

A grammar and dictionary of Gayogohó:nqʔ (Cayuga)

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Studies of Amerindian Linguistics 1



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Foreword

The *Gayogohó:nq'* were a highly evolved *Qgwehó:weh* civilization that gave birth to a social democratic society and confederacy of five distinct Nations, *Hwihs Niyophwejá:ge*. *Qgwehó:weh* translates spiritually as the Divine People, having descended from the Sky World as Star People.

The social and spiritual order had women in the centre of this universe in a matrilineal society – a dichotomy, opposite to that of patrilineal European societies. *Qgwehó:weh* theology centred on this social and spiritual order. The *Qgwehó:weh* civilization established this highly evolved social democracy and confederation of nations when the rest of the world were led by kings, queens and popes.

The *Qgwehó:weh* had in their theology that God or the Creator loved all, with no fear of God. Their theology did not possess the abstract concepts of the fear of God, original sin, baptism, a devil with cloven hoofs; and the idea that men would be damned to hard labour every six days for their *original sin* and, women would suffer with hard labour when delivering children, for their original sin. The children were sacred and cherished, with no concept of having been born with or from sin. *Qgwehó:weh* children did not have to be baptized because of sin. Women possessed stature and agency, simply because like the Creator they could bring forth life. Man does not possess this biological trait.

The *Qgwehó:weh* social democracy became known as the *Haudenosaunee Confederacy* (*Hodinqsó:nih*, or 'Men who build Longhouses'). Their language carried all the traits and characteristics of their civilization, including virtues, ethics, emotional intelligence (*EQ-i*), linguistic sovereignty, horticulture, a moral compass, philosophies, psychologies, earth sciences, a cosmology, biology, homeopathic sciences, the arts (music, dance, story telling, visual art, etc.), prophecies, taboo manners and protocols, highly evolved rituals for mortal thanksgiving to the Creator, knowledges of biodiversity, respect for the ecology / horticulture / agriculture and its conservation, rituals for naming, and the idea that at the time of 'passing on' or death, the people returned home to be with family and to be with the Creator.

This Social Democracy evolved in the Finger Lake region of what is now New York State in the USA. Geographically, these Five Nations all lived around a Finger Lake in a peaceful existence, governed by the protocols of a highly evolved

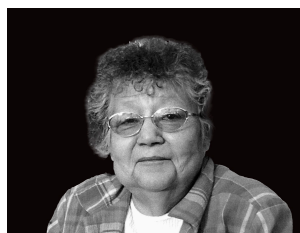
Foreword

democracy and a sacred trust in providence with the Creator. After the Five Nation confederation, they had no use for a militia and army. They were living in peace at the time of Contact. They are truly Divine Star People... (my bias).

– Dehaeho:węhs / Taeho:węhs / Amos Key Jr.

Preface

In 1993, the Government of Ontario’s Ministry of Education provided funding that led to a series of Iroquoian dictionaries and grammars. The Woodland Cultural Centre (Brantford, Ontario, Canada) undertook a *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ (Cayuga) dictionary and grammar project, under the guidance of the then-Director of the Language Program, Amos Key, Jr. I was invited to join as a project linguist and undertook fieldwork with the co-authors – Frances Froman, Lottie Keye, and Alfred Keye – mainly between 1993 and 2002. I inherited and added to a *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ database, originally curated by Cindy John (former Coordinator with the Language Program at the Woodland Cultural Centre). The database eventually became a dictionary, ((Froman et al. 2002)), and is also the basis for this grammar. The latter took longer to produce, in part because I needed to rethink the grammar’s organization.



(a) Frances Froman



(b) Alfred Keye



(c) Lottie Keye

Figure 1: The co-authors

My main contribution to this grammar is to describe not only form or structure, but also function or usage: with respect to form, *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ has just three classes of words: NOUNS, VERBS, and PARTICLES. However, the three word classes have many more functions in *Gayogohonq’néha:*’: for example, particles can function as “pronouns”, “adverbs”, “conjunctions”, “relativizers”, “degree words”, “question words”, “evidentials”, “topic managers”, and more. I have organized much of the grammar according to word function, which is why, for example, the grammar has a section on words that function like “adjectives”, although *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ does not have a word class of adjective (see §4).

Preface

While the present grammar is founded on the intellectual contributions of Frances Froman, Lottie Keye, and Alfred Keye, they did not intend to make any claims on behalf of other speakers. Nor would they necessarily agree with my analyses. For example, while I enjoy making generalizations or rules, I have also observed that Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ speakers place equal weight on exceptions. Respecting this value, I have tried to comment on exceptions, mysteries, and areas requiring further investigation where relevant, especially since their presence can lead to a rethinking of any generalizations. I hope that the Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ examples are enough in number and organized well enough to be treated as the ultimate authority. (The Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ language examples without explicit attribution are from my fieldwork notes with the coauthors.)

Speaking of sources, I also relied on other examples of natural or constructed speech, including audio transcripts and translations of stories and conversations. Written transcripts and translations of Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ are a new type of source not available even forty years before the publication of this grammar. One of the principal sources is Mithun & Henry (1984), which has a rich set of conversations constructed by the late Reg Henry and by Dr. Marianne Mithun. Other sources are stories written or translated by Lottie Keye (Keye 2012, Keye 2016), and Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ legends from a project with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (see Carrier et al. 2013). I also relied on several unpublished grammatical descriptions, including Foster (1993), Sasse & Keye (1998), and Michelson (2011).

Part I of the grammar is a brief introduction to Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ, spelling, and sounds. Part II describes the three Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ word classes – NOUNS, VERBS, and PARTICLES – and also the functions (labelled as major “parts of speech”) performed by these word classes. In Part II, (since it is an introductory section), words are not segmented into morphemes (word parts), insofar as possible. Morphemes are instead covered in Part III, which describes how PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, and STEMS combine in word creation.

Part IV describes PRONOMINAL PREFIXES separately, since pronominal prefix selection and pronunciation are large topics. Part V describes how words combine into sentences, with a focus on describing the fixed ordering of clause-initial particles. Part VI explores DISCOURSE - how sentences combine into larger units, in particular examining how word order, noun incorporation, and particles convey information in discourse or connected speech. Part VII contains some technical (linguistic) notes, which were removed from the main text to avoid detracting from the flow of the descriptions of Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ. Part VIII (Appendices) includes a noun dictionary, verb dictionary, and particle dictionary, organized according to the systems of classification outlined in the previous parts of the

grammar (particularly Parts II and III). Part VIII ends with a thematic dictionary. The dictionaries in Part VIII were separated out from the previous sections to improve the flow in Parts I–III, and so that teachers and learners would have useful collections of organized Gayogohonǫ́néha:ǫ́ words.

Gayogohonǫ́néha:ǫ́ pronunciation and sound changes are described where most relevant throughout the grammar, beginning with a basic introduction in Chapter 3, followed by sound changes in word formation, Chapter 19, pronunciation of prepronominal combinations, Chapter 12.3, pronunciation of the post-pronominal prefixes, Chapter 13.3, and pronominal prefix pronunciation, Chapter 21. Much more could be said on the topic of Gayogohonǫ́néha:ǫ́ phonology.

Parts I–IV of the grammar are the best-developed sections. However, Sections 15.5–15.6 (on aspect), Chapter 16 (on E-VERBS and the PURPOSIVE), and Chapter 17 (on NEGATION) in Part III, really require further investigation. As well, Parts V (sentence formation or syntax) and VI (discourse) are just the tip of the iceberg. I hope that teachers and postsecondary learners find this grammar to be a useful starting point for further investigation.

– Carrie Dyck, 2023

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Nyá:wəh to the coauthors, the late Frances Froman, the late Lottie Key, and the late Alfred Keye, to whom I am greatly indebted. Starting in the late 1970's and early 1980's, these people dedicated their working and post-retirement lives and intellects to teaching *Gayogoho:nəhnéha:* 'the Cayuga language' and *Shəh Niyog-waihó'də:* 'our ways, beliefs, doings' – years before others thought it was important to do so. Several other kind speakers, including Tom and Tracy Deer, Kehte Deer, and the late Janie Johnson, also contributed greatly to informing this grammar. The value of the grammar is in their shared wisdom.

Nya:wəh hni' to Amos Key Jr. (formerly the Director of the Language Program, Woodland Cultural Centre), who has been a driving force in *Gayogohonq'néha:* language advocacy for over 40 years. He assembled the team for this grammar (and a previously-published dictionary) and obtained the funding and in-kind support for the project. Amos also contributed to language sessions, asked thought-provoking questions and added wonderful examples of language and culture.

Nia:wənh to Angie Monture (former Executive Assistant, Language Program, Woodland Cultural Centre), who provided excellent logistical and moral support. Her skills, kindness, patience, and dedication ensured the success of this language project, and many other projects besides. And finally, nyá:wəh to Deb Lickers for quietly and patiently taking care of finances.

Everyone just acknowledged contributed a sense of humour and an ethos of humanity to the grammar project. For this and a great many other reasons,

Nya:wəh swagwé:goh 'thank you all'

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- The Woodland Cultural Centre provided in-kind support for the Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ dictionary and grammar projects between 1992–2017.
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Abbreviations

Ø.PUNCTUAL	punctual suffix has been deleted / is not pronounced
3S	3s.zon (3rd singular zoic-neuter), as in 3S.A ‘it’ (A-series)
3P	3ns.zon (3rd non-singular zoic-neuter), as in 3P.A ‘they (animals, things)’ (A-series)
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb, A-series prefix, as in 3NS.M.A ‘they (males)’ (A-series)
ALONGSIDE	[-kdagyɛʔ] “alongside” locative
AT	[-hneh] external locative
AUG	augmentative (either [-ge:] or [-go:wah])
BEN	benefactive
BESIDE	[-:kʔah] “beside” locative
CAUS	causative
CAUS-INSTR	causative-instrumental
CIS	cislocative
COIN	coincident
COMPLETELY	[-jihwɛh] ‘completely, fully’
CONTR	contrastive
CUSTOMARY	customary
D	dual (number), as in 2D.A ‘you two’ (A-series)
(D)	one argument must be dual, as in 1>2(D) ‘I>you two’, ‘we two>you’, etc.
DECLARE.KINSHIP	[-shɛʔ, -tsɛʔ] kinship declaration suffix
DIM	diminutive
DISL	dislocative
DISTR	distributive
DU	dualic (prepronominal prefix)
EX	exclusive, as in 1P.EX.A ‘we all (exclusive)’ (A-series)
FAC	factual
FACIL	habitual facilitative
FI	feminine-indefinite, as in 3S.FI.A ‘she, someone’ (A-series)
FORMER	former
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IN	[-gɔ:] internal locative (suffix)
IN	inclusive, as in 1D.IN.A ‘we two (inclusive)’ (A-series)

INCH	inchoative
INCREMENT	noun increment
INDEF	indefinite (optative)
INSTR	instrumental
INT	INTERACTIVE series pronominal prefix, as in 2s>1s ‘you>me’
INTS	intensifier
LENGTH	suffix consisting of [-:], agnostically named
MODZ	modalizer
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOUN	used in glosses to denote where a noun should be inserted
NO_ASPECT	verb lacking an aspect suffix
NS	non-singular, as in 3NS.M.A ‘they (males)’ (A-series)
(+NS)	both arguments must be non-singular, as in 3FI>3FI(+NS) ‘they (fe/males)>them(fe/males)’
NSF	noun stem former
ON	[-’geh] external locative
OPP	the opposite transitive arguments are included in the gloss, e.g. 2P>3S.M(OPP) means either 2P>3MS ‘you all>him’ or 3MS>2P ‘he>you all’
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, P-series prefix, as in 1s.P ‘I’, ‘me’ (P-series)
P	plural, as in 2P.A ‘you all’ (A-series)
(P)	one argument must be plural, as in 1>2(P) ‘I>you all’, ‘we>you’, etc.
PART	partitive
PAST	past
PL	plural (stative verb suffix)
PLRZ	pluralizer (word suffix)
POP	populative
PURP	purposive
PROG	progressive
PROTH	prothetic
PUNC	punctual
REC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REM	remote
REP	repetitive

Abbreviations

REV	reversive
S	singular, as in 1s.A 'I' (A-series)
SRF	semireflexive
STAT	stative
TRANSL	translocative
TYP	typicalizer
ZON	zoic-neuter

Part I

Introduction

1 The Hodinḡhsó:nih

The *Hodinḡhsó:nih* ‘People of the Longhouse’ once lived in the Mohawk River valley and around the Finger Lakes district in present-day New York State. The *Ganyę́ḡhó:nḡ* ‘Mohawk people’ resided between the Allegheny and Catskill Mountains, while the *Onḡdowá’ga:* ‘Seneca people’ were settled along the Genessee River. In between, the *Onḡda’ḡhó:nḡ* ‘Onondaga people’ lived near Syracuse, New York, and the *Ohnyahḡhó:nḡ* ‘Oneida people’ lived near Lake Oneida, New York. The *Gayogḡhó:nḡ* ‘Cayuga people’ lived in an area between Lake Cayuga and Lake Owasco in present-day Cayuga County, New York (Michelson 1988: 3–6, see Figure 1.1, page 4).

The *Qḡwehó:weh* ‘Real People’ or ‘Iroquois’¹ formed the original *Hwíhs Niy-ohwejá:ge:* ‘Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy or League of the Iroquois’. The League came about some time before European contact. According to the oral tradition recorded in Gibson et al. (1992: xix–xxx), *Deganawí:da* ‘the Peacemaker’, aided by *Hayḡhwata* ‘He Who Makes a Wampum Belt’, first persuaded the *Ganyę́ḡhó:nḡ* and *Ohnyahḡhó:nḡ* to join together in alliance, followed by the *Onḡda’ḡhó:nḡ*, *Gayogḡhó:nḡ*, and *Onḡdowá’ga:*. The central concepts of the Peacemaker’s message (or *Gayanḡsra’gó:wah* ‘the Great Law’) were *Gaihwí:yo:* ‘the Good Message’, *Gahsháhsdḡhsra* ‘power, strength’, and *Sḡe:nḡ* ‘peace’.

The *Ganyę́ḡhó:nḡ*, *Onḡda’ḡhó:nḡ*, and *Onḡdowá’ga:* formed the senior “side” (moiety or phratry) of the League, while the *Ohnyahḡhó:nḡ* and *Gayogḡhó:nḡ* constituted the junior side. The moieties were metaphorically conceived as kin belonging to the same *Ganḡhsó:nih* ‘Longhouse’ or ‘household’: the senior moiety were “fathers” (father or father’s brother) to the junior moiety, and were also known as the ‘Three Brothers’. The junior moiety stood as “sons” (a man’s

¹The word ‘Iroquois’ is likely a “...pidginized Basque word learned by the French via some native intermediary language.” (Bakker 1991: 1122). The Basques had extensive trading relationships with the Mi’kmaq, Innu, and Maliseet “...from the late 1540’s to the first decades of the seventeenth century in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the Atlantic seacoast.” (Bakker 1991: 1120). Consequently, a Basque-Algonquian pidgin or trade language developed to facilitate communication. In this pidgin, the word from which ‘Iroquois’ derives was something like *(h)ilokoa* ‘killer-person’ (Bakker 1991: 1122–1123), a name reflecting the Iroquois’ reputation for war-mongering. The original Basque roots are [hil] ‘kill’ and [-ko-a] ‘person originating from’ (Bakker 1991: 1121).

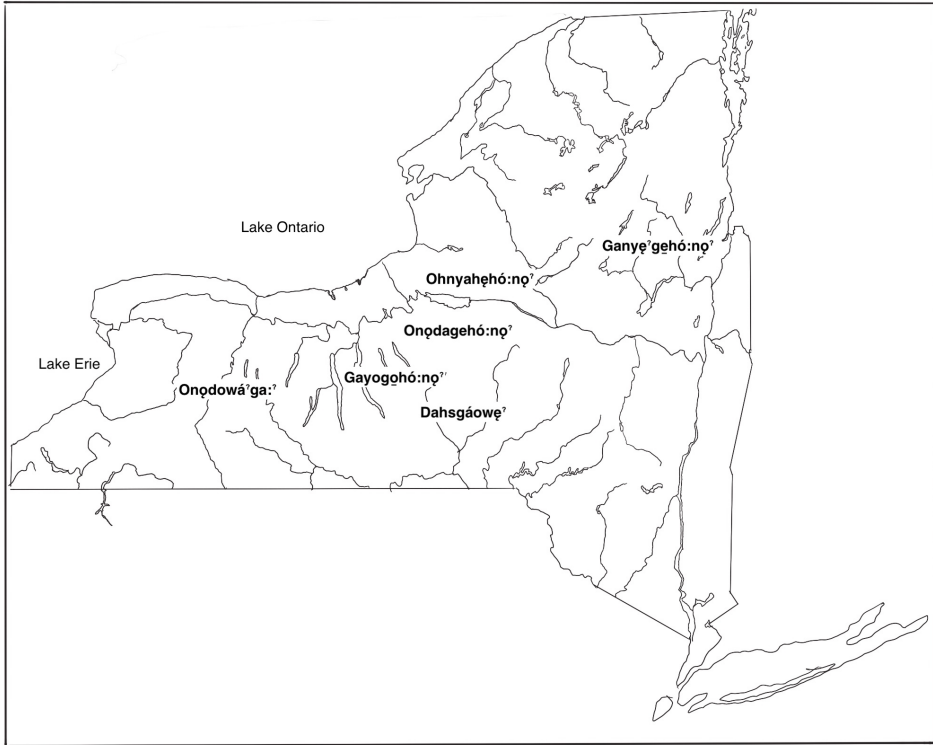


Figure 1.1: The original homelands of the Ojwehó:weh (based on *Map of Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee-Ga: Or the territories of the People of the Long House in 1720: Exhibiting the home country of the Iroquois with the aboriginal names of their villages, lakes, rivers, streams & ancient localities, and the courses of their principal trails: [New York (State)]* (1720), *New York lakes and rivers map* (2013), *Iroquois Six-Nations map c.1720* (2004).

brother's son or a woman's brother's son) to the senior moiety (H. Woodbury, in Fenton 1998: 54–55), and were known as the 'Four Brothers' (for reasons described next).

In 1722 – after losing their homelands in present-day North Carolina in 1712 – the *Dahsgáowę'* 'Tuscarora people' were adopted into the League by the *Gayogohó:nq'* (Fenton 1998: 54, Schoolcraft 1846: 26). The League was afterwards known as the *Hyei Niyohwejá:ge:* 'Six Nations'. Meanwhile, the *Gayogohó:nq'* had also adopted the *Ewá'ganha'* 'Delaware'. Consequently, the junior moiety was known as the 'Four Brothers'.²

²Shimony (1994: 117) points out that the Nanticoke, Tutelo, and Wyandot had also previously been adopted.

The *Ganyé'gehó:nq'* were the 'Keepers of the Eastern Door' and the *Onqodowá'-ga:'*, the 'Keepers of the Western Door' – terms which referred to the boundaries of *Qgwehó:weh* country. The *Onqda'gehó:nq'* were *Honadejíhsdane:t* 'Keepers of the Fire' – referring to the Council Fire of the Confederacy – at *Onqda'geh* (Gibson et al. 1992: xxvi). The Grand Council consisted of 50 *Hodiyanéhsq'* (hereditary chiefs, whose titles are listed in §D.6). To maintain peace between *Hodinqhsó:nih* nations, the Grand Council debated League affairs with the goal of reaching *Sga'nígqha:t* 'one mind' or 'consensus'.

After the American Revolution, the Council Fire and Grand Council were re-established at *Tahnawá:de'* 'Tonawanda'. A twin Council was also established at Six Nations. It operates alongside the Six Nations Council, which was imposed by the Government of Canada in 1924.

1.1 *Gaihwí:yo: and related matters*

Gaihwí:yo: (the 'Good Message', referred to earlier), can be characterized as the League's "...body of dicta, anecdotes, and laws..." (Shimony 1994: 192). It includes the relatively newer prophecies of the Seneca prophet *Sganyadáiyó'* 'Handsome Lake' (1735–1815). For this reason, *Gaihwí:yo:* is also known as the 'Code of Handsome Lake' or 'the Code'.

Gaihwí:yo: is preached in two types of events, the Six Nations Convention and the Chiefs' Convention. ('Six Nations' in this context refers to the *Hodinqhsó:nih* in general.) The Six Nations Convention is a series of meetings performed during "...the biennial circuit which begins every fall at Tonawanda and which is observed in turn at each of the other ... participating Longhouses ..." in New York state, Quebec, and Ontario (Shimony 1994: 192). The Chiefs' Conventions, in contrast, are recitations of *Gaihwí:yo:* sponsored by individual *Ganqhsé:sq's* 'Longhouses' (singular *Ganqhsé:s* 'Longhouse'). Each event lasts for four days. It includes morning recitations of *Gaihwí:yo:*, followed by afternoon sessions with elements such as *Gaihwaté'dqh* 'explanation, clarification', *Gahsgyáqnyqhk* 'words of encouragement', and *Adatrewáhdq:'* 'repentance, apology'. The orators who recite *Gaihwí:yo:* perform these and other incredibly long speeches from memory, having learned this oral tradition directly from earlier preachers.

The *Ganqhsé:sq's* referred to above are congregations of *Godinqhsó:nih* 'Longhouse followers' who live according to the moral and ethical teachings of *Sganyadáiyó'*. The main components of the *Hodinqhsó:nih* Longhouse tradition are *Gaihwí:yo:*, the *Geí Niyoihwá:ge:* 'Four Ceremonies', the *Gahe:yq'* *Oihwá'geh* 'funeral rites', *Gayé'gotwé: ne' Onqhgwa'tra'* 'tobacco burnings and ceremonies

1 *The Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih*

for Medicine Societies’, and *Ohwejagehgehá:*’ *Gáęna*’ ‘Social dances and earth songs’.

The *Godinᓄhsᓄ:nih* also observe “doings” tied to the agricultural cycle, for example, the *Adahyáohᓄ:*’ ‘Gathering of Fruit’ or ‘Strawberry Ceremony’ and the *Shadiyáᓄdata*’ ‘Dry Up the Trees’ Ceremony (done at the end of the maple sap run). The highlight of the year is the *Tsa’degohsrahéh Gaihwayáᓄni:* ‘Midwinter Ceremony’, during which the *Geí Niyoihwá:ge:* are performed. The different Longhouses at Six Nations put on *Geí Niyoihwá:ge:*, not necessarily at the same time, but sometime during January or February of each year.

Many occasions (including ceremonies, and even run-of-the-mill meetings) begin and end with *Ganᓄhᓄnyᓄh* or *Ganᓄhᓄnyᓄhk* ‘The Thanksgiving Address’ (described in Foster 1974), during which an orator takes between several minutes to several hours to thank the Creator for everything under the sun.

1.2 Land

The dispossession of the *Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih* from their traditional lands before and after the American Revolution is well-documented elsewhere. Included in this section are simplified maps for Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca migrations, based on the synopsis in Michelson (1988: 3–6), which will provide some notion of the changes from the original and present *Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih* lands.

The *Gayogohó:nᓄ*’ villages (and other *Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih* villages) were destroyed in the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, in retaliation for the *Gayogohó:nᓄ*’ having sided with the British during the American Revolution. Many *Gayogohó:nᓄ*’ then removed to Fort Niagara and ultimately to Six Nations of the Grand River.

Before the American Revolution, some of the *Gayogohó:nᓄ*’ had settled with a group of *Onᓄdowá’ga:*’ on the Lower Sandusky River in Ohio. They were collectively known as the ‘Sandusky Senecas’. In 1831, they moved to Miami, Oklahoma (Michelson 1988: 5, Mithun 1979: 149), which is shown as the ‘Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma’ in Figure 1.6 (page 9). Differences between Oklahoma and Six Nations *Gayogohonᓄ’néha:*’ ‘Cayuga language’ are summarized in §1.3.

The British Crown granted lands to the *Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih* in the 1784 Haldimand Proclamation. For a map showing the approximate dates and locations of the original *Hodinᓄhsᓄ:nih* settlements on the lower Haldimand Tract, see Hill (2017: 140). For a map of the original Haldimand Tract and the current extent of Six Nations, see (Six Nations Council 2008).

See Figure D.1 (page 1062) for *Gayogohonᓄ’néha:*’ place names at Six Nations and Figure D.2 (page 1062) for *Gayogohonᓄ’néha:*’ place names in Ontario and Quebec, Canada, and in New York State, USA.

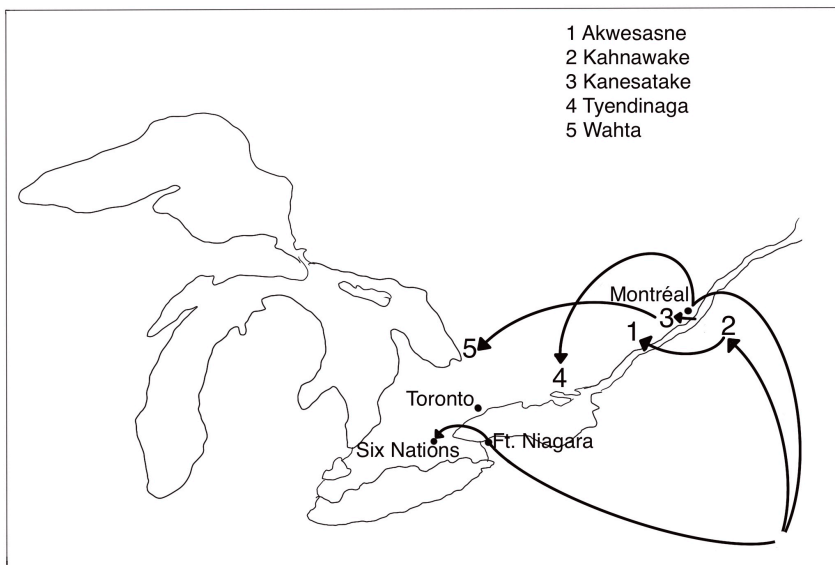


Figure 1.2: Ganyę'gehó:nq' 'Mohawk' migrations

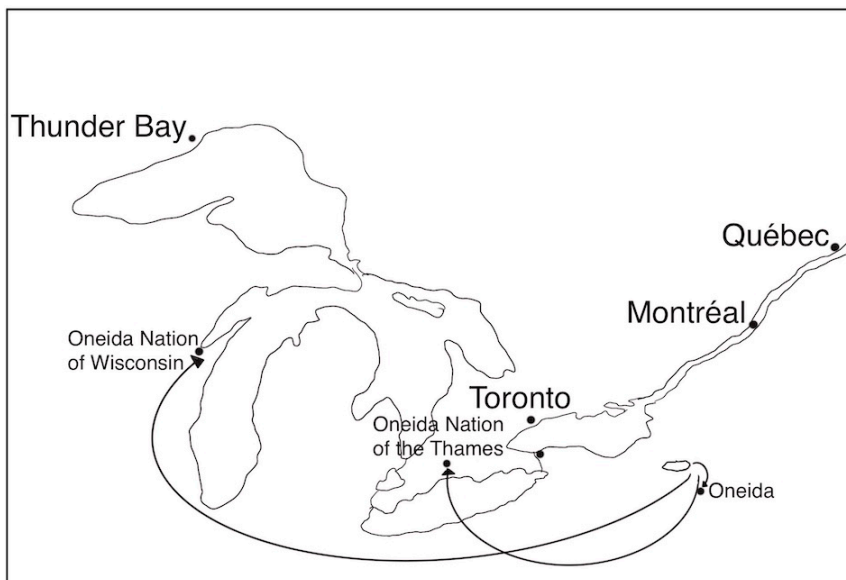


Figure 1.3: Ohnyahęhó:nq' 'Oneida' migrations

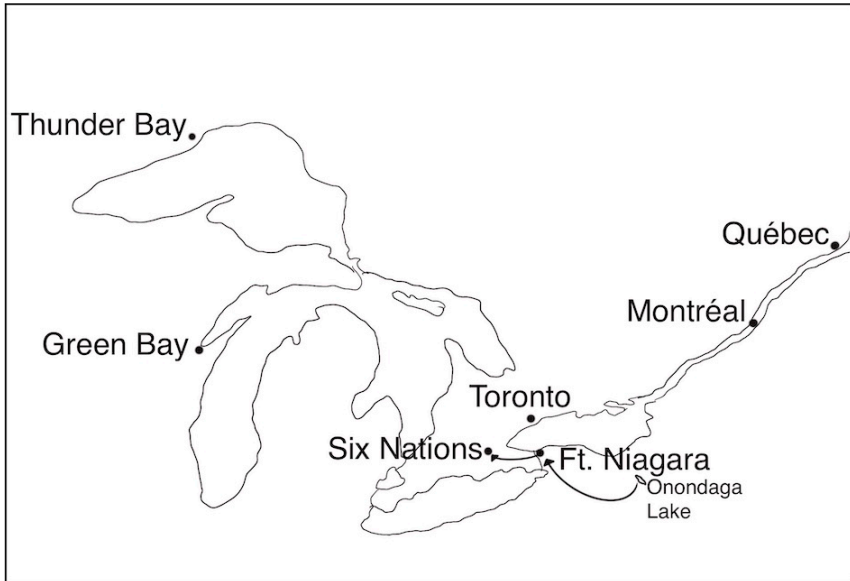


Figure 1.4: Onoḍa'gehó:nə' 'Onondaga' migrations

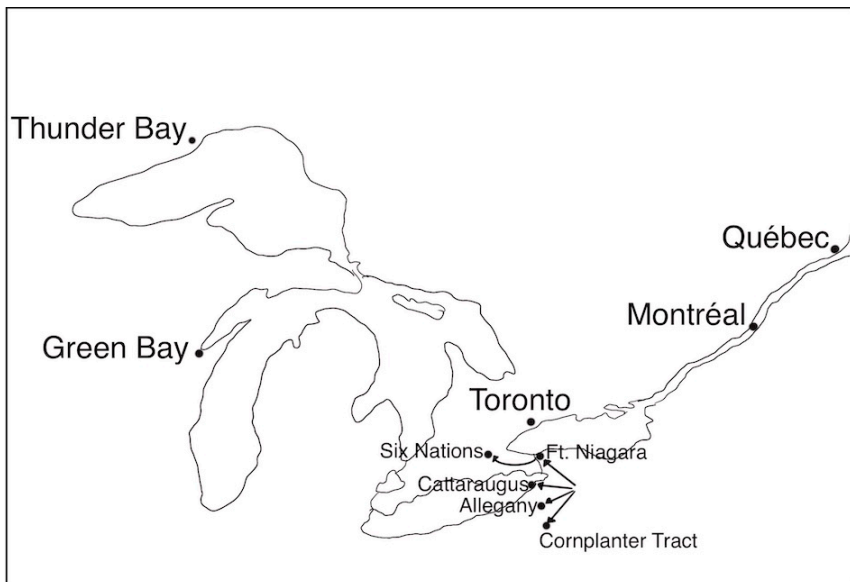


Figure 1.5: Onoḍowá'ga:' 'Seneca' migrations

1.3 *Gayogohonǫ́néha:*, the Cayuga language

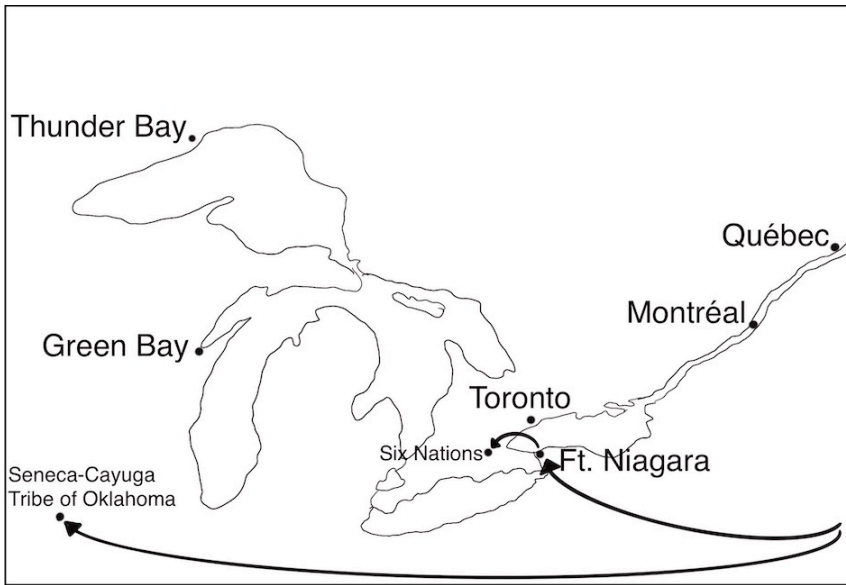


Figure 1.6: *Gayogohǫ́néha:* ‘Cayuga’ migrations

1.3 *Gayogohonǫ́néha:*, the Cayuga language

Gayogohonǫ́néha: belongs to the *Qgwehǫ́wéhneha:* ‘Iroquoian language’ family.³ It is closely related to *Onǫ́da’gegá’* ‘Onondaga’ and *Onǫ́dowá’ga:* ‘Seneca’ and more distantly, to *Ska:rù:rę́* ‘Tuscarora’, *Kanien’kéha* ‘Mohawk’, *Onǫ́yota’a:ká:* ‘Oneida’, and *Tsalagi* ‘Cherokee’.⁴ A simplified family tree is provided in Figure 1.7, page 10.

Qgwehǫ́:weh ‘Iroquoian’ speakers can often speak or understand more than one language, at least with practice, because of similarities among the languages, which are illustrated in Table 1.1, page 10.

Gayogohǫ́néha: is currently spoken at Six Nations of the Grand River near Brantford, Ontario, Canada. At least in the past, the variety of *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:* ‘Lower Cayuga’ was spoken in the Lower End (*Ganédagéh* ‘in the valley’), while *Dagęhyatgehonǫ́néha:* ‘Upper Cayuga’ was spoken around the Upper End (*Dagęhya:t* ‘top of the mountain’).

³*Gayogohǫ́néha:* refers to the people, and *Gayogohonǫ́néha:* ‘the Cayuga way’ refers to the language. However, *Gayogohǫ́néha:* is often used in reference to the language.

⁴The autonyms for each language are used in this paragraph. However, in the figures, the *Gayogohonǫ́néha:* words are used instead.

1 The *Hodinohsónih*

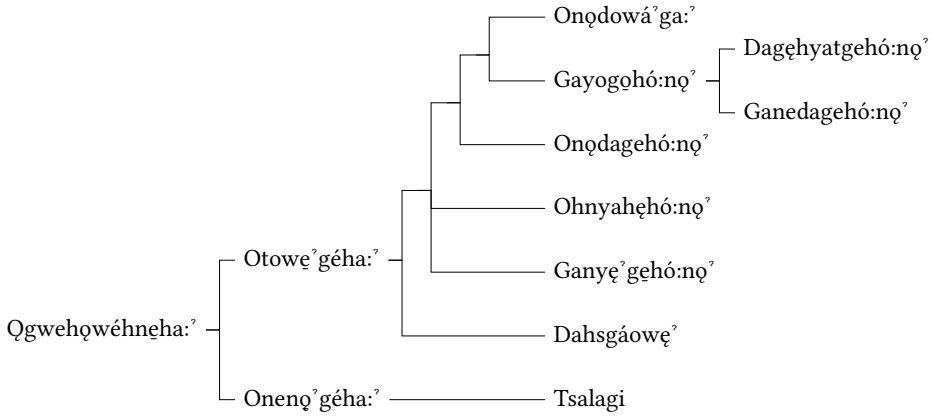


Figure 1.7: *Qgwehówéhneha* language family (simplified). Based on Schillaci et al. (2017), Eberhard et al. (2022). *Otowe'géha*: 'Northern kind', *Onenó'géha*: 'Southern kind'. Strictly speaking, many of the language names should end with [-neha:], without which, the words represent the names of peoples, not languages. The suffix has been omitted to save space.

Table 1.1: Words for 'two' and 'five'

Autonym	English name	'two'	'five'
Gayogohonó'néha:	Cayuga	tekni:	hwihš
Kanien'kéha	Mohawk	tékeni	wisk
OnΛyota'a:ká:	Oneida	tékni	wisk
Onóda'gegá'	Onondaga	teknih	hwiks
Onödowá'ga:	Seneca	tekni:h	wis
Ska:rù:ré'	Tuscarora	ne:kti:h	wisk
Tsalagi	Cherokee	ta'li	hiski

1.3 *Gayogohonó'néha:*, the Cayuga language

Ganedagehonó'néha: speakers use GY and KY where *Dagehyatgehonó'néha:* speakers use DY and TY instead (1). *Ganedagehonó'néha:* speakers also pronounce underlined vowels (1a) differently than *Dagehyatgehonó'néha:* speakers do (1b, see §19).

- (1) a. gyohdq: 'nine' (*Ganedagehonó'néha:*)
 b. dyohdq: 'nine' (*Dagehyatgehonó'néha:*)

A variety of *Gayogohonó'néha:* was also spoken in Oklahoma. The speech of one Oklahoman speaker is described in Mithun (1989). The main changes are summarized in this section. For the pronunciation of *Ganedagehonó'néha:* see §3, §19, §21.2.4, and §21.1.

Differences between Oklahoma and Six Nations *Gayogohonó'néha:* include vocabulary items, as shown in (2).

- (2) The word for 'car' (Mithun 1989: 247)
- a. gagáhowanę's (Oklahoma speaker)
 ga-gáh-owane-'s
 3S.A-eye-big.STAT-PL
- b. ga'dréhda' (Six Nations speakers)
 ga-'dréhd-a'
 3S.A-drag-NSF

Noun incorporation is also different: Oklahoma *Gayogohonó'néha:* speakers tend to avoid pronominal prefixes denoting possession in noun incorporation words (3a), and also tended to avoid incorporation (4a).

- (3) 'She has a big house' (Mithun 1989: 249)
- a. ganqhsuwá:nęh (Oklahoma speaker)
 ga-nqhs-uwá:n-ęh
 3S.A-house-big-STAT
- b. gonqhsowá:nęh (Six Nations speakers)
 go-nqhs-owá:n-ęh
 3S.FI.P-house-big-STAT
- (4) 'She has a big onion' (Mithun 1989: 250)
- a. kuwá:nęh 'núhsa' (Oklahoma speaker)
 k-uwá:n-ęh 'núhs-a'
 3S.A-big-STAT onion-NSF

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- b. gɔʔnɔhsowá:nɛh (Six Nations speakers)
gɔ-ʔnɔhs-owá:n-ɛh
3S.FI.P-onion-big-STAT

As shown in examples (4a) and (5), Oklahoma *Gayogohonɔʔnéha:*ʔ omitted most instances of the /o-/ 3S.P prefix in nouns (5a, Mithun 1989: 251–252), and shortened some words even further (6a), (but without changing accent placement).

- (5) ‘beans’ (Mithun 1989: 254)
a. sáheʔdaʔ (Oklahoma speaker)
sáheʔd-aʔ
beans-NSF
b. osáheʔdaʔ (Six Nations speakers)
o-sáheʔd-aʔ
3S.P-beans-NSF
- (6) ‘butter’ (Mithun 1989: 255)
a. drá:htaʔ (Oklahoma speaker)
drá:ht-aʔ
butter-NSF
b. owidrá:htaʔ (Six Nations speakers)
o-widrá:ht-aʔ
3S.P-butter-NSF

Words with an O-like sound in Six Nations *Gayogohonɔʔnéha:*ʔ instead have a U-like sound in Oklahoma *Gayogohonɔʔnéha:*ʔ (7a). (In contrast, Six Nations *Gayogohonɔʔnéha:*ʔ only has a few words with an U-like sound (see §3.2).

- (7) ‘it is cold’ (Mithun 1989: 250–251)
a. utú:weʔ (Oklahoma speaker)
u-tú:weʔ
3S.P-cold.STAT
b. otó:weʔ (Six Nations speakers)
o-tó:weʔ
3S.P-cold.STAT

Six Nations and Oklahoma *Gayogohonɔʔnéha:*ʔ had slightly different rules for accent placement and related sound changes. For example, the accent was changed for some Oklahoma words (8a).

1.3 *Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ*, the Cayuga language

- (8) ‘in my eye’ (Mithun 1989: 252)
- a. gegáhá:gǫ: (Oklahoma speaker)
g-e-gah-á:gǫ:
1S.A-JOINERÉ-eye-in
 - b. gegáhagǫ: (Six Nations speakers)
g-e-gáh-agǫ:
1S.A-JOINERÉ-eye-in

Also, while whisper (devoicing) is obligatory for the first vowel of the word in (9a) in *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:ʔ*,⁵ it was optional in Oklahoma *Gayogoho:nǫ́néha:ʔ* (9b). (Laryngealization, the sound change shown in the third vowel of both examples in (9), is obligatory in both *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:ʔ* and in Oklahoma *Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ*, Mithun 1989: 254).

- (9) ‘on my hand’ (Mithun 1989: 253)
- a. gehsóhdǫ́geh (Six Nations speakers)
g-ǣ-hsóhd-a-ʔgeh
1S.A-JOINERÉ-hand-JOINERÁ-ON
 - b. gehsúhdǫ́geh (Oklahoma speaker)
g-e-hsúhd-a-ʔgeh
1S.A-JOINERÉ-hand-JOINERÁ-ON

Similarly, devoicing does not affect the first vowel of the word in *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:ʔ* (10a), but could do so in Oklahoma *Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ* (10b).⁶

- (10) ‘three’ (Mithun 1989: 254)
- a. ahsǫ́h (Six Nations)
 - b. ǣhsǫ́h (Oklahoma)

⁵In *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:ʔ* the first vowel is devoiced in words beginning with a consonant-vowel-H combination.

⁶In *Ganedagehonǫ́néha:ʔ*, words beginning with vowels are not devoiced.

2 Spelling systems

There are two spelling systems for Gayogohonǝ'néha:⁷ – the Linguistic and the Henry orthographies. The Linguistic system was originally developed in the 1970s for Native Language Teacher Certification programs, and is used in academic articles and in major works such as Mithun & Henry (1984). The Linguistic system more closely resembles the orthographies of the other *Qgwehǝ:weh* languages. Some examples of other orthographies are shown in Table 1.1 (page 10).

The Henry orthography was developed in the early 1980s by the late Reginald Henry (credited as being the “father” of language revitalization at Six Nations). It is used in educational settings at Six Nations, in Froman et al. (2002), and in this grammar. The main difference between the two writing systems is in how consonants are represented, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Consonant spellings compared

Linguistic	Henry	IPA	gloss	location
thǝ'	tǝ'	[t ^h]	'no'	not word-final
taku:s	ǰagu:s	[d]	'cat'	not word-final
ská:t	sgá:t	[t ^h]	'one'	word-final
tkáhe:'	tgáhe:'	[t ^h]	'it is setting over there'	before a consonant
kakhwa'	gakwa'	[k ^h]	'food'	not word-final
kǝh	gǝh	[g]	'question word'	not word-final
khehá:wahk	kehá:wahk	[k ^h]	'my daughter'	word-final
knó:ha'	knó:ha'	[k ^h]	'mother'	before a consonant
shǝh	sǝh	[s ^h]	'that'	anywhere
tshǝ:	tsǝ:	[ts ^h]	'just'	anywhere
tsyá:tahk ^a	ǰá:dahak	[dʒ, dz]	'seven'	anywhere

^aAlso spelled as tsá:tahk in the Linguistic orthography.

2.1 A modified Henry orthography

A modified version of the Henry orthography is used in this book. This section describes the departures from the original orthography.¹

The original spelling system has a “lengthener” (length mark) <: > both after long vowels and double vowels (1a). In contrast, the modified orthography does not use a lengthener after double vowels (1b), but only after long or lengthened vowels (2c).

- (1) a. *degaɔ:doʔjinéhthaʔ* ‘they figure-skate’ (original)
 b. *degaɔdoʔjinéhthaʔ* ‘they figure-skate’ (modified)

The original (Henry and Linguistic) systems have two ways of spelling accent-related syllable pronunciations (which are described in 32). The original orthographies switch the glottal stop <ʔ> and vowel in certain syllables ending with glottal stop <ʔ> (2a), but underline the vowel in certain syllables ending with H (2c). In contrast, the modified orthography uses the underline convention for both types of pronunciation change (2b, c). (The result is that words belonging to the same paradigm are spelled the same way. For paradigm, see 640.)

- (2) a. *gʔaníɔhaʔ* ‘the mind’ (original)
 b. *gáʔníɔhaʔ* (modified)
 c. *gahó:ga:ʔ* ‘elm’ (original and modified)

One of the main differences between the Henry and Linguistic orthographies is the use of H in consonant spellings. For example, Linguistic <th> corresponds to Henry <t>, and Linguistic <sh>, to Henry <s>, Table 2.1, (3a). In this grammar, an extra <h> is added in the linguistic analysis for clarity, where relevant (3b, c).

The accent mark is also omitted from stand-alone particles (3b).

- (3) a. *séh* ‘that’ (original)
 b. *shéh* ‘that’ (modified)²
 c. *ehstaʔ*
 e-hst-haʔ
 3FIS.A-use-HAB
 ‘she uses’, ‘people use’ (H is added in the linguistic analysis)

¹Also, language examples originally written in the linguistic orthography have been changed to the modified Henry spelling system in this grammar.

²*Shéh* is also spelled and pronounced as *tseh* (Henry orthography), *tshéh* (Linguistic orthography).

2.2 Spelling particles

PARTICLES (see §4) often undergo pronunciation changes (which are described in 34.) As a result, particles and particle groups are typically spelled several different ways. To standardize the spelling, particles are spelled in their full or stand-alone form in this work, as shown in Table 2.2. (Often, however, the common spellings for particle groups are also shown.) In spelling particles, the accent mark is often omitted, partly because it is less prominent in particles and particle groups (Rueentan 2014).

Table 2.2: Particle pronunciation

stand-alone (modified) spelling	common spellings	translation
hao' dɛ' nyoh	hao' dɛ' nyó	“o.k.!”
toh gɛh ɔh ne:ʔ	to gɛɔ ne:ʔ, to gaɔ ne:ʔ	“I wonder if it is”

2.3 Brackets

The bracket conventions used in this work are shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Bracket usage

bracket type	usage	example
[...]	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	[t ^h]
[...]	underlying representation, allomorph, spelling variant	[a-], [a ^ʔ -], [e-] FAC
<...>	spelling variant	<ʔ> glottal stop <s>, S (alternative)

Symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) are enclosed between square brackets [...].

2 Spelling systems

Morphemes and allomorphs are enclosed between floor brackets [...] instead of the usual slash brackets /.../ mainly to avoid the extensive use of slash brackets. As well, unlike slash brackets, the floor brackets represent not only morphemes, but also allophonic and spelling variants. For example, the reader might see three FACTUAL allomorphs referred to in the text, [a-], [a^ʔ-], or [e-]. Such representations more closely align with the spelling and also serve to avoid unnecessarily detailed underlying representations such as /a(ʔ)-, e-/ – or even “archiphonemic” representations such as /A(ʔ)-/. The use of floor brackets for stems such as [ihsag] ‘look for’ also signals the potential for spelling changes such as *agihsagoh* ‘I’m looking for it’ versus *ehsihsa:k* ‘you will look for it’.

Orthographic representations are sometimes enclosed between angle brackets for clarity (often just to highlight the presence of a glottal stop <ʔ>). Otherwise, uppercase letters are used for denoting orthographic representations.

3 Sounds and spelling

3.1 Vowels and consonants

Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ has seven vowels (with underlyingly long counterparts, see §3.2.1) and thirteen consonants.

Table 3.1: Vowels

i(:)			u(:)
e(:)	ɛ(:)		o(:)
		a(:)	ɔ(:)

Table 3.2: Consonants

t,d		k,g	ʔ
s			h
ts	j		
n			
r			
	y	w	

The following descriptions use symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for clarity. IPA letters are in square brackets.

3.2 Vowel pronunciation

The Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ vowel letters represent just one sound each. That being said, vowels can also be modified – lengthened, whispered (devoiced), or glottalized (produced with creaky voice) – depending on factors described in §3.9.

I sounds like the I [i] in *magazine*.

E sounds like the E [e] in *hey*.

A sounds like the A [ɑ] in *father*.

O sounds like the O [o] in *so*.

3 Sounds and spelling

U sounds like the U [u] in *blue*. Only a few words have this sound, including, *niwú:’uh* ‘it is small’, *niwu’drugye:’ah* ‘it is narrow’, and *kyohsa’geh*, *kyuh-sa’geh* ‘on my elbow’.

E sounds like the nasal E [ɛ̃] in English *men* or the nasal vowel in French *frein* ‘brake’. It can also sound more like the nasal O [ɔ̃] in *money* or like the U in *pun*. Long E: can sound like [ɛ̃n], as in *né:dah* [nɛ́ndah] ‘hear, take it!’ This happens especially when long E: is before D, G, J, K, T, or TS.

Q sounds like the nasal O [õ] in English *known* or the nasal vowel in French *don* ‘gift’. It can also sound more like the nasal OO [ũ] in *noon*. Long Q: can sound like [õn], as in *ó:dqh* [õndõh] ‘she says’. This happens especially when long Q: is before D, G, J, K, T, or TS.

3.2.1 Long versus short vowels

Gayogohonq’néha:’ distinguishes between long and short vowels. Long vowels are nearly always long.

(1) Long vowels

- a. onq’á:’ ‘a head’
cf. o-nq’a:-’ 3.P-head-NSF
- b. sanq’á:’geh ‘on your head’
cf. sa-nq’a:-’geh 2S.A-head-ON
- c. honq’á:dɛ:s ‘he’s thick-headed’
cf. ho-nq’a:-dɛ:s 3S.M.P-head-thick.STAT

Long vowels are only shortened when another vowel follows.

(2) Long vowel shortening

- ɛgatnq’aohái’ ‘I will wash my head’
cf. ɛ-g-at-nq’a-ohái:-’ FUT-1S.A-SRF-head-wash-PUNC

In contrast, short vowels are typically short.

(3) Short vowels

- agatqđé’qh ‘I have heard it before’
cf. ag-at-hqđé’-qh 1S.P-SRF-hear-STAT

However, short vowels can be lengthened according to rules described in §3.6.

(4) Short vowel lengthening

- aga:tq:de’ ‘I hear it (right now)’
cf. ag-a:t-hq:de:-’ 1S.P-SRF-hear-STAT

3.3 Consonant pronunciation

The consonant letters often represent several sounds. This is explained below and in §36.1 (also see Table 2.1, page 15.)

T sounds like the T [t^h] in *ten*. T either syllabifies as two separate consonants [t.h] or as a single consonant [t^h].

D sounds like the D [d] in *den*. In whispered syllables, it also sounds like T [t] (see §3.9). D syllabifies as a single consonant [d].

K sounds like the K [k^h] in *Ken*. K either syllabifies as two separate consonants [k.h] or as a single consonant [k^h].

G sounds like the hard G [g] in *gum*. In whispered syllables, it also sounds like K [k] (see §3.9). G syllabifies as a single consonant [g]. In Gayogohonq'néha:[?], G is never pronounced like the “soft G” in *gem*.

S sounds like the S [s] in *sun*. In some words, it sounds like the Z [z] in *zoo*, for example in *í:so*[?] ‘many, much’. S syllabifies as a single consonant [s, z] or as part of another consonant (as in [k^s]).

SR – as in *wəhnihsRí:yo*: ‘nice day’ – sounds like the SHR [ʃɹ] in *shrink*. Some speakers pronounce SR as FR [fɹ] instead, for example in words like *ganóhk-wasra*[?] (ganóhkwaFRa[?]) ‘love’. SR syllabifies as two separate consonants, [ʃ.ɹ] or [f.ɹ].

S sometimes represents two sounds, S and H, as in *less heat*. For example, the word meaning ‘that’ is often spelled as *səh* [s^hɛh] instead of *shəh*. To more closely mirror the pronunciation, the SH spelling is used in morpheme breaks in this work, as in *shəh* ‘that’.¹ SH either syllabifies as two separate consonants [s.h] or as a single consonant [s^h].

TS sounds like T, S, and H, as in *let's hide*. TS either syllabifies as two separate consonants [t.s^h] or as a single consonant [t^{sh}].

J sounds like the J [dʒ] sound in *judge* or like the DZ [dz] in *adze* or *gadzooks*. In whispered syllables (see §3.9), it sounds like the CH [tʃ] in *chair*, or like [ts] as in *let's*. J either syllabifies as two separate consonants [d.ʒ] or [d.z] or as a single consonant, [dʒ, dz].

¹Morpheme breaks show a word's prefixes, stem, and suffixes.

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N sounds like the N [n] in *no*. In whispered syllables (see §3.9), it sounds like the N (devoiced [ɲ]) in *snore*. N syllabifies as a single consonant.

R sounds like the R [ɹ] in *raw*. In whispered syllables (see §3.9), it sounds like the R (devoiced [ɹ̥]) in *three*. R syllabifies as a single consonant, but is always preceded by another consonant such as [t,d,k,g,s,n].

W sounds like the W [w] in *we*. In whispered syllables (see §3.9), it sounds like the W (devoiced [w̥]) in *sway*. W syllabifies as a single consonant [w] or as part of another consonant (such as [d^w, g^w]).

Y sounds like the Y [j] in *you*. In whispered syllables (see §3.9), it sounds like the Y sound (devoiced [j̥]) that can be heard (but is not spelled) after F in *few*, or after P in *pure*. Y syllabifies as a single consonant [j] or as part of another consonant (such as [d^j, g^j]).

H sounds like the H in *he*. For syllabification purposes, when H is between two vowels (syllables), it is part of both the first syllable (vowel) and the second syllable (vowel).² Examples are provided in the following sections.

H sounds are heard but not spelled in letters like T [th, t^h], K [kh, k^h], TS [t^{sh}] and S (when S spells [s^h]).

<ʔ> (glottal stop)³ is a true consonant in Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ (Although it is not spelled in English, glottal stop can be heard in several English expressions, including uh-uh [ʔʌʔʌ] ‘no’). For syllabification purposes, when <ʔ> occurs between two vowels (syllables), it is part of both the first syllable (vowel) and the second syllable (vowel). Examples are provided in the following sections.

3.4 Alphabetization

In this work, words are alphabetized as in the roman alphabet with a few exceptions: alphabetization ignores the glottal stop <ʔ> and the lengthener < : >. For example, items beginning with [ʔni] or [ni] are both listed under NI. Similarly, [aʔa] is alphabetized as AA, and [a:] is treated as A. Alphabetization also ignores the distinction between E and Ė, and between O and Ȯ. For example, items beginning with [od] or [ȯd] are alphabetized under OD.

²Technically speaking, intervocalic H and intervocalic glottal stop (described next) are ambisyllabic.

³Gayogohonǫ́néha:ʔ language teachers refer to glottal stop <ʔ> as a “slow marker”.

3.5 Accent and related pronunciation changes

The unique rhythm of Gayogohonǝ́néha:ʔ arises from a combination of accent, vowel lengthening and syllable shortening (described in the following sections). Accented vowels have a higher pitch (musical tone) than unaccented vowels, and appear near the end of the word. They are spelled with an acute accent mark <'>⁴. Lengthened or long vowels take twice as long to produce as short vowels. Vowel lengthening (or length) is spelled with a colon <:;>⁵. Syllable shortening is a cover term for a set of pronunciation changes, described later, which affects certain syllables ending with H or glottal stop <'>.

Accent is either FINAL or NON-FINAL. Final accent falls on the last syllable (vowel) of the word and non-final accent falls on the second-last, third-last, or fourth-last syllable. Final accent is described in §3.10. (Briefly stated, non-final accent switches to final accent under certain conditions.) Non-final accent placement and the related rules of vowel lengthening and syllable shortening are described below. All of these rules refer to the syllable count, described next.

3.5.1 Counting syllables (or vowels)

The rules of accent placement, vowel lengthening, and syllable shortening make reference to two types of syllable count (5). (Since every syllable includes a vowel, the words *vowel* and *syllable* are used interchangeably in this section. For syllable structure, see §36.1.)

- (5) Two types of syllable count
 - a. THE ODD/EVEN COUNT: starting from the beginning of the word, vowels (syllables) are either odd-numbered (first, third, etc.) or even-numbered (second, fourth, etc.).
 - i. The odd/even count is irrelevant for final syllables.
 - b. THE WORD-FINAL COUNT: starting from the end of the word, vowels (syllables) are either:
 - i. final
 - ii. second-last
 - iii. third-last, or
 - iv. fourth-last.

⁴Gayogohonǝ́néha:ʔ language teachers also call the accent mark a “stress marker” or “stress point”.

⁵Gayogohonǝ́néha:ʔ language teachers refer to the colon < : > as a “lengthener”.

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The second-last syllable is also called the PENULTIMATE vowel/syllable or the PENULT.

The odd/even count starts at the beginning of the word, as shown with a rightwards arrow ‘→’ in Figure 3.1. The word-final count starts from the end of the word instead, as shown with a leftwards arrow ‘←’.

	ɛ	sa	de	jɛ	hɛ	né:	dahk	
→	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
				4th- last	3rd- last	2nd- last (penult)	last	←

Figure 3.1: The syllable count - *ɛsadejɛhɛné:dahk* ‘you will prepare your fire’

In most cases, long vowels count as one unit for the odd/even count (5a). However, the long [a:-] INDEF prefix always counts as two (Figure 3.2), as do underlyingly (or usually) long vowels, Figure 3.3 (page 25).

	a	:	yet	sɛ́	iʷ	
→	1	2	3	4	5	
				2nd-last (penult)	last	←

Figure 3.2: The syllable count and the [a:-] INDEF. *a:yetsɛ́iʷ* ‘she might find it’

3.6 Non-final accent and lengthening

Non-final accent and lengthening are determined by making reference to the odd/even and word-final counts described in §3.5.1. In a nutshell, even-numbered penults are always accented (and lengthened, if possible). In contrast, odd-numbered penults are only sometimes accented (and lengthened, if possible). More often than not, odd-numbered penults cannot be accented (or lengthened) and the third-last vowel is accented instead.

	ak	nɔ̌ʔ	á	:	nɔh	wa:s	
→	1	2	3	4	5	6	
					2nd- last (penult)	last	←

Figure 3.3: The syllable count and underlying long vowels - *aknɔ̌ʔá:nɔhwa:s* 'I have a headache'

The phrase *lengthen (if possible)* refers to the condition in (6). Examples will be provided below.

- (6) CONDITION ON VOWEL LENGTHENING: vowels cannot be lengthened if they are followed by H, glottal stop <ʔ>, or another vowel.

3.6.1 Accenting and lengthening even-numbered penults

Even-numbered penults are always accented (7). They are also lengthened (if possible, 7a). The even-numbered penults in (7b) and (7c) are accented but cannot be lengthened because they are followed by H (7b) or glottal stop <ʔ> (7c).

- (7) accent and lengthening of even-numbered, second-last vowels
- dehɔ̌gweʔdí:yo: (deh-hɔ̌g-weʔ-dí:-yo:) 'he is not a nice man' (lengthened)
 - taʔdewagéhdɔ̌ʔ (taʔ-de-wa-géh-dɔ̌ʔ) 'I did not mean or intend it' (not lengthened, because followed by H)
 - ɛyóʔga:ʔ (ɛ-yóʔ-ga:ʔ) 'it will be night' (not lengthened, because followed by <ʔ>)

3.6.2 Accenting and lengthening odd-numbered penults

Odd-numbered penults are sometimes accented but more often than not, the third-last vowel must be accented instead.

Odd-numbered penults followed by a single consonant are accented and also lengthened (if possible, 8, 9). When odd-numbered penults are lengthened, the even-numbered, third-last vowel is also lengthened (if possible, 8). Example (9) shows a case where the even-numbered third-last vowel cannot be lengthened because it is followed by glottal stop <ʔ>.

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- (8) Accented odd-numbered penult, followed by a single consonant (third-last vowel is also lengthened)
- a. aga:tó:de' (a-ga:t-hó:-de') 'I heard it'
- (9) Accented odd-numbered penult, followed by a single consonant (third-last vowel is not lengthened)
- a. ɛhsna'jó:dɛ' (ɛhs-na'-jó:-dɛ') 'you will boil it in a pot'

Odd-numbered penults with the vowel *A* cannot be accented (10a). (An asterisk denotes an ungrammatical form.) The even-numbered, third-last vowel is accented instead (10b). Neither vowel is lengthened (10b).

- (10) Unaccented odd-numbered penult with the vowel *A*
- a. ✗ *asatgɔhsóháe' (a-sat-gɔh-soh-há-e')
- b. ✓ asatgɔhsóhae' (a-sat-gɔh-sóh-ha-e') 'you have washed your face'⁶

Odd-numbered penults followed by two or more consonants cannot be accented (11a). An even-numbered, third-last vowel is accented instead (11b). Neither vowel is lengthened (11b).

- (11) Unaccented odd-numbered penult followed by two or more consonants
- a. ✗ *gatgɛhétsa' (gat-gɛh-hét-s^ha')
- b. ✓ gatgɛhetsa' (gat-gɛh-het-s^ha') 'a handle'

The accent rule illustrated in (11) also applies to odd-numbered penults followed by T [th], K [kh], and J [dz, tʃ], which represent two consonants (12).

- (12) Unaccented odd-numbered penult followed by T, K, J... (representing two or more consonants)
- a. ✗ *hoyanéta' (ho-ya-nét-ha')
- b. ✓ hoyáneta' (ho-yá-net-ha') 'the chief's clan mother'

Finally, odd-numbered penults followed by H or glottal stop <'> are not accented (13a). The third-last vowel is accented instead (13b). Neither vowel is lengthened (13b).

- (13) a. ✗ *Gayogáhneh (Ga-yo-gáh-neh)
- b. ✓ Gayógahneh (Ga-yó-gah-neh) 'Cayuga, Ontario'

⁶For the doubled H and other details about syllabification, see §36.1.

3.7 Accent shift

A non-final accent can shift from the predicted vowel (V2) to a preceding vowel (V1) if there is no consonant between V1 and V2. For example, in (14a), the even-numbered penult O should be accented. However, it is immediately preceded by A, which is accented instead (14b).

- (14) Accent shift from penult to third-last vowel
- ✗ *sayaʔdodrɔhgwaónihs (sa-yaʔ-dod-rɔhg-wa-ó-nihs)
 - ✓ sayaʔdodrɔhgwaónihs (sa-yaʔ-dod-rɔhg-wá-o-nihs) ‘you are always shivering’

In (15a), the odd-numbered penult cannot be accented and so the even-numbered third-last vowel should be accented instead. However, it is immediately preceded by A, which ultimately receives the accent because of accent shift (15b). This is the only instance where accent will fall on the fourth-last vowel.

- (15) Accent shift from third-last to fourth-last vowel
- ✗ *wanahaótrahɔʔ (wa-nah-ha-ót-rah-hɔʔ)
 - ✓ wanahaótrahɔʔ (wa-nah-há-ot-rah-hɔʔ) ‘hats lying on the ground’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)

3.8 Exceptions to non-final accent placement rules

Several exceptions to the rules of non-final accent placement (§3.6) are described in this and the following section.

The vowels before certain endings are always accented and long. The relevant endings are the [-kʔah] BESIDE locative suffix, and the [-:ʔah, -:ʔh] and [-:hah] DIM suffixes (16).

- (16)
- ganɔhsá:kʔah (ga-nɔh-sá:kʔah) ‘beside the house’
cf. ganɔhsaʔ (ga-nɔh-saʔ) ‘house’
 - ohsno:wé:ʔah (ohs-no:-wé:ʔah) ‘it is fairly fast’, ‘to arrive a little bit early’
cf. ohsnó:weʔ (ohs-nó:-weʔ) ‘it is fast, quick’
 - gowa:né:hah (go-wa:-né:h-hah) ‘it is fairly big’
cf. gowá:nəh (go-wá:-nəh) ‘it is big’

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A number of words have underlyingly (typically) long vowels (see §3.2.1). If the long vowel falls on the penult, it is accented – even if it is odd-numbered (17).

- (17) a. knó:ha' (**knó:h**-ha') 'my mother'
 b. kré:ha' (**kré:h**-ha') 'I am setting it on something'

Contrary to the rules of non-final accent placement (§3.6, example 10), an odd-numbered penultimate A *can* be accented and lengthened if it is followed by a single W or Y (18).

- (18) a. gá:yę' (**gá:-yę'**) 'it is lying there'
 b. sá:węh (**sá:-węh**) 'it is yours'
 c. hadihá:wi's (ha-dih-**há:-wi's**) 'they carry along'

The initial [o-] 3s.P prefix of some nouns can optionally be deleted. However, the noun is still accented as if the prefix were present. (Also see the Oklahoma Gayogohonǫ' néha:ʔ examples in §1.3.)

- (19) a. ohónǫ'daʔ, **hónǫ'daʔ** 'potatoes'
 b. ohsháih̄sdaʔ, **sháih̄sdaʔ** 'snake'

The [aʔ-] FAC prefix is optionally deleted if the following vowel is A (see §21). However, the resulting word is still accented and lengthened as if the prefix were present. Example (20a) illustrates a word with the factual prefix. The odd-numbered penult is accented and lengthened, and the third-last vowel is also lengthened (§3.6, example 8). Example (20b) shows the same word without a factual prefix. It is still accented and lengthened as if it had an odd-numbered penult. For comparison, the ungrammatical example in (20c) illustrates the accent and lengthening that would be predicted if the word had an even-numbered penult.

- (20) a. ✓ aʔa:kní:gę' 'she or he and I saw it'
 cf. aʔ-a:kní:-gę-ʔ FAC-ID.EX.A-see-PUNC
 b. ✓ a:kní:gę' 'she or he and I saw it'
 cf. a:kní:-gę-ʔ DELETED.FACTUAL-ID.EX.A-see-PUNC
 c. ✗ *akní:-gę-ʔ *ID.EX.A-see-PUNC

3.8.1 Accenting short words

The non-final-accent rules described in §3.6 do not necessarily apply to short words with either one or two syllables. Accenting two-vowel words is described in this section. See §3.10.3 for accenting particles or one-vowel words.

Recall that in general, if an odd-numbered penult cannot be accented, the third-last vowel is accented instead (§3.6, examples 10-13). However, while two-vowel words have an odd-numbered penult, they do not have a third-last vowel by definition, and so many two-vowel words cannot be accented according to the rules in §3.6. For example, the first vowel in the word in Figure 3.4 is an odd-numbered penult. Since it is an A (and is also followed by H), it cannot be accented. Meanwhile, the accent cannot shift further leftwards, as happens in longer words, because the odd-numbered, second-last vowel is also the first vowel of the word.

	hah	do:s	
→	1	2	
	2nd-last	last	←

Figure 3.4: The syllable count with short words - *hahdo:s*, *hahdó:s* ‘he dives’

These two-vowel words are sometimes pronounced without an accent – that is, with a low pitch on both vowels. Alternatively, they can be pronounced with a final accent (21).

- (21) a. *hahdo:s*, *hahdó:s* (*hah-do:s*, *hah-dó:s*) ‘he dives’
 b. *ohyaʔ*, *ohyáʔ* (*oh-yaʔ*, *oh-yáʔ*) ‘berry, fruit’
 c. *dasha:*, *dashá:* (*das-ha:*, *das-há:*) ‘here, take this!’

3.9 Pronunciation changes related to the syllable count

In *Ganedagehonóʔneha:*? (Lower Cayuga), odd-numbered syllables ending with H or glottal stop <ʔ> are pronounced differently than their even-numbered counterparts.⁷ (The best way to understand the following description is to listen to a speaker pronouncing all of the words in the following examples.)

⁷The pronunciation changes are collectively known as LARYNGEAL METATHESIS, and are described in Foster (1982) and Doherty (1993).

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Odd-numbered syllables ending with H are often whispered (22-25). (Technically, the entire syllable is DEVOICED.) Vowel underlining identifies the relevant syllables, which often sound as if they have been shortened to a single consonant. For example, the syllables *d_h* and *d_{eh}* can simply sound like a T (22–23).

- (22) ehyád_hkwaʔ (eh-yá-**d_h**-kwaʔ) ‘pencil’ (sounds like *ehyáTkwaʔ*)
 cf. ehyá:d_h (eh-yá:-**d_h**) ‘she writes’ (all three sounds in *d_h* are clearly audible)
- (23) d_{eh}ɛnaɔháʔ (**d_{eh}**-hɛ-ná-ɔh-haʔ) ‘they (m) race’ (sounds like *Tɛnáɔhaʔ*)
 cf. degɛnáɔhaʔ (**d_e**-gɛ-ná-ɔh-haʔ) ‘they (animals) are racers’ (both sounds in *d_e* are clearly audible)

Whispered vowels are sometimes hard to hear, especially in the first syllable in a word (24–25).

- (24) gɔhswáhɛhs (**gɔhs**-wáh-hɛhs) ‘I hate you’ (sounds like *KHswáhɛhs*)
 cf. gɔnɔhweʔs (**gɔ**-nɔh-weʔs) ‘I like you’ (both sounds in *gɔ* are clearly audible)
- (25) sahsgá:ne:s (**sahs**-gá:-ne:s) ‘you long for something’ (sounds like *SSgá:ne:s*)
 cf. hahsgá:ne:s (**hahs**-gá:-ne:s) ‘he longs for something’ (all sounds in *hahs* are clearly audible)

Odd-numbered syllables ending with glottal stop <ʔ> often sound quite different from their even-numbered counterparts. (Technically, the entire syllable is CREAKY-VOICED or GLOTTALIZED.) The pronunciation changes are described next.

First, the glottal stop <ʔ> sound might disappear (26).

- (26) gaʔdréhdaʔ (**gaʔ**d-réh-daʔ) ‘car, vehicle’ (odd-numbered *gaʔ* sounds more like *ga*. It is hard to hear any [ʔ] sound.)
 cf. agéʔdréhdaʔ (a-**géʔ**d-reh-daʔ) ‘my car, vehicle’ (in even-numbered *géʔ*, the <ʔ> sound is clearly audible)

Alternatively, the glottal stop <ʔ> sound might be heard before the odd-numbered vowel (whereas in related words, it sounds as if it is after the vowel (27).

- (27) ɛhsadeʔnyé:dɛʔ (ɛh-sa-**dɛʔ**n-yé:-dɛʔ) ‘you will try’ (odd-numbered *dɛʔ* sounds more like *dʔe* or *de*)
 cf. sadeʔnyé:dɛh (sa-**dɛʔ**n-yé:-dɛh) ‘sample it! try it!’ (in even-numbered *dɛʔ*, all three sounds are ‘in place’, and clearly audible)

The odd-numbered vowel might also disappear entirely, leaving just the glottal stop <ʔ> sound (28).

3.9 Pronunciation changes related to the syllable count

- (28) sayéde'qh (sa-yé-**de'**-qh)⁸ 'you are really good at something'
 (odd-numbered *de'* sounds like [t'], an EJECTIVE consonant, and no vowel can be heard)
 cf. ɛsayédé'qhɔ:k (ɛ-sa-yɛ-**dé'**-qh-ɔ:k) 'you will be really good at it' (in even-numbered *de'*, all three sounds are 'in place', and clearly audible)

Odd-numbered syllables ending with glottal stop <'> have been spelled in various ways, summarized in (29). In this book, the underlining convention shown in (29d) is used, in order to make the spelling of odd-numbered syllables ending with H and glottal stop <'> consistent (see §2).

- (29) ways of spelling shortened syllables ending with glottal stop <'>
- without <'>: gadréhda' (**gad**-réh-da')
 - by moving <'>: g'adréhda' (**g'ad**-réh-da')
 - by moving <'> and underlining the vowel g'adréhda' (**g'ad**-réh-da')
 - by underlining the vowel: ga'dréhda' (**ga'd**-réh-da')

3.9.1 Exceptions to pronunciation changes related to the syllable count

Contrary to the rules just described, *all* odd-numbered syllables remain unchanged or fully pronounced if they *begin* with H (30a, b, c), glottal stop <'> (30d, e), or with consonants containing H, such as T ([t^h], 30f), or K ([k^h], 30g).

- (30) no pronunciation changes, because the syllable begins with H or <'>
- onóha'ta' (o-nóh-**ha'**t-ha') 'soap'
 - she'shényogwɛh (s^he's-hén-yog-wɛh) 'you have overpowered someone'
 - he'sá'dre: (**he'**-sá'd-re:) 'drive over there'
 - heyóts'ahdɔh (he-yót-**s'ah**-dɔh) 'it is all gone'
 - agá'ahdra' (a-gá'-**ahd**-ra') 'my basket'
 - ɛwáhtehgya'k (ɛ-wáht-**hehg**-ya'k) 'it will erode'
 - ko'á'geh (**k^ho'**-á'-geh) 'on my lap'
 - dɛhsekahsɔ':go' (dɛh-sek-**hah**-hsɔ':-go') 'you will divide it into parts'

Similarly all odd-numbered syllables remain fully pronounced when they are the *first* syllable of the word and not preceded by a consonant (31).

⁸This example is from Mithun & Henry (1984).

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- (31) a. o^ʔdáihɛ: (o^ʔ-dá-ih-hɛ:) ‘it is hot’
b. oháha^ʔ (oh-háh-ha^ʔ) ‘road’

And lastly, final syllables ending with <ʔ> or H are always fully pronounced, whether they are odd- or even-numbered (32).

- (32) a. gā^ʔdréhda^ʔ (gad-réh-da^ʔ) ‘car, vehicle’
b. o^ʔwáhɔh (o^ʔ-wáh-hɔh) ‘meat’

3.10 Pronunciation changes in sentences

Whereas §3.6 described the kinds of pronunciation changes (accent and lengthening) affecting words in isolation, the following sections describe the pronunciation changes that affect connected words (words in sentences).

3.10.1 Non-final and final accent in neutral sentences

In *neutral* sentences or ordinary statements, words have either a non-final or final accent. Non-final accent (§3.6) applies to words in isolation (33) or sentence-final words (34). In contrast, final accent applies to words in mid-sentence (for which reason, it is also called CONTINUING accent (35)).

- (33) word in isolation, non-final accent
Aga:tɔ́:de^ʔ. ‘I heard it’
- (34) sentence-final word, non-final accent
Ne^ʔ gī^ʔ tsɔ́: aga:tɔ́:de^ʔ
The just only I.heard.it
‘I just heard it’
- (35) mid-sentence word, final (continuing) accent
Aga:tɔ́:dé^ʔ tsɔ́:; tɛ́^ʔ ní:^ʔ degé:gɛ:^ʔ.
I.heard.it just not I I.didn’t.see.it
‘I just heard it, I didn’t see it.’

When accent placement changes from non-final to final, the vowel lengthening described in §3.6 and §6 is not affected. For example, the vowels that are lengthened in non-finally-accented *aga:tɔ́:de^ʔ* (34) will remain long in finally-accented *aga:tɔ́:dé^ʔ* (35).

3.10.2 Accent in non-neutral sentences

Other types of accent, for example, accent in non-neutral sentences, is understudied.⁹ Some preliminary information about emphatic statements and questions is provided here.¹⁰

For emphasis, speakers sometimes use final accent instead of the expected non-final accent. For example, the single-word sentence *dó:ga'* 'I do not know' would normally have a non-final accent, but in (36), it has a final accent, which seems to convey emphasis.

(36) Do:gá'! 'I do not know!' (emphatic sentence)

A special accent pattern is used in "WH questions".¹¹ The words after the question word(s) are accented *non-neutrally*: either all of the vowels are accented (they all have a high pitch), or all are unaccented (they all have a low pitch, Mithun & Henry 1984, 37).

(37) WH-question accent (WH words are italicized)

a. *Gaɛ* *nhó*: **disáhdégyó**:/disahdɛgyo:?

Which place you.come.from.there

'Where do you come from?'

b. *Dɛ'* *ho'dɛ'* **syá:sóh**/sya:sóh?

What kind you.are.called

'What is your name?'

c. *Dɛ'* *ho'dɛ'* **ɛhsnéghá**/ɛhsnegha'?

What kind you.will.drink

'What will you drink?'

Another accent pattern is found in "yes-no" questions with *gɛh* 'Q'.¹² The word before *gɛh* is often pronounced with a non-final accent (as if it were sentence-final, 38). The particle *gɛh* often remains unaccented, and the words after *gɛh* are accented like a regular sentence.

(38) **Wadéganyahs** *gɛh* *satse:né'* *só:wa:s*?

it.bites Q your.pet dog

'Does your dog bite?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 335)

⁹Hatcher Jr (2022) will add greatly to our knowledge of this topic.

¹⁰For the accent patterns in speeches, see Foster (1974).

¹¹The term "WH questions" refers to questions which in English begin with 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', or 'why'.

¹²"Yes-no" questions elicit answers that may begin with "yes" or "no".

3.10.3 Accenting particles and particle groups in sentences

Particles are accented differently from other words, mainly because they are short words with only one vowel.

Particles tend to be unaccented when they occur next to longer words, which makes them sound like part of the longer word (39).

- (39) Heshawəhə́ tsɔ: ‘he speaks without thinking’
cf. hehsawəhə́tsɔ: (alternative spelling, reflecting the pronunciation)

Particles often occur in groups, which tend to share one accent (as if they were one word, not several). The particle group (bolded and surrounded by []) at the beginning of (40a) shares a final accent and the one at the beginning of (40b) shares a non-final accent. Also (but not illustrated here) particle groups are less obviously accented than other words (as described in Rueentan 2014), and may even remain unaccented.

- (40) Particle groups
- a. [dɛ́ hó dɛ́] niyawɛ́ʔɔh né swé́geh hne:ʔ
What kind it.happened the long.ago in.fact
‘...what happened a long time ago.’ (Henry 2005)
- b. [dɛ́ hó dɛ́ gɛ:s] nigagyehá́ né swé́geh.
What emphasis kind usually I.did the long.ago
‘...what I used to do a long time ago.’ (Henry 2005)

3.10.4 Accent and Euphonic H in sentences

EUPHONIC H is described in §19.5.5. The short version is that certain words end with an H when they are sentence-final (41), but lack the final H when not sentence-final (42).

- (41) Ó:. Dɛ́ hó dɛ́ haya:sɔh?
Oh, what kind he.is.called
‘Oh. What is his name?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah
dialogue; sentence-final H)
- (42) Elsie eya:sɔ́ né gonɔhɡé:t, ...
Elsie she.is.called the she.has.fair.hair
‘The fair one is named Elsie...’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah
dialogue; not sentence-final, no H)

Part II

Word classification

Gayogoho:nq'néha:ʔ words fall into just three classes – NOUNS, VERBS, and PARTICLES. (The residue, ATYPICAL words, do not fall neatly into these three classes; see §36.4.) The classes are defined next, and the distinction between *word classes* and *speech functions* is explained.

4 Defining nouns, verbs, and particles

NOUNS, VERBS, and PARTICLES are uniquely defined by the three criteria in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Three word classes

class/examples	num. vowels	internal structure	closed class
PARTICLES <i>i:</i> 'I, we' <i>ihs</i> 'you' <i>gɛ:s</i> 'usually' <i>hni</i> 'and'	max. 1	no	yes
NOUNS <i>ganqhsa</i> 'house' <i>sya'da'geh</i> 'on your body'	min. 2	yes	yes
VERBS <i>i:ge:s</i> 'I eat' <i>godrɛ:no:t</i> 'she is singing'	min. 2	yes	no

Particles have only one vowel, while verbs and nouns require at least two. Particles also have no internal structure (no PREFIXES or SUFFIXES, for which see §36.2), while verbs and nouns do. (In addition, nouns have different prefixes and suffixes than verbs; see examples 1, 2, and Part III). Finally, verbs form an open class, while the noun and particle classes are closed.¹

- (1) a noun with internal structure (prefixes and suffixes)
ganqhsa'sq:'ah

¹Open classes can grow over time, as speakers coin new words. In contrast, closed classes do not easily admit new words. For example, speakers will create new verbs to denote people, places, or things, instead of creating new nouns for this function.

4 Defining nouns, verbs, and particles

ga-nq̄hs-aʹ-sq̄:ʹah
3S.A-house-NSF-PLRZ
'houses'

- (2) a verb with internal structure
dewageh̄enaʹtraʹehsdq̄h̄ogyeʹ
de-wage-h̄enaʹtraʹe-hsd-q̄h-ogyeʹ
DU-1S.A-knife-hit-CAUS-STAT-PROG
'I am going along stabbing things.'

A small group of ATYPICAL words do not neatly fall into the above categories. They are described in §36.4.

4.1 Word class versus speech function

While it is true that Gayogoho:nq̄ʹnéha:ʹ has just three word classes, two of these word classes perform many more speech *functions*. The difference between speech function and word class is explained below.

The function of a word is often different from its class. To illustrate, let us take it for granted for now that *degáhs̄waʹne:t* 'pie' (3a) is a VERB. Despite being a VERB, *degáhs̄waʹne:t* functions as a "noun" in that it names an object in sentence (3b) – naming objects is one of the primary functions of nouns.

- (3) a VERB functioning as a "noun"
- degáhs̄waʹne:t* 'pie' (literally, 'its upper back is doubled' – possibly referring to the pie plate)
 - Swá:ȳq̄ʹ diʹ hne:ʹ sḡahoʹd̄e:ʹq̄h̄ *degáhs̄waʹne:t*?
you.have so in.fact some pie
'Do you have any kind of pie?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kq̄:nih dialogue)

Table 4.2 summarizes the relationship between word class and speech function. While NOUNS only function as "nouns", VERBS and PARTICLES perform all of the remaining speech functions.

In this work, small caps denote word classes, and double quotes refer to speech functions –wherever the distinction is relevant. For example, *degáhs̄waʹne:t* 'pie' is a VERB functioning as a "noun", while *ganq̄hsaʹ* 'house' is a NOUN functioning as a "noun".

4.1 Word class versus speech function

Table 4.2: word class versus word function

word class	speech function	word class and speech function
NOUNS	“noun”	NOUN functioning as a “noun”
VERBS	“verb”, “noun”, “pronoun”, “adjective”, “adverb”	VERB functioning as a “verb”, “noun”, etc.
PARTICLES	“pronoun”, “adverb”, “conjunction”, “relativizer”, “degree word”, “question word”, “filler” or “fluency word” (discourse particle)	PARTICLE functioning as a “pronoun”, “adverb”, etc.

Typically, speech functions are divided into major and minor ones (for reasons not relevant to this discussion). The five major speech functions of “noun”, “pronoun”, “adjective”, “adverb”, and “verb” are covered in the following chapters, while the minor speech functions in Figure 4.2 are covered in Part V and Part VI. Also, since the following chapters are organized according to function (rather than word class), they often cover a range of items: for example, the section on “pronouns” describes anything functioning as a “pronoun”, including VERBS, some PARTICLES, and the PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

Words functioning as “nouns” name people, places, things, ideas, and abstractions. Both NOUNS proper and words functioning as “nouns”, are described next.

5.1 Basic nouns

The function of BASIC NOUNS is to name people, places, objects, and abstract concepts. Basic nouns consist of a prefix, a stem, and a suffix (defined in §36.2). Most basic nouns end with the [-aːʔ] NOUN STEM FORMER (NSF) suffix. Sometimes this suffix is [-eːʔ] or [-aːʔ] instead. (For examples, see §A.1). The suffix just identifies the word as a noun, while the stem carries the core meaning.

Most basic nouns begin with a prefix, either [ga-] or [o-] (1), while some begin with [e-] or [we-] (2), and some with [a-] (3).¹

- (1) a. gahá:daʔ ‘forest, bush’
b. onényoʔgwaʔ ‘pills’
- (2) a. ehníʔdaːʔ ‘a month, a moon’
b. eʔníhsgaːʔ, weʔníhsgaːʔ ‘wheel, circle, hoop’
- (3) a. adáʔditraʔ ‘cane’
b. adenidéqsraʔ ‘the act of kindness’

¹It is possible to analyse [a] in this type of word as the noun prefix counterpart (i.a) of the verb prefix /wa-/ 3S.A ‘it’ (i.b). Alternatively, [a] may be analysed as part of the stem, in which case, nouns beginning with [a] have no prefix and are ATYPICAL (which is defined in §5.7.)

- (i) a. akyədəhkwaʔ
a/ø-kyədəhkwaʔ
3S.A-/NO.PREFIX.chair-NSF
‘chair’
b. wakyədəhgówanəh
w-akyədəhg-owanəh
3S.A-chair-big.STAT
‘it is a big chair’

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

The type of pronominal prefix must be memorized for nouns (§22): for example, *gahá:da* ‘forest, bush’ always begins with [ga-], and *onényo’gwa* ‘pills’ can only begin with [o-]. However, a few basic nouns can take either [ga-] or [o-] (4). Still others either begin with [o-] or are missing a prefix (5). Finally, some begin either with [o-] or with [a-] (6, see previous footnote about the analysis of [a]).

- (4) a. *gahnýédahsa*’, *ohnýédahsa*’ ‘beak’
 b. *gahó’jihsa*’, *ohó’jihsa*’ ‘a motor, engine’
 c. *gahsdágwa*’, *ohsdágwa*’ ‘dirty clothes’
 d. *gajíhoha:*’, *ojíhoha:*’ ‘straight pin, pin, brooch, safety pin’
 e. *gahéhna*’, *ohéhna*’ ‘cargo, bundle, load’
 f. *gáidřehda*’, *owídřehda*’ ‘sleep’, ‘a dream’
- (5) a. *ohsgwáę’da*’, *sgwáę’da*’ ‘coltsfoot’
 b. *ohóna’da*’, *hóna’da*’ ‘potato’
 c. *ohtahyó:ni:*, *tahyó:ni:* ‘wolf’
- (6) a. *ogyáqhsra*’, *agyáqhsra*’ ‘a trick’
 b. *odqhnę’tsa*’, *adqhnę’tsa*’ ‘ladder or stairs’

The basic noun template in Table 5.1 summarizes the order and types of prefix, stem, and suffix characteristic of basic nouns.

Table 5.1: Basic nouns (alienable)

pronominal prefix	stem	NSF
[ga-] 3S.A	NOUN	[-a’]
[o-] 3S.P		
[(a-)] 3S.A		

5.1.1 Basic nouns with NOMINALIZER (NMLZ) suffix

Several basic nouns have an additional suffix (the NOMINALIZER, NMLZ), which appears after the stem and before the NSF suffix (7). The nominalizer allows a verb stem like [tgi’] ‘ugly’ to become a basic noun.

- (7) gatgíʔtraʔ
 ga-tgíʔ-tr-aʔ
 3S.A-ugly.STAT-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘junk’

The template for such nouns is shown in Table 5.2. For more examples, see §A.1.

Table 5.2: Basic noun with NMLZ

pronominal prefix	stem	NMLZ	NSF
[ga-] 3S.A	VERB	[-tr]	[-aʔ]
[o-] 3S.P		[-hsr]	
[(a-)] 3S.A			

5.2 Body part nouns

BODY PART NOUNS function to name body parts.² They begin with a pronominal prefix (in bold) describing the possessor of the body part, and end with [-aʔgeh] ON.

- (8) a. kyohsáʔgeh, kyuhsáʔgeh ‘on my elbow’
 b. sɔtsáʔgeh ‘on your (s.) knee’
 c. ekséʔdāʔgeh ‘on her belly’
 d. enétsāʔgeh ‘on her arm’
 e. gahnýedāhsáʔgeh ‘on its beak’
 f. gahsíʔdāʔgeh ‘on my foot’
 g. gahyagwiyáʔgeh ‘on my toes’

While such nouns end with [-aʔgeh] ON, the suffix meaning is often not prominent: in (9), *gehsínaʔgeh* is understood to mean ‘my leg’, rather than ‘on my leg’.

²Also known as INALIENABLE nouns, they describe parts that are not normally separable from the body.

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

- (9) Awatōgaék gēhsínā'geh.
 it.stiffened.up on.my.leg
 ‘My leg stiffened up.’

Table 5.3 shows the order and types of prefix, stem, and suffix characteristic of body part nouns. For more examples, see §A.2.

Table 5.3: Body part (inalienable) nouns

pronominal prefix	stem	external locative ON
A series ^a	NOUN	[-a'geh]

^aFor A series, see §22.

5.2.1 ‘Detached’ or unpossessed body part nouns

Body part noun stems (described in the previous section) can also be inflected (§36.3) with the same prefixes and suffixes as basic nouns (10). Nouns inflected in this way tend to have the special meaning of being detached (or ALIENABLE, 11). They also appear in a type of COMPOUND NOUN (12, §5.3). For more examples, see §A.3.

- (10) body part noun inflected as a basic noun
- á:gwahda', ogwáhda' ‘sole, ball of foot’
 - awéyōhsa' ‘heart’
 - awé'nahsa' ‘tongue’
 - awé'yōhga:' ‘thumb’
 - ogáha' ‘eye’
 - ogóda' ‘bridge of one’s nose’
 - ogóhsa' ‘face’
- (11) detached meaning
- oné:tsa' ‘arm’ (said, for example, when holding doll’s arm for show)
 - onó'a:' ‘a severed head’
- (12) compound noun
- gwihsḡwihs onó'a:' ‘pig’s head’

5.3 Compound nouns

COMPOUND NOUNS consist of two words (or more) that function together to name a single object, idea, abstraction, person, etc. The last word of the compound describes a general category (as in *o'wáhq̄h* 'meat'), while the non-final words denote a sub-category (a 'type of' something, as in *gwihsq̄wihs o'wáhq̄h* 'pig meat', (13) - (16) and Table 5.4.

- (13) *gwihsq̄wihs o'wáhq̄h*
 pig meat
 'pig meat, pork chop, bacon'
- (14) *dewahq̄hdé:s o'wáhq̄h*
 deer meat
 'deer meat, venison'
- (15) *dakshae'dóhs o'wáhq̄h*
 chicken meat
 'chicken'
- (16) *ohsohgwi:yó's watq̄hsgwa'tró' onq̄hsagahé:dq̄'*
 nice.colours window.pane windows
 'stained glass windows'

Table 5.4: compound nouns

non-final word(s)	final word
an instance of a category	a general category

5.4 Verbs that function as nouns

VERBS often function as "nouns", naming a person, place, thing, or abstraction. Two types are described next.

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

5.4.1 “Instrumental nouns”

“Instrumental nouns” are VERBS functioning as “nouns”. They end with the [-(h)kw-haʔ] INSTR-HAB suffix combination, and typically denote an object used as an instrument. (Related verbs are shown in the comparative “cf.” examples in 17.)

- (17) a. ehyá:dqhkwaʔ ‘pencil’ (literally, ‘instrument that people write with’)
cf. ehyá:dqh ‘she or someone writes’
b. ɔtqahiʔdáhkwaʔ ‘toy’ (literally, ‘instrument that people play with’)
cf. ɔtqáhiʔtaʔ ‘what she or someone plays with’

Instrumental nouns most commonly have the structure shown in Table 5.5. For a list of examples, see §A.8.

Table 5.5: Instrumental nouns

pronominal prefix	stem type	INSTR-HAB
[e-], [ɔ-], etc. 3S.F.I.A	VERB	[-hkw-haʔ] ([-hkwaʔ])

5.4.2 Words for human beings

Several VERBS function as “nouns” in naming human beings, or the stages of being human. As verbs, such words often have a sentence-like meaning (as shown by the translations in 18). A list of example words is provided in §5.4.2.

- (18) a. nihú:ʔuh ‘little boy’ (noun-like meaning), ‘he is small’ (verbal or sentence-like meaning)
b. hɔgwéʔdase:ʔ ‘young man’ (noun-like meaning), ‘he is a new person’ (verbal or sentence-like meaning)
c. nitawenɔ:hah ‘middle-aged male’ (noun-like meaning), ‘he has come from somewhere’ (verbal or sentence-like meaning)

5.4.3 “Meaningful” verbal nouns

“Meaningful” verbal nouns are VERBS that function as “nouns”, naming objects, places, and abstract concepts (19). As verbs, they have sentence-like meanings.³ Many of the words listed in the “Related” sections are VERBS functioning as “nouns”.

- (19) a. degahɛnáʔtraʔse:ʔ ‘scissors’ (literally, ‘it has two blades’)
 b. gahnɣyaʔsesgó:wah ‘giraffe’ (literally, ‘it has a great big long neck’)
 c. hadihnyɔʔq̄hsratɛhs ‘ironworkers’ (literally, ‘they climb iron (for a living)’)
 d. degaihó:wɛhs ‘computer’ (literally, ‘it splits words’)

Related

- ⇒ Clans, §D.4
 ⇒ Nations, §D.5
 ⇒ Chiefs, §D.6

5.5 Stative nouns and agentive stative nouns

STATIVE NOUNS are related to verbs in the stative aspect (see §15.5.4.3). They often denote the result of an action (see example 21).

There are two types of stative nouns. The first type, STATIVE NOUNS proper (20), either begin with [a] (20a)⁴ or with the [ga-] 3s.A prefix (20b). They end with the [-ɔ:-ʔ] STAT-NMLZ-NSF combination.

- (20) stative nouns
 a. adówadɔ:ʔ ‘the hunt’
 b. gayaʔdowéhdɔ:ʔ ‘the idea of thinking’

³This observation may explain why speakers say that Gayogoho:nɔʔnéha:ʔ words mean more than English words do: “You don’t need a thesaurus in Gayogoho:nɔnéha:ʔ.” (unattributed quotation).

⁴As mentioned in an earlier footnote, nouns beginning with [a] can be analyzed as beginning with [ø-] (no pronominal prefix), or as beginning with [a-] 3s.A (a prefix unique to nouns).

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

The template for stative nouns is shown in Table 5.6. A list is provided in §A.5.

Table 5.6: Stative nouns

pronominal prefix	stem	stative nominal combo
[ga-] 3s.A [wa-] [(a-)]	VERB	[-q:-ʔ] STAT-NMLZ-NSF

The second type, AGENTIVE STATIVE NOUNS, are VERBS in the stative aspect, functioning as “nouns”. They take a [ga-] or [wa-] 3s.A pronominal prefix, and end with a STATIVE suffix such as [-q̄h] or [-q̄:] (21).⁵

(21) agentive stative “nouns”

a. gagányáʔḡqh ‘payment’

b. wagyq̄: ‘something thrown away’, ‘discards’

The template for AGENTIVE STATIVE NOUNS is shown in Table 5.7. A list is provided in §A.4.

Table 5.7: Agentive stative nouns

pronominal prefix	stem	stative aspect
[ga-] 3s.A [wa-] 3s.A	verb	[-q̄h], [-q̄:], (etc.)

5.6 Incorporated noun stems

Incorporated noun stems are basic or body-part noun STEMS (for stems, see §36.2). They appear within a verb – a state of affairs known as NOUN INCORPORATION (§14).

⁵Agentive stative verbs functioning as “nouns” take 3s.A ‘it’ prefixes. In contrast, regular stative aspect verbs typically take 3s.P ‘it’ prefixes, as in the following example, which is related to (21b).

- (i) heyó:gyq̄:
 he-y-ó:gy-q̄:
 CIS-3s.P-throw-STAT
 ‘it has thrown it’

The following examples illustrate two independent nouns and their related noun stems (22), (23a), two incorporating verbs (22), (23b), and the resulting words in which the noun is incorporated into the verb (22), (23c).⁶

(22) incorporated basic nouns

- a. o-wí:y-a' 'offspring' (stand-alone noun) → [wiy] (noun stem)
- b. ahá-n̄hsgo' 'he will steal' (incorporating verb)
- c. aha-wiy-á-n̄hsgo' 'he kidnapped a child' (incorporated noun + verb)

(23) incorporated body part nouns

- a. ha-hsí'd-á'geh 'on his foot' (stand-alone noun) → [hsí'd] (noun stem)
- b. o-tgi' 'it is dirty', 'it is ugly' (incorporating verb)
- c. ho-hsí'd-a-tgi' 'his feet are dirty' (incorporated noun + verb)

Some incorporated nouns also take an extra suffix when they incorporate – a NOUN INCREMENT (INCR) (24).

(24) h̄o:gwé'dí:yo:

h-̄o:gwé-'d-í:yo:

3S.M.A-person-INCR-nice.STAT

'he is a nice person'

cf. h̄o:gweh (atypical word)

h-̄o:gwe-h

3S.M.A-person-EUPH.H

'man'

A list of frequently-incorporated nouns can be found in §A.7.

5.7 Atypical nouns

ATYPICAL NOUNS lack a pronominal prefix, which is required for all other nouns, or are otherwise odd. They function as “nouns” (naming people, objects, and abstract concepts).

Some atypical nouns consist of two repeated syllables (REDUPLICATION) and in many cases, they imitate the sound of the animal they name (ONOMATOPOEIA 25). Such nouns have no prefixes or suffixes.

⁶English words with a structure similar to (22), (23c) include 'brain-wash' and 'white-wash'.

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

- (25) a. dihsdihs ‘house woodpecker’
b. di’di:’ ‘blue jay’
c. duwísdwi:’ ‘killdeer’
d. gá’ga:’ ‘crow’, ‘raven’

Like the examples in (25), the atypical nouns in (26) also have no prefixes (or suffixes).

- (26) a. dago:s, dagu:s ‘cat’
b. só:wa:s ‘dog’

Some atypical nouns end with the [-a’] NSF suffix (27), but are missing a pronominal prefix (NO.PREFIX). (Similar examples were described in the section on basic nouns, §5.1.)

- (27) a. nawé’da’
 ø-nawé’d-a’
 NO.PREFIX-sugar-NSF
 ‘sugar’
b. tsa’gé:da’
 ø-tsa’gé:d-a’
 NO.PREFIX-corn.tassel.NSF
 ‘corn tassel’
c. yahgēhda’
 ø-yahgēhd-a’
 NO.PREFIX-morel-NSF
 ‘morel, black type of mushroom’

Some atypical nouns begin with GW and mostly refer to birds or other animals that have some ability to fly or jump high. Like other atypical nouns, these nouns have no pronominal prefix (28).

- (28) a. gwáoh ‘screech owl’
b. gwá’da: ‘flying squirrel’
c. gwa’yq’ ‘rabbit’
d. gwē’dihs ‘night hawk’

Some atypical nouns begin with JI or J, and mainly denote animals (including some birds) (29). Many such nouns have a verb-like internal structure, but like other atypical nouns, do not have a pronominal prefix.

- (29) a. *jidé:ʔəh*
ji-dé:-ʔəh
 JI-stem-DIM
 ‘bird’
- b. *jíhnyoʔgɛʔ*
ji-hny-oʔgɛʔ
 JI-stick-together.STAT
 ‘chipmunk’
- c. *jihnda*: ‘grasshopper’ (possibly related to [ga-jihsd-aʔ] ‘lamp, light’)

Some atypical nouns begin with SGWA, which possibly has something to do with frogs. Again, these atypical nouns have no pronominal prefix (30).

- (30) a. *sgwagwáɔdɔʔ* ‘toad’
 cf. (possibly,
sgwagwá-ɔd-ɔʔ
 frog-rooted.DISTR.STAT)
- b. *sgwá:yɛh* ‘otter’
 cf. (possibly,
sgwa-yɛh
 frog-verb.STAT)
- c. *sgwáʔahdaʔ* ‘frog’
 cf. (possibly,
sgwáʔahd-aʔ
 frog-NSF)
 cf. (possibly,
sgwáʔ-ahdaʔ
 frog-be.full.of.food.STAT)

Finally, the atypical nouns in (31) resemble verbs but otherwise – like other atypical nouns – lack a pronominal prefix.

- (31) a. *dogriyaʔgɔʔ* ‘buffalo’
 cf. (possibly includes
 [+iyaʔg-ɔh]
 cut.across-STAT)
- b. *dré:na*: ‘skunk’
 cf. (possibly,
ø-dré:n-a:
 NO.PREFIX-smell-hold.STAT)

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

- c. hehshai: ‘fox’
 cf. (possibly,
 ø-hehsa-i:
 NO.PREFIX-decayed.tree-coloured.STAT)
- d. tɣwiyó:gɛʔ ‘channel catfish’
 cf. (possibly,
 ø-t-gwiy-ó:gɛ:
 NO.PREFIX-SRF-twig-together.STAT)
- e. tsahgó:wa:ʔ ‘pigeon’
 cf. (possibly includes
 [-go:wah])
 big)

The template for atypical nouns is shown in Table 5.8. For a list of atypical nouns, see §A.6.

Table 5.8: Atypical nouns

pronominal prefix	stem
ø (NO.PREFIX)	NOUN (+suffixes) VERB (+suffixes)

5.8 Kinship terms (atypical words)

KINSHIP TERMS function to name family members, and (more metaphorically) sides or moieties in the League, the longhouse, or clans (32).

- (32) a. heʔgɛ:ʔɛh ‘my younger brother’
 b. gakénohaʔahsɔ:ʔɔh ‘my aunts’
 c. hehjíʔah ‘my older brother’
 d. ɔgyá:gyoh ‘my brother-in-law, sister-in-law’
 e. haʔnih ‘my father’
 f. ɔgyá:tseh ‘my friend, my boyfriend, my girlfriend’
 g. haʔní:hah ‘my godfather’
 h. hehso:t ‘my grandfather’
 i. agya:dé:nɔhk ‘my relative’

5.8 Kinship terms (atypical words)

Many kinship terms are atypical, in the sense that they have both verb-like and noun-like properties (Koenig & Michelson 2010). For example, the INTERACTIVE type of pronominal prefix (§20.7) present in many kinship terms is otherwise used exclusively with verbs.

In verbs, interactive pronominal prefixes refer to two people or groups of people (such as the speaker and a male, for the verb in 33a). However for kinship terms, the same kind of pronominal prefix refers to just one person or group (such as a male in 33b. Also see Koenig & Michelson 2010: 170–171). (For kinship term pronominal prefix choice, see §23.)

- (33) a. **henóhkwa'** 'I love him', with [he-] 1s>3s.M referring to the speaker and a male (verb)
 b. **he'gɛ:'ɛh** 'my younger brother', with [he-] 1s>3s.M referring to a male (kinship term)

While kinship terms take verb-like pronominal prefixes, they are not otherwise verbal. For example, they cannot be negated in the same way as verbs (Koenig & Michelson 2010: 180). Verbs are negated with [tɛ' de-], while kinship terms are negated with [tɛ' ... de'gɛ:] (34).⁷

- (34) **Tɛ' de'óyanre'**.
 not it.is.not.good
 'it is not good.' (negated verb)
- (35) **Tɛ' kehawahk de'gɛ:**.
 not my.daughter it.is.not
 'she is not my daughter' (negated kinship term)

The template for kinship terms is shown in Table 5.9. For a list of kinship terms, see §D.1.

Table 5.9: Kinship terms

interactive pronominal prefix	kinship stem
[he-], etc.	[ʔgɛ:'ɛh], etc.

⁷Kehte Deer, p.c.

5 “Nouns” (words functioning as nouns)

5.8.1 Terms of address

TERMS OF ADDRESS are similar to kinship terms. However, their function is to address a person by their kinship status instead of using their name (36). For a list of such words, see §D.2.

(36) Sgɛ:nó:, gwadre? ‘Hello, granddaughter!’

5.9 Loanwords (borrowed words)

LOANWORDS, adapted from other languages, function as “verbs” (37) and as “nouns” (38–40). In Gayogoho:nó?néha:?, loanwords are often used jokingly (37c, d).

- (37) a. dehsádesmack ‘smack your lips!’
b. ató:strok ‘he had a stroke’
c. ebossgó:wah ‘she is the big boss’
d. ɛgadehórsenɛht ‘I will get off a horse’ (humorous expression)
e. deyagodehighlightdoh ‘where she has it highlighted’

Some loanwords sound similar to the original word in the source language (37–38).

(38) jigupsó:’oh ‘cups’ (said to be a “slang” word for ‘tea cups’)

Other loanwords have been adapted to sound better in Gayogoho:nó?néha:?. For example, P in the source languages in (39) became GW or G in Gayogoho:nó?néha:?. (39).

- (39) a. gwé:ni? ‘penny’ (from English ‘penny’)
b. dagu:s ‘cat’ (from Dutch *Der Poes* ‘the cat’)

Some loanwords look even more like regular Gayogoho:nó?néha:? words because they have acquired Gayogoho:nó?néha:? prefixes or suffixes. The nouns in (40a, b) begin with [o-] or [ga-], like basic nouns, and the ones in (40b–e) are incorporated into verbs and either have NOUN INCREMENTS (INCR) (40b) or NOMINALIZER (NMLZ) suffixes (40c–e).

- (40) a. odi:
o-di:
3s.P-tea
‘tea’ BASIC NOUN

5.9 Loanwords (borrowed words)

- b. ogwēni²da¹
o-gwēni-²d-a¹
3s.P-penny-INCR-NSF
'penny' BASIC NOUN
- c. gajobtrowá:nɛh
ga-job-tr-owá:n-ɛh
3s.A-job-NMLZ-big-STAT
'big job' VERB
- d. gajobtrí:yo:
ga-job-tr-í:yo:
3s.A-job-NMLZ-good.STAT
'nice job' VERB
- e. hojobtrí:yo:
ho-job-tr-í:yo:
3s.M.P-job-NMLZ-good.STAT
'he has a good job' VERB

6 “Pronouns” (words and affixes functioning as pronouns)

“Pronouns” are words, phrases, or prefixes whose function is to substitute for nouns or noun phrases. (Noun phrases consist of a noun plus related words.) For example, the emphatic “pronoun” *háqhẹ́* (1a) can refer to or substitute for any male in a conversation, including the noun in (1b) and the noun phrases in (1c–d). The various types of pronouns are described next.

- (1) a. *háqhẹ́* ‘he alone’ (emphatic “pronoun”)
- b. *háqhẹ́* = *ha’nih* ‘my father’ (kinship term)
- c. *háqhẹ́* = *ne’ Dave hyanó’s eh* ‘your uncle Dave’ (noun phrase)
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdátgi’ dialogue)
- d. *háqhẹ́* = *ne’ hahẹ́dagehó:nọ́* ‘the farmer’ (noun phrase)

6.1 Emphatic “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, emphatic “pronouns” substitute for nouns or noun phrases. However, emphatic “pronouns” also add emphasis in the context of a conversation. For example, *háqhẹ́* ‘he alone’ in (2) emphasizes *who* actually spoke (that is, *he*, not *someone else*).

- (2) ***haqhẹ́*** *ahẹ́*.
 he.alone he.spoke
 ‘*He* spoke.’

Emphatic “pronouns” can be omitted from the sentence. While this causes a change in meaning (the emphasis is lost), the result is still a complete sentence (3). Pronouns like *háqhẹ́* are optional because verbs like *ahẹ́* ‘he spoke’ already have a pronominal prefix (see Part IV).

- (3) *Ahẹ́*. ‘He spoke.’

6 “Pronouns” (words and affixes functioning as pronouns)

The words functioning as emphatic “pronouns” are either PARTICLES or VERBS. The following emphatic “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *I:ʔ, Ni:s* ‘I, ‘we’ PARTICLE
- ⇒ *I:s, Ni:s* ‘you’ (any number of people) PARTICLE
- ⇒ *Haqheʔ, Haqhaʔ* ‘he’ VERB
- ⇒ *Gaqheʔ, Gaqhaʔ* ‘she’ VERB
- ⇒ *Aqheʔ, Aqhaʔ* ‘it’ VERB
- ⇒ *Honq:heʔ* ‘they (males)’ VERB
- ⇒ *Gonq:heʔ* ‘they (females or mixed)’ VERB
- ⇒ *Onq:heʔ* ‘they (animals)’ VERB

The following PARTICLE GROUPS include emphatic “pronouns” and are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C. Any emphatic “pronoun” from the preceding list can be used in place of the emphatic “pronouns” shown below.

Related

- ⇒ *Dεʔ ni:* ‘I am for sure’
- ⇒ *Seʔ heʔ ni:* ‘me too’, ‘us too’
- ⇒ *I:ʔ hne:* ‘no, I am’
- ⇒ *I:ʔ geh (gwa:dih)* ‘on my side’, ‘as for me’
- ⇒ *I:ʔ hya:* ‘me first’
- ⇒ *I:ʔ seʔ* ‘I am’
- ⇒ *Nε: ne:ʔ I:s* ‘how about you?’
- ⇒ *Nε: diʔ Ni:s* ‘how about you?’
- ⇒ *Ni:ʔ gye:ʔ, ni:ʔ ge:ʔ* ‘I did it’
- ⇒ *Tεʔ I:* ‘not me’, ‘not us’
- ⇒ *Tεʔ giʔ ni:* ‘no, not me’

6.2 Possessive “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, possessive “pronouns” substitute for nouns or noun phrases. Possessive “pronouns” specifically substitute for a possessed object (4).

- (4) a. Tẹ̣ʔ gẹ̣h neʔ desá:wẹ̣h?
 Not Q the it.isn't.yours
 'Isn't that yours?'
- b. Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ gó:wẹ̣h.
 it.is in.fact hers
 'That's hers, in fact.'

The words functioning as possessive “pronouns” are VERBS. The following possessive “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Aga:wẹ̣h* 'it's mine', 'it's ours', 'my', 'our'
- ⇒ *Sa:wẹ̣h* 'it's yours' (one person's), 'your'
- ⇒ *Ho:wẹ̣h* 'it's his'
- ⇒ *Go:wẹ̣h* 'it's hers', 'it's someone's'
- ⇒ *O:wẹ̣h* 'it belongs to it' (an animal), 'its'
- ⇒ *Hona:wẹ̣h* 'it's theirs' (males only), 'it belongs to them' (males only), 'their'
- ⇒ *Gona:wẹ̣h* 'it's theirs' (females or mixed group), 'it belongs to them' (females or mixed group), 'their'
- ⇒ *Ona:wẹ̣h* 'it's theirs' (animals), 'it belongs to them' (animals), 'their'

6.3 Demonstrative “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, demonstrative “pronouns” (5) also substitute for nouns or noun phrases. Demonstrative “pronouns” additionally provide information about a person's or object's relative distance from the speaker.

- (5) Ne:ʔ hẹ̣ʔ hne:ʔ ho:wẹ̣h nẹ̣:-gyẹ̣h.
 it.is also in.fact it.is.his this.one
 'This one is also his.'

6 “Pronouns” (words and affixes functioning as pronouns)

(6) Sɔ: hne:ʔ nʔáht tó:-gyɛhʔ

Who in.fact a.certain.person that.one

‘Who is that?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)

The words functioning as demonstrative “pronouns” are all PARTICLES or PARTICLE GROUPS. The following demonstrative “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ [-gyɛh] element meaning ‘this, ‘that’
- ⇒ *Gwá-toh* ‘that one’, ‘just such a one’
- ⇒ *Neʔ toh* ‘that is’, ‘that one’
- ⇒ *Neʔ to: ne:ʔ* ‘that’s the one’
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘this’, ‘these’
- ⇒ *Ne:-dah* ‘this’, ‘this way’
- ⇒ *Ne:-gyɛh* ‘this one’
- ⇒ *Si:-gyɛh* ‘that one over there’
- ⇒ *To, To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’
- ⇒ *To:-gyɛh* ‘that one’
- ⇒ *Toh-jih* ‘just the one’, ‘just such a one’

6.4 Definite “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, definite “pronouns” also substitute for nouns or noun phrases. In addition, definite “pronouns” are used when the object or person (etc.) is known to both speaker and listener. The words functioning as definite “pronouns” are all PARTICLES or PARTICLE GROUPS. The following definite “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ gwaʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘whatever one (of several)’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’

- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’
- ⇒ *Ho'dɛ'* ‘kind’
- ⇒ *Shɛh ho'dɛ'* ‘a certain something’, ‘that which’

6.5 Indefinite “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, indefinite “pronouns” also substitute for nouns or noun phrases. In addition, indefinite “pronouns” are used when the object or person (etc.) is not known to the speaker. The indefinite “pronouns” are PARTICLES, PARTICLE GROUPS, or combinations of VERB+PARTICLE. The following indefinite “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Do: gwa' ni:yɔ:* ‘a certain amount’, ‘a certain measure’, ‘however much’
- ⇒ [-ga:] element (referring to living beings)
- ⇒ *Gwe:gɔh, Agwe:gɔh, Ogwe:gɔh* ‘all’, ‘everything’
- ⇒ *Hegwe:gɔh, Ne' hegwe:gɔh* ‘the whole thing’
- ⇒ *Hejo:ya' tsɔ:* ‘another thing again’
- ⇒ [-n'aht, -noht] element meaning ‘some person’
- ⇒ *O:ya'* ‘another’, ‘other’, ‘else’
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dɛ:ʔɛh* ‘something’
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dɛ:ʔɛh o:ya'* ‘anything else’
- ⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’
- ⇒ *Sɔ: gwa' n'aht* ‘anybody at all’, ‘anyone at all’, ‘any living thing’, ‘somebody’, ‘whoever’
- ⇒ *Sɔ: gwa' n'aht o:ya'* ‘someone else’
- ⇒ *Sɔ:-ga:ʔ* ‘any one’, ‘any living thing’
- ⇒ *Sɔ:-ga:ʔah* ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything (living)’

6.6 Interrogative “pronouns”

Like other pronouns, interrogative “pronouns” substitute for nouns or noun phrases. However, interrogative “pronouns” are used in questions, while the “pronouns” described elsewhere are used in statements. The words functioning as interrogative “pronouns” are PARTICLES. The following interrogative “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ*’ ‘what’, ‘how’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ*’ ‘which’
- ⇒ *Sɔ*: ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’

6.7 Negative “pronouns”

Several “pronouns” have negative counterparts, formed by adding *tɛ*’ ‘not’ before the “pronoun”. The following negative “pronouns” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Tɛ*’ *gwa*’-*toh*’ ‘none at all’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*’ *gi*’ *ni*:’ ‘no, not me’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*’ *i*:’ ‘not me’, ‘not us’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*’ *sgaho*’*dɛ*’ ‘nothing’, ‘not anything’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*’ *sɔ*:’-*ga*:’ ‘nobody’, ‘no one’

6.8 Reflexive and reciprocal “pronouns”

The function of reflexive “pronoun” (meaning ‘oneself’) is performed by the [adad-] REFLEXIVE prefix (§13.1), and the function of reciprocal “pronoun” (meaning ‘one another’) is performed by the combination of the [de-] DUALIC (§12.2.6)

6.9 Personal “pronouns” (pronominal prefixes)

and [adad-] RECIPROCAL prefixes (see §20.6.1).¹ The [adad-] prefix is used with verbs that express two roles, such as the perceiver and the percept, or the “doer” and undergoer. (For roles, see §20.6.1.)

The [-adad] REFL prefix means that the verb’s two roles are fulfilled by the same person or group: for example, in (7) both the perceiver and the perceived are the same person.

- (7) [-adad] REFL
agadadé:geʔ ‘I saw myself’ (with REFL)
cf. agé:geʔ ‘I saw (it)’ (no REFL)

The [de-] DU and [-adad] REC combination denotes an action that affects all of the participants in a similar or reciprocal manner: for example, in (8), everyone benefits equally.

- (8) [-adad] REC (pronounced as [-adag] in this example)
dedwadagyénawahs ‘let us all help one another’ (with DU and REC)
cf. dwayénawahs ‘let all of us help (it)’ (no DU or REC)

6.9 Personal “pronouns” (pronominal prefixes)

Like other pronouns, personal “pronouns” substitute for nouns or noun phrases. However, personal “pronouns” are not emphatic in meaning, which distinguishes them from emphatic “pronouns” such as *háqheʔ* ‘he alone’ (see §6.1.)

The function of personal “pronouns” is performed by the pronominal prefixes (bolded in 9). Pronominal prefixes are required by all verbs and most nouns (except the atypical words described in §36.4).

- (9) a. **swahné:ye:s** ‘you all are tall’
b. **hahné:ye:s** ‘he is tall’
c. **ehné:ye:s** ‘she or someone is tall’
d. **gahné:ye:s** ‘it (animal) is tall’

6.9.1 Relative “pronouns”

The pronominal prefixes described in the previous section may sometimes function as relative “pronouns” in a specific type of noun phrase (a group of related words, functioning as a “noun”). The noun phrase in question consists of a “noun”

¹The [adad-] prefix has two linguistic names, depending on how it is used.

6 “Pronouns” (words and affixes functioning as pronouns)

and a DEPENDENT CLAUSE (a type of sentence) that modifies the meaning of the “noun” in some way (see §36.9.2). For example in (10), the meaning of *neʔ hagehsot-géheʔ* ‘my late grandfather’ is further specified by the dependent clause *to-gyéh dahayagéʔ* ‘he was going out from there’ (shown in square brackets).

The pronominal prefix in the dependent clause creates a link between the clause and the noun it modifies, thus relating the noun to the clause. In example (10), the prefix [ha-] 3S.M.A in *dahayagéʔ* ‘he went out’ performs this function.

- (10) ...*neʔ hagehsotgéheʔ* *to-gyéh dahayagéʔ*...
The my.late.grandfather there he.went.out...
...my late grandfather, (who) was going out from there... (Henry, 2005)

7 “Adjectives” (words functioning as adjectives)

Words functioning as “adjectives” describe qualities, characteristics, or states. STATIVE-ONLY (or “adjectival”) verbs perform this function (1, see §9.3.1, §B.1). Since stative-only verbs require a pronominal prefix, they also describe who or what has the characteristic in question.

- (1) a. ohsnó:we’ ‘it is fast, quick’
- b. gōha’dí:yo: ‘she is a good singer, she has a good voice’
- c. ogá:yōh ‘it is old’
- d. gōhsdê:’ēh ‘she is old’
- e. onówēht ‘it is absurd, unbelievable’
- f. agadatsēhse: ‘I am tired’
- g. hohsgénha’seh ‘he is greedy’
- h. dewadagwēhdē: ‘it is flat’
- i. ohdaht ‘it is filling’
- j. oyá:nre’ ‘it is nice, good, beautiful’

“Adjectives” often modify nouns (2), or noun phrases such as *ne’ Mary* (3), to further specify ‘who’ or ‘what’ has the quality or characteristic in question.

- (2) **onahsé:** daksháhe’dohs
they.are.fat chickens
‘fat chickens’, ‘The chickens are fat.’
- (3) **Godi’gró’** ne’ Mary.
she.is.shy the Mary
‘Mary is shy.’

Many adjectival verbs INCORPORATE (include) the noun that they modify (4, see §5.6, §14.)

7 “Adjectives” (*words functioning as adjectives*)

- (4) adjectival verb with incorporated noun [di-tra-] ‘tea’
oditragá’qh ‘good tea’
cf. ogá’qh ‘it is good-tasting, it tastes good’ (adjectival verb without incorporated noun)

Finally, adjectival verbs by nature invite comparisons (5, see §31.1).

- (5) ne:’ gwahs dwakyędahgówanęh
it.is emphasis biggest.chair
‘the biggest chair’

8 “Adverbs” (words and affixes functioning as adverbs)

Words functioning as “adverbs” modify the meaning of verbs or sentences by specifying (or questioning) the time, manner, place, or degree of an activity, happening, or state. The order of “adverbs” in phrases is described next, and then a description of the words, prefixes, and suffixes that function as “adverbs” follows.

8.1 “Adverb” order in phrases

“Adverbs” tend to occur in specific positions in a phrase. For example, some must be first in the phrase (or before the verb, as in *honákwe’qh* in 1). Others have to occur after another word, but close to the beginning of the sentence, (2). Many other “adverbs” can appear wherever they make sense in the sentence (3). The typical positions of PARTICLES functioning as “adverbs” are described in §C.1.

- (1) clause-initial

ahsòh ne:’ honákwe’qh.

still it.is he.is.angry

‘He is still angry.’

- (2) after another word, close to the beginning of the sentence

a. *jidwáhshe:t e:’*

let’s.count again

‘Let’s count again!’

b. *I:’ gèh e:’ sgwatró:wi:’*

I Q again you.talk.about.me

‘Are you talking about me again?’ (said jokingly)

- (3) wherever relevant in the sentence

a. *Gòdagye’ ètsahdè:di’.*

right.away you.will.leave

‘You will leave right away!’

8 “Adverbs” (words and affixes functioning as adverbs)

- b. Têʔ. Heḡyêʔ-tso:. Shedeḡjí:hah níʔ eḡahde:díʔ ḡoḡdageʔ.
no, never.mind-just early.morning I I.will.leave right.away
‘No, never mind, I’ll go there right away, early in the morning.’
(Mithun & Henry 1984: 494, Eḡkníyetoʔ dialogue)

8.2 “Adverbs” of time

“Adverbs” of time either describe or question *when* an activity or action takes place (4).

- (4) Neʔ ḡiʔ eʔ eʔ toh iheʔs.
The just affirm again that.one he.is
‘He is here again!’

8.2.1 “Adverbs” of time (particles)

The following PARTICLES function as “adverbs” of time and are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsəh* ‘still’, ‘yet’
- ⇒ *Daji:hah ḡwaʔ* ‘soon’, ‘a short while’
- ⇒ *E:ʔ* ‘again’, ‘still’
- ⇒ *ḡaḡ niyo:weʔ tso:* ‘whenever’
- ⇒ *ḡaoʔ nawahtḡeh* ‘the time before then’
- ⇒ *ḡe:s* ‘generally’, ‘used to’, ‘usually’, ‘normally’
- ⇒ *ḡiʔ* ‘just’
- ⇒ *ḡoḡdageʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right away’
- ⇒ *ḡwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’
- ⇒ *ḡwahs hwaʔ* ‘this time for sure’
- ⇒ *ḡwahs waʔ-heh tso:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’
- ⇒ [-*heh*] element related to time
- ⇒ *Hwaʔ* ‘this time’, ‘next’
- ⇒ *Hwe:dəh* ‘when’
- ⇒ *Hwe:dəh ḡwaʔ* ‘sometime’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’
- ⇒ *Hya:ʔ* ‘first’, ‘before anything else’

- ⇒ *Na'ge:*, *ohna'ge:* ‘late’
- ⇒ *Ne:'gi'gye:'hya:* ‘before all else’, ‘first’
- ⇒ *Ne:'hwa'* ‘this (coming) time’
- ⇒ *Ne:'se'ge:s ne'* ‘back then’, ‘a long time ago’
- ⇒ *Nẹ:hwa' wa'-ne:* ‘nowadays’
- ⇒ *Nẹ:-gye'h hwa'* ‘this time’
- ⇒ *Ogwẹhẹ:gye'* ‘now and then’, ‘now and again’
- ⇒ *Ohẹ:dq:* ‘early’, ‘first’
- ⇒ *Ohna'ge:*, *na'ge:* ‘late’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gehjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’
- ⇒ *O:nẹh, ne' o:nẹh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’
- ⇒ *O:nẹh e:* ‘again!’
- ⇒ *O:nẹh gwa'* ‘suddenly’, ‘already’, ‘finally’, ‘all at once’
- ⇒ *O:nẹh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’
- ⇒ *Tẹ'ahsọh* ‘not yet’
- ⇒ *Tẹ'hwe:dọh* ‘never’, ‘not ever’
- ⇒ *Tgọhaogye'* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *Tgwahaq:* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *Tgwẹhẹ:* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *To: niyonishe' to:* ‘a certain amount of time’
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we' ne:* ‘when’
- ⇒ *Tq:-hwa'* ‘that time’
- ⇒ *To:hah* ‘a place’, ‘a time’
- ⇒ *Wa'* -element meaning ‘current moment’
- ⇒ *Wa'-gye'h* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’
- ⇒ *Wa'-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’
- ⇒ *Wa'-heh-geha:* ‘finally’, ‘at long last’
- ⇒ *Wa'-jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’
- ⇒ *Wa'-ji:-hah* ‘presently’, ‘a little later’, ‘after a bit’, ‘after a while’, ‘afterwards’, ‘later’
- ⇒ *Wa'-ne:* ‘today’, ‘now’

8.2.2 Prefixes and suffixes functioning as “adverbs” of time

Several verb prefixes and suffixes function as “adverbs” of time. For example, the [ts(i)-] COIN prefix means ‘at the same time’ as another activity (5, see §12.2.1).

8 “Adverbs” (words and affixes functioning as adverbs)

- (5) Dəʔagowihsrá:t tsaʔónagraʔt.
she.had.no.breath while.she.was.born
‘She had no breath when she was born.’

Similarly, the combination [shəh n(i)-VERB] ‘that PART-VERB’ can describe actions extending over a certain period of time, or occurring while some other action happens (6, see §12.2.3).

- (6) Agiʔdaʔq̄h q̄ shəh naʔonishéʔ hohta:ʔ.
I.was.sleeping I.guess that it.took.time he.was.speaking
‘I slept while he spoke.’

The [s-, j-] REP prefix can also function as an “adverb” of time, describing a repeated action (7, see 12.2.4).

- (7) a. sawadahó:dq̄:ʔ ‘it asked again’
cf. awadahó:dq̄:ʔ ‘it asked’
b. jago:kq̄:ni: ‘she is cooking again’
cf. gokq̄:ni: ‘she is cooking’

8.2.3 Verbs functioning as “adverbs” of time

Several VERBS function as “adverbs” of time, identifying the time of an activity, happening, or state (8). For more examples, see “Related”.

- (8) a. s̄q̄:deʔ ‘last night’ (atypical VERB)
b. Awəḏḏáʔq̄h ‘Monday (present)’ (literally, ‘the day was finished’, VERB)

Related

- ⇒ Months, D.7
- ⇒ Periods of time in the day, D.8
- ⇒ Yesterday, today, and tomorrow, D.9
- ⇒ Seasons and years, D.10
- ⇒ Weekdays, D.11
- ⇒ Clock time, D.12

8.3 “Adverbs” of place

“Adverbs” of place specify (or question) where an activity or action takes place (9–10). For more examples, see “Related”.

- (9) **To hɔ:** hayéheʔ.
 there place he.puts.it
 ‘He is always putting it there.’
- (10) **Tohgeh** gɛh **nhɔ:wéʔ** toh naʔá:wɛh?
 there-on Q place that it.happened
 ‘Where did that happen?’

Related

- ⇒ Location, 18.3
- ⇒ Place names, D.13

8.3.1 “Adverbs” of place (particles)

PARTICLES, PARTICLE GROUPS, and PARTICLE-VERB combinations may function as “adverbs” of place, specifying the location of an action or activity. The following “adverbs” of place are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsdeh* ‘outside’, ‘outdoors’
- ⇒ *Akda:gyeʔ* ‘beside’, ‘the edge’
- ⇒ *Da: gwa:dih* ‘over here’, ‘this side’
- ⇒ *Da: hɔ:wɛh hɔ:* ‘this is where’
- ⇒ *E: gwa:dih* ‘on the other side’
- ⇒ *E: ni-NOUN+adih* ‘on the other side of NOUN’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ hɔ:wɛh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ...ni-NOUN* ‘wherever NOUN is’

8 “Adverbs” (words and affixes functioning as adverbs)

- ⇒ *Gaɣ gwaʔ tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’
- ⇒ *Gaɣ niyó:weʔ* ‘how far’, ‘which distance’
- ⇒ *Gaoʔ* ‘this side’, ‘this way’
- ⇒ *Gaʔ* - element referring to a location
- ⇒ *Gaʔ-to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’
- ⇒ *Gaʔ-to:hah tohgeh* ‘thereabouts’
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’
- ⇒ *Hehdaʔgeh gwa:dih* ‘below’, ‘low’
- ⇒ *Hehdaʔgeh hɔ:* ‘downstairs’
- ⇒ *Hehdagehjih* ‘the bottom’, ‘low’
- ⇒ *Hejo:yaʔ tsɔ:* ‘elsewhere’
- ⇒ *He:tgeh* ‘above’, ‘up’, ‘superior’
- ⇒ *He:tgehjih* ‘the very top’, ‘high up’
- ⇒ *He:yo: dagwaishɔ:* ‘straight ahead’
- ⇒ *He:gyeh gaɣ hɔ:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’
- ⇒ *Hɔ:weh* ‘where’
- ⇒ *I:nɔh* ‘far’
- ⇒ *I:wa:kʔah* ‘near’
- ⇒ *Neʔ gwaʔ toh* ‘here (rather than there)’
- ⇒ *Neʔ to gyɛ:ʔ hɔ:weh* ‘it is where’
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh gwa:dih* ‘on this side’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh* ‘here’
- ⇒ *Nigwa:dih* ‘-ward, direction’
- ⇒ *Niyo:weʔ, ni:yo:ʔ, nyo:ʔ* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’
- ⇒ *Ohɛ:dɔ: shɛh* ‘ahead’, ‘in front’, ‘forward’
- ⇒ *Ohnaʔge: gwa:dih shɛh* ‘behind’
- ⇒ *Ohnaʔgehjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’, ‘the bottom’
- ⇒ *Ohnaʔgɔ:* ‘underneath’, ‘beneath’, ‘under’
- ⇒ *Senyɛʔsgwadih* ‘to your left’
- ⇒ *Sewaihɔhsdɔh gwa:dih* ‘to your right’
- ⇒ *Sganyɛʔsgwadih* ‘to its left’
- ⇒ *Shɛh hɔ: heyodokdaʔɔh* ‘the bottom’
- ⇒ *Si:* ‘over there’
- ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘over there’

- ⇒ *Si gwa:di:hah* ‘just this side of’
- ⇒ *Si hne:’ si gwa:dih* ‘over there’
- ⇒ *Si: hq:weh* ‘way over there’
- ⇒ *Sq: gwadih* ‘on some other side’
- ⇒ *Tɛ’ ga’-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’
- ⇒ *To, toh, tq:* ‘there’, ‘that place’
- ⇒ *To: gwa:dih* ‘on that side’
- ⇒ *To: hq:weh* ‘there’, ‘where’
- ⇒ *Toh-geh* ‘there’

8.3.2 Prefixes that function as “adverbs” of place

Verb prefixes functioning as “adverbs” of place include the PARTITIVE (11a), CIS-LOCATIVE (11b), TRANSLOCATIVE (11c), and COINCIDENT-DUALIC (11d) prepronominal prefixes, which are described in the “Related” sections.

- (11) a. *nita:wé:nq:* ‘a stranger’ (literally, ‘he comes from somewhere’)
 b. *desá’dre:* ‘drive over here’
 c. *he’sá’dre:* ‘drive over there’
 d. *tsa’déhsyɛ:’* ‘you will put, lay them side by side’

Related

- ⇒ [tsi-] (coincident) prefix, 12.2.1
- ⇒ [ni-] (partitive) prefix, 12.2.3
- ⇒ [d-] (cislocative) and [he’-] (translocative) prefixes, 12.2.5

8.4 “Adverbs” of manner

“Adverbs” of manner describe (or question) how an activity takes place (12).

- (12) *Sgɛ:nq:’ qh hodrihsdqhó:gy.e’*
 slowly he.is.sneaking.around
 ‘He is sneaking around slowly.’

8.4.1 Prefixes and suffixes that function as “adverbs” of manner

Several verb prefixes and suffixes function as “adverbs” of manner, describing or questioning how an activity takes place. For example, the combination [shəh ni-] ‘that PART’ means something like ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’ (13).

- (13) Dəkde:níʔ shəh niwagrihóʔ dɛ:
I.will.change that how.I.do.things
‘I am going to change my outlook’

Similarly, verbs with [ti- ... -ʔah] CONTR-...-DIM have the “adverb”-like meaning of ‘any old way’ (14).

- (14) tihe:ʔáh tsɔ:
he.is.walking.along-ish just
‘He is just walking along any old way.’
cf. iheʔ ‘he is walking, moving’

The [de-] DU prefix can function as an “adverb” of manner describing a two-part motion (15).

- (15) dɛhadagyáʔ dāhgwaʔ t ‘he will do push ups’

The [-ge:] AUG suffix can function as an “adverb” of manner, describing an activity done ‘in a big way’ (16).

- (16) ahənətgwéniʔ ge: ‘the big win’, ‘victory’ (literally, ‘they won big’)
cf. ɛhsa:tgwé:niʔ ‘you will win’

The [-sgɔ:] FACIL suffix also functions as an “adverb” of manner (17).

- (17) sadahɔdɔsgɔ: ‘you are nosy’ (literally, ‘you ask easily’, ‘you are always asking questions’)
cf. sadahɔ:dɔ: ‘you ask’

The above affixes are described in the “Related” sections listed below.

Related

- ⇒ The [ti-] (contrastive) prefix, 12.2.2
- ⇒ The [ni-] (partitive) prefix, 12.2.3
- ⇒ The [de-] (dualic) prefix, 12.2.6
- ⇒ [-ge:] (augmentative), 15.7.3
- ⇒ [-sgo:] (facilitative), 15.7.2

8.4.2 Verbs functioning as “adverbs” of manner

Several VERBS function as “adverbs” of manner, describing how an activity takes place (18–20). In (18), *ohsnó:we* ‘it is fast’ modifies the meaning of *adwákyu’kdę* ‘it gets dull’.

- (18) **Ohsno:wé** gę:s adwákyu’kdę’.
 it.is.fast usually it.gets.dull
 ‘It gets dull fast.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enqhsqny’a’da’sq:’qh dialogue)
- (19) ...**tręhs** gę:s **wagyes’agéh** a’osdagwá:ęh.
 ...too.much usually it.is.easy it.gets.dirty
 ‘...because it gets dirty too easily.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya’dawí’tra’ dialogue)
- (20) **Wę:dó:**’ da:gahyadqhsríya’ksq:k.
 it.is.hard the.paper.should.be.cut
 ‘The paper is hard to cut.’

Some verbs also express an “adverb”-like meaning that is not specifically spelled out in a prefix or suffix (21).

- (21) a. ętsęhsga:’ ‘you take off *abruptly, quickly, suddenly*’
 b. hahsgyáqha’ ‘he walks *quickly*’, ‘he gives someone encouragement’

8.5 “Adverbs” of degree

“Adverbs” of degree describe the extent or degree of a characteristic or activity (22). For more examples, see *Comparisons*, §31.1.

8 “Adverbs” (words and affixes functioning as adverbs)

- (22) a. **Stq:háh** segéi:s.
a.little move
‘Move a little bit!’
- b. **Tròhgeh tsq:** jògwaihó’de’.
barely just we.are.working
‘We’re barely working.’

8.5.1 Particles functioning as “adverbs” of degree

PARTICLES may function as “adverbs” of degree, specifying the degree or extent of an action or activity. The following “adverbs” of degree are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsòh* ‘more’
- ⇒ *Aqòghdòh* ‘exceptional’, ‘over the top’, ‘extremely’, ‘too much so’
- ⇒ *Do:gèhs* ‘really’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *Dòhgá:’ah* ‘a few’
- ⇒ *Do:s* ‘really’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *Gi’ gye:’* ‘quite’, ‘kind of’
- ⇒ *Gwàhs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, ‘intensifier’
- ⇒ *Gwàhs ò:weh* ‘really’
- ⇒ *Gwe:gòh, agwe:gòh, ogwe:gòh* ‘completely’, ‘totally’
- ⇒ *Heyòhe:’* ‘more’
- ⇒ *I:so’* ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘lots’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *I:so:’ah* ‘a fairly big bit’
- ⇒ *Ji* ‘too much’
- ⇒ *Ji aqòghdòh* ‘too much so’
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’
- ⇒ *Ne:’ tsq:* ‘that is only’, ‘that is all’
- ⇒ *Nè: tsq: gwa’ toh ni-* ‘just a little bit’, ‘very little’
- ⇒ *Nè: tsq: ni-* ‘just’
- ⇒ *O:weh, ne’ ò:weh* ‘really’
- ⇒ *Stq:hah, stq:hòh* ‘a little bit’
- ⇒ *Tè’ degè:hèh* ‘not too many’
- ⇒ *To hè:gyeh shèh* ‘really’

- ⇒ *Tr̥hgeh ts̥*: ‘barely’
- ⇒ *Ts̥*: ‘just’, ‘only’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih gyeʔ*: ‘almost’, ‘just about’

8.5.2 Suffixes functioning as “adverbs” of degree

Several suffixes may function as “adverbs” of degree. The [-ʔah] and [-hah] DIM suffixes convey the idea that a quality exists to a more modest degree (23).

- (23) a. *sg̥n̥gowa:hah* ‘slowly’, ‘fairly slow’
 cf. *sg̥n̥q:ʔh* ‘slowly’
- b. *gowa:n̥é:hah* ‘it is *fairly* big’
 cf. *gowa:n̥eh* ‘it is big’
- c. *niy̥ó:sʔah* ‘just *a little bit* long’
 cf. *i:y̥ó:s* ‘it is long’

The [-jih] INTS and [-jihw̥h] COMPLETELY suffixes convey the idea that a quality exists to a more extreme degree (24).

- (24) a. *owíhjih* ‘it is *overcooked*’
 cf. *dey̥ó:wi:h* ‘it is undercooked’, ‘it is not ripe’
- b. *oh̥éhjihw̥h* ‘it is *really* dried out’
 cf. *oh̥é*: ‘it is dry’

8.5.3 Verbs functioning as “adverbs” of degree

Several VERBS may function as “adverbs” of degree, describing the extent of a quality or activity: when *ággohd̥q̥h* modifies the meaning of other verbs, it means ‘extremely’ or ‘too much’ (25). For more examples, see §8.5.1

- (25) a. *Ḁggohd̥q̥h* *ohdr̥hk*.
 it.surpasses it.is.dangerous
 ‘It is extremely dangerous.’
- b. *Ḁggohd̥q̥h* *q̥geʔdrah̥éhs* *t̥s̥h* *nagadek̥ó:niʔ*.
 it.surpasses I.went.overboard that how.much.I.ate
 ‘I ate too much.’

8.6 Negative “adverbs”

Negative “adverbs” begin with *tɛʔ* ‘not’. The following negative “adverbs” are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Tɛʔ ahsɔh* ‘not yet’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh* ‘never’, ‘not ever’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gaʔ-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’

9 Verbs

Verbs describe actions (1), types of movement (2), states or characteristics (3), ways of existing (4), mental activities (5), perceptions (6), and object locations (7). They also function as “nouns” (§5), “adjectives” (§7) and “adverbs” (§8).

(1) actions

- a. kdakse' 'I am running'
- b. é:ge:k 'I will eat'
- c. dəyónəhsgwahk 'she will jump'
- d. ɛgaɔgidagrəhdɛ' 'they are going to trip me, make me fall'

(2) movement

- a. dagé:ne' 'they are coming'
- b. ɔkni'dre' 'we two are riding along in a vehicle'
- c. swatahi:ne' 'you all are walking'

(3) states or characteristics

- a. hahné:ye:s 'he is tall'
- b. aknó:shɛ: 'I am envious'
- c. aknɔhɔkdá:nih 'I am sick'

(4) existence (or non-existence)

- a. To: gi' tsɔ: ní:yɔ:.
that just only it.is
'That's just all there is.'
- b. ihe's 'he is here'

(5) mental activities, feelings

- a. ihse: 'you want, hope, think'
- b. gonɔhkwa' 'I love you'
- c. desa'nigɔhɛhdɔh 'you are sad'

9 Verbs

- (6) perceptions
 - a. ɛsé:gɛʔ ‘you will see’
 - b. ɛsa:tó:dɛh ‘you will hear it’
 - c. ɛwágeshoʔ ‘I will smell it’ (unintentionally)
 - d. ɛwádehswaht ‘I will smell it’ (on purpose)
- (7) object location
 - a. gá:yɛ:ʔ ‘it is lying’
 - b. gani:yɔ:t ‘it is hanging’

Verbs are the only required element in a sentence. As such, they often express the meaning of an entire sentence (8).

- (8) verbs as sentences
 - a. degaɔdatgɔhsóhaeʔ ‘they are washing each other’s faces’
 - b. ahadadrihwagwé:nyɛʔ ‘he had earned it for himself’

Verbs minimally require a pronominal prefix. They also usually require an aspect suffix (Chafe 1967). However, NO-ASPECT verbs, including “commands” and “suggestions” (described in §27.1) do not have an aspect suffix (for which, see §15.5.6.1).

Verbs will be classified according to the criteria in (9), which are defined in the following sections.

- (9) criteria for verb classification
 - a. noun incorporation
 - b. transparent or fixed expressions
 - c. aspect
 - d. pronominal prefix type

9.1 Verbs and noun incorporation

Verbs can be classified according to their ability to INCORPORATE (include) a noun stem (§14). This criterion yields three types of verbs, described next.

9.1.1 Verbs that optionally have an incorporated noun

Some verbs can take an INCORPORATED NOUN but do not require one. For example, the verbs in (10) and (11) have an incorporated noun and are well-formed – they sound like words. However, the same verbs – *əhsní:nəʔ* and *əgyé:to* – lack an incorporated noun and are still perfectly good words.

- (10) *əyagwahgweŋyahnínənyəʔ* ‘we all will buy clothes’
 cf. *ahgwénya* ‘clothes’
 cf. *əhsní:nəʔ* ‘you will buy it’
- (11) *həkhənaʔdáyətoʔ* ‘I will plant potatoes there’
 cf. *ohənaʔdaʔ* ‘potatoes’
 cf. *əgyé:toʔ* ‘I will plant it or something’

9.1.2 Verbs that cannot have an incorporated noun

Some verbs cannot take an incorporated noun because their meaning does not allow for it. These are “activity” or “action” verbs that only express one ROLE (§20.6). For example, the verbs shown in (12) express just one role, that of “doer” (either a single “doer” or multiple “doers”). However, their meaning does not include that of an undergoer. In contrast, the verb in (11) above, *həkhənaʔdáyətoʔ*, requires both a “doer” (‘I’) and an undergoer (‘potatoes’).

- (12) a. *gəhni* ‘it is barking’
 b. *gadá:wəh* ‘I am swimming’
 c. *hənadawəhs* ‘they (males) are swimming’
 d. *saʔe:yəʔ* ‘she returned’
 e. *nədəhse:ʔ* ‘you came from there’
 f. *haʔgáge:t* ‘I stopped by there’
 g. *agiʔ* ‘I said’

9.1.3 Verbs requiring an incorporated noun

Some verbs require an incorporated noun. (As such, they are unlike MINIMAL verbs, which only require a pronominal prefix, a verb stem, and an aspect suffix.) For example, the verb [+i:yo:] ‘be good, nice’ never occurs without an incorporated noun. It incorporates the noun [nahsgw] ‘domestic animal’ in (13a) but

instead takes the noun [yɛhsr] ‘blanket’ in (13b). A plus ‘+’ sign before a verb stem means that the verb in question requires an incorporated noun.

Many obligatorily incorporating verbs function as “adjectives”, describing attributes of the incorporated noun (13–14).

- (13) [+i:yo:] ‘be good, nice’
- a. ganahsgwí:yo: ‘a nice pet’
cf. ganáhsgwa’ ‘tame animal’, ‘pet’, ‘domestic animal’
 - b. oyɛhsrí:yo: ‘nice blanket’
cf. oyɛhsra’ ‘blanket(s)’
- (14) [+owa:nɛh] ‘be big’
- a. gahɔhsrowá:nɛh ‘big box’
cf. gahɔhsra’ ‘box’
 - b. ojɔ’dowá:nɛh ‘big fish’
cf. ojɔ’da’ ‘fish’

9.2 Transparent vs fixed expressions

Verbs can be classified as either TRANSPARENT or FIXED EXPRESSIONS.¹

Transparent expressions just have one straightforward (literal) meaning. For example, in example (13a, previous page), the transparent verb *ganahsgwí:yo:* has parts meaning ‘pet’ [nahsgw] and ‘nice’ [+iyo:], and the word straightforwardly means ‘nice pet’. As well, substituting the pronominal prefix and the incorporated noun results in a new word, *oyɛhsrí:yo:*, which also has a straightforward meaning, ‘nice blanket’ (13b).

In contrast, fixed expressions have both a transparent (or literal) meaning and a *non-transparent* meaning. The non-transparent meaning is dominant. For example, in (15a), the intended, fixed meaning is ‘sandpiper’ (a type of shore bird) and the transparent (and not usually relevant) meaning of the word is ‘good sand’.

- (15) a. o’nehsí:yo:
‘sandpiper’ (fixed meaning); ‘good sand’ (transparent meaning)
cf. o’néhsa’ ‘sand’
- b. ganiga:hɛhsrí:yo:
‘cotton’, ‘silk’ (fixed meaning); ‘good material’ (transparent meaning)
cf. onigá:hɛhsra’ ‘material’, ‘cloth’

¹Fixed expressions are the verb BASES described in Foster et al. (1989).

In order to convey the fixed meaning of ‘sandpiper’ in (15a), the pronominal prefix, incorporated noun, and verb must remain constant or fixed, while other parts can change as needed. (For example, one could add the [-ʔs] PL suffix to create *oʔnehsí:yoʔs* ‘sandpipers’.) Similarly, all other fixed expressions require specific prefixes, incorporated nouns, or suffixes in order to fully express their non-transparent meaning.

9.2.1 Types of fixed expression

For fixed expressions, the verb stem and at least one other part remain fixed or constant. The various types of fixed expression are described in this section.

In some cases, the combination of [incorporated noun-verb] stem conveys a fixed meaning. For example, in (16a), the meaning of ‘offending someone’ is conveyed by the combination of [ʔnigq̄ha+ʔe:k] ‘mind+hit’.

- (16) fixed expressions with incorporated noun [ʔnigq̄ha] ‘mind’
- q̄hsheʔnigq̄haʔe:k* ‘you will offend someone’ (literally, ‘you will hit someone’s mind’)
 - hoʔnigq̄hãdaʔs* ‘he understands’ (literally, ‘his mind settles’)
 - q̄hsheʔnigq̄hó:niʔ* ‘you will influence, persuade someone’ (literally, ‘you will make someone’s mind’)

In other cases, the combination of [prefix-...verb stem] conveys a fixed meaning. Example (17a) illustrates the verb [yena:] ‘to catch or receive something’. In the related expression in (17b) the fixed parts are the [t-] DU prepronominal prefix and [yena:]; this combination means ‘to do something together’. In (17c), the fixed parts include the incorporated noun [rihwa] ‘word’ and [yena:], which together mean ‘to accept advice’. Finally, in (17d), the [adag-] REFL prefix and [yena:] together mean ‘to wrestle’.

- (17) the transparent expression [yena:ʔ] ‘to catch, receive, accept’, and related fixed expressions
- agyé:na:ʔ* ‘I caught, received it’ (minimal verb, [yena:ʔ] transparent expression)
 - athadiyé:na:ʔ* ‘they did it together’, ‘they were accomplices’ ([DU-...yena:] fixed expression)
 - q̄hsrihwayé:na:ʔ* ‘you will accept advice, a suggestion’ ([rihwa-yena:] fixed expression)
 - q̄hsadagyé:na:ʔ* ‘you will wrestle’ ([REFL-yena:] fixed expression)

Like other verbs, fixed expressions may also have free elements: for example both of the words in (18) begin with [tʃi-] COIN, which can be freely added to the relevant verbs to transparently mean ‘when’. Meanwhile, the words in (18) also include fixed [incorporated noun-verb stem] combinations – the combination [ɔgweʔd-ase:] (18a) means ‘young person’, while [ksaʔd-ase:] (18b) means ‘teenager’.

(18) [tʃi-verb] ‘while, when’

- a. tʃihɔgweʔda:sé: hohsɛ:
 while.he.was.young he.is.fat
 ‘When he was young, he was fat.’

cf. hɔgweʔdase:
 h-ɔgweʔd-ase:
 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT
 ‘young man’

- b. tʃiyeksɑʔdá:se: ‘when she was a teenager...’

cf. eksɑʔdasé:ʔah
 e-ksaʔd-ase:-ʔah
 3S.FI.A-child-new.STAT-DIM
 ‘teenage girl’

9.3 Verbs and aspect

Verbs can be classified according to the types of aspect suffixes they take. Before getting into details, some background information is provided next.

The three main types of aspect suffix are the punctual, habitual, and stative (see §15.5). While there is only one punctual suffix, [-ʔ] PUNC, there are several habitual and stative suffixes. For example, the habitual endings include [-s], [-haʔ], and [-h]. As shown in (19), a given verb normally takes just one of the possible habitual (or stative, not shown) aspect endings.

(19) verbs in the habitual aspect

- a. degáʔswe:s ‘I am going deaf’
 b. heńáʔswəhthaʔ ‘they are firemen’
 c. sgegeheʔda:nih ‘you are sick of me’

In this work, verbs with the punctual suffix are described as “punctual verbs”, while verbs with any of the habitual suffixes are “habitual verbs”, and verbs with any of the stative suffixes are “stative verbs”.

9.3.1 Verbs occurring only in one aspect (stative or habitual)

Some verbs occur only in one aspect, either the stative or the habitual. **STATIVE-ONLY** verbs take only a stative aspect suffix (20). A smaller set of **HABITUAL-ONLY** verbs exclusively occur in the habitual aspect (21).

(20) stative-only verbs

- a. ohsnó:weʔ 'it is fast, quick'
- b. gɔhaʔdí:yo: 'she is a good singer, she has a good voice'
- c. ogá:yɔh 'it is old'

(21) habitual-only verbs

- a. gagrahs 'it stinks'
- b. agadɔhswéʔdanih 'I am hungry'
- c. gotgɔ:nyohs 'she has high standards'
- d. akneʔdraʔdá:nih 'I feel nausea', 'I am nauseous'

9.3.2 Three-aspect verbs (habitual, punctual, stative)

THREE-ASPECT verbs can take three all aspects – the habitual, punctual, and stative. The three-aspect verb in (22) takes the [-h] **HAB** (22a), the [-ʔ] **PUNC** (22b) and the [-:] **STAT** (22c) aspect endings.

(22) [hsɛnɔni] 'store something'

- a. sehse:nó:nih
s-ɛ-hse:nó:ni-h
2S.A-JOINERÉ-store-HAB
'you are storing it right now'
- b. ɛhsehse:nó:niʔ
ɛ-hs-e-hse:nó:ni-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-store-PUNC
'you will store it'
- c. gahse:nó:ni:
gá-hse:nó:ni:
3S.A-store-STAT
'stored items'

Verbs that take other types of habitual and stative endings are shown in (23) and (24). (The punctual suffix only has one form, [-^ʔ].²)

- (23) [ʔhoweg] ‘cover something’
- a. ge^ʔhó:we:s
g-e-^ʔhó:we:-s
1S.A-JOINERĒ-cover-HAB
‘I am covering something’
 - b. ɛhsɛ^ʔhó:we:k
ɛ-hs-e-^ʔhó:we:k
FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-cover.Ø.PUNC
‘you will cover something’
 - c. age^ʔhowé:gɔh
ag-e-^ʔhowé:g-ɔh
1S.P-JOINERĒ-cover-STAT
‘I did cover something’
- (24) [de-...-ɛnahsgwahgw] ‘jump’
- a. deyɔnahsgwáhkwha^ʔ
de-yɔ-nahsgwáhkwha^ʔ
DU-3S.FI.A-jump-HAB
‘she is jumping’
 - b. deyɔnahsgwahk
d-ɛ-yɔ-nahsgwahk
DU-FUT-3S.FI.A-jump.Ø.PUNC
‘she will jump’
 - c. desɛnahsgwáhgwɛh
de-s-ɛ-nahsgwáhgw-ɛh
DU-2S.A-SRF-jump-STAT
‘you have jumped’

9.3.3 No-aspect verbs

NO-ASPECT verbs lack an aspect suffix. The example shown in (25) is a type of command. In contrast, the comparative example in (25) illustrates a verb with a

²The punctual suffix is not pronounced in words ending with a consonant, which is why the verbs in (23b) and (24b) do not have an overt [-^ʔ] PUNC ending. The term ZERO PUNCTUAL (Ø.PUNC) describes this state of affairs.

punctual suffix, which functions as a statement. For the meaning of no-aspect verbs, see §15.5.6.1.

- (25) sadahó:dq:
 s-ad-ahó:dq:
 2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT (a command)
 ‘ask!’
 cf. ɛsadahó:dq:ʔ
 ɛ-s-ad-ahó:dq:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC (a statement)
 ‘you will ask’

9.3.4 E-verbs

E-VERBS (26) are different from the three-aspect verbs described earlier. The differences are too great to be summarized here and are covered in §16.

- (26) a. í:geʔ ‘I am walking, moving’
 b. dagé:neʔ ‘they (z) are coming’

9.4 Verb classes and pronominal prefix type

Verbs are also classified by the type of pronominal prefix they take (27). Verbs either take interactive (INT-, A- and P-series) or non-interactive (A- or P-series) prefixes. The verbs taking non-interactive prefixes also subdivide into personal and neuter types (27b). (For definitions of INT, A- and P-series prefixes, see §20.7.)

- (27) Verb classes, distinguished by pronominal prefix type
- a. INTERACTIVE – taking INT-, A- and P-series prefixes
 - b. NON-INTERACTIVE – exclusively taking either A- or P-series prefixes
 - i. PERSONAL – either taking all of the A-series prefixes or all of the P-series prefixes
 - ii. NEUTER – taking only the neuter [ga-] 3S.A or [(y)o-] 3S.P prefix

Interactive verbs (27a) can take all of the interactive pronominal prefixes – the INT series (28a), the A-series (28b) and the P-series (28c). (For this type of verb, the A- and P-series prefixes have a special interactive meaning, with an implied ‘it’ (shown in brackets in 28).

9 Verbs

- (28) a. **agó:geʔ** ‘I saw you’ (singular) (INT prefix)
b. **ahá:geʔ** ‘he saw (it)’ (A-series prefix, used in an interactive sense with implied object ‘it’)
c. **ahó:geʔ** ‘(it) saw him’, ‘he was seen’ (P-series prefix, used in an interactive sense with implied subject ‘it’)

In contrast, non-interactive verbs (27b) exclusively take either the A-series (29a) or the P-series (29b).

- (29) a. **hahné:ye:s** ‘he is tall’ (A-series exclusively)
b. **hohseʔ**: ‘he is fat’ (P-series exclusively)

Non-interactive verbs (27b) further divide into PERSONAL or NEUTER types. Personal verbs take a full range of A-series (30a) or P-series (30b) prefixes. In contrast, neuter verbs only take neuter ‘it’ prefixes (31).

- (30) personal verbs
a. **hahné:ye:s** ‘he is tall’, **ehné:ye:s** ‘she is tall’, **gahné:ye:s** ‘it (animal) is tall’, **khné:ye:s** ‘I am tall’ (etc.) (A-series exclusively)
b. **hohseʔ**: ‘he is fat’, **gohseʔ**: ‘she is fat’, **ohseʔ**: ‘it is fat’, **agáhseʔ**: ‘I am fat’ (etc.) (P-series exclusively)

- (31) neuter verbs
a. **gá:dę:s** ‘it is thick, dense’ (A-series prefix)
b. **wagyé:sęh** ‘it is easy’ (A-series prefix)
c. **otó:weʔ** ‘it is cold (weather)’ (P-series prefix)

That being said, neuter verbs can also take non-neuter, P-series prefixes, but only in order to denote the ownership of an incorporated noun (32, see §24.2.7).

- (32) [+es] ‘long’, **i:yq:s** ‘it is long’ (A-series prefix)
sanóʔje:s ‘your tooth is long’ (non-neuter P-series prefix, denoting possession)
cf. **onóʔjaʔ** ‘tooth’ (P-series prefix)

9.5 Verb classes (subdivided by aspect, pronominal prefix type)

To summarize, verbs can be classified according to the criteria of noun incorporation, meaning (fixed or transparent), aspect, and pronominal prefix type. The main criteria used in this work are aspect and pronominal prefix type.³ The verb classes defined by these criteria are summarized in (33–34).

The stative-only and habitual-only verbs in (33), described earlier in §9.3.1, either take A- or P-series prefixes exclusively. Their prefix type, together with the neuter vs. personal distinction, results in four sub-classes of verb.

- (33) stative-only or habitual-only verbs (including NV fixed expressions)⁴
- a. with A-series prefixes
 - i. NEUTER verbs (only taking [ga-] 3s.A or [w(a)-] 3s.P prefix)
 - ii. PERSONAL verbs (taking any personal prefix)
 - b. with P-series prefixes
 - i. NEUTER verbs (only taking [o-] 3s.P prefix)
 - ii. PERSONAL verbs (taking any personal prefix)

The three-aspect verbs in (34), described earlier in §9.3.2, fall into two major types. The first type (34a) takes A-series prefixes in the habitual and punctual, but P-series prefixes in the stative. The second type (34b) takes P-series prefixes in all three aspects. The pronominal prefix type, together with the neuter, personal, and interactive distinction, results in the following sub-classes in (34).

- (34) three-aspect verbs (including NV fixed expressions)
- a. with A-series prefixes in the habitual and punctual and P-series prefixes in the stative
 - i. NEUTER verbs
 - ii. PERSONAL verbs
 - iii. INTERACTIVE verbs
 - b. with P-series prefixes in the habitual, punctual, and stative
 - i. NEUTER verbs

³In the Verb dictionary (§B) information about noun incorporation and fixed expressions is also provided where relevant.

⁴NV is an abbreviation for fixed expressions that require an [incorporated noun-verb] combination.

9 Verbs

- ii. PERSONAL verbs
- iii. INTERACTIVE verbs

Pronominal prefix choice is described further in §24 (stative-only and habitual-only verbs) and in §25 (three-aspect verbs).

Finally, for E-VERBS, see §16.

Part III

Word creation

Most of the Gayogoho:nə́'néha:ʔ prefixes and suffixes are described in the following sections. However, the large topic of PRONOMINAL PREFIXES is described in a separate section (Part IV).

10 Word suffixes

Word suffixes can attach to any type of word – nouns, verbs, or particles, Table 10.1. (In contrast, noun suffixes (§11) only attach to nouns and verb suffixes (§15) only attach to verbs.)

In Table 10.1, NOUN refers to a noun stem potentially followed by suffixes that are unique to nouns. Similarly VERB refers to a verb stem potentially followed by suffixes that are unique to verbs.

Table 10.1: Word suffixes

word type	word suffix
NOUN	[-ʔgeh] ON
VERB	[-hneh] AT
PARTICLE	[-:ʔah, -ʔah] DIM
	[-:hah] DIM
	[-go:wah] AUG
	[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST
	[-neha:ʔ] CUSTOMARY
	[-geha:ʔ] CUSTOMARY
	[-ka:ʔ] CUSTOMARY
	[-ɔ:wɛh] TYP
	[-ho:nɔʔ] POP
	[-jih] INTS
	[-shɛ:ʔ, -tshɛ:ʔ] DECLA.KIN ^a
	[-shɔ:ʔɔh, -shɔ:ʔah] PLRZ ^b
	[-shɔʔ] PLRZ ^c

^aThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɛ:ʔ, -tsɛ:ʔ>.

^bThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɔ:ʔɔh, -sɔ:ʔah>.

^cThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɔʔ>.

Words can take more than one word suffix, as shown in (1).

10 Word suffixes

- (1) a. Gwahsdq̄hó:nq̄ʔ
gwahsdq̄-hó:nq̄ʔ
Boston-POP¹
'Americans'
- b. Gwahsdq̄honq̄ʔgeh
gwahsdq̄-honq̄-ʔgeh
Boston-POP-ON
'United States'
- c. Gwahsdq̄honq̄ʔgēhó:nq̄ʔ
gwahsdq̄h-honq̄h-ʔgē-hó:nq̄ʔ
Boston-POP-ON-POP
'United States citizen'

The [-jih] INTS and [-go:wah] AUG endings tend to occur before other word suffixes (2).

- (2) a. oyajihó:nq̄ʔ
o-ya-ji-hó:nq̄ʔ
3S.P-other-INTS-POP
'stranger, alien'
- cf. oyá:jih
o-yá:-jih
3S.P-other-INTS
'another type'
- b. gihēʔgowáhneh
gihēʔ-gowá-hneh
river-AUG-AT
'to the big river'
- cf. gihē:gó:wah
gihē:-gó:wah
river-AUG
'the big river'

Word suffixes are described in the following sections.

10.1 [-ʔgeh] ON (external locative)

The [-ʔgeh] ON suffix denotes an outside location ('on' or 'at'). It attaches to basic nouns (3), body part nouns (4), verbs (5), and several particles (6).

¹Gwahsdq̄h originates from *Boston*, but means 'America'.

(3) basic nouns with [-^ʔgeh]

a. ahsgwá^ʔgeh
 ahsgwá-^ʔgeh
 roof-ON

‘on the roof’

cf. ahsgwa^ʔ
 ahsgw-a^ʔ
 roof-NSF
 ‘the roof’

b. oíhwa^ʔgeh
 o-ríhwa-^ʔgeh
 3s.P-matter-ON

‘the reason, idea for something’

cf. oíhwa^ʔ
 o-ríhw-a^ʔ
 3s.P-matter-NSF
 ‘message, word, affair, business’

c. adé^ʔhẹ^ʔgeh
 adé^ʔhẹ-^ʔgeh
 fence-ON

‘on the fence’

cf. adé^ʔhẹ^ʔ
 adé^ʔh-ẹ^ʔ
 fence-NSF
 ‘fence’

(4) body part nouns with [-^ʔgeh]

a. snẹtsá^ʔgeh
 s-nẹtsá-^ʔgeh
 2s.A-arm-ON
 ‘on your (sg.) arm’

b. knẹtsá^ʔgeh
 k-nẹtsá-^ʔgeh
 1s.A-arm-ON
 ‘on my arm’

c. enẹtsá^ʔgeh
 e-nẹtsá-^ʔgeh
 3s.FI.A-arm-ON
 ‘on her arm’

10 *Word suffixes*

- (5) verbs with [-²geh]
- a. otówɛ²geh
o-tówɛ-²geh
3S.P-cold.STAT-ON
'North'
cf. otó:we²
o-tó:we²
3S.P-cold.STAT
'it is cold'
- b. onénɔ²geh
o-nénɔ-²geh
3S.P-warm.STAT-ON
'South'
cf. oné:nɔ²
o-né:nɔ²
3S.P-warm.STAT
'it is mild, warm'
- c. e²nikɔhkwa²geh
e-²nikɔkw-há-²geh
3S.FI.A-sew-HAB-ON
'sewing room'
cf. e²nikɔhkwa²
e-²nikɔkw-ha²
3S.FI.A-sew-HAB
'she sews'
- d. ekɔnyá²tá²geh
e-kɔnyá²t-há-²geh
3S.FI.A-cook-HAB-ON
'kitchen'
cf. ekɔnyá²ta²
e-kɔnyá²t-ha²
3S.FI.A-cook-HAB
'she cooks'
- e. Gahnawiyó²geh
ga-hnaw-iyó-²geh
3S.A-flowing.water-good.STAT-ON
'Oklahoma'
cf. gahna:wí:yo:
ga-hna:w-í:yo:
3S.A-flowing.water-good.STAT
'nice rapids'

- (6) particles with [-'geh]
 i:'geh
 i:-'geh
 I-ON
 'on my side', 'as for me'

10.2 [-hneh] AT (*external locative*)

The [-hneh] AT suffix denotes a location in place or time. It attaches to atypical words functioning as “nouns” (7) and verbs functioning as “nouns” (8). (Examples of [-hneh] AT attaching to basic nouns or body part nouns are not attested.)

- (7) ATYPICAL words functioning as “nouns”

- a. giḥɛ'gowáhneh
 giḥɛ'-gowá-hneh
 river-AUG-AT
 'to the big river'
 cf. giḥɛ:gó:wah
 giḥɛ:-gó:wah
 river-AUG
 'the big river'
- b. hɛnɔ́gwehneh
 hɛn-ɔ́gwe-hneh
 3NS.M.A-people-AT
 'men's washroom'
 cf. hɛnɔ́:gweh
 hɛn-ɔ́:gweh
 3NS.M.A-people
 'men'
- c. gɛnhéhneh
 g-ɛnhé-hneh
 3S.A-summer-AT
 'summer'
- d. Gwésahsneh
 gwésahs-hneh
 partridge-AT
 'Akwasasne' (place name)

10 Word suffixes

- e. gòhsréhneh
gòhsré-hneh
cold.place-AT
'winter'
- f. Hyáikneh
hyá-ik-hneh
berry-ripen-AT
'June'
- g. Jíhsgèhneh
jíhsgè-hneh
corn.husk-AT
'August'
- h. Sá'gèhneh
sá'gè-hneh
cough-AT
'September'
- i. Sa'gèhnehgó:wah
sa'gè-hneh-gó:wah
cough-AT-AUG
'October'

(8) VERBS functioning as “nouns”

- a. Ohwèjagáyòhneh
o-hwèja-gáyò-hneh
3s.P-land-old.STAT-AT
'Europe'

10.3 [-'geh] ON versus [-hneh] AT

The [-'geh] ON and [-hneh] AT suffixes both mean 'on', 'at', or 'to', but are used in different contexts. The [-'geh] ON suffix attaches to basic nouns and body part nouns (9) while [-hneh] AT does not appear to (10).²

²It may be that [-hneh] AT attaches to words ending with a vowel sound, while [-'geh] ON attaches to words ending with a consonant. However, some of the words in (10–11) are counterexamples.

(9) [-^ʔgeh] ON with basic and body part nouns

- a. gáqda^ʔgeh
gá-qd-a-^ʔgeh
3S.A-log-JOINER-A-ON
'on the log'
- b. gwɛ^ʔnóhsa^ʔgeh
g-wɛ^ʔnóhs-a-^ʔgeh
1S.A-tongue-JOINER-A-ON
'on my tongue'

Meanwhile, either suffix can be used with personal names (10).

(10) [-hneh] AT and [-^ʔgeh] ON after personal names

- a. Arniegeh, Arnihneh
Arnie-^ʔgeh/hneh
Arnie-ON/AT
'at Arnie's place'
- b. Alvahneh, Alva^ʔgeh
Alva-^ʔgeh/hneh
Alva-ON/AT
'at Alva's place'
- c. Elsahneh
Elsa-hneh
Elsa-AT
'at Elsa's place'
- d. Maria^ʔgeh
Maria-^ʔgeh
Maria-ON
'at Maria's place'
- e. Tómhneh
Tom-hneh
Tom-AT
'at Tom's place'
- f. Sawɛhe:sgeh
Sawɛhe:s-^ʔgeh
Sawɛhe:s-ON
'at Sawɛhe:s's place' (VERB functioning as a "name")

10 Word suffixes

- g. Ji'dá:wi:sgeh
ji'dá:wi:s-[?]geh
Ji'dá:wi:s-ON
'at Ji'dawís's place' (VERB functioning as a "name")
- h. Alfredgeh
Alfred-[?]geh
Alfred-ON
'at Alfred's place'

Finally, the [-hneh] AT ending also attaches to atypical nouns (11a). In (11b, c), both [-hneh] AT and [-[?]geh] ON appear in the same word, but in different order.

- (11) a. hyáikneh
hya-ik-hneh
berry-ripen-AT/ON
'June' (in the past) (ATYPICAL WORD functioning as a "noun")
- b. hyáikhnehgeh
hya-ik-hneh-[?]geh
berry-ripen-AT/ON
'berry ripening time' (in the past) (ATYPICAL WORD functioning as a "noun")
- c. gęņęnagéhneh
g-ęņęn-agé-hneh
3S.A-fall-ON-AT
'fall' (season)

10.4 [-:[?]ah] DIMINUTIVE (DIM)

The [-:[?]ah] DIM (denoting *smallness* and related concepts described below) attaches to atypical words functioning as "nouns" (12), verbs proper and verbs functioning as "nouns" (13), kinship terms (14), and basic nouns (15a). The vowel before the suffix is long, except with kinship terms (14).

- (12) atypical words functioning as "nouns"
gwa'yé:[?]ah
gwa'yé:-[?]ah
rabbit-DIM
'cottontail rabbit'

cf. gwaʔyqʔ
 ‘rabbit’

(13) verbs (a-b), and verbs functioning as “nouns” (c-f)

a. niyó:sʔah
 ni-y-ó:s-ʔah
 PART-3S.P-long.STAT-DIM
 ‘just a little bit long’

cf. í:yq:s
 í-y-q:s
 PART-3S.P-long.STAT
 ‘it is long’

b. ohsno:wé:ʔah
 o-hsno:wé:-ʔah
 3S.P-fast.STAT-DIM
 ‘to arrive a little bit early’

cf. ohsnó:weʔ
 o-hsnó:weʔ
 3S.P-fast.STAT
 ‘it is fairly fast’, ‘it is fast, quick’

c. nigəhné:sʔah
 ni-g-əhn-é:s-ʔah
 PART-3S.A-cloth-long.STAT-DIM
 ‘a short length of cloth’

cf. tsó: nigəhne:s
 tsó: ni-g-əhn-e:s
 just PART-3S.A-cloth-long.STAT
 ‘just a length of cloth’

d. Nigahnegá:ʔah
 ni-ga-hneg-á:-ʔah
 PART-3S.A-water-hold.STAT-DIM
 ‘Little Water Medicine’ (name of a ceremony)

e. aʔonihshé:ʔah
 aʔ-o-nihshé:-ʔah
 FACTUAL-3S.P-take.time.PUNC-DIM
 ‘a short duration’

cf. to naʔónisheʔ
 to n-aʔ-ó-nishe-ʔ
 that PART-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
 ‘it took that long’

10 *Word suffixes*

- f. haksá^ʔdasé:^ʔah
ha-ks-a-^ʔd-asé:-^ʔah
3S.M.A-child-JOINER-A-INCREMENT-new.STAT-DIM
'teenager'
cf. haksá:^ʔah
ha-ks-á:-^ʔah
3S.M.A-child-NSF-DIM
'a male child, boy'

(14) kinship terms

- a. hehjí^ʔah
he-hjí-^ʔah
1s:3MS-older.sibling-DIM
'my older brother'
cf. hehjí^ʔ
he-hjí^ʔ
1s:3MS-older.sibling
'my older brother' (affectionate term)
- b. kehjí^ʔah
keh-jí-^ʔah
1s:3FIS-older.sibling-DIM
'my older sister'
cf. kehjí^ʔ
ke-hjí^ʔ
1s:3FIS-older.sibling
'my older sister' (affectionate term)

The [-:^ʔah] DIM suffix conveys smallness, a small amount, a short segment of time, and related concepts (15), also (13a,c).

(15) smallness

- a. owi:yá:^ʔah
o-wi:yá:-^ʔah
3S.P-offspring-DIM
'baby'
cf. ne^ʔowi:ya^ʔ
ne^ʔo-wi:y-a^ʔ
the 3S.P-offspring-NSF
'its young, offspring'

- b. ohstwáhsʔah
 o-hstwá-hs-ʔah
 3S.P-shrink-HAB-DIM
 ‘young animal, little animal, tadpole’
 cf. wahstwahs
 wa-hstwa-hs
 3S.A-shrink-HAB
 ‘it shrinks’
- c. oʔgá:sʔah
 o-ʔgá:s-ʔah
 3S.P-evening.STAT-DIM
 ‘evening’
 cf. deyóʔga:s
 de-yó-ʔga:s
 DU-3S.P-evening.STAT
 ‘the night is coming’, ‘early night’

The [-:ʔah] DIM suffix also denotes the diminished degree or importance of some activity (16).

- (16) a. ihé:ʔah
 i-h-é:-ʔah
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go.STAT-DIM
 ‘he is just walking along’
 cf. iheʔ
 i-h-e-ʔ
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-STAT
 ‘he is walking, moving’
- b. a:wé:tʔah
 a:-w-é:t-ʔah
 INDEF-3S.A-think.CAUS-DIM
 ‘it is implied, pretend’
 cf. á:we:ʔ
 á:-w-e:-ʔ
 INDEF-3S.A-think-PUNC
 ‘it should want, think’

The [-:ʔah] DIM ending and the [ti-] CONTR prefix together denote *oddness* (17, see §12.2.2).

10 *Word suffixes*

(17) [ti-verb-ʔah] ‘odd’, ‘strange’, ‘unusual’

- a. tiyó:tʔah
 ti-yó:-t-ʔah
 CONTR-3S.P-stand.STAT-DIM
 ‘it is queer, unusual, odd’
- b. tiganqhsa:dé:ʔah
 ti-ga-nqhs-a:dé:-ʔah
 CONTR-3S.A-house-exist.STAT-DIM
 ‘not a normal house’
- c. tɛhayətó:ʔah
 t-ɛ-ha-yətó:-ʔah
 CONTR-FUT-3S.M.A-plant.PUNC-DIM
 ‘he will just plant it any old way or place, helter-skelter’

Finally, the [-:ʔs-ʔah] PL-DIM combination means ‘a diminished degree of some quality’ (18a, b).³

(18) [stative.only.verb-:ʔs-ʔah] PL-DIM

- a. hahe:tgé:sʔah
 ha-he:tgé:-s-ʔah
 3S.M.A-ugly.STAT-PL-DIM
 ‘he is unattractive’
- cf. hahé:tgéʔ
 ha-hé:tgéʔ
 3S.M.A-ugly.STAT
 ‘he is ugly’
- b. onqhsatgí:sʔah
 o-nqhs-a-tgí:-s-ʔah
 3S.P-house-JOINER-ugly.STAT-PL-DIM
 ‘ugly house’
- cf. onqhsatgíʔ
 o-nqhs-a-tgíʔ
 3S.P-house-JOINER-ugly.STAT
 ‘dirty house’

³The PLURAL (PL) and PLURALIZER (PLRZ) suffixes are distinct. The [-ʔs, -s] PLURAL attaches only to STATIVE verbs and is described in §15. In contrast, the [-shq:ʔh, -shq:ʔah] and [-shqʔ] PLURALIZER suffixes, described in this chapter, attach to any category of word.

10.5 [-:hah] DIMINUTIVE (DIM)

The [-:hah] DIM suffix means ‘fairly’, ‘somewhat’ or ‘a little bit’ (19). It attaches to verbs (19), atypical verbs functioning as “nouns” (20a), and some particles (23). The vowel before the suffix is always long.

(19) verbs

- a. gahwajiyowané:hah
 ga-hwajiy-owané:-hah
 3s.A-family-big.STAT-DIM
 ‘my family is fairly big’
- cf. gahwajiyówanəh
 ga-hwajiy-ówanəh
 3s.A-family-big.STAT
 ‘big family’
- b. niyó:hah
 ni-y-ó:-hah
 PART-3s.P-certain.amount.STAT-DIM
 ‘few, a little bit’
- cf. ní:yq:
 ní:y-q:
 PART-3s.P-certain.amount.STAT
 ‘amount of things’
- c. sgeṇogowá:hah
 s-g-ṇogowá:-hah
 REP-3s.A-originate.from-AUG-DIM
 ‘slowly, fairly slow’
- cf. sgṇ:ṇogó:wah
 s-g-ṇog-ó:wah
 REP-3s.A-originate.from-AUG
 ‘really well’
- d. gowa:né:hah
 g-owa:n-é:-hah
 3s-big-STAT-DIM
 ‘it is fairly big’
- cf. gowá:nəh
 g-owá:n-əh
 3s-big-STAT
 ‘it is big’

10 Word suffixes

- e. ihé:hah
i-h-é:-hah
PROTH-3S.M.A-think.STAT-DIM
'he thinks highly of himself'
cf. ihe:
i-h-e:
PROTH-3S.M.A-think.STAT
'he wants, thinks'

With expressions of time, the [-:hah] DIM ending denotes an *earlier* time. (20)

- (20) a. shedəhjí:hah
shedəh-jí:-hah
early.morning-INTS-DIM
'early morning'
cf. tsishéhdehjih
tsi-shédəh-jih
COIN-early.morning-INTS
'this morning'
- b. gagwidehjí:hah
ga-gwideh-jí:-hah
3s.A-early.spring-INTS-DIM
'early spring'
cf. gagwidehneh
ga-gwide-hneh
3s.A-early.spring-AT
'springtime, in the spring'
- c. ɛ̣gyo'gá:hah
ɛ̣-g-yo-'gá:-hah
FUT-CIS-3S.P-evening.PUNC-DIM
'early night'
cf. ɛ̣yo'ga:
ɛ̣-yó-'ga:-
FUT-3S.P-evening-PUNC
'tonight'

The [-:hah] DIM ending also denotes an *approximate* time (21. Note the stacked DIM-AT-DIM suffixes in this example).

- (21) o'ga:s'ahné:hah
 o-ʔga:s-ʔah-hné:-hah
 3S.P-evening.STAT-DIM-AT-DIM
 'eveningish'
 cf. o'gá:s'ah
 o-ʔgá:s-ʔah
 3S.P-evening.STAT-DIM
 'evening'

The [-:hah] DIM suffix attaches to words describing various stages of being human (22).

- (22) verbs functioning as “nouns”
- a. haḡḡhjí:hah
 ha-ḡḡhjí:-hah
 3S.M.A-old.STAT-DIM
 'he is getting old'
 cf. haḡḡhjih
 ha-ḡḡhjih
 3S.M.A-old.STAT
 'old man'
- b. nitawe:nó:hah
 ni-t-haw-e:nó:-hah
 PART-CIS-3S.M.P-originate.from.HAB-DIM
 'middle-aged male'
 cf. nita:wé:nḡh
 ni-t-ha:w-é:nḡ-h
 PART-CIS-3S.M.P-originate.from-HAB
 'stranger' (literally, 'where he comes from')
- c. niyagawe:nó:hah
 ni-yagaw-e:nó:-hah
 PART-CIS-3S.FI.P-originate.from.HAB-DIM
 'middle-aged female'
 cf. niyagawé:nḡh
 ni-yagaw-é:nḡ-h
 PART-CIS-3S.FI.P-originate.from-HAB
 'female stranger'

Finally, when attached to particles, the [-:hah] ending means 'an indefinite place or amount' (23).

(23) particles

- a. gáʔ tó:hah
 gaʔ tó:hah
 indefinite.location there-DIM
 ‘somewhere’
 cf. gaʔ toh
 gaʔ toh
 indefinite.location there
 ‘anywhere’
- b. stó:hah
 stó:-hah
 particle-DIM⁴
 ‘a little bit’

10.6 [-go:wah] AUGMENTATIVE (AUG)

The [-go:wah] AUG ending means ‘big’, or ‘great’. It attaches to nouns of any type (24) and to verbs functioning as “nouns” (25).

(24) nouns (basic and atypical)

- a. dagu:sgó:wah
 dagu:s-gó:wah
 cat-AUG
 ‘big cat’
 cf. dagu:s
 ‘cat’
- b. onqhdagó:wah
 o-nqhd-a-gó:wah
 3S.P-bur-JOINER-AUG
 ‘burdock’
 cf. onqhdaʔ
 o-nqhd-aʔ
 3S.P-bur-NSF
 ‘bur’
- c. otrɛʔdagó:wah
 o-trɛʔd-a-gó:wah
 3S.P-fly-JOINER-AUG
 ‘horsefly’

⁴While [-hah] is the DIM suffix, the meaning of [stó:] element is unclear.

- cf. otré[?]da[?]
o-tré[?]d-a[?]
3s.P-fly-NSF
'fly'
- d. gwa[?]yogó:wah
gwa[?]yogó:wah
rabbit-AUG
'jackrabbit'
cf. gwa[?]yog[?]
'rabbit'
- e. Gayanehsra[?]gó:wah
ga-yanehsr-a[?]-gó:wah
3s.A-law-JOINERÁ-AUG
'the Great Law'
cf. gayánehsra[?]
ga-yanehsr-a[?]
3s.A-law-NSF
'rights', 'laws', 'code'
- f. ohstowagó:wah
o-hstow-a-gó:wah
3s.P-feather-JOINERÁ-AUG
'Great Feather Dance'
- g. awéhe[?]gó:wah
awéhe[?]-gó:wah
wing-AUG
'eagle'
- (25) VERBS functioning as "nouns"
- a. gahn[?]ya[?]sesgó:wah
ga-hnyá[?]s-es-gó:wah
3s.A-neck-long.STAT-AUG
'giraffe'
cf. gahn[?]yá[?]se:s
ga-hnyá[?]s-e:s
3s.A-neck-long.STAT
'it has a long neck'
- b. okdehatgi[?]gó:wah
o-kdeh-a-tgi[?]-gó:wah
3s.P-root-JOINERÁ-ugly.STAT-AUG
'great distorted root' (a herb)

10 Word suffixes

- cf. okdéhatgi'
o-kdéh-a-tgi'
3s.P-root-JOINER-ugly.STAT
'dirty or ugly root'
- c. gaye'gwasgó:wah
ga-ye'gw-a-k-s-gó:wah
3s.A-tobacco-JOINER-eat-HAB-AUG
'tobacco worm'
- cf. gaye'gwa:s
ga-ye'gw-a-k-s
3s.A-tobacco-JOINER-eat-HAB
'it eats tobacco'
- d. gawəŋhgriya'sgó:wah
ga-wəŋhgr-iya'k-s-gó:wah
3s.A-weed-cut-HAB-AUG
'weed or brush cutter'
- cf. gawəŋhgr:i:ya's
ga-wəŋhgr-i:ya'k-s
3s.A-weed-cut-HAB
'it cuts weeds'

10.7 [-gəhɛ:] PAST

The [-gəhɛ:] PAST ending attaches to verbs (26), verbs functioning as “nouns” (27), basic nouns (28) and kinship terms (29). With verbs, [-gəhɛ:] denotes a *former* time (26).

(26) verbs

- a. ní: agawəgəhɛ:
ní: ag-aw-ɛ-gəhɛ:
I 1s.P-OWN-STAT-PAST
'it used to be mine'
- cf. agá:wəh
ag-á:w-ɛh
1s.P-OWN-STAT
'mine'

- b. howéɛgɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 ho-wɛ-gɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-STAT-PAST⁵
 ‘it used to be his’
 cf. hó:wɛh
 hó:-w-ɛh
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘his’

For verbs functioning as “nouns” (27), basic nouns (28), and kinship terms (29), the [-gɛhɛ:] ending tends to mean ‘former’ or ‘late’.

- (27) VERBS functioning as “nouns”
 eksaʔdasé:gɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 e-ks-a-ʔd-asé:-gɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 3S.FI.A-child-JOINERÁ-INCREMENT-new-STAT-PAST
 ‘a former teenage girl’
 cf. eksaʔdasé:ʔah
 e-ks-a-ʔd-asé:-ʔah
 3S.FI.A-child-JOINERÁ-INCREMENT-new-STAT-DIM
 ‘teenage girl’

(28) basic nouns

- a. oʔnhqhsagɛhɛ:ʔ
 o-ʔnhqhs-a-gɛhɛ:ʔ
 3S.P-egg-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘it used to be an egg’ (e.g. a broken robin’s egg or a dinosaur’s egg)
 cf. oʔnhqhsaʔ
 o-ʔnhqhs-aʔ
 3S.P-egg-NSF
 ‘egg’
- b. akyɛdahkwáʔgɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 akyɛdahkw-áʔ-gɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 chair-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘a former chair’

⁵Also,

- i. howɛhne:ʔ
 ho-w-ɛ-hne:ʔ
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-REM
 ‘it used to be his’

10 *Word suffixes*

- c. gokyɛdɔhkwá'gɛhɛ:??
go-kyɛdɔhkw-á'-gɛhɛ:??
3S.FI.P-chair-JOINER-A-PAST
'it used to be her chair'
cf. akyɛdɔhkwá'
akyɛdɔhkw-a'
chair-NSF
'chair'

(29) *kinship terms*

- a. knoha:'ahgɛhɛ:?'
k-noha:'ah-gɛhɛ:?'
1S.A-aunt-PAST
'my late aunt'
cf. kno:há:'ah
k-no:há:'ah
1S.A-aunt
'my aunt'
- b. hehji'ahgɛhɛ:?'
he-hji-'ah-gɛhɛ:?'
1S:3MS-older.sibling-DIM-PAST
'my former older brother'
cf. hehjí'ah
he-hjí-'ah
1S:3MS-older.sibling-DIM
'my older brother'
- c. ha'nígɛhɛ:?'
ha-'ní-gɛhɛ:?'
3S.M.A-father-PAST
'my former father'
cf. ha'nih
ha-'nih
3S.M.A-father
'my father'
- d. knohá'gɛhɛ:???'
k-nohá'-gɛhɛ:???'
1S.A-mother-PAST
'my former mother'

- cf. knó:haʔ
 k-nó:haʔ
 1s.A-mother
 ‘my mother’
- e. ɔgya:dáogęęe:ʔʔ
 ɔgy-a:d-áo-ęęe:ʔʔ
 1P.P-SRF-ceremonial.friend-PAST
 ‘my former ceremonial friend’
- cf. ɔgya:dáoʔ
 ɔgy-a:d-áoʔ
 1P.P-SRF-ceremonial.friend
 ‘my ceremonial friend’
- f. ɔgyatsihgęęe:ʔ
 ɔgy-atsih-gęęe:ʔ
 1P.P-friend-PAST
 ‘my former friend’
- cf. ɔgyá:tsih
 ɔgy-á:tsih
 1P.P-friend
 ‘my friend’

10.8 [-neha:ʔ] CUSTOMARY or CHARACTERIZER

The [-neha:ʔ] CUSTOMARY or CHARACTERIZER ending attaches to atypical words (30). It means a ‘typical way or kind’ (which speakers often translate as ‘Indian’ when the word in question describes traditional ways or objects).

(30) ATYPICAL words functioning as “nouns”

- a. ɔgwehɔwéhneha:ʔ
 ɔgweh-ɔwéh-neha:ʔ
 people-TYP-CUSTOMARY
 ‘Indian way’
- cf. ɔgwehɔ:wɛh
 ɔgweh-ɔ:wɛh
 people-TYP
 ‘Indian’
- b. hnyɔʔɔhnéha:ʔ
 hnyɔʔɔh-néha:ʔ
 white.STAT-CUSTOMARY
 ‘white kind’

10 Word suffixes

- cf. hahnyó'qh
ha-hnyó'qh
3S.M.A-white.STAT
'white man'
- c. shedehjihahnéha:[?]
shedeh-ji-hah-néha:[?]
early.morning-INTS-DIM-CUSTOMARY
'brunch time, mid-morning, early morning'
- cf. shedehjí:hah
shedeh-jí:-hah
early.morning-INTS-DIM
'early morning'

10.9 [-geha:[?]] CUSTOMARY

The [-geha:[?]] CUSTOMARY suffix means a 'typical way or kind' (which speakers often translate as 'Indian' when the word in question describes traditional ways or objects). It attaches to atypical words functioning as "nouns" (31–33) and to verbs (32). The names of many social dances (§D.24) end with [-geha:[?]] (33).

- (31) atypical words functioning as "nouns"

ogwehqwéhgeha:[?]
ogweh-qwéh-geha:[?]
people-TYP-CUSTOMARY
'Indian kind, type' (e.g. of clothes)

cf. ogwehó:weh
ogweh-ó:weh
people-TYP
'Indian'

- (32) verbs

otowé'géha:[?]
o-t-howé'-géha:[?]
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT-CUSTOMARY
'the northern kind'

cf. otówé'geh
o-t-howé'-geh
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT-ON
'north'

- (33) social dances
- a. twɛ:twɛ:tgeha:ʔ
twɛ:twɛ:t-gɛha:ʔ
duck-CUSTOMARY
'duck dance'
cf. twɛ:twɛ:t
'duck'
- b. hnyagwaiʔgɛha:ʔ
hnyagwaiʔ-gɛha:ʔ
bear-CUSTOMARY
'Bear Dance'
cf. hnyagwái:
'bear'

10.10 [-ka:ʔ] CUSTOMARY

The [-ka:ʔ] CUSTOMARY ending also means 'a typical way or kind'. It attaches to atypical words functioning as "nouns" (34) and verbs functioning as "nouns" (35).

- (34) atypical words functioning as "nouns"
- a. ahsdéhka:ʔ
ahsdéh-ka:ʔ
outside-CUSTOMARY
'outside type'
cf. ahsdeh 'outside'
- b. gohsréhka:ʔ
gohsréh-ka:ʔ
cold.place-CUSTOMARY
'winter kind'
cf. gohsréhneh
gohsré-hneh
cold.place-AT
'winter'

(35) verbs functioning as “nouns”

- a. ɛdéhka:ʔ
 ɛd-é-h-ka:ʔ
 day-go-NO_ASPECT-CUSTOMARY
 ‘day kind’
 cf. é:deh
 é:d-e-h
 day-go-NO_ASPECT
 ‘day’
- b. ahsóhka:ʔ
 ahsóh-e-h-ka:ʔ
 night-go-NO_ASPECT-CUSTOMARY
 ‘night kind’
 cf. ahsóh
 ahsóh-e-h
 night-go-NO_ASPECT
 ‘night’
- c. gahnýʔqhka:ʔ
 ga-hnyʔqh-ka:ʔ
 3S.A-white.STAT-CUSTOMARY
 ‘white man’s kind’
 cf. hahnýʔqh
 ha-hnyʔqh
 3S.M.A-white.STAT
 ‘white man’

10.11 [-q:weh] TYPICALIZER (TYP)

The [-q:weh] TYP ending attaches to basic nouns (36) and atypical words functioning as “nouns” (37). Speakers often translate this ending as ‘Indian’, ‘traditional’, or ‘ceremonial’.

(36) basic nouns

- a. ahdahgwáʔq:weh
 ahdahgw-aʔ-q:weh
 shoe-NSF-TYP
 ‘shoe’ (a special type for a corpse at a funeral), ‘a moccasin’

- cf. ahdáhgwa'
 ahdáhgw-a'
 shoe-NSF
 'shoe'
- b. oyéhsra' ɔ́:weh
 o-yéhsr-a' -ɔ́:weh
 3S.P-blanket-NSF-TYP
 'shawl' (for dancing, or the type put on a corpse at a funeral)
- cf. oyéhsra'
 o-yéhsr-a'
 3S.P-blanket-NSF
 'blanket'
- c. ohnyɔsá ɔ́:weh
 o-hnyɔs-á' -ɔ́:weh
 3S.P-squash-NSF-TYP
 'squash' (used for soup at the longhouse, usually hubbard squash)
- cf. ohnyɔhsa'
 o-hnyɔh-sa'
 3S.P-squash-NSF
 'squash'
- d. oyégwá ɔ́:weh
 o-yégw-a' -ɔ́:weh
 3S.P-tobacco-NSF-TYP
 'tobacco' (ceremonial, home-grown and not processed)
- cf. oyé' gwa'
 o-yé' gw-a'
 3S.P-tobacco-NSF
 'tobacco'
- e. onéhe' ɔ́:weh
 o-néhe-?' -ɔ́:weh
 3S.P-corn-NSF-TYP
 'corn' (flint corn)
- cf. onéhe:'
 o-néhe:-?'
 3S.P-corn-NSF
 'corn'
- f. ganɔhsá ɔ́:weh
 ga-nɔhs-a' -ɔ́:weh
 3S.A-house-NSF-TYP
 'cookhouse' (at the longhouse)

10 Word suffixes

cf. ganǫhsa'
ga-nǫhs-a'
3s.A-house-NSF
'house'

g. gana'ja'ǫ:weh
ga-na'j-a'-ǫ:weh
3s.A-pot-NSF-TYP
'cooking pots used at the longhouse'

cf. ganája'
ga-náj-a'
3s.A-pot-NSF
'pot', 'bottle', etc.

(37) atypical words functioning as “nouns”

ǫgwehǫ:weh
ǫgwe-h-ǫ:weh
person-EUPH.H-TYPICALIZER
'Indian'

cf. ǫ:gweh
ǫ:gwe-h
person-EUPH.H
'person'

ǫ:weh also appears as a stand-alone word in particle groups, where it means 'really' or 'truly' (see §C.11).

(38) PARTICLE GROUPS

a. gwahs ǫ:weh
really truly
'truly'

b. ne' ǫ:weh
the truly
'that, really'

c. shǝh ǫ:weh
that truly
'it is really'

10.12 [-ho:nɔʔ] POPULATIVE (POP)

The [-ho:nɔʔ] POP ending means ‘people living at’. It attaches to basic nouns (39) and to verbs functioning as “nouns” (40). It usually follows the [-ʔgeh] ON suffix (but see 40b, c, and 41).

(39) BASIC NOUNS

- a. Gahnawáʔgehó:nɔʔ
 ga-hnaw-a-ʔgeh-hó:nɔʔ
 3S.A-rapids-JOINERÁ-ON-POP
 ‘Caughnawagans’
- cf. Gahnáwáʔgeh
 ga-hnáv-a-ʔgeh
 3S.A-rapids-JOINERÁ-ON
 ‘Caughnawaga’
- b. ganyada:ʔgehó:nɔʔ
 ga-nyada:-ʔgeh-hó:nɔʔ
 3S.A-lake-ON-POP
 ‘lake people, cottagers’
- cf. ganyadá:ʔgeh
 ga-nyadá:-ʔgeh
 3S.A-lake-ON
 ‘to, at the lake’
- c. qhnyáʔgehó:nɔʔ
 qhny-a-ʔgeh-hó:nɔʔ
 river.flats-JOINERÁ-ON-POP
 ‘people of the river flats’
- cf. qhnyáʔgeh
 qhny-á-ʔgeh
 river.flats-JOINERÁ-ON
 ‘on the river flats’
- d. oyajihó:nɔʔ
 o-ya-ji-hó:nɔʔ
 3S.P-other-INTS-POP
 ‘stranger, alien’
- cf. oyá:jih
 o-yá:-jih
 3S.P-other-INTS
 ‘another type’

10 *Word suffixes*

- e. Ganedáʔgehó:nqʔ
ga-ned-a-ʔgeh-hó:nqʔ
3S.A-valley-JOINER-A-ON-POP
‘Lower End People’
cf. Ganédaʔgeh
ga-néd-a-ʔgeh
3S.A-valley-JOINER-A-ON
‘Lower End’ (literally, ‘in the valley’)
- f. hadihqwaʔgehó:nqʔ
hadi-hqwa-a-ʔgeh-hó:nqʔ
3NS.M.A-boat-JOINER-A-ON-POP
‘sailors, navy men, merchant marines’
cf. gahó:waʔ
ga-hó:w-aʔ
3S.A-boat-NSF
‘boat’

(40) VERBS functioning as “nouns”

- a. Gahnawiyóʔgehó:nqʔ
ga-hnaw-iyó-ʔgeh-hó:nqʔ
3S.A-rapids-beautiful.STAT-ON-POP
‘Oklahomans’
cf. Gahnawiyóʔgeh
ga-hnaw-iyó-ʔgeh
3S.A-rapids-beautiful.STAT-ON
‘Oklahoma’
- b. Ganqhgwaʔtrohó:nqʔ
ga-nqhgwaʔtr-o-hó:nqʔ
3S.A-medicine-submerged.STAT-POP
‘Sour Spring People’
cf. Ganqhgwaʔtroʔ
ga-nqhgwaʔtr-oʔ
3S.A-medicine-submerged.STAT
‘Sour Springs’
- c. Dagehyathó:nqʔ
da-g-ehy-a-t-hó:nqʔ
CIS-3S.A-mountain.top-stand.STAT-POP
‘Upper End People’

10 Word suffixes

cf. Sgé:nq̣ʔ.
s-g-é:nq̣ʔ
REP-3S.A-originate.from.STAT
'hello'

c. ohnáʔgɛʔjih
o-hná:gɛʔ-jih
3S.P-under.STAT-INTS
'back then, back there, late, the bottom'

cf. ohnáʔgɛʔ
o-hná:gɛʔ:-ʔ
3S.P-under.STAT-NSF
'behind, late'

(43) atypical words

hé:tgɛhjih
hé:tgɛh-jih
above-INTS
'the very top'
cf. hé:tgɛh
'above, up'

(44) nouns

a. dagú:jih
dagú:s-jih
cat-INTS
'cat' (term of endearment)⁷
cf. dagu:s
'cat'

b. oyájih
o-y-á-jih
3S.P-other-JOINER-INTS
'another type'
cf. ó:yaʔ
ó:-y-aʔ
3S.P-other-NSF
'another'

The particles in (45) are described in the *Particle dictionary* (§C).

⁷The [s] deletes from *dagu:s* before the [-jih] INTS suffix.

- (45) a. *Toh-jih* ‘just the one’, ‘just such a one’
 b. *Waʔ-jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’
 c. *Waʔ-jih* ‘wait!’
 d. *Waʔ-jih gyeːʔ* ‘almost’, ‘just about’
 e. *Waʔ-jih hyaːʔ* ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’

10.14 [-shɛːʔ, -tɕɛːʔ] KINSHIP DECLARATION

The [-shɛːʔ, -tɕɛːʔ] DECLARE.KINSHIP ending attaches to kinship terms, and to words functioning as “kinship terms”. Its function is to declare a kinship relationship.

- (46) a. *qgyaʔséːʔshɛːʔ*
qgy-aʔséːʔ-shɛːʔ
 1D.P-doubled.STAT-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘our cousins’
 cf. *qgyáʔseːʔ*
qgy-áʔseːʔ
 1D.P-doubled.STAT
 ‘my cousin’
- b. *hoʔníshɛːʔ*
ho-ʔní-shɛːʔ
 3S.M.P-father-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘he has a father’
 cf. *haʔnih*
ha-ʔnih
 3S.M.A-father
 ‘my father’, ‘Dad’
- c. *agaqđáoʔtɕɛːʔ*
a-gaq-d-áoʔ-tɕɛːʔ
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-SRF-run.STAT-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘they (fe/males) became ceremonial friends’
 cf. *honadáoʔsqʔ*
hon-ad-áoʔ-shqʔ
 3S.M.P-SRF-run.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘they are friends’

- d. hohsó:tseʔ
 ho-hsó:t-shəʔ
 3S.M.P-grandparent-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘he has a grandparent’
 cf. hohso:t
 ho-hso:t
 3S.M.P-grandparent
 ‘his Grandma’
 cf. hehso:t
 he-hso:t
 1s:3MS-grandparent
 ‘my grandfather’
- e. honó:haʔtseʔ
 ho-nó:haʔ-tshəʔ
 3S.M.P-mother-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘he has a mother’
 cf. honó:haʔ
 ho-nó:haʔ
 3S.M.P-mother
 ‘his mother’

10.15 Pluralizers (PLRZ)

The two PLURALIZER endings, [-shq:ʔqh] PLRZ and [-shqʔ] PLRZ are described next. §10.15.4 also includes a discussion of the inherent plural meaning of basic nouns.

10.15.1 [-shq:ʔqh] PLURALIZER (PLRZ)

The [-shq:ʔqh] PLRZ ending attaches to nouns (47–50), verbs functioning as “nouns” (48), kinship terms (49), and numbers (51).

With nouns, [-shq:ʔqh] PLRZ possibly means a variety of items, or a dissimilar group of items (47, see §10.15.3 for further comments).

(47) nouns

- a. gaʔdrehdɑʔsɔ:ʔqh⁸
 ga-ʔdrehd-aʔ-shq:ʔqh
 3S.A-car-NSF-PLRZ
 ‘many, a variety of cars’

⁸The community spellings of the PLRZ suffixes, <-sq:ʔqh, -sq:ʔah> and <-sqʔ>, are used in the unsegmented words, while the linguistic spelling with SH is used in the morpheme breaks. See §2 for more explanation.

- cf. ga^ʔdréhdá^ʔ
ga^ʔdréhd-a^ʔ
3S.A-car-NSF
'car(s)'
- b. ohqda^ʔsq^ʔ:ʔh
o-hq-d-a^ʔ-shq^ʔ:ʔh
3S.P-sapling-NSF-PLRZ
'bushes'
- cf. ohq:da^ʔ
o-hq:d-a^ʔ
3S.P-sapling-NSF
'whip(s)'
- c. jide^ʔsq^ʔ:ʔh
jide^ʔ-shq^ʔ:ʔh
bird-PLRZ
'birds'
- cf. jide^ʔ:eh
jide^ʔ:-^ʔeh
bird-DIM
'bird(s)'
- d. agetgwε^ʔda^ʔsq^ʔ:ʔh
ag-e-tgwε^ʔd-a^ʔ-shq^ʔ:ʔh
1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF-PLRZ
'my suitcases (ones that are scattered around)'
- cf. agétgwε^ʔda^ʔ
ag-é-tgwε^ʔd-a^ʔ
1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF
'my suitcase(s), wallet(s), purse(s)'
- e. hadiksa^ʔsq^ʔ:ʔh
hadi-ks-a^ʔ-shq^ʔ:ʔh
3NS.M.A-child-NSF-PLRZ
'male children'
- cf. hadiksa^ʔ:ah
hadi-ks-á^ʔ:-^ʔah
3NS.M.A-child-NSF-DIM
'two boys'
- f. gaeksa^ʔsq^ʔ:ʔh
gae-ks-a^ʔ-shq^ʔ:ʔh
3NS.FI.A-child-NSF-PLRZ
'female or mixed children'

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cf. gaeksá:ʔah
gae-ks-á:-ʔah
3NS.FI.A-child-NSF-DIM
'two girls'

(48) verbs functioning as “nouns”

a. ehstaʔsɔ:ʔh
e-hsd-haʔ-shɔ:ʔh
3S.FI.A-use-HAB-PLRZ
'tools' (literally, 'what people use')

cf. ehstaʔ 'she uses' or
e-hsd-haʔ
3S.FI.A-use-HAB
'people use'

b. ga:gɔgweʔdase:sɔ:ʔh
ga:g-ɔgweʔd-ase:-shɔ:ʔh
3NS.FI.A-people-new.STAT-PLRZ
'young women' (picked out from a group of women)

cf. ga:gɔgweʔdase:
ga:g-ɔgweʔd-ase:
3NS.FI.A-people-new.STAT
'young women'

(49) kinship terms

a. gakeyadreʔsɔ:ʔh
gakey-adreʔ-shɔ:ʔh
1s:3NS-join.STAT-PLRZ
'my grandchildren'

cf. gakéyadreʔ
gakéy-adreʔ
1s:3NS-join.STAT
'my grandchildren' (said when reckoning a bloodline)

b. gwadreʔsɔ:ʔh
gw-adreʔ-shɔ:ʔh
1:2(P)-join.STAT-PLRZ
'grandchildren' (term of address said by any old person to young children)

cf. gwadre:ʔ
gw-adre:ʔ
1:2(P)-join.STAT
'grandchild' (term of address said by any old person to a young child)

The [-shq:ʔh] PLRZ ending also turns *uncountable* nouns (mass nouns) into countable objects (50).

(50) uncountable (mass) nouns and countable objects

- a. ohnaʔsɔ:ʔh
 o-hn-aʔ-shɔ:ʔh
 3S.P-grease-NSF-PLRZ
 ‘greasy people’ COUNT
 cf. ohnaʔ
 o-hn-aʔ
 3S.P-grease-NSF
 ‘gravy’ MASS
- b. gakwaʔsɔ:ʔh
 ga-kw-aʔ-shɔ:ʔh
 3S.A-food-NSF-PLRZ
 ‘variety of foods’ COUNT
 cf. gakwaʔ
 ga-kw-aʔ
 3S.A-food-NSF
 ‘food’ MASS

With numbers, the [-shq:ʔh] PLRZ ending means ‘a number of each type’ (51), ‘around a certain time’ (52) or ‘at a time’ (53).

- (51) sgatsɔ:ʔh gagéhɔʔ
 sgat-shɔ:ʔh gagéhɔʔ
 one-PLRZ they.lie.around
 ‘one of each thing lying around’
- (52) O: hwihsɔ:ʔh hɛwágehɔʔ
 O: hwihs-shɔ:ʔh hɛwágehɔʔ.
 oh five-PLRZ I.will.lie.around
 ‘Oh, I’ll be here around 5 o’clock.’
- (53) Sgatsɔ:ʔh shéh ta:dí:yɔʔ
 Sgat-shɔ:ʔh shéh ta:dí:yɔʔ
 one-PLRZ that they.males.arrived
 ‘They came in one by one’

10.15.2 [-shqʔ] PLURALIZER (PLRZ)

The [-shqʔ] PLRZ ending attaches to nouns (54), kinship terms (55), numbers (56), and verbs (57–58). It possibly means ‘a group of similar items’ (see §10.15.3 for further comments).

(54) nouns

agetgwɛ́dǎʔsqʔ

ag-e-tgwɛ́d-ǎʔ-shqʔ

1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF-PLRZ

‘my suitcases’ (i.e. a bunch of suitcases, bundled together or mentally grouped as a unit)

cf. agétgwɛ́daʔ

ag-é-tgwɛ́d-aʔ

1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF

‘my suitcase(s), wallet(s), purse(s)’

(55) kinship terms

a. gakeyadréʔsqʔ

gakey-adréʔ-shqʔ

1S:3NS-join.STAT-PLRZ

‘my grandchildren’

cf. gakéyadreʔ

gaké-yadreʔ

1S:3NS-join.STAT

‘my grandchildren’ (said when reckoning a bloodline)

b. qdénqhksqʔ

q-dé-nqh-shqʔ

3S.FI.A-SRF-relative-PLRZ

‘relatives’

cf. agya:dé:nqh

agya:-dé:-nqh

1D.EX.A-SRF-relative

‘my relative’

c. gakehjiʔáhsqʔ

gake-hjiʔ-áh-shqʔ

1S:3NS-older.sibling-DIM-PLRZ

‘my older siblings’

cf. kehjiʔah

keh-jíʔ-ah

1S:3FIS-older.sibling-DIM

‘my older sister’

With numbers, [-shqʔ] PLRZ denotes an approximate time (56a), as does [-shq:ʔqh] PLRZ (51). It can also mean groups of one, two, three, (etc.) at a time (56b, c).

(56) numbers

- a. hwihsqʔ
 hwihs-shqʔ
 five-PLRZ
 ‘five-ish, around 5:00’
 cf. hwihs ‘five’
- b. sgatsqʔ
 sgat-shqʔ
 one-PLRZ
 ‘one at a time’
 cf. sga:t
 ‘one’
- c. deknísqʔ
 dekní-shqʔ
 two-PLRZ
 ‘by twos’, ‘two at a time’
 cf. dekní:
 ‘two’

With counting expressions (verbs), [-shqʔ] PLRZ means ‘apart’ (57a), ‘each’ (57b), or ‘at a time’ (57c, see §31).

(57) verbs (counting expression with [pronominal prefix-incorporated noun-verb-sqʔ])

- a. jōhsíʔdatsqʔ
 j-o-hsíʔd-a-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER-A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘one foot apart’
 cf. jōhsíʔda:t
 j-o-hsíʔd-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
 ‘one foot’
- b. sgaʔdréhdatsqʔ
 s-gaʔdrehd-a-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.A-car-JOINER-A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘one car at a time’, ‘each car’, ‘per car’

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- cf. sga^ʔdréhda:t
s-ga^ʔdrehd-a:-t
REP-3S.A-car-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one car'
- c. degadiyáhshesq^ʔ
de-gadi-yáhshe-shq^ʔ
DU-3P.A-two.things.STAT-PLRZ
'two things at a time'
- cf. degadiyáhshe:
de-gadi-yáhshe:
DU-3P.A-two.things.STAT
'two of them', 'they are two (things)'

Finally, when attached to verbs, [-shq^ʔ] PLRZ means 'several objects' (58).

(58) verbs ([verb-shq^ʔ])

- a. hoyétwəhsq^ʔ
ho-yétw-əh-shq^ʔ
3S.M.P-plant-STAT-PLRZ
'he planted several things'
- cf. hoyétwəh
ho-yétw-əh
3S.M.P-plant-STAT
'he planted'
- b. sawéhsq^ʔ
sa-wəh-shq^ʔ
2S.P-OWN.STAT-PLRZ
'your belongings, property'
- cf. sá:wəh
sa-wəh
2S.P-OWN.STAT
'you own something'
- c. ogáyqhsq^ʔ
o-gáy-qh-shq^ʔ
3S.P-old-STAT-PLRZ
'old things'
- cf. ogáyqoh
o-gáy-y-qh
3S.P-old-STAT
'it is old'

- d. *shəgwaɛnáwisoʔ*
shəgwa-ɛn-áwi-shəʔ
 3MS:1P-song-give.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘he has given us songs’
- cf. *agwe:gəh shəgwaɛná:wih*
agwe:gəh shəgwa-ɛn-áwi-:
 all.of.us 3MS:1P-song-give-STAT
 ‘he has given all of us songs’
- e. *dəhəŋhsóweksəʔ*
də-hon-ɛhs-ówek-shəʔ
 DU-3NS.M.P-shoe-be.covered.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘they have their shoes on’
- f. *ɛdwanáʔ dá:ksəʔ*
ɛ-dwa-náʔ dá:-k-shəʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-bread-bite.PUNC.PLRZ⁹
 ‘we all will have a snack’

10.15.3 Meaning of [-shəʔ] PLRZ versus [-shə:ʔəh] PLRZ

The [-shəʔ] PLRZ and [-shə:ʔəh] PLRZ endings appear to have subtly different meanings (59–61). Possibly, [-shəʔ] PLRZ denotes ‘a group of similar items, lumped together’, while [-shə:ʔəh] PLRZ could mean ‘a group of dissimilar items’, or ‘similar items lying around in different locations’ (62). Another difference is that [-shə:ʔəh] PLRZ does not attach to verbs proper (only to verbs functioning as “nouns” and to kinship terms), while [-shəʔ] PLRZ does attach to true verbs. Meanwhile, both endings attach to basic nouns and numbers.

- (59) a. *hwihsəʔ*
hwihs-shəʔ
 five-PLRZ
 ‘five-ish’ (around 5 o’clock)
- b. *hwihsə:ʔəh*
hwihs-shə:ʔəh
 five-PLRZ
 ‘five-ish’ (around 5 o’clock)

⁹In punctual aspect forms, the PLRZ ending is long [-shə:ʔ].

- (60) a. sgatsq' shəh dəha:dí:yq'
 sgat-shq' shəh dəha:dí:yq'
 one-PLRZ that they.came.in
 'they came in one by one'
- b. sgatsq':qh shəh dəha:dí:yq'
 sgat-shq':qh shəh dəha:dí:yq'
 one-PLRZ that they.came.in
 'they came in one by one'
- (61) a. nihodihó'dé: hadíksa'sq'
 nihodihó'dé: hadíksa'-shq'
 what.they.are.like boy-PLRZ
 'they are acting like boys'
- b. nihodihó'dé: hadíksa'sq':qh
 nihodihó'dé: hadíksa'-shq':qh
 what.they.are.like boy-pluralizer
 'they are acting like boys'
- (62) a. agetgwə'dá'sq'
 age-tgwə'd-a'-shq'
 1S.P-wallet-NSF-PLRZ
 'my suitcases' (i.e. a bunch of suitcases, bundled together or mentally grouped as a unit)
- b. agetgwə'da'sq' gaəgwa'tsq': tiyo:né:no'
 ag-e-tgwə'd-a'-shq' gaəgwa'tsq': tiyo:né:no'
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-suitcase-NSF-PLRZ just.all they.have.disappeared
 'my suitcases have all disappeared'
- c. agetgwə'da'sq':qh
 age-tgwə'd-a'-shq':qh
 1S.P-suitcase-NSF-PLRZ
 'my suitcases (ones that are scattered around)'
- cf. agétgwə'da'
 agé-tgwə'd-a'
 1S.P-wallet-NSF
 'my suitcase(s), wallet(s), purse(s)'

10.15.4 Pluralizing nouns

Even without a [-shq':qh] PLRZ or [-shq'] PLRZ ending, basic nouns can be interpreted as plural in meaning, given the appropriate context. For example in (63),

both *ohwáhda* ‘maple tree’ and *ó:gweh* ‘person’ refer to more than one person or thing.

- (63) Ha’hé’sq’. Tonhó: o:néh n_ihé’ shę nhó: **ohwáhda**.
 he.walked.on there then he.was that where maple.tree
 ‘He walked on and found himself under the tall trees.’ (Carrier et al., 2013)
- (64) O’dóhgwa’, ne:’ godí:nyohs **ó:gweh**.
 fever it.is they.are.dying person
 ‘There is a fever that is killing your people.’ (Carrier et al., 2013)

11 Noun suffixes

Noun suffixes attach exclusively to nouns. (They are unlike the word suffixes described in §10, which attach to nouns, verbs, or particles). Noun suffixes appear in the order shown in Table 11.1. They can be classified into two types, “noun identifiers”, whose function is to identify the relevant words as NOUNS, and the LOCATIVE noun suffixes.

Table 11.1: Noun suffixes

stem	noun identifier	locative noun suffixes
noun	[-aʔ] NSF	[-gɔ:] IN (INTERNAL LOCATIVE)
	[-ʔd-aʔ] INCREMENT-NSF	[-:kʰah] “BESIDE” LOCATIVE
	[-hsr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF	[-kdagyeʔ] “ALONGSIDE” LOCATIVE
	[-tr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF	
	[-hkw-aʔ] INSTR	

11.1 Noun identifier suffixes

Some suffixes either identify words as nouns, or turn verbs into nouns. They are described in this and the following sections.

11.1.1 [-aʔ] NOUN STEM FORMER (NSF)

The [-aʔ] NSF (1) attaches to basic nouns (§5.1). The purpose or meaning of the suffix is to identify the word as a noun.

- (1) a. gaʔdréndaʔ
gaʔdréhd-aʔ
3S.A-car-NSF
‘car’

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- cf. ga[?]dréhde:s
ga^{-?}dréhd-e:s
3S.A-car-long.STAT
'long car'
- b. awéñqhra[?]
awéñqhr-a[?]
NO.PREFIX-weed-NSF
'weeds'
- cf. owéñqgre:s
o-wéñqgr-e:s
3S.P-weed-long.STAT
'tall weeds'
- c. onó[?]ja[?]
o-nó[?]j-a[?]
3S.P-tooth-NSF
'teeth'
- cf. onó[?]je:s
o-nó[?]j-e:s
3S.P-tooth-long.STAT
'a fang'

11.1.2 Noun increments (INCR)

The [-[?]d] INCR attaches to some atypical words (36.4) when such words are incorporated (2, for incorporation, see §5.6).

- (2) a. hqwe[?]dí:yo:
h-qqwe-[?]d-í:yo:
3S.M.A-person-increment-nice.STAT
'he is a nice person'
- cf. hq:gweh
h-qq:gweh
3S.M.A-person
'man' atypical word
- b. sgagwéni[?]da:t
s-ga-gwéni^{-?}d-a:-t
REP-3S.A-penny-INCREMENT-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
'one penny'
- cf. gwé:nihs 'penny' (loan word, NOUN)

- c. gahn̩yagwái[?]dá[?]gɛ:t
 ga-hnyagwái-[?]d-a-[?]gɛ:t
 3S.A-bear-INCREMENT-JOINER-A-light.coloured.STAT
 ‘polar bear’
 cf. hnyagwái ‘bear’ (animal name, NOUN)

11.1.3 [-tr-a[?]] and [-(h)sr-a[?]] NOMINALIZER-NOUN STEM FORMER (NMLZ-NSF)

When added to verb stems, the [-tr-a[?]] and [-(h)sr-a[?]] NMLZ-NSF combination results in a basic noun (3, also described in §5.1.1).

- (3) a. atgáhnyɛ[?]tra[?]
 at-gáhnyɛ[?]-tr-a[?]
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-play-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘sports, games’
 cf. satgáhnyɛ[?]
 s-at-gáhnyɛ[?]
 2S.A-SRF-play.NO_ASPECT
 ‘play!’
- b. gaihwané[?]aksra[?]
 ga-ihwa-né[?]ak-sr-a[?]
 3S.A-matter-sin-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘sin’
 cf. ɛgrihwané[?]a:k
 ɛ-g-rihwa-né[?]a:k
 FUT-1S.A-matter-sin.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will sin’
- c. oyéhsra[?]
 o-yé[?]-hsr-a[?]
 3S.P-lie-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘blanket(s), quilt(s)’
 cf. gá:yɛ[?]
 gá:-yɛ[?]
 3S.A-lie-STAT
 ‘it is lying on the ground’
- d. ade[?]nyɛdɛhsra[?]
 ade-[?]nyɛdɛ[?]-hsr-a[?]
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-measure-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘measurement(s)’

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- cf. ehsade[?]nyé:dé[?]
e-hs-ade-[?]nyé:dé-[?]
FUT-2S.A-SRF-measure-PUNC
'you will try, measure'
- e. gahyádqhsra[?]
ga-hyádq-hsr-a[?]
3S.A-write-NMLZ-NSF
'paper'
- cf. ehyá:dq̄h
e-hyá:dq̄-h
3S.FI.A-write-HAB
'she or someone writes'

11.1.4 [-q:-[?]] STATIVE-NOMINALIZER-NOUN STEM FORMER (STAT-NMLZ-NSF)

The [-q:-[?]] STAT-NMLZ-NSF combination (4) turns a stative aspect verb into a type of abstract noun (see §5.5).

- (4) gaya[?]dowéhdq:[?]
ga-ya[?]dowéhd-q:-[?]
3S.A-think-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
'the idea of thinking'
- cf. dewagya[?]dowéhdq̄h
de-wag-ya[?]dowéhd-q̄h
DU-1S.P-think.STAT
'I have already thought about it', 'I am thinking about it'

11.1.5 [-hkw-ha[?]] INSTRUMENTAL (INSTR-HAB combination)

The [-hkw-ha[?]] INSTR-HAB combination (spelled <-hkwa[?]> or <-hgwa[?]>) attaches to verb stems, resulting in a verb in the habitual aspect (5), which functions as an "instrumental noun" (for which, see §5.4.1). The [-hkw-ha[?]] INSTR-HAB combination is glossed as [-hkwa[?]] INSTR throughout this book, except where the [-hkw-ha[?]] analysis is needed for clarity.

- (5) a. ehyádqhkwa[?]
e-hyádq-hkwa[?]
3S.FI.A-write-INSTR
'pencil' (literally, 'what she or one uses for writing')

- cf. ehyá:dəh
 e-hyá:də-h
 3S.FI.A-write-HAB
 ‘she writes’
- b. ɔtgahiʔdáhkwáʔ
 ɔ-t-gahiʔd-á-hkwáʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-play.with-JOINERÁ-INSTR
 ‘toy’ (literally, what she or one uses for playing)
- cf. ɔtgáhiʔtáʔ
 ɔ-t-gáhiʔt-háʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-play.with-HAB
 ‘what she plays with’
- c. wadɔnyedáhkwáʔ
 w-ad-ɔnyed-á-hkwáʔ
 3S.A-SRF-cause.to.breathe-JOINERÁ-INSTR
 ‘gill’
- cf. wadɔnyetaʔ,
 w-ad-ɔnyet-háʔ
 3S.A-SRF-cause.to.breathe-HAB
 ‘how it breathes’ ‘it’s a breather’
- d. godi:tshe:néʔ hadiʔdrɔdáhkwáʔ
 godi:tshe:néʔ hadiʔdrɔ-d-á-hkwáʔ
 tame.animals 3P.A-live-EUPHONIC.D-JOINERÁ-INSTR
 ‘pasture’
- cf. gadíʔdrɔʔ
 gadíʔdrɔʔ
 3P.A-live.STAT
 ‘they (animals) live’ (describing a shed or dog house, etc.)
- e. ɔdrɛnáɛdahkwáʔ
 ɔ-d-rɛn-á-ɛ-d-á-hkwáʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-song-JOINERÁ-lie-EUPHONIC.D-JOINERÁ-INSTR
 ‘church’
- cf. honadrɛnáɛʔ
 hon-ad-rɛn-á-ɛʔ
 3NS.M.P-SRF-song-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT
 ‘they are praying’ (Christian activity)

[+ɛdahkwáʔ], [+odahkwáʔ], and [+ɔdahkwáʔ] ([verb-INSTR])

Many instrumental nouns (§5.4.1) end with [+ɛdahkwáʔ], [+odahkwáʔ], or [+ɔdahkwáʔ], which are combinations of an obligatorily-incorporating verb and the [-hkwaʔ]

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INSTR suffix. The approximate meanings of each combination are illustrated in (6–8).

- (6) [+ɛ-d-a-hkwaʔ] lie.STAT-EUPHONIC.D-JOINERÁ-INSTR ‘a place to put something’
ehwihsdáɛdáhkwáʔ
e-hwihsd-á-ɛdáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-money-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT-EUPHONIC.D-JOINERÁ-INSTR
‘a bank’
- (7) [+od-a-hkwaʔ] stand-JOINERÁ-INSTR ‘a standing object’
ɔdrɛnodáhkwáʔ
ɔ-d-rɛn-odáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-SRF-song-stand.STAT-JOINERÁ-INSTR
‘musical instruments’
- (8) [+ɔd-a-hkwaʔ] attached/sticking.out-JOINERÁ-INSTR ‘an object that sticks out’, ‘an attached object’
ɔtnáʔdáɔdáhkwáʔ
ɔ-t-naʔd-á-ɔdáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-SRF-bread-JOINERÁ-attached/sticking.out.STAT-JOINERÁ-INSTR
‘a bread pan’

11.2 Locative noun suffixes

The three locative noun suffixes (see Table 11.1) denote various types of location, including, ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘beside’, and ‘alongside’. They are described next.

11.2.1 [-gɔ:] IN (internal locative)

The [-gɔ:] IN (INTERNAL LOCATIVE) ending means ‘in, inside, under’. It can attach to basic nouns (9, §5.1) and is required for some body part nouns (10, §5.2).

- (9) basic nouns
- a. gáhɔwagɔ:
gá-hɔw-a-gɔ:
3S.A-boat-JOINERÁ-IN
‘in a boat’

- cf. gahó:wa'
 ga-hó:w-a'
 3S.A-boat-NSF
 'boat'
- b. oyádagɔ:
 o-yád-a-gɔ:
 3S.P-track-JOINERÁ-IN
 'in the basement, track'
- cf. oyá:da'
 o-yá:d-a'
 3S.P-track-NSF
 'basement, track'
- c. ohódagɔ:
 o-hó-d-a-gɔ:
 3S.P-sapling-JOINERÁ-IN
 'in the bushes'
- cf. ohó:da'
 o-hó:d-a'
 3S.P-sapling-NSF
 'whip, sapling'
- d. ɔgwanadá:gɔ:
 ɔgwa-nad-á:-gɔ:
 1P.P-town-JOINERÁ-IN
 'in our community'
- cf. ɔgwa:ná:da'
 ɔgwa:-ná:d-a'
 1P.P-town-NSF
 'our community'
- e. adé'hęgɔ:
 adé'hę-gɔ:
 Ø.PREFIX.fence-JOINERÁ-IN
 'in the yard'
- cf. adéhę'
 adéhę-'
 NO.PREFIX.fence-NSF
 'fence'
- f. ohnégagɔ:
 o-hnég-a-gɔ:
 3S.P-water-JOINERÁ-IN
 'in the lake, water'

11 Noun suffixes

- g. ganyadá:gɔ:
ga-nyadá:-gɔ:
3S.A-lake-IN
'underneath the lake'
- h. ɔhnyá:gɔ:
ɔhnyá:-gɔ:
NO.PREFIX.river.flats-JOINER-A-IN
'in the river flats'
- i. gané'dagɔ:
ga-né'd-a-gɔ:
3S.A-valley-JOINER-A-IN
'under the valley'
- j. ohéhdagɔ:
o-héhd-a-gɔ:
3S.P-earth-JOINER-A-IN
'under the ground'

(10) body part nouns

- a. senhóhdagɔ:
se-nhóhd-a-gɔ:
2S.A-underarm-JOINER-A-IN
'your underarm'
- b. sragwáhdagɔ:
s-ragwáhd-a-gɔ:
2S.A-sole-JOINER-A-IN
'the ball of your foot'
- c. seséhdagɔ:
se-séhd-a-gɔ:
2S.A-nape-JOINER-A-IN
'the nape of your neck'

11.2.2 [-:k'ah] BESIDE (locative)

The [-:k'ah] BESIDE (LOCATIVE) ending attaches to basic nouns (11, §5.1) and atypical words functioning as "nouns" (12, §36.4). The vowel preceding the suffix is always long.

- (11) BASIC NOUNS
- a. ganqhsá:k'ah
ga-nqhs-á:-k'ah
3S.A-house-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'beside the house'
cf. ganqhsa'
ga-nqhs-a'
3S.A-house-NSF
'house'
- b. akyédahkwá:ʔk'ah
akyédahkw-á:-k'ah
NO.PREFIX.chair-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'beside the chair'
cf. akyédahkwa'
akyédahkw-a'
NO.PREFIX.chair-NSF
'chair'
- c. gaḥę:dá:ʔk'ah
ga-ḥę:d-á:ʔ-k'ah
3S.A-field-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'by the field'
cf. gaḥędago:
ga-ḥęd-a-go:
3S.A-field-JOINERÁ-IN
'in the field, meadow'
- d. wadęhę:k'ah
w-adęhę:-k'ah
3S.A-fence-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'alongside the fence'
cf. adęhę'
adęhę-'
NO.PREFIX.fence-NSF
'fence'
- (12) atypical words functioning as "nouns"
- giḥę:k'ah
giḥę:-k'ah
NO.PREFIX.river-BESIDE
'along the river'

11 Noun suffixes

cf. giḥe:
giḥe:
NO.PREFIX.river
'river'

The [-:k'ah] ending also resembles a verb (13). However, words with the verb proper begin with [ni-] PART, while words with the [-:k'ah] BESIDE ending do not. Also, the verb [k'ah] means 'short' while the [-:k'ah] suffix means 'beside'.

- (13) niga' dṛehdá:k'ah
ni-ga-'dṛehd-á:k'ah
PART-3S.A-car-JOINER-A-short.STAT
'short car'

11.2.3 [-kdagye'] ALONGSIDE (locative)

The [-kdagye'] ALONGSIDE (LOCATIVE) ending attaches to basic nouns (14, §5.1) and atypical words functioning as "nouns" (15, §36.4).

- (14) basic nouns
ganḩsaktá:gye'
ga-nḩs-a-kdá:gye'
3S.A-house-JOINER-A-ALONGSIDE
'along the house'
cf. ganḩsa'
ga-nḩs-a'
3S.A-house-NSF
'house'
- (15) ATYPICAL WORDS functioning as "nouns"
giḩekdagye'
giḩe'-kdagye'
NO.PREFIX.river-ALONGSIDE
'along the river'
cf. giḩe:
giḩe:
NO.PREFIX.river
'river'

11.3 Verbs that resemble noun suffixes (“suffix-like” verbs)

The atypical word in (16) also resembles the [-kdagyeʔ] suffix and denotes a location.

(16) akdá:gyeʔ ‘the edge’, ‘beside’

11.3 Verbs that resemble noun suffixes (“suffix-like” verbs)

“Suffix-like” verbs are obligatorily-incorporating, stative-only verbs (see §9.1.3). They resemble noun suffixes in that they also appear after noun stems and modify the meaning of the noun. However suffix-like verbs describe a state or attribute (17, see §9.3.1 for more examples), while noun suffixes either denote the noun word class (§11.1) or various locations (§11.2).

(17) “suffix-like” verb stem [+deʔ] ‘existing’, not a noun suffix

- a. ohwéjadeʔ
o-hwéj-a-deʔ
3S.P-earth-JOINER A-exist.STAT
‘existing earth, land’
cf. ohwéjagɔ:
o-hwéj-a-gɔ:
3S.P-earth-JOINER A-IN
‘under the earth, ground’
- b. gáɔdadeʔ
gá-ɔd-a-deʔ
3S.A-log-JOINER A-exist.STAT
‘a beam’
cf. gáɔ:daʔ
gá-ɔ:d-aʔ
3S.A-log-NSF
‘a log’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

The order of verb prefixes and suffixes is summarized in Table 12.1. All of the affixes except for the pronominal prefixes are described in the following sections. (Pronominal prefixes are described in §20.)

