NOUN INCORPORATION IN ISLETA

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0. Introduction
1. Semantic Constraints
   1.1 Inanimate Nouns
   1.2 Animate Nouns – human
   1.3 Animate Nouns – non-human
   1.4 Particularity of reference.
2. Transitivity
   2.1 Transitives
   2.2 Intransitives
3. Coordinate Nouns
4. Proper Nouns
5. Interaction with Relation-changing Rules
   5.1 Passive
   5.2 Advancements
   5.3 Causative Union
   5.4 Possessor Promotion
6. Event-type goals
0. INTRODUCTION

This paper has been organized within the framework of unineutron relational grammar (RG). The theory assumes that grammatical relations are directly relevant to the formation of many grammatical rules, that the universality of these rules can be formally represented, and that a number of cross-linguistic generalizations can be stated. (Johnson, 1976, p. 2) Such notions as 'subject-of' and 'direct object-of' are assumed to be undefined primitives, as are the lexical categories of noun, verb, etc. Every utterance can be represented by a single network which makes explicit the grammatical dependencies involved in that utterance.

Any data are important to universal grammar but data described within a particular framework are of far greater value for formulating and testing hypotheses about universals within that framework.

Thus we hope that the Isleta incorporation data being described here will be a significant contribution to universal grammar.

Noun incorporation is characteristic of the Tanoan language family, of which Southern Tiwa (Isleta) is a member. In Isleta, as well, subject and object are often incorporated into the verb complex; that is, they occur between the inflectional agreement prefix and the verb. This paper describes the conditions under which incorporation occurs.

1. SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS

1.1 All inanimate nouns, singular and plural, as object, are obligatorily incorporated, whether or not they occur with a numeral or a demonstrative.

(a) Ti-shut-pe-ban.
   (ls:3sii-shirt-make-pst) 'I made the shirt.'

(b) Shut ti-pe-ban.

(c) Te-shut-pe-ban.
   (ls:3pii-shirt-make-pst) 'I made the shirts.'

(d) Shut te-pe-ban.

(e) Ku-shut-pe-ban.
   (2s:3pii-shirt-make-pst) 'You made the shirts.'

(f) Liorade ː-shut-pe-ban.
    (lady 3s:3sii-shirt-make-pst) 'The lady made the shirt.'

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1.2 However, animate nouns as object cannot be so easily categorized in respect to incorporation. Incorporation seems to depend on the following variables: singular-plural; human-non-human; modifier-no-modifier; person of subject.

Incorporation of human, animate, singular nouns as object is optional, whether or not they occur with a modifier, except with third person subject; in the latter case, incorporation of object is obligatory.

(a) Ti-seuan-mu-ban.
   (1s:3si-man-see-pst.)
   'I saw the man.'

(b) Seuanide ti-mu-ban.
   (man 1s:3si-see-pst)
   'I saw the man.'

(c) Yede seuanide a-mu-ban.
   (that man 2s:3si-see-pst)
   'You saw that man.'

(d) Yede a-seuan-mu-ban.
   (that 2s:3si-man-see-pst)
   'You saw that man.'

(e) Wim'a a-seuan-mu-ban.
   (one 2s:3si-man-see-pst)
   'You saw one man.'

(f) Wim'a seuanide a-mu-ban.
   (one man 2s:3si-see-pst)
   'You saw one man.'

(g) Liorade ø-seuan-mu-ban.
   (lady 3s:3si-man-see-pst)
   'The lady saw the man.'
(h) *Liorade mu-ban seuanide.

(i) *Seuanide ø-mu-ban.

Human, animate, plural nouns, however, are obligatorily incorporated unless they occur with a modifier.

(j) *Seuanin bi-mu-ban.

(k) Bi-seuan-mu-ban.
   (ls:3pi-man-see-pst)
   'I saw the men.'

(l) Wisi seuanin bi-mu-ban.
   (two man:pl ls:3pi-see-pst)
   'I saw two men.'

(m) Wisi bi-seuan-mu-ban.
   (two ls:3pi-man-see-pst)
   'I saw two men.'

(n) Yedi seuanin bi-mu-ban.
   (those man:pl 2s:3pi-see-pst)
   'I saw those men.'

(o) Yedi bi-seuan-mu-ban.
   (those ls:3pi-man-see-pst)
   'I saw those men.'

