person possessor in its noun phrase and the subject

outranks the object on the person hierarchy [Velázquez-Castillo 2004: 1422]): it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (at least in the forms *hova* and *rova*) (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 687, 2004: 1422).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem −
Nominal
No examples of nominal derived stem incorporation found. Nominal derived stems do exist (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 124, 127).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −
Nominal
Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Velázquez-Castillo 1995: 677). Nominal inflected words do exist (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 131). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Velázquez-Castillo 2004: 1422–1423, 1426).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Phrase −

Nominal   Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Velázquez-Castillo 1995:
                                  677). Noun phrases do exist (Velázquez-Castillo 2004: 1425–
                                  1426).

Verbal

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

References

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    Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, vol. 2 (Handbücher zur Sprach- und
    Kommunikationswissenschaft 17(2)), 1421–1432. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Sora

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal + ɲen jum-**te**-ti-n-ai

I eat-banana-NPST-INTR-1

'I am eating a banana.'

(Anderson and Harrison 2008: 351)

te 'banana' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *kənte* (Andersen and Harrison 2008: 351).

Verbal + ti-**dʒum**-t-am

give-eat-NPST-2

'I'll give you to eat.'

(Ramamurti 1931: 44, cited in Anderson 2007: 195)

dʒum 'eat' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Andersen and Harrison 2008: 351).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal No examples of nominal derived stem incorporation found. Nominal derived stems do exist (Starosta 1992: 80).

Verbal + keṛib-ñen mal-jom-**jɛl-mər**-te

sword-1SG.POSS wish-eat-flesh-human-NPST

'My sword longs to eat human flesh.'

(Zide 1976: 1261)

jɛl-mǝr 'human flesh' is a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation construction) (Starosta 1992: 87).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Inflected word +</u>

Nominal — Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Anderson 2017: p.c.). Nominal inflected words do exist (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 307–309). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 309, 314).

Verbal +

ǝ-berna **op(p)uŋ-le**-*jir-iɲ-teːn*
ACC-word   tell-PST-go-1-3.PST
'Having told me the word, he left.'
(Ramamurti 1931: 44, cited in Anderson and Harrison 2008: 359)

op(p)uŋ-le 'having told' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *op(p)uŋ* 'tell' (Ramamurti 1986: 55) and an inflectional tense affix (inherent inflection) *-le* (Anderson 2007: 102). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 327–330). The host *jir* 'go' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 360).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Anderson 2017: p.c.). Noun phrases do exist (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 315).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Anderson and Harrison 2008: 363).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Clause −</u>   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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South Slavey

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Bound root:
     shé-*tiN*

     food-STM

     'S/he eats.'

     (Rice, cited in Štekauer et al. 2012: 71)

     shé- 'food' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Rice 1989: 652).

Alternate stem:
     tɛh-*ętla*

     water-one.goes

     'S/he goes into water.'

     (Rice 2009: 545)

     tɛh 'water' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *tu* (Rice 2009: 544–545). The host *ętla* 'go' includes the stem *tla*: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 2008b: 397).

Verbal +
     *k'ína-**'uyi**-de-da*

     around-whistle-QU-go.SG

     'S/he walks around whistling.'

     (Rice 1989: 657, cited and adapted in Rice 2008a: 283)

     'uyi 'whistle' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 1989: 657). No evidence for status as bound root or stem for the host *da* 'go'.

Adjectival

Adverbial +
     O **ts'e**-*ne-h-ch'i*

     O in.half-2SG.SBJ-CLF-tear

     'You split O.'

(Rice 1989: 719)

ts'e- 'in half' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Rice 1991: 104–105).

Adpositional +

Bound root:

O wą-e-tlah

O to-ASP-go.SG/DU

'S/he was transported to O.'

(Rice 1991: 103)

wą- 'to' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Rice 1989: 766, 770). The host *tlah* 'go' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 2008b: 397).

Stem:

ts'a   denǫ   ghá-nįʔǫ

hat   mother.REFL   BEN-gave.3

'S/he gave his/her mother a hat.'

(Rice 1989: 770)

ghá 'benefactive' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 1989: 770).