Table 12.1: Verb affix order

PRE-PRON	PRON	POST-PRON	INC NOUN	VERB STEM	VERB SUFFIXES
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The prepronominal prefixes appear before the pronominal ones, and have two main functions, either conveying MOOD, or “adverb”-like concepts. The [a^ʔ-] FAC, [ɛ-] FUT, and [a:-] INDEF prefixes together express MOOD (the speaker’s assessment of whether an action, etc., is likely, true, or desirable). The remaining prepronominal prefixes express concepts such as location ([ha^ʔ-] TRANSL), negation ([de^ʔ-] NEG), and repetition ([s-] REP).

When combined, the prepronominal prefixes appear in a set order, shown in Table 12.2, page 148. The [ɛ-] FUT and [a:-] INDEF occur after the [de-] dualic and before the [s-] REP and [d-] cislocative. In contrast, the [a^ʔ-] FAC appears before the [de-] DU and after the [s-] REP and [d-] CIS.

Many verbs require specific prepronominal prefixes or combinations to express specific or fixed meanings: for example, the combination of the [ti-] contrastive and [t-^ʔah] ‘stand-DIM’ means ‘odd’ (1, see §9.2).

- (1) tiyó:t^ʔah
 ti-yó:-t-^ʔah
 CONTR-3S.P-stand-DIM
 ‘it is queer, unusual, odd’

12.1 Mood and negation prefixes

Unlike other prepronominal prefixes, the mood and negation prefixes all interact with the [-^ʔ] PUNC suffix (as described in later sections).

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

Table 12.2: Prenominal prefix order

initial	TRANSL	DU FAC.DUAL	MOOD	REP CISL REP.FAC CISL.FAC
[i-] PROTH	[heʔ-] TRANSL	[de-] DU	[e-] FUT	[s-] REP
[tsi-] COIN		[ad-] FAC.DU	[a:-] INDEF	[d-] CIS
[ti-] CONTR			[aʔ-] FAC	[sa-] REP.FAC
[ni-] PART				[da-] CIS.FAC
[deʔ-] NEG				

The mood prefixes are the [aʔ-] FAC, [e-] FUT, and [a:-] INDEF. The [aʔ-] FAC expresses the idea that an event or happening is a fact (for example, because it has happened in the past, 2a). The [e-] FUT conveys that an event or happening is certain to occur (2b). The [a:-] INDEF means that an event or happening is desirable or possible (2c).

(2) mood prefixes

- a. akní:nqʔ
a-k-hní:nqʔ-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I bought it'
- b. ekní:nqʔ
e-k-hní:nqʔ-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I will buy it'
- c. a:kní:nqʔ
a:-k-hní:nqʔ-ʔ
INDEF-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I might, should, could, or would buy it'

The prefixes used for negation are the [deʔ-] NEG (3a, b) and [ti-] CONTR (3c, d).

(3) negation prefixes

- a. tɛʔ dehóyɛtwɛh
 tɛʔ de-hó-yɛtw-ɛh
 not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 'he did not plant'
- b. tɛʔ deʒo:drɛ:no:tʔ
 tɛʔ de-j-o:-d-rɛ:n-o:t
 not NEG-REP-3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
 'it is not singing again'
- c. tɛʔ ta:gaesayɛ:de:
 tɛʔ t-a:-gaesa-yɛ:de:
 not CONTR-INDEF-3NS>2S-recognize.NO_ASPECT
 'they will not recognize you'
- d. tɛʔ ta:gé:gɛh
 tɛʔ t-a:-gé:-gɛ-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-see-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 'I will not or should not see it'

12.1.1 [aʔ-] FACTUAL (FAC)

The [aʔ-] FAC means that the event described by the verb is a fact or certainty (in the speaker's opinion). Verbs with the [aʔ-] FAC grammatically require the [-ʔ] PUNC suffix.¹ However, this grammatical requirement can be obscured, since the [-ʔ] punctual is sometimes deleted for ease of pronunciation. The term ZERO PUNCTUAL (∅.PUNC) describes such cases (see §19.1).

When the event described by the verb has already happened or can be observed to be a fact, the [aʔ-] FAC can denote *past* activities or events (4).

- (4) a. akní:nɔʔ
 a-k-hní:nɔ-ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 'I bought it'
- b. ɔge:gáʔ giʔ!
 I.did.like.it just
 'I *did* like it!' (said when you have just finished tasting something)
- cf. ɔge:-gá-ʔ
 FAC.1S.P-like.the.taste.of-PUNC

¹Verbs with the FAC are different from verbs with the [a:-] INDEF or [ɛ-] FUT. The latter do not always require the [-ʔ] PUNC suffix.

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- c. A:yéʔ ji trɛhs tsishedehjɪh agáhyagoʔ.
it.seems too.much this.morning I.picked.fruit
'It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.'
cf. a-g-áhya-goʔ
FAC-1S.A-fruit-pick-PUNC
- d. Aɔgɔhdɔh ɔgeʔ drahéhs í:soʔ.
too.much 1s.pverdid.it a.lot
'I ate too much.'
cf. ɔg-eʔ drahéhs
FAC.1S.A-JOINERÉ-exceeded-Ø.PUNC
- e. Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yóht shɛh ahádoʔ ne:kʔ
what in.fact reason that he.withdrew
'Why did he leave?'
cf. a-há-d-ɔʔ ne:k
FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-withdraw,Ø.PUNC
- f. Né:ʔ he:gé: agyóhsɛtoʔ.
it.is it.is.seen she.cried
'All she did was cry.'
cf. a-g-yó-hsɛtoʔ
FAC-DU-3S.FI.A-cry-PUNC
- g. Neʔ giʔ gyé:ʔ asiʔ.
the just that.one you.said.it
'That's just what you said.'
cf. a-s-iʔ
FAC-2S.A-say-PUNC
- h. Hotgɔʔqɪh asyɔʔ!
what.the you.arrived
'What the... you made it!' 'For heaven's sake, you got here!'
cf. a-s-yɔʔ
FAC-2S.A-arrive-PUNC

Verbs with the [aʔ-] FAC can also mean (perhaps humorously) that a near-future event is all but certain (5).

- (5) a. Ogwɛhɛ:gyéʔ gé:s asyɔʔ.
now.and.again usually you.arrived
'Now and again (in general) you'll be here.'
cf. a-s-yɔʔ
FAC-2S.A-arrive-PUNC

- b. Ne:[?] ɸh ne[?] o:nɛh ha[?]gahé:[?] edwadrihó[?]da:t.
 it.is I.guess the now the.time.has.arrived for.us.to.work
 ‘And it is now time for us to work.’
 cf. e-dwa-d-rihó[?]da:t
 FAC-1P.IN.A-work.Ø.PUNC

The [a[?]-] FAC with present events and performatives

Verbs with the [a[?]-] FAC can denote events happening at the moment of speech. They are also used while performing the action in question (6).

- (6) a. ɸgí:da[?]
 ɸg-í:d-a[?]
 FAC.1S.P-sleep-PUNC
 ‘I slept’, ‘I am sleeping’ (said when you want to be left alone)
- b. ɸknéhago[?]
 ɸk-néhago-[?]
 FAC.1S.P-amazed-PUNC
 ‘I am amazed’, ‘I was amazed’
- c. sagádɸnhe:t
 s-a-g-ád-ɸnhe:t
 REP-FAC-1S.A-SRF-live.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I am alive again’
- d. O:nɛh gwa[?] edwawayɛ:né:da[?].
 now emphasis we.finished
 ‘We’re finished already.’
 cf. e-dwa-wayɛ:né:d-a[?]
 FAC-1P.IN.A-finish-PUNC
- e. Wa[?]hé[?] tsó: ahá:tgɛh.
 just.now just he.got.up
 ‘He just now got up.’
 cf. a-h-á:t-gɛh
 FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-awaken.Ø.PUNC

The [a[?]-] FAC with hypotheticals

Verbs with the [a[?]-] FAC also appear in a type of hypothetical clause (sentence) beginning with *gyé:gwa[?]* ‘if’. (For clause types, see Part V.) Unlike other factuais, they function as suggestions and describe an imaginary event instead of a real one (7).

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (7) a. Gyɛ:gwáʔ aha:gwé:niʔ?
 if he.was.able
 ‘Maybe if he could do it, if he is able?’
 cf. a-ha:-gwé:ni-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.A-be.able-PUNC
- b. Gyɛ:gwáʔ ahógaɛʔ/ahágaɛʔ?
 if he.was.willing
 ‘Maybe if he would agree, if he is willing?’
 cf. a-ha/ho-gaɛ-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.A/3S.M.P-be.willing-PUNC
- c. Gyɛ:gwáʔ o:néħ ahahdé:diʔ?
 if now he.left
 ‘What if he should leave now?’
 cf. a-ha-hdé:di-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.A-leave-PUNC

12.1.2 [ɛ-] FUTURE (FUT)

Verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT describe events that are likely, probable, or certain to happen (8), and events that are just about to happen (especially in sentences that question someone’s intentions, 8d).

- (8) a. Waʔjih, ɛtsyáʔdɛʔ.
 wait you.will.fall.into.it
 ‘Wait, you might fall’
 cf. ɛ-t-s-yáʔd-ɛ-ʔ
 FUT-CIS-2S.A-body-fall.into-PUNC
- b. Ahí:ʔ giʔ to neyá:wɛħ.
 I.thought just that it.will.happen
 ‘I just thought that’s what would happen.’
 cf. n-ɛ-yá:w-ɛ-h
 PART-FUT-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H
- c. O:néħ to:háh ɛshá:yɔʔ.
 now almost he.will.go.back
 ‘He is almost ready to go back’.
 cf. ɛ-s-há:-yɔ-ʔ
 FUT-REP-3S.M.A-arrive-PUNC

- d. Ẽtné:ʔ gɛh?
 we.two.will.come Q
 ‘Do you want to come along with me?’
 cf. ɛ-tn-é:-ʔ
 FUT-1D.IN.A-go.PURP-PUNC
- e. Ẽhsné:ʔ gɛh diʔ?
 we.two.will.come Q then
 ‘Are you coming along then?’
 cf. ɛ-hsn-é:-ʔ
 FUT-2D.A-go.PURP-PUNC
- f. Hwɛ:dòh ɛyòhdé:diʔ?
 when she.will.go.away
 ‘When is she going away?’
 cf. ɛ-yò-hdé:di-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-leave-PUNC

Verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT grammatically require the [-ʔ] PUNC suffix (except for verbs expressing a type of negative command, see §27.1.6). The grammatical requirement can be obscured because the [-ʔ] PUNC is sometimes deleted for ease of pronunciation. The term ‘zero punctual’ (∅.PUNC) describes such cases (see §19.1.)

[ɛ-] FUT in dependent clauses

Verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT appear in dependent clauses (shown in square brackets) where they can denote future events. (For clause types, see Part V.) The examples in (9) show that the [ɛ-] FUT corresponds to a range of English translations, including future tense (‘you will leave’), infinitival (‘what to do’ ‘for us to quit’), and present tense (‘when I grow up’).

- (9) a. Daskro:wíʔ [hwɛ:dòh ɛsahdé:diʔ].
 tell.me when you.will.leave
 ‘Tell me [when you will leave].’
 cf. ɛ-s-ahdé:di-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-leave-PUNC
- b. [Nɛh toh hɛdwa:yóʔ] nɛ:dáh nɛdwá:ye:ʔ.
 when there we.will.arrive this.way we.will.do.it
 ‘[When we arrive there], we will do it this way.’
 cf. h-ɛ-dwa:-yó-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-1P.IN.A-arrive-PUNC

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- c. Hao' dahskro:wih [dɛ' ni:' ho'dɛ' nɛga:gye:']
 o.k. tell.me what I kind what.I.will.do
 'O.k., you tell me [what to do]!'
 cf. n-ɛ-g-a:g-ye:-'
 PART-FUT-1S.A-SRF-do-PUNC
- d. Onɛh di' to:háh hɛgahé:' [ɛdwɛniɛhɛ:'].
 now so almost the.time.will.arrive we.will.quit
 'Now it is almost time [for us to quit].'
 cf. ɛ-dw-ɛ-niɛhɛ:-'
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-quit-PUNC
- e. Agwa'nigohá' [shɛh niyo:wé' hɛdwawayɛ:nɛ:da'].
 we.are.waiting that a.certain.distance we.will.finish
 'We're waiting [until we are finished].'
 cf. h-ɛ-dwa-wayɛ:nɛ:d-a'
 TRANSL-FUT-1P.IN.A-finish-PUNC
- f. ɛgahyagwahsé:k hɛ' ni:' [nɛh ɛgáhdɔ:k]
 I'll.be.a.fruit.picker even me when I.will.grow.up
 'I will be a fruit-picker [when I grow up].'
 cf. ɛ-g-áhdɔ:k
 FUT-1S.A-mature.Ø-PUNC

Verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT also appear in conditional dependent clauses (10a), including indirect questions (10b, §29.2). In both cases, the English translation corresponds to a present tense verb, not a future tense one. (For clause types, see Part V.)

- (10) a. Ahgwih dɛhsyéhs ohne:gá' [gyɛ:gwá' ihsé: ɛsa:dó:wi'].
 don't you.will.mix alcohol if you.want you.will.drive
 'Do not mix booze [if you want to drive].' ('Do not drink and drive.')
- cf. ɛ-s-a:d-ó:wi-'
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-drive-PUNC
- b. Daskro:wih [ɛdwé: gɛh].
 you.tell.me we.will.go Q
 'Tell me [if you are coming along].'
 cf. ɛ-dw-ɛ:-
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PURP

[ɛ-] FUT and positive commands

Although verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT are generally statements of fact, they can also function as a type of command (11), (see §27.1).

- (11) a. ɛhsyeh
 ɛ-hs-yeh
 FUT-2S.A-awaken.Ø.PUNC
 ‘wake up!’
- b. ɛhsyó:gyaʔt
 ɛ-hs-yó:gyaʔt
 FUT-2S.A-smile.Ø.PUNC
 ‘smile!’
- c. Gɔdagyéʔ ɛtsahdé:diʔ.
 right.away you.will.leave
 ‘You will leave right away.’
 cf. ɛ-t-s-ahdé:diʔ
 FUT-CIS-2S.A-leave-PUNC
- d. Da:-nɛ:dáh haʔgahéʔ gaóʔ ɛdihswatríhs
 and-this it.is.time closer you.all.will.bump.up.against
 ɛhswadahqhsí:yohs.
 you.all.will.listen
 ‘Now is the time to come closer and listen.’
 cf. ɛ-di-hswa-t-rihs
 FUT-CIS-2P.A-SRF-bump.Ø.PUNC
 cf. ɛ-hswa-d-ahqhs-í:yohs
 FUT-2P.A-SRF-ear-make.good.Ø.PUNC

Ahgwih [ɛ-] FUT and negative commands

Together with *ahgwih* ‘don’t’, verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT can form a type of negative command (12, see §27.1.6). *Ahgwih* is optional or left out when the context makes the meaning clear. With these negative commands, the [-ʔ] PUNC suffix is often missing for grammatical reasons (12c). Such verbs are termed NO-ASPECT forms, as described in §15.5.6.1.²

²Verbs glossed as NO_ASPECT lack a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix for grammatical reasons. Verbs glossed as 0.PUNC have no overt [-ʔ] PUNC suffix for reasons of pronunciation.

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (12) a. Ahgwih dɛhsnigɔháɛʔ.
 don't you.won't.bother
 'Don't bother it'
 cf. d-ɛ-hs-ʔnigɔháɛ-ʔ
 DU-FUT-2S.A-annoy-PUNC
- b. Ahgwih ɛhsáhsdihs.
 don't you.won't.care.for.it
 'Don't disturb, handle it.'
 cf. ɛ-hsá-hsdihs
 FUT-2S.P-care.for.it.Ø.PUNC
- c. Ahgwih ɛdíhsaʔdre:.
 don't you.won't.drive
 'Don't drive over here.'
 cf. ɛ-dí-hsa-ʔdre:
 FUT-CIS-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT

12.1.3 [a:-] INDEFINITE (INDEF)

The [a:-] INDEF (formerly called the OPTATIVE) conveys the idea that an event is desirable, wishful, or possible. Compared to verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT (8), verbs with [a:-] INDEF convey the idea that events that are desirable, wishful, or less certain to take place (13).

- (13) a. a:kní:nɔʔ
 a:-k-hní:nɔ-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 'I might, could, should, would buy it'
- b. Dewagegaɛhs to há:ge:ʔ.
 I'm.unwilling there I.would.go.there
 'I am unwilling to go there.'
 cf. h-á:-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL-INDEF-1S.A-go-PUNC

Verbs with the [a:-] INDEF can also combine with *tɛʔ dáɔ* 'definitely not', to denote an undesirable future event (14).

- (14) a. Tɛʔ daɔ to na:yá:wɛh.
 definitely.not that it.would.happen
 'That will *never* happen.'
 cf. n-a:-yá:w-ɛ-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC

- b. Tẹ́ daọ́ a:họwayená:wa's.
 definitely.not they.would.help.him
 'Definitely not. No one will help him.'
- cf. a:-họwa-yená:wa's
 INDEF-3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M-help.Ø.PUNC

Verbs with the [a:-] INDEF grammatically require the [-ʔ] PUNC suffix (13). However, this grammatical requirement is obscured when the [-ʔ] PUNC is deleted for ease of pronunciation. (The term Ø.PUNC describes such cases, as in example 14, see §19.1.) In addition, [a:-] INDEF verbs appear without the [-ʔ] PUNC when they denote actions that are tentative or unlikely to materialize. In this case, they are classified as NO-ASPECT verbs (15, see §15.5.6.1).

- (15) To gi' shẹh há:ge:.
 there just that I.should.go.there
 'Just maybe I should go there.'
- cf. h-á:-g-e:-
 TRANSL-INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT

[a:-] INDEF in dependent clauses

Verbs with the [a:-] INDEF often appear in dependent clauses (shown in [] square brackets) – for example, after verbs meaning 'want' or 'think' (16). (For clause types, see Part V.)

- (16) a. Ahí:ʔ gi' [to na:yá:wẹh].
 I.thought just that what.should.happen
 'I just thought [that's what should happen].'
- cf. n-a:-yá:w-ẹ-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
- b. I:wí: [to na:yá:wẹh].
 I.want that what.should.happen
 'I want or intend [for that to happen].'
- cf. n-a:-yá:w-ẹ-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
- c. Gaẹ ni:gá: i:séʔ [á:se:k]?
 Which a.certain.one you.want you.should.eat
 'Which one do you want [to eat]?'
 cf. á:-s-e:-k
 INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-eat.Ø.PUNC

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

Verbs with the [a:-] INDEF also appear in conditional clauses with *gyé:gwá* ‘if’ (§29.2). The main clause (outside of the [] square brackets) is also an INDEFINITE-PUNCTUAL verb (17). (For clause types, see Part V.)

- (17) A:gahya:gó[?] [gyé:gwá[?] a:sgyená:wahs].
 I.would.pick.fruit if you.would.help.me
 ‘I would pick fruit [if you would help me].’
 cf. a:-sg-yená:wahs
 INDEF-2s>1s-help.Ø.PUNC

[ta:] CONTRASTIVE-INDEFINITE and negative future events

Verbs with the [ta:-] CONTR-INDEF combination denote negative future events (18). Such verbs grammatically lack a [-[?]] PUNC suffix – they are NO-ASPECT forms (18b, e). This is because they describe non-events, or activities that by definition will not materialize. Meanwhile, the [-[?]] PUNC is reserved for actual events (see the ‘cf.’ example in 18a. Also see §15.5.6.1.)

- (18) a. tɛ[?] ta:hayé:toh
 tɛ[?] t-a:-ha-yé:to-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘he won’t plant it’
 cf. ɛháyeto[?]
 ɛ-há-yeto-[?]
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he will plant it’
- b. Tɛ[?] daq[?] toh tá:ge:.
 definitely.not there I.wouldn’t.go.there
 ‘No, I definitely *won’t* go there.’
 cf. t-á:-g-e:-
 CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
- c. Ga[?]toh tsq: ta:se:tséi.
 nowhere just you.wouldn’t.find.it
 ‘You *won’t* find it anywhere.’
 cf. t-a:-s-e:-tsej
 CONTR-INDEF-2S.A-find.NO_ASPECT
- d. Tɛ[?] ni[?] ta:gye:na:.
 not I I.wouldn’t.accept.it
 ‘No, I *won’t* accept it.’
 cf. t-a:-g-ye:na:
 CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-accept.NO_ASPECT

- e. Tẹ́ hwẹ:dọh to ta:gye:
 not ever that I.wouldn't.do.it
 'No, I *won't* ever do that.'
- cf. t-a:-g-ye:
 CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-do.NO_ASPECT

12.1.4 Negation prefixes

The [de[?]-] NEG and [ti-] CONTR prefixes, described next, are both used in negation.

[de[?]-] NEGATIVE (NEG)

The [de[?]] NEG conveys the absence or opposite of a quality, characteristic, or activity. It negates habitual verbs (19), stative-only verbs (20), and the stative forms of three-aspect verbs (21, see §17.1).

- (19) habitual
 tẹ́ deháyẹtwahs
 tẹ́ de-há-yẹtw-a-hs
 not NEG-3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 'he is not a planter'
- cf. hayẹ:twahs
 ha-yẹ:tw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 'he is a planter'
- (20) stative-only
- a. detgáhe:[?]
 de-t-gá-he:[?]
 NEG-CIS-3S.A-setting.on.top.of.STAT
 'it is not setting over there'
- cf. tgahe:[?]
 t-ga-he:[?]
 CIS-3S.A-setting.on.top.of.STAT
 'it is setting there'
- b. tẹ́ dejo:drẹ:n-o:t
 tẹ́ de-j-o:-d-rẹ:n-o:t
 not NEG-REP-3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
 'it is not singing again'

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

cf. jodrɛ:no:t
j-o-d-rɛ:n-o:t
REP-3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'it is singing again'

c. tɛʔ deyo:tó:weʔ
tɛʔ de-yo:-t-hó:weʔ
not NEG-3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
'it is not cold'

cf. otó:weʔ
o-t-hó:weʔ
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
'it is cold'

- (21) stative, three-aspect verb
tɛʔ dehóyɛtwɛh
tɛʔ de-hó-yɛtw-ɛh
not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
'he is not planting', 'he hasn't planted'
cf. hoyɛ:twɛh
ho-yɛ:tw-ɛh
3S.M.P-plant-STAT
'he is planting'

On a related theme, the words in (22) illustrate that concepts requiring the negative in Gayogohó:nɔʔnéha:ʔ sometimes have no corresponding negative in the English translation.

- (22) a. tɛʔ desidagáideʔ
tɛʔ de-s-ad-agáideʔ
not NEG-2S.P-SRF-well.STAT
'you feel sick', 'you are not well'
b. tɛʔ degá:dɛ:s
tɛʔ de-gá:-dɛ:s
not NEG-3S.A-thick.STAT
'it is thin', 'it is not thick'
c. deʔagadɔtgadeʔ, dewagadɔtgá:dɔʔ
deʔ-ag-ad-ɔtgadeʔ
de-wag-ad-ɔtgá:dɔʔ
NEG-1S.P-SRF-happy.STAT
'I am unhappy', 'I am not happy'

- d. *desatnig̣ohahdó:g̣ɛh*
de-sa-t-ʔnig̣oh-ahdó:g̣ɛh
 NEG-2S.P-SRF-mind-mature-STAT
 ‘you are immature in mind’, ‘your mind is not mature’
- e. *tɛʔ dehógeʔo:t*
tɛʔ de-hó-geʔ-o:t
 not NEG-3S.M.P-hair-stand.STAT
 ‘he is bald’, ‘he has no hair’
- f. *dehoṇodánhɛh*
de-ho-ṇodánh-ɛh
 NEG-3S.M.P-guilty-STAT
 ‘he is innocent’, ‘he is not guilty’
- g. *deʔaɔwé:saht*
deʔ-a-ɔwé:saht
 NEG-3S.P-pleasant.STAT
 ‘it is unpleasant’, ‘it is not pleasant’
- h. *dehoihwa:dó:gɛ:*
de-ho-ihwa:-dó:gɛ:
 NEG-3S.M.P-matter-true.STAT
 ‘he is a traitor’, ‘he has not done right’
- i. *sgahoʔ déʔ dehoihwáɛʔ*
sgahoʔ déʔ de-ho-ihw-á-ɛʔ
 nothing NEG-3S.M.P-matter-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘he is innocent’, ‘nothing lies on him’
- j. *tɛʔ detga:yéiʔ, tɛʔ detga:yí:ʔ*
tɛʔ de-t-ga:-yéiʔ/yí:ʔ
 not NEG-CIS-3S.A-right.STAT
 ‘it is bad, false, wrong’, ‘it is not right’
- k. *dehoʔnig̣óha:t*
de-ho-ʔnig̣óh-a:-t
 NEG-3S.M.P-mind-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 ‘he is ignorant, unthinkingly foolish’, ‘he is not smart’
- l. *deyagoʔnig̣ohá:gɔ:t*
de-yagoʔ-nig̣oh-á:gɔ:t
 NEG-3S.FI.P-mind-JOINER A-persevere.STAT
 ‘she is uncompromising, unbending’, ‘her mind does not dither’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- m. dedisa^ʔnigqhi:yo:
 de-di-sa-^ʔnigqh-i:yo:
 NEG-CIS-2S.P-mind-good.STAT
 ‘you are grumpy, grouchy’, ‘you are not happy’
- n. desa:tq:da:s
 de-s-a:t-hq:da:-s
 NEG-2S.A-SRF-listen-HAB
 ‘you are disobedient’, ‘you do not listen’
- o. te^ʔdeyqtwaji:yq:nih
 te^ʔde-yq-t-hwaji:y-q:ni-h
 not NEG-3S.P-SRF-family-make-HAB
 ‘she is barren’, ‘she cannot make a family’
- p. deseq^ʔnigqhgae
 de-s-e-^ʔnigqh-gae
 NEG-2S.P-SRF-mind-willing.STAT
 ‘you suffer’, ‘your mind is not willing’
- q. dewagegae
 de-wag-e-gae
 NEG-1S.P-JOINERE-willing.STAT
 ‘I am unwilling’, ‘I do not want to do it’
- r. dehsnqhwe^ʔs
 de-hs-nqhwe-^ʔs
 NEGATIVE-2S.A-like-HAB
 ‘you dislike’, ‘you do not like’
- s. desrihwanqhwe^ʔs
 de-s-rihwa-nqhwe-^ʔs
 NEG-2S.A-matter-like-HAB
 ‘you disapprove’, ‘you do not approve’

Finally, several particles require the following verb to begin with [de^ʔ-] NEG. They are described in the *Particle dictionary* §C.

Related

⇒ Te^ʔgeh de^ʔ- ‘didn’t?’

⇒ Te^ʔde^ʔge: ‘it isn’t’

- ⇒ *Tɛʔ ne:ʔ deʔgɛ:* ‘without’, ‘lacking’
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ dedo:gɛhs* ‘it isn’t true’, ‘not really’

[ti-] CONTRASTIVE (CONTR) and negation

The [ti-] CONTR is also used in negation (23). Affirmative verbs beginning with the [a:-] INDEF or [ɛ-] FUT prefixes are negated with the [(tɛʔ) ta:-] ‘not CONTR.INDEF’ combination. (*Tɛʔ* ‘not’ is optional, see §17.1.) Such verbs grammatically lack a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix, or are NO-ASPECT forms, see §15.5.6.1).

- (23) (tɛʔ) ta:hayé:toh
 tɛʔ t-a:-ha-yé:to-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘he won’t plant’
 cf. ɛháyetoʔ
 ɛ-há-yeto-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he will plant’

12.2 Adverb-like prenominal prefixes

Adverb-like prenominals modify the meaning of an event or happening – for example, describing the location of an activity with [haʔ-] CIS ‘there’, or repetition with [s-] REP ‘again’. (Also see §8.) Unlike the mood and negation prefixes described earlier, the adverb-like prefixes do not interact with the [-ʔ] PUNC aspect (see §12.1).

The adverb-like prenominals figure into two types of expressions – transparent ones (with verbs that optionally take the prenominal) and fixed expressions (with verbs that require specific prenominals to complete their meaning, see §9.2). In the first case, the prefix adds a straightforward or transparent meaning. For example the [he-] TRANSL in (24a) contributes the meaning ‘there’, which is missing from the example that does not have this prefix (24b).

- (24) verb with optional [he-] TRANSL
 a. hé:ye:t
 hé:-ye:-t
 TRANSL-3S.FI.A-stand.STAT
 ‘she is standing over there’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- b. í:ye:t
í:-ye:-t
PROTH-3S.FI.A-stand.STAT
'she is standing (here)'

The second type of verb requires a specific prenominal (and possibly other elements) to express particular, fixed or non-transparent meanings. For example, while the verb [t] without a fixed prenominal means 'stand' (24b), the same verb with a fixed [t^{sá}-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t] combination means 'the same kind of INCORPORATED NOUN' (25a), and with a fixed [s-...incorporated noun-t] combination, means 'one INCORPORATED NOUN' (25b).

(25) fixed expressions (verbs) requiring specific elements

- a. tsa^ʔga^ʔdrehdá:t
tsa^ʔ-gá^ʔ-drehd-a:-t
COIN.FAC-3S.A-car-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
'the same kind of car'
- b. sganǫhsa:t
s-ga-nǫhs-a:-t
REP-3S.A-house-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
'one house'

Each of the following sections begins with a description of the transparent meaning of the relevant prenominal – the meaning expressed when the prefix is not part of a fixed expression. Then follow descriptions of fixed expressions that require the prenominal prefix in question. Finally, several sections end with a description of particles that require a following verb to begin with the prenominal prefix in question.

12.2.1 [tsi-] COINCIDENT (COIN)

The [tsi-] COIN means 'while', or 'when' (26a–d). Verbs with [tsi-] can form a type of dependent clause within a complex sentence (shown in [] square brackets in (26e, f), see §29.11). (For clause types, see Part V.)

- (26) [tsi-**VERB**] ‘while, when’
- a. tsa’ónihse’
 ts-a’-ó-nihse-’
 COIN-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
 ‘it took a certain amount of time’, ‘while a certain amount of time passed’
- b. tsa’ta:dí:yq’
 ts-a’-t-ha:dí:yq-’
 COIN-FAC-CIS-3NS.M.A-arrive-PUNC
 ‘while they were arriving...’
- c. tsihágehjih
 tsi-há-géhjih
 COIN-3S.M.A-old.person.STAT
 ‘when he was an old man...’
- d. tsiyagwaksa’sq:’qh
 tsi-yagwa-ksa’-shq:’qh
 COIN-1P.EX.A-child-PLRZ
 ‘when we were children...’
- e. [tsihqwe’dasé:] hohşę:
 tsi-h-qwe’d-a:sé: hohşę:
 COIN-3S.M.A-person-new.STAT he.is.fat
 ‘When he was young, he was fat.’
- cf. hqwe’dase:
 h-qwe’d-ase:
 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT
 ‘young man’
- f. [hohşę: tsa’onihsé’] hqwe’dase:.
 hohşę: ts-a’-o-nihse-’ hqwe’dase:
 he.is.fat COIN-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC he.was.a.young.man
 ‘When he was young, he was fat.’

[tsi-**VERB**] (fixed expressions)

The fixed expression (verb) in (27) requires [tsi-]. The parts that can change are the mood prefix (FAC, INDEF, or FUT) and the pronominal prefix.

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (27) tsa'geht
ts-a'-g-eh
COIN-FAC-1S.A-do.on.purpose.Ø.PUNC
'I did it on purpose'

[tsi-INCORPORATED NOUN-VERB] 'be the same kind of INCORPORATED NOUN'

The expression in (28) is fixed, except that the incorporated noun can be changed. (Also see *Comparisons*, §31.1.)

- (28) [tsi-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t] 'be the same kind of INCORPORATED NOUN'
tsa'ga'drehdá:t ahahní:nɔ'
tsa'-gá-'drehd-a:-t ahahní:nɔ'
COIN-FAC-3S.A-car-JOINER A-stand.STAT he.bought.it
'he bought the same kind of car (as me)'

For the words in (29), all of the parts are fixed. (These verbs function as adverbs of time, §8.2.)

- (29) [tsi-...PERIOD OF TIME-VERB] 'past PERIOD OF TIME'
- a. tsiyaqdadogéhdɔh
tsi-ya-qda-dogéhd-ɔh
COIN-3S.P-day-make.right-STAT
'Sunday (past)'
 - b. tsiyonakdóhaes
tsi-yo-nakd-óhae-s
COIN-3S.P-bed-clean-HAB
'Saturday (past)'
 - c. tsigaqhyáhɛh
tsi-ga-qhy-á-hɛh
COIN-3S.A-sky-JOINER A-mid.STAT
'at noon (past)'
 - d. tsishéhdehjih
tsi-shéhdehjih
COIN-Ø.PREFIX-morning
'this morning (earlier on in the day)'

- e. tsigóhsreh
 tsi-g-óhsreh
 COIN-3S.A-winter/year
 ‘last winter’

[tsaʔde-VERB]

The following verbs (fixed expressions) require the [tsaʔde-] COINCIDENT.DUALIC combination to express concepts like *similarity* or *equality*.

(30) [tsaʔde-...VERB] ‘side by side’

- a. tsaʔdéhshyɛːʔ
 tsaʔd-é-hs-yɛː-ʔ
 COIN.DU-FUT-2S.A-lay-PUNC
 ‘you will put, lay them side by side’
- b. tsaʔdégayɛʔ
 tsaʔdé-ga-yɛː-ʔ
 COIN.DU-3S.A-lie-STAT
 ‘they are lying, setting side by side’
- c. tsaʔdeganqhsahɛh tsaʔdegayɛʔ sahđáhgwáʔ
 in.the.middle.of.the.house lying.side.by.side your.shoes
 ‘your shoes lie side by side in the middle of the house’
- d. tsaʔdejatáhahk
 tsaʔd-ɛ-j-at-háh-a-hk
 COIN-DU.FUT-2D.A-SRF-road-JOINER A-pick.up.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you two will walk side by side’

(31) [tsaʔde-...ahd] ‘be the same, similar’

- a. tsaʔdé:yoht
 tsaʔdé:-yo-ht
 COIN.DU-3S.P-resemble.STAT
 ‘they are the same, similar’
- b. A:yéːʔ neʔ to:há tsaʔde:yóht né:gyɛh. Néːʔ sadeʔnyé:dɛh.
 it.seems the almost it.is.the.same this.one It.is you.try.3s.pn
 ‘It seems to be the same style as the one you were trying on.’ (Mithun
 & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíttraʔ dialogue)

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (32) [tsaʔde-...ahshe:dəh] ‘be the same number of’
tʂaʔdeyohshé:dəh
tʂaʔde-yo-hshé:d-əh
COIN.DU-3S.P-count-STAT
‘it is the same number of’
- (33) [tʂaʔde-...aʔs] ‘be the same size’
tʂaʔdé:waʔs
tʂaʔdé:-w-aʔs
COIN.DU-3S.A-be.a.certain.size.STAT
‘they are (literally, ‘it is’) the same size’
- (34) [tʂaʔde-...q:] ‘be of equal amount, number of items’
tʂaʔdé:yq:
tʂaʔdé:-y-q:
COIN.DU-3S.P-be.a.certain.number.of.STAT
‘of equal number, amount’
- (35) [tʂaʔde-yo/wa-ahsəŋəh] ‘be half, be in the middle’
tʂaʔdeyohsé:nəh, tʂaʔdewəhsé:nəh
tʂaʔde-yo/wa-hsé:n-əh
COIN.DU-3S.P/3S.A-half-STAT
‘half’, ‘middle’

[tʂaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-verb] (fixed expressions)

The fixed combination of [tʂaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-həh] means ‘half, in the middle of’. It modifies the meaning of whatever noun is incorporated (36).

- (36) [tʂaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-həh] ‘half INCORPORATED NOUN, in the middle of INCORPORATED NOUN’
- a. tʂaʔdewəhnihsrahəh
tʂaʔde-w-əhnihsr-a-həh
COIN.DU-3S.A-day-JOINER A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘half a day’
- b. tʂaʔdegəqhyahəh
tʂaʔde-gá-qhy-a-həh
COIN.DU-3S.A-sky-JOINER A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘high noon’

- c. tsaʔdeganóhsahəh
 tsaʔde-ga-nóhs-a-həh
 COIN.DU-3S.A-house-JOINER-A- sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘in the middle of the house’
- d. tsaʔdewahsótəh
 tsaʔde-w-ahsót-t-həh
 COIN.DU-3S.A-night- sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘at midnight’

The fixed combination of [tsaʔde-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] means ‘two of the same kind of...’. It specifies the number of whatever noun is incorporated (37).

- (37) [tsaʔde-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] ‘be two of the same kind of
 INCORPORATED NOUN’
 tsaʔdeyoyéhsrage:
 tsaʔde-yo-yéhsr-age:
 COIN.DU-3S.P-blanket-be.two.or.more.STAT
 ‘they are two of the same kind of blanket’

The fixed combination of [tsaʔde-...incorporated noun-oʔdɛ:] means ‘be similar’, ‘look the same’. It modifies the meaning of whatever noun is incorporated (38a). In addition, when describing people or animals, the incorporated noun is always [yaʔd] ‘body’ (38b–38c).

- (38) [tsaʔde-.....yaʔd-oʔdɛ:] ‘look similar, be similar’
- a. tsaʔdegaʔdréhdɔʔdɛ:
 tsaʔde-ga-ʔdréhd-oʔdɛ:
 COIN.DU-3S.A-car-be.a.kind.STAT
 ‘the cars look the same’
- b. tsaʔdegaeyaʔdóʔdɛ:
 tsaʔde-gae-yaʔd-óʔdɛ:
 COIN.DU-3NS.FI.A-body-be.a.kind.STAT
 ‘they are a group of people that are similar, look the same’ (i.e.
 nationalities or identical twins)
- c. tsaʔdegadiyaʔdóʔdɛ:
 tsaʔde-gadi-yaʔd-óʔdɛ:
 COIN.DU-3P.A-be.a.kind.STAT
 ‘they look the same’ (animals)

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- d. Sowasɔːʔɔh tsaʔdegadiyaʔdóʔdeː
dogs they.look.the.same
‘the dogs all look the same’

[tsaʔdet/tsaʔdeg-VERB]

The following fixed expressions (verbs) begin with [tsaʔdet-] or [tsaʔdeg-] COIN.DU.CIS.

- (39) [tsaʔdet-...deʔ] ‘same height’

tsaʔdétgadeʔ
tsaʔdét-ga-deʔ
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.A-exist.STAT
‘the same height’

- (40) [tsaʔdeg-...ad-ɔda-VERB] ‘during the week (this week or last)’

- a. tsaʔdegyadɔːdáik(hneːʔ)
tsaʔdeg-y-ad-ɔːd-á-i-k-hneːʔ
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-period.of.time-JOINER A-stuck.on.STAT-MODZ-REM
‘last week’
- b. tsaʔdegyadɔ́dai
tsaʔdeg-y-ad-ɔ́d-a-i
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF- period.of.time -JOINER A-stuck.on.STAT
‘during the week’
- c. tsaʔdegyadɔ́dadeʔ
tsaʔdeg-y-ad-ɔ́d-a-deʔ
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-period.of.time-JOINER A-exist.STAT
‘during the week’

12.2.2 [ti-] CONTRASTIVE (CONTR)

The [ti-] CONTR conveys the idea that actions or characteristics are out of the ordinary or random (41). It is also used in negation (see §12.1.4).

- (41) a. tisɔgweʔdáːdeʔ
ti-s-ɔgweʔd-áːdeʔ
CONTR-2S.A-person-exist.STAT
‘you are a different person’

- b. tiyoyęhsrá:de'
 ti-yo-yęhsr-á:de'
 CONTR-3S.P-blanket- exist.STAT
 'it is an odd-ball blanket'
- c. tihéhsq'
 ti-h-é-hsq'
 CONTR-3S.M.A-go-PLRZ
 'he is a wanderer, loiterer'
- d. tigęnenó:gye's
 ti-gęn-enó:-gye-'s
 CONTR-3P.A-originate.from-PROG-HAB
 'they are roaming about'

[ti-VERB]

The verbs in (42) require the [ti-] CONTR prefix to express their fixed meaning.

- (42) a. tiyó:t'ah
 ti-yó:-t-'ah
 CONTR-3S.P-stand.STAT-DIM
 'it is queer, unusual, odd'
- b. tiga:gwé:gqh
 ti-ga:-gwé:g-qh
 CONTR-3S.A-all-STAT
 'all over the place', 'here and there'
- c. tiyogwé:gqh
 ti-yo-gwé:g-qh
 CONTR-3S.P-all-STAT
 'all of it'
- d. tigó:nihs
 ti-g-ó:ni-hs
 CONTR-1S.A-make-HAB
 'I use something in place of' (something else)
- e. tęwadadó:ni'
 t-ę-wa-dad-ó:ni-'
 CONTR-FUT-3S.A-REFL-make-PUNC
 'it will emerge or appear unintentionally', 'it will do it by itself'

12 *Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

The fixed expressions (verbs) in (43) require the [taʔde-] CONTR.DU combination to convey their special meanings.

- (43) a. taʔdehoʔnigqhá:nih
 taʔde-ho-ʔnigqh-á:-nih
 CONTR.DU-3S.M.P-mind-JOINERA-BEN.HAB
 ‘he is unconcerned, indifferent’
- b. taʔdegrihwáhsnyeʔ
 taʔde-g-rihw-áhsnye-ʔ
 CONTR.DU-1S.A-matter-care.for-STAT
 ‘I oppose it’, ‘I do not agree’
- c. taʔdeyogaháqdaht
 taʔde-yo-gah-á-qdaht
 CONTR.DU-3S.P-eye-JOINERA-cause.to.lie.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it is fuzzy, out of focus, opaque, unclear’

[ti...VERB-ʔah] ‘do something any old way’

The fixed combination of [ti...VERB-ʔah] means ‘do something any old way’ (44).

- (44) [ti...VERB-ʔah] ‘do something any old way’
- a. tihe:ʔáh tsq:
 ti-h-e:-ʔáh tsq:
 CONTR-3S.M.A-go-DIM just
 ‘he is just walking along’
- cf. iheʔ
 i-h-e-ʔ
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-STAT
 ‘he is walking, moving’
- b. tahayqto:ʔah
 t-a-ha-yqto:-ʔah
 CONTR-FAC-3S.M.A-plant-DIM
 ‘he planted it any old way’
- cf. aháyetoʔ
 a-há-yeto-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he planted it’

[ti-...(INCORPORATED NOUN)-de'(ah)] 'a different or odd kind of (INCORPORATED NOUN)'

The fixed combination of [ti-...(INCORPORATED NOUN)-de'(ah)] means 'a different or odd kind of (INCORPORATED NOUN)' (46–45). The [-'ah] DIM is sometimes absent (45), (46). Finally, the incorporated noun is not required (47).

(45) [ti-...(INCORPORATED NOUN)-de'ah] 'a different or odd INCORPORATED NOUN'

tiganqhsa:dé:'ah

ti-ga-nqhs-a:-dé:-'ah

CONTR-3S.A-house-JOINERÁ-exist.STAT-DIM

'not a normal house compared to the others'

(46) [ti-...(INCORPORATED NOUN)-de'] 'a different or odd INCORPORATED NOUN'

a. tiyoyqhsrá:de'

ti-yo-yqhsr-á:-de'

CONTR-3S.P-blanket-JOINERÁ-exist.STAT

'it is an odd-ball blanket'

b. tiga'drehdá:de'

ti-ga-'drehd-á:-de'

CONTR-3S.A-car-JOINERÁ-exist.STAT

'it is a different car from the others'

c. tiganqhsá:de'

ti-ga-nqhs-á:-de'

CONTR-3S.A-house-JOINERÁ-exist.STAT

'it is a different house from the others'

(47) "Ó: Tigá:dé' gq̃h di' ni:yóht tó:gyq̃h?"

Oh it.is.different Q so it.is.a.certain.kind that.one

"Oh, is that a different kind?" (Henry 2005)

cf. ti-gá:dé'

CONTR-3S.A-exist.STAT

[ta'de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-de'] 'two different INCORPORATED NOUNS'

The fixed combination of [ta'de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-de'] means 'two different INCORPORATED NOUNS' (48).

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (48) [ta'de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-de'] 'two different INCORPORATED NOUNS'
ta'dega'drehdadé' hodi'drehdáé' dehenadadé' gé:ǵh
two.different.cars they.own two.brothers
'The two brothers have two different cars.'
cf. ta'de-ga-ǵdrehd-a-dé'
CONTR.DU-3S.A-vehicle-JOINER-A-exist.STAT

12.2.3 [ni-] PARTITIVE (PART)

The [ni-] PART denotes

...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). (Michelson 2011: 98)

Examples are provided in the following sections.

[ni-VERB]

Many verbs require the [ni-] PART as a fixed element. Some examples are listed in 49, and more are provided in the following sections. For a more comprehensive list, see §B.

- (49) a. shéǵh ní:wa's
shéǵh ní:-w-a's
that PART-3S.A-be.a.certain.size.STAT
'sizes', 'how big they are'
- b. ní:yoht
ní:-yo-ht
PART-3S.P-resemble.STAT
'what it is like' (preceded by a particle such as *dé*' 'what', *ne*' 'the')
- c. ní:yq:
ní:-y-q:
PART-3S.P-be.a.certain.amount.STAT
'an amount of things'
- d. [ni-...+o'dé:] 'a type of', as in:
ni-ga-ǵen-ó'dé:
PART-3S.A-song-be.a.type.of.STAT
'a type of song'

- e. niyó:we'
 ni-yó:-we'
 PART-3S.P-be.a.certain.distance.STAT
 'how far in distance'
- f. niwu'drugyé: 'ah
 ni-w-u 'drugyé: 'ah
 PART-3S.A-narrow.STAT
 'it is narrow'
- g. niyo:há:k'ah
 ni-yo:-há:k'ah
 PART-3S.P-measuring.line-short.STAT
 'it is short in height'
- h. niyó:hah
 ni-y-ó:-hah
 PART-3S.P-be.a.certain.amount.STAT-DIM
 'a few, a little bit'
- i. niyó:s'ah
 ni-y-ó:s'ah
 PART-3S.P-long.STAT-DIM
 'just a little bit long'
- j. niwagrihú: 'uh
 ni-wag-rih-ú: 'uh
 PART-1S.P-matter-small.STAT
 'I am sensitive'
- k. nitgá:de'
 ni-t-gá:-de'
 PART-CIS-3S.A-exist.STAT
 'how high it is (inanimate object)', 'the height of something'
- l. nigáha: '
 ni-gá-ha: - '
 PART-3S.A-hold.STAT
 'how much it holds'
- m. niyohnodá:k'ah
 ni-yo-hnod-á:k'ah
 PART-3S.P-water-JOINER A-short.STAT
 'it is shallow'

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- n. niwú:ʔuh
ni-w-ú:ʔuh
PART-3S.A-small.STAT
'it is small, little'

[ni-] PART with verbs of direction or origin

Several verbs with the [ni-] PART describe actions or states originating from or extending in a certain direction (50–52).

(50) [ni-...e:no:ʔ] 'to come from some place'

- a. nita:wé:nq:
ni-t-ha:w-é:nq:-
PART-CIS-3S.M.P-originate.from-STAT
'a stranger'
- b. Do: nidihsé:no:ʔ
do: ni-di-hs-é:no:-
how PART-CIS-2S.P-originate.from-STAT
'How old are you?'
- c. Gaę diʔ nhq:wéh niha:wé:no:ʔ
Gaę diʔ nhq:wéh ni-ha:w-é:no:-
which then place PART-3S.M.P-originate.from-STAT
'Where, then, did he go?'
- d. Gaę nhq: nqdi:sé:nq:ʔ
Gaę nhq: nqdi:-s-é:nq:-
which place PART-CIS-2S.P-originate.from-STAT
'Where are you from?'

(51) [nqda-...e:] 'to come from some place'

- a. Gaę nqđáhse:ʔ
Gaę nqđá-hs-e:-
which PART-FAC-CIS-2S.A-go-PURP
'Where do you come from?'
- b. nqđá:ge:
nqđá:-g-e:-
PART-FAC-CIS-1S.A-go-PURP
'where I came from'

- (52) [ni...ohsr-iyá'gq'] 'to be a certain age'
 nihosriyá'gq'
 ni-h-ohsr-iyá'g-q'
 PART-3S.M.A-winter-CROSS.STAT-PLURAL
 'his age'

For more examples, see [na'de-A-adre'] 'to be a certain distance apart', §12.2.3 and [NI-YO-ya'dq̄h] 'in the direction of', §12.2.3.

[ni-] PART with verbs describing group affiliation

Several verbs with the [ni-] PART element convey the idea of being part of a group (53). (Also see *Clan names*, §D.4.)

- (53) a. Gayogoho:nq̄h gq̄h ni:s nahsyá'do'dq̄:
 Cayuga Q you what.kind.of.body
 'Are you Cayuga?'
 cf. n-a-hs-ya'd-o'dq̄:
 PART-FAC-2S.A-body-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- b. Gayogoho:nq̄h niwagohwéjo'dq̄:
 Cayuga what.my.kind.of.land.is
 'I am of the Cayuga nation.'
 cf. ni-wag-ohwéj-o'dq̄:
 PART-1S.P-land-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- c. Dq̄' ni:s ho'dé' nisa'syáo'dq̄:
 what you kind what.my.clan.is
 'What is your clan?'
 cf. ni-sa-'sya-o'dq̄:
 PART-2S.P-clan-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- d. nq̄gesyáo'dq̄:
 n-q̄ge-sya-o'dq̄:
 PART-FAC.1S.P-clan-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
 'I am ... clan'
- e. niwagehsyáo'dq̄:
 ni-wage-hsya-o'dq̄:
 PART-1S.P-clan-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
 'I am ... clan'

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

[ni-] PART with verbs describing measures or degrees

Several verbs with the [ni-] PART convey the idea that a state or activity exists in degrees and can be measured (54, see *Comparisons*, §31.1.)

- (54) a. niyó:tgi[?]
ni-yó:-tgi[?]
PART-3S.P-ugly.STAT
'how dirty or filthy it is'
cf. otgi[?]
o-tgi[?]
3S.P-ugly.STAT
'it is dirty or filthy'
- b. niyéha:[?]
ni-yé-ha:-[?]
PART-3S.FI.A-hold-HAB
'how much she holds'
cf. eha:[?]
e-ha:-[?]
3S.FI.A-hold-HAB
'she is holding something'
- c. nigá:nq:[?]
ni-gá:-nq:[?]
PART-3S.A-expensive.STAT
'how much it costs'
cf. ganq:[?]
ga-nq:[?]
3S.A-expensive.STAT
'it is expensive'
- d. ní:ga:[?]
ní:-g-a:[?]
PART-3S.A-hold.STAT
'how much is contained in'
cf. í:ga:[?]
í:-g-a:[?]
PROTHETIC-3S.A-hold.STAT
'it holds something' (as in *odí: í:ga:* 'there is tea in there')

[ni-] PART with verbs describing a period of time

Several verbs with the [ni-] PART describe an action that extends over a certain period of time (55).

- (55) a. nà'ónishe'
 n-à'-ó-nishe-'
 PART-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
 'it took an amount of time'
 i. neyónishe'
 n-ẹ-yó-nishe-'
 PART-FUT-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
 'it will take an amount of time'
- b. nà'á:wẹh
 n-à'-á:w-ẹ-h
 PART-FAC-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
 'it happened (a fact)'
 i. neyá:wẹh
 n-ẹ-yá:w-ẹ-h
 PART-FUT-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
 'it will happen'
 ii. na:yá:wẹh
 n-a:-yá:w-ẹ-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
 'it might, could, or would happen'
- c. nigyé:ha'
 ni-g-yé:-ha'
 PART-1S.A-do-HAB
 'I do it all the time'
 i. nẹ:gye:
 n-ẹ:-g-ye:-
 PART-FUT-1S.A-do-PUNC
 'I will do it'
 ii. niyó:yẹ:
 ni-yó:-yẹ:
 PART-3S.P-do.STAT
 'what it is doing'

[shẹh nà'ónishe'] 'while'

The fixed combination of [shẹh nà'ónishe'] means 'while' (56, see §29.11).

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (56) a. Agi[?]da[?]q̄h q̄: **sh̄eh na[?]onishé[?]** hohta:[?].
 I.slept it.seems that during.the.time he.spoke
 ‘I slept while he spoke.’
 cf. n-a[?]-o-nishé-[?]
 PART-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
- b. Agahyagó[?] **sh̄eh na[?]onishé[?]** odahyó:ni:.
 I.picked.fruit that during.the.time there.was.lots.of.fruit
 ‘I picked fruit while it was plentiful.’

[ni-A-q̄:] ‘how many living things’

The fixed combination of [ni-A-q̄:], with an A-series pronominal prefix, means ‘how many living things’ (57). (Also see *Comparisons*, §31.)

- (57) [ni-A-q̄:] ‘how many living things’
- a. nigé:nq̄:
 ni-gé:n-q̄:
 PART-3P.A-certain.number.of.living.things.STAT
 ‘how many of them’ (animals)
- b. nigá:gq̄:
 ni-gá:g-q̄:
 PART-3NS.FI.A-certain.number.of.living.things.STAT
 ‘how many of them’ (people, females or mixed)

[ni-P-at/(INCORPORATED NOUN)-ga[?]de[?]] ‘to be/have many living things’

The fixed combination of [ni-P-at/-ga[?]de[?]], with a P-series pronominal prefix, means ‘to be many living things’ (58). (Also see *Comparisons*, §31.)

- (58) [ni-P-at/at-ga[?]de[?]] ‘to be so many living things’
 niyonatgá[?]de[?]
 ni-yon-at-gá[?]de[?]
 PART-3P.P-SRF-be.many.STAT
 ‘there are so many’ (animals)

The fixed combination of [ni-P-INCORPORATED NOUN(living thing)-ga[?]de[?]], with a P-series pronominal prefix, means ‘to have many living things’ (59). (Also see *Comparisons*, §31.)

- (59) [NI-P-INCORPORATED NOUN(living thing)-ga' de'] 'to have many living things'
 honahsgwagá' de'
 ho-nahsgw-a-gá' de'
 3S.M.P-domestic.animal-JOINER-A-be.many.STAT
 'he has many pets'

[ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'to be a certain amount of INCORPORATED NOUNS'

The fixed combination of [ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] means 'to be a certain amount of INCORPORATED NOUNS' (60). (Also see *Comparisons*, §31.)

- (60) [ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'to be a certain amount of INCORPORATED NOUNS'
- a. niyoweyohgá:ge:
 ni-yo-weyohg-á:ge:
 PART-3S.P-thumb-certain.number.of.STAT
 'it is so many inches'
 - b. niga'ahdrá:ge:
 ni-ga-'ahdr-á:ge:
 PART-3S.A-basket-certain.number.of.STAT
 'that many baskets'
 - c. nigagq' trá:ge:
 ni-ga-gq' tr-á:ge:
 PART-3S.A-pound-certain.number.of.STAT
 'that many pounds'
 - d. nigahqhsrá:ge:
 ni-ga-hqhsr-á:ge:
 PART-3S.A-box-certain.number.of.STAT
 'amount of boxes'
 - e. nigana'já:ge:
 ni-ga-na'j-á:ge:
 PART-3S.A-pail-certain.number.of.STAT
 'amount of pails'

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- f. nigayá:ge:
ni-ga-yá:-ge:
PART-3S.A-bag-certain.number.of.stative
'amount of bags'
- g. niwẹ́'nhotrá:ge:
ni-w-ẹ́'nohtr-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-ball-certain.number.of.STAT
'amount of balls'
- h. nigawẹ́ná:ge:
ni-ga-wẹ́n-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-word- certain.number.of.STAT
'as many words'
- i. niyogwẹ́'dá:ge:
ni-y-ogwẹ́'d-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-person- certain.number.of.STAT
'that many people'

[NUMERAL ... ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'three (etc.) NOUNS'

The fixed combination of [NUMERAL ... ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] means 'three (etc.) NOUNS' (61). The numeral specifies the number of objects. (For pronominal prefix selection, see *Comparisons*, §31.)

(61) [NUMERAL ... ni-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'three (etc.) NOUNS'

- a. ahséh niganqhsá:ge:
ni-ga-nqhs-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-house-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three houses'
- b. ahséh niwahdaqhwá:ge:
ni-w-ahdaqhw-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three shoes'
- c. ahséh niyohsi'dá:ge:
ni-yo-hsi'd-á:ge:
PART-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three feet'

- d. ahsəh niyohónáʔ dage:, ahsəh nigahónáʔ dage:
 ni-yo/ga-hónáʔ d-á:ge:
 PART-3S.P/3S.A-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three potatoes’

[naʔde-A-adreʔ] ‘to be a certain distance apart’

The fixed combination of [naʔde-A-adreʔ], with an A-series pronominal prefix, means ‘to be a certain distance apart’ (62).

(62) [naʔde-A-adreʔ] ‘to be a certain distance apart’

- a. Jɔhsiʔ datsóʔ naʔdegeɲa:dréʔ ganáʔ jɔhkwaʔ.
 one.foot.apart they.are.a.distance.apart bottles
 ‘The bottles are one foot apart.’

cf. naʔ-de-geɲ-a:dréʔ
 PART-DU-3P.A-distance.apart.STAT

- b. Jɔhsiʔ datsóʔ naʔdegaɔdréʔ todiɲhé:dreʔ.
 one.foot.apart they.are.a.distance.apart they.are.standing.in.line
 ‘People are standing in a straight line one foot apart.’

cf. naʔ-de-gaɔ-dréʔ
 PART-DU-3NS.FL.A-distance.apart.STAT

[ni-yo-yaʔdɔh] ‘in the direction of’

The fixed combination of [ni-yo-yaʔdɔh] means ‘in the direction of’ (63).

(63) [ni-yo-yaʔdɔh] ‘in the direction of’

- a. (shəh) niyóyaʔdɔh ‘a direction’

cf. ni-yo-yaʔdɔh
 PART-3S.P-be.a.direction.STAT

- b. Otowəʔ géh niyoyaʔdɔh haʔdehagáhne:ʔ
 north direction he.goes.and.looks.over.there
 ‘He goes outside and looks to the north.’

Clauses and particle expressions with [ni-] PART

Clause types requiring a verb that begins with [ni-] PART are described in the following sections.

Related

- ⇒ Comparisons, counting, measuring, §31 ⇒ Comparisons (more, the same, or less), §31.1
- ⇒ Clauses with *shəh* ‘that’, [shəh ni-] ‘how, what’, *ne:* ‘it is’, §29.1
- ⇒ Causative clauses with *də* *ni:yoht shəh* ‘why’, *ne* *hə:ni* ‘how’, §29.3
- ⇒ Manner clauses with *də* *ni-* ‘how’, **shəh ni:yoht** ‘how so’, etc., §29.4
- ⇒ Measuring clauses with [do: ... ni-] ‘how much, many’, etc., §29.5
- ⇒ Clauses with *hwə:dəh*, *nəh*, *do: niyowihsdə:e:*, *nə:gyəh hwa*, *ne:* *hwa* ‘when’, §29.9
- ⇒ Clauses with (*gao*) *shəh niyo:we* ‘before’, ‘until’, §29.10
- ⇒ Clauses with *shəh na'onishe*, *tsa'onishe*, [tsi-] ‘while’, ‘when’, §29.11

The following particles (listed in the *Particle dictionary*, §C) require the next verb to begin with the [ni-] PART.

Related

- ⇒ *Də* *ho* *də* *ni-* ‘how’, ‘what way’ (“adverb” of manner)
- ⇒ *Də* *ni:yoht shəh* ‘why?’
- ⇒ *Do:* ‘how’
- ⇒ *Do: ni-...nishe* ‘how long’, ‘how much time’
- ⇒ *Do: ni-...q:* ‘how many people’
- ⇒ *Do: niyowihsdə:e:* ‘what time is it?’, ‘when?’
- ⇒ *Gao* *ni-* ‘less so’
- ⇒ *Gao* *shəh niyo:we* ‘before’, ‘until’
- ⇒ *Gwəhs shəh ni-* ‘as ... as’
- ⇒ *Hne:* *shəh* ‘because’
- ⇒ *ʃi trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’
- ⇒ *Ne:* *dəgaihə:ni* ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’
- ⇒ *Ne:* *tsə:* ‘because’, ‘it is just’
- ⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’
- ⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’
- ⇒ *Shəh na'onishe*, *tsa'onishe*, [tsi-] ‘while’, ‘when’

- ⇒ *Shəh ni:yoht ni-* ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’
 ⇒ *Shəh niyo:weʔ* ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’
 ⇒ *Toh shəh ni-* ‘to that degree’

12.2.4 [s-, j-, ji-] REPETITIVE (REP)

The [s-, j-, ji-] REP means ‘again’, and also describes a repeated action (64). Related meanings are covered in the following sections.

- (64) a. *shoyé:twəh*
 s-ho-yé:tw-əh
 REP-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he planted it again’
 cf. *hoyé:twəh*
 ho-yé:tw-əh
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he planted it’
- b. *sawá:dqʔ*
 s-a-w-á:dq-ʔ
 REP-FAC-3S.A-become.well-PUNC
 ‘it became again’, ‘it became well again’ (i.e. it was sick)
 cf. *awá:dqʔ*
 a-w-á:dq-ʔ
 FAC-3S.A-become.well-PUNC
 ‘it has become’, ‘it became’
- c. *sawadahó:dqʔ*
 sa-w-ad-ahó:dq-ʔ
 REP-FAC-3S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC
 ‘it asked again’
 cf. *awadahó:dqʔ*
 a-w-ad-ahó:dq-ʔ
 FAC-3S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC
 ‘it asked’
- d. *jago:kó:ni:*
 j-ago:-k-ó:ni:-
 REP-3S.FI.P-food-make-STAT
 ‘she is cooking again’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- cf. gokó:ni:
go-k-ó:ni-:
3FIS-food-make-STAT
'she is cooking'
- e. jodré:no:t
j-o-d-ré:n-o:t
REP-3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'it is singing again'
- cf. odré:no:t
o-d-ré:n-o:t
3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'it is singing'
- f. jotó:we'
j-o-t-hó:we'
REP-3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
'it is cold again'
- cf. otó:we'
o-t-hó:we'
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
'it is cold'
- g. jidwáhshe:t
ji-dwá-hshe:t
REP-1P.IN.A-COUNT.NO_ASPECT
'let's count again'
- cf. dwáhshe:t
dwá-hshe:t
1P.IN.A-COUNT.NO_ASPECT
'let's count'

[s-, j-, ji-] REP with verbs of motion

With verbs of motion, the [s-, j-, ji-] REP means 'coming back to the place of origin' or 'returning to the place of origin'. For example, *sáeyɔ'* means 'she returned' (65), not 'she arrived again'.

- (65) a. sa'é:yɔ'
s-a'-é:-yɔ'-
REP-FAC-3S.FLA-arrive-PUNC
'she returned'

- cf. a'é:yq'
a-'é:-yq-'
FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
'she arrived'
- b. saḥahdê:di'
s-a-ha-hdê:di-'
REP-FAC-3S.M.A-leave-PUNC
'he went home'
- cf. aḥahdê:di' 'he left',
a-ha-hdê:di-'
FAC-3S.M.A-leave-PUNC
'he went away'
- c. ḥeḥsge:?
h-e-hs-g-e-:-'
TRANSL-FUT-REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
'I am going back there, returning'
- cf. ḥê:ge'
h-ê:-g-e-'
TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-go-PUNC
'I will go there'
- d. ihsge's
i-hs-g-e-'s
PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
'I have returned home'
- cf. í:ge's
í:-g-e-'s
PROTH-1S.A-go-HAB
'I am here'
- e. shahá:wi'
s-ha-há:wi-'
REP-3S.M.A-carry-PUNC
'he brought it with him'
- cf. hadihá:wi's
hadi-há:wi-'s
3NS.M.A-carry-HAB
'they carry it along'

[s-, j-, ji-] REP with proper names and titles

The [s-, j-, ji-] REP appears in words describing unique people or places, where it means 'The One Who...' or 'The Place Where...' (66). Many Hereditary Chief names begin with the repetitive prefix (see §D.6).

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (66) a. Shoyó:we:s
 s-ho-yó:w-e:s
 REP-3S.M.P-wampum-long.STAT
 ‘He has Long Wampum’ (Gayogohó:nó’ Chief Title)
- b. Sga’na:wá:dih
 s-ga-’na:w-á:dih
 REP-3S.A-pond-side.STAT
 ‘Opposite Side of the Pond, Swamp’ (Onondaga Chief Title)
- c. Sganyada:digó:wah
 s-ga-nyada:-di-gó:wah
 REP-3S.A-lake-side.STAT-AUG
 ‘Europe’
- d. Sganyádaes
 s-ga-nyáda:-es
 REP-3S.A-lake-long.STAT
 ‘Long Lake’, ‘Skaneateles, N.Y.’

[s-/j-/ji-verb] (fixed expressions)

The verbs in (67) require the [s-, j-, ji-] REP prefix to express a fixed meaning.

- (67) a. hejéhe:’
 h-ẹ-j-é-he:’
 TRANSL-FUT-REP-3S.FI.A-sitting.on.top.of.PUNC
 ‘it will be her birthday’³
- b. sahenada:tré:waht
 sa-hen-ada:t-hré:waht
 REP-3NS.M.A-REFL-punish.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they repented’
- c. ẹhsgáeyo’t
 ẹ-hs-gáe-yo’t
 FUT-REP-3NS.FI.A-cause.to.arrive.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they will bring it back’
- d. sgadéhda:’
 s-ga-déhda:’
 REP-3S.A-lie.spread.out.on.the.ground.STAT
 ‘to resurface something’

³This verb requires both the TRANSL and the REP.

- e. ɛʝisatgányaʔgɛʔ
 ɛ-ʝi-s-at-gányaʔg-ɛ-ʔ
 FUT-REP-2S.A-SRF-pay-BEN-PUNC
 ‘you will be reimbursed, refunded’
- f. ʝoʝihɛdɔʔse:ʔ
 j-ɔki-hɛdɔʔs-e:-ʔ
 REP-3S.FI/3NS>1NS-lead-DISL-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘she has gone on before us’ (ceremonial language, said of a recently deceased woman)
- g. shonɔʔne:t
 s-ho-nɔʔ-ne:t
 REP-3S.M.P-head-keep.in.line.STAT
 ‘he is behind him, he is next in line’
- h. ɛʝjadrihwahsrɔ:niʔ
 ɛ-ʝi-j-ad-rihw-a-hsrɔ:ni-ʔ
 FUT-REP-2D.A-SRF-matter-JOINER-A-fix-PUNC
 ‘you two will reconcile’
- i. sawɛhsga:ʔ
 sa-w-ɛhs-ga:-ʔ
 REP-3S.A-foot-make.a.rattling.noise-PUNC
 ‘it spun out, took off with a rattling sound’

[s/ʝ/ʝi-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’

The fixed combination of [s/ʝ/ʝi-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] means ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’ (68). (Also see *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* ‘to one side’, §C.5.)

(68) [s/ʝ/ʝi-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’

- a. ʝoháhadih
 j-o-háh-adih
 REP-3S.P-road-side.STAT
 ‘the other side of the road’
- b. swáháhadih
 s-wá-háh-adih
 REP-3S.A-road-side.STAT
 ‘the other side of the road’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

[s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t] ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN’

The fixed combination of [s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t] means ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN’ (69). (Also see *Counting with basic nouns*, §31.2 and *Neuter stative-only counting verbs, with an incorporated noun*, §24.2.6.)

(69) [s/J/JI-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t] ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN’

- a. sganǫhsa:t
s-ga-nǫhs-a:-t
REP-3S.A-house-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one house’
cf. ganǫhsa’
ga-nǫhs-a’
3S.A-house-NSF
‘house’
- b. swahdáhgw a:t
s-w-ahdáhgw-a:-t
REP-3S.A-shoe-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one shoe’
cf. ahdáhgw a’
ahdáhgw-a’
NO.PREFIX.shoe-NSF
‘shoes’
- c. sgayǫhsra:t, joyǫhsra:t
s-ga-/jo-yǫhsr-a:-t
REP-3S.A/REP.3S.P-blanket-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one blanket’
cf. oyǫhsra’
o-yǫhsr-a’
3S.P-blanket-NSF
‘blankets’
- d. sgahǫnǫ’da:t, johǫnǫ’da:t
s-ga-/jo-hǫnǫ’d-a:-t
REP-3S.A/REP.3S.P-potato-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one potato’
cf. ohǫnǫ’d a’
o-hǫnǫ’d-a’
3S.P-potato-NSF
‘potatoes’

[s/j/ji-...t-sqʔ] ‘one each, one per, one at a time’

The fixed combination of [s/j/ji-...t-sqʔ] means ‘one each, one per, one at a time’ (70).

(70) [s/j/ji-...t-sqʔ] ‘one each, one per, one at a time’

- a. sgatsqʔ
 s-ga-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘one at a time’, ‘one each’
- cf. sga:t
 s-ga:-t
 REP-3S.A-stand.STAT
 ‘one thing’
- b. sgatsqʔ ɛsáhshe:t
 by.ones you.will.count
 ‘count by ones, one by one’
- c. sgatsqʔ shéh dāha:dí:yoʔ
 one.by.one that they(males).came.in
 ‘they came in one by one’

[s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t-sqʔ] ‘each, per INCORPORATED NOUN’, ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN at a time’

The fixed combination of [s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t-sqʔ] means ‘each, per INCORPORATED NOUN’, or ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN at a time’ (71).

(71) [s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-t-sqʔ] ‘each, per INCORPORATED NOUN’, or ‘one INCORPORATED NOUN at a time’

- a. jōhsʔdatsqʔ
 j-ǝ-hsíʔd-a-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘a one foot distance’
- cf. jōhsíʔda:t
 j-ǝ-hsíʔd-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 ‘one foot’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- b. sgaʔdréhdatsɔʔ
 s-ga-ʔdréhd-a-t-shɔʔ
 REP-3S.A-car-JOINER-A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘each car’, ‘one car at a time’
- cf. sgaʔdréhda:t
 s-ga-ʔdréhd-a-t
 REP-3S.A-car-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
 ‘one car’
- c. Jɔhsiʔdatsɔʔ naʔdegaɔdréʔ todinɛhɛ:dréʔ
 one.foot.apart they(fe/males).are.meeting they(males).are.standing
 ‘People are standing in a straight line one foot apart.’
- d. Jɔhsiʔdatsɔʔ naʔdegɛna:dréʔ ganáʔjɔhkwaʔ
 one.foot.apart they(fe/males).are.meeting bottle
 ‘The bottles are standing one foot apart.’
- e. Sgaʔdrehdatsɔʔ shɛh ɣɛnatsahá:goʔ
 each.car that they(things).gathered.together.on.the.road
 ‘Each car turned in (at the same place)’

12.2.5 [d-] CISLOCATIVE (CIS) and [heʔ-] TRANSLOCATIVE (TRANSL)

The [d-] CIS and [heʔ-] TRANSL prefixes convey opposite locations or directions, as illustrated in (72–73) and described in the next sections.

- (72) a. dahsá:dih
 da-hs-á:di-h
 CIS-2S.P-throw-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘throw it towards me’
- b. heʔsá:dih
 heʔ-s-á:di-h
 TRANSL-2S.P-throw-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘throw it away from me’
- (73) a. ngayétwahsɔʔ
 t-ga-yétw-a-hs-ɔʔ
 CIS-3S.A-plant-JOINER-A-HAB-PLURAL
 ‘it is planted over there’

- b. hegayətwáhsqʔ
 he-ga-yətw-á-hs-qʔ
 TRANSL-3S.A-plant-JOINER A-HAB-PLURAL
 ‘it is planted over there’
- cf. gayətwáhsqʔ
 ga-yətw-a-hs-qʔ
 3S.A-plant-JOINER A-HAB-PLURAL
 ‘it is planted (here)’

Motion verbs with [d-] CIS and [heʔ-] TRANSL

For verbs of motion, the [d-] CIS prefix means ‘towards’ a point of reference, often the speaker. In contrast, the [heʔ-] TRANSL prefix means ‘away’ from a point of reference such as the speaker (74).

- (74) a. dahsá:dih
 dah-s-á:di-h
 CIS-2S.P-throw-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘throw it to me’
- cf. heʔsá:dih
 heʔ-s-á:di-h
 TRANSL-2S.P-throw-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘throw it away from me’
- b. dasa:dó:wih
 da-s-a:d-ó:wi-h
 CIS-2S.A-SRF-drive-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘drive over here’
- cf. haʔsa:dó:wih
 haʔ-s-a:d-ó:wi-h
 TRANSL-2S.A-SRF-drive-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘drive it over there’
- c. dasádawę:
 da-s-ád-awę:
 CIS-2S.A-SRF-swim.NO_ASPECT
 ‘swim this way’
- cf. haʔsádawę:
 haʔ-s-ád-awę:
 TRANSL-2S.A-SRF-swim.NO_ASPECT
 ‘swim over there’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- d. *desáʔdre:*
de-sá-ʔdre:
CIS-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT
‘drive over here’
cf. *heʔsáʔdre:*
heʔ-sá-ʔdre:
TRANSL-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT
‘drive over there’
- e. *dasrá:tɛh, dadrá:tɛh*
da-s/d-rá:tɛ-h
CIS-2S.A-climb-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
‘climb (over here)!’
cf. *haʔsrá:tɛh, haʔdrá:tɛh*
haʔ-s/d-rá:tɛ-h
TRANSL-2S.A-climb-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
‘climb over there!’

The same is true of the verbs of motion in (75–78) and of the verb in (79), which also conveys a type of motion.

- (75) [yɔ] ‘arrive’
- a. *dajɔh*
da-j-ɔ-h
CIS-2S.A-arrive-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
‘come in’ (destination is near the speaker)
cf. *haʔjɔh*
haʔ-j-ɔ-h
TRANSL-2S.A-arrive-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
‘go in, enter’ (destination is away from speaker)
- b. *daha:dí:yɔʔ*
da-ha:dí:-yɔ-ʔ
CIS-3NS.M.A-arrive-PUNC
‘they came in’ (destination is near the speaker)
cf. *haʔha:dí:yɔʔ*
haʔ-ha:dí:-yɔ-ʔ
TRANSL-3NS.M.A-arrive-PUNC
‘they went in there, they arrived’ (destination is away from the speaker)

- (76) [e] 'go'
 dagé:ne'
 da-gé:n-e-'
 CIS-3P.A-go-STAT
 'they are coming' (destination is near the speaker)
 cf. ha'gé:ne'
 ha'-gé:n-e-'
 TRANSL-3P.A-go-STAT
 'they are going' (destination is away from the speaker)
- (77) [ahdēdi, -ahdēgy] 'leave, go away'
 disáhdēgyq:
 di-s-áhdēgyq-:
 CIS-2S.P-leave-STAT
 'you come from there' (destination is near the speaker)
 cf. hesáhdēgyq:
 he-s-áhdēgyq-:
 TRANSL-2S.P-leave-STAT
 'you went over there' (destination is away from the speaker)
- (78) [ahshawi, ahsha:] 'carry, bring'
 dahsha:
 da-hs-ha:
 CIS-2S.A-carry.NO_ASPECT
 'bring it' (destination is near the speaker)
 cf. ha'sha:
 ha'-s-ha:
 TRANSL-2S.A-carry.NO_ASPECT
 'take it over there' (destination is away from the speaker)
- (79) [yēhēt̪w] 'pull'
 gyagogyēhē:twēh
 g-yago-g-yēhē:tw-ēh
 CIS-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 'she is pulling it apart' (happens near the speaker)
 cf. heyagogyēhēt̪wēh
 he-yago-g-yēhēt̪w-ēh
 TRANSL-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 'she is pulling from there' (pulling starts away from the speaker)

Positional verbs with [d-] CIS and [he'-] TRANSL

For positional verbs (a type of stative-only verb – see §14.4.2), the [d-] prefix means ‘there’ (closer to the speaker and the [he'-] prefix means ‘over there’ (farther away from the speaker, 80a-i, 80a-ii). In contrast, positional verbs without either prefix have the implied meaning of ‘here’ (80a, 80b).

- (80) a. g_hhe:ʔ
 g_h-he:ʔ
 3S.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘it is sitting (here)’
 i. tg_hhe:ʔ
 t-g_h-he:ʔ
 CIS-3S.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘it is setting there’
 ii. heʔg_hhe:ʔ
 heʔ-g_h-he:ʔ
 TRANSL-3S.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘it is sitting way over there’
- b. g_há:yɛʔ
 g_há:-yɛʔ
 3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘it is lying’
 i. tg_há:yɛʔ
 t-g_há:-yɛʔ
 CIS-3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘it is lying there’
 ii. heg_há:yɛʔ
 he-g_há:-yɛʔ
 TRANSL-3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘it is lying over there’
- c. ganí:yɔ:t
 ga-ní:yɔ:t
 3S.A-hang.STAT
 ‘it is hanging’

- i. tga:ní:yq:t
t-ga:-ní:yq:t
CIS-3S.A-hang.STAT
'it is hanging there'
- ii. hega:ní:yq:t
he-ga:-ní:yq:t
TRANSL-3S.A-hang.STAT
'it is hanging way over there'
- d. gá:de'
gá:-de'
3S.A-stick.out.STAT
'it is sticking out'
 - i. tgá:de'
t-gá:-de'
CIS-3S.A-stick.out.STAT
'it is sticking out'
 - ii. hegá:de'
he-gá:-de'
TRANSL-3S.A-stick.out.STAT
'it is sticking out over there'
- e. e'drɔ'
e-'drɔ'
3S.FI.A-dwell.STAT
'she is home'
 - i. gye'drɔ'
g-ye-'drɔ'
CIS-3S.FI.A-dwell.STAT
'she is at home'
 - ii. heyé'drɔ'
he-yé-'drɔ'
TRANSL-3S.FI.A-dwell.STAT
'she is at home, way over there'

[d-verb] or [he'-verb] (fixed expressions)

The verbs listed in (81) require the [d-] CIS to express their fixed meaning.

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (81) a. *tgayéi, tgayí:*
t-ga-yéi/yí
CIS-3S.A-right.STAT
‘it is right, correct’
- b. *dwagadó’kdá:nih*
d-wag-ad-ó’kd-á:ni-h
CIS-1S.P-SRF-finish-BEN-HAB
‘I am dissatisfied’
- c. *ę: tsq: itse’s*
ę: tsq: i-t-s-e-’s
again just PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-HAB
‘you wander (all the time)’, ‘you are over there’
- d. *tgá:gwitę’s*
t-gá-ragw-itę-’s
CIS-3S.A-sun-rise-HAB
‘east’, ‘the sun rises there’
- e. *ętsá’sęht*
ę-t-s-á’sęht
FUT-CIS-2S.A-bring.down.Ø.PUNC
‘you will bring it down’
- f. *tgaęgwá:dih*
t-gaę-gw-á:di-h
CIS-3NS.FI.A-direction-throw-HAB
‘they are going in a direction’
- g. *gyodó’kdá’q̣h*
g-yo-d-ó’kdá’-q̣h
CIS-3S.P-SRF-cause.to.run.out-STAT
‘it is lacking’
- h. *gyagoyá’dá:gwęh*
g-yago-yá’d-á:-gw-ęh
CIS-3S.FI.P-body-JOINER-gather-STAT
‘she has lost weight’
- i. *gyogyęhdq̣h*
g-yo-g-yęhd-q̣h
CIS-3S.P-SRF-hit-STAT
‘the first one, the beginning’

12.2 Adverb-like prepronominal prefixes

- j. dawá:tgri:k
d-a-wá:-t-gri-:k
CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRF-fold.Ø.PUNC-MODZ
'it pulled back, flinched, shrank'
- k. dawá'se'
d-a-w-á'se-'
CIS-FAC-3S.A-reduce-PUNC
'it dropped, reduced'
- l. tgehdáhkwa'
t-g-ehdáhk-w-ha'
CIS-1S.A-believe-HAB
'I believe'
- m. ętsadadáshagwe'
ę-t-s-adad-áhshag-w-ę-'
FUT-CIS-2S.A-REFL-remember-BEN-PUNC
'you will remind yourself, make yourself remember'
- n. dawáda'seht
d-a-w-ád-a'seht
CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRF-cause.to.drop.Ø.PUNC
'it swooped down'
- o. dągádo'ktahs
d-og-ád-o'kd-a-hs
CIS-FAC.1S.A-SRF-lack-JOINER-A-HAB
'I was not satisfied (with...)', 'I did not get enough'
- p. dawatehtgeht
d-a-w-at-hehtgeht
CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRF-cause.to.go.bad.Ø.PUNC
'it went bad'
- q. ętsa:tró:wi'
ę-t-s-a:t-hró:wi-'
FUT-CIS-2S.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
'you will recount, retell'
- r. ętsatsadó:go'
ę-t-s-at-hsadó:-go-'
FUT-CIS-2S.A-bury-REV-PUNC
'you will unearth it'

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- s. ɛtsa:dó:gɛhs
ɛ-t-s-a:dó:gɛhs
FUT-CIS-2S.A-make.right.Ø.PUNC
'you will adjust'
- t. da:gonhéhéhéh
d-a-ago-nhéhéhéh
CIS-FAC-3S.FI.P-dribble.Ø.PUNC
'she dribbled, peed'
- u. dagayagéhhdahk
da-ga-yagéhhd-a-hk
CIS-3S.A-issue.from-JOINER A-Ø.PUNC.FORMER
'it came out suddenly'
- v. dajé:na:
da-j-é:na:
CIS-2S.A-grab.NO_ASPECT
'grab it!'

The verbs in (82) require the [he^ʔ-] TRANSL to express their fixed meaning.

- (82) a. h́é:goh
h-é:-g-oh
TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-dip.in.liquid.Ø.PUNC
'I will dip it in, submerge it'
- b. hegáhgwę^ʔs
he-gá-hgwę-^ʔs
TRANSL-3S.A-set-HAB
'to the setting sun, the direction of the sunset, west'
- c. h́ęhsye:^ʔ
h-ę-hs-ye:-^ʔ
TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-touch-PUNC
'you will touch'
- d. h́ęhsyáhnq:^ʔ
h-ę-hs-yá-hnq:-^ʔ
TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-touch-DISTR-PUNC
'you will grope, touch, pick at'

- e. hẹ́gó:nẹ́ht
 h-ẹ-ğ-ó:nẹ́ht-ø
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-swallow-PUNC
 ‘I will swallow’
- f. heyóts’ahdọ́h
 he-yó-ts’ahd-ọ́h
 TRANSL-3S.P-dwindle-STAT
 ‘it is all gone’
- g. hẹ́sọ́:goht
 h-ẹ-hs-ó:goht
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-surpass.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will exaggerate, go above and beyond’
- h. hẹ́wá’sẹ́’
 h-ẹ-w-á’sẹ́-’
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.A-fall.in-PUNC
 ‘it will fall in’
- i. hẹ́gọ́yadé:nyeht
 h-ẹ-gọ́y-adé:-nyeht-ø
 TRANSL-FUT-1S>2S-send-PUNC
 ‘I will refer you (to someone else)’
- j. to: hé:yoht
 to: hé:-yo-ht
 that TRANSL-3S.P-resemble.STAT
 ‘suddenly’
- k. hẹ́sadagwáihsaht
 h-ẹ-hs-ad-agwáihsaht
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-SRF-straighten.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will go straight’
- l. heyó:gẹ́’t
 he-yó:-gẹ́’t
 TRANSL-3S.P-transparent.STAT
 ‘it is transparent’
- m. ha’ho’nigó’ha’ehs
 h-a’-ho-’nigó’h-a-’ehs
 TRANSL-FAC-3S.M.P-mind-JOINER A-cause.to.hit.Ø.PUNC
 ‘his mind settled on’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- n. h̥sədw̥əŋó:diʔ
 h-̥-s-ad-w̥əŋ-ó:di-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.P-SRF-voice-throw-PUNC
 ‘you will throw your voice’ (as a ventriloquist)
- o. h̥səgyaʔ d̥ó:diʔ
 h-̥-s-ag-yaʔ d-ó:di-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.P-SRF-body-throw-PUNC
 ‘you will pounce on it’
- p. h̥h̥aihw̥éh̥e:ʔ
 h-̥-h̥-h̥aihw̥-éh̥e:-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-matter-convey-PUNC
 ‘he will take the message’
- q. h̥kre:k
 h-̥-k-hre:k
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-push.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will push it’
- r. h̥g̥óʔ kd̥eʔ
 h-̥-g-óʔ kd-éʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will finish something’

The verbs in (83) require either the [d-] CIS or the [h̥eʔ-] TRANSL to express their fixed meaning.

- (83) a. tagih̥n̥ó:s
 t-hag-ih̥n̥ó:k-s
 CIS-3S.M>1S-call-HAB
 ‘he is calling me’
 cf. h̥gih̥n̥ó:k
 h-̥-g-ih̥n̥ó:k
 TRANSL-1S.A-call.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will call’
- b. tgyah̥s̥óhaʔ
 t-g-yah̥s̥ó-haʔ
 CIS-1S.A-name-HAB
 ‘I call them’, ‘I am a bingo caller’

cf. hęshshyahsq:
 h-ę-hshé-yahsq:-
 TRANSL-FUT-2S>3S.FI-name-PUNC
 ‘you will call someone’s name (over there)’

c. Wa’jih, ętsyá’dę’
 wa’jih ę-t-s-yá’d-ę-’
 wait FUT-CIS-2S.A-body-fall-PUNC
 ‘Wait, you’ll fall into it’

cf. hewagya’dę’oh
 he-wag-ya’d-ę-’oh
 TRANSL-1S.P-body-FALL-STAT
 ‘I have fallen into it’

[d-...verb-STAT] ‘-est’

The fixed combination of [d-...verb-STAT] turns a stative-only verb like [gowan-ęh] ‘big-STAT’ into a superlative, meaning ‘the most’ or ‘-est’ (84).

(84) Í:’ tgegówanęh.
 í:’ t-g-e-gówan-ęh
 I CIS-1S.A-JOINERĒ-big-STAT
 ‘I am the oldest (biggest)’
 cf. gegówanęh
 g-e-gówan-ęh
 1S.A-JOINERĒ-big-STAT
 ‘I am big’

Other comparisons requiring the [d-] CIS are described in *Comparisons*, §31.1.

[shęh D-...INCORPORATED NOUN-o:t] ‘at the INCORPORATED NOUN’

The fixed combination of [shęh d-...INCORPORATED NOUN-o:t] means ‘at the INCORPORATED NOUN’ (85).

(85) [shęh d-...INCORPORATED NOUN-o:t] ‘at the INCORPORATED NOUN’
 shęh tganqhsó:t
 shęh t-ga-nqhs-o:t
 that CIS-3S.A-house-stand.STAT
 ‘at the house’
 cf. shęh tganqhsó:t ita:t ‘he is standing at the house’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

[ha' de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'every, many, a variety of
INCORPORATED NOUNS'

The fixed combination of [ha' de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] means 'every, many, a variety of INCORPORATED NOUNS' (86).

(86) [ha' de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'every, many, a variety of
INCORPORATED NOUNS'

- a. ha' dewəhnihsrage:
ha' de-w-əhnihsr-age:
TRANSL.DU-3S.A-day-two.or.more.STAT
'every day', 'many days'
- b. ha' dewahsódage:
ha' de-w-ahsód-age:
TRANSL.DU-3S.A-night-two.or.more.STAT
'every night'
- c. ha' dega' dréhdage:
ha' de-ga-' dréhd-age:
TRANSL.DU-3S.A-car-two.or.more.STAT
'all kinds of cars'

Particles with [d-] CIS or [he'-] TRANSL

The following particles, described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C, require the following verb to begin with either [d-] CIS or [he'-] TRANSL.

Related

- ⇒ Gaə hq:weh 'which place', 'where'
- ⇒ Heyohe:' 'more'
- ⇒ Ne' aqhə:'əh d- 'the most, -est, -er (of)'
- ⇒ Ne' gyaqhə:'əh d- 'the most', 'the greatest'
- ⇒ Ne:' gwahs d- 'the most'
- ⇒ Ne:' gwahs heyohe:' 'the most, -est'

12.2.6 [de-] DUALIC (DU)

The [de-] DU adds the meaning that there are two parts to an action, or two states, as described in the following sections.

[de-] DU and two-part motions

The [de-] DU is often required with verbs that describe a two-part motion, a change in position, or a back-and-forth motion (87).

- (87) a. dekda's
de-k-d-a's
DU-1S.A-stand-JOIN-HAB
'I am standing'
- b. degá:dəh
de-gá:-də-h
DU-3S.A-fly-HAB
'airplane'
- c. dəhadagyá'dəhgwa't
d-ə-ha-dag-yá'd-a-hgwa't
DU-FUT-3S.M.A-REFL-body-JOINER A-cause.to.raise.Ø.PUNC
'he will do push ups'
- d. degaǝná'sgwəhkwa'
de-gaǝ-ná'sgw-a-hgw-ha'
DU-3NS.FI.A-lift.up-HAB
'they are jumping'
- e. dəhənáǝha'
de-hən-ǝq-ha'
DU-3NS.M.A-run-HAB
'they are racers'
- f. dəhənadátgǝhe:s
de-hən-adát-gǝhe:g-s
DU-3NS.M.A-REFL-punch-HAB
'boxers'
- g. dewá:tgwəh
de-w-á:t-gw-əh
DU-3S.A-SRF-dance-STAT
'it is dancing'

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- h. da:há:dahs
 d-a:-há:-dahs
 DU-INDEF-3S.M.A-stop.NO_ASPECT
 ‘he should stop’
- i. dehsda’
 de-hs-da’
 DU-2S.A-stop.NO_ASPECT
 ‘stop!’
- j. deḡakeyá’ dahk
 d-ḡ-gake-yá’ d-a-hk
 DU-FUT-1S>3NS-body-JOINER A-pick.up.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will pick them up’
- k. deḡátahahk
 d-ḡ-w-át-hah-a-hk
 DU-FUT-3S.A-SRF-road-JOINER A-pick.up.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it will walk’
- l. deyagodáwēnye’
 de-yago-d-áwēnye-’
 DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-STAT
 ‘she is walking about’
- m. deḡahgwadáhnḡ:’
 d-ḡ-ha-hgwad-á-hnḡ-:’
 DU-FUT-3S.M.A-raise.up-JOINER A-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘he will raise or lift things up’
- n. detodinḡhḡdre’
 de-t-hodi-nḡhḡ-dr-e-’
 DU-CIS-3NS.M.P-stand.in.a.line-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘they are standing (or guarding)’
- o. degónḡhsgwihs
 de-g-ó-nḡhsgwi-hs
 DU-1s.A-SRF-sweep-HAB
 ‘I am sweeping’
- p. deyo’ nḡhtsḡdḡḡḡh
 de-yo-’ nḡhts-ḡdḡḡḡh
 DU-3S.P-tail-shake-STAT
 ‘it is wagging its tail’

- q. dewahji^ʔdóha:s
 de-w-ahji^ʔd-óha:g-s
 DU-3S.A-hand-squeeze-HAB
 ‘pliers’
- r. degaḡdóhda:s
 de-gaḡ-d-óhda:g-s
 DU-3NS.FI.A-SRF-clean-HAB
 ‘janitors’

[de-] DU for a change in state, coming apart

The [de-] DU is often required with verbs that denote a change in state, specifically, the action of coming apart (88).

- (88) a. dehá:ya^ʔs
 de-há:-ya^ʔg-s
 DU-3S.M.A-break-HAB
 ‘he breaks it’
- b. degaihó:węhs
 de-ga-ih-ó:wę-hs
 DU-3S.A-words-split-HAB
 ‘computer’
- c. degáhihta^ʔ
 de-gá-hriht-ha^ʔ
 DU-3S.A-chop.up-HAB
 ‘grinder or cutter’
- d. degawidrágędrḡhs
 de-ga-widr-á-gędrḡ-hs
 DU-3S.A-ice-JOINER-skim.off-HAB
 ‘cream separator’

[de-] DU for something bent, crossed

The [de-] DU is often required with verbs that describe something bent or crossed (89).

- (89) a. deyohahíya^ʔgḡh
 de-yo-hah-íya^ʔg-ḡh
 DU-3S.P-road-cross-STAT
 ‘crossroad’

12 Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- b. deyótsa'kdòh
de-yó-tsa'kd-òh
DU-3S.P-bend-STAT
'it is bent'
- c. degáhò'
de-gá-hò'
DU-3S.A-lie.across.STAT
'it is lying across'

[DE-verb] (fixed expressions)

Over 300 verbs require the [de-] DU prefix to express their fixed meaning. Only a few examples are listed in (90). (For a longer list, see §B.)

- (90) a. dejidwadatnòhò:nyò:?
d-ẹ-ji-dwa-dat-nòhò:nyò-:?
DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-greet-PUNC
'we will greet each other again'
- b. dega'ənáhẹ'
de-g-a'ən-á-ẹ-hẹ'
DU-1S.A-pole-JOINER-A-hit-HAB
'I am a snowsnake player'
- c. degáhshẹtwahs
de-g-áhshẹtw-a-hs
DU-1S.A-cry-JOINER-A-HAB
'I am crying'
- d. deyóhsdateh
de-yó-hsd-ateh
DU-3S.P-shiny.object-clear.STAT
'it is smooth'
- e. dewátẹho:t
de-wá-t-hẹh-o:t
DU-3S.A-SRF-wood-stand.STAT
'pile of wood'
- f. dehsgwẹ'nyá:
de-hsgw-ẹ-'ny-a:
DU-2>1(P)-SRF-hand-hold.STAT
'you who watch over us'

- g. desa^ʔdráihəh
 de-sa-^ʔdráihəh
 DU-2S.P-hurry.NO_ASPECT
 ‘hurry!’

The [de-] DU prefix often appears in verbs composed of loanwords (§5.9), perhaps because it is such a common prefix (91).

- (91) a. dehsadesmack
 de-hs-ad-e-smack
 DU-2S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-smack.Ø.PUNC
 ‘smack your lips!’
- b. ato:stro:k
 a-t-ho:-stro:k
 FAC-DU-3S.M.P-stroke.Ø.PUNC
 ‘he had a stroke’
- c. deyagodehighlightəh
 de-yago-d-e-highlight-əh
 DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-highlight-STAT
 ‘where she has it highlighted’
- d. Gwe: gwe: a:yə^ʔ desatmonkeydəh e:?
 well well it.seems you’re.acting.like.a.monkey again
 ‘Are you acting like a monkey again?’ (Amos Key, p.c.)
- cf. de-sa-t-monkey-d-əh
 DU-2S.P-SRF-monkey-EUPH.D-STAT

[DE-A-yahshe-sə^ʔ] ‘two each, at a time’

The combination of [de-A-yahshe-sə^ʔ], with an A-series pronominal prefix, means ‘two each’, or ‘two at a time’ (92). (Also see [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagye^ʔ] ‘two INCORPORATED NOUNS at a time’, §12.2.6.)

- (92) [de-A-yahshe-sə^ʔ] ‘two each’, ‘two at a time’
- a. degadiyáhshesə^ʔ
 de-gadi-yáhshes-shə^ʔ
 DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘two things each, at a time’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

cf. degadiyáhshe:
de-gadi-yáhshe:
DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT
'two things'

- b. Degadiyahshesó' shéh daga:di:yo'.
two.at.a.time that they(things).came.in
'they (things, i.e. cars) came in two at a time'

[de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'two INCORPORATED NOUNS'

The fixed combination of [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] is used for counting two objects (93, see §31.2.2).

(93) [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'two INCORPORATED NOUNS'

- a. degajihsdá:ge:
de-ga-jihsd-á:ge:
DU-3S.A-lamp-be.two.or.more.STAT
'two lamps'
- b. deyohsi'dá:ge:
de-yo-hsi'd-á:ge:
DU-3S.P-foot-be.two.or.more.STAT
'two feet'
- c. deyo'nhqhsá:ge:
de-yo'nhqhs-á:ge:
DU-3S.P-egg-be.two.or.more.STAT
'two eggs'
- d. dewahdahgwá:ge:
de-w-ahdahgw-á:ge:
DU-3S.A-shoe-be.two.or.more.STAT
'two shoes'

[de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagye'] 'two INCORPORATED NOUNS at a time'

The fixed combination of [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagye'] means 'two at a time' (94, see §12.2.6).

- (94) [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagyeʔ] ‘two INCORPORATED NOUNS at a time’
 degaʔdrehdagehá:gyeʔ
 de-ga-ʔdrehd-age-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 DU-3S.A-car-two.or.more.STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘two cars at at time’

[de-...ogę:] ‘between, in the middle’

The fixed combination of [de-...ogę:] means ‘between, in the middle’ (95).

- (95) [de-...ogę:] ‘between, in the middle’
- a. deyó:gyę:
 de-y-ó:gyę:
 DU-3S.P-between.STAT
 ‘it is between’, ‘in the middle’
 - b. Detniyada:do:gę: i:gá:t só:wa:s.
 between.us it.stands dog
 ‘The dog is standing between us.’
 - cf. de-tniy-ada:d-o:gę:
 DU-1D.IN.A-REFL-between. STAT

Other fixed expressions with [de-] DU

Several fixed expressions require a combination of the [de-] DU prefix in combination with an additional prenominal prefix. These were previously described in the “Related” sections listed below.

Related

- ⇒ [TSAʔDE-verb], §12.2.1
- ⇒ [TSAʔDE-INCORPORATED NOUN-verb] (fixed expressions), §12.2.1
- ⇒ [tsaʔdet/tsaʔdeg-verb], §12.2.1
- ⇒ [naʔde-A-adreʔ] ‘to be a certain distance apart’, §12.2.3
- ⇒ [haʔde-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] ‘every, many, a variety of INCORPORATED NOUNS’, §12.2.5

12.3 Pronunciation of prenominal combinations

Prenominal prefix pronunciation is described next. The forms with example *Gayogoho:nq'néha:* words are based on the fieldwork undertaken for the *Froman et al. (2002)* dictionary. The remaining forms are from *Foster (1993)* and *Sasse & Keye (1998)*.

12.3.1 Legend for prenominal prefix pronunciation charts

Most prenominals change in pronunciation either because of the following sound (such as a 'C' or consonant, Table 12.3, page 213), or because of the meaning of the following pronominal prefix – including the pronominals listed as 1S.P or 2 in Table 12.3 and the A-PERSON and E-PERSON pronominals in Table 12.4, page 214. The following tables summarize the relevant factors.

The terms A-PERSONS and E-PERSONS in Table 12.4, page 214 both refer to prefixes meaning 'we' or 'you'. A-PERSONS take the [a^ʔ-] or [a-] FAC, and E-PERSONS take the [e-] FAC. (Most of the verbs in Table 12.4, page 214 mean 'to see', with the exception of *esáhdq:* 'you lost it' and *esá'drahehs* 'you are exaggerating'.)

12.3.2 Pronunciation changes at the end of the prenominal prefixes

Only a few pronunciation changes affect the end of prenominals or prenominal combinations. Such changes are described below.

The single prenominal prefixes in Table 12.5, page 214 have just one pronunciation.

In contrast, the CIS, FAC, or INDEF prefixes have the pronunciations listed in the "last prefix" column in Table 12.6, page 215. Moreover, any prenominal combinations ending with these prefixes have the same pronunciation. For example, both the CIS and any combination ending with the CIS are pronounced as [t] before a following consonant ('C').

The FAC-CIS, FAC-DU, or FAC-REP combinations have the pronunciations listed in Table 12.7. Any combinations ending with these prefixes have the same pronunciation. For example, combinations ending with the FAC-REP include [qsa-] FAC-REP, [dqsa-] DU-FAC-REP, and [hqsa-] TRANSL-FAC-REP.

Examples of all prenominal prefix combinations are provided in alphabetical order in the following sections.

12.3.3 Prepronominals in alphabetical order

The following tables provide example words illustrating prepronominal prefix combinations (where such were available). The tables are organized both alpha-

Table 12.3: Legend, prepronominal prefix pronunciation

Abbreviation	Legend
C	the next sound is a consonant
V	the next sound is a vowel
w	the next sound is a W
y	the next sound is a Y
(w)	the next sound is a W, but the W deletes. (It is only found in other forms of the verb.)
(y)	the next sound is a Y, but the Y deletes. (It is only found in other forms of the verb.)
(sy)	the [s-] REP merges with the following sound, Y. The two sounds become J
(ts)	the [s-] REP becomes T when the following sound is S: [s-s] becomes [t-s]
(sa)	the [s-] REP becomes [sa-] when the following sound is S: [s-s] becomes [sa-s]
1S.P	the [a-] FAC or [a:-] INDEF merge with [-wag] 1S.P. The result is [qg-] FAC.1S.P or [aqq-] INDEF.1S.P
2	the prefix used before 2S.A or INCLUSIVE pronominal prefixes
IMP	the prefix used with imperatives (command)
A-PERSON	the prefix used before 2S.A (A-PERSON) pronominal prefixes
E-PERSON	the prefix used before 2S.A, (E-PERSON) pronominal prefixes
let's	the prefix used with <i>let's</i> commands (as in 'let's do it')

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

Table 12.4: A- and E-persons

A-PERSON	a ^ʔ a:kní:gɛ ^ʔ , a:kní:gɛ ^ʔ	1D.EX.A
	a ^ʔ ágwagɛ ^ʔ , ágwagɛ ^ʔ	1P.EX.A
	akní:gɛ ^ʔ	1>2(D)
	agwá:gɛ ^ʔ	1>2(P)
	asgé:gɛ	2S>1S
E-PERSON	etní:gɛ ^ʔ , ekní:gɛ ^ʔ	1D.IN.A
	edwá:gɛ ^ʔ	1P.IN.A
	a ^ʔ hsé:gɛ ^ʔ , esáhdq: ^ʔ	2S.A
	e ^ʔ hsní:gɛ ^ʔ	2D.A
	esa ^ʔ drahehs	2S.P
	e ^ʔ hswá:gɛ ^ʔ	2P.A
	e ^ʔ hyá:gɛ ^ʔ , a ^ʔ hyá:gɛ ^ʔ	3S.M>2S
	e ^ʔ skní:gɛ ^ʔ	2>1(D)
	e ^ʔ sgwá:gɛ ^ʔ	2>1(P)

Table 12.5: Invariant prefixes

prefix	prefix name
[tsi-]	COIN
[ti-]	CONTR
[de-]	DU
[ɛ-]	FUT
[ni-]	PART
[i-]	PROTH
[he-]	TRANSL

12.3 Pronunciation of prenominal combinations

Table 12.6: Final prefix of combination

last prefix	becomes	before
CIS	[t]	C
	[d]	w, V
	[g] or [d]	y
	[di] or [de]	2
FAC	[a]	C
	[e]	E-PERSON
	[ɔ]	1S.P
	[aʔ]	(w), (y), V
INDEF	[a:]	C
	[aɔ]	1S.P
	[ae]	2
NEG	[de]	C
	[deʔ]	(w), (y), V
REP	[s]	C
	[t]	(ts)
	[j]	(sy)
	[ji]	2

betically and according to the conditions that determine the final segments of the prenominal prefix combination. These conditions are listed as abbreviations in the table headers, and the abbreviations, in turn, are listed in Table 12.3, page 213.

12 *Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

Table 12.7: Final two prefixes of combination

prefix combination	ends with	before
FAC-CIS	[ɔda]	C
	[ɔdɔ]	1S.P
	[ɔdi]	2
FAC-DU	[adi]	A-PERSON
	[at]	C
	[edi]	E-PERSON
	[ad]	w, V
	[ag] or [ad]	y
FAC-REP	[ɔsa]	C
	[ɔsɔ]	1S.P
	[ɔse]	2
INDEF-CIS	[aɔda], [ɔ:da]	C
	[aɔdɔ], [ɔ:dɔ]	1S.P
	[aɔde], [ɔ:de]	2
INDEF-REP	[aɔsa], [ɔ:sa]	C
	[aɔsɔ], [ɔ:sɔ]	1S.P
	[aɔse], [ɔ:se]	2
REP-FAC	[ɔsa]	C
	[ɔsɔ]	1S.P
	[ɔsaʔ]	(w), (y), V
	[ɔse]	2

12.3 Pronunciation of prepronominal combinations

Table 12.8: Words beginning with [a-/a'-/o-/e-] FAC

C	(w), (y), V	1S.P	2
[a-], agaedá:gra' 'they fell down'	[a'-], a'é:yq' 'she arrived'	[o-], oqáhdro'k 'it frightened me', 'I got frightened'	[e-] E-PERSON esáhdq:' 'you lost it' [a'-∅]* A-PERSON a'a:kní:gɛ', a:kní:gɛ' 's/he and I saw it' ^a

^aThe FAC optionally deletes before 2 (A-PERSONS), but the word is stressed as if the prefix were still there.

Table 12.9: Words beginning with [a:-/aɔ-/ae-/e:-] INDEF

C	1S.P	2
[a:-], a:gahyá:go' 'I would pick fruit'	[aɔ-], aɔgé:gɛ' 'she would see me'	[ae-] A-PERSON aeswá:gɛ' [e:-] E-PERSON e:swá:gɛ' 'you all should see it'

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

Table 12.10: Words beginning with [aɔ/ɔ: ... da-/dɔ-/de-/sa-/sɔ-/se-]

C	1S.P	2	
[aɔda-], [ɔ:da-], [aɔda:-], [ɔ:da:-], aɔdasagyɔ'séha' 'you would come and visit'	[aɔdɔ-], [ɔ:dɔ-]	[aɔde-], [ɔ:de-]	INDEF-CIS
[aɔsa-], [ɔ:sa-]	[aɔsɔ-], [ɔ:sɔ-]	[aɔse-], [ɔ:se-]	INDEF-REP

Table 12.11: Words beginning with [at-/ad-/ag-/adi-/edi-] FAC-DU

C	w, V	y	2
[at-], atgaeyé:na' 'they did it together'	[ad-], adwagahsíha:s 'I choked'	[ag-], agyagwat- nɛ:tsí:ya'k 'we all broke our arm'	[adi-] A-PERSON adigyatnɛ:tsí:ya'k 'we two broke our arm' [edi-] E-PERSON edidwatnɛ:tsí:ya'k 'we all broke our arm'

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Table 12.12: Words beginning with [d-/t-/g-/de-/di-] C1S

C	w, V	y	2
[t-], thadínagreʔ ‘that’s where they live over there’	[d-], né:ʔ gwáhs dwakyeḏaḥ- gówanəḥ ‘the biggest chair’	[g-], gyeʔ droʔ ‘she’s at home’	[de-] IMP (E-PERSON) desáʔ dre:, ‘drive over here’ [di-] disáhdegyo: ‘you come from there’

Table 12.13: Words beginning with [de-/de-]

C	
[de-], dedwadagyénawahs ‘let us all help one another’	DU
[de-], deḥsnáʔ netʔ a: ‘you will double it, reinforce something’	DU-FUT

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Table 12.14: Words beginning with [de/dɛ ... t-/d-/g-/di-/de-]

C	w, V	y	2	
[dɛt-], dɛtga:dɔ:goht 'I will pass that way'	[dɛd-]	[dɛg-], dɛgyá:kne:ʔ 'we two (incl.) will come back'	[dɛdi-] dɛdihsaʔdre:ʔ 'you will drive over there'	DU-FUT-CIS
[det-], detgeʔ 'I am coming back'	[ded-]	[deg-], Degyotnɔ- hsá:kdɔ: 'St. Catharine's, Ontario'	[dede-] IMP (E-PERSON) [dedi-] [dɔda-], IMP (A-PERSON)	DU-CIS
[deʔt-] detgá:yɛʔ 'it is not laying there'	[deʔd-]	[deʔg-]	[dedi-] dedihsaʔwihs 'you're not wanted'	NEG-CIS

Table 12.15: Words beginning with [da(ʔ)-/dɔ-/de-] CIS-FAC

C	(w), (y), V	1s.p	2
[da-], daga:dí:yɔʔ 'they (animals) came in'	[daʔ-]	[dɔ-], dɔgáhdɔ:ʔ '(where) I lost it'	[de-] (E-PERSON)

Table 12.16: Words beginning with [de(ʔ)-] NEG

C	(w), (y), V
[de-], dɛyohnegi:yo: 'it is not good water'	[deʔ-] dɛʔagadɔtgateʔ 'I'm not happy'

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Table 12.17: Words beginning with [da:-/daɔ-/dae-] DUALIC-INDEFINITE

C	1s.p	2
[da:-], da: gatnɛ:tsi:ya ^ʔ k 'I might break my arm'	[daɔ-]	[dae-] E-PERSON

Table 12.18: Words beginning with [daɔ/dɔ ... da-/dɔ-/de-/sa-/sɔ-/se-]

C	1s.P	2	
[dɔsa-], dɔ: sáeda ^ʔ 'she stood up again'			DU-FAC-REP
[daɔda-], [dɔ:da-], dɔ: dá:ge: ^ʔ 'I would come back'	[daɔdɔ-], [dɔ:dɔ-]	[daɔde-], [dɔ:de-]	DU-INDEF-CIS
[daɔsa-], [dɔ:sa-]	[daɔsɔ-], [dɔ:sɔ]	[daɔse-], [dɔ:se-]	DU-INDEF-REP

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Table 12.19: Words beginning with [dɛ/de(ʔ) ... s-/j-/t-/ji-]

C	(sy)	s	2	
[dɛs-] dɛshaih- wáɛtwaht 'he will bring forth a message'	[dɛj-], dɛjɔtnɔ- hsó:goht 'she will go in one door and out the other door'	[dɛt-]	[dɛji-] dɛjidwa- nóhɔnyɔ:ʔ 'we all will thank again'	DU-FUT-REP
[des-], desga:ní:yɔ:t 'it is not hanging'	[deʔj-], deja:gó:yɔ: 'she didn't return'	[det-]	[deʔji-]	NEG-REP
[des-], Tɛʔ gɛh deshó:yɔ:ʔ 'Did he not come home?'	[dej-]	[det-]	[deji-] IMP (E-PERSON) [deji-] dɛjidwa- yɛ:dí: 'we all do not know any longer' [dɔsa-] IMP (A-PERSON)	DU-REP

Table 12.20: Words beg. with [ɛ-] FUT

a	C
	[ɛ-], ɛgátnɔhga:ʔ 'I'm going to cut my hair'

^aFor E prepronominals, see Table 12.8 and Table 12.9.

12.3 Pronunciation of prepronominal combinations

Table 12.21: Words beginning with [ɛ ... (h)s-/j-/t-/ji-] FUT-REP

C	(sy)	s	2
[ɛhs-], ɛshahé:waht ‘he will punish again’	[ɛj-], ɛjé:kse:k ‘she can eat it again’	[ɛt-], ɛtseʔnigɔhoʔne:k ‘you will remove yourself’	[ɛji-] ɛjidwanaʔdáiksɔʔ ‘we all will snack’

Table 12.22: Words beginning with [ɛ ... t-/d-/g-/di-] FUT-CIS

C	w, V	y	2
[ɛt-] ɛtgaɛʔ ‘they will come’	[ɛd-]	[ɛg-] ɛgyoʔgá:hah ‘early evening’	[ɛdi-] ɛdisaʔnigɔhí:yoh ‘your mind will become adjusted’

Table 12.23: Words beginning with [haʔdɛ-/hɛ-]

C	
[haʔdɛ-], haʔdɛ:syehs ‘you will put them all together’	TRANSL-DU-FUT
[hɛ-], hɛsyɛʔ ‘you will put it there’	TRANSL-FUT

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Table 12.24: Words beginning with [ha' de-/ha' di-/he(?) -]

C	2	
[ha' de-], <i>ha' dega' dréhdage:</i> 'all kinds of cars'	[ha' de-], [ha' di-] IMP (e-person) [ha' t-] IMP (a-person)	TRANSL-DU
[he-]	[he' -] IMP (E PERSON), he' sá:dih 'throw it away from me!'	TRANSL

Table 12.25: Words beginning with [ha' /hə-/he' -] TRANSL-FAC

C	1s.p	2
[ha' -], ha' ge' 'I am going there'	[hə-]	[he' -]

Table 12.26: Words beginning with [ha' ... t-/d-/g-] TRANSL-FAC-DU

C	w, V	y
[ha' t-], ha' tgeŋetsáqnyq: 'I waved my arms'	[ha' d-]	[ha' g-]

Table 12.27: Words beginning with [h/ha'd ... a:-/aə-/ae-/e:-]

C	1s.P	2	
[ha:-], to hə: ha:gi' drə:da'k 'where I would dwell'	[haə-]	[hae-] [ha' -] IMP (a-person)	TRANSL-INDEF
[ha' da:-]	[ha' daə-]	[ha' dae-], [ha' de:-]	TRANSL-DU- INDEF

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Table 12.28: Words beginning with [haq/hq: ... sa(°)-sq-/se-]

C	(w), (y), V	1s.P	2	
[haqsa-], [hq:sa-], to e: hqsa:ge:ʔ 'I would go again'	[hq:saʔ-]	[haqsq-], [hq:sq-]	[haqse-], [hq:se-]	TRANSL- INDEF-REP
[hqsa-], hq:sahá:yqʔ 'he went back inside'	[hqsaʔ-]	[hqsq-]	[hqse-]	TRANSL-REP- FAC

Table 12.29: Words beginning with [he/he ... s-/j-/t-/ji-]

C	(sy)	s	2	
[hehs-], heʒgeʔ 'I am going back there'	[hej-], heja:gq:neht 'they will swallow again'	[het-], hetʒsy:ʔ 'you will put it back in its place'	[heji-] hejisasha:ʔ 'you will remember back in time'	TRANSL-FUT- REP
[hehs-], I:wa:kʔáh heshohdrihs- dqhqyeʔ 'He's getting nearer and nearer.'	[hej-], hejonqhsq:t 'the next room'	[het-]	[heji-], [heji-] IMP (e-person), Gaę hwaʔ nhq: hejisáihoʔdeʔ? 'Where do you work again?'	TRANSL-REP
			[hqsa-] IMP (a-person)	

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Table 12.30: Words beginning with [i-/is-/ij-/it-]

C	(sy)	s	
[i-]			PROTH
í:ge's			
'I am here'			
[is-],	[ij-]	[it-]	PROTH.REP
isge's			
'I've returned			
home'			

Table 12.31: Words beginning with [it-/id-/ig-] PROTH-CIS

C	w, V	y
[it-]	[id-]	[ig-]
		í:gye:t
		'she is standing over
		there'

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Table 12.32: Words beginning with [na^ʔ/ne^ʔ/ni ... t-/d-/g-/di-]

d C	w, V	y	2	
[na ^ʔ dɛt-], na^ʔdɛ:tge^ʔ 'I'll come back over here, return'	[na ^ʔ dɛd-]	[na ^ʔ dɛg-]		PART-DU-FUT-CIS
[na ^ʔ dɛt-] na^ʔdɛ:tge^ʔ 'I am coming back over here, returning'	[na ^ʔ dɛd-]	[na ^ʔ dɛg-] shɛh nadɛgyadɔdai 'during the week'		PART-DU-CIS
[nɛt-]	[nɛd-]	[nɛg-]	[nɛdi-]	PART-FUT-CIS
[nit-] nitha:wé:nɔh 'male stranger'	[nid-]	[nig-] nigyagawé:nɔh 'she comes from'	[nidi-] nidihsé:nɔh 'you come from'	PART-CIS

Table 12.33: Words beginning with [n/nh ... a^ʔ-/ɔ-/e^ʔ-] or [niwag-]

C	1s.P	2	
[na ^ʔ -] shɛh na^ʔá:wɛh 'how it happened'	[nɔ-], [niwag-] nɔ:gɛ^ʔsyáo^ʔdɛh, niwag^ʔsyáo^ʔdɛh 'I'm... clan'	[ne ^ʔ -]	PART-FAC
[nha ^ʔ -]	[nhɔ-]	[nhe ^ʔ -]	PART-TRANSL-FAC

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Table 12.34: Words beginning with [naʔ/nɔ(:)/naɔ ... da-/dɔ-/di-/de-/sa-/sɔ-/se-]

C	1s.P	2	
[naʔdɔda-], shɛh naʔdɔ:dá:geʔ 'where I'm coming from'	[naʔdɔdɔ-]	[naʔdɔdi-]	PART-FAC-DU-CIS
[nɔda-] nɔdá:geʔ 'I come from'	[nɔdɔ-]	[nɔdi-] Gaɛ nhɔ nɔdi:sé:nɔh? 'Where are you from?'	PART-FAC-CIS
[naɔda-], [nɔ:da-]	[naɔdɔ-], [nɔ:dɔ-]	[naɔda-], [naɔde-], [nɔ:de-]	PART-INDEF-CIS
[naʔdaɔda-], [naʔdɔ:da-], naʔdɔ:dá:geʔ 'I should come this way'	[naʔdaɔdɔ-], [naʔdɔ:dɔ-]		PART-DU-INDEF-CIS
[naɔsa-], [nɔ:sa-], naɔsaɔgwayɛhɛ:k 'what we all should be doing'	[naɔsɔ-], [nɔ:sɔ-]	[naɔse-]	PART-INDEF-REP
[nɔsaʔ-]	[nɔsɔ-]	[nɔse-]	PART-FAC-REP

Table 12.35: Words beginning with [naʔ ... t-/d-/g-/de-/di-]

C	w, V	y	2	
[naʔt-]	[naʔd-]	[naʔg-]	[naʔde-], [naʔdi-]	PART-FAC-DU

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Table 12.36: Words beginning with [na'd/n/nh ... e-/e-]

C	
[na'de-] na'degáðre' 'how far apart they are'	PART-DU
[na'de-]	PART-DU-FUT
[ne-] ne'wú:k'uh 'it will be small'	PART-FUT
[nhē-]	PART-TRANSL-FUT
[nhe-] nhé:yoht 'suddenly it occurred'	PART-TRANSL

Table 12.37: Words beginning with [n/na'd/nh ... a-/aə-/ae-]

C	1S.P	2	
[na:-] na:yá:wəh 'it should happen'	[naə-]	[nae-]	PART-INDEF
[na'da:-]	[na'daə-]	[na'dae-]	PART-DU-INDEF
[nha:-]	[nhaə-]	[nhae-]	PART-TRANSL-INDEF

Table 12.38: Words beginning with [ni-/na'-] PART

C	2
[ni-] nigahne:ya' 'it is short'	[na'-] IMP, let's

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Table 12.39: Words beginning with [nɛ/ni ... (h)s-/j-/t-/ji-]

C	(sy)	s	2	
[nɛhs-]	[nɛj-]	[nɛt-]	[nɛji-]	PART-FUT-REP
[nis-] Nishayé:no:s 'Hold Unto'	[nij-] nijagowé:nɔh 'female stranger'	[nit-]	[niji-]	PART-REP

Table 12.40: Words beginning with [s-/j-/sa-/ji-] REP

C	(sy)	s	2
[s=]	[j-]	[sa-]	[ji-]
sgayá'da:t 'one (living thing)'	jodɾɛ:no:t 'it is singing again'	IMP sasɛhnihs- gahsrɔ:nih 'fix the wheel' sasahdɛ:dih 'go home!'	IMP jidwahshé:t e: 'let's count again!'

Table 12.41: Words beginning with [sa-/sɔ-/se-] REP-FAC

C		1s.P	2
[sa-]		[sɔ-]	[se-]
sagɛ'nho'trá:twah 'I missed the ball'		sɔgi:da' 'I went back to sleep'	

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Table 12.42: Words beginning with [t-/d-/g-/de-/di-] CIS

C	w, V	y	2
[t-], thadínagreʔ ‘that’s where they live over there’	[d-], né:ʔ gwáhs dwakyɛdah- gówanɛh ‘the biggest chair’	[g-], gyɛʔdrɔʔ ‘she’s at home’	[de-] IMP (E-PERSON) desáʔdre:, ‘drive over here’ [di-] disáhdegyɔ: ‘you come from there’

Table 12.43: Words beginning with [ts ... t-/d-/g-/di-]

C	w, V	y	2
[tsaʔdet-]	[tsaʔded-]	[tsaʔdeg-], tsadeɣyáʔdɔdadrehk ‘the week before last’	COIN-DU-CIS
[tsɛt-]	[tsɛd-]	[tsɛg-]	[tsɛdi-] COIN-FUT-CIS
[tsit-]	[tsid-]	[tsig-]	[tsidi-] COIN-CIS

Table 12.44: Words beginning with [t/ts ... i-/aʔ-]

C	2
[tsi-] tsiyeksáʔda:sé:ʔah ‘when she was a teenager’	[tsaʔ-] IMP, let’s COIN
[ti-], tígaʔdrehdá:deʔ ‘a different car’	[taʔ-] IMP, let’s CONTR

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Table 12.45: Words beginning with [t(s) ... ɛ-/e(ʔ)-]

C	
[taʔde-]	CONTR-DU
[tʂaʔde-] tʂaʔdɛ:waʔs 'they are the same size'	COIN-DU
[taʔdɛ-] taʔdɛjatáhahk 'you two will walk side by side'	CONTR-DU-FUT
[tɛ-] tɛhayɛtó:ʔah 'he'll just plant it any old way or helter-skelter'	CONTR-FUT
[tʂaʔdɛ-] tʂaʔdɛhsyɛ:ʔ 'you will lay them side by side'	COIN-DU-FUT
[tɛ-]	COIN-FUT
[taʔde-] taʔdegawá:yɔ:t 'it has no wings'	CONTR-NEG
[teʔ-] tɛʔ toh teʔgáhe:ʔ 'it's not sitting way over there'	CONTR-TRANSL

Table 12.46: Words beginning with [t(s) ... aʔ-/ɔ-/eʔ-]

C	1S.P	2	
[taʔ-]	[tɔ-]	[teʔ-]	CONTR-FAC
[tʂaʔ-] tʂaʔga:yɛ:daʔ 'when it became'	[tʂɔ-]	[tʂeʔ-]	COIN-FAC

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Table 12.47: Words beginning with [t(s) ... de-/di-/d-/g-/t-]

C	w, V	y	2	
[tɔde-], tɛ' tɔdesa'dré: 'you won't drive over here'			[tɔdi-]	DU-FAC-CIS
[tsa't-]	[tsa'd-]	[tsa'g-]	[tse'd-] V [tse'g-] y [tse't-] C	COIN-FAC-CIS
[tsa:t-]	[tsa:d-]	[tsa:g-], [tsaeg-] y	[tsaed-] y, V [tsaet-] C	COIN-INDEF-CIS
[te't-]	[te'd-]	[te'g-]		CONTR-TRANSL-DU
[ta't-]	[ta'de-], [te'd-] y, V	[ta'g-], [te'g-] y	[te'di-]	CONTR-FAC-DU

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Table 12.48: Words beginning with [t(s) ... a(:)-/(a)ɔ-/ae-/e:]

C	1s.P	2	
[ta:-]	[taɔ-]	[tae-], 2	CONTR-TRANSL- INDEF
[ta:-], tɛʔ ta:hayɛ:toh 'no, he won't plant'	[taɔ-]	[tae-], [te:-] tɛʔ taeswá:gɛh, te:swá:gɛh 'you all shouldn't see it' te:sagáɛ 'you are not willing'	CONTR-INDEF
[ta'da:-]	[ta'daɔ-]	[ta'dae-]	CONTR-DU-INDEF
[tsa:-]	[tsaɔ-]	[tsae-], [tse:-]	COIN-INDEF
[tsa'da:-]	[tsa'daɔ-]	[tsa'dae-]	COIN-DU-INDEF
[taɔda-], [tɔ:da-]	[taɔdɔ-], [tɔ:dɔ-]	[taɔde-]	CONTR-INDEF-CIS
[taɔsa-]	[taɔsɔ-]	[taɔse-]	CONTR-INDEF- REP

Table 12.49: Words beginning with [t(s) ... s-/j-/t-/ji-]

C	(sy)	s	2	
[tsa:s-], [tsaɔs-]	[tsa:j-]	[tsa:t-]	[tsaes-]	COIN-INDEF-REP
[tsa's-]	[tsa'j-]	[tsa't-]	[tseji-]	COIN-FAC-REP
[ta'des-]	[ta'dej-]			CONTR-DU-REP
[tɛs-]				CONTR-FUT-REP
[tis-]				CONTR-REP
[tsɛhs-]	[tsej-]	[tsɛt-]	[tseji-]	COIN-FUT-REP
[tsihs-]	[tsij-]	[tsit-]	[tsiji-]	COIN-REP

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

The post-pronominal prefixes appear after the pronominal prefixes and before the verb stem, Table 13.1.

Table 13.1: Post-pronominal prefix order

PRE-PRON	PRON	POST-PRON	VERB STEM
[de-]		[adad-] REC (with [de-] DU) [adad-] REFL (without [de-] DU) [ad-] SRF	

The two post-pronominal prefixes are the [adad-] REFLEXIVE or RECIPROCAL (1a) and [ad-] SEMIREFLEXIVE (1b). (The same verb without either prefix is shown in the “cf.” example in 1.)

- (1) a. dędwadatró:wi[?]
 d-ę-dw-adat-hró:wi-[?]
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell one another’
- b. ędwa:tró:wi[?]
 ę-dwa:-t-hró:wi-[?]
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SEMIREFLEXIVE-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell’
- cf. ękehó:wi[?]
 ę-ke-hó:wi-[?]
 FUT-1S>3S.FI-tell-PUNC
 ‘I will tell someone’

For some verbs, the form of the semireflexive is [adę-] or [dę-] (2).

- (2) a. ęhsadęgahnye[?] ‘you will comfort, rock a child’,
 ę-hs-adę-gahnye-[?]
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-play-STAT
 ‘you are babysitting’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- b. sadəʔnigqahni:ya:t
sa-də-ʔnigqaha-hni:ya:t
2S.P-SRF-mind-harden.NO_ASPECT
'keep your mind strong'
- cf. əhsaʔnigqahni:ya:t
ə-hsa-ʔnigqaha-hni:ya:t
FUT-2S.P-MIND-harden.Ø.PUNC
'you will endure'
- cf. əhsheʔnigqahni:ya:t
ə-hshe-ʔnigqaha-hni:ya:t
FUT-2S:3FIS-mind-harden.Ø.PUNC
'you strengthen her mind'

For some verbs, the form of the semireflexive is [ən-] or [e-] (3).

- (3) a. əsənida:grəʔ
ə-s-ən-ida:grə-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-SRF-lay.down-PUNC
'you will lie down'
- b. əgənida:ge:ʔ
ə-g-ən-iʔd-age:-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-SRF-feces-wipe-PUNC
'I will wipe myself clean of fecal matter'
- c. aɡənagra:dqəh
ag-ə-nagra:d-qəh
1S.P-SRF-cause.to.live-STAT
'I was born'

13.1 [adad-] REFLEXIVE (REFL) OR RECIPROCAL (REC)

The [adad-] prefix either has a reflexive or a reciprocal meaning. As a reflexive, the [adad-] prefix means that the action reflects back on the “doer” of the action (for example, ‘seeing *oneself*’, 4. As a reciprocal, the action equally affects all parties (for ‘example, helping *one another*’ or ‘helping *each other*’, 5). For the reciprocal sense, the verb also requires the [de-] DUALIC prefix (5, Michelson 2011: 127).

(4) with [*adad-*] REFL

- a. *agadadé:geʔ*
a-g-adad-é:-geʔ
 FAC-1S.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw myself’
- cf. *agé:geʔ*
a-g-é-géʔ
 FAC-1S.A-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw (it)’
- cf. *ahé:geʔ*
a-hé:-geʔ
 FAC-1S>3S.M-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw him’

(5) with [*de-*] DU and [*adad-*] REC

- a. *dedwadagyénawaʔs*
de-dw-adag-yénawaʔs
 DU-1P.IN.A-REFL-help.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let us all help one another’
- cf. *dwayénawaʔs*
dwa-yénawaʔs
 1P.IN.A-help.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let all of us help (it)’
- b. *dędwadatró:wiʔ*
d-ę-dw-adat-hró:wiʔ
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell one another’
- cf. *ędwa:tró:wiʔ*
ę-dw-a:t-hró:wiʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell’
- c. *dęgaqdagyená:waʔs*
d-ę-gaq-dag-yená:waʔs
 DU-FUT-3NS.FI.A-REFL-help.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they will help each other’
- cf. *ęgyená:waʔs*
ę-gq-yená:waʔs
 FUT-1S>2S-help.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will help you’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- d. degaḡdatgḡhsóhae
de-gaḡ-dat-gḡhs-óhae
DU-3NS.FI.A-REFL-face-wash.STAT
'they are washing each other's faces'
cf. shagogḡhsóhae
shago-gḡhs-óhae
3MS:3FI/3P.P-face-wash.STAT
'he is washing her face'

The [adad-] prefix also has a special (*non-reflexive*) meaning with the pronominal prefixes meaning 'her' or 'they (females or mixed group)'. In this case, it refers to two separate groups of females. For example, *agaḡda:gyé:na:ʔ* means 'they caught her', not 'they caught *themselves*' (6).

- (6) a. agaḡda:gyé:na:ʔ
a-gaḡ-da:g-yé:na:-ʔ
FAC-3NS.FI.A-REFL-catch-PUNC
'they caught her'
cf. agaeyé:na:ʔ
a-gae-yé:na:-ʔ
FAC-3NS.FI.A-catch-PUNC
'they caught, received, accepted it'
- b. aʔḡdadé:gḡʔ
aʔ-q-dad-é:-gḡʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-REFL-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
'she saw her (some other person)'
cf. aʔé:gḡʔ
aʔ-é:-gḡʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
'she saw (it)'

13.1.1 Verbs that require [adad-] REFL or REC

Fixed expressions (verbs) requiring the [adad-] prefix are listed in (7). (Because their meaning is fixed, §9.2, the reflexive or reciprocal meaning is not immediately obvious in the translations.)

- (7) a. wadatgowá:nḡh
w-adat-gowá:n-ḡh
3S.A-REFL-big-STAT
'it is rash, unwise, self-important, egotistical'

- b. hadágya[?]da:s
 ha-dág-ya[?]da:-s
 3S.M.A-REFL-rely.on-HAB
 ‘he has a high opinion of himself, he is self-centred, he is bold’
- c. wadatnigóha:[?]
 w-adat-[?]nigóha:[?]
 3S.A-REFL-watch.HAB
 ‘it is wary, cautious’
- d. tɛwadadó:ni[?]
 t-h-ɛ-w-adad-ó:ni-[?]
 CONTR-TRANSL-FUT-3S.A-REFL-make-PUNC
 ‘it will emerge or appear unintentionally’, ‘it will do it by itself’
- e. deşádadó[?]
 d-ɛ-s-ádad-ɔ-[?]
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-give-PUNC
 ‘you will trade, exchange’
- f. desadadéhsnyeh
 de-s-adad-é-hsnye-h
 DU-2S.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-care.for-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘tidy up!’, ‘groom yourself!’
- g. ɛhsadagyé:na:[?]
 ɛ-hs-adag-yé:na:-[?]
 FUTURE-2S.A-REFL-catch-PUNC
 ‘you will wrestle’
- h. deşádats[?]a:[?]
 d-ɛ-hs-ádat-s[?]a:-[?]
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-use.up-PUNC
 ‘you will quarrel’
- i. deđwadadrihwanóhkwa:k
 d-ɛ-dwa-dad-rihw-a-nóhkw-a-:k
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-matter-JOINERĀ-respect-JOINERĀ-Ø.PUNC.MODZ
 ‘we all will show respect for one another’
- j. deheñadátgøhe:s[?]
 de-heñ-adát-gøhe:g-s
 DU-3NS.M.A-REFL-punch-HAB
 ‘boxer, ‘they are boxing’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- k. saḥḥenada:thré:waht
sa-ḥḥen-ada:t-hré:waht
REP-3NS.M.A-REFL-punish.Ø.PUNC
'they repented'
- l. awadadrí:yo'
a-w-adad-rí:yo-'
FAC-3S.A-REFL-kill-PUNC
'it killed itself', 'suicide'
- m. ḥsasadrohé:gḥ'
ḥ-hs-adad-rohé:g-ḥ-'
FUT-2S.A-REFL-gather-BEN-PUNC
'you will accumulate (things, ideas, etc.) for yourself'
- n. q̄dadriḥónyaniḥ
q̄-dad-riḥ-óny-a-niḥ
3S.FI.A-REFL-word-make-JOINER A-BEN.HAB
'she is reading'
- o. awadadríhwaḥdḥ't
a-w-adad-ríhwaḥdḥ't
FAC-3S.A-REFL-matter-cause.to.disappear.Ø.PUNC
'suicide'
- p. agadadwíyahdḥ't
a-g-adad-wíy-ahdḥ't
FAC-1S.A-REFL-offspring-cause.to.disappear.Ø.PUNC
'I had an abortion'
- q. deḡaḡdagya'dáhgwa't
d-ḡ-gaḡ-dag-ya'd-áhgwa't
DU-FUT-3NS.FI.A-REFL-body-lift.up.Ø.PUNC
'they will do push ups'
- r. wadatgonyóḥsta'
w-adat-gonyóḥst-ha'
3S.A-REFL-discriminating-HAB
'she is stuck up'

13.2 [ad-] SEMIREFLEXIVE (SRF)

The [ad-] SRF means that an action affects or benefits the “doer” in some way (8). Verbs without it describe an action that affects someone other than the “doer” (see the “cf.” examples in 8).

- (8) a. hatgḡhsḡhái
 ha-t-gḡhs-ḡhái
 3S.M.A-SRF-face-wash.HAB
 ‘he is washing his face’
 cf. shagogḡhsḡhae
 shago-gḡhs-ḡhae
 3MS:3FI/3P.P-face-wash.HAB
 ‘he is washing her face’
- b. ɛgádḡhseht
 ɛ-g-ád-ḡhseht
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-hide.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will hide’ (implied: ‘myself’)
 cf. ɛgḡhseht
 ɛ-g-ḡhseht
 FUT-1S.A-hide.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will hide something’

The [ad-] SRF can also serve to downplay or de-emphasize the RECIPIENT of the action. The verbs with [ad-] in (9) emphasize *giving thanks* or *telling*, but do not focus on who is being thanked, or who is being told. In contrast, the verbs without [-ad] in (10) emphasize what or who is being thanked. More examples are provided in (11).

- (9) verbs with with [ad-] SRF, recipient downplayed
- a. dɛdwadɛnḡhḡnyḡ:[?]
 d-ɛ-dw-adɛ-nḡhḡnyḡ-:[?]
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-thank-PUNC
 ‘we will give thanks’
- b. ɛdwa:tró:wi[?]
 ɛ-dw-a:t-hró:wi-[?]
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 ‘we will tell, narrate’
- (10) verbs without [ad-] SRF, more emphasis on recipient
- a. dɛdwanḡhḡ:nyḡ:[?]
 d-ɛ-dwa-nḡhḡ:nyḡ-:[?]
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-thank-PUNC
 ‘we will thank it’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- b. dɛhshenq̄hó:nyq̄:[?]
 d-ɛ-hshe-nq̄hó:nyq̄:-[?]
 DU-FUT-2S:3FIS-thank-PUNC
 ‘you will welcome, greet or thank someone’
- (11) a. hadɛyenáwá[?]seh
 h-adɛ-yenáwá[?]s-eh
 3S.M.A-SRF-help-HAB
 ‘he is a helper, assistant’
- b. gaq̄ɛyenawá[?]seh
 gaq̄-dɛ-yenawá[?]s-eh
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-help-HAB
 ‘they are helpers, assistants of hers’
- cf. ɛḡq̄yena:wa[?]s
 ɛ-gq̄-yena:wa[?]s
 FUT-1S>2S-help.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will help you’

The [ad-] SRF can also serve to emphasize the *result* of an activity or happening, instead of the activity itself. For example, *agaqtgwé:ni[?]* ‘they won’ (12) describes the result of *agaegwé:ni[?]* ‘they are able to do it’. (For comparison, the same verb with the [adad-] REFL prefix is shown in 12b.)

- (12) with [ad-], emphasizing the result of an action
- a. agaqtgwé:ni[?]
 a-gaq̄-t-gwé:ni-[?]
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-SRF-succeed-PUNC
 ‘they won’
- cf. agaegwé:ni[?]
 a-gae-gwé:ni-[?]
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-succeed-PUNC
 ‘they are or were able to do it’
- b. agaɔdatgwé:ni[?]
 a-gaq̄-dat-gwé:ni-[?]
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-REFL-succeed-PUNC
 ‘they beat her’

In many fixed expressions (verbs), the meaning of the [ad-] SRF is not immediately obvious (13). For example, *hadɛhni:nq̄h* means ‘he is a seller’, not ‘he is buying (for himself)’. That being said, the words with the [ad-] SRF still imply a benefit to the ‘doer’ that is absent from the same words without the [ad-] SRF.

- (13) a. haḍḥní:nḡh
 h-aḍḥ-hní:nḡ-h
 3S.M.A-SRF-buy-HAB
 ‘he is a seller or storekeeper’
 cf. hahní:nḡh
 ha-hní:nḡ-h
 3S.M.A-buy-HAB
 ‘he is a buyer’
- b. agadekḡ:ni:
 ag-ad-e-k-ḡ:ni-:
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERE-food-make-STAT
 ‘I am eating’
 cf. age:kḡ:ni:
 ag-e-k-ḡ:ni-:
 1S.P-JOINERE-food-make-STAT
 ‘I am cooking’

13.2.1 Verbs requiring [ad-] SRF

Over 400 verbs require the [ad-] SRF prefix to express their fixed meaning. Examples are provided in §B.

13.3 Pronunciation of the post-pronominal prefixes

The semireflexive and reflexive prefixes undergo the following sound changes. First, Joiner E is absent when the prefixes are followed by W, Y, or a vowel, as shown in (14), (17), and (18). Joiner E is often present when the prefixes are followed by a consonant, as shown in (15), (16), (20b). However, some counterexamples are shown in (19), (20a).

- (14) [-ad] SRF, [adad-] REFL
- a. ɛsadwahátaʔt
 ɛ-s-ad-ʔwah-á-taʔt
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-meat-dry.out.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will dry out the meat’
- b. awadadwḡ:deht
 a-w-adad-wḡ:deht
 FAC-3S.A-REFL-forfeit.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it (e.g. a pet) forfeited (its life)’

13 *Verb post-pronominal prefixes*

(15) [ad-e-] SRF-JOINERĒ, [adad-e-] REFL-JOINERĒ

- a. ɛhsadɛʔsgó:dɛʔ
 ɛ-hs-adɛ-ʔsg-ó:dɛ-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-roast-put.in-PUNC
 ‘you will roast something’
- b. ahadadéʔo:k
 a-h-adad-é-ʔo:k
 FAC-HE.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-axe.Ø.PUNC
 ‘he axed himself’

The first A of each prefix is deleted when the semireflexive or reflexive appears after a vowel (16–17). (This is also the case for the [(a)dɛ-] form of the semireflexive, described in §13.)

(16) [d-e-] SRF-JOINERĒ, [dad-e-] REFL-JOINERĒ

- a. ɔdéteʔtra:s
 ɔ-d-é-teʔt-ra:s
 3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-powder-spread.Ø.PUNC
 ‘she is powdering herself’
- b. ɔdadɛʔgé:ʔɛh
 ɔ-dad-e-ʔgé:ʔɛh
 3S.FI.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-younger.sister
 ‘her younger sister’

(17) [d-] SRF, [dad-] REFL

- a. ɔdó:nyeʔs
 ɔ-d-ó:nye-ʔs
 3S.FI.A-SRF-breathe-HAB
 ‘she is breathing’
- b. aʔɔdadahó:dó:ʔ
 aʔ-ɔ-dad-ahó:dó:-ʔ
 FAC-3S.FI.A-REFL-ask-PUNC
 ‘she asked her’

The final D in the [ad-] SRF and [adad-] REFL becomes G before Y in *Dagehy-atgehó:nɔʔ* (Lower Cayuga, 18) but remains D in *Ganedagehó:nɔʔ* (Upper Cayuga, not shown).

13.3 Pronunciation of the post-pronominal prefixes

- (18) [ag-] SRF, [adag-] REFL
- a. *sagya'dohái*
s-ag-ya'd-ohái
2S.A-REFL-body-wash.NO_ASPECT
'take a bath'
 - b. *ęhsadagyé:na:ʔ*
ę-hs-adag-yé:na:-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-REFL-catch-PUNC
'you will wrestle'

The final D also becomes T before certain consonants, including G (19), (20a). (However, note the alternative [adad-e-] REFL-JOINERÉ pronunciation in 20b.)

- (19) [at-] SRF
- satgohsohái*
s-at-gohs-ohái
2S.A-SRF-face-wash.NO_ASPECT
'wash your face'
- (20) [adat-] REFL or [adad-e-] REFL-JOINERÉ
- a. *agádatgęʔ*
a-g-ádat-gę-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-REFL-see-PUNC
'I saw myself'
 - b. *agadadé:gęʔ*
a-g-adad-é:-gę-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-REFL-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
'I saw myself'

14 Noun incorporation

Incorporated nouns appear after the post-pronominal prefixes and before the verb stem, Table 14.1.

Table 14.1: Noun incorporation position

pre-pronominal	pronominal	post-pronominal	incorporated noun stem	verb stem
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The resulting words contain both a noun stem and a verb stem (1). In contrast, most other words include just one stem (noun or verb).¹

- (1) a. gaḥwadiḥqh
ga-ḥw-adiḥ-qh
3S.A-boat-lean-STAT
'a leaning boat'
cf. gaḥ:wa'
ga-ḥ:w-a'
3S.A-boat-NSF
'boat'
cf. wadiḥqh
w-adiḥ-qh
3S.A-lean-STAT
'it is leaning'
- b. niyohahú:ʔuh
ni-yo-hah-ú:ʔuh
PART-3S.P-road-small.STAT
'a small road'
cf. oháha'
o-háh-a'
3S.P-road-NSF
'road'

¹For examples of words with two verb stems, see E-verbs (§16) and the (reanalysed) [(h)sʔ] EV (§36.6.2).

14 Noun incorporation

- cf. niwú:ʔuh
ni-w-ú:ʔuh
PART-3S.A-small.STAT
'it is small'

The meaning of words with noun incorporation is either transparent (2a) or fixed (2b). (For *transparent* versus *literal*, see §9.2.)

- (2) a. agatg̃h̃sóhaeʔ
a-g-at-g̃h̃s-óhae-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
'I washed my face' (transparent meaning)
- b. g̃oʔnig̃h̃áh̃hetg̃eʔs
g̃o-ʔnig̃h̃-á-hetg̃e-ʔs
3S.FI.P-mind-JOINER-ugly-HAB
'she is sobbing uncontrollably' (literally, 'she has a bad-turning mind'
or a 'she is having a mind breakdown')

14.1 Nouns that can be incorporated

Nouns that can be incorporated include basic nouns (3), nouns with a [-tra], [-
(h)sra] NMLZ suffix (4), and body part nouns (5). The part that is incorporated is
the stem (the noun minus any prefixes or suffixes) or a STEM-NMLZ combination
(4). (For the NOMINALIZER, see §11.1.3.)

- (3) incorporated basic nouns
ahawiyán̄g̃h̃sgoʔ
a-ha-wiy-á-n̄g̃h̃sgo-ʔ
FAC-HE.A-offspring-JOINER-steal-PUNC
'he kidnapped a child'
- cf. owi:yaʔ
o-wí:y-aʔ
3S.P-offspring-NSF
'offspring'
- cf. ɛhán̄g̃h̃sgoʔ
ɛ-há-n̄g̃h̃sgo-ʔ
FUT-HE.A-steal-PUNC
'he will steal'

(4) incorporated nouns with [-tra, -(h)sra] NMLZ

a. dehsehena[?]tra[?]éhsta[?]
 de-hs-e-hena[?]tra-[?]éhst-ha[?]
 DU-2S.A-JOINERÉ-knife-stab-HAB
 ‘you stab it repeatedly’

cf. ohéna[?]tra[?] ‘blade’,
 o-héna[?]-tr-a[?]
 3S.P-cut.up-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘knife’

b. gahyadqhsra:yé:nahs
 ga-hyadqhsra:-yé:na-hs
 3S.A-paper-hold.together-HAB
 ‘paper clip’

cf. gahyádqhsra[?]
 ga-hyádq-hsr-a[?]
 3S.A-write-NMLZ-NSF

(5) incorporated body part nouns

hohsí[?]datgi[?]
 ho-hsí[?]d-a-tgi[?]
 3S.M.P-foot-JOINERÁ-dirty.STAT
 ‘his feet are dirty’

cf. hahsí[?]da[?]geh
 ha-hsí[?]d-a[?]geh
 3S.M.A-foot-ON
 ‘on his foot’

cf. otgi[?]
 o-tgi[?]
 3S.P-dirty.STAT
 ‘it is dirty or ugly’

Some loanwords can also be incorporated after the addition of the [-tr] NMLZ

(6). In contrast, some do not need the suffix (7).

(6) incorporated loanwords

a. gajobtrowá:nəh
 ga-job-tr-owá:n-əh
 3S.A-job-NMLZ-big-STAT
 ‘big job’

14 Noun incorporation

- b. gajobtrí:yo:
ga-job-tr-í:yo:
3S.A-job-NMLZ-good.STAT
'nice job'
- c. hojobtrí:yo:
ho-job-tr-í:yo:
3S.M.P-job-NMLZ-good.STAT
'he has a good job'

- (7) ęgadehórsneht
ę-g-ad-e-hórs-neht
FUT-1S.A-SRF-horse-dismount.Ø.PUNC
'I will get off a horse' (humorous)

14.1.1 Placeholder incorporated nouns

Several obligatorily incorporating verbs require a PLACEHOLDER incorporated noun when no other noun is incorporated. (In context, the placeholder noun stem means 'it', 'thing', or 'something'.) For example, the verb [+ohae] 'to wash' takes placeholder [n] (8).

- (8) [n+ohae], [+ohae] 'to wash'
ęknóhae[?]
ę-k-n-óhae-[?]
FUT-1S.A-NOUN-wash-PUNC
'I will wash it'
- cf. ęgahjoháe[?]
ę-g-ahj-oháe-[?]
FUT-1S.A-hand-wash-PUNC
'I will wash my hands'

Examples of other placeholders are shown in (9–13). The type of placeholder noun is specific to each verb. For example, [na[?]] is unique to [+nawę:] (9).

- (9) [na[?]+nawę:], [+nawę:] 'to be wet, etc.'
oná[?]nawę:
o-na[?]-nawę:
3S.P-NOUN-moist.STAT
'it is wet, melted, moist'

cf. ohehdaná:wę:
 o-hehd-a-ná:wę:
 3S.P-earth-JOINER-A-moist.STAT
 ‘wet, moist dirt, earth’

- (10) [a[?]s+ę[?]], [+ę[?]] ‘to fall off, drop, reduce’

gyo[?]sę[?]qh
 g-yo-[?]s-ę[?]-qh
 CIS-3S.P-NOUN-fall-STAT
 ‘it has fallen off something’

cf. heyohnegę[?]qh
 he-yo-hneg-ę[?]-qh
 TRANSL-3S.P-water-fall-STAT
 ‘falling water’

- (11) [d+ohag], [+ohag] ‘squeeze something’

dewakdohá:gqh
 de-wak-d-ohá:g-gh
 DU-1S.P-NOUN-squeeze-STAT
 ‘I am squeezing it’

cf. degahstqdróha:s
 de-ga-hstqdr-óha:g-s
 DU-3S.A-straw-squeeze-HAB
 ‘bailer’ (for hay, straw)

- (12) [hsr+qni], [+qni] ‘create, make’

ęhsehsrq:ni[?]
 ę-hs-e-hsr-q:ni-[?]
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-NOUN-make-PUNC
 ‘you will create, make something’

cf. sa[?]ahdrq:ni
 sa-[?]ahdr-q:ni-h
 2S.P-basket-make-STAT
 ‘you make baskets’

- (13) [hny+od], [+od] ‘to be standing’

gahnyo:t
 ga-hn-yo:t
 3S.A-NOUN-stand.STAT
 ‘it is standing’

cf. gajísdo:t
 ga-jísd-o:t
 3S.A-light-stand.STAT
 ‘a light’

14.2 Nouns that cannot be incorporated

Some nouns are not incorporable. As well, nouns are often not incorporated even when it is possible to do so (a situation known as EXCORPORATION). Both cases are described in the following sections.

14.2.1 Nouns that are not incorporable

Nouns that cannot be incorporated include compound nouns (§5.3), instrumental nouns (§5.4.1), and atypical nouns (§5.7). Compound nouns (14a) cannot be incorporated because they contain more than one noun stem. (Verbs typically only incorporate one noun stem at a time.) “Instrumental nouns” (14b) cannot be incorporated because they are VERBS. Similarly, atypical nouns (such as animal names, 14c) generally cannot be incorporated.²

- (14) a. *gwihsɣwihs o'wáhoh* ‘pig meat’, ‘pork’, ‘bacon’ (compound noun)
 b. *ehyádqhkwa'* ‘pencil’ (instrumental noun)
 c. *gwihsɣwihs* ‘pig’ (animal name or atypical noun)

Finally, VERBS functioning as “nouns” cannot be incorporated. A two-word expression or compound noun is used instead (15a, b). (Examples 15c–e illustrate the incorporation of various nouns into the verb *gayé:twəh*.)

- (15) a. *ohnyohsgwaé' gayé:twəh* ‘cucumber field’
 cf. *ohnyohsgwáe'* ‘cucumber’ (VERB functioning as a “noun”)
 b. *ohyagahó' gayé:twəh* ‘tomato field’
 cf. *ohyagahó'* ‘tomato’ (VERB functioning as a “noun”)
 c. *gahstodrayé:twəh* ‘hay field’
 cf. *ohstó:dra'* ‘hay’ (basic noun)
 d. *gahonadáyətwəh* ‘potato field’
 cf. *ohóná'da'* ‘potato’ (basic noun)
 e. *gayé'gwayé:twəh* ‘tobacco field’
 cf. *oyé'gwa'* ‘tobacco’ (basic noun)

²That being said, some atypical nouns can be incorporated once the [tr-] NMLZ is added (i).

- (i) *ohsowastradáihə:'*
o-hsowas-tr-a-dáihə:'
 3S.P-dog-NMLZ-JOINER-hot.STAT
 ‘hot dog’ (humorous calque)

14.2.2 Excorporation

Nouns can remain unincorporated (a situation known as EXCORPORATION) for stylistic reasons (see §33). For example, while it is possible to incorporate the stem for *gatgwé?da?* ‘wallet’, as in (16a), the excorparated or independent noun instead appears at the end of the sentence for special effect (such as emphasis in 16b).

- (16) a. $\text{qgetgw}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\text{d}\text{q}:\text{?}$
 $\text{qg-e-tgw}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{d-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\text{d}\text{q}:\text{?}$
 FAC.1S.P-JOINERE-wallet-lose-PUNC
 ‘I lost my wallet’
 cf. $\text{gatgw}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{da?}$
 $\text{ga-tgw}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{d-a?}$
 3S.A-JOINERE-wallet-NSF
 ‘wallet’
- b. Ni: $\text{gy}\acute{\epsilon}:\text{h}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{o}}\text{-ne}:\text{?}$ $\text{q}\text{g}\text{a}\text{h}\text{d}\text{q}:\text{?}$ ne? $\text{ag}\acute{\epsilon}\text{t}\text{gw}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{da?}$.
 I mind.you that-it.is I.lost.it the my.wallet
 ‘Mind you, I lost my wallet.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, *Gatgwé?da?* dialogue)

Excorporation and obligatorily-incorporating verbs

Excorporation creates a potential problem in the case of obligatorily-incorporating verbs like [+iyo:] ‘good, nice’ (see §14.4.3). To meet the requirement for an incorporated noun, a kind of *generic* noun stem can be incorporated instead. For example, the noun stem [nahsgw] ‘domesticated animal’ substitutes for unincorporable *só:wa:s* ‘dog’ in the verb *ganahswi:yo:* ‘good pet’ in (17a).

In such cases, both the incorporated generic noun stem within the verb *and* the unincorporable noun outside the verb are required (17b, c).

- (17) a. $\text{Ganahsgwi:y}\acute{\text{o}}:\text{ne?}$ $\text{s}\acute{\text{o}}:\text{wa:s}$.
 it’s.a.good.pet the dog
 ‘The dog is a good pet.’
 cf. $\text{ga-nahsgw-i:y}\acute{\text{o}}:$
 3S.A-domestic.animal-good.STAT
- b. $\text{So:w}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{s}$ $\text{akn}\acute{\text{a}}\text{hsgw}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\epsilon}?\text{.}$
 dog I.have.a.pet
 ‘I have a dog’

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- cf. ak-náhsgw-a-ẹ̣ʔ
1S.P-domestic.animal-JOINER-A-have.STAT
- c. degraheʔda:gé: ohó:draʔ
de-graheʔd-a:gé: ohó:draʔ
DU-Ø.PREFIX.tree-two.or.more.STAT basswood
'two basswood trees'
- cf. sgráhéʔda:t
s-gráhéʔd-a:-t
REP-Ø.PREFIX.tree-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
'one tree'
- cf. grahe:t
grahe:t
NO.PREFIX.tree
'tree'

14.3 Verbs that cannot incorporate nouns

Action or activity verbs can only incorporate when they express or require PATIENT or OBJECT roles. (For ROLE, see §20.6.) Examples of verbs that cannot incorporate are provided in (18). Such verbs express an AGENT or “doer”, but not a patient.

Since incorporated nouns typically express a patient role, they are absent from verbs that fail to express such a role.

- (18) a. gahnih
ga-hni-h
3S.A-bark-HAB
'it is barking'
- b. gadá:wẹ̣h
g-ad-á:wẹ̣-h
1S.A-SRF-SWIM-HAB
'I am swimming'
- c. saʔé:yqʔ
s-aʔ-é:-yqʔ
REP-FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
'she returned'
- d. nqđáhse:ʔ
nqđá-hs-e:-ʔ
PART.CIS.FAC-2S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
'you came from there'

- e. ha'gáhge:t
 ha'-g-áhge:t
 TRANSL-1S.A-stop.in.Ø.PUNC
 'I stopped by there'
- f. agi'[?]
 a-g-i-'[?]
 FAC-1S.A-say-PUNC
 'I said'

14.4 Verbs that can incorporate nouns

Verbs that can incorporate nouns include two-role verbs, and stative-only (adjectival) verbs, described next.

14.4.1 Two-role verbs that can incorporate nouns

Two-role verbs that express a patient role can incorporate nouns. For example, the verb *əknóhae'* 'I will wash it' is a two-role verb, requiring both an agent (someone doing the washing) and a patient (someone or thing being washed). It can incorporate nouns that describe what is being washed (19).

- (19) a. agatgòhsóhae'[?]
 a-g-at-gòhs-óhae-'[?]
 FAC-1S.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
 'I washed my face'
- cf. gegòhsa'geh
 g-e-gòhs-a'geh
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-face-ON
 'on my face'
- b. agatnũ'tsóhae'[?]
 a-g-at-nũ'ts-óhae-'[?]
 FAC-1S.A-SRF-tooth-wash-PUNC
 'I brushed my teeth'
- cf. knu'tsá'geh
 k-nu'ts-á'geh
 1S.A-tooth-ON
 'on my teeth'

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- c. aḡḡhsīʔ dóhaeʔ
a-g-ḡhsīʔ d-óhae-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-foot-wash-PUNC
'I washed my feet'
cf. ḡḡhsīʔ daʔ ḡeh
g-ḡhsīʔ d-aʔ ḡeh
1S.A-foot-ON
'on my foot'

However, not all two-role verbs can incorporate a noun: for example, while the verb [ahsha:] 'to remember' (20) expresses two roles (1s>2s in 20a, and 2s.A-SRF in 20b), there is no evidence that this verb ever incorporates a noun. The same goes for the verb in (21). (For such verbs, the "second" role is a person or several people, not an object.)

- (20) a. í:hs aḡóyḡhsha:ʔ
í:hs a-góy-ḡhsha:-ʔ
you FAC-1s>2s-remember-PUNC
'I thought of you'
b. ḡtsadadáhshagwḡʔ
ḡ-t-s-adad-áhshagw-ḡ-ʔ
FUT-CIS-2S.A-REFL-remember-BEN-PUNC
'you will remind yourself, make yourself remember'
- (21) ḡhéhsnḡdrḡʔ
ḡ-héhs-hnḡdrḡ-ʔ
FUT-2s:3ms-follow-PUNC
'you will follow him'

14.4.2 Stative-only verbs that can incorporate nouns

Several types of stative-only verb, described next, can incorporate nouns.

Incorporating stative-only "adjectival" verbs

Stative-only "adjectival" verbs are a thematic (meaning-based) subclass of verbs describing typical states, qualities, or characteristics of people or objects. (For stative-only verbs, see §9.3.) Such verbs often incorporate the nouns they describe. Example (22) lists various stative-only "adjectival" verbs with the incorporated noun [(a)hy] 'fruit, berries'. (Pronominal prefix choice for such verbs is described in §24.2.)

- (22) a. ohyajiwá:gę:
 o-hy-a-jiwá:gę:
 3s.P-fruit-JOINER-sour.STAT
 ‘tart, sour fruit’
 cf. ojíwagę:
 o-jíwagę:
 3s.P-sour.STAT
 ‘it is sour, salty, bitter’
- b. ohyága’q̣h
 o-hy-á-ga’-q̣h
 3s.P-fruit-JOINER-good.tasting-STAT
 ‘good-tasting fruit’
 cf. ogá’q̣h
 o-gá’-q̣h
 3s.P-good.tasting-STAT
 ‘it tastes good’
- c. ohyówanęh
 o-hy-ówan-ęh
 3s.P-fruit-big-STAT
 ‘big fruit’
 cf. gagówanęh
 ga-gówan-ęh
 3s.A-big-STAT
 ‘it is big’
- d. niyohyú:’uh
 ni-yo-hy-ú:’uh
 PART-3s.P-fruit-small.STAT
 ‘small fruit’
 cf. niwú:’uh
 ni-w-ú:’uh
 PART-3s.A-small.STAT
 ‘how small it is’
- e. wahyaniyó:ta’
 w-ahy-a-niyó:t-ha’
 3s.A-fruit-JOINER-hang-HAB
 ‘hanging fruit’
 cf. ganí:yó:t
 ga-ní:yó:t
 3s.A-hang.STAT
 ‘it is hanging’

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- f. ohyá:jih
o-hy-á:-jih
3S.P-fruit-JOINER-*A*-dark.STAT
'dark fruit'
cf. gahóʔjih
ga-hóʔ-jih
3S.A-NOUN-dark.STAT
'it is dark'
- g. ohyá:tge:
o-hy-á:-tge:
3S.P-fruit-JOINER-*A*-rotten.STAT
'spoiled, rotten fruit'
cf. otge:
o-tge:
3S.P-rotten.STAT
'it is spoiled, rotten'
- h. ohyáih
o-hy-á-ih
3S.P-fruit-JOINER-*A*-ripe.STAT
'ripe fruit'
cf. ɛwáhyaiʔ
ɛ-w-áhy-a-i-ʔ
FUT-3S.A-fruit-JOINER-*A*-ripen-PUNC
'it will ripen'

Incorporating stative-only “positional” verbs

Stative-only “positional” verbs are a thematic (meaning-based) subclass of verb describing the typical position or location of an object. Many positional verbs can incorporate nouns (23). (Pronominal prefix choice for such verbs is described in §24.2.)

- (23) a. oʔgráɛʔ
o-ʔgr-á-ɛʔ
3S.P-snow-lie.STAT
'snow lying there', 'fallen snow'
cf. oʔgraʔ
o-ʔgr-aʔ
3S.P-snow-NSF
'snow'

- cf. nigá:yẹ̀[?]
 ni-gá:-yẹ̀[?]
 PART-3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘where it is lying’
- b. gayẹ̀hsradẹ̀hda:[?]
 ga-yẹ̀hsr-a-dẹ̀hda:[?]
 3S.A-blanket-JOINER-lie.spread.out.on.ground.STAT
 ‘blanket lying spread out’
- cf. gayẹ̀hsra[?]
 ga-yẹ̀hsr-a[?]
 3S.A-blanket-NSF
 ‘blanket’
- cf. gadẹ̀hda:[?]
 ga-dẹ̀hda:[?]
 3S.A-lie.spread.out.on.ground.STAT
 ‘it is lying spread out’
- c. ohọ̀nà[?]dáhsịha:[?]
 o-họ̀nà[?]d-á-hsịha:[?]
 3S.P-potato-JOINER-stand.in.group.STAT
 ‘potatoes standing in a group’
- cf. ohọ̀nà[?]da[?]
 o-họ̀nà[?]d-a[?]
 3S.P-potato-NSF
 ‘potato’
- cf. gáehsịha:[?]
 gáe-hsịha:[?]
 3NS.FI.A-stand.in.a.group.STAT
 ‘they are standing in a group or clump’

14.4.3 Obligatorily-incorporating verbs

Some stative-only “adjectival” verbs (24), some stative-only “positional” verbs (25), and some two-role verbs (26) require an incorporated noun. A plus ‘+’ sign denotes an obligatorily-incorporating verb. (Some obligatorily-incorporating verbs require a placeholder noun, if no other noun is incorporated, see §14.1.1.)

- (24) [+iyo:] ‘to be good, nice’
- a. agọ̀gwe[?]dí:yo:
 ag-ọ̀gwe[?]d-í:yo:
 3S.FI.P-person-nice.STAT
 ‘nice person’

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- b. gaihó' dɛhsrí:yo:
ga-ihó' dɛhsr-í:yo:
3S.A-work-nice.STAT
'nice work'

(25) [+od] 'to stand'

- a. gahá:do:t
ga-há:d-o:t
3S.A-forest-stand.STAT
'a forest'
- b. odróhyo:t
o-dróhy-o:t
3S.P-ray.of.light-stand.STAT
'sunbeam, ray of light, sunshine'
- c. gahnyo:t
ga-hny-o:t
3S.A-stick/placeholder.noun-stand.STAT
'it is standing'

(26) [+ohae] 'to wash'

- a. agatgòhsóhae'
a-g-at-gòhs-óhae-'
FAC-1S.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
'I washed my face'
- b. agɛhsí' dóhae'
a-g-ɛhsí' d-óhae-'
FAC-1S.A-foot-wash-PUNC
'I washed my feet'
- c. agenoháe'
a-g-e-n-ohae-'
FAC-1S.A-JOINER-placeholder.noun-wash-PUNC
'I washed (it)'

15 Verb suffixes

Verb suffixes perform a number of functions (described in the following sections). The order of verb suffixes is summarized in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1: Verb suffix order

1 DISTR	2 ROLE-ADDING, CHANGE OF STATE	3 ASPECT	4 POST-ASPECT
[- ² se] DISTR	[-hd], [- ² d], [-d] CAUS	3a	TENSE
[-q] DISTR	[-hsd] CAUS-INSTR	[STAT.verb-gy] PROG	[-gəḥe: ²] PAST
[-nyq] DISTR	[-e, -ni] BEN	[-hs] DISL	[-hne: ²] REM
[-hnq] DISTR	[-hs] BEN	[-hn] DISL	[-hk] FORMER
[-sq] DISTR	[-(e) ²], [-(n)he ²] INCH	[- ² n] DISL	[-(e:)k] MODZ
[-(d)rq] DISTR	[-gw, -go] REV	[-h] DISL	
[-srq] DISTR	[-hsi] REV	[- ² h] DISL	
[(i)nyq- ² se] DISTR- DISTR		[-dr] DISL	
[-q-nyq] DISTR-DISTR			
		3b	
		[e] ² go ²	
		[e-:] ² go-PURP ²	
		3c	
		[-ha ² , - ² s, -hs, -h] HAB	NON-TENSE
		[-qh, -eḥ, - ²] STAT	[-ge:] AUG
		[- ²] PUNC	[- ² s] PL
			[-sgq:] FACIL
			[-jihweḥ] COMPLETELY

Distributive suffixes appear immediately after the verb stem in slot 1. Role-adding and change-of-state suffixes appear in slot 2. The suffixes relevant for aspect all appear in slot 3. Meanwhile, the post-aspect suffixes in slot 4 convey past tense and other meanings.

Slot 3 summarizes additional order constraints on the suffixes relevant for aspect. Regular verbs simply take a 3c HAB, STAT, or PUNC suffix. PROGRESSIVE E-VERBS take the 3a [STAT.VERB-gy] PROG combination, followed by the 3b verb [e:²] ‘go-PUNC’ or by a 3b verb [e-:] ‘go-PURP’ combination. DISLOCATIVE verbs take a 3a DISL suffix. DISLOCATIVE E-VERBS take a 3a DISL suffix and then either

the 3*b* verb [e] ‘go’ or 3*b* verb [e-:] ‘go-PURP’ combination. All progressive and dislocative verbs then take a 3*c* aspect suffix. (Some details have been omitted. See *E-verbs*, §16.)

Slot 4 suffixes occur after Slot 3*c* suffixes. The PAST, REMOTE, FORMER, and MODALIZER suffixes, grouped together as TENSE suffixes, constitute further refinements of the aspect distinctions. The remaining suffixes (the AUGMENTATIVE, PLURAL, FACILITATIVE, and COMPLETELY suffixes) are grouped together as NON-TENSE suffixes.

15.1 Verb distributive suffixes

The family of verb distributives [-^ʔse], [-ɔ], [-nyɔ], [-hnɔ], [-sɔ], [-drɔ], [-srɔ], and the double distributives [-ɔnyɔ] and [(i)nyɔ-^ʔse] convey the repetition of an action or state over several objects, times, or places (Mithun & Henry 1984: 505). The distributive suffixes appear in slot 1 (see Table 15.1, page 261). All of these affixes are described in the following sections.

15.1.1 [-^ʔse] DISTRIBUTIVE (DISTR)

The [-^ʔse] DISTR suffix immediately follows the verb stem (slot 1 in Table 15.1). For example, [-^ʔse] occurs before a slot 2 [-hd] CAUS in (1).

- (1) otgɛ^ʔseht
 o-t-gɛ-^ʔse-ht
 3S.P-SRF-see-DISTR-CAUS.STAT
 ‘it is nice to see, interesting’

The [-^ʔse] ending also appears before a slot 3 dislocative suffix (2, see §15.4.1).

- (2) Dislocative verb [verb-^ʔse-h-] verb-DISTR-DISL and dislocative e-verb [verb-^ʔse-h-e-] verb-DISTR-DISL-go
- a. ɛgagyɔ^ʔséha^ʔ
 ɛ-g-ag-yɔ-^ʔsé-h-a-^ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-arrive-DISTR-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘I am going to go and visit’

- cf. egágyq[?]se-:[?]
 ɛ-g-ag-yq-[?]se-:[?]
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-arrive-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘I will visit’
- b. agagyq[?]séhe-[?]
 ɛ-g-ag-yq-[?]sé-h-e-[?]
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-arrive-DISTR-DISL-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going to go visit’
- cf. hogyq[?]sé: tsq:
 ho-g-yq-[?]sé-: tsq:
 3S.M.P-SRF-arrive-DISTR-STAT just
 ‘he is a live-in’

For habitual aspect verbs, the [-[?]se] suffix extends the time frame of a state of affairs (which seems to also intensify the meaning of the verb, 3). For three-aspect (activity or happening) verbs, the [-a-[?]se] JOINERÁ-DISTR combination possibly also denotes an extended timeframe or a series of actions (4–5).

- (3) habitual [verb-[?]se-h] verb-DISTR-HAB
- a. ho[?]daihá[?]seh
 ho-[?]daih-á-[?]se-h
 3S.M.P-hot-JOINERÁ-DISTR-HAB
 ‘he is too hot’
- cf. o[?]dáihe:
 o-[?]daih-ɛ:
 3S.P-hot-STAT
 ‘it is hot’
- b. dewagadawęnyá[?]seh
 de-wag-ad-awęny-á-[?]se-h
 DU-1S.P-SRF-stir-JOINERÁ-DISTR-HAB
 ‘I am confused and doubtful’
- cf. deyagodawęnye[?]
 de-yago-d-awęny-e[?]
 DU-3S.FLA-stir-STAT
 ‘she is walking about’
- c. gaqdagyenawá[?]seh
 gaq-dag-yenaw-á-[?]se-h
 3NS.FLA-REFL-catch-JOINERÁ-DISTR-HAB
 ‘they help her’

15 Verb suffixes

cf. agaḡda:gyé:na:ʔ
 a-gaḡ-da:g-yé:na:-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-REFL-catch-PUNC
 ‘they caught her’

(4) three-aspect [verb-ʔse:-ʔ] verb-DISTR-PUNC

a. a:gakeyatgḡʔse:ʔ
 a:-gakey-at-gḡʔse:-ʔ
 INDEF-1S:3NS-SRF-see-DISTR-PUNC

‘I should watch them’

cf. haʔḡtgeʔse:ʔ
 haʔ-ḡ-t-gḡʔse:-ʔ
 TRANSL-3S.FI.A-see-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘she is watching over there’

b. jḡkihḡḡʔse:ʔ
 j-ḡki-hḡḡʔse:-ʔ
 REP-3FIS/3NS:1NS-lead-DISTR-PUNC

‘she has gone on before us’

cf. hahḡ:dḡ:
 ha-hḡ:dḡ:-
 3S.M.A-lead-STAT
 ‘he is the front, the leader’

(5) three-aspect [ḡ-verb-ʔse:-:k] FUT-verb-DISTR-MODZ

ḡhsáhshaʔse:k
 ḡ-hs-áhsha-ʔse:-:k
 FUT-2S.P-remember-DISTR-MODZ

‘you will remember’

cf. ḡwáhshaʔ
 ḡ-wag-ahsha:-ʔ
 FUT-1S.P-remember-PUNC
 ‘I will remember’

Verbs ending with the [-ʔse] DISTR suffix (and followed immediately by an aspect suffix) belong to the MB1 conjugation class (§36.7), taking an [-h] HAB (3), [-:] STAT, and [-:ʔ] PUNC suffix (4).

15.1.2 [-ḡ], [-nyḡ], [-ḡ-nyḡ], [-hnḡ], [-hsḡ], [-drḡ], [-srḡ] DISTRIBUTIVES (DISTR)

The rest of the family of DISTR suffixes appears immediately after the verb stem in slot 1 (Table 15.1, page 261). For stative verbs and kinship terms, the distributive

conveys the idea that the quality or relationship described by the verb holds of several objects or people. For three-aspect (activity or happening) verbs, the distributive contributes the idea that the action is repeated several times. The choice of distributive suffix is unique to each verb.

(6) [-q-ʔ] DISTR-STAT with STAT verbs

- a. ageʔdrehdáeðqʔ
ag-e-ʔdrehd-á-əd-q-ʔ
1s.P-JOINERĒ-car-JOINERĀ-lie.stative-DISTR-STAT

‘I have several cars’

- cf. ageʔdrehdáeʔ
ag-e-ʔdrehd-á-əʔ
1s.P-JOINERĒ-car-JOINERĀ-lie.STAT
‘I have a car’

- b. aknqhsó:dqʔ
ak-nqhs-ó:d-q-ʔ
1s.P-house-stand.STAT-DISTR-STAT

‘I have several houses’

- cf. aknqhsó:t
ak-nqhs-ó:t
1s.P-house-stand.STAT
‘I have a house’

- c. Gani:yó:dqʔ
ga-ni:yó:d-q-ʔ
3s.A-hang.STAT-DISTR-STAT

‘name of the white dog who went to heaven’

- cf. gani:yó:t
ga-ni:yó:t
3s.A-hang.STAT
‘it is hanging’

(7) [-nyq-ʔ] DISTR-STAT, [-q-nyq-ʔ] DISTR-DISTR-STAT and [-nyq-:] DISTR-LENGTH.NO_ASPECT with three-aspect verbs

- a. Deʔ ni:s hoʔdeʔ swayasqhó:nyqʔ
deʔ ni:s hoʔdeʔ swa-yas-qh-ó:-nyq-ʔ
what you kind 2P.P-named-STAT-DISTR-DISTR-STAT

‘What are your names?’ (each individual’s name is requested)

- cf. Deʔ ni:s hoʔdeʔ swayá:sqh?
Deʔ ni:s hoʔdeʔ swa-yá:s-qh
what you kind 2P.P-named-STAT
‘What is your name?’ (asking people for their team or group name)

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- b. dwakdó:nyq:
 dwa-kdó:-nyq:
 1P.IN.A-look.at-DISTR.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let’s examine’
 cf. dwakdó:
 dwa-kdó:
 1P.IN.A-look.at.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let us look’

(8) [-hnq-ʔ] DISTR-STAT with stative verbs

- a. gaháʔdɔhnqʔ
 ga-háʔd-q-hnq-ʔ
 3S.A-dry-STAT-DISTR-STAT
 ‘a clothesline (several objects drying)’
 cf. oháʔdɔh
 o-háʔd-qh
 3S.P-dry-STAT
 ‘it is dry’ (a field, the weather, etc.)
- b. ohnawáodɔnyqʔ
 o-hnaw-á-od-q-nyq-ʔ
 3S.P-rapids-JOINER A-stand.STAT-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
 ‘springs’
 cf. ohnáwaot
 o-hnaw-a-ot
 3S.P-rapids-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 ‘well, spring’

(9) [-hsq-ʔ] DISTR-STAT and [-hsq-:ʔ] DISTR-PUNC with three-aspect verbs

- a. hoyétwəhsqʔ
 ho-yétw-a-hsq-ʔ
 3S.M.P-plant-JOINER A-DISTR-STAT
 ‘he planted several things, a variety of things’
 cf. hoyétwəh
 ho-yét:tw-əh
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he has planted’
- b. shogwaɛnávihsqʔ
 shogwa-ɛn-áv-i-hsq-ʔ
 3MS:1P-song-give-DISTR-STAT
 ‘he has given us songs’

cf. agwe:gõh shõgwaená:wih
 agwe:gõh shõgwa-ɛn-á:wi-h
 all 3MS:1P-song-give-STAT
 ‘he has given all of us songs’

- c. ɛdwanaʔdá:ksõ:ʔ
 ɛ-dwa-naʔdá:-k-sõ:-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-bread-eat-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘we will have a snack’

(10) [-(d)rõ-ʔ] DISTR-STAT with stative verbs and kinship terms

a. deswatnɛtsáʔdrõʔ
 de-sw-at-nɛts-á-ʔ-drõ-ʔ
 DU-2P.P-SRF-arm-JOINERÁ-NSF-DISTR-STAT
 ‘you all have your arms crossed’

b. degaõdɛhnõdrõʔ
 de-gaõ-dɛ-hnõd-rõ-ʔ
 DU-3NS.FI.A-SRF-follow-DISTR-STAT
 ‘they are sisters’

cf. degaõdɛhnõ:dɛ:ʔ
 de-g-aõ-dɛ-hnõ:d-e:-ʔ
 DU-1S.A-SRF-follow-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘my brother or sister’

c. dehenadɛhnõdrõʔ
 de-hɛn-adɛ-hnõd-rõ-ʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-follow-DISTR-STAT
 ‘they are brothers’

(11) [-srõ:-ʔ] DISTR-PUNC and [-srõ:] DISTR.NO_ASPECT with THREE ASPECT verbs

a. ɛhsrihwanéʔaksrõ:ʔ
 ɛ-hs-rihw-a-néʔak-srõ:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-sin-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘you will swear, use profane language’

cf. ɛgrihwané:ʔa:k
 ɛ-g-rihw-a-né:ʔa:k
 FUT-1S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-sin.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will sin’

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- b. desahjiyóhsrɔ:
de-s-ahj-iyó-hsrɔ:
DU-2s.A-hand-good-DISTR.NO_ASPECT
'you really scratch!'
- cf. desahji:yo:
de-s-ahj-í:yo:
DU-2s.A-hand-good.NO_ASPECT
'you scratch!'

The [-*(i)nyɔ-ʔse*] and [-*ɔ-nyɔ*] double distributive suffixes appear to extend the time frame of a state of affairs.

- (12) [verb-*inyɔ-ʔse-:*] verb-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
agatowínyɔʔse:
ag-atow-inyɔ-ʔse-:
1s.P-cold-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
'I have a cold'

- (13) [verb-*ɔ-nyɔ-ʔs*] DISTR-DISTR-PL
adwagagyáɔnyɔʔs
ad-wag-ag-ya-ɔ-nyɔ-ʔs
FAC.DU-1s.P-SRF-otherness-DISTR-DISTR-PL
'I had a vision', 'I got spooked'

Tentatively speaking, the distributives belong to the H3 conjugation class (14, §36.7): as seen in the above examples, the word-final distributive suffixes end with [...ʔ] for stative verbs¹, with [...:ʔ] PUNC for punctual verbs, and with [-:] NO_ASPECT for imperative or no-aspect verbs.

- (14) aspect suffixes and distributives
- a. STATIVE [-distr-ʔ] DISTR-STAT, e.g. [...ɔ-ʔ]
 - b. PUNCTUAL [-distr-:ʔ] DISTR-PUNC, e.g. [...ɔ-:ʔ]
 - c. NO-ASPECT [-distr:] DISTR.NO_ASPECT, e.g. [...ɔ:]

15.2 Role-adding suffixes

The suffixes described next share the function of adding a ROLE (§20.6) to the verb they modify: CAUSATIVE suffixes add a “causer”, and BENEFACTIVE suffixes add a beneficiary.

¹Recall that the [-ʔse] DISTR suffix in example (12) takes a [-:] STAT suffix.

15.2.1 CAUSATIVE (CAUS) suffixes ([-hd], [-'d], and [-d])

The three causative suffixes are [-hd], [-'d], and [-d]. They mean ‘to cause someone to do something’ or ‘to make someone do something’ and add the new role of “causer” to the verb. To illustrate, in (15a), [o-tgi'] has just one role (‘it’, referring to the item that is dirty). In contrast, the same verb with a causative suffix (15b) adds a role for the “causer” (the person dirtying things up, in this example). Examples of each of the causative suffixes are provided in the following sections.

- (15) a. otgi'
o-tgi-'
3S.P-dirty-STAT
‘it is dirty’
- b. ɛhsé:tgiht
ɛ-hs-e-tgi-ht
FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-dirty-CAUSE.Ø.PUNC
‘you will dirty it up’, ‘you will cause it to be dirty’

15.2.1.1 [-hd] CAUSATIVE

The verbs in (16) take the [-hd] CAUS. To illustrate the added “causer” role, the examples below include pairs of related verbs, ones with and without the causative.

- (16) [verb-CAUS-ASPECT]
- a. gadenya'gwáhta'
g-ad-e-nya'gw-á-ht-ha'
1S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERĀ-CAUS-HAB
‘I make or cause myself to vomit’, ‘I am bulemic’
- cf. agénya'gwahs
ag-é-nya'gw-a-hs
1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERĀ-HAB
‘I am a vomiter’, ‘I vomit all the time’
- b. ohdaht
o-hd-a-ht
3S.P-fill.up-CAUS.STAT
‘it is filling’ (or, ‘it makes someone get full’)
- cf. a'óhda'
a'-ó-hd-a'
FAC-3S.P-fill.up-PUNC
‘it got full’

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- c. onéhagwaht
 o-néhagw-a-ht
 3s.P-amazed-JOINER-A-CAUS.STAT
 ‘it is amazing’ (or ‘it causes people to be amazed’)
 cf. ɔknéhagoʔ
 ɔk-néhago-ʔ
 FAC.1s.P-amazed-PUNC
 ‘I was amazed’
- d. ohsgá:naht, ohsgá:neht
 ‘it is enticing, alluring, attractive’ (or, ‘it causes longings’)
 o-hsgá:n-a/hsgáne-ht
 3s.P-long.for-(JOINER-A)-CAUS.STAT
 cf. hahsgá:ne:s
 ha-hsgá:ne:-s
 3s.M.A-long.for-HAB
 ‘he has longings for’
- e. hodrihwatgihdɔh
 ho-d-rihw-a-tgí-hd-ɔh
 3s.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER-A-UGLY-CAUS-STAT
 ‘he is talking dirty’, ‘he is making dirty words’
 cf. oihwatgiʔ
 o-ihw-a-tgí-ʔ
 3s.P-matter-JOINER-A-ugly-STAT
 ‘dirty language’
- f. haʔwá:tsʔaht
 h-aʔ-w-á:tsʔ-a-ht
 TRANSL-FAC-3s.A-use.up-JOINER-A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it is all gone’ (or, ‘something made it go down to nothing’)
 cf. haʔwá:tsʔa:ʔ
 h-aʔ-w-á:tsʔ-a-ʔ
 TRANSL-FAC-3s.A-use.up-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘it went down to nothing’

Verbs with the [-hd, -ht] endings belong to the MA2 conjugation class (§36.7), and take the following aspect suffixes (17).

- (17) a. HABITUAL [-htaʔ], consisting of [-hd-haʔ] CAUS-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [-ht], consisting of [hd.Ø] CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 c. STATIVE [hd-ɔh] CAUS-STAT
 d. STATIVE [ht], consisting of [hd.Ø] CAUS.STAT
 e. NO-ASPECT [ht], consisting of [hd.Ø] CAUS.NO_ASPECT

15.2.1.2 [-ʔd] CAUSATIVE

The verbs in (18) take the [-ʔt, -ʔd] CAUS suffix. To illustrate the added “causer” role, the examples below include pairs of related verbs, ones with and without the [-ʔt, -ʔd] CAUS suffix.

(18) [verb-CAUS-ASPECT]

- a. ɛhshenogéhaʔt
 ɛ-hshe-nog-éh-a-ʔt
 FUT-2S:3FI-milk-drink-JOINERÁ-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will breast-feed someone’ (or ‘cause someone to drink milk’)
- cf. ɛknóʔgehaʔ
 ɛ-k-nóʔg-eh-aʔ
 FUT-1S.A-milk-drink-PUNC
 ‘I will drink milk’
- b. ogéheʔt
 o-géhe-ʔt
 3S.P-mean-CAUS.STAT
 ‘it is disgusting’ (or, ‘it causes disgust in people’)
- cf. shegéheñih
 she-géhe-ni-h
 2S:3FI-mean-BEN-HAB
 ‘you abuse people’, ‘you are mean to someone’
- c. ɛhsheyahdó:gaʔt
 ɛ-hshey-ahdó:g-a-ʔt
 FUT-2S:3FI-mature-JOINERÁ-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will raise someone’ (or ‘you will cause someone to grow’)
- cf. ɛhsáhdok
 ɛ-hs-áhdok
 FUT-2S.A-mature.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will grow’
- d. ɛhsgáeyoʔt
 ɛ-hs-gáe-yo-ʔt
 FUT-REP-3NS.FI.A-arrive-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they will bring it back’ (or, ‘they will cause it to return’)
- cf. sagáeyoʔ
 s-a-gáe-yo-ʔ
 REP-FAC-3NS.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
 ‘they returned’

Some verbs appear to have the same meaning either with or without a [-ʔt, -ʔd] CAUS (19). However, there may be a subtle difference in meaning: possibly, the ones with the [-ʔt, -ʔd] CAUS are *caused* or *done on purpose*, while the verbs without the ending denote an *unintentional action*.

- (19) a. ɛhsáhdɔʔt
 ɛ-hs-áhdɔ-ʔt
 FUT-2S.A-lose-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will lose it’ (on purpose)
- b. ɛhsáhdɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-hs-áhdɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-lose-PUNC
 ‘you will lose it’ (accidentally)

For some verbs, the [-ʔt, -ʔd] CAUS suffix changes an “adjectival” (stative-only) verb into an action verb (20).

- (20) a. ɛhsnéhɛtaʔt
 ɛ-hs-néhɛ-t-a-ʔt
 FUT-2S.A-corn-dry-JOINERÁ-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will dry corn’ (or, ‘you will cause corn to dry’)
- cf. ohéhdətɛ:
 o-héhd-a-t-ɛ:
 3S.P-earth-JOINERÁ-dry-STAT
 ‘dry dirt’
- b. otsénɔnyaʔt
 o-tsénɔny-a-ʔt
 3S.P-happy-JOINERÁ-CAUS.STAT
 ‘gratefulness, thankfulness, joy’ (or ‘it causes happiness’)
- cf. agatsɛnɔ:ni:
 ag-atsɛnɔ:ni-:
 1S.P-happy-STAT
 ‘I am happy’
- c. deyeihwagénháʔtaʔ
 de-ye-ihw-a-genh-á-ʔt-haʔ
 DU-3S.FLA-matter-JOINERÁ-argue-JOINERÁ-CAUS-HAB
 ‘that’s debatable’ (or, ‘someone causes arguments’)
- cf. degaihwágenhɛh
 de-ga-ihw-á-genh-ɛh
 DU-3S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-argue-STAT
 ‘there is an argument’

Three-aspect verbs with the [-²d, -²t] CAUS belong to the MA2 conjugation class (§36.7), and take the following aspect suffixes (21).

- (21) a. HABITUAL [-²ta²], consisting of [-²d-ha²] CAUS-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [-²t], consisting of [²d.ø] CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 c. STATIVE [²d-qh] CAUS-STAT
 d. STATIVE [²t], consisting of [²d.ø] CAUS.STAT
 e. NO-ASPECT [²t], consisting of [²d.ø] CAUS-NO_ASPECT

15.2.1.3 [-d] CAUSATIVE

The following verb takes the [-d] CAUS suffix (22).

- (22) haqhwejádadh
 ha-qhwe²-a-d-a-d-qh
 3S.M.A-earth-JOINER A-stand-JOINER A-CAUS-STAT
 ‘he created the earth’ (he caused the earth to exist) (Foster 1993)
- cf. ohwéjade²
 o-hwej-a-de²
 3S.P-earth-JOINER A-exist. STAT
 ‘existing earth’

15.2.2 BENEFACTIVE (BEN) suffixes ([-hs] and [-e, -nih])

The family of BENEFACTIVE (also called DATIVE) suffixes add the meaning of ‘doing something for someone’s benefit’. (In other words, they add a new role for the beneficiary of the verb’s action.) For example, in (23a), *age:kó:ni²* expresses just two roles – the “doer” (the speaker, in this case), and the object of the action (‘a meal, food’). In contrast, the same verb with a benefactive suffix (23b) conveys three roles, the “doer”, the object, and the beneficiary.

- (23) a. age:kó:ni²
 a-g-e:-k-ó:ni²
 FAC-1S.A-JOINER E-food-make-PUNC
 ‘I cooked a meal’
- b. ahékonye²
 a-hé-k-onye²
 FAC-1S>3S.M-food-make-BEN-PUNC
 ‘I cooked a meal *for him*’

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Verbs with a benefactive suffix take an interactive pronominal prefix, such as [he-] 1s>3s.M in (23b), to express both the “doer” and the beneficiary. However, when the “doer” and beneficiary are the same person, the verb instead takes the [-adad] SRF prefix to denote that the “doer” and beneficiary are the same (24).

- (24) ɛhsadadrohé:gɛʔ
ɛ-hs-adad-rohé:g-ɛʔ
FUT-2S.A-REFL-gather-BEN-PUNC
‘you will accumulate (things, ideas, etc.) for yourself’
cf. ɛhsróhe:k
ɛ-hs-róhe:k
FUT-2S.A-gather.Ø.PUNC
‘you will gather’

The benefactive suffixes include [-hs], and the [-ɛ, -nih] family of suffixes. Examples are provided in the following sections.

15.2.2.1 [-hs] BENEFACTIVE

The following verbs take the [-hs] BEN suffix (25).

- (25) a. gɔhyádɔhahs
gɔ-hyádɔ-h-a-hs
1S>2S-write-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-BEN.NO_ASPECT
‘let me write for you’ (Mithun & Henry 1984)
cf. kyá:dɔ:
k-hyá:dɔ:
1S.A-write.NO_ASPECT
‘let me write’
- b. hɔwayɛtwáhse:h
hɔwa-yɛtw-á-hs-e:h
3MS/3FIS:3MS-plant-JOINERÁ-BEN-STAT
‘he has planted for him’ (Foster 1993)
cf. hoyɛ:twɛh
ho-yɛ:tw-ɛh
3S.M.P-plant-STAT
‘he has planted’
- c. haʔhohahóʔktahs
h-aʔ-ho-hah-óʔkd-a-hs
TRANSL-FAC-3S.M.P-road-end-JOINERÁ-BEN.Ø.PUNC
‘the road ran out for him’

- cf. ha'gahahó'kdɛ̃
 h-a'-g-ahah-ó'kd-ɛ̃
 TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-road-end-PUNC
 'I finished a row'
- d. ɛ̃hsadadrá:gwahs
 ɛ̃-hs-adad-rá:gw-a-hs
 FUT-2S.A-REFL-choose-JOINERÁ-BEN.Ø.PUNC
 'you will choose for yourself'
- cf. ɛ̃hsrá:go'
 ɛ̃-hs-rá:go-'
 FUT-2S.A-choose-PUNC
 'you will choose or take out'
- e. deshagodihwagé:nhahs
 de-shagodi-ihw-a-gé:nh-a-hs
 DU-3NS(NFI):3FI-matter-JOINERÁ-argu.for-JOINERÁ-BEN.HAB
 'they argue for someone, people'
- cf. a:hyaya'dagé:nhá'
 a:-hya-ya'd-a-gé:nh-a'
 INDEF-3MS:1S-body-JOINERÁ-argu.for-PUNC
 'he would help you'

15.2.2.2 [-ɛ̃, -ni] BENEFACTIVE

The following verbs take the [-ɛ̃, -ni] family of benefactive suffixes (26).

- (26) a. hɔwayɛ̃twé:nih
 hɔwa-yɛ̃tw-ɛ̃:ni-h
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-plant-JOINER-BEN-HAB (Foster, 1993)
 'he plants for him'
- cf. hoyé:twɛ̃h
 ho-yé:tw-ɛ̃h
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 'he planted'
- b. agegɛ̃hé'danih
 ag-e-gɛ̃hé'd-a-ni-h
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-sick.of-JOINERÁ-BEN-HAB
 'I am annoyed, sick of it'
- cf. ahsgegɛ̃hé'dɛ̃'
 a-hsg-e-gɛ̃hé'd-ɛ̃-'
 FAC-2S:1S-sick.of-BEN-PUNC
 'you got sick of me', 'you are bored with me'

- c. ahékɔnyɛ'
 a-hé-k-ɔny-ɛ-'
 FAC-1S:3MS-food-make-BEN-PUNC
 'I cooked a meal for him'
 cf. age:kó:ni'
 a-g-e:-k-ó:ni-'
 FAC-1S.A-JOINERÉ-food-make-PUNC (Foster, 1993)
 'I cooked a meal'
- d. ashagonɔhsɔnyɛ'
 a-shago-nɔhs-ɔny-ɛ-'
 FAC-3MS:3FI/3P.P-house-make-BEN-PUNC
 'he built her a house'
 cf. ashagonɔhsó:ni'
 a-shago-nɔhs-ó:ni-'
 FAC-3MS:3FI/3P.P-house-make-PUNC
 'he built a house for her' (Foster 1993)
- e. ahehswá'né:dɛ'
 a-he-hswá'n-é:d-ɛ-'
 FAC-1S:3MS-upper.back-stand-BEN-PUNC
 'I supported him'
 cf. hehswá'ne:t
 he-hswá'n-e:t
 1s:3MS-upper.back-stand.STAT
 'I support or back him'
- f. ahadadrihwagwé:nyɛ'
 a-ha-dad-rihw-a-gwé:ny-ɛ-'
 FAC-3S.M.A-REFL-matter-JOINERÁ-succeed-BEN-PUNC
 'he had earned it for himself'
 cf. ahsadadrihwagwé:nya's
 a-hs-adad-rihw-a-gwé:ny-a-'s
 FAC-2S.A-REFL-matter-JOINERÁ-succeed-JOINERÁ-PL.Ø.PUNC
 'you are a success'
- g. ɛhshewayé:sdɛ'
 ɛ-hshe-wayé:sd-ɛ-'
 FUT-2S:3FI-learn-BEN-PUNC
 'you will train, educate, teach someone'
 cf. ɛhsadewá:ye:s
 ɛ-hs-ad-e-wá:ye:s
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-learn.Ø.PUNC
 'you will learn'

- h. ɛhsɔɔganyá'gɛ'
 ɛ-hs-gɔ-ganyá'g-ɛ-'
 FUT-REP-1S:2S-pay-BEN-PUNC
 'I will repay you for your actions'
- cf. ɛhséganya'k
 ɛ-hs-é-ganya'k
 FUT-2S.A-JOINER-pay.Ø.PUNC
 'you will pay'

For the [-ɛ, -ni] family of suffixes, [-ni] is used in habitual- and stative-aspect verbs, and [-ɛ], in punctual-aspect verbs. The aspect endings shown in (27) and (28) belong to the s1 conjugation class (§36.7).

- (27) a. HABITUAL [-ni-h] BEN-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [-ɛ-'] BEN-PUNC
 c. STATIVE [-ni-:] BEN-STAT
 d. NO-ASPECT [-ɛ-h] BEN-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
- (28) a. ɔdadrihónyanih
 ɔ-dad-rih-óny-a-ni-h
 3S.FI.A-REFL-matter-make-JOINER-A-BEN-HAB
 'she is reading'
- b. ɛhsadadrihónyɛ'
 ɛ-hs-adad-rih-óny-ɛ-'
 FUT-2S.A-REFL-matter-make-BEN-PUNC
 'you will read'
- c. wadadrihónyani:
 w-adad-rih-óny-a-ni-:
 3S.A-REFL-matter-make-JOINER-A-BEN-STAT
 'reading material'
- d. sadadrihónyɛh
 s-adad-rih-óny-ɛ-h
 2S.A-REFL-matter-make-BEN-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 'read!'

15.3 Change-of-state suffixes

The change-of-state suffixes are added to “adjectival” (stative-only) verbs, which describe states or qualities, and to “positional” (stative-only) verbs, which de-

scribe an object's position. The result is a three-aspect verb denoting a change in state or change in position. (Also see §36.6.)

15.3.1 [-hsd] CAUSATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL (CAUS-INSTR)

The [-hsd] CAUS-INSTR suffix can be added to stative-only verbs, which become three-aspect verbs as a result. The [-hsd] suffix means 'become' or 'get' (29).²

- (29) a. owánqhsdɔh
 o-wá-no-hsd-ɔh
 3S.P-air-cold-CAUSE-STAT
 'it (weather) got cold'
 cf. owá:no:[?]
 o-wá:-no-:[?]
 3S.P-air-cold-STAT
 'it (weather) is cold'
- b. sagána[?]nohs
 s-a-gá-na[?]-no-hs
 REP-FAC-3S.A-object-cold-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 'it (an object) became cold'
 cf. oná[?]no:[?]
 o-ná[?]-no-:[?]
 3S.P-object-cold-STAT
 'it (an object) is cold, cool'
- c. sawəhniśrí:yo:hs
 s-a-w-əhniśr-í:yo-hs
 REP-FAC-3S.A-day-good-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 'it became a nice day again'
 cf. wəhniśrí:yo:
 w-əhniśr-í:yo:
 3S.A-day-good.STAT
 'it is a nice day'
- d. gakwá[?] ganá[?]nohsta[?]
 gakwá[?] ga-ná[?]-no-hst-ha[?]
 food 3S.A-object-cold-CAUSE-HAB
 'refrigerator'

Verbs with the [-hsd] ending belong to the MA1 conjugation class (30, §36.7).

²The name of this suffix, specifically the "instrumental" part, is possibly because of homophony with noun stem [hsd] 'tool, instrument' and the verb [hsd] 'to use'.

- (30) a. HABITUAL [-hstaʔ], consisting of [hsd-haʔ] CAUS-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [-hs], consisting of [hsd-ø] CAUS-Ø.PUNC
 c. STATIVE [hsd-qh] CAUS-STAT
 d. NO-ASPECT [hs] consisting of [hsd-ø] CAUS-NO_ASPECT

15.3.2 [-(e)ʔ] INCHOATIVE (INCH)

The [-(e)ʔ] INCH is added to stative-only verbs (specifically, the thematic sub-class of positional, stative-only verbs), to create three-aspect, punctual forms. Examples (31–35), illustrate pairs of stative-only verbs and their inchoative/punctual counterparts.³

- (31) [-d] ‘stand’, [daʔ] ‘stand up’
 atá:daʔ
 at-há:-d-a-ʔ
 FAC-DU-3S.M.A-stand-JOINERÁ-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘he stood up’
 cf. ita:t
 i-t-ha:-t
 PROTH-DU-3S.M.A-stand.STAT
 ‘he is standing there’
- (32) [od] ‘stand’, [odɛʔ] ‘attach/put on for someone’
 snɛtsó:dɛʔ
 s-nɛts-ó:d-ɛʔ
 2S.A-arm-stand-BEN-INCH
 ‘put on the arm!’ (i.e. attach a doll’s arm)
 cf. snɛ:tso:t
 s-nɛ:ts-o:t
 2S.A-arm-stand.STAT
 ‘your attached arm’

³Apart from example (32), the inchoative suffix in the remaining examples appears to be homophonous with the [-(e)ʔ] PUNC (and so has been glossed as INCH.Ø.PUNC in the examples). Possibly, the [-(e)ʔ] INCH could simply be reanalysed as a [-(e)ʔ] PUNC suffix, in which case, it would have to be the case that the punctual suffix could occasionally appear without a mood (FUT, FAC OR INDEF) prepronominal prefix, to impart an inchoative meaning.

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- (33) [od] ‘stand’, [odaʔ] ‘come to stand’
 ɛyagonq̄hsó:daʔ
 ɛ-yago-nq̄hs-ó:d-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.P-house-stand-JOINERÁ-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘she will come to have a (standing) house’
 cf. ganq̄hsotge:
 ga-nq̄hs-ot-ge:
 3S.A-house-stand.STAT-AUG
 ‘a standing big house’
- (34) [+ɔd] ‘attached’, [+ɔdɛʔ] ‘get attached’
 agagwiyó:dɛʔ
 a-ga-gwiy-ó:d-ɛʔ
 FAC-3S.a-bud-attached-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it got buds’
 cf. ogwí:yq̄:t
 o-gwí:y-ɔ:t
 3S.P-bud-attached.STAT
 ‘(attached) buds’
- (35) [+ɛʔ] ‘have, own’, [+ɛdaʔ] ‘come to have, own’
 ɛyagowiyáɛdaʔ
 ɛ-yago-wiy-á-ɛ-d-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.P-child-have-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘she will have a baby’
 cf. dewagwiyáɛʔ
 de-wag-wiy-á-ɛʔ
 NEG-1S.P-child-JOINERÁ-have.STAT
 ‘I don’t have a child’

15.3.3 [-(n)heʔ] INCHOATIVE (INCH)

The [-(n)heʔ] INCH suffix, illustrated in examples (36–37), changes stative-only verbs into three-aspect verbs.

- (36) a. agówanheʔ
 a-gówan-heʔ
 FAC-Ø.PREFIX.big-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘it became big’
 cf. gowá:nɛh
 gowá:n-ɛh
 Ø.PREFIX.big-STAT
 ‘it is big’

- b. ahsehşenowanhe'
 a-hs-e-hşen-owan-he'
 FAC-2S.A-JOINERÉ-name-big-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 'you became famous' (literally, 'your name got big')
- (37) a. awagyese' nhe'
 a-wa-g-yes-é-nhe'
 FAC-3S.A-SRF-easy-STAT-INCH
 'it became easy'
- cf. wagyé:səh
 wa-g-yé:s-əh
 3S.A-SRF-easy-STAT
 'it is easy'

15.4 Movement suffixes

Suffixes denoting various kinds of movement appear in slot 2 of the verb (see Table 15.1, page 261). The DISLOCATIVE suffixes mean 'go and do something' and the PROGRESSIVE means 'go along doing something'. These suffixes interact with the PURPOSIVE aspect (see *The purposive*, §16.1).

The REVERSIVE suffix does not behave the same way, but is included in this section because it expresses a type of movement, turning an activity or happening into its opposite.

15.4.1 [-hs, -hn, -^ʔn, -h-, -^ʔh, -^ʔdr] DISLOCATIVE (DISL)

The dislocative family of suffixes includes [-hs, -hn, -^ʔn, -h-, -^ʔh, -^ʔdr]. Dislocatives add the meaning of 'going and doing something'. The choice of suffix likely has to be learned along with each verb. Examples of all of the dislocatives except for [-^ʔh] are shown in (38–42).

- (38) [-^ʔdr] DISL
 sɛ́dá' drah
 s-ɛ́d-á-^ʔdr-a-h
 2S.P-sleep-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 'you go to bed, you go to sleep!'
- cf. sɛ́:da'
 s-ɛ́:da'
 2S.P-sleep.NO_ASPECT
 'you sleep!'

- (39) [-ʔn] DISL
 ɛyɔdawéʔnaʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awé-ʔn-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-SWIM-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘she will go swimming’
 cf. ɛyɔdawé:ʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awé:-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-SWIM-PUNC
 ‘she will swim’
- (40) [-hn] DISL
- a. ahɛnadáhnyɔhnaʔ
 a-hɛn-ad-áhny-ɔ-hn-a-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-HOOK-SUBMERGE-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘they went fishing’
 cf. ahɛnadáhnyo:ʔ
 a-hɛn-ad-áhny-o:-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-HOOK-SUBMERGE-PUNC
 ‘they (males) fished’
- b. ɛgékɔhnaʔ
 ɛ-g-é-kɔ-hn-a-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-JOINERÉ-EXAMINE-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘I will go see’
 cf. ɛgékɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-g-é:-kɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-JOINERÉ-EXAMINE-PUNC
 ‘I will see, look’
- c. dwakɔhna
 dwa-kɔ-hn-a-h
 1P.IN.A-EXAMINE-DISL-JOINERÁ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘let us go look’
 cf. dwakɔ:
 dwa-kɔ:
 1P.IN.A-EXAMINE.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let us look’
- d. a:gaɔnyahnaʔ
 a:-g-at-hrɔny-a-hn-a-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-TELL-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘I should go and tell’

cf. a:gaṭrɔːniː
 a:-g-at-hrɔːni-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 ‘I should tell’

e. aḡatrɔnyáhnɔh
 aḡ-at-hrɔny-á-hn-ɔh
 1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINERÁ-DISL-STAT
 ‘I am telling now’

(41) [-h] DISL

a. ɛhsahɔḡáhaː
 ɛ-hs-ahɔḡ-á-h-a-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-understand-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘you’ll be invited or asked to go’

cf. ɛhsáhɔ:k
 ɛ-hs-áhɔ:k
 FUT-2S.A-understand.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will understand a language’

b. sɪhsá:kah
 s-ɪhsá:k-h-a-h
 2S.A-seek-DISL-JOINERÁ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘go and look for it!’

cf. sɪhsa:k
 s-ɪhsa:k
 2S.A-seek.NO_ASPECT
 ‘look for it!’

(42) [-hs] DISL

a. ɛhayɛtwáhsaː
 ɛ-ha-yɛtw-á-hs-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC (Foster 1993)
 ‘he will go planting’

cf. ɛháyɛtoː
 ɛ-há-yɛto-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he will plant’

b. ɛsyɛːḡɔtwáhsaː
 ɛ-s-yɛːḡ-ɔtw-á-hs-a-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-tobacco-burn.up-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘you will go burn tobacco’

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- cf. wadq:twahs
w-ad-q:tw-a-hs
3S.A-SRF-burn.up-JOINERÁ-HAB
'(what) it burns' (in the way of fuel)
- c. agáhyaksq:
ag-áhy-a-k-hs-q:
1S.P-fruit-JOINERÁ-eat-DISL-STAT
'I am going and eating fruit'

Example (43) illustrates the aspect endings for dislocative suffixes.

- (43) a. HABITUAL (no examples of habitual forms)
b. PUNCTUAL [-DISL-a-ʔ] DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
c. STATIVE [-DISL-qh] DISL-STAT
d. STATIVE [-DISL-q:] DISL-STAT
e. NO-ASPECT [-DISL-a-h] DISL-JOINERÁ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

15.4.2 Dislocative stative-aspect verbs with [-hk] FORMER or [-:k] MODZ suffixes

Dislocative, stative-aspect verbs can also take a [-hk] FORMER suffix (44, see §15.6.2.1). The resulting verbs take P-series pronominal prefixes, as with the original stative verbs.

- (44) [P-verb-DISL-qh-hk] DISL-STAT with FORMER
agatrqnyáhnqh
ag-at-hrqný-á-hn-q-hk
1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINERÁ-DISL-STAT-FORMER
'I went there and told' (but I am back)

Dislocative, stative-aspect verbs can also take a [-:k] MODZ suffix, along with either an [e-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF prefix (45–46) (see §15.6.2.2). The resulting verbs take P-series pronominal prefixes, as with the original stative verbs.

- (45) [e-P-verb-DISL-q-:k] DISL-STAT with MODZ
ewagatrqnyahnq:k
e-wag-at-hrqný-a-hn-q-:k
FUT-1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINERÁ-DISL-STAT-MODZ

- (46) [a:-P-verb-DISL-Q-:k] DISL-STAT with MODZ
 a:wagatrɔnyáhnɔ:k
 a:-wag-at-hrɔny-á-hn-Q-:k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINER-A-DISL-STAT-MODZ

15.4.2.1 [+ɛda'dr-], [+oda'n-], [+ɔda'n-] (positional verbs with DISL suffixes)

Three positional (stative-only) verbs often take dislocative suffixes, and then combine with incorporated nouns to create new words. Their structure is shown in the following examples.⁴

The verbs in (47–49) are part of fixed expressions (see §9.2), and so the meaning varies with the incorporated noun.

- (47) [+ɛ-d-a-dr] lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL (dislocative form of [+ɛ'] 'be lying on the ground, have')
- a. gowiyaɛ́da'dre'
 go-wiy-a-ɛ́d-a-'dr-e-'
 3S.FI.P-offspring-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL-GO-PUNC
 'she is with child'
- cf. agwíyaɛ'
 ag-wíy-a-ɛ'
 1S.P-offspring-JOINER-A-lie.STAT
 'I have a child'
- b. dɛgaihwaɛ́da'dre'
 d-ɛ-ga-ihw-a-ɛ́d-á-'dr-e-'
 DU-FUT-3S.A-matter-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL-GO-PUNC
 'harmony', 'every idea will always come together'
- cf. dɛgaihwáɛda'
 d-ɛ-ga-ihw-á-ɛ́d-a-'
 DU-FUT-3S.A-matter-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-PUNC
 'it will come to an agreement, a consensus'
- (48) [+od-a-'n] stand-JOINER-A-DISL (dislocative form of [+od] 'be standing')
- ɛ́gadɾɛ́nóda'na'
 ɛ-g-ad-rɛ́n-ód-a-'n-a-'
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-song-stand-JOINER-A-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 'I will go sing'

⁴Example (47) illustrates an e-verb with [ɛ] 'go' (see §16.4). The remaining examples are of dislocative verbs without this element.

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- cf. egadrɛnó:dɛʔ
 ɛ-g-ad-rɛn-ó:d-ɛʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-song-stand-PUNC
 'I will sing'

- (49) [+ɔd-a-ʔn-] attached-JOINER A-DISL (dislocative form of [+ɔd] 'be attached', 'have')
 ɛgadəʔsgódaʔnaʔ
 ɛ-g-ad-ɛ-ʔsg-ɔd-a-ʔn-a-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-JOINER E-roast-attached-JOINER A-DISL-JOINER A-PUNC
 'I will go fry it'

- cf. ɛgadəʔsgó:dɛʔ
 ɛ-g-ad-ɛ-ʔsg-ɔ:d-ɛʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-JOINER E-roast-attached-PUNC
 'I will fry, roast it'

15.4.3 [-gy] PROGRESSIVE (PROG)

The [-gy] PROG suffix adds the meaning of 'going along doing something' or 'progressing in doing something'. It is always followed by [e-ʔ] 'go'-STAT or [e:-ʔ] 'go'-PURP-STAT with the commonest combinations being [-a-gy-e-ʔ], [-ɛ-gy-e-ʔ] and [-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ].

There are two types of progressive verbs: the first (possibly less common) type, illustrated in (50), consists of a verb followed directly by the [-a-gy-e-ʔ] JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT combination.

- (50) [verb-a-gy-e-ʔ] JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
- a. gayétwagyɛʔ
 ga-yétw-a-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.A-plant-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'it is planted along'
- cf. gayétwɛh
 ga-yétw-ɛh
 3S.A-plant-STAT
 'it is planted'
- b. hɔwahnɔdrá:gyɛʔ
 hɔwa-hnɔdr-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'someone is following him along'

- cf. hɔwáhnɔdreʔ
 hɔwá-hnɔdr-e-ʔ
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-STAT
 ‘someone is following him’
- c. haʔdehodiŋhédagyɛʔ
 haʔ-de-hodi-ŋhéd-a-gy-e-ʔ
 TRANSL-DU-3NS.M.P-guard-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘they (m) are guarding as they are on their way over, in transit’
- cf. todinehɛ:deʔ
 t-hodi-ŋhɛ:d-e-ʔ
 CIS-3NS.M.P-guard-go-STAT
 ‘they are standing there’ (in a line formation), ‘they are guarding’
- d. ohsáwagyɛʔ
 o-hsáw-a-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.P-begin-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is beginning’
- cf. ɛtsáhsawɛʔ
 ɛ-t-s-áhsaw-ɛʔ
 FUT-CIS-2S.A-begin-PUNC
 ‘you will begin’

The second (possibly more common) type consists of a verb with an [-ɔ, -ɛ] STAT suffix followed by the [-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ] combination (51) (or [-ɛ-gy-e-ʔ], not shown). This type of verb is described in §16.5.

- (51) [verb-ɔh-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ] STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 otsihsʔqhó:gyɛʔ
 o-t-hs-ihsʔ-ɔh-ó:-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.P-SRF-noun-finish-STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is getting mature’
- cf. otsihsʔqh
 o-t-hs-ihsʔ-ɔh
 3S.P-SRF-NOUN-finish-STAT
 ‘it is done for the season’, ‘it has gone full cycle’, ‘it is mature’, ‘they (plants) have finished out’

15.4.4 [-gw, -go], [-hsi] REVERSIVE (REV)

The [-gw, -go] REV (52) and [-hsi] (53) REV suffixes turn the meaning of the verb into its opposite. Unlike the dislocative or purposive suffixes, the reversive suffixes cannot be followed by [e] ‘to go’.

The [-gw, -go] suffix is possibly more common than the [-hsi] suffix.

- (52) [-gw, -go] (Foster 1993)
- a. hayétwagwahs
 ha-yétw-a-gw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-REV-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘he is harvesting’
 cf. hayé:twahs
 ha-yé:tw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘he is planting’
- b. ahayétwá:go[?]
 a-ha-yétw-á:-go[?]
 FAC-3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-REV-PUNC
 ‘he did harvest’
 cf. aháyeto[?]
 a-há-yeto[?]
 FAC-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he did plant’
- c. hoyétwagwəh
 ho-yétw-a-gw-əh
 3S.M.P-plant-JOINERÁ-REV-STAT
 ‘he harvested it’
 cf. hoyé:twəh
 ho-yé:tw-əh
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he planted it’
- (53) [-hsi] (Mithun & Henry 1984)
 sasatronyáhsih
 sa-s-at-hrɔny-á-hsi-h
 REP-2S.A-SRF-dress-JOINERÁ-REV-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘get undressed again’
 cf. sasa:tró:nih
 sa-s-a:t-hrɔ:ni-h
 REP-2S.A-SRF-dress-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘get dressed again’

The [-gw] REV endings belong to the s10 conjugation class (§36.7), as shown in (52) and (54).

- (54) a. HABITUAL [gw-a-hs] REV-JOINERÁ-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [go[?]] REV-PUNC

- c. STATIVE [gw-ɛh] REV-STAT
 d. NO-ASPECT [go-h] REV-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

15.5 Aspect suffixes

The aspect suffixes appear in slot 3, after the movement suffixes and before any post-aspect suffixes, Table 15.2, next page (also see Table 15.1, page 261). The three main types of aspect suffix are the HABITUAL (55), STATIVE (56), and PUNCTUAL (57). Punctual verbs also require a MOOD prefix (either the FACTUAL, INDEFINITE, or FUTURE (57)).

Table 15.2: Aspect affix order

mood	pron	slot 1,2	slot 3a,3b	slot 3c aspect
				[-hs], [-ha ^ʔ] (etc.) HAB
[a ^ʔ -] FAC				[- ^ʔ] PUNC
[ɛ-] FUT				[- ^ʔ] PUNC
[a:-] INDEF				[- ^ʔ] PUNC
				[-ɛh], [-ɔh], [- ^ʔ], [-:] (etc.) STAT

- (55) habitual aspect [-h] etc.
 gé:gɛh, gé:gɛhs
 g-é:-gɛ-h/hs
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-see-HAB
 ‘I see’
- (56) stative aspect [-:], etc.
 agé:gɛ:
 ag-é:-gɛ:-
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-see-STAT
 ‘I have seen it’, ‘my having seen it’
- (57) punctual aspect [-^ʔ]
 a. agé:gɛ^ʔ
 a-g-é:-gɛ-^ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw it’, ‘I did (indeed) see it’

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- b. ɛgɛ:gɛʔ
ɛ-g-é:-gɛ-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
'I will see it'
- c. a:gɛ:gɛʔ
a:g-é:-gɛ-ʔ
INDEF-1S.A-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
'I should, could, would, might see it'

15.5.1 Aspect meaning

Aspect conveys information about the duration of an event, activity, or characteristic. The punctual aspect denotes an event that has no inherent DURATION. In contrast, the habitual and stative aspects denote events with duration, and possibly even internal structure (for example, stages or repetitions). The distinction between the NON-DURATIVE (punctual) and DURATIVE (habitual and stative) aspects runs through the Gayogohonɔʔnéha:ʔ grammar: for example, some post-aspect suffixes only attach to durative (habitual or stative) verbs because their meaning only makes sense for actions or happenings that extend over time.

The three main aspects are described next. A fourth type of aspect, the PURPOSE, is described separately because it operates differently from the three main aspects (see *E-verbs*, §16).

Finally, for several relevant (but technical) background concepts (lexical and sentential aspect), see §36.8.

15.5.2 The habitual, punctual, and stative aspects

All verbs take an aspect suffix (except for no-aspect verbs, see §15.5.6). THREE-ASPECT verbs take a habitual, punctual, or stative aspect suffix. In contrast, STATIVE-ONLY verbs just take a stative suffix, and HABITUAL-ONLY verbs just take a habitual suffix.

There is only one [-ʔ] PUNC ending. In contrast, the habitual family of suffixes includes [-h, -hs, -ʔs, -haʔ], and the stative family includes [-ɔh, -ɛh, -ʔ, -:].

Any given verb stem normally only takes one habitual, punctual, or stative suffix, as shown in (56) and (57). However, as seen in (55) (page 289), some verbs can take more than one habitual suffix (§15.5.3).

The aspect suffixes for a given verb make up its CONJUGATION CLASS. For example, the verb stem [gɛ-] 'to see' in (55) can take an [-hs] HAB ending, and so belongs to one of the s conjugation classes. In contrast, the verb [yaʔdowehd]

‘to think about, consider’ takes a [-haʔ] HAB ending (as in *deyeyaʔdówehtaʔ* ‘she is a thinker or seer’) and so belongs to one of the H conjugation classes. Verb conjugation classes are described in §36.7.

The meaning of the habitual, punctual, and stative aspect suffixes is described in the following sections.

15.5.3 Meaning of the habitual aspect

The habitual aspect forms of certain verbs can denote an event happening in the present moment (58). (Meanwhile, for other verbs, the *stative* aspect forms have this meaning, see below and §15.5.4).

- (58) a. agáhdrøhs
ag-áhdrø-hs
1S.P-frighten-HAB
‘I am frightened of it’
- b. kehswáhęhs
ke-hswáhę-hs
1S:3FIS-hate-HAB
‘I hate her’
- c. gadejiʔóhgyaʔs
g-ade-jiʔóh-gyak-ʔs
1S.A-SRF-nail-cut-HAB
‘I am cutting my nails’
- d. ehé:yøhs
e-hé:yø-hs
3S.FI.A-die-HAB
‘she is dying, on her deathbed’
- e. segé:tsgwahs
s-e-gé:tsgw-a-hs
2S.A-JOINERE-raise.to.vertical-JOINERA-HAB
‘you are lifting it to a vertical position’, ‘you give parties’
- f. gragé:wahs
g-ragé:w-a-hs
1S.A-wipe-JOINERA-HAB
‘I am erasing or wiping it’

- g. satgáhqha'
 s-at-gáhq-ha'
 2S.A-SRF-watch-HAB
 'you are paying attention', 'you are watching right now'
- h. tgyahsóha'
 t-g-yahsó-ha'
 CIS-1S.A-call-HAB
 'I call them', 'I am a bingo caller'

The "present tense" interpretation of habitual verbs appears to depend on the LEXICAL ASPECT of the verb, specifically on the CONSEQUENTIAL versus NON-CONSEQUENTIAL distinction (see §36.8.) For verbs with an end-point (consequential verbs), the habitual aspect form tends to describe an event taking place in the present (59), while the three-aspect *stative* form tends to describe a resulting state (see the "cf." examples in 59).

- (59) a. agé:nya:s
 ag-é:-nya:-s
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-married-HAB
 'I am getting married right now'
 cf. age:nyá:gqh
 ag-e:-nyá:g-qh
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-married-STAT
 'I am married'
- b. wahsdéhsta'
 w-ahsdéhsd-ha'
 3S.A-dry.up-HAB
 'it is evaporating', 'it evaporates'
 cf. ohsdéhsdqh
 o-hsdéhsd-qh
 3S.P-dry.up-STAT
 'it has evaporated', 'it is all dried up'
- c. gatgéhęhs
 g-at-géh-ę-hs
 1S.A-SRF-get.up-JOINERÁ-HAB
 'I get up all the time'
 cf. agá:tęęh
 ag-á:t-ęęh
 1S.P-SRF-get.up-STAT
 'I got up'

- d. edá:graʔs
 e-dá:graʔ-s
 3S.FI.A-fall-HAB
 ‘she is forever falling’ (for example, an old woman)
 cf. agidagráʔqh
 ag-idagráʔ-qh
 1S.P-fall-STAT
 ‘I have fallen down’
- e. é:yqhs
 é:-yq-hs
 3S.FI.A-arrive-HAB
 ‘she arrives’ (at the same time as)
 cf. gó:yq:
 gó:-yq-:
 3S.FI.P-arrive-STAT
 ‘she has arrived’
- f. degáhiʔs
 de-gá-hiʔ-s
 DU-3S.A-break.up-HAB
 ‘it breaks’, ‘it is breakable’
 cf. deyóhiʔqh
 de-yó-hiʔ-qh
 DU-3S.P-break.up-STAT
 ‘it is broken’

In contrast, for verbs without a natural end-point (non-consequential verbs), the habitual form tends to describe a habitual activity, a profession, or a repetitive event (60). (Meanwhile, the *stative* form of such verbs tend to describe an event taking place in the present - see the “cf.” examples in 60.)

- (60) a. hadəḏənyáʔtaʔ
 h-adə-ḏənyáʔt-haʔ
 3S.M.A-SRF-joke-HAB
 ‘he is a joker’
 cf. sadəḏənyáʔdqh
 s-adə-ḏənyáʔd-qh
 2S.P-SRF-joke-STAT
 ‘you are joking’

- b. agénya'gwahs
 agé-nya'gwah-s
 1S.P-vomit-HAB
 'I am vomiting', 'I am a vomiter', 'I vomit all the time'
- cf. agénya'gwáhq̄h
 age-nya'gwáh-q̄h
 1S.P-vomit-STAT
 'I am vomiting' (right now)
- c. tgagyé̄h̄etwahs
 t-g-ag-yé̄h̄etw-a-hs
 CIS-1S.P-SRF-pull-JOINER-A-HAB
 'I am a puller'
- cf. gyagogyé̄h̄:twèh
 g-yago-g-yé̄h̄:tw-èh
 CIS-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 'she is pulling it'
- d. ogyá:nq̄'s
 o-g-yá:nq̄-'s
 3S.P-SRF-dream-HAB
 'it dreams'
- cf. hógyánq̄'dr̄q̄h
 ho-g-yánq̄-'dr̄-q̄h
 3S.M.P-SRF-dream-DISL-STAT
 'he is dreaming'
- e. gaq̄dewáȳçhsta'
 gaq̄-de-wáȳçhst-ha'
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-learn-HAB
 'they are apprentices', 'they are learning together'
- cf. sadewayé̄h̄sdq̄h
 s-ade-wayé̄h̄sd-q̄h
 2S.P-SRF-learn-STAT
 'you are learning' (now)

Finally, some verbs are ambiguous – they can denote an event either with or without an end-point or resulting change of state. The habitual aspect form of such verbs can have either of the readings described above (60b, e).

More examples of habitual-aspect verbs are provided next. As mentioned previously, the non-consequential habituals can denote an activity or event that extends over time, occurring regularly, at frequent intervals, intermittently, or constantly (61).

- (61) a. agó:nihs
 ag-ó:ni-hs
 3S.FI.P-make-HAB
 ‘she makes it into something’, ‘she earns it’
- b. okahs
 o-ka-hs
 3S.P-leak-HAB
 ‘it leaks’
- c. swatgénihs’ahs
 sw-at-génihs’-a-hs
 2PL.A-SRF-meet-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘you have meetings all the time’
- d. hehahé:ha’
 he-ha-hré:-ha’
 TRANSL-3S.M.A-place-HAB
 ‘he places it there all the time’
- e. deknégeha’
 de-k-hnége-ha’
 DU-1S.A-drink-HAB
 ‘I don’t drink any more’
- f. edá:gra’s
 e-dá:gra’-s
 3S.FI.A-fall-HAB
 ‘she is forever falling’ (i.e. an old person)
- g. dekda’s
 de-k-d-a’-s
 DU-1S.A-stand-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘I stop here’ (whenever...)
- h. gadáhnyo’s
 g-ad-áhny-o’-s
 1S.A-SRF-hook-submerge-HAB
 ‘I fish continually’
- i. aga:tó:dęhs
 ag-a:t-hó:dę-hs
 1S.P-SRF-hear-HAB
 ‘I hear it all the time’ (continually or off-and-on, like the sound of a regular train whistle)

15 Verb suffixes

Non-consequential habituals can also denote a profession (an activity done on a regular basis, 62).

- (62) a. ehyádqha'
e-hyádq-ha'
3S.FI.A-write-HAB
'she is a writer or secretary'
- b. shagóhsehta'
shagó-hseht-ha'
3MS:3FI/3P.P-hide-HAB
'he is a robber, stealer'
- c. hatgéhqha'
h-at-géhq-ha'
3S.M.A-SRF-sell-HAB
'he is an auctioneer, a seller'

Finally, for a handful of verbs, the habitual aspect describes a quality or characteristic (63) - a function more commonly performed by stative-only verbs (see §15.5.4).

- (63) gagrahs
ga-gra-hs
3S.A-stink-HAB
'it stinks', 'it is strong-smelling'

15.5.3.1 Meaning of various habitual aspect suffixes

Several verbs can take more than one type of habitual aspect suffix (64–66).

- (64) a. gā'níkqha'
gā-'níkq-ha'
3S.A-sew-HAB
'sewing machine'
- b. e'ní:kqhs
e-'ní:kq-hs
3S.FI.A-sew-HAB
'seamstress'

- (65) a. Qdadahnyóha'
 q-dad-e-hnyó-ha'
 3FIS-REFL-fish-HAB
 'Fishing Dance'
- b. gadáhnyo's
 g-ad-áhnyo-'s
 1S.A-SRF-fish-HAB
 'I fish continually'
- c. hadáhnyo'
 ha-d-áhnyo-'
 3S.M.A-SRF-fish-HAB
 'he is a fisherman'
- d. heṇádahnyoh
 heṇ-ád-ahnyo-h
 3NS.M.A-SRF-fish-HAB
 'they are fishing'

In such cases, the various habitual suffixes probably convey different meanings, as hinted by the translations in (65) and (66). Such subtle distinctions would be easier to determine in the context of a conversation – a topic for further research.

- (66) a. gé:gəḥ 'I see' (regularly, but perhaps at irregular intervals)
 b. gé:gəḥs 'I see' (i.e. I see apple trees, orange trees, ... and sometimes, I also see cherry trees)⁵

15.5.4 Meaning of the stative aspect

The meaning of the stative aspect depends on whether the verb in question is a stative-only or three-aspect verb. Stative-only verbs just take a stative aspect suffix, and never take habitual or punctual suffixes. In contrast, three-aspect verbs can take habitual, punctual, and stative aspect suffixes.

Stative-only verbs tend to describe states, characteristics, or attributes. In contrast, three-aspect statives either denote an event occurring at the present time, or a state resulting from an event having taken place. Examples are provided next.

⁵Based on (66), the [-hs] HAB could be reanalysed as [-h-s] HAB-PL, because the habituals ending with [-s] seem to imply plural objects. Perhaps this reanalysis also extends to [-'s] HAB endings.

15.5.4.1 **Meaning of stative-only verbs**

Stative-only verbs tend to describe states, characteristics, or attributes (67). As well, some might describe temporary states (67a, b), and some, more permanent states (67l, m). Stative-only verbs do not describe events or happenings.

- (67) a. gotowinyóʔse:
 go-t-howinyóʔse:
 3S.FL.P-SRF-have.a.cold.STAT
 ‘she has a cold’
- b. dehowę:sq:
 de-ho-wę:sq:
 DU-3S.M.P-be.shod.STAT
 ‘he has shoes on’
- c. ó:gę:t
 ó:-gę:t
 3S.P-visible.STAT
 ‘it is visible’
- d. niyohá:kʔah
 ni-yo-há:kʔah
 PART-3S.P-short.STAT
 ‘it is short’
- e. ohóʔdę:ʔ
 o-hóʔdę:ʔ
 3S.P-soft.STAT
 ‘it is soft’
- f. ohní:yq̄h
 o-hní:y-q̄h
 3S.P-hard-STAT
 ‘it is hard’
- g. agatganó:ni:
 ag-at-ganó:ni:-
 1S.P-SRF-wealthy-STAT
 ‘I am wealthy’
- h. agatsenó:ni:
 ag-at-hsenó:ni:-
 1S.P-SRF-happy-STAT
 ‘I am happy’

- i. gadṛeṇagáʔq̄h
 ga-dṛeṇ-a-gáʔ-q̄h
 3s.A-smell-JOINER A-sweet-STAT
 ‘it is sweet-smelling (food odours)’
- j. gadṛeṇahshá:sdeʔ
 ga-dṛeṇ-a-hshá:sdeʔ
 3s.A-smell-JOINER A-strong.STAT
 ‘it is strong-smelling’
- k. gaḥóʔji:
 ga-hóʔji:
 3s.A-dark.STAT
 ‘it is dark’
- l. kné:ye:s
 k-hné:y-e:s
 1s.A-stature-long.STAT
 ‘I am tall’
- m. nikhné:yaʔ
 ni-k-hné:y-aʔ
 PART-1s.A-stature-short.STAT
 ‘I am short’
- n. syadq̄hsráḗdiʔ
 s-yadq̄hsrá-ḗdiʔ
 2s.A-paper-know.STAT
 ‘you are smart (educated)’

While stative-only verbs do not describe events (68a), they can be turned into three-aspect verbs describing events with the addition of the causative suffix or other change-of-state suffixes (68b, see §15.3).