1.3 Non-human, animate, singular nouns are obligatorily incorporated unless they occur with a demonstrative or numeral, in which case, the incorporation is optional.

(a) A-diru-k'ar-hi.
   (2s:3si-chicken-eat-fut-)
   'You will eat the chicken.'

(b) *Dirude a-k'ar-hi.

(c) Yede dirude a-k'ar-hi.
   (that chicken 2s:3si-eat-fut)
   'You will eat that chicken.'

(d) Yede a-diru-k'ar-hi.
   (that 2s:3si-chicken-eat-fut.)
   'You will eat that chicken.'

(e) Wim'a dirude a-k'ar-hi.
   (one chicken 2s:3si-eat-fut)
   'You will eat one chicken.'

(f) *Musade i-tuwi-ban.
(g) I-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (3p:3si-cat-buy-pst)
   'They bought a cat.'

Non-human, animate, plural nouns are obligatorily incorporated, whether or not they are modified.

(h) Ibi-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (3p:3pi-cat-buy-pst)
   'They bought cats.'

(i) *Musun ibi-tuwi-ban.

(j) *Wisi musan ibi-tuwi-ban.

(k) Wisi ibi-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (two 3p:3pi-cat-buy-pst)
   'They bought two cats.'

(l) * Yedi musan ibi-tuwi-ban.

(m) Yedi ibi-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (those 3p:3pi-cat-buy-pst)
   'They bought those cats.'

1.4 While in many languages, incorporation is limited to nouns which are non-particular in reference, this is not the case in Isleta. Objects may be incorporated whether they are particular or non-particular in reference.5

(a) Yedi bi-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (those 1s:3pi-cat-buy-pst)
   'I bought those cats.'

(c) Wisi bi-musa-tuwi-ban.
   (two 1s:3pi-cat-buy-pst)
   'I bought two cats.'

(d) Te-pan-tuwi-ban ku-kha-ba-'i.
   (1s:3pii-bread-buy-pst 2s:3pii-bake-pst-subord.)
   'I bought the bread you baked.'

(e) A-shut-mu-ban ti-pe-ba-'i.
   (2s:3sii-see-pst 1s:3sii-make-pst-subord)
   'Did you see the shirt I made?'

(f) Bi-kan-mu-ban.
   (1s:3pi-horse-see-pst)
   'I saw the horses.'

(g) I-kan-'a-an.
   (2s:3pi-horse-wash-pres)
   'You wash horses.'
(h) Ibi-kan-hwiwimu-'an.
   (3p:3pi-horse-hate-pres.)
   'They hate horses.'

(i) Bi-kan-miki-ban.
   (ls:3pi-horse-feed-pst)
   'I fed horses.'

2. TRANSITIVITY

2.1 The pronominal prefixes remain transitive after incorporation. That is, they reflect person and number of subject as well as person, number, and class of object. Incorporation, therefore, does not affect transitivity.

(a) Wim'a- musade-tin ti-tuwi-ban.
    (one-cat-only ls:3si-buy-pst)
    'I bought only one cat.'

(b) Wim'a-tin ti-musa-tuwi-ban.
    (one-only ls:3si-cat-buy-pst)
    'I bought only one cat.'

(c) Ti-musa-tuwi-ban.
    (ls:3si-cat-buy-pst)
    'I bought a cat.'

(d) Men-musa-tuwi-ban.
    (2dl:3si-cat-buy-pst)
    'You two bought a cat.'

(e) In-shut-tuwi-ban.
    (3d1:3sii-shirt-buy-pst)
    'They two bought a shirt.'

(f) Seuanide u-shut-tuwi-ban.
    (man 3s:3pii-shirt-buy-pst)
    'The man bought shirts.'

(g) Seuanide i-mukhin-tuwi-ban.
    (man 3s:3siii-hat-buy-pst)
    'The man bought a hat.'

2.2 Animate nouns as subject are never incorporated. Inanimate nouns, however, are obligatorily incorporated if subject of most intransitive verbs.

(a) I-k'uru-k'euwe-m.
    (3siii-dipper-old:stative:pres)
    'The dipper is old.'

(b) *K'uru i-k'euwe-m.
(c) Musan i-k'euwe-m.
   (cat:pl 3pi-old:stat:pres)
   'The cats are old.'

