

Stowaway nominals: Incorporation and nPs in Kanien'kéha*

Chase Boles
McGill University

WSCLA 27
University of Toronto
April 27, 2024

1 Introduction

- Kanien'kéha (Mohawk; Northern Iroquoian), as well as Northern Iroquoian languages more generally, is well-known for its noun incorporation phenomena (Baker 1988; Mattissen 2004; Mithun 1984; Woodbury 1975).
- Incorporation is highly productive, with most verbs showing an incorporated-excorporated alternation.^{1,2,3}

(1) <i>Incorporation</i>	(2) <i>Excorporation</i>
<i>Wa'kenaktahní:non'</i>	<i>Wa'khní:non' ne kanákta'.</i>
<i>wa'-ke-nakt-a-hninon-'</i>	<i>wa'-k-hninon-'</i> <i>ne ka-nakt-a'</i>
FACT-1SGA-bed-JR-buy-PUNC	FACT-1SGA-buy-PUNC NE NA-bed-NSF
'I bought a bed.'	(Baker 1996:12, K.) 'I bought a bed.'
	(Baker 1996:12, K.)

- Previous work (e.g., Baker 1988, 1996, 2009) describes incorporation as optional where it appears.
 - Incorporation is movement an externally-generated nominal *into* the verbal word. **(1) is derived from (2).**
- More recent work (e.g., DeCaire et al. 2017) argues incorporation is the non-optional default.
 - Unincorporated nominals are verb-internally generated, then *excorporated* due to information structural requirements. **(2) is derived from (1).**

**Niawenhkó:::wa* foremost to Mary Onwá:ri Tekahawáhkwen McDonald for her time and effort in sharing her language with me. *Niawenhkó:wa ó:ni* Wishe Mittelstaedt, Akwiratékha' Martin, and Kanontienénhtha' Brass for their insights on Kanien'kéha, as well as to Jessica Coon for her supervision. Additional thanks to Sophia Flaim, Terrance Gatchalian, Heather Goad, Austin Kraft, Simon LiVolsi, Karin Michelson, Katya Morgunova, Willie Myers, Jonny Palucci, and Martin Renard, as well as the members of MULL/Syntax-Semantics Reading Group, for comments on previous versions of this work. All remaining errors are my own.

¹Glossing follows standard Leipzig conventions with the following additions and alterations: A = agent set, CIS = cislocative, DIM = diminutive, FACT = factual, FI = feminine-indefinite, FZ = feminine-zoic, HAB = habitual, INCH = inchoative, JR = joiner, NSF = noun suffix, OPT = optative, P = patient set, PROSP = prospective, PUNC = punctual, SRFL = semireflexive, STAT = stative, TRANS = translocative.

²Though not all; certain stative-only verbs require incorporation, and certain verbs may not incorporate their apparent themes. I do not discuss these here.

³I use "incorporation" and "excorporation" for consistency with the literature; however, my analysis is opposed to any derivational relationship between the forms in (1) and (2).

- A derivational relationship between incorporated and excorporated variants underlies both.

- A different pair of incorporated and excorporated variants:

(3) *Incorporation*

Wa'khahseró:roke'
 wa'-k-hahser-orok-e'
 FACT-1SGA-light-cover-PUNC
 'I covered the lamp.'

(4) *Excorporation*

Wa'kehrhó:roke' ne oháhsera'
 wa'-ke-**hrh**-orok-e' ne **o**-hahser-**a'**
 FACT-1SGA-thing-cover-PUNC NE NP-light-NSF
 'I covered the lamp.'

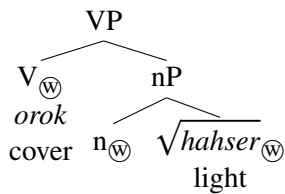
- A derivational relationship between incorporated (3) and excorporated (4) leaves crucial facts unaccounted for:

1. Nominal roots seemingly “gain” morphology when unincorporated.
2. When no lexical root is incorporated into the verb, some verbs also appear to “gain” morphology.

