

The Ontario Curriculum
Grades 1 to 12

Native Languages

*A Support Document for the
Teaching of Language Patterns*

Oneida, Cayuga, and Mohawk



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INTRODUCTION

This resource guide is intended for teachers of Ontario Oneida, Cayuga, and Mohawk as second languages. Its purpose is to describe the language patterns that occur in these Native languages and to reinforce teachers' knowledge of the structure and functions of the various language elements (words and word parts) that make up these patterns. It is hoped that teachers will find the guide useful in designing lessons that will help students to develop an understanding of the language patterns that characterize these Native languages and to use the languages appropriately and accurately in a variety of contexts. The guide should also help teachers evaluate materials intended to increase accuracy in the use of these languages.

This guide presents classes of words and explores the units or parts of which words are composed. It also examines the ways in which words change their forms to convey different meanings. The terms used in the guide should be seen as convenient labels providing a common vocabulary for describing the language elements and structural units of the languages and for discussing the patterns that occur, with minor variations, in the various languages of this group. The terms are not always appropriate for classroom use, and the guide is not intended to be used as a textbook by students studying a Native language as a second language; it does not present the language elements and structures in a sequence that would be suitable for this purpose.

This resource guide does not represent an exhaustive study of language patterns. A complete language-pattern guide would go into far more detail and have many more examples than are given here. Only the main and most regular word and sentence patterns are included. Teachers will no doubt recognize and use many of the language patterns discussed here, but they will need to continue to explore language patterns on their own as they develop their lessons and plan their teaching. Similarly, it is understood that the forms given in the examples for the three Iroquoian languages represent only some of the common forms used by speakers of the languages in Ontario communities. Here, also, teachers are encouraged to add or substitute the forms used in their dialects or by Native speakers in their communities.

Examples are given in three Ontario languages, in the following sequence:

- O – Oneida
- C – Cayuga
- M – Mohawk

The orthographies used in this resource guide are the standardized systems used in teacher-training courses in Ontario. It should be noted that they are not the only orthographies used for these languages. It should also be pointed out that the underlining of certain word endings forms part of the standard orthography in Oneida and Cayuga; for this reason, a boldface type, rather than underlining, has been used in the examples to highlight specific word elements (prefixes, suffixes, etc.) under discussion.

1

PARTS OF SPEECH

The words of Iroquoian languages can be grouped into three distinct classes according to their structure. The three classes of words, which correspond to three distinct parts of speech, are: *nouns*, *verbs*, and *particles*.¹

1.1 Nouns

Nouns identify, or name, living beings and things and non-living things.

The nouns introduced in this section and in section 2.2, Structural Nouns, are nouns that designate non-living things or inanimate objects (for example, *pail*, *shoe*) and living things found in nature, such as plants and vegetables (*potato*, *corn*). Such nouns belong to a group of nouns known as *structural nouns* because they have the typical structure of nouns – that is, they consist of a *stem*, a *noun prefix*, and a *noun suffix*.

O	kaná:tsi [?]	pail
C	ganá'ja'	
M	kanà:tsion	
O	ohnaná:ta [?]	potato
C	ohón'ada'	
M	ohnennà:ta	

Nouns that designate living beings and things, including human beings, animals, and body parts, are dealt with in section 2.12, Nouns With Animate Prefixes, and section 2.17, Unanalysable Nouns. Sections 2.19, Verbal Nouns, and 2.20, Nouns With Attributive Suffixes, also contain references to nouns that designate living beings and things.

1. Key terms are italicized the first time they are used. All such terms are defined or explained in the text.

1.2

Verbs

Verbs describe actions, states, or conditions.

O	kahtá:tyehse [?]	I leave, I set out
C	gahdê:gye's	
M	kahténtie's	
O	wa [?] kuhlo:lí:	I told you
C	agqóhó:wi [']	
M	wa'konhró:ri	
O	lahnɔ:yés	he is tall
C	hahnê:ye:s	
M	rahnén:ies	
O	yo:tho:lé:	it is cold (weather)
C	otó:we [']	
M	iothó:re	

Structurally, verbs consist of a *pronominal prefix* and a *stem*. The verb stem itself can be broken down into two or more elements – a *base* and an *aspect suffix*. The base can be just a *root*, or it can consist of a root plus *incorporated noun* or *derivational suffix*. A verb can also have one or more *prepronominal prefixes*, which occur before the pronominal prefix and convey additional information about the action or state described by the verb.

O	tátke [?]	I will come back this way
C	dêtge [']	
M	téntke	

A characteristic feature of Iroquoian languages is the occurrence of verb forms whose meaning or use has become associated with particular objects. In the case of such verbs, a verb that was originally used to describe a particular object has become, through long and repeated use, the name of that object. Such words are structurally verbs but have the function of nouns (they identify or name objects), and are commonly referred to as *verbal nouns*. Speakers are aware of both the specific or functional meaning and the literal meaning of the verb form. In some instances, a word can have the same literal meaning in the three languages, but

designate different things, as shown in the second set of examples below. The word shown has the same literal meaning in each language – *it has long ears* – but is used to designate a donkey in Oneida and Mohawk, and a deer in Cayuga.

O	yehyatúkhw <u>a</u> [?]	pen, pencil (<i>literally</i> someone writes with it)
C	ehyádǫhkwa ^ʼ	
M	iehiatónhkhwa	
O	tewahúhtes	donkey (<i>literally</i> it has two long ears)
C	dewáhǫhde:s	deer
M	tewahónhtes	donkey

1.3 Particles

Particles perform a range of functions and convey a variety of meanings. For example, they can specify a location, a time, or a quantity, or indicate the degree to which the speaker is certain about the statement he or she is making. Particles are also used for common expressions used in conversation, such as *thank you*, *come on!*, and *OK*.

O	ohná:k [?]	behind, at the back of
C	ohná ^ʼ gɛ: ^ʼ	
M	ohnà:ken	
O	o:n [?]	now
C	ó:nɛh	
M	ó:nen	
O	thóha	almost
C	tó:hah	
M	thó:ha	
O	ki [?]	actually, just
C	gi ^ʼ	
M	ki ^ʼ	
O	ya:w [?]	thank you
C	nyá:wɛh	
M	niá:wen	

Structurally, particles occur in only one form.

2

NOUNS

2.1 Basic Categories

It is useful to begin a discussion of nouns in Iroquoian languages by making a distinction between four categories of noun: (1) *structural nouns*, (2) *nouns with animate prefixes*, (3) *unanalysable nouns*, and (4) *verbal nouns*. As the name implies, structural nouns are nouns that have both the function (to name things) and structure of nouns (noun prefix + noun stem + noun suffix). Nouns with animate prefixes have the function of nouns but a structure derived partly from nouns and partly from verbs; these nouns refer to living beings and can take a variety of prefixes, which indicate the gender and number of the being(s) or person(s) referred to (e.g., *girl*, *boy*, *children*). Unanalysable nouns have the function of nouns, but no discernible structure, and they occur in one form only. Verbal nouns have the function of nouns, but the structure of verbs.

The sections that follow – sections 2.2–2.11 – explain the structure and patterns of structural nouns. The nouns in this class refer, for the most part, to non-living things or inanimate objects, but also include living things found in nature, such as plants, vegetables, and some animals. The class of words that refer to human beings, which includes kinship terms and nouns designating body parts, constitutes a distinct category; words in this class have a more complex structure that derives partly from the structure of nouns and partly from the structure of verbs, and are therefore treated in a separate section of this resource guide (see section 2.12). Unanalysable nouns and verbal nouns, which also constitute distinct categories with characteristic patterns, are also treated separately, in sections 2.17 and 2.19, respectively.

2.2 Structural Nouns

2.3 *The Basic Noun Form*

Every structural noun has a *noun stem* – a core part that carries the basic meaning of the word. Most nouns also have a *noun prefix* and a *noun suffix*. The general structural pattern of a noun is:

NOUN PREFIX + NOUN STEM + NOUN SUFFIX

In this resource guide, this form of the noun is termed the *basic noun form*. The word for *potato* illustrates the structure of a basic noun:

O	o + hnaná:t + a [?]	potato
C	o + hñn'ad + a [?]	
M	o + hnennà:t + a	

2.4

The Noun Prefix

The *noun prefix* serves, in part, to identify a word as a noun form. Nouns that designate non-living things or inanimate objects have a *neuter* prefix. The two most commonly occurring neuter prefixes are **ka-/ga-** and **o-**.² Students studying Iroquoian languages must learn which of these neuter prefixes applies to each noun. To some extent, there is a relationship between the meaning of the noun and the prefix that is found on it. The following patterns have been observed by speakers:

o- occurs frequently, but not exclusively, with nouns that designate things found in nature;

ka-/ga- occurs frequently, but not exclusively, with nouns that designate man-made objects.

The following examples illustrate these observations:

O	o:náste [?]	corn
C	oné'hé: [?]	
M	ó:nenste	
O	oyú:kwa [?]	tobacco
C	oyé' gwa [?]	
M	oièn:kwa	
O	kanhóha [?] or kánhohe [?]	door
C	ganhóha [?]	
M	kanhóha	
O	ká:khale [?]	slip, skirt
C	g' aka: [?]	
M	kà:khare	

2. Slashes are used to separate forms that differ in two (or all three) languages. When two forms are given, the first form refers to Oneida *and* Mohawk, and the second to Cayuga. When only one form is given – as in the case of the prefix **o-** above – the form is the same in all three languages.

Some nouns do not have a prefix in the basic noun form. Most basic noun forms that do not have a prefix begin with the vowel *a*.

O	áhta ⁷	shoe
C	ahdáh ⁷ gwa ⁷	
M	ahtáh	
O	ato:ká:	axe
C	adó:gə ⁷	
M	ató:ken	

In Cayuga, the noun prefixes **ga-** and **o-** are identical to the neuter pronominal prefixes that occur on verbs; there is no difference between the forms of the noun prefixes and those of the neuter pronominal prefixes. In Oneida and Mohawk, the noun prefix **ka-** is identical to the neuter pronominal prefix **ka-**, but the noun prefix **o-** differs from the corresponding neuter pronominal prefix **yo-/io-** in that it does not begin in a *y/i*.

2.5

The Noun Stem

The *noun stem* carries the basic meaning of the noun. Most noun stems begin in a consonant (*C-stems*) or the vowel *a* (*a-stems*). There are a few stems that begin in the vowel *i*, and a very few that begin in the other vowels – *e*, *ŋe/en*, *o*, and *u/q/on*.³ Only C-stems and a-stems will be illustrated in this guide since they occur most frequently and are the most regular.

The noun prefix **ka-/ga-** occurs only on C-stems, so any basic noun form that has the prefix **ka-/ga-** begins in the consonant that comes directly after the prefix, as in the examples below.

O	kaná:tsi ⁷	pail
C	ganá ⁷ ja ⁷	
M	kanà:tsionk	
O	kátshe ⁷	bottle, jar
C	gatsé ⁷ da ⁷	
M	kátshe	

3. Slashes are used to separate forms that differ in the three languages, and these are given in the usual order – Oneida, Cayuga, and Mohawk. When the same form is used in all three languages, only the one form is given.

The noun prefix **o-** occurs on both C-stems and a-stems. When the prefix is added to an a-stem, the noun stem loses the *a*, which is the first sound of the stem. Examples of a-stems are given below. (The only way to determine whether a basic noun form that begins in *o* is a C-stem or an a-stem is to examine forms of the noun in which the noun stem takes a prefix other than the **o-** noun prefix and in which the *a* of the noun stem is not dropped. Such prefixes are found on possessive noun forms [section 2.7] and on nouns that have been incorporated into verbs [section 7].)

O	o'k ^ʔ á:la ^ʔ	ashes, dirt, dust (a-stem)
C	o'g ^ʔ éhe ^ʔ	
M	o'k ^ʔ én:ra	
O	o'nhúhsa ^ʔ	egg (C-stem)
C	o'nh ^ʔ óhsa ^ʔ	
M	o'nh ^ʔ ónhsa	

Finally, basic noun forms that begin in the vowel *a* are a-stems. These noun forms have no noun prefix, so the basic noun form begins in the noun stem, as in the examples below.

O	áhta ^ʔ	shoe
C	ahdáhgwa ^ʔ	
M	ahtáh	
O	a ^ʔ á:ná: ^ʔ	bow (weapon)
C	adó:da: ^ʔ	
M	a ^ʔ én:na	

2.6

The Noun Suffix

The *noun suffix*, like the noun prefix, serves to indicate that the word is structurally a noun and that it occurs in patterns that typically apply to nouns. The most common noun suffix is **-a^ʔ** or **-á:^ʔ** in Oneida, **-a^ʔ** in Cayuga, and **-a** in Mohawk. The suffix **-e^ʔ** or **-é:/-e/-e^ʔ** is also quite common. Other suffixes, such as **-i^ʔ** in Oneida and **-on** in Mohawk, occur less frequently.

O	ohté:la ^ʔ	root
C	okdéha ^ʔ	
M	ohtè:ra	
O	o:náste ^ʔ	corn
C	onéhe ^ʔ	
M	ó:nenste	

2.7

The Possessive Noun Form

The *possessive form* of a noun expresses possession – the idea that the object referred to is in someone’s possession. In Oneida and Mohawk, a set of possessive prefixes identifies the possessor of the object. The possessive prefixes replace the basic noun prefixes. In Cayuga, the possessive prefixes are identical in form to the *patient pronominal prefixes* found on verb forms. (Other ways of expressing possession are discussed in sections 2.16 and 7.6.)

O	akwáhta[?]	my shoe
C	agáhdahgwa[’]	
M	akwahtáhkwa	
O	akohwísta[?]	her money
C	gohwíhsda[’]	
M	akohwísta	
O	laoto:ká[’]	his axe
C	hodó:gę[’]	
M	raotó:ken	

There is a special noun stem, **-awá/-awę/-awen-**, which simply states that something belongs to someone. Again, the possessive prefixes identify the person, gender, and number of the possessor. Note that when the possessive prefix ends in *o*, the first sound of the stem – the vowel *a* – is dropped.

O	akwa:wá[’]	mine
C	agá:węh	
M	akwá:wen	
O	ako:wá[’]	hers
C	gó:węh	
M	akó:wen	
O	lao:wá[’]	his
C	hó:węh	
M	raó:wen	

2.8

Locative Noun Forms

The *locative form* of a noun specifies the location of a person or thing previously mentioned in the conversation. The locative form of nouns is usually translated into English with a prepositional phrase (*in the box, on the table*), but the locative form in Iroquoian languages is not grammatically equivalent to a prepositional phrase, and it does not occur as frequently as prepositional phrases do in English. The locative form is most commonly found with kinship terms (section 2.15) and body parts (section 2.16).

The locative form of a noun has a *locative suffix*, which is attached to the noun stem. The noun prefix is the same as that in the basic noun form.

O	owahá: <u>ke</u>	on the road
C	oháha'geh	
M	ohahà:ke	
O	kalha: <u>kú</u>	in the woods, in the bush
C	gahá:gq:	
M	karhá:kon	

There are a variety of locative suffixes in Iroquoian languages, all of them expressing different ideas of location. The most common locative suffixes are discussed in the sections that follow.

2.9

The External Locative

With nouns that designate objects, the *external locative suffix* expresses the meaning *on*. The external locative suffix is **-á:ke** in Oneida, **-a'geh** or **-e'geh** in Cayuga, and **-à:ke** in Mohawk.

O	at [?] á: <u>la</u> [?]	fence
	at [?] ahlá: <u>ke</u>	on the fence
C	adéhe' [?]	
	adé'he'geh	
M	aten'en:ra	
	aten'enhrà:ke	
O	ka:lúte' [?]	log, tree trunk
	kalutá: <u>ke</u>	on the log, on the tree trunk
C	gáq:da' [?]	
	gáq:d'ageh	
M	karón:ta	
	karontà:ke	
O	o:wíse' [?]	ice
	owisá: <u>ke</u>	on the ice
C	owí:dra' [?]	
	owídrageh	
M	ó:wise	
	owisà:ke	

Some nouns have a slightly different meaning when they occur with the external locative suffix, as illustrated by the forms below:

O	oshú:kale [?]	board
	oshu [?] kalá: ke	floor, on the floor
C	ganéhsda: ganehsdá: geh	
M	oshòn:kare oshon'karà: ke	

In some cases, the external locative form is used for expressions that have the preposition *in* in English, as in the following examples:

O	ona:wá:tste [?]	mud
	onawa [?] tstá: ke	in the mud
C	o [?] dá: o [?] dá: geh	
M	onawà:tsta onawa'tstà: ke	
O	ka:yé: ka:yé: ke	oil, grease in the oil, in the grease
C	ohná: ohná: geh	
M	kén:ie keniè: ke	

As these examples suggest, the range of meaning that can be conveyed by the external locative is much wider than that expressed by the preposition *on*. For example, the external locative can be used to refer to a location *near* or *close to* the surface, as well as a location *on* a surface.

Some nouns, especially nouns that designate things found in nature and nouns that describe land formations, always occur with a locative suffix (in some instances, as shown in section 7.3, the noun stem is incorporated into a positional verb). In the examples below, the noun stem **-hət-/-həd-/-hent-** occurs with the external locative suffix:

O	kah [?] tá: ke	in the field, on the meadow
C	gahéd [?] ageh	
M	kahentà: ke	

2.10

The Internal Locative

The *internal locative suffix* expresses the meaning *in*. (In some instances, the internal locative suffix is used to convey the meaning *under* in Cayuga. See next section.) The internal locative suffix is **-aku** in Oneida, **-agɔ:** or **-gɔ:** in Cayuga, and **-akon** in Mohawk. (Note that some suffixes cited without accent marks in the text take on accents when they occur with certain words. The sound and syllable

structure of the word determine the placement of the accent and, in some cases, the vowel length.)

O	ka:yále [?] kaya:lá <u>ku</u>	bag in the bag
C	gá:ya: gayá:gɔ:	
M	ká:iare kaiá:rakon	
O	kanutó:tsheli [?] kanutó:ts <u>la</u> ku	box in the box
C	gáhóhsra gáhóhsragɔ:	
M	karontò:tshera karonto'tsherá:kon	
O	kaná:tsheli [?] kaná:ts <u>la</u> ku	ditch in the ditch
C	oyá:de oyádagɔ:	
M	ohrón:wa ohrón:wakon	

With some nouns, the basic noun stem changes when the noun takes on the locative suffix. In the Oneida and Mohawk examples below, the noun stem changes with the addition of the internal locative suffix. In the Cayuga locative form, the stem does not undergo a change.

O	kahuwe:yá: kahu:wá <u>ku</u>	boat in the boat
C	gáhó:wa gáhó:wagɔ:	
M	kahonwé:ia kahón:wakon	

Again, in the following examples, the stem of the basic noun form changes in the Oneida example with the addition of the internal locative suffix. Cayuga and Mohawk use the same stem in both forms.

O	kátsi [?] or kátsy [?] or átsi [?] or átsy [?] káks <u>aku</u>	dish, plate in the dish, on the plate
C	gájɛ gajɛ gɔ:	
M	kákxa káksakon	

Sometimes the internal locative suffix conveys the meaning *deep within* or *inside* a thing, as distinguished from the less precise *in*. In the examples below, the internal locative suffix refers to a location deep within or inside the mud, as compared with the examples using *mud* in section 2.9, where the external locative conveys the meaning *in*.

O	ona:wá:tste [?] onawá:tstaku	mud inside, deep within, the mud
C	o [’] da: o dá:gq:	
M	onawà:tsta onawà:tstakon	

2.11

Other Locative Suffixes

A third locative suffix – **-o:kú** in Oneida and **-ó:kon** in Mohawk – conveys the meaning *under*. In Cayuga, the internal locative suffix **-agq:** (section 2.10) is used to convey this meaning.

O	ka:nákte [?] kanakto:kú	bed under the bed
C	ganá:kda [’] ganákdagq:	
M	kanákta kanaktó:kon	
O	okáha [?] okaho:kú	blanket under the blanket
C	oyéhsra [’] oyéhsragq:	
M	áhsire ahsiró:kon	

A fourth locative suffix – **-ákta[?]** in Oneida, **-ak’ah** in Cayuga, and **-ákta** in Mohawk – conveys the meaning *near*.

O	kanúhsa [?] kanuhsákta [?]	house near the house
C	ganqhsa [’] ganqhsá:k’ah	
M	kanónhsa kanonhsákta	

O	kaná:tsheli [?] kana [?] tslákta [?]	ditch near the ditch
C	oyá:de [?] oya:dá:k [?] ah	
M	ohshón:wa ohshonwákta	

Yet another locative suffix – **-aktútye[?]** or **-aktúti[?]** in Oneida, **-akdagye[?]** or **-ękdagye[?]** in Cayuga, and **-aktóntie** in Mohawk – expresses the meaning *along* or *alongside*.

O	at [?] á:la [?] at [?] ahlaktúti [?]	fence along the fence
C	adéhe [?] adé [?] hękdá:gye [?]	
M	aten'én:ra aten'enhraaktóntie	
O	kawyhúha [?] kawyhuhaktúti [?]	river, stream along the river, along the stream
C	gihe:k gihekdakdá:gye [?]	
M	kahiónha kahionhaktátie	

2.12 Nouns With Animate Prefixes

Nouns with *animate prefixes* constitute a distinct category of nouns that derive their structure partly from nouns and partly from verbs. This category includes nouns that designate human beings (e.g., *boy*, *woman*, *person*), nouns that refer to kinship relations (e.g., *mother*, *uncle*), and nouns that identify body parts. These words do not have a single basic noun form with a constant prefix; rather, they occur with variable prefixes that in some way describe, or give grammatical information about, the person(s) referred to.

Although these words have different prefixes and/or suffixes from those identified for structural nouns, they share certain characteristics with noun forms: (1) they identify a being or thing (e.g., a body part) rather than describe an action or state; (2) they do not occur with the aspect suffixes found on verb forms; (3) with a few exceptions, they require a verb when they form part of a statement – that is, when they are used in a sentence; and (4) they have the same pattern for negation as structural nouns.

2.13 Nouns Designating Human Beings

Nouns that designate human beings and describe them in terms of sex and/or age (e.g., *boy*, *child*, *old woman*) consist of a prefix and a constant stem. The prefix varies and gives information about the being designated; more precisely, the prefixes indicate the sex and number of the beings referred to.

O	laksá:	boy (<i>literally</i> he child)
C	haksá: 'ah	
M	raksà: 'a	
O	yeksá:	girl (<i>literally</i> she child)
C	eksá: 'ah	
M	ieksà: 'a	
O	lokstá: <u>h</u> a	old man (<i>literally</i> he old person)
C	hohsdé: 'eh or hagéhjih	
M	rokstén: ha	
O	akokstá: <u>h</u> a	old woman (<i>literally</i> she old person)
C	gohsdé: 'eh or egéhjih	
M	akokstén: ha	
O	lu: <u>kwé</u>	man (<i>literally</i> he person)
C	hó: gweh	
M	rón: kwe	
O	yaku: <u>kwé</u>	woman (<i>literally</i> she person)
C	agó: gweh	
M	iakón: kwe	

Some of the nouns that designate human beings – including the forms meaning *boy* and *girl* – have *agent pronominal prefixes* (section 5.15). Other nouns that designate human beings, such as the forms meaning *old man* and *old woman*, take *patient pronominal prefixes* (section 5.17). (In Oneida, when a patient pronominal prefix that begins in *y* occurs with a noun form [as in *old woman*, above], the *y* is dropped.) Thus, although the words referring to human beings share many characteristics with nouns, they are like verbs in one important respect: the variable prefixes they take on are the pronominal prefixes that normally occur with verbs. Also, these words typically do not have possessive or locative forms (a few that have an extended stem can occur in these forms – see example that follows), and their patterns of enumeration differ from those of structural nouns. However, like structural nouns, some of these stems can be incorporated into verbs, usually with an extended stem.

The stem for *person* has an extended stem – **-ukwe't/-qgwe'd/-onkwe't-** – and so can occur with possessive noun prefixes. However, the possessive form has a special meaning, as shown in the examples below.

O	akaukwé:ta [?]	her relative (<i>literally</i> her person)
C	gáqgw'eda'	
M	akaonkwè:ta	
O	laukwé:ta [?]	his relative (<i>literally</i> his person)
C	háqgw'eda'	
M	raonkwè:ta	

2.14

Enumeration Patterns for Nouns Designating Human Beings

The construction used to specify *one living being*, including a human being, involves *noun incorporation* and is therefore included in the chapter on noun incorporation – see section 7.15, Patterns for Specifying One Living Being. The construction used to specify *two living beings* or a number greater than two does not involve noun incorporation; instead, a verb stem is used with the appropriate prepronominal and pronominal prefixes. Although the resultant word is structurally a verb form, it has the function of a noun.

To specify *two human beings* or a number greater than two, the verb stem **-yashe/-yahshe:/-iahse**, meaning *to be together*, is used. (It should be noted that the English form of the infinitive, with the preposition *to*, does not occur in the Native languages.) Like the verb stem in the patterns for specifying two objects, this verb stem requires the dualic prepronominal prefix **te-/de-**. The pronominal prefixes vary in keeping with the gender and number of the being(s) designated. If two male beings are referred to, the masculine dual agent pronominal prefix **hni-** is used in Oneida and Mohawk, and the masculine plural agent pronominal prefix **hadi-** is used in Cayuga. If two female beings are referred to, the feminine-zoic dual agent pronominal prefix – **kni-** or **keni-** – is used in Oneida and Mohawk, and the feminine plural agent pronominal prefix **gae-** is used in Cayuga.

O	tehniiyáshe	two persons (two males, or one male and one female; <i>literally</i> the two are together)
	tekniiyáshe	two female persons (<i>literally</i> the two females are together)
C	dehadiyáhshe:	two male persons (<i>literally</i> the two males are together)
	degaeyáhshe:	two persons (two females, or one male and one female)
M	tehniiáshe	two persons (two males, or one male and one female)
	tekeniiáshe	two female persons

To specify *two children*, the dualic prepronominal prefix is added to the stem for *child* – **-ksá:/-ksá:'a/-ksà:'a** – with the appropriate pronominal prefix. This construction can also be used as an alternative and more specific way of referring to two persons; in this case, the dualic prepronominal prefix and the appropriate pronominal prefix are added to the stem for *person* – **-u:kwé/-qgweh/-ón:kwe**.

O	tehníksá:	two children (two boys, or one boy and one girl)
	tehníksá:	two female children
C	hadi:ksá: ah or dehadíksá: ah	two male children
	gaeksá: ah or degaeksá: ah	two children (two girls, or one boy and one girl)
M	tehníksà:'a	two children (two boys, or one boy and one girl)
	tekníksà:'a	two female children
O	tehnú:kwé	two persons (two males, or one male and one female)
	teknú:kwé	two female persons
C	dehnó:gweh	two male persons
	deknó:gweh	two persons (two males, or one male and one female)
M	tehnón:kwe	two persons (two males, or one male and one female)
	teknón:kwe	two female persons

To specify *three human beings* or a number greater than three, certain verb forms are used, which can be translated as *there are that many*. When the specific number of beings referred to is also indicated, the number – for example, **kayé/géi:/kaié:ri**, meaning *four*, in the first example below – occurs before the verb form.