- (68) a. otgiʔ
 o-tgi-ʔ
 3s.P-dirty-STAT
 ‘it is dirty’
- b. ḗhsé:tgiht
 ḗ-hs-é:-tgi-ht
 FUT-2s.A-JOINER E-dirty-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will dirty it up’

15.5.4.2 **Meaning of three-aspect statives**

The stative forms of three-aspect verbs (three-aspect statives) either denote an event occurring at the present time, or a state resulting from an event that previously took place. The meaning partly depends on the lexical aspect of the verb, specifically, the CONSEQUENTIAL versus NON-CONSEQUENTIAL distinction (see §36.8).

If the event described by the verb implies an end-point, or results in a new state of affairs (consequential verbs) then the three-aspect stative tends to denote the end-result of an action and is often translated as a past-tense form (69). The three-aspect statives of consequential verbs sometimes even function as “nouns” (naming abstract concepts, 70).

(69) three-aspect stative, meaning the result of an action or happening

- a. ohstéhsdɔh
o-hstéhsd-ɔh
3s.P-dry.up-STAT
‘it has evaporated’
- b. owa:nóhsdɔh
o-wa:-nóhsd-ɔh
3s.P-air-get.cold-STAT
‘it got cold (weather)’
- c. hehó:gyɔ:
he-hó:-gy-ɔ:
TRANSL-3S.M.P-SRF-throw-STAT
‘he has thrown it’
- d. tɛʔ deʔhóyɛtwɛh
tɛʔ deʔ-hó-yɛtw-ɛh
not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
‘he did not plant’
- e. deʔagadrihoʔdá:dɔh
deʔ-ag-ad-rihoʔdá:d-ɔh
NEG-1S.P-SRF-work-STAT
‘I did not work’
- f. agekwɛdáʔɔh
ag-e-kw-ɛdáʔ-ɔh
1S.P-JOINERE-food-finish-STAT
‘I have finished eating’

- g. hewagadényehdoh
 he-wag-adé-nyehd-oh
 TRANSL-1S.P-SRF-send-STAT
 ‘I sent it’
- h. agatodé’oh
 ag-at-hodé’-oh
 1S.P-SRF-hear-STAT
 ‘I’ve heard it before’
- (70) stative-aspect verbs functioning as “nouns”
- a. wade’nyedéhsdoh
 wa-d-e-’nyedéhsd-oh
 3S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-cause.to.measure-STAT
 ‘the act of measuring’
- b. watwihsdonyá’doh
 wa-t-hwihsd-onyá’d-oh
 3S.A-SRF-money-cause.to.make-STAT
 ‘profit’, ‘investment’
- c. wahyá:gwèh
 wa-hy-á:-gw-èh
 3S.A-fruit-JOINER A-pick-STAT
 ‘picked fruit’

However, if the event does not denote an end-point or does not result in a new state of affairs (non-consequential verbs), then the three-aspect stative verb conveys the idea that an event is happening in the present (71).

- (71) a. swagahsha’dró:nyoh
 s-wag-ahsha’d-ró:-ny-oh
 REP-1S.P-remember-JOINER A-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
 ‘I am recalling, remembering’
- b. odá’grahdoh
 o-d-á’grahd-oh
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT
 ‘it is floating’
- c. dèya:wé:doh
 d-è-ya:w-é:d-oh
 DU-FUT-3S.P-sway-STAT
 ‘it sways’

- d. sadədonjáʔdɔh
 s-adə-donyáʔd-ɔh
 2S.P-SRF-make.fun.of-STAT
 ‘you are joking, making fun of something’
- e. deyagotgrégrəhdɔh
 de-yago-t-grégrəhd-ɔh
 DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-wrinkle.up-STAT
 ‘she is frowning’
- f. agenyáʔgwáhɔh
 ag-e-nyáʔgw-á-h-ɔh
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERÁ-DISL-STAT
 ‘I am vomiting (right now)’
- g. sənɔhdɔnyɔh
 s-ənɔhdɔny-ɔh
 2S.P-wonder-STAT
 ‘you are wondering, thinking’
- h. gyagogyəhé:twəh
 g-yago-g-yəhé:tw-əh
 CIS-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 ‘she is pulling it’
- i. desaʔnigɔhaʔdó:gəh
 de-sa-ʔnigɔh-a-dó:g-əh
 NEG-2S.P-mind-JOINERÁ-true-STAT
 ‘you cannot decide which way to go, you are flighty’
- j. age:nyá:gɔh
 ag-e:-nyá:g-ɔh
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-marry-STAT
 ‘I am married’ (does not mean ‘I am marrying someone right now’)

Some verbs are ambiguous – they can describe an event that either has or lacks an end-point. Such verbs can have either of the meanings described above. For example, *agídaʔɔh* either applies to the result of an activity or to an ongoing activity (72a).

- (72) a. agídaʔɔh
 ag-ídaʔ-ɔh
 1S.P-sleep-STAT
 ‘I was asleep’, ‘I am sleeping’

- b. *saihwá'né:gəh*
 sa-rihw-a-'né:g-əh
 2S.P-matter-JOINER-pray-STAT
 'you are praying', 'you have prayed'
- c. *desəná'sgwáhgwəh*
 de-s-ə-ná'sgw-á-hgw-əh
 DU-2S.P-SRF-bouncy.surface-JOINER-lift-STAT
 'you have jumped', 'you are jumping'

The ambiguous three-aspect stative forms can possibly be rendered unambiguous in context – for example, if a modifying word is added. Some hypothetical examples are provided in (73).

- (73) disambiguating stative-aspect meanings (hypothetical examples)
- a. *Te:dé:' hodá'qh*
 te:dé:' ho-dá'-qh
 yesterday 3S.M.P-sleep-STAT
 'yesterday he did sleep' ("adverb" *te:dé:'* favours a resultant-state reading.)
- b. *O:nəh hodá'qh*
 o:nəh ho-dá'-qh
 now 3S.M.P-sleep-STAT
 'he is sleeping right now' (particle *o:nəh* favours a presently-occurring-activity reading)

15.5.4.3 Meaning of stative nouns and agentive stative nouns

STATIVE NOUNS begin with [ga-] 3S.A or [a-] 3S.A (alternatively, Ø.PREFIX), and end with an [-q:-'] STAT-LENGTH-NSF combination. These nouns also express abstract concepts (74).

- (74) a. *gáohq:'*
 gá-oh-q:-'
 3S.A-gather-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 'the act of gathering'
- b. *gaya'dowéhdq:'*
 ga-ya'dowéhd-q:-'
 3S.A-think.about-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 'the idea of thinking'

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- c. atq:déʔq:
 at-hq:dé-q:-ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-hear-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 ‘the act of hearing’
- d. adówadq:
 ad-ówad-q:-ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-hunt-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 ‘the hunt’

Less commonly, stative nouns take other prefixes with the [-q:-ʔ] STAT-LENGTH-NSF combination (75).

- (75) a. onqhsodáiyq:
 o-nqhsod-á-iy-q:-ʔ
 3S.P-sickness-verb-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 ‘sickness, illness’
- b. qgyaʔditgéhshq:
 q-g-yaʔd-itgé-hs-q:-ʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-body-rise-DISTR-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 ‘nightmares’

AGENTIVE STATIVE NOUNS are stative aspect verbs functioning as a kind of abstract “noun”, describing an item that results from the activity in question (76). They take a 3S.A prefix (either [ga-] or [wa-]), instead of the [(y)o-] 3S.P series pronominal prefix typically required of three-aspect statives.

- (76) a. wəhyá:gwəh
 w-əhy-á:-gw-əh
 3S.A-fruit-JOINERÉ-pick-STAT
 ‘picked fruit’
- b. wadénhaʔqh
 w-adé-nhaʔ-qh
 3S.A-SRF-hire-STAT
 ‘it is chartered, hired’
- c. wagyq:
 w-agyq:-
 3S.A-throw-STAT
 ‘something thrown away’, ‘discards’

- d. degágwatwəh
 de-gá-gwatw-əh
 DU-3S.A-hem-STAT
 ‘a hem’

15.5.5 Meaning of the punctual aspect

The [-ʔ] PUNC suffix denotes the occurrence of an event, but does not imply that the event has any duration, or that the event has any stages, repetitions, or other internal structure. The meaning of the punctual can be paraphrased as ‘this is an event’.

Verbs with a punctual suffix also require a mood prefix (either the factual, indefinite, or future (77)).

- (77) a. akní:nqʔ
 a-k-hní:nq-ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 ‘I bought it’ (a fact)
- b. a:kní:nqʔ
 a:k-hní:nq-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 ‘I might, should, could, or would buy it’ (a possible or desirable future)
- c. ək ní:nqʔ
 ək-k-hní:nq-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 ‘I will buy it’ (a certain or near-certain future)

The meaning of the [-ʔ] PUNC is made clearer by comparing punctual aspect verbs with no-aspect verbs, which are described next.

15.5.6 No-aspect and punctual-aspect verbs

No-aspect verbs resemble punctual-aspect verbs in every respect, except that they lack a punctual suffix (78). They are used in negation contexts (78a) and in imperatives or commands (78b).

(78) No-aspect and punctual-aspect verbs, compared

- a. tɛʔ ta:gaesayɛ:de:
 tɛʔ t-a:-gaesa-yɛ:de:
 not CONTR-INDEF-3NS:2S-recognize.NO_ASPECT
 ‘they will not recognize you’
- cf. ɛgyɛ:de:ʔ
 ɛ-g-yɛ:de:-ʔ
 FUT-1s.A-recognize-PUNC
 ‘I will recognize it’
- b. sadahɔ:dɔ:
 s-ad-ahɔ:dɔ:
 2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT
 ‘ask!’
- cf. ɛsadahɔ:dɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-s-ad-ahɔ:dɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC
 ‘you will ask’

No-aspect verbs lack a punctual suffix for grammatical reasons (for example, being used in negative or imperative contexts). In contrast, \emptyset .PUNCTUAL verbs lack a [-ʔ] punctual suffix for reasons of pronunciation.

For \emptyset .punctual verbs, the [-ʔ] PUNC is simply not pronounced – because Gayo-gohonɔʔnéha:ʔ words do not end with consonant clusters. For example, the punctual verb form in (79) hypothetically ends with [g-ʔ], (resulting from [ganyaʔg-ʔ] pay-PUNC), but [g-ʔ] is simplified to [k] word-finally – the [ʔ] PUNC is deleted or not pronounced. Similarly, in (80), the punctual verb form ends with an [h-ʔ] cluster (resulting from [hrih-ʔ] pour-PUNC), which is simplified to [h].

(79) stem [ganyaʔg] ‘to pay’, missing [-ʔ] PUNC suffix

- aʔéganyaʔk
 aʔ-e-ganyaʔk
 FAC-3S.FI.A-pay.∅.PUNC
 ‘she paid’
- cf. gagányaʔgɔh
 ga-ga-nyaʔg-ɔh
 3S.A-price-pay-STAT
 ‘payment’

- (80) stem [hrih] ‘to pour, spill’, missing [-ʔ] PUNC suffix
 həkrih
 h-ə-k-hrih
 TRANSL-FUT-1s.A-pour.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will pour’
 cf. gahihəh
 ga-hrih-əh
 3s.A-spill-STAT
 ‘it is spilled’

15.5.6.1 Meaning of no-aspect verbs

In contrast to \emptyset -punctuals, no-aspect verbs lack an aspect suffix for grammatical reasons: in general no-aspect verbs denote non-events, or events that are not actualized, and these meanings are not compatible with a punctual suffix, which denotes an event.⁶ For example, no-aspect verbs are used with negative future events (81): since these are non-events by definition (they will not happen), they do not take a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix. In contrast, positive future events (the ‘cf.’ form in 81) are likely to occur as events, and so take a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix.

- (81) tɛʔ tɔ:dá:ge:
 tɛʔ tɔdá:-g-e-:
 not CIS.DU.INDEF-1s.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
 ‘I am not going’
 cf. nɔdá:ge:ʔ
 nɔdá:-ge:-ʔ
 PART.DU.INDEF-1s.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘(where) I come from’, ‘I came from (there)’

As mentioned previously, no-aspect verbs appear in negation contexts (§17) and in commands (81, §27.1.) They also occur in certain hypothetical sentences, which are described next, as a way of further illustrating the meaning of no-aspect forms.

15.5.6.2 NO-ASPECT hypothetical verbs

Some no-aspect verbs describe hypothetical events, rather than actual ones (82). The no-aspect verbs in (82) describe hypothetical events in conditional clauses

⁶No-aspect verbs function like SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD verbs in other languages, describing the speaker’s attitude that the event is not real or realized.

(shown in square brackets, see §29.2), which, in turn, are about events that are possible but not realized.

- (82) a. Toh giʔ [shəh há:ge:]
 there just that I.should.go
 ‘Just maybe I should go there.’
 cf. h-á:-g-e-:
 CIS-INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
- b. Daskro:wih [ədwé: gəh].
 you.tell.me we.will.go if/whether
 ‘Tell me if/whether you are coming with us.’
 cf. ɛ-dw-e:
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
 ‘(that) we go together’
 cf. ɛ:dwe:ʔ
 ɛ:-dw-e:-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PUNC
 ‘we will go together’
- c. Təʔ dejqhdsí:s o:nəh [gyɛ:gwáʔ a:yáihe:]
 not she.didn’t.pay.attention now if she.would.die
 ‘She did not care that she was going to her death.’
 cf. a:-ya-ihe:
 INDEF-3S.FI.A-die.NO_ASPECT
 ‘(that) she die’

15.6 Post-aspect (tense) suffixes

The POST-ASPECT (tense) suffixes (slot 4, Table 15.1, page 261) can attach to habitual or stative verbs, but not punctual ones. (Examples are provided in the following sections.)

The [-gəhɛ:ʔ] PAST and [-hk] FORMER endings add past tense meanings to habitual and stative verbs. The [-hne:ʔ] REM does so as well, but only attaches to stative verbs.

The [-:k] MODZ makes it possible to add [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF mood prefixes to habitual and stative verbs. (Verbs with the [-:k] MODZ cannot take an [aʔ-] FAC prefix.)

15.6.1 Variations on the habitual aspect

Habitual aspect verbs can take the [-gɛɬɛ:ʔ] PAST, [-hk] FORMER or [-:k] MODZ suffixes. Table 15.3 shows the original habitual aspect verb, while Table 15.4 summarizes the variations that such verbs can take. The pronominal prefix of the resulting verb is the same type as the original habitual verb. Examples are provided in the next section.

Table 15.3: Habitual base

pronominal	stem	aspect suffix
	verb	HAB

Table 15.4: Habitual variations

	mood	habitual base (PRON-verb-HAB)	post-aspect
HABITUAL PAST		PRON-verb-[(h)s] PRON-verb-[ha(ʔ)]	[-gɛɬɛ:ʔ] PAST [-hk] FORMER
FUTURE HABITUAL and INDEFINITE HABITUAL	[ɛ-] FUT [a:-] INDEF	PRON-verb-[(h)s] PRON-verb-[ha(ʔ)]	[-:k] MODZ [-:k] MODZ

15.6.1.1 Habituals with [-gɛɬɛ:ʔ] PAST or [-hk] FORMER

Habitual verbs can take the [-gɛɬɛ:ʔ] PAST (83) or [-hk] FORMER endings (84). According to Sasse & Keye (1998), the [-gɛɬɛ:ʔ] PAST ending is used with s-conjugation verbs (which take [-s] or [-hs] HAB endings, 83), while [-hk] FORMER is used with H-conjugation verbs (which take the [-haʔ] HAB ending, 84). (See *Aspect conjugation classes*, §36.7.)

(83) s-conjugation verbs

- a. hadowahsgéɬɛ:ʔ
 ha-d-owad-hs-géɬɛ:ʔ
 3S.M.A-SRF-hunt-HAB-PAST
 ‘he used to be a hunter’
- cf. hadó:wa:s
 ha-d-ó:wa:d-s
 3S.M.A-SRF-hunt-HAB
 ‘he is a hunter’

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- b. hahdóhsgeḥe:ʔ
ha-hdó-hs-geḥe:ʔ
3S.M.A-dive-HAB-PAST
'he used to dive'
cf. hahdo:s
ha-hdo:-s
3S.M.A-dive-HAB
'he dives', 'he is a diver'
- c. sahtgaʔwəhsgeḥe:ʔ
s-ahtgaʔw-a-hs-geḥe:ʔ
2S.A-release-JOINERÁ-HAB-PAST
'you used to let go, you used to give up'
cf. sahtgaʔs
s-ahtgaʔw-s
2S.A-release-HAB
'you forfeit, you let go of things all the time'

(84) H-conjugation verbs

- a. sadqhwidáʔtəhk
s-ad-qhwidáʔt-ha-hk
2S.A-SRF-swing-HAB-FORMER
'you used to swing (long ago)'
cf. sadqhwidáʔtaʔ
s-ad-qhwidáʔt-haʔ
2S.A-SRF-swing-HAB
'you swing (all the time)', 'you are a swinger'
- b. gohsóʔkahk
go-hsóʔk-ha-hk
3S.FI.P-limp-HAB-FORMER
'she used to limp'
cf. gohsóʔkaʔ
go-hsóʔk-haʔ
3S.FI.P-limp-HAB
'she is limping'
- c. hahsgyáqhəhk
ha-hsgyáq-ha-hk
3S.M.A-walk.quickly-HAB-FORMER
'he used to walk quickly'

- cf. hahsgyáqha'
 ha-hsgyáq-ha'
 3S.M.A-walk.quickly-HAB
 'he walks quickly', 'he gives someone encouragement'
- d. desahsqhdré:hahk
 de-s-ahsqhdré:-ha-hk
 DU-2S.A-join-HAB-FORMER
 'you used to join things together, put it together'
- cf. desahsqdré:ha'
 de-s-ahsqdré:-ha'
 DU-2S.A-join-HAB
 'you join things together all the time', 'you do puzzles'
- e. qdrénotahk
 q-d-rén-ot-ha-hk
 3S.FI.A-SRF-song-stand-HAB-FORMER
 'she used to sing'
- cf. gaqdrénó:ta'
 gaq-d-rén-ó:t-ha'
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-song-stand-HAB
 'they (f/m) are singers'

15.6.1.2 Habituals with [-:k] MODALIZER (MODZ)

Habitual verbs can take the [-:k] MODZ suffix, which, as the name implies, enables the verb to take an [e-] FUT prefix (85–87) or [a:-] INDEF prefix (86), (87a), (87d). (Verbs with the [-:k] MODZ do not take the [a'-] FAC prefix.)

According to Sasse & Keye (1998), H-conjugation habituals take the [-ha:k] HAB-MODZ combination (85), (86), and s-conjugation ones take the [-(h)s-e:k] HAB-MODZ combination (87).

- (85) [e-verb-ha:k] FUT-verb-HAB-MODZ
- a. dədwadadrihwanqhkwa:k
 d-ɛ-dw-adad-rihw-a-nqhkwa-ha:k
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-matter-JOINER A-love-HAB-MODZ
 'we all will show respect for one another'
- cf. shedwánqhkwa'
 shedwá-nqhkwa-ha'
 1INP:3MS-love-HAB
 'we love him'

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- b. ɛwadəhniʔdoʔkta:k
 ɛ-w-ad-ɛhniʔd-oʔkt-ha-:k
 FUT-3S.A-SRF-month-end-HAB-MODZ

‘every month will end’

- cf. hewádoʔktaʔ
 he-w-ád-oʔkt-haʔ
 TRANSL-3S.A-SRF-end-HAB
 ‘it ends over there’

- c. ɛhsáhsoʔka:k
 ɛ-hs-áhsoʔk-ha-:k
 FUT-2S.P-limp-HAB-MODZ

‘you will limp’

- cf. gohsóʔkaʔ
 go-hsóʔk-haʔ
 3S.FI.P-limp-HAB
 ‘she is limping’

- (86) [a:-verb-ha-:k] INDEF-verb-HAB-MODZ
 a:gəihwanəhkwa:k
 a:-gə-ihw-a-nəhkwa-ha-:k
 INDEF-1s:2s-matter-JOINER A-love-HAB-MODZ

‘I should care, respect your ideas’

- cf. gənhkwaʔ
 gə-nəhkwa-haʔ
 1s:2s-love-HAB
 ‘I love you’

- (87) [ɛ/a:-verb-hs-e:k] FUT/INDEF-verb-HAB-MODZ

- a. ɛhswagáɛsɛ:k
 ɛ-hswa-gáɛ-s-e:k
 FUT-2P.P-willing-HAB-MODZ

‘you all will be willing’

- cf. sagáɛs
 sa-gáɛ-s
 2S.P-willing-HAB
 ‘you are willing’

- b. a:hayətwəhsé:k tsə:
 a:-ha-yətw-a-hs-é:k tsə:
 INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-JOINER A-HAB-MODZ just
 ‘just let him keep planting’

- cf. hayé:twahs
 ha-yé:tw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘he is a planter’
- c. dəhatganyáhse:k
 d-ə-ha-t-gany-á-hs-e:k
 DU-FUT-3S.M.A-SRF-want.desperately-JOINERÁ-HAB-MODZ
 ‘he will be desperate’
- cf. dəhátganyahs
 də-há-t-gany-a-hs
 DU-3S.M.A-SRF-want.desperately-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘he is desperate, desperately wanting something’, ‘he is in dire need’, ‘he will settle for just anyone’
- d. a:gahyágwahse:k
 a:-g-ahy-á-gw-a-hs-e:k
 INDEF-1S.A-fruit-JOINERÁ-pick-JOINERÁ-HAB-MODZ
 ‘I might be a fruit picker’
- cf. gahyá:gwahs
 g-ahy-á-gw-a-hs
 1S.A-fruit-JOINERÁ-pick-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘I am picking fruit’

15.6.1.3 Habituals with ‘easy to’ / ‘hard to’ constructions

The verbs described in the previous section are used in ‘easy to’ (88) and ‘hard to’ (89) constructions.

- (88) Wagyesaʔ géh da:gahyadqhsríyaʔksq:k.
 it.is.easy the.paper.would.cut
 cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-íyaʔk-s-q:k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-HAB-DISTR-MODZ
 ‘it is easy to cut the paper’, ‘the paper is easy to cut’
- (89) We:dó:ʔ da:gahyadqhsríyaʔksq:k.
 it.is.hard the.paper.would.cut
 ‘it is hard to cut paper’, ‘the paper is hard to cut’
 cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-íyaʔk-s-q:k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-HAB-DISTR-MODZ

15.6.2 Variations on the stative aspect

Stative verbs take the [-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST, [-hne:ʔ] REM, [-hk] FORMER, or [-:k] MODZ suffixes. Table 15.5 illustrates the structure of the original stative verb, while Table 15.6 summarizes the variations of such verbs. The pronominal prefix of the resulting verb is the same type as the original stative verb. Examples are provided in the following sections.

Table 15.5: Stative base

pronominal	stem	aspect
P	verb	STAT

Table 15.6: Stative variations

	mood	stative base (P-verb-STAT)	post-aspect
STATIVE PAST			[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST [-hne:ʔ] REM [-hk] FORMER
FUTURE STATIVE	[ɛ-] FUT		[-:k] MODZ
INDEFINITE STATIVE	[a:-] INDEF		[-:k] MODZ

15.6.2.1 Statives with [-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST, [-hne:ʔ] REM, or [-hk] FORMER

Statives can take the [-hne:ʔ] REM (90–91) or [-hk] FORMER (92–94) suffixes to denote an activity or the result of an activity that occurred in the past. According to Sasse & Keye (1998), statives of s-conjugation verbs take the [-hne:ʔ] REM suffix (90–91), while statives of H-conjugation verbs take the [-hk] FORMER suffix (92–94).

(90) [verb-STAT-REMOTE] (three-aspect statives, s-conjugation)

- a. agahyagwɛhne:ʔ
 ag-ahy-a-gw-ɛ-hne:ʔ
 1S.P-fruit-JOINER-pick-STAT-REM
 ‘I’ve done picking fruit’
- cf. agáhyagwɛh
 ag-áhy-a-gw-ɛh
 1S.P-fruit-JOINER-pick-STAT
 ‘I have picked fruit (farther in the past)’

- b. agekɔníhne:[?]
 ag-e-k-ɔní-hne:[?]
 1s.P-JOINERE-food-make.STAT-REM
 ‘I have cooked’
 cf. age:kó:ni:
 ag-e:-k-ó:ni:-
 1s.P-JOINERE-food-make-STAT
 ‘I cooked’
- c. saǰagɔ́ ǒhne:[?]
 sa-jagɔ-’ǒ-hne:[?]
 2s.P-persevere-STAT-REM
 ‘you singular have persevered’
 cf. ageǰagǒ’ǒh
 ag-e-jagǒ-’ǒh
 1s.P-JOINERE-persevere-STAT
 ‘I do persevere all the time’
- d. sagahdrɔníhne:[?]
 sa-gahdr-ɔní-hne:[?]
 2s.P-eye-make.STAT-REM
 ‘you used to stare all the time’
 cf. sagahdró:ni:
 sa-gahdr-ó:ni:-
 2s.P-eye-make-STAT
 ‘you are “nosy” with your eyes’, ‘you are always looking’
- e. dewagadɔhweǰónihne:[?]
 de-wag-ad-ɔhweǰóni-hne:[?]
 DU-1s.P-SRF-want.STAT-REM
 ‘I wanted something in the past’
 cf. dewagadɔhweǰó:nih
 de-wag-ad-ɔhweǰó:ni-h
 DU-1s.P-SRF-want-STAT
 ‘I want something’

(91) [verb-STAT-REMOTE] (stative-only verbs, s-conjugation)

- a. eksa’gowáhne:[?]
 e-ksa’-gowá-hne:[?]
 3s.FI.A-child-great.STAT-REM
 ‘she used to be pretty’

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cf. eksa'gó:wah
 e-ksa'-gó:wah
 3S.FI.A-child-great.STAT
 'she is pretty'

b. sani'qhne:ʔ
 sa-ní-ʔq-hne:ʔ
 2S.P-greedy-STAT-REM
 'you used to be stingy of it'

cf. sani'qh
 sa-ní-ʔqh
 2S.P-greedy-STAT
 'you are stingy, greedy, cheap'

(92) [verb-STAT-FORMER] (three-aspect statives, H-conjugation)

a. gonadrɛnó:daʔk
 gon-ad-rɛn-ó:d-a-ʔ-k
 3NS.FI.P-SRF-song-stand-JOINERÁ-CAUS-FORMER
 'they did sing'

cf. hodré:no:t
 ho-d-rɛ:n-o:t
 3S.M.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
 'he is singing'

b. gani:yó:daʔk 'it hung there',
 ga-ni:yó:d-a-ʔ-k
 3S.A-hang.STAT-JOINERÁ-CAUS-FORMER
 'it used to hang there'

cf. gani:yó:t
 ga-ni:yó:t
 3S.A-hang.STAT
 'it is hanging'

(93) [verb-STAT-FORMER] (stative-only verbs, H-conjugation)

tgáenagrehk
 t-gáe-nagre-hk
 CIS-3NS.FI.A-live.STAT-FORMER
 'they did live there, used to live there'

cf. tgáenagreʔ
 t-gáe-nagre-ʔ
 CIS-3NS.FI.A-live-STAT
 'where they live over there'

(94) [verb-STAT-EUPH.D-CAUS-FORMER] (stative-only verbs, H-conjugation)

- a. tgi[?]dró:da[?]k
 t-g-i[?]dró:-d-a-[?]-k
 CIS-1S.A-live.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-CAUS-FORMER
 ‘where I lived’
 cf. shèh tgi[?]dró[?]
 shèh t-g-i[?]dró-[?]
 that CIS-1S.A-live-STAT
 ‘where I live, reside’
- b. agadowihshé:da[?]k
 ag-ad-owihshé:-d-a-[?]-k
 1S.P-SRF-rest.STAT-EUPH.D-CAUS-FORMER
 ‘I did have a rest’
 cf. agadowishé[?]
 ag-ad-owishé-[?]
 1S.P-SRF-rest-STAT
 ‘I have rested’

Statives can also take the [-gèhè:’] PAST to denote an activity or the result of an activity that occurred in the past (95a, b). As examples (95b, c), show, at least one verb can take either suffix. There may be a subtle difference in meaning that is not captured by the translations.

(95) [verb-STAT-PAST]

- a. ní:’ agawègèhè:’
 ní:’ ag-aw-è-gèhè:’
 I 1S.P-OWN-STAT-PAST
 ‘it used to be mine’
 cf. agá:wèh
 ag-á:w-èh
 1S.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘mine’
- b. howéghèhè:’
 ho-wè-gèhè:’
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-PAST
 ‘it used to be his’
 cf. hó:wèh
 hó:-w-èh
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘his’

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- c. howəhne:[?]
 ho-w-ə-hne:[?]
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-REM
 ‘it used to be his’
 cf. hó:wəh
 hó:-w-əh
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘it is his’

15.6.2.2 **Statives with [-:k] MODALIZER**

Verbs in the stative aspect can take the [-:k] MODZ suffix, along with the [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF mood prefix. (Verbs with the [-:k] MODZ cannot take the [a[?]-] FAC prefix.) The resulting verbs take the same kind of pronominal prefix as the original stative verb.

Based on post-aspect suffixes, there are two types of such verbs, as summarized in Table 15.7. (‘V’ denotes a verb stem ending with a vowel.)

Table 15.7: More stative variations

	mood	stative base (P-verb-STAT)	post-aspect
FUTURE STATIVE	[ɛ-] FUT	[P-verb(V)-ɛ/-ɔ]	[-:k] MODZ
INDEFINITE STATIVE	[a:-] INDEF		[-h-a/-ɛ/-ɔ:-k] EUPH.H- JOINER-MODZ

One type just takes the [-:k] MODZ after the stative ending, both for three-aspect statives (96a–c) and for originally stative-only verbs (96d).

- (96) [MOOD-...verb-STAT-:K]
 a. ɛwagəhyá:gwɛ:k
 ɛ-wag-əhy-á:-gw-ɛ-:k
 FUT-1S.P-fruit-JOINER-A-pick-STAT-MODZ
 ‘I will have picked fruit’
 cf. agáhyagwəh
 ag-əhy-a-gw-əh
 1S.P-fruit-JOINER-A-pick-STAT
 ‘I have picked fruit’

- b. ɛ́gáʔnikɔ:k
 ɛ-gáʔ-nikɔ:-k
 FUT-3S.A-sew.STAT-MODZ
 ‘it will be sewn’
 cf. gáʔní:kɔʔ
 gáʔ-ní:kɔʔ
 3S.A-sew-STAT
 ‘a seam’
- c. ɛ́wagatɔ́:de:k
 ɛ-wag-atɔ́:de:-k
 FUT-1S.P-hear.STAT-MODZ
 ‘I will be hearing it’
 cf. aga:tɔ́:deʔ
 ag-a:tɔ́:de-ʔ
 1S.P-hear-STAT
 ‘I hear it’ (right now)
- d. ɔ́:dagaená:gre:k, aɔ́dagaená:gre:k
 ɔ́:da/aɔ́da-gae-ná:gr-e:-k
 INDEF.CIS-3NS.FI.A-live-go-MODZ
 ‘they would live there’
 cf. tgáenagrehk
 t-gáe-nagre-hk
 CIS-3NS.FI.A-live-go-FORMER
 ‘they did or used to live there’

The second type⁷ takes a [-h-V-k] EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ combination after the stative suffix. (The JOINER ‘V’ is either [-a] JOINERA or the same suffix pronounced as a copy of the preceding stative aspect suffix vowel ([-ɛ, -ɔ], see §19.5.1.)

(97) [MOOD-...-verb-STAT-EUPH.H-V-:K]

- a. ɛ́yagodeʔnyɛ́dɛ́hsdɔ́hɔ:k
 ɛ-yago-d-e-ʔnyɛ́dɛ́hsd-ɔ-h-ɔ:-k
 FUT-3S.FI.P-SRF-JOINERĒ-measure-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘she will be measuring things’
 cf. wadeʔnyɛ́dɛ́hsdɔ́h
 w-ad-e-ʔnyɛ́dɛ́hsd-ɔh
 3S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-measure-STAT
 ‘the act of measuring’

⁷The second type is also attested in Oneida (Lounsbury 1953: 88–89).

- b. dɛgagwatwɛhɛ:k
 d-ɛ-ga-gwatw-ɛ-h-ɛ:k
 DU-FUT-3S.A-hem-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘it will be hemmed’
 cf. degágwatwɛh
 de-gá-gwatw-ɛh
 DU-3S.A-hem-STAT
 ‘a hem’
- c. ɛsadehsrɔnihsʔɔhɔ:k
 ɛ-s-ad-ɛ-hsrɔnihsʔ-ɔ-h-ɔ:k
 FUT-2S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-ready-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘you will be ready’
 cf. sadehsrɔnihsʔɔh
 s-ad-e-hsrɔnihsʔ-ɔh
 2S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-ready-STAT
 ‘you are ready’
- d. ɛyagɔnehgɔhɔ:k
 ɛ-yag-ɔnehg-ɔ-h-ɔ:k
 FUT-3S.FI.P-be.sustained-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘they (literally, she) will live on’, ‘what will sustain them’
 cf. agɔnehgɔh
 ag-ɔnehg-ɔh
 3S.FI.P-be.sustained-STAT
 ‘someone lives on it’, ‘she is sustained by it’

Finally, example (98) shows that some verbs can take either of the post-aspect suffix combinations in Table 15.7 (page 318).

- (98) a. a:waga:tró:wi:k
 a:-wag-a:t-hró:wi-:-k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell-STAT-MODZ
 ‘I should be talking about it’
- b. ɛwagatrówiha:k
 ɛ-wag-at-hrówi-h-a:k
 FUT-1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 ‘I will be talking about it’
 cf. aga:tró:wi:
 ag-a:t-hró:wi-:
 1S.P-SRF-tell-STAT
 ‘I have told’

15.6.2.3 Stative verbs with ‘easy to’ / ‘hard to’ constructions

The verbs described in the previous section are used in ‘easy to’ (99) and ‘hard to’ (100) sentences.

- (99) Wę:dó:ʔ da:gahyadqhsriyaʔgqha:k
 it.is.hard the.paper.would.be.cut
 ‘the paper is hard to cut’, ‘it is hard to cut the paper’

cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-iyəʔg-ó-h-a-:k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ

- (100) Wagyehsaʔgéh da:gahyadqhsriyaʔgqha:k
 it.is.easy the.paper.would.be.cut
 ‘the paper is easy to cut’, ‘it is easy to cut the paper’

cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-iyəʔg-ó-h-a-:k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ

15.7 Post-aspect suffixes (non-tense)

The POST-ASPECT suffixes (slot 4, Table 15.1, page 261) described in this section add nuances to the basic meanings of the three main aspects (the habitual, punctual, and stative). These suffixes have no effect on the choice of pronominal prefix.

15.7.1 [-ʔs] PLURAL (PL)

The [-ʔs] PL appears at the end of stative verbs (slot 4, Table 15.1, page 261), where it denotes a quality or characteristic that holds of several objects (101–105).⁸

- (101) [+i:yo-ʔs] nice.STAT-PL ‘several nice or beautiful things’

ohonaʔdí:yoʔs
 o-honaʔd-í:yo-ʔs
 3S.P-potato-good.STAT-PL
 ‘nice potatoes’

cf. ohonaʔdí:yo:
 o-honaʔd-í:yo:
 3S.P-potato-good.STAT
 ‘nice potato’

⁸Note that the PLURAL suffix is distinct from the PLURALIZER suffixes described in §10.15.

- (102) [+owa:n-ɛ-'s] big-STAT-PL 'several big things'
- a. ohɔnɑ́dówanɛ́'s
 o-hɔnɑ́d-ówan-ɛ-'s
 3S.P-potato-big-STAT-PL
 'big potatoes'
- cf. ohɔnɑ́dówanɛh
 o-hɔnɑ́d-ówan-ɛh
 3S.P-potato-big-STAT
 'big potato'
- b. gádrehdowá:nɛ́'s
 ga-ᵀdrehd-owá:n-ɛ-'s
 3S.A-car-big-STAT-PL
 'big cars'
- cf. gádrehdowá:nɛh
 ga-ᵀdrehd-owá:n-ɛh
 3S.A-car-big-STAT
 'big car'
- c. ɛgahnegowanɛ́'se:k
 ɛ-ga-hneg-owan-ɛ-'s-e:k
 FUT-3S.A-water-big-STAT-PL-Ø.PUNC.MODZ
 'there will be big bodies of water'
- (103) [-a-'s] certain.size.stative-PL 'several objects of a certain size, age'
- shɛh ní:wa's
 shɛh ní:-w-a's
 that PART-3S.A-size.STAT-PL
 'sizes', 'how big they are'
- cf. ní:wa'
 ní:-w-a'
 PART-3S.A-size.STAT
 'it is of a certain size, age'
- (104) [o'dɛ-'s] type.of.STAT-PL
- o'nigɔhsadɔhkgéha:ᵀ nigaɛnó'dɛ's
 o'nigɔhsadɔhkgéha:ᵀ ni-ga-ɛn-ó'dɛ-'s
 sad.kind PART-3S.A-song-type.of.STAT-PL
 'blues music'
- cf. nigaɛnó'dɛ:
 ni-ga-ɛn-ó'dɛ:
 PART-3S.A-song-type.of.STAT
 'a type of song'

- (105) [ahd-q-ʔs] resemble-STAT-PL
 shɛh niyóhdqʔs
 shɛh ni-yó-hdq-ʔs
 that PART-3S.P-resemble.STAT-PL
 ‘descriptions’
 cf. shɛh ní:yoht
 shɛh ní:yo-ht
 that PART-3S.P-resemble.STAT
 ‘how, in what manner’

As shown in (106), the [-ʔs] PL suffix occurs before the DIM suffix. ([-ʔuh] is a variant of the [-ʔah] DIM).⁹

- (106) [-u:-s-ʔuh] small.STAT-PL-DIM ‘several small things’
 nigehsinú:sʔuh
 ni-g-e-hsin-ú:-s-ʔuh
 PART-1S.A-JOINERÉ-leg-small-PL-DIM
 ‘I have two small legs’
 cf. nigehsinú:ʔuh
 ni-g-e-hsin-u:-ʔuh
 PART-1S.A-JOINERÉ-leg-small-DIM
 ‘I have a small leg’

15.7.2 [-sgq:] FACILITATIVE (FACIL)

The [-sgq:] FACIL adds the meaning of ‘being prone to,’ ‘easily’ or ‘tending to’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 505). It occurs at the end of habitual or stative verbs (107).

- (107) [verb-HAB/STAT-FACIL]
 a. osdagwáęsgq:
 o-sdagw-á-ę-sgq:
 3S.P-dirt-JOINERÉ-lie.STAT-FACIL
 ‘it gets dirty easily’

⁹The diminutive form [-ʔuh] is interesting because the vowel is U instead of A (as in [-ʔah]) due to a process of trans-laryngeal harmony (TLH). However, TLH should be blocked by the intervening [-s] PL in [-u:-s-ʔuh], as TLH typically only occurs between vowels separated by just one laryngeal sound – glottal stop <ʔ> or H. For more examples of TLH, see Joiner A pronounced as Q or Ẹ §19.5.1.

15 Verb suffixes

- cf. ohsdágwaɛʔ
o-hsdágw-a-ɛʔ
FAC-3S.P-dirtyJOINERÁ-LIE.STAT
'it is soiled, dirty, stained'
- b. hodɛdɔnyáʔdɔhsgɔ:
ho-dɛ-dɔnyáʔd-ɔh-sgɔ:
3S.M.P-SRF-make.fun-STAT-FACIL
'he is a joker, or happy-go-lucky'
- cf. hodɛdɔnyáʔdɔh
ho-dɛ-dɔnyáʔd-ɔh
3S.M.P-SRF-make.fun-STAT
'he is making fun of something'
- c. gɛʔgɛtrosgɔ:
ga-iʔgɛtr-o-sgɔ:
3S.A-white-submerged.STAT-FACIL
'it is all white'

In contrast to the above examples, the [-sgɔ:] FACIL just attaches to a bare verb stem in (108), where it possibly does double duty as a habitual ending.

- (108) [verb-FACIL]
sadahɔdɔsgɔ:
s-ad-ahɔdɔ-sgɔ:
2S.A-SRF-ask-HAB.FACIL
'you are inquisitive'
- cf. sadahɔ:dɔ:
s-ad-ahɔ:dɔ:
2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT
'you ask'

15.7.3 [-ge:] AUGMENTATIVE (AUG)

The [-ge:] AUG means 'big' or 'really'. Alternatively, it intensifies the meaning of the verb in some way. It appears after habitual (109a), punctual (109b), or stative (109c) suffixes.

- (109) [verb-ASPECT-AUG]
a. ohsdáhaʔge:
o-hsdá-haʔ-ge:
3S.P-cry-HAB-AUG
'it is really crying'

- cf. gahsdá:ha'
 g-ahsdá:-ha'
 1S.A-cry-HAB
 'I am crying'
- b. ahənatgwéni'ge:
 a-hən-at-gwéni'-ge:
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-compete-PUNC-AUG
 'the big win, victory' (literally, 'they (males) won big')
- cf. ɛhsa:tgwé:ni'
 ɛ-hs-a:t-gwé:ni-'
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-compete-PUNC
 'you will win'
- c. ganóhsotge:
 ga-nóhs-ot-ge:
 3S.A-house-stand.STAT-AUG
 'it is a standing big house'
- cf. ganóhsot:
 ga-nóhs-o:t
 3S.A-house-stand.STAT
 'it is a standing house'

15.7.4 [-jihwəh] 'completely, fully'

The [-jihwəh] COMPLETELY suffix is added to stative verbs, where it means 'completely, fully'.

- (110) a. ohéhjihwəh
 o-héh-jihwəh
 3S.P-dry.STAT-COMPLETLY
 'it is really dried out'
- cf. ohɛ:
 o-hɛ:
 3S.P-dry-STAT
 'it is dry'
- b. ɔgyahdogá'jihwəh
 ɔgy-ahdogá'-jihwəh
 1D.P-grown.up-COMPLETLY
 'we two are fully grown'
- cf. ɛgahdo:k
 ɛ-g-ahdo:k
 FUT-1S.A-grow.Ø.PUNC
 'I will grow'

16 E-VERBS

E-VERBS are verbs which all have the verb [e] ‘go’ in common. (For a list, see §B.3.) The classification system proposed here is new, but is based on Michelson (2011) and Sasse & Keye (1998).

Four main types of e-verb will be described: the SIMPLE MOTION VERB just consists of the verb [e] ‘to go, move’ (1). In contrast, COMPLEX MOTION VERBS are words with two STEMS, the second of which is [e] ‘go’ (2). The remaining two types of e-verb also consist of two stems: DISLOCATIVE E-VERBS include a verb stem, a DISLOCATIVE SUFFIX and [e] ‘go’ (3). PROGRESSIVE verbs consist of a verb stem, the [-gy] PROGRESSIVE, and [e] ‘go’ (4). E-verbs also have a unique aspect form, the [-:] PURPOSIVE, which is described in the following section. (Also see *Vowel length suffixes* §36.6.1.)

- (1) simple motion verb [e]
í:geʔ
í:-g-e-ʔ
PROTH-1S.A-GO-ASPECT
‘I am walking, moving’
- (2) complex motion verb [verb/stem-e]
hɔwáhnɔdreʔ
hɔwá-hnɔdr-e-ʔ
3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-ASPECT
‘someone is following him’
- (3) dislocative e-verb [verb-DISL-e]
agékɔhneʔ
agé-kɔh-e-ʔ
1S.P-examine-DISL-go-ASPECT
‘I am going to see it’

- (4) progressive verb [verb-PROG-e]
 hɔwahnɔdrá:gye'
 hɔwa-hnɔdr-á:-gy-e-'
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-JOINER-A-PROG-go-ASPECT
 'someone is following him along'

16.1 The purposive

E-verbs are unique in allowing an additional type of aspect form, the [-:] PURPOSIVE (PURP) or LONG-E form. In this work, e-verbs without the [-:] PURP suffix will be called SHORT-E forms, while e-verbs with the [-:] PURP will be called LONG-E forms. Long-e forms are unique to e-verbs.

As shown in Table 16.1 (page 329), short-e verbs take [e-[?]s] go-HAB, [e-[?]] go-PUNC, or [e-[?]] go-STAT combinations. (The punctual forms also require a mood prefix.)

Long-e forms take [e:-[?]] go-PURP-PUNC or [e:-[?]] go-PURP-STAT combinations. (The punctual forms also require a mood prefix). No long-e habitual forms are attested.

E-verbs are described in the following sections. Pronominal prefix choice for e-verbs is described in §26.

16.2 Simple motion verb [e] 'go'

The simple motion verb [-e] 'go' denotes movement towards or away from a place of origin. More specific meanings are determined by the verb's prenominal prefixes. For example, [-e] with the [ha'-] TRANSL means 'go away' (5a), while [-e] with the [d-] CIS means 'come towards' (5b). The meanings contributed by the prenominal prefixes are described next in §16.2.1, and the aspect forms for simple motion verbs are described in §16.2.2 - §16.2.3.

- (5) a. ha'ge'
 ha'-g-e-'
 TRANSL-1S.A-go-ASPECT
 'I am going there'
- b. dá:ge', dage'
 d-á:-g-e-'
 CIS-FAC-1S.A-go-ASPECT
 'I am coming'

Table 16.1: Short-e and long-e verbs

	mood	pronominal	[e]	PURP OR LONG-E	aspect	post- aspect
HAB		A	[e]		[-ʔs] HAB	
HAB PAST		A	[e]		[-ʔs] HAB	[-gɛ̄ɛ̄ʔ] PAST
FUT HAB	[ɛ̄-] FUT	A	[e]		[-ʔs] HAB	[-:k, -hk] MODZ
SHORT-E FAC PUNC	[aʔ-] FAC	A	[e]		[-ʔ] PUNC	
SHORT-E FUT PUNC	[ɛ̄-] FUT	A	[e]		[-ʔ] PUNC	
SHORT-E INDEF PUNC	[a:-] INDEF	A	[e]		[-ʔ] PUNC	
SHORT-E STAT			[e]		[-ʔ] STAT	
LONG-E FAC PUNC	[aʔ-] FAC	A	[e]	[-:]	[-ʔ] PUNC	
LONG-E FUT PUNC	[ɛ̄-] FUT	A	[e]	[-:]	[-ʔ] PUNC	
LONG-E INDEF PUNC	[a:-] INDEF	A	[e]	[-:]	[-ʔ] PUNC	
LONG-E STAT			[e]	[-:]	[-ʔ] STAT	

16.2.1 Prepronominal prefixes with [e] ‘go’

The combinations of prepronominal prefixes and [-e] ‘go’ are illustrated in examples (6–14). (The special meanings of the habitual forms are explained in the §16.2.2.)

- (6) [e] ‘go, move, be someplace’
- a. iheʔs
i-h-e-ʔs
PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB
‘he is here’
 - b. ɛhsne:ʔ
ɛ-hsn-e-:-ʔ
FUT-2D.A-go-PURP-PUNC
‘you two will go together’
 - c. í:geʔ
í:-g-e-ʔ
PROTH-1S.A-go-STAT
‘I am walking, moving’
- (7) [CIS-...e] ‘come here or this way’, ‘be here’
- dagé:neʔ
da-gé:n-e-ʔ
CIS-3P.A-go-STAT
‘they are coming’
- (8) [ɛ: tsɔ: CIS-...e] ‘wander’, ‘be on a certain side’
- a. ɛ tsɔ: itseʔs
ɛ tsɔ: i-t-s-e-ʔs
side just PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-HAB
‘you wander (all the time)’, ‘you are over there’
 - b. ɛ tsɔ: ɛtseʔ
ɛ-t-s-e-ʔ
FUT-CIS-2S.A-go-PUNC
‘you will wander’
 - c. ɛ tsɔ: itseʔ
i-t-s-e-ʔ
PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-STAT
‘you are wandering’ (right now)

- (9) [gaq PART-CIS-...e] ‘come this way’, ‘be (from) here’
 gao[?] nqđáhse:[?] come this way!
 gao[?] nqđá-hs-e-:-[?]
 somewhere PART.CIS-2S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘Come this way!’
- (10) [PART-CIS-e] ‘come from there’, ‘be from there’
 nqđá:ge:[?]
 nqđá:-g-e-:-[?]
 PART.CIS-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I come from, ‘I came from’
- (11) [PART-DU-CIS-...e] ‘come back’, ‘return to here from some place’
 na[?]dê:tge:[?]
 na[?]dê:t-g-e-:-[?]
 PART.DU.FUT.CIS-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I will come back over here, return’
- (12) [REP-...e] ‘go back’, ‘return home’, ‘be back’
- a. ihsge[?]s
 i-hs-g-e-[?]s
 PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I have returned home’
- b. ihsge[?]
 i-hs-g-e-[?]
 PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-STAT
 ‘I am going back’, ‘I am on my way back’, ‘I am back (from where I came)’
- (13) [TRANSL-...e] ‘go over there’, ‘be over there’
- a. ha[?]ge:[?]
 ha[?]-g-e-:-[?]
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I went there’
- b. ha[?]ge[?]
 ha[?]-g-e-:-[?]
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going (there)’

- (14) [TRANSL-REP-...e] ‘go back there’, ‘return there’
 həhsgeːʔ
 həhs-g-e-ː-ʔ
 TRANSL.FUT.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I am going back there’

16.2.2 Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ in the habitual

The [e-ʔs] go-HAB form of [e] ‘go’ means ‘to exist’ or ‘to be somewhere’ (15). (The meanings contributed by the prepronominal prefixes were described in §16.2.1.)

- (15) [e-ʔs] ‘to exist’
- a. iheːʔs
 i-h-e-ʔs
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB
 ‘he is here’
 - b. ɛː tsqː itseːʔs
 ɛː tsq i-t-s-e-ʔs
 side just PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-HAB
 ‘you wander’ (all the time), ‘you are over there’
 - c. gɛːneːʔs,
 gɛːn-e-ʔs
 3P.A-go-HAB
 ‘they are around’, ‘they are here’, ‘they are together’
 - d. tgɛːneːʔs
 t-gɛːn-e-ʔs
 CIS-3P.A-go-HAB
 ‘they are over there’
 - e. itgeːʔs
 i-t-g-e-ʔs
 PROTH-CIS-1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I am here’
 - f. heheːʔs
 he-h-e-ʔs
 TRANSL-3S.M.A-go-HAB
 ‘he is there’

- g. isge’s
i-s-g-e-’s
PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
‘I have returned home’
- h. tigáę’s
ti-gáę-’s
CONTR-3S.FI.A.go-HAB
‘they are roaming about’
- i. tí:we’s
tí:-w-e-’s
CONTR-3S.A-go-HAB
‘a stray (animal)’

Variations of [e-’s] go-HAB include an HABITUAL PAST form (16), and a FUTURE HABITUAL (17, see Table 16.1, page 329). An INDEFINITE HABITUAL is theoretically possible but not attested (18). (For background information, see *Variations on the habitual aspect* §15.6.1. Also, for pronominal prefix choice, see §26.1)

- (16) [...e-’s-gęęe:’] go-HAB-PAST ‘to have existed somewhere’
he’sgęęe:’
h-e-’s-gęęe:’
3S.M.A-go-HAB-PAST
‘he was away’, ‘he has been there’
- (17) [ę-...e-’s-e:k] FUT-...go-HAB-MODZ ‘will exist somewhere’
hęhé’se:k
h-ę-h-é-’s-e:k
TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-go-HAB-MODZ
‘he will be there’
cf. ihe’s
i-h-e-’s
PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB
‘he is here’
- (18) hypothesized [a:-...e-’s-e:k] INDEF-...go-HAB-MODZ ‘might exist somewhere’

16.2.3 Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ in the punctual

The short [e-’] go-PUNC and long [e:-’] go-PURP-PUNC forms of [e] ‘go’ require one of the three mood prefixes (the [a²-] FAC, [ę-] FUT, or [a:-] INDEF, see Ta-

ble 16.1, page 329). The resulting punctual forms and no-aspect verbs are described next. (For background information, see *No-aspect and punctual aspect verbs*, §15.5.6.)

Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ with [a[?]-] FAC

The punctual short-e [e[?]] and long-e [e:-[?]] forms can occur with the [a[?]-] FAC prefix. Such verbs have either present [e[?]] or past [e:-[?]] meanings or READINGS (19–22).

- (19) a. ha[?]ge[?]
 ha[?]-g-e-[?]
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going there’ (present reading)
- b. ha[?]ge:-[?]
 ha[?]-g-e:-[?]
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I went there’ (past reading)
- (20) a. dá:ge[?], dage[?]
 d-a-g-e-[?]
 CIS-FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC¹
 ‘I am coming’ (present reading)
- b. dá:ge:-[?]
 d-a:-g-e:-[?]
 CIS-FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I came’ (past reading)
- (21) [a[?]-...e[?]] (present reading)
- a. dagé:ne[?]
 da-gé:n-e-[?]
 CIS.FAC-3NS.A-go-PUNC
 ‘they are coming’
- b. dọdáhe[?]
 dọdá-h-e-[?]
 DU.FAC.CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
 ‘he is coming back’

¹The first vowel in /da:ge[?]/ is long because of a rule that lengthens A if it is the first vowel in a two-syllable word.

- c. ha'se'
 ha'-s-e-'
 TRANSL.FAC-2S.A-go-PUNC
 'you are going'
- d. ha'gɛ:ne'
 ha'-gɛ:n-e-'
 TRANSL.FAC-3NS.A-go-PUNC
 'they are going'
- e. ha'ge'
 ha'-g-e-'
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 'I am going' (there)
- f. ha'gáɛ'
 ha'-gáɛ-'
 TRANSL.FAC-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC²
 'they are going'
- g. dɔdáɛ'
 dɔdá-ɛ-'
 DU.FAC.CIS-3S.FI.A.go-PUNC
 'she is coming back'
- (22) [a'...e:'] (past reading)
- a. edwe:'
 e-dw-e-:-'
 FAC-1P.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'we all went together'
- b. ha'á:kne:'
 ha'-á:kn-e-:-'
 FAC-1D.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'we two went'
- c. to ha'ge:'
 to ha'-g-e-:-'
 there FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I went'

²In this example and the following one, the E of the pronominal prefix merges with the [e] 'go' verb, resulting in [ɛ].

- d. h̥sá:kne:[?]
 h̥sá:-kn-e:-[?]
 TRANSL.FAC.REP-1D.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘we two went back’
- e. to h̥sá:ge:[?]
 to h̥sá:-g-e:-[?]
 there TRANSL.FAC.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I did go again’
- f. n̥dá:kne:[?]
 n̥dá:-kn-e:-[?]
 PART.CIS.FAC-1D.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘where we two came from’
- g. n̥dá:ge:[?]
 n̥dá:-g-e:-[?]
 PART.CIS.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I come from’, ‘I came from’

Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ with [ɛ-] FUT

The punctual short-e [e-[?]] and long-e [e:-[?]] forms can occur with the [ɛ-] FUT prefix (see Table 16.1, p. 329). The difference in meaning between short-e (23) and long-e (24) forms is unclear out of context. However, the long-e forms do not always have a past tense reading, except in context (see 25). Perhaps such forms would describe a *certain* past event.

(23) [ɛ-...e-[?]]

- a. ɛ: tsq: ɛtse[?]
 ɛ: tsq: ɛ-t-s-e-[?]
 side just FUT-CIS-2S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘you will wander’
- b. ɛte[?]
 ɛ-t-h-e-[?]
 FUT-CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
 ‘he will come this way’
- c. deṭge[?]
 d-ɛ-t-g-e-[?]
 DU-FUT-CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I will come this way’, ‘I will come back’, ‘I am coming back’

- d. ɛtgeʔ
 ɛ-t-g-e-ʔ
 FUT-CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I will come’
- e. ɛtgaɛʔ
 ɛ-t-gaɛ-ʔ
 FUT-CIS-3S.FI.A.go-PUNC
 ‘they will come’
- f. dɛgyá:kneʔ
 d-ɛ-g-yá:kn-e-ʔ
 DU-FUT-CIS-1D.IN.A-go-PUNC
 ‘we two will come back’
- g. hɛ:geʔ
 hɛ:-g-e-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I will go’

(24) /ɛ - e:ʔ/

- a. hɛ:ge:ʔ
 hɛ:-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FUT-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I will go there’
- b. naʔdɛ:tge:ʔ
 naʔdɛ:t-g-e:-ʔ
 PART.DU.FUT.CIS-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I will come back over here, return’
- c. hɛhsge:ʔ
 hɛhs-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FUT.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I am going back there’
- d. to e: hɛhsge:ʔ
 to e: hɛhs-g-e:-ʔ
 there again TRANSL.FUT.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I will go again’

- e. ɛdwe:[?]
 ɛ-dw-e-:-[?]
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘we will go together’
- f. ɛhsne:[?]
 ɛ-hsn-e-:-[?]
 FUT-2D.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘you two will go together’

- (25) Gyotgót gɛ:s ne[?] tgá:gɔ:t hɛháha:[?] ne[?] gaɛgwa[?]
 always usually the it.is.necessary he.will.take.it.there the whichever
 hó: hɛhé:[?]
 place/time he.went.there
 ‘He always had to take it with him whenever he went someplace.’ (Henry 2005)

- cf. hɛhe:[?]
 h-ɛ-h-e-:-[?]
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘he will go there’

Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ with [a:-] INDEF

The punctual short-e [e-[?]] and long-e [e-:-[?]] forms can also occur with the [a:-] INDEF prefix (see Table 16.1, page 329). The difference in meaning between the short-e (26) and long-e (27) forms is unclear out of context. However, the long-e forms do not appear to have a past tense reading. Perhaps such forms would describe a *possible* past event.

- (26) [a: - e[?]]
- a. aɔdá:ge[?]
 aɔdá:-g-e-[?]
 INDEF.CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I should come’
- b. na[?]dó:dəhe[?]
 na[?]dó:də-h-e-[?]
 PART.DU.INDEF.CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
 ‘he would come this way’

- c. dɔ́dá:kneʔ
 dɔ́dá:-kn-e-ʔ
 DU.INDEF.CIS-1D.IN.A-go-PUNC
 ‘we two would come back’

(27) [a: - e:ʔ]

- a. há:ge:ʔ
 há:-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I should go there’
- b. to e: hɔ́sá:ge:ʔ
 to e: hɔ́sá:-g-e:-ʔ
 there again TRANSL.REP.INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I would go again’
- c. á:yakne:ʔ
 á:-yakn-e:-ʔ
 INDEF-1D.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘we two would go together’

Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’, NO-ASPECT forms

The verb [e] ‘go’ can also take mood prefixes without a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix (with both short-e [e-ø] and long-e [e:-ø] forms). Such no-aspect verbs (§15.5.6.1) function as suggestions (28a), commands (28b), hypotheticals (28c), or negatives (28d, see §27.1 and §17.)

- (28) a. hé:ge:
 hé:-g-e:-
 TRANSL-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let me go there’
- b. dɔ́dáhseh
 dɔ́dá-hs-e-h
 DU.CIS-2S.A-go-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT³
 ‘come back!’

³Tom Deer, p.c.

- c. to há:ge:
to há:-g-e:
there TRANSL.INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
'where I might go'
- d. tɛʔ to dɛʔá:ge:
tɛʔ to dɛʔ-á:-g-e-:
not there NEG-INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
'I am not going'

16.2.4 Simple motion verb [e] 'go' in the stative, with short-e

The stative short-e [e-ʔ] form does not take mood prefixes (see §16.2.3). Examples are shown in (29). They have a present-tense reading.

(29) [e-ʔ] STAT (no MOOD prefixes)

- a. isgeʔ
i-s-g-e-ʔ
PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-STAT
'I am going back', 'I am on my way back', 'I am back' (from where I came)
- b. í:geʔ
í:-g-e-ʔ
PROTH-1S.A-go-STAT
'I am walking, moving'
- c. ɛ: tsq: itseʔ
ɛ: tsq: i-t-s-e-ʔ
side just PROTH-CIS-YOU-go-STAT
'you are wandering' (right now)
- d. ohnaʔgɛ:ʔ ihseʔ
ohnaʔgɛ:ʔ i-hs-e-ʔ
late PROTH-2S.A-go-STAT
'you are late again' (said at the moment)

Long-e [e:-ʔ] STAT forms with the simple motion verb [e] are unattested. However, both short-e [e-ʔ] and long-e [e:-ʔ] stative forms of *complex* motion verbs do exist, as shown in (30, also see §16.3.3). The long-e stative forms have past-tense readings.

- (30) short-e [e-ʔ] and long-e [e:-ʔ] stative forms of complex motion verbs
- a. agéhseʔ
agé-hs-e-ʔ
1S.P-lower.back-go-STAT
‘I am riding’
 - b. agéhse:ʔ
agé-hs-e:-ʔ
1S.P-lower.back-go-PURP-STAT
‘I rode’, ‘I came riding’

16.3 Complex motion verbs with [e] ‘go’

Complex motion verbs are words with two (sometimes three) stems, the last of which is always [e] ‘go’ (31). The element preceding [e] is often a verb stem (31). (However, it is sometimes an incorporated noun, see example 32. For pronominal prefix choice, see §26.1.)

Complex motion verbs describe more specific means of moving (or existing) than the simple motion verb described in §16.2.

- (31) [...verb.stem-e...]
- a. kré:deʔ
k-hré:d-e-ʔ
1S.A-lead-go-STAT
‘I lead, go in front’
 - b. kdákseʔ
k-dáks-e-ʔ
1S.A-run-go-STAT
‘I am running’
 - c. gehsreʔ
ge-hsr-e-ʔ
1S.A-follow-go-STAT
‘I am chasing it’
 - d. agéʔdreʔ
agé-ʔdr-e-ʔ
1S.A-ride-go-STAT
‘I am riding along’

- e. gyená:gre'
g-ye-ná:gr-e-'
CIS-3S.FI.A-dwell-go-STAT
'she lives, stays, dwells over there', 'people live over there'
- f. grá:de'
g-rá:d-e-'
1S.A-climb-go-STAT
'I climb'
- g. hqwáhnqdre'
hqwá-hnqdr-e-'
3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-STAT
'someone is following him'
- h. deyagodáwęnye'
de-yago-d-áwęny-e-'
DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-go-STAT
'she is walking'
- i. hadíhsre'
had-íhsr-e-'
3NS.M.A-follow-go-STAT
'they follow, chase'

(32) [...incorporated.noun-e...]

- a. gatahí:ne'
g-at-hah-í:n-e-'
1S.A-SRF-road-lead-go-STAT
'I am walking'
- b. degagyohsgwí:ne'
de-g-ag-yohsgw-í:n-e-'
DU-1S.A-SRF-elbow-lead-go-STAT
'I am crawling'
- c. gqņę:tsí:ne'
gq-ņę:ts-í:n-e-'
1S:2S-arm-lead-go-STAT
'I am leading you by the hand'

- d. hohseʔ
 ho-hs-e-ʔ
 3s.M.P-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘he is riding a horse’
- e. niyó:weʔ, nyo:weʔ
 ni-yó:-w-e-ʔ
 PART-3S.P-distance/amount-go-STAT
 ‘how far (distance)’, ‘to be a certain distance’

The verb [hawi] ‘to carry’ resembles the other complex motion verbs in structure and meaning, except that its final vowel is [i] instead of [e] (33, Sasse & Keye 1998).

- (33) [haw-i] ‘to carry’
 ká:wíʔ
 k-há:w-i-ʔ
 1S.A-hold-go-STAT
 ‘I am carrying it’

The aspect forms for complex motion verbs are described in the following sections.

16.3.1 Complex motion verbs with [e] ‘go’ in the habitual

Complex motion verbs take an [-ʔs] HAB suffix, which carries the typical range of habitual meanings (34). (For comparison, stative forms, which have a present-tense reading, are also shown in example 34. See §26.1 for information about pronominal prefix choice.)

- (34) a. agéhseʔs
 agé-hs-e-ʔs
 1s.P-lower.back-go-HAB
 ‘I habitually ride’
- cf. agéhseʔ
 agé-hs-e-ʔ
 1s.P-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding’
- b. gegyeʔs
 ge-gy-e-ʔs
 1s.A-fly-go-HAB
 ‘I habitually fly’

- cf. gegye[?]
ge-gy-e-[?]
1s.A-fly-go-STAT
'I am flying'
- c. kdakse[?]s
k-daks-e-[?]s
1s.A-run-go-HAB
'I run' (several times)
- cf. kdakse[?]
k-daks-e-[?]
1s.A-run-go-STAT
'I am running'
- d. gehsre[?]s
ge-hsr-e-[?]s
1s.A-follow-go-HAB
'I habitually chase it'
- cf. gehsre[?]
ge-hsr-e-[?]
1s.A-follow-go-HAB
'I am chasing it'
- e. gɔŋɛ:tsí:ne[?]s, gɔŋɛ:tsí:nehs
gɔ-ŋɛ:ts-í:n-e-[?]s/hs
1s:2s-arm-lead-go-HAB
'I always take you by the hand'
- cf. gɔŋɛ:tsí:ne[?]
gɔ-ŋɛ:ts-í:n-e-[?]
1s:2s-arm-lead-go-STAT
'I am leading you by the hand'
- f. ká:wí[?]s
k-há:wí-[?]s
1s.A-carry-go-HAB
'I carry it' (habitually, frequently)
- cf. ká:wí[?]
k-há:wí-[?]
1s.A-carry-HAB
'I am carrying it'

16.3.2 Complex motion verbs with [e] 'go' in the punctual

Complex motion verbs take a punctual short [e-[?]] form, along with a mood prefix (such as the FUT, shown in 35).

- (35) a. $\text{ɛ̄gɔnɛtsi:ne}^?$
 $\text{ɛ̄-gɔ-nɛts-i:n-e-}^?$
 FUT-1S:2S-arm-lead-go-PUNC
 ‘I will lead you by the hand’
- b. $\text{ɛ̄ká:wi}^?$
 $\text{ɛ̄-k-há:wi-}^?$
 FUT-1S.A-carry-PUNC⁴
 ‘I will be carrying it’

The unusual punctual complex motion verbs in (36) take an [ɛ̄-] FUT prefix, and also an [-hk] FORMER suffix. Meanwhile, the FORMER suffix typically only appears with habitual or stative verbs. Its presence in the following examples possibly serves the same function as the [-:k] MODZ, namely, enabling the verb to take a mood prefix such as the [ɛ̄-] FUT.

- (36) [ɛ̄-...e-hk] FUT-...go-FORMER
- a. ɛ̄krɛ́:dehk
 ɛ̄-k-hrɛ́:d-e-hk
 FUT-1S.A-lead-go-FORMER
 ‘I will lead, go in front’
- cf. krɛ́:dehk
 k-hrɛ́:d-e-hk
 1S.A-lead-go-FORMER
 ‘I led, went in front’
- b. ɛ̄grá:dehk
 ɛ̄-g-rá:d-e-hk
 FUT-1S.A-climb-go-FORMER
 ‘I will climb’
- cf. grá:dehk
 g-rá:d-e-hk
 1S.A-climb-go-FORMER
 ‘I climbed’

16.3.3 Complex motion verbs with [e] ‘go’ in the stative

Complex motion verbs in the stative aspect end with a short-e [e-[?]] go-STAT or long-e [e-:-[?]] go-PURP-STAT combination. The short-e ones have a present tense reading, while long-e ones have a past tense reading (37).

⁴Recall that [hawi] ‘carry’ is like other COMPLEX MOTION VERBS, but ends with [i] instead of [e].

(37) short-e [e-ʔ] go-STAT and long-e [e:-ʔ] go-PURP-STAT

- a. i. agéhséʔ
 agé-hs-e-ʔ
 1s.P-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding’
- ii. agéhsé:ʔ
 agé-hs-e:-ʔ
 1s.P-lower.back-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I rode’, ‘I came riding’
- b. i. gegyéʔ
 ge-gy-e-ʔ
 1s.A-fly-go-STAT
 ‘I am flying’
- ii. gegyé:ʔ
 ge-gy-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-fly-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came flying’
- c. i. kdakseʔ
 k-daks-e-ʔ
 1s.A-run-go-STAT
 ‘I am running’
- ii. kdakse:ʔ
 k-daks-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-run-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I was running’
- d. i. gehsreʔ
 ge-hsr-e-ʔ
 1s.A-follow-go-STAT
 ‘I am chasing it’
- ii. gehsre:ʔ
 ge-hsr-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-follow-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I was chasing it’

- e. i. gatahí:neʔ
 g-at-hah-í:n-e-ʔ
 1s.A-SRF-road-lead-go-STAT
 'I am walking'
- ii. gatahí:ne:ʔ
 g-at-hah-í:n-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-SRF-road-lead-go-PURP-STAT
 'I was walking'
- f. i. degagyohsgwí:neʔ
 de-g-ag-yohsgw-í:n-e-ʔ
 DU-1s.A-SRF-elbow-follow-go-STAT
 'I am crawling'
- ii. degagyohsgwí:ne:ʔ
 de-g-ag-yohsgw-í:n-e:-ʔ
 DU-1s.A-SRF-elbow-follow-go-PURP-STAT
 'I was crawling'
- g. i. kré:deʔ
 k-hré:d-e-ʔ
 1s.A-lead-go-STAT
 'I lead, go in front'
- ii. kré:de:ʔ
 k-hré:d-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-lead-go-PURP-STAT
 'I lead, went in front'
- h. i. grá:deʔ
 g-rá:d-e-ʔ
 1s.A-climb-go-STAT
 'I climb'
- ii. grá:de:ʔ
 g-rá:d-e:-ʔ
 1s.A-climb-go-PURP-STAT
 'I climbed'
- i. i. ká:wíʔ
 k-há:w-i-ʔ
 1s.A-carry-go-STAT
 'I am carrying it'

- ii. ká:wi:[?]
 k-há:w-i:-[?]
 1S.A-carry-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I was carrying it’

Several stative forms also take the [e-hk] go-FORMER combination (38). The difference in meaning between verbs with the [e-hk] go-FORMER and [e:-[?]] go-PURP-STAT combinations is unclear.

- (38) a. kré:dehk
 k-hré:d-e-hk
 1S.A-lead-go-FORMER
 ‘I led, went in front’
- b. kré:de:[?]
 k-hré:d-e:-[?]
 1S.A-lead-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I led, went in front’
- (39) a. grá:dehk
 g-rá:d-e-hk
 1S.A-climb-go-FORMER
 ‘I climbed’
- b. grá:de:[?]
 g-rá:d-e:-[?]
 1S.A-climb-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I climbed’

Several complex motion verbs in the stative can either take [e-hk] go-FORMER (40a) or [e-[?]-gçhç:[?]] go-STAT-PAST (40b). Again, the difference in meaning is unclear. (See §26.1 for information about pronominal prefix choice.)

- (40) a. tgáenagrehk
 t-gáe-nagre-hk
 CIS-3S.FLA-live-FORMER
 ‘they did or used to live there’
- b. tgaenagré[?]gçhç:[?]
 t-gae-nagré-[?]-gçhç:[?]
 CIS-3S.FLA-live-STAT-PAST
 ‘they used to live there’

- cf. tgáenagre[?]
 t-gáe-nagre-[?]
 CIS-3S.FI.A-live-STAT
 ‘they live there’

16.4 Dislocative e-verbs

Dislocative e-verbs consist of a [verb.stem-DISL] combination, followed by [e] ‘go’. Dislocative e-verbs are different from *plain* dislocative verbs, which have a dislocative suffix but lack the [e] ‘go’ element (see §15.4.1).

The dislocative suffix denotes movement from one location to another, and also “reinforces” the meaning of [e] ‘go’, to convey purpose or intention. Example (41) illustrates a dislocative e-verb, and for comparison, a plain dislocative verb and a regular verb.

- (41) agékdqhne[?]
 a-gé-kdq-hn-e-[?]
 FAC-1S.A-examine-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘I am going to see it’
- cf. egékdqhna[?]
 e-gé-kdq-hn-a[?]
 FUT-1S.A-examine-DISL-PUNC
 ‘I will go see’
- cf. egékdq:[?]
 e-gé-kdq-:[?]
 FUT-1S.A-examine-PUNC
 ‘I will see, look’

The aspect forms for dislocative e-verbs are summarized in Table 16.2, p. 350. Dislocative e-verbs take the same types of pronominal prefix as the regular verbs they are based on (see §26.2).

16.4.1 Dislocative e-verbs in the habitual

Dislocative e-verbs can take a short-e [e-[?]s] go-HAB combination, with the usual range of habitual meanings (42, see Table 16.3, p. 351). As with other habitual forms, such verbs can also take the [-gęhę:[?]] PAST suffix (example 43, Table 16.3). (For pronominal prefix choice, see §26.2.)

Table 16.2: Dislocative e-verbs

name	mood	pron	VERB- DISL	[e]	aspect	post- aspect
DISL e-verb, HAB			VERB- DISL	[e]	[- [?] s] HAB	
DISL e-verb, HAB PAST			VERB- DISL	[e]	[- [?] s] HAB	[-gɛhɛ: [?]] PAST
FAC- PUNC DISL e-verb	[a [?] -] FAC		VERB- DISL	[e]	[- [?]] PUNC	
FUT- PUNC DISL e-verb	[ɛ-] FUT		VERB- DISL	[e]	[-∅] PUNC	[-:k] MODZ
INDEF- PUNC DISL e-verb	[a:-] INDEF		VERB- DISL	[e]	[-∅] PUNC	[-:k] MODZ
DISL SHORT-E STAT			VERB- DISL	[e]	[- [?]] STAT	
DISL LONG-E STAT			VERB- DISL	[e:-] go-PURP	[- [?]] STAT	

- (42) gadáhnyohne[?]
 g-ad-áhny-o-hn-e-[?]s
 1S.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-DISL-go-HAB
 ‘to fish continuously’
- (43) hatrɔnyahné[?]sgehe[?]
 h-at-hrɔny-ahn-é-[?]s-ggehe[?]
 3S.M.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-HAB-PAST
 ‘he used to tell’

Table 16.3: Dislocative e-verb, habitual forms

	pron	VERB-DISL	[e]	aspect	post-aspect
DISL e-verb, HAB		VERB-DISL	[e]	[- [?] s] HAB	
DISL e-verb, HAB PAST		VERB-DISL	[e]	[- [?] s] HAB	[-ggehe [?]] PAST

16.4.2 Dislocative e-verbs in the punctual

Dislocative e-verbs verbs can take a short-e [e-[?]] go-PUNC combination and a mood prefix (either the [a[?]-] FAC, [ɛ-] FUT, or [a:-] INDEF, see Table 16.4, p. 352). A verb with the FAC prefix is shown in (44), page 351. (For pronominal prefix choice, see §26.2.)

- (44) ahɛnadáhnyohne[?]
 a-hɛn-ad-áhny-o-hn-e-[?]
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-DISL-go-PUNC
 ‘they are going fishing’, ‘are they going fishing?’
- cf. ahɛnadáhnyohna[?]
 a-hɛn-ad-áhny-o-hn-a[?]
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-go-PUNC
 ‘they went fishing’
- cf. ahɛnadáhnyo[?]
 a-hɛn-ad-áhny-o-[?]
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-PUNC
 ‘they fished’

As summarized in Table 16.4, the [ɛ-] FUT and [a:-] INDEF forms require a [-:k] MODZ suffix. (Factual forms cannot co-occur with the modalizer).

Table 16.4: Dislocative e-verb, punctual forms

	mood	pron	VERB-DISL	[e]	aspect
FAC-PUNC DISL e-verb	[a ^ʔ -] FAC		VERB-DISL	[e]	[^ʔ] PUNC
FUT-PUNC DISL e-verb	[e ^ʔ -] FUT		VERB-DISL	[e]	[^ʔ :k] PUNC.MODZ
INDEF-PUNC DISL e-verb	[a: ^ʔ -] INDEF		VERB-DISL	[e]	[^ʔ :k] PUNC.MODZ

[a^ʔ-...VERB-DISL-e-^ʔ]

Three-aspect punctual forms of dislocative e-verbs can take the [a^ʔ-] FAC. Such verbs have an intentional future reading (45).

- (45) a. agatrɔnyáhne^ʔ
a-g-at-hrɔny-á-hn-e-^ʔ
FAC-1S.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-PUNC
'I am going to go there and tell'
- b. agékdɔhne^ʔ
a-gé-kdɔ-hn-e-^ʔ
FAC-1S.A-examine-DISL-go-PUNC
'I am going to see it'
- c. agaesá:ke^ʔ
a-gae-ihsák-h-e-^ʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-look-DISL-go-PUNC
'they are going to look for it', 'are they going to look for it?'
- d. ahayɛtwáhse^ʔ 'he is going to plant',
a-ha-yɛtwá-hs-e-^ʔ
FAC-3S.M.A-plant-DISL-go-PUNC
'is he going to plant?'
- e. agagyɔ^ʔséhe^ʔ
a-g-ag-yɔ^ʔsé-h-e-^ʔ
FAC-1S.A-SRF-visit-DISL-go-PUNC
'I am going to go visit'

These verbs can be used either for asking about someone's actions and current intentions or to state the same (46a). They can be explicitly turned into questions by adding the question word *gəh* (46b).

- (46) a. *ahənadáhnyohneʔ*
a-hən-ad-áhny-o-hn-e-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-DISL-go-PUNC
 'they are going fishing', 'are they going fishing?'
- cf. *ahənadáhnyohnaʔ*
a-hən-ad-áhny-o-hn-aʔ
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-go-PUNC
 'they went fishing'
- cf. *ahənadáhnyo:ʔ*
a-hən-ad-áhny-o-:ʔ
 ACTUAL-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-PUNC
 'they (males) fished'
- b. *ahənadahnyohnéʔ gəh?*
a-hən-ad-áhny-o-hn-e-ʔ *gəh*
 FAC-3NS.M.A-SRF-hook-put.in.water-DISL-go-PUNC Q
 'are they going fishing?'

Example (47) contrasts dislocative e-verbs (with a DISLOCATIVE suffix and [e] 'go'), plain dislocative verbs (with just a DISL suffix), and regular VERBS (without either suffix).

- (47) a. *ehsədəʔdreʔ*
e-hs.ədəʔ-dr-e-ʔ
 FAC-2S.P.sleep-DISL-go-PUNC
 'you are going to bed', 'are you going to bed?'
- cf. *əsədəʔdraʔ*
e-hs.ədəʔ-dr-aʔ
 FAC-2S.P.sleep-DISL-PUNC
 'you will go to bed', 'you will go to sleep'
- cf. *əsé:daʔ*
e-hs.é:d-aʔ
 FAC-2S.P.sleep-PUNC
 'you will sleep'

- b. a'q̄dawé'ne'
 a'-q-d-awé-'n-e-'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-swim-DISL-go-PUNC
 'she is going swimming', 'is she going swimming?'
- cf. eȳq̄dawé'na'
 ɛ-y-q-d-awé-'n-a'
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-swim-DISL-PUNC
 'she will go swimming'
- cf. eȳq̄dawé:?
 ɛ-y-q-d-awé-:?
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-swim-PUNC
 'she will swim'
- c. agaesá:ke'
 a-gae-sá:k-h-e-'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SEEK-DISL-go-PUNC
 'they are going to look for it', 'are they going to look for it?'
- cf. agaehsá:ka'
 a-gae-sá:k-h-a'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SEEK-DISL-PUNC
 'they went looking for it'
- d. ahaȳwáhse'
 a-ha-ȳw-áhs-e-'
 FAC-3S.M.A-plant-DISL-go-PUNC
 'he is going to plant', 'is he going to plant?'
- cf. ɛhaȳwáhsa'
 ɛ-ha-ȳw-áhs-a'
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-DISL-PUNC
 'he will go planting'
- cf. ɛháȳeto'
 ɛ-há-ȳeto-'
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 'he will plant'

[ɛ-/a:-...VERB-DISL-e:k]

Three-aspect punctual forms of dislocative e-verbs can also take [ɛ-] FUT (48) or [a:-] INDEF (49) prefixes, in which case they also require the [-:k] MODZ suffix (see Table 16.4, p. 352).⁵

(48) [ɛ-...VERB-DISL-e-:k]

- a. ɛgahyagwáhse:k
 ɛ-g-ahya-gw-áhs-e-:k
 FUT-1s.A-fruit-pick-DISL-go-MODZ
 'I will be a fruit picker'
- b. ɛtayɛtwáhse:k
 ɛ-t-ha-yɛtw-áhs-e-:k
 FUT-CIS-3s.M.A-plant-DISL-go-MODZ
 'he will be planting over there'

(49) [a:-...VERB-DISL-e-:k]

- a. a:gahyágwáhse:k
 a:-g-ahyá-gw-áhs-e-:k
 INDEF-1s.A-fruit-pick-DISL-go-MODZ
 'I might be a fruit picker'
- b. ɔ:tayɛtwáhse:k
 ɔ:-t-ha-yɛtw-áhs-e-:k
 INDEF-CIS-3s.M.A-plant-DISL-go-MODZ
 'he would be planting over there'

⁵There exist some dislocative e-verbs in the punctual which appear to be based on *stative-only* verbs. Such verbs do not appear to require the MODALIZER (i).

- (i) a. [ɛ-...STAT.VERB-e-ʔ]
 ɛkʰʰjɦneʔ
 ɛ-k-hʰjɦ-hn-e-ʔ
 FUT-1s.A-dark-DISL-go-PUNC
 'I am going to get dark'
- b. [a-...STAT.VERB-e-ʔ]
 akʰʰjɦneʔ
 a-k-hʰjɦ-hn-e-ʔ
 FAC-1s.A-dark-DISL-go-PUNC
 'I got dark, black (really tanned)'
- cf. gahʰʰji:
 ga-hʰʰji-:
 3s.A-dark-STAT
 'it is dark-coloured'

- c. a:hayətwəhsé:k tsq:
 a:-ha-yətw-əhs-é-:k tsq:
 INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-DISL-go-MODZ just
 ‘just let him keep planting’

16.4.3 Dislocative e-verbs in the stative

Three-aspect stative forms of dislocative e-verbs can take either short-e [e-[?]] go-STAT or long-e [e-:-[?]] go-PURP-STAT combinations, Table 16.5. The short-e versions have present readings (50), and the long-e versions have past readings (51). For pronominal prefix choice, see §26.2.

Table 16.5: Dislocative e-verb, stative forms

	pron	VERB-DISL	[e]	PURP	aspect
DISL SHORT-E STAT		VERB-DISL	[e]		[- [?]] STAT
DISL LONG-E STAT		VERB-DISL	[e]	[-:]	[- [?]] STAT

(50) three-aspect stative, with short [e-[?]]

- a. gatrónyahné[?]
 g-at-hróny-ahn-e-[?]
 1S.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘I have come here to tell’
- b. qdé[?]dqhne[?]
 q-dé-[?]dq-hn-e-[?]
 3S.FI.A-SRF-be.due-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘she is about to give birth’
- cf. ɛyóde[?]dq:[?]
 ɛ-yó-de-[?]dq-:[?]
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-be.due-PUNC
 ‘when she will be due’
- c. dehenatgwáhne[?]
 de-hən-at-gw-áhn-e-[?]
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘they are going to dance’
- cf. dehenatkwa[?]
 de-hən-at-gw-ha[?]
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-HAB
 ‘they dance’ (all the time)

- d. *dəhohedáhneʔ*
də-ho-hed-áhn-e-ʔ
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘he is going along hollering’
 cf. *dəhóhetaʔ*
də-hó-het-haʔ
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-HAB
 ‘he is hollering’

(51) three-aspect stative, with long-e [e:-ʔ]

- a. *gatrónyahneʔ*
g-at-hróny-ahn-e:-ʔ
 1S.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came and told’
 b. *osdéhsdáhneʔ*
o-sdéhsd-ahn-e:-ʔ
 3S.P-evaporate-DISL-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘it has gone down’ (i.e. the water level)
 cf. *ohsdéhsdǝh*
o-hsdéhsd-ǝh
 3S.P-evaporate-STAT
 ‘it has evaporated, all dried up’

16.5 Progressive verbs with [e] ‘go’

Progressive verbs consist of a STATIVE VERB BASE, Table 16.6, followed by the [-h-*ɛ/q/a-gy-e*] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go combination, yet more aspect suffixes, and potentially, mood prefixes. (For the [-*ɛ/q/a*] JOINER pronunciations, see §19.5.1.) The stative verb base consists of a [verb-STAT] combination (either [verb-*ɛ*] or [verb-*q*]), or [verb.V] - a verb stem ending with a vowel other than [ɛ, q], Table 16.6. Since progressive verbs have a stative base, they require P-series pronominal prefixes (also see §26.3). The aspect forms are summarized in Figure 16.1, page 358, and are described next.⁶

⁶Haqhyagehde^o Deer (p.c.) finds examples of progressive verbs ending with both short-e [ɛ-gy-e-ʔ, q-gy-e-ʔ] and long-e [ɛ-gy-e:-ʔ, q-gy-e:-ʔ] combinations, which resemble the short-e and long-e endings described earlier. This is the basis for assuming that progressive verbs are indeed e-verbs. (Steckley 2007: 14 also makes a similar claim for Huron.) That being said, combinations of progressive verbs ending with long [ɛ-gy-e:-ʔ] or [q-gy-e:-ʔ] are not attested in the database used in this book.

Table 16.6: Progressives - stative verb base

	pronominal	stem	aspect			
	P	VERB STEM				[-Q] STAT
	P	VERB STEM				[-ĕ] STAT
	P	VERB STEM.V				STAT
	mood	STAT base (P-VERB-(STAT))	JOINER	PROG	[e]	aspect suffix
STAT PROG		STAT base	JOINER	[-gy]	[e]	[-ʔ] STAT
PUNC PROG	[aʔ-] FAC or [ĕ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF	STAT base	JOINER	[-gy]	[e]	[-ʔ] PUNC
HAB PROG		STAT base	JOINER	[-gy]	[e]	[-ʔs] HAB

Figure 16.1: Progressives (overview)

16.5.1 Stative progressive

STATIVE PROGRESSIVES consist of a stative verb base (Table 16.6) followed by the [-h-ĕ/q/a-gy-e-ʔ] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT combination (Table 16.6, Table 16.7, and examples 52-53, beginning on page 359). Bases ending with Q take the [-h-q-gy-e-ʔ] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-GO-STAT combination (52) and ones ending with ĕ take the [-h-ĕ-gy-e-ʔ] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-GO-STAT combination (53). In contrast, verb bases ending with V take the [-h-a-gy-e-ʔ] EUPH.H-JOINERA-PROG-go-STAT combination (54). Like other stative-aspect verbs, these verbs require P-series pronominal prefixes (see §26.3).

Stative-progressive verbs have a “present progressive” or ‘...is -ing’ meaning. For comparison, these and other statives are shown in the following examples.

Table 16.7: stative progressive

STAT base	PROG	[e]	aspect
P-verb[-o]	[-h-o-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[- [?]] STAT
P-verb[-e]	[-h-e-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[- [?]] STAT
P-verb.V	[h-a-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[- [?]] STAT

(52) [-o-h-o-gy-e-[?]]a. sa_hohdęgyóhęgye[?]sa-ho-hdęgy-ó-h-o-gy-e-[?]

REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘he is on his way home’

cf. hesáhdęgyo:

he-s-áhdęgy-o:

TRANSL-2S.P-leave-STAT

‘you went over there’

b. otsihs[?]qhó:gye[?]o-tsihs[?]-o-h-ó:-gy-e-[?]

3S.P-mature-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘it is getting mature’

cf. otsihs[?]qho-tsihs[?]-qh

3S.P-mature-STAT

‘it is done for the season’, ‘it has gone full cycle’, ‘it is mature’, ‘they (plants) have finished out’

c. hodógohdóhęgye[?]ho-d-ógohd-ó-h-o-gy-e-[?]

3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘he is going along passing’

cf. hodógohdoh

ho-d-ógohd-oh

3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT

‘he has gone past’

d. gohdogadóhęgye[?]go-hdogad-ó-h-o-gy-e-[?]

3S.FI.P-cause.to.grow-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘she is growing something’

cf. oḡahdḡáʔdḡh
 oḡ-ahḡáʔd-ḡh
 3FIS:1S-raise-STAT
 ‘she (e.g. a guardian) raised me’

- e. niyagotḡeihsdḡḡe
 ni-yago-t-ḡeihsd-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-ʔ
 PART-3S.FI.P-SRF-move.ahead-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘she is travelling as she is moving’

cf. ḡaḡeihsdḡh
 ḡa-ḡeihsd-ḡh
 3S.A-move.ahead-STAT
 ‘postponement’

- f. odaʔḡrahdḡḡe
 o-d-aʔḡrahd-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is surfacing’

cf. odaʔḡrahdḡh
 o-d-áʔḡrahd-ḡh
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT
 ‘it is floating’

(53) [-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-ʔ]

- a. agadeʔḡweḡeḡe
 ag-ade-ʔḡwe-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-ʔ
 1S.P-SRF-run.away-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘I am running away again’

cf. agádeʔḡweḡh
 ag-áde-ʔḡwe-ḡh
 1S.P-SRF-run.away-STAT
 ‘I am running away’

- b. dahodawḡeḡe
 da-ho-d-aw-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-ʔ
 CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-swim-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘he is swimming towards us’

cf. hodá:wḡh
 ho-d-á:w-ḡh
 3S.M.P-SRF-swim-STAT
 ‘he did swim’

(54) [V-h-a-gy-e-ʔ]

- a. gohsganyehá:gyeʔ
 go-hsganye-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.FI.P-shuffle-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘she is shuffling along’
 cf. gohsga:nye:ʔ
 go-hsgá:nye:ʔ
 3s.fi.p-shuffle-stative
 ‘she has shuffled’
- b. sagawehá:gyeʔ
 sa-gawe-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 2S.P-paddle-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘you are paddling along’
 cf. agégaweʔ
 agé-gawe-ʔ
 1S.P-paddle-STAT
 ‘I have paddled, are paddling’
- c. agyodihá:gyeʔ
 ag-yodí-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 1S.P-smile-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘I am going along smiling’
 cf. hoyógyohne:ʔ
 ho-yogy-q-hne:ʔ
 3S.M.P-smile-STAT-REM
 ‘he has already smiled, ‘he did smile’
- d. ejisadekqonihagyeʔ
 e-ji-s-ade-k-qóni-h-a-gy-e-ʔ
 FUT-REP-2S.P-SRF-food-make-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘you can (literally, ‘will’) eat while you are going along’
 cf. hode:kó:ni:
 ho-de:-k-ó:ni:-
 3S.M.P-SRF-food-make-STAT
 ‘he is eating’

[-dagyeʔ], [-ɛdagyeʔ], [-odagyeʔ], [-ɔdagyeʔ], [-oʔkd-agyeʔ]

Several positional verbs (a thematic category of stative-only verb) often take stative progressive forms. Examples illustrating the range of meanings are provided below.

- (55) [d-a-gy-e-ʔ] stand-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT ‘continue on, be ongoing’
 gaḡhyadá:gyeʔ
 ga-ḡhya-d-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.A-sky-stand.STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘on-going skies, heavens, skyline, horizon’
- (56) [e-d-a-gy-e-ʔ] lie-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT (the meaning depends on which noun is incorporated)
- a. onḡnyáeḡdagyeʔ
 o-nḡnyá-e-d-a-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.P-ice-lie.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is freezing’
- cf. onḡnyaeʔ
 o-nḡny-a-eʔ
 3s.P-ice-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT
 ‘it is frozen’
- b. awḡnowaeḡdá:gyeʔ
 aw-ḡnowa-e-d-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.P-sink-lie.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is sinking’
- cf. ewḡnowáeʔ
 e-w-ḡnow-á-e-ʔ
 FUT-3s.A-sink-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT-PUNC
 ‘it will sink’
- (57) [od-a-gy-e-ʔ] stand-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT (the meaning depends on which noun is incorporated)
- a. degahsdḡhódagyeʔ
 de-ga-hsdḡh-ód-a-gy-e-ʔ
 DU-3s.A-stone-standing.STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘mountain range, the Rockies’
- b. gajíʔdodá:gyeʔ
 ga-jiʔd-od-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.A-cry-standing.STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘someone is going along crying’
- cf. gajíʔdo:t
 ga-jiʔd-o:t
 3s.A-cry-stand.STAT
 ‘it is crying’

- c. desatnq̄hweʹtsodá:gyeʹ
 de-s-at-nq̄hweʹts-od-á:-gy-e-ʹ
 DU-2S.A-SRF-noun-stand.STAT-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘you are going along doing handstands’
- cf. d̄esatnq̄hwe:tsó:dq̄ʹ
 d-ẹ-s-at-nq̄hwe:ts-ó:d-q̄ʹ
 DU-FUT-2S.A-SRF-noun-stand.STAT-DISTR
 ‘you will do a hand stand, turn yourself upside down’

(58) [q̄d-a-gy-e-ʹ] attached-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT ‘a series of embedded objects’

- a. dewaʹd̄ehq̄dagyeʹ
 de-w-aʹd̄eh-q̄d-a-gy-e-ʹ
 DU-3S.A-fence-rooted.STAT-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘wood fence, rail and stump fence’
- b. honh̄q̄dagyeʹ
 ho-nh̄q̄d-a-gy-e-ʹ
 3S.M.P-opening-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘he has it in his mouth as he moves’
- cf. ohsgȳẹʹdanhq̄:t
 o-hsgȳẹʹd-a-nhq̄:t
 3S.P-bones-JOINER-A-opening.STAT
 ‘false teeth’ (literally, ‘a mouth full of bones’)

(59) [oʹkd-a-gy-e-ʹ] end-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT ‘a running edge’
 odóʹkdagyeyʹ
 o-d-óʹkd-a-gy-e-ʹ
 3S.P-SRF-end.STAT-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘rim’, ‘outer and inner rim splint’, ‘along the edge’

16.5.2 Punctual progressive

PUNCTUAL PROGRESSIVES consist of a stative verb base (Table 16.6) followed by the [-h-ẹ/-q̄/a-gy-e-ʹ] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC combination, Table 16.8. Bases ending with Ẹ take the [-h-ẹ-gy-e-ʹ] combination (61c), and ones ending with Q take the [-h-q̄-gy-e-ʹ] combination (60), (61a–61b). In contrast, verbs ending with V take the [-h-a-gy-e-ʹ] combination (63).

Punctual progressives require an [aʹ-] FAC, [ẹ-] FUT, or [a:-] INDEF prefix (60–61). The factual punctual progressives have a “factual-present” or PERFORMATIVE

Table 16.8: Punctual progressive

mood	STAT base (P-VERB(-STAT))	PROG	[e]	aspect
[ɛ-] FUT [a ^ʔ -] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB-ɔ	[-h-ɔ-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER- PROG	[e]	[- ^ʔ] PUNC or [-:k] PUNC.MODZ
[ɛ-] FUT [a ^ʔ -] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB-ɛ	[-h-ɛ-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER- PROG	[e]	[- ^ʔ] PUNC or [-:k] PUNC.MODZ
[ɛ-] FUT [a ^ʔ -] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB.V	[-h-a-gy] EUPH.H- JOINER ^A -PROG	[e]	[- ^ʔ] PUNC or [-:k] PUNC.MODZ

meaning (60, see §12.1.1). Like other stative-aspect verbs, these verbs require P-series pronominal prefixes (see §26.3).

In at least one instance, the [a:-] INDEF form also requires a [-:k] MODZ suffix (compare 62 and 63).

- (60) [a^ʔ-...STAT.BASE-PROG-e-^ʔ]
 ɔgya^ʔdəhshe^ʔɔhó:gye^ʔ
 ɔg-ya^ʔd-əhshe^ʔ-ɔ-h-ó:-gy-e-^ʔ
 FAC.1S.P-body-slow-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC
 ‘I am arriving late’
 cf. ɔgyá^ʔdəhshe^ʔ
 ɔg-yá^ʔd-əhshe^ʔ
 FACTUAL.1S.P-body-slow-PUNC
 ‘I was late’
- (61) [ɛ-...STAT.BASE-PROG-e-^ʔ]
 a. ɛyagohdogadóhogye^ʔ
 ɛ-yagɔ-hdogad-ó-h-ɔ-gy-e-^ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.P-cause.to.grow-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC
 ‘she will be continually growing it or them’

- b. ɛwagahyagq̄hó:gye’
 ɛ-wag-ahya-g-q̄-h-ó:-gy-e-’
 FUT-1S.P-fruit-eat-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘I will be eating fruit as I am going along’
- c. dɛyagó’nya:gwéhegye’
 d-ɛ-yagó-’nya:-gw-é-h-ɛ-gy-e-’
 DU-FUT-3S.FI.P-hand-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC
 ‘she will have a hand in it’

(62) [a:...STAT.BASE-PROG-e-’]
 a:wagahyagwéhegye’
 a:-wag-ahya-gw-é-h-ɛ-gy-e-’
 INDEF-1S.P-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC
 ‘I should be picking fruit along’

(63) [a:...STAT.BASE-PROG-e:k]
 a:wagatrowihagye:k
 a:-wag-at-hrowi-h-a-gy-e-:k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-MODZ

16.5.3 Habitual progressive

HABITUAL PROGRESSIVES consist of a consist of a stative verb base (Table 16.6) followed by the [-h-ɛ/-q̄-/a-gy-e-’s] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB combination, Table 16.9. Bases ending with Q take the [-h-q̄-gy-e-’s] combination (64), and ones ending with Ę take the [-h-ɛ-gy-e-’s] combination (65). In contrast, bases ending with V take the [-h-a-gy-e-’s] EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB combination (66). Like other stative verbs, these verbs require P-series pronominal prefixes (see §26.3).

Table 16.9: Habitual progressive

STAT base (P-VERB-(STAT))	PROG	[e] ‘go’	aspect
P-VERB-Q	[-h-q̄-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-’s] HAB
P-VERB-Ę	[-h-ɛ-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-’s] HAB
P-VERB.V	[-h-a-gy] EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG	[e]	[-’s] HAB

Habitual progressives describe an ongoing, continuous activity.

(64) [-q-h-q-gy-e-'s]

- a. deyɔkiyə[?]nyadɔhɔgye[?]s
de-yɔkiy-ɛ-[?]nya-d-ɔ-h-q-gy-e-[?]s
DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-SRF-hand-stand-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'they protect us'

cf. deyɔkiyə[?]nyadɔ[?]
de-yɔkiy-ɛ-[?]nya-d-ɔ[?]
DUALIC-THEY:US-SRF-hand-stand.STAT-PL
'they protect us with their hands', 'angels'

- b. honadahsehɔhɔ:gye[?]s
hon-ad-ahsehɔ-h-ɔ:-gy-e-[?]s
3NS.M.P-SRF-hide-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'they are sneaking around'

cf. agadahséhɔh
ag-ad-ahséhɔh
1S.P-SRF-hide-STAT
'I am hiding now'

(65) [...ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-'s]

- a. agahyagwéhɛgye[?]s
ag-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-[?]s
1S.P-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'I am going along picking fruit all over the place'

cf. agahyagwéhɛgye[?]
ag-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-[?]
1S.P-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
'I am going along picking fruit'

- b. sade[?]gwɛhé:gye[?]s
sa-de-[?]gw-ɛ-h-ɛ:-gy-e-[?]s
2S.P-SRF-flee-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'you are avoiding'

cf. ɛhsáde[?]go[?]
ɛ-hs-áde-[?]go-[?]
FUT-2S.A-SRF-flee-PUNC
'you will flee, run away'

- c. deyɔgwahgwéhɛgye[?]s
de-yɔgw-ahgw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-[?]s
1P.P-pick.up-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'we all are continually picking it up'

cf. dehoya^ʔdáhgwɛh
 de-ho-ya^ʔd-áhgw-ɛh
 DU-3S.M.P-body-pick.up-STAT
 ‘it picked him up’

- (66) [...V-h-a-gy-e-ʔs]
 honɔnihá:gye^ʔs
 hon-ɔni-h-á:-gy-e-ʔs
 3NS.M.P-make-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB
 ‘they are making, earning it’ (continually)

cf. tiwa:gó:ni:
 ti-wa:g-ɔ:ni:
 CONTR-1S.P-make-STAT
 ‘I have made it in place of something else, replaced it’

Past habitual progressive

PAST habitual progressives take the [-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST ending (§15.6), Table 16.10, page 367. Unlike other progressive verbs, these ones can take either a P-series (67) or A-series (68) pronominal prefixes. Possibly, the ones with a P-series prefix describe a past habitual activity, while the ones with an A-series prefix describe a past profession.

Table 16.10: Past habitual progressive

HAB PROG base	post-aspect
[P-VERB-ɔ-h-ɔ-gye ^ʔ s]	[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST
[P-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gye ^ʔ s]	
[P-VERB.V-h-a-gye ^ʔ s]	
[A-VERB-ɔ-h-ɔ-gye ^ʔ s]	[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST
[A-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gye ^ʔ s]	
[A-VERB.V-h-a-gye ^ʔ s]	

- (67) [P-...hab.prog.base-gɛhɛ:ʔ]
 agahyagwɛhɛgyé^ʔsgɛhɛ:ʔ
 ag-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-é-ʔs-gɛhɛ:ʔ
 1S.P-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB-PAST
 ‘I used to go along picking fruit’ (but I no longer do)

- (68) [A-...hab.prog.base-gəhɛ:ʔ]
 gəhɛgɔwɛhɛgɛʔsɛhɛ:ʔ
 g-əhɛ-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gɛ-gɛ-ʔ-s-gɛhɛ:ʔ
 1S.A-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB-PAST
 ‘I used to be a fruit picker’

Indefinite and (possible) future habitual progressive

INDEFINITE habitual progressive verbs consist of an [a:-] INDEF prefix, a habitual progressive base, and a [-:k] MODZ suffix (Table 16.11 and example 69). (Forms with the [ɛ-] FUT prefix – as in hypothetical *ɛwagəhɛgɔwɛhɛgɛʔsɛ:k* – may be possible, because words with the [ɛ-] FUT prefix are typically possible when the same word with the [a:-] INDEF prefix is attested.)

Table 16.11: Indefinite and (possible) future habitual progressive

mood	HAB PROG base	post-aspect
[ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF	[P-VERB-ɔ-h-ɔ-gɛʔs] [P-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gɛʔs] [P-VERB-V-h-a-gɛʔs]	[-e:k] MODZ

- (69) [a:-P-HAB.PROG.BASE-e:k]
 a:wagəhɛgɔwɛhɛgɛʔsɛ:k
 a:-wag-əhɛ-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gɛ-é-ʔ-s-e:k
 INDEF-1S.P-fruit-pick-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB-MODZ
 ‘I would (still) have been picking fruit...’

17 Negation

Negation turns affirmative statements (or verbs) into negative ones. Affirmative statements are “true” in some sense, while negative statements (also verbs) express the opposite of affirmative ones. Negation is summarized in Table 17.1. (The verb categories in Table 17.1 are described in §9.3.)

Table 17.1: Negation

	positive	negative
HABITUAL	[VERB-HAB]	[NEG-VERB-HAB]
STATIVE and FACTUAL PUNCTUAL	[VERB-STAT] [FAC-VERB-PUNC]	[NEG-VERB-STAT]
FUTURE PUNCTUAL and INDEFINITE PUNCTUAL	[FUTURE-VERB-PUNC] [INDEF-VERB-PUNC]	[CONTR-INDEF-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

As shown in Table 17.1, there are two distinct ways to negate verbs: HABITUAL- and STATIVE-aspect verbs just take the [de’-] NEG prefix, without any further modification (1–3). (The particle *tɛ’* ‘not’ is always optional.)

(1) [(tɛ’) NEG-VERB-HAB] (THREE-ASPECT habitual)

- a. tɛ’ dɛ’agyade:kó:nih
 tɛ’ dɛ’-agy-ade:-kó:ni-h
 not NEG-1D.EX.A-SRF-eat-HAB
 ‘we two do not eat’
- cf. gaɔdekó:nih
 gaɔ-de-kó:ni-h
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-eat-HAB
 ‘they (f/m) eat’ (regularly)
- b. tɛ’ dɛ’akniɔhâɛda’s
 tɛ’ dɛ’-ak-niɔhâɛd-a’s
 not NEG-1S.P-understand-JOINER A-HAB
 ‘I do not understand’

17 Negation

cf. akniḡháháda's
ak-niḡháhád-a-'s
1S.P-understand-JOINER-A-HAB
'I understand'

c. tɛ' degé:ḡɛhs
tɛ' de-gé:-ḡɛ-hs
not NEG-1S.A-see-HAB
'I do not see things'

cf. gé:ḡɛhs
gé:-ḡɛ-hs
1S.A-see-HAB
'I see things'

(2) [(tɛ') NEG-VERB-STAT] (THREE-ASPECT stative)

tɛ' dewa:kni:nḡh, tɛ' de'a:kni:nḡh
tɛ' de-wa:k/'a:k-hni:nḡ-h
not NEG-1S.P-buy-STAT
'I did not buy it'

cf. akni:nḡh
ak-hni:nḡ-h
1S.P-buy-STAT
'I did buy it'

(3) [(tɛ') NEG-VERB.STAT] (STATIVE-ONLY verb)

tɛ' degá:nḡ:[?]
tɛ' de-gá:-nḡ:[?]
not NEG-3SG.A-costly.STAT
'it is not costly'

cf. ganḡ:[?]
ga-nḡ:[?]
3S.A-costly.stative
'it is expensive, dear, precious'

Punctual verbs (§9.3) are negated differently than habitual or stative ones: for factual-punctual verbs (§15.5), the negative counterpart is the negative THREE-ASPECT STATIVE form of the same verb (4). In other words, affirmative factual-punctual forms (4) and affirmative stative-aspect forms (5) share the *same* negative form.

- (4) [(tɛʔ) NEG-VERB-STAT] (negative of the factual-punctual)

tɛʔ dəhóyɛtwɛh

tɛʔ də-hó-yɛtw-ɛh

not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT

‘he did not plant’

cf. aháyɛtoʔ

a-há-yɛto-ʔ

FAC-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC

‘he did plant’

- (5) [(tɛʔ) NEG-VERB-STAT] (negative of the affirmative stative)

tɛʔ dəhóyɛtwɛh

tɛʔ də-hó-yɛtw-ɛh

not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT

‘he did not plant’

cf. hoyé:twɛh

ho-yé:tw-ɛh

3S.M.P-plant-STAT

‘he is planting’

For future-punctuals and indefinite-punctuals (§15.5), the negative counterpart begins with the [ta:-] CONTR-INDEF combination and lacks an aspect suffix (6-7). These are NO-ASPECT forms (§9.3.3).

- (6) [(tɛʔ) CONTR-INDEFINITE-VERB-NO_ASPECT] (negative of the future-punctual)

a. tɛʔ ta:gaesayé:de:

tɛʔ t-a:-gaesa-yé:de:-ø

not CONTR-INDEF-3NS>2S-recognize-NO_ASPECT

‘they will not recognize you’

cf. ɛgyé:de:ʔ

ɛ-g-yé:de:-ʔ

FUT-1S.A-recognize-PUNC

‘I will recognize it’

b. tɛʔ ta:gé:gɛh

tɛʔ t-a:-gé:-gɛ-h

not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-see-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

‘I will not or should not see it’

cf. ɛgé:gɛʔ

ɛ-gé:-gɛ-ʔ

FUT-1S.A-see-PUNC

‘I will see it’

17 Negation

- (7) [(tɛʔ) CONTR-INDEFINITE-VERB-NO_ASPECT] (negative of the indefinite-punctual)
- a. tɛʔ ta:gatgáhtoh
tɛʔ t-a:-g-at-gáhto-h
not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-SRF-see-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'I should not (or will not) look at it'
- b. tɛʔ ta:kní:nɔh
tɛʔ t-a:-k-hní:nɔ-h
not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-buy-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'I should not or will not buy it'
- cf. e:hsní:nɔʔ
e:-hs-hní:nɔʔ
INDEF-2S.A-buy-PUNC
'you would buy, purchase it'
- c. tɛʔ ta:gé:gɛh
tɛʔ t-a:-gé:-gɛ-h
not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-see-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'I will not or should not see it'
- cf. a:gé:gɛʔ
a:-gé:-gɛʔ
INDEF-1S.A-see-PUNC
'I should (etc.) see it'

17.1 Negation of verb forms based on the three major aspects

Verbs variations based on the three major aspects (§15.6) also have negative versions. In general, the system is the same as for three-aspect verbs. For example, the negative of any affirmative habitual or affirmative stative variation begins with [deʔ-] NEG (8).

- (8) negation of variations on habitual and stative forms
- a. tɛʔ degatrowíhsgɛhɛ:
tɛʔ de-g-at-hrowí-hs-gɛhɛ:
not NEG-1S.A-SRF-tell-HAB-PAST
'I didn't used to tell'

17.1 Negation of verb forms based on the three major aspects

- cf. gatrowihsgêhe:[?]
 g-at-hrowi-hs-gêhe:[?]
 1S.A-SRF-tell-HAB-PAST
 'I used to tell'
- b. tẹ[?] dewagatrowihá:gye[?]s
 tẹ[?] de-wag-at-hrowi-h-á:-gy-e-[?]s
 not NEG-1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB
 'I am not going along telling here and there'
- cf. agatrowihagye[?]s
 ag-at-hrowi-h-a-gy-e-[?]s
 1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB
 'I am going along telling here and there'
- c. tẹ[?] de[?]agatrówihne:[?]
 tẹ[?] de[?]-ag-at-hrówi-hne:[?]
 not NEG-1S.P-SRF-tell.STAT-PAST
 'I haven't/hadn't told'
- cf. agatrowihne:[?]
 ag-at-hrowi-hne:[?]
 1S.P-SRF-tell.STAT-PAST
 'I have/had told'

Similarly, any affirmative verb beginning with the [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF, and ending with a [-:k] MODZ takes the [ta:-] CONTR-INDEF combination (9).

(9) negation of [ɛ/a:-...:k] FUT/INDEF...MODZ verbs

- a. tẹ[?] ta:gatrówiha:k
 tẹ[?] t-a:-g-at-hrówi-h-a-:k
 not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'I won't/wouldn't be a teller', 'I won't/wouldn't tell all the time'
- cf. egatrowiha:k
 ɛ-g-at-hrowi-h-a-:k
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'I will be a teller', 'I'll tell all the time'
- cf. a:gatrówiha:k
 a:-g-at-hrówi-h-a-:k
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'I would be a teller', 'I would tell all the time'
- b. tẹ[?] ta:wagatrowiha:k
 tẹ[?] t-a:-wag-at-hrowi-h-a-:k
 not NEG-INDEF-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'I wouldn't have told'

17 Negation

- cf. ɛwagatrówiha:k
 ɛ-wag-at-hrówi-h-a:k
 FUT-1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'I will have told'
- c. tɛʔ ta:waga:tró:wi:k
 tɛʔ t-a:-wag-a:t-hró:wi-:k
 not CONTR-INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell.STAT-MODZ
 'I shouldn't have told'
- cf. a:waga:tró:wi:k
 a:-wag-a:t-hró:wi-:k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell.STAT-MODZ
 'I should have told'
- d. tɛʔ ta:gatrowihágyeʔse:k
 tɛʔ t-a:-g-at-hrowi-h-á-gy-e-ʔs-e:k
 not NEG-INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB-MODZ
 'I still wouldn't have been going along telling'
- cf. ɛwagatrowihágyeʔse:k
 ɛ-wag-at-hrowi-h-á-gy-e-ʔs-e:k
 FUT-1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB-MODZ
 'I will still have been going along telling'
- cf. a:wagatrowihágyeʔse:k
 a:-wag-at-hrowi-h-a-gy-é-ʔs-e:k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-PROG-HAB-MODZ
 'I should still have been going along telling'

Finally, the negative of any affirmative verb beginning with the [aʔ-] FAC and ending with the [-ʔ] PUNC, is a stative form beginning with [deʔ-] NEG (10).

- (10) negation of [aʔ-...-ʔ] FAC-...-PUNC forms
 tɛʔ dewagatrowihá:gyeʔ
 tɛʔ de-wag-at-hrowi-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 not NEG-1S.P-SRF-tell.STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 'I haven't gone along telling'
- cf. ɔgatrowihágyeʔ
 ɔg-at-hrowi-h-a-gy-e-ʔ
 FAC.1S.P-SRF-tell-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-PUNC
 'I went along telling'

18 Miscellaneous word formation topics

The following sections summarize where to find out about the various constructions that denote possession, plurality, and location.

18.1 Possession

The concept of possession or ownership is described in the sections listed below.

Related

- ⇒ “Possessive pronouns”, §6.2
- ⇒ Possessed nouns, §22.2
- ⇒ Possessed basic nouns (P-series), §22.2.1
- ⇒ Possessed body part nouns (A-series), §22.2.2
- ⇒ Interactive kinship terms, INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes, §23.3
- ⇒ Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs, §24
- ⇒ Neuter stative-only verbs, incorporating, conveying possession, §24.2.7

18.2 Pluralizing

There are many ways to *pluralize* or convey the idea that more than one object is involved. They are described in the sections listed below.

Related

- ⇒ Pluralizers, §10.15
- ⇒ [-sq:ʔqh] (pluralizer), §10.15.1
- ⇒ [-sqʔ] (pluralizer), §10.15.2

- ⇒ Meaning of [-sɔʔ] versus [-sɔʔɔh], §10.15.3
- ⇒ Pluralizing nouns, §10.15.4
- ⇒ The [s-, j-, ji-] (repetitive) prefix, §12.2.4
- ⇒ [haʔde-pronominal prefix-INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] ‘every, many, a variety of INCORPORATED NOUNS’, §12.2.5
- ⇒ [-ɔ], [-nyɔ], [-ɔ-nyɔ], [-hnɔ], [-hsɔ], [-drɔ], [-srɔ] (distributives), §15.1.2
- ⇒ [-ʔs] (stative verb pluralizer), §15.7.1
- ⇒ Comparisons, counting, measuring, §31
- ⇒ Numbers and money, §D.15

18.3 Location

The concept of location is mainly conveyed through the suffixes described in the sections listed below.

Related

- ⇒ [-ʔgeh] (external locative), §10.1
- ⇒ [-hneh] (external locative), §10.2
- ⇒ [-ʔgeh] versus [-hneh], §10.3
- ⇒ [-gɔ:] (internal locative), §11.2.1
- ⇒ [-:kʔah] (‘beside’ locative), §11.2.2
- ⇒ [-kdagyeʔ] (‘alongside’ locative), §11.2.3

The prefixes listed below also refer to types of locations, for example [ni-] PART ‘somewhere’, [d-] CIS ‘here’ and [heʔ-] TRANSL ‘there’.

Related

- ⇒ The [ni-] (partitive) prefix, §12.2.3
- ⇒ [d-] (cislocative) and [heʔ-] (translocative) prefixes, §12.2.5

Several verbs also inherently imply a direction ('down', 'up', 'from'). Some examples are provided in (1).

- (1) a. *sahsneht*
 s-ahsneht
 2S.A-descend.NO_ASPECT
 'get down from there'
- b. *satgeh*
 s-at-geh
 2S.A-SRF-awaken.NO_ASPECT
 'get up'
- c. *dwagáhdęgyq:*
 d-wag-áhdęgy-q:
 CIS-1S.P-leave-STAT
 '(where) I come from'
- d. *dwada:dq:nih*
 d-w-ada:d-q:ni-h
 CIS-3S.A-REFL-make-HAB
 'where it starts from'
- e. *deyhgwá'dáhnq:ʔ*
 d-ę-ye-hgw-a-ʔd-á-hnq-:ʔ
 DU-FUT-3S.FI.A-lift.up-JOINER-A-CAUS-JOINER-A-DISTR-PUNC
 'she will raise or lift things up'

And finally, the following sections also convey concepts related to location.

Related

⇒ "Demonstrative pronouns", §6.3

⇒ "Adverbs" of place, §8.3

⇒ Neuter stative-only positional verbs, with incorporated noun, §24.2.4

19 Sound changes in word formation

Sound changes in word formation involve adjusting prefixes, suffixes, and stems for ease of pronunciation (or EUPHONY, adj. EUPHONIC). The types of sound change are described in the following sections.

19.1 Simplifying two consonants to one

For ease of pronunciation, two consonants are simplified to one at the end of verbs. For example, the [-ʔ] PUNC deletes after consonant-final verb stems ([ganyaʔg] in 1a, or [hrih] in 2a), but is pronounced after verb stems ending with a vowel ([hni:nɔ] in 3).

(1) [...ganyaʔg-ʔ] simplified to [...ganyaʔk-∅]

a. aʔéganyaʔk
aʔ-e-ganyaʔg-ʔ
FAC-3S.FLA-pay-PUNC
'she paid'

b. gagányaʔgɔh
ga-ga-nyaʔg-ɔh
3S.A-price-pay-STAT
'payment'

(2) [hrih-ʔ] simplified to [hrih-∅]

a. hɛkrih
h-ɛ-k-hrih-ʔ
TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-pour-PUNC
'I will pour'

b. gahihɔh
ga-hrih-ɔh
3S.A-spill-STAT
'it is spilled'

19 Sound changes in word formation

(3) no simplification for [...ʔ-ʔ] (etc.)

- a. akní:nʔ
a-k-hní:nʔ-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I did buy it'
- b. ɛkní:nʔ
ɛ-k-hní:nʔ-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I will buy it'

To avoid [ks] and [ts] at the end of a word, [k] or [t] deletes before the [-s] HAB suffix (4), (5).¹

(4) [ts] simplified to [s]

- hadó:wa:s
h-adó:wa:t-s
3S.M.A-hunt-HAB ([t] deleted)
'he is a hunter'
- cf. ɛha:dó:wa:t
ɛ-h-a:dó:wa:t-ʔ
FUT-3S.M.A-hunt-PUNC ([t] is not deleted, but the [-ʔ] PUNC is deleted)
'he will hunt'

(5) [ks] simplified to [s]

- gíhsa:s
g-íhsa:k-s
1S.A-look.for-HAB ([k] deleted)
'I am looking for it'
- cf. egíhsa:k
ɛ-g-íhsa:k-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-look-PUNC ([k] is not deleted, but the [-ʔ] PUNC is deleted)
'I will look for it'

¹In contrast, speakers of other *Qgwehó:weh* languages keep word-final [ts] or [ks], as shown by the following *Kanien'kéha* (Mohawk) examples.

- (i) a. rató:rats
'he is a hunter'
- b. í:keks
'I am eating something'

19.2 Preserving, merging, and deleting vowels

Two vowels in a row are avoided, particularly between a pronominal prefix and stem. Vowels are either merged or deleted to achieve this result. For example, prefix-final [i] and stem [i] simplify to just one [i] sound (6a). In contrast, prefix-final [i] remains when the following stem begins with a consonant (6b), and stem-initial [i] is preserved after prefixes ending with a consonant (6c).

(6) [i-i] becomes [i]

- a. gadíʔdrɔʔ
gadi-iʔdrɔʔ
3NS.A-live-STAT
'they live (designates a shed, dog house, etc.)'
- b. gadinɔhweʔs
gadi-nɔhwe-ʔs
3NS.A-like-HAB
'they like it'
- c. hegiʔdrɔ:daʔk
h-ɛ-g-iʔdrɔ:-d-aʔk
TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-live-CAUS-MODZ
'where I will live'

[e-i] are simplified to [i] to avoid two vowels in a row (7a). In contrast, stem [i] remains after prefixes ending with a consonant (7b). For comparison, (7c) shows prefix [e] before stems beginning with a consonant.

(7) [e-i] becomes [e]

- a. ehé:yɔhs
e-ihey-ɔhs
3S.FI.A-die-HAB
'she is dying, on her death bed'
- b. gihé:yɔhs
g-ihey-ɔhs
1S.A-die-HAB
'I am dying'
- c. egeʔahsrɔni:ʔ
e-geʔa-hsrɔ:ni-h
3S.FI.A-hair-fix-HAB
'she is a hairdresser'

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Instead of deletion, two vowels *merge* into a new vowel in several contexts. First, prefix [a] and stem [i] merge to [ɛ] (8a). In contrast, stem [i] remains after prefixes ending with a consonant (8b) and prefix [a] remains before stems beginning with a consonant (8c).

- (8) [a-i] become [ɛ]
- a. hɛhé:yɔhs
ha-ihé:y-ɔhs
3S.M.A-die-HAB
'he is dying'
 - b. gihé:yɔhs
g-ihé:y-ɔhs
1S.A-die-HAB
'I am dying'
 - c. hanɔhsɔ:nih
ha-nɔhs-ɔ:ni-h
3S.M.A-house-build-HAB
'he is a carpenter'

Prefix [e] and stem [e] also merge into a single [ɛ] (9).

- (9) [e-e] become [ɛ]
- a. dɔdáɛʔ
dɔdá-e-e-ʔ
DU.FAC.CIS-3S.FI.A-go-PUNC
'she is coming back'
 - cf. dɔdá:geʔ
dɔdá:-g-e-ʔ
DU.FAC.CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
'I am coming back'
 - b. ɛtgáɛʔ
ɛ-t-gáe-e-ʔ
FUT-CIS-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they will come'
 - cf. ɛteʔ
ɛ-t-h-e-ʔ
FUT-CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
'he will come this way'

- c. í:yę:
 í:-ye-e-:
 PROTH-3S.FI.A-want-STAT
 ‘she wants’
 cf. ihse:
 i-hs-e-:
 PROTH-2S.A-want-STAT
 ‘you want’

Another strategy for avoiding two vowels in a row is to add a EUPHONIC [y] between certain pronominal prefixes and stem vowels (10). (EUPHONIC elements are sounds inserted for ease of pronunciation, see §19.5.)

- (10) [ɔ-ɔ] tends to become [ɔyɔ]
 gó:yɔ'
 gó:-y-ɔ-'
 1S:2S-EUPH.Y-give-PUNC
 ‘I will give you’

[y]-insertion sometimes occurs between prefixes like [swa-] 3P.A, and a following stem-initial [ɛ] or [ɔ] (11a). Again, this strategy prevents the presence of two vowels in a row. The strategy in (11a) is possibly a recent development: the more conservative strategy is to instead use a different pronunciation like [j-] 3P.A before stem-initial [ɛ] or [ɔ] (11b).

- (11) treatment of [a-ɔ]
 a. ɛhswá:yɔ'
 ɛ-hswá:-y-ɔ-'
 FUT-2P.A-EUPH.Y-give-PUNC (innovative extra [y])
 ‘you will give it’
 b. ɛjɔ'
 ɛ-j-ɔ-'
 FUT-2P.A/2PL.O-give-PUNC
 ‘it will give you all’, ‘you all will give it’ (conservative, no extra [y])

Prefixes like [hɛn-] (12a) and [hon-] (12c) are used when the verb stem begins with a vowel, but [hadi-] (12b) or [hodi-] (12d) are used before stems beginning with a consonant. The use of [hɛn-] and [hon-] before vowel-initial verb stems again prevents having two vowels in a row.

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- (12) a. ahénéhehk
hén-é-he-hk
3NS.M.A-think-HAB-FORMER
'they (males) were thinking'
- b. hadí'nhahgya's
hadí-'nhahg-ya'k-s
3NS.M.A-log-cut-HAB
'loggers'
- c. honé:'q:
hon-é:'-q:
3NS.M.P-will-STAT
'they have willed, decided it'
- d. hodi:yę'
hodi:-yę'-
3NS.M.P-lie-STAT
'they have', 'they have lain'

19.3 [r] and [hr]

When noun or verb stems begin with [r], the [r] is missing after a vowel (13), but retained after a consonant (14).

- (13) [r] deleted between vowels
- a. gáęna'
gá-ręn-a'
3S.A-song-NSF
'song'
- b. shogwaęnawihshq'
shogwa-ręn-awih-shq'
3MS:1P-song-give-PLRZ
'he has given us songs'
- (14) [r] retained after a consonant
- a. wadrę:no:t
w-ad-rę:n-o:t
3S.A-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'it is singing' (or purring, in the case of a cat)

- b. ɛhsadrɛnatɔdá:taʔ
 ɛ-hs-ad-rɛn-atɔdá:t-h-a-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-song-listen-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘you’ll go listen to the songs’ (said as an invitation)

Similarly, for noun or verb stems beginning with [hr], the [hr] is missing after a vowel (15a), but present after a consonant (15b).

- (15) a. shehó:wih
 she-hró:wi-h
 2S:3FIS-tell-EUPH.H
 ‘tell her’
- b. ɛga:tró:wiʔ
 ɛ-g-a:t-hró:wi-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 ‘I will tell’

19.4 [dy/gy] and [ty/ky]

Ganedagehonóʔneha:ʔ (Lower Cayuga) speakers pronounce certain prefixes differently than *Dagehyatgehonóʔneha:ʔ* (Upper Cayuga) speakers do, before stems beginning with [y] or [hy]. *Ganedagehonóʔneha:ʔ* speakers use [ag-] SRF (16a) and [adag-] REFL (not shown) before [y], and also [ak-] (16b) and [adak-] (not shown) before [hy]. Both *Ganedagehonóʔneha:ʔ* and *Dagehyatgehonóʔneha:ʔ* speakers use [ad-] (or [adad-]) before other sounds (16c), except that *Dagehyatgehonóʔneha:ʔ* speakers say [at-] or [adat-] before stems beginning with [hy] (16d).

- (16) a. sagyaʔdohái
 s-ag-yaʔd-ohái
 2S.A-SRF-body-wash.NO_ASPECT
 ‘take a bath’
- b. ɛgákyadɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-g-ák-hyadɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-write-PUNC
 ‘I will have a reading’
- c. sadahɔhdóhai
 s-ad-ahɔhd-óhai
 2S.A-SRF-ears-wash.NO_ASPECT
 ‘wash your ears’

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- d. $\text{ɛgátyadɔ}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{ɛ-g-át-hyadɔ}^{\text{'}}$
FUT-1S.A-SRF-write-PUNC
'I will have a reading'

Ganedagehonó[']nɛha:['] speakers use [g-] CIS before [y] (17a), while Dagɛhyatgehonó[']nɛha:['] speakers use [d-] in the same instance. Both Ganedagehonó[']nɛha:['] and Dagɛhyatgehonó[']nɛha:['] speakers use the [d-] CISform in the remaining cases (17b).

- (17) a. $\text{gyodó}^{\text{'}}\text{kdá}^{\text{'}}\text{q̃h}$
 $\text{g-yo-d-ó}^{\text{'}}\text{kd-a}^{\text{'}}\text{q̃h}$
CIS-3S.P-SRF-end-JOINER A-STAT
'it is lacking'
- b. $\text{dawádo}^{\text{'}}\text{kde}^{\text{'}}$ 'it lacked'
 $\text{d-a-w-ád-o}^{\text{'}}\text{kd-ɛ}^{\text{'}}$
CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRFend-PUNC
'it was not enough'

19.5 Euphonic sounds

Euphonic sounds exist for ease of pronunciation and convey no meaning – a fact which distinguishes them from, for example, single-sound prefixes like [d-] CIS, meaning 'here', or [g-] 1S.A, meaning 'I'. The various types of euphonic sound are describe next.

19.5.1 Joiner A [a]

JOINER A ([a]) prevents (breaks up) too-large groups of consonants. (In a different context, JOINER E [e] is used instead. It is described in §19.5.2.)

Joiner A appears between an incorporated noun ending with a consonant and a verb beginning with a consonant (18a). No Joiner A appears if the incorporated noun already ends with a vowel (19) or if the following verb begins with a vowel (20).

- (18) Joiner A
- a. $\text{gá}^{\text{'}}\text{drehdagwé:gq̃h}$
 $\text{gá}^{\text{'}}\text{drehd-a-gwé:gq̃h}$
3S.A-car-JOINER A-all.STAT
'all the cars'

- b. o' dréhdətgi'
 o-'dréhd-a-tgi'
 3S.P-car-JOINER A-ugly.STAT
 'ugly car'

(19) no Joiner A, incorporated noun ends with a vowel

- a. onéħetgi'
 o-néħet-tgi'
 3S.P-corn-dirty.STAT
 'dirty corn'

(20) no Joiner A, verb begins with a vowel

- a. gá' dréhde:s
 gá-'dréhd-e:s
 3S.A-car-long.STAT
 'it is a long car'
- b. gá' drehdí:yo:
 gá-'drehd-í:yo:
 3S.A-car-nice.STAT
 'it is a nice car'
- c. niga' drehdú: 'uh
 ni-ga-'drehd-ú: 'uh
 PART-3S.A-car-small.STAT
 'it is a small car'

Joiner A also appears between verb stems ending with a consonant and suffixes beginning with a consonant (21a), but not otherwise (21b).

- (21) a. akyédəhkwa'
 akyéd-a-hkwa'
 Ø.PREFIX.sit-JOINER A-INSTR
 'chair'
- b. ehyádəhkwa'
 e-hyádə-hkwa'
 3S.FI.A-write-INSTR
 'writing implement (pen, pencil, etc.)'

Unexpectedly, Joiner A appears between an incorporated noun and a small set of vowel-initial, obligatorily-incorporating verbs, including [+e] 'lying on the

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ground' (22). (The non-incorporating form of the same verb, [yɛ], begins with a consonant, 22b.)

- (22) a. ga' dréhdæ'
 ga-' dréhd-a-ɛ'
 3S.A-car-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 'one parked car'
- b. gá:yɛ'
 gá:-yɛ'
 3S.A-lie.STAT
 'it is lying on the ground'

The examples in (23) look similar to (22a, c). However, the noun-final long [a:] shown in (23) shortens to [a] before vowel-initial verbs (23b, d). This prevents a series of a long vowel followed by a short vowel, but results in a sequence of two short vowels in a row (which is otherwise avoided).

- (23) a. sga:t wɛ' níhsgaɔt
 sga:t w-ɛ' níhsga-ɔt
 one 3S.A-wheel-attached
 'it has one wheel' ([a] is shortened /a:/, not JOINER A)
- cf. ɛ' níhsga:?, wɛ' níhsga:?
 (w)-ɛ' níhsga:-?
 (3S.A)-wheel-NSF
 'a wheel' (illustrating long /a:/)
- b. ogaot
 o-gá-ot
 3S.P-price-stand.STAT
 'a debt' ([a] is shortened /a:/, not JOINER A)
- cf. ó:ga:?
 ó:-ga:-?
 3S.P-price-NSF
 'a price' (illustrating long /a:/)

Joiner A pronounced as [ɔ] or [ɛ]

Joiner A is instead pronounced as [ɔ] after [ɔh] and [ɛ] after [ɛh] (24), but not otherwise (25).

- (24) a. sa_hohdęgyóhęgye'
 sa-ho-hdęgy-ó-h-ę-gy-e-'
 REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 'he is on his way home'
- b. agadę'gwęhęgye'
 ag-ade-'_hgw-ę-h-ę-gy-e-'
 1S.A-SRF-run.away-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 'I am running away again'
- (25) a. go_hsganyęhá:gye'
 gę-hsganye-h-á-gy-e-'
 3S.FI.P-shuffle-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 'she is shuffling along'
- b. agyęđihá:gye'
 ag-yęđi-h-ágy-e-'
 1S.A-smile-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 'I am going along smiling'

Other instances of [a] being changed to [ɔ]

The second vowel of the [-shó:ʔq̄h] PLRZ suffix can either be pronounced as [a] or [ɔ] (26).

- (26) a. ganyo'şó:ʔah, ganyo'şó:ʔq̄h
 ga-nyo'-shó:ʔah/-shó:ʔq̄h
 3S.A-wild.game-PLRZ
 'wild game', 'wild animals'
- b. gaęnasó:ʔah, gaęnasó:ʔq̄h
 ga-ęn-a-shó:ʔah/-shó:ʔq̄h
 3S.A-song-PLRZ
 'songs', 'songs for Our Sustenance'

19.5.2 Joiner E [e]

As with Joiner A, JOINER E [e] is added in order to avoid too-long or unacceptable consonant clusters. While Joiner A and Joiner E serve a similar purpose, they appear in different places in the word. Joiner A occurs anywhere after the reflexive

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prefix. In contrast, Joiner E appears between pronominal, semireflexive, or reflexive prefixes ending with a consonant, and a consonant-initial verb or noun stem (27).

- (27) Joiner E
 gaḳdadé:gehs
 gaḳ-dad-é:-ge-hs
 3NS.FI.A-REFL-JOINERÉ-see-HAB
 ‘they see her’
 cf. gaḳdadaḳdóḳha’
 gaḳ-dad-aḳdóḳ-ha’
 3NS.FI.A-REFL-ask-HAB
 ‘they are asking her’ (etc.)

The [(h)s-] 2s.A prefix tends to be followed by Joiner E (28), except before [n], [y], or a vowel (29). Joiner E is unexpected in this context because clusters like [sh], [sd,st], [sg], and [sw] are acceptable elsewhere in the word (30).

- (28) Joiner E after [(h)s-] 2s.A
- a. deṣehedáwənye:’
 d-ḳ-se-hehd-á-wənye-:’
 DU-FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-earth-JOINERÁ-stir-PUNC
 ‘you will tend or till your garden’
 - b. sedá:kse’
 s-e-dá:kse-’
 2S.A-JOINERÉ-run-STAT
 ‘you are running’
 - c. í:se:k
 í:-s-e:-k
 PROTH-2S.A-JOINERÉ-eat.Ø.PUNC
 ‘eat it!’
 - d. segóhsa’geh
 s-e-góhs-a’geh
 2S.A-JOINERÉ-face-ON
 ‘on your face’
 - e. eṣé:ge’
 ḳ-s-é:-ge-’
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
 ‘you will see’

- f. ɛhsewayɛ:nɛ:da'
 ɛ-hs-e-wayɛ:nɛ:d-a'
 FUT-2S.A-JOINER E-complete-PUNC
 'you will complete'

(29) no Joiner E before [n], [y], or a vowel

- a. syɛ:sehs
 s-yɛ:se-hs
 2S.A-skin-HAB
 'you skin animals all the time'
- b. snɛtsá'geh
 s-nɛts-á'geh
 2S.A-arm-ON
 'on your arm'
- c. sɔtsá'geh
 s-ɔts-á'geh
 2S.A-knee-ON
 'on your knee'

(30) [sh], [sd/st], [sg], and [sw] are otherwise allowed

- a. shehó:wih
 she-hró:wi-h
 2S:3FIS-tell-EUPH.H
 'tell her'
- b. stó:hah 'a little bit'
- c. sgá'áhdra:t
 s-gá-'áhdr-a:-t
 REP-3S.A-basket-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 'one basket'
- d. swáhdegá:'geh
 swá-hdegá:-'geh
 2PL.A-ribs-ON
 'on your ribs'

19.5.3 Euphonic D, Y, and W

Euphonic D [d], Y [y], and W [w] appear in several contexts for ease of pronunciation. Euphonic D appears between a few vowel-final verbs, and a following

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Joiner A (31–32), and even in some loanwords (see 33, where the incorporated noun and loanword ‘monkey’ ends with a vowel sound).

- (31) a. ononyáędagye?
 o-nony-á-ę-d-a-gy-e-?
 3S.P-ice-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is freezing’
 cf. onónyaę?
 o-nóny-a-ę?
 3S.A-ice-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT
 ‘it is frozen’
- b. awęnowaędá:gye?
 aw-ęnowaę-d-á:-gy-e-?
 3S.P-sink-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is sinking’
 cf. ęwęnowáę?
 ę-w-ęnowáę-?
 FUT-3S.A-sink-PUNC
 ‘it will sink’
- (32) a. tgi[?]dró:da[?]k
 t-g-i[?]dró:-d-a-[?]k
 CIS-1S.A-live.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘where I lived’
 cf. shęh tgi[?]dró?
 shęh t-g-i[?]dró-?
 that CIS-1S.A-live-STAT
 ‘where I live, reside’
- b. agadowihshę:da[?]k
 ag-ad-owihshę:-d-a-[?]k
 1S.P-SRF-rest.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘I did have a rest’
 cf. agadowishę?
 ag-ad-owishę-?
 1S.P-SRF-rest-STAT
 ‘I have rested’
- (33) Gwe: gwé: a:yé[?] desatmónkeydoh e:?
 de-sa-t-mónkey-d-oh
 DU-2S.P-SRF-monkey-EUPH.D-STATIVE²
 ‘Are you acting like a monkey again?’

²Humorous example provided by Amos Key, Jr.

Euphonic Y appears between certain vowel-final pronominal prefixes and vowel-initial stems (34, see §19.2.)

- (34) a. gó:yq'
 gó:-y-q'
 1s:2s-EUPH.Y-give-PUNC
 'I will give you'
- b. sheyahó:dq:
 she-y-ahó:dq:
 2s:3FIS-EUPH.Y-ask.NO_ASPECT
 'ask her!'

In only a few words, Euphonic W appears after a pronominal prefix and before the verb stem (35).

- (35) a. degaqwéhda:s
 de-gaq-w-éhda:-s
 DU-3S.FI.A-EUPH.W-run-HAB
 'they run'
- b. da:gáqwéhda:t
 d-a:-gáq-w-éhda:t
 DU-INDEF-3S.FI.A-EUPH.W-run.Ø.PUNC
 'they might run'
- cf. dewagéhda:dqh
 de-wag-éhda:d-qh
 DU-1s.P-run-STAT
 'I have run'

Related

⇒ Preserving, merging, and deleting vowels §19.2

19.5.4 The prothetic vowel (euphonic [i])

The PROTHETIC vowel (euphonic [i]) appears at the beginning of some verbs. (It is lengthened and accented to [í:] under conditions described in §3.6.) While it resembles a prefix, the prothetic vowel has no meaning. To illustrate, in (36),

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all three verbs end with [se:k], meaning ‘you eat it’. The verb beginning with prothetic [i:] has no added meaning (36a). In contrast, the verb beginning with the [a:-] INDEF additionally means ‘should’ (36b) and the verb with the [e:-] FUT additionally means ‘will’ (36c).

- (36) a. í:se:k
í:-s-e:-k
PROTH-2S.A-JOINERĒ-eat.Ø.PUNC
‘you eat it!’
- b. á:se:k
á:-s-e:-k
INDEF-2S.A-JOINERĒ-eat.Ø.PUNC
‘you should eat it’
- c. é:se:k
é:-s-e:-k
FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-eat.Ø.PUNC
‘you will eat it’

The purpose of the prothetic vowel is to ensure that verbs have at least two vowels³. The verbs with the prothetic vowel in (37a, c, e) have only one vowel before [i, í:] is added. In contrast, the verbs in (37b, d, f) do not need the prothetic vowel because the pronominal prefixes already contribute a second vowel.

- (37) a. ikne:
i-kn-e:
PROTH-1D.IN.A-think.STAT
‘you and I want, think’
- b. akne:
akn-e:
1D.EX.A-think.STAT
‘we two want, think’
- c. idwe:
i-dw-e:
PROTH-1P.IN.A-think.STAT
‘we all want, think’

³This is a common requirement cross-linguistically.

- d. agwe:
agw-e:
1P.EX.A-think.STAT
'we all want, think'
- e. ihe:
i-h-e:
PROTH-3S.M.A-think.STAT
'he wants, thinks'
- f. hẹ:ne:
hẹ:n-e:
3NS.M.A-think.STAT
'they want, think'

Three-vowel verbs beginning with the PROTHETIC vowel

According to the description in §19.5.4, verbs beginning with the prothetic vowel should never have more than two vowels, since the prothetic vowel exists to ensure that verbs become two vowels long. For the most part, this is the case (38).

- (38) a. í:geʔs
í:-g-e-ʔs
PROTH-1S.A-go-HAB
'I am here'
- b. ihsgeʔs
i-hs-g-e-ʔs
PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
'I am back home'
- c. í:drah
í:-d-rah
PROTH-2S.A-spread.NO_ASPECT
'spread it on'
- d. í:ga:ʔ
í:-ga:ʔ
PROTH-3S.A-contain.STAT
'it contains'

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- e. í:ga:t
í:-ga:-t
PROTH-3S.A-stand.STAT
'it is standing'
- f. í:gye:t
í:-g-ye:-t
PROTH-CIS-3S.FI.A-stand.STAT
'she is standing over there'
- g. ihe:
i-h-e:
PROTH-3S.M.A-want.STAT
'he wants it'
- h. ihse:
i-hs-e:
PROTH-2S.A-want.STAT
'you want'
- i. ikda:s
i-k-dahsd
PROTH-1S.A-string.up.HAB
'I am stringing or draping it'
- j. ita:t
i-t-ha:-t
PROTH-CIS-3S.M.A-stand.STAT
'he is standing over there'
- k. í:yo'
í:-y-o'
PROTH-3S.P-submerged.STAT
'it is in the water'
- l. í:yq:s
í:-y-q:s
PROTH-3S.P-long.STAT
'it is long'

However, some exceptions are shown in (39). The exceptions all end with the [-:hah] DIM suffix.⁴

⁴Technically speaking, [-:hah] is an enclitic – a suffix, which behaves like an independent word in that it does not affect accent placement.

- (39) a. *ihsé:hah*
 i-hs-é-:hah
 PROTH-2S.A-think.STAT-DIM
 ‘you gloat’
- b. *ihé:hah*
 i-h-é-:hah
 PROTH-3S.M.A-think.STAT-DIM
 ‘he thinks highly of himself’
- c. *igé:hah*
 i-g-é-:hah
 PROTH-1S.A-think.STAT-DIM
 ‘I am gloating, boastful’

19.5.5 Euphonic H

Euphonic H [h] is added to words ending with a short vowel, but only when such words are either stand-alone (not shown) or sentence-final (40).⁵ Euphonic H is not added when the same words are mid-sentence (41). This was previously described in §3.10.4.

- (40) Sɔ: *hne:ʔ nʔáht tó:gyɛhʔ*
 who in.fact person that.one
 ‘Who is that?’

- (41) Sɔ: *hne:ʔ nʔáht to:gyɛ gaeksaʔsó:ʔqhʔ*
 who in.fact person that.one children
 ‘Then who are those children?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah
 dialogue)

Euphonic H also appears between a verb ending with a vowel and the [-a-gy-] JOINERA-PROG suffix combination (42). (For the structure of progressive verbs, see §16.5.)

⁵Technically speaking, the [-ɔh] and [-ɛh] STAT endings, illustrated in *hodóghdɔh* and *hodá:wɛh* in (42), should be analysed as [-ɔ-h] and [-ɛ-h] STAT-EUPH.H. The final H is an instance of the rule for inserting word-final H, for which see §3.10.4. However, to simplify matters, the [-ɔh] and [-ɛh] endings are simply glossed as STAT in this work.

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- (42) a. honɔnihá:gye's
hon-ɔni-h-á:gy-e-'s
3NS.M.P-make-EUPH.H-PROGRESSIVE-go-HAB
'they are making, earning it' (continually)
cf. tiwa:gó:ni:
ti-wa:g-ó:ni-:
CONTR-1S.A-make-STAT
'I have made it in place of something else, replaced it'
- b. hodɔgɔhdɔhɔgye'
ho-d-ɔgɔhd-ɔ-h-ɔ-gy-e-'
3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
'he is going along passing'
cf. hodɔgɔhdɔh
ho-d-ɔgɔhd-ɔh
3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT
'he has gone past'
- c. dahodawɛhɛgye'
da-ho-d-aw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-'
CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-swim-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
'he is swimming towards us'
cf. hodá:wɛh
ho-d-á:w-ɛh
3S.M.P-SRF-swim-STAT
'he did swim'

Related

⇒ Accent and Euphonic H in sentences §3.10.4 ⇒ Progressive verbs §16.5

Part IV

Pronominal prefixes

PRONOMINAL PREFIXES refer to people, places, objects, or abstract concepts. All Gayogoho:nq'néha:ʔ verbs have pronominal prefixes, and most nouns have them as well. In contrast, particles do not. For the most part, nouns and verbs take the same pronominal prefixes, and so these prefixes express related concepts. For example, the verb *aknqhokdá:nih* 'I am sick' takes the [ak-] prefix to refer to the speaker, while the noun *aknqhsa* 'my house' takes the same [ak-] prefix to denote the speaker's ownership.

This chapter describes pronominal prefix meaning. The following chapter describes how the prefixes are pronounced, and the subsequent chapter describes pronominal prefix *selection* – the factors influencing the type of prefix a verb or noun takes.

20 Pronominal prefix meaning

Pronominal prefixes express the concepts of PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, CLUSIVITY, and ROLE, which are defined in the following sections. The remaining sections of this chapter describe the three types of pronominal prefix (the NON-INTERACTIVE A-, and P-series, and the INTERACTIVE series). The chapter ends with a description of the exceptional nature of the 3s 'it' prefixes.

20.1 Person

PERSON is a general term for point of view, including the 1ST PERSON or speaker(s), the 2ND PERSON or audience (listener or listeners), and the 3RD PERSON (referring to whatever or whomever the speaker and audience are discussing).

The main difference between the words in (1) is the type of person expressed by the pronominal prefix. (A hyphen appears between the prefix and stem in the following examples.)

- (1)
- a. k-hné:ye:s 'I am tall'
 - speaker(s) → 1st PERSON (said by whomever is speaking)
 - b. s-hné:ye:s 'you are tall'
 - audience / listener(s) → 2nd PERSON (referring to a single-person audience)
 - c. ha-hné:ye:s 'he is tall'
 - everyone and everything else → 3rd PERSON (referring to someone the speaker is talking *about*, not *to*)

20.2 Number

NUMBER refers to the number of people or objects. For example, while the verbs in (2) all refer to the audience (2ND person), they refer to different numbers of audience members – SINGULAR (one person), DUAL (two people) or PLURAL (more than two people).

20 *Pronominal prefix meaning*

(2) NUMBER

- a. s-hné:ye:s ‘you are tall’ SINGULAR
- b. sni-hné:ye:s ‘you two are tall’ DUAL
- c. swa-hné:ye:s ‘you all are tall’ PLURAL

For 3RD person pronominals, the relevant distinction is between SINGULAR and NON-SINGULAR – as opposed to the three-way singular/dual/plural distinction for 1ST and 2ND persons. (However, see §20.5.3 for discussion of dual 3RD person forms.)

(3) NUMBER

- a. e-hné:ye:s ‘she is tall’ SINGULAR
- b. gae-hné:ye:s ‘you two are tall’ NON-SINGULAR

20.3 Gender

Gayogoho:nq'néha:ʔ GENDER categories include the MASCULINE (‘he’, ‘him’), FEMININE-INDEFINITE (‘she’, ‘her’, ‘someone’), and ZOIC-NEUTER (‘it’ – an object or animal). For example, while both of the words in (4) are 3RD person singular, they express different genders.

(4) GENDER

- a. ha-hné:ye:s ‘he is tall’ MASCULINE
- b. e-hné:ye:s ‘she is tall’ FEMININE-INDEFINITE

Grammatical gender does not necessarily match up with biological gender. For example, the Gayogoho:nq'néha:ʔ prefix in (5) can refer either to a female or to a person whose gender is not defined (in which case it means ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, or ‘people’).

(5) e-hné:ye:s ‘she is tall, ‘someone is tall’

- 3rd singular feminine-indefinite reference

Similarly, the prefix in (6) can refer either to a group of females or to a mixed group of males and females.

(6) gae-hné:ye:s ‘they are tall’

- 3rd plural feminine-indefinite reference

In fact, the feminine-indefinite prefixes may even refer to an all-male group: in (7), *ena:gre* refers to ‘the men’, although the word literally means ‘she or someone lives there’.

- (7) O:nêh hni[?] ohsɔdagwe:gôh dɛhodinɛhɛ:[?] ne[?] hɛnɔ:gwéh [shɛh
 now and all.night they.guard the men that
 e-ná:gre[?]].
 someone.lives.there
 ‘Now too all night they are guarding, the men [who live there].’ (Keye, 2012)

The ZOIC-NEUTER prefix also demonstrates the difference between grammatical and biological gender. It can refer to an animal, an object, or the weather (8a–c), and to females (in a derogatory sense, 8d).

- (8) ZOIC-NEUTER reference
 a. o-hsɛ: ‘it (animal) is fat’ (referring to an animal)
 b. o-hó[?]dɛ:[?] ‘it (i.e. dirt) is soft, loose’ (referring to an object)
 c. o-tó:we[?] ‘it (weather) is cold’ (referring to the weather)
 d. wa-datgehɔha[?] ‘she is a prostitute’ (literally, ‘it sells its private parts’)

20.4 Clusivity (*inclusive and exclusive*)

CLUSIVITY is a term relevant for ‘we’ forms. INCLUSIVE ‘we’ forms group the speaker(s) and listener(s) together (9a), whereas EXCLUSIVE ‘we’ forms make it clear that the speaker(s) and listener(s) are not the same group (9b).

- (9) CLUSIVITY
 a. kni-hnɛ:ye:s ‘we two are tall’ INCLUSIVE (includes an audience member)
 b. akni-hnɛ:ye:s ‘we two are tall’ EXCLUSIVE (excludes the audience member)

20.5 Combining person, number, gender, and clusivity

Person, number, gender, and clusivity are combined in and expressed through two types of pronominal prefix, INTERACTIVE and NON-INTERACTIVE ones (defined in §20.7). The meanings of the non-interactive prefixes are described next. For the meanings conveyed by the interactive pronominal prefixes, see §20.8.

20.5.1 1ST person pronominal prefix concepts

The 1ST person pronominal prefixes express person and number, but not gender (10). Also, clusivity only applies to ‘we’ (1ST person plural) forms. (Singular 1ST person or ‘I’ forms cannot express clusivity, since clusivity presupposes more than one person).

- (10) k-hnέ:ye:s ‘I am tall’
- person (1ST), gender, clusivity (absent), number (singular)

Example (11) illustrates a verb that takes the full set of inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ forms. Only verbs with A-series pronominal prefixes express the inclusive versus exclusive distinction. (The A-series is a type of non-interactive pronominal prefix, as is the P-series, see §20.8).

- (11) a. kni-hnέ:ye:s, tni-hnέ:ye:s ‘you (one person) and I are tall’
- person (1ST), gender (absent), clusivity (inclusive), number (dual)
- b. akni-hnέ:ye:s ‘we two (not you) are tall’
- person (1ST), gender (absent), clusivity (exclusive), number (dual)
- c. dwa-hnέ:ye:s ‘you all and I are tall’, ‘we all (and you) are tall’
- person (1ST), gender (absent), clusivity (inclusive), number (plural)
- d. agwa-hnέ:ye:s ‘we all (not you) are tall’
- person (1ST), gender (absent), clusivity (exclusive), number (plural)

Example (12) illustrates a different type of verb, one that does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ forms. Verbs with P-series pronominal prefixes do not express the inclusive versus exclusive distinction (see §20.8).

- (12) a. ɔkni-nɔhɔkdanih ‘we two are sick’
- person (1ST), gender and clusivity (absent), number (dual)
- b. ɔgwa-nɔhɔkdanih ‘we all are sick’
- person (1ST), gender and clusivity (absent), number (plural)

20.5.2 2ND person pronominal prefix concepts

The 2ND person pronominal prefixes express person and number (singular, dual, or plural), but not gender or clusivity (13).

- (13) a. s-hné:ye:s ‘you (one person) are tall’
 • person (2ND), gender and clusivity (absent), number (singular)
 b. sni-hné:ye:s ‘you two are tall’
 • person (2ND), gender and clusivity (absent), number (dual)
 c. swa-hné:ye:s ‘you all are tall’
 • person (2ND), gender and clusivity (absent), number (plural)

20.5.3 3RD person pronominal prefix concepts

The 3RD person pronominal prefixes express person and number (singular or non-singular). They are the only non-interactive pronominal prefixes to express gender (14).

- (14) a. ha-hné:ye:s ‘he is tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (masculine), number (singular), clusivity (absent)
 b. e-hné:ye:s ‘she or someone is tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (feminine-indefinite), number (singular), clusivity (absent)
 c. ga-hné:ye:s ‘it (animal) is tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (zoic-neuter), number (singular), clusivity (absent)
 d. hadi-hné:ye:s ‘they (males only) are tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (masculine), number (non-singular), clusivity (absent)
 e. gae-hné:ye:s ‘they (females or mixed group) are tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (feminine-indefinite), number (non-singular), clusivity (absent)
 f. gadi-hné:ye:s ‘they (animals) are tall’
 • person (3RD), gender (zoic-neuter), number (non-singular), clusivity (absent)

Other Qgwehqwéhneha:’ languages also have 3RD person dual forms, but these are rare in Gayogho:nq’néha:’. The renowned orator Huron Miller used [hni-], a 3RD MASCULINE DUAL prefix, in his recitation of *Gaihwī:yo:* (15).¹

¹Tom Deer, p.c. Tom also notes that Huron Miller spoke Cayuga, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Seneca.

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- (15) a. detniyanó:we:[?]
det-hni-yanó:we:[?]
DU.CIS-3DU.M.A-fast.STAT
'two fast male runners'
- b. ha[?]tní:da[?]
ha[?]t-hní:-da[?]
TRANSL.DU-3DU.M.A-stop.PUNC
'they (two males) stopped there'
- c. ha[?]tniyadowehdáhnh
ha[?]t-hni-yadowehdáhnh-
TRANSL.DU-3DU.M.A-think.OVER-STAT
'they (two males) thought it over'
- d. hqsahnihó[?]kdę[?]
hqsahni-hó[?]kd-ę[?]
TRANSL.repetitivefactual-3DU.M.A-end-PUNC
'they (two males) ended', 'they told everything'

20.6 Pronominal prefixes and role

In addition to person, number, gender, and clusivity, the pronominal prefixes also interact with the concept of *ROLE*. Role refers to the parts played by the people or objects necessary to complete the meaning of a verb. To illustrate, for the verb *ahágqhe:k*, the male's role ('he') is that of an *AGENT* or "doer", performing the action. In contrast, for the verb *ahóqghe:k*, the male's role ('him') is reversed, and the person in question is (unfortunately) undergoing the action, having the role of *PATIENT* or *UNDERGOER* (16).

- (16) a. a-há-qghe:k 'he punched it'
b. a-hó-qghe:k 'it punched him'

Verbs can express several different types of role, depending on the meaning of the verb: for example, activity verbs such as *é:ge:k* 'I will eat it' or *segqhe:s* 'you hit it (all the time)' express both a "doer" and an undergoer. In contrast, verbs of perception such as *a[?]é:gę[?]* 'she saw it', or *ęsa:tq:deh* 'you will hear it' require a *PERCEIVER* and a *PERCEPT*. As well, stative-only verbs such as *godinqhokdanih* 'they are sick' require an *ATTRIBUTEE* – something or someone displaying the quality or attribute in question. These are only some of the types of role.

For present purposes, we will focus on the *number* of roles required by a verb, rather than the *types* of role. Verbs can express one role (17) or two (18). Several verbs even require three roles (19).

- (17) ha-hnέ:ye:s ‘he is tall’
(one-role verb, 3RD person)
- (18) a-gό:-gε’ ‘I saw you (singular)’
(two-role verb, 1ST and 2ND person roles)
- (19) shogwa-εnάwihό’ ‘he has given us a song’
(three-role verb, 3RD masculine, 1ST, and 3RD zoic-neuter roles, where ‘a song’ is the 3RD zoic-neuter UNDERGOER or “object”)

Verbs requiring one role take NON-INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes, while verbs expressing two or three roles take INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes (as well as non-interactive ones, see §20.7).

20.6.1 Role and the reflexive and semireflexive prefixes

The REFLEXIVE (OR RECIPROCAL) prefix (§13.1) and the SEMIREFLEXIVE prefix (§13.2) both influence the number of roles expressed by the verb.

The REFLEXIVE OR RECIPROCAL PREFIX and roles

The [-adad] REFL or REC prefix occurs in two-role verbs (20). Used in the *reflexive* sense, it means that the two roles are performed by the same person (20).

- (20) [-adad] REFL
agadadέ:gε’
ag-adad-έ:-gε-’
1S.P-REFL-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
‘I saw myself’

When the reflexive occurs with a FEMININE-INDEFINITE pronominal prefix (meaning ‘she’ or ‘they (females or mixed group)’), the “self” or reflexive meaning is not automatic. For example, a’odadέ:gε’ can mean either ‘she saw herself’ or ‘she saw her (someone else)’ (21).

- (21) [-adad] REFL, feminine-indefinite
- a. aʔɔdadé:gɛʔ
 aʔ-q-dad-é:-gɛʔ
 FAC-3S.FI.A-REFL-see-PUNC
 ‘she saw herself’, ‘she saw her (someone else)’
- b. agaɔda:gyé:naʔ
 a-gaɔ-da:g-yé:na-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-REFL-catch-PUNC
 ‘they (females or mixed) caught her, someone, them’

When used in a *reciprocal* sense, the [-adad] prefix means that the participants fulfilling both roles are equally affected by the action (22). Verbs with the reciprocal meaning also require the [de-] DUALIC prefix.

- (22) [de-...adad-] DU...REFL = RECIPROCAL
 dedwadagyénawahs
 de-dwa-dag-yénaw-a-hs
 DU-1P.IN.A-REFL-help-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘let us all help one another’

The SEMIREFLEXIVE prefix and roles

The [-ad] SRF appears in two-role verbs. In general, it means that the action reflects back on or affects the “doer” (23).

- (23) hatgɔhsɔháe
 h-at-gɔhs-ɔháe
 3S.M.A-SRF-face-wash.STAT
 ‘he is washing his face’ (with SRF)
- cf. shagogɔhsóhai
 shago-gɔhs-óhae
 3S.M>3FI/3P-face-wash.STAT
 ‘he is washing her face’ (the same verb without the SRF, with DOER ‘he’, UNDERGOER ‘her face’)

The [-ad] SRF can also suppress or downplay an undergoer role. As shown in (24), while the word without the semireflexive clearly expresses both the “doer” (‘you’) and the undergoer (‘her’ or ‘someone’, 24a), the same word with the [-ad] SRF does not focus on *who* is being thanked, but instead emphasizes the activity, ‘giving thanks’ (24b). As a result, it expresses just one role (“doer”-‘we’ in the example) and so only uses non-interactive pronominal prefixes.

- (24) a. dɛhshenq̄h̄:nyq̄:
 d-ɛ-hshe-nq̄h̄:nyq̄:-
 DU-FUT-2S>3S.FI-thank-PUNC
 ‘you will welcome, greet or thank someone/her’ (two-role verb, no SRF, interactive pronominal prefix)
- b. dɛdwadɛnq̄h̄nyq̄:
 d-ɛ-dw-adɛ-nq̄h̄nyq̄:-
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-thank-PUNC
 ‘we all will give thanks’ (two-role verb with SRF, non-interactive pronominal prefix)

Several verbs with the [ad-] SRF prefix do not appear to display role suppression (25a). In such cases, the [ad-] SRF is part of a fixed expression, meaning that the same verb without it has a fairly different meaning (25b). That being said, the verbs requiring [ad-] SRF in this way do still express an activity that somehow reflects back on the main participants.

- (25) a. agadek̄q̄:ni:
 ag-ad-e-k̄q̄:ni:-
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-food-make-STAT
 ‘I am eating something’ (two-role verb with obligatory SRF as part of a fixed expression)
- b. age:k̄q̄:ni:
 ag-e:-k̄q̄:ni:-
 1SG.O-JOINERÉ-food-make-STAT
 ‘I am cooking something’ (related two-role verb without SRF)

20.7 Three types of pronominal prefix

The three types of pronominal prefix are the NON-INTERACTIVE A-series, the NON-INTERACTIVE P-series, and the INTERACTIVE series. These prefix types are described in the following sections.

20.8 A- and P-series (non-interactive) prefixes

The A- and P-series of pronominal prefix express only one role, such as the attributee (26a, b), the agent (26c), or the experiencer (26d). Because they only convey one role, A- and P-series prefixes are NON-INTERACTIVE.

- (26) a. hahné:ye:s
 ha-hné:ye:s
 3S.M.A-tall.STAT
 ‘he is tall’ (A-series, ATTRIBUTEE)
- b. hohsɛ:
 ho-hsɛ:
 3S.M.P-fat.STAT
 ‘he is fat’ (P-series, ATTRIBUTEE)
- c. hadá:kseʔ
 ha-dakse-ʔ
 3S.M.A-run.go-STAT
 ‘he is running’ (A-series, AGENT or “doer”)
- d. ɛhó:daʔ
 ɛ-hó:-da-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.P-sleep-PUNC
 ‘he will sleep’ (P-series, EXPERIENCER)

That being said, A- and P-series prefixes can also be used interactively, in verbs that express two (or three) roles. In such cases, one of the roles is always an implied ‘it’ (27). For example *ahá:gɛʔ* overtly expresses the perceiver (‘he’), and implies the percept (‘it’ or ‘something’) – there is no specific part of the prefix that corresponds to the implied percept. To show that the ‘it’ role is only implied in context and not overtly expressed in the pronominal prefix, ‘it’ appears in brackets in the translation.

- (27) a. ahá:gɛʔ
 a-há:-gɛ-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.A-see-PUNC
 ‘he saw (it)’ (A-series, used interactively in verbs requiring two roles)
- b. ahó:gɛʔ
 a-hó:-gɛ-ʔ
 FAC-3S.M.P-see-PUNC
 ‘(it) saw him’ (P-series, used interactively in verbs requiring two roles)

A complete list of the non-interactive and interactive prefixes is provided in the following section. The meaning relationships between the non-interactive and interactive prefixes are described in §20.9.1.

20.8.1 Terminology for A- and P-series (non-interactive) pronominal prefixes

The linguistic terminology for the non-interactive pronominal prefixes is summarized in (28–29).

- (28) A-series pronominal prefixes (with verb [hne̞ye:s] ‘to be tall’, noun [ne̞ts-a’geh] ‘(on) someone’s arm’)
- a. 1S.A ‘I’, ‘my (body part)’
 - khne̞:ye:s ‘I am tall’
 - knetsá’geh ‘(on) my arm’
 - b. 1D.EX.A ‘he and I’ or ‘she and I’, ‘our (body part)’
 - aknihne̞:ye:s ‘we two are tall’
 - akninetśa’geh ‘(on) our arm’
 - c. 1P.EX.A ‘he and we’, ‘she and we’, ‘they and I’, ‘they and we’, ‘our (body part)’
 - agwahnne̞:ye:s ‘we all are tall’
 - agwanetsá’geh ‘(on) our arm’
 - d. 1D.IN.A ‘you (one person) and I’, ‘our (body part)’
 - knihne̞:ye:s, tñihne̞:ye:s ‘you and I are tall’
 - kninetśa’ge, tñinetśa’geh ‘(on) our arm’
 - e. 1P.IN.A ‘you (two, all) and I’, or ‘you(one person) and we’, ‘our (body part)’
 - dwahnne̞:ye:s ‘we all are tall’
 - dwanetsa’geh ‘(on) our arm’
 - f. 2S.A ‘you (one person)’, ‘your (body part)’
 - shne̞:ye:s ‘you are tall’
 - snetsá’geh ‘(on) your arm’
 - g. 2D.A ‘you two’, ‘your (body part)’
 - snihne̞:ye:s ‘you two are tall’
 - sninetśa’geh ‘(on) your arm’
 - h. 2P.A ‘you all (three or more people)’, ‘your (body part)’
 - swahnne̞:ye:s ‘you all are tall’
 - swanetsa’geh ‘(on) your arm’
 - i. 3S.ZON.A (abbreviated as 3S.A) ‘it (animal, object)’, ‘its (body part)’
 - gahnne̞:ye:s ‘it is tall’
 - ganetsa’geh ‘(on) its arm’

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- j. 3S.M.A ‘he’, ‘his (body part)’
• hahné:ye:s ‘he is tall’
• hanétsa’geh ‘(on) his arm’
- k. 3S.F.I.A ‘she, someone, somebody’, ‘hers, someone’s, somebody’s (body part)’
• ehne:ye:s ‘she or someone is tall’
• enétsa’geh ‘(on) her, someone’s arm’
- l. 3NS.ZON.A, (abbreviated as 3P.A) ‘they (animals, objects)’, ‘their (body part)’
• gadihné:ye:s ‘they are tall’
• gadinétsa’geh ‘(on) their arm’
- m. 3NS.M.A ‘they (males only)’, ‘their (body part)’
• hadihné:ye:s ‘they are tall’
• hadinétsa’geh ‘(on) their arm’
- n. 3NS.F.I.A ‘they (females only, or a mixed group of males and females)’, ‘their (body part)’
• gaehné:ye:s ‘they are tall’
• gaenétsa’geh ‘(on) their arm’
- (29) P-series pronominal prefixes (with verb [nəhəkdanih] ‘to be sick’, basic noun [nəhs-a’] ‘house’)
- a. 1S.P ‘I’, ‘my (basic noun)’
• aknəhəkda:nih ‘I am sick’
• aknəhsa’ ‘my house’
- b. 1D.P ‘we two’, ‘you (one person) and I’, ‘our (basic noun)’
• qkninəhəkdanih ‘we two are sick’
• qkninəhsa’ ‘our house’
- c. 1P.P ‘we all’, ‘you (two or more) and I’, ‘you and we’, ‘our (basic noun)’
• qgwanəhəkdanih ‘we all are sick’
• qgwánəhsa’ ‘our house’
- d. 2S.P ‘you (one person)’, ‘your (basic noun)’
• sanəhəkda:nih ‘you are sick’
• sanəhsa’ ‘your house’
- e. 2D.P ‘you two’, ‘your (basic noun)’
• sninəhəkda:nih ‘you two are sick’
• sninəhsa’ ‘your house’

- f. 2P.P ‘you all (more than two)’, ‘your (basic noun)’
- swanq̄hokdá:nih ‘you all are sick’
 - swanq̄hsaʔ ‘your house’
- g. 3S.ZON.P (abbreviated as 3S.P) ‘it’, ‘its (basic noun)’
- onq̄hokdá:nih ‘it is sick’
 - onq̄hsaʔ ‘its house’
- h. 3S.M.P ‘he’, ‘his (basic noun)’
- honq̄hokdá:nih ‘he is sick’
 - honq̄hsaʔ ‘his house’
- i. 3S.FI.P ‘she’, ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘her’, ‘someone’s’, ‘anyone’s (basic noun)’
- gonq̄hokdá:nih ‘she, someone is sick’
 - gonq̄hsaʔ ‘her, someone’s house’
- j. 3NS.ZON.P, (abbreviated as 3P.P) ‘they (animals, objects), ‘their (basic noun)’
- odínq̄hokdanih ‘they are sick’
 - odínq̄hsaʔ ‘their house’
- k. 3NS.M.P ‘they (males only), ‘their (basic noun)’
- hodínq̄hokdanih ‘they are sick’
 - hodínq̄hsaʔ ‘their house’
- l. 3NS.FI.P ‘they’ (females only, or a mixed group of males and females), ‘their (basic noun)’
- godínq̄hokdanih ‘they are sick’
 - godínq̄hsaʔ ‘their house’

20.8.2 The special status of the 3s ‘it’ role and prefixes

The 3s ‘it’ role and prefixes, shown in (30), are different from the other A- and P-series prefixes in several important ways.

(30) 3s prefixes

- a. A-series [ga-], [wa-], [a-] or [ø-] 3s.A
- b. P-series [(y)o-] 3s.P

First, as mentioned in the previous section, the 3s ‘it’ role is implied but not explicitly represented (pronounced) in the pronominal prefix of verbs that use

A- or P-series prefixes in an interactive sense – as in *ahá:gę́* ‘he saw (it)’. This property is unique to the 3s ‘it’ prefix.

Second, the 3s ‘it’ prefixes are also relevant for the distinction between PERSONAL verbs and NEUTER verbs. Personal verbs take a full range of pronominal prefixes – either all of the A-series prefixes (31a) or all of the P-series prefixes (31b). In contrast, neuter verbs only take one of the 3s ‘it’ prefixes (32).

- (31) PERSONAL verbs (taking a full range of A- or P-series prefixes)
- a. *hahné:ye:s* ‘he is tall’, *ehné:ye:s* ‘she is tall’, *gahné:ye:s* ‘it (animal) is tall’, *khné:ye:s* ‘I am tall’ (etc.)
 - b. *hohşę́*: ‘he is fat’, *gohşę́*: ‘she is fat’, *ohşę́*: ‘it (animal) is fat’, *agáhşę́*: ‘I am fat’ (etc.)
- (32) NEUTER verbs (only taking one of the 3s ‘it’ prefixes in 30)
- a. A-series: *gá:dę́:s* ‘it is thick, dense’, *wagyé:sę́h* ‘it is easy’
 - b. P-series: *otó:we* ‘it is cold (weather)’, *áoga’t* ‘it is rough’

Finally, uniquely for NEUTER, STATIVE-ONLY verbs the choice of pronominal prefix often depends on the pronominal prefix of the incorporated noun (see §24).

20.9 INTERACTIVE prefixes

The INTERACTIVE prefixes express an interaction between groups, referring to two roles at once – for example, the PERCEIVER (‘I’) and the PERCEPT (‘you singular’) in (33).

- (33) *agó:gę́*
a-gó:-gę́-
 FAC-1S>2S-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw you (singular)’

Interactive prefixes also refer to three roles, for the handful of verbs that require such. In (34), the interactive prefix [*shogwa-*] refers to a “doer” (‘he’), a RECIPIENT (‘us all’), and an item being transferred (‘it’, or ‘a song’). For verbs requiring three roles, the item being transferred is always an object.

- (34) *shogwaę́nawihq*
shogwa-ę́n-áwi-h-q
 3S.M>1P-song-give-STAT-DISTR
 ‘he has given each of us a song’

A complete list of interactive prefixes, with an explanation of their meaning and how they relate to the non-interactive prefixes, is provided in the following section. Section §21.4 describes their pronunciation.

20.9.1 Summary charts, pronominal prefix pronunciation and meaning

The figures in this section are based on a table in Foster (1993), which in turn is based on the one in Lounsbury (1953). However, the information has been reorganized in order to better reveal the structure and meaning of the pronominal prefixes. (That being said, Table 20.1 and Table 20.2 retain the original organization of part of the table in Foster 1993.) The pronunciation variants of each prefix are also summarized in these tables, and are explained in later sections.

Table 20.1 and Table 20.2 (page 416) summarize the prefixes that describe 1st and 2nd person interactions. To read Table 20.1 and Table 20.2, replace the “X” in the first column with the item listed in the top row. For example, [gɔ-, go-] means 1s>2s, as in *gonǫhkwa* ‘I love you (one person)’. In contrast, [kni-, kn-], meaning 1>2(D) has a wider range of potential meanings, (including 1D>2s and 2DU>2DU), as in *kninǫhkwa* ‘we two love you (one)’ or ‘we two love you two’: any combination of SINGULAR or DUAL 1>2 is implied – excluding PLURAL meanings – as long as the DUAL is expressed.

Table 20.1: 1>2 interactions

	X>2s ‘YOU’	X>2D ‘YOU TWO’	X>2P ‘YOU ALL’
1s ‘I’>X	gɔ-C,(i),V go-n 1s>2s		
1D ‘WE TWO’>X		kni-C gy-a kn-e,i,o 1>2(D)	
1P ‘WE ALL’>X			gwa-C gw-a,e gwɛ-(i) gy-o 1>2(P)

Table 20.2: 2>1 interactions

	X>1S 'ME'	X>1D 'US TWO'	X>1P 'US ALL'
2S 'YOU'>X	sg-V sk-n sge-k,g,C 2s>1s		
2D 'YOU TWO'>X		skni-C skn-e,i,o sgy-a 2>1(D)	
2P 'YOU ALL'>X			sgwa-C sgw-a,e sgwε-(i) sgy-o 2>1(P)

Table 20.3 (page 417) summarizes the meaning and pronunciation of the non-interactive, 1st and 2nd person A- and P-series pronominal prefixes. It also includes the 3S.M>X, X>3S.M INTERACTIVE prefixes because these prefixes uniquely share the person, clusivity, and number distinctions expressed by the 1st person A- and P-series prefixes. (The remaining non-masculine 3rd person A- and P-series prefixes are listed later in Table 20.1, page 419.)

To read Table 20.3 (page 417) replace the A- or P-series “X” in the top row with an item from the first column. For example, the [g-, k-, ge-] prefix means 1s>(IT) – that is, ‘I’ or ‘I>(it)’. Similarly, the [^wag-, ^wak-, ^wage-, oq-] (etc.) prefix means (IT)>1s – ‘I’ or ‘(it)>I,me’. (Recall that (it) signifies an implied role.) For the interactive 3s.M prefixes, replace the “X” with an item in the first column. For example the [hi-, he-, hiy-, hey-, h-] prefix means 1s>3s.M or ‘I>him’, and the [hag-, hak-, hage-] prefix means 3s.M>1s or ‘he>me’.

The prefixes in Table 20.4 (page 418) are grouped together because they all express 1st and 2nd interactions with 3s.FI and 3NS meanings in the same way. To read Table 20.4 (page 418) replace the “X” in the top row with an item from the first column. For example, the [^yoqi-, ^yoqiy-, ^yoqk-] prefix means 3s.FI/3NS>1NS(OPP), which expands to 3s.FI>1NS ‘she>us (two or more)’ or 3NS>1NS ‘they>us (two or more)’. (Clusivity, gender, and the dual/plural distinction are not relevant here.)

Table 20.3: A- and P-series, with 3s.M interactions

	A-series	X>3s.M 'HIM'	3s.M>X 'HE'	P-series
1s>(x) 'I'	g k-n,(h)n,(^o)n ge-k,g,CC 1s.A	hi-/he-C hiy-/hey-V hi/he-(i) 1s>3s.M	hag-V hak-n, (h)n, (^o)n hage-k,g,CC 3s.M>1s	^W ag- ^W ak-n,(h)n,(^o)n ^W age-k,g,CC q̣g/q̣k/ q̣ge-FACT.IO (x)>1s.P
1D>(x) 'WE TWO' INCLUSIVE	kni-, tni-C kn-, tn-e,i,o gy-a 1D.IN.A	shetni-C shetn-e,i,o shegy-a 1D.IN>3s.M	sḥq̣kni-C sḥq̣kn-e,i,o sḥq̣gy-a 3s.M>1D	^Y q̣kni-C ^Y q̣kn-e,i,o ^Y q̣gy-a (x)>1D.P
1D>(x) 'WE TWO' EXCLUSIVE	^Y akni-C ^Y akn-e,i,o ^Y agy-a 1D.EX.A	shakni-C shakn-e,i,o shagy-a 1D.EX>3s.M		
1P>(x) 'WE ALL' INCLUSIVE	dwa-C dw-a,e dẉɛ-(i) gy-o 1P.IN.A	shedwa-C shedw-a,e shedẉɛ-(i) shegy-o 1P.IN>3s.M	sḥq̣gwa-C sḥq̣gw-a,e sḥq̣gẉɛ-(i) sḥq̣gy-o 3s.M>1P	^Y q̣gwa-C ^Y q̣gw-a,e ^Y q̣gẉɛ-(i) ^Y q̣gy-o (x)>1P.P
1P>(x) 'WE ALL' EXCLUSIVE	^Y agwa-C ^Y agw-a,e ^Y agẉɛ-(i) ^Y agy-o 1P.EX.A	shagwa-C shagw-a,e shagẉɛ-(i) shagy-o 1P.EX>3s.M		
2s>(x) 'YOU'	(eh)s-C,V (eh)se-k d-r j-y 2s.A	hehs-C,V hehse-k,g 2s>3s.M	hya-C hy-a,e,o hỵɛ-(i) 3s.M>2s	sa-C s-a,e,o ṣɛ-(i) (x)>2s.P
2D>(x) 'YOU TWO'	(eh)sni-C (eh)sn-e,i,o j-a 2D.A		shesni-C shesn-e,i,o shej-a 2D>3s.M(OPP)	sni-C sn-e,i,o j-a (x)>2D.P
2P>(x) 'YOU ALL'	(eh)swa-C (eh)sw-a,e (eh)sẉɛ-(i) j-o 2P.A		sheswa-C shesw-a,e shesẉɛ-(i) shej-o 2P>3s.M(OPP)	swa-C sw-a,e sẉɛ-(i) j-o (x)>2P.P

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Table 20.4: 1,2, 3FI, and 3NS interactions

	3S.FI>X 'SHE'	3NS.FI>X 'THEY' 3NS.ZON>X 'THEY' 3NS.M>X 'THEY' (3NS)	X:3S.FI 'HER'	X:3NS.FI 'THEM' X:3NS.ZON 'THEM' X:3NS.M 'THEM' (3NS)
1s 'I'	^Y oq- ^Y ok-n ^Y oge-k,g,C 3S.FI>1S	gaog- gaok-n gaoge-k,g,C 3NS>1S	ke-C,(i) key-V 1S>3S.FI	gake-/kake-C,(i) gakey-/kakey-V 1S>3NS
1NS.EX 'WE EXCLUSIVE'		^Y ok-i-C,(i) ^Y okiy-V		^Y aki-C,(i) ^Y akiy-V 1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS
1NS.IN 'WE INCLUSIVE'		3S.FI/3NS>1NS		^Y eti-C,(i) ^Y etiy-V 1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS
2s 'YOU'	^Y esa-C ^Y es-V ^Y esę-(i) 3S.FI>2S	gaesa-C gaes-V gaesę-(i) 3NS>2S	(h)she-C,(i) (h)shey-V 2S>3S.FI	gashe-/kashe-C,(i) gashey-/kashey-V 2S>3NS
2NS 'YOU TWO, ALL'		^Y etshi-/ ^Y etsi-C,(i) ^Y etshiy-/ ^Y etsiy-V 3S.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)		

Table 20.1 (page 419) lists the remaining pronominal prefixes, which all express 3>3 interactions in similar ways. (Also shown are the non-interactive 3rd person prefixes, which can be used in an interactive sense with an implied 'it'). To read Table 20.1 (page 419) replace the "X" in the first column with an item from the top row. For example, the [ho-, haw-, ha-] prefix means (3s)>3s.M – either 3s.M.P or '(it)>him', depending on the verb. Similarly, the [ha-, h-, he-] prefix means 3s.M>(3s) – either 3s.M.A or 'he>(it)'. The abbreviation (+NS) denotes that both arguments must be NON-SINGULAR, and the abbreviation (NFI) denotes that neither argument can be FEMININE INDEFINITE. Note that the 3s>X row lists all of the P-series pronominal prefixes and that the X>3s column lists all of the A-series pronominal prefixes.

	X->3s.ZON 'IT'	X->3s.M 'HIM'	X->3NS.M 'THEM'	X->3s.FI 'HER'	X->3NS.FI 'THEM'	X->3NS.ZON 'THEM'
3s.ZON>X 'IT'	ga-C gɛ-(i) w-a,e Y-o 3s.A	ho-C,(a),(i) haw-e/i ha-o 3s.M.P	hodi-C,(i) hon-V 3NS.M.P	YA go-C,(a),(i) YA gaw-e YA ga-o 3s.FI.P	YA godi-C,(i) YA gon-V 3NS.FI.P	Yodi-C,(i) Yon-V 3P.P
3s.M>X 'HE'	ha-C h-V hɛ-(i) 3s.M.A	hɔwa-C hɔw-a,e hɔwɛ-(i) hɔway-o 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M			shago-C,(a),(i) shagaw-e shaga-o 3s.M>3FI/3P	
3s.FI>X 'SHE'	Ye-C,(i) Yɔ-(a) Yag-e,o Yɛ-(e) 3s.FI.A			Yɔdade-C Yɔdad-V Yɔdag-y Yɔdat-n 3s.FI>3s.FI		
3NS.FI>X 'THEY'	gae-C,(i) gaɔ-(a) ga:g-e,o gaɛ-(e) 3NS.FI.A		hɔwadi-C,(i) hɔwan-V 3s.M/3s.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M		gaɔdade-C gaɔdad-V gaɔdag-y gaɔdat-n 3FI>3FI(+NS)	gɔwadi-C,(i) gɔwan-V (hadi-) 3FI/3NS>3P
3NS.ZON>X 'THEY'	gadi-C,(i) gɛn-V 3P.A				shagodi-C,(i) shagon-V 3NS(NFI)>3FI	
3NS.M>X 'THEY'	hadi-C,(i) hɛn-V 3NS.M.A					

Figure 20.1: 3->3 interactions

20.9.2 Recap: pronominal prefix meaning

The concepts of person, number, gender, and clusivity are expressed in the A-series, P-series, and interactive pronominal prefixes. Verbs express up to three roles with these pronominal prefixes. Verbs with one role take either the A- or P-series of non-interactive prefix (see §24, §25.1, and §26), whereas verbs with two or three roles take both the interactive type and the non-interactive A- and P-series prefixes (see §25.2). In the latter case, the non-interactive A- and P-series prefixes express a non-zoic-neuter role plus an implied 'it' (zoic-neuter) role.

21 Pronominal prefix pronunciation

Each pronominal prefix is actually a *set* of prefixes that share one meaning but have different pronunciations. For example, while the prefixes in (1) all sound different, they are the *same* prefix in the sense that they all mean 3S.FI.A ‘she, someone’.

- (1) Pronunciation changes in the A-series prefix meaning ‘she, someone’
- a. [y.ag-] 3S.FI.A (before O stems – stems beginning with O or Q)
- i. ɛya:gó:da:ʔ
ɛ-ya:g-ó:da:-ʔ
FUT-3S.FI.A-drape-PUNC
‘she will drape it’
 - ii. a:yagó:da:ʔ
a:-yag-ó:da:-ʔ
INDEF-3S.FI.A-drape-PUNC
‘she might drape it’
 - iii. agó:da:s
agó:-da:-s
3S.FI.A-drape-HAB
‘she is draping it’
- b. [y.e-] 3S.FI.A (before C stems – stems beginning with a consonant)
- i. ɛyé:gɛʔ
ɛ-yé:-gɛ-ʔ
FUT-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
‘she will see it’
 - ii. a:yé:gɛʔ
a:-yé:-gɛ-ʔ
INDEF-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
‘she might see it’

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- iii. aʔé:gɛʔ
aʔ-é:-gɛʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
'she did see it'
- iv. é:gɛhs
é:-gɛ-hs
3S.FI.A-see-HAB
'she sees it'

As shown in (1), the pronunciation of each prefix depends on whatever precedes or follows. For example, the prefix in (1) is pronounced as [y.ag-] – that is, [yag] or [ag] – before stems beginning with an O sound (1a) but as [y.e-] – that is, [ye] or [e] – before stems beginning with a C (consonant) sound (1b). In addition, many pronominal prefixes gain, lose, or change initial sounds, depending on what precedes them: for example, the prefix in (1) begins with Y after a vowel (1a-i, 1a-ii, 1b-i, 1b-ii); in other instances, the Y merges with S to become J (not shown). The prefix is otherwise pronounced without a Y (1a-iii, 1b-iii, 1b-iv).

The pronunciation variants of each pronominal prefix are described in the following sections.

21.1 Sound changes determined by C, A, E, I, and O stems

The pronunciation of each pronominal prefix is determined by the first sound of the following stem (even when the first sound of the stem has been deleted, as described below.) For example, the 3S.FI.A 'she, someone' prefix is [y.e-] before a C stem (a stem beginning with a consonant, 2a). It is also [y.e-] before an I stem (a stem beginning with an I, 2b). However, it is [y.q-] before an A- or E stem (2c,d). (E STEM includes stems beginning with E or Ē). It is [y.ag-] before an O stem (2e). (O STEM includes stems beginning with O or Q. Also, the stem-initial vowel (in brackets) deletes in 2b-2d).

- (2) a. C STEM
aʔé:gɛʔ
aʔ-e:-gɛʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
'she saw it'

21.1 Sound changes determined by C, A, E, I, and O stems

- b. I STEM
a'édagra'
a'-e-(i)dagra'
FAC-3S.FI.A-fall.down.PUNC
'she fell down'
- c. A STEM
a'odəna'tragwáha'
a'-o-(a)də-na'tra-gwáha-'
FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-provisions-go.and.get-PUNC
'she went after groceries'
- d. E-, Ė STEM
a'oni'dé:ni'
a'-o-(ė)ni'de:ni-'
FAC-3S.FI.A-fart-PUNC
'she farted'
- e. O-, Q STEM
deyagodáihsi'
dē-yag-odaihsi-'
DU.FUT-3S.FI.A-undrape-PUNC
'she undraped it'

In addition, the prefix and stem vowel sometimes merge – A and I become Ė in (3a). In other cases, a vowel might delete – prefix I and stem I become a single I in (3b, see §19.2.)

- (3) a. ėsé:da'
ė-sa-ida'
FUT-2S.P-sleep.PUNC
'you will sleep'
- b. ėyo:dí:da'
ė-yo:dí:-(i)da'
FUT-3P.P-sleep.PUNC¹
'they will sleep, hibernate'

¹In this and similar cases, it is possible to say that either the prefix or the stem vowel was deleted. Under either analysis, a vowel-final prefix merges with a vowel-initial stem, as in *ėyodi-ida'*, and one of the vowels is lost. The choice of analysis about which vowel is lost has no practical consequences. For consistency, however, I assume that the stem vowel deletes.

21 Pronominal prefix pronunciation

It is important to know which sound occurs at the beginning of the stem, even if the stem-initial sound sometimes deletes. A method for determining the first sound of the stem is suggested in the following section.²

21.1.1 Determining the first sound of the stem (most verbs, nouns)

The first sound of the stem can be determined by examining a specific type of word chosen from a paradigm - a set of words that have the same basic meaning, but perhaps different prefixes or suffixes to denote different participants, aspects, or moods (see §36.3). Example (4) illustrates a partial paradigm of words that share the basic meaning of ‘see’.

- (4) A partial paradigm of the verb [gɛ] ‘see’
- a. ɛhsé:gɛ[?]
ɛ-hsé:-gɛ-[?]
FUT-2S.A-see-PUNC
‘you will see it’
 - b. ɛyé:gɛ[?]
ɛ-yé:-gɛ-[?]
FUT-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
‘she will see it’
 - c. ɛhɔwadí:gɛ[?]
ɛ-hɔwadí:-gɛ-[?]
FUT-3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M-see-PUNC
‘they or s/he will see him, them (m)’
 - d. a[?]e:gɛ[?]
a[?]-é:-gɛ-[?]
FAC-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
‘she saw it’
 - e. gé:gɛhs
gé:-gɛ-hs
1S.A-see-HAB
‘I see’

Words meaning ‘I’ or ‘me’ (as in 4e) can help to identify the first sound of the stem, which occurs right after the prefix meaning ‘I’. (Words meaning ‘I’ or ‘me’ are referred to as I-WORDS below.)

²The rules outlined below do not apply to neuter, stative-only verbs, since the latter do not reference an “I”.

21.1 Sound changes determined by C, A, E, I, and O stems

Table 21.1: The stem sound is after the first GE

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
G	gegówanəh 'I am big'	agegahágwaot 'I have a stye'
K	gekənihsgehe: [?] 'I used to cook'	agekənihne: [?] 'I have cooked'
J	gejí:nah 'I am strong'	agejinyəhgro:t 'I have a runny nose'
'	ge'ohs 'I'm a chopper'	age'ó:gəh 'I did chop', 'I have chopped'
T	geté'ta' 'I'm a pounder'	agéte'dəh 'I did pound it'
TS	getsə:nye's, getsə:nyəhs 'I'm a finder of things'	agétsənyə: 'I have found it'
CC	genhóha:s 'I close the door (all the time)'	agenhoháhəh, aghenhohá:həh 'I have closed the door'

In some cases, the first sound of the stem is right after the first instance of GE in the I-word, Table 21.1.

Note that it is important to consider only 'I' or 'me' forms in order to locate the first sound of the stem: as shown in (5), words without the pronominal prefix meaning 'I' or 'me' can also contain a G, but the G in this case is not immediately before the stem.

(5) Not useful for determining the stem sound

- a. gyá:dəh
gy-á:dəh
1D.IN.A-say.STAT
'we say'
- b. gyohnegé'əh
g-yo-hneg-é'-əh
CIS-3S.P-water-fall-STAT
'falling water'

21 Pronominal prefix pronunciation

An exception to the above statement about GE involves a small number of E stem verbs, Table 21.2 and Table 21.3. Such cases are easy to identify because the E of the GE combination is present in all forms of the word paradigm – the E is part of the stem, and E is resistant to deletion.

Table 21.2: 1s 'I' form before an E stem verb [e:hah] 'gloat' or [e:ʔɔ:] 'think, will, decide'

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
E	igé:hah 'I am gloating, boastful'	agé:ʔɔ: 'I have willed it, decided it'

Table 21.3: Other forms of E stem verb [e:hah] 'gloat' or [e:ʔɔ:] 'think, will, decide'

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
E	ihsé:hah 'you gloat'	hawé:ʔɔ: 'he willed, decided it'
	gɛ:né:hah 'they are proud'	honé:ʔɔ: 'they willed, decided it'

In many cases, the first sound of the stem occurs after the first G of the I-word. (The first G is part of the 1s 'I' prefix, Table 21.4, page 427.)

For some words, the first letter of the stem appears after the first K of the I-word, Table 21.5 (page 427).

That being said, some of the stems following the first K really begin with a glottal stop <ʔ> or H, which disappears in the I-word (due to a spelling rule which turns the letters Kʔ and KH into K). The glottal stop <ʔ> or H reappears in other forms of the verb, Table 21.6 (page 428).

The I-word in (6) is exceptional. It has a unique [w-] 1s.A prefix. The full paradigm of this verb is listed in §B.2.

- (6) í:wi:
[í:-w-i:]
PROTH-1S.A-think.STAT
'I want, hope, think'

21.1 Sound changes determined by C, A, E, I, and O stems

Table 21.4: The stem sound is after the first G

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
A	gatahí:ne' 'I am walking'	agáhse: 'I am fat'
E	igé:hah 'I am gloating, boastful'	agé:ʔq: 'I have willed, decided it'
Ē	gə̄nə̄hɔ̄ɔ̄nyə̄h 'I'm wondering, thinking, feeling'	agə̄nihsɣá:ge: 'I'm urinating'
I	gíhsa:s 'I'm looking for it'	agída'əh 'I was asleep', 'I am sleeping'
O	gó:da:s 'I drape it all the time'	hewágōhə̄h 'I have already dipped, submerged it'
Q	gə̄:nihs 'I make, earn (it)'	agə̄nihsne:ʔ 'I used to or have made, earned it'
U	nigú:ʔuh 'I am small'	
R	gragé:wahs 'I am erasing or wiping (it)'	agriho'de' 'I am working'

Table 21.5: The stem sound is after the first K

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
D	kdákse' 'I am running'	akdə̄hgwá:hə̄h 'I have a fever'
N	knə̄hwe's 'I like, admire it'	aknə̄ha' 'I'm unable'

Table 21.6: Spelling merger of K' or KH to K

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
ʔN (ʔ not heard/spelled)	knigɔ:ha:ʔ 'I am expecting, watching'	aknigɔháhetɔʔs 'I'm crying uncontrollably'
ʔN (ʔ audible)	haʔnigɔha:ʔ 'he is watching, expecting'	hoʔnigɔháhetɔʔs 'he is crying uncontrollably'
HN or HR (H not heard/spelled)	knɛ:ye:s 'I am tall'	akré:nɛh 'I did cut it'
HN (H audible)	hahnɛ:ye:s 'he is tall'	
H (H not heard/spelled)	ká:wíʔ 'I am carrying something'	akáʔjih 'I'm hoarse'
H (H audible)	hahá:wíʔ 'he is carrying it'	saháʔjih 'you're hoarse'

21.2 Sound changes at the beginning of the pronominal prefix

The two main types of pronunciation change at the *beginning* of a pronominal prefix include the presence (7) or absence (8) of one or more sounds (specifically, W, Y, YA, H). Such changes are described next.

(7) presence of [w] in [(w)ag-] 1s.P

- a. ɛwa:gí:daʔ
ɛ-wa:g-í:daʔ
FUT-1S.P-sleep.PUNC
'I will sleep'
- b. a:wagí:daʔ
a:-wag-í:daʔ
INDEF-1S.P-sleep.PUNC
'I should sleep'

21.2 Sound changes at the beginning of the pronominal prefix

- (8) absence of [w] in [(w)ag-] 1s.P
agídaʔqh 'I was asleep',
ag-ídaʔ-qh
1s.P-sleep-STAT
'I am sleeping'

21.2.1 Prefixes that sometimes begin with a Y

The prefixes in Table 21.7 (page 430) begin with Y when they follow a vowel, but have no Y when they are at the beginning of the word or when they follow the [aʔ-] FAC.

21.2.2 Prefixes that sometimes begin with YA

The prefixes in Table 21.8 (page 432) begin with YA when they follow a vowel, but YA is missing when the prefixes are at the beginning of the word or when they follow the [a-] FAC.

21.2.3 Prefixes that sometimes begin with an H

Several 2nd person ('you') prefixes optionally begin with an H when they follow a vowel, Table 21.9 (page 432).

All of the 3rd masculine ('he, they (males)') prefixes lose their initial H when they follow the [t-] CIS or the [a-t-] FAC-DU combination. This is because in the Henry orthography, the letter T stands for two sounds, T plus H or D plus H (9).

- (9) Spelling merger of T and H
- a. atóhe:t
a-t-hó-he:t
FAC-DU-3s.M.P-yell.Ø.PUNC
'he yelled'
 - b. atóhsjha:ʔs
a-t-hó-hsjha:ʔs
FAC-DU-3s.M.P-choke.Ø.PUNC
'he choked'
 - c. desáhsjha:ʔs
de-sá-hsjha:ʔs
DU-2s.P-choke-HAB
'you are choking'

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Table 21.7: Y-initial prefixes

prefix	[y] after [e-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF	beginning of word or after [a'-] FAC
[y.ɔg.e-] 3S.FI>1S	ta:yɔgé:geḥ 'she will not see me'	a'ɔgé:geḥ 'she might see me'
[y.ɔkni-] 1D.P	deyɔkni'draihēh 'let us hurry'	ɔkni'dre' 'we two are riding along in a vehicle'
[y.ɔki.y-] 3S.FI/3NS>1NS	eyɔ:ki:yɔ' 'she will give us', 'they will give us'	ɔkiyade'niḡha: 'monitors' (literally, 'they watch over us')
[y.ɔgwa.y-] 1P.P	eyɔ:gwá:yɔ' 'it will give us all'	a'ɔḡwanhi'k 'we all made a mistake'
[y.etsi.y-] 3S.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)	eyetsihwá:wa's 'you all will back them'	a'etsigwé:ni' 'you won a competition (against them)'
[y.akn.i-] 1D.EX.A	á:yakhne: 'we two (excludes listener) would go together'	akni'dre' 'we two (excludes listener) are dragging something'
[y.agwa-] 1P.EX.A	eyagwade:kɔ:ni' 'we all (excludes listeners) will eat'	agwagowá:nēh 'we all (excludes listeners) are big'
[y.o-] 3S.P	a:yó:da' 'it would sleep'	a'ó:de:k 'it did burn'
[y.e-] 3S.FI (C stem)	eyé:geḥ 'she will see (it)'	egánya'kta' 'what someone pays with', 'barter'

21.2 Sound changes at the beginning of the pronominal prefix

[y.ɔ-] 3S.FI.A (A stem)	a:yɔda:wɛːʔ ‘she might swim’	aːʔɔdawɛːneːʔ ‘she is going swimming’
[y.ɔ-] 3S.FI.A (E stem)	ɛyɔniːdɛːniːʔ ‘she will fart’	aːʔniːdɛːniːʔ ‘she farted’
[y.e, y.ɛ-] 3S.FI.A (E stem)	ɛyɛ:gɛːʔ ‘she will see (it)’	aːɛːgɛːʔ ‘she saw (it)’
[y.ag-] 3S.FI.A (O stem)	ɛyagɔːniːʔ ‘she will make, earn’	aːaːgɔːniːʔ ‘how much she made, earned’
[y.aki.y-] 1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	ɛyakiyɛneːwáːhɔːʔ ‘they and I will startle them’	akiyahtgaːʔ ‘we let them go, released them’
[y.eti.y-] 1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	ɛyeːtíːyɔːʔ ‘presents’, ‘we will give something to her/them’	aːetigwéːniːʔ ‘we won a competition’
[y.ɔdad.e-] 3S.FI>3S.FI	aːʔɔdadahɔːdɔːʔ ‘she asked her’	ɛyɔːdáːdɔːʔ ‘she will give her’
[y.on-] 3P.P (V-stem)	aːyonadrihwaːgyáɔːʔ ‘they (animals) might have an accident’	aːonadrihwagyáɔːʔ ‘they (animals) had an accident’
[y.odi-] 3P.P (C stem, I stem)	ɛyódiːdaːʔ ‘they (animals) will sleep, hibernate’	odíːgaːs ‘they (animals) like the taste of it’

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Table 21.8: YA-initial prefixes

prefix	[ya-] after [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF or another vowel	beginning of word or after [aʰ-] FAC
[ya.godi.y-, ya.gon-] 3NS.FI.P	ɛyagodi:yɔʰ 'it will give them (females or mixed group)'	gonɛnadi:nyɔ:dɔh 'they (females or mixed group) have moved in'
[ya.go-] 3S.FI.P	deyagoʰáhsawʰehs 'she has asthma'	goʰdréhdaʰ 'her car'

Table 21.9: H-initial prefixes

prefix	optional [h] after a vowel, [ɛ-] FUT, or [a:-] INDEF	no [h] at beginning of word or after [a-] FAC
[h.sa-] 2S.P	ɛ(h)saɔhyágɛdahk 'it's going to make you groan'	sani:yɔ:t 'you hung it up'
[h.swa-] 2P.A/O	ɛ(h)swá:yɔʰ 'it will give you all'	swanóʰjo:t 'you all have teeth'
[h.s.e-] 2S.A	ɛ(h)syɔ:gyaʰt 'you will smile!'	sehságahe:t 'on your mouth'
[h.she.y-] 2S>3S.FI	ɛ(h)shyahdrɔhgweʰ 'you will threaten some- one'	shyadrɔhgwá:nih 'you're threatening her'

21.2 Sound changes at the beginning of the pronominal prefix

On a related theme, the ‘whispered’ syllable DEH sounds like T (10).

- (10) **dehóheta**^ʔ
de-hó-het-ha^ʔ
DU-3S.M.P-yell-HAB
‘he is hollering’ (sounds like **tóheta**^ʔ)

21.2.4 Sound changes: prepronominal prefix-pronominal combinations

Some of the pronominal prefixes merge or otherwise have special pronunciations before certain of the prepronominals. Such sound changes are described below.

The [a^ʔ-] FAC and [(w)ag-] 1S.P prefixes merge together to form [ɔg-] (11)

- (11) merger of [a^ʔ-wag-] FAC-1S.P prefixes
ɔgí:da^ʔ
ɔg-í:da^ʔ
FAC.1S.P-sleep.PUNC
‘I am sleeping’, ‘I slept’
cf. ɛwa:gí:da^ʔ
ɛ-wa:g-í:da^ʔ
FUT-1S.P-sleep.PUNC
‘I will sleep’

The [a^ʔ- or a-] FAC is instead pronounced as [e-] when before the pronominal prefixes listed in Table 21.10 (page 434).

Table 21.10: E-factual

prefix	[e-] FAC instead of [a'-]	after [e-] FUT
[(eh)s-] 2S.A	esáhdɔːʔ 'you lost it'	ɛhsé:geʔ 'you will see it'
[(e)sni-] 2D.A	ehsní:geʔ 'you two saw it'	ɛhsní:geʔ 'you two will see it'
[(e)swa-] 2P.A	ehswá:geʔ 'you all saw it'	ɛhswá:geʔ 'you all will see it'
[(eh).sgwa.y-] 2>1(P)	esgwadrɪhwatɔdá:dɛʔ 'you have listened to my idea'	ɛsgwá:yɔʔ 'you all will give to me'
[(e)dwa-] 1P.IN.A	edwatgwé:niʔ 'we all (includes listener) won a competition'	ɛdwádrohe:k 'we all (includes listener) will gather together'
[(e)tni-], [(e)kni] 1D.IN.A	etninaʔ ná:wɛht 'we two (includes listener) wet it'	dɛtnihsdá:teʔt 'we two (includes listener) will shine it'
[(e)hy.a-] 3S.M>2S	ehyá:geʔ (also ahyá:geʔ) 'he saw you (one)'	ɛhyɛhnɔksaʔ 'he is looking for you (one)'
[(eh)skni-] 2>1(D)	eskní:geʔ 'you two saw me' (etc.)	ɛhskní:geʔ 'you two will see me' (etc.)

21.2 Sound changes at the beginning of the pronominal prefix

The pronominal prefixes listed in Table 21.10 (page 434) also take the [ae-] form of the INDEF prefix instead of [a:-] (12).

(12) prefixes taking the [ae-] INDEF pronunciation variant

- a. áeswa:k
ae-swa:-k
INDEF-2P.A-eat.Ø.PUNC
'you all should eat it'
- cf. á:se:k
á:-s-e:-k
INDEF-2S.A-eat.Ø.PUNC
'you should eat it'
- b. áedwe:ʔ
áe-dw-e:-ʔ
INDEF-2P.A-think-PUNC
'we all should want, think'
- cf. á:yagwe:ʔ
á:-yagw-e:-ʔ
INDEF-1P.EX.A-think-PUNC
'we all should want, think'

And finally, several P-series prefixes take the [ɛdi-] FUT.CIS prefix combination instead of the [ɛt-] or [ɛd-] variants (13). The same prefixes take the [adi-] FAC.DU prefix combination instead of the [ad-] or [at-] variants (14).

(13) prefixes taking [ɛdi-] FUT.CIS

- a. ɛdihsahsíʔgyaʔk
ɛdi-s-ahsíʔg-yaʔk
FUT.CIS-2S.P-foot-break.Ø.PUNC
'you will stumble, stub your toe'
- b. ɛdisanaʔgyɛ:ʔ
ɛdi-sa-naʔgyɛ:-ʔ
FUT.CIS-2S.P-mock-PUNC
'it will mock, imitate you'
- cf. ɛtsnaʔgyɛ:ʔ
ɛ-t-s-naʔgyɛ:-ʔ
FUT.CIS-2S.A-mock-PUNC
'you will imitate, mock, mimic, something'

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(14) prefixes taking [adi-] FAC.DU

- a. adisaʔtsɔhs
 adi-sa-ʔtsɔhs
 FAC.DU-2S.P-sneeze.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you sneezed’
- cf. dɛsáʔtsɔhs
 d-ɛ-sá-ʔtsɔhs
 DU-FUT-2S.P-sneeze.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will sneeze’
- b. adígyaʔdraʔ
 adi-gy-aʔdraʔ
 FAC.DU-1D.IN.A-meet.Ø.PUNC
 ‘we two met’
- cf. atgáqʔdraʔ
 a-t-gáq-ʔdraʔ
 FAC-DU-3NS.FI.A-meet.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they met’

21.2.5 **Explanation of pronominal prefix tables**

The following sections each include two tables, designed to illustrate pronunciation changes at the beginning and end of each pronominal prefix. (To save space, translations are omitted from some tables.) The first type is exemplified in Table 21.11.

Table 21.11: Sample table (beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
1s.P	qgé:gɛʔ	merged FAC and 1s.P prefix
	agé:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛwa:gé:gɛʔ	after [ɛ-] FUT or [aɔ-] INDEF

The gloss column lists the meaning of the prefix (1s.P). The second and third columns describe pronunciation changes at the *beginning* of the prefix: for example, the 1s.P prefix either begins with [q], [a], or [wa].

The second type of chart, shown in Table 21.12 (page 437), provides more information about any changes between the last sound of the pronominal prefix and the first sound of the stem.

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

Table 21.12: Sample table (end of prefix)

3P.A		3P.P	
A E, Ė, O, Q, U stem			
[gɛ̃n-]	ɛ̃ɛ̃nadé'go' 'they will run away'	[y.on-]	onadagáide' 'they are well'
I stem			
[gadi-(i)]	gadídagrɔ' 'they are lying around'	[y.odi-(i)]	odidagra'ɔh 'they have fallen down'
C stem			
[gadi-]	gadi:tsgó:dɔ' 'they are sitting'	[y.odi-]	odinɔhókdanih 'they are sick'

For example, the 3P.A prefix is [gɛ̃n-] before any stem beginning with A, E, Ė, O, Q, or U. The same prefix is pronounced as [gadi-] before stems beginning with I, and the I of the stem also deletes. (Deleted vowels are shown between parentheses.) The prefix is [gadi-] before stems beginning with any consonant (C). Similarly, the 3P.P prefix is [y.on-] before any stem beginning with A, E, Ė, O, Q, or U. The same prefix is pronounced as [y.odi-] before stems beginning with I, and the I of the stem also deletes. (Deleted vowels are shown between parentheses.) Finally, the prefix is [y.odi-] before stems beginning with any consonant (C).

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

The following sections describe the pronunciation of non-interactive (A- and P-series) 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person pronominal prefixes. Recall that these same prefixes can be used in an interactive sense, with an implied 'it'. For example, 1s.A can mean 'I' or 'I->(it)'.

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21.3.1 1st person, non-interactive (or interactive with implied ‘it’)

Table 21.13: 1s (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
1s.A	agé:gɛʔ gé:gɛhs ɛgé:gɛʔ	(no change)
1s.P	ɔgé:gɛʔ agé:gɛ: ɛwa:gé:gɛʔ	merged FAC and 1s.P prefix at the beginning of the word after a vowel- [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.14: 1s (prefix-stem boundary)

		1s.A		1s.P
A, E, ɛ, I, O, Q, U stem	[g-]	gada:wɛhs ‘I’m a swimmer’	[w.ag-]	agadagaideʔ ‘I am well’
C stem	[k- (h),(h)n, (‘)n] [k ^{-d}]	kné:ye:s ‘I’m tall’	[w.ak- (h),(h)n, (‘)n] [w.ak ^{-d}]	dwakniɔhí:yo: ‘I am satisfied, peaceful’
C stem	[g ^{-r,y}]	degrihwanɔhweʔs ‘I disapprove’	[w.ag ^{-r,y}]	agyáʔdadeht ‘I am nimble, active, energetic’
C stem	[ge- g,s,w,CC]	gegɛhjih ‘I am old’	[w.age- g,s,w,CC]	agégaʔs ‘I like the taste of it’

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

Table 21.15: 1D (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
1D.IN.A	etní:gɛʔ , ekní:gɛ tní:gɛhs , kní:gɛhs ɛtní:gɛʔ , ɛkní:gɛʔ , aetní:gɛʔ , aekní:gɛʔ	after [e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
1D.EX.A	aʔa:kní:gɛʔ , *a:kní:gɛʔ akní:gɛhs ɛya:kní:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC, (*FAC often deletes) at the beginning of the word after a vowel- [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF
1D.P	aʔɔ:kní:gɛʔ ɔkní:gɛ: ɛyɔ:kní:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

	1D.IN.A	1D.EX.A	1D.P
A stem			
[gy-]	gyá:dq̄h 'you and I say'	[y.agy-] agyá:dq̄h 'we two say'	[y.ogy-] ogyadagáide ^o 'we two are healthy'
E, E, I, O, Q, U stem			
[kn-, tn-]	ekní ^o , etní ^o 'you and I said'	[y.akn-] niyaknú: ^o uh 'we two are small'	[y.ɔkn-] ɔkné: ^o ɔ: 'we two have willed, decided it'
C stem			
[tni-, kni-]	tnigéhjih, knigéhjih 'we two are old'	[y.akni-] aknihné:ye:s 'we two are tall'	[y.ɔkni-] ɔkniñq̄hókdanih 'we two are sick'

Figure 21.1: 1D (prefix-stem boundary)

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

Table 21.16: 1P (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
1P.EX.A	a'ágwageɣ', *ágwageɣ'	after [a'-] FAC (*FAC often deletes)
	agwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛyágwageɣ'	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF
1P.IN.A	edwá:gɛɣ'	after [e-] FAC
	dwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛdwá:gɛɣ'	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
1P.P	a'ɔ:gwá:gɛɣ'	after [a'-] FAC
	ɔ:gwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛyɔ:gwá:gɛɣ'	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.17: 1P (prefix-stem boundary)

1P.EX.A		1P.IN.A		1P.P	
A, E, Ẽ, stem					
[y.agw-]	agwá:dòh 'we all say'	[dw-]	dwá:dòh 'we all say'	[y.ogw-]	ogwada- gaide' 'we all are healthy'
O, Q, U stem					
[y.agy-]	niyagy- u:uh 'we are small'	[gy-]	nigyu:uh 'we all are small'	[y.ogy-]	ogyò:dá:hòh 'we all have put it in'
I stem					
[y.agwẹ ⁽ⁱ⁾]	á:gwẹ', a'á:gwẹ' 'we all said'	[dwẹ ⁽ⁱ⁾], [twẹ ⁽ⁱ⁾]	edwẹ', etwẹ' 'we all said'	[y.ogwẹ ⁽ⁱ⁾]	ogwẹda- gra'òh 'we all have fallen'
C stem					
[y.agwa-]	agwa- hné:ye:s 'we all are tall'	[dwa-]	dwahné:ye:s 'we all are tall'	[y.ogwa-]	ogwanòh- òkdanih 'we all are sick'

21.3.2 2nd person, non-interactive (or interactive with implied ‘it’)

Table 21.18: 2s (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
2S.A	ahsé:geʔ, esáhdɔ:ʔ	after [a-] FAC, after [e-] FAC
	sé:gehs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhsé:geʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
2S.P	ahsá:geʔ	after [a-] FAC
	sá:ge:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhsá:geʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.19: 2s (prefix-stem boundary)

2S.A		2S.P	
V stem		A, E, E_z, O, Q, U stem	
[(h)s-]	nisú:ʔuh 'you are small'	[(h)s-]	sənó:wə: 'you are a liar'
R stem		I stem	
[(h)s- ^r], [d- ^r]	dahsrá:təh, dadrá:təh 'climb (over here)!'	[(h)sɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	sɛdáɔ 'you are fortunate'
W, G, K, CC stem		C stem	
[(h)se-]	sekdɔ: 'examine it!'	[(h)sa-]	sanɔhɔkdá:nih 'you are sick'
(H)N, N stem			
[(h)s- ^{(h)n, n}]	shné:ye:s 'you are tall'		

Table 21.20: 2D (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
2D.A	ehsní:gɛʔ	[e-] FAC
	sní:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhsní:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
2D.P	ahsní:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC
	sní:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhsní:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

Table 21.21: 2D (prefix-stem boundary)

2D.A		2D.P	
A stem			
[j-]	já:dɔh 'you two say'	[j-]	jadagaide' 'you two are well'
E, Ẹ, O, Ọ, U stem			
[(h)sn-]	ɛhsne: ^ʔ 'you two will want, think'	[(h)sn-]	sné: ^ʔ ɔ:, sne: ^ʔ ɔ: 'you two have willed it'
I stem			
[(h)sni- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	esní' 'you two said'	[(h)sni- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	snidáɔ 'you two are fortunate'
C stem			
[(h)sni-]	snihné:ye:s 'you two are tall'	[(h)sni-]	sninɔhɔkdá:nih 'you two are sick'

Table 21.22: 2P (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
2P.A	ehswá:gɛ: ^ʔ	after [e-] FAC
	swá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhswá:gɛ: ^ʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
2P.P	ahswá:gɛ: ^ʔ	after [a-] FAC
	swá:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhswá:gɛ: ^ʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.23: 2P (prefix-stem boundary)

2P.A		2P.P	
A stem			
[(h)swa- ^(a)]	swá:dq̃h 'you all say'	[(h)swa- ^(a)]	swadagáide' 'you all are healthy'
E, Ẽ stem			
[(h)sw-]	ɛ̃hswe:ʔ 'you all will want, think'	[(h)sw-]	ihswe: 'you all want, think'
I stem			
[(h)swɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	eswɛʔ 'you all said'	[(h)swɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	ihswe: 'you all have said'
O, Q, U stem			
[j-]	nijú:ʔuh 'you all are small'	[j-]	do: nijohsriyáʔgq̃h 'how old are you all'
C-stem			
[(h)swa-]	swagéhjih 'you all are old'	[(h)swa-]	swanq̃hokdá:nih 'you two are sick'

21.3.3 3rd person singular, non-interactive (or interactive with implied 'it')

The initial H deletes after a T in the prefixes shown in Table 21.24 (page 447) and Table 21.25 (page 447).

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Table 21.24: 3s.M (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3S.M.A	ahá:gɛʔ há:gɛhs ɛhá:gɛʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC
3S.M.P	ahó:gɛʔ hó:gɛ: ɛhó:gɛʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC

Table 21.25: 3s.M (prefix-stem boundary)

3S.M.A		3S.M.P	
A stem		A, I stem	
[ha ^(a) -]	há:dɔh 'he says'	[ho ^(V) -]	hodagáideʔ 'he is well'
E, Ē, O, Q, U stem		E, Ē stem	
[h-]	ahéʔ 'he said'	[haw-]	há:wɛ: 'he has said'
I stem		O, Q stem	
[hɛ ⁽ⁱ⁾ -]	hɛhsa:s 'he is looking for it'	[ha-]	haɔtsánɔhwa:s 'his knee hurts'
C-stem		C-stem	
[ha-]	hagɛhjih 'he is old'	[ho-]	honɔhɔkdá:nih 'he is sick'

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Table 21.26: 3s.FI (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3s.FI.A	a'é:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC
	é:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛy'é:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF
3s.FI.P	a'a:gó:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC
	gó:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛya:gó:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.27: 3s.FI (prefix-stem boundary)

3s.FI.A		3s.FI.P	
A stem		A, I stem	
[y.ɔ-(a)]	ó:dòh 'she, someone says'	[ya.go-(a),(i)]	deyagodáwɛnyeʔ 'she is walking about'
E, O, Q, U stem		E, E stem	
[y.ag-]	niya:gu:ʔuh 'she is small'	[ya.gaw-]	gá:wɛ: 'she has said'
E stem		O, Q stem	
[y.ɛ-(e)]	í:yɛ: 'she wants, thinks'	[ya.ga-]	gaɔtsanóhwa:s 'her knee hurts'
I stem		C stem	
[y.e-(i)]	ɛyédagraʔ 'she will fall down'	[ya.go-]	gonòhòkdá:nih 'she is sick'
C stem			
[y.e-]	egehjih 'she is old'		

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

The [e-] of the [(y)e-] prefix merges with the initial [e-] of the verb stem to create a single vowel, [ɛ] (15). (Examples b-d are from Sasse & Keye 1998: 113.)

- (15) a. dɔ́dǎɛ̃ʔ
 dɔ́da-(y)e-e-ʔ
 DU-FAC-CIS-3S.FI.A-go-PUNC
 ‘she is coming back’
 cf. dɔ́dǎ:gẽʔ
 dɔ́dǎ:-g-e-ʔ
 DU-FAC-CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I am coming back’
- b. ɛ̃htaʔ
 e-ɛht-haʔ
 3S.FI.A-go-HAB
 ‘she usually goes’
 cf. gehtaʔ
 g-ɛht-haʔ
 1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I usually go’
- c. í:yɛ̃ʔs
 í:-ye-e-ʔs
 PROTH-3S.FI.A-go-HAB
 ‘she is here’
 cf. i:gẽʔs
 í:-g-e-ʔs
 PROTH-1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I am here’
- d. hɛ̃:yɛ̃ʔ
 h-ɛ̃:-ye-e-:-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.FI.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘she will go there’
 cf. hɛ̃:gẽʔ
 h-ɛ̃:-g-e-:-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I will go there’

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Table 21.28: 3s (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3s.A	agá:geʔ gá:gehs egá:geʔ	no change
3s.P	aʔó:geʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC
	ó:ge:	at the beginning of the word
	eyó:geʔ	after a vowel - [e-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.29: 3s (prefix-stem boundary)

3s.A		3s.P	
A, E, E, U stem		A, I stem	
[w-]	wahsohɔt 'it is coloured'	[y.o-] ^{(a),(i)}	ní:yoht 'what it is like'
I-stem		E, E stem	
[ge- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	dehsgé:ne:s 'it is extinct'	[aw-, y.o- ^(e,e)]	awé:ʔɔ: 'it has willed, decided it' oneʔwaɔ: 'it was startled'
O, Q stem		O, Q stem	
[y-]	í:yɔ:s 'it is long'	[y.a-]	aɔʔwé:sɛht 'it is enjoyable'
C stem		C stem	
[ga-]	ganí:yɔ:t 'it is hanging'	[y.o-]	onáʔno:ʔ 'it is cold, cool'

21.3.4 3rd person plural, non-interactive (or interactive with implied 'it')

The initial H deletes after a T in the prefixes shown in Table 21.30 and Table 21.31.

Table 21.30: 3NS.M (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3NS.M.A	aha:dí:gɛʔ hadí:gɛhs ɛha:dí:gɛʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC
3NS.M.P	aho:dí:gɛʔ hodi:gɛ: ɛho:dí:gɛʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC

Table 21.31: 3NS.M (prefix-stem boundary)

3NS.M.A		3NS.M.P	
A, E, ɛ, O, Q, U stem			
[hɛn-]	nihɛ:nú:s'uh 'they are small'	[hon-]	dɛhonadrá'ɔh 'they are meeting right now'
I stem			
[hadi- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	hadi'drɔ:dɔʔ 'how they are placed'	[hodi- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	hodidagrá'ɔh 'they have fallen down'
C stem			
[hadi-]	dɛhadiyáhshe: 'two males'	[hodi-]	hodinɔhɔkdanih 'they are sick'

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Table 21.32: 3NS.FI (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3NS.FI.A	agáeǵeʔ gáeǵeʔhs ǵgáeǵeʔ	no change
3NS.FI.P	aʔagodí:ǵeʔ godí:ǵe: ǵyagodí:ǵeʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ǵ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

The [e-] of the [gae-] 3NS.FI.A prefix merges with the [e-] of the verb stem to create a single vowel, [ǵ] (16).

- (16) a. ǵtgáeʔ
ǵ-t-gae-e-ʔ
FUT-CIS-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they will come'
cf. ǵteʔ
ǵ-t-h-e-ʔ
FUT-CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
'he will come this way'
- b. haʔgáeʔ
haʔ-gae-e-ʔ
TRANSL.FAC-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they are going'
cf. haʔseʔ
haʔ-s-e-ʔ
TRANSL.FAC-2S.S-go-PUNC
'you are going'
- c. tigáeʔs
ti-gae-e-ʔs
CONTR-3NS.FI.A-go-HAB
'they are roaming about'
cf. tí:wehs
tí-w-e-hs
CONTR-3S.A-go-HAB
'a stray animal'

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

Table 21.33: 3NS.FI (prefix-stem boundary)

3NS.FI.A	3NS.FI.P
A stem	A, E, E, O, Q, U stem
[gaɔ ^(a)] gaɔgá:dɔh 'they say'	[ya.gon-] dó: niyagonohsriyá'gɔh 'how old they are'
E, E, O, Q, U stem	I stem
[ga:g-] ga:gɔgwé'dase: 'young women'	[ya.godi ⁽ⁱ⁾] godidagrá'ɔh 'they have fallen down'
E stem	C stem
[gaɛ ^(e)] egáɛ: 'they will want'	[ya.godi-] godinɔhɔkdanih 'they are sick'
I stem	
[gae ⁽ⁱ⁾] gáedagrɔ' 'they are lying around'	
C stem	
[gae-] gáegɛhjih 'they are old'	

Table 21.34: 3P (beginning of prefix)

	gloss	pronominal	environment
3P.A	aga:dí:gɛ' gadí:gɛhs ega:dí:gɛ'		no change, takes [a-] FAC
3P.P	a'o:dí:gɛ' odí:gɛ: eyo:dí:gɛ'		after [a'-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.35: 3P (prefix-stem boundary)

3P.A		3P.P	
A E, Ė, O, Q, U stem			
[gɛn-]	ɛgɛnadé'go' 'they will run away'	[y.on-]	onadagáide' 'they are well'
I stem			
[gadi ⁽ⁱ⁾]	gadídagrɔ' 'they are lying around'	[y.odi ⁽ⁱ⁾]	odidagra'ɔh 'they have fallen down'
C stem			
[gadi-]	gadi:tsgó:dɔ' 'they are sitting'	[y.odi-]	odinɔhókdanih 'they are sick'

21.4 Interactive prefix pronunciation

The pronunciation of the INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes is summarized in the following sections. (The meaning of each prefix is also listed, but the meaning distinctions are more fully described in §20.)

