

3. Companions and accompaniment

3.1. As a core argument

(3) Mohawk accompaniment: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

Our boat was carried away with the current.

Iohná:wate'

io-hnaw-at-'

NEUTER.PATIENT-current-extend-STATIC

current

ia'kahá:wih̄te'

i-a'-ka-hawi-h̄t-'

TRANSLOCATIVE-FACTUAL-NEUTER.AGT-carry-with-PRF

it carried it away with it

ne

ne

the

the

onkwahonwé:ia

onkwa-honweia

1.PL.EXCL.AL.POSS-boat

our boat

3.2. As a component of a core argument

(4) Mohawk core companion: Carolee Konwatièn:se' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

Long ago, it is said, this man lived with his father.

Wahón:nise'

long ago

íá:ken'

one has said

ki:

this

rónkwe,

male person

ro'níha

ro-'ni=ha

M.SG/M.SG-be.father.to=DIMINUTIVE

his father

skáthne

skáthne

together

together

nì:teron'.

n̄-i'teron-'

M.DUAL.AGENT-dwell-STATIC

they two lived

(5) Mohawk core companion: John Maracle, speaker

When you talk with a Mohawk, you can say all sorts of things.

Tensenihtharónnion'

t-en-seni-hthar-onnnion-'

DUPLICATIVE-FUTURE-2.DUAL.AGENT-talk-DISTRIBUTIVE-PRF

you two will talk

kanien'kehá:ka

ka-nien='ke=haka

N-flint=place=resident

Mohawk person

tsio'k

tsi=o'k

so=just

all sorts of

nahò:ten'

nahò:ten'

something

things

ensenihrónnion'.

en-seni-hron-nion-'

FUTURE-2.DUAL.AGENT-say-DISTRIBUTIVE-PERFECTIVE

you two will say

3.3. As a core argument of a separate clause

(6) Mohawk associative: separate clause: Josie Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

We would serve the cornbread with venison and gravy.

Tókani'

tóka=hni'

maybe=too

or perhaps

oskenón:ton'

o-sken-onton-'

N-bone-protrude-STATIC

deer

enié:rihte',

en-ie-ri-ht-'

FUTURE-F.SG.AGENT-be.cooked-CAUSATIVE-PRF

she will fry (it)

ne:

ne:

that

that

teniakwatatiéhsten'

t-en-iakwa-atat-iehst-en-'

DUPLICATIVE-FUT-1.PL.INCL.AGENT-REFLEXIV E-mix-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATION-PRF

we will combine (them) for ourselves

ne

ne

the

the

kana'tarokhón:we,

ka-na'tar-ok=onwe

NEUTER-bread-be.in.water=genuine

real bread

tanon'

tanon'

and

and

kén:ie

ka-ienie

N-grease

grease

entionkwá:ti'.

en-t-ionkwa-ati-'

FUTURE-CISLOCATIVE-1.INCLUSIVE.PL.PATIENT-throw-PRF

we will pour (it) there

4. Experiencers, recipients, beneficiaries

4.1. As a core argument

At most two arguments can be represented in the pronominal prefix complex.

Humans take precedence for over non-humans.

Neuters are generally not represented unless there are no other arguments.

Some verbs have recipients or beneficiaries as core arguments.

(7) Mohawk recipient as core: Rita Konwatsi'tsaién:ni Phillips, speaker p.c.

She might have given you good luck

Kati'	nón:wa'	aietshiiatera'swá:wi'
kati'	n=ón:wa'	a-ietshii-ate-ra'sw-awí-'
just	the=maybe	OPTATIVE-F _{SG} /2 _{PL} -MIDDLE-luck-give.STATIVE-PERFECTIVE
just	maybe	she might have luck given <u>you</u>

(8) Mohawk recipient as core: Karihwénhawe' Lazore, speaker p.c.

I lent you the car.

Kon'serehtanihèn:ne'
<u>kon</u> -sere-ht-a- <u>nih</u> -en-hne'
1 _{SG} /2 _{SG} -drag-NOMINALIZER-JOINER- <u>lend</u> -STATIVE-PAST
I car lent <u>you</u>

(9) Mohawk recipient as core: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

We would give soup to anyone passing by.

Ónhka'	iakotohetstohátie'	aiakhinontará:nont-e'
ónhka'	iako-at-ohetst-onhatie'	a-iaxhi-nontar-a-nont-e'
anyone	INDEFINITE.PATI-MIDDLE-pass-PROG	OPT-1 _{PL} /INDEFINITE-soup-JR-feed-PRF
anyone	one is passing by	we would soup feed <u>them</u>

(10) Mohawk experiencer as core: Frank Tekaronhió:ken Jacobs, speaker p.c.

He removed the harnesses from the horses

Wahshakohkwenniahrá:ko'	ne	akohsá:tenhs.
wa- <u>hshako</u> -hkwenni-a-hr-a-kw-'	ne	ako-hsaten-hs
FACTUAL-M _{SG} /3 _{PL} -harness-JR-set-JR-REVERSIVE-PRF	the	INDF.PAT-carry.on.back-HAB
he harness removed <u>them</u>	the	it carries one on the back

4.2. As core argument of an applicative verb

Robust derivational morphology creates more such lexical items.

Benefactive applicatives add a recipient or beneficiary to the set of core arguments.