(d) *I-musa-k'euwe-m.

(e) Musade we-seur-mi.
   (cat:sg 3si:neg-fall-pres:neg)
   'The cat is not falling.'

(f) *We-musa-seur-mi.

(g) We-fan-lur-mi.
   (3pii:neg-snow-fall:pl-pres:neg)
   'The snow's not falling.' or 'It's not snowing.'

(h) *Fan we-lur-mi.

3. COORDINATE NOUNS

Coordinate nouns as object cannot both be incorporated. One of
the coordinate nouns may be optionally incorporated, but not without
making the other conjunct a non-term. This is evident in that without
incorporation, as in (b), (c), and (f), the verb agrees with the con­
joined nouns as a plural set, whereas, when a noun is incorporated,
as in (a), (d), and (e), the verb agrees only with the incorporated
noun. If we are correct in relating sentence pairs as (a) and (b),
note that a proposed network for (a) involves conjunct ascension.

(a) Ti-kan-tuwi-ban ba bakade-'an.
   (ls:3si-horse-buy-pst and cow-and)\n   'I bought a horse and a cow.'

(b) Kanide-'an bakade-'an bi-tuwi-ban.
   (horse-and cow-and 1s:3pi-buy-pst)\n   'I bought a horse and a cow.'

(c) Te-na-tuwi-ban shut-'an mukhin-'an.
   (ls:3pii/iii-q-buy-pst shirt-and hat-and)\n   'I bought a shirt and a hat.'

(d) Ti-kan-tuwi-ban mukhin-'an.
   (ls:3siii-buy-pst horse-and)\n   'I bought a hat and a horse.'

(f) Mukhin-'an kanide-'an te-na-tuwi-ban.
   (hat-and horse-and ls:3pii/iii-q-buy-pst shirt-and hat-and)\n   'I bought a hat and a horse.'

4. PROPER NOUNS

Proper names, both person and place, are never incorporated.

(a) David ti-pienu-m.
   (David 1s:3si-love-stative:pres)\n   'I love David.'
(b) *Ti-David-pienu-m.

(c) Jesse ti-mu-ban.
   (Jesse ls:3si-see-pst)
   'I saw Jesse.'

(d) *Ti-Jesse-mu-ban.

(e) Lunan-'ay te-mi-wę.
    (Los Lunas-to 1s-go-pres.)
    'I'm going to Los Lunas.'

(f) *Te-Lunas-mi-wę.

(g) Phoenix-'ap te-mi-we.
    (Phoenix-to 1s-go-pres)
    'I'm going to Phoenix.'

(h) *Te-Phoenix-mi-wę.

5. INTERACTION WITH RELATION-CHANGING RULES

5.1 The initial subject of a passive can optionally be incorporated if non-human: (b) and (d) are passives of (a):

(a) Kanide ø-khwiem-gëguri-ban.
    (horse 3s:3si-dog-kick-pst)
    'The horse kicked the dog.'

(b) Khwienide ø-ëdëgure-ban kanide-ba.
    (dog 3s-kick:pass.-pst horse-agent.
    'The dog was kicked by the horse.'

(c) *Khwien-ëdëgure-ban kanide-ba.

(d) Khwienide ø-kan-ëdëgure-ban.
    (dog 3s-horse-kick:pass.-pst)
    'The dog was kicked by the horse.'

We include (c) to show that the initial DO of a passive cannot be incorporated. This is true also in the cases where passive is obligatory, i.e., third person subject with first or second person DO:

(e) Yede pijryde-ba te-khoake-ban.
    (that snake-instr. ls:bite:pass.-pst)
    'I was bitten by that snake.'

(f) Yede-ba te-pjry-khoake-ban.
    (that-instr 1s:snake-bite:pass.-pst)
    'I was bitten by that snake.'
Of interest here is that, though the \(^\text{\textdegree}\)-chomeur of passives is marked with the instrument post-position, instrument and \(^\text{\textdegree}\)-chomeur clearly are not of the same status, for instruments are never incorporated:

(g) Te-hwiete-ban keuap-ba.
   (ls-hit:pass.-pst shoe-instr.)
   'I was hit with a shoe.'