O	kayé niha:tí	four persons (all males, or a group of males and females)
	wísk niku:tí	five female persons
C	géi: nìhè:nò:	four male persons
	hwíhs nigá:gò:	five persons (all females, or a group of males and females)
M	kaié:ri nihá:ti	four persons (all males, or a group of males and females)
	wísk nikón:ti	five female persons

To specify *three children* or a number greater than three, the *pluralizer suffix* (section 2.21) is added to the stem for *child*, with the appropriate pronominal prefix (masculine plural, feminine plural, or feminine-zoic plural).

O	latiksa ^ʔ shú <u>ha</u>	children (all boys, or boys and girls)
	kutiksa ^ʔ shú <u>ha</u>	girls
C	hadiksa ^ʔ shó: ^ʔ qh	boys
	gaeksa ^ʔ shó: ^ʔ qh	children (all girls, or boys and girls)
M	ratiksa'okòn:'a	children (all boys, or boys and girls)
	kontiksa'okòn:'a	girls

These last two patterns are combined if the speaker wishes to convey to the listener the number of children being talked about. In this combination, the number is given first, then the verb meaning *be so many*, and finally the word for *child* with the pluralizer suffix.

O	kayé nihatí latiksa ^ʔ shú <u>ha</u>	four children (boys, or a combination of boys and girls)
	wísk nikutí kutiksa ^ʔ shú <u>ha</u>	five girls
C	gúi: nīhẹ:nó: hadiksa ^ʔ shó: ^ʔ qh	four boys
	hwíhs niga:gó: ^ʔ qh	five children (girls, or a combination of boys and girls)
M	kaié:ri nihá:ti ratiksa'okòn:'a	four children (boys, or a combination of boys and girls)
	wísk nikón:ti kontiksa'okòn:'a	five girls

2.15 Kinship Terms

Like the words that describe human beings in terms of sex and/or age, *kinship terms* – words that denote family relationships (e.g., *father*, *aunt*, *uncle*) – also consist of a variable prefix and a constant stem. The prefixes identify the two persons involved in the kinship relationship, as shown in the following examples:

O	lake ^ʔ ní <u>ha</u>	my father (<i>literally</i> he is a father to me)
C	há ^ʔ nih	
M	rake'ní <u>ha</u>	
O	shukwa ^ʔ ní <u>ha</u>	our father (<i>literally</i> he is a father to us)
C	sqgwá ^ʔ nih	
M	shonkwa'ní <u>ha</u>	

O	aksó <u>tha</u>	my grandmother (<i>literally</i> she is a grandparent to me)
C	oǵéhso:t	
M	akhsótha	
O	laksó <u>tha</u>	my grandfather (<i>literally</i> he is a grandparent to me)
C	hagéhso:t	
M	rakhsótha	

The prefixes on kinship terms are identical to the corresponding pronominal prefixes that occur on verbs except that, in Oneida and Mohawk, certain pronominal prefixes beginning with *w* or *y/i* correspond to kinship prefixes that do not have the *w* or *y/i*. For example, the transitive pronominal prefix that corresponds to the kinship prefix **ak-** in the example above is **wak-**.

2.16 Terms for Body Parts

Nouns designating body parts have a basic noun form like structural nouns. This basic noun form consists of the noun prefix **o-**, a noun stem, and a noun suffix (usually **-a[?]** or **-e[?]**), and simply names the body part. However, since body parts are seldom talked about without reference to the person to whom they belong (e.g., *my foot*, *his arm*), body part nouns rarely occur in their basic noun form (*foot*, *arm*). Instead, they are most often found with pronominal prefixes that indicate whose body part is being talked about – that is, in the *possessed noun form*. The pronominal prefixes that identify the specific person are *agent* or *subjective* pronominal prefixes. The first example in each set below is the basic noun form for *arm* when the noun does not refer to a specific person; the second example in each set is the possessed noun form with the first-person singular agent pronominal prefix **k-/g-**.

O	onátsha [?]	arm (e.g., in a reference to a drawing of an arm)
	knátshá:ke	my arm, on my arm
C	oné:tsa ₁	
	knətsá geh	
M	onéntsha	
	kenentshà:ke	

There are fifteen agent pronominal prefixes in Oneida and Mohawk, and fourteen in Cayuga, resulting in a wide variety of forms for referring to body parts. A few more examples of the possible forms for the noun *arm* are given below.

O	snátshá:ke	on your arm
	lanátshá:ke	on his arm
	twanátshá:ke	on our arms (inclusive plural)
	swanátshá:ke	on your arms

C	snɛtsá'geh	on your arm
	hanɛts'ageh	on his arm
	dwanɛts'ageh	on our arms (inclusive plural)
	swanɛts'ageh	on your arms
M	senentshà:ke	on your arm
	ranentshà:ke	on his arm
	tewanentshà:ke	on our arms (inclusive plural)
	sewanentshà:ke	on your arms

Possessed body part nouns do not end in the noun suffix that occurs on the basic noun form. Some body part terms end in a suffix that can be identified as the *external locative suffix* (section 2.9), but often the suffix is one that does not occur on structural nouns and is difficult to separate from the stem. Moreover, the stem that occurs in the possessed form is, in some instances, a shortened form of the stem that occurs in the basic noun form, as shown in the Oneida examples below. (Cayuga and Mohawk use the stem of the basic noun form for the possessed form.)

O	onawi:lá:	tooth
	knawí:ke	my tooth
C	onó'ja'	
	kno'já'geh	
M	onawí:ra	
	kenawirà:ke	
O	ohsí:ta'	foot
	kahsí:ke	my foot
C	ohsí'da'	
	gahsí'd'ageh	
M	ohsí:ta	
	kahsí'tà:ke	

For the reasons just outlined (see preceding paragraph), the stem and ending of a possessed body part noun are treated as a single unit in this guide. This unit of stem plus ending is the equivalent of the noun stem and noun suffix of the basic noun form.

The overall pattern of a possessed body part noun is:

AGENT PRONOMINAL PREFIX + NOUN STEM and ENDING

2.17 Unanalysable Nouns

Unanalysable nouns are nouns that have a single constant form that cannot be broken down into identifiable parts (prefix, stem, suffix). In Iroquoian languages, many of the nouns that designate beings or living things that belong to a specific species – typically species of animals and plants – are unanalysable nouns. (Some words designating specific species, however, are structural nouns, and some are verbal nouns.)

O	ohkwa:lí	bear
C	hnyagwái'	
M	ohkwá:ri	

In some cases, as in the example above, an unanalysable noun will begin in an *o*, which could be identified as a noun prefix. However, since these words do not follow the typical patterns of nouns – for example, they never occur in the possessive or locative form – the *o* cannot be identified as the noun prefix with any degree of certainty.

Some unanalysable nouns, typically nouns designating domestic animals, can occur in a construction that indicates possession. To indicate possession of an animal, the possessive prefix (section 2.7) is added to the noun meaning *domestic animal*. The possessive form of this noun is followed by the unanalysable noun designating the specific species of animal if that information is not already known to the listener.

O	akitshe:ná; é:lhal	my dog (<i>literally</i> my animal dog)
C	age:tse:né' só:wa:s	
M	akitshé:nen è:rhar	

2.18 Enumeration Patterns for Unanalysable Nouns

Unanalysable nouns – nouns that designate specific species of animals and plants – cannot be incorporated into verbs, and so their enumeration patterns differ in significant respects from those described for nouns designating non-living things (section 7.13). In the enumeration pattern for a specific species of animal or plant, the basic pattern described in section 7.15 is applied to the classificatory noun stem that designates the general class that the species belongs to (the stem meaning *body*, animal or human), and the noun that identifies the specific species is given after the verb form that contains the incorporated classificatory stem. For example, to refer to *one of a specific species of animal* – *cat*, for instance – the stem of the classificatory noun *body* (**-ya't-** in Oneida, **-ya'd-** in Cayuga, and **-ia't-** in Mohawk) is incorporated into the verb stem **-t** (*to be one*) in all three languages, according to the pattern described for non-living things (section 7.15), and the noun designating *cat* is given as a separate word following the verb form

that contains the classificatory stem. In Oneida and Mohawk, the verb form requires the feminine-zoic agent pronominal prefix **ka-**, and in Cayuga it requires the neuter pronominal prefix **ga-**.

O	shayá:tat takó:s	one cat (<i>literally</i> one body cat)
C	sgaya dá:t dagu:s	
M	skaià:tat takò:s	

It should be noted that the noun for the specific species is used only if the speaker believes that this information is not known to the listener.

The pattern for specifying *two animals* does not use noun incorporation, and is similar to the pattern described for specifying two or more human beings (section 2.14). The verb stem **-yashe/-yahshe/-iahse**, meaning *to be together*, simply takes on the appropriate pronominal and prepronominal prefixes. The prepronominal prefix required is the same as that on the verb form for two human beings – the dualic prepronominal prefix **te-/de**. The pronominal prefixes, however, follow a much simpler pattern. In Oneida and Mohawk, the verb stem referring to two animals takes the feminine-zoic dual pronominal prefix **kni-** or **keni**; in Cayuga, it takes the neuter plural pronominal prefix **gadi-**.

O	tekníyashe takó:s	two cats (<i>literally</i> the two are together cat)
C	degadiyahshé: dagu:s	
M	tekeniiáshe takò:s	

The pattern for specifying *three animals*, or a number greater than three, is even simpler. The verb form **nikutí/nigę:nq:/nikón:ti**, meaning *there are that many*, is followed by the noun designating the species. The specific number – for example, **áhs/ahséh/áhsen**, meaning *three* – is given only if the speaker thinks that it needs to be brought to the attention of the listener.

O	áhsΛ nikutí takó:s	three cats (<i>literally</i> three there are that many cat)
C	ahséh nigę:nq: dagu:s	
M	áhsen nikón:ti takò:s	

2.19 Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns are structurally verbs, but they usually perform the function of nouns. Typically, a verbal noun designates an object by referring to some characteristic aspect of it – its appearance or function, for example. Many nouns that designate instruments, tools, and household objects are verbal nouns.

O	teyehnana [?] tahlihtákhwa [?]	potato masher (<i>literally</i> one uses it to break up potatoes)
C	ekóny ^ʔ ata ^ʔ	cooking stove (<i>literally</i> one uses it to cook)
M	teierihstohrarákstha	typewriter (<i>literally</i> one uses it to squeeze metal against metal)

Many of the names of animals and foods, as well as the terms identifying occupations, are also verbal nouns. The meaning of these words is usually readily apparent, since it is possible to connect the description given in the word with the object or being that is designated:

O	kaya [?] táklah <u>se</u> [?] teyotahyá:ktu shakonawilahslu:níhe [?] or shakonawilotákwas tehatenhohó <u>tha</u> [?]	goat (<i>literally</i> its body is smelly) banana (<i>literally</i> the fruit is crooked) dentist (<i>literally</i> he fixes their teeth; he pulls their teeth) goalie (<i>literally</i> he stands at the door)
C	gayá [?] dagrahs deyoda <u>hyá</u> :kdo: hadēn [?] ojódagwahs dehanhohó:ta [?]	goat (<i>literally</i> its body is smelly) banana (<i>literally</i> the fruit is crooked) dentist (<i>literally</i> he pulls their teeth) goalie (<i>literally</i> he stands at the door)
M	kaia'tákeras teiotahià:hton shakonawirahserón:nis or shakonawiro [?] tákwas tehata'aranónha	goat (<i>literally</i> its body is smelly) banana (<i>literally</i> the fruit is crooked) dentist (<i>literally</i> he fixes their teeth; he pulls their teeth) goalie (<i>literally</i> he guards the net)

There are some words, however, whose meaning is not readily apparent because there is no obvious connection between the literal description and the object designated by the word:

O	tsyotahkwaka:yú	raspberry (<i>literally</i> old shoe)
C	ji [?] daná:wę:	butterfly (<i>literally</i> wet bird)
M	io'nhya'tí:ron or ió:nhiote	rainbow (<i>literally</i> leaning stick)

A verbal noun has the typical structure of a verb – that is, it consists of a pronominal prefix and a verb stem that includes an aspect suffix. Nouns that designate instruments, tools, and household objects usually have a feminine-indefinite pronominal prefix, as shown in the first set of examples. Commonly occurring feminine-indefinite prefixes are **ye-** and **yu-** in Oneida, **e-** and **o-** in Cayuga, and **ie-** and **ion-** in Mohawk.

2.20

Nouns With Attributive Suffixes

Attributive suffixes modify the meaning of the nouns on which they appear. Nouns that occur with attributive suffixes can be seen to fall into a distinct category for several reasons. First, attributive suffixes can be added to various classes of nouns – structural nouns, proper nouns, kinship terms, for example – and even to verbs. (For the most part, however, attributive suffixes are found on nouns.) Second, although attributive suffixes are usually added to the basic noun forms of nouns, some nouns almost always appear with an attributive suffix. (Most of the words that occur with the diminutive or the populative suffix fall into this group.) Third, although some attributive suffixes, like other suffixes, merely modify the meaning of the basic noun form in some way (see, for example, section 2.21), many of them change the meaning of the basic form in more fundamental ways – that is, the form with the attributive suffix takes on a special meaning that is not contained in the meaning of the basic noun form.

2.21

Nouns With the Pluralizer Suffix

The *pluralizer suffix* can be added to a noun to indicate that several things are referred to – that is, a number that is indefinite but more than one. The pluralizer suffix is added to the basic noun form. The pluralizer suffix is **-shúha** or **-okúha** in Oneida, **-shó'** or **shó':qh** in Cayuga, and **shòn:'a** in Mohawk.

O	owá:ná: owá:na [?] shúha	word words (several words)
C	owé:na ['] owəna ['] shó':qh	
M	owén:na owennashòn:'a	
O	áhta [?] ahta [?] shúha	shoe shoes
C	ahdáhghwa ['] ahdahghwa ['] shó':qh	
M	ahtáhkwa ahtahkwa' shòn:'a	
O	káhik kahikhokúha	fruit fruits
C	ohya ['] ohya ['] shó':qh	
M	káhik kahi' shòn:'a	

The pluralizer suffix can also occur with the possessive form of a noun (a noun having a possessive prefix and a basic noun suffix), as shown in the following examples:

O	lao:w _Λ	his belonging
	laow _Λ shúha	his belongings
C	hó:wəh	
	howəshó:'ah	
M	raó:wən	
	raowenshòn:'a	

A variant of the pluralizer suffix – **-shu[?]/sho[?]/shon** – can be added to the external and internal locative suffixes. The examples below have both the external locative suffix and this variant of the pluralizer suffix.

O	oháha [?]	road
	owaha [?] késhu [?]	all over the roads
C	oháha [?]	
	ohaha [?] gësho [?]	
M	oháha	
	ohaha'késhon	

The pluralizer suffix also occurs with some nouns that designate living beings (see section 2.14).

2.22 Nouns With the Augmentative Suffix

The *augmentative suffix* can be added to a noun to indicate that the person or object referred to is of large size. In some cases, the form with the augmentative suffix takes on a special meaning that, although not literally contained in the meaning of the basic noun form, is logically related to the original meaning of the word. (For example, one can readily see how *lake* would acquire the meaning *ocean* with the addition of the augmentative suffix.) The augmentative suffix is added to the basic noun form. The augmentative suffix is **-kó:** in Oneida, **-gó:wah** in Cayuga, and **-kó:wa** in Mohawk.

Three pairs of examples are given for each language. In each pair, the first example is a word without the augmentative suffix; the second is the same word with the augmentative suffix.

O	otsi [?] no:w _Λ	mouse
	otsi [?] now _Λ h _Λ kó:	rat
	onu [?] úsel _Λ a [?]	squash, melon
	onu [?] usla [?] kó:	pumpkin
	á:nuk	onion
	a [?] nuk _Λ kó:	leek

C	jinó:wę:	mouse
	jinowę gó:wah	rat
	ganyáhdę:	snapping turtle
	ganyahdę gó:wah	big snapping turtle
	gaji' nḡhda:s	monkey
	gaji' nḡhda:s gó:wah	ape, gorilla
M		
	otsinó:wen	mouse
	otsinowen' kó:wa	rat
	onon'ónsera	squash, melon
	onon'onsera' kó:wa	pumpkin
	kaniá:tare	lake
	kaniatare kó:wa	ocean

2.23 *Nouns With the Diminutive Suffix*

The *diminutive suffix* is most often found on nouns that almost always appear with this suffix – that is, the diminutive suffix is usually seen as an integral part of the noun on which it appears. The diminutive suffix most often occurs with nouns that designate kinship terms. Because the diminutive suffix usually forms an integral part of the noun on which it occurs, it is difficult to pinpoint its meaning. Diminutive forms typically end in **-há:/-ha'** or **-a**.

O	aknul há:	my mother
C	knó: ha'	
M	ake'nistén ha	

2.24 *Nouns With the Decessive Suffix*

The *decessive suffix* can be added to the basic noun form of a noun to indicate that the living being or thing referred to no longer exists. The decessive suffix is most often found on kinship terms and unanalysable nouns, when it is translated by the word *late*. The decessive suffix is **-ká** in Oneida, **-gęhę:** in Cayuga, and **-kénha** in Mohawk.

O	lake' ní ha	my father
	lake' nih ká	my late father
	aknul há:	my mother
	aknulha' ká	my late mother

C	ha' nih	my father
	ha' ní g h e :	my late father
	knó:ha	my mother
	knohá g h e :	my late mother
M	rake'níha	my father
	rake'nih kén ha	my late father
	ake'nisténha	my mother
	ake'nistenh kén ha	my late mother

2.25 Nouns With the Authenticating Suffix

The *authenticating suffix* can be added to the basic noun form of a noun or to a noun designating a human being to convey the idea that the person or thing referred to is *real* or *genuine*. A noun with the authenticating suffix often indicates that a person or object is of Native origin. The authenticating suffix is **-u:wé** in Oneida, **-ó:weh** or **-qweh** in Cayuga, and **-ón:we** in Mohawk.

O	u:k <u>wé</u>	person
	Ukwehu: u:wé	a genuine person, a Native person
	oyú:kwa [?]	tobacco
	oyú [?] kwa [?] u:wé	genuine tobacco, Native tobacco
C	ó:gweh	person
	Qgweh ó:weh	a genuine person, a Native person
	oyé' gwa [?]	tobacco
	oyé gw á qweh	genuine tobacco, Native tobacco
M	ón:kwe	person
	Onkweh ón:we	a genuine person, a Native person
	oièn:kwa	tobacco
	oien'kwa' ón:we	genuine tobacco, Native tobacco

Although the authenticating suffix occurs on well-known terms, it is not a common suffix.

2.26 Nouns With the Populative Suffix

The *populative suffix* typically occurs with nouns that almost always appear with this suffix – that is, it is usually an integral part of the word on which it appears. Words that have the populative suffix typically refer to a group of people or beings who live together in a specific location, and the words usually include

a component that refers to a place of origin. The populative suffix is **-hlo:lú:** or **-hlo:nú:** in Oneida, **-hó:nq'** in Cayuga, and **-hró:non** in Mohawk. All the examples below have the populative suffix.

O	latiluhya [?] kehlo:lú:	angels (<i>literally</i> those from the heavens or sky, sky-dwellers)
	latinata [?] kehlo:lú:	city people
C	hadiqhya [?] gehó:nq'	angels
	Otowegehó:nq'	Inuit (<i>literally</i> those from the North)
M	ratironhia'kehró:non	angels
	Wastohró:non	Americans (<i>literally</i> those from Boston)

Another populative suffix is **-a:ká:** in Oneida, **-há:ka** in Mohawk:

O	Onyote [?] a:ká:	the Oneida (<i>literally</i> people of the standing stone)
M	Kanien'kehá:ka	the Mohawk (<i>literally</i> people of the flint)

2.27 Nouns With the Characterizer Suffix

The *characterizer suffix* can be added to a variety of nouns, but most often occurs with nouns that refer to people. The word with the characterizer suffix refers to the characteristics of the object designated by the noun or, if the noun refers to people, to the customary ways of the person or people referred to. As the examples illustrate, the form with the suffix is a noun but conveys a meaning that is adverbial in English – *according to the ways of*. The customary suffix is **-néha** or **-kéha** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **-neha:** or **-geha:** in Cayuga.

O	Ukwehu:wé	a Native person
	Ukwehuwehnéha	according to the ways of Native people
	o [?] slu:ní:	a white person
	o [?] sluní [?] kéha	according to the ways of the white man
C	Qgwehó:weh	a Native person
	Qgwehówehneha:	according to the ways of Native people
	hahnó'qh	a white person
	hnyó'qhneha:	according to the ways of the white man

M	Onkwehón:we Onkwehonweh néha	a Native person according to the ways of Native people
	o'serón:ni on'seronni' kéha	a white person according to the ways of the white man

Another characterizer suffix in Cayuga is **-ga:'**. The word given below is an example of a word that does not occur without the characterizer suffix.

O	Onqodowá' ga:'	the Seneca (<i>literally</i> according to the ways of the people of the great mountain)
---	-----------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

2.28 Nouns With the External Locative Suffix

Nouns that designate human beings can occur with a suffix that is a variant of the external locative (section 2.9) and that expresses the meaning *at the home of*. With nouns of this category, the external locative suffix can take one of two forms, depending on the final sound of the word stem to which the suffix is attached. Stems ending in a vowel take the suffix **-hne** in Oneida and Mohawk, and the suffix **-hneh** in Cayuga. Stems ending in a consonant take the suffix **-ke** in Oneida and Mohawk, and the suffix **-geh** in Cayuga.

O	aksó <u>tha</u> aksóthné: ke	my grandmother at my grandmother's
C	qgéhsot qgéhsot geh	
M	aksótha aksoth néha	

3

PARTICLES

The structure of particles is very simple; particles have a single constant form that does not take on prefixes or suffixes. However, particles occur in a wide range of contexts and perform a variety of complex functions. In terms of English grammar, the functions that particles perform include the function of pronouns (sections 3.3, 3.8, 3.9), adverbs (sections 3.5, 3.6, 3.10, 3.11), and conjunctions (sections 3.16–3.21). Particles often occur in combinations, and these combinations have their own meanings, which do not always reflect the meaning of the individual particles that make up the combination. Predictably, particles are difficult to translate into English, and often the translations do not adequately suggest the complex meanings that particles can convey. In order to illustrate the kinds of contexts in which particles normally occur, short sentences have been used for most of the examples, especially those that include particles that are difficult to render into English. In all cases, the translations should be seen as loose approximations rather than close translations.

Native speakers use particles liberally in conversation, but it is not possible to illustrate all the contexts in which particles can occur. Only a small number of particles, and an even smaller number of combinations of particles, are treated in this resource guide. Since particles differ in form, and sometimes in meaning and function, from language to language, the focus is on those particles that are similar in the three languages. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the particles described here are only a fraction of the particles used in the three languages.

3.1 Interrogative Particles

Interrogative particles are used in sentences that ask a question. There are two basic types of questions. The first is called a *yes-no question*, and this type of question simply asks for confirmation of what is asked in the question. For example, the question *Is this your house?* can be answered with a simple *yes* (**hâ:/əhə́/enhén:**) or *no* (**táh/tə́/iáh**). The yes-no question particle occurs directly after the word that refers to the thing about which the question is being asked. The second type of question asks the person who is being addressed to provide some information. In this type of question, the question particle always occurs at the beginning of the question. Several different particles are used in this second type of question, depending on the nature of the information being requested. For example, specific particles are used to ask questions concerning time, place, quantity, or the identity of a person or thing.

3.2 Particles in Yes-No Questions

To ask a yes-no question, the particle **ka/ge** or **geh/ken** is placed after the word designating the thing about which the question is being asked. (This word is usually the first word.)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Sahlúkha' ka Ukwewuwehnéha. | Do you speak the Native language? (<i>literally</i> Do you speak according to the Native people's way?) |
| C | Sahq:ká' geh
Qgwehqwéhnéha:' | |
| M | Sahrónkha ken
Onkwehonwehnéha. | |
| O | Se:ká:se' ka swahyo:wáne'. | Do you like the taste of apples? |
| C | Sa:gá's geh swahyó:wa:'.
Sé:ka's ken ne sewahió:wane. | |

3.3 Particles in Questions About Identity

In questions that ask for the identity of a person or thing, an interrogative particle – for example, **úhka'/sq:/ónhka**, meaning *who* – occurs at the beginning of the sentence. Interrogative particles perform the function of pronouns.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| O | Úhka' ta:yá:'.
Sq: hne: naht dá:yẹ'. | Who is coming? |
| C | Ónhka tá:ien. | |
| O | Náhte' yesa:yáts. | What is your name? |
| C | Dẹ' ho dẹ' syá:sqh. | |
| M | Ohnahò:ten iesá:iats. | |

In Oneida, two interrogative particles – **úhka'** (*who*) and **náhte'** (*what*) – can occur together to mean *who*, as in the following example:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Úhka' náhte' ka' i:yú:se'. | Who's here? (<i>literally</i> Who's walking around here?) |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|

In Cayuga, two other particles – **naht** and **hne:** – also occur in questions that ask for the identity of a person. Either both of these particles are used with the interrogative particle **sq:**, as in the first example given for Cayuga above, or just one of them, as in the two examples below:

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| C | Sq: naht dá:yẹ';
Sq: hne: dá:yẹ'. | Who is coming? |
|---|----------------------------------------------------|----------------|

M **Nahò:ten** iesá:iats. What is your name?

In questions that ask for information about a thing that has already been identified and is known to the participants in the conversation, the *manner question particle* – **oh** in Oneida and Mohawk, **dɛ́** or **dɛ́hódɛ́** in Cayuga – is used at the beginning of the sentence. Typically the manner question particle is used with verbs that require the partitive prepronominal prefix (section 6.7). The manner particle can introduce a question that asks for a specific detail, as in the first example, or a question that asks for a full description of the object, as in the second.

- In questions that ask for the name of a place or location, the *locational particle* **kátsha**⁷/**gae/ka'** is used at the beginning of the question. The locational particle is often followed by another particle – **nú:/nhq:** or **nhq:weh/nón:we** – meaning *place* or *place where*. The verb that occurs in questions about location usually has the partitive prepronominal prefix (section 6.7).

- In questions that ask for the location of an object, the locational particle is followed by a positional verb – for example, **nika:yʌ:/nigá:yɛ̃/niká:ien**, meaning *it is lying*. The positional verb has the partitive prepronominal prefix.

