

A grammar and dictionary of Gayogohó:nq? (Cayuga)

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Studies of Amerindian Linguistics 1



Studies of Amerindian Linguistics

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In this series:

1. Dyck, Carrie, Frances Froman, Alfred Keye & Lottie Keye. A grammar and dictionary of Gayog̃hó:nq̃ (Cayuga).

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Carrie Dyck, Frances Froman, Alfred Keye & Lottie Keye. 2024. *A grammar and dictionary of Gayogohó:nəʔ (Cayuga)* (Estudios de Lingüística Amerindia 1). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/398>

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ISBN: 978-3-96110-434-5 (Digital)

978-3-98554-092-1 (Hardcover)

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.10473483

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/398

Errata: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=398

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Carrie Dyck, Sebastian Nordhoff

Proofreading: Amir Ghorbanpour, Andreas Hölzl, Christopher Straughn, Craevschi Alexandru, Elliott Pearl, Eva Schultze-Berndt, Hannah Schlepner, Jeroen van de Weijer, Mary Ann Walter, Mykel Brinkerhoff, Patricia Cabredo, Raquel Benítez Burraco, Sebastian Nordhoff, Tom Bossuyt,

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: Xe_{La}TeX

Language Science Press

xHain

Grünberger Str. 16

10243 Berlin, Germany

<http://langsci-press.org>

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität



Berlin

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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, *Hwíhs Niyohwejá: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 Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ words.

Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ 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 Gayogohonq'néha:ʔ 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

Acknowledgements

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 *Gayogohonə'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:wəh 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:gəh 'thank you all'

Funding acknowledgements

The following funders were integral to the Gayogohonq'néha:' dictionary and grammar projects:

- The Woodland Cultural Centre provided in-kind support for the Gayogohonq'néha:' dictionary and grammar projects between 1992–2017.
- The Six Nations Polytechnical Institute provided in-kind support for the Gayogohonq'néha:' grammar project between 2010–2015.
- The Government of Ontario, Ministry of Education and Training, Workplace Preparation Branch provided the following funding:
 - 1993, Project no. 4 Aboriginal Language Standardization Project, Cayuga Dictionary and Grammar.
 - 1997, Project no. 4A, Aboriginal Language Standardisation Project, Cayuga Dictionary and Grammar.
- The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council provided the following funding:
 - 2005–2008, A new research paradigm for setting down the Cayuga oral tradition. SSHRC Strategic Research Grant no. 856-2004-1082
 - 2010–2015, Cayuga Language Maintenance. Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) SSHRC grant no. 833-2009-1001
- Memorial University of Newfoundland provided cash and in-kind support, including:
 - 2010, the VP Research, the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, and the Dean of Arts, matching funding for the Cayuga Language Maintenance SSHRC grant no. 833-2009-1001.

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, -tseʔ] 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	[-go:] 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 *Hodinǫhsó:nih*

The *Hodinǫhsó: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 *Ganyę́ǵehó:nǫ* ‘Mohawk people’ resided between the Allegheny and Catskill Mountains, while the *Onǫdowá’ga:’* ‘Seneca people’ were settled along the Genessee River. In between, the *Onǫda’ǵehó:nǫ* ‘Onondaga people’ lived near Syracuse, New York, and the *Ohnyahę́hó:nǫ* ‘Oneida people’ lived near Lake Oneida, New York. The *Gayogǫhó:nǫ* ‘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 *Qǵwehǫ: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–xxxi), *Deganawí:da* ‘the Peacemaker’, aided by *Hayę́hwata* ‘He Who Makes a Wampum Belt’, first persuaded the *Ganyę́ǵehó:nǫ* and *Ohnyahę́hó:nǫ* to join together in alliance, followed by the *Onǫda’ǵehó:nǫ*, *Gayogǫhó:nǫ*, and *Onǫdowá’ga:’*. The central concepts of the Peacemaker’s message (or *Gayanę́hsra’gó:wah* ‘the Great Law’) were *Gaihwí:yo*: ‘the Good Message’, *Gahsháhsdę́hsra* ‘power, strength’, and *Sǵę:nǫ* ‘peace’.

The *Ganyę́ǵehó:nǫ*, *Onǫda’ǵehó:nǫ*, and *Onǫdowá’ga:’* formed the senior “side” (moiety or phratry) of the League, while the *Ohnyahę́hó:nǫ* and *Gayogǫhó:nǫ* constituted the junior side. The moieties were metaphorically conceived as kin belonging to the same *Ganǫhsó: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).

1 The Hodinǫ́sǫ́:nih

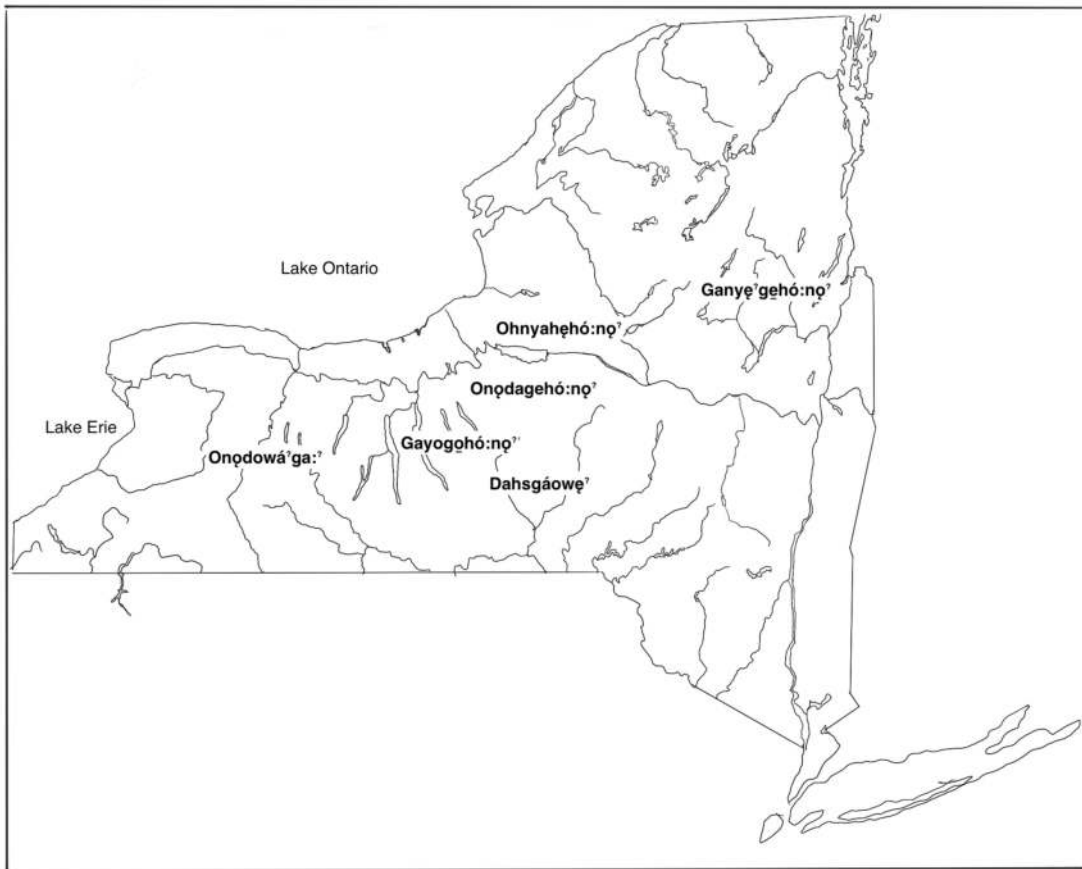


Figure 1.1: The original homelands of the Ojwehó:weh (based on *Map of Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee-Ga: Or the territories of the People of the Long House in 1720: Exhibiting the home country of the Iroquois with the aboriginal names of their villages, lakes, rivers, streams & ancient localities, and the courses 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:nǫ'* (Fenton 1998: 54, Schoolcraft 1846: 26). The League was afterwards known as the *Hyeí Niyǫ́hwejá:ge:* 'Six Nations'. Meanwhile, the *Gayogohó:nǫ'* 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 *Ganyę'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:yó'* *Oíhwa'geh* 'funeral rites', *Gayę'gqtwé:' ne'* *Onqhgwa'tra'* 'tobacco burnings and ceremonies

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

The *Godinğhsó:nih* also observe “doings” tied to the agricultural cycle, for example, the *Adahyáohq:*’ ‘Gathering of Fruit’ or ‘Strawberry Ceremony’ and the *Shadiyáqdata*’ ‘Dry Up the Trees’ Ceremony (done at the end of the maple sap run). The highlight of the year is the *Tsa’degohsrahéh Gaihwayáqni:* ‘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 *Ganóhonyoh* or *Ganóhonyohk* ‘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 *Hodiñhsó: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 *Hodiñhsó:nih* lands.

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

Before the American Revolution, some of the *Gayogohó:nq:*’ had settled with a group of *Onqodowá’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 *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ ‘Cayuga language’ are summarized in §1.3.

The British Crown granted lands to the *Hodiñhsó:nih* in the 1784 Haldimand Proclamation. For a map showing the approximate dates and locations of the original *Hodiñhsó: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 *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ place names at Six Nations and Figure D.2 (page 1062) for *Gayogohonq’néha:*’ place names in Ontario and Quebec, Canada, and in New York State, USA.

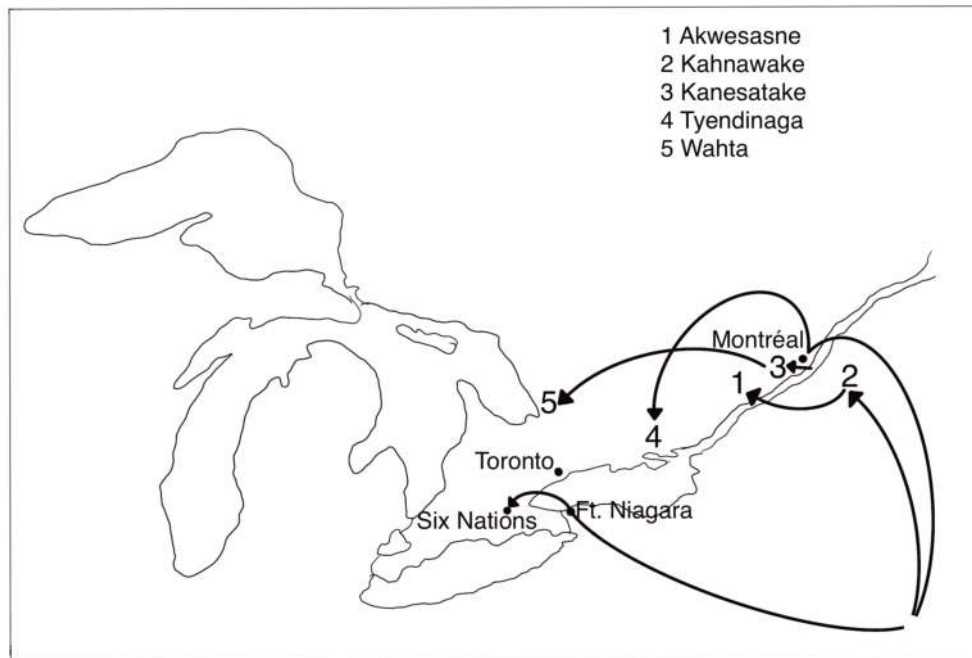


Figure 1.2: Ganyę'gehó:nọ' 'Mohawk' migrations

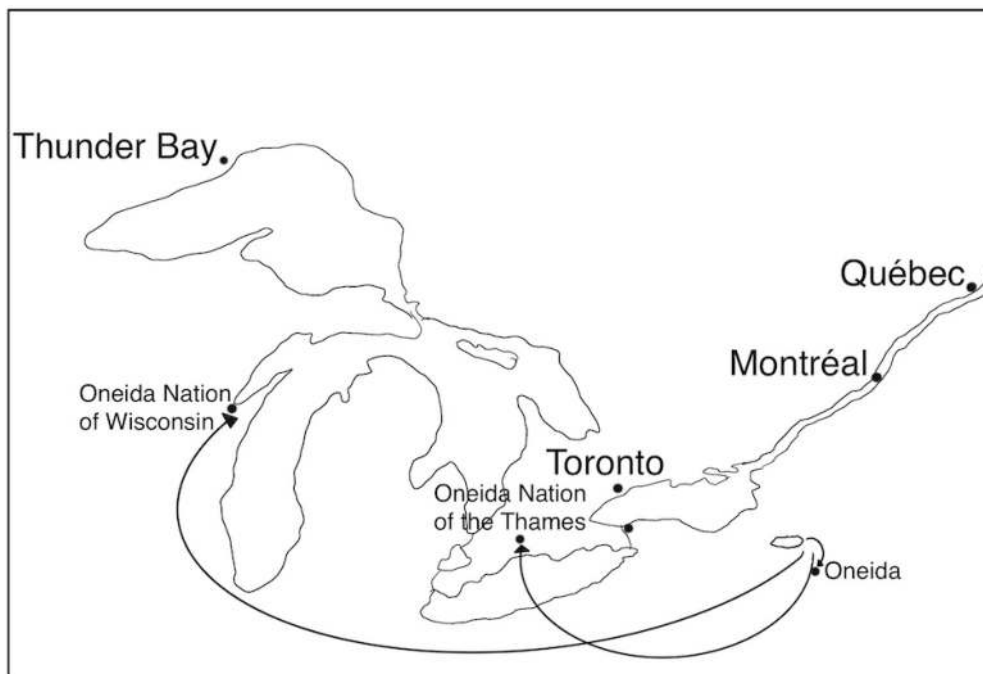


Figure 1.3: Ohnyahęhó:nọ' 'Oneida' migrations

1 The Hodinᓄsᓐ:nih

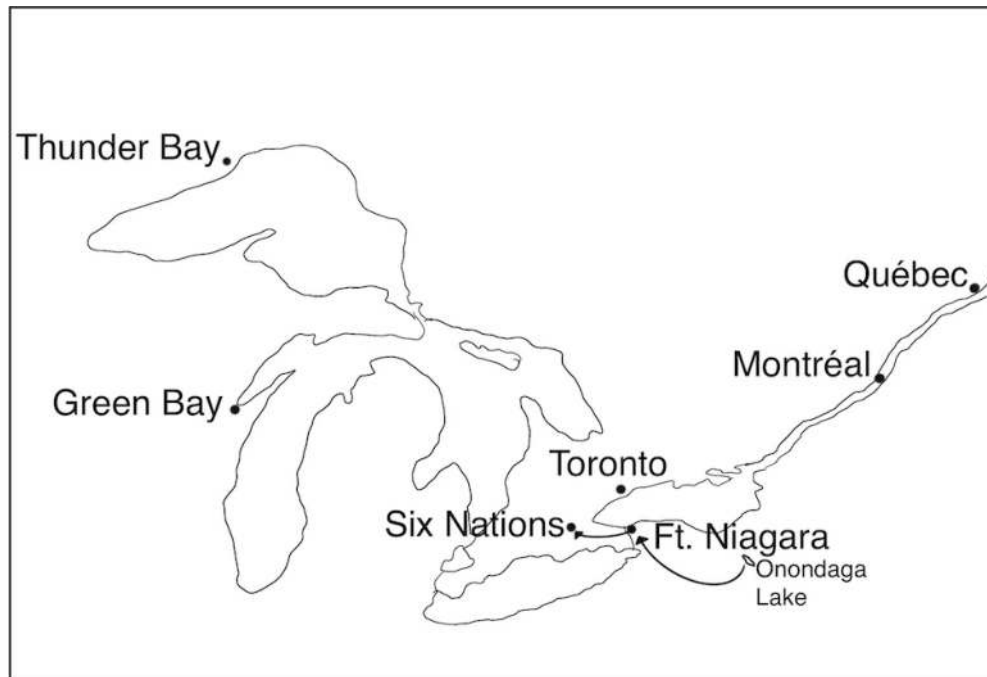


Figure 1.4: Onᓄa'gehó:nᓄ' 'Onondaga' migrations

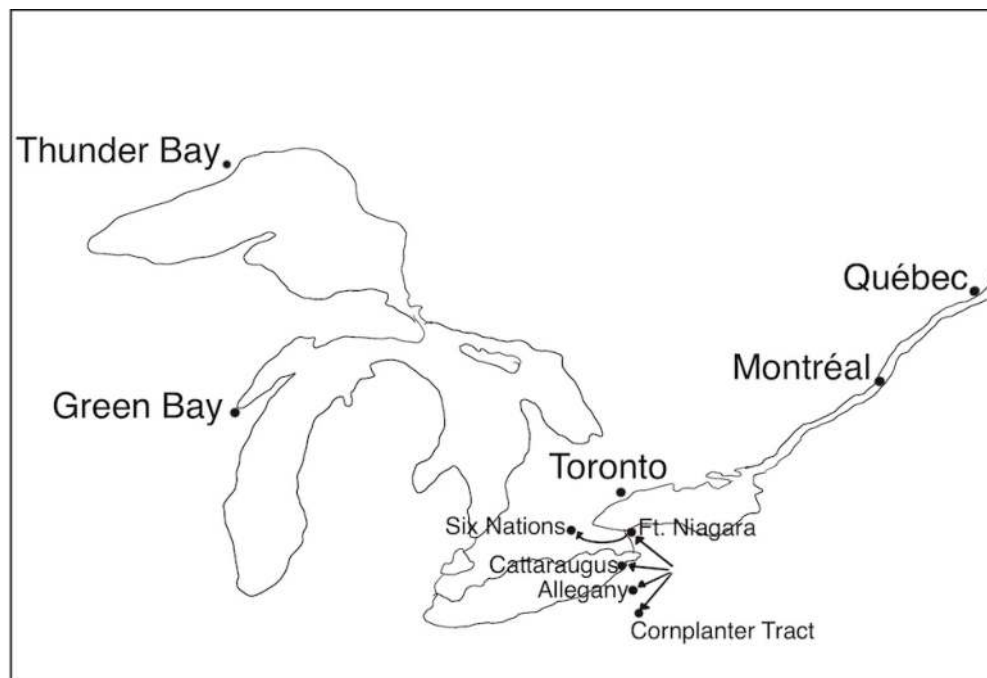


Figure 1.5: Onᓄowá'ga:' 'Seneca' migrations

1.3 *Gayogohonǫ́néha:*, the Cayuga language

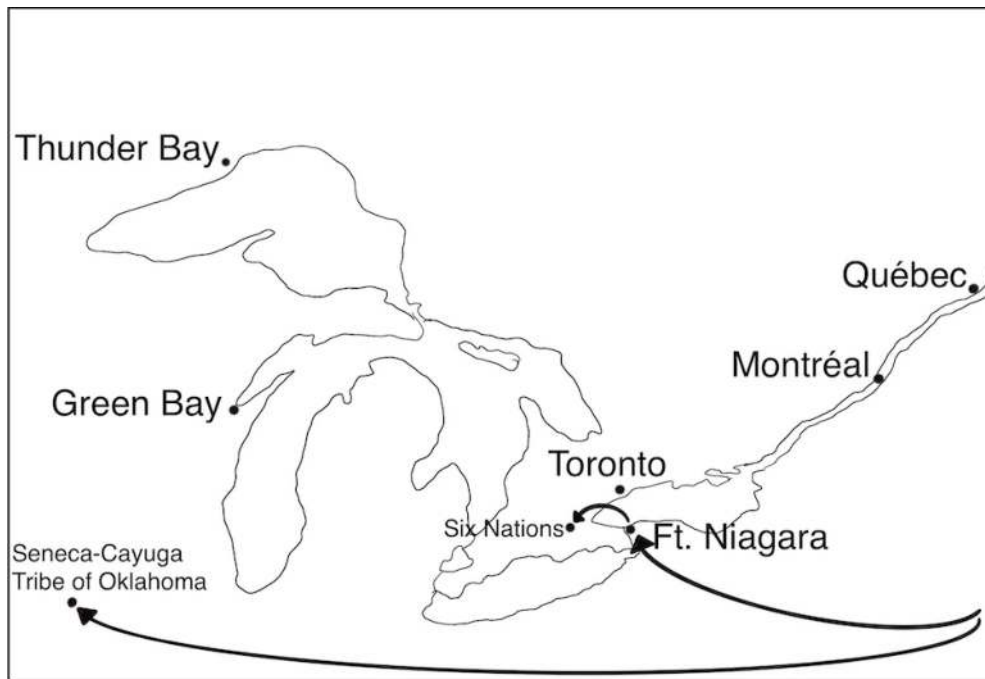


Figure 1.6: *Gayogohó:nǫ́* ‘Cayuga’ migrations

1.3 *Gayogohonǫ́néha:*, the Cayuga language

Gayogohonǫ́néha: belongs to the *Qgwehǫwéhneha:* ‘Iroquoian language’ family.³ It is closely related to *Onǫda’gegá* ‘Onondaga’ and *Onödowá’ga:* ‘Seneca’ and more distantly, to *Ska:rù:rǫ́* ‘Tuscarora’, *Kanien’kéha* ‘Mohawk’, *Onlyota’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.

Gayogohó:nǫ́néha: 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 *Dagǫhyatgehonǫ́néha:* ‘Upper Cayuga’ was spoken around the Upper End (*Dagǫhya:t* ‘top of the mountain’).

³*Gayogohó:nǫ́* refers to the people, and *Gayogohonǫ́néha:* ‘the Cayuga way’ refers to the language. However, *Gayogohó:nǫ́* 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.

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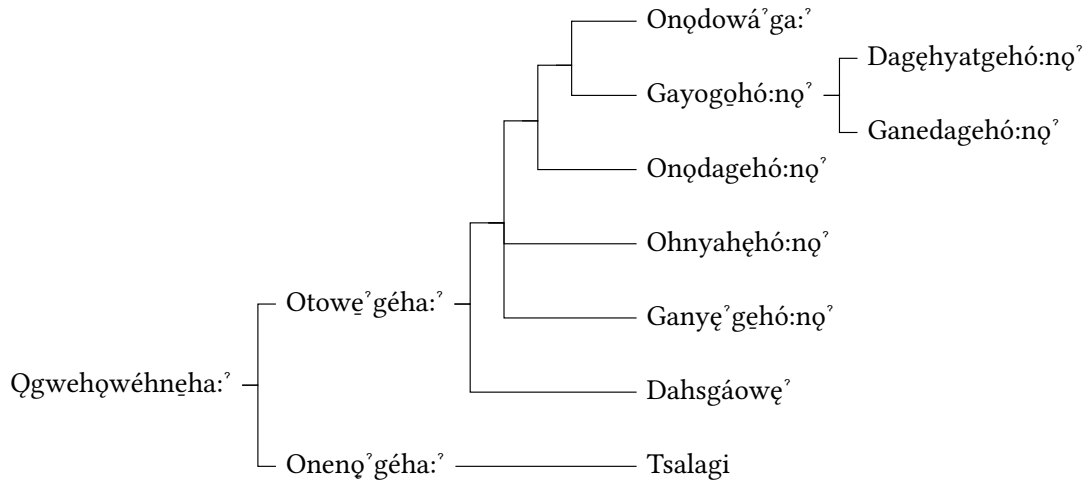


Figure 1.7: *Qgwehŋwéhneha:ʔ* language family (simplified). Based on Schillaci et al. (2017), Eberhard et al. (2022). *Otoweʔgéha:ʔ* ‘Northern kind’, *Onenŋʔgéha:ʔ* ‘Southern kind’. Strictly speaking, many of the language names should end with [-neha:ʔ], without which, the words represent the names of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

Table 1.1: Words for ‘two’ and ‘five’

Autonym	English name	‘two’	‘five’
Gayogohonŋʔnéha:ʔ	Cayuga	tekni:	hwihs
Kanienʔkéha	Mohawk	tékeni	wisk
Onəyotaʔa:ká:	Oneida	tékni	wisk
Onödaʔgegáʔ	Onondaga	teknih	hwiks
Onödowáʔga:ʔ	Seneca	tekni:h	wis
Ska:rù:rəʔ	Tuscarora	ne:kti:h	wisk
Tsalagi	Cherokee	taʔli	hiski

1.3 *Gayogohonó'néha:*, the Cayuga language

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

- (1) a. gyohdɔ: 'nine' (*Ganedagehonó'néha:*)
b. dyohdɔ: 'nine' (*Dagəhyatgehonó'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. gagáhowanɛ́'s (Oklahoma speaker)
ga-gáh-owanɛ́-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. ganɔhsuwá:nɛ́h (Oklahoma speaker)
ga-nɔhs-uwá:n-ɛ́h
3S.A-house-big-STAT
b. gonɔhsowá:nɛ́h (Six Nations speakers)
go-nɔhs-owá:n-ɛ́h
3S.FI.P-house-big-STAT
- (4) 'She has a big onion' (Mithun 1989: 250)
a. kuwá:nɛ́h 'núhsa' (Oklahoma speaker)
k-uwá:n-ɛ́h 'núhs-a'
3S.A-big-STAT onion-NSF

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

As shown in examples (4a) and (5), Oklahoma *Gayogohonɔ^ʔnéha:* 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. sáhe^ʔda^ʔ (Oklahoma speaker)
sáhe^ʔd-a^ʔ
beans-NSF
 - b. osáhe^ʔda^ʔ (Six Nations speakers)
o-sáhe^ʔd-a^ʔ
3S.P-beans-NSF
- (6) ‘butter’ (Mithun 1989: 255)
 - a. drá:hta^ʔ (Oklahoma speaker)
drá:ht-a^ʔ
butter-NSF
 - b. owidrá:hta^ʔ (Six Nations speakers)
o-widrá:ht-a^ʔ
3S.P-butter-NSF

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

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

Six Nations and Oklahoma *Gayogohonɔ^ʔnéha:* 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. gegahá:gǫ: (Oklahoma speaker)
g-e-gah-á:gǫ:
1s.A-JOINERĒ-eye-in
 - b. gegáhagǫ: (Six Nations speakers)
g-e-gáh-agǫ:
1s.A-JOINERĒ-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:nǫhnéha: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. geḥsóhdǎʔgeh (Six Nations speakers)
g-e-hsóhd-a-ʔgeh
1s.A-JOINERĒ-hand-JOINERĀ-ON
 - b. gehsúhdǎʔgeh (Oklahoma speaker)
g-e-hsúhd-a-ʔgeh
1s.A-JOINERĒ-hand-JOINERĀ-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. ahsóh (Six Nations)
 - b. ahsuh (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 Gayogohonǫ́néha:’ – 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 *Qgwehó: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
the’	te’	[t ^h]	‘no’	not word-final
taku:s	dagu: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
kęh	gęh	[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
shęh	sęh	[s ^h]	‘that’	anywhere
tshǫ:	tsǫ:	[ts ^h]	‘just’	anywhere
tsyá:tahk ^a	já: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. dega᠗:doʔjinéhtaʔ ‘they figure-skate’ (original)
 b. dega᠗doʔjinéhtaʔ ‘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. gʔaní᠗᠒haʔ ‘the mind’ (original)
 b. gaʔní᠗᠒haʔ (modified)
 c. ga᠒ó: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. sh᠑h ‘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.

²Sh᠑h is also spelled and pronounced as t᠑h (Henry orthography), tsh᠑h (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)	[tʰ]
[...]	underlying representation, allomorph, spelling variant	[a-], [aʔ-], [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-], [aʔ-], 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 *agíhsagoh* ‘I’m looking for it’ versus *əhsíhsa: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 [a] in *father*.

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

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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’.

Ẽ 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 Ẽ: can sound like [ɛ̃n], as in *né:dah* [nɛ́ndah] ‘hear, take it!’ This happens especially when long Ẽ: 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:doh* [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’a:’ ‘a head’
cf. o-nq’a:-’ 3.P-head-NSF
- b. sanq’á:’geh ‘on your head’
cf. sa-nq’á:-’geh 2S.A-head-ON
- c. honq’á:dɛ:s ‘he’s thick-headed’
cf. ho-nq’á:-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 Gayogohonǝnéha: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 Q. For example, items beginning with [od] or [ȯd] are alphabetized under OD.

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

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

3.5 Accent and related pronunciation changes

The unique rhythm of Gayogohonǝ'néha: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.

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

⁵Gayogohonǝ'néha: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	iʔ	
→	1	2	3	4	5	
				2nd-last (penult)	last	←

Figure 3.2: The syllable count and the [a:-] INDEF. *a:yetsɛ́iʔ* '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	nɔʔ	á	:	nɔh	wa:s	
→	1	2	3	4	5	6	
					2nd- last (penult)	last	←

Figure 3.3: The syllable count and underlying long vowels - *aknɔʔá: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
- dəhɔgwɛʔdí:yo:* (*dəh-hɔg-wɛʔ-dí:-yo:*) 'he is not a nice man' (lengthened)
 - taʔdewagéhɔʔ* (*taʔ-de-wa-géh-dɔʔ*) 'I did not mean or intend it' (not lengthened, because followed by H)
 - ɛyóʔgaʔ* (*ɛ-yóʔ-gaʔ*) '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 <ʔ> 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
- a. ✗ *sayaʔdodrɔhgwaónihs (sa-yaʔ-dod-rɔhg-wa-ó-nihs)
 - b. ✓ 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
- a. ✗ *wanahaótrahɔʔ (wa-nah-ha-ót-rah-hɔʔ)
 - b. ✓ wanaháotrahɔʔ (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)
- a. ganɔhsá:kʔah (ga-nɔh-sá:kʔah) ‘beside the house’
cf. ganɔhsaʔ (ga-nɔh-saʔ) ‘house’
 - b. 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’
 - c. 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:haʔ (**knó:h**-haʔ) ‘my mother’
b. kré:haʔ (**kré:h**-haʔ) ‘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:yɛʔ (**gá:-yɛʔ**) ‘it is lying there’
b. sá:wɛh (**sá:-wɛh**) ‘it is yours’
c. hadihá:wiʔs (ha-dih-**há:-**wiʔs) ‘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 Gayogohonʔ néha:ʔ examples in §1.3.)

- (19) a. ohónaʔdaʔ, **hónaʔdaʔ** ‘potatoes’
b. ohsháihdaʔ, **sháihdaʔ** ‘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:gɛʔ ‘she or he and I saw it’
cf. aʔ-a:kní:-gɛʔ FAC-1D.EX.A-see-PUNC
b. ✓ a:kní:gɛʔ ‘she or he and I saw it’
cf. a:kní:-gɛʔ DELETED.FACTUAL-1D.EX.A-see-PUNC
c. ✗ *akní:-gɛʔ *1D.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:*⁷ (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 *ḍh* and *ḍh* can simply sound like a T (22–23).

- (22) ehyáḍhkwaʔ (eh-yá-**ḍh**-kwaʔ) ‘pencil’ (sounds like *ehyáTkwaʔ*)
cf. ehyá:ḍh (eh-yá:-**ḍh**) ‘she writes’ (all three sounds in *ḍh* are clearly audible)
- (23) ḍḥḥḥḥháʔ (**ḍh**-ḥḥḥḥháʔ) ‘they (m) race’ (sounds like *Ṭḥḥḥháʔ*)
cf. degeḥḥháʔ (**de**-geḥḥháʔ) ‘they (animals) are racers’ (both sounds in *de* are clearly audible)

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

- (24) g̣ḥswáḥḥḥs (**g̣ḥs**-wáḥḥḥs) ‘I hate you’ (sounds like *KHswáḥḥḥs*)
cf. g̣ḥṇḥweʔs (g̣ḥ-ṇḥweʔs) ‘I like you’ (both sounds in *g̣ḥ* are clearly audible)
- (25) saḥsgá:ne:s (**saḥs**-gá:-ne:s) ‘you long for something’ (sounds like *SSgá:ne:s*)
cf. haḥsgá:ne:s (**haḥs**-gá:-ne:s) ‘he longs for something’ (all sounds in *haḥs* 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) gáʔdréhdaʔ (**gáʔ**d-réh-daʔ) ‘car, vehicle’ (odd-numbered *gáʔ* sounds more like *ga*. It is hard to hear any [ʔ] sound.)
cf. agéʔdrehdaʔ (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:ḍɛʔ (ɛh-sa-**ḍeʔ**n-yé:-ḍɛʔ) ‘you will try’ (odd-numbered *ḍeʔ* sounds more like *dʔe* or *de*)
cf. sadeʔnyé:ḍḥḥḥ (sa-**ḍeʔ**n-yé:-ḍḥḥḥ) ‘sample it! try it!’ (in even-numbered *ḍeʔ*, 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'qh:k (ɛ-sa-yé-dé'-qh: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'shényogwəh (s^he's-hén-yog-wəh) 'you have overpowered someone'
 - he'sá'dre: (he'-sá'd-re:) 'drive over there'
 - heyóts'ahdoh (he-yót-s'ah-doh) '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'
 - dəhsekahsó:go' (dəh-sek-hah-hsó:-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[?]dáihɛ: (o[?]-dá-ih-hɛ:) ‘it is hot’
b. oháha[?] (oh-háh-ha[?]) ‘road’

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

- (32) a. ga[?]dréhda[?] (gad-réh-da[?]) ‘car, vehicle’
b. o[?]wáhɔh (o[?]-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[?]. ‘I heard it’
- (34) sentence-final word, non-final accent
Ne[?] gí[?] tsɔ́: aga:tɔ́:de[?]
The just only I.heard.it
‘I just heard it’
- (35) mid-sentence word, final (continuing) accent
Aga:tɔ́:dé[?] tsɔ́:, tɛ́[?] ní:[?] degé:gɛ́:[?].
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[?]* (34) will remain long in finally-accented *aga:tɔ́:dé[?]* (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. *Gaę* *nhó:* **đisáhdégyó:/disahdegyo:?**

Which place you.come.from.there

'Where do you come from?'

b. *Dę'* *ho'dę'* **syá:sóh/sya:sóh?**

What kind you.are.called

'What is your name?'

c. *Dę'* *ho'dę'* **ęhsnégehá/ęhsnegeha'?**

What kind you.will.drink

'What will you drink?'

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

(38) **Wadéganyahs** *geh* *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".

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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) Heshawə̀hə́ tsɔ: ‘he speaks without thinking’
cf. hehsawə̀hə́tsɔ: (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] niyawə́ ɔ́h né swé'geh hne:’
What kind it.happened the long.ago in.fact
‘...what happened a long time ago.’ (Henry 2005)
- b. [dɛ́ hó dɛ́ gɛ:s] nigagyehá’ né swé'geh.
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:sɔ́h**?
Oh, what kind he.is.called
‘Oh. What is his name?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa’gó:wah dialogue; sentence-final H)
- (42) Elsie **eya:só** né gonɔ́hgɛ́:t, ...
Elsie she.is.called the she.has.fair.hair
‘The fair one is named Elsie...’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa’gó: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-nqhs-a'-sq:'ah
3S.A-house-NSF-PLRZ
'houses'

- (2) a verb with internal structure
dewagehena'tra'ehsdqhogye'
de-wage-hena'tra-'e-hsd-qh-ogye'
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:nq'neha:' 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 *degáhswa'ne:t* 'pie' (3a) is a VERB. Despite being a VERB, *degáhswa'ne: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"
- a. *degáhswa'ne:t* 'pie' (literally, 'its upper back is doubled' – possibly referring to the pie plate)
 - b. Swá:yę' di' hne:' sgaho'dé:'ęh *degáhswa'ne:t*?
you.have so in.fact some pie
'Do you have any kind of pie?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, Dwade:kq: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, *degáhswa'ne:t* 'pie' is a VERB functioning as a "noun", while *ganqhsa'* '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 [-aʔ] NOUN STEM FORMER (NSF) suffix. Sometimes this suffix is [-eʔ] or [-a:ʔ] 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. ehníʔda:ʔ ‘a month, a moon’
b. eʔníhsga:ʔ, weʔníhsga:ʔ ‘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’jìhsda*’, *ohó’jìhsda*’ ‘a motor, engine’
 c. *gahsdágwa*’, *ohsdágwa*’ ‘dirty clothes’
 d. *gajìhoha:*’, *ojìhoha:*’ ‘straight pin, pin, brooch, safety pin’
 e. *gahéhna*’, *ohéhna*’ ‘cargo, bundle, load’
 f. *gáidrèhda*’, *owídrèhda*’ ‘sleep’, ‘a dream’
- (5) a. *ohsgwáé’da*’, *sgwáé’da*’ ‘coltsfoot’
 b. *ohóna’da*’, *hóna’da*’ ‘potato’
 c. *ohtahyó:ni:*, *tahyó:ni:* ‘wolf’
- (6) a. *ogyáqhsra*’, *agyáqhsra*’ ‘a trick’
 b. *odóhne’tsa*’, *adóhne’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 [o-] 3S.P [(a-)] 3S.A	NOUN	[-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) gatgí'tra'
 ga-tgí'-tr-a'
 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]	[-a']
[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 [-a'geh] ON.