(h) *Te-keuap-hwiete-ban.
   (ls-shoe-hit:pass.-pst)

5.2 Advancement to 2

The initial direct object is obligatorily incorporated even if human and singular, if a non-term or indirect object has been advanced: 8

(a) Ka-' u 'u-wia-ban.
   (ls:2s:3s-baby-give-pst.)
   'I gave you the baby.'

(b) Ti-' u 'u-wia-ban j-'ay.
   (ls:3si-baby-give-pst 2s-to)
   'I gave the baby to you.'

(c) *'U'ude ka-wia-ban.

(d) Ta-' u 'u-wiaban liorade.
   (ls:3s:3si-baby-give-pst. woman)
   'I gave the woman the child.'

(e) Liorade ta-' u 'u-wia-ban.
   (woman ls:3s:3si-baby-give-pst.)
   'I gave the woman the child.'

In fact, even the presence of a potentially advanceable indirect object makes direct object noun incorporation obligatory for nearly all speakers:

(f) *'U'ude ti-wia-ban 'j-'ay.
   (child ls:3si-give-pst. 2s-to)

A non-term which has been advanced to termhood cannot be incorporated. This seems to be a property of all terms which trigger the "dative" set of verb prefixes.

It seems apparent that such incorporation is not being blocked by the presence of an incorporated initial direct object; note that the object of 'help' cannot be incorporated even though there is no other object incorporated.
(g) Tow-t'amban seuanide.
   (ls:3s-help-pst. man)
   'I helped the man.'

(h) *Tow-seuan-t'am-ban.

cf. (i) in which 'man' is an unadvanced non-term.

(i) Te-t'am-ban seuanide-'ay.
   (ls-help-pst. man-to)
   'I helped the man.'

5.3 Causative Union (CsU) 9
The initial downstairs 2 (ds2) of a causative verb is obligatorily incorporated:

(a) I-'u'u- kur-'am-ban.
   (ls:2s -baby-hold-cause-pst.)
   'I made you hold the baby.'

(b) *'U'ude i-kur-'am-ban.

Recall that human objects are otherwise optionally incorporated, with other than third person subject (see 1.2). Our present explanation for the obligatory incorporation of the ds2 is that CsU in Isleta requires downstairs intransitivity, and that this is accomplished by means of "antipassive" (Postal, 1977) which makes the ds2 $\rightarrow$ 2. As a result, this noun is obligatorily incorporated as are all 2's in Isleta. (see 5.2) 10

The initial ds1, which is evidently the union 2, can be incorporated, even though the initial ds2 is incorporated:

(c) Ti-seuan-liora-hwiet-'am-ban.
   (ls:3si-man-lady-hit-cause-pst)
   'I made the man hit the lady.'

5.4 Possessor Ascension 11
The initial possessed subject of an intransitive verb must be incorporated. Evidently possessor ascension is involved in these cases. Assuming possessor ascension obeys the relational succession law, the ascended possessor has become a subject and the initial subject is a subject chomeur; but if this is so, the verb prefixes in such cases reflect number and class of the initial subject as well as person and number of the final subject:

(a) In-shut-k'euwe-m.
   (ls:3sii-shirt-old-stative:pres.)
   'My shirt is old.'

(b) Iw-shut-k'euwe-m.
   (ls:3pii-shirt-old-stative:pres.)
   'My shirts are old.'
(c) Im-musa-'i-hi.
   (ls:3si-cat-come-fut.)
   'My cat is coming.'

(d) Im-musa-i-hi.
   (ls:3pi-cat-come-fut.)
   'My cats are coming.'

(e) Ka-shut-k'euwe-m.
   (2s:3sii-shirt-old-stative:pres.)
   'Your shirt is old.'

(f) Kow-shut-k'euwe-m.
   (2s:3pii-shirt-old-stative:pres.)
   'Your shirts are old.'

(g) Ka-shut-seur-a.
   (2s:3sti-shirt-fall:sg-pres.)
   'Your shirt is falling.'

(h) Kow-shut-lur-a.
   (2s:3pii-shirt-fall:pl-pres.)
   'Your shirts are falling.'

Alternatively, perhaps the ascended possessors are indirect objects
(i.e. that this is 'possessive union') which are subsequently advanced
to subject. With either analysis, such examples exhibit incorporation
of subject chomeurs.

The same affixes occur with simple statements of possession:

(i) Im-kuchi-we-m.
   (ls:3pi-pig-have-stative:pres.)
   'I have pigs.'

