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.
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. 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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case (C)</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kaná:tsi</td>
<td>pail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ganá ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kaná:tsion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ohnaná:ta</td>
<td>potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ohón'ada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ohnennà:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Verbs describe actions, states, or conditions.

- **O** kaht'ityehse'\(^7\) I leave, I set out
- **C** gahdë:gye's
- **M** kahténtie's

- **O** wa'kuhlo:li'\(^7\) I told you
- **C** aqohó:wi'\(^7\)
- **M** wa'konhró:ri

- **O** lahnë:yës he is tall
- **C** hahnë:ye's
- **M** rahnén:ies

- **O** yotho:lé: it is cold (weather)
- **C** otó:we'\(^7\)
- **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'\(^7\) I will come back this way
- **C** détge'
- **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.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>yehyatúkhwa</td>
<td>pen, pencil (<em>literally</em> someone writes with it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ehyádòhkwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>iehiatónhkwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>tewahúhtes</td>
<td>donkey (<em>literally</em> it has two long ears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>dewáhohde:s</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>tewahónhtes</td>
<td>donkey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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*.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ohná:ken</td>
<td>behind, at the back of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ohná:ge:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ohná:ken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>o:ná</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ó:néh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ó:nén</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>thóha</td>
<td>almost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>tó:hah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>thó:ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kí</td>
<td>actually, just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ya:wá</td>
<td>thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>nyá:wéh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>niá:wéh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad o + \text{hnanát } + a' \\
\text{C} & \quad o + \text{hón'ad } + a' \\
\text{M} & \quad o + \text{hnennà:t } + a
\end{align*}
\]

**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-. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad o'\text{náste} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{onéhé} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{ónenste} \\
\hline
\text{O} & \quad \text{oýu:kwa} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{oyé} \text{gwa} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{oiën:kwa} \\
\hline
\text{O} & \quad \text{kanhóha} \quad \text{or kánhohe} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{ghanhóha} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{kanhóha} \\
\hline
\text{O} & \quad \text{ká:khale} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{g'aka} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{kà:khare}
\end{align*}
\]

---

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\(^2\) shoe
- **C** ahdáhgwa‘
- **M** ahtáh

- **O** ato:ká:\>
- **C** adó:ge\^3
- **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-*

### 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, ñ/e/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\(^3\) pail
- **C** ganá'ja‘
- **M** kaná:tsionk

- **O** kátshe\(^3\) bottle, jar
- **C** gatsé’dá‘
- **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 \( \text{o-} \) 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].)

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{o’kå:la’} \quad \text{ashes, dirt, dust (a-stem)} \\
C & \quad \text{o’géhe’} \\
M & \quad \text{o’kên:ra} \\
O & \quad \text{o’nhúhsa’} \quad \text{egg (C-stem)} \\
C & \quad \text{o’nhóhsa’} \\
M & \quad \text{o’nhónsa} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{áhta’} \quad \text{shoe} \\
C & \quad \text{ahdáhgwa’} \\
M & \quad \text{ahtáh} \\
O & \quad \text{a’l:ná:} \quad \text{bow (weapon)} \\
C & \quad \text{adó:da’} \\
M & \quad \text{a’én:na} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{2.6 The Noun Suffix}\]

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 \(-\text{a’} \) or \(-\text{á:} \) in Oneida, \(-\text{a’} \) in Cayuga, and \(-\text{a} \) in Mohawk. The suffix \(-\text{é:} \) or \( \text{é:}/-\text{é:}’ \) is also quite common. Other suffixes, such as \(-\text{i’} \) in Oneida and \(-\text{on} \) in Mohawk, occur less frequently.

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{ohté:l} \quad \text{root} \\
C & \quad \text{okdéha’} \\
M & \quad \text{ohtè:ra} \\
O & \quad \text{o:náste’} \quad \text{corn} \\
C & \quad \text{onếhe’} \\
M & \quad \text{ó:nenste} \\
\end{align*}
\]
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.)

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.

**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.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>owahá:ke</td>
<td>on the road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ohahá:geh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ohahá:ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kalha:kú</td>
<td>in the woods, in the bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gahá:go:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kahá:kon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -č’geh in Cayuga, and -á:ke in Mohawk.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>atl:la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atlahá:ke</td>
<td>fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atlahá:ke</td>
<td>on the fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>adehę’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adehe:geh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>aten’en:ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aten’enhrá:ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ka:lute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kalutá:ke</td>
<td>log, tree trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kalutá:ke</td>
<td>on the log, on the tree trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ga:da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga:da’ageh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>karón:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karontá:ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>o:wise</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>owisá:ke</td>
<td>ice</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ovisá:ke</td>
<td>on the ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>owí:dra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>owí:dra’ageh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>o:wise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>owisá:ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some nouns have a slightly different meaning when they occur with the external locative suffix, as illustrated by the forms below:

O oshú:kale: ke
oshú:kalá:ke
board
floor, on the floor

C ganéhsda:’
ganéhsda:’ 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:’
onawa’štástá:ke
mud
in the mud

C o’dá:’
o’da:’ geh

M onawa’tsta
ona’wástá:ke

O kà:yé:’
kà: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 *in*. 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 -hát/-hęd/-hent- occurs with the external locative suffix:

O kahńá:ke
kahńá:ke
in the field, on the meadow

C gahńá’ ageh
gahńá’ ageh

M kaheńtå:ke
kahńtå:ke

### 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, -aqo: or -go: 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ka:yále:</td>
<td>bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaya:ákú</td>
<td>in the bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gá:yá:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gá:yá:go:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kái:iare</td>
<td>kái:rakon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kanutó:tshelí:</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kanutó:tslákú</td>
<td>in the box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gahóhrsá:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gahóhrsgó:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>karontó:tshera</td>
<td>karonto'tshera:kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kaná:tshelí:</td>
<td>ditch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaná:tslákú</td>
<td>in the ditch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>oyá:de:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyádágó:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ohrón:wa</td>
<td>ohrón:wakon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kahuwe:ýá:</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kahu:wáku</td>
<td>in the boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gahó:wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gahó:wägo:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kahonwé:iá</td>
<td>kahón:wakon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kátsí: or kátsyá:</td>
<td>dish, plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or átsí: or átsyá:</td>
<td>in the dish, on the plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káksakú</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gájé:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gájé gó:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>káksa</td>
<td>káksakon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 | mud      |
|    | onawá:tstaku | inside, deep within, the mud |
| C  | o’daː | o’dá:go: |
| M  | onawá:tsta | onawá:tstakon |

### Other Locative Suffixes

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

| O  | ka:nákte | bed      |
|    | kanaktó:kú | under the bed |
| C  | ganá:kda | ganákdágo: |
| M  | kanákta | kanaktó:kon |

| O  | okáha | blanket |
|    | okáhó:kú | under the blanket |
| C  | oyéhsra | oyéhso:go: |
| M  | áhsoire | ahsíró:kon |

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

| O  | kanúhsa | house      |
|    | kanuhá:ka | near the house |
| C  | ganóhsa | ganóhsá:ka |
| M  | kanónhsa | kanonhsákta |
O kanáːtshēliʔ
kanaʔtsláktaʔ
kanaʔtsláktaʔ
ditch
near the ditch
C oyáːde’
oyaːdá:k’ah
M ohshón:wa
ohshonwáktTa

Yet another locative suffix – -aktútyeʔ or -aktútiʔ in Oneida, -akdagye’ or -çkdagye’ in Cayuga, and -aktóntie in Mohawk – expresses the meaning along or alongside.

O atáːlª:laʔ
atáːlahaktútîʔ
fence
along the fence
C adéhê’
adê’ hêkdâːgye’
M aten’en:ra
aten’enhraktóntie

O kawyhúhaʔ
kawyhuhaktútîʔ
river, stream
along the river, along the stream
C gihe:k
gihekdkáːgye’
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.
### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>laksá:</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>boy (literally he child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>haksá:ah</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>girl (literally she child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>raksá:'a</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>yeksá:</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>old man (literally he old person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>eksá:ah</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ieksá:'a</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>lokst:ha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>old woman (literally she old person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hohsdé:eh or hagêhjih</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>rokstén:ha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>akokst:ha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gohsdé:eh or egêhjih</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>akokstén:ha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>lu:kwé</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>man (literally he person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hó:gweh</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>rón:kwe</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>yaku:kwé</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>woman (literally she person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>agó:gweh</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>iakón:kwe</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>akaukwé:ta</td>
<td>her relative (literally her person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gáogw'eda'</td>
<td>his relative (literally his person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>akaonkwé:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>laukwé:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>háogw eda'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>raonkwé:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>tehniyáshe</td>
<td>two persons (two males, or one male and one female; literally the two are together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekniyáshe</td>
<td>two female persons (literally the two females are together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>dehadiyáhshe:</td>
<td>two male persons (literally the two males are together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>degaeyáhshe:</td>
<td>two persons (two females, or one male and one female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>tehniíashe</td>
<td>two persons (two males, or one male and one female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekeniíashe</td>
<td>two female persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To specify *two children*, the dualic prepronominal prefix is added to the stem for *child* – *-ksá/-ksá:'a/-ksá:'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/-ogweh/-ón:kwe*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>tehniksá:</td>
<td>two children (two boys, or one boy and one girl)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>hadiksá: ah or dehadiksá: ah</td>
<td>two male children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekniksá:</td>
<td>two female children</td>
<td></td>
<td>gaeksá: ah or degaeksá: ah</td>
<td>two children (two girls, or one boy and one girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>tehniksà:'a</td>
<td>two children (two boys, or one boy and one girl)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dehn:ó:gweh</td>
<td>two male persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekeniksà:'a</td>
<td>two female children</td>
<td></td>
<td>dekn:ó:gweh</td>
<td>two male persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kayé niha:tí</td>
<td>four persons (all males, or a group of males and females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wísk niku:tí</td>
<td>five female persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>géi: nihé:nó:</td>
<td>four male persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hwihs nigá:go:</td>
<td>five persons (all females, or a group of males and females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kaié:ri nihá:ti</td>
<td>four persons (all males, or a group of males and females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wísk nikón:ti</td>
<td>five female persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’\(^7\) shúha
  kutiksa’shúha
  children (all boys, or boys and girls)
  girls
- C hadiksa’shó:’öh
  gaeksa’shó:’öh
  children (all girls, or boys and girls)
  boys
- M ratiksa’okón:’a
  kontiksa’okón:’a
  children (all boys, or boys and girls)
  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’\(^7\) shúha
  wísk nikutí kutiksa’shúha
  four children (boys, or a combination of boys and girls)
  five girls
- C géi: nìhë:nò: hadiksa’shó:’öh
  hwihs nìgà:’öh:
  four boys
  five children (girls, or a combination of boys and girls)
- M kaië:ri nìhá:ti ratiksa’okón:’a
  wísk nikón:ti kontiksa’okón:’a
  four children (boys, or a combination of boys and girls)
  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’\(^7\) niha
  my father (*literally* he is a father to me)
- C ĥà’nih
- M rake’niha

- O shukwa’\(^7\) niha
  our father (*literally* he is a father to us)
- C sogwa’nih
- M shonkwa’niha
O aksótha
C ögéhs:ot
M akhsótha

O laksótha
C hágéhs:ot
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-.

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\(^3\) or -e\(^7\)), 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\(^7\)  arm (e.g., in a reference to a drawing of an arm)
      knánatsá:há:ke  my arm, on my arm
C onę:tsá:  geh
      knętsá:geh
M onęntsá:  ke
      kenentsá: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 snántsá:há:ke  on your arm
      lanántsá:há:ke  on his arm
twanántsá:há:ke  on our arms (inclusive plural)
      swanántsá:há: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.)