- (8) a. kyohsá'geh, kyuhsá'geh 'on my elbow'
 b. sɔtsá'geh 'on your (s.) knee'
 c. eksé'da'geh 'on her belly'
 d. enétsa'geh 'on her arm'
 e. gahnnyɛdahsá'geh 'on its beak'
 f. gahsí'da'geh 'on my foot'
 g. gahyagwiyá'geh 'on my toes'

While such nouns end with [-a'geh] ON, the suffix meaning is often not prominent: in (9), *gehsína'geh* 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 gehsínaʔgeh.
 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	[-aʔgeh]

^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:gwaḥdaʔ, ogwáhdaʔ ‘sole, ball of foot’
 - awéyqhsaʔ ‘heart’
 - awéʔnaḥsaʔ ‘tongue’
 - awéʔyohga:ʔ ‘thumb’
 - ogáhaʔ ‘eye’
 - ogódaʔ ‘bridge of one’s nose’
 - ogóhsaʔ ‘face’
- (11) detached meaning
- oné:tšaʔ ‘arm’ (said, for example, when holding doll’s arm for show)
 - onóʔa:ʔ ‘a severed head’
- (12) compound noun
- gwihsgwihs onóʔa:ʔ ‘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. ehyádɔhkwaʔ ‘pencil’ (literally, ‘instrument that people write with’)
cf. ehyá:dɔh ‘she or someone writes’
- b. ɔtɡahiʔdáhkwáʔ ‘toy’ (literally, ‘instrument that people play with’)
cf. ɔtɡáhiʔtaʔ ‘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.FI.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. hɔɡwéʔdase: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. degahənáʔtrāʔse:ʔ ‘scissors’ (literally, ‘it has two blades’)
 b. gəhnyáʔsesgó:wah ‘giraffe’ (literally, ‘it has a great big long neck’)
 c. hadihnyəʔəhsratəhs ‘ironworkers’ (literally, ‘they climb iron (for a living)’)
 d. degaihó:wəhs ‘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 [-q:-ʔ] STAT-NMLZ-NSF combination.

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

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

⁴As mentioned in an earlier footnote, nouns beginning with [a] can be analyzed as beginning with [ə-] (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 [-qh] or [-q:] (21).⁵

- (21) agentive stative “nouns”
- a. gagányaʔgqh ‘payment’
 - b. wagyq: ‘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	[-qh], [-q:], (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:gyq:
 he-y-ó:gy-q:
 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
- o-wí:y-aʔ ‘offspring’ (stand-alone noun) → [wiy] (noun stem)
 - ahá-nęhsgoʔ ‘he will steal’ (incorporating verb)
 - aha-wiy-á-nęhsgoʔ ‘he kidnapped a child’ (incorporated noun + verb)
- (23) incorporated body part nouns
- ha-hsíʔd-aʔgeh ‘on his foot’ (stand-alone noun) → [hsiʔd] (noun stem)
 - o-tgiʔ ‘it is dirty’, ‘it is ugly’ (incorporating verb)
 - ho-hsíʔd-a-tgiʔ ‘his feet are dirty’ (incorporated noun + verb)

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

- (24) hօgweʔdí:yo:
 h-օgwe-ʔd-í:yo:
 3S.M.A-person-INCR-nice.STAT
 ‘he is a nice person’
 cf. hօ:gweh (atypical word)
 h-օ: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. gwε’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. jihnyoʔgəʔ
 ji-hny-oʔgəʔ
 JI-stick-together.STAT
 ‘chipmunk’
- c. jihsda: ‘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:yəh ‘otter’
 cf. (possibly,
 sgwa-yəh
 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. tgwiyo:gɛ’ ‘channel catfish’
 cf. (possibly,
 ø-t-gwiyo:gɛ:
 NO.PREFIX-SRF-twig-together.STAT)
- e. tsahgo:wa:’ ‘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. he’gɛ:’ɛh ‘my younger brother’
 b. gakénoha’ahsɔ:’ɔh ‘my aunts’
 c. hehji’ah ‘my older brother’
 d. ɔgyá:gyoh ‘my brother-in-law, sister-in-law’
 e. ha’nih ‘my father’
 f. ɔgyá:tsih ‘my friend, my boyfriend, my girlfriend’
 g. ha’ní:hah ‘my godfather’
 h. hehso:t ‘my grandfather’
 i. agya:dɛ: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.	['gɛ:'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:nq’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. deyagodehighlightdɔh ‘where she has it highlighted’

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

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

Other loanwords have been adapted to sound better in Gayogoho:nq’néha:?. For example, P in the source languages in (39) became GW or G in Gayogoho:nq’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:nq’néha:? words because they have acquired Gayogoho:nq’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. ogwéni[?]da[?]
o-gwéni-[?]d-a[?]
3s.P-penny-INCR-NSF
'penny' BASIC NOUN
- c. gaj**o**btrowá:nɛh
ga-job-tr-owá:n-ɛh
3s.A-job-NMLZ-big-STAT
'big job' VERB
- d. gaj**o**trí:yo:
ga-job-tr-í:yo:
3s.A-job-NMLZ-good.STAT
'nice job' VERB
- e. ho**o**jobtrí: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’sseh* ‘your uncle Dave’ (noun phrase)
(Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdatgi’ dialogue)
d. *háqhẹ́* = *ne’ hahẹ́dagehó:nq’* ‘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) *haqhé’ 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:*ʔ ‘I, ‘we’ PARTICLE
- ⇒ *I:s*, *Ni:s* ‘you’ (any number of people) PARTICLE
- ⇒ *Haqhe*ʔ, *Haqha*ʔ ‘he’ VERB
- ⇒ *Gaqhe*ʔ, *Gaqha*ʔ ‘she’ VERB
- ⇒ *Aqhe*ʔ, *Aqha*ʔ ‘it’ VERB
- ⇒ *Honq:he*ʔ ‘they (males)’ VERB
- ⇒ *Gonq:he*ʔ ‘they (females or mixed)’ VERB
- ⇒ *Onq:he*ʔ ‘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

- ⇒ *Dɛ*ʔ *ni:*ʔ ‘I am for sure’
- ⇒ *Se*ʔ *he*ʔ *ni:*ʔ ‘me too’, ‘us too’
- ⇒ *I:*ʔ *hne:*ʔ ‘no, I am’
- ⇒ *I:*ʔ *geh* (*gwa:dih*) ‘on my side’, ‘as for me’
- ⇒ *I:*ʔ *hya:*ʔ ‘me first’
- ⇒ *I:*ʔ *se*ʔ ‘I am’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:*ʔ *ne:*ʔ *I:s* ‘how about you?’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:*ʔ *di*ʔ *Ni:s* ‘how about you?’
- ⇒ *Ni:*ʔ *gye:*ʔ, *ni:*ʔ *ge:*ʔ ‘I did it’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *I:*ʔ ‘not me’, ‘not us’
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *gi*ʔ *ni:*ʔ ‘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. Tɛː ɣɛh neː desá:wɛh?
Not Q the it.isn't.yours
'Isn't that yours?'
- b. Neː hneː ɣó:wɛh.
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:wɛh* 'it's mine', 'it's ours', 'my', 'our'
- ⇒ *Sa:wɛh* 'it's yours' (one person's), 'your'
- ⇒ *Ho:wɛh* 'it's his'
- ⇒ *Go:wɛh* 'it's hers', 'it's someone's'
- ⇒ *O:wɛh* 'it belongs to it' (an animal), 'its'
- ⇒ *Hona:wɛh* 'it's theirs' (males only), 'it belongs to them' (males only), 'their'
- ⇒ *Gona:wɛh* 'it's theirs' (females or mixed group), 'it belongs to them' (females or mixed group), 'their'
- ⇒ *Ona:wɛh* '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) Neː hɛː hneː ho:wɛh nɛː-gyɛh.
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:-gyɛh?
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’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* ‘this’, ‘these’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-dah* ‘this’, ‘this way’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-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:'ɛh* ‘something’
- ⇒ *Sgaho'dɛ:'ɛh 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:'* ‘any one’, ‘any living thing’
- ⇒ *Sɔ:-ga:'ah* ‘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

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

6.7 Negative “pronouns”

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

Related

- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gwaʔ-toh* ‘none at all’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ giʔ ni:* ‘no, not me’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ i:* ‘not me’, ‘not us’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ sgahoʔ dɛʔ* ‘nothing’, ‘not anything’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ 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
ag**adad**é: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)
ded**wadag**yénawahs ‘let us all help one another’ (with DU and REC)
cf. dwáyénawahs ‘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 *ne’ hagehsot-géhe:* ‘my late grandfather’ is further specified by the dependent clause *to-gyéh dahayagé:* ‘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 *dahayagé:* ‘he went out’ performs this function.

- (10) ...ne’ hagehsotgéhe:’ to-gyéh dahayagé’ ...
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. goha’dí:yo: ‘she is a good singer, she has a good voice’
c. ogá:yoh ‘it is old’
d. gohsdé:’eh ‘she is old’
e. onóweht ‘it is absurd, unbelievable’
f. agadatséhse: ‘I am tired’
g. hohsgénha’seh ‘he is greedy’
h. dewadagwéhdę: ‘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’q̄h* 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

ahsq̄h ne:’ honákwe’q̄h.
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:’ gq̄h 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. Gq̄dagye’ q̄tsahd’é:di’.

right.away you.will.leave

‘You will leave right away!’

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

- b. Tɛʔ. Hɛgɛʔ-tso:. Shedɛhji:hah ní:ʔ ɛgahdɛ:díʔ gɔdagyeʔ.
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, ɛkníyɛtoʔ dialogue)

8.2 “Adverbs” of time

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

- (4) Neʔ giʔ ɛ:ʔ e:ʔ 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

- ⇒ *Ahsɔh* ‘still’, ‘yet’
- ⇒ *Daji:hah gwaʔ* ‘soon’, ‘a short while’
- ⇒ *E:ʔ* ‘again’, ‘still’
- ⇒ *Gaɛ niyo:weʔ tso:* ‘whenever’
- ⇒ *Gaoʔ nawahtgeh* ‘the time before then’
- ⇒ *Gɛ:s* ‘generally’, ‘used to’, ‘usually’, ‘normally’
- ⇒ *Giʔ* ‘just’
- ⇒ *Gɔdagyeʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right away’
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’
- ⇒ *Gwahs hwaʔ* ‘this time for sure’
- ⇒ *Gwahs waʔ-heh tso:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’
- ⇒ [-*heh*] element related to time
- ⇒ *Hwaʔ* ‘this time’, ‘next’
- ⇒ *Hwɛ:dɔh* ‘when’
- ⇒ *Hwɛ:dɔh gwaʔ* ‘sometime’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’
- ⇒ *Hya:ʔ* ‘first’, ‘before anything else’

- ⇒ *Na'gɛ:ʔ, ohna'gɛ:ʔ* ‘late’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gi'gyɛ:ʔ hya:ʔ* ‘before all else’, ‘first’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ hwaʔ* ‘this (coming) time’
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ se'gɛ:s neʔ* ‘back then’, ‘a long time ago’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:hwaʔ waʔ-ne:ʔ* ‘nowadays’
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh hwaʔ* ‘this time’
- ⇒ *Ogwehɛ:gyɛʔ* ‘now and then’, ‘now and again’
- ⇒ *Ohɛ:dɔ:* ‘early’, ‘first’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gɛ:ʔ, na'gɛ:ʔ* ‘late’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gɛhjɪh* ‘late’, ‘back then’
- ⇒ *O:nɛh, neʔ o:nɛh* ‘now’, ‘when’, ‘then’, ‘at this time’
- ⇒ *O:nɛh e:ʔ* ‘again!’
- ⇒ *O:nɛh gwaʔ* ‘suddenly’, ‘already’, ‘finally’, ‘all at once’
- ⇒ *O:nɛh to:hah* ‘soon’, ‘almost’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ ahsɔh* ‘not yet’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh* ‘never’, ‘not ever’
- ⇒ *Tgɔhaɔgyɛʔ* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *Tgwahaɔ:ʔ* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *Tgwɛhɛ:ʔ* ‘sometimes’
- ⇒ *To:niyonisheʔ to:* ‘a certain amount of time’
- ⇒ *To:niyo:weʔ ne:ʔ* ‘when’
- ⇒ *Tɔ:-hwaʔ* ‘that time’
- ⇒ *To:hah* ‘a place’, ‘a time’
- ⇒ *Waʔ*- element meaning ‘current moment’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-gyɛh* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-heh-geha:ʔ* ‘finally’, ‘at long last’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jɪh* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-ji:-hah* ‘presently’, ‘a little later’, ‘after a bit’, ‘after a while’, ‘afterwards’, ‘later’
- ⇒ *Waʔ-ne:ʔ* ‘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) De'agowihsrá:t tsa'ónagra't.
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) Agi'da'óh q shəh na'onishé' hohta:'.
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:dó:' 'it asked again'
cf. awadahó:dó:' 'it asked'
b. jago:kó:ni: 'she is cooking again'
cf. gokó: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. só:de' 'last night' (atypical VERB)
b. Awəḍḍá'óh '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 hq: hayéheʔ.
there place he.puts.it
‘He is always putting it there.’
- (10) Tohgeh gèh nhq:wéʔ toh naʔá:weh?
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: hq:weh hq:* ‘this is where’
- ⇒ *E: gwa:dih* ‘on the other side’
- ⇒ *E: ni-NOUN+adih* ‘on the other side of NOUN’
- ⇒ *Gaę gwaʔ gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’
- ⇒ *Gaę gwaʔ hq:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’
- ⇒ *Gaę gwaʔ...ni-NOUN* ‘wherever NOUN is’

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

- ⇒ *Gaę gwa' tsq*: ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’
- ⇒ *Gaę niyó:we'* ‘how far’, ‘which distance’
- ⇒ *Gao'* ‘this side’, ‘this way’
- ⇒ *Ga'*- element referring to a location
- ⇒ *Ga'-to:hah* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘around’, ‘anywhere’, ‘thereabouts’
- ⇒ *Ga'-to:hah tohgeh* ‘thereabouts’
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’
- ⇒ *Hehda'geh gwa:dih* ‘below’, ‘low’
- ⇒ *Hehda'geh hq:* ‘downstairs’
- ⇒ *Hehdagehjih* ‘the bottom’, ‘low’
- ⇒ *Hejo:ya' tsq*: ‘elsewhere’
- ⇒ *He:tgeh* ‘above’, ‘up’, ‘superior’
- ⇒ *He:tgehjih* ‘the very top’, ‘high up’
- ⇒ *He:yo: dagwaishq:* ‘straight ahead’
- ⇒ *Hę:gyeh gaę hq:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’
- ⇒ *Hq:weh* ‘where’
- ⇒ *I:nqh* ‘far’
- ⇒ *I:wa:k'ah* ‘near’
- ⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* ‘here (rather than there)’
- ⇒ *Ne' to gyę: hq:weh* ‘it is where’
- ⇒ *Nę: toh gwa:dih* ‘on this side’
- ⇒ *Nę:-gyęh gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’
- ⇒ *Nę: toh* ‘here’
- ⇒ *Nigwa:dih* ‘-ward, direction’
- ⇒ *Niyo:we', ni:yo:', nyo:'* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’
- ⇒ *Ohę:dq: shęh* ‘ahead’, ‘in front’, ‘forward’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gę: gwa:dih shęh* ‘behind’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gęhjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’, ‘the bottom’
- ⇒ *Ohna'gq:* ‘underneath’, ‘beneath’, ‘under’
- ⇒ *Senyę'sgwadih* ‘to your left’
- ⇒ *Sewaihqhsdqh gwa:dih* ‘to your right’
- ⇒ *Sganyę'sgwadih* ‘to its left’
- ⇒ *Shęh hq: heyodokda'qh* ‘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:’ ɔ́h* *hodrihsdɔ́hɔ́:gy.e’*
 slowly he.is.sneaking.around
 ‘He is sneaking around slowly.’

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

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:ní’ shəh niwagrihó’ dɛ:
I.will.change that how.I.do.things
‘I am going to change my outlook’

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

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

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

- (15) dɛhadagyá’ dāhgwa’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) ahɛnatgwéni’ ge: ‘the big win’, ‘victory’ (literally, ‘they won big’)
cf. ɛhsa:tgwé:ni’ ‘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’kdé* ‘it gets dull’.

- (18) *Ohsno:wé* gę:s *adwákyu’kdé*.
 it.is.fast usually it.gets.dull
 ‘It gets dull fast.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enqhsqnya’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

- ⇒ *Ahsqh* ‘more’
- ⇒ *Aqgohdqh* ‘exceptional’, ‘over the top’, ‘extremely’, ‘too much so’
- ⇒ *Do:gèhs* ‘really’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *Dohgá:’ah* ‘a few’
- ⇒ *Do:s* ‘really’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *Gi’ gyè:’* ‘quite’, ‘kind of’
- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, ‘intensifier’
- ⇒ *Gwahs q:weh* ‘really’
- ⇒ *Gwe:gqh, agwe:gqh, ogwe:gqh* ‘completely’, ‘totally’
- ⇒ *Heyohe:’* ‘more’
- ⇒ *I:so’* ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘lots’, ‘very’
- ⇒ *I:so:’ah* ‘a fairly big bit’
- ⇒ *Ji* ‘too much’
- ⇒ *Ji aqgohdqh* ‘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’ q:weh* ‘really’
- ⇒ *Stq:hah, stq:hqh* ‘a little bit’
- ⇒ *Tè’ dege:hèh* ‘not too many’
- ⇒ *To hè:gyeh shèh* ‘really’

- ⇒ *Tròhgeh tsò*: ‘barely’
- ⇒ *Tsò*: ‘just’, ‘only’
- ⇒ *Wa[?]-jih gyɛ:* ‘almost’, ‘just about’

8.5.2 Suffixes functioning as “adverbs” of degree

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

- (23) a. *sgɛnɔgowá:hah* ‘slowly’, ‘fairly slow’
 cf. *sgɛnɔ:’òh* ‘slowly’
- b. *gowá:nɛ:hah* ‘it is *fairly* big’
 cf. *gowá:nɛh* ‘it is big’
- c. *niyó:s’ah* ‘just a *little bit* long’
 cf. *í:yò:s* ‘it is long’

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

- (24) a. *owíhjih* ‘it is *overcooked*’
 cf. *deyó:wi:h* ‘it is undercooked’, ‘it is not ripe’
- b. *ohɛhjihwɛh* ‘it is *really* dried out’
 cf. *ohɛ:* ‘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 *áɔgohdòh* modifies the meaning of other verbs, it means ‘extremely’ or ‘too much’ (25). For more examples, see §8.5.1

- (25) a. *Aɔgohdòh* *ohdròhk*.
 it.surpasses it.is.dangerous
 ‘It is extremely dangerous.’
- b. *Aɔgohdòh* *òge’drahéhs* *tɛh nagadekó:ni’*.
 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. deýónahsgwahk 'she will jump'
 - d. ęgaogidagráhde' 'they are going to trip me, make me fall'
- (2) movement
 - a. dagé:ne' 'they are coming'
 - b. ọkní'dre' 'we two are riding along in a vehicle'
 - c. swatahí:ne' 'you all are walking'
- (3) states or characteristics
 - a. hahné:ye:s 'he is tall'
 - b. aknó:shę: 'I am envious'
 - c. aknọhọkdá:nih 'I am sick'
- (4) existence (or non-existence)
 - a. To: gĩ' tsọ: ní:yọ:.
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. gonọhkwa' 'I love you'
 - c. desa'nigọhẹhdọh 'you are sad'

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- (6) perceptions
 - a. ɛsé:geʔ ‘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. ganí: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 – *ęhsní:nqʷ* and *ęgyé:to* – lack an incorporated noun and are still perfectly good words.

(10) *ęyagwahgwęnyahnínqnyqʷ* ‘we all will buy clothes’

cf. *ahgwęnya* ‘clothes’

cf. *ęhsní:nqʷ* ‘you will buy it’

(11) *hękhqnaʷdáyętoʷ* ‘I will plant potatoes there’

cf. *ohqnaʷdaʷ* ‘potatoes’

cf. *ęgyé:toʷ* ‘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, *hękhqnaʷdáyętoʷ*, requires both a “doer” (‘I’) and an undergoer (‘potatoes’).

(12) a. *gahnih* ‘it is barking’

b. *gadá:węh* ‘I am swimming’

c. *hęnadawęhs* ‘they (males) are swimming’

d. *saʷe:yqʷ* ‘she returned’

e. *nqđáhse:ʷ* ‘you came from there’

f. *haʷgáge:t* ‘I stopped by there’

g. *agiʷ* ‘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 [ʔnigɔha+ʔe:k] ‘mind+hit’.

- (16) fixed expressions with incorporated noun [ʔnigɔha] ‘mind’
- a. ɛhsheʔnigɔhaʔe:k ‘you will offend someone’ (literally, ‘you will hit someone’s mind’)
 - b. hoʔnigɔháɛdaʔs ‘he understands’ (literally, ‘his mind settles’)
 - c. ɛhsheʔnigɔhɔ: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
- a. agyé:na:ʔ ‘I caught, received it’ (minimal verb, [yena:ʔ] transparent expression)
 - b. athadiyé:na:ʔ ‘they did it together’, ‘they were accomplices’ ([DU-...yena:] fixed expression)
 - c. ɛhsrihwayé:na:ʔ ‘you will accept advice, a suggestion’ ([rihwa-yena:] fixed expression)
 - d. ɛhsadagyé: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 [tsi-] 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) [tsi-verb] ‘while, when’
- a. **tsihogweʔda:sé:** **hohsɛ:**
 while.he.was.young he.is.fat
 ‘When he was young, he was fat.’
- cf. **hogwéʔdase:**
 h-ogwéʔd-ase:
 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT
 ‘young man’
- b. **tsiyeksaʔdá:se:** ‘when she was a teenager...’
- cf. **eksaʔdasé: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. **hɛnáʔswahthaʔ** ‘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. gotgó: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. sɛhsɛ:nó:nih
s-ɛ-hsɛ:nó:ni-h
2S.A-JOINERĒ-store-HAB
‘you are storing it right now’
- b. ɛhsɛhsɛnó:niʔ
ɛ-hs-e-hsɛnó:ni-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-store-PUNC
‘you will store it’
- c. gahsɛ:nó:ni:
gɔ-hsɛ:nó:ni-:
3S.A-store-STAT
‘stored items’

9 Verbs

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

- (23) [ʔhoweg] ‘cover something’
- a. geʔhó:we:s
g-e-ʔhó:we:-s
1S.A-JOINERĒ-cover-HAB
‘I am covering something’
 - b. ɛhseʔhó:we:k
ɛ-hs-e-ʔhó:we:k
FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-cover.Ø.PUNC
‘you will cover something’
 - c. ageʔhowé:gɔh
ag-e-ʔhowé:g-ɔh
1S.P-JOINERĒ-cover-STAT
‘I did cover something’
- (24) [de-...-ɛnahsgwahgw] ‘jump’
- a. deyɔnahsgwáhkwahaʔ
de-yɔ-nahsgwáhkw-haʔ
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 [-²] 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. ɛsadaḥó: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:də:s** ‘it is thick, dense’ (A-series prefix)
b. **wagyé:səh** ‘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:nq'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	[- [?] geh] ON
VERB	[-hneh] AT
PARTICLE	[-: [?] ah, - [?] ah] DIM
	[-:hah] DIM
	[-go:wah] AUG
	[-gɛhɛ: [?]] PAST
	[-neha: [?]] CUSTOMARY
	[-geha: [?]] CUSTOMARY
	[-ka: [?]] CUSTOMARY
	[-ɔ:wɛh] TYP
	[-ho:nɔ: [?]] POP
	[-jih] INTS
	[-shɛ: [?] , -tshɛ: [?]] DECLA.KIN ^a
[-shɔ: [?] ɔh, -shɔ: [?] ah] PLRZ ^b	
[-shɔ: [?]] PLRZ ^c	

^aThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɛ:[?], -tɛ:[?]>.

^bThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɔ:[?]ɔh, -sɔ:[?]ah>.

^cThe community spelling for this suffix is <-sɔ:[?]>.

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

10 Word suffixes

- (1) a. Gwahsdq̄hó:nq̄'
gwahsdq̄-hó:nq̄'
Boston-POP¹
'Americans'
- b. Gwahsdq̄honq̄'geh
gwahsdq̄-honq̄-'geh
Boston-POP-ON
'United States'
- c. Gwahsdq̄honq̄'gehó:nq̄'
gwahsdq̄h-honq̄h-'gehó:nq̄'
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:nq̄'
o-ya-ji-hó:nq̄'
3s.P-other-INTS-POP
'stranger, alien'
- cf. oyá:jih
o-yá:-jih
3s.P-other-INTS
'another type'
- b. giḥe'gowáhneh
giḥe'-gowá-hneh
river-AUG-AT
'to the big river'
- cf. giḥe:gó:wah
giḥe:-gó:wah
river-AUG
'the big river'

Word suffixes are described in the following sections.

10.1 [-'geh] ON (external locative)

The [-'geh] 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).

¹Gwahsdq̄ 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 [-'geh]

- a. otówe'geh
o-tówe-'geh
3S.P-cold.STAT-ON
'North'
cf. otó:we'
o-tó:we'
3S.P-cold.STAT
'it is cold'
- b. onénq'geh
o-nénq-'geh
3S.P-warm.STAT-ON
'South'
cf. oné:nq'
o-né:nq'
3S.P-warm.STAT
'it is mild, warm'
- c. e'nikqhkwa'geh
e-'nikqkw-há-'geh
3S.FI.A-sew-HAB-ON
'sewing room'
cf. e'nikqkwa'
e-'nikqkw-ha'
3S.FI.A-sew-HAB
'she sews'
- d. ekqnyá'tá'geh
e-kqnyá't-há-'geh
3S.FI.A-cook-HAB-ON
'kitchen'
cf. ekqnyá'ta'
e-kqnyá't-ha'
3S.FI.A-cook-HAB
'she cooks'
- e. Gahnawiyó'geh
ga-hnaw-iyó-'geh
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 [-^ʔgeh]
 í:^ʔgeh
 i:-^ʔgeh
 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. giḥe^ʔgowáhneh
 giḥe^ʔ-gowá-hneh
 river-AUG-AT
 ‘to the big river’
 cf. giḥe:gó:wah
 giḥe:-gó:wah
 river-AUG
 ‘the big river’
- b. hɛnó:gwehneh
 hɛn-ó:gwe-hneh
 3NS.M.A-people-AT
 ‘men’s washroom’
 cf. hɛnó:gweh
 hɛn-ó: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. gohsréhneh
gohsré-hneh
cold.place-AT
'winter'
- f. Hyáikneh
hyá-ik-hneh
berry-ripen-AT
'June'
- g. Jíhsgəhneh
jíhsgə-hneh
corn.husk-AT
'August'
- h. Sá'gəhneh
sá'gə-hneh
cough-AT
'September'
- i. Sa'gəhnehgó:wah
sa'gə-hneh-gó:wah
cough-AT-AUG
'October'

(8) VERBS functioning as “nouns”

- a. Ohwejagáyəhneh
o-hweja-gáyə-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) [-'geh] ON with basic and body part nouns

- a. gáqda'geh
gá-qd-a-'geh
3S.A-log-JOINER-ON
'on the log'
- b. gwε'nóhsa'geh
g-wε'nóhs-a-'geh
1S.A-tongue-JOINER-ON
'on my tongue'

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

(10) [-hneh] AT and [-'geh] ON after personal names

- a. Arniegeh, Arnihneh
Arnie-'geh/hneh
Arnie-ON/AT
'at Arnie's place'
- b. Alvahneh, Alva'geh
Alva-'geh/hneh
Alva-ON/AT
'at Alva's place'
- c. Elsa hneh
Elsa-hneh
Elsa-AT
'at Elsa's place'
- d. Maria'geh
Maria-'geh
Maria-ON
'at Maria's place'
- e. Tómhneh
Tom-hneh
Tom-AT
'at Tom's place'
- f. Sawεhe:sgeh
Sawεhe:s-'geh
Sawεhe:s-ON
'at Sawεhe: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. gɛnɛnagéhneh
g-ɛnɛn-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:ʔasé: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. hehjíʔah
he-hjí-ʔah
1s:3MS-older.sibling-DIM
‘my older brother’
cf. hehjiʔ
he-hjiʔ
1s:3MS-older.sibling
‘my older brother’ (affectionate term)
- b. kehjíʔah
keh-jí-ʔah
1s:3FIS-older.sibling-DIM
‘my older sister’
cf. kehjiʔ
ke-hjiʔ
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. neʔ owi:yaʔ
neʔ o-wi:y-aʔ
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. tɛhayɛtó:ʔah
t-ɛ-ha-yɛtó:-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:tgɛʔ
ha-hé:tgɛʔ
3S.M.A-ugly.STAT
‘he is ugly’
- b. onqhsatgí:sʔah
o-nqhs-a-tgí:-s-ʔah
3S.P-house-JOINER A-ugly.STAT-PL-DIM
‘ugly house’
- cf. onqhsatgiʔ
o-nqhs-a-tgiʔ
3S.P-house-JOINER A-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. sgəŋogowá:hah
s-g-əŋq-gowá:-hah
REP-3S.A-originate.from-AUG-DIM
‘slowly, fairly slow’
cf. sgə:nogó:wah
s-g-əŋq-gó: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-gwideh-neh
3S.A-early.spring-AT
'springtime, in the spring'
- c. ɛgyo'gá:hah
ɛ-g-yo-'gá:-hah
FUT-CIS-3S.P-evening.PUNC-DIM
'early night'
cf. ɛyó'ga:
ɛ-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-'ga:s-'ah-hné:-hah
 3S.P-evening.STAT-DIM-AT-DIM
 'eveningish'
 cf. o'gá:s'ah
 o-'gá:s-'ah
 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. hagəhjí:hah
 ha-gəhjí:-hah
 3S.M.A-old.STAT-DIM
 'he is getting old'
 cf. hagəhjih
 ha-gəhjih
 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:nəh
 ni-t-ha:w-é:nə-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:nəh
 ni-yagaw-é:nə-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).

cf. otré[?]da[?]
 o-tré[?]d-a[?]
 3S.P-fly-NSF
 ‘fly’

d. gwa[?]yogó:wah
 gwa[?]yq-gó:wah
 rabbit-AUG

‘jackrabbit’

cf. gwa[?]yq[?]
 ‘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. awęhe[?]gó:wah
 awęhe[?]-gó:wah
 wing-AUG

‘eagle’

(25) VERBS functioning as “nouns”

a. ga[?]hnya[?]sesgó:wah
 ga-hnya[?]s-es-gó:wah
 3S.A-neck-long.STAT-AUG

‘giraffe’

cf. gahnyá[?]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-JOINERÁ-ugly.STAT
'dirty or ugly root'
- c. gayɛ'gwasgó:wah
ga-yɛ'gw-a-k-s-gó:wah
3S.A-tobacco-JOINERÁ-eat-HAB-AUG
'tobacco worm'
- cf. gayɛ'gwa:s
ga-yɛ'gw-a-k-s
3S.A-tobacco-JOINERÁ-eat-HAB
'it eats tobacco'
- d. gawɛnɔhgriya'sgó:wah
ga-wɛnɔhgr-iyá'k-s-gó:wah
3S.A-weed-cut-HAB-AUG
'weed or brush cutter'
- cf. gawɛnɔhgr:i:ya's
ga-wɛnɔhgr-i:ya'k-s
3S.A-weed-cut-HAB
'it cuts weeds'

10.7 [-gɛhɛ:] PAST

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

(26) verbs

- a. ní:' agawɛgɛhɛ:'
ní:' ag-aw-ɛ-gɛhɛ:'
I 1S.P-own-STAT-PAST
'it used to be mine'
- cf. agá:wɛh
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-JOINER-A-INCREMENT-new-STAT-PAST
 ‘a former teenage girl’
 cf. eksaʔdasé:ʔah
 e-ks-a-ʔd-asé:-ʔah
 3S.FI.A-child-JOINER-A-INCREMENT-new-STAT-DIM
 ‘teenage girl’

- (28) basic nouns
- a. oʔnhɔhsagɛhɛ:ʔ
 o-ʔnhɔhs-a-gɛhɛ:ʔ
 3S.P-egg-JOINER-A-PAST
 ‘it used to be an egg’ (e.g. a broken robin’s egg or a dinosaur’s egg)
 cf. oʔnhɔhsaʔ
 o-ʔnhɔhs-aʔ
 3S.P-egg-NSF
 ‘egg’
- b. akyɛdahkwáʔgɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 akyɛdahkw-áʔ-gɛhɛ:ʔʔ
 chair-JOINER-A-PAST
 ‘a former chair’

⁵Also,

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

10 Word suffixes

- c. gokyɛdahkwá'gɛhɛ:??
go-kyɛdahkw-á'-gɛhɛ:??
3S.FI.P-chair-JOINER-PAST
'it used to be her chair'
cf. akyɛdahkwa'
akyɛdahkw-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:dáogɛɛʔʔ
 ɔgy-a:d-áo-gɛɛʔʔ
 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. ɔgyatsihgɛɛʔʔ
 ɔgy-atsih-gɛɛʔʔ
 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. ɔgwehó:weh
 ɔgweh-ó:weh
 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. shedəjhahnéha:ʔ
shedəh-ji-hah-néha:ʔ
early.morning-INTS-DIM-CUSTOMARY
'brunch time, mid-morning, early morning'
- cf. shedəhjí:hah
shedəh-jí:-hah
early.morning-INTS-DIM
'early morning'

10.9 [-geha:ʔ] CUSTOMARY

The [-geha:ʔ] 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:ʔ] (33).