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The locational particle, followed by the positional verb *it is lying*, also occurs in questions that ask for the identification of an object out of several possible objects:

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Kátsha' ka:yá: wa'shni:nú:. | Which one did you buy? (<i>literally</i>
Where is it lying, the one you bought?) |
| C | Gaę ni:gá: ahsní:nq'. | |
| M | Ka' niká:ien washní:non. | |

3.6 Temporal Particles in Interrogative Sentences

In questions that ask for the time of an event, the temporal particle **kánhke/hwę:dq̄h/kátke** (*when*) is used at the beginning of the question.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| O | Kánhke tətéhse'. | When are you coming back? |
| C | Hwę:dq̄h dętse'. | |
| M | Kátke tentéhse. | |

3.7 Quantity Particles in Interrogative Sentences

In questions that aim to determine quantity – *how much?*, *how many?* – the quantity particle **tó:/dó:** is used at the beginning of the sentence.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Tó: na'tesohsliyá:ku. | How old are you? (<i>literally</i>
How many winters have you crossed?) |
| C | Do: nisohsriyá' gq̄h. | |
| M | Tó: na'tesohseriia:kon. | |
| O | Tó: niyohwistá:e. | What time is it? (<i>literally</i>
How many times has the metal struck?) |
| C | Do: niyohwihsdá'e'. | |
| M | Tó: niiohwistà:'e. | |
| O | Tó: ní:kú swahyo:wáne' i:wát
thiká kaya:láku. | How many apples are in the bag? |
| C | Dó: ní:yq̄: i:wá:t swahyo:wá'
kayá:gq̄:. | |
| M | To: ní:kon sewahió:wane
í:wa ne kaiá:rakon. | |

3.8 Indefinite Reference Particles

In indefinite references – that is, when an unspecified person, object, place, or time is being referred to (e.g., *someone*, *somewhere*) – the particles **ok** or **tok** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **gwa'** (*just, only*) in Cayuga are most often used, in combination with particles that otherwise function as interrogative particles.

A specific particle, such as **othé:non** (*something*) in Mohawk, can also be used on its own. In most contexts, *indefinite reference particles* perform the function of pronouns and loosely correspond to indefinite pronouns in English (*someone, anyone, something, anything, etc.*).

O	Úhka'ok ta:yá:.	Someone is coming.
C	Soga: áh náht dá:yé'.	
M	Ónhka'ok tá:ien.	
O	Tok k _Λ nihsatyélha'.	Are you doing something?
C	Sgaho' dē: 'ēh gēh niságyeha'.	
M	Othé:non ken nihsatiérha.	
O	Kátsha'ok nú: yehoyo:té:.	He is working somewhere.
C	Gaęgwa' nhq:wéh hehoihó' de'.	
M	Ka'ok nón:we iehoió'te.	
O	Kánhke ok kwí: t _Λ téhse'.	Come back sometime!
C	Hwędęgwá' dętse'.	
M	Kátke ok nón:we tentéhse.	
O	Yah úhka' te' yutekhu:níhe'.	No one is eating.
C	Tę' soga: d' eagodekq:nih.	
M	lah ónhka tha'teiakotská:hon.	
O	Yah náhte' te' wakhni:nú:.	I did not buy anything.
C	Tę' sgaho dē' dewakní:nqh.	
M	lah othé:non tewakhní:non.	

3.9 Demonstrative Particles

Demonstrative particles are particles that are used to perform the function of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. Demonstrative pronouns or adjectives (*this, that, these, those*) point out or designate specific things or persons. They also indicate relative proximity to the speaker. *This* – **ka'ík_Λ/né:gyeh/kí:** or **kí:ken** – indicates relative closeness to the speaker; *that* – **thik_Λ/tó:gyeh/thí** or **thí:ken** – indicates relative distance.

O	Né: ka'ík _Λ wa' khni:nú:.	I bought this one.
	Né: thik _Λ i:kélhe' akhni:nú:.	I want to buy that one.
C	Ne:gyēh akní:nq'.	
	To:gyēh i:wí: a:kní:nq'.	
M	Kí:ken wa' khni:non.	
	Thí:ken í:kehre a:khni:non.	

Relative distance particles are used to indicate degrees of distance from the speaker and the participants in the conversation. For example, the particle **kəh/dagwá:dih/kèn:tho** (*here*) indicates relative closeness to the speaker; the particle **thó/to/è:tho** (*there*) indicates relative distance from the speaker (and in some contexts greater closeness to the listener). The particle **ísi[?]/sigwá:di/ísi** is sometimes used to indicate an even greater distance from the speaker (*over there*) and sometimes to indicate a location away from (but not necessarily a great distance away from) both speaker and listener. Often the relative distance particles are followed either by a particle that generally designates a location (**nú:/nhə:wəh/nón:we**) or by a particle that designates direction (**nukwá:/gwa:di/nonká:ti**).

Sentences that ask for, or specify, the location of an object have positional verbs (*to lie, to sit*). When the positional verb occurs with a relative distance particle that indicates greater distance, the cislocative prepronominal prefix (section 6.2) is required.

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| O | Kəh nukwá: tasátkwiht. | Move over this way, in this direction! |
| C | Dagwa:díh dasá:trihs. | |
| M | Kèn:tho nonká:ti tahsátkwi't. | |
| O | Tho nú: niyakwanuhwétsta [?] . | There is where we sleep. |
| C | To nhə:wéh ɔgwədəhsta [?] . | |
| M | È:tho nón:we ionkwentà:stha. | |
| O | Ísi[?] nukwá: yahá:tsi
kanutó:tsheli [?] . | Set the box down over there! |
| C | Sigwa:díh hə syé: ne'
gəhəhsra [?] . | |
| M | Ísi nonká:ti iahà:tsien ne
karontò:tshera. | |
| O | Kə:tho kə ka:yá:
akwa [?] nikuhlésta [?] . | Is my hammer (lying) over here? |
| C | Nə:tóh gəh ga:yé [?] agéjihwa [?] . | |
| M | Kèn:tho ken ká:ien ne
ake'nikonhrékstha. | |
| O | Thó kə tka:yá:
akwa [?] nikuhlésta [?] . | Is my hammer (lying) over there? |
| C | To gəh nhə:wéh tga:yé [?]
agéjihwa [?] . | |
| M | È:tho ken nonká:ti tká:ien
ake'nikonhrékstha. | |

The particles **kʌʔ/nɛ:toh/ken'** or **kèn:tho** can convey both relative distance and the idea that the object is visible to speaker and listener (the speaker may be pointing to the object with his or her chin).

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| O | Kʌʔ nukwá: káhe <u>le</u> ʔ. | Here it is (sitting)! |
| C | Nɛ:tóh gahé:ʔ. | |
| M | Ken' káhere. | |
| O | Ísiʔ nukwá: tkáhe <u>le</u> ʔ. | There it is (sitting)! |
| C | Sigwa:díh tga <u>h</u> é:ʔ. | |
| M | Ísi tkáhere. | |

3.11 Locational Particles

Locational particles – for example, **áktaʔ/iwá:kʔah/ákta** (*near*) – can specify the location of a person, thing, or event. The Cayuga locational particle **iwá:kʔah** has the structure of a verb. (Some particles originate in verb forms.)

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| O | áktaʔ
átste
é:nik
ohná:kʌʔ | near
outside
up, above
behind, at the back of |
| C | iwá:kʔah
asdeh
hé:tgeh
ohná gɛ:ʔ | near
outside
up, above
behind, at the back of |
| M | ákta
átste
è:neken
ohnà:ken | near
outside
up, above
behind, at the back of |

3.12 Temporal Particles

Temporal particles – for example, **kaló:/gao:ʔ/ká:ro** (*before*) – are used to convey various ideas of time.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| O | nʌ or o:nʌ
kaló:
atsyók | now
before (a/so this side)
after a while |
| C | ó:nɛh
gao:
wa jɪh | |

M	ón:wa ká:ro wa'tsiók	now before (a/so this side) after a while
---	----------------------------	-------------------------------------------------

3.13 Quantity Particles

Quantity particles – for example, **e:só:/í:sõ/é:so** (*a lot, many*) – are used to convey various ideas of quantity.

O	ostúha e:só: akwe:kú	a little bit a lot, much, many all
C	stó:ḥah í:so gwé:gḥh	
M	ostòn:ha é:so akwé:kon	

Oneida and Mohawk have a particle that indicates an indefinite quantity:

O	ótyahk	some of them
M	ótia'ke	

3.14 Frequency Particles

Frequency particles – for example, **tyótkut/dyotgḥ:t/tiótkon** (*always*) – are used to convey how often an event takes place.

O	tyótkut swatye:l̥ yotká:tẽ yah nuwátú	always sometimes often never
C	dyotgḥ:t or gyotgḥ:t tgwéḥe: otgá de tḥ hwé:dḥh	
M	tiótkon sewatié:ren iotká:te iah nonwén:ton	

Although all particles in Iroquoian languages are, in a sense, *discourse particles* since they always qualify the statements in which they occur, there are some particles whose sole function is to convey the attitude of the speaker to the statement that he or she is making. For example, a particle in this group may be used to express conviction, ambivalence, or uncertainty about the validity of what is being said. Such particles are translated in various ways, depending on the particular particle used and the context in which it appears. The particle **uhte/qh/onhte**, for example, conveys an attitude of conjecture and uncertainty on the part of the speaker, and is translated as *maybe* or *possibly*, or as *I guess* or *I wonder*.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| O | Tó: uhte ní:kú sah-wístay [?] . | I wonder how much money you have? |
| C | Dó: qh ní:yó sah-wíhsda ['] . | |
| M | Tó: onhte ní:kon sah-wístaién. | |

A very common particle is the *assertion particle* **né:/né:'/né:** or **né:'e**, which serves to give emphasis to an assertion. This particle is variously translated as *it's the case that*, *indeed*, *actually*.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| O | Né: kwí: kí:túhe [?] . | That's (exactly) what I mean. |
| C | Né:' gí' gí:dq̄h. | |
| M | Né:'e kí:ton | |

Other particles that serve as greetings or short responses to questions occur frequently in conversation.

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---------------|
| O | To:káh. | I don't know. |
| C | Dó:ga ['] . | |
| M | Tó:ka. | |
| O | Háo [?] kí' wáh. | Come on then! |
| C | Hao ['] disáh. | |
| M | Ha'o kí wáhi. | |
| O | Ná kí [?] wáh. | Goodbye! |
| C | O:nēh g'ihyá:'. ['] | |
| M | Ó:nén kí wáhi. | |

3.16

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are connective words used to join parts of sentences or two sentences. The most common particles that can function as conjunctions in Iroquoian languages are discussed in the subsections that follow.

3.17

And

The particle **khále[?]/hni[?]/tahnón:** serves a function similar to that of the conjunction *and* in English, but with some notable differences. First, the particle is not always used to link two clauses as *and* is in English; in the Native languages, clauses can simply follow one another without the use of a word that expresses the connection between them. Second, the Cayuga particle **hni[?]** is more accurately translated as *too, also*.

O	Owaha [?] késhu [?] yahá:ke [?] wa [?] khe:ká: tsikwilá:tu [?] khále[?] talu [?] kó:.	I went down the road (and) I saw a squirrel and a duck.
C	Ohaha [?] géh ha [?] gé: [?] joni:tsgró:t twé:twé:t hni[?] agé:gé: [?] .	I went down the road (and) I also saw a squirrel and a duck.
M	Ohahà:ke niahà:ke, aró:sen tahnón: só:rak wa'katkáhtho.	I went down the road (and) I saw a squirrel and a duck.
O	Wake:ká:se [?] swahyo:wáne [?] khále[?] awáhihte [?] .	I like (the taste of) apples (and also) strawberries.
C	Age:gá's ne [?] swahyo:wá: [?] jihsq:dáhk hni[?] .	
M	Waké:ka's ne sewahió:wane tahnón: ne niiohontéshe.	

In Oneida, a second particle – **tahnú:** – also has the function of joining two clauses, as in the first example below. This particle can occur at the beginning of a sentence, as in the second example; in such cases, it is more appropriately translated as *so then* or *and then*.

O	Kanatá:ke yukwehtú:ne [?] tahnú: khe [?] káha yukwenu:hné:.	We went to town (and) my younger sister came with us.
	Tahnú: kati [?] ka né: sáha [?] ahsla:kó: London nukwá: nya:áhse [?] .	So then, you would rather go to London?

3.18 Or

Two particles are used to convey the meaning *or*. Although both particles suggest an option or choice between two alternatives, there is a subtle difference between the contexts in which they are used. The particle **kati'** or **katu'**/**nigé qh/káton** is used in contexts in which there is more emphasis on the necessity of choosing *one* of the two options presented (e.g., you may have *either* milk *or* water).

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Onú:ta [?] κλ tesatuhutsyoní
kati' / katu' ohne:kánoš. | Do you want (either) milk or water? |
| C | Onq gwá [?] ne nigé qh ne
ohne:ganóhs
desadqhwę:jó:ni. | |
| M | Onòn:ta tesatonhwentsió:ni
káton ohné:kanos. | |
| O | Tesatuhutsyoní κλ
kati' / katu' só:tsi [?] kano:lú:. | Do you want it or is it too expensive (and so you don't want it)? |
| C | Desadqhwę:jó:níh gęh [?]
trehs nigé qh ganq: . | |
| M | Tesatonhwentsió:ni ken káton
só:tsi kanó:ron. | |

The particle or sequence of particles **tá:thuni'**/**gyę:gwá'** **g'ishęh/tóka' ó:ni** is used if the choice between the alternatives presented is less definite, as suggested by the English translation *or maybe* in the following examples:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| O | Λwa:tú: tıtyatawΛlyéhsa [?]
tá:thuni' ΛtyatawΛ:na [?] . | We could go for a walk or maybe go for a swim. |
| C | Dęgyadawęnyęha [?] gyę:gwá'
g'ishęh hni ęgyádawę: . | |
| M | Enwá:ton tentiatawenriéhsa
tóka' ó:ni entiatá:wen. | |

3.19 But

The meaning conveyed by the conjunction *but* is expressed by the particles **nók tsi'** in Oneida and **nek tsi** in Mohawk. In Cayuga, *but* is conveyed by the juxtaposition of clauses.

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| O | Wake:ká:se [?] swahyo:wáne [?]
nók tsi' awΛhihte [?] sÁha [?]
wake:ká:se [?] . | I like apples, but I like strawberries more. |
| C | Swahyo:wá: age:gá [?] s né: ' gi [?]
heyohé: age:gá [?] s ne
jihsq:dahk. | |
| M | Sewahió:wane waké:ka's nek tsi
só:tsi sénha waké:ka's ne
niiohontéshe. | |

3.20

Because

The particle combinations **né: tsi'**, in Oneida, and **né:'e tsi**, in Mohawk, convey the meaning *because*. In Cayuga, the particle **səh** or **tsəh** is used to express this meaning.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Teho:ká:t thiká Gavin,
né: tsi' na [?] tehahsine:sú:se [?] . | Gavin is fast because he has long legs. |
| C | Ne: gi [,] səh dehahsi:né:s [,]
ne: hq:ní [,] haya:no:wé [,]
dahé:hda:t. | Because he has long legs, he's a fast runner (<i>literally</i> that's why he's a fast runner). |
| M | Tehó:ka né:'e tsi
tehahsiné:shons. | Because he has long legs, he's a fast runner (<i>literally</i> that's why he's a fast runner). |

3.21

That

The *subordinating particle* **tsi'**/**səh** or **tsəh**/**tsi** also functions as a connective and typically introduces a clause that is subordinate to the main clause in the sentence – that is, a clause whose meaning is closely connected to and dependent on the main clause in the sentence.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| O | Wahihlo:lí: tsi'
skeksohalenyú:ne [?] . | I told him that I'm going to wash dishes. |
| C | Aheho:wí: səh egeksoháehq: . | |
| M | Wahihró:ri tsi
enskeksoharénion. | |
| O | Wahihlo:lí: tsi' niwahsohkó:ta
aké:slet. | I told him what colour my car is. |
| C | Ahehq:wí: səh niyohsohgo [,] dé:
ne agé drehda . | |
| M | Wahihró:ri tsi niwahsohkò:ten
ne aké:sere. | |

4

PRONOUNS

The pronoun as a distinct part of speech does not exist in Iroquoian languages. The function of pronouns is performed by various words and word parts. With verbs, it is the pronominal prefixes on the verb that take on the function of pronouns, identifying the person(s) involved in the action or state described by the verb. For example, in the Oneida verb form **tekátkwa**⁷ (*I dance*), the prefix **k-** is the equivalent of the first person personal pronoun in English. Pronominal prefixes are discussed in detail in the section on verbs (see section 5.13). In other contexts, particles and certain noun forms perform the function of pronouns. With one exception, the pronominal functions carried out by particles are described in the section on particles (subsections 3.3, 3.8, and 3.9). The one exception – contexts in which particles function as *personal pronouns* – is discussed in this section on pronouns. In addition, this section describes the contexts in which noun forms take on the function of pronouns, and outlines the structural patterns in which these words commonly occur.

4.1

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns stand in place of persons whose identity has already been established or can be deduced from the context. For example, in the sentences below, the words **laulhá:**, **háqhe**⁷, and **raónha** perform the function of a pronoun and stand in place of the name of a specific person. Since in Iroquoian languages the pronominal prefixes on the verb always indicate who is involved in the action or state described by the verb, personal pronouns are used only for emphasis and contrast.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | Kwí:tel tho'slehti:yó.
Laulhá:
tho'slehti:yó. | Peter has the nicest car.
<i>He</i> has the nicest car. (The pronoun is used for emphasis: It is <i>he</i> who has the nicest car.) |
| C | Gwí:de gyaqhé: ɛh
to drehdí:yo:.
Háqhe gyaqhé: ɛh
to drehdí:yo:. | |
| M | Kwí:te tiaonhà:'a
tho'serehtí:io.
Raónha tiaonhà:'a
tho'serehtí:io. | |

Personal pronouns also indicate the relationship in which the person referred to stands with respect to the speaker. *I*, the first person personal pronoun, is the speaker; *you*, the second person personal pronoun, is the person spoken to; and *he/she*, the third person personal pronoun, is the person spoken of. In the following examples, the speaker wishes to emphasize or draw attention to a particular person's involvement in the conversation.

- O Ok ne' **isé:**, náhte' yesa:yáts. And how about *you*, what's *your* name?
- C Ne' **ni:s**, də' ní:s ho' də' syá:sqh.
- M Nok **ní:se'**, nahò:ten **ní:se'** iesá:iats.

The words for *I* and *you* are structurally particles, and always occur in a single constant form. The words that perform the function of third person pronouns (*he, she, it, they*) are noun forms. These noun forms consist of a prefix identifying the person, gender, and number of the person referred to, and a noun stem (**-ulha'**/**-qhə'**/**-onha**). The prefixes on these noun forms are identical to the third person patient prefixes that occur on structural verbs except that, in Oneida and Mohawk, the prefixes that begin in *y/i* drop the *y/i* when they occur on the noun form. (Note that in Oneida, the noun stem **-ulha'** becomes **-ulhá:** when the *a* is accented, as shown below.)

A list of the personal pronouns that occur in each language is given below.

Personal Pronouns

Oneida

- í: first person, singular and plural (*I, we*)
 isé: second person, singular and plural (*you*)
 laulhá: third person masculine singular (*he*)
 aulhá: third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (*she/it*)
 akaulhá: third person feminine-indefinite singular (*she, someone*)
 lonulhá: third person masculine nonsingular (*they*)
 onulhá: third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (*they*)

Cayuga

- í: first person, singular and plural (*I, we*)
 í:s second person, singular and plural (*you*)
 háqhe' ⁴ third person masculine singular (*he*)
 gáqhe' third person feminine singular (*she, someone*)
 áqhe' third person neuter singular (*it*)
 honq:hə' third person masculine nonsingular (*they*)
 gonq:hə' third person feminine nonsingular (*they*)
 onq:hə' third person neuter nonsingular (*they*)

4. Some dialects use **haq:ha'**.

Mohawk

ì:'i	first person, singular and plural (<i>I, we</i>)
í:se	second person, singular and plural (<i>you</i>)
raónha	third person masculine singular (<i>he</i>)
aónha	third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (<i>she/it</i>)
akaónha	third person feminine-indefinite singular (<i>she, someone</i>)
ronónha	third person masculine nonsingular (<i>they</i>)
onónha	third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (<i>they</i>)

To emphasize that the person referred to is the only one, the ending **-tsí:waʔ/-əh/-a** can be added to the stem **-ulhaʔ/-əhəʔ/-onha:**

O	akulhaʔ tsí:waʔ laulhaʔ tsí:waʔ	I alone; I, by myself he alone; he, by himself
C	agəhə: əh haəhə: əh	
M	akonhà:'a raonhà:'a	

4.2

Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns identify the possessor of the object referred to; *mine*, *yours*, and *his* are possessive pronouns. In Iroquoian languages, possessive pronouns, like personal pronouns, are used only for emphasis – that is, in contexts in which the identity of the possessor is known, but needs to be emphasized. Possessive pronouns are often used together with personal pronouns, as in the examples below.

O	í: akwa:w <u>ə</u> laulhá: laə:w <u>ə</u>	it is mine that is his
C	í: agá:wəh haə:hə' hó:wəh	
M	ì:'i akwá:wən raónha raó:wən	

Structurally, the words that perform the function of possessive pronouns are noun forms. They are composed of a possessive noun prefix that identifies the person, gender, and number of the person referred to, and a noun stem – **-awə** in Oneida, **-á:wəh** in Cayuga, and **-á:wən** in Mohawk. The prefixes that appear on these noun forms are identical to the prefixes that occur on possessive noun forms (section 2.7).

A list of the possessive pronouns that occur in each language is given below.

Possessive Pronouns

Oneida

akwa:w ₁	first person singular (<i>mine</i>)
ukya:w ₁	first person dual (<i>ours</i>)
ukwa:w ₁	first person plural (<i>ours</i>)
sa:w ₁	second person, singular and plural (<i>yours</i>)
lao:w ₁	third person masculine singular (<i>his</i>)
ao:w ₁	third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (<i>hers/its</i>)
ako:w ₁	third person feminine-indefinite singular (<i>hers, someone's</i>)
laona:w ₁	third person masculine nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)
aona:w ₁	third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)

Cayuga

agá:wəh	first person singular (<i>mine</i>)
ogyá:wəh	first person dual (<i>ours</i>)
ogwá:wəh	first person plural (<i>ours</i>)
sá:wəh	second person, singular and plural (<i>yours</i>)
hó:wəh	third person masculine singular (<i>his</i>)
gó:wəh	third person feminine singular (<i>hers, someone's</i>)
ó:wəh	third person neuter singular (<i>its</i>)
honá:wəh	third person masculine nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)
goná:wəh	third person feminine nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)
oná:wəh	third person neuter nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)

Mohawk

aká:wən	first person singular (<i>mine</i>)
onkiá:wən	first person dual (<i>ours</i>)
onkwá:wən	first person plural (<i>ours</i>)
sá:wən	second person, singular and plural (<i>yours</i>)
raó:wən	third person masculine singular (<i>his</i>)
aó:wən	third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (<i>hers/its</i>)
akó:wən	third person feminine-indefinite singular (<i>hers, someone's</i>)
laoná:wən	third person masculine nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)
aoná:wən	third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (<i>theirs</i>)

4.3

Possessive Pronouns in Interrogative Sentences

Possessive pronouns sometimes occur in interrogative sentences. In questions that ask for the identity of a possessor, the feminine-indefinite (Oneida and Mohawk) or the feminine (Cayuga) possessive pronoun is used, preceded by an interrogative particle.

O	Úhka' ako:w <u>á</u> .	Whose is it?
C	Só: naht gó:wəh.	
M	Onhka akó:wen.	

5

VERBS

5.1 The Basic Verb Form

Structurally, a verb form is made up of at least three elements – a *base*, a *pronominal prefix*, and an *aspect suffix*. (For reasons that are discussed in detail in this section, the aspect suffix of a verb is often referred to as the *verb ending*.) The base and the aspect suffix together constitute *the stem* of the verb. In addition, a verb form often has one or more *prepronominal prefixes*, which, as the term suggests, appear before the pronominal prefix. The typical structure of a verb, then, is:



The aspect suffixes, prepronominal prefixes, and pronominal prefixes are discussed in detail in this section. Verb bases are examined in a separate section (see chapter 8, Stem Formation).

5.2 Aspect Suffixes and Modal Prefixes

As seen in the diagram above, the stem is divided into two parts: the base and the aspect suffix, or ending. The base conveys the basic meaning of the verb – that is, it refers to or describes an action, event, or state. The aspect suffix conveys information about the action or event as it is viewed from the perspective of time – information, for example, about its completion, duration, or progression in time. More specifically, an aspect suffix will indicate whether the overall event is viewed as consisting of several events occurring repeatedly over a period of time, or whether it is viewed as a single, complete event. While the category of aspect in Iroquoian languages is not unrelated to the category of tense in English, it generally expresses more complex concepts of time and hence more subtle meanings. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to convey the difference between the concepts of tense and aspect in English translations of Iroquoian verb forms.

The *habitual (serial) aspect* describes *ongoing or continuing action*, as well as *recurring action* and events; that is, the habitual aspect would be used to describe an action that is performed over a given period of time (*I keep reading*) or that is performed regularly at intervals (*I read every day*). The *punctual aspect* refers to an action that is a complete event. In describing actions as complete events, the punctual aspect focuses on the conclusion (and occasionally on the initiation) of the action or event rather than on its progression. The *stative (perfective) aspect* describes states. The state may be an inherent condition – for example, *he's tall* – or it may be the result of an earlier action – for example, *I have cooked it* (that is, I have cooked it and so now it is cooked). As the translation of the last example shows, the state is not described in the form of the verb, but it is contained in its meaning by implication.

Verb forms in the punctual aspect must take one of three *prepronominal prefixes*: the *factual (aorist)*, the *future*, or the *optative (indefinite)*. These three prepronominal prefixes are termed *modal prefixes*. The *factual mode* is used to refer to an action or event that is completed, and so can be considered an established fact. The English translation of the verb form often includes the word *did* (*he left, he did leave*). The *future mode* is used to refer to an action or event that has not yet taken place, but that is quite certain to take place at some point in the future (*he will leave*). The *optative mode* is used to refer to an action or event that has not yet taken place but that might take place (*he might leave*), ought to take place (*he should leave*), or might take place at some point in the future if certain conditions are met (*he would leave*).

In addition to the three aspects (habitual, punctual, stative) and the three modes of the punctual aspect (factual, future, optative), verbs can also occur in the *imperative form*. The imperative form is used to give commands or express requests.

The *six forms* mentioned above – habitual, factual-punctual, future-punctual, optative-punctual, stative, and imperative – are illustrated below.

O	kato:láts	I hunt, I'm hunting
	wa [?] kato:láte [?]	I hunted, I did hunt
	ʌkato:láte [?]	I will hunt
	akato:láte [?]	I might hunt, I should hunt
	wakatola:tú	I have (already) hunted
	sato:lát	hunt!
C	gadó:wa:s	I hunt, I'm hunting
	aga:dó:wa:t	I hunted, I did hunt
	ęga:dó:wa:t	I will hunt
	a:gadó:wa:t	I might hunt, I should hunt
	agadowá:dəh	I have (already) hunted
	sadó:wa:t	hunt!