Proposal: There is **no** derivational relationship between incorporated variants (1) and excorporated variants (2). The “themes” in the two variants are generated differently.

- ❶ Incorporated themes are generated as a true theme complement of V. Subscript \textcircled{w} occurs on heads that form a morphological word together (to be detailed later).

(5) *Incorporated variant = (3)*

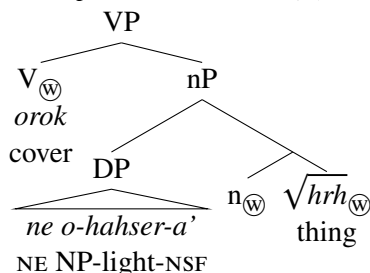


- ❷ Excorporation has the **same** structure as possessor raising.

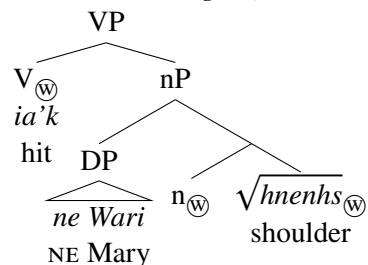
- Excorporated “themes” like in (4) are stowed away into the derivation. They are generated in Spec,nP as the inalienable possessor of a true theme root.

(6) *Ohahí:io wahshakohnenhsáia'ke' ne Wári.*
 Ohahiiio wa'-hshako-hnenhs-a-ia'k-e' ne Wari
 Ohahiiio FACT-MSG>FI-shoulder-JR-hit-PUNC NE Mary
 'Ohahí:io tapped Mary's shoulder.'

(7) *Excorporated variant = (4)*



(8) *Possessor raising = (6)*



- In other words, for nominals that appear to be themes, those on the left of the table (9) may generate as the theme complement of V, while those on the right must be smuggled in as the inalienable possessor of a true theme.

	Generated as a theme	Stowed away as a theme's (inalienable) possessor
(9)	Incorporated neuter nominals	Freestanding neuter nominals Proper names Animate nominals Pronouns (including <i>pros</i>) Alienable-possessed nominals Focused nominals Nominals with demonstratives

⑥ Both structures follow from a constraint that V must merge with nPs.

- The nominals in the left column of (9) may be nPs, while those in the right column involve more structure.
- Importantly, this account captures the intuitions of DeCaire et al. (2017) and Renard (2023) as to the relation of information structure and excorporation.

Roadmap

First, a discussion of incorporation (3) and why incorporation is the most neutral transitive structure.

Then, a discussion of excorporation (4), and how its structure is different.

§2: Language-specific background on Kanien'kéha

§3: A discussion of the structure of incorporated material

§4: Incorporation as word-building

§5: Stowaway nominals

§6: Conclusion

2 Background on Kanien'kéha

- In the Five Nations branch of Northern Iroquoian languages with closely-related On̄ayote'a·ká· (Oneida), On̄da'gehá' (Onondaga), Gayogoho:nə' (Cayuga), and On̄odowá'ga:' (Seneca) (Mithun 2017).
- Definitely endangered (Moseley 2010), with around 500 L1 speakers, most of whom are elders DeCaire (forthcoming).
- Basic linguistic background:
 - “Polysynthetic” and highly agglutinating (with some fusion in the pre-pronominal prefixal domain; see Martin 2023).
 - Head-marking, with highly complex agreement, and robustly *pro*-drop.⁴
 - Fairly “free” word order; probably better described as discourse-configurational (Mithun 2020).
 - “Split-S” (“active”) verbal agreement, with agent and patient sets of intransitive agreement lexically-specified by verb.
 - Portmanteau transitive agreement morphemes, indexing the subject and the primary object (in the sense of Dryer 1986).

⁴Some (e.g., Jelinek 1984; Koenig and Michelson 2015) argue that the arguments are the agreement prefixes on the verbs; the descriptive generalization is that overt nominal arguments are not required.

3 The structure of incorporated material

- It has been noted that only theme internal arguments may incorporate (Baker 1996).

Incorporated arguments are the complements of V.