21.4.1 1st and 2nd person interactions

Table 21.36: 1>2, interactive (beginning of prefix)

gloss	no changes (beg of prefix)	environment
1s>2s	agó:geʔ gó:gɛhs ɛgó:geʔ	(no change)
1>2(D)	akní:geʔ, kní:gɛhs, kní:geʔ	(no change)
1>2(P)	agwá:geʔ gwá:gɛhs ɛgwá:geʔ	(no change)

Table 21.37: 1>2, interactive (prefix-stem boundary)

	1s>2s	1>2(D)	1>2(P)
C stem	[gɔ-, go- ⁿ] agó:geʔ	[kni-] akní: geʔ	[gwa-] agwá:geʔ
A stem	[gɔy-] gɔyahóɔhaʔ	[gy-] gyahóɔhaʔ	[gwa-(a)] gwahóɔhaʔ
I stem	[gɔ-(i)] gɔhnɔ:s	[kni-(i)] knihnɔ:s	[gwɛ-(a)] gwɛhnɔ:s
E, ɛ stem	[gɔ-(e)] ɛgɔneʔ wá: ^h deʔ	[kn-] ɛknɛneʔ wá: ^h deʔ	[gw-] ɛgwɛneʔ wá: ^h deʔ
O, Q stem	[gɔy-] ɛgó:yɔʔ	[kn-] ɛknɔʔ	[gy-] ɛgyɔʔ

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Table 21.38: 2>1, interactive (beginning of prefix)

gloss	changes (beg of prefix)	environment
2s>1s	asg'é:gɛ' sg'é:gɛhs ɛhsg'é:gɛ'	(no change)
2>1(D)	eskní:gɛ' skní:gɛhs ɛhskní:gɛ'	[e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
2>1(P)	esgwá:gɛ' sgwá:gɛhs ɛhsgwá:gɛ'	[e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.39: 2>1, interactive (prefix-stem boundary)

	2s>1s	2>1(D)	2>1(P)
C stem	[(h)sge-] asg'é:gɛ'	[(h)skni-] eskní:gɛ'	[(h)sgwa-] esgwá:gɛ'
A stem	[(h)sge-] sgahódɔha'	[(h)sgy-] sgyahódɔha'	[(h)sgw-] sgwahódɔha'
I stem	[(h)sge-] sgihno:s	[(h)skni-(i)] sknihno:s	[(h)sgwɛ-(i)] sgwɛhno:s
E, Ē stem	[(h)sge-] ɛhsgɛne'wá:hde'	[(h)skn-] ɛskne'ne'wá:hde'	[(h)sgw-] ɛsgwɛne'wá:hde'
O, O stem	[(h)sge-] ɛhsgo'	[(h)skn-] ɛhskno'	[(h)sgy-] ɛsgyo'

21.4.2 3FI>1 and 3FI>2 interactions

Table 21.40: 3FI>1 and 1>3FI interactions (beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
1S>3S.FI	aké:geʔ ké:gehs ɛké:geʔ	(no change)
1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	aʔaki:geʔ, aki:geʔ*	after [a-] FAC (*FAC optionally deletes)
	aki:gehs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛya:ki:geʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	aʔe:ti:geʔ	after [a-] FAC
	e:ti:gehs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛye:ti:geʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3S.FI>1S	aʔo:ge:geʔ	after [a-] FAC (*FAC optionally deletes)
	o:ge:gehs	after [a-] FAC
	ɛyo:ge:geʔ	at the beginning of the word
3S.FI/3NS>1NS	aʔo:ki:geʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
	o:ki:gehs	after [a-] FAC
	ɛyo:ki:geʔ	at the beginning of the word
		after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.41: 3_{FI}>1 and 1>3_{FI} interactions (prefix-stem boundary)

	1 _S >3 _{S.FI}	1 _{NS.EX} >3 _{S.FI/3NS}	1 _{NS.IN} >3 _{S.FI/3NS}	3 _{S.FI} >1 _S
C stem	[ke-] aké:gɛʔ	[y.aki-] aʔa:ki:gɛʔ	[y.eti-] aʔe:ti:gɛʔ	[y.ɔge-] aʔɔgé:gɛʔ
A stem	[key-] keyahóðohaʔ	[y.akiy-] akiyahóðohaʔ	[y.etiy-] etiyahóðohaʔ	[y.ɔg-] ɔgahóðohaʔ
I stem	[ke- ⁽ⁱ⁾] kehno:s	[y.aki- ⁽ⁱ⁾] akihno:s	[y.eti- ⁽ⁱ⁾] etihno:s	[y.ɔg-] ɔgihno:s
E, Ẹ stem	[key-] ɛkeyeneʔ- wá:ʰdeʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛyakiyene- ʔwá:ʰdeʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛyetiyeneʔ- wá:ʰdeʔ	[y.ɔg-] ɛyɔgeneʔ- wá:ʰdeʔ
O, Ọ stem	[key-] ɛké:yɔʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛya:ki:yɔʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛye:ti:yɔʔ	[y.ɔg-] ɛyɔ:gɔʔ

Table 21.42: 2>3_{S.FI} and 3_{S.FI}>2 interactions (beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
2 _S >3 _{S.FI}	ashé:gɛʔ shé:gɛhs ɛshé:gɛʔ	(no change)
3 _{S.FI} >2 _S	aʔe:sá:gɛʔ esá:gɛhs ɛye:sá:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3 _{S.FI/3NS} >2 _{NS(OPP)}	aʔe:tsí:gɛʔ etsí:gɛhs ɛye:tsí:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.43: 2s>3s.FI and 3s.FI>2 interactions (prefix-stem boundary)

	2s>3s.FI	3s.FI>2s	3s.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)
C stem	[she-] ashé:geʔ	[y.esa-] aʔe:sá:geʔ	[y.etsi-] aʔe:tsí:geʔ
A stem	[shey-] shayahóǝhaʔ	[y.esa- ^(a)] esahóǝhaʔ	[y.etsiy-] etsiyahóǝhaʔ
I stem	[she-(i)] shehnɔ:s	[y.esɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾] eséhnɔ:s	[y.etsi- ⁽ⁱ⁾] etsíhnɔ:s
E, Ē stem	[shey-] ɛsheyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.es-] ɛyeseneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.etsiy-] ɛyetsiyeneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[shey-] ɛshé:yɔʔ	[y.es-] ɛyé:sɔʔ	[y.etsiy-] ɛye:tsí:yɔʔ

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21.4.3 **3s.M and 1 interactions**

Table 21.44: 1>3s.M (no changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
1S>3S.M	ahé:gɛʔ, hé:gɛhs, ɛhé:gɛʔ	(no change)
1D.EX>3S.M	asha:kní:gɛʔ, shakní:gɛhs, ɛsha:kní:gɛʔ	(no change)
1D.IN>3S.M	ashe:tní:gɛʔ, shetní:gɛhs, ɛshe:tní:gɛʔ	(no change)
1PL.EX>3S.M	asha:gwá:gɛʔ, shagwá:gɛhs, ɛsha:gwá:gɛʔ	(no change)
1PL.IN>3S.M	ashe:dwá:gɛʔ, shedwá:gɛhs, ɛshe:dwá:gɛʔ	(no change)

	1S>3S.M	1D.EX>3S.M	1D.IN>3S.M	1PL.EX>3S.M	1PL.IN>3S.M
C stem	ahé:ǵǵʔ	asha:kní:ǵǵʔ	ashe:tní:ǵǵʔ	asha:ǵwá:ǵǵʔ	ashe:dwá:ǵǵʔ
A stem	heyahǵǵǵʔ	shagyahǵǵǵʔ	shegyahǵǵǵʔ	shagwahǵǵǵʔ	shedwahǵǵǵʔ, shetwahǵǵǵʔ
I stem	hehnǵ:s	shakníhnǵ:s	shetníhnǵ:s	shagwéhnǵ:s	shedwéhnǵ:s, shetwéhnǵ:s
E, E stem	ǵheyǵéʔ wá:ʰdǵʔ	ǵshagyǵéʔ - wá:ʰdǵʔ	ǵshetnǵéʔ - wá:ʰdǵʔ	ǵshagwǵéʔ - wá:ʰdǵʔ	ǵshhedwǵéʔ - wá:ʰdǵʔ, ǵshhetwǵéʔ - wá:ʰdǵʔ
O, Q stem	ǵhé:yǵʔ	ǵhshá:knǵʔ	ǵhshé:tnǵʔ	ǵhshá:ǵyǵʔ	ǵhshéǵyǵʔ

Figure 21.2: 1>3s.m (prefix-stem boundary)

	3s.M>1S	3s.M>1D	3s.M>1P
C stem	[hage-] aha:ge:geʔ	[shokni-] asho:kni:geʔ	[shogwa-] asho:gwá:geʔ
A stem	[hag-] hagahodóhaʔ	[shogy-] shogyahodóhaʔ	[shogwa-(a)] shogwahodóhaʔ
I stem	[hag-] hagʔhnq:s	[shokni-(i)] shokniʔhnq:s	[shogwe-(i)] shogweʔhnq:s
E, Ē stem	[hag-] ehageneʔ wá:h.deʔ	[shogy-] eshogyeneʔ wá:h.deʔ	[shogw-] eshogweneʔ wá:h.deʔ
O, Q stem	[hag-] ehá:gqʔ	[shokn-] eshoknqʔ	[shogy-] eshogyqʔ

Figure 21.3: 3s.M>1 (prefix-stem boundary)

Table 21.45: 3s.M>1 (no changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
3s.M>1s	aha:gé:gɛʔ, hagé:gɛhs, ɛha:gé:gɛʔ	(no change)
3s.M>1D	ashɔ:kni:gɛʔ, shɔkni:gɛhs, ɛshɔ:kni:gɛʔ	(no change)
3s.M>1P	ashɔ:gwá:gɛʔ, shɔgwá:gɛhs, ɛshɔ:gwá:gɛʔ	(no change)

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21.4.4 **3s.M and 2 interactions**

Table 21.46: 3s.M>2, 2>3s.M (beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
2S>3S.M	ahesé:geʔ hesé:gehs ɛhesé:geʔ	(no change)
3S.M>2S	ehyá:geʔ, ahyá:geʔ hyá:gehs ɛhyá:geʔ, áehyageʔ	after [a-] FAC, or [e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [ae-] INDEF
2D>3S.M(OPP)	ashe:sní:geʔ shesní:gehs ɛshe:sní:geʔ	(no change)
2D>3S.M(OPP)	ashe:swá:geʔ sheswá:gehs ɛshe:swá:geʔ	(no change)

	2S>3S.M	3S.M>2S	2D>3S.M(OPP)	2P>3S.M(OPP)
C stem	[hehse-] ahehsé:ǵéʔ	[hya-] ehyá:ǵéʔ	[shesni-] ashe:sní:ǵéʔ	[sheswa-] ashe:swá:ǵéʔ
A stem	[hehs-] hehsahóǵóhaʔ	[hya-(a)] hyáhóǵóhaʔ	[shej-] shejahóǵóhaʔ	[sheswa-(a)] sheswahóǵóhaʔ
I stem	[hehs-] hehsíhnǵ:s	[hye-(i)] ehyéhnǵksaʔ	[shesni-(i)] shesníhnǵ:s	[sheswe-(i)] sheswéhǵnǵ:s
E, Ē stem	[hehs-] eheshéneʔ wá:ʰdǵéʔ	[hy-] ehyéneʔ wá:ʰdǵéʔ	[shesn-] eshesnǵneʔ wá:ʰdǵéʔ	[shesw-] esheswǵneʔ wá:ʰdǵéʔ
O, Q stem	[hehs-] ehé:hsǵʔ	[hyay-] ehyá:yǵʔ	[shesn-] eshé:snǵʔ	[shej-] eshé:jǵʔ

Figure 21.4: 3s.m>2, 2>3s.m (prefix-stem boundary)

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21.4.5 **3s.FI/3NS and 1 interactions**

Table 21.47: 3s.FI,3NS>1 (beginning of prefix)

gloss	changes (beg of prefix)	environment
3NS>1S	agaɔǵé:ǵɛ' gaɔǵé:ǵɛhs ɛgaɔǵé:ǵɛ'	(no change)
3s.FI/3NS>1NS	a'ɔ:kíǵɛ' ɔkí:ǵɛhs ɛyɔ:kí:ǵɛ'	after [a'-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.48: 3s.FI,3NS>1 (prefix-stem boundary)

	3NS>1S	3s.FI/3NS>1NS
C stem	[gaɔǵe-] agaɔǵé:ǵɛ'	[y.ɔki-] a'ɔ:kí:ǵɛ'
A stem	[gaɔǵ-] gaɔǵahódɔha'	[y.ɔkiy-] ɔkiyahódɔha'
I stem	[gaɔǵ-] gáǵǵihno:s	[y.ɔki ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] ɔkíhno:s
E, Ɛ stem	[gaɔǵ-] ɛgaɔǵɛne'wá:d ^h ɛ'	[y.ɔkiy-] ɛyɔkiyɛne'wá: ^h dɛ'
O, Q stem	[gaɔǵ-] ɛgáǵǵo'	[y.ɔkiy-] ɛyo:kí:yɔ'

Table 21.49: 1>3S.FI,3NS (changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	changes (beg of prefix)	environment
1S>3NS	aga:ké:gɛ́ʔ, aka:ké:gɛ́ʔ gaké:gɛ́hs, kaké:gɛ́hs ɛ́ga:ké:gɛ́ʔ, ɛ́ka:ké:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	aʔa:kí:gɛ́ʔ, akí:gɛ́ʔ* akí:gɛ́hs ɛ́ya:kí:gɛ́ʔ	after [a-] FAC, (*FAC optionally deletes) at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ́-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	aʔe:tí:gɛ́ʔ etí:gɛ́hs ɛ́ye:tí:gɛ́ʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ́-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.50: 1>3S.FI,3NS (prefix-stem boundary)

	1S>3NS	1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS
C stem	[gake-, kake-] agaké:geʔ, akaké:geʔ	[y.aki-] aʔa:kí:geʔ, akí:geʔ	[y.eti-] aʔe:tí:geʔ
A stem	[gakey-, kakey-] gakeyáhóðdohaʔ, kakeyáhóðdohaʔ	[y.akiy-] akiyáhóðdohaʔ	[y.etiy-] etiyáhóðdohaʔ
I stem	[gake ⁽ⁱ⁾ -, kake ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] gakéhnɔ:s, kakéhnɔ:s	[y.aki ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] akíhnɔ:s	[y.eti ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] etíhnɔ:s
E, Ẽ stem	[gakey-, kakey-] ɛgakeyɛneʔwá: ^h dɛʔ, ɛkakeyɛneʔwá: ^h dɛʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛyakiyɛneʔwá: ^h dɛʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛyetiyɛneʔwá: ^h dɛʔ
O, Q stem	[gakey-, kakey-] ɛga:ké:yɔʔ, ɛka:ké:yɔʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛya:kí:yɔʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛye:tí:yɔʔ

21.4.6 3S.FI/3NS and 2 interactions

Table 21.51: 3S.FI,3NS>2 and 2>3S.FI,3NS (changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
2S>3NS	aga:shé:gɛ́ʔ, aka:shé:gɛ́ʔ gashé:gɛ́hs, kashé:gɛ́hs ɛ́ga:shé:gɛ́ʔ, ɛ́ka:shé:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3S.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)	aʔe:tsí:gɛ́ʔ etsí:gɛ́hs ɛ́ye:tsí:gɛ́ʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3NS>2S	agaesá:gɛ́ʔ gáesagɛ́hs ɛ́gaesá:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)

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Table 21.52: 3s.FI,3NS>2 and 2>3s.FI,3NS (prefix-stem boundary)

	2s>3NS	3s.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)	3NS>2s
C stem	[gashe-, kashe-] aga:shé:geʔ, aka:shé:geʔ	[y.etsi-] aʔe:tsí:geʔ	[gaesa-] agaesaʔ:geʔ
A stem	[gashey-, kashey-] gasheyahódqhaʔ, kasheyahódqhaʔ	[y.etsiy-] etsiyahódqhaʔ	[gaesa- ^(a)] gaesahódqhaʔ
I stem	[gashe- ⁽ⁱ⁾ , kashe- ⁽ⁱ⁾] gashéhnq:s, kashéhnq:s	[y.etsi- ⁽ⁱ⁾] etsíhnq:s	[gaesɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾] gáesɛhnq:s
E, Ē stem	[gashey- kashey-] ɛgasheyɛneʔ- wá:hdeʔ, ɛkasheyɛneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.etsiy-] ɛyetsiyɛneʔwá:hdeʔ	[gaes-] ɛgaesɛneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[gashey-, kashey-] ɛga:shé:yqʔ, ɛka:shé:yqʔ	[y.etsiy-] ɛye:tsí:yqʔ	[gaes-] ɛgáesqʔ

21.4.7 3>3 interactions

Table 21.53: 3>3 (changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M	ahǫwageǰ, hǫwá:gǧhs, ǧhǫwageǰ	(no change)
3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M	ahǫwadí:gǧ, hǫwa:dí:gǧhs, ǧhǫwadí:gǧ	(no change)
3S.FI>3S.FI	aǰdadé:gǧ ǫda:dé:gǧhs ǧyǫdadé:gǧ	after [aǰ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ǧ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3FI>3FI(+NS)	agaǫda:dé:gǧ, gaǫdadé:gǧhs, ǧgaǫda:dé:gǧ	(no change)
3S.M>3FI/3P	asha:gó:gǧ, shagó:gǧhs, ǧsha:gó:gǧ	(no change)
3FI/3NS>3P ^a	agǫwadí:gǧ, gǫwa:dí:gǧhs, ǧgǫwadí:gǧ	(no change)
3NS(NFI)>3FI	ashagodí:gǧ, shago:dí:gǧhs, ǧshagodí:gǧ	(no change)

^a[hadi-] can also be used.

	3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M	3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M	3S.FI>3S.FI	3FI>3FI(+NS)
C stem	[hɔwa-] ahɔwagɛ̃ʔ	[hɔwadi-] ahɔwadi:gẽʔ		
C stem (G, K, CC)			[y.ɔdade-] aʔɔdadé:gẽʔ	[gaɔdade-] agaɔda:dé:gẽʔ
C stem (R,Y)			[y.ɔdag-] haʔɔdagyaʔ datsei:ʔ	[gaɔdag-] gaɔdagyenawaʔ seh
C stem (HN, N, N)			[y.ɔdat-] ɔdatnohaʔ	[gaɔdat-] agaɔda:tgwé:niʔ
A stem	[hɔwa ^(a) -] hɔwahɔdɔhaʔ	[hɔwɛn-] hɔwɛnahɔdɔhaʔ	[y.ɔdad-] ɔdadahɔdɔhaʔ	[gaɔdad-] gaɔdadahɔdɔhaʔ
I stem	[hɔwɛ ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] hɔwɛhnɔ:s	[hɔwadi ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] hɔwádihnɔ:s	[y.ɔdad-] ɔdádihnɔ:s	[gaɔdad-] gaɔdadíhnɔ:s
E, Ẽ stem	[hɔw-] ɛhɔwɛneʔ wá:h.dɛ̃ʔ	[hɔwan-] ɛhɔwanɛneʔ wá:h.dɛ̃ʔ	[y.ɔdad-] ɛyɔdadɛneʔ wá:h.dɛ̃ʔ	[gaɔdad-] ɛgaɔdadɛneʔ wá:h.dɛ̃ʔ
O, Õ stem	[hɔway-] ɛhɔwayɔʔ	[hɔwɛn-] ɛhɔ:wɛ:nɔʔ	[y.ɔdad-] ɛyɔdadɔʔ	[gaɔdad-] ɛgaɔdá:dɔʔ

Figure 21.5: 3>3 (prefix-stem boundary)

21.5 Variation in pronominal prefix pronunciation before O/Q and E/Ē stems

Table 21.54: more 3>3 (prefix-stem boundary)

	3S.M>3FI/3P	3FI/3NS>3P ^a	3NS(NFI)>3FI
C stem	[shago-] asha:gó:gɛʔ	[gɔwadi-] agɔwadi:gɛʔ	[shagodi-] ashagodi:gɛʔ
A stem	[shago- ^(a)] shagohódɔhaʔ	[gɔwan-] gɔwanahódɔhaʔ	[shagon-] shagonahódɔhaʔ
I stem	[shago- ⁽ⁱ⁾] shagóhnɔ:s	[gɔwadi- ⁽ⁱ⁾] gɔwádihnɔ:s	[shagodi- ⁽ⁱ⁾] shagódihnɔ:s
E, Ē stem	[shago- ^(e)] ɛshagoneʔwá:hdeʔ	[gɔwan-] ɛgowanɛneʔwá:hdeʔ	[shagon-] ɛshagonɛneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[shaga-] ɛshágaɔʔ	[gɔwan-] ɛgɔwanɔʔ	[shagon-] ɛsha:gó:nɔʔ

^a[hadi-] can also be used. See Table 21.30 (page 451).

21.5 Variation in pronominal prefix pronunciation before O/Q and E/Ē stems

There is possibly some variation in the pronunciation of certain P-series pronominal prefixes, specifically before stems beginning with O, Q, E, or Ē. The following sections describe *expected* versus *novel* pronominal prefixes.³ The expected forms of the pronominal prefixes were also described earlier. The novel forms depart from those descriptions. Examples are provided in the following sections.

21.5.1 Pronominal prefix variants before O and Q stems

Several alternative (and possibly new or recent) P-series pronominal prefixes are attested before O and Q stems, as summarized in Table 21.55 (page 474).

Example (17) (page 474) contrasts the novel and expected forms of the prefixes. The verbs used in the examples are [ɔtsanɔhwa:s] ‘have a sore knee’ and [de...odaihsi] ‘comb someone’s hair’.⁴ The novel forms all tend to preserve both the prefix and the stem vowel.

³Most of the novel forms were provided by one of the co-authors of this book.

⁴Some of the examples provided are non-sensical but grammatical – meaning the word is possible, but it is hard to imagine how or when the word would be used.

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Table 21.55: P-series pronominal prefixes before O and Q stems

expected	novel	meaning
(h)sa	(h)say	2S.P
(y)ogy	(y)ogway	1P.P
(h)sn	(h)sniy	2D.P
j	(h)sway	2P.P
(ya)ga	(ya)goy, (ya)g, (ya)gwa	3S.FI.P
ha	h, hoy	3S.M.P
(y)a	ø, (y)oy	3S.P
hon	hodin	3NS.M.P
gon	godin	3NS.FI.P
on	odin	3P.P

- (17) a. novel [dɛ-hsay-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-hs-odáihsiʔ]
- b. novel [dɛ-yogway-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-1P.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-yogy-odáihsiʔ]
- c. novel [dɛ-hsniy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-hsn-odáihsiʔ]
- d. novel [dɛ-hsway-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2P.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-j-odáihsiʔ]
- e. novel [dɛ-yagoy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-3S.FI.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-yaga-odáihsiʔ]
- f. novel [g-ɔtsánqhwa:s], [gwa-ɔtsánqhwa:s]
 3S.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT 3S.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [ga-ɔtsánqhwa:s]
- g. novel [h-ɔtsánqhwa:s]
 3S.M.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [ha-ɔtsánqhwa:s]

21.5 Variation in pronominal prefix pronunciation before O/Q and E/Ē stems

- h. novel [dɛ-hoy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-3S.M.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-ha-odáihsiʔ]
- i. novel [ø-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
 NO.PREFIX-sore.knee.STAT (ø = no prefix)
 cf. expected [a-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s] 3S.P-sore.knee.STAT
- j. novel [dɛ-yoy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-3S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ-ya-odáihsiʔ]
- k. novel [hodin-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
 3NS.M.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [hon-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
- l. novel [godin-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
 3NS.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [gon-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
- m. novel [odin-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]
 3P.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [on-ɔtsánq̄hwa:s]

21.5.2 Pronominal prefix variants before E and Ē stems

Several alternative (and possibly new or recent) P-series pronominal prefixes are also attested before E and Ē stems, as summarized in Table 21.56.

Table 21.56: P-series pronominal prefixes before E, Ē stems

expected	novel	meaning
(y)ɔkn	(y)ɔgy	1D.P
(h)sn	j	2D.P
haw	ho* (*stem vowel deletes)	3S.M.P
(ya)gaw	(ya)go* (*stem vowel deletes)	3S.FI.P
(y)aw	(y)o* (*stem vowel deletes)	3S.P

Example (18) contrasts the novel and expected pronominal prefix forms. The verbs used in the examples are E stem [e:ʔɔ] ‘to will something’, Ē stem [ɛneʔwaɔ] ‘to be startled’, and Ē stem [ɛneʔwá:hdeʔ] ‘to startle someone’.⁵

⁵For the stem [ɛneʔwá:hdeʔ], the second-last vowel is typically always long and followed by a short [h] sound.

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- (18) a. novel [ɔ̌gy-ɛ̌neʔwáɔ̌]
1D.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [ɔ̌kn-ɛ̌neʔwáɔ̌]
- b. novel [ɛ̌-j-ɛ̌neʔwá:hdeʔ]
FUT-1D.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̌-hsn-ɛ̌neʔwá:hdeʔ]
- c. novel [ho-neʔwáɔ̌]
3S.M.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [haw-ɛ̌neʔwáɔ̌]
- d. novel [ɛ̌-ho-neʔwá:hdeʔ]
FUT-3S.M.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̌-haw-ɛ̌neʔwá:hdeʔ]
- e. novel [go-neʔwáɔ̌]
3fi.SG.O-startled.STAT
cf. expected [gaw-ɛ̌neʔwáɔ̌]
- f. novel [ɛ̌-yago-neʔwá:hdeʔ]
FUT-3S.FI.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̌-yagaw-ɛ̌neʔwá:hdeʔ]
- g. novel [o-neʔwáɔ̌]
3S.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [aw-ɛ̌neʔwáɔ̌]
- h. novel [ɛ̌-yo-neʔwá:hdeʔ]
FUT-3S.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̌-yaw-ɛ̌neʔwá:hdeʔ]

22 Nouns and pronominal prefix selection

This section describes pronominal prefix selection for nouns, beginning with UNPOSSESSED nouns (1a), and then POSSESSED nouns (1b). Unpossessed nouns do not denote ownership, while possessed nouns do.

- (1) a. *ganóhsa* 'house(s)' (unpossessed noun)
- b. *aknóhsa* 'my house(s)' (possessed noun)

Table 22.1 (page 478) summarizes pronominal prefix selection for nouns.

22.1 Unpossessed nouns

Unpossessed basic nouns either take the [ga-] 3s.A (A-series) pronominal prefix (2a), the [o-] 3s.P (P-series) pronominal prefix (2b), or no prefix. Nouns without a prefix typically begin with A (2c).

- (2) a. *ganóhsa* 'house(s)' A-series
- b. *o'nhóhsa* 'egg(s)' P-series
- c. *adáhdī'tra* 'sock(s)' (no pronominal prefix)

While the [ga-] and [o-] prefixes both mean 'it', they are generally not interchangeable. For example, the word meaning 'house' always begins with [ga-], never with [o-]. That being said, some nouns can take either [ga-] or [o-] (3), and still others take [o-] or begin without a prefix (4). (See §5.1 for more examples.) (Dropping the [o-] prefix in words like *hóna'da* / *ohóna'da* 'potato' was common in the variety of Gayogoho:nó' néha: spoken in Oklahoma, see §1.3.)

- (3) A- or P-series
- gajíhoha:*, *ojíhyoha:* 'straight pin', 'pin', 'brooch', 'safety pin'

Table 22.1: Pronominal prefix selection, nouns

grammatical category	prefix type	prefix choice	
unpossessed	•basic nouns •body part nouns inflected like basic nouns	[ga-] 3s.A [o-] 3s.P ∅ (no prefix)	The type of prefix ([ga-], [o-] or none) must be memorized for each word.
possessed	•basic nouns •body part nouns inflected like basic nouns	P-series	P-series pronominal prefixes denote possession or ownership.
possessed	•body part nouns	A-series	A-series pronominal prefixes denote the person or being who has the body part in question.

(4) P-series or no pronominal prefix

- a. ohsgwáɛʔdaʔ, sgwáɛʔdaʔ ‘coltsfoot’
 b. ogyáqhsraʔ, agyáqhsraʔ ‘a trick’

22.1.1 Noun suffixes do not affect prefix choice

Noun suffixes do not affect the choice of [ga-] or [o-] pronominal prefix. For example, the nouns in (5) retain their [ga-] prefix regardless of whether or not a suffix is present, and similarly for the nouns with [o-] in (6), and the noun without a pronominal prefix in (7).

- (5) a. ganqhsáqweh
 ga-nqhs-á-qweh
 3s.A-house-JOINER-A-TYP
 ‘cook-house’ (at the longhouse)

- cf. ganóhsa'
ga-nóhs-a'
3s.A-house-NSF
'house'
- b. gana'jáqweh
ga-na'j-á-qweh
3s.A-pot-JOINER-A-TYP
'cooking pots' (used at the longhouse)
- cf. ganá'ja'
ga-ná'j-a'
3s.A-pot-NSF
'pail', 'pot', etc.
- (6) a. oyęhsráqweh
o-yęhsr-á-qweh
3s.P-blanket-JOINER-A-TYP
'shawl' (for dancing, or the type put on a corpse at a funeral)
- cf. oyęhsra'
o-yęhsr-a'
3s.P-blanket-NSF
'blanket'
- b. onęhę'ó:weh
o-nęhę'-ó:weh
3s.P-corn-TYP
'corn' (flint corn)
- cf. onęhę:'
o-nęhę:-'
3s.P-corn-NSF
'corn'
- (7) ahdahgwáqweh
ahdahgw-á-qweh
ø.shoe-JOINER-A-TYP
'shoe', 'moccasin'
- cf. ahdáhgwa'
ahdahgw-a'
ø.shoe-NSF
'shoe'

22.1.2 Body part nouns inflected as unpossessed basic nouns

While body part nouns generally take different prefixes and suffixes than basic nouns do (as described in §22.2.2), they can also be inflected just like *unpossessed*

22 Nouns and pronominal prefix selection

basic nouns (see §22.2.3). In such cases, they take the [o-] 3s.P prefix and the [-aʔ] NSF suffix. Such nouns tend to denote “detachable” body parts or elements (8).

- (8) a. onóʔjaʔ
o-nóʔj-aʔ
3s.P-tooth-NSF
‘tooth’
- b. ojíʔehdaʔ, ojíʔohdaʔ
o-jíʔehd/jiʔd-aʔ
3s.P-fingernail-NSF
‘fingernail’
- c. ogéʔa:ʔ
o-géʔa:-ʔ
3s.P-hair-NSF
‘hair’, ‘a rag’
- d. oʔdaʔ
o-ʔd-aʔ
3s.P-feces-NSF
‘feces’
- e. otsgraʔ
o-tsgr-aʔ
3s.P-saliva-NSF
‘saliva’
- f. ojínq̄hgraʔ
o-jínq̄hgr-aʔ
3s.P-mucus-NSF
‘mucus’
- g. onyáʔgwaʔ
o-nyáʔgw-aʔ
3s.P-vomit-NSF
‘vomit’, ‘vomitus’

Consistent with the detached meaning, unpossessed body part nouns can refer to (dismembered) body parts or toys (9a, b) or to objectified body parts (9c,d).

- (9) a. o'yó:tsa'
 o-'yó:ts-a'
 3S.P-chin-NSF
 'a chin'
- b. onó'a:
 o-nó'a:-'
 3S.P-head-NSF
 'a head' (owner unknown)
- c. oné:tša'
 o-né:ts-a'
 3S.P-arm-NSF
 'arm' (said, for example, when holding up a doll's arm for show)
- d. ohná'tša'
 o-hná'ts-a'
 3S.P-buttock-NSF
 'a bare butt'

As shown in (10), unpossessed body part nouns also appear in compound noun constructions (§5.3).

- (10) a. gwihsawihs onó'a:
 gwihsawihs onó'a:
 pig head
 'pig's head'
- b. gwihsawihs ohsí'da'
 gwihsawihs ohsí'da'
 pig foot
 'pig's feet'
- c. gwihsawihs o'wáhoh
 gwihsawihs o'wáhoh
 pig meat
 'pig meat', 'pork chop'

22.2 Possessed nouns

Possessed nouns convey a relationship of ownership. Both basic nouns and body part nouns can denote possession, but are inflected in different ways, as described in §22.2.1.

22.2.1 Possessed basic nouns (P-series)

Possessed basic nouns take P-series pronominal prefixes to denote the possessor. A full paradigm is shown in (11).¹

- (11) a. aknóhsaʔ
ak-nóhs-aʔ
1S.P-house-NSF
'my house'
- b. ɔknínóhsaʔ
ɔkní-nóhs-aʔ
1D.P-house-NSF
'our house (two people)'
- c. ɔgwánóhsaʔ
ɔgwá-nóhs-aʔ
1p.p-house-NSF
'our house (more than two people)'
- d. sanóhsaʔ
sa-nóhs-aʔ
2S.P-house-NSF
'your house (one person)'
- e. sninóhsaʔ
sni-nóhs-aʔ
2D.P-house-NSF
'your house (two people)'
- f. swanóhsaʔ
swa-nóhs-aʔ
2P.P-house-NSF
'your house (more than two people)'
- g. honóhsaʔ
ho-nóhs-aʔ
3S.M.P-house-NSF
'his house'

¹P-series pronominal prefixes do not distinguish between INCLUSIVE and EXCLUSIVE.

- h. gonǫhsaʔ
 go-nǫhs-aʔ
 3S.FI.P-house-NSF
 ‘her house’
- i. onǫhsaʔ
 o-nǫhs-aʔ
 3S.P-house-NSF
 ‘its house’
- j. hodínǫhsaʔ
 hodí-nǫhs-aʔ
 3NS.M.P-house-NSF
 ‘their (males’) house’
- k. godínǫhsaʔ
 godí-nǫhs-aʔ
 3NS.FI.P-house-NSF
 ‘their (females’ or mixed) house’
- l. odínǫhsaʔ
 odí-nǫhs-aʔ
 3P.P-house-NSF
 ‘their (animals’) house’

22.2.2 Possessed body part nouns (A-series)

Possessed body part nouns take A-series pronominal prefixes to denote the possessor (and require the [-ʔgeh] ON suffix). A full paradigm is shown in (12).

- (12) a. knętsáʔgeh
 k-nęts-áʔgeh
 1S.A-arm-ON
 ‘on my arm’
- b. kninętsaʔgeh
 kni-nęts-aʔgeh
 1D.IN.A-arm-ON
 ‘on our arm’ (two people, including listener)
- c. akninętsáʔgeh
 akni-nęts-áʔgeh
 1D.EX.A-arm-ON
 ‘on our arm’ (two people, excluding listener)

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- d. dwanétsa'geh
dwa-néts-a'geh
1P.IN.A-arm-ON
'on our arm' (more than two people, including listener(s))
- e. agwanétsá'geh
agwa-néts-á'geh
1P.EX.A-arm-ON
'on our arm' (more than two people, excluding listener(s))
- f. hanétsa'geh
ha-néts-a'geh
3S.M.A-arm-ON
'on his arm'
- g. enétsa'geh
e-néts-a'geh
3S.FI.A-arm-ON
'on her arm'
- h. ganétsa'geh
ga-néts-a'geh
3S.A-arm-ON
'on its arm'
- i. snétsá'geh
s-néts-á'geh
2S.A-arm-ON
'on your arm (one person)'
- j. sninétsa'geh
sni-néts-a'geh
2D.A-arm-ON
'on your arm (two people)'
- k. swanétsa'geh
swa-néts-a'geh
2P.A-arm-ON
'on your arm (more than two people)'
- l. hadinétsá'geh
hadi-néts-á'geh
3NS.M.A-arm-ON
'on their arm (males only)'

- m. gaenɛtsáʔgeh
 gae-nɛts-áʔgeh
 3NS.FI.A-arm-ON
 ‘on their arm (females or mixed)’
- n. gadinɛtsáʔgeh
 gadi-nɛts-áʔgeh
 3P.A-arm-ON
 ‘on their arm (animals)’

22.2.3 Body part nouns inflected as possessed basic nouns

Possessed body part nouns can also be inflected like possessed basic nouns, taking P-series pronominal prefixes (§22.1.2). In such cases, the body part can be interpreted as detached or detachable (as in 13b, c).

- (13) a. gonɛ:tsaʔ
 go-nɛ:ts-aʔ
 3S.FI.P-arm-NSF
 ‘her arm’ (i.e. a doll’s)
- b. honɛ:tsaʔ
 ho-nɛ:ts-aʔ
 3S.M.P-arm-NSF
 ‘his arm’ (i.e. said when holding up a Ken doll’s arm)

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

KINSHIP TERMS describe blood relations, marriage relations, relationships between clans, sides (or moieties, including longhouse moieties), relationships between friends and neighbours, and relationships among *Qgwehó:weh* peoples.¹ For a list of kinship terms, see §D.1.

Based on pronominal prefix selection, kinship terms can be divided into two types. The first type takes NON-INTERACTIVE (A or P) prefixes. They include VERBS and NOUNS functioning as “kinship terms”. The second type take INTERACTIVE prefixes. They are “kinship terms proper” or INTERACTIVE KINSHIP TERMS.²

In several cases, the same kinship term can be inflected two ways (either as non-interactive or interactive): example (1a) shows a VERB functioning as a “kinship term”, inflected with a non-interactive, P-series pronominal prefix. In contrast, example (1b) shows the same stem, inflected with an interactive prefix. More examples are provided in later sections.

- (1) a. $\text{qgyá}^{\text{?}}\text{se}^{\text{?}}$ ([P-a[?]se:[?]] ‘cousin’, with P-series prefix)
 $\text{qgy-á}^{\text{?}}\text{se}^{\text{?}}$
 1D.P-doubled.STAT
 ‘my cousin’
- b. $\text{gyá}^{\text{?}}\text{se}^{\text{?}}$ ([INTERACTIVE-a[?]se:[?]] ‘cousin’, with interactive prefix)
 $\text{gy-a}^{\text{?}}\text{se}^{\text{?}}$
 1>2(D)-doubled.STAT
 ‘cousin!’ (when directly addressing a cousin)

Table 23.1 summarizes pronominal prefix selection and meaning for kinship terms.

¹The kinship terms listed in this section were compiled from Deer & Deer (2015), Foster (1993), Foster (p.c.), Froman et al. (2002), Mithun & Henry (1984), and Sasse & Keye (1998).

²Kinship terms are ATYPICAL words, for reasons described in §5.8.

Table 23.1: Pronominal prefix selection, kinship terms

grammatical category	prefix type	meaning of prefix choice
VERBS or NOUNS functioning as “kinship terms”	P-series or A series	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P prefix or A prefix refers to point-of-view (or “possessor”) • Stem specifies the type of relative
SAME-GENERATION kinship term	INTERACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st role refers to point-of-view (or “possessor”) • 2nd role specifies the number and gender of the kin or relative • Stem specifies a same-generation relative
DIFFERENT-GENERATION kinship term	INTERACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st role refers to older generation, regardless of point-of-view • 2nd role refers to younger generation, regardless of point-of-view • Stem specifies a different-generation relative • or, with <i>reversed roles</i>, works like same-generation kinship terms

grammatical category	prefix type	meaning of prefix choice
DIFFERENT-GENERATION kinship term (in-laws)	INTERACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st role refers to older generation, regardless of point-of-view • 2nd role refers to younger generation, regardless of point-of-view • Stem specifies a different-generation relative • or, with <i>reversed</i> roles, works like same-generation kinship terms • In either case, if 1st role refers to 'she', then the overall word refers to a male's mother-in-law
DIFFERENT-GENERATION kinship term	P series	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P-prefix refers to a younger person, and the overall word must refer to an older-generation female (or mixed group of people)
DIFFERENT-GENERATION kinship term	/k-/ 1S.A, /ha-/ 3S.M.A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • /k-/ means 'my older female relative' • /ha-/ means 'my older male relative' and such words can also be used as TERMS OF ADDRESS

23.1 Verbs functioning as “kinship terms”, A-series prefixes

Several verbs with A-series pronominal prefixes function as “kinship terms” (2–8). The pronominal prefix expresses the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person point-of-view (or the “owner” of the relative), and the verb stem specifies the type of relative. Such kinship terms tend to describe relations between people of the same approximate age.

- (2) [de-A-adəhnqde:ʔ] ‘siblings’ (related to verb [hnqɔ(r)] ‘follow someone’)
- a. degaɔdɛhnq:de:ʔ
de-gaɔ-dɛ-hnq:de:ʔ
DU-3NS.FI.A-SRF-sibling
‘his/her sister/brother’ (literally, ‘they follow each other’)
 - b. dehɛnadɛhnq:de:ʔ
dɛ-hɛn-adɛ-hnq:de:ʔ
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-sibling
‘his brother’
 - c. dehɛnadɛhnq:drɔʔ
dɛ-hɛn-adɛ-hnq:dr-ɔʔ
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-sibling-DISTR
‘his brothers’
- (3) [de-A-(r)ihwawaʔkɔʔ] ‘spouse’ (related to verb [rihwawaʔs] ‘support someone’)
- a. degaeihwawáʔkɔʔ ‘her husband’,
de-gae-ihwawáʔkɔʔ
DU-3NS.FI.A-support.DISTR
‘his wife’
 - b. desni:hwáwaʔkɔʔ
de-sni:-hwáwaʔkɔʔ
DU-2D.A-support.DISTR
‘your wife/husband’
 - c. deyakni:hwawáʔkɔ:ʔ
de-yakni:-hwawáʔkɔ:ʔ
DU-1D.EX.A-support.DISTR
‘my wife/husband’

- (4) [A-adɛ-nɔhk(sɔʔ)] ‘to be mutually related’
- a. agya:dɛ:nɔhk
agy-a:dɛ:-nɔhk
1D.EX.A-SRF-related.STAT
‘my relative’
 - b. ɔgya:dɛ:nɔhk
ɔgy-a:dɛ:-nɔhk
1D.IN.A-SRF-related.STAT
‘my relative’
 - c. ɔgwa:dɛ:nɔhk
ɔgwa:-dɛ:-nɔhk
1P.IN.A-SRF-related.STAT
‘our relative’
 - d. ɔgwadɛnɔhksɔʔ
ɔgwa-dɛ-nɔhksɔʔ
1P.IN.A-SRF-related.PLZR
‘our relatives’
 - e. ja:dɛ:nɔhk
j-a:dɛ:-nɔhk
2D.A-SRF-related.STAT
‘your relative’
 - f. gɛna:dɛ:nɔhk
gɛn-a:dɛ:-nɔhk
3n.SG.A-SRF-related.STAT
‘they are related’
 - g. ɔdɛnɔhksɔʔ
ɔ-dɛ-nɔhksɔʔ
3fi.SG.A-SRF-related.PLZR
‘relatives, kin’, etc.
- (5) [t-A-gowanɛ(ʔs)] ‘older sibling’ (verb [t-...-gowanɛ] ‘biggest’, with [ʔs] PL)
tgaegówanɛʔs
t-gae-gówanɛʔs
CIS-3NS.FI.A-big.PL
‘my older siblings’

- (6) [A-ad-riyahsɔʔ] ‘older siblings’
 gaɔdriyahsɔʔ
 gaɔ-d-riyahsɔʔ
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-older.sibling.PLRZ
 ‘my older siblings’
- (7) [de-A-nɔhsakahɔh] ‘neighbour’ (consists of [nɔhsa-kahɔ] ‘adjoining houses’)
 deyagwanɔhsakáhɔh
 de-yagwa-nɔhsa-káhɔh
 DU-1P.EX.A-house-adjoin.STAT
 ‘my neighbours’
- (8) [de-A-nɔhsane:gɛ:] ‘neighbour’ (contains [nɔhsa-negɛ:] ‘side-by-side houses’)
 deyagwanɔhsané:gɛ:
 de-yagwa-nɔhs-a-né:gɛ:
 DU-1P.EX.A-house-JOINER A-side.by.side.STAT
 ‘my neighbour’

23.2 Verbs and nouns functioning as “kinship terms”, P-series prefixes

Several VERBS with P-series pronominal prefixes function as “kinship terms” (9–13), as do some NOUNS (14–17). The pronominal prefix expresses the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person point-of-view (or the “owner(s)” of the relative(s)), and the stems specify the type of relative. These kinship terms tend to describe relations between people of the same approximate age.

- (9) [P-adaoʔ] ‘ceremonial friend’ (related to verb [ao, ɛo] ‘to run, race’)
- a. ɔgya:dáoʔ
 ɔgya:-d-áoʔ
 1D.P-SRF-run.STAT
 ‘my ceremonial friend’
- b. hona:dáoʔ
 hon-a:d-áoʔ
 3NS.M.P-SRF-run.STAT
 ‘his ceremonial friend’

23.2 Verbs and nouns functioning as “kinship terms”, P-series prefixes

- c. q̄gwadáoʔsqʔ
 q̄gwa-d-áoʔ-sqʔ
 1PL.O-SRF-run.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘all of our ceremonial friends’
- (10) [P-aʔse:ʔ] ‘cousin’ (related to verb [aʔse:ʔ] ‘doubled’)
- a. q̄gyáʔse:ʔ
 q̄gy-áʔse:ʔ
 1D.P-doubled.STAT
 ‘my cousin’
- b. honáʔse:ʔ
 hon-áʔse:ʔ
 3NS.M.P-doubled.STAT
 ‘his cousin’
- c. q̄gwaʔse:ʔsqʔʔah
 q̄gwa-ʔse:ʔ-sqʔ:-ʔah
 1PL.O-doubled.STAT-PLRZ-DIM
 ‘all of my cousins’
- (11) [P-atsih] ‘friend’ (related to verb [atsih] ‘paired’)
- a. q̄gyá:tsih
 q̄gy-á:tsih
 1D.P-paired.STAT
 ‘my friend’
- b. honá:tsih
 hon-á:tsih
 3NS.M.P-paired.STAT
 ‘his friend’
- c. q̄gwátsihsqʔʔ
 q̄gw-átsih-sqʔʔ
 1PL.O-paired.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘all of our friends’
- (12) [P-agyoh] ‘sibling-in-law, in-laws’
- a. q̄gyá:gyoh
 q̄gy-á:g-yoh
 1D.P-sibling.in.law
 ‘my brother-in-law, sister-in-law’

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- b. honá:gyoh
hon-á:g-yoh
3NS.M.P-sibling.in.law
'her/his brother-in-law'
- (13) [de-P-hsnye'qh] 'adopted one' (related to verb [hsnye'] 'care for, look after')
deyagohsnyé'qh
de-yago-hsnyé'qh
DU-3S.FI.P-cared.for.STAT
'her adopted daughter'
- (14) [P-hwajiy-a'] 'family' (NOUN [hwajiy] 'family')
akwa:jí:ya'
ak-hwa:jí:y-a'
1S.P-family-NSF
'my family'
- (15) [P-ogwe'd-a'] 'relatives, people' (NOUN [ogwe'd] 'person')
agógwe'da'
ag-ógwe'd-a'
1S.P-people-NSF
'my relatives'
- (16) [P-adre'tr-a'] 'grandchild(ren)' (NOUN [adre'tr] 'grandchild(ren)')
agádre'tra'
ag-adre'tr-a'
1S.P-grandchildren-NSF
'my grandchild(ren)'
- (17) [P-ksa'gowahsr-a'] 'someone's boyfriend, girlfriend' (NOUN [ksa'gowahsr] 'beautiful one')³
a. ageksa'gówahsra'
age-ksa'gówahsr-a'
1S.P-beautiful.one-NSF
'my boyfriend or girlfriend'

³In context, the boy/girl-friend is taken to be the opposite sex to the person referred to by the pronominal prefix.

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- b. hoksaʔgohwáhsraʔ
ho-ksaʔgohwáhsr-aʔ
3S.M.P-beautiful.one-NSF
'his girlfriend'
- c. goksaʔgowáhsraʔ
go-ksaʔgowáhsr-aʔ
3S.FI.P-beautiful.one-NSF
'her boyfriend'
- cf. keksaʔgowáhsraʔ 'my girlfriend' with an INTERACTIVE prefix
ke-ksaʔgowáhsr-aʔ
1S>3S.FI-beautiful.one-NSF (see 19)

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

Interactive kinship terms consist of a stem with an interactive pronominal prefix. For comparison, example (18) illustrates an interactive kinship term (18a) and two verbs (not kinship terms, 18b,c) that take the same type of interactive prefix.

- (18) a. heyá:dreʔ
hey-á:dreʔ
1S>3S.M-grandchild
'my grandson' (kinship term with interactive prefix)
- b. henóhweʔs
he-nóhweʔ-s
1S>3S.M-like-HAB
'I like him' (verb with interactive prefix)
- c. hehswáʔne:t
he-hswáʔn-e:t
1S>3S.M-back-stand.STAT
'I support or back him' (verb with interactive prefix)

Recall that interactive pronominal prefixes express two sets of person, number, and gender features. The two sets are referred to below as *first* and *second* roles. (The format FIRST>SECOND role is used in the translations.) For verbs (18b, c), the first role generally refers to the “doer” or AGENT and the second role refers to the “recipient” or PATIENT of the action. However, for interactive kinship terms, the interactive prefixes work differently, as described in the following sections.

The two types of interactive kinship terms to be described next are SAME-GENERATION VERSUS DIFFERENT-GENERATION ones.

23.3.1 Same-generation kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

SAME-GENERATION KINSHIP TERMS denote a relationship between people (or groups of people) of approximately the same generation. For such words, the first role of the interactive prefix refers to the point-of-view or “possessor” of the relative: for example, the prefix [he-] 1s>3s.M refers to *my* relative, as does [ke-] 1s>3s.FI (19). The second role specifies the number and gender of the kin or relative being referred to: for example, [he-] 1s>3s.M refers to one *male* relative, while [ke-] 1s>3s.FI refers to one *female* relative (19). Other kinship terms that work the same way are listed below.

- (19) [INT-ksa'gowahsra'] 'boyfriend, girlfriend'
- a. heksa'gowáhsra'
he-ksa'gowáhsr-a'
1s>3s.M-beautiful.one-NSF
'my boyfriend'
 - b. keksa'gowáhsra'
ke-ksa'gowáhsr-a'
1s>3s.FI-beautiful.one-NSF
'my girlfriend'
- (20) [INT-nòhk(sq')] 'close relative, to be closely related to someone' (related to verb [nòhkw] 'love someone')
- a. kenòhksq'
ke-nòhksq'
1s>3s.FI-related.PLZR
'my relatives'
 - b. shenòhksq'
she-nòhksq'
2s>3s.FI-related.PLZR
'your relatives' (high language, describing our relationship to all people)

(21) [INT-gəhjih] ‘spouse’ (literally, ‘old person’)

- a. hegəhjih
he-gəhjih
1S>3S.M-old.one.STAT
‘my husband’ ‘my old man’ (informal)
- b. kegəhjih
ke-gəhjih
1S>3S.FI-old.one.STAT
‘my wife’, ‘my old lady’ (informal)
- c. hehségəhjih
hehsé-gəhjih
2S>3S.M-old.one.STAT
‘your husband’, ‘your old man’ (informal)
- d. shegəhjih
she-gəhjih
2S>3S.FI-old.one.STAT
‘your wife’, ‘your old lady’ (informal)
- e. həwágəhjih
həwá-gəhjih
3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M-old.one.STAT
‘her husband’, ‘her old man’ (informal)
- f. shagógəhjih
shagó-gəhjih
3S.M>3FI/3P-old.one.STAT
‘his wife’, ‘his old lady’ (informal)

The following TERMS OF ADDRESS (words used when speaking directly to the relative in question, or words used instead of a name) are also inflected like kinship terms. They refer to same-generation relatives and use interactive prefixes (22).

(22) [INT-aʔse:ʔ] ‘cousin!’ (term of address)

- a. gyáʔse:ʔ
gy-aʔse:ʔ
1>2(D)-doubled
‘cousin!’ (when directly addressing a cousin)

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- b. gwáʔse:ʔ
gw-aʔse:ʔ
1>2(P)-doubled
'cousins!' (when directly addressing one's cousins)

In addition, examples (22) and (23) (repeated from page 493) together show that the same stem can sometimes be inflected in two different ways. Example (23a) shows a VERB functioning as a “kinship term”, inflected with P-series pronominal prefixes. In contrast, example (23b) illustrates the same stem as an interactive kinship term, inflected with interactive pronominal prefixes.

- (23) a. [P-aʔse:ʔ] 'cousin'
qgyáʔse:ʔ
qgy-áʔse:ʔ
1DU-doubled.STAT
'my cousin'
- b. [INT-aʔse:ʔ] 'cousin'
gyáʔse:ʔ
gy-aʔse:ʔ
1>2(D)-doubled.STAT
'cousin!' (when directly addressing a cousin)

23.3.2 Different-generation kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

DIFFERENT-GENERATION kinship terms describe a relationship between people (or groups of people) of different generations. They prioritize the older generation over the younger generation: the first role of the pronominal prefix refers to the older generation, and the second role refers to the younger generation, regardless of point-of-view. For example, in *heyá:dre*ʔ 'my grandson' (24a), the first role of the [he-] 1s>3s.M prefix refers to the older relative (the grandparent/"possessor" 'I, my') and the second role refers to the younger relative (the grandson, 'he, him'). Meanwhile, in *hagá:dre*ʔ 'his grandson, me'⁴ or 'I am his grandson' (24b), the first role of the [hag-] 3s.M>1s prefix *still* refers to the older relative (the grandparent/"possessor", 'he, his'), and the second role *still* refers to the younger relative (the grandson, 'I, me').

⁴Thanks to Karin Michelson for this wording.

- (24) [INT-adre[?]] ‘grandchild relationship’
- a. heyá:dre[?]
 hey-á:dre[?]
 1s>3s.M-grandchild
 ‘my grandson’
 - b. hagá:dre[?]
 hag-á:dre[?]
 3s.M>1s-grandchild
 ‘his grandson, me’, ‘I am his grandson’
 - c. keyá:dre[?]
 key-á:dre[?]
 1s>3s.FI-grandchild
 ‘my granddaughter’
 - d. hqwá:dre[?]
 hqwá:-dre[?]
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-grandchild
 ‘his/her grandson’
 - e. sheyá:dre[?]
 shey-á:dre[?]
 2s>3s.FI-grandchild
 ‘your granddaughter’
 - f. qdádadre[?]
 qdád-adre[?]
 3s.FI>3s.FI-grandchild
 ‘her granddaughter’
 - g. shagó:dre[?]
 shagó:-dre[?]
 3s.M>3FI/3P-grandchild
 ‘his granddaughter’
 - h. gaqdadre[?]sq[?]:[?]ah
 gaqdadre[?]-shq[?]:[?]ah
 3FI>3FI(+NS)-grandchild-PLRZ
 ‘her grandchildren’

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- i. shagódréʔsɔʔ
shagó-dréʔ-shɔʔ
3s.M>3FI/3P-grandchild-PLRZ
'his grandchildren'
- j. gakeyadréʔsɔʔ
gakey-adréʔ-shɔʔ
1s>3NS-grandchild-PLRZ
'my grandchildren'
- k. gasheyadréʔsɔʔ
gashey-adréʔ-shɔʔ
2s>3NS-grandchild-PLRZ
'your grandchildren'
- l. hehsá:dréʔ
hehs-á:dréʔ
2s>3s.M-grandchild
'your grandson'
- m. gwadre:ʔ
gw-adréʔ
1>2(p)-grandchild
'you are my grandchild' (term of address)

Other kinship terms that work the same way are listed below.

- (25) [INT-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh] 'younger sibling'
 - a. heʔgɛ:ʔɛh
he-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
1s>3s.M-younger.sibling
'my younger brother'
 - b. hesheʔgɛ:ʔɛh
heshe-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
2s>3s.M-younger.sibling
'your younger brother'

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- c. keʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 khe-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 1s>3s.FI-younger.sibling
 ‘my younger sister’
- d. ɔdadeʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 ɔdade-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 3s.FI>3s.FI-younger.sibling
 ‘her younger sister’
- e. shagoʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 shago-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 3s.M>3FI/3P-younger.sibling
 ‘his younger sister’
- f. hɔwaʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 hɔwa-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-younger.sibling
 ‘his/her younger brother’
- g. sheʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 she-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh
 2s>3s.FI-younger.sibling
 ‘your younger sister’
- h. etiʔgɛ:ʔah
 eti-ʔgɛ:ʔah
 1NS.IN>3s.FI/3NS-younger.sibling
 ‘our younger sister’
- i. shɔgwaʔgɛ:ʔah
 shɔgwa-ʔgɛ:ʔah
 3s.M>1P-younger.sibling
 ‘our younger brother’
- (26) [INT-hawahk(sɔʔ)] ‘child(ren)’
- a. hehá:wahk
 he-há:wahk
 1s>3s.M-child
 ‘my son’

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- b. kehá:wahk
ke-há:wahk
1s>3s.FI-child
'my daughter'
- (27) [INT-hawa:k'ah] '(maternal) niece' (i.e. the child of one's mother's brother or mother's sister)
- a. ɔdatawá:k'ah
ɔdat-hawá:k'ah
3s.FI>3s.FI-niece
'her maternal niece'
- b. kehawá:k'ah
ke-hawá:k'ah
1s>3s.FI-niece
'my maternal niece'
- (28) [INT-ɔhwadɛ'(sɔ')] 'niece, nephew'
- a. gakeyɔhwá:dɛ'
gakey-ɔhwá:dɛ'
1s>3NS-niece/nephew
'my brother's children', 'my nieces and nephews'
- b. keyɔhwá:dɛ'
key-ɔhwá:dɛ'
1s>3s.FI-niece/nephew
'my niece'
- c. gasheyɔhwádɛ'sɔ'
gashey-ɔhwádɛ'sɔ'
2s>3NS-niece/nephew
'your nieces and nephews'
- (29) [INT-ya'dawɛh] 'niece, nephew' (literally, 'to support someone')
- a. gakeya'dá:wɛh
gake-ya'dá:wɛh
1s>3NS-niece/nephew
'my brother's children'

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- b. heyáʔdawəh
he-yáʔdawəh
1s>3s.M-niece/nephew
'my nephew'
- c. keyáʔdawəh
ke-yáʔdawəh
1s>3s.FI-niece/nephew
'my brother's kids'
- (30) [INT-hjiʔah] 'older sibling'
- a. hehshéhjiʔah
hehshé-hjiʔah
2s>3s.M-older.sibling
'your older brother'
- b. kehjíʔah
khe-hjíʔah
1s>3s.FI-older.sibling
'my older sister'
- (31) [INT-hsot] 'grandparent'
- a. hagéhso:t, hakso:t
hagé/hak-hso:t
3s.M>1s-grand.parent
'my grandfather'
- b. hqwáhso:t
hqwá-hso:t
3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-grand.parent
'his/her grandfather'
- (32) [INT-no:haʔ] 'mother' (also see 48, 53)
qínqhaʔ
qí-nqhaʔ
3s.FI/3NS>1NS-mother
'our mother'

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

- (33) [INT-nohá:ʔah] ‘(maternal) aunt’⁵ (also see 49, 54)

ɔ́kinohá:ʔah

ɔ́ki-nohá:ʔah

3s.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt

‘our (plural) aunt’

- (34) [INT-noʔsəh] ‘(maternal) uncle’⁶ (also see 55)

a. hɔ́wánoʔsəh

hɔ́wá-noʔsəh

3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-uncle

‘his/her uncle’

b. hyanóʔsəh

hya-noʔsəh

3s.M>2s-uncle

‘your uncle’

c. shɔ́knínoʔsəh

shɔ́kní-noʔsəh

3s.M>1D-uncle

‘our uncle’

- (35) [INT-ʔnih] ‘father’ (also see 56)

a. hɔ́wáʔnih

hɔ́wá-ʔnih

3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-father

‘his/her father’

b. hyaʔnih

hya-ʔnih

3s.M>2s-father

‘your father’

- (36) [INT-naʔehs] ‘step-mother’ (also see 47)

ɔ́knáʔehs

ɔ́k-náʔehs

3s.FI>1s-step.mother

‘my step-mother’

⁵This word used to refer only to one’s mother’s sister. Nowadays, it can also refer to one’s father’s sister.

⁶This word used to refer only to one’s mother’s brother. Nowadays, it can also refer to one’s father’s brother.

- (37) [INT-[?]ni:hah] ‘godfather, step-father’ (also see 57)
 hɔwa[?]ni:hah
 hɔwa-[?]ni:hah
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-step.father
 ‘her godfather/step-father’

- (38) [INT-no:[?]] ‘step-parent/child’
- a. hakno:[?]
 hak-no:[?]
 3s.M>1s-step.parent/child
 ‘my step-father’
- b. hehsno:[?]
 hehs-no:[?]
 2s>3s.M-step.parent/child
 ‘your step-son’
- c. shé:~no:[?]
 shé:-no:[?]
 2s>3s.FI-step.parent/child
 ‘your step-daughter’

Different-generation kinship terms, reversed roles

Several of the different-generation kinship terms described in the last section can instead be inflected just like same-generation kinship terms (see §23.3.1): the first role denotes the point-of-view (the “possessor” of the relative) and the second role specifies the number and gender of the relative in question. We can think of these as “reversed role” kinship terms. Examples contrasting the two types are shown below.

- (39) [INT-nohá:[?]ah] ‘(maternal) aunt’ (reversed roles, like same-generation kinship terms)
 etiŋhá:[?]ah
 ‘our aunt’ (two of us)
 eti-nɔhá:[?]ah
 1NS.IN>3s.FI/3NS-aunt
- cf. ɔkinghá:[?]ah
 ɔki-nɔhá:[?]ah
 3s.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
 ‘our aunt’ (non-reversed roles, like regular different-generation kinship terms)

- (40) [INT-no^osəh] ‘(maternal) uncle’
 Etiŋ^osəh Eḥənatno^oáowanaht
 eti-nŋ^osəh
 1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-uncle they.become.bigheads
 ‘Our Uncles ceremony’ (reversed roles, like same-generation kinship terms)
 cf. shŋknino^osəh
 shŋkni-nŋ^osəh
 3S.M>1D-uncle
 ‘our (dual) uncle’ (non-reversed roles, like regular different-generation kinship terms)

Different-generation kinship terms, in-laws

The two kinship terms described in this section both refer to different-generation in-laws (the parent-in-law / child-in-law relationship). These terms work differently than other different-generation kinship terms (§23.3.2), partly because of the unique meaning of the stems.

For the kinship term [nenhŋs], the first role can refer to the older generation and the second role can refer to the younger generation (41a–c), which is mostly like the different-generation kinship terms described on page 498. However, if the first role and point-of-view (the “possessor”) coincide, then the stem means ‘son-in-law’ (41a), and if the first role and point-of-view (the “possessor”) do not coincide, then the stem means ‘father-in-law’ (41b, c). Lastly, if the first role is 3S.FI ‘she’, the word refers only to a male speaker’s mother-in-law (41d).

- (41) [INTERACT-nenhŋs] ‘someone’s father/son-in-law’, ‘a male’s mother-in-law’
- a. hené:nhŋ:s
 he-né:nhŋ:s
 1S>3S.M-in.law
 ‘my son-in-law’
 - b. hakné:nhŋ:s
 hak-né:nhŋ:s
 3S.M>1S-in.law
 ‘my father-in-law’
 - c. hyané:nhŋ:s
 hya-né:nhŋ:s
 3S.M>2S-in.law
 ‘your father-in-law’

- d. qkné:nhq:s
 qk-né:nhq:s
 $3\text{S.FI} > 1\text{S-in.law}$
 ‘my mother-in-law’ (a man speaking)

Alternatively, [nenhqs] can work like the same-generation kinship terms described in §23.3.1: the first role can just refer to the point-of-view (the “possessor” of the relative) while the second role will describe the number and gender of the relative (42a). That being said, if the second role is 3S.FI ‘she’, the word refers only to a male’s mother-in-law (42b, c).

- (42) [interactive-nenhqs] ‘someone’s father/son-in-law’, ‘a male’s mother-in-law’
- a. hqwánenhqs
 hqwá-nenhqs
 $3\text{S.M}/3\text{S.FI} > 3\text{S.M-in.law}$
 ‘his/her father-in-law, son-in-law’
- b. shagónenhqs
 shagó-nenhqs
 $3\text{S.M} > 3\text{FI}/3\text{P-in.law}$
 ‘his mother-in-law’
- c. shené:nhq:s
 she-né:nhq:s
 $2\text{S} > 3\text{S.FI-in.law}$
 ‘your mother-in-law’ (when speaking to a man)

For [hseyqh], the first role can refer to the older generation and the second role can reference the younger generation, as long as both roles refer to females (43a, b).

- (43) [INTERACT-hse-yqh] ‘a female’s mother/daughter-in-law’
- a. qgehsé:yqh
 qge-hsé:yqh
 $3\text{S.FI} > 1\text{S-in.law}$
 ‘my mother-in-law’ (a woman speaking)
- b. kehsé:yqh
 khe-hsé:yqh
 $1\text{S} > 3\text{S.FI-in.law}$
 ‘my daughter-in-law’ (a woman speaking)

Alternatively (as with same-generation kinship terms, §23.3.1), the first role for [hseyq̄h] can just refer to the point-of-view (the “possessor” of the relative) while the second role denotes the relative. Both roles still only refer to females (44).

- (44) [INTERACT-hse-yq̄h] ‘a female’s mother/daughter-in-law’
- a. q̄dadəhsé:yq̄h
q̄dadə-hsé:yq̄h
3S.FI>3S.FI-in.law
‘her mother-in-law’
 - b. shehsé:yq̄h
she-hsé:yq̄h
2S>3S.FI-in.law
‘your mother-in-law, daughter-in-law’ (when speaking to a woman)

23.3.3 Different-generation kinship terms taking non-interactive A- or P-series prefixes

The different-generation kinship terms described in §23.3 normally (or maybe traditionally) take interactive prefixes. However, several of these terms can also be inflected with non-interactive, A- or P-series prefixes. They are described next.

Different-generation kinship terms taking P-series prefixes

While different-generation kinship terms normally take interactive pronominal prefixes (§23.3.2), they can take P-series prefixes instead. In such cases, the pronominal prefix refers to the younger member(s) of the relationship, and the stem refers to older-generation females (45–47). If interactive prefixes are used, the same stem can refer to older-generation males (as shown by the forms labelled “cf.” in 45-47).

- (45) [P-hji’ah] ‘to have an older sister’
- hohji’ah
 - ho-hji’ah
 - 3S.M.P-older.sibling
 - ‘his older sister’
 - cf. hehshéhji’ah
hehshé-hji’ah
2S>3S.M-older.sibling
‘your older brother’ (from example 30)

- (46) [P-hsot] 'to have a grandmother'
- a. hohso:t
ho-hso:t
3s.M.P-grand.parent
'his Grandma'
 - b. sahsot:t
sa-hso:t
2s.P-grand.parent
'your Grandmother'
 - cf. hagéhsot:t, hakso:t
hagé/hak-hso:t
3s.M>1s-grand.parent
'my grandfather' (from example 31)

- (47) [P-no:ʔ] 'have a step-mother'
- a. sano:ʔ
sa-no:ʔ
2s.P-step.parent/child
'your step-mother'
 - b. hono:ʔ
ho-no:ʔ
3s.M.P-step.parent/child
'his step-mother'
 - cf. hakno:ʔ
hak-no:ʔ
3s.M>1s-step.parent/child
'my step-father' (from example 38)

- (48) [P-no:haʔ] 'to have a mother'
- a. honó:haʔ
ho-nó:haʔ
3s.M.P-mother
'his mother'
 - b. sanó:haʔ
sa-nó:haʔ
2s.P-mother
'your mother'

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

cf. $\text{qkin}\text{qha}^{\text{?}}$
 $\text{qki}\text{-no}\text{ha}^{\text{?}}$
3s.FI/3NS>1NS-mother
'our mother' (from example 32)

(49) [P-no:ha:ʔah] 'to have a (maternal) aunt'

a. $\text{gono:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
 $\text{go-no:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
3s.FI.P-aunt
'her aunt'

b. $\text{hono:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
 $\text{ho-no:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
3s.M.P-aunt
'his aunt' (on the maternal side)

c. $\text{sano:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
 $\text{sa-no:há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
2s.P-aunt
'your aunt'

cf. $\text{qkin}\text{qhá:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
 $\text{qki}\text{-no}\text{há:}^{\text{?}}\text{ah}$
3s.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
'our aunt' (from example 33)

(50) [P-naʔehs] 'to have a step-mother'

a. $\text{akná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
 $\text{ak-ná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
1s.P-step.mother
'I have a step-mother'

b. $\text{saná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
 $\text{sa-ná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
2s.P-step.mother
'your step-mother'

cf. $\text{qkná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
 $\text{qk-ná}^{\text{?}}\text{ehs}$
3s.FI>1s-step.mother
'my step-mother'

(from example 36)

- (51) [p-haʔk] ‘to have an aunt’ (archaic word, possibly related to verb *gahaʔk* ‘it did sit on something’)
 agé:haʔk
 agé:-haʔk
 1s.P-aunt
 ‘my aunt’ (archaic word)
- (52) [p-adɛ-ni-ho:nɔʔ] ‘to have relatives on one’s father’s side’. (Related to [ʔnih] ‘father’)
 sadɛnɪhó:nɔʔ
 s-adɛ-ni-hó:nɔʔ
 2s.P-SRF-father-POP
 ‘your relatives on your father’s side’

Different-generation kinship terms taking A-series prefixes

While different-generation kinship terms normally take interactive pronominal prefixes (§23.3.2), they can instead take the A-series [k-] 1s.A prefix or the A-series [ha-] 2Ms.A prefix. In such cases, [k-] 1s.A means ‘my maternal relative’ (53–55) and [ha-] 2Ms.A means ‘my paternal relative’ (56–57). Some of these same words can also be used as terms of address (see §5.8.1).

- (53) [k-nó:haʔ] ‘(my) mother’ (optionally also a term of address)
 knó:haʔ
 k-nó:haʔ
 1s.A-mother
 ‘my mother’, ‘Mom’
 cf. ɔkínɔhaʔ
 ɔkí-nɔhaʔ
 3s.FI/3NS>1NS-mother
 ‘our mother’ (from example 32)
- (54) [k-no:ha:ʔah] ‘(my) (maternal) aunt’ (optionally also a term of address)
 kno:há:ʔah
 k-no:há:ʔah
 1s.A-aunt
 ‘my (maternal) aunt’, ‘Auntie’
 cf. ɔkínɔhá:ʔah
 ɔkí-nɔhá:ʔah
 3s.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
 ‘our aunt’ (from example 33)

- (55) [k-noʔsəh] ‘my (maternal) uncle’ (optionally also a term of address)
 knóʔsəh
 k-noʔsəh
 1s.A-uncle
 ‘my uncle’
 cf. hɔwánoʔsəh
 hɔwá-noʔsəh
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-uncle
 ‘his/her uncle’ (from example 34)
- (56) [ha-ʔnih] ‘my father’ (optionally a term of address)
 haʔnih
 ha-ʔnih
 3s.M.A-father
 ‘my father’, ‘Dad’
 cf. hɔwáʔnih
 hɔwá-ʔnih
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-father
 ‘his/her father’ (from example 35)
- (57) [ha-ʔni:hah] ‘my godfather’ (optionally a term of address)
 haʔní:hah
 ha-ʔní:hah
 3s.M.A-godfather
 ‘my godfather’
 cf. hɔwá ní:hah
 hɔwá-ʔní:hah
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-step.father
 ‘her godfather/step-father’ (from example 37)

Similarly, stems like [hsot] ‘grandparent’ only refer to older-generation *females* when [k-] 1s.A is used (58). For such words, in order to refer to an older-generation male, an interactive prefix is used instead (see the “cf.” examples in 58, as previously described in §23.3.2).

- (58) [k-so:t] ‘grandmother’ (optionally also a term of address)
 kso:t
 k-hsot
 1s.A-grand.parent
 ‘my grandmother’, ‘Grandma’

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

cf. *hagéhso:t*, *hakso:t*
hagé/hak-hso:t
3s.M>1s-grand.parent
'my grandfather' (from example 31)

cf. *hehso:t*
he-hso:t
1s>3s.M-grand.parent
'Grandpa'

24 Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs

STATIVE-ONLY verbs only occur in the stative aspect, and describe a state, property, or attribute. They are single-role verbs (§20.6), taking either A- or P-series pronominal prefixes. Table 24.1 (page 516) summarizes the factors influencing pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs.

The two main types of stative-only verbs are PERSONAL and NEUTER verbs (*stative-only* column in Table 24.1). Personal verbs take a complete set of either A- or P-series pronominal prefixes, while neuter verbs only take [ga-] 3s.A or [o-] 3s.P prefixes.

Three subtypes of stative-only verbs are also shown in Table 24.1, (*subtype* column): [NV] refers to fixed expressions, where the incorporated noun is a fixed part of the verb's meaning (see §9.1). In terms of pronominal prefix choice, [NV] fixed expressions are identical to non-incorporating verbs, [V]. [(N)-V] refers to verbs that optionally take an incorporated noun. Finally, [+V] refers to verbs that require incorporated nouns (see §9.1.)

Pronominal prefix choice for personal verbs (both [V] and fixed [NV] types) must be memorized: some verbs take A-series and some take P-series prefixes. For personal verbs, noun incorporation does not affect pronominal prefix choice.

Pronominal prefix choice for neuter verbs *without* incorporation (both [V] and fixed [NV] types) must also be memorized: some begin with [ga-] 3s.A and some begin with [o-] 3s.P.

In contrast, for *incorporating* neuter verbs (both optionally-incorporating [(N)-V] and obligatorily-incorporating [+V] types), pronominal prefix selection is influenced both by the type of incorporated noun, and also by possession (the incorporated noun is 'owned'). All of these factors are described in the following sections.

24 *Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs*

Table 24.1: Pronominal prefix selection, single-aspect verbs.

stative-only	P? ^a	subtypes	without NI ^b	with NI	inc noun type
personal	✗		[A-] or [P-]		
neuter	✗	[V], no NI [NV] (fixed)	[ga-] or [o-]		
neuter	✗	[(N)-V] [+V]	[o-V] n/a	[ga-N-V] [o-N-V]	[ga-N] [o-N]
			[ga-V]	[ga-N-V]	[ga-/o-N]
neuter	✗	[(N)-V] (positional V)	[ga-/o-V]	[ga-N-V] [o-N-V]	[ga-N] [o-N]
			some [ga-V]	[ga-N-V]	[ga-/o-N]
neuter	✗	[N+V] (counting V)		[ga-N-V] [o-N-V] [ga-/o-N-V]	[ga-N] [o-N] [o-N]
neuter	✓	[(N)-V] (possession)	[A-/P-V]	[P-N-V]	basic noun or detachable body part noun
				[A-N-V]	non-detachable body part noun
neuter	✓	[N+o:t] 'have' [N+ε'] 'have'		[P-N+o:t/+ε']	basic noun or detachable body part noun
				[A/P-N+o:t/+ε']	non-detachable body part noun

^a"P" denotes possession.

^bNoun Incorporation

24.1 Personal stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

PERSONAL stative-only verbs take either the A-series or the P-series of pronominal prefix. The choice has to be memorized for each verb. For example, the verb in (1a) exclusively takes A-series prefixes, and the verb in (1b) requires P-series prefixes.

- (1) personal stative-only verbs
- a. *sewáihq̄h*
se-wáihq̄h
 2S.A-good.at.something.STAT
 ‘you are good at something’
 - b. *agáhs̄q̄:*
ag-áhs̄q̄:
 1S.P-slow.moving.STAT
 ‘I am slow to act’

Incorporated nouns do not influence the choice of prefix for personal, stative-only verbs. For example, while both verbs in (2) have the same incorporated noun, the verb in (2a) takes an A-series prefix and the verb in (2b) takes a P-series prefix. Similarly, the verbs in (3) have either an A- or P-series prefix, while the incorporated noun [q̄gweʔd] ‘person’ is the same in both cases.

- (2) [A/P-haʔd-stative.only.verb]
- a. *shaʔdá:t̄q̄hs*
s-haʔd-á:-t̄q̄hs
 2S.A-throat-JOINER A-dried.out. HAB
 ‘you are thirsty’ ([NV] fixed expression)
 - b. *ḡōhaʔdí:yo:*
ḡō-haʔd-í:yo:
 3S.FI.P-throat-good.STAT
 ‘she is a good singer’, ‘she has a good voice’ ([NV] fixed expression)
- (3) [A/P-q̄gweʔd-stative.only.verb]
- a. *h̄ōgweʔdí:yo:*
h-q̄gweʔd-í:yo:
 3S.M.A-person-good.STAT
 ‘he is a charming or nice person’ (obligatorily-incorporating [+V])

- b. agq̄gwḗ dáhētq̄
ag-q̄gwḗ d-á-hētq̄
3s.FI.P-person-ugly.STAT
'she is a cruel, mean person' (optionally-incorporating [(N)+V])

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

For neuter stative-only verbs, pronominal prefix choice is influenced by the type of incorporated noun and by possession (whether or not the incorporated noun is 'owned' - see Table 24.1, page 516.) These factors are described next.

24.2.1 Neuter stative-only verbs without an incorporated noun, and NV fixed expressions

Neuter stative-only verbs *without* an incorporated noun take either A-series [ga-, w-] 3s.A prefixes or the P-series [o-] 3s.P prefix. The type of prefix has to be memorized. For example, the verbs in (4) require a [ga-] or [w-] 3s.A prefix, and the verbs in (5) require an [o-] 3s.P prefix.

- (4) neuter stative-only verbs, no noun incorporation, with [ga-, w-] 3s.A prefix

- a. gashá:sde'
ga-shá:sde'
3s.A-strong.STAT
'it is strong'
- b. ganq̄:[?]
ga-nq̄:[?]
3s.A-costly.STAT
'it is expensive, dear, precious'
- c. gahq̄'[?]ji:
ga-hq̄'[?]ji:
3s.A-dark.coloured.STAT
'it is dark-coloured'
- d. wagyé:səh
w-ag-yé:s-əh
3s.A-SRF-easy-STAT
'it is easy'

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

- (5) neuter stative-only verbs, no noun incorporation, with [o-] 3s.A prefix
- a. ohní:yq̄h
o-hní:yq̄h
3s.P-hard.STAT
'it is hard'
 - b. ogáhdeh
o-gáhdeh
3s.P-raw.STAT
'it is raw'
 - c. oná'no:ʔ
o-ná'no:ʔ
3s.P-cold.STAT
'it is cold, cool'

[NV] fixed expressions (ones that are neuter, stative-only verbs) are like the above verbs. For example, the ones in (6) require a [ga-] 3s.A prefix (or a [w-] 3s.A prefix, 6b), and the ones in (7) require an [o-] 3s.P prefix. Moreover, examples (6a) and (7a), which both incorporate [hneg] 'water', show that the type of incorporated noun does not affect prefix choice in these [NV] fixed expressions.

- (6) [NV] fixed expressions with [ga-, w-] 3s.A prefix
- a. gahné:ga:t
ga-hné:g-a:-t
3s.A-water-JOINER-stand.STAT
'it is watery'
 - b. wəhsóhɔ:t
w-əhsóh-ɔ:t
3s.A-dye-attached.STAT
'it is dyed'
 - c. gadreṅagá'q̄h
ga-dreṅ-a-gá'q̄h
3s.A-smell-JOINER-good.tasting.STAT
'it smells good, sweet, appetizing'
 - d. gahsdaowá:nəh
ga-hsda:-owá:nəh
3s.A-rain-big.STAT
'it is raining hard'

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(7) [NV] fixed expressions with [o-] 3s.P prefix

- a. ohneganá:wę:
o-hneg-a-ná:wę:
3S.P-water-JOINERÁ-wet.STAT
'lead, lukewarm water'
- b. oihwí:yo:
o-ihw-í:yo:
3S.P-matter-good.STAT
'it is for certain, sure'

Positional verbs (a thematic subtype of neuter, stative-only verb) *without* an incorporated noun are also like the above verbs. For example, the ones in (8) require a [ga-] or [w-] 3s.A prefix, and the ones in (9) require an [o-] 3s.P prefix.

(8) positional verbs, no noun incorporation, with [ga-] 3s.A prefix,

- a. degáhq'[?]
de-gá-hq'[?]
DU-3S.A-lie.across.STAT
'something is lying across a path, a door, etc.'
- b. gá:yę'[?]
gá:-yę'[?]
3S.A-lie.STAT
'it is lying on the ground'
- c. gadéhdá:[?]
ga-déhdá:[?]
3S.A-spread.out.on.ground.STAT
'it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground'
- d. gagéhq'[?]
ga-géhq'[?]
3S.A-lie.about. STAT
'things are lying about, around'

(9) positional verbs, no noun incorporation, with [o-] 3s.P prefix

- a. áqt
á-qt
3S.P-stick.out.STAT¹
'it is attached', 'it is sticking out'

¹In *áqt* the 3s.P prefix is [a-], which is the regular pronunciation of this prefix before o-stems.

- b. owa'né:da:[?]
 o-wa'né:da:[?]
 3S.P-stuck.STAT
 'it is stuck'
- c. odáhq̄h
 o-dáhq̄h
 3S.P-draped.STAT
 'it is draped'

24.2.2 Neuter stative-only verbs, with noun incorporation

Noun incorporation can influence pronominal prefix choice for neuter stative-only verbs. In addition, [o-V] verbs and [ga-V] verbs behave differently with respect to noun incorporation.

24.2.3 [o-V] and [+V], neuter stative-only verbs with noun incorporation

Neuter stative-only verbs that begin with [o-] 3S.P ([o-V], 10), and those that are obligatorily incorporating ([+V], 11), tend to take the same type of pronominal prefix as the non-incorporated noun. For example, the [o-V] verb *o'dáihę:* (10) takes [ga-] when it incorporates [hsq̄wahd] 'wire' – a noun with a [ga-] prefix. Meanwhile, the same verb takes [o-] when it incorporates [nehs] 'sand' – a noun with an [o-] prefix.

(10) [o-V]

- a. o'dáihę:
 o-'dáih-ę:
 3S.P-hot-STAT
 'it is hot'
- b. gahsq̄wahdadáihę:
 ga-hsq̄wahd-a-dáih-ę:
 3S.A-wire-JOINER A-hot-STAT
 'hot plate'
- cf. gahsq̄wahda'
 ga-hsq̄wahd-a'
 3S.A-wire-NSF
 'wire, needle, nails'

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- c. o'nehsadaiḥ:
o-'nehs-a-dáih-ḥ:
3S.P-sand-JOINER-hot-STAT
'desert'
cf. o'néhsa'
o-'néhs-a'
3S.P-sand-NSF
'sand'

The facts are similar for the obligatorily incorporating verb in (11).

(11) [+owanḥ] 'big' (obligatorily incorporating neuter verb)

- a. gaḥḥsrowá:nḥ
ga-hḥsr-owá:n-ḥ
3S.A-box-big-STAT
'big box'
cf. gaḥḥsra'
ga-hḥsr-a'
3S.A-box-NSF
'a box'
- b. ojḥ'dowá:nḥ
o-jḥ'd-owá:n-ḥ
3S.P-fish-big-STAT
'big fish'
cf. ojḥ'da'
o-jḥ'd-a'
3S.P-fish-NSF
'a fish'

24.2.4 Neuter stative-only positional verbs, with incorporated noun

Positional verbs are a thematic subtype of neuter, stative-only verbs describing the position of an object. Most positional verbs take the same type of pronominal prefix as the noun that they incorporate. For example, *wadiḥḥ* 'it is leaning' takes the same [ga-] prefix as the noun [ḥw] 'boat' in (12a), and takes the same [o-] prefix as the noun [hah] 'road' in (12b).

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

- (12) a. wadíhḥ
w-adíh-ḥ
3s.A-lean-STAT
'it is leaning'
- b. gahḥwadíhḥ
gā-hḥw-adíh-ḥ
3s.A-boat-lean-STAT
'a leaning boat'
- cf. gahḥ:wa'
gā-hḥ:w-a'
3s.A-boat-NSF
'a boat'
- c. ohaha' díhḥ
o-hah-adíh-ḥ
3s.P-road-lean-STAT
'the Milky Way'
- cf. oháha'
o-háh-a'
3s.P-road-NSF
'road'

Similar examples are shown in (13).

- (13) a. áḥt
á-ḥt
3s.P-stick.out.STAT
'it is attached', 'it is sticking out'
- cf. wḥ'nihsḥaḥt
w-ḥ'nihsḥ-a-ḥt
3s.A-wheel-JOINER A-stick.out.STAT
'an attached wheel'
- cf. ohsgyḥ' dḥ:t
o-hsgyḥ' d-ḥ:t
3s.P-bone-stick.out.STAT
'bone'
- b. gá:hḥ
gá:hḥ
3s.A-covered.STAT
'it is covered'

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- cf. gahnegá:hq̄h
ga-hneg-á-:hq̄h
3S.A-water-JOINER A-covered.STAT
'Head Lead on a Stick' (snowsnake game vocabulary)
- cf. onyɛ'gwáohq̄h
o-nyɛ'gw-á-ohq̄h
3S.P-drifted.snow-JOINER A-covered.STAT
'drifted snow'
- c. nitgá:de'
ni-t-gá:-de'
PART-CIS-3S.A-exist.STAT
'how high it is' (inanimate object), 'the height of something'
- cf. gahwajiyá:de'
ga-hwajiy-á:-de'
3S.A-family-JOINER A-exist.STAT
'a family' (matrilineal)
- cf. ohá:de'
o-há:-de'
3S.P-road-exist.STAT
'an existing road'
- d. gadéhda:?'
ga-déhda:?'
3S.A-lie.spread.out.STAT
'it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground'
- cf. ganehsdá:déhda:?'
ga-nehsdá:-déhda:?'
3S.A-board-lie.spread.out.STAT
'a floor'
- cf. owidradéhda:?'
o-widr-a-déhda:?'
3S.P-ice-lie.spread.out.STAT
'ice patch'
- e. gahe:?'
ga-he:?'
3S.A-sit.up.on.top.STAT
'it is sitting up on top of something', 'it is sitting here'
- cf. ganá'jáhe:?'
ga-ná'j-a-he:?'
3S.A-pail-JOINER A-sit.up.on.top.STAT
'pail setting on something'

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

- cf. ohsgéʔdrahe:ʔ
o-hsgéʔdr-a-he:ʔ
3s.P-rust-JOINER A-sit.up.on.top.STAT
'it is rusting, rusty'
- f. gá:yɛʔ
gá:-yɛʔ
3s.A-lie.on.ground.STAT
'it is lying on the ground'
- cf. ganóʔaɛʔ
ga-nóʔa:-ɛʔ
3s.A-head-lie.on.ground.STAT
'a head lying on the ground'
- cf. ohódaɛʔ
o-hód-a-ɛʔ
3s.P-sapling-JOINER A-lie.on.ground.STAT
'a bush, shrub'
- g. degáhɔʔ
de-gá-hɔʔ
DU-3s.A-lie.across.STAT
'something is lying across a path, a door, etc.'
- cf. dewahɔhdáhɔʔ
de-w-ahɔhd-á-hɔʔ
DU-3s.A-ear-JOINER A-lie.across.STAT
'jackass, donkey'
- cf. odóʔdáhɔʔ
o-dóʔd-a-hɔʔ
3s.P-wave-JOINER A-lie.across.STAT
'little waves'
- h. gahnyo:t
ga-hny-o:t
3s.A-stick-stand.STAT
'it is standing'
- cf. gahá:do:t
ga-há:d-o:t
3s.A-forest-stand.STAT
'forest'
- cf. odróhnyo:t
o-dróhny-o:t
3s.P-beam.of.light-stand.STAT
'sunbeam', 'ray of light', 'sunshine'

The obligatorily-incorporating positional verbs in (14) also behave like the verbs in (13).

- (14) a. [+itgɛʔqh] ‘come out, issue out, rise from, emanate from’
- i. gawɛnitgɛʔq:ʔ
ga-wɛn-itgɛʔq:-ʔ
3S.A-word-emanate.from-NMLZ-STAT
‘a speech’
 - ii. gyotsaditgɛʔqh
g-yo-t-hsad-itgɛʔq-h
CIS-3S.P-SRF-fog-emanate.from-STAT
‘steam coming out’
- b. [+kahq] ‘adjoin, abut’
- i. sgahsakáhq:ʔ
s-ga-hs-a-káhq:-ʔ
REP-3S.A-mouth-JOINER-joinerA-adjoin.STAT-NMLZ
‘large mouth bass’
 - ii. ohyákahqʔ
o-hy-á-kahqʔ
3S.P-berry-JOINER-joinerA-adjoin.STAT
‘tomatoes’

The obligatorily-incorporating positional verbs in (15–19) may be like the verbs in (14). However, only one type of incorporated noun is shown in each case, and so the evidence is inconclusive.

- (15) [+hsihɑ:ʔ] ‘stand in a bunch or group’
- ojihsqdáhsihɑ:ʔ
o-jihsqd-á-hsihɑ:ʔ
3S.P-star-JOINER-joinerA-stand.in.group.STAT
‘stars showing’ (a group of stars)
- cf. ojihsq:da:ʔ
o-jihsq:da:-ʔ
3S.P-star-NSF
‘a cluster of stars, a star’
- (16) [+ɛhɛ:] ‘direction of’
- a. nigyowáɛhɛ:
ni-g-yo-wá:-ɛhɛ:
PART-CIS-3S.P-wind-direction.of.STAT
‘the direction of the wind’

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

cf. ó:wa:ʔ
ó:-wa:-ʔ
3S.P-air-NSF
'air, wind, a moth'

b. heyohnegéhe:ʔ
he-yo-hneg-éhe:ʔ
TRANSL-3S.P-water-direction.of.STAT
'downstream'

cf. ohnégaʔgeh
o-hnég-aʔgeh
3S.P-water-ON
'on the water'

(17) [+iʔ] 'be stuck to something'

a. oʔnéhsaiʔ
o-ʔnéhs-a-iʔ
3S.P-sand-JOINER-*A*-stuck.to.STAT
'it is sandy'

cf. oʔnéhsaʔ
o-ʔnéhs-aʔ
3S.P-sand-NSF
'sand'

b. ohéhdaiʔ
o-héhd-a-iʔ
3S.P-earth-JOINER-*A*-stuck.to.STAT
'earth is stuck to it'

cf. ohéhdaʔ
o-héhd-aʔ
3S.P-earth-NSF
'dirt, earth, ground, land'

(18) [+gəhyad] 'end, edge, top'

a. oihwagéhya:t
o-ihw-a-géhya:t
3S.P-matter-JOINER-*A*-edge.of.STAT
'it is almost to the end'

cf. oihwaʔ
o-ihw-aʔ
3S.P-matter-NSF
'message', 'it matters', 'it is its fault', 'word, affair, business'

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- b. ohnegagéhya:t
o-hneg-a-géhya:t
3S.P-WATER-JOINER-EDGE.OF-STAT
'just above the water'
cf. ohnéga'geh
o-hnég-a'geh
3S.P-WATER-ON
'on the water'

- (19) [+o:t] 'standing objects', [+od-ǝ'] 'several standing objects'
- a. degai'ého:t
de-ga-i'ého:t
DU-3S.A-PILE-stand-STAT
'it is piled up'
- b. gahsdéhó:dǝ'
ga-hsdéh-ó:d-ǝ'
3S.A-ROCK-stand-STAT-DISTR
'mountains, pile of boulders'

Finally, some positional verbs always take a [ga-] 3S.A prefix, regardless of what type of prefix the non-incorporated noun takes. They are described in the following section.

24.2.5 [ga-V] neuter stative-only verbs with noun incorporation

Several neuter stative-only verbs that begin with [ga-] 3S.A (or [w-] 3S.A, not shown) tend to keep their original prefix, regardless of the prefix type of the non-incorporated noun. For example, the verb *ganǝ:*' in (20) still begins with [ga-] when it incorporates *ohwihsda*' , and similarly for the example in (21).

- (20) a. ganǝ:
ga-nǝ:
3S.A-COSTLY-STAT
'it is expensive, dear, precious'
- b. gahwihsdanǝ:
ga-hwihsd-a-nǝ:
3S.A-METAL-JOINER-STAT
'gold', 'anything expensive'

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cf. ohwíh_sda[?]
 o-hwíh_sd-a[?]
 3s.P-metal-NSF
 ‘money, metal’

(21) a. gahshá:sde[?]
 ga-hshá:sde[?]
 3s.A-strong.STAT
 ‘it is strong’

b. gawa:shá:sde[?]
 ga-wa:-shá:sde[?]
 3s.A-air-strong.STAT
 ‘strong wind’

cf. ó:wa:[?]
 ó:-wa:-[?]
 3s.P-air-NSF
 ‘wind, air’

Other examples are shown in (22–24).

(22) a. gagéhq[?]
 ga-géhq[?]
 3s.A-lie.about.STAT
 ‘things are lying about’

b. gawidragéhq[?]
 ga-widr-a-géhq[?]
 3s.A-ice-JOINER A-lie.about.STAT
 ‘ice scattered’

cf. owí:dra[?]
 o-wí:dr-a[?]
 3s.P-ice-NSF
 ‘ice’

(23) a. í:ga:[?]
 í:-ga-:[?]
 PART-3s.A-contain.STAT
 ‘it contains’

b. do: niyó: gahna:[?]
 do: niyó: ga-hn-a-:[?]
 how a.certain.amount 3s.A-oil-JOINER A-contain.STAT
 ‘how much gas is in there’

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cf. ohna'
o-hn-a'
3S.P-oil-NSF
'oil', 'grease'

- (24) a. gani:yq:t
ga-ni:yq:t
3S.A-hang.STAT
'it is hanging'
- b. gayęhsrani:yq:t
ga-yęhsr-a-ni:yq:t
3S.A-blanket-JOINER A-hang.STAT
'a hanging blanket'
- cf. oyęhsra'
o-yęhsr-a'
3S.P-blanket-NSF
'a blanket'
- c. gayahkwani:yq:t
ga-yahkw-a-ni:yq:t
3S.A-pants-JOINER A-hang.STAT
'hanging pants'
- cf. oyáhkwa'
o-yáhkwa-a'
3S.P-pants-NSF
'pants'

24.2.6 Neuter stative-only counting verbs, with an incorporated noun

(This topic is also covered in *Counting with basic nouns*, §31.2.)

Two neuter stative-only verbs are used for counting. The relevant fixed expressions are [s-...+t] 'one object', and [de-/ni-...+age:] 'two or more objects'. These expressions always incorporate a basic noun.

When they incorporate a noun beginning with [ga-] 3S.A, counting verbs tend to take [ga-] 3S.A as well (25).

- (25) [s-...+t] 'one object', with A-series incorporated noun, resulting word takes [ga-]
sganá'ja:t
s-ga-ná'j-a:-t
REP-3S.A-drum-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one bottle'

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- cf. ganáʔja:t
 ga-náʔj-a:-t
 3S.A-drum-JOINER-stand.STAT
 'a standing bottle'

In contrast, when they incorporate a noun beginning with [o-] 3s.P, the choice of pronominal prefix can vary: sometimes, such verbs take either [ga-] 3s.A or [(y)o-] 3s.P (26–27), while in other cases, such verbs only take [(y)o-] 3s.P (28).

- (26) [ni...age:] 'a number of objects', with P-series incorporated noun, resulting word takes either [ga-] or [(y)o-]
- a. ahséh niyohónáʔdage:
 ahséh ni-yo-hónáʔd-age:h
 three PART-3S.P-potato-two.or.more.STAT
 'three potatoes'
- b. ahséh nigahónáʔdage:
 ahséh ni-ga-hónáʔd-age:
 three PART-3S.A-potato-two.or.more.STAT
 'three potatoes'
- cf. ohónáʔdaʔ
 o-hónáʔd-aʔ
 3S.P-potato-NSF
 'potatoes'
- (27) [s... -t] 'one object', with P-series incorporated noun, resulting word takes either [ga-] or [(y)o-]
- a. sgayéhsra:t,
 s-ga-yéhsr-a:-t
 REP-3S.A-blanket-JOINER-stand.STAT
 'one blanket'
- b. joyéhsra:t
 j-o-yéhsr-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-blanket-JOINER-stand.STAT
 'one blanket'
- cf. oyéhsraʔ
 o-yéhsr-aʔ
 3S.P-blanket-NSF
 'blanket'

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- c. sgahóna^ʔda:t
s-ga-hóna^ʔd-a:-t
REP-3S.A-potato-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one potato'
- d. johóna^ʔda:t
j-o-hóna^ʔd-a:-t
REP-3S.P-potato-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one potato'
- cf. ohóna^ʔda^ʔ
o-hóna^ʔd-a^ʔ
3S.P-potato-NSF
'potato'

- (28) [s-... -t] 'one object', with P-series incorporated noun, resulting word takes [(y)o-]
joháha:t
j-o-háh-a:-t
REP-3S.P-road-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one road'
- cf. oháha^ʔ
o-háh-a^ʔ
3S.P-road-NSF
'road'

24.2.6.1 **Navel, belly button, and bottle**

Two easily-confused noun stems [kse^ʔd] and [(i)tse^ʔd] appear both in basic noun and body-part noun forms and in fixed expressions. The resulting meanings are illustrated in (29) and (30). Note that [(i)tse^ʔd] 'bottle' means 'navel' only when it takes an A-series prefix (30c).

- (29) [kse^ʔd] in nouns and fixed expressions
- a. seksé^ʔda^ʔgeh
s-e-ksé^ʔd-a^ʔgeh
2S.A-JOINER E-belly-ON
'on your belly' (body part noun, A prefix)
- b. giksé^ʔdo:t
g-iksé^ʔd+o:t
1S.A-belly-attached.STAT
'my navel, my belly button' (fixed expression, A prefix)

- (30) [(i)tse^ʔd] in nouns and fixed expressions
- a. gɛtsé^ʔda^ʔ, gatsé^ʔda^ʔ
ga/gɛ-tsé^ʔd-a^ʔ
3S.A-bottle-NSF
'a bottle' (basic noun, A prefix)
 - b. otsé^ʔdo:t
o-tsé^ʔd+o:t
3S.P-bottle-stand.STAT
'hubbard squash' (fixed expression, P-series prefix)
 - c. getsé^ʔdo:t
g-e-tsé^ʔd+o:t
1S.A-JOINER-bottle-stand.STAT
'my navel' (fixed expression, A-series prefix)

24.2.7 Neuter stative-only verbs, incorporating, conveying possession

Neuter stative-only verbs without an incorporated noun normally only take [ga-] 3S.A or [o-] 3S.P, as described earlier. However, in order to convey POSSESSION or ownership of an incorporated noun, they will take a full range of either A- or P-series pronominal prefixes.

The choice of A- or P-series prefix depends on the type of incorporated noun: these verbs take P-series prefixes when the possessed, incorporated noun is a basic noun or detachable body part (31–32).

- (31) a. niwú:^ʔuh
niwú:^ʔuh
PART-3S.A-small.STAT
'it is small'
- b. nihohkyɛdahkú:^ʔuh
ni-ho-hkyɛdahk-ú:^ʔuh
PART-3S.M.P-chair-small.STAT
'his small chair'
 - cf. akyɛdahkwa^ʔ
akyɛdahkw-a^ʔ
Ø.PREFIX.chair-NSF
'chair'

24 *Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs*

- (32) [+es] ‘long’
 sanóʔje:s
 sa-nóʔj-e:s
 1s.P-tooth-long.STAT
 ‘your tooth is long’
 cf. onóʔjaʔ
 o-nóʔj-aʔ
 3s.P-tooth-NSF
 ‘tooth’

In contrast, they take A-series prefixes when the possessed, incorporated noun is a non-detachable body part (33–34).

- (33) a. niwú:ʔuh
 niwú:ʔuh
 PART-3s.A-small.STAT
 ‘it is small’
 b. nihahnaʔtsʔú:ʔuh
 ni-ha-hnaʔtsʔú:ʔuh
 PART-3s.M.A-buttocks-small.STAT
 ‘he has a small butt’
 cf. hahnaʔtsaʔgeh
 ha-hnaʔts-aʔgeh
 3s.M.A-buttocks-ON
 ‘on his buttocks’

- (34) [+es] ‘long’
 degéneʔse:s
 de-g-é-neʔs-e:s
 DU-1s.A-JOINERE-arm-long.STAT
 ‘my arms are long’, ‘I have two long arms’
 cf. knətsáʔgeh
 k-neʔs-áʔgeh
 1s.A-arm-ON
 ‘on my arm’

A-series prefixes can also be used when a BASIC NOUN functions as a “body part noun” (35).

- (35) hahnyǫhsowá:nəh
 ha-hnyǫhs-owanəh
 3S.M.A-squash-big.STAT
 ‘he has a big head’ (not flattering)
- cf. ohnyǫhsa’
 o-hnyǫhs-a’
 3S.P-squash-NSF
 ‘squash’

Neuter stative-only verbs without an incorporated noun and NV fixed expressions, see §24.2.1

24.2.7.1 *Gahnyo:t*, *gá:yǫ’*, incorporating, conveying possession

The following two neuter, stative-only (positional) verbs are commonly used when expressing ownership. The verb *gahnyo:t* ‘it is standing’ tends to be used for owned objects that are normally attached to something else (such as body parts, 36), and *gá:yǫ’* ‘it is lying on the ground’ is used in other cases (37). When a noun is incorporated, *gahnyo:t* has the form [+o:t] and *gá:yǫ’* has the form [+ǫ’].

- (36) a. gahnyo:t
 ga-hnyyo:t
 3S.A-stick-stand.STAT
 ‘it is standing’
- b. snǫtso:t
 s-nǫts-o:t
 2S.A-arm-stand.STAT
 ‘you have an (attached) arm’
- cf. snǫtsá’geh
 s-nǫts-á’geh
 2S.A-arm-ON
 ‘on your arm’
- (37) a. gá:yǫ’
 gá:-yǫ’
 3S.A-lie.on.ground.STAT
 ‘it is lying on the ground’

- b. hoʔdréhdaɛʔ
 ho-ʔdréhd-a-ɛʔ
 3S.M.P-car-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘he has a car, his car’
- c. hó:yeʔ
 hó:-yeʔ
 3S.M.P-lie.STAT
 ‘he has, owns it’
- cf. gaʔdréhdaʔ
 ga-ʔdréhd-aʔ
 3S.A-car-NSF
 ‘car’

The verb [+o:t] takes a P-series prefix when denoting possession of either an incorporated basic noun or a ‘detachable’ body part (38). In contrast, it can take either an A- or P-series prefix with body part nouns that are not normally ‘detachable’, at least for some nouns, (39a, b). The difference in meaning conveyed by the pronominal prefix choice in this case is unclear.

- (38) [P-BASIC.NOUN+o:t] ‘to have a basic noun’
 agégeʔo:t
 ag-é-geʔ-o:t
 1S.P-JOINER E-hair-stand.STAT
 ‘I have hair’
 cf. ogéʔa:ʔ ‘hair’,
 o-géʔa:-ʔ
 3S.P-hair-NSF
 ‘a rag’
- (39) [A/P-BODY.PART.NOUN+o:t] ‘have a body part noun’
- a. sané:tso:t, sné:tso:t
 sa-/s-né:ts-o:t
 1S.P/2S.A-arm-stand.STAT
 ‘you have an arm’, ‘your attached arm’
- cf. snętsáʔgeh
 s-nęts-áʔgeh
 2S.A-arm-ON
 ‘on your arm’

- b. enóʔgo:t
 e-nóʔg-o:t
 3S.FI.A-breast-stand.STAT
 ‘her (attached) breast’
 cf. enóʔgwaʔgeh
 e-nóʔgw-aʔgeh
 3S.FI.A-breast-ON
 ‘on her breast’
- c. knoʔjo:t
 k-noʔj-o:t
 1S.A-tooth-stand.STAT
 ‘I have teeth’
 cf. knoʔjáʔgeh
 k-noʔj-áʔgeh
 1S.A-tooth-ON
 ‘on my teeth’

The verb [+ɛʔ] takes a P-series prefix to convey ownership of an incorporated basic noun (40). In contrast, it takes either an A- or P-series prefix when the incorporated noun is a non-detachable body part noun (41). The difference in meaning conveyed by the pronominal prefix choices is unclear.

- (40) [P-BASIC.NOUN+ɛʔ] ‘have a basic noun’
 honáhsgwaɛʔ
 ho-náhsgw-a-ɛʔ
 3S.M.P-domestic.animal-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘he has a pet’
 cf. ganáhsgwaʔ
 ga-náhsgw-aʔ
 3S.A-domestic.animal-NSF
 ‘pet’, ‘domestic animal’
- (41) [A/P-BODY.PART.NOUN+ɛʔ] ‘have a body part noun’
- a. ganóʔjaɛʔ
 ga-nóʔj-a-ɛʔ
 3S.A-teeth-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘it has teeth’
- b. sagóhsaɛʔ
 sa-góhs-a-ɛʔ
 1S.P-face-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘you have a face’

24 Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs

Both [+ɛʔ] and [+o:t] also have plural forms which denote the existence or ownership of more than one object. The obligatorily-incorporating plural form of [+ɛʔ] is [+ɛdɔʔ] or [+ɛdɔnyɔʔ] (43), and the obligatorily-incorporating plural form of [+o:t] is [+o:dɔʔ] or [+odɔnyɔʔ] (42). Pronominal prefix selection is the same as for the singular verb forms.

- (42) [P-BASIC.NOUN+o:dɔʔ] ‘have basic nouns’, [A-BODY.PART.NOUN-o:dɔʔ]
‘have body part nouns’
- a. aknɔhsó:dɔʔ
ak-nɔhs-ó:d-ɔʔ
1S.P-house-stand.STAT-DISTR
‘I have several houses’, ‘I have put up several houses’
- b. ehyagwiyó:dɔʔ
e-hyagwiy-ó:d-ɔʔ
3S.FI.A-toe-stand.STAT-DISTR
‘she has toes’, ‘her toes’
- (43) [P-BASIC.NOUN+ɛdɔʔ] ‘have basic nouns’
godinɔhsáɛdɔʔ
godi-nɔhs-á-ɛ-d-ɔʔ
3S.FI.P-house-JOINER A-lie.STAT-EUPH.D-DISTR
‘they (females or mixed) have several houses’
- cf. ganɔhsaʔ
ga-nɔhs-aʔ
3S.A-house-NSF
‘house’

24.2.8 Neuter, stative-only verbs (fixed expressions)

The main point in this section is that for fixed NV expressions, pronominal prefix choice is memorized, while for transparent (N)-V expressions, pronominal prefix choice is determined by the incorporated noun.

Fixed expressions include [NV] combinations whose meaning cannot be predicted from the separate meanings of the noun and verb stems. For fixed expressions, the pronominal prefix type has to be memorized, just as with non-incorporating stative-only verbs. To illustrate this point, let us compare regular, transparent [N+V] combinations with fixed [NV] expressions.

First, recall that the transparent expression *gahe:*ʔ normally takes the same type of prefix as its incorporated noun (44).

- (44) a. *gahe:*[?]
ga-he:[?]
 3s.A-sit.up.on.top. STAT
 ‘it is sitting up on top of something’, ‘it is sitting here’
- b. *ganá’jahe:*[?]
ga-ná’j-a-he:[?]
 3s.A-pail-JOINER A-sit.up.on.top. STAT
 ‘pail setting on something’
- cf. *ganá’ja*[?]
ga-ná’j-a[?]
 3s.A-pail-NOUN.STEM.FORMER
 ‘pail’
- c. *ohsgé’drahe:*[?]
o-hsgé’dr-a-he:[?]
 3s.P-rust-JOINER A-sit.up.on.top. STAT
 ‘it is rusting, rusty’
- cf. *ohsgé’dra*[?]
o-hsgé’dr-a[?]
 3s.P-rust-NSF
 ‘rust’

However, (45a) is an apparent counterexample – the verb’s pronominal prefix is different from the incorporated noun’s. Meanwhile, (45b) appears to be a regular case – the verb’s pronominal prefix is the same as the incorporated noun’s.

- (45) a. *onakdahe:*[?] ‘a loft’
 cf. *ganá:kda*[?] ‘a bed’
- b. *ganakdahe:*[?] ‘a bed is up here’ (Kehte Deer, p.c.)

The difference between (45a) and (45b) is that (45a) is a fixed expression, while, in contrast, (45b) has a transparent meaning that is predictable from the meaning of the noun and verb stems.

Similarly, example (46a) illustrates an incorporating verb whose choice of pronominal prefix is predictable – the verb takes [ga-] regardless of the prefix type of the incorporated noun (46b,c). In contrast, when the same verb is part of a fixed expression (47), the choice of pronominal prefix is not predictable. (The NV expression in (47) has no pronominal prefix, like the noun it incorporates.)

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- (46) a. ganí:yq:t
ga-ní:yq:t
3s.A-hang.STAT
'it is hanging'
- b. gayęhsraní:yq:t
ga-yęhsr-a-ní:yq:t
3s.A-blanket-JOINER A-hang. STAT
'a hanging blanket'
- cf. oyęhsra'
o-yęhsr-a'
3s.P-blanket-NSF
'a blanket'
- c. gayahkwaní:yq:t
ga-yahkw-a-ní:yq:t
3s.A-pants-JOINER A-hang. STAT
'hanging pants'
- cf. oyáhkwa'
o-yáhkwa-a'
3s.P-pants-NSF
'pants'
- (47) adęhęní:yq:t
adęhę-ní:yq:t
Ø.PREFIX.gate-hang. STAT
'gate'
- cf. adęhę'
adęhę-'
Ø.PREFIX.gate-NSF
'a fence'

Examples (45)-(47) illustrate a hallmark of lexicalization (the change from a transparent to a fixed meaning): pronominal prefix choice is no longer predictable.

25 Pronominal prefix choice for three-aspect verbs

THREE-ASPECT verbs occur in the habitual, punctual, and stative aspects. They tend to describe a happening or event. There are three types of such verbs. (For *ROLE*, see §20.6.)

- ONE-ROLE verbs, taking non-interactive prefixes (either the A- or P-series);
- TWO-ROLE verbs, taking interactive prefixes, as well as A- or P-series, used in an interactive sense, with implied ‘it’;
- THREE-ROLE verbs, which take interactive prefixes, as well as A- or P-series, used in an interactive sense, with implied ‘it’.

As shown in Table 25.1 (page 542), aspect is the main factor influencing pronominal prefix choice for three-aspect verbs.

25.1 Pronominal prefix choice for one-role, three-aspect verbs

As shown in Table 25.1 (following page), there are two types of one-role, three-aspect verb: the first type takes A-series prefixes in the habitual or punctual, but switches to the P-series in the stative aspect. The second type takes the P-series prefixes in all three aspects.

25.1.1 One-role, three-aspect verbs, A-series prefixes in the habitual and punctual, P prefixes in the stative

Type 1 one-role, three-aspect verbs (see Table 25.1, following page) take an A-series prefix in the habitual or punctual (1a, b), (2a, b), but change to a P-series prefix in the stative (1c), (2c). Many of these verbs describe activities or actions. The examples in (2) also show that noun incorporation is irrelevant to pronominal prefix choice for such verbs.

Table 25.1: Pronominal prefix selection, three-aspect verbs

three-aspect V	subclass	prefix choice	roles
one-role	type 1	[A-V] HAB, PUNC [P-V] STAT	•typically, a “doer”/agent role
one-role	type 2	[P-V] HAB, PUNC, STAT	•typically, an experiencer or undergoer role
two-role	type 1	[INT-V] HAB, PUNC, STAT [A:(IT-OBJ)-V] HAB, PUNC [P:(IT-OBJ)-V] STAT or [(IT-ANIMAL):P-V] STAT	•INT-prefixes express “doer”/agent and experiencer or undergoer roles. •P-prefixes in the STAT are ambiguous: an implied ‘it-animal’ is either the “doer”/agent or the experiencer or undergoer
two-role	type 2	[P:(IT-OBJ)-V] in the HAB, PUNC, and STAT	•P-prefixes only; prefix often expresses an experiencer or undergoer role. The second role is always an implied ‘it’ – often the percept
three-role		Like type 1 two-role verbs	Like type 1 two-role verbs.

25.1 Pronominal prefix choice for one-role, three-aspect verbs

- (1) [DU-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-verb-ASPECT]
- a. degaḡwə́hda:s
de-gaḡ-wə́hda:d-s
DU-3NS.FI.A-run-HAB
'they run'
 - b. da:gáḡwə́hda:t
d-a:-gáḡ-wə́hda:t
DU-INDEF-3NS.FI.A-run.Ø.PUNC
'they might run'
 - c. dewagehdá:dḡh
de-wag-ḡhdá:d-ḡh
DU-1S.P-run-STAT
'I have run'
- (2) [DU-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-incorporated noun-verb-ASPECT]
- a. dehaihwágenhahs
de-ha-ihw-á-genh-a-hs
DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate-JOINERA-HAB
'he is a lawyer'
 - b. deḡsrihwagé:nhaʔ
d-ḡ-hs-rihw-a-gé:nh-a-ʔ
DU-FUT-2S.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate-JOINERA-PUNC
'you will argue, debate, protest'
 - c. deyagodihwágenhəḡh
de-yagodi-ihw-á-genh-ḡh
DU-3NS.FI.P-matter-JOINERA-advocate-STAT
'they are arguing'

25.1.2 One-role, three-aspect verbs that always take P-series prefixes

Type 2 one-role, three-aspect verbs (see Table 25.1, page 542) take a P-series prefix in all three aspects. Many of these verbs describe actions that *happen* to someone rather than being *caused* by someone. However, there are obvious exceptions, including the verb in (6).

- (3) a. i:sóʔ agidaḡsḡḡhé:ʔ ḡḡ:s
i:sóʔ ag-idaḡ-hs-ḡḡhé:ʔ ḡḡ:sʔ
a.lot 1S.P-sleep-HAB-PAST usually
'I used to sleep a lot'

25 *Pronominal prefix choice for three-aspect verbs*

- b. ɛwa:gí:da'
ɛ-wa:g-í:da-'
FUT-1S.P-sleep-PUNC
'I will sleep'
- c. ɔgí:da'
ɔg-í:da-'
FACTUAL.1S.P-sleep-PUNC
'I slept', 'I'm sleeping'
- d. agída'ɔh
ag-ída'ɔh
1S.P-sleep-STAT
'I am sleeping'
- (4) a. hoyó:dih
ho-yó:di-h
3S.M.P-smile-HAB
'he is smiling'
- b. aho:yó:di'
a-ho:-yó:di-'
FAC-3S.M.P-smile-PUNC
'he smiled'
- (5) a. agénya'gwahs
ag-é-nyá'gw-a-hs
1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERĀ-HAB
'I vomit all the time'
- b. ɔgénya'go'
ɔg-é-nyá'go-'
FACTUAL.1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-PUNC
'I vomited'
- c. agénya'gwáhɔh
ag-e-nyá'gw-á-h-ɔh
1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERĀ-DISL-STAT
'I am vomiting' (right now)

25.2 *Pronominal prefix choice for two- and three-role, three-aspect verbs*

- (6) a. *dəhóheta'*
de-hó-het-ha'
DU-3S.M.P-yell-HAB
'he is hollering'
- b. *atóhe:t*
a-t-hó-he:t
FAC-DU-3S.M.P-yell.Ø.PUNC
'he hollered or yelled'

25.2 Pronominal prefix choice for two- and three-role, three-aspect verbs

As summarized in (see Table 25.1, page 542), there are two types of two-role, three-aspect verb, both of which are described below. (Three-role, three-aspect verbs also pattern the same way and so are described below.)

25.2.1 Two- and three-role verbs, pronominal prefix choice

Recall that two- and three-role verbs take interactive prefixes, but also use *non-interactive* (A- or P-series) prefixes in an interactive sense, with an implied 'it' role (see §20.7.)

When such verbs take an interactive prefix, the pronominal prefix does not change with aspect: for example, [shqgwa-] 3S.M>1P remains the same in the punctual and stative examples in (7).

- (7) a. *əhshq:gwá:yq'*
ə-hshq:gwá:y-q'
FUT-3MS:1P-give-PUNC
'he will give (it) to us all'
- b. *shqgwá:wi:*
shqgw-á:wi:-
3MS:1P-give-STAT
'he has given (it) to us all'

When two- and three-role verbs use a non-interactive prefix in an interactive

sense, the interpretation of the implied ‘it’ depends on aspect.¹ First, in the habitual and punctual, an A-series prefix overtly expresses a “doer”, ‘I’, and also implies a non-“doer”-it (*animal*) (8a). In contrast, a P-series prefix used in an interactive sense implies a “doer”-it (*animal*) and overtly expresses a non-“doer” role, ‘me’ (8b).

- (8) a. $\acute{e}:g\text{q}^?$
 $\acute{e}-g-\text{q}^?$
 FUT-1S.A-give-PUNC
 ‘I (doer) will give it to it (non-doer, animal)’
- b. $\acute{e}w\acute{a}:g\text{q}^?$ ‘it (doer, animal) will give (it) to me (non-doer)’, ‘I will be given’,
 $\acute{e}-w\acute{a}:g-\text{q}^?$
 FUT-1S.P-give-PUNC
 ‘something will be given to me’

However, in the *stative* aspect, P-series prefixes used in an interactive sense are ambiguous: the implied role can refer to a “doer” (*animal*) or a non-“doer” (*animal*) role (9).²

¹The examples in (i) demonstrate that incorporated nouns are irrelevant to pronominal prefix choice for this type of verb. The only factor affecting pronominal prefix choice is aspect.

- (i) [PRONOMINAL PREFIX-incorporated noun-verb-ASPECT]
- a. $heh\acute{a}ihw\acute{e}h\acute{e}hs$ ‘he always takes the message’,
 $he-ha-ihw-\acute{e}h\acute{e}-hs$
 TRANSL-3S.M.A-matter-convey-HAB
 ‘he is a messenger’
- b. $heh\acute{a}ihw\acute{e}h\acute{e}?$
 $h-\acute{e}-ha-ihw-\acute{e}h\acute{e}-?$
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-matter-convey-PUNC
 ‘he will take the message’
- c. $hehoihw\acute{e}h\acute{e}$:
 $he-ho-ihw-\acute{e}h\acute{e}$:-
 TRANSL-3S.M.P-matter-convey-STAT
 ‘he has taken a message’

²With only one example to bear it out, the analysis in (9) is tentative.

- (9) hewag_ihnó:gòh
 he-wag-_ihnó:g-òh
 TRANSL-1S.P-call-STAT
 ‘I have called *it* (non-doer, animal), ‘*it* (doer, animal) has called *me* (non-doer)’

25.2.2 Two-role verbs that always take P-series prefixes

Type 2 two-role verbs (see Table 25.1, page 542) take a P-series pronominal prefix in all three aspects (10–13). Unlike other two-role verbs, these verbs do not take interactive prefixes at all, but only P-series prefixes (with an implied ‘it’ for the second role). Many of these verbs describe activities that *happen* to someone rather than being *caused* by someone. However, there are exceptions, such as the verb in (13).

- (10) a. agé:gaʔs
 ag-é:-gaʔ-s
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-like.the.taste.of-HAB
 ‘I like the taste (of it)’
- b. ɛwa:gé:gaʔ
 ɛ-wa:g-é:-gaʔ
 FUT-1S.P-JOINERÉ-like.the.taste.of.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will like the taste’
- c. ɔge:gáʔ giʔ
 ɔg-e:-gáʔ giʔ
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-like.the.taste.of.STAT just
 ‘I did like (it)!’ (said when you just finished tasting something)
- (11) a. agé:swahs
 ag-é:-sw-a-hs
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘I smell (it) right now’
- b. ɛwágeshoʔ
 ɛ-wág-e-sho-ʔ
 FUT-1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-PUNC
 ‘I’ll smell (it)’

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- c. ɔgɛ:sho'
ɔg-é:-sho-'
FAC.1S.P-JOINERE-smell-PUNC
'I did smell (it)'
- (12) a. aga:tó:dɛhs
ag-a:tó:dɛh-s
1S.P-hear-HAB
'I hear (it) all the time' (continually or off-and-on, i.e. the sound of a regular train going by one's house)
- b. ɔga:tó:dɛh
ɔg-a:tó:dɛh
1S.P-hear.Ø.PUNC
'I heard (it)'
- c. agatɔdɛ'ɔh
ag-atɔdɛ'-ɔh
1S.P-hear-STAT
'I've heard (it) before'
- (13) a. hehó:gye's
he-hó:-gy-e's
TRANSL-3S.M.P-throw-HAB
'he throws (it)' (all the time), 'he is a pitcher'
- b. ha'hó:di'
ha'-hó:-di-'
TRANSL-3S.M.P-throw-PUNC
'he threw (it)'
- c. hehó:gyɔ:
he-hó:-gy-ɔ:
TRANSL-3S.M.P-throw-STAT
'he has thrown (it)'

25.3 Pronominal prefix choice and variations on aspectual forms

Many two- and three-role verbs take variations of the habitual and stative aspect (see §15.6). For such verbs, pronominal prefix choice is the same as for the regular

25.3 Pronominal prefix choice and variations on aspectual forms

verb. For example, the habitual past variant in (14a) takes the same kind of *p* prefix as the plain habitual in (14b). More examples are provided in the following sections.

- (14) a. ageswəhsgéhe:[?]
ag-e-sw-a-hs-géhe:[?]
1S.P-JOINERĒ-smell-JOINERĀ-HAB-PAST
'I used to be able to smell' (but my nose quit working)
- b. agé:swahs
ag-é:-sw-a-hs
1S.P-JOINERĒ-smell-JOINERĀ-HAB
'I smell it' (at the time when this is being said)

25.3.1 Pronominal prefix choice for variations on the habitual aspect

For variations of habitual aspect verbs (§15.6.1), the pronominal prefix is always of the same type as the original habitual verb.

- (15) A-series habituals
- a. hadó:wa:s
h-adó:wa:d-s
3S.M.A-hunt-HAB
'he is a hunter'
- cf. hadowasgéhe:[?]
h-adowad-s-géhe:[?]
3S.M.A-hunt-HAB-PAST
'he used to be a hunter'
- cf. hadówahstahk
h-adówahst-ha-hk
3S.M.A-hunt-HAB-FORMER
'he used to be a hunter (long ago)'
- b. hahdo:s
h-ahdo:-s
3S.M.A-dive-HAB
'he dives, he is a diver'
- cf. hahdóhsgéhe:[?]
h-ahdó-hs-géhe:[?]
3S.M.A-dive-HAB-PAST
'he used to dive'

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(16) P-series habituals

a. agé:swahs

ag-é:-sw-a-hs

1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-JOINERÁ-HAB

‘I smell it’ (at the time when this is being said)

cf. ageswahsgéhe:ʔ

ag-e-sw-a-hs-géhe:ʔ

1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-JOINERÁ-HAB-PAST

‘I used to be able to smell’ (but my nose quit working)

b. gòhsóʔkaʔ

gò-hsóʔk-haʔ

3S.FI.P-limp-HAB

‘she is limping’

cf. gòhsóʔkahk

gò-hsóʔk-ha-hk

3S.FI.P-limp-HAB-FORMER

‘she used to limp’

cf. èhsáhsòʔka:k

è-hs-áhsòʔk-ha-:k

FUT-2S.P-limp-HAB-MODZ

‘you will limp’

c. agé:gaʔs

ag-é:-gaʔ-s

1S.P-JOINERÉ-like.the.taste.of-HAB

‘I like the taste of it’

cf. agegaʔsgéhe:ʔ

ag-e-gaʔ-s-géhe:ʔ

1S.P-JOINERÉ-like.the.taste.of-HAB-PAST

‘I used to like the taste of it’ (but I don’t anymore)

25.3.2 **Pronominal prefix choice for variations on the stative aspect**

For variations of stative aspect verbs (§15.6.2.1), the pronominal prefix is always the same as the regular stative verb.

25.3 *Pronominal prefix choice and variations on aspectual forms*

(17) P-series statives

a. saní'qh

sa-ní'-qh

2S.P-cheap-STAT

'you are stingy, greedy, cheap'

cf. saní'qhne:ʔ

sa-ní'-qh-ne:ʔ

2S.P-cheap-STAT-PAST

'you used to be stingy'

b. deyagodáwɛnyeʔ

de-yago-d-áwɛnye-ʔ

DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-STAT

'she is walking about'

cf. deyagodawɛnyéha:k

d-ɛ-yago-d-awɛnyé-h-a:k

DU-FUT-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ

'she will be walking about'

(18) A-series statives

a. hahé:dɔ:

ha-hé:d-ɔ:

3S.M.A-lead-STAT

'he is the front, leader'

cf. hahédɔhne:ʔ

ha-héd-ɔh-ne:ʔ

3S.M.A-lead-STAT-PAST

'he used to be a leader'

b. degágwatwɛh

de-gá-gwatw-ɛh

DU-3S.A-hem-STAT

'a hem'

cf. degagwatwéhɛ:k

dɛ-ga-gwatw-éh-ɛ:k

FUT-3S.A-hem-STAT-JOINERÁ-MODZ

'it will be hemmed'

26 E-VERBS and pronominal prefix choice

E-VERBS are verbs with two stems, one of which is [e] ‘go’ (see §16). Pronominal prefix choice for e-verbs is summarized in Table 26.1

Table 26.1: Pronominal prefix selection, E-VERBS

E-VERB type	prefix choice
SIMPLE MOTION VERB [e] ‘go’	[A-V] only (also, no STATIVE form)
COMPLEX MOTION VERBS [V-e]	[A-V] [P-V]
DISLOCATIVE E-VERBS [V-dislocative-e]	[A-V] [P-V]
PROGRESSIVE VERBS [V-gy-e’]	[A-V] [P-V]
STATIVE PROGRESSIVE VERBS [V-q-h-q-gy-e’]	[P-V] only (like the stative verbs they are based on)

26.1 Simple and complex motion verb [e] ‘go’ prefix choice

The SIMPLE MOTION VERB [e] ‘go’ (§16.2) always takes A-series prefixes (1).

- (1) SIMPLE MOTION VERB [e] ‘go’
 - a. itge’s
i-t-g-e-’s
PROTH-CIS-1S.A-go-HAB
‘I am here’

- b. haʔgeʔ
 haʔ-g-e-ʔ
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going there’
- c. haʔge:ʔ
 haʔ-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I went there’
- d. í:geʔ
 í:-g-e-ʔ
 PROTH-1S.A-go-STAT
 ‘I am walking, moving’
- e. to há:ge:
 to h-á:-g-e-:
 there TRANSL-INDEF-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
 ‘where I might go’

COMPLEX MOTION VERBS (§16.3) take either A- or P-series prefixes. The choice must be memorized for each verb (2).

(2) COMPLEX MOTION VERBS

- a. gehsreʔ
 g-e-hsr-e-ʔ
 1S.A-JOINERĒ-chase-go-STAT
 ‘I am chasing it’
- b. agéʔdreʔ
 ag-é-ʔdr-e-ʔ
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-drag-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding along’

26.2 Dislocative e-verb prefix choice

DISLOCATIVE E-VERBS (§16.4) take the same kind of pronominal prefix as the regular verbs on which they are based: (3) illustrates a dislocative e-verb and the corresponding regular verb, both taking A-series prefixes in the HABITUAL. Example (4) illustrates a DISLOCATIVE E-VERB and a corresponding regular verb, both taking P-series prefixes in the habitual.

- (3) dislocative e-verbs and regular verbs, A-series
 dehənatkwáhneʔ
 de-hən-at-kw-á-hn-e-ʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-JOINERÁ-DISL-GO-STAT
 ‘they are going to dance’
 cf. dehənatkwaʔ
 de-hən-at-kw-haʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-HAB
 ‘they dance’ (all the time)
- (4) dislocative e-verbs and regular verbs, P-series
 dehohedáhneʔ
 de-ho-hed-á-hn-e-ʔ
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-JOINERÁ-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘he is going along hollering’
 cf. dehóhetaʔ
 de-hó-het-haʔ
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-HAB
 ‘he is hollering’

26.3 Progressive verb prefix choice

PROGRESSIVE verbs take the same type of prefix as the non-progressive verb on which they are based. Recall that there are two types of progressive verb (§16.5).

The first type of progressive is formed by adding [-gy-eʔ] to a verb stem. These verbs take the same types of pronominal prefixes as the non-progressive verbs on which they are based (5–7)

- (5) [INT-V-agy-eʔ] progressive verb, based on [INT-V]
 həwahnədrá:gyeʔ
 həwa-hnədr-á-gy-e-ʔ
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘someone is following him along’
 cf. həwahnədreʔ
 həwá-hnədr-e-ʔ
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-STAT
 ‘someone is following him’

- (6) [A-V-*agy-e*^ʔ] progressive verb, based on [A-V]
gayétwagye^ʔ
ga-yétw-a-gy-e^ʔ
 3S.A-plant-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is planted along’
 cf. *gayé:twəh*
ga-yé:tw-əh
 3S.A-plant-STAT¹
 ‘it is planted’

- (7) [P-V-*agy-e*^ʔ] progressive verb, based on [P-V]
ohsáwagye^ʔ
o-hsáw-a-gy-e^ʔ
 3S.P-begin-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is beginning’
 cf. *tohsa:*^ʔ
t-ho-hsa:-^ʔ
 CIS-3S.M.P-begin-STAT
 ‘he has begun’

The second type of progressive verb is formed by adding [-*ogy-e*^ʔ] or [-*egy-e*^ʔ] to a STATIVE verb. These STATIVE PROGRESSIVES always take P-series prefixes, because they are based on the stative forms of THREE-ASPECT VERBS, which take P-series prefixes in the stative (8).

- (8) [P-V-*q-h-ogy-e*^ʔ] or [P-V-*ç-h-egy-e*^ʔ] stative progressive verbs
- a. *səhohdɛhgyóhogye*^ʔ
sə-ho-hdɛhgy-ó-h-q-gy-e^ʔ
 REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘he is on his way home’
 cf. *hesáhdɛgyo:*
he-sá-hdɛgy-o:
 TRANSL-2S.P-leave-STAT
 ‘you went over there’
- b. *otsihs^ʔqhó:gye*^ʔ
o-tsihs^ʔ-q-h-ó:-gy-e^ʔ
 3S.P-mature-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is getting mature’

¹This is a special type of stative verb requiring an A-series prefix. See §5.5.

26.3 *Progressive verb prefix choice*

- cf. *otsihs'qh*
o-tsihs'-qh
3s.P-mature-STAT
'it is done for the season', 'it has gone full cycle', 'it is mature', 'they (plants)
have finished out'

Part V

Sentences

This part of the grammar describes sentence formation. The first chapter, *Simple Sentences*, describes sentences consisting of a single clause, including commands, various types of questions, and sentences joined with the linking verbs *né:* 'it is' or *dɛ'gɛ:* 'it is not'. (See §36.9 for definitions of clauses, etc.) The second chapter on *Sentences with side-by-side clauses* describes sentences made up of clauses that are joined without linking words (particles). The chapter on *Clauses with linking words* describes clauses beginning with particles or particle groups such as *sɔ:* *n'aht* 'who' or *dɛ' ho'dɛ'* 'what'. The chapter on *Clauses with conjunctions* describes clauses (and smaller phrases) connected by words such as *hni?* 'and', *hne:* 'but, in fact', and the like. The last chapter in this part of the grammar describes phrases used for *Comparisons, counting, and measuring*.

27 Simple sentences

Various types of simple sentence (which contain just one independent clause) are described in this chapter. For background concepts, see the following sections.

Related

- ⇒ Utterances, clauses, phrases, and sentences, §36.9
- ⇒ Simple and complex sentences, clause types, §36.9.1
- ⇒ Independent and dependent clauses, relative clauses, §36.9.2

27.1 Commands (imperatives) and suggestions

Commands (imperatives) and suggestions are used for asking someone to do (or not do) something. Several types are described next.

27.1.1 2nd person ('you') commands

2nd person commands begin with a 2nd person ('you') pronominal prefix. They do not have an aspect suffix (1) – they are no-aspect verbs – and most do not have a mood prefix (but see below). (For no-aspect, see §9.3.3 and for euphonic H (EUPH.H), see §19.5.5).¹

(1) [2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

a. seǰá:gǝh

s-e-já:gǝ-h

2S.A-JOINERÉ-persevere-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

'persevere!', 'keep it up!' (a word of encouragement)

¹In translations, an exclamation point '!' denotes that the verb in question is a command. Also in translations, "you" is in parentheses because the "you" concept is specifically expressed in the Gayogoho:nǝ'néha:' prefix but is typically not expressed in English commands.

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cf. ɛhse:já:gq:[?]
ɛ-hs-e:-já:gq:-[?]
FUT-2S.A-JOINER-persevere-PUNC
'you will persevere'

b. dehsáhsawɛh
de-hs-áhsawɛ-h
CIS-2S.A-start-EUPH.H
'(you) start!'

cf. ɛtsáhsawɛ[?]
ɛ-t-s-áhsawɛ-[?]
FUT-CIS-2S.A-begin-PUNC
'you will begin'

2nd person commands can also begin with interactive pronominal prefixes, as long as the prefix in question references a 2nd person 'you' (2).

(2) [INTERACTIVE-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

a. sheyénawa[?]s
she-yénawa[?]s
2S:3FIS-help.NO_ASPECT
'(you) help her!'

b. hehsyénawa[?]s
hehs-yénawa[?]s
2S:3MS-help.NO_ASPECT
'(you) help him!'

A third type of 2nd person command takes an [a:-] INDEF prefix, but again has no aspect suffix (3).

(3) [INDEFINITE-2ND PERSON PREFIX-verb-NO_ASPECT]

dɔdasáhsá:wɛh
dɔda-s-áhsá:wɛ-h
DU.INDEF.CIS-2S.A-start-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'you should start again!'

As noted earlier, 2nd person commands often lack an aspect suffix. Such verbs end with euphonic H if they would otherwise end with a short vowel (4).

(4) [2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT]

a. sade[?]nyé:dəh

s-ade-[?]nyé:də-h

2S.A-SRF-try-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

‘try it!’

cf. əhsade[?]nyé:də[?]

ə-hs-ade-[?]nyé:də-[?]

FUT-2S.A-SRF-try-PUNC

‘you will try it’

b. Gɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ[?] desahdɔ́:dih.

gɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ[?] de-s-ahdɔ́:di-h

right.away DU-2S.A-leave-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

‘Leave right away!’

cf. əsahdɔ́:di[?]

ə-s-ahdɔ́:di-[?]

FUT-2S.A-leave-PUNC

‘you will leave’

However, euphonic H does not appear in words ending with a long vowel (5) or a consonant (6).

(5) [2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

sadahó:dɔ:

s-ad-ahó:dɔ:

2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT

‘ask!’

cf. əsadahó:dɔ:[?]

ə-s-ad-ahó:dɔ:-[?]

FUT-2S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC

‘you will ask’

(6) [2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

segá:nɛ:t

s-e-gá:nɛ:t

2S.A-JOINER-lick.NO_ASPECT

‘lick it!’

cf. əhséganɛ:t

ə-hs-é-ganɛ:t

FUT-2S.A-JOINER-lick.Ø.PUNC

‘you will lick it’

27.1.2 1st person ('let me' or 'let us') commands (suggestions)

1st person ('let me' or 'let us') commands take 1st person pronominal prefixes. They do not have a mood prefix or an aspect suffix. They sound more like suggestions (7).

(7) [1ST PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

- a. hé:ge:
hé:-g-e-:
TRANSL-1S.A-go-PURP.NO_ASPECT
'let me go there'
- b. deyɔkniʔdráihɛh
de-yɔkni-ʔdráihɛ-h
DU-1D.P-hurry-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'let us two hurry'
- c. deyɔgwaʔdráihɛh
de-yɔgwa-ʔdráihɛ-h
DU-1P.P-hurry-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'let us all hurry'

1st person ('let me' or 'let us') commands can also take interactive pronominal prefixes, as long as the prefix references a 1st person 'I' or 'we' (8).

(8) [INTERACTIVE-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

- a. etiyená:waʔs
eti-yená:waʔs
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-help.NO_ASPECT
'let us all help her/them'
- b. dedwadagyénawaʔs
de-dw-adag-yénawaʔs
DU-1INP.A-REFL-help.NO_ASPECT
'let us all help one another'

1st person commands do not have an aspect suffix. However, some 1st person imperatives can end with euphonic H (9).

- (9) [1ST PERSON PREFIX-VERB-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT]
 ó: gade^ʔyé:dəh
 ó: g-ad-e-^ʔnyé:də-h
 oh 1S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-try-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘Oh, let me try!’
 cf. a:gade^ʔnyé:də^ʔ
 a:-g-ad-e-^ʔnyé:də-^ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-try-PUNC
 ‘I might try or attempt it’

However, euphonic H does not appear in words ending with a long vowel (10) or a consonant (11)². Such verbs just lack a final [-^ʔ] PUNC ending.

- (10) [1ST PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]
 a. dedwayenáwá^ʔkq:
 de-dwa-yenáwá^ʔkq:
 DU-1INP.A-work.together.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let’s all work together’
 b. dwagyę:
 dwa-g-yę:
 1INP.A-SRF-sit.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let’s all sit down’
- (11) [1ST PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]
 a. dwąhshe:t
 dw-ąhshe:t
 1INP.A-count.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let’s all count’
 b. dedwadagyénawahs
 de-dw-adag-yénawa^ʔs
 DU-1INP.A-REFL-help.NO_ASPECT
 ‘let’s all help each other’

27.1.3 3rd person (‘someone’) commands

3rd person (‘someone’) commands begin with an interactive pronominal prefix, which includes a 3FLS reference to ‘she, someone’ - an audience member or potential listener who isn’t known to the speaker. These commands have no aspect suffix (12).

²The [-^ʔ] PUNC suffix also deletes after consonant-final stems. See §19.

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- (12) [3RD PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]
Sɔga:ʔáh ɔgyénawaʔs
sɔga:ʔáh ɔg-yénawaʔs
someone 3S.FI>1S-help.NO_ASPECT
‘Someone help me!’

27.1.4 Statements functioning as commands or suggestions

2nd person *statements* can be interpreted as commands in context. For example, 2nd person verbs with the [ɛ-] FUT prefix and [-ʔ] PUNC suffix can be interpreted as suggestions (13).

- (13) [FUTURE-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-PUNC]
- a. ɛhsadɛʔnyé:dɛʔ
ɛ-hs-ad-e-ʔnyé:dɛʔ
FUT-2S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-try-PUNC
‘you will try it’
- b. ɛsadaḥó:dɔ:ʔ
ɛ-s-adaḥó:dɔ:-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-ask-PUNC
‘you will ask’
- c. Gɔdagyéʔ ɛtsahdɛ:diʔ
Gɔdagyéʔ ɛ-t-s-ahdɛ:di-ʔ
right.away FUT-DU-2S.A-leave-PUNC
‘You will leave right away.’
- d. Sgatsóʔ ɛtsáhshe:t
sgatsóʔ ɛ-t-s-áhshe:t
ones FUT-DU-2S.A-count.Ø.PUNC
‘You will count by ones.’, ‘Count one by one!’

Similarly, 2nd person statements with an [a:-] INDEF prefix and [-ʔ] PUNC suffix can be interpreted as suggestions (14).

- (14) [INDEFINITE-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-PUNC]
- a. a:yagwáhsɛ:nɔʔ
a:-yagwa-hsɛ:n-ɔ-ʔ
INDEF-1P.EX.A-name-give-PUNC
‘we all should give it a name’

- b. q:dasáhsawɛ̃ʔ
 q:da-s-áhsawɛ̃-ʔ
 INDEF.CIS-2S.A-begin-PUNC
 ‘you should begin’
- c. q:tahá:wiʔ
 q:t-ha-há:wi-ʔ
 INDEF.CIS-3S.M.A-carry-PUNC
 ‘he should bring something’
- d. áeswa:k
 áe-swa:-k
 INDEF-2P.A-eat.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you all should eat it’

27.1.5 Particles and particle groups used with commands

The following particles and particle groups either function as commands in their own right or are used with commands. The following examples are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *A:we:tʔah* ‘it is pretend’, ‘it’s implied’
 ⇒ *Aweʔ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ;*, *Aweʔ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ:* ‘let it go!’
 ⇒ *Do: i:ʔ* ‘let me!’, ‘how about me?’
 ⇒ *Giʔ gyɛ:ʔ* ‘just do it!’
 ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘do it now!’
 ⇒ *Hanyoh*, *Hanyohanyoh* ‘do it!’, ‘come on!’, ‘you go!’
 ⇒ *Haoʔ* ‘come on!’
 ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh giʔ* ‘leave well enough alone!’
 ⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘look!’, ‘say!’, ‘see!’
 ⇒ *Nɛ:-dah* ‘here, take this!’
 ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘move it!’
 ⇒ *Waʔ-gyɛh* ‘listen!’, ‘excuse me!’, ‘would you’
 ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘wait!’
 ⇒ *Waʔ-jih hya:ʔ* ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’

27.1.6 Negative commands with *ahgwih* ‘don’t’

Negative 2nd person commands optionally begin with *ahgwih* ‘don’t’, followed by a verb that begins with an [ɛ-] FUT mood prefix and a 2nd person ‘you’ prefix. Negative commands are often no-aspect verbs (15, see §9.3.3). However, sometimes negative commands have a [-ʔ] PUNC suffix (16).

(15) [ahgwih FUT-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

- a. Ahgwih ɛhsa:tró:wih
ahgwih ɛ-hs-a:t-hró:wi-h
don’t FUT-2S.A-SRF-tell-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
‘Don’t tell anything!’
- b. Ahgwih ɛdíhsaʔdre:
ahgwih ɛ-dí-hsa-ʔdre:
don’t FUT-CIS-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT
‘Don’t drive over there.’
- c. Ahgwih hɛhsáʔdre:
ahgwih h-ɛ-hsá-ʔdre:
don’t TRANSL-FUT-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT
‘Don’t drive over there.’
- d. Ahgwih ɛhsá:sdi:s
ahgwih ɛ-hs-á:sdi:s
don’t FUT-2S.A-care.for.NO_ASPECT
‘Don’t disturb it!’, ‘Don’t handle it!’

(16) [ahgwih FUT-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-PUNC]

- a. Ahgwih dɛhsnigɔháɛʔ.
ahgwih d-ɛ-hs-ʔnigɔh-á-ɛʔ
don’t DU-FUT-2S.A-mind-JOINERÁ-lie.Ø.PUNC
‘Don’t bother it!’
- b. Ahgwih ɛhsatwihsdéʔda:ʔ
ahgwih ɛ-hs-at-hwihsd-éʔda:-ʔ
don’t FUT-2S.A-SRF-money-burn.up-PUNC
‘Don’t waste your money!’

Additional examples of negative commands can be found in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Ahgwih gwaʔ* ‘don’t!’
 ⇒ *Ahgwih hwaʔ* ‘don’t!’
 ⇒ *Ahgwih hwɛ:dəh* ‘don’t ever’

27.1.7 Negative suggestions

Negative suggestions optionally begin with *tɛʔ* ‘no’, plus a no-aspect verb that begins with the [ta:-, tae-, te:-, etc.] CONTR.INDEF combination (17).

- (17) [tɛʔ CONTR.INDEF-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]
 tɛʔ taeswá:gɛ:
 tɛʔ t-ae-swá:-gɛ:
 not CONTR-INDEF-2P.A-see.NO_ASPECT
 ‘You all shouldn’t/won’t see it.’

Another type of negative suggestion begins with the phrase *tɛʔ ta:wá:dəh* ‘you may not’, followed by a verb with an [a:-] INDEF prefix and [-ʔ] PUNC suffix (18). (*Tɛʔ ta:wá:dəh* is related to the phrase *ɛwá:dəʔ* ‘yes, you may...’, both of which are described in §35.2.4.)

- (18) [tɛʔ ta:wá:dəh INDEF-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-PUNC]
 tɛʔ ta:wá:dəh a:sejáodɛʔ
 tɛʔ t-a:-w-a:də-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.A-become-EUPH.H
 a:-s-e-j-á-odɛ-ʔ
 INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-smoke-JOINERÁ-put.in-PUNC
 ‘No smoking!’
 cf. *ɛwá:dəʔ*
 ɛ-w-á:dəʔ
 FUT-3S.A-become-PUNC
 ‘yes, you may’

27.2 Yes-no questions with *gəh*, *ɛːʔ*, and *do:gəhs*

Yes-no questions prompt for answers that optionally begin with *ɛhɛːʔ* ‘yes’ or *tɛʔ* ‘no’. (In contrast, questions beginning with words like *səʔ* ‘who’ or *dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ*

‘what’, require answers other than *ɛhɛ*’ or *tɛ*’.) Types of yes-no questions are described next.

27.2.1 Yes-no questions with *gɛh*, *tɛ*’ *gɛh*

Yes-no questions require either *gɛh* ‘Q(uestion)’ (19) or *tɛ*’ *gɛh* ‘isn’t it’ (20). (Also see tag questions, §27.2.2.)

- (19) Sgɛnɔ́jih **gɛh**?
it.is.really.well Q
‘Are you well?’
- (20) **Tɛ**’ **gɛh** deshó:yɔ:?
Not Q he.doesn’t.come.back
‘Did he not come home?’

Negative yes-no questions begin with *tɛ*’ *gɛh* ‘isn’t, didn’t...etc.’, followed by a negative verb (21).

- (21) **Tɛ**’ **gɛh** ne’ desá:wɛh?
Tɛ’ gɛh ne’ de-sá:-w-ɛh
not Q the NEG-2S.P-OWN-STAT
‘Isn’t it yours?’

In positive questions, *gɛh* has to occur after another word, for example after the first word in the simple sentence in (22) or after the first word in the utterance in (23).

- (22) Enɔ́hwe’s **gɛh**?
she.likes.it Q
‘Does she like it?’
- (23) **ɛhɛ**’ **gɛh**?
Yes Q
‘Is that right?’

In addition to having to appear after another word, *gɛh* must appear as close to the beginning of the clause as possible: for example, it occurs as part of a particle group *di*’ *gɛh* in (24) but instead, immediately after the verb in (25) and (26).

(24) Dó:gɛhs di' **gɛh**?
 true so Q
 'Is that true?'

(25) Sanɔhɔkdá:ni' **gɛh** di'??
 you.are.sick Q so
 'Are you sick?'

In (26) and (27), *gɛh* appears after the third word in a complex sentence. However it is still as close to the beginning of its clause as possible – it appears after the first word of the dependent clause (shown in square brackets]).

(26) Daskro:wih ɛdwé: **gɛh**.
 you.tell.me we.will.go.together Q
 'Tell me if you are coming along.'

(27) Daskro:wih sanɔhɔkdá:ni' **gɛh**?
 you.tell.me you.are.sick Q
 'Tell me whether you are sick.'

Gɛh does not translate into a specific word, but turns a statement (28) into a question (29).

(28) Sanɔhɔkdá:ni'.
 you.are.sick
 'You are sick.'

(29) Sanɔhɔkdá:ni' **gɛh** di'??
 you.are.sick Q so
 'So, are you sick?'

Statements without *gɛh* can also function as *yes-no questions*: in the following examples, there is no explicit question word (30).

(30) a. Sanɔhɔkdá:ni'??
 'Are you sick?'
 b. Gwé:, ode'drehdágade'??
 'Well, were there a lot of cars?'

The following questions with *gɛh* or *tɛ*' *gɛh* are described further in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* 'Q' (question marker)
- ⇒ *Gəh hne:* 'how about this one?'
- ⇒ *O'q:*, *O: qh* 'Oh really?'
- ⇒ *O: gəh* 'really?'
- ⇒ *Tə' gəh de'* 'didn't?'
- ⇒ *To gəh q ne:* 'I wonder if it is...'

27.2.2 Tag questions (asking for confirmation from the listener)

Tag questions prompt for confirmation from the listener, and end with short words/phrases (or TAGS) such as *e:* 'is it so?, isn't it so?', *tə' gəh* 'isn't it?', *qhe:* *gəh* 'is it?', and *dó:gəhs* 'sure, truly' (31-35, examples from Deer & Deer 2015.)

- (31) *Enóhwe's e:?*
 she.likes.it affirm
 'She likes it, doesn't she?'
- (32) *Wəhnihsri:yó: wa'ne', dó:gəhs?*
 nice.day today truly
 'It's a nice day today, innit?'
- (33) *Wəhnihsri:yó: wa'ne', dó:gəhs e:?*
 nice.day today truly affirm
 'It's a nice day, innit?'
- (34) *Wəhnihsri:yó: wa'ne', tə' gəh?*
 nice.day today not Q
 'It's a nice day, innit?'
- (35) *Wəhnihsri:yó: wa'ne', ne' e:?*
 nice.day today the affirm
 'It's a nice day, innit?'

As shown in (36), *e:* can also be used in statements, to signal agreement (§35.3.1).

- (36) Háe. Wəhnisri:yó: é:'.
 Hi. nice.day affirm
 'Hi. Nice day, isn't it.'
 Ehé' é:'.
 Yes affirm
 'Yes, it is.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O'dréhdátgi' dialogue)

The following examples of tag questions and statements are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ E:'. Ne' e:' 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?'
- ⇒ Ehé' gəh 'is that right?'
- ⇒ Do:gəhs 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Do:gəhs di' gəh 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Do:gəhs e: 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Gəh 'didn't I'
- ⇒ Tə' gəh 'no?', 'isn't it?'

27.3 Negative questions

The following examples of negative questions can be found in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ Gəh tə' nigə'qəh 'or not?'
- ⇒ Tə' gəh de' - 'didn't?'
- ⇒ Tə' gəh 'no?', 'isn't it?'

27.4 Equative sentences with linking verbs *né:ʔ*, *déʔgɛ:*

Equative sentences link two nouns (or noun phrases) – shown in [] square brackets – implying that the nouns are equal or somehow the same. Positive equative sentences optionally include the linking word *né:ʔ* ‘it is’ (37).

- (37) [N ... (ne:ʔ) N]
 [Ganyó:ʔ] hɛʔ hne:ʔ (ne:ʔ) [gwiʔhsgwiʔs].
 animal also in.fact (it.is) pigs
 ‘Pigs are animals.’

Negative equative sentences include the words *tɛʔ ... déʔgɛ:* ‘it isn’t’. The linked nouns (in square brackets) are shown in (38). (The ellipsis ‘...’ in *tɛʔ ... déʔgɛ:* shows where other particles can appear, to dress up the phrase.)

- (38) [tɛʔ ... N déʔgɛ: N]
 Tɛʔ hne:ʔ [ganyó:ʔ] déʔgɛ: [neʔ awɛʔhɛʔ]
 Not in.fact animal it.is.not the flower(s)
 ‘Flowers are not animals.’

The following sections contain examples of equative sentences and are described further in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *E:*, *E:* ‘atypical verb’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’ (equative)
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ déʔgɛ:* ‘it isn’t’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ ne:ʔ déʔgɛ:* ‘without’, ‘lacking’

Verbs of existence

Verbs of existence are thematically related to the linking words used in equative sentences, and are listed below for interest’s sake. (To save space, many examples only contain links to other sections.)

Verbs meaning ‘to be, to exist’ are listed in (39).

- (39) a. *ne:ʔ* ‘it is’ (§C.9)

- b. tẹ' ... de'gę:
 'it isn't' (§C.13)
- c. ihe's
 i-h-e-'s
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB (§16.2.2)
 'he is here'

Other verbs of existence have more specific meanings (40–41).

(40) [i'drọ', i'drọd, i'drọdọ'] 'live, dwell someplace, be placed'

- a. sheh tgi'drọ'
 t-g-i'drọ'
 CIS-1S.A-dwell.STAT
 'where I live'
- b. hadi'drọ:dọ'
 had-i'drọ:-d-ọ'
 3NS.M.A-dwell-EUPH.D-DISTR
 'how they are placed'
- c. ęhsni'drọ:da'k
 ę-hsn-i'drọ:-d-a-'k
 FUT-2D.A-dwell-CAUS-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'you two will stay home'
- d. neęi'drọ:da'k
 n-ę-g-i'drọ:-d-a-'k
 PART-FUT-1S.A-dwell-CAUS-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'where I will dwell, live'

(41) [nagre'] 'live someplace'

- a. tgáenagre'
 t-gáe-nagre'
 CIS-3NS.FI.A-dwell.STAT
 'where they live over there'
- b. knagre'
 k-nagre'
 1S.A-dwell.STAT
 'I live, stay'

Positional verbs (a thematic type of stative-only verb) describe the typical position of an object (42).

(42) positional verbs

- a. shɛh dwaknɔ̃hso:t
shɛh d-wak-nɔ̃hs-o:t
that CIS-1s.P-house-stand.STAT
'where I dwell'
- b. nigá:yɛʔ
ni-gá:-yɛʔ
PART-3s.A-lie.on.ground.STAT
'where it is at', 'where it is placed'
- c. ohwéjadeʔ
o-hwéj-a-deʔ
3s.P-land-JOINER_A-exist.STAT
'existing earth, land'

Finally, counting verbs (a thematic type of stative-only verb) describe the number of items that exist (43, see *Comparisons, counting, measuring*, §31).

(43) counting verbs

- To: gitsɔ: ni:yɔ:.
- To: gi-tɔ: ni:-y-ɔ:
- that just-only PART-3s.P-certain.amount.STAT
- 'That's just all there is.'

28 Sentences with juxtaposed clauses (no linking words)

In sentences with JUXTAPOSED (collocated) clauses, two or more clauses are joined without linking words. Four types are described next.

28.1 Sentences with juxtaposed clauses sharing the same role

Sentences may consist of juxtaposed clauses (or juxtaposed verbs) that both have the same role (clauses are shown in square brackets below). (For role, see §20.6.) For example, both clauses in (1) refer to the same experiencer or actor, 'I', while both clauses in (2) refer to something that burned down. Other examples are shown in (3–4).

- (1) [dewagegaéhs] [to há:ge:ʔ]
I'm.unwilling there I.would.go.there
'I am unwilling to go there.'
- (2) [Ha'wa:ts'á:ʔ] [a'ó:de:k].
it.went.down.to.nothing it.burned
'It burned down to nothing.'
- (3) [A:həni:hé:ʔ] [hahjáotaʔ].
he.would.quit he.smokes.all.the.time
'He would stop himself from smoking', 'He would quit smoking.'
- (4) [Egəni:hé:ʔ] [knegéhaʔ].
I.will.quit I.drink.habitually
'I'll quit drinking.'

28.2 Sentences with juxtaposed clauses (different roles)

Sentences may consist of juxtaposed clauses (or juxtaposed verbs) that express different roles – for example, one describing an experiencer ‘I’, and one describing an agent, ‘her’ (5). Other examples are provided in (6–7).

- (5) [Knigəhá:ʔ] [ɛyɛ:yəʔ].
 I'm.expecting she.will.arrive
 ‘I am expecting [her to arrive]’, ‘I am waiting [for her to arrive.]’
- (6) [O:nəh giʔ haʔgahé:ʔ] [ɛshétroħna].
 now just it.is.time you.will.take.him.back
 ‘It is time [for you to take him back].’
- (7) [I:wí:] [to na:yá:wəh].
 I.want that it.should.happen
 ‘I want, intend [(for) that to happen]’

Two special types of sentences containing juxtaposed clauses and expressing different roles are described next.

28.2.1 Sentences with *á:wəʔ*, *wá:dəh*, *á:yəʔ*, *a:wé:tʔah*

Juxtaposed sentences can also begin with a clause from the list in (8), followed by a clause that expresses a different role. Such sentences convey hearsay or degrees of certainty (9–10, also see *Evidential markers*, §35.2).

- (8) a. *á:wəʔ* ‘it is said’
 b. *agəʔ* ‘it is said’
 c. *wá:dəh* ‘it is said’
 d. *á:yəʔ* ‘it seems’
 e. *a:wé:tʔah* ‘it is pretend, implied’
- (9) Gwé:, [a:yéʔ] [sanəħnyaʔgəh].
 well it.seems you.are.hurt
 ‘Well, [it looks like] [you are hurt].’
- (10) [A:we:tʔáh] [agídaʔəh].
 it.is.pretend I'm.sleeping
 ‘I am pretending [(that) I am asleep].’, ‘I am pretending [to be asleep].’

28.2.2 Sentences with *wę:dó:ʔ*, *wagyéhsaʔgeh*

Certain juxtaposed sentences begin with the clause (verb) *wę:dó:ʔ* ‘it is hard’ (11) or *wagyéhsaʔgeh* ‘it is easy’ (12). (For the structure of the verbs in the second clause in these examples, see §15.6.1.3, §15.6.2.3.)

- (11) Wę:dó:ʔ [da:syadqhsrí:yaʔk].
 it.is.hard you.would.cut.paper
 ‘It’s hard [for you to cut the paper].’
 cf. d-a:-s-hyadqhsr-í:yaʔk
 CIS-INDEF-2S.A-paper-cut.Ø.PUNC

- (12) Wagyehsaʔgéh [da:syadqhsrí:yaʔk].
 it.is.easy you.would.cut.paper
 ‘It’s easy [for you to cut the paper].’
 cf. d-a:-s-hyadqhsr-í:yaʔk
 CIS-INDEF-2S.A-paper-cut.Ø.PUNC

Sometimes the role (actor, experiencer, etc.) of the second verb is overtly expressed in a noun (‘John’). The noun comes either before the verb (13), or after the verb. In the second case, the noun is preceded by *neʔ* ‘the’ (14).

- (13) Q:gwéh gaqdóh wę:dó:ʔ [John dahátahahk].
 people they.say it.is.difficult John he.took.the.road
 ‘People say that it is hard [for John to walk].’
 cf. d-a-h-át-hah-a-hkw
 CIS-FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-road-JOINER-A-pick.up.Ø.PUNC

- (14) Wę:dó:ʔ agéʔ [dahataháhk neʔ John]
 it.is.difficult it.is.said he.took.the.road the John
 ‘It’s said that it’s hard [for John to walk].’

In the following examples, where the “doer” or agent (e.g., of *cutting*) is unknown, the second clause contains a special type of habitual verb (15–16) or stative verb (17–18, see §15.6.1, §15.6.2).

- (15) wagyesaʔgéh [da:gaḥyadqhsríyaʔksq:k].
 it.is.easy for.the.paper.to.cut
 ‘The paper [(it) is easy to cut].’
 cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-íyaʔk-sq:-k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-HAB-PLRZ-MODZ

28 Sentences with juxtaposed clauses (no linking words)

(16) Wẹ:dó:ʔ da:gahyadqhsriyaʔksq:k.
it.is.hard the.paper.should.be.cut
‘The paper [(it) is hard to cut].’

(17) Wagyehsaʔgeh da:gahyadqhsriyaʔgqha:k.
it.is.easy the.paper.would.be.cut
‘The paper is easy to cut.’

cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-iyāʔg-ó-h-a:k

DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-A-MODZ

(18) Wẹ:do:ʔ da:gahyadqhsriyaʔgqha:k.
it.is.hard the.paper.should.be.cut
‘The paper is hard to cut.’

It may be that *wẹ:dq:ʔ* and *wagyéhsaʔgeh* are only followed by certain kinds of verbs – for example, verbs describing activities: for verbs describing mental states, alternative phrases or work-arounds seem to be preferable (19–25).

(19) Tihogweʔdoʔdẹ:héh gé:s tq: John ta:hehsnqhwéʔ.
all.sorts.of.people(males) usually that.one John you.don't.like.him
‘It is hard to like John.’, ‘John is hard to like.’

(20) Dẹhqwadinqhwéʔs neʔ John.
they(males).don't.like.him the John
‘It is hard to like John.’, ‘John is hard to like.’

(21) Hqwadihswahéhs tq: John.
They.hate.him that.one John
‘It is hard to like John.’, ‘John is hard to like.’

(22) Hqgweʔdi:yó: gé:s tq: John.
he.is.a.good.person usually that.one John
‘It is easy to like John.’, ‘John is easy to like.’

(23) Hqgweʔdi:yó: neʔ John.
he.is.a.good.person the John
‘It is easy to like John.’, ‘John is easy to like.’

(24) Hodogweʔdanqhwéʔ tq: John.
he.is.a.liked.person that.one John
‘It is easy to like John.’, ‘John is easy to like.’

28.2 Sentences with juxtaposed clauses (different roles)

- (25) Hɔwadinɔhwé's John hɔgwe'dí:yo:
they(males).like.him John he.is.a.good.person
'It is easy to like John.', 'John is easy to like.'

29 Clauses with linking words (PARTICLES)

INDEPENDENT and DEPENDENT CLAUSES that begin with linking words (PARTICLES) are described next. (For independent and dependent clauses, see §36.9.2.)

29.1 Clauses with *shəh* ‘that’, [shəh ni-] ‘how, what’, *ne:* ‘it is’

In clauses beginning with *shəh* ‘that’, [shəh ni-] ‘how, what’, or *ne:* ‘it is’, the linking words serve to make such clauses dependent on another clause in the same COMPLEX SENTENCE: as shown in (1), *shəh* links a dependent clause (such as *shəh sada’gáide* ‘that you are well’) with an independent one (such as *agatsəŋó:nih gi* ‘I am just happy’). *Shəh* is also optional – the dependent clause can begin without it. (Examples are provided later in this section. For complex sentences, see 660)

- (1) Agatsəŋó:ní: gi’ [shəh sada’gáide’].
I’m.happy just that you.are.well
‘I am just happy that you are well.’

Phrases with [shəh ... ni-] ‘how, what’ introduce a type of dependent clause that functions as a “noun” (naming a person, place, thing, or concept). For example, in (2), the phrase *shəh niyo:wé’ gakwi:yó: agadekó:ni’* ‘the amount of food that I ate’ functions as a noun.

- (2) Eyonishé’ həwagi’dró:’ [shə niyo:wé’ gakwi:yó:
it.will.take.time it.will.last.me that a.certain.distance good.food
agadekó:ni’].
I.ate
‘The amount of food that I ate will last me a long time.’ (Mithun & Henry
1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)

The particle *ne:* ‘it is’ can also introduce a dependent clause that functions as a “noun”. In (3), *né:* *desadqhwę:jó:nih* denotes ‘something wanted’ or a ‘wanted item’.

- (3) Agyé? [*né:* *desadqhwę:jó:nih*].
 I.have it.is you.want.it
 ‘I have what you want.’

Shęh can also introduce a type of RELATIVE CLAUSE, which further specifies the meaning of some noun, §36.9.2. Example (4) illustrates a phrase that functions as a noun. It begins with *ne*’ *hęnq:gweh* ‘the men’ plus a relative clause, *shęh ená:gre*’ ‘that live there’. The relative clause modifies the meaning of the noun by specifying a group of men, as opposed to any other group.

- (4) O:nęh hni’ ohsqdagwe:gqđ dęhodiehę:’ ne’ hęnq:gwéh [*shęh*
 now and all.night they.guard the men that
ená:gre’].
 someone.lives.there
 ‘Now too all night they are guarding, the men who live there.’ (Keye 2012)

As mentioned earlier, relative and dependent clauses do not always begin with *shęh*. Instead pronominal prefixes alone can provide the needed link: in (5), the phrase *ne*’ *haksotgęhę:*’ *togyęh dahayagę:*’ functions as a noun (denoting a person). The pronominal prefix [ha-] 3S.M.A in *daháyagę:*’ links the relative clause *togyęh daháyagę:*’ ‘he was going out from there’ to the noun it modifies, *ne*’ *haksótgęhę:*’ ‘my late grandfather’.

- (5) Onęh gwa’, nę-gwa’ ahsha:kni:gę:’ ne’ haksotgęhę:’
 Now right.now now-right.now we.saw.him the my.late.grandfather
 [*togyęh dahayagę:*’],
 there he.went.out
 ‘And then we saw my late grandfather (who) was going out from there.’
 (Henry 2005)

More examples of relative clauses with *shęh* and *ne:*’ are provided in the “Related” sections.

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, §C.9
- ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that’, §C.12

29.2 Conditional clauses with *gyɛ:gwaʔ*, *gɛh*, *hɛ:gyɛh* ‘if, whether’

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES are dependent clauses describing hypothetical situations or prerequisite conditions. The linking word appears first in the clause (6–8), or more accurately, *gyɛ:gwaʔ* and *hɛ:gyɛh* appear at the beginning of the clause (6–7), while *gɛh* occurs after the first word of its clause (8). (In example 8, *gɛh* means ‘whether, if’, rather than ‘Q(uestion) word’, see §C.5) More examples of conditional clauses are provided in the “Related” sections.

- (6) Tɛʔ deǰhɔsdi:s o:nɛh [gyɛ:gwaʔ a:yáihɛ:]
 not she.didn’t.pay.attention now if she.would.die
 ‘She didn’t care if she was going to her death.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (7) Tɛʔ d’áq a:wadahsgwíʔtró:niʔ, [hɛ:gyɛh neʔ
 not not.at.all it.won’t.wrinkle, even.if the
 haesatronjhá:k aesé:daʔ].
 you.would.have.clothes.on you.would.sleep
 ‘It won’t wrinkle, even if you sleep with your clothes on.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (8) Daskro:wih [sanɔhɔkdá:niʔ gɛh]?
 you.tell.me you.are.sick Q
 ‘Tell me whether you are sick.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛh* ‘whether’, ‘if’, §C.5
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ* ‘if’, §C.5

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa' ta:-* 'if not', 'if it hadn't been', §C.5
 ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh shɛh* 'no matter how much', 'whether or not', 'even if', §C.6
 ⇒ *To gɛh ɔ ne:?* 'is it that?', 'if it is that', §C.13

29.3 Causative clauses with *dɛ' ni:yoht shɛh* 'why', *ne' hɔ:ni'* 'how'

CAUSATIVE CLAUSES are dependent clauses describing cause or effect. They can function as DIRECT QUESTIONS (9), INDIRECT QUESTIONS (10), or DEPENDENT STATEMENTS (11). (For these clause types, see §36.9.2.) The linking words appear at the beginning of the clause, sometimes intermixed with other particles.

- (9) [Dɛ' hnɛ: ni:yoht shɛh tóh nahsye:']?
 why in.fact the.way.it.is that that.one you.did.it
 'Why in fact did you do that?'
- (10) Honɔhdɔ' di' gɛh Gwí:deh [dɛ' ni:yoht shɛh Tina
 he.knows so Q Peter what the.way.it.is that Tina
 gowanawé'daga's?]
 she.likes.the.taste.of.candy
 'So does Peter know why Tina likes candy?'
- (11) Agahsé: [shɛh age:jí:yoh].
 I'm.slow that I'm.lame
 'I am slow because I am lame.'

Causation may also be implied just by JUXTAPOSING (placing side by side) two clauses without using linking words (12–14).

- (12) [Agyɔ:díh] [degakegáhne' niga:gú:s'uh].
 I'm.smiling I'm.looking.at.them children
 'I'm smiling (because) I'm looking at the children.'
- (13) [Tiga:gwe:góh tsɔ: agahyagwɛ'hɛgye's,] [aknɔhá'
 all.over.the.place just I'm.going.along.picking.fruit [I'm.unable
 a:knɔnhéht agá'ahdra'].
 I.would.fill.it my.basket]
 'I am just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I am unable to fill my basket.'

29.4 Manner clauses with [dɛʔ hoʔ dɛʔ ni-] ‘how’, shɛh ni:yoht ‘how so’

- (14) [Dɛhadawɛ:nyéʔ haya:sɔh ɔgwehɔwéhneha:ʔ,] [gyotgót: t gyɛ:ʔ
 he.wanders he.is.named Cayuga.language, always the.one
 nónɛ:ʔ ɛ:-tsɔ: isheʔ dɛhadawɛ:nyéʔ].
 you.know there.just he.is.here he.walks.about
 ‘Dɛhadawɛ:nyéʔ’, (‘he wanders’), is his Cayuga name, (because), you
 know, he always wanders around here and there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984:
 317, Sanahsgwaɛʔ Gɛh Sgáhoʔ dɛ:ʔ ɛh? dialogue)

More examples of linking words and phrases used with causative sentences are provided in the “Related” sections.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ ni:yoht shɛh* ‘why?’, §C.3
- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ shɛh* ‘because’, §C.6
- ⇒ *ʃi trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’, §C.8
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ dagaihɔ:niʔ* ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’, §C.9
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ:* ‘because’, ‘it’s just’, §C.9
- ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that, because’, §C.12

29.4 Manner clauses with [dɛʔ hoʔ dɛʔ ni-] ‘how’, shɛh ni:yoht ‘how so’

MANNER CLAUSES ask for or provide information about the manner in which an action is performed. Example (15) illustrates a direct question or independent clause, while example (16) shows a dependent clause. The linking words occur at the beginning of the clause. More examples are provided in the “Related” sections.

- (15) Asadadwɛʔ nãhsáik? [Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔ dɛʔ naʔ sye:ʔʔ]
 you.bit.your.tongue what.in.fact kind how.you.did.it
 ‘You bit your tongue? How did you do that?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386,
 Gáhá:gɔ: dialogue)
 cf. n-aʔ-s-ye:-ʔ
 PART-FAC-2SG.A-do-PUNC

- (16) Knigohá:ʔ [shɛh ni:yóht dəgátahahk].

I.watch that how.it.is I.will.walk

‘I watch how I walk.’

cf. ni:-yó-ht

PART-3SG.O-resemble.STAT

Related

⇒ *Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ni-* ‘how’, ‘what way’, §C.3

⇒ *Shɛh ni:yoht ni-* ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’, §C.12

29.5 Measuring clauses with [do: ... ni-] ‘how much, many’

MEASURING CLAUSES describing measurements, degrees, or amounts. The linking word *do:* ‘how’ begins the clause, and is followed by a verb with the [ni-] PART prefix. Measuring clauses can function as direct questions (17), indirect questions (18), and dependent statements (19). (For clause types, see §36.9.2.)

Other examples of [do: ... ni-] are provided in the “Related” sections.

- (17) [Do: nidihsé:no:]?

how where.you.come.from

‘How old are you (singular)?’

cf. ni-di-hs-é:no:-

PART-CIS-2S.P-originate.from-STAT

- (18) Tɛʔ gyɛ:ʔ dəʔsgahɔ:dóʔ [dó: niyagonohsriyáʔgɔh].

not the.one you.didn’t.ask.me how how.old.they.are

‘You didn’t ask me how old they are.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88,

Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)

cf. ni-yagon-ohsr-iyáʔg-ɔh

PART-3NS.FI.P-winter-CROSS-STAT

- (19) ɛgatɛʔsé:ʔ [dó: ni:s niswahwají:yaʔ].

I.will.go.and.see how you how.your.family.is

‘I will see how big your family is.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257,

Gahwajiyá:deʔ dialogue)

cf. ni-swa-hwají:y-aʔ

PART-2P.P-family-NSF

Related⇒ *Do:* 'how', §C.3⇒ *Do:* *ni-...nishe'* 'how long', 'how much time', §C.3⇒ *Do:* *ni+...q:* 'how many people', §C.3**29.6 Clauses with *sq:* ... (*n'áht*) 'who'**

Clauses with *sq:*... (*n'áht*) 'who' ask for or provide information about people. *Sq:* is at the beginning of the clause, *n'áht* is optional, and other particles can intervene. *Sq:* clauses appear as direct questions (20), indirect questions (21) and dependent statements (22). (For clause types, see §36.9.2.)

(20) [*Sq:* *hne:' n'áht to:gyéh eksá:'ah*]?

who in.fact person that.one girl

'Who is that girl?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 71, *Sq:* *Hne:' N'áht To:gyéh?* dialogue)

If the actual person is unknown, the verb in a *sq:* clause typically takes a 3s.FI pronominal prefix meaning 'she, someone, people' (21–22).

(21) *Daskro:wih [sq: n'áht daqdekónyahne']*.

you.tell.me who person she'll.come.and.eat

'Tell me who's coming to eat.'

cf. *da-q-d-e-kóny-a-hn-e'*

CIS.FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINER-E-eat-JOINER-A-DISL-go-PUNC

(22) *Honòhdq' Gwí:deh [sq' q n'áht gowanawé'daga's]*.

he.knows Peter who I.guess person she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar

'Peter knows who likes candy.'

cf. *go-wanawé'd-a-ga's*

3S.FI.P-sugar-JOINER-A-like.the.taste.of-HAB

Sq: (*n'áht*) can be omitted when the context makes the meaning clear. For example, it is omitted in (23), resulting in juxtaposed clauses (§28). The same sentence with *sq: n'áht* is shown in (24).

29 Clauses with linking words (PARTICLES)

- (23) Daskro:wih [gado:gé: dɛdwá:do:t].
you.tell.me together we.will.eat
'Tell me (who) will eat together with us.'
- (24) Daskro:wi' [sɔ: n'ah̃t gado:gé: dɛwá:dɔ:t].
you.tell.me who person together we.will.eat
'Tell me who is going to dine with us.'

More examples of clauses with *sɔ:* 'who' are provided in the "Related" sections.

Related

- ⇒ *Sɔ:* *n'ah̃t* 'who', §C.12
⇒ *Sɔ:* *go:wɛh* 'whose', §C.12

29.7 Clauses with *dɛ'* ... (*ho'dɛ'*) 'what'

Clauses with *dɛ'* ... (*ho'dɛ'*) 'what' ask for or provide information about objects or ideas. *Dɛ'* is at the beginning of the clause, *ho'dɛ'* is optional, and other particles can intervene between them. *Dɛ'* ... (*ho'dɛ'*) appears in direct questions (25), and in dependent clauses (26). (It likely also appears in indirect questions.) More examples of *dɛ'* clauses are provided in the "Related" sections.

- (25) [Dɛ' ní:s ho'dɛ' sniya:sɔh]?
what you kind you.two.are.called
'What are you two called?'
- (26) Hao' dahskro:wih [dɛ' ni:' nɛga:gye:'].
o.k., you.tell.me what I I.will.do.it
'O.k., you tell me what to do!'

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ'*-element meaning 'what', 'how', §C.3
⇒ *Dɛ' ho'dɛ'* 'what' ('indefinite pronoun'), §C.3

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’, §C.3
 ⇒ *Dɛʔ qh ne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what on earth?!’, §C.3

29.8 Clauses with *hɔ:(weh)* ‘the place where’

Clauses with *hɔ:(weh)* include ones beginning with *gaɛ ... hɔ:(weh)*, *shɛh ... hɔ:(weh)* or *tohgeh ... hɔ:(weh)*. Such clauses ask for or provide information about locations. *Gaɛ*, *shɛh*, and *tohgeh* appear at the beginning of the clause and are followed by *hɔ:(weh)*. Other particles can intervene. (*Hɔ:(weh)* also has the short forms *hɔ:* or *nhɔ:.*)

Examples (27–29) illustrate independent clauses, and (28) is a dependent clause functioning as a “noun” denoting a location.

- (27) [*Gaɛ: nhɔ: tsiʔdrɔʔ*]?
 Which place you.live.there
 ‘Where do you live?’
- (28) *Hɛtsýɛ:ʔ* [*shɛh hɔ: hesá:gweh*].
 you.will.put.it.back.there that where you.picked.it.up.there
 ‘You will put it back where you got it.’
- (29) [*Toh-géh gɛh hɔ:wéh toh naʔá:weh?*]
 that.one-on Q place there something.happened
 ‘Where did it happen?’

More examples are provided in the “Related” sections.

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ hɔ:(weh)* ‘which place’, ‘where’, §C.5
 ⇒ *Shɛh hɔ:(weh)* ‘the place where’, ‘whereabouts’, §C.12
 ⇒ *Toh-geh hɔ:(weh)* ‘where’, §C.13

29.9 Clauses with *hwé:doh*, *néh*, *né:gyéh hwa'*, *ne:' hwa'*, etc. 'when'

Clauses with *hwé:doh* 'when' (30) and *néh* 'when' (31) ask for or provide information about the time of an event. *Hwé:doh* is only used in direct and indirect questions, and *néh* is only used in dependent statements.

(30) **Hwé:doh** ne:' to neya:wéh?

when it.is that it.will.happen

'When is that going to happen?'

(31) [**Néh** toh hédwá:yó'] ne:dáh nédwá:ye:'.

when there we.will.arrive.there this.way we.will.do.something

'When we arrive there, we will do it this way.'¹

Other phrases such as *do: niyowihsdá'e:'* 'what time' (32), *né:gyéh hwa'* 'this time' (33), and *né:' hwa'* 'this time' (34) also ask for or provide information about the time of an event, and also appear at the beginning of direct questions, indirect questions, and dependent clauses.

(32) Daskro:wí' [**do: niyowihsdá'e:'** ɛsahdé:di'].

you.tell.me how it.is.a.certain.time you.will.leave

'You tell me when you are going to leave.'

(33) Dɛ' dí' ho'dé' nehsa:gyé:' [né:gyéh hwa'

What so what.kind you.will.do.something this this.time

dɛjogɛnhó:di']?

it.will.be.summer

'What will you do when summer comes?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349,

Dɛ' Ho'dé' Nɛhsa:gye:'? dialogue)

(34) [**Ne:' hwa'** né:gyéh sá:doh: 'dɛyɔkidé:ni'] ne' gɛ:doh ne'

it.is this.time this you.say they.will.change.us the it.means the

tɛ'-dɑ'ó: ɔgwehɔ:wéh ɔ:sawá:dɔ'.

definitely.not real.people it.will.no.longer.become

'When you say 'they will change us,' it means that you'll no longer be Indian.' (Henry 2005)

For more examples, see the "Related" sections.

¹In this example and in (34), the dependent clause appears before the independent one.

Related

- ⇒ *Do: niyowihsda*^ʔ*e:*^ʔ ‘what time is it?’, ‘when?’, §C.3
- ⇒ *Hwə:dəh* ‘ever’, ‘when’, §C.6
- ⇒ *Ne:*^ʔ *hwa*^ʔ ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’, §C.9
- ⇒ *Nəh, ne:*^ʔ *nəh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’, §C.9
- ⇒ *Nə:-gyəh hwa*^ʔ ‘this time’, ‘when’, §C.9

29.10 Clauses with (*gao*^ʔ) *shəh niyo:we*^ʔ ‘before, until’

Dependent clauses beginning with (*gao*^ʔ) *shəh niyo:(we)*^ʔ ‘before, until’ describe events that happened up until the time of the event described in the independent clause (35). (*Niyo:we*^ʔ also has the short forms *ní:yo:*^ʔ and *nyó:*.)

Shəh niyo:we^ʔ occurs at the beginning of dependent clauses, but is also omitted when the context makes the meaning clear (36). More examples with *shəh niyo:we*^ʔ ‘before, until’ are provided in §C.5.

- (35) O:nəh a^ʔa:gé^ʔ, “Wa^ʔgyəh,” a^ʔa:gé^ʔ, “əgəhsrə:ní^ʔ i:wí: tó: ne^ʔ
 now she.said just.now she.said I.will.fix.it I.want that the
 sage^ʔa^ʔgéh [gao^ʔ shəh nyó:^ʔ əhsədə^ʔdra^ʔ.]”
 on.your.hair which that it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.go.to.bed
 “Just a minute,” she said, “I want to fix your hair right there before you
 go to bed.” (Henry 2005)
- (36) [Əhseganyá^ʔk] [əhskéyahtga^ʔ].
 you.will.pay I.will.release.her
 ‘You will pay (before) I let her go.’

29.11 Clauses with *shəh na^ʔónishe^ʔ, tsa^ʔónishe^ʔ, [tsi-]* ‘while, when’

Clauses with *shəh na^ʔónishe^ʔ* ‘while’, ‘when’ (37), *tsa^ʔónishe^ʔ* ‘while’, ‘during’, ‘when’ (38), and clauses beginning with [tsi-] COIN verbs (39), describe events that occur at the same time as the event in the independent clause. The linking words appear at the beginning of the dependent clauses. More examples are provided in §C.12.

29 *Clauses with linking words* (PARTICLES)

- (37) Agahyagó' [shɛh na' onishé' odahyó:ni:]
I.picked.fruit that it.is.a.certain.time fruit.is.making
'I did pick fruit while it was plentiful.'
- (38) Hohsé: [tsa' onihse' hɔgwé'dase:].
he.was.fat while he.is.a.young.man
'While he was young, he was fat.'
- (39) De'agowihsrá:t [tsa' ɔnagra:t].
she.had.no.breath when.she.was.born
'She had no breath when she was born.'
- cf. ts-a'-ɔ'-nagra:t
COIN-FAC-3S.FI.A-caused.to.dwell.Ø.PUNC

30 Clauses with conjunctions

CONJUNCTIONS are linking words that connect list items. Words like *hni* 'and' connect similar words or phrases in a list. *Hne:* 'in fact', 'but' connects contrasting or dissimilar items. Finally, conjunctions like *nigé'qh* 'or' connect alternatives or choices of item(s). Phrases with these linking words are described in the following sections.

30.1 *Hni* 'and' conjunction

The conjunction *hni* 'and' links similar items in a list. For example, two conjoined independent clauses (in square brackets) are linked by *hni* in (1). *Hni* tends to occur at the end of the list of items.

- (1) [Sanaháowe:k], [sagya'dawí't] hni'.
[put.your.hat.on], [put.your.coat.on] and
'Put your hat and coat on!' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 212, Satró:nih dialogue)

Hni is optional in lists: for example, the conjoined word-groups in (2) just occur side-by-side. (The conjoined items in this example function as "nouns").

- (2) A:yé:' to-'q-tsq: ni:yó: gwahs dewagadqhwéjónih,
it.seems that-maybe-just a.certain.kind really I.want.it
[ne:gyé ne' gajihwá'] [né:' ne' enesdanyá'kta'].
this.one the hammer it.is the saw.
'That seems to be all I want, really, this hammer (and) the saw.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enqhsqnyá'da'sq:'qh dialogue)

More examples are provided in the "Related" sections.

Related

- ⇒ Sentences with juxtaposed clauses, 28
- ⇒ Clauses with conjunctions, 30
- ⇒ Independent and dependent clauses, relative clauses, 36.9.2
- ⇒ *Hni* ‘and’, C.6
- ⇒ *Ne:’ gi’ hni* ‘and that too’, ‘also’, C.9

30.2 *Hne:’*, *Ne:’* ... (*tsq: shəh*) ‘but’

Hne:’ ‘in fact’, ‘but’ and *ne:’* ... (*tsq: shəh*) ‘it.is (just that)’ link contrasting or dissimilar ideas.¹ *Hne:’* tends to occur at the end of the list of contrasting ideas (shown in square brackets in 3. The first instance of *hne:’* in 3 is described in §C.6.)

- (3) [Tɛ’ hne:’ dəhahəká’ oḡwehó:weh], [ho’ nigəhaɛda’s] hné:’.
 not in.fact he.doesn’t.speak Indian he.understands in.fact
 ‘He doesn’t speak Indian, but he does understand.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 61, Sq: hne:’ n’ aht to:gyəh? dialogue)

Ne:’ (plus other optional particles) appears at the beginning of a contrasting idea or CLAUSE (4).

- (4) [Swahyo:wá:’ age:gá’s], [né:’ gi’ heyohé: age:gá’s ne’ jihsó:dahk]
 apples I.like it.is just more I.like the strawberries
 ‘I like apples, (but) I just like strawberries more.’ (Michelson 2011: 45)

More information about such constructions can be found in the following sections.

¹Strictly speaking, the words described here are contrastive focus markers (see “Related”), described here because they can be translated as ‘but’.

Related

- ⇒ Sentences with side-by-side clauses, 28
- ⇒ Clauses with conjunctions, 30
- ⇒ Independent and dependent clauses, relative clauses, 36.9.2
- ⇒ *De'ε: gwa'-heh tε' se'* 'but then not really', C.3
- ⇒ *Hne:'* 'but', C.6
- ⇒ *Ne:' tsq: shəh* 'but', 'it's just that...', C.9

30.3 *Nigé'qh* 'or?', *Gi' shəh* 'or', etc.

A range of words and word-groups are used for lists of alternative items. Phrases with *nigé'qh* 'or...?' tend to be used in questions (5), in which case, *nigé'qh* is always preceded by *gəh* 'Q(uestion)' earlier in the sentence. In contrast, phrases with *gi' shəh* 'or' tend appear in statements (6). In both cases, *nigé'qh* and *gi' shəh* tend to occur after the last choice. (In 5-6, the items of choice are in square brackets.) Examples of similar alternative choice questions and statements are provided in the "Related" sections.

- (5) [Hq:gwéh] gəh [agq:gwéh] nigé'qh?
 Man Q woman or
 'Was it a man or a woman?'
- (6) Tε' sgaho'dé' ne' [o'wáhq], [jī'dε:'éh], [ojq'dá'] gi'-shəh.
 Not anything the meat, birds, fish or
 'No meat, no birds, no fish.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with conjunctions, 30
- ⇒ Independent and dependent clauses, relative clauses, 36.9.2
- ⇒ *Gəh ga:t gi' shəh nigé'qh* 'or?', C.5
- ⇒ *Gəh tε' nigé'qh* 'or not?', C.5
- ⇒ *Gyε:gwa' gi' shəh* 'or maybe', C.5

30 Clauses with conjunctions

⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ shəh neʔ ... giʔ shəh* 'or', C.9

⇒ *Ne:ʔ/Neʔ niḡəʔq̄h neʔ ...* 'or?', C.9

31 Comparisons, counting, measuring

This chapter describes the various phrases used for making comparisons, counting objects, and measuring. (For related information, see *Pluralizing* §18.2, *Numbers and money*, §D.15.)

31.1 Comparisons (more, the same, or less)

Comparisons apply to qualities or attributes, and convey concepts like degrees of sameness or difference (1). Comparative phrases typically include stative-only verbs beginning with [ni-] PART, which function as “adjectives”.

- (1) Aq̣hɛːʔɛh hniʔ gyogaʔɔh shɛh gaoʔ nitodɛʔnyɛːdɛː
the.most and it.tastes.good that even.so so.much.he.had.tasted
‘And it was sweeter than anything he had ever tasted.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
cf. ni-t-ho-d-e-ʔnyɛːdɛː-
PART-CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-JOINER-E-try-STAT

Comparative constructions are described in the following sections.

Related

- ⇒ “Adjectives” (words that function as adjectives), §7
- ⇒ [tsaʔde-verb], §12.2.1
- ⇒ [tsi-INCORPORATED NOUN-verb] ‘be the same kind of INCORPORATED NOUN’, §12.2.1
- ⇒ [ti-INCORPORATED NOUN-deʔ(ah)] ‘a different INCORPORATED NOUN’, §12.2.2
- ⇒ [ni-] (partitive) with VERBS describing measures or degrees, §12.2.3
- ⇒ [d-pronominal prefix-stative.verb] ‘-est’, 12.2.5

Particles used in comparative constructions are listed below and are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gao' ni-* 'less so'
- ⇒ *Gwahs shəh ni-* 'as...as'
- ⇒ *Heyohe:ʔ shəh* 'more than'
- ⇒ *I:nəh gao' ne'* 'far from enough'
- ⇒ *ʃi trehs shəh* 'too much so for', 'so much so'
- ⇒ *Ne' aqəh:ʔəh d-* 'the most, -est, -er (of)'
- ⇒ *Ne' gyaqəh:ʔəh d-* 'the most', 'the greatest'
- ⇒ *Ne' heyohe:ʔ* 'more, -er'
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gwahs d-* 'the most'
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gwahs heyohe:ʔ* 'the most, -est'
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we'* 'as far as', 'as much as'
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we'* 'that far'
- ⇒ *Toh shəh ni-* 'to that degree'

31.2 Counting with basic nouns

Counting with basic nouns is summarized next. (For basic nouns, see §5.1.)

31.2.1 Counting one object

The template for the verb meaning 'one object' is shown in (2, also see §12.2.4).

- (2) [S-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-INCORPORATED NOUN-JOINER-A-t]

For basic nouns beginning with [ga-] 3s.A, the corresponding counting verb begins with [s-ga-] REP-3S.A (3).

- (3) sganáʔja:t
 s-ga-náʔj-a:-t
 REP-3S.A-drum-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
 'one bottle'
 cf. ganáʔja:t
 ga-náʔj-a:-t
 3S.A-drum-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
 'a standing bottle'

Basic nouns beginning with [o-] 3s.P are less straightforward: for some, the corresponding counting verb begins with [s-ga-] REP-3S.A (4). However, for others, the corresponding counting verb begins either with [s-ga-] REP-3S.A or [j-o-] REP-3S.P (5). For yet another set of nouns beginning with [o-], the counting verb can only begin with [j-o-] (6).

- (4) sgayéhsra:t
 s-ga-yéhsr-a:-t
 REP-3S.A-blanket-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
 ‘one blanket’
 cf. oyéhsra’
 o-yéhsr-a’
 3s.P-blanket-NSF
 ‘blanket’
- (5) a. sga’nhóhsa:t
 s-ga-’nhóhs-a:-t
 REP-3S.A-egg-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
 ‘one egg’
- b. jo’nhóhsa:t
 j-o-’nhóhs-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-egg-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
 ‘one egg’
 cf. o’nhóhsa’
 o-’nhóhs-a’
 3s.P-egg-NSF
 ‘egg’
- (6) joháha:t
 j-o-háh-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-road-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
 ‘one road’
 cf. oháha’
 o-háh-a’
 3s.P-road-NSF
 ‘road’

For basic nouns beginning with [a], the corresponding counting verb begins with [s-wa-] REP-3S.A (7).

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- (7) swanaháotra:t
s-w-anaháotr-a:-t
REP-3S.A-hat-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one hat'
cf. anaháotra'
 anaháotr-a'
 hat-NSF
 'hat'

At least one INSTRUMENTAL NOUN (§5.4.1) can be enumerated just like basic nouns beginning with [ga-] (8).

- (8) sgahyádqhkwa:t
s-ga-hyádqhkwa-a:-t
REP-3S.A-pencil-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one pencil'
cf. ehyádqhkwa'
 e-hyádq-hkwa'
 SHE/SOMEONE.A-write-INSTR
 'pencil'

31.2.2 Counting two objects

The template for the verb meaning 'two objects' is shown in (9, also see §12.2.6).

- (9) [DE-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] 'two INCORPORATED NOUNS'

For basic nouns beginning with [ga-] 3S.A, the corresponding counting verb begins with [de-ga-] DU-3S.A (10).

- (10) degajihsdá:ge:
de-ga-jihsd-á:ge:
DU-3S.A-lamp-certain.number.STAT
'two lamps'
cf. gajihsdá'
 ga-jihsd-a'
 3S.A-lamp-NSF
 'lamp'

For basic nouns beginning with [o-] 3S.P, the corresponding counting verb begins with [de-yo-] DU-3S.P (11).

- (11) a. deyo[?]nqhsá:ge:
 de-yo-[?]nqhs-á:ge:
 DU-3S.P-egg-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘two eggs’
 cf. o[?]nqhsa[?]
 o-[?]nqhs-a[?]
 3S.P-egg-NSF
 ‘egg’
- b. deyohsi[?]dá:ge:
 de-yo-hsi[?]d-á:ge:
 DU-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘two feet’
 cf. ohsi[?]da[?]
 o-hsi[?]d-a[?]
 3S.P-foot-NSF
 ‘foot’

For basic nouns beginning with [a], the corresponding counting verb begins with [de-wa-] DU-3S.A (12).

- (12) dewahdahgwá:ge:
 de-wa-hdahgw-á:ge:
 DU-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘two shoes’
 cf. ahdahgwa[?]
 ahdahgw-a[?]
 shoe-NSF
 ‘shoe’

31.2.3 Counting three or more objects

The template for the verb meaning ‘three or more objects’ is shown in (2, also see §12.2.3).

- (13) [number] [NI-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] ‘number
 of INCORPORATED NOUNS’

For basic nouns beginning with [ga-] 3S.A, the corresponding counting verb begins with [ni-ga-] PART-3S.A (14).

- (14) ahsəh niganqhsá:ge:
 ahsəh ni-ga-nqhs-á:ge:
 three PART-3S.A-house-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three houses’
 cf. ganqhsa’
 ga-nqhs-a’
 3S.A-house-NSF
 ‘house’

Basic nouns beginning with [o-] 3s.P are less straightforward: for some, the corresponding counting verb begins with [ni-yo-] PART-3S.P (15). For others, the corresponding counting verb begins with either [ni-yo] PART-3S.P or [ni-ga] PART-3S.A (16).

- (15) ahsəh niyohsi’ dá:ge:
 ahsəh ni-yo-hsi’ d-á:ge:
 three PART-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three feet’
 cf. ohsi’ da’
 o-hsi’ d-a’
 3S.P-foot-NSF
 ‘feet’

- (16) a. ahsəh niyohqná’ dage:
 ahsəh ni-yo-hqná’ d-age:
 three PART-3S.P-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three potatoes’
 b. ahsəh nigahqná’ dage:
 ahsəh ni-ga-hqná’ d-age:
 three PART-3S.A-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three potatoes’
 cf. ohqna’ da’
 o-hqna’ d-a’
 3S.P-potato-NSF
 ‘potatoes’

For basic nouns beginning with [a], the corresponding counting verb begins with [ni-wa] PART-3S.A (17).

- (17) ahsəh niwahdāhgwá:ge:
 ahsəh ni-w-ahdāhgw-á:ge:
 three PART-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three shoes’
 cf. ahdāhgwaʔ
 ahdāhgw-aʔ
 shoe-NSF
 ‘shoes’

31.3 Counting words that are not basic nouns

Several other strategies, described next, are used for counting words that are not basic nouns. (Such alternative counting strategies are needed because most words functioning as “nouns” cannot be incorporated, unlike the basic nouns described earlier).

31.3.1 Counting with placeholder words and placeholder incorporated nouns

Many nouns, and words functioning as “nouns”, cannot be incorporated into the counting verbs described earlier. In such cases, alternative methods are used instead, as shown in (18–19). For these constructions, the counting verbs (described previously) are still employed. However, they do not incorporate the noun that is actually counted. Instead, they incorporate a placeholder noun, which has a generic meaning. The enumerated noun appears after the verb, as a stand-alone word.

- (18) [S-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-PLACEHOLDER.INCORPORATED.NOUN-t
 SPECIFIC.NOUN] ‘one SPECIFIC NOUN’
- a. swāhdahgwá:t ahdahgwáqweh
 s-wā-hdahgw-á:-t ahdahgwá-qweh
 REP-3S.A-shoe-JOINER A-stand.STAT NO.PREFIX-shoe-TYP
 ‘one ceremonial shoe’
- b. sganahsgwá:t dagus
 s-ga-nahsgw-á:t dagus
 REP-3S.A-tame.animal-JOINER A-stand.STAT cat
 ‘one pet cat’

31 Comparisons, counting, measuring

- (19) [DE-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-PLACEHOLDER.INCORPORATED NOUN-age:
SPECIFIC.NOUN] ‘two SPECIFIC NOUNS’
degraheʔda:gé: ohó:draʔ
de-graheʔd-a:gé: o-hó:dr-aʔ
DU-tree-be.a.certain.number.STAT 3S.P-basswood-NSF
‘two basswood trees’

The special verbs used for counting living things (“nouns”) are illustrated in (20–22).

- (20) [S-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-yaʔd-JOINER A-t [living.thing]] ‘one [living.thing]’
a. sgayaʔdá:t dagu:s
s-ga-yaʔd-á:t dagu:s
REP-3S.A-body-JOINER A-stand.STAT cat
‘one cat’
b. sgayaʔdá:t jogrihs ‘one blackbird’
c. sgayaʔdá:t ohtahyó:ni: ‘one wolf’
d. sgayaʔdá:t twé:twé:t ‘one duck’
e. sgayaʔdá:t degayaʔdáhkwáʔ ‘one hen hawk’
- (21) [DE-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-yahshe: [living.thing]] ‘two [living.things]’
degadiyahshé: dagu:s
de-gadi-yahshé: dagu:s
DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT cat
‘two cats’
- (22) [NUMBER] [NI-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-ɔ: [living.thing]] ‘three or more
[living.things]’
ahséh ni-gé:nó: dagus
ahséh ni-gé:n-ó: dagu:s
three PART-3P.A-certain.number.STAT cat
‘three cats’

As shown in (23–24), the same verbs are also used for counting people. (The words describing people (*agogweʔdá:se:*, *haksá:ʔah*, etc.) are VERBS functioning as “nouns”, rather than true NOUNS, and so cannot be incorporated.) Additionally, however, the pronominal prefix of the counting verb has to describe the number and gender of the people referred to.

31.3 Counting words that are not basic nouns

(23) [counting verb [person]] (Michelson 2011)

- a. jeya'dá:t agogwe'dá:se:
 j-e-ya'd-a:-t ag-ogwe'd-a:se:
 REP-3S.FI.A-body-JOINER A-stand.STAT 3S.FI.A-person-new.STAT
 'one young woman'
- b. degaeyahshé: ga:gogwé'dase:
 de-gae-yahshé: ga:g-ogwé'd-ase:
 DU-3NS.FI.A-two.STAT 3NS.FI.A-person-new.STAT
 'two young women'
- c. ahséh niga:gó: ga:gogwé'dase:
 ahséh ni-ga:g-ó:
 three PART-3NS.FI.A-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ga:g-ogwé'd-ase:
 3NS.FI.A-person-new.STAT
 'three young women'

(24) [counting verb [person]] (Michelson 2011)

- a. shaya'dá:t haksá:'ah
 s-ha-ya'd-á:t ha-ksá:'ah
 REP-3S.M.A-body-stand.STAT 3S.M.A-young.child
 'one boy'
- b. dehadiyahshé: hadiksa:'ah
 de-hadi-yahshé: hadi-ksá:'ah
 DU-3NS.M.A-two.living.things.STAT 3NS.M.A-young.child
 'two boys'
- c. ahséh nihe:nó: hadiksa'só:'qh
 ahséh ni-he:n-ó: hadi-ksa'só:'qh
 three PART-3NS.M.A-certain.number.STAT 3NS.M.A-young.child-PLRZ
 'three boys'

31.3.2 Counting without noun incorporation

The counting verbs [yahshe:] 'two living things' and [q:] 'a number of things' cannot incorporate nouns. Instead the nouns they refer to appear after the verb (25). Similar examples were provided in (23-24 above).

- (25) [NUMBER [NI-Y-Q:] [thing]]
 ahséħ ni:yó: oná:tsih
 ahséħ ni:-y-ó: on-á:tsih
 three PART-3S.P-be.a.number.of.things.STAT 3NS.O-friends.STAT
 ‘three pairs of socks’

The following example has the same basic structure as (25). However, the noun after [ní:yó:] is a long-ish phrase functioning as a “noun” (shown in square brackets in (26)).

- (26) [[number] [NI-Y-Q:] [thing/phrase]]
 geí ni:yó: [geí niǵetse’da:gé: wadq:dá:ta’]
 geí ni:-y-ó: geí
 four PART-3S.P-be.a.number.of.things.STAT four
 ni-ga-itse’d-á:ge: w-ad-q:dá:t-ha’
 PARTITIVE-3S.A-bottle-two.or.more.STAT 3S.A-SRF-contain-HAB
 ‘four gallons’

A less common method of counting is just to place a number before the relevant word. This strategy is used for several unincorporable nouns (27a) and several VERBS functioning as “nouns” (27b).

- (27) [[number] [word/phrase]]
 a. sgá:t awéħe’ ‘one flower’
 b. sgá:t heyótgahtwəħ ‘one mile’

And finally, nouns that are already incorporated into verbs (regular ones, not counting verbs) can be enumerated by just adding a number before the relevant incorporating verb (28).

- (28) [[number] PREFIX-INCORPORATED NOUN-VERB] ‘do something to
 [number] of [incorporated nouns]’
 sgá:t shayédqta’
 sgá:t s-ha-yéd-qt-h-a’
 one REP-3S.M.A-firewood-place-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘He put one more piece of wood on the fire.’
 cf. oyé:da’
 o-yé:d-a’
 3S.P-firewood-NSF
 ‘firewood’

Part VI

Discourse and discourse signposts

Discourse signposts are any means of managing information in connected speech. They include ways of expressing new or old news, changes in topic, and so on. Discourse signposts in Gayogoho:nq'néha:ʔ include word order choices, noun incorporation choices, information provided by the pronominal prefixes, and the use of discourse markers (particles and particle groups).

32 Word order effects

Gayogoho:nə́néha:ʔ word order is *flexible*, meaning for example that a noun describing an AGENT or “doer”, such as *neʔ kso:t*, can appear either before the verb (1) or after (2). Similarly, a noun undergoing an action, such as *jihso:dahk*, can occur either before the verb (3) or after (4).

- (1) Neʔ giʔ aʔa:géʔ, [neʔ kso:t aʔa:géʔ], “Ehsnigohá:k
The just she.said, [the grandmother, she.said], you.two.be.careful
gwaʔ to:gyéh, ahgwí, ɛhsahdó: neʔ gayá:ʔ.”
intensifier that.one, don't you.will.lose the bag
'So then [our grandmother said], “You two be careful, don't lose that
bag!”’ (Henry 2005)
- (2) Neʔ giʔ to: neʔ, [onéh aʔa:géʔ neʔ kso:t,] “Jadohsweʔ dá:nih
The just that the, [now she.said the grandmother], you.two.are.hungry
géh?”
Q
'It's just that then [our grandma said], “Are you both hungry?”’ (Henry
2005)
- (3) **Jihso:dáhk** gahyá:gwahs
strawberries I'm.picking.fruit
'I'm picking strawberries.'
- (4) Gahya:gwáhs **jihso:dahk**
I'm.picking.fruit strawberries
'I'm picking strawberries.'

Since word order is flexible, speakers can and do use it to manage information flow. Some examples of the kinds of information implied by word order choice are provided next. The following descriptions are tentative, since more research is needed on this topic.

32.1 First position

Words in **FIRST POSITION** are either at the very beginning of an utterance, or right after a particle group. They tend to convey significant, notable, or topical information. For example, in (5b), the speaker uses *oda:di:dəht* first in the sentence because it is the main point. (The village described in 5a was undergoing a famine.)

- (5) a. O:nəh haha:di:yóʔ shəh ho:wəh hadinagrehsraéʔ neʔ oqwehó:wəh.
 now they.arrived that where they.live the real.people
 ‘Now they arrived where the Real People lived.’
- b. Oda:di:dəht dəʔhoʔdəʔ ahənatgáhtoʔ.
 it.was.pitiful what they.looked.at.it
 ‘It was pitiful what they saw.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

As another example, in answer to the salesman’s question in the dialogue in (6), Sam first mentions the item that he wants, *enesdanyáktaʔ* (6b), because it is the direct, relevant response to the salesman’s question. In contrast, later in the dialogue (6c), the main point, (again expressed first), is about buying (*əkni:nóʔ*), and mention of the saw (*neʔ gwáhs gahenʔatri:yó: enesdanyáktaʔ*) is now at the end of the utterance.

- (6) a. Salesman: Sgahoʔdéseʔəh gəh o:yáʔ desadəhwe:jo:nih?
 anything Q other you.want.it
 ‘Is there something else you want?’
- b. Sam: Əhəʔ. Enesdanyaʔktáʔ giʔ hniʔ dewagadəhwe:jo:nih.
 yes saw just and I.want.it
 ‘Yes, I also want a saw.’
- c. Ne:ʔ giʔ gye:ʔəh əkni:nóʔ neʔ gwáhs gahenaʔtri:yó:
 it.is just I.guess I.will.buy.it the best
enesdanyaʔktáʔ.
 good.knife saw
 ‘Then I guess I’ll buy the best cutting saw.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enəhsənyaʔdaʔsə:ʔəh dialogue)

From previous studies, we know that first position is for *new* information (information that the speaker believes is not known to the listener(s) (Mithun 1992: 29–30, Mithun 1995: 408). First position is also for information contrasting with something mentioned earlier (Mithun 1992: 37). Finally, first position is reserved

for words expressing a new topic or a shift in topic (Mithun 1992: 27, 29–32, Mithun 1995: 405, also see Chafe 1994).

Example (7) introduces an additional point, that speakers can use several strategies at once to manage information flow. In (7), the speaker introduces a new topic (another way to hunt for rabbits) and so places *ó:ya* ‘another (way)’ in first position (the closest possible position is after *tohgeh*). Meanwhile, *tohgeh* also signals a shift in topic. (It functions as a DISCOURSE MARKER OR TOPIC MANAGER, described in §35).

- (7) Tohgeh o:ya[?] hni[?] gɛ:s niyagwayé:ha[?]
 then other too used-to so-we-did-it.

‘There is another way we used to do it.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

32.2 Last position

LAST POSITION refers to the end of an utterance. Words in last position tend to express old information (information that the speaker believes to be already known or readily accessible from the context of the discourse, Mithun 1995: 405). For example, *ne[?] ksotgɛhé:[?]* appears near the end of (8b) because ‘the grandmother’ was previously introduced. In contrast, the most important information in (8b) is *ne[?] dyotgót:gɛ:s*, which appears first in order to emphasize that grandmother *always* had bread.

- (8) a. Ne[?] gi[?] agása:[?]s
 the just I.remember
 ‘What I remember’
- b. ne[?] dyotgót:t gɛ:s gona[?]daé[?] ne[?] ksotgɛhé:[?]
 the always usually she.had.bread the late.grandmother
 ‘is that she always had bread, that grandma.’
- c. Ne[?] gotna[?]dáqda[?]k.
 the she.made.bread
 ‘She made bread.’ (Henry 2005)

Last position also introduces sub-themes, or alternatively, reminds listener(s) about information that continues to be relevant: in (9b) *ne[?] odi[?]tragá[?]qh* introduces the subtopic of “Good Tea” (the name of the dog), who is then described in the following sentence (9c). More examples are provided in §33.2.

- (9) a. Dəhataé: shaya'dá:t gwahs hni' nɛ: hahayé: ne' hotse:né'
 he.spoke one.man just.then and then he.touched the his.pet
 só:wa:s
 dog
 'One man spoke up and touched his pet dog.'
- b. Ahé', "Ne:' seh-gyɛ:' sɛh tɛ' ní:s desanəhsgwaé:
 he.said it's you.know-this.one that not you you.don't.have.a.pet
 toh naganəhsgwiyohá:k sɛh niyóht ne' odi'tragá'qh."
 that.one how.good.the.pet.is that it's.like the good.tea
 'He said, "Because you don't have a pet as good as Good Tea."
- c. "Tɛ'-hné: hwé:dɔ' dəhodaɬdɔ:dɛ' ó:nɛh ɛhayanéɛ:
 not-in.fact ever it.disappears.on.him now he.will.track.it
 ga:nyo:'"
 wild.animal
 "It never disappears on him when he tracks an animal." (He never
 loses the track.) (Keye 2012)

33 Noun incorporation in discourse

Recall that NOUN INCORPORATION is optional for some verbs. When noun incorporation is optional, speakers can make deliberate choices about whether or not to incorporate, for stylistic effect. In fact, pairs of non-incorporated and incorporated nouns often appear together in connected speech: for example, the non-incorporated noun *o'ε:ná'* appears in the sentence in (1a), while its incorporated counterpart [ʔεn] appears in (1b). The discourse-relevant reasons for such pairings are described in the following sections. (For related information, see §9.1 and 14.)

- (1) a. O:néħ hahonadí' ohyo'ti:yéħt o'ε:ná' shéħ í:ga:t.
now they.threw.it.there it.is.sharp spear that it.stands
'Now they threw a sharp spear where he (the Bear) stood.'
cf. oε:ná'
 o-ε:n-á'
 3S.P-spear-NSF
- b. Ne:ʔ ne' hohsé: haho'εnɔ:dí' gwahs tsa'deyonɔ' ahé'
it.is the he.is.fat he.spear-threw right middle.of.its.head
ha'gahnjó:da'.
it.stuck.there
'The fat one threw the spear right in the middle of its head, (where) it stuck.' (Keye 2012)
cf. haho'εnɔ:dí'
 ha-ho-ʔεn-ɔ:dí-ʔ
 TRANSL-3S.M.P-spear-throw-PUNC

33.1 Non-incorporated nouns in first position

Non-incorporated nouns in first position tend to introduce prominent or new information (that is, FOREGROUNDED material). In contrast, incorporated nouns by definition do not occur in first position. They often refer to previously-established, non-topical, or background information (that is, GIVEN information), (Mithun 1995: 406). For example, the use of non-incorporated *o'nhqhsa'* in first position

in (2a) signals that ‘eggs’ have become important or relevant to the point at hand. In contrast, the switch to incorporated [’nhqhs] ‘eggs’ in (2b) conveys that *eggs* are now old news, with the question about *borrowing* becoming more relevant or topical in (2b), (Mithun 1999: 429).

- (2) a. O’nhqhsa’ hni’ to í:wa:t.
eggs too there it.is.in.there
‘There are some eggs in there too.’
- b. Te’ de’gé: hne:’ a:sé’nhqhsaniha’ hni’?
not it.isn’t in.fact you.should.borrow.eggs too
‘Don’t you think you should egg-borrow too?’ (Mithun 1999: 429,
modified orthography and glosses)

For Kanien’kéha, Decaire et al. (2017: 2,8) convincingly argue that noun incorporation is obligatory when the verb allows it and that EXCORPORATION is a device for placing FOCUS on the noun in question. Excorporated nouns expressing focus appear to the left of the verb, in first position.

33.2 Excorporated nouns in final position

Excorporated nouns can also appear in *final* position, where they can express points of clarification, or can also remind the listener about concepts that continue to be relevant to the conversation (Chafe 1976, Mithun 1999: 199–200. Also see §32.2). For example, *otgwéhsa’* appears in final position in (3b), where it clarifies ‘what is dripping’. (Also, illustrating that excorporation was a deliberate choice, *otgwéhsa’* could have been incorporated into *eyó:ka’* ‘it will drip’, as shown by words like *otgwéhsokahs* ‘dripping blood’.)

- (3) a. O:néħ gę:s ahadinyó’ ętgawęhsahí’ ne’ hnyagwaidatgi’gó:wah.
now usually they.kill.it it.will.bleed the Ugly.Bear
‘When they kill it, Ugly Bear bleeds.’
- b. Ne:’ hne:’ eyo:ká’ gaqhyada:gyé’ otgwéhsa’.
it.is in.fact it.will.drip along.the.sky blood
‘That is what drips in the sky, blood.’
- c. Ne:’ deħsgade:ní’ shęħ niyohsōhgo’dęhs onrahdq:dq’ ne’
it.is it.will.change that what.colours.they.are the.leaves the
grāhé’dq’.
trees
‘That’s what changes the colours the leaves of the trees.’ (Keye 2012)

Similarly, in example (4), excorporated *o'wáhq̃h*, *ne' oné̃hɛ'?*, and *ohsáhe'da'* appear in final position. (The choice of excorporation must have been deliberate, since the verbs used, *ogwá:yɛ'* and *dɛ'jɔ:gwá:yɛ'*, tend to have incorporated nouns.) By placing excorporated nouns in final position, the speaker specifies and emphasizes all the items that are lacking.

- (4) Nɛ: tsɔ: ni:yɔ: ogwá:yɛ' o'wáhq̃h. Tɛ' gwa'tóh
 it.is just a.certain.amount we.have meat not any.at.all
 dɛ'jɔ:gwá:yɛ' ne' oné̃hɛ'?, ohsáhe'da'.
 we.don't.have the corn, beans.
 'We have very little meat left. We have no corn or beans left.' (Carrier
 et al. 2013)

In (5c), the choice to use a non-incorporated noun in final position signals a clarification, or even a punch-line, about which type of liquid or sap is under discussion, *nɛ:gyɛ̃h ohwahdá' otséhsda'*. In contrast, earlier in the story in (5a, b), [hnegá] 'liquid, sap' is incorporated because the main point is not about the type of sap, but instead, about collecting and heating it.

- (5) a. Tga:gɔ:t heyohé: i:só' ɛdwahnegá:go',
 it.is.necessary much more we.will.collect.liquid
 'We must collect the sap,'
 cf. ɛ-dwa-hneg-á:-go-'
 FUT-1P.IN.A-liquid-JOINERÁ-gather-PUNC
- b. ɛdwahnegáih̃t,
 we.will.heat.liquid
 'we will heat it,'
 cf. ɛ-dwa-hneg-a-ih̃t
 FUT-1P.IN.A-liquid-JOINERÁ-break.into.bits.Ø.PUNC
- c. ɛdwahsrɔ:ní' nɛ:gyɛ̃h ohwahdá' otséhsda'.
 we.will.make.it this.one maple syrup.
 'and make this maple syrup.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

34 Pronominal prefixes in discourse

Pronominal prefixes also help to manage the flow of information in discourse. Examples are provided in the following sections.

34.1 Pronominal prefixes and flexible word order

Pronominal prefixes enable the kind of flexible word order (Mithun, 1995, 411) described earlier, in that they remove potential ambiguity of reference. For example, in (1), the pronominal prefix [ha-] 3S.M.A in *da-há-yagéʔ* clearly links the description *togyéh daháyagéʔ* to the noun it modifies, *neʔ haksótgəhəʔ*.

- (1) Onəh gwaʔ, nə-gwaʔ ahsha:kni:géʔ neʔ haksotgəhəʔ
Now right.now now-right.now we.saw.him the my.late.grandfather
[togyéh dahayagéʔ].
[there he.went.out]
'And then we saw my late grandfather [(who) was going out from there].'
(Henry 2005)

Because pronominal prefixes remove ambiguity of reference, the order of phrases in sentences can be freer. To use an earlier example, the noun-group *neʔ ksót* can appear before the verb *aʔa:géʔ* in (2), but after the verb in (3), with no ambiguity concerning who is speaking.

- (2) Neʔ giʔ aʔa:géʔ, [neʔ ksót aʔa:géʔ,] “Əhsnigəhá:k
The just she.said, [the grandmother, she.said], you.two.be.careful
gwaʔ to:gyéh, ahgwí, əhsahdó: neʔ gayá:ʔ.”
intensifier that.one, don't you.will.lose the bag
'So then our grandmother said, “You two be careful, don't lose that bag.”'
(Henry 2005)

- (3) Ne' gi' to: ne', [onəh a'a:gə' ne' kso:t.] "Jadohswe'dá:nih
The just that the, [now she.said the grandmother], you.two.are.hungry
gəh?"

Q

'It's just that then [our grandma said], "Are you both hungry?"' (Henry 2005)

34.2 Backgrounding and pronominal prefixes

The 3S.FI ('she/someone') pronominal prefix often refers to BACKGROUNDED people. It can even refer to more than one person, either male(s), female(s), or a mixed group. For example, in (4), which sets the stage for the rest of a story, the 3S.FI.A prefix refers to people who are being terrorized by a magic bear. In (4a), the pronominals in *gohdrə's* 'she/someone is scared' and *he:yə'* 'she/someone is there' refer to *ne' ogweh* 'the person' (in context, 'the people'). In (4b), the pronominal in *dejətgahnyeh* 'she/someone doesn't play' refers to *eksa'shə:əh* 'the children'. Similarly, the prefix in *əyətgəhəhsə:* 'she/someone will get up severely' refers to *ne' ogwehsə:əh* 'the people' in (4d).

- (4) a. **Gohdrə's** **agə'** **hni' i:nəh** **he:yə'** **ne'**
someone.is.scared it's.said and far someone.is.over.there the
ogweh shəh ena:gre'.
person that someone.lives
'They are scared to go too far, the people who live there.'
cf. *gohdrə's*
go-hdrə's
3S.FI.A-scared.STAT
- b. **Eksa'shə:əh** **hni' ə:nəh tə'** **ahsdeh** **dejətgahnyeh**.
children and now not outside someone.doesn't.play
'The kids too now, they do not play outside.'
cf. *dejətgahnyeh*
de-j-ə-t-gahnye-h
NEG-REP-3S.FI.A-SRF-play-HAB
- c. **O:nəh** **hni' ohsədagwe:gəh** **dehodinəhə: **ne' hənə:gweh** **shəh**
now and all.night they(males).guard the men that
ena:gre'.
someone.lives.there
'Now too all night the men are guarding the village.'**

- d. He:yq:ʔ eʔotgɛhɛhsq:ʔ neʔ oqwehsq:ʔqh
 every.time someone.will.get.up.severally the people
 oyɛ:deht giʔ shɛh,
 it.is.obvious just that
 ‘Every time the people get up its obvious it was there,’
 cf. eʔotgɛhɛhsq:ʔ
 ɛ-yq-t-gɛh-ɛ-hs-q-:ʔ
 FUT-3S.FIA-SRF-get.up-JOINER-DISL-PLRZ-PUNC
- e. weʔsgɛhɛ:ʔ neʔ hnyagwaiʔ datgiʔ go:wah shɛh
 it.was.there the big.ugly.bear that
 niwahsq:di:s.
 a.certain.length.of.night
 ‘the big ugly bear, during the night.’ (Keye 2012)

34.3 Foregrounding and pronominal prefixes

Choosing between 3M (3rd person male) or 3FI (3rd person feminine-indefinite) prefixes possibly signals that the entities referred to are either foregrounded or backgrounded.¹ In connected speech, 3M prefixes meaning ‘he’ or ‘they (males)’ refer to foregrounded entities, and 3FI prefixes meaning ‘she/someone’ or ‘they (females or mixed group)’ possibly refer to backgrounded entities (Baldwin 1997). For example, in (5b), *qtahi:neʔ* ‘she or someone walks’ refers to a backgrounded, unspecified *shq:gwaʔ-noht* (who was introduced in (5a, b)). Then, this unknown *shq:gwaʔ-noht* is revealed to be a male in (5c), named as ‘Grandpa’ in (5d).

Crucially, in (5c), the speaker switches to a ‘he’ pronominal in *dahanhohá:goʔ* when referring to *shq:gwaʔ-noht*. The switch in prefix implies that *shq:gwaʔ-noht* has been revealed and is now part of the new or foregrounded information in the discourse.

- (5) a. O:nɛh gwaʔ aʔogyatq:dɛh to: shq:gwaʔ-noht ahsdɛh i:wa:kʔah
 now just.now we.heard that some-person outside near
 ganqʰso:t,
 standing.house
 ‘And then suddenly we heard someone outside beside the house,’

¹The analysis in this section is tentative. It is based on Baldwin’s analysis of OnAyota’a:ká: texts, (Baldwin 1997).

- b. shɔ:gwaʔ-nóht ɔtahí:neʔ.
 some-person she/someone.walks
 ‘someone walking.’
 cf. ɔtahí:neʔ
 ɔ-t-hah-í:ne-ʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-road-lead-PUNC
- c. O:nɛh gwaʔ ɔgya:tó:deʔ shɔ:gwaʔ-nóht dahanhohá:goʔ.
 now just.now we.heard some-person he.opened.the.door
 ‘Then we also heard someone open the door.’
 cf. dahanhohá:goʔ
 d-a-ha-nhoh-á:-go-ʔ
 CIS-FUT-3S.M.A-door-JOINER-pick.up-PUNC
- d. O:, neʔ giʔ gyɛ-ɔ-ʔ ɔh ó:nɛh shaknihsót
 Oh the just this.one-I.guess-I.guess now our.grandfather
 sahá:yɔʔ.
 he.came.home
 ‘Oh, then I guess our grandpa came home.’ (Henry 2005)

35 Discourse markers

DISCOURSE MARKERS (mostly particles) figure prominently in managing the flow of information in discourse. They convey at least four types of meaning, listed in (1) and described in the following sections.

- (1) Types and meaning of discourse markers (after the classification scheme proposed in Andersen 2001: 26)
 - a. EXCLAMATIONS convey the speaker's spontaneous reactions;
 - b. EVIDENTIAL MARKERS communicate the speaker's belief about the nature of the evidence for his/her statements;
 - c. INTERACTIONAL MARKERS help to manage turn-taking and other verbal interactions between speaker(s) and listener(s);
 - d. TOPIC MARKERS communicate how utterances relate to one another – what is topical, what is backgrounded, etc.

Most of the following sections end with lists of links to other sections in this work – the examples are in other sections. Although unsatisfying, this method of presentation results in much less duplication. (The discourse particles described next were deliberately listed elsewhere, in the Particle dictionary, §C, in order to showcase relationships among particles.)

35.1 Exclamations

EXCLAMATIONS are discourse markers (particles) that express emotions or reactions such as shock, surprise, pain, disgust, and anger (2–3).

- (2) “Agí:!” agyohé:t onèh awádego’.
ow she.cried now she.ran.away
“Ow!” she cried and ran away.’ (Keye 2016, Circle Book 10, The Magic Chair)
- (3) “O: tse:,” a’ a:gé’, “ahsdéh jatgáhnyehah!”
oh my she.said outside you.two.go.and.play
“Oh my,” she said, “go play outside!’ (Henry 2005)

The following exclamations described in the Particle dictionary, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Agi*: ‘ouch!’
- ⇒ *Aju*: ‘yikes!’
- ⇒ *Gwe*: ‘well!’
- ⇒ *Hoh, Ho*: ‘what the...?!’
- ⇒ *Hoho*: ‘aha!’, ‘oh no!’
- ⇒ *Otgoʹ, Hotgoʹph* ‘what the...?!’, ‘for Heaven’s sake!’
- ⇒ *O*; *O:ò*: ‘oh’
- ⇒ *Trehs giʹ gyɛ:ʹ* ‘my goodness!’, ‘too bad!’, ‘that’s amazing!’
- ⇒ *Tse*: ‘oh my!’

35.2 Evidential markers

EVIDENTIAL MARKERS express the speaker’s opinion about whether his or her statements are first-hand, hearsay, etc. Types of evidential words and phrases are described in the following sections. (Also see *Mood and negation prefixes*, §12.1.)

35.2.1 Quotation markers

QUOTATION MARKERS are words or phrases introducing direct quotations. These markers are generally versions of the verb ‘to say’ (4–5).

- (4) Gwi:déh ha:dóh, “Nawɛʹ dáʹ go:gáʹs Tina.”
 Peter he.said sugar she.likes.it Tina
 ‘Peter said, “Tina likes candy.”’
- (5) O:nèh aʹa:géʹ, “Jaʹ snèht to:gyèh waʹjìh neʹ sɔ:gwaʹnóht
 now she.said you.two.get.down there right.now the someone
 ɛyagonóhnyakʹ.”
 someone.will.get.hurt
 ‘And then she said, “Both of you get down before somebody gets hurt.”’
 (Henry 2005)

35.2.2 Hearsay markers

HEARSAY MARKERS express the idea that the information presented is hearsay or second-hand (6). These markers are also generally versions of a verb meaning ‘it is said’.

- (6) O:néʔ, agéʔ, neʔ Government nitawe:nó: hɔgwéh, aha:yóʔ neʔ
 now it.is.said the Government he.was.sent man he.arrived the
 toh. Ahshɔgwáhó:wiʔ. O:néh, agéʔ, deyɔkidé:niʔ.
 there he.told.us now it.is.said they.will.change.us
 ‘Now then the Government man arrived here. He said that they would
 change us now.’ (Henry 2005)
- (7) Hɔwadigówaneh wá:dɔh Onɔdowáʔga:ʔ, Hiʔnoʔ hayá:sɔh.
 he.is.their.leader it.is.said Seneca, Hiʔnoʔ he.is.called
 ‘It is said that the one called Hiʔnoʔ was the leader of the Senecas.’
 (Carrier et al. 2013)

35.2.3 Doubt or certainty markers

DOUBT OR CERTAINTY MARKERS (particles or particle groups) express the speaker’s degree of confidence in what he or she is saying.

- (8) Ó:, degyegahné:ʔ giʔ. O:néh gyé:ʔ ɔh ɔkwái.
 oh, she.is.looking.out just now this.one I.guess the.food.is.cooked
 ‘Oh, she is looking out. The food must be cooked now.’ (Mithun & Henry
 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)
- (9) Mary ɔh ne:ʔ gohwihsdagaʔdeʔ.
 Mary I.wonder it.is she.has.a.lot.of.money
 ‘Maybe Mary has a lot of money.’

The following doubt or certainty markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ A:ye:ʔ ‘I guess’, ‘it seems’
- ⇒ Do:gaʔ ‘I don’t know’
- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shəh ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’
- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shəh tɛʔ ‘maybe not’, ‘or not’
- ⇒ Giʔ shəh ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’
- ⇒ Gwaʔ ti:ge: ‘plainly’, ‘clearly’, ‘as it is’
- ⇒ Gyɛ:ʔ qh ‘maybe’, ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder’
- ⇒ Gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ ‘maybe this time’
- ⇒ Gyɛ:gwaʔ hne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘just maybe’
- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛh, hɛ:gyeh ‘no matter’
- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛh tsɔ: ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ ‘maybe this time’
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ qh ‘I guess’
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ qh ‘I guess it is’
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ qh ga:t giʔ shəh gyɛ:gwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ qh ga:t giʔ shəh ne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’
- ⇒ Oh, q:, q ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’
- ⇒ Oh ne:ʔ ‘maybe’
- ⇒ Tɛʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ daʔ q ‘maybe not’

35.2.4 Possibility markers

POSSIBILITY MARKERS (particles or particle groups) provide the speaker’s opinion about whether something is possible or permissible.

- (10) Swasha:ʔ sé:k shəh taʔ dewɛhnihsragé: ɛwa:dɔʔ
 you.remember that every.day it.is.possible
 daedwadɛnqhó:nyɔ:ʔ.
 we.should.give.thanks

‘Remember every day is a good day, and we can give thanks for that.’
 (Carrier et al. 2013)

The following possibility markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Ẹwa:dọ* ‘yes, you may’, ‘it is permissible’, ‘you can’
- ⇒ *Ẹwa:dọ gẹh* ‘may I’, ‘may we’
- ⇒ *Ẹwa:dọ gi’ shẹh* ‘maybe’, ‘a possibility’
- ⇒ *Tẹ’ ta:wa:dọh* ‘you may not’

35.3 Interactional markers

INTERACTIONAL MARKERS (particles or particle groups) help to manage interactions between speaker(s) and listener(s). Various types are described in the following sections.

35.3.1 Agreement markers

AGREEMENT MARKERS (particles or particle groups) express the speaker’s agreement with previous statements or ideas.

- (11) Trehs ta’deyodri’sdagé: gaha:gó: wa’ne:’
 too not.much.noise in.woods today
 ‘The woods are too quiet.’
Ẹhẹ:’, gwahs ó:weh se’.
 yes very it.is.true you.know
 ‘Yes, much too quiet.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

The following agreement markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Do:gẹhs* ‘exactly’, ‘just so’
- ⇒ *Do:s gi’* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’
- ⇒ *Ẹhẹ’* ‘yes’
- ⇒ *Ẹhẹ’ ẹ:’* ‘yes indeed’
- ⇒ *Ẹhẹ’ gye:’* ‘yes indeed’
- ⇒ *Ẹhẹ’ se’* ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’

- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wəh seʔ* ‘indeed’, ‘for sure’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’

35.3.2 Disagreement markers

DISAGREEMENT MARKERS express the speaker’s disagreement with previous statements or ideas (12).

- (12) *Tɛʔ giʔ hne:ʔ dedo:gɛʔhs deʔsá:dəh.*
not just in.fact it.isn’t.true you.are.not.saying.it
‘No, it isn’t really true what you are saying.’

The following disagreement markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Hɛʔɛh* ‘no’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ daʔɔ* ‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gyɛ:ʔ ɔh, tɛʔ gɛʔɔh* ‘not really’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wəh* ‘not really’, ‘not quite’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ hne:ʔ* ‘definitely not’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ seʔ* ‘not really’, ‘but then not really’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ, Tɛʔ to ne:ʔ* ‘not really’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ dedo:gɛʔhs* ‘it isn’t true’, ‘not really’

35.3.3 Acknowledgement markers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT MARKERS signal that the speaker is responding to something previously stated or implied (13–14).

- (13) Ẹhsné' gẹh di'?'
 we.two.will.go.together Q then
 'Are you coming along then?', 'So, are you coming along?'
- (14) Hao' di' sáh, ẹkni:nó' gi' gyẹ:'ọh.
 o.k. so you.know I.will.buy.it just I.guess
 'O.k., I guess I'll buy it then.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra'
 dialogue)

The following acknowledgement markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ Di' 'so', 'then'
- ⇒ Hao' 'o.k.'
- ⇒ Hao' dẹ' nyoh 'o.k. then'
- ⇒ Hao' di' sah 'alright', 'o.k.'
- ⇒ Nya:wẹh 'thank you', 'thanks'
- ⇒ Nyoh 'you're welcome', 'alright', 'o.k.'

35.3.4 Shared knowledge markers

SHARED KNOWLEDGE MARKERS convey the idea that the topic at hand is known to both speaker and listener (15).

- (15) Sọhẹh gyẹ:' nóne:' gá:dọh deyonadáwẹnye'.
 nighttime the.one you.know I.say they.walk.about
 'As I said, at night, you know, they walk around.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

The following shared knowledge markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘mind you’
- ⇒ *Ne*’ ‘that is’, ‘the’
- ⇒ *None:*’, *Nəne:*’ ‘mind you’, ‘you know’
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *se*’ *gye:*’ ‘you know’
- ⇒ *Se*’ ‘you know’

35.4 Topic markers

TOPIC MARKERS help speakers and listeners to identify and manage topics. Several types are described in the following sections.

35.4.1 Topic starters and conclusions

TOPIC STARTERS and CONCLUSIONS signal the beginning or end of a topic (16).

- (16) *Da ne:*’ *onəh* *toh* *niyáwəhdre*’.
and it.is now that.one what.is.going.to.happen
‘And now this is what is going to happen.’

The following topic starters and conclusions are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’
- ⇒ *Da: ne:*’ *onəh* ‘and now’
- ⇒ *Da: nə:* *dah* ‘and now’
- ⇒ *Da: ne:*’ ‘that’s it’
- ⇒ *Da: ne*’ *toh* ‘that’s all’
- ⇒ *Hə:-dah* ‘and now’
- ⇒ *Hə:* (syllable)
- ⇒ *To tsə:* ‘that’s all’

35.4.2 Topic continuation markers

TOPIC CONTINUATION MARKERS express the idea that the speaker is continuing a topic by adding or asking for new information (17).

- (17) Dɛʔ hniʔ hoʔ dɛʔ hoihoʔ dɛhsrɔʔ deʔ?
 What and kind his.kind.of.work
 ‘And what does he do?’

The following topic continuation markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ Hɛʔ ‘also’, ‘too’
- ⇒ Hniʔ ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘too’
- ⇒ Da: ne:ʔ hniʔ ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’
- ⇒ Neʔ tsɔ: gwaʔ toh ‘also’
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ‘too’, ‘also’
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hniʔ ne:ʔ ‘and that also’
- ⇒ Toh-geh ‘and then’

35.4.3 Topic changers

TOPIC CHANGERS signal that the speaker is changing topics or introducing new information that is thematically different from what was previously talked about. In (18), David and Pete have just exchanged greetings, and then David uses gwé: to signal a change in topic.

- (18) Gwé:, í:s gɛh satse:néʔ to:gyɛh so:wa:s?
 well, you Q its.your.pet that.one dog
 ‘Well, is that your dog?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaɛʔ Gɛh Sgahoʔ dɛ:ʔɛh dialogue)

The following topic changers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gi*’ *hne:*’ ‘but’, ‘however’
- ⇒ *Gwe:* ‘well’
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *tsɔ:* *shəh* ‘it’s just that’

35.4.4 Focus, contrastive focus, and emphasis markers

FOCUS MARKERS highlight new information introduced by the speaker (19). CONTRASTIVE FOCUS MARKERS signal that the new information being presented is a correction or contrast with previous information (20). EMPHASIS MARKERS highlight old or background information (19–21).

- (19) *Ne*’ *se*’ *hɔwɛ:dɔh*.
the you.know she.means.him
‘He is *just the one* she means.’
- (20) *Ohyadɔhsra:sé: i:wí: tɛ’ hne:*’ *ohyadɔhsra:gá:yɔh*.
new.book I.want not in.fact old.book
‘I want the *new* book, not the *old* one.’
- (21) *Né:* *swatgahtóh grahe:t. We’sgəhɛ: ne’ hnyagwái:.* *He’tgəh də’*
look you.all.look.at.it tree it.was.here the bear high what
hni’ heganɔ’jɔyaɔní: tó:gyəh!
and the.marks.are.made.up.there those.ones
‘Look at this pine tree. The bear has been here. See *just how high up* those marks are!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

The following focus, contrastive focus, and emphasis markers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ’ hni’* ‘for sure’
- ⇒ *Gi’ ne:*’ ‘it’s just’
- ⇒ *Gi’ tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘really’

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘anyway’
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ* ‘just the one’
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ hne:ʔ tɛʔ neʔ* ‘it was this one, (not that one)’
- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ* ‘in fact’
- ⇒ *Neʔ seʔ* ‘that’s just the one’, ‘that’s just who’
- ⇒ *Neʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ gyɛ:ʔ, negeʔ nageʔ* ‘that is what’
- ⇒ *Neʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ ne:ʔ* ‘emphasis’
- ⇒ *Neʔ to gyɛ:ʔ* ‘that’s what’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ/Neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ* ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ diʔ geʔh* ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that...?’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ* ‘just’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ* ‘that really is’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ he:geʔ* ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ ne:ʔ* ‘in fact, it is’, ‘it IS’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ neʔ* ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’
- ⇒ *Shɛʔ nohgeh* ‘even’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ neʔ* ‘NOT’, ‘what on earth?’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ* ‘not THAT ONE’
- ⇒ *tɛʔ seʔ* ‘not really’, ‘but then, not really’

Part VII

Technical notes

36 Technical notes

This section includes various explanations of technical linguistic terms and concepts which are useful – even necessary – background information. They are placed here, rather than in the main text, where the concepts were deemed to detract from the main message.