- (31) atypical words functioning as "nouns"

qgwehqwéhgeha:ʔ
qgweh-qwéh-geha:ʔ
people-TYP-CUSTOMARY
'Indian kind, type' (e.g. of clothes)

cf. qgwehó:weh
qgweh-ó:weh
people-TYP
'Indian'

- (32) verbs

otowə'géha:ʔ
o-t-howə'-géha:ʔ
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT-CUSTOMARY
'the northern kind'

cf. otowə'geh
o-t-howə'-geh
3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT-ON
'north'

- (33) social dances
- a. twɛ:twɛ:tgeha:ʔ
twɛ:twɛ:tgeha:ʔ
duck-CUSTOMARY
'duck dance'
cf. twɛ:twɛ:t
'duck'
 - b. hnyagwaiʔgéha:ʔ
hnyagwaiʔ-géha: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. ahsideh 'outside'
 - b. gohsréhka:ʔ
gohsréh-ka:ʔ
cold.place-CUSTOMARY
'winter kind'
cf. gohsréhneh
gohsré-hneh
cold.place-AT
'winter'

10 Word suffixes

(35) verbs functioning as “nouns”

- a. ɛdéhka:ʔ
ɛd-é-h-ka:ʔ
day-go-NO_ASPECT-CUSTOMARY
‘day kind’
cf. ɛ:deh
ɛ:d-e-h
day-go-NO_ASPECT
‘day’
- b. ahsóhehka:ʔ
ahsóh-e-h-ka:ʔ
night-go-NO_ASPECT-CUSTOMARY
‘night kind’
cf. ahsóheh
ahsóh-e-h
night-go-NO_ASPECT
‘night’
- c. gahnýóʔqhka:ʔ
gá-hnyóʔqh-ka:ʔ
3S.A-white.STAT-CUSTOMARY
‘white man’s kind’
cf. hahnýóʔqh
há-hnyóʔqh
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. oyęhsra'ó:weh
 o-yęhsr-a'-ó:weh
 3S.P-blanket-NSF-TYP
 'shawl' (for dancing, or the type put on a corpse at a funeral)
- cf. oyęhsra'
 o-yęhsr-a'
 3s.P-blanket-NSF
 'blanket'
- c. ohnyqsa'ó:weh
 o-hnyqs-a'-ó:weh
 3S.P-squash-NSF-TYP
 'squash' (used for soup at the longhouse, usually hubbard squash)
- cf. ohnyqhsa'
 o-hnyqh-sa'
 3S.P-squash-NSF
 'squash'
- d. oyęgwa'ó:weh
 o-yęgw-a'-ó:weh
 3S.P-tobacco-NSF-TYP
 'tobacco' (ceremonial, home-grown and not processed)
- cf. oyę'gwa'
 o-yę'gw-a'
 3S.P-tobacco-NSF
 'tobacco'
- e. onęhe'ó:weh
 o-nęhe-?'-ó:weh
 3S.P-corn-NSF-TYP
 'corn' (flint corn)
- cf. onęhe:
 o-nęhe:-?
 3S.P-corn-NSF
 'corn'
- f. ganqhsa'ó:weh
 ga-nqhs-a'-ó:weh
 3S.A-house-NSF-TYP
 'cookhouse' (at the longhouse)

10 Word suffixes

cf. ganóhsa'
ga-nóhs-a'
3s.A-house-NSF
'house'

g. gana'já'ó:weh
ga-na'j-a'-ó: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"

ógwehó:weh
ógwe-h-ó:weh
person-EUPH.H-TYPICALIZER
'Indian'

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

Ó: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 ó:weh
really truly
'truly'

b. ne' ó:weh
the truly
'that, really'

c. shəh ó: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-JOINER-ON-POP
‘Caughnawagans’
cf. Gahnáwáʔgeh
ga-hnaw-a-ʔgeh
3S.A-rapids-JOINER-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-JOINER-ON-POP
‘people of the river flats’
cf. qhnyáʔgeh
qhny-á-ʔgeh
river.flats-JOINER-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. Ganeda'gehó:nɔ'
ga-ned-a-'geh-hó:nɔ'
3S.A-valley-JOINERÁ-ON-POP
'Lower End People'
cf. Ganéda'geh
ga-néd-a-'geh
3S.A-valley-JOINERÁ-ON
'Lower End' (literally, 'in the valley')
- f. hadihɔwa'gehó:nɔ'
hadi-hɔw-a-'ge-hó:nɔ'
3NS.M.A-boat-JOINERÁ-ON-POP
'sailors, navy men, merchant marines'
cf. gahó:wa'
ga-hó:w-a'
3S.A-boat-NSF
'boat'

(40) VERBS functioning as "nouns"

- a. Gahnawiyo'gehó:nɔ'
ga-hnaw-iyo-'geh-hó:nɔ'
3S.A-rapids-beautiful.STAT-ON-POP
'Oklahomans'
cf. Gahnawiyó'geh
ga-hnaw-iyó-'geh
3S.A-rapids-beautiful.STAT-ON
'Oklahoma'
- b. Ganɔhgwa'trohó:nɔ'
ga-nɔhgwa'tr-o-hó:nɔ'
3S.A-medicine-submerged.STAT-POP
'Sour Spring People'
cf. Ganɔhgwa'tro'
ga-nɔhgwa'tr-o'
3S.A-medicine-submerged.STAT
'Sour Springs'
- c. Dagɛhyathó:nɔ'
da-g-ɛhy-a-t-hó:nɔ'
CIS-3S.A-mountain.top-stand.STAT-POP
'Upper End People'

cf. Dagéhya:t
 da-g-ɛhy-a:-t
 CIS-3S.A-mountain.top-stand.STAT
 ‘Upper End’ (literally, ‘top of the mountain’)

- (41) a. Gwahsdqó:hó:nq’
 gwahsdq-hó:nq’
 America-POP⁶
 ‘Americans’
- b. Gwahsdqonq’gehó:nq’
 gwahsdq-honqh-’ge-hó:nq’
 America-POP-ON-POP
 ‘United States citizen’
- cf. Gwahsdqonq’geh
 gwahsdq-honqh-’geh
 America-POP-ON
 ‘United States’

10.13 [-jih] INTENSIFIER (INTS)

The [-jih] INTS ending means ‘really so’, ‘even more so’. It attaches to verbs (42), atypical words (43), and nouns (both atypical, 44a, and basic, 44b). It also attaches to several particles (45).

- (42) verbs
- a. ahóhda’jih
 a-hó-hda-’-jih
 FAC-3S.M.P-get.full-PUNC-INTS
 ‘he really got full’
- cf. ahóhda’
 a-hó-hda-’
 FAC-3S.M.P-get.full-PUNC
 ‘he got full’
- b. Sgeńójih gɛh?
 s-g-ɛńó-jih gɛh
 REP-3S.A-originate.from.STAT-INTS Q
 ‘are you (really) well?’

⁶Gwahsdq is a loanword adaptation of ‘Boston’.

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, -tsɛːʔ] KINSHIP DECLARATION

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

- (46) a. *ɔgyaʔséːʔshɛːʔ*
ɔgy-aʔséːʔ-shɛːʔ
 1D.P-doubled.STAT-DECLARE.KINSHIP
 ‘our cousins’
 cf. *ɔgyáʔseːʔ*
ɔgy-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. *agaɔdáoʔtsɛːʔ*
a-gaɔ-d-áoʔ-tshɛːʔ
 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’

10 Word suffixes

- d. hohsó:tseʔ
ho-hsó:t-shɛʔ
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-tshɛʔ
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, [-shɔ:ʔqh] PLRZ and [-shɔʔ] PLRZ are described next. §10.15.4 also includes a discussion of the inherent plural meaning of basic nouns.

10.15.1 [-shɔ:ʔqh] PLURALIZER (PLRZ)

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

With nouns, [-shɔ: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. gaʔdrehdaʔsɔ:ʔqh⁸
gaʔ-drehd-aʔ-shɔ:ʔqh
3S.A-car-NSF-PLRZ
'many, a variety of cars'

⁸The community spellings of the PLRZ suffixes, <-sɔ:ʔqh, -sɔ:ʔah> and <-sɔʔ>, 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[?]dréhda[?]
ga^{-?}dréhd-a[?]
3S.A-car-NSF
'car(s)'
- b. ohqda[?]só:[?]qh
o-hqda[?]-shó:[?]qh
3S.P-sapling-NSF-PLRZ
'bushes'
- cf. ohq:da[?]
o-hq:d-a[?]
3S.P-sapling-NSF
'whip(s)'
- c. jide[?]só:[?]qh
jide[?]-shó:[?]qh
bird-PLRZ
'birds'
- cf. jide:[?]eh
jide:-[?]eh
bird-DIM
'bird(s)'
- d. agetgwé[?]da[?]só:[?]qh
ag-e-tgwé[?]d-a[?]-shó:[?]qh
1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF-PLRZ
'my suitcases (ones that are scattered around)'
- cf. agétgwé[?]da[?]
ag-é-tgwé[?]d-a[?]
1S.P-JOINERÉ-wallet-NSF
'my suitcase(s), wallet(s), purse(s)'
- e. hadiksa[?]só:[?]qh
hadi-ks-a[?]-shó:[?]qh
3NS.M.A-child-NSF-PLRZ
'male children'
- cf. hadiksa:[?]ah
hadi-ks-á:[?]ah
3NS.M.A-child-NSF-DIM
'two boys'
- f. gaeksa[?]só:[?]qh
gae-ks-a[?]-shó:[?]qh
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. ehstaʔsó:ʔh
e-hsd-haʔ-shó: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:gogweʔdase:só:ʔh
ga:g-ogweʔd-ase:-shó:ʔh
3NS.FI.A-people-new.STAT-PLRZ
'young women' (picked out from a group of women)

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

(49) kinship terms

a. gakeyadreʔsó:ʔh
gakey-adreʔ-shó:ʔh
1S:3NS-join.STAT-PLRZ
'my grandchildren'

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

b. gwadreʔsó:ʔh
gw-adreʔ-shó: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-shq: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-shq: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 gagəhɔʔ
sgat-shq:ʔh gagəhɔʔ
one-PLRZ they.lie.around
'one of each thing lying around'
- (52) O: hwihsq:ʔh hɛwágehɔʔ
O: hwihs-shq:ʔh hɛwágehɔʔ.
oh five-PLRZ I.will.lie.around
'Oh, I'll be here around 5 o'clock.'
- (53) Sgatsɔ:ʔh shɛh ta:dí:yɔʔ
Sgat-shq:ʔh shɛh 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

agetgwɛ́ dáʔsɔ́ʔ

ag-e-tgwɛ́ d-áʔ-shqʔ

1S.P-JOINERĒ-wallet-NSF-PLRZ

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

cf. agétgwɛ́ daʔ

ag-é-twɛ́ d-aʔ

1S.P-JOINERĒ-wallet-NSF

‘my suitcase(s), wallet(s), purse(s)’

(55) kinship terms

a. gakeyadréʔsɔ́ʔ

gakey-adréʔ-shqʔ

1S:3NS-join.STAT-PLRZ

‘my grandchildren’

cf. gakeyadreʔ

gake-yadreʔ

1S:3NS-join.STAT

‘my grandchildren’ (said when reckoning a bloodline)

b. ɔ́dɛ́nɔ́hksɔ́ʔ

ɔ́-dɛ́-nɔ́hk-shqʔ

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

‘relatives’

cf. agya:dɛ́:nɔ́hk

agya:-dɛ́:-nɔ́hk

1D.EX.A-SRF-relative

‘my relative’

c. gakehjiʔáhsɔ́ʔ

gake-hji-ʔáh-shqʔ

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

‘my older siblings’

cf. kehjíʔah

keh-jí-ʔah

1S:3FIS-older.sibling-DIM

‘my older sister’

With numbers, [-shqʔ] PLRZ denotes an approximate time (56a), as does [-shqʔ:ʔh] 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. jɔhsíʔdatsqʔ
 j-o-hsíʔd-a-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER-A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘one foot apart’
 cf. jɔhsíʔda:t
 j-o-hsíʔd-a-t
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER-A-stand.STAT
 ‘one foot’
- b. sgaʔdréhdatsqʔ
 s-gaʔ-drehd-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. hoyé:twəh
ho-yé:tw-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. ogá:yqh
o-gá:y-qh
3S.P-old-STAT
'it is old'

- d. shogwaenawisq'
 shogwa-en-áwi-shq'
 3MS:1P-song-give.STAT-PLRZ
 'he has given us songs'
 cf. agwe:góh shogwaená:wih
 agwe:góh shogwa-en-á:wi-:
 all.of.us 3MS:1P-song-give-STAT
 'he has given all of us songs'
- e. dehonęhsóweksq'
 de-hon-ęhs-ówek-shq'
 DU-3NS.M.P-shoe-be.covered.STAT-PLRZ
 'they have their shoes on'
- f. ędwana'dá:ksq:'
 ę-dwa-na'dá:-k-shq:'
 FUT-1P.IN.A-bread-bite.PUNC.PLRZ⁹
 'we all will have a snack'

10.15.3 Meaning of [-shq'] PLRZ versus [-shq:'qh] PLRZ

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

- (59) a. hwihsq'
 hwihs-shq'
 five-PLRZ
 'five-ish' (around 5 o'clock)
- b. hwihsq:'qh
 hwihs-shq:'qh
 five-PLRZ
 'five-ish' (around 5 o'clock)

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

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- (60) a. sgatsq' shəh dāha:dí:yq'
sgat-shq' shəh dāha:dí:yq'
one-PLRZ that they.came.in
'they came in one by one'
- b. sgatsq':qh shəh dāha:dí:yq'
sgat-shq':qh shəh dāha: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-á'-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-JOINERĒ-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 nìhé'* *shẹ 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	[-:kʔah] “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. gaʔdréhdaʔ
ga-ʔdréhd-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. awéñq̄hgra'
awéñq̄hgr-a'
NO.PREFIX-weed-NSF
'weeds'
- cf. owéñq̄hgre:s
o-wéñq̄hgr-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. hq̄we'dí:yo:
h-q̄we-'d-í:yo:
3s.M.A-person-increment-nice.STAT
'he is a nice person'
- cf. hq̄:gweh
h-ó:gweh
3s.M.A-person
'man' atypical word
- b. sgagwéñi'da:t
s-ga-gwéñi-'d-a:-t
REP-3s.A-penny-INCREMENT-JOINER A-stand.STAT
'one penny'
- cf. gwé:nihs 'penny' (loan word, NOUN)

- c. gahn̩yagwái^ʔda^ʔgɛ:t
 ga-hnyagwái-^ʔd-a-^ʔgɛ:t
 3S.A-bear-INCREMENT-JOINER-A-light.coloured.STAT
 ‘polar bear’
 cf. hnyagwái ‘bear’ (animal name, NOUN)

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

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

- (3) a. atgáhnye^ʔtra^ʔ
 at-gáhnye^ʔ-tr-a^ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-play-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘sports, games’
 cf. satgáhnye^ʔ
 s-at-gáhnye^ʔ
 2S.A-SRF-play.NO_ASPECT
 ‘play!’
- b. gaihwané^ʔaksra^ʔ
 ga-ihwa-né^ʔak-sr-a^ʔ
 3S.A-matter-sin-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘sin’
 cf. ɛgrihwané^ʔa:k
 ɛ-g-rihwa-né^ʔa:k
 FUT-1s.A-matter-sin.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will sin’
- c. oyéhsra^ʔ
 o-yé-hsr-a^ʔ
 3S.P-lie-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘blanket(s), quilt(s)’
 cf. gá:yɛ^ʔ
 gá:-yɛ-^ʔ
 3S.A-lie-STAT
 ‘it is lying on the ground’
- d. ade^ʔnyɛdéhsra^ʔ
 ade-^ʔnyɛdé-hsr-a^ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-measure-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘measurement(s)’

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- cf. ɛhsade[?]nyé:dɛ[?]
ɛ-hs-ade-[?]nyé:dɛ-[?]
FUT-2S.A-SRF-measure-PUNC
'you will try, measure'
- e. gahyádɔhsra[?]
ga-hyádɔ-hsr-a[?]
3S.A-write-NMLZ-NSF
'paper'
- cf. ehyá:dɔh
e-hyá:dɔ-h
3S.FI.A-write-HAB
'she or someone writes'

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

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

- (4) gaya[?]dowéhdɔ:[?]
ga-ya[?]dowéhd-ɔ:-[?]
3S.A-think-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
'the idea of thinking'
- cf. dewagya[?]dowehdɔh
de-wag-ya[?]dowehd-ɔh
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. ehyádɔhkwa[?]
e-hyádɔ-hkwa[?]
3S.FI.A-write-INSTR
'pencil' (literally, 'what she or one uses for writing')

- cf. ehyá:dq̣h
 e-hyá:dq̣-h
 3S.FI.A-write-HAB
 ‘she writes’
- b. ɔtɡahiʔ dáhkwaʔ
 ɔ-t-ɡahiʔd-á-hkwaʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-play.with-JOINER-A-INSTR
 ‘toy’ (literally, what she or one uses for playing)
- cf. ɔtɡáhiʔtaʔ
 ɔ-t-ɡáhiʔt-haʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-play.with-HAB
 ‘what she plays with’
- c. wadɔnyedáhkwaʔ
 w-ad-ɔnyed-á-hkwaʔ
 3S.A-SRF-cause.to.breathe-JOINER-A-INSTR
 ‘gill’
- cf. wadɔnyetaʔ,
 w-ad-ɔnyet-haʔ
 3S.A-SRF-cause.to.breathe-HAB
 ‘how it breathes’ ‘it’s a breather’
- d. godi:tshe:néʔ hadiʔdrɔdáhkwaʔ
 godi:tshe:néʔ hadi-ʔdrɔ-d-á-hkwaʔ
 tame.animals 3P.A-live-EUPHONIC.D-JOINER-A-INSTR
 ‘pasture’
- cf. gadíʔdrɔʔ
 gadí-ʔdrɔʔ
 3P.A-live.STAT
 ‘they (animals) live’ (describing a shed or dog house, etc.)
- e. ɔdrɛnáɛdahkwaʔ
 ɔ-d-rɛn-á-ɛ-d-ǎ-hkwaʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-song-JOINER-A-lie-EUPHONIC.D-JOINER-A-INSTR
 ‘church’
- cf. honadrɛnáɛʔ
 hon-ad-rɛn-á-ɛʔ
 3NS.M.P-SRF-song-JOINER-A-lie.STAT
 ‘they are praying’ (Christian activity)

[+ɛdahkwaʔ], [+odahkwaʔ], and [+ɔdahkwaʔ] ([verb-INSTR])

Many instrumental nouns (§5.4.1) end with [+ɛdahkwaʔ], [+odahkwaʔ], or [+ɔdahkwaʔ], 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-JOINER-A-INSTR ‘a place to put something’
ehwihsdáɛdáhkwáʔ
e-hwihsd-á-ɛdáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-money-JOINER-A-lie.STAT-EUPHONIC.D-JOINER-A-INSTR
‘a bank’
- (7) [+od-a-hkwaʔ] stand-JOINER-A-INSTR ‘a standing object’
ɔdrɛnodáhkwáʔ
ɔ-d-rɛn-odáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-SRF-song-stand.STAT-JOINER-A-INSTR
‘musical instruments’
- (8) [+ɔd-a-hkwaʔ] attached/sticking.out-JOINER-A-INSTR ‘an object that sticks out’, ‘an attached object’
ɔtnáʔdáɔdáhkwáʔ
ɔ-t-náʔd-á-ɔdáhkwáʔ
3S.FI.A-SRF-bread-JOINER-A-attached/sticking.out.STAT-JOINER-A-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. gahówagɔ:
gá-hów-a-gɔ:
3S.A-boat-JOINER-A-IN
‘in a boat’

- cf. gahó:waʔ
 ga-hó:w-aʔ
 3S.A-boat-NSF
 ‘boat’
- b. oyádagɔ:
 o-yád-a-gɔ:
 3S.P-track-JOINERÁ-IN
 ‘in the basement, track’
 cf. oyá:daʔ
 o-yá:d-aʔ
 3S.P-track-NSF
 ‘basement, track’
- c. ohódagɔ:
 o-hód-a-gɔ:
 3S.P-sapling-JOINERÁ-IN
 ‘in the bushes’
 cf. ohó:daʔ
 o-hó:d-aʔ
 3S.P-sapling-NSF
 ‘whip, sapling’
- d. ɔgwanadá:gɔ:
 ɔgwa-nad-á:-gɔ:
 1P.P-town-JOINERÁ-IN
 ‘in our community’
 cf. ɔgwa:ná:daʔ
 ɔgwa:-ná:d-aʔ
 1P.P-town-NSF
 ‘our community’
- e. adéʔhɛgɔ:
 adéʔhɛ-gɔ:
 Ø.PREFIX.fence-JOINERÁ-IN
 ‘in the yard’
 cf. adéʔhɛʔ
 adéʔhɛ-ʔ
 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. akyedahkwá:?'k'ah
akyedahkw-á:-k'ah
NO.PREFIX.chair-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'beside the chair'
cf. akyedahkwa'
akyedahkw-a'
NO.PREFIX.chair-NSF
'chair'
- c. gahe:dá:?'k'ah
ga-he:d-á:-?'k'ah
3S.A-field-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'by the field'
cf. gahedagɔ:
ga-héd-a-gɔ:
3S.A-field-JOINERÁ-IN
'in the field, meadow'
- d. wadéhé:k'ah
w-adéhé:-k'ah
3S.A-fence-JOINERÁ-BESIDE
'alongside the fence'
cf. adéhe'
adéhe-'
NO.PREFIX.fence-NSF
'fence'
- (12) atypical words functioning as "nouns"
gihé:k'ah
gihé:-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'dreḥdá:k'ah
ni-ga-'dreḥd-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
ganḥsakdá:gye'
ga-nḥs-a-kdá:gye'
3S.A-house-JOINER-A-ALONGSIDE
'along the house'
cf. ganḥsa'
ga-nḥs-a'
3S.A-house-NSF
'house'

(15) ATYPICAL WORDS functioning as "nouns"
giḥékdagye'
giḥé-kdagye'
NO.PREFIX.river-ALONGSIDE
'along the river'
cf. giḥe:
giḥe:
NO.PREFIX.river
'river'

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

The atypical word in (16) also resembles the [-kdagyɛʔ] 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 prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

Table 12.2: Prepronominal prefix order

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

The mood prefixes are the [a^ʔ-] FAC, [e-] FUT, and [a:-] INDEF. The [a^ʔ-] 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:nɔ^ʔ
a-k-hní:nɔ^ʔ
FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I bought it'
- b. ɛkní:nɔ^ʔ
ɛ-k-hní:nɔ^ʔ
FUT-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I will buy it'
- c. a:kní:nɔ^ʔ
a:-k-hní:nɔ^ʔ
INDEF-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I might, should, could, or would buy it'

The prefixes used for negation are the [de^ʔ-] 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:nɔʔ-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 prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- c. A:yéʔ ji trəhs tsishedəhjíh 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. Aq̄q̄hd̄q̄h̄ ogeʔ drahéhs í:soʔ.
too.much 1s.pverdid.it a.lot
'I ate too much.'
cf. oq̄-e-ʔdrahéhs
FAC.1s.A-JOINERÉ-exceeded-Ø.PUNC
- e. Dəʔ hne:ʔ ni:yóht shəh ahádoʔ ne:kʔ
what in.fact reason that he.withdrew
'Why did he leave?'
cf. a-há-d-øʔ ne:k
FAC-3s.M.A-SRF-withdraw.Ø.PUNC
- f. Né:ʔ he:gé: agyóhsətoʔ.
it.is it.is.seen she.cried
'All she did was cry.'
cf. a-g-yó-hsəto-ʔ
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-i-ʔ
FAC-2s.A-say-PUNC
- h. Hotq̄ʔ q̄h̄ asyq̄ʔ!
what.the you.arrived
'What the... you made it!' 'For heaven's sake, you got here!'
cf. a-s-yq̄-ʔ
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. Ogwəhə:gyéʔ gé:s asyq̄ʔ.
now.and.again usually you.arrived
'Now and again (in general) you'll be here.'
cf. a-s-yq̄-ʔ
FAC-2s.A-arrive-PUNC

- b. Ne:ʔ qh neʔ o:néh haʔgahé:ʔ edwadrihóʔda: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-rihóʔda:t
 FAC-1P.IN.A-work.Ø.PUNC

The [aʔ-] FAC with present events and performatives

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

- (6) a. qgí:daʔ
 qg-í:d-aʔ
 FAC.1S.P-sleep-PUNC
 ‘I slept’, ‘I am sleeping’ (said when you want to be left alone)
- b. qknéhagoʔ
 qk-néhago-ʔ
 FAC.1S.P-amazed-PUNC
 ‘I am amazed’, ‘I was amazed’
- c. sagádq̄nhe:t
 s-a-g-ád-q̄nhe:t
 REP-FAC-1S.A-SRF-live.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I am alive again’
- d. O:néh gwaʔ edwawaye:né:daʔ.
 now emphasis we.finished
 ‘We’re finished already.’
 cf. e-dwa-waye:né:d-aʔ
 FAC-1P.IN.A-finish-PUNC
- e. Waʔhéʔ tsó: ahá:tq̄h.
 just.now just he.got.up
 ‘He just now got up.’
 cf. a-h-á:t-q̄h
 FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-awaken.Ø.PUNC

The [aʔ-] FAC with hypotheticals

Verbs with the [aʔ-] FAC also appear in a type of hypothetical clause (sentence) beginning with *gyé:gwaʔ* ‘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 prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- (7) a. Gyɛ:gwá' aha:gwé:ni'?
- if he.was.able
- 'Maybe if he could do it, if he is able?'
- cf. a-ha:-gwé:ni-'
- FAC-3S.M.A-be.able-PUNC
- b. Gyɛ:gwá' ahógaɛ'/ahágaɛ'?
- if he.was.willing
- 'Maybe if he would agree, if he is willing?'
- cf. a-ha/ho-gaɛ-'
- FAC-3S.M.A/3S.M.P-be.willing-PUNC
- c. Gyɛ:gwá' o:néh ahahdé:di'?
- if now he.left
- 'What if he should leave now?'
- cf. a-ha-hdé:di-'
- 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. Wa'jih, ɛtsyá'dɛ'.
- wait you.will.fall.into.it
- 'Wait, you might fall'
- cf. ɛ-t-s-yá'd-ɛ-'
- FUT-CIS-2S.A-body-fall.into-PUNC
- b. Ahí:' gi' to neyá:wɛh.
- 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:néh to:háh ɛshá:yɔ'.
- now almost he.will.go.back
- 'He is almost ready to go back.'
- cf. ɛ-s-há:-yɔ-'
- FUT-REP-3S.M.A-arrive-PUNC

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

Verbs with the [ẹ-] 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.)

[ẹ-] FUT in dependent clauses

Verbs with the [ẹ-] 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 [ẹ-] 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 [hwẹ:dọh ẹsahdé:diʔ].
 tell.me when you.will.leave
 ‘Tell me [when you will leave].’
 cf. ẹ-s-ahdé:di-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-leave-PUNC
- b. [Nẹh toh hẹdwa:yóʔ] nẹ:dáh nẹdwá: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-ẹ-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:' [ɛdwɛniɛ:'].
 now so almost the.time.will.arrive we.will.quit
 'Now it is almost time [for us to quit].'
 cf. ɛ-dw-é-niɛ:-'
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-quit-PUNC
- e. Agwa'nigohá' [shɛh niyo:wé' hɛdwawayɛ:né:da'].
 we.are.waiting that a.certain.distance we.will.finish
 'We're waiting [until we are finished].'
 cf. h-ɛ-dwa-wayɛ:né: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-é:-
 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:gya't
 ɛ-hs-yó:gya't
 FUT-2S.A-smile.Ø.PUNC
 ‘smile!’
- c. Gɔdagyé' ɛtsahdé:di'.
 right.away you.will.leave
 ‘You will leave right away.’
 cf. ɛ-t-s-ahdé:di-'
 FUT-CIS-2S.A-leave-PUNC
- d. Da:-nɛ:dáh ha'gahé' gaó' 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-ríhs
 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 [-'] 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 [-'] PUNC suffix for grammatical reasons. Verbs glossed as Ø.PUNC have no overt [-'] PUNC suffix for reasons of pronunciation.

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- (12) a. Ahgwíh dęhsnigóháę?
 don't you.won't.bother
 'Don't bother it'
 cf. d-ę-hs-[?]nigóháę-[?]
 DU-FUT-2S.A-annoy-PUNC
- b. Ahgwíh ęhsáhsdihs.
 don't you.won't.care.for.it
 'Don't disturb, handle it.'
 cf. ę-hsá-hsdihs
 FUT-2S.P-care.for.it.Ø.PUNC
- c. Ahgwíh ędíhsa[?]dre:
 don't you.won't.drive
 'Don't drive over here.'
 cf. ę-dí-hsa-[?]dre:
 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 [ę-] 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:nq[?]
 a:-k-hní:nq-[?]
 INDEF-1S.A-buy-PUNC
 'I might, could, should, would buy it'
- b. Dewagegaęhs to há:ge:[?]
 I'm.unwilling there I.would.go.there
 'I am unwilling to go there.'
 cf. h-á:-g-e:-[?]
 TRANSL-INDEF-1S.A-go-PUNC

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

- (14) a. Tę[?] daq to na:yá:węh.
 definitely.not that it.would.happen
 'That will *never* happen.'
 cf. n-a:-yá:w-ę-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC

- b. Tɛ́ daó a:hɔwayená:wa's.
 definitely.not they.would.help.him
 ‘Definitely not. No one will help him.’
 cf. a:-hɔwa-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' shéh 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:wɛ́h].
 I.thought just that what.should.happen
 ‘I just thought [that’s what should happen].’
 cf. n-a:-yá:w-ɛ́-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
- b. I:wí: [to na:yá:wɛ́h].
 I.want that what.should.happen
 ‘I want or intend [for that to happen].’
 cf. n-a:-yá:w-ɛ́-h
 PART-INDEF-3S.P-happen-EUPH.H/Ø.PUNC
- c. Gaɛ ni:gá: i:sé' [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 *gyɛ:gwa* ‘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’ [gyɛ: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:hayɛ:toh
 tɛ’ t-a:-ha-yɛ:to-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘he won’t plant it’
 cf. ɛháyɛto’
 ɛ-há-yɛto-’
 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 tsɔ: ta:se:tsɛi.
 nowhere just you.wouldn’t.find.it
 ‘You *won’t* find it anywhere.’
 cf. t-a:-s-e:-tsɛi
 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. Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh 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 [deʔ-] NEG and [ti-] CONTR prefixes, described next, are both used in negation.

[deʔ-] NEGATIVE (NEG)

The [deʔ] 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
 tɛʔ deháyɛtwahs
 tɛʔ de-há-yɛtw-a-hs
 not NEG-3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 'he is not a planter'
 cf. hayé:twahs
 ha-yé:tw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-HAB
 'he is a planter'
- (20) stative-only
- a. detgáhe:ʔ
 de-t-gá-he:ʔ
 NEG-CIS-3S.A-setting.on.top.of.STAT
 'it is not setting over there'
 cf. tgáhe:ʔ
 t-gá-he:ʔ
 CIS-3S.A-setting.on.top.of.STAT
 'it is setting there'
- b. tɛʔ dejo:dré:no:t
 tɛʔ de-j-o:-d-ré: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. jodré:no:t
 j-o-d-ré:n-o:t
 REP-3S.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
 ‘it is singing again’

c. tẹ̌’ deyo:tó:wě’
 tẹ̌’ de-yo:-t-hó:wě’
 not NEG-3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
 ‘it is not cold’

cf. otó:wě’
 o-t-hó:wě’
 3S.P-SRF-cold.STAT
 ‘it is cold’

- (21) stative, three-aspect verb
 tẹ̌’ dehóyẹ̌twẹ̌h
 tẹ̌’ de-hó-yẹ̌tw-ẹ̌h
 not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he is not planting’, ‘he hasn’t planted’
 cf. hoyé:twẹ̌h
 ho-yé:tw-ẹ̌h
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he is planting’

On a related theme, the words in (22) illustrate that concepts requiring the negative in Gayogohó:nọ̌’néha:’ sometimes have no corresponding negative in the English translation.

- (22) a. tẹ̌’ desadagáidě’
 tẹ̌’ de-s-ad-agáidě’
 not NEG-2S.P-SRF-well.STAT
 ‘you feel sick’, ‘you are not well’
 b. tẹ̌’ degá:dẹ̌:s
 tẹ̌’ de-gá:-dẹ̌:s
 not NEG-3S.A-thick.STAT
 ‘it is thin’, ‘it is not thick’
 c. de’agadótgadě’, dewagadótgá:dọ̌’
 de’-ag-ad-ótgadě’
 de-wag-ad-ótgá:dọ̌’
 NEG-1S.P-SRF-happy.STAT
 ‘I am unhappy’, ‘I am not happy’

- d. desatnigəhahdó:gəh
 de-sa-t-[?]nigəh-ahdó:g-əh
 NEG-2S.P-SRF-mind-mature-STAT
 ‘you are immature in mind’, ‘your mind is not mature’
- e. tɛ[?] dehógɛ[?]o:t
 tɛ[?] de-hó-gɛ[?]-o:t
 not NEG-3S.M.P-hair-stand.STAT
 ‘he is bald’, ‘he has no hair’
- f. dehonəđánhəh
 de-ho-nəđánh-əh
 NEG-3S.M.P-guilty-STAT
 ‘he is innocent’, ‘he is not guilty’
- g. de[?]aqwé:saht
 de[?]-a-qwé: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. sgaho[?]dé[?] dehoihwáé[?]
 sgaho[?]dé[?] de-ho-ihw-á-é[?]
 nothing NEG-3S.M.P-matter-JOINER-lie.STAT
 ‘he is innocent’, ‘nothing lies on him’
- j. tɛ[?] detga:yéi[?], tɛ[?] detga:yí[?]
 tɛ[?] de-t-ga:-yéi[?]/yí[?]
 not NEG-CIS-3S.A-right.STAT
 ‘it is bad, false, wrong’, ‘it is not right’
- k. deho[?]nigəha:t
 de-ho-[?]nigəh-a:-t
 NEG-3S.M.P-mind-JOINER-stand.STAT
 ‘he is ignorant, unthinkingly foolish’, ‘he is not smart’
- l. deyago[?]nigəhá:gə:t
 de-yago[?]-[?]nigəh-á:-gə:t
 NEG-3S.FI.P-mind-JOINER-persevere.STAT
 ‘she is uncompromising, unbending’, ‘her mind does not dither’

12 *Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- m. dedisa'niḡhí:yo:
de-di-sa-'niḡh-í:yo:
NEG-CIS-2S.P-mind-good.STAT
'you are grumpy, grouchy', 'you are not happy'
- n. desa:tó:da:s
de-s-a:t-hó:da:-s
NEG-2S.A-SRF-listen-HAB
'you are disobedient', 'you do not listen'
- o. tɛ' deyɔtwaji:yó:nih
tɛ' de-yɔ-t-hwaji:y-ó:ni-h
not NEG-3S.P-SRF-family-make-HAB
'she is barren', 'she cannot make a family'
- p. desɛ'niḡhgáɛ
de-s-ɛ-'niḡh-gáɛ
NEG-2S.P-SRF-mind-willing.STAT
'you suffer', 'your mind is not willing'
- q. dewagegáɛ
de-wag-e-gáɛ
NEG-1S.P-JOINERÉ-willing.STAT
'I am unwilling', 'I do not want to do it'
- r. dehsnóhwe's
de-hs-nóhwe-'s
NEGATIVE-2S.A-like-HAB
'you dislike', 'you do not like'
- s. desrihwanóhwe's
de-s-rihwa-nóhwe-'s
NEG-2S.A-matter-like-HAB
'you disapprove', 'you do not approve'

Finally, several particles require the following verb to begin with [de'-] NEG. They are described in the *Particle dictionary* §C.

Related

⇒ Tɛ' gɛh de' - 'didn't?'

⇒ Tɛ' de'gɛ: '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:hayɛ:toh
 tɛʔ t-a:-ha-yɛ:to-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘he won’t plant’
 cf. ɛháyɛtoʔ
 ɛ-há-yɛto-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 ‘he will plant’

12.2 Adverb-like prepronominal prefixes

Adverb-like prepronominals 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 prepronominals figure into two types of expressions – transparent ones (with verbs that optionally take the prepronominal) and fixed expressions (with verbs that require specific prepronominals 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 [tsaʔ-...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. tsaʔgaʔdrehdá:t
tsaʔ-gá-ʔdrehd-a:-t
COIN.FAC-3S.A-car-JOINERA-stand.STAT
'the same kind of car'
- b. sganóhsa:t
s-ga-nóhs-a:-t
REP-3S.A-house-JOINERA-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. tsaʔónihseʔ
 ts-aʔ-ó-nihse-ʔ
 COIN-FAC-3S.P-take.time-PUNC
 ‘it took a certain amount of time’, ‘while a certain amount of time passed’
- b. tsaʔta:dí:yqʔ
 ts-aʔ-t-ha:dí:-yqʔ
 COIN-FAC-CIS-3NS.M.A-arrive-PUNC
 ‘while they were arriving...’
- c. tsiháǵǵhjih
 tsi-há-ǵǵhjih
 COIN-3S.M.A-old.person.STAT
 ‘when he was an old man...’
- d. tsiyagwaksaʔsǒ:ʔǒh
 tsi-yagwa-ksaʔ-shǒ:ʔǒh
 COIN-1P.EX.A-child-PLRZ
 ‘when we were children...’
- e. [tsihǒǵwǵeʔda:sé:] hǒǵsé:
 tsi-h-ǒǵwǵeʔd-a:sé: hǒǵsé:
 COIN-3S.M.A-person-new.STAT he.is.fat
 ‘When he was young, he was fat.’
 cf. hǒǵwǵeʔdase:
 h-ǒǵwǵeʔd-ase:
 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT
 ‘young man’
- f. [hǒǵsé: tsaʔonihséʔ] hǒǵwǵeʔdase:.
 hǒǵsé: ts-aʔ-o-nihsé-ʔ hǒǵwǵeʔdase:
 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:nq'
tsa'-gá-'drehd-a:-t ahahní:nq'
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. tsiyaqdadogéhdqh
tsi-ya-qda-dogéhd-qh
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. tsigaqhyáhəh
tsi-ga-qhy-á-həh
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’

[tsa’de-VERB]

The following verbs (fixed expressions) require the [tsa’de-] COINCIDENT.DUALIC combination to express concepts like *similarity* or *equality*.