M	kató:rats	I hunt, I'm hunting
	wa'kató:rate	I hunted, I did hunt
	enkató:rate	I will hunt
	akató:rate	I might hunt, I should hunt
	wakatorá:ton	I have (already) hunted
	sató:rat	hunt!

5.3 The Form of the Aspect Suffixes and Modal Prefixes

Each aspect category (habitual, punctual, stative) has several suffixes. These suffixes can be very difficult to identify. One reason is that suffixes that belong to the same category can differ from one another quite radically; for example, **-s** and **-ha'** are two common habitual aspect suffixes in Oneida, and **-u** and **-e'** are two common stative aspect suffixes. Another reason is that there are no reliable patterns that can be used to determine which particular suffix will occur on a particular verb base. Finally, it is often quite difficult to divide the stem into a base and an aspect suffix – that is, to decide exactly where the base ends and the aspect suffix begins. An analysis of the three aspect forms of the Oneida verb *to get up*, given below, will help to illustrate the point. (It should be noted that the English form of the infinitive, with the preposition *to*, does not occur in the Native languages.)

O	katkétskwas	I get up, I keep getting up
	wa'katkétsko'	I got up
	wakatkétskwa	I have gotten up

The first form has the habitual suffix **-as**, which is added to the base **-atkétskw-**. The second form has the punctual suffix **-'** (and the factual prefix **wa'**), but the final sound of the base (**w**) has been replaced by **o**; thus, in this form, **-atkétskw-** becomes **-atkétsko-**. The third form has the stative suffix **-a**, and the same form of the base as that found in the habitual aspect form. Because the addition of the aspect suffix so often results in a modification of the last sound(s) of the base, it is easier to think of the stem as a unit comprising the base and the aspect suffix, and to identify the habitual, punctual, and stative aspect forms according to the characteristic sounds that occur at the end of the verb form.

The habitual stem in Oneida and Mohawk often ends in **-s**, **-ha'**, or **-as**. For example, the habitual form for *I hunt* on page 59 ends in **-s**, and the habitual form for *I get up*, given above, ends in **-as**. In Oneida, many habitual aspect forms also end in **-he'**. (See the form for *I sew* on page 59.) In Cayuga, **-ahs** is a common ending. The punctual aspect most often ends in **-'** or **-e'** in Oneida and Mohawk, although in Mohawk the ' occurring at the end of a word is often not pronounced and therefore not shown in written forms. The endings **-ne'** and **-a'** in Oneida and **-ne** and **-en** in Mohawk are also quite common. In Cayuga, punctual aspect forms end in **-'**, **-h**, or **-k**; often, however, the punctual form is not marked by any suffix, so that the end of the base is the end of the verb form. The stative aspect form often ends in **-u**, **-e'**, or **-a** in Oneida. Common endings in Mohawk are **-on**, **-e**, and **-en**. Many stative aspect forms in Oneida and Mohawk do not have a suffix; with these forms, the end of the base is the end of the verb form. Common stative aspect endings in Cayuga are **-qh** and **q:**.

Since verbs in the punctual aspect require one of the three modal prenominal prefixes, a straightforward way of identifying a verb in the punctual aspect is to look for a prenominal prefix. The future prefix is always **ʌ-/ɛ-/en-**. The factual prefix is **waʔ-**, **wa-**, or **we-** in Oneida, **waʔ-**, **wa-**, or **we-** in Mohawk, and **a-** or **e-** in Cayuga. The optative prefix is **a-** or **a:-** in all three languages.

The imperative form is characterized in Mohawk and Oneida by the absence of modal prefixes and aspect suffixes. It is formed by taking any one of the three modes of the punctual aspect and removing the final ^ʔ (if there is one) or **eʔ**, as well as the modal prefix. In Cayuga also, the imperative lacks the modal prefixes; a final **-ʔ**, however, is replaced by **-h**.

5.4 Uses of the Aspect-Mode Categories

5.5 The Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect describes an action or event that occurs continuously over a period of time, or that keeps on occurring at regular intervals (*she is sewing, she sews regularly, it rains off and on*):

O	keʔníkhuheʔ	I sew (regularly), I'm a sewer
C	kníkqhaʔ	
M	ke'níkhons	
O	yokʌno:lé:seʔ	it keeps raining, it rains off and on, it always rains
C	ohsdáqgyeʔs	
M	iokennó:re's	

Both the habitual and the stative aspects can be used to describe ongoing or continuing action – for example, an event that is occurring at the time of speaking. The aspect used depends on the verb and its meaning. The first example above shows a verb that uses the habitual aspect to describe an action that is occurring (that is, continuing to occur) at the time of speaking. For examples of verbs that use the stative aspect to convey this meaning, see the section that follows.

Since the habitual aspect also describes repeated or *habitual action*, it often occurs with verbs that describe an occupation:

O	lato:láts	he hunts (regularly), he's a hunter
C	hadó:wa:s	
M	rató:rats	

5.6 The Stative Aspect

The stative aspect is most often used to describe a state or condition. The state or condition may be one of two kinds: it may be constant and inherent, as in the first example below, or it may be the result or consequence of an action that has been

performed in the past, as in the second example. Note that in the first instance – when the state is constant and inherent – the verb form describes the state, as an adjective does in English; in the second instance – when the state is a consequence of an action – the verb describes an action that has been completed and that results in a state or condition. In other words, in the second instance, the state or condition is contained in the meaning of the verb by implication.

O	lahnΛ:yés	he's tall
C	hahné:ye:s	
M	rahnén:ies	
O	wakká:tshi	I have taken it apart (and so now it's taken apart)
C	dewagekáhsq:	
M	wakeríhsion	

Verbs that describe a condition that is considered constant or unchanging occur only in the stative aspect and do not have a habitual or punctual aspect form. The meanings expressed by such verbs often correspond to the meanings expressed by adjectives in English, as shown in the first example above.

With some verbs, the stative aspect describes an action or event that was completed in the past.

O	lohya:tú: lohtáti	he has written he has gone away, he has left
C	hohyá:dq̣̌ hohdé:gyq̣̌:	
M	rohiá:ton rohténtion	

As pointed out in the previous section, some verbs require the stative aspect to describe ongoing or continuing action (see the previous section for verbs that use the habitual aspect to convey this meaning). The example below shows a verb form that uses the stative aspect to describe an action occurring (that is, continuing to occur) at the time of speaking:

O	teholihwáhkwa	he's singing
C	hodré:no:t	
M	rarén:note	

5.7

The Punctual Aspect

The punctual aspect conveys the idea that the action or event described constitutes a single, complete event. The punctual aspect always occurs in one of the three modes – the *factual* or *aorist mode*, the *future mode*, or the *optative* or *indefinite mode* – that convey information related to the time of the action or, more precisely, to its completion or the probability of its completion. The *factual* (*aorist*) *mode* describes an event that is considered an established fact. It is often

used to refer to an action or event that has taken place in the recent past. The meaning expressed by this use of the factual form is translated into English by the auxiliary verb *do*:

O	wa [?] katkétsko [?]	I got up, I did get up
C	agá:tgẹ́	
M	wa'katkétsko	
O	wa [?] kenhotu:kó:	I opened the door
C	agenhodó:go	
M	wa'kehnhótón:ko	

With some verbs, the factual emphasizes the initiation of the established event. This use of the factual form is translated into English by using the verb *to start* with the verb describing the action or event (*it started to snow*). The verbs with which the factual mode is most often used to convey this meaning include verbs that describe weather conditions:

O	wa [?] okλ:nóle [?]	it started to rain
C	a'ohsdáqdi	
M	wa'okén:nore	
O	uta [?] klo:kó:	it started to snow
C	awadagra:dé:ni	
M	ónkeren'ne	

With verbs that describe motion, and in particular the manner in which someone is moving, the factual mode also focuses on the starting point of the action. This use of the factual is often translated by phrases that suggest that the actor has set off for the purpose of performing the action.

O	wa [?] ekhunyá:na [?]	she left to cook
C	a'ekqnyáhna	
M	wa'ekhonià:ne or wa'ekhonnià:na	
O	wahatolátha [?]	he went off to hunt (he set off in order to hunt)
C	ahadowá:ta	
M	wahatorátha	

The *future mode* is used to describe an action that is very likely to take place in the future – that is, to convey a high degree of probability with regard to its occurrence:

O	ʌkekhu: <u>ní:</u>	I will cook it
C	ẹge:kó:ní	
M	enkekhnón:ni	
O	ʌhahtʌ: <u>tí:</u>	he will leave
C	ẹhahdẹ:di	
M	enhahtén:ti	
O	tʌkatkalʌ: <u>lu?</u>	I will swing
C	dẹgadqhwí:da t	
M	enkathónwihá:ren	

The *optative (indefinite) mode* is used to describe an action or event that *might* take place – that is, to convey a degree of uncertainty as to whether the act or event will take place – or an action or event that *should* take place:

O	a:kekhu: <u>ní:</u>	I might cook it, I should cook it
C	a:gekó:ní	
M	a:kekhnón:ni	

However, the optative is most often used in subordinate clauses that follow certain verbs (e.g., *to want*, *to know how to*), including the negative verb that can be translated as *not to be able*:

O	yáh ki? thau:tú: usahsahtʌ: <u>tí:</u>	you can't go home
C	tawa:dq̃h ɔsahsahdẹ:di	
M	iah thaón:ton onsahsahtén:ti	

5.8

The Imperative

The *imperative mode* is used to express commands:

O	Senho: <u>tú.</u>	Close the door!
C	Senhóha:.	
M	Sehnhó:ton.	

A negative command (*don't do it!*) is expressed by using the particle **tákʌ?/ahgwih/tóhsa** and adding the *future* prepronominal prefix to the regular imperative verb form in Oneida and Cayuga:

O	Tákʌ? ʌhsenho: <u>tú.</u>	Don't close the door!
C	Ahgwih ẹhsénhoha:.	
M	Tóhsa sehnhó:ton.	

The same construction, but with the *optative* prefix added to the imperative verb, conveys a suggestion or admonition:

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| O | Senhotú kwí: ták ^ʔ
utahutáyahte ^ʔ tsí:ks. | Close the door so that the flies
can't come in. |
| C | Senhóħa: ăhgwíh ȳ:daga:dí:yȳ'
otré da . | |
| M | Sehnhó:ton tóhsa
aontakontáweia'te ne tsì:ks. | |

5.9 Additional Aspect-Mode Categories

Verbs in the habitual or stative aspect can take on endings that convey additional meanings relating to the time of the action or event. There are two main categories of endings: the *past* and the *continuative (modalizer)*.

5.10 The Habitual Past

The *habitual past (former past) mode* describes an action or event that occurred regularly in the past but that has ceased to occur at the time of speaking. The habitual past suffix is added to the habitual aspect suffix. In the examples below, the first verb in each language is in the *habitual form*; the second is in the *habitual past form*.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| O | kato:láts
kato:látskwe ^ʔ | I hunt, I'm hunting
I used to hunt |
| C | gadó:wa:s
gadowasgêĥe ^ʔ | |
| M | kató:rats
kató:ratskwe | |

The habitual past suffix is **-(h)kwe^ʔ** in Oneida, **-gêĥe^ʔ** or **-k** in Cayuga, and **-(h)kwe** in Mohawk.

In some cases, a verb form that ends in the habitual suffix undergoes a change when the past suffix is added to the verb form. In Oneida, for example, the ^ʔ of the habitual ending **-ha^ʔ** is deleted:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | kethé:th ^ʔ
kethé:thahkwe ^ʔ | I pound, I'm a pounder
I used to pound, I used to be
a pounder |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|

Also, in Oneida, the habitual suffix **-he^ʔ** is replaced by the suffix **-ha^ʔ**, and the ^ʔ is deleted:

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| O | ke ^ʔ níkhuh ^ʔ
ke ^ʔ nikhúhahkwe ^ʔ | I sew, I'm a sewer
I used to sew |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

Because the addition of the habitual past suffix often causes significant changes in the form of the habitual ending, the entire habitual past ending (which includes the habitual and the habitual past suffixes) is in bold in the above example.

The habitual past suffix also occurs on some verbs that designate states or attributes and that normally occur only in the stative aspect. With these verbs, the habitual past describes a state that has persisted over time in the past:

O	wakathu:té: wakathu:té <hkwe?< h=""></hkwe?<>	I hear I used to hear
C	aga:tó:de' aga:tó:dek	
M	wakathón:te wakathón:tehkwe	
O	knákele? knáklehkwe?	I live, I reside I used to live, I used to reside
C	gená:gre' gená:grek	
M	kenákere kenákerehkwe	

5.11

The Stative Past

The *stative past (remote past) mode* describes a state or condition that has prevailed in the past or an action or event that was completed in the past. In other words, the uses of the stative past parallel those of the stative aspect, except that the stative past refers to the past or, in cases where the stative aspect itself refers to action completed in the past, to a more remote past. The **stative past suffix is added to the stative aspect form.**

The stative past suffix is most often found on verbs that designate inherent states or attributes. With such verbs, which normally occur only in the stative aspect, the stative past describes a state that persisted over time in the past:

O	lólehs _Λ ? lole [?] s _Λ : hné:	he is fat he was fat
C	hóhsɛ: hohsé hne: '	
M	róre'sen róre'sèn: ne	

With verbs that use the stative aspect to describe an action that has been completed, the stative past describes an action that was completed in a more remote past, or at a more distant point in time. The first verb in each language is in the *stative form*; the second is in the *stative past form*:

O	wakatkáthu wakatkathú: ne?	I have seen it I had seen it
C	atgátgahtwɛh atgátgahtwé hne: '	
M	wakatkáhthon wakatkahthón: ne	

With verbs that use the stative aspect to describe an ongoing or continuous action or event, the stative past describes an action or event that took place over a period of time in the past:

O	wakatnutolyá:tu wakatnutolya ⁷ tú:ne ⁷	I'm playing I was playing
C	hodēnidéq̄h hodēnidéq̄hne:	he is humble he was humble
M	wakatkarí:ton wakatkaritón:ne	I'm playing I was playing

Stative past forms end in **-:ne⁷** or **-:hné:** in Oneida (the first : indicates that the vowel that precedes is lengthened), **-hne:** in Cayuga, and **-:ne** in Mohawk.

5.12 The Future-Stative

With verbs that describe a state or attribute, the continuative ending – **-hake⁷** or **-ke⁷** in Oneida, **-hẹ:k, -họ:k, or -k** in Cayuga, and **-hake** or **-ke** in Mohawk – can be added, with the future prepronominal prefix, to convey the idea that the state or attribute will persist in the future. The first example in each language is in the *stative aspect form*; the second is in the *future-stative form*.

O	la ⁷ shátste ⁷ Λha ⁷ shátsteke ⁷	he is strong he will be strong
C	ha ⁷ shá:sde ⁷ ẹhá shasde:k	
M	ra'shátste enha'shátsteke	

Certain verbs, including the verb *to hear*, refer to an act but suggest a state in the Native language. Again, the first example in each language is in the *stative aspect form*; the second is in the *future-stative form*.

O	wakathu:té: Λwakathu:téke ⁷	I hear (I am in a state of hearing, of listening) I will be hearing it
C	aga:tô:de ⁷ ẹwagatô:de:k	
M	wakathón:te enwakathón:teke	

5.13 Pronominal Prefixes

The **pronominal prefixes** identify who or what is carrying out the action described by the verb, or **who or what is affected by the action described by the verb**, or **both**. In the case of verbs that describe states or attributes, the pronominal prefixes identify who or what exists in the state described by the verb, or who or what has the particular attribute referred to. (In terms of English grammar, the pronominal prefix on a verb identifies the subject or object of the verb, or both.

These terms should be used with caution, however, as the usual grammatical distinction between subject and object does not always apply to Iroquoian verb forms. The concepts expressed by the pronominal prefix categories are often more complex and more subtle than those suggested by the grammatical function of subject and object.) The pronominal prefixes fall into three basic categories: *agent* (or *subjective*), *patient* (or *objective*), and *interactive*.

Agent (subjective) pronominal prefixes and *patient* (objective) pronominal prefixes occur on verbs that refer to only one participant in the action or state described by the verb – the person who is carrying out the action or the person whose state is described by the verb. Generally speaking, agent (subjective) pronominal prefixes are used with verbs that indicate or suggest that the participant is actively or voluntarily involved in the action of the verb, while patient (objective) pronominal prefixes are used with verbs that suggest that the participant has a more passive role in the action or state described by the verb, or is involuntarily affected by the action. This distinction, however, is not the sole factor involved in determining whether a verb will have an agent or a patient pronominal prefix. The prefix used with a verb is also determined by the specific aspect category of the verb, as described below. In other words, it is not the meaning of the verb alone that determines whether an agent or patient pronominal is used. The verb in the first example in each language has an agent pronominal prefix; the verb in the second example has a patient pronominal prefix.

O	tekátkwa [?]	I dance, I am a dancer
	waknuhwáktanihe [?]	I am sick
C	degá:tkwa [?]	
	akñohqkdá:nih	
M	tekenonniákhkwa	
	wakenonhwáktani	

Interactive pronominal prefixes occur on verbs that identify two persons – the person who performs the action and the person who is affected by the action or is the recipient of the action:

O	kheya [?] takénhas	I help her
C	keya [?] dagé:nahs	
M	kheia [?] takénhas	

Agent, patient, and interactive pronominal prefixes give information about the participant(s) in the action or state described by the verb according to three grammatical categories: *person*, *number*, and *gender*.

The grammatical category of *person* makes it possible to distinguish between the speaker, the listener or the person being spoken to, and the person or thing talked about. The *first person* is used when the verb refers to or includes the speaker (*I am leaving, we are leaving*). The *second person* is used when the verb refers to the *listener*, or, more precisely, the person addressed by the speaker (*you are eating*). The *third person* is used when the verb refers to the person(s) or thing(s) being talked about (*he is leaving; they are eating; it is big*). In addition, two other prefixes – the *first person inclusive* and the *first person exclusive* – occur in Iroquoian languages. The *first person inclusive prefix* is used when the

verb refers both to the speaker and the listener – in other words, when both the speaker and the listener are included in the pronominal reference (*we*, meaning *I and you*). The *first person exclusive prefix* is used when the verb refers to the speaker and some person other than the listener or a group from which the listener is excluded (*we*, meaning *the person speaking and his/her companion(s), but not you, the person(s) being addressed*).

The grammatical category of *number* refers to the number of individuals involved in the action or event described by the verb. A *singular* prefix indicates that only one person or thing is involved in the action; a *dual* prefix indicates that there are exactly two person involved; and a *plural* prefix indicates that there are more than two persons involved. Note that in Oneida and Mohawk, the dual and plural prefixes apply only to persons; they are not used to refer to things or objects, which are always grammatically singular.

The grammatical category of *gender* classifies persons and things into four categories in Oneida and Mohawk – *masculine*, *feminine-indefinite*, *feminine-zoic*, and *neuter* – and three categories in Cayuga – *masculine*, *feminine*, and *neuter*. The masculine prefixes are used to refer to male persons in all three languages. To refer to a female person, either the feminine-indefinite or the feminine-zoic prefix is used in Oneida and Mohawk. The feminine-zoic prefix is also used in Oneida and Mohawk to refer to animals. To refer to a female person in Cayuga, the feminine prefix is used. The neuter prefix is used to refer to inanimate objects and animals. To refer to a mixed group of males and females, Oneida and Mohawk use the masculine (dual or plural), but Cayuga uses the feminine (plural). Note that in Oneida and Mohawk, the feminine-zoic and the neuter prefixes are almost always identical.

5.14 The Agent (Subjective) Pronominal Prefixes

The *agent* or *subjective pronominal prefixes* identify the person carrying out the action of the verb or the person whose state or condition is described by the verb through the grammatical categories of person, gender, and number. (In terms of English grammar, agent pronominal prefixes refer to the subject of the verb, although the term *subject* is not truly appropriate for Iroquoian languages.) There are fifteen **agent pronominal prefixes** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **fourteen** in Cayuga, reflecting the varieties of combinations that are possible with regard to person, gender, and number.

The agent pronominal prefixes are illustrated in tables 1–6. Two tables are given for each language, illustrating the two most common types of stems in Iroquoian languages – a-stems, which begin with the vowel *a*, and C-stems, which begin with a consonant.

Tables 1 and 2 outline the agent pronominal prefixes for Oneida; **tables 3 and 4 outline the agent pronominal prefixes for Cayuga**; and tables 5 and 6 outline the agent pronominal prefixes for Mohawk. In each table, the person, gender (where applicable), and number of the prefix illustrated are identified in the first column; the verb form with the prefix is given in the second column, with the prefix in bold; and the translation of the verb form is given in the third column. The same two verbs have been used for all three languages: the verb meaning *to get up, arise*, which is an a-stem verb, and the verb meaning *to crave (to have a craving for something to eat)*, which is a C-stem verb. In a few cases, the two

verb types use the same prefix for a particular person, gender, and number combination, but, for the most part, the prefixes used by the two verb types differ.

As mentioned above, the two types of stems illustrated – those that begin with the vowel *a* and those that begin with a consonant – are by far the two most common types of stems in Iroquoian languages. Other stem categories in the languages include: *e-stems*, *ʌ-/ɛ-/en-stems*, *i-stems*, *o-stems*, and *u-/ɔ-/on-stems*. However, since these occur relatively rarely, they are not illustrated here.

Determining the stem category of a verb involves identifying a few verb forms with different pronominal prefixes, and then matching the pronominal prefixes to the sets given in the tables. For example, the Oneida verb used in the examples below is a C-stem (the person and number, and the gender when relevant, of the actor or subject are shown in parentheses after the verb form):

klistálhos (1 singular)	I'm ironing
yelistálhos (3 feminine-indefinite singular)	she's ironing
tnilistálhos (1 inclusive dual)	we two (you and I) are ironing
kutilistálhos (3 feminine-zoic plural)	they (the women) are ironing

The verb below, on the other hand, is an a-stem. Note that the first sound of the stem – the vowel *a* – is eliminated after pronominal prefixes that end in the vowel *u*.

katkáthos (1 singular)	I see (it)
yutkáthos (3 feminine-indefinite singular)	she sees (it)
tyatkáthos (1 inclusive dual)	we two (you and I) see it
kutkátkhos (3 feminine-zoic plural)	they (the women) see (it)

Table 1. Agent pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Oneida

1 singular	katkétskwas	I get up, arise
1 exclusive dual	yakyatkétskwas	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) get up, arise
1 exclusive plural	yakwatkétskwas	we (the others present and I, but not you) get up, arise
1 inclusive dual	tyatkétskwas	we two (you and I) get up, arise
1 inclusive plural	twatkétskwas	we all (all of you and I) get up, arise
2 singular	satkétskwas	you (singular) get up, arise
2 dual	tsyatkétskwas	you two get up, arise
2 plural	swatkétskwas	you (plural) get up, arise

3 feminine-zoic singular	watkétskwas	she, or it, gets up, arises
3 masculine singular	latkétskwas	he gets up, arises
3 feminine-indefinite singular	yutkétskwas	she, or someone, gets up, arises
3 feminine-zoic dual	kyatkétskwas	the two (two female persons) get up, arise
3 feminine-zoic plural	kutkétskwas	they (female persons) get up, arise
3 masculine dual	yatkétskwas	the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) get up, arise
3 masculine plural	lutkétskwas	they (male persons, or male and female persons) get up, arise

Table 2. Agent pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Oneida

1 singular	knú·waks	I crave (it)
1 exclusive dual	yakninú·waks	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it)
1 exclusive plural	yakwanú·waks	we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it)
1 inclusive dual	tninú·waks	we two (you and I) crave (it)
1 inclusive plural	twanú·waks	we all (all of you and I) crave (it)
2 singular	snú·waks	you (singular) crave (it)
2 dual	sninú·waks	you two crave (it)
2 plural	swanú·waks	you (plural) crave (it)
3 feminine-zoic singular	kanú·waks	she, or it, craves (it)
3 masculine singular	lanú·waks	he craves (it)
3 feminine-indefinite singular	yenú·waks	she, or someone, craves (it)

3 feminine-zoic dual	kninú·waks	the two (two female persons) crave (it)
3 feminine-zoic plural	kutinú·waks	they (female persons) crave (it)
3 masculine dual	ninú·waks	the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) crave (it)
3 masculine plural	latinú·waks	they (male persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)

Table 3. Agent pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Cayuga

1 singular	gatgéhehs	I get up, arise
1 exclusive dual	agyátgéhehs	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) get up, arise
1 exclusive plural	agwátgéhehs	we (the others present and I, but not you) get up, arise
1 inclusive dual	gyatgéhehs	we two (you and I) get up, arise
1 inclusive plural	dwatgéhehs	we all (all of you and I) get up, arise
2 singular	satgéhehs	you (singular) get up, arise
2 dual	jatgéhehs	you two get up, arise
2 plural	swatgéhehs	you (plural) get up, arise
3 neuter singular	watgéhehs	it gets up, arises
3 masculine singular	hatgéhehs	he gets up, arises
3 feminine singular	otgéhehs	she, or someone, gets up, arises
3 neuter plural	gənatgéhehs	they (animals) get up, arise
3 feminine plural	gáotgéhehs	they (female persons, or male and female persons) get up, arise
3 masculine plural	hənatgéhehs	they (male persons) get up, arise

Table 4. Agent pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Cayuga

1 singular	knó:wa:s	I crave (it)
1 exclusive dual	akni:nó:wa:s	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it)
1 exclusive plural	agwa:nó:wa:s	we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it)
1 inclusive dual	kninó:wa:s	we two (you and I) crave (it)
1 inclusive plural	dwanó:wa:s	we all (all of you and I) crave (it)
2 singular	snó:wa:s	you (singular) crave (it)
2 dual	sninó:wa:s	you two crave (it)
2 plural	swanó:wa:s	you (plural) crave (it)
3 neuter singular	ganó:wa:s	it craves (it)
3 masculine singular	hanó:wa:s	he craves (it)
3 feminine singular	enó:wa:s	she, or someone, craves (it)
3 neuter plural	gadi:nó:wa:s	they (animals) crave (it)
3 feminine plural	gaenó:wa:s	they (female persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)
3 masculine plural	hadi:nó:wa:s	they (male persons) crave (it)

Table 5. Agent pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Mohawk

1 singular	katkétskwas	I get up, arise
1 exclusive dual	iatiatkétskwas	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) get up, arise
1 exclusive plural	iakwatkétskwas	we (the others present and I, but not you) get up, arise
1 inclusive dual	tia tkétskwas	we two (you and I) get up, arise
1 inclusive plural	tewatkétskwas	we all (all of you and I) get up, arise

2 singular	satkétskwas	you (singular) get up, arise
2 dual	tsiatkétskwas	you two get up, arise
2 plural	sewatkétskwas	you (plural) get up, arise
3 feminine-zoic singular	watkétskwas	she, or it, gets up, arises
3 masculine singular	ratkétskwas	he gets up, arises
3 feminine-indefinite singular	iontkétskwas	she, or someone, gets up, arises
3 feminine-zoic dual	kiatkétskwas or tiatkétskwas	the two (two female persons) get up, arise
3 feminine-zoic plural	kontkétskwas	they (female persons) get up, arise
3 masculine dual	iatkétskwas	the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) get up, arise
3 masculine plural	rontkétskwas	they (male persons, or male and female persons) get up, arise

Table 6. Agent pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Mohawk

1 singular	kenón:waks	I crave (it)
1 exclusive dual	iakeninón:waks	we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it)
1 exclusive plural	iakwanón:waks	we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it)
1 inclusive dual	teninón:waks	we two (you and I) crave (it)
1 inclusive plural	tewanón:waks	we all (all of you and I) crave (it)
2 singular	senón:waks	you (singular) crave (it)
2 dual	seninón:waks	you two crave (it)
2 plural	sewanón:waks	you (plural) crave (it)

3 feminine-zoic singular	kanón:waks	she, or it, craves (it)
3 masculine singular	ranón:waks	he craves (it)
3 feminine-indefinite singular	ienón:waks	she, or someone, craves (it)
3 feminine-zoic dual	keninón:waks	the two (two female persons) crave (it)
3 feminine-zoic plural	kontinón:waks	they (female persons) crave (it)
3 masculine dual	ninón:waks	the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) crave (it)
3 masculine plural	ratinón:waks	they (male persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)

5.15 Uses of the Agent (Subjective) Pronominal Prefixes

The agent (subjective) pronominal prefixes occur with habitual and punctual aspect stems – that is, with verbs that have either the habitual or the punctual aspect ending. The first example in each language is a verb form in the habitual aspect; the second example is a future verb form in the punctual aspect.