- Incorporated material is generally quite bare. Typically only a root incorporates.
- (10) *Ieniakwanenhstáweron* *sók...*
i-en-iakwa-**nenhst**-aweron sok
TRANS-FUT-1EXCL.PLA-corn-pour[PUNC] and.then
'We would pour the corn into it, then...'
(Horne 1976, K.)
- Some nominals and all verbs require an overt nominalizer to incorporate.
- (11) a. *Nominal root with nominalizer*
Tánon' ó:nen ó:ni' iahothón:te'ne' "tsik a tsik, tsik a tsik, tsik a tsik,"
tanon' onen oni' i-a'-ho-athonte-'n-e' tsik a tsik
and now also TRANS-FACT-MSGP-hear-INCH-PUNC ONOM
taiohstien'takaré:re', ...
t-a'-io-hstien-'t-a-karere'
CIS-FACT-NP-bone-NMLZ-JR-noise.travel-PROSP
'And just then he heard the sound of bones coming, "chick a chick, chick a chick, chick a chick."' (A. Á. K. Jacobs 1976, K.)
- b. *Verb with nominalizer*
Wahatkahrhi'tahtsheratkwé:ni.
wa'-h-atkahrhi't-a-**htsher**-atkweni
FACT-MSGA-manipulate-JR-NMLZ-win[PUNC]
'He won a (finger) toy (i.e., a toy involving fine motor skills).'

- I assume overt nominalizers expone a n head, due to their transparent nominalizing function. I also assume that roots without overt nominalizers merge with a null n head, thus that **all incorporated material are nPs**.
- See Appendix A for more arguments that incorporated material reflects nPs.

4 Incorporation as word-building

4.1 Word-building

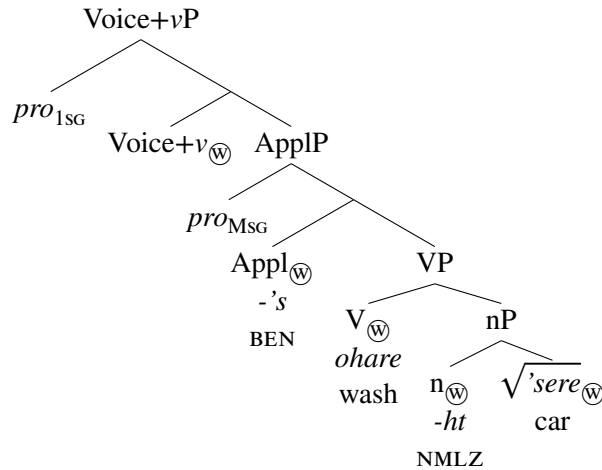
- Kanien'kéha verbs can be highly complex, but they are largely templatic.
- The traditional Northern Iroquoian verb stem appears to correspond to the VoiceP.
- This domain shows hallmarks of word-building (Dyck 2009; Michelson 1988).

A morphological word-building mechanism applies to consecutive heads within the VoiceP domain. This includes the nP complement of V.

- This word-building could be captured by Amalgamation (Harizanov and Gribanova 2019), Generalized Head Movement (Arregi and Pietraszko 2021), or Spanning (Svenonius 2016).
- Application of word-building is *obligatory*. **nP complements of V must incorporate**.
- This required application of word-building results in the pragmatically neutral nature of incorporation.
 - The linearization of the morphological word beginning with the lowest head results in a morphological word beginning with the incorporated root.

- (12) a. *Wahakéhnha'ne'* *ahi'serehtóhare'se'* *ne Wishe.*
 wa'-hake-hnha'n-e' a-hi-['sere-ht-ohare-'s]-e' ne Wishe
 FACT-MSG>1SG-hire-PUNC OPT-1SG>MSG-car-NMLZ-wash-BEN-PUNC NE Wishe
 'Wishe hired me to wash the car for him.'

b. = (12a) 'serehtohare's



4.2 “Dummy” incorporated roots

- When certain verbs appear without an incorporated lexical root, additional morphology appears. This includes [*n*]ohare ‘wash’ in (13b), as well as [*hni*]ot ‘erect, stand up’ and [*a’s*]en ‘fall’. (See Appendix B for a list.)