(30) [tsa’de-...VERB] ‘side by side’

- a. tsa’déhsyɛːʔ
 tsa’d-ɛ̄-hs-yɛː-ʔ
 COIN.DU-FUT-2S.A-lay-PUNC
 ‘you will put, lay them side by side’
- b. tsa’dégayɛːʔ
 tsa’dé-ga-yɛː-ʔ
 COIN.DU-3S.A-lie-STAT
 ‘they are lying, setting side by side’
- c. tsa’deganq̄hsəhɛ̄h tsa’dégayɛːʔ səhdáhgwəʔ
 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. tsa’dɛ̄jatáhahk
 tsa’d-ɛ̄-j-at-háh-a-hk
 COIN-DU.FUT-2D.A-SRF-road-JOINER-pick.up.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you two will walk side by side’

(31) [tsa’de-...ahd] ‘be the same, similar’

- a. tsa’dé:yoht
 tsa’dé:-yo-ht
 COIN.DU-3S.P-resemble.STAT
 ‘they are the same, similar’
- b. A:yɛːʔ neʔ to:há tsa’de:yóht né:gyɛ̄h. Né:ʔ sade’nyɛːdɛ̄h.
 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, Agya’dawítəʔ dialogue)

12 *Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- (32) [tsaʔde-...ahshe:dəh] ‘be the same number of’
tsaʔdeyohshé:dəh
tsaʔde-yo-hshé:d-əh
COIN.DU-3S.P-count-STAT
‘it is the same number of’
- (33) [tsaʔde-...aʔs] ‘be the same size’
tsaʔdé:waʔs
tsaʔdé:-w-aʔs
COIN.DU-3S.A-be.a.certain.size.STAT
‘they are (literally, ‘it is’) the same size’
- (34) [tsaʔde-...o:] ‘be of equal amount, number of items’
tsaʔdé:yo:
tsaʔdé:-y-o:
COIN.DU-3S.P-be.a.certain.number.of.STAT
‘of equal number, amount’
- (35) [tsaʔde-yo/wa-ahsənoh] ‘be half, be in the middle’
tsaʔdeyohsé:noh, tsaʔdewahsé:noh
tsaʔde-yo/wa-hsé:n-oh
COIN.DU-3S.P/3S.A-half-STAT
‘half’, ‘middle’

[tsaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-verb] (fixed expressions)

The fixed combination of [tsaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-həh] means ‘half, in the middle of’. It modifies the meaning of whatever noun is incorporated (36).

- (36) [tsaʔde-INCORPORATED NOUN-həh] ‘half INCORPORATED NOUN, in the middle of INCORPORATED NOUN’
- a. tsaʔdewəhnihsrahəh
tsaʔde-w-əhnihsr-a-həh
COIN.DU-3S.A-day-JOINER A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘half a day’
- b. tsaʔdegáohyahəh
tsaʔde-gá-ohy-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. tsaʔdewahsót:təh
 tsaʔde-w-ahsót:t-həh
 COIN.DU-3S.A-night- sitting.on.top.of.STAT
 ‘at midnight’

The fixed combination of [tʃaʔde-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age:] means ‘two of the same kind of...’. It specifies the number of whatever noun is incorporated (37).

- (37) [tʃaʔde-...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 [tʃaʔde-...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) [tʃaʔde-.....yaʔd-oʔdɛ:] ‘look similar, be similar’
- a. tsaʔdegaʔdréhdɔʔdɛ:
 tsaʔde-gaʔdréhd-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. Sowasq:ʔóh tsaʔdegadiyaʔdóʔde:
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’
tσαʔdétgadeʔ
tσαʔdét-ga-deʔ
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.A-exist.STAT
‘the same height’
- (40) [tσαʔdeg-...ad-ǝda-VERB] ‘during the week (this week or last)’
- a. tσαʔdegyadǝ:dáik(hne:ʔ)
tσαʔdeg-y-ad-ǝ:d-á-i-k-hne:ʔ
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-period.of.time-JOINER A-stuck.on.STAT-MODZ-REM
‘last week’
- b. tσαʔdegyadǝdai
tσαʔdeg-y-ad-ǝd-a-i
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF- period.of.time -JOINER A-stuck.on.STAT
‘during the week’
- c. tσαʔdegyadǝdadeʔ
tσαʔdeg-y-ad-ǝd-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. tisǝgwǝʔdá:deʔ
ti-s-ǝgwǝʔd-á:deʔ
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 [ta' de-] CONTR.DU combination to convey their special meanings.

- (43) a. ta'deho'nigqhá:nih
 ta'de-ho-'nigqh-á:-nih
 CONTR.DU-3S.M.P-mind-JOINER-A-BEN.HAB
 'he is unconcerned, indifferent'
- b. ta'degrihwáhsnye'
 ta'de-g-rihw-áhsnye-'
 CONTR.DU-1S.A-matter-care.for-STAT
 'I oppose it', 'I do not agree'
- c. ta'deyogaháędaht
 ta'de-yo-gah-á-ędaht
 CONTR.DU-3S.P-eye-JOINER-A-cause.to.lie.Ø.PUNC
 'it is fuzzy, out of focus, opaque, unclear'

[ti-...VERB-'ah] 'do something any old way'

The fixed combination of [ti-...VERB-'ah] means 'do something any old way' (44).

(44) [ti-...VERB-'ah] 'do something any old way'

- a. tihe:'áh tsq:
 ti-h-e-:'áh tsq:
 CONTR-3S.M.A-go-DIM just
 'he is just walking along'
- cf. ihe'
 i-h-e-'
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-STAT
 'he is walking, moving'
- b. tahayętó:'ah
 t-a-ha-yętó:-'ah
 CONTR-FAC-3S.M.A-plant-DIM
 'he planted it any old way'
- cf. aháyęto'
 a-há-yęto-'
 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. tiyoyęhsrá:de'
ti-yo-yęhsr-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' gęh di' ni:yóht tó:gyęh?”
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' dehenadade'gé:'əh
two.different.cars they.own two.brothers
'The two brothers have two different cars.'
cf. ta'de-ga-'drehd-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. shəh ní:wa's
shəh 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 *də'* 'what', *ne'* 'the')
c. ní:yq:
ní:-y-q:
PART-3S.P-be.a.certain.amount.STAT
'an amount of things'
d. [ni-...+o'də:] 'a type of', as in:
ni-ga-ən-ó'də:
PART-3S.A-song-be.a.type.of.STAT
'a type of song'

12.2 Adverb-like prepronominal prefixes

- e. niyó:we'
ni-yó:-we'
PART-3S.P-be.a.certain.distance.STAT
'how far in distance'
- f. niwu'drugyé:ʔah
ni-w-u'drígýé:ʔah
PART-3S.A-narrow.STAT
'it is narrow'
- g. niyo:há:kʔah
ni-yo:-há:-kʔah
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:sʔah
ni-y-ó:s-ʔah
PART-3S.P-long.STAT-DIM
'just a little bit long'
- j. niwagrihú:ʔuh
ni-wag-rih-ú:ʔuh
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:ʔ
ni-gá-ha:-ʔ
PART-3S.A-hold-STAT
'how much it holds'
- m. niyohnodá:kʔah
ni-yo-hnod-á:-kʔah
PART-3S.P-water-JOINER A-short.STAT
'it is shallow'

12 *Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- n. niwú:’uh
ni-w-ú:’uh
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:’] ‘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:’
do: ni-di-hs-é:no:-
how PART-CIS-2S.P-originate.from-STAT
‘How old are you?’
- c. Gaę di’ nhq:wéh niha:wé:no:’
Gaę di’ 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:’
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:’
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'gə'] 'to be a certain age'
 nihosriyá'gə'
 ni-h-ohsr-iyá'g-ə'
 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'dəh] '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. Gayogəho:nəh gəh ni:s nahsyá'də:?
 Cayuga Q you what.kind.of.body
 'Are you Cayuga?'
 cf. n-a-hs-ya'd-ə:
 PART-FAC-2S.A-body-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- b. Gayogəho:nəh niwagəhwéjo'də:
 Cayuga what.my.kind.of.land.is
 'I am of the Cayuga nation.'
 cf. ni-wag-ohwej-o'də:
 PART-1S.P-land-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- c. Də' ni:s ho'dé' nisa'syáo'də:
 what you kind what.my.clan.is
 'What is your clan?'
 cf. ni-sa-'sya-o'də:
 PART-2S.P-clan-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
- d. nəgesyáo'də:
 n-əge-sya-o'də:
 PART-FAC.1S.P-clan-be.a.certain.kind.STAT
 'I am ... clan'
- e. niwagehsyáo'də:
 ni-wage-hsya-o'də:
 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. *na'ónishe'*
n-a' -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. *na'á:wẹh*
n-a' -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. *né:gye:'*
n-é:-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 na'ónishe'*] 'while'

The fixed combination of [*shẹh na'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-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. nigawẹ́n-á:ge:
ni-ga-wẹ́n-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-word- certain.number.of.STAT
'as many words'
- i. niyọ́gwẹ́'dá:ge:
ni-y-ọ́gwẹ́'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 niganọ́hsá:ge:
ni-ga-nọ́hs-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-house-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three houses'
- b. ahséh niwahdą́hwá:ge:
ni-w-ahdą́hw-á:ge:
PART-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three shoes'
- c. ahséh niyohsı́'dá:ge:
ni-yo-hsı́'d-á:ge:
PART-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three feet'

- d. ahséh niyohóná'dage:, ahséh nigahóná'dage:
 ni-yo/ga-hóná'd-á:ge:
 PART-3S.P/3S.A-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 'three potatoes'

[na'de-A-adre'] 'to be a certain distance apart'

The fixed combination of [na'de-A-adre'], with an A-series pronominal prefix, means 'to be a certain distance apart' (62).

(62) [na'de-A-adre'] 'to be a certain distance apart'

- a. Jòhsi'datsó' na'degəna:dré' ganá'jòhkwa'.
 one.foot.apart they.are.a.distance.apart bottles
 'The bottles are one foot apart.'

cf. na'-de-gən-a:dré'
 PART-DU-3P.A-distance.apart.STAT

- b. Jòhsi'datsó' na'degaqdré' todinǵhé:dre'.
 one.foot.apart they.are.a.distance.apart they.are.standing.in.line
 'People are standing in a straight line one foot apart.'

cf. na'-de-gaq-dré'
 PART-DU-3NS.FI.A-distance.apart.STAT

[ni-yo-ya'dq̄h] 'in the direction of'

The fixed combination of [ni-yo-ya'dq̄h] means 'in the direction of' (63).

(63) [ni-yo-ya'dq̄h] 'in the direction of'

- a. (shəh) niyóya'dq̄h 'a direction'

cf. ni-yo-ya'dq̄h
 PART-3S.P-be.a.direction.STAT

- b. Otowé'géh niyoyá'dq̄h ha'dehagáhne:
 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: niyowihsda’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-...ə:* ‘how many people’
- ⇒ *Do: niyowihsda’e:* ‘what time is it?’, ‘when?’
- ⇒ *Gao* *ni-* ‘less so’
- ⇒ *Gao* *shəh niyo:we* ‘before’, ‘until’
- ⇒ *Gwəhs shəh ni-* ‘as ... as’
- ⇒ *Hne:* *shəh* ‘because’
- ⇒ *ji trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’
- ⇒ *Ne:* *dagaihə: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:dq:ʔ*
sa-w-ad-ahó:dq:-ʔ
 REP-FAC-3S.A-SRF-ask-PUNC
 ‘it asked again’
 cf. *awadahó:dq:ʔ*
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 prepronominal 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, *sáeyo'* means 'she returned' (65), not 'she arrived again'.

- (65) a. sa'é:yq'
s-a'-é:-yq-'
REP-FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
'she returned'

12.2 Adverb-like prepronominal prefixes

- cf. a'é:yq'
a-[?]é:-yq-[?]
FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
'she arrived'
- b. sahadé:di'
s-a-ha-hdé:di-[?]
REP-FAC-3S.M.A-leave-PUNC
'he went home'
cf. ahahdé:di' 'he left',
a-ha-hdé:di-[?]
FAC-3S.M.A-leave-PUNC
'he went away'
- c. hęhsge:[?]
h-ę-hs-g-e-:-[?]
TRANSL-FUT-REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
'I am going back there, returning'
cf. hę:ge'
h-ę:-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 prepronominal 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:nq’ 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-hẹn-ada:t-hré:waht
 REP-3NS.M.A-REFL-punish.Ø.PUNC
 ‘they repented’
- c. ẹhsgáeyq’ t
 ẹ-hs-gáe-yq’ 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. $\text{ejisatg\`anya}^{\text{'}}\text{g}\text{e}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{e-j-i-s-at-g\`anya}^{\text{'}}\text{g-e}^{\text{'}}$
 FUT-REP-2S.A-SRF-pay-BEN-PUNC
 ‘you will be reimbursed, refunded’
- f. $\text{j}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{kih}\text{e}\text{d}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{se}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{j-q}^{\text{'}}\text{ki-h}\text{e}\text{d}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{-}^{\text{'}}\text{s-e-:}^{\text{'}}$
 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. $\text{shon}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{ne:t}$
 $\text{s-ho-n}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{-ne:t}$
 REP-3S.M.P-head-keep.in.line.STAT
 ‘he is behind him, he is next in line’
- h. $\text{ej}^{\text{'}}\text{jadrihw}\text{a}\text{hsr}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{ni}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{e-j-i-j-ad-rihw-a-hsr}\text{q}^{\text{'}}\text{ni}^{\text{'}}$
 FUT-REP-2D.A-SRF-matter-JOINER-A-fix-PUNC
 ‘you two will reconcile’
- i. $\text{saw}\text{e}\text{hsga}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{sa-w-e}\text{h}\text{s-ga}^{\text{'}}$
 REP-3S.A-foot-make.a.rattling.noise-PUNC
 ‘it spun out, took off with a rattling sound’

[s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’

The fixed combination of [s/J/JI-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] means ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’ (68). (Also see *Gwa:dih*, *gwai* ‘to one side’, §C.5.)

(68) [s/j/ji-...INCORPORATED NOUN-adih] ‘other side of INCORPORATED NOUN’

- a. $\text{j}\text{oh}\text{a}\text{hadih}$
 $\text{j-o-h}\text{a}\text{h-adih}$
 REP-3S.P-road-side.STAT
 ‘the other side of the road’
- b. $\text{sw}\text{ah}\text{a}\text{hadih}$
 $\text{s-w}\text{a-h}\text{a}\text{h-adih}$
 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. sganóhsa:t
s-ga-nóhs-a:-t
REP-3S.A-house-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one house’
cf. ganóhsa’
ga-nóhs-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. sgayéhsra:t, joyéhsra:t
s-ga-/jo-yéhsr-a:-t
REP-3S.A/REP.3S.P-blanket-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one blanket’
cf. oyéhsra’
o-yéhsr-a’
3S.P-blanket-NSF
‘blankets’
- d. sgahóna’da:t, johóna’da:t
s-ga-/jo-hóna’d-a:-t
REP-3S.A/REP.3S.P-potato-JOINER A-stand.STAT
‘one potato’
cf. ohóna’da’
o-hóna’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 ɣsáhshe: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. jɔhsʔdatsqʔ
 j-ɔ-hsíʔd-a-t-shqʔ
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER A-stand.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘a one foot distance’
- cf. jɔhsíʔda:t
 j-ɔ-hsíʔd-a:-t
 REP-3S.P-foot-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 ‘one foot’

12 Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)

- b. sgaʔdréhdatsqʔ
 s-ga-ʔdréhd-a-t-shqʔ
 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. Jḥsiʔdatsqʔ naʔdegaqdréʔ todiŋḥé:dreʔ
 one.foot.apart they(fe/males).are.meeting they(males).are.standing
 ‘People are standing in a straight line one foot apart.’
- d. Jḥsiʔdatsqʔ naʔdegeḅa:dréʔ ganáʔjḥkwaʔ
 one.foot.apart they(fe/males).are.meeting bottle
 ‘The bottles are standing one foot apart.’
- e. Sgaʔdrehdatsqʔ shéḅ geḅatsahá: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. tḡayétwḥsqʔ
 t-ga-yétw-a-hs-qʔ
 CIS-3S.A-plant-JOINER-A-HAB-PLURAL
 ‘it is planted over there’

- b. hegayətwáhsɔʔ
 he-ga-yətw-á-hs-ɔʔ
 TRANSL-3S.A-plant-JOINER-A-HAB-PLURAL
 ‘it is planted over there’
 cf. gayətwáhsɔʔ
 ga-yətw-a-hs-ɔʔ
 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 prepronominal 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. *hasrá:tɛh, hadrá: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. *hajɔh*
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. *haha: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’gέ:ne’
 ha’-gέ:n-e-’
 TRANSL-3P.A-go-STAT
 ‘they are going’ (destination is away from the speaker)
- (77) [ahdędi, -ahdęgy] ‘leave, go away’
 disáhđęgyq:
 di-s-áhđęgyq:-
 CIS-2S.P-leave-STAT
 ‘you come from there’ (destination is near the speaker)
 cf. hesáhđęgyq:
 he-s-áhđęgyq:-
 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) [yęhętw] ‘pull’
 gyagogyęhę:twęh
 g-yago-g-yęhę:tw-ęh
 CIS-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 ‘she is pulling it apart’ (happens near the speaker)
 cf. heyagogyęhętwęh
 he-yago-g-yęhętw-ęh
 TRANSL-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 ‘she is pulling from there’ (pulling starts away from the speaker)

12 *Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

Positional verbs with [d-] CIS and [heʔ-] 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 [heʔ-] 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. gahe:ʔ
ga-he:ʔ
3s.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘it is sitting (here)’
i. tgahe:ʔ
t-ga-he:ʔ
CIS-3s.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘it is setting there’
ii. heʔgáhe:ʔ
heʔ-gá-he:ʔ
TRANSL-3s.A-sitting.on.top.of.STAT
‘it is sitting way over there’
- b. gá:yɛʔ
gá:-yɛʔ
3s.A-lie.STAT
‘it is lying’
i. tgá:yɛʔ
t-gá:-yɛʔ
CIS-3s.A-lie.STAT
‘it is lying there’
ii. hegá:yɛʔ
he-gá:-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. tǵayéi, tǵayí:
t-ga-yéi/yí
CIS-3S.A-right.STAT
‘it is right, correct’
- b. dwagado’kdá:ni
d-wag-ad-o’kd-á:ni-h
CIS-1S.P-SRF-finish-BEN-HAB
‘I am dissatisfied’
- c. ɛ: tsɔ: itse’s
ɛ: tsɔ: i-t-s-e-’s
again just PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-HAB
‘you wander (all the time)’, ‘you are over there’
- d. tǵá:gwitǵe’s
t-gá-ragw-itǵe-’s
CIS-3S.A-sun-rise-HAB
‘east’, ‘the sun rises there’
- e. ɛtsá’sɛht
ɛ-t-s-á’sɛht
FUT-CIS-2S.A-bring.down.Ø.PUNC
‘you will bring it down’
- f. tǵaǵwá:dih
t-gaǵ-gw-á:di-h
CIS-3NS.FI.A-direction-throw-HAB
‘they are going in a direction’
- g. gyodó’kda’qh
g-yo-d-ó’kda’-qh
CIS-3S.P-SRF-cause.to.run.out-STAT
‘it is lacking’
- h. gyagoyá’dá:gweh
g-yago-yá’d-á:-gw-ɛh
CIS-3S.FI.P-body-JOINER-gather-STAT
‘she has lost weight’
- i. gyogyéhdoh
g-yo-g-yéhd-oh
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'sę'
d-a-w-á'sę-'
CIS-FAC-3S.A-reduce-PUNC
'it dropped, reduced'
- l. tgehdáhkwa'
t-g-ehdáhkwa-ha'
CIS-1S.A-believe-HAB
'I believe'
- m. ętsadadáshagwę'
ę-t-s-adad-áhshagw-ę-'
FUT-CIS-2S.A-REFL-remember-BEN-PUNC
'you will remind yourself, make yourself remember'
- n. dawáda'sęht
d-a-w-ád-a'sęht
CIS-FAC-3S.A-SRF-cause.to.drop.Ø.PUNC
'it swooped down'
- o. dągádo'ktahs
d-ąg-ád-o'kd-a-hs
CIS-FAC.1S.A-SRF-lack-JOINER-HAB
'I was not satisfied (with...)', 'I did not get enough'
- p. dawatehtgęht
d-a-w-at-hehtgęht
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:gonhɛhɛhih
d-a-ago-nhɛhɛhih
CIS-FAC-3S.FI.P-dribble.Ø.PUNC
'she dribbled, peed'
- u. dagayagɛhdahk
da-ga-yagɛhd-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[?]-] TRANSL to express their fixed meaning.

- (82) a. hɛ:goh
h-é:-g-oh
TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-dip.in.liquid.Ø.PUNC
'I will dip it in, submerge it'
- b. hegáhgwe[?]s
he-gá-hgwe[?]s
TRANSL-3S.A-set-HAB
'to the setting sun, the direction of the sunset, west'
- c. hɛhsye:[?]
h-ɛ-hs-ye:-[?]
TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-touch-PUNC
'you will touch'
- d. hɛhsyáhnɔ:[?]
h-ɛ-hs-yá-hnɔ:-[?]
TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-touch-DISTR-PUNC
'you will grope, touch, pick at'

- e. hẹ́g-ó:nẹ́ht
 h-ẹ́-g-ó:nẹ́ht-ø
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-swallow-PUNC
 ‘I will swallow’
- f. heyóts’ahd-òh
 he-yó-ts’ahd-òh
 TRANSL-3S.P-dwindle-STAT
 ‘it is all gone’
- g. hẹ́hs-ó:goht
 h-ẹ́-hs-ó:goht
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.A-surpass.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will exaggerate, go above and beyond’
- h. hẹ́w-á’sẹ́’
 h-ẹ́-w-á’sẹ́’
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.A-fall.in-PUNC
 ‘it will fall in’
- i. hẹ́g-oyadé:nyeht
 h-ẹ́-g-oy-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. hẹ́hsadagwáih-saht
 h-ẹ́-hs-ad-agwáih-saht
 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’níg-òh-a’ehs
 h-a’-ho’-níg-òh-a’-ehs
 TRANSL-FAC-3S.M.P-mind-JOINER-A-cause.to.hit.Ø.PUNC
 ‘his mind settled on’

12 *Verb prepronominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- n. h̄ɛsadwɛnɔːdiːʔ
 h-ɛ-s-ad-wɛn-ɔːdi-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.P-SRF-voice-throw-PUNC
 ‘you will throw your voice’ (as a ventriloquist)
- o. h̄ɛsagyaːdɔːdiːʔ
 h-ɛ-s-ag-yaːd-ɔːdi-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-2S.P-SRF-body-throw-PUNC
 ‘you will pounce on it’
- p. h̄ɛhaihwɛhɛːʔ
 h-ɛ-ha-ihw-ɛhɛː-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-matter-convey-PUNC
 ‘he will take the message’
- q. h̄ɛkre:k
 h-ɛ-k-hre:k
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-push.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will push it’
- r. h̄ɛgɔːkdɛːʔ
 h-ɛ-g-ɔːkd-ɛːʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will finish something’

The verbs in (83) require either the [d-] CIS or the [heː-] TRANSL to express their fixed meaning.

- (83) a. tagihnɔːs
 t-hag-ihnɔːk-s
 CIS-3S.M>1S-call-HAB
 ‘he is calling me’
 cf. h̄ɛgihnɔːk
 h-ɛ-g-ihnɔːk
 TRANSL-1S.A-call.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will call’
- b. tgyahsɔːhaːʔ
 t-g-yahsɔː-haːʔ
 CIS-1S.A-name-HAB
 ‘I call them’, ‘I am a bingo caller’

cf. hęshéyahsɔːʔ
 h-ę-hshé-yahsɔː-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-2S>3S.FI-name-PUNC
 ‘you will call someone’s name (over there)’

c. Waʔjih, ętsyáʔdęʔ
 waʔjih ę-t-s-yáʔd-ę-ʔ
 wait FUT-CIS-2S.A-body-fall-PUNC
 ‘Wait, you’ll fall into it’

cf. hewagyaʔdęʔɔh
 he-wag-yaʔd-ę-ʔɔh
 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) Íːʔ tgegówanęh.
 íːʔ 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 tganóhso:t
 shęh t-ga-nóhs-o:t
 that CIS-3S.A-house-stand.STAT
 ‘at the house’
 cf. shęh tganóhsó: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' dewahsəqdage:
ha' de-w-ahsəqd-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-JOINERÁ-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'
də-hən-áǝ-ha'
DU-3NS.M.A-run-HAB
'they are racers'
- f. dəhənadátgǝhe:s
də-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. dehsdaʔ
 de-hs-daʔ
 DU-2S.A-stop.NO_ASPECT
 ‘stop!’
- j. deḡakeyáʔdahk
 d-ḡ-gake-yáʔd-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. deyagodáwḡnyeʔ
 de-yago-d-áwḡnye-ʔ
 DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-STAT
 ‘she is walking about’
- m. deḡahḡwadáhnḡ:ʔ
 d-ḡ-ha-hḡwad-á-hnḡ:ʔ
 DU-FUT-3S.M.A-raise.up-JOINER A-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘he will raise or lift things up’
- n. detodinḡḡdreʔ
 de-t-hodi-nḡḡ-dr-e-ʔ
 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. deyoʔnhḡtsédḡḡḡh
 de-yo-ʔnhḡts-édḡḡ-ḡh
 DU-3S.P-tail-shake-STAT
 ‘it is wagging its tail’

- q. dewahji' dóha:s
 de-w-ahji' d-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's
 de-há:-ya'g-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'
 de-gá-hriht-ha'
 DU-3S.A-chop.up-HAB
 'grinder or cutter'
- d. degawidrágędręhs
 de-ga-widr-á-gędrę-hs
 DU-3S.A-ice-JOINER A-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. deyohahiya'gęh
 de-yo-hah-íya'g-ęh
 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'ənáəhẹ'
de-g-a'ə-n-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. desaʔdráihəh
 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:yeʔ 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-səʔ] ‘two each, at a time’

The combination of [de-A-yahshe-səʔ], with an A-series pronominal prefix, means ‘two each’, or ‘two at a time’ (92). (Also see [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagyeʔ] ‘two INCORPORATED NOUNS at a time’, §12.2.6.)

- (92) [de-A-yahshe-səʔ] ‘two each’, ‘two at a time’
- a. degadiyáhshesəʔ
 de-gadi-yáhshe-shəʔ
 DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT-PLRZ
 ‘two things each, at a time’

12 *Verb prenominal prefixes (and verb affix order)*

- cf. degadiyáhshe:
de-gadi-yáhshe:
DU-3P.A-two.living.things.STAT
'two things'
- b. Degadiyahshesó' shèh daga:dí: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-hagyé'] 'two INCORPORATED NOUNS at a time'

The fixed combination of [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagyé'] means 'two at a time' (94, see §12.2.6).

- (94) [de-...INCORPORATED NOUN-age-hagye'] '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 prepronominal 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'-] 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 [ɔg-] FAC.1S.P or [aɔg-] 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	aʼa:kní:gɛʼ, a:kní:gɛʼ	1D.EX.A
	aʼágwageʼ, ágwageʼ	1P.EX.A
	akní:gɛʼ	1>2(D)
	agwá:gɛʼ	1>2(P)
	asgé:gɛ	2S>1S
E-PERSON	etní:gɛʼ, ekní:gɛʼ	1D.IN.A
	edwá:gɛʼ	1P.IN.A
	ahsé:gɛʼ, esáhdɔ:ʼ	2S.A
	ehsní:gɛʼ	2D.A
	esaʼdrahehs	2S.P
	ehswá:gɛʼ	2P.A
	ehyá:gɛʼ, ahyá:gɛʼ	3S.M>2S
	eskní:gɛʼ	2>1(D)
	esgwá:gɛʼ	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 prepronominal 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
	[ø]	1S.P
	[aʔ]	(w), (y), V
INDEF	[a:]	C
	[aø]	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 prepronominal 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

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Table 12.8: Words beginning with [a-/a'-/ɔ-/e-] FAC

C	(w), (y), V	1S.P	2
[a-], agaedá:gra' 'they fell down'	[a'-], a'é:yɔ' 'she arrived'	[ɔ-], ɔgáhdɔ'k 'it frightened me', 'I got frightened'	[e-] E-PERSON esáhɔ: '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 prenominal 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-] CIS

C	w, V	y	2
[t-], thadínagre' 'that's where they live over there'	[d-], né: gwáhs dwakyędah- gówanęh 'the biggest chair'	[g-], gyę' dro' 'she's at home'	[de-] IMP (E-PERSON) desá' dre:, 'drive over here' [di-] disáhdegyo: 'you come from there'

Table 12.13: Words beginning with [de-/dę-]

C	
[de-], dedwadagyénawahs 'let us all help one another'	DU
[dę-], dęhsná'net'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-] dɛdíhsaʔdre: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-] dedíhsawihs '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-], deyohnegi:yo: 'it is not good water'	[deʔ-] deʔagadɔtgadeʔ '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:yaʔk '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:sáedaʔ '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(?) ... s-/j-/t-/ji-]

C	(sy)	s	2	
[dɛs-] dɛshaih- wáɛtwaht 'he will bring forth a message'	[deɟ-], deɟɔtnɔ- hsó:goht 'she will go in one door and out the other door'	[dɛt-]	[deɟi-] deɟidwa- nóhɔnyɔ:? '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-]	[deɟi-] IMP (E-PERSON) [deɟi-] deɟidwa- yɛ:dí: 'we all do not know any longer' [dɔsa-] IMP (A-PERSON)	DU-REP

Table 12.20: Words beg. with [ɛ-] FUT

C
^a [ɛ-], ɛgátɲɔhga:ʔ 'I'm going to cut my hair'

^aFor E prepronominals, see Table 12.8 and Table 12.9.

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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-] ɛtgaɛ:ʔ ‘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-], hɛsyɛ:ʔ ‘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-], ha' dega' dréhdage: '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' tgenetsáonyo: '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(ʔ)-/sq-/se-]

C	(w), (y), V	1s.P	2	
[haqsa-], [hq:sa-], to e: hqsá:ge: 'I would go again'	[hq:saʔ-]	[haqsq-], [hq:sq-]	[haqse-], [hq:se-]	TRANSL- INDEF-REP
[hqsa-], hq:sahá:yq: '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-], hesge: 'I am going back there'	[hej-], heja:gq:neht 'they will swallow again'	[het-], hetsye: 'you will put it back in its place'	[heji-] hejisasha: 'you will remember back in time'	TRANSL-FUT- REP
[hehs-], I:wa:kʔáh heshohdrihs- dqhogye: 'He's getting nearer and nearer.'	[hej-], hejónqhsq:t 'the next room'	[het-]	[heji-], [heji-] IMP (e-person), Gaę hwa' nhq: hejisáiho'de? 'Where do you work again?' [hqsa-] IMP (a-person)	TRANSL-REP

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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 [naʔ/nɛʔ/ni ... t-/d-/g-/di-]

d C	w, V	y	2	
[naʔdɛt-], naʔdɛ:tgeʔ 'I'll come back over here, return'	[naʔdɛd-]	[naʔdɛg-]		PART-DU-FUT-CIS
[naʔdet-] naʔdɛ:tgeʔ 'I am coming back over here, returning'	[naʔded-]	[naʔdeg-] shɛh nadɛgyadɔdai 'during the week'		PART-DU-CIS
[nɛt-]	[nɛd-]	[nɛg-]	[nɛdi-]	PART-FUT-CIS
[nit-] nitha:wɛ:nɔh 'male stranger'	[nid-]	[nig-] nigyagawɛ:nɔh 'she comes from'	[nidi-] nidihsɛ:nɔh 'you come from'	PART-CIS

Table 12.33: Words beginning with [n/nh ... aʔ-/ɔ-/eʔ-] or [niwag-]

C	1s.P	2	
[naʔ-] shɛh naʔá:wɛh 'how it happened'	[nɔ-], [niwag-] nɔ:gɛʔsyáoʔdɛh, niwagɛʔsyáoʔdɛh 'I'm... clan'	[neʔ-]	PART-FAC
[nhaʔ-]	[nhɔ-]	[nheʔ-]	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-/ẹ-]

C	
[na'de-] na'degáɔdre' 'how far apart they are'	PART-DU
[na'dẹ-]	PART-DU-FUT
[nẹ-] nẹwú:k'uh 'it will be small'	PART-FUT
[nhẹ-]	PART-TRANSL-FUT
[nhe-] nhé:yoht 'suddenly it occurred'	PART-TRANSL

Table 12.37: Words beginning with [n/na'd/nh ... a:-/aɔ-/ae-]

C	1S.P	2	
[na:-] na:yá:wẹh 'it should happen'	[naɔ-]	[nae-]	PART-INDEF
[na'da:-]	[na'daɔ-]	[na'dae-]	PART-DU-INDEF
[nha:-]	[nhaɔ-]	[nhae-]	PART-TRANSL-INDEF

Table 12.38: Words beginning with [ni-/na'-] PART

C	2
[ni-] nigahnẹ: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=] sgayá'da:t 'one (living thing)'	[j-] jodrɛ:no:t 'it is singing again'	[sa-] IMP sasɛhnihs-gahsrɔ:nih 'fix the wheel' sasahdɛ:dih 'go home!'	[ji-] IMP jidwahshé:t e: [?] 'let's count again!'