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
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  ohkwá: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 (literally my animal dog)
C  age:tse:né: só:wa:s
M  akitshe:nen è:rhar

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 (-yá’í- in Oneida, -ya’d- in Cayuga, and -ia’í- 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-.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
O & \text{shayá: tat takó:s} \quad \text{one cat (literally one body cat)} \\
C & \text{sgayá: dát dagu:s} \\
M & \text{skaiá: tat takó:s}
\end{array}
\]

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-.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
O & \text{tekniyáshe takó:s} \quad \text{two cats (literally the two are together cat)} \\
C & \text{degadiyahshé: dagu:s} \\
M & \text{tekeniiáshe takó:s}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
O & \text{áhs} \ 3 \ \text{nikutí takó:s} \quad \text{three cats (literally three there are that many cat)} \\
C & \text{ahsé} \ 3 \ \text{h nige: nó: dagu:s} \\
M & \text{áhsen nikón:ti takó:s}
\end{array}
\]

### 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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
O & \text{teyehná: tahlíhkhwá:} \quad \text{potato masher (literally one uses it to break up potatoes)} \\
C & \text{ekóny’ ata’} \quad \text{cooking stove (literally one uses it to cook)} \\
M & \text{teierihstohrákstha} \quad \text{typewriter (literally one uses it to squeeze metal against metal)}
\end{array}
\]
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{kaya’táklahse}^7 \\
& \quad \text{teyotahyá:ktu} \\
& \quad \text{shakonawilahsulu:níhe}^7 \\
& \quad \text{or shakonawirotákwas} \\
& \quad \text{tehatenhohótha}^7 \\
& \quad \text{goat (literally its body is smelly)} \\
& \quad \text{banana (literally the fruit is crooked)} \\
& \quad \text{dentist (literally he fixes their teeth; he pulls their teeth)} \\
& \quad \text{goalie (literally he stands at the door)} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{gaya’ádagrahs} \\
& \quad \text{deyodáhyá:kdq:} \\
& \quad \text{hadeń’ojódagwahs} \\
& \quad \text{dehanhohó:ta}^3 \\
& \quad \text{goat (literally its body is smelly)} \\
& \quad \text{banana (literally the fruit is crooked)} \\
& \quad \text{dentist (literally he pulls their teeth)} \\
& \quad \text{goalie (literally he stands at the door)} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{kaia’tákeras} \\
& \quad \text{teiotahti:kton} \\
& \quad \text{shakonawirahserón:nis} \\
& \quad \text{or shakonawirotákwas} \\
& \quad \text{tehata’aranónha} \\
& \quad \text{goat (literally its body is smelly)} \\
& \quad \text{banana (literally the fruit is crooked)} \\
& \quad \text{dentist (literally he fixes their teeth; he pulls their teeth)} \\
& \quad \text{goalie (literally he guards the net)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{tsyohtahkwaka:yú} \\
& \quad \text{raspberry (literally old shoe)} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{ji’daná:we}^3 \\
& \quad \text{butterfly (literally wet bird)} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{io’nhya’¡:ron} \\
& \quad \text{rainbow (literally leaning stick)} \\
& \quad \text{or ió:nhiote}
\end{align*}
\]

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.
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.

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 -shúha or -okúha in Oneida, -shọ’ or shọ:qh in Cayuga, and shòn:’a in Mohawk.