36.1 Syllable structure

Gayoghonɔ́ néha:ʔ syllables require a vowel, v, and optionally begin or end with a consonant, c. The largest syllable is a cvc syllable, one with a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Smaller syllables include v, cv or vc, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. ó: ‘oh’ (v syllable)
- b. dó: ‘how’ (cv syllable)
- c. í:s ‘you’ (vc syllable)
- d. nẹ́h ‘when, then’ (cvc syllable)

Words consist of strings of syllables. Table 36.1 summarizes the basic shape of Gayoghonɔ́ néha:ʔ words in schematic form. (Optional consonants are shown in parentheses (c), and so (c)v(c) is an abbreviation for 4 syllables: ones with v, cv, vc, or cvc shapes.)

Table 36.1: Word shape

Extra word-initial c	Syllable	More syllables
c	(c)v(c)	(c)v(c)

The sounds that can appear in each c or v slot are listed in (2). Some example words are provided in (3). Finally, an extra consonant (which does not fit into the cvc template) can appear at the beginning of some words (as shown in Table 36.1 and example 3a–c).

(2) (a hyphen denotes a syllable boundary)

- a. extra c at the beginning of the word = s, t [t^h], k [k^h]
- b. c = h, [?], t [t^h], d, k [k^h], g, s, ts [t^{sh}], n, w, y, r, cw [g^w, k^w, s^w], cy [g^j, k^j, n^j]
- c. v = [a, ah, a[?], a:, a:h, a:[?]] (where a = any vowel. For [ah, a[?]], etc., see the next section)
- d. cc¹ = t [t-h], k [k-h], ts [t-s^h], j [d-ʒ, d-z], s-h, g-w, k-w, s-w, g-y, k-y, s-n, k-n, t-n, n-y, g-r, k-r [k^h-r], d-r, t-r [t^h-r], s-r, s-k, s-g, s-t, t-[?], k-[?], s-[?], n-[?], t-k, k-t

(3) Example syllabifications

- a. kdag[?] (k-da-g[?]) ‘grey squirrel, black squirrel’
- b. snɛtsá[?]geh (s-nɛt-s^há[?]-geh) ‘on your arm’
- c. tganóhso:t (t-ga-nóh-so:t) ‘a standing house’
- d. di[?]di:[?] (di[?]-di:[?]) ‘blue jay’
- e. o[?]néhsa[?] (o[?]-néh-sa[?]) ‘sand’
- f. ga[?]ga:[?] (ga[?]-ga:[?]) ‘crow, raven’
- g. ha[?]hó:di[?] (ha[?]-hó:-di[?]) ‘he threw it’
- h. ó:gɛ:[?]t (ó:-gɛ[?]t) ‘it is visible’
- i. ohá[?]kda[?] (oh-há[?]k-da[?]) ‘soot’²
- j. a[?]ɔdah[?]hɔhɔháe[?] (a[?]-ɔ-dah-hɔh-doh-há-e[?]) ‘she washed her ears’
- k. goyéhta[?] (go-yéht-ha[?]) ‘alarm clock’
- l. ehsta[?] (ehs-t^ha[?]) ‘she or someone uses it’
- m. oté[?]tra[?] (o-té[?]t^h-ra[?]) ‘flour, powder’
- n. wəhdɔhs (wəh-dɔhs) ‘it disappears’
- o. a:hagwé:ni[?] (a-ah-hag-wé:-ni[?]) ‘he was able to do it’³
- p. só:wa:s (só:-wa:s) ‘dog’
- q. eksá:[?]ah (ek-sá:[?]-ah) ‘girl’
- r. onohotsgé[?]ɛh (o-noh-hot^{sh}-gé[?]-ɛh) ‘beech tree’
- s. tsahgó:wah (t^{sh}ah-gó:-wah) ‘pigeon’⁴

¹(cc is a consonant cluster, originating from having two cvc-cvc syllables in a row.)

²In this and later examples, a double <h-h> or double <[?]-[?]> denotes that a single consonant, H or <[?]>, affiliates with both the preceding and following vowel (i.e. it is AMBISYLLABIC).

³Words like *a:hagwé:ni[?]* begin with the [a:-] INDEF prefix. This prefix counts as two syllables for the syllable count, which is described in §3.5.1.

⁴Recall that TS stands for [t^{sh}] in the Henry orthography.

Some words have three consonants in a row, rather than the maximal number of two c's between vowels predicted by a hypothetical string of [cvc-cvc] syllables. In such cases, one of the consonants is always S, W, or Y (4), analysed here as consonant secondary articulations.

- (4) a. $\text{ɛhsrihwané}^{\text{?}}\text{aksrɔ}^{\text{?}}$ ($\text{ɛhs-rih-wa-né}^{\text{?}}-\text{ak}^{\text{s}}-\text{rɔ}^{\text{?}}$) ‘you will swear’
 b. $\text{dehénatkwa}^{\text{?}}$ ($\text{deh-hé-nat-k}^{\text{w}a}$) ‘they dance’
 c. $\text{ɛtgyɔ}^{\text{?}}$ ($\text{ɛt-gyɔ}^{\text{?}}$) ‘I will come in’
 d. $\text{gwé}^{\text{:}}$ ($\text{g}^{\text{w}é}$) ‘hello’, ‘well!’
 e. $\text{gatgwé}^{\text{?}}\text{da}^{\text{?}}$ ($\text{gat-g}^{\text{w}é}^{\text{?}}-\text{da}^{\text{?}}$) ‘wallet’, ‘purse’, ‘suitcase’, etc.

36.2 Prefixes, suffixes, affixes, and stems

Many Gayogohonq[?]néha:[?] words consist of smaller parts, namely PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, AFFIXES, and STEMS. (“Affix” is a cover term for prefixes and suffixes.) The stem is the core or substantive part of any word. Prefixes occur before the stem, and suffixes occur after the stem, Table 36.2. Affixes tend to contribute more abstract meanings to words, while stems contribute the main meaning. For example, the prefix [ga-] 3s.A in Table 36.2 denotes that the word refers to a *thing*, and also that the noun is *unpossessed*. In turn, the [-a[?]] NSF suffix identifies the word as a noun. Finally, the stem [nɔhs] ‘house’ is the meaningful “heart” of the word *ga-nɔhs-a[?]* ‘house(s)’.

Table 36.2: Prefixes, stems, and suffixes

prefix	stem	suffix
ga	nɔhs	a [?]
3s.A	house	NSF

Some affixes are optional, as with the [-gó:wah] suffix shown in (5a). Suffixes are optional if their absence still results in a stand-alone word. For example, [-gó:wah] is optional because *otrɛ[?]da[?]* (5b) is a stand-alone word without the suffix. (The word without the suffix has a different meaning, but it is still a word).

- (5) a. $\text{otrɛ}^{\text{?}}\text{dagó:wah}$ ‘horsefly’
 b. $\text{otrɛ}^{\text{?}}\text{da}^{\text{?}}$ ‘fly’

More often than not, however, Gayogohonǝ'néha:ǝ affixes are obligatory: their absence results in an incomplete word. When the prefixes in (6a, b) are removed, the result [nǝhǝkda:nih] does not make sense. In fact, [nǝhǝkda:nih] requires the prefix in order to be a word.

- (6) a. aknǝhǝkdá:nih
 ak-nǝhǝkdá:nih
 1S.P-sick.STAT
 'I am sick'
- b. sanǝhǝkdá:nih
 ak-nǝhǝkdá:nih
 2S.P-sick.STAT
 'you are sick'
- cf. *nǝhǝkdá:nih (not a word)

In words with obligatory affixes, one affix can still be substituted for another of the same type. For example, [nǝhǝkda:nih] can take either /ak-/ 1S.P or /sa-/ 2S.P, or any other pronominal prefix (6).

The following words were suggested as candidates for Gayogohonǝ'néha:ǝ grammatical terms.

- (7) a. owé:naǝ 'word'
 b. deganǝsó:taǝ 'particle' (literally, 'it connects')
 c. gayaǝdǝsró:nih 'adjective' (literally, 'it dresses things up')
 d. gawǝnagwe:ní:yo: 'base, stem' (literally, 'the main word')
 e. dwasáwǝhkwaǝ 'prefix' (literally, 'it begins')
 f. ohé:dǝh 'pronominal prefix' (literally, 'in front of')
 g. ohé:dǝh dwasáwǝhkwaǝ 'prepronominal prefix' ('literally in front of the prefix')
 h. hewádoktaǝ 'suffix' (literally, 'it ends')
 i. ǝsehsgǝhaowá:neht 'branch it out' (i.e. add particles, etc. to 'dress up' speech)

36.3 Paradigm, inflection, and conjugation

The concepts of PARADIGM, INFLECTION, and CONJUGATION describe relationships between words.

A paradigm is a group of words that have the same stem but different affixes. For example, the basic noun paradigm in (8) consists of a noun stem that has been INFLECTED for person pronominal prefixes.

Both verb and noun stems can be inflected or systematically changed by substituting prefixes or suffixes of the same type – for example, by changing the pronominal prefix, as in (8).

- (8) A basic noun inflected for pronominal prefixes
- a. **aknóhsa**ʔ ‘my house’
 - b. **qknínóhsa**ʔ ‘our house (2 of us)’
 - c. **qgwánóhsa**ʔ ‘our house (more than 2)’
 - d. **sanóhsa**ʔ ‘your (singular) house’
 - e. **sninóhsa**ʔ ‘your house (2 of you)’
 - f. **swanóhsa**ʔ ‘your house (all of you)’
 - g. **honóhsa**ʔ ‘his house’
 - h. **gonóhsa**ʔ ‘her house’
 - i. **onóhsa**ʔ ‘its house’
 - j. **hodínóhsa**ʔ ‘their (males) house’
 - k. **godínóhsa**ʔ ‘their (females) house’
 - l. **odínóhsa**ʔ ‘their (animals) house’

The term CONJUGATION is relevant for verbs. An example is shown in (9), where the verbs are conjugated for the three major aspect suffixes (the HAB, PUNC, and STAT, see §36.7).

- (9) a. **sgahdê:gye**ʔs
s-g-ahdê:gy-eʔs
REP-1S.A-arrive-HAB
‘I go home all the time’
- b. **ęsgahdê:di**ʔ
ęs-g-ahdê:di-ʔ
FUT.REP-1S.A-arrive-PUNC
‘I will go home’
- c. **swagáhdegyq:**
s-wag-áhdegy-q:
REP-1S.P-arrive-STAT
‘I am going home’, ‘I have gone home’

36.4 Atypical words

Atypical words cannot be categorized into one of the three classes of *Gayogohonq'néha:* words – nouns, verbs or particles (defined in §4). They include atypical nouns, “suffix-words” (ENCLITICS), atypical verbs, and kinship terms. With the exception of kinship terms, atypical words lack pronominal prefixes and sometimes other obligatory affixes as well.

Atypical nouns (atypical words functioning as “nouns”) are unlike other nouns in that they have no prefixes or suffixes (10).

- (10) atypical nouns
- a. di'di:ʔ ‘blue jay’
 - b. dó:dihs ‘salamander’
 - c. ó:gweh ‘person’

“Suffix-words” (ENCLITICS) can appear either as suffixes (11a) or as stand-alone words (11b).

- (11) suffix-words
- a. ohahakdá:gyeʔ
o-hah-akdá:gyeʔ
3S.P-ROAD-ALONGSIDE
‘along the edge of the road’
 - b. akdá:gyeʔ ‘the edge, beside’

Atypical verbs lack the pronominal prefixes normally required of verbs, but have verbal suffixes. The ones in (12) function as “nouns”.

- (12) atypical VERBS functioning as “nouns”
- a. gihe:k
gih-e:-k
Ø.PREFIX.river-lie.STAT-MODZ
‘river, stream, creek’
 - b. nigihú:ʔuh
ni-gih-ú:ʔuh
PART-Ø.PREFIX.river-small.STAT
‘small stream’

- c. gihé:de'
 gihe:-de'
 Ø.PREFIX.river-exist.STAT
 'creek, river, stream', 'it is a river'

KINSHIP TERMS are atypical. Their structure is described in greater detail in §5.8.

36.5 No prepositions

Gayoghoṇo' néha:ʔ does not have prepositions: instead, concepts such as 'for', 'to', 'from', 'up', and 'down' are an inherent part of the meaning of some verbs. For example, some verbs take a BENEFACTIVE suffix (§15.2.2) to convey the meaning of doing something *for* someone' (13).

- (13) ahékṇyē'
 a-he-kṇy-ē-'
 FAC-1S:3MS-COOK-BEN-PUNC
 'I cooked a meal for him'

Similarly, the verbs in (14) refer to a source, a recipient, and an object being transferred. In this case, the concepts of the recipient ('to me') or source ('from her') are encoded in the interactive pronominal prefix.

- (14) a. ęsgwá:yṇ'
 ę-sgwa-yṇ-'
 FUT-2:1(P)-give-PUNC
 'you all will give it to me'
- b. ahsagokwáhkwa'
 a-hsago-kwá-hkwa-'
 FAC-3MS:3FI/3P.P-food-take.from-PUNC
 'he grabbed the food from her', 'he took the food from her'

36.6 Potential change-of-state suffixes

The following notes speculate about the possible existence of causative suffixes pronounced as [-:] (added vowel length), and about the nature of the [-(h)s']] EVENTUATIVE (EV) suffix.

36.6.1 [-:] (vowel length suffixes)

This section is about a group of suffixes – or perhaps, one suffix – pronounced as [-:] (vowel length).

Vowel length possibly serves as a causative suffix [-:] that changes an unintentional happening into an intentional action. To illustrate, *əhsáhdɔː* ‘you will disappear’ (15a) would not have the suffix, while *esáhdɔː* ‘you lost it’ (15b) might have the suffix – (15b) could be translated as ‘you caused it to disappear’. Similarly, (15c), without the [-:] suffix, would describe an accidental happening, while (15d), with the suffix, would describe a deliberate action.

- (15) a. *əhsáhdɔː*
 ɛ-hs-áhdɔː-
 FUT-2S.P-lose-PUNC
 ‘you will disappear’
- b. *esáhdɔː*
 e-sá-hdɔː-:-
 FAC-2S.P-lose-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘you lost it’
- c. *əhsaːnigóhahdɔː*
 ɛ-hsa-ːnigóh-ahdɔː-
 FUT-2S.P-mind-lose-PUNC
 ‘you will faint’ (literally, ‘your mind will disappear’)
- d. *esahwíhdsáhdɔː*
 e-sa-hwíhds-áhdɔː-:-
 FAC-2S.P-money-lose-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘you lost money’

The same proposed [-:] CAUS suffix possibly distinguishes between many pairs of punctual verb forms with [-:] and stative verb forms without [-:] (16). Like other causative suffixes (see §15.2.1), it would have the effect of changing a state into an activity. For example, [tsaːdéh̄syɛː] (16a) describes an activity (‘you will cause them to be lying side-by-side’), while [tsaːdégayɛː] (also in 16a) describes the state of ‘lying side-by-side’.

- (16) a. *tsaːdéh̄syɛː*
 tsaːd-é-hs-yɛː-:-
 COIN.FAC.DU-FUTURE-2S.A-lay-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘you will lay them side-by-side’

- cf. tsaʔdégayɛʔ
tsaʔdé-ga-yɛʔ
COIN-DU.3S.A-lie-STAT
'they are (literally, 'it is') lying or setting side-by-side'
- b. ɛhsyɛ:ʔ
ɛ-hs-yɛ:-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-lie-CAUS-PUNC
'you will put it there' (or, 'you will cause it to be placed there')
- cf. nigá:yɛʔ
ni-gá:-yɛʔ
PART-3S.A-lie-STAT
'where it is at, where it is placed'
- c. ɛgátgɛhɔ:ʔ
ɛ-g-át-gɛhɔ:-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-SRF-sell-CAUS-PUNC
'I will have for sale' (or, 'I will cause to sell')
- cf. honátgɛhɔʔ
hon-át-gɛhɔʔ
3NS.M.P-SRF-sell-HAB
'they (m) are selling something'

In the same vein, a length [-:] suffix relevant to the purposive aspect possibly occurs in e-verbs (see §16). When e-verbs end with short [e], they appear to describe a state (which translates as a present tense). In contrast, when they take long [e:] forms, they appear to describe an activity or happening (often translated as past tense, 17).

- (17) a. haʔgeʔ
h-aʔ-g-e-ʔ
TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
'I am going there'
- cf. haʔge:ʔ
h-aʔ-g-e:-ʔ
TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
'I went there'
- b. hadíhsreʔ
hadí-hsre-ʔ
3NS.M.A-follow-STAT
'they follow'

- cf. ešéhsre:[?]
 e-s-é-hsre-:-[?]
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-chase-PURP-PUNC
 ‘you will chase or follow’
- c. géhse[?]
 ag-é-hs-e-[?]
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding’
- cf. agéhse:[?] ‘I rode’,
 ag-é-hs-e-:-[?]
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-lower.back-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came riding’
- d. gegye[?]
 g-e-gye-[?]
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-fly-STAT
 ‘I am flying’
- cf. gegye:[?]
 g-e-gy-e-:-[?]
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-fly-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came flying’

Finally, a set of suffixes, tentatively analysed as consisting of [-:-[?]] CAUS-NSF potentially appears at the end of stative nouns (a type of noun based on stative verb forms (18, see §5.5). It would turn a stative verb into a noun, which would then require the [-[?]] NSF suffix. The words in (18) describe an ‘object’ resulting from an activity.

- (18) a. adrihwəhséhdq:[?]
 ad-rihw-əhséhd-q-:-[?]
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-MATTER-hide-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘a secret (was caused)’
- cf. odrihwəhséhdq
 o-d-rihw-əhséhd-qh
 3S.P-SRF-matter-hide-STAT
 ‘it is secret’
- b. adówadq:[?]
 adówad-q-:-[?]
 Ø.PREFIX.hunt-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘the hunt’
- cf. agadowá:dqh
 ag-adowá:d-qh
 1S.P-hunt-STAT
 ‘I have hunted’, ‘I am hunting’

36.6.2 [-(h)sʔ] (the eventative) (EV)

An [-(h)sʔ] EV suffix was previously posited for Gayogohonqʔnéha:ʔ (and *Onondowaʔga:ʔ* / Seneca). It is said to occur before the [-q̄h] STAT suffix, where it “...signif[ies] an event that is finally complete.” (Charles 2010: 283) The verb provided as an example of the [-ʔs] EV is shown in (19a).

However, it may be that [hsʔ, ihsʔ, at.hsʔ] is instead the verb meaning ‘finish’, ‘use up’, in which case, (19a) should be reanalysed as a compound construction with two verb stems, as in (19b).

- (19) a. with EV
 agadehsrónihsʔq̄h
 ag-ad-e-hsr-óni-hsʔ-q̄h
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERĒ-tool-make-EV-STAT
 ‘I am ready’
- b. with [hsʔ, ihsʔ, at.hsʔ] ‘finish’
 agadehsrónihsʔq̄h
 ag-ad-e-hsr-óni-hsʔ-q̄h
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERĒ-tool-make-finish-STAT
 ‘I am ready’

Example (20) illustrates a verb with a structure similar to the one proposed in (19b).

- (20) [at-geni-hsʔ] SRF-compete-finish ‘have a meeting’
- a. swatgénihhsʔahs
 sw-at-géni-hsʔ-a-hs
 2PL.A-SRF-compete-finish-JOINERĀ-HAB
 ‘you have meetings all the time’
- b. ɛhswatgenihhsʔa:ʔ
 ɛ-hsw-at-géni-hsʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-2PL.A-SRF-compete-finish-PUNC
 ‘you all will have a meeting’
- c. swatgénihhsʔq̄h
 sw-at-géni-hsʔ-q̄h
 2P.P-SRF-compete-finish-STAT
 ‘you are having a meeting right now’

The remaining examples in (21–28) provide evidence that a verb [hsʰ, ihsʰ, at.hsʰ] ‘finish, use up’ exists independently. As a member of the S13 conjugation class (§36.7), it would take the [-a.hs] HAB, the [-a:-ʰ] PUNC, and the [-q̄h] STAT. Examples supporting the S13 conjugation class analysis, and exemplifying other compound structures with [hsʰ, ihsʰ, at.hsʰ] ‘finish’, ‘use up’, are provided in (21–28).

- (21) [rihw-ihsʰ] matter-finish ‘promise, make an agreement’

- a. haihw_ihsʰ ahs
 ha-íhw-íhsʰ-a-hs
 3S.M.A-matter-finish-JOINERA-HAB
 ‘he is making promises’, ‘he is making agreements’
- b. ɛgríhw_ihsʰ a:ʰ
 ɛ-g-rihw-ihsʰ-a:ʰ
 FUT-1S.A-matter-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will promise’

- (22) [-at-noun-ihʰs] SRF-NOUN-finish ‘finish something’

- a. ɛgatɛd_ihsʰ a:ʰ
 ɛ-g-at-hɛd-íhsʰ-a:ʰ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-field-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will finish gardening’, ‘I will finish the field’
- b. agataháhsʰ a:ʰ
 a-g-at-hah-á-hsʰ-a:ʰ
 FAC-1S.A-SRF-road-JOINERA-finish-PUNC
 ‘I finished a road’

- (23) [ag-yaʰd-ihsʰ] SRF-body-finish ‘mature’

- ɛyq̄y_aʰ d_ihsa:ʰ
 ɛ-yq̄-g-yaʰd-íhs-a:ʰ
 FUT-3S.FLA-SRF-body-finish-PUNC
 ‘she has matured’, ‘she has completed her life cycle’

- (24) [ad-rihw-a-hsʰ] SRF-matter-JOINERA-finish ‘plan’

- ɛdwadrihw_ahsʰ a:ʰ
 ɛ-dw-ad-rihw-á-hsʰ-a:ʰ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-matter-JOINERA-finish-PUNC
 ‘we all will plan something’

- (25) [-hs^ʔ-a-hd] finish-JOINER_A-CAUSATIVE ‘use up’
- a. heḡéhs^ʔaht
 h-ḡ-g-é-hs^ʔ-a-ht
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-JOINER_E-finish-JOINER_A-CAUS.Ø-PUNC
 ‘I will use up’
- (26) [-at/adat-hs^ʔ] SRF/REFL-finish ‘get used up’
- a. awá:ts^ʔa:^ʔ
 a-w-á:t-hs^ʔ-a:^ʔ
 FAC-3S.A-SRF-use.up-PUNC
 ‘it is worn out, all gone, burnt up’, ‘it went down to nothing’
- b. ha^ʔwádats^ʔḡh
 ha^ʔ-w-ádat-hs^ʔ-ḡh
 TRANSL-3S.A-REFL-use.up-STAT
 ‘it is empty, burnt up, used up’
- (27) [de ... adet-hs^ʔ] DU...REFL-finish ‘earn, deserve’
- a. desádets^ʔahs
 de-s-ádet-hs^ʔ-a-hs
 DU-2S.A-REFL-finish-JOINER_A-HAB
 ‘your salary’, ‘what you make’
- b. deḡsádets^ʔa:^ʔ
 d-ḡ-hs-ádet-hs^ʔ-a:^ʔ
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-finish-PUNC
 ‘you will earn it (money)’
- c. desádets^ʔḡh
 de-s-ádet-hs^ʔ-ḡh
 DU-2S.P-REFL-finish-STAT
 ‘you’ve earned or deserve it’, ‘you’ve paid your dues’
- (28) [de...-adat-hs^ʔ] DU-REFL-finish ‘quarrel’
- deḡsádats^ʔa:^ʔ
 d-ḡ-hs-ádat-hs^ʔ-a:^ʔ
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-finish-PUNC
 ‘you will quarrel’

Example (29) appears to consist of [at-hs-ihs^ʔ] ‘SRF-NOUN-finish’, where the [-hs] element is a type of placeholder incorporated noun (see §14.1.1).

(29) [-at-hs-ihsʔ] SRF-noun-finish ‘ripen, mature’

a. watsíhsʔahs

w-at-hs-íhsʔ-a-hs

3S.A-SRF-noun-finish-JOINER-A-HAB

‘it is ripening, maturing’

b. ɛwátsihsʔa:ʔ

ɛ-w-át-hs-ihsʔ-a:ʔ

FUT-3S.A-SRF-noun-finish-PUNC

‘it will mature, ripen’

c. tsíhsʔqh

o-t-hs-íhsʔ-qh

3S.P-SRF-noun-finish-STAT

‘it is done for the season’, ‘it has gone full cycle’, ‘it is mature’, ‘they (plants) have finished out’

And finally, in (30) and (31), it may be that the [at] SRF has been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem and can thus occur after an incorporated noun.

(30) [-(noun)-at.hsʔ-a-hd] SRF.finish-JOINER-A-CAUSATIVE ‘be all gone’

a. haʔwá:tsʔaht

h-aʔ-w-á:t.hsʔ-a-ht

TRANSL-FAC-3S.A-use.up-CAUS.Ø.PUNC

‘it is all gone’

b. haʔwatnegá:tsʔaht

h-aʔ-w-at-hneg-á:t.hsʔ-a-ht

TRANSL-FAC-3S.A-SRF-water-SRF.finish-JOINER-A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC

‘water is all gone’

c. heyótsʔahdqh

he-yó-t.hsʔ-a-hd-qh

TRANSL-3S.P-SRF-finish-JOINER-A-CAUS-STAT

‘it is all gone’

(31) [d...ad-rihw-at.hsʔ] CIS...SRF-matter-SRF.finish ‘earn, fulfill’

atadrihwa:tsʔa:ʔ

a-t-ha-d-rihw-a:t.hsʔ-a:ʔ

FAC-CIS-3S.M.A-SRF-matter-SRF.finish-PUNC

‘he earned it’, ‘he fulfilled it’

36.7 Aspect conjugation classes

Every verb takes a set of aspect endings (§9.3) known as a CONJUGATION CLASS, which is relevant for choosing the appropriate aspect and post-aspect (tense) suffixes. Sasse & Keye (1998) describe three types of aspect conjugation classes, the S, H, and M or MIXED class. These classes are defined by the pairings of habitual and stative endings. For example, s class verbs take [-h]s] HAB and [-q̄h] STAT endings (32–33), while H class verbs take [-haʔ] HAB and [-ʔ] STAT endings (34). (The punctual forms are also shown below, but are not relevant to the classification system.)

The aspect conjugation classes are also subdivided according to the last sound of the verb stem. For example, while the s classes all take an [-s] HAB ending (32–33), the s3 subclass of verb stems end in T/D (32) and s4 verb stems all end in K/G (33).⁵

(32) s3 verb stem ends with T/D, and takes [-s] HAB, [-∅] ∅.PUNC, and [-q̄h] STAT endings

- a. gadó:wa:s
g-ad-ó:wa:d-s
1S.A-SRF-hunt-HAB
'I am a hunter'
- b. ɛga:dó:wa:t
ɛ-g-a:d-ó:wa:t-∅
FUT-1S.A-SRF-hunt-∅.PUNC
'I will hunt'
- c. agadowá:dq̄h
ag-ad-owá:d-q̄h
1S.P-SRF-hunt-STAT
'I am hunting'

(33) s4 verb stem ends with K/G, and takes [-s] HAB, [-∅] ∅.PUNC, and [-q̄h] STAT endings

⁵The description in this section is the analysis in Sasse & Keye (1998). Also see Lounsbury (1953: 85) and Michelson & Doxtator (2002: 20, 27) for Oneida, and Woodbury (2018: 89) for Onondaga conjugation classes. The other Iroquoian languages have fewer aspect conjugation classes, in part because they use just one criterion – the pairings of habitual and stative endings. In contrast, Sasse & Keye (1998) further subdivide the same classes according to the final sound(s) of the stem, following the insights in Michelson (1975). Finally, see §19.1 regarding the simplification of word-final consonant clusters, which occurs in many of the following examples.

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- a. degáʔswe:s
de-g-áʔswe:g-s
DU-1S.A-deaf-HAB
'I am going deaf'
- b. degáʔswe:k
d-ɛ-g-áʔswe:k-ø
DU-FUT-1S.A-deaf-Ø.PUNC
'I will go deaf'
- c. dewagáʔswé:gøh
de-wag-aʔswé:g-øh
DU-1S.P-deaf-STAT
'I went deaf'

(34) H3 verb stem ends with a vowel and takes [-haʔ] HAB, [-:ʔ] PUNC, and [-ʔ] STAT endings

- a. gadøtgadóhaʔ
g-ad-øtgadó-haʔ
1S.A-SRF-have.fun-HAB
'I am fun-loving'
- b. ɛhswadótgá:dø:ʔ
ɛ-hsw-ad-øtgá:dø-:ʔ
FUT-2PL.A-SRF-have.fun-PUNC
'you all will have a good time'
- c. øgwadótgá:døʔ
øgw-ad-øtgá:dø-ʔ
1INP.O-SRF-have.fun-STAT
'we all are having fun'

The M class verbs have mixed pairings of habitual and stative endings: the MA classes take [-haʔ] HAB endings with [-øh] STAT endings (35) and the MB classes take [-(h)s] HAB endings with [-ʔ] STAT endings (36).

(35) MA1 class verb stem ends with HD or ʔD and takes [-haʔ] HAB, [-ø] Ø.PUNC, and [-øh] STAT endings

- a. heṇáʔswahtaʔ
heṇ-áʔswaht-haʔ
3NS.M.A-extinguish-HAB
'they are firemen'

- b. ɛ́gáʔswaht
 ɛ-g-áʔswah-t-∅
 FUT-1S.A-extinguish-∅.PUNC
 ‘I will extinguish it’
- c. agáʔswahdɔh
 ag-áʔswahd-ɔh
 1S.P-extinguish-STAT
 ‘I am extinguishing it’
- (36) MB1 verb stem ends with a vowel and takes [-hs] HAB, [-ʔ] PUNC, and [-ʔ] STAT endings
- a. degadawé:nyehs
 de-g-ad-awé:nye-hs
 DU-1S.A-SRF-stir-HAB
 ‘I wander about all the time’, ‘I am a wanderer’
- b. deḡadawé:nye:ʔ
 d-ɛ-g-ad-awé:nye-ʔ
 DU-FUT-1S.A-SRF-stir-PUNC
 ‘I will wander, travel, walk about’
- c. deyagodáwɛnyeʔ
 de-yago-d-áwɛnye-ʔ
 DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-STAT
 ‘she is walking about’

Finally, stative-only and habitual-only verbs take a subset of the three-aspect conjugation class endings. For example, the stative-only verb in (37) belongs to the s20A conjugation class, like its “parent” verb [gri] ‘wrinkle, fold’.

- (37) An s20A, stative-only verb
- a. degéʔnyɔgri:
 de-g-é-ʔnyɔ-gri-:
 DU-1S.A-JOINERĒ-nose-fold-STAT
 ‘my nose is stuffed up’
- cf. dawá:tgri:k
 d-a-wá:-t-gri-:k
 CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRF-fold-PUNC.MODZ
 ‘it pulled back, flinched, shrank’ (three-aspect verb)

- cf. totgri:
 t-ho-t-gri-:
 CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-fold-STAT
 'he's a wimp', 'he pulls back' (three-aspect verb)

36.7.1 List of aspect conjugation classes

The aspect conjugation classes are listed in Table 36.3 (page 654), Table 36.4 (page 655), and Table 36.5 (page 656). These have been modified from Sasse & Keye (1998) in order to more clearly show the sound changes that occur when the verb stem and aspect suffix are joined. (Also, some smaller subclasses have been removed from the tables.) *Sounds in uppercase letters in the tables are deleted or not pronounced.*

Table 36.3: H-class (after Sasse & Keye 1998)

stem-final sound	hab	class	stat	punc
d	[-haʔ]	H1	[-∅]	[-eʔ]
aw, ow	[-ehaʔ]	H2	[a:W ^{-ʔ}], [o:W ^{-ʔ}] ^a	[-eʔ]
V ^b	[-haʔ]	H3	[-ʔ]	[-:ʔ]
[+e] 'lie'	[+e-haʔ], [+e-heʔ]	H3	[+eʔ]	[+e:-ʔ]
[ye] 'lie'	[ye-haʔ], [ye-heʔ]	H3	[yeʔ]	[ye:-ʔ]
dr, gr	[-ehaʔ]	H4	[e:ʔ]	[-eʔ]
hR ^c	[-ehaʔ]	H4	[-e:ʔ]	[-eʔ]
a:	[-haʔ]	H5	[-ʔ]	[aε ^{-ʔ}] instead of [a:-ʔ]

^aUppercase letters DELETE.

^bV = any vowel.

^cR deletes if between vowels.

36.8 Lexical aspect and sentential aspect

This section introduces the concepts of lexical and sentential aspect, in order to provide more context for the discussion of the “present tense” (see §15.5.2).

A type of aspect known as lexical aspect or *AKTIONSART* (Vendler 1957) is inherent to the meaning of verb stems. For example, certain verbs describe an event that naturally has no duration, one that begins and ends at (virtually) the same time (38).

Table 36.4: S-class (after Sasse & Keye 1998)

stem-final sound	hab	class	stat	punc
i, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a, a:	[-s], [-h]	S1	[-:]	[-ʔ]
i, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a, a:	[-s], [-h]	S1	[-ʔ-ɔh] (INCH-STAT)	[-ʔ]
ʔ	[-s]	S2	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
d	[D-s] ^a	S3	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
g	[G-s]	S4	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
h	[-s]	S5	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
h	[-s]	S5	[H-ʔ-ɔh] (INCH-STAT)	[-ø]
a:h	[a:H-s]	S5	[-ɔh]	[a:H-ø]
s	[-ahs]	S6	[-ɛh]	[-ø]
kh, nh	[-ahs]	S7a	[-ɛh]	[-aʔ]
h	[-ahs]	S7b	[-ɛh]	[-aʔ]
Vn ^b	[-ahs]	S8	[-ɛh]	[N-:ʔ]
Vw	[-ahs]	S9	[-ɛh]	[W-:ʔ]
Cw	[-ahs]	S10	[-ɛh]	[o-ʔ] ^c
aʔw	[-ahs]	S11	[-ɛh]	[aWʔ]
	[aWʔ-s]			
a:ʔw	[a:ʔW-s]	S11	[-ɛh]	[a:Wʔ]
d, g	[-ahs]	S12	[-ɔh], [ɛh]	[-ø] ^d
sʔ	[-ahs]	S13	[-ɔ]	[-aʔ]
kd	[-ɔhs]	S14	[-ɔ:]	[kD-ø]
aɔ, ɛɔ	[-s]	S15	[-ø]	[aɔ:-ʔ] [ɛɔ:-ʔ]
ey	[-ɔhs]	S16	[-ɔ:]	[eY:-ʔ]
Cy (dy, gy, ny)	[-eʔs], [-ɔhs]	S17	[-ɔ:]	[Ci-ʔ] instead of [Cy-ʔ]
Cy (sy)	[-ɔhs]	S17	[sY-ɔ:]	[si-ʔ] instead o: [sy-ʔ]
dr	[-ɔhs]	S18	[-ɔ:]	[DRs-e:ʔ]
Ry ^e	[ny-eʔs]	S19	[ny-ɔ:]	[wi-ʔ] or [i-ʔ] instead of [Ri-ʔ]
V:G	[VG-hs]	S20a	[V:G-ø] or [V:g-ɔh]	[V:k-ø]
VʔG	[VʔG-s]	S20b	[VʔG-ɔh]	[Vʔk-ø]

^aUppercase letters DELETE.^bV = any vowel.^cW becomes O.^dD,G pronounced as T,K respectively.^eStem historically ended in R but now ends in NY/WI or NY/L.

Table 36.5: M-class (after Sasse & Keye 1998)

stem-final sound	hab	class	stat	punc
hd, ʔd	[-haʔ] ^a	MA1	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
hsd	[-haʔ] ^b	MA1	[-ɔh]	[hsD-ø] ^c
d, g	[-haʔ] ^d	MA2	[-ɔh]	[-ø]
hgw	[-haʔ] ^e	MA3	[-ɛh]	[-ø]
a:	[-haʔ]	MA4	[-ø]	[-ʔ]
eh	[H-haʔ]	MA5	[-ɛh]	[-aʔ]
V ^f	[-hs]	MB1	[-ʔ]	[-:ʔ]
(3 verbs)	[-ɛ-hs], [-ɛ:-s]	MB2	[-e-ʔ]	[-ɛ-h], [ɛ-ø]

^aPronounced as [ht-haʔ] and [ʔt-haʔ] respectively.

^bPronounced as [-hst-haʔ].

^cUppercase letters DELETE.

^dPronounced as [t-haʔ] and [k-haʔ] respectively

^ePronounced as [-hkw-haʔ].

^fV = any vowel.

(38) instantaneous events

- a. aʔé:yɔʔ
 aʔ-é:-yɔ-ʔ
 FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
 ‘she arrived’
- b. ɛga:dé:gaʔt
 ɛ-g-a:dé:g-a-ʔt-ø
 FUT-1S.A-burn-JOINERÁ-CAUS-Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will start a fire’

Other verbs denote an activity that naturally extends or repeats over time, but without any implied end-point (39), page 656.

(39) durative events with no end-point

- a. ɛhségawe:ʔ
 ɛ-hs-é-gawe-:ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERE-paddle-PUNC
 ‘you will row’

- b. sagawehá:gye'
 sa-gawē-h-á:-gy-e-'
 2S.P-paddle-EUPH.H-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 'you are paddling along'

Finally, other verbs describe a state of affairs (as opposed to an event, happening, or activity, 40).

(40) states

- a. agadqhswé'danīh
 ag-ad-qhswé'd-a-ni-h
 1S.P-SRF-hunger-JOINER-A-BEN-HAB
 'I am hungry'
- b. ogé:dra'
 o-gé:dra'
 3S.P-unripe.STAT
 'it is green, unripe', 'raw fruit'

These are just a few examples of the possible types of lexical aspect.⁶

The main lexical aspect distinction in *Qgwehqwéhnēha*: 'Iroquoian' languages is between NONCONSEQUENTIAL and CONSEQUENTIAL verbs (Chafe 1980).⁷ Consequential verbs imply an end-point or result in a new state of affairs. In contrast, nonconsequential verbs have no end-point or fail to result in a new state of affairs. The consequential/nonconsequential distinction is relevant for interpreting the meaning (including the time-frame) of the habitual and stative forms of verbs of three-aspect verbs (see §15.5.3, §15.5.4).

⁶Vendler (1957)'s original Aktionsart categories are listed below. More categories have been proposed in later works on aspect.

- ACHIEVEMENT verbs describe an event that has no duration or that occurs in an instant. The beginning and end-points are nearly simultaneous; the event results in a new state of affairs;
- ACCOMPLISHMENT verbs describe events that take some time and that have a natural end-point. The event results in a new state of affairs;
- ACTIVITY verbs describe events that take some time, but which do not necessarily have an end-point. The event does not result in a new state of affairs;
- STATES describe a state of affairs (and not an event).

⁷Chafe (1980)'s CONSEQUENTIAL category includes Vendler's ACCOMPLISHMENT and ACHIEVEMENT types, while the non-consequential category corresponds to Vendler's ACTIVITY type.

Another type of aspect known as SENTENTIAL aspect is conveyed by *groups* of words (specifically, verbs and the words that modify verbs in sentences, including particles that function as “adverbs” (described earlier) and the objects – incorporated or not – that undergo the verb’s action). For example, the activity (verb) in (41) does not imply a natural end-point. However, when the same verb incorporates a noun (an object undergoing the action of the verb), the activity gains an end-point (42).

(41) no end-point, no change of state

- a. dɛgɛhsnyeʔ
 d-ɛ-gɛ-hsnye-ʔ
 DU-FUT-1S.A-care.for-PUNC
 ‘I will look after it’

(42) end-point, with change of state

- a. atgatnɔhsáhsnyeʔ
 a-t-g-at-nɔhsá-hsnye-ʔ
 FAC-DU-1S.A-SRF-house-care.for-PUNC
 ‘I cleaned up the house’

36.9 Utterances, clauses, phrases, and sentences

The concepts of UTTERANCE, CLAUSE, PHRASE, and SENTENCE are defined in this section. All of these terms refer to groups of related or mutually-relevant words.

An UTTERANCE is any group of related words uttered by a speaker. Utterances can include any type of word (nouns, verbs, or particles), as long as the words make sense together. Some utterances just include particles (43), while others include verbs and other related words (shown in later examples).

(43) all-particle utterances

- a. Dɛʔ hne:ʔ.
 what in.fact
 ‘That’s why.’
- b. Dó: í:ʔ!
 how I
 ‘Let me!’

- c. Nẹ:dah.
here.this
'Here, take this.'
- d. Trehs gi' gyẹ:?!
too.much just the.one
'My goodness!'

CLAUSES obligatorily contain a single verb, and can optionally include other relevant nouns or particles. The clause (and utterance) in (44a) only contains the obligatory verb. (The clause is between square brackets, and the verb is shown in **bold**.) The clause in (44b) includes a verb and a noun phrase (defined later). In contrast, the utterance in (44c) contains two clauses, the second of which has two particles and a verb. The utterance in (44d) also includes two clauses, the second of which contains a verb, followed by a noun (technically, *niga:gú:s'uh* is a VERB functioning as a "noun").

(44) utterances and sentences

- a. [**Agatsenó:ni:**.]
'I am happy.'
- b. [**Godi'gró'** ne' Mary.]
godi'gró' ne' Mary
she.is.shy the Mary
'Mary is shy.'
- c. [**Hẹtsyẹ:'**] [shẹh họ: **hesá:gweh.**]
Hẹtsyẹ:' shẹh họ: hesá:gweh
you.will.put.it.back.there that where you.gathered.it.there
'You will put it back where you got it.'
- d. [**Agyọ:díh**] [**degakegáhne'** niga:gú:s'uh].
Agyọ:díh degakegáhne' niga:gú:s'uh
I'm.smiling I'm.looking.at.them children
'I am smiling (because) I am looking at the children.'

PHRASES are groups of words which minimally include either a noun, verb, or particle. A noun with related words is a NOUN PHRASE. For example, the noun phrase *ne' Mary*, (44b), consists of a particle *ne'* 'the' and a noun (Mary). A verb with related words is a VERB PHRASE (which is also the smallest type of clause). An example is the second verb phrase (also a clause) in (44c). Finally a PARTICLE

PHRASE (OR PARTICLE GROUP), is a group of related particles, such as *shəh hɔ:* in (44c). (Particle groups typically occur at the beginning of clauses.)

The utterances in (44) are also SENTENCES. Sentences consist of one or more clauses, and therefore contain one or more verbs, plus other related words. (Unlike sentences, utterances do not require verbs, as shown in 43.) The sentences in (44a, b) each have one clause, while the sentences in (44c, d) each have two clauses. The number of clauses per sentence is relevant for the distinction between simple and complex sentences, which is described next.

36.9.1 Simple and complex sentences, clause types

Sentences are either SIMPLE or COMPLEX, depending on the number of clauses. Simple sentences have just one clause, and complex sentences have more than one.

The simple sentence in (45a) contains one clause, which in turn is so small that it only consists of the obligatory element, a verb (in **bold**). The simple sentence in (45b) also contains just one clause, consisting of a verb plus a particle.

- (45) a. **Agatsɛnɔ:ní:** ‘I am happy’
 b. **ɛwá:dɔh** gɛh? ‘May I?’

xa Complex sentences contain more than one clause, and therefore, more than one verb plus associated words. The second clause of each sentence is shown between square brackets in (46).

- (46) a. **Agatsɛnɔ:ní:** [shəh ahsyɔʔ].
 agatsɛnɔ:ní: shəh ahsyɔʔ
 I.am.happy that you.arrived
 ‘I am happy [that you’ve arrived].’
 b. **Daskro:wíh** [sɔ: nʔaht daɔdekónyahneʔ].
 Daskro:wíh sɔ: nʔaht daɔdekónyahneʔ
 tell.me who person someone.will.come.and.eat
 ‘Tell me [who’s coming to eat].’

The complex sentences in (46) each consist of an independent and dependent clause, described next.

36.9.2 Independent and dependent clauses, relative clauses

Complex sentences can include either independent and dependent clauses. Independent clauses can stand on their own as complete thoughts. Examples include *agatsenó:ni* ‘I am happy’ or *daskro:wih* ‘tell me’, both from example (46) in the previous section. In contrast, dependent clauses such as *shéh ahsyó’* ‘that you’ve arrived’ (46a) or *só: n’ahť daqdekónyahne’* ‘who’s coming to eat’ (46b) sound incomplete or normally cannot stand alone (unless the context makes their meaning clear). In (46), the dependent clauses occur *after* the independent ones. However, dependent clauses also occur *before* independent ones (examples are provided in later sections).

A distinct type of complex sentence, shown in (47), consists of two clauses, each of which could stand alone as independent. However, the second clause is clearly relevant to the first one, even though it has no special words linking it to the first clause. This type of complex sentence contains JUXTAPOSED clauses.

- (47) [A:həni:hé:’] [hahjáota’].
 he.would.quit he.smokes.all.the.time
 ‘He would quit smoking.’

Independent and dependent clauses also have distinct *functions*, either as “statements” or as “questions”. This results in four types of complex sentence (48).

- (48) a. Simple sentences, consisting of
- an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE functioning as a “stand-alone statement” (45a)
 - an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE functioning as a “direct question” (45b)
- b. Complex sentences, consisting of an independent clause *and*
- a DEPENDENT CLAUSE functioning as a “dependent statement” (46a)
 - a DEPENDENT CLAUSE functioning as an “indirect question” (46b)

Finally, dependent *statements* – (48b) or (46a) – also have two distinct functions (49).

- (49) a. a dependent statement functioning to complete the meaning of an independent clause;
- b. a dependent statement functioning to complete the meaning of a noun.

The first function, (49a), was illustrated in (46a), where the dependent statement completes the meaning of the independent clause. The second type, (49b), is relevant for nouns, and is described next.

36.9.2.1 Dependent statements functioning as “nouns”, and relative clauses

Certain dependent statements function as “nouns” in their own right, (50).

- (50) shẹh ní:waʔs
 that it.is.a.certain.size
 ‘sizes’
 cf. ní:-w-aʔs
 PART-3S.A-certain.size.STAT

Other dependent statements (technically known as RELATIVE CLAUSES) modify or complete the meaning of nouns. Example (51) includes the noun phrase *Gwi:déh hqwa:yẹ:dí: hq:gweh* ‘the man that Peter knows’, which functions as a type of multi-word “noun” for the rest of the sentence (describing the person who likes sugar). It includes a relative clause, *Gwi:déh hqwa:yẹ:dí:* ‘Peter he.knows.him’, plus the noun whose meaning is modified, *hq:gweh* ‘the man’.

- (51) [Gwi:déh hqwa:yẹ:dí: hq:gweh] ho:gáʔs nawéʔdaʔ.
 [Peter he.knows.him man] he.likes.the.taste.of.it sugar
 ‘[The man that Peter knows] likes candy.’

Part VIII

Appendices

Appendix A: Noun dictionary

A.1 Basic nouns ending in [-aʔ] NSF, [-tr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF or [-hsr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF

The following basic nouns all end with [-aʔ] NSF. Some of these nouns also have a NOMINALIZER suffix, and end either with [-tr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF or [-(h)sr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF (for which, see §5.1). Basic nouns begin with [ga-] 3S.A, [o-] 3S.P or [a] (see §5.1).

[adaʔditra] *adáʔditra* ‘cane’

[adahdiʔtra] *adáhdíʔtra* ‘socks’

[adahq̄d̄qsra] *odahq̄d̄qsra* ‘asking’

[ad̄eʔh̄e] *ad̄éʔh̄e* ‘fence’

[ad̄eʔh̄egaqsra] *ad̄eʔh̄egáqsra* ‘an invitation’

[adehs̄e] *odéhs̄e* ‘cocoon, nest, hive, bee-hive’

[adehs̄wa] *adéhs̄wa* ‘blouse, midy’

[adej̄eʔtra] *sadéj̄eʔtra* ‘your doctor’

[adekwah̄hsra] *adekwah̄áhsra* ‘table’

[ad̄enideqsra] *ad̄enid̄eqsra* ‘the act of kindness’

[ad̄enihsa] *ad̄enihsáʔgeh* ‘on the wall’, *od̄enihsa* ‘wall’

[adiʔgr̄qsra] *adíʔgr̄qsra* ‘shyness’

[adihak̄qsra] *adihak̄q̄hsra* ‘ceremonial feast’

[adoda:] *adóda:*ʔ ‘bow’ (as in bow and arrow)

[adoḡe] *adó:ḡe*ʔ ‘axe, tomahawk’

[ad̄qh̄neʔtsa] *od̄qh̄neʔtsa*, *ad̄qh̄neʔt-sa* ‘ladder or stairs’

[adoʔjina] *adoʔjina* ‘skate’

[ad̄qh̄nehsra] *ad̄qh̄nehsra* ‘birth’

[ad̄qh̄neʔtra] *od̄qh̄nehtrá:ḡo:* ‘in the heart’

[ad̄oʔgad̄qsra, ad̄oʔgadehsra] *od̄oʔgad̄q̄hsra*, *od̄oʔgad̄éhsra*ʔ, ‘celebration, fun’

[ad̄oʔwa] *adó:wa*ʔ ‘men’s personal chant’

[adra:hgwa:] *odráhgwa:*ʔ ‘sun dog’

[adraʔswa] *adráʔswa*ʔ ‘luck’

[adreʔtra] *agádrʔetra*ʔ ‘my grandchild(ren)’

[adrihwagyaqsra] *adrihwagyaq̄hsra*ʔ ‘disaster’

[aʔena] *oʔé:na*ʔ ‘snowsnake, pole’

- [a'gɛhɛ] o'gɛhɛ 'ashes, bullet, dust'
 [a'gra] o'gra 'snow, snowflake'
 [agya'dawi'tra] agya'dawi'tra 'coat, dress'
 [agyaqhsra] ogyaqhsra, agyáqhsra 'trick'
 [ahdahgwa] ahdáhgwa 'shoes'
 [ʼahdra] ga'áhdra 'basket'
 [ahgwenya] ahgwé:nya 'clothing, clothes'
 [ahji'gra] ohji'gra 'cloud'
 [ʼahsa] o'áhsa 'chest'
 [ahsdɛha] ohsdɛhɛ'geh 'on the chalk'
 [ahsgwa] ahsgwa 'roof'
 [ahsheda] ohshé:da 'number'
 [ahsrqhɛ'da] ohsrqhɛ'da 'angry person, temper'
 [ahya] ohya 'fruit'
 [ajahqhsrgwa, ajɛhqhsrgwa] ajahqhsrgwá:gɔ: 'in a whisper', sajɛhqhsrgwɛ 'whisper!'
 [anahaotra] anaháotra 'hat'
 [anhɛhɛ] onhɛhɛ 'urine, pee'
 [ao'tra] odáo'tra, adáo'tra 'friendship' (also refers to a ceremonial friend)
 [atga:, atgai] otga: 'noise'
 [atgahnyehtra] atgáhnyehtra 'sports, games'
 [atganqnihsra] otganqnihsra 'wealth, richness'
 [atgqhsrgwa'tra] atgqhsrgwá'tra 'window'
 [atgɔ'tra] otgɔ'tra 'ominous medicine'
 [atgwɛnya'tra, atqɔnya'tra] atgwɛnya'tra, atqɔnya'tra 'corn bread paddles, corn soup paddles'
 [atna'gwihdra] atná'gwihdra 'belt'
 [atna'tsotra] atná'tsotra 'pants'
 [atrɔni'da] atrɔni'da 'clothes'
 [atsogɛ] atsó:gɛ 'calendar'
 [atsohgwa] atsókwa'nda 'big-headed sucker'
 [atsohgwa'nda] atsógwa'nda 'pipe (for tobacco)'
 [atso'kdqhsra] atsó'kdqhsra 'hoe'
 [awɛhɛ] awɛhɛ 'flower'
 [awɛhsa] awɛhsa 'sunflower'
 [awɛ'nahsa, awɛ'nohsa] awɛ'nahsa 'tongue', gwɛ'nohsa'geh 'on my tongue'
 [a'ya] o'ya 'female genitals, vagina'
 [ʼdatra] ga'dá:tra 'quiver'
 [di(tr)] odi: 'tea', odi'tragá'ɔh 'Good Tea' (name of a dog)
 [ʼdɔdra] o'dó:dra 'fat, gristle, rind'
 [ʼdrehda] ga'dréhda 'car, truck, vehicle'
 [ʼdrohsra] o'dróhsra 'fat, pig rinds'
 [ɛdehsra] ɛdéhsra 'sexual arousal'
 [ɛhni'da] ɛhni'da: 'month, moon'
 [ʼɛna] o'ɛ:na 'spear'
 [ɛ'nhotra] ɛ'nhó:tra 'ball'
 [ɛ'nihsra:] ɛ'nihsra:, wɛ'nihsra: 'wheel, circle, hoop'
 [ɛ'nyotra] ɛ'nyó:tra 'mittens'

- [ɛʔsga:] *gɛʔsga:*ʔ ‘mattress, sleeping mat’
- [ga:] *ó:ga:*ʔ ‘a price (on something)’
- [ʔga:] *oʔga:*ʔ ‘parable, tale, story, legend’
- [gaʔd] *ogáʔdaʔ*, *ogaʔdaʔshó:ʔɔh* ‘pants, underpants’
- [gaʔda] *gagáʔdaʔ* ‘white oak’
- [gaha] *ogáhaʔ* ‘eye’
- [gahdra] *ogáhdraʔ* ‘tear(s)’ (in one’s eye)
- [gahéhda] *ogáéhdaʔ* ‘eyelash, the stem of a berry, the eye of the corn kernel’
- [gahgwaosa] *ogahgwáohsaʔ* ‘eyebrow’
- [gahgwiyoʔda] *ogahgwiyoʔdaʔ* ‘corn husk mask with a wooden face’
- [gahihsd] *gagáhihsdaʔ* ‘eye glasses’
- [gahoʔja] *ogáhoʔjaʔ* ‘grass’
- [ganyɛʔda] *ogányɛʔdaʔ* ‘cadaver, dead body’
- [gawehsa] *gagáwehsaʔ* ‘paddle, shovel’
- [geʔa:] *ogéʔa:*ʔ ‘hair, a rag’
- [gehda] *gagéhdaʔ* ‘tie, scarf’
- [gihe] *gi:hé:gɔ:* ‘in the stream, creeks, river’
- [goʔa:] *otgóʔa:*ʔ ‘wampum’
- [gɔʔda] *ogódaʔ* ‘bridge of one’s nose’
- [gɔʔdra] *gagóʔdraʔ*, *ogóʔdraʔ* ‘pillow, cushion, cotton batting, q-tips’
- [gɔhsa] *gagóhsaʔ* ‘a mask’
- [gɔhsa] *ogóhsaʔ* ‘face’
- [gɔʔtra] *ogóʔtraʔ* ‘pound’ (measurement)
- [gɔhstweʔɛ:, gɔhstɔʔ] *ogóhstweʔɛ:*ʔ ‘beard’, *ahatgɔhstɔʔɛht* ‘he shaved’
satgóhstweʔɛht ‘shave!’
- [grahéda] *gráhédaʔgeh* ‘on the tree’
- [gwɛniʔda] *ogwéniʔdaʔ* ‘pennies’
- [gwɛnoʔda] *otgwénoʔdaʔ* ‘gizzard’
- [gwiya] *ogwí:yaʔ* ‘limb, twig, branch’
- [gwiyoʔd] *gagwíyoʔdaʔ* ‘corn husk fringe around a wooden mask’
- [hada] *gahá:daʔ* ‘forest, bush’
- [haʔda] *oháʔdaʔ* ‘quill, plume, feather, voice, throat, larynx, esophagus’
- [haha] *oháhaʔ* ‘road’
- [haʔkda] *oháʔkdaʔ* ‘soot’
- [hanɔhsa] *ohánɔhsaʔ* ‘temple’ (body part)
- [heʔa:] *ohéʔa:*ʔ ‘corn husk’
- [hɛda] *ohé:daʔ* ‘the field’ (of Iroquois origin only, pertaining to the Dish Game, see §D.18)
- [hehda] *ohéhdaʔ* ‘dirt, earth, ground, land’
- [hɛhda:] *ohéhda:*ʔ ‘fur’
- [hehna, hrehna] *gahéhnaʔ*, *ohéhnaʔ* ‘cargo, bundle, load’,
khrehnɛhɛ:wiʔ ‘I am carrying a bundle’
- [hehsa] *ohéhsaʔ* ‘decayed tree, log, wood, board’
- [hɛna] *Gahénagɔ:* ‘Hamilton (literally, in the bay)’

- [hena'tra] *ohéna'tra* 'blade'
 [hetga'a:] *ohétga'a:* 'rear end, posterior'
 [hetsa] *ohé:tsa* '(raw) sausage, bologna, wieners'
 [heya] *ohé:ya* 'one corn stalk'
 [hi'kda] *ohí'kda* 'thorn, thistle'
 [hi'ya] *ohí'ya* 'the body's trunk, form'
 [hna] *ohna* 'grease, oil'
 [hnawa] *Gahnáwago:* 'Warren, PA' (literally, 'in the rapids')
 [hne'dra] *ohné'drageh* 'on the ground'
 [hnega] *ohné:ga* 'liquid, alcohol'
 [hnya] *Howahnyayę:ni:* 'He Laid Down A Stick For Him' (Onondaga Chief Title), *gahnnya* 'stick'
 [hnya] *ohnya* 'the neck, the throat'
 [hnya:] *ohnya:* 'nutmeat'
 [hnyahsga:] *ęhnyáhsga:* 'button'
 [hnya'sa] *ohnyá'sa* 'neck, throat'
 [hnyędahsa] *gahnnyędahsa*, *ohnyędahsa* 'beak'
 [hnye:ha] *ohnyé:ha* 'flint corn soup'
 [hnyo'gwa] *ohnyó'gwa* 'nut'
 [hnyo'gwidra] *ohnyó'gwidra* 'grapes'
 [hnyo'hwihsd] *ohnyó'hwihsd* 'braided corn'
 [hnyo'hsa] *ohnyó'hsa* 'squash, melon'
 [hnyo'ohsra] *gahnnyó'ohsra* 'iron, steel, a bar'
 [hoda] *ohó:da* 'bush, whip'
 [hodra] *ohó:dra* 'basswood'
 [hoga:] *gahó:ga:* 'elm'
 [ho'gwa] *ohó'gwa* 'lower back (on sides), bum cheeks'
 [hohsgra] *ohóhsgra* 'slippery elm'
 [hohsra] *gahóhsra* 'box'
 [hohwa:] *ohóhwa:* 'pelt'
 [hojihsd] *gahó'jihsd*, *ohojihsd* 'motor, engine'
 [hona'da] *ohóna'da*, *hóna'da* 'potato'
 [hotra] *gahó:tra* 'package'
 [howa] *gahó:wa* 'boat'
 [howe'da] *gahówe'da* 'tube, cylinder'
 [hsahe'da] *ohsáhe'da* 'beans'
 [hsda:] *ohsda:* 'rain'
 [hsdagwa] *gahsdá:gwa*, *ohsdá:gwa* 'dirty clothes'
 [hsdao'gwa] *osdáo'gwa* 'necklace'
 [hsdawę'dra] *gahsdáwe'dra* 'rattle, horn rattle'
 [hsdowa] *gahsdó:wa* 'headdress'
 [hsęhe] *ohsęhe* 'frost'
 [hsęna] *gahsę:na* 'name'
 [hsge'dra] *ohsgé'dra* 'rust'
 [hsgeha] *ohsgéha* 'louse'
 [hsgoha] *ohsgóha* 'branch'
 [hsgwa:] *gahsgwa:* 'stone, rock, boulder, bullet'

- [hsgwaɛʔda] *ohsgwáɛʔdaʔ*, *sgwáɛʔdaʔ* ‘coltsfoot’
- [hsgwɛsa] *ohsgwɛ́hsaʔ* ‘spleen’
- [hsgwiʔdra] *ohsgwiʔdraʔ* ‘wrinkles, prunes’
- [hsgyɛʔda:] *ohsgyéʔda:ʔ* ‘bone, bare bones’
- [hsgyɔʔwa] *ohsgyóʔwaʔ* ‘blue beech’
- [hsheʔa] *ohshéʔaʔ* ‘dough’
- [hsiya] *ohsí:yaʔ* ‘thread, string, cord’
- [hsɔwahda] *gahsɔ́wahdaʔ* ‘nails, wire, needle’
- [hstɔdra] *ohstó:draʔ* ‘straw’
- [hswɛʔda] *ohswéʔdaʔ* ‘coal’
- [hswɛ́hda] *gahswé́hdaʔ* ‘wampum belt’
- [hswéʔna, hswaʔna] *ohswéʔnaʔ* ‘upper back’, *sehswaʔne:t* ‘you are supporting, backing them’
- [hwahda] *ohwahdaʔ* ‘maple’
- [hwajiya] *gahwa:jí:yaʔ* ‘family’
- [hwɛ́hda:] *ohwé́hda:* ‘corn ears’
- [hwɛʔga:] *ohwéʔga:ʔ* ‘wood chips, splints’
- [hwɛʔsda] *ohwé́hdaʔ* ‘foam’
- [hwihsda] *ohwíhsdaʔ* ‘money’
- [hyadɔhsra] *gahyádɔhsraʔ* ‘paper’
- [iʔda] *oʔdaʔ* ‘feces’
- [iʔda:] *oʔda:ʔ* ‘clay, mud, mortar’
- [iʔdaiɛ́hdra] *oʔdaiɛ́hdraʔ* ‘sweat’
- [idehsra] *gédéhsraʔ* ‘sexuality’
- [idɛ́hdsra] *gédé́hdsraʔ* ‘pity, mercy, compassion’
- [idɔ́hgwa] *odóhgwaʔ* ‘flame, fever’
- [idrɛ́hda, widrɛ́hda] *gáidrɛ́hdaʔ*, *owidrɛ́hdaʔ* ‘sleep, a dream’
- [igyohgwa] *gɛgyóhgwaʔ* ‘crowd, the public’
- [Cihdsda] *gáihdsdaʔ* ‘tin, metal’
- [ihsda:, ihsdai] *ohsdá:ʔ*, *ohsdáiʔ* ‘fish scale’
- [ijɔʔda] *ojóʔdaʔ* ‘fish’
- [itseʔda] *gatséʔdaʔ*, *gɛtséʔdaʔ* ‘bottle, jar’
- [itsgra] *otsgraʔ* ‘saliva, spit, sputum’
- [jaohoʔgwa] *ojáhoʔgwaʔ* ‘ankle’
- [jaɔsa] *ojáɔsaʔ* ‘leaves of corn’
- [jɛ] *gajɛʔ* ‘dish, plate, bowl’
- [jíʔa:] *ojíʔa:ʔ* ‘curtains, lace’
- [jíʔdrɔwahda] *ojiʔdrɔ́wahdaʔ* ‘the brain’
- [jíʔgwa] *gajíʔgwaʔ*, *ojíʔgwaʔ* ‘nakedness, nudity’
- [jigwɛ́da] *oji:gwé́daʔ* ‘gonorrhoea’
- [jihaya] *gajíhayaʔ* ‘the devil’, ‘Taking out the Cork’ (forbidden dance)
- [jihgwa] *ojíhgwaʔ* ‘porridge, mush’
- [jihnyaʔda] *ojíhnyaʔdaʔ* ‘tendon, ligament, birth cord, vein’
- [jihoha:] *gajíhoha:ʔ*, *ojíhoha:ʔ* ‘straight pin, pin, brooch, safety pin’
- [jihsa] *Gajíhsaʔ* ‘Husk Face, False Face’
- [jihdsda] *gajíhdsdaʔ* ‘lamp’
- [jihsdanohgwa] *ojíhdsdanóhgwaʔ* ‘decimal point, point, dot’
- [jihsgwa] *ojíhsgwaʔ* ‘mush’

[jɪhsɔ̄da:] *ojɪhsɔ̄:da:* 'cluster of stars, star'

[jihwa, jihy] *gajihwa* 'hammer', *gajihyowa:nəh* 'sledgehammer, big hammer'

[jihwɛda] *ojihwɛ:da* 'bell'

[jija] *ojí:ja* 'petal'

[jike'da] *ojike'da* 'salt'

[jinɔ̄hgra] *ojínɔ̄hgra* 'nasal mucus'

[jɪ'nɔ̄wa] *oji'nɔ̄:wa* 'bug, insect, worm'

[jɪ'ohda, jɪ'ehda] *ojí'ohda, ojí'ehda* 'fingernails, toenails, animal nails, claws'

[jis] *ó:ji:s* 'cheese' (loanword from English)

[jisgo'gwa:] *ojí'ohsgwa:* 'hip'

[jitgwa:] *ojí:tgwa:* 'yellow, bile'

[ka:] *ga'ka:* 'slip, skirt'

[kda] *okda* 'nutshell'

[kdeha] *okdéha* 'root, edible roots' (pepper roots, turnips, carrots)

[kjina] *okjí:na* 'stump, knots in a tree'

[ksa'da] *agéksa'da* 'my child'

[kwa] *gakwa* 'food'

[nada] *ganá:da* 'town, community'

[na'da:] *oná'da:* 'bread'

[na'ga] *oná'ga:* 'horns, antlers'

[na'gwa] *oná'gwa* 'lungs'

[na'gwiya] *ona'gwí:ya* 'cotton batting'

[nahaɔ̄gwɛ(tra)] *ganaháɔ̄gwɛ* 'seeds, seed corn', *dɛdwanahaɔ̄gwɛtraɛ* 'Seed Ceremony'

[nahda] *ganáhda* 'comb'

[nahgwa] *ganáhgwa* 'bass drum'

[nahgwa] *ga'náhgwa* 'marriage'

[nahsgwa] *ganáhsgwa* 'tame animal, pet, domestic animal'

[nai'da] *ganái'da* 'peacock, bride, boastfulness'

[na'ja] *ganá'ja* 'pail'

[na'johsgwa] *ganá'johsgwa* 'cup'

[na'jowi'tra] *gana'jowí'tra* 'water drum'

[nakda] *ganá:kda* 'bed'

[na'sgwa] *oná'sgwa* 'mattress'

[na'tra] *adéna'tra* 'lunch, groceries'

[nawa] *ganáwago:* 'in the pond, swamp'

[nawada] *onáwada* 'clay, plaster, white-wash'

[neda] *ganédago:* 'Lower End, in the valley'

[ne'da] *oné'da* 'evergreen, conifer'

[ne'da:] *oné'da:* 'roe'

[negrɛda] *onégrɛda* 'morel mushroom'

[negwa] *oné:gwa* 'peas'

[nɛhɛ:] *onéhɛ:* 'corn'

[nehsa] *o'néhsa* 'sand'

[nehstda:] *ganéhsda:* 'board'

[nehshɛhɛ] *ganéhshɛhɛ* 'dogfish'

- [nehwa] ganéhwa[?] ‘leather, hide’
 [nɛnoga:] onɛ:nóga:[?] ‘hickory wood, stick’
 [nɛnyo[?]gwa] onɛnyo[?]gwa[?] ‘pills’
 [’nhahgya, ’nhahda] o’nháhgya[?], onháhda[?] ‘large lumber logs, timber’
 [nhe[?]da] ganhé[?]da[?] ‘porcupine’
 [nhehsa] ganhéhsa[?] ‘harness, ribbon, laces’
 [nhehsra] ganhéhsra[?] ‘to take someone’s part, advocacy’
 [’nhɛhtsa, ’nhwɛhtsa] o’nhɛhtsa[?], o’nhwɛhtsa[?] ‘tail of an animal’
 [nhoha] ganhóha[?] ‘door’
 [’nhɔhsa] o’nhɔhsa[?] ‘eggs’
 [nigahɛhsra] onigá:hɛhsra[?] ‘material, cloth’
 [’nigɔha] ga[?]nígɔha[?] ‘the mind’
 [’nihsda:] o’níhsda:[?] ‘stem, hull of berries’
 [nɔda] Onóda[?]geh ‘on the hill, Onondaga town’
 [nɔda, neda] onódagɔ:[?] ‘valley’, ganédagɔ:[?] ‘in, under the valley’
 [nɔgɛ[?]da] onógɛ[?]da[?] ‘catfish’
 [nɔ[?]gwa] onó[?]gwa[?] ‘milk’
 [no[?]ja] onó[?]ja[?] ‘teeth’
 [’nɔh] ga[?]nɔh ‘arrow’
 [noha[?]t] onóha[?]ta[?] ‘soap’
 [’nɔhda] o’nɔhda[?] ‘bur’
 [’nɔhsa] o’nɔhsa[?] ‘onions’
 [’nohsda, ’nesda] o’nó:sda[?], o’né:sda[?] ‘nudity’
 [nɔhgwatra] onóhgwatra[?] ‘medicines’
 [nɔhgwɛ] onóhgwɛ[?] ‘corn cob’
 [’noksa] o’nó:ksa[?] ‘bass (fish), oysters, shellfish, sea shells’
 [nɔhkwahsra] ganóhkwahsra[?] ‘love’
 [nohɔkdehsra] ganohɔkdéhsra[?] ‘sickness, an ache’
 [nohotsgɛ[?]ɛ] onohotsgɛ[?]ɛ[?] ‘beech’
 [nɔhsa] ganóhsa[?] ‘house’
 [’nohsda] ga[?]nóhsda[?] ‘naked, bare’, ‘hairless or plucked carcass’
 [nɔnhe[?]dra] onónhe[?]dra[?] ‘soother, pacifier, nipple’
 [nɔnya] ganó:nya[?] ‘dance’
 [nɔnya] onó:nya[?] ‘husk’
 [’noshehsra] ga[?]nóshɛhsra[?] ‘jealousy’
 [nowa] ganó:wa[?] ‘guitar, any string instrument’
 [nowɛ[?]da] onówɛ[?]da[?] ‘lie’
 [nrahda] onráhda[?] ‘leaf’
 [nrahɔdɔdahsra] onrahɔdɔdáhhsra[?] ‘poplar’
 [nrahsra] onráhsra[?] ‘mushroom’
 [nre[?]a] ganré[?]a[?] ‘Eagle Feathers’ (for making friends, the one who asks for the friendship holds the feathers)
 [nrege[?]da] onrége[?]da[?] ‘tripe, animal stomach’
 [nrɛhɛ] onréhɛ[?] ‘tapeworm’
 [nyada:] ganyadá:[?]geh ‘at the lake’
 [nyá[?]gwa] onyá[?]gwa[?] ‘vomit, vomitus’

- [nyah] *onyáha* 'native mush dish made with corn'
- [nyęda] *onyé:da* 'stem'
- [nyoda] *ganyó:da* 'spoon, canoe, birch bark canoe'
- [nyóhsa] *o'nyóhsa* 'nose'
- [qogwe'da] *gáqogwe'da* 'person, human'
- [qhgwa:] *o'qhgwa:* 'sod, moss'
- [qhsa] *o'qhsa* 'vines'
- [ohsra] *gohsréhneh* 'winter time', *niyohsrage:* 'years'
- [qhweja] *ohwéjageh* 'on earth'
- [qwa] *ga'q:wa* 'bowl, butter dish, trough'
- [ra(h)gwa:] *gá:gwa:* 'celestial orb' (i.e. the sun, the moon), *ętga:hgwi:tę* 'the sun will rise'
- [rahqsra] *gá:hqsra* 'cradleboard'
- [ratsge'da] *gá:tsgę'da* 'rope'
- [reņa] *gáęna* 'song'
- [rihwa] *oihwa* 'message, word, affair, business'
- [rihwahsra] *gáihwahsa* 'an agreement'
- [rihwane'aksra] *gaihwané'aksra* 'sin'
- [rihwiyohsdehsra] *gaihwiyohsdehsra* 'religion, the Christian faith'
- [risra] *gáisra* 'leggings'
- [rōda] *gáqda* 'log'
- [rōhnya] *aqhnyagō:, qhnya:gō:* 'in the river flats'
- [rōhya] *gáqhyā'geh* 'in the heavens, in the sky'
- [sehda] *oséhda* 'willow, nape of neck'
- [sgwi'ya, sgwe'ya] *osgwi'ya*, *osgwé'ya* 'buds'
- [shaihsda] *osháihsa* 'snake'
- [shasdehsra] *gahsháhsdehsra*, *ohshahsdehsra* 'power, strength, energy'
- [te'tra] *oté'tra* 'flour, powder'
- [tęęhetsa] *gatęęhetsa* 'handle'
- [tęi'tra] *gatęi'tra* 'junk'
- [tgo'da] *otgó'da* 'sumac'
- [tgwe'da] *gatgwé'da* 'wallet, purse, pocketbook, suitcase'
- [tgwehji'a] *otgwéhji'a:* 'red'
- [tragwe'da] *otragwé'da* 'flint (stone)'
- [trę'da] *otrę'da* 'housefly, fly'
- [tsada] *otsá:da* 'mist, steam, fog, gas, water vapour'
- [tsahda] *otsáhda* 'gall bladder'
- [tsehsda] *otséhsda* 'syrup, honey, gum, nectar'
- [tsenę] *gatsé:nę* 'one animal or pet'
- [tsgę'ęda] *otsgę'ę:* 'peach pit'
- [tsgo'd] *otsgó'da* 'balsam fir'
- [tsinqhgę'da] *otsinqhgę'da* 'charm society, charm'
- [twęhsa] *otwéhsa* 'liver'
- [wa:] *ó:wa:* 'air, wind, a moth'
- [waha] *o'wáhoh* 'meat', *o'wahi:yo:* 'good, tender meat'

- [^ʔwahsha:] *ga^ʔwáhsha:* ‘earrings’
 [^ʔwahsda] *ga^ʔwáhsda^ʔ, o^ʔwahsda^ʔ* ‘clothespin’
 [wajih^sda] *owájih^sda^ʔ* ‘peelings, bark of a tree’
 [wa^ʔwih^sda] *owá^ʔwih^sda^ʔ* ‘peeling’
 [waya] *owa:ya^ʔ* ‘fin of a fish, wings’
 [wəna] *owé:na^ʔ* ‘word, voice, speech’
 [wə^ʔyohga:, wə^ʔyuhga:] *awé^ʔyohga:^ʔ, awé^ʔyuhga:^ʔ* ‘thumb’
 [wəyohsa, wənyahsa] *awéyohsa^ʔ* ‘heart’, *agaəsawənyahsha:^ʔ* ‘they gave you a heart operation’
 [widra] *owi:dra^ʔ* ‘ice’
 [wiya] *owi:ya^ʔ* ‘young or offspring (i.e. of an animal), baby’
 [ya] *ó:ya^ʔ* ‘other, another’
 [ya:] *gaya:^ʔ* ‘bag, mattress, tick, pouch’ (i.e. a mattress bag into which straw is stuffed)
 [yada] *oyá:da^ʔ* ‘basement, track, ditch, rut, furrow’
 [ya^ʔda] *gayá^ʔda^ʔ* ‘doll’
 [ya^ʔdagenhahsra] *gaya^ʔdagénhahsra^ʔ* ‘helpfulness’
 [ya^ʔdowehdahsra] *gaya^ʔdowéhdahsra^ʔ* ‘the ability to think, thinking skills’
 [yahgwa] *oyáh^ʔgwa^ʔ* ‘pants’
 [yana] *oyá:na^ʔ* ‘tire, its track, anything that leaves tracks’
 [yanehsra] *gayánehsra^ʔ* ‘rights, laws, code’
 [yē:] *ó:yē:^ʔ* ‘beads’
 [yēda] *oyé:da^ʔ* ‘wood, firewood’
 [yē^ʔgwa] *oyé^ʔgwa^ʔ* ‘tobacco, cigarettes’
 [yēhsa:] *oyéhsa:^ʔ* ‘bandage’
 [yēhsra] *oyéhsra^ʔ* ‘blankets’
 [yənawahsra] *gayənawáhsra^ʔ* ‘help’
 [yō^ʔda] *oyō^ʔda^ʔ* ‘dead body, cadaver’
 [^ʔyohgwa] *ga^ʔyóhgwa^ʔ* ‘Avocet blue stocking (bird)’
 [^ʔyohgwa] *o^ʔyóhgwa^ʔ* ‘skirt, tail, feather’
 [^ʔyotsa] *o^ʔyó:tsa^ʔ* ‘chin’
 [yōwa] *oyō:wa^ʔ* ‘guts, intestines’

A.2 Body part nouns

Body part nouns begin with an A-series pronominal prefix, and end with [-a^ʔgeh] ‘on’ (see §5.2).

- [ahohda] *sahóhda^ʔgeh* ‘on your ears’
 [ahohda] *ohóhdagō:* ‘inner ear’
 [^ʔahsa] *se^ʔáh^sa^ʔgeh* ‘on your chest’
 [ahsi^ʔda] *sahsí^ʔda^ʔgeh* ‘on your foot’
 [ahyagwiya] *swahyagwiyá^ʔgeh* ‘on your toes’
 [awé^ʔnahsa, awé^ʔnohsa] *swé^ʔnóhsa^ʔgeh* ‘on your tongue’

[gaha] *segáha* 'geh 'on your eyes'
 [gahehda] *segahehdá* 'geh 'on your eyelashes'
 [gahgwaosa] *segahgwáosa* 'geh 'on your eyebrow'
 [ge'a:] *sagé'a* 'geh 'on your hair'
 [ge'sda] *segé'sda* 'geh 'on your hair-line, upper brow, forehead'
 [gohsa] *segóhsa* 'geh 'on your face'
 [gohstə'a] *gegohstə'a* 'geh 'on my whiskers, my facial hair'
 [gə'da] *gegə'da* 'geh 'on the bridge of my nose'
 [go'nya] *egó'nya* 'geh 'on her septum'
 [hana] *shaná* 'geh 'on your groin, crotch'
 [hanohsa] *hahanohsá* 'geh 'on his temple'
 [ha'da] *gahá'da* 'geh 'on its throat'
 [hdega:] *sehdegá:* 'geh 'on your ribs'
 [hetga'a(:)] *sehetga'a* 'geh 'on your anus'
 [hna'tsa] *sna'tsá* 'geh 'on your buttocks'
 [hneša] *swahnéhsa* 'geh 'on your shoulders'
 [hny'a] *sehnyá'sa* 'geh 'on your neck (front of the neck)'
 [hnyədəhsa] *gahnnyədəhsá* 'geh 'on its beak'
 [ho'a] *sho'a* 'geh 'on your lap'
 [hə'gwa] *shə'gwá* 'geh 'on your Adam's apple, front of your neck'

[hsgwa:, hsgo] *hahsgwá* 'geh 'his testicles'
 [hsina] *sehśina* 'geh 'on your leg'
 [hsna'da] *sehśná'da* 'geh 'on your calf (of leg), on your outer thighs'
 [hsəhga:] *sehśəhgá:* 'geh 'on your upper lip'
 [hsəhgwā] *sehśəhgwā* 'geh 'on your lip'
 [hshə, hsha] *sehshəhneh* 'on your lower back' *egéshada* 'I will fall on my back'
 [hsdo'dra] *ohsdó'dra* 'geh 'on its feathers'
 [hs'ohda] *sehśohda* 'geh 'on your hand'
 [hswe'na] *sehswé'na* 'geh 'on your upper back'
 [hyohsa, hyuhsa] *kyohsá* 'geh, *kyuh-sá* 'geh 'on my elbow'
 [ihna] *gihná* 'geh 'on my skin'
 ['nyohsa] *se'nyohsá* 'geh 'on your nose'
 [jaoho'gwa] *sejaohó'gwā* 'geh 'on your ankle'
 [jisgo'gwa] *sejihsgogwá* 'geh 'on your hip'
 [ji'ohda, ji'ehda] *geji'ohdá* 'geh 'on my nail', *degaji'éhe:s* 'claw'
 [kse'da] *seksé'da* 'geh 'on your belly'
 [nețsa] *snețsa* 'geh 'on your arm'
 ['nhohda] *se'nhohdagə:* 'your underarm, armpit'
 ['nhohsga:] *ge'nhohsgá:* 'geh 'on my inner thigh'

A.3 Body part nouns (detached or unpossessed)

[nɔha] *gonɔhɑ'geh* 'on her wig'
 [nɔnhe'dra] *sɑ'nɔnhe'drɑ'geh* 'on your nipples'
 [nɔ'a:, nɔha] *sanɔ'ɑ:'geh* 'on your head'
 [nɔ'gwa] *snɔ'gwɑ'geh* 'on your breast'
 [no'ja] *snɔ'jɑ'geh* 'on your teeth'
 [nra] *hanrɑ'geh* 'on his penis, phallus'
 [nyɛda] *senyɛda'geh* 'on your shin'
 [ɔtsa] *sɔtsɑ'geh* 'on your knee'
 [rada] *sradɑ'geh* 'on your heel'
 [ragwahda] *sragwɑhdagɔ:* 'the sole of your foot'

[sehda] *sesɛhdagɔ:* 'on the nape of your neck'
 [wɛ'yɔhga:, wɛ'yɔhga:] *gwɛ'yɔhgɑ:'geh, gwɛ'yuhgɑ:'geh* 'on my thumb'
 [yagwahda] *eyagwɑhdɑ'geh* 'on her palm'
 [ya'da] *syɑ'dɑ'geh* 'on your body'
 [ya'ga:] *gyɑ'gɑ:'geh* 'on my waist'
 [yo'gwa] *syɔ'gwɑ'geh* 'on your cheeks'
 [yɔhda] *syɔhdɑ'geh* 'on your gum'
 [yohgwa] *gɑ'yɔhgwɑ'geh* 'on its tail (pertaining to birds)'
 [yo'tsa] *syɔ'tsɑ'geh* 'on your chin'

A.3 Body part nouns (detached or unpossessed)

The following are examples of body part nouns inflected as basic nouns (see §22.1.2).

[ahsa] *o'ɑhs'a'* 'chest'
 [ahsi'da, ɛhsa] *ohsi'da'* 'feet', *desɛhsó:we:k* 'put your shoes on'
 [ahyagwiya] *ohya:gwí:ya'* 'toe(s)'
 [awɛ'nohsa] *awɛ'nohsa'* 'tongue'
 [a'ya] *o'ya'* 'female genitals, vagina'
 [gaha] *ogáha'* 'eye'
 [gɔ'da] *ogɔ'da'* 'bridge of one's nose'
 [gɔhsa] *ogɔhsa'* 'face'
 [gwɛno'da] *otgwɛno'da'* 'gizzard'
 [hana] *ohána'* 'groin, crotch'
 [hdegɑ:] *ohdɛgɑ:'* 'ribs'

[hetgɑ'a:] *ohétgɑ'a:'* 'rear end, posterior'
 [hi'ya] *ohí'ya'* 'the body's trunk, form'
 [hna'tsa] *ohná'tsa'* 'buttock, ass'
 [hnɛsa] *ohnɛhsa'* 'shoulder'
 [hnya] *ohnya'* 'the neck, the throat'
 [hnyɑ'sa] *ohnyá'sa'* 'neck, throat'
 [hnyɑ'sa] *ohnyá'sɑ'gɔ:* 'in the throat'
 [ho'gwa] *ohó'gwa'* 'lower back (on sides), bum cheeks'
 [hsgwɛsa] *ohsgwɛhsa'* 'spleen'
 [hsina] *ohsí:na'* 'leg'

[hs'ohda] *ohsóhda* 'hand, paw'

[hsohgwa] *ohsóhgwa* 'lips'

[hswe'na] *ohswé'na* 'upper back'

[nyqhsa] *o'nyqhsa* 'nose'

[jaoho'gwa] *ojáho'gwa* 'ankle'

[ji'drəwahda] *oji'drəwáhda* 'the brain'

[jihnya'da] *ojihnya'da* 'tendon, ligament, birth cord, vein'

[ji'ohda, ji'ehda] *oji'ehda, oji'ohda* 'fingernails, toenails, animal nails, claws'

[jisgo'gwa] *oji'ohsgwa:* 'hip'

[kse'da] *oksé'da* 'belly'

[na'gwa] *oná'gwa* 'lungs'

[ne'tsa] *oné:tsa* 'arm'

[nhqhda] *onhóhda* 'armpit'

[nhqtsa] *onhó:tsa* 'knee'

[nq'a:] *onq'a:* 'head'

[no'ja] *onó'ja* 'teeth'

[nra] *onra* 'phallus'

[ny'a] *o'nya* 'fingers'

[qtsa] *qtsa* 'knee'

[ragwahda] *ogwáhda, á:gwahda,* 'sole, ball of foot'

[sgihyotsa] *sgihyó'tsa* 'jowls'

[twaihsra] *twáihstra* 'heart'

[twəhsa] *otwəhsa* 'liver'

[wə'yqhga:] *awé'yqhga:, awé'yuhga:* 'thumb'

[wəyqhsa] *awéyqhsa* 'heart'

[ya'da] *oyá'da* 'body'

[ya'ga:] *oyá'ga:* 'waist'

[yo'tsa] *o'yó:tsa* 'chin'

A.4 List of agentive stative nouns

Agentive stative nouns are listed below (see §5.5).

gagá:we: 'the act of rowing'

gagánya'gqh 'payment'

wadénha'qh 'it is chartered, hired'

wade'nyedéhsdqh 'the act of measuring'

wagyenawáhdqh 'a reserved or booked venue'

wagyésahsdqh 'sales, bargains'

wagyq: 'something thrown away, discards'

watwihsdq:ni: 'profit'

watwihsdqnyá'dqh 'profit, investment'

A.5 List of stative nouns

Stative nouns end with the [q-:-'] STAT-NMLZ-NSF combination (see §5.5). Some examples are listed below.

adahyáohq: 'Gathering of the Fruit ceremony'
 adatrewáhdq: 'repentance, punishment'
 adówadq: 'the hunt'
 ado'jinéhdq: 'skating'
 adrihwáhséhdq: 'a secret'
 adwagyáqnyq: 'haunted apparition'
 atq:dé'q: 'the act of hearing'
 dewá'aq 'lacrosse, web'
 gahé:yq: 'death'
 gahní:nq: 'something that is bought'
 gahsgyáqnyq: 'words of encouragement'
 gahsq: 'All Eaten Up' (restricted ceremony for charms)
 gahwíhsdanq: 'gold, expensive things'
 gaihwaéhsdq: 'a report'
 gaihwané:gé: 'a prayer, to pray'

Ganéhq: 'Drum Dance'
 ga'nigqahhniyá:dq: 'the act of counselling'
 ganihaq' otgó'a: 'strung wampum'
 ganohsohdá:nq: 'AIDS, disease'
 gáohq: 'the act of gathering'
 gawęnitgé'q: 'a speech'
 gaya'dowéhdq: 'the idea of thinking'
 ga'no:gé:yq: 'Grinding the Arrow (forbidden ceremony)'
 gędahswahéhdq: 'a scolding'
 qgya'ditgęhsq: 'nightmares'
 onqhsodáiyq: 'sickness, illness'
 sawadrihwatwahdáhmq: 'natural disasters'
 tigaya'do:ní: wadónyahmq: 'a robot' (literally, 'it moves')
 wadewayęhsdq: 'the process of learning'

[+iyo:] versus [+iyo']

Several VERBS functioning as "nouns" end with [+iyo'] instead of expected [+iyo:] (1).

- (1) a. oswe'gáiyq, swe'gaiyo'
 (o)-hswę'g-a-iyo'
 (3S.P)-noun-JOINER-beautiful.STAT
 'hawk'
- b. Ganyadáiyq
 ga-nyadá-iyo'
 3S.A-lake-beautiful.STAT
 'Ontario, Lake Ontario'

- c. Sganyadáiyó'
 s-ga-nyadá-iyó'
 REP-3S.A-lake-beautiful.STAT
 'Handsome Lake'

A.6 Atypical nouns

Atypical nouns (described in §5.7) are listed in this section.

- dago:s, dagu:s** 'cat' (loanword from Dutch *Der Pæs*)
daksháe'dohs 'chicken'
dihdsihs 'house woodpecker'
dí'di: 'blue jay'
dó:dihs 'salamander'
dó:gɛ:t 'guinea hen'
dogriya'gɔ' 'buffalo' (possibly includes [iya'g.ɔh] cut.across-STAT)
drɛ:na: 'skunk' (possibly, [drɛ:n-a:] smell-hold.STAT)
duwísduwi:' 'killdeer'
gá'ga: 'crow, raven'
gihɛ:k 'river, stream, creek' (possibly ends with [-k] MODZ)
gó:deh 'eel'
grahe:t 'tree' (possibly ends with [t] stand.STAT)
gwáoh 'screech owl'
gwá'da: 'flying squirrel'
gwa'yɔ' 'rabbit'
gwé:sɛ' 'partridge'
gwɛ'dihs 'night hawk'
gwɛ'gohnyɛ' 'whip-poor-will'
gwidó'gwidó' 'black breasted woodpecker'
gwihsghwihs 'pig'
gwiye'gwiye: 'high soaring hawk'
gwiyo:gɛ' 'barn swallow' (possibly [gwiyo:gɛ:] twig-together.STAT)
gyó:gyo: 'Baltimore oriole'
hehshai: 'fox' (possibly [hehsa-i:] decayed.tree-coloured.STAT)
hihi: 'great horned owl'
hnyagwai' 'bear' (possibly [hnyagwa-i:] NOUN-be.stuck.on.-something.STAT)
hó:ga:k 'goose' (possibly ends with [-k] MODZ)
jidɛ:'ɛh 'bird' (includes [-'ɛh] DIM)
jíhnyo'gɛ' 'chipmunk' ([ji-hnyo'gɛ'] JI-stick-together.STAT)
jihsdá: 'grasshopper' (possibly related to [ga-jihsd-a'] 'lamp, light')
jihsgɛ: 'a ghost' (possibly [jihsgɛ:] light-see.STAT)
jihsgogo', jihsgugu' 'robin'
jihso:dahk 'strawberry' (possibly [jihso:dahk] JI-night.STAT-FORMER)
jikjí:ye: 'chickadee'

- jinhóhgwahèh** ‘ants’ (possibly [jinhóhgwahèh] JI-NOUN-mid.STAT)
- jinó:wẹ:** ‘mouse’ (possibly [jinó:wẹ:] JI-lie(dissemble).STAT)
- jinóhsanòh** ‘cricket’ (possibly [jinóhsa-nòh] JI-house-guard.HAB)
- jinòhyaháe:** ‘garter snake’ (possibly [ji-nòhy-ohae] JI-NOUN-wash.STAT)
- jinjóhgwak** ‘wild walnut’ (possibly [ji-nyó’gwa:-k] JI-nut-eat)
- ji’áoyẹ:** ‘spider’ (possibly related to [o-ji’a:-’] ‘lace’)
- ji’dana:wẹ:** ‘butterfly’ (possibly [ji’dana:wẹ:] JI-NOUN-wet.STAT)
- ji’dró:wẹ:** ‘sea shell’
- ji’nhowé:se:** ‘hummingbird’
- ji’nhódó:ya** ‘bed bug’
- ji’o:** ‘a crab’ (possibly [ji’-o:] NOUN-submerged.STAT)
- jó:nyọ:** ‘bluebird’
- jogrihs** ‘blackbird’
- johwé’sdaga** ‘seagull’ (possibly [ji-hwé’sda-ga’] JI-foam-like.the.taste.of.STAT)
- joní:tsgrọ:t** ‘squirrel’ (possibly [j-o-nítsg-r-ọ:t] REP-3S.P-saliva-attached.STAT)
- jọ’dáeya:** ‘raspberries’
- jọ’daga** ‘mink’ (possibly [jọ’daga’] fish-like.the.taste.of.STAT)
- kdagọ** ‘grey squirrel, black squirrel’ (possibly related to *ohí’kda* ‘thorn, thistle’, as in [kd-agọ:] thorn-€)
- nagánya’gọ** ‘beaver’
- nawé’da** ‘sugar’ ([nawé’d-a’] NO.PREFIX.sugar-NSF)
- nòhsodáiyọ:** ‘mud puppies, dogfish’
- sá:no:** ‘raccoon’
- sá’sa** ‘mockingbird, chatterbox’
- sgwá:yẹh** ‘otter’ (possibly [sgwá:yẹh] frog-verb.STAT)
- sgwagwáọdọ** ‘toad’ (possibly [sgwagwá+ọd-ọ’] frog-rooted.STAT-DISTR)
- sgwá’ahda** ‘frog’ (possibly [sgwá’ahd-a’] frog-NSF or [sgwá’ahda’] frog-be.full.of.food.STAT)
- só:wa:s** ‘dog’
- sohọ:t** ‘turkey’ (possibly ends with [ọ:t] attached.STAT)
- teáọ:t** ‘muskrat’ (possibly includes [ọ:t] attached.STAT)
- téhtọ** ‘ground hog, woodchuck, gopher’
- teoji** ‘iron wood (tree), red oak’
- tgwiyó:gẹ** ‘channel catfish’ (possibly, [t-gwiy-ó:gẹ:] SRF-twig-together.STAT)
- tsahgọ:wa:** ‘pigeon’ (possibly includes [-go:wah] AUG)
- tsa’gẹ:da** ‘corn tassel’ ([tsa’gẹ:d-a’] NO.PREFIX.corn.tassel-NSF)
- twé:twẹ:t** ‘duck’
- yahgẹhda** ‘morel, black type of mushroom’ ([yahgẹhd-a’] NO.PREFIX.morel-NSF)

A.7 Frequently-incorporated nouns

The following are lists of words containing frequently-incorporated nouns. (For noun incorporation, see §14.) The examples in this section are not alphabetized.

A.7.1 [ya'da] 'body'

sya'dá'geh 'on your body'

sgaya'da:t 'one (living thing)'

gaya'dowéhdahsra' 'the ability to think, thinking skill'

gaɛ niyéya'da:?' 'which person?'

hadágya'da:s 'he has a high opinion of himself, he is self-centred'

agya'dahsde' 'I am heavy'

hoyá'dadeht 'he is rough, agile, fleet of foot, nimble, quick-moving'

detniya'da:dó:gɛ: 'between you and me (our bodies)'

dogya'da:gɔ' 'I lody weight' (literally, 'I lost part of my body')

ɛyɛsayá'dago' 'they'll choose you to do something'

gya'dá:grahs 'my body smells'

agya'dagɛhé:yo' 'I am physically weak'

ogyá'dagwe:s 'she gets bound up, constipated'

gya'dahsnó:we' 'I am slow'

hɛsaya'dó:di: 'pounce on it!'

ɛhsheya'dógoɦdeɛ' 'you will go right over her, go right past her, deceive her'

sagya'dqháe 'wash your body'

sagya'danɛ:da:k 'cling to it! Put your body next to something!'

saya'danɛdagɔh 'you are stuck to something'

goya'danɛdagɔhta' 'gravity' (literally, 'it keeps you down, holds you in place')

ɛtseyá'dodáihsi' 'you will rescue someone'

ɛhagya'dó:dɛ' 'he will stand his body up, walk on his hands'

deyoya'dóɦde: 'it is brain-wracking'

tsa'degaeya'dó:dɛ: 'they are similar', 'they look the same'

dɛsya'dó:weht 'you will think about it, consider it'

deyeya'dówehta' 'she is a thinker, a seer'

hoyá'datgi' 'he is dirty, has dirty ways'

desaya'dɛ:dɔh 'you will shake your body'

ɛhsheya'dɛdɔnya't 'you will tease someone'

ɛkeya'dɛ'nigɔhae' 'I will babysit'

A.7.2 [wəna] ‘word’

owé:na’ ‘word’

əhsawənáhɔ:k ‘your words will come back on you’

gawənitgɛ’ɔ:’ ‘a speech’

hawɛ:ní:yo: ‘the devil’

sawéna’ehs ‘stutter!’

gawənánóhsta’ ‘screech owl’ (literally, ‘it makes its voice cold’)

əhsadwɛná:yɛht ‘you will jeer, jest, throw words at someone’

A.7.3 [(r)ɛna] ‘song’

gáɛna’ ‘song’

wadrɛ:no:t ‘it is singing/purring’

əhsadrɛnatɔdá:ta’ ‘you’ll go listen to the songs’ (said as an invitation)

honadrɛnáɛ’ ‘they (Christians) are praying’

shɔgwaɛnáwihso’ ‘he has given us songs’

A.7.4 [rihwa] ‘message’

oihwa’ ‘a message’

oihwá’geh ‘the reason for something’

awadríhwáhdɔ’ ‘it died out, faded away (an idea)’

agaihwáhdɔ’ ‘it became extinct, died out’

adrihwáhséhdɔ:’ ‘a secret’

əhsníhwáhsɛht ‘you two will have a secret’

awadadríhwadɔ’t ‘suicide’ (literally ‘someone did away with themselves’)

əhsadríhwa:dó:gɛhs ‘you will right a wrong’

gaihwadó:gɛ’ ‘it is the main idea’

dɛhsrihwadrá:go’ ‘you will answer, reply’

ɛtríhwaek ‘you will force’

dɛhsrihwagé:nha’ ‘you will argue, debate, protest’

dɛgaihwaɡó:dɔ:’ ‘it will smother itself, die out slowly on its own, peter out’ (i.e. a language)

ta:gaihwaɡó:dɔ:’ ‘it won’t die out’

oihwagɛhyatgeh ‘to the edge of the world’ (i.e. in the last days)

ha’dehoihwagɛ’ ‘he has lots of business/different ideas/many ideas’

hoihwagɛ:nya’t ‘he is an instigator, complainer’

odrihwagwáihso:’ ‘righteousness’

godrihwagwáihso:’ ‘she is a righteous person’

əhsrihwagwáihsi’ ‘you will be a witness’

ahsadadríhwagwé:nya’s ‘you are a success’

saihwagwé:nyo: 'you are able to perform' (i.e. run, dance, orate, etc.)
ahadadrihwagwé:nye? 'he had earned it for himself'
haihwagwe:ni:yo? 'he is the leader'
hedwaihwagyehé:to? 'we will partake'
ehsadrihwátgahq?:? 'you will oversee, supervise'
ehsrihwahní:ya:t 'you will affirm it or agree'
ehsrihwahs'a:? 'you will plan an idea, promise'
ehsrihwahsró:ni? 'you will come to an arrangement'
ejjadrihwahsró:ni? 'you will reconcile'
hoíhwi:s 'he has a long speech'
ehsrihwihsa:k 'you will investigate, inquire'
etrihwinyo?t 'you will report'
ehsheihwá'ehs 'you will blame someone'
etrihwahe:k 'you will make it happen, demand something'
etrihwa'e:k 'you will insist'
oihq:t 'it is good for something'
ejadrihwahsró:ni? 'you two will come to an agreement'
niyoihú:uh 'it is of little importance'
niyagoihú:uh 'she has a small mind'
ehsrihwane:k 'you will hope, pray'
gaihwané:ge: 'hope, prayerful hope'

gaihwané'aksra? 'sin'
ehsrihwané'aksro:? 'you will swear, use profane language'
gaihwanénogye?s 'rumours'
desrihwanq̄hwe?s 'you disapprove'
deḏwadadrihwanq̄hkwa? 'we will show respect for one another'
hehsadrihwá:nyeht 'you will send a message'
ehsrihwáohē:k 'you will gather ideas, news'
deyoihwá:te? 'it is clear' (i.e. he sings clearly)
deḏsrihwate?t 'you will explain'
hodrihwatgáha:? 'he is a supervisor, overseer'
hodrihwatgíhdqh 'he is talking dirty'
oihwatgi? 'dirty language'
oihwatgí:nyo? 'a scandal'
deḡgaihwaḡdá'dre? 'every idea will always come together' (referring to harmony)
dehsaihwáḡdahs 'you decide'
deḡgaihwaḡda? 'they will come to an agreement'
deḡsadrihwáḡdqhk, deḡhsadrihwáḡdqh 'you will gossip'
egoihwéhdē? 'I will confide in you'
ehsrihwaē? 'you will submit an idea'
etrihwawa's 'you will back up the idea' (i.e. reinforce it)
ehsrihwá:wa's 'you will back up his ideas'

A.7.5 [ˈnigɔha] ‘mind’

gaˈnigɔhaˈ ‘the mind’

knigɔhaːˈ ‘I am expecting something, watching for something’

saˈnigɔha:t ‘you are smart’

desaˈnigɔha:t ‘you are stupid’ (literally, ‘you are not smart’)

ɛhsaˈnigɔhahdɔˈ ‘you will faint’ (literally, ‘you will lose your mind’)

dɛhsnigɔhá:haˈ ‘you will annoy’

aknigɔhágaheː ‘my mind got beat’

gɔˈnigɔhagé:tɛˈs ‘she is sobbing’

deyagɔˈnigɔhá:ɔt ‘she cannot be swayed, she is uncompromising, distinguished’

dɛhsɛˈnigɔhagé:niˈ ‘you will bribe’

dɛshagɔˈniˈgɔha:gé:niˈ ‘he will overcome their mind, intimidate them’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhagwé:niˈ ‘you will out-think her’

dɛhaˈnigɔhahaˈ ‘he is a nuisance’

gaˈnigɔhí:yoː ‘harmony, of good mind’

dedisaˈnigɔhí:yoː ‘you are grumpy, grouchy, not happy’

ɛdisaˈnigɔhí:yoh ‘your mind will become adjusted’

ɛhsaˈnigɔhí:yoh ‘you will be satisfied’

ɛhsaˈnigɔhí:yohs ‘your mind will adjust’ (i.e. become comfortable)

desaˈnigɔhadó:gɛh ‘you cannot decide which way to go, you are flighty’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhaˈdɛˈ ‘you will cheat, betray her’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhaˈe:k ‘you will offend someone’

ɛhsɛˈnigɔhahní:ya:t ‘you will endure’

oˈnigɔhɔhsdeːˈ ‘satisfaction’

gaɔˈnigɔhɔˈktaˈ ‘they are giving up (in spirit)’

gɔˈnigɔha:ní:dɛˈ ‘she is humble’

dewaknigɔhá:nih ‘it bothers me’

dɛhsheˈnigɔhnyaˈk ‘you will discourage someone’

ɛhsɛˈnigɔhodá:goˈ ‘you will persuade her, overcome her mind’

ɛdweˈnigɔhó:dɛˈ ‘we will come up with an idea’ (i.e. plan something)

agyɔˈnigɔhó:goˈ ‘her mind is scattered’

ɛhsɛˈnigɔhɔˈdrɔːˈ ‘you will worry, despair’, ‘you’ll be desperate’

tsɛh nisaˈnigɔhóˈdɛːˈ ‘your attitude, thoughts, mood’

ahɛˈnigɔhóˈkdɛˈ ‘he gave up (his will to live)’

ɛtsɛˈnigɔhóˈne:k ‘you will revolt, remove yourself’ (bodily and in spirit)

ɛhsaˈnigɔhɛh ‘you will forget’

desaˈnigɔhɛhdɔh ‘you will be sad’

dɛwəknigɔhaɛ' 'it will bother me'
ɛhshe'niɡɔhɛ'dɛ' 'you will make
someone feel better, comfort some-
one'

dwəknigɔhɛ'ɔh 'I am in sorrow,
mourning' (literally, 'my mind has
dropped')

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(h)kwa']

Instrumental nouns (described in §5.4.1) are listed below. Verb stems (and any incorporated noun stems) are also included for each example. The words are not alphabetized.

otgahnɛdáhkwə' 'playground'
[gahnɛ] play

ɔdahɔhsiyohsdáhkwə' 'hearing aid'
[ahɔhs-iyohsd] ear-make.better

dwasáwəhkwə' 'prefix' [ahsaw] be-
gin/start

ɔhshédəhkwə' 'doorstep' [ashɛd]
step

ɔdawɛ'dáhkwə' 'bathing suit, some-
thing used for swimming' [awɛ'd]
cause.to.swim

degadidɛhdsəhkwə' 'stable' [dɛhs]
stop.something

ɔtgahɪ'dáhkwə' 'toy' [gahɪ'd]
play.with.something

ehyádɔhkwə' 'pencil' [hyadɔ] write

ɔdɔhɡohdáhkwə' 'path' [ɔɡohd]
surpass

deyɔdogɛhdəhkwə' 'trail' [ɔɡohd]
surpass

eyáhkwə' 'containers' [ya] spread

wadráhkwə' 'container' [ra] spread

ɔdriyohdáhkwə' 'weapon' [riyohd]
cause.to.kill

deyɔdatnɔhɔnyɔ'dəhkwə' 'Friend-
ship Dance' (a social dance, a
welcoming dance) [nɔhɔnyɔ'd]
cause.to.greet

hadihəhsédəhkwə' 'courthouse'
[hahshɛd] 'cause.to.counsel'

deyeyédəhkwə' 'betting instru-
ment' [yɛd] bet

onihnadókəhkwə' 'nerves, sensa-
tions' [ɛnihnadog] perceive/feel

ɔtnɛhɛhdsəhkwə' 'yoke' [nɛhɛhds]
cause.to.stand.in.line

eniyɔdáhkwə' 'hook' [niyɔd] 'hang'

ɔdeɡə'dáhkwə' 'fire-making tool,
matches' [adegə'd] cause.to.burn.up

egahɛdáhkwə' 'drill' [gahɛd]
drill/make.a.hole

deyowɛnyé'dəhkwə' 'ladle'
[awɛnyɛ'd] cause.to.stir/mix

eyétwəhkwə' 'planting tool' [yɛtw,
yɛto] plant

hadiyɛhdáhkwə' 'Pitch Hole'
[yɛhd] knock.down/strike.down/hit

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(h)kwa']

- ode'nyedehsdahkwa'** 'ruler, measuring tape' [nyedehsd] used.for.measuring.something
- gyode'nyedehsdahkwa'** 'pattern' [nyedehsd] used.for.measuring.something
- hadiahshé'dahkwa'** 'court, council chamber' [hahshé'd] cause.to.counsel
- odadenhódqhkwá'** 'jail, prison (literally, place where someone is locked up)' [nhodq] lock
- Gyehahshédáhkwa'** 'This word is used locally to refer to Ohsweken, Ont.' (literally, 'counselling place') [hahshéd] cause.to.counsel
- deyotgá:hóhkwa'** 'rocking chair' [ga:hq] rock
- otgaédáhkwa'** 'the item to be pawned' [gaédahgw] pawn
- gadi'drehdáhkwá'** 'vehicular pathways, roads' [i'drehd] cause.to.drive
- Ekdó'dáhkwa'** 'Small Green Corn Ceremony' (This word refers to looking at how the plants are progressing.) [kdq] taste/examine/look.closely.at
- eya:nedákdáhkwa'** 'glue or scotch tape' [ya:nedag] stick.to.something
- odehyojihdehdáhkwa'** 'slide' [hyojihdehd] cause.to.play
- onohdonyóhkwa'** 'brain, mind, thinker' [enohdonyo] think
- wadonye'dáhkwa'** 'gill' [adonye'd] cause.to.breathe
- ehdáhkwá'** 'path, hallway' [ehd] run
- ahgwenyáédáhkwa'** 'closet' [ahgwenya+e] clothes-lie.on.the.ground
- deyohsi'dáhkwá'** 'foot stool' [ahsi'da+hah] foot-support
- akyédáhkwa', agyédáhkwa'** 'chair' [yéd] lie.down
- deyotnahsódáhkwa'** 'zipper' [nahs+od] tongue-attached
- egahehdéhdáhkwa'** 'lyed corn basket (for lying)' [gahehda+ehd] eye.(of.a.corn.kernel)-knock.down
- otgót'raníyodáhkwa'** 'scale' (one that uses weights to balance) [gót'ra-níyod] weight-hang
- otahsródáhkwa'** 'flashlight, torch' [hahsra+od] flash.attached
- ehnega'daihá'dáhkwa'** 'tea kettle' [hnega-'daiha'd] water-heat.up
- gadihnegahé'dáhkwa'** 'animal watering place, watering hole, trough' [hnega-hre'd] water-place.something
- ehnyódáhkwa'** 'pincushion' [hny+od-] stick-stand
- deyehona'dahíhdáhkwa'** 'potato masher' [hona'da-hri'd] potato-break.up
- dehqwadihstodáhkwa'** 'handcuffs' [hsd-oda:] tool-hook.on
- dehadihsta:té'dáhkwa'** 'wax for sticks' [hsda:-ate'd] drop.of.liquid-brighten
- ehsiháqkwa'** 'blind (for window)' [hsiya-ro] string-bead

- esqwahdódahkwa'** 'something used for holding pins' [hsqwahda+od] pin-stand
- deyestqdra'ehsdáhkwa'** 'pitch-fork' [hstqdra+'ehsd] hay-hit.with.something
- hadihstqdraędáhkwá'** 'barn, (literally, where they put the hay)' [hstqdra+ęd] hay.lay
- qdehs'ohdóhahkwa'** 'thimble' [hs'ohda-oh] finger-submerge
- ehwę'ga:gwahdáhkwá'** 'chisel' [hwę'ga:-hgwahd] chip-pick.off
- deyqtwę'gaqđáhkwá'** 'snowshoes' [hwę'ga:+qđ] splint-attached
- ehwihsdáędáhkwá'** 'bank' [hwihsdá+ęd] money-put.on.the.ground
- qđrihsdáędáhkwá'** 'trap' [hrihsdá+ęd] metal-put.on.the.ground
- qkyadqhsráhahkwa'** 'desk' [hyadqhsra+hah] paper-support
- deyehyadqhsráędáhkwá'** 'cards (playing cards), bingo' [hyadqhsra+ęd] paper-bet
- deyehnahihdáhkwá'** 'cut-out table' [hna-hrihd] material-cut.up
- qnihnodáhkwá'** 'apron' [ni.hna+od] material-stand
- gaję'ęhawidáhkwá'** 'tray' [ję'a-hawi'd] dish-cause.to.hold
- deyqđejihohádáhkwá'** 'brooch' [jihoha'd] cause.to.pin
- ejihsdó'a:sdáhkwá'** 'matches' (old word; literally, someone torches the fire) [jihsdá-o'a:hsd] light-cause.to.torch
- ejihsdęhęwihdáhkwá'** 'lantern, torch, flashlight' [jihsdá-hawihd] light-cause.to.hold
- ejinqwahedaniyódáhkwá'** 'fish hook' [ji'nqwahe'da-niyqđ] insect-hang
- eksohahqđáhkwá'** 'kitchen sink or dish pan' [ksa-ohaehqđ] dish-cause.to.clean
- eksaędahkwa'** 'something into which dishes are put' [ksa+ęd] dish-store
- enohaehq'đáhkwá'** 'something that is used for laundering' [nohaehq'd] cause.to.clean
- qtnahdodáhkwá'** 'hair combs' [nahda+od] comb.stand
- qtna'dáqđáhkwá'** 'bread pan' [na'da:+qđ] bread-attached
- ena'da:nawęhdáhkwá'** 'bread steamer' [na'da:+nawęhd] bread-make.wet
- ganagáedahkwa', ganagáidáhkwá'** 'whistle' [na'ga-gae/gai] horn-make.a.rattling.or.grinding.noise
- hęnatna'johgwaniyqđáhkwá'** 'jock strap' [na'johsgwa-niyqđ] cup-hang
- wadę'nhehsódáhkwá'** 'harness (for an animal)' [nhehsa+od] harness-stand
- e'dróđáhkwá'** 'diaper bag' [da+od] feces-stand
- enqhgwatraqđáhkwá'** 'medicine cabinet' [nqhgwatraqđ] medicine-store

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(h)kwaʔ]

ganqhsanóhsdáhkwáʔ ‘air conditioner’ [nqhsa+nohsd] house-cool.down

qtñqhsodáhkwáʔ ‘umbrella’ [nqhsa+od] house-stand

enowaníyqđáhkwáʔ ‘lock’ [nowaníyqđ] rounded.back-hang

qtñqhaháhkwáʔ ‘wig’ [nqha+hah] head-support

enqʔgeháháhkwáʔ ‘nursing bottle’ [nqʔgwa+geh] milk-suck

qtñojohaeʔdáhkwáʔ ‘toothpaste’ [noʔja-ohaeʔd] tooth-clean.up

qđenyatsódáhkwáʔ ‘bobby pin, barrette’ [nyatsa+od] braid-stand

qđnadřenódáhkwáʔ ‘kingfisher (bird)’ [řena+od] song-stand

qđřenáqđáhkwáʔ ‘church’ [řena+qđ] song-put.down

deyqđetsqđeʔiʔdřehdáhkwáʔ ‘Indian bone dice’ [tsqđeʔqđa-iʔdřehd] pit-drive

hagya:qđehdáhkwáʔ ‘man’s knapsack’ [ya:-qđehd] bag-have.around.one’s.neck

ogyaodáhkwáʔ ‘tent’ [ya:+od] bag-stand

deyqđyanóđáhkwáʔ ‘skiing’ [yana+qđ] track-attached

qđyaʔdanohsdáhkwáʔgeh ‘park’ [yaʔda-nohsd] body-cool.down

deyqđeʔdratqđenyádáhkwáʔ ‘target’ [ʔdra-atqđenyad] quiver-cause.to Compete

qđeʔdřehdaqđáhkwáʔ ‘parking lot or garage’ [ʔdřehda+qđ] vehicle-put.down

qđeʔdřehdēhdáhkwáʔ ‘sled or sleigh’ [ʔdřehda+qđ] vehicle-hit

qđeʔkáqđáhkwáʔ ‘breech cloth’ [ʔka:+qđ] breech.cloth-attached

eʔníkqđhkwaʔ ‘something used for sewing’ [ʔnikqđ] sew

qđeʔsqđáhkwáʔ ‘barbecue equipment’ [ʔsqđ+qđ-] roast-attached

qtwahqđáhkwáʔ ‘roasting pan’ [ʔwaha+qđ] meat-attached

oʔwahsqđáhkwáʔ ‘little sticks that they make for a funeral’ [ʔwahsqđa+qđ] pin-attached

Appendix B: Verb dictionary

B.1 Single-aspect verbs

B.1.1 Verbs taking A-series personal prefixes, stative aspect only

[**adatgowanəh**] ‘self-important’,
‘rash’, ‘unwise’, with [REFL]
wadatgowá:nəh ‘it is rash, unwise,
self-important, egotistical’

[**ahdihəh**] ‘different’, with [DU]
desáhdiheh ‘you are different’

[**d**] ‘standing’
gá:di:t ‘they are standing’
with [INC N] *joháha:t* ‘one road’
with [INC N] *sgahóhsra:t* ‘one box,
one thousand’

[**+dagye?**] ‘standing along, continu-
ing on’
with [INC N] *oyádagye?* ‘a gully’
with [INC N] *gahsyádagye?* ‘a passing
herd’

[**drəniyo:**] ‘smell nice’
gedrə:ní:yo: ‘I smell nice’

[**’driyo:**] ‘be a good shot’, with
([PART])
ha’drí:yo: ‘he is a good, accurate
shot’

[**gahagaəhe?**] ‘cross-eyed’
egahgáəhe? ‘she is cross eyed’

[**gahgwegəh**] ‘blind’, with [DU]
dehagahgwé:gəh ‘he is blind’

[**gahə’ji:**] ‘have a black eye’, with
[DU]

desegahə’ji: ‘you have a black eye’

[**ge’a:’**] ‘ragged, bedraggled’
gegé’a:’ ‘I am raggedy’

[**gəhjih**] ‘old (living thing)’
egəhjih ‘she is old, an old woman’

[**gohgowah**] ‘royalty, queen, king’
(e)gohgó:wah ‘queen, the Queen’

[**gohsdə’ə’od, gəhstwé’od**] ‘beard’,
with [DU]

dehagəhstwé’o:t ‘he has a beard’

[**gowanəh**] ‘big, pregnant’
egówanəh ‘she is big, pregnant’
hagówanəh ‘he is big’

[**gowanəhgowah**] ‘really big’
egowanəhgó:wah ‘she is really big’

[**hi’yagaəhe?**] ‘bent over’
ha’hi’yagáəhe? ‘his body trunk is
crooked’, ‘he is bent over’

[**hneye:s**] ‘tall’
ehné:ye:s ‘she is tall’

[**hnyahdod**] ‘lift one’s head’
ehnyáhdo:t ‘she has got her head up’
(said of a child who is learning to lift
its head by itself)

[hnyɔ'ɔh] 'white'

gahnyɔ'ɔh 'it is white'

[hretgɛs'ah] 'unattractive'

hahe:tgɛ:s'ah 'he is unattractive'

[hsɛnowanɛh] 'important, famous, prominent person'

hahsɛnowá:nɛh 'he is an important person', 'he is famous, prominent', (literally, 'he has made a name for himself')

[hsgwaowanɛ's] 'well-endowed', with [DU]

dehahsgwáowanɛ's 'he has big rocks' (i.e. he is well-endowed)

[hsgwi'drahe:] 'wrinkly', with [REP]

sgahsgwí'drahe: tsɔ: 'you are pruny, wrinkly' tsɔ: 'just'

[hshad] 'lie on one's back'

gehsha:t 'I am lying on my back'

[hshaɔd] 'tied up'

gehsháɔt 'I am tied up'

[hsiha:] 'stand in a bunch or group, congregate'

gáehsiha: 'they are standing in a group or clump'

ojihşódáhsiha: 'stars showing', 'a group of stars'

[hsrɔhɛ:] 'angry, cross'

ehsrɔhɛ: 'she is habitually cross, cantankerous'

[idage:] 'lying prostrate'

sidá:ge: 'you are lying down, prostrate'

[idagrɔ'] 'several things lying prostrate'

hadídagrɔ' 'they are lying around'

[ihnatɛ:] 'dry skin'

şehná:tɛ:, sihná:tɛ: 'you have dry skin'

[itsgod] 'sitting'

etsgo:t 'she is sitting'

[itsgodɔ'] 'sitting' (several people or animals)

gadi:tsgó:dɔ' 'they are sitting'

[itsgwahɛ:] 'sit on something'

gitsgwáhe: 'I am perched up on something', 'I am sitting on something'

[i'dawɛnye'] 'shit-disturber', with [DU]

deye'dawɛ:nye' 'she is a shit-disturber'

[i'drɔ] 'live, dwell, be at home'

hadí'drɔ' 'they are at home'

[i'drɔd] 'live', 'dwell', 'be at home', 'reside', 'be placed', 'be situated'

hadí'drɔ:dɔ' 'how they are placed'

[i'gɛ:] 'light-skinned, white'

ha'gɛ: 'he is light-skinned'

[jaɔ:] 'both', with [DU]

degaejáɔ: 'both of them'

[jinah] 'strong, brave, male'

hají:nah 'he is masculine, brave', 'his genitals'

[nagre'] 'live somewhere'

gáenagre' 'where they live' (an area)

[nahsgwes] 'jump far', with [DU]

dehánahsgwe:s 'he jumps far horizontally'

[nahsgwesɔ's] 'jump high', with [DU]

dəhanəhsɣwé:sə 'he jumps high'

[**nai**] 'proud, boastful'

enai 'she is proud in a boastful manner'

[**+neɣe:**] 'side by side'

with [INC N] *Tayədané:ge* 'Deseronto' (literally, 'firewood side-by-side')

[**nhodɔnyɔ**] 'locked up'

gadinhodɔ:nyɔ 'they are locked up'

[**niɣohahsnowe**] 'be mentally quick'

həniɣohahsnó:we 'he is a quick thinker'

[**niɣohayei**] 'crazy, not right in the head', with [NEG]

teha'niɣohayéi 'he is not right in the mind'

[**niɣohowanəh**] 'broad-minded, wise, thinkers'

snigohowá:nəh 'you have a broad mind'

[**nyɔgri:**] 'have a stuffed-up nose', with [DU]

degé'nyɔgri: 'my nose is stuffed up'

[**rihwagwəniyo**] 'reside', 'dwell'

grihwagwəni:yo 'where I reside, dwell' (literally, 'where I am the boss')

[**wayəhəhsdɔh**] 'right-handed'

hawayəhəhsdɔh 'he is right-handed'

[**ya'dadogə:**] 'between people, living things', with [DU]

detniya'da:dó:ge: 'between you and me', 'between our bodies'

[**yahshe:**] 'two living things', with [DU]

dəhadiyáhshe: 'two males', 'they are two'

[**ya'tgaɔ**] 'active', 'quick to move'

hayá'tgaɔ 'he is quick to move', 'he is active, always moving around'

[**yəhwad**] 'early riser'

syəhwat: 'you are an early riser'

[**waihəh**] 'be good at something'

sewáihəh 'you are good at something'

[**yahsəh**] 'be named'

hayá:səh 'his name is'

B.1.2 Verbs taking A-series personal prefixes, habitual aspect only

[**adagya'da:'s**] 'be self-centred, opinionated, snobbish', with [REFL]

hadagy'ada:s 'he has a high opinion of himself, he is self-centred, he is bold'

[**adahədhəsgə:**] 'be inquisitive', with [SRF]

sadahədhəsgə: 'you are inquisitive'

[**adata:'**] 'be conceited, snobbish', with [REFL]

hadá:ta:' 'he is conceited'

[**adatgənyəhsd**] 'be stuck up, snobbish', with [REFL]

wadatgənyəhsta' 'she (literally, it) is stuck up'

[**adatniɣəha:'**] 'be wary, cautious',

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with [REFL]
wadatnigóha: 'it is wary, cautious'
[adəgonyóhsd] 'be loyal, respectful',
with [SRF]
hadəgonyóhsta 'he is loyal' (to the
cause), 'he is respectful'
[adeksa'dəni] 'be childish', with
[SRF]
ədəksa'dó:nih 'she is childish'
[adih] 'go in a direction', with [CIS]
tgáəgwadih 'they are going in a di-
rection'
[adəh] 'say'
ə:dəh 'she says' (also see the full
paradigm on page 777)
[adəwihsriya'gs] 'be out of breath,
dying', with [SRF]
hadəwihsri:ya's 'he is out of breath',
'he is dying'
[adəwihsro'kd] 'be out of breath',
with [SRF]
hadəwihsró'kta 'he is out of breath'
[adwənadeni, adwənadeny] 'be
near puberty', with [DU,SRF]
dehadwənádenyóhs 'he is reaching
puberty', (literally, 'his voice is

changing')
[atgwadə] 'weave, zig-zag about',
with [SRF]
hatgwá:dəh 'he is zig-zagging'
[atwajiyənih] 'barren', with [NEG]
tə' dəyətəwaji:yó:nih 'she is barren'
[atwənaga:dad] 'interpreter'
hadəwənagá:da:s 'he is an inter-
preter'
[e:hah] 'proud'
igé:hah 'I am gloating, boastful'
[ə:həh] 'speak carelessly', with
[TRANSL,REP]
hehshawəhəh gwá'e: 'he is speak-
ing without thinking again as usual'
[gwá'-e:] 'really-again'
[ha'datəhs] 'be thirsty'
sha'dá:təhs 'you are thirsty'
[hyadəhsraədi] 'be smart, edu-
cated' (book-educated)
syadəhsráədi 'you are smart' (book-
educated)
[nəwəhdra] 'be cantankerous'
enəwəhdra 'she is cantankerous'

B.1.3 Verbs taking P-series personal prefixes, stative aspect only

[adagaide'] 'well, healthy, fine',
with [SRF]
agadagáide 'I am well, fine, healthy'
[adagaide'] 'feel sick', with
[NEG,SRF]
tə' desadagáide 'you feel sick'
[adehs'əh] 'ready', with [SRF]

sadéhs'əh? 'Are you ready?' (this
might be an Onondaga word)
[adehsrənihs'əh] 'ready', with [SRF]
agadehsrənihs'əh 'I am ready'
[ade'ka:] 'hen-pecked', with [SRF]
hodé'ka: 'he is hen-pecked'
[adenəhahe:] 'happy', with [SRF]

hodonqháhe: ‘he is happy’

[**adetse:**] ‘glutton’, with [SRF]
hodé:tse: ‘he is a glutton’

[**adi’grq’**] ‘shy’
godí’grq’ ‘she is shy’

[**adqñhi:**] ‘enjoy life’, with [SRF]
agádqñhi: ‘I am alive’, ‘I am born’, ‘I am full of life’

[**adqñho’g**] ‘premature, mentally challenged’, with [CIS,SRF]
todó:nho’k ‘he is mentally challenged’, ‘he was born premature’

[**adq̄tgade’**] ‘happy’, with [SRF]
odq̄tgade’ ‘it is fun, a good feeling’

[**adq̄tgade’**] ‘unhappy’, with [NEG,SRF]
dé’agadq̄tgade’, dewagadq̄tgado’ ‘I am not happy’

[**adrihodahq̄h**] ‘confused’, with [DU,SRF]
dewagadrihodáhq̄h ‘I am confused or mixed up’, ‘something is blocking my thinking’

[**adrihodahse:**] ‘confused’, with [DU,SRF]
dewagadrihodáhse: ‘I am confused’, ‘I cannot make up my mind’

[**adrihowi:**] ‘slow, slow-moving, clumsy’, with [SRF]
hodrihó:wi: ‘he is clumsy’

[**adrihwagwaihshq̄**] ‘believable, credible, righteous, fair, honest, noble’, with [SRF]
godrihwagwáihshq̄h ‘she is fair, righteous’

[**agya’dadaihe:**] ‘be hot’ (person)

agya’dadáihe: ‘I am hot’

[**agya’danegaq̄, agya’danega:**] ‘hernia’, with [DU,SRF]

dewagagya’danégaq̄ ‘I have a hernia’
[**agyana’qh**] ‘possessed, addicted’, with [SRF]

hogyána’qh ‘he is possessed, addicted’ (with gambling, women, etc.)

[**agyaod**] ‘have a tent up’, with [SRF]
hogyáot ‘he has put up a tent’

[**agyę**] ‘quiet’, with [CONTR,DU,SRF]
ta’désagyę: ‘you are quiet’

[**agyesa’geh**] ‘generous’, with [SRF]
gogyésa’geh ‘she is generous, generous to a fault’

[**agyesahsdq̄:**] ‘extravagant, wasteful’, with [SRF]
gogyéhsahsdq̄: ‘she is extravagant, wasteful’

[**ahgahe:**] ‘jealous’
gohgáhe: ‘she is jealous’

[**ahsdęhyai**] ‘be an older woman’
gohsdęhyai ‘she is an older woman’

[**ahse:**] ‘fat’
agáhse: ‘I am fat’
with [INC N] *ogóhsahse:* ‘it has a fat face’

[**ahshe:**] ‘slow-moving’
agáhshe: ‘I am slow to act’
with [INC N] *ohnyáhshę:* ‘slow beat’

[**aknigq̄hnya’gq̄h**] ‘grieve, be broken-hearted’, with [DU]
dewaknigq̄hnya’gq̄h ‘I am broken-hearted, grieving’

[**anhęhod**] ‘pee all the time’
gonhęho:t ‘she pees all the time’

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[**asde:ʔəh**] ‘be old’ (living thing)
hohsdé:ʔəh ‘he is old’, ‘he is an old man’

[**atetgəðoni:**] ‘moody, be in a bad mood’, with [SRF]

hotehtgəðó:ni: ‘he is in a funny or odd mood’, ‘he is moody’

[**atgehd**] ‘have something around one’s neck’, with [SRF]

satgéhdəh ‘you have it around your neck’

[**atgeʔi:**] ‘have tangled hair’, with [DU,SRF]

dewagatgeʔi: ‘my hair is tangled’

[**atgeʔogw**] ‘have messy hair’, ‘scattered clothes, rags’, with [DU,SRF]

desatgeʔó:gweh ‘you have rumpled hair, ruffled hair’

[**atgəʔ**] ‘have evil or dangerous power, have bad medicine, be a witch, warlock, be sacred’

gotgəʔ ‘she is a witch’

with [INC N] *odrénatgəʔ* ‘sacred songs’

[**atnegad**] ‘crooked, not level, tipsy’, with [NEG,SRF]

disa:tné:gat ‘you are not level, you are tipsy’

[**atnigəhadogə:**] ‘undecided, indecisive’, with [NEG]

desaʔnigəhadó:gə: ‘you cannot decide which way to go, you are flighty’

[**atnigəhadogə:**] ‘immature’, with [NEG,SRF]

desatnigəhadó:gəh ‘you are immature in mind’

[**atnəhahe:**] ‘wearing a wig’

gonəhahe: ‘she has a wig on’

[**atowinyəʔse:**] ‘have a cold’, with [SRF]

gotowinyəʔse: ‘she has a cold’

[**atsahnihd**] ‘industrious, tireless, active, ambitious, diligent, zealous’, with [SRF]

gotsáhniht ‘she is a good worker, tireless, active, industrious, etc.’

[**awəh**] ‘have, own’

agá:wəh ‘it is mine’

[**ʔdai:**] ‘dirty’, with [DU]

dəhóʔdai: ‘he got dirty’ (covered with manure)

[**ədagə:**] ‘be cowardly, timid, weak, wimpy’

gowédagə:, agawədə:gə: ‘she is a wimp, timid’

[**əhsoweksə**] ‘be shod, have shoes on’, with [DU]

dəhonəhsóweksəʔ ‘they have their shoes on’

[**e:ʔə:**] ‘will, decide’

hawé:ʔə: ‘he has willed’

[**ənowə:**] ‘be a liar’, with [SRF]

sənó:wə: ‘you are a liar’

[**ə:sə**] ‘be shod, have shoes on’, with [DU]

dəho:wé:sə: ‘he has the shoes on’

[**gahagwaəð**] ‘have a sty’

agegahágwaəð ‘I have a sty’

[**gahehdə**] ‘dandruff’

sagahehdáə ‘you have dandruff’

[**geʔod**] ‘bald’, with [NEG]

tɛ' dehóge'o:t 'he has no hair', 'he is bald'

[ge'ɔd] 'be raggedy, hairy', with [DU]

dewagegé'ɔ:t 'I am raggedy'

[gɔhsahnnyɔh] 'two-faced, brazen'
sagɔhsahní:yɔh 'you are two-faced'

[gwaɔd] 'have an abscess, bump, bulge'

agégwaɔ:t 'I have an abscess, boil'

[ha'diyo:] 'be a good singer'

goha'dí:yo: 'she is a good singer, she has a good voice'

[hsgyɛna'gya'gɔh] 'pale', with [DU]
dewagehsgɛnagya'gɔh 'I am pale'

[hsgyɔ'watɛ, hsgyɛ'watɛ] 'thin, skinny'

hohsgyɛ'watɛ:, hohsgyɔ'watɛ: 'he is skinny'

[i'daihehdrod] 'sweating'

ho'daihehdrot: 'he is sweating'

[idaɔ:] 'lucky, fortunate'

sédáɔ 'you are chosen, special, fortunate'

[idɛhd] 'poor, pitiful, poverty-stricken'

agí:dɛht 'I am poor, poverty-stricken, in poverty'

[ijɔd] 'filthy', with [DU]

dewágejɔ:t, dewágijɔ:t 'I am filthy'

[itsgrod] 'drool'

sɛtsgro:t 'you are drooling'

[jina'dɔ:] 'handsome' (males only)

hojína'dɔ: 'he is a handsome man'

[jitsgri:] 'have curly hair', with [DU]

deyójitsgri: 'it has curly hair'

[jiyo'] 'crippled, lame'

gojí:yo' 'she is crippled'

with [INC N] *gɔhsinají:yo'* 'she has a bad leg'

[nhra'tɛ'] 'grey hair'

gonhra'tɛ' 'she has grey hair'

[nigɔhad] 'smart'

sá'nigɔha:t 'you are smart, brilliant'

[nigɔhad] 'stupid, foolish, ignorant', with [NEG]

dɛho'nigɔha:t 'he is ignorant, unthinkingly foolish'

[nigɔhagɔd] 'uncompromising, unbending', with [NEG]

dɛyagɔ'nigɔhá:gɔ:t 'she cannot be swayed', 'she is uncompromising, distinguished'

[nigɔhahniyɔh] 'have a strong mind'

aknigɔhahní:yɔh 'I have a strong mind'

[nigɔhanidɛhd] 'humble'

gɔ'nigɔha:ní:dɛht 'she is gentle, nice, humble'

[nigɔhehdɔh] 'sad', with [DU]

desa'nigɔhehdɔh 'you are sad'

[nigɔhiyo:] 'satisfied, peaceful, good mind, content, harmonious', with [CIS]

dwaknigɔhí:yo: 'I am satisfied, peaceful'

[nigɔhiyo:] 'grumpy, grouchy, unhappy', with [NEG,CIS]

dedisa'nigɔhí:yo: 'you are grumpy, grouchy, not happy'

B Verb dictionary

[**'nigohowanəh]** 'broad-minded, wise, thinker'

hodi'nigohowá:nə's 'they are wise, have the capacity for thinking'

[**'nigoho'də:]** 'think a certain way', with [PART]

tseh nisa'nigóho'də: 'your attitude, mood'

[**ni'qh]** 'stingy, greedy, cheap'

goni'qh 'she is stingy'

[**nədanhəh]** 'guilty'

gonódanhəh 'she is guilty'

[**nədanhəh]** 'innocent', with [NEG]

dəhonədanhəh 'he is innocent'

[**nəha'kdə:]** 'hang one's head', with [DU]

dəyonəhá:kdə: 'it is hanging its head' (in sadness or shame)

[**nəhgəd]** 'fair haired, light hair'

gonóhgə:t 'she is fair haired, she has light hair'

[**nəhsde'**] 'value something'

aknóhsde' 'I value it'

[**nə'ned]** 'behind, next in line', with [REP]

shonó'ne:t 'he is behind him, he is next in line'

[**nənyatgi'**] 'dance badly, dance poorly'

gonónyatgi' 'she does not dance very well'

[**no'səh]** 'lazy'

aknó'səh 'I am lazy'

[**'nyəhswaha'd]** 'nosy, mischievous', with [DU]

dəwəgə'nyəhswaha't 'I am mischievous, nosy'

[**qəwə'dahetgə'**] 'cruel'

əgəgwe'dáhetgə' 'she is a cruel, mean person'

[**qəhə'jih]** 'private'

gonóhə'jih 'they are private people'

[**əhsriya'gəh]** 'be a certain age', with [PART]

do:nisəhsriyá'gəh 'how old are you'

[**qənhə'**] 'alive'

əgə:nhe' 'she is alive'

[**qənhəgw]** 'live on, sustained by'

əgónhəghəh 'someone lives on it', 'she is sustained by it'

[**qənyahnə'**] 'include, designate'

háqnyahnə' 'he has included or designated'

[**rihəqd]** 'agent, faithkeeper', with [SRF]

hodrihəq: 'he is a faithkeeper, an agent'

[**riho'dahəh]** 'disagree', with [DU]

dəwəgrihó'dahəh 'I am not in complete agreement'

[**riho'də'**] 'be working'

hoiho'də' 'he is working'

[**rihoga'd]** 'speak with sharp words'

hoihoga't 'he speaks sharp words'

[**rihsdowanəh]** 'loud, noisy'

əgrihsdowá:nəh 'I am loud and noisy'

[**rihu:uh]** 'sensitive, small-minded', with [PART]

niwəgrihú:uh 'I am sensitive'

[**rihwadogə:]** 'reliable'

hoihwadó:gə: 'he is a reliable person'

[rihwadogɛ:] ‘traitor’, with [NEG]
dehoihwa:dó:gɛ: ‘he is a traitor’

[rihwaɛʔ] ‘innocent’, with *sgahoʔdɛʔ*
‘nothing’ and NEG
sgahoʔdɛʔ dehoihwáɛʔ ‘he is innocent’

[rihwagaʔdeʔ] ‘chatterbox’,
‘talkative’
goihwagáʔdeʔ ‘she is a chatterbox’

[rihwage:] ‘quick-witted’, with
[TRANSL,DU]
haʔdehoihwage: ‘he is quick-witted’,
‘he has lots of business, different
ideas, many ideas’, ‘he is into every-
thing’

[rihwagɛnyaʔd] ‘instigator’
hoihwagɛ:nyaʔt ‘he is an instigator’

[rihwaneʔag] ‘without sin’, with
[NEG]
dehoi:hwanéʔagoh ‘he is sinless’

[wɛnadehd] ‘harsh-speaking’
sawɛnadeht ‘you are a harsh-
speaking person, you are smark-
alecky’

[wiyad] ‘pregnant’
gowí:ya:t ‘she is pregnant, has a baby
in her’

[yanotgɛ:] ‘slow moving person’
hoya:nó:tgɛ: ‘he is a slow runner,
walker, he has a slow gait’

[yaʔda:dani:] ‘reliable, dependable’

hoyaʔda:dani: ‘he is reliable, depend-
able’

[yaʔdadehd] ‘active, agile, nimble’,
with [SRF]
agyáʔdadeht ‘I am nimble, active or
energetic’

[yaʔdahsdeʔ] ‘heavy (of body)’
godiyáʔdáhsdeʔ ‘they are heavy’

[yaʔdahshɛ:] ‘late, slow (person)’
agyáʔdahshɛ: ‘I am slow’

[yaʔdanawɛ:] ‘be all wet (body)’
agyaʔdaná:wɛ: ‘I am all wet’

[yɛ, +ɛ] ‘have, own something’
hodí:yɛʔ ‘they have’
with [INC N] *sanáhsgwaɛʔ* ‘you have
a pet’

[yɛ, +ɛ] ‘lack’, with [NEG]
tɛʔ dewá:gyɛʔ ‘it is not mine’, ‘I do not
have’

[yɛ:] ‘be quiet, still’, with
[CONTR,DU,SRF]
taʔdésagyɛ: ‘you are quiet’

[yɛdeʔoh] ‘good at something’
sayɛdeʔoh ‘you are really good at
something’
with [INC N] *sakwayɛdeʔo:* ‘you are a
good cook’

[yogyeʔni:] ‘have the giggles, smile
a lot’
hoyog:gyɛ:ni: ‘he is a smiler, a giggler’

B.1.4 Verbs taking P-series personal prefixes, habitual aspect only

[adatsɛhs] ‘be tired’, with [SRF]
agádatɛhs ‘I am tired’

[adawɛnyaʔseh] ‘be confused’, with
[DU,SRF]

B Verb dictionary

dewagadawənyáʼseh ‘I am confused and doubtful’, (literally, ‘my thinking is going around in circles’)

[**adəḏənyáʼdahsgə:**] ‘be happy-go-lucky’, ‘be a joker’, ‘be obnoxious’, with [SRF]

hodəḏənyáʼdahsgə: ‘he is a joker, or happy-go-lucky’, ‘he is obnoxious’

[**adəḡweʼdagənyəhsd**] ‘be choosy, discriminating’, with [SRF]

hodəḡweʼdagənyəhs ‘he is choosy about who he associates with’, ‘he discriminates’

[**adəḡsweʼdanih**] ‘be hungry’, with [SRF]

agadəḡsweʼdanih ‘I am hungry’

[**adoʼkde, adoʼkdani**] ‘dissatisfied’, with [CIS,SRF]

dwagadəʼkdá:nih ‘I am dissatisfied’

[**ahsawʼe**] ‘have asthma’, with [DU]

deyagəʼahsawʼehs ‘she has asthma’

[**ahsəwadenyeʼs, atsəwadenyeʼs**] ‘be dizzy’

agahsəwadenyeʼs, agatsəwadenyeʼs ‘I am dizzy’

[**atəḡnyəhsd**] ‘be clean, discriminating’, ‘have high standards’, with [SRF]

gotəḡ:nyəhs ‘she has high standards’

[**atəḡdad**] ‘disobedient’, with [NEG]

desa:təḡ:da:s ‘you are disobedient’

[**atəwahsd**] ‘cold (person)’, with [SRF]

agatəwáhstaʼ ‘I am cold’

[**ʼdaihaʼseh**] ‘too hot’

hoʼdaiháʼseh ‘he is too hot’

[**əḡe:, əḡew**] ‘outspoken’, with [TRANSL,REP]

hejagənéḡəḡ ‘they are outspoken’

[**hneganyəhs**] ‘have a hangover’
hohnéganyəhs ‘he has a hangover’

[**naʼgow**] ‘lack a spirit, be ominous’, with [NEG,(REP)]

o:néḡ dejagənaʼgə:wahs ‘she is ominous’

[**neʼdraʼdanih**] ‘be nauseous, nauseated’

akneʼdraʼdá:nih ‘I am nauseated, nauseous’

[**ʼnigəhae, ʼnigəhanih**] ‘unconcerned, indifferent’, with [CONTR,DU]

taʼdehoʼnigəhá:nih ‘he is unconcerned, indifferent’

[**ʼnigəhaədaʼs**] ‘understand’

hoʼnigəháədaʼs ‘he understands’

[**ʼnigəhaədaʼs**] ‘misunderstand’, with [NEG]

təʼdehoʼnigəháədaʼs ‘he does not understand’

[**nəḡəkdanih**] ‘be sick’

aknəḡəkdá:nih ‘I am sick’

[**nəḡəyaniʼs**] ‘be frugal, stingy’, with [DU]

deyagəḡəyaniʼs ‘she is frugal’

[**əḡe**] ‘be alone’

gəḡəḡeʼ, gəḡəḡaʼ ‘she’ (emphatic pronoun), literally, ‘she is alone’

[**əḡwihshəyəhs**] ‘be breathless, out of breath’, with [DU]

haḡwihshé:yəhs ‘he is out of breath’, ‘his breath is ebbing away’

[rihwahtsɛnyahsgo:] ‘find fault’
saihwahtsɛnyahsgo: ‘you find faults’

[rɔhgwanih] ‘be itchy’
agrɔhgwanih ‘I am itchy’

[wayɛnhɛʹsgo:] ‘be clever, educated’
howayɛnhɛʹsgo: ‘he is a fast learner, a quick study’

[wayɛnhɛʹsgo:] ‘slow learner’, with [NEG]

dehowayɛnhɛʹsgo: ‘he has difficulty learning’

[u:ʹuh] ‘small’, with [PART]
niwú:ʹuh ‘it is small’
 with [INC N] *niyokdehu:ʹuh* ‘small root’
 with [INC N] *nigaʹdrehdú:ʹuh* ‘small car’

[yaʹdanɔhwa(g)s] ‘be sore, have an aching body’
agyaʹdanɔhwa:s ‘I am sore’, ‘I ache’

B.1.5 Verbs taking A-series neuter prefixes, stative aspect only

[a:ʹ] ‘hold, contain’
í:ga:ʹ ‘it contains’
 with [INC N] *do: ni:yó: gahna:ʹ* ‘how much gas is in there’

[adagwɛhdɛ:] ‘flat, dented’, with [SRF]
dewadagwɛhdɛ:, deyodagwɛhdɛ: ‘it is flat’

[+a:ʹ] ‘be small’, with [PART]
 with [INC N] *gaoʹ niwakyɛdáhkwáʹ* ‘a smaller chair’

[+a:ʹah] ‘be small’, with [PART]
 with [INC N] *niganɔhsá:ʹah* ‘small house’

ATYPICAL WORD *dɔhgá:ʹah* ‘a few’

[aʹs] ‘be the same size’, with [COIN,DU]
tsaʹdé:waʹs ‘they are the same size’

[adɛhi:ʹ] ‘stacked’, with [SRF]
wadɛhi:ʹ ‘it is stacked’

[adɛs] ‘thick’
gá:dɛ:s ‘it is thick, dense’

with [INC N] *niwadrawíhdsadɛ:s* ‘paper-thin slices’ (i.e. of pie)

[adɛs] ‘thin’, with [NEG]
tɛʹ degá:dɛ:s ‘it is not thick’

[adewayɛsdɔh] ‘tidy, neat’, with [CIS,SRF]
dwadewayɛ:sdɔh gágéhɔʹ ‘it is tidy, neatly placed’

[+adih] ‘the other side of [INC N]’, with [REP]
 with [INC N] *jɔháhadih, swáháhadih* ‘the other side of the road’

[adihɔh] ‘leaning’
wadíhɔh ‘it is leaning against something’
 with [INC N] *gáhɔwadíhɔh* ‘leaning boat’
 with [INC N] *ohahadíhɔh* ‘the Milky way’

[adragwæʹ] ‘limp’, with [SRF]
wadrágwæʹ ‘it is limp’

[adreʹ] ‘to be a certain distance apart’, with [PART,DU]

B Verb dictionary

na'degəná:dré' 'they are a certain distance apart' (as in, *johsi'datsó'* *na'degəná:dre'* 'they are one foot apart')

[**adřenaga'qh**] 'sweet-smelling'
gadřenagá'qh 'it smells good, sweet, appetizing'

[**agyesəh**] 'easy', with [SRF]
wagyé:səh 'it is easy'

[**+a:hqh, +aihqh, +hqh**] 'span a distance, cover a span, lean against', with [DU]

degáhqh 'marsh crane' (literally, 'it leans' (referring to its legs), 'a bar', 'a barrier',

with [INC N] *degaqđáhqh* 'beam'

[**ahsahqh, ahsogh**] 'coloured, dyed'

wahsáhqh, wahsóhqh 'it is dyed, coloured'

[**ahsohd**] 'coloured, dyed'
wahsóhqt 'it is dyed'

[**a:k'ah**] 'near'
i:wá:k'ah 'near', 'nearby'

[**a's**] 'be a certain size', with [PART]
shəh ní:wa's 'sizes', 'how big they are'

[**a's**] 'be the same size', with [COIN,DU]
tsa'dé:wa's 'they are (literally, it is) the same size'

[**a'se:**] 'doubled up', with [DU]
degáya'se: 'doubled up'
with [INC N] *degaheńá'tra'se:* 'scissors'

[**+awe'dahqh**] 'inserted'

with [INC N] *gayəwawé'dahqh* 'hot dog', 'weiners' (on a bun)

with [INC N] *gaənawé'dahqh* 'inserted song'

[**de'**] 'be the same height', with [COIN,DU,CIS]
tsa'détgade' 'the same height'

[**dəhda:**] 'lying spread out on the ground'

gadəhda: 'it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground'

with [INC N] *owidradəhda:* 'ice patch'

with [INC N] *gayəhsradəhda:* 'blanket lying spread out on the ground'

[**d-sq'**] 'one each, one by one, one at a time', with [REP]

sgatsq' 'one by one', 'one at a time', 'one each'

[**dəş**] 'thick, dense'

gá:də:s 'it is thick, dense'

with [INC N] *owidradə:s* 'glacier'

with [INC N] *nigíhnadə:s* 'how thick my skin is'

[**ədo:**] 'difficult'

wé:do: 'it is difficult'

[**'əhod**] 'piled up'

degá'əho:t 'it is piled up'

with [INC N] *gahsdəhó:dq'* 'mountains, pile of boulders'

[**gaəhe'**] 'slanted, crossed'

gagáəhe' 'it is slanted'

with [INC N] *wahsgwagáəhe'* 'slanted roof'

[**gə:, i'gə:**] 'light-coloured, white'

gé'gə:, gá:gə: 'it is white', 'it is light-skinned', 'it is light-coloured'

with [INC N] *onéhege:* ‘white corn’

[gɛ̃ːdoː] ‘stuck on something’

gagéːdoː ‘it is stuck under something but it is removable’ (i.e. a piece of gum under a table), ‘it is stuck on something else’ (i.e. a wall)

[gɛ̃ːdoːːaɛ̃ː] ‘attached’

gagéːdóːːaɛ̃ː ‘it is attached to something’

[geh̃ː] ‘lie about’

gagéh̃ː ‘things are lying about’

with [INC N] *wahyágeh̃ː* ‘fruit lying around on the ground’

with [INC N] *gawidragéh̃ː* ‘scattered ice’

[gɔd̃] ‘necessity, duty’, with [CIS]

dgá:gɔːt ‘a compelling must’

[gɔd̃] ‘be last’, with [TRANSL,REP]

hesgá:gɔːt ‘the last’

[gowanɛ̃hah] ‘fairly big’

gowa:né:hah ‘it is fairly big’

[heː] ‘sitting on top of something’

gaheː ‘it is sitting up on top of something’, ‘it is sitting here’

with [INC N] *odaːɛ̃náheː* ‘street car’

with [INC N] *gakwáheː* ‘tea meetings’, ‘supper’

[heːtɛ̃] ‘evil, bad, ugly’

wahé:tɛ̃h ‘evil (in mind)’, ‘bad’

gahé:tɛ̃ ‘it is ugly’

ehé:tɛ̃ ‘she is ugly or unruly’

with [INC N] *oksaːdáhé:tɛ̃* ‘spoiled child’

with [INC N] *gaːdrɛ̃nahé:tɛ̃* ‘it smells bad’

[hnegad] ‘watery’

gahné:gaːt ‘it is watery’

[hɔh] ‘span a distance’, ‘cover’

gá:hɔh ‘it is covered’, ‘it has been spread on’

with [INC N] *degaɔdáhɔh* ‘a beam’

[hsiyɔni:] ‘fringed’

gahsi:yó:ni: ‘it is fringed’

[hsrɔnyaːd] ‘made from something’

gahsrɔnyaːdɔh ‘it is made from’

[hwɛ̃ːgaːːoː] ‘notched’, with [hwɛ̃ːga-/N]

with [INC N] *gahwɛ̃ːgaːːoː* ‘it is notched’

with [INC N] *gáɔdaːoː* ‘notched tree’

[iyaːksɔ̃] ‘cut off, broken’, with [DU]

degáyaːksɔ̃ ‘it is broken’

[nagreː] ‘rare’, with [NEG,REP]

dehsgánagreː ‘it is rare’

[niyɔd] ‘hanging’

gani:yɔːt ‘it is hanging’

with [INC N] *gayɛhsrani:yɔːt* ‘a hanging blanket’

with [INC N] *ganowaní:yɔt* ‘hanging lock’

[nɔː] ‘costly, dear, expensive’

ganɔː ‘it is expensive, dear, precious’

nigá:nɔː ‘how much it costs’

with [INC N] *gahwihsdanɔː* ‘gold’, ‘expensive items’

[ːnɔhd] ‘be in something’

gaːnɔht ‘it (usually an animal) is in something’

[nyatsɔni] ‘braided’

ganya:tsó:ni: ‘it is braided’

B Verb dictionary

[q:] ‘number of, amount of’, with [PART]

ní:yq: ‘a certain amount’

nigé:nq: ‘how many of them’ (animals)

nigá:gq: ‘how many of them’ (people, females or mixed)

[q:] ‘equal number of things’, with [COIN,DU]

tsa’dé:yq: ‘of equal number or amount’

[q:] ‘many different things’, with [TRANSL,DU]

ha’dé:yq: ‘many different things’

[q:hah] ‘few, little’, with [PART]

niyó:hah ‘few, a little bit’

[Cqnyq] ‘be in someplace’, ‘be included, inside’

gáqnyq ‘it included some’, ‘it is in there’

[q:s] ‘long’ (non-incorporating)

í:yq:s ‘it is long’

[q:s] ‘short’ (non-incorporating), with [NEG]

tq’de’yq:s ‘it is not long’

[q:s’ah] ‘longish’ (non-incorporating), with [PART]

niyó:s’ah ‘just a little bit long’

[qs’q’s] ‘several long objects’ (non-incorporating)

q:sqhs ‘lengthy objects’

[shahsde] ‘strong, tough, powerful’
gahshá:sde ‘it is strong, tough, powerful’

with [INC N] *gawa’shá:sde* ‘strong wind’

[shahsde] ‘weak’, with [NEG]

tq’degáhshahsde ‘no, it is not strong’

[u’drugye:’ah] ‘narrow’, with [PART]

niwu’drugyé:’ah ‘it is narrow’

[wad] ‘inflated’

gá:wat ‘it is inflated’

[yahshe:] ‘two (living things)’, with [DU]

déhadiyáhshe ‘two males’

[yahshe-sq] ‘two each’, ‘two’ at a time’, with [DU]

degadiyáhsheq ‘two things each, at a time’

[yei, yi:] ‘right, correct’, with [CIS]

tgayéi, tgayí: ‘it is right, correct’

[yei, yi:] ‘bad, false, wrong’, with [NEG,CIS]

tq’detga:yéi’, tq’detga:yí: ‘it is bad, false, wrong’

B.1.6 Verbs taking A-series neuter prefixes, habitual aspect only

[adagwēniyo] ‘be wild’

wadagwēni:yo ‘wild animal’

[agyaqnyotha] ‘be haunted’, with [DU]

dewagyáqnyota ‘it is haunted’

[atsqnyqs] ‘omen’, with [SRF]

watsq:nyq:s ‘omen’

[grahs] ‘stink’

gagrahs ‘it stinks’

[**ha:**, **haq**] ‘hold, include’

HAB *eha:* ‘she is holding something right now’

HAB *nigáha:* ‘how much it holds’

[**hsəniyohsta**] ‘complimentary’

gəwahsəniyohsta ‘it is complimen-

tary, flattering’

[**ines**] ‘extinct’, with [NEG,REP]

dehsgé:ne:s ‘it is extinct’

[**yaqda:**] ‘be similar’, with [DU,REP]

desgayáqda: ‘it is an imitation of something’, ‘it is similar’, ‘it is almost the same’

B.1.7 Verbs taking P-series neuter prefixes, or varying between P- and A-series neuter prefixes, stative aspect only

[**ad+N+qni:**] ‘plentiful’, with [SRF]

odahyó:ni: ‘plentiful fruit’

[**ad+N+qni:**] ‘little, few’, with

[NEG,SRF]

de’odahyó:ni: ‘not much fruit on the trees’

[**ad+N+qnyahnq’**] ‘growing’, with

[SRF]

otqđonýáhnq’ ‘growing bushes, saplings’

[**adehsdahsq:**] ‘worn out’, with [SRF]

odéhsdahsq: ‘it is worn out’

[**adehsgye’diya’g**] ‘fractured bone’,

with [DU,SRF]

deyodehsgye’diyá’gqđ ‘fractured bone’

[**adəñqhyanihd**] ‘terrible, over-

whelming’, with [DU,SRF]

deyodəñqhyanihdqđ ‘it is over-

whelming, terrible’

[**+adih**] ‘the other side of [INC N]’,

with [REP]

with [INC N] *joháhadih*, *swáháhadih*

‘the other side of the road’

[**adogə’qđ**] ‘duel, between’, with

[DU,SRF]

deyodogé’qđ ‘it is in between’, ‘a duel between two people’

[**adřəñaga’qđ**] ‘smell good’, with

[SRF]

with [INC N] *gadřəñagá’qđ* ‘it smells good, sweet, appetizing’

[**adrqđhyogewəđ**] ‘clear sky’

odrqđhyogé:wəđ ‘clear sky’

[**agahdeh**] ‘raw’

ogáhdeh ‘it is raw’

with [INC N] *o’wahagáhdeh* ‘raw meat’

[**+age:**] ‘to be an amount of [INC N]’,

with [PART]

with [INC N] *niyóhsrage:* ‘years’

with [INC N] *niga:yá:ge:* ‘an amount of bags’

[**age:**] ‘two [INC N]’, with [DU]

with [INC N] *deyo’nhqđsá:ge:* ‘two eggs’

with [INC N] *dewahđəhgwá:ge:* ‘two shoes’

[**+age:**] ‘three or more [INC N]’, with

NUMERAL, PART

with [INC N] *ahsəđ niganqđsá:ge:* ‘three houses’

[+age:] ‘be two of the same kind of [INC N]’, with [COIN,DU]

with [INC N] *tsa’deyoyéhsrage*: ‘they are two of the same kind of blanket’

[+age:] ‘every, many, a variety of [INC N]’, with [TRANSL,DU]

with [INC N] *ha’dewēhnihsrage*: ‘every day’, ‘many days’

[+age-hagye’] ‘two [INC N] at a time’, with [DU]

with [INC N] *dega’drehdagēhá:gye’* ‘two cars at at time’

[agyana’dahnŋ’, agyēna’dahnŋ’] ‘patterned fabric’, with [SRF]

ogyanađahnŋ’, ogyēnađahnŋ’ ‘patterned material’, ‘calico’, ‘printed fabric’

[agyanŋhg] ‘strange, bizarre’, with [SRF]

ogyá:nŋhk ‘it is strange, bizarre’

[ahd] ‘resemble, be like’, with [PART] and preceded by a particle such as *dē’* ‘what’, *ne’* ‘the’

ní:yoht ‘what it is like’

[ahd] ‘same’, with [COIN,DU]

tsa’dé:yoht ‘they are the same’

[ahd] ‘similar’, with *to:hah* ‘almost’ and [COIN,DU]

to:hah tsa’dé:yoht ‘it is similar’

[ahd] ‘suddenly’, with *to* ‘then, there’ and [TRANSL]

to: hé:yoht ‘suddenly’

[ahdahd] ‘filling’

ohdaht ‘it is filling’

[ahdrŋhg] ‘dangerous, frightening, scary’

ohdrŋhk ‘it is frightening, fierce, scary’, ‘danger’

[ahŋga’d] ‘clearly-heard sound’

ohŋ:ga’t ‘a clear sound’

[ahsde:] ‘evaporated, empty, dried out’

ohsde: ‘it is empty, evaporated’

[ahsde’] ‘heavy’

ohsde’ ‘it is heavy’

with [INC N] *oihwahsde’* ‘mental burden’, ‘preoccupation’

with [INC N] *gaiho’dē’srahsde’, oiho’dēhsrahsde’* ‘heavy or hard work’

with [INC N] *tšēh niyogŋtrá:sde’* ‘weight, pounds, poundage’ *tšēh* ‘that’

[ahsēhsde:’] ‘regretful’

osēhsde:’ ‘it is regretful’

[ahsgana’d] ‘tempting’

ohsgá:na’t ‘it is enticing, alluring, attractive, tempting’

[ahsganehd] ‘tempt’

osgá:neht ‘it is enticing, alluring, attractive, tempting’

[ahshē:] ‘slow-moving’

ohshē: ‘it is slow-moving’

with [INC N] *ohnyáhshē*: ‘a slow beat’

[ahshed] ‘same number of things’, with [COIN,DU]

tsa’deyohshé:dēh ‘it is the same number (of)’

[+a:k’ah] ‘short’, with [PART] or [DU]

with [INC N] *deyenętsa:k’ah* ‘her arm is short’

with [INC N] *nihogę’a:k’ah* ‘he has short hair’

with [INC N] *niyo:há:k'ah* 'it is short in height (vertically)'

with [INC N] *niyohnodá:k'ah* 'it is shallow'

with [INC N] *niga'drehdá:k'ah* 'short car'

[ahd] 'be the same, similar', with [COIN,DU]

tsa'dé:yoht 'they are the same, similar'

[ase:] 'new'

á:se: 'it is fresh, new'

with [INC N] *ohqna'dá:se:* 'new potato'

with [INC N] *ga'drehdase:* 'new car'

[ata'kdonyogwəh] 'winding roads', with [DU,SRF]

deyotaha'kdonyó:gwəh 'winding roads'

[atedə:] 'past day'

té:də: 'yesterday'

[atga'de'] 'many (objects, animals), lots, often', with [SRF],[PART]

niyonatgá'de' 'there are so many'

otgá'de' 'often', 'many', 'lots'

onátga'de' 'lots of them (animals, objects)', 'many'

[atga:nəni] 'rich', with [SRF]

otga:nəni: 'it is precious'

[atgrihsrə] 'several wrinkled items', with [SRF]

otgrihsrə' 'wrinkled clothes', 'it is wrinkled up'

[atowe'] 'cold'

otó:we' 'it is cold' (weather)

with [INC N] *oni'dahtó:we'* 'it is a shitty cold'

[atwe'nəni] 'round', with [DU,SRF]

deyotwe'nəni: 'it is round'

[+d] 'one [INC N]', with [REP]

with [INC N] *sganqhsa:t* 'one house'

[+d] 'be the same kind of [INC N]', with [COIN]

with [INC N] *tsa'ga'drehdá:t* 'the same kind of car'

[dagwasəh, adedagwasəh, +ag-wasəh] 'bruise', with [SRF] / *da odagwasəh, odedagwá:səh* 'it is bruised'

with [INC N] *odahyagwá:səh* 'bruised fruit, fruit with brown spots'

[ˈdaihe:] 'hot'

o'daihe: 'it is hot, spicy'

with [INC N] *ohnegadaihe:* 'hot water'

with [INC N] *wəhnihsradaihe:* 'it's a hot day'

[+de'] 'existing object'

with [INC N] *ohá:de'* 'an existing road'

with [INC N] *wəhnihsrade'* 'this day'

[de'] 'same height', with [COIN,DU,CIS]

tsa'détgade' 'the same height'

[+de'] 'a different or odd [INC N]', with [CONTR]

with [INC N] *tiganqhsá:de'* 'it is a different house from the others'

[+de'] 'two different [INC N]', with [COIN,DU]

with [INC N] *ta'dega'drehdadé'* 'two different cars'

[+ade'ah] 'a different or odd [INC N]', with [CONTR]

B Verb dictionary

with [INC N] *tiganqhsa:dé:’ah* ‘not a normal house compared to the others’

[+dehd] ‘bold, bright, strong, harsh’
with [INC N] *odrénadeht* ‘strong odour, smell’

with [INC N] *owénadeht* ‘harsh words’

[+’ε:’] ‘coloured’

with [INC N] *swé’da’ε:’* ‘black’

with [INC N] *onráhda’ε:’* ‘green’

with [INC N] *aóhyaε’, qhyaε’* ‘blue’

[+d-sq’] ‘each, per [INC N]’, or ‘one [INC N] at a time’, with [REP]

with [INC N] *sgá’dréhdatsq’* ‘each car’, ‘one car at a time’

with [INC N] *johs’datsq’* ‘a one foot distance’, ‘one foot apart’

[+ε’] ‘lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *o’gráε’* ‘there is snow on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahédaε’* ‘meadow’, ‘pasture’, ‘field’

[+εđq’] ‘several objects lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahédaéđq’* ‘meadows’

[+εđonyq’] ‘many objects lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahadaéđonyq’* ‘forests’

[+εhε:] ‘direction of, -ward, etc.’,
with [PART],[CIS] / [TRANSL],[INC N]

nigyowáεhε: ‘the direction of the wind’

with [INC N] *heyohnegéhε:’* ‘downstream’

[ε’nigqhawęnya’d] ‘entertaining’,
with [DU,SRF]

deyo’nigqhawę:nya’t ‘it is entertaining’

[+e:s] ‘long, deep’

with [INC N] *oyá:de:s* ‘deep hole’

with [INC N] *gatgéhetse:s* ‘ladle, long-handled spoon, dipper’

[+e:s’ah] ‘somewhat short in length’
with [INC N] *nigęhné:s’ah* ‘a short length of cloth’

[+e:sq’s] ‘several long objects’

with [INC N] *onrahde:sq’s* ‘long leaves’

with [INC N] *ganqhsé:sq’s* ‘long-houses’

[et’ah] ‘pretend’

a:wé:t’ah ‘implied’, ‘pretend’

[+ga’de’, atga’de’] ‘many’, with [NEG], means ‘few’

otgá’de’ ‘often’, ‘many’, ‘lots’

with [INC N] *deyode’drehdagá’de’* ‘not many cars’

[+ga’de’] ‘often’, ‘many’, ‘lots’

ode’drehdagá’de’ ‘a lot of cars’

[+ga’de’] ‘to have many [INC N]’,
with [PART],P-series prefix

with [INC N] *honahsgwagá’de’* ‘he has many pets’

[gahađahd] ‘fuzzy, out of focus, opaque, unclear’, with [CONTR,DU]

ta’deyogaháđahd ‘it is fuzzy, out of focus, opaque, unclear’

[gahdeh] ‘raw’

ogáhdeh ‘it is raw’

with [INC N] *o’wahagáhdeh* ‘raw meat’

[ga'q̄h] 'taste good'

STAT *ogá'q̄h* 'it tastes good'

[ga'q̄hsraeʔ] 'tasteless', with [NEG]

de'oga'q̄hsraeʔ 'it is tasteless'

[ga'q̄hsriyo:] 'taste good'

oga'q̄hsrí:yo: 'it tastes good'

[+gayq̄h] 'old (object, not person)'

ogá:yq̄h 'it is old'

with [INC N] *ohq̄na'da:gá:yq̄h* 'old potato'

with [INC N] *gaenagá:yq̄h* 'old song'

[+ḡed] 'visible', 'white'

ó:ḡe't 'it is visible'

with [INC N] *onéheḡe:t* 'white corn'

with [INC N] *wahsú'dage:t* 'white foot'

[ḡe'd] 'transparent', with [TRANSL]

heyó:ḡe't 'it is transparent'

[gedraʔ] 'unripe, raw, green'

ogé:draʔ 'it is green' (not ripe), 'raw fruit'

[ḡeʔe'd] 'disgusting, boring'

ogéʔe't 'it is boring, disgusting'

[+ḡeʔhyad] 'edge, end, just above'

with [INC N] *oihwaḡeʔhya:t* 'it is almost to the end'

with [INC N] *ohnegaḡeʔhya:t* 'just above the water'

[ḡod] 'always', with [CIS,SRF]

gyótḡo:t 'always'

[+griʔ] 'juice, liquid'

with [INC N] *ohyá:griʔ* 'juice, fruit juice'

with [INC N] *o'dá:griʔ* 'muddy water'

[+gwegq̄h] 'all, everything'

gwé:gq̄h, agwé:gq̄h, ogwé:gq̄h 'everything', 'all'

with [INC N] *w̄eñnihsragwé:gq̄h* 'all day'

with [INC N] *on̄eʔegwé:gq̄h* 'whole corn', 'all of the corn'

[ha'ḡedreʔ] 'crusty snow'

ohá'ḡedreʔ 'crusty snow'

[hah̄eʔdah̄nq̄h] 'stripes'

ohah̄eʔdah̄nq̄h 'striped, patterned'

[ha:k'ah] 'short in height', with

[PART]

niyo:há:k'ah 'it is short in height'

[hateʔ] 'bright', with [DU]

deyóhateʔ 'it is bright (i.e. sunlight)'

[h̄e'dq̄] 'hang over'

oh̄e'dq̄h 'it is hanging over' (an edge, a chair)

[+h̄eʔh] 'mid'

with [INC N] *gáq̄hyah̄eʔh* 'noon', 'mid sky'

[+h̄eʔh] 'mid, half way', with [COIN,DU]

with [INC N] *tsa'dew̄eñnihsrah̄eʔh* 'half a day'

with [INC N] *tsa'degan̄q̄hsah̄eʔh* 'in the middle of the house'

[h̄eʔhdaeʔ] 'furry'

oh̄eʔhdaeʔ 'it is furry'

[h̄eʔjihw̄eʔh] 'really dried out'

oh̄eʔjihw̄eʔh 'it is really dried out'

[hna'ḡe:] 'behind'

ohná'ḡe:ʔ, ná'ḡe:ʔ 'behind'

[hna'gejih] 'back then, past (in the past), late'

B Verb dictionary

ohná'gəjih 'way back in the past, back then'

[**hna'gəh**] 'below, underneath, under'

ohná'gəh 'under'

[**hnai:'**] 'oily', 'greasy', 'fatty', 'rich'
ohnái' 'it is oily, greasy'

[**hniyəh**] 'hard'

ohni:yəh 'it is hard'

with [INC N] *ohnəgəhni:yəh* 'hard water'

with [INC N] *o'wahahní:yəh* 'tough meat'

[**hnoda:k'ah**] 'shallow', with [PART] *níyohnodá:k'ah* 'it is shallow'

[**hnyahshə:**] 'slow beat'

ohnyáhshə: 'slow beat'

[**hsdateh**] 'shiny, smooth, silver', with [DU]

deyóhsdateh 'it is shiny, smooth (like silver), 'silver'

[**hsgədrahe:'**] 'rust'

ohsgé'drahe:' 'it is rusting, rusty'

[**hsgyɛ'danhəð**] 'false teeth'

ohsgyɛ'danhə:t 'false teeth', (literally, 'a mouth full of bones')

[**+hsnowe'**] 'fast, quick'

ohsnó:we' 'it is fast, quick'

with [INC N] *ohnyahsnówe'* 'a fast beat'

with [INC N] *gakwahsnó:we'* 'fast food cooker'

[**hsogwadəgəh**] 'dark colours'

ohsohwadá:gəh 'dark colour'

[**hsohwadehd**] 'bold, bright colours'

ohsóhwadeht 'vibrant colours, fluorescent, neon'

[**hwihsdana'go:'**] 'spendthrift'

(*o*)*hwihsdaná'go:'* 'big spender, spendthrift'

[**hyo'tiyehd**] 'sharp'

ohyu'ti:yeht, ohyo'ti:yeht 'it is sharp'

[**+i:'**] 'stuck on something'

with [INC N] *o'néhsai'* 'it is sandy'

with [INC N] *ohéhdai'* 'earth is stuck to it'

with [INC N] *ohíkdai'* 'thorn bush'

[**+i:yo:**] 'nice, good'

with [INC N] *ohəna'di:yo:* 'nice potato'

with [INC N] *ganahsgwí:yo:* 'nice pet'

[**jihnyowaəð**] 'spotty'

ojihnyowəət 'it is spotty'

[**jike'daweht**] 'salty'

ojike'dá:weht 'it is salty'

[**jiwagə:**] 'sour, bitter, salty'

ojíwagə: 'it is sour, salty, bitter'

with [INC N] *ohyajiwá:gə:* 'crabapples', 'tart, sour fruit'

[**+nahnəh**] 'full of something', 'filled up'

with [INC N] *nigáhnəhnəh* 'it is full of gas'

[**na'kwad**] 'maddening'

oná'kwa:t 'it is irritating, maddening'

[**na'no:', +no:'**] 'cold', with N / *na'*

with [INC N] *oná'no:'* 'it is cold, cool'

with [INC N] *ohnégano:* 'cold water'

[**+nawə:**] 'wet, moist', with N / *na'*

with [INC N] *oná'nawə:* 'it is wet, melted, moist'

with [INC N] *ohēhdaná:wē:* ‘wet, moist dirt, earth’

[**nēhagwahd**] ‘amazing, awesome’
onēhagwaht ‘it is amazing, awesome’

[**nēnōʔ**] ‘warm weather, mild weather’

onē:nōʔ ‘it is mild, warm’, ‘a warm or hot day’

[**+nha:ʔ**] ‘sticking out’, with [DU,CIS]
with [INC N] *detganōhsá:nha:ʔ* ‘it is a house sticking out’

[**+no:ʔ**] ‘cold, cool’
with [INC N] *ohnégano:* ‘cold water’
with [INC N] *owá:no:* ‘a cold wind’

[**+nōhd**] ‘spooky’
with [INC N] *ōyganōhsá:nōht* ‘their weird, odd, spooky house’

[**nōhgwiǰaʔ**] ‘wet, saturated’
onōhgwiǰaʔ ‘it is soaking wet, saturated’

[**nōhōkdeʔ**] ‘painful’
onōhōkdeʔ ‘it is painful’

[**nōhōkdenyōʔ**] ‘painful all over’
onohōkde:nyōʔ ‘there is pain all over’

[**nōhyanihd**] ‘terrible, overwhelming’, with [DU]
deyonōhyá:niht ‘it is terrible, frugal, cheap’

[**nōʔne:ʔ**] ‘sacred, holy, forbidden’
onōʔne:ʔ ‘it is forbidden, sacred, holy’
with [INC N] *oihwanōʔne:ʔ* ‘forbidden idea’

[**ʔnoshaʔd**] ‘enviable’
oʔnó:shaʔt ‘it is jealous, envious’

[**nōʔshehsde:ʔ**] ‘boring’

onōʔshesde:ʔ ‘it is boring, tiring’

[**nowēhd**] ‘absurd, unbelievable’
onó:wēht ‘it is absurd, unbelievable’

[**+ʔo:**] ‘notched’
with [INC N] *gáqdaʔo:* ‘notched tree’

[**+ʔo:**] ‘resemble’
with [INC N] *oʔgrō:* ‘it looks like snow’

[**o:ʔ, weʔ**] ‘distance, amount’, with [PART]
niyó:weʔ ‘how far (in distance)’

[**+od**] ‘standing or rooted object’
with [INC N] *odóʔdo:t* ‘swells (waves)’
with [INC N] *ganōhsot* ‘(standing) house’

[**+od**] ‘at the [INC N]’, with *shēh* ‘that’ [CIS]
with [INC N] *shēh tganōhsot* ‘at the house’

[**qđ**] ‘attached object’
aq:t ‘it is attached’, ‘it is sticking out’
with [INC N] *odáʔaq:t* ‘a web’

[**qđ**] ‘a number of attached objects’, with NUMERAL [PART]
ahsēh niwēʔnihsqáqot ‘it has three wheels’

[**qđ**] ‘protrude’, with [CIS]
heyáqot ‘it protrudes’

[**+oʔde:**] ‘a type of’, with [PART]
with [INC N] *niyogáʔōhsroʔde:* ‘how it tastes’
with [INC N] *nigaēnóʔde:* ‘a type of song’

[**oʔde:**] ‘look similar’, ‘be similar’, with [COIN,DU]

with [INC N] [ya'da] 'body' *tsa'de-gaeya'dó'de*: 'they are a group of people that are similar, look the same'

[+o'dra'qh] 'converging items, items that come together', with [DU]

with [INC N] *deyonataho'drá'qh* 'converging roads'

[o'ga'd] 'rough'

áo'ga't 'it is rough'

with [INC N] *oháho'ga't* 'rough road'

[ogɛ:] 'middle', with [DU]

deyó:gɛ: 'between, in the middle'

with REFL+ *detniyada:do:gé*: 'between us'

[ogohdoh] 'exceptional, above average, too much', with *trehs* 'too much'

(*trehs*) *áogohdoh* 'exceptional, above average, too much'

[oghwad] 'itchy'

áoghwa:t 'it is itchy'

[+ohsgq'] 'cleared', with [DU]

ohéhdqhsq' 'barren land'

[+owanɛh] 'big'

with [INC N] *ohnyqhsowá:nɛh* 'pumpkin'

with [INC N] *gahsgwaowá:nɛh* 'boulder'

[q'wesah(d), q'wesɛh(d)] 'enjoyable'

aq'wé:sɛh(t), *aq'wésah(t)* 'it is enjoyable', 'a good feeling'

[q'wesah(d), q'wesɛh(d)] 'unpleasant', with [NEG]

dɛ'aqwé:saht 'it is unpleasant'

[rihowanɛh] 'important, special, commendable, glorious', with ([CIS])

gyoihowá:nɛh 'the most important'

[rihwiyo'] 'certain'

oihwí:yo' 'it is certain, for sure'

[t'ah] 'unusual', with [CONTR]

tiyó:t'ah 'it is queer, unusual, odd'

[+te'] 'bright, clear', with [DU]

with [INC N] *deyóhate'* 'it is bright' (i.e. sunlight)

with [INC N] *deyowidrá:teh* 'it is glassy, icy', 'a glass tumbler'

[+te:, hɛ:] 'dry'

ohɛ: 'it is dry'

with [INC N] *ohéhdate*: 'dry dirt'

with [INC N] *ona'dá:te*: 'crackers'

[tɛɛ:] 'spoiled, rotten'

otɛɛ: 'it is rotten, decayed', 'spoilage'

with [INC N] *o'wáhatɛ*: 'spoiled meat'

[tgi'] 'dirty, soiled, filthy, ugly, bad'

otgi' 'it is dirty, ugly, soiled'

with [INC N] *ohgwényatgi'* 'dirty or ugly clothes'

with [INC N] *o'dréhdatgi'* 'ugly car'

[tsadɛ'qh] 'damp'

otsádɛ'qh 'it is damp'

[tsahni'g] 'frighten, scare'

otsáhnihk 'it is frightening, scary'

[tsesdaɛ:] 'sticky'

otséhsdaɛ' 'it is sticky'

[tsihshɛ'qh] 'numb'

otsihshɛ'qh 'it is numb'

[wɛna'sɛhd] 'harsh words, put-downs', with [CIS]

owénahsɛht 'harsh words'

[widrateh] ‘glassy, icy, glass tumbler’, with [DU]

deyowidrá:teh ‘it is glassy, icy’, ‘a glass tumbler’

[wih] ‘undercooked’, with [DU]

deyó:wi:h ‘it is undercooked’

[wihjih] ‘overcooked’

owihjih ‘it is overcooked’

[ya’doh] ‘direction’

(*tsəh*) *niyóya’doh* ‘a direction’

[ya’dowehde:] ‘contemplation’, with [DU]

deyoya’dowehde:’ ‘to weigh the consequences’, ‘it is brain-wracking’

[+yanowe’] ‘fast’

with [INC N] *ga’drehdaya:nó:we’* ‘train’, ‘fast car’

[yanre’] ‘good, nice, beautiful’

oyá:nre’ ‘it is nice, good, beautiful’

[yaq’datgə:] ‘decomposed corpse’

oyaq’dá:tgə: ‘a state of decomposition’

[yədehd] ‘recognizable, plain to be seen, conspicuous’

oyé:deht ‘it is recognizable or plain to be seen, conspicuous’

[yogya’d] ‘laugh’, ‘amusing, laughable’

oyó:gya’t ‘it is amusing, laughable’

B.1.8 Verbs taking P-series neuter prefixes, habitual aspect only

[ahyojih] ‘sour, bitter, salty’, with [DU]

deyóhyojih ‘it is bitter, salty, sour’

[atnakdagonyohs] ‘an important or

prestigious seat or place’, with [SRF]

otnakdagó:nyohs ‘important, prestigious seat or place’

B.1.9 Conjugation of the irregular verb [+e:s], [+i:s], [q:s] ‘long’

The verb meaning ‘to be long’ has several forms: it is [q:s] when it has no incorporated noun (1). It most often takes the form of [+e:s] when it has an incorporated noun (2). However, with some incorporated nouns, the form is [+i:s] instead of [+e:s] (3).

(1) [q:s] ‘long’

a. í:yq:s

í:-y-q:s

PROTH-3s.A-long.STAT

‘it is long’

B Verb dictionary

- b. tɛ́ ɖɛ́yɔ:s
tɛ́ ɖɛ́-y-ɔ:s
not NEG-3S.A-long.STAT
'it is not long'
- c. niyó:s'ah
ni-y-ó:s-'ah
PART-3S.A-long.STAT-DIM
'just a little bit long'
- d. ó:sq's
ó:s-q's
NO.PREFIX-long.STAT-PL
'lengthy objects'

(2) [+e:s] 'long'

- a. onó'je:s
o-nó'j-e:s
3S.P-tooth-long.STAT
'fang'
- b. ganq̄hse:s
ga-nq̄hs-e:s
3S.A-house-long.STAT
'longhouse'
- c. ganq̄hsé:sq's
ga-nq̄hs-é:s-q's
3S.A-house-long.STAT-PL
'longhouses'
- d. hogé'e:s
ho-gé'-e:s
3S.M.P-hair-long.STAT
'he has long hair'

(3) [+i:s] 'long'

- a. gáɛni:s
gá-ɛn-i:s
3S.A-song-long.STAT
'long song'

- b. ohsd:i:s
o-hsd-is
3s.P-tool-long.STAT
'trade cloth'
- c. oshái:s
o-sh-á-i:s
3s.P-string-long.STAT
'long string, rope'
- d. oháhi:s
o-háh-i:s
3s.P-road-long.STAT
'long row, road'

B.1.10 Conjugation of [+od] 'stand', [ɔd] 'attached, put in'

The verbs [+od] 'stand' and [ɔd] 'attached, put in' are often part of fixed NV expressions (§9.2). The following examples illustrate how these verbs are conjugated, using fixed NV expressions as examples.

- (4) [+od] 'stand'
 - a. HABITUAL [+ot-haʔ] stand-HAB
wadrɛnotaʔ
wa-d-rɛn-ot-haʔ
3s.A-SRF-song-stand-HAB
'stereo, radio'
 - b. HABITUAL PAST [+ot-ha-hk] stand.HAB-FORMER
hadrɛnotahk
ha-d-rɛn-ot-ha-hk
3s.M.A-SRF-song-stand-HAB-FORMER
'he used to be a singer, used to sing'
 - c. INDEFINITE HABITUAL [a:-...ot-ha-hk] INDEF-...stand.HAB-FORMER
a:gadrɛnota:k
a:-g-ad-rɛn-ot-ha-:k
INDEF-1s.A-SRF-sont-stand-HAB-MODZ
'I would be a singer'

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- d. PUNCTUAL [+od-ε'] stand-PUNC
a:sejáode'
a:-s-e-ja-od-ε'
INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-smoke-stand-PUNC
'you would smoke'
- e. STATIVE [o:t] stand.STAT
gona:dré:no:t
gon-a:d-ré:n-o:t
3NS.FI.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'they are singing'
- f. STATIVE PAST [+od-a'k] stand-JOINERÁ-FORMER
gonadręńó:da'k
gon-ad-ręń-ó:d-a'k
3NS.FI.P-SRF-song-stand.STATIVE-JOINERÁ-FORMER
'they did sing'
- g. STATIVE PROGRESSIVE [+od-a-gy-e-'] stand-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
honadręńódagye'
hon-ad-ręń-ód-a-gy-e-'
3NS.M.P-SRF-song-stand-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
'they are singing a song as they travel'
- (5) [qđ] 'attached, put in'
- a. HABITUAL [qt-ha'] attached-HAB
Hahsdawędrq:ta'
ha-hsdawędr-qt-ha'
3S.M.A-rattle-attach-HAB
'Attaching Rattles' (Mohawk Chief Title)
- b. PUNCTUAL [qd-ε'] attached-PUNC
ęhsade'sgq:dε'
ę-hs-ad-e-'sg-ó:d-ε'
FUTURE-2S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-roast-put.in-PUNC
'you will roast'
- c. stative [q:t] attached.STAT
wadé'sgq:t
wa-d-é-'sg-q:t
3S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-roast-attached.STAT
'it is roasting, frying'

- d. STATIVE PAST [ɔd-a-ʔk] attached-JOINER A-FORMER
 gotnaʔdáɔdaʔk
 go-t-naʔdá-ɔd-a-ʔk
 3S.FI.P-SRF-bread-put.in-JOINER A-FORMER
 ‘she made bread’

B.2 Three-aspect verbs

B.2.1 Three-aspect verbs taking neuter prefixes, changing from A- to P-series

[aʔawayɔdi, aʔawayɔgy] ‘drizzle’
 STAT *oʔawayɔ:gyɔ:* ‘it is drizzling’,
 ‘misty rain, fine rain’

[ad+N+owɛ] ‘split in two from
 within’, with [DU,SRF]
 PUNC *adwa:dó:wɛ:* ‘it split’
 STAT *deyo:dó:wɛ:* ‘it is split in two’

[adadɔni, adadɔny] ‘emerge spon-
 taneously, do spontaneously’, with
 [CONTR+,REFL]
 PUNC *tɛwadadɔ:ni:* ‘it will emerge or
 appear unintentionally’, ‘it will do it
 by itself’

[adaʔgradenyɔ:] ‘snow flurry’, with
 [SRF]
 STAT *odaʔgradé:nyɔ:* ‘there are snow
 flurries’

[adaʔgrahd] ‘float, resurface, sur-
 face’, with [SRF]
 HAB *wadáʔgrah̄ta:* ‘it resurfaces con-
 tinually’
 PUNC *ɔɔdawadáʔgrah̄k* ‘it resurfaced’
 STAT *odáʔgrah̄dɔh* ‘it is floating’

[adagwasd] ‘get bruised’, with [SRF],
 N/da
 PUNC *ɛwádagwa:s* ‘it will get bruised’

STAT *odedagwá:sdɔh* ‘it is bruised’

[adagwɛhdɛ:] ‘become dented, be
 flat’, with [DU,SRF], (also see
 [ahdagwa:s] ‘dent’ §B.2.1

PUNC *adwadagwɛhdɛ:* ‘it became
 dented’

STAT *deyodagwɛhdɛ:, dewadagwɛhdɛ:*
 ‘it is flat’

with [INC N] *deyotsgeʔégehdɛ:* ‘flat
 pits’

[adahsɔdragw] ‘unjoin, come apart’,
 with [DU,SRF]
 HAB *dewadahsɔdragwahs* ‘it comes
 apart’

PUNC *dɛgeɛnahsɔdrá:go:* ‘they will
 be unjoined (i.e. a train, chain), they
 will come apart’

STAT *deyodahsɔdragwɛh* ‘it is dis-
 jointed’

[adahsogw] ‘fade, lose colour’, with
 [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwadahsó:go:* ‘it loses its
 colour’ (i.e. old paint)

STAT *odáh̄sogwɛh* ‘it is faded’

[adaʔyodɛ] ‘become erect’, with
 [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwadaʹyó:dɛʹ* ‘it will be erect’
(poised to strike)

[**adehsda:denyɔ**] ‘sprinkle’

STAT *odesdá:denyɔ:* ‘it is sprinkling’

[**adehsiyogw**] ‘fray’, with [(DU),SRF]

PUNC *awadehsi:yó:goʹ* ‘it frayed’

STAT *deyodahsi:yó:gwehʹ* ‘it is frayed’

[**adehstoʹdrehd**] ‘moult, pluck’, with
[SRF]

PUNC *awadehstóʹdrehtʹ* ‘it moulted’

[**adɛnhaʹ**] ‘order, charter, hire something’, with [SRF]

STAT *wadɛnhaʹɔhʹ* ‘it is chartered, hired’

[**adetgihd**] ‘weather, bad weather, stormy weather, turn ugly, storm’

PUNC *awádetgihtʹ* ‘it was bad weather, stormy’

STAT *odétgihdɔhʹ* ‘it is storming right now’

[**adewa:dahgw, wa:dahgw**] ‘deflate’, with [(SRF)]

PUNC *awadewa:dáhgoʹ* ‘it deflated’

STAT *gawa:dáhgwɛhʹ* ‘it is deflated’

[**adɔda:d**] ‘contain something’, with [(SRF)]

HAB *wadɔ:dá:taʹ* ‘it contains something’, ‘a container’

[**adoʹkd**] ‘be lacking, not enough’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *dawádoʹkdaʹsʹ* ‘it lacks’, ‘it is not enough’

PUNC *dawádoʹkdeʹ* ‘it lacked’, ‘it was not enough’

STAT *gyodóʹkdaʹɔhʹ* ‘it is lacking’

[**adratsɔ**] ‘get torn, ripped’, with [SRF]

HAB *wadrá:tsɔhsʹ* ‘it gets torn all the time’

STAT *odrá:tsɔhʹ* ‘it is torn’

[**adrihwagwenɔni:**] ‘full moon’, with [DU]

PUNC *adwadrihwagwenɔ:ni:* ‘there was a full moon’

STAT *deyodrihwagwenɔ:ni:* ‘there is a full moon’

[**adrihwahdɔʹ**] ‘eclipse’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadrihwáhdoʹ* ‘an eclipse’ (literally, ‘the moon got lost’)

[**adrihwahdɛdi, adrihwahdɛgy**] ‘start a ceremony’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwadrihwahdɛ:diʹ* ‘the ceremony will start’

STAT *odrihwahdɛ:gyɔ:* ‘the ceremony’

[**adrihwahdo**] ‘die out (ideas)’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadrihwáhdoʹ* ‘it died out, faded away’ (an idea)

[**adwɛnod**] ‘bay, howl’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadwɛnó:dɛʹ* ‘it did bay, howl’

STAT *odwɛ:no:tʹ* ‘it is baying, howling’

[**agyaʹdawihsy**] ‘shed skin’ (said of a snake), with [SRF]

PUNC *awagyaʹdáwihsiʹ* ‘it shed its skin’ (a snake)

[**-ahdagwa:s**] ‘dent’

HAB *wahdagwá:sahsʹ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛwáhdagwa:sʹ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ohdagwá:sɛhʹ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ahdɛ'gw] 'swell'

HAB wáhdɛ'gwahs 'it swells up'

PUNC awáhdɛ'goh 'it swelled up'

STAT ohdɛ'gwɛh 'it is swollen'

[a:hgwitɛ'] 'sun rise', with [(CIS)]

HAB tgá:hgwitɛ's 'east' (direction),
'the sun rises there'

PUNC ɛtgá:hgwitɛ' 'the sun will rise'

STAT deyogwitɛ'ɔh, gya:hgwitɛ'ɔh
'the sun, moon has risen'

[ahsdehsd] 'evaporate, dry up, boil
dry, go dry'

HAB wahsdéhsta' 'it is evaporating',
'it evaporates'

PUNC ɛwá:hsdehs 'it will go dry, evaporate'

STAT ohsdéhsdɔh 'it has evaporated,
all dried up'

[ahsha:gwani:] 'remember'

STAT ohsha:gwá:ni: 'remembrance',
'to remember'

[ahstwa'] 'shrink'

HAB wahstwahs 'it shrinks'

PUNC ɛwáhstwa' 'it will shrink' (i.e.
wool)

STAT ohstwa'ɔh 'it has shrunk'

[ahstwahd] 'shrink up'

HAB wahstwáhta' 'it shrinks' (i.e.
wool)

PUNC awáhstwahd 'it shrank'

[ahyai] 'ripen'

HAB wáhyáis 'a musk melon', 'a cantaloupe',
(literally, 'fruit is beginning to ripen')

PUNC ɛwáhyai' 'it will ripen'

STAT ohyáih 'ripe fruit'

[a'sɛ', +ɛ'] 'fall off, drop, reduce, fall
in', with [TRANSL N/a's]

with [INC N] HAB hewá'sɛ's 'it falls
in' (all the time)

with [INC N] PUNC hɛwá'sɛ' 'it will
fall in'

with [INC N] STAT heyó'sɛ'ɔh 'it has
fallen in'

with [INC N] heyohneɛ'ɔh 'falling
water'

[a'sɛ', +ɛ'] 'fall, drop, reduce', with
[CIS N/a's]

with [INC N] HAB dwase's 'it falls, it
is a dropper'

with [INC N] PUNC dawá'sɛ' 'it
dropped, reduced'

with [INC N] STAT gyosɛ'ɔh 'it has
fallen off something'

with [INC N] gyohnéɛ'ɔh 'falling wa-
ter'

[ataɛdɔnyɔh] 'shimmer, twinkle',
with [DU,SRF]

HAB dewatáɛdɔnyɔh 'it is twinkling',
'it is shimmering'

PUNC adwatáɛdɔnyɔh 'it shimmered'

[atehgya'g] 'erode', with [SRF]

HAB watéhgya's 'it (ground) is erod-
ing'

PUNC ɛwáhtehgya'k 'it will erode'

[atɛtɛɛhd] 'go bad', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC dawátehtɛɛht 'it went bad'

[atgrɛgrɛhdɔh] 'dreary, grey sky',
with [DU,SRF]

STAT deyotgrɛgrɛhdɔh 'the sky is
dreary, grey'

[atneɛ'gw] 'high tide', with [CIS]

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PUNC *ədwatnegé'go* 'it will be high tide'

STAT *gyotnégə'gwəh* 'high tide'

[*atnegə'gwahd*] 'tidal wave', with [CIS]

PUNC *dawatnegé'gwaht* 'tidal wave'

[*atno*] 'pollution', with [SRF]

PUNC *əwá:tno:* 'there will be pollution'

[*atogai*] 'stiff, stiffen up', with [SRF]

HAB *watógais* 'it stiffens up all the time'

PUNC *awatógái* 'it did stiffen up'

STAT *otógai* 'it is stiff', 'rigor mortis'

[*ats'*] 'use up, wear out, dissipate'

HAB *wats'áhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *awá:ts'a:* 'it is worn out, all gone, burnt up', 'it went down to nothing'

STAT *ha'wádats'qh* 'it is empty, burnt up, used up'

[*atsa'ged, atsa'kd*] 'bend, be flexible', with [DU,SRF N/hs]

HAB *dewátsa'kdqhs* 'it bends all the time', 'it is flexible'

PUNC *dəwátsa'ge:t* 'it will bend'

STAT *deyótsa'kdq:* 'it is bent', 'a curve, a bend'

with [INC N] *deyotahá:kdq:* 'curve in the road'

[*ats'ahd*] 'used up, all gone', with [TRANSL]

STAT *heyóts'ahdqh* 'it is all gone'

with [INC N] *ha'watnegáts'ah* 'water is all gone'

[*atsihs'*] 'ripen'

HAB *watsihs'ahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *awátsihs'a:* 'it did mature' (as in plants), 'it completed its life-cycle'

STAT *otsihs'qh* 'it is done for the season', 'it has gone full cycle', 'it is mature', 'they (plants) have finished out'

[*atsihşə:*] 'ripe'

PUNC *awátsihşə:* 'it ripened for harvesting'

STAT *otsihşə:* 'it is at a mature state'

[*atsotwahs*] 'jump, hop', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewátsotwahs* 'fleas', (literally, 'it jumps, hops')

[*atwadased*] 'encircle something (the calendar year)', with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəwatwada:sé:dahk* 'it will encircle it' (speaking of the calendar year)

[*+dase*] 'whirl, swirl around' (fluid, air), with [DU]

HAB *degawá:dasehs* 'tornado'

PUNC *atgahnégádase:* 'hydrologic cycle, water cycle'

STAT *ohnawadá:se:* 'whirlpool'

[*'drehdahetgə*] 'break down' (said of vehicles)

PUNC *qge'drehdáhətgə'* 'my car broke down'

STAT *odrehdahétgə'qh* 'a car is broken down'

[*əđajihş*] 'twilight'

HAB *wəđá:jihş* 'dusk, twilight'

[*əniho'g*] 'lightning', with [DU]

HAB *dewénihoks, dewéniho's* 'it is lightning'

PUNC *adwéniho'k* 'lightning struck'

[**ɛ̃hnihsriyohs**] ‘improve, get nice’
(weather)

PUNC *sawɛ̃hnihsrí:yohs* ‘it became a nice day again’

[**ɛ̃nɔwæ**] ‘sink’

HAB *wɛ̃nɔwáɛ̃hɛ̃* ‘it sinks’ (all the time)

PUNC *awɛ̃nowáɛ̃* ‘it sank’

STAT *onáwæ* ‘it has sunk in liquid’

[**ga:hgwɛ̃**] ‘sunset’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hɛ̃gáhgwɛ̃s* ‘to the setting sun, the direction of the sunset, west’

PUNC *haʹgáhgwɛ̃* ‘sunset’, ‘the sun went down’

[**gɛ̃nhɔdi, gɛ̃nhɔgy**] ‘summer’, with [DU]

PUNC *dɛ̃yogɛ̃nhɔ:diʹ* ‘it will be summer’

[**gowanheʹ**] ‘become big’

PUNC *agagowá:nheʹ* ‘it became big’

[**hehdagahatw**] ‘plough’

HAB *gahehdagáhatwahs* ‘plow’

STAT *gahehdagáhatwɛ̃h* ‘ploughed field’

[**hnegagyɛ̃hɛ̃tw**] ‘low tide’, with [DU,CIS]

PUNC *dɛ̃tgahnɛ̃gagyɛ̃hɛ̃:toʹ* ‘it will be low tide’

[**hnegahe:ʹ**] ‘high tide’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ɛ̃tgahnɛ̃gáhe:k* ‘it will be high tide’

[**hretgɛ̃ʹ**] ‘go bad, spoil’ (said of ideas)

PUNC *ɛ̃wáhɛ̃tɛ̃gɛ̃ʹ* ‘it (an idea) will spoil, go bad’

[**hsdaɛ̃daʹ**] ‘stop raining’

PUNC *agahsdáɛ̃daʹ* ‘it stopped raining’

[**hsdaowanahd**] ‘rain hard’

PUNC *agasdáowanahd* ‘it rained hard’

[**hsdaowanɛ̃h**] ‘rain hard’

STAT *gahsdaowá:nɛ̃h* ‘it is raining hard’

[**hsgɛ̃ʹdrɔd**] ‘rusting, mouldy’

PUNC *awahsgɛ̃ʹdrɔ:dɛ̃:* ‘it got mouldy’, ‘it got rusty’

[**+ihɛ̃h**] ‘shake’

with [INC N] PUNC *agyɔ̃hwẽjáihɛ̃h* ‘earthquake’, (literally, ‘the land shook’)

[**ihnodɔ**] ‘flood’

PUNC *awɛ̃hnó:dɔ:ʹ* ‘flood’, ‘it flooded’
STAT *ohnó:dɔʹ* ‘it is flooded’

[**jiʹdaga:, jiʹdagai**] ‘whining, crying sound’, with [DU]

HAB *degajiʹdá:ga:* ‘a whiner, cryer’

PUNC *atgajiʹdágai* ‘(there was) whining, crying, repetitive complaining’

[**jihsdáʹdr**] ‘go with the fire’

PUNC *ɛ̃sẽjihsdáʹdraʹ* ‘you will go with the fire’ (refers to the Gaihwí:yo: convention)

STAT *hodijihsdáʹdrɔ:* ‘they have gone to the fire’ (refers to the Gaihwí:yo: convention)

[**ʹnhɛ̃tsɛ̃dɔh**] ‘wag one’s tail’, with [DU]

STAT *dɛ̃yoʹnhɛ̃tsɛ̃dɔhɔh* ‘it is wagging its tail’

[**ʹnɔ:**] ‘removed’, with [CIS]

STAT *gyonɔ:* ‘it has been removed’

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[nɔ̃'a:ga:, nɔ̃'a:gai] 'noise made by banging head', with [DU,REP]

PUNC *dɛhsɔ̃ganɔ̃'a:gái* 'there will be heads banging'

STAT *desɔ̃ganɔ̃'a:ga:* 'a head banging'

[nɔ̃nhe] 'fill up'

HAB *ganɔ̃:nhe's* 'it fills up all the time'

PUNC *agánɔ̃nhe'* 'it filled up'

[ɔ̃hweɔ̃jaiheɔ̃] 'earthquake'

PUNC *agyɔ̃hweɔ̃jaiheɔ̃* 'earthquake', (literally, 'the land shook')

[rihsdi'dr] 'survey'

HAB *hadíhsdi'drehs* 'they are surveying the land', 'surveyors'

STAT *gaihsdi'drɔ:* 'it has been surveyed'

[rihwahɔ̃?] 'die out, become extinct'

PUNC *agaihwáhɔ̃?* 'it became extinct, died out' (old word, said of ideas)

STAT *oihwahɔ̃'ɔ̃h* 'it is extinct'

[rihwɛda?] 'wear out'

PUNC *agaihwe'da?* 'it wore out' (i.e. clothing)

[+tɛhsd] 'dry up, evaporate'

PUNC, with [INC N] *sagagahó'jatɛhs* 'the grass dried up'

[waɛɔ̃ɛwi?] 'hurricane'

HAB *gawaɛɔ̃ɛ:wi?* 'hurricane'

[wa'nɛda:g] 'stick to, cling to'

HAB *owa'nɛ:da:s* 'it sticks to it', 'it adheres to it'

PUNC *a'owa'nɛ:da:'k, a'owa'nɛ:da:'* 'it is stuck'

STAT *owa'nɛdá:gɔ̃h* 'it is stuck on something'

[wa:nohsd] 'become cold, cool' (weather)

PUNC *sagawá:nohs* 'it became cooler'

STAT *owa:nóhsdɔ̃h* 'it got cold (weather)'

[wɛɔ̃ɛnawɛ:] 'become a wet day'

PUNC *awɛɔ̃ɛnawɛ:* 'it got wet', 'the day got wet'

[yagɛhdahgw] 'come out suddenly', with [CIS]

PUNC *dagayagɛhdahk* 'it came out (suddenly)'

[yɛda?] 'settle', with [TRANSL,CIS]

PUNC *hatgayé:da?* 'it is settled'

[yɛdehte] 'emerge unintentionally'

PUNC *a'ɔ̃yɛdéhte?* 'it emerged unintentionally'

[yesh] 'be too bad'

PUNC *agayesha?* 'it is too bad'

[weoɔ̃ɛ] 'become mouldy'

PUNC *agawéoɔ̃ɛ?* 'it got mouldy'

List of three-aspect weather verbs

The thematic category of weather verbs is listed in this section for convenience. They are three-aspect verbs taking neuter prefixes.

agahsdáęda' 'it stopped raining'
 agasdaowá:naht 'it rained hard'
 awáyogyo: 'it is drizzling', 'misty rain', 'fine rain'
 awęđenáwe: 'it got wet', 'the day got wet'
 degawá:dasehs 'tornado'
 dewadewayędáqha' 'it is thundering'
 dewęnihó'ksqh 'lightening'
 deyotgręgręhdqh 'the sky is dreary, grey'
 deyotsadáę' 'it is foggy'
 deyoyęgwáę: 'it is a smoky or hazy day'
 eyohsdáqdi' 'it is going to rain'
 eyo'grq:di' 'it will snow'
 gahsdaowá:nęh 'it is raining hard'
 gawa:shá:sde' 'strong winds'
 gawaęhę:wi' 'hurricane'
 gawaowá:nęh 'big wind'
 oda'gradę:nyo: 'there are snow flurries'
 odęhaqt 'sunshine'
 odesdá:denyo: 'it is sprinkling'
 odrqhyo:t 'rainbow'
 ogahgwędq:gyo: 'it is snowing snow pellets'

ohjí'gre' 'it is cloudy'
 ona'nawę'qh 'it has thawed, melted'
 oná'no: 'it is cold, cool'
 onę:nq' 'it is mild, warm', 'a warm or hot day'
 aogqhdqh onę:nq' 'it is exceptionally hot' (weather)
 onqnyáędagye' sadaogyo: 'freezing rain'
 onqnyáę' 'it is frozen'
 onyę'gwadá:se: 'drifting snow'
 osdáq: 'it looks like rain'
 osdáogyo: 'it is raining'
 otó:we' 'it is cold'
 otsáę'qh 'it is damp'
 owa:dáihe: 'warm wind'
 owá:de' 'windy', 'wind', 'it is a breeze'
 owá:nq: 'cold wind'
 owa:nóhsdqh 'it got cold' (weather)
 owídroyo: 'it is hailing', 'sleet'
 o'áwaye' 'dew'
 o'awayq:gyo: 'it is drizzling'
 o'dáihe: 'a hot day'
 o'grq: 'it looks like snow'
 o'grq:gyo: 'it is snowing'
 o'growanáhdqh 'it is snowing hard'
 węhnihsrí:yo: 'it is a nice day'

B.2.2 Three-aspect verbs taking P-series neuter prefixes

[**adeg**] ‘burn up’
 HAB *odé:ka* ‘fire’, ‘it is burning’
 PUNC *eyó:de:k* ‘it will burn’
 STAT *odé:gəh* ‘it is burnt’
 [**a’grɔ̄di, a’grɔ̄gy**] ‘snow’
 PUNC *eyó’gró:di* ‘it will snow’
 STAT *o’gró:gyɔ̄* ‘it is snowing’
 [**a’growanahd**] ‘snow hard’
 STAT *o’growanáhdɔ̄h* ‘it is snowing hard’
 [**ɛ̄h, ɛ̄’**] ‘happen’, with [PART]
 HAB *niyá:wəhs* ‘how it happens’
 PUNC *neyá:wəh* ‘it will happen’
 STAT *niyáwə’qh* ‘how it did happen’
 [**hɛ̄**] ‘be day’
 PUNC *eyó:hɛ̄’* ‘it will be tomorrow’
 [**hɔ̄sdagwəɛ̄**] ‘dirty, soiled’
 PUNC *a’ohɔ̄sdagwáɛ̄* ‘it got dirty or soiled’
 STAT *ohɔ̄sdágwəɛ̄* ‘it is soiled, dirty, stained’
 [**hɔ̄sdaɔ̄di, hɔ̄sdaɔ̄gy**] ‘rain’
 PUNC *eyohɔ̄sdáɔ̄di* ‘it is going to rain’
 STAT *osdáɔ̄gyɔ̄* ‘it is raining’
 [**hsgɛ̄’draɛ̄**] ‘get rusty’

HAB *ohsgɛ̄’draɛ̄:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *eyohsgɛ̄’dráɛ̄* ‘it will get rusty’
 STAT *ohsgɛ̄’draɛ̄’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 [**ka**] ‘leak’
 HAB *okahs* ‘it leaks’
 PUNC *eyó:ka* ‘it will leak’
 [**nihshe’**] ‘a length of time, duration’
 PUNC *tsa’ónihshe’* ‘a long time, for that length of time, while, during the time that’
 [**nyahɛ̄h, nyahe’**] ‘boil’
 HAB *onyáhɛ̄hs* ‘it is boiling’
 PUNC *egyónyahɛ̄h* ‘it will boil’
 STAT *onyáhɛ̄’qh* ‘it has boiled’
 [**qhwehsdaga:**] ‘make a wheezing noise’
 STAT *ohwéhsdaga:* ‘it is wheezing’
 [**tɛ̄h, tɛ̄’**] ‘become rotten’
 HAB *otgɛ̄hs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *a’ó:tɛ̄h* ‘it became spoiled, rotten’
 STAT *otgɛ̄’qh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 [**tsihsdɛ̄h, tsihsdɛ̄’**] ‘get numb’
 PUNC *a’ótsihsdɛ̄h* ‘it got numb’
 STAT *otsihsdɛ̄’qh* ‘it is numb’

B.2.3 Three-aspect verbs taking personal prefixes, changing from A- to P-series

A-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**adadahsha:gwē, adadahsha:gwani**]
 ‘make oneself remember, remind oneself’, with [CIS,REFL]
 PUNC *ɛ̄tsadadahshá:gwē’* ‘you will

remind yourself, make yourself remember’
 [**adadehsnye**] ‘groom oneself, prepare oneself mentally, look af-

ter oneself, tidy oneself up', with
[DU,REFL]
IMP *desadadéhsnyeh* 'tidy up!
'groom yourself!'
[adadrihonyanih, adadrihonye] 'read', with [REFL]
HAB *qdadrihonyanih* 'she is reading'
STAT *wadadrihonyani*: 'reading material'
IMP *sadadrihó:nyeh* 'read!'
[adadrihwagwenya's] 'be a success'
PUNC *ahsadadrihwagwé:nya's* 'you are a success'
[adadrihwagwenye's] 'achieve something'
PUNC *ęsadadrihwagwé:nye's* 'you will achieve'
[adadriwahdɔ'd] 'commit suicide', with [REFL]
PUNC *awadadriwahdɔ't* 'suicide', (literally, 'someone did away with themselves')
[adadriyo] 'kill oneself, commit suicide', with [REFL]
PUNC *awadadri:yo* 'it killed itself', 'suicide'
[adadrohege] 'accumulate for oneself', with [REFL]
PUNC *ęsadadrohé:ge* 'you will accumulate (things, ideas, etc.) for yourself'
[adadwədəhd, adadwədəhd] 'forfeit one's life, give up one's life', with [SRF]/[REFL]
HAB *sadwədəhta* 'you forfeit things all the time'
PUNC *asa:dwé:deht* 'you forfeited'

PUNC *awadadwé:deht* 'it (a pet) forfeited its life'
[adadwiyahdɔ'd] 'have an abortion', with [REFL]
HAB *qdadwiyáhɔta* 'abortion'
PUNC *agadadwiyáhɔt* 'I had an abortion'
STAT *agadadwiyáhɔ'dɔh* 'I did have an abortion'
[ada'gehod] 'have, get an erection', with [SRF]
PUNC *ęhadagehó:dę* 'he will get an erection'
STAT *sadá'geho:t* 'you have an erection'
[adagya'dahgwa'd] 'do push ups', with [DU,REFL]
HAB *degaqdagya'dáhgwá'ta* 'they are doing push ups'
PUNC *dęgaqdagya'dáhgwá't* 'they will do push ups'
[adagyenaw, adagyenao, adagyenana:] 'wrestle', with [DU,REFL]
HAB *dęhęnada:gyé:nahs* 'wrestlers', 'they are wrestling'
PUNC *ęhsadagyé:na:* 'you will wrestle'
IMP *desadagyé:na:* 'you wrestle!'
[adahgahsdɔ, adahgahsd] 'endure', with [SRF]
HAB *sadáhgahsta* 'you do endure'
PUNC *ęsadáhgháhsdɔ* 'you will tough it out, endure'
IMP *sadáhgahsdɔ:* 'you endure!', 'go and cook in the cookhouse!'
[adahgwæ] 'store something', with [SRF]

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HAB *sadahwáęęę* 'you store things all the time'

PUNC *asadahgwáęę* 'you did store it'

IMP *sadáhgwaęę* 'store it, hold on to it temporarily!'

[**adahihsd**] 'prevent', with [SRF]

HAB *gadáhihsta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egadahíhsdę* 'I will prevent'

STAT *agadahíhsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adahnyo**] 'fish'

HAB *gadáhnyoh, gadáhnyoha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egádahnyo:* 'I will fish'

STAT *agádahnyo* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adahóđo:**] 'ask around, enquire, ask for something', with [SRF]

HAB *gađdahóđoha* 'they are asking right now'

PUNC *egadahó:đo:* 'I will ask around'

IMP *sadahó:đo:* 'ask!', 'enquire!'

PUNC, with (INC N) *agakwahó:đo:* 'it asked for food'

[**adahqhsiyohsd**] 'listen to someone, obey', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęjihswadahqhsí:yohs* 'you all will listen again'

STAT *agadahqhsí:yohs* 'I listen'

[**adahsehd**] 'hide oneself, something', with [SRF]

HAB *gadáhsehta* 'I hide'

PUNC *ęęnadáhseht* 'they will hide'

STAT *agadahséhđoh* 'I am hiding now'

[**ada'sęhd**] 'bring down, hand down, discriminate against', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ętsá'sęht* 'you will bring it down'

STAT *to'sęhdoh* 'he has handed down'

[**ada'sęhd**] 'swoop down', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *dawáda'sęht* 'it swooped down'

[**adatgęhe**] 'box', with [DU,REFL]

HAB *dęęnadátgęhe:s* 'boxers', 'they are boxing'

[**adatrewahđ**] 'apologize, repent', with [REP,REFL]

HAB *tsadatrewáhta* 'you are repenting right now', 'you repent all the time'

PUNC *sahęnada:tré:waht* 'they repented'

STAT *satréwahđoh* 'you have been punished'

[**adats'**] 'argue', with [DU,REFL]

HAB *dęęnadá:ts'ahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęhsa:dá:ts'a:* 'you will quarrel'

STAT *dewa:dá:ts'oh* 'a quarrel, an argument'

[**adawę**] 'swim', with [SRF]

HAB *hęnadawęhs* 'they are swimming'

PUNC *a:yđdá:wę:* 'she might swim'

STAT *hodá:węh* 'he did swim'

IMP *há'sádawę:* 'you swim over there'

[**ada'węhęđ**] 'go over' (a fence, etc.), with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęwada'węhęt* 'it will go over the fence'

STAT *deyoda'wəhəhdəh* 'it went over the fence', 'it is going over the fence'

[**ade'daəni**] 'get dirty, muddy', with [SRF]

PUNC *əgade'daəni* 'I am going to get muddy'

[**ade'də**] 'give birth, be due', with [SRF]

HAB *ədə'dəha* 'child-bearing', 'she is giving birth right now'

PUNC *əyədə'də:* 'when she will be due'

PURP *ədə'dəhne* 'she is about to give birth'

[**ade'drawi, ade'drə**] 'allow, let go', with [SRF]

HAB *gade'drawihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgade'drə* 'I will allow, let do'

STAT *agade'dra:wi*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ade'drehdə**] 'park one's vehicle', with [CIS,SRF]

STAT *gyəgyadedrehdə* 'we all parked our car over there'

[**adega'd**] 'burn something up, start a fire'

HAB *ədəga'ta* 'someone burns up something'

PUNC *əga:də:ga't* 'I will start a fire'

STAT *agadega'dəge*: 'I have a big fire going'

[**adəgahnje**] 'comfort a child, babysit', with [SRF]

HAB *gadegahnje* 'I am babysitting'

PUNC *əhsadəgahnje* 'you will comfort, rock a child', 'you are babysitting'

[**ade'gw, ade'go**] 'run away, flee', with [SRF]

HAB *gade'gwahs* 'I run away'

PUNC *əgənədə'go* 'they will flee or run away'

STAT *agədə'gweh* 'I am running away'

[**adəhə:g**] 'sun-tan', 'get a tan', with [SRF]

PUNC *esədəhə:k* 'you got a tan'

STAT *sədəhə:k* 'you are getting a sun tan'

[**adehəh, adehə**] 'feel bad, embarrassed, ashamed', with [SRF]

HAB *gadehəhs* 'I am embarrassed, ashamed'

PUNC *əgadehəh* 'I will be embarrassed'

STAT *hodəhə'əh* 'he is embarrassed right now'

[**adehə'əhsd**] 'widow, widower', with [SRF]

PUNC *a'ədəhə'əhs* 'she became a widow'

STAT *hodehə'əhsdəh* 'he is a widower'

[**adəhninə**] 'sell, buy'

HAB *ədəhni:nəh* 'store', 'storekeeper'

PUNC *a'əhni:nə* 'she purchased'

STAT *gəhni:nə* 'something that is bought'

IMP *tə'ta:kní:nəh* 'I should not or will not buy it'

[**adəhnyeha:**] 'win a bet', with [SRF]

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PUNC *agēnadēhnyeha:* 'they won a bet'

[**adēhod**] 'stack things, put one thing on top of another', with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dēsadēhó:dē?* 'you will stack things, put one thing on top of the other'

[**adehsdaogwahd**] 'sprinkle water', with [SRF]

HAB *degadesdaogwáhta?* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *degadesdáogwaht* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagadesdáogwahdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adehsgyɔ'wata'd**] 'diet, lose weight', with [SRF]

HAB *ɔdehsgyɔ'wáta'ta?* 'someone loses weight, diets'

PUNC *agaɔdehsgyɔ'wá:ta't* 'they dieted'

[**adehsnowad**] 'hurry up', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desadehsnó:wa:t* 'hurry up!'

[**adehstɔwihsd**] 'hurt oneself', with [SRF]

HAB *sadehstɔwí:sta?* 'you hurt yourself all the time'

[**adehswahd**] 'smell something on purpose, sniff something', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwádehswaht* 'it will smell it'

IMP *sadé:swaht* 'you smell it, sniff it!'

[**adehswahdahnoɔ**] 'sniff something', with [SRF]

IMP *sadehswahdáhnɔ:* 'you sniff!'

[**adēhwihsdanihahdani, adēhwihsdanihahdē**] 'lend money', with [SRF]

HAB *sadēhwihsdaniháhdanih* 'you lend money', 'a lender'

[**adejaho'gwagahatw**] 'twist one's ankle', with [SRF]

PUNC *agadejaho'gwagahá:to?* 'I twisted my ankle'

[**adejēhēnedahgw**] 'prepare a fire', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsadejēhēné:dahk* 'you will prepare your fire'

[**adejēhiyohsd**] 'make a good fire', with [SRF]

IMP *sadejēhí:yohs* 'make a good fire'

[**adejēhoni**] 'start a fire', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛgadejēhó:ni?* 'I will start a fire' (old word)

IMP *sadejēhó:nih* 'make a fire'

[**adejinɔdagragw**] 'pick one's nose', with [SRF]

HAB *ɔdejinɔdagrá:gwahts* 'she is picking her nose'

[**adejǐ'ohgya'g**] 'cut one's nails'

HAB *gadejǐ'ohgya's* 'I am cutting my nails'

PUNC *ɛgadejǐ'ohgya'k* 'I am going to cut my nails'

[**adekɔni**] 'eat', with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔdekɔ:nih* 'they eat'

PUNC *agēnade:kɔ:ni?* 'they ate'

STAT *hode:kɔ:ni:* 'he is eating'

IMP *sade:kɔ:nih* 'you eat'

[**adekɔnige:**] 'feast', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsadekɔnige:* 'you will feast'

[**adekwahe**] ‘serve a meal’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agaqdekwahe* ‘they put on a meal’

[**adena’d**] ‘take a lunch’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ega:de:na’t* ‘I will take a lunch’

STAT *agadená’doh* ‘I have taken a lunch’

[**adɛ’nahga:w**] ‘stick one’s tongue out’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degadɛ’náhga:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *deɣadɛ’náhga:’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagadɛ’nahgá:wɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adɛnha’]** ‘hire, command, order’, with [SRF]

HAB *hɛnádɛnha’s* ‘they hire it’

PUNC *ɛsádɛnha’* ‘you will order something, hire something’

[**adɛnidɛhd**] ‘plead’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadɛnidɛhta’* ‘you plead all the time’

PUNC *ɛhsadɛni:dɛht* ‘you will plead’

STAT *gonadɛnidɛhdoh* ‘they are pleading’

[**adɛnihahsd**] ‘lend’

HAB *qníhahsta’* ‘someone lends’

[**adenohaxe:’]** ‘happy’

HAB *gadɔnhahé:ha’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgadɔnháhɛ’* ‘I will become happy’

STAT *hodonoháhe:’* ‘he is happy’

[**adɛnohgaɔ, adɛnohga:]** ‘cut one’s hair’

HAB *gadɛnohgaɔs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgadɛnohga:’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadɛnohgaɔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adɛnohonyo**] ‘give thanks’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛdwadɛnohonyo:’* ‘we all will give thanks’

[**adɛno’nyad**] ‘mourn’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadɛno’nya:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsadɛno’nya:t* ‘you will mourn’

STAT *agadɛno’nyadoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adɛnowɛhd**] ‘deny’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadɛnowɛhta’* ‘I am in denial’, ‘I am denying’

PUNC *agadɛno:wɛht* ‘I denied’

[**adenyagwahd**] ‘vomit (make oneself vomit)’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadenyagwáhta’* ‘I make myself vomit’

PUNC *agadenyagwaht* ‘I made myself throw up’

IMP *sadɛnyagwaht* ‘make yourself vomit!’

[**adɛnyo**] ‘kill someone’

STAT *hodɛ:nyo:* ‘he has killed someone’

[**adɛ’nigoha:]** ‘take care of something, monitor’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadɛ’nihohaha’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

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PUNC *ɛgadɛ'niɔháhɛ'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadɛ'niɔhah:*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*adɛ'niɔhahniya'd*, *'niɔhahniya'd*] 'endure', with [(SRF)]

PUNC *ɛhsa'niɔhahní:ya't* 'you will endure' (literally, 'you will toughen or strengthen your mind')

IMP *sadɛ'niɔhahní:ya't* 'keep your mind strong'

[*adɛ'nyɛdɛ*] 'try something, attempt something, sample something', with [SRF]

HAB *gade'nyɛ:dɛhs* 'I try all the time'

PUNC *a:gade'nyɛ:dɛ'* 'I might try or attempt'

IMP *sade'nyɛ:dɛh* 'sample, try it!'

[*adɛ'nyɛdɛhsd*] 'measure something', with [SRF]

STAT *wade'nyɛdɛhsdoh* 'the act of measuring'

[*adɛ'nyɛdɛhsd*] 'copy, compare', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsadɛ'nyɛ:dɛhs* 'you will copy, use as a model or pattern'

IMP *dahsadɛ'nyɛ:dɛhs* 'copy! compare!'

[*adɛ'nyod*] 'celebrate, party', with [SRF]

HAB *sadɛ'nyota'* 'you celebrate all the time', 'you are celebrating'

PUNC *ɛhsadɛ'nyó:dɛ'* 'you will celebrate'

STAT *wadɛ'nyo:t* 'a celebration, party'

[*adɛ'sɔd*] 'roast, fry something', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsadɛ'sɔd:dɛ'* 'you will roast'

STAT *wadɛ'sɔd:t* 'it is roasting, frying'

IMP *sade'sɔd:dɛh* 'you fry it, roast it!'

[*adɛ'sgoh*] 'immerse, baptize, go into water', with [SRF]

HAB *gadɛ'sgohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsádɛ'sgoh* 'you will go into the water'

STAT *agadɛ'sgóhoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*adeshahsdoh*] 'use one's strength', with [SRF]

HAB *gadeshahsdóha'* 'I use my strength'

PUNC *ɛhsadesháhsdoh* 'you will use your strength'

[*adete'tra:*] 'powder oneself', with [SRF]

HAB *gadéte'tra:s* 'I am powdering myself'

PUNC *ɛgadeté'tra:* 'I am going to powder myself'

[*adɛts'*] 'earn, deserve', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desádɛts'ahs* 'your salary, what you make'

PUNC *dɛhsádɛts'a:*' 'you will earn money'

STAT *desádɛts'oh* 'you've earned or deserve it', 'you've paid your dues'

[*adetsa'd*] 'struggle, squirm, frenzied, revolt', with [SRF]

HAB *sadétsa'ta'* 'you struggle all the time'

PUNC *əhsádetsa't* 'you will struggle, squirm to get loose, revolt'

STAT *sadétsa'dəh* 'you are going along struggling'

[**adetsehsd**] 'be a glutton, gobble, gorge oneself', with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsádetsəhs* 'you will be a glutton', 'you will gobble, gorge yourself'

[**adewayəhsd**] 'learn', with [SRF]

HAB *ədewayəhsta'* 'she is a novice, learner, beginner'

PUNC *əhsadewayəhs* 'you will learn'
STAT *sadewayəhsdəh* 'you are learning'

[**adidrehdaho'drə**] 'stay awake', with [SRF]

STAT *əgadidrehdəhó'drə*: 'I had to stay awake'

[**adiyəd**] 'stretch something', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewadiyótə*' 'it stretches' (a word for 'rubber band'), 'balloon', 'elastic'

PUNC *atogəhadiyótə*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adəd**] 'sing *Adə:wa'*, eat together', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dəya:gwá:də:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəya:gwá:də:t* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dəyogwadótə*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adəd**] 'sing *Adə:wa'*, eat together', with [SRF]

HAB *gadótə*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əga:dótə*' 'I will sing male chant'

STAT *əgá:dót* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adodahsy**] 'appear unintentionally', with [SRF]

HAB *gadódahsəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgadodáhsi'* 'I will appear'

STAT *əgadodáhsə*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adodaisy**] 'escape, get loose', with [SRF]

PUNC *əhadodáisi'* 'he got loose, escaped'

[**adodaisy**] 'comb one's hair', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dəgadodáishəhs* 'I am combing my hair'

PUNC *dəgadodáisi'* 'I am going to comb my hair'

STAT-PROG *dewagadodaihsəhótə:gye'* 'I am going along combing my hair'

IMP *desadodáisi'* 'you comb your hair'

[**adogohd**] 'pass by, go past', with [SRF]

HAB *hadógohta'* 'he goes past all the time'

PUNC *əha:dótə:goht* 'he went past'

STAT *hodógohdəh* 'he has gone past'

[**adogw**] 'scatter', with [DU,SRF]

HAB and [INC N] *dewadəjihsdogwəhs* 'a burst of flames'

PUNC *ədwa:dótə:go*' 'it scattered'

STAT *dəyódogwəh* 'disorder', 'chaos', (literally, 'it is scattered')

[adogwahd] ‘scatter something, distribute something, spread something out’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degadogwáhta* ‘I scatter something’

STAT *desadogwáhdoh* ‘you have distributed it’

PUNC and [INC N] *dęsatnehsó:gwaht* ‘you will distribute sand’

[adogwe’dahshedahs] ‘census’, with [SRF]

HAB *hęnadogwe’dahshé:dahs* ‘a census’, (literally, ‘they count people’)

[adogwe’diyohsd] ‘compose oneself’, ‘make oneself presentable’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agadogwe’dí:yohs* ‘I made myself nice’ (put on my public face or facade)

[adohda:, adohdah] ‘tidy something, clean something, neaten things up’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degađódhda:s* ‘they tidy up’, ‘they are maids, housecleaners’

PUNC *desáđohda:* ‘you will tidy it up or clean it’

STAT *deyodohdáhoh* ‘it is tidy, neat’

IMP *desáđohda:* ‘clean up!’

[adqhswe’dę] ‘short of breath’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadqhswe’ta* ‘he is short of breath’

PUNC *ahadqhswe’dę* ‘he will be short of breath’

[adqhwida’d] ‘swing’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadqhwidá’ta* ‘you swing’ (all the time), ‘you are a swinger’

PUNC *a:sadqhwí:da’t* ‘you will swing’
STAT *sadqhwidá’doh* ‘you are swinging’

IMP *sadqhwí:da’t* ‘you swing!’

[ado’jinehd] ‘skate’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degađdo’jinéhta* ‘they figure-skate’

[ado’kd] ‘end something’

HAB *gadó’kta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgádo’kdę* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT (*agado’kdá’oh*) (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[adq’neg] ‘remove oneself’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ętsáđq’ne:k* ‘you will remove yourself’

[adq’neg] ‘move away, go away, shrink’, with [SRF]

HAB *dwadq’ne:s* ‘it moves away all the time’, ‘it shrinks’

PUNC *ęwáđq’ne:k* ‘it (animal) will move away’

STAT *agadq’né:goh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *sadq’ne:k* ‘get away, move away!’

[adqnhed] ‘become alive again’, ‘be born’, with [SRF]

PUNC *sagáđqnhet* ‘I am alive again’

STAT *sadq:nhé:doh* ‘you were born’

[adqnyahnq] ‘move’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadónyahnqoh* ‘you move all the time’

PUNC *ęsadonyáhnq:* ‘you will make yourself move’

[adqnye’d] ‘cause to breathe’, with [SRF]

HAB *wadónyē'ta* 'how it breathes',
'its a breather', 'the gill'

[**adɔtɔgɑdɔ**] 'have a good time, enjoy
oneself, have fun', with [SRF]

HAB *gadɔtɔgá:dɔha'* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

PUNC *ɛshwadɔtɔgá:dɔ:* 'you all will
have a good time'

STAT *ogwadɔtɔgá:dɔ* 'we all are hav-
ing fun'

[**adɔtsod**] 'pray on one's knees',
with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dɛhɛnadɔtsota'* 'they pray on
their knees'

PUNC *dɛyɔdɔtsó:dɛ* 'she will become
Christian', 'she will kneel in prayer'

[**adɔtw**] 'burn something'

HAB *wadɔ:twahs* 'what it burns' (for
fuel)

DISL PUNC and [INC N] *ɛsyɛ'gɔtwáh-
sa'* 'you will go burn tobacco'

[**adowad**] 'hunt', with [SRF]

HAB *hadó:wa:s* 'he is a hunter'

PUNC *ɛha:dó:wa:t* 'he will hunt'

STAT *agadowá:dɔh* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

[**adowi, adɔny**] 'drive', with [SRF]

HAB *gadó:wih, gadó:wih, gadó:nye's*
'I drive all the time'

STAT *aga:dó:wi:* 'I did the driving'

IMP *ha'sa:dó:wih* 'drive it over
there!', 'herd the animals!'

[**adowi, adɔny**] 'breathe', with [SRF]

HAB *qɔdɔ:nye's* 'she is breathing'

IMP *sadɔ:wih* 'breathe!'