Table 12.41: Words beginning with [sa-/sɔ-/se-] REP-FAC

C	1s.P	2
[sa-] sagɛ'nho'trá:twah 'I missed the ball'	[sɔ-] sɔgi:da' 'I went back to sleep'	[se-]

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Table 12.42: Words beginning with [t-/d-/g-/de-/di-] CIS

C	w, V	y	2
[t-], thadínagre' 'that's where they live over there'	[d-], né: gwáhs dwakyędah- gówanęh 'the biggest chair'	[g-], gyę'drọ' 'she's at home'	[de-] IMP (E-PERSON) desá'dre:, 'drive over here' [di-] disáhdegyọ: 'you come from there'

Table 12.43: Words beginning with [ts ... t-/d-/g-/di-]

C	w, V	y	2
[tsa'det-]	[tsa'ded-]	[tsa'deg-], tsadegyá'dọdadrehk 'the week before last'	COIN-DU-CIS
[tsęt-]	[tsęd-]	[tsęg-]	[tsędi-] COIN-FUT-CIS
[tsit-]	[tsid-]	[tsig-]	[tsidi-] COIN-CIS

Table 12.44: Words beginning with [t/ts ... i-/a'-]

C	2	
[tsi-] tsiyeksá'da:sé:ah 'when she was a teenager'	[tsa'-] IMP, let's	COIN
[ti-], tiga'drehdá:de' 'a different car'	[ta'-] IMP, let's	CONTR

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Table 12.45: Words beginning with [t(s) ... ɛ-/e(ʔ)-]

C	
[taʔde-]	CONTR-DU
[tsaʔde-] tsaʔdé: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
[tsaʔdɛ-] tsaʔdɛhsyɛ:ʔ ‘you will lay them side by side’	COIN-DU-FUT
[tsɛ-]	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
[tsaʔ-] tsaʔga:yɛ:daʔ ‘when it became’	[tsɔ-]	[tseʔ-]	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-], tɛ̃ ^ʔ tɔdesa ^ʔ dré: 'you won't drive over here'			[tɔdi-]	DU-FAC-CIS
[tsa ^ʔ t-]	[tsa ^ʔ d-]	[tsa ^ʔ g-]	[tse ^ʔ d-] V [tse ^ʔ g-] y [tse ^ʔ t-] C	COIN-FAC-CIS
[tsa:t-]	[tsa:d-]	[tsa:g-], [tsaeg-] y	[tsaed-] y, V [tsaet-] C	COIN-INDEF-CIS
[te ^ʔ t-]	[te ^ʔ d-]	[te ^ʔ g-]		CONTR-TRANSL-DU
[ta ^ʔ t-]	[ta ^ʔ de-], [te ^ʔ d-] y, V	[ta ^ʔ g-], [te ^ʔ g-] y	[te ^ʔ 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. dɛdwadatró:wiʔ
 d-ɛ-dw-adat-hró:wi-ʔ
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell one another’
- b. ɛdwa:tró:wiʔ
 ɛ-dwa:-t-hró:wi-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SEMIREFLEXIVE-tell-PUNC
 ‘we all will tell’
- cf. ɛkehó:wiʔ
 ɛ-ke-hó:wi-ʔ
 FUT-1S>3S.FI-tell-PUNC
 ‘I will tell someone’

For some verbs, the form of the semireflexive is [adɛ-] or [dɛ-] (2).

- (2) a. ɛhsadɛgahnyeʔ ‘you will comfort, rock a child’,
 ɛ-hs-adɛ-gahnye-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-play-STAT
 ‘you are babysitting’

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- b. sadɛʔnigɔhahni:ya:t
sa-dɛ-ʔnigɔha-hní:ya:t
2S.P-SRF-mind-harden.NO_ASPECT
'keep your mind strong'
- cf. ɛhsaʔnigɔhahni:ya:t
ɛ-hsa-ʔnigɔha-hní:ya:t
FUT-2S.P-MIND-harden.Ø.PUNC
'you will endure'
- cf. ɛhsheʔnigɔhahni:ya:t
ɛ-hshe-ʔnigɔha-hní:ya:t
FUT-2S:3FIS-mind-harden.Ø.PUNC
'you strengthen her mind'

For some verbs, the form of the semireflexive is [ɛn-] or [ɛ-] (3).

- (3) a. ɛsɛnidá:grɛʔ
ɛ-s-ɛn-idá:grɛ-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-SRF-lay.down-PUNC
'you will lie down'
- b. ɛgɛnidá:ge:ʔ
ɛ-g-ɛn-iʔd-age:-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-SRF-feces-wipe-PUNC
'I will wipe myself clean of fecal matter'
- c. agɛnagrá:dɔh
ag-ɛ-nagrá:d-ɔh
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-JOINERÉ-see-PUNC
 ‘I saw myself’
- cf. *agé:geʔ*
a-g-é-geʔ
 FAC-1S.A-JOINERÉ-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. *ęqoyená:waʔs*
ę-gq-yená:waʔs
 FUT-1S>2S-help.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will help you’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- d. degaɔdatgɔhsóhae
de-gaɔ-dat-gɔhs-óhae
DU-3NS.FI.A-REFL-face-wash.STAT
'they are washing each other's faces'
cf. shagogɔhsóhae
shago-gɔhs-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, *agaɔda:gyé:na:ʔ* means 'they caught her', not 'they caught *themselves*' (6).

- (6) a. agaɔda:gyé:na:ʔ
a-gaɔ-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. aʔɔdadé:gɛʔ
aʔ-q-dad-é:-gɛ-ʔ
FAC-3S.FI.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
'she saw her (some other person)'
cf. aʔé:gɛʔ
aʔ-é:-gɛ-ʔ
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:nɛh
w-adat-gowá:n-ɛh
3S.A-REFL-big-STAT
'it is rash, unwise, self-important, egotistical'

13.1 [*adad-*] REFLEXIVE (REFL) or RECIPROCAL (REC)

- 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. deşwadadrihwanóhkwa: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. saḥɛnada:thré:waht
sa-hɛn-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. ɛhsadadrohé:gɛ'
ɛ-hs-adad-rohé:g-ɛ-'
FUT-2S.A-REFL-gather-BEN-PUNC
'you will accumulate (things, ideas, etc.) for yourself'
- n. ɔdadriḥónyanih
ɔ-dad-riḥ-óny-a-nih
3S.FI.A-REFL-word-make-JOINER A-BEN.HAB
'she is reading'
- o. awadadríhwahdɔ't
a-w-adad-ríhw-ahdɔ't
FAC-3S.A-REFL-matter-cause.to.disappear.Ø.PUNC
'suicide'
- p. agadadwíyahdɔ't
a-g-adad-wíy-ahdɔ't
FAC-1S.A-REFL-offspring-cause.to.disappear.Ø.PUNC
'I had an abortion'
- q. deḡaɔdagya'dáhwa't
d-ɛ-gaɔ-dag-ya'd-áhwa't
DU-FUT-3NS.FI.A-REFL-body-lift.up.Ø.PUNC
'they will do push ups'
- r. wadatgɔnyóhsta'
w-adat-gɔnyóhst-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. hatgḡhsḡháe
 ha-t-gḡhs-ḡháe
 3S.M.A-SRF-face-wash.HAB
 ‘he is washing his face’
 cf. shagogḡhsóhae
 shago-gḡhs-óhae
 3MS:3FI/3P.P-face-wash.HAB
 ‘he is washing her face’
- b. ɛgádaḡseht
 ɛ-g-ád-aḡseht
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-hide.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will hide’ (implied: ‘myself’)
 cf. ɛgáḡseht
 ɛ-g-áḡseht
 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. dɛdwanḡhḡnyḡ:[?]
 d-ɛ-dwa-nḡhḡnyḡ-:[?]
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-thank-PUNC
 ‘we will thank it’

13 Verb post-pronominal prefixes

- b. dɛhshenɔhó:nyɔ:ʔ
 d-ɛ-hshe-nɔhó:nyɔ:-ʔ
 DU-FUT-2S:3FIS-thank-PUNC
 ‘you will welcome, greet or thank someone’
- (11) a. hadɛyenáwáʔseh
 h-adɛ-yenáwáʔs-eh
 3S.M.A-SRF-help-HAB
 ‘he is a helper, assistant’
- b. gaɔdɛyenawáʔseh
 gaɔ-dɛ-yenawáʔs-eh
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-help-HAB
 ‘they are helpers, assistants of hers’
- cf. ɛgɔyena:waʔs
 ɛ-gɔ-yena:waʔs
 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, *agaɔtɡwé:niʔ* ‘they won’ (12) describes the result of *agaegwé:niʔ* ‘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. agaɔtɡwé:niʔ
 a-gaɔ-t-ɡwé:ni-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-SRF-succeed-PUNC
 ‘they won’
- cf. agaegwé:niʔ
 a-gae-ɡwé:ni-ʔ
 FAC-3NS.FI.A-succeed-PUNC
 ‘they are or were able to do it’
- b. agaɔdatɡwé:niʔ
 a-gaɔ-dat-ɡwé:ni-ʔ
 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:nɔh* 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.

13.3 Pronunciation of the post-pronominal prefixes

- (13) a. hadɛhni:nɔh
h-adɛ-hni:nɔ-h
3S.M.A-SRF-buy-HAB
'he is a seller or storekeeper'
cf. hahni:nɔh
ha-hni:nɔ-h
3S.M.A-buy-HAB
'he is a buyer'
- b. agadekɔ:ni:
ag-ad-e-k-ɔ:ni-:
1S.P-SRF-JOINERE-food-make-STAT
'I am eating'
cf. age:kɔ:ni:
ag-e:-k-ɔ: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. ɛsadwaháta't
ɛ-s-ad-'wah-á-ta't
FUT-2S.A-SRF-meat-dry.out.Ø.PUNC
'you will dry out the meat'
- b. awadadwé:deht
a-w-adad-wé: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. ɛhsadeʔsgó:dɛʔ
 ɛ-hs-ade-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. ɔdadeʔgé: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:dɔ:ʔ
 aʔ-ɔ-dad-ahó:dɔ:-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^ʔdohái
s-ag-ya^ʔd-ohái
2S.A-REFL-body-wash.NO_ASPECT
'take a bath'
- b. ɛhsadagyé:na:^ʔ
ɛ-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. agádatgɛ^ʔ
a-g-ádat-gɛ-^ʔ
FAC-1S.A-REFL-see-PUNC
'I saw myself'
- b. agadadé:gɛ^ʔ
a-g-adad-é:-gɛ-^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. gaḥwadiḥoh
ga-ḥw-adiḥ-oh
3S.A-boat-lean-STAT
‘a leaning boat’
cf. gaḥo:waʔ
ga-ḥo:w-aʔ
3S.A-boat-NSF
‘boat’
cf. wadiḥoh
w-adiḥ-oh
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. oháhaʔ
o-háh-aʔ
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:’uh
ni-w-ú:’uh
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. agatgḡhsóhae’
a-g-at-gḡhs-óhae-’
FAC-1S.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
‘I washed my face’ (transparent meaning)
- b. gḡ’niḡḡháhetḡe’s
gḡ-’niḡḡh-á-hetḡe-’s
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
ahawiyánḡhsgo’
a-ha-wiy-á-nḡhsgo-’
FAC-HE.A-offspring-JOINER-steal-PUNC
‘he kidnapped a child’
- cf. owí:ya’
o-wí:y-a’
3S.P-offspring-NSF
‘offspring’
- cf. ḡhánḡhsgo’
ḡh-ánḡhsgo-’
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-JOINER-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-JOINER-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-ná[?]-nawę:
3S.P-NOUN-moist.STAT
'it is wet, melted, moist'

14.1 Nouns that can be incorporated

- cf. ohehdaná:wę:
 o-hehd-a-ná:wę:
 3S.P-earth-JOINER-A-moist.STAT
 ‘wet, moist dirt, earth’
- (10) [aʰs+ɛʰ], [+ɛʰ] ‘to fall off, drop, reduce’
 gyoʰsɛʰq̄h
 g-yo-ʰs-ɛʰ-q̄h
 CIS-3S.P-NOUN-fall-STAT
 ‘it has fallen off something’
 cf. heyohnegéʰq̄h
 he-yo-hneg-éʰ-q̄h
 TRANSL-3S.P-water-fall-STAT
 ‘falling water’
- (11) [d+ohag], [+ohag] ‘squeeze something’
 dewakdohá:gq̄h
 de-wak-d-ohá:g-q̄h
 DU-1S.P-NOUN-squeeze-STAT
 ‘I am squeezing it’
 cf. degahstodróha:s
 de-ga-hstodr-óha:g-s
 DU-3S.A-straw-squeeze-HAB
 ‘bailer’ (for hay, straw)
- (12) [hsr+ɔ̄ni], [+ɔ̄ni] ‘create, make’
 ɛ̄hsehsrɔ̄:niʰ
 ɛ̄-hs-e-hsr-ɔ̄:ni-ʰ
 FUT-2S.A-JOINER-E-NOUN-make-PUNC
 ‘you will create, make something’
 cf. saʰahdrɔ̄:nih
 sa-ʰahdr-ɔ̄: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'wáhɔh* ‘pig meat’, ‘pork’, ‘bacon’ (compound noun)
 b. *ehyádɔhkwa'* ‘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:twɛh*.)

- (15) a. *ohnyɔhsgwaé'* *gayé:twɛh* ‘cucumber field’
 cf. *ohnyɔhsgwaé'* ‘cucumber’ (VERB functioning as a “noun”)
 b. *ohyagáhɔ'* *gayé:twɛh* ‘tomato field’
 cf. *ohyagáhɔ'* ‘tomato’ (VERB functioning as a “noun”)
 c. *gahstɔdrayé:twɛh* ‘hay field’
 cf. *ohstɔ:dra'* ‘hay’ (basic noun)
 d. *gahɔnadáyɛtwɛh* ‘potato field’
 cf. *ohɔnɔ'da'* ‘potato’ (basic noun)
 e. *gayɛ'gwayé:twɛh* ‘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) *ohsowastradáihɛ:ʔ*
 o-hsowas-tr-a-dáihɛ:ʔ
 3S.P-dog-NMLZ-JOINER-A-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 excorporated or independent noun instead appears at the end of the sentence for special effect (such as emphasis in 16b).

- (16) a. *qgetgwé'dáhdq:*
qg-e-tgwé'd-áhdq:-'
 FAC.1S.P-JOINERE-wallet-lose-PUNC
 'I lost my wallet'
 cf. *gatgwé'da*
ga-tgwé'd-a'
 3S.A-JOINERE-wallet-NSF
 'wallet'
- b. Ni: *gye:h* *tó-ne:* *qgahdq:* *ne'* *agétgwé'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 *ganahswí: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. *Ganahsgwi:yó:* *ne'* *só:wa:s*.
 it's.a.good.pet the dog
 'The dog is a good pet.'
 cf. *ga-nahsgw-i:yó:*
 3S.A-domestic.animal-good.STAT
- b. *So:wá:s* *aknáhsgwaé'*.
 dog I.have.a.pet
 'I have a dog'

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- cf. ak-náhsgw-a-ε'
1S.P-domestic.animal-JOINER-A-have.STAT
- c. degrahe[?]da:gé: ohó:dra[?]
de-grahe[?]d-a:gé: ohó:dra[?]
DU-Ø.PREFIX.tree-two.or.more.STAT basswood
'two basswood trees'
- cf. sgrahé[?]da:t
s-grahé[?]d-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:wεh
g-ad-á:wεh
1S.A-SRF-swim-HAB
'I am swimming'
- c. sa[?]é:yq[?]
s-a[?]-é:-yq-[?]
REP-FAC-3S.FI.A-arrive-PUNC
'she returned'
- d. nqđáhse:[?]
nqđá-hs-e-:-[?]
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 *əknohae'* '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. agatgōhsóhae'
 a-g-at-gōhs-óhae-'
 FAC-1S.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
 'I washed my face'
- cf. gegōhsa'geh
 g-e-gōhs-a'geh
 1S.A-JOINERĒ-face-ON
 'on my face'
- b. agatnu'tsóhae'
 a-g-at-nu'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. agɛhsi' dóhae'
a-g-ɛhsi' d-óhae-'
FAC-1S.A-foot-wash-PUNC
'I washed my feet'
cf. gɛhsi' da' geh
g-ɛhsi' d-a' geh
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 agóyahsha:
í:hs a-góy-ahsha:-'
you FAC-1s>2s-remember-PUNC
'I thought of you'
b. ɛtsadadáhshagwɛ'
ɛ-t-s-adad-áhshagw-ɛ-'
FUT-CIS-2S.A-REFL-remember-BEN-PUNC
'you will remind yourself, make yourself remember'
- (21) ɛhéhsnɔdrɛ'
ɛ-héhs-hnɔdrɛ-'
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 A-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 A-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:tá’
 w-ahy-a-niyó:t-ha’
 3S.A-fruit-JOINER A-hang-HAB
 ‘hanging fruit’
 cf. ganí:yq̣:t
 ga-ní:yq̣: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. gahó'jih
ga-hó'-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. ɛwáhyai'
ɛ-w-áhy-a-i-'
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. o'gráɛ'
o-'gr-á-ɛ'
3s.P-snow-lie.STAT
'snow lying there', 'fallen snow'
cf. o'gra'
o-'gr-a'
3s.P-snow-NSF
'snow'

- cf. *nigá:yɛʔ*
ni-gá:-yɛʔ
 PART-3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘where it is lying’
- b. *gayɛhsradɛhda:ʔ*
ga-yɛhsr-a-dɛhda:ʔ
 3S.A-blanket-JOINER-lie.spread.out.on.ground.STAT
 ‘blanket lying spread out’
- cf. *gayɛhsraʔ*
ga-yɛhsr-aʔ
 3S.A-blanket-NSF
 ‘blanket’
- cf. *gadɛhda:ʔ*
ga-dɛhda:ʔ
 3S.A-lie.spread.out.on.ground.STAT
 ‘it is lying spread out’
- c. *ohɔnɑʔdáhshihɑ:ʔ*
o-hɔnɑʔd-á-hshihɑ:ʔ
 3S.P-potato-JOINER-stand.in.group.STAT
 ‘potatoes standing in a group’
- cf. *ohɔnɑʔdaʔ*
o-hɔnɑʔd-aʔ
 3S.P-potato-NSF
 ‘potato’
- cf. *gáehshihɑ:ʔ*
gáe-hshihɑ:ʔ
 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. *agɔgweʔdí:yo:*
ag-ɔgweʔd-í:yo:
 3S.FI.P-person-nice.STAT
 ‘nice person’

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- b. gaihoʔdɛhsrí:yo:
ga-ihoʔdɛhsr-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. gahnnyo:t
ga-hny-o:t
3s.A-stick/placeholder.noun-stand.STAT
'it is standing'

(26) [+ohae] 'to wash'

- a. agatgqhsóhaeʔ
a-g-at-gqhs-óhae-ʔ
FAC-1s.A-SRF-face-wash-PUNC
'I washed my face'
- b. agɛhsɪʔdóhaeʔ
a-g-ɛhsɪʔd-óhae-ʔ
FAC-1s.A-foot-wash-PUNC
'I washed my feet'
- c. agenoháeʔ
a-g-e-n-ohae-ʔ
FAC-1s.A-JOINERE-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
[- ^ʔ se] DISTR	[-hd], [- ^ʔ d], [-d] CAUS	3a	TENSE
[-q] DISTR	[-hsd] CAUS-INSTR	[STAT.verb-gy] PROG	[-gęęe: ^ʔ] PAST
[-nyq] DISTR	[-ę, -ni] BEN	[-hs] DISL	[-hne: ^ʔ] REM
[-hnq] DISTR	[-hs] BEN	[-hn] DISL	[-hk] FORMER
[-sq] DISTR	[-(ę) ^ʔ], [-(n)he ^ʔ] INCH	[- ^ʔ n] DISL	[-(e:)k] MODZ
[-(d)rq] DISTR	[-gw, -go] REV	[-h] DISL	
[-srq] DISTR	[-hsi] REV	[- ^ʔ h] DISL	
[(i)nyq ^ʔ se] DISTR-DISTR		[-dr] DISL	
[-q-nyq] DISTR-DISTR			
		3b	
		[e] ^ʔ go ^ʔ	
		[e-:] ^ʔ go-PURP ^ʔ	
		3c	
		[-ha ^ʔ , - ^ʔ s, -hs, -h] HAB	NON-TENSE
		[-q̄h, -ęh, - ^ʔ] STAT	[-ge:] AUG
		[- ^ʔ] PUNC	[- ^ʔ s] PL
			[-sgq:] FACIL
			[-jihwęh] 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:^ʔ] ‘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 [-ɔ-nyɔ] 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-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘I am going to go and visit’

cf. eǵágyǵ'ʔse-:ʔ
 e-g-ag-yǵ-ʔse-:ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-arrive-DISTR-PUNC
 'I will visit'

b. agagyǵ'ʔséhe-ʔ
 e-g-ag-yǵ-ʔsé-h-e-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-arrive-DISTR-DISL-go-PUNC
 'I am going to go visit'

cf. hogyǵ'ʔsé: tsǵ:
 ho-g-yǵ-ʔsé: tsǵ:
 3S.M.P-SRF-arrive-DISTR-STAT just
 'he is a live-in'

For habitual aspect verbs, the [-ʔse] 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 [-aʔse] JOINERA-DISTR combination possibly also denotes an extended timeframe or a series of actions (4–5).

(3) habitual [verb-ʔse-h] verb-DISTR-HAB

a. hoʔdaiháʔseh
 ho-ʔdaih-á-ʔse-h
 3S.M.P-hot-JOINERA-DISTR-HAB
 'he is too hot'

cf. oʔdáihe:
 o-ʔdaih-e:
 3S.P-hot-STAT
 'it is hot'

b. dewagadawęnyáʔseh
 de-wag-ad-awęny-á-ʔse-h
 DU-1S.P-SRF-stir-JOINERA-DISTR-HAB
 'I am confused and doubtful'

cf. deyagodawęnyeʔ
 de-yago-d-awęny-eʔ
 DU-3S.FI.A-stir-STAT
 'she is walking about'

c. gaǵdagyenawáʔseh
 gaǵ-dag-yenaw-á-ʔse-h
 3NS.FI.A-REFL-catch-JOINERA-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. haʔḡtgḡʔse: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. ḡwáhsha:ʔ
 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], [-ḡnyḡ], [-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. ageʔdrehdáędɔʔ
 ag-e-ʔdrehd-á-ęd-q-ʔ
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-car-JOINERĀ-lie.stative-DISTR-STAT
 ‘I have several cars’

cf. ageʔdrehdáęʔ
 ag-e-ʔdrehd-á-ęʔ
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-car-JOINERĀ-lie.STAT
 ‘I have a car’

- b. aknɔhsó:dɔʔ
 ak-nɔhs-ó:d-q-ʔ
 1S.P-house-stand.STAT-DISTR-STAT
 ‘I have several houses’

cf. aknɔhso:t
 ak-nɔhs-o:t
 1S.P-house-stand.STAT
 ‘I have a house’

- c. Gani:yó:dɔʔ
 ga-ni:yó:d-q-ʔ
 3S.A-hang.STAT-DISTR-STAT
 ‘name of the white dog who went to heaven’

cf. gani:yɔ:t
 ga-ni:yɔ: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. Dęʔ ni:s hoʔdęʔ swayasɔhó:nyqʔ
 dęʔ ni:s hoʔdęʔ swa-yas-ɔh-ó:-nyq-ʔ
 what you kind 2P.P-named-STAT-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
 ‘What are your names?’ (each individual’s name is requested)

cf. Dęʔ ni:s hoʔdęʔ swayá:sɔh?
 Dęʔ ni:s hoʔdęʔ swa-yá:s-ɔh
 what you kind 2P.P-named-STAT
 ‘What is your name?’ (asking people for their team or group name)

15 *Verb suffixes*

- 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. gaháʔdohnqʔ
 ga-háʔd-ɔ-hnq-ʔ
 3S.A-dry-STAT-DISTR-STAT
 ‘a clothesline (several objects drying)’
 cf. oháʔdoh
 o-háʔd-ɔh
 3S.P-dry-STAT
 ‘it is dry’ (a field, the weather, etc.)
- b. ohnawáodɔnyqʔ
 o-hnaw-á-od-ɔ-nyq-ʔ
 3S.P-rapids-JOINER A-stand.STAT-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
 ‘springs’
 cf. ohnáwaot
 o-hnáw-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-yétw-əh
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he has planted’
- b. shogwaɛnávihsqʔ
 shogwa-ɛn-ávī-hsq-ʔ
 3MS:1P-song-give-DISTR-STAT
 ‘he has given us songs’

cf. agwe:góh shogwaená:wih
 agwe:góh shogwa-ən-á:wi-h
 all 3MS:1P-song-give-STAT
 ‘he has given all of us songs’

- c. ɛdwanaʔ dá:ksɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-dwa-naʔ dá:-k-sɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-bread-eat-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘we will have a snack’

(10) [-(d)rɔ-ʔ] DISTR-STAT with stative verbs and kinship terms

- a. deswatnɛtsáʔ drɔʔ
 de-sw-at-nɛts-á-ʔ-drɔ-ʔ
 DU-2P.P-SRF-arm-JOINERÁ-NSF-DISTR-STAT
 ‘you all have your arms crossed’

- b. degaɔdɛhnɔdrɔʔ
 de-gaɔ-dɛ-hnɔd-rɔ-ʔ
 DU-3NS.FI.A-SRF-follow-DISTR-STAT
 ‘they are sisters’

cf. degadɛhnɔ:dɛ:ʔ
 de-g-adɛ-hnɔ:d-e:-ʔ
 DU-1S.A-SRF-follow-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘my brother or sister’

- c. dehenadɛhnɔdrɔʔ
 de-hɛn-adɛ-hnɔd-rɔ-ʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-follow-DISTR-STAT
 ‘they are brothers’

(11) [-srɔ:-ʔ] DISTR-PUNC and [-srɔ:] DISTR.NO_ASPECT with THREE ASPECT verbs

- a. ɛhsrihwanéʔ aksrɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-hs-rihw-a-néʔ ak-srɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-sin-DISTR-PUNC
 ‘you will swear, use profane language’

cf. ɛgrihwané:ʔ a:k
 ɛ-g-rihw-a-né:ʔ a:k
 FUT-1S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-sin.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will sin’

15 Verb suffixes

- b. desahjiyóhsrɔ:
de-s-ahj-iyó-hsrɔ:
DU-2S.A-hand-good-DISTR.NO_ASPECT
'you really scratch!'
- cf. desahjí: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-nyá'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-nyá'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’

15 *Verb suffixes*

- c. onéhagwaht
 o-néhagw-a-ht
 3S.P-amazed-JOINERÁ-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-(JOINERÁ)-CAUS.STAT
 cf. hahsgá:ne:s
 ha-hsgá:ne:-s
 3S.M.A-long.for-HAB
 ‘he has longings for’
- e. hodrihwatgíhdɔh
 ho-d-rihw-a-tgí-hd-ɔh
 3S.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINERÁ-UGLY-CAUS-STAT
 ‘he is talking dirty’, ‘he is making dirty words’
 cf. oíhwatgíʔ
 o-íhw-a-tgí-ʔ
 3S.P-matter-JOINERÁ-ugly-STAT
 ‘dirty language’
- f. haʔwá:tsʔaht
 h-aʔ-w-á:tsʔ-a-ht
 TRANSL-FAC-3S.A-use.up-JOINERÁ-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-JOINERÁ-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. ɛhshenɔgɛhaʔt

ɛ-hshe-nɔg-éh-a-ʔt

FUT-2S:3FI-milk-drink-JOINER-A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC

‘you will breast-feed someone’ (or ‘cause someone to drink milk’)

cf. ɛknɔʔgɛhaʔ

ɛ-k-nɔʔg-eh-aʔ

FUT-1S.A-milk-drink-PUNC

‘I will drink milk’

b. ogɛhɛʔt

o-gɛhɛ-ʔt

3S.P-mean-CAUS.STAT

‘it is disgusting’ (or, ‘it causes disgust in people’)

cf. shegɛhɛnih

she-gɛhɛ-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-JOINER-A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC

‘you will raise someone’ (or ‘you will cause someone to grow’)

cf. ɛhsáhdó:k

ɛ-hs-áhdo:k

FUT-2S.A-mature.Ø.PUNC

‘you will grow’

d. ɛhsgáeyɔʔt

ɛ-hs-gáe-yɔ-ʔt

FUT-REP-3NS.FI.A-arrive-CAUS.Ø.PUNC

‘they will bring it back’ (or, ‘they will cause it to return’)

cf. sagáeyɔʔ

s-a-gáe-yɔ-ʔ

REP-FAC-3NS.FI.A-arrive-PUNC

‘they returned’

15 Verb suffixes

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:
 ɛ-hs-áhdɔ:
 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. otsénɔnyat
 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.FI.A-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 [-^ʔd, -^ʔt] CAUS belong to the MA2 conjugation class (§36.7), and take the following aspect suffixes (21).

- (21) a. HABITUAL [-^ʔta^ʔ], consisting of [-^ʔd-ha^ʔ] CAUS-HAB
 b. PUNCTUAL [-^ʔt], consisting of [^ʔd.ø] CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 c. STATIVE [^ʔd-øh] CAUS-STAT
 d. STATIVE [^ʔt], consisting of [^ʔd.ø] CAUS.STAT
 e. NO-ASPECT [^ʔt], consisting of [^ʔd.ø] CAUS-NO_ASPECT

15.2.1.3 [-d] CAUSATIVE

The following verb takes the [-d] CAUS suffix (22).

- (22) haḳhweǰádadóh
 ha-ḳhwe^ʔ-a-d-a-d-ḳh
 3S.M.A-earth-JOINERÁ-stand-JOINERÁ-CAUS-STAT
 ‘he created the earth’ (he caused the earth to exist) (Foster 1993)
 cf. ohwéǰade^ʔ
 o-hweǰ-a-de^ʔ
 3S.P-earth-JOINERÁ-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:ni^ʔ* 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:ni^ʔ
 a-g-e-k-ó:ni-^ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-JOINERÉ-food-make-PUNC
 ‘I cooked a meal’
 b. ahéḳonye^ʔ
 a-hé-k-ony-e-^ʔ
 FAC-1S>3S.M-food-make-BEN-PUNC
 ‘I cooked a meal *for him*’

15 Verb suffixes

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-ɛ-ʔ
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. hoyé:twɛh
ho-yé: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'kdɛ'
 h-a'-g-ahah-ó'kd-ɛ'
 TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-road-end-PUNC
 'I finished a row'
- d. ɛhsadadrá:gwahs
 ɛ-hs-adad-rá:gw-a-hs
 FUT-2S.A-REFL-choose-JOINER A-BEN.Ø.PUNC
 'you will choose for yourself'
- cf. ɛhsrá:go'
 ɛ-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-JOINER A-argue.for-JOINER A-BEN.HAB
 'they argue for someone, people'
- cf. a:hyaya'dagé:nhá'
 a:-hya-ya'd-a-gé:nh-a'
 INDEF-3MS:1S-body-JOINER A-argue.for-PUNC
 'he would help you'

15.2.2.2 [-ɛ, -ni] BENEFACTIVE

The following verbs take the [-ɛ, -ni] family of benefactive suffixes (26).

- (26) a. hɔwayɛtwé:ni
 hɔwa-yɛtw-ɛ:-ni-h
 3MS/3FIS:3MS-plant-JOINER-BEN-HAB (Foster, 1993)
 'he plants for him'
- cf. hoyé:twɛh
 ho-yé:tw-ɛh
 3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 'he planted'
- b. agegɛhé'danih
 ag-e-gɛhé'd-a-ni-h
 1S.P-JOINER E-sick.of-JOINER A-BEN-HAB
 'I am annoyed, sick of it'
- cf. ahsgegɛhé'dɛ'
 a-hsg-e-gɛhé'd-ɛ-'
 FAC-2S:1S-sick.of-BEN-PUNC
 'you got sick of me', 'you are bored with me'

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- 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:yɛ:s
ɛ-hs-ad-e-wá:yɛ:s
FUT-2S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-learn.Ø.PUNC
'you will learn'

- h. ɛhsɔɔganyáʔgɛʔ
 ɛ-hs-gɔ-ganyáʔg-ɛʔ
 FUT-REP-1S:2S-pay-BEN-PUNC
 ‘I will repay you for your actions’
 cf. ɛhséganyaʔk
 ɛ-hs-é-ganyaʔk
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-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 [-ɛʔ] 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.FLA-REFL-matter-make-JOINERÁ-BEN-HAB
 ‘she is reading’
 b. ɛhsadadrihónyɛʔ
 ɛ-hs-adad-ríh-óny-ɛʔ
 FUT-2S.A-REFL-matter-make-BEN-PUNC
 ‘you will read’
 c. wadadrihónyani:
 w-adad-rih-óny-a-ni-:
 3S.A-REFL-matter-make-JOINERÁ-BEN-STAT
 ‘reading material’
 d. sadadrihónnyɛh
 s-adad-rih-ónny-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. owánohsdɔh
 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. sawəhni₁srí:yo₁hs
 s-a-w-əhni₁sr-í:yo₁-hs
 REP-FAC-3S.A-day-good-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 'it became a nice day again'
 cf. wəhni₁srí:yo:
 w-əhni₁sr-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-∅] CAUS-∅.PUNC
 c. STATIVE [hsd-qh] CAUS-STAT
 d. NO-ASPECT [hs] consisting of [hsd-∅] 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.∅.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.∅.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’
 ɛyagonɔhsó:daʔ
 ɛ-yago-nɔhs-ó:d-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.P-house-stand-JOINER-A-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘she will come to have a (standing) house’
 cf. ganɔhsotge:
 ga-nɔhs-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:yɔ: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-JOINER-A-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 ‘she will have a baby’
 cf. dewagwiyáɛʔ
 de-wag-wiy-á-ɛʔ
 NEG-1S.P-child-JOINER-A-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-JOINERĒ-name-big-INCH.Ø.PUNC
 'you became famous' (literally, 'your name got big')
- (37) a. awagyesé'ñhe'
 a-wa-g-yes-é-ñhe'
 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
 sədá'drah
 s-əd-á-^ʔdr-a-h
 2S.P-sleep-JOINERĀ-DISL-JOINERĀ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 'you go to bed, you go to sleep!'
- cf. sé:da'
 s-é:da'
 2S.P-sleep.NO_ASPECT
 'you sleep!'

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- (39) [-ʔn] DISL
 ɛyɔdawɛʔnaʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awɛ-ʔn-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-SWIM-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘she will go swimming’
 cf. ɛyɔdawɛ:ʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awɛ-: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-JOINERĒ-examine-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘I will go see’
 cf. ɛgɛ:kɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-g-é:-kɔ-:ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-JOINERĒ-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:gaɔrɔnyahnaʔ
 a:-g-at-hrɔny-a-hn-a-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC
 ‘I should go and tell’

cf. a:gaṭrɔ́:niʔ
 a:-g-at-hrɔ́:ni-ʔ
 INDEF-1S.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 'I should tell'

e. agatrɔnyáhnɔh
 ag-at-hrɔny-á-hn-ɔh
 1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINERÁ-DISL-STAT
 'I am telling now'

(41) [-h] DISL

a. ɛhsahɔgáhaʔ
 ɛ-hs-ahɔg-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. sihsá:kah
 s-ihsá:k-h-a-h
 2S.A-see-DISL-JOINERÁ-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 'go and look for it!'

cf. sihsa:k
 s-ihsa:k
 2S.A-see.NO_ASPECT
 'look for it!'

(42) [-hs] DISL

a. ɛhayɛtwáhsaʔ
 ɛ-ha-yɛtw-á-hs-a-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-JOINERÁ-DISL-JOINERÁ-PUNC (Foster 1993)
 'he will go planting'

cf. ɛháyɛtoʔ
 ɛ-há-yɛto-ʔ
 FUT-3S.M.A-plant-PUNC
 'he will plant'

b. ɛsyɛʔgɔtwáhsaʔ
 ɛ-s-yɛʔg-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. wadó:twahs
w-ad-ó:tw-a-hs
3S.A-SRF-burn.up-JOINER-A-HAB
'(what) it burns' (in the way of fuel)
- c. agáhyaksq:
ag-áhy-a-k-hs-q:
1S.P-fruit-JOINER-A-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-JOINER-A-PUNC
c. STATIVE [-DISL-qh] DISL-STAT
d. STATIVE [-DISL-q:] DISL-STAT
e. NO-ASPECT [-DISL-a-h] DISL-JOINER-A-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
agatrónyáhnqhkh
ag-at-hróny-á-hn-q-hk
1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINER-A-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
ɛwagatrónyáhnq:k
ɛ-wag-at-hróny-a-hn-q-:k
FUT-1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINER-A-DISL-STAT-MODZ

- (46) [a:-P-verb-DISL-ǝ:k] DISL-STAT with MODZ
 a:wagatrɔnyáhnɔ:k
 a:-wag-at-hrɔny-á-hn-ǝ:k
 INDEF-1S.P-SRF-tell-JOINER-A-DISL-STAT-MODZ

15.4.2.1 [+ǝdaʹdr-], [+odaʹn-], [+ɔdaʹn-] (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) [+ǝ-d-a-dr] lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL (dislocative form of [+ǝʹ] ‘be lying on the ground, have’)
- a. gowiyaǝdaʹdreʹ
 go-wiy-a-ǝd-a-ʹdr-e-ʹ
 3S.FI.P-offspring-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL-GO-PUNC
 ‘she is with child’
- cf. agwíyaǝʹ
 ag-wíy-a-ǝʹ
 1S.P-offspring-JOINER-A-lie.STAT
 ‘I have a child’
- b. dǝgaihwaǝdaʹdreʹ
 d-ǝ-ga-ihw-a-ǝd-á-ʹdr-e-ʹ
 DU-FUT-3S.A-matter-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-DISL-GO-PUNC
 ‘harmony’, ‘every idea will always come together’
- cf. dǝgaihwáǝdaʹ
 d-ǝ-ga-ihw-á-ǝd-a-ʹ
 DU-FUT-3S.A-matter-JOINER-A-lie-EUPH.D-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘it will come to an agreement, a consensus’
- (48) [+od-a-ʹn] stand-JOINER-A-DISL (dislocative form of [+od] ‘be standing’)
 ǝgadɾɛnódaʹnaʹ
 ǝ-g-ad-ɾɛn-ód-a-ʹn-a-ʹ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-song-stand-JOINER-A-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘I will go sing’

⁴Example (47) illustrates an e-verb with [e] ‘go’ (see §16.4). The remaining examples are of dislocative verbs without this element.