2.21
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:wšúha
    laowšúha
C hó:weh
    howšó:’ah
M raó:wen
    raowenshón: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’shu
    owaha’ké
    shu
    all over the roads
C oháha
    ohaha’gésho’
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:wa 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’nowá
    otsi’nowákó:
    mouse
    rat
onú’úsela’
    onú’usla’kó:
    squash, melon
    pumpkin
á:nuk
    anukkó:
    onion
    leek
```
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/-ha or -a.

O aknulhá: my mother
C knó:ha'
M ake'nisténha

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 unanalyzable nouns, when it is translated by the word late. The decessive suffix is -ká in Oneida, -gehę:' in Cayuga, and -kénha in Mohawk.

O lake̱ nihá my father
lake̱ niháká my late father
aknulhá: my mother
aknulha'ká my late mother
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, -q:weh or -qweh in Cayuga, and -ó:n:we in Mohawk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>u:kwe</th>
<th>person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ukwehu:wé</td>
<td>a genuine person, a Native person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyú:kwa'y</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyú kwa'u:wé</td>
<td>genuine tobacco, Native tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>q:gweh</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ogwehó:weh</td>
<td>a genuine person, a Native person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyé'gwa'y</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oyé gw'áqweh</td>
<td>genuine tobacco, Native tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ó:n:kwe</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onkwehón:we</td>
<td>a genuine person, a Native person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oiën:kwa</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oien'kwa'ón:we</td>
<td>genuine tobacco, Native tobacco</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 \textit{-hlo:lúː}\ or \textit{-hlo:núː}\ in Oneida, \textit{-hó:nq}'\ in Cayuga, and \textit{-hró:non}\ in Mohawk. All the examples below have the populative suffix.

\begin{itemize}
\item[a] \textit{O} latiluhya\!'\textit{kehlo:lúː}: angels \textit{(literally)} those from the heavens or sky, sky-dwellers
\item[a] \textit{O} latinat\a:\textit{kehlo:lúː}: city people
\item[c] \textit{C} hadi\ö\textit{hy\¨}a\!'\textit{gehó:nq}': angels
\item[c] \textit{C} Otowege\ö\textit{hó:nq}': Inuit \textit{(literally)} those from the North
\item[m] \textit{M} ratironhia\!'\textit{kehro:non}: angels
\item[m] \textit{M} Wasto\textit{hró:non}: Americans \textit{(literally)} those from Boston
\end{itemize}

Another populative suffix is \textit{-a:káː}\ in Oneida, \textit{-há:ka}\ in Mohawk:

\begin{itemize}
\item[a] \textit{O} Onyote\!\!'\textit{a:káː}: the Oneida \textit{(literally)} people of the standing stone
\item[m] \textit{M} Kanien\textit{kehá:ka}: the Mohawk \textit{(literally)} people of the flint
\end{itemize}

\section*{2.27 Nouns With the Characterizer Suffix}

The \textit{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 – \textit{according to the ways of}. The customary suffix is \textit{-néha}\ or \textit{-kéha}\ in Oneida and Mohawk, and \textit{-neha}:'\ or \textit{-geha}'\ in Cayuga.

\begin{itemize}
\item[a] \textit{O} Ukwehu:wé\!
\item[a] \textit{O} Ukwehuwehnéha: a Native person according to the ways of Native people
\item[a] o\!'\textit{slu:ní}: a white person according to the ways of the white man
\item[a] o\!'\textit{sluní}\!'\textit{kéha}
\item[c] \textit{C} Ogwehó:weh\!
\item[c] \textit{C} Ogwehowé\textit{neha}:'\ a Native person according to the ways of Native people
\item[c] hahnq'\oh\!
\item[c] hnyq'\oh\textit{néha}:'\ a white person according to the ways of the white man
\end{itemize}
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 Onodowá'ga:'

the Seneca (literally 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 aksótha
aksóthné:ke

my grandmother at my grandmother's

C ogéhsot
ogéhsotgeh

M aksótha
aksóthnéha
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*
(*háː/che̞/henː* or *no* (*táh/tê/iâh*). 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 *kǝ/gǝ* 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** Sahlûkha Ɂ A Ukwehuwehnéha. Do you speak the Native language? *(literally* Do you speak according to the Native people’s way?)
- **C** Sahò:ká Ɂ geh
  Ògwewhowénhna:.’
- **M** Sahrónkha ken
  Onkwehonwehnéha.

- **O** Se:kà:se Ɂ swahyo:wáne:.’
- **C** Sa:gá’s geh swayahó:wa:.’
- **M** Sé:ka’s *ken* ne sewahió:wané.

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*/*sqː/ónhka, meaning who – occurs at the beginning of the sentence. Interrogative particles perform the function of pronouns.

- **O** Úhka Ɂ ta:yá:. Who is coming?
- **C** Só: hne:’ naht dá:yé:’.
- **M** Ónhka tá:ien.

- **O** Náhte Ɂ yesa:yáts. What is your name?
- **C** Dë’ho’dé’ syá:sòh.
- **M** Ohnahò:ten iesá:iat.

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

- **O** Úhka Ɂ náhte Ɂ kǝ:i:yú:se:.’ Who’s here? *(literally* 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 *sqː*, as in the first example given for Cayuga above, or just one of them, as in the two examples below:

- **C** Só: *naht* dá:yé:’
  Só: hne:’ dá:yé:’.
In Mohawk, a shorter form of the particle *ohnahö:ten* *(what)* is also used:

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

### 3.4 Manner Particles in Interrogative Sentences

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, *dë* or *dë'ḥo'dë* 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.

O *Oh niwahsohkó:tə.* What colour is it?
C *Dë'ḥo'dë' niyohsöhgö' dë::.*
M *Oh niwahsohkö:ten.*

O *Oh niyót tesatuhutsyo:ní.* What kind do you want?
C *Dë'ho'dë' niyöt* desadöghwe:jö:nih.
M *Oh ni:ioht tesatonhwentsió:ni.*

### 3.5 Locational Particles in Interrogative Sentences

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

O *Kátsha' nutáhse'*.
C *Gaë nhó: nódáhse'.*
   or *Gaë nhó:weh nódáhse'.*
M *Ka' nó:n:we nontáhse.*

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

O *Kátsha' nú: nika:yá:.* Where is it? *(literally Where is it lying?)*
   *Kátsha' nú: nikáhele'*.
   *Where is it? *(literally Where is it sitting?)*
C *Gaë nhó:weh nigá:ye',*
   *Gaë nhó:weh nigáhe':.*
M *Ka' nó:n:we niká:ien.*
   *Ka' nó:n:we nikáhere.*
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:

|   | Kátshaʔ ka:yá: waʔshni:nú: | Which one did you buy? *(literally Where is it lying, the one you bought?)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Gaʔ ni:gá: ahsni:nóʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kaʔ niká:ien washni:non</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6 Temporal Particles in Interrogative Sentences

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kánhke tátéhseʔ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Hwé:dóh detséʔ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kátke tentehse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tó: naʔtesohsliyá:ku.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Do: nisohsriyá:’goh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tó: na’tesohseriá:kon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tó: niyohwistá:e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Do: niyohwija’dá:e:ʔ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tó: niiohwistá:e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Dó: ni:yó: i:wá:t swahyo:wá:’kayá:go:.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 *gwaʔ* *(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 Úhkaʔok ta:yá:. Someone is coming.
M Ónhkaʔok tá:i'en.

O Tok kà nihsatéyálhaʔ. Are you doing something?
M Othé:non ken nihsatálra.

O Kátshaʔok nú: yehyo:té:. He is working somewhere.
C Gaęgwà ʔho:wéh hehoiho dë:]. Gaęgwà ʔho:wéh hehoiho dë:].
M Kaʔok nón:we iehoió'te.

O Kánhké ek kwí: tó:téhseʔ. Come back sometime!
C Hvédogwà ʔde:te:'. Hvédogwà ʔde:te:'.
M Kátke ek nón:we tentóhse.

O Yah úhkaʔ teʔ yutekhu:níheʔ. No one is eating.
C Té ʔsgágà: ʔde eagodekó:níh.
M lah ónhka tha'etiakotská:hon.

O Yah náhteʔ teʔ wakhni:nú:. I did not buy anything.
C Té ʔsgahó dë ʔdewakni:nóh.
M lah othé:non tewakni: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 – kaʔiká/né:gyeh/kí: or kí:ken – indicates relative closeness to the speaker; that – thiká/tó:gyeh/thí or thi:ken – indicates relative distance.

O Né: kaʔiká waʔkhni:nú:. I bought this one.
Né: thiká i:kélhe ʔ akhní:nú:. I want to buy that one.
C Ne: gyéh akni:nó:. Ne:gyéh akni:nó:. 
M Kí:ken wa'khni:non.
Thi:ken i:kehre a:khni:non.
Relative Distance Particles

Relative distance particles are used to indicate degrees of distance from the speaker and the participants in the conversation. For example, the particle kah/dagwá:dih/kèn:tho (here) indicates relative closeness to the speaker; the particle thó/to:e:tho (there) indicates relative distance from the speaker (and in some contexts greater closeness to the listener). The particle ísi/sigwá:dih/ísí 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:/nho:wéh/nón:we) or by a particle that designates direction (nukwá:/gwa:dih/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 Kåh nukwá: tasátkwiht. Move over this way, in this direction!

C Dagwa:dih dasá:trihs.
M Kèn:tho nonká:ti tahnátkwi't.

O Tho nú: niyakwanehwétsta’. There is where we sleep.
C To nho:wéh ogwéda:hta’.

O Ísi’ nukwá: yahá:tsi kanutó:tshelí’.
C Sigwá:dih hë’ syé: ne’ gahóhrsra’.
M Ísi nonká:ti iahá:tseien ne karontó:tshaera.

O Kå:tho kå ka:yá: akwá’nikuhlésta’.
C Në:tóh geh ga:yé’ agéjíhwa’.
M Kèn:tho ken ká:ien ne ake’nikonhréksthá.

O Thó kå tka:yá: akwá’nikuhlésta’.
C To geh nho:wéh tga:yé’ agéjíhwa’.
M È:tho ken nonká:ti tká:ien ake’nikonhréksthá.
The particles $k\alpha^7/n\check{e}toh/ken'$ or $k\check{e}n:tho$ 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  $K\alpha^7 nuk\check{w}a: k\check{a}hele^7$.  Here it is (sitting)!
C  $N\check{e}t\check{o}h g\check{a}h\check{e}':$.  
M  $Ke'n' k\check{a}here$.  

O  $\check{I}s\check{i}^7 nuk\check{w}a: tk\check{a}hele^7$.  There it is (sitting)!
C  $Sigw\check{a}:d\check{i}h tga\check{h}\check{e}':$.  
M  $\check{I}s\check{i} tk\check{a}here$.  

3.11  **Locational Particles**

*Locational particles* – for example, $\check{a}k\check{t}a^7/iw\check{a}:k\check{a}h/\check{a}k\check{t}a$ (*near*) – can specify the location of a person, thing, or event. The Cayuga locational particle $iw\check{a}:k\check{a}h$ has the structure of a verb. (Some particles originate in verb forms.)

O  $\check{a}k\check{t}a^7$
    $\check{a}t\check{t}ste$
    $\check{e}:nik$
    $\check{o}hn\check{a}:k\alpha^7$
    $\text{near}$
    $\text{outside}$
    $\text{up, above}$
    $\text{behind, at the back of}$

C  $iw\check{a}:k\check{a}h$
    $as\check{d}eh$
    $h\check{e}:tgeh$
    $\check{o}hn\check{a} \check{g}\check{e}:{'}$
    $\text{near}$
    $\text{outside}$
    $\text{up, above}$
    $\text{behind, at the back of}$

M  $\check{a}k\check{t}a$
    $\check{a}t\check{t}ste$
    $\check{e}:ne\check{k}en$
    $\check{o}hn\check{a}:\check{ke}\check{n}$
    $\text{near}$
    $\text{outside}$
    $\text{up, above}$
    $\text{behind, at the back of}$

3.12  **Temporal Particles**

*Temporal particles* – for example, $k\alpha:lo:/g\alpha:o^7/k\alpha:ro$ (*before*) – are used to convey various ideas of time.

O  $n\lambda$ or $\check{o}n\lambda$
    $kal\check{\lambda}$
    $at\check{sy}\check{\acute{o}}k$
    $n\text{ow}$
    $\text{before (also this side)}$
    $\text{after a while}$

C  $\check{o}:n\check{e}\check{h}$
    $g\alpha:o^{'7}$
    $w\check{a}':\check{j}i\check{h}$

**Particles**  41
3.13 Quantity Particles

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>ón:wa</th>
<th>now</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ká:ro</td>
<td>before (also this side)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa'tsiók</td>
<td>after a while</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>ostúha</th>
<th>a little bit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e:só:</td>
<td>a lot, much, many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akwe:kú</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>stó:ḥah</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>í:so'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gwé:goḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| M        | ostòn:ha |                         |
|----------| é:so'    |                          |
|          | akwé:kon |                           |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>ótyahk</th>
<th>some of them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>óti'a'ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.14 Frequency Particles

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>tyótkut</th>
<th>always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>swatye:lÁ</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yotká:te</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yah nuwátú</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>dyotgó:t or gyotgó:t</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tgwé:he'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ogtá de'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tÉ'hwé:doh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>tiótkon</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sewatié:ren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iotká:te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iah nonwén:ton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discourse Particles

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/yh/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 nikú sahwístaïn. I wonder how much money you have?
C Dó: yh ni:yó sahwíhsdaï.  
M Tó: onhte ni:kon sahwístaien.

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.

C Né:‘ gi’ gi:dòh.  
M Né:‘e ki: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 ki’ wáh. Come on then!
C Hao disáh.  
M Ha’o ki wáhi.

O Ná ki’ wáh. Goodbye!
C O:néh g’ihyá’.  
M Ö:nen ki wáhi.
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.

### 3.16 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.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Owaha’késhu’ yahá:ke’ wa’khe:ká: tsikwilá:tu’ khále’ talu’kó:.</td>
<td>I went down the road (and) I saw a squirrel and a duck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Ohaha’géh há’gé: joni:tsgró:t twé:twe:t hni’ agé:gé’.</td>
<td>I went down the road (and) I also saw a squirrel and a duck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Wake:ká:se’ swahyo:wa’ne’ khále’ awá:hihte’.</td>
<td>I like (the taste of) apples (and also) strawberries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Age:ga’s ne’ swahyo:wa’ jihso:dáhk hni’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Waké:ka’s ne sewahió:wane tahnón: ne niiohontésa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Kanatá:ke yuwehtú:ne’ tahnú: khe’ká:ha yuwehú:hné:.</td>
<td>We went to town (and) my younger sister came with us.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/nige őh/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 ká tesatuhutsyoní kati/katu ohne:kános.
C Onó'gwá ne' nige őh ne' ohne:ganóhs desadghwe:jó:nih.

Do you want (either) milk or water?

O Tesatuhutsyoní ká kati/katu só:tsi kano:lu.
C Desadghwe:jó:nih géh trehs nige őh ganó:

Do you want it or is it too expensive (and so you don't want it)?

The particle or sequence of particles tá:thuni/gyé:gwá’ g’ishëh/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:

C Déguyadawënyéha’ gyé:gwá’ g’ishëh hni’ egyádawé:
M Enwá:ton tentatatawenriéhsa tóka’ ó:ni entiatá:wen.

We could go for a walk or maybe go for a swim.

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.


I like apples, but I like strawberries more.
Because

The particle combinations né: tsi\(^7\), in Oneida, and né:'e tsi, in Mohawk, convey the meaning *because*. In Cayuga, the particle sgeh or tseh is used to express this meaning.

O Tehoká:t thik\(^\prime\)Gavin, né: tsi\(^7\) na' tehahsine:sú: sê\(^7\).

Gavin is fast because he has long legs.


Because he has long legs, he's a fast runner (*literally* 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 (*literally* that's why he's a fast runner).

That

The *subordinating particle* tsi\(^7\)/sgeh or tseh/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:li: tsi\(^7\) skehrhalenyú: ne\(^7\).

I told him that I'm going to wash dishes.


M Wahihró:ri tsi enskeksorénion.

O Wahihlo:li: tsi\(^7\) niwahsohkó:tł aké: slet.

I told him what colour my car is.

C Aheho:wi: sgeh niyohsohgo'dé: ne' agé' drghá.'

M Wahihró:ri tsi niwahsohkó: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 (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:, háóhe', 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 constrast.

- C Gwí:de gyaqóhe':éh to'drehtí:yo:.
  Háóhe' gyaqóhe':éh to'drehtí:yo:.
  Raónha tiaonhá:'a tho'serehtí:io.

Peter has the nicest car. *He* has the nicest car. (The pronoun is used for emphasis: It is *he* who has the nicest car.)
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, de' ní:s ho'dé' syá:söh.

M

Nok ní:se', nahò:ten ní:se' iesá:ıats.

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'/qhe/'-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**

*i:* 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**