O	kathlo:líhe [?]	I tell about (it) (habitually)
	ʌkathlo:lí:	I will tell about (it)
C	gatró:wihs ɛga:tró:wi ^ʼ	
M	kathró:ris enkathró:ri	

The neuter agent pronominal prefix occurs with stative aspect stems in contexts in which the identity of the person who carried out the action is considered unimportant or irrelevant. In these contexts, the neuter agent pronominal prefix indicates that the state described is the result of an action:

O	kahya:tú:	it is written (it is written as a result of its having been written by someone)
C	gahyá:dq ^ʼ	
M	kahiá:ton	

Agent pronominal prefixes also occur with some verbs that have only a stative aspect form:

O	khnλ:yés	I'm tall
C	kné:ye:s	
M	khnén:ies	

5.16 The Patient (Objective) Pronominal Prefixes

Like the agent pronominal prefixes, the *patient* or *objective pronominal prefixes* identify the person engaged in the action of the verb or the person whose state or condition is described by the verb through the grammatical categories of person, gender, and number. However, there are fewer patient categories than agent categories; there are eleven **patient pronominal prefixes** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **twelve in Cayuga**.

The patient pronominal prefixes are illustrated in tables 7–12. As with the agent pronominal prefixes, two tables are given for each language, illustrating the two most common types of stems – a-stems, which begin with the vowel *a*, and C-stems, which begin with a consonant.

Tables 7 and 8 outline the patient pronominal prefixes for Oneida; tables 9 and 10 outline the patient pronominal prefixes for Cayuga; and tables 11 and 12 outline the patient pronominal prefixes for Mohawk. In each table, the person, gender (where applicable), and number of the prefix illustrated are identified in the first column; the verb form with the prefix is given in the second column, with the prefix in bold; and the translation of the verb form is given in the third column. The same two verbs have been used for all three languages: the verb meaning *to be sick*, which is an a-stem verb, and the verb meaning *to tell about (something)*, which is a C-stem verb. In some cases, the two verb types use the same prefix for a particular person, gender, and number combination.

Table 7. Patient pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Oneida

1 singular	wak athlo:lĭ	I am telling about (it)
1 dual	yuky athlo:lĭ	we two are telling about (it)
1 plural	yukw athlo:lĭ	we are telling about (it)
2 singular	sath lo:lĭ	you (singular) are telling about (it)
2 dual	tsy athlo:lĭ	you two are telling about (it)
2 plural	swath lo:lĭ	you (plural) are telling about (it)
3 feminine-zoic singular	yoth lo:lĭ	she is telling about (it)
3 masculine singular	loth lo:lĭ	he is telling about (it)

3 feminine- indefinite singular	yakothlo:lí	she, or someone, is telling about (it)
3 feminine-zoic nonsingular	yonathlo:lí	they (female persons) are telling about (it)
3 masculine nonsingular	lonathlo:lí	they (male persons, or male and female persons) are telling about (it)

Table 8. Patient pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Oneida

1 singular	waknuhwáktanihe[?]	I am sick
1 dual	yukninuhwáktanihe[?]	we two are sick
1 plural	yukwanuhwáktanihe[?]	we are sick
2 singular	sanuhwáktanihe[?]	you (singular) are sick
2 dual	sninuhwáktanihe[?]	you two are sick
2 plural	swanuhwáktanihe[?]	you (plural) are sick
3 feminine-zoic singular	yonuhwáktanihe[?]	she is sick
3 masculine singular	lonuhwáktanihe[?]	he is sick
3 feminine- indefinite singular	yakonuhwáktanihe[?]	she, or someone, is sick
3 feminine-zoic nonsingular	yotinuhwáktanihe[?]	they (female persons) are sick
3 masculine nonsingular	lotinuhwáktanihe[?]	they (male persons, or male and female persons) are sick

Table 9. Patient pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Cayuga

1 singular	aga: tró:wi:	I am telling about (it)
1 dual	ogya: tró:wi:	we two are telling about (it)
1 plural	ogwa: tró:wi:	we are telling about (it)
2 singular	satró: wi:	you (singular) are telling about (it)
2 dual	jatró: wi:	you two are telling about (it)
2 plural	swatró: wi:	you (plural) are telling about (it)
3 neuter singular	otró: wi:	it is telling about (it)
3 masculine singular	hotró: wi:	he is telling about (it)
3 feminine singular	gotró: wi:	she, or someone, is telling about (it)
3 neuter nonsingular	ona: tró:wi:	they (animals) are telling about (it)
3 masculine nonsingular	hona: tró:wi:	they (male persons) are telling about (it)
3 feminine nonsingular	gona: tró:wi:	they (female persons, or male and female persons) are telling about (it)

Table 10. Patient pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Cayuga

1 singular	akn qhokdá:nih	I am sick
1 dual	okni qhokdanih	we two are sick
1 plural	qgwa qhokdanih	we are sick
2 singular	san qhokdá:nih	you (singular) are sick
2 dual	snin qhokdá:nih	you two are sick
2 plural	swan qhokdá:nih	you (plural) are sick
3 neuter singular	on qhokdá:nih	it is sick
3 masculine singular	hon qhokdá:nih	he is sick
3 feminine singular	gon qhokdá:nih	she, or someone, is sick

3 neuter nonsingular	odin hókdaníh	they (animals) are sick
3 masculine nonsingular	hodin hókdaníh	they (male persons) are sick
3 feminine nonsingular	godin hókdaníh	they (female persons, or male and female persons) are sick

Table 11. Patient pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Mohawk

1 singular	wak athró:ri	I am telling about (it)
1 dual	ionti athró:ri	we two are telling about (it)
1 plural	ionkw athró:ri	we are telling about (it)
2 singular	sath ró:ri	you (singular) are telling about (it)
2 dual	tsi athró:ri	you two are telling about (it)
2 plural	sew athró:ri	you (plural) are telling about (it)
3 feminine-zaic singular	io thró:ri	she is telling about (it)
3 masculine singular	ro thró:ri	he is telling about (it)
3 feminine-indefinite singular	ia kothró:ri	she, or someone, is telling about (it)
3 feminine-zaic nonsingular	ion athró:ri	they (female persons) are telling about (it)
3 masculine nonsingular	ron athró:ri	they (male persons, or male and female persons) are telling about (it)

Table 12. Patient pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Mohawk

1 singular	wake nonhwáktani	I am sick
1 dual	ionke ninonhwáktani	we two are sick
1 plural	ionkw anonhwáktani	we are sick
2 singular	sa nonhwáktani	you (singular) are sick
2 dual	se ninonhwáktani	you two are sick
2 plural	sew anonhwáktani	you (plural) are sick

3 feminine-zoic singular	iononhwáktani	she is sick
3 masculine singular	rononhwáktani	he is sick
3 feminine- indefinite singular	iakononhwáktani	she, or someone, is sick
3 feminine-zoic nonsingular	iotinonhwáktani	they (female persons) are sick
3 masculine nonsingular	rotinonhwáktani	they (male persons, or male and female persons) are sick

5.17

Uses of the Patient (Objective) Pronominal Prefixes

The patient (objective) pronominal prefixes occur with the stative stem of verbs that take agent pronominal prefixes in the habitual and punctual aspects. For example, the verb *to tell about (something)* requires a patient pronominal prefix in the stative aspect form:

O	wakathlo:lí	I am talking about (it)
C	aga:tró:wi:	
M	wakathró:ri	

A small group of verbs take patient pronominal prefixes in all three aspect categories. The verb used in the examples below belongs to this group. The three examples in each language correspond to the three aspect categories (habitual, stative, and punctual):

O	lo:tá:s	he sleeps
	lotá:u	he has gone to sleep
	ʌho:táweʔ	he will sleep
C	hó:da's	
	hodá'q̣h	
	ẹhó:da'	
M	ró:ta's	
	rotà:'on	
	enhó:ta'we'	

Patient prefixes also occur with some verbs that have only a stative aspect form:

O	lo:tát	he is poor
	yakotshá:nit	she is energetic, a good worker
C	hó:dəht	
	gotsáhnih	
M	ró:ten	
	iakotshà:ni	

5.18 Interactive Pronominal Prefixes

Interactive pronominal prefixes identify both the *actor* (or *subject*) – the person who is carrying out the action – and the *undergoer* (or *object*) – the person towards whom the action is directed or who is the recipient of the action:

O	wahihlo:lí:	I told him
C	ahihó:wi'	
M	wahihró:ri	

There are over fifty different interactive pronominal prefixes in the languages under study, and these are illustrated in tables 13–15, using C-stem verbs only. (Because of the large number of prefixes, it simply would not be practical to illustrate both C-stem and a-stem verbs. It should be noted, however, that the forms of the prefixes used for a-stem verbs would, in some instances, differ from those given for C-stem verbs in the tables that follow.)

Table 13 illustrates the interactive prefixes used with C-stem verbs in Oneida; table 14 illustrates the interactive prefixes used with C-stem verbs in Cayuga; and table 15 illustrates the interactive prefixes used with C-stem verbs in Mohawk. The same verb – **-hloli/-h(r)owi/-hrori-** (*to tell someone*) – is used for all three languages.

Each table is organized into four sections, each section representing possible combinations of actor (subject) and undergoer (object), and listing some of the variations, in terms of number and gender, within the combinations. Section 1 illustrates the prefixes used when both the actor and the undergoer are first or second person (for example, *I tell you, you tell me*); section 2 illustrates the prefixes used when the actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person (for example, *I tell him, you tell them*); section 3 illustrates the prefixes used when the actor is third person and the undergoer is first or second person (for example, *he tells me, they tell you*); and section 4 illustrates the prefixes used when both the actor and undergoer are third person (for example, *he tells her, she tells them*). This four-part organization represents only one of many possible ways of grouping the many variations of verb forms with interactive prefixes, and teachers are encouraged to experiment with other modes of organization that may be helpful for teaching purposes.

Table 13. Interactive pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Oneida

Notes

*The abbreviations used in the examples are: sg (singular), du (dual), and pl (plural).

**The third person singular undergoer can be masculine (him); feminine-indefinite (her or someone); or feminine-zoic (her), which is also used for neuter (it). The third person plural or nonsingular undergoer can be masculine (male persons), feminine (female persons), or a combination of these (a mixed group of both male and female persons). The term *nonsingular* refers to a category that includes both the dual and the plural.

*The indefinite pronominal prefix is translated into English as *someone*.

1. The actor is first person and the undergoer is second person, or vice versa

1 singular, dual, or plural actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

kuhlo:li [?] he	I tell you (sg)*
knihlo:li [?] he	I tell you (du), we (du) tell you (sg) or you (du)
kwahlo:li [?] he	I tell you (pl), we (du) tell you (pl), we (pl) tell you

2 singular, dual, or plural actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

skhlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell me
sknihlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell us (du), you (du) tell me or us (du)
skwahlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell us (pl), you (du) tell us (pl), you (pl) tell me or us

2. The actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person

1 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer**

khehlo:li [?] he	I tell her or them
lihlo:li [?] he	I tell him
khlo:li [?] he	I tell her (zoic) or it

1 exclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

yakhihlo:li [?] he	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
shaknihlo:li [?] he	we (du) tell him
shakwahlo:li [?] he	we (pl) tell him
yaknihlo:li [?] he	we (du) tell her (zoic) or it
yakwahlo:li [?] he	we all (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

1 inclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

yethihlo:li [?] he	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
ethnihlo:li [?] he	we (du) tell him
ethwahlo:li [?] he	we all (pl) tell him
tnihlo:li [?] he	we (du) tell her (zoic) or it
twahlo:li [?] he	we all (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

2 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

shehlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell her or them
etshlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell him
shlo:li [?] he	you (sg) tell her (zoic) or it

2 dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

yetshihlo:líhe [?]	you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
etsnihlo:líhe [?]	you (du) tell him
etswahlo:líhe [?]	you (pl) tell him
snihlo:líhe [?]	you (du) tell her (zoic) or it
swahlo:líhe [?]	you (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

3. The actor is third person and the undergoer is first or second person

3 masculine singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

lakhlo:líhe [?]	he tells me
shuknihlo:líhe [?]	he tells us (du)
shukwahlo:líhe [?]	he tells us (pl)

3 masculine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

yahlo:líhe [?]	he tells you (sg)
etsnihlo:líhe [?]	he tells you (du)
etswahlo:líhe [?]	he tells you (pl)

3 feminine-indefinite singular,⁺ or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

yukhlo:líhe [?]	she, someone, or they tell me
yukhihlo:líhe [?]	she, someone, or they tell us (du) or us (pl)

3 feminine-indefinite singular, or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

yesahlo:líhe [?]	she, someone, or they tell you (sg)
yetshihlo:líhe [?]	she, someone, or they tell you (du) or you (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

wakhlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells me
yuknihlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells us (du)
yukwahlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells us (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

sahlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells you (sg)
snihlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells you (du)
swahlo:líhe [?]	she (zoic) tells you (pl)

4. Both the actor and the undergoer are third person

3 masculine singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

shakohlo:líhe [?]	he tells her or them
lohlo:líhe [?]	he tells him
lahlo:líhe [?]	he tells her (zoic) or it

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

yakohlo:líhe [?]	she tells her or them
lohlo:líhe [?]	she tells him
yohlo:líhe [?]	she tells her (zoic) or it

*3 feminine-indefinite singular, or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor &
3 singular or nonsingular undergoer*

yutathlo:líhe [?]	she tells her or someone
luwahlo:líhe [?]	she or they tell him
kuwahlo:líhe [?]	she or they tell her (zoic) or it
shakotihlo:líhe [?]	they (males, or males and females) tell her or someone
yakotihlo:líhe [?]	they (females) tell her or someone
luwatihlo:líhe [?]	they tell them (males, or males and females)
kuwatihlo:líhe [?]	they tell them (females)

Table 14. Interactive pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Cayuga

Notes

*The abbreviations used in the examples are: sg (singular), du (dual), and pl (plural).

**The third person singular undergoer can be masculine (him), feminine (her), or neuter (it). The third person plural undergoer can be masculine (male persons), feminine (female persons), a combination of these (a mixed group of male and female persons), or neuter when the reference is to things or animals. The term *nonsingular* refers to a category that could be dual or plural.

1. The actor is first person and the undergoer is second person, or vice versa
1 singular, dual, or plural actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

gq́hó:wihs	I tell you (sg)*
knihó:wihs	I tell you (du), we (du) tell you (sg) or you (du)
gwahó:wihs	I tell you (pl), we (du) tell you (pl), we (pl) tell you

2 singular, dual, or plural actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

skró:wihs	you (sg) tell me
sknihó:wihs	you (sg) tell us (du), you (du) tell me or us (du)
sgwahó:wihs	you (sg) tell us (pl), you (du) tell us (pl), you (pl) tell me or us

2. The actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person
*1 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer***

kehó:wihs	I tell her
hehó:wihs	I tell him
kró:wihs	I tell it
gakehó:wihs	I tell them

1 exclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

akihó:wihs	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
shaknihó:wihs	we (du) tell him
shagwahó:wihs	we (pl) tell him
aknihó:wihs	we (du) tell it
agwahó:wihs	we (pl) tell it

1 inclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

eti ^h ó:wihs	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
shet ⁿ i ^h ó:wihs	we (du) tell him
shed ^w ahó:wihs	we all (pl) tell him
kni ^h ó:wihs	we (du) tell it
dwahó:wihs	we all (pl) tell it

2 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

she ^h ó:wihs	you (sg) tell her
hehs ^r ó:wihs	you (sg) tell him
shró:wihs	you (sg) tell it
gashe ^h ó:wihs	you (sg) tell them

2 dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

etsi ^h ó:wihs	you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
shes ⁿ i ^h ó:wihs	you (du) tell him
shes ^w ahó:wihs	you (pl) tell him
sn ⁱ hó:wihs	you (du) tell it
swahó:wihs	you (pl) tell her or it

3. The actor is third person and the undergoer is first or second person

3 masculine singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

hakró:wihs	he tells me
sh ^o kni ^h ó:wihs	he tells us (du)
sh ^o gwahó:wihs	he tells us (pl)

3 masculine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

hyahó:wihs	he tells you (sg)
shes ⁿ i ^h ó:wihs	he tells you (du)
shes ^w ahó:wihs	he tells you (pl)

3 feminine singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

q ^k ró:wihs	she tells me
q ^k i ^h ó:wihs	she tells us (du) or us (pl)

3 feminine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

esahó:wihs	she tells you (sg)
etsi ^h ó:wihs	she tells you (du) or you (pl)

3 neuter singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

akró:wihs	it tells me
q ^k kni ^h ó:wihs	it tells us (du)
q ^g wahó:wihs	it tells us (pl)

3 neuter singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

sahó:wihs	it tells you (sg)
sn ⁱ hó:wihs	it tells you (du)
swahó:wihs	it tells you (pl)

*3 masculine, feminine, or neuter nonsingular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural
undergoer*

gaḳkró:wihs	they tell me
ḳkihó:wihs	they tell us (du) or us (pl)

*3 masculine, feminine, or neuter nonsingular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural
undergoer*

gaesahó:wihs	they tell you (sg)
etshihó:wihs	they tell you (du) or you (pl)

4. Both the actor and the undergoer are third person

3 masculine singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

shagohó:wihs	he tells her or them (females, or males and females)
hḳwahó:wihs	he tells him
hahó:wihs	he tells it
hḳwadihó:wihs	he tells them (males)

3 feminine singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

ḳda:tró:wihs	she tells her
hḳwa:hó:wihs	she tells him
gaḳdatró:wihs	she tells them (females, or males and females)
hḳwadihó:wihs	she tells them (males)

3 neuter singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

gohó:wihs	it tells her
hohó:wihs	it tells him
ohó:wihs	it tells it
godihó:wihs	it tells them (females, or males and females)
hodihó:wihs	it tells them (males)
odihó:wihs	it tells them (animals)

*3 masculine, feminine, or neuter nonsingular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular
undergoer*

hḳwadihó:wihs	they tell him or them (males)
sagodiḳhó:wihs	they (males) tell her or them (females, or males and females)
gaḳdatró:wihs	they (females) tell her or them (females, or males and females)

Table 15. Interactive pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Mohawk

Notes

*The abbreviations used in the examples are: sg (singular), du (dual), and pl (plural).

** The third person singular undergoer can be masculine (him), feminine-indefinite (her or someone), feminine-zoic (her), which is also used for neuter (it). The third person plural undergoer can be masculine (male persons), feminine (female persons), or a combination of these (a mixed group of male and female persons). The term *nonsingular* refers to a category that includes both the dual and the plural.

+ The indefinite pronominal prefix is translated into English as *someone*.

1. The actor is first person and the undergoer is second person, or vice versa
1 singular, dual, or plural actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

konhró:ris	I tell you (sg)*
kenihró:ris	I tell you (du), we (du) tell you (sg) or you (du)
kwahró:ris	I tell you (pl), we (du) tell you (pl), we (pl) tell you

2 singular, dual, or plural actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

takhró:ris	you (sg) tell me
takenihró:ris	you (sg) tell us (du), you (du) tell me or us (du)
takwahró:ris	you (sg) tell us (pl), you (du) tell us (pl), you (pl) tell me or us

2. The actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person

1 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer**

khehró:ris	I tell her or them
rihró:ris	I tell him
khró:ris	I tell her (zoic) or it

1 exclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

iakhihró:ris	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
shakenihró:ris	we (du) tell him
shakwahró:ris	we (pl) tell him
iakenihró:ris	we (du) tell her (zoic) or it
iakwahró:ris	we (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

1 inclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

iethihró:ris	we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
tshitenihró:ris	we (du) tell him
tshitewahró:ris	we all (pl) tell him
tenihró:ris	we (du) tell her (zoic) or it
tewahró:ris	we all (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

2 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

shehró:ris	you (sg) tell her or them
etshró:ris	you (sg) tell him
shró:ris	you (sg) tell her (zoic) or it

2 dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

ietshiró:ris	you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
tshiseniró:ris	you (du) tell him
tshisewahró:ris	you (pl) tell him
seniró:ris	you (du) tell her (zoic) or it
sewahró:ris	you (pl) tell her (zoic) or it

3. The actor is third person and the undergoer is first or second person

3 masculine singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

rakhró:ris	he tells me
shonkeniró:ris	he tells us (du)
shonkwahró:ris	he tells us (pl)

3 masculine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

iahró:ris	he tells you (sg)
tshiseniró:ris	he tells you (du)
tshisewahró:ris	he tells you (pl)

3 feminine-indefinite singular,⁺ or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

ionkhró:ris	she, someone, or they tell me
ionkhiró:ris	she, someone, or they tell us (du) or us (pl)

3 feminine-indefinite singular, or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

iesahró:ris	she, someone, or they tell you (sg)
ietshiró:ris	she, someone, or they tell you (du) or you (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

wakhró:ris	she (zoic) tells me
ionkeniró:ris	she (zoic) tells us (du)
ionkwahró:ris	she (zoic) tells us (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

sahró:ris	she (zoic) tells you (sg)
seniró:ris	she (zoic) tells you (du)
sewahró:ris	she (zoic) tells you (pl)

4. Both the actor and the undergoer are third person

3 masculine singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

shakhró:ris	he tells her or them
rohró:ris	he tells him
rahró:ris	he tells her (zoic) or it

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

iakhró:ris	she tells her or them
rowahró:ris	she tells him
iohró:ris	she tells her (zoic) or it

*3 feminine-indefinite singular, or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor &
3 singular or nonsingular undergoer*

iontathró:ris	she tells her or someone
ronwahró:ris	she or they tell him
konwahró:ris	she or they tell her (zoic) or it
shakotihró:ris	they (males, or males and females) tell her or someone
iakotihró:ris	they (females) tell her or someone
ronwatihró:ris	they tell them (males)
konwatihró:ris	they tell them (females)

6

NON-MODAL PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The non-modal prepronominal prefixes modify the basic meaning of the verb in various ways. Their forms and functions are described below.

6.1

The Dualic

The basic meaning conveyed by the *dualic prepronominal prefix* is *two*. This meaning is especially clear in verbs that involve numbers or quantities, such as the counting verbs in the first two examples in each language. The idea of *two* is also implicit in verbs that involve two objects (especially body parts that come in pairs), a change in position or location (something is moved from one place to another), or a change of state (something changes, or is changed from one state to another). Verbs whose inherent meaning involves the idea of *two* always occur with the dualic prepronominal prefix – that is, they do not have a basic verb form without the dualic prepronominal prefix.

○	tekahwístake	two dollars (<i>literally</i> the dollars number two)
	tew^Λhnislá:ké	two days (<i>literally</i> the days number two)
	teyusháthos	she is crying (<i>literally</i> she is crying with two [eyes])
	t^Λhahsútél^Λ ⁷	he will connect (<i>literally</i> he will join one thing to another)
	wá:tkehkwé ⁷	I picked it up (<i>literally</i> I picked it up by moving it from there to here)
	t^Λkte:ní:	I will change it (<i>literally</i> I will change something from one state to another)
	teyohlí:u	it got broken, it is broken (<i>literally</i> it has changed from one state to another by breaking)

C	degahwīhsdǎ:ge:	two dollars (<i>literally</i> the dollars number two)
	dewēhñhsrá:ge:	two days (<i>literally</i> the days number two)
	deyóhsētwaḥs	she is crying (<i>literally</i> she is crying with two [eyes])
	dēháhsōdrē	he will connect (<i>literally</i> he will join one thing to another)
	atgehk	I picked it up (<i>literally</i> I picked it up by moving it from there to here)
	dēkdé:ni	I will change it (<i>literally</i> I will change something from one state to another)
	deyóhi'qh	it got broken, it is broken (<i>literally</i> it has changed from one state to another by breaking)
M	tekahwístake	two dollars (<i>literally</i> the dollars number two)
	tewēhñiserá:ke	two days (<i>literally</i> the days number two)
	teionshénthos	she is crying (<i>literally</i> she is crying with two [eyes])
	tenhahsónteren	he will connect (<i>literally</i> he will join one thing to another)
	wà:tkēhkwe	I picked it up (<i>literally</i> I picked it up by moving it from there to here)
	tenkté:ni	I will change it (<i>literally</i> I will change something from one state to another)
	teiohri:'on	it got broken, it is broken (<i>literally</i> it has changed from one state to another by breaking)

In many cases, however, the meaning expressed by the dualic prepronominal prefix is difficult to identify; most verbs that occur with the dualic prefix simply require the prefix:

O	tewakatuhutsyo:ní	I want it
	or tewakatuhwǎtsyo:ní	
	wa'tkawǎli?	I stirred it
	tekawe'ésa?	I am piercing it, I am pricking it
C	dewagadqḥwējó:nih	
	atgáwēnye;	
	degá ehsta	
M	tewakatonhwentsió:ni	
	wa'tkawénrie	
	tekawe'éhstha	

Some verbs occur both with and without the dualic prefix. In these cases, the meaning of the verb that has the dualic prefix is related to the meaning of the verb without the prefix, but the precise meaning that is added by the dualic prefix is

difficult to pinpoint. Four pairs of examples are given for each language below. In each pair, the first example is a verb without the dualic prefix; the second example is the same verb with the dualic prefix.