-karia'k *pay (something)* **-karia'k-s-** *pay(something) to*

(11) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

The Hudson Bay Company agreed to pay their wives.

Ronaterihwahserón:ni	ne:ne	Hudson Bay Company
ron-ate-rihw-a-hseronni	ne:ne	Hudson Bay Company
M.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE-matter-make-STATIVE	the one	Hudson Bay Company
they agreed	the	Hudson Bay Company

tsi	rotiniákhon	enkonwatikária'kse'
tsi	roti-niak-h-on	en-konwati-kar-ia'k-s-'
that	3.PL.PAT-marry-DIST-STATIVE	FUTURE-3 _{PL} /3 _{PL} -price-hit-BENEFACTIVE.APPLIC-PRF
that	their wives	<u>they</u> will pay to <u>them</u>

(12) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

He sold it to his cousin.

Ronar'a'sè:'a	wahotenhní:non'se'
ron-ar-a'se'=a	wa- <u>ho</u> -atenhnonon-'s-'
M.PL.AGT-RECIP-be.cousin.to=DIM	FACTUAL-M _{SG} /M _{SG} -sell-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
they are cousins to each other	he sold <u>him</u> it

(13) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Mae Niironhà:’a Montour, speaker p.c.

She opened the door for him.

Wahonwanhotónkwahse’.

wa-honwa-nho-ton-kw-a-hs-’
FACTUAL-F.SG/M.SG-door-cover-REVERSIVE-JR-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
she door uncovered.for him

(14) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Georgina Jacobs, speaker p.c.

He might buy a ring for her.

Ahshakonihsnonhsawi’tsherahní:non’sé’

a-hshako-ani-shnonhs-awi-’tsher-a-hinon-’s-’
OPTATIVE-M.SG/F.SG-MIDDLE-finger-encircle-NOMINALIZER-JR-buy-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
he might finger encircled buy.for her

(15) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Mae Niornhà:’a Montour, speaker p.c.

She couldn’t get angry at you.

Iáh se’ thaisanà:khwahse’.

iáh se’ th-a-iesa-na’khw-hahs-’
not indeed CONTRASTIVE-OPT-F.SG/2.SG-get.angry-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
not indeed could she get angry.at you

(16) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Joe Tiorhakwén:te Dove, speaker p.c.

What are you going to say about me?

Nahò:ten nòn:wa enhskwénhahse’
nahò’ten n=onhwa en-hskw-en-hahs-’
what the=now FUTURE-2.PL/1.SG-say-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
what now you all will say.about me

(17) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Kaia’titáhkhe’ Jacobs, speaker p.c.

May I serve liquid to myself = May I have a cup of coffee?

Enwá:ton’

en-w-at-on-’
FUTURE-NEUTER.AGENT-MIDDLE-be.possible-PERFECTIVE
it will be possible

ken

ken
QUESTION
QUESTION

enkatathnekárhahse’

en-k-atat-hnek-a-r-hahs-’
FUTURE-1.SG.AGENT-REFLEXIVE-liquid-JOINER-set-JOINER-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PRF
I will liquid.set.for myself

(18) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Kaia’titáhkhe’ Jacobs, speaker p.c.

The sky fell on her = She became frightened.

Wa’akoteronhiénhten’.

wa’-ako-ate-ronhi-en-ht-en-’
FACTUAL-F.SG.PATIENT-MIDDLE-sky-fall-CAUS-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-PERFECTIVE
(it) sky fell.on her

(19) Mohawk benefactive applicative: Lazarus Jacob, speaker

He was charging me two dollars.

Tekahwístake

te-ka-hwíst-a-ke
DUPLICATIVE-NEUTER-dollar-be.multiple.STATIVE
two dollars

rakenen’tonhkwaníhahkwe’.

rake-nen’tonhkw-ani-ha’-hkw’
M.SG/1SG-charge-BENEFACTIVE.APPLICATIVE-HABITUAL-PAST
he used to charge.to me

5. Instruments and means

5.1. As core argument of separate clause

(20) Mohawk separate clause: Josie Kaieríthon Horne, speaker p.c.

We make soup with the same kind of corn.

Ne	sha'kanénhsta	iakwátstha'
ne	sha'-ka-nenhst-at	iakw-at-hst-ha'
the	COINCIDENT-NEUTER-corn-be.one	I.EXCLUSIVE.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE- <u>use</u> -HABITUAL
the	same corn	<u>we use it</u>

nó:nen	eniakwatkátston'.
n=ó:nen	en-iakwa-at-katston-'
the=now	FUTURE-I.EXCLUSIVE.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE-make.soup-PERFECTIVE
when	we will make soup

(21) Mohawk separate clause: Karihwénhawe' Lazore, speaker p.c.

They used to play ball with it.

Ne:	se's	ki:	íá:ken'	róntstha'
ne:	se's	ki:ken	íá:k-en-'	ron-at-hst-ha'
it is	formerly	this	INDEF.AGT-say-STATIVE	M.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE- <u>use</u> -HAB
it is	formerly	this	one has said	<u>they use it</u>

ne	wahón:nise'	tsi	tehonhthenno'óksthahkwe'.
ne	wahón:nise'	tsi	te-hon-ahthenno-'okst-ha'-hkw'
the	long ago	as	DUPLICATIVE-M.PL.AGENT-ball-hit-HABITUAL-PAST
the	long ago	as	they used to play ball

(22) Mohawk separate clause: Margaret Edwards, speaker p.c.