*i:‘* first person, singular and plural (*I, we*)

i:s second person, singular and plural (*you*)

hàqhe’ third person masculine singular (*he*)

gàqhe’ third person feminine singular (*she, someone*)

áqhe’ third person neuter singular (*it*)

hönqhe’ third person masculine nonsingular (*they*)

gönqhe’ third person feminine nonsingular (*they*)

onqhe’ third person neuter nonsingular (*they*)

4. Some dialects use *hàq:ha’*. 
Mohawk

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

To emphasize that the person referred to is the only one, the ending 
-tsí:wa/-eh/-a can be added to the stem -ulha/-qhê/-onha:

O   akulha tśi:wa I alone; I, by myself
    laulha tśi:wa he alone; he, by himself
C   agohê: eh
    haohê: eh
M   akonhà:'a
    raohà:'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   i: akwa:wâ it is mine
    laulô: lao:wâ that is his
C   i: agâ:wêh
    haq:he'hô:wêh
M   i:i akwâ:wen
    raónha raó:wen

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 – -awâ in Oneida, -â:wêh in Cayuga, and -â:wen 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:wà first person singular (*mine*)
- ukya:wà first person dual (*ours*)
- ukwa:wà first person plural (*ours*)
- sa:wà second person, singular and plural (*yours*)
- lao:wà third person masculine singular (*his*)
- ao:wà third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (*hers/its*)
- ako:wà third person feminine-indefinite singular (*hers, someone’s*)
- laona:wà third person masculine nonsingular (*theirs*)
- aona:wà third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (*theirs*)

**Cayuga**
- agá:wèh first person singular (*mine*)
- ogyá:wèh first person dual (*ours*)
- ōgwá:wèh first person plural (*ours*)
- sà:wèh second person, singular and plural (*yours*)
- hó:wèh third person masculine singular (*his*)
- gó:wèh third person feminine singular (*hers, someone’s*)
- ó:wèh third person neuter singular (*its*)
- honá:wèh third person masculine nonsingular (*theirs*)
- goná:wèh third person feminine nonsingular (*theirs*)
- oná:wèh third person neuter nonsingular (*theirs*)

**Mohawk**
- aká:wen first person singular (*mine*)
- onkiá:wen first person dual (*ours*)
- onkwá:wen first person plural (*ours*)
- sá:wen second person, singular and plural (*yours*)
- raó:wen third person masculine singular (*his*)
- aó:wen third person feminine-zoic or neuter singular (*hers/its*)
- akó:wen third person feminine-indefinite singular (*hers, someone’s*)
- laoná:wen third person masculine nonsingular (*theirs*)
- aoná:wen third person feminine-zoic nonsingular (*theirs*)
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ohkaʔ akó:wen.</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>Whose is it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Só: naht gó:wėh.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Onhka akó:wen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[
\text{PREPRONOMINAL PREFIX(ES)} + \text{PRONOMINAL PREFIX(ES)} + \text{STEM}
\]

BASE + ASPECT SUFFIX (verb ending)

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 prepositional prefixes: the factual (aorist), the future, or the optative (indefinite). These three prepositional 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kato:láts</th>
<th>I hunt, I'm hunting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa'kato:láte'</td>
<td>I hunted, I did hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akato:láte'</td>
<td>I will hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakatola:tú</td>
<td>I might hunt, I should hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sato:lát</td>
<td>I have (already) hunted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hunt!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gadó:wa:s</td>
<td>I hunt, I'm hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aga:dó:wa:t</td>
<td>I hunted, I did hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñga:dó:wa:t</td>
<td>I will hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a:gadó:wa:t</td>
<td>I might hunt, I should hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agadowá:dóh</td>
<td>I have (already) hunted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sadó:wa:t</td>
<td>hunt!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O katkétswas</td>
<td>I get up, I keep getting up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'katkétso</td>
<td>I got up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakatkétswa</td>
<td>I have gotten up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first form has the habitual suffix -as, which is added to the base -atketskw-. The second form has the punctual suffix -l (and the factual prefix wa), but the final sound of the base (w) has been replaced by o; thus, in this form, -atketskw- becomes -atketsko-. 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 -h 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 -nc and -A in Oneida and -ne and -en in Mohawk are also quite common. In Cayuga, punctual aspect forms end in -h, -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 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 prepronominal prefixes, a straightforward way of identifying a verb in the punctual aspect is to look for a prepronominal prefix. The future prefix is always $\text{a-}$/$\text{e-}$/$\text{en}$-. The factual prefix is $\text{wa}$-, $\text{wa}$-, or $\text{we}$- in Oneida, $\text{wa}$-, $\text{wa}$-, or $\text{we}$- in Mohawk, and $\text{a}$- or $\text{e}$- in Cayuga. The optative prefix is $\text{a}$- or $\text{a}$:- 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 $\text{e}$ (if there is one) or $\text{e}$, as well as the modal prefix. In Cayuga also, the imperative lacks the modal prefixes; a final $\text{-}$, however, is replaced by $\text{-h}$.

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** $\text{ke}^{-7}\text{nîkhuhe}^{-7}$ I sew (regularly), I’m a sewer
- **C** $\text{knîkha}^{-7}$
- **M** $\text{ke}^{-7}\text{nîkhons}$

- **O** $\text{yok}^{-7}\text{no:lé:se}^{-7}$ it keeps raining, it rains off and on, it always rains
- **C** $\text{ohsdåqgye}^{-7}s$
- **M** $\text{iokenno:re}^{-7}s$

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** $\text{lato:låts}$ he hunts (regularly), he’s a hunter
- **C** $\text{hadó:wa:s}$
- **M** $\text{rató:rats}$

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.

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.

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.

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:

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
C agá:tgé
M wa'katkétsko

I got up, I did get up

O wa'kenhotu:kó:
C agenhodó:go
M wa'kehnhotón:ko

I opened the door

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'okén:nore
M wa'okén:nore

it started to rain

O uthklo:kó:
M ónkeren'ne

it started to snow

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'ekhuniyá:na
C a'ekonyáhna
M wa'ekhoní:ndá:ne or
wa'ekhonni:ndá:na

she left to cook

O wahatolátha
C ahadowá:ta
M wahatorátha

he went off to hunt (he set off in
order to hunt)
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** kēkhu:ní:  I will cook it
- **C** qege:kó:ni
- **M** enkekhón:ni

- **O** haht:tí:  he will leave
- **C** ēhahdé:di
- **M** enhahtén:ti

- **O** tkatkal:lu  I will swing
- **C** dēgadōhwi:da’t
- **M** enkathónwi:ha: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:ní:  I might cook it, I should cook it
- **C** a:gekó:ni
- **M** a:kekhn: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 kí: thau:tú: usahsaht:tí:  you can’t go home
- **C** tawa:dó: h o: sahsahdé:di
- **M** iah thaón:ton onsahsahtén:ti

### 5.8 The Imperative

The *imperative mode* is used to express commands:

- **O** Senho:tú.  Close the door!
- **C** Senhóha:.
- **M** Sehnho:ton.

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

- **O** Ták! ̧ ahsenho:tú.  Don't close the door!
- **C** Aghwih ̧ ēhsénho:ha:.
- **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\(^2\) utahutáyahta\(^5\) tsi:ks.
M Sehnhó:ton tóhsa aontakontáweia'te ne tsi:ks.

**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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kato:láts kato:láts kwe(^7)</td>
<td>I hunt, I'm hunting  I used to hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gadó:wa:s gadowas gé (^3)</td>
<td>he (^3) he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kató:rats kató:rats kwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The habitual past suffix is -(h)kwe\(^2\) in Oneida, -gehę’\(^7\) or -k in Cayuga, and -(h)kwe\(^2\) 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 \(^7\) of the habitual ending -ha\(^2\) is deleted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>kethé:tha(^7) kethé:thahkwe(^7)</td>
<td>I pound, I'm a pounder   I used to pound, I used to be a pounder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, in Oneida, the habitual suffix -he\(^2\) is replaced by the suffix -ha\(^7\), and the \(^7\) is deleted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ke(^3)nīkuhe(^7) ke(^3)nīkuhāhahkwe(^7)</td>
<td>I sew, I'm a sewer   I used to sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wakathú:té</td>
<td>I hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakathú:téhkwe?</td>
<td>I used to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>aga:tó:de</td>
<td>I used to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aga:tó:dek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wakathón:te</td>
<td>I resided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakathón:tehkwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>knákele?</td>
<td>I live, I reside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knáklehkwe?</td>
<td>I used to live, I used to reside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gená:gre</td>
<td>I used to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gená:grek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kenákere</td>
<td>I resided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kenákerehkwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>lólehs?</td>
<td>he is fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lolé’sax:hné:</td>
<td>he was fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hóhsé:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hohsé:hne:’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>róre’sen</td>
<td>I resided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rore’se:n:ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wakatkáthu</td>
<td>I have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakatkathú:ne?</td>
<td>I had seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>atgátgahtwéh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atgatgahtwé:hne:’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wakatkáhthon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakatkahtón:ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stative Past</th>
<th>Future-Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wakatnutolyá:tu</td>
<td>I’m playing</td>
<td>I will be playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakatnutolya’tú:ne’</td>
<td>I was playing</td>
<td>It will be playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hodénéidéoḥ</td>
<td>he is humble</td>
<td>He will be humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hodénéidéoḥne:’</td>
<td>he was humble</td>
<td>He will be humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wakatkarí:ton</td>
<td>I’m playing</td>
<td>I will be playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakatkarítón:ne</td>
<td>I was playing</td>
<td>It will be playing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative past forms end in -:ne’ 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 – -hake’ or -ke’ in Oneida, -he:k, -ho: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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stative Past</th>
<th>Future-Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>la’sháštste’</td>
<td>he is strong</td>
<td>He will be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḥa’sháštsteke’</td>
<td>he will be strong</td>
<td>It will be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ha’šá:sde’</td>
<td>épá’shasde:k</td>
<td>Ehe will be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ra’sháštste</td>
<td>enhašáštsteke</td>
<td>Enhe will be strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stative Past</th>
<th>Future-Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wakathu:té:</td>
<td>I hear</td>
<td>I will be hearing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakathu:téke’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>aga:tó:de’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ewagató:de:k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wakathón:te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enwakashón:teke’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \text{ tekátkwa}^3 & \text{I dance, I am a dancer} \\
 & \text{waknuhwáktanihe}^3 & \text{I am sick} \\
C & \text{degá:tkwa} & \\
 & \text{akno} & \text{kñó:kdá:nih} \\
M & \text{tekennonniáikhwa} & \\
 & \text{wakenonhwáktani} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \text{ kheyá:tkénhas} & \text{I help her} \\
C & \text{keya\’dagé:nhahs} & \\
M & \text{kheia\’takénhas} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.

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, $a$-/$e$-/en-stems, $i$-stems, $o$-stems, and $u$-/$o$-/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
- $tni listálhos$ (1 inclusive dual) $we$ two (you and I) are ironing
- $kutilistálohs$ (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 $u$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 singular</th>
<th>1 exclusive dual</th>
<th>1 exclusive plural</th>
<th>1 inclusive dual</th>
<th>1 inclusive plural</th>
<th>2 singular</th>
<th>2 dual</th>
<th>2 plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$katkáthos$</td>
<td>$yakyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$yakwatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$twatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tswatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$yukáthos$</td>
<td>$yakyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$yakwatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$twatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tswatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tsatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$yakyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$yakwatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tyatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$twatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$tswatkéktíswas$</td>
<td>$satkéktíswas$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Agent pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Oneida
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>watkétskwas</td>
<td>she, or it, gets up, arises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>latkétskwas</td>
<td>he gets up, arises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>indefinite singular</td>
<td>yutkétskwas</td>
<td>she, or someone, gets up, arises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>kyatkétskwas</td>
<td>the two (two female persons) get up, arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>kutkétskwas</td>
<td>they (female persons) get up, arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>yatkétskwas</td>
<td>the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) get up, arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>lutkétskwas</td>
<td>they (male persons, or male and female persons) get up, arise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>knú-waks</td>
<td>I crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive dual</td>
<td>yakninú-waks</td>
<td>we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive plural</td>
<td>yakwanú-waks</td>
<td>we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive dual</td>
<td>tinú-waks</td>
<td>we two (you and I) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive plural</td>
<td>twanú-waks</td>
<td>we all (all of you and I) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>snú-waks</td>
<td>you (singular) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>sninú-waks</td>
<td>you two crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>swanú-waks</td>
<td>you (plural) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>kanú-waks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>lanú-waks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>indefinite singular</td>
<td>yenú-waks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 feminine-zoic dual  kníñú·waks  the two (two female persons) crave (it)
3 feminine-zoic plural  kutíñú·waks  they (female persons) crave (it)
3 masculine dual  níñú·waks  the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) crave (it)
3 masculine plural  latíñú·waks  they (male persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>gatgéhehs</td>
<td>I get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive dual</td>
<td>agyätgéhehs</td>
<td>we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive plural</td>
<td>agwätgéhehs</td>
<td>we (the others present and I, but not you) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive dual</td>