(j) Iw-shut-we-m.
   (ls:3pi-shirt-have-stative:pres.)
   'I have shirts.'

Our best guess at present is that the 'owner' in such cases was an initial
indirect object and the 'possessed' was an initial subject. If so, we
again have a case of 1-incorporation.

An initial possessed direct object must be incorporated if possessor
ascension occurs. Here there is better evidence that possessors ascend
to be indirect objects, which subsequently are obligatorily advanced
to direct object; for the verb affixes that are used are the same ones
found in the 3 --→ 2 cases. So the following examples can be classed
as 2-incorporation:

(k) Ka-kuchi-tha-ban.
   (ls:2s:3si-pig-find-pst)
   'I found your pig.'
(1) Kam-kahun-thg-ban.  
(ls:2s:3siii-box-find-pst)  
'I found your box.'

(m) Kam-kuchi-thg-ban.  
(ls:2s:3pi-pig-find-pst.)  
'I found your pigs.'

(n) Kow-kahun-thg-ban.  
(ls:2s:3pii/iii-box-find-pst.)  
'I found your boxes.'

6. EVENT-TYPE GOALS

Other Tanoan languages are said to allow goal incorporation.12  
Southern Tiwa allows what could be called goal incorporation, but only  
in restricted circumstances. Goal can be incorporated if the noun  
refers to an event in which the subject participates, and not  
merely to a place:

(a) 'Eskwela-'ay te-mį-we.  
(school-to ls-go=pres.)  
'I'm going to the school.' (the building)

(b) Te-'eskwela-mį-we.  
(ls-school-go=pres.)  
'I'm going to school.' (as a student)

(c) Te-fiesta-mį-ban.  
(ls-party-go=pst)  
'I went to the party.'

(d) Te-picnic-mį-ban.  
(ls-picnic-go=pst.)  
'I went to the picnic.'

(e) Te-poaha-mį-ban.  
(ls-ball-go=pst)  
'I went to play ball.'

Goals that are not event oriented are not incorporable, but are  
realized as post-positional phrases.

(f) P'ien-'ap te-mį-wę.  
(mountain-to Ts-go-pres.)  
'I'm going to the mountain.'

(g) *Te-p'ien-mį-wę.

(h) Teuy te-mį-wę.  
(village-to ls-go=pres.)  
'I'm going to the village.'

(i) *Te-teuy-mį-wę.
In view of the above examples, this phenomenon might better be described as a type of adverbial incorporation or compounding. Although the incorporated morpheme comes from a nominal, on the basis of the requirement of event orientation, it bears a closer resemblance to adverbial incorporation or compounding such as the following:

(j) Ti-nu-chia-miey.  
   (ls:3si-look for-go-pst:prog.)  
   'I was going around looking for him.'

(k) Te-ka-mi-ban.  
   (ls-swim/bathe (suppletive allomorph)-go-pst.)  
   'I went swimming/bathing.'

(l) Te-tu-mi-ban.  
   (ls-eat (suppletive allomorph)-go-pst)  
   'I went to eat.'
FOOTNOTES

1 According to Johnson, 1976, "there has been a growing awareness in the linguistic community that grammatical relations play a central role in the syntax of natural languages. Unfortunately, the ideas and evidence behind this reawakening have gone unpublished, and have not been widely disseminated." Thus, it will not be easy for those who have no exposure to RG to obtain background material which would orient them to the theory. To make matters worse, most of the materials that are available use the early "derivational" relational framework. There are really only two readily obtainable papers which present the more recent "uninetwork" approach assumed here; these are Postal 1977, and Perlmutter and Postal, 1977.

2 This paper initially grew out of a workshop conducted by Dr. Donald Frantz in Espanola, New Mexico. Fieldworkers representing four Tanoan languages were present. Subsequent drafts of the paper were written under Frantz's close supervision, and we gratefully acknowledge his help. Without his direction and motivation, this paper would not have materialized in this form. Data were gathered in conjunction with our assignment with the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, from October 1973 through May 1977. We deeply appreciate our Isleta friends who generously gave their time to answer our questions.