We went to Yellow Island by boat.

Wa'akwathonwà:reke'
 wa'-akwa-at-honw-a-hrek-'
 FACTUAL-I.EXCLUSIVE.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE-boat-push-PERFECTIVE
we boat took

nia:iákwawe'
 n-i-a:-iakwa-w-'
 PARTITIVE-TRANSLOCATIVE-OPTATIVE-I.EXCLUSIVE.PL.AGENT-arrive-PERFECTIVE
 we would arrive over there

Teken'tarèn:re'.
 te-ka-i'tar-enhr-e'
 DUPLICATIVE-NEUTER-clay-be.crooked-STATIVE
 (placename) Yellow Island

Elicitation

(23) Mohawk translation: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

Request: *He eats his peas with a spoon.*

Response: "We generally use the verb **satshó:ri** just for soup".

Amended request: *He eats his peas with a knife.*

À:share'	wà:ratste'
a'shar-'	wa-hra-at-hst-'
knife-NOUN.SUFFIX	FACTUAL-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE- <u>use</u> -PERFECTIVE
knife	<u>he used</u>

tsi	wa'thatskà:hon'.
tsi	wa'-t-ha-at-ska'hon-'
as	FACTUAL-DUPLICATIVE-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-dine-PERFECTIVE
as	he ate

5.2. As core argument of instrumental applicative

(24) Mohawk instrumental applicative: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

They were surviving on snow.

Óniehte'	khok	rononnhéhkw-en.
o-nieht-'	khok	ron-onnhe- <u>hkw</u> -en
NEUTER-snow-NS	only	M.PL.PATIENT-live- <u>INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE</u> -STATIVE
snow	only	they were living <u>on it</u>

(25) Mohawk instrumental applicative: John Maracle, speaker

They spoken in Indian.

E'thò:ne	akwé:	ne onkwehonwehnéha'	ratiwennotáhkw-en.
e' thohne	akwé:kon	ne onkwe=honwe=hneha'	rati-wenn-ot- <u>ahkw</u> -en
there	all	the person=genuine=style	M.PL-word-stand- <u>INSTR.APPL</u> -STATIVE
there	all	Indian style	they word stood <u>with it</u>

(26) Mohawk instrumental applicative: Cecelia Peters, speaker p.c.

And we heated the house with it too.

Tanon'	ne:	ni'
and	it is	too

iakwatenonhsa'tariha'tákhwa'.
iakwa-ate-nonhs-a'tarih-a't-ahkw-ha'
1.EXCL.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE-house-hot-CAUSATIVE- <u>INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE</u> -HABITUAL
we caused our house to be hot <u>with it</u>

(27) Mohawk instrumental applicative: Watshenni:ne' Sawyer, speaker p.c.

We really believe in that stuff, you know.

Tionkwehtákhwen	wáhi' ne	nahò:ten'.
t-ionkw-eh- <u>ahkw</u> -en	wáhi' ne	nahò:ten'
CISL-1.PL.PAT-move- <u>INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE</u> -STATIVE	TAG the	what
we are moved <u>with</u> (it), we believe <u>in</u> (it)	you know	stuff

(28) Mohawk source: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

She was always making clothes and blankets from the animal skins.

Tiótkon	ionhkwennión:ni	raonawenhshòn:'a
tiótkon	iaw-ahkwenni-onni	raon-awen-hshon'a
always	F.SG.AGENT-clothing-make	M.PL.ALIENABLE.POSS-possession-DISTRIBUTIVE
always	she is clothing making	their various things

kanéhon	tánon'	ówhare'	ióntstha',
ka-nehon	tánon'	o-whar-'	iaw-at-hst-ha'
N.INALIENABLE.POSS-skin	and	N-fur-NS	F.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-use-HABITUAL
their skin	and	fur	she uses them

ne:	ò:ni'	iakonnià:tha'
ne:	ohni'	iak-onni-a't-ha'
it is	also	F.SG.AGENT-make- <u>INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE</u> -HABITUAL
it is	also	she makes <u>with</u> them

ne	raonahsire'shòn:'a.
ne	raon-ahsir-e'-shon'a
the	M.PL.ALIENABLE.POSSessor-blanket-NOUN.SUFFIX-DISTRIBUTIVE
the	their blankets

Evidence of argument status

Since neuters are not represented by pronominal prefixes,
what evidence is there that the instruments are actually arguments?

Iroquoian verbs can be used as nominals designating a core argument:

ron'swà:tha'	<i>they extinguish</i>	=	<i>firemen</i>
waterennótha'	<i>it stands up words</i>	=	<i>radio</i>
ieia:tare'	<i>one body puts in it</i>	=	<i>photograph</i>

Instrumental applicative verbs are very frequently used as nominals:

iehiatónhkhwa'	<i>one writse with it</i>	=	<i>pen, pencil</i>
iechio'thhiónhkhwa'	<i>one sharpens with it</i>	=	<i>pencil sharpener</i>
kawennaráhstha'	<i>one word-inserts with it</i>	=	<i>computer</i>
iontko'tsonnià:tha'	<i>one hairstyle-makes with it</i>	=	<i>hairbrush</i>
ieksoweáhta'	<i>one dishwipes with it</i>	=	<i>dish towel</i>

5.3. As incorporated noun

New verb stems can be formed by compounding a noun stem and verb stem. The kind of instrument involved may be indicated by the incorporated noun.