O	wa [?] któ:lalake [?] wa [?] tektó:lalake [?]	I pressed down on it I squeezed, I squished it
	waha:yá:ke [?] wa [?] tha:yá:ke [?]	he cut (off a piece), he severed it he cut it, he broke it
	wa [?] utu:kóhte [?] wa [?] tyutu:kóhte [?]	she passed by, she continued on she passed (a grade at school), she went through
	wahati:yá: wa [?] thati:yá:	they put it down, they laid it down they gambled, they bet on the outcome
C	akdóha:k atkdóha:k	I pressed down on it I squeezed, I squished it
	ahá:ya [?] k atá:ya [?] k	he cut (off a piece), he severed it he cut it, he broke it
	a [?] q̣:dó:goht agyq̣:dó:goht	she passed by, she continued on she passed (a grade at school), she went through
	aha:dí:yē [?] ata:dí:yē:	they put it down, they laid it down they gambled, they bet on the outcome
M	wa'ktò:rarake wa'tektò:rarake	I pressed down on it I squeezed, I squished it
	wahà:ia'ke wa'thà:ia'ke	he cut (off a piece), he severed it he cut it, he broke it
	wa'ontóhetste wa'tiontóhetste	she passed by, she continued on she passed (a grade at school), she went through
	wahatí:ien wa'thatí:ien	they put it down, they laid it down they gambled, they bet on the outcome

Moreover, no discernible pattern emerges when one examines the verbs that require the dualic prepronominal prefix. The lack of an underlying pattern is compounded in cases where there are two different verbs with similar meanings,

only one of which requires the dualic prefix, as shown in the examples below. The first verb in each language, which does not have the dualic prefix, suggests physical suffering, pain, or hardship; the second, which has the dualic prefix, suggests this same meaning but also includes the idea of mental suffering.

O	loluhya:ká	he is suffering (physically)
	tehotunhukáli	he is suffering (physically and mentally)
C	háq:hyagə:	
	dehodehóganyəh	
M	roronhiá:ken	
	tehotonhakárien	

The lack of an underlying pattern is further demonstrated by differences in the three languages, as shown in the verb form below. The verb meaning *to be bitter* is the same in Oneida and Mohawk, but the dualic prefix occurs only in Oneida. The verb has a different stem in Cayuga, and it does require the dualic prefix.

O	teyotska:láht	it is bitter
C	deyosgá:nye's	
M	iotskà:ra	

The dualic prepronominal prefix is **te-** or **t-** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **de-**, **d-**, **t-**, or **g-** in Cayuga. Note that the dualic prepronominal prefix comes *before* the future mode prefix **ʌ-/ɛ-/en-**, but *after* the factual mode prefix **wa'-/a-/wa'-**.

6.2 The Cislocative

With verbs that involve motion in a certain direction, the *cislocative prepronominal prefix* is used to indicate direction towards a point of reference, usually the speaker. The basic meaning conveyed by the cislocative prepronominal prefix, then, is *this way*, *here*, or more precisely, the now rarely used *hither*. Three pairs of examples are given for each language below; in each pair, the basic verb form is given first, followed by the verb form with the cislocative prepronominal prefix.

O	wahaláth ^ʌ	he climbed
	tahaláth ^ʌ	he climbed this way (towards me)
	ʌhatiya:ká ^{ne}	they will go out
	ʌthatiya:ká ^{ne}	they will come out this way
	satkátho	Look!
	tasatkátho	Look here, this way!

C	ahá:tə́	he climbed
	dahá:tə́	he climbed this way (towards me)
	əhadiyá:gə́	they will go out
	ətadiyá:gə́	they will come out this way
	satgáhtoh	Look!
	dasátgahtoh	Look here, this way!
M	waharáthen	he climbed
	taharáthen	he climbed this way (towards me)
	enhatiiá:ken'ne	they will go out
	enthatiá:ken'ne	they will come out this way
	satkáhtho	Look!
	tasatkáhtho	Look here, this way!

In some cases, the addition of the cislocative prefix to a verb results in a change of meaning, although the meaning may still include the idea of *motion towards* the speaker (*this way*). The verb in the example below may also occur with the translocative prefix (section 6.3).

O	waho:tí:	he lost it, he left it there
	taho:tí:	he threw it this way
C	ahó:dí	he lost it, he threw it away
	dahó:dí	he threw it this way
M	wahó:ti	he lost it, he left it there
	tahó:ti	he threw it this way

The cislocative prefix can occur together with the dualic prefix if the verb is one that requires the dualic prefix (section 6.1). The first verb in each pair of examples below has the dualic prefix; the second verb has both the dualic and cislocative prefixes.

O	waʔthaláhtateʔ	he ran
	tutahaláhtateʔ	he ran this way
C	até:da:t	
	dədahé:da:t	
M	wa'tharáhtate	
	tontaharáhtate	

Verbs whose inherent meaning involves motion in a direction always occur with the cislocative (or the translocative) prefix – in other words, they do not have a basic verb form without a prepronominal prefix.

O	tahutáyahte [?]	they came in, they entered
	tahá:leke [?]	he pushed it this way
	tashakotényehte [?]	he sent her or them this way
	takatwánátane [?]	I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)
C	daha:dí:yə [?]	they came in, they entered
	daháhe:k	he pushed it this way
	dashagodé:nyeht	he sent her or them this way
	dagadwəŋó:da:	I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)
M	tahontáweia'te	they came in, they entered
	tahà:reke	he pushed it this way
	tahshakoténiehte	he sent her or them this way
	takatewennáta	I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)

With verbs that do not involve movement in a direction, the cislocative prefix indicates location. Again, three sets of examples are given for each language; the first example in each set is the basic verb form.

O	yenákele [?]	she lives, she resides
	tyenákele [?]	she lives there, she resides there
	loyo:té:	he is working
	thoyo:té:	he is working there
	ʌhuto:láte [?]	they will hunt
	ʌthuto:láte [?]	they will hunt there
C	ená:gre [?]	she lives, she resides
	gyená:gre [?]	she lives there, she resides there
	hóihə [?] de [?]	he is working
	tóihə de	he is working there
	əhənadó:wa:t	they will hunt
	ətənadó:wa:t	they will hunt there

M	ienákere tienákere	she lives, she resides she lives there, she resides there
	roió'te thoió'te	he is working he is working there
	enhontó:rate enthontó:rate	they will hunt they will hunt there

With adjectival verbs (section 7.8), the cislocative indicates the superlative degree. Two sets of examples are given for each language. In each set, the first example is the basic adjectival verb form; the second is the verb form with the cislocative prefix. (See also section 7.11.)

O	kano:lú: né: tkano:lú:	it is expensive it is the most expensive one
	watye:sá: né: twatye:sá:	it is cheap it is the cheapest one
C	gaŋo: ^ˈ né: ˈgaŋo:hə: ɛ́h tgaŋo: ^ˈ	it is expensive it is the most expensive one
	wagyé:səh né: ˈgaŋo:hə: ɛ́h dwagyé:səh	it is cheap it is the cheapest one
M	kanó:ron nè:'e tiaonhà:'a tkanó:ron	it is expensive it is the most expensive one
	watié:sen nè:'e tiaonhà:'a tewatié:sen	it is cheap or easy it is the cheapest one

The basic form of the cislocative prepronominal prefix is **t-** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **t-**, **d-**, or **g-** in Cayuga.

6.3 The Translocative

With verbs involving motion in a certain direction, the *translocative prepronominal prefix* is used to indicate motion away from a point of reference, usually the speaker. The basic meaning conveyed by the translocative prepronominal prefix, then, is *that way*, *over there*, or the now rarely used *thither*.

Three pairs of examples are given for each language. The first example in each pair is the basic verb form; the second is the verb form with the translocative prefix.

O	wahaláth _Λ [?]	he climbed
	yahaláth _Λ [?]	he climbed that way (away from me)
	Λhatiya:k _Λ ne [?]	they will go out
	yΛhatiya:k _Λ ne [?]	they will go out that way
	satkátho	Look!
	ya [?] satkátho	Look there, that way!
C	ahá:tē [?]	he climbed
	hahá:tē [?]	he climbed that way (away from me)
	ɛhadiyá:gē [?]	they will go out
	hɛhadiyá:gē [?]	they will go out that way
	satgáhtoh	Look!
	ha [?] sátgahtoh	Look there, that way!
M	waharáthen	he climbed
	iaharáthen	he climbed that way (away from me)
	enhatiiá:ken'ne	they will go out
	ienhatiiá:ken'ne	they will go out that way
	satkátho	Look!
	ia'satkátho	Look there, that way!

In some cases, the addition of the translocative prefix to a verb results in a change of meaning, although the meaning may still include the idea of motion *away from* a reference point (*that way*). The verb in the example below also occurs with the cislocative prefix (section 6.2).

O	waho:tí:	he lost it, he left it there
	yaho:tí:	he threw it that way
C	ahó:di [?]	he lost it, he threw it away
	ha [?] hó:di [?]	he threw it that way
M	wahó:ti	he lost it, he left it there
	iahó:ti	he threw it that way

Verbs whose inherent meaning involves motion in a direction always occur with the translocative (or the cislocative) prefix – in other words, they do not have a basic verb form without a prepronominal prefix.

O	yahutáyahte[?] yahá:leke[?] ya[?]shakotényehte[?] ya[?]katwánátane[?]	they went in he pushed it that way he sent her away I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)
C	ha[?]ha:dí:yə[?] ha[?]háhe:k ha[?]shagodé:nyeht ha gadwəŋə́:da:	they went in he pushed it that way he sent her away I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)
M	iahontáweia'te iahà:reke ia'shakoténiehte ia'katewennáta	they went in he pushed it that way he sent her away I telephoned (<i>literally</i> I put my voice into it)

With verbs that do not involve movement in a direction, the translocative prefix indicates a remote location. Again, the first example in each pair is the basic verb form.

O	yenákele[?] yeyenákele[?]	she lives, she resides she lives over there, she resides over there
	loyo:té: yehoyo:té:	he is working he is working over there
	ʌhuto:láte[?] yʌhuto:láte[?]	they will hunt they will hunt over there
C	ená:gre[?] heyénagre[?]	she lives, she resides she lives over there, she resides over there
	hóihə́ de[?] hehoihó de[?]	he is working he is working over there
	əhənadó:wa:t həhənadó:wa:t	they will hunt they will hunt over there

M	ienákere ie ienákere	she lives, she resides she lives over there, she resides over there
	roió'te ie hoiό'te	he is working he is working over there
	enhontó:rate ie nhontó:rate	they will hunt they will hunt over there

The translocative prefix can occur together with the dualic prefix if the verb is one that requires the dualic prefix. The dualic prefix occurs in the first example given for each language, and both the translocative and dualic prefixes occur in the second example.

O	wa [?] thaláhtate [?] ya [?] thaláhtate [?]	he ran he ran that way
C	atáwəhda:t ha táwəhda:t	
M	wa 'tharáhtate ia 'tharáhtate	

The basic form of the translocative prepronominal prefix is **y-** in Oneida, **i-** in Mohawk, and **h-** in Cayuga.

6.4 The Repetitive

The *repetitive prepronominal prefix* indicates either that the action is repeated or that it takes place just once but restores the situation to a previously existing (or the usual) state of affairs. The basic meaning conveyed by the repetitive prepronominal prefix is *again*. The first example in each set of two is the basic verb form.

O	wa [?] ketshλ:lí: sak etshλ:lí:	I found it I found it again
	λkathlo:lí: λsk athlo:lí:	I will tell about it I will tell about it again
	wa [?] káti [?] sak áti [?]	I sat down I sat down again

C	age:tsáɛ' or age:tsɛi'	I found it
	sage:tsáɛ' or sage:tsɛi'	I found it again
	ɛga:tró:wi' , ɛsga:tró:wi'	I will tell about it I will tell about it again
M	agá:gyɛ' , sagá:gyɛ'	I sat down I sat down again
	wa'ketshén:ri saketshén:ri	I found it I found it again
	enkathró:ri enskathró:ri	I will tell about it I will tell about it again
	wa'kátien sakátien	I sat down I sat down again

It should be noted that the meaning of the repetitive prefix does not always entail repetition of the action as implied by the English translation *again*. The verbs in the following examples usually occur with the repetitive prefix, but the action described may have occurred only once.

O	suke'nikúlha'?	I forgot
	sakehyá:lane'?	I remembered, I recalled
C	sɔknigóhɛ' , sɔgáhsha:	
M	sonke'nikónrhen sakehià:ra'ne	

When added to the verb **-w-/yɔ-**,⁵ meaning *to arrive*, or the verb **-ahtɔti-/ahdɛdi-/ahtenti-**, meaning *to leave, set out*, the repetitive prefix conveys the meaning *to arrive home* or *to leave for home*:

O	wá:kewe'?	I arrived
	sá:kewe'?	I arrived again, I arrived home
	wa' uhtɔ:ti:	she left, she went away
	sayuhtɔ:ti:	she left again, she left to go home

5. Slashes are used to separate forms that differ in two (or all three) languages. When two forms are given, the first form refers to Oneida *and* Mohawk, and the second to Cayuga. When only one form is given – as in the case of the counting verb **-t** in the paragraph that follows – the form is the same in all three languages.

C	agyq̣', sagyq̣'	I arrived I arrived again, I arrived home
	a'q̣hdé:di', saq̣hdé:di'	she left, she went away she left again, she left to go home
M	wà:kewe sà:kewe	I arrived I arrived again, I arrived home
	wa'onhtén:ti saionhtén:ti	she left, she went away she left again, she left to go home

With some verbs, the repetitive prepronominal prefix has the meaning *one*. This meaning is especially clear when the repetitive occurs with verbs involving numbers or quantities, such as the counting verb **-t**. In Mohawk, the **-t** has been lost over time and does not appear in the examples, giving the impression that there is no verb stem; however, the mechanism of incorporation functions in the same way in Mohawk as in the other two languages.

O	skahwístat	one dollar (<i>literally</i> the dollar numbers one)
	swahníslat	one day (<i>literally</i> the day numbers one)
C	sgahwíhsda:t swəhnihsra:t	
M	skahwíhsta sewenhnísera	

The meaning *one* was probably the original meaning of the repetitive prepronominal prefix, and one can see how the meaning developed from *exactly one* to *once, back to the previous situation*, and then to *once again, again*.

The repetitive prefix can occur together with the dualic prefix if the verb is one that requires the dualic prefix. The dualic prefix occurs in the first example given for each language, and both the dualic and repetitive prefixes occur in the second example.

O	wa'ʔkatkalhate:ní: tusakatkalhate:ní:	I turned around I turned around again
C	atgatgaha:dé:ni' dqsagatgahadé:ni'	
M	wa'tkatkarhaté:ni tonsakatkarhaté:ni	

The basic form of the repetitive prepronominal prefix is **s-** in all three languages. Note that the repetitive prefix comes *after* the future mode prefix **ʌ-/-e-/-en-** and *before* the factual mode prefix **a-**.

The *negative prepronominal prefix* is used to express negation. A verb with the negative prefix is always preceded by the negative particle **yáh** in Oneida, and **iáh** in Mohawk. In Cayuga, the negative particle **te** can sometimes be omitted. Four pairs of examples are given for each language; the second example in each pair has the negative prepronominal prefix.

O	kano:lú:	it is expensive
	yáh te [?] kano:lú:	it is not expensive
	kahlúkha [?]	I know (speak and understand) the language
	yáh te [?] kahlúkha [?]	I do not know the language
	lothu:té:	he hears
	yáh te hothu:té:	he does not hear
	wakanúhte [?]	I know
	yáh te [?] wakanúhte [?]	I do not know
	ga:nə́:	it is expensive
	(tə́) de gá:nə́:	it is not expensive
	gə́hə́:ka'	I know (speak and understand) the language
	(tə́) de gáhə́:ka'	I do not know the language
C	hoťə́:de'	he hears
	(tə́) de ho:ťə́:de'	he does not hear
	agə́nə́hdə́:	I know
	(tə́) d eagənə́hdə́:	I do not know
	kanó:ron	it is expensive
	iáh te kanó:ron	it is not expensive
	kahrónkha	I know (speak and understand) the language
	iáh te kahrónkha	I do not know the language
	rothón:te	he hears
	iáh te hothón:te	he does not hear
	wakaterién:tere	I know
	iáh te wakaterién:tere	I do not know
M		

The negative prefix, used together with the repetitive prefix (section 6.4), conveys the meaning *not anymore*:

O	iah tho té:tsyot	it's not that way anymore
C	tẹ́ de:joht or tẹ́ te joht	
M	iah tétsiot	

The negative prepronominal prefix is **te**[?]- or **te**- in Oneida, **d`e**- or **dẹ**- in Cayuga, and **te**- in Mohawk. The negative prefix does not occur in combination with the future, factual, or optative modal prefixes, nor with the dualic or translocative prefixes. When the verb requires one of these prefixes, the negative prepronominal prefix is replaced by the *contrastive prepronominal prefix* (see the section that follows).

6.6 The Contrastive

The *contrastive prepronominal prefix* is used to express the idea of contrast or difference. The basic meaning of the prefix is *different*. The examples below are forms of the verb *to be different*, which always has the contrastive prefix.

O	thika:té:	it is different (it is a different one)
C	tigá:de ^ʔ	
M	thiká:te	

The ideas of contrast and negation are not unrelated, and the contrastive prepronominal prefix is mostly used to express negation. (The relationship between the two ideas is easily seen in the following related but contrasting statements: *This I can do; this, on the other hand, I cannot do.*)

The contrastive prepronominal prefix is used in place of the negative prepronominal prefix when the verb form also has a modal (factual, future, or optative) prepronominal prefix, or when the verb form also has the dualic prepronominal prefix. The first two examples for each language have the factual modal prefix (which is regularly replaced by the optative in the negative form), and the second two have the dualic prepronominal prefix.

O	wahakwe:ní:	he is able to do it
	yáh thahakwe:ní:	he is not able to do it
	tewakatuhutsyo:ní	I want (it)
	or tewakatuhwatsyo:ní	
	yáh tha ^ʔ tewakatuhutsyo:ní	I do not want (it)
	or yáh tha ^ʔ tewakatuhwatsyo:ní	

C	aha:gwé:ni'	he is able to do it
	ta:hagwé:nih	he is not able to do it
	dewagadqhwéjónih	I want (it)
	ta'dewagadqhwéjónih	I do not want (it)
M	wahakwé:ni	he is able to do it
	iáh th ahakwé:ni	he is not able to do it
	tewakatonhwentsió:ni	I want (it)
	iáh th a'tewakatonhwentsió:ni	I do not want (it)

The basic form of the contrastive prepronominal prefix is **th-** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **t-** in Cayuga.

6.7 The Partitive

The *partitive prepronominal prefix* is used to indicate manner or extent. A verb form with the partitive prefix describes the manner in which an action is carried out or the extent or degree to which the condition or state described by the verb holds true (e.g., *it is really expensive*). Four pairs of examples are given for each language; the second example in each pair shows the verb form with the partitive prepronominal prefix.

O	akáhsehte [?]	I will hide it
	nakáhsehte [?]	(this is) how I will hide it, (this is) where I will hide it
	wahatshanu:ní:	he became happy
	nahatshanu:ní:	he became very happy
	latinákele [?]	they live, they reside
	nihatínákele [?]	(this is) how they live, (this is) where they reside
	kano:lú:	it is expensive
	nikano:lú:	it is really expensive

C	ɛ́gáhseht nɛ́gáhseht	I will hide it (this is) how I will hide it, (this is) where I will hide it
	ahatsɛ́nó:ni' nahatsɛ́nó:ni'	he became happy he became very happy
	hadínagre' nihadíná:gre'	they live, they reside (this is) how they live, (this is) where they reside
	ga:nɔ́: nígá:nɔ́:	it is expensive it is really expensive
M	enkáhsehte nenkáhsehte	I will hide it (this is) how I will hide it, (this is) where I will hide it
	wahatshennón:ni nahatshennón:ni	he became happy he became very happy
	ratínákere nihatinákere	they live, they reside (this is) how they live, (this is) where they reside
	kanó:ron nikanó:ron	it is expensive it is really expensive

Verbs whose inherent meaning involves reference to the manner in which the action is carried out always have the partitive prepronominal prefix. The verbs *to do* and *to be a particular kind*, both of which contain reference to a manner of doing in the Iroquoian languages, are two examples of such verbs. The latter verb also requires an incorporated noun; in the example below, the noun *colour* has been incorporated into the verb.

O	Náhte [?] nihsatyél [?] ha [?] . Oh niwahsohkó:ta.	What do you do? What colour is it? (<i>literally</i> What kind of colour is it?)
C	Dɛ́ ho' dɛ́' niságyeha'. Dɛ́ ho' dɛ́' niyohsohgó' dɛ́:.	
M	Oh nihsatiérha. Oh niwahsohkò:ten.	

The partitive prepronominal prefix is also used in questions involving quantity or amount.

O	Tó: nikano: lú.	How much does it cost?
	Tó: na' tesohsliyá:ku.	How old are you? (<i>literally</i> How many winters have you crossed?)
	Tó: niyohwistá: e.	What time is it? (<i>literally</i> How many times was the metal struck?)
C	Do: nigá: nq:'	How much does it cost?
	Dó: nisohsriyá gq̃h.	How old are you? (<i>literally</i> How many winters have you crossed?)
	Dó: niyohwihsdá' e:.	What time is it? (<i>literally</i> How many times was the metal struck?)
M	Tó: nikanó: ron.	How much does it cost?
	Tó: na' tesohseriia:kon.	How old are you? (<i>literally</i> How many winters have you crossed?)
	Tó: niiohwistà: 'e.	What time is it? (<i>literally</i> How many times was the metal struck?)

The use of the partitive with verbs that involve quantity is further illustrated by the following examples, in which the partitive prefix occurs with the counting verb **-ake/-age**.

O	wisk nikahwístake	five dollars (<i>literally</i> five the dollars are so in number)
	oye:lí: niwahnisla:ké	ten days (<i>literally</i> ten the days are so in number)
C	hwíhs nigahwihsdá:ge:	
	wahshé: niwəhnihsrá:ge:	
M	wisk nikahwístake	
	oié:ri niwenhniserá:ke	

The partitive pronominal prefix can also indicate an unspecified amount. In the examples below, the same verb forms are used as in the preceding examples, but here they occur with the particle for *several* instead of a number.

O	tóhka' niwahnisla:ké	several days
C	do:gwá' niwəhnihsrá:ge:	
M	tóhka' niwenhniserá:ke	

The basic form of the partitive prefix is **ni-** or **n-** in all three languages.

The Coincident

The basic idea conveyed by the *coincident prepronominal prefix* is that of sameness. In contexts in which the focus is on the time of the action, the coincident is used to indicate simultaneous occurrence – the idea that an event takes place *at the same time* as another event. The verb forms in the last examples given for Oneida and Mohawk require the dualic prepronominal prefix, while the verb form in the last example given for Cayuga requires the partitive prefix without the coincident prefix. The first example in each pair of examples is the basic verb form.

O	wa [?] kahta:tí: tsha[?] kahta:tí:	I left, I set out at the time I left, at the time I set out (something occurred at the time I left)
	keksáh tshi keksáh	I am a child when I was a child (something occurred when I was a child)
	yakúnhe [?] tshi yakúnhe [?]	she is alive when she lived (something occurred when she lived)
	tewakohsliyá:ku tsha[?] tewakohsliyá:ku	my age (<i>literally</i> it is my age) when I was that age (something occurred when I was that age)
C	aga ^h hdé:di' t sa ^h ga ^h hdé:di'	I left, I set out at the time I left, at the time I set out (something occurred at the time I left)
	geksá: ah ^h t si ^h geksá: ah ^h	I am a child when I was a child (something occurred when I was a child)
	agó:nhe' t si ^h yágonhe'	she is alive when she lived (something occurred when she lived)
	niwagohsríy'agoh t si ^h wagohsríy'agoh	my age (<i>literally</i> it is my age) when I was that age (something occurred when I was that age)

M	wa'kahtén:ti sha' kahtén:ti	I left, I set out at the time I left, at the time I set out (something occurred at the time I left)
	keksà:'a tshi keksà:'a	I am a child when I was a child (something occurred when I was a child)
	iakónnhe tshi iakónnhe	she is alive when she lived (something occurred when she lived)
	tewakohseriià:kon sha' tewakohseriià:kon	my age (<i>literally</i> it is my age) when I was that age (something occurred when I was that age)

The coincident prefix also appears on verbs whose basic meaning focuses on the idea of sameness, such as the verb form meaning *to be the same*.

O	né: tshá: kat	it is the same (as something else)
C	ne: tsa' ga:t	
M	ne shà: ka	

The idea of sameness is sometimes conveyed by a combination of the coincident and dualic prepronominal prefixes, as in the following two verb forms:

O	tsha' te:yót tsha' tétena' tsha' tehniya'tó:ta tsha' tewahsohkó:ta	it is the same you and I are the same size they look alike (<i>literally</i> they have the same kind of body) it is the same colour
C	tsa' dé:yoht tsa' dé:tna tsa' dehadiy'adó'dē: tsa' dey _o hsóhg'odē:	it is the same you and I are the same size they look alike (<i>literally</i> they have the same kind of body) it is the same colour
M	sha' té:io sha' tétena sha' tehniia'tò:ten sha' teiohsohkò:ten	it is the same you and I are the same size they look alike (<i>literally</i> they have the same kind of body) it is the same colour

The basic form of the coincident prepronominal prefix is **tsh-** or **tshi-** in Oneida, **ts-** or **ji-** in Cayuga, and **sh-** or **tshi-** in Mohawk.

7

NOUN INCORPORATION

7.1

Basic Patterns

In Iroquoian languages, a noun is often incorporated into a verb in order to convey some idea about the action described by the verb or the object designated by the noun. The resultant form is structurally a verb. The incorporated noun modifies the meaning of the verb and makes it more specific by relating the action of the verb exclusively to the object designated by the noun. For example, when the noun stem for *egg(s)* is incorporated into the verb *to buy*, the meaning of the verb is modified to mean *to buy eggs*.

O	o'nhúhsa' əyehni:nú: əye' nhuhs ahni:nú:	eggs she will buy (it) she will buy eggs
C	o'nhóhsa' əyehni:nó' əye' nhóhs ahni:nó'	
M	o'nhónhsa eniehni:non enie' nhónhs ahni:non	

In the above example, it is the action of the verb that has been made more specific by the incorporated noun. In other cases, noun incorporation takes place to make the description of the object designated by the noun more specific. In other words, the noun is incorporated into the verb to convey certain kinds of information about the object, such as its usual position, its location, its appearance or condition, its number, or the fact that it is possessed by someone. For example, to convey the idea that an object is good, the noun designating the object is incorporated into the verb *to be good*.

O	kákhwa' kakhwi:yó	food it is good food
C	gakwa' gakhwí:yo:	
M	kákhwa kakhwí:io	

There are two basic rules that govern noun incorporation. The first is that beings and objects affected by the action of the verb can be incorporated into the verb, but beings or objects that carry out or instigate the action of the verb cannot be incorporated. In simple grammatical terms, objects can be incorporated, but subjects cannot. Nouns that are incorporated into adjectival verbs (section 7.8) are considered objects affected by the verb because the description given by the adjectival verb applies to them and modifies them in some way. In other words, these incorporated noun roots are also objects of a sort.

The second rule is that unanalysable nouns cannot be incorporated.