- (13) a. *Wa'ke'serehtóhare'*.
 wa'-ke-'sere-ht-ohare-'
 FACT-1SGA-car-NMLZ-wash-PUNC
 'I washed the car.'
- b. *Ì:i wa'kenóhare'*.
 i'i wa'-ke-nohare-'
 1PRO FACT-1SGA-wash-PUNC
 'I washed it.'

- Note that for all of the verbs exhibiting extra material when no lexical root is incorporated, the extra material appears where incorporated roots appear.

- I argue these are the overt morphological exponence of “dummy” incorporated roots (Baker 1996; Lounsbury 1953; Michelson and Doxtator 2002). I hence gloss them as ‘thing’.
- I therefore suggest that when no overt theme occurs there is **always** a dummy root complement of the verb.
 - This applies even when this dummy root has **no overt** morphological exponent.
- I argue the existence of dummy roots in all verbs follows from a general constraint on verbs with internal arguments to combine syntactically with an internal argument.
- Note that in cases with *pro* or excorporated “themes,” a dummy root appears internal to the verb.
 - Dummy roots then must be the complement of V in these cases, meaning the apparent “themes” are not themes at all.

Internal argument-selecting V has a selectional requirement for nPs. Theme nPs are always incorporated by the word-building mechanism.

5 Stowaway themes

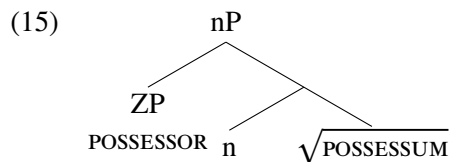
- I quickly motivate a structure for possessor raising in Kanien’kéha, then extend it to excorporated nominals.

5.1 Possessor raising

- Kanien’kéha has a possessor raising construction for inalienable possession in which the possessor of a theme is marked as an argument of the verb (Deal 2017).⁵
- Possessor raising in Kanien’kéha involves incorporating the possessum and marking the possessor as a primary object via verbal agreement.

(14) *Ohahí:io wahshakohnehsáia’ke’* *ne Wári.*
 Ohahíio wa’-**hshako-hnenhs**-a-ia’k-e’ ne **Wári**
 Ohahíio FACT-MSG>**FI**-shoulder-JR-hit-PUNC NE Mary
 ‘Ohahí:io tapped Mary’s shoulder.’

- I posit that inalienably-possessed roots are nPs, introducing the possessor in Spec,nP (Alexiadou 2003; Tyler 2021).

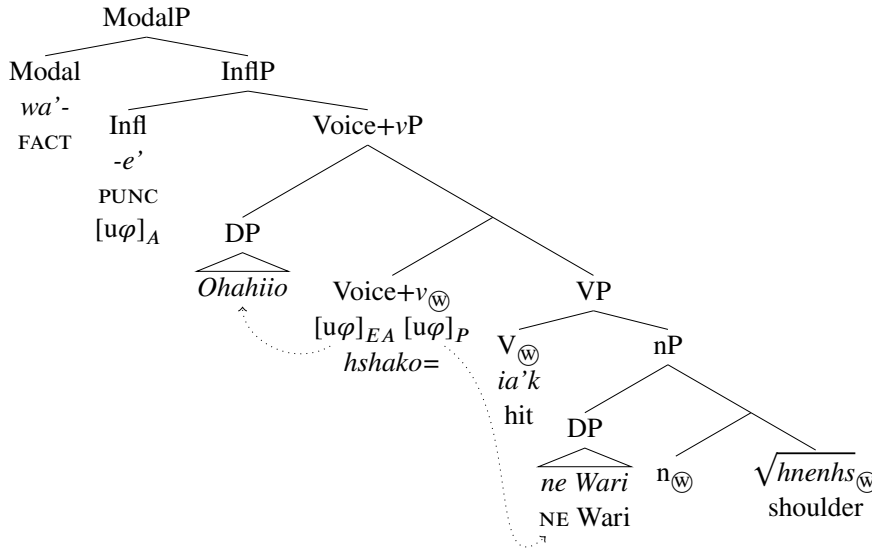


- This structure capitalizes on the intuition that inalienable possessums require inalienable possessors.