3 The information contained within the pronominal prefix is often complex. ls:3s means "first person singular subject, third person singular object". The lower case i's refer to the class of the object noun. There are three noun classes in Isleta, signified in our glosses by i 'animate', ii 'inanimate A', and iii 'inanimate B'. It is difficult to characterize the difference between classes ii and iii, other than to note that class iii includes many objects which are containers.

4 According to our analysis, all animate nouns are grouped into one class, characterized by the -(V)de suffix in the unincorporated forms, according to the following phonological rules:

Singular:
- de with multi-syllable, vowel final stems
- ide with any consonant-final stem or one-syllable vowel final stems.

Plural:
- nin with any consonant final stem
- mnin with one syllable vowel final stems
- n with multi-syllable, vowel final stems.

Only unincorporated animate nouns have distinctive endings. Inanimate nouns, may, under restricted circumstances, take animate endings. (see footnote 6)
5 It may seem inappropriate to include under semantic constraints, a section on particularity of reference, when that is not a constraint on incorporation in S. Tiwa. However, because such a constraint is common to many languages, we felt it necessary to cite S. Tiwa as an exception.

6 There are a few exceptions which according to our present data, are rare occurrences. In elicitation, we have found instances of an unincorporated inanimate noun as subject of an intransitive verb. In such cases, the inanimate noun takes on the animate suffix -(v)de, and the verb prefix indicates that the noun is no longer considered a member of the inanimate class:

(a) i-mukhin-k'euwe-m.
   (3sii-f-hat-old-stative:pres.)
   'The hat is old.'

(b) Mukhin-ide ø- k'euwe-m.
   (hat-anim. 3si-old- stative:pres.)
   'The hat is old.'

Inanimate nouns as final subject of passive verbs cannot be incorporated. In these cases, also, the noun is unincorporated and takes the animate ending:

(c) Kahun-ide ø-edeure-ban seuanide-ba.
   box-anim 3s-kick:pass-pst man-by
   'The box was kicked by the man.'

(d) Poaha-de ø-edeure-ban seuanide-ba.
   (ball-anim. 3s-kick:pass-pst man-by

7 In uninetwork relational grammar, the network for a passive will have two strata, referred to as 'initial' and 'final'. 'Initial subject' refers to the nominal which bore the relation of subject (1) to the verb in the initial stratum.

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   KICK
  /   \
1    2

h   d
i   f
do
er
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(b) The dog was kicked by the horse.

For instance, in the network for sentence (b) 'horse' is the initial subject, and 'dog' the initial direct object. They are labeled 1 and 2.
respectively in the initial stratum. But when 'dog' is made subject (2 advanced to 1) 'horse' can no longer keep its subject relation, and so becomes 'en chomage.' Any time that a term loses its initial relation because it has been replaced, we call it a chômeur, and represent it in the next stratum by putting a circumflex accent on the number which refers to its initial relation. Thus, 'horse' is a 1-chômeur (1) in the final stratum.

Terms, advancement
Subject (1), direct object (2), and indirect object (3) are terms of the verb upon which they depend. Nominals which bear other relations to the verb (locative, benefactive, etc.) are referred to as non-terms. A ranking system is assumed, such that 1 outranks 2 outranks 3. When a nominal bears a higher ranked grammatical relation in the final stratum than it did in a previous one, we say it has been advanced.

8 Where verb agreement prefixes reflect three terms, notation will be for final subject, final direct object, and initial direct object, in that order.

9 Union involves a matrix and embedded predicate which combine as a single clause. In Causative Clause Union, the embedded predicate is 'dead' and its initial dependents are final dependents of the matrix predicate 'cause'.

10 We doubt that the claimed chômeurhood of this initial ds2 is due to 3 → 2 on the 'output' of CsU, for all other cases of advancement to 2 trigger the "dative" set of verb prefixes.

11 Ascension occurs when a nominal, which bears a certain relation to a ds verb in initial stratum, has taken on a new relation to the us verb in a following stratum. In the case of the possessor ascension, the nominal which bears the relation of 'possessor' to one of the dependents of a verb takes on a new relation as DO of the governing verb. Possessor ascension is to be distinguished from possessor union, wherein the possessor becomes a 3 in relation to the governing verb and the original 2 retains its 2 relationship.

12 This information was provided by our SIL colleagues - Dr. Randall and Anne Speirs (Tewa); Hazel Shorey (Towa); David Hull (Northern Tiwa).