7.2 Incorporation Into Active Verbs

In the following examples, a noun is incorporated into a verb in order to convey specific (and additional) information about the action of the verb. The first set of examples gives the basic noun forms, with a noun prefix and noun suffix (section 2.3); the second set of examples gives the basic verb forms; and the third set of examples gives the same verbs with the incorporated noun stems, which are given in bold.

O	o'wa:lú: ohnaná:ta' o'nhúhsa'	meat potato, potatoes egg(s)
C	o' wáħoh , ohón' ada , o nhóhsa	
M	o'wà:ronk ohnennà:ta o'nhónhsa	
O	wa'khni:nú: wa'kat'khni:nú: wa'kató:ktá' wa'kate'sku:tá':	I bought (it) I sold (it) I ran out (of it) I baked, roasted, or fried (it)
C	akní:nó' agadehni:nó' agád' okde' agad' esgó:dé'	I bought (it) I sold (it) I ran out (of it) I baked, roasted, or fried (it)
M	wa'khní:non wa'katenhni:non wa'katò:kten wa'kate'skón:ten	I bought (it) I sold (it) I ran out (of it) I baked, roasted, or fried (it)

O	wa'ke'w ^h ahlahni:nú:	I bought meat
	wa'k ^h hnana'tahni:nú:	I bought potatoes
	wa'ke'n ^h uhsahni:nú:	I bought eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahlahni:nú:	I sold meat
	wa'kath ^h nana'tahni:nú:	I sold potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h uhsahni:nú:	I sold eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahló:ktá'	I ran out of meat
	wa'kath ^h nahna'tó:ktá'	I ran out of potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h uhsó:ktá'	I ran out of eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahlu:tá:	I roasted or fried meat
	wa'kath ^h nana'tu:tá:	I roasted or fried potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h uhsu:tá:	I fried eggs
C	age'w ^h ahahní:nq'	I bought meat
	ak ^q on'adahni:nq'	I bought potatoes
	age'n ^h q ^h ohsahní:nq'	I bought eggs
	agad'ew ^h ahahní:nq'	I sold meat
	agat ^q ona'dahní:nq'	I sold potatoes
	agad'en ^h q ^h ohsahní:nq'	I sold eggs
	agad'ewáho'kde'	I ran out of meat
	agat ^q oná'd okde'	I ran out of potatoes
	agad'en ^h q ^h ohs okde'	I ran out of eggs
	agad'ewahó:dé'	I roasted or fried meat
	agat ^q ona'dó:dé'	I roasted or fried potatoes
	agad'en ^h q ^h ohsó:dé'	I fried eggs
M	wa'ke'w ^h ahrahní:non	I bought meat
	wa'k ^h hnenna'tahní:non	I bought potatoes
	wa'ke'n ^h onhsahní:non	I bought eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahrahní:non	I sold meat
	wa'kath ^h nenna'tahní:non	I sold potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h onhsahní:non	I sold eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahrò:kten	I ran out of meat
	wa'kath ^h nenna'tò:kten	I ran out of potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h onhsò:kten	I ran out of eggs
	wa'kate'w ^h ahrón:ten	I roasted or fried meat
	wa'kath ^h nenna'tón:ten	I roasted or fried potatoes
	wa'kate'n ^h onhsón:ten	I fried eggs

The incorporated noun stem appears before the verb stem. When a noun is incorporated into a C-stem verb, such as the verb **-hninu/- (h)ninq/-hninon-** (*to buy*), a vowel – usually *a* – separates the final consonant of the noun stem

from the first consonant of the C-stem verb. When a noun is incorporated into an a-stem verb that has the semireflexive (**-at-**, **-ate-**, or **-atΛ-** in Oneida, **-at-**, **-ate-**, or **-aten-** in Mohawk, and **-at-**, **-ad-**, or **-ade-** in Cayuga), such as the verb **-atΛhninu/-adehninɔ/-atenhninon** (*to sell*), **-ato'ktΛ/-adokde/-ato'kten-** (*to run out of*), or **-ate'skut/-ade'sgɔd/-ate'skont-** (*to bake, roast, or fry*), the noun stem occurs after the semireflexive and before the remainder of the verb stem.

Finally, note that when the verb **-ate'skut/-ade'sgɔd/-ate'skont-** (*to bake, roast, fry*) occurs without an incorporated noun, it includes the component **-'sk-/-'sg-/'sk-** after the semiflexive (**-ate-/-ade-**) and before the verb root (**-ut-/-od-/-ont-**). This component is called an *empty noun*. Empty nouns do not refer to specific objects, but are required by certain verbs when they occur without an incorporated noun. When the verb is used with an incorporated noun, the incorporated noun replaces the empty noun.

7.3 Incorporation Into Positional Verbs

Nouns are frequently incorporated into *positional verbs*, which specify the position in which the object designated by the noun is most often found. Three positional verbs that are common in all three Iroquoian languages are **-ot-/-od-** (*to be standing*), **-yΛ/-yɛ-** or **-ɛ-/-ien-** (*to be lying*), and **-hel-** or **-hl-/- (hr)e-** or **-(hr)ɛ-/-her-** or **-hr-** (*to be sitting on top of*). Since a verb that refers to the position of an object describes a state, the positional verb forms given below are in the stative aspect (section 5.6).

O	kanúhsote [?]	the house (<i>literally</i> the house is standing)
	kahyatúhslay [?]	the paper (<i>literally</i> the paper is lying)
	kana [?] tsyáhele [?]	the pail (<i>literally</i> the pail is sitting)
C	ganóhso:t gahyad [?] h [?] sráɛ ganá [?] jahe:	
M	kanónhsote kahiatonhserá:ien kana [?] tsiáhere	

Some nouns, especially those that describe features of the landscape and natural formations, almost always occur incorporated into a positional verb. (When these nouns are not incorporated into a positional verb, they occur with a locative suffix – see section 2.8.) In the following example, the noun stem **-hΛt-/-hed-/-hent-** (*field*) is incorporated into the positional verb **-yΛ/-yɛ-** or **-ɛ-/-ien-** (*to be lying*).

O	kahΛ:táy [?]	a field, a meadow (<i>literally</i> a field or meadow is lying)
C	gahédaɛ [?]	
M	kahén:taien	

Some nouns designating body parts are typically incorporated into a positional verb. In such cases, *agent* pronominal prefixes specify whose body part is being talked about. In the following example, the noun **-nawil-/-no⁷j-/-no'ts-** (*tooth*) is incorporated into the positional verb **-ot-/-od-** (*to be standing*).

O	knawi:lóte ⁷	my tooth (<i>literally</i> my tooth is standing)
C	kno ⁷ jo:t	
M	kenó:tsote	

7.4 The Locative Positional Verb Form

Since a reference to the position of an object usually contains an implicit reference to its location, positional verb forms often have the cislocative prepronominal prefix (section 6.2), as in the following examples. (In fact, the forms with the cislocative prefix are probably more common than the forms without the cislocative.)

O	tkanúhsote ⁷	the house there (<i>literally</i> the house is standing there)
	tkaná:tsyay ⁷	the pail there (<i>literally</i> the pail is lying there)
C	tganóhso:t tganá ⁷ jae ⁷	
M	tkanónhsote tkaná:tsiaien	

The *locative positional form* of verbs usually occurs with certain particles, which express ideas conveyed by such English prepositions or prepositional phrases as *at*, *behind*, and *in front of*:

O	tsi ⁷ tkanúhsote ⁷ ohná:k ⁷ tkanúhsote ⁷ oh ⁷ tú: tkanúhsote ⁷	at the house behind the house, at the back of the house in front of the house
C	shé tganóhso:t ohna ⁷ gé: shé tganóhso:t ohé:dó: shé tganóhso:t	
M	tsi tkanónhsote ohnà:ken tsi tkanónhsote ohén:ton tsi tkanónhsote	

7.5 The Distributive Positional Verb Form

The *distributive suffix* (section 8.10) can be added to the positional verb to convey the idea that several objects are referred to by the verb – that is, that several standing (or lying, or sitting) objects are distributed over the location specified by the verb.

O	tkanuhso:tú:	several houses (<i>literally</i> houses are standing here and there)
C	tganqhsó:dq'	
M	tkanonhsó:ton	

7.6 The Possessive Positional Verb Form

In some cases, nouns are incorporated into the stative aspect form of positional verbs to express possession. This construction – the *possessive positional verb form* – is used as an alternative to the *possessive noun form* (section 2.7). The positional verb **-ya/-ye-** or **-e/-ien-** (*to be lying*) is used most often for this function, although other positional verbs – **-ot/-od-** (*to be standing*), for example – can also be used, as shown in the first example in each set below. The patient pronominal prefix specifies the possessor.

O	waknúhsote [?]	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house standing)
	waknúhsay [?]	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house lying)
	wake [?] sléhtay [?]	my car (<i>literally</i> I have a car lying)
	loh [?] wístay [?]	his money (<i>literally</i> he has money or metal lying)
	yakonáskway [?]	her pet (<i>literally</i> she has a pet lying)
C	aknóhso:t	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house standing)
	aknóhsae'	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house lying)
	age [?] drehdáe'	my car (<i>literally</i> I have a car lying)
	hohwíhsdae'	his money (<i>literally</i> he has money or metal lying)
	gonáhsgwaē'	her pet (<i>literally</i> she has a pet lying)
M	wakenónhsote	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house standing)
	wakenónhsaien	my house (<i>literally</i> I have a house lying)
	wake [?] seréhtaien	my car (<i>literally</i> I have a car lying)
	roh [?] wístaien	his money (<i>literally</i> he has money or metal lying)
	iakonénhskwaien	her pet (<i>literally</i> she has a pet lying)

The distributive suffix is added to the positional verb to indicate that several objects are owned, as in the following example:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | tóhka ^ʔ niwaknuhsay ^Λ : <u>tú</u> : | I have several houses (<i>literally</i> I have
houses lying here and there) |
| C | dohgá ^ʔ niwaknohsáə:də ^ʔ | |
| M | tóhka wakenonhsaién:ton | |

When a specific number of objects or beings is referred to, patterns similar to the enumeration patterns described in sections 2.14 and 2.18 are used:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| O | tekniyáshe yakonáskway ^ʔ <u>Λ</u>
áhs ^Λ nikutí yakonáskway ^ʔ <u>Λ</u> | she has two pets
she has three pets |
| C | dekní: gonáhsgwaə ^ʔ
ahsé nigə:nə: gonáhsgwaə ^ʔ | |
| M | tékeni iakonénhskwaién
áhsen nikón:ti iakonáhskwaién | |

The negative prepronominal prefix (section 6.5) can be added to the verb form to indicate that the person specified by the pronominal prefix does not own the object referred to in the verb:

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | yáh te ^ʔ wakhwístay ^ʔ <u>Λ</u> | I don't have any money (<i>literally</i>
I do not have money lying) |
| C | (tə ^ʔ) d ^ʔ eakwihsdāə ^ʔ | |
| M | (iáh) te wakhwístaién | |

The negative and repetitive prepronominal prefixes used in combination (sections 6.5 and 6.4, respectively) convey the idea that the person specified by the pronominal prefix no longer owns the object referred to.

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O | yáh te ^ʔ swake ^ʔ sléhtay ^ʔ <u>Λ</u> | I do not own a car anymore
(<i>literally</i> I do not have a car
lying anymore) |
| C | (tə ^ʔ) d ^ʔ eswag ^ʔ edréhdaə ^ʔ | |
| M | (iáh) tes ewake'seréhtaién | |

Nouns can also be incorporated into *locative verbs* to indicate specific locations. In this type of construction, the noun that designates the general location is incorporated into a locative verb that describes the location in more specific terms. For example, the phrase *on this side of the house* is conveyed by incorporating the noun stem for *house*, which designates the general location, into a locative verb meaning *to be on one side of*. Locative verbs often require specific prepronominal prefixes and/or locational particles to convey the full meaning intended (for example, to convey *which side* of the object is being referred to).

In the examples below, the noun stem for *road* – **-hah-** in all three languages – is incorporated into the locative verb **-ati/-adi-** (*to be on a side*), which requires the partitive prepronominal prefix. The locational particles specify which side of the object or thing designated by the noun is being talked about.

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| O | kaló: na' oháhati _?
ísi' na'oháhati _? | this side of the road
the other side of the road |
| C | gaó' na'ohahá:di
sigwa:díh na'ohahá:di | |
| M | ká:ro na'oháhati
ísi' na'oháhati | |

In Cayuga and Mohawk, the locative verb used above can also occur with the repetitive prepronominal prefix to convey the meaning *the other side* or *across*:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| C | joháhadih | the other side of the road, across
the road |
| M | tsioháhati | |

In Oneida, the meaning *across* is expressed by the particle **elá:**

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| O | elá na'oháhati _? | across the road |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|

In the examples below, the noun stem **-owah-** or **-hah-** (*road*) has been incorporated into the verb stem **-iyo/-he/-ihen-** (*to be in the middle of*). This verb stem requires the coincident and dualic prepronominal prefixes (sections 6.8 and 6.1, respectively).

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| O | tsha' teyowahi:yó | in the middle of the road |
| C | tša' deyoháhahəh | |
| M | tsha' teiohahí:hen | |

7.8

Incorporation Into Adjectival Verbs

The ideas conveyed by adjectives in English are often expressed in Iroquoian languages by verbs. In many cases, the noun designating the object to which the adjective refers is incorporated into an *adjectival verb*. (The adjective usually makes reference to a physical attribute or quality.) Since adjectival verbs describe a state or condition, they are in the stative aspect.

O	ka ^ʔ slehti:yó	it's a nice car
	wahta ^ʔ naw ^ʔ tslowa:ná	it's a big ball
	niwahsohkó:tá	it's a colour (<i>literally</i> it's a kind of colour)
	kashestáku ^ʔ	it's a good-tasting syrup
C	g ^ʔ adrehdí:yo:	it's a nice car
	ę nhotrowá:nęh	it's a big ball
	niyohsohgó dę:	it's a colour (<i>literally</i> it's a kind of colour)
	gatsehsdagá ọh	it's a good-tasting syrup
M	ka'serehtí:io	it's a nice car
	wathenno'tsherowá:nen	it's a big ball
	niwahsohkò:ten	it's a colour (<i>literally</i> it's a kind of colour)
	kashestákon	it's a good-tasting syrup

7.9

The Distributive Form of Adjectival Verbs

Some adjectival verbs take on an ending that indicates that the attribute or quality is being ascribed to several objects. This ending is referred to as the *distributive*.

O	ka ^ʔ slehti:yó: <u>se</u> ^ʔ	they are nice cars
	niwahsohkó:tá <u>hse</u> ^ʔ	they are colours (<i>literally</i> they are kinds of colours)
C	g ^ʔ adrehdí:yó' <u>s</u>	
	niyohsohgó dę' <u>s</u>	
M	ka'serehtí:ios	
	niwahsohkò:ten' <u>s</u>	

7.10

The Possessive Form of Adjectival Verbs

To convey the idea that the object designated by the incorporated noun is the property of someone, the neuter pronominal prefix that appears on the adjectival verb is replaced by a *patient* pronominal prefix. The patient pronominal prefix specifies the possessor of the object. In the first two examples, the verb occurs with the third-person singular masculine patient pronominal prefix **lo-/ho-/ro-**; in the third example, the verb occurs with the third-person singular feminine patient pronominal prefix **yako-/go-/iako-**.

O	lo ^ʔ slehti:yó	his car is nice
	loy ^ʔ aká: <u>te</u> ^ʔ	he has lots of wood
	yakonuhsowa:ná	her house is big

C	ho' drehdí:yo: ho yɛdagá:de gon ɸsowá:nɸh	his car is nice he has lots of wood her house is big
M	ro' serehtí:io ro ientakà:te ia kononhsowá:nen	

If the incorporated noun designates a body part, an agent pronominal prefix (section 5.15) specifies the possessor. In the examples below, the verbs occur with the third-person masculine singular agent prefix **la-** or **ha-/ha-/ra-** or **ha-**. Body parts that come in pairs usually also have the dualic prepronominal prefix and often the distributive suffix.

O	la' nyúhses te ha hsine:sú: <u>se'</u>	he has a long nose he has long legs
C	ha' nyóhse:s de ha hsiné:sq's	
M	ra' niónhses te ha hsiné:shon's	

7.11 *The Comparative and Superlative Forms of Adjectival Verbs*

The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives – the forms typically expressed in English by adding *-er* and *-est* to the basic adjective form (as in *louder* and *loudest*, for example) – are conveyed by adjectival verbs and particles. To indicate the comparative degree, the particle **sáha'**/**heyohé:**/**sénha** (*more*) is added in front of the adjectival verb.

O	sáha' kano:lú: sáha' khnΛ:yés tsi' ni:yót yuke' káha	it's more expensive I'm taller than my older sister
C	heyohé: ganq: í: heyohé: knɛ:yé:s ne' kehjí:'ah	
M	sénha kanó:ron sénha khnén:ies tsi ní:ioht ne akhtsì:'a	

The superlative degree is conveyed by adding the cislocative prepronominal prefix **t-**, **d-**, or **g-** to the adjectival verb. In all three languages, the particle **né:/né'/né**, which is difficult to translate into English but means something like *it is the one*, forms part of the superlative construction. In Cayuga, the particle **gyaq:hé: ʔh** and, in Mohawk, the particle **tiaonhà:'a** are also part of the construction.

O	né: tkaʔslehti:yó	it's the nicest (or best) car
C	ne' gyaq:hé: ʔh tg adrehdí:yo:	
M	né tiaonhà:'a tka'serehtí:io	

7.12 Incorporation Into Verbs of Enumeration

In order to specify the number of things that are being referred to – one, two, or a number greater than two – the stem of the noun designating the object is incorporated into a *verb of enumeration*, also referred to as a *counting verb*.

7.13 Patterns for Specifying One and Related Ideas

7.14 Basic Pattern for Specifying One Thing

To specify *one thing*, the stem of the noun designating the object is incorporated into the counting verb **-t** (*to be one*) in all three languages. In Mohawk, the **-t** has been lost over time and does not appear in the examples, giving the impression that there is no verb stem; however, the mechanism of incorporation functions in the same way in Mohawk as in the other two languages. When used to specify one thing, the counting verb **-t** requires the repetitive prepronominal prefix **s-** and the neuter agent pronominal prefix **ka-/ga-** (with C-stems) or **w-** (with a-stems).

O	kanúhsaʔ	house
	skanúhsat	one house
	oshú:kaleʔ	board
	skashú:kalat	one board
	ohwístaʔ	money, metal
	skahwístat	one dollar
	kátsheʔ	bottle, jar
	skatshé:tat	one bottle, one quart
C	ganóhsaʔ	house
	sganóhsa:t	one house
	ganéhsdaʔ	board
	sganéhsda:t	one board
	ohwíhsdaʔ	money, metal
	sgahwíhsda:t	one dollar
	gatsé daʔ	bottle, jar
	sgatsé da:t	one bottle, one quart

M	kanónhsa	house
	skanónhsa	one house
	oshòn:kare	board
	skashòn:kara	one board
	ohwíhsta	money, metal
	skahwíhsta	one dollar
	kátshe	bottle, jar
	skatshè:ta	one bottle, one quart

Note that in some cases of incorporation, the stem of the incorporated noun that appears in the verb form is slightly different from the stem in the basic noun form. For example, in the Oneida and Mohawk examples above, the basic noun stem for *bottle* is **-tshe-**, and the incorporated stem is **-tshé:t** or **-tshe't-** in Oneida and **-tshè:t-** or **-tshe't-** in Mohawk.

7.15 Patterns for Specifying One Living Being

To specify *one living being*, the noun stem for *body* – **-ya't-** or **-yá:t/-ya'd/-ia't-** or **-ià:t-** – is incorporated into the counting verb **-t** (*to be one*). When the verb refers to one male being, the masculine agent pronominal prefix is used; when it refers to one female being, the feminine agent pronominal prefix is used.

O	shayá:tat	one person (a male person)
	tsyeyá:tat	one person (a female person)
C	sayá'da:t	
	jeyá'da:t	
M	shaià:ta	
	tsieià:ta	

If the speaker wishes to further specify what kind of person (e.g., child, old person) is being talked about, the word designating the kind of person is added after the verb form. In the examples below, the word for *child* has been added after the verb forms meaning *one male person* and *one female person*. In the first example, the word for *child* has a masculine prefix; in the second, it has a feminine prefix.

O	shayá:tat laksáh	one boy
	tsyeyá:tat yeksáh	one girl
C	sayá'da:t haksá:'ah	
	jeyá'da:t eksá:'ah	
M	shaià:ta raksà:'a	
	tsieià:ta ieksà:'a	

This pattern is also used to specify *one animal*. If reference is also made to the specific kind of animal being talked about, the word designating the kind of animal is added after the verb form. In Oneida and Mohawk, the feminine-zoic singular pronominal prefix is used with the verb form; in Cayuga, the neuter singular pronominal prefix is required. (Sometimes when a male animal is being talked about, the masculine prefix is used.)

O	skayá:tat é:lhal	one dog
C	sgaya' dá:t só:wa:s	
M	skaia:ta (or skaià:tat) è:rhar	

For patterns used to specify *two human beings* or a number greater than two, see section 2.14, Enumeration Patterns for Nouns Designating Human Beings. For patterns used to specify *two animals* or a number greater than two, see section 2.18, Enumeration Patterns for Unanalysable Nouns.

7.16 Patterns for Specifying One Unit of Measure

To specify one unit of measure (for example, *one foot* or *one inch*), the stem of the noun used to designate the unit of measure – often the name of a body part – is incorporated into the counting verb **-t**. These verb forms occur with the neuter pronominal prefix.

O	tsyohsí:tat tsyohyúhkalat	one foot one inch (<i>literally</i> one thumb)
C	johsí' da:t jowé' yohga:t	
M	tsiohsì:ta skaweiónhkara	

7.17 Patterns for Conveying the Concept *each one*

The addition of the distributive suffix **-s(h)u[?]/-sq[?]/-shon** to the basic verb form for specifying one thing conveys the concept *each one* and other related ideas. For example, the fourth example below, *one foot apart*, conveys the idea that there is one foot between each object.

O	ska [?] sléhtat ska [?] slehtátshu [?]	one car each car, one car at a time
	tsyohsí:tat tsyohsí [?] tátshu [?]	one foot (the measure) one foot apart

C	sg'adréhda:t	one car
	sg'adréhdatsq'	each car, one car at a time
	johsí'da:t	one foot (the measure)
	johsí'datsq'	one foot apart
M	ska'se'tsherá:ta	one car
	ska'se'tsherátshon	each car, one car at a time
	sewahsí:ta	one foot (the measure)
	sewahsi'tátshon	one foot apart

7.18 *Patterns for Specifying Two or a Number Greater Than Two and Related Ideas*

7.19 Basic Patterns for Specifying Two Things or a Number Greater Than Two

To specify *two things* or a number greater than two, the stem of the noun designating the object is incorporated into the counting verb *to number* or *to amount to* – **-ke** in Oneida and Mohawk, **-ge:** in Cayuga. When it is used to indicate that two things are referred to, the counting verb **-ke/-ge:** requires the dualic prenominal prefix and the neuter agent pronominal prefix.

O	kanúhsa [?]	house
	tekanúhsake	two houses (<i>literally</i> the houses number two, amount to two)
	oshú:kale [?]	board
	tekashu [?] kala:ké	two boards
	ohwísta [?]	money, metal
	tekahwístake	two dollars
	kátshe [?]	bottle, jar
	tekatshé:take	two bottles, two quarts

C	ganóhsa' deganqhsá:ge:	house two houses (<i>literally</i> the houses number two, amount to two)
	ganéhsda: deganehsdá:ge:	board two boards
	ohwíhsda' degahwíhsdá:ge:	money, metal two dollars
	gatsé' degatse dá:ge:	bottle, jar two bottles, two quarts
M	kanónhsa tekanónhsake	house two houses (<i>literally</i> the houses number two, amount to two)
	oshòn:kare tekashon'kará:ke	board two boards
	ohwíhsta tekahwíhstake	money, metal two dollars
	kátshe tekatshè:take	bottle, jar two bottles, two quarts

When it is used to refer to a number greater than two, the counting verb **-ke/-ge** requires the partitive prepronominal prefix **ni-**. Specific numbers (for example, **áhs/ahséh/áhsen**, meaning *three*) are used when the speaker wishes to specify the exact number of objects. The number is added before the verb form, as in the second example. In other contexts, the particle **tóhka'/dohga'/tóhka'** (*several*) is added before the verb form, as shown in the third example.

O	kanúhsa' áhsΛ nikanúhsake tóhka' nikanúhsake	house three houses several houses
	ohwístá' oyelí nikahwístake	money, metal ten dollars
C	ganóhsa' ahséh niganqhsá:ge: dohgá' niganqhsá:ge:	house three houses several houses
	ohwíhsda' wahshé: nighawíhsdá:ge:	money, metal ten dollars

M	kanónhsa áhsen nikanónhsake tóhka' nikanónhsake	house three houses several houses
	ohwíhsta oié:ri nikahwíhstake	money, metal ten dollars

7.20

Patterns for Conveying the Concepts *a variety of* and *every*

The counting verb **-ke/-ge:** conveys the meaning *a variety of* when the dualic or partitive prepronominal prefix is replaced with a specific combination of prepronominal prefixes. In Oneida and Mohawk, the dualic or the partitive is replaced with the *partitive* plus *translocative* plus *dualic* prepronominal prefixes; in Cayuga, with the *translocative* plus *dualic* prepronominal prefixes.

O	nika' sléhtake nya'teka' sléhtake	so many cars a variety of cars, all kinds of cars
	káhik nya'tewá:yake	fruit all kinds of fruit
C	niga' drehdá:ge: ha deg adréhdage:	so many cars a variety of cars, all kinds of cars
	ohya' ha deyohyá:ge:	fruit all kinds of fruit
M	nika'seréhtake nia'teka'seréhtake	so many cars a variety of cars, all kinds of cars
	káhik nia'tewà:iake	fruit all kinds of fruit

In contexts in which reference is made to concepts of time, especially cycles of time such as *day* and *month*, the same combination of prepronominal prefixes has the meaning *every*.

O	nya'tewahnísla:ké	every day, one day after another
C	ha' dewəhnihsrage:	
M	nia'tewenhniserá:ke	

7.21

Patterns for Conveying the Concept *at a time*

The addition of the progressive suffix (section 8.13) to the basic form for specifying two things or a number greater than two conveys the concept *at a time*.