<td>gyatgéhehs</td>
<td>we two (you and I) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive plural</td>
<td>dwatgéhehs</td>
<td>we all (all of you and I) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>satgéhehs</td>
<td>you (singular) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>jatgéhehs</td>
<td>you two get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>swatgéhehs</td>
<td>you (plural) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 neutral singular</td>
<td>watgéhehs</td>
<td>it gets up, arises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine singular</td>
<td>hatgéhehs</td>
<td>he gets up, arises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine singular</td>
<td>ñtgéhehs</td>
<td>she, or someone, gets up, arises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 neutral plural</td>
<td>gëñätgéhehs</td>
<td>they (animals) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine plural</td>
<td>gáottghehs</td>
<td>they (female persons, or male and female persons) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine plural</td>
<td>hëñätgéhehs</td>
<td>they (male persons) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Agent pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Cayuga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>knó:wa:s</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive dual</td>
<td>akni:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive plural</td>
<td>agwa:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive dual</td>
<td>kninó:wa:s</td>
<td>we two (you and I) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive plural</td>
<td>dwanó:wa:s</td>
<td>we all (all of you and I) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>snó:wa:s</td>
<td>you (singular) craves (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>sni:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>you two crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>swa:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>you (plural) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 neuter singular</td>
<td>ganó:wa:s</td>
<td>it craves (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine singular</td>
<td>hanó:wa:s</td>
<td>he craves (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine singular</td>
<td>enó:wa:s</td>
<td>she, or someone, craves (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 neuter plural</td>
<td>gadi:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>they (animals) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine plural</td>
<td>gaenó:wa:s</td>
<td>they (female persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine plural</td>
<td>hadi:nó:wa:s</td>
<td>they (male persons) crave (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>katkétkswas</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>get up, arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive dual</td>
<td>iatiatkétkswas</td>
<td>we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive plural</td>
<td>iakwatkétkswas</td>
<td>we (the others present and I, but not you) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive dual</td>
<td>tiatkétkswas</td>
<td>we two (you and I) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive plural</td>
<td>tewatkétkswas</td>
<td>we all (all of you and I) get up, arise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Agent pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Mohawk

<p>| 1 singular | kenón:waks | I crave (it) |
| 1 exclusive dual | iakeni:kenón:waks | we two (someone and I, but not you, the person being addressed) crave (it) |
| 1 exclusive plural | iakwan:kenón:waks | we (the others present and I, but not you) crave (it) |
| 1 inclusive dual | teni:kenón:waks | we two (you and I) crave (it) |
| 1 inclusive plural | tewa:kenón: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) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>kanón:waks</td>
<td>she, or it, craves (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ranón:waks</td>
<td>he craves (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine- indefinite</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ienón:waks</td>
<td>she, or someone, craves (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>kenínón:waks</td>
<td>the two (two female persons) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>kontínón:waks</td>
<td>they (female persons) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine dual</td>
<td></td>
<td>ninón:waks</td>
<td>the two (two male persons, or a male and a female person) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>ratión:waks</td>
<td>they (male persons, or male and female persons) crave (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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)  
  kathlo:li: | I will tell about (it)  
- **C** gatró:wihs  
  øga:tró:wi |  
- **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:do |  
- **M** kahiá:ton
Agent pronominal prefixes also occur with some verbs that have only a stative aspect form:

- **O**: khn:\-y\-\-s
- **C**: kn\-ye:\-s
- **M**: khn\-n\-\-ies

### 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>wakathlo:li</td>
<td>I am telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dual</td>
<td>yukyathlo:li</td>
<td>we two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural</td>
<td>yukwathlo:li</td>
<td>we are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>sathlo:li</td>
<td>you (singular) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>tsyathlo:li</td>
<td>you two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>swathlo:li</td>
<td>you (plural) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic singular</td>
<td>yothlo:li</td>
<td>she is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine singular</td>
<td>lothlo:li</td>
<td>he is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Patient pronominal prefixes for C-stem verbs – Oneida

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>waknuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>I am sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>yukenuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>we two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>yukanuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>we are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>sanuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>you (singular) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>sninuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>you two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>swanuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>you (plural) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fem.</td>
<td>zoic</td>
<td>yonuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>she is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mas.</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>lonuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>he is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fem.</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>yakonuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>she, or someone, is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fem.</td>
<td>zoic</td>
<td>yotinuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>they (female persons) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mas.</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>lotinuhwáktanihe</td>
<td>they (male persons, or male and female persons) are sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9. Patient pronominal prefixes for a-stem verbs – Cayuga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>aɡaːtróːwiː</td>
<td>I am telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>oɡyaːtróːwiː</td>
<td>we two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>oɡwɑːtróːwiː</td>
<td>we are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>satróːwiː</td>
<td>you (singular) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>jatróːwiː</td>
<td>you two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>swatróːwiː</td>
<td>you (plural) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>neuter singular</td>
<td>otróːwiː</td>
<td>it is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>masculine singular</td>
<td>hɔtróːwiː</td>
<td>he is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine singular</td>
<td>gotróːwiː</td>
<td>she, or someone, is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>neuter nonsingular</td>
<td>onaːtróːwiː</td>
<td>they (animals) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>masculine nonsingular</td>
<td>hɔnaːtróːwiː</td>
<td>they (male persons) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine nonsingular</td>
<td>gonɑːtróːwiː</td>
<td>they (female persons, or male and female persons) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>aknɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>I am sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>oknɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>we two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ɷɡwɑnɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>we are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>sanɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>you (singular) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>snɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>you two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>swanɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>you (plural) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>neuter singular</td>
<td>onɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>it is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>masculine singular</td>
<td>hɔnɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>he is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine singular</td>
<td>gonɔhɔkdáːnɪh</td>
<td>she, or someone, is sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender/Singular/Nonsingular</td>
<td>Verbal Stem</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 neuter nonsingular</td>
<td>odiŋhókdanih</td>
<td>they (animals) are sick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine nonsingular</td>
<td>hodĩŋhókdanih</td>
<td>they (male persons) are sick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine nonsingular</td>
<td>godĩŋhókdanih</td>
<td>they (female persons, or male and female persons) are sick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>wakathró:ri</td>
<td>I am telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dual</td>
<td>iontiathró:ri</td>
<td>we two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural</td>
<td>ionkwathró:ri</td>
<td>we are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>sathró:ri</td>
<td>you (singular) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>tsiathró:ri</td>
<td>you two are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>sewathró:ri</td>
<td>you (plural) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic singular</td>
<td>iothró:ri</td>
<td>she is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine singular</td>
<td>rothró:ri</td>
<td>he is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-indefinite singular</td>
<td>iakothró:ri</td>
<td>she, or someone, is telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine-zoic nonsingular</td>
<td>ionathró:ri</td>
<td>they (female persons) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine nonsingular</td>
<td>ronathró:ri</td>
<td>they (male persons, or male and female persons) are telling about (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>wakenonhwáktani</td>
<td>I am sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dual</td>
<td>ionkenonhwáktani</td>
<td>we two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural</td>
<td>ionkwanonhwáktani</td>
<td>we are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>sanonhwáktani</td>
<td>you (singular) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>senidonhwáktani</td>
<td>you two are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>sewanonhwáktani</td>
<td>you (plural) are sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Pronominal Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine-zoic singular</td>
<td>iononhwáktani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>masculine singular</td>
<td>rononhwáktani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine-indefinite singular</td>
<td>iakononhwáktani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>feminine-zoic nonsingular</td>
<td>iotinonhwáktani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>masculine nonsingular</td>
<td>rotinonhwáktani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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:li  
  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
  lo tá:u  
  he has gone to sleep
  ḥo:táwe'  
  he will sleep
- **C**  
  hó:da’š  
  hodá’qh
  ḗhó:da’
- **M**  
  ró:ta’s  
  rotà:‘on
  enhó:ta’we’
Patient prefixes also occur with some verbs that have only a stative aspect form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>lo:t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakotshá:ni t</td>
<td>she is energetic, a good worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hó:deht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go</td>
<td>tsáhniht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ró:ten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iakotshá:ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>hlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ahi</td>
<td>hó:wi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wahihró:ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuhlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell you (sg)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knihlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell you (du), we (du) tell you (sg) or you (du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell you (pl), we (du) tell you (pl), we (pl) tell you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
   
   2 singular, dual, or plural actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skhlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sknihlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell us (du), you (du) tell me or us (du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell us (pl), you (du) tell us (pl), you (pl) tell me or us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **The actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person**
   1 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khehlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell her or them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lihlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khlo:lihe</td>
<td>I tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
   
   1 exclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yakhihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaknihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (pl) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaknihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>we all (pl) tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
   
   1 inclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yethihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>we all (pl) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnihlo:lihe</td>
<td>we (du) tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twahlo:lihe</td>
<td>we all (pl) tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
   
   2 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shehlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell her or them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etshlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shlo:lihe</td>
<td>you (sg) tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
yetshihlo:lihe\(^7\) you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
etsnihlo:lihe\(^7\) you (du) tell him
etswahlo:lihe\(^7\) you (pl) tell him
snihlo:lihe\(^7\) you (du) tell her (zoic) or it
swahlo:lihe\(^7\) 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:lihe\(^7\) he tells me
shuknihlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells us (du)
shukwahlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells us (pl)

3 masculine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
yahlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells you (sg)
etsnihlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells you (du)
etswahlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells you (pl)

3 feminine-indefinite singular, * or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
yukhlo:lihe\(^7\) she, someone, or they tell me
yukhihlo:lihe\(^7\) 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:lihe\(^7\) she, someone, or they tell you (sg)
yetshihlo:lihe\(^7\) she, someone, or they tell you (du) or you (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
wakhlo:lihe\(^7\) she (zoic) tells me
yuknihlo:lihe\(^7\) she (zoic) tells us (du)
yukwahlo:lihe\(^7\) she (zoic) tells us (pl)

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
sahlo:lihe\(^7\) she (zoic) tells you (sg)
snihlo:lihe\(^7\) she (zoic) tells you (du)