Derived stem +

Nominal +

*ní-**dlo-e**-d-ę́-tlah*

terminative-laugh-DEP-QU-ASP-go.SG/DU

'S/he arrived laughing.'

(Rice 1989: 656, cited and adapted in Rice 2008a: 282)

dlo-e 'laughing' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *dlo* 'laugh' can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 1989: 551) and *-e* is a derivational affix that forms the "dependent" or "activity

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incorporate" form of the verbal stem (Rice 1989: 655, 2008a: 263). Note that it is unclear whether the derived "dependent" or "activity incorporate" is really a noun (Rice 2008a: 283–284). However, it is clear that the suffix *-e* makes the stem able to function as a modifier (Rice 1989: 667) or to appear incorporated (Rice 2008a: 283), i.e. it is grammatical derivation. The host *tlah* 'go' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rice 2008b: 397).

Verbal	No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Rice 1989: 647).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial derived stems found.
Adpositional	No examples of adpositional derived stems found.

Inflected word +

Nominal +	***ne-thá**-y-ne-chu* 2SG.POSS-mouth-QU-2SG.SBJ-handle(default.OBJ) 'You put it in your mouth.' (Rice 1989: 659, cited and adapted in Muro 2009: 145) *ne-thá-* 'your mouth' is an inflected word consisting of a bound root or stem *thá* 'mouth' and an inflectional possessive affix (inherent inflection) *ne-* (Rice 1989: 207). Contextual inflection on nouns (alienability-dependent possessive marking) does exist (Rice 1989: 212–213).
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Rice 1989: 425). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Rice 1989: 998).

Adjectival

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional +   ***se-wą**-e-tlah*
                                 1SG.OBJ-to-ASP-go.SG/DU
                                 'S/he came to me.'
                                 (Rice 1989: 766)

                                 se-wą- 'to me' is an inflected word consisting of a bound root *wą-*
                                 'to' (Rice 1989: 766, 770) and a pronominal object grammatical
                                 inflectional affix (inherent inflection) *se-* 'me' (Rice 1989: 627).
                                 Contextual inflection on adpositions (non-referential person-
                                 marking) does not exist (Rice 1989: 766). The host *tlah* 'go' is a
                                 stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical
                                 morpheme (Rice 2008b: 397).

<u>Phrase</u> −
Nominal   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Rice 2017: p.c.). Noun phrases do
                                 exist (Rice 1989: 261–267).

Verbal   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Rice 2017: p.c.). Verb phrases do
                                 exist (Rice 1989: 403–424).

Adjectival

Adverbial   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Rice 2017: p.c.). Adverb phrases
                                 do exist (Rice 1989: 366–368).

Adpositional   Phrases cannot be incorporated (Rice 2017: p.c.). Adposition
                                 phrases do exist (Rice 1989: 269).

<u>Clause</u> −   Clauses cannot be incorporated (Rice 2017: p.c.).

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Southern Tiwa

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +   *Yede a-**diru**-k'ar-hi.*

that   2SG>I/II.SG-chicken-eat-FUT

'You will eat that chicken.'

(Allen et al. 1984: 296)

diru 'chicken' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Allen et al. 1984: 296).

Verbal +   *Te-na-**t'arata**-kheuap-a.*

1SG.S-?-work-like-PRS

'I like to work.'

(Frantz 2010: 176)

t'arata 'work' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Frantz 2010: 176). The host *kheuap* 'like' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Frantz 2010: 176).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal +

Wivá'a	*wim'a*	*ʃə-'ide*	*Ø-ʃə-tʃié-mi-k*

Wivá'a wim'a ʃə-'ide   Ø-ʃə-tʃié-mi-k
once   one   hunter-BAS   3SG.S-hunt-walk-PROG-SUB
*Ø-**T'a-łiówra**-thǫ-van*
3SG>3SG-antelope-woman-find-PNCT
'a-'əwa-'u-phier-k.
3SG>3SG-young.man-DIM-join-SUB
'While going about hunting, a hunter came across the Antelope woman with her little boy.'
(Harbour et al. 2014: 13)

T'a-łiówra 'Antelope woman' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Harbour et al. 2014: 15).