O	teka ^ʔ sléhtake	two cars
	teka ^ʔ slehtakeháti ^ʔ	two cars at a time
	áhs ^ʌ nika ^ʔ sléhtake	three cars
	áhs ^ʌ nika ^ʔ slehtakeháti	three cars at a time
C	dega ^ʔ drehdá:ge:	two cars
	dega ^ʔ drehdagehá:gye ^ʔ	two cars at a time
	ahsé ^h niga ^ʔ drehdá:ge:	three cars
	ahsé ^h niga ^ʔ drehdagehá:gye ^ʔ	three cars at a time
M	teka'seréhtake	two cars
	teka'seréhtakeháti	two cars at a time
	áhsen nika'seréhtake	three cars
	áhsen nika'serehtakeháti	three cars at a time

Patterns for Specifying Two Living Beings or a Number Greater Than Two

Although there are some similarities between the patterns for specifying two living beings or a number greater than two and those for specifying two or more objects, the patterns for living beings do not involve noun incorporation and are therefore not included in this section, which outlines patterns in which noun incorporation is a central feature. For a full treatment of patterns specifying two or more living beings, see sections 2.14 and 2.18.

8

STEM FORMATION

Structurally, the nouns and verbs of Iroquoian languages typically consist of a *stem* and *affixes* attached to the stem. A noun consists of the following basic elements:

NOUN PREFIX + STEM + NOUN SUFFIX

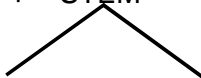
The noun prefix and the noun suffix are attached to the noun stem. The stem, then, is the *core part* of a noun and the part that carries its basic meaning. The stem of a noun identifies an object or being. The prefixes and/or suffixes that appear on some noun stems perform a variety of functions. For example, the prefix and suffix that appear on a basic noun form indicate that the word is structurally a noun; the prefix that appears on a possessive noun form gives grammatical information about the noun (for example, the gender and number of the possessor); and the suffix that appears on the locative form of a noun specifies the location of a person or thing designated by another noun in the sentence. In the sentence *The dog is in the garden*, for example, it is the noun *garden* that would be in the locative form.

A verb consists of the following basic elements:

PRONOMINAL PREFIX(ES) + STEM

The pronominal prefixes are attached to the verb stem. Since the verb stem itself consists of two elements – a base (or core part) and an aspect suffix – a more complete representation of the structure of a verb would look like this:

PRONOMINAL PREFIX(ES) + STEM



BASE + ASPECT SUFFIX

For reasons that are discussed in detail in the chapter on verbs (see Chapter 5), the aspect suffix of a verb is often referred to as the *verb ending*. The base part of a verb's stem carries the verb's basic meaning; the base of a verb describes an action, event, or state. The pronominal prefixes, as well as the aspect suffixes, give grammatical information that is essential for understanding what is being said about the action or event described by the verb. (For example, the

pronominal prefixes will indicate the person, number, and gender of the participants, whereas the aspect suffixes will convey ideas related to the time of the action.)

Although, as pointed out above, the stem of a verb, viewed as a complete entity, consists of two parts – a base and an aspect suffix – the term *verb base* is not commonly used to describe the stem without the aspect suffix. Instead, the term *stem* is used to refer to both the complete stem – the stem with the aspect suffix – and the base part of the stem, the part without the aspect suffix. To reflect this practice, the term *verb stem* is used in the discussion that follows to refer both to the base part of the stem without the aspect suffix and the complete stem.

Noun stems and verb stems can be very simple, consisting of just a *root*. The first set of examples below represents noun forms in which the stem is just a noun root; the second set represents verb forms in which the stem is just a verb root.

O	ohnaná:ta [?]	potato
C	ohón'ada'	
M	ohnennà:ta	
O	tá:le [?]	he's coming
C	dahe'	
M	tà:re	

However, many stems are structurally complex – that is to say, they are composed of more than one root or of a root plus some other element (or elements) that modifies the meaning of the root. From the point of view of structure, such complex stems can be classified into two subgroups:

- (1) The first subgroup consists of stems that are made up of two roots – a noun root and a verb root. In such stems, the noun root is incorporated into the verb, and the resultant complex stem has the paradigm of a verb – that is, it takes on pronominal prefixes and aspect suffixes. These stems are discussed in Chapter 7, Noun Incorporation.
- (2) The second subgroup consists of stems that are made up of a root and one or more suffixes that modify the meaning of the root. These suffixes are called *root suffixes*. Root suffixes are discussed later in this section.

The process of assembling or building stems out of roots and root suffixes is called *stem formation*. Some complex stems have a readily discernible meaning, so that most speakers can identify the meaning of all the components and provide a literal translation of the stem. Other complex stems have become associated with a particular meaning, and as a result have become narrower in their meaning. Although some speakers may be able to identify the components of these stems and give their literal meanings, many speakers are not aware of the meanings of these individual components and know only the current meanings of the stems. Still other stems can be identified as complex from a structural point of view, but even very knowledgeable speakers will agree that the literal meanings of the various components have been lost.

It is also important to recognize that the patterns of stem formation are not as regular as the patterns relating to noun affixes and pronominal prefixes discussed earlier in this guide (chapters 2 and 5, respectively). While finding the stem of a verb – that is, separating the pronominal prefixes from the stem – is a technique that can be mastered through practice, identifying the individual components of a complex stem is a much more complex process. In fact, it is doubtful whether even the most expert speakers *consciously* manipulate such components except perhaps in certain cases of noun incorporation (incorporating, for example, the noun for *house* or *car*, or certain body parts, into the appropriate verb). Therefore, it is best to recognize that language learners are unlikely to learn to manipulate the components of stems with the ease with which they may learn to manipulate the different pronominal prefixes or the different noun affixes. As already stated, the difficulty here is caused partly by the lack of consistency in patterns; the forms of root suffixes can vary widely, even within the same language. In addition, some combinations that might seem likely from a study of sample stems turn out to be false leads. In view of these inherent difficulties, it is important that the teacher *recognize* particular groups of sounds that point to consistent patterns of meaning or function, and that he or she help students to recognize and detect them. Students who enjoy analysing words may also make a connection between words that have the same root, or the same incorporated noun, or the same root suffix. In other words, it may be helpful for students to see common elements in words that belong to different paradigms, as well as to create different forms of the same paradigm. For example, the forms for *open the door* and *close the door* have a certain element in common – the root of the verb *to close the door*. This common element results in a relationship not only of meaning, but also of structure between the two forms. Similarly, the forms for the verbs *to wash something* and *to wash one's face* share a common element – the root of the verb *to wash* – and are therefore related in both meaning and structure.

O	Senho:tú. Senhotu:kó:.	Close the door! Open the door!
C	Senhóha: Senho:dó:goh.	
M	Senhó:ton. Senhotón:ko.	
O	wa'knóhale' wkatkuhsóhale'	I washed it I washed my face
C	aknóhai' agatgohsóhai'	
M	wa'kenóhare wa'katkonhsóhare	

It is worth repeating that the processes of stem formation are enormously complex in Iroquoian languages, and that there is much that still needs to be learned about both noun incorporation and the meanings and functions of the root suffixes. For these reasons, this section of the guide focuses on complex stems whose components are readily identifiable and have a readily discernible meaning.

8.1 Complex Noun Stems

Most complex noun stems are derived from verbs. A noun stem is derived from a verb by adding a *nominalizer* suffix to the verb. The nominalizer is added to a simple *verb root* to form a complex noun stem:

O	kahyatúhse <u>li</u> [?]	paper
C	gahyádqhsra [']	
M	kahiatónhsera	

In the above examples, the verb root is **-hyatú/-hyadq/-hiaton-** (*to write*), and the nominalizer suffix is **-hse/-hser/-hser-**. The noun stem, which is composed of the verb root plus the nominalizer suffix, takes the usual noun prefix **ka-/ga-** and the noun suffix **-i[?]/-a[']/-a**.

In the examples below, the first example in each language is the verb; the second is the derived noun. The meaning of the derived noun is related to the meaning of the verb root that underlies it. In the first two sets of examples, the nouns *paper* and *flour* refer to the things that are connected with or produced by the action of the verb (*write* and *pound*, respectively). In the third set of examples, the nouns *butter* (in Oneida and Mohawk) and *blanket* (in Cayuga) refer to things that are often associated with the state or condition described by the verb (*it is cold* and *it is lying*).

O	yehya:túhe [?] kahyatúhse <u>li</u> [?]	she writes, someone writes paper
C	ehyádqha ['] gahyádqhsra [']	
M	iehiá:tons kahiatónhsera	
O	kethé:tha [?] othé:tsheli [?]	I pound flour
C	geté ['] ta ['] oté ['] tra [']	
M	kethè:tha othè:sera	

O	yowísto owistóhseli [?]	it is cold butter
C	gá:yə [’] oyéhsra [’]	it is lying blanket
M	iwísto owistóhsera	it is cold butter

The nominalizer is a very important structural element because it can be added to complex verb stems, and even to whole words, which can then – in their nominalized form – be incorporated into other verbs. The following examples illustrate this process. In the Oneida and Mohawk examples, the stem for *paper* (see first set of examples on previous page) has been incorporated into the verb **-ya-** (*to play*), which has the dualic prepronominal prefix; in the Cayuga example, the stem for *blanket* has been incorporated into the verb **-(h)ninq-** (*to buy*).

O	tekhyatúhslay [’] he [?]	I’m playing cards
C	agyéhsrahní:nq [’]	I bought a blanket
M	tekhiatonhserá:iens	I’m playing cards

8.2 Complex Verb Stems

Complex verb stems are derived from nouns through noun incorporation. Noun incorporation is a pattern of stem formation in which a noun is taken into the body of a verb. The incorporated noun can be a simple *noun root* or a *nominalized verb*, which has been described in the preceding section.

In the first set of examples below, two different noun roots – **-hnana[?]t-**/**-hona[’]d-**/**-hnenna[’]t-** (*potato*) and **-htehtl-**/**-kd(eh)-**/**-hteht-** (*root, carrot*) – have been incorporated into the same verb – **-ohale-**/**-ohai-**/**-ohare-** (*to wash*). In the second set of examples, the noun root **-ks-** (*dish*), which occurs in all three languages, has been incorporated into two different verbs – **-hlunyu-** or **-hluni-**/**-hq:-**/**-hronnion-** (*to set things on top of something*) and **-ohalenyu-** or **-ohaleni-**/**-ohaihq-**/**-oharenion-** (*to wash things*).

O	wa [’] ehnana [’] tóhale [?] wa [’] ehtehlóhale [?]	she washed potatoes she washed carrots
C	a [’] ehona [’] dohái: [’] a [’] ekdehohai: [’]	
M	wa'ehnenna'tóhare wa'ehtehróhare	

O	wa ^ʔ keksahlúni _ː wa ^ʔ keksohaléni _ː	I set out the dishes (i.e., I set the table) I washed the dishes
C	agéksahqː ^ʔ ageksoháihq ^ʔ	
M	wa'keksahrónnion wa'keksoharénion	

Often several words will contain a specific component or element that gives them a related meaning. These elements were probably noun roots at some point, but they can no longer be considered incorporated nouns because they have no corresponding basic noun forms and so never occur as independent nouns. These elements are now found only inside other word stems, each time adding a particular meaning to the host stem. For example, the element **-nh-** is found in each of the following Oneida words, all of which have a meaning that includes the idea of *an opening*.

The first example below is a noun form, with the noun prefix **ka-** and the noun suffix **-a^ʔ**. The second and third examples are verbs. The last example – **tyonhúskwalut** (*cow*) – is difficult to analyse, and consequently to classify, but its meaning suggests a noun form.

O	kanhóha ^ʔ lónhute ^ʔ skanhúskwat tyonhúskwalut	door he's got it in his mouth one mouthful cow
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Although, as already pointed out, such elements never occur as independent nouns, they are nevertheless significant word elements that help to explain the meaning of certain words and to shed light on the semantic relationship between them.

8.3 The Semireflexive Prefix

The *semireflexive prefix* occurs before the verb root and has a variety of functions. The most common function of the semireflexive prefix is to derive an intransitive verb (a verb that involves only one participant in the action or state described by the verb) from a transitive verb (a verb that involves two participants in the action or state described by the verb – the actor who carries out the action, and the undergoer, the person or thing that is affected by the action). In the first example given for each language, the verb has a transitive prefix (**khe-/ke-**), which signals an actor and an undergoer; in the second example, the semireflexive prefix, which has been added to the stem, indicates that only one person is involved in the action of the verb. Accordingly, an intransitive (agent)

pronominal prefix is required. The most common form of the semireflexive prefix is **-at-** in Oneida and Mohawk, and **-at-** or **-ad-** in Cayuga.

O	khehslu:ní <u>he</u> [?]	I'm dressing her
	katslu:ní <u>he</u> [?]	I'm getting dressed
C	keya:tró:nih	
	ga <u>tró</u> :nih	
M	khehserón:ni	
	ka <u>tsh</u> erón:ni	

The semireflexive prefix can also be added to verb stems that do not have a transitive, or interactive, pronominal prefix to signal an actor and an undergoer but that are transitive in meaning – that is, whose basic meaning involves both a doer and an undergoer. With such verbs, also, the semireflexive prefix indicates that only one participant is involved in the action. In the two sets of examples below, the first example for each language is the verb form whose meaning involves both a doer and an undergoer; the second example is the same verb with the semireflexive prefix, which has changed the meaning of the verb by indicating only one participant in the action.

O	wa [?] tkawáli ₋ [?]	I stirred it
	wa [?] ka <u>ta</u> wáli ₋ [?]	I travelled, I roamed
C	atgáwənye: [?]	
	atga <u>da</u> wənye: [?]	
M	wa'tkawénrie	
	wa'tka <u>ta</u> wénrie	
O	lahkwí:tha [?]	he moves it over
	la <u>ta</u> kwí:tha [?]	he moves over
C	hagéihsta [?]	
	ha <u>ta</u> géihsta [?]	
M	rakwì:tha	
	ra <u>ta</u> kwì:tha	

The semireflexive often occurs with verbs that contain an incorporated noun designating a body part. In such cases, the semireflexive indicates that the body part belongs to the doer of the action, as shown in the second example in each language:

O	wa [?] khekuhsóhale [?] wa [?] katkuhsóhale [?]	I washed her face I washed my face
C	akegohsóhai' agatgohsóhai'	
M	wa'khekonhsóhare wa'katkonhsóhare	

The semireflexive is also found with verbs whose meaning involves the idea of acquiring or buying something. With these verbs, the semireflexive reverses the basic meaning of the verb; that is, the idea of acquisition is changed to that of disposal or transference. In the first set of examples below, the first example in each language is a form of the verb *buy*; the second example is the same verb with the semireflexive prefix, which has changed the meaning of the verb to *sell*.

O	wa [?] khni:nú: wa [?] katkhni:nú:	I bought, I acquired something (by buying) I sold, I disposed of something (by selling)
C	akní:nq' agadehni:nq'	
M	wa'khní:non wa'katenhni:non	

8.4 The Reflexive or Reciprocal Prefix

A prefix related to the semireflexive is the *reflexive* or *reciprocal prefix*, which consists of two semireflexive prefixes placed one after the other (**-atat/-adat-** or **adad-**). This prefix is used to indicate that the action described by the verb is reflexive (that is, that it is directed back to the subject, as in *she cut herself*) or reciprocal, expressing mutual action (*they fed each other*). In the two sets of examples that follow, the first example in each pair is the form of the verb without the reflexive or reciprocal prefix. In the first set, the second example in each pair is the form of the verb with the reflexive prefix; in the second set, the

second example in each pair is the form of the verb with the reciprocal prefix. The reciprocal form requires the dualic prepronominal prefix.

O	wá:kh <u>lene</u> [?]	I cut it
	wa [?] <u>katáthlene</u> [?]	I cut myself
C	akre: [?]	
	agá <u>datre</u> [?]	
M	wà:khrene	
	wa'katáthrene	
O	wa [?] khékhwanute [?]	I fed her
	wa [?] tyakyat <u>aték</u> hwanute [?]	we fed each other
C	akékwano:t	
	agyagy <u>adade</u> kwá:nō:t	
M	wa'khé:nonte	
	wa'tiatátenonte	

8.5 Root Suffixes

The largest class of modifying elements are suffixes that are added to the root of the verb. These suffixes are known as *root suffixes*.

8.6 The Inchoative

The *inchoative suffix* is added to basically stative or adjectival verbs that describe a state or condition and that occur only with the stative aspect suffix. The resulting verb stem, with the inchoative suffix, can take all three aspect suffixes – stative, habitual, or punctual. The inchoative suffix expresses the idea of *becoming*, as shown in the examples that follow. The first example in each language is the stative form with the simple stem and the stative aspect suffix; the second example is the same stem with the inchoative suffix and the punctual aspect suffix. It is difficult to identify the inchoative suffix precisely, but a verb ending that contains the inchoative suffix usually includes a glottal stop. Since this sound often does not appear in the Oneida forms (the glottal stop is usually lost in syllables occurring after accented syllables and sometimes even in accented syllables), there is no clear indication of the presence of the inchoative suffix in the Oneida example. In the Cayuga example, the glottal stop is indicated by the symbol [?]; in the Mohawk example, it is indicated by an apostrophe.

O	yo [?] nétskʌ	it is loose, soft
	wa [?] o [?] nétskane [?]	it became loose, soft
C	gowá:nəh [?]	it is big
	agówanhe [?]	it got big
M	í:kete	I am standing
	ténkta'ne	I will stand up (I will change my position from sitting to standing)

The inchoative suffix occurs with certain verbs that describe weather conditions. In the examples below, the first form in each language is a stative verb form; the second has the inchoative suffix **-t**.

O	yo ^h tho:lé:	it is cold
	sutho:lá <u>te</u> [?]	it became cold again
C	otó:we [?]	
	sawa:tó:wa:t	
M	iothó:re	
	sonthó:rate	

8.7

The Causative

The main function of the *causative suffix* is to derive a transitive verb (a verb that involves two participants in the action, an actor and an undergoer) from an intransitive verb (a verb that involves only one participant in the action). The causative adds the idea of agency – the idea that someone is responsible for bringing about the circumstances or attributes described by the verb. The causative is often added to stative or adjectival verbs that describe a state or condition, as shown in the examples below. In all three sets of examples, the first example in each language is the intransitive form of the verb; the second is the causative form, which is transitive. The causative suffix is **-ht-**, **-[?]t-**, or **-st-** in Oneida; **-ht-**, **-hd-**, **-[?]t-**, **-d-**, **-st-**, or **-sd-** in Cayuga; and **-ht-**, **-[?]t-**, **-st-**, or **-hst-** in Mohawk.

O	teyostalá <u>the</u> [?]	it's shiny, it's smooth
	wa [?] tekstaláthe <u>hte</u> [?]	I shined it, I polished it
C	deyohsdá:teh	
	atgehsdá:te [?] t	
M	teiostraráthe	
	wa'tekstaráthe'te	
O	wakyé:u	I'm awake
	wahi:yé <u>hte</u> [?]	I woke him up
C	agye:	
	ahé:yeht	
M	wakiè:'on	
	wahí:iehte	
O	yostáth ^h	it's dry
	wa [?] kestátha <u>hte</u> [?]	I dried it
C	ohę:	
	agé:ha [?] t	
M	iostáthen	
	wa'kstátha'te	

8.8

The Instrumental

The *instrumental suffix* is most commonly used with verbal nouns. It conveys the idea that there is an object, or instrument, involved in the action of the verb – an object by means of which the action is carried out or performed. The first example in each pair below is the regular verb form; the second example in each pair is the verb form with the instrumental suffix. The instrumental suffix has several forms, and it is often difficult to identify it precisely. However, the verb endings do furnish some clues. In the first set of examples below, the verb endings containing the instrumental suffix include **-khw-** in Oneida, **-hkw-** in Cayuga, and **-hkhw-** in Mohawk; in the second set, the verb endings include **-t-** or **-st-** in Oneida, **-hst-** or **-hkw-** in Cayuga, and **-hst-** or **-hkhw-** in Mohawk.

O	yehya:tú <u>he</u> [?] yehyatúkh <u>wa</u> [?]	she writes pencil, pen (<i>literally</i> someone writes with it)
C	ehyádǫha [’] ehyádǫhkwa [’]	
M	iehiá:tons kahiatónhkhwa	
O	yute [?] nyá <u>tha</u> [?] yute [?] nyátá <u>sta</u> [?]	she is measuring it ruler, tape measure (<i>literally</i> someone measures with it)
C	ǫde [’] nyədéhsta [’] ǫde [’] nyədéhstáhkwá [’]	
M	ionte'nionténhstha ionte'niontenhstákhwa	

8.9

The Benefactive

The *benefactive suffix* conveys the idea that the action is carried out for someone's benefit. Benefactive stems require transitive pronominal prefixes. The transitive prefixes refer both to the person who is carrying out the action and the person who is the recipient of the action and benefits from it. In both sets of examples, the first example in each language is the form of the verb without the benefactive suffix; the second example is the form with the benefactive suffix. Since the benefactive form identifies both an actor (someone who carries out the action) and an undergoer or recipient (someone who is affected by, and benefits from, the action), it requires an interactive pronominal prefix (section 5.18). The

benefactive suffix has many forms. In the first set of examples below, the verb endings with the benefactive suffix include an *s*; in the second set of examples, the verb endings include an *s* in Cayuga and Mohawk, and a modification in the accent in Oneida.

O	ʌkeksóhale ^ʔ ʌkuksóhalehse ^ʔ	I'll wash a dish I'll wash a dish for you
C	ɛgeksoháí ^ʔ ɛgɔksoháis	
M	enkeksóhare enkonksóharehse	
O	wa ^ʔ khni:nú: wahihnínúni _ː ^ʔ	I bought it I bought it for him
C	akní:nɔ ^ʔ ahéhní:nɔ ^ʔ s	
M	wa'khní:non wahihní:non'se	

8.10

The Distributive

The *distributive suffix* conveys the idea that the action of the verb involves a number of objects and that it takes place more than once or over several locations. It is usually translated into English by the use of the plural form of a noun or of the word *several*. When the distributive is used to suggest that the action takes place over several locations, the phrase *here and there* is used. The first example in each pair of examples is the form of the verb without the distributive suffix; the second is the distributive form. The distributive suffix has many forms. In the examples below, the verb endings include the following common forms: **-nyu-/-nyɔ-/-nion**.

O	wa ^ʔ khni:nú: wa ^ʔ khninúnyu ^ʔ or wa ^ʔ khninúni _ː ^ʔ	I bought it I bought things, I bought several things
C	akní:nɔ ^ʔ aknínɔnyɔ ^ʔ	
M	wa'khní:non wa'khninónion	

8.11

The Undoer

The *undoer suffix* has the effect of *undoing*, or reversing, the meaning of the basic stem – that is, it conveys a meaning that is the opposite of the meaning of the basic stem. In both sets of examples, the first example in each pair is the form of the verb without the undoer suffix; the second example is the form with the undoer suffix. As with many of the other suffixes, it is difficult to identify the undoer suffix precisely, especially as it has many forms. The verb endings containing the undoer suffix usually include **-ko-/-goh-**, as in the first set of examples, or **-hsyu-/-hsyq-/-hsion-**, as in the second set.

O	Senho:tú.	Close the door!
	Senhotu:kó:	Open the door!
C	Senhóha:	
	Senho:dó:goh.	
M	Senhó:ton.	
	Senhotón:ko.	
O	katslu:níhe [?]	I'm getting dressed
	katslunyáhsyus	I'm getting undressed
C	gatró:nih	
	gatrónyáhsyqhs	
M	katsheronniánions	
	katsheronniáhshions	

8.12

The Dislocative

The *dislocative suffix* conveys the idea that the action carried out by the actor or doer involves movement to a different location – that is, that the actor goes to a location other than the one he or she is at in order to perform the action described by the verb. The first example in each pair is the form of the verb without the dislocative suffix; the second is the form with the dislocative suffix. The dislocative suffix has several forms which are often quite different from one another. In the first set of examples below, the dislocative suffix includes the sound *n*; in the second set of examples, the dislocative suffix is **-h-**. Note that the *h* does not appear in the Cayuga example because, according to Cayuga spelling conventions, an *h* is not written when it follows the consonant *t*.

O	ʌkekhu:ní:	I will cook
	ʌkekhunyá:na [?]	I will go there to cook
C	ęge:kó:ni [']	
	ęgekonyáhna [']	
M	enkekhnón:ni	
	enkekhonnià:ne	

O	wahato:lá <u>e</u> [?] wahatolá <u>tha</u> [?]	he hunted he went (somewhere) to hunt
C	aha:dó:wat ahadowá:ta [?]	
M	waható:rate wahatoráthe	

The dislocative suffix, followed by the ending **-e[?]**, can be added to certain verbs to convey intention – the idea that the person referred to in the verb intends to carry out the action described by the verb. This form of the dislocative – that is, the dislocative plus the ending **-e[?]/-e[?]/-e** – corresponds to the use, in English, of the progressive tense of the verb *go* with an infinitive to indicate future intent, as in the sentence *I am going to do it*. In the examples below, the first verb in each language is the form without the dislocative suffix; the second is the form with the dislocative suffix and the ending **-e[?]/-e[?]/-e**.

O	kekhu:ni <u>he</u> [?] kekhu:ni <u>ne</u> [?]	I am cooking I am going to cook, I intend to cook
C	gekô:nihs gekô:ni <u>hne</u> [?]	
M	kek hón:ni kek hón:nià:ne	

8.13 The Progressive Suffix

The *progressive suffix* is added to the stative aspect form of certain verbs to convey the idea that the action of the verb is carried out while the doer is moving along – that is, progressing from one location to another. The first example in each language is a stative aspect form; the second is the same verb with the progressive suffix.

O	yukwanaklákwa yukwanaklákwa <u>hátí</u> [?]	we have moved we moved around (from place to place)
C	aga:dré:no:t aga:dré:no:t <u>dagye</u> [?]	I'm singing I'm singing as I'm going along
M	wakatá:wen wakatawen <u>hátie</u>	I'm swimming I'm swimming along

The meaning added by the progressive suffix does not always have the literal meaning of moving along, of progressing from one location to another. In some contexts, the meaning conveyed is that progress with a task is being made, usually gradually over time.

O	wakka ⁷ thsyuháti ⁷	I'm undoing it as I'm going along, I'm taking it apart a little at a time
---	-------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Added to adjectival verbs, the progressive suffix conveys the idea that the quality or condition being described is developing or evolving over time. The progressive suffix commonly occurs on verbs that describe weather conditions or people's physical attributes. The second verb form in the Cayuga and Mohawk examples has a progressive plus stative aspect suffix; in the Oneida examples, the second verb form has a punctual aspect suffix.

O	yo ⁷ tho:lé: tayotholáti ⁷	it's cold it's getting cold
C	hahné:ye:s hahnéyehsóhogyé ⁷	he's tall he's growing taller
M	rahnén:ies rohnienieshonhátie	he's tall he's growing taller

Added to verbs of enumeration, the progressive suffix conveys the meaning *at a time* (see section 7.21):

O	tewahyakeháti ⁷	two fruits at a time (e.g., they're giving out two fruits at a time)
C	dewahyagéhagye ⁷	
M	tewahiakehátie	

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Ministry of Education wishes to acknowledge the contributions of the individuals who participated in the development, writing, and/or validation of this resource guide. The affiliations given are those that applied at the time of participation.

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Printed on recycled paper

10-001

ISBN 978-1-4435-5706-1 (Print)

ISBN 978-1-4435-5707-8 (PDF)

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