swahlo:lihe\(^7\) 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:lihe\(^7\) he tells her or them
lohlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells him
lahlo:lihe\(^7\) he tells her (zoic) or it

3 feminine-zoic singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
yakohlo:lihe\(^7\) she tells her or them
lohlo:lihe\(^7\) she tells him
yohlo:lihe\(^7\) she tells her (zoic) or it
3 feminine-indefinite singular, or masculine or feminine nonsingular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yutathlo:lihe</td>
<td>she tells her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>she or they tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwahlo:lihe</td>
<td>she or they tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakotihlo:lihe</td>
<td>they (males, or males and females) tell her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakotihlo:lihe</td>
<td>they (females) tell her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwathlo:lihe</td>
<td>they tell them (males, or males and females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwathlo:lihe</td>
<td>they tell them (females)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gōhō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell you (sg)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knihō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell you (du), we (du) tell you (sg) or you (du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwahō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell you (pl), we (du) tell you (pl), we (pl) tell you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
   
   **2 singular, dual, or plural actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skrō:wihs</td>
<td>you (sg) tell me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sknihō:wihs</td>
<td>you (sg) tell us (du), you (du) tell me or us (du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sgwahō:wihs</td>
<td>you (sg) tell us (pl), you (du) tell us (pl), you (pl) tell me or us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **The actor is first or second person, and the undergoer is third person**
   
   **1 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kehō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hehō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gakehō:wihs</td>
<td>I tell them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   **1 exclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akihō:wihs</td>
<td>we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaknihō:wihs</td>
<td>we (du) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shagwahō:wihs</td>
<td>we (pl) tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anihō:wihs</td>
<td>we (du) tell it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agwahō:wihs</td>
<td>we (pl) tell it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 inclusive dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
etihó:wihs we (du) or we (pl) tell her or them
shetnihó:wihs we (du) tell him
shedwahó:wihs we all (pl) tell him
knihó:wihs we (du) tell it
dwahó:wihs we all (pl) tell it

2 singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
shehó:wihs you (sg) tell her
hehsró:wihs you (sg) tell him
shró:wihs you (sg) tell it
gashehó:wihs you (sg) tell them

2 dual or plural actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer
etsihó:wihs you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
shesnihó:wihs you (du) tell him
sheswahó:wihs you (pl) tell him
snihó: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
ähró:wihs he tells me
shqkjnihó:wihs he tells us (du)
shqgwahó:wihs he tells us (pl)

3 masculine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
hyahó:wihs he tells you (sg)
shesenihó:wihs he tells you (du)
sheswahó:wihs he tells you (pl)

3 feminine singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
qkró:wihs she tells me
qkhihó:wihs she tells us (du) or us (pl)

3 feminine singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
esahó:wihs she tells you (sg)
esihó:wihs she tells you (du) or you (pl)

3 neuter singular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
akró:wihs it tells me
qknihó:wihs it tells us (du)
qgwahó:wihs it tells us (pl)

3 neuter singular actor & 2 singular, dual, or plural undergoer
sahó:wihs it tells you (sg)
snihó:wihs it tells you (du)
schwahó:wihs it tells you (pl)
3 masculine, feminine, or neuter nonsingular actor & 1 singular, dual, or plural undergoer

- gaokro:wihs they tell me
- okiho:wihs they tell us (du) or us (pl)

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

- gaesaho:wihs they tell you (sg)
- ethisho: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

- shagohi:wihs he tells her or them (females, or males and females)
- hwahohi:wihs he tells him
- hahowihs he tells it
- hwadihohi:wihs he tells them (males)

3 feminine singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

- odatatro:wihs she tells her
- hwawahohi:wihs she tells him
- gahdatro:wihs she tells them (females, or males and females)
- hwadihohi:wihs she tells them (males)

3 neuter singular actor & 3 singular or nonsingular undergoer

- gohohi:wihs it tells her
- hohowihs it tells him
- ohohi:wihs it tells it
- godihohi:wihs it tells them (females, or males and females)
- hodihohi:wihs it tells them (males)
- odihohi:wihs it tells them (animals)

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

- hwadihohi:wihs they tell him or them (males)
- sagodihohi:wihs they (males) tell her or them (females, or males and females)
- gaqdatro: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

- ietsihihró:ris — you (du) or you (pl) tell her or them
- tshisenihró:ris — you (du) tell him
- tshisewahró:ris — you (pl) tell him
- senihró: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
- shonkenihró: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)
- tshisenihró: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
- ionkhihró: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)
- ietsihihró: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
- ionkenihró: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)
- senihró: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

- shakohró: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

- iakohró:ris — she tells her or them
- rowahró:ris — she tells him
- iohró:ris — she tells her (zoic) or it
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iontathró:ris</td>
<td>she tells her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ronwahró:ris</td>
<td>she or they tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konwahró:ris</td>
<td>she or they tell her (zoic) or it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakotihrö:ris</td>
<td>they (males, or males and females) tell her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iakotihrö:ris</td>
<td>they (females) tell her or someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ronwatihró:ris</td>
<td>they tell them (males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konwatihró:ris</td>
<td>they tell them (females)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The non-modal prepronominial 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 prepronominial 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 prepronominial prefix – that is, they do not have a basic verb form without the dualic prepronominial prefix.

- **O**
  - *tekahwištakę* two dollars (*literally* the dollars number two)
  - *tewə̲hsnilaːké* two days (*literally* the days number two)
  - *teyushə́θos* she is crying (*literally* she is crying with two [eyes])
  - *tʰə̲hahsútela*² he will connect (*literally* he will join one thing to another)

- **wáːtkəhkwē*² I picked it up (*literally* I picked it up by moving it from there to here)

- **tə̲kteːniː* I will change it (*literally* I will change something from one state to another)

- **teyohlíːu** it got broken, it is broken (*literally* 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
- **te'kawá'á:ní**
  - I stirred it
- **tekawe'ésta**
  - I am piercing it, I am pricking it

**C**

- **dewagadóhwejó:nih**
- **atgáwennyé'**
- **degá'ehsta'**

**M**

- **tewakatonhwentsió:ni**
- **wa'tkawénrie**
- **tekawe'ehsthá**

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\textsuperscript{1}kt\textsubscript{o}:lalake\textsuperscript{2}  \quad I pressed down on it  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}tek\textsubscript{o}:lalake\textsuperscript{2}  \quad I squeezed, I squished it  

    wa\textsuperscript{1}ha:y\textsubscript{A}:ke\textsuperscript{2}  \quad he cut (off a piece), he severed it  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}ta:y\textsubscript{A}:ke\textsuperscript{2}  \quad he cut it, he broke it  

    wa\textsuperscript{1}tu:k\textsubscript{o}hte\textsuperscript{2}  \quad she passed by, she continued on  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}tyu\textsubscript{t}u:k\textsubscript{o}hte\textsuperscript{2}  \quad she passed (a grade at school), she went through  

    wa\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{H}:ti:y\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad they put it down, they laid it down  
    wa\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{H}:ti:y\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad they gambled, they bet on the outcome  

C  akd\textsubscript{O}ha\textsubscript{A}:k  \quad I pressed down on it  
    atkd\textsubscript{O}ha\textsubscript{A}:k  \quad I squeezed, I squished it  

    ah\textsuperscript{A}:ya\textsuperscript{A}k  \quad he cut (off a piece), he severed it  
    at\textsuperscript{A}:ya\textsuperscript{A}k  \quad he cut it, he broke it  

    a\textsubscript{O}:d\textsubscript{O}:goht  \quad she passed by, she continued on  
    agy\textsubscript{O}:d\textsubscript{O}:goht  \quad she passed (a grade at school), she went through  

    aha\textsubscript{A}:di:y\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad they put it down, they laid it down  
    ata\textsubscript{A}:di:y\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad they gambled, they bet on the outcome  

M  wa\textsuperscript{1}kt\textsubscript{o}:rarake  \quad I pressed down on it  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}tek\textsubscript{o}:rarake  \quad I squeezed, I squished it  

    wah\textsuperscript{A}:ia\textsuperscript{A}:ke  \quad he cut (off a piece), he severed it  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}tha\textsuperscript{A}:ia\textsuperscript{A}:ke  \quad he cut it, he broke it  

    wa\textsuperscript{1}o\textsubscript{O}nt\textsubscript{O}het\textsubscript{O}ste  \quad she passed by, she continued on  
    wa\textsuperscript{1}tio\textsubscript{O}nt\textsubscript{O}het\textsubscript{O}ste  \quad she passed (a grade at school), she went through  

    wah\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{H}:ti:y\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad they put it down, they laid it down  
    wa\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{H}:th\textsubscript{A}:t\textsuperscript{H}:i\textsubscript{A}:\textsuperscript{H}  \quad 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  luluhyak:  he is suffering (physically)
tehotunhukali  he is suffering (physically and mentally)

C  hào:hyps  dehodehóganyeh

M  roroniá: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  teyotskáláht  it is bitter
C  deyosgá:nyé’s
M  iotská: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 -/e-/-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  wahaláthà  he climbed
    tahaláthá  he climbed this way (towards me)
    Ñhatiya:káne  they will go out
    Ñhatiya:káne  they will come out this way
    satkátho  Look!
    tasatkátho  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).

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.
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**

- tahutáyahe: they came in, they entered
- tahá:leke: he pushed it this way
- tashakoténuyehte: he sent her or them this way
- takatwánátane: I telephoned (literally I put my voice into it)

**C**

- daha:dí:yó: they came in, they entered
- dahu:hé:k he pushed it this way
- dashagódé:nyeht he sent her or them this way
- dagadwenó:da:' I telephoned (literally I put my voice into it)

**M**

- tahontáweia'te they came in, they entered
- tahá:reke he pushed it this way
- tahshakoténiehte he sent her or them this way
- takatewennáta I telephoned (literally 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
- ḥuto:láte: they will hunt
- ḥthuto:láte: they will hunt there

**C**

- ená:gre: she lives, she resides
- gyená:gre: she lives there, she resides there
- hóihó:de: he is working
- tóihó:de: he is working there
- ęhenadó:wa:t they will hunt
- ętenadó:wa:t they will hunt there
M ienákere  she lives, she resides  
  tienákere  she lives there, she resides there  
  roió'te  he is working  
  thoió'te  he is working there  
  enhontó:rate  they will hunt  
  enthontó:rate  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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{kano:lú:} & \text{it is expensive} \\
& \quad \text{né: tkano:lú:} & \text{it is the most expensive one} \\
& \quad \text{watye:šá:} & \text{it is cheap} \\
& \quad \text{né: twatye:šá:} & \text{it is the cheapest one} \\
C & \quad \text{ganó:} & \text{it is expensive} \\
& \quad \text{né: 'gyaŋ:he: 'ēh tganó:} & \text{it is the most expensive one} \\
& \quad \text{wagyé:šeh} & \text{it is cheap} \\
& \quad \text{né: 'gyaŋ:he: 'ēh dwagyé:šeh} & \text{it is the cheapest one} \\
M & \quad \text{kanó:ron} & \text{it is expensive} \\
& \quad \text{nè:'e tiaonhà:'a tkanó:ron} & \text{it is the most expensive one} \\
& \quad \text{watié:sen} & \text{it is cheap or easy} \\
& \quad \text{nè:'e tiaonhà:'a tewatié:sen} & \text{it is the cheapest one}
\end{align*}
\]

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

6.3 The Translocative

With verbs involving motion in a certain direction, the \textit{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 \textit{that way}, \textit{over there}, or the now rarely used \textit{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

wahaláthá

yahaláthá

he climbed

he climbed that way (away from me)

\*hatiya:káne

yahatiya:káne

they will go out

they will go out that way

satkátho

ya'satkátho

Look!

Look there, that way!

C

ahá:te

hahá:te

he climbed

he climbed that way (away from me)

gehadiyá:ge

gehadiyá:ge

they will go out

they will go out that way

satgáhtoh

ha'satgáhtoh

Look!

Look there, that way!

M

waharáthen

iaharáthen

he climbed

he climbed that way (away from me)

enhatiiá:ken'ne

ienhatiiá:ken'ne

they will go out

they will go out that way

satkáhtho

ia'satkáhtho

Look!

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:ti

yaho:ti

he lost it, he left it there

he threw it that way

C

ahó:di

ha'hó:di

he lost it, he threw it away

he threw it that way

M

waho:ti

iaho:ti

he lost it, he left it there

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  yahutáyahhté  
yahá:leke  
yášhakotényehhté  
yá’katwánátane  
they went in  
he pushed it that way  
he sent her away  
I telephoned (literally I put my voice into it)

C  ha’ha:dí:yo’  
ha’háhe:k  
ha’shagodé:nyehht  
ha’gadwènö:da:  
they went in  
he pushed it that way  
he sent her away  
I telephoned (literally I put my voice into it)

M  iahontáweia’te  
iahá:reke  
iá’shakoténiehte  
iá’katewennáta  
they went in  
he pushed it that way  
he sent her away  
I telephoned (literally 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  
loyo:te:  
yehoyo:te:  
they lives, she resides  
she lives over there, she resides over there  
he is working  
he is working over there

C  ená:gre  
heyénagre  
hóího’dé  
hehóihó’dé  
they lives, she resides  
she lives over there, she resides over there  
he is working  
he is working over there

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.

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.

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.
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 age:tsáe ' or age:tséi I found it
sage:tsáe ' or sage:tséi I found it again
ëga:tró:wi I will tell about it
ësga:tró:wi I will tell about it again
agá:gyé: I sat down
sagá:gyé: I sat down again

M wa’ketshén:ri I found it
saketshén:ri I found it again
enkathró:ri I will tell about it
enskathró:ri I will tell about it again
wa’kátien I sat down
sakátien 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 suke1nikúla2 I forgot
sakehyá:lane1 I remembered, I recalled

C sóknígóhe1
sógáhsha:

M sonke1nikónrhen
sakehiá:ra1ne

When added to the verb -w-/yq-, meaning to arrive, or the verb -ahtati-/ahdëdi-/ahtenti-, meaning to leave, set out, the repetitive prefix conveys the meaning to arrive home or to leave for home:

O wa:kewe2 I arrived
sá:kewe2 I arrived again, I arrived home

wa3uht:á:tí: she left, she went away
sayuht:á:tí: 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  agyo'  I arrived
    sago'  I arrived again, I arrived home

    a'qhdé:di'  she left, she went away
    saqhdé:di'  she left again, she left to go home

M  wà:kewe  I arrived
    sà:kewe  I arrived again, I arrived home

    wa'onhtén:ti  she left, she went away
    saionhtén:ti  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  skahwistat  one dollar (literally the dollar numbers one)
    swxhnišlat  one day (literally the day numbers one)