Verbal +

*A̱-(na-)**diru-kar**-kheuap-'an.*
2SG.S-?-chicken-eat-like-PRS.HAB
'You like to eat chicken.'
(Frantz 2010: 177)

diru-kar 'eat chicken' is a derived stem in the form of a predicate-argument compound (incorporation construction) (Frantz 2010:

176). The host *kheuap* 'like' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Frantz 2010: 176).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Inflected word −

Nominal | No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found. Nominal inflected words do exist (Frantz 2010: 174). No examples of contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) found (and at least grammatical case-marking does really not exist [Frantz 2010: 173]).

Verbal | No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Allen et al. 1984: 293). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Allen et al. 1984: 293).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Phrase −

Nominal | Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Allen et al. 1984: 293, fn. 4). Noun phrases do exist (Allen et al. 1984: 293, fn. 4).

Verbal | No examples of verb phrases found.

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Ute-Southern Paiute

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +   ***wií**-tɨka-y-akh*

knife-eat-IMM-it

'(S/he) is knife-eating it.'

(Givón 2011: 58)

wií 'knife' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Givón 2011: 58).

Verbal +   ***saku**-paghay'wa-y*

limp-walk-IMM

'(S/he) limp-walks.'

(Givón 2011: 58)

saku 'limp' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Givón 2011: 58).

Adjectival +

pia-'apagha-y
sweet-talk-IMM
'(S/he) is sweet-talking.'
(Givón 2011: 58)

pia- 'sweet' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Givón 2016: 175).

Adverbial +

suwa-pɨnikya-pɨgay-'u
almost-see-RMA-3SG
'(S/he) almost saw him/her.'
(Givón 2011: 58)

suwa 'almost' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Givón 2011: 20).

Adpositional

Derived stem +

Nominal +

sá-puku-gwa-tɨ
white-horse-have-NMLZ
'(S/he) has a white horse.'
(Givón 2016: 60)

sá-puku 'white horse' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Givón 2016: 191). The host *-gwa* 'have' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Givón 2011: 384). This example shows that *-gwa* has a lexical meaning.

Verbal +

'uwas-'ura   **púka-sɵ'a-kɨɨ-pɨga,**   […]

3SG.SBJ-be   hard-breathe-take-RMA

'And he was breathing hard, […]'

(Givón 2013: 51)

púka-sɵ'a 'breathe hard' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Givón 2016: 186, 198).

Adjectival	No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Givón 2011: 424–425).
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial derived stems found.
Adpositional	

Inflected word +

Nominal +	*'ava'ntɨ-mɨ* **tuachi-u-*gwa-pɨga***

many-AN.OBJ child-PL-have-RMA

'(S/he/they) had many children.'

(Givón 2011: 336)

tuachi-u 'children' is an inflected word consisting of a stem *tuachi* 'child' (Givón 2011: 89) and an inflectional plural affix (inherent inflection) *-u* (Givón 2011: 46). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking) does exist (Givón 2011: 47). The host *-gwa* 'have' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Givón 2011: 384). This example shows that *-gwa* has a lexical meaning.

Verbal	Verbal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Givón 2018: p.c.). Verbal inflected words do exist (Givón 2011: 54–56). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Givón 2011: 56–57).

Adjectival	Adjectival inflected words cannot be incorporated (Givón 2018: p.c.). Adjectival inflected words do exist (Givón 2011: 197). Contextual inflection on adjectives (agreement marking) does not exist (Givón 2011: 197).
Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	

Phrase −
Nominal	No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Givón 2011: 155).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Givón 2011: 124).
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrases found.
Adverbial	No examples of adposition phrases found.
Adpositional	

Clause −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Washo

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*John **tuʔm**-aʔam-i*
	John foot-into.water-IPFV
	'John is putting his foot into the water.'
	(Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 260)
	tuʔm 'foot' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *mayab* (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 260).
Verbal +	**métuʔᵉ**-*ítwid*
	be.frozen-stiff
	'to be frozen stiff'
	(Jacobsen 1980: 95)
	métuʔᵉ 'frozen' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form *métuʔ* (Jacobsen 1953: 187).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Derived stem −</u>	
Nominal	No examples of nominal derived stem incorporation found. Nominal derived stems do exist (Jacobsen 1953: 485–50).
Verbal	No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Jacobsen 1953: 553–556).
Adjectival	
Adverbial	

Adpositional

<u>Inflected word −</u>

Nominal	No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found. Nominal inflected words do exist (Jacobsen 1953: 408). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Jacobsen 1953: 408; Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 258).
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 258). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Bochnak and Rhomieux 2013: 258).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

<u>Phrase −</u>

Nominal	No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Lemieux 2010: 150).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Jacobsen 1953: 395).