Incorporated nouns are not syntactic arguments.

They do not bear specific grammatical relations.

They simply indicate the involvement of a kind of entity.

Like elements of any compounds, their semantic role is unspecified.

Most often they are semantic patients, but they can be many other things.

Some represent semantic instruments.

The transitivity of verbs with incorporated nouns

depends on the needs of the coiner and use: intransitive, transitive, or either.

-hnek-ih- *liquid consume = drink* TRANSITIVE OR INTRANSITIVE

(29) Mohawk incorporation of instrument

a. **wakérhon**

wak-rh-on

1.SG.PATIENT-coat-STATIVE

I have coated it

b. **wakkon'tsherárhon**

wak-kon'tsher- rh-on

1.SG.PATIENT-paint-coat-STATIVE

I have paint-coated it = I have painted it

(30) Mohawk incorporated instrument: Watshenni:ne' Sawyer, speaker p.c.

He would come in with it [a bundle] just tied up with a cord.

Enthatáweia'te'

en-t-ha-at-aweia't-'

FUTURE-CISLOCATIVE-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-enter-PERFECTIVE

he will enter here

kwah

kwah

just

just

shes

shes

formerly

formerly

kahseriie'táneren'.

ka-hseriie't-áneren-'

NEUTER-cord-tie.up-STATIVE

it is cord-tied

(31) Mohawk incorporated instrument: Carolee Konwatiën:se' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

I will wrap you up with a blanket / in a blanket.

tenkoniahsirawèn:'eke'

t-en-koni-ahsir-a-wen'ek-'

DUPLICATIVE-FUTURE-1.SG/2.SG-blanket-JOINER-wrap-PERFECTIVE

I will blanket wrap you

(32) Mohawk incorporated instrument: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.

And he was leading a goat on a leash.

Tanon' kaia'tákerahs

tanon' ka-ia't-akr-ahs

and NEUTER.AGENT-body-stink-HABITUAL

and goat

rahshari:ne'

ra-hshar-in-e'

M.SG.AGENT-leash-lead-STATIVE

he was leash-leading (it)

(33) Mohawk incorporated means: Margaret Lazore, speaker p.c.

A policeman was container-dragged = A cop came driving by.

Karihton

ka-rihton

NEUTER-oak

policeman

eh

eh

there

there

rohonwi:sere'.

ro-honw-i'ser-e'

M.SG.PATIENT-container-drag-STATIVE

he was being container-dragged

(-honw- boat, trough, buggy, cart, car, etc)

(34) Mohawk incorporated instrument and applicative: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, p.c.

I hit her with my elbow = I elbowed her.

Wa'tekheithiósaienhte'.

wa'te-khei-at-hiós-a-ien-ht-'

FACTUAL-DUPLICATIVE-1.SG/F.SG-elbow-JOINER-hit-INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE-PERFECTIVE

6. Place: location, source, goal

6.1. As core argument

(35) Mohawk core source: Rita Konwatsi'tsién:ni Phillips, speaker p.c.

Not a single word issued from the dead man..

Iáh	nénska	tha'tethowennake'tó:ton	ne	rawenhé:ion.
iah	n=enska	tha'-te-t-ho-wenn-a-ke'tot-on	ne	raw-enhei-on
not	the=one	CONTR-DV-CISL-M.SG.PAT-word-JR-stick.out-ST	the	M.PAT-die-STATIVE
not	the one	did it word-emerge.from <u>him</u>	the	he has died

6.2. Separate place clause

Places can be introduced as core argument or incorporated noun in separate clause. Orientation may be carried into a new clause with a particle like **eh** or **tho** *there*, and/or the Translocative prefix *over there* or the Cislocative *here, there*.

(36) Mohawk separate clauses: Sonny Edwards, speaker p.c.

He saw some fish in a log.

Wahatkátho'	ki: ..	iorontenièn:'en,	...
wa-ha-at-kahtho-'	ki:ken	io-ront-enien'-en	
FACTUAL-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-see-PRF	this	N.PATIENT-tree-fall.over-STATIVE	
he saw	this	<u>fallen tree</u>	

Khiahatkátho'	kéntsion'.
th-i-a-ha-at-kahtho-'	k-itsi-on'
CONTRASTIVE-TRANSLOCATIVE-FACT-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-see-PRF	NEUTER-fish-NS
suddenly he saw over there	fish

Éh	ratiià:ti.
éh	rati-ia't-i
there	M.PL-body-be.in.STATIVE
there	they are bodily inside

(37) Mohawk place incorporated in separate clause: Minnie Hill, speaker

I did go into Eaton's [department store] once.

Ronnonha	thi:	Eatons
they	that	Eatons

éh	tahontenonhsón:ni'.
éh	ta-hon-ate-nonhs-onni-'
there	FACTUAL.CISLOCATIVE-M.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE-house-make-PERFECTIVE
there	they their <u>building</u> built

Énska	éh	iewakataweia'tòn:ne'
énska	éh	ie-wak-at-aweia't-on-hne'
one	there	TRANSLOCATIVE-1.SG.PATIENT-MIDDLE-enter-STATIVE-PAST
once	<u>there</u>	<u>over there</u> I have entered

6.3. As core argument of directional applicative

Directional applicatives on motion verbs add a source or goal as a core argument.