C  sgahwihsda:t
    swéhnihsra:t

M  skahwihsta
    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'tkatkalhate:ni:
    tusakatkalhate:ni:  I turned around

C  atgatgaha:dé:ni'
    dósagatgahadé: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 a-/q/-en- and before the factual mode prefix a-.
6.5 The Negative

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 tɛ 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:
yáh te'kano:lú:
kahlúkha I know (speak and understand) the language
yáh te'kahlúkha I do not know the language
lothu:té:
yáh te'lothu:té:
wakanúhte I know
yáh te'wakanúhte I do not know

C
ga:noôt (tɛ) de ga:noôt
(gahó:ka I know (speak and understand) the language
(tɛ) degáhó:ka I do not know the language
hothó:de he hears
(tɛ) deho:thó:de he does not hear
agéngóhó de (tɛ) d eágéngóhó I know
M
kanó:ron it is expensive
iáh te'kanó:ron it is not expensive
kahró:nkha I know (speak and understand) the language
iáh te'kahró:nkha I do not know the language
rothón:te he hears
iáh te'rothón:te he does not hear
wakateriën:tere I know
iáh te'wakateriën:tere I do not know
The negative prefix, used together with the repetitive prefix (section 6.4), conveys the meaning *not anymore*:

- O iah tho té-tsyoń:  it’s not that way anymore
- C tẹ̀ de:joht or tẹ̀ tejoht
- M iah tétsioń:

The negative prepronomininal prefix is te²- or te- in Oneida, dë- or de- 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 prepronomininal prefix is replaced by the *contrastive prepronomininal prefix* (see the section that follows).

### 6.6 The Contrastive

The *contrastive prepronomininal 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:te:  it is different (it is a different one)
- C  tigá:de'  
- M  thiká:te

The ideas of contrast and negation are not unrelated, and the contrastive prepronomininal 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 prepronomininal prefix is used in place of the negative prepronomininal prefix when the verb form also has a modal (factual, future, or optative) prepronomininal prefix, or when the verb form also has the dualic prepronomininal 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 prepronomininal prefix.

- O wahakwe:nî:  he is able to do it
  - yáh thahakwe:nî:  he is not able to do it
  - tewakatuhtsyo:nî  I want (it)
  - or tewakatuhtsyo:nî  
  - yáh thá'tewakatuhtsyo:nî  I do not want (it)
  - or yáh thá'tewakatuhtsyo:nî
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.

### Oneida

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>nākáhsehte?</th>
<th>I will hide it</th>
<th>nákáhsehte?</th>
<th>(this is) how I will hide it, (this is) where I will hide it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wahatshanu:ní:</td>
<td>he became happy</td>
<td>nahatshanu:ní:</td>
<td>he became very happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>latinákele?</td>
<td>they live, they reside</td>
<td>nihatinákele?</td>
<td>(this is) how they live, (this is) where they reside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kano:lú:</td>
<td>it is expensive</td>
<td>nikano:lú:</td>
<td>it is really expensive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mohawk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>wahakwé:ni</th>
<th>he is able to do it</th>
<th>iáh tha'hakwé:ni</th>
<th>he is not able to do it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tewakatohnwentsió:ni</td>
<td>I want (it)</td>
<td>iáh tha'tewakatohnwentsió:ni</td>
<td>I do not want (it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 nyhsatélha.
Oh niwahsohkó:ta.

What do you do?
What colour is it? (*literally* What kind of colour is it?)

**C**

Dé ho dé nisáyeha.
Dé ho dé niyohsohgo dé:

**M**

Oh nihsatélra.
Oh niwahsohkó:ten.
The partitive prepronominal prefix is also used in questions involving quantity or amount.

O  Tó: **nikanoːlú**.  How much does it cost?
    Tó: **na’tesohsiyáːku**.  How old are you? (literally How many winters have you crossed?)
    Tó: **niyohwistáːe**.  What time is it? (literally How many times was the metal struck?)

C  Do: **nígáːnoː’**.  How much does it cost?
    Dó: **nísohsiyáːgóh**.  How old are you? (literally How many winters have you crossed?)
    Dó: **niyohwįhsdá’eː**.  What time is it? (literally How many times was the metal struck?)

M  Tó: **nikanóːron**.  How much does it cost?
    Tó: **na’ tesohsériːação**.  How old are you? (literally How many winters have you crossed?)
    Tó: **niiohwįhsţaː’eː**.  What time is it? (literally 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  **Wísk nika’hwįstake** five dollars (literally five the dollars are so in number)
    **Oyeːli: niwąhsnislaːké** ten days (literally ten the days are so in number)

C  **Hwihs niga’hwįhsdáːgeː**
    **Wahshé: niwelhįhėsáːgeː**

M  **Wísk nika’hwįstake**
    **Oiːri niwenhñiseraːke**

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’ niwąhsnislaːké** several days
C  **Do:gwá’ niwelhįhėsáːgeː**
M  **Tóhka’ niwenhñiseraːke**

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

The basic idea conveyed by the coincident prepronoun 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 prepronoun 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

wa³kahtá:tí:
I left, I set out

tsha³kahtá:tí:
at the time I left, at the time I set out (something occurred at the time I left)

keksáh
I am a child

tshíkeksáh
when I was a child (something occurred when I was a child)

yakúnhe³
she is alive

tshíyakúnhe³
when she lived (something occurred when she lived)

tewakohsliyá:ku
my age (literally it is my age)

tsha³tewakohsliyá:ku
when I was that age (something occurred when I was that age)

C

agahdé:di³
I left, I set out

tsa³gahdé:di³
at the time I left, at the time I set out (something occurred at the time I left)

geksá:³ah
I am a child

tsigeksá:³ah
when I was a child (something occurred when I was a child)

agó:nhe³
she is alive

tsiyágonhe³
when she lived (something occurred when she lived)

niwagohsriy³agóh
my age (literally it is my age)

tsiwagghsriy³agóh
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."

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{nē: } \text{tsá':kat} & \text{it is the same (as something else)} \\
C & \quad \text{ne: } \text{ts'ga:t} & \text{it is the same (as something else)} \\
M & \quad \text{ne shá:ka} & \text{it is the same}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad \text{tsá':yót} & \text{it is the same} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':tétena' } & \text{you and I are the same size} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':tehniya'tó:ta} & \text{they look alike (literally they have the same kind of body)} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':tehsohko'ta} & \text{it is the same colour} \\
C & \quad \text{tsá':dë:yoht} & \text{it is the same} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':dë:tna' } & \text{you and I are the same size} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':dehadiy'adó'dë:} & \text{they look alike (literally they have the same kind of body)} \\
 & \quad \text{tsá':deyohsohg'odë:} & \text{it is the same colour} \\
M & \quad \text{shá':io} & \text{it is the same} \\
 & \quad \text{shá':tétena } & \text{you and I are the same size} \\
 & \quad \text{shá':tehniia'tó:ten} & \text{they look alike (literally they have the same kind of body)} \\
 & \quad \text{shá':tehsohko'ten} & \text{it is the same colour}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{O}^\prime \text{nhúhsa}^3 \\
& \quad \text{ye}^\prime \text{nhuhs}^\prime \text{ahni:nú:}^3 \\
& \quad \text{she will buy (it)} \\
& \quad \text{she will buy eggs}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C} & \quad \text{O}^\prime \text{nhóhsa}^3 \\
& \quad \text{ye}^\prime \text{nhóhs}^\prime \text{ahni:nó} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{o'nhónhsa} \\
& \quad \text{eniehní:non} \\
& \quad \text{enie'nhónhsahni:non}
\end{align*}
\]

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*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{kákhwa}^3 \\
& \quad \text{kakhwi:yo} \\
& \quad \text{it is good food}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C} & \quad \text{gakwa}^3 \\
& \quad \text{gakwi:yo:}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{M} & \quad \text{kákhwa} \\
& \quad \text{kakhwi:io}
\end{align*}
\]
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

- **C**
  - o'wáhóh
  - o'hón'ada
  - o'nhóhsa

- **M**
  - o'wà:ronk
  - ohnenná:ta
  - o'n'hónhsa

- **O**
  - wa'khní:nú:
  - wa'kat'hní:nú:
  - wa'kató:ktú:
  - wa'kate'sku:tú:

- **C**
  - akní:nọ
  - agád'hní:nọ
  - agád'okdę
  - agád'esgọ:dę

- **M**
  - wa'khní:non
  - wa'kat'hnínion
  - wa'kató:ktnen
  - wa'kate'skón:ten

- I bought (it)
- I sold (it)
- I ran out (of it)
- I baked, roasted, or fried (it)
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)niq-/-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 -atn- in Oneida, -at-, -ate-, or -aten- in Mohawk, and -at-, -ad-, or -adn- in Cayuga), such as the verb -atñhinu-/adñhino-/atñhinnon (to sell), -aton'kta-/adokde-/atoktnen (to run out of), or -at'sknut-/ad'sgo-/at'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 -at'sknut-/ad'sgo-/at'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), -ya/-ye- or -e/-ien- (to be lying), and -hel- or -hl-/-(hr)e- or -(hr)e/-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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kanúhsote?</th>
<th>the house (literally the house is standing)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kahyatúhlay?</td>
<td>the paper (literally the paper is lying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kana'tsyáhele?</td>
<td>the pail (literally the pail is sitting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ganóhsot</td>
<td>the house (literally the house is standing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gahyadóhsræ</td>
<td>the paper (literally the paper is lying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ganá'jahe'</td>
<td>the pail (literally the pail is sitting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kanónhsote</td>
<td>the house (literally the house is standing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kahiatonhsrerà:ien</td>
<td>the paper (literally the paper is lying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kana'/tsiáhere</td>
<td>the pail (literally the pail is sitting)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -hæt-/hed-/hent- (field) is incorporated into the positional verb -ya/-ye- or -e/-ien- (to be lying).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kah:táya?</th>
<th>a field, a meadow (literally a field or meadow is lying)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gahédaæ</td>
<td>a field, a meadow (literally a field or meadow is lying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>kahén:taien</td>
<td>a field, a meadow (literally a field or meadow is lying)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-/no’j-/no’ts- (tooth) is incorporated into the positional verb -ot-/od- (to be standing).

O  knawi:lóte?  my tooth (literally my tooth is standing)
C  kno’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?  the house there (literally the house is standing there)
tkaná:tsyay\?
C  tganóhso:t
tganá jaé
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  tsí? tkanúhsote?  at the house
ohná:ka? tkanúhsote?
ohná:tú: tkanúhsote?

C  shé tganóhso:t
ohna gé: shé tganóhso:t
ohné:dó: shé tganóhso:t

M  tsi tkanónhsote
ohnà:ken tsi tkanónhsote
ohné: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** tkanuhsotú: several houses *(literally houses are standing here and there)*
- **C** tganqhsó:do’
- **M** tkanonhsotón

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** waknúhsoté my house *(literally I have a house standing)*
  - waknúhsayá my house *(literally I have a house lying)*
  - wake’sléhtayá my car *(literally I have a car lying)*
  - lohwistayá his money *(literally he has money or metal lying)*
  - yako’náskwayá her pet *(literally she has a pet lying)*
- **C** aknóhsot my house *(literally I have a house standing)*
  - aknóhsaé my house *(literally I have a house lying)*
  - age’drehdaé my car *(literally I have a car lying)*
  - hohwíhsdaé his money *(literally he has money or metal lying)*
  - gonáhsgwaé her pet *(literally she has a pet lying)*
- **M** wakenónhso té my house *(literally I have a house standing)*
  - wakenónhsaíen my house *(literally I have a house lying)*
  - wake’seréhtaien my car *(literally I have a car lying)*
  - rohwistaíen his money *(literally he has money or metal lying)*
  - iakonénhskwaien her pet *(literally 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** tóhkaʔ niwaknuhsay:tu: I have several houses (*literally* I have houses lying here and there)
- **C** dohgáʔ niwaknohshá:do:§
- **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 yakonáskwayθ ʔáhsÁ nikútí yakonáskwayθ she has two pets
- **C** dekní: gonáhsgwae' ahsé nige:nó: gonáhsgwae' she has three pets
- **M** tékeni iakonénhskwaien áhsen nikón:ti iakonáhskwaien

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 teʔwakhwístayθ I don’t have any money (*literally* I do not have money lying)
- **C** (te') d'ekwjhsdáq' I do not have money lying anymore
- **M** (iáh) tewakhwístaien

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 teʔswakeʔsléhtayθ I do not own a car anymore (*literally* I do not have a car lying anymore)
- **C** (te') d'eswag'edréhdaq' I do not own a car anymore
- **M** (iáh) tesewake'seréhtaien
**7.7 Incorporation Into Locative Verbs**

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
O &\quad \text{kaló: na}^7\text{oháhati}_2 \quad \text{this side of the road} \\
&\quad \text{isi}^7\text{na}^7\text{oháhati}_2 \quad \text{the other side of the road} \\
C &\quad \text{gaó'}\text{na}^7\text{ohahá:dih} \\
&\quad \text{sigwa:dih na}^7\text{ohahá:dih} \\
M &\quad \text{ká:ro na}^7\text{oháhati} \\
&\quad \text{isi'}\text{na}^7\text{oháhati}
\end{align*}
\]

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*:

\[
\begin{align*}
C &\quad \text{joháhadih} \quad \text{the other side of the road, across the road} \\
M &\quad \text{tsioháhati}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
O &\quad \text{elÁ na}^7\text{oháhati}_2 \quad \text{across the road} \\
C &\quad \text{tsa'deyoháhahéh} \\
M &\quad \text{tsa'teiohahí:hen}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
O &\quad \text{tsha'teyowahí:yó} \quad \text{in the middle of the road} \\
C &\quad \text{tsa'deyoháhahéh} \\
M &\quad \text{tsha'teiohahí:hen}
\end{align*}
\]
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'slehtí:yo sé  
  wahtá' náwí tswóla:ná  
  niwahsohkó:tńa  
  kashestáku í  
  it's a nice car  
  it's a big ball  
  it's a colour (*literally* it's a kind of colour)  
  it's a good-tasting syrup

- **C**  
  g³ adrehdí:yo sé  
  e' nhotrowá:ñeh  
  niyohshgo'dé:sé  
  gatsehsdagá' òh  
  it's a nice car  
  it's a big ball  
  it's a colour (*literally* it's a kind of colour)  
  it's a good-tasting syrup

- **M**  
  ka'serehtí:io sé  
  wathenno'tsherówá:nen  
  niwahsohkò:ten's  
  kashestákon  
  it's a nice car  
  it's a big ball  
  it's a colour (*literally* it's a kind of colour)  
  it's a good-tasting syrup

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'slehtí:yo se'  
  niwahsohkó:tshè  
  they are nice cars  
  they are colours (*literally* they are kinds of colours)

- **C**  
  g³ adrehdí:yo se'  
  niyohshgo'dé se'  

- **M**  
  ka'serehtí:iós  
  niwahsohkò:ten's

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' slehtí:yó  
  loyátaká:te  
  yako'nuhsowa:ná  
  his car is nice  
  he has lots of wood  
  her house is big
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 prepronominial prefix and often the distributive suffix.

| O | la'nyůhses | he has a long nose |
|   | tehahsine:sú:seʔ | he has long legs |
| C | ha'nyůhses:š | dehahsine:šo’s |
| M | ra'niónhses | tehahsine:šon’s |

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 sâha'heyohé:/sénha (more) is added in front of the adjectival verb.

| O | sâha' kano:lú: | it's more expensive |
|   | sâha' khn:ýes tsiʔ | I'm taller than my older sister |
|   | ni:yót yuke’kâha |
| C | heyohé: ganô: | |
|   | i: heyohé: knê:yé:s |
|   | ne' kehji:’ah |
| M | sénha kanó:ron | |
|   | sénha khnén:ies tsi |
|   | ní:ioht ne akhtsi:'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 \( n\text{é}/n\dot{e}/n\text{é} \), 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 \( g\text{yao}:\text{h}e:/\text{ch} \) and, in Mohawk, the particle \( \text{tiao}:\text{h}a:/\text{a} \) are also part of the construction.

O \( \text{n\dot{e}:/tka}^{'}\text{shehi:yo} \) it’s the nicest (or best) car
C \( \text{ne}^{'}\text{ gyao}:\text{he}/\text{ch} \text{tg}^{'}\text{adrehl:yo}: \)
M \( \text{n\dot{e} tiao}:\text{h}a:/\text{a} \text{tka}^{'}\text{serhhi:io} \)

**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 \( \text{ka}/\text{ga} \) (with C-stems) or \( \text{w} \) (with a-stems).

| O   | kan\text{uh}\text{sa}^{'} | house        |
|     | skan\text{uh}\text{sat}    | one house    |
|     | osh\text{u}:kale^{'}       | board        |
|     | skash\text{u}:kalat        | one board    |
|     | ohw\text{i}st\text{a}^{'}  | money, metal |
|     | skah\text{w}i\text{sta}t   | one dollar   |
|     | k\text{a}:t\text{she}^{'}  | bottle, jar  |