Adjectival

Adverbial

Adpositional

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Western Frisian

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +

Stem: *Hja **bôle**-bakt al   jierren mei nocht*
                         she   loaf-bakes already years   with pleasure
                         'She bakes loaves already for many years with pleasure.'
                         (Dijk 1997: 29)

                         bôle 'loaf' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without
                         another lexical morpheme (Dijk 1997: 29).

Alternate stem: *Wy   wolle   **messe**-slypje*
                         we   want   knife-sharpen
                         'We want to sharpen knives.'
                         (Dijk 1997: 3)

messe 'knife' is an alternate stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme in the form mes (Dijk 1997: 3).

Verbal

Adjectival +

*Hy   komt   te **tsjok**-iten*
he   comes   to fat-eat
'He comes to gorge himself.'
(Dijk 1997: 7)

tsjok 'fat' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Duijff et al. 2016).

Adverbial +

***dom**-prate*
stupid-talk
'talk stupidly'
(Popkema 2006: 139)

dom 'stupid' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Popkema 2006: 222). *dom* is an adverb (Popkema 2006: 139).

Adpositional +

*Hy   helpt   te **yn**-plakken*
he   helps   to in-stick
'He helps to stick (photos in an album).'
(Dijk 1997: 7)

yn 'in' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Popkema 2006: 109).

Derived stem +

Nominal +

*Minne   **jiske-pûde**-leget   mei   opsetsin*
Minne   ash-bag-empties   with   intention
'Minne deliberately empties the garbage bag.'

(Dijk 1997: 99)

jiske-pûde 'garbage bag' is a derived stem in the form of a head-modifier compound (incorporation construction) (Duijff et al. 2016).

Verbal

Adjectival   No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Popkema 2006: 137).

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial derived stems found.

Adpositional   No examples of adpositional derived stem incorporation found. Adpositional derived stems do exist (Popkema 2006: 197).

Inflected word −
Nominal   No examples of nominal inflected word incorporation found. Nominal inflected words do exist (Popkema 2006: 148–150). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Popkema 2006: 148–152).

Verbal

Adjectival   No examples of adjectival inflected word incorporation found. Adjectival inflected words do exist (Popkema 2006: 162–167). Contextual inflection on adjectives (agreement marking) does exist (Popkema 2006: 164).

Adverbial   No examples of adverbial inflected word incorporation found. Adverbial inflected words do exist (Popkema 2006: 199). Contextual inflection on adverbs (non-referential person marking) does not exist (Popkema 2006: 199).

Adpositional	Adpositional inflected words do not exist (Popkema 2006: 197).

Phrase −

Nominal	No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Dijk 1997: 11; Popkema 2006: 152).
Verbal	
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrase incorporation found. Adjective phrases do exist (Hoekstra 2018).
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrase incorporation found. Adverb phrases do exist (Hoekstra 2018).
Adpositional	No examples of adposition phrase incorporation found. Adposition phrases do exist (Popkema 2006: 195–198).