⁵I use the term “possessor raising” descriptively; I do not suggest any actual movement of the possessor.

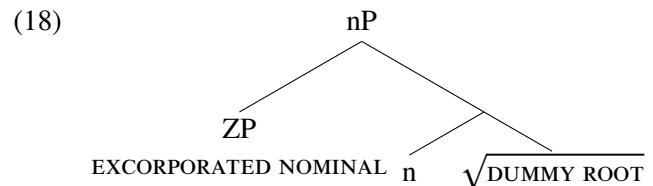
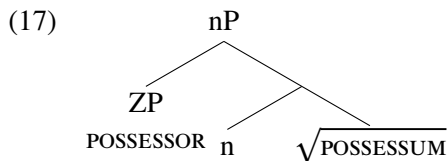
- The possessor raising data immediately arises from the merging of the inalienable possession nP with V.
 - It satisfies the complement merge requirement of V.
 - The word-building mechanism results in incorporation of the possessum root, while the possessor is not targeted for word-building.
 - Body-part nominals are by definition always neuter, thus have no φ -features (Coon 2023; see Appendix A). \Rightarrow Verbal probes Agree with the possessor in Spec,nP.

(16) = (14)



- The structure of possessor raising is exactly what is required of excorporation cases.
 - ✓ An incorporated root.
 - ✓ A nominal “stranded” external to the verbal word.
 - ✓ Primary object agreement controlled by the verb-external argument, not the incorporated root.

\Rightarrow **Excorporated variants have the same structure as possessor raising.**



5.2 Stowaway nominals

- Excorporated nominals must be stowed away into the derivation.
- Freestanding nominals come with agreement prefixes and noun suffixes.

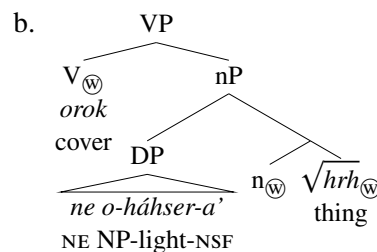
(19) *o'wháhsa'*
o'-whahs-a'
 NP-skirt-NSF
 'skirt'

(McDonald 2017)

- Noun suffixes appear *outside* overt nominalizers. → Noun suffixes expone a higher projection than nP.
- Agreement prefixes always reflect the φ -features of the referent of the nominal, so the probe responsible must be able to see PersP. → Agreement prefixes require higher projections than nP.
 ⇒ Excorporated nominals are larger than nP, and therefore they **cannot merge with V**.
- How to stow away an excorporated “theme”? As the inalienable possessor of the dummy root!

Excorporation simply *is* the structure of possessor raising (cf. 20b and 16).

(20) a. *Excporation*
Wa'kehrhó:roke' *ne*
 wa'-ke-**hrh**-orok-e' *ne*
 FACT-1SGA-thing-cover-PUNC NE
oháhsera'
o-hahser-a'
 NP-light-NSF
 'I covered the lamp('s substance).'



- The derivation of excorporated nominals follows exactly as expected of the possessor raising motivated previously.
 - The excorporated “theme” is not of the right category to merge with V.
 - A dummy root is generated, and the excorporated “theme” is stowed away into the derivation as its inalienable possessor.
 - Word-building applies: the dummy root ends up incorporating, stranding its inalienable possessor.
- The dummy root has the semantics of “**substance**” of whatever its possessor is.
- Evidence that the dummy root is the inalienable possessum of excorporated nominals: the dummy root for animate excorporated nominals is *ia't* ‘body’ (i.e., the human’s substance and a body part noun).