[**adowihshɛ**] 'rest', with [SRF]

HAB *gadowihshɛhɛ'* 'I rest all the
time'

PUNC *a'ɔdowihshɛ:* 'she rested'

[**adɔwihsrɛhd, adɔihsrɛhd**]
'breathe', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛyɔdowihsrɛht* 'she will
breathe'

STAT *godowihsrɛhdɔh* 'she is breath-
ing'

[**a'dra', +o'dra'**] 'meet', with [DU]

HAB *degáɔdra's* 'they meet all the
time'

PUNC *atgáɔdra'* 'they met'

STAT *dɛhonadrá'ɔh* 'they are meeting
right now'

STAT with [INC N] *dɛhonataho'drá'ɔh*
'converging roads'

[**adranegaɔ, adranega:**] 'explode',
with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewadranégaɔs* 'it is exploding'

[**adrɛnaɛ**] 'pray' (said of Christians),
with [SRF]

HAB *tɛnadrɛnáɛha'* 'they are pray-
ing'

STAT *honadrɛnáɛ'* 'they (Christians)
are praying'

[**adrɛnawɛ'doh**] 'put sugar in liq-
uid', with [SRF]

HAB *degadrɛnáwɛ'dohs* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛgadrɛnáwɛ'doh* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagadrɛnawɛ'dɔhɔh* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

[**adrɛnod**] 'sing, make music', with
[SRF]

HAB *gɛnadrɛnó:ta'* 'they are singers'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *a:gadrɛ:nó:ta:k* ‘I would be a singer’

STAT *godrɛ:no:t* ‘she is singing’

[**adrɛnɔni**] ‘compose a song’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔdrɛnɔ:nih* ‘they are composers’

PUNC *ahadrɛnɔ:ni* ‘he made a song’

STAT *gonadrɛnɔ:ni*: ‘they composed a song’

IMP *sadrɛ:nɔ:nih* ‘you make a song’

[**adriho’dad**] ‘work’, with [SRF]

HAB *hɛnadrihó’da:s* ‘they work’, ‘they are workers’

PUNC *ɛgaɔdriho’dat* ‘they are going to work’

IMP *sadriho’dat* ‘you work’

[**adrihsdanega:, adrihsdanegaɔ**] ‘scream’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dehsadrihsdanegaɔhs* ‘you are bursting out screaming or crying right now’

PUNC *dɛhsadrihsda:né:ga:’* ‘you will burst out screaming, crying’, ‘you will make a loud outburst’

IMP *desadrihsda:né:ga:’* ‘scream!’ (literally, ‘split your voice’)

[**adrihwadogɛhsd**] ‘right a wrong’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsadrihwa:dó:gɛhs* ‘you will right a wrong’

[**adrihwaɛdɔhk**] ‘gossip’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deyɔdrihwaɛdɔhkwa’* ‘a female gossip’

PUNC *dɛsadrihwáɛdɔhk* ‘you will gossip’

[**adrihwagyaɔ**] ‘have an accident’, with [SRF]

HAB *wadrihwagyáɔs* ‘continuous accidents’

PUNC *a’agodrihwagyáɔ’* ‘she had an accident’

[**adrihwahɛgya’d**] ‘do a ceremony’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *edwadrihwahɛgya’t* ‘we all did the ceremony’

[**adrihwahe**] ‘commit a crime, do wrong’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atadrihwáhe’* ‘he went afoul of the law’, ‘he did something wrong’

[**adrihwahsdihsd**] ‘take care of an event, look after an event’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadrihwahsdihssta’* ‘he takes care of the event all the time’, ‘he pays attention to what is going on’

PUNC *ɛhadrihwáhsdihs* ‘he will take care of the event’

STAT *hodrihwahsdihsdɔh* ‘a chairman’, (literally, ‘he looks after the message’), ‘he is taking care of this event’

[**adrihwahseh**] ‘hide a secret’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahɛnadrihwahseht* ‘they hid their idea’, ‘they schemed’

STAT *odrihwáséhɔh* ‘it is secret’

[**adrihwahsrɔni**] ‘reconcile’, with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ɛjijadrihwahsrɔ:ni’* ‘you two will reconcile’

[**adrihwanyeh**] ‘send a message’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *həswadrihwányeht* ‘you all will send a message’

[**adrihwaḡni**] ‘heal’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhswadrihwáḡni* ‘you will heal’

[**adrihwatgaha:, adrihwatgahḡ:**] ‘oversee, supervise’, with [SRF]

HAB *hodrihwatgáha:* ‘he is a supervisor, overseer’

PUNC *əhsadrihwátgahḡ:* ‘you will oversee, supervise’

[**adrihwatgihd**] ‘talk dirty’, with [SRF]

STAT *hodrihwatgíhdḡh* ‘he is talking dirty’

[**adrihwats’, rihwats’**] ‘earn something, fulfill something’, with [DU,(SRF)]

PUNC *atadrihwa:ts’a:* ‘he earned it’, ‘he fulfilled it’

STAT *dehodi:hwahs’a:* ‘they are earning, fulfilling it’

[**adri’sda:, adri’sdaḡ**] ‘join in’

HAB *gadri’sdaha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgadri’sdáḡ* ‘I will join in’

STAT *agádri’sda:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adriyo**] ‘go to war, fight’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadri:yohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əga:dri:yo* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *wadri:yo* ‘war, fight’

[**adroḡw, adroḡo**] ‘keep something’

PUNC *əsa:drḡ:go* ‘you will keep’

[**adroheḡ**] ‘gather together, congregate, flock together’, with [(CIS),SRF]

HAB *ḡənádrohe:s* ‘they are flocking’
PUNC *ədwádrohe:k* ‘we all will gather together’

[**adroḡhya’d**] ‘unwilling, stubborn, balk at a suggestion’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahadroḡyá’dahk* ‘he balked at the suggestion’

STAT *godróhya’t* ‘she is unwilling, stubborn’

[**adwahd, atwahd**] ‘miss something’, with (INC N+)

HAB *gadwáhta* ‘I miss it always’

PUNC and [INC N] *sagə’no’trá:twahd* ‘I missed the ball’

STAT *agádwahdḡh* ‘I have or did miss it’

[**adwədəhd**] forfeit, with [SRF]

HAB *sadwədəhta* ‘you forfeit things all the time’

STAT *keyadwədəhdḡh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adwəḡnaga:dad**] ‘interpret’

PUNC *əgadwəḡna:gá:da:t* ‘I will interpret’

[**adwəḡnayəhd**] ‘jeer, jest, lambaste someone, denigrate someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsadwəḡná:yəht* ‘you will jeer, jest, throw words at someone’

[**adwəḡḡda:**] ‘speak’, with [SRF]

PUNC *a:gadwəḡ:nḡ:dahk* ‘I should use that language’

[**adwəḡḡdi, adwəḡḡḡy**] ‘throw one’s voice’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *həsadwəḡḡ:di* ‘you will throw your voice’ (as a ventriloquist)

[**adwiyaḡḡ**] ‘babysit’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

HAB *sadwíyanoh* ‘you babysit all the time’, ‘you are babysitting right now’

PUNC *egadwiyá:nɔ:* ‘I will babysit’

[*adwiyaoḡw*, *adwiyaoḡo*] ‘adopt a baby’

HAB *sadwiyáḡwahs* ‘you adopt babies’

PUNC *əhsadwiyáḡo* ‘you will adopt a baby’

STAT *agadwiyáḡwəh* ‘I have adopted a baby’

[*adwiyɔdi*, *adwiyɔgy*] ‘abandon one’s child’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsadwiyɔ:di* ‘you will abandon your baby, child’

STAT *wadwiyɔgyɔ:* ‘abandoned child’

[*a’ehsd*] ‘poke something’, with [DU]

HAB *deswá’ehsta* ‘you all are poking’

STAT *dewaga’əhsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*a’ənaɛ*] ‘play snowsnake’, with [DU]

HAB *dehəna’ənáɛhɛ* ‘they are snowsnake players’

PUNC *da:yagwa’ənáɛ* ‘we all would play snowsnake’

[*a’əna’ehsd*] ‘spear something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsa’əná’ehs* ‘you will spear something’

[*a’gəhoh*] ‘load a firearm’

HAB *ga’gəhohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egá’gəhoh* ‘I will load a firearm’

STAT *aga’gəhóhoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*agya’dadih*] ‘lean against something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əsagya’dá:dih* ‘you will lean against something’

[*agya’dagwaihsy*] ‘straighten up one’s body’, with [SRF]

HAB *gagya’dagwáihsyohs*, *gagya’dagwáihsohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egagya’dagwáihsyi*, *əgagya’dagwáihsi* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agagya’dagwáihsyɔ:*, *agagya’dagwáihso:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*agya’dahniya’d*] ‘strong in body’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ədwagya’dahní:ya’t* ‘we all will be strong in body’

[*agya’dawí’d*] ‘dress, put on clothes’, with [SRF]

HAB *sagya’dawí’ta* ‘you are always putting it on’

PUNC *əsagya’dá:wit* ‘you will put on clothes’

STAT *sagya’dawí’doh* ‘you have on clothing’

[*agya’dɔdi*, *agya’dɔgy*] ‘pounce’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *həsagya’dɔ:di* ‘you will pounce on it!’

[*agya’dohae*] ‘bathe’, with [SRF]

HAB *hagya’doháe* ‘he is bathing’

PUNC *əwagy’adoháe* ‘it is going to give me a bath’

IMP *sagya’doháe* ‘you take a bath’

[*agyɛ*] ‘sit’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsá:gyɛ:* ‘you all will sit’

IMP *sagyē*: ‘you sit down!’

[**agyēhd**] ‘begin, be the first’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tgagyē:hta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *etgá:gyē:ht* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *gyogyēhdoh* ‘the first one, the beginning’

[**agyēhetw, agyēheto**] ‘pull’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tgagyēhetwahs* ‘I am a puller’

PUNC *ētgagyēhē:to* ‘I will pull’

[**agyēhetw, agyēheto**] ‘retract’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

HAB *tgagyēhetwahs* ‘I am a puller’

PUNC *ētgagyēhē:to* ‘I will pull’

STAT *hehswagyēhē:twēh* ‘you retracted’

[**agyēhsaq**] ‘bandage oneself’, with [SRF]

IMP *sagyēhsaq* ‘bandage yourself!’

[**agyēna’ta’, agyana’ta’**] ‘act, mark something’, with [SRF]

HAB *ogyána’ta*’ ‘actress’

PUNC *egyá:na’t* ‘I will mark something’

STAT *ogyána’doh* ‘it is marked’

[**agyenawahd**] ‘cling to something, hang on, book a venue’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ēsagyená:waht* ‘you will retain or book a venue’, ‘hold onto, cling to something’

STAT *ogyenawáhdoh* ‘an area’ (literally, ‘something is clinging to something’)

IMP *sagyénawaht* ‘cling to it! hang on!’

[**agyesahd**] ‘waste’, with [SRF]

HAB *sagyéhsahta*’ ‘you are wasteful’

PUNC *ēhsa:gyé:sah*’ ‘you will waste’

[**agyō’sē:**] ‘visit’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ēgagyō’séha*’ ‘I am going to go and visit’

STAT *hogyō’sé:tsō*: ‘he is a live-in’ *tsō*: ‘just’

[**ahdēdi, ahdēgy**] ‘leave, go away’

HAB *gahdē:gye’s, gahdē:gyōhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēgahdē:di*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agáhdēgyō*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahdēdi, ahdēgy**] ‘originate from, come from’, with [CIS]

STAT *dwagáhdēgyō*: ‘I come from’

[**ahdēdi, ahdēgy**] ‘go home’, with [REP]

HAB *sgahdē:gye’s* ‘I go home all the time’

PUNC *ēhsgahdē:di*’ ‘I will go home’

STAT-PROG *sahohdēhgyōhōgye*’ ‘he is on his way home’

IMP *sasahdē:dih* ‘go home!’

[**ahdē’gw, +ēgw**] ‘swell up’, with [SRF,N/ahd]

with [INC N] HAB *wahdē’gwahs* ‘it swells up’

with [INC N] PUNC *ēwáhdē’go*’ ‘it will swell up’

with [INC N] STAT *ohdē’gwēh* ‘it is swollen’

with [INC N] PUNC *ēhagya’dē’go*’ ‘his body will swell up’

[**ahdeni, ahdeny**] ‘shape-shift, undergo a magical transformation’, with [DU]

B Verb dictionary

HAB *deyóhdenyóhs* 'she undergoes a magical transformation' (generally for an evil purpose)

STAT *deyohdenyóhogye* 'it is changing as it goes' (i.e. a shape-shifter)

[**ahdɔ**] 'disappear'

HAB *wáhdɔhs* 'it disappears'

PUNC *əhsáhdɔ* 'you will disappear'

[**ahdɔ:**] 'lose something'

PUNC *esáhdɔ:* 'you lost it'

[**ahdo:**] 'dive, submerge'

HAB *hahdo:s* 'he dives', 'he is a diver'

PUNC *əsáhdɔ:* 'you will submerge something'

STAT *aháhdɔ:* 'he dived, he dove'

IMP *sáhdɔ:* 'you dive'

[**ahdɔ'd**] 'lose something'

PUNC *əhsáhdɔ't* 'you will lose it'

[**ahdog**] 'grow, mature'

HAB *qhdó:gahs* 'she is prepubescent, she is maturing, she is reaching puberty'

PUNC *əhsáhdɔ:k* 'you will grow'

IMP *sáhdɔ:k* 'grow!' (unusual form)

[**ahgaodɔnyɔ**] 'tap trees'

PUNC *əyagwáhgaodó:nyɔ:* 'we all will tap trees'

[**ahged**] 'stop in'

PUNC *egáhge:t* 'I will stop in'

[**ahged**] 'come back', with [DU,CIS]

PUNC *dɔdasahge:t* 'you should come back'

[**ahged**] 'return, regress', with [REP]

HAB *swáhgé:dahs* 'you return, regress'

IMP *sasáhge:t* 'return!'

[**ahja:**, **ahjaɛ**] 'push away', with [TRANSL,DU]

HAB *ha'degahjá:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ha'dəgahjáɛ* 'I will push away'

STAT *ha'dewagáhja:* 'I am pushing'

[**ahji'dohag**] 'pinch something, squeeze something', with [DU]

IMP *desahjí'dóha:k* 'you pinch, squeeze it!'

[**ahjiyo**] 'scratch, dig in one's nails', with [DU]

HAB *degahjí:yohs*, *degahjiyóha* 'I am scratching'

PUNC *dəwagáhjí:yo:* 'it will scratch me' (i.e. a twig or thorn)

STAT *dewagahjí:yo* 'I am digging in my nails', 'I am scratching'

IMP *desahjí:yo:* 'you scratch!'

[**ahjiyohsrɔ**] 'scratch forcefully', with [DU]

IMP *desahjiyóhsrɔ:* 'you really scratch!'

[**ahjohae**] 'wash one's hands'

HAB *qjóhaes*, *qjóhae* 'she is washing her hands'

PUNC *egáhjoháɛ* 'I am going to wash my hands'

IMP *sajóhae* 'you wash your hands'

[**ahɔ**] 'hear, understand a language'

HAB *sáhó:ka* 'you understand the language'

PUNC *egáhɔ:k* 'they will understand a language'

STAT *agahó:gɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsa'g**] 'cough'

HAB *gáhsá'ka'* 'I have a cough or I am coughing'

PUNC *ésáhsa'k* 'I will cough'

STAT *agáhsa'gòh* 'I am coughing'

[**ahsaw, ahsawẹ, ahsa:**] 'begin, start', with [CIS]

HAB *dedwawsawé:ha'* 'to restart'

PUNC *ẹdyagwáhsá:wẹ'* 'we all will begin or start'

STAT *tohsa:* 'he has begun'

IMP *dehsáhsawẹh* 'you begin! you start!'

[**ahsaw, ahsawẹ, ahsa:**] 'restart, resume', with [DU,CIS]

HAB *dedwawsawé:ha'* 'to restart'

PUNC *dọdaháhsá:wẹ'* 'he restarted'

STAT *degyóhsa:* 'it has resumed'

IMP *dọdaháhsá:wẹh* 'you should start again!'

[**ahsdaha, ahsdaẹ**] 'cry'

HAB *gáhsdá:ha'* 'I am crying'

PUNC *ẹgáhsdaẹ'* 'I will cry, weep'

STAT *agásdáẹ'òh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsdaha'ge:**] 'sob'

HAB *òhstáha'ge:* 'someone is sobbing'

[**ahsdi:sd**] 'pay attention, bother with'

HAB *dehsghásdí:sta'* 'I no longer pay attention'

PUNC *ésá:sdí:s* 'you will pay attention'

STAT *sáhsdí:sdòh* 'you are paying attention' (right now)

IMP *sáhsdí:s* 'pay attention!'

[**ahsehđ**] 'hide something'

HAB *gáhséhta'* 'I do hide something'

PUNC *ẹgáhseht* 'I will hide something'

STAT *agáhsehdòh* 'I am hiding something'

[**ahsganye**] 'shuffle'

HAB PAST *òhsgányehahk* 'she used to shuffle'

PUNC *ẹyóhsganye:* 'she will shuffle'

STAT *gohsgá:nye:* 'she has shuffled'

IMP *desáhsganye:* 'you shuffle!'

[**ahsgyaò**] 'walk fast'

HAB *hahsgyáòha'* 'he walks quickly', 'he gives someone encouragement'

PUNC *ẹhsáhsgyaò'* 'you will walk fast!', 'you will encourage'

STAT-PROG *hohsgyáògye'* 'he is going along walking quickly'

[**ahsha:nye**] 'rub, scrub', with [DU]

HAB *degahshá:nyehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dẹgahshá:nye:* 'I will rub, scrub'

STAT *dewagahshá:nye'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahshed**] 'count'

HAB *hẹnahshé:dahs* 'they count things'

PUNC *ẹdwáhshe:t* 'we all will count'

STAT *tsa'deyohshé:dẹh* 'it is the same number of'

IMP *jidwáhshe:t* 'let us all count again'

[**ahshẹda'**] 'step on something'

PUNC *ẹhsahshé:da'* 'you will step on something'

[**ahshẹda'**] 'stagger', with [TRANSL,REP]

B Verb dictionary

STAT *hehshohshədə́'qh tsq:* 'he is staggering' *tsq:* 'just'

[**ahshetw**] 'cry', with [DU]

HAB *degáhsehtwahs* 'I am crying'

PUNC *agyóhsēhto* 'she cried'

STAT *o:néh* 'now' *ní:* 'I' *dewagahshéhtwēh* 'I've already cried'

[**ahsi'daga:**] 'stamp one's feet', with [DU]

STAT *deyohsi'dá:ga:* 'to stamp one's feet' (literally, 'it stamped its feet')

[**ahsigya'g**] 'stumble, trip, stub one's toe', with [CIS]

HAB *desahsigyá'ksgq:* 'you are always stumbling, tripping, stubbing your toe', 'you are a klutz'

PUNC *edihsahsi'gya'k* 'you will stumble, stub your toe'

[**ahsnehd, a:snehd**] 'get down, descend, dismount', with [(SRF)]

HAB *ga(h)snéhta'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ésá:snéht* 'you will get down'

STAT *sahsnehdqhó:gye'* 'you are getting down from there right now'

IMP *sahsnehht* 'get down from there!'

[**ahsqdōni**] 'mark the night, designate a time'

PUNC *əhsahsqdó:ni'* 'you will mark the night' (i.e. set a time)

STAT *wahsq:dó:ni:* 'the night is marked' (i.e. a time has been designated)

[**ahsqdre, ahsqdre:**] 'join together', with [DU]

HAB *desahsqdré:ha'* 'you join things

together all the time', 'you do puzzles'

PUNC *dəhsahsq:dre'* 'you will join two things together'

STAT *deyodahsq:dre:* 'it is joined'

IMP *desahsqdreḥ* 'you join it!'

[**ahsqdre, ahsqdre:**] 'resume, add on', with [TRANSL,CIS]

PUNC *hətsahsqdre'* 'you will resume, add on'

[**ahsoh**] 'paint'

HAB *gahsohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgáhsoh* 'I will paint'

STAT *agáhsohqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahswahd**] 'extinguish, put out'

HAB *həná'swahta'* 'they are firemen'

IMP *sqhswaht* 'put the light out'

[**ahswə'da:**] 'blacken'

HAB *gahswə'da:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgáhswə'da:* 'I will blacken something'

STAT *agahswə'dáhqh,*

agahswə'dá:hqh (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahtga'w**] 'release, let go, give up'

HAB *sahtga's* 'you forfeit, you let go of things all the time'

PUNC *ahqwenáhtga:,' ahqwanahtga:'* 'they released him, them'

STAT *agáhtga'* 'I gave it up' (right now)

[**ahtga'w**] 'replace', with [DU,CIS]

STAT *dedwatga'wēh* 'to replace' (literally, 'it has been re-given')

[**ajəhqhsgwae**] 'whisper'

PUNC *əhsajəhqhsgwae'* 'you will whisper'

IMP *sajəhqhsgwae'* 'whisper!'

[**akyado**] ‘have a reading, have one’s fortune told’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛgákyado:* ‘I will have a reading, I will have my fortune told’

[**akyohsgwin, akyohsgwi:**] ‘crawl’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *agyókyohsgwi:* ‘she did crawl’ (i.e. learned how to crawl)

IMP *desákyohsgwi:* ‘you crawl!’

[**ana’sgwahgw**] ‘jump’, with [DU]

HAB *deyóna’sgwáhkwa* ‘she is jumping’

PUNC *deyóna’sgwahk* ‘she will jump’

STAT *desəna’sgwáhgwəh* ‘you have jumped’, ‘you are jumping?’

[**ana’sgwahgw**] ‘sky-dive’, with [DU,CIS]

HAB *detənahsgwahkwa* ‘they are sky-diving’, ‘paratroopers’

[**aɔ, ɛɔ**] ‘race’, with [DU]

HAB *degenáɔha* ‘they are racers’

PUNC *até:nəɔ* ‘they raced’

STAT *dewa:géɔ*, *dewa:gáɔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**aɔ’dad**] ‘blow’

HAB *gáɔ’da:s* ‘I blow’

PUNC *həhsáɔ’dat* ‘you will blow’

STAT *agaɔ’dá:dəh* ‘I am blowing now’, ‘I have blown’

[**a’səhd**] ‘drop something’

HAB *ga’səhta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgá’səht* ‘I will drop something’

STAT *agá’səhdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**a’səhd**] ‘hand something down, bring something down’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ɛtsá’səht* ‘you will bring it down’

[**a’shenawag**] ‘winnow, shake out, shift’

HAB *ga’shénawa:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛga’shená:wa:k* ‘I will sift’

STAT *aga’shenáwagəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**a’sweg**] ‘deaf’, with [DU]

HAB *degá’swe:s* ‘I am getting deaf’

PUNC *degá’swe:k* ‘I will be deaf’

STAT *deyó’swé:gəh* ‘she is deaf’

[**atadad**] ‘rise up’, with [SRF]

HAB *watá:da:s* ‘it rises up’

PUNC *ɛwa:tá:dat* ‘it will rise up’

STAT-PROG *otadadəhəgye* ‘it is going along rising up’

[**atahahgw**] ‘walk’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dəhənatahahkwá’ gahnnyó’əh-srá’geh* ‘they are ironworkers’, (literally, *dəhənatahahkwá’* ‘they walk on the iron’) *gahnnyó’əhsrá’ge* ‘on the iron’

PUNC *degátahahk* ‘I will walk’

[**atahahgw**] ‘stray, go off the road, turn into one’s driveway’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsatahá:go* ‘you will stray, go off the road, turn into your driveway’

[**atahit’a:**] ‘take the heavenly road, come to a consensus’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahənatahi’ta:* ‘they came to a consensus’, ‘they followed their idea’, ‘now they are ready to go’ (referring to the Confederacy Council)

[**atahsrɔd**] ‘night-fish’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *aheṇatahsrɔ:dɛ* ‘they carried a torch, lantern, flashlight’

[**atɛdihs**] ‘finish a field’, with [SRF]
 HAB *dwatɛdihs’ahs* ‘we are finishing the field’

PUNC *edwatɛdihs’a:* ‘we all finished the field’ (said after threshing the wheat, etc.)

STAT *ɔgwatɛdihs’ɔh* ‘we finished the field’

[**atɛdɔni**] ‘tend (a garden), garden’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsatɛdɔ:ni* ‘you will make your garden’

[**atga:dahgw**] ‘hollow out, take out wood chips’

PUNC *ɛhsatgá:dahgɔ* ‘you will hollow out’ (a canoe, a wooden bowl, etc.), ‘you will take out the chips’

[**atgæhegw**] ‘double back’, with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ɔsagatgæhé:go* ‘I should turn around and go back the way I came’

[**atgahadeni, atgahadeny**] ‘turn oneself around’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛhsatgaha:dé:ni* ‘you will turn yourself around’

STAT *dewagatgahadé:nyɔ*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *desatgaha:dé:nih* ‘you turn around!’

[**atgahadenyɔgwahɔ**] ‘twirl around’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgahadenyɔgwahɔ*: ‘you twirl!’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’

HAB *gegáhatwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgegáhá:to* ‘I’ll plough, turn up’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’, with [SRF]

HAB *watgáhadɔhs* ‘it rolls’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadɛ’drehdagáhato* ‘a vehicle turned over’

IMP *satgáhatoh* ‘you roll over!’

[**atgahawɛnye:**] ‘blurred vision’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atgatgaháwɛnye:* ‘I had blurred vision’

[**atgahdɔnyɔ**] ‘look around’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desatgahdɔ:nyɔhs* ‘you are looking around’

[**atgahdrɔni**] ‘stare at, examine closely’, with [SRF]

HAB *satgahdrɔ:nihs* ‘you are staring at it’, ‘examining it closely’

[**atgahgwɛg**] ‘close one’ eyes’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛsátgahgwe:k* ‘you will close your eyes’

[**atgahi’d**] ‘play with something’, with [SRF]

HAB *ɔtgáhi’ta* ‘what she plays with’, ‘a toy’

PUNC *awátgahi’t* ‘it played with it’

STAT *gotgáhi’dɔh* ‘she is playing with it now’

[atgahiyohsd] ‘examine closely, peer at something’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *əsatgahí:yohs* ‘you will look closely at something, peer at something’

STAT *agatgahíyohsdoh* ‘I am staring at it, examining it closely’

[atgahnnye] ‘play’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *əgátgahnnye:* ‘I will play’
 STAT *hotgáhnye* ‘he is playing’
 IMP *satgáhnye* ‘play!’

[atgahq:, atgaha:, atgahaq] ‘watch, pay attention’
 HAB *satgáhqha* ‘you are paying attention, watching right now’
 PUNC *agátgahq:* ‘I paid attention’
 IMP *satgáhq:* ‘pay attention!’

[atgahqdi, atgahqgy] ‘roll one’s eyes, snub someone’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *əhsatgahq:di* ‘you will roll your eyes (in disgust), ‘you will snub someone’

[atgahqnyq] ‘flirt, make eyes at someone’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *əhsatgahq:nyq* ‘you will flirt, bat your eyes’

[atgahtw] ‘look at’, with [SRF]
 HAB *satgáhtwahs* ‘you look all the time’
 PUNC *hətsátgahqto* ‘you will look back’
 STAT *sgá:t heyótgahtwəh* ‘one mile’ (literally, ‘how far it is seen’)
 IMP *satgáhtoh* ‘you look!’

[atganyahs, atganyqhs] ‘want something desperately’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deyótganyahs* ‘she is desperate, desperately wanting something’, ‘she will settle for just anyone’ (referring to looking for mate)

[atgəh] ‘get up, awaken’, with [SRF]
 HAB *gatgəhəhs* ‘I get up all the time’
 PUNC *agá:tgəh* ‘I got up’
 STAT *agátgəhoh* ‘I am up now’
 IMP *satgəh* ‘you get up’

[atgəhjhd, atgəhjhsd] ‘age, get old’, with [SRF]
 HAB *hatgəhjhta* ‘he is getting old’
 STAT *otgəhjhsdohqye* ‘it is getting old or aging’

[atgəhq] ‘sell’, with [SRF]
 HAB *hatgəhqha* ‘he is an auctioneer’, (literally, ‘he is a seller’)
 PUNC *əgátgəhq:* ‘I will have for sale’
 STAT *honátgəhq* ‘they are selling something’

[atgəihsd] ‘move over, be moveable’, with [SRF]
 HAB *watgəihsta* ‘it is portable’
 PUNC *əga:tgəihs* ‘I will move over’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 STAT *agatgəihsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atgəni, atgəny] ‘compete’, with [DU,SRF]
 HAB *dəhənatgə:nyqhs* ‘a fair’, ‘they compete’
 STAT *dəhonatgə:nyq:* ‘they compete’

[atgənihs] ‘we will counsel, have a meeting’, with [SRF]
 HAB *swatgənihs’ahs* ‘you have meetings all the time’
 PUNC *əhswatgənihs’a:* ‘you all will have a meeting’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *swatgénihš'qh* 'you are having a meeting right now'

[*atgòhsagri*] 'smirk, wrinkle up one's face', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgòhsá:gri*: 'you wrinkle up your face, smirk!'

[*atgòhsohae*] 'wash one's face', with [SRF]

STAT with [INC N] *agatgòhsóhae* 'I did wash my face'

IMP with [INC N] *satgòhsoháe* 'wash your face'

[*atgòhstó'èhd*, *atgòhstwé'èhd*] 'shave', with [SRF]

HAB *hatgòhstó'èhta* 'he is shaving'

PUNC *ahatgòhstó'èht* 'he shaved'

STAT *agatgòhstó'èhdó* 'I have shaved'

IMP *satgòhstó'èht*, *satgòhstwé'èht* 'you shave'

[*atgò'jonyahnò*] 'apply makeup', with [SRF]

IMP *satgò'jonyahnò*: 'beautify yourself, apply make-up!'

[*atgò'traniyòdè*] 'weigh oneself', with [SRF]

PUNC *agaòtgo'trani:yò:dé* 'they weighed themselves'

[*atgòwa'dòni*] 'tan a hide', with [SRF]

PUNC *esatgòwa'dó:ni* 'you will tan a hide'

[*atgrègrèhd*] 'frown', with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *agyòtgrègrèht* 'she frowned'

STAT *deyagotgrègrèhdòh* 'she is frowning'

IMP *desátgrègrèht* 'you frown!'

[*atgri*] 'pull back, flinch, shrink', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *dawá:tgri:k* 'it pulled back, flinched, shrank'

STAT *totgri*: 'he is a wimp', 'he pulls back'

[*atgw*] 'dance', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dèhénatkwa* 'they dance'

PUNC *dèhè:na:t* 'they will dance'

STAT *dewá:tgwèh* '(the act of) dancing'

[*atgweni*, *atgweny*] 'do to the best of one's ability', with [PART,SRF]

PUNC *na'ga:tgwé:ni* 'the best I could do'

[*atgweni*, *atgweny*] 'win a competition, succeed', with [SRF]

PUNC *ehswa:tgwé:ni* 'you all won a competition'

[*atgwenige:*] 'win big', with [SRF]

PUNC *ahènatgwénige*: 'the big win, victory' (literally, 'they won big')

[*atgwényadeni*, *atgwényadeny*] 'change one's clothes', with [SRF]

PUNC *èhsatgwénya:dé:ni* 'you will change your clothes'

[*atgwi'a'e*] 'wink', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgwi'a'ek* 'you wink!'

[*atnadae*] 'camp, inhabit', with [SRF]

PUNC *esatnadáe* 'you will inhabit'

[*atnadinyò'd*] 'move into a dwelling', with [SRF]

STAT *watnadinyò'dòh* 'it has moved in'

[*atnahsgòni*] 'tame an animal', 'raise a pet', with [SRF]

PUNC *ahatnahsgó:ni* 'he raised a pet'

STAT *watnahsgó:ni* ‘it has been made into a pet’

[*atnahsgõni*] ‘tease domestic animals’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tẽnatnahsgó:nih* ‘they are teasing the animal(s)’

[*atnahsgõni*] ‘get comfortable in one’s bed’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęsatnahsgó:ni* ‘you will get comfortable in bed’

[*atnakdiyohsd*] ‘make oneself comfortable’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agatnakdí:yohs* ‘I made myself comfortable’

[*atnasõ*] ‘oil oneself’, with [SRF]

HAB *hatná:sõ* ‘he is oiling himself’

PUNC *ahátnasõ:* ‘he did oil himself’

IMP *satná:sõ* ‘oil yourself!’

[*atna’tşędõ*] ‘shake one’s behind’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęhsatna’tşę:dõ* ‘you will shake your behind’

[*atnegõni*] ‘ferment something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhsatnegó:ni* ‘you will ferment something’

[*atnęhsędõh*] ‘shrug’, with [DU,SRF]
PUNC *atatnęhsę:dõh* ‘he shrugged’

[*atnętsadahgw*] ‘dislocate one’s shoulder, arm’, with [SRF]

PUNC *asatnętsadahgo* ‘your arm came out of its socket’

PUNC *a’õtnętsadahgo* ‘she dislocated her arm’

[*atnętsa’drõ*] ‘cross one’s arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęhswatnętsá’drõ:* ‘you all will cross your arms’

STAT *deswatnętsá’drõ* ‘you all have your arms crossed’

[*atnętsiya’g*] ‘break one’s arm’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęgatnętsí:ya’k* ‘I will break my arm’

[*atnõ’aędõh*] ‘nod one’s head, shake one’s head’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatnõ’áędõh* ‘you nod, shake your head’

[*atnõ’a:nh*] ‘tie up around one’s head, have a burden strap’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęsatnõ’á:nha* ‘you will have a burden strap’

[*at’nõhdá:*] ‘embark, get into a vehicle’, with [SRF]

HAB *gat’nõhdá:s* ‘I get into a vehicle’

PUNC *ęgát’nõhdá:* ‘I will embark, get in a vehicle’

STAT *agat’nõhdáhõh, agat’nõhdá:hõh* ‘I embarked, got into a vehicle’

[*at’nõhdahgw*] ‘disembark, get out of a vehicle’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęgat’nõhdáhgo* ‘I will disembark, get out of a vehicle’

[*atnõhgaõ, atnõhga:*] ‘cut hair’, with [SRF]

HAB *gatnõhgaõs* ‘I always cut my hair’, ‘I am cutting my hair’

PUNC *ęgátnõhga:* ‘I am going to cut my hair’

STAT *agatnõhgaõ* ‘I did get my hair cut’

B Verb dictionary

[atnɔhsahsnyeʔ] ‘clean up the house’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degatnɔhsáhsnyeh* ‘I am cleaning up the house’

PUNC *degatnɔhsáhsnyeʔ* ‘I will clean up the house’

[atnɔhwetsod] ‘do hand-stands, turn oneself upside-down’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛsatnɔhwe:tsó:dɔʔ* ‘you will do a hand stand, turn yourself upside down’

[atnoʔjaga:] ‘grind one’s teeth’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatnoʔjá:ga:* ‘you grind your teeth!’

[atnoʔjodagw] ‘pull teeth’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agatnoʔjódagoʔ* ‘I had my tooth pulled’

[atɔ:] ‘lie down’, with [SRF]
PUNC *egá:tɔ:* ‘I will lie down’
IMP *sá:tɔ:* ‘you lie down!’

[atɔdad] ‘listen to something, obey’
HAB *ɔtɔ:da:s* ‘she is obedient’
PUNC *ega:tɔ:da:t* ‘I will consent’

[atɔdahsrɔni] ‘prune trees’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahɛnatɔdahsrɔ:niʔ* ‘they pruned the trees’

[atohgwaɔni] ‘hill plants’
PUNC *ɛhɛnatohgwáɔnyɔʔ* ‘they will make planting hills’

STAT *watohgwáɔnyɔʔ* ‘planting hills’

[atɔwanɛdag] ‘dock a boat’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahɛnatɔwanɛ:da:k* ‘they docked a boat’

[atɔwis] ‘sing seed songs, be a woman’

HAB *gatɔ:wí:sahs* ‘I sing seed songs’, ‘I am a woman’

PUNC *ɛgaɔtɔ:wí:s* ‘they will sing the seed songs’ (which are also used as lullabies)

STAT *agatɔwí:sɛh* ‘I am singing seed songs’

[atɔyo] ‘come by boat’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtgaɔtɔ:yo:ʔ* ‘they will come by boat’

[atrehnagehsy] ‘deliver a message’, with [SRF]

PUNC *haʔgatrehnagehsíʔ* ‘I spread out the message’ (ceremonial language)

[atrehnɔni] ‘pack’, with [SRF]
IMP *satrehnɔ:nih* ‘you pack!’

[atrɔni, atrɔny] ‘dress’, with [SRF]
IMP *satrɔ:nih* ‘get dressed’

[atrɔniyahsi] ‘undress’, with [SRF]
PUNC *ɛsatrɔnyáhsiʔ* ‘you will take your clothes off’

STAT *agatrɔnyáhsihɔh* ‘I finished undressing’, ‘I got fully undressed’

[atrɔnyaʔd] ‘wear something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsa:trɔ:nyaʔt* ‘you will wear something’

[atrowi, atrɔny] ‘recount, retell’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsa:tró:wiʔ* ‘you will recount, retell’

[atsadɔ] ‘bury an object’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *ɛgátsadɔ:* ‘I will bury something over there’

STAT *agátsadɔ* ‘I buried it’

[atsadɔgw] ‘unearth, unbury an object’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsatsadɔ:go* ‘you will unearth it’

[atsa’ged, atsa’kd] ‘bend, be flexible’, with [DU,SRF]

[atsa’ged, atsa’kd] ‘bend forwards’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desátsa’ge:t* ‘you bend forwards!’

[atsa’ged, atsa’kd] ‘bend backwards’, with *ohna’gɛ:* ‘behind’ [TRANSL,DU,SRF]

IMP *ohna’gɛ: ha’desátsa’ge:t* ‘you bend backward!’

[atsaide] ‘beg, freeload’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desatsáide’s* ‘you are a freeloader’

PUNC *degatsáide:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatsáide:* ‘I did freeload’

IMP *desatsáide:* ‘you beg!’

[atsɛhd] ‘tired, sleepy’

HAB with [INC N] *gá’niḡhátshɛhta* ‘a tired mind’

PUNC *agáɔtsɛht* ‘they were tired or sleepy’

STAT *agátsɛhdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atsɛḡni] ‘become happy, glad’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agatsɛḡni:* ‘I got happy’

[atsga’hɔ] ‘chew’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deyótsga’hɔ* ‘it is chewing’, ‘it is a chewer’ (i.e. a cow)

PUNC *dɛgátsga’hɔ:* ‘I will chew’

STAT *dewagatsgá’hɔ:* ‘I am chewing right now’

IMP *desátsga’hɔ:* ‘you chew!’

[atsɛna’gya’g] ‘get pale’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degatsɛná’gya’s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛgatsɛná’gya’k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatsɛna’gyá’gɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atshohih] ‘bite something’, with [SRF]

HAB *ɔtsóhihs* ‘she bites it’

PUNC *ɛyótsohih* ‘she will bite it’

STAT *gotsóhihɔh* ‘I have bit it’

IMP *dasátsohih* ‘you bite!’

[atsina’dɔ, atsina’dɛ, atnɛtsa’dɔ, atnɛtsa’dɛ] ‘cross one’s legs, arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *deswatsiná’dɔ* ‘you all have your legs crossed’

STAT *deswatnɛtsá’dɔ* ‘you all have your arms crossed’

IMP *desatnɛtsá’dɛ* ‘you put your arms together’

[atwadase] ‘go around’

HAB *gatwa:dá:sehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgatwadá:se* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agatwadá:se:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *satwádaseh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atwe'ṅṅihsd] 'make something round', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatwe'ṅṅ:nihs* 'you make it round'

[atwidra:, adwidra:] 'put butter on'
HAB *degátwidra:s, gadwí:dra:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęga:twí:dra:, ęga:dwí:dra:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatwidrá:hõh, agad-widrá:hõh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atwihsdaę] 'reserve money, economize, set money aside', with [SRF]
STAT *satwihsdaę* 'you will reserve money'

[atwihsdanihahsd] 'lend money', with [SRF]

HAB *satwihsdanihahs* 'you lend money'

[atwihsdani'õhsd] 'economize', with [SRF]

HAB *satwihsdani'õhs* 'you economize'

PUNC *ęhsatwihsdani'õhs* 'you will economize'

[atwihsdę'da:] 'waste money', with [SRF]

HAB *satwihsdę'da:s* 'you burn your money'

PUNC *agatwihsdę'da:?* 'I wasted my money'

[awag] 'winnow, shake out, sift'

HAB *sá:wa:s* 'you are a winnower, shaker, sifter'

PUNC *ęhsá'gęhę:wa:k* 'you will winnow the chaff' (corn or beans)

STAT *sawá:gõh* 'I am sifting right now'

[awaksõ] 'winnow, shake out, sift'
STAT *sawá:ksõh* 'you are winnowing, shaking, sifting right now'

[awęhęd] 'lift, carry up to'
HAB with [INC N] *gana'jawęhę:s* 'grain auger'

PUNC *ęgáwęhę:t* 'I will lift, carry up to'

STAT *agawęhę:dõh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[awęnye] 'stir, mix', with [DU]
HAB *degáwęnyeh* 'I stir all the time'

PUNC *degáwęnye:?* 'I will stir'
STAT *dewagawę:nye?* 'I am stirring'

IMP *dehsáwęnye:?* 'beat, mix, stir!'

[a'wętw, a'węda?] 'kill several'
HAB *gadá'wętwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgada'wę:to?* 'I will kill several'
STAT *hona'wędá'õh* 'they are dead, killed off' (Dead People)

[awi'd] 'insert'
HAB *hesáwi'ta?* 'you insert something all the time'

PUNC *ęgá:wi't* 'I will insert'
STAT *agáwi'dõh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

D-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[daʔ] ‘stand up’, with [DU]

HAB *dekdaʔs* ‘I stop here (when-ever..)’PUNC *dekdáʔ* ‘I will stand up, stop’IMP *dehsdaʔ* ‘stand up, stop!’

[+dad] ‘create’

PUNC, with [INC N] *tsaʔhəwəjádá:da:t* ‘when he made the earth’STAT, with [INC N] *həwəjadá:dəh* ‘he has created the earth’

[dagwaihahd] ‘go straight’, with [TRANSL,N/d]

PUNC *həhsadagwáihahd* ‘you will go straight’

[dagwaihahs] ‘straighten something’, with [N/da]

HAB, with [INC N] *hadinehsda:gwáihahsəh* ‘they are straightening out the board’PUNC, with [INC N] [da]: *əhsdagwáihahsiʔ* ‘you will straighten’

[dahgw] ‘take out’

HAB *wahe:tgéʔ gadáhgwahs* ‘spring tonic for males’ (literally, ‘the.ugly.stuff it.takes.out’)PUNC *əkđáhgoʔ* ‘I will take out’STAT, with [INC N] *gahsgwá:dahgwəh* ‘a neutered animal’, ‘a gelding’ (literally, ‘its stones have been removed’)IMP, with [INC N] *səʔgəhədáhgoh* ‘remove the ashes out of it’

[dahsd, dəhsd] ‘string something up’

HAB *ikda:s* ‘I am stringing it or draping it’

[dahsd, dəhsd] ‘stop something, prevent something, stand up something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsdahs* ‘you will prevent, stop it’, ‘stand it up’IMP *dehsdahs* ‘stop it!’

[ʔdaihədrahiʔ] ‘sweat profusely, perspire’, with [DU]

PUNC *ətseʔdaihədrahiʔ* ‘you will sweat profusely, perspire’

[ʔdaʔni] ‘get muddy’

PUNC *agaʔdáʔni* ‘it got muddy’

[dɛ] ‘fly, take off’, with [DU]

HAB *degá:dəhs* ‘it flies, goes up in the air’PUNC *atá:dɛʔ* ‘he took off (from the ground)’STAT *dewá:kde:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[dəhda:, dəhdaɛ] ‘lie spread out on the ground’

HAB *kdəhdá:haʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)PUNC *əkđəhdaɛʔ* ‘I will lay down, spread out’ (e.g. something on floor)STAT *akdəhda:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[deni, deny] ‘empty something’

PUNC *aha:dé:niʔ* ‘he emptied something’STAT *gadé:nyəʔ* ‘it is empty’

[deni, deny] ‘change something’, with [DU]

HAB *dekdé:nyeʔs, dekdé:nyəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)PUNC *dəkdé:niʔ* ‘I will change something’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *dewákdényo:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**diyɔd**] ‘stretch’, with [DU]

HAB *dewadiyó:ta* ‘it stretches’ (a word for ‘rubber band’), ‘balloon’, ‘elastic’

STAT *deyagodí:yot* ‘she is stretching it’

[**dogɛhsd**] ‘arrange things’

PUNC *ɛhsdó:gɛhs* ‘you will arrange things’ (flowers, etc.)

[**dogɛhsd**] ‘adjust something’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ɛtsa:dó:gɛhs* ‘you will adjust’

[**doha:g, +oha:g**] ‘squeeze, press, hold something down’, with [DU,N/d]

PUNC, with [INC N] [d]: *dɛhstóha:k* ‘you will squeeze it’

STAT, with [INC N] [d]: *dewak-dohá:gɔh* ‘I am squeezing it’

IMP, with [INC N] [d]: *dɛhstóha:k* ‘squeeze!’

[**doheg**] ‘pack down’

HAB *kdohe:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛkdóhe:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *akdohé:gɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**draiha**] ‘rush something’, with [DU]

STAT *deyo^odraiha^t* ‘hurried or immediate attention, urgent matter, urgency’, ‘a rush’

IMP *dɛhse^odraiha^t* ‘you rush something, hurry something up’

[**dre, dro**] ‘drag it’

HAB *gɛ^odre^s, gɛ^odre^o* ‘I drag it, I am dragging it’

PUNC *ɛgɛ^odre^o* ‘I will drag it’

STAT *agɛ^odro:* ‘I dragged it’, ‘I am dragging it’

E and E-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**+e**] ‘hit, pound, tap something’, with [N]/hwa

HAB, with [INC N] *ganája^oɛhs* ‘grain threshing machine’

PUNC, with [INC N] [hwa] *ɛhswá^oe:k* ‘you will pound, tap’

STAT, with [INC N] [hwa] *hohwá^oe:* ‘he is tapping’

[**ehd**] ‘do on purpose, go on purpose’, with [COIN]

HAB *tsigéhta^o* ‘I do it on purpose all the time’

PUNC *tsa^ogeht* ‘I did it on purpose’

STAT *tsiwágehdoh* ‘I did it on purpose’

[**ehd**] ‘do unintentionally’, with (*tɛ^o*) ‘not’ [CONTR,DU]

STAT *tɛ^o ta^odɛhawéhdɔ:* ‘he did not mean it’

[**ɛhdad, wɛhdad**] ‘run’, with [DU]

HAB *dɛgaɔwéhdas* ‘they run’

PUNC *da:gáɔwéhdas* ‘they might run’

STAT *dewagɛhdá:dɔh* ‘I have run’

[**ehdahgw**] ‘escort someone, go together’

PUNC *əhsnéhdahk* ‘you will escort someone, you will go together’

[**ehdahgw**] ‘believe’, with [CIS]

HAB *tgehdáhkwa* ‘I believe’

PUNC *ətgéhdahk* ‘I will believe’

STAT *tawédahgho* ‘he believes’

[**ehdahgw**] ‘come or go by vehicle’, with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *hegédahkwá* ‘I come or go by vehicle’

[**əhdato, wəhdato**] ‘run all over’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəgənhdá:tə:* ‘they will run all over’

[**əhsɡa:**] ‘take off fast (making a rattling noise)’, with [CIS,N]

PUNC *awéhsɡa:* ‘it took off fast’ (i.e. a car, a dog)

[**əhsɡa:**] ‘spin out (making a noise)’, with [REP]

PUNC *sawéhsɡa:* ‘it spun out’

[**əhsi’dagədrahgw**] ‘earth’, with [DU]

STAT *deyogwəhsi’dagədrahgwəh* ‘earth’ (‘where we put our feet’)

[**əhsi’dohae**] ‘wash one’s feet’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahəhsi’dohae* ‘he did wash his feet’

IMP *səhsi’dohae* ‘wash your feet’

[**əhsotsy**] ‘take off one’s shoes’, with [DU]

IMP *desəhsó:tsih* ‘take your shoes off’

[**əhsoweg**] ‘put on one’s shoes’, with [DU]

PUNC *desəhsó:we:k* ‘put your shoes on’

[**əhsoweksy**] ‘take off one’s shoes’, with [DU]

IMP *desəhsowé:ksih* ‘take your shoes off’

[**ənadaə**] ‘camp’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsənadaə* ‘you will camp’

[**ənadinyo’d**] ‘move into a dwelling’, with [SRF]

HAB *gənadinyo’ta* ‘I am moving into a dwelling’

STAT *gonənadinyo’doh* ‘they have moved in’

[**ənagrad**] ‘be born, settle someplace new’, with [SRF]

HAB *oná:ɡra:s* ‘the birthing’

PUNC *əgənagrat* ‘I will be born, go and settle someplace new’

STAT *agənagrá:doh* ‘I was born’

[**ənətsaonyo:**] ‘wave one’s arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atgənətsáonyo:* ‘I waved my arms’

IMP *desənətsáonyo:* ‘wave your arms (goodbye)’

[**əne’waə, ane’waə**] ‘surprised, startled’, with [SRF]

HAB *géné’waə* ‘I get surprised’

PUNC *agéné’wa:* ‘I was surprised’

STAT *oné’waə* ‘something unexpected, surprising’

[**ə’no:**] ‘play ball’

HAB *degé’no:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgé’no:k* ‘I will play ball’

STAT *dewáge’no:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**əni’dagew, ɛni’dage:**] ‘wipe one’s behind’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *egɛnidá:ge*? ‘I will wipe myself clean of fecal matter’

[*ɛnidagr*, *anidagr*] ‘lie down’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsɛnidá:grɛ*? ‘you will lie down’
IMP *sɛnidagrɛh* ‘you lie down!’

[*ɛni*?*deni*, *ɛni*?*deny*] ‘fart’, with [SRF]

HAB *ɔni*?*denyɔhs* ‘she farts’

PUNC *ɛyɔni*?*dé:ni*? ‘she will fart’

STAT *agɛni*?*dé:nyɔ*: ‘I have farted’

[*ɛ*?*nigɔha:*, *ɛ*?*nigɔhaɛ*] ‘impatient’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dege*?*nigɔhaha*? (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dege*?*nigɔhaɛ*? ‘I will get impatient to go’

STAT *dewage*?*nigɔha:*? (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ɛ*?*nigɔhod*] ‘plan something, suggest something, present an idea’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsɛ*?*nigɔ:hó:dɛ*? ‘you will suggest, present an idea’

[*ɛ*?*nigɔhogw*] ‘broken-hearted’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dege*?*nigɔhogwahs* ‘I am broken-hearted’, (literally, ‘my mind is scattered’)

PUNC *agyɔ*?*nigɔ:hó:go*? ‘her mind is scattered’

[*ɛ*?*nigɔho*?*kd*] ‘give up’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔ*?*nigɔhɔ*?*kta*? ‘they are giving up (in spirit)’

PUNC *ahɛ*?*nigɔho*?*kdɛ*? ‘he gave up (his will to live)’

[*ɛ*?*nigɔho*?*neg*] ‘revolt’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsɛ*?*nigɔhɔ*?*ne:k* ‘you will revolt, remove yourself (bodily and in spirit)’

[*ɛ*?*nigyohgwagɛny*] ‘vote, cast lots’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛhsɛnigyohgwagɛ:ni*? ‘you will vote, cast lots’

[*ɛ*?*niha*] ‘borrow, rent’, with [SRF]

HAB *sɛnihahsgɔ*: ‘you are a habitual borrower’

PUNC *ɛhsɛniha*? ‘you will borrow, rent’

[*ɛ*?*nihe:*, *anihe:*] ‘quit, stop, prevent’, with [SRF]

HAB *gɛniheha*?, *ganiheha*? ‘I always quit’

PUNC *a:he:nihe:*? ‘he would stop (himself)’

STAT *agɛnihe*? ‘I stopped or quit’

IMP *sɛnihe:* ‘you quit!’

[*ɛ*?*nihnadog*] ‘perceive, feel’, with [SRF]

HAB *sɛnihnadó:ka*? ‘you are perceiving something right now’

PUNC *ɛhsɛnihná:do:k* ‘you will perceive something’

STAT *agɛnihná:dó:gɛh*, *aganihna:dó:gɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ɛ*?*nihsyage*, *anihsyage*] ‘urinate, pee’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔnihsyá:gɛhs* ‘they urinate’

PUNC *agaɔnihsyage*? ‘they urinated’

STAT *agɛnihsyá:ge*: ‘I am urinating’

[*ɛ*?*ni*?*jɔhsgwaɛ:*] ‘squat’, with [SRF]

HAB *səniʝohsgwáəɣeʔ* ‘you squat all the time’

PUNC *ɛsəniʝohsgwáeʔ* ‘you will squat’

IMP *səniʝohsgwáe* ‘squat!’

[*ɛnitsgodɔnyɔ*] ‘sit ups’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔnitsgó:taʔ* ‘they do sit ups’

PUNC *ɛgaɔnitsgodó:nyo:ʔ* ‘they will do sit ups’

[*ɛnitsgrɔdi, ɛnitsgrɔgy*] ‘spit’, with [SRF]

IMP *səni:tsgró:dih* ‘you spit!’

[*ɛniyaʔgyaʔg, ɛniyaʔgyaʔg*] ‘burp, belch’, with [SRF]

HAB *degeɔniyáʔgyaʔs, deganiyáʔgyaʔs* ‘I burp, belch’

PUNC *atgeɔninyáʔgyaʔk* ‘I burped, belched’

STAT *dewageɔniyaʔgyáʔgoh* ‘I am burping, belching’

[*enɔ*] ‘originate from someplace, come from someplace’, with [PART,CIS]

HAB *nita:wé:noh* ‘a male stranger’, ‘he is that age’ (literally, ‘where he comes from’)

STAT *nigya:wé:nɔ*: ‘where it came from’

[*enɔ*] ‘go to some unspecified place’, with [CONTR]

STAT *tiyo:né:nɔ*: ‘where they have gone’

[*enɔ-gy-e*] ‘move forward’, with *ohé:dɔ*: ‘ahead’ [TRANSL]

STAT-PROG *ohé:dɔ: heʔsənoɣyeʔ* ‘you are moving forward’

[*enɔ-gy-e*] ‘roam about randomly’, with [CONTR]

HAB-PROG *tigənenó:gyeʔs* ‘they are roaming about’

[*ɛnohgra:ʔ*] ‘cause an allergic reaction, give someone a rash’, with [SRF]

HAB *gowənohgra:ʔs* ‘poison ivy’, ‘any plant that causes a skin infection’

PUNC *ɛhsawənohgra:ʔ* ‘it will give you an allergic reaction’

STAT *ageɔnohgrá:ʔoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ɛnohwed, anɔhwed*] ‘stay overnight’, with [SRF]

HAB *geɔnówetaʔ, ganówetaʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgeɔnohwe:t ɛganɔhwe:t* ‘I will stay overnight’

STAT *ageɔnohwé:doh, aganɔhwé:doh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ɛnohwehstaʔ*] ‘bedroom’ (literally, ‘place to stay overnight’), with [SRF]

HAB *onóhwehstaʔ* ‘bedroom’

[*ɛnoʔsgwi, onoʔsgwi*] ‘sweep’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degónóʔsgwihs* ‘I am sweeping’

PUNC *degeɔnoʔsgwiʔ* ‘I will sweep’

STAT *dewageɔnoʔsgwi:* ‘I have swept’

IMP *desənoʔsgwih* ‘sweep!’

[*ɛnowae*] ‘squat’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsənowáeʔ* ‘you will squat, hunch down’ (as for Gayədowa:nəh Peach Pit Game)

[*ɛnowaəd*] ‘sink something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ageɔnowáədahk* ‘I made it sink’

[*ɛnowəhd*] ‘tell a lie’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *age:nó:wəht* 'I lied'

[ɛ̃'nyɑ:] 'govern, watch, look after',
with [DU]

HAB *dehsé'nyɑ:* 'you are looking af-
ter it right now'

PUNC *atsé'nyɑ:* 'you looked after it'

[ɛ̃nyaha'd] 'boil something', with
[SRF]

IMP *sənyáha't* 'boil it!'

[ɛ̃'nyɑ'we, ɛ̃'nyɑ'o] 'clap', with
[DU,SRF]

IMP *desé'nyɑ'we:k, desé'nyɑ'o:k* 'you

clap!'

[ɛ̃:sətw] 'kick something'

HAB *gésẽsətwahs* 'I am kicking'

PUNC *egésẽsəto* 'I will kick it'

STAT *age:sé:tweh* 'I did kick it'

IMP *sə:sé:toh* 'kick it!'

[ɛ̃'tsigahgya'g] 'cartwheel', with
[DU,SRF]

HAB *desé'tsihgáhgya'ks* 'you do
cartwheels'

PUNC *desé'tsigáhgya'k* 'you will do a
cartwheel'

G-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[g] 'eat'

HAB *í:ge:s* 'I eat'

PUNC *é:ge:k* 'I will eat'

STAT, with [INC N] *agáhyagoh* 'I am
eating fruit'

[+gadad] 'raise up something'

HAB, with [INC N] *wadahsgwagá:da:s*
'lift bridge'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ədwaənágada:t*
'we all will raise the song'

[ga:dɔ] 'tell a story'

HAB *gegá:dɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ege:gá:dɔ:* 'I will tell a story'

STAT *age:gá:dɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *segá:dɔ:* 'tell a story!'

[ga:gwahd] 'collect money'

HAB *ega:gwáhta* '(someone collects
money)'

[ga:gweni, ga:gweny] 'afford'

PUNC *egega:gwé:ni* 'I will afford it'

[gahadeni, gahadeny] 'turn some-
thing on', with [DU]

IMP *desegaha:dé:ni* 'turn it on!' (in-
volves movement)

[gahdrɔni] 'stare'

HAB *sagahdrɔ:nihs* 'you are staring at
it'

IMP *sagahdrɔ:ni* 'you are nosy, al-
ways looking)', 'gape', 'stare!'

[gahɛd] 'drill, hole'

HAB *gagáheta* 'a drill bit'

PUNC *ahadigahé:dé* 'they made a
hole'

STAT *ogáhét* 'it has a hole in it, an
opening', 'a hole'

IMP *segahé:dé* 'drill!'

[gahɛdɛhd] 'hull berries'

PUNC *əhsegahé:déht* 'you will hull
berries'

[gahɛhgya'g] 'hull berries'

PUNC *əsegahéhgya'k* 'you will hull
berries'

[ganɛd] 'lick'

[gowanahd, gowanəhd] ‘enlarge something, make something big’

HAB *gagowanáhta* ‘it makes things big’

PUNC, with [INC N] *ęsehs-gohaowá:neht* ‘branch it out’ (i.e. add particles, etc. to “dress up” speech)

[gri] ‘wrinkle’

HAB *gegrihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ahsé:gri:k* ‘you wrinkled, fan-folded it, you made it smaller, shrank it’

IMP *dahsé:gri:k* ‘wrinkle, fan-fold!’

[gw] ‘gather, pick, get’

HAB *hegé:gwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ha’há:go* ‘he went and got it’

STAT *agé:gwəh* ‘how much I have obtained or acquired’

[gwah] ‘go after’

PUNC, with [INC N] *a’qđena’trag-wáha* ‘she went after groceries’

[gwatw] ‘hem’, with [DU]

HAB *degégwatwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəhségwato* ‘you will hem’

STAT *degágwatwəh* ‘hem’

[+gweg] ‘close something’

HAB, with [INC N] *qgyá’dagwe:s* ‘she gets bound up, constipated’

PUNC, with SRF+INC N *dəsátgahgwe:k* ‘you will close your eyes’

STAT, with SRF+INC N *gogyá’dagwé:gəh* ‘she is constipated’

[gweni, gweny] ‘able to do something, succeed, win’

HAB *gegwé:nye’s, gegwé:nyəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əha:gwé:ni* ‘he can do it’

STAT *agégwenyø:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

H-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[ha’d] ‘dry out, dry something’

HAB *gahá’ta* ‘it dries’

PUNC *ęhsé:ha’t* ‘you will dry something’

STAT *ohá’dəh* ‘it is dry’ (i.e. fields, weather), ‘drought’

[ha:dad] ‘raise something up, rise up’

HAB *ká:da:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əká:da:t* ‘I will raise something’

STAT *aka:dá:dəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ha’danawəhd] ‘quench one’s thirst’

PUNC *ęyeha’dánawə:* ‘they (literally,

she/someone) will wet their cores, throat’

[he:] ‘have a birthday’, with [TRANSL,REP]

PUNC *hejéhe:* ‘it will be her birthday’

[hahaha:] ‘go onto a road’

PUNC *a:haháha:* ‘he should or might come onto the road’

[hahshə] ‘counsel’

HAB *haháhshəhə* ‘he is a counsellor’

PUNC *əhahahsəhək* ‘he will be a counsellor’

[haø] ‘bead something’, with [DU]

HAB *deyháøha* ‘she is beading’

[hate'd] 'brighten up', with [DU]
 HAB *deká:te'ta* ' (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *deká:te't* 'I will light'
 STAT-PROG *dətohaté'dəhək* 'he will
 brighten from over there'

[hawi, ha:] 'carry'
 HAB *hadihá:wi*'s 'they carry along'
 PUNC *ehá:wi* 'she carried it here or
 she brought it here'

[hawi, ha:] 'bring something', with
 [CIS]
 PUNC *ətahá:wi* 'he is going to bring
 something'
 IMP *dahsha*: 'bring it here'

[hawi, ha:] 'bring something back',
 with [DU,CIS]
 PUNC *dətahá:wi* 'he will bring it
 back'

[hawi, ha:] 'bring something with
 oneself', with [REP]
 PUNC *shahá:wi* 'he brought it with
 him'

[hawihso:] 'carry around'
 PUNC *əhahawihso:* 'he will carry
 something around'

[hədohsga'w] 'clear fields, land'
 HAB *hadihədohsga:*'s 'they clear the
 fields, land'
 PUNC *ahadihədohsga:* 'they cleared
 the fields, land'
 STAT *hodihədohsga'wəh* 'they are
 clearing the fields, land'
 PUNC *hejéhe:* 'it will be her birthday',
 (literally, 'she will come to her birth
 time')

[hədohsga:] 'pioneer', with [DU]

PUNC *atadihədohsga:* 'they were pi-
 oneers'

[hehdawənye] 'hoe, till', with [DU]
 HAB *degahehdáwənyeh* 'cultivator'
 PUNC *dəsehehdáwənye:* 'you will
 tend or till your garden'

[hehsd] 'birthday', with [TRANSL,REP]
 HAB *hehsháhehs* 'his birthday'
 PUNC *hejéhehs* 'it will be her birth-
 day'

[həhsd] 'dry out'
 HAB *gahəhsta* 'it is drying out'
 PUNC *agá:həhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 STAT *ohəhsdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hetgəhd] 'become moody, turn
 bad', with [SRF]
 PUNC *a'ótetgəht* 'someone turned
 funny (moody, etc.)'

[hgw] 'lift', 'pick up', with [DU]
 PUNC *atgəhk* 'I picked something up'
 STAT, with [INC N] *dəhoya'dáhgwəh*
 'it picked him up (bodily)'

[hgwa'd] 'uphold something, raise
 something, lift something', with
 [DU]
 HAB *degáhgwa'ta* 'it upholds or
 raises up things'
 STAT *dəhóhgwa'dəh* 'he is lifting it
 up'

[hna'tsaged] 'scratch one's behind'
 HAB *sahna'tsagé:dahs* 'you are
 scratching your behind'

[hnawaədahgw, hnəwaədahgw]
 'filter water'
 PUNC *əhsnəwáəhdahk* 'you will filter
 the water'

[**hnegadeni, hnegadeny**] ‘drain something’

IMP *snega:dé:nih* ‘drain it!’ (literally, ‘change the water!’)

[**hnegagyęhetw**] ‘sip’, with [DU]

PUNC *ętsnegagyęheto* ‘you will sip through a straw!’

[**hnegatsęi, hnegatsęny**] ‘divine, witch for water’

HAB *hadihnegatsęnyęhs* ‘they divine, witch for water’

[**hnegayehsd**] ‘dilute with water’, with [DU]

IMP *dehsnégayehs* ‘dilute it with water!’

[**hnegeh**] ‘drink’

HAB *gahnégeha* ‘it is drinking’

PUNC *ęyehnegeha* ‘she will drink it’

STAT *aknégeheh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *snegéhah* ‘drink’

[**hnegogohd**] ‘filter liquid, strain liquid’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęhsne:gó:goht* ‘you will filter, strain liquid’

STAT, with [SRF] *deyotnegógohdęh* ‘strained water’

[**hni**] ‘bark’

HAB *gahnih, gahnih* ‘it is barking’

PUNC *ęgęhni* ‘I will bark’

[**hniya’d**] ‘tighten’

PUNC *ękní:ya’t* ‘I will tighten up’

STAT *gahníya’dęh* ‘it is tight, tightened’

[**hnyneę’s**] ‘experience the passing of a chief’ (literally, ‘a stick falls over’)

PUNC *a’ęgwahnyé:nę’s* ‘we all are experiencing the passing of a chief’

[**’howeg, +oweg**] ‘cover’

HAB *ge’hó:we:s* ‘I am covering something’

PUNC *ęhse’hó:we:k* ‘you will cover something’

STAT *age’hówe:gęh* ‘I did cover something’

IMP, with [INC N] *segę’dró:we:k* ‘you put the pillowcase on’

[**hr**] ‘put, place’

HAB *kré:ha* ‘I am setting (it on something)’

PUNC *ęhshre* ‘you will set it or place it on something’

STAT *hewá:kre:’* ‘I put, placed it over there’

IMP *itręh* ‘you place it!’

[**hręd**] ‘lead’

PUNC *ęháhęt* ‘he will lead’

STAT *hahę:dę* ‘he is the front, leader’

[**hrę’da:**] ‘burn something’

HAB *krę’da:s* ‘I (always) burn something’

PUNC *ęhsrę’da:’* ‘you will burn something’

STAT *akrę’da:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hreg**] ‘push’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hekre:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hekre:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *hewa:krę:gęh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hren, hre:**] ‘cut something with a knife’

HAB *kré:nahs* ‘I cut it all the time’

PUNC *ękre:’* ‘I will cut it’

STAT *akré:neh* ‘I did cut it’

[**hrenahnq**] ‘cut something up, shave with a knife’

PUNC *ęhsré:nhnq:* ‘you will shave (with a draw knife)’

[**hretgęh**] ‘wreck something’

PUNC *ęhsré:tgęh* ‘you will wreck it’

[**hretgęhd**] ‘damage something, ruin something, wreck something’

PUNC *ęhshé:tgęht* ‘you will damage, ruin, wreck something’

STAT *gahétgęhdq* ‘it is ruined, wrecked (by someone)’

[**hri**?, **hi**?] ‘break up’, with [DU]

HAB *degáhi*’s ‘it breaks, it is breakable’

PUNC *degáhi*’ ‘it will break (into small pieces)’

STAT *deyóhi’qh* ‘it is broken’

[**hrih**] ‘pour, spill’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hekrihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hękrih* ‘I will pour’

STAT *hewákrihq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hrihd**] ‘break something into smaller pieces, grind up something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęhsriht* ‘you will break something’

STAT, with [INC N] *degahehdáhihdq* ‘land that is disced or worked’

IMP *dehsriht* ‘grind!’

[**hrqhwę**] ‘bar something, put up a barrier’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęhsróhwę*’ ‘you will bar something, put up a barrier’

[**+hs**?, **+ihs**?] ‘finish, use up’, with [SRF]

PUNC, with [INC N] *agataháhsa:* ‘I finished a road’

[**hsadę**] with [CIS] and P *prefix*, *means* ‘mount a horse, come by horseback’, with INT *prefix*, *means* ‘carry on one’s back’

PUNC *ęgyagohsá:dę* ‘she will come by horseback’

[**hsadq**] ‘bury someone, an animal’

PUNC *ęgęhsadq:* ‘I will bury it (an animal)’

STAT *agęhsadq*’ ‘I buried it (an animal)’

[**hs’ahd**] ‘finish, use up’, with [CIS]

HAB *hegęhs’ahta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hegęhs’aht* ‘I will use up’

STAT *hewagehs’áhdq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsd**] ‘use, wear’

HAB *ehsta*’ ‘she uses or people use’

PUNC *ę:yehs* ‘she will use (something)’

STAT-PROG *gohsdqhqgye*’ ‘she is arriving wearing that’

IMP *ihsehs* ‘use it!’

[**hsda:te’d**] ‘shine something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęgehsdá:te’t* ‘I am going to shine it’

STAT *dęgahsdá:te’dq* ‘it is shined, waxed, polished’

[**hsdihsd**] ‘care for, look after, be in charge of’

PUNC *ęhá:sd:i:s* ‘he is will be chosen to look after the event or ceremony’

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STAT *gohsdihsdoh* 'she is a director, principle, head, etc.'

[**hsɛŋoni**] 'store, put away'
PUNC *asehsɛŋo:ni* 'you did store it'
STAT *gahsɛ:nó:ni* 'stored items'
IMP *sehsɛ:nó:nih* 'store it!' 'put it away!'

[**hsɛŋoni**] 'preserve something',
with [SRF,N]
IMP, with [INC N] *sadahyǎhsɛ:nó:nih*
'you preserve fruit!'

[**hsɛnowanhe**] 'become important, famous'
PUNC *ahsehsɛnowanhe* 'you became famous' (literally, 'your name got big')

[**hsgwadahgw**] 'neuter an animal, geld an animal'
PUNC *ɛhɔwahsgwa:dáhgo* 'they will geld, neuter, fix him', (literally, 'they will remove his testicles')
STAT *gahsgwá:dahgweh* 'a neutered animal, a gelding'

[**hshada**] 'fall on one's back'
HAB *gehshá:da*'s (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ɛgéhshada* 'I will fall on my back'
STAT *agehshadá'oh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsha'ged, hsha'kd**] 'bend, fold in two', with [DU]
PUNC *dɛséhsage:t* 'you will fold it once, bend it'

[**hshe'agwehdɛhsta**] 'rolling pin',
with [DU,SRF]
HAB *deyehshe'agwehdɛhsta* 'rolling pin'

[**hsihao**] 'block up'
HAB *gehsiháoha*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ɛgehsiháo* 'I will block up'
STAT *agehsiháo*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsiyaonyahnɔ**] 'fluid dancer'
PUNC *ahahsiyaonyáhnɔ:* 'he is a fluid dancer'

[**hsnotsy**] 'peel bark'
HAB *gehsnó:tsɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ɛgéhsnotsi* 'I will peel bark'
STAT *agéhsnotsɔ*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsrɔni**] 'fix, create, make'
HAB *shahsró:nih* 'repairman'
PUNC *ɛhsehsró:ni* 'you will create, make something'
IMP *sasɛhnihsghahsró:nih* 'fix the wheel'

[**hsrɔnyahnɔ**] 'make several things, prepare several things'
HAB *aknihsrɔnyáhnɔh* 'we two are making several things'
PUNC *ɛyagwadehsrɔnyáhnɔ:* 'we all will prepare things'

[**hsto'drehd**] 'pluck feathers'
PUNC *ɛséhsto'dreht* 'you will pluck feathers'
IMP *sehstó'dreht* 'pluck!'

[**hstɔwihsd**] 'hurt oneself'
PUNC *ɛjisahstó:wi:s* 'you will rehurt yourself'

[**hta:, htaɛ**] 'talk, speak'
HAB *gehtá:ha* 'I talk'
PUNC *ɛgehtaɛ* 'I will talk, speak'
STAT *gohta:* 'she is speaking'
STAT *agéhtaɛ* 'I did talk'
STAT *agéhta:*'k 'I did talk'

[**hta:gw**] 'discuss', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛdwahtá:go* 'we all will discuss'

[**hwa'e**] 'tap'

STAT *hohwá:e* 'he is tapping'

[**hwanh**] 'tie onto'

HAB *kwanhahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛkwá:nha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *akwá:nhɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hwɛdahd**] 'clear, make a clearing', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛhsehwe:daht* 'you will make a clearing'

[**hwe'nɔni**] 'wrap something'

IMP *swe'nó:nih* 'wrap it!'

[**hwe'sdɔni**] 'whip (eggs, etc.)'

PUNC *ɛhswɛ'sdó:ni* 'you will whip (e.g. a meringue)'

[**hwihsdahihd**] 'make change', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛhswihsdɔhiht* 'you will make change'

[**hyadɔ**] 'write'

HAB *ehyádɔha*, *ehyá:dɔh* 'she is a secretary, stenographer, court recorder, transcriber'

PUNC *ɛkyá:dɔ:* 'I will write'

STAT *akyá:dɔ* 'I have written'

[**hyohsgwɛhda:**] 'fall forward', with [DU]

HAB *dɛkyóhsgwɛhda:*'s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛkyóhsgwɛhda:*' 'I will fall forward'

STAT *dewakyo'hsgwɛhdá:'ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hyo'tiyɔ, hyu'tiyɔ**] 'sharpen'

HAB *kyo'tiyɔha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛkyo'tí:yɔ:* 'I will sharpen'

STAT *akyo'tí:yɔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

I-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**i, ɛ**] 'say'

PUNC *a'á:gɛ* 'she did say'

STAT *á:gɛ:* '(that's what) I did say'

Also see the full paradigm on page 777.

[**i, ɛ:, e:**] 'think, hope, want'

HAB *ihe:* 'he wants, thinks'

PUNC *ehswe:*' 'you all thought'

Also see the full paradigm on page 778.

[**idagra**] 'fall down'

HAB *edá:gra*'s 'she is forever falling (i.e. an old person)'

PUNC *ɛyédagra*' 'she will fall down'

STAT *agidagrá'ɔh* 'I have fallen'

[**idɔhgwahswahd**] 'extinguish a flame, dim the lights'

PUNC *ɛhsidɔhgwáhstwaht* 'you will dim the lights'

STAT *gɛdɔhgwáhstwáhdɔh* 'the flame is turned down'

[**i'dre**] 'drag something, ride along in a vehicle, drive'

HAB *ɔkní'dre*' 'we two are riding along in (something)'

PUNC *agé'dre:*' 'I dragged it'

STAT *agé'drɔ:* 'I am dragging, I dragged'

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IMP *desá'dre*: 'drive over here'

[i'drehd] 'move oneself'

HAB *gadréhta* 'it moves itself, it rides'

[i'drøð] 'live, dwell, be at home, reside, be placed, be situated'

PUNC *əhsni'drô:da'k* 'you two will stay home'

[i'drøða'] 'land', with [DU]

HAB *dege'drô:da's* 'it lands there all the time'

PUNC *dege'drô:da'* 'it will land'

STAT *dəho'drøðá'əh* 'he has landed'

[ihey, ihe:] 'die'

HAB *həhé:yəhs* 'he is dying'

PUNC *egíhe:* 'I will die'

STAT *awe:t'á:* *agihé:yə:* 'I am pretending I am dead' *awe:t'á:* 'it is pretend'

[ihnağə'dowə] 'put a patch on'

HAB *gihnağə'dowəha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egihnağə'dó:wə* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agihnağə'do:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ihnanəðakd] 'stick a patch on something'

HAB *gihnanəðá:kta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egihnanə:da:k* 'I will put a patch on (cloth)'

STAT *agihnanəðakdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ihsag] 'seek, look for'

HAB *gihsa:s* 'I am looking for it'

PUNC *egihsa:k* 'I will seek or look for it'

STAT *agihsağəh* 'I am looking for it'

IMP *sihsa:k* 'look for it'

[ihsag] 'look for a mate', with [DU]

HAB *dedwədəhsa:s* 'we are looking for mates'

[ihsdəhd, sdəhd] 'scale fish'

PUNC *əšəhsdəht* 'you will take the scales off (the fish)'

[+iya'g] 'cut, break, cross something'

HAB, with [INC N] *enəhsdanya's*, *enəhsdaiya's* 'she is sawing a board'

PUNC, with [INC N] *awətehgya'k* 'it did erode'

STAT, with [INC N] *swəəgya'gəh* 'you all have cut the log'

IMP, with [INC N] *sədəji'əhgya'k* 'you cut your nails'

[iy'ag, 'ag] 'shoot'

HAB *hadí:y'a:s* 'they are shooting'

PUNC *egá'a:k* 'I will shoot'

[iya'ksə] 'cut, break into pieces', with [TRANSL,DU]

PUNC, with [INC N] *əšəhsgwiyá'ksə:* 'you will cut the twigs off'

STAT *ha'dəgayá'ksə* 'it is broken up in different ways'

J-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[jagɔ] ‘persevere, try hard’
 HAB *gejá:gɔhs* ‘I persevere all the time’
 PUNC *agéjagɔ:* ‘I persevered’
 STAT *agejagɔ’ɔh* ‘I do persevere (all the time)’
 IMP *sejá:gɔh* ‘persevere!’, ‘keep it up!’
 [jaodɛ] ‘smoke (cigarettes, cigars, etc.)’
 PUNC *ɛhsejáodɛ?* ‘you will smoke’
 [jɛhɛ, jɛshɔ] ‘go get water with a pail, dipper’
 STAT *hojɛshɔ:* ‘he is gone to get water (with a pail)’
 IMP *sejéhɛh* ‘you go get water (with a pail, dipper)’
 [ji’dɛda] ‘stop crying’
 IMP *seji’dɛ:da* ‘stop crying!’
 [jihodagw] ‘open something’
 IMP *sejihodá:goh* ‘you open it!’
 [jihodɛ] ‘close, turn off, plug up’
 HAB *sejihó:dɛhs* ‘you close it all the time’
 PUNC *ɛgejihó:dɛ?* ‘I will plug something up, I will close it’

IMP *sejihó:dɛh* ‘you close it!’
 [jihsdawɛnye] ‘stoke a fire’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛsejihsdáwɛnye:* ‘you will poke the fire’
 IMP *desejihsdáwɛnye:* ‘stoke the fire’
 [jihsdod] ‘turn on a light’
 HAB *shɛh niyejihsdó:ta* ‘the time when you turn the lights on’
 STAT *gajihsdó:t* ‘the light is on’
 IMP *sejihsdó:dɛh* ‘turn on the light’
 [jihsgɔni] ‘mash up something’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛhsejihsgɔ:ni* ‘you will mash it up’
 [jihsgwahihd] ‘mash something up’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛsejihsgwáhiht* ‘you will mash something up’
 STAT *degajihsgwáhihdɔh* ‘it is smashed or mashed’
 [ji’noɣew, ji’noɣe:] ‘blow one’s nose’
 HAB *saji’noɣé:wahs* ‘you are blowing your nose’

K-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[k] ‘put together’, with [DU]
 HAB *degé:kahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *degé:ka?* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 STAT *degáekɛh* ‘twin girls, twin boy and girl’
 [kahɔ] ‘assemble, put together,

match up’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛhsékahɔ?* ‘you will assemble, put together, match or pair things up (puzzle pieces, socks)’
 STAT, with [INC N] *deyonigyohg-wakáhɔ?* ‘division of many organiza-

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tions, i.e. Boy Scouts, Lions'

[k^hsi] 'share, divide', with [DU]

HAB *degéka^hs^hs* 'I divide it'

PUNC *d^hsék^hsi* 'you will share, divide'

STAT *dewageká^hs^h*: 'I have taken one object apart'

[k^hs^hg^w] 'divide something into parts', with [(DU)]

PUNC *d^hseka^hs^hg^o* 'you will divide it into parts'

STAT *hoihwaká^hs^hg^weh* 'he has divided into parts or duties'

[k^hs^hg^wah^h] 'divide into categories', with [DU]

PUNC *d^hseka^hs^hg^wah^h* 'you will divide them (several objects) up into categories'

IMP *d^hseka^hs^hg^wah^h*: 'you divide them (several objects) up into categories'

[k^hda'e] 'shell something', with [DU]

IMP *d^hsék^hda'e:k* 'shell (them)! hit the shell!'

[k^hd^h] 'examine, look closely at, try (e.g., by tasting)'

HAB *hadíkd^hha* 'they examine it'

PUNC *agé:kd^h*: 'I did look closely at it', 'I have examined it'

STAT *agé:kd^h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *sek^hd^h*: 'examine it!'

[k^hd^hny^h] 'examine fully'

PUNC *é^hsék^hd^hny^h* 'you will fully examine it'

IMP *dwak^hd^h:ny^h*: 'let's examine'

[k^hd^hsy] 'shell something'

PUNC *é^hsék^hd^hsy^h* 'you will shell (eggs, coconuts, etc.)'

[k^hni] 'cook something'

HAB *gak^h:ni^hs* 'it cooks'

PUNC *age:k^h:ni* 'I cooked a meal'

STAT *gok^h:ni*: 'she is cooking'

IMP *sek^h:ni^h* 'cook'

[k^hs^hah^hh^h] 'go and wash dishes'

HAB *gek^hs^hah^hh^h* 'I am washing dishes'

IMPER *sek^hs^hah^hh^h*: 'wash the dishes'

[k^hw^hda'] 'finish eating'

PUNC *é^hga:k^hw^h:da'* 'it is going to finish eating'

STAT *agek^hw^hda'^h* 'I have finished eating'

N-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[na'daig, na'da:g] 'bite into bread, snack'

HAB *kna'dáis* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *é^hjidwaná'da:k* 'we all will snack', (literally, 'we all will eat bread')

STAT *akna'dáig^h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[na'daiks^h] 'bite into bread, snack'

PUNC *é^hjidwana'dáiks^h*: 'we all will snack', (literally, 'we all will bite the bread')

[naga:, nagai] 'whistle'

PUNC *é^hsnágai* 'you will whistle'

STAT *haná:ga*: 'he is whistling'

IMP *snagái*: 'whistle!'

[nagəhsrɔni] ‘hill plants’
 IMP *snagəhsrɔ:ni:* ‘you make hills to plant in’

[naʔgwanega:] ‘explode in anger’,
 ‘yell out’, with [DU]
 PUNC *adisanaʔgwane:ga:* ‘you exploded out in anger’

[nahgwaʔe] ‘beat a drum’
 PUNC *ahaʔnəhgwáʔe:k* ‘he beat the drum (barrel)’

[nahsɔd] ‘join’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dəhsnahsɔ:dəʔ* ‘you will join’

[naʔjod] ‘boil in a pot’
 PUNC *əhsnaʔjó:dəʔ* ‘you will boil something in a pot’
 STAT *ganáʔjo:t* ‘it is boiled’

[naʔnawɛ] ‘thaw, melt’, with N / naʔ
 HAB, with [INC N] [naʔ] *ganáʔnawɛʔs* ‘it melts’

PUNC, with [INC N] [naʔ] *əhs-ganaʔná:wɛʔ* ‘it will thaw or melt again’
 STAT, with [INC N] [naʔ] *onaʔnawɛʔəh* ‘it has thawed, melted’

[naʔnawɛʔdah] ‘melt something’,
 ‘liquefy something’
 STAT, with [INC N] [naʔ] *ganaʔnawɛʔ-dahəh* ‘it has been melted’

[naʔnawɛhd] ‘wet something, melt something, liquefy something’,
 with N / naʔ

PUNC, with [INC N] [naʔ] *ahanaʔná:wɛht* ‘he wet it’
 STAT, with [INC N] [naʔ] *onaʔ-nawɛhdəh* ‘it has been melted’

[neda:dəhdaɛ] ‘lay a floor’

PUNC *əhsneda:dəhdaɛʔ* ‘you will lay a floor’

[nəhɛ:] ‘guard something’, with [DU]
 HAB *dəhadinɛhɛhɛʔ* ‘they are guards’
 STAT *dəhodinɛhɛ:* ‘they are guarding something (i.e. strikers)’, ‘security guards’

[nəhɛd] ‘guard, stand in a line, participate in a work-bee’, with [DU,(CIS)]
 HAB *dəhadinɛhɛda:s* ‘they are guards’, ‘they are participants in a work-bee’

[nəhɛsrɔni] ‘stand in line’
 STAT *ganɛhɛhsrɔ:ni:* ‘a line formed’
 IMP *swanɛhɛsrɔ:nih* ‘you all stand in line or a formation!’

[nəhgwi, nəhgwi] ‘carry something, move something, haul something’
 HAB *knɛhgwi(h)s* ‘I carry it all the time’

PUNC *əkɛhgwiʔ* ‘I will carry, move, tote, haul, drag it’
 STAT *akɛhgwi:* ‘I have moved it’
 IMP *snɛhgwi(h)* ‘move it!’

[nəhsgw] ‘steal’
 HAB *knɛhsgwəhs* ‘I am a thief’
 PUNC *əhsnɛhsgoʔ* ‘you will steal it’
 STAT *ganɛhsgwɛh* ‘stolen property, plunder’, ‘something robbed’

[nehwiyaʔg] ‘circumcise’
 PUNC *əhadinehwí:yaʔk* ‘they will circumcise it’, (literally, ‘they will cut off skin’)

[nɛtses] ‘reach out, stretch out one’s arms’, with [DU]

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IMPER *desenętse:s* ‘stretch out your arms’, ‘reach’

[**nętsq’neg**] ‘remove one’s support’, with [DU]

PUNC *dagenętsq’ne:k* ‘I withdrew my arm’ (i.e. withdrew my support)

IMP *desenętsq’ne:k* ‘remove your arms’ (i.e. retract them), ‘remove your support’

[**neyq**] ‘heal with ointments’

HAB *ganę:yqhs* ‘a medical clinic’, ‘a healing place’

PUNC *ęknę:yq:* ‘I will put an ointment on someone’

STAT *aknę:yq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**nhodq**] ‘lock’

HAB *genhódqha* ‘I lock something’

PUNC *ęę:nhó:dq:* ‘I will lock it’

STAT *age:nhó:dq* ‘I have locked it’

[**nhodqgw**] ‘open’

HAB *genhódqgwahs* ‘I open or unlock’

PUNC *ęhahwanhodq:go* ‘he will open the gathering’

STAT *agenhodq:gwęh* ‘I have opened or unlocked it’

IMP *senho:dq:goh* ‘open the door’

[**nhoha:**] ‘close a door’

HAB *genhóha:s* ‘I close the door’

PUNC *ęęénhoha:* ‘I will close the door’

STAT *agenhoháhqh, aghenhohá:hqh* ‘I have closed the door’

IMP *senhóha:* ‘close the door’

[**nhoha’e**] ‘knock on a door’

IMP *senhóha’e:k* ‘knock on the door!’

[**’nigqha:**] ‘expect, watch’

HAB *knigqha:* ‘I am expecting, watching’

PUNC *ęknigqha’k* ‘I will expect it, be watching out for something’

IMP *snigqha’k* ‘watch out for yourself’

[**’nigqhe’**] ‘depressed, sad, mourning’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ętsnigqhe’* ‘you will be depressed’

STAT *dwaknigqhe’qh* ‘I am in sorrow, mourning’, ‘I am sad’

[**’nigqghaęy, ’nigqgahe:**] ‘lose patience’

HAB *aknigqgháęhs* ‘I am running out of patience’, ‘I am impatiently waiting’

[**nihaq**] ‘string, bead something’

HAB *eniháqha* ‘she is stringing or beading something’

PUNC *ęknihaq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *akníhaq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**’nihsdęhd**] ‘hull berries’

PUNC *ęhsníhsdęht* ‘you will hull strawberries’

[**’nikq**] ‘sew’

HAB *e’ní:kqhs, ganikqha* ‘seamstress’

PUNC *á:knikq:* ‘I should, might sew’

STAT *akní:kq* ‘I have sewn’

[**niyqd**] ‘hang up something’

HAB *kniyq:ta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *akni:yq:dę* ‘I did hang it up’

STAT *akní:yq:t* ‘I hung it up’

[**niyqdagw**] ‘unhang something’, with [DU]

PUNC *ętsniyodá:go* 'you will unhang it'

[+nɔ] 'guard'

HAB, with [INC N] *Hagyedahkwá:nɔh* 'Guardian of the Chair (Title)', 'sub-chief'

[nɔ:] 'fail, cost dearly'

PUNC *ęhsá:nɔ:* 'you will fail'

STAT *ganɔ:* 'it is expensive, dear, precious'

[nɔ'geh] 'suck milk'

HAB *knɔ'gé:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęknɔ'geha* 'I will suck (milk)'

STAT *aknɔ'geheh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nohae] 'clean, wash something', with [N/n]

HAB, with [INC N] [n] *knoháehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC, with [INC N] [n] *ęknóhae* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT, with [INC N] [n] *aknóhae* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔhgwas] 'pick scattered things from ground'

HAB *knɔhgwá:sahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęknɔhgwa:s* 'I will pick scattered things from ground'

STAT *aknɔhgwasęh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔnhedh] 'fill something up'

HAB *knɔnhéhta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęhsnɔ:nheht, ęhsné:nheht* 'you will fill in'

STAT *aknɔnhedhɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔnyaę] 'freeze'

HAB *deganɔnyáęhe* 'it does not freeze'

PUNC *ęganɔnyáę* 'it will freeze'

STAT *onɔnyáę* 'it is frozen'

[nɔnyotsy] 'husk corn'

PUNC *ęhsnɔnyotsi, ęhsnényotsi* 'you will husk the corn'

[nɔwadeni, nɔwadeny] 'strain something'

PUNC *ęhsnɔwadé:ni* 'you will strain'

STAT *ganɔwadé:nyɔ:* 'it is being strained'

[nɔwag] 'crave something'

HAB *knɔ:wa:s* 'I crave something'

PUNC *ęknɔ:wa:k* 'I will crave something'

STAT *aknɔwagɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔwayęhd] 'bargain, barter, strike a deal', with [DU]

HAB *dehsnɔwayęhta* 'you are a bargainer'

PUNC *dęhsnɔwayęht* 'you will barter, bargain, affirm a deal'

STAT *dewaknɔwayęhdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nrahdehd] 'deleaf, pluck leaves'

PUNC *ęhsénrahdeht* 'you will pick off leaves'

[nyage] 'escape, run away'

HAB *ge'nyá:ge's* 'I am an escaper'

PUNC *sha'nyá:ge* 'he escaped'

STAT *godi'nyá'gę'ɔh* 'they ran away'

[nyagw] 'have a hand in it, contribute', with [DU]

STAT-PROG *dęyago'nyá:gwehęgye* 'she will have a hand in it'

[nyęta:, nyęta:h] 'lock (a door, etc.)'

B Verb dictionary

HAB *genyéta:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *egényéta:* 'I will lock (a door)'
STAT *agenyétáhoh*, *agenyétá:hoh*
(Sasse & Keye 1998)
[nyo] 'kill', see [riyo, nyo] §B.2.3

[^ʔnyoŋwaihdsaga:] 'snore', with
[DU]
STAT *dege^ʔnyoŋwaihdsá:ga:* 'I am
snoring'

O and Q-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[o:] 'make something resemble it'
with [REP]

HAB *sgó:ha^ʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ęsgo:* 'I will make it that again'
STAT *swago:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[oda:] 'drape, hook on'
HAB *goda:s* 'I drape it all the time'
PUNC *egó:da:* 'I will drape it, hook it
on'

STAT *odáhoh* 'it is draped'
IMPER, with [INC N] *senhéhsoda:* 'you
harness (an animal)'

[oda:] 'put in'
HAB *só:da:s* 'you put something in'
PUNC *ęhsó:da:* 'you will put an ob-
ject in there'
STAT *agó:dá:hoh* 'I have put it in'

[oda'd] 'shake, shiver, quiver'
HAB *gódá'ta^ʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *egó:da't* 'I will shake'
STAT *agóda'doh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[odagw] 'remove, detach'
HAB, with [INC N] *hadęno^ʔjódagwahs*
'he is a dentist'
PUNC *ęsódago^ʔ* 'you will remove or
detach something'
STAT, with [INC N] *otnegodá:gwęh*
'splashing water'

IMPER, with [INC N] *sagehędá:goh* 're-
move the ashes out of it'

[odahsd] 'put something in'
HAB *hęnódahsta^ʔ* 'they put it in there
all the time'

[odaihsy] 'undrape', with [DU]
PUNC *ętsodáihsi^ʔ* 'you will undrape
something'

[+odi, +ogy] 'throw something'
PUNC, with [INC N] *hę^ʔgehnyó:di^ʔ* 'I
threw a stick'
STAT, with [INC N] *gahsgwáogyo:*
'gravel has been put down'

[odrah] 'sprinkle'
HAB *godrahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ęhęnodrah* 'they will sprinkle
on something'
STAT *agódrahoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[odrahsd] 'sprinkle deliberately'
HAB *hęnódrahsta^ʔ* 'they sprinkle on'
STAT *honódrahsdoh* 'they are going
along sprinkling', 'they have sprin-
kled'

[^ʔog] 'axe something, chop some-
thing'
HAB *ge^ʔohs* 'I am a chopper'
PUNC *ęhsá^ʔo:k* 'it will chop you'
STAT *age^ʔó:goh* 'I did chop', 'I have
chopped'

[**qohod**] ‘filter, strain, penetrate’,
with [DU]

PUNC *dešó:goht* ‘you will penetrate’

IMPER *dehsó:goht* ‘filter, strain it!’

[**qohod**] ‘go under something’, with
[DU,SRF,N]

PUNC, with [INC N] *dehsadé’hé:goht*
‘you will go under the fence’

[**qohod**] ‘exaggerate’, with [TRANSL]

PUNC *hešó:goht* ‘you will exaggerate, go above and beyond’

[**oh**] ‘dip in liquid’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hé:gohs* ‘I am dipping it in all the time’

PUNC *hé:goh* ‘I will put it in, submerge it’

STAT *hewágoḥoh* ‘I have already dipped, submerged it’

[**ohaḗ, oha:**] ‘attach’

HAB *gohá:ha*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ḗsóhaḗ*’ ‘you will attach something’

STAT *oha:*’ ‘it is attached (to something)’

[**ohga:**] ‘coat with a substance, rub something on’

HAB *soḥga:s* ‘you coat something all the time’ (i.e. for a living)

PUNC *ḗsóhga:*’ ‘you will coat something’ (with a paste, etc.)

STAT *soḥgá:hoh* ‘you have coated it’

[**ohnyahsy**] ‘sort, filter something’

HAB *degóhnyahsḥs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *degóhnyahsi*’ ‘I will sort, filter’

STAT *dewagohnyáhso:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**qwejahsgenh**] ‘fight over land’,
with [DU]

HAB *haḥwejáhsgenhahs* ‘land researcher’ (literally, ‘he fights for land’)

STAT *saḥwejáhsgenheḥ* ‘you are fighting over the land right now’

[**qwejahsnye**] ‘conserve land’,
with [DU]

HAB *deyoḥkiyoḥwejáhsnye*’ ‘they look after our lands (title, office)’

[**o’jiye’g**] ‘suck, absorb’

HAB *go’jíye’s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ḗgo’jí:ye:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ago’jiiyé:goḥ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**o’jiyo**] ‘suck, absorb’

HAB *go’jí:yoḥs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ḗgo’jí:yo:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ago’jí:yo:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**o’kde, o’kdani**] ‘finish something’,
with [TRANSL]

HAB *hegó’kta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hegó’kde:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q’neg**] ‘remove something’

HAB *gḥ’néhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ḗgḥ’ne:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agḥ’né:goḥ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q’n.eg**] ‘take away, subtract’, with
[CIS]

HAB *tsḥ’neh*s ‘you subtract, take away all the time’

PUNC *ḗtsḥ’ne:k* ‘you will subtract’

STAT *disḥ’no:* ‘you have taken away’

IMPER *dahsḥ’ne:k* ‘subtract!’

[**q’neksḥ**] ‘remove several things’

B Verb dictionary

IMPER *sq'né:ksq:* 'you remove several things'

[**qnehd**] 'swallow', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hegónqhta* 'I swallow'

PUNC *hegó:nqht* 'I will swallow'

STAT *hewagonéhdqh* 'I have swallowed'

IMPER *ha'sq:nqht* 'you swallow!'

[**qnehtge:**] 'gulp', with [TRANSL]

PUNC *ha'gónqhtge:* 'I took a big swallow (gulp)'

[**qni, qny**] 'make, earn'

HAB *gó:nih, gó:nih* 'I make, earn'

PUNC *agó:ni* 'I did make, earn'

STAT *agó:ni*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMPER *sq:nih* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**qni, qny**] 'use in place of something else, replace', with [CONTR]

HAB *tigó:nih* 'I use something in place of (something else)'

[**owę**] 'split in two', with [DU]

HAB, with [INC N] *degaihó:wę* 'computer'

PUNC *atgó:wę:* 'I split it open'

STAT, with [SRF] *deyo:dó:wę* 'it is split (in two)'

IMPER *desó:wę:* 'halve it!'

[**otsy**] 'remove an outer covering, shell'

HAB *gotsqhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgó:tsi* 'I will strip skin off'

STAT *agó:tsq:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC, with [INC N] *ęhsékdotsi* 'you will shell' (eggs, coconuts, etc.)

[**+oweksy**] 'uncover something'

PUNC, WITH INC N *ęhsna'sgowé:ksih* 'you will uncover the bed'

R-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**ra, ya**] 'spread'

HAB *ihra:s* 'you spread it on all the time'

PUNC *ęhra:* 'you will spread'

STAT *agráhqh* 'I did spread it already'

IMP *i:drah* 'spread it on something!'

[**rad, yad**] 'spread'

HAB *eyá:ta* 'someone spreads it'

[**ragew, rage:**] 'erase something, wipe something'

HAB *gragé:wahs* 'I am erasing or wiping'

PUNC *ęgrá:ge:* 'I will erase or wipe it'

STAT *agra:gé:węh* 'I have erased or

wiped'

[**ragw**] 'choose, take out, get'

HAB *gragwahs* 'I am taking it out right now', 'I always take it out'

PUNC *ęhrá:go* 'you will choose or take out'

STAT *agrá:gwęh* 'I have picked it out', 'I have chosen that one'

[**ranawę'doh**] 'sweeten something'

PUNC *ęhsranawę'doh* 'you will sweeten'

[**ranawę'dowęg**] 'ice or frost something' (e.g. a cake)

PUNC *ęhsranawę:dó:we:k* 'you will ice, frost something' (e.g. a cake)

[ra'nege] 'put two things together'
 HAB *degra'né:gehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęgra'né:ge:*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagra'né:ge:*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rate] 'climb'

HAB *gratehs* 'I climb'

PUNC *ęsrá:te?* 'you will climb!'

STAT *agra:te:* 'I did climb'

IMP *dahsrá:tęh, dadrá:tęh* 'climb (over here)!'

[rawihdotsy] 'peel something'

HAB *grawihdotsqhs* 'I peel'

PUNC *ęsrawihsdó:tsi?* 'you will peel'

STAT *agrawihsdó:tsq:* 'I peeled'

IMP *srawihdotsih* 'peel it!'

[reṅaganye] 'chant, sing, yodel'

HAB *haṅagá:nyeh* 'he is trilling the song'

PUNC *ęshwaṅaganye:*' 'you all will sing, yodel, chant'

[reṅoda:] 'record songs'

PUNC *ahaṅó:da:* 'he recorded songs or taped'

[rihoni] 'incite'

PUNC *ętrihó:ni?*, *ęsrihó:ni?* 'you will incite, be the cause of something'

[riho'gwad] 'research, instigate something'

HAB *háiho'gwa:s* 'he is researching, instigating'

[rihsda:] 'iron something'

HAB *grihsda:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęsríhsda:*' 'you will iron'

STAT *agrihsdá:hqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rihsdoh] 'trap'

HAB *gadrihsdohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgádríhsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadrihsdóhqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rihsgya'ksq] 'slice something up'

PUNC *ęsríhsgya'ksq?* 'you will slice something up'

[rihwa'e] 'demand something, insist on something', with [CIS]

PUNC *ętrihwá'e:k* 'you will demand something, insist, force something'

[rihwa'ehsd] 'demand a report, demand an account', with [DU]

PUNC *atgaqgríhwá'ehs* 'they wanted a report'

[rihwaędahgw] 'hold responsibility'

PUNC *ęgaihwaędahk* 'it will become someone's responsibility'

STAT *gaihwaędahgqh* 'a collective responsibility'

[rihwaętwahd] 'spread the news', with [DU,(REP)]

HAB *dęhahiwáętwahs* 'he brings forth the message all the time'

PUNC *dęshahiwáętwah* 'he will bring forth a message'

STAT *dęshoihwáętwęh* 'he is bringing forth the message right now'

[rihwagenh] 'argue', with [DU]

HAB *dęhahiwágenhahs* 'he is a lawyer'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *dəhsrihwagé:nha* 'you will argue, debate, protest'

STAT *deyagodi:hwágenhəh* 'they are arguing'

[rihwagwaihsy] 'witness'

PUNC *əhsrihwagwáihsi* 'you will be a witness'

[rihwagweni, rihwagweny] 'accomplish something, be able to perform'

PUNC *əhsrihwagwé:ni* 'you will accomplish'

STAT *saihwagwé:nyo* 'you are able to perform' (i.e run, dance, orate, etc.)

[rihwagweniyohsd] 'sanction, charter, give authority to'

PUNC *əhsrihwagwe:ní:yohs* 'you will sanction, charter, give authority to'

[rihwagyəhətw, rihwagyəhəto] 'participate, partake, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hedwaihwayyéhé:tohs, hedwaihwayyéhé:twahs* 'we all partake', 'we all pull forth the words or ideas all the time'

PUNC *hejidwaihwayyéhəto* 'we all will bring the idea back again'

STAT *heyogwaihwadihətwəh, heyogwaihwayyéhətwəh* 'we have pulled forth the ideas', 'we are participating right now'

[rihwahe] 'present an idea'

PUNC *əhsrihwahə* 'you will present an idea'

[rihwahníya'd] 'harden something, settle something, affirm something, get married'

PUNC *egrihwahní:ya:t* 'I will affirm it, agree, defend it'

[rihwahs', riwhihs'] 'plan, promise, make an agreement'

HAB *srihwáhs'ahs* 'you promise, make an agreement all the time'

PUNC *əhsryhwahs'a:* 'you will plan an idea', 'you will promise, make an agreement'

STAT *haihwihis'óhogyə* 'he is going along making promises, making agreements'

[rihwahsnyə] 'oppose, disagree', with [CONTR,DU]

HAB *ta'degrihwáhsnyə* 'I oppose it', 'I do not agree'

[rihwahsrəni] 'make right, be in charge, come to an arrangement'

HAB *hadi:hwahsrə:nih* 'they who are in charge'

PUNC *əhsrihwahsrə:ni* 'you will come to an arrangement'

[rihwahsrəni] 'reconcile, ratify, rectify', with [REP]

PUNC *əjjadrihwahsrə:ni* 'you two will reconcile'

[rihwahwinyo'd] (possibly, [rihwinyo'd]) 'report on something'

PUNC *ətrihwahwí:nyo't* (possibly, *ətrihwinyo't*) 'you will report'

[rihwane'ag] 'sin'

HAB *grihwáne'a:s* 'I am a sinner'

PUNC *əgrihwané'a:k* 'I will sin'

STAT *əgrihwané'agoh* 'I have sinned'

[rihwane'aksrə] 'swear'

PUNC *əhsrihwané'aksrɔ:* 'you will swear, use profane language'

[rihwa'neg] 'pray, hope, wish for, ask for'

HAB *srihwá'neka* 'you pray'

PUNC *əhsrihwane:k* 'you will pray'

STAT *saihwá'né:gəh* 'you are praying', 'you have prayed'

[rihwanhodɔgw] 'open a gathering'

PUNC *əhaihwanhodɔ:go* 'he will open the gathering'

[rihwanɔhwe's] 'disapprove', with [NEG]

desrihwanɔhwe's 'you disapprove'

[rihwate'd] 'explain something', with [DU]

HAB *degaihwaté'ta* 'dictionary'

PUNC *dəhsrihwate't* 'you will explain'

[rihwaya'g] 'denounce something, disapprove of something', with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsrihwaya'k* 'you will denounce it, disapprove of it'

[rihwayenaw, rihwayenaɔ, rihwayena:] 'accept advice'

PUNC *əhsrihwayé:na:* 'you will accept advice, a suggestion, etc.'

[rihwəhd] 'give someone an important message'

PUNC *ətrihwəht* 'you will bring the idea down'

[rihwəhɛ] 'convey a message', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehaihwəhɛhs* 'he always takes the message', 'he is a messenger'

PUNC *həhaihwəhɛ:* 'he will take the message'

STAT *hehoihwəhɛ:* 'he has taken a message'

[rihwiyoɦsd] 'convert to Christianity'

PUNC *ahsrihwí:yohs* 'you became a Christian', 'you converted to Christianity'

[riyo, nyo] 'fight, kill'

HAB *grí:yohs, há:nyohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

HAB *hanyohs* 'he kills something'

PUNC *egrí:yo', əhá:nyo'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ahá:nyo'* 'he killed (an animal)'

STAT *agri:yo:, hó:nyo:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rɔgw] 'keep'

PUNC *əgrɔ:go* 'I will keep'

[roheg, yoheg] 'gather, collect bets'

HAB *gáeyohe:s* 'they are gathering'

PUNC *əhsróhe:k* 'you will gather'

STAT *agrohé:gəh* 'I have gathered'

IMP, with [INC N] *sá'nigəháohɛ:k* 'gather your mind'

[rɔhyagɛ] 'be in agony, groan in agony, labour'

HAB *grɔhyá:gəhs* 'I am always in pain'

PUNC *əgrɔhyagɛ'* 'I will be in pain', 'I will labour'

STAT *agrɔhyagɛ:* 'I am in agony, in pain'

IMP *sáɔhyagɛ:* 'you groan!'

S and T-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[sha'kdonyogw] 'fold something up', with [DU]

PUNC *dəsesha'kdonyogo* 'you will fold something up'

[+ta'd] 'dry something out'

HAB, with [INC N] *wəhgwənyatá'ta* 'clothes dryer'

PUNC, with [INC N] *əhsnéhəta't* 'you will dry corn'

STAT, with [INC N] *ganəhətá'doh* 'dried corn'

[te'd] 'pound'

HAB *geté'ta* 'I am a pounder'

PUNC *egéte't* 'I will pound'

STAT *ageté'doh* 'I did pound'

IMP *seteht* 'pound! (corn, etc.)'

[tsahni] 'frighten, scare'

HAB *getsáhnihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *asétsahni'k* 'you are afraid'

STAT *agetsahni'oh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[tsei, tsəny] 'find'

HAB *getsé:nye's*, *getsé:nyohs* 'I am a finder of things'

PUNC *a:yetséi* 'she might find it'

STAT *agétsənyo*: 'I have found it'

[tsge'ədahgw] 'deseed, remove seeds'

PUNC *əhsetsge'ədahgo* 'you will remove seeds'

W-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[waqda:] 'inflate something'

HAB *gawáqda:s* 'pump (air)'

STAT *gawaqda:hoh* 'it is inflated'

IMP *sewáqda:* 'you inflate (a tire, balloon)!'

[wayənda'] 'complete'

HAB *hawayəné:da's* 'he finishes'

PUNC *a'ewayə:né:da* 'she finished'

STAT *gawayənéda'oh* 'it is ready, prepared'

[wənohgrodragw] 'remove weeds'

PUNC *əgwənohgródago* 'I'll weed'

[widragədrə] 'skim milk, separate cream', with [DU]

HAB *degawidrágədrəhs* 'cream separator'

PUNC *dəsewidrágədrə:* 'you will take the cream off, skim the milk'

STAT *degawidrágədrə:* 'skimmed milk'

Y-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[ya'da:] 'draw, take pictures'

HAB *gya'dá:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgyá'daə* 'I will draw, take pictures'

[ya'dagehey] 'physically weak in body, limp'

HAB *agya'dagehé:yəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *agya'dagéhe:* 'I got limp, weak'

STAT *agya'dagéhé:yə:* 'I am physically weak, slow'

[*ya'dahdɔ*] 'get lost' (said of a person)

HAB *gya'dáhdɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęyá'dahdɔ'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agya'dahdɔ'ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ya'dahsrɔni, ya'dahsrɔny*] 'dress something up'

HAB *gaya'dahsrɔ:nih* 'it dresses it up'

[*ya'dɛ*] 'fall into' (person), with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *hegyá'dɛ's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęhtsyá'dɛ'* 'you will fall into it'

STAT *hewagya'dɛ'ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ya'dodrɔhgwaɔ*] 'twitch'

HAB *saya'dodrɔhgwápha'* 'you are twitching (right now)'

[*ya'dodrɔhgwaɔni*] 'shiver'

HAB *saya'dodrɔhgwáɔnihsgɔ:* 'you are always shivering'

[*ya'doweɦd*] 'think about, consider', with [DU]

HAB *deyeya'dóweɦta'* 'she is a thinker (seer)'

PUNC *dęgya'dó:weɦt* 'I will think over'

STAT *dewagya'dóweɦdɔh* 'I have already thought about it', 'I am thinking about it'

[*ya'drɛ*] 'put on top', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degyá'dreɦa', degya'dré:ɦa'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęgyá'drɛ'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewágya'se:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ya'g*] 'cut'

HAB *igya's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgya'k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agya'gɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*yagɛ*] 'go out'

HAB *gyá:gɛ's* 'I am going out'

PUNC *ęhsyá:gɛ'* 'you will go out'

STAT *heyoyagɛ'ɔh* 'that's where it went out'

[*ya'gyenɛ*] 'fall over, pass on, die'

PUNC *ahayagyé:nɛ'* 'he fell over' (refers to passing on)

[*yahnɔ*] 'touch, pick at, grope', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehsyáhnɔɦa'* 'you are picking at something' (i.e. your food), 'you are a proper'

PUNC *hehsyáhnɔ:* 'you will grope, touch, pick at'

STAT *hehsyáhnɔh* 'you are touching here and there, groping'

[*yaɔ*] 'bead something', with [DU]

HAB *desyáɦa'* 'you are beading'

STAT *dęgáyaɔ'* 'it is beaded'

[*yɛ*] 'set, put, place something'

HAB *hayéɦɛ'* 'he puts, places it there (continuously)'

PUNC *ęhsyɛ:* 'you will put it there!'

STAT *nigá:yɛ'* 'where it is at, where it is placed'

IMP *ijɛ:* 'you put it down', 'leave it alone!'

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[**yɛ**] ‘put things side by side, lie side by side’, with [COIN,DU]

PUNC *tsaʹdɛhsyɛ:* ‘you will put, lay them side by side’

STAT *tsaʹdɛgayɛ* ‘it is lying or setting side by side’

[**yɛ**] ‘gamble, bet, play a game’, with [DU]

STAT *dɛho:dí:yɛ*, *deto:dí:yɛ* ‘they are gambling, betting’

[**ye:**, **yɛ:**] ‘do’

HAB *nigyé:ha* ‘I do’

PUNC *né:gye:* ‘I will do’

STAT *nigyó:yɛ* ‘what it is doing’

IMP *sɛnɔ:ʹɔh nɛh tsyɛ:* ‘you take your time’ *sɛnɔ:ʹɔh* ‘slowly’ *nɛh* ‘now’

[**ye:**, **yɛ:**] ‘touch’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehsyé:ha* ‘you are a toucher’

PUNC *hehsyɛ:* ‘you will touch’

STAT *hehsá:yɛ* ‘you did touch something’

[**yeh**] ‘awake, wake up’

HAB *igyɛhs* ‘I wake up (all the time)’

PUNC *ɛhsyɛh* ‘you will wake up!’

STAT *sá:yɛ* ‘you are awake’

IMP *ijeh* ‘wake up!’

[**yɛda**] ‘become, acquire, obtain’

HAB *gayé:da*’s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛsa:yé:da* ‘you will acquire, obtain’

STAT *oyéda*’ɔh (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**yɛdei**, **yɛdi**] ‘know’

STAT *dejidwayé:di:* ‘we all do not know any longer’

[**yɛdr**, **yɛs**] ‘skin something’, also see [yɛse] (next column)

HAB *gyɛdrɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgyé:se:* ‘I will skin’

STAT *agyé:drɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**yɛʹgwaʹe**] ‘tan something, smoke something’

PUNC *ɛhsyéʹgwaʹe:k* ‘you will smoke it’ (meat, etc.), ‘you will tan it’

[**yɛhɛtw**, **yɛhɛto**] ‘pull something’, with [TRANSL/CIS]

PUNC *ɛtgyɛhɛto* ‘I will pull it’

[**yehsd**] ‘mix together’, with [DU]

PUNC *dɛsyɛhs* ‘you will mix them all together’

STAT, with [INC N] *degahnégáyɛhs-dɔh* ‘water is mixed in it’

IMP, with [INC N] *dehsnégayɛhs* ‘dilute it with water!’

[**yenaw**, **ynaɔ**, **yena:**] ‘catch, receive, accept, hold something’

HAB *gyé:nahs*, *gyenáɔhs* ‘I catch, receive, accept, hold it’

PUNC *agyé:na:* ‘I caught it’, ‘I received it’

STAT *agye:náɔ:*, *agyé:na:* ‘I have caught it, received it’

IMP *jé:na:* ‘you (s) catch it! (an animal, etc.)’

[**yenaw**, **ynaɔ**, **yena:**] ‘grab something’, with [CIS/TRANSL]

IMP *datsé:na:* ‘you grab it!’

[**yenaw**, **ynaɔ**, **yena:**] ‘work together’, with [DU]

PUNC *atadiyé:na:* ‘they did it together (i.e. accomplices)’

[**yenawaʹkɔ**] ‘work together, be complicit, be accomplices’, with [DU]

HAB *degadiyenawá'kq'* 'they are accomplices'

IMP *dedwayenáwá'kq:* 'let's work together'

[*yɛse*] 'skin something'

HAB *syé:sehs* 'you skin animals all the time'

PUNC *ɛhsyé:se:* 'you will skin it'

STAT *sayé:se:* 'you are skinning it right now'

[*yɛtw, yɛto*] 'plant'

HAB *gyé:twahs* 'I plant it'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ɛknqhsayé:to* 'I will plant onions'

STAT *tɛ' dehóyɛtwɛh* 'he did not plant'

IMP *tɛ' taháyɛtoh* 'he will not plant'

[*yɛtwagw, yɛtwago*] 'harvest'

HAB *hayɛtwagwahs* 'he is harvesting'

PUNC *ahayɛtwá:go* 'he did harvest'

STAT *hoyɛtwagwɛh* 'he harvested it'

[*yidahsd*] 'do right', with [DU]

HAB *dehsyi:dahs* 'you do things right'

[*yɔ*] 'arrive'

HAB *é:yɔhs* 'she arrives (at the same time)'

PUNC *a'é:yɔ* 'she arrived'

STAT *gó:yɔ:* 'she has arrived'

[*yɔ*] 'come in', with [CIS]

HAB *itgyɔhs* 'I come in (from the same place) all the time'

PUNC *daga:dí:yɔ* 'they came in'

IMP *dajɔh* 'come in!'

[*yɔ*] 'return, come back', with [REP]

PUNC *shá:yɔ* 'he returned'

STAT *shó:yɔ:* 'he returned'

[*yɔ*] 'go in', with [TRANSL]

PUNC *ha'gyɔ* 'I went in'

STAT *heho:dí:yɔ:* 'they arrived, they went in there'

[*yɔ*] 'go back inside', with [TRANSL,REP]

PUNC *hɔsahá:yɔ* 'he went back inside', 'he arrived back there'

IMP *ha'jɔh, ha'syɔh* 'go in, enter!'

[*yɔ'd*] 'bring something, score a goal'

PUNC *ahá:yɔ't* 'he scored', 'he brought it'

[*yɔ'd*] 'bring something back', with [REP]

PUNC *ɛhsgáeyɔ't* 'they will bring it back'

[*yɔgya'd*] 'laugh'

HAB *gyɔgyá'ta* 'I am really laughing'

PUNC *ɛhsyó:gya't* 'you will smile!'

[*yɔgya'tge:*] 'guffaw'

PUNC *ɛsyógya'tge:* 'you will laugh loudly, guffaw'

[*yɔwadahgw*] 'eviscerate something, gut something'

PUNC *ɛhsyɔwadáhgo* 'you will gut something'

Three-aspect irregular verb [i, e, ɛ, adɔh] ‘say’

Three-aspect irregular verb [i, e, ɛ, adɔh] ‘say’ takes regular pronominal prefixes, but is otherwise irregular in that the meaning is conveyed by four separate stems: the stem [iʔ] and [ɛʔ] in the punctual, [ɛ:] in the stative, and [adɔh] in the habitual. The complete paradigm is shown in Table B.1, p. 777. All forms are from Sasse & Keye (1998).

Three-aspect irregular verb [i:, e:] ‘want, think’

The irregular paradigm for the verb meaning ‘to want, think’ is listed in Table B.2, p. 778. All forms are from Sasse & Keye (1998).

B.2.4 Three-aspect verbs taking only P-series personal prefixes

[adadɛ] ‘end up with something, remain, have leftovers, be leftover’

PUNC *ogadadɛ:* ‘I remained’, ‘I was left over’

PUNC *ogadadɛ:*ʔs ‘I ended up with it (i.e. leftovers)’

[adaʔi:s] ‘have intercourse, mate’, with [SRF]

STAT *onadaʔi:sɛh* ‘they are mating’

IMPER *sadaʔi:s* ‘you have intercourse’

[adedrɛhdətɡidɛ, adedrɛhdətɡidani] ‘have nightmares, bad dreams’, with [SRF]

HAB *agadedrɛhdətɡidanihsɛgɛ:*ʔ ‘I used to have bad dreams’

PUNC *ogadedrɛhdətɡi:dɛ*ʔ ‘I had a bad dream’

[adɛhɔgai, adɛhɔgany] ‘suffer’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desadɛhɔgais* ‘you suffer all the time’

PUNC *dɛhsadɛhɔgai*ʔ ‘you will suffer’

STAT *dɛsadɛhɔganyɛh* ‘you are suffering right now’

[adehsrɛʔdɔni] ‘glare, be grouchy, look angry’, with [SRF]

STAT *agadɛhsrɛʔdɔ:ni* ‘I am grouchy, (glaring)’

IMPER *sadehsrɛʔdɔ:ni* ‘glare! (make yourself look mad)’

[adɛnihsaʔe] ‘corner someone’, with [DU]

PUNC *atodɛnihsaʔe:k* ‘he got cornered, up against the wall with no recourse’

[adewa:negaɔ, adewa:nega:] ‘get a flat tire’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *adyagodewa:nɛ:ga:*ʔs ‘she got a flat tire’

STAT *deyodewa:nɛgaɔ:* ‘flat tire’

[adi, ogy, +ɔdi, +ɔgy] ‘throw something’, with [(TRANSL)]

HAB *hehɔ:gye*ʔs ‘he throws it (all the time)’, ‘he is a pitcher’

PUNC *ɛhsá:di*ʔ ‘you will get rid of something, abandon it, throw it out’

STAT *hehɔ:gyɔ:* ‘he has thrown it (stative)’

Table B.1: Say

factual punctual	stative	habitual
<i>agíʔ</i> ‘I said’	<i>á:gɛ:</i> ‘I have said’	<i>ga:dɔh</i> ‘I say’
<i>á:kniʔ, aʔá:kniʔ</i> ‘we two (not you) said’	<i>ɔkne:</i> ‘we two have said’	<i>agyá:dɔh</i> ‘we two say’
<i>ekníʔ, etníʔ</i> ‘you and I said’		<i>gyá:dɔh</i> ‘you and I say’
<i>á:gweʔ, aʔá:gweʔ</i> ‘we, not you, said’	<i>ɔ:gweʔ</i> ‘we all have said’	<i>agwá:dɔh</i> ‘we, not you, say’
<i>edweʔ, etweʔ</i> ‘we and you said’		<i>dwá:dɔh</i> ‘we and you say’
<i>asíʔ</i> ‘you (one) said’	<i>í:sɛ:</i> ‘you (one) have said’	<i>sá:dɔh</i> ‘you (one) say’
<i>esníʔ</i> ‘you two said’	<i>ihsne:</i> ‘you two have said’	<i>já:dɔh</i> ‘you two say’
<i>esweʔ</i> ‘you all said’	<i>ihswe:</i> ‘you all have said’	<i>swá:dɔh</i> ‘you all say’
<i>ahɛʔ</i> ‘he said’	<i>há:wɛ:</i> ‘he has said’	<i>há:dɔh</i> ‘he says’
<i>á:gɛʔ, aʔá:gɛʔ</i> ‘she said’	<i>gá:wɛ:</i> ‘she has said’	<i>ɔ:dɔh</i> ‘she, someone says’
<i>aweʔ</i> ‘it said’	<i>á:wɛ:</i> ‘it has said’	<i>wá:dɔh</i> ‘it is said’
<i>ahɛ:niʔ</i> ‘they (males) said’	<i>hó:nɛ:</i> ‘they (males) have said’	<i>hɛná:dɔh</i> ‘they (males) say’
<i>agá:gɛʔ</i> ‘they (fe/males) said’	<i>gó:nɛ:</i> ‘they (fe/males) have said’	<i>gaɔgadɔh</i> ‘they (fe/males) say’
<i>agɛ:niʔ</i> ‘they (animals) said’	<i>ó:nɛ:</i> ‘they (animals) have said’	<i>gɛná:dɔh</i> ‘they (animals) say’

Table B.2: Want, think

stative	stative past	factual punctual	indefinite punctual	future punctual
i:wi: 'I want, think'	gehéhk 'I was thinking'	ahi:ʔ 'I wanted, thought'	ǫ:wi:ʔ 'I should want, think'	ǫhi:ʔ 'I will want, think'
akné: 'we two (not you) want, think'	aknéhehk 'we two (not you) were thinking'	akne:ʔ 'we two (not you) wanted, thought'	á:yakne:ʔ 'we two (not you) should want, think'	ǫyá:kne:ʔ 'we two (not you) will want, think'
ikné: 'you and I want, think'	knehéhk 'you and I were thinking'	ekne:ʔ 'you and I wanted, thought'	áekne:ʔ 'you and I should want, think'	ǫkne:ʔ 'you and I will want, think'
agwé: 'we all (not you) want, think'	agwéhéhk 'we all (not you) were thinking'	agwé:ʔ 'we all (not you) wanted, thought'	á:yagwe:ʔ 'we all (not you) should want, think'	ǫyá:gwe:ʔ 'we all (not you) will want, think'
idwé: 'we all (including you) want, think'	dwehéhk 'we (all including you) were thinking'	edwe:ʔ 'we all (including you) wanted, thought'	áedwe:ʔ 'we all (including you) should want, think'	ǫdwe:ʔ 'we all (including you) will want, think'
ihsé: 'you (s) want, think'	sehéhk 'you (s) were thinking'	ase:ʔ 'you (s) wanted, thought'	á:se:ʔ 'you (s) should want, think'	ǫhse:ʔ 'you (s) will want, think'
ihsné: 'you two want, think'	snehéhk 'you two were thinking'	esne:ʔ 'you two wanted, thought'	áesne:ʔ 'you two should want, think'	ǫhsne:ʔ 'you two will want, think'
ihswé: 'you all want, think'	swehéhk 'you all were thinking'	eswe:ʔ 'you all wanted, thought'	áeswe:ʔ 'you all should want, think'	ǫhswe:ʔ 'you all will want, think'
ihé: 'he wants, thinks'	hehéhk 'he wanted, thinks'	ahé:ʔ 'he wanted, thought'	á:he:ʔ 'he should want, think'	ǫhé:ʔ 'he will want, think'
i:yé: 'she wants, thinks'	ǫhéhk 'she wants, thinks'	a'ǫ:ʔ 'she wanted, thought'	á:yé:ʔ 'she should want, think'	ǫ'yé:ʔ 'she will want, think'
i:we: 'it wants, thinks'	wehéhk 'it wants, thinks'	awe:ʔ 'it wanted, thought'	á:we:ʔ 'it should want, think'	ǫwe:ʔ 'it will want, think'
hé:ne: 'they (males) want, think'	hénéhéhk 'they (males) were thinking'	ahé:ne:ʔ 'they (males) wanted, thought'	á:hé:ne:ʔ 'they (males) should want, think'	ǫhé:ne:ʔ 'they (males) will want, think'
gáǫ: 'they (females or mixed group) want, think'	gáǫhéhk 'they (females or mixed group) were thinking'	agáǫ:ʔ 'they (females or mixed group) wanted, thought'	á:gáǫ:ʔ 'they (females or mixed group) should want, think'	ǫgáǫ:ʔ 'they (females or mixed group) will want, think'
ǫé:ne: 'they (animals) want, think'	ǫénéhéhk 'they (animals) were thinking'	agé:ne:ʔ 'they (animals) wanted, thought'	á:ǫé:ne:ʔ 'they (animals) should want, think'	ǫǫé:ne:ʔ 'they (animals) will want, think'

IMPER *he'sá:dih* 'throw it away from me'

PUNC, with [INC N] *hǫ'ǫehnyǫ:di* 'I threw a stick'

[adodahsy] 'appear unintentionally', with [CONTRSRF]

PUNC *ta'sadodáhsi* 'you appeared unintentionally'

[adǫhaǫǫ] 'be frantic, horrified', with [SRF]

HAB *dewagadǫháǫǫha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dǫwagadǫháǫǫ?* 'I will be frantic, horrified'

STAT *dewagadǫháǫǫ?* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adɔhwejohsd**] ‘want something’,
with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *adwagadɔhwejohs* ‘I did want something’

[**adɔhwejɔni**] ‘want something,
need something’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewagadɔhwejɔ:ni* ‘I want something’

PUNC *dɛhsadɔhwejɔ:ni* ‘you will want something’

[**ado’kdahsd**] ‘be dissatisfied with,
not get enough’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *dɔgádo’ktahs* ‘I was not satisfied (with...), ‘I did not get enough’

[**adɔ’sd**] ‘benefit someone’, with
[SRF]

HAB *godɔ’sta* ‘it always benefits her’

PUNC *ɛya:gó:dɔ’s* ‘it will be for her benefit’

[**adɔ’sɛ**] ‘benefit someone’, with
[SRF]

PUNC *ɛyagodɔ’sɛhak* ‘it will be happening for them’

STAT *godɔ’sɛ:* ‘it did benefit her’

[**adraswiyohsd**] ‘get lucky’, with
[SRF]

PUNC *ɔgadraswiyohsdɛ* ‘I got lucky’

[**adrihwa’ehsd**] ‘be accused,
blamed’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahodrihwá’e:s* ‘he was accused’

[**agya’dagw**] ‘lose weight’, with
[CIS]

PUNC *dɔgyá’dago* ‘I lost weight (literally, lost part of my body)’

STAT *gyagoya’dá:gweh* ‘she has lost weight’

[**agya’dagweg**] ‘get constipated’,
with [SRF]

HAB *ɔgyá’dagwe:s* ‘she gets bound up, constipated’

PUNC *ɛsagya’dá:gwe:k* ‘you will get constipated’

STAT *gogya’dagwé:gɔh* ‘she is constipated’

[**agya’dɾ, agya’sɛ**] ‘be on top’, with
[DU,SRF]

HAB *dewagya’dré:ha*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛwágya’dɾɛ*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *deyógya’sɛ:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**agyanɔ’**] ‘dream’, with [SRF]

HAB *ɔgyá:nɔ’s* ‘it dreams’

PUNC *ɛyógyyanɔ’k* ‘it will dream’

STAT *hogyánɔ’dɾɔh* ‘he is dreaming’

[**agyaɔ’**] ‘be tricked, fooled’, with
[SRF]

PUNC *ehságyaɔ’* ‘you were tricked, fooled’

[**agyaɔnyɔ’**] ‘have a vision’, with
[DU,SRF]

HAB *dewagyaáɔnyɔh* ‘it (a haunted vision) is happening right now’

PUNC *adwagagyaáɔnyɔ’s* ‘I had a vision’, ‘I got spooked’

[**ahda’**] ‘get full, finish eating’

HAB *ohda’s* ‘it gets full’

PUNC *ɛwágahda’* ‘I will be full (of food)’

STAT *ohdá’ɔh* ‘it got full’ (finished eating)

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IMPER *sahda* 'get full!' (finish eating)

[**ahdrɔ**] 'be scared, frightened'

HAB *agáhdɔ*'s 'I am scared, frightened'

PUNC *ɛwágahdrɔ*'k 'I will be frightened'

STAT *agáhdɔ*'*ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMPER *sahdrɔ*'k 'be afraid! (nonsensical)'

[**ahsɛhsd**] 'regret, become jealous'

HAB *sahsɛhtahk* 'you used to regret it'

PUNC *ɛwágahsɛhs* 'I will get jealous'

STAT *agásɛhsdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsha**., **ahsha**'**dr**] 'remember, recall', with [TRANSL/REP]

PUNC *ɛwágahsha*:' 'I will remember'

STAT *shohshá*'*drɔh* 'he is remembering (right now)'

[**ahshɛda**] 'step on something, stagger', with [TRANSL,REP]

STAT *heshohshɛdá*'*ɔh tsɔ*: 'he is staggering' *tsɔ*: 'just'

[**ahsiha**'**s**] 'choke', with [DU]

HAB *desáhsɛha*'*s* 'you are choking'

PUNC *atóhsɛha*:'*s* 'he did choke'

[**ahso**'**g**] 'limp'

HAB *gohsó*'*ka*' 'she is limping'

PUNC *ɛwágahso*'*k* 'I will limp'

[**anhɛhɛhih**] 'dribble, pee', with [CIS]

PUNC *da*'*agonhɛhɛhih* 'she dribbled (peed)'

[**atgahatgihd**] 'give dirty looks', with [SRF]

HAB *satgahatgíhdɔh* 'you are always giving dirty looks, you are giving dirty looks (right now)'

PUNC *asatgahá*:'*tgiht* 'you give dirty looks'

[**atganya**'**gɛ**] 'reimbursed, refunded', with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ɛjisatgánya*'*gɛ*' 'you will be reimbursed, refunded'

[**atiya**'**g**] 'hold a grudge', with [SRF]

HAB *hotíya*'*sgɔ*: 'he is testy', 'he has a short fuse'

PUNC *ɛhsa*:'*tí*:'*ya*'*k* 'you will hold a grudge'

STAT *satíya*'*gɔh* 'you are holding a grudge right now'

[**atɔdɛh**, **atɔdɛ**] 'hear something'

HAB *aga*:'*tɔ*:'*dɛhs* 'I hear it all the time' (continually or off-and-on, i.e. the sound of a regular train going by one's house)

PUNC *ɛwagatɔ*:'*dɛh* 'I will hear'

STAT *agatɔdɛ*'*ɔh* 'I have heard it before'

[**atrewahd**] 'be punished', with [SRF]

HAB *satréwahta*' 'you are being punished right now'

PUNC *ɛsa*:'*tré*:'*waht* 'you will be punished'

STAT *satréwahdɔh* 'you have been punished'

[**atsɔnyɔd**] 'forsake sacred customs', with [SRF]

STAT *ɔgwátsɔ*'*nyo*:'*t* 'we all turned our backs to the bush', 'we all for-

sook religion, family, etc.' (high language)

[atwajiyɔ̄di, atwajiɔ̄gy] 'abandon one's family', with [SRF]

PUNC *ahotwaji:yó:di* 'he abandoned his family'

STAT *hotwajiyó:gyɔ̄*: 'he has abandoned the family', 'he threw his family aside'

[dɔ̄hgwa:, idɔ̄hgwa:] 'have, get a fever'

HAB *akdɔ̄hgwa:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ogidɔ̄hgwa*: 'I got a fever'

STAT *akdɔ̄hgwá:hɔ̄h* 'I have a fever' with [INC N] *gaya'dadɔ̄hgwahs* 'AIDS, HIV'

[ˈdraihɛ] 'hurry', with [DU]

HAB *deyagɔ̄dráihɛhs* 'she is in a hurry'

PUNC *adyokni'dráihɛ?* 'we two hurried'

IMPER *desa'dráihɛh* 'hurry up!'

[ˈdrahehsd] 'overdo, exaggerate, be extreme'

HAB *sá'dráhehsta?* 'you are always going overboard', 'you are excessive'

PUNC *ɛwage'dráhehs* 'I will exaggerate'

STAT *heyótehsdɔ̄h* (possibly, *heyo?-drahéhsdɔ̄h*) 'it is extreme'

[ɛdɔ̄h] 'shake', with [DU]

HAB, with [INC N] *deyogyohgwé:dɔ̄hs* 'upheaval of a crowd of people (celebration, riot)'

PUNC *dɛya:wé:dɔ̄h* 'it will sway, shake'

STAT, with [INC N] *deyo'nhɛhtsé-dɔ̄hɔ̄h* 'it is wagging its tail'

IMPER, with [INC N] *desaya'dé:dɔ̄h* 'you will shake (your body)'

[ɛhsɛdɔ̄h] 'stamp one's feet', with [(DU)]

STAT *howéhsɛhdɔ̄h* 'he is keeping a beat with his feet'

[ɛ'nidodaihse] 'fart', with [SRF]

PUNC *aho'nido:dáihse?* 'he farted'

[ɛ'nigɔ̄hane'waɔ̄, ɛ'nigɔ̄hane'wa:] 'be mentally startled, surprised', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsɛ'nigɔ̄hané'wa*: 'you will be mentally startled'

[ɛ'nigɔ̄hgae] 'suffer', with [CIS,SRF]

STAT *desɛ'nigɔ̄hgae?* 'you suffer'

[ɛ'nigɔ̄ho'drɔ̄h] 'worry', with [SRF]

HAB *sɛ'nigɔ̄hó'drɔ̄h* 'you are a worrier'

PUNC *ɛhsɛ'nigɔ̄ho'drɔ̄?* 'you will worry, despair', 'you will be desperate'

[ɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄] 'know'

HAB *dyonɔ̄hdɔ̄ha', gyonɔ̄hdɔ̄ha'* 'she is a bossy woman'

PUNC *ɛwagɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄:k* 'I will know'

STAT *agɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄?* 'I know'

[ɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄nyɔ̄] 'think'

PUNC *ɛhsɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄:nyɔ̄?* 'you will wonder, think'

STAT *sɛnɔ̄hdɔ̄nyɔ̄h* 'you are wondering, thinking'

[gaʔ] 'like the taste of something'

HAB *agé:ga's* 'I like the taste of it'

PUNC *ogé'ga?* 'I liked the taste of it'

STAT *ogá'ɔ̄h* 'it tastes good'

B Verb dictionary

[gaɛ] ‘be willing, consent, agree’
 HAB *hogáɛs* ‘he is willing’
 PUNC *ɛwagegáɛ* ‘I will consent, agree, say okay’
 STAT *agegáɛ’ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 [gaɛ] ‘unwilling’, with [NEG]
 HAB *dewagegáɛs* ‘I am always unwilling’
 STAT *dewagegáɛ* ‘I do not want to do it’, ‘I am unwilling’
 [ga:hdɛ] ‘cost someone’
 PUNC *ɔge:gá:hdɛ* ‘that’s how much it cost me’
 [gahdrahi] ‘cry, shed tears’
 PUNC *ɛhsagahdráhi* ‘you will shed tears’
 [gahdredɔ] ‘shed tears’
 PUNC *ɛsagahdré:dɔ* ‘you will shed tears’
 [gahdrod] ‘drip tears’
 PUNC *ɛhsagahdró:dɛ* ‘you will drip tears’
 STAT *sagáhdrot* ‘you are tearing up’ (shedding tear-drops)
 [gaho’sd] ‘get an eyelash in one’s eye’, with [DU]
 PUNC *adwagegáho’s* ‘I got an eyelash in my eye’
 [hed] ‘yell, scream’, with [DU]
 HAB *déhóheta* ‘he is hollering’
 PUNC *atóhe:t* ‘he hollered or yelled’
 [hetsogw] ‘be tricked, fooled’, with [(REP)]
 HAB *tshétsogwahs* ‘it tricks him all the time’

PUNC *ahohetsó:go* ‘it tricked him (like the frog)’

STAT *shohétsogwɛh* ‘he was fooled (like the frog)’

[hnyɛ’sga’ohsd, hnya’sga’ohsd] ‘have hiccups’

HAB *hohnyá’sgaohs* ‘he is hiccuping, hiccoughing’

PUNC *ɛwagehnyɛ’sga’ohs ɛwagehnyá’s-ga’ohs* ‘I will have hiccups’

STAT *agehnyɛ’sgá’ohsdɔh, agehnyá’s-gá’ohsdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hsadɛ] ‘mount a horse, come by horse’

PUNC *ɛwagehsá:dɛ* ‘I will mount a horse’

[hsgɛna:] ‘have a stroke’

PUNC *aho:hsgé:na:* ‘he had a stroke’

[hsnagrig] ‘have, get muscle cramps’

PUNC *ɔgéhšnagri:k* ‘I had muscle cramps, I got a cramp’

[hsnagri(k)sɔ] ‘have, get muscle cramps’

PUNC *ɔgehsnagriksɔ:* ‘I got cramps’
 STAT *ɔgehsnagrihsɔ* ‘I am all cramped up’

[ida:] ‘sleep, hibernate’

HAB *odí:da’s* ‘they sleep, hibernate all the time’

PUNC *ɛwa:gí:da* ‘I will sleep’

STAT *agída’ɔh* ‘I was asleep, I am sleeping’

[Cidrɛhda:] ‘sleepy, tired’¹

HAB *agídɛrhda:* ‘s’ ‘I am sleepy’

¹‘C’ means that I of the stem does not delete.

PUNC *ɛsaidrɛ́hda:* ‘you will get sleepy’

[*Cidrɛ́hgyenyɛ́s*] ‘nod off’, ‘fall asleep’

HAB *sidrɛ́hgyé:nyɛ́s* ‘you are nodding off, falling asleep’

[*Cidrɛ́hdiyohsd*] ‘sleep well’

PUNC *ɛsaidrɛ́hdi:yohs* ‘you will have a nice sleep’

[*’nahgɔd*] ‘get or be inflamed’, ‘get or have a bee sting, hives’

PUNC *ɛsa’nahgɔ́:dɛ́* ‘you will get a bee sting’

STAT *o’nahgɔ́:t* ‘it (skin) is inflamed’, ‘a bee sting’

[*na’kwɛ́h, na’kwɛ́?*] ‘be angry’

HAB *akná’kwɛ́hs* ‘something makes me angry’

PUNC *ahóna’kwɛ́h* ‘he became very angry’

STAT *akná’kwɛ́?ɔh* ‘I am angry’

[*nehagw, nehagwa?*] ‘surprised’

HAB *aknéhagwáhs* ‘I am always amazed’

PUNC *ɔknéhago?* ‘I was amazed or surprised’

STAT *aknehagwá?ɔh* ‘I am amazed’

[*nhi?*] ‘err, make a mistake’

HAB *ɔgwá:nhi’s* ‘we all make mistakes’

PUNC *ɛhsá:nhi’k* ‘you will err, make a mistake’

STAT *agénhi?ɔh* ‘I have made a mistake, an error’

[*’nigɔha’ehsd*] ‘have a settled mind’, with [TRANSL]

PUNC *ha’ho’nigɔ́ha’ehs* ‘his mind settled on’

[*’nigɔ́hahdɔ*] ‘faint’

PUNC *ɔknigɔ́háhɔ?* ‘I fainted’

[*’nigɔ́hahetgɛ́s*] ‘sob, cry uncontrollably’

HAB *aknigɔ́háhétgɛ́s* ‘I am crying, uncontrollably’

[*’nigɔ́hɛ́h, ’nigɔ́hɛ́?*] ‘forget’

HAB *swaknigɔ́hɛ́hs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsa’nigɔ́hɛ́h* ‘you will forget’

STAT *swaknigɔ́hɛ́?ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*’nigɔ́hgahey, ’nigɔ́gahe:*] ‘be exhausted (mentally), lose patience’

PUNC *aknigɔ́hágáhe:* ‘my mind got beat’, ‘I am mentally exhausted’

STAT *aknigɔ́hagáhé:yɔh* ‘I am mentally exhausted’

[*’nigɔ́hiyoh*] ‘become satisfied, content’ ‘adjust’, with [(CIS)]

PUNC *ɛhsa’nigɔ́hi:yoh* ‘you will be satisfied’

[*’nigɔ́hiyohsd*] ‘become comfortable in mind, become satisfied, become content’

PUNC *ɛhsa’nigɔ́hi:yohs* ‘your mind will adjust’ (i.e. become comfortable)

[*’nigɔ́hsadɔ*] ‘lonesome’

HAB *aknigɔ́hsá:dɔ’s* ‘I am lonesome’

PUNC *ɛwaknigɔ́hsadɔ’k* ‘I will get lonesome’

STAT *o’nigɔ́hsá:dɔhk* ‘it is lonesome, mournful’

[*nihsgw*] ‘be late’

PUNC *ɛwáknihsɔ?* ‘I will be late’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *aknihsgo'q̄hogye* 'I am arriving late'

[nɔ] 'unable'

HAB *aknóha* 'I am unable'

PUNC *ɛwá:knɔ:* 'I will be unable'

STAT *honó'q̄h* 'he is unable'

[nɔdanha'] 'be found guilty'

PUNC *ahonq̄dá:nha* 'he was found guilty'

[nodra] 'have skin sores, be infected'

PUNC *ɛhsa'no:drá' sehsóhgwá'geh* 'you will have sores on your lips'

STAT *o'nó:dra* 'it is infected', 'an infection'

[nodrahsd] 'have, get a skin infection, rash, allergic reaction'

HAB *gɔ'nó:drahs* 'she has open, weeping sores'

PUNC *a'agɔ'nó:drahs* 'she got chicken pox, a skin infection, allergic reactions', 'she became infected'

STAT *sa'nódrahsdɔh* 'it has given you an infection, an allergic reaction', 'you have already had an allergic reaction'

[nɔhaged] 'put one's head down', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛhsanq̄há:ge:t* 'you will put your head down'

[nɔhnyá'g] 'be, get hurt'

HAB *aknóhnyá's* 'I hurt'

PUNC *ɛwáknɔhnyá'k* 'I will get hurt'

STAT *honóhnyá'gɔh* 'he is hurt'

[nɔ's] 'tire of something, get sick of something'

PUNC *q'knɔ's* 'I am sick of it, bored, fed up', 'I got sick of it'

[nyag] 'be married'

HAB *agé:nyá:s* 'I am getting married right now'

PUNC *ɛwágenyá:k* 'I will be married'

STAT *agényagɔh* 'I am married'

[nyage] 'pass wind, fart'

HAB *agó'nyage's* 'she passing wind, farting'

[nyá'gw, nyá'go] 'vomit'

HAB *agényá'gwahs* 'I am vomiting', 'I am a vomiter, I vomit all the time'

PUNC *ogényá'go* 'I vomited'

STAT *agenyá'gwáhɔh* 'I am vomiting (right now)'

[o'gwad] 'dig'

HAB *o'gwa:s* 'it digs'

PUNC *a'o'gwa:t* 'it dug'

STAT *agó'gwadɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[q'wesahs] 'have a good time'

HAB *agó'weshahs* 'I am having a good time, enjoying something'

[q'wese, q'wesgwani] 'enjoy oneself'

HAB *agó'wesgwá:nih* 'I enjoy it'

PUNC *ɛwagó'wé:sɛ* 'I will enjoy myself'

[q̄wihshɛ'ɔh] 'pant, be short of breath'

STAT *gaq̄wihshɛ'ɔh* 'she is panting'

[ra:dog] 'blister one's heel'

PUNC *ográ:do:k* 'I blistered my heel'

[rihwaɛda'] 'decide', with [DU]

PUNC *atoihwáɛda's* 'he came to a decision or conclusion'

IMPER *dehsaihwáęda*'s 'you decide'
[sw, sho] 'smell (involuntarily)'
 HAB *agé:swahs* 'I smell it (at the time when this is being said)'
 PUNC *ęwáęesho* 'I will smell it (unintentionally)'
 with [INC N] *gøheyędá:swahs* 'she smells a dead body'
[ʔsøhsd] 'sneeze', with [DU]
 HAB *desáʔsøhstahk* 'you have sneezed, you were sneezing'
 PUNC *deşáʔsøhs* 'you will sneeze'
[węnaʔd] 'give up'
 HAB *agewęnáʔtaʔ, agwęnaʔtaʔ* 'I give up (all the time)'
 PUNC *esa:wę:naʔt* 'you gave up'
 STAT *agewęnáʔdøh* 'I have given up'
[węnaʔehsd] 'stutter'
 HAB *sawęnaʔéhstaʔ* 'you stutter'
[węnahø] 'get what's coming to you'
 PUNC *ęhsawęnáhøk* 'your words will come back on you', 'you will be revenged, repaid for your words'
[wiyageheyaʔs] 'die' (said of a baby)
 PUNC *agowiyagehé:yaʔs* 'her baby died'
[yaʔdaged] 'burn up (body)'

PUNC *aʔodiyáʔdade:k* 'they (animals) got burned up'
[yaʔdahdrøgw] 'quiver, shudder'
 PUNC *ęsayaʔdahdrø:gøʔ* 'you will quiver, shudder'
[yaʔdahshęʔ] 'be slow, late'
 PUNC *øgyáʔdahshęʔ* 'I was late'
[yaʔditgeʔs] 'have nightmares, sleep-walk'
 HAB *goyáʔditgeʔs* 'she is having a nightmare', 'she is sleepwalking'
[yaʔdødi] 'be abandoned, left out, left behind'
 PUNC *øgyaʔdø:diʔ* 'I got left behind, left out, abandoned'
[yaʔdødaʔd] 'shiver, shake', 'be nervous'
 HAB *sayaʔdødáʔtaʔ* 'you are nervous, shaking, shivering'
 PUNC *ęsayaʔdø:daʔt* 'you will shiver, shake'
 STAT *agyaʔdødáʔdøh* 'I shiver'
[yødi, yøgy] 'smile'
 HAB *hoyø:dih* 'he is smiling'
 PUNC *aho:yø:diʔ* 'he smiled'
 STAT PAST *hoyøgyøhne:ʔ* 'he has already smiled', 'he did smile'

B.2.5 Three-aspect verbs taking interactive prefixes

A-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[adadrihwanøhøkww] 'respect, show respect for one another', with [DU,REFL]
 PUNC *dędwadadrihwanøhkwa:k* 'we

all will show respect for one another'

[adahgwaęhęhsd] 'pawn something off on someone', with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *ahagadahgwáhehēs* ‘he did pawn (to me)’

[**ada’sēhd**] ‘put someone down, discriminate against someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadá’sēhta* ‘he puts people down’, ‘he discriminates’

STAT *sheyadahsēhdōh* ‘you have already put someone down’, ‘you discriminated against her’

[**adēdonya’d**] ‘joke, make fun of someone, tease’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadēdonyá’ta* ‘he is a joker’

PUNC *ēshsheyá’dēdonya’t* ‘you will make fun of it’, ‘something will make fun of you’ (evil result) ‘it will mess with your head or mind’ (referring to reliving your sins before death), ‘you will joke’

STAT *agadēdónyá’dōh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adēna’tranōd**] ‘serve food to someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *egwadēná’tranōt* ‘we will give you food’

[**adēnyehd**] ‘sentence someone, refer someone’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *hēgōyadē:nyeht* ‘I will refer you (to someone else)’

[**adē’nigōha:**] ‘take care of something, monitor’, with [SRF]

HAB *ōkiyá’dē’nigōha:’* ‘monitors (people)’ (literally, ‘they monitor them’)

[**adē’sgoh**] ‘immerse, baptize, go into water’, with [SRF]

HAB *hōwáde’sgohs* ‘baptism’ (literally, ‘they baptize them’)

[**adewayēnōni**] ‘care for something, do things carefully’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadewayē:nō:nih* ‘you care for it / things all the time’

PUNC *ēshsheyadewayē:nō:ni’* ‘you will take care of them, care for them (for a while)’

STAT *hodewayē:nō:ni:* ‘he has done it carefully’

[**adi, ogy**] ‘abandon someone, let someone go’

PUNC *ēshshēyadi’* ‘you will abandon someone, let them go’

[**adodahde, adodahdani**] ‘trip someone’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desadodáhdanih* ‘it trips you all the time’

PUNC *dēhsadodáhdē’* ‘it will trip you’

[**adodaisy**] ‘help someone escape’, ‘rescue someone’, ‘save someone’

PUNC *ēshsheyadodáisi’* ‘you will help her escape’, ‘you will save her’

[**adodaisy**] ‘comb someone’s hair’, with [DU]

PUNC *dēgōyodáisi’* ‘I am going to comb your hair’

[**adōgohde**] ‘deceive, outdo someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ēhseyadōgohde’* ‘you will outdo someone’, ‘you will go right over her, go right past her’, ‘you will deceive her’

[**adriyohsde**] ‘make someone fight’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęgasheyadriyóhsdę* 'you will make them fight'

[*adróhgwe*, *adróhwani*] 'threaten someone, scare someone', with [SRF]

HAB *sheyadróhwá:nih* 'you are threatening, scaring someone'

PUNC *ęshsheyadróhgwe* 'you will threaten, scare someone'

[*adró węhsd*] 'abuse someone', with [SRF]

HAB *dehshagodró węhsta* 'he abuses someone'

PUNC *dękeyadró węhs* 'I will abuse her'

STAT *dekeyadró węhsdoh* 'I have abused her'

[*adwędehd*] 'release someone'

PUNC *ękeyadwędę:deht* 'I will release someone'

STAT *keyadwędędoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*a'ęna:*] 'curse someone, hex someone'

HAB *ga'ęna:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęshsheya'ę:na:* 'you will curse, hex someone'

STAT *aga'ęnáhoh*, *aga'ęná:hoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*a'ęna'ehsd*] 'spear someone or something with a stick', with [DU]

PUNC *atqwa'ęna'ehs* 'he speared him with a stick'

[*agya'dóda:*] 'represent someone, represent an organization', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęshshagoya'dó:dahk* 'he will be an ambassador', 'he will represent someone' (literally, 'they will put his body in')

[*agyesahd*] 'abandon someone', with [SRF]

PUNC *ahqwayé:saht* 'he abandoned her', 'he left her'

[*ahdehnyęhd*] 'knock or flip someone over'

HAB *gahsheyahdéhnyęhta* 'I am going along knocking people over'

PUNC *ahsheyahdéhnyęht* 'you did flip someone over'

[*ahdoga'd*, *ahdogahd*] 'grow something, raise children'

HAB *gahsheyahdógata* 'you raise children', 'foster parents'

PUNC *ęsahdó:ga't* 'you will grow something'

STAT *ogahdogá'doh* 'she raised me' (i.e. a guardian)

[*ahdróhgwe*] 'frighten someone'

PUNC *ęsáhdróhgwe* 'it will frighten you'

[*ahqđq*] 'ask someone'

PUNC *ahqwahq:đq:* 'they or s/he asked him, them'

IMP *hehsahq:đq:* 'you ask him'

[*ahqgaha'*] 'be invited'

PUNC *ęsahqgáha* 'you will be invited or asked to go'

[*ahsehd*] 'hide something', 'rob someone'

HAB *shagóhsęhta* 'he is a robber, stealer'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *ahqwanáhseht* ‘they robbed him, them’

STAT *gahséhdq̄h* ‘robbed, hidden’

[**ahsganeg**] ‘want, desire, long for someone, something’

HAB *gq̄hsgá:ne:s, gq̄yáhsgane:s* ‘I desire you’

PUNC *q̄hsáhsgane:k* ‘you will be tempted, you will long for something’

STAT *sahsgáneksq̄h* ‘you are longing for something’

[**ahsganekd̄e**] ‘tempt someone’

PUNC *q̄hsheyahsgánekd̄e, q̄hshehs-gané:kd̄e* ‘you will tempt someone’

[**ahsgyaq̄nyq̄**] ‘encourage someone’

HAB *gakeyahsgyáq̄nyq̄h* ‘I am giving them words of encouragement’

PUNC *q̄hsasgyáq̄nyq̄* ‘you will encourage’

[**ahsha:**] ‘think of someone’, with [TRANSL]

PUNC *i:hs agóyahsha:?* ‘I thought of you’ *i:hs* ‘you’

[**ahtga’w**] ‘release, let go, give up’

HAB *sahtga’wahsgéhe:?* ‘you used to let go, you used to give up’

PUNC *ahqwenáhtga:?, ahqwanáhtga:?* ‘they released him, them (m)’

STAT *disahtga’wéhegye?* ‘you are going along giving things up’

[**atahahgwa’de, atahahgwa’dani**] ‘corrupt someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *q̄hsheyatahahgwá’de?* ‘you will corrupt her/them’ (literally, ‘you will take her off the path’) (ceremonial or high language)

[**atq̄e’se**] ‘watch someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *gáqtq̄ehseh* ‘they are watching something going on’

PUNC *a:gakeyatq̄e’se:?* ‘I should watch them’

[**atgowanahde, atgowanq̄hde**] ‘rape someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *shagotgowanahdá:nih* ‘he is a rapist’, ‘he is raping someone now’

PUNC *ahshagotgowanáhde?, ahshagot-gowanq̄hde?* ‘he raped her’ (literally, ‘he forced her in a big way’)

[**atq̄o’tra:**] ‘bewitch someone’

PUNC *eq̄oyatq̄o’tra:?* ‘I will bewitch you’

[**atq̄o’tra:sd**] ‘bewitch someone’

PUNC *eq̄oyatq̄o’tra:s* ‘I will bewitch you’

D-to-G-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[**dogq̄h**] ‘find someone out’

HAB *kedó:gehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *q̄ke:dó:q̄gh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kedóq̄e’q̄h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**+’ehsd**] ‘hit someone’s NOUN’, with [DU] and [INC N]

PUNC *ate’drehdá’ehs* ‘I hit his car’

[**q̄’nigq̄hotahsd**] ‘suggest to some-

one, advise someone', with [CIS]
 PUNC *ɛtseyɛ'nigɔhótahs* 'you will suggest to her, advise her'

[ɛ'nyá'dad] 'point out someone', with [SRF]
 PUNC *ɛhshé'nyá'da:t* 'you will point someone out'

[gahgɛny] 'see with one's own eyes'
 HAB *kegáhgɛnyɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *ɛkegahgɛ:ni'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 STAT *kegáhgɛnyɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gahgwɛg] 'outsmart, deceive someone', with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛhshégahgwe:k* 'you will pull the wool over her eyes, outsmart her, deceive her'

[gai, gany] 'bite someone'
 PUNC *ɛsa:gái'* 'it will bite'
 STAT *agéganyɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 IMP *dahsge:gái* 'you bite me!' (take a bite!)

[gɛ] 'see something'
 HAB *gé:gɛh, gé:gɛhs* 'I see (habitual)'
 PUNC *ɛgé:gɛ'* 'I will see'
 STAT *agé:gɛ:* 'I have seen it (stative)'
 IMP *tɛ' ta:gé:gɛh* 'I will not or should not see it'

[gɛhɛnih] 'abuse, be mean to someone or something'
 HAB *shégɛhɛnih* 'you are mean to her'

[gɛhɛ'dɛ, gɛhɛ'danih] 'be sick of or bored with someone', 'be disgusted

or annoyed with someone, something'

HAB *gɔgɛhɛ'dá:nih* 'I am sick of you'
 PUNC *ahsgegɛhɛ'dɛ'* 'you got sick of me', 'you are bored with me'
 STAT *agegɛhɛ'danih* 'I am annoyed, sick of it'

[gɛhɛ'trɔni] 'be cruel, mean, abusive'
 PUNC *ɛhsegehɛ'trɔ:ni'* 'you will be mean, abusive'

[gɔhe] 'punch something, hit something with one's fist'
 HAB *segóhe:s* 'you hit it all the time'
 PUNC *ahágóhe:k* 'he punched it'
 STAT *agegɔhé:gɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gɔhsohai] 'wash someone's face', with [N/n]
 STAT *shagogɔhsóhai* 'he is washing her face'
 IMP *segɔhsóhái* 'you wash its face'

[gɔnyɔhsd] 'honour someone'
 PUNC *ahshagodígɔnyɔhs* 'they honoured her'

[gowanahd, gowanɛhd] 'have pride in someone'
 HAB *gahshégowánɛhta'* 'you have pride in them'

[gwayɔ] 'kiss someone'
 HAB *gegwáyɔha'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 PUNC *ɛgé:gwayɔ:* 'I will kiss'
 STAT *agégwayɔ'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gweni, gweny] 'win a competition, beat someone'
 PUNC *ahɔwadi:gwé:ni'* 'they won a competition'

H-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[hahahiya'kdɛ́, hahahiya'kdani] 'escort someone'

PUNC *dɛ́shshayahahiya'kdɛ́* 'you will escort her across the road'

[hahs] 'serve someone'

HAB *shéháhseh* 'you serve her/them all the time'

PUNC *ɛ́shshé:hahs* 'you will serve someone'

[hewahd, hrewahd] 'punish someone'

PUNC *ɛ́gashéhé:waht* 'you will punish them'

[hiya'g] 'hold a grudge', 'get someone's goat'

PUNC *a'ɛ́sahí:ya'k* 'she got your goat'

[hkɰ] 'take from someone'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ahsagokwáhkwa* 'he grabbed the food from her'

[hkɰɛ́, hkɰani] 'remove, take back from someone'

PUNC *shɰwádihkɰɛ́* 'they took it back from him again'

[hna'tsa'e] 'spank someone'

PUNC *ɛ́yahna'tsa'e:k* 'he will spank you'

[hnegodrah] 'baptize someone'

HAB *hɰwádihnégodrahs* 'baptism', 'christening' (literally, 'they sprinkle him, them')

STAT *hɰwatnegódrahɰ* 'they have been baptized'

[hnɰdr] 'follow someone'

PUNC *ɛ́héshnɰdrɛ́* 'you will follow him'

STAT *hɰwáhnɰdrɛ́* 'someone is following him'

IMP *dɰdahehsnɰ:drɛ́h* 'you follow him back'

[hnɰdragehsɰ] 'follow someone around'

PUNC *ɛ́shshenɰdrágehsɰ:* 'you will follow someone around'

[hnya'drɛ́, hnya'drag] 'hang someone'

HAB *hɰwadíhnyá'drɛ́hs* 'they hang him, them all the time'

PUNC *ahɰwadíhnyadrɛ́:* 'they hanged him, them'

STAT *hɰwadíhnyá'dragɰ* 'they have already hanged him (and his neck broke)'

[hɰdayɛ́hd] 'whip someone'

PUNC *ɛ́kehɰdá:yɛ́ht* 'I will whip her'

[hɰgagɰ, hɰgawi] 'invite someone'

HAB *kehɰgawih*s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛ́shshéhɰgágɰ* 'you will invite her/them'

STAT *kehɰgawi:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hɰnya'g] 'choke someone, strangle someone'

HAB *dekɰ:nyá's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛ́héshshɰnyá'k* 'you will strangle him'

STAT *dewakɰnyá'gɰh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hrehnagehdad] 'charge someone with a message'

PUNC *əhəhsrəhnágehda:t* ‘you will put the bundle (load or message) on him’

[hren, hre:] ‘cut something with a knife’, with INT prefix, means ‘cut someone’

PUNC *ahqwahe:ʔ* ‘he slashed him with a sharp instrument’

with [INC N] *əhəwadiyqəwáhe:ʔ* ‘they will cut his guts, he’ll have internal surgery’

[hrenaʔtraʔas] ‘stab someone, something with a knife’

HAB *kehenaʔtráʔasahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kehenaʔtráʔasəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hrenaʔtraʔehsd] ‘stab with a knife’, with [DU]

HAB *dehsehenaʔtraʔéhstaʔ* ‘you stab it repeatedly’

PUNC *dəgəhenáʔtraʔehs* ‘I will stab you’

STAT-PROG *dewagehenaʔtraʔehsdəhəgyeʔ* ‘I am going along stabbing things’

[hrihsd] ‘bump someone’

PUNC *ahéhihs* ‘I bumped him (i.e. with a car)’

[hrəhwaʔs] ‘wait for someone’

PUNC *əgəhəhwaʔs* ‘you will wait for me’

IMP *dahskrəhwaʔs* ‘wait for me’

[hrowi] ‘tell someone’

PUNC *ahshagəhəwiʔ* ‘he told her’

IMP *shehə:wih* ‘tell her’

[hsadə] ‘carry on one’s back’

PUNC *əhshéhsadəʔ* ‘you will carry someone on your back’

[hsətrəni] ‘make someone fat’

PUNC *əhsahsətrəniʔ* ‘it will make you fat’

[hsgweg] ‘shut someone up’

PUNC *əhshé:sgwe:k* ‘you will shut her up’

[hshatw] ‘lay someone, something on his, her, its back’

HAB *kehshá:twahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əkəhshatoʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kehshá:twəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hsinodahdə, hsinodahdani] ‘bar someone’s way’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ətsheyahsinodáhdeʔ* ‘you will trip someone, bar someone’s way with your leg’

[hsnyeʔ] ‘care for, look after’, with [DU]

HAB *degəhsnyeʔs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgəhsnyeʔ* ‘I will look after’

STAT *deyagəhsnyeʔəh* ‘her adopted daughter’

HAB, with [INC N] *dəhaheyoʔdəhsnyéhaʔ* ‘he is a funeral director’ (literally, he looks after bodies)

[hstoda:] ‘handcuff someone’, with [DU]

PUNC *atəwadihstó:da:ʔ* ‘they handcuffed him, them’

[hswahəh] ‘hate, dislike someone’

HAB *gəhswáhəhs* ‘I hate you’

PUNC *əhséhsawahəh* ‘you will hate, dislike’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *agehswahéḥoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*hswa'ned*] 'support someone, something'

HAB *hadihswa'né:ta'* 'they are advocates, backers, supporters'

PUNC *ésheswa'né:dé'* 'you will back up something (i.e. reinforce it)'

STAT *shehswá'ne:t* 'you are supporting or backing them'

[*hswe'naged*] 'scratch someone's back', with [DU]

IMP *dahsgehswé'ná:ge:t* 'scratch my back!'

[*htahahsd*] 'talk to someone'

PUNC *éshétahahs* 'you talk to her'

I-to-K-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[*idagrahdé*] 'trip someone, make someone fall'

PUNC *égaogidagráhdé'* 'they are going to trip me, make me fall'

[*i'dahswahéḥ.drq:*] 'scold someone'

HAB *she'dáshwahéhs* 'you scold people all the time'

HAB *gake'dahswáhéḥdrqḥ* 'I am going along scolding people'

PUNC *ahadi'dahswáhéḥdrq:'* 'they scolded, reprimanded'

PUNC, with [SRF] *agēni'dahswáhéḥ-drq:'* 'I got scolded'

[*i'danyo, i'danyohsr*] 'beat someone up'

PUNC *ahqwe'dá:nyo'* 'someone beat him up, broke his spirit'

STAT *hqwé'danyóhsrqḥ* 'he is beating him up'

[*idé:, idéq*] 'pity someone, feel sorry for someone, show compassion for someone'

HAB *kedéqhs* 'I feel compassion for her'

PUNC *éshé:dé:'* 'you will pity her, show mercy, compassion'

STAT *gédéq'* 'to help each other', 'compassion, helpfulness'

IMP *dahsgí:dé:* 'pity me'

[*idréhdowi, idréhdony*] 'wake someone up'

HAB *kedréhdonye's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ékedréhdó:wi'* 'I will wake someone up'

STAT *kedréhdowí'qḥ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*i'drq*] 'elect someone'

PUNC *ahqwadi'drq'* 'they placed or elected him'

[*ihnqg*] 'call someone', with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *tagihno:s* 'he is calling me'

PUNC *hēgihno:k* 'I will call'

STAT *hewagihno:gqḥ* 'I have called it', 'it has called me'

IMP *ha'sihno:k* 'call it!'

[*itsgod*] 'elect someone'

PUNC *ahqwaditsgó:dé'* 'they elected him, them'

[*jé'd*] 'cure someone, practice medicine'

HAB *skejé'ta'* 'you cure me (all the time)'

PUNC *ejísajé't* 'it will cure you again'

STAT *swagéjé'doh* 'it did cure me again'

[*jihgwa'e*] 'punch someone', with [DU]

HAB *dehadijihgwa'ehs* 'they punch it'

PUNC *ahajihgwá'e:k* 'he punched it'

STAT *gajihgwa'e:* 'it punches'

[*'kaowe:s*] 'be hen-pecked'

HAB *hɔwa'káowe:s* 'he is hen-pecked'

[*kda'e*] 'peck something'

PUNC *ɛhsákda'e:k* 'it will peck you'

[*kdɔ*] 'test someone'

PUNC *ɛgwá:kdɔ:* 'I will test you all'

[*kdɔhn*] 'go and see someone'

PUNC *ɛkékdɔhna'* 'I am going to see her'

[*kwanɔd*] 'feed someone'

PUNC *ɛgékwanɔ:t* 'I will feed it'

N-, O-, Q-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[*na'gye*] 'imitate, mock, mimic something', with [(CIS)]

PUNC *ɛtsná'gye:* 'you will imitate, mock, mimic, something'

PUNC *ɛdisaná'gye:* 'it will mock, imitate you'

[*nɛtsine*] 'take someone by the arm', with [CIS]

PUNC *ɛtɔnɛ:tsí:ne'* 'I will take you by the arm'

[*ne'wahde, ne'wa:(h)de*] 'startle someone, surprise someone'

PUNC *ɛheyene'wá:de'* 'I will startle him'

[*nha'*] 'hire, command someone'

HAB *kenha's* 'I hire her'

PUNC *ɛgáshenha'* 'you will command, hire them'

STAT *kenhá'ɔh* 'I have hired her'

[*nhe'*] 'take someone's part'

HAB *tkenhe's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛtké:nhe'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*'nigɔha'd, 'nigɔha'dani*] 'cheat, betray someone'

HAB *gashe'nigɔha'dá:nih, gashe'nigɔha'-ta'* 'you betray them continually'

PUNC *ɛhshe'nigɔha't* 'you will cheat someone'

[*'nigɔha'e*] 'offend someone'

PUNC *ɛhshe'nigɔha'e:k* 'you will offend someone'

[*'nigɔhaɛ, 'nigɔha:]* 'bother someone, annoy someone', with [DU]

HAB *dehsknigɔhá:ha'* 'you are annoying me'

PUNC *dɛhsnigɔháɛ'* 'you will be annoying'

STAT *dewaknigɔhá:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*'nigɔhagɛni, 'nigɔhagɛny*] 'corrupt (someone's mind), intimidate someone', with [DU]

HAB *deshago'nigɔhagɛnyɔhs* 'he intimidates people all the time'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *dəhshe'niqohagé:ni'* 'you will corrupt (someone's mind)'

[*'niqoha'gweni*] 'out-think someone'

PUNC *əhshe'niqohagwé:ni'* 'you will out-think her'

[*'niqohawənye*] 'entertain someone', with [DU]

IMP *deshe'niqohawé:nye:'* 'entertain her/them!'

[*'niqohnya'g*] 'discourage someone', with [DU]

PUNC *dəhshe'niqóhnyak'* 'you will discourage someone'

[*'niqohodagw*] 'persuade someone, best someone, influence someone, get the better of someone, bribe someone'

PUNC *əhse'niqohodá:go'* 'you will persuade her, overcome her mind'

[*'niqoho'drɔ*] 'console someone'

PUNC *əhshe'niqóho'drɔ:'* 'you will console someone' (literally, 'you will caress someone's mind')

[*'niqohɔni*] 'persuade someone, influence someone'

PUNC *əhshe'niqohó:ni'* 'you will influence, persuade someone'

[*nɔd*] 'feed someone, an animal'

HAB *knó:dəh, knó:dəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əkno:t* 'I will give it something to eat, feed it'

STAT *knó:də:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

with [INC N] *ahshagohyá:nɔ:t* 'he gave her fruit'

[*nɔgeha'd*] 'breast-feed'

PUNC *əshshenogéha't* 'you will breast-feed'

[*'nɔhda:*] 'give someone a ride, put someone in'

PUNC *əshshé'nɔhda:'* 'you will put someone in something, you will give someone a ride'

[*nɔhdɔhahsd, nɔhdɔh*] 'force someone, rape someone', with [CIS]

HAB *tgasheyənɔhdɔhahs* 'you force people all the time'

PUNC *dahshagonɔhdɔhahs* 'he forced her'

[*nɔhkw*] 'love someone'

HAB *kenóhkwa'* 'I love her'

PUNC *əké:nɔ:hk* 'I will love her'

[*nɔhnyag*] 'hurt someone, something'

PUNC *əshshénɔhnyak'* 'you will hurt someone'

[*nɔhɔhkw*] 'revere, treat like kin, recognize as kin', with [DU]

HAB *dekenɔhɔhkwa'* '(she who) I revere as'

PUNC *dəgakenɔhɔhkwa:k* 'I will recognize them as my kin'

[*nɔhɔnyɔ*] 'thank, greet someone', with [DU]

HAB *dekenɔhɔnyɔha'* 'I thank someone'

PUNC *dəkenɔhɔ:nyɔ:'* 'I will greet, thank someone'

STAT *dekenɔhɔ:nyɔ'* 'I am thanking someone'

[*nɔhsga'də, nɔhsga'dani*] 'tickle someone', with [DU]

PUNC *dəshe'nohsgá'də'* 'you will tickle her'

[**nəhwe'**] 'like someone, something'

HAB *kenəhwe's* 'I like her'

PUNC *eyénəhwe'* 'she will like it'

STAT *aknəhwe'əh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**nəhwe'**] 'dislike', with [NEG]

HAB *dehsohwe's* 'you dislike (it)'

[**nəhwetso'd**] 'turn someone upside down', with [DU]

PUNC *dəgənohwe'tso'də'* 'I am going to turn you upside down, upend you! (said in anger)'

[**no'janhəd**] 'put in someone's false teeth'

IMP *sheno'janhə:dəh* 'put her teeth in'

[**'nosh, 'nosha'**] 'be jealous, envious', 'envy someone'

HAB *se'nó:shahs* 'you are envious'

PUNC *əké'nosha'* 'I will envy (her)'

STAT *ke'nóshə'əh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**'nyagəhd**] 'help someone escape'

PUNC *əhshé'nyagəht* 'you will help someone escape'

[**nyaohag**] 'squeeze someone's neck', with [DU]

R, S-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[**rənanhodəgw**] 'take over a song from someone'

PUNC *ahəwəənanhodəgo'* 'he took over the song'

[**rihəd**] 'appoint someone, delegate

PUNC *atəwanyáoha:k* 'someone squeezed his neck'

[**əgwə'danəhsgw**] 'kidnap someone'

PUNC *əhsəgwə'danéhsgo'* 'you will kidnap someone' (literally, 'you will steal a person')

[**əhwad**] 'show someone something, charge someone'

HAB *gəhwá:ta'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgəhwadə'* 'I will show her something' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agəhwat* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**əhwadə, əhwadani**] 'show someone something', 'charge something'

HAB *gəyəhwadá:nih* 'I am showing you something'

PUNC *əgəhwadə'* 'I will charge'

STAT *agəhwadá:nih* 'it has shown me something'

[**əni, əny**] 'make, earn for someone'

PUNC *ashagonəhsə:ni'* 'he built a house for her'

[**ənyə**] 'make for someone'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ahəwadinəh-sə:nyə'* 'they built him a house'

someone'

PUNC *ahəwaihə:də'* 'they delegated him a duty'

STAT *shəgwáihət* 'he has appointed us'

[rihowanahd] ‘praise, flatter someone’

PUNC *əshshehowá:naht* ‘you will praise her, uplift her spirits, flatter her’

[rihwa’ehsd] ‘blame someone’

PUNC *ahsríhwa’ehs* ‘you are blaming something’

[rihwa’ehsdę, rihwa’ehsdanih] ‘demand an audience from someone’

PUNC *əhqwadi:hwá’ehsdę* ‘they will unravel his message, demand an audience from him’

[rihwahníya’d] ‘marry someone’

STAT *shagodi:hwahníya’dqh* ‘they got married by the Chiefs’, ‘a marriage ceremony’ (usually sanctioned by the Chiefs), (literally, ‘they hardened them’)

[rihwanqhkw] ‘care for, respect someone’s ideas’

PUNC *a:goihwanqhkw:k* ‘I should care for, respect your ideas’

[rihwawa’s] ‘support someone,

agree with someone, back up someone’

HAB *hehwáwa’seh* ‘I agree with him, support him’

PUNC *əhehsríhwá:wa’s* ‘you will back up his ideas’

[rihwęhdę] ‘give someone an important message’

PUNC *ęgqihwęhdę* ‘I will give you a significant message’

[rqhyaę’d] ‘make someone work hard or labour’, ‘make someone groan with effort’

PUNC *ęhsaqhyágę’dahk* ‘it is going to make you groan’

[’shęnyqgw, ’shęny] ‘overpower someone’ (physically)

HAB *she’shęnyqghs* ‘you are always overpowering someone’, ‘you are overpowering someone right now’

PUNC *ęshshe’shę:ni’* ‘you will overpower someone’

STAT *she’shęnyqgwęh* ‘you have overpowered someone’ (a long time ago)

T-, W-, Y-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[tragwę’dá’e] ‘slap someone on the cheek’

PUNC *ęhsetragwę’dá’e:k* ‘you will slap it (on the cheek)’

[wayęhsdę, wayęhsdani] ‘train, teach, educate someone’

PUNC *ęshshewayę:sdę* ‘you will train, educate, teach someone’

STAT *gawayęhsdá:ni* ‘it has been taught’

[wiyanęhsgw] ‘kidnap a child’

PUNC *ahawiyánęhsgo* ‘he stole a child, kidnapped’

STAT *gawiyanęhsgwęh* ‘a kidnapped child’

[ya’dá:] ‘rely on someone’, ‘hold a small baby or creature in one’s arms’

HAB *hqwadiyá’dá:s* ‘they rely on him, them’

PUNC *ékéyá'da:* 'I will rely on her', 'I will take her up (as in, hold a baby)'

[*ya'dadidróhgwahq*] 'make someone twitch'

PUNC *ahoyá'dadidrógwáho:* 'it made him twitch'

[*ya'dagenh*] 'help someone'

PUNC *a:hyaya'dagé:nha* 'he would help you'

[*ya'dagény, ya'dagēni, ya'tgēny, ya'tgēni*] 'beat someone (in a race), compete with someone'

PUNC *ahqwadiya'dágenye:* 'they raked him over the coals' (literally, 'they dragged him around')

PUNC *əshsheya'tgé:ni* 'you will beat someone (in a race)'

[*ya'dahdrōgw*] 'caress someone'

HAB *hehsya'dahdrō:gwahs* 'you are caressing him now'

PUNC *əhehsya'dahdrō:gq* 'you will caress him'

STAT *hehsya'dahdrō:gweh* 'you did caress him'

[*ya'dahen, ya'dahe:*] 'operate on someone' (with a scalpel)

HAB *hqwadiya'dahé:neh* 'they operate on him'

PUNC *ahqwadiya'dáhe:* 'they gave him an operation'

[*ya'datsei, ya'datseny*] 'find someone'

PUNC *ha'qdagya'datséi* 'she found her over there'

[*ya'di'dre*] 'drag someone'

STAT *hqwaya'di'drehsrəh* 'someone is going along dragging him'

[*ya'dinyqđ*] 're-elect someone', with [TRANSL,REP]

PUNC *hqsahqwadiyá'dinyq:t* 'they re-elected him, them'

[*ya'gyenēhd*] 'knock someone down bodily'

HAB *keya'gyenēhta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əhsya'gyé:nēht* 'you can knock it down'

STAT *keya'gyenyēhdqđ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*yahsd*] 'name someone, something'
STAT *hodiyaḥsdqđ* 'they have named it'

[*yahsq*] 'call someone's name, call bingo', with [CIS/TRANSL]

HAB *tgyahsqha* 'I call them', 'I am a bingo caller'

PUNC *həshéyāhsq:* 'you will call someone's name'

[*yahsqnyqđ*] 'call someone's name over and over', with [CIS/TRANSL]
HAB *tseyāhsqnyqh* 'you call someone's name all the time'

PUNC *ətseyāhsq:nyq:* 'you will be calling someone's name'

[*yaq'datren(y)ahnq*] 'make an incision in a cadaver', with [DU]

HAB *dehadiyaq'datrenyāhnq* 'they made an incision in a cadaver'

PUNC *atadiyaqda'trenāhnq:* 'they made an incision in a cadaver'

[*yēde:*] 'recognize someone'

PUNC *əgyé:de:* 'I will recognize it'

IMP *ta:gaesayé:de:* 'they will not recognize you' (i.e. a disguise)

[yehd] ‘wake up someone’
HAB *keyéhta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *əhsyeht* ‘you will wake up something’
STAT *keyéhdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[yenaħs] ‘police’
HAB *shagodiyé:naħs* ‘policemen’ (literally, ‘they help us’)

[yenawa’s] ‘help someone’
HAB *əkiyenáwa’səh* ‘they are helpers’

(literally, ‘they help us’)
PUNC *əgəyəná:wa’s* ‘I will help you’
IMP *sheyéna’wa’s* ‘you help her’

[yesahd] ‘condemn, slander, insult someone’
HAB *sheyéhsahta*’ ‘you always insult, slander someone’
PUNC *əhsyé:saht* ‘you will condemn, slander, insult someone’
DISL STAT *sheyehsaħdáhnəh* ‘you are slandering, insulting someone’

B.3 List of e-verbs

The (E-VERB) or simple verb of motion [e] ‘go’ only takes A-series prefixes. In contrast, complex motion verbs with [e] ‘go’ take either A, P, or INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes. See (§26.1.) Examples are provided in the following sections.

B.3.1 Simple verb of motion [e] ‘go’ with A-series personal prefixes

[e] ‘go, move, be someplace’
ihe’s ‘he is here’
əhsne: ‘you two will go together’
i:ge ‘I am walking, moving’
[e] ‘come here or this way, be here’, with [CIS]
dagé:ne’ ‘they (z) are coming’
[e] ‘wander’, ‘be on that side’, with *ə:* ‘side’ *tsə:* ‘just’ [CIS]
ə tsə: *itse’s* ‘you wander (all the time)’, ‘you are over there’
[e] ‘come this way’, ‘be (from) here’, with *gaə* ‘somewhere’ [PART,CIS]
gao’ nədáħse: ‘come this way!’
[e] ‘come back’, ‘return to here from

some place’, with [PART,DU,CIS]
na’dé:tge:’ ‘I will come back over here, return’
[e] ‘go back’, ‘return home’, ‘be back’, with [REP]
ihsge’s ‘I have returned home’
ihsge’ ‘I am going back’, ‘I am on my way back’, ‘I am back (from where I came)’
[e] ‘go over there’, ‘be over there’, with [TRANSL]
ha’ge:’ ‘I went there’
[e] ‘go back there’, ‘return there’, with [TRANSL,REP]
həhsge:’ ‘I am going back there’

B.3.2 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking A-series pronominal prefixes

[at-hah-in-e] SRF-road-lead-go
‘walk’

STAT *gatahí:ne* ‘I am walking’

[daks-e] run-go ‘run’

STAT *kdakse* ‘I am running’

[daks-enɔ-gy-e] run-originate.from-
PROG-go ‘run about, roam’

HAB-PROG *gadidaksénɔgye*‘(s) ‘they
are running about, roaming’

[e-ʔah] CONTR...go-DIM ‘walk along
any old way’

STAT *tihé:ʔah* ‘he is just walking
along’

[ehd] ‘do on purpose, go on purpose’
HAB *gehta* ‘I usually go’

[ɛ-nah-awənye] DU-...SRF-scalp-stir
‘be crazy, go insane’

PUNC *dɛsənaháwənye:* ‘you will go
insane’

STAT *desənaháwənye* ‘you are crazy
(not right in the mind)’

[gy-e] fly/float-go ‘fly, float’

STAT *gegye:* ‘I came flying’

STAT *gagye* ‘it is flying along’

[hrɛd-e] lead-go ‘lead’

STAT *kré:de* ‘I lead, go in front’

[nyɛd-e] try-go ‘come for a pur-
pose’

STAT *sɛnyé:de* ‘you came for a pur-
pose’

[od-agy-e] stand-PROG-go ‘go along
doing something’

STAT-PROG *gajiʔdodá:gye* ‘someone
is going along crying’

[rad-e] climb-go ‘climb’

STAT *srá:de* ‘you are climbing’

[yaʔt-gahiy-e] body-agile-go ‘be
quick, agile’

STAT *gyaʔtghí:ye* ‘I am quick’

[ʔdre] ‘to drag’ versus [(i)ʔdre] ‘to drive’

The verbs [ʔdre] ‘to drag’ and [(i)ʔdre] ‘drive’ are similar but take different pronominal prefixes and aspect suffixes. The verb [ʔdre] ‘to drag’ is inflected as a regular three-aspect verb. It takes A-series prefixes with habitual and punctual forms, and P prefixes with stative forms (6).

(6) [ʔdre] ‘to drag’

a. habitual

i. *geʔdre*ʔs

ge-ʔdre-ʔs

1s.A-drag-HAB

‘I drag it’

B Verb dictionary

- ii. $ge^{\prime}dre^{\prime}$
 $ge^{-\prime}dre^{-\prime}$
1S.A-drag-HAB
'I am dragging it'
- b. punctual
 - i. $egé^{\prime}dre^{\prime}$
 $e^{-}gé^{-\prime}dre^{-\prime}$
FUT-1S.A-drag-PUNC
'I will drag it'
 - ii. $agé^{\prime}dre^{\prime}$
 $a^{-}gé^{-\prime}dre^{-\prime}$
FAC-1S.A-drag-PUNC
'I dragged it'
- c. stative
 - i. $agé^{\prime}dr\text{q}$
 $agé^{-\prime}dr\text{-q}$
1S.P-drag-STAT
'I dragged it, I am dragging it'

In contrast, the motion verb [(i)^hdre] 'to drive, ride along, come by vehicle' takes *P* prefixes with all aspect forms (7).

- (7) [(i)^hdre] 'drive', 'ride along', 'come by vehicle'
- a. HABITUAL
 $sa^{\prime}dreh$
 $sa^{-\prime}dre\text{-h}$
2S.P-drive-HAB
'you are driving'
 - b. PUNCTUAL
 - i. $d\acute{e}d\acute{i}hsa^{\prime}dre^{\prime}$
 $d\acute{e}d\acute{i}\text{-hsa}^{-\prime}dre^{-\prime}$
DU.FUT.CIS-2S.P-drive-PUNC
'you will drive over here'
 - ii. $\acute{e}dyagod\acute{i}^{\prime}dre^{\prime}$
 $\acute{e}\text{-d-yagod\acute{i}}^{-\prime}dre^{-\prime}$
FUT-CIS-3NS.FI.P-drive-PUNC
'they will come by vehicle'

- c. SHORT [E-ʔ]
 agéʔdreʔ
 agé-ʔdre-ʔ
 1S.P-ride.along-STAT
 'I am riding along'
- d. NO-ASPECT
 desáʔdre:
 de-sá-ʔdre:
 DU-2S.P-drive.NO_ASPECT
 'drive over here'

B.3.3 Complex verbs of motion with [e] 'go', taking A-series neuter pronominal prefixes

[adag-ye-ʔs-øʔ] 'continue on', with
 [TRANSL-...REFL-do-PL-DISTR]
 STAT *haʔgadagyéʔsøʔ* 'it continues on
 endlessly'

[ade-ʔdre] 'drag oneself', [SRF-drag]
 HAB *wadéʔdreʔs* 'a drag', 'a car' (old
 word, literally, 'it is dragging itself')

[ag-yenø-gy-e] 'fly about, float
 about' [SRF-originate.from-
 float/fly-go]
 HAB-PROG *gadigyenø:gyeʔ(s)* 'they
 are flying, floating about in the air
 (seeds, etc.)'

[at-hnaw-ine] 'flowing liquid' [SRF-
 flowing.water-lead]
 STAT *watnawí:neʔ* 'flowing liquid'

[hsgo-gy-e] 'float (something alive)'
 [NOUN-float-go]
 STAT-PROG *gahsgó:gyeʔ* 'it (some-
 thing alive) is floating'

[igyohg-ogy-e] 'a crowd roaming
 about' [crowd-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *gegyóhggogyeʔs* 'people
 roaming about'

[nøhgwi-j-ogy-e] 'come back all wet,
 saturated' [REP...saturated-PROG-
 go]
 STAT-PROG *sganøhgwi-j:gyeʔ* 'it came
 back all wet'

[rihwa-gehd-e] 'be a responsibility'
 [matter-have.around.one's.neck-
 go]
 STAT *gaihwa-géhdéʔ* 'responsibility'

B.3.4 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking P-series pronominal prefixes

[ad-ahsehd-ḡh-ḡgy-e] ‘sneak around’ [SRF-hide-STAT-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *honadahsehdḡhḡgye*’s
 ‘they are sneaking around’

[ad-awḡnye] ‘walk about, wander’
 [DU...SRF-stir]
 PUNC *deyagodawḡnyéhahk* ‘they will be walking about’
 STAT *deyagodáwḡnye*’ ‘she is walking about’

[ade-’gw-ḡh-ḡgy-e] ‘avoid, run away’ [SRF-avoid-STAT-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *sade’gwḡhé:gye*’s ‘you are avoiding’

[ad-rihwa-gehd-e] ‘have a responsibility’ [SRF-matter-have.around.one’s.neck-go]
 STAT *sadrihwagéhde*’ ‘your responsibility (literally, it is hanging on you)’

[at-geḡhsd-ḡh-ḡgy-e] ‘travel along’
 [PART...SRF-postpone/move-STAT-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *niyagotgeḡhsdḡhḡgye*’
 ‘she is travelling as she is moving’

[at-hna’tsa-geḡny-e] ‘be fidgety’
 [SRF-buttocks-compete-go]
 STAT *satna’tsagé:nye*’ ‘you are fidgety’

[hs-e] ‘ride on a back, ride horse-back’ [lower.back-go]
 PUNC *agéhse:*’ ‘I rode’, ‘I came riding’
 STAT *hohse*’ ‘he is riding a horse’

[na’sgw-ḡh-ḡgy-e] ‘skip along’ [DU-skip-STAT-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *deyagona’sgwḡhé:gye*’
 ‘she is skipping along’

[neḡḡd-e] ‘guard, stand in a line’
 [DU...stand.in.line-go]
 STAT *deḡhodineḡde:*’ ‘they are already guarding’, ‘they are standing there (in a line formation)’, ‘they are guarding’

[nhḡd-agy-e] ‘have in one’s mouth while moving’ [mouth/opening-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *hohḡdagye*’ ‘he has it in his mouth as he moves’

[ḡnhe-gy-e] ‘be stillborn’ [NEG...live-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *deagḡnhé:gye*’ ‘she was stillborn’, ‘she came to be not living’

[sha-in-e] ‘be governed’ [string-lead-go]
 STAT *ḡgwahsháine*’ ‘we all are governed’

B.3.5 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking P-series neuter pronominal prefixes

[ad-ɾəd-agy-e] ‘soar’ [SRF-hover-
PROG-go]

HAB-PROG *odrédagye*’s ‘it is soaring
(e.g. a bird)’

[ahji’gr-e] ‘be cloudy’ [[cloud-go]

STAT *ohji’gre*’ ‘it is cloudy’

[gy-e] ‘fly, float’ [fly/float-go]

STAT *ogye*’ ‘it is floating along (in the
water)’

B.3.6 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking interactive pronominal prefixes

[hnɔdr-e, hnɔdrɛ] ‘follow someone’
[follow-go]

PUNC *ɛhéhsnɔdrɛ*’ ‘you will follow
him’

STAT *hɔwáhnɔdre*’ ‘someone is fol-
lowing him’

[hnɔdr-agy-e] ‘follow along with
someone’ [follow-PROG-go]

STAT-PROG *hɔwahnɔdrá:gye*’ ‘some-
one is following him along’

[hsr-e] ‘follow someone, chase
someone’ [follow/chase-go]

HAB *hɔwádihsre*’s ‘they follow him
around all the time’

PUNC *ɛséhsre:*’ ‘you will chase’
STAT *hadíhsre*’ ‘they follow’

[nɛts-in-e] ‘take someone by the
arm’ [DU-arm-lead-go]

PUNC *ɛtgɔnɛtsí:ne*’ ‘I will take you by
the arm’

B.4 List of counting verbs

Verbs used in counting are listed next. (Counting verbs were previously described in §31.2.)

B.4.1 [ɔ:] ‘be a certain amount’, ‘three or more’, ‘a few’

- (8) a. ní:yɔ:
ní:-y-ɔ:
PART-3S.P-a.certain.number.STAT
a certain amount

B Verb dictionary

- b. niyó:hah
ni-y-ó:-hah
PART-3S.P-a.certain.number.STAT-DIM
few, a little bit
- c. ha[?]dé:yq:
ha[?]-dé:-y-q:
TRANSL-DU-3S.P-a.certain.number.STAT
many different things
- d. nigé:nq:
ni-gé:n-q:
PART-3P.A-a.certain.number.STAT-DIM
a number of animals
- e. nigá:gq:
ni-gá:g-q:
PART-3NS.FI.A-a.certain.number.STAT-DIM
a number of women, or a mixed group of males and females
- f. nihé:nq:
ni-hé:n-q:
PART-3NS.M.A.-a.certain.number.STAT-DIM
a number of men
- (9) dó: ní:yq:
how a.certain.amount
'how many', 'how much'
- (10) ne-tóh ní:yq:
the-that.one a.certain.amount
'that many', 'that much'
- (11) To: gi[?]-tsq: ní:yq:.
that.one just-only a.certain.amount
'that's just all there is'
- (12) Ehé:[?] do:-gwá[?] ní:yq:.
yes how-just.so a.certain.amount
'Yes, there are some.'

- (13) ahséh niḡe:nó: dagus
three a.number.of.animals cats
'three cats'
- (14) ahséh niga:gó: ga:gogwé'dase:
three a.number.of.women young.women
'three young women'
- (15) ahséh niḡe:nó: hadiksa'só:'oh
three a.number.of.men boys
'three boys' (Michelson 2011)

B.4.2 [+age:] 'a number of items'

- (16) [DU-...NOUN+age:] 'two items'
- a. dega'ahdrá:ge:
de-ga-'ahdr-á:ge:
DU-3S.A-basket-two.or.more.STAT
two baskets
- b. deyohóná'dage:
de-yo-hóná'd-age:
DU-3S.P-potato-two.or.more.STAT
two potatoes
- (17) [PART-...NOUN+age:] 'a number of items'
- nigana'já:ge:
ni-ga-ná'j-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-pail-two.or.more.STAT
'an amount of pails, a number of pails'
- (18) [NUMBER PART-...NOUN+age:] 'three or more items'
- ahséh niyohóná'dage:, ahséh nigahóná'dage:
ni-yo/ga-hóná'd-age:
PART-3S.P/3S.A-potato-two.or.more.STAT
'three potatoes'

B Verb dictionary

- (19) [DU-...NOUN+agehagyeʔ] ‘two at a time’
degaʔdrehdagehá:gyeʔ
de-ga-ʔdrehd-age-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
DU-3S.A-car-two.or.more.STAT-EUPHONIC.H-PROG-go-STAT
‘two cars at at time’

B.4.3 [d] ‘stand’ and [ɔd] ‘attached’

The verb [d] ‘stand’ is used when counting one object. (See §12.2.4 for more details.)

- (20) [REP-...NOUN-JOINER A-t] ‘be one object’
sganóhsa:t
s-ga-nóhs-a:-t
REP-3S.A-house-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one house’
cf. ganóhsaʔ
ga-nóhs-aʔ
3S.A-house-NSF
‘house’

The verb [ɔd] ‘attached’ can be used to mean ‘a certain number of attached objects’.

- (21) [NUMBER PART-...NOUN-ɔd] ‘three or more attached items’
ahséh niwéʔnihsgáɔt
ahséh ni-w-éʔnihsg-á-ɔt
three PART-3S.A-wheel-JOINER A-attached.STAT
‘it has three wheels’
cf. hyeíʔ niwéʔnihsgáɔt
‘it has six wheels’

B.4.4 [A...-yahshe:] ‘two living things’

- (22) a. degadiyáhshé:
de-gadi-yáhshé:
DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT
‘two living things’
cf. degadiyahshé: dagus
‘two cats’

- b. degaeyáhshe:
 de-gae-yáhshe:
 DU-3NS.FI.A-two.living.things.STAT
 ‘two females’ (or a male and a female)
 cf. degaeyahshé: ga:gogwé’dase:
 ‘two young women’
- c. dehadíyáhshe:
 de-hadi-yahshe:
 DU-3NS.M.A-two.living.things.STAT
 ‘two males’
 cf. dehadíyahshé: hadíksá:’ah
 ‘two boys’ (Michelson 2011)

B.4.5 [P...-ga’de’] ‘many’

- (23) a. otgá’de’
 o-t-gá’de’
 3S.P-SRF-many.STAT
 ‘often, many, lots’
- b. ode’drehdága’de’
 o-d-e-’drehd-á-ga’de’
 3S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-car-many.STAT
 ‘a lot of cars’
 cf. ga’dréhda’
 ga-’dréhd-a’
 3S.A-car-NSF
 ‘car’
- c. onátga’de’
 on-át-ga’de’
 3P.P-SRF-many.STAT
 ‘lots of, many’
 cf. onatga’dé’ daksáe’dohs
 ‘many chickens’
- d. de’ode’drehdagá’de’
 de’-o-d-e-’drehd-a-gá’de’
 NEG-3S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-car-JOINERÁ-many.STAT
 ‘not many cars’

B Verb dictionary

- e. Tréhs gotgá' de'. Ji' tréhs gotgá' de'.
(ji')-trehs go-t-gá' de'
too.many 3NS.FI.P-SRF-many.STAT
'There are too many people'
- f. agéga' de'
agé-ga' de'
1S.P-many.STAT
'I have many'
- g. aknyqhsagá' de'
ak-hnyqhs-a-gá' de'
1S.P-squash-JOINER-many.STAT
'I have a lot of squash'

Appendix C: Particle dictionary

C.1 Particle order

Many particles occur in fixed positions. For example, particles such as *geh* must appear after another word, but also close to the beginning of the clause that they occupy (1, square brackets denote clause boundaries). Other particles, including *dɛʔ* (also shown in 1) appear at the beginning of the clause. Yet others, including *neʔ* occur before the word they modify (for example, before *kso:t* in 1). Finally some particles can appear wherever relevant (see §C.1). Particle order is described in the following sections.

- (1) [Sɛŋɔhdɔh **geh**] [dɛʔ niyɔgyeháʔ **neʔ** kso:tʔ]
you.know Q what what.she.is.doing the grandmother
“Do you know what our grandma is doing?” (Henry 2005)

Initial particles and groups

The following particles and groups occur before the verb whose meaning they modify, specifically at the beginning of independent clauses (2, see §36.9.2.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| (2) <i>A:we:tʔah</i> ‘pretend to...’ | <i>Hɛ:-dah</i> ‘and’ (often used at the beginning of lines in speeches) |
| <i>A:yɛ:ʔ</i> ‘it seems’, ‘I guess’ | <i>Gyɛ:gwaʔ hne:ʔ hwaʔ</i> ‘maybe this time’, ‘just maybe’ |
| <i>Ahgwih</i> ‘don’t’ | <i>(g)yɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ</i> ‘maybe this time’ |
| <i>Ahgwih...hwɛ:dɔh</i> ‘don’t ever’ | <i>Ne:ʔ giʔ</i> ‘just’ |
| <i>Ahgwih gwaʔ</i> ‘don’t’ | <i>Ne:ʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ ɔh</i> ‘I guess’ |
| <i>Awɛʔ</i> ‘it is said’ | <i>Ne:ʔ giʔ ..., ... hniʔ</i> ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’ |
| <i>Da ne:ʔ</i> ‘and’ | <i>Ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ</i> ‘maybe this time’ |
| <i>Da ne: dah</i> ‘and now’ | |
| <i>(da:) ne:ʔ hniʔ</i> ‘also’, ‘and’, ‘too’ | |
| <i>Da: (ne:) onɛh</i> ‘and now’ | |
| <i>Ewa:dɔʔ</i> ‘Yes, you may’, ‘it is permissible’ | |

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*Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *tsɔ:* *gwahs* ‘that’s
basically all’

*Ne:*ʔ *he:ge:* ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’

*Ne:*ʔ *hɛ*ʔ *hne:*ʔ ‘also too’

*Ne:*ʔ *hne:*ʔ *ne:*ʔ ‘in fact, it is!’, ‘It is’

*Ne:*ʔ *hni*ʔ *ne:*ʔ ‘and that also’

*Ne:*ʔ (*ne:*ʔ) ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s
what’

*Ne:*ʔ *nɛh* ‘it is when’

*Ne:*ʔ *q̄h* ‘I guess it is’

*Ne:*ʔ *se*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ ‘you know’

*Ne:*ʔ *tsɔ:* *shɛh* ‘but’

*Ne*ʔ *gwa*ʔ-*toh* ‘also’

*Ne*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ *nɛ* *ne:*ʔ (emphasis)

*Ne*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ *ne*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ / *nege*ʔ *nage*ʔ
‘that is what’

*Ne*ʔ *se*ʔ ‘that’s just the one’,
‘that’s just who’

*Ne*ʔ *to* *gyɛ:*ʔ ‘that’s what’

(*ne:*ʔ) *to:* ... *ne:*ʔ ‘that’s it’, ‘that’s’

*Ne*ʔ *toh* ‘that is’

*Ne*ʔ (*tsɔ:*) *gwa*ʔ *toh* ‘and also just
this’

*Ni:*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ, *ni:*ʔ *ge:*ʔ ‘I did’

*Tɛ*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ *nɛ* *ne:*ʔ ‘what on earth?’,
‘emphatically no’

*Tɛ*ʔ *hne:*ʔ ‘definitely not’

*Tɛ*ʔ *hne:*ʔ (*ne:*ʔ) ‘not that one’

*Tɛ*ʔ *to* *ne:*ʔ ‘not really’

*Tɛ*ʔ *q̄:*, *tɛ*ʔ *q̄h* ‘maybe not’

Toh-geh ‘and then’

To *ge-q* / *gaq* (*ne:*ʔ), *to* *q* ‘whether’,
‘if’, ‘I wonder if’

*Wa*ʔ *gyɛh* ‘listen!’, ‘excuse me’,
‘would you...?’

*Wa*ʔ-*jih* ‘wait!’

The following particles or groups occur at the beginning of special clause types – either independent clauses (i), dependent clauses (d), direct questions (dq), or indirect questions (iq). The relevant clause types are listed after each particle in ((3) (For clause types, see §36.9.2.)

(3) particles that appear at the beginning of the clause

*Dɛ*ʔ ... *ho*ʔ *dɛ*ʔ *ni-* ‘how’, ‘in what
way’ (d, iq, dq)

*Dɛ*ʔ ... *ni:yoht* ‘why’ (i, d)

*Dɛ*ʔ ... (*ho*ʔ *dɛ*ʔ) ‘what’ (d, iq, dq)

Do: ... *ni-* ‘how much’, ‘how
many’ (d, iq, dq)

Do: *niyowihsda*ʔ *e:*ʔ ‘when’, ‘at
what time’ (i, d)

Gaɛ ... *hɔ:weh* ‘where, which
place’ (d, dq)

*Gao*ʔ ... *ni-* ‘less so, -er’ (i, d)

(*gao*ʔ) *shɛh* *niyo:we*ʔ ‘until,
before’ (d)

Gwahs *heyohe:* ‘the most, -est’ (i,
d)

(*gwahs*) *shɛh* *ni-* ‘as...as’ (i, d)

*Gyɛ:gwa*ʔ *a:-* ‘if’ (i, d)

*Gyɛ:gwa*ʔ *ta:-* ‘if not’ (i, d)

Hɛ:gyɛh, *hɛ:gyɛh* (*shɛh*) ... ‘no
matter how much’, ‘whether or
not’, ‘even if’ (d)

*Heyohe:*ʔ ‘more, -er’ (i, d)

<i>Hne:</i> ʔ (<i>shɛh</i>) ‘because’ (d)	<i>Shɛh</i> ‘because’ (d)
<i>Hwɛ:dɔh</i> ‘when’ (dq, iq)	<i>Shɛh</i> ‘that’ (d)
<i>Lnɔh ... gao ne</i> ʔ ‘far from’, ‘inadequate amount’ (i, d)	<i>Shɛh hɔ:weh</i> ‘the place where’, ‘whereabouts’ (d)
<i>Ji ... trehs ... shɛh</i> ‘too much so for’, ‘too much so’ (i, d)	<i>Shɛh naʔonishe</i> ʔ / <i>tsaʔonishe</i> ʔ / <i>tsi-</i> ‘while’, ‘when’ (d)
(<i>ji</i>) <i>trehs</i> ‘because’ (d)	<i>Shɛh ni:yoht</i> ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’ (d)
(<i>ne</i> ʔ) <i>aɔhɛ:ʔɛh d-</i> ‘the most, -est, -er (of)’ (i, d)	<i>Shɛh niyo:we</i> ʔ ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’ (i, d)
<i>Ne</i> ʔ <i>gyaɔhɛ:ʔɛh d-</i> ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’ (i, d)	<i>Shɛh noh-geh</i> ‘even’ (emphasizing the unexpected) (i, d)
<i>Ne:</i> ʔ ... ‘because’, ‘it is’ (d, i)	<i>Sɔ:</i> ... (<i>nʔaht/nʔoht</i>) ‘who’ (d, iq, dq)
<i>Ne:</i> ʔ <i>gwahs d-</i> ‘the most, -est’ (i, d)	<i>Sɔ:</i> <i>go:wɛh</i> ‘whose’ (d, iq, dq)
<i>Ne:</i> ʔ ... <i>hɔ:ni</i> ʔ / <i>dagaihɔ:ni</i> ʔ ‘why’ (d, i)	<i>Tɛ</i> ʔ <i>gɛh de</i> ʔ- ‘isn’t it?’ (i, d)
<i>Ne:</i> ʔ <i>hwa</i> ʔ ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’ (d, i)	<i>To ... ni-</i> ‘to that degree’ (i, d)
<i>Nɛ:-gyɛh hwa</i> ʔ ‘this time’, ‘when’ (d, i)	<i>To niyo:we</i> ʔ ‘that far’, ‘that much’ (i, d)
<i>Nɛh</i> ‘when’ (d)	<i>Tohgeh ... hɔ:weh</i> ‘where’ (dq)

The particles and particle groups in (4) appear directly before nouns or before verbs functioning as “nouns”. Alternatively, they are free-standing when they function as “pronouns” (see §6).

- (4) *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’
*Gaɛ gwa*ʔ...*ni*-NOUN ‘wherever NOUN is’
Nɛ:-gyɛh ‘this’, ‘this one’
To:-gyɛh ‘that’, ‘that one’

The following particles (proclitics) must precede another word (5). An example is shown in (6).

- (5) proclitic particles
Da: ‘and’, ‘here’
E: ‘some direction’, ‘towards’
*Ne*ʔ ‘the’ (etc.)

C Particle dictionary

- (6) proclitic particle placement
ɛ: nahahá:dih
towards the.side.of.the.road
'on the other side of the road'

Particles functioning as “adverbs” tend to appear clause-initially, or before the verb whose meaning they modify. For these, see §8.

Enclitic particles

Enclitic particles must follow another word – typically, the word or phrase whose meaning they modify. Simultaneously, these particles or groups are as close to the beginning of their clause as possible (but obviously, cannot be first). Example (7) lists most of the enclitic particles and groups.

- (7) enclitic particles

...dɛʔ hniʔ 'for sure'	... giʔ hne:ʔ 'but', 'however'
... dɛʔ ni:ʔ 'me, for sure'	... giʔ ne:ʔ 'just'
... deʔɛgwaheh tɛʔ seʔ 'but then not really'	... giʔ (tsɔ:) 'just', 'really'
... diʔ 'so', 'then'	... gwa:dih, gwai 'to one side'
... e:ʔ 'again', 'still'	... gwahs 'anyway'
... ɛ:ʔ 'yes indeed', 'isn't it?'	... gwaʔ 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', 'do it now!'
...(ga:t) giʔ-shɛh 'maybe', 'or maybe'	... gyɛ:ʔ (emphasis)
...(ga:t) giʔ shɛh tɛʔ 'maybe not', 'or not'	... gyɛ:ʔ hne:ʔ 'it was <i>this one</i> , (not that one)'
... gɛ-ɔ 'whether', 'if', 'I wonder if...?'	... gyɛ:ʔ nɛ ne:ʔ (emphasis)
... gɛ:s 'generally', 'used to', 'usually', 'normally'	... gyɛ:ʔ ɔh, ... gɛʔ-ɔh 'maybe', 'I guess', 'I wonder'
... gɛh 'Q', 'whether', 'if', 'mind you', 'didn't I?', 'is it?'	... hɛʔ 'also', 'too'
... gɛh hne:ʔ 'how about this one?'	... hɛʔ hne:ʔ 'also', 'too'
... giʔ 'just now'	... hne:ʔ 'in fact', 'but'
... giʔ gyɛ:ʔ 'quite', 'kind of', 'just do it!'	... hniʔ 'also', 'and', 'too'
	... hwaʔ 'this time', 'next'
	... hya:ʔ 'first', 'before anything else'

... (*ne*[?]) *e*[?] ‘isn’t it so?’, ‘yes?’
 ‘no?’, ‘innit?’
 ... *qh ne*[?] ‘maybe’

... *qh, q*: ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’
 ... (*se*[?]) *hē*[?] *ni*[?] ‘me too’

Final particles and groups (tags)

The following particles or particle groups tend to appear as tags at the end of utterances (see §27.2.2). They can also be independent utterances, as in (8).

- (8) a. *Do:gēhs* ‘isn’t it true?’
 b. *Do:gēhs e*: ‘isn’t it true?’
 c. *Ehē*[?] *gēh* ‘is that right?’
 d. *Tē*[?] *gēh* ‘isn’t that right?’

Free-standing particles and groups

The following particles and particle groups appear wherever relevant or independently (9). (An exclamation mark in the translations denotes either an exclamation or a command.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(9) <i>A:wet’ahshō</i>[?] <i>qh</i> ‘it’s pretend’,
 ‘it’s make-believe’
 <i>Agí</i>: ‘ouch!’ (expressing pain)
 <i>Ahgwih gwa</i>[?] ‘don’t do it!’
 <i>Ahsdeh</i> ‘get outside!’
 <i>Ahsqh</i> ‘more!’ (asking for food or
 drink)
 <i>Ahsqh gēh</i> ‘do you want more?’
 (offering food or drink)
 <i>Ajú</i>: ‘yikes!’ (said in response to
 an unpleasant sensation)
 <i>Awe</i>[?] <i>hēgyeh tsq</i>; <i>awē</i>[?] <i>hēgyeh tsq</i>:
 ‘let it go’
 <i>Da</i>: <i>ne</i>[?] <i>toh</i> ‘that’s all’
 <i>Daji:hah</i> (<i>gwa</i>[?]) ‘soon’, ‘in a
 short while’
 <i>Do</i>: <i>i</i>[?] ‘let me!’, ‘how about me?’</p> | <p><i>Dó:ga</i>[?] ‘I don’t know’
 <i>Dó:gēhs</i> ‘exactly’, ‘for sure’
 <i>Do:gēhs di</i>[?] <i>gēh</i> ‘isn’t it true?’
 <i>Do:s gi</i>[?] ‘just so’, ‘indeed’
 <i>Ehē</i>[?] ‘yes’
 <i>Ehē</i>[?] <i>e</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ehē</i>[?] <i>gyē</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ehē</i>[?] <i>se</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ewa:dq</i>[?] <i>gēh</i> ‘may I?’, ‘may we?’
 <i>Ewa:dq</i>[?] <i>gi</i>[?]-<i>shēh</i> ‘maybe’,
 ‘possibly’
 <i>Gwahs q:wēh se</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Gwa</i>[?] <i>ti:ge</i>: ‘plainly’, ‘clearly’, ‘as
 it is’
 <i>Gwā</i>[?]-<i>toh</i> ‘exactly that’
 <i>Gwé</i>: ‘well!’, ‘hello’
 <i>Hái</i>[?], <i>háiē</i>[?] ‘hi’ (a word attributed</p> |
|--|---|

C Particle dictionary

- to Oneida or Tutelo)
Hanyoh, hanyohanyoh ‘do it!’,
‘come on’
Hao ‘come on’, ‘o.k.’
Hao dɛ nyoh ‘o.k. then.’
Hao di sah ‘alright’, ‘o.k.’
Hɛ:gyeh (tsɔ:) ‘no matter’, ‘not
likely’, ‘not for long’, ‘never
mind’
Hɛ:gyeh gi ‘leave well enough
alone’
Hɛ ɛh ‘no’
Hoh, ho: ‘what the...?’
Hoho: ‘aha!’, ‘oh no!’
Hotgɔ ɔh, otgɔ ‘what the...?’,
‘for heaven’s sake!’
Ho dɛ ‘kind (of thing)’
I: hne: ‘I am’
I:hya: ‘me first’
I: se ‘I am’
Nɛ: ‘look!’, ‘say...’
Nɛ:-gyɛh hwa ‘this here’
Nɛ:-dah ‘here, take this’
Nɛ:-dah ‘this way’
Nɛ: di ni:s/i: ‘how about
you/me?’
Nɛ: ne: i:s/i: ‘how about
you/me?’
Nɛ: toh ‘here’, ‘this many’
Ne: ‘yes indeed’
(Ne) *gwa-toh* ‘here’ (rather than
there)
- None:*, *nɔne:* ‘mind you’, ‘you
know’
Nyá:wɛh ‘thanks’
Nyoh ‘you’re welcome’, ‘alright’,
‘o.k.’
O: gɛh? ‘really?’
O: tɛ ɔh ... (gat) gi-shɛh
gyɛ:gwa/ne: hwa ‘maybe,
maybe not’
O:, ó:ò: ‘oh!’
O-ɔ:, o: ɔh ‘oh really?’
Sgɛ:nɔ: ɔh ‘slowly’
Sgɛ:nɔ: ‘hello’
Si ... gwa:dih ‘move it!’ (said to a
dog)
Tɛ ‘no’
Tɛ dedó:gɛhs ‘not really’, ‘it isn’t
true’
Tɛ gi ni:/ni:s ‘no, me/you!’
Tɛ gi shɛh hwa (daɔ:) ‘maybe
not’
Tɛ (gwahs) ɔ:wɛh ‘not really’
Tɛ gyɛ: ɔh, tɛ gɛ ɔh ‘not really’
Tɛ i: ‘not me’
Tɛ ne: dɛ:gɛ: ‘it isn’t the one’
Tɛ se ‘but then, not really’
To tsɔ: ‘that’s enough’, ‘that’s all
for now’
Trehs gi gyɛ ‘my goodness!’,
‘too bad!’, ‘that’s amazing!’
Tsɛ: ‘oh my!’
Wa-jihhya: ‘wait a minute’,
‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’

Particles or particle groups functioning as “pronouns” are also independent, occurring wherever nouns can (see §6). The word order for nouns and pronouns was described in the section on word order effects (see §32).

C.2 A particles

Aga:wəh ‘it’s mine’, ‘it’s ours’, ‘my’, ‘our’

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

- (10) agá:wəh
 ag-á:w-əh
 1S.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘mine’, ‘I own it’

Agi: ‘ouch!’

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1), in response to pain.

- (11) “Agi!” agyohé:t onəh awádego’.
 ow she.cried now she.ran.away
 “Ow!” she cried and ran away. (Keye 2016, Circle Book 10, The Magic Chair)

Ahgwih gwa’ ‘don’t!’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of negation” (§8.6, §27.1.6); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (12) Snigə:há:k gi’ gyé:’ shə nyó: hətse:’. Ahgwih gwa’
 watch.out just emphasis that place you.will.go do.not emphasis
 ɛjisəhnəhnyá’k é:’!
 you.will.be.hurt again
 ‘Watch out as you go. Don’t get hurt again!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386, Gáhá:gə: dialogue)

Ahgwih hwa’ ‘don’t!’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of negation” (§8.6, §27.1.6); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (13) Ahgwih hwa’ a:satró:wih.
 do.not this.time you.should.tell
 ‘You shouldn’t tell!’

Ahgwih hwɛ:dɔh ‘don’t ever’

Particle group *ahgwih ... hwɛ:dɔh* functions as an adverb of negation (§8.6); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (14) “Do:géhs oyo’ tí:yeht,” a’a:gé’, “**ahgwih** ni:s **hwɛ:dɔh** ɛhsnihs
it.is.true it.is.sharp she.said don’t you ever you.will.use.it
tó:gyɛh.
that
“It is really sharp,” she said, “don’t you ever use it.” (Henry 2005)

Ahsdeh ‘outside’, ‘outdoors’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (15) Eksa’shɔ:’ ɔ’h hni’ ɔ:nɛh tɛ’ **ahsdeh** dɛ’jɔtɔgɛhnyeh.
children and now not outside they.didn’t.play
‘The children no longer played in the woods.’ (Carrier et al., 2013)
- (16) “O: tsé:,” a’a:gé’, “**ahsdéh** jatɔgɛhnyɛhah!
oh oh.my she.said outside you.two.play
“Oh my,” she said, “go play outside!” (Henry, 2005)

Ahsɔh ‘still’, ‘yet’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (17) **Ahsɔh** ne:’ honákwe’ɔh.
still it.is he.is.angry
‘he is still angry.’
- (18) **Ahsɔh** hodré:nɔ:t.
still he.is.singing
‘he is still singing.’

Related

⇒ *Ahsɔh* ‘more’, p. 817

⇒ *Ahsɔh gɛh* ‘Do you want some more?’, p. 817

⇒ *Ahsqh* ‘more’ (asking food or drink), p. 817

Ahsqh ‘more’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (19) *Ahsqh* e:ʔ nihs desatwejó:nih!
more again you you.want.it
‘You still want more!’

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsqh gəh* ‘Do you want some more?’, p. 817
⇒ *Ahsqh* ‘more’ (asking food or drink), p. 817

Ahsqh ‘more’ (asking food or drink)

Particle; free-standing; used when asking for more food or drink.

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsqh* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816
⇒ *Ahsqh gəh* ‘Do you want some more?’, p. 817

Ahsqh gəh ‘Do you want some more?’

Particle group; a question asked when serving food or drink.

- (20) *Ahsqh gəh*?
more Q
‘Do you want some more?’

Related

⇒ *Ahsòh* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816

⇒ *Ahsòh* ‘more’ (asking food or drink), p. 817

Aju: ‘yikes!’

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1), in response to an unpleasant sensation, such as being splashed with cold water, ice, or snow, etc.

Akda:gye’ ‘beside’, ‘the edge’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), clause-initial (21); can also be a suffix, with a similar meaning (22, also see §11.2.3).

(21) **Akda:gyé’** hé:yɛ:t.

the.edge she.stands.there

‘She is standing on the edge.’

(22) a. **ohahakdá:gye’** ‘along the edge of the road’

b. **ganyadakdá:gye’** ‘along the lakeside or shoreline’

Aqoḡhdḡh ‘exceptional’, ‘over the top’, ‘extremely’, ‘too much so’

Verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

(23) **Aqoḡhdḡh** oné:nḡ’.

it.is.surpassed it.is.warm/hot.weather

‘It is exceptionally hot weather.’

Related

⇒ *Ji aqoḡhdḡh* ‘too much so’, p. 915

Aqheʔ, Aqhaʔ ‘it’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (24) áqheʔ
 á-qheʔ
 3S.P-alone.STAT
 ‘it is alone’

Related

- ⇒ *Neʔ aqheʔ:ʔeh d-stative.verb ... (shəh gaoʔ ni-stative.verb)* ‘the most, -est, -er (of)’, p. 920
 ⇒ *Neʔ gyaqheʔ:ʔeh d-stative-verb... (shəh ni-stative.verb)* ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’, p. 922

Aweʔ he:gyeh tsɔ:, Aweʔ he:gyeh tsɔ: ‘let it go’

Verb and particle group; free-standing expression functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5).

- (25) Aweʔ he:gyeh tsɔ:
 it.is.said no.matter just
 ‘Let it go!’ ‘Never mind that!’

Related

- ⇒ *He:-gyəh, He:-gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
 ⇒ *He:-gyeh gaə hɔ:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
 ⇒ *He:-gyeh giʔ* ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
 ⇒ *He:-gyəh shəh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
 ⇒ *He:-gyəh tsɔ:* ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
 ⇒ *To he:gyeh shəh* ‘really’, p. 1019

A:we:tʔ ah ‘it is pretend’, ‘it’s implied’

Verb, used here as a command (§27.1.5); appears before another clause or verb.

C Particle dictionary

- (26) A:wet'áh tsq: də́sá'tsqhs.
it.is.pretend just you.will.sneeze
'Pretend to sneeze!'

A:yę:' I guess', 'it seems'

Verb functioning as an "evidential marker" (§35.2); appears before another clause or verb.

- (27) Gwé:, a:yé' sanóhnyá'goh.
well, it.seems you.are.hurt
'Well, it looks like you are hurt.'

C.3 D particles

Da: 'and'

Particle or sentence connector (Foster 1974: 189), signaling the continuation of a previous topic (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

Related

- ⇒ Da: gwa:dih 'over here', 'this side', p. 820
- ⇒ Da: hq:weh hq: 'this is where', p. 821
- ⇒ Da: ne:', da: ne:' hni' 'too', 'also', 'and', p. 821
- ⇒ Da: ne:' onəh 'and now', p. 822
- ⇒ Da: ne' toh 'that's all', p. 822
- ⇒ Da: ne: dah 'and now'; p. 823
- ⇒ Ne:-dah 'this', 'this way', p. 953
- ⇒ Ne:-dah 'here, take this', p. 954

Da: gwa:dih 'over here', 'this side'

Particle and atypical verb *da...gwa:dih* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (28) Sq:, di' hne:' n'áht ne:gyəh da-gwa:dih gaet?
Who, so in.fact person this.one over.here someone.is.standing
'So then who is this standing over here?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257,
Gahwajiyá:de' dialogue)

- (29) **Da:** gi' gye:' gwa:dih wanaháotrahq'.
 here just this.one side hats.are.lying
 'Over here are the hats.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra'
 dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* 'and', p. 820
 ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *Gwai* 'to one side', p. 873

Da: hq:weh hq: 'this is where'

Particle group *da:...hq:weh* (*hq:*) functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial; *hq:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, *nhq:weh*.

- (30) **Da:** nhq:weh hq: he'droq'.
 here place place he.lives.here
 'This is where he lives.'

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* 'and', p. 820
 ⇒ *Hq:weh* 'where', p. 907

Da: ne:?', **Da:** ne:?' hni' 'too', 'also', 'and'

Particle group *da: ne:?' (hni?)* signals the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (31) **Da** ne:?' hni' dwé:dqh.
 and it.is also we.all.mean.it
 'That is also what we mean.'

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Hni:* ‘and’, p. 903
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930

Da: ne:ʔ onəh ‘and now’

Particle group, *da: (ne:ʔ) onəh* is used at the beginning of a performance (a speech); clause-initial.

- (32) **Da ne:ʔ onəh** toh niyáwəhdreʔ.
and it.is now that.one what.is.going.to.happen
‘and now this is what is going to happen.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930

Da: neʔ toh ‘that’s all’

Particle group and free-standing expression signaling the end of a topic (§35.4.1); often said at the end of a speech.

- (33) **Da neʔ toh.**
and the that
‘That’s all.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Da: neʔ toh* ‘that’s all’, p. 822
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930

- (38) A'a:géʔ, "Wa'gyéḥ deḥsni:yóḥ dají:hah o:néḥ!"
she.said wait, you.two.come.in a.little.while now
'She said, "It is time for you to come in for a little while!"' (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870

De'ε: gwa'-heh tε' se' 'but then not really'

Particle group; tag (§30).

- (39) de'ε: gwa'-heh tε' se'
not-it.is.so intensifier-heh not you.know
'but then, not really'
- (40) I:wí' gέ:s agatganó:ni', de'ε:-gwahéh tε' se'.
I.want usually I.am.wealthy, it.is.not-just.then not you.know
'I want to be wealthy, but then not really.'

Related

⇒ *E:ʔ*, *Ne' ε:ʔ* 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?', p. 838
⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
⇒ [-heh] 'element (related to time)', p. 891
⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977
⇒ *Tε'* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Dε' 'what', 'how'

Particle modifying nouns, or words functioning as nouns (§29.7); clause-initial or phrase-initial.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ* ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ, dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’, p. 825
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ gwaʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘whatever one (of several)’, p. 826
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’ (emphatic), p. 826
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hniʔ* ‘for sure’, p. 827
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ni-* ‘how’, ‘what way’, p. 828
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ ni:*ʔ ‘I am for sure’, p. 828
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ ni:yoht shɛh* ‘why?’, p. 829
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ qh hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what on earth?’, ‘I wonder what?’, p. 829
- ⇒ *Haoʔ dɛʔ nyoh* ‘o.k. then’, p. 889

Dɛʔ, Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ‘what’

Particle group *dɛʔ ... (hoʔdɛʔ)* functions as an indefinite (§6.5) or interrogative (§6.6) pronoun; clause-initial in direct questions (41–44), indirect questions (not shown), and dependent clauses (45), also see §29.7.

- (41) *Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ sniya:sqh?*
 what you kind you.are.called
 ‘What are you two called?’
- (42) *Dɛʔ hniʔ hoʔdɛʔ hoihoʔdɛhsrɔʔdɛ:ʔ*
 what and kind his.kind.of.work
 ‘What does he do?’
- (43) *Dɛʔ ni:s ɛtsahtgaʔ?*
 what you you.will.give.up
 ‘What will you give, donate?’
- (44) *Dɛʔ ni:s saʔnigqhoʔdɛ:ʔ*
 what you your.kind.of.thoughts
 ‘What are your thoughts?’
- (45) *Gwi:dɛh honqhdɔʔ [dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ gáɛnqhwɛʔs].*
 Peter he.knows what kind they.like.the.taste.of.it
 ‘Peter knows what they like.’

Related

⇒ *Dɛʔ* ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824

⇒ *Hoʔdɛʔ* ‘kind’, p. 904

Dɛʔ gwaʔ hoʔdɛʔ ‘whatever’

Particle group functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

(46) *Tɛʔ dɛʔ agohsdɔːʔ neʔ dɛʔ gwaʔ hóʔdɛʔ...* ‘She never used not she.didn’t.use.it the what right.then kind whatever (it was called)...’ (Henry 2005)

(47) “*Neʔ gɛːs heːgɛː ohneʔ draʔ géh toh gɛːs aːyéːʔ*
the usually it.exists.there on.the.ground there usually it.seems
gasháːs dɛʔ gwaʔ hóʔdɛʔ.”
it.looks.for what right.then kind
‘It usually sees on the ground whatever will make it strong.’ (speaking of chickens pecking at the ground) (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Dɛʔ* ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824

⇒ *Dɛʔ, Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’, p. 825

⇒ *Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ni-* ‘how’, ‘what way’, p. 828

⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870

⇒ *Hoʔdɛʔ* ‘kind’, p. 904

Dɛʔ hneːʔ hoʔdɛʔ ‘what’ (emphatic)

Particle group *dɛʔ hneːʔ* (*hoʔdɛʔ*) functions as an indefinite (§6.5) or interrogative (§6.6) pronoun; emphatic; clause-initial in direct questions (48), indirect questions (not shown), and dependent clauses (not shown).

(48) *Dɛʔ hneːʔ íːseːʔ?*
what in.fact you.want.it
‘What do you want?’

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with [dɛʔ ... (hoʔdɛʔ)] ‘what’, p. 590
- ⇒ Dɛʔ ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824
- ⇒ Dɛʔ, dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ‘what’, p. 825
- ⇒ Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ni- ‘how’, ‘what way’, p. 828
- ⇒ Gwaʔ ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ Hne:ʔ ‘in fact’, p. 901
- ⇒ Hoʔdɛʔ ‘kind’, p. 904

Dɛʔ hniʔ ‘for sure’

Particle group ...dɛʔ hniʔ emphasizes a fact (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (49) Agyaʔdɔhsdeʔ dɛʔ hniʔ.
 Iʔm.heavy what and
 ‘I am heavy for sure.’
- (50) Nɛ: swatgahtóh grahe:t. Weʔsgɛhɛ: neʔ hnyagwái:. Heʔtgɛh dɛʔ
 look you.all.look.at.it tree it.was.here the bear high what
 hniʔ heganɔʔjoyaɔni: tó:gyɛh! Nɛ: ne:ʔ hɔ:níʔ
 and the.marks.are.made.up.there those.ones see it.is the.reason
 gonahdrɔʔs neʔ ó:gweh. Oyaʔdanehagwáht dɛʔ hniʔ nɛgyɛh
 they.are.afraid the people an.amazing.body what and this.one
 hnyagwái dwadó:wa:s!
 bear we.are.hunting.it
 ‘Look at this pine tree. The bear has been here. See how high up those
 marks are! See – that’s what frightens the people. This bear we are
 hunting is Nyah-gwaheh, a monster bear.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ Dɛʔ ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824
- ⇒ Hniʔ ‘and’, p. 903

Dɛ́ ho' dɛ́ ni- 'how', 'what way'

Particle group *dɛ́ ... (ho' dɛ́) ni-* introduces a manner clause (§29.4); clause-initial in direct questions (51), indirect questions (not shown), and dependent clauses [], (52)

- (51) Asadadwɛ́ n̄ahsáik? Dɛ́ hne: ho' dɛ́ na' sye:??
you.bit.your.tongue what in.fact kind how.you.did.that
'You bit your tongue? How did you do that?' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 386) (Gahá:gɔ: dialogue)
- (52) Tɛ́ né' sgaho' dɛ́ deho' nigohaɛ́ dá's [dɛ́ ho' dɛ́ niyo:gyé: ne'
not the nothing he.doesn't.understand what kind how.it.works the
gahwísda' e:s].
clock
'No, he doesn't understand how time works.' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 508) (Aqhdɛ́gyóhe' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ́* 'what', 'how', p. 824
⇒ *Dɛ́, Dɛ́ ho' dɛ́* 'what', p. 825

Dɛ́ ni: 'I am, for sure'

Particle group *...dɛ́ ni:* functions as an emphatic pronoun (§6.1); tag.

- (53) Agyá' dahsde' dɛ́ ni:.
I'm.heavy what the.me
'I'm heavy.'

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ́* 'what', 'how' 824
⇒ *I:, Ni:* 'I', 'we', p. 910

Dɛ̃' ni:yoh̃t shɛ̃h 'why?'

Particles and verb *dɛ̃' ... ni:yoh̃t (shɛ̃h)* introduces a causative phrase (§29.3); emphatic (§35.4.4); clause-initial in direct questions (54–56) and indirect questions (57). Not used in dependent clauses, where phrases like *ne:ʔ dagaih̃o:niʔ* ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’ are used instead.

- (54) **Dɛ̃' hné:ʔ ni:yóht shɛ̃h ahádɔʔ ne:kʔ**
 what in.fact the.way.it.is that he.withdrew
 ‘Why did he leave?’
- (55) **Dɛ̃' hné:ʔ ni:yóht í:se:ʔ.**
 what in.fact the.way.it.is you.want.it
 ‘Why do you want it that way?’
- (56) **Dɛ̃' diʔ hoʔdɛ̃' ni:yóht tréhs hnaʔgɛ:ʔ?**
 what so what the.way.it.is too late
 ‘Why was it so late?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aq̃hdɛ̃gỹq̃heʔ dialogue)
- (57) **Hoñq̃hdɔʔ diʔ gɛ̃h Gwí:deh [dɛ̃' ni:yóht shɛ̃h Tina**
 he.knows so Q Peter what the.way.it.is that Tina
 gowanawéʔ dagaʔsʔ]
 she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar
 ‘Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?’

Related

⇒ *Dɛ̃'* ‘what’, ‘how’ 824

⇒ *Shɛ̃h* ‘because’, p. 982

Dɛ̃' q̃h hne:ʔ hoʔdɛ̃' 'what on earth?', 'I wonder what?'