|     | skat\text{sh}e:ta\text{t}  | one bottle, one quart |
| C   | gan\text{oh}\text{sa}^{'}  | house        |
|     | sg\text{an\text{o}:h}sa:t   | one house    |
|     | gan\text{eh}\text{sa}:t     | board        |
|     | sg\text{a}:ne\text{h}sa:t   | one board    |
|     | oh\text{wi}:hs\text{a}^{'}  | money, metal |
|     | sg\text{ah}\text{wi}:hs\text{a}:t | one dollar |
|     | g\text{ats\text{e}':da}^{'}  | bottle, jar  |
|     | sg\text{ats\text{e}':da}:t   | 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 -tshe:t- or -tshe't- in Mohawk.

### 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)
- **C** sayá' da:t
  - one person (a female person)
- **M** shaià:ta
  - one person

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
- **C** sayá' da:t haksá:' ah
  - one girl
- **M** shaià:ta raksà:' a
  - one child
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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{skayá:}t \text{at é:lhal} & \text{one dog} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{sgayá:}dá:t \text{ só:wa:s} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{skaià:}t \text{a (or skaià:}t\text{a) è:rhar}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Unanalyzable 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{tsyohsì:}t\text{at} & \text{one foot} \\
& \quad \text{tsyo}h\text{yühkalat} & \text{one inch (literally one thumb)} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{johsì:}d\text{a:t} \\
& \quad \text{jowé:}yo\text{hga:t} \\
\text{M} & \quad \text{tsiohsì:}t\text{a} \\
& \quad \text{skawiönhkara}
\end{align*}
\]

### 7.17 Patterns for Conveying the Concept each one

The addition of the distributive suffix -s(h)u/-sì/-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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{ska}^{7}\text{sléhtat} & \text{one car} \\
& \quad \text{ska}^{7}\text{sléhtátshu}^{7} & \text{each car, one car at a time} \\
& \quad \text{tsyo}h\text{si:}t\text{at} & \text{one foot (the measure)} \\
& \quad \text{tsyo}h\text{si}^{7}\text{tátshu}^{7} & \text{one foot apart}
\end{align*}
\]
Patterns for Specifying Two or a Number Greater Than Two and Related Ideas

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 prepronominal prefix and the neuter agent pronominal prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>kanúhsaʔ</th>
<th>house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekanúhsake</td>
<td>two houses (literally the houses number two, amount to two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ska'se'tsherá:ta</td>
<td>one car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ska'se'tsherá:tshon</td>
<td>each car, one car at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sewahsí:ta</td>
<td>one foot (the measure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sewahsí:tátshon</td>
<td>one foot apart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example:

kanúhsaʔ tekanúhsake oshú:kale tekashu kala:ké ohwísta tekahwístake kátshe tekatshé:take

house two houses board two boards money, metal two dollars 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, áhsə/ahsə/áhsən, 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.

| C     | ganóhsa'    | house              |
|       | deganóhsá:ge: | two houses (literally the houses number two, amount to two) |
|       | ganéhsda:    | board              |
|       | deganehsdá:ge: | two boards         |
|       | ohwihsda'    | money, metal       |
|       | degahwíhsdá:ge: | two dollars        |
|       | gatsé'dá'    | bottle, jar        |
|       | degatse'dá:ge: | two bottles, two quarts |

| M     | kanónhsa     | house              |
|       | tekanónhsake | two houses (literally the houses number two, amount to two) |
|       | oshòn:kare   | board              |
|       | tekahson'kará:ke | two boards     |
|       | ohwiístata   | money, metal       |
|       | tekahwístake | two dollars        |
|       | kátshe       | bottle, jar        |
|       | tekatshè:take | two bottles, two quarts |

| O     | kanúhsa'     | house              |
|       | áhsə nikanúhsake | three houses      |
|       | tóhka' nikanúhsake | several houses   |
|       | ohwísta'     | money, metal       |
|       | oylí nikahwístake | ten dollars   |

| C     | ganóhsa'     | house              |
|       | ahsəh niganóhsá:ge: | three houses      |
|       | dōhga' niganóhsá:ge: | several houses   |
|       | ohwihsda'    | money, metal       |
|       | wahshé: nighwihsdá:ge: | ten dollars   |
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.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>O</strong></td>
<td>nika'šléhtake</td>
<td>so many cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nya'́teka'sléhtake</td>
<td>a variety of cars, all kinds of cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káhik</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nya'́tewá:yake</td>
<td>all kinds of fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td>niga'drehdá:ge:</td>
<td>so many cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha'deg'adréhdage:</td>
<td>a variety of cars, all kinds of cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ohyá'</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha'deyghyá:ge:</td>
<td>all kinds of fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td>nika'seréhtake</td>
<td>so many cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nia'teka'seréhtake</td>
<td>a variety of cars, all kinds of cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>káhik</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nia'tewá:iake</td>
<td>all kinds of fruit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>O</strong></td>
<td>nya'́tewáhnislá:ké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td>ha'dewéhnihsráge:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td>nia'tewehniserá:ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>teka’sléhtake</td>
<td>two cars</td>
<td>two cars at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teka’slehtakehátí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áhsa nika’sléhtake</td>
<td>three cars</td>
<td>three cars at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áhsa nika’slehtakehátí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>dega’drehdá:ge;</td>
<td>two cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dega’drehdágehá:gye</td>
<td>two cars at a time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahséh niga’drehdá:ge:</td>
<td>three cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahséh niga’drehdágehá:gye</td>
<td>three cars at a time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>teka’seréhtake</td>
<td>two cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teka’seréhtakehátie</td>
<td>two cars at a time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áhsen nika'seréhtake</td>
<td>three cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áhsen nika’seréhtakehátie</td>
<td>three cars at a time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohnaná:ta³</td>
<td>potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohón'ada³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohennà:ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tále³</td>
<td>he’s coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahe³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá:re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senho:tı́.</th>
<th>Close the door!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Senhotukó:.</td>
<td>Open the door!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wa’knóhale³</th>
<th>I washed it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>aknóhai’</td>
<td>agatgōhsóhai³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wa’kenóhare</th>
<th>I washed my face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wa’katkonhsóhare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O } & \text{kahyatúhseli}^? \quad \text{paper} \\
\text{C } & \text{gahyádqhsra} \\
\text{M } & \text{kahiatónhsera}
\end{align*}
\]

In the above examples, the verb root is -hyatú-/hyado-/hiaton- (to write), and the nominalizer suffix is -hsel-/hsr-/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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O } & \text{yehya:túhe}^? \qquad \text{she writes, someone writes} \\
& \text{kahyatúhseli}^? \quad \text{paper} \\
\text{C } & \text{ehyadóha}^' \\
& \text{gahyádqhsra}^' \\
\text{M } & \text{iehiá:tons} \\
& \text{kahiatónhsera}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O } & \text{kethé:tha}^? \qquad \text{I pound} \\
& \text{othé:tsheli}^? \quad \text{flour} \\
\text{C } & \text{geté}^' \qquad \text{oté}^'\text{tra}^' \\
\text{M } & \text{kethé:tha} \\
& \text{othé:sera}
\end{align*}
\]
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 prepronominual prefix; in the Cayuga example, the stem for blanket has been incorporated into the verb -(h)nino- (to buy).

O tekhyatúhslayhe  I'm playing cards
C agyehsrahni:no  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/-họna’d/-hnenna’t- (potato) and -hteh/-kd(eh)/-htehr- (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/-họ/-hronnon- (to set things on top of something) and -ohalenyu- or -ohaleni/-ohaihọ/-oharenion- (to wash things).

O wa3 ehnana’tóhale  she washed potatoes
wa3 ehtehlóhale  she washed carrots
C a3 ehọna’dohái:’ a3 ekdehohai:’
M wa’eihnenna’tóhare wa’ehtehrhóhare
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. 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>khehslu:nihe²</td>
<td>I'm dressing her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katslu:nihe²</td>
<td>I'm getting dressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>keya:tró:nih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gatró:nih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>khehserón:ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katsherón:ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>wa³tkawáli³</td>
<td>I stirred it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa³tkatawáli³</td>
<td>I travelled, I roamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>atgáwenye:³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atgadawé:nye:³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>wa³tkawénrie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa³tkatawénrie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>lahkwi:tha³</td>
<td>he moves it over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>latkwí:tha³</td>
<td>he moves over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>hagéihsta³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hatgéihsta³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>rakwi:tha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ratkwí:tha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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  \( {\text{wa}}'\text{khekuhsóhale} \)  \( \text{I washed her face} \)
  \( {\text{wa}}'\text{katkuhsóhale} \)  \( \text{I washed my face} \)
C  \( \text{akegghsóhái} \)
  \( \text{agatgghsóhái} \)
M  \( \text{wa'khekonhsóhare} \)
  \( \text{wa'katkonhsóhare} \)

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 \textit{buy}; the second example is the same verb with the semireflexive prefix, which has changed the meaning of the verb to \textit{sell}.

O  \( {\text{wa}}'\text{hni:nu} \)
  \( \text{I bought, I acquired something} \)
  \( \text{(by buying)} \)
  \( {\text{wa}}'\text{kat} \text{hni:nu} \)
  \( \text{I sold, I disposed of something} \)
  \( \text{(by selling)} \)
C  \( \text{aknínok} \)
  \( \text{agadehni:ko} \)
M  \( \text{wa'knínok} \)
  \( \text{wa'katenhni:ko} \)

### 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 \textit{she cut herself}) or reciprocal, expressing mutual action (\textit{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
The reciprocal form requires the dualic prepronominal prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad wá’khłene \quad I \text{ cut it} \\
& \quad wá’katáthlene \quad I \text{ cut myself} \\
C & \quad akre’ \quad agádatre’ \quad \text{reciprocal}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
M & \quad wá:khrene \quad \text{I cut it} \\
& \quad wá’katáthrene \quad \text{I cut myself}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad wá’khékhwanute \quad I \text{ fed her} \\
& \quad wá’tyakyatatékhwanute \quad \text{we fed each other} \\
C & \quad akékwanq:t \quad agyagyađadekwá:no:t \\
M & \quad wá’khé:nonte \quad \text{I fed her} \\
& \quad wá’tiataté:ntenonte \quad \text{we fed each other}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \textit{root suffixes}.

8.6 The Inchoative

The \textit{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 \textit{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 examples. In the Cayuga example, the glottal stop is indicated by the symbol \textbackslash'; in the Mohawk example, it is indicated by an apostrophe.

\[
\begin{align*}
O & \quad yo’nétsk\textbackslash a \quad \text{it is loose, soft} \\
& \quad wa’o’nétskane \quad \text{it became loose, soft} \\
C & \quad gowá:nêh \quad \text{it is big} \\
& \quad agówanhe’ \quad \text{it got big} \\
M & \quad i’:kete \quad \text{I am standing} \\
& \quad ténkta’ne \quad \text{I will stand up (I will change my position from sitting to standing)}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{yotho:lé:} \quad \text{it is cold} \\
& \quad \text{sutho:láte} \quad \text{it became cold again}
\text{C} & \quad \text{otó:we} \\
& \quad \text{sawa:tó:wa:t}
\text{M} & \quad \text{ióthó:re} \\
& \quad \text{sonthó:rate}
\end{align*}
\]

### 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O} & \quad \text{teyostalátthe} \quad \text{it's shiny, it's smooth} \\
& \quad \text{wa'tekstalátthehe'te} \quad \text{I shined it, I polished it}
\text{C} & \quad \text{deyohsdá:teh} \\
& \quad \text{atgehsdá:te't}
\text{M} & \quad \text{teiostaráthe} \\
& \quad \text{wa'tekstaráthe'te}
\text{O} & \quad \text{wakyé:u} \quad \text{I'm awake} \\
& \quad \text{wahi:yéhté} \quad \text{I woke him up}
\text{C} & \quad \text{agye:} \\
& \quad \text{ahé:yeht}
\text{M} & \quad \text{wakiè:'on} \\
& \quad \text{wahi:iehte}
\text{O} & \quad \text{yostátha} \quad \text{it's dry} \\
& \quad \text{wa'kestáthahe'te} \quad \text{I dried it}
\text{C} & \quad \text{ohè:} \\
& \quad \text{agé:ha't}
\text{M} & \quad \text{iostáthen} \\
& \quad \text{wa'kstátha'te}
\end{align*}
\]
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:túhe?
- yehyatúkhwa’

**C**
- ehyádo’ha’
- ehyádoghkwa’

**M**
- iehiá:tonhkhwa

**O**
- yute’nyátha’
- yute’nyatásta’

**C**
- òde’nyédo’hsta’
- òde’nyédëshdáhkwa’

**M**
- ionte’ionténhsthà
- ionte’iontênhsthàkhwa

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).
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 ʌkeksóhaleʔ  I'll wash a dish  
ʌkuxsóhalehseʔ  I'll wash a dish for you  
C egeksohái  
ęgoxsoháis  
M enkeksóhare  
enkonksóharethse

O waʔkhni:nú:  I bought it  
wahihninúniʔ  I bought it for him  
C aknínqoʔ  
aehnínqo’s  
M wa'khni:non  
wa'khninónion  

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/-nyq/-nion.

O waʔkhni:nú:  I bought it  
wa'khninúnyuʔ  I bought things, I bought  
or waʔkhninúniʔ  several things  
C aknínqoʔ  
aknínqonoq'  
M wa'khni: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/-hsyo/-hsion-, as in the second set.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senhó:tu.</th>
<th>Close the door!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Senhotú:kó.:</td>
<td>Open the door!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Senhó:ha.:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senhó:dó:goh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senhó:ton.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senhotón:ko.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>katslu:níhe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>katslunyá:hsyus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>gatró:nih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gatró:nyahsyohs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>katsheronniá:niawns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katsheronniá:hshions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>êkeku:ní:</th>
<th>I will cook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>êkeku:nyá:na</td>
<td>I will go there to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>êge:kó:ní</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>êgekonyáhna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>enkekhón:ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enkekhonniá:ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 - correspond 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.

**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.
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  wakka³thsyuháti⁷  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  yotho:lé:  it's cold  
     tayotholáti⁷  it's getting cold

C  hahné:ye:š  he's tall  
     hahneyghsóhgye³  he's growing taller

M  rahnén:ies  he's tall  
     rohnenieshonhátie  he's growing taller

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

O  tewahyakeháti⁷  two fruits at a time (e.g., they're giving out two fruits at a time)

C  dewahyagégáye³

M  tewahiakehátie
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