(21) *Ó:nen íá:ken' ki raksà:'a* *iahoia'ténhawe'* *ne*
 onen iaken' ki ra-ksa-'a i-a'-ho-**ia't**-enhaw-e' *ne*
 now they.say this MSGA-child-DIM TRANS-FACT-MSG>MSG-body-bring-PUNC NE
rohsótha.
 ro-hsotha
 MSG>MSG-grandparent
 'Now, they say, the boy brought his grandfather.'

(C. K. Jacobs 1976, K.)

6 Conclusion

- Important pieces:
 - V has must merge with nP.
 - Excorporated material has greater material than nP.
 - The heads inside VoiceP participate in morphological word-building.
- Incorporation is standard, as suggested by DeCaire et al. (2017) and Renard (2023): The theme merges as a complement of V.
- Excorporated “themes” are enter the derivation as the inalienable possessors of dummy roots.

There is no derivational relationship between incorporated and excorporated variants of sentences in Kanien’kéha.

References

- Alexiadou, Artemis (2003). “Some notes on the structure of alienable and inalienable possessors”. In: *The expression of possession in noun phrases*. Ed. by Martine Coene and Yves D’hulst. Vol. 2. From NP to DP. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 167–188.
- Arregi, Karlos and Asia Pietraszko (2021). “The ups and downs of head displacement”. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 52.2, pp. 241–289.
- Baker, Mark C. (1988). *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1996). *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- (2009). “Is head movement still needed for noun incorporation?” In: *Lingua* 119.2, pp. 148–165.
- Coon, Jessica (2023). *The syntax of Northern Iroquoian pronominal prefixes*. Ms., McGill University.
- Danon, Gabi (2006). “Caseless nominals and the projection of DP”. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24, pp. 977–1008.
- (2011). “Agreement and DP-internal feature distribution”. In: *Syntax* 14.4, pp. 297–317.
- Deal, Amy Rose (2017). “External possession and possessor raising”. In: *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*. Ed. by Martin Everaert and Henk C. van Riemsdijk. John Wiley Sons, Inc.
- DeCaire, Ryan (forthcoming). *Assessing Kanien’kéha vitality*. Journal article.
- DeCaire, Ryan, Alana Johns, and Ivona Kučerová (2017). “On optionality in Mohawk noun incorporation”. In: *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 39.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1986). “Primary objects, secondary objects, and antitativity”. In: *Language* 62.4, pp. 808–845.
- Dyck, Carrie (2009). “Defining the word in Cayuga (Iroquoian)”. In: *International Journal of American Linguistics* 75.4, pp. 571–605.
- Forbes, Clarissa (2019). “Number, names, and animacy: Nominal classes and plural interactions in Gitksan”. In: *Gender and noun classification*. Ed. by Éric Mathieu, Myriam Dali, and Gita Zareikar. Oxford studies in theoretical linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chap. 10, pp. 203–233.
- Harizanov, Boris and Vera Gribanova (2019). “Whither head movement?” In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37, pp. 461–522.
- Horne, Josephine Warisó:se Kaieríthon (1976). “Kana’tarokhón:we”. In: *Kanien’kéha okara’shòn:’a*. Ed. by Marianne Williams. Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Dept., pp. 44–47.
- Jacobs, Annette Á:nen Kaia’titáhkhe’ (1976). “Tsik a tsik, tsik a tsik, tsik a tsik”. In: *Kanien’kéha okara’shòn:’a*. Ed. by Marianne Williams. Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Dept., pp. 66–68.
- Jacobs, Carolee Konwatièn:se’ (1976). “Sha’tewahsirí:hen”. In: *Kanien’kéha okara’shòn:’a*. Ed. by Marianne Williams. Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Dept., pp. 11–12.
- Jelinek, Eloise (1984). “Empty categories, case, and configurationality”. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 2, pp. 39–76.
- Kalin, Laura (2018). “Licensing and differential object marking: The view from Neo-Aramaic”. In: *Syntax* 21.2, pp. 112–159.
- Koenig, Jean-Pierre and Karin Michelson (2015). “Invariance in argument realization: The case of Iroquoian”. In: *Language* 91.1, pp. 1–47.
- Lochbihler, Bethany, Will Oxford, and Nicholas Welch (2021). “The person-animacy connection: Evidence from Algonquian and Dene”. In: *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 66, pp. 431–442.
- Lounsbury, Floyd (1953). *Oneida verb morphology*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Martin, Akwiratékha' (2023). *Tekawennahsonterónnion Kanien'kéha morphology*. Kahnawà:ke: Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center.
- Mattissen, Johanna (2004). "A structural typology of polysynthesis". In: *Word* 55.2, pp. 189–216.
- McDonald, Mary Onwá:ri Tekahawáhkwen (May 2017). "Base nouns". Slides created for teaching Kanien'kéha.
- Michelson, Karin (1988). *A comparative study of Lake-Iroquoian accent*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Michelson, Karin and Mercy Doxtator (2002). *An Oneida–English/English–Oneida dictionary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mithun, Marianne (1984). "The evolution of noun incorporation". In: *Language* 60, pp. 847–893.
- (2017). "The Iroquoian language family". In: *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic typology*. Ed. by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 24, pp. 747–781.
- (2020). "Discourse particle position and information structure". In: *Information-structural perspectives on discourse particles*. Ed. by Pierre-Yves Modicom and Olivier Duplâtre. Studies in language comparison 213. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Chap. 1, pp. 27–46.
- Moseley, Christopher, ed. (2010). *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*. Third. UNESCO.
- Oxford, Will (2019). "Inverse marking and Multiple Agree in Algonquin". In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37, pp. 955–996.
- Renard, Martin (2023). *Inactive, active, and non-noun incorporation in Kanien'kéha: A categorization and excorporation analysis*. Ms., University of Toronto.
- Svenonius, Peter (2016). "Spans and words". In: *Morphological metatheory*. Ed. by Heidi Harley and Daniel Siddiqi. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 199–220.
- Tyler, Matthew (2021). "Two kinds of external possession in Mississippi Choctaw". In: *Syntax* 24.1, pp. 78–122.
- Woodbury, Hanni (1975). *Noun incorporation in Onondaga*. Doctoral dissertation, Yale University. New Haven, CT.