Particle group *dɛ̃' oh ne:ʔ (hoʔdɛ̃')* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); clause-initial in direct questions (58), indirect questions (59), and dependent clauses (not shown).

- (58) **Ogaʔ q̃h né:gyɛ̃h! Dɛ̃' q̃-hne:ʔ hoʔdɛ̃'?** Dó:s nawéʔ daweht!
 it.is.good this! What I.wonder-in.fact kind? Very it.is.sweet!
 ‘This is good! What is this? This is sweet!’ (Carrier et al., 2013)

- (59) [Dɛʔ ɔ-hnéʔ na:ya:wɛh] gye:gwáʔ gwe:góh hɛhnéʔ
 What I.wonder-in.fact it.would.happen if all also.in.fact
 a:gaogyaʔ dáhk neʔ agógwɛʔ daʔ?
 I.could.share.with.them the my.people?
 'I wonder what would happen if I could share this with my people?'
 (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with *Dɛʔ* ... (*hoʔdɛʔ*) 'what', p. 590
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ* 'what', 'how' 824
- ⇒ *Hoʔdɛʔ* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *Neʔ* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Oh neʔ* 'maybe', p. 975
- ⇒ *Oh, Q;* *Q* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974

Diʔ 'so', 'then'

Particle signaling acknowledgement of something just said (§35.3.3); enclitic.

- (60) Dó:gɛhs diʔ gɛh?
 true so Q
 'Is that true then?'
- (61) Gaɛ diʔ nhɔ:wɛh nihsweʔs o:nɛh?
 which then place you.are.someplace now
 'Where then are you now?'
- (62) Hwɛ:dóh diʔ ɛje:yɔʔ?
 when then she.will.return
 'When then is she going to return?'
- (63) I:s diʔ gɛh hne:ʔ?
 you then Q in.fact
 'How about you then?'
- (64) ɛhɛʔ sgɛ:nɔʔ. Nɛʔ diʔ ní:s?
 yes fine and so you
 'I am fine thanks. And you then?'

- (65) Sanḡhḡkdá:ni' gəh di'ʔ
 you are.sick Q so
 'Are you sick then?'
- (66) Eḡhsné' gəh di'ʔ
 we.two.will.go.together Q then
 'Are you coming along then?'
- (67) Do: di' neyónishe'ʔ
 how then it.will.take.some.time
 'So how long will it take?'

Do: 'how'

Particle *do*: followed by verb beginning with [ni-] PART prefix and functioning as an "adverb of manner" (§8.4, §29.5); clause-initial.

- (68) Do: nigá:nḡʔ
 how it.costs.a.certain.amount
 'How much does it cost?'
- (69) Do: ní:wa'sʔ
 how it.is.a.certain.size
 'How big is it?'
- (70) Do: niyá:ga'ʔ
 how she.is.a.certain.size
 'How big is she / it?'
- (71) Do: nitgá:de'ʔ
 how it.stands.out
 'How high is it?'
- (72) Do: niyohwihsdá'e'ʔ
 how the.way.it.strikes.the.metal
 'What time is it?'
- (73) Do: nisohsriyá'gḡh?>
 how you.have.crossed.a.number.of.winters
 'How old are you?'

- (74) **Do:** di' niyó:we'?
how so it.is.a.certain.distance
'How far is it then?'
- (75) **Do:** gwa' niyóhsrage:?
how this.time it.is.two.or.more.winters
'How many years is it?'

Related

- ⇒ *Do:* 'how', p. 831
⇒ *Do:* gwa' ni:yq: 'a certain amount', 'a certain measure', 'however much', p. 832
⇒ *Do:* i:' 'let me' 'how about me?', p. 833
⇒ *Do:* ni-...nishe' 'how long', 'how much time', p. 833
⇒ *Do:* ni+...q: 'how many people' p. 834
⇒ *Do:* niyowihsda'e:' 'what time is it?', 'when?', p. 834

Do: gwa' ni:yq: 'a certain amount', 'a certain measure', 'however much'

Particle group and verb functioning as an "indefinite pronoun" (§6.5); free-standing.

- (76) **Do:** gwa' ni:yq: ɛsagá:dɛ'.
how.much right.then a.certain.amount it.will.cost.you
'It is going to cost you a certain amount.'
- (77) **Do:** gwa' ní:yq: ne', ne' gi'
how.much right.then a.certain.amount the the just
ɛhadigá:nya'k.
they(males).will.pay.for.it
'However much they will use to pay for it.' (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Do*: ‘how’, p. 831

⇒ *Gwa* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870

Do: i:’ ‘let me!’ , ‘how about me?’

Particle group and free-standing expression; also see (§27.1.5).

(78) *Do: i:*’!

how me

‘Let me!’ ‘How about me!’

Related

⇒ *Do*: ‘how’, p. 831

⇒ *I:*’, *Ni:*’ ‘I’, ‘we’, p. 910

Do: ni-...nishe’ ‘how long’ , ‘how much time’

Particle plus verb, *do: ... ni-...nishe’* ‘how long’ functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.5); clause-initial.

(79) *Dó: gwa’ neyónishe’?*
how emphasis it.will.take.time

‘How long will it take then?’

(80) *Dó: gwa’ na’ónihshe’?*
how emphasis it.took.time

‘How long did it take?’

Related

⇒ *Do*: ‘how’, p. 831

Do: ni+...q: ‘how many’, ‘how much’

Particle plus verb [ni+...q:] ‘be a certain number of’, used with counting and measuring (§29.5, §31); clause-initial.

- (81) **Do: nigá:gq:**?
how a.number.of.people
‘How many people (females or mixed group)?’
- (82) **Do: nihé:nq:**?
how a.number.of.males
‘How many men?’
- (83) **Do: ní:yq:**?
how a.number.of.things
‘How many?’, ‘How much?’
- (84) **Do: ni:yq:** gahna:’?
how a.number.of.things gas
‘How much gas is in there?’

Related

⇒ *Do*: ‘how’, p. 831

Do: niyowihsdá’e:’ ‘what time is it?’, ‘when?’

Particle and verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.9); clause-initial in independent clauses (direct questions, (85) and dependent clauses (86)

- (85) **Do: niyowihsdá’e:’?**
how it.is.a.certain.time
‘What time is it?’
- (86) Daskro:wí’ [do: niyowihsdá’e:’ ɛsahdé:di’].
you.tell.me how it.is.a.certain.time you.will.leave
‘You tell me when you are going to leave.’

Related

⇒ *Do*: ‘how’, p. 831

Do:ga’ ‘I don’t know’

Particle functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); free-standing.

(87) Sam:

Sq: di’ hne:’ n’aht?

who so in.fact who

‘Who is it?’

Lila:

Dó:ga’.

I.don’t.know

‘I don’t know.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dwęņqhsanékahq’ dialogue)

Do:gęhs ‘really’, ‘very’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

(88) ...tréhs a:yé:’ o:nęh [do:gęhs ganó:’ ohóna’da’].

...because it.seems now [really it.is.expensive potatoes]

‘...because it seems like potatoes are really expensive now.’ Mithun &

Henry 1984: 420, Eşwayęto’ Gęh? dialogue)

(89) A:yé:’ [do:gęhs desawayęhá:’q].

it.seems [really you.are.busy]

‘You really looked busy.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 494, Eķnıyęto’ dialogue)

Related

Do:gęhs ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 835

Do:gęhs di’ gęh ‘it’s true’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836

Do:gęhs e: ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836

Do:gəhs, Do:gəhs ɛː ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’

Particle asking for or providing confirmation (§35.3.1); tag (§27.2.2) or free-standing.

- (90) Wəhnihsri:yó: wá'ne', **dó:gəhs**?
it.is.a.nice.day today, true
'It's a nice day today, innit?'
- (91) Wəhnihsri:yó: wá'ne', **dó:gəhs ɛː**?
it.is.a.nice.day today, true affirm
'It's a nice day, innit?'

Related

- ⇒ *Do:gəhs* ‘really’, ‘very’, p. 835
⇒ *Do:gəhs di' gəh* ‘it’s true’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836
⇒ *Do:gəhs ɛː* ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836

Do:gəhs di' gəh ‘it’s true’, ‘isn’t it true?’

Particle group asking for confirmation (§27.2.2); free-standing.

- (92) Dó:gəhs di' gəh?
True so Q
'Is that true then?'

Dohga:ʔah ‘a few’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5).

- (93) dōhga:ʔah
dōhg-a:ʔah
noun-small.stative
'a few'

Do:s ‘really’, ‘very’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (94) O:néh do:s a'ohdró:k ne' hnyagwái'.
 now really it.became.fearful the bear
 'Fear filled the heart of the great bear for the first time.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (95) Oga'óh né:gyəh! Də' ɔhne:' ho'də'?' Do:s nawé'daweht!
 it.tastes.good this what I.wonder thing really sweet
 'This is good! What is this? This is sweet!' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (96) Ó:, ne' gi' do:s a'agyatgə'sé:'.
 oh the just really we.looked.at.it
 'Oh, then we really had a good look.' (Henry 2005)
- (97) Akeyatgahtó', o:néh do:s agyó:gya't.
 I.looked.at.her now really I.laughed
 'I looked at her, and really started laughing.' (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Do:s gi'* 'just so', 'indeed', p. 837

Do:s gi' 'just so', 'indeed'

Particle group functioning as an "agreement marker" (§35.3.1); free-standing.

- (98) Do:s gi'.
 really just
 'Just so.', 'Indeed.'

Related

⇒ *Do:s* 'really', 'very', p. 836

⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865

C.4 E, Ẹ particles

E:ʔ ‘again’, ‘still’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); enclitic.

- (99) Jidwahshé:t giʔ gyɛ:ʔ e:ʔ.
let’s.count just that.one again
‘Let’s count it again then!’
- (100) Hehshɛ:da:gé:ʔ e:ʔ.
he.is.lying.over.there again
‘He is lying over there again!’
- (101) Ahsóh e:ʔ nihs desatwɛ:jó:nih!
more again you you.want.it
‘You still want more!’
- (102) Neʔ giʔ ɛ:ʔ e:ʔ toh iheʔs.
it just affirm again that.one he.is
‘He is here again!’
- (103) Tɛɛ: e:ʔ neʔ satró:wi:.
Oh.my, again the you.talk.about.it
‘You are talking about that again!’ (said in exasperation)

Ẹ:ʔ, Neʔ ɛ:ʔ ‘isn’t it so?’, ‘yes?’, ‘no?’, ‘innit?’

Particle group ...(*neʔ*) ɛ:ʔ functions as a tag question or, in answers, to convey affirmation (§27.2.2); enclitic.

- (104) Enɔhwéʔs ɛ:ʔ?
She.likes.it affirm
‘She likes it, doesn’t she?’
- (105) Wɛ̄hnihsri:yó: wáʔ neʔ, neʔ ɛ:ʔ?
it.is.a.nice.day today, the affirm
‘it is a nice day, innit?’

Related

⇒ Ẹ:, E: (possible atypical verb), p. 839

[ɛ:, e:] (possible atypical verb)

[ɛ:, e:] may be an atypical verb. The following words may be related.

- (106) a. ne:ʔ ‘it is’
 b. deʔge: ‘it isn’t’
 c. niwa:geʔ ‘so many’ (Henry 2005)
 d. ge:s ‘usually’
 e. he:ge: ‘all’
 f. ɛ:ʔ ‘it is so’, ‘affirmative’
 g. ti:ge: ‘something odd’

Related

⇒ Equative sentences with linking verbs *né:ʔ* ‘it is’ or *deʔge:* ‘it isn’t’, p. 574

⇒ *E:ʔ*, *Neʔ ɛ:ʔ* ‘isn’t it so?’, ‘yes?’, ‘no?’, ‘innit?’, p. 838

⇒ *Ge:s* ‘generally, used to, usually, normally’, p. 864

⇒ *Ne:ʔ* equative, p. 930

⇒ *Ne:ʔ he:ge:* ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’, p. 940

⇒ *Otgaʔ deʔ neʔ niwa:geʔ ni-* ‘as many as’, p. 972

⇒ *Tɛʔ deʔge:* ‘it isn’t’, p. 1003

Ẹ: gwa:dih ‘on the other side’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3, §C.4); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (107) Ne: tɛhséhsage:t ɛ: gwa:dih hɛhsóda: ɛ:
 it.is you.will.bend.it other side you.will.hook.it other
 naʔohahá:dih degyohó:do:t to hɔ: hɛhsóda:.
 side.of.the.road another.whip there where you.will.hook.it

‘You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

E: ni-NOUN+adih ‘on the other side of NOUN’

Particle and incorporating verb [e: ni-NOUN+adih] functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (108) Ne: tɛhséhsage:t e: gwa:dih hɛhsóda: e:
it.is you.will.bend.it other side you.will.hook.it other
nã'ohahá:dih degyohó:do:t to hɔ: hɛhsóda:.
side.of.the.road another.whip there where you.will.hook.it
‘You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (109) E: naganqhsa:dih ita:t.
other side.of.the.house he.is.standing
‘he is standing on the other side of the house.’

Related

⇒ *E: gwa:dih* ‘on the other side’, p. 839

Ehɛ' ‘yes’

Particle functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

Related

- ⇒ *Ehɛ' e:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 841
⇒ *Ehɛ' gɛh* ‘is that right?’, p. 841
⇒ *Ehɛ' gyɛ:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
⇒ *Ehɛ' se* ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’, p. 842

Eḥe' e:' 'yes indeed'

Particle group (*eḥe'*) *e:'* functions as an agreement marker (§35.3.1); enclitic. A speaker can use *e:'* to affirm or emphasize her statement; the listener can use *eḥe' e:'* to agree.

(110) Ne' gi' e:' e:' toh ihe's.
 ne' just affirm again there he.is
 'he is here again!'

(111) Sam:
 Háe. Wḥnisri:yó: é:'.
 hi nice.day affirm
 'Hi. Nice day, isn't it.'

Neil:

Eḥé' é:'.
 yes affirm

'Yes it is, isn't it.' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 339, O'dréhdagi' dialogue)

Related

⇒ *E:'*, *Ne' e:'* 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?', p. 838

⇒ *Eḥe'* 'yes', p. 840

⇒ *Eḥe' gḥ* 'is that right?', p. 841

⇒ *Eḥe' gye:'* 'yes indeed', p. 842

⇒ *Eḥe' se'* 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842

Eḥe' gḥ 'is that right?'

Particle group and free-standing expression functioning as a "tag question" (§27.2.2).

(112) Eḥe' gḥ?
 yes Q
 'Is that right?'

Related

- ⇒ *Ehɛ* 'yes', p. 840
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* ɛ: 'yes indeed', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* gyɛ: 'yes indeed', p. 842
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* se 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842

Ehɛ gyɛ: 'yes indeed'

Particle group and free-standing expression, functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

(113) Neighbour:

Sgɛ:nɔ?. Sɛ sɣɛhɛ: ɛ: gwa'tóh wa'jih?
Hello, you.were.here affirmation just.now not.long.ago
'Hello. Weren't you here a while ago?'

Sam:

Ehɛ gyɛ:
yes this.one

'Yes I was.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dwɛnɔhsanekehɔ' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ehɛ* 'yes', p. 840
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* ɛ: 'yes indeed', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* gɛh 'is that right?', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehɛ* se 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842

Ehɛ se 'it is so', 'yes indeed'

Particle group and free-standing expression, functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

(114) *Ehɛ* se.

Yes you.know
'Yes indeed.'

Related

- ⇒ *Ehẹ* 'yes', p. 840
- ⇒ *Ehẹ ẹ:* 'yes indeed', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehẹ gẹh* 'is that right?', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehẹ gye:* 'yes indeed', p. 842
- ⇒ *Se* 'you know', p. 977

Ẹwa:dọ 'yes, you may', 'it is permissible'

Verb functioning as an evidential marker (§35.2).

- (115) Ẹhẹ, ẹwá:dọ.
 yes it.will.be.possible
 'Yes, you may.'
- (116) Né: gí a'a:gẹ, "Ẹwa:dọ, ẹwa:dọ ojike'dá sdó:hah
 it.is just she.said, it.is.possible, it.is.possible salt a.little
 ẹhsnihs, deyohsaít hni."
 you.will.use, pepper also
 'And then she said, "Use a little salt, and pepper too."
- (117) Ó:, ne' gí gye: a'a:gẹ, "Owidra:htá hni ẹwa:dọ
 Oh, the just this.one she.said, butter and it.is.possible
 ẹhsráh ne' oná'da:"
 you.will.spread the bread
 'Oh, and she also said, "There is butter to spread on your bread." (Henry 2005)
- (118) Swasha:sé:k shẹh ta'dewẹhnihsragé: ẹwa:dọ
 you.remember that every.day it.is.possible.
 daedwadẹnḡhó:nyọ:?
 we.should.give.thanks
 'Remember every day is a good day, and we can give thanks for that.'
 (Carrier et al. 2013)

- (119) O:nẹh agasdáẹda'. Ẹwa:dọ́ ganadagọ: hẹkné: ó:nẹh.
now it.stopped.raining. it.is.possible to.town we.will.go.there now
'Now the rain has stopped. We can go to town now.' (Mithun & Henry
1984: 212, Satró:nih dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ewa:dọ́ gẹh* 'may I', 'may we', p. 844
⇒ *Ewa:dọ́ gi' shẹh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844

Ẹwa:dọ́ gẹh 'may I', 'may we'

Particle group functioning as question ; clause-initial; (also see §35.2).

- (120) Ẹwa:dọ́ gẹh ẹgatgọhsóhai?
it.is.possible Q I.will.wash.my.face
'May I wash my face?'
- (121) Ẹwa:dọ́ gẹh ne' ohnégagri'?
it.is.possible Q the soup
'May we have some soup?' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Ewa:dọ́* 'yes, you may', 'it is permissible', p. 843
⇒ *Ewa:dọ́ gi' shẹh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844

Ẹwa:dọ́ gi' shẹh 'maybe', 'a possibility'

Particle group functioning as an "evidential marker" (§35.2).

- (122) ẹwa:dọ́ gi' shẹh
it.will.be.possible just that
'maybe'

Related

⇒ *Ewa:dɔʔ* ‘yes, you may’, ‘it is permissible’, p. 843

⇒ *Ewa:dɔʔ gɛh* ‘may I’, ‘may we’, p. 844

C.5 G particles**[gaʔ-] element (referring to an approximate location)**

Element appearing in several particle groups; describes an approximate location.

Related

⇒ *Gaʔ-to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’, p. 846

⇒ *Gaʔ-to:hah tohgeh* ‘thereabouts’, p. 847

⇒ *Tɛʔ gaʔ-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’, p. 1004

[-gaʔ] element (referring to living beings)

[-gaʔ] element appearing in several particle combinations; enclitic; refers to living beings.

Related

⇒ *Sɔ:-ga:ʔ* ‘anyone’, ‘any living thing’, p. 997

⇒ *Sɔ:-ga:ʔah* ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything’, p. 997

⇒ *Tɛʔ sɔ:-ga:ʔ* ‘nobody’, ‘no one’, p. 1014

Gaʔ-toh, Tɛʔ gaʔ-toh ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’

Particle group (*tɛʔ gaʔ-toh*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (123) **Ga[?]-toh** tsq: ta:setséi.
nowhere only you.will.find.it
'You just won't find it anywhere.'

Related

- ⇒ [Ga[?]-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
⇒ Ga[?]-to:hah 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'around', 'anywhere', 'thereabouts', p. 846
⇒ Ga[?]-to:hah tohgeh 'thereabouts', p. 847
⇒ Tɛ[?] 'no', 'not', p. 999
⇒ Tɛ[?] ga[?]-toh, Ga[?]-toh 'nowhere', 'not anywhere', p. 1004

Ga[?]-to:hah 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'around', 'anywhere', 'thereabouts'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (124) **Ga[?]to:háh** todáhsdɔh.
somewhere he.is.hiding.there
'he is hiding somewhere, someplace.'
- (125) **Ga[?]toháh** tsq: ɛse:tséi[?].
somewhere only you.will.find.it
'You will just find it someplace.'
- (126) Si gi[?]-shéh hwa[?] gwa:díh **ga[?]toháh** tganí:yɔ:t.
over.there maybe this.time side somewhere it.is.hanging
'Maybe it is hanging somewhere over there.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142,
Satgɛh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [Ga[?]-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
⇒ Ga[?]-to:hah tohgeh 'thereabouts', p. 847

- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gaʔ-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’, p. 1004
 ⇒ *To:hah* ‘a place’, ‘a time’, p. 1025

Gaʔ-to:hah tohgeh ‘thereabouts’

Particle group *gaʔ-to:hah ... tohgeh* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); when used figuratively, it refers to an approximate amount; clause-initial.

- (127) Ó:, agiʔ giʔ gye:ʔ a:yé:ʔ degróʔ nigahwih̄sda:gé: gɛh, gaʔtó:hah
 oh, I.said just that.one I.guess eight dollars Q, somewhere
 neʔ enesdanyaʔktaʔ tohgéh degahwih̄sda:gé: hne:ʔ neʔ gajihwaʔ.
 the saw there two.dollars also the hammer
 ‘Oh, I guess I said about eight dollars for the saw, didn’t I, and two
 dollars for the hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enqhsɔnyaʔdaʔsɔ:ʔ qh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [Gaʔ-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
 ⇒ *Gaʔ-to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’, p. 846
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ gaʔ-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’, p. 1004
 ⇒ *To:hah* ‘a place’, ‘a time’, p. 1025

Gaɛ ‘which’

Particle modifying nouns or words functioning as nouns; does not occur alone; phrase- or clause-initial; asks for information about a specific person, place, or object (from among a set of people, places, or objects).

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’, p. 848
 ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ hq:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848

- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-* 'whichever one (of several)', 'whichever person', p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-noun* 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' tsq:* 'wherever', 'somewhere', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gaę hq:weh* 'which place', 'where', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gaę niyó:we'* 'how far', 'which distance', p. 853
- ⇒ *Hęgyeh gaę hq:weh* 'no matter where', 'no matter which place', p. 898

Gaę gwa' gwa:dih 'whichever way', 'whichever side'

Particle group *gaę gwa' gwa:dih* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*; a following verb likely requires the [ni-] PART, [d-] CIS, or [he'-] TRANSL prefix.

- (128) *Ętsatwada:sé' gaę-gwa' gwai hęhse:' dęhsatgahdó:nyq'.*
you.will.come.around whichever way you.will.go you.will.take.a.look
'Whichever way you go, look around.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gaę* 'which', p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' hq:weh* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-* 'whichever one (of several)', 'whichever person', p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-noun* 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' tsq:* 'wherever', 'somewhere', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* 'to one side', p. 873

Gaę gwa' hq:weh 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around'

Particle group *gaę gwa'...hq:(weh)* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial; the following verb requires the [ni-] PART, [d-] CIS, or [he'-] TRANSL prefix; *hq:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*. *Gaęgwa' hq:weh* can be used in a figurative sense to mean 'around' or 'about' (133–134)

- (129) *Gaę-gwa' nhq:weh tǝwa'nigǝha:.'*
which-just.there place she.waits.for.him.there
'She waits for him somewhere, someplace.'

- (130) To h́: iwá:k'ah to h́: gętsgo:t gaę-gwa' nh́:.
 there place near there place it.sits which-just.there place
 'Near there somewhere is where it will be.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (131) O:, tẹ' gi' gwahs a:yé: dẹ'agęnqhdq' gaé nh́: dqgáhdq',
 oh, not just really it.seems I.do.not.know which place I.lost.it,
 gaę-gwá' gi' nh́: nẹ:-toh.
 which-just.there just place that.one-there.
 'Oh, I don't really seem to know where I lost it, somewhere.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, Gatgwę'da' dialogue)
- (132) Gyotqót gę:s ne' tgá:gq:t hęháha:' ne'
 always usually the it.is.necessary he.will.take.it.there the
 gaę-gwa' h́: hęhé:'.
 which-just.there place he.went.there
 'He always had to take it with him wherever he went.' (Henry 2005)
- (133) Saleslady:
 Do: niyohshe:dęh sehsta'?'
 how it.is.numbered you.use.it
 'What size do you wear?'
 Lila:
 Ó:, gaę-gwa' nh́: ne' géi sgahe' q: niyohshé:dęh.
 Oh, which-just.there place the four tens speculate a.certain.number
 'Oh, somewhere around size fourteen.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (134) Hao'-dẹ'nyóh. Ętgqhnqksé' gi' gyé: gaę-gwa'-nh́: ne'
 ok. I'll.pick.you.up just then which-just.there-place the
 jadahnkshó:qh.
 seven-ish
 'All right. I'll pick you up somewhere around sevenish.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349, Dẹ' Ho'dẹ' Nqsa:gye:?' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’, p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-noun* ‘wherever NOUN is’, p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ tso:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
- ⇒ *Hq:weh* ‘where’, p. 907

Gaɛ gwaʔ ni- ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’

Particle group [gaɛ (gwaʔ) ... ni-] functions as a definite pronoun (§6.4).

- (135) **gaɛ (gwaʔ) ní:waʔ**
 which right.then it.is.a.certain.size
 ‘whichever one (object)’
- (136) **gaɛ (gwaʔ) ní:ga:ʔ**
 which right.then it.is.contained.in.something
 ‘whichever one (object)’
- (137) **gaɛ niyéyaʔda:ʔ**
 which someone’s.body.is.contained.in.it
 ‘which person’, ‘which woman’
- (138) Ó:, a:yé:ʔ ní:ʔ né:ʔ gwahs knɔhweʔs neʔ hehsháéʔ niyohsohgoʔdɛ:,
 oh, I.guess I it.is really I.like t he brown
 né:ʔ gíʔ-shéh neʔ ojiʔtgwa:gé:tʔah, jiʔtgwá:ʔ gíʔ-shéh,
 colour, it.is maybe the yellow.one, yellow
 otgwəhjiʔa:gé:t gíʔ-shéh. **Gaɛ gwáʔ gíʔ ní:gá:**
 maybe, pink maybe. whichever really just
 nɛ:gyɛh.
 it.is.contained.in.something this.one
 ‘Oh, the one I like the best is brown, or perhaps a light yellow, or maybe
 yellow, or maybe pink. Anyway, one of these.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984:
 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)

- (139) To: ne' gayá:ʔ, ne' gɛ:s a'ənohái:ʔ, tohgéh gaɛ gwa'
 there the bag, the usually she.washed.it, then whichever right.then
 ní:waʔ to: ne' gayá:ʔ a'əhsrɔ:niʔ.
 it.is.a.certain.size there the bag she.fixed.it
 '...she would wash the flour bag and fix it.' (use it for a tick/mattress)
 (Henry 2005)
- (140) Gaɛ ní:ga:ʔ i:séʔ á:se:kʔ
 which it.is.contained.in.something you.want you.should.eat
 'Which one do you want to eat?'

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* 'which', p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' gwa:dih* 'whichever way', 'whichever side', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' hɔ:weh* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' ni-noun* 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' tsɔ:* 'wherever', 'somewhere', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* 'to one side', p. 873

Gaɛ gwa' ni-NOUN 'wherever NOUN is'

Particle group [gaɛgwa' ... ni-noun] functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); means that an object exists 'wherever'; clause-initial.

- (141) I:wí: ne' gaɛ-gwáʔ nígátseʔdáʔ to: a'akninɔ:nheht,
 I.think the which-just.there some.bottle there we.filled.it
 'I think that wherever the bottle (was), we filled it there,...' (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* 'which', p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' gwa:dih* 'whichever way', 'whichever side', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa' hɔ:weh* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848

- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' tsq:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwa'* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

Gaę gwa' tsq: ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); likely clause-initial. A following verb likely requires the [ni-] PART, [d-] CIS, or [he'-] TRANSL prefix.

- (142) *gaę gwa' tsq:*
which emphasis just
‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’

Related

- ⇒ *Gaę* ‘which’, p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' hq:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' ni-noun* ‘wherever NOUN is’, p. 851
- ⇒ *Gwa'* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
- ⇒ *Tsq:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Gaę hq:weh ‘which place’, ‘where’

PARTICLE GROUP *gaę ... (hq:weh)* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), clause-initial in direct questions (143–147) and dependent clauses (148–149); *hq:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*; (also see §29.8).

- (143) *Gaę hne:ˀ sanyaˀdawiˀtraˀ?*
Where in.fact your.coat
‘Where is your coat?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgęh dialogue)
- (144) *Gaę nqdahse:ˀ?*
Where you.come.from.a.certain.place
‘Where do you come from?’

- (145) **Gaę** di' **nhọ:wéh** ihswe's o:nəh?
Which so place you.are now
'Where then are you now?'
- (146) **Gaę:** **nhọ:** tsi'drọ'?'
Which place you.live.there
'Where do you live?'
- (147) **Gaę** hwa' **nhọ:** hejisaiho'de'?'
Which this.time place you.work.over.there
'Where do you work?'
- (148) Tẹ' de'agənọhdọ' [gaę **nhọ:** nigá:yẹ'].
Not I.don't.know which place it.is.placed.somewhere
'I don't know where it is.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgẹh dialogue)
- (149) Tẹ' gi' ní: de'ge:gé: [gaę-ʔ **nhọ:** desáhdọ:'].
Not just I I.didn't.see.it which-I.wonder place you.lost.it
'Well, I didn't see where you lost it.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, Gatgwẹ'da' dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gaę* 'which', p. 847

⇒ *Họ:wéh* 'where', p. 907

Gaę niyó:we' 'how far', 'which distance'

Particle and verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial in direct questions.

- (150) **Gaę niyo:wé'** heha:wé:nọ:
which it.is.a.certain.distance he.has.gone.there
'How far has he gone?'

Related

⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’, p. 847

Gaɛ niyo:weʔ tsɔ: ‘whenever’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); likely clause-initial in dependent clauses. (Reported in (Sasse & Keye 1998), who attribute the phrase to a list provided by Michael Foster.)

- (151) *gaɛ niyo:weʔ tsɔ:*
which it.is.a.certain.distance just
‘whenever’

Related

⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’, p. 847

Gaoʔ ‘this side’, ‘this way’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (152) **Gaoʔ** *nɔdáhse:ʔ*.
this.way you.will.come.a.certain.way
‘Come this way.’
- (153) **Gaoʔ** *dɔdé:swe:!*
this.way you.all.return
‘Come back!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (154) *Da:nɛ:dah haʔgahéʔ gaoʔ ɛdihswatríhs*
and.now it.is.time this.way you.all.will.come.closer
ɛhswadahɔhsí:yohs.
you.all.will.listen
‘Now is the time to come closer and listen.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gao'* *nawahtgeh* 'the time before then', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao'* *ni-* 'less so', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao'* *shəh niyo:we'* 'before', 'until', p. 856
- ⇒ *I:nəh gao' ne'* 'far from enough', p. 913

Gao' nawahtgeh 'the time before then'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (155) *Gao'* **nawahtgéh** tsa'gaqdrí:yo'...
 towards the.time.before when.they.fought
 'The time before, when they fought...'

Related

- ⇒ *Gao'* 'this side', 'this way', p. 854
- ⇒ *Gao'* *ni-* 'less so', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao'* *shəh niyo:we'* 'before', 'until', p. 856

Gao' ni- 'less so'

Particle group [*gao'* ... *ni-stative.verb*] is used in comparisons (§31.1); *gao'* precedes a stative verb beginning with [*ni-*] PART.

- (156) *gao'* **ní:wa'**
 less.so it.is.small
 'it is smaller than...'
 cf. ní:-w-a' PART-3S.A-be.a.certain.size.STAT
- (157) *gao'* **niwakyədáhkwa'**
 less.so a.certain.size.of.chair
 'a smaller chair'
 cf. ni-w-akyədáhk-w-a' PART-3S.A-chair-be.a.certain.size.STAT

- (158) Ne:[?] gao[?] ni:yó:[?] d̥hsátahak
 it.is less.so a.certain.number you.will.walk
 ‘You have to walk a lot less.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
 cf. ni:-y-ó: PART-3S.P-certain.number.STAT
- (159) Ne:[?] tsó:[?] hné:[?] sa:dóh sh̥h [gao[?] ahsóh niwago[?]hsríyá[?]gòh]...
 it.is just in.fact you.say that less.so still I.am.some.years.old
 ‘That’s not fair. Just because I am younger than you.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
 cf. ni-wag-òhsr-íyá[?]g-òh PART-1S.P-winter-cross.STAT
- (160) Aòh̥e:[?]èh hni:[?] gyoga[?]òh sh̥h [gao[?] nitod̥e[?]nyé:d̥e:]
 the.most and it.tastes.good that less.so how.he.tasted.it
 ‘And it was sweeter than anything he had ever tasted.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
 cf. ni-t-ho-d-e-[?]nyé:d̥e-: PART-CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-JOINER-try.STAT

Related

- ⇒ *Gao*[?] ‘this side’, ‘this way’, p. 854
- ⇒ *Gao*[?] *nawahtgeh* ‘the time before then’, p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao*[?] *sh̥h niyo:we*[?] ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856

Gao[?] sh̥h niyo:we[?], Sh̥h niyo:we[?] ‘before’, ‘until’

Particle group (*gao*[?]) *sh̥h niyo:we*[?] functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial in dependent clauses; *niyó:we*[?] also has the short forms *ní:yo:[?]* or *nyo:.* For more examples, see §29.10.

- (161) gao[?] sh̥h nyó:[?] to: neyá:w̥h...
 which that it.is.a.certain.distance that it.will.happen...
 ‘before that happens...’ (sentence fragment)
- (162) O:n̥h̥ a[?]a:gé[?], “Wa[?]gyé[?]h,” a[?]a:gé[?], “ègehsr̥q:ní[?] i:wí: tó: ne[?]
 now she.said just.now she.said I.will.fix.it I.want that the
 sage[?]a[?]géh̥ [gao[?] sh̥h nyó:[?] èhséd̥a[?]dra[?].]”
 on.your.hair which that it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.go.to.bed
 “‘Just a minute,’ she said, ‘I want to fix your hair right there before you
 go to bed’”. (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gao* 'this side', 'this way', p. 854
- ⇒ *Gao* *nawahtgeh* 'the time before then', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao* *ni*- 'less so', p. 855
- ⇒ *Niyo:we*?, *Ni:yo:*?, *Nyo:*? 'a certain distance', p. 958
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we*? 'as far as', 'as much as', p. 986
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we*?, *Gao*? *shəh niyo:we*? 'before', 'until', p. 987
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we*? 'that far', p. 1020
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we*? *ne:*? 'when', p. 1021

Gaḳḳeʔ, Gaḳhaʔ 'she'

Verb functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); free-standing.

- (163) gáḳḳeʔ
 ga-ḳḳeʔ
 3S.FI.P-alone.stative
 'she is alone'

Ga:t giʔ shəh 'maybe', 'or maybe'

Particle group ...(ga:t)-giʔ-shəh functions as a doubt or certainty marker (§35.2); enclitic.

- (164) ga:t-giʔ shəh
 just that
 'maybe', 'or maybe'
- (165) To giʔ shəh há:ge:.
 there just that I.should.go.there
 'Maybe I should go there.'
- (166) Dəgyadawənyeháʔ [gyɛ:ʔgwáʔ giʔ shəh hniʔ ɛgyádawɛ:ʔ].
 we.will.walk.about if just that and we.will.swim
 'We could go for a walk or maybe go for a swim.' (Michelson 2011: 45)

Related

- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shəh tɛ'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Gəh ga:t gi' shəh niɣɛ'əh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' əh ga:t gi' shəh gye:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' əh ga:t gi' shəh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shəh hwa' da'ə* 'maybe not', p. 1006

Ga:t gi' shəh tɛ' 'maybe not', 'or not'

Particle group (*ga:t gi' shəh tɛ'*) functions as a doubt or certainty marker (§35.2); free-standing expression.

- (167) *ga:t gi' shəh tɛ'*
just that not
'maybe not', 'or not'

Related

- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shəh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Gəh ga:t gi' shəh niɣɛ'əh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' əh ga:t gi' shəh gye:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' əh ga:t gi' shəh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shəh hwa' da'ə* 'maybe not', p. 1006

Gəh 'Q' (question marker)

Particle ... *gəh* 'Q' is used with questions that imply *əhɛ'* 'yes' or *tɛ'* 'no' answers; used with direct questions (shown below), indirect questions, and dependent conditional clauses (§27.2.1); enclitic. Translated as 'whether' or 'if' when used in indirect yes-no questions, and dependent clauses.

- (168) Sgɛnɔ́jih gɛh?
you.are.well Q
'Are you well?'
- (169) Ẹ́dwé:ʔ gɛh?
we.will.go.together Q
'Are you coming along with us?'
- (170) Ẹ́hsnéʔ gɛh diʔ?
we.will.go Q so
'Are you coming along?'
- (171) I:ʔ gɛh sɡí:dɔh?
I Q you.mean.me
'Do you mean me?'
- (172) Ahsóh gɛh?
more Q
'Do you want some more?'

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsóh gɛh* 'Do you want some more?', p. 817
 ⇒ *Do:gɛhs diʔ gɛh* 'it is true', 'isn't it true?', p. 836
 ⇒ *Ehɛʔ gɛh* 'is that right?', p. 841
 ⇒ *Ewa:dɔʔ gɛh* 'may I', 'may we', etc., p. 844
 ⇒ *Gɛh* 'whether', 'if', p. 860
 ⇒ *Gɛh* 'didn't I', p. 860
 ⇒ *Gɛh* 'mind you', p. 861
 ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t giʔ shɛh nigeʔɔh* 'or?', p. 861
 ⇒ *Gɛh hne:ʔ* 'how about this one?', p. 862
 ⇒ *Gɛh tɛʔ nigeʔɔh* 'or not?', p. 863
 ⇒ *Ne:ʔ diʔ gɛh* 'is that it then?', 'is that', p. 932
 ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gɛh ... ne:ʔ / neʔ nigeʔɔh neʔ ...* 'or?', p. 933
 ⇒ *O: gɛh* 'really?', p. 961
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ gɛh* 'no?', 'isn't it?', p. 1005
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ gɛh deʔ* - 'didn't?', p. 1005
 ⇒ *To gɛh ɔ ne:ʔ* 'I wonder if it is', p. 1018

Gəh ‘whether’, ‘if’

Particle ... *gəh* ‘whether, if’ introduces indirect yes-no questions (173) and dependent conditional clauses (174, see §29.2); enclitic.

- (173) Daskro:wih [sanɔhɔkdá:niʔ **gəh**]?
you.tell.me you.are.sick Q
‘Tell me whether you are sick.’
- (174) Esgoho:wíʔ [to **gəh** ne: hé:yé:ʔ].
I.will.tell.you there Q it.is she.will.go.there
‘I will tell you if she is going.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘didn’t I’, p. 860
- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘mind you’, p. 861

Gəh ‘didn’t I’

Particle ...*gəh* ‘didn’t I’ is used as a tag in rhetorical questions (which do not require an answer; see §27.2.2); enclitic.

- (175) Ó:, agiʔ giʔ gyé:ʔ a:yé:ʔ degróʔ nigahwih̄sda:ge: **gəh**, gáʔtó:ha neʔ
Oh I.said just that.one it.seems eight dollars, Q, about the
enesdanyaʔktaʔ toh-gé degahwih̄sda:gé: hne:ʔ neʔ gajih̄waʔ.
saw that.one-on two.dollars in.fact the hammer
‘Oh, I guess I said eight dollars, didn’t I, for the saw, and two dollars for
the hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enɔhsɔnyaʔdaʔsɔ:ʔɔh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘whether’, ‘if’, p. 860
- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘mind you’, p. 861

Gẹh ‘mind you’

Particle ...*gẹh* ‘mind you’ signals shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); enclitic.

- (176) Ni: *gẹ:(gẹh)* tó-ne:’ ọgahdọ:ne’ agétgwẹ’da’.
 I mind.you it.is.that I.lost.it my.wallet...
 ‘Mind you, I lost my wallet.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, Gatgwẹ’da’ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gẹh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Gẹh* ‘whether’, ‘if’, p. 860
- ⇒ *Gẹh* ‘mind you’, p. 861

Gẹh ga:t gi’ shẹh nigẹ’ọh ‘or?’

Particle group *gẹh* ..., (*ga:t gi’ shẹh*)... *nigẹ’ọh* ‘or?’ functions as a conjunction, connecting a list of alternative choices, (§30). The alternatives are given between [] in the examples below; *gẹh* is enclitic and *nigẹ’ọh* tends to appear at the end of the list of choices.

- (177) [Họ:gwéh] **gẹh** [agọ:gwéh] **nigẹ’ọh** Dan eyá:sọh?
 man Q woman or Dan someone.is.named
 ‘Was it a man or a woman whose name is Dan?’
- (178) Sá:ga’s **gẹh** shẹh niyoga’ọhsrọ’dẹ: ne’ [daksae’dóhs]
 you.like.the.taste.of.it Q that what.it.tastes.like the chicken
 [gyọnọhsgwaót] [gwihsgrwíhs o’wahọh] **nigẹ’ọh**?
 cow pig meat or
 ‘Do you like the taste of chicken, beef or pork?’ (p.c., Alfred Keye and Tom Deer)
- (179) [Desatahahkwá’] **gẹh** ne’ o:nẹh ẹhsadadrihonyanihá’ [goya’danẹhgwih
 you.walk Q the when you.will.go.to.school bus
 ẹhsatnọhdá: ẹhshédáhk] **nigẹ’ọh**?
 you.will.embark you.will.go.by.vehicle or
 ‘Do you walk or take the bus to get to school?’ (p.c., Alfred Keye and Tom Deer)

C Particle dictionary

- (180) [Desaðḡwɛ:jo:nih] **gɛh** [trehs] **nigɛ'ɔh** [gano:']?
you.want.it Q too or expensive
'Do you want it or is it too expensive (and so you don't want it)?'
(Michelson and Price, 2011, 45)
- (181) [Seko:nih **gɛh** ne' ɛhsadekɔ:ní' o'ga:s'áh] [(**ga:t gi' shɛh**) ɛhsni:nó']
you.cook Q the you.will.eat evening (or.maybe) you.will.buy
nigɛ'ɔh?
or
'Do you cook your evening meal or buy it?' (p.c., Alfred Keye and Tom Deer)

Related

- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh tɛ'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shɛh nigɛ'ɔh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gɛh tɛ' nigɛ'ɔh* 'or not?', p. 863
- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ *Ne:' gɛh ... ne:/ne' nigɛ'ɔh ne' ...* 'or?', p. 933
- ⇒ *...Nigɛ'ɔh* 'or' (conjunction), p. 958
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh ga:t gi' shɛh gye:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh ga:t gi' shɛh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shɛh hwa' da'ɔ'* 'maybe not', p. 1006

Gɛh hne:' 'how about this one?'

Particle group ... *gɛh hne:'* used with questions that imply *ɛhɛ'* 'yes' or *tɛ'* 'no' answers (§27.2.1); enclitic; emphatic.

- (182) Í:s di' **gɛh hne:'**?
you so Q in.fact
'How about you?' 'Was that you?'

Related

⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858

⇒ *Hne:* ‘in fact’, p. 901

Gəh oh, Gə-ɔ:, Ga-ɔ: ne:’ ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’

Particle group *gəh ɔh* (*ne:*’) introduces conditional clauses (§29.2); enclitic. *Gəh ɔh* is also spelled as *gə’ɔ*, *gəɔ* or *gaɔ:*.

- (183) *Sanɔhɔkda:ní’ gá-ɔ: / gé-ɔ:*
 you.are.sick Q-I.guess
 ‘I wonder if you are sick!’

Related

⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858

⇒ *Qh ne:*’ ‘maybe’, p. 975

⇒ *Qh, ɔ:, ɔ* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974

⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *To gəh ɔ ne:*’ ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’, p. 1018

Gəh tɛ’ nigé’ɔh ‘or not?’

Particle group ... *gəh (...)* *tɛ’ nigé’ɔh* ‘or not?’ functions as a conjunction, connecting alternative choices (§30); *gəh* is enclitic and *tɛ’ nigé’ɔh* appears at the end of the list of choices []. In these examples, the second choice is omitted (because it is obvious or repetitive).

- (184) [*Dahé?*] *gəh tɛ’ nigé’ɔh?*
 he.is.coming Q not or
 ‘Is he coming or not?’
- (185) [*Sanɔhɔkda:níh*] *tɛ’ nigé’ɔh?*
 you.are.sick not or
 ‘Are you sick or not?’

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ ...*Nigə’əh* ‘or’ (conjunction), p. 958
- ⇒ *Tə’* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Gɛ:s ‘generally’, ‘used to’, ‘usually, normally’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); enclitic.

- (186) I:só’ agidəhsgehé:’ **gɛ:s**.
much I.used.to.sleep generally
‘I generally used to sleep a lot.’
- (187) Ji’ **gɛ:s** trehs shenó:wɛ:.
because generally too.much you.lie
‘You lie too much’; ‘you are too much of a liar (in general).’
- (188) Ne:’ **gɛ:s** gá:dəh.
it.is usually I.say
‘That’s what I usually say.’
- (189) Ji **gɛ:s** trehs jəhsɛ: tɕɛh nisihnɛ:ye:s.
too usually too.much you.two.are.fat that you.two.are.tall
‘you are generally too fat for your height.’
- (190) Ahsəhéh **gɛ:s** agahdró’ni:.
darkness usually I’m.afraid
‘I am generally afraid of the dark.’

Related

- ⇒ *E:*, *E*: (possible atypical verb), p. 839

Gi' 'just', 'really'

Particle ... *gi'* is used for emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (191) Ne:ʔ giʔ é:dəh.
it.is just she.means.it
'That's just what she means.'
- (192) Sanəhəkda:níʔ giʔ gəh?
you are.sick just Q
'Are you really sick?' 'Are you sick for sure?'
- (193) Təʔ gaʔtoh. Təʔ giʔ dehé:gə:
not anywhere not just I.did't.see.him
'Nowhere. I just didn't see him.'
- (194) Hoihoʔdeʔsri:yó: giʔ ne:ʔ.
he.has.a.good.job just it.is
'He just has a good job.'
- (195) Waheʔ giʔ gatahí:neʔ.
now just I.am.walking
'I am just getting on my way.'

Related

- ⇒ *Do:s giʔ* 'just so', 'indeed', p. 837
 ⇒ *Ewa:dəʔ giʔ shəh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844
 ⇒ *Ga:t giʔ shəh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
 ⇒ *Ga:t giʔ shəh təʔ* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
 ⇒ *Gəh ga:t giʔ shəh nigəʔəh* 'or?', p. 861
 ⇒ *Giʔ gye:ʔ* 'just do it!', p. 866
 ⇒ *Giʔ gye:ʔ* 'quite', 'kind of', p. 866
 ⇒ *Giʔ hne:ʔ* 'but', 'however', p. 867
 ⇒ *Giʔ ne:ʔ* 'it is just', p. 868
 ⇒ *Giʔ tsəʔ* 'just', 'really', p. 869
 ⇒ *Gye:gwaʔ giʔ shəh* 'or maybe', p. 886
 ⇒ *Gye:gwaʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ* 'maybe this time', p. 886
 ⇒ *Hə:gyeh giʔ* 'leave well enough alone', p. 899

- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ ‘just’ (emphasis), p. 933
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ/Neʔ giʔ gye:ʔ ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’, p. 934
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ gye:ʔ hya:ʔ ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ gye:ʔ ɸh ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ hniʔ ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’, p. 936
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ ‘maybe this time’, p. 936
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh neʔ ... giʔ shɛh ‘or’, p. 937
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ tsɔ: gwahs ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ ɸh ga:t giʔ shɛh gye:gwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ ɸh ga:t giʔ shɛh ne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ Tɛʔ giʔ ni:ʔ ‘no, not me’, p. 1006
- ⇒ Tɛʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ daʔ ɸ ‘maybe not’, p. 1006
- ⇒ Trehs giʔ gye:ʔ ‘my goodness’, ‘too bad’, ‘that’s amazing’, p. 1028

Giʔ gye:ʔ ‘quite’, ‘kind of’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); enclitic.

- (196) “O:,” aʔa:gɛʔ, “ohsno:wé:ʔah giʔ gye:ʔ hwaʔ sahsyɔʔ!”
oh she.said quicklyish just this.one this.time you.arrived.home
“Oh,” she said, “you came home kind of early this time!” (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ Giʔ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ Giʔ gye:ʔ ‘just do it!’, p. 866
- ⇒ Gye:ʔ ‘just the one’, p. 881

Giʔ gye:ʔ ‘just do it!’

Particle group ... giʔ gye:ʔ adds emphasis to a command (§27.1.5); enclitic.

- (197) Jidwahshé:t giʔ gye:ʔ e:ʔ.
let’s.all.count just this.one again
‘Let’s count it again then!’

- (198) Desa[?]draihéh gi[?] gyẹ:[?]!
 you(one).hurry just this.one
 ‘Hurry up then!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgẹh dialogue)
- (199) Hao[?]-dẹ[?]-nyóh. Sasẹdà[?]dráh gi[?] gyẹ:[?] hya:[?].
 ok-what-acknowledge go.back.to.sleep just this.one this.time
 ‘O.k. Go back to bed.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 212, Satró:nih dialogue)
- (200) Hó:! Heje:kni:yóh gi[?] gyẹ:[?]!
 Hoh! let’s.us.two.go.back.in just this.one
 ‘Hoh! Let’s go in!’ (Henry 2005)
- (201) Sade[?]nyẹ:déh gi[?] gyẹ:[?].
 you(one).try just this.one
 ‘Try this one.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 212, (Agya[?]dawí[?]tra[?] dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Gi[?] ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ Gi[?] gyẹ:[?] ‘quite’, ‘kind of’, p. 866
- ⇒ Gyẹ:[?] ‘just the one’, p. 881

Gi[?] hne:[?] ‘but’, ‘however’

Particle group ... gi[?] hne:[?] introduces new information contrasting with something said previously (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (202) Qgwa:yé[?] gi[?] hné:[?] ne[?] wagyẹ:sẹh heyóhe:, wagyẹsẹhsó:[?]qh.
 we.have just in.fact the cheap.ones more, they.are.cheap
 ‘But we do have cheaper ones, the cheaper kind.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enọhsọnya[?]da[?]só:[?]qh dialogue)
- (203) Tgwẹhọ: gi[?] hné:[?] gés tẹ[?].
 sometimes just but usually not
 ‘Sometimes this isn’t the case.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

⇒ *Gi*[?] ‘just’, p. 865

⇒ *Hne*[?] ‘in fact’, p. 901

Gi[?] *ne*[?] ‘it’s just’

Particle group ... *gi*[?] *ne*[?] is used for emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (204) *Hoiho*[?]*dəhsri*:*yó*: *gi*[?] *ne*[?].
he.has.a.good.job just it.is
‘He just has a good job.’

Related

⇒ *Gi*[?] ‘just’, p. 865

Gi[?] *shəh* ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’

Particle group.

Related

⇒ *Ga:t gi*[?] *shəh* ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’, p. 857

Gi[?] *shəh*, *Ne*[?] *gi*[?] *shəh ne*[?] ... *gi*[?] *shəh* ‘or’

Particle group (*ne*[?] *gi*[?] *shəh ne*[?]) ... *gi*[?] *shəh* functions as a conjunction, connecting an additional list of choices, []. *Ne*[?] *gi*[?] *shəh ne*[?] optionally appears before the first item in the list; the other choices are followed by *gi*[?] *shəh*.

Related

⇒ *Ne:ʹ giʹ shəh neʹ ... giʹ shəh* ‘or’, p. 937

Giʹ tsɔ: ‘just’, ‘really’

Particle group ... *giʹ (tsɔ:)* is used for emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (205) To: *giʹ tsɔ: ní:yɔ:*
 that just only it.is.a.certain.amount
 ‘That’s just all there is.’

Related

⇒ *Giʹ* ‘just’, ‘really’, p. 865

⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Gona:wəh ‘it’s theirs (females or mixed group)’, ‘it belongs to them (females or mixed group)’, ‘their’

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

- (206) *goná:wəh*
gon-á:w-əh
 3NS.FI.P-OWN-STAT
 ‘they (fe/males) own it’

Gonɔ:hɛʹ ‘they (females or mixed group)’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (207) *gonɔ:hɛʹ*
gon-ɔ:hɛʹ
 3NS.FI.P-alone.STAT
 ‘they are alone’

Go:wəh ‘it’s hers’, ‘it’s someone’s’

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

- (208) gó:wəh
gó:-w-əh
3S.FI.P-own-stative
‘she owns it’

Gɔdage ‘immediately’, ‘right away’

Atypical word functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (209) Háó’ desa’dráihəh, gɔdage’ dətse’.
come.on you.hurry, right.away you.will.return
‘Come on, hurry, and come right back.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441,
Dwəŋəhsanékahə’ dialogue)

Gwa ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); enclitic.

- (210) ...o:nəh gwa’ ahá:nyo’.
now right.then he.died
‘...finally he died.’(Carrier et al. 2013)
- (211) Səhohsa:’ gwa’ shəh toh tsitga:yé’ ne’
He.remembered right.then that there while.it.was.lying.there the
gaje’ gaqda:k’áh tgrahe:t.
container beside.the.log there.in.the.tree
‘One day he remembered he had left his birchbark container at the
bottom of the tree.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (212) Əsadra’swahetgé’s gwa’ shəh gyoťgót:ihsé:
your.luck.will.turn.bad right.then that always you.want
a:sade:kó:ni’.
you.should.eat
‘One day you’ll get into trouble, always wanting to eat!’ (Carrier et al.
2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Ahgwih gwa* 'don't!', p. 815
- ⇒ *Daji:hah gwa* 'soon', 'a short while', p. 823
- ⇒ *De'ε: gwa^h-heh tε' se* 'but then not really', p. 824
- ⇒ *Dε' gwa^h ho'dε'* 'whatever one (of several)', p. 826
- ⇒ *Do: gwa^h ni:yo:* 'a certain amount', 'a certain measure', 'however much', p. 832
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa^h gwa:dih* 'whichever way', 'whichever side', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa^h hε:weh* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa^h ni-* 'whichever one (of several)', 'whichever person', p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa^h ni-noun* 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa^h tsε:* 'wherever', 'somewhere', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwa^h* 'immediately', p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa^h* 'do it now!', p. 871
- ⇒ *Gwa^h ti:gε:* 'plainly', 'clearly', 'as it is', p. 872
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa^h a:-verb* 'if', p. 885
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa^h gi' shεh* 'or maybe', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa^h gi' shεh hwa^h* 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa^h hne:^h hwa^h* 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa^h ta:-* 'if not', 'if it hadn't been', p. 887
- ⇒ *Hwe:dεh gwa^h* 'sometime', 'whenever', 'once', p. 909
- ⇒ *Ne^h gwa^h toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921
- ⇒ *Ne^h tsε: gwa^h toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne^h tsε: gwa^h toh ni-* 'just a little bit', 'very little', p. 952
- ⇒ *O: tε' εh ga:t gi' shεh gye:gwa^h* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O:neh gwa^h* 'suddenly', 'already', 'finally', 'all at once', p. 969
- ⇒ *Sε: gwa^h, sε: gwa^h n'aht* 'anybody at all', 'anyone at all', 'any living thing', 'somebody', 'whoever', p. 995
- ⇒ *Sε: gwa^h n'aht o:ya^h* 'someone else', p. 996

Gwa^h 'immediately', 'do it now!'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); also functions as an emphasis marker, making a command more urgent (§27.1.5); enclitic.

- (213) *Osháisda!* *Gatgáhtwahs shεh nisá:yε:*, *sení:hε:^h gwa^h.*
 Snake! I.see that where.you.are.lying, quit.it right.now
 'I can see you serpent. Don't go into that water.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870

Gwa' ti:gə: 'plainly', 'clearly', 'as it is'

Particle and verb functioning as an "evidential marker" (§35.2); free-standing.

- (214) *gwa'* *ti:gə:*
immediately something.odd
'plainly', 'clearly', 'as it is'

Related

⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870

Gwa' toh 'that one', 'just such a one'

Particle group functioning as a "demonstrative pronoun" (59); free-standing.

- (215) *gwa'* *toh*
right.then that.one
'that one', 'just such a one'
- (216) *Əhə́', ganó:ʔ, né:ʔ tsə: shəh oya:nré' gi' gyé:ʔ*
yes it.is.expensive it.is just that it.is.good just emphasis
gwa'-toh.
right.then-that.one
'Yes, it is expensive, but it is a good one.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
Enqhsɔnya'da'só:ʔqh dialogue)
- (217) *Ne' gwa'-toh gí:dəh.*
ne' right.then-that.one I.mean.it
'I also mean that.'

- (218) **Ne' gwa'-toh** ha'hq>wadiha:'.
 ne' right.then-that.one they.took.him.over.there
 'They also took him.'

Related

⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870

⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tq:* 'that one', p. 1016

Gwa' toh, Ne' gwa' toh 'here (rather than there)'

Particle group (*ne'*) *gwa'-toh* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

Related

⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921

Gwa:dih, Gwai 'to one side'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); enclitic to words describing the actual direction.

Related

⇒ *Da: gwa:dih* 'over here', 'this side', p. 820

⇒ *E: gwa:dih* 'on the other side', p. 839

⇒ *Gae' gwa' gwa:dih* 'whichever way', 'whichever side', p. 848

⇒ *Hehda'geh gwa:dih* 'below', 'low', p. 891

⇒ *I:'geh (gwa:dih)* 'on my side', 'as for me', p. 912

⇒ *Ne: toh gwa:dih* 'on this side', p. 952

⇒ *Ne:-gye'h gwa:dih* 'here', 'this side', 'over here', p. 955

⇒ *Nigwa:dih* '-ward, direction', p. 958

⇒ *Ohna'ge: gwa:dih she'h* 'behind', p. 965

⇒ *Sewaihqhsdoh gwa:dih* 'to your right', p. 978

- ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘over there’, p. 989
⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘move it!’, p. 990
⇒ *Si gwa:di:hah* ‘just this side of’, p. 990
⇒ *Si hne:’ si gwa:dih* ‘over there’, p. 991
⇒ *To: gwa:dih* ‘on that side’, p. 1018

Gwahs ‘really’, ‘quite’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (219) *Èhè’*, **gwáhs** *gi’* *oqwatgá’dé:’ah*.
yes quite just we.are.many-ish
‘Yes, there are quite a few of us.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257,
Gahwajiyá:de’ dialogue)
- (220) **Gwahs** *sgɛ:nɔ:ɔh* *awádesgoh* *oshaisdagó:wah* *ohnegagó:*
quite slowly it.was.escaping the.big.snake in.the.water
ha’we’.
it.went.there
‘The giant snake was sliding slowly across towards the water.’ (Carrier
et al. 2013)
- (221) **Gwahs** *tɛ’* *sgahɔ’dɛ’* *o:nɛh* *dɛ’sgá:yɛ’*.
really not anything now nothing.is.left
‘There is really nothing left.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (222) **Gwahs** *hni’* *agadagáida:t*.
really and I’m.feeling.better
‘I am feeling so much better.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (223) ...**gwahs** *tsa’degaɔhyahéhneh*...
...right middle.of.the.sky.place
‘...right above us...’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘anyway’, p. 875
- ⇒ *Gwahs hwa*’ ‘this time for sure’, p. 875
- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wəh* ‘really’, p. 876
- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wəh se*’ ‘indeed’, ‘for sure’, p. 876
- ⇒ *Gwahs shəh ni-* ‘as...as’, p. 877
- ⇒ *Gwahs wa*’-*heh tsɔ*: ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gi*’ *tsɔ*: *gwahs* ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs d-* ‘the most’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs heyohē:*’ ‘the most, -est’, p. 939
- ⇒ *Té*’ *gwahs ɔ:wəh* ‘not really’, ‘not quite’, p. 1007

Gwahs ‘anyway’

Particle conveying focus or emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (224) Sɔ: ní:s n’*aht gwahs?* Té’ *gwáhs ɔ:wi: də’gɔyɛdéi.* Dave
 who you someone anyway not anyway really I.don’t.know.you Dave
 Maracle gəh haya:səh ne’ *hya*’*nih?*
 Maracle Q he.is.called the your.father
 ‘Who are you, anyway? I don’t really know you. Is Dave Maracle your
 father?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdātgi’ dialogue)

Gwahs heyohē:’, Ne:’ gwahs heyohē:’ ‘the most, -est’

Particle group [(ne:) gwahs stative.verb (heyohē:)] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs heyohē:*’ ‘the most, -est’, p. 939

Gwahs hwa’ ‘this time for sure’

Particle group *gwahs hwa*’ functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (225) **Gwahs hwa'** eságaɛ.
emphasis this.time you.give.permission
'You are willing or giving permission this time.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* 'really', 'just', 'quite', p. 874
⇒ *Hwa'* 'this time', 'next', p. 907
⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928

Gwahs ɔ:weh 'really'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (226) **Gwahs ɔ:weh** tsa'ho:yá:t honí'qh.
really truly he.cannot.help.it he.is.stingy
'He just cannot help himself, he is really really stingy.'
- (227) **Gwahs ɔ:weh** agadatséhse:!
really truly I'm.tired
'I am so tired!' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (228) **Gwahs ɔ:wéh** a:yé' tɛ' desho:tó:de'.
really truly it.seems not he.doesn't.hear
'It really seems like he doesn't hear.' (That is, he has selective hearing.)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* 'really', 'just', 'quite', p. 874
⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wéh se'* 'indeed', 'for sure', p. 876
⇒ *O:weh, Ne' ɔ:weh* 'really', p. 976

Gwahs ɔ:wéh se' 'indeed', 'for sure'

Particle group functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1); free-standing.

- (229) Speaker A:
 Trehs ta'deyodri'sdagé: gaha:gó: wa'ne:'.
 too not.much.noise in.woods today
 'The woods are too quiet.'
 Speaker B:
 Èhẹ:?, gwahs ó:weh se'.
 yes very it.is.true you.know
 'Yes, much too quiet.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* 'really', 'just', 'quite', p. 874
 ⇒ *Gwahs ó:weh* 'really', p. 876
 ⇒ *O:weh, Ne' ó:weh* 'really', p. 976
 ⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

Gwahs shẹh ni- 'as...as'

Particle group [(gwahs) shẹh ni-stative.verb] is used in comparisons (§31.1); it precedes a stative verb beginning with [ni-] PART, and is clause-initial in dependent clauses.

- (230) Enagrehsra:gwe:góh gi' o:nẹh agaehne:ga:gó: gwahs shẹh
 all.the.inhabitants just now they.collected.water so.much that
 nagaegwé:ni'.
 how.much.they.could
 'So all the village began collecting as much liquid as they could.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (231) Atẹ:ná:t gi'. [Gwahs shẹh nihodigwe:nyó:] atẹ:ná:t.
 they.danced just so.much that how.they.were.able.to they.danced
 'The boys danced. They danced like they'd never danced before.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (232) Sgẹ:nó:qh shẹh nẹhse:gwé:ní' dẹhsátahahk
 slow that how.you.will.be.able.to you.will.walk
 'Walk as slowly as you can.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘anyway’, p. 875
- ⇒ *Shèh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Gwahs wa’-heh tsɔ: ‘just now’, ‘just a short while ago’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (233) **Gwahs wa’héh tsɔ:** to: na’á:wèh.
really today only that it.happened
‘That just happened.’
- (234) **Gwahs wa’héh tsɔ:** agatnà’daqdá:gwèh.
really today only I.took.bread.out
‘I just took it out of the oven.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajɔh dialogue)
- (235) Èhéʔ, o:néh gi’ agadehsrónih’s’òh. **Gwahs wa’heh-tsɔ:**
yes now just I’m.getting.ready really today-only
agagya’doháesi’.
I’ve.finished.bathing
‘Yes, I am ready now. I just finished having a bath.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘anyway’, p. 875
- ⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030
- ⇒ *Wa’-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033

Gwe: ‘hello’

Particle functioning as a greeting.

Related⇒ *Gwe*: ‘well’, p. 879**Gwe: ‘well!’**

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1); conveys surprise or other emotion.

- (236) **Gwé:** a:yéʔ sanóhnyáʔgòh!
 well it.seems you.are.hurt
 ‘Well, it looks like you are hurt!’

Related⇒ *Gwe*: ‘well’, p. 879**Gwe: ‘well’**

Particle signaling a change in topic (§35.4.3); clause-initial.

- (237) David: Háe Pete.
 hi Pete
 ‘Hi Pete’
 Pete: Háe.
 hi
 ‘Hi.’
 David: **Gwé:**, í:s gèh satse:néʔ to:gyèh so:wa:s?
 so, you Q its.your.pet that.one dog
 ‘Well, is that your dog?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaéʔ Gèh Sgahoʔdè:ʔèh dialogue)
- (238) **Gwé:**, dèdwaʔənáéʔ agéʔ eyó:héʔ. Oyanrahsdòh giʔ
 well we.will.play.snowsnake it.is.said tomorrow. It.is.ideal just
 hne:ʔ shèh i:sóʔ oʔgráéʔ.
 in.fact that a.lot there.is.snow
 ‘Well, they say we’re going to play snowsnake tomorrow. It is ideal

because there is a lot of snow.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dedwa’enaé’ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwe*: ‘well!’, p. 879

Gwe:gòh, Agwe:gòh, Ogwe:gòh ‘all’, ‘everything’

Verb (atypical, when without [o-] 3s.P prefix), functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (239) O:nèh gi’ adyòknì’ draihéh, a’akniksaohé:k **gwé:gòh** ho’dé’, ho’dé’
now just we.hurried, we.gathered all the.kind, the.kind
eyá:gwahs.
we.will.use
‘Then we hurried up and gathered up all the dishes that we would use.’
(Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Gwe:gòh, Agwe:gòh, Ogwe:gòh* ‘completely’, ‘totally’, p. 880
⇒ *Hegwe:gòh, Ne’ hegwe:gòh* ‘the whole thing’, p. 924

Gwe:gòh, Agwe:gòh, Ogwe:gòh ‘completely’, ‘totally’

Verb (atypical, when without [o-] prefix) functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (240) A:yé:’ hni’ **gwe:gòh** agadranawé’ do’kdá’òh hni’.
it.seems and it.is.all we.have.run.out.of.sugar and
‘I seem to have completely run out of sugar, too.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dweñhsanékahò’ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwe:goh, Agwe:goh, Ogwe:goh* ‘all’, ‘everything’, p. 880

⇒ *Hegwe:goh, Ne' hegwe:goh* ‘the whole thing’, p. 924

Gyɛ:ʔ ‘just the one’

Particle ... *gyɛ:ʔ* conveys emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (241) *Honɔksɔʔ seʔ neʔ Hagówanɛh shɛh haɔháʔ gyɛ:ʔ*
 he.knew you.know the he.is.big that he.alone emphasis
gaihwaɛdahgɔh dɛshagɔhsnyéʔ neʔ háɔgwɛʔdaʔ.
 the.responsibility he.will.lead.them the his.people
 ‘Their leader knew he was responsible for his people.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (242) *Hɛ:gyeh. Tɛʔ gyɛ:ʔ ta:yoyɛnawáʔs neʔ otgɔʔtraʔ neʔ o:nɛh*
 no.matter not emphasis it.wouldn't.be.helped the magic the now
dwahsreʔ.
 we.all.follow.it
 ‘Not for long. His magic is no good once we have his trail.’ (referring to the Ugly Bear having magic) (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (243) *O:nɛh diʔ ihse:t gyɛ:ʔ nóne:ʔ dehsatgahdɔ:nyɔhs.*
 now then you.are.standing emphasis you.know you.look.around
 ‘And now you will stand there looking.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (244) *Sɔheh gyɛ:ʔ nóne:ʔ gá:dɔh deyonadáwɛnyeʔ.*
 nighttime emphasis you.know I.say they.walk.around
 ‘As I said, at night, they walk around.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (245) *Ne:ʔ seʔ gɛ:s neʔ sweʔgé:hah hɛnadɛhni:nɔh gɛ:s neʔ*
 it.is you.know usually the long.ago they.sold us ually
gwaʔyɔʔ gyɛ:ʔ.
 the rabbits emphasis
 ‘A long time ago, they used to sell rabbits.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Ehɛː gyɛː* ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
- ⇒ *Giː gyɛː* ‘just do it!’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Giː gyɛː* ‘quite’, ‘kind of’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Gyɛː hneː tɛː neː* ‘it was this one, (not that one)’, p. 883
- ⇒ *Gyɛː ɔh* ‘maybe’, ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder’, p. 884
- ⇒ *Neː gyɛː nɛː neː* (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ *Neː gyɛː neː gyɛː*, *Negɛː nageː* ‘that is what’, p. 923
- ⇒ *Neː to gyɛː* ‘that’s what’, p. 926
- ⇒ *Neː to gyɛː hɔːweh* ‘it is where’, p. 927
- ⇒ *Neː /neː giː gyɛː* ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’, p. 934
- ⇒ *Neː giː gyɛː hyaː* ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Neː giː gyɛː ɔh* ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Neː gyɛː neː* ‘that really is’, p. 940
- ⇒ *Neː seː gyɛː* ‘you know’, p. 945
- ⇒ *Niː gyɛː*, *Niː gɛː* ‘I did it’, p. 957
- ⇒ *Tɛː gyɛː nɛː neː* ‘not’, ‘what on earth?’, p. 1008
- ⇒ *Tɛː gyɛː ɔh*, *Tɛː gɛː ɔh* ‘not really’, p. 1009
- ⇒ *Waː-jih gyɛː* ‘almost’, ‘just about’, p. 1036

[-gyɛh] ‘this’, ‘that’

[-gyɛh] is an enclitic element occurring in the following particle combinations.

Related

- ⇒ *Hɛː-gyɛh*, *hɛːgyɛh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hɛː-gyɛh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hɛː-gyɛh tsɔː* ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *Nɛː-gyɛh* ‘this one’, p. 955
- ⇒ *Nɛː-gyɛh gwaːdih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’, p. 955
- ⇒ *Nɛː-gyɛh hwaː* ‘this time’, p. 956
- ⇒ *Siː-gyɛh* ‘that one over there’, p. 992
- ⇒ *Toː-gyɛh* ‘that one’, p. 1023
- ⇒ *Waː-gyɛh* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Waː-gyɛh* ‘listen’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you’, p. 1032

Gyɛːʔ hneːʔ, Gyɛːʔ hneːʔ tɛʔ neʔ ‘it was this one, (not that one)’

Particle group ... *gyɛːʔ hneːʔ* ... (*tɛʔ ne*) conveys contrastive focus (§35.4.4); enclitic after the item contrasted.

(246) I:s **gyɛːʔ hneːʔ**.
you this.one in.fact
‘That’s you!’

(247) I:s **gyɛːʔ hneːʔ** tsq: eːʔ toh nahsyɛːʔ
you this.one in.fact just again that.one you.did.something
‘you are the only one that did that again’

(248) Wa:li **gyɛːʔ hneːʔ, tɛʔ neʔ** John.
Mary this.one in.fact not the John
‘It was Mary, not John.’

Related

⇒ *Gyɛːʔ* ‘just the one’, p. 881

⇒ *Hneːʔ* ‘in fact’, p. 901

⇒ *Neʔ* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ, Neʔ gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ (emphasis)

Particle group (*neʔ*) *gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ* conveys emphasis (§35.4.4).

(249) Tsaːdeyɔhweɟagahɛh **gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ** hɔːweh to:gyɛh hɔː
as.the.land.rises.up emphasis here it.is where there where
heyagwɛːʔ drɔːʔ tohgɛh hɔːweh
we.live.there that’s.where place
‘Where the land rises up, there where we live, that’s the place (where he went).’ (Henry 2005)

(250) Ohnegatgíʔ **gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ** ɛwá:dɔːʔ.
dirty.water emphasis here it.is it.will.become
‘The water will get dirty (because it will get riled up)!’ (Henry 2005)

- (251) A'a:gé', "Hotgɛnihsa'nhó: gye:' né ne:'"
 she.said he.went.to.council emphasis here it.is
 'She said, "He went to Council again, as usual."' (Henry 2005)
- (252) O:néh gye:' né ne:' tó:hah ɛyagwade:kó:ni'.
 now emphasis here it.is almost we.will.eat
 'And then it was almost time for us to eat.' (Henry 2005)
- (253) "Ó:," a'a:gé', "agatnə'daót gye:' né ne:' hni'!
 oh, she.said I.made.bread emphasis here it.is and
 "Ah," she said, "I made pan bread too!" (Henry 2005)
- (254) Deyakigahné:', gye:' né ne:' hó: dyɔknida'q̄h
 we.were.looking.at.her emphasis here it.is there we.were.sleeping
 hé'tgɛh.
 upstairs
 'We were looking at her where we were asleep upstairs.' (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ Ne' gye:' ne ne:' (emphasis), p. 923

Gye:' q̄h, gɛ' q̄h 'maybe', 'I guess', 'I wonder'

Particle group ... gye:' q̄h, gɛ' q̄h functions an evidential marker (§35.2); emphatic; enclitic. Possibly related to gɛh q̄h.

- (255) Ó:, degyegahné:' gi'. O:néh gyé:' q̄h q̄kwái.
 oh, she.is.looking.out just now this.one I.guess the.food.is.cooked
 'Oh, she is looking out. The food must be cooked now.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)
- (256) O:néh gi' gyé:' q̄h ɛsgahdé:di'. O:néh gyé:' nõne:'
 now just this.one I.guess I.will.go.home now emphasis you.know
 hné:' ha'wa:j'áht degáhsɔ'ne:t!
 in.fact it.is.all.gone the.pie
 'Well, I might as well go home now, because the pie is all gone, you know!' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajq̄h dialogue)

- (257) Né:ʔ gyé:ʔ ɸh hné:ʔ nəh agídagraʔ agadadwəʔ nəhsáik.
it.is this.one I.guess in.fact when I.fell I.bit.my.tongue
'I guess it was when I fell that I bit my tongue.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386, Gahá:gə: dialogue)
- (258) Təʔ giʔ hné:ʔ deʔ agəŋəhdóʔ a:geʔ nəhəsaniháʔ gəʔ ɸh hniʔ.
not just in.fact I.don't.know I.should.borrow.eggs this.one I.guess and
'I don't really know whether I should borrow eggs too.' Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dwəŋəsanékahəʔ dialogue)
- (259) To gəʔ ɸhni:yoht?
that I.guess it.resembles.something
'I wonder if it is like that?'

Related

- ⇒ Gəh oh, Gə-q:, Ga-q: ne:ʔ 'is it that?', 'if it is that', p. 863
⇒ Gyə:ʔ 'just the one', p. 881
⇒ Oh, Q:, Q 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974

Gyə:gwaʔ 'if'

Particle *gyə:gwaʔ* introduces conditional clauses; clause-initial in dependent clauses [], implying a prerequisite condition or hypothetical situation (§29.2). *Gyə:gwaʔ* requires a following verb beginning with an [a:-] INDEF prefix, and the verb often lacks an aspect suffix.

- (260) Təʔ dejəhsdi:s o:nəh gyə:gwaʔ a:yáihe:
not she.didn't.pay.attention now if she.would.die
'She didn't care that she was going to her death.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (261) A:gahya:góʔ gyə:gwaʔ a:sgyená:waʔs
I.would.pick.fruit if you.would.help.me
'I would pick fruit if only you would help me.'
- (262) Ahgwih dəhsyéhs ohné:gaʔ gyə:gwaʔ ihsé: ɛsa:dó:wiʔ.
don't you.will.mix water if you.want you.will.drive
'Don't mix booze if you want to drive.' ('Don't drink and drive.')

Related

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh* ‘or maybe’, p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ* ‘maybe this time’, p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ hne:ʔ hwaʔ* ‘just maybe’, p. 887
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ ta:-* ‘if not’, ‘if it hadn’t been’, p. 887
- ⇒ *O: tɛʔ qh ga:t giʔ shɛh gyɛ:gwaʔ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

Gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh ‘or maybe’

Particle group ..., ... *gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh* (...) functions as a conjunction, connecting alternative choices []; appears between or after the two choices (§30). (For *ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh neʔ*, also shown below, see “Related”.)

- (263) [Dɛgyadawɛnyɛháʔ] *gyɛ:-gwáʔ giʔ-shɛ́h* [ne:ʔ giʔ-shɛ́h neʔ
 we.will.walk.about if maybe [it.is maybe the
 ɛgyádawɛ:ʔ].
 we.will.swim]
 ‘We could go for a walk or maybe go for a swim.’ (Michelson 2011: 45)

Related

- ⇒ *Giʔ* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ a:-verb* ‘if’, p. 885
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh neʔ ... giʔ shɛh* ‘or’, p. 937
- ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ ‘maybe this time’

Particle group (*gyɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ*) functions as a doubt or certainty marker (§35.2); free-standing; *gyɛ:gwaʔ* can also be pronounced as *yɛ:gwaʔ*.

- (264) “*Yɛ:gwaʔ yɛ:gwaʔ giʔ shɛ́h hwaʔ*,” aʔa:géʔ.
 if if just that this.time she.said
 “‘If you do, maybe this time,’ she said.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ a:-verb* ‘if’, p. 885

C.6 H particles

Hanyoh, Hanyo-hanyoh ‘do it!’, ‘come on’, ‘you go!’

Particle group, preceding a command (§27.1.5) or stand-alone phrase. *Hanyo-hanyoh* is used as a word of encouragement.

- (267) Dwadɛhnɔdrɔʔ, **hanyóh** sheswa:yé:na!
brothers, come.on let.us.all.catch.it
‘Brothers, let’s hurry up and catch him!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (268) **Hányoh**. Dé:dwa:t.
come.on let’s.all.of.us.dance
‘Come on. We will dance.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Haoʔ ‘o.k.’

Particle signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); free-standing.

- (269) O:nɛh aʔa:géʔ, “Jaʔsnɛht to:gyɛh waʔjɛh neʔ sɔ:gwaʔ nóht
now she.said you.two.descend there right.now the anybody person
ɛyagonɔhnyak.”
she.will.get.hurt
‘Then she said, “Both of you get down before somebody gets hurt.” (said
by the mother)’
“Ó:, háoʔ.”
“Oh, o.k.”
““Oh, o.k.” (said by the children)’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Hao'* 'come on', p. 889
 ⇒ *Hao' dɛ' nyoh* 'o.k. then', p. 889
 ⇒ *Hao' di' sah* 'alright', 'o.k.', p. 890

Hao' 'come on'

Particle, preceding a command in these examples (§27.1.5).

- (270) *Hao'* dahskro:wih dɛ' ní: ho'dɛ' nɛgá:gye:'.
 O.k., tell.me what I what I.will.do.it
 'O.k., you tell me what to do!'
- (271) *Hao'* gyahdɛ:dih.
 come.on let.us.two.go
 'Come on, let's go.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Hao'* 'o.k.', p. 888

Hao' dɛ' nyoh 'o.k. then'

Particle group signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); free-standing.

- (272) *Hao' dɛ' nyoh* ó:nɛh, o:nɛh agekwɛdá'ɔh.
 ok what acknowledge now now I've.finished.eating
 'O.k., I have finished now.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ* ‘what’, ‘how’, p. 824
- ⇒ *Haoʔ* ‘o.k.’, p. 888
- ⇒ *Nyoh* ‘you’re welcome’, ‘alright’, ‘o.k.’, p. 960

Haoʔ diʔ sah ‘alright’, ‘o.k.’

Particle group signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); free-standing. (*Saʔ* means ‘look!’ or ‘see!’ in Tuscarora, Rudes 1999.)

- (273) **Haoʔ diʔ sáh.** O:nɛ́h giʔ hyá:. Nya:wɛ́h giʔ gyé:ʔ shɛ́h
ok so you.know now just time acknowledge just this.one that
nyó: dasknʔɔ́hda:.
how.it.is you.put.me.in
‘Alright. So long. Thanks for the ride.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339,
Oʔdréhdátgiʔ dialogue)

- (274) **Haoʔ diʔ sáh,** ɛ́kni:nóʔ giʔ gyé:ʔɔ́h.
o.k. so you.know I.will.buy.it just I.guess
‘O.k., I guess I’ll buy it then.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ
dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Diʔ* ‘so’, ‘then’, p. 830
- ⇒ *Haoʔ* ‘o.k.’, p. 888
- ⇒ *Sah* ‘you know’, p. 976
- ⇒ *Seʔ* ‘you know’, p. 977

Haɔhɛʔ, Haɔhaʔ ‘he’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (275) háϕhẹ́
 ha-ϕhẹ́
 3S.M.P-alone.stative
 ‘he is alone’

[-heh] element (related to time)

Element, enclitic in the following particle combinations, which function as adverbs of time (§8.2).

Related

- ⇒ *De'ε: gwa'-heh tε' se'* ‘but then not really’, p. 824
 ⇒ *Gwahs wa'-heh tɕɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
 ⇒ *Wa'-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033
 ⇒ *Wa'-heh-geha:* ‘finally’, ‘at long last’, p. 1034

Hehda'geh gwa:dih ‘below’, ‘low’

Phrase *hehda'geh* (*gwa:dih*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*. *Hehda'geh* is possibly related to *ohéhdá'geh* ‘on dirt, earth, ground, land’.

- (276) **hehda'geh gwai**
 on.the.ground side
 ‘the bottom’
- (277) **hehda'géh nitgá:de'**
 below it.exists.there.in.a.certain.place
 ‘it is low, it is below.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

Hehda'geh hq: 'downstairs'

Phrase functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial. *Hehda'geh* is possibly related to *ohéhdá'geh* ‘on dirt, earth, ground, land’.

- (278) **Hehdá'geh hq:** hɛhse:ʔ.
below place you.will.go.there
‘You go downstairs!’

Related

- ⇒ *Hehda'geh gwa:dih* ‘below’, ‘low’, p. 891
⇒ *Hq:weh* ‘where’, p. 907

Hehdagehjih 'the bottom', 'low'

Atypical noun functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial. *Hehda'geh* is possibly related to *ohéhdá'geh* ‘on dirt, earth, ground, land’.

- (279) **Hehdagehjih** niga:gyé' degá:dɛhs.
low it.is.flying plane
‘The plane is flying low.’

Related

- ⇒ *Hehda'geh gwa:dih* ‘below’, ‘low’, p. 891
⇒ *Hehda'geh hq:* ‘downstairs’, p. 892

Hejo:ya' tsq: 'another thing again', 'on a tangent'

Noun and particle functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing. Also metaphorically means, ‘on a tangent’, in which case it does not function as an “indefinite pronoun”. Also see *o:ya'* ‘another, other, else’.

- (280) **hejo:ya' tsq:**
another just
‘another thing again’
cf. he-j-o:-y-a' TRANSL-REP-it-other-NSF

Related

- ⇒ *Hejo:ya' tsq:* 'elsewhere', p. 893
- ⇒ *O:ya'* 'another', 'other', 'else', p. 973
- ⇒ *Tsq:* 'just', 'only', p. 1030

Hejo:ya' tsq: 'elsewhere'

Noun and particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); free-standing. Also see *o:ya'* ‘another, other, else’.

Related

- ⇒ *Hejo:ya' tsq:* 'another thing again', p. 892
- ⇒ *O:ya'* 'another', 'other', 'else', p. 973
- ⇒ *Tsq:* 'just', 'only', p. 1030

He:tgəh 'above', 'up', 'superior'

Atypical noun functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); also metaphorically means ‘superior’; clause-initial.

- (281) **hé:tgəh**
above
'above, up, aloft'
- (282) **he:tgəh** *tgá:de'*
above it.exists
'it is superior'

Related

- ⇒ *He:tgəhjih* 'the very top', 'high up', p. 894

He:tgəhjih ‘the very top’, ‘high up’

Atypical noun functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (283) **Hetgəhjih** niga:gyé’ degá:dəhs.
high.up it.is.flying plane
‘The plane is flying high.’

Related

⇒ *He:tgəh* ‘above’, ‘up’, ‘superior’, p. 893

He:yo: dagwaishə: ‘straight ahead’

Phrase functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (284) **He:yó:** **dagwaishə:** ha’ohahá:de’.
a.far.distance straight the.road.goes
‘The road goes straight ahead.’
- (285) **He:yó:** **dagwaishə:** ha’ohahadagyé’ həyógwadre’.
a.far.distance straight the.road.goes.there we.all.will.drive.there
‘We’ll drive on the straight road.’

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
⇒ *Senyɛ’sgwadih* ‘to your left’, p. 978
⇒ *Sewaihəhsdəh gwa:dih* ‘to your right’, p. 978

Heyohe:’ ‘more’

Verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (286) O:nəh **heyohé:** agadəhswé’danìh!
now it.is.beyond I’m.hungry
‘I am really hungry!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

- (287) **Heyohé:** ɛhsnigqhá:k tó:gyɛh.
 it.is.beyond you.will.take.care that.one
 ‘Now you will take care to walk more carefully.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Heyohe:* ‘shɛh’ ‘more than’, p. 895
 ⇒ *Ne’ heyohe:* ‘more’, ‘-er’, p. 924
 ⇒ *Ne:’ gwahs heyohe:* ‘the most, -est’, p. 939

Heyohe:’ shɛh ‘more than’

Particle group [heyohe:’ (pro)noun] ... [shɛh (pro)noun] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

- (288) **Heyohé:**’ [ní:’] na:wagekwaɛdá’k **shɛh** [háqha’].
 more I what.I.eat that him
 ‘I need more food than *him*.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Heyohe:* ‘more’, p. 894
 ⇒ *Ne’ heyohe:* ‘more, -er’, p. 924
 ⇒ *Ne:’ gwahs heyohe:* ‘the most, -est’, p. 939
 ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Hɛ’ ‘also’, ‘too’

Particle signaling the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); enclitic.

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:’ hɛ’ hne:* ‘too’, ‘also’, p. 941
 ⇒ *Se’ hɛ’ ni:* ‘me too’, ‘us too’, p. 977

Hẹ: syllable

Syllable often appearing at the beginning of speech lines, and often with the sentence connector *dah* ‘and’, as in the phrase *hẹ:dah* ‘and now’. An example from *Ganóhonyohk* ‘Thanksgiving Address’ in (Foster 1974) is shown below.

- (289) **hẹ:-né: ne' í: ne:-gyéh, agaihwáyedá'k, ne:dá niyóihwá'.**
 hẹ-it's the me this the.matter.has.been.laid this speech.
 ‘The responsibility for this speech has been given to me. (Foster 1974)

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
 ⇒ *Hẹ:-dah* ‘and now’, p. 897

Hẹ' hne:?, Ne: hẹ' hne: 'too', 'also'

Particle group (*ne:*) *hẹ' hne:* emphasizes the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); *ne: hẹ' hne:* is clause-initial; ...*hẹ' hne:* is enclitic.

Related

- ⇒ *Ne: hẹ' hne:* ‘too’, ‘also’, p. 941

Hẹ' ni: / ni:hs, Se' hẹ' ni: / ni:hs 'me too', 'us too', 'you too'

Particle group ... (*se*) *hẹ' ni:* functions as an emphatic pronoun (§6.1); enclitic.

- (290) **A:gahyagwáhsé:k se' hẹ' ni: gyẹ:gwá' a:wagadagáide:k.**
 I.would.pick.fruit you.know also the.me if I.would.be.well
 ‘I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.’
- (291) **Agahyagwəhné: se' hẹ' ni:.**
 I've.picked.fruit you.know also the.me
 ‘I've also picked fruit.’ (I've experienced this)

- (292) Ɛgahyagwahsé:k hɛʔ ni:ʔ nɛh ɛgáhdɔ:k.
 I'll.pick.fruit also the.me when I.will.mature
 'I'll be a fruit picker when I grow up.'
- (293) Ó:, gɔdagyéʔ hɛʔ ni:ʔ ha'a:kni:yóʔ!
 oh right.away also the.us we.two.went.in
 'Oh, right away we both got up and went in!' (Henry 2005)
- (294) Ɛhɛʔ, ɔgwatgaʔdé:ʔah. Swáhwayiyowanéh diʔ-gɛh hɛʔ ni:s?
 yes we.are.many your.family.is.big so-Q also the.you
 'Yes, there are a lot of us. Do you have a big family too?' (Mithun &
 Henry 1984: 257, Gáhwayiyá:deʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Hɛʔ* 'also', 'too', p. 895
- ⇒ *I:ʔ, Ni:ʔ* 'I', 'we', p. 910
- ⇒ *I:s, Ni:s* 'you' (any number of people), p. 913
- ⇒ *Seʔ* 'you know', p. 977

Hɛ:-dah 'and now'

Particle group functioning as a sentence connector; used at the beginning of lines in speeches.

- (295) hɛ-dá: o:nɛh, to niyó:wéʔ, nigahá:wíʔ.
 hɛ-and now that is.how.far it.is.carried.
 'And now the time has come.' (Foster 1974)

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* 'and', p. 820
- ⇒ *Hɛ:* (syllable), p. 896

Hẹ:-gyẹh, Hẹ:-gyeh ‘no matter’

Particle group *hẹ:-gyẹh* or *hẹ:-gyeh* functions as an evidential marker (§35.2); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (296) **Hẹ:gyẹh.** Tẹ' gyé:ʔ ta:yoyɛnawá's ne' otgɔ'tra' ne' o:néh
 no.matter not emphasis it.won't.help.it the magic the now
 dwəhsreʔ.
 we.are.following.him
 ‘Not for long. His magic is no good once we have his trail.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Awe' hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Awe' hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ [-gyẹh] ‘this’, ‘that’, p. 882
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh giʔ* ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *To hẹ:gyeh shɛh* ‘really’, p. 1019

Hẹ:-gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’

Particle group *hẹ:-gyẹh* / *hẹ:-gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; a following verb requires the [ni-] PART, [d-] CIS, or [hɛʔ-] TRANSL prefix; *hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ*; *nhɔ*; *hɔ:wɛh*, or *nhɔ:wɛh*.

- (297) Ji'dɛ:ʔɛh ni:ʔ, ɛ: tsɔ: ɛhsɡɛ:gyeʔ **hẹ:gyéh gaɛ**
 birds I, indeed just I.go.along.seeing.them.again no.matter which
hɔ:wéh ɛwa:dɔʔ hɛ:ge:ʔ”
 place it.is.possible I.will.go.there
 ‘Birds are all I see no matter where I may go.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Aweʹ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Aweʹ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh*, *hɛ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh giʹ* ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh tsɔ*: ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *To hɛ:gyeh shɛh* ‘really’, p. 1019

Hɛ:-gyeh giʹ ‘leave well enough alone’

Particle group *hɛ:gyeh* / *hɛ:gyɛh giʹ* functions as a “command” (§27.1.5).

- (298) **Hɛ:-gyɛh giʹ!**
 no.matter just
 ‘Leave well enough alone!’

Related

- ⇒ *Aweʹ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Aweʹ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh*, *hɛ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh tsɔ*: ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *To hɛ:gyeh shɛh* ‘really’, p. 1019

Hɛ:-gyɛh shɛh ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’

Particle group *hɛ:-gyɛh* / *hɛ:-gyɛh (shɛh)* ... is clause-initial in conditional clauses (§29.2).

- (299) *Jiʹ dɛ:ʹ ɛ̃h ní:ʹ*, *ɛ:* *tsɔ:* *ɛ̃hsge:gyéʹ* [**hɛ:gyɛ́h** *gaɛ* *hɔ:wéh*
 birds I affirm just I.will.fly.again [no.matter which way
ɛ̃wa:dóʹ *hɛ:ge:ʹ*].”
 it.may.be I.will.go.there]
 ‘Birds are all I see no matter where I may go.’ (Henry 2005)

- (300) Têʔ dʔáo a:wadahsgwíʔtró:niʔ, [hɛ:gyɛ́h neʔ
not not.at.all it.won't.wrinkle, even.if the
haesatronihá:k aesé:daʔ].
you.would.have.clothes.on you.would.sleep
'It won't wrinkle, even if you sleep with your clothes on.' (Mithun &
Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawiʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (301) [Hɛ:gyɛ́h shɛ́h agadatséhse:], tga:gó:t ɛge:tséiʔ.
no.matter that I'm.tired, it.must.be I.will.find.it
'Although I am tired, I have to find it.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (302) [Hɛ:gyɛ́h shɛ́h deʔogwadotga:déʔ] "onéh-gíʔhyá:" ayagwéʔ waʔjih
no.matter that we.are.not.happy, "good-bye" we.say in.a.while
hné: tsó: ɛja:kí:gɛ́h.
in.fact just we.will.see.them.again
'And though we're sad to say good-bye, we'll see them in a while.' (Keye
2016, Circle Book 10, On Our Way)

Related

- ⇒ Aweʔ hɛ:gyɛ́h tsɔ, Aweʔ hɛ:gyɛ́h tsɔ: 'let it go', p. 819
- ⇒ [-gyɛ́h] 'this', 'that', p. 882
- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛ́h, Hɛ:gyɛ́h 'no matter', p. 898
- ⇒ Hɛ:gyɛ́h gaɛ hɔ:wɛ́h 'no matter where', 'no matter which place', p. 898
- ⇒ Hɛ:gyɛ́h giʔ 'leave well enough alone', p. 899
- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛ́h tsɔ: 'it doesn't matter', 'never mind', p. 900
- ⇒ To hɛ:gyɛ́h shɛ́h 'really', p. 1019

Hɛ:-gyɛ́h tsɔ: 'it doesn't matter', 'never mind'

Particle group *hɛ:-gyɛ́h* / *hɛ:-gyɛ́h tsɔ:* functions as an "evidential marker" (§35.2); free-standing, or clause-initial.

- (303) Têʔ. Hɛgyɛ́h tsɔ:. Sedɛ́hjí:hah ní:ʔ ɛgahdɛ:díʔ gódagyeʔ.
no no.matter just early.morning I I.will.leave immediately
'No, never mind, I'll go there right away, early in the morning.' (Mithun
& Henry 1984: 494, Ẹkníyetoʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Awe*ʔ *hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Awe*ʔ *hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
 ⇒ [-gyɛh] ‘this’, ‘that’, p. 882
 ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh*, *Hɛ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh gi*ʔ ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
 ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyɛh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
 ⇒ *To hɛ:gyeh shɛh* ‘really’, p. 1019

Hɛʔɛh ‘no’

Particle signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); said to be a slang-like expression.

Hne:ʔ ‘but’

Particle functioning as a “conjunction” (§30); enclitic.

- (304) *Tɛʔ hne:ʔ* [dɛhahɔkáʔ ɔgwehɔ:wɛh], [hoʔnigɔhaɛdaʔs] **hnɛ:ʔ**.
 not in.fact [he.doesnʔt.speak Indian], [he.understands] in.fact
 ‘He doesnʔt speak Indian, but he does understand.’ (Mithun & Henry
 1984: 61, *Sɔ*: *hne:ʔ nʔaht to:gyɛh?* dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ* ‘in fact’, p. 901

Hne:ʔ ‘in fact’ (emphatic)

Particle used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4, also see §30.2); enclitic.

- (305) *Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ* *gó:wɛh*.
 it.is in.fact she.owns.it
 ‘Thatʔs hers in fact.’ ‘Thatʔs hers.’
- (306) *Dɛʔ hne:ʔ* *í:se:ʔ?*
 what in.fact you.want.it
 ‘What in fact do you want?’ ‘What do you want?’

- (307) Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ?
what in.fact kind
'What kind in fact?' 'What kind?'
- (308) Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yóht shɛh toh nahsye:ʔ.
what in.fact a.certain.way that that.one you.did.it.a.certain.way
'Why in fact did you do that?' 'Why did you do that?'
- (309) I:s gɛh hne:ʔ?
you Q in.fact
'Was that in fact you?' 'Was that you?'
- (310) I:s diʔ gɛh hne:ʔ?
you so Q in.fact
'How about you then?' 'How about you?'

Related

- ⇒ Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ 'what', p. 826
- ⇒ Gɛh hne:ʔ 'how about this one?', p. 862
- ⇒ Giʔ hne:ʔ 'but', 'however', p. 867
- ⇒ Gyɛ:ʔ hne:ʔ tɛʔ neʔ 'it was this one, (not that one)', p. 883
- ⇒ Gyɛ:gwaʔ hne:ʔ hwaʔ 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ Hne:ʔ 'but', p. 901
- ⇒ Hne:ʔ shɛh 'because', p. 902
- ⇒ I:ʔ hne:ʔ 'no, I am', p. 911
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ 'too', 'also', p. 941
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ ne:ʔ 'in fact, it is', 'it is', p. 942
- ⇒ Si hne:ʔ si gwa:dih 'over there', p. 991
- ⇒ Tɛʔ hne:ʔ 'definitely not', p. 1010
- ⇒ Tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ '...not that one', p. 1010

Hne:ʔ shɛh 'because'

Particle group *hne:ʔ* (*shɛh*) is clause-initial in a causative dependent clause (§29.3).

- (311) O:nêh gi[?] gyê:[?]-q̄h ɛsgahdê:di[?]. O:nêh gyê:[?] nône:[?]
 Now just emphasis-I.guess I.will.go.home. Now emphasis you.know
 [hne:[?] ha[?]wa:j[?]áht degáhswá[?]ne:t!]
 [in.fact it.has.gone.down.to.nothing pie]
 ‘Well, I might as well go home now, [because the pie is all gone], you know!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajoh dialogue)
- (312) Oyanrahsdó gi[?] [hne:[?] shêh i:só[?] o[?]gráé[?]].
 It.is.ideal just in.fact that a.lot there.is.snow
 ‘It is ideal because there is a lot of snow.’ (Mithun and Henry 1982, 481, Dędwa[?]enáé dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Hne:* ‘in fact’, p. 901

⇒ *Shêh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Hni[?] ‘and’

Particle functioning as a “conjunction” (§30), linking a list of similar items []; enclitic; tends to occur at the end of the list of items.

- (313) Dêhenadatnqhwé[?]s [Gwi:déh] [Éd] hni[?] shêh hona:dáo[?]
 they.like.each.other [Peter] [Ed] and that they.are.friends
 ‘Peter and Ed like each other because they are friends.’
- (314) Ó:, ha[?]deyohsôhgwage:, [otgwêhji[?]a[?]], [q̄hy[?]áé[?]], [swê[?]d[?]áé[?]],
 Oh, all.sorts.of.colours, [red], [blue], [black],
 [nrahd[?]áé[?]], dewagyēsahsdó hni[?] [ne[?] gē:[?]gē:] niyohsohgo[?]dē[?]s.
 [green] all.mixed.up and [the white] what.kinds.of.colours
 ‘Oh, all sorts of colors, red, blue, black, (and) green, and some that are white.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya[?]dawí[?]tra[?] dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Da: ne:ʔ hniʔ* ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’, p. 821
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hniʔ* ‘for sure’, p. 827
- ⇒ *Hniʔ* ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘too’, p. 904
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ hniʔ* ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’, p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ hniʔ ne:ʔ* ‘and that also’, p. 942

Hniʔ ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘too’

Particle signaling the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); enclitic.

- (315) *Dɛʔ hniʔ hoʔdɛʔ hoihoʔdɛhsrɔʔdeʔ?*
What and what his.kind.of.work
‘And what does he do?’

Related

- ⇒ *Da: ne:ʔ hniʔ* ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’, p. 821
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hniʔ* ‘for sure’, p. 827
- ⇒ *Hniʔ* ‘and’, p. 903
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ hniʔ* ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’, p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ hniʔ ne:ʔ* ‘and that also’, p. 942

Hoʔdɛʔ ‘kind’

Particle functioning as a “definite pronoun” §6.4; free-standing.

- (316) *O:nɛh giʔ adyɔkniʔdraihɛh, aʔakniksaohɛ:k gwɛ:gɔh hoʔdɛʔ, hoʔdɛʔ*
now then we.hurried.up we.gathered all the.kind, the.kind
ɛyá:gwahs.
we.will.use
‘Then we hurried up and gathered up all the dishes that we would use.’
(Henry 2005)

- (317) Pete: A:yé:ʔ gajihyó:t ho'déʔ ne' oná'da:ʔ.
 it.seems oven.bread the.kind the bread
 'It looks like homemade biscuits.'
 Sam: Né:ʔ tó ne:ʔ do:géhs ho'déʔ. Gona'da:yédei'-ó:
 it.is that it.is it.is.true the.kind she.is.a.good.baker-I.suppose
 gyé:ʔ kegéjih.
 that.one my.wife
 'They sure are. She is a good baker, my wife.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwadé:kó:nih dialogue)
- (318) Èhéʔ, né:ʔ giʔ ne' gwáhs gę:s stọ:hoh oya:nré:ʔah hó'déʔ.
 yes, it.is just the more usually a.little.bit better-ish the.kind
 'Yes, it is one of the better ones.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 456, Oyéhsraʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Déʔ, Déʔ ho'déʔ* 'what', p. 825
- ⇒ *Déʔ gwaʔ ho'déʔ* 'whatever one (of several)', p. 826
- ⇒ *Déʔ hne:ʔ ho'déʔ* 'what', p. 826
- ⇒ *Déʔ ho'déʔ ni-* 'how', 'what way', p. 828
- ⇒ *Déʔ oh hne:ʔ ho'déʔ* 'what on earth?', p. 829
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dé:ʔeh* 'something', p. 979
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dé:ʔeh o:yaʔ* 'anything else', p. 979
- ⇒ *Shéh ho'déʔ* 'a certain something', 'that which', p. 983

Hoh, Ho: 'what the?', 'yay!'

Particle functioning as an "exclamation" (§35.1), conveying surprise or enthusiasm.

- (319) "I:yé: ọ:wí: ẹyotna'dáọdęʔ," a'a:géʔ, "to:gyéh oga'oh
 she.wants I.think she.will.bake.bread she.said this.one it.tastes.good
 ehstaʔ."
 she.makes
 "I do believe she is going to bake," she said, "that good-tasting bread she makes."

C Particle dictionary

Hó:! Heje:kni:yóh gi' gyɛ:?!
ho let's.go.in just emphasis
'Ho! Let's go in!' (Henry 2005)

- (320) **Hó:** oya:di:yó: gi'!
ho, good.track just
'Oh, it is a good track.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dɛdwa'ɛnác'
dialogue)

Hoho: 'aha!', 'oh no!'

Particle functioning as an "exclamation" (§35.1); said in anticipation of something bad or good (for example, someone's about to win at bingo, or have a fight).

Hona:wɛh 'it's theirs (males only)', 'it belongs to them (males only)',
'their (males only)'

Verb functioning as a "possessive pronoun" (§6.2); free-standing.

- (321) **honá:wɛh**
hon-á:w-ɛh
3NS.M.P-OWN-STAT
'they (males) own it'

Honɔ:hɛ' 'they (males)'

Verb functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); free-standing.

- (322) **honɔ:hɛ'**
hon-ɔ':hɛ'
3NS.M.P-alone.STAT
'they (males) are alone'

Hotgɔ'qh, Otgɔ' 'what the?', 'for Heaven's sake!'

Verb *hotgɔ'qh* or *otgɔ'* functions as an exclamation (§35.1); said when something is out of the ordinary or not right; literally, *otgɔ'* means 'strong or ominous medicine'.

Related

⇒ *Otgøʹ, hotgøʹgh* ‘what the?’, ‘for Heaven’s sake!’, p. 972

Ho:wəh ‘it’s his’, ‘his’

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

(323) **hó:wəh**

hó:-w-əh

3S.M.P-OWN-STAT

‘he owns it’

Hq:weh ‘where’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); enclitic; *hq:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hq*; *nhq*; *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*.

Related

⇒ *Da: hq:weh hq*: ‘this is where’, p. 821

⇒ *Gae gwaʹ hq:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848

⇒ *Gae hq:weh* ‘which place’, ‘where’, p. 852

⇒ *Hę:gyeh gae hq:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898

⇒ *Hq:weh* ‘where’, p. 907

⇒ *Neʹ to gye:ʹ hq:weh* ‘it is where’, p. 927

⇒ *Shgh hq:weh* ‘the place where’, ‘whereabouts’, p. 984

⇒ *Si: hq:weh* ‘way over there’, p. 991

⇒ *To: hq:weh* ‘there’, ‘where’, p. 1019

⇒ *Toh-geh hq:weh* ‘where’, p. 1026

Hwaʹ ‘this time’, ‘next’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); enclitic.

- (324) “O:,” aʹa:gęʹ, “ohsno:wé:ʹah giʹ gye:ʹ **hwaʹ** sahsyqʹ!”
 oh she.said quickly just emphasis this.time you.arrived.home
 “Oh,” she said “you came home kind of early this time!” (Henry 2005)

- (325) Junior: Gwé:, də' ní:s hwa' ho'dé' nəswa:gyé:' nə:gyéh
well, what you this.time kind you.will.do.something this
hwa' dəyogənhə:di'?'
this.time it.will.be.summer
'Well, what are you going to do this summer?'
Sam: Ó:. Eɣyagwəhdé:di' ní:' hwa'.
oh, we're.going.away we this.time
'Oh, we're going away this time.'
Junior: Ó:o:, tɛ' hwa' taeswayétwəhsə: gɛh?
oh, not this.time you.won't.plant Q
'Oh, you are not going to plant this time?'
Sam: Tɛ' Eɣyagwəhdé:di' ní:' hwa'.
no, we're.going.away we this.time
'No, we're going away this time.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 402,
Eɣyagwəhdé:di' dialogue)
- (326) Ne:' se' gye:' gɛ:s to:gyéh hwa' nəh səheh nəh
it.is you.know emphasis usually that.one time when night when
gadidaksénəgye's shəh nəh: ohádenyə'.
they.run.around that where there.are.roads
'This is how it is, you know, at night when they run around their roads.'
(Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ Ahgwih hwa' 'don't!', p. 815
- ⇒ Gwəhs hwa' 'this time for sure', p. 875
- ⇒ Gye:gwa' gi' shəh hwa' 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ Gye:gwa' hne:' hwa' 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ Ne:' gi' shəh hwa' 'maybe this time', p. 936
- ⇒ Ne:' hwa' 'this (coming) time', 'when', p. 942
- ⇒ Nɛ: hwa' wa'-ne:' 'nowadays', p. 950
- ⇒ Nɛ:-gyéh hwa' 'this time', p. 956
- ⇒ O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shəh ne:' hwa' 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ Tɛ' gi' shəh hwa' da'ə' 'maybe not', p. 1006
- ⇒ To:-hwa', Tə:-hwa' 'that time', p. 1024

Hwẹ:dọh ‘ever’, ‘when’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2), clause-initial in direct (327–328) and indirect (329) questions [] (see §29.9).

- (327) **Hwẹ:dọh** ne:ʔ to neya:wẹh?
 when it.is that it.will.happen
 ‘When is that going to happen?’
- (328) **Hwẹ:dọh** diʔ eje:yọʔ?
 when so she.will.return
 ‘When then is she going to return?’
- (329) Daskro:wih [**hwẹ:dọh** ɛsahde:diʔ].
 you.tell.me when you.will.leave
 ‘Tell me when you are going to leave.’

Related

- ⇒ *Ahgwih hwẹ:dọh* ‘don’t ever’, p. 816
 ⇒ *Hwẹ:dọh* ‘when’, p. 909
 ⇒ *Hwẹ:dọh gwaʔ* ‘sometime’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’, p. 909
 ⇒ *Tẹʔ hwẹ:dọh* ‘never’, p. 1011

Hwẹ:dọh gwaʔ ‘sometime’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (330) **Hwẹ:dọh gwaʔ** to niyáwẹʔqh.
 when right.then that something.happened
 ‘It happened sometime in the past.’
- (331) **Hwẹ:dọh gwaʔ** to niyáwẹhdreʔ.
 when right.then that something.is.going.to.happen
 ‘Sometime it is going to happen.’
- (332) **Hwẹ:dọh gwaʔ** dẹtseʔ.
 when right.then you.will.return
 ‘Come back sometime!’ (Michelson 2011: 39)

- (333) **hwɛ:dɔh gwa'** ne' shɛh nidwa:gé:nɔ:
when right.then the that I.will.be.a.certain.number
'...maybe once I have reached a certain age...'
(Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
⇒ *Hwɛ:dɔh* 'ever', 'when', p. 909

Hya:' 'first', 'before anything else'

Particle functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); enclitic.

- (334) **Ne:'** gi' hɔ:ni' e:dwade:kɔ:ni' **hya:'**!
it.is just the.reason we.should.eat first
'That's why I think we should eat something first brothers!' (Carrier et al.
2013)

Related

- ⇒ *I:'* *hya:'* 'me first', p. 911
⇒ *Ne:'* *gi'* *gyɛ:'* *hya:'* 'before all else', 'first', p. 935
⇒ *O:nɛh gi'* *hya:'* 'good-bye', p. 969
⇒ *Wa'-jih* *hya:'* 'wait a minute', 'wait a while', 'wait!', p. 1037

C.7 I particles

I:', Ni:' 'I', 'we'

Particle functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1). *Ni:'* is said to be a combination of *ne'* and *i:'*; free-standing. *I:'* and *ni:'* can occur anywhere that *i:s* and *ni:s* do.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ ni:ʔ* ‘I am for sure’, p. 828
- ⇒ *Do: i:ʔ* ‘let me!’, ‘how about me?’, p. 833
- ⇒ *I:ʔ hne:ʔ* ‘no, I am’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:ʔ Ni:ʔ*, ‘I’, ‘we’, p. 910
- ⇒ *I:ʔ hya:ʔ* ‘me first’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:ʔ seʔ* ‘I am’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:ʔ geh* (*gwa:dih*) ‘on my side’, ‘as for me’, p. 912
- ⇒ *Nɛ: diʔ ni:s*, p. 950
- ⇒ *Ni:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ, ni:ʔ gɛ:ʔ* ‘I did it’, p. 957
- ⇒ *Seʔ hɛʔ ni:ʔ* ‘me too’, ‘us too’, p. 977
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ giʔ ni:ʔ* ‘no, not me’, p. 1006
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ i:ʔ* ‘not me’, ‘not us’, p. 1012

***I:ʔ hne:ʔ* ‘no, I am’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

(335) *I:ʔ hne:ʔ*.

I in.fact

‘No, I am.’ (answering the question, “Is she leaving?”)

***I:ʔ hya:ʔ* ‘me first’, ‘us first’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

(336) *I:ʔ hya:ʔ*.

I first

‘Me first.’

***I:ʔ seʔ* ‘I am’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1) with contrastive focus; free-standing.

(337) *I:ʔ seʔ*.

I you.know

‘No, I am.’ (answering the question, “Is she leaving?”)

Related

⇒ *I:ʔ, Ni:ʔ, 'I, 'we'*, p. 910

⇒ *Seʔ* 'you know', p. 977

I:ʔgeh gwa:dih 'on my side', 'as for me'

Particle group, *i:ʔgeh (gwa:dih)* functions as an emphatic pronoun (§6.1); free-standing; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

(338) **i:ʔ-geh gwa:dih**

I-on side

'on my side', 'as for me'

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* 'to one side', p. 873

⇒ *I:ʔ, Ni:ʔ, 'I, 'we'*, p. 910

I:nq̄h 'far'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

(339) **I:nq̄h** tgidr̄q̄ʔ.

it.is.far I.live.there

'I live far away.'

Related

⇒ *I:nq̄h gaoʔ neʔ* 'far from', 'not all', p. 913

I:nq̣h gao' ne' 'far from', 'not all'

Atypical verb and particle group [i:nq̣h ... gao' ne' stative.verb] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

- (340) **I:nq̣h** gi' gaq̣ ne' gwɛ:gq̣h hɛyodiyɛnaha:k
 it.is.far just so.much the all they.will.be.caught
 'But I wouldn't very often catch all of them.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gao'* 'this side', 'this way', p. 854
- ⇒ *I:nq̣h* 'far', p. 912
- ⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918

I:s, Ni:s 'you' (any number of people)

Particle functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); *ni:s* is said to be a combination of *ne'* and *i:s*; free-standing. *I:s* and *ni:s* can occur anywhere that *i:'* and *ni:'* do.

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛ' ni:'* 'I am for sure', p. 828
- ⇒ *Do: i:'* 'let me!', 'how about me?', p. 833
- ⇒ *I:' hne:'* 'no, I am', p. 911
- ⇒ *I:', Ni:'* 'I', 'we', p. 910
- ⇒ *I:'hya:'* 'me first', p. 911
- ⇒ *I:'se'* 'I am', p. 911
- ⇒ *I:'geh (gwa:dih)* 'on my side', 'as for me', p. 912
- ⇒ *Nɛ: di' ni:s* 'how about you?', p. 950
- ⇒ *Ni:'gyɛ:'*, *ni:'gɛ:'* 'I did it', p. 957
- ⇒ *Se' hɛ' ni:'* 'me too', 'us too', p. 977
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' ni:'* 'no, not me', p. 1006
- ⇒ *Tɛ' i:'* 'not me', 'not us', p. 1012

I:so' 'much', 'many', 'lots', 'very'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (341) Dó:gęhs í:so' gotse:nq:ní' Hi'nó' ashagoyénawa's.
truly lots she.is.happy Hi'no' he.helped.her
'She was very grateful that Hi'no' helped her.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (342) I:só' ga'drehda'sq:'qh hó:yę'.
many cars he.owns
'He has many cars.'

Related

⇒ I:so:'ah 'a fairly big bit', p. 914

I:so:'ah 'a fair amount'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (343) ...gwahs i:só:'ah eyagwayętwahsq:'...,
...really a.fair.amount we.will.plant.things
'... we'll plant a lot,...'(Mithun & Henry 1984: 420, Eşwayęto' Gęh?
dialogue)

Related

⇒ I:so' 'much', 'many', 'lots', 'very', p. 913

I:wa:k'ah 'near'

Verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (344) I:wa:k'áh dđdahodrihsdđhó:gye'.
it.is.near he.is.sneaking.around.ever.closer
'He is getting nearer and nearer again.'

C.8 J particles

Ji ‘overly’, ‘too’

Element occurring in the following particle groups; proclitic.

Related

- ⇒ *Ji aqgohdoh* ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’, p. 916
- ⇒ *Ji trehs sheh* ‘too much so for’, ‘so much so’, p. 917

Ji aqgohdoh ‘too much so’

Particle and verb *ji ... aqgohdoh* functions as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial before an “adjectival” (stative-only) verb.

- (345) Eḡéʔ ji giʔ aqgohdoh oyḡsrí:yoʔ, neʔ gwahs ɔ:wéh
 yes too.much just it.is.surpassed good.blanket, the really truly
 á:gehs.
 I.should.use.it
 ‘Yes, it is too good a quilt to really use.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 456,
 Oyḡsraʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Aqgohdoh* ‘exceptional’, ‘over the top’, ‘extremely’, ‘too much so’, p. 818
- ⇒ *Ji* ‘too much’, p. 915

Ji trehs ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’

Particle group (*ji*)...*trehs* functions as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (346) Deʔ diʔ hoʔ déʔ ni:yóht tréhs hnaʔ gɛ:ʔ?
 what then thing the.reason too late
 ‘Why was it so late?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aqhdɛgyóheʔ dialogue)

- (347) ...**tréhs** a:yé:ʔ ɔknigɔhsá:dɔʔk.
...too.much.so it.seems I.got.lonesome
'...I seem to get too lonesome. (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)
- (348) Tɛʔ, **tréhs** do:gɛhs a:yé:ʔ gowá:nɛʔs.
No, too.much truly it.seems it.is.big.items
'It really seems to be too big for me.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawiʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (349) **Jiʔ** gɛ:s **trehs** shenó:wɛ:.
too usually too.much.so you.lie
'You lie too much.' 'you are too much of a liar.'
- (350) A:yeʔ **ji** **tréhs** tsishedɛhjíh agáhyagoʔ
it.seems too too.much this.morning I.picked.fruit
'It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.'

Related

- ⇒ *Ji* 'too much', p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* 'because', 'overly', p. 916
- ⇒ *Ji trehs shɛh* 'too much so for', 'so much so', p. 917
- ⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Trehs* 'too much', p. 1027

Ji trehs 'because', 'overly'

Particle group (*ji*) *trehs* is clause-initial in causative dependent clauses (§29.3).

- (351) ɛʔsgihnokséʔ giʔ gye:ʔ, [**tréhs** tɛʔ dɛʔageʔdréhdaɛʔ].
you.will.come.and.seek.me just emphasis because not I.don't.have.a.car
'Will you come and get me, because I don't have a car?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 279, Qdwenɔdáhtaʔ dialogue)
- (352) Agahdróʔs onɛh e: [**ji** **trehs** satɛ:nó:nih].
I'm.frightened now again because you.are.happy
'I am frightened now because you are too happy again.'

Related

- ⇒ *Ji* ‘too much’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs shəh* ‘too much so for’, ‘so much so’, p. 917
- ⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982
- ⇒ *Trehs* ‘too much’, p. 1027

Ji trehs shəh ‘too much so for’, ‘so much so’

Particle group [(ji) ... trehs STATIVE.VERB shəh VERB] or [(ji) ... trehs shəh STATIVE.VERB] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

- (353) *Ji gə:s trehs jəhsé: shəh nisnihné:ye:s.*
 too usually too.much you.are.fat that how.tall.you.are
 ‘You are generally too fat for your height.’
- (354) *Tréhs shəh i:sóʔ agwánəhgwiʔ.*
 too.much that it.is.a.lot we.move.it
 ‘There is such a lot for us to move.’ (Keye 2016, Circle Book 11, On Our Way)

Related

- ⇒ *Ji* ‘too much’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’, p. 916
- ⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982
- ⇒ *Trehs* ‘too much’, p. 1027

C.9 N particles**Nʔaht, Noht meaning ‘some person’**

Particle functioning as a “pronoun”; always appears after *sə:* ‘who’.

Related

⇒ *Sɔ*; *sɔ*: *nʔaht* ‘who’, p. 993

⇒ *Sɔ*: *gwaʔ nʔaht* ‘anybody at all’, ‘anyone at all’, ‘any living thing’, ‘somebody’, ‘whoever’, p. 995

⇒ *Sɔ*: *gwaʔ nʔaht o:yaʔ* ‘someone else’, p. 996

Naʔgɛːʔ, Ohnaʔgɛːʔ ‘late’

Verb (*oh*)*naʔgɛːʔ* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

(355) **Ohnaʔgɛːʔ** ihseʔ

late you.are.here

‘You are late again.’ (said at the moment)

Related

⇒ *Ohnaʔgɛːʔ*: *gwa:dih shɛh* ‘behind’, p. 965

⇒ *Ohnaʔgɛhjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’, p. 966

⇒ *Ohnaʔgɛhjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’, ‘the bottom’, p. 966

⇒ *Ohnaʔgɔ*: ‘underneath’, ‘beneath’, ‘under’, p. 966

Neʔ ‘that is’, ‘the’

Particle signaling that the item it modifies constitutes shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); *neʔ* also identifies a generic category of event or state (Chafe 1994: 155). Enclitic to the phrase it modifies (shown in bold).

(356) *Dɛʔ hoʔ dɛʔ eya:sɔh neʔ sanɔːhaʔ?*

what kind she.is.called the your.mother

‘What is the name of your mother?’ (asking about someone who is the current topic of conversation)

(357) *Honahsɛː hɛʔ neʔ deheɳadehnɔːdɾɔʔ.*

they.are.fat also the your.brothers

‘Your brothers are also fat.’ (talking about people known to both speaker and listener)

- (358) Elsie *eya:sóh ne' gonqhgé:t*, Esther *hné:' eya:sóh ne'*
 Elsie she.is.named the she.is.fair-haired, Esther in.fact she.is.named the
gogé'aji.
 she.is.dark-haired
 'The fair-haired one is named Elsie, and the dark-haired one is Esther.'
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa'gó:wah dialogue) (speaking of two
 women whom both speaker and listener can see)
- (359) Go:gá's gęh nawé'da' ne' Tina?
 she.likes.the.taste.of.it Q candy the Tina
 'Does Tina like candy?' (identifying people known by their proper
 names to both speaker and listener)
- (360) Hona:dáo' hqwanqhwé's hę' ne' Gwí:deh.
 his.friend he.likes.him also the Peter
 'His friend likes Peter also.'
- (361) identifying a generic state of ownership
 Tę' gęh ne' desá:węh?
 not Q the you.don't.own.it
 'Isn't that yours?'
- (362) identifying a category of event, such as 'things I remember' or 'her
 breadmaking'
 Ne' gi' agása:'s ne' dyotgót gę:s gona'daé' ne'
 the just I.remember the always usually she.made.bread the
 ksotgęhé?' ne' gotna'daóda'k.
 late.grandmother the she.made.bread.
 'What I remember is that she always had bread, that grandma; she made
 bread. (i.e. 'her breadmaking') (Henry 2005)
- (363) identifying a category of event
 Ahé' ne' Hahnę:yé:s, "Sgenq'óh hędwá:trihs. Eđwadenyę:dé'
 he.said the tall.one slowly we.all.will.approach we.all.will.try
ne' tawęnihná:do:k
 the it.shouldn't.notice
 'The Tall One said, "Go slowly, let us get near. We will try for it not to
 notice."' (referring to the magical bear Hnyagwai'datgi'gó:wah) (Keye
 2012)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne' gyaq̄h̄:ʔəh d-* 'the most', 'the greatest', p. 922
- ⇒ *Da: ne' toh* 'that's all', p. 822
- ⇒ *E:ʔ, Ne' e:ʔ* 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?', p. 838
- ⇒ *Gȳe:ʔ hne:ʔ t̄eʔ ne'* 'it was this one, (not that one)', p. 883
- ⇒ *I:n̄q̄h gao' ne'* 'far from enough', p. 913
- ⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne' aq̄h̄:ʔəh d-* 'the most, -est, -er (of)', p. 920
- ⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921
- ⇒ *Ne' gȳe:ʔ ne' gȳe:ʔ, neq̄e'nage'* 'that is what', p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne' gȳe:ʔ ne ne:* (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne' hegwe:gq̄h* 'the whole thing', p. 924
- ⇒ *Ne' heyoh̄e:ʔ* 'more, -er', p. 924
- ⇒ *Ne' se'* 'that's just the one', 'that's just who', p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne' to gȳe:ʔ* 'that's what', p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne' to gȳe:ʔ h̄q̄:weh* 'it is where', p. 927
- ⇒ *Ne' to: ne:ʔ* 'that's the one', p. 927
- ⇒ *Ne' toh* 'that is', 'that one', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne' ts̄q̄: gwa' toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ ḡeh ... ne:/ne' nige'q̄h ne' ...* 'or?', p. 933
- ⇒ *Ne:/ne' gi' gȳe:ʔ* 'that's just it', 'that's it for sure', p. 934
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gi' sh̄eh ne' ... gi' sh̄eh* 'or', p. 937
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gȳe:ʔ ne'* 'that really is', p. 940
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ ne'* 'it is', 'that is', 'that's what', p. 943
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ se' ge:s ne'* 'back then', 'a long time ago', p. 945
- ⇒ *O:n̄eh, ne' o:n̄eh* 'now', 'when', 'then', 'at this time', p. 967
- ⇒ *Otga'de' ne' niwa:ge' ni-* 'as many as', p. 972
- ⇒ *O:weh, ne' q̄:weh* 'really', p. 976
- ⇒ *T̄eʔ gȳe:ʔ ne ne'* 'not', 'what on earth?', p. 1008
- ⇒ *T̄eʔ hne:ʔ ne'* '...not that one', p. 1010

Ne' aq̄h̄:ʔəh d-stative.verb ... (sh̄eh gao' ni-stative.verb) 'the most, -est, -er (of)'

Phrase [(ne') aq̄h̄:ʔəh d-STATIVE.VERB (ni-d-STATIVE.VERB)] is used in comparisons (§31.1); (ne') aq̄h̄:ʔəh precedes a stative verb beginning with [d-] CIS.

- (364) **ne' aq̄h̄:ʔəh dwakȳedaḡówan̄eh**
the the.most very.big.chair
'the greatest chair'

cf. a-ɔhɛːʔ-ɛh 3s.P-alone.STAT-DIM

cf. d-w-akyɛdahg-ówan-ɛh CIS-3S.A-chair-big-STAT

- (365) **Aɔhɛːʔɛh** hniʔ gyogaʔɔh **shɛh gaóʔ** nitodɛʔnyɛːdɛː.
 the.most and more.than.sweet that more.so more.than.he.had.tasted
 ‘And it was sweeter than anything he had ever tasted.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

cf. g-yo-gaʔ-ɔh CIS-3S.P-taste.good-STAT

cf. ni-t-ho-d-ɛ-nyɛːdɛː- PART-CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-JOINER-try-STAT

- (366) **Íːʔ aɔhɛːʔɛh** tknɛːyéːs **shɛh nigyɔːː**
 I the.most I’m.more.than.tall that a.certain.amount
 ‘I am the tallest one here.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

cf. t-k-hnɛːyéːs CIS-1S.A-tall.STAT

cf. ni-g-y-ɔː PART-CIS-3S.P-a.certain.amount.STAT

Related

⇒ *Neʔ gyaɔhɛːʔɛh d-* ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’, p. 922

⇒ *Aɔhɛːʔ, Aɔhaʔ* ‘it’, p. 819

Neʔ gwaʔ toh ‘here (rather than there)’

Particle group (*neʔ*) *gwaʔ-toh* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (367) **Neʔ gwaʔ toh** haʔhɔwadihaːʔ.
 the just.there here they.took.him.over.there
 ‘They also took him here.’

- (368) Sgéːnɔʔ. Sɛʔsgɛhɛːʔ ɛːʔ **gwaʔ-toh** waʔjih?
 hello you.were.again again just.there-here a.while.ago
 ‘Hello. Weren’t you here a while ago?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441,
 Dwɛnɔhsanekahɔʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Ne* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
- ⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Ne’ gyaq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h d-stative.verb ... (shɛ̃h ni-stative.verb) ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’

Particle group [(ne’) g-y-aq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h d-STATIVE.VERB (shɛ̃h) ni-VERB)] is used in comparisons (§31.1); (*ne*) *gyaq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h* precedes a verb beginning with [d-/g-] CIS.

- (369) **ne’ gyaq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h gyonɔ’ shéhsde:’**
 the the.most very.sickening
 ‘the most sickening, tiring, aggravating’
 cf. g-ya-q̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h CIS-3S.P-alone.STAT-DIM
 cf. g-yo-nɔ’ shéhsde:’ CIS-3S.P-sickening.STAT
- (370) **ne’ gyaq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h dwakyɛ̃dahgówanɛ̃h**
 the the.most very.big.chair
 ‘the greatest chair’
 cf. g-ya-q̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h CIS-3S.P-alone.STAT-DIM
 cf. d-w-akyɛ̃dahg-ówan-ɛ̃h CIS-3S.A-chair-big-STAT
- (371) **O:nɛ̃h aq̣owawɛ:’ná:’ ne’ gyaq̣hɛ:’ɛ̃h thahɛ:’yé:s shɛ̃h**
 then he.had.words.with.him the most he.was.so.tall that
n̄ihɛ:’nɔ:.
 they.were.a.certain.number
 ‘I am the tallest one here.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
 cf. thahɛ:’yé:s CIS-3S.M.A-tall.STAT
 cf. n̄i-hɛ:’-nɔ: PART-3NS.M.A-a.certain.amount.STAT

Related

⇒ *Aqheʹ*, *Aqhaʹ* ‘it’, p. 819

⇒ *Neʹ aqhe:ʹeh d-* ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’, p. 920

Neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ gye:ʹ, Negeʹnageʹ ‘that’s what’

Particle group *neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ gye:ʹ* or *negeʹnageʹ* conveys emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

(372) **neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ gye:ʹ** (possible analysis)

the this.one the this.one

‘that’s what...’

(373) **Negeʹnageʹ gi:doh.**

that’s.what I.mean

‘That’s what I meant to say.’

Related

⇒ *Gye:ʹ* ‘just the one’, p. 881

⇒ *Neʹ* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918

Neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ ne:ʹ (emphasis)

Particle group (*neʹ*) *gye:ʹ neʹ ne:ʹ* conveys emphasis (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

(374) “Ne:ʹ” aʹa:geʹ, “**neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ ne:ʹ** deyókiʹnya:ʹ.”

it.is she.said the emphasis here it.is they.govern.us

“‘That’s it,” she said, “that’s because they govern us.” (Henry 2005)

(375) **Neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ ne:ʹ** toh hó: heʹnatgeʹnihsʹanhaʹ,

the emphasis here it.is that.one place they.will.meet

ahatgeʹnihsʹanháʹ neʹ hodiyanéhsóʹ

he.holds.council the they.call.it

‘He went to where they hold council. it is called Ahatgeʹnihsʹanhaʹ (‘he holds council’).’ (Henry 2005)

hɔ:ni' **heyohé:**' wagyésa'geh.
 because more w-ag-yésa'geh
 3S.A-SRF-easy.STAT

'You look for the tracks first, because it is easier.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

- (379) Qgwa:yé' gi' hné:' **ne'** wagyé:séh **heyóhe:**'
 we.have just in.fact the w-ag-ye:s-éh more
 3S.A-SRF-cheap-STAT

wagyésəhsó:'ɔh.

w-ag-yes-eh-só:'ɔh

3S.A-SRF-cheap-stative-pluralizer

'But we do have cheaper ones, the cheaper kind.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enq̄sɔnya'da'só:'ɔh dialogue)

- (380) Ehatgə'sé:' gé:s ne' joni:tsgró:t **heyohé:**' i:só' agahnegehá'
 he.went.looking usually the squirrel more it.is.a.lot he.drunk.sap,
 aogágrí', haqhá' gi' hɛ' hne:' toh nāhá:ye:'.
 it.was.good.tasting.sap he.alone just also in.fact that.one he.did.it
 'Just like the squirrel, he kept going back for more.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ *Heyohe:*' 'more', p. 894

⇒ *Heyohe:*' *shəh* 'more than', p. 895

⇒ *Ne:*' *gwahs heyohe:*' 'the most, -est', p. 939

Ne' ɔ:weh, Q:weh 'really'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (381) **Ne' ɔ:weh** gaq̄dé:nq̄hk.
 the truly they.are.related
 'They really are related.'

Related

⇒ *O:weh*, *Ne' q:weh* 'really', p. 976

Ne' se' 'that's just the one', 'that's just who'

Particle group used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (382) **Ne' se'** hq̣wɛ:dq̣h.
the you.know she.means.him
'He is just the one she means.'

Related

⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918

⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

Ne' to gye:' 'that's what'

Particle group, used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (383) **Ne' to gye:'** ha'hoya'dá:wɛh.
the that emphasis it.happened.to.his.body.over.there
'That's what happened to him over there.'

Related

⇒ *Gye:'* 'just the one', p. 881

⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918

⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tq*: 'that one', p. 1016

Ne' to gyɛ:ʔ hɔ:wɛh 'it's where'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); emphatic; likely clause-initial; *hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:wɛh*, or *nhɔ:wɛh*.

Related

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ* ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ *Hɔ:wɛh* ‘where’, p. 907
- ⇒ *Ne'* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
- ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Ne' to: ne:ʔ 'that's the one'

Particle group (*ne'*) *to: ... ne:ʔ* functions as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (384) **Ne' to: ne:ʔ** shagóhsgane:s.
 the that.one it.is she.desires.him
 ‘She is the one he desires.’
- (385) **Ihsé: gɛh** [**to: ne:ʔ** dwá:ye:]?
 you.think Q [that.one it.is we.do.it]
 ‘Do you think we should do it that way?’
- (386) [**To: ni:yóʔ ne:ʔ** hese's].
 that.one where it.is you.are.there
 ‘That’s your birthday.’ (literally, ‘that’s when you come around again.’)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne'* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

Ne' toh 'that is', 'that one'

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (387) Ne' toh ni:yó: hó:yę'.
it that.one a.certain.number he.owns.it
'That's how many he has.'

Related

- ⇒ Ne' 'that is', 'the', p. 918
⇒ To:, Toh, Tq: 'that one', p. 1016

Ne' tsq: gwa' toh 'also'

Particle group, *ne' (tsq:) gwa' toh* signals the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (388) [Ne' gwa' toh ha'hqwadíha:'.]
the emphasis that.one they.took.him.away
'They also took him.'
- (389) Hóhsé: [ne' tsq: gwa' toh nihahné:ye:s]
he.is.fat the only emphasis that.one he.is.short
'He is stout and he is also short.'

Related

- ⇒ Gwa' 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
⇒ Ne' 'that is', 'the', p. 918
⇒ To:, Toh, Tq: 'that one', p. 1016
⇒ Tsq: 'just', 'only', p. 1030

Ne: 'it is'

Particle or atypical verb, conveys contrastive focus (§35.4.4, §29.1); clause-initial in a dependent clause. Other uses are listed in the “Related” sections.

- (390) Hwẹ:dòh [né: to neyá:wẹh]?
 when [it.is that it.will.happen]
 ‘When [is it that that’s going to happen]?’
- (391) Tiga’dreħda:dé [né: ahahní:nq].
 a.different.kind.of.car [it.is he.bought.it]
 ‘He bought a different car.’ ‘A different kind of car [is what he bought].’

Related

- ⇒ Hne: Ne: ... (tsq: shẹh) ‘but’, p. 596
 ⇒ Da: ne: onẹh ‘and now’, p. 822
 ⇒ Da: ne:, da: ne: hni ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’, p. 821
 ⇒ Dẹ ọh ne: ho dẹ ‘what on earth?’, p. 829
 ⇒ E: E: (possible atypical verb), p. 839
 ⇒ Gi ne: ‘it is just’, p. 868
 ⇒ Ne: ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930
 ⇒ Ne: ‘it is’, p. 928
 ⇒ Ne: ‘it is’ (equative), p. 930
 ⇒ Ne: dagaiho:ni ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’, p. 931
 ⇒ Ne: di gẹh ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that’, p. 932
 ⇒ Ne: gẹh ... ne:/ne nige ọh ne ... ‘or?’, p. 933
 ⇒ Ne: gi ‘just’ (emphasis), p. 933
 ⇒ Ne: gi gye:hya: ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
 ⇒ Ne: gi gye: ọh ‘I guess’, p. 935
 ⇒ Ne: gi hni ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’, p. 936
 ⇒ Ne: gi shẹh hwa ‘maybe this time’, p. 936
 ⇒ Ne: gi shẹh ne ... gi shẹh ‘or’, p. 937
 ⇒ Ne: gi tsq: gwahs ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
 ⇒ Ne: gwahs d- ‘the most’, p. 938
 ⇒ Ne: gwahs heyohē: ‘the most, -est’, p. 939
 ⇒ Ne: gwahs hwa ‘this time for sure’, p. 875
 ⇒ Ne: gye: ne ‘that really is’, p. 940
 ⇒ Ne: he:ge: ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’, p. 940
 ⇒ Ne: hẹ hne: ‘too’, ‘also’, p. 941
 ⇒ Ne: hne: ne: ‘in fact, it is’, ‘it is’, p. 942
 ⇒ Ne: hni ne: ‘and that also’, p. 942
 ⇒ Ne: hwa ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’, p. 942
 ⇒ Ne: ne ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’, p. 943

- ⇒ Ne:ʔ qh 'I guess it is', p. 944
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ seʔ ge:s neʔ 'back then', 'a long time ago', p. 945
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ seʔ gye:ʔ 'you know', p. 945
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ tsq: 'because', 'it's just', p. 946
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ tsq: shəh 'but', 'it's just that', p. 947
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ tsq: 'that's only', 'that's all', p. 946
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ/neʔ giʔ gye:ʔ 'that's just it', 'that's it for sure', p. 934
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hwaʔ waʔ-ne:ʔ 'nowadays', p. 950
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ne:ʔ i:s 'how about you', p. 951
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ h, ne:ʔ neʔ 'when', 'once', 'as soon as', p. 956
- ⇒ Neʔ gye:ʔ neʔ ne:ʔ (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ Neʔ to: ne:ʔ 'that's the one', p. 927
- ⇒ O: teʔ qh ga:t giʔ shəh ne:ʔ hwaʔ 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ Oh ne:ʔ 'maybe', p. 975
- ⇒ Teʔ ne:ʔ deʔ ge:ʔ 'without, lacking', p. 1012
- ⇒ Teʔ tq ne:ʔ, Teʔ to ne:ʔ 'not really', p. 1015
- ⇒ To geh q ne:ʔ 'I wonder if it is', p. 1018
- ⇒ To niyo:weʔ ne:ʔ 'when', p. 1021
- ⇒ Waʔ-ne:ʔ 'today', 'now', p. 1037

Ne:ʔ 'it is' (equative)

Particle or atypical verb [noun ... (ne:ʔ) noun] optionally links two nouns (or noun phrases), and carries the idea that the two nouns are at least partly equivalent. The first noun [] describes a category, and the second noun [] belongs to the category denoted by the first noun. See §27.4.

- (392) [Ganyó:ʔ] heʔ hne:ʔ (ne:ʔ) [gwihsqwihs].
animal also in.fact (it.is) pigs
'Pigs are animals.'

Related

- ⇒ Ne:ʔ 'it is', p. 928

'Ne:ʔ' 'just so', 'indeed'

Particle or atypical verb; free-standing expression, functioning as an "agreement marker" (§35.3.1).

- (393) “**Ne:**’ a’a:gé’, “ne’ gyẹ:’ ne ne:’ deyóki’ nya:’”
 it.is she.said the emphasis that.one it.is they.govern.us
 “That’s it”, she said, “that’s because they govern us.” (Henry 2005)
- (394) “**Ne:**’ tó:gyẹh!” ahẹ’.
 it.is that.one he.said
 “That’s right!” he said.’ (Henry 2005)
- (395) Pete: **Ne:**’ di’ gẹh? A:yé:’ hné:’ gáegẹhjih.
 it.is so Q it.seems in.fact they.are.old
 ‘Is that them? They look old!’
 Junior: Ẹhẹ’ né:’.
 yes it.is
 ‘Yes, that is them.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa’ gó:wah dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Ne:*’ ‘it is’, p. 928

⇒ *Ne:*’ ‘it is’ (equative), p. 930

Ne:’ *dagai*họ:ni’ ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’

Particle group *ne:*’ ... (*dagai*)họ:ni’ is clause-initial to an independent (396–398) or dependent (399–400) causative clause (§29.3).

- (396) **Ne:**’ se’ họ:ni’ ogyanahséhđqh.
 it.is you.know the.reason it-has-hidden-its-tracks
 ‘That is because it has hiddens its tracks there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (397) **Ne:**’ họ:ni’ to: ní:yoht.
 it.is the.reason that it.is.a.certain.way
 ‘That’s why it is that way.’
- (398) Ẹhẹ’, gyẹ’ dró’ gí’. Né:’ gí’ hỏ:ní’ to itgé’s
 yes, she.is.home just. it.is just the.reason there I.am.there
 wẹhnihsragwé:gqh.
 all.day
 ‘Yes, she is home. That’s why I was there all day.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 456, Oyẹhsra’ dialogue)

- (399) Ahsòh ní:’ agòtsanòhwá:s [ne’ dagaihò:ní’ gyotedèhsò:’òh
still I my.knees.are.sore the the.reason this.other.day
agahyagwèhne:’]
I.picked.fruit
‘My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.’
- (400) [Ne:’ hò:ní’ í:wi: ɛsədewá:yɛ:s], a:gasheyá’ dágènhá’
it.is the.reason I.want you.will.learn you.should.help.them
sògwé’ dasò’ í:so’ godinòhòkdani:.
your.people much they.are.sick
‘Because I want you to learn how to help your people, they are very sick.’
(Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ Ne:’ ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:’ di’ gèh ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that...?’

Particle group and free-standing expression or tag (§27.2.2).

- (401) Ne:’ di’ gèh?
it.is so Q
‘Is that it then?’ (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
- (402) Junior: Si gi’ gyɛ:’ dagáɛ’ ó:nèh!
there just this.one they.are.coming now
‘Well here they come now!’
Pete: Ne:’ di’ gèh? A:yé:’ hné:’ gáegèhjih.
it.is so Q? it.seems in.fact they.are.old.women
‘Is that them? They look old!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa’gó:wah
dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Di* 'so', 'then', p. 830
- ⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Ne*: 'it is', p. 928

Ne: gɛh ... ne:/ne nige'qh ne' ... 'or?'

Particle group (*ne: gɛh*) ... *ne:/ne nige'qh ne'* ... functions as a conjunction (§30), for connecting a list of choices []; *ne: gɛh* appears before the list, and *ne:/ne: nige'qh ne'*, appears after the first item in a set of two choices.

- (403) **Né: gɛh** [ne' gwahs ɔ:wéh oya:nré' desadɔhwɛ:jó:nih], **né: nige'qh**
 it.is Q the really really it.is.good you.want.it, it.is or
ne' [ha'dewɛhnihsragehká:] tsɔ: ho'dé' ɛhsehs?
 the everyday.kind just what you.will.use
 'Do you want a really good one, or will you just use the everyday
 kind?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (404) [Onɔ'gwá'] **ne' nige'qh ne'** [ohneganóhs] desadɔhwɛ:jó:nih.
 milk the or the water you.want.it
 'Do you want milk or water?' (Michelson 2011: 45)

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Ne*: 'it is', p. 928

Ne: gi' 'just' (emphasis)

Particle group, used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (405) **Ne: gi'** é:dɔh.
 it.is just she.means.it
 'That's what she means.'

- (406) Ne:ʔ giʔ to:gyɛ́h agó:gweh.
it.is just that.one woman
'She's the one.'

Related

⇒ Giʔ 'just', p. 865

⇒ Ne:ʔ 'it is', p. 928

Ne:ʔ/neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ 'that's just it', 'that's it for sure'

Particle group used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (407) Neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ asiʔ.
the just this.one you.said
'That's what you said.'
- (408) Neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ gáqɔdɔh.
the just this.one they(females).mean
'That's what the women say.'
- (409) "Tga:gó:t gyɛʔ q'ɔh hyahsót, neʔ shɛh nyo:ʔ
it.is.obligatory I.guess your.grandfather the that a.certain.time
ɛhshá:yɔʔ, wa'héh ó:nɛh. Néʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ".
he.will.arrive.home, just.now then it.is just this.one
"It will have to be when your grandpa arrives home. That's how it will
be." (Henry 2005) (speaking about when to do something...)
- (410) Neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ dó:gɛhs.
the just this.one it.is.true
'That's just what we did...'. (Henry 2005) (referring to cleaning up after
playing)
- (411) "Ó:, neʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ", aʔa:géʔ, "owidra:htaʔ hniʔ ɛwa:dóʔ
oh the just this.one she.said butter also it.is.possible
ɛhsrá neʔ onaʔda:ʔ".
you.will.spread the bread
"Oh, and of course," she said, "there is butter to spread on your bread."
(Henry, 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gi*’ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gi*’ *gye*’ ‘quite’, ‘kind of’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Gye*’ ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ *Ne*’ ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne*’ ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:’ gi’ gye:’ hya:’ ‘before all else’, ‘first’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (412) Háo’. Ne’ gi’ gye:’ hya:’ aeknina’dá:k agatna’dáqt
 OK. it.is just emphasis for.now/this.time we.should.eat I.baked.it
 degáhswa’ne:t.
 pie
 ‘Mmm. Before anything else, we should eat the pie I baked.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajoh dialogue)
- (413) Ne’ gi’ gye:’ hya:’ ɛdwa:gyɛht
 it.is just emphasis for.now/this.time we.will.knock.down
 ɛyagwa’granhohsro:dé’ nɛ:-toh.
 we.will.pile.snow this.one-here
 ‘Well first, we’ll pile some snow here.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dɛdwa’ɛnáɛ’ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gi*’ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gye*’ ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ *Hya*’ ‘first’, ‘before anything else’, p. 910
- ⇒ *Ne*’ ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:’ gi’ gye:’ qh ‘I guess’

Particle group, emphatic, functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (414) Eḥéʔ. né:ʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ ɔh nɛ:gyéh néʔ. Degahwĩhsda:gé:
yes it.is just this.one I.wonder this.one the two.dollars
nigajĩhwa:nó:ʔ. Né:ʔ ɛkní:nó:ʔ.
the.hammer.costs it.is I.will.buy.it
‘Yes. I guess I will buy the two-dollar hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984:
158, Enɔhsɔnyaʔ daʔsó:ʔ ɔh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Giʔ* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ* ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Oh, ɔ; ɔ* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974

Ne:ʔ giʔ hniʔ ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’

Particle group [ne:ʔ giʔ ITEM ITEM hniʔ] ‘also (etc.)’ functions as an emphatic conjunction (§30) linking a list of similar items []. *Ne:ʔ giʔ* appears at the beginning of the clause, and the linked items occur between it and *hniʔ*.

- (415) Né:ʔ giʔ [Sampson], [Delilah] hniʔ gaɔdatáwəhksóʔ. Ahséh
it.is just [Sampson], [Delilah] and their.children. Three
nigá:gɔ:.
a.certain.number
‘Those are Sampson and Delilah’s children. There are three of them.’
(Mithun & Henry 1984: 68, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Giʔ* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Hniʔ* ‘and’, p. 903
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ ‘maybe that’s the one’

Particle group functioning as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (416) *Ne:ʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ é:dəh.*
 it.is just that this.time she.means.it
 ‘Maybe that’s the one she means.’

Related

- ⇒ *Giʔ* ‘just’, p. 865
 ⇒ *Hwaʔ* ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907
 ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
 ⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Ne:ʔ giʔ shəh neʔ ... giʔ shəh ‘or’

Particle group (*ne:ʔ giʔ shəh neʔ*) ... *giʔ shəh* functions as a conjunction (§30), connecting an additional list of choices, []; *ne:ʔ giʔ shəh neʔ* optionally appears before the first item in the list; the other choices are followed by *giʔ shəh*.

- (417) Ó:, a:yé:ʔ ní:ʔ né:ʔ gwahs knəhweʔs neʔ hehsáʔ ɛʔ niyohsohgoʔ dɛ:, né:ʔ
 Oh, it.seems I it.is really I.like the brown it.is.coloured, it.is
giʔ-shəh neʔ [ojiʔtgwa:gé:tʔah], [jiʔtgwá:ʔ *giʔ-shəh*], [otgwəhjiʔa:gé:t
 maybe the [light.yellow], [yellow or], [pink
giʔ-shəh].
 or].
 ‘Oh, the one I like the best is brown, or perhaps a light yellow, or maybe
 yellow, or maybe pink.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, *Agyaʔ dawíʔ traʔ*
 dialogue)
- (418) [Hnaʔgəhká:ʔ] *giʔ-shəh* [sgahoʔ dɛ:ʔ ɛhʔ]?
 underclothes or anything
 ‘Underclothes or something?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225,
Agyaʔ dawíʔ traʔ dialogue)
- (419) Tɛʔ gəh taʔ desidəhwejo:nih sgahoʔ dɛ:ʔ ɛh o:yaʔ? [Adáhdíʔ traʔ]
 not Q you.don’t.want.it something else? [socks],
 [ahdahgwáʔ] *giʔ-shəh*?
 [shoes] or
 ‘There was not anything else you wanted? Stockings, or shoes?’ (Mithun
 & Henry 1984: 225, *Agyaʔ dawíʔ traʔ* dialogue)

- (420) Tɛʔ sɡahɔʔdɛʔ [neʔ oʔwáhɔh], [jiʔdɛ:ʔɛh], [oʔɔʔdáʔ] giʔ-shɛh.
Not anything [the meat], [birds], [fish] or
'No meat, no birds, no fish.' (Carrier et al. 2013) (Men went hunting, but returned with nothing.)

Related

- ⇒ Giʔ 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ Giʔ shɛh 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 868
- ⇒ Hwaʔ 'this time', 'next', p. 907
- ⇒ Neʔ 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ Shɛh 'that', 'because', p. 982

Ne:ʔ giʔ tsɔ: gwahs 'that's really all'

Particle group functioning as a "demonstrative pronoun" (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (421) Eʔyɔɡwadáhnyo:k, [né:ʔ giʔ tsɔ: gwahs eʔyagyɔnhéhɡɔhɔ:k],
we.will.be.fishing, it.is just only really we.will.live.on.it
'We'll be fishing, and that's all we'll live on,...' (Mithun & Henry 1984:
402, Eʔyagwáhde:diʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Giʔ 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ Giʔ tsɔ: 'just', 'really', p. 869
- ⇒ Gwahs 'really', 'just', 'quite', p. 874
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ Tsɔ: 'just', 'only', p. 1030

Ne:ʔ gwahs d- 'the most'

Particle group [neʔ gwahs d-STATIVE.VERB] is used in comparisons (§31.1); clause-initial before a stative verb beginning with [d-/g-] CIS.

- (422) **ne:** gwahs dwakyəḍəḡówanəḥ
 it.is emphasis very.big.chair
 ‘the biggest chair’
 cf. d-w-akyəḍəḡ-ówan-əḥ CIS-3S.A-chair-big-STAT

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, p. 874
 ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne: gwahs heyohe: ‘the most, -est’

Particle group [(*ne:*) gwahs STATIVE.VERB (heyohe:)] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

- (423) Toḡəḥ nə:gyəḥ gwahs gajihyowa:nəḥ **heyóhe:**.
 here this.one the.most very.big.hammer it.is.beyond
 ‘Here is the biggest hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enḡsəḡnyaʔdaʔsə:ʔəḥ dialogue)
 cf. ga-jihy-owa:n-əḥ 3S.A-hammer-big-STAT
- (424) Dá giʔ gwa:dih təḡəʔ **ne:** gwahs oyá:nreʔs...
 Over just here it.rests it.is the.most good.ones
 ‘Over here are the best (ones)...’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enḡsəḡnyaʔdaʔsə:ʔəḥ dialogue)
 cf. 3S.P-good.STAT-PL

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, p. 874
 ⇒ *Heyohe:* ‘more’, p. 894
 ⇒ *Heyohe:* *shəḥ* ‘more than’, p. 895
 ⇒ *Neʔ heyohe:* ‘more, -er’, p. 924
 ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ ‘that really is’

Particle group *ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ (neʔ)* is used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (425) **Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ** **gí:dɔh.**
it.is this.one I.mean
‘That is what I mean.’
- (426) **Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ** **neʔ tó:gyɛh.**
it.is this.one the that.one
‘That is the one.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ* ‘just the one’, p. 881
⇒ *Neʔ* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ he:gɛ:ʔ ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’

Particle group *ne:ʔ ... he:gɛ:ʔ* is used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (427) **Ne:ʔ he:gɛ:ʔ** ɛhsyaʔ daniyɔdagɔháɔʔ.
it.is all you.will.unhang.bodies
‘All you have to do is take the bodies down.’ (Henry 2005) (speaking of removing rabbits from a snare)
- (428) **Né:ʔ tsɔ:ʔ he:gɛ:ʔ** neʔ ahatsɛnɔ:níʔ neʔ o:nɛh saeyóʔ neʔ
it.is just all the he.was.happy the now she.returned.home the
knó:haʔ.
mother
‘He is just happy that my mother is home.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aɔhdɛgyɔheʔ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *E*; *E*: (possible atypical verb), p. 839

Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ‘too’, ‘also’

Particle group (*ne:ʔ*) *hɛʔ hne:ʔ* emphasizes the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); *ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ* is clause-initial; ...*hɛʔ hne:ʔ* is enclitic.

- (429) Honahsé: **hɛʔ hne:ʔ** deḥeḥadeḥnó:drɔʔ.
 they.are.fat also in.fact your.brothers
 ‘Your brothers are also fat.’
- (430) Ganyó:ʔ **hɛʔ hne:ʔ** neʔ/ne:ʔ gwiḥsgwiḥs.
 Animal also in.fact the/it.is pig
 ‘Pigs are animals too.’
- (431) Toh hó: aʔagɔdá: onɛḥ **hɛʔ hne:ʔ** aʔejiho:déʔ, gaya:gó: **hɛʔ**
 that.one place she.put.it.in now also in.fact she.closed.it in.the.bag also
hne:ʔ aʔagɔdá:
 in.fact she.put.it.in
 ‘She put it (tea) in the bag too and then she closed the bag too.’ (Henry 2005)
- (432) **Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ** gáɔgweʔdaʔ.
 it.is also in.fact her.people.
 ‘That is her family.’

Related

⇒ *Hɛʔ* ‘also’, ‘too’, p. 895

⇒ *Hne:ʔ* ‘in fact’, p. 901

⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

⇒ *Tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ* ‘...not that one’, p. 1010

Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ ne:ʔ ‘in fact’, ‘it is’, ‘it is’

Particle group *ne:ʔ hne:ʔ (ne:ʔ)* emphasizes new information contrasting with something said previously (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (433) **Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ ne:ʔ** gaih wagwɛ:ní:yo:.
it.is in.fact the it.is.the.main.idea
‘That in fact is the main thing, the main item. That is the main thing.’
- (434) **Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ** gó:wɛh.
it.is in.fact she.owns.it
‘That’s *hers*.’ (not someone else’s)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ* ‘in fact’, p. 901
⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ hni:ʔ ne:ʔ ‘and that also’

Particle group signaling the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (435) **ne:ʔ hni:ʔ ne:ʔ**
it.is in.fact it.is
‘and that also’

Related

- ⇒ *Hni:ʔ* ‘and’, p. 903
⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ hwa:ʔ ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.9); clause-initial.

- (436) [Ne:ʔ hwaʔ ne:gyeħ sa:doh: ʔde:yo:kide:niʔ] neʔ ge:doh neʔ
 it.is this.time this you.say: they.will.change.us the it.means the
 teʔ-daʔo: o:gwəhə:wəh ɔ:sawá:dəʔ.
 definitely.not real.people it.will.no.longer.become
 ‘When you say ‘they will change us,’ it means that you’ll no longer be
 Indian.’ (Henry 2005)
- (437) Ne:ʔ hwaʔ eyotshəno:niʔ
 it.is time she.will.be.happy
 ‘This time she will be happy.’
- (438) Ne:ʔ hwaʔ gi:doh.
 it.is time I.mean.it
 ‘I mean that this time.’

Related

⇒ *Hwaʔ* ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907

Ne:ʔ neʔ ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’

Particle group *Ne:ʔ* (*neʔ*) that singles out the following items as being in focus (Keusen 1994, see §35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (439) “Ó:, ne:ʔ ni:ʔ to:gyeħ!”
 oh, it.is I that
 “Oh, I want (to do) that!” (Henry, 2005) (mend clothes)
- (440) Ne:ʔ ge:s ga:doh.
 it.is usually I.say
 ‘That’s what I usually say.’
- (441) Ne:ʔ go:wəh.
 it.is she.owns.it
 ‘That’s *hers*.’ (Speakers said that this phrase was ‘a little more definite’
 than “ne:ʔ hne:ʔ go:wəh”.)

Related

⇒ *Ne*[?] ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918

⇒ *Ne*[?] ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne[?] *nəh*, *Nəh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’

Particle group (*ne*[?]) *nəh* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial to dependent clauses.

Related

⇒ *Nəh*, *ne*[?] *nəh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’, p. 956

Ne[?]/*ne*[?] *nigə*[?]*q̄h ne*[?] ..., *Ne*[?] *gəh* ... *ne*[?]/*ne*[?] *nigə*[?]*q̄h ne*[?] ... ‘or?’

Particle group (*ne*[?] *gəh*) ... *ne*[?]/*ne*[?] *nigə*[?]*q̄h ne*[?] ... functions as a conjunction (§30), for connecting a list of choices; *ne*[?] *gəh* appears before the list, and *ne*[?]/*ne*[?] *nigə*[?]*q̄h ne*[?] appears after the first item in a list of two choices.

Related

⇒ *Ne*[?] *gəh* ... *ne*[?]/*ne*[?] *nigə*[?]*q̄h ne*[?] ... ‘or?’, p. 944

Ne[?] *q̄h* ‘I guess it is’

Particle group, emphatic, functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (442) *Ne*[?] *q̄h* *ne*[?] *o:nəh* *ha*[?]*gahé*[?] *edwadrihó*[?]*da*[?]*t*.
it.is I.guess the.now it.is time we.should.work
‘I guess it is now time for us to work.’

- (445) Ahéʔ, “Ne:ʔ séʔ gyɛ:ʔ shɛh tɛʔ ní:s desanəhsgwáɛʔ toh
he.said it.is you.know this.one that not you you.have.no.pet that.one
naganəhsgwiyohá:k shɛh niyóht neʔ Oditragáʔqh.”
how.nice.a.pet.it.is that how.so the good.tea
‘He said, “Because you don’t have a pet as nice as Good Tea.”’ (Keye 2012)

Related

- ⇒ Gyɛ:ʔ ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ Seʔ ‘you know’, p. 977

Ne:ʔ tsɔ: ‘that’s only’, ‘that’s all’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (446) Ne:ʔ tsɔ: hɔwáyáʔda:ʔs.
it.is just she.depends.on.him
‘He is the only one she depends on.’
- (447) Ne:ʔ tsɔ: dehoyáʔdówɛhdɔh.
it.is just he.is.thinking.about.it
‘That’s all he is thinking about.’ (He is preoccupied.)

Related

- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ tsɔ: ‘because’, ‘it’s just’, p. 946
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh ‘it’s just that’, p. 947
- ⇒ Tsɔ: ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Ne:ʔ tsɔ: ‘because’, ‘it’s just’

Particle group *ne:ʔ (tsɔ:)* ... is clause-initial in a causative independent (448) or dependent (449) clause (§29.3).

- (448) Né:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ tréhs1 degahq̄hstóʔ e:s.
 it.is emphasis too.much it.has.long.whiskers
 ‘Because its whiskers are too long.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317,
 Sanahsgwaɛʔ Gɛh Sgahoʔ dɛ:ʔ ɛhʔ dialogue) (Pete is answering David’s
 question, “Why is it called that?”)
- (449) Gowédage: [né:ʔ tsɔ: niyésgyɛdaʔ].
 she.is.timid it.is just she.is.small-boned
 ‘She is timid because she is just a small person.’

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
 ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ:* ‘that’s only’, ‘that’s all’, p. 946
 ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh* ‘it’s just that’, p. 947
 ⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Ne:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh ‘but’, ‘it’s just that’

Particle group functioning as a “conjunction” (§30); clause-initial.

- (450) Sɔgweʔ di:yó: giʔ hné:; né:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh [tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wé
 you.are.nice just in.fact, it.is just that [not really really
 dɛʔ aknɔhweʔ ó:ʔ shɛ nɔ́: snagreʔ], tréhs a:yé:ʔ ɔknigɔhsá:dɔʔ k.
 I.don’t.like that where you.live], too it.seems I’m.lonesome
 ‘Well you are a nice person, but I don’t really like your neighborhood. I
 seem to get too lonesome.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔ gó:wah
 dialogue)
- (451) ɛhɛʔ, ganó:ʔ, [né:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh oya:nréʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ gwaʔ toh.]
 yes it.is.expensive it.is just that good.one just this.one that.one
 ‘Yes, it is expensive, but it is a good one.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enɔhsɔnyaʔ daʔ sɔ:ʔ qh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne:* *tsq:* *shəh* 'it's just that', p. 947
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tsq:* 'just', 'only', p. 1030

Nɛ: 'this', 'these'

Particle functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing or phrase-initial (as in *nɛ:* *atsógwəhda* 'these pipes, this pipe').

- (452) *Əhé?*, *ohya:ji?* *ho'dé?* *degahswa'né:t* *oɡwá:ye?*. **Nɛ:** *gi?* *gyé?*
Yes, berry kind pie we.have.it. this.one just emphasis
sna'dá:k.
eat.it.
'Yes, we have blueberry pie. Here then, eat this (pie).' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)
- (453) *O:nəh gi?*, *gado:gé:* *gaetsgó:t*, *gado:gé:* *hni?* *agaejaodé?* **nɛ:**
Now just, together they.sat, together and they.smoked this.one
atsógwəhda?
pipe
'And then they both sat together and smoked these pipes.' (Henry 2005)
- (454) *Gə* *gwa?* *gi?shəh* *nhə:wéh* *a:gadóhse?* **nɛ:**
which right.then maybe place I.would.rest this.one
niyónishe?
how.it.takes.time
'Maybe a place to rest before that time?' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* *nɛ:* *dah* 'and now', p. 823
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* 'look!', 'say!', 'see', p. 949
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *di?* *ni:s* 'how about you?', p. 950

- ⇒ *N*_ç: *hwa*[?] *wa*[?] *ne*[?] ‘nowadays’, p. 950
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *ne*[?] *i:s* ‘how about you’, p. 951
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *toh* ‘here’, p. 951
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *toh gwa:dih* ‘on this side’, p. 952
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *tsq: gwa[?] toh ni-* ‘just a little bit’, ‘very little’, p. 952
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *tsq: ni-* ‘just’, p. 953
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *-dah* ‘this’, ‘this way’, p. 953
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *-dah* ‘here, take this’, p. 954
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *-gyeħ* ‘this one’, p. 954
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *-gyeħ gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’, p. 955
 ⇒ *N*_ç: *-gyeħ hwa*[?] ‘this time’, p. 956

*N*_ç: ‘look!’, ‘say!’, ‘see!’

Particle functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5), said when drawing attention to something.

- (455) *N*_ç:. *Tənənogye*[?]s. *Háe!* *háe!*
 Look they.originate.from.there hi hi
 ‘Look. There they are. Hi! Hi!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, *Dədwá*[?]*ənáç*[?]
 dialogue)
- (456) *N*_ç: *ha*[?] *satgahtóh o:yá*[?] *tganóhso:t*. *A:yé*[?] *sqgwa*[?]
 say have.a.look other house.standing.over.there it.seems someone
n[?]*áht* *gonəna*[?] *dínyo*[?] *doh*.
 person they.have.moved.in
 ‘Say, have a look at the next house. It seems like somebody has moved in.’
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, *Dwənqhsanékahq*[?] dialogue)
- (457) *N*_ç: *swatgahtóh grahe:t*.
 Look! take.a.look tree
 ‘Look at this pine tree.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (458) *N*_ç: *- ne*[?] *hə:ni*[?] *gonahdró*[?]s *ne*[?] *ó:gweh*.
 see - the reason.why they.are.afraid the people
 ‘See – that’s what frightens the people.’ (Carrier et al., 2013)

Related

⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

Nɛ: di' ni:s ‘how about you?’

Particle group; free-standing.

- (459) **Nɛ:** **di' ni:s?**
 this(one) so you
 ‘How about you?’

Related

⇒ *Di'* ‘so’, ‘then’, p. 830

⇒ *I:s, Ni:s* ‘you’ (any number of people), p. 913

⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

Nɛ: hwa' wa'-ne:ʔ ‘nowadays’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (460) **Nɛ: hwa' wa'-ne:ʔ tɛʔ dɛʔsgánagreʔ.**
 now just.now today not they-no-longer-live
 ‘And nowadays, there are not very many around anymore.’ (Mithun &
 Henry 1980)

Related

⇒ *Hwa'* ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907

⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

⇒ *Wa'-ne:ʔ* ‘today’, ‘now’, p. 1037

Nẹ: ne:ʔ i:s ‘how about you?’

Particle group; free-standing.

- (461) Nẹ: ne:ʔ i:s? Dẹʔ nis hoʔdẹʔ nisaʔnigóhoʔdẹ:ʔ
 this.one it.is you what you kind what.your.thoughts.are
 ‘How about you? What are your thoughts?’

Related

⇒ *I:s, Ni:s* ‘you’ (any number of people), p. 913

⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

⇒ *Nẹ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

Nẹ: toh ‘this place (here)’, ‘this one’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3) or as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3). Clause-initial for “adverb of place” and free-standing for “demonstrative pronoun” function.

- (462) Nẹ:-tóh giʔ nhó: ẹgatnʔqhdángoʔ.
 this.one-here just where I.will.debar
 ‘I’ll get out here.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdátgiʔ dialogue)
- (463) Tẹʔ gyé:ʔ hné:ʔ dẹhadiʔdrehdó:nihs nẹ:-toh.
 Not this.one in.fact they.don’t.repair.cars this.one-here
 ‘They don’t repair cars here.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdátgiʔ dialogue)
- (464) Nẹ: toh ni:yó: hó:yẹʔ.
 this.one here a.certain.number he.has
 ‘That’s how many he has.’

Related

- ⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh gwa:dih* ‘on this side’, p. 952
- ⇒ *To, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Nɛ: toh gwa:dih ‘on this side’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (465) **Nɛ: toh gwaih hɛʔdrɔʔ** Allan.
 this.one that.one side he.lives.there Allan
 ‘Allan lives on this side.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh* ‘here’, p. 951
- ⇒ *To, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Nɛ: tsɔ: gwaʔ toh ni- ‘just a little bit’, ‘very little’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial. A following stative-only verb begins with [ni-] PART.

- (466) **Nɛ: tsɔ: gwaʔ toh niyɔ:** hohwihsdaɛʔ.
 this.here just even that a.certain.amount he.has.money
 ‘Also, right now he has very little money.’
- (467) Hohsɛ: **nɛ: tsɔ: gwaʔ toh nihahnɛ:ye:s.**
 he.is.fat this.here just even that he.has.some.height
 ‘He is stout and he is also short (literally, not even tall).’

Related

⇒ *Gwa* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870

⇒ *Nɛ*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

⇒ *To*: *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *Tsɔ*: ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Nɛ: tsɔ: ni- ‘just’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); precedes a stative verb beginning with [ni-] PART; clause-initial.

(468) Nɛ: tsɔ: niyó: hohwíhsdaɛʔ.
 this.here just a.certain.amount he.has.money
 ‘He has very little money.’

(469) Nɛ: tsɔ: niwatonáʔdaʔ.
 this.here just a.certain-sized.potato
 ‘It’s just a small, puny potato.’

Related

⇒ *Nɛ*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

⇒ *Tsɔ*: ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Nɛ:-dah ‘this’, ‘this way’

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

(470) Nɛh toh hɛdwa:yóʔ nɛ:-dáh nɛdwá:ye:ʔ.
 when that.place we.will.arrive.there this.one-and we.will.do.something
 ‘When we arrive there, we will do it this way.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da*: ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Nɛ*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-dah* ‘here, take this’, p. 954

Nɛ:-dah ‘here, take this’

Particle group functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5), said when handing an item to someone.

- (471) **Nɛ:-dáh** giʔ gyɛ:ʔ satgɛ:ʔsé: agwáyáʔda:ʔ.
this.here-and just this.one take.a.look our.pictures
‘In fact here, have a look at our pictures.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257,
Gahwajiyá:deʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Da*: ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Nɛ*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

Nɛ:-gyɛh ‘this one’

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing or preceding the word it modifies (as in *nɛ:gyɛh hwaʔ* ‘this time’).

- (472) **Nɛ:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ho:wɛh nɛ:-gyɛh.**
it.is also in.fact it.is.his this.one
‘This is also his.’

Related

- ⇒ [-gyɛh] ‘this, that’, p. 882
- ⇒ *Nɛ*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

⇒ *Nẹ:-gyẹh gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’, p. 955

⇒ *Nẹ:-gyẹh hwa* ‘this time’, p. 955

***Nẹ:-gyẹh gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’**

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (473) Né:ʔ giʔ **nẹ:gyẹh gwai** iha:t ne:ʔ hne:ʔ hehso:t,...
 it.is just this side he.stands it.is in.fact my.grandfather
 ‘This one standing over here is my grandfather,...’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257, *Gahwajiyá:de*’ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

⇒ *Nẹ:-gyẹh* ‘this one’, p. 954

***Nẹ:-gyẹh hwa* ‘this one’**

Particle group functioning as “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

- (474) Ne:ʔ nẹh toh nẹyá:wẹh hẹwátgatsaʔt shẹh nhọ:
 that-is when that.one so.it.will.happen it.will.come.off that place
 hesodá:họh **nẹ:-gyẹh hwa**ʔ gáẹho:t
 you.have.hooked.it this.one this.time trap
 ‘And when that happens, the part of the trap you hooked on will come right off.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

⇒ *Hwa*ʔ ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907

⇒ *Nẹ:-gyẹh* ‘this one’, p. 954

Nẹ:-gyẹh hwa' 'this time', 'when'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.9); clause-initial in independent and dependent clauses [].

- (475) Dẹ' di' ho'dẹ' nẹhsa:gyé:' [nẹ:gyẹh hwa'
What so what.kind you.will.do.something this this.time
de:jogęnhó:di']?
it.will.be.summer
'What will you do when summer comes?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349,
Dẹ' Ho'dẹ' Nẹhsa:gye:?' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Nẹ:-gyẹh 'this one', p. 954
⇒ Nẹ:-gyẹh hwa' 'this time', p. 956

Nẹh, Ne:' nẹh 'when', 'once', 'as soon as'

Particle group (*ne:*) *nẹh* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial in dependent clauses []. In contrast, *o:nẹh* 'when' is used in independent clauses (see §29.9).

- (476) Eęahyagwahsé:k hẹ' ni:' [nẹh eęáhdo:k].
I.will.habitually.pick.fruit also me when I.will.grow.up
'I'll be a fruit picker when I grow up.'
- (477) ne:' nẹh dwahdẹ:gyọh
it.is when we.will.arrive.there
'when we get there'
- (478) [Nẹh toh hẹdwá:yọ'] nẹ:dáh nẹdwá:ye:'.
when there we.will.arrive.there this.way we.will.do.something
'When we arrive there, we will do it this way.'
- (479) Eęosdaęda'ọhó:k gi'-shẹ-hwa' hne:' [nẹh ętsyeh].
it.will.have.stopped.raining maybe indeed when you.will.awaken
'Perhaps the rain will have stopped when you wake back up.' (Mithun &
Henry 1984: 212, Satró:nih dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’, p. 928

⇒ *O:nəh, ne’ o:nəh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’, p. 967

***Nəh to:hah, O:nəh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’**

Particle group (*o:nəh...to:hah* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

Related

⇒ *O:nəh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’, p. 971

***Ni:* *gɛ:*, *Ni:* *gɛ:* ‘I did it’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing or clause-initial.

(480) *Ni:* *gɛ:* *tóh-ne:* *ɔgahdɔ:* *ne’ agétgwɛ’da’*. *Tɛ’ ní:s ga’-tóh*
 the.me emphasis this.one I.lost.it the my.wallet not you anywhere
dɛ’sɛ:gɛ:’?

you.didn’t.see

‘...mind you, I lost my wallet. You haven’t seen it?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, *Gatgwɛ’da’* dialogue)

(481) *Ni:* *gɛ:* *gi’ ahí:* *a:gɛnihá’* *sa:wɛ’*
 the.me emphasis just I.thought I.should.borrow you.own.it
degahená’tra’sɛ:’

scissors

‘I thought I might borrow your scissors.’ (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 368)
 (*Degahená’tra’sɛ:’* dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gye:* 'just the one', p. 881

⇒ *I:*, *Ni:*, 'I', 'we', p. 910

Nigɛ́ʔɔh (conjunction)

Particle ...*nigɛ́ʔɔh* 'or' appears in conjunction phrases (§30, §30.3); enclitic.

Related

⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shɛh nigɛ́ʔɔh* 'or?', p. 861

⇒ *Gɛh tɛ́ nigɛ́ʔɔh* 'or not?', p. 863

⇒ *Ne: gɛh ... ne:/ne nigɛ́ʔɔh ne' ...* 'or?', p. 944

Nigwa:dih 'ward', 'direction'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); preceded by a word that describes the actual direction; clause-initial. Also see *gwa:dih*, *gwai* 'to one side'

(482) Ó:, tɛ́ gyɛ́:-ɔh onenɔ́géh nigwa:dih ha'ge'.

oh not that-I.guess south side I'm.going.there

'Oh, I don't think so. I am going south.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349, Dɛ́ Ho'dɛ́ Nɔsa:gye: dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* 'to one side', p. 873

Niyo:we', Ni:yo:', Nyo:' 'a certain distance', 'a certain time'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); typically preceded by another word; *niyo:we'* also has the short forms *ní:yo:'* or *nyo:'*.

Related

- ⇒ *Gao* 'shəh niyo:we' 'before', 'until', p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we*, *ni:yo:*, *nyo:* 'a certain distance', 'a certain time', p. 958
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we* 'as far as', 'as much as', p. 986
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we* 'that far', p. 1020
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we* *ne:* 'when', p. 1021

None:[?], Nəne:[?] 'mind you', 'you know'

Particle signaling shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); free-standing.

- (483) Səheh gyɛ:[?] **nóne:[?]** gá:dəh deyonaɗáwɛnye:[?]
 nighttime this.one you.know I.say they.walk.about
 'As I said, at night, you know, they walk around.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (484) O:nəh gi[?] gyɛ:[?]qə ɛsgahdɛ:di[?]. O:nəh gyɛ:[?] **nóne:[?]** hné:[?]
 now just I.guess I.will.go.home now emphasis you.know in.fact
 ha'wa:j'áht degáhsɔwá'ne:t!
 it.has.gone.down.to.nothing pie
 'Well, I might as well go home now, because the pie is all gone, you know!' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajəh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* 'this', 'these', p. 948

Nya:wəh 'thank you', 'thanks'

Particle signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); also an expression of thanks. At the end of the meal, each person says *nya:wəh* 'thanks' or *nya:wəh* (*se*[?]) *hɛ[?] ni:[?]* 'thanks, me too' (to the Creator), and the other people say *nyoh* in acknowledgement.

- (485) **Nya:wěh** gi' gyé: adi:dwá:dọ:t.
acknowledge just this.one we.all.ate.together
'Thank you that we ate together.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294,
Dwade:kọ:nih dialogue)
- (486) Hao' di' sáh. O:něh gi' hyá:. **Nya:wěh** gi' gyé: shẹh
Ok so you.know now just time acknowledge just this.one that
nyó: daskn'ọhda:
place how.it.is you.put.me.in
'Alright. So long. Thanks for the ride.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339,
O'dréhdatgi' dialogue)
- (487) Ahe' ne' hagehjihá' **nya:wěh** shẹh ehswá:yọ'.
he.said the old.man acknowledge that you.all.came.here
'The old man said thank you because you all came here.' (Keye 2012)

Related

⇒ *Nyoh* 'you're welcome', 'alright', 'o.k.', p. 960

Nyoh 'you're welcome', 'alright', 'o.k.'

Particle signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); often said in response to *nya:wěh* 'thanks'.
One can also say it sarcastically to bug someone.

- (488) **Nyoh!** Nya:wěh hni'. O:něh gi' ẹgakeho:wí' akwá:ji:ya',
Ok! Thanks as.well now just I.will.tell.them my.family
ẹgake'nigọhaẹdáhde' shẹh niyó:gyé:'.
I.will.make.them.understand that how.it.is
'Thank you Hi'No'. I will tell them and make them understand.' (Carrier
et al. 2013) (In response to Hi'no' instructing the Maiden to do
something)
- (489) "Nyóh," ahe' ne' hagehjih, "değadřenọ:táhs gi' ne'
o.k. he.said the old.man I.will.pray/hope just the
ehswadrahswihyọha:k".
you.come.to.have.good.luck
'"O.k.", said the old man, "I will hope you have good luck."' (Keye 2012)

Related

⇒ *Nya:wəh* ‘thank you’, ‘thanks’, p. 959

C.10 O particles**O:, O:o: ‘oh’**

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1), expressing surprise or interest.

- (490) Ó:ò:, gaɛ nhó: gyagohdegyo:?
 oh which place she.comes.from.there
 ‘Oh. Where does she come from?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 61, Sɔ: Hne:
 N’aht Tó:gyɛh? dialogue)

Related

⇒ *O: gɛh* ‘really?’, p. 961

⇒ *O: tɛ’ ɔh ga:t gi’ shɛh gyɛ:gwa’* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

⇒ *O: tɛ’ ɔh ga:t gi’ shɛh ne:’ hwa’* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

‘O ɔ:, O: ɔh’ ‘oh really?’

Particle group functioning as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2), implying *ɛhɛ’* ‘yes’ or *tɛ’* ‘no’ answers.

- (491) **O: ɔh?**
 oh I.guess
 ‘Oh really?’

‘O: gɛh’ ‘really?’

Particle group functioning as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2) and implying *ɛhɛ’* ‘yes’ or *tɛ’* ‘no’ answers.

- (492) O: gɛh?
oh Q
'Really?'

Related

- ⇒ Gɛh 'Q' (question marker), p. 858
⇒ O; ó:ò: 'oh', p. 961

O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shɛh gyɛ:gwa' 'maybe, maybe not'

Particle group *o: tɛ' qh ... (gat) gi' shɛh gyɛ:gwa'* functions as a "doubt or certainty marker" (§35.2); free-standing.

- (493) O: tɛ' qh (gi'), (ga:t-)gi' shɛh gyɛ:gwa'.
oh not I.guess just just that if
'Maybe, maybe not.'

Related

- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh tɛ'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shɛh nigɛ' qh* 'or?', p. 861
⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa' a:-verb* 'if', p. 885
⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa' gi' shɛh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 886
⇒ O; ó:ò: 'oh', p. 961
⇒ *O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shɛh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
⇒ *Oh, q; q* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974
⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999
⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shɛh hwa' da' q* 'maybe not', p. 1006

O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shɛh ne:' hwa' 'maybe, maybe not'

Particle group *o: tɛ' qh ... (gat) gi' shɛh ne:' hwa'* functions as a "doubt or certainty marker" (§35.2); free-standing.

- (494) O: tɛ̃ ɔ: (gĩ), (ga:t-)gĩ shɛh ne:ʔ hwaʔ.
 oh not I.guess just just that it.is this.time
 ‘Maybe, maybe not.’

Related

- ⇒ Ga:t gĩ shɛh ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’, p. 857
 ⇒ Ga:t gĩ shɛh tɛ̃ʔ ‘maybe not’, ‘or not’, p. 858
 ⇒ Gɛh ga:t gĩ shɛh niɡɛ̃ʔɔh ‘or?’, p. 861
 ⇒ Gĩ ‘just’, p. 865
 ⇒ O:, ó:ò: ‘oh’, p. 961
 ⇒ O: tɛ̃ ɔh ga:t gĩ shɛh ɡyɛ:ɡwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
 ⇒ Oh, ɔ:, ɔ ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974
 ⇒ Shɛh ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982
 ⇒ Tɛ̃ʔ ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
 ⇒ Tɛ̃ʔ gĩ shɛh hwaʔ daʔɔ ‘maybe not’, p. 1006

Ogwehɛ:gyɛʔ ‘now and then’, ‘now and again’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (495) Ogwehɛ:gyɛʔ ɡɛ:s ahsyɔʔ.
 now.and.again usually you’ll.arrive
 ‘Now and again you’ll be here.’

Related

- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛh, Hɛ:gyɛh ‘no matter’, p. 898

Ohɛ:dɔ: ‘early’, ‘first’

Verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (496) Ohɛ:dɔ: ihseʔ.
 early/first you.are.here
 ‘You are the first to arrive.’, ‘You are early.’

Related

⇒ *Ohẹ:dọ*: *shẹh* ‘ahead’, ‘in front’, ‘forward’, p. 964

Ohẹ:dọ: shẹh ‘ahead’, ‘in front’, ‘forward’

Verb and particle *ohẹ:dọ*: (*shẹh*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (497) Ho'ẹ:ná' atahk, o:nẹh ohẹ:dọ: ha'tẹhda:t.
his.spear he.picked.it.up now ahead he.went.ahead
‘He grabbed his spear and he dashed ahead of his brothers.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (498) Ohẹ:dọ: he'ga:yé' ẹ'nhó:tra'.
ahead it.is.lying.there ball
‘The ball is lying ahead.’
- (499) ohẹ:dọ: (shẹh) ganóhso:t
ahead (that) standing.house
‘the house in front’, ‘in front of the house’
- (500) Ohẹ:dọ: he'sénọgye'.
forward you.are.going.along.that.way
‘you are moving forward.’

Related

⇒ *Ohẹ:dọ*: ‘early’, ‘first’, p. 963

⇒ *Shẹh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Ohna'gẹ:?, Na'gẹ:? ‘late’

Verb (*oh*)*na'gẹ:?* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (501) Ohna'gẹ: ihse'
late you.are.here
‘You are late again.’ (said at the moment)

Related

- ⇒ *Ohna'gę: gwa:dih shęh* 'behind', p. 965
 ⇒ *Ohna'gęhjih* 'late', 'back then', 'the bottom', p. 966
 ⇒ *Ohna'gę:* 'underneath', 'beneath', 'under', p. 966

Ohna'gę: gwa:dih shęh 'behind', 'back', 'backwards'

Verb and particle group (*oh*)*na'gę: (gwa:dih) (shęh)* functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (502) Ne: gi' tsq: **na'gę: gwá:dih shęh** gahnáwęhtak...
 it.is just only behind side that the.falls.rushed.out
 ‘But in a cave behind the rushing waters...’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (503) Ahgwíh **ohna'gę:?** hejįswatgáhtoh.
 don't back you.all.will.look.that.way
 ‘You must not look back.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (504) Gei niņęnado:wá:s ne' gwa'-tóh ne' hodi:tse:né' so:wá:s
 four a.number.of.hunters the that.one the their.pet dog
ohna'gę:? hadínęhe:'.
 behind they.stand.in.line
 ‘The hunters and their small dog are close behind the dipper’s handle.’
 (Carrier et al. 2013) (speaking of the placement of the hunters and their dog in the handle of the Big Dipper)
- (505) **ohna'gę:?**/**na'gę:?** **shęh** ganqhsot
 behind that standing.house
 ‘behind the house’
- (506) **ohna:gę:?** ganqhsade'
 behind the.existing.house
 ‘the house behind the house’
- (507) Ne: gi' tsq: **na'gę: gwá:dih shęh** gahnáwęhtak...
 it.is just only behind side that the.waters.issue.out
 ‘But in a cave behind the rushing waters...’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

- (508) **Ohna'gɛ:** ha'desatsá'ge:t.
behind bend.yourself
'Bend backward!'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* 'to one side', p. 873
⇒ *Ohna'gɛ:ʔ, na'gɛ:ʔ* 'late', p. 964
⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Ohna'gɛhjɪh 'late', 'way back then', 'the bottom'

Verb functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2) or "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (509) **Ohna'gɛhjɪh** ahá:yɔʔ.
late he.arrived
'He arrived late.'

Related

- ⇒ *Ohna'gɛ:ʔ, na'gɛ:ʔ* 'late', p. 964
⇒ *Ohna'gɛ: gwa:dih shɛh* 'behind', p. 965
⇒ *Ohna'gɛhjɪh* 'late', 'back then', p. 966
⇒ *Ohna'gɔ:* 'underneath', 'beneath', 'under', p. 966

Ohna'gɔ: 'underneath', 'beneath', 'under'

Noun functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (510) **Ohna'gɔh** tgá:yɛʔ.
below it.is.lying.there
'It lies underneath, below.'

Related

⇒ *Ohna'gɛ:ʔ, na'gɛ:ʔ* 'late', p. 964

⇒ *Ohna'gɛ: gwa:dih shɛh* 'behind', p. 965

⇒ *Ohna'gɛhjih* 'late', 'back then', 'the bottom', p. 966

Ona:wɛh 'it's theirs (animals)', 'it belongs to them (animals)', 'their (animals)'

Verb functioning as a "possessive pronoun" (§6.2); free-standing.

- (511) **oná:wɛh**
 on-á:w-ɛh
 3P.P-OWN-STAT
 'they (animals) own it'

O:nɛh 'now', 'when', 'then', 'at this time'

Particle *o:nɛh* functions as an "adverb of time" (§8.2). Clause-initial in independent clauses only. *Nɛh* is used in dependent clauses.

- (512) Gaɛ diʔ nɦɔ:wɛh nihsweʔs ó:nɛh?
 which then place you.all.are.here now
 'Where then are you now?'
- (513) **O:nɛh** giʔ haʔgahé:ʔ ɛshétrohnaʔ.
 now just the.time.has.come you.will.take.him.back
 'Now it is time for you to take him back.'
- (514) **O:nɛh** giʔ hodehsronihsʔɔh.
 now just he.is.ready
 'He is ready now.'
- (515) **O:nɛh** giʔ ɛgoyɛʔɛsɛtwáhsɔʔɔh.
 now just I.will.kick.you.around
 'I am now going to kick you around.'

- (516) Ó:, hyeiʹshó:ʹq̄h áq̄d̄ahseʹ. **On̄eh-ʹq̄**
O, six-ish you.should.come then-I.guess
ɛyagokwajhséha:k.
she.will.have.cooked.the.food
‘Oh, you should come around six-ish. She should have the food cooked by then.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 279, Qdweṇq̄dáhtaʹ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *N̄eh, ne:ʹ n̄eh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’, p. 956
⇒ *O:n̄eh, neʹ o:n̄eh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’, p. 967
⇒ *O:n̄eh e:ʹ* ‘again!’, p. 968
⇒ *O:n̄eh gwaʹ* ‘suddenly’, ‘already’, ‘finally’, ‘all at once’, p. 969
⇒ *O:n̄eh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’, p. 971

O:n̄eh e:ʹ ‘again’ (emphatic)

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (517) **O:n̄eh é:ʹ** Hiʹnoʹ haʹhó:diʹ deweṇihóksq̄h sh̄eh níwe:
now again Hiʹnoʹ he.threw.it lightning.bolts that where.it.was
oshaísdaʹ, o:n̄eh gwaʹ ahá:nyoʹ.
snake, now right.then he.died
‘Again and again HiʹNoʹ hurled lightning bolts at the monster snake. Finally the poisoner, the giant serpent, was killed.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (518) **O:n̄eh e:ʹ** toh hodáditsgo:t.
now again there he.sits.himself
‘Now again he has himself sitting there.’
- (519) Agahdrq̄ʹs **o:n̄eh e:ʹ** ji trehs satseṇó:nih.
Iʹm.frightened now again too too.much you.are.happy
‘I am frightened now because you are too happy.’
- (520) **O:n̄eh e:ʹ** agriʹsdowá:neh.
now again Iʹm.noisy
‘I am loud, noisy again.’

- (521) **O:nəh e:** i:s toh ha'ségəh:k.
 now again you that.one you.are.fighting.there
 'You are getting into someone else's fight again, butting in.'

Related

- ⇒ *E:* 'again', 'still', p. 838
 ⇒ *O:nəh, Ne' o:nəh* 'now', 'when', 'then', 'at this time', p. 967

O:nəh gi' hya: 'good-bye'

Particle group used for leave-taking; free-standing expression.

- (522) **O:nəh gi' hya:**
 now just before.anything.else
 'Good-bye.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
 ⇒ *Hya:* 'first', 'before anything else', p. 910
 ⇒ *O:nəh, Ne' o:nəh* 'now', 'when', 'then', 'at this time', p. 967
 ⇒ Greetings, origins, and affiliations, p. 1063

O:nəh gwa', Nəh gwa' 'suddenly', 'already', 'finally', 'all at once'

Particle group (*o:nəh gwa'* functions as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (523) **O:nəh gwa'** edwawayə:né:da'.
 now just.now we're.finished
 'We're finished already.'

- (524) **Onəh gwaʔ**, **nə-gwaʔ** ahsha:kni:gəʔ neʔ hagehsotgəhəʔ
 now just.now now-just.now we.saw.him the our.late.grandfather
 togyəh dahayagəʔ,
 there he.was.going.out
 ‘And all at once we saw my late grandfather, who was going out from there.’ (Henry 2005)
- (525) Gyotgót:toh hehéhtaʔ, heyohé:hə hneʔ i:sóʔ
 always that.one he.did.it.on.purpose, even and in.fact more
 ahahnegéhaʔ. **O:nəh gwaʔ** ahoʔnigəháədaʔ, aga:gwe:níʔ ahóyogyaʔ.t.
 he.drank.it now just.now he.understood, it.was.able.to he.smiled
 ‘Just like the squirrel, he kept going back for more. Then he discovered something that made him smile.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (526) Honqʔséh hada:kséʔ neʔ hohshə. **O:nəh gwaʔ** a:yéʔ ahédagraʔ.
 he.was.lazy he.runs the he.is.fat now just.now it.seems he.fell
 ‘But the lazy hunter was getting tired of running and he suddenly pretended to fall.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (527) **O:nəh gwaʔ** dó:gəhs ahéhe: hagəhjiʔ.
 now just.now truly he.conveyed.it.to.her this.old.one
 ‘Finally the Old One (HiʔNoʔ) gave her the news she wanted.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (528) **O:nəh éʔ** Hiʔnoʔ haʔhó:diʔ dewənihóksəh shəh níwe:
 now again Hiʔnoʔ he.threw.it lightning.bolts that where.it.was
 osháisdaʔ, **o:nəh gwaʔ** ahá:nyoʔ.
 snake, now just.now he.died
 ‘Again and again HiʔNoʔ hurled lightning bolts at the monster snake. Finally the poisoner, the giant serpent, was killed.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
 ⇒ *O:nəh*, *Neʔ o:nəh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’, p. 967

O:nəh to:hah ‘soon’, ‘almost’

Particle group (*o:nəh...to:hah* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (529) **Nə:** **tohá'** ɛdwahdɛ:di'.
 now almost we.all.will.leave
 ‘We’ll soon be on our way.’ (Keye 2016, Circle Book 11, On Our Way)
- (530) **O:nəh to:háh** toh hɛshe:'.
 now almost there he.will.return.there
 ‘He is almost ready to return.’
- (531) **O:nəh to:háh** John ɛhshodɔhswé'dɛ'.
 Now almost John he.will.become.hungry.again.
 ‘John is almost going to get hungry again.’
- (532) **O:nəh di' to:háh** hɛgahé:'. ɛdwɛnihe:'.
 now so almost the.time.has.come we.will.quit
 ‘Now it is almost time for us to quit.’
- (533) **O:nəh hné:' to:háh** ja:dáhk niyohwihsdá'e:.
 now in.fact almost seven o'clock
 ‘It is now almost seven o'clock.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)
- (534) **O:nəh to:háh** ɛshá:yɔ'.
 now almost he.will.go.back
 ‘He is almost ready to go back.’
- (535) **O:nəh gi' to:háh** hɛkní:yoh.
 now just almost we.will.arrive.there
 ‘We’ll be there soon.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dɛdwa'ɛnáɛ' dialogue)

Related

⇒ *O:nəh*, *Ne' o:nəh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’, p. 967

⇒ *To:hah* ‘a place’, ‘a time’, p. 1025

Onq:həʔ ‘they (animals)’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (536) **onq:həʔ**
on-ó:həʔ
3P.P-alone.STAT
‘they (animals) are alone’

Otgaʔdeʔ neʔ niwa:gəʔ ni- ‘as many as’

Verb and particle group [otgaʔdeʔ ... neʔ ... NUMBER (niwa:gəʔ ni-STATIVE.VERB)] figures in comparisons (§31.1).

- (537) Ó: **otgáʔdeʔ** giʔ ni: gɛ:s **neʔ** wəhshe: **niwa:gəʔ**
oh it.is.many just I usually the ten so.many
nigahaní:yo:t neʔ swəhsó:da:t
where.they.were.hanging the one.night
‘I would often have as many as ten hoops hanging each night.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (538) Ó: **otgáʔdeʔ** hne:ʔ gɛ:s **neʔ** tgwáhaqʔ hyeiʔ, ó: tgwaháqʔ já:dahk.
oh it.is.many in.fact usually the sometimes six, oh sometimes seven
‘Oh sometimes I used to catch as many as six or seven.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

⇒ *E*:, *E*: (possible atypical verb), p. 839

Otgqʔ, Hotgqʔqh ‘what the...?’, ‘for Heaven’s sake!’

Verb *hotgqʔqh* or *otgqʔ* functions as an “exclamation” (§35.1); said when something is out of the ordinary or not right. *Otgqʔ* literally means ‘it is strong or ominous medicine’.

- (539) **Hotgqʔqh** ahsyqʔ!
for.heaven’s.sake you.arrived
‘For heaven’s sake, you got here!’ ‘What the...?! You made it!’

- (540) Jagwadatre:waht tɛʔ deʔagodigaɛʔɔ:ʔ akínohaʔ. Otgɔʔ
 we.are.sorry not they.wouldn't.agree our.parents it.is.not.fair
 to:háh seʔ tsaʔgá:t a:yɔgwadrihwahdegyó:k shɛh
 almost certainly the.same.thing we.should.do.a.ceremony that
 ni:yóht ganqhsesgeh.
 what.kind at.the.longhouse
 'We're sorry – our parents would not agree. it isn't fair – it would have
 been like the real thing – a real ceremony.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

O:wɛh 'it belongs to it (an animal)', 'its'

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

- (541) ó:wɛh
 ó:-w-ɛh
 3S.P-OWN-STAT
 'it owns it'

O:yaʔ 'another', 'other', 'else'

Basic noun functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (542) Ohgeh o:yaʔ hniʔ gɛ:s niyagwayé:haʔ.
 then other and usually the.way.we.do.it
 'There is another way we used to do it.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (543) Onɛh néʔ oyaʔsɔʔ ɔgwéh gonadekɔ:níʔ hɛhne:.
 now the others people they.are.eating also
 'Soon other people were eating too.' (Keye 2016, Circle Book 13, Rosie
 went to a feast of food)

Related

- ⇒ Hejo:yaʔ tsɔ: 'another thing again', p. 892
 ⇒ Hejo:yaʔ tsɔ: 'elsewhere', p. 893
 ⇒ Sgahoʔdɛ:ʔɛh o:yaʔ 'anything else', p. 979
 ⇒ Sɔ: gwaʔ nʔaht o:yaʔ 'someone else', p. 996

C.11 Q particles

Qh, Q:, Q ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’

Particle group, emphatic, ...qh, q:, q functions as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); enclitic; also pronounced as ^ʔqh, ^ʔq:, ^ʔq.

- (544) To ^ʔq: ní:yoht.
that I.wonder it.is.like.that
‘I wonder if it is like that.’
- (545) Agi^ʔda^ʔqh qh sheh na^ʔonishé^ʔ hohta:^ʔ.
I.slept I.guess that during he.spoke
‘I suppose I slept while he spoke.’
- (546) A:yé:^ʔ gwe:gó^ʔ q swayá^ʔda:^ʔ. Swatga^ʔdé^ʔ gi^ʔ gyé:^ʔ.
it.seems all I.guess your.pictures you.are.many just this.one
‘It seems like you all got your picture taken. There are a lot of you.’
(Mithun & Henry 1984: 257, Gahwajiyá:de^ʔ dialogue)
- (547) Ó:, hyei^ʔshó:^ʔ q áqda^ʔhse:^ʔ. Onəh ^ʔq
O, six-ish you.should.come then. I.guess
əyagokwaihséha:k.
she.will.have.cooked.the.food
‘Oh, you should come around six-ish. She should have the food cooked by then.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 279, Qdweṇqdáhta^ʔ dialogue)
- (548) ^ʔqh, a:yé:^ʔ i:wí: odqta:dé^ʔ qh.
oh it.seems I.think it.will.be.fun I.guess
‘Oh, it seems, I think, it will be fun.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 402, Eṇyagwahdé:di^ʔ dialogue)
- (549) A:yé:^ʔ agwəh onəhé^ʔ osahe^ʔdá^ʔ ohona^ʔdá^ʔ q hni^ʔ,
it.seems we.have corn beans potatoes I.guess and
‘... It seems like we think corn, beans, and potatoes,’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 420, Eṇswayəto^ʔ Gəh dialogue) (listing what will be planted)
- (550) I:wí: ahsəh nigaya:gé:^ʔ q a:gagwé:ni^ʔ.
I.think three an.amount.of.bags I.guess it.should.be.possible
‘I think about three bags should do it.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 420, Eṇswayəto^ʔ Gəh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛːʔ qh neːʔ hoːdɛːʔ* ‘what on earth?’, p. 829
- ⇒ *Gyeːʔ qh* ‘maybe’, ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder’, p. 884
- ⇒ *Neːʔ giːʔ gyeːʔ qh* ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Neːʔ qh* ‘I guess it is’, p. 944
- ⇒ *Oːʔ*; *oː qh* ‘oh really?’, p. 961
- ⇒ *Oː tɛːʔ qh gaːt giːʔ shɛh gyeːgwaːʔ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Oː tɛːʔ qh gaːt giːʔ shɛh neːʔ hwaːʔ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Oh neːʔ* ‘maybe’, p. 975
- ⇒ *Tɛːʔ gyeːʔ qh, tɛːʔ gɛːʔ qh* ‘not really’, p. 1009
- ⇒ *To gɛh q neːʔ* ‘I wonder if it is’, p. 1018

Qh neːʔ ‘maybe’

Particle group *qh neːʔ* verb functions as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); enclitic.

- (551) Mary **qh** **neːʔ** gohwihsdagaːdeːʔ.
 Mary I.wonder it.is she.has.a.lot.of.money
 ‘Maybe Mary has a lot of money.’
- (552) “Dɛːʔ **qh** **neːʔ** naːya:wɛh,” aːa:gɛːʔ,
 what I.wonder it.is it.would.happen she.said
 “eːgyadeːsgóh nɛːgyɛh ohnáwaot?”
 we.should.immerse.ourselves this well
 “‘What would really happen,’ she said, ‘if we got into the well?’” (Henry 2005)
- (553) Akeyatgahtóːʔ, agíːʔ, “Tɛːʔ **qh** **neːʔ** d̩aːʔ aːwáːdɔːʔ.”
 I.looked.at.her I.said not I.guess it.is definitely.not it.cannot.be.done
 ‘I just looked at her. I said, “No we cannot do that.”’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Neːʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Neːʔ qh* ‘I guess it is’, p. 944
- ⇒ *Oh, q, q* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974

Q:wəh, Ne' q:wəh 'really'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (554) Ne' q:wəh gaqde:nəhk.
the truly they.are.related
'They really are related.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwəh* q:wəh 'really', p. 876
⇒ *Gwəh* q:wəh se' 'indeed', 'for sure', p. 876
⇒ *Shəh* q:wəh 'it is really', p. 988

C.12 S particles

Sah 'you know'

Possibly related to *se'* 'you know'. Appears in at least one particle combination. Also, possibly related to Tuscarora *sa'* 'look!' or 'see!' (Rudes 1999).

Related

- ⇒ *Hao'* di' sah 'alright', 'o.k.', p. 890
⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

Sa:wəh 'it's yours (one person's)', 'your'

Verb functioning as a “possessive pronoun” (§6.2); free-standing.

- (555) sá:wəh
s-á:w-əh
2S.P-OWN-STAT
'you own it'

Se' 'you know'

Particle signaling shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4).

Related

- ⇒ *De'ε: gwa'-heh tε' se'* 'but then not really', p. 824
- ⇒ *Ehε' se'* 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842
- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wεh se'* 'indeed', 'for sure', p. 876
- ⇒ *I: se'* 'I am', p. 911
- ⇒ *Ne' se'* 'that's just the one', 'that's just who', p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne: se' gε:s ne'* 'back then', 'a long time ago', p. 945
- ⇒ *Ne: se' gye:'* 'you know', p. 945
- ⇒ *Sah* 'you know', p. 976
- ⇒ *Se' hε' ni:'* 'me too', 'us too', p. 977
- ⇒ *Tε' se'* 'not really', 'but then not really', p. 1013

Se' hε' ni: 'me too', 'us too'

Particle group ... (*se'*) *hε' ni:'* functions as an emphatic pronoun (§6.1); enclitic.

- (556) A: *gahyagwahsε:k se' hε' ni:'* *gyε:gwá a:wagadagáide:k*
 I.would.pick.fruit you.know also the.me if I.would.be.well
 'I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.'
- (557) *Agahyagwehne: se' hε' ni:'*
 I've.picked.fruit you.know also the.me
 'I've also picked fruit.' (I've experienced this)

Related

- ⇒ *Hε'* 'also', 'too', p. 895
- ⇒ *Hε' ni:'* 'me too', 'us too', p. 896
- ⇒ *I: Ni:'* 'I', 'we', p. 910
- ⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

Senyɛ́sgwadih ‘to your left’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (558) **senyɛ́sgwadih**
se-nyɛ́s-gwadih
REP-2S.A-NOUN-side.STAT
‘to your left’
- (559) **Senyɛ́sgwadih** goya danɛdagóh ne:’ hoksa’gowáhsra’.
to.your.left.side she.is.clinging.on it.is his.beautiful.one
‘To your left stands his beautiful, dearly beloved woman.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
⇒ *He:yo: dagwaisho:* ‘straight ahead’, p. 894
⇒ *Sewaihqsdqh gwa:dih* ‘to your right’, p. 978

Sewaihqsdqh gwa:dih ‘to your right’

Atypical verb and particle, [waihqsdqh gwa:dih] functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*. [waihqsdqh] is conjugated with A-series pronominal prefixes.

- (560) **Sewaihqsdqh gwaí /gwa:dih** hɛsatahá:go’.
your.right side you.will.get.off
‘You will get off on the right side of the road.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
⇒ *He:yo: dagwaisho:* ‘straight ahead’, p. 894
⇒ *Senyɛ́sgwadih* ‘to your left’, p. 978

Sgaho'dɛ:ɛh 'something', 'anything'

Particle functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (561) Hna'gɔhká: gi'-shɛh **sgaho'dɛ:ɛh**?
 Undies or something
 'Underclothes or something?' (saleslady suggesting something to buy)(Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (562) A:sna'daɔní' gi' gyɛ:', **sgaho'dɛ:ɛh** ne' wa'jɪh ɛdwa:k.
 you.should.bake just emphasis, something it presently we.will.eat
 'You should bake something for us all to eat later on.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Dwɛnɔhsanékahɔ' dialogue)
- (563) A:yɛ:' **sgaho'dɛ:ɛh** snegé:ha'.
 it.seems something you.are.drinking
 'It looks like you are drinking something.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ *Ho'dɛ* 'kind', p. 904

⇒ *Sgaho'dɛ:ɛh o:ya* 'anything else', p. 979

Sgaho'dɛ:ɛh o:ya 'anything else'

Particle and noun, *sgaho'dɛ:ɛh ... o:ya* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (564) Tɛ' gɛh ta'desadɔhwejo:nɪh **sgaho'dɛ:ɛh o:ya**? Adáhdɪ'tra'
 not Q any.old.thing.you.want anything other? socks
 ahdahgwá' gi'-shɛh?.
 shoes maybe?
 'There was not anything else you wanted? Stockings, or shoes?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (565) **Sgaho'dɛ:ɛh** di' gɛh o:yá' sanáhsgwaɛ'?'
 anything so Q other you.have.pets
 'Do you have any other pets?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaɛ' gɛh *sgaho'dɛ:ɛh*? dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ho'dɛ'* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *O:ya'* 'another', 'other', 'else', p. 973
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dɛ:ʔɛh* 'something', p. 979

Sganyɛ'sgwadih 'to its left'

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (566) **sganyɛ'sgwadih**
s-ga-nyɛ's-gwadih
REP-3S.A-NOUN-side.STAT
'to its left'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* 'to one side', p. 873
- ⇒ *He:yo: dagwaishɔ:* 'straight ahead', p. 894
- ⇒ *Sewaihqhsdɔh gwa:dih* 'to your right', p. 978

Shɛh 'that'

Particle optionally introducing a dependent clause (567–570), a dependent clause functioning as a “noun” (571–580), or a relative clause (581), see (§29.1); clause-initial; also pronounced as *tɛh*.

- (567) *Dega'drɛhda'gɛha:gyɛ'* [**shɛh** ahɛ:nɔ:da:ʔ].
two.cars.at.a.time [that they.put.in]
'[They put in] the cars two at a time.'
- (568) *Gwi:dɛh ahɛ'* [Tina go:gá's nawɛ'daʔ].
Peter he.said [Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy]
'Peter said [Tina likes sugar/candy].’ (This sentence shows that **shɛh** is optional.)

- (569) Gwi:déh honqhdó' [shẹh Tina nawé'dá' gó:ga's].
Peter he.knows [that Tina sugar/candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it]
'Peter knows that Tina likes candy.'
- (570) Gwi:déh ahé' [Mary ó:doh], [go:gá's nawé'da']].
Peter he.said [Mary she.says] [she.likes.the.taste.of.it sugar/candy]
'Peter said Mary says she likes sugar/candy.' (This sentence illustrates that **shẹh** is optional.)
- (571) A:yé:' do:géhs ɔ: odotga:dé' [shẹh gá:gõnhe'].
it.seems truly I.guess it.is.enjoyable [how they.live]
'It sure seems enjoyable, [the way they live].' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa'gó:wah dialogue)
- (572) **shẹh** niyó:sde'
that how.heavy.it.is
'mass'
- (573) **shẹh** nigá:dẹ:s
that how.thick.it.is
'volume', 'density', 'mass', 'how thick it is'
- (574) **shẹh** niyóyade:s
that how.deep.it.is
'a hole'
- (575) **shẹh** niwagade'dró'dẹ:
that how.I.feel
'how I feel about something, someone'
- (576) [**shẹh** niyo:wéh] taná:gre'
[that it.is.a.certain.distance] he.lives.there
'He lives [that far (away)].'
- (577) Sekdó: [shẹh niyoga'qhsrò'dẹ:]
try.it [that what.kind.of.taste.it.has]
'Taste it!' 'Try [what it tastes like]!'
- (578) Ohsga:náht [**shẹh** nihahnatsí:yo:].
it.is.attractive [that what.a.nice.butt.he.has]
'He has [an attractive butt].'

C Particle dictionary

- (579) Dəkde:ní' [shəh niwagrihó'də:].
I.will.change.it [that what.my.kind.of.matter.is]
'I am going to change [my outlook].'
- (580) Aq̄q̄ohd̄oh q̄ge'drahéhs [shəh nagadekó:ni'].
it.is.above.average I.exceeded [that what.I.ate]
'I ate too much.'
- (581) O:néh hni' ohs̄dagwe:ḡoh dehodinéhé:' ne' h̄en̄:gwéh [shəh
now and all.night they.guard the men [that
ená:gre']
someone.lives.there]
'Now too all night they are guarding, the men [who live there].' (Keye
2012) (The bolded material constitutes a noun phrase that includes a
relative clause. The relative clause is shown in square brackets '[]').

Shəh 'because'

Particle, clause-initial in causative dependent clauses (§29.3). Also pronounced as *tseh*.

- (582) D̄eh̄enadatn̄ohwé's Gwi:déh Ed hni' [shəh hona:dáo']
They.like.each.other Peter Ed and that they.are.friends
'Peter and Ed like each other because they are friends.'
- (583) Agyq̄'niḡq̄ho:ḡó' [shəh q̄dowishé' goná:jih].
her.mind.is.scattered that she.died her.friend
'She is broken-hearted because her friend died.'

Related

- ⇒ *Nigé'qh* 'or?', *Gi' shəh* 'or', etc., p. 597
- ⇒ *Də' ni:yoht shəh* 'why?', p. 829
- ⇒ *Ewa:dq̄' gi' shəh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844
- ⇒ *Gao' shəh niyo:we'* 'before', 'until', p. 856
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shəh* 'maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shəh t̄e'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Ḡeh ga:t gi' shəh nigé'qh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gwahs shəh ni-* 'as...as', p. 877

- ⇒ *Gye:ɡwa' gi' shəh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gye:ɡwa' gi' shəh* 'or maybe', p. 886
- ⇒ *Heyohe:' shəh* 'more than', p. 895
- ⇒ *Hə:gyəh shəh* 'no matter how much', 'whether or not', 'even if', p. 899
- ⇒ *Hne:' shəh* 'because', p. 902
- ⇒ *ʃi trehs shəh* 'too much so for', 'so much so', p. 917
- ⇒ *Ne:' gi' shəh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:' gi' shəh ne' ... gi' shəh* 'or', p. 937
- ⇒ *Ne:' tsə: shəh* 'but, it's just that...', p. 947
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shəh gye:ɡwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shəh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Ohə:də: shəh* 'ahead', 'in front', 'forward', p. 964
- ⇒ *Ohna'ge: gwa:dih shəh* 'behind', p. 965
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', p. 980
- ⇒ *Shəh hə: heyodokda'qh* 'the bottom', p. 984
- ⇒ *Shəh ho'dɛ'* 'a certain something', 'that which', p. 983
- ⇒ *Shəh hə:weh* 'the place where', 'whereabouts', p. 984
- ⇒ *shəh na'onishe', tsa'onishe'*, [tsi-] 'while', 'when', p. 985
- ⇒ *Shəh ni:yoht ni-* 'how', 'the manner in which', p. 986
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we'* 'as far as', p. 987
- ⇒ *Shəh nohgeh* 'even', p. 988
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shəh hwa' da'q* 'maybe not', p. 1006
- ⇒ *To hə:gyeh shəh* 'really', p. 1019
- ⇒ *Toh shəh ni-* 'to that degree', p. 1022

Shəh ho'dɛ' 'a certain something', 'that which'

Particle group functioning as a "definite pronoun" §6.4; free-standing.

- (584) Gado:gɛ: **shəh ho'dɛ'** a'əgwayədahk.
 together that kind we.all.came.together
 'A certain something that brought us together.' (a meeting, etc.)

Related

- ⇒ *Ho'dɛ'* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Shəh hq: heyodokda'qh 'the bottom'

Particle group and verb *shəh hq: heyodokda'qh* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); likely clause-initial; *hq:weh* is spelled variously as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*.

- (585) shəh hq: heyodokda'qh
that place the.end
'the bottom'

Related

- ⇒ *Hq:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Shəh hq:weh 'the place where', 'whereabouts'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), clause-initial in dependent clauses; *hq:weh* is spelled variously as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*.

- (586) Knigəhá:ʔ [shəh hq:wéh dəgátahak].
I.watch that where I.will.walk
'I watch where I walk.'
- (587) Hətsyé:ʔ [shəh hq: hesá:gweh].
you.will.put.it.back.there that where you.picked.it.up.there
'You will put it back where you got it.'
- (588) [shəh hq:wéh nito:né:nq:]
that where they.come.from.a.certain.place
'where they come from'

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with *hq:(weh)* 'the place where', p. 591
⇒ *Hq:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
⇒ *Shəh hq: heyodokda'qh* 'the bottom', p. 984

Shəh na' onishe', Tsa' onishe', Tsi- 'while', 'when'

Particle and verb beginning with [ni-] PART or [tsi-] COIN, functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.11); clause-initial in dependent clauses.

- (589) Agi'da'q̄h q̄h [shəh na' onishe' hohta:'].
I.slept I.guess that it.is.a.certain.time he.is.speaking
'I slept while he spoke.'
- (590) Hohsé: [tsa' onihse' hōgwé'dase:].
he.was.fat while he.is.a.young.man
'While he was young, he was fat.'
- (591) [Tsigogwé'da:sé:] gé:s gahyagwahsgéhe:'.
when.I.was.young usually I.would.pick.berries
'When I was a young person I usually picked berries.'
- (592) Knəhwé's gé:s [tsigogwé'da:sé'] tiga:gwe:gōh gé:s
I.love.it usually when.I.was.young all.over usually
agahyagwəhəgyé'sgəhe:'.
I.would.go.along.picking.fruit
'When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit.'

Related

⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Shəh ni-, Gwahs shəh ni- 'as...as'

Particle group [(gwahs) shəh ni-STATIVE.VERB] is used in comparisons (§31.1); it precedes a stative verb beginning with [ni-] PART, and is clause-initial in dependent clauses.

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* 'anyway', p. 875
 ⇒ *Gwahs shəh ni-* 'as...as', p. 877
 ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 980

Shəh ni-, Shəh ni:yoht ni- ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’

Particle and verb [(shəh) ni-, shəh ni:yoht ni-] is clause-initial in a manner clause (§29.4).

- (593) Knigohá:ʔ [shəh ni:yóht degátahahk].
I.watch that which.way I.will.walk
‘I watch how I walk.’
cf. ni-yó-ht PART-3S.P-resemble.STAT

- (594) shəh nāʔá:wəh
that how.it.happened
‘how it happened’
cf. n-āʔá:-w-əh PART-FAC-3S.P-happen-STAT

- (595) shəh niyóyanreʔ
that how.good.it.is
‘how good it is’
cf. ni-yó-yanreʔ PART-3S.P-good.STAT

- (596) niyá:wəhs
ni-yá:-w-ə-hs
PART-3S.P-happen-HAB
‘how it happens’

- (597) niyáwəʔqh
ni-yá:-w-ə-ʔqh
PART-3S.P-happen-STAT
‘how it did happen’

Related

⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980

Shəh niyo:weʔ ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’

Particle group *shəh niyo:weʔ* is used in comparisons (§31.1); clause-initial; *niyo:weʔ* also has the short forms *ní:yo:ʔ* or *nyo:*.

(598) “A:yé:’, **shèh nyó:’** ha’hé’ dedwataha’sé:’, to
 it.seems that a.certain.distance he.went.there the.crossroad, that
 nyo:wé:’ a’a:gé’ ne’ ogya’sé:’, a’a:gé’.
 a.certain.distance she.said the we.are.cousins she.said
 “‘It seems, as far as he went on the crossroad, that far (we will go),” said
 my cousin.’ (Henry 2005)

(599) Eyonishé’ hewagi’ dró:’ [**shèh niyo:we’** gakwi:yó:
 it.will.be.a.while it.will.last.me that a.certain.distance good.food
 agadekó:ni’].
 I.ate.it
 ‘It will last me a long time, how much good food I ate.’ (Mithun & Henry
 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gao’ shèh niyo:we’* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we’, ni:yo:’, nyo:’* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shèh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we’* ‘that far’, p. 1020
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we’ ne:’* ‘when’, p. 1021

Shèh niyo:we’, Gao’ shèh niyo:we’ ‘before’, ‘until’

Particle group (*gao’ shèh niyo:we’*) functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.10); clause-initial in dependent clauses; *niyo:we’* also has the short forms *ni:yo:’* or *nyo:’*.

(600) Agwa’nigohá’ [**shèh niyo:wé’** hędwawaye:né:da’].
 we.are.waiting that it.is.a.certain.distance we.will.finish
 ‘We’re waiting until the time we’re finished.’

(601) Háó’ o:néh dajagyehé:toh! He’sniqdi’ dré: o:néh [**shèh**
 OK now you.two.pull! drag.the.log.over.there now [that
niyó: heyó:do’k].
 it.is.a.certain.distance it.will.end]
 ‘Come on, you two pull. Drag the log now until it gets to the end.’
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dędwa’énáé’ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gao* 'this side', 'this way', p. 854
- ⇒ *Gao* *nawahtgeh* 'the time before then', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao* *ni-* 'less so', p. 855
- ⇒ *Gao* *shəh niyo:we*, *shəh niyo:we* 'before', 'until', p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we*, *ni:yo:*, *nyo:* 'a certain distance', 'a certain time', p. 958
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we* 'as far as', 'as much as', p. 986
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we* *ne:* 'when', p. 1021
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we* 'that far', p. 1020

Shəh nohgeh 'even'

Particle group used for emphasis (§35.4.4); possibly only appears before noun phrases [].

- (602) Ó: i:so[?] gyó:do[?]k wa[?]ne:[?], **shəh nohgeh** [ne[?] ojó[?]da[?]], gá:dəh
oh much it.is.lessened today, that even the fish, I.say
gyə:[?] wa[?]jih.
emphasis a.while.ago

'Oh, there is a lot less of everything nowadays even fish, as I was saying just a while ago.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 980

Shəh ɔ:weh 'it is really'

Particle group marking emphasis (§35.4.4).

Related

- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 980
- ⇒ *ɔ:weh*, *ne* *ɔ:weh* 'really', p. 976

Si: ‘over there’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (603) Si: tgaheʔ.
over.there it.is.sitting.up.on.top.of.something
‘It is sitting over there.’
- (604) Si: tga:ní:yq:t.
over.there it.is.hanging.there
‘It was hanging over there.’
- (605) Si: giʔ gyɛ:ʔ dagáɛʔ ó:nɛh!
there just this.one they.are.coming now
‘Well here they come now!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘move it!’, p. 990
 ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘over there’, p. 989
 ⇒ *Si gwa:di:hah* ‘just this side of’, p. 990
 ⇒ *Si hne:ʔ si gwa:dih* ‘over there’, p. 991
 ⇒ *Si: hq:wɛh* ‘way over there’, p. 991
 ⇒ *Si:-gyɛh* ‘that one over there’, p. 992

Si gwa:dih ‘over there’

Particle group *si...gwa:dih* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (606) Si gwa:dih tgá:yɛʔ.
over.there side it.lies.there
‘It is lying over there.’
- (607) Si giʔ-shɛh hwaʔ gwa:dih gaʔto:háh tganí:yq:t.
over.there maybe this.place side somewhere it.is.hanging.there
‘Maybe it is hanging somewhere over there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)

- (608) Si: hne:ʔ gwai hɛhsá:diʔ.
 over.there in.fact side you.will.put.it.to.one.side
 ‘Throw that over there!’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
⇒ *Si*: ‘over there’, p. 989
⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘move it!’, p. 990

Si gwa:dih ‘move it!’

Particle group *si ... gwa:dih* functions as a “command” (§27.1.5), used when speaking to animals; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (609) Si hne:ʔ si gwa:dih haʔse:.
 over.there in.fact over.there side go.over.there
 ‘Get over there!’ (speaking to an animal)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
⇒ *Si gwa:dih* ‘over there’, p. 989

Si gwa:di:hah ‘just this side of’

Particle group *si...gwa:di-hah* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3). In the examples, it is used metaphorically to mean ‘a little more than’, ‘in the neighbourhood of’, or ‘just this side of’; clause-initial.

- (610) si gwa:di:-hah
 there side.STAT-DIM
 ‘just this side of’

- (611) Géi nà'dewə'nyá:w'e: si gwa:dí:hah niga:nó:'.
 four hundred over.there side-ish it.costs
 'It costs a little more than four hundred dollars.' (Mithun & Henry 1984:
 420, Eṣwayəto' Gəh? dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* 'to one side', p. 873
 ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* 'over there', p. 989

Si hne:ʔ si gwa:dih 'over there'

Particle group; *si hne:ʔ* (*si*) *gwá:dih* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); emphatic; clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (612) Si: hne:ʔ gwai həhsá:di'!
 over.there in.fact side you.will.throw.it.there
 'Throw that over there!'
- (613) Si hne:ʔ si-gwa:díh ha'se:!
 over.there in.fact side go.over.there
 'Get over there!' (said to an animal)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* 'to one side', p. 873
 ⇒ *Hne:ʔ* 'in fact', p. 901
 ⇒ *Si*: 'over there', p. 989
 ⇒ *Si gwa:dih* 'move it!', p. 990

Si:hq:weh 'way over there'

Particle group *si:...**hq:weh* functions as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial; *hq:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hq:*, *nhq:*, *hq:weh*, or *nhq:weh*.

- (614) **Si:** **nhɔ:weh** tgani:yɔ:t sagya'dawí'tra'.
over.there place it.is.hanging.there your.coat
'Your coat is hanging way over there.'
- (615) **Si:** **hɔ:weh** ha'ɛ' ɛyékwa', wa'jíl ɛdwana'dá:kshɔ:'
over.there place she.is.there she.will.escape, later we.all.will.snack
'I see her going over there; later we'll go have a snack.' (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *Si:* 'over there', p. 989

Si:-gyɛh 'that one over there'

Particle group functioning as a "demonstrative pronoun" (§6.3); free-standing.

- (616) **Si:-gyɛh** tgá:yɛ', dé:sehk!
that.one it.is.lying.there pick.it.up
'That lying over there, pick it up!'

Related

- ⇒ [-gyɛh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
⇒ *Si:* 'over there', p. 989

Sɔ: 'some (person, thing)', 'any (person, thing)'

Particle functioning as an "indefinite" (§6.5) or "interrogative" (§6.6) pronoun; also used as a short form for *sɔ: n'aht* 'who'.

Related

- ⇒ *Sɔ*, *sɔ*: *n'áht* 'who', p. 993
- ⇒ *Sɔ*: *go:wɛh* 'whose' (interrogative), p. 995
- ⇒ *Sɔ*: *gwa' n'áht* 'anybody at all', 'anyone at all', 'any living thing', 'somebody', 'whoever', p. 995
- ⇒ *Sɔ*: *gwa' n'áht o:ya'* 'someone else', p. 996
- ⇒ *Sɔ*: *gwadih* 'on some other side', p. 996
- ⇒ *Sɔ*:-*ga:ʔ* 'anyone', 'any living thing', p. 997
- ⇒ *Sɔ*:-*ga:ʔah* 'someone', 'anyone', 'anything (living)', p. 997
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ sɔ*:-*ga:ʔ* 'nobody', 'no one', p. 1014

Sɔ:, Sɔ: n'áht 'who'

Particle group *sɔ*:... (*n'áht/n'óht*) functions as an "indefinite pronoun" (§6.5, §29.6); clause-initial in direct questions (618), statements (619), indirect questions (620–621), and dependent clauses (622–623).

- (617) **Sɔ:** ne:ʔ?
Who it.is
'Who's there?'
- (618) **Sɔ:** hne:ʔ n'áht to:gyɛh eksá:ʔah?
who in.fact person that.one girl
'Who is that girl?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 61, *Sɔ*: Hne:ʔ N'áht To:gyɛh? dialogue)
- (619) **Sɔ:** ʔɔh hne:ʔ n'áht gaɔdɛ:nɔhk.
who I.wonder in.fact person her.relative
'I am wondering who her people are.'
- (620) Daskro:wíʔ [**sɔ**: n'áht daɔdekónyahneʔ].
you.tell.me who person someone.is.coming.to.eat
'Tell me who's coming to eat.'
- (621) Gwi:déh honɔhdɔʔ gɛh [**sɔ** ʔɔ n'áht gowanawɛʔdagaʔsʔ]
Peter he.knows Q who I.wonder person she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar
'Does Peter know who likes candy?'

- (622) Toh hɔ:wɛh goda'stá' gɛ:s [sɔ: n'áht ne' ɛyɔnɔhwé:t].
that.one where they.sleep usually who person the she.will.visit
'That's where they sleep when someone is visiting.' (Henry 2005)
- (623) Ne:' gi' tsó: agɔgwɛ'dá:se: tɛ' degógaɛ [sɔ: n'áht
it.is just only young.woman not she.didn't.want who person
ɛyagodí:nya:k].
they.will.marry
'But the young girl didn't want to be forced by her family to marry
anyone.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ [-n'áht, -noht] 'some person', p. 917
⇒ Sɔ: 'some (person, thing)', 'any (person, thing)', p. 992

Sɔ: go:wɛh 'whose' (possessive)

Particle and verb functioning as a "possessive pronoun" (§6.2); free-standing.

- (624) sɔ: gó:wɛh
someone she.owns.it
'she/someone owns it'
cf. gó:-w-ɛh 3S.FI.P-OWN-STAT
- (625) Sɔ: go:wɛh toh gá'dréhdase:??
who someone's that new.car
'Whose new car is that?'

Related

- ⇒ Go:wɛh 'it's hers', 'it's someone's', p. 870
⇒ Sɔ: 'some (person, thing)', 'any (person, thing)', p. 992

Sɔ: go:wəh ‘whose’ (interrogative)

Particle group functioning as an “interrogative possessive pronoun” (§6.6, §6.2, §29.6); clause-initial in direct questions (and possibly indirect questions, and dependent clauses).

- (626) Sɔ: go:wəh tɔ ga’dréhdase:’?
 Who someone.owns.it that.one new.car
 ‘Who owns that new car?’ ‘Whose new car is that?’

Related

- ⇒ *Go:wəh* ‘it’s hers’, ‘it’s someone’s’, p. 870
 ⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Sɔ: gwa’, Sɔ: gwa’ n’áht, Sɔ: gwa’ n’oht ‘anybody at all’, ‘anyone at all’, ‘any living thing’, ‘somebody’, ‘whoever’

Particle group *sɔ:-gwa’ (n’áht/n’oht)* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (627) Ahgwíh sɔ:-gwa’ da:yɔkí:dahs.
 don’t someone-right.then they.should.stop.us
 ‘Don’t let anyone stop us.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (628) Né: ha’satgahtóh o:yá’ tganóhso:t. A:yé:’
 look look.at.it other the.house.there It.seems
 sɔ:-gwa’-n’áht gonəna’dínyɔ’doh.
 someone-right.then-person she.has.moved.in
 ‘Say, have a look at the next house. It seems like somebody has moved in.’
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dwəŋəhsanékahɔ’ dialogue)
- (629) Háó’ sɔ:-gwa’-n’áht gaɔda’géh dəhá:da’.
 come.on someone-right.then-person on.the.log he.stands
 ‘Come on, somebody stand on the log.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481,
 Dədwá’ənáɛ’ dialogue)

- (630) Ahéʔ, “Tɛʔ gwahs.” Ahéʔ, “Trehʂ sɔ:-gwaʔ-nʔóht gíʔ
he.said not this.time he.said because someone-right.then-person just
ahɔwayá:sɔ:ʔ, neʔ gyɛɔʔɔh honɔhsodáɛʔ.”
he.called.him, the maybe his.sickness
‘He said, “Not this time, because whoever they called, maybe he was
sick.”’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ [-nʔaht, -noht] ‘some person’, p. 917
- ⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992
- ⇒ *Sɔ: gwaʔ nʔaht o:yaʔ* ‘someone else’, p. 996

Sɔ: gwaʔ nʔaht o:yaʔ ‘someone else’

Particle group functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (631) Ahí:ʔ tɔ́á:gɔ:t sɔ:-gwaʔ-nʔóht o:yáʔ
I.thought important someone-right.then-person other
ɛkehó:wíʔ,
I.will.tell.someone
‘I thought that it was important that someone else should be told.’(Henry
2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ [-nʔaht, -noht] ‘some person’, p. 917
- ⇒ *O:yaʔ* ‘another’, ‘other’, ‘else’, p. 973
- ⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Sɔ: gwa:dih ‘on some other side’

Particle group *sɔ:...gwadih*, *sɔ gwai* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); likely clause-initial.

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Sɔ:-ga:’ ‘anyone’, ‘any living thing’

Particle group functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (632) *Hada:di:gé’ hnyagwái’ tɛ’ hwɛ:dó’ sɔ:gá:’ degye:gé:’ toh*
 ...they.saw.it bear not ever anything it.was.seen that.one
na:gagowanɛ̃hɛ:k, to hni’ na:yoyá’ datgi:k.
 it.was.so.big, that and it.was.so.ugly
 ‘A great bear had appeared, so large and so powerful that many thought
 it must be some kind of a monster.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ [-ga:] element (referring to living beings), p. 845

⇒ *Sɔ:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Sɔ:-ga:’ah ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything (living)’

Particle group functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); clause-initial in direct questions (634–635), indirect questions (not shown), and dependent clauses (636–637). Also used in statements (638–639) where it is free-standing.

- (633) *sɔ:-ga:’ah*
sɔ:-ga:-’ah some(one)-ELEMENT-DIMINUTIVE
 ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything (living)’
- (634) *Sɔga:’ah* gɛh hɔwa:yɛ:di:?
 someone Q he.knows.him
 ‘Does someone know him?’ ‘Who knows him?’