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cf. $\text{ɛgadɾɛnó:dɛ}^?$
 $\text{ɛ-g-ad-rɛn-ó:d-ɛ}^?$
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-song-stand-PUNC
 ‘I will sing’

- (49) [+ $\text{ɔd-a-}^?$ n-] attached-JOINER-A-DISL (dislocative form of [+ ɔd] ‘be attached’, ‘have’)
 $\text{ɛgade}^? \text{sgóda}^? \text{na}^?$
 $\text{ɛ-g-ad-ɛ-}^? \text{sg-ó-d-a-}^? \text{n-a-}^?$
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-JOINER-E-roast-attached-JOINER-A-DISL-JOINER-A-PUNC
 ‘I will go fry it’

cf. $\text{ɛgade}^? \text{sgó:dɛ}^?$
 $\text{ɛ-g-ad-ɛ-}^? \text{sg-ó:d-ɛ}^?$
 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- $^?$] ‘go’-STAT or [e:- $^?$] ‘go’-PURP-STAT with the commonest combinations being [-a-gy-e- $^?$], [-ɛ-gy-e- $^?$] and [-ɔ-gy-e- $^?$].

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- $^?$] JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT combination.

- (50) [verb-a-gy-e- $^?$] JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
- a. $\text{gayétwagye}^?$
 $\text{ga-yétw-a-gy-e-}^?$
 3S.A-plant-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is planted along’
- cf. gayé:twɛh
 ga-yé:tw-ɛh
 3S.A-plant-STAT
 ‘it is planted’
- b. $\text{hɔwahnɔdrá:gye}^?$
 $\text{hɔwa-hnɔdr-á:-gy-e-}^?$
 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. haʔdehodiŋhédagyeʔ
 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. todinɛhéd:deʔ
 t-hodi-ŋhéd:d-e-ʔ
 CIS-3NS.M.P-guard-go-STAT
 ‘they are standing there’ (in a line formation), ‘they are guarding’
- d. ohsáwagyeʔ
 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, -e] 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
 otsihsʔɔhɔ:gyeʔ
 o-t-hs-ihsʔ-ɔh-ɔ:-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.P-SRF-noun-finish-STAT-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is getting mature’
- cf. otsihsʔɔh
 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.

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(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)

- sasatrɔnyáhsih
 sa-s-at-hrɔny-á-hsi-h
 REP-2S.A-SRF-dress-JOINERÁ-REV-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘get undressed again’
 cf. sasa:trɔ: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], [-haʔ] (etc.) HAB
[aʔ-] 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:gɛʔ

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 [-ha’] HAB ending (as in *deyeya’dówehta’* ‘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. gadeji’óhgya’s
g-ade-ji’óh-gyak-’s
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-JOINERĒ-raise.to.vertical-JOINERĀ-HAB
‘you are lifting it to a vertical position’, ‘you give parties’
- f. gragé:wahs
g-ragé:w-a-hs
1S.A-wipe-JOINERĀ-HAB
‘I am erasing or wiping it’

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- 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-JOINERĒ-married-HAB
 'I am getting married right now'
 cf. age:nyá:gqh
 ag-e:-nyá:g-qh
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-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. gatgéhehs
 g-at-géh-ẹ-hs
 1S.A-SRF-get.up-JOINERĀ-HAB
 'I get up all the time'
 cf. agá:tgeh
 ag-á:t-gẹh
 1S.P-SRF-get.up-STAT
 'I got up'

- d. edá:gra's
 e-dá:gra'-s
 3S.FI.A-fall-HAB
 'she is forever falling' (for example, an old woman)
 cf. agidagra'qh
 ag-idagra'-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. degáhi's
 de-gá-hi'-s
 DU-3S.A-break.up-HAB
 'it breaks', 'it is breakable'
 cf. deyóhi'qh
 de-yó-hi'-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. hadędonyá'ta'
 h-adę-donyá't-ha'
 3S.M.A-SRF-joke-HAB
 'he is a joker'
 cf. sadędonyá'dqh
 s-adę-donyá'd-qh
 2S.P-SRF-joke-STAT
 'you are joking'

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- b. agénya'gwahs
 agé-nyá'gwah-s
 1S.P-vomit-HAB
 'I am vomiting', 'I am a vomiter', 'I vomit all the time'
- cf. agénya'gwáhq̄h
 age-nyá'gwáh-q̄h
 1S.P-vomit-STAT
 'I am vomiting' (right now)
- c. tgyagýęhetwahs
 t-g-ag-yęhetw-a-hs
 CIS-1S.P-SRF-pull-JOINER-A-HAB
 'I am a puller'
- cf. gyagogyęhę:twęh
 g-yago-g-yęhę:tw-ęh
 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. hogyánq̄'dr̄q̄h
 ho-g-yánq̄-'dr̄-q̄h
 3S.M.P-SRF-dream-DISL-STAT
 'he is dreaming'
- e. gaq̄dewáyęhsta'
 gaq̄-de-wáyęhst-ha'
 3NS.FI.A-SRF-learn-HAB
 'they are apprentices', 'they are learning together'
- cf. sadewayęhdsq̄h
 s-ade-wayęhds-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. ga'níkqha'
ga-'níkq-ha'
3S.A-sew-HAB
'sewing machine'
- b. e'ní:kqhs
e-'níkq-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. hənádahnyoh
 hən-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:gəh 'I see' (regularly, but perhaps at irregular intervals)
 b. gé:gəhs '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.FI.P-SRF-have.a.cold.STAT
 ‘she has a cold’
- b. dəhowe:sq:
 də-ho-wé: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:yqh
 o-hní:y-qh
 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. gadreṇagáʔqh
ga-dreṇ-a-gáʔ-qh
3S.A-smell-JOINER A-sweet-STAT
'it is sweet-smelling (food odours)'
- j. gadreṇahshá:sdeʔ
ga-dreṇ-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. nīkné:yaʔ
ni-k-hné:y-aʔ
PART-1S.A-stature-short. STAT
'I am short'
- n. syadqhsráḗdiʔ
s-yadqhsrá-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 dehóyɛtwɛh
tɛʔ de-hó-yɛtw-ɛh
not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
‘he did not plant’
- e. deʔ agadrihoʔ dá:dɔh
deʔ -ag-ad-rihoʔ dá:d-ɔh
NEG-1S.P-SRF-work-STAT
‘I did not work’
- f. agekwɛdáʔɔh
ag-e-kw-ɛdáʔ-ɔh
1S.P-JOINERÉ-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. wəhyá:gwəh
 wa-hy-á:-gw-əh
 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’grəhdoh
 o-d-á’grəhd-oh
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT
 ‘it is floating’
- c. dəya:wé:doh
 d-ə-ya:w-é:d-oh
 DU-FUT-3S.P-sway-STAT
 ‘it sways’

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- d. sadɛdonyáʔdɔh
 s-adɛ-donyáʔd-ɔh
 2S.P-SRF-make.fun.of-STAT
 ‘you are joking, making fun of something’
- e. deyagotgrɛgrɛhdɔh
 de-yago-t-grɛgrɛhd-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. sɛnɔhdɔnyɔh
 s-ɛnɔhdɔny-ɔh
 2S.P-wonder-STAT
 ‘you are wondering, thinking’
- h. gyagogyɛhé:twɛh
 g-yago-g-yɛhé:tw-ɛh
 CIS-3S.FI.P-SRF-pull-STAT
 ‘she is pulling it’
- i. desaʔnigɔhaʔdó:gɛh
 de-sa-ʔnigɔh-a-dó:g-ɛh
 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. *saihwa'né:gəh*
 sa-rihw-a-'né:g-əh
 2S.P-matter-JOINER-pray-STAT
 'you are praying', 'you have prayed'
- c. *desəna'sgwáhgwəh*
 de-s-ə-nə'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'əh*
 te:dé:' ho-dá'-əh
 yesterday 3S.M.P-sleep-STAT
 'yesterday he did sleep' ("adverb" *te:dé:'* favours a resultant-state reading.)
- b. *O:nəh hodá'əh*
 o:nəh ho-dá'-əh
 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 [-ə:-'] STAT-LENGTH-NSF combination. These nouns also express abstract concepts (74).

- (74) a. *gáohə:'*
 gá-oh-ə:-'
 3S.A-gather-STAT-LENGTH-NSF
 'the act of gathering'
- b. *gaya'dowéhdə:'*
 ga-ya'dowéhd-ə:-'
 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. qgyaʔditgéhsoq:
 q-g-yaʔd-itgéh-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-JOINERE-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. ɛkní:nqʔ
 ɛ-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. sadahó:dɔ:
 s-ad-ahó:dɔ:
 2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT
 ‘ask!’
- cf. ɛsadahó:dɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-s-ad-ahó: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-ɛ-k-hrih
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-pour.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will pour’
 cf. gahihq̄h
 ga-hrih-q̄h
 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 gi' [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. é:dwe:
 é:-dw-e:-
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PUNC
 'we will go together'
- c. Tə' dejqhdsí:s o:nəh [gyɛ:gwá' 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 [-gɛhɛ:] PAST and [-hk] FORMER endings add past tense meanings to habitual and stative verbs. The [-hne:] 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 [a'-] FAC prefix.)

15.6.1 Variations on the habitual aspect

Habitual aspect verbs can take the [-gɛhɛ: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(?)]	[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST [-hk] FORMER
FUTURE HABITUAL and INDEFINITE HABITUAL	[ɛ-] FUT [a:-] INDEF	PRON-verb-[(h)s] PRON-verb-[ha(?)]	[-:k] MODZ [-:k] MODZ

15.6.1.1 Habituals with [-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST or [-hk] FORMER

Habitual verbs can take the [-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST (83) or [-hk] FORMER endings (84). According to Sasse & Keye (1998), the [-gɛhɛ: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. hadowahsgɛhɛ:ʔ
 ha-d-owad-hs-gɛhɛ: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. sahtgaʔwahsgéḥe:ʔ
s-ahtgaʔw-a-hs-géḥe:ʔ
2S.A-release-JOINER A-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. sadḡwidáʔtahk
s-ad-ḡwidáʔt-ha-hk
2S.A-SRF-swing-HAB-FORMER
'you used to swing (long ago)'
cf. sadḡwidáʔtaʔ
s-ad-ḡwidáʔt-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. hahsgyáḡhahk
ha-hsgyáḡ-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. desahsəhdre:hahk
 de-s-ahsəhdre:-ha-hk
 DU-2S.A-join-HAB-FORMER
 'you used to join things together, put it together'

cf. desahsədre:ha'
 de-s-ahsədre:-ha'
 DU-2S.A-join-HAB
 'you join things together all the time', 'you do puzzles'

e. qərenotahk
 q-d-reñ-ot-ha-hk
 3S.FI.A-SRF-song-stand-HAB-FORMER
 'she used to sing'

cf. gaqdreñó:ta'
 gaq-d-reñ-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. dədwadadrihwanəhkwa:k
 d-ə-dw-adad-rihw-a-nəkw-ha:k
 DU-FUT-1P.IN.A-REFL-matter-JOINER A-love-HAB-MODZ
 'we all will show respect for one another'

cf. shedwənkwa'
 shedwə-nəkw-ha'
 1INP:3MS-love-HAB
 'we love him'

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b. ɛwadɛhni' do'kta:k
 ɛ-w-ad-ɛhni' d-o'kt-ha-:k
 FUT-3S.A-SRF-month-end-HAB-MODZ

'every month will end'

cf. hewádo'kta'
 he-w-ád-o'kt-ha'
 TRANSL-3S.A-SRF-end-HAB
 'it ends over there'

c. ɛhsáhso'ka:k
 ɛ-hs-áhso'k-ha-:k
 FUT-2S.P-limp-HAB-MODZ

'you will limp'

cf. gohsó'ka'
 go-hsó'k-ha'
 3S.FI.P-limp-HAB
 'she is limping'

(86) [a:-verb-ha-:k] INDEF-verb-HAB-MODZ
 a:gɔihwanɔhkwa:k
 a:-gɔ-ihw-a-nɔhkw-ha-:k
 INDEF-1S:2S-matter-JOINER love-HAB-MODZ

'I should care, respect your ideas'

cf. gɔnɔhkwa'
 gɔ-nɔhkw-ha'
 1S:2S-love-HAB
 'I love you'

(87) [ɛ/a:-verb-hs-e:k] FUT/INDEF-verb-HAB-MODZ

a. ɛhswagáɛse: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:hayɛtwahsé:k tsɔ:
 a:-ha-yɛtw-a-hs-é:k tsɔ:
 INDEF-3S.M.A-plant-JOINER love-HAB-MODZ just
 'just let him keep planting'

- cf. hayé:twahs
 ha-yé:tw-a-hs
 3S.M.A-plant-JOINER-A-HAB
 ‘he is a planter’
- c. d̥hatganyáhse:k
 d-̥-ha-t-gany-á-hs-e:k
 DU-FUT-3S.M.A-SRF-want.desperately-JOINER-A-HAB-MODZ
 ‘he will be desperate’
- cf. d̥hátganyahs
 d̥-há-t-gany-a-hs
 DU-3S.M.A-SRF-want.desperately-JOINER-A-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-JOINER-A-pick-JOINER-A-HAB-MODZ
 ‘I might be a fruit picker’
- cf. gahyá:gwahs
 g-ahy-á:-gw-a-hs
 1S.A-fruit-JOINER-A-pick-JOINER-A-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) Wagyesaʔgéh da:gahyad̥hsríyaʔks̥:k.
 it.is.easy the.paper.would.cut
 cf. d-a:-ga-hyad̥hsr-íyaʔk-s-̥:k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-HAB-DISTR-MODZ
 ‘it is easy to cut the paper’, ‘the paper is easy to cut’
- (89) W̥e:dó:ʔ da:gahyad̥hsríyaʔks̥:k.
 it.is.hard the.paper.would.cut
 ‘it is hard to cut paper’, ‘the paper is hard to cut’
 cf. d-a:-ga-hyad̥hsr-íyaʔk-s-̥: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. agahyagwéhne:ʔ
 ag-ahy-a-gw-é-hne:ʔ
 1S.P-fruit-JOINERA-pick-STAT-REM
 ‘I’ve done picking fruit’
- cf. agáhyagwɛh
 ag-áhy-a-gw-ɛh
 1S.P-fruit-JOINERA-pick-STAT
 ‘I have picked fruit (farther in the past)’

- b. agekɔ́níhne:ʔ
 ag-e-k-ɔ́ní-hne:ʔ
 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. saǰagɔ́ʔóhne:ʔ
 sa-jagɔ́-ʔó-hne:ʔ
 2S.P-persevere-STAT-REM
 ‘you singular have persevered’
 cf. ageǰagɔ́ʔɔh
 ag-e-jagɔ́-ʔɔh
 1S.P-JOINERE-persevere-STAT
 ‘I do persevere all the time’
- d. sagahdrɔ́níhne:ʔ
 sa-gahdr-ɔ́ní-hne:ʔ
 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. dewagadɔ́hweǰónihne:ʔ
 de-wag-ad-ɔ́hweǰóni-hne:ʔ
 DU-1S.P-SRF-want.STAT-REM
 ‘I wanted something in the past’
 cf. dewagadɔ́hweǰó:nih
 de-wag-ad-ɔ́hweǰó:ni-h
 DU-1S.P-SRF-want-STAT
 ‘I want something’
- (91) [verb-STAT-REMOTE] (stative-only verbs, s-conjugation)
- a. eksaʔgowáhne:ʔ
 e-ksaʔ-gowá-hne:ʔ
 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. saní'qhne:[?]
 sa-ní-'q-hne:[?]
 2S.P-greedy-STAT-REM
 'you used to be stingy of it'

cf. saní'qh
 sa-ní-'qh
 2S.P-greedy-STAT
 'you are stingy, greedy, cheap'

(92) [verb-STAT-FORMER] (three-aspect statives, H-conjugation)

a. gonadřenó:da'k
 gon-ad-řen-ó:d-a-'k
 3NS.FI.P-SRF-song-stand-JOINERÁ-CAUS-FORMER
 'they did sing'

cf. hodřé:no:t
 ho-d-řé:n-o:t
 3S.M.P-SRF-song-stand.STAT
 'he is singing'

b. gani:yó:da'k 'it hung there',
 ga-ni:yó:d-a-'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. tgáenagre'[?]
 t-gáe-nagre-'[?]
 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'drɔːdaʔk

t-g-iʔdrɔː-d-a-ʔ-k

CIS-1S.A-live.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINER A-CAUS-FORMER

'where I lived'

cf. shɛh tgi'drɔː

shɛh t-g-iʔdrɔː-ʔ

that CIS-1S.A-live-STAT

'where I live, reside'

b. agadowihshɛːdaʔk

ag-ad-owihshɛː-d-a-ʔ-k

1S.P-SRF-rest.STAT-EUPH.D-CAUS-FORMER

'I did have a rest'

cf. agadowishɛː

ag-ad-owishɛː-ʔ

1S.P-SRF-rest-STAT

'I have rested'

Statives can also take the [-gɛhɛːʔ] 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. níːʔ agawɛgɛhɛːʔ

níːʔ ag-aw-ɛ-gɛhɛːʔ

I 1S.P-OWN-STAT-PAST

'it used to be mine'

cf. agá:wɛh

ag-á:w-ɛh

1S.P-OWN-STAT

'mine'

b. howɛgɛhɛːʔ

ho-wɛ-gɛhɛːʔ

3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-PAST

'it used to be his'

cf. hó:wɛh

hó:-w-ɛh

3S.M.P-OWN-STAT

'his'

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- c. howé̄hne:ʔ
 ho-w-é̄-hne:ʔ
 3S.M.P-OWN-STAT-REM
 ‘it used to be his’
- cf. hó:wə̄h
 hó:-w-ə̄h
 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 [aʔ-] 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/-o]	[-:k] MODZ
INDEFINITE STATIVE	[a:-] INDEF		[-h-a/-ɛ/-o-: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. ɛwagə̄hyá:gwɛ:k
 ɛ-wag-ə̄hy-á:-gw-ɛ-:k
 FUT-1S.P-fruit-JOINER-A-pick-STAT-MODZ
 ‘I will have picked fruit’
- cf. agə̄hyagwə̄h
 ag-ə̄hy-a-gw-ə̄h
 1S.P-fruit-JOINER-A-pick-STAT
 ‘I have picked fruit’

- b. ɛ́gá'nikɔ:k
 ɛ-gá-'nikɔ:k
 FUT-3S.A-sew.STAT-MODZ
 'it will be sewn'
 cf. gá'ní:kɔ'
 gá-'ní:kɔ-'
 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:de'
 ag-a:tɔ́:de-'
 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. ɛ́yagode'nyɛ́dɛ́hsdɔ́hɔ́:k
 ɛ-yago-d-e-'nyɛ́dɛ́hsd-ɔ́-h-ɔ́-:k
 FUT-3S.FI.P-SRF-JOINERĒ-measure-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 'she will be measuring things'
 cf. wade'nyɛ́dɛ́hsdɔ́h
 w-ad-e-'nyɛ́dɛ́hsd-ɔ́h
 3S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-measure-STAT
 'the act of measuring'

⁷The second type is also attested in Oneida (Lounsbury 1953: 88–89).

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- b. *deḡagwatwéḡe:k*
d-ḡ-ga-gwatw-é-h-ḡ-:k
 DU-FUT-3S.A-hem-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘it will be hemmed’
 cf. *deḡágwatwēḡ*
de-gá-gwatw-ēḡ
 DU-3S.A-hem-STAT
 ‘a hem’
- c. *ḡsadeḡsrḡniḡsʹḡḡ:k*
ḡ-s-ad-e-hsrḡniḡsʹ-ḡ-h-ḡ-:k
 FUT-2S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-ready-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘you will be ready’
 cf. *sadeḡsrḡniḡsʹḡḡ*
s-ad-e-hsrḡniḡsʹ-ḡḡ
 2S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-ready-STAT
 ‘you are ready’
- d. *ḡyagḡnheḡḡḡ:k*
ḡ-yag-ḡnheḡ-ḡ-h-ḡ-:k
 FUT-3S.FI.P-be.sustained-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-MODZ
 ‘they (literally, she) will live on’, ‘what will sustain them’
 cf. *agḡnheḡḡḡ*
ag-ḡnheḡ-ḡḡ
 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. *ḡwagatró:wiḡa:k*
ḡ-wag-at-hró:wiḡ-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) Wɛ:dó:ʔ da:gaḡhyadq̄hsriyaʔgq̄ha: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-hyadq̄hsr-iyāʔg-q̄-h-a:-k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-A-MODZ

- (100) Wagyeḡsaʔgéh da:gaḡhyadq̄hsriyaʔgq̄ha: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-hyadq̄hsr-iyāʔg-q̄-h-a:-k
 DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-A-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.

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- (102) [+owa:n-ɛ-ʔs] big-STAT-PL ‘several big things’
- a. ohɔnaʔdówanɛʔs
 o-hɔnaʔd-ówan-ɛ-ʔs
 3S.P-potato-big-STAT-PL
 ‘big potatoes’
 cf. ohɔnaʔdówanɛh
 o-hɔnaʔd-ówan-ɛh
 3S.P-potato-big-STAT
 ‘big potato’
- b. gaʔdrehdowá:nɛʔs
 ga-ʔdrehd-owá:n-ɛ-ʔs
 3S.A-car-big-STAT-PL
 ‘big cars’
 cf. gaʔdrehdowá:nɛh
 ga-ʔdrehd-owá:n-ɛh
 3S.A-car-big-STAT
 ‘big car’
- c. ɛgahnegowanɛʔse:k
 ɛ-ga-hneg-owan-ɛ-ʔs-e:k
 FUT-3S.A-water-big-STAT-PL-Ø.PUNC.MODZ
 ‘there will be big bodies of water’
- (103) [-a-ʔs] certain.size.stative-PL ‘several objects of a certain size, age’
- shɛh ní:waʔs
 shɛh ní:-w-aʔs
 that PART-3S.A-size.STAT-PL
 ‘sizes’, ‘how big they are’
 cf. ní:waʔ
 ní:-w-aʔ
 PART-3S.A-size.STAT
 ‘it is of a certain size, age’
- (104) [oʔdɛ-ʔs] type.of.STAT-PL
- oʔnigɔhsadɔhkgéha:ʔ nigaɛnoʔdɛʔs
 oʔnigɔhsadɔhkgéha:ʔ ni-ga-ɛn-óʔdɛ-ʔs
 sad.kind PART-3S.A-song-type.of.STAT-PL
 ‘blues music’
 cf. nigaɛnoʔdɛ:
 ni-ga-ɛn-óʔdɛ:
 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-JOINERE-leg-small-PL-DIM
 ‘I have two small legs’
 cf. nigehsinú:ʔuh
 ni-g-e-hsin-u:-ʔuh
 PART-1S.A-JOINERE-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-JOINERA-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 ɛ §19.5.1.

15 Verb suffixes

- cf. ohsdágwae'
o-hsdágw-a-ε'
FAC-3S.P-dirtyJOINER-A-LIE.STAT
'it is soiled, dirty, stained'
- b. hodędonyá'dqhsq:
ho-dę-donyá'd-qh-sq:
3S.M.P-SRF-make.fun-STAT-FACIL
'he is a joker, or happy-go-lucky'
- cf. hodędonyá'dqh
ho-dę-donyá'd-qh
3S.M.P-SRF-make.fun-STAT
'he is making fun of something'
- c. gę'gętrosq:
ga-i'gętr-o-sq:
3S.A-white-submerged.STAT-FACIL
'it is all white'

In contrast to the above examples, the [-sq:] FACIL just attaches to a bare verb stem in (108), where it possibly does double duty as a habitual ending.

- (108) [verb-FACIL]
sadahqđsq:
s-ad-ahqđ-sq:
2S.A-SRF-ask-HAB.FACIL
'you are inquisitive'
- cf. sadahqđ:
s-ad-ahqđ:
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. ohsdáha'ge:
o-hsdá-ha'-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. əhsa:tgwé:ni'
 ɛ-hs-a:t-gwé:ni-[?]
 FUT-2s.A-SRF-compete-PUNC
 'you will win'
- c. ganəhsotge:
 ga-nəhs-ot-ge:
 3s.A-house-stand.STAT-AUG
 'it is a standing big house'
- cf. ganəhso:t
 ga-nəhs-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. ohəjihwəh
 o-həh-jihwəh
 3s.P-dry.STAT-COMpletely
 'it is really dried out'
- cf. ohɛ:
 o-hɛ:-
 3s.P-dry-STAT
 'it is dry'
- b. ɔgyahdogə'jihwəh
 ɔgy-ahdogə'-jihwəh
 1D.P-grown.up-COMpletely
 '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]
agékdɔhneʔ
agé-kdɔ-hn-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-JOINERÁ-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-ʔs] go-HAB, [e-ʔ] go-PUNC, or [e-ʔ] go-STAT combinations. (The punctual forms also require a mood prefix.)

Long-e forms take [e:-ʔ] go-PURP-PUNC or [e:-ʔ] 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 [haʔ-] 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. haʔge'
 haʔ-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	[-gɛhɛ:ʔ] PAST
FUT HAB	[ɛ-] FUT	A	[e]		[-ʔs] HAB	[-:k, -hk] MODZ
SHORT-E FAC PUNC	[aʔ-] FAC	A	[e]		[-ʔ] PUNC	
SHORT-E FUT PUNC	[ɛ-] 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	[ɛ-] 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. ihe^ʔs
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:ge^ʔ
í:-g-e-^ʔ
PROTH-1S.A-go-STAT
‘I am walking, moving’
- (7) [CIS-...e] ‘come here or this way’, ‘be here’
- dagé:ne^ʔ
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: itse^ʔs
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: ɛtse^ʔ
ɛ-t-s-e-^ʔ
FUT-CIS-2S.A-go-PUNC
‘you will wander’
 - c. ɛ tsɔ: itse^ʔ
i-t-s-e-^ʔ
PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-STAT
‘you are wandering’ (right now)

- (9) [gaʔ PART-CIS-...e] 'come this way', 'be (from) here'
 gaʔ nɔdáhse:ʔ come this way!
 gaʔ nɔdá-hs-e:-ʔ
 somewhere PART.CIS-2S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'Come this way!'
- (10) [PART-CIS-e] 'come from there', 'be from there'
 nɔdá:ge:ʔ
 nɔdá:-g-e:-ʔ
 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'
 naʔdét:ge:ʔ
 naʔdét:t-g-e:-ʔ
 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. ihsgeʔs
 i-hs-g-e-ʔs
 PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
 'I have returned home'
- b. ihsgeʔ
 i-hs-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)'
- (13) [TRANSL-...e] 'go over there', 'be over there'
- a. haʔge:ʔ
 haʔ-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I went there'
- b. haʔgeʔ
 haʔ-g-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 'I am going (there)'

- (14) [TRANSL-REP-...e] ‘go back there’, ‘return there’
 həhsge:ʔ
 həhs-g-e-: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 prenominal prefixes were described in §16.2.1.)

- (15) [e-ʔs] ‘to exist’
- a. iheʔs
 i-h-e-ʔs
 PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB
 ‘he is here’
 - b. ɛ: tsq: itseʔs
 ɛ: tsq i-t-s-e-ʔs
 side just PROTH-CIS-2S.A-go-HAB
 ‘you wander’ (all the time), ‘you are over there’
 - c. gɛ:neʔs,
 gɛ:n-e-ʔs
 3P.A-go-HAB
 ‘they are around’, ‘they are here’, ‘they are together’
 - d. tgɛ:neʔs
 t-gɛ:n-e-ʔs
 CIS-3P.A-go-HAB
 ‘they are over there’
 - e. itgeʔs
 i-t-g-e-ʔs
 PROTH-CIS-1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I am here’
 - f. heheʔs
 he-h-e-ʔs
 TRANSL-3S.M.A-go-HAB
 ‘he is there’

- g. isgeʼs
i-s-g-e-ʼs
PROTH-REP-1S.A-go-HAB
‘I have returned home’
- h. tigáęʼs
ti-gáę-ʼs
CONTR-3S.FI.A.go-HAB
‘they are roaming about’
- i. tí:weʼs
tí:-w-e-ʼs
CONTR-3S.A-go-HAB
‘a stray (animal)’

Variations of [e-ʼs] 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-ʼs-gęhe:ʼ] go-HAB-PAST ‘to have existed somewhere’
heʼsgęhe:ʼ
h-e-ʼs-gęhe:ʼ
3S.M.A-go-HAB-PAST
‘he was away’, ‘he has been there’
- (17) [ę-...e-ʼs-e:k] FUT-...go-HAB-MODZ ‘will exist somewhere’
hęhéʼse:k
h-ę-h-é-ʼs-e:k
TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-go-HAB-MODZ
‘he will be there’
cf. iheʼs
i-h-e-ʼs
PROTH-3S.M.A-go-HAB
‘he is here’
- (18) hypothesized [a:-...e-ʼs-e:k] INDEF-...go-HAB-MODZ ‘might exist somewhere’

16.2.3 Simple motion verb [e] ‘go’ in the punctual

The short [e-ʼ] go-PUNC and long [e:-ʼ] go-PURP-PUNC forms of [e] ‘go’ require one of the three mood prefixes (the [aʼ-] 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'gé:ne'
 ha'-gé: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'gáe'
 ha'-gáe-'
 TRANSL.FAC-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC²
 'they are going'
- g. dɔdáe'
 dɔdá-e-'
 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. dɛtge[?]
 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. ɛtge'
 ɛ-t-g-e-'
 FUT-CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 'I will come'
- e. ɛtgaɛ'
 ɛ-t-gaɛ-'
 FUT-CIS-3S.FI.A.go-PUNC
 'they will come'
- f. dəgyá:kne'
 d-ɛ-g-yá:kn-e-'
 DU-FUT-CIS-1D.IN.A-go-PUNC
 'we two will come back'
- g. hə:ge'
 hə:-g-e-'
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-go-PUNC
 'I will go'

(24) /ɛ - e:ʔ/

- a. hə:ge:ʔ
 hə:-g-e-:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FUT-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I will go there'
- b. naʔdə:tge:ʔ
 naʔdə:t-g-e-:-ʔ
 PART.DU.FUT.CIS-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I will come back over here, return'
- c. həhsge:ʔ
 həhs-g-e-:-ʔ
 TRANSL.FUT.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I am going back there'
- d. to e: həhsge:ʔ
 to e: həhs-g-e-:-ʔ
 there again TRANSL.FUT.REP-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I will go again'

- e. ɛdwe:ʔ
 ɛ-dw-e:-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘we will go together’
- f. ɛhsne:ʔ
 ɛ-hsn-e:-ʔ
 FUT-2D.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘you two will go together’

- (25) Gyotgót gɛ:s neʔ tgá:gót hɛháha:ʔ neʔ gaɛgwaʔ
 always usually the it.is.necessary he.will.take.it.there the whichever
 hó: hɛhé:ʔ.
 place/time he.went.there
 ‘He always had to take it with him whenever he went someplace.’ (Henry 2005)
- cf. hɛhe:ʔ
 h-ɛ-h-e:-ʔ
 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-ʔ] and long-e [e:-ʔ] 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: - eʔ]
- a. aɔdá:geʔ
 aɔdá:-g-e-ʔ
 INDEF.CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I should come’
- b. naʔdó:dəheʔ
 naʔdó:də-h-e-ʔ
 PART.DU.INDEF.CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
 ‘he would come this way’

- c. dɔdɑ:kneʔ
 dɔdɑ:-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: hɔsɑ:ge:ʔ
 to e: hɔsɑ:-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. dɔdɑ:hseh
 dɔdɑ:-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. tẹ̌ to dẹ̌’á:ge:
 tẹ̌ to dẹ̌’-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. ẹ: tsq: itseʔ
 ẹ: tsq: i-t-s-e-ʔ
 side just PROTH-CIS-YOU-go-STAT
 ‘you are wandering’ (right now)
- d. ohnaʔgẹ́:ʔ ihseʔ
 ohnaʔgẹ́: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. hɔwáhnɔdre'
hɔwá-hnɔdr-e-'
3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-STAT
'someone is following him'
- h. deyagodáwɛnye'
de-yago-d-áwɛny-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. gɔnɛ:tsí:ne'
gɔ-nɛ: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 [haw-i] ‘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:wiʔ
 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:tsi:ne's, gɔŋɛ:tsi:nehs
gɔ-nɛ:ts-i:n-e-'s/hs
1s:2s-arm-lead-go-HAB
'I always take you by the hand'
- cf. gɔŋɛ:tsi:ne'
gɔ-nɛ:ts-i:n-e'
1s:2s-arm-lead-go-STAT
'I am leading you by the hand'
- f. ká:wi's
k-há:wi-'s
1s.A-carry-go-HAB
'I carry it' (habitually, frequently)
- cf. ká:wi'
k-há:wi-'
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. $\text{e}\text{g}\text{o}\text{n}\text{e}\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}:\text{n}\text{e}'$
 $\text{e}\text{-g}\text{o}\text{-n}\text{e}\text{t}\text{s}\text{-i}:\text{n}\text{-e}'$
 FUT-1S:2S-arm-lead-go-PUNC
 ‘I will lead you by the hand’
- b. $\text{e}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{w}\text{i}'$
 $\text{e}\text{-k}\text{-h}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{w}\text{i}'$
 FUT-1S.A-carry-PUNC⁴
 ‘I will be carrying it’

The unusual punctual complex motion verbs in (36) take an [e-] 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 [e-] FUT.