A Further evidence that V must merge with nP

- Additional material appears on freestanding nominals, namely a noun suffix and the agreement prefix.

(22) Tahó:ion' ne káhi, tánon' ne kentsion, ...
 t-a'-ho-ion' ne ka-hi tanon' ne **ken-itsi-on**
 CIS-FACT-MSG>MSG-give[PUNC] NE NA-fruit and NE NA-fish-NSF
 'He gave him the fruit and the fish, ...' (A. Á. K. Jacobs 1976, K.)

- This extra nominal morphology is disallowed from incorporation.

(23) a. *Tsitsiahserón:nis* *ken?*
 ts-itsi-a-hseronni-s ken
 2SGA-fish-JR-arrange-HAB Q
 'Are you preparing fish?'
 b. *{ *Sekentsionhserón:nis* / *Tsitsionhserón:nis* / *Sekentsiahserón:nis* }
 se-**ken**-itsi-**on**-hseronni-s ts-itsi-**on**-hseronni-s se-**ken**-itsi-a-hseronni-s
 2SGA-NA-fish-NSF-arrange-HAB 2SGA-fish-NSF-arrange-HAB 2SGA-NA-fish-JR-arrange-HAB
 ken?
 ken
 Q
 Intended: 'Are you preparing fish?'

- There is a closed-class of lexical suffixes on nouns, such as *-onwe* 'real, genuine', appearing outside of overt nominalizers (i.e., above nP). These lexical suffixes may not be incorporated.

(24) a. Ake'nísténha' wa'onkerihónnien' akena'tarón:ni ne
 ake-'nistenha' wa'-ionke-rihw-onni-en-' a-ke-na'tar-onni ne
 FZSG> 1SG-mother FACT-FI> 1SG-matter-make-BEN-PUNC OPT-1SGA-bread-make[PUNC] NE

kana'taronkhón:we.
 ka-na'taronk-honwe
 NA-bread-real

'My mother taught me to make cornbread.'