C Particle dictionary

- (635) **Sɔga:ʔáh** gɛh neʔ gagɔ:gweh swɛnɔhsanekahɔʔ neʔ tɛʔ
Anyone Q the women your.neighbours the not
deʔagonyá:gɔh?
they.aren't.married
'Do you have any women neighbors who are not married?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)
- (636) Ne:ʔ giʔ hɔ:niʔ ahí:ʔ gyé:gwaʔ hné: hwaʔ a:gatró:wiʔ
it.is just the.reason I.thought if in.fact this.time I.would.tell
gyé:gwaʔ hné: hwaʔ **sɔgá:ʔah** ɛhodiʔnigɔháɛdaʔ nɛ:-gyɛh hwaʔ
if in.fact this.time someone they.will.understand this time
shɛh niga:yɛ:
that how.it.is.done
'That is why I thought perhaps I might tell about it so that they might understand how it is done.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (637) A:ya:wɛh giʔ gyé:ʔ do:gɛhs a:setséiʔ **sɔgá:ʔah**
I.hope just emphasis sure you.would.find.it someone
a:heyaʔdagé:nhaʔ,
I.will.help.him
'I sure hope you find someone who could help you, (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, Oʔdréhdətgiʔ dialogue)
- (638) **Sɔga:ʔáh** ɔgyénawahs!
someone someone.help.me
'Someone help me!'
- (639) Ó:. Gyé:gwaʔ giʔ gyé:ʔ ɛga:she:géʔ **sɔgá:ʔah**,
Oh, if just emphasis you.will.see.them someone,
ɛgasheho:wíʔ shɛh ɔgetgwɛʔdáhɔ:ʔ.
you.will.tell.them that I.lost.my.wallet
'Oh. Well, if you see anyone, tell them I lost my wallet.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, Gatgwɛʔdaʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [-ga:] element (referring to living beings), p. 845
 ⇒ Sɔ: ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Stɔ:hah, Stɔ:həh ‘a little bit’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (640) **Stɔ:háh** segéís.
 little.bit move
 ‘Move a little bit.’
- (641) Tɛ́ hné:ʔ dɛ́heʔs. Honɔhɔkda:níh gyé:ʔ-gɛ́h **stɔ:həh**
 no in.fact he.is.not.here he.is.sick this.one-Q a.little
 hotowinyɔʔsé: gyé:ʔ-ɔh.
 he.has.a.cold this.one-I.guess
 ‘No he isn’t. He seems to be sick, a bit of a cold, I guess.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 184, Gatgwéʔdaʔ dialogue)
- (642) Géi sgaheʔ niyohshé:dəh. Gyɛ:gwáʔ-hne:-hwáʔ **stɔ:həh**
 four tens what.size.it.is maybe-in.fact a.little
 degyáhdihɛ́h, shɛ́h ní:waʔs.
 they.are.different, what.size.they.are
 ‘It is a size fourteen. Maybe they are a little different in size.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawiʔtraʔ dialogue)

C.13 T particles**Tɛ́ ‘no’, ‘not’**

Particle signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); optional before a negated verb.

- (643) Tɛ́ ta:hayé:toh.
 not he.won’t.plant
 ‘No, he won’t plant.’

C Particle dictionary

- (644) **Tẹ́** **dewagadagáide**?
not I'm.not.well
'No, I am not well.'
- (645) **Tẹ́** **toh degáhe**?
not there it.is.not.setting
'No, it isn't setting there.'
- (646) **Tẹ́** **tọdesa**'dré: **tó:gyẹh!**
not you.won't.drive that.one
'Don't drive that over here!'
- (647) **Tẹ́** **ta**'deyagodawẹ:nye?
not she.is.not.walking.about
'No, she isn't walking about.'
- (648) **Tẹ́** **ni**? **toh tá:ge**?
not I there I'm.not.going
'No, I am not going there.'
- (649) **Tẹ́** **ni**? **ta:gyé:na:**
not I I.won't.accept.it
'No, I will not accept it.'
- (650) **Tẹ́** **gi**? **ni**? **to tá:gye:**
not just I there I.won't.do.it
'No, I will not do that.'

Tẹ́ **ahsọh** 'not yet'

Particle group *tẹ́* ... *ahsọh* functions as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (651) **Tẹ́** **gẹh ahsọh** **dẹ**'otsẹhdọh **tó:gyẹh?!**
not Q yet it.is.not.getting.tired this.one
'Isn't that bear getting tired yet?!' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (652) **Tẹ́** **ahsọh** **dẹ**'agatgẹhọh.
not yet I'm.not.up
'I am not yet up.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgẹh dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Ahsqh* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ daʔ q ‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’

Particle group *tɛʔ* ... *daʔ q* signals disagreement (§35.3.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (653) **tɛʔ daʔ q**
not and I.wonder
‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’
- (654) **Tɛʔ daʔ q** toh tá:ge:.
not definitely.not there I.should.go.there
‘No, I will definitely not go.’
- (655) **Tɛʔ daʔ q** a:həwayená:waʔs.
not definitely.not he.should.help.him
‘Definitely not; no one will help him.’
- (656) **Tɛʔ giʔ daʔ q** ta:yagógaɛ.
no just definitely.not she.would.agree
‘No, she will never agree.’
- (657) “O:nəh giʔ gɛ:s **tɛʔ gwahs daʔ q** a:hadijáoʔdɛ:.”
now just usually no emphasis definitely.not he.would.smoke.tobacco
‘If only they didn’t smoke as much tobacco.’ (Henry 2005)
- (658) **Jiʔ tréhs** sahɛ:, sanqʔséh hniʔ. **Tɛʔ daʔ q** a:wadeʔgóʔ
too.much.you are.fat you.are.lazy and not certainly.not it.would.escape
neʔ nəh ɛhyá:gɛʔ!
the now it.will.get.away.from.you
‘You are too fat and lazy – it certainly won’t run from you.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

- (659) Tẹ́. Tréhs hne:ʔ a:yé:ʔ niwú:sʔuh. A:yé:ʔ tẹ́ daʔo
not too.much in.fact it.seems it.is.small it.seems not certainly.not
ha:wagí:dẹ́.
it.should.fit.me
'No. It seems to be too small for me. It doesn't seem to fit me.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (660) A:yé:ʔ gyẹ:ʔ stọ:hóh ganó:ʔ. Ne:ʔ tsó: shẹh oya:nréʔ
it.seems this.one little.bit expensive it.is just that good.ones
seʔ-gyé: hné:ʔ gwaʔ-toh. Tẹ́ daʔo
you.know-this.one in.fact that.one not certainly.not
a:wadahsgwíʔtró:niʔ, hẹ:gyẹ: neʔ haesatronihá:k
it.won't.get.wrinkles no.matter the you.would.wear.clothes
aesé:daʔ.
you.would.sleep
'It seems a little expensive, but it is a good one. It won't wrinkle, even if you sleep with your clothes on.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (661) O:nẹh o hné:ʔ gwé:goh. Tẹ́ o hné:ʔ daʔo
now I.guess in.fact all not I.wonder in.fact definitely.not
daqsagóʔnigoháẹ́ ó:nẹh.
I.shouldn't.bother.you now
'This must be everything now. I shouldn't bother you any more now.'
(Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, Dwẹnọhsanekahọʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Da*: 'and', p. 820
- ⇒ *Oh, o; o* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974
- ⇒ *Tẹ́* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tẹ́ dedo:gẹhs 'it's not true', 'not really'

Particle and verb signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (662) Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ dedó:gɛhs.
no that.one it.is it.is.not.true
'No, it isn't really true.'
- (663) Tɛʔ giʔ hne:ʔ dedo:gɛhs deʔsá:dɔh.
not just in.fact it.is.not.true you.are.not.saying.it
'No, it isn't really true what you are saying.'

Related

- ⇒ *Do:gɛhs* 'it is true', 'isn't it true?', p. 835
⇒ *Tɛʔ* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛʔ deʔgɛ: 'it isn't'

Particle group [tɛʔ ... NOUN deʔgɛ: neʔ NOUN] or [tɛʔ ... NOUN NOUN deʔgɛ:] 'noun is not a noun' links two nouns (or noun phrases), and conveys the idea that the second noun (phrase) does not belong to the category denoted by the first noun (phrase) (664–666). Words or phrases functioning as "nouns" are shown between square brackets.) Particle group [tɛʔ ... NOUN deʔgɛ:] 'noun is not' conveys the idea that the noun (in square brackets) does not exist (667).

- (664) tɛʔ deʔ-gɛ:
not not-it.is
'it isn't'
- (665) Tɛʔ hne:ʔ [ganyó:ʔ] deʔgɛ: [neʔ awéheʔ]
Not in.fact animal it.is.not the flower(s)
'Flowers are not animals.'
- (666) Tɛʔ ní:ʔ deʔa:gé:gaʔs. Tɛʔ [ní:ʔ] [gwaʔyɔʔ] deʔgɛ:.
no I I.don't.like.the.taste.of.it not I rabbit it.is.not
'No, I don't like it. I am no rabbit, you know.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)
- (667) Tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wéh [ɔ:gwéh] dege:.
not really truly person it.is.not
'No, you aren't really human.'

Related

- ⇒ Equative sentences with linking verbs *né:* ‘it is’ or *dé’gɛ:* ‘it isn’t’, p. 574
- ⇒ *E:*, *E:* (possible atypical verb), p. 839
- ⇒ *Tɛ’* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ’ degɛ:hɛh* ‘not too many’, p. 1004

Tɛ’ degɛ:hɛh ‘not too many’

Particle group (*tɛ’ degɛ:hɛh*) likely functions as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5) and is likely clause-initial.

- (668) **tɛ’ de’-gɛ:-hɛh**
not not-it.is-diminutive
‘not too many’

Related

- ⇒ *Tɛ’* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ’ dé’gɛ:* ‘it isn’t’, p. 1003

Tɛ’ ga’-toh, Ga’-toh ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’

Particle group (*tɛ’ ga’-toh*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (669) **Tɛ’ ga’-toh degá:yɛ’**
not anywhere it.is.not.lying
‘It isn’t lying anywhere.’

Related

- ⇒ [ga’-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
- ⇒ *Ga’-toh, tɛ’ ga’-toh* ‘nowhere’, ‘not anywhere’, p. 845
- ⇒ *Ga’-to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’, p.

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⇒ *Ga'*-to:hah tohgeh 'thereabouts', p. 847⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999**Tɛ' gɛh 'no?', 'isn't it?'**

Particle group or tag question (§27.2.2); optionally followed by a negative verb.

- (670) Wɛhnihsri:yó: wa'ne', tɛ' gɛh?
 it.is.a.nice.day today, not Q
 'It's is a nice day, innit?'

Related⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker), p. 858⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999**Tɛ' gɛh de' - 'didn't?'**Particle group used with questions that imply *ɛhɛ'* 'yes' or *tɛ'* 'no' answers (§27.2.1); followed by a negative verb; clause-initial.

- (671) Tɛ' gɛh deshó:yó:?
 Not Q he.didn't.return
 'Did he not come home?'
- (672) Tɛ' gɛh dehsé: to: ne: dwá:ye:?
 Not Q you.don't.think that it.is we.do.it
 'Don't you think we should do that?'

Related⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker), p. 858⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛʔ giʔ ni:ʔ ‘no, not me’

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (673) Tɛʔ giʔ ni:ʔ to tá:gye:
not just the.me that I.wouldn’t.do.it
‘No, I will not do that.’

Related

- ⇒ Giʔ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ I:ʔ, Ni:ʔ ‘I, ‘we’, p. 910
- ⇒ Tɛʔ ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ daʔɔʔ ‘maybe not’

Particle group *tɛʔ giʔ shɛh (hwaʔ) (daʔɔ:)* functions as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (674) Tɛʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ - waʔgyɛh dɛʔ nɛyá:wɛh.
not just that this.time presently what it.will.happen
‘Maybe not – we’ll see.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (675) [Tɛʔ giʔ shɛh hwaʔ daʔɔ: toh na:yá:wɛh.]
not just that this.time not.at.all that.one it.will.happen
‘Maybe it won’t happen this time.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shɛh ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’, p. 857
- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shɛh tɛʔ ‘maybe not’, ‘or not’, p. 858
- ⇒ Gɛh ga:t giʔ shɛh niɣɛʔɔh ‘or?’, p. 861
- ⇒ Giʔ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ Hwaʔ ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ ɔh ga:t giʔ shɛh gye:gwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ O: tɛʔ ɔh ga:t giʔ shɛh ne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ Shɛh ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

⇒ *Tɛʔ daʔ* ‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’, p. 1001

***Tɛʔ gwahs* ɔ:wɛh ‘not really’, ‘not quite’**

Particle group *tɛʔ* (*gwahs*) (ɔ:wɛh) signals disagreement (§35.3.2); clause-initial.

- (676) *Tɛʔ gwahs* ɔ:wéh ɔ:gwéh dege:.
 not really truly person it.is.not
 ‘No, you are not really human.’
- (677) Sɔ: ní:s nʔaht gwahs? *Tɛʔ gwáhs* ɔ:wéh deʔgoyédéi. Dave
 who you who anyway not really truly I.do.not.know.you Dave
 Maracle gɛh haya:sóh neʔ hyaʔnih?
 Maracle Q he.is.named the your.father
 ‘Who are you, anyway? I don’t really know you. Is Dave Maracle your father?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdátgiʔ dialogue)
- (678) *Tɛʔ* giʔ hné:ʔ *gwahs* á:yɛ:ʔ, tréhs gyé:ʔ ɔh do:géhs
 not just in.fact really it.seems too.much this.one I.guess it.is.true
 wáhdahgwadé:s dewagé:sɔ:.
 thick.shoes I.have.shoes.on
 ‘No, it doesn’t really seem too bad, I guess, because I have really thick shoes on.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386, Gáhá:gɔ: dialogue)
- (679) *Tɛʔ gwahs* deʔɔkniwayɛnédaʔ ɔʔ, stɔ:hɔh daonó:ʔ.
 not really we.did.not.finish.it a.little they.weren’t.a.certain.number
 ‘Not quite we didn’t. There was still a little more left to do.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 456, Oyéhsraʔ dialogue)
- (680) *Tɛʔ gwáhs* degowanéh *tɛʔ gwáhs* dewú:ʔuh.
 not really it.is.not.big not really it.isn’t.small
 ‘Not too big, not too small.’ (Keye 2016, Circle Book 10, the Magic Chair)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, p. 874
- ⇒ *Gwahs q:weh* ‘really’, p. 876
- ⇒ *O:weh, ne’ q:weh* ‘really’, p. 976
- ⇒ *Tɛ’* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛ’ gwa’-toh ‘none at all’

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

- (681) **tɛ’ gwa’ toh**
not right.then that.one
‘none at all’

- (682) Nɛ: tsɔ: ni:yó: ɔgwa:yé’ o’wáhɔh. **Tɛ’**
it.is little it.is.a.certain.amount we.have meat not
gwa’-toh də’jɔ:gwa:yé’ ne’ onéhe:’ osáhe’da’
right.then-that.one we.do.not.have the corn beans
‘We have very little meat left; we have no corn or beans left.’(Carrier et al.
2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa’* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa’ toh* ‘that one; just such a one’, p. 872
- ⇒ *Tɛ’* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ’ gwa’-toh* ‘none at all’, p. 1008
- ⇒ *to, To, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

Tɛ’ gye:’ nɛ ne’ ‘not’, ‘what on earth?’

Particle group emphasizing something negative or upsetting (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

- (683) Tohgéh a'a:gé', "Dẹ' di' neya:wéh ẹdwáganya'k? Tẹ'
 then she.said what so something.will.happen we.will.pay not
 gyẹ:' ne ne' - dẹ' di' ho'dé' ẹdwahs? Tẹ' gyẹ:' ne ne:'
 emphasis here the - what so kind we.will.use not emphasis here the
 ni:' dẹ'q:gwa:yé' ne' ohwíhsda'."
 we we.do.not.have the money
 'Then she said, "How will we pay for it? What on earth will we use?
 None of us have any money."' (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ Gyẹ:' 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ Ne' 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ Ne' gyẹ:' ne ne:' (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ Nẹ: 'this', 'these', p. 948
- ⇒ Nẹ: ne:' i:s 'how about you', p. 951
- ⇒ Tẹ' 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tẹ' gyẹ:' ọh, Tẹ' gẹ'ọh 'not really'

Particle group signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); free-standing.

- (684) Ó:, tẹ' gyé:' ọ hné:' ọ:wí: agyé' gyé:'
 oh, not this.one I.wonder in.fact I.should.think I.have emphasis
 n'one:' ne' degahehdáwenyehs. Dají:hah gẹ:s tsó:
 you.know the cultivator short.amount.of.time usually just
 i:só' atkehdawé:nye:'.
 much I.plow.it
 'Oh, not really, because I have a cultivator, you know. In just a short time
 I plow a lot.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 420, Ẹswayẹto' Gẹh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gye:* 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ *Gye:* *ɸh* 'maybe', 'I guess', 'I wonder', p. 884
- ⇒ *Oh, ɸ; ɸ* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974
- ⇒ *Tɛ* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛ' hne:' 'definitely not'

Particle group signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (685) Tɛ' hne:' hwa' to ta:yá:wɛh.
not in.fact this.time that it.shouldn't.happen
'No, that'll never really happen this time.'
- (686) Tɛ' hne:' dehóyɛtwɛh.
not in.fact he.did.not.plant
'No, in fact he didn't plant.'

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:* 'in fact', p. 901
- ⇒ *Tɛ* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛ' hne:' ne' 'not that one'

Particle group [(ITEM) tɛ' hne:' (ne') ITEM] is used for contrastive focus (§35.4.4).

- (687) Ohyadɔhsra:sé: i:wí: tɛ' hne:' ohyadɔhsra:gá:yɔh.
new.book I.want not in.fact old.book
'I want the *new* book, not the *old* one.'
- (688) Agadadrihɔnyé' ohyadɔhsra:sé:' té:dɛ', tɛ' hne:' ne'
I.read.it new.book yesterday, not in.fact the
gyoté:dɛht.
day.before.yesterday
'I read the new book *yesterday*, not *the day before*.'

- (689) I:ʔ ɛgahdɛ:díʔ tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ gáqɔhɛʔ.
 I I.will.leave not in.fact the she.alone
 ‘It is *I* who am leaving, not *her*.’
- (690) Wa:li gó:gaʔs, tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ John.
 Mary she.likes.the.taste.of.it not in.fact the John
 ‘It is *Mary* who likes the taste of it, not *John*.’
- (691) Tɛʔ hne:ʔ gaqɔhɛʔ ne:ʔ. Tɛʔ hne:ʔ haqɔhɛʔ giʔ.
 not in.fact she.alone it.isn't in.fact he.alone just
 ‘It’s not *her*. It’s *him*.’

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ* ‘in fact’, p. 901
 ⇒ *Neʔ* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh ‘never’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (692) Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh tɔ: sɔsádonhe:k.
 not ever that.one you’ll.come.alive.again
 ‘You’ll never come alive again.’
- (693) Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to tɔ: ɛshá:gyeʔ.
 not ever that that.one he’ll.do.it.again
 ‘No, he’ll never do that.’
- (694) Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to tá:gyeʔ.
 not ever that I.would.do.it
 ‘I would never do that.’

Related

⇒ *Hwɛ:dɔh* ‘ever’, ‘when’, p. 909

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ i:ʔ ‘not me’, ‘not us’

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

(695) **Tɛʔ i:ʔ**.

not I

‘Not me.’ (Answering the question “Are you leaving?”)

Related

⇒ *I:ʔ, Ni:ʔ* ‘I’, ‘we’, p. 910

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ ne:ʔ deʔgɛ: ‘without’, ‘lacking’

Particle group [*tɛʔ*...NOUN (*ne:ʔ*) *deʔgɛ:*] conveys the idea that the noun or item is absent. For the positive counterpart, see §27.4.

(696) **Tɛʔ (ne:ʔ) deʔgɛ:**.

not (it.is) it.is.not

‘It isn’t the one’

(697) **Tɛʔ [ohnaʔ] deʔgɛ:**, *shɛh ohɛ:* *neʔ onáʔda:*.

not grease it.is.not, that it.is.dry the bread

‘(The one with) no grease, because the bread is dry.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Tɛ́* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ́ de'gɛ:* 'it isn't', p. 1003

***Tɛ́ se'* 'not really', 'but then not really'**

Particle group signaling new information that is contrary to expectation or contrastive focus, §35.4.4; free-standing.

- (698) *I:wí' gɛ:s agatganó:ni', de'ɛgwaheh tɛ́ se'.*
 I.want usually I.am.wealthy, not.then not really
 'I want to be wealthy, but then not really.'
- (699) *Wá'hé' ɛgíhsa:k. Tɛ́ se' sɔ:-gwáhs de'agatrehnagá'*
 just.now I'll.look.for.it not really anything-emphasis I.haven't.unpacked
 tsɔ:.
 just
 'I'll just look for it. I am not really unpacked yet.' (Mithun & Henry 1984:
 41, *Dwɛnɔhsanekehɔ' dialogue*)

Related

- ⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977
- ⇒ *Tɛ́* 'no', 'not', p. 999

***Tɛ́ sgaho'dɛ'* 'nothing', 'not anything'**

Particle group (*tɛ́*)... *sgaho'dɛ'* functions as an "indefinite pronoun" (§6.5); free-standing.

- (700) *Tɛ́ sgaho'dɛ' desɛnɔhdɔ'.*
 not anything you.do.not.know
 'No, you don't know anything.'

- (701) A:yé:ʔ giʔ hne:ʔ Tɛʔ gwáhs sgahoʔdɛʔ.
it.seems just in.fact not intensifier anything.
'Oh, nothing much, I guess.' (In response to Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ nihsagyɛhaʔ?
'What are you doing?') (Mithun & Henry 1984: 41, Qdwenqdáhtaʔ
dialogue)
- (702) Sgahoʔdɛʔ dawátehtgɛht.
something it.went.bad
'Something's not right.'

Tɛʔ sɔ:-ga:ʔ 'nobody', 'no one'

Particle group functioning as an "indefinite pronoun" (§6.5); free-standing.

- (703) Tɛʔ sɔgá:ʔ dɛʔagodekq:nih.
not anyone no.one.is.eating
'No one is eating.' (Michelson 2011: 39)

Related

- ⇒ Sɔ:-ga:ʔ 'anyone', 'any living thing', p. 997
⇒ Tɛʔ 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛʔ ta:wa:dɔh 'you may not'

Particle and verb [tɛʔ ... ta:wa:dɔh ... INDEF-VERB] functions as a negative suggestion (§27.1.7).

- (704) Tɛʔ ta:wa:dɔh a:sejáodɛʔ.
not it.shouldn't.be.possible you.would.smoke
'No smoking.'
cf. a:-s-e-já-odɛʔ
INDEF-2S.A-JOINER E-tobacco-put.in-PUNCTUAL

Related

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

***Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ*, *Tɛʔ to ne:ʔ* ‘not really’**

Particle group signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (705) *Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ* dedó:gehs.
 not that.one it.is it.is.not.true
 ‘No, it isn’t really true.’
- (706) *Neʔ to ne:ʔ*, [*tɛʔ to ne:ʔ* detga:yéi:ʔ].
 the that it.is, not that.one it.is it.is.not.right
 ‘That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’’

Related

⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928
 ⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
 ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

***Tgɔháɔgyeʔ* ‘sometimes’**

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (707) *A:yé:ʔ gɛ:s tgɔháɔgyeʔ neʔ tɛʔ gwáhs dɛʔakniksaʔdí:yo:*
 it.seems usually sometime the not really we.weren’t.good.children
 ‘I think that we weren’t always good children.’ (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Tgwahaɔ:ʔ* ‘sometimes’, p. 1016
 ⇒ *Tgwɛhe:ʔ* ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

Tgwahaq:ʔ ‘sometimes’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (708) Ó: otgáʔdéʔ hne:ʔ gę:s neʔ **tgwáhaq:ʔ** hyeiʔ, ó: **tgwaháo:ʔ** já:dahk.
oh it.is.much in.fact usually the sometimes six, oh sometimes seven
‘Oh sometimes I used to catch as many as six or seven.’ (Henry, 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Tgohaogye*ʔ ‘sometimes’, p. 1015
⇒ *Tgwęhę:*ʔ ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

Tgwęhę:ʔ ‘sometimes’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (709) **Tgwęhę:ʔ** hakdqs.
sometimes he.stops.back.in
‘Sometimes he comes back around.’

Related

- ⇒ *Tgohaogye*ʔ ‘sometimes’, p. 1015
⇒ *Tgwahaq:ʔ* ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

To, To:, Toh, Tq: ‘that one’

Particle functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

- (710) Ahí:ʔ giʔ **toh** neýá:węh.
I.thought just that.one it.will.happen
‘I thought that’s what would happen.’
- (711) Dęʔ hne:ʔ ni:yóht shęh **toh** nahsye:ʔ?
what in.fact the.reason that that.one you.do.it
‘Why in fact did you do that?’

Related

- ⇒ *Da: ne' toh* 'that's all', p. 822
- ⇒ *Gwa' toh* 'that one', 'just such a one', p. 872
- ⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921
- ⇒ *Ne' to: ne:'* 'that's the one', p. 927
- ⇒ *Ne' toh* 'that is', 'that one', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne' tsɔ: gwa' toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh* 'here', p. 951
- ⇒ *Nɛ: toh gwa:dih* 'on this side', p. 952
- ⇒ *Nɛ: tsɔ: gwa' toh ni-* 'just a little bit', 'very little', p. 952
- ⇒ *Tɛ' ga'-toh* 'nowhere', 'not anywhere', p. 1004
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gwa'-toh* 'none at all', p. 1008
- ⇒ *Tɛ' tɔ ne:'*, *Tɛ' to ne:'* 'not really', p. 1015
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* 'that one', p. 1016
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* 'there', 'that place', p. 1017
- ⇒ *To gɛh ɔ ne:'* 'I wonder if it is', p. 1018
- ⇒ *To: gwa:dih* 'on that side', p. 1018
- ⇒ *To hɛ:gyeh shɛh* 'really', p. 1019
- ⇒ *To: hɔ:weh* 'there', 'where', p. 1019
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we'* 'that far', p. 1020
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we' ne:'* 'when', p. 1021
- ⇒ *To: niyonishe' to:* 'a certain amount of time', p. 1022
- ⇒ *Toh shɛh ni-* 'to that degree', p. 1022
- ⇒ *To tsɔ:* 'that's all', p. 1023
- ⇒ *To tsɔ:* 'that's enough', p. 1023
- ⇒ *To:-gyɛh* 'that one', p. 1023
- ⇒ *Toh-geh* 'there, then', p. 1025
- ⇒ *Toh-geh* 'and then', p. 1026
- ⇒ *Toh-geh hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 1026
- ⇒ *Toh-jih* 'just the one', 'just such a one', p. 1027

To, To:, Toh, Tɔ: 'there', 'that place'

Particle functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3), and possibly, as "adverb of time" (§8.2) meaning 'then'; clause-initial.

- (712) Dewagegaɛhs to: há:ge:'.
 I'm.unwilling that.one I.will.go.there
 'I am unwilling to go there.'

Related

⇒ *To, Toh, Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

To *gɛh ɔ ne:* ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’

Particle group *to (gɛh) (ɔ) (ne:)* introduces conditional clauses (713–716), §29.2; clause-initial or free-standing. *Gɛh ɔ* is also spelled as *gɛ^ʔɔ*, *gɛɔ* or *gaɔ*; and *ɔ* is also spelled as *ʔɔ*, *ɔh*, or *ɔ:*.

- (713) O *gá-ɔ:/gɛ-ɔ: ne:* ní:yoht?
that Q-I.guess it.is it.is.a.certain.way
‘I wonder if it is like that?’
- (714) To *gɛ-^ʔɔ* ní:yoht?
that Q-I.guess it.is.a.certain.way
‘I wonder if it is like that?’
- (715) To *ʔɔ* ní:yoht?
that I.guess it.is.a.certain.way
‘I wonder if it is like that?’
- (716) *ɛsgoho:wí^ʔ [to gɛh ne:^ʔ hɛ:yɛ:^ʔ].*
I.will.tell.you that Q it.is she.will.go.there
‘I will tell you if she is going.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
⇒ *Gɛh oh*, *gɛ-ɔ:*, *ga-ɔ: ne:* ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’, p. 863
⇒ *Oh*, *ɔ:*, *ɔ* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974
⇒ *Oh ne:* ‘maybe’, p. 975
⇒ *To, Toh, Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

To *gwa:dih* ‘on that side’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); likely clause-initial. *Gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*.

- (717) **to:** **gwa:dih**
 that.one side
 ‘on that side’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
 ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

To hɛ:gyeh shɛh ‘really’, ‘very’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (718) **To hɛgyeh shɛh** age:ji:yoʔ.
 that no.matter that I’m.lame
 ‘I am really crippled.’

Related

- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh, hɛ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
 ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

To hɔ:weh ‘there’, ‘where’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial. *Hɔ:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:weh*, *nhɔ:weh*.

- (719) **To hɔ:** hɛ:geʔ.
 there place I.will.go
 ‘I will go there.’
- (720) **To hɔ:** hayɛhɛʔ.
 there place he.puts.it.there
 ‘He is always putting it there.’

- (721) **To hq:** sré:hah.
there place you.place.it
'That's where you put it.'

Related

- ⇒ *Hq:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *To, Toh, Tq:* 'that one', p. 1016

To ne:[?], Ne[?] to ne:[?] 'that's the one'

Particle group (*ne:[?]*) *to: ... ne:[?]* functions as a "demonstrative pronoun" (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

Related

- ⇒ *Ne[?] to: ne:[?]* 'that's the one', p. 927

To niyo:we[?] 'that far'

Particle and verb *toh ... niyo:we[?]* is used in comparisons (§31.1). *Niyó:we[?]* also has the short forms *ní:yo:[?]* or *nyo:*.

- (722) **To niyo:wé[?]** hę́sé[?] wa'hé[?] hęhsyq[?].
that a.certain.distance you.will.be.there time you.will.arrive.there
'You'll get that far before you arrive.'
- (723) **Toh tsq: ni:yo:wé[?]** hęsé[?] drq:[?].
that.one just a.certain.distance you'll.be.driven.over.there
'That's only as far as it will take you.'
- (724) **To: ni:yó:[?]** ne[?] heha:wé:noh.
that a.certain.distance the he.went.over.there
'That's as far as he has gone.'

- (725) “A:yé:’, shèh nyó:’ ha’hé’ dedwataha’sé:’, to
 it.seems that a.certain.distance he.went.there the.crossroad, that
 nyo:wé:’, a’a:gé’ ne’ ɔgya’sé:’, a’a:gé’.
 a.certain.distance she.said the we.are.cousins she.said
 “‘It seems, as far as he went on the crossroad, that far (we will go),” said
 my cousin.’ (Henry 2005)
- (726) Tó tsɔ: ni:yɔ: ne:’ ahi:’ aeswadáhɔdɛh.
 that just a.certain.distance it.is I.thought you.would.hear
 ‘And that is about as much as I thought you would like to hear.’ (Mithun
 & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gao’ shèh niyo:we’* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we’, ni:yo:’, nyo:’* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shèh niyo:we’* ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’, p. 986
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we’ ne:’* ‘when’, p. 1021

To niyo:we’ ne:’ ‘when’

Particles and verb, *to: ... niyo:(we’) ne:’* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial. *Niyo:we’* also has the short forms *ní:yo:’* or *nyo:*.

- (727) To: ni:yó: ne:’ heshe’s.
 that a.certain.amount.of.time it.is you’ll.come.around.again
 ‘That’s when your birthday is.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gao’ shèh niyo:we’* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we’, ni:yo:’, nyo:’* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shèh niyo:we’* ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’, p. 986
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we’* ‘that far’, p. 1020

To niyonishe' to: 'a certain amount of time'

Particle plus verb and particle, *to ... niyonishe' to*: functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.11); clause-initial.

- (728) “**Toh** tsó: **niyonishé'** to ɛshekni' nigohá:k ne'
that.one just it.takes.time that.one we.will.wait.for.him the
shakníhso:t.”
our.grandfather
“We'll wait for our grandpa there only as long as that.” (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: 'that one', p. 1016

To shəh ni-, To ni- 'to that degree'

Particle group [toh ... (shəh) ni-STATIVE.VERB] is used in comparisons (§31.1); precedes a stative verb beginning with [ni-] PART.

- (729) “**Toh** tsó: **niyonishé'** to ɛsheknigohá:k ne'
that.one just an.amount.of.time there we.will.wait.for.him the
shakníhso:t.”
our.grandfather
‘We'll wait for our grandpa there only as long as that.’ (Henry 2005)
- (730) **Tó** shəh niwá' né' ogya:nóhk akyédahkwa'.
that.one that a.certain.size the it.is.magic chair
‘The magic chair was just the right size for the little boy.’ (Keye 2016,
Circle Book 10, The Magic Chair)

Related

⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 980
⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: 'that one', p. 1016

To tsɔ: ‘that’s enough’

Particle group and expression used when asking someone to stop pouring a drink or providing food.

- (731) **To tsɔ:**!
that just
‘That’s enough!’

Related

- ⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016
⇒ *To tsɔ*: ‘that’s all’, p. 1023
⇒ *Tsɔ*: ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

‘To tsɔ: ‘that’s all’, ‘that’s it’

Particle group signalling the end of a topic or conversation (§35.4.1); free-standing.

- (732) **To tsɔ:**.
that just
‘That’s all’, ‘That’s it.’

Related

- ⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016
⇒ *To tsɔ*: ‘that’s enough’, p. 1023
⇒ *Tsɔ*: ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

To:-gyɛh ‘that one’

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing, or preceding the word it modifies (as in *to:-gyɛh hogwe^ʔdasé:^ʔah* ‘that young man’).

- (733) *Tɛ^ʔ tɔ:desa^ʔdré: tó:-gyɛh!*
not do.not.drive that.one
‘Don’t drive that one over here!’

- (734) Sənihé: tó:-gyəh!
quit.it that.one
'Quit that!'
- (735) Ne:ʔ gyə:ʔ neʔ tó:-gyəh.
it.is this.one the that.one
'That is the one.'
- (736) Sə: hne:ʔ nʔáht tó:-gyəh?
Who in.fact a.certain.person that.one
'Who is that?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)
- (737) To:-gyəh həgweʔdase:ʔáh shəgwahyadó:nih.
that.one young.man he.writes.for.us
'That young man does our writing.'
- (738) Ne:ʔ seʔ gyə:ʔ gə:s to:-gyəh hwaʔ nəh səheh nəh
it.is you.know this.one usually that time when night when
gadidaksénəgyeʔs shəh nəh: ohádenyəʔ.
they.run.around that where existing.roads
'This is how it is, you know, at night when they run around their roads.'
(Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ [-gyəh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
⇒ To:, Toh, Tə: 'that one', p. 1016

To:-hwaʔ, Tə:-hwaʔ 'that time'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (739) Tə:-hwaʔ gí:dəh.
that.one-that.time I.mean.it
'I mean it that time.'

Related

⇒ *Hwa*ʔ ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907

⇒ *To*:, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

To:hah ‘a place’, ‘a time’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2).

(740) **to:-hah**

that(one.)-diminutive

‘a place’, ‘a time’

Related

⇒ *Ga*ʔ-*to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’, p. 846

⇒ *Ga*ʔ-*to:hah tohgeh* ‘thereabouts’, p. 847

⇒ *O:nɛh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’, p. 971

⇒ *To*:, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *To*:, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Toh-geh ‘there’, ‘then’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3) meaning ‘there’, or as an “adverb of time” (§8.2) meaning ‘then’; clause-initial.

(741) *ɛ̄tsá:ʔ*, *tohgéh* *hɛ̄tsá:ʔ* *gwa*ʔ *tóh* *nɛh*
 you.will.take.it, there you.will.take.it.there emphasis there when
*ɛ̄géh**sdāh**si*ʔ.

I.have.finished.with.them

‘You can take them back when I have finished with them. (Mithun & Henry 1984: 368, *Degahená*ʔtraʔse:ʔ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

⇒ *Toh-geh hɔ:weh* ‘where’, p. 1026

Toh-geh ‘and then’

Particle signaling the continuation of a previous topic (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (742) Eya[?]dá:t gonɔhgé:t, [toh-géh jeya[?]dá:t
this.one.woman she.is.fair-haired that.one-on this.one.woman
gogé[?]aji:]
she.has.dark.hair
‘One is fair, and the other has dark hair.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88,
Eksa[?]gó:wah dialogue)
- (743) Toh-géh, í:[?] hné:[?] hɛgɔhawihdé[?] sadéna[?]tra[?].
that.one-on I in.fact I.will.carry.for.you your.lunch
‘Then I’ll carry your lunch for you.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 494,
Ekníyeto[?] dialogue)
- (744) Toh-géh né[?] agɔ:gwéh, né:[?] hɛ[?] hne:[?] deyagyadɛhnó:de:[?].
that.one-on the woman, it.is also in.fact she.is.my.sister
‘And the woman, she is my sister.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 257,
Gahwajiyá:de[?] dialogue)

Related

⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *Toh-geh* ‘there’, p. 1025

Toh-geh hɔ:weh ‘where’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), §29.8; clause-initial in direct questions. *Hɔ:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ*:, *nhɔ*:, *hɔ:weh*, or *nhɔ:weh*.

- (745) **Toh-géh** gəh hɔ:wéh toh na'á:wəh?
 that.one-on Q place there something.happened
 'Where did it happen?'

Related

- ⇒ *Hɔ:wəh* 'where', p. 907
 ⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: 'there', 'that place', p. 1017
 ⇒ *Toh-gəh* 'there', p. 1025
 ⇒ *Toh-gəh* 'and then', p. 1026

Toh-jih 'just the one', 'just such a one'

Particle functioning as a "demonstrative pronoun" (§6.3); emphatic; free-standing. Includes the [-jih] INTS (§10.13).

- (746) Né:ʔ a:yé:ʔ **toh-jih** shəh ní:waʔs.
 it.is it.seems that.one-intensifier that it.is.a.certain.size
 'It seems to be just the right size.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225,
 Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *To*, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: 'that one', p. 1016

Trehs, Ji trehs 'too much'

Particle group (*ji*) *trehs* functions as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (747) ...tréhs a:yé:ʔ ɔknigəhsá:dɔʔk.
 ...too.much.so it.seems I.got.lonesome
 '...I seem to get too lonesome.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah
 dialogue)

- (748) Ji' gɛ:s trehs shenó:wɛ:
too usually too.much.so you.lie
'You lie too much.'

Related

- ⇒ Ji 'too much', p. 915
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'more (than usual)', 'too much so', p. 915
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'because', 'overly', p. 916
- ⇒ Ji trehs shɛh 'too much so for', 'so much so', p. 917
- ⇒ Trehs gi' gyɛ: 'my goodness', 'too bad', 'that's amazing', p. 1028

Trehs gi' gyɛ: 'my goodness!', 'too bad!', 'that's amazing!'

Particle group functioning as an "exclamation" (§35.1), conveying surprise or disappointment.

- (749) O:, tréhs gi' gyɛ: agayesha', osdaqyó: hné: ó:nɛh.
oh, too.much just this.one it.is.too.bad, it.is.raining in.fact now
'Oh, that's too bad, it is raining now.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 212,
Satró:nih dialogue)
- (750) Ó:o: tréhs-gi'-gyɛ: do:gɛ́hs sadra'swahé:tgɛ', shɛh
oh, it.is.amazing it.is.true your.luck.turned.bad that
nɛ'saya'da:wɛh wá'ne:'.
something.happened.to.you today
'Oh. It sure is amazing, how bad your luck turned, with all that happened
to you today.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386, Gáhá:gq: dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Gi' 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ Gyɛ: 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'more (than usual)', 'too much so', p. 915
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'because', 'overly', p. 916

Tròhgeh tsq: ‘barely’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (751) **Tròhgeh tsq:** ɔgwahdegyá’dòh.
barely just we.begin
‘We’re just barely able to make it go.’ (speaking of a ceremony, etc.)
- (752) **Tròhgeh tsq:** jògwaihó’dé’.
barely just we.work.again
‘We’re barely working.’

Related

⇒ *Tsq:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Tsa’onishe’, shèh na’onishe’ ‘while’, ‘when’

Particle and verb beginning with [ni-] PART or [tsi-] COIN (§29.11); clause-initial in dependent clauses.

- (753) Agi’dá’q̄h q̄h [shèh na’onishe’ hohta:’].
I.slept I.guess that it.is.a.certain.time he.is.speaking
‘I slept while he spoke.’
- (754) Hohsé: [tsa’onihse’ hògwé’dase:].
he.was.fat while he.is.a.young.man
‘While he was young, he was fat.’
- (755) [Tsigogwe’dasé:] gé:s gahyagwàhsgéhe:’.
when.I.was.young usually I.would.pick.berries
‘When I was a young person I usually picked berries.’
- (756) Knòhwé’s gé:s [tsigogwe’dasé’] tiga:gwe:gòh gé:s
I.love.it usually when.I.was.young all.over usually
agahyagwehégéyé’sgéhe:’
I.would.go.along.picking.fruit
‘When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit.’

Related

⇒ *Shəh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980

⇒ *shəh naʹonisheʹ*, *tʰaʹonisheʹ*, [tsi-] ‘while’, ‘when’, p. 985

Tsɛ: ‘oh my!’

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1), conveying mild disgust or exasperation; pronounced as [tsɛ:] ([æ] sounds like the A in ‘tack’).

- (757) **Tsɛ:** e:ʹ neʹ satró:wi:.
oh.my again the you.are.talking
‘You’re talking about that again!’ (expression of disgust)
- (758) “O: tsɛ:,” aʹa:géʹ, “ahsdéh jatgáhnyehah!”
oh oh.my she.said outside you.two.go.and.play
“‘Oh my,’ she said, ‘go play outside!’” (Henry 2005)

‘Tsɔ:’ ‘just’, ‘only’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (759) Hwihs agéʹ [tsɔ: naʹgahwihsdáʹe:k] to nyó:
five it.is.said [only a.certain.number.of.hours] that amount.of.time
haʹgáéʹ.
they.went.there
‘They said it took only five hours to get there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aqhdęgyóheʹ dialogue)
- (760) **Tsɔ:** niwahonáʹde:s.
just a.certain.length.of.potato
‘They are just short spuds.’ (speaking of young children)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:*[?], *Ne:*[?] ... (*tsɔ:* *shɛh*) ‘but’, p. 596
- ⇒ *Awe*[?] *hɛ:gyɛh tsɔ:*, *Awe*[?] *hɛ:gyɛh tsɔ:* ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwa*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gi*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘really’, p. 869
- ⇒ *Gwahs wa*[?]-*heh tsɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Hejo:ya*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘another thing again’, p. 892
- ⇒ *Hejo:ya*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘elsewhere’, p. 893
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh tsɔ:* ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *Ne:*[?] *gi*[?] *tsɔ:* *gwahs* ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘that’s only’, ‘that’s all’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:*[?] *tsɔ:* ‘because’, ‘it’s just’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:*[?] *tsɔ:* *shɛh* ‘but’, ‘it’s just that’, p. 947
- ⇒ *Ne*[?] *tsɔ:* *gwa*[?] *toh* ‘also’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *tsɔ:* *gwa*[?] *toh ni-* ‘just a little bit’, ‘very little’, p. 952
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *tsɔ:* *ni-* ‘just’, p. 953
- ⇒ *To tsɔ:* ‘that’s all’, p. 1023
- ⇒ *To tsɔ:* ‘that’s enough’, p. 1023
- ⇒ *Trɔhgeh tsɔ:* ‘barely’, p. 1029

C.14 W particles**[wa[?]-] (referring to the current moment)**

Element occurring at the beginning of the following particle combinations and having to do with time (§8.2); proclitic.

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs wa*[?]-*heh tsɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *hwa*[?] *wa*[?]-*ne:*[?] ‘nowadays’, p. 950
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*gyɛh* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*gyɛh* ‘listen’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*heh-geha:*[?] ‘finally’, ‘at long last’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Wa*[?]-*jih* ‘wait!’, p. 1035

- ⇒ *Wa²-jih gye:* ‘almost’, ‘just about’, p. 1036
- ⇒ *Wa²-jihhya:* ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’, p. 1037
- ⇒ *Wa²-jih-hah* ‘presently’, ‘a little later’, ‘after a bit’, ‘after a while’, ‘afterwards’, ‘later’, p. 1036
- ⇒ *Wa²-ne:* ‘today’, ‘now’, p. 1037

Wa²-gyeḥ ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

(761) Lila:

Wa²gyeḥ di² sete²tranihahsah, nawe²dá² hni² eṣṣeniha².
so.now so you.will.go.and.borrow.flour sugar and you.will.borrow
‘So why don’t you go and borrow some flour from her, and borrow some
sugar, too.’

Sam:

Hao² dę² nyóh. wa²gyeḥ di² é:² ne²-tóh hesge:.
Ok what acknowledge so.then so again the-there I’ll.go.back.again
‘O.K. then I’ll go back there again.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441,
Dwęṇṇhsanékahə² dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [gyeḥ] ‘this’, ‘that’, p. 882
- ⇒ [wa²-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Wa²-gyeḥ* ‘listen’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you’, p. 1032

Wa²-gyeḥ ‘listen!’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you’

Particle group functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5).

(762) **Wa²gyeḥ!**

so.now

‘Listen!’, ‘Excuse me!’

- (763) **Wa'gyəh** desa'draihəh!
 so.now hurry.up
 'Would you hurry up!'

Related

- ⇒ [gyəh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
 ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
 ⇒ *Wa'gyəh* 'presently', 'so now', 'then', p. 1032

Wa'-heh 'just now', 'finally'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (764) **Wa'héh** gi' gatahí:ne'.
 just.now just I'm.walking
 'I am just now getting on my way.'
- (765) To niyo:wé' hẹ'sé' **wa'héh** hẹsyə'.
 that a.certain.distance you.will.go.there just.now you.will.arrive
 'You'll get that far before you arrive.'
- (766) **Wa'héh** ahsyə'.
 finally you.arrived
 'You finally arrived.' (just now)
- (767) **Wa'héh tsə:** ahá:tgəh.
 just.now only he.got.up
 'He just now got up.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs wa'-heh tsə:* 'just now', 'just a few seconds ago', p. 878
 ⇒ [-heh] element (related to time), p. 891
 ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
 ⇒ *Wa'-heh-geha:* 'finally', 'at long last', p. 1034

Wa[?]-heh-geha:[?] ‘finally’, ‘at long last’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

(768) wa[?]-heh-geha:[?]
current.moment-element-former
‘finally’, ‘at long last’

(769) Wa[?]hehgehá:[?] aha:kó:ni[?].
at.long.last he.cooked
‘At long last he (decided to) cook.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs wa[?]-heh tso:* ‘only just now’, p. 878
- ⇒ [-heh] element (related to time), p. 891
- ⇒ [wa[?]-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Wa[?]-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033

Wa[?]-jih ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); includes the [-jih] INTS suffix, (§10.13); free-standing.

(770) “I:só[?] toh né:[?] tga:gó:t ɛga:yɛ:dá[?]k,” a[?]a:gé[?], “wa[?]jih
a.lot that.one it.is it.is.necessary it.will.be.done she.said after.a.while
ɛhswa:tó:wat.”
it.will.get.cold
‘There is a lot a lot that needs to be done,’ she said, ‘today it will get cold again.’” (Henry 2005)

(771) Ó: i:so[?] gyó:do[?]k wa[?]ne:[?], shéh nohgeh ne[?] ojó[?]da[?], gá:doh
oh it.is.much it.is.lessened today that even the fish I.say
gyɛ:[?] wa[?]jih.
emphasis a.while.ago
‘Oh, there is a lot less of everything nowadays even fish, as I was saying just a while ago.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

- (772) O:nəh aʔa:géʔ, “Jaʔsnəht to:gyəh waʔjih neʔ sɔ:gwaʔ nóht
 now she.said get.down there eventually the someone person
 ɛyagonɔhnyak.”
 she.will.get.hurt
 ‘And then she said, “Both of you get down before somebody gets hurt.”’
 (Henry 2005)
- (773) Honənhdɔʔ shəh waʔjih tsɔ: o:nəh sɔ:gwaʔ noht ɛyagonjóʔ
 they.know that after.a.while just now someone person she.will.die
 neʔ nə:gyəh Hnyagwaiʔ datgiʔ gó:wah.
 the this.one Ugly.Bear
 ‘They knew Ugly Bear would soon become even more bold. (Carrier et al.
 2013)
- (774) O:nəh giʔ aʔa:géʔ, “Waʔjih tsɔ:” aʔa:géʔ, “ɛgaʔdaihaʔt
 now just she.said after.a.while just she.said I.will.heat.up
 haʔdé:yɔ:” aʔa:géʔ.
 various.things she.said
 ‘Now then she said, “In just a little while I’ll heat up various things.”’
 (Henry 2005)
- (775) Waʔjih tsɔ: o:nəh ɛgyahdɛ:diʔ.
 after.a.while just now we.will.leave
 ‘You and I will leave pretty soon.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgəh
 dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [waʔ-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘wait!’, p. 1035
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih gye:ʔ* ‘almost’, ‘just about’, p. 1036
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih hya:ʔ* ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’, p. 1037
- ⇒ *Waʔ-ji-hah* ‘presently’, ‘a little later’, ‘after a bit’, ‘after a while’, ‘afterwards’, ‘later’, p. 1036

Waʔ-jih ‘wait!’, ‘hold up!’

Particle group *waʔ-jih* ‘wait’ is clause-initial in commands (§27.1.5).

- (776) **Wa²jih**, ɕtsyá²dɛ².
wait you.will.fall
'Wait, you might fall.'

Related

- ⇒ [wa²-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
⇒ *Wa²-jih* 'after a while', 'eventually', 'just a while ago', p. 1034

Wa²-jih gyɛ:² 'almost', 'just about'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); emphatic; likely clause-initial.

Related

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:²* 'just the one', p. 881
⇒ [wa²-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
⇒ *Wa²-jih* 'after a while', 'eventually', 'just a while ago', p. 1034
⇒ *Wa²-ji:-hah* 'presently', 'a little later', 'after a bit', 'after a while', 'afterwards', 'later', p. 1036
⇒ *Wa²-jih hya:²* 'wait a minute', 'wait a while', 'wait!', p. 1037

Wa²-ji:-hah 'presently', 'a little later', 'after a bit', 'after a while', 'afterwards', 'later'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (777) **Wa²ji:hah** to hɛgyɔ².
presently there I.will.arrive.there
'I will arrive there after a while.'

Related

- ⇒ [waʔ-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih gye:* ‘almost’, ‘just about’, p. 1036
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih hya:* ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’, p. 1037

Waʔ-jih hya: ‘wait a minute’, ‘wait a while’, ‘wait!’

Particle group, likely clause-initial before commands (§27.1.5).

- (778) **Waʔ-jih hya:**
 in.a.while before.anything.else
 ‘Wait a minute.’, ‘Wait a while.’, ‘Wait!’

Related

- ⇒ *Hya:* ‘first’, ‘before anything else’, p. 910
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘wait!’, p. 1035

Waʔ-ne: ‘today’, ‘now’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); free-standing.

- (779) *Ędwahyagwáhaʔ, ędwahnyoʔgwanohgwa:sáʔ hniʔ waʔne:ʔ!*
 we.will.gather.berries, we.will.gather.nuts and today
 ‘We are gathering nuts and berries today!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Nę: hwaʔ waʔ-ne:* ‘nowadays’, p. 950
- ⇒ [waʔ-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031

C.15 Y particles

Ye:gwa' 'if'

Alternative way to pronounce *gye:gwa'* 'if'.

Related

⇒ *Gye:gwa'* 'if', p. 885

Appendix D: Thematic dictionary

D.1 Kinship terms

Pronominal prefix choice for kinship terms is described in §23.

ADOPTED CHILD [de-P-hsnye[?]-q̣h] DU-P-care.for-STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deyagohsnyé[?]q̣h ‘her adopted daughter’

AUNT (MATERNAL) [INT-nohá:-[?]ah-(shq̣:[?]q̣h)] INT-aunt-DIM-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term. This word used to refer only to one’s mother’s sister. Now, it can also refer to one’s father’s sister.

q̣kinghá:[?]ah ‘our aunt’

gakenq̣ha[?]ahsq̣:[?]q̣h ‘my aunts’

AUNT (MATERNAL) [INT-nohá:-[?]ah] INT-aunt/mother-DIM.

etinghá:[?]ah ‘our aunt (two of us)’
Different-generation kinship term, with reversed roles (meaning that the stem is inflected just like a same-generation kinship term)

AUNT (TO HAVE A MATERNAL AUNT) [P-no:ha:-[?]ah] P-aunt/mother-DIM. Different-generation kinship term.

gono:há:[?]ah ‘her aunt’

hono:há:[?]ah ‘his aunt’ (on the maternal side)

sano:há:[?]ah ‘your aunt’

AUNT (MATERNAL AUNT), ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS [k-no:ha:-[?]ah]

1s.A-mother/aunt-DIM. This word only takes [k-] 1s.A, which means ‘my maternal relative’.

kno:há:[?]ah ‘my aunt’ (maternal), ‘Auntie’

AUNT (TO HAVE AN AUNT) [P-ha[?]k] P-aunt. Archaic word, possibly related to verb *gaha[?]k* ‘it did sit on something’. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

agé:ha[?]k ‘my aunt’

BOYFRIEND – SEE ‘FRIEND’

ogyá:tsih ‘my friend, my boyfriend, my girl friend’

goksa[?]gowáhsra[?] ‘her boyfriend’

BROTHER – SEE SIBLING

deyagyadēhnq̣:de:[?] ‘my brother, my sister’

hehjí[?]ah ‘my older brother’

he[?]gé:[?]q̣h ‘my younger brother’

BROTHER-IN-LAW – SEE ‘IN-LAW’

ogyá:gyoh ‘my brother-in-law, sister-in-law’

CHILD [INT-hawahk-(shq̣:[?])] INT-child-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term.

hehá:wahk ‘my son’

kehá:wahk ‘my daughter’

D Thematic dictionary

COUSIN (TERM OF ADDRESS) [INT-a'se:] INT-doubled.STAT. Same-generation kinship term.

gyá'se: 'cousin!' (when directly addressing a cousin)

gwa'se: 'cousins' (when directly addressing one's cousins)

COUSIN [P-a'se:] P-doubled.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

honá'se: 'his cousin'

ogyá'se: 'my cousin'

ogwa'sé:sə 'our cousins'

COUSIN (TO HAVE A COUSIN) [P-a'se:-shɛ] P-doubled.STAT-DECLARE-KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

ogya'sé:sɛ 'our cousins'

DAUGHTER – SEE 'CHILD'

kehá:wahk 'my daughter'

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW – see 'in-law'

kehse:yoh 'daughter-in-law'

FAMILY [P-hwajiy-a] P-family-NSF. Noun functioning as a kinship term.

akwa:jí:ya 'my family'

FATHER [INT-²nih] INT-father. Different-generation kinship term.

hqwá'nih 'his/her father'

hya'nih 'your father'

FATHER (HAVE A FATHER) [P-²nihshɛ] P-father-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

ho'nishɛ 'he has a father'

FATHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [ha -²nih] 3S.M.A-father. This word only takes [ha-] 3S.M.A, which means 'my paternal relative'.

ha'nih 'my father', 'Dad'

FATHER-IN-LAW – SEE 'IN-LAW'

hakné:nho:s 'my father-in-law'

FRIEND (TERM OF ADDRESS) [INT-atsih] INT-paired.STAT. Same-generation kinship term.

gyá:tsih 'Friend' (term of address)

FRIEND (CEREMONIAL FRIEND) [P-ad-ao²-(shɔ²)] P-SRF-run.STAT-(PLRZ). Verb functioning as a kinship term.

honadáo'sə 'they are friends'

hona:dáo 'his ceremonial friend'

ogwadáo'sə 'we all are buddies, friends'

ogwá:dao 'we all are friends'

ogyá:dao 'my ceremonial friend', 'Friend' (term of address)

FRIEND (HAVE, BECOME A CEREMONIAL FRIEND) [P-ad-ao²-tɕɛ:] P-SRF-run.STAT-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

agaqdáó'tɕɛ: 'they (fe/males) became ceremonial friends'

FRIEND [P-atsih] P-paired.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

goná:tsih 'they (animals) are friends'

honá:tsih 'his friend', 'they (males) are friends'

ogyá:tsih 'my friend', 'my boyfriend', 'my girl friend'

ogwátsihso 'all of our friends'

FRIEND, BOYFRIEND, GIRLFRIEND [INT-ksa'gowahsr-a] INT-beautiful.one-NSF. Same-generation kinship term.

heksa'gowáhsra 'my boyfriend'

keksa'gowáhsra 'my girlfriend'

FRIEND, BOYFRIEND, GIRLFRIEND [P-ksa'gowahsr-a] P-beautiful.one-NSF. Noun functioning as a kinship term.

hoksa'gohwáhsra 'his girlfriend'

ageksa'gówáhsra 'my boyfriend', 'my girlfriend'

goksa'gowáhsra 'her boyfriend'

GIRLFRIEND – SEE 'FRIEND'

ogyá:tsih 'my friend', 'my boyfriend', 'my girlfriend'

GODFATHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS). ALSO SEE 'STEFFATHER' [ha-'ni:hah] 3S.M.A-step-father. This word only takes [ha-] 3S.M.A, which means 'my paternal relative'.

ha'ni:hah 'my godfather'

GRANDCHILD [INT-adre'-(shq')] INT-grandchild-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term.

gakéyadre 'my grandchildren (said when reckoning a bloodline)'

heyá:dre 'my grandson'

hagá:dre 'his grandson, me', 'I am his grandson'

keyá:dre 'my granddaughter'

hówá:dre 'his/her grandson'

sheyá:dre 'your granddaughter'

qádáadre 'her granddaughter'

shagó:dre 'his granddaughter'

gaqáadre'sq' 'ah' her grandchildren'

shagódre'sq 'his grandchildren'

gakeyadré'sq 'my grandchildren'

gasheyadré'sq 'your grandchildren'

hehsá:dre 'your grandson'

gwadre: 'you are my grandchild' (term of address)

GRANDMOTHER – SEE 'GRANDPARENT'

ogéhsot 'my grandmother'

GRANDMOTHER (TO HAVE A GRANDMOTHER) [P-hsot] P-grandparent.

Verb functioning as a kinship term.

hohso:t 'his Grandma'

sáhsot 'your Grandmother'

GRANDMOTHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS; ALSO A TERM OF RESPECT FOR AN OLD WOMAN) [k-hsot] 1S.A-grand.parent. This word only takes [k-] 1S.A, which means 'my maternal relative'.

kso:t 'my grandmother', 'Grandma'

GRANDPARENT [INT-hsot] INT-grandparent. Different-generation kinship term.

hehso:t 'my grandfather'

ogéhsot 'my grandmother'

etíhsot 'our grandmother'

hagéhsot, haksot 'my grandfather'

hówáhsot 'his/her grandfather'

GRANDPARENT (TO HAVE A GRANDPARENT) [P-hsot-shé'] P-grandparent-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

hohsó:tse' 'he has a grandparent'

GRANDSON – SEE 'GRANDCHILD'

heyá:dre 'my grandson'

HUSBAND – SEE 'SPOUSE'

hegéhjih 'my husband'

IN-LAW, SIBLING-IN-LAW [P-agyoh] P-sibling.in.law. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

goná:gyoh 'their (fe/males) or her in-laws'

honá:gyoh 'their (males) in-laws'

ogyá:gyoh 'my brother-in-law', 'my sister-in-law'

IN-LAW (A FEMALE'S MOTHER/DAUGHTER-IN-LAW) [INT-hseyoh] INT-female.sex.in.law. Different-generation kinship

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term.

oqehsé:yəh 'my mother-in-law' (a woman speaking)

kehsé:yəh 'my daughter-in-law' (a woman speaking)

IN-LAW (A FEMALE'S MOTHER/DAUGHTER-IN-LAW) [INT-hseyəh] INT-female.sex-in.law. Same-generation kinship term.

qđadehsé:yəh 'her mother-in-law'

shehsé:yəh 'your mother-in-law, your daughter-in-law' (when speaking to a woman)

IN-LAW (SOMEONE'S FATHER/SON-IN-LAW, A MALE'S MOTHER-IN-LAW) [INT-nenhəş] INT-in.law. Different-generation kinship term.

hené:nhə:s 'my son-in-law'

hakné:nhə:s 'my father-in-law'

hyané:nhə:s 'your father-in-law'

qkné:nhə:s 'my mother-in-law' (a man speaking)

IN-LAW (SOMEONE'S FATHER/SON-IN-LAW, A MALE'S MOTHER-IN-LAW) [INT-nenhəş] INT-different.sex.in.law. Same-generation kinship term.

həwánenhə:s 'his/her father-in-law, son-in-law'

shagónenhə:s 'his mother-in-law'

shené:nhə:s 'your mother-in-law' (when speaking to a man)

KIN – SEE 'RELATIVES'

qđénəhksəʔ 'relatives, kin,' etc.

MOTHER [INT-no:haʔ] INT-mother. Different-generation kinship term.

etínəhaʔ 'our mother', 'women'

qđátinəhaʔ 'her mother'

qkínəhaʔ 'our mother'

MOTHER (TO HAVE A MOTHER) [P-no:haʔ] P-mother. Verb functioning as

a kinship term.

honó:haʔ 'his mother'

sanó:haʔ 'your mother'

MOTHER (TO HAVE A MOTHER) [P-no:haʔ-tseʔ] P-mother-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

honó:haʔ-tseʔ 'he has a mother'

MOTHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [k-nó:haʔ] 1s.A-mother. This word only takes [k-] 1s.A, which means 'my maternal relative'.

knó:haʔ 'my mother', 'Mom'

MOTHER-IN-LAW – SEE IN-LAW

qkné:nhə:s 'my (a male's) mother-in-law'

NEIGHBOUR [de-A-nəhsa-kahəh] DU-A-house-adjoin.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deswənəhsákahəʔ 'your neighbour'

swənəhsakáhəʔ 'your neighbours'

deyagwanəhsakáhəh 'my neighbours'

NEIGHBOUR [de-A-nəhsa-ne:ge:] DU-A-house-side.by.side.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deyagyanəhsané:ge: 'my neighbour'

NEPHEW, NIECE [INT-qhwadəʔ-(shəʔ)] INT-nephew/niece-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term.

heyəhwa:dəʔ 'my nephew'

gakeyəhwá:dəʔ 'my brother's children', 'my nieces and nephews'

keyəhwá:dəʔ 'my niece'

gasheyəhwádəʔ-səʔ 'your nieces and nephews'

NEPHEW, NIECE [INT-yaʔdawəh] INT-support.someone.STAT. Different-generation kinship term.

gakeyəʔdá:wəh 'my brother's

children’
heyáʔdawəh ‘my nephew’
keyáʔdawəh ‘my brother’s kids’
NIECE – SEE ‘NEPHEW, NIECE’
keyəhwá:deʔ ‘my niece’
NIECE (MATERNAL) [INT-hawa:kʔah]
 INT-child-DIM. The child of one’s
 mother’s brother or mother’s sister.
 Different-generation kinship term.
qdatawá:kʔah ‘her maternal niece’
kehawá:kʔah ‘my maternal niece’
RELATIVE (TO BE MUTUALLY RE-
LATED) [A-adə-nəhk-(shəʔ)] A-SRF-
 mutually.related-(PLRZ). Verb function-
 ing as a kinship term.
agwadəñəhksəʔ ‘we are relatives’
agya:də:nəhk ‘my relative’
qəñəhksəʔ ‘relatives, kin, etc’
ogwadəñəhksəʔ ‘our relatives’
sadé:nəhk ‘any relative (of yours)’
ja:də:nəhk ‘your relative’
gəna:də:nəhk ‘they (animals) are re-
 lated’
RELATIVE (TO HAVE RELATIVES ON
ONE’S FATHER’S SIDE) [P-adə-ni-
 ho:nəʔ] P-SRF-father-POP. Verb func-
 tioning as a kinship term.
sadəñihó:nəʔ ‘your relatives on your
 (sg) father’s side’
RELATIVE (CLOSE RELATIVE) [INT-
 nəhk-shəʔ] INT-love-PLRZ. Same-
 generation kinship term.
kenəhksəʔ ‘my relatives’
shənəhksəʔ ‘your relatives’ (high lan-
 guage, describing our relationship to
 all people)
RELATIVE [P-ogweʔd-aʔ] P-people-NSF.
 Noun functioning as a kinship term.

agógweʔdaʔ ‘my relatives’
SIBLING (NEAR IN AGE) [de-A-adə-
 hnəde:ʔ] DU-A-SRF-follow.STAT, [de-
 A-adə-hnəd-rəʔ] DU-A-SRF-follow-
 DISTR.STAT. Verb functioning as a kin-
 ship term.
degadəhnəde:ʔ ‘my sibling’
degaqəđəhnəde:ʔ ‘his/her sister’,
 ‘his/her brother’
dəhənadəhnəde:ʔ ‘his brother’
dəhənadəhnəde:drəʔ ‘his brothers’
deyagyadəhnəde:ʔ ‘my brother, my sis-
 ter’ (my nearest sibling)
SIBLING (YOUNGER) [INT-ʔgə:ʔəh] INT-
 younger.sibling. Different-generation
 kinship term.
heʔgə:ʔəh ‘my younger brother’
hesheʔgə:ʔəh ‘your younger brother’
kheʔgə:ʔəh ‘my younger sister’
qdadəʔgə:ʔəh ‘her younger sister’
shagoʔgə:ʔəh ‘his younger sister’
həwaʔgə:ʔəh ‘his / her younger brother’
sheʔgə:ʔəh ‘your younger sister’
etiʔgə:ʔəh ‘our younger sister’
shəgwaʔgə:ʔəh ‘our younger brother’
SIBLING (OLDER) [A-ad-riyah-shəʔ] A-
 SRF-older.sibling-PLRZ. Verb function-
 ing as a kinship term.
gaqdríyáhsəʔ ‘my older siblings’
SIBLING (OLDER) [t-A-gowanəʔ-s] CIS-
 A-big.STAT-PL. Verb functioning as a
 kinship term.
tgaegówanəʔs ‘my older siblings’
SIBLING (OLDER) [INT-hji-ʔah] INT-
 older.sibling-DIM. Verb functioning as
 a kinship term.
hehshéhjiʔah ‘your older brother’
kehjiʔah ‘my older sister’

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hehji'ah 'my older brother'
hqwáhji'ah 'his older brother'
gakehji'áhsq' 'my older brothers, sisters'
shedwáhji'ah 'our older brother'
SIBLING (TO HAVE AN OLDER SIBLING)
[P-hji'ah] P-older.sibling. Verb functioning as a kinship term.
hohji'ah 'his older sister'.
SIBLING-IN-LAW – SEE 'IN-LAW'
ogyá:gyoh 'my brother-in-law, sister-in-law'
SISTER – SEE 'SIBLING'
kehji'ah 'my older sister'
SISTER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [k-hehji'] 1s.A-older.sibling
kehji 'my older sister' (term of address for one's relative)
SISTER-IN-LAW – SEE 'IN-LAW'
ogyá:gyoh 'my brother-in-law', 'my sister-in-law'
SON – SEE 'CHILD'
hehá:wahk 'my son'
SON-IN-LAW – SEE 'IN-LAW'
hené:nhq:s 'my son-in-law'
SPOUSE, HUSBAND, WIFE (INFORMAL)
[INT-géghjih] INT-old.person.STAT. Same-generation kinship term.
hegéghjih 'my husband', 'my old man'
kegéghjih 'my wife', 'my old lady'
hehséghjih 'your husband', 'your old man'
shegéghjih 'your wife', 'your old lady'
hqwághjih 'her husband', 'her old man'
shagóghjih 'his wife', 'his old lady'
SPOUSE, HUSBAND, WIFE [de-A-(r)ihwawa'kq'] DU-A-support.STAT

Verb functioning as a kinship term.
degaeihwawá'kq' 'her husband', 'his wife'
desni:hwáwa'kq' 'your wife', 'your husband'
deyakni:hwawá'kq:?' 'my wife', 'my husband'
SPOUSE, HUSBAND, WIFE Atypical word.
ho:?' 'his or her spouse'
STEP-DAUGHTER – SEE 'STEP-RELATIVE'
qdá:tno:?' 'her step-daughter'
STEP-FATHER – SEE STEP-RELATIVE
hakno:?' 'my step-father'
STEP-FATHER, GOD-FATHER [INT-[?]ni:-hah] INT-father-DIM
hqwá'ni:hah 'her godfather', 'her step-father'
STEP-FATHER, GOD-FATHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [ha-[?]ni:-hah] 3s.M.A-father-DIM. This word only takes [ha-] 3s.M.A, which means 'my paternal relative'.
ha'ni:hah 'my godfather'
STEP-MOTHER [INT-na[?]ehs] INT-step.mother. Different-generation kinship term.
qkná'ehs 'my step-mother'
STEP-MOTHER (TO HAVE A STEP-MOTHER) [P-na[?]ehs] P-step.mother. Verb functioning as a kinship term.
akná'ehs 'I have a step-mother'
saná'ehs 'your step-mother'
STEP-MOTHER (TO HAVE A STEP-MOTHER) [P-no:'] P-step.parent/child. Verb functioning as a kinship term.
sano:?' 'your step-mother'
hono:?' 'his step-mother'

STEP-RELATIVE [INT-no:'] INT-step.parent/child. Different-generation kinship term.

qkno: 'my step-mother'

hqwá:no: 'her step-son'

qdá:tno: 'her step-daughter'

hakno: 'my step-father'

hehsno: 'your step-son'

shé:no: 'your step-daughter'

STEP-SON – SEE 'STEP-RELATIVE'

hqwá:no: 'her step-son'

UNCLE (MATERNAL UNCLE) [INT-no'səh] INT-maternal.uncle. This word used to refer only to one's mother's brother. Now, it can also refer to one's father's brother. Different-generation kinship term.

gakéno'səh 'my uncles'

gakeno'səhsó:ʔəh 'my uncles'

haknó'səh 'he is my uncle'

hqwáno'səh 'his/her uncle'

hyano'səh 'your uncle'

shqkníno'səh 'our uncle'

UNCLE (MATERNAL UNCLE) [INT-no'səh] INT-maternal.uncle. Different-generation kinship term, with reversed roles (meaning that the stem is inflected just like a same-generation kinship term).

Etinó'səh Eḥənatno'áowanaht 'Our Uncles ceremony' [eti-no'səh]
INS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-uncle *Eḥənat-no'áowanaht* 'they become Bigheads'

UNCLE (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [k-no'səh] 1s.A-maternal.uncle. This word only takes [k-] 1s.a, which means 'my maternal relative'.

knó'səh 'my uncle'

WIFE – SEE 'SPOUSE'

kegəhjih 'my wife'

D.2 Terms of address

Doda 'Grandparent!'

Doda Grace 'Great Aunt Grace!' (term of address for maternal great aunt)

Dodama: 'Grandma!' (term of address for grandmother on one's mother's side)

Gwadre: 'Grandchild!' (term of address said by any old person to a young child)

Gwa'se: 'Cousins!' (term of address used when directly speaking to one's cousins)

Gyá:tsi: 'Friend!'

Gya'se: 'Cousin!' (term of address used when directly speaking to a cousin)

Hehji 'Older brother!'

Hehso:t 'Grandpa!'

Kehji 'Older sister!'

Kso:t 'Grandmother!' (term of address; also a term of respect for an old person)

Kno:há:ʔah 'maternal aunt', 'Auntie!'

Knó:haʔ 'Mom!'

Kno'səh 'Uncle!'

Kso:t 'Grandma!'

Sgə:nó: Degyadəhnó:de: 'Hello brother / sister!' (Said by a brother, sister, if they haven't seen each other in a while.)

Yahso:t 'Grandparent!', 'Grandchild!' (term of address; also a term of endearment).

D.3 Words for human beings

owi:yá:’ah ‘baby’ [o-wi:yá:-’ah] 3S.P-offspring-DIM

owi:ya:’áh haksá:’ah ‘baby boy’ [haksá:-’ah] 3S.M.A-child-DIM

owi:ya:’áh eksá:’ah ‘baby girl’ [e-ksá:-’ah] 3S.FI.A-child-DIM

ni hú:’uh ‘little boy’ [ni-h-ú:’uh] PART-3S.M.A-small.STAT

niya:gú:’uh ‘little girl’ [ni-ya:g-ú:’uh] PART-3S.FI.A-small.STAT

eksá:’ah ‘girl child’ [e-ksá:-’ah] 3S.FI.A-child-DIM

haksá:’ah ‘boy child’ [ha-ksá:-’ah] 3S.M.A-child-DIM

hadiksa’ sǒ:’ǒh ‘male children’ [hadiksa’-shǒ:’ǒh] 3NS.M.A-child-PLRZ

haksá’ dasé:’ah ‘teenage boy’ [ha-ksá’d-ásé:-’ah] 3S.M.A-child.increment-new.STAT-DIM

eksá’ dasé:’ah ‘teenage girl’ [e-ksá’d-ásé:-’ah] 3S.FI.A-child.increment-new.STAT-DIM

hǒgwé’dase: ‘young man’ [h-ǒgwé’d-ase:] 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT

agǒgwé’dá:se: ‘young woman’ [agǒgwé’d-á:se:] 3S.FI.A-person-new.STAT

agǒ:gweh ‘girl’, ‘woman’ [ag-ǒ:gweh] 3S.FI.A-person

hǒ:gweh ‘man’ [h-ǒ:gweh] 3S.FI.A-person

nitawenǒ:hah ‘middle-aged male’ [ni-t-haw-enǒ:-hah] PART-CIS-3S.M.A-originate.from-DIM

nigyagawe:nǒ:hah ‘middle-aged female’ [ni-g-yagaw-e:nǒ:-hah] PART-CIS-3S.FI.A-originate.from-DIM

hagǎhjih ‘old man’, ‘husband’ [hagǎhjih] 3S.M.A-old.STAT

egǎhjih ‘old woman’, ‘wife’ [egǎhjih] 3S.FI.A-old.STAT

gaegǎhjihshǒ:’ǒh ‘elderly people’ [gaegǎhjih-shǒ:’ǒh] 3NS.FI.A-old.STAT-PLRZ

D.4 Clans

INTRODUCTIONS

- (1) **Dǎ’ ni:s ho’dǎ’ nisa’syáo’dǎ:’?**
what you kind your.kind.of.clan

‘What is your clan?’

cf. ni-sa-’sya-o’ǎ: PART-2S.P-clan-type.of.STAT

- (2) **Dǎ’ ni:s ho’dǎ’ niswa’syáo’dǎ:’?**
what you kind your.kind.of.clan

‘What is your clan?’ (The speaker knows you are all of the same family.)

cf. ni-swa-’sya-o’ǎ: PART-2P.P-clan-type.of.STAT

- (3) Dê' ni:s ho'dê' niswa'syáo'dê:'s?
 what you kind your.kinds.of.clan
 'What is your clan?' (The speaker knows that you are from different families.)
 cf. ni-swa-'sya-o'dê:-'s PART-2P.P-clan-type.of.STAT-PL
- (4) ... niwage'syáo'dê:, nõge'syáo'dê:.
 my.kind.of.clan
 'I am ... clan.'
 cf. ni-wag-e-'syá-o'dê: PART-1S.P-JOINERÉ-clan-type.of.STAT
 cf. nõg-e-'syá-o'dê: PART.1S.P-JOINERÉ-clan-type.of.STAT

BEAR CLAN [A-hnyagwai] [ga-'syá:-de'] 3S.A-clan-exist.STAT
hahnyagwái 'he is Bear Clan'
ehnyagwái 'she is Bear Clan'
gaehnyagwái 'they (fe/males) are Bear Clan'
gehnyagwái 'I am Bear Clan'
hadihnyagwái ga'syá:de' 'they (males) are Bear Clan'

BEAVER CLAN
naganya'gõ' 'beaver'
naganya'gõ' nõge'syáo'dê: 'I am Beaver clan'

CLAN
o'sya:dé:nyõ' 'clans' [o-'sya:-dé:-nyõ']
 3S.P-clan-exist-DISTR.STAT
gá'syá:de' 'clan' [ga-'syá:-de'] 3S.A-clan-exist.STAT

CLAN MOTHER
hona'gá:' eha:' 'clan mother' [hona'gá:-'] 3S.M.P-horn-NSF [e-ha:-'] 3S.F.I.A-hold-STAT

DEER CLAN
dewáhõhdé:s 'deer'
dewáhõhdé:s nõge'syáo'dê: 'I am Deer clan'

EEL CLAN
gó:deh 'eel'
gõ:déh nõge'syáo'dê: 'I am Eel clan'

HAWK CLAN [P-hswë'gaiyo'] 3S.P-hawk
oswë'gáiyõ', swë'gaiyo' 'hawk'
hodihswe'gáiyõ' 'they are Hawk clan'
agehswe'gáiyõ' 'I am Hawk clan'
hodihswe'gáiyõ' 'they (fe/males) are Hawk clan'

HERON CLAN
degaõhyágahne:' 'Great Blue Heron clan'

MOIETY
õgwatnõhsóhdahgweh 'our moiety, side', 'grouped clans, sides' [õgwat-nõhs-ódahg-w-eh] 1P.P-SRF-house-detach-STAT
õgwatnõhsó'kdá'õh 'our clan, side', 'our end of the Longhouse' [õgwat-nõhs-ó'kdá'-õh] 1P.P-SRF-house-end-STAT
õgyá'sehshe' 'the opposite side' [õgy-á'seh-she'] 1D.P-cousin-DECLARE.KINSHIP

D Thematic dictionary

SANDPIPER CLAN

o'nehsí:yo' 'sandpiper' [o-'nehs-í:yo']
3S.P-sand-good.STAT

o'nehsí:yó' niwage'syáo'de: 'I am Sandpiper clan'

SNIPE CLAN

duwíhsduwi: 'snipe'

duwisduwí: niwage'syáo'de: 'I am Snipe clan'

TURTLE CLAN [A-nyahde:]

ganyáhde: 'turtle' [ga-nyáhde:] 3S.P-turtle

genyáhde: 'I am of the Turtle clan' [g-e-nyáhde:]

1S.A-JOINERÉ-turtle

agwányahde: 'we all are of the Turtle clan' [agwá-nyahde:] 1P.IN.A-turtle

WOLF CLAN [P-at-ahy-ó:ni:] 3S.P-SRF-fruit-make.STAT

otahyó:ni:, tahyó:ni: 'wolf' [(o)-t-ahy-ó:ni:] (3S.P)-SRF-fruit-make.STAT

hotahyó:ni: 'he is Wolf clan' [ho-t-ahy-ó:ni:] 3S.M.P-SRF-fruit-make.STAT

agatahyó:ni' 'I am Wolf clan' [ag-at-ahy-ó:ni:] 1S.P-SRF-fruit-make.STAT

D.5 Nations

INTRODUCTIONS

- (5) *Sogwehó:weh* *geh?*
you.are.a.real.person Q
'Are you Indian?'
cf. *s-ogweh-ó:weh* 2S.A-person-TYP
- (6) *Qgwehó:weh* *geh?*
a.real.person Q
'Are you Indian?'
cf. *ogweh-ó:weh* person-TYP
- (7) *Gogwehó:weh* *ni:'.*
I.am.a.real.person I
'I am Indian.'
cf. *g-ogweh-ó:weh* 1S.A-person-TYP
- (8) *Qgwehó:weh* *ni:'.*
a.real.person I
'I am Indian.'
- (9) *Gayogohó:nó'* *ni:'.*
Cayuga I
'I am Cayuga.'

(10) Gayogohó:nq' gęh ni:s?

Cayuga Q you

'Are you Cayuga?'

(11) Gayogohó:nq' niwagohętso'dę:

Cayuga my.kind.of.nation

'I am of the Cayuga nation.'

cf. ni-wag-ohęts-o'dę: PART-1S.P-nation-kind.of.STAT

ABORIGINAL

Qgwehó:weh 'First Nations', 'Indian people', 'Aboriginal', 'Native'

Oyajihó:nq' 'other Indian people', 'strangers', 'aliens' [o-ya-ji-hó:nq']
3S.P-other-INTS-POP

AFRICAN-AMERICAN

Hahó'ji: 'African-American man' [hahó'ji:] 3S.M.A-black.STAT

AHKWESAHSNE PEOPLE

Ogwesahsnehó:nq' [o-gwesahs-hnehó:nq'] 3S.P-partridge-AT-POP

ALGONQUIANS

Tsa'gá:nha' 'Potawatomi', 'Odawa', 'Ojibwe', 'Chippewa' [tsa'gá:nha']
COIN.Ø.PREFIX-noun-tied.STAT

Dewá'ganha' 'Delaware', 'Algonquians living near Six Nations' [de-wá'ganha'] 3S.A-noun-tied.STAT

AMERICANS

Gwahsdqhonqgehó:nq' [gwahsdqhonq-ge-hó:nq'] Ø.PREFIX-boston¹-POP-ON-POP

CAUGHNAWAUGANS

Gahnawá'gehó:nq' [ga-hnaw-a-gehó:nq'] 3S.A-rapids-JOINER-ON-POP

CAYUGA PEOPLE

Gayogohó:nq' [ga-yogo-hó:nq'] 3S.A-pipe-POP

CHEROKEE PEOPLE

Oyada'gehó:nq' [o-yada-ge-hó:nq']
3S.A-ditch-ON-POP

CHIPPEWA

Tsa'gá:nha' 'Potawatomi', 'Odawa', 'Ojibwe', 'Chippewa'

DELAWARE

Dewá'ganha' 'Delaware', 'Algonquians living near Six Nations'

DUTCH

Ohwe'gá:' Dehone:sowé:ksq' ohwe'gá:'
'wood chips' [de-hon-ę-hsowé:k-shq']
DU-3NS.M.P-SRF-shod.STAT-PLRZ

FAITHKEEPER [P-ad-rih-q:d] P-SRF-matter-put.in.STAT

godríhqt 'she is a faithkeeper'

gonádríhqt 'they (fe/males) are faithkeepers'

honádríhqt 'they (males) are faithkeepers'

hodríhqt 'he is a faithkeeper', 'he is an agent'

¹Referring to America.

D Thematic dictionary

FIRST NATIONS

Qgwehó:weh ‘First Nations’, ‘Indian people’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Native’

FIVE NATIONS (THE ORIGINAL CONFEDERACY)

Hwíhs Niyq̄hwejá:ge: *hwíhs* ‘five’ [ni-y-q̄hwej-á:ge:] PART-3S.P-land-three.or.more.STAT

HURON PEOPLE

Ohwehnagehó:nq̄’ [o-hwehn-age-hó:nq̄’] 3S.P-island-ON-POP

INDIAN

Qgwehó:weh ‘First Nations’, ‘Indian people’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Native’

INDIAN (EAST INDIAN)

Oniga:hęhsrá’ Honatno’á:nhahwęh [o-niga:hęhsr-á’] 3S.P-cloth-NSF [hon-at-no’á:-nhahw-ęh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-head-encircle-STAT

INUIT

Otowegehó:nq̄’ [o-at-howe-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT-ON-POP

LONGHOUSE

gaenq̄hsesgehó:nq̄’ ‘they (fe/males) are Longhouse people’ [gae-nq̄hs-es-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3NS.FI.A-house-long.STAT-ON-POP

hadinq̄hsesgehó:nq̄’ ‘they (males) are Longhouse people’ [hadi-nq̄hs-es-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3NS.M.A-house-long.STAT-ON-POP

Hodinq̄hsq̄:ní:dq̄h ‘Longhouse People’ (referring to the hierarchy) [hodi-nq̄hs-q̄:ní:-d-q̄h] 3NS.M.P-house-make-CAUS-STAT

godinq̄hsq̄:ni: ‘Longhouse people’ [godi-nq̄hs-q̄:ní:-d-q̄h] 3NS.FI.P-house-make.STAT

ohédq̄hsq̄’ ‘the Head Ones’ (referring to Longhouse officials) [o-héd-q̄h-shq̄’] 3S.P-ahead-STAT-PLRZ

LOWER END PEOPLE

Ganedagehó:nq̄’ [ga-neda-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.A-valley-ON-POP

MÉTIS

Dehonadetgwęhsáyęhsdq̄h [dę-hon-ad-e-tgwęhsá-yęhsd-q̄h] DU-3NS.M.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-blood-mix-STAT

MOHAWK PEOPLE

Ganyę’gehó:nq̄’ [ga-nyę’-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.A-flint-ON-POP

NATIVE

Qgwehó:weh ‘First Nations’, ‘Indian people’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Native’

ODAWA

Tsa’gá:nha’ ‘Potawatomi’, ‘Odawa’, ‘Ojibwe’, ‘Chippewa’

OJIBWE

Tsa’gá:nha’ ‘Potawatomi’, ‘Odawa’, ‘Ojibwe’, ‘Chippewa’

OKLAHOMAN

Gahnawiyo’gehó:nq̄’ [ga-hnaw-iyo’-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.A-rapids-beautiful.STAT-ON-POP

ONEIDA PEOPLE

Ohnyahęhó:nq̄’ [o-hnya-ę-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.P-stick-half.way-POP

ONONDAGA PEOPLE

Onq̄dagehó:nq̄’ [o-nq̄da-ge-hó:nq̄’] 3S.P-hill-ON-POP

OSAGE PEOPLE

Wasahsehó:nq̄’ [wa-sahse-hó:nq̄’] 3S.A-noun-POP (related to WASÁ:SEH ‘War Dance (of the Osage)’, ‘Rain dance’)

POTAWATOMI

Tsa'gá:nha' 'Potawatomi', 'Odawa',
'Ojibwe', 'Chippewa'

SENECA PEOPLE

Onqodowá'ga:' [o-nqod-owá'ga:]
possibly segmented as 3S.P-hill-
big.STAT.AUG. Translated as 'people of
the great mountain'.

SIX NATIONS

Hyeí Niyqhwéjá:ge:

hyeí 'six' [ni-y-qhwéj-á:ge:] PART-3S.P-
land-three.or.more.STAT

SOUR SPRING PEOPLE

Ganqhwatrohó:nq' [ga-nqhwatro-
hó:nq'] 3S.A-medicine-POP

THREE FIRES CONFEDERACY (consist-
ing of the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and

Odawa)

Ahséh Hodijihsdáé' ahséh 'three' [hodi-
jihsdá-é'] 3NS.M.P-spark-put.in.STAT

TUSCARORA PEOPLE

Dahsgáowé' [dahsgá-owé'] UNPARSED-
split.STAT

TUTELO PEOPLE

Honqhwéja:dó:gé: [hon-qhwéja:-
dó:gé:] 3NS.M.P-land-true.STAT

Deyodihó:nq' [de-yo-di-hó:nq'] DU-
3S.P-NOUN(tea?)-POP

UPPER END PEOPLE

Dagehyatgehó:nq' 'Upper End peo-
ple' [da-g-éhy-a-t-hó:nq'] CIS-3S.A-
mountain.top-stand.STAT-POP

D.6 Chiefs

D.6.1 Onondaga Chiefs

Awé'gehya:t 'Top of the Water' [a-
wé'gehya:-t] 3S.A-wet.item-summit-
stand.STAT

Gowéñé'shé:dqh 'Her Voice Sus-
pended', 'Her Voice Scattered' [go-
wéñ-é'shé:d-qh] 3S.FI.P-voice-scatter-
STAT

Hahí:hqh 'He Is a Spiller', 'He Is Spilling
It' [ha-hí:h-qh] 3S.M.A-spill-STAT

Honowiyéhdqh 'He Is Out of Sight in
Water', 'He Went Down Current' [ho-
naw-iyéhd-qh] 3S.M.P-running.water-
verb-STAT

Honya'dají:wahk 'Bitter Throat' [ho-
nya'da-jí:wahk] 3S.M.P-throat/stick-
bitter.STAT

Howahnyayé:ni: 'He Laid Down

a Stick for Him' [hówa-hnya-yé:-
ni:] 3ms/3fis:3ms-stick-lay.down-
BEN.STAT

Ho'dra:há:hqh 'He Has an Axe Placed
in Between' [ho-'dra:h-á:hqh] 3S.M.P-
noun-span.a.distance.STAT

Ohné'draé?' 'The Best Soil Uppermost'
[o-hné'dra-é'] 3S.P-ground-lie.STAT

Sganáwadih 'Opposite Side of the Pond',
'Opposite Side of the Swamp' [s-ga-
náw-adih] REP-3S.A-swamp-side.STAT

Shogógéhe' 'He Is Seeing Them' [shagó-
gé-h-e-'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-see-PURP-go-
STAT

Shogwá:séh 'He Has Bruised Himself'
[s-ho-gwá:s-éh] REP-3S.M.P-bruise-
STAT

Tadodá:ho' 'Entangled' [t-ha-d-
odá:ho'] CIS-3S.M.A-SRF-draped.STAT

D Thematic dictionary

Tatgahd̥qs ‘He Looks Around’ [t-h-at-gahd̥q-hs] CIS-3S.M.A-SRF-examine-HAB

Tayátgwai: ‘He Is of Wide Body’ [t-ha-yát-gwai] CIS-3S.M.A-body-side.STAT

D.6.2 Seneca Chiefs

Deyoninhogá:wēh ‘Door Partly Open’ [de-yo-n-inho-gá:w-ēh] DU-3S.P-SRF-door-split-STAT

Ganó:gai: ‘Threatened’ [ga-nó:-gai:] 3S.A-noun-make.rattling.noise.STAT

Gan̥q̥gi:’dá:wi’ ‘Curled Hair’ [ga-n̥q̥gi:’dá:wi’] 3S.A-scalp-verb

Nishayé:nahs ‘He Is Falling Over’ [ni-s-ha-yé:na-hs] PART-REP-3S.M.A-fall.over-HAB

Sadyénawahk ‘Hold Unto’ [sa-d-yénaw-a-hk] 2S.A-SRF-hold-JOINER-A-FORMER

Sganyadá:yo’ ‘Handsome Lake’ [s-ga-nyadá:i:yo’] REP-3S.A-lake-beautiful.STAT

Shogé’jó:wa:’ ‘Large Forehead’ [s-ho-gé’j-ó:wa:’] REP-3S.M.P-forehead-big.STAT

Tsa’degáq̥hye:s ‘Skies of Equal Length’ [tsa’de-gá-q̥hy-e:s] COIN.DU-3S.A-sky-long.STAT

D.6.3 Cayuga Chiefs

Dehsgáhe:’ ‘Not Sitting on It Any Longer’ [de-s-gá-he:’] NEG-REP-3S.A-sit.on.top.STAT

Deyohwé:t̥q̥:’ ‘Mossy Place’ [de-yo-hwé:t̥q̥:’] DU-3S.P-unanalysed

Deyohyó:go: ‘It Touches the Sky’ [de-y-ohy-ó:go:] DU-3S.P-sky-verb.STAT

Deyotowéh̥q̥h ‘Double Cold’ [de-yo-t-howéh̥q̥h] DU-3S.P-SRF-cold-REV

Gadagwá:sēh ‘It Is Bruised’ [ga-d-agwá:s-ēh] 3S.A-SRF-bruised-STAT

Gaji’n̥q̥dāwēheh ‘Coming On Its Knees’ [ga-ji’n̥q̥dāwēheh] 3S.A-unanalysed

Had̥q̥dá:heha’ ‘Putting It On Top’ [ha-d-q̥dá:-h-e-ha’] 3S.M.A-SRF-drape-DISL-go-HAB

Hagá’ē:y̥q̥h ‘He Looks Both Ways’ [ha-gá’ē:y̥-q̥h] 3S.M.A-verb-STAT

Hagyá’dr̥q̥hne’ ‘He Will Put Bodies One on Top of the Other’ [ha-g-yá’d-r̥q̥-hn-e-’] 3S.M.A-SRF-body-verb-DISL-go-STAT

Shoyó:we:s ‘He Has Long Wampum’, ‘He Has a Long Intestine Again’ [s-ho-yó:w-e:s] REP-3S.M.P-intestines-long.STAT

D.6.4 Mohawk Chiefs

Awēhe’gó:wah ‘Doubtful’, ‘High Hill’, ‘Wide Branch’, ‘Large Flower’ [awēhe’-gó:wah] flower-AUG

Degaihó:gē’ ‘Between the News’ [de-ga-ih-ó:gē’] DU-3S.A-matter-between.STAT

Dy̥q̥nhéhgwēh ‘Double Life’, ‘Our Sustenance’ [d-y-q̥nhéhgw-ēh] CIS-3S.P-sustained.by-STAT

Hahsdawēdr̥q̥:ta’ ‘Attaching Rattles’ [ha-hsdawēdr̥q̥:t-ha’] 3S.M.A-rattle-attach-HAB

Hayéhwata’ ‘He Who Seeks a Wampum Belt’, ‘He Who Makes a Wampum Belt’ [ha-yéhwa-t-ha’] 3S.M.A-wampum-stand-HAB

Sae’hó:wa:’ ‘He Is Biggest Tree Top’ [s-ha-é’h-ó:wa:’] REP-3S.M.A-tip-big.STAT

Shohsgoháowa: ‘He Is a Good Woodrift’, ‘He Is a Big Branch’ [s-ho-hsgohá-owa:] REP-3S.M.P-branch-big.STAT

Tɛnagái:ne ‘Dragging Horns’ [t-h-ɛ-nagá-i:n-e-ʔ] CIS-3S.M.A-SRF-horn-lead-go-STAT

Tsa'degáihwade ‘News Is Different from Another’, ‘Two of Same News’ [tsa'de-gá-ihwa-deʔ] COIN.DU-3S.A-matter-exist.STAT

D.6.5 Oneida Chiefs

Dewadahqhdé:dqhs ‘It Is Shaking Its Ears’ [de-wa-d-ahqhd-é:dq-hs] DU-3S.A-SRF-ear-shake-HAB

Deyoha'gwé:de ‘Open Voice’ [de-yo-ha'gwé:-deʔ] DU-3S.P-throat-exist.STAT

Ganqhgweiyó:dq ‘Standing Corn Cobs’ [ga-nqhgwe-iy-ó:d-qʔ] 3S.A-corn.cob-unanalysed-stand-DISTR.STAT

Hadwɛná:kqh ‘Shouting Loudly’ [ha-d-wɛná:i:k-h-qh] 3S.M.A-SRF-voice-stuck.on-MODZ-STAT

Hagya'donéhta ‘He Lowers His Body’ [ha-g-ya'd-onéht-haʔ] 3S.M.A-SRF-body-lower-HAB

Honya'dashá:yɛ ‘Slow-Moving Body’ [ho-nyá'd-ashá:yɛ:] 3S.M.P-body-slow.moving.STAT

Howatsadéhqh ‘He Is Buried’, ‘He Is Dampened’ [hɔwa-tsadéh-qh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-bury-STAT

Ho'dátshede ‘Carrying a Quiver Around His Neck or Shoulder’ [ho'dátshed-e-ʔ] 3S.M.P-quiver-noun-go-STAT

Shonqhs:e:s ‘He Is of a Longhouse’ [s-ho-nqhs-e:s] REP-3S.M.P-house-long.STAT

D.6.6 Miscellaneous

Thematic headwords (in small caps) either provide the English name for a hereditary chief position or constitute a thematic category for grouping related words.

CHIEF

hadigowá:nɛs ‘chiefs’ [hadi-gowá:nɛ-ʔs] 3NS.M.A-big.STAT-PL

hodiyanéhsq ‘they (males) are chiefs’ [hodi-yanéh-shqʔ] 3NS.M.P-law.maker.STAT-PLRZ

hoyá:neh ‘he is a chief’, ‘Confederacy Chief’ [ho-yá:neh] 3S.M.P-law.maker.STAT

hoya:néh hahshɛnowá:nɛh ‘chief’
hoyá:neh ‘chief’ [ha-hshɛn-owá:n-ɛh] 3S.M.A-name-big-STAT

CHIEF TITLE *gaya:né:da*ʔ [ga-ya:né:-d-aʔ] 3S.A-law.maker-NOUN.INCREMENT-NSF

CLAN MOTHER

Hoyáneta ‘the chief’s clan mother’ [ho-yánet-haʔ] 3S.M.P-make.laws-HABITUAL

Goyá:neh ‘clan mother’ [go-yá:neh] 3S.FI.P-law.maker.STAT

DIVIDED BODY

Deo'ja'já'gqh (a Chief’s name)

FUNERAL (FOR A CHIEF)

aga'hnyé:nɛ ‘something fell over’, ‘the passing of a chief’ (high language) [a-ga-'hnyé:nɛ-ʔ] FAC-3S.A-fall.over-PUNC

a'qgwa'hnyé:nɛs ‘we all are experiencing the passing of a chief’ [a'-qgwa-'hnyé:nɛ-ʔs] FAC-1P.P-fall.over-PUNC.PL

D Thematic dictionary

PINE TREE CHIEF

Hḡwahnyohsodá:hḡh [hḡwa-hnyohs-
odá:hḡh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-squash-
mix.up.STAT

SUBCHIEF

Hḡwaḡdá:nḡh, Háḡdanḡh 'He Is the
Watcher of the Log', 'a subchief'
[hḡwa-ḡdá:nḡh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-log-
guard.STAT [há-ḡda-nḡh] 3s.M.A-log-
guard.STAT

D.7 Months

Gaya'dagó:wah 'January' [ga-ya'da-
gó:wah] 3s.A-doll-big.STAT

Ganráhdahgah 'February' [ga-nráhdá-
hgah] 3s.A-leaf-unanalysed

Ganḡsgwaḡtá:'ah 'March' [ga-nḡsgwa-
ḡt-há:-'ah] 3s.A-frog-put.in-HAB-DIM

Ganḡsgwaḡta'gó:wah 'April' [ga-
nḡsgwa-ḡ:t-ha'gó:wah] 3s.A-frog-
put.in-HAB-AUG

Ganá'gaht 'May' [ga-ná'g-aht] 3s.A-
horn-resemble.STAT

Hyáikneh 'June' [hyá-ik-neh] fruit-
ripen-ON/AT

Hyaiknehgó:wah 'July' [hya-ik-
neh-gó:wah] fruit-ripen-ON/AT-
AUGMENTATIVE

Jíhsgḡhneh 'August' [jíhsg-ḡ-hneh]
grasshopper-JOINER-AT/ON

Sá'gḡhneh 'September' [sá'g-ḡ-hneh]
cough-JOINER-AT/ON

Sa'gḡhnehgó:wah 'October' [sa'g-ḡ-
hneh-gó:wah] cough-JOINER-AT/ON-
AUGMENTATIVE

Jo:to:' 'November' [j-o:-t-ho:] REP-3s.P-
SRF-cold.STAT

Jo:to:'gó:wah 'December' [j-o:-t-ho:-
gó:wah] REP-3s.P-SRF-cold.STAT-AUG

dewḡni'dá:ge: 'two months' [de-
w-ḡni'd-á:ge:] DU-3s.A-month-
two.or.more.STAT

ḡhni'da:' 'a month', 'a moon'
[ḡhni'da:-'] month-NSF

ḡhni'dase:' 'it is a new month' [ḡhni'd-
ase:] month-new.STAT

ḡswḡni'da:' 'it will be a new month
again' [ḡ-s-w-ḡni'da:-'] FUT-REP-3s.A-
month-PUNC

ḡwadḡhni'do'kta:k 'every month will
end' [ḡ-wa-d-ḡhni'd-o'kt-ha:-k] FUT-
3s.A-SRF-month-end-HAB-MODZ

swḡhni'da:t 'one month' [s-w-
ḡhni'd-a:-t] REP-3s.A-month-JOINER-
stand.STAT

tsa'dewḡhni'dahḡ 'middle of the month'
[tsa'de-w-ḡhni'd-a-hḡ] COIN.DU-3s.A-
month-JOINER-mid.STAT

wḡhni'dadé:nyḡ' 'months' [w-
ḡhni'd-adé:-nyḡ'] 3s.A-month-exist-
DISTR.STAT

D.8 Periods of time in the day

The following terms are arranged approximately in chronological order.

dewēdí:ya's 'it cuts the day' (referring to a period of time) [de-w-ēd-í:ya'-s] DU-3S.A-day-cut-HAB

dewēñihsrí:ya's 'it cuts the day' (referring to a period of time) [de-w-ēñihsr-í:ya'-s] DU-3S.A-day-cut-HAB

ha'gáhe:ʔ 'the time has arrived' [ha'-gá-he:ʔ] TRANSL-3S.A-sit.up.on.top.STAT

nigahá:wí 'a period of time' [ni-ga-há:wí-ʔ] PART-3S.A-hold-STAT

niyodo'dá:gye's 'up to these times' [ni-yo-d-o'kd-á:-gy-e-'s] PART-3S.P-SRF-end-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB

shēh niwadēñihsrí:ne's 'the time of day' *shēh* 'that' [ni-wa-d-ēñihsr-í:ne-'s] PART-3S.A-SRF-day-lead-go-HAB

dawē:dó:dēʔ 'dawn, daybreak' [da-w-ē:d-ó:dēʔ] CIS.FAC-3S.A-day-standup-STAT

shedéhjí:hah 'early morning' [shedéh-jí:-hah] early.morning-INTS-DIM

shedehjihahné:hah 'brunch time', 'mid-morning', 'early morning' [shedeh-jihahné:-hah] early.morning-INTS-DIM-AT/ON-DIM

tsishédēhjih 'earlier this morning' [tsishédēh-jih] COIN-early.morning-INTS

gaq:hyahēhsó:ʔh 'around noon' [ga-q:hyā-hēh-shó:ʔh] 3S.A-sky-mid.STAT-PLRZ

tša'degaqhyahēh 'right at noon' [tša'de-gá-qhyā-hēh] COIN.DU-3S.A-sky-mid.STAT

tsigaqhyāhēh 'at noon' (previous noon) [tsi-ga-qhyā-hēh] COIN-3S.A-sky-mid.STAT

daó'gahneʔ 'early night is coming' [da-ó'ga-hn-e-ʔ] DU.FAC-3S.P-evening-DISL-go-PUNC

hegahgwá:ʔah 'when the sun is low in the sky', 'late afternoon' [he-ga-rahgw-á:ʔah] TRANSL-3S.A-sun-small.STAT

deyá'ga:s 'the night is coming', 'early night' [de-yá'-ga:-s] DU-3S.P-evening-HAB

egyo'gá:hah 'it will be early night' [e-g-yo-'gá:-hah] FUT-DU-3S.A-evening-DIM

o'gá:s'ah 'evening' [o-'gá:s-'ah] 3S.P-evening-DIM

o'gasehné:hah 'eveningish' [o-'gas-'ahné-hah] 3S.P-evening-DIM-AT/ON-DIM

wēdá:jih 'dusk', 'twilight' [w-ēd-á:jih] 3S.A-day-JOINERÁ-dark.STAT

ahsqheh 'night' [ahsq-heh] night-TIME

eyó'ga: 'it will be tonight' [e-yó-'ga:-ʔ] FUT.3S.P-evening-PUNC

gyohsq:dehk 'the other night' [g-yo-hsq:d-e-hk] CIS-3S.A-night.NOUN.-INCREMENT-go-FORMER

ha'dēwahsqdāe:daʔ 'when night has arrived' [ha'dē-w-ahsqd-á-ē:da-ʔ] TRANSL.DU.FUT-3S.P-night.NOUN.INCREMENT-arrive-PUNC

ha'dewahsqdage: 'many nights', 'every night' [ha'de-w-ahsqd-age:] TRANSL.DU-3S.A-night-be.a.certain.-number.STAT

qdahsqda:diháhsdqh 'past midnight' [q-d-ahsqd-a:dih-á-hsd-qh] 3S.FLA-SRF-night-side.STAT-JOINERÁ-INSTR-STAT

ohsqdagwé:qoh 'all through the night', 'all night' [o-hsqd-a-gwé:g-qh] 3S.P-night-JOINERÁ-all-STAT

sq:deʔ 'last night' [sq:d-e-ʔ] night-go-STAT

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tša'dewahsɔ:tɕh 'at midnight'
[tša'de-w-ahsɔ:t-hɕh] COIN.DU-3S.A-
night.NOUN.INCREMENT-mid.STAT

ɕhsahsɔdɔ:ni 'you will mark the night'
(referring to setting a time for a

meeting) [ɕh-s-ahsɔd-ɔ:ni-?] FUT-2S.A-
night-make-PUNC

wahsɔdɔ:ni 'the night is marked', 'a
time has been designated' [w-ahsɔd-
ɔ:ni-:] 3S.A-night-make-STAT

D.9 Yesterday, today, and tomorrow

ahsɕh neyó:da: 'three days from now'
ahsɕh 'three' [ne-yó:-d-a:] PART.FUT-
3S.A-SRF-hold.STAT

dawɕhnihsraɕdɔ:gye 'the coming days'
[da-w-ɕhnihsra-ɕd-ɔ:-gye-?] CIS-3S.A-
day-become-STAT-PROG-go-STAT

dwɕhnihsradé:nyɔhk 'days past' [d-
w-ɕhnihsr-adé:-nyɔ-hk] CIS-3S.A-day-
exist-DISTR.STAT-FORMER

ɕ:deh 'daylight', 'day'

ɕhsweɕhnihsráɕda 'another day' (for-
mal language) [ɕhs-w-ɕhnihsrá-ɕda']
FUT.REP-3S.A-day-become.STAT

eyó:hɕ 'it will be tomorrow' [ɕ-yó:-hɕ-
'] FUT-3S.P-day-PUNC

gyoté:dɕhk, gyoté:dɕht 'the other day',
'the day before yesterday' [g-yo-té:dɕ-
hk] CIS-3S.P-day.STAT-FORMER

gyotedɕhsɔ:ɔh 'several days past' [g-
yo-tedɕh-sɔ:ɔh] CIS-3S.P-day.STAT-
PLRZ

ha'weɕhnihsradenyó:gye 'days ahead'
[ha'-w-ɕhnihsr-ade-nyɔ:-gye-?]
TRANSL-3S.A-day-exist-DISTR-PROG-
go-STAT

hejó:hɕ 'the day after tomorrow' [hej-
ó:-hɕ'] TRANSL.FUT.REP-3S.P-day.STAT

hejóhɕ'drɔh 'every other day' [hej-ó-
hɕ'-dr-ɔh] TRANSL.REP-3S.P-day.DISL-
STAT

té:dɕ: 'yesterday' [té:dɕ:-?] [day-STAT]

tša'dewɕhnihsraɕhɕh 'half a day'
[tša'de-w-ɕhnihsra-ɕhɕh] COIN.DU-
3S.A-day-half.STAT

wa'ne: 'today' (particle, hence, no af-
fixes to show)

wɕhnihsradé:nyo 'every day', 'many
days' [w-ɕhnihsr-adé:-nyo'] 3S.A-day-
exist-DISTR.STAT

wɕhnihsrade 'this day' [w-ɕhnihsr-
ade'] 3S.A-day-exist.STAT

D.10 Seasons and years

degawadé:nyɔhs 'season' [de-ga-wa-
dé:ny-ɔhs] DU-3S.A-air-change-HAB

dɕyogɕnhɔ:di 'it will be summer' [dɕ-
yo-gɕnh-ɔ:di-?] DU.FUT-3S.A-summer-
put.in-PUNC

dɔsagawa:dé:ni 'the wind is chang-

ing' (referring to changing seasons)
[dɔsa-ga-wa-dé:ni-?] CIS.FAC.REP-3S.A-
air-change-PUNC

gagwidɕhjí:hah 'early spring' [ga-gwid-
ɕh-jí:-hah] 3S.A-spring-STAT-INTS-DIM

gagwidɕhneh 'springtime', 'in the

- spring' [ga-gwíd-ɛ-hneh] 3S.A-spring-STAT-AT/ON
- gɛnɛnagéhneh** 'fall', 'autumn' [g-ɛnɛn-a'gé-hneh] 3S.A-fall-ON-AT/ON
- gɛnhéhneh** 'summer' [g-ɛnh-é-hneh] 3S.A-summer-STAT-AT/ON
- gohsréhneh** 'winter time' [g-ɔhsr-éhneh] 3S.A-winter-STAT-AT/ON
- johsrá:tsɔ'** 'yearly' [j-ɔhsr-á:t-shɔ'] REP.3S.A-winter-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT-PLRZ
- niyóhsrage:** 'years' [ni-y-óhsr-a'ge:] PART-3S.A-winter-ON
- ohsré:dahs** 'year' [o-hsr-é:d-a-hs] 3S.P-winter-STAT.EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-HAB
- sgá:t dɛwatwadá:se'** 'one year' *sgá:t* 'one' [dɛ-w-at-hwadá:se-'] DU.FUT-3S.A-SRF-turn-PUNC
- sgá:t eyóhsra:t** 'one year' *sgá:t* 'one' [ɛ-y-óhsr-a:-t] FUT-3S.P-winter-JOINERÁ-stand.PUNC
- shɛh niyotgɛisdɔhɔ:gyé' deyowá-wɛnye'** 'seasons' *shɛh* 'that' [ni-yo-t-gɛisd-ɔh-ɔ:-gy-é-'] PART-3S.A-SRF-move.over-STAT-STAT-PROG-go-STAT [de-yo-wá-wɛnye-'] DU-3S.A-air-change-STAT
- tsigadehgwí:deh** 'last spring' [tsi-ga-d-ɛhgwí:d-eh] COIN-3S.A-SRF-spring-STAT
- tsigóhsreh** 'last winter' [tsi-g-óhsr-eh] COIN-3S.A-year-STAT

D.11 Weekdays

The following terms are arranged approximately in chronological order.

- Awɛdɛdá'ɔh** 'Monday' [aw-ɛd-ɛdá'-ɔh] 3S.P-day-end-STAT
- ɛwɛ:dé:da'** 'next Monday' [ɛ-w-ɛ:d-é:da-'] FUT-3S.A-day-end-PUNC
- Tsa'wɛ:dé:da'** 'last Monday' [tsa'-w-ɛ:d-é:da-'] COIN.FAC-3S.A-day-end-PUNC
- Dekní: hadɔ't** 'Tuesday' *dekní:* 'two' [hadɔ't] day.STAT
- Dekní: hadɔ'tgɛhɛ:'** 'last Tuesday' *dekní:* 'two' [hadɔ't-gɛhɛ:'] day.STAT-FORMER
- Ahsɛh Hadɔ't** 'Wednesday' *ahsɛh* 'three'
- Ahsɛh Hadɔ'tgɛhɛ:'** 'last Wednesday'
- Gei: Hadɔ't** 'Thursday' *gei* 'four'
- Gei: Hadɔ'tgɛhɛ:'** 'last Thursday'
- Hwíhs Hadɔ't** 'Friday' *hwíhs* 'five'
- Hwíhs Hadɔ'tgɛhɛ:'** 'last Friday'
- Nakdóhaehs** 'Saturday' [nakd-ohae-hs] bed-wash-HAB
- Hejonakdóhaehs** 'next Saturday' [hej-o-nakd-óhae-hs] TRANSL.REP-3S.P-bed-wash-HAB
- Tsiyonakdóhaehs** 'last Saturday' [tsi-yo-nakd-óhae-hs] COIN-3S.P-bed-wash-HAB
- Awɛdadógɛhdɔh** 'Sunday' [aw-ɛda-dógɛhd-ɔh] 3S.P-day-make.true-STAT
- Eyaɔdadogɛhte'** 'next Sunday' [ɛ-ya-ɔda-dogɛhd-h-e-'] FUT-3S.P-day-make.true-DISL-go-PUNC
- Tsiyaɔdadogɛhdɔh** 'last Sunday' [tsi-ya-ɔda-dogɛhd-ɔh] COIN-3S.P-day-make.true-STAT
- oyá' degyadɔdá:drehk** 'last week' [o-yá-'] 3S.P-other-NSF [deg-y-ad-ɔdá:-

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dr-e-hk] DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-DISL-
go.STAT-FORMER

shêh na' degyadôdai 'during the week'
shêh 'that' [na'deg-y-ad-ôda-i] PART-
DU-CIS-3S.A-SRF-day-stuck.on.STAT

Tsa'degyadôdai, tsa'degyadôdade'
'during the week' [tsa'deg-y-ad-
ôda-í] COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-

stuck.on.STAT [tsa'deg-y-ad-ôd-ade']
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-exist.STAT

sgá:t ɛyaôdadogéhte' 'one week' *sgá:t*
'one' [ɛ-ya-ôda-dogéhd-h-e-'] FUT-
3S.P-day-make.true-DISL-go-PUNC

tsa'degyadôdadrehk 'week before
last' [tsa'deg-y-ad-ôda-dr-e-hk]
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-day-DISL-go-FORMER

D.12 Clock time

The following information is largely from chapter 9 of Mithun & Henry (1984: 99–120).
The following terms are arranged approximately in chronological order.

Do: niyowihsdá'e:? 'What time is it?'
do: 'how' [ni-yo-wihsd-á-'e:] PART-
3S.P-metal-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

D.12.1 On the hour

sgá:t johwihsdá'e:, sgá:t ohwihsdá'e: 'one o'clock' *sgá:t* 'one' [(j)-
o-hwihsd-a-'e:] (REP)-3S.P-metal-
JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

dekní: dejohwihsdá'e:, dekní: deyohwihsdá'e: 'two o'clock' *dekní:* 'two'
[de(j)-o-hwihsd-á-'e:] DU.(REP)-3S.P-
metal-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

ahsé niyohwihsdá'e: 'three o'clock' *ahsé*
'three' [ni-yo-hwihsd-á-'e:] PART-
3S.P-metal-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

géi niyohwihsdá'e: 'four o'clock' *géi*
'four'

ja:dáhk niyohwihsdá'e: 'seven o'clock'
ja:dáhk 'seven'

gyôhdô: niyohwihsdá'e: 'nine o'clock'
gyôhdô: 'nine'

sgá:t sgahé' niyohwihsdá'e: 'eleven
o'clock' *sgá:t sgahé'* 'eleven'

dekní: sgahé' niyohwihsdá'e: 'twelve
o'clock' *dekní: sgahé'* 'twelve'

johwihsdá'ehne:' 'it was one o'clock' [j-
o-hwihsd-a-'e-hne:] REP-3S.P-metal-
JOINERASTRIKE.STAT-REM

dekní: deyohwihsdá'ehne:' 'it was two
o'clock' [de-yo-hwihsd-a-'e-hne:] DU-
3S.P-metal-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT-REM

ahsé niyohwihsdá'ehne:' 'it was three
o'clock' [ni-yo-hwihsd-a-'e-hne:]
PART-3S.P-metal-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT-
REM

tsa'degáqyahêh / gáqyahêh 'noon'
[tsa'de-gá-qhy-a-hêh] (COIN.DU)-3S.A-
sky-JOINERAMID.STAT

tsa'dewahsô:têh / wahsô:têh 'midnight'
[tsa'de-w-ahsô:d-hêh] COIN.DU-3S.A-
night-mid.STAT

D.12.2 Past the hour

tsa'deyohsê:nô' niyodôgôhdôh 'it is
half-past the hour' [tsa'de-yo-
hs-ê:nô-'] COIN.DU-3S.P-noun-
originate.from-STAT [ni-yo-d-ôgôhd-
ôh] PART-3S.P-SRF-surpass-STAT

odôgôhdô' 'it has gone beyond, sur-
passed' [o-d-ôgôhd-ôh] 3S.P-SRF-
surpass-STAT

tsá'dewahşę:nó odqoghdó sgá:t 'half past one' [tsá'de-wa-hs-ę:nó-h] COIN.DU-3S.A-noun-originate.from-HAB

tsá'dewahşę:nó odqoghdó dekni: 'half past two'

tsá'dewahşę:nó odqoghdó ahşęh 'half past three'

tsá'dewahşę:nó odqoghdó degrq' 'half past eight'

tsá'dewahşę:nó odqoghdó sgá:t sgahe' 'half past eleven'

hwíhs sgahe' odqoghdó sgá:t 'fifteen past one', '1:15' *hwíhs sgahe'* 'fifteen'

hwíhs odqoghdó ahşęh 'five past three', '3:05'

dewahşhé: hwíhs odqoghdó géi 'twenty-five past four', '4:25' *dewahşhé: hwíhs* 'twenty-five'

D.13 Place names

Place names also function as “adverbs of place” (see §8.3). For maps of place names, see Figure D.1, p. 1062 and Figure D.2, p. 1062.

Canadagwá:dih, Kanadagwá:dih 'Canada' [Kanada-gwá:dih] canada-side

Degaga'géh ganqhse:s 'Onondaga Longhouse' (Longhouse at Six Nations, ON) [de-ga-g-a'géh] DU-3S.A-noun-ON [ga-nqhs-e:s] 3S.A-house-long.STAT

Dagéhya:t 'Upper End (Six Nations, ON)' [da-g-éhy-a:t] CIS-3S.A-tip-JOINERA-stand.STAT

Dahsgaowé' (geh) 'Tuscarora, NY' (near Lewiston, NY) [dahs-ga-owé-'(geh)] CIS.REP-3S.A-split.STAT-ON

Degyotnqhsá:kdq: 'St. Catharines, ON' [deg-yo-t-nqhs-á:kdq:] DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-house-crooked.STAT

D.12.3 Before, to the hour

gyonq:ha' 'till', 'to', 'before', 'of' (referring to time) [g-yon-q:ha'] CIS-3P.P-alone.STAT

wahshé: gyonq:há' sgá:t '12:50', 'ten to one' *wahshé:* 'ten'

dewahshé: gyonq:há' hyéi' '5:40', 'twenty to six' *dewahshé:* 'twenty', *hyéi'* 'six'

hwíhs sgahe' gyonq:há' dekni: sgahe' '11:45', 'quarter to twelve' *hwíhs sgahe'* 'fifteen', *dekni: sgahe'* 'twelve'

hwíhs gyonq:há' hyéi' '5:55', 'five to six'

hwihshq', hwihshq:qh 'five-ish', 'around five o'clock' [hwihshq', hwihshq:qh]

Degyo'nehsáhqoh 'Burlington, ON' [deg-yo-'nehs-á-hqoh] DU.CIS-3S.P-sand-JOINERA-lie.across.STAT

Detgahnegaha'gó:wah 'Dunnville, ON' [det-ga-hneg-a-ha'-gó:wah] DU.CIS-3S.A-water-JOINERA-HAB-AUG

Detgahnnyqhsráhdq' 'Kingston, ON' [det-ga-hnyqhsr-áhdq-'] DU.CIS-3S.A-metal.bars-hidden.STAT

Detgayédáneqé', Tayédané:ge' 'Tyendinaga, ON' [detgayédáneqé'] [(de)thayéd-a-né:ge:'] (DU)-CIS-3S.M.A-log-JOINERA-side.by.side.STAT

Dewa'gagéh ganqhse:s 'Seneca Longhouse (Longhouse at Six Nations, ON)'

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Deyohatéhsq' 'Pittsburgh, PA' [de-yo-hat-éh-shq'] DU-3S.P-bright-STAT-PLRZ

Deyohwejáhkahsógwahno' 'states' (referring to the United States) [de-yo-hwej-a-hkahsógw-a-hno'] DU-3S.P-land-JOINERÁ-divided-JOINERÁ-DISTR.STAT

Deyoyadáε' 'No Ditch, Cattaragus, NY' [de-yo-yad-á-ε'] NEG-3S.P-ditch-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT

Deyoyégwákēh 'Sandy's Road' [de-yo-yégw-á-kēh] DU-3S.P-tobacco-JOINERÁ-joined.STAT

Dwahyáyētweh 'Jordan, ON' [d-wah-yá-yētweh] CIS-3S.A-fruit-plant-STAT

Gada:gráhsgehe:' 'Cattaraugus, NY' [ga-'da:-gráhs-gehe:] 3S.A-mud-smell.STAT-FORMER

Gahénago: 'Hamilton, ON' [ga-hén-agō:] 3S.A-bay-IN

Gahnáwageh 'Caughnawaga/Kahnawake, Quebec' [ga-hnáv-a'geh] 3S.A-moving.water-ON

Gahnáwago: 'Warren, PA' [gahnáwago:] [ga-hnáv-agō:] 3S.A-moving.water-IN

Gahnawiyó'geh 'Oklahoma' [ga-hnaw-iyó-'geh] 3S.A-moving.water-beautiful-ON

Ganádase:' 'Newtown, Cattaraugus, NY' [ga-nád-ase:] 3S.A-town-new.STAT

Ganéda'geh 'Lower End' (region of Six Nations) [ga-néd-a'geh] 3S.A-valley-ON

Ganedagó: ganóhse:s 'Lower Cayuga Longhouse' (Longhouse at Six Nations, ON) [ga-ned-agó:] 3S.A-valley-IN

Ganehsadá:geh 'Kanesatake/Oka, QC' [ga-'nehs-a-d-á:geh] 3S.A-sand-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT-ON

Ganó:nyq' 'New York, NY' [ga-nó:-nyq'] 3S.A-expensive-DISTR.STAT

Ganóhgwa'tro' 'Sour Springs, Six Nations, ON' [ga-nóhgwa'tr-o'] 3S.A-medicine-submerged.STAT

Ganóhgwa'tró' ganóhse:s 'Upper Cayuga Longhouse' (Longhouse at Six Nations, ON)

Ganyadáiyó' 'Ontario', 'Lake Ontario' [ga-nyadá-iyó'] 3S.A-lake-beautiful.STAT

Ganyε'gehónqgeh 'Mohawk Territory' [ga-nyε-'ge-hó:nq-geh] 3S.A-flint-ON-POP-ON

Gayétwahgeh 'Cornplanter Reserve' (near Warren, Pennsylvania) [ga-yétw-a'geh] 3S.A-planted-ON

Gihε'gowáhneh 'the Grand River' (in Ontario) [gihε-'gowá-hneh] 3S.A.river-AUG-AT/ON

Gwagówahneh 'England' [gwagówá-hneh] queen-AT/ON

Gwahsdq'hónqgeh 'United States' [gwahsdq-hónq-geh] boston²-POP-ON

Gwésahsneh, Ogwésahsneh 'Akwesasne Territory' (includes Cornwall, ON, and St Regis, NY) [(o)-gwesahsneh] (3S.P)-partridge-AT/ON

Gyehahshédáhkwa' 'a local word for Ohsweken, ON' [g-ye-hahshéd-áhkwa'] CIS-3S.FI.A-counsel-JOINERÁ-INSTR

Gyohnégano: 'Cold Spring, NY' [g-yo-hnég-a-no:] CIS-3S.P-water-JOINERÁ-cold.STAT

²Referring to America.

- Gyonḡhsadé:geh** ‘Cornplanter Reserve’ (a placename on Cornplanter Reserve) [g-yo-nḡhs-adé:g-ḡh] CIS-3S.P-house-burn-STAT
- Hanadagányahsgeh** ‘Washington, DC’ [ha-nad-a-gányahs-geh] 3S.M.A-town-JOINER-destroy-HAB-ON
- Hyeí Niyḡhwejá:ge** ‘Six Nations’ *hyeí* ‘six’ [ni-y-ḡhwej-á:ge:] PART-3S.P-land-exist-STAT
- Kyodró:wę:, Gyodró:wę:** ‘Buffalo, NY’ [g-yo-d-ró:wę:] CIS-3S.P-SRF-split-STAT
- Nigana’jú:’uh** ‘Cayuga, ON’ [ni-ga-na’j-ú:’uh] PART-3S.A-pail-small-STAT
- Ohí:yo’** ‘Allegheny, NY’ [o-h-í:yo’] 3S.P-flowing.water-good-STAT
- Ohnyáhęh** ‘Oneida, ON’ [o-hny-á-hęh] 3S.P-stick-JOINER-AT-STAT
- Ohswé:ge’** ‘Ohsweken, ON’
- ḡhwejagáyḡhneh** ‘Europe’ [o-hwej-a-gáyḡ-hneh] 3S.P-land-JOINER-AT-STAT
- Onéyotga:’** ‘Oneida, NY’ [o-néyot-ga:’] 3S.P-noun-hold-STAT
- Oné’dago:** ‘Pinewoods, Cattaraugus, NY’ [o-né’d-ago:] 3S.P-pine-IN
- Onódageh** ‘Onondaga, ON’ [o-nód-a’geh] 3S.P-hill-ON
- Oswé:ge’** ‘town of Ohsweken, Six Nations, ON’ [o-swé:ge’] 3S.P-place.name
- O’néhsago:** ‘In the Sand’ (a place near Tonawanda, NY) [o-’néhs-ago:] 3S.P-sand-IN
- Sganędá:dih** ‘Albany, NY’ [s-ga-nę’d-á:dih] REP-3S.A-pine-side-STAT
- Sganyada:digó:wah** ‘Europe’ [s-ga-nyada:-adi-gó:wah] REP-3S.A-lake-side-STAT-AUG
- Sganyádaes** ‘Long Lake, NY’, ‘Skaneateles, NY’ [s-ga-nyáda-es] REP-3S.A-lake-long-STAT
- Sgihé:dih** ‘Pinewoods, Cattaraugus, NY’ [s-gihé:-dih] REP-3S.A.river-side-STAT
- Tahnawá:de’** ‘Tonawanda, NY’ [t-ha-hnaw-á:de’] CIS-3S.M.A-running.water-exist-STAT
- Tayędané:ge’** ‘Deseronto, NY’ [t-ha-yęd-a-né:ge’] CIS-3S.M.A-firewood-JOINER-AT-STAT
- Tgagwé:tro’** ‘York, ON’, ‘Jarvis, ON’ [t-ga-gwé:tr-o’] CIS-3S.A-silt-submerged-STAT
- Tgahnáwęhta’, Gahnáwęhta’** ‘Niagara Falls’ [(t)-ga-hnáv-ęht-ha’] (CIS)-3S.A-running.water-flow-HAB
- Tganádaę:’** ‘Caledonia, ON’ [t-ga-náda-ę’] CIS-3S.A-town-lie-STAT
- Tganadaę’gó:wah** ‘Philadelphia, PA’ [t-ga-nada-ę’-gó:wah] CIS-3S.A-town-lie-STAT-AUG
- Tganadaháę:’** ‘Brantford, ON’ [t-ga-nada-háę:’] CIS-3S.A-town-sit.on.top.of-STAT
- Tganahwái:’** ‘Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON’ [t-ga-nahw-á-i:’] CIS-3S.A-noun-JOINER-AT-STAT
- Tganá’joha:’** ‘Mohawk Valley, NY’, ‘Ancaster, NY’ [t-ga-ná’j-oha:’] CIS-3S.A-pot-attached-STAT

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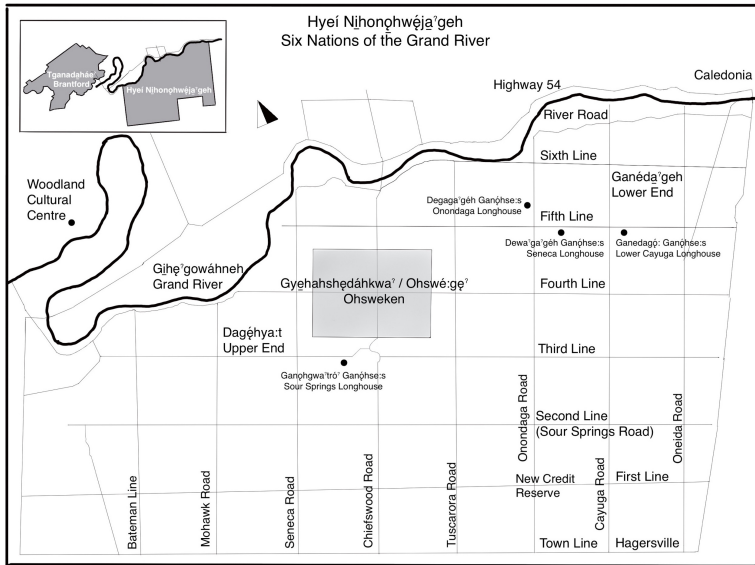


Figure D.1: Six Nations today, based on (Froman et al. 2002: xiv).

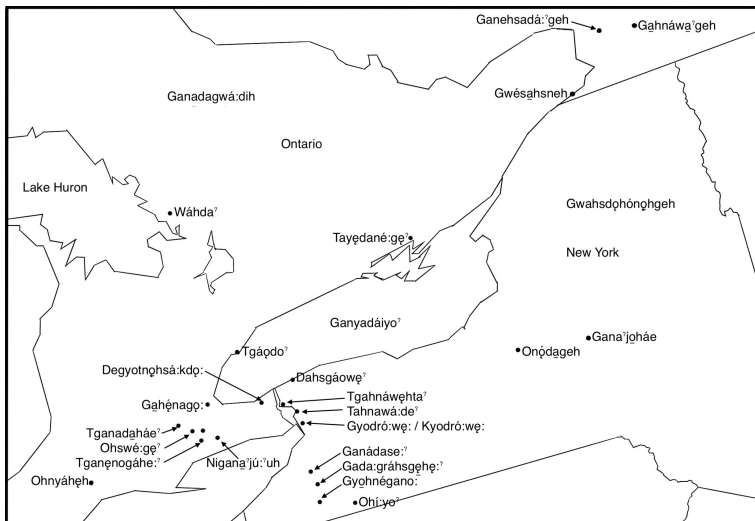


Figure D.2: Gayogohó:ng' place names, Ontario and New York State, based on (Mithun & Henry 1984: 37).

Tganənogáhe: ‘Hagersville, ON’ [t-ga-nənog-á-he:] CIS-3S.A-hickory-JOINER A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT

Tgáq:do ‘Toronto, ON’ [t-gá-qd-o] CIS-3S.A-log-submerged.STAT

Tgaya’dagwəniyo’geh ‘Ottawa, ON’ [t-ga-ya’d-a-gwəniyo’geh] CIS-3S.A-body-JOINER A-principal.STAT-ON

Wáhta ‘Gibson Reserve, ON’ *wáhta* ‘maple tree’

D.14 Greetings, origins, and affiliations

D.14.1 Greetings, social expressions, leave-taking

The following expressions are in no particular order.

Sgé:nq. ‘Hello.’

Gwé:. ‘Hello.’

Hái / háe. ‘Hello.’ (a word attributed to Oneida or Tutelo)

Agada’gáide. ‘I feel well.’

Aknəhəkdá:nih. ‘I am sick.’

Agatowínyo’sé:. ‘I have a cold.’

Aknə’á:nəhwa:s. ‘I have a headache.’

Oyányragye. ‘It is going well.’

Hao’ də’ nyoh. ‘O.k. then.’

O:nəh gi’ hyá:’. ‘So long for now’, ‘Good-bye.’

Nyá:wəh. ‘Thank you.’

Nyóh. ‘You’re welcome’, ‘Alright’, ‘O.k.’

Noya! ‘Happy New Year!’ This expression or greeting is used at the start of the New Year. (Knocking on someone’s door at New Year’s and saying “Noya:!” will reward you with some home-made doughnuts.)

(12) Sgé:nq’ swe’ géh tgo’gəhne:’!
hello long.ago I.saw.you
‘I haven’t seen you for a while!’

(16) Tə’, tət’ desgé:nq’
no no not.well
‘No, I am not well.’

(13) Sgé:nq’ gəh?
well Q
‘Are you well?’

(17) Sgé:nq’ genəhdənyəh.
well I.feel
‘I am fine or healthy.’

(14) Sgenəjih gəh?
really.well Q
‘Are you really well?’

(18) Nə’ ne’ í:s?
that it.is you
‘What about you?’

(15) Əhət’ sgé:nq’.
yes well
‘I am fine thanks.’

(19) Ne’ di’ í:s?
the so you
‘What about you?’

(20) Də’ ho’dət’ niyohdəhə:gye’?
what kind it.is.going.along.happening
‘What’s happening?’, ‘How’s it going?’

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- (21) Dẹ' ho'dẹ' niságye_ha'?
what kind you.are.doing
'What are you doing?'
- (22) Sgẹ:nọ: ọh niwágagyẹ:
slowly I.am.doing.it
'I'm taking it easy.'
- (23) Gitsgodagyé's tsọ:
I'm.loafing.around just
'I'm taking it easy.'

D.14.2 Asking about jobs

- (24) Saího'dé'?'
you.are.working
'Are you working?'
- (25) Gaẹ hwa' nhọ: hejisaiho'dé'?'
which emphasis place you.work.there
'Where do you work?'
- (26) Dẹ' hni' ho'dẹ' hoiho'dé'srọ'dẹ:?'
what and kind his.kind.of.work
'And what does he do?'
- (27) Hoiho'dé'sri:yó: gi' ne:'.
he.has.a.good.job just it.is
'He has a good job.'

D.14.3 Asking someone's age

- (28) Dó: niso_hsriyá'gọh?
how how.you(one).have.crossed.winters
'How old are you?'
- (29) Dó: ní:s nidihsé:nọ:?'
how you where.you(one).originate.from
'How old are you?'

- (30) Dó: ní:s nidihswé:nq:?
how you where.you(all).originate.from
'How old are you?'
- (31) Ahsé niwáhshę: niwagoḥsríyá'gḥ
three tens how.I.have.crossed.rivers
'I am thirty years old.'
- (32) How to communicate one's age (Use numbers in place of the ellipses.)
- a. ...niwagoḥsríyá'gḥ 'I am ... years old'
cf. ni-wag-ḥsr-íyá'g-ḥ PART-1S.P-winter-cross-STAT
 - b. ... nisohsríyá'gḥ 'you (singular) are ... years old'
 - c. ... nisnohsríyá'gḥ 'you two are ... years old'
 - d. ... nijohsríyá'gḥ 'you all are ... years old'
 - e. ... nihaḥsríyá'gḥ 'he is ... years old'
 - f. ... niyagaḥsríyá'gḥ 'she is ... years old'
 - g. ... niyonḥsríyá'gḥ 'they (animals) are ... years old'
 - h. ... nihonḥsríyá'gḥ 'they (males) are ... years old'
 - i. ... niyagonḥsríyá'gḥ 'they (females or mixed) are ... years old'
- (33) Another way to to communicate one's age (Use numbers in place of the ellipses.)
- a. ... nidihsé:nq: 'you (singular) are ... years old'
cf. ni-di-hs-é:n-q: PART-CIS-2S.P-originate.from-STAT
 - b. ... nidihswé:nq: 'you (plural) are ... years old'
 - c. ... nitawé:nq: 'he is ... years old'
 - d. ... nigya:wé:nq: 'it is ... years old'
 - e. ... nigyagawé:nq: 'she is ... years old'
 - f. ... nigyagoné:nq: 'they (females or mixed) are ... years old'
 - g. ... nito:né:nq:'s 'they (males) are ... years old'

D.14.4 Asking someone's name

- (34) Dę' ní:s ho'dę' sya:sḥ?
what you kind you.are.called
'What is your name?'

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- (35) Dê' ní:s ho'dê' swayasq̄h:nyq̄h?
what you kind you.all.are.individually.called
'What are your names?' (Each individual's name is requested)
- (36) Dê' ní:s ho'dê' swaya:sq̄h?
what you kind you.all.are.called
'What is your name?' (Said, for example, when asking people for their team's name)
- (37) Dê' ho'dê' eya:sq̄h ne' sanó:ha'?'
what kind she.is.called the your.mother
'What is your mother's (female relative's) name?'
- (38) Í:' gq̄h sgí:dq̄h?
I Q you.mean.me
'Do you mean me?'
- (39) Nq̄: ne:' í:s?
this it.is me
'What about you?'
- (40) John ní:' gyá:sq̄h.
John I I.am.called
'My name is John.'
- (41) naming someone (use names in place of the ellipses)
- a. ... gyá:sq̄h 'I am called ...'
cf. g-yá:s-qh 1S.A-named-STAT
 - b. ... akníyasq̄h 'we two are called ...'
 - c. ... agwáyasq̄h 'we all are called ...'
 - d. ... agwayasq̄honyq̄h 'we all are called ...'
cf. agwa-yas-q̄-h-ony-qh 1P.P-named-DISTR-EUPH.H-DISTR-STAT
 - e. ... kniyá:sq̄h, tniyá:sq̄h 'we two are called ...'
 - f. ... dwayá:sq̄h 'we all are called ...' (referring to a team name)
 - g. ... dwayasq̄h:nyq̄h 'we all are called ...' (referring to a list of names)
 - h. ... syá:sq̄h 'you (singular) are called ...'
 - i. ... sniyá:sq̄h 'you two are called ...'

- j. ... swayá:sq̄h ‘you all are called ...’ (referring to a team name)
- k. ... swayasq̄hó:nyq̄h ‘you all are called ...’ (referring to a list of names)
- l. ... gayá:sq̄h ‘it is called ...’
- m. ... hayá:sq̄h ‘he is called ...’
- n. ... eyá:sq̄h ‘she is called ...’
- o. ... gadiyasq̄h ‘they (animals) are called ...’ (referring to a team name)
- p. ... gadiyasq̄honyq̄h ‘they (animals) are called ...’ (referring to a list of names)
- q. ... hadiyasq̄h ‘they (males) are called ...’ (referring to a team name)
- r. ... hadiyasq̄honyq̄h ‘they (males) are called ...’ (referring to a list of names)
- s. ... gáeyasq̄h ‘they (females or mixed) are called ...’ (referring to a team name)
- t. ... gaeyasq̄honyq̄h ‘they (females or mixed) are called ...’ (referring to a list of names)

D.14.5 Asking where someone comes from

(Use place names in place of the ellipses. For place names, see §D.13.)

- (42) a. Gaé nq̄dahse:?
Where you.come.from.someplace
‘Where do you come from?’
b. ... nq̄dá:ge:?
... where.I.come.from
‘I come from ...’
- (43) a. Gaé hq̄: nq̄di:se:nq̄:?
which place where.you.originate.from
‘Where are you from?’
b. ... nq̄tgé:nq̄:
... where.I.originate.from
‘I am from ...’
- (44) a. Gaé hq̄: disahdq̄gyo:?
which place you.come.from.there
‘Where are you from?’

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- b. ... dwagáhdegyq:
... I.come.from.there
'I am from ...'
- (45) a. Gaę hq: tsi'drɔ'ʔ?
which place you.dwell.there
'Where do you live?'
- b. ... shęh tgi'drɔ'ʔ
... that I.dwell.there
'... is where I live.'

D.15 Numbers and money

The information in this section is mainly from chapter 7 of Mithun & Henry (1984: 73–80).

D.15.1 Counting to 10

sgat 'one'
dekni: 'two'
ahsęh 'three'
gęi 'four'
hwıhs 'five'

hyęi' 'six'
jádahk 'seven'
degrɔ' 'eight'
gyohdq: 'nine'
wahshę: 'ten'

D.15.2 Multiples of 10

wahshę: '10', 'ten' [w-ahsh-ę:] 3S.A-
count.STAT
dewáhshę: '20', 'two tens' [de-w-áhsh-
ę:] DU-3S.A-count.STAT
niwáhshę: 'some tens' [ni-w-áhsh-ę:]
PART-3S.A-count.STAT
ahsę niwáhshę: '30', 'three tens'

gęi niwáhshę: '40', 'four tens'
hwıhs niwáhshę: '50', 'five tens'
hyęi' niwáhshę: '60', 'six tens'
jádáhk niwáhshę: '70', 'seven tens'
degrɔ' niwáhshę: '80', 'eight tens'
gyohdq: niwáhshę: '90', 'nine tens'

D.15.3 Multiples of 100

sgá:t dewé'nyawe: '100', 'one hundred'
sgá:t 'one' [de-w-é-'ny-a-we:] DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

dekní: dewé'nyawe: '200', 'two hundred'
dekní: 'two' [de-w-é-'ny-a-we:] DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

na'dewé'nyá:we: 'some hundreds'
 [na'de-w-é-'ny-á:-we:] PART.DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

ahsé na'dewé'nyá:we: '300', 'three hundreds'

géi na'dewé'nyá:we: '400', 'four hundreds'

hwíhs na'dewé'nyá:we: '500', 'five hundreds'

hyéi' na'dewé'nyá:we: '600', 'six hundreds'

ja:dáhk na'dewé'nyá:we: '700', 'seven hundreds'

degró' na'dewé'nyá:we: '800', 'eight hundreds'

gyohdó: na'dewé'nyá:we: '900', 'nine hundreds'

D.15.4 Multiples of 1000

na'dewé'nyá:we: 'some hundreds'

wahshé: na'dewé'nyá:we: '1000', 'ten hundreds'

dewahshé: na'dewé'nyá:we: '2000', 'twenty hundreds'

[**ahsé niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '3000', 'thirty hundreds'

[**géi niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '4000', 'fourty hundreds'

[**hwíhs niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '5000', 'fifty hundreds'

[**hyéi' niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '6000', 'sixty hundreds'

[**ja:dáhk niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '7000', 'seventy hundreds'

[**degró' niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '8000', 'eighty hundreds'

[**gyohdó: niwahshé:**] **na'dewé'nyá:we:** '9000', 'ninety hundreds'

D.15.5 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers describe a position in a series of numbers.

dawá:gyé:ht 'first' [d-a-w-á:gyé:ht] CIS-FAC-3S.A-start.with.Ø.PUNC

gyogyéhdoh 'first' [g-yo-gyé:hd-oh] CIS-3S.P-start.with-STAT

wadó'ta' 'second' [w-ad-ó-'t-ha] 3S.A-

SRF-resemble-CAUS-HAB

dekní: wadó'ta' 'second'

ahséh wadó'ta' 'third'

hesgá:gō:t 'last' [hes-gá:-gō:t] TRANSL.REP-3S.A-persevere. STAT

D.15.6 Once, twice, three times

The following words functioning as “adverbs of time” are thematically related to the ordinal numbers presented in §D.15.5.

hęwá:dra:s ‘times’ [h-ę-w-adra’-hs] CIS-FUT-3S.A-meet-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
sgá:t hęwá:dra:s ‘once’, ‘one time’

dekní: hęwá:dra:s ‘twice’, ‘two times’

ahséh hęwá:dra:s ‘thrice’, ‘three times’

D.15.7 Money

gwę:nihs ‘penny’
gwęnihsó:’qh ‘change’ [gwęnihs-shó:’qh] penny-PLRZ
sgagwéni’da:t ‘1¢’, ‘one penny’, ‘one cent’ [s-ga-gwéni-’d-a:-t] REP-3S.A-penny-NMLZ-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
hwihs niyogwéni’dage: ‘5¢’, ‘five pennies’ [ni-yo-gwéni’d-age:] PART-3S.P-penny-three.or.more. STAT
hwihs gwę:nihs ‘5¢’, ‘a nickel’ [hwihs-gwę:nihs] five-penny
wahshé:gwę:nihs ‘10¢’, ‘a dime’ [wahshé:-gwę:nihs] ten-penny
hwihs gahé’gwę:nihs ‘15¢’, ‘15 cents’ [hwihs-gahé’-gwę:nihs] five-teen-penny
dewahshé:gwę:nihs ‘20¢’, ‘twenty cents’ [dewahshé:-gwę:nihs] twenty-penny

degahsió’trage: ‘25¢’, ‘twenty-five cents’, ‘a quarter’ [de-ga-hsió’tr-age:] DU-3S.A-bit-three.or.more. STAT
gei: nigahsió’trage: ‘50¢’, ‘fifty cents’ [ni-ga-hsió’tr-age:] PART-3S.A-bit-three.or.more. STAT
hyei’ nigahsió’trage: ‘75¢’, ‘seventy-five cents’
ohwihsda’ ‘money’ [o-hwihsd-a’] 3S.P-money-NSF
sgahwihsda:t ‘one dollar’ [s-ga-hwihsd-a:-t] REP-3S.A-money-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT
degahwihsdá:ge: ‘two dollars’ [de-ga-hwihsd-á:ge:] DU-3S.A-money-three.or.more. STAT
ahséh nigahwihsdá:ge: ‘three dollars’ [ni-ga-hwihsd-á:ge:] PART-3S.A-money-three.or.more. STAT

D.16 Government and business

Thematic headwords (in small caps) either provide the English name for a Canadian government organization or constitute a thematic category for grouping related words. For single-word entries such as *haihwahé:de* (see below), both morpheme breakdowns and translations are provided. In contrast, for compound entries such as *Qgwehówéh Oih-wagéhsó* (see below), only the approximate translations of each word of the compound are provided.

ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Qgwehqwéh Oihwagéhsq'

Qgwehqwéh 'First Nations people'

Oihwagéhsq' 'affairs, statistics'

ABORIGINAL TRAPPERS' FEDERATION

Qgwehqwéh Honenigyohgwaé' Hę-nadrihsdáçhe'

Qgwehqwéh 'First Nations people'

honenigyohgwaé' 'their (males) crowd, group, association'

hęnadrihsdáçhe' 'they (males) are trappers'

ABORIGINAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

Qgwehqwéh Gaihonyá:ni:' Hęná-gyehę'

Qgwehqwéh 'First Nations people'

gaihonyá:ni:' 'education'

hęnaggyehę' 'they (males) do it'

ADMINISTER

hadi:hwahę:de' 'an administration' [hadi-ihw-a-hę:d-e-'] 3NS.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-ahead-go-STAT

haihwahę:de' 'he is an administrator' [3S.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-ahead-go-STAT]

eihwahę:de' 'she is an administrator' 3S.FI.A-matter-JOINERÁ-ahead-go-STAT

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

ganqhsagwę:ní:yo' [ga-nqhs-agwęniyo'] 3S.A-house-JOINERÁ-principal.STAT

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Tęnę nigqhó:ta' 'they (males) make suggestions' [t-hęn-ę-nigqhot-ha'] CIS-3NS.M.A-SRF-suggest-habitual.STAT

Hadi:hwadogęhsta' 'they (males) make things right' [hadi-ihw-a-dogęhst-ha']

3NS.M.A.-matter-JOINERÁ-set.straight-HAB

AFFAIRS

hęnahshe:dáhs oihwagéhsq' 'affairs, statistics'

hęnahshedahs 'they (males) count'

oihwagéhsq' 'matters'

AGENCY

gegyohgwagéhq' 'associations', 'councils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-a-géhq'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINERÁ-lie.about.STAT

AMBASSADOR

gonha'trá' shagogyá'danqhwá:nih 'ambassadors', 'commissioners'

gonha'trá' 'someone's assistant'

shagogyá'danqhwá:nih 'he represents people'

ARBITRATION

dęhadi:hwagę:nha' 'arbitration' [dę-hadi-ihw-a-gé:nh-a-'] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate.for-JOINERÁ-HAB

ARCHIVE

oihwagá:yoh, oihwagýqhsq' 'archives' [o-ihw-a-gá:y-q-(hsq')] 3S.P-matter-JOINERÁ-old.item-STAT-(PLRZ)

ARM (OF AN ORGANIZATION)

heganętsá:de' 'an arm/branch/division' (of an organization), 'a municipality' [he-ga-nęts-á:de'] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

heganętsa:dé' deyqkiyqhwęjá'nya:' 'an arm/branch/division' (of an organization)

deyqkiyqhwęjá'nya:' 'they look after our land'

heganętsa:dé' deyodekahsqwáhq' 'divisions' (of an organization)

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deyodekahsɔgwahɔ 'they (objects) are divided'

ARTS

hɛnagyenáhta 'the Arts' [hɛn-ag-yenáht-ha'] 3NS.M.A-SRF-perform-HAB

ARTS COUNCIL

Hɛnagyenáhta 'Gɛgyóhgwɛ'

hɛnagyenáhta 'they (males) perform'
gɛgyóhgwɛ 'association'

ARTS FOUNDATION

Oihwagwe:góh Hadiya 'dahsdahnɔh
Honahsdi:hsdɔh

oihwagwe:góh 'the whole idea'
hadiya 'dahsdahnɔh' 'they (males)
make things'
honahsdi:hsdɔh 'foundation'

ASSEMBLY

Honɔhwejagwɛ:ni:yo 'they (males)
lead the land' [hon-ɔhwej-ag-
wɛ:ni:yo'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINER-
principal.STAT

ASSEMBLY OF FIRST NATIONS

Honɔhwejagwɛ:ni:yó 'Honɛnigyohg-
wahsrɔ:ni:

honɔhwejagwɛ:ni:yo 'assembly'
honɛnigyohgwahsrɔ:ni: 'they (males)
fix groups'

ASSISTANT

ɛyagoyɛnawá 'syagye' 'she will go
along helping' [ɛ-yago-yɛnawá-sy-
a-gy-e-'] FUT-3S.F.I.A-help-JOINER-
PROG-go-PUNC

ASSOCIATION

gɛgyohgwagéhɔ 'associations', 'coun-
cils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-
a-géhɔ'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINER-
lie.about.STAT

ASSURANCE

adrihwagyaɔhsrá 'hadiganya's 'insur-
ance, assurance'

adrihwagyaɔhsra 'disaster'
hadiganya's 'they (males) pay'

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Dehaihwagenhasgó:wah 'he is the At-
torney General', 'he is the princi-
pal lawmaker' [de-ha-ihw-a-genha-s-
gó:wah] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINER-
argue.for-HAB-AUG

AUDITOR

hɛnatwihsda:nɔh hadikdɔha 'they (males) guard
the money'

hɛnatwihsdanɔh 'they (males) guard
the money'
hadikdɔha 'they (males) examine it'

hɛnatwihsda:nɔh honátgaha:

honátgaha: 'they (males) are watch-
ing'

AUDITOR GENERAL

Hatwihsdanɔhgó:wah (ohé:dɔ) [h-at-
hwihsd-a-nɔh-gó:wah] 'he is the chief
money-guarder' 3S.M.A-SRF-money-
JOINER-guard.STAT-AUG

ohé:dɔ 'ahead'

BETTER BUSINESS BUREAU

Honahdɛgya 'dɔh Tadidagwáihshɔhs

honahdɛgya 'dɔh 'business', 'industry'
tadidagwáihshɔhs 'where they (males)
keep things straight'

BAILIFF

hɔwaih wáwa 'se' 'he goes and sup-
ports him' [hɔwa-ihw-á-wá's-e-']
3SG.M.HUM>3SG.M-matter-JOINER-
reinforce-go-STAT

BANK

ehwihsdáɛdahkwa

[e-hwihsd-á-ɛd-á-hkwa'] 3S.F.I.A-
money-JOINER-put-JOINER-INSTR

BANK OF CANADA

Ehwihsdaędahkwa'gowáhneh [e-hwihsd-a-ęd-a-hkwa'-gowá-hneh]
3S.FI.A-money-JOINERA-put-JOINERA-
INSTR-AUG-AT/ON

BILINGUALISM

degawęná:ge: [de-ga-węn-á:ge:] DU-
3S.A-voice-certain.number.STAT

BILL OF RIGHTS, CHARTER OF RIGHTS
AND FREEDOMS

Tęwa:na:wí: Gaya'dagęnhahsrá'
Gayáņhsra'
tęwa:na:wí: 'he has given us rights'
gaya'dagęnhahsra' 'helpfulness'
gayanehsra' 'rights', 'laws', 'code'

BOARD

honadrihwahsdí:hsdęh 'board', 'bu-
reau', 'office', 'department', 'founda-
tion', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-
a-hsdí:hsd-ęh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-
JOINERA-care.for-STAT

BONDS

sayę:dę 'you own things' [sa-yę:-d-ę]
2S.P-have-EUPH.D-DISTR.STAT

BRANCH

heganętsá:de' 'an arm, branch, divi-
sion (of an organization)', 'a munici-
pality' [he-ga-ņęts-á:de'] TRANSL-3S.A-
arm-exist.STAT

heganętsa:dé' deyękiyęhwejá'nyá:
'an arm, branch, division of an orga-
nization'

deyękiyęhweja'nyá: 'they look after
our land'

heganętsa:dé' deyodekahsęgwáhę' di-
visions (of an organization)

deyodekahsęgwahę 'they (objects) are
divided'

BUREAU

honadrihwahsdí:hsdęh 'board', 'bu-
reau', 'office', 'department', 'founda-
tion', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-
a-hsdí:hsd-ęh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-
JOINERA-care.for-STAT

BUSINESS

honahdeęyá'dęh 'business', 'indus-
try' [hon-ahdeęyá'd-ęh] 3NS.M.P-
cause.to.leave-STAT

BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

honahdeęya'dęh geęyóhgwae'
honahdeęya'dęh 'business', 'industry'
geęyohgwae' 'association', 'council',
'agency', 'group'

CABINET

Gwago:wáh Gaęęwe'dá' Geęyohg-
wagęhę'
Gwa:go:wah 'royalty'
gaęęwe'da' 'people'
geęyohgwagęhę' 'associations', 'coun-
cils', 'agencies', 'groups'

CANADA ACT

Gayanehsrá' Qęwahsháine'
gayanehsra' 'rights', 'laws', 'code'
ęęwahshaine' 'they govern us'

CANADA COUNCIL

Ohwihsdá' Tęnahtga's
ohwihsda' 'money'
tęnahtga's 'they (males) forfeit, let go
of it'

CANADA POST CORPORATION

Gahyadęhsranęhwih Geęyóhgwae'
gahyadęhsranęhwih 'post office'
geęyohgwae' 'corporation'

CANDIDATE

dęhęhda:t [dę-h-ęhda:t] 'he will run'
DU.FUT-3S.M.A-run.ę.PUNC

D Thematic dictionary

CAPITAL CITY

Ganadagwe'ní:yo' [ga-nada-gwe'ní:yo']
3S.A-town-principal.STAT

CENSUS

hɛnadɔgwe'dahshé:dahs' 'they (males)
count people' [hɛn-ad-ɔgwe'd-a-
hshé:d-a-hs] 3NS.M.A-SRF-people-
JOINERA-count-JOINERA-HAB

CHAIRMAN

hodrihwahsdihsdɔh 'he looks after mat-
ters', 'he takes care of business' [ho-d-
rihw-a-hsdihsd-ɔh] 3S.M.P-SRF-matter-
JOINERA-care.for-STAT

hokyɛdahkwáhsdihsdɔh 'he cares for
the chair' [ho-kyɛdahkw-á-hsdihsd-
ɔh] 3S.M.P-chair-JOINERA-care.for-
STAT

CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, BILL OF RIGHTS

Tɔwa:na:wí: Gaya'dagɛnhahsrá'
Gayánehsra'
tɔwa:na:wí: 'he has given us rights'
gaya'dagɛnhahsra' 'helpfulness'
gayánehsra' 'rights'

CHIEF

hadigowá:nɛ's 'they (males) are big'
[hadi-gowá:n-ɛ-'s] 3NS.M.A-big-STAT-
PL

CHIEF JUSTICE

Shagodɛnyéhta'go:wah 'he is our prin-
ciple judge' [shago-dɛnyéht-ha'-
go:wah] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-judge-HAB-AUG

CHILD WELFARE

eksa'shɔ:'ɔh hɔwadihswá'neta'
eksa'shɔ:'ɔh 'they (fe/males) are chil-
dren'
hɔwadihswá'neta' 'they support them'

CHILDREN'S AID OFFICE

hadiksashɔ'ɔh dehqwadihsnye'
hadiksa'shɔ:'ɔh 'they (males) are chil-
dren'
dehqwadihsnye' 'they care for them'

CITIZENSHIP

dehqwadiɛnye's 'they change
them' [de-hɔwadi-dɛnyé-'s] DU-
3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-change-HAB

**dehqwadiɛnye's tsɛh nɪhonɔh-
wɛjɔ'dɛ:**

tsɛh 'that, what'

nɪhonɔhwɛjɔ'dɛ: 'their kind of land' [nɪ-
hon-ɔhwɛj-ɔ'dɛ:] PART-3NS.M.P-land-
type.of-STAT

COALITION

sgɛgyohgwá:t odɔ'ɔh
sgɛgyohgwá:t 'one group'
odɔ'ɔh 'it has become'

sga'nigɔhá:t odɔ'ɔh
sga'nigɔhá:t 'one mind'

dehodi:hwáɛda'seh 'coalition' [de-
hodi-ihw-á-ɛd-a-'se-h] DU-3NS.M.P-
matter-JOINERA-lie-JOINERA-DISTR-
HAB

CODE

gayánehsra' 'rights', 'laws', 'code' [ga-
yánehsr-a'] 3S.A-rights-NSF

gayánehsrá'geh 'rights', 'laws', 'code'
[ga-yánehsr-a'geh] 3S.A-rights-ON

COMMISSIONER

gonha'trá' shagogyá'danɔhgwá:nih
'ambassadors', 'commissioners'
gonha'tra' 'someone's assistant'
shagogyá'danɔhgwa:nih 'he represents
people'

CONSENSUS

degaihwáęda's [de-ga-ihw-á-ęd-a-'s]
DU-3S.A-matter-JOINER-lie.down-
JOINER-HAB

CONSERVATION

dehęnqhwęjáhnsnye' 'they (males) care
for the land'
[de-hęn-qhwęj-a-hsnye-'] DU-3NS.M.A-
land-JOINER-care.for-HAB

honqhwęjátgaha:' 'they (males)
look after the land' [hon-qhwęj-
átgah-a:] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINER-
pay.attention.to-HAB

CONSTITUTION

Gayanehsra'gó:wah [ga-yanehsr-a'-
gó:wah] 3S.A-law-NSF-AUG

CONSTITUTION ACT

Gahyadóhsragwe:ní:yo' [ga-hyadóhsr-
a-gwe:ní:yo'] 3S.A-paper-JOINER-
principal.STAT

CONSUMER'S AFFAIRS

Gahninqhnyq' **Odedagwaihshqhagy'e'**
gahninqhnyq' 'consumption, pur-
chased items'
odedagwaihshqhagy'e' 'it is being
straightened out'

CORPORATION

dęhonagyęhsdqh 'they (males) stir
things together' [dę-hon-ag-yęhsd-
qh] DU-3NS.M.P-SRF-mix.together-
STAT

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

qdadęnhodqhkwa' oihwa'geh
qdadęnhodqhkwa' 'jail', 'prison'
oihwa'geh 'the reason/idea for some-
thing'

COUNSELOR

haháhshęhe' 'he gives advice' [ha-
háhshę-he'] 3S.M.A-give.advice-HAB

COUNCIL

gegyóhgwaę' 'association', 'council',
'agency', 'group' [ga-igyóhgwa-ę']
3S.A-crowd-JOINER-lie.STAT

gegyohgwagęhq' 'associations', 'coun-
cils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-
a-gęhq'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINER-
congregate.STAT

COUNTRY

odqhwęjádę' 'existing land' [o-d-
qhwęj-ádę'] 3S.P-SRF-land-exist.STAT

COURTS

Hadihahsę'dąhkwa'gowáhgeh 'where
the main counsellors are' [hadi-
hahsę'd-a-hkwa'-gowá-hgeh]
3NS.M.A-counsel-JOINER-INSTR-AUG-
AT/ON

hadihahshę'dąhkwa' [hadi-hahsę'd-
a-hkwa'] 3NS.M.A-counsel-JOINER-
INSTR

COURTHOUSE

dęhadihahsędąhkwa' [dę-hadi-
hahsę'd-a-hkwa'] DU-3NS.M.A-
counsel-JOINER-INSTR

CROWN

gwa:gó:wah 'royalty', 'king', 'queen',
'the crown'

CROWN CORPORATION

Gwa:go:wáh Dęhonagyęhsdqh
gwa:go:wah 'royalty'
dęhonagyęhsdqh 'a corporation'

CROWN COUNCIL

Gwa:go:wáh Deshagodihwagę:nhahs
gwa:go:wah 'royalty'
deshagodihwagę:nhahs 'they argue for
us'

CSIS (CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLI-
GENCE SERVICE)

dęhadinęhędá:s honadrihwahsęhdqh
ohwejáję:donyq' 'intelligence agency',

D Thematic dictionary

‘spy agency’

dehadineḡeda:s ‘they (males) are guards’

honadrihwahsehdq̄h ‘they are secretive’

ohwejae:ḡonyq̄ ‘lands’, ‘countries’

CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Tiyogweḡdadejih Goihwageh

Tiyogweḡdadejih ‘culture’

goihwageh ‘someone’s affairs’

CULTURE

Tiyogweḡdadejih [ti-y-ogweḡd-ade-jih]

CONTR-3S.P-person-exist.STAT-INTS

CURATOR

ekḡoḡahkwaḡgeh hohsdihsdq̄h

ekḡoḡahkwaḡgeh ‘museum’

hohsdihsdq̄h ‘he is a director’

DEPARTMENT

honadrihwahsdi:hsdq̄h ‘board’, ‘bureau’, ‘office’, ‘department’, ‘foundation’, ‘institute’ [hon-ad-rihwa-hsdi:hsd-q̄h] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER A-care.for-STAT

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY AND MINES

Ohwejagéh Wahḡeyḡatá Ohwejagq̄hsq̄ Honadrihwahsdi:hsdq̄h

ohwejageh ‘on earth’

wahḡeyaḡtaḡ ‘a starter’

ohwejagq̄hsq̄ ‘under the earth’

honadrihwahsdi:hsdq̄h ‘department’

DEVELOPMENT

hodisrḡnihagyeḡ ‘they (males) are developing it’ [hodi-hsrḡní-h-a-gy-e-ḡ] 3NS.M.P-make-EUPH.H-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT

DIRECTOR

gohsdihsdq̄h ‘she is a director, principal, head’ [go-hsdihsd-q̄h] 3S.FI.A-care.for-STAT

hohsdihsdq̄h ‘he is a director, principal, head’ [ho-hsdihsd-q̄h] 3S.M.A-care.for-STAT

gaihḡonya:ní:ḡohsdihsdq̄h ‘she is an education director’

gaihḡonya:ní: ‘education’

owḡe:náḡhohsdihsdq̄h ‘he is a language director’

owḡe:náḡ ‘word’

degahsnyeḡq̄:ḡhosdihsdq̄h ‘he is a maintenance director’

degahsnyeḡq̄: ‘it cleans up’

degaḡdohdá:s ohḡe:dq̄ ‘maintenance director’

degaḡdohda:s ‘they (fe/males) tidy up’

ohḡe:dq̄ ‘head’, ‘lead’

gaihwaohq̄:ḡhohsdihsdq̄h ‘he is a research director’

gaihwaohq̄: ‘gathered news or ideas’

DIVISION (OF AN ORGANIZATION)

heganḡtsá:deḡ ‘an arm, branch, division (of an organization)’, ‘a municipality’ [he-ga-nḡts-á:deḡ] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

heganḡtsa:deḡ deyḡkiyḡhwejáḡnya:ḡ ‘an arm, branch, division of an organization’

deyḡkiyḡhwejáḡnya:ḡ ‘they look after our land’

heganḡtsa:deḡ deyodekahsḡgwáhq̄ ‘divisions (of an organization)’

deyodekahsḡgwáhq̄ ‘they (objects) are divided’

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (OFFICE)

ohẹ:dq: ha'watahi:né? gotganq-nihagye'

ohẹ:dq: 'ahead', 'lead'

ha'watahi:né? 'it is walking there'

gotganqnihagye? 'prosperity'

EDUCATION (POSTSECONDARY)

he:tgẹh tga:déh hẹnadewáyẹhsta? 'higher learning', 'postsecondary education'

he:tgẹ? tga:de? 'it is superior'

hẹnadewáyẹhsta? 'they (males) are learners'

ELECT, ELECTION

dẹhẹnẹniyohgwagẹ:ni? 'they will have an election' [dẹ-hẹn-ẹn-igyohgw-agẹ:ni-?] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-CROWD-JOINER-A-compete-PUNC

dẹhsẹniyohgwagẹ:ni? 'you will vote, cast lots' [dẹhsẹniyohgwagẹ:ni?] DU.FUT-2S.A-SRF-CROWD-JOINER-A-compete-PUNC

họsá'họwadiyá'dinyo:t 'they re-elected him, them' [họsá'-họwadi-yá'd-inyo:t] CIS.REP.FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-body-put.in.Ø.PUNC

sahọwaditsgó:dẹ? 'they re-elected him, them' [sa-họwadi-tsg-ó:d-ẹ?] REP.FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.body-put.in-PUNC

ahọwaditsó:dẹ? 'they elected him, them' [ahọwaditsó:d-ẹ?] FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.body-put.in-PUNC

ha'ha:yq? né: tó ahọwadi:tsgó:dẹ? 'they elected him, them'

ha'ha:yq? 'he scored'

ne: tó ahọwadi:tsgó:dẹ? 'it is that they (males) elected him, them'

EMPLOYEE

senhá'tra? 'you are an employee' [s-eh-nhá'tr-a?] 2S.A-JOINER-E-hired.person-NSF

EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION, HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Hẹnadẹhá's Dẹhẹnadogw'edádenye's

hẹnadẹha's 'they (males) order it'

dẹhẹnadogw'edadenye's 'human development', 'people are changed'

EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

Dẹhadiho'dẹhsragwẹni:yo? 'their (males) main work place' [dẹ-hadiho'dẹhsr-a-gwẹni:yo?] DU-3NS.M.A-work.place-principal.STAT

ENVIRONMENT

tsẹh niyohdqhogyé? tsẹh hẹhwejadá:doh

tsẹh niyohdqhogyé? 'what it is like'

tsẹh hẹhwejadádoh 'that he has created the earth'

FEDERAL

hadigowáhsq? 'they (males) are big' [hadi-gowáh-shq?] 3NS.M.A-big.STAT-PLRZ

FEDERATION

degeṅnadawẹnye'ta'gẹh 'place where things are stirred up' [de-geṅnad-awẹnye't-ha'-gẹh] DU-3P.A-SRF-get.stirred-up-HAB-ON

FISH AND WILDLIFE

ganadadwẹ:ni:yó? gadi:nyo:?

genadadwẹ:ni:yo? 'they (animals) are wild'

gadi:nyo:? 'wild animals'

FOREST INDUSTRY

hadi'nhahgyá's honahdegyá'doh

D Thematic dictionary

hadi'nhahgya's 'they (males) cut down the forest'

honahdegya'doh 'industry'

FOUNDATION

honadrihwahsdí:hsdoh 'board', 'bureau', 'office', 'department', 'foundation', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihwa-hsdí:hsd-oh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINERÁ-care.for-STAT

GOVERN

ogwahsháine' 'we all are governed' [ogwa-sháine'] 1P.P-governed.STAT

GOVERNMENT

deyqiyqhwejá'nya:' 'they look after our land', 'they take care of business' (refers to a title, an office) [de-yqiy-ohwej-á-'nya-:] DU-3FIS/3NS:INS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINERÁ-govern-HAB

GOVERNOR GENERAL, PRIME MINISTER

gwa:go:wáh gonhá'tra'

gwa:go:wah 'royalty'

gonhá'tra' 'someone's assistant'

GRANT

hqwadihwihsdawihis 'a subsidy', 'a grant' [hqwadi-hwihsd-awi-hs] 3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-money-give-HAB

GROUP

gegyohgwagéhq' 'associations', 'councils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgwa-géhq'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINERÁ-congregate.STAT

honenigyóhgwæ' 'their groups lying there' [hon-en-igyóhgw-a-é'] 3NS.M.P-SRF-group-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT

HEALTH

Ada'gaidęhsrá' Oihwá'geh

adagaidehsra' 'health'

oihwa'geh 'the reason, the idea for something'

HEALTH CANADA

ada'gaidęhsrá' dehodi:hwahja:'

adagaidehsra' 'health'

dehodi:hwahs'a:' 'they (males) are earning, fulfilling it'

HIGHER EDUCATION

he:tgęh tga:déh hęnadewáyęhsta' 'higher learning', 'postsecondary education'

he:tgę' tga:de' 'it is superior'

hęnadewayęhsta' 'they (males) are learners'

HOUSE OF COMMONS, LEGISLATURE

hęnagyeđahkwá' hadiyanęhsrj:nih

hęnagyeđahkwa' 'their (males) chair'

hadiyanęhsrj:nih 'they (males) make the laws'

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION

Hęnadęnhá's Dehęnadqgw'edádenye's

hęnadęnha's 'they (males) order it'

dehęnadqgwe'dadenye's 'human development', 'people are changed'

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Heyqgw'e'da:gwe:gqh Goyanęhsraé' Gęgyóhgwæ'

heyqgw'e'da:gwe:gqh 'all humans everywhere'

goyanęhsraé' 'someone's laws, rights'

gęgyohgwæ' 'association' (etc.)

INDUSTRY

honahdegyá'doh 'business', 'industry' [hon-ahdegyá'd-oh] 3NS.M.P-cause.to.leave-STAT

INSPECTOR GENERAL

Hakdoha'gó:wah 'he is the main inspector' [ha-kdo-ha'-gó:wah] 3S.M.A-examine-HAB-AUG

INSTITUTE

honadrihwahsdí:hsdoh 'board', 'bureau', 'office', 'department', 'foundation', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-oh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINERÁ-care.for-STAT

INSURANCE

adrihwagyaqhsrá' hadíganya's 'insurance', 'assurance'
adrihwagyaqhsra' 'disaster'
hadiganya's 'they (males) pay'

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

ohsodagóhsq' 'an intelligence agency' [o-hsod-agó-hsq'] 3S.P-darkness-IN-PLRZ

dehadineheda:s honadrihwahsehdoh ohwejáedonyo' 'intelligence agency', 'spy agency'
dehadineheda:s 'they (males) are guards'
honadrihwahsehdoh 'they (males) are secretive'
ohwejáedonyo' 'various lands, countries'

JAIL

odadēnhódqhkwa' 'jail', 'prison' [o-dadē-nhódqhkwa-ha'] 3S.FI.A-REFL-locked.up-HAB

JUDGE

shagodēnyéhta' 'he judges us' [shago-dē-nyéht-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-SRF-judge-HAB

JURY

deshagodiya'dówehta' 'they think about us' [de-shagodi-ya'dóweht-ha'] DU-3NS(NFI):3FI-think.about-HAB

JUSTICE

gaihwaḥsró:nih 'justice', 'rules' [ga-ihw-a-hsró:ni-h] 3S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-fix-HAB

KING

gwa:gó:wah 'royalty', 'king', 'queen', 'the crown'

hḡwadigwa:gó:wah 'their king' [hḡwadi-gwa:gó:wah] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-king

LABOUR BOARD

gaiho'dēhsrá' gayanehsrá' hadíhsre'
gaiho'dēhsra' 'work'
gayanehsra' 'rights, laws', etc.
hadíhsre' 'they (males) follow'

LABOUR RELATIONS BOARD

gaiho'dēhsrá' gayanehsrá' honádihsdoh
gaiho'dēhsra' 'work'
gayanehsra' 'rights', 'laws', etc.
honahsdi:hsdoh 'foundation', 'board', etc.

LAND

sahwé:ja', sqhwé:ja', saḡhwé:ja' 'your land/property/real estate' [s(a)-(ḡ)hwé:j-a'] 2S.P-land-NSF

LAND CLAIM

hēḡhwejáhsghenhahs 'they (males) contest land' [hēḡ-ḡhwej-á-hsghenh-a-hs] 3NS.M.A-land-JOINERÁ-compete.for-JOINERÁ-HAB

LAND OWNER, LAND TITLE

honḡhwejá:dḡ' 'land owners', 'land titles' [hon-ḡhwej-á-ḡ:d-ḡ'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINERÁ-have-euph.d-DISTR.STAT

honḡhwejáhsnḡ' 'land titles' [hon-ḡhwej-á-hsn-ḡ'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINERÁ-look.after-DISTR.STAT

D Thematic dictionary

LAW

gayánehsra 'rights', 'laws', 'code' [ga-yánehsr-a'] 3S.A-rights-NSF

gayanehsrá'geh 'rights', 'laws', 'code' [ga-yánehsr-a'geh] 3S.A-rights-ON

LAWMAKER

gaeyanehsró:nih 'lawmakers' [gae-yanehsr-ó:ni-h] 3NS.FLA-laws-make-HAB

swayanehsró:nih 'you're a lawmaker' [swa-yanehsr-ó:ni-h] 2S.A-laws-make-HAB

LAWYER, ATTORNEY

dehahiwágenhahs 'he is a lawyer' [de-ha-ihw-á-genh-a-hs] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate.for-JOINERÁ-HAB

dehadihwágenhas 'they (males) are lawyers' [de-hadi-hw-á-genh-a-hs] DU-3NS.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate.for-JOINERÁ-HAB

dehahiwagenhahsgó:wah 'he is the Attorney General' [de-ha-ihw-a-genh-a-hs-gó:wah] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate.for-JOINERÁ-HAB-AUG

LEADER

həwadigówanəh 'their leader' [həwadi-gówan-əh] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-big-STAT

shedwagowá:nəh 'he is our leader' [shedwa-gowá:n-əh] 1INP:3MS-big-STAT

shagohe:dó: (gyohwéjade) 'leader' (of a land, country, or territory)

shagohe:dó: 'a leader'

gyohwejade 'existing land'

LEGISLATURE, HOUSE OF COMMONS

Hənagyədəhkwa' Hadiyanəhsró:nih

hənagyədəhkwa' 'their (males) chair'

hadiyanəhsró:nih 'they (males) make the laws'

LICENSING AND CONTROL BOARD

həwadihyadqhsra:wihš gayanehsrá'geh

həwadihyadqhsra:wihš 'licensing body'

gayanehsra'geh 'rights' (etc.)

LICENSING BODY

həwadihyadqhsrá:wihš [həwadihyadqhsr-á:wi-hš] 'they (males) give them (males) paper' 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-paper-give-HAB

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, MLA, ETC.

Hanhá'tra' [ha-nhá'tr-a'] 'he is a member of parliament' 3S.M.A-employed.person-NSF

Hadinha'tra'sq:q̄h 'they (males) are employees', etc. [hadi-nha'tr-a'sq:q̄h] 3NS.M.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

MINISTER

gonhá'tra'sq' 'they (fe/males) are ministers' [go-nhá'tr-a'sq'] 3S.FI.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

hadinha'trá'shə' 'they (males) are ministers or aides' [hadi-nha'tr-á'shə'] 3NS.M.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

gwa:go:wáh gonhá'tra' 'Governor General', 'Prime Minister'

gwa:go:wah 'royalty', etc.

gonha'tra' 'someone's assistant'

MINISTRY

həwadishahsdəhsrá:wi: 'they (males) give them power' [həwadi-shahsdəhsr-á:wi:] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-power-give-STAT

MULTILINGUALISM

ta²degawénage: ‘all kinds of languages’, ‘multilingualism’ [ta²de-ga-wén-age:]
CONTR.DU-3S.A-voice-number.of.STAT

MUNICIPAL

hadiahshéhe² ‘they (males) are municipal’ [hadi-hahshé-he²] 3NS.M.A-counsel-HAB

MUNICIPALITY

heganetsá:de ‘an arm/branch/division’ (of an organization), ‘a municipality’ [he-ga-nets-á:de²] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

NATIONAL

heyqhweja:gwé:gqh ‘lands everywhere’ [he-y-qhwej-a:gwé:g-qh] TRANSL-3S.A-land-JOINER-ALL-STAT

NATURAL RESOURCES

gawayənahta:² ohwejagéhgeha:²
gawayənahta:² ‘resources’
ohwejagéhgeha:² ‘earthly things’

NATURE

nahawayənanhe² ‘his finished creation’ [na-ha-wayə-n-a-nh-e-²] PART.FAC-3S.M.A-finish-JOINER-DISL-GO-PUNC

OFFICE

honadrihwahsdí:hsdqh ‘board’, ‘bureau’, ‘office’, ‘department’, ‘foundation’, ‘institute’, etc. [hon-ad-rihwa-hsdí:hsd-qh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER-care.for-STAT

deyqkiyqhwehjáhsnye² ‘they look after our land’ (refers to a title, an office) [de-yqki-y-qhweh-j-á-hsnye-²] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINER-care.for-HAB

deyqkiyqhwejá²nya:² ‘they look after our land, take care of business’ (refers

to a title, an office) [de-yqki-y-qhwej-á-²nya-²] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINER-look.over-HAB

OMBUDSMAN

enhá²tra² ‘ombudsman’, etc. [e-nhá²tr-á²] 3S.FI.A-employed.person-NSF

PARLIAMENT

Ganqhsowanqhgó:wah ‘great, principal house’ [ga-nqhs-owan-qh-gó:wah] 3S.A-house-big-STAT-AUG

hadiyanehsró:nih ‘a governing body’, ‘Parliament’ [hadi-yanehsr-ó:ni-h] 3NS.M.A-law-make-HAB

PEOPLE’S COUNCIL

qgwéh heyeyihwahwinyó²ta²geh

q:gwéh ‘person’

heyeyihwahwinyó²ta²geh ‘someone puts in ideas’

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION, HIGHER LEARNING

he:tgéh tga:déh hənadewáye²hsta² ‘higher learning’, ‘postsecondary education’

he:tgé² tga:de² ‘it is superior’

hənadewáye²hsta² ‘they (males) are learners’

PREMIER

Ohədqhgó:wah (ne²) ‘Premier (of)’ [o-hədqh-gó:wah] 3S.P-lead-STAT-AUG
ne² ‘the’

PRESERVATION, CONSERVATION

dehənqhwejáhsnye² ‘land preservation’, ‘land conservation’ [de-hənqhwej-á-hsnye-²] DU-3NS.M.A-land-JOINER-care.for-HAB

PRESIDENT

shagohe²dó: gyohwéjade² ‘leader’ (of a land, country, or territory)

D Thematic dictionary

shagohędq: ‘he leads us’

gyohwejade ‘existing land’

Hanadagá:nyahs ‘the President of the United States’ [ha-nada-gá:ny-a-hs] 3S.M.A-town-destroy-JOINERÁ-HAB

PRIME MINISTER, GOVERNOR GENERAL

gwa:go:wáh gonhá’tra

gwa:go:wah ‘royalty’, etc.

gonhá’tra ‘someone’s assistant’

shagohędq: gyohwéjade ‘leader’ (of a land, country, or territory)

shagohędq: ‘he leads us’

gyohwejade ‘existing land’

PRINCIPAL

gohsdihsdqh ‘director’, ‘principal’, ‘head’, etc. [go-hsdihsd-qh] 3S.FI.P-care.for-STAT

PRISON

qdadęnhódqhkwa ‘jail’, ‘prison’ [q-dadę-nhódqhkwa-ha’] 3S.FI.A-REFL-locked.up-HAB

PRIVY COUNCIL

Gwa:go:wáh Hqwadihnya’sodáhq

Gwa:go:wah ‘royalty’, etc.

Hqwadihnya’sodáhq [hqwadihnya’s-odah-qh] ‘they(males) put a responsibility on them (males)’ 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-neck-drape.over-STAT

PROPERTY

sahwé:ja’, sqhwé:ja’, saqhwé:ja’ ‘your land, property, real estate’ [s(a)-(q)hwé:j-a’] 2S.P-land-NSF

PROVINCE

deyqhwejakahsó:gwęh [de-y-qhwej-akahsó:gw-ęh] DU-3S.P-land-JOINERÁ-divide-STAT

PROVINCIAL

hadi:gó:wahs ‘they (males) are provincial’ [hadi:-gó:wa-’s] 3NS.M.A-big.STAT-PL

RE-ELECT

hqsá’hqwadiyá’dinyq:t ‘they re-elected him, them’ [hqsá’hqwadiyá’d-inyq:t] CIS.REP.FAC-3MS/FIS:-3MNS,3NS:3M-body-put.in.Ø.PUNC

REAL ESTATE

sahwé:ja’, sqhwé:ja’, saqhwé:ja’ ‘your land/property/real estate’ [s(a)-(q)hwé:j-a’] 2S.P-land-NSF

RECEIVER GENERAL

Hatwihsdanqhgó:wah (ohędq:) [h-at-hwihsd-a-nqh-gó:wah] 3S.M.A-SRF-money-JOINERÁ-guard.STAT-AUG

ohędq: ‘ahead’

RESOURCES

qhweja’géhgeha:’ ‘earthly things’, ‘resources’ [qhwej-a’géh-geha:’] Ø.PREFIX.land-ON-TYP

RIGHT

tsqgwá:wi: ‘what he has given us’, ‘rights’ [tsqgw-á:wi:] REP.3MS:1P-give-STAT

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Shagodiyenahsgó:wah [shagodi-yen-a-hs-gó:wah] 3NS(NFI):3FI-help-JOINERÁ-HAB-AUG

ROYALTY

gwa:gó:wah ‘royalty’, ‘king’, ‘queen’, ‘the crown’

hqwadigwa:gó:wah ‘their king’ [hqwadi-gwa:gó:wah] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-royalty

gaegowáhshq’ ‘they are royalty’ [gae-gowáh-shq’] 3NS.FI.A-big.STAT-PLRZ

RULES

gaihwahsró:nih ‘justice’, ‘rules’
[ga-ihw-a-hsró:ni-h] 3S.A-matter-
JOINERA-fix-HAB

SALES TAX

hadigá:heha’ [hadi-gá:-he-ha’] 3NS.M.A-
price-place.on.top.of-HAB ‘they
(males) put a price on it’

qkigá:gwahs ‘they gather our money’
[qki-gá:-gw-ahs] 3FIS/3NS:1NS-price-
gather-HAB

SECRETARY OF STATE

Shagohyadqshégó:wah ‘he is our
main paper-getter’ [shago-hyadq-hs-
e-h-gó:wah] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-paper-DISL-
go-HAB-AUG

SENATE

Gwa:go:wáh Hqwadihnya’sodáhqh

Gwa:go:wah ‘royalty’, etc.

Hqwadihnya’sodáhqh ‘they (males)
have placed a responsibility on
their (males) necks’ [hqwadi-hnya’s-
odah-qh] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-neck-
drape.over-STAT

SERVICES

hqwadiyenawá’seh ‘they (males) help
them (males)’ [hqwadi-yenawá’s-eh]
3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-help-HAB

SOCIAL WORK(ERS)

gaehwajiyatgáha:’ ‘they (fe/males)
watch over families’ [gae-hwajiy-
atgáha:-’] 3NS.FI.A-family-watch.over-
HAB

gaehwajiyatgáqha’ ‘they (fe/males)
watch over families’ [gae-hwajiy-
atgáq-ha’] 3NS.FI.A-family-watch.over-
HAB

gonatwajiyatgáha:’ ‘they (fe/males)
watch over families’ [gon-at-

hwajiy-atgáha:-’] 3NS.FI.P-SRF-family-
watch.over-STAT

SPY

honatgwêhê:gye’s ‘they (males) gather
along (information)’ [hon-at-gw-êh-
ê:-gy-e-’s] 3NS.M.P-SRF-pick.up-STAT-
JOINER-PROG-go-HAB

STATISTICS, STATISTICS CANADA

hënahshe:dáhs oihwagêhsq’ ‘affairs’,
‘statistics’

hënahshedahs ‘they (males) count’

oihwagêhsq’ ‘matters’

STOCK EXCHANGE, STOCK MARKET

dëhënatwihsdadé:nyqhs ‘a stock ex-
change’, ‘stock market’, ‘the Dow
Jones’, ‘the Toronto Stock Exchange’,
etc. [dë-hënat-wihsd-a-dé:ny-qhs]
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-money-JOINERA-
change-HAB

SUBSIDY

hqwadihwihsdawih ‘a subsidy’,
‘a grant’ [hqwadi-hwihsd-awi-hs]
3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-money-give-
HAB

TAX

qkigá:gwahs ‘they gather our money’
[qki-gá:-gw-a-hs] 3FIS/3NS:1NS-price-
gather-JOINERA-HAB

TAXATION DEPARTMENT

hadiga:hehá’geh ‘they (males) put a
price on things’ [hadi-ga:-he-há-’geh]
3NS.M.A-price-put.up.on.top-HAB-ON

TITLE

deyqkiyqhwêhjáhsnye’ ‘they look after
our land’ (referring to a title, an office)
[de-yqki-y-qhwêhj-á-hsnye-’] DU-
3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINERA-
care.for-HAB

deyqkiyqhwéj’nya:’ ‘they look after
our land’, ‘they take care of business’

D Thematic dictionary

(refers to a title, an office) [de-yòki-y-òhwej-á-’nya-:’] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINERAGovern-HAB

TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY

Deyòhwejiya’gòh ‘it cuts across the land’ [de-y-òhwej-iyá’g-òh] DU-3S.A-land-cut.across-STAT

URBAN DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

enagreh سراé’ hoderònihagye’

enagreh سراé’ ‘urban’

hoderònihagye’ ‘they (males) are developing it’

VOTE

dèhsenigyohgwagé:ni’ ‘you will vote, cast lots’ [dèhsenigyohgwagé:ni’] DU.FUT-2S.A-SRF-crowd-JOINERACompete-PUNC

dèhènèniyohgwahgé:ni’ ‘they (males) will vote, cast lots’ [dè-hèn-èn-igyohgw-a-gé:ni-’] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-group-JOINERACompete-PUNC

WELFARE OFFICE

tonadènidè’òh ‘place where they (males) show pity’ [t-hon-adè-nidè’-òh] CIS-3NS.M.P-SRF-be.kind-STAT

D.17 High language

Gayogòho:no’néha:’ speakers use the term “high language” when referring to words or phrases used in oratory or in Longhouse “doings” (ceremonies). Thematic headwords (in small caps) constitute a thematic category for grouping related words.

ACCOMPLISH A CEREMONIAL TASK

ahaihwá:is ‘he accomplished or completed a task’ (for example, a speech), ‘he carried out a responsibility’ [a-ha-ihwá:-is] FAC-3S.M.A-matter-finish.PUNC

AMULET

goyá’danòh ‘amulet’ [go-yá’da-nòh] 3S.FI.P-doll-guard.STAT

CHARM SOCIETY, CHARM

otsinòhgé’dá [o-tsinòhgé’d-a’] 3S.P-charm-NSF

CONSENSUS

sgaihwa:t ‘one mind’ (said when consensus is reached in the High Council), ‘one idea’ [s-ga-ihw-a:-t] REP-3S.A-matter-JOINERASTand.STAT

CONSIDER

ègátgòdrakh ‘I will sleep on it, consider it’ [è-g-át-gòdr-akh] FUT-1S.A-SRF-pillow-lift.up.PUNC

COOKHOUSE

Qtgahdèhsdáhkwá’geh ‘Cookhouse’ [q-t-gah-dèhsd-á-hkwá-’geh] 3S.FI.A-SRF-eye-string.up-JOINERAINSTRON

gahsdòhgwage: ‘Cookhouse’ [ga-hsdòhgw-age:] 3S.A-endure-ON

ganòhsáq:weh ‘the cookhouse’ (at the Longhouse) [ga-nòhsá-q:weh] 3S.A-house-TYP

sadáhgahsdò: ‘go and cook in the cookhouse’ [s-ad-áhghahsdò:] 2S.A-SRF-endure.NO_ASPECT

ègaòdáhghahsdò: ‘go and cook in the cookhouse’ [è-gaò-d-áhghahsdò:] FUT-3NS.FI.A-SRF-endure.Ø.PUNC

DEATH

ęsatahít'a: 'you will earn the heavenly road' [ę-s-at-hah-í:t'a:-'] FUT-2S.A-SRF-road-take-PUNC

a'qtahít'a: 'she went on the heavenly road' (refers to a woman who is done with this world) [a'-q-t-hah-í:t'a:-'] FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-road-take-PUNC

dejagóhwihsra:t 'she no longer has breath', 'she's dead' [dej-ag-ǫhwihsra:-t] NEG-REP-3S.FI.A-breath-JOINERASTAND.STAT

DIE OUT

awadrihwáhdq' 'it (an idea) died out/faded away' [a-w-ad-rihw-áhdq-'] FAC-3S.A-SRF-matter-disappear-PUNC

agaihwháhdq' 'it became extinct/died out' (archaic word) [a-ga-ihw-áhdq-'] FAC-3S.A-matter-disappear-PUNC

dęgaihwaǵ:dq:' 'it will smother itself/die out slowly on its own/peter out' (for example, a language at a critical state) [dę-ga-ihw-a-ǵ:dq:'] DU-3S.A-matter-JOINERASTAND-DISTR.PUNC

tagaihwaǵ:dq:' 'it smothered itself/died out slowly on its own/petered out' [ta:-ga-ihw-a-ǵ:dq:'] CONTR.FAC-3S.A-matter-JOINERASTAND-DISTR.PUNC

agaihwaǵ:dq:' 'it died out' [a-ga-ihw-a-ǵ:dq:'] FAC-3S.A-matter-JOINERASTAND-DISTR.PUNC

FORSAKE

ogwátsq'nyo:t 'we all turned our backs to the bush', 'we all forsook religion, family' [ogwá-t-hs-ǵ'-ny-o:t] IP.P-SRF-lower.back-DISTR-DISTR-stand.STAT

FUNERAL

ahaya'gyé:neǵ' 'he fell over' (refers to passing on) [a-ha-ya'g-yé:neǵ-'] FAC-3S.M.A-body-fall.over-PUNC

a'ogwa'hnyé:neǵ's 'we all are experiencing the passing of a chief' [a'-ogwa'hny-é:neǵ-'s] FAC-1P.P-noun-fall.over-HAB

ęhǫwadínǫhda: 'there will be a funeral for him' [ę-hǫwadí-nǫhda:] FUT-3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-put.in.PUNC

dęyotnǫhsǵ:goht 'she will go by the Longhouse' (referring to a funeral) [de-yǫ-t-nǫhs-ǵ:goht] DU-3S.FI.A-SRF-house-surpass.PUNC

ęsatgahóha:t 'you will cleanse your eyes with something' (that is, wash death off of you before or after a funeral so nothing will happen to your baby) [ę-s-at-gah-óha:t] FUT-2S.A-SRF-eye-wash.PUNC

o'wahsdǫdáhkwá' 'small sticks made for a funeral ceremony' [o-'wahsdǫd-á-hkwá'] 3S.P-pin-put.in-JOINERASTAND-INSTR

dehadihsda:té'dáhkwa' 'wax for small sticks made for a funeral ceremony' [de-hadi-hsda:-té'd-a-hkwá'] DU-3NS.M.A-shiny.object-polish-JOINERASTAND-INSTR

HONOUR ahayęgwahsǵ:nyeht 'he honoured them with tobacco' [a-ha-yęgwahsǵ:nyeht] FAC-3S.M.A-tobacco-JOINERASTAND-honour.PUNC

HOOP

wę'nihsga:ní:yǫ:t 'a hanging hoop' [w-ę'nihsga:ní:yǫ:t] 3S.A-wheel-hang.STAT

wę'nihsǵaę:' 'a hoop' (lying down) [w-ę'nihsǵaę-'] 3S.A-wheel-lie.STAT

D Thematic dictionary

wę'nihsğa:ʔ, ę'nihsğa:ʔ 'a circle hoop', 'a wheel' [(w)-ę'nihsğa:-ʔ] (3S.A)-wheel-NSF

INVITATION a'qkiné:tsa:ʔ 'a nation-to-nation invitation' (preceded by a speech) [a'qki-né:ts-a:-ʔ] FAC-3FIS/3NS:INS-arm-hold-PUNC

LONGHOUSE

Ganq̄hse:s 'Longhouse' [ga-nq̄hs-e:s] 3S.A-house-long.STAT

Ganq̄hsé:sq̄'s 'Longhouses' [ga-nq̄hs-e:s-q̄'s] 3S.A-house-long.STAT-PL

MAN hodihsge'ágehdah 'men' (high language) [hodi-hsge'á-gehd-eh] 3NS.M.P-bones-JOINER- tie-STAT

MARRY shagodi:hwniyadq̄h 'they got married by the Chiefs' (a marriage ceremony sanctioned by the Chiefs) [shagodi-ihw-a-hniya'd-q̄h] 3NS(NFI):3FI-matter-JOINER- toughen-STAT

MESSAGE

gaihwawehtá:hq̄h 'an inserted message' [ga-ihw-a-wehtá:h-q̄h] 3S.A-matter-JOINER- insert-STAT

q̄hatehnáhtgehd:t 'he will carry a large load or bundle', 'he will carry a message' [q̄h-a-t-hehn-á-htgehd:t] FUT-3S.M.A-SRF-bundle-JOINER-charge.with.PUNC

q̄kéhñonyeʔ 'I will put a load on him, put a bundle on him' (that is, give him a message to convey) [q̄-k-héhn-ony-ę-ʔ] FUT-1S.A-bundle-make-BEN-PUNC

q̄hqwadihehnq̄:nyeʔ 'they will make him a load or bundle to carry', 'they will send him with a message' [q̄-hqwadi-hehn-q̄:ny-ę-ʔ] FUT-3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-bundle-make-BEN-PUNC

RATTLE

gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'rattle', 'horn rattle' [gahsdáweʔdr-aʔ] 3S.A-rattle-NSF

owajihsdáʔ gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'bark rattle' [o-wajihsd-áʔ] 3S.P-bark-NSF

qtq̄wisadahkwáʔ gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'box turtle rattle' [q̄-t-hq̄wisad-a-hkwáʔ] 3S.FI.A-SRF-make.seed.songs-JOINER- INSTR

onaʔgá:ʔ gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'horn rattle' [onaʔgá:-ʔ] 3S.P-horn-NSF

okdáʔ gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'nut rattle', 'shell rattle' [o-kd-aʔ] 3S.P-nutshell-NSF

ganyahdęgo:wáh gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'snapping turtle rattle' [ga-nyahdę-go:wáh] 3S.A-turtle-AUG

ohnyohsaq:wéh gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'squash rattle' [o-hnyohs-a-q:wéh] 3S.P-squash-JOINER- TYP

gaihsdáʔ gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'tin rattle' [gaihsd-áʔ] 3S.A-tin-NSF

ganyahdę: gahsdáweʔdraʔ 'turtle rattle' [ga-nyahdę:] 3S.A-turtle

RECOGNIZE

deyeteñq̄hokwaʔ 'we refer to them as' (recognize as kin) [de-yeteñq̄hokw-haʔ] DU-1INNS:3FIS/3NS-recognize.as.kin-HAB

deshedwanq̄hokwaʔ 'we refer to him as' (recognize as kin) [deshedwa-nq̄hokw-haʔ] DU-1INP:3MS-recognize.as.kin-HAB

dęgakenq̄hokwa:k 'I will recognize them as my kin' [dę-gake-nq̄hokw-ha:k] DU-1S:3NS-recognize.as.kin-HAB-MODZ

dedwanq̄hokwaʔ 'we all refer to it as' (recognize as kin) [de-dwa-nq̄hokw-haʔ] DU-1P.IN.A-recognize.as.kin-HAB

RIGHTEOUS

oya'dawá:dqh 'a righteous person' [o-ya'd-a-wá:d-qh] 3S.P-body-JOINERA-verb-STAT

SPEECH

deyoihwadogéhdqh 'a shortened

speech' [de-yo-ihw-a-dogéhd-qh] DU-3S.P-matter-JOINERA-make.right-STAT

TIDY UP

desadadéhsnyeh 'tidy up', 'groom yourself', 'prepare yourself mentally' [de-s-adad-é-hsnyeh] DU-2S.A-REFL-JOINERÉ-groom.NO_ASPECT

D.18 Betting

Words having to do with the ceremonial betting game.

a'ehédaé: 'she won the throw' (refers to a betting game and a perfect score, when all the stones come up the same) [a'-e-héd-á-é-:] FAC-3S.FI.A-field-JOINERA-lie-PUNC

a'ehédaéðq:nyo: 'she won the throw repeatedly, one right after the other' (refers to a betting game and a perfect score, when all the stones come up the same) [a'-e-héd-a-éð-q:nyo:] FAC-3S.FI.A-field-JOINERA-lie.EUPH.D-DISTR-DISTR.PUNC

ahahédaé: 'he won the throw' (in a betting game) [a-ha-héd-á-é-:] FAC-3S.M.A-field-JOINERA-lie-PUNC

deyqðetsge'ihdréhdáhkwa' [de-yq-d-e-tsgé'-ihdréhd-á-hkwa'] DU-3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-bone-drive-JOINERA-INSTR

eyqðehsahe'danq:na: 'she will be the bean watcher' (for a betting game)

[é-yq-d-e-hsahe'd-a-nq:-n-a-:] FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-bean-JOINERA-guard-DISL-JOINERA-PUNC

hahsahe'dá:gwahs 'he picks out the beans' (for a betting game) [hahsahe'd-á:-gw-a-hs] 3S.M.A-bean-JOINERA-pick-JOINERA-HAB

háohes 'he collects the bets', 'he gathers' (referring to a betting game activity) [há-ohes-:] 3S.M.A-gather-HAB

heho'énq:gye's 'he throws the sticks' (referring to a betting game activity) [he-ho'-én-q:gye-e's] TRANSL-3S.M.P-stick-throw-HAB

ohé:da' 'the field' (of Iroquois origin only, refers to the Dish Game) [o-hé:d-a'] 3S.P-field-NSF

shédaé 'you lay the field' (referring to taking bets) [s-héd-á-é] 2S.A-field-JOINERA-lie.NO_ASPECT

D.19 Ceremonies

Thematic headwords (in small caps) either provide the English name for a ceremony or constitute a thematic category for grouping related ceremonies and words.

D Thematic dictionary

ALL EATEN UP

Gahsq: (restricted ceremony for charms) [ga-hsq:] 3S.A-eaten.up.STAT

CLEAN UP (CEREMONY)

Deyakwetnqhsqta [de-yagwa-t-nqhs-qt-ha'] DU-1P.EX.A-SRF-house-clean.up-HAB

DEVIL DANCE

Ga'nogeyq: 'Grinding the Arrow' (forbidden ceremony) [ga-'no-geyq:] 3S.A-arrow-grind.STAT

EAGLE FEATHER

Ganré'a 'Eagle Feathers' (For making ceremonial friends. The one who asks for the friendship holds the feathers.) [ga-nré-'a'] 3S.A-eagle.feather-NSF

FALSE FACE

Gajíhsa 'Husk Face', 'False Face' [ga-jíhs-a'] 3S.A-corn.husk-NSF

FINISH PLANTING (CEREMONY)

Gotqdihs'ánhq [go-t-hq-d-ihs'-á-nh-q'] 3S.FI.P-SRF-field-finish-JOINERÁ-DISTR.STAT

FOUR MAIN CEREMONIES

Gayqdwá:nqh 'Peach Pit Game' [ga-yq-d-owá:n-qh] 3S.A-firewood-big-STAT

Gei: Niwahsqdá:ge: 'Four Nights Ceremony' (part of Sustenance dances or gaqnaqsq:'qh) *gei* 'four' [ni-w-ahsq-dá:ge:] PART-3S.A-night-number.of.STAT

Gei: Niyoihwá:ge: 'Four Ceremonies' *gei* 'four' [ni-yo-ihw-á:ge:] PART-3S.P-matter-number.of.STAT

ahadq:dq 'men's chant', 'he is singing adq:wa'' [a-ha-d-q:dq:] FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-put.in-PUNC

henadqwihsrqhta 'they are accompanying adq:wa'' (singing *he* 'he' *he*)

[hqn-ad-qwihsr-qht-ha'] 3NS.M.A-SRF-breath-hit-HAB

Gayqdwá:nqh Gajq 'Peach Pit Dish game' [ga-yq-d-owá:n-qh] 3S.A-firewood-big-STAT [ga-jq:] 3S.A-dish-NSF

Ohsdowagó:wah 'Great Feather Dance' [o-hsdow-a-gó:wah] 3S.P-feather-JOINERÁ-AUG

Sdáohs 'Great Feather Dance'

Ganéhq: 'Drum Dance' [ga-néhq:-'] 3S.A-noun-NSF

GATHERING OF FRUIT, STRAWBERRY CEREMONY

Adahyáohq: 'Gathering of Fruit Ceremony' (done during the Strawberry Ceremony) [ad-ahy-á-ohq:] Ø.PREFIX.SRF-fruit-gather.STAT

GATHERING OF THE SUGAR

Edwanawq'dáohq:k 'Gathering of the Sugar Ceremony' (done during Drying Up the Trees) [q-dwa-nawq'd-á-ohq:k] FUT-1P.IN.A-sugar-JOINERÁ-gather.PUNC

GREEN BEAN CEREMONY

Ehqnadehsahe'dáohq:k 'they (males) gather the green beans' [q-hqn-ad-e-hsahe'd-á-ohq:k] FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-bean-JOINERÁ-gather.PUNC

HUSK FACE

Gajíhsa 'Husk Face', 'False Face' [ga-jíhs-a'] 3S.A-corn.husk-NSF

MAPLE SAP CEREMONY

Haditsehdsq:da:s 'they (males) are putting the sap in the tree' [haditsehdsq:da:s] 3NS.M.A-sap-put.in-HAB

Odehadq:ni: 'Maple Sap Ceremony', 'the woods' [o-d-e-had-q:ni:] 3S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-woods-make.STAT

Ehadiyaqdá:ta't 'Drying Up the Trees Ceremony' (performed at the ending of the maple sap run) [e-hadi-yaq-dá:-ta't] FUT-3NS.M.A-log-JOINERAdry.up.PUNC

Shadiyaqdata' 'Dry Up the Trees' (performed at the end of the maple sap run) [s-hadi-yaq-d-a-ta'] REP-3NS.M.A-log-JOINERAdry.up.STAT

Otshesdadó:da:s 'Tree or Sap Dance' [otshesdad-ó:da:-s] 3S.P-sap-put.in-HAB

MEDICINE MASK

Ojihsgwagwáha' 'they come after their mush' (Seneca ceremony) [o-jihsgw-a-gw-á-h-a-'] 3S.P-mush-JOINERApick.up-JOINERADISL-JOINERASTAT

MIDWINTER

Ganaháowi:' 'Midwinter Ceremony' [ga-nah-á-owi:'] 3S.A-scalp-JOINERAwater.drum.STAT

Gaihwanoqsgwa'gó:wah/Gaihwanaqsgwa'gó:wah 'Midwinter Ceremony' [ga-ihw-a-nqsgwa'/nahsgwa'-gó:wah] 3S.A-matter-JOINERAVerbAUG

Hodinaháowih 'they (males) are having the Midwinter Ceremony' [hodi-nah-á-owi-h] 3NS.M.P-scalp-water.drum.STAT

Eyogwanaháowi' 'we all will have the Midwinter Ceremony' [e-yogwanah-á-owi-'] FUT-1P.P-scalp-JOINERAwater.drum.PUNC

Oqwanaháowih 'we all are having the Midwinter Ceremony' [ogwanah-á-owi-h] 1P.P-scalp-JOINERAwater.drum.HAB

Tsa'degohsráheh Gaihwayaqni: 'Midwinter Ceremony' [tsa'de-g-ohsráheh] COIN.DU-3S.A-year-mid.STAT [ga-

ihw-a-yaqni:] 3S.A-matter-JOINERAmake.STAT

etadina'dá:gwáhe' 'they (Corn Husk Mask society members) will come after their (males) bread' [et-hadi-na'dá:gw-a-h-e-'] FUT.DU-3NS.M.A-bread-pick.up-JOINERADISL-go-PUNC

detadijihgwagwáhe' 'they (males) will come back for their mush (said of False Faces)' [det-hadi-jihgw-a-gw-á-h-e-'] CIS.FUT.DU-3NS.M.A-mush-JOINERApick.up-JOINERADISL-go-PUNC

MOON CEREMONY

Ahsqehká: Etihsot: 'Moon Ceremony' [ahsqeh-ká:'] night-TYP [eti-hso:t] 1INNS:3FIS/3NS-grandmother

Eshagodiwenq:góht Ahsqehká: Eñní'dagye's 'Moon Ceremony' (literally, 'uplifting the stature of the moon') [e-shagodi-wen-q:góht] FUT-3NS(NFI)>3FI-voice-surpass.PUNC [ahsqeh-ká:'] night-TYP [eñní'd-agye-e-'s] month-JOINERAPROG-go-HAB

deyago'nya:gwéhegye' 'she will have a hand in it' [de-yago-nya:-gw-éh-é-gye-e-'] DU.FUT-3S.FI.P-hand-put.in-STAT-JOINERAPROG-go-PUNC

OUR UNCLES CEREMONY

Etino'séh Eñenatno'áo:wanaht 'Our Uncles Ceremony' (literally, 'they (males) become bigheads') [etino'séh] YOU(SE).AND.I:HER/THEM.uncle [e-ñen-at-no'á-o:wanaht] FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-head-get.big.PUNC

SHAKE PUMPKIN CEREMONY

Gahidqho: [g-ahidq-h-q:] 3S.A-shake-dislocative-STAT

Hənahi'dóhs Hodihsdawé'drá' ahséh sgaé' niyodihsyá:ge: 'Shake Pumpkin Rattle Ceremony, thirteen types'

D Thematic dictionary

Hənahi'dóhs [hən-ahi'dɔ-hs] 3NS.M.A-shake-HAB

Hodihsdawę'drá' [hodi-hsdawę'dr-á'] 3NS.M.P-rattle-NSF

ahséh sgaé' 'thirteen'

niyodihsyá:ge: [ni-yodi-hsy-á:ge:] PART-3NS.O-herd/clan-number.of.STAT

Hənáhi'dohs 'Gourd Society Dance' (part of Shake Pumpkin) [hən-ahi'dɔ-hs] 3NS.M.A-shake-HAB

Gahadiyá'gɔ' 'Crossing the Forest Song' (part of Shake Pumpkin, restricted) [gá-had-iyá'g-ɔ'] 3S.A-forest-cross-STAT

SUN CEREMONY

Ēhɔwadiwanɔ:góht Ēdehká: Gá:gwa:'

Ēhɔwadiwanɔ:góht [ɛ-hɔwadi-wɛn-ɔ:góht] FUT-3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M-voice-surpass.PUNC

Ēdehgehá:' [ɛdeh-ká:'] day-TYP

Gá:gwa:' [gá-agwa:-'] 3S.A-sun-NSF

D.20 Gaihwí:yo:

Special words from *Gaihwí:yo:* 'the Code of Handsome Lake'.

ahɔwadihsahɔ:dɛ' 'they committed him to the main fire' (refers to sending a delegate to the Gaihwí:yo: convention) [a-hɔwadi-hsah-ɔ:d-ɛ'] FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.back-put.in-PUNC

Dɛhahsqwáhgya's 'He Breaks the Wires' (refers to Handsome Lake's nephew) [dɛ-ha-hsqwáhgya'-s] DU-3S.M.A-wire-break-HAB

Dɔsahaihwáɛtwaht 'He Who Seeded the News', 'He Who Spread

THANKSGIVING CEREMONY

Ganóhɔnyɔhk [ga-nóhɔny-ɔh-k] 3S.A-thank-STAT-MODZ

THANKSGIVING OPENING

Ohɛdɔ: Gaihwahdehgóh Ganóhɔnyɔhk

Ohɛdɔ [o-hɛd-ɔ:] 3S.P-ahead-STAT

Gaihwahdehgóh [ga-ihw-ahdehg-óh] 3S.A-matter-verb-STAT

Ganóhɔnyɔhk 'Thanksgiving' 3S.A-thank-STAT-MODZ

THUNDER CEREMONY

Hɔwadiwɛnɔgohtá' Hadiwɛnódagye's

Hɔwadiwɛnɔgohtá' [hɔwadi-wɛn-ɔgoht-há'] 3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M,3NS>3M-voice-surpass-HAB

Hadiwɛnódagye's [hadi-wɛn-ód-agye-e-'s] 3NS.M.A-voice-stand.STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-HAB

WHITE DOG FEAST

Ganiyɔdɔ' [ga-niyɔd-ɔ'] 3S.A-hang-DISTR.STAT

the News' (refers to Handsome Lake) [dɔsa-ha-ihw-á-ɛtwaht] DU.FACTUAL.REPETITIVE-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-spread.STAT

ɛhsejihstá'dra' 'you will go with the fire' (refers to going to the Gaihwí:yo: convention) [ɛ-hs-e-jihsd-á'dra-'] FUT-2S.A)-JOINERĒ-fire-meet-PUNC

Gajihsdagwɛ:ní:yo' 'the Main Fire' [ga-jihsd-a-gwɛ:ní:yo'] 3S.A-fire-JOINERÁ-principal.STAT

Honadejihsdane:t 'Fire Keepers'

[hon-ad-e-jihsd-a-ne:t] 3NS.M.P-SRF-
JOINERÉ-fire-JOINERÁ-guard.STAT
Hodejihsdá:ne:t ‘Fire Keeper’ [ho-d-e-
jihsd-a-ne:t] 3S.M.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-fire-

JOINERÁ-guard.STAT
Sganyadáiyó ‘Handsome Lake’
[s-ga-nyadá-iyó] REP-3S.A-lake-
beautiful.STAT

D.21 Games

Miscellaneous terms relevant for games.

Ateṇahdáhwaē: ‘Horseshoes’, ‘Moc-
casin Game’ [at-heṇ-ahdáhwa-ē:]
FAC.DU-3NS.M.A-shoe-lay.down-PUNC

Dewē’nhotránahsɔ:t ‘Dingball’, ‘Dou-
ble Ball Game (a medicine game)’ [de-
w-ē’nhotr-á-nahsɔ:t] DU-3S.A-hoop-
join.STAT

Deyoḥs’idádiḥahs ‘Door Keepers’
Dance’, ‘every other step dance’ (a
medicine dance; the *Hado’i:s* ‘False
Faces’ also dance this with their grand-
children.) [de-yoḥs’id-á-di-h-a-hs]
DU-3S.FI.A-foot-JOINERÁ-side-EUPH.H-
JOINERÁ-HAB

Gahnegá:hoh ‘Head Lead on a Stick’
(a term used with the snowsnake
game) [ga-hneg-á:hoh] 3S.A-water-

crossed.STAT

Gajé’geha: ‘Bowl Game’, ‘Dish Game’
[ga-jé’-geha:] 3S.A-dish-TYP

Hadiyēhdáhkwa ‘Pitch Hole’ (a term
used with the snowsnake game) [hadi-
yēhd-á-hkwa] 3NS.M.A-hit-JOINERÁ-
INSTR

Honadenhohatgáha: ‘they (males) are
the Keepers of the Door’ (referring
to the Mohawks) [hon-ad-e-nhoh-
atgáha:] 3NS.M.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-door-
look.after.STAT

Jaga:wé:nih ‘Hoop and Javelin Game’

Wé:sēhtwahs ‘football’ (a medicine
game) [w-é:sēhtw-a-hs] 3S.A-kick-
JOINERÁ-HAB

D.22 Medicine

Miscellaneous terms relevant for medicines.

atadihnyó:da: ‘they (males) had a tug o’
war’ (a ceremony or healing ritual) [at-
hadi-hny-ó:da:] FAC.DU-3NS.M.A-stick-
put.in.PUNC

dēhadihnyó:da:s ‘Tug O’ War’ (a cere-
mony or healing ritual) [dē-hadi-hny-
ó:da:-s] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-stick-put.in-
HAB

Gaksagá:nye: ‘Grinding Dishes’
(a medicine ceremony) [ga-ks-

a-gá:nye:] 3S.A-dish-JOINERÁ-
shuffle.STAT

Okdehatgi’gó:wah ‘Great Distorted
Root’ (a type of medicine) [o-kdeh-
a-tgi’-gó:wah] 3S.P-root-JOINERÁ-
ugly.STAT-AUG

Onrahdaji’gó:wah ‘Great Black
Leaves’ (a type of medicine) [o-nrahd-
a-ji’-gó:wah] 3S.P-leaf-JOINERÁ-
dark.coloured.STAT-AUG

D Thematic dictionary

Onóhweht ‘Love Medicine’ (a restricted ceremony) [o-nóhweht] 3S.P-cause.to.love.STAT

Wé:séhtwahs ‘football’ (a medicine game) [w-é:séhtw-a-hs] 3S.A-kick-JOINERÁ-HAB

D.23 Songs

Miscellaneous terms relevant for medicines.

ahaenáganye: ‘he chanted’, ‘he trilled the music’ [a-ha-ɛn-á-ganye:-ʔ] FAC-3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

haenagá:nyeh ‘he is trilling the song’ [ha-ɛn-a-gá:nye-h] 3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-HAB

Atadadí:trahk ‘Roll Call Chant’ [at-ha-dad-í:tr-a-hk] FAC-DU-3S.M.A-REFL-cane-JOINERÁ-pick.up.Ø.PUNC

hehsagaená:gɔ:t ‘the last song’ [hehs-ga-ɛn-á-gɔ:t] TRANSL.REP-3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-last.STAT

ɛdwaenagé:tsgoʔ ‘we all will raise the song’ [ɛ-dwa-ɛn-a-gé:tsgoʔ] FUT-1P.IN.A-song-JOINERÁ-raise.up-PUNC

Ohwejaʔgehgehá:ʔ Gaenasó:ʔqh ‘earth songs’

ɛhaenáganyeʔ ‘he will trill the song’ [ɛ-ha-ɛn-á-ganye:-ʔ] FUT-3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

Ohwejaʔgehgehá:ʔ [o-hwej-aʔgeh-gehá:ʔ] 3S.P-earth-ON-TYP

ɛhswaenáganye: ‘you all will sing’ [ɛ-hswa-ɛn-á-ganye:-ʔ] FUT-2P.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

Gaenasó:ʔqh [ga-ɛn-a-shó:ʔqh] 3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-PLRZ

gaenawe dá:hoh ‘an inserted song’ [ga-ɛn-awe dá:hoh] 3S.A-song-inserted.STAT

o:néh diʔ ɛwaenagáe: ‘let the song begin’

o:néh ‘now’ *diʔ* ‘then’

ɛwaenagáe: [ɛ-wa-ɛn-a-gáe:] FUT-3S.A-song-make.noise.PUNC

D.24 Social dances and songs

Dakshaeʔdohsgeha:ʔ ‘Chicken Dance’ [dakshaeʔdohs-geha:ʔ] chicken-TYP

nɔhɔnyóʔ d-a-hkwaʔ] DU-3S.FI.A-REFL-cause.to.be.thankful-JOINERÁ-INSTR

Degaʔnɔdótgeha:ʔ ‘Alligator Dance’ [degaʔnɔdót-geha:ʔ] alligator-TYP

Èsga:nyé:ʔ Gaenagáyqhka:ʔ ‘Women’s Old Shuffle Dance’

Daʔnusdaʔgeha:ʔ ‘Naked Dance’ [daʔnusdaʔ-geha:ʔ] PREFIX-naked.STAT-TYP

Èhsga:nyé:ʔ [ɛhs-ga:nyé:-ʔ] foot-shuffle-STAT

Deyɔdatnɔhɔnyóʔ dahkwaʔ ‘Friendship Dance’ (a social dance, a welcoming dance) [de-yɔ-dat-

Gaenagáyqhka:ʔ] [ga-ɛn-a-gáy-qh-ka:ʔ] 3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-old.item-STAT-TYP

Èhsga:nyé:ʔ Gáé:nase:ʔ ‘Women’s New

- Shuffle Dance Song'
Èhsɡa:nyé: [èhs-ɡa:nyé:-?] foot-shuffle-STAT
Gáę:nase: [ɡá-ęn-ase:] 3S.A-song-new-STAT
- Èhsɡa:nyé:* *Sɡadigají:nah Deyéhnyota* 'One Side Male Dance, Male Dance' (a dance or ceremony done with a paternal cousin, uncle, etc.)
Èhsɡa:nyé: [èhs-ɡa:nyé:-?] foot-shuffle-STAT
Sɡadigají:nah [s-ɡadi-ɡají:nah] REP-3P.A-brave-STAT
Deyéhnyota [de-yé-hny-ot-ha'] DU-3S.FI.A-stick-stand-HAB
- Ga'dá:tro:t* 'Standing Quiver Dance' [ɡa-ˀdá:tr-o:t] 3S.A-quiver-stand-STAT
- Gahsgoháq:dadq* 'Shake The Bush Dance' [ɡa-hsgoh-á-q'dad-q'] 3S.A-branch-JOINERÁ-shake-DISTR-STAT
- Ganéhwa'e:* 'Delaware Skin Dance' [ɡa-néhwa-e:] 3S.A-skin-JOINERÁ-strike-STAT
- Gayó:wah* 'Moccasin Dance' [ɡa-yó:w-a-h] 3S.A-moccasin-JOINERÁ-verb
- Gayowagá:yoh* 'Old Moccasin Dance' [ɡa-yow-a-ɡá:y-oh] 3S.A-moccasin-JOINERÁ-old.object-STAT
- Gwa'yógeha:* 'Rabbit Dance' [ɡwa'yó-geha:] rabbit-TYP
- Jihsgogo'geha:* 'Robin Dance' [jihsgogo'-geha:] robin-TYP
- Qdadəhnyóha* 'Ferrying Dance' [q-dad-e-hny-ó-ha'] 3S.FI.A-REFL-JOINERÉ-stick-submerge-HAB
- Odehswadé:nyo:* 'Changing Rib Tumbling Dance' [o-dehsw-adé:nyo:-?] 3S.P-blouse-change-STAT
- Otowegéha:* 'Northern Dance' [otowe-geha:] cold-TYP
- Otsínhahq* 'Gartered Dance' [o-tshín-a-hq'] 3S.P-SRF-leg-JOINERÁ-lie.across-STAT
- Qtwadasé'ta* 'Round Dance' [q-t-hwadasé't-ha'] 3S.FI.A-SRF-cause.to.circle.round-HAB
- Oyadagéha:* 'Cherokee Stomp Dance' [o-yad-a-geha:] ditch-TYP
- Sanogeha:* 'Raccoon Dance' [sa:no-geha:] raccoon-TYP
- Sɡadigají:nah* 'One Side Male Dance' (a social dance done with a paternal cousin, uncle, etc.) [s-ɡadi-ɡají:nah] REP-3P.A-brave-STAT
- Tsahgowa'geha:* 'Pigeon Dance' [tsahgowa'-geha:] pigeon-TYP
- Twətwətgeha:* 'Duck Dance' [twətwət-geha:] duck-TYP
- Wa'ęnotí:yq* 'Sharpened Stick Dance' [wa-ęn-otí:yq'] 3S.A-stick-sharp-STAT

D.25 Restricted dances

Deyodaḥsodaégoh ‘Dark Dance’ (for the Little People) [de-yo-d-ahsod-á-egoh] DU-3S.P-SRF-darkness-JOINER-verb.STAT

Deyodanétsota ‘Linking Arm Dance’, ‘Devil Dance’ [de-yo-d-e-néts-ot-ha] DU-3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINER-put.in-

HAB

Gajihaya ‘Taking out the Cork’ [ga-jihay-a] 3S.A-devil-NSF

Gana’jigéḥoh ‘Taking Out Kettle’ [ga-na’j-itgé’-oh] 3S.A-pot-issue.from-STAT

D.26 Miscellaneous dances

Awadanúktanq: ‘Medicine Dance’ (a Seneca dance) [a-w-ad-e-núkd-a-nq:] FAC-3S.A-SRF-JOINER-noun-JOINER-cold.STAT

Dehé:gwis ‘Harvest Dance’ [de-h-é:gwis] DU-3S.M.A-harvest-HAB

Ēsgá:nye: ‘Women’s Dance’ [ēhs-gá:nye:] foot-shuffle.STAT

Gaditse’dóḍ’adq ‘Shaking the Bottle’ [gadi-tse’d-óḍa’d-q] 3P.A-bottle-shake-DISTR.STAT

Gakówanēh ‘Big Green Corn Dance’ [ga-k-ówan-ēh] 3S.A-food-big-STAT

Ganonyowá:nēh ‘Big Dance’, ‘Creator’s Dance’ [ga-nony-owá:n-ēh] 3S.A-dance-big-STAT

Qdadedhnyóha ‘Fishing Dance’ [q-dad-e-hny-ó-ha] 3S.FI.A-REFL-JOINER-

stick-submerge-HAB

Odagwohóh Nigakwá:’ah ‘Small Green Corn Dance’

Odagwohóh (no translation provided)

Nigakwá:’ah [ni-ga-kw-á:’ah] PART-3S.A-food-small.STAT

Ohstnóhsota ‘Great Leather Dance’ [ohst-nóhsot-ha] 3S.P-noun-join-HAB

Owé’naē: ‘Strike the Stick’, ‘Little Horses Dance’ [aw-’én-a-ē] 3S.P-spear-JOINER-strike.STAT

Wasá:seh ‘Thunder Ceremony’, ‘Rain Dance’, ‘War Dance’ (of the Osage) *Wasá:seh* ‘Osage’

Honéni’je: ‘they (males) are doing the War Dance’ [hon-é-ni’j-e:] 3NS.M.P-SRF-lower.body-strike.STAT

D.27 Curing dances

Deyodina’gáqdq ‘Buffalo Dance’ [de-yodi-na’g-á-qd-q] DU-3NS.O-horn-JOINER-stand-DISTR.STAT

Ēsga:nyé: *Gaēnagáyoḥka:* ‘Women’s Old Shuffle Dance’

Ēsga:nyé: ‘Shuffle Dance’

Gaēnagáyoḥka: [ga-ēn-a-gáy-oh-ka:] 3S.A-song-JOINER-old.object-STAT-TYP

Gane'gwá:'e:, **Ganre'gwá:'e:** 'Eagle Dance', 'Strike the Stick' [ga-nre'gwá:'e:] 3S.A-eagle.feather-strike.STAT

Hnyagwái:'geha: 'Bear Dance' [hnyagwái:'geha:] bear-TYP

Wa'əna'e: 'Little Horses Dance' [wa-'əna-'e:] 3S.A-spear-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

Wasá:seh 'Rain Dance', 'War Dance' (of the Osage) *Wasá:seh* 'Osage'

D.28 Sacred Society dances

Hənáhi'dəhs 'Gourd Society Dance' (part of Shake Pumpkin) [hən-áhi'dəhs] 3NS.M.A-shake-HAB

Qəyə'dahsró:nih 'Dress-up Society Dance' (a Tutelo Ceremony) [q-ɬə-

ya'd-a-hsró:nih] 3S.FI.A-SRF-body-JOINERAmake.STAT

Ohgi:we: 'Ghost Society Dance' (takes place in spring and fall, but only in fall at Sour Springs) [o-hgi:we:] 3S.P-stem

D.28.1 Sustenance songs

Miscellaneous terms relevant for Sustenance songs.

Atq:wí:sə: 'Seed Blessing Songs' [atq:wí:s-ə:] Ø.PREFIX.sing.seed.songs-NSF

əgaqtó:wi:s 'they (fe/males) will sing the seed songs' (songs which are also used as lullabies) [ɛ-gaqtó:wi:s] FUT-3NS.FI.A-sing.seed.songs.Ø.PUNC

Gaɛ:na'sq:'ah, **Gaɛ:na'sq:'əh** 'songs', 'songs for Our Sustenance' [ga-ɛn-a'shó:'əh] 3S.A-song-NSF-PLRZ

Gyonhehgəh odiá:na' 'what we all live on', 'Our Sustenance', 'Women's Old Shuffle Dance Song', 'Sustenance Songs'

Gyonhehgəh [g-y-onhehg-əh] CIS-3S.P-live.on-STAT

odiá:na' [odi-aɛ:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

Qtq:wí:sas 'Seed Songs' (sung by women) [q-tq:wí:s-a-s] 3S.FI.A-sing.seed.songs-JOINERAHAB

D.28.2 Sustenance dances and songs

Əsga:nyé: **Gaɛnagáyoħka:** 'Women's Old Shuffle Dance'

əsga:nyé: [ɛhs-gá:nye:] foot-shuffle.STAT

gaɛnagáyoħka: [ga-ɛn-a-gáy-əh-ka:] 3S.A-song-JOINERAOld.object-STAT-TYP

Gei: **Niwahsqdá:ge:** 'Four Nights Ceremony' (part of *gaɛna'sq:'əh* 'Suste-

nance dances')

gei 'four'

Niwahsqdá:ge: [ni-w-ahsqd-á:ge:] PART-3S.A-night-number.of.STAT

odiá:na' 'dance, song' [odi-aɛ:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

Ohnyəhsá' odiá:na' 'Squash Dance'

Ohnyəhsá' [o-hnyəhs-á'] 3S.P-squash-

D Thematic dictionary

NSF

odiáę:na' [odi-aę:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

Onęhé: 'odiáę:na' 'Corn Dance', 'Corn song'

Onęhé: [o-nęhé:-'] 3S.P-corn-NSF

odiáę:na' [odi-aę:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

Osahe'dá' odiáę:na' 'Bean Dance'

osahe'dá' [o-hsahe'd-á'] 3S.P-bean-NSF

odiáę:na' [odi-aę:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

D.29 Important and mythical figures

Shogwaya'dihs'qh 'the Creator' (of our bodies) [shogwa-ya'd-ihs'-qh] 3MS:1P-body-finish-STAT

Dewatnqhsó:węhs 'Exploding Wren' (legendary figure) [de-wa-t-nqhsó:węhs] DU-3S.A-SRF-explode-HAB

Gajihaya' 'the Devil' [ga-jihay-a'] 3S.A-devil-NSF

Ganéhwa:s 'Stone Giant' (legendary figure) [ga-néhwa-a:s] 3S.A-leather-JOINER A-eat.HAB

Hadiwęnodagye's 'Thunderers' [hadiwęn-ód-a-gy-e-'s] 3NS.M.A-voice-put.in-JOINER A-PROG-go-HAB

Hawę:ní:yo: 'beautiful words' (the Devil's own name for himself; you can hear this word in *Gaihwí:yo:*) [ha-wę:ní:yo:] 3S.M.A-word-good-STAT

Hnyagwai'gó:wah 'Great Bear' (legendary figure) [hnyagwai'-gó:wah] bear-AUG

Honqhsóni:dqh 'the Peacemaker', 'He Strengthens the Longhouse' (refers to the Creator's Messenger for the Great Law) [ho-nqhs-óni:d-qh] 3S.M.P-house-strengthen-STAT

Jigáhęh 'the Little People' (legendary figures)

Nagányage:t 'White Beaver (legendary figure)' [nagány-a-gę:t] beaver-JOINER A-white.coloured-STAT

Onęhetqo' 'Corn Bug' (a bug with evil power) [o-nęhet-qo'] 3S.P-corn-evil.power-STAT

Ohsinatí:yeht 'Sharp Legs' (legendary figure) [o-hsin-a-tí:yeht] 3S.P-leg-JOINER A-sharp-STAT

Ohsodatę:'ah 'Little Dry Hand' (legendary figure) [o-hsohd-a-tę:'ah] 3S.P-hand-JOINER A-dry-STAT-DIM

Ohsodowahgó:wah 'Angel of Death', 'Spirit of Death' [o-hsod-owah-gó:wah] 3S.P-blackness-verb-AUG

O'nyá:tę: 'Dry Fingers' (legendary figure) [o-'ny-á:tę:] 3S.P-finger-JOINER A-dry-STAT

Shagodá:dahgwahs 'He Takes Out People's Feces' (legendary figure) [shago'dá:-dahgw-a-hs] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-feces-remove-JOINER A-HAB

Shagogawé:ha' 'He Paddles or Ferries People' (legendary figure) [shagogawé:-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-paddle-HAB

Shagohewáhta' 'The Punisher' (a name for the Devil) [shago-hewáht-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-punish-HAB

Shagonq:'aę'yęhta' 'He Hits With A Head' (legendary figure) [shago-nq'aę-yęht-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-head-strike-HAB

Shagoyehwáhta' 'Red Jacket' [shagoyehwáht-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-arise.early-HAB

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A grammar and dictionary of Gayogohó:nqʔ (Cayuga)

This work describes the grammar of Gayogohó:nqʔ (Gayogohó:nqʔnéha:ʔ, Cayuga), an Qgwehóweh (Iroquoian) language spoken at Six Nations, Ontario, Canada. Topics include Gayogohó:nqʔnéha:ʔ morphology (word formation); pronominal prefix selection, meaning, and pronunciation; syntax (fixed word order); and discourse (the effects of free word order and noun incorporation, and the use of particles). Gayogohó:nqʔnéha:ʔ morphophonology and sentence-level phonology are also described where relevant in the grammar. Finally, the work includes noun, verb, and particle dictionaries, organized according to the categories outlined in the grammatical description, as well as lists of cultural terms and phrases.