- (36) [e-...e-hk] FUT-...go-FORMER
- a. $\text{e}\text{k}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{e}}:\text{d}\text{e}\text{h}\text{k}$
 $\text{e}\text{-k}\text{-h}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{e}}:\text{d}\text{-e}\text{-h}\text{k}$
 FUT-1S.A-lead-go-FORMER
 ‘I will lead, go in front’
- cf. $\text{k}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{e}}:\text{d}\text{e}\text{h}\text{k}$
 $\text{k}\text{-h}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{e}}:\text{d}\text{-e}\text{-h}\text{k}$
 1S.A-lead-go-FORMER
 ‘I led, went in front’
- b. $\text{e}\text{g}\text{r}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{d}\text{e}\text{h}\text{k}$
 $\text{e}\text{-g}\text{-r}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{d}\text{-e}\text{-h}\text{k}$
 FUT-1S.A-climb-go-FORMER
 ‘I will climb’
- cf. $\text{g}\text{r}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{d}\text{e}\text{h}\text{k}$
 $\text{g}\text{-r}\acute{\text{a}}:\text{d}\text{-e}\text{-h}\text{k}$
 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. agéhseʔ
 agé-hs-e-ʔ
 1s.P-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding’
- ii. agéhse:ʔ
 agé-hs-e:-ʔ
 1s.P-lower.back-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I rode’, ‘I came riding’
- b. i. gegyeʔ
 ge-gy-e-ʔ
 1s.A-fly-go-STAT
 ‘I am flying’
- ii. gegye: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:-
 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’

16.3 Complex motion verbs with [e] ‘go’

- 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-[?]-gɛɛɛ:[?]] 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.FI.A-live-FORMER
 ‘they did or used to live there’
 b. tgaenagré[?]gɛɛɛ:[?]
 t-gae-nagré-[?]-gɛɛɛ:[?]
 CIS-3S.FI.A-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) agékdq̄hne[?]
 a-gé-kdq̄-hn-e-[?]
 FAC-1S.A-examine-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘I am going to see it’
- cf. ɛ́gékdq̄hna[?]
 ɛ́-gé-kdq̄-hn-a[?]
 FUT-1S.A-examine-DISL-PUNC
 ‘I will go see’
- cf. ɛ́gékdq̄:[?]
 ɛ́-gé-kdq̄-:[?]
 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 [-gɛ̄hɛ̄:[?]] 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	[-gəhɛ: [?]] 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[?]sgɛhɛ:[?]
 h-at-hrɔny-ahn-é-[?]s-gɛhɛ:[?]
 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	[-gɛhɛ: [?]] 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-] FUT		VERB-DISL	[e]	[-:k] PUNC.MODZ
INDEF-PUNC DISL e-verb	[a:-] INDEF		VERB-DISL	[e]	[-: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. *ehsédaʔdreʔ*
e-hs.édaʔ-dr-e-ʔ
 FAC-2S.P.sleep-DISL-go-PUNC
 'you are going to bed', 'are you going to bed?'
- cf. *əsédaʔdraʔ*
e-hs-édaʔ-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'qɔdawe'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. ɛyɔdawe'na'
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awé-'n-a'
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-SWIM-DISL-PUNC
 'she will go swimming'
- cf. ɛyɔdawe:'
 ɛ-yɔ-d-awé-:'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-SWIM-PUNC
 'she will swim'
- c. agaesa: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. agaehsa:ka'
 a-gae-sá:k-h-a'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SEEK-DISL-PUNC
 'they went looking for it'
- d. ahayɛtwáhse'
 a-ha-yɛtw-áhs-e-'
 FAC-3S.M.A-PLANT-DISL-GO-PUNC
 'he is going to plant', 'is he going to plant?'
- cf. ɛhayɛtwáhsa'
 ɛ-ha-yɛtw-áhs-a'
 FUT-3S.M.A-PLANT-DISL-PUNC
 'he will go planting'
- cf. ɛháyɛto'
 ɛ-há-yɛto-'
 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]
 ɛkóʔjihneʔ
 ɛ-k-hóʔji-hn-e-ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-dark-DISL-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going to get dark’
- b. [a-...STAT.VERB-e-ʔ]
 akóʔjihneʔ
 a-k-hóʔji-hn-e-ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-dark-DISL-go-PUNC
 ‘I got dark, black (really tanned)’
- cf. gahóʔji:
 ga-hóʔji-:
 3S.A-dark-STAT
 ‘it is dark-coloured’

- c. a:hayətwəhsé:k tsə:
 a:-ha-yətw-əhs-é:k tsə:
 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-ʔ] go-STAT or long-e [e:-ʔ] 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]		[ʔ] STAT
DISL LONG-E STAT		VERB-DISL	[e]	[-:]	[ʔ] STAT

(50) three-aspect stative, with short [e-ʔ]

- a. gatrónyahnéʔ
 g-at-hróny-ahn-e-ʔ
 1S.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘I have come here to tell’
- b. ɔdéʔdɔhnéʔ
 ɔ-dé-ʔdɔ-hn-e-ʔ
 3S.FI.A-SRF-be.due-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘she is about to give birth’
- cf. ɛyódeʔdɔ:
 ɛ-yó-de-ʔdɔ:-ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-be.due-PUNC
 ‘when she will be due’
- c. dehenatgwáhneʔ
 de-hən-at-gw-ahn-e-ʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘they are going to dance’
- cf. dehenatkwaʔ
 de-hən-at-gw-haʔ
 DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-dance-HAB
 ‘they dance’ (all the time)

- d. dehohedáhne?
 de-ho-hed-ahn-e-?
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-DISL-go-STAT
 ‘he is going along hollering’
 cf. dehóheta?
 de-hó-het-ha?
 DU-3S.M.P-yell-HAB
 ‘he is hollering’

(51) three-aspect stative, with long-e [e:-?]

- a. gatrónyahne?
 g-at-hróny-ahn-e:-?
 1S.A-SRF-tell-DISL-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came and told’
 b. osdéhsdáhne?
 o-sdéhsd-ahn-e:-?
 3S.P-evaporate-DISL-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘it has gone down’ (i.e. the water level)
 cf. ohsdéhsdoh
 o-hsdéhsd-oh
 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-ε/q/a-gy-e] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go combination, yet more aspect suffixes, and potentially, mood prefixes. (For the [-ε/q/a] JOINER pronunciations, see §19.5.1.) The stative verb base consists of a [verb-STAT] combination (either [verb-ε] or [verb-q]), or [verb.V] - a verb stem ending with a vowel other than [ε,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’ Deer (p.c.) finds examples of progressive verbs ending with both short-e [ε-gy-e-?, q-gy-e-?] and long-e [ε-gy-e:-?], [q-gy-e:-?] 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 [ε-gy-e:-?] or [q-gy-e:-?] 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	[-e] 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 [e-] 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-e/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 E take the [-h-e-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-JOINER-A-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[-ɔ]	[-h-ɔ-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-ʔ] STAT
P-verb[-ɛ]	[-h-ɛ-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-ʔ] STAT
P-verb.V	[h-a-gy] EUPHONIC.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-ʔ] STAT

(52) [-ɔ-h-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ]

a. sahoḥdegyóhogyeʔ

sa-ho-hdegy-ó-h-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ

REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘he is on his way home’

cf. hesáhdęgyɔ:

he-s-áhdęgy-ɔ:

TRANSL-2S.P-leave-STAT

‘you went over there’

b. otsihsʔqhó:gyeʔ

o-tsihsʔ-ɔ-h-ó:-gy-e-ʔ

3S.P-mature-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘it is getting mature’

cf. otsihsʔqh

o-tsihsʔ-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. hodógohdóhogyeʔ

ho-d-ógohd-ó-h-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ

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. gohdogadóhogyeʔ

go-hdogad-ó-h-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ

3S.FI.P-cause.to.grow-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT

‘she is growing something’

cf. ɔgahdɔgá'dɔh
 ɔg-ahɔgá'd-ɔh
 3FIS:1S-raise-STAT
 'she (e.g. a guardian) raised me'

e. niyagotgɛihsdɔhɔgye'
 ni-yago-t-gɛihsd-ɔ-h-ɔ-gy-e-'
 PART-3S.FI.P-SRF-move.ahead-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 'she is travelling as she is moving'

cf. gagɛihsdɔh
 ga-gɛihsd-ɔh
 3S.A-move.ahead-STAT
 'postponement'

f. oda'grahdɔhɔgye'
 o-d-a'grahd-ɔ-h-ɔ-gy-e-'
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 'it is surfacing'

cf. odá'grahdɔh
 o-d-á'grahd-ɔh
 3S.P-SRF-float-STAT
 'it is floating'

(53) [-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-']

a. agade'gwɛhɛgye'
 ag-ade-'gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-'
 1S.P-SRF-run.away-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 'I am running away again'

cf. agáde'gwɛh
 ag-áde-'gw-ɛh
 1S.P-SRF-run.away-STAT
 'I am running away'

b. 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'

(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. agyɔdihá:gyeʔ
 ag-yɔdī-h-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 1S.P-smile-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘I am going along smiling’
 cf. hoyógyɔhne:ʔ
 ho-yɔgy-q-hne:ʔ
 3S.M.P-smile-STAT-REM
 ‘he has already smiled, ‘he did smile’
- d. ɛjisadekɔníhagyeʔ
 ɛ-ji-s-ade-k-ɔní-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. eḡwḡnowáeʔ
 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. deṣatnq̄hwe:tsó:dq̄ʹ
 d-ḗ-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. dewaʹdeḥódagyēʹ
 de-w-aʹdeḥ-ód-a-gy-e-ʹ
 DU-3S.A-fence-rooted.STAT-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘wood fence, rail and stump fence’
 b. honhódagyēʹ
 ho-nhód-a-gy-e-ʹ
 3S.M.P-opening-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘he has it in his mouth as he moves’
 cf. ohsgyéʹdanhq̄:t
 o-hsgyé:ʹd-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’
 odóʹkdagyēʹ
 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-ḗ/-q̄-/a-gy-e-ʹ] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC combination, Table 16.8. Bases ending with Ę take the [-h-ḗ-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, [ḗ-] 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
[e-] FUT [a'-] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB-Q	[-h-q-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER- PROG	[e]	[-'] PUNC or [-:k] PUNC.MODZ
[e-] FUT [a'-] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB-E	[-h-e-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER- PROG	[e]	[-'] PUNC or [-:k] PUNC.MODZ
[e-] FUT [a'-] FAC [a:-] INDEF	P-VERB.V	[-h-a-gy] EUPH.H- JOINER A-PROG	[e]	[-'] 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'-...STAT.BASE-PROG-e-']
 ogya' dahshẹ' qhó:gye'
 oq-ya'd-ahshẹ'-q-h-ó:-gy-e-'
 FAC.1S.P-body-slow-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC

'I am arriving late'

- cf. ogyá' dahshẹ'
 oq-yá'd-ahshẹ'-
 FACTUAL.1S.P-body-slow-PUNC
 'I was late'

- (61) [e-...STAT.BASE-PROG-e-']
 a. eyagohdogadóhogye'
 e-yago-hdogad-ó-h-q-gy-e-'
 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-hrowí-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/-q-/a-gy-e-’s] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB combination, Table 16.9. Bases ending with Q take the [-h-q-gy-e-’s] combination (64), and ones ending with ɛ 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-q-gy] EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG	[e]	[-’s] HAB
P-VERB-ɛ	[-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'nyadóhogye's
de-yɔkiy-ɛ-'nya-d-ó-h-q-gy-e-'s
DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-SRF-hand-stand-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'they protect us'

cf. deyɔkiyə'nyadó'
de-yɔkiy-ɛ-'nya-d-ó'
DUALIC-THEY:US-SRF-hand-stand.STAT-PL
'they protect us with their hands', 'angels'

b. honadahsehđó:hó:gye's
hon-ad-ahsehđ-q-h-ó:-gy-e-'s
3NS.M.P-SRF-hide-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
'they are sneaking around'

cf. agadahséhdoh
ag-ad-ahséhd-oh
1S.P-SRF-hide-STAT
'I am hiding now'

(65) [...ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-e-'s]

a. agahyagwéhegye'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. agahyagwéhegye'
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'gwéhegye'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. deyogwahgwéhegye's
de-yogw-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'dáhgweh
 de-ho-ya'd-áhgw-eh
 DU-3S.M.P-body-pick.up-STAT
 ‘it picked him up’

- (66) [...V-h-a-gy-e-'s]
 hononihá:gye's
 hon-ɔni-h-á:-gy-e-'s
 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:'] 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's]	[-gɛhɛ:'] PAST
[P-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gye's]	
[P-VERB.V-h-a-gye's]	
[A-VERB-ɔ-h-ɔ-gye's]	[-gɛhɛ:'] PAST
[A-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gye's]	
[A-VERB.V-h-a-gye's]	

- (67) [P-...hab.prog.base-gɛhɛ:']
 agahyagwehɛgyé'sgɛhɛ:
 ag-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-é-'s-gɛhɛ:
 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-gɛhɛ:ʔ]
 gahyagwɛhɛgyeʔsgɛhɛ:ʔ
 g-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-ɛ-ʔs-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 *ɛwagahyagwɛhɛgyeʔse: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-gyeʔs] [P-VERB-ɛ-h-ɛ-gyeʔs] [P-VERB-V-h-a-gyeʔs]	[-e:k] MODZ

- (69) [a:-P-HAB.PROG.BASE-e:k]
 a:wagahyagwɛhɛgyeʔse:k
 a:-wag-ahya-gw-ɛ-h-ɛ-gy-ɛ-ʔs-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 [deʔ-] NEG prefix, without any further modification (1–3). (The particle *tɛʔ* ‘not’ is always optional.)

(1) [(tɛʔ) NEG-VERB-HAB] (THREE-ASPECT habitual)

a. tɛʔ deʔagyade:kó:nih
tɛʔ deʔ-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. tɛʔ deʔaknigɔháɛdaʔs
tɛʔ deʔ-ak-nigɔháɛd-aʔs
not NEG-1S.P-understand-JOINER-A-HAB
‘I do not understand’

17 Negation

cf. akniḡhãḡda's
ak-niḡhãḡd-a-'s
1S.P-understand-JOINER-A-HAB
'I understand'

c. tɛ' degé:ḡḡhs
tɛ' de-ḡé:-ḡḡ-hs
not NEG-1S.A-see-HAB
'I do not see things'

cf. ḡé:ḡḡhs
ḡé:-ḡḡ-hs
1S.A-see-HAB
'I see things'

(2) [(tɛ') NEG-VERB-STAT] (THREE-ASPECT stative)

tɛ' dewa:kní:nḡh, tɛ' de'a:kní:nḡh
tɛ' de-wa:k/'a:k-hní:nḡ-h
not NEG-1S.P-buy-STAT
'I did not buy it'

cf. akní:nḡh
ak-hní:nḡ-h
1S.P-buy-STAT
'I did buy it'

(3) [(tɛ') NEG-VERB.STAT] (STATIVE-ONLY verb)

tɛ' degá:nḡ:[?]
tɛ' de-ḡá:-nḡ:[?]
not NEG-3SG.A-costly.STAT
'it is not costly'

cf. ḡanḡ:[?]
ḡa-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 dɛhóyɛtwɛh
 tɛʔ dɛ-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 dɛhóyɛtwɛh
 tɛʔ dɛ-hó-yɛtw-ɛh
 not NEG-3S.M.P-plant-STAT
 ‘he did not plant’
 cf. hoyɛ:twɛh
 ho-yɛ: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:gaesayɛ:de:
 tɛʔ t-a:-gaesa-yɛ:de:-ø
 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. 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’

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- (7) [(tɛʔ) CONTR-INDEFINITE-VERB-NO_ASPECT] (negative of the indefinite-punctual)
- a. tɛʔ ta:ɡatɡáhtoh
tɛʔ t-a:-g-at-ɡáhtoh
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:nɔ-ʔ
INDEF-2S.A-buy-PUNC
'you would buy, purchase it'
- c. tɛʔ ta:ɡé:ɡɛh
tɛʔ t-a:-ɡé:-ɡɛ-h
not CONTR-INDEF-1S.A-see-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'I will not or should not see it'
- cf. a:ɡé:ɡɛʔ
a:-ɡé:-ɡɛ-ʔ
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-ɡɛhɛ:ʔ
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. gatrowihsgéhe:[?]
 g-at-hrowi-hs-géhe:[?]
 1S.A-SRF-tell-HAB-PAST
 'I used to tell'
- b. tɛ́ de'wagatrowihá:gye's
 tɛ́ 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. tɛ́ de'agatrówihne:[?]
 tɛ́ 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. tɛ́ ta:gatrówiha:k
 tɛ́ 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. ɛgatrowiha: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. tɛ́ ta:wagatrowiha:k
 tɛ́ 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. ɛwagatrówi_iha:k
 ɛ-wag-at-hrów_i-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-hrow_i-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-hrow_i-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:wagatrowihagyéʔse:k
 a:-wag-at-hrow_i-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-hrow_i-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. ɔgatrowihagyéʔ
 ɔg-at-hrow_i-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 [-sqʰ] versus [-sq:ʰh], §10.15.3
- ⇒ Pluralizing nouns, §10.15.4
- ⇒ The [s-, j-, ji-] (repetitive) prefix, §12.2.4
- ⇒ [haʰde-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
- ⇒ [-ʰs] (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

- ⇒ [-ʰgeh] (external locative), §10.1
- ⇒ [-hneh] (external locative), §10.2
- ⇒ [-ʰgeh] versus [-hneh], §10.3
- ⇒ [-gɔ:] (internal locative), §11.2.1
- ⇒ [-:kʰah] (‘beside’ locative), §11.2.2
- ⇒ [-kdagyɛʰ] (‘alongside’ locative), §11.2.3

The prefixes listed below also refer to types of locations, for example [ni-] PART ‘somewhere’, [d-] CIS ‘here’ and [heʰ-] TRANSL ‘there’.

Related

- ⇒ The [ni-] (partitive) prefix, §12.2.3
- ⇒ [d-] (cislocative) and [heʰ-] (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. deyhgwā'dáhnq:?
d-ę-ye-hgw-a-'d-á-hnq-:?
DU-FUT-3S.FI.A-lift.up-JOINERÁ-CAUS-JOINERÁ-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.FI.A-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. gahiḥɔh
ga-hriḥ-ɔh
3S.A-spill-STAT
'it is spilled'

19 Sound changes in word formation

(3) no simplification for [...q-ʔ] (etc.)

- a. akní:nqʔ
a-k-hní:nq-ʔ
FAC-1S.A-buy-PUNC
'I did buy it'
- b. ɛkní:nqʔ
ɛ-k-hní:nq-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]

- gĩhsa:s
g-ĩhsa:k-s
1S.A-look.for-HAB ([k] deleted)
'I am looking for it'

- cf. ɛgĩhsa:k
ɛ-g-ĩhsa: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 *Ogwehó: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. gadi^ʔdrɔ^ʔ
gadi-i^ʔdrɔ-^ʔ
3NS.A-live-STAT
'they live (designates a shed, dog house, etc.)'
 - b. gadinɔhwe^ʔs
gadi-nɔhwe-^ʔs
3NS.A-like-HAB
'they like it'
 - c. hegi^ʔdrɔ:da^ʔk
h-ɛ-g-i^ʔdrɔ:-d-a^ʔk
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. ege^ʔahsrɔni:^ʔ
e-ge^ʔa-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:yqhs
ha-ihé:y-qhs
3S.M.A-die-HAB
'he is dying'
 - b. gɪhé:yqhs
g-ihé:y-qhs
1S.A-die-HAB
'I am dying'
 - c. hanqhsq:nih
ha-nqhs-ó: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. dɔdáɛ'[?]
dɔdá-e-e-'[?]
DU.FAC.CIS-3S.FI.A-go-PUNC
'she is coming back'
 - cf. dɔdá:ge'[?]
dɔdá:-g-e-'[?]
DU.FAC.CIS-1S.A-go-PUNC
'I am coming back'
 - b. ɛtgáɛ'[?]
ɛ-t-gáɛ-e-'[?]
FUT-CIS-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they will come'
 - cf. ɛte'[?]
ɛ-t-h-e-'[?]
FUT-CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
'he will come this way'

- c. í:yẹ:
 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. ahənéhehk
hən-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:ʔ:
hon-é:ʔ-ɔ:
3NS.M.P-will-STAT
'they have willed, decided it'
- d. hodí:yɛʔ
hodí:-yɛ-ʔ
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. gáɛnaʔ
gá-rɛn-aʔ
3S.A-song-NSF
'song'
- b. shɔgwaɛnávihshɔʔ
shɔgwa-rɛn-ávih-shɔʔ
3MS:1P-song-give-PLRZ
'he has given us songs'

- (14) [r] retained after a consonant

- a. wadré:no:t
w-ad-ré:n-o:t
3S.A-SRF-song-stand.STAT
'it is singing' (or purring, in the case of a cat)

- b. ɛhsadrɛnatɔdá:ta'
 ɛ-hs-ad-rɛn-atɔdá:t-h-a-'
 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:wi'
 ɛ-g-a:t-hró:wi-'
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-tell-PUNC
 'I will tell'

19.4 [dy/gy] and [ty/ky]

Ganedagehonó'neha:' (Lower Cayuga) speakers pronounce certain prefixes differently than *Dagehyatgehonó'neha:'* (Upper Cayuga) speakers do, before stems beginning with [y] or [hy]. *Ganedagehonó'neha:'* speakers use [ag-] SRF (16a) and [adag-] REFL (not shown) before [y], and also [ak-] (16b) and [adak-] (not shown) before [hy]. Both *Ganedagehonó'neha:'* and *Dagehyatgehonó'neha:'* speakers use [ad-] (or [adad-]) before other sounds (16c), except that *Dagehyatgehonó'neha:'* speakers say [at-] or [adat-] before stems beginning with [hy] (16d).

- (16) a. sagya'dohái
 s-ag-ya'd-ohái
 2S.A-SRF-body-wash.NO_ASPECT
 'take a bath'
- b. ɛgákyadɔ:
 ɛ-g-ák-hyadɔ:-'
 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. ɛgátyadɔːʔ
ɛ-g-át-hyadɔː-ʔ
FUT-1S.A-SRF-WRITE-PUNC
'I will have a reading'

Ganedagehonóʔnɛhaːʔ speakers use [g-] CIS before [y] (17a), while Dagɛhyatgehonóʔnɛhaːʔ speakers use [d-] in the same instance. Both Ganedagehonóʔnɛhaːʔ and Dagɛhyatgehonóʔnɛhaːʔ speakers use the [d-] CISform in the remaining cases (17b).

- (17) a. gyodóʔkdaʔq̄h
g-yo-d-óʔkd-a-ʔq̄h
CIS-3S.P-SRF-end-JOINER A-STAT
'it is lacking'
- b. dawádɔʔkdɛʔ 'it lacked'
d-a-w-ád-ɔʔkd-ɛʔ
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. gaʔdrehdagwé:gq̄h
ga-ʔdrehd-a-gwé:gq̄h
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. onéħətgi'
o-néħə-tgi'
3S.P-corn-dirty.STAT
'dirty corn'
- (20) no Joiner A, verb begins with a vowel
- a. ga' dréhde:s
ga-' dréhd-e:s
3S.A-car-long.STAT
'it is a long car'
- b. ga' drehdí:yo:
ga-' 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. gá' dréhdaɛ'
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. sahoḥdeḡyḡhḡgye'
 sa-ho-hdeḡy-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-'
 REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'he is on his way home'
- b. agadeḡgwḡḡheḡgye'
 ag-ade-ḡgw-ḡ-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-'
 1S.A-SRF-run.away-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'I am running away again'
- (25) a. goḡhsganyḡhḡ:gye'
 go-hsganyḡ-h-ḡ:gy-e-'
 3S.FI.P-shuffle-EUPH.H-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'she is shuffling along'
- b. agyḡḡdihḡ:gye'
 ag-yḡḡdih-ḡ-ḡgy-e-'
 1S.A-smile-EUPH.H-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 'I am going along smiling'

Other instances of [a] being changed to [ḡ]

The second vowel of the [-shḡ:ḡh] PLRZ suffix can either be pronounced as [a] or [ḡ] (26).

- (26) a. ganyoḡsḡ:ḡh, ganyoḡsḡ:ḡḡh
 ga-nyoḡ-shḡ:ḡh/-shḡ:ḡḡh
 3S.A-wild.game-PLRZ
 'wild game', 'wild animals'
- b. gaḡnasḡ:ḡh, gaḡnasḡ:ḡḡh
 ga-ḡn-a-shḡ:ḡh/-shḡ:ḡḡh
 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
 gaḡdadé:gḡhs
 gaḡ-dad-é:-gḡ-hs
 3NS.FI.A-REFL-JOINERĒ-see-HAB
 ‘they see her’
 cf. gaḡdadahḡdḡha’
 gaḡ-dad-ahḡdḡ-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. dḡsehehdáwḡnye:’
 d-ḡ-se-hehd-á-wḡnye-:’
 DU-FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-earth-JOINERĀ-stir-PUNC
 ‘you will tend or till your garden’
 - b. sedá:kse’
 s-e-dá:kse-’
 2S.A-JOINERĒ-run-STAT
 ‘you are running’
 - c. í:se:k
 í:-s-e:-k
 PROTH-2S.A-JOINERĒ-eat.Ø.PUNC
 ‘eat it!’
 - d. segḡhsa’geh
 s-e-gḡhs-a’geh
 2S.A-JOINERĒ-face-ON
 ‘on your face’
 - e. ḡsé:gḡ’
 ḡ-s-é:-gḡ-’
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERĒ-see-PUNC
 ‘you will see’

- f. ɛhsewayɛ:né:da'
 ɛ-hs-e-wayɛ:né:d-a'
 FUT-2S.A-JOINER E-complete-PUNC
 'you will complete'
- (29) no Joiner E before [n], [y], or a vowel
- a. syé:sehs
 s-yé: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. sga'áhdra:t
 s-ga-'áhdr-a:t
 REP-3S.A-basket-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 'one basket'
- d. swahdegá:'geh
 swa-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. onɔnyáɛdagyeʔ
 o-nɔny-á-ɛ-d-a-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.P-ice-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is freezing’
 cf. onɔnyaɛʔ
 o-nɔny-a-ɛʔ
 3s.A-ice-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT
 ‘it is frozen’
- b. awɛnowaɛdá:gyeʔ
 aw-ɛnowaɛ-d-á:-gy-e-ʔ
 3s.P-sink-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is sinking’
 cf. ɛwɛnowáɛʔ
 ɛ-w-ɛnowáɛ-ʔ
 FUT-3s.A-sink-PUNC
 ‘it will sink’
- (32) a. tgiʔ drɔ:daʔk
 t-g-iʔ drɔ:-d-a-ʔk
 CIS-1s.A-live.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘where I lived’
 cf. shɛh tgiʔ drɔʔ
 shɛh t-g-iʔ drɔ-ʔ
 that CIS-1s.A-live-STAT
 ‘where I live, reside’
- b. agadowihshé:daʔk
 ag-ad-owihshé:-d-a-ʔk
 1s.P-SRF-rest.STAT-EUPH.D-JOINERÁ-PAST
 ‘I did have a rest’
 cf. agadowishɛʔ
 ag-ad-owishɛ-ʔ
 1s.P-SRF-rest-STAT
 ‘I have rested’
- (33) Gwe: gwé: a:yéʔ desatmónkeydɔh e:ʔ
 de-sa-t-mónkey-d-ɔh
 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. degaḳwéhda:s
 de-gaḳ-w-éhda:-s
 DU-3S.FI.A-EUPH.W-run-HAB
 'they run'
- b. da:gáḳwéhda:t
 d-a:-gáḳ-w-éhda:t
 DU-INDEF-3S.FI.A-EUPH.W-run.Ø.PUNC
 'they might run'
- cf. dewagḳhdá:dḳh
 de-wag-ḳhdá:d-ḳh
 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 [í:] has no added meaning (36a). In contrast, the verb beginning with the [a:-] INDEF additionally means ‘should’ (36b) and the verb with the [ɛ:-] FUT additionally means ‘will’ (36c).

- (36) a. í:se:k
í:-s-e:-k
PROTH-2S.A-JOINERÉ-eat.Ø.PUNC
‘you eat it!’
- b. á:se:k
á:-s-e:-k
INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-eat.Ø.PUNC
‘you should eat it’
- c. ɛ:se:k
ɛ:-s-e:-k
FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-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:ge[?]s
í:-g-e-[?]s
PROTH-1S.A-go-HAB
'I am here'
- b. ihsge[?]s
i-hs-g-e-[?]s
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:[?]
í:-ga:[?]
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) *Sq: hne:ʔ nʔáht tó:gyɛh?*
 who in.fact person that.one
 ‘Who is that?’
- (41) *Sq: hne:ʔ nʔáht to:gyɛ gaeksaʔsó:ʔqh?*
 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-] JOINER-A-PROG suffix combination (42). (For the structure of progressive verbs, see §16.5.)

⁵Technically speaking, the [-qh] and [-ɛh] STAT endings, illustrated in *hodógohdoh* and *hodá:weh* in (42), should be analysed as [-q-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 [-qh] and [-ɛh] endings are simply glossed as STAT in this work.

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- (42) a. honḡnihá:gye's
hon-ḡni-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. hodḡḡhdḡhḡgye'
ho-d-ḡḡhd-ḡ-h-ḡ-gy-e-'
3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
'he is going along passing'
cf. hodḡḡhdḡh
ho-d-ḡḡhd-ḡh
3S.M.P-SRF-surpass-STAT
'he has gone past'
- c. daḡhodawéḡhegye'
da-ḡ-ho-d-aw-é-h-ḡ-gy-e-'
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'

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 Gayogoḥo: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 *aknqhsaʔ* '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).

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(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:nɔ́néha: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:nɔ́néha: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

20.4 Clusivity (inclusive and exclusive)

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 dehodinêhê:’ ne’ hênɔ:gwéh [shêh
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
- o-hsɛ: ‘it (animal) is fat’ (referring to an animal)
 - o-hó’de:’ ‘it (i.e. dirt) is soft, loose’ (referring to an object)
 - o-tó:we’ ‘it (weather) is cold’ (referring to the weather)
 - wa-datgehóha’ ‘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
- kni-hné:ye:s ‘we two are tall’ INCLUSIVE (includes an audience member)
 - akni-hné: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 Gayogoho:nq’néha:’. The renowned orator Huron Miller used [hni-], a 3RD MASCULINE DUAL prefix, in his recitation of *Gaihwi:yo*: (15).¹

¹Tom Deer, p.c. Tom also notes that Huron Miller spoke Cayuga, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Seneca.

20 Pronominal prefix meaning

- (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'tniyadowehdahnq̄h
ha't-hni-yadowehdahn-q̄h
TRANSL.DU-3DU.M.A-think.over-STAT
'they (two males) thought it over'
- d. h̄sahnihó'kd̄e?
h̄sa-hni-hó'kd-̄e?
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 *aháḡḡhe:k*, the male's role ('he') is that of an *AGENT* or "doer", performing the action. In contrast, for the verb *ahóḡḡhe: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-ḡḡhe:k 'he punched it'
b. a-hó-ḡḡhe: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:ḡe:k* 'I will eat it' or *segḡhe:s* 'you hit it (all the time)' express both a "doer" and an undergoer. In contrast, verbs of perception such as *a'é:ḡe'* 'she saw it', or *esa:tḡ:d̄eh* 'you will hear it' require a *PERCEIVER* and a *PERCEPT*. As well, stative-only verbs such as *godinḡhókdanih* '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-hné:ye:s ‘**he** is tall’
(one-role verb, 3RD person)
- (18) a-gó:-gɛʔ ‘I saw **you** (singular)’
(two-role verb, 1ST and 2ND person roles)
- (19) shɔgwa-ɛnávihɔʔ ‘**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
agadadé:gɛʔ
ag-adad-é:-gɛ-ʔ
1S.P-REFL-JOINERĒ-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, *aʔɔdadé:gɛʔ* can mean either ‘she saw herself’ or ‘she saw her (someone else)’ (21).

20 Pronominal prefix meaning

- (21) [-adad] REFL, feminine-indefinite
- a. a'qdadé:ge'
a'-q-dad-é:-ge-'
FAC-3S.FI.A-REFL-see-PUNC
'she saw herself', 'she saw her (someone else)'
- b. agaqda:gyé:na'
a-gaq-da:g-yé:na-'
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-JOINER-A-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) hatgqhsqhác
h-at-gqhs-qhác
3S.M.A-SRF-face-wash.STAT
'he is washing his face' (with SRF)
- cf. shagogqhsóhai
shago-gqhs-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. dɛhshenɔhó:nyɔ:ʔ
 d-ɛ-hshe-nɔhó:nyɔ:-ʔ
 DU-FUT-2S>3S.FI-thank-PUNC
 ‘you will welcome, greet or thank someone/her’ (two-role verb, no SRF, interactive pronominal prefix)
- b. dɛdwadɛnɔhɔnyɔ:ʔ
 d-ɛ-dw-adɛ-nɔhɔnyɔ:-ʔ
 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. agadekó:ni:
 ag-ad-e-k-ó: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:kó:ni:
 ag-e:-k-ó: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.