- b. **Ake'nistéha' wa'onkerihónnien' akena'taronkhonión:ni.*
 ake-'nistenha' wa'-ionke-rihw-onni-en-' a-ke-na'taronk-honw-onni
 FZSG>1SG-mother FACT-FI>1SG-matter-make-BEN-PUNC OPT-1SGA-bread-real-make[PUNC]
 Intended: 'My mother taught me to make cornbread.'

- Animates are generally restricted from incorporation, but this is variable.

- (25) a. **Sahkwari'tanorónhkwa ken?*
 s-ahkwari-'t-a-noronhkwa-ha ken
 2SGA-bear-NMLZ-JR-love-HAB Q
 Intended: 'Do you love bears?'
Consultant comment: "You can't incorporate that..."

- b. *Kattsinowen'tsherató:rats.*
 k-at-**tsinowen**-'tsher-atorat-s
 1SGA-SRFL-mouse-NMLZ-hunt-HAB
 'I'm hunting mice.'
Consultant comment: "My uncle used to say this."

- Only certain "low animacy" roots, like *wir* 'baby', may incorporate (Baker 1996; Koenig and Michelson 2015; Woodbury 1975), but speakers I worked with sometimes even disliked these.
 - Speakers often say *incorporation of animates is well-formed but is disrespectful* as it involves treating the animate as a thing (Baker 1996).
- On the other hand, neuter nominals (= inanimate nominals) are always able to incorporate.
- Coon (2023) proposes that the difference between neuter and other third person "genders" in Kanien'kéha is that neuters have no φ -features, while all other third person "genders" have a person feature [ANIM] (following similar work from Na-Dene and Algonquian; Lochbihler et al. 2021; Oxford 2019).
 - Nouns without person features may incorporate freely.
- I presume animates contain an additional PersP projection that introduces person/animacy features (Danon 2006, 2011; Forbes 2019; Kalin 2018, among others).
 - When incorporated, animates also appear as nPs.
 - Therefore these animates are generated without φ -features, resulting in a reading of an animate as an object without free will (Coon 2023).

Arguments that V must take nP complements

- Relatively bare incorporated material (only a root and a nominalizer).
- Higher nominal morphology is banned from incorporation.
- Animates struggle to incorporate, and when they do, they are treated as inanimate.

B Verbs with dummy roots

The following is a list of verbs roots that appear with dummy incorporated roots when no lexical root is incorporated. The dummy root is the part incased in brackets.

[n]ohare	‘wash’
[na’]nawen	‘be wet’
[sta]then	‘be dry’
[hswa]the’ (with duplicative <i>te-</i>)	‘be bright’
[ra’]nentak	‘be sticky’
[ra]karer	‘for noise to sound’
[hwa]tase	‘turn’
[swa]’ek	‘strike’
[hni]ot	‘erect, stand up’
[a’s]en’	‘fall’
[iena]wa’s	‘help s.o. with’

Additionally, the following verbs appear with the incorporated root *ia’t* ‘body’ when their “theme” is a human or animal.

[ia’t]enha(w)	‘bring, take’
[ia’ta]ta	‘bury (with <i>ia’t</i>), put s.t. in (otherwise)’
[ia’ta]iestahsi	‘pick out’
[ia’ta]hnir	‘be strong, be hard’
[ia’t]atshenri	‘find’
[ia’t]uti	‘lose, throw’
[ia’ta]h(e)r	‘be (laid out) on top of’
[ia’t]isak	‘miss, look for’
[ia’ta]tshahniht	‘intimidate’
[ia’t]en’tonhn	‘follow around, follow behind’
[ia’ta]nentak	‘be stuck to’
[ia’t]ohseronkw	‘pet, massage’
[ia’t]awen	‘happen to s.o.’
[ia’ta]hsteris	‘be funny’
[ia’ta]tarihen	‘be warm’
[ia’t]ahton	‘be lost’
[ia’t]ita’	‘give s.o. a ride (with <i>ia’t</i>), put into (otherwise)’
[ia’ta]ka’wa	‘give out, release’