(38) Mohawk **-e-** *be going*

- Wà:re'.**
wa-hr-e-'
FACTUAL-M.SG.AGENT-be.going-STATIVE
He is/was going.
- Tiohtià:ke wà:rehte'.**
Tiohtià:ke wa'-hra-e-ht-'
Montreal FACTUAL-M.SG.AGENT-go-DIRECTIONAL.APPLICATIVE-PERFECTIVE
He went to Montreal.
- Í:ien'.**
i-ie-e-'
PROTHETIC-F.SG.AGENT-be.going-STATIVE
She is/was going.
- Koráhne nitiakawé:non.**
kora=hne ni-t-iakaw-e-ñ-on
gov=place PARTITIVE-CISLOCATIVE-F.PATIENT-go-DIRECTIONAL.APPLICATIVE-STATIVE
She came (has come) here from Canada.

6.4. Incorporated places: locations, sources, and goals

Place may be more narrowly identified by an incorporated noun.

Again the incorporated noun is not an argument.

(39) Mohawk incorporated goal: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

Tharonhiawakon put it into their minds (inspired them) to organize the League.

Wahshako'nikonhráta'	ne	Tekanwí:ta	tánon'	Aiè:wate'
wa-hshako-' <u>nikonhr</u> -a-t'a-'	ne	Tekanawí:ta	tánon'	Aiè:wate'
FACTUAL-M.SG/M.PL- <u>mind</u> -JR-insert-PRF	the	Tekanawí:ta	and	Hiawatha
he <u>mind</u> inserted them	the	Deganawida	and	Hiawatha

nahianitiohkón:ni'	ne	Kaianere'kó:wa.
ne a-hi-an-itiohk-onni-'	ne	ka-ianer-e'=kowa
the OPTATIVE-M.DU.AGENT-MIDDLE-group-make-PRF	the	N-law-NS=AUGMENTATIVE
for them to group make	the	great law

(40) Mohawk incorporated path: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

They came up through the dirt = the plants sprouted

wa'tewate'kenhrótka'we'
wa'-te-w-ate-' <u>kenhr</u> -otka'w-'
FACTUAL-DUPLICATIVE-NEUTER.AGENT-MIDDLE- <u>dirt</u> -pierce-PERFECTIVE
they <u>dirt</u> -pierced

(41) Mohawk incorporated source or path: Joe Tiorahkwén:te' Dove, speaker

It's not easy for it to slip from / through our hands = for us to lose our grip.

Iáh tewatié:sen
iah te-w-at-ies-en
not NEGATIVE-NEUTER-MIDDLE-be.easy-STATIVE
not is it easy

taionkwahsióhsere'.
t-a-ionkwa- <u>hsi</u> -ohser-'
DUPLICATIVE-OPTATIVE-1.PL.PATIENT- <u>palm</u> -slip-PERFECTIVE
would it <u>hand</u> -slip us

(42) Mohawk incorporated path: Margaret Edwards, p.c.

So we went around the island.

Sok wa'kiakwatehwehnohkwatá:se'.
sok wa'-t-iakwa-ate- <u>hwehn-o-hkw</u> -a tase-'
so FACTUAL-CISLOCATIVE-1.EXCL.PL.AGENT-MIDDLE- <u>island-in.water</u> -NMZ-encircle-PRF
so we <u>island</u> encircled

(43) Mohawk incorporated goal: Margaret Edwards, speaker p.c.

They went back across the river.

Tonsahatiniatarí:ia'ke'
t-onsa-hati- <u>niatar-ia</u> 'k-'
DUPLICATIVE-REPETITIVE.FACTUAL-M.PL.AGENT- <u>river</u> -cross-PERFECTIVE
again they <u>river</u> crossed

(44) Mohawk incorporated source: Sonny Edwards, speaker p.c.

He came back up out of the water.

Tonsahahnekótka'we'.
t-onsa-ha- <u>hnek</u> -otka'w-'
DUPLICATIVE-FACTUAL-REPETITIVE-M.SG.AGENT- <u>liquid</u> -emerge-PERFECTIVE
he <u>liquid</u> -emerged

(45) Mohawk incorporated location: Rita Konwatsi'tsaién:ni Phillips, speaker p.c.

He bopped the corpse on the head.

Ia'thohsò:kwe'ke'
i-a'-t-ho- <u>hso'kw</u> -e'k-'
TRANSLOCATIVE-FACTUAL-CISLOCATIVE-M.SG/M.SG- <u>nut</u> -hit-PERFECTIVE
he <u>head</u> hit him

ne raia'táhere'.
ne ra-ia't-a-her-'
the M.SG-body-JOINER-set-STATIVE
the he is laid out bodily

(46) Mohawk incorporated path: Ima Johnson, speaker

So then my husband jumped over the fence.

Ó:nen wa'thatenhraven:rate'
 ó:nen wa'-t-ha-at-aten'ehnr-awenhrat-'
 now FACTUAL-DUPLICATIVE-M.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-fence-put.over-PERFECTIVE
 now he fence-put.himself.over

ne rikstèn:ha
 ne ri-ksten'=ha
 the M.SG/1.SG-be.old=DIMINUTIVE
 the my old man

(47) Mohawk incorporated path: Watshenní:ne' Sawyer, speaker p.c.