Clause −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Western Highland Chatino

Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*cha7nu nw-ta-**ya7** ne7 n-kita re raka7n* so.that COMPL-give-hand person COMPL-break this then *in* DSCM '… so that they helped so that his would break down then (i.e., they helped to break this down).' (Rasch 2002: 130) *ya7* 'hand' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rasch 2002: 130).
Verbal +	*ja kya wan s7ya na nki-nya-**tkwa** l7an-xkwla kwa* no POT.go 2PL because thing CONT-move-sit classroom that 'Don't go there, because that classroom is moving (after an earthquake).' (Rasch 2002: 137) *tkwa* 'sit' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rasch 2002: 70).
Adjectival +	*7ni-**xi** kicha nulweti kajwe 7in Ø* make.HAB-sweet too.much child coffee of 3 'The children make their coffee too sweet.' (Rasch 2002: 162) *xi* 'sweet' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rasch 2002: 87). The host *7ni* 'do' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Rasch 2002: 86).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	

Derived stem −

Nominal	No examples of nominal derived stem incorporation found. Nominal derived stems do exist (Rasch 2002: 76).
Verbal	No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Rasch 2002: 128–138).
Adjectival	No examples of adjectival derived stems found.
Adverbial	
Adpositional	

Inflected word −

Nominal	Nominal inflected words do not exist (Rasch 2002: xvi, 62).
Verbal	No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Rasch 2002: 144). Contextual inflection (non-referential person marking, special incorporating form) on verbs does not exist (Rasch 2002: 56–57).
Adjectival	No examples of adjectival inflected words found.
Adverbial	
Adpositional	

Phrase −

Nominal	No examples of noun phrase incorporation found. Noun phrases do exist (Rasch 2002: 82).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Rasch 2002: 138–141).

Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrase incorporation found. Adjective phrases do exist (Rasch 2002: 107).
Adverbial	
Adpositional	
<u>Clause</u> −	No examples of clause incorporation found.

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Yimas

<u>Lexical morpheme</u> +

Nominal +	*impa-na-t-**akpi**-api-n*
	3DU.S-DEF-RECP-back.SG(V)-put.in-PRS
	'They are putting their backs to each other.'
	(Foley 1991: 320)
	akpi 'back' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 320).
Verbal +	*pu-n-yakal-caŋ-tan~taw-**malak**-ntut*
	3.PL.P-3SG.A-CONT-COM-ITER~sit-talk-RMP
	'He was sitting down conversing with them.'
	(Foley 1991: 322)
	malak 'talk' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 444).
Adjectival	
Adverbial +	

Bound root:	*na-mpu-**pay**-kulanaŋ-tay-ɲcut*
	V.SG.P-3PL.A-first-walk-see-RMP
	'They walked around and looked at it first.'
	(Foley 1991: 336)

pay- 'first' is a bound root: it can only occur as part of a word that also contains another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 336).

Stem:	*aŋka-**kaykaykay**-cu-impu-pu-n*
	HORT.DU-quickly-out-go.by.water-away-IMP
	'Let us go outside quickly.'
	(Foley 1991: 342)

kaykaykay 'quickly' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 342).

Adpositional

<u>Derived stem +</u>

Nominal No examples of nominal derived stem incorporation found. Nominal derived stems do exist (Foley 2017: 813).

Verbal No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Foley 1991: 321–352).

Adjectival

Adverbial +	*na-n-**ma-mpi**-ira-wampuŋkra-ntut*
	3SG.P-3SG.A-other-ADVZ-ALL-angry-RMP
	'He was angry with her again.'
	(Foley 1991: 336)

ma-mpi 'again' is a derived stem in the form of a stem and a grammatical derivational affix: *ma* 'other' can occur as (part of) a

word without another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 182) and -*mpi* is a word-class changing derivational affix (Foley 1991: 336).

Adpositional

Inflected word +

Nominal +

tmal   *narm*
sun.SG(V)   skin.SG(VII)
*p-n-**urkpwica-k-m**-tal-cɨ-t*
VII.SG.P-3SG.A-blacken-IRR-VII.SG-CAUS-become-PFV
'The sun darkened my skin.'
(Foley 1991: 299)

urkpwica-k-m 'black, blacken' is an inflected word consisting of a (verbal) stem *urkpwica* 'black, blacken' (Foley 1991: 95), a (verbal) inflectional irrealis suffix *-k* (Foley 1991: 237) and a (nominalizing) inflectional noun class agreement affix (contextual inflection) *-m* (Foley 1991: 297, 299). The host *cɨ* 'become' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Foley 1991: 239).