20 *Pronominal prefix meaning*

- (26) a. hahné:ye:s
ha-hné:ye:s
3S.M.A-tall.STAT
'he is tall' (A-series, ATTRIBUTEE)
- b. hohşę:
ho-hşę:
3S.M.P-fat.STAT
'he is fat' (P-series, ATTRIBUTEE)
- c. hadá:kse'
ha-dakse-'
3S.M.A-run.GO-STAT
'he is running' (A-series, AGENT or "doer")
- d. ęhó:da'
ę-hó:-da-'
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:gę'* 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:gę'
a-há:-gę-'
FAC-3S.M.A-see-PUNC
'he saw (it)' (A-series, used interactively in verbs requiring two roles)
- b. ahó:gę'
a-hó:-gę-'
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-aʔgeh] ‘(on) someone’s arm’)
- a. 1S.A ‘I’, ‘my (body part)’
 - khne̞:ye:s ‘I am tall’
 - kne̞tsáʔgeh ‘(on) my arm’
 - b. 1D.EX.A ‘he and I’ or ‘she and I’, ‘our (body part)’
 - aknihne̞:ye:s ‘we two are tall’
 - akninet̞sáʔgeh ‘(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’
 - agwanet̞sáʔgeh ‘(on) our arm’
 - d. 1D.IN.A ‘you (one person) and I’, ‘our (body part)’
 - knihne̞:ye:s, t̞nihne̞:ye:s ‘you and I are tall’
 - kninet̞tsaʔge, t̞ninet̞tsaʔgeh ‘(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’
 - dwanet̞tsaʔgeh ‘(on) our arm’
 - f. 2S.A ‘you (one person)’, ‘your (body part)’
 - shne̞:ye:s ‘you are tall’
 - sne̞tsáʔgeh ‘(on) your arm’
 - g. 2D.A ‘you two’, ‘your (body part)’
 - snihne̞:ye:s ‘you two are tall’
 - sninet̞tsaʔgeh ‘(on) your arm’
 - h. 2P.A ‘you all (three or more people)’, ‘your (body part)’
 - swahnne̞:ye:s ‘you all are tall’
 - swanet̞tsaʔgeh ‘(on) your arm’
 - i. 3S.ZON.A (abbreviated as 3S.A) ‘it (animal, object)’, ‘its (body part)’
 - gahnne̞:ye:s ‘it is tall’
 - ganet̞tsaʔgeh ‘(on) its arm’

20 *Pronominal prefix meaning*

- 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)’
 - **ehné: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)’
 - **əkninəhəkdanih** ‘we two are sick’
 - **əkninəhsa’** ‘our house’
 - c. 1P.P ‘we all’, ‘you (two or more) and I’, ‘you and we’, ‘our (basic noun)’
 - **əgwənəhəkdanih** ‘we all are sick’
 - **əgwənəhsa’** ‘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)’
- swanḡhḡkdá:nih ‘you all are sick’
 - swanḡhsa’ ‘your house’
- g. 3S.ZON.P (abbreviated as 3S.P) ‘it’, ‘its (basic noun)’
- onḡhḡkdá:nih ‘it is sick’
 - onḡhsa’ ‘its house’
- h. 3S.M.P ‘he’, ‘his (basic noun)’
- honḡhḡkdá:nih ‘he is sick’
 - honḡhsa’ ‘his house’
- i. 3S.FI.P ‘she’, ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘her’, ‘someone’s’, ‘anyone’s (basic noun)’
- gonḡhḡkdá:nih ‘she, someone is sick’
 - gonḡhsa’ ‘her, someone’s house’
- j. 3NS.ZON.P, (abbreviated as 3P.P) ‘they (animals, objects), ‘their (basic noun)’
- odínḡhḡkdanih ‘they are sick’
 - odínḡhsa’ ‘their house’
- k. 3NS.M.P ‘they (males only), ‘their (basic noun)’
- hodínḡhḡkdanih ‘they are sick’
 - hodínḡhsa’ ‘their house’
- l. 3NS.FI.P ‘they’ (females only, or a mixed group of males and females), ‘their (basic noun)’
- godínḡhḡkdanih ‘they are sick’
 - godínḡhsa’ ‘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 [∅-] 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:geʔ* ‘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. *hohse:* ‘he is fat’, *gohse:* ‘she is fat’, *ohse:* ‘it (animal) is fat’, *agáhse:* ‘I am fat’ (etc.)
- (32) NEUTER verbs (only taking one of the 3s ‘it’ prefixes in 30)
- a. A-series: *gá:dę:s* ‘it is thick, dense’, *wagyé:sęh* ‘it is easy’
 - b. P-series: *otó:weʔ* ‘it is cold (weather)’, *áogaʔt* ‘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:geʔ*
a-gó:-geʔ
 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) *shogwaęnawihqʔ*
shogwa-ęn-áwi-h-qʔ
 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 *gonɔhkwa* ‘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 *kninɔhkwa* ‘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 sgwę-(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-, oğ-] (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 [^yqki-, ^yqkiy-, ^yqk-] 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 qg/qk/ qge-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	shøkni-C shøkne-e,i,o shogy-a 3S.M>1D	^Y økni-C ^Y økne-e,i,o ^Y ogy-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 dwę-(i) gy-o 1P.IN.A	shedwa-C shedw-a,e shedwę-(i) shegy-o 1P.IN>3S.M	shogwa-C shogw-a,e shogwę-(i) shogy-o 3S.M>1P	^Y ogwa-C ^Y ogw-a,e ^Y ogwę-(i) ^Y ogy-o (X)>1P.P
1P>(X) 'WE ALL' EXCLUSIVE	^Y agwa-C ^Y agw-a,e ^Y agwę-(i) ^Y agy-o 1P.EX.A	shagwa-C shagw-a,e shagwę-(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 hyę-(i) 3S.M>2S	sa-C s-a,e,o sę-(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)swę-(i) j-o 2P.A		sheswa-C shesw-a,e sheswę-(i) shej-o 2P>3S.M(OPP)	swa-C sw-a,e swę-(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 qg- ^Y qk-n ^Y qge-k,g,C 3S.FI>1S	gaqg- gaqk-n gaqge-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 qki-C,(i) ^Y qkiy-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 ese-(i) 3S.FI>2S	gaesa-C gaes-V gaese-(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	^Y o-C,(a),(i) ^Y aw-e ^Y a-o 3S.P	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	^Y odi-C,(i) ^Y on-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'	^Y e-C,(i) ^Y ɔ(a) ^Y ag-e,o ^Y ɛ(e) 3S.FI.A				^Y ɔdade-C ^Y ɔdad-V ^Y ɔdag-y ^Y ɔdat-n 3S.FI>3S.FI		
3NS.FI>X 'THEY'	gae-C,(i) gaɔ(a) ga:g-e,o gaɛ(e) 3NS.FI.A					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			hɔwadi-C,(i) hɔwan-V 3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M			
3NS.M>X 'THEY'	hadi-C,(i) hɛn-V 3NS.M.A				shagodi-C,(i) shagon-V 3NS(NFI)>3FI		

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. a' é: gɛ'
a' -é: -gɛ-'
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.ɔ-] before an A- or E stem (2c,d). (E STEM includes stems beginning with E or ɛ). 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
a' é: gɛ'
a' -e: -gɛ-'
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'òdɛna'tragwáha'
 a'-ɔ-(a)dɛ-na'tra-gwáha-'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-provisions-go.and.get-PUNC
 'she went after groceries'
- d. E-, Ẹ STEM
 a'ɔni'dé:ni'
 a'-ɔ-(ɛ)ni'de:ni-'
 FAC-3S.FI.A-fart-PUNC
 'she farted'
- e. O-, Q STEM
 dɛyagodáihsi'
 dɛ-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 Ẹ 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. ɛsé:da'
 ɛ-sa-ida'
 FUT-2S.P-sleep.PUNC
 'you will sleep'
- b. ɛyo:dí:da'
 ɛ-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 *ɛyodi-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:gɛʔ
ɛ-hsé:-gɛ-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-see-PUNC
‘you will see it’
 - b. ɛyé:gɛʔ
ɛ-yé:-gɛ-ʔ
FUT-3S.FI.A-see-PUNC
‘she will see it’
 - c. ɛhɔwadí:gɛʔ
ɛ-hɔwadí:-gɛ-ʔ
FUT-3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M-see-PUNC
‘they or s/he will see him, them (m)’
 - d. aʔe:gɛʔ
aʔ-é:-gɛ-ʔ
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'	agegahágwaɔt 'I have a stye'
K	gekɔnihsgehe:ʔ 'I used to cook'	agekɔnihne:ʔ 'I have cooked'
J	gejí:nah 'I am strong'	agejinyɔhgro:t 'I have a runny nose'
ʔ	geʔohs 'I'm a chopper'	ageʔó:gɔh 'I did chop', 'I have chopped'
T	getéʔtaʔ 'I'm a pounder'	agéteʔdɔh 'I did pound it'
TS	getsɛ:nyeʔs, getsɛ:nyɔhs 'I'm a finder of things'	agétsɛnyɔ: 'I have found it'
CC	genhóha:s 'I close the door (all the time)'	agenhoháhɔh, agenhohá:hɔh '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:dɔh
gy-á:dɔh
1D.IN.A-say.STAT
'we say'
- b. gyohnegéʔɔh
g-yo-hneg-éʔ-ɔh
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:ʔq:] 'think, will, decide'

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
E	igé:hah 'I am gloating, boastful'	agé:ʔq: 'I have willed it, decided it'

Table 21.3: Other forms of E stem verb [e:hah] 'gloat' or [e:ʔq:] 'think, will, decide'

stem sound	A-series prefix	P-series prefix
E	ihsé:hah 'you gloat'	hawé:ʔq: 'he willed, decided it'
	gę:né:hah 'they are proud'	honé:ʔq: '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:ʔo: 'I have willed, decided it'
Ẹ	gẹnqhdqnyq̣h 'I'm wondering, thinking, feeling'	agẹnihsgyá:ge: 'I'm urinating'
I	gihsa:s 'I'm looking for it'	agída'qh 'I was asleep', 'I am sleeping'
O	gó:da:s 'I drape it all the time'	hewáqohq̣h 'I have already dipped, submerged it'
Q	gq:nihs 'I make, earn (it)'	aq̣onihne: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'	akdqhgwá:hqh 'I have a fever'
N	knq̣hwe's 'I like, admire it'	aknq̣ha' 'I'm unable'

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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'	aknigɔháhetɛʔs 'I'm crying uncontrollably'
ʔN (ʔ audible)	haʔnigɔha:ʔ 'he is watching, expecting'	hoʔnigɔháhetɛʔs 'he is crying uncontrollably'
HN or HR (H not heard/spelled)	kne: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:wiʔ 'I am carrying something'	akáʔjih 'I'm hoarse'
H (H audible)	hahá:wiʔ '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. $\text{ɛwa:gí:da}^{\text{ʔ}}$
 $\text{ɛ-wa:g-í:da}^{\text{ʔ}}$
 FUT-1S.P-sleep.PUNC
 'I will sleep'
- b. $\text{a:wagí:da}^{\text{ʔ}}$
 $\text{a:-wag-í:da}^{\text{ʔ}}$
 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. atóhs_iha:ʔs
a-t-hó-hs_iha:ʔs
FAC-DU-3S.M.P-choke.Ø.PUNC
'he choked'
 - c. desáhs_iha:ʔs
de-sá-hs_iha:ʔs
DU-2S.P-choke-HAB
'you are choking'

Table 21.7: Y-initial prefixes

prefix	[y] after [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF	beginning of word or after [a'-] FAC
[y.ɔg.e-] 3S.FI>1S	ta:yɔgɛ:gɛh 'she will not see me'	a'ɔgɛ:gɛ' 'she might see me'
[y.ɔkni-] 1D.P	deyɔkni'draihɛh 'let us hurry'	ɔkni'dre' 'we two are riding along in a vehicle'
[y.ɔki.y-] 3S.FI/3NS>1NS	ɛyɔ:kí:yɔ' 'she will give us', 'they will give us'	ɔkiyadɛ'nigɔha:' 'monitors' (literally, 'they watch over us')
[y.ɔgwa.y-] 1P.P	ɛyɔ:gwá:yɔ' 'it will give us all'	a'ɔgwanhi'k 'we all made a mistake'
[y.etsi.y-] 3S.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)	ɛyetsihwá: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	ɛyagwade:kɔ:ni' 'we all (excludes listeners) will eat'	agwagowá:nɛh '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)	ɛyé:gɛ' '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’	aːʔɔniːdɛːniːʔ ‘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	ɛyɛːtí:yɔːʔ ‘presents’, ‘we will give something to her/them’	aːɛtigwɛːniːʔ ‘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)	aːyonadrihwa:gyáɔːʔ ‘they (animals) might have an accident’	aːonadrihwagyáoːʔ ‘they (animals) had an accident’
[y.odi-] 3P.P (C stem, I stem)	ɛyódiːdaːʔ ‘they (animals) will sleep, hibernate’	odiːgaːs ‘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 [a'-] FAC
[ya.godi.y-, ya.gon-] 3NS.FI.P	ɛyagodí:yɔ' 'it will give them (females or mixed group)'	gonɛnadi:nyɔ:dɔh 'they (females or mixed group) have moved in'
[ya.go-] 3S.FI.P	deyago'áhsaw'ehs 'she has asthma'	go'dréhda' '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)saɔhyágedahk 'it's going to make you groan'	saní:yɔ:t 'you hung it up'
[h.swa-] 2P.A/O	ɛ(h)swá:yɔ' 'it will give you all'	swanó'jo:t 'you all have teeth'
[h.s.e-] 2S.A	ɛ(h)syɔ:gya't 'you will smile!'	sehságahe:t 'on your mouth'
[h.she.y-] 2S>3S.FI	ɛ(h)shayahdrɔhgwe' 'you will threaten some- one'	sheyadrɔhgwá: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).

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Table 21.10: E-factual

prefix	[e-] FAC instead of [a'-]	after [e-] FUT
[(eh)s-] 2S.A	esáhdq: ^ʔ 'you lost it'	əhsé:gə ^ʔ 'you will see it'
[(e)sni-] 2D.A	ehsní:gə ^ʔ 'you two saw it'	əhsní:gə ^ʔ 'you two will see it'
[(e)swa-] 2P.A	ehswá:gə ^ʔ 'you all saw it'	əhswá:gə ^ʔ 'you all will see it'
[(eh).sgwa.y-] 2>1(P)	esgwadrihwatqdá:də ^ʔ 'you have listened to my idea'	əsgwá:yq ^ʔ 'you all will give to me'
[(e)dwa-] 1P.IN.A	edwatgwé:ni ^ʔ 'we all (includes listener) won a competition'	ədwádrohe:k 'we all (includes listener) will gather together'
[(e)tni-], [(e)kni] 1D.IN.A	etnina' ná:wəht 'we two (includes listener) wet it'	dətnihsdá:te't 'we two (includes listener) will shine it'
[(e)hy.a-] 3S.M>2S	ehyá:gə ^ʔ (also ahyá:gə ^ʔ) 'he saw you (one)'	əhyəhnqksa ^ʔ 'he is looking for you (one)'
[(eh)skni-] 2>1(D)	eskní:gə ^ʔ 'you two saw me' (etc.)	əhskní:gə ^ʔ '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'

21 Pronominal prefix pronunciation

(14) prefixes taking [adi-] FAC.DU

a. adísaʔtsqhs
 adi-sa-ʔtsqhs
 FAC.DU-2S.P-sneeze.Ø.PUNC

‘you sneezed’

cf. dęsáʔtsqhs
 d-ę-sá-ʔtsqhs
 DU-FUT-2S.P-sneeze.Ø.PUNC
 ‘you will sneeze’

b. adígyaʔdraʔ
 adí-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:geʔ	merged FAC and 1S.P prefix
	agé:ge:	at the beginning of the word
	ęwa:gé:geʔ	after [ę-] FUT or [aq-] 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, E, 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'

For example, the 3P.A prefix is [gɛn-] before any stem beginning with A, E, E, 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, E, 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-]	gadá:wɛhs 'I'm a swimmer'	[w.ag-]	agadagaide' '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}]	dwakniḡohí:yo: 'I am satisfied, peaceful'
C stem	[g ^{-r,y}]	degrihwanóhwe's 'I disapprove'	[w.ag ^{-r,y}]	agyá'dadeht 'I am nimble, active, energetic'
C stem	[ge- g,s,w,CC]	gegéhjih 'I am old'	[w.age- g,s,w,CC]	agéga's '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:dòh 'you and I say'	[y.agy-]	agyá:dòh 'we two say'	[y.ogy-]	ogyadagáide' 'we two are healthy'
E, E, I, O, Q, U stem					
[kn-, tn-]	ekní', etní' 'you and I said'	[y.akn-]	niyaknú: 'uh 'we two are small'	[y.økni-]	økné: 'ò: '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.økni-]	økniñhókdanìh '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'ágwageʔ, *ágwageʔ*	after [a'-] FAC (*FAC often deletes)
	agwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛyágwageʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF
1P.IN.A	edwá:gɛʔ	after [e-] FAC
	dwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛdwá:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
1P.P	a'ɔ:gwá:gɛʔ	after [a'-] FAC
	ɔgwá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛyɔ:gwá:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.17: 1P (prefix-stem boundary)

1P.EX.A		1P.IN.A		1P.P	
A, E, Ē, 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.agwɛ ⁽ⁱ⁾]	á:gwe', á'á:gwe' 'we all said'	[dwe ⁽ⁱ⁾], [twe ⁽ⁱ⁾]	edwé', etwé' 'we all said'	[y.ogwɛ ⁽ⁱ⁾]	ogwɛda- 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 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

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, Ė, O, Q, U stem	
[(h)s-]	nisú:ʔuh 'you are small'	[(h)s-]	sənó:wę: 'you are a liar'
R stem		I stem	
[(h)s ^{-r}], [d ^{-r}]	dahsrá:tęh, dadrá:tęh 'climb (over here)!'	[(h)sę ⁻⁽ⁱ⁾]	sędáq 'you are fortunate'
W, G, K, CC stem		C stem	
[(h)se-]	sekdq: 'examine it!'	[(h)sa-]	sanqhqkdá: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:gęʔ	[e-] FAC
	sní:gęhs	at the beginning of the word
	ęhsní:gęʔ	after a vowel - [ę-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
2D.P	ahsní:gęʔ	after [a-] FAC
	sní:gę:	at the beginning of the word
	ęhsní:gęʔ	after a vowel - [ę-] 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, Q, U stem			
[(h)sn-]	ɛhsne:ʔ 'you two will want, think'	[(h)sn-]	sné:ʔɔ:, sneʔɔ: '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-]	snihnɛ: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:gɛʔ	after [e-] FAC
	swá:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhswá:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [ae-] INDEF
2P.P	ahswá:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC
	swá:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛhswá:gɛʔ	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:dɔh 'you all say'	[(h)swa- ^(a)]	swadagáide' 'you all are healthy'
E, Ē stem			
[(h)sw-]	ɛhswe: [?] 'you all will want, think'	[(h)sw-]	ihswé: 'you all want, think'
I stem			
[(h)swɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	eswé' 'you all said'	[(h)swɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	ihswé: 'you all have said'
O, Q, U stem			
[j-]	njú:ʔuh 'you all are small'	[j-]	do: nijohsriyáʔgɔh 'how old are you all'
C-stem			
[(h)swa-]	swagéhjih 'you all are old'	[(h)swa-]	swanɔhɔkdá: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).

21.3 Non-interactive (A- and P-series) prefix pronunciation

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, Eɣ, O, Q, U stem	E, Eɣ 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:gɛ'	after [a'-] FAC
	é:gɛhs	at the beginning of the word
	ɛy'é:gɛ'	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF
3S.FI.P	a' a:gó:gɛ'	after [a'-] FAC
	gó:gɛ:	at the beginning of the word
	ɛya:gó:gɛ'	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:dɔh 'she, someone says'	[ya.go ^{(a),(i)} -]	deyagodáwɛnye' 'she is walking about'
ɛ, O, Q, U stem		E, ɛ stem	
[y.ag-]	niya:gu:uh '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⁾ -]	ɛyédagra' 'she will fall down'	[ya.go-]	gonɔhɔkdá:nih 'she is sick'
C stem			
[y.e-]	egɛhjih '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. dɔdáɛʔ
 dɔda-(y)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. ɛhtaʔ
 e-eh-t-haʔ
 3S.FI.A-go-HAB
 ‘she usually goes’
 cf. gehtaʔ
 g-eh-t-haʔ
 1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I usually go’
- c. í:yɛʔs
 í:-ye-e-ʔs
 PROTH-3S.FI.A-go-HAB
 ‘she is here’
 cf. i:geʔs
 í:-g-e-ʔs
 PROTH-1S.A-go-HAB
 ‘I am here’
- d. hɛ:yɛ:ʔ
 h-ɛ:-ye-e:-ʔ
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.FI.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘she will go there’
 cf. hɛ:ge:ʔ
 h-ɛ:-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:gɛʔ gá:gɛhs ɛgá:gɛʔ	no change
3S.P	aʔó:gɛʔ ó:gɛ: ɛyó:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] 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	
[gɛ- ⁽ⁱ⁾]	dehsgé:ne:s 'it is extinct'	[aw-, y.o- ^(e,ɛ)]	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:geʔ hadí:gehs ɛha:dí:geʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC
3NS.M.P	aho:dí:geʔ hodi:ge: ɛho:dí:geʔ	no change, takes [a-] FAC

Table 21.31: 3NS.M (prefix-stem boundary)

3NS.M.A		3NS.M.P	
A, E, ɛ, O, ɔ, U stem			
[hɛn-]	nihɛ:nú:sʔuh 'they are small'	[hon-]	dɛhonadráʔoh 'they are meeting right now'
I stem			
[hadi ⁽ⁱ⁾ -]	hadiʔdró:dəʔ 'how they are placed'	[hodi ⁽ⁱ⁾ -]	hodidagráʔoh 'they have fallen down'
C stem			
[hadi-]	dɛhadiyáhshe: 'two males'	[hodi-]	hodiŋhókdanih 'they are sick'

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Table 21.32: 3NS.FI (beginning of prefix)

gloss	pronominal	environment
3NS.FI.A	agáeǵe' gáeǵehs ǵgáeǵe'	no change
3NS.FI.P	a'agodí:ǵe' godí:ǵe: ǵyagodí:ǵe'	after [a'-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ǵe-] 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. ǵtgáe'
ǵ-t-gae-e-'
FUT-CIS-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they will come'
cf. ǵte'
ǵ-t-h-e-'
FUT-CIS-3S.M.A-go-PUNC
'he will come this way'
- b. ha'gáe'
ha'-gae-e-'
TRANSL.FAC-3NS.FI.A-go-PUNC
'they are going'
cf. ha'se'
ha'-s-e-'
TRANSL.FAC-2S.S-go-PUNC
'you are going'
- c. tigáe's
ti-gae-e-'s
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)]	ɛgáɛ:' 'they will want'	[ya.godi-]	godinɔhókdanih '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 ɛga:dí:gɛ'	no change, takes [a-] FAC
3P.P	a'o:dí:gɛ' odí:gɛ:	after [a'-] FAC at the beginning of the word
	ɛyo:dí:gɛ'	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT, [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.35: 3P (prefix-stem boundary)

3P.A		3P.P	
A E, E, 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'q̄h '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:gẹ́ gó:gẹhs ẹgó:gẹ́	(no change)
1>2(D)	akní:gẹ́, kní:gẹhs, kní:gẹ́	(no change)
1>2(P)	agwá:gẹ́ gwá:gẹhs ẹgwá:gẹ́	(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:gẹ́	[kni-] akní:gẹ́	[gwa-] agwá:gẹ́
A stem	[gɔy-] gɔyahóđoha'	[gy-] gyahóđoha'	[gwa-(a)] gwahóđoha'
I stem	[gɔ-(i)] gɔhnɔ:s	[kni-(i)] knihnɔ:s	[gwe-(a)] gwehnɔ:s
E, Ẹ stem	[gɔ-(e)] ẹgɔne'wá:hde'	[kn-] ẹknene'wá:hde'	[gw-] ẹgwene'wá:hde'
O, Q stem	[gɔy-] ẹgó:yó'	[kn-] ẹknó'	[gy-] ẹgyó'

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Table 21.38: 2>1, interactive (beginning of prefix)

gloss	changes (beg of prefix)	environment
2s>1s	asgé:gɛ́ʔ sgé:gɛ́hs ɛ́hsgé:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
2>1(D)	eskní:gɛ́ʔ skní:gɛ́hs ɛ́hskní:gɛ́ʔ	[e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
2>1(P)	esgwá:gɛ́ʔ sgwá:gɛ́hs ɛ́hsgwá:gɛ́ʔ	[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-] asgé:gɛ́ʔ	[(h)skni-] eskní:gɛ́ʔ	[(h)sgwa-] esgwá:gɛ́ʔ
A stem	[(h)sge-] sgahóɖɔhaʔ	[(h)sgy-] sgyahóɖɔhaʔ	[(h)sgw-] sgwahóɖɔhaʔ
I stem	[(h)sge-] sgihno:s	[(h)skni-(i)] sknihno:s	[(h)sgwɛ-(i)] sgwɛhno:s
E, Ẹ stem	[(h)sge-] ɛ́hsgɛ́nɛ́ wá:hdeʔ	[(h)skn-] ɛ́sknɛ́nɛ́ wá:hdeʔ	[(h)sgw-] ɛ́sgwɛ́nɛ́ wá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[(h)sge-] ɛ́hsgoʔ	[(h)skn-] ɛ́hsknoʔ	[(h)sgy-] ɛ́sgyoʔ

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:gɛʔ ké:gɛhs ɛké:gɛʔ	(no change)
1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	aʔaki:gɛʔ, akí:gɛʔ* akí:gɛhs ɛya:kí:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC (*FAC optionally deletes) at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	aʔe:tí:gɛʔ etí:gɛhs eye:tí:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3S.FI>1S	aʔɔ:gé:gɛʔ ɔgé:gɛhs ɛyɔ:gé:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC (*FAC optionally deletes) after [a-] FAC at the beginning of the word
3S.FI/3NS>1NS	aʔɔ:kí:gɛʔ ɔkí:gɛhs ɛyɔ:kí:gɛʔ	after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF after [a-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.41: 3FI>1 and 1>3FI interactions (prefix-stem boundary)

	1S>3S.FI	1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	3S.FI>1S
C stem	[ke-] aké:geʔ	[y.aki-] aʔa:kí:geʔ	[y.eti-] aʔe:tí:geʔ	[y.oge-] aʔogé:geʔ
A stem	[key-] keyahòdòhaʔ	[y.akiy-] akiyahòdòhaʔ	[y.etiy-] etiyahòdòhaʔ	[y.og-] ogahòdòhaʔ
I stem	[ke ⁽ⁱ⁾] kehnò:s	[y.aki ⁽ⁱ⁾] akíhnò:s	[y.eti ⁽ⁱ⁾] etíhnò:s	[y.og-] ogíhnò:s
E, E stem	[key-] ẹkeyeneʔ- wá: ^h déʔ	[y.akiy-] eyakiyeneʔ- ʔwá: ^h déʔ	[y.etiy-] eyetiyeneʔ- wá: ^h déʔ	[y.og-] eyogeneʔ- wá: ^h déʔ
O, Q stem	[key-] ẹké:yòʔ	[y.akiy-] eya:kí:yòʔ	[y.etiy-] eye:tí:yòʔ	[y.og-] eyó:gòʔ

Table 21.42: 2>3S.FI and 3S.FI>2 interactions (beginning of prefix)

gloss	beginning of prefix	environment
2S>3S.FI	ashé:geʔ shé:gèhs ẹshé:geʔ	(no change)
3S.FI>2S	aʔe:sá:geʔ esá:gèhs eye:sá:geʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ẹ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3S.FI/3NS>2NS(OPP)	aʔe:tsí:geʔ etsí:gèhs eye:tsí:geʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ẹ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

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Table 21.43: 2>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:gẹ́ʔ	[y.esa-] aʔe:sá:gẹ́ʔ	[y.etsi-] aʔe:tsí:gẹ́ʔ
A stem	[shey-] shyahóđóhaʔ	[y.esa ^(a) -] esahóđóhaʔ	[y.etsiy-] etsiyahóđóhaʔ
I stem	[she-(i)] shehnọ:s	[y.esẹ ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] esẹ́hnọ:s	[y.etsi ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] etsíhnọ:s
E, Ē stem	[shey-] ẹsheyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.es-] eyeseneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.etsiy-] eyetsiyeneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[shey-] ẹshé:yọʔ	[y.es-] eyé:sọʔ	[y.etsiy-] eye:tsí:yọʔ

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:gẹ́ʔ, hé:gẹ́hs, ẹ́hé:gẹ́ʔ	(no change)
1D.EX>3S.M	asha:kní:gẹ́ʔ, shakní:gẹ́hs, ẹ́sha:kní:gẹ́ʔ	(no change)
1D.IN>3S.M	ashe:tní:gẹ́ʔ, shetní:gẹ́hs, ẹ́she:tní:gẹ́ʔ	(no change)
1PL.EX>3S.M	asha:gwá:gẹ́ʔ, shagwá:gẹ́hs, ẹ́sha:gwá:gẹ́ʔ	(no change)
1PL.IN>3S.M	ashe:dwá:gẹ́ʔ, shedwá:gẹ́hs, ẹ́she:dwá:gẹ́ʔ	(no change)

	1s>3s.M	1D.EX>3S.M	1D.IN>3S.M	1PL.EX>3S.M	1PL.IN>3S.M
C stem	ahé:geʔ	asha:kní:geʔ	ashe:tní:geʔ	asha:gwá:geʔ	ashe:dwá:geʔ
A stem	heyahɔdɔhaʔ	shagyahɔdɔhaʔ	shegyahɔdɔhaʔ	shagwahɔdɔhaʔ	shedwahɔdɔhaʔ, shetwahɔdɔhaʔ
I stem	hehnɔ:s	shakníhnɔ:s	shetníhnɔ:s	shagwéhnɔ:s	shedwéhnɔ:s, shetwéhnɔ:s
E, Ē stem	ɛheyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	ɛshagyeneʔ- wá:hdeʔ	ɛshetneʔ- wá:hdeʔ	ɛshagweneʔ- wá:hdeʔ	ɛshedweneʔ- wá:hdeʔ, ɛshetweneʔ- wá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	ɛhé:yɔʔ	ɛhshá:knɔʔ	ɛhshé:tnɔʔ	ɛshá:gyɔʔ	ɛhshégyɔʔ

Figure 21.2: 1>3s.M (prefix-stem boundary)

	3s.M>1S	3s.M>1D	3s.M>1P
C stem	[hage-] aha:gé:geʔ	[shøkni-] ashq:kní:geʔ	[shogwa-] ashq:gwá:geʔ
A stem	[hag-] hagahqđóhaʔ	[shogy-] shogyahqđóhaʔ	[shogwa- ^(a)] shogwahqđóhaʔ
I stem	[hag-] hagíhnq:s	[shøkni- ⁽ⁱ⁾] shøkníhnq:s	[shogwe- ⁽ⁱ⁾] shogwéhnq:s
E, Ē stem	[hag-] əhageneʔwá:hdeʔ	[shogy-] əshogyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[shogw-] əshogweneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[hag-] əhá:gqʔ	[shøkni-] əshq:knqʔ	[shogy-] əshq:gyqʔ

Figure 21.3: 3s.M>1 (prefix-stem boundary)

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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	a hehsé:gɛʔ h ehsé:gɛhs ɛ h ehsé:gɛʔ	(no change)
3s.M>2s	eh yá:gɛʔ, ah yá:gɛʔ h yá:gɛhs ɛ h yá:gɛʔ, á eh yagɛʔ	after [a-] FAC, or [e-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [ae-] INDEF
2D>3s.M(OPP)	as he:sní:gɛʔ sh esní:gɛhs ɛ sh e:sní:gɛʔ	(no change)
2D>3s.M(OPP)	as he:swá:gɛʔ sh eswá:gɛhs ɛ sh e:swá:gɛʔ	(no change)

	2S>3S.M	3S.M>2S	2D>3S.M(OPP)	2P>3S.M(OPP)
C stem	[hehse-] ahehsé:geʔ	[hya-] ehyá:geʔ	[shesni-] ashe:sní:geʔ	[sheswa-] ashe:swá:geʔ
A stem	[hehs-] hehsahòdòhaʔ	[hya ^(a) -] hyahòdòhaʔ	[shej-] shejahòdòhaʔ	[sheswa ^(a) -] sheswahòdòhaʔ
I stem	[hehs-] hehsíhnò:s	[hye ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] ehyéhnòksaʔ	[shesni ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] shesníhnò:s	[sheswe ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] sheswéhnò:s
E, Ē stem	[hehs-] eheseneʔwá:hdeʔ	[hy-] ehyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[shesn-] eshesneneʔwá:hdeʔ	[shesw-] eshesweneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[hehs-] ehé:hsòʔ	[hyay-] ehyá:yòʔ	[shesn-] eshhé:snòʔ	[shej-] eshhé:jòʔ

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	agaqgé:geʔ gaqgé:gehs əgaqgé:geʔ	(no change)
3S.FI/3NS>1NS	aʔq:kí:geʔ qkí:gehs eyq:kí:geʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [e-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF

Table 21.48: 3S.FI,3NS>1 (prefix-stem boundary)

	3NS>1S	3S.FI/3NS>1NS
C stem	[gaqge-] agaqgé:geʔ	[y.qki-] aʔq:kí:geʔ
A stem	[gaqg-] gaqgahódqhaʔ	[y.qkiy-] qkiyahódqhaʔ
I stem	[gaqg-] gáqgihnq:s	[y.qki- ⁽ⁱ⁾] qkíhnq:s
E, Ẹ stem	[gaqg-] əgaqgeṇeʔwá:d ^h εʔ	[y.qkiy-] eyqkiyeneʔwá: ^h dεʔ
O, Q stem	[gaqg-] əgáqgəʔ	[y.qkiy-] eyo:kí:yəʔ

Table 21.49: 1>3S.FI,3NS (changes to beginning of prefix)

gloss	changes (beg of prefix)	environment
1S>3NS	aga:ké:gɛʔ, aka:ké:gɛʔ gaké:gɛhs, kaké:gɛhs ɛga:ké:gɛʔ, ɛka:ké:gɛʔ	(no change)
1NS.EX>3S.FI/3NS	aʔa:kí:gɛʔ, akí:gɛʔ* akí:gɛhs ɛya:kí:gɛʔ	after [a-] FAC, (*FAC optionally deletes) at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS	aʔe:tí:gɛʔ etí:gɛhs ɛye:tí:gɛʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ-] 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-] gakeyahódqhaʔ, kakeyahódqhaʔ	[y.akiy-] akiyahódqhaʔ	[y.etiy-] etiyahódqhaʔ
I stem	[gake ⁽ⁱ⁾ -, kake ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] gakéhnq:s, kakéhnq:s	[y.aki ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] akíhnq:s	[y.eti ⁽ⁱ⁾ -] etíhnq:s
E, Ē stem	[gakey-, kakey-] ɛgakeyeneʔwá:hdeʔ, ɛkakeyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛyakiyeneʔwá:hdeʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛyetiyeneʔwá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[gakey-, kakey-] ɛga:ké:yqʔ, ɛka:ké:yqʔ	[y.akiy-] ɛya:kí:yqʔ	[y.etiy-] ɛye:tí:yqʔ

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:gɛʔ, aka:shé:gɛʔ gashé:gɛhs, kashé:gɛhs ɛga:shé:gɛʔ, ɛka:shé:gɛʔ	(no change)
3S.FI/3NS>2NS(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
3NS>2S	agaesá:gɛʔ gáesagehs ɛgaesá:gɛʔ	(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:gẹ́, aka:shé:gẹ́	[y.etsi-] a'e:tsí:gẹ́	[gaesa-] agaesá:gẹ́
A stem	[gashey-, kashey-] gasheyahódqha', kasheyahódqha'	[y.etsiy-] etsiyahódqha'	[gaesa-(a)] gaesahódqha'
I stem	[gashe-(i), kashe-(i)] gashéhnq:s, kashéhnq:s	[y.etsi-(i)] etsíhnq:s	[gaesẹ-(i)] gáesẹhnq:s
E, Ẹ stem	[gashey- kashey-] ẹgasheyẹne' - wá:hde', ẹkasheyẹne'wá:hde'	[y.etsiy-] eyetsiyẹne'wá:hde'	[gaes-] ẹgaesẹne'wá:hde'
O, Q stem	[gashey-, kashey-] ẹga:shé:yq', ẹka:shé:yq'	[y.etsiy-] eye:tsí:yq'	[gaes-] ẹgáesq'

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	ahówagɛ́ʔ, hɔ́wá:gɛ́hs, ɛ́hówagɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M	ahɔ́wadí:gɛ́ʔ, hɔ́wa:dí:gɛ́hs, ɛ́hɔ́wadí:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3S.FI>3S.FI	aʔɔ́dadé:gɛ́ʔ ɔ́da:dé:gɛ́hs ɛ́yɔ́dadé:gɛ́ʔ	after [aʔ-] FAC at the beginning of the word after a vowel - [ɛ́-] FUT or [a:-] INDEF
3FI>3FI(+NS)	agaɔ́da:dé:gɛ́ʔ, gaɔ́dadé:gɛ́hs, ɛ́gaɔ́da:dé:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3S.M>3FI/3P	asha:gó:gɛ́ʔ, shagó:gɛ́hs, ɛ́sha:gó:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3FI/3NS>3P ^a	agɔ́wadí:gɛ́ʔ, gɔ́wa:dí:gɛ́hs, ɛ́gɔ́wadí:gɛ́ʔ	(no change)
3NS(NFI)>3FI	ashagodí:gɛ́ʔ, shago:dí:gɛ́hs, ɛ́shagodí:gɛ́ʔ	(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-] ahɔwageʔ	[hɔwadi-] ahɔwadi:geʔ		
C stem (G, K, CC)			[y.ɔdade-] aʔɔdade:geʔ	[gaɔdade-] agaɔda:dé:geʔ
C stem (R,Y)			[y.ɔdag-] haʔɔdagyaʔ datsei:ʔ	[gaɔdag-] gaɔdagyenawáʔ seh
C stem (HN, ʔN, 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⁾] hɔwadihnɔ:s	[y.ɔdad-] ɔdadihnɔ:s	[gaɔdad-] gaɔdadíhnɔ:s
E, Ē stem	[hɔw-] ɛhɔwɛneʔ wá:hdeʔ	[hɔwan-] ɛhɔwanɛneʔ wá:hdeʔ	[y.ɔdad-] ɛyɔdadɛneʔ wá:hdeʔ	[gaɔdad-] ɛgaɔdadɛneʔ wá:hdeʔ
O, Q stem	[hɔway-] ɛhɔwayɔʔ	[hɔwɛn-] ɛhɔ:wé:ɲɔʔ	[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-] agɔwadí:gɛʔ	[shagodi-] ashagodí:gɛʔ
A stem	[shago-(^a)] shagohɔdɔhaʔ	[gɔwan-] gɔwanahɔdɔhaʔ	[shagon-] shagonahɔdɔhaʔ
I stem	[shago-(ⁱ)] shagóhnɔ:s	[gɔwadi-(ⁱ)] gɔwádihnɔ:s	[shagodi-(ⁱ)] shagódihnɔ:s
E, Ē stem	[shago-(^ɛ)] ɛshagoneʔwá:hdeʔ	[gɔwan-] ɛgɔwanɛneʔwá: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 [dɛ̄-hsay-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ̄-hs-odáihsiʔ]
- b. novel [dɛ̄-yogway-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-1P.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ̄-yogy-odáihsiʔ]
- c. novel [dɛ̄-hsniy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ̄-hsn-odáihsiʔ]
- d. novel [dɛ̄-hsway-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-2P.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ̄-j-odáihsiʔ]
- e. novel [dɛ̄-yagoy-odáihsiʔ]
 DU.FUT-3S.FI.P-hair.comb.PUNC
 cf. expected [dɛ̄-yaga-odáihsiʔ]
- f. novel [g-ɔtsánɔhwa:s], [gwa-ɔtsanɔhwa:s]
 3S.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT 3S.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [ga-ɔtsanɔhwa:s]
- g. novel [h-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
 3S.M.P-sore.knee.STAT
 cf. expected [ha-ɔtsanɔhwa:s]