The sailboat is going down the rapids.

Ó:tsire' iohnawenhtonhátie'
 o-tsir-'
 NEUTER-sailboat-NOUN.SUFFIX
 sailboat
 io-hnaw-enht-on-hatie'
 NEUTER.PATIENT-rapids-fall-STATIVE-PROGRESSIVE
 it is rapids-falling along

6.5. Place as integral part of verb

Some verbs contain an indication of location or direction as an inherent part of their meaning.

(48) Water

-o- *be in water*
-o-hw- *put in water (with CAUSATIVE), immerse*
-o-kw- *take out of water (with REVERSIVE), fish out*

She put it in water.

wa'á:kohwe'
 wa'-iak-ǫ-hw-'
 FACTUAL-F.SG.AGENT-be.in.water-CAUSATIVE-PERFECTIVE
 she put it in water = she immersed (it)

(49) Mouth

-nhont- *have something in mouth*
-nhonta' *put something into mouth*

a. **wakénhonte'**
 wak-nhont-'
 1.SG.PATIENT-have.in.mouth-STATIVE
I have it in my mouth (cigarette, pencil sticking out that one is chewing on)

b. **wa'khenhónta'**
 wa'-khe-nhont-'a-'
 FACTUAL-1.SG/3-have.in.mouth-CAUSATIVE-PERFECTIVE
I put it into her mouth

Apparently this verb root was originally formed from the verb **-ont** *stick out* with incorporated noun **-nh-** which is no longer part of the language.

The modern verb root **-nhont-** can now incorporate another noun.

(50) Mohawk directional verb with incorporated noun: Joe Awenhráthen Deer

They weren't able to get the bit into the horse's mouth, you see.

Iáh wi' tehatikwénie's
 iáh wahi' te-hati-kweni-e's
 not TAG NEGATIVE-M.PL.AGENT-be.able-HABITUAL
 not you see were they able

akonwaristanhónta'
 a:-konwa-rist-nhont-'a-'
 OPTATIVE-3.PL/ZOIC.SG-metal-have.in.mouth-CAUSATIVE-PERFECTIVE
 they would metal-insert.into.mouth her

ki: akohsá:tenhs.
 kí:ken ako-hsaten-hs
 this INDEFINITE.PATIENT-carry.on.back-HABITUAL
 this horse

So far, all roles expressed in oblique nominals in other languages. companions, associates, recipients, beneficiaries, instruments, places, etc. are expressed in alternative constructions in Mohawk.

6.6. Place nominals

Independent nominals do occur in sentences to identify places:
locations, sources, paths, and goals

(51) Mohawk location nominal: Joe Awenhráthen Deer, speaker

She used to live over there in New York City.

Thós	nonkwá:	tienákere'
tho se's	n=onkwá:ti	t-ie-naker-e'
there formerly	the=side	CISLOCATIVE-F.SG.AGENT-reside-STATIVE
there formerly	the side	there she resides

Kanón:no.
New York City

(52) Mohawk source nominal: Wilfred Jaimison, speaker

He came from Michigan.

Michigan	tahahtén:ti'
Michigan	ta-ha-ahtenti-'
placename	CISLOCATIVE-M.SG.AGENT-leave-PERFECTIVE
Michigan	he came

(53) Mohawk goal nominal: Joe Tiorahkwén:te' Dove, speaker

They took this one woman to Chateauguay.

Tseià:ta	kí:ken,
one woman	this

Sharhè:'on	iahshakotí'teron'.
Sharhè:'on	i-a-hshakoti-i'teron-'
placename	TRANSLOCATIVE-FACTUAL-3.PL/F.SG-take-PERFECTIVE
<u>Chateauguay</u>	they took her away

Locative case?

(54) Many place nouns show one of a small set of endings.

=(à:)ke	=hne	= ákta'
= akon	= ó:kon	=(a)ti
= ihe n	= kéhs on	= kónhs on etc.

(55) Are these actually locative case markers?

<u>Ahskwà:ke</u> nítskote'	<i>They're on <u>the porch</u>.</i>
<u>Karonhià:ke</u> nithawé:non	<i>He came down <u>from heaven</u>.</i>
<u>Awè:ke</u> ieniá:kohwe'.	<i>She will put it <u>into the creek</u>.</i>
<u>Kanonhsoharà:ke</u> nia'ákwe'	<i>We went <u>upstairs</u>.</i>

No.

(56) Many place nominals do not contain these endings.

<u>Kanón:no</u> tienákere'	<i>She lives in <u>New York City</u>.</i>
<u>Michigan</u> tahahtén:ti'	<i>He came <u>from Michigan</u>.</i>
<u>Sharhè:'on</u> iahshakotí'teron'.	<i>They took her to <u>Chateauguay</u>.</i>

(57) Many placenames include such endings, whatever their syntactic role.

O'seronni'onwè:ke	<i>France</i>	(original axe-maker place)
Onhontsiakaiòn:ne	<i>Europe</i>	(old country place)
Ranatakariáhsne	<i>Washington</i>	(town destroyer place)

Kahnawà:ke, Kanehsatà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne, Onontà:ke, Tiohtia:ke, . . .

(58) And many do not.