Verbal +

apurŋkat   *na-yakal-**apa~pan-ra**-kula-ntut*
skink.PL(V)   3SG.S-CONT-ITER~shoot-SIM-walk-RMP
'He walked around, shooting skinks.'
(Foley 1991: 323)

apa~pan-ra 'shooting' is an inflected word consisting of a (reduplicated) stem *apa~pan* 'shoot' (Foley 1991: 72, 470) and an inflectional relative tense affix (inherent inflection) *-ra* (Foley 1991: 325). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Foley 1991: 229).

Adjectival

Adverbial	No examples of adverbial inflected words found.
Adpositional	

Phrase −

Nominal	Phrases cannot be incorporated (Foley 2017: p.c.). Noun phrases do exist (Foley 1991: 180–191).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrases found.
Adjectival	
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrases found.
Adpositional	

Clause −   Clauses cannot be incorporated (Foley 2017: p.c.).

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Yucatec Maya
Lexical morpheme +

Nominal +	*h ch'ak-**che'**-nah-en ichil in kòol* PST cut-tree-COMPL-1SG.ABS in 1SG.POSS milpa 'I chopped trees in my cornfield.' (Bricker et al. 1998: 354, cited in Lehmann & Verhoeven 2005: 150)

che' 'tree' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Bricker 1998: 345, cited in Lehmann & Verhoeven 2005: 150).

Verbal +

k-u   *hon-**yah**-t-a'al*
ASP-3SG.SBJ   make.a.hole-hurt-TR-VO
'A round sore is produced.'
(Sullivan 1984: 141)

yah 'hurt' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Lehmann 2002: 114).

Adjectival +

ki'-t'aan
nice-speak
'speak pleasantly'
(Lehmann n.d.)

ki' 'nice' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Lehmann 2002: 68).

Adverbial +

Le'   t'èel-o'   […] *ken   uy-u('u)b   a-t'àan-e'*
DEF   hen-DDEIX   SUB.FUT 3.SBJ-hear   2.SBJ-speak-LNDEIX
*k-u=**chen**-t'àan*
HAB-3.SBJ=just-speak
'The rooster […] when he hears you speaking, he just speaks.'
(Lois and Vapnarsky 2003: 117, cited in Norcliffe 2009: 70).

chen 'just' is a stem: it can occur as (part of) a word without another lexical morpheme (Sullivan 1984: 141; Bolles and Bolles 2014: 63).

Adpositional

Derived stem −

Nominal
Nominal derived stems cannot be incorporated (Lehmann 2017: p.c.). Nominal derived stems do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 25).

Verbal
No examples of verbal derived stem incorporation found. Verbal derived stems do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 98–102).

Adjectival
No examples of adjectival derived stem incorporation found. Adjectival derived stems do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 52–56).

Adverbial
No examples of adverbial derived stem incorporation found. Adverbial derived stems do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 64).

Adpositional

Inflected word −

Nominal
Nominal inflected words cannot be incorporated (Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 145). Nominal inflected words do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 19–20, 39). Contextual inflection on nouns (grammatical case-marking, agreement marking, non-referential and/or alienability-dependent possessive marking) does not exist (Verhoeven 2007: 99; Lehmann 2015: 1430).

Verbal
No examples of verbal inflected word incorporation found. Verbal inflected words do exist (Lehmann 2015: 1428–1429). Contextual inflection on verbs (non-referential person-marking, special incorporating form) does not exist (Lehmann 2015: 1429).

Adjectival
Adjectival inflected words cannot be incorporated (Lehmann n.d.). Adjectival inflected words do exist (Lehmann 2002: 21). Contextual inflection on adjectives (agreement marking) does exist (Lehmann 2002: 121).

Adverbial
No examples of adverbial inflected words found.

Adpositional

Phrase −

Nominal	Noun phrases cannot be incorporated (Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005: 145). Noun phrases do exist (Lehmann 2002: 19–20).
Verbal	No examples of verb phrase incorporation found. Verb phrases do exist (Lehmann 2015: 1429).
Adjectival	No examples of adjective phrase incorporation found. Adjective phrases do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 45).
Adverbial	No examples of adverb phrase incorporation found. Adverb phrases do exist (Bolles and Bolles 2014: 45).

Adpositional

Clause −   No examples of clause incorporation found.

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