Aterónto	<i>Toronto</i>	(log in water)
Kaná:tso	<i>Ottawa</i>	(pail in water)
Kaniatarí:io	<i>Lake Ontario</i>	(beautiful lake)

(59) Mohawk **awèn:ke** *place at a body of water*: Sonny Edwards, speaker p.c.

awen='ke
body.of.water=place

a. Core argument

ĩ:i	nè:'e	enkaten'nikonhrarátshke'	nawèn:ke ...
i:'i	nè:'e	en-k-aten-'nikonhr-a-rat-hs-ek-'	n= <u>awen='ke</u>
I	it is	FUT-1.SG.MIDDLE-mind-JR-put.on-HAB-CONT-PRF	the= <u>water=place</u>
I	it is	I will put my mind on it continually	the <u>water place</u>

I will continue to guard the water

b. Location

Né: iá:ken' ne tsi nén:we'
it is one says the forever
And so, they say,

awèn:ke	enhen'teròn:take'.
awen='ke	en-ha-i'terion't-ak-'
water=place	FUTURE-M.SG.AGENT-reside-CONTINUATIVE.PERFECTIVE
<u>water place</u>	he will live

he will live in the water forever.

c. Source or location

Enskatkonhsotáhsi'	nawèn:ke;
en-s-k-at-konhs-otahsi-'	n= <u>awen='ke</u>
FUTURE-REPETITIVE-1.SG.AGENT-MIDDLE-face-appear-PERFECTIVE	the= <u>water=place</u>
I will show my face again	the <u>water place</u>

I will reveal my face again in the water/from the water. ...

d. Goal

Awèn:ke	ni:'	nienhénske'.
awen='ke	n=i:'i	n-i-enhen-s-k-e-'
<u>water=place</u>	the=myself	PARTITIVE-TRANSLOCATIVE-FUT-REP-1.SG.AGT-go-PRF
<u>water place</u>	I myself	I will go back there

I will return to the water.

Sometimes the bases of these place nominals no longer exist in the language.

awèn:ke *water place (as in a pond, lake, river, etc.)*
The word **á:wen'** no longer exists alone in Mohawk or its close relatives.
Compare, however, the more distant Tuscarora cognate **à:wə?** *water*

(60) Place nouns can have special meanings.

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. ohson'karà:ke
o-hson'kar= <u>a'ke</u>
NEUTER-board= <u>place</u>
lit. <i>board place</i> = <i>floor</i> | b. aten'èn:rakon
aten'ehnr=akon
fence= <u>place.inside</u>
lit. <i>place inside the fence</i> = <i>yard</i> |
| c. ohontsó:kön
o-onhontsi= <u>okön</u>
NEUTER-earth= <u>place.under</u>
lit. <i>place under the earth</i> = <i>cellar</i> | d. wastonhronòn:ke
waston=hronon'='ke
Boston=resident= <u>place</u>
lit. <i>Bostonian place</i> = <i>United States</i> |

(62) Place nouns can serve as input to further derivation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. karonhià:ke
ka-ronhi= <u>a'ke</u>
NEUTER-sky= <u>place</u>
<i>sky place, the heavens</i> | ieronhia'kehrón:non'
ie-ronhi= <u>a'ke=hronnon'</u>
INDEFINITE-sky= <u>place=resident</u>
<i>resident(s) of the heavens, angel(s)</i> |
| b. kaná:takon
ka-nat= <u>akon</u>
NEUTER-town= <u>place.in</u>
<i>town, village, settlement</i> | kanatakohrón:non'
ka-nat= <u>akon=hronon'</u>
NEUTER-town= <u>place.in=resident</u>
<i>village resident(s)</i> |

6.7. Time nominals

The same structures can be used to designate times, whatever their role.

(63) Mohawk core time nominal: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

Kanenna'kè:ne	ón:we'	...
ka-nenna'ke= <u>hne</u>	wa'-w-e-'	
NEUTER-autumn= <u>place</u>	FACTUAL-NEUTER.AGENT-go-PERFECTIVE	

Autumn came [and it was time for the family to move on].

(64) Mohawk adverbial time nominal: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

Kenkwitè:ne	tentitewakóha'.
ka-ikwite= <u>hne</u>	t-en-t-itewa-ko-ha-'
N-spring= <u>place</u>	DUPLICATIVE-FUTURE-CISLOCATIVE-1.INCL.PL.AGENT-get-PURPOSIVE-PRF

In the spring we will come back to get it.

6.8. Mohawk place relations are all specified in the verb

The precise role of the place can usually be inferred from

the semantics of the verb stem
verbal prefixes
the situation

Sample verb stems

-en'n-	<i>happen</i>	-naker-	<i>reside</i>	LOCATION
-otka'w-	<i>emerge</i>	-niiontakw	<i>remove</i>	SOURCE
-ataweia't-	<i>enter</i>	-ta'	<i>insert</i>	GOAL
-otka'w-	<i>go through</i>	-atawenhrat-	<i>put self over</i>	PATH

(65) Mohawk verbal semantics and inference: Josephine Kaierithon Horne, speaker p.c.

Wahatihwistaniiontá:ko'

wa-hati-hwist-a-niiiont-a-kw-'

FACTUAL-M.PL.AGENT-metal-JOINER-hang-JOINER-REVERSIVE-PERFECTIVE

they metal unhung (it)

The bell was taken from

ononhsatokenhti:ke

o-nonhs-a-tokenhti-= 'ke

NEUTER-house-JOINER-be.holy=place

holy house place

the church steeple

kahnia'sà:ke;

ka-hnia's=a'ke

NEUTER.INALIENABLE.POSSessor-neck=place

its neck place

karontà:ke

ka-ront=a'ke

NEUTER-log=place

log place

and fastened to a beam.

wahatihwánerenke'.

wa-hati-hwanerenk-'

FACTUAL-M.PL.AGENT-tie-PERFECTIVE

they tied it

Verbal prefixes of direction and location

Cislocative:	<i>hither</i> <i>there</i>	directed motion <u>toward</u> deictic center unmarked location
	ta-satáweia't ta-sátien	<i>Come in!</i> <i>Sit there!</i>
Translocative	<i>thither</i> <i>over there</i>	directed motion <u>away</u> from deictic center distant location
	ia'-satáweia't ia'-sátien	<i>Go in!</i> <i>Sit over there!</i>
Partitive	marks dependent clause of focus construction	

With Cislocative motion verb, place word usually indicates source by default.

(66) Mohawk cislocative motion verb: Cecelia Peters, speaker p.c.

Ahkwesáhsne

Ahkwesáhsne

placename

placename

I've come from Ahkwesáhsne.

tewakahténkion.

te-wak-ahtenti-on

CISLOCATIVE-1.SG.PATIENT-go-STATIVE

I have come

(67) Mohawk cislocative focus construction: Joe Awenhráthen Dove, speaker

Kahenta'kehkó:wa

ka-hent=a'ke=hkowa

NEUTER-meadow=place=large

big meadow place

They brought them from the Plains.

nitkonwatiia'ténha.

ni-t-konwati-ia't-enha

PARTITIVE-CISLOCATIVE-3.PL/ZOIC.PL-body-take

is where they physically brought them

Nominals identifying places and times may appear in clauses,

but when they are not functioning as core arguments

there is no indication that they have the status of an oblique argument.

They are much like English *there*, serving roles that are more adverbial.

They are not required by the grammar

and clauses are perfectly grammatical without them.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Obliques (etc.)

Participants expressed as obliques in other languages are expressed in Mohawk
 as components of core arguments
 as core arguments of separate clauses
 as core arguments of applicative clauses
 as incorporated nouns
 by implication from the lexical semantics of the verb
 and just for some places, by nominal adjuncts unmarked for role or relation

Semantic roles and syntactic relations are expressed entirely within the verb.
 This is of course standard head-marking structure.

7.2. Some typological associations

Noun/Verb ratios and clause density

Some counts of noun/verb ratios in English conversation come up 1/1
 Comparable counts in Mohawk have shown 1/17.
 Part of the difference comes from noun incorporation, verbal semantics.
 Additional participants are often introduced in separate clauses,

Agent/Patient core structure

Core argument categories are grammaticalized but semantically based.
 There is less manipulation of argument structure for discourse purposes.
 There are no passive or antipassive constructions that create obliques.
 Applicatives provide the choice between two clauses and one:
 not between core and oblique coding of a participant.

Polysynthesis

Structures seen here are compatible with polysynthesis, but not obligatorily.
 We expect stronger lexicalization of material within words.
 But lexicalization can go beyond single words to larger constructions.

Is this a difference in integration of grammar,
 more or less advanced stages of grammaticalization than European lgs?

Not necessarily. Mohawk offers a full range of alternatives:
 separate sentences for introducing each participant
 applicatives that add participants to core,
 conflating components of the situation into a single clause.
 incorporation to add greater specification to the verbal semantics
 more opaque verbal semantics
 The alternatives are simply slightly different from those of some other lgs.

7.3. Does it matter?

Yes.

Inflectional case markers and adpositions tend to be close to fully productive.
 With such systems, it is typically assumed that every semantically compatible noun
 will have forms in all cases or can be combined with all adpositions

But the obligatoriness and transparency expected of inflection do not hold for

Applicatives

Mohawk benefactive applicatives are highly productive.
 They occur with many different verb roots
 but neither their existence nor their meanings are predictable.
 Instrumental applicatives are highly productive.
 But the domain is primarily the formation of names for implements
 Directional applicatives are among the most frequent in speech.
 But they occur with the smallest number of very common motion verbs:
go, fly, carry, run, climb, chase, drag, crawl

Incorporation

Productivity and transparency of complex verb stems run the full range.
 Speakers know which combinations exist and which do not.
 The semantic role of the incorporated noun is not specified,
 but simply known as part of the meaning of the lexical item or inferred.

The lexicon

7.4. Implications

It can be easy to overlook gaps, structures that do not occur in a new language.
 Many of the Mohawk alternatives to oblique constructions
 are perfectly grammatical in languages with obliques.
 Speakers simply never choose the alternatives (unless under duress).

Structure and substance

The effects of this kind of system go beyond the mechanics of case marking.
 Semantic roles are typically linked to specific lexical predicates.
 The lexicon provides a repository of what has been said the most often.
 It would be a serious mistake to attempt to describe form without substance.
 The boundary between structure and substance may vary across languages.

We may interesting cross-linguistic differences in the balance of information
 expressed in core arguments versus obliques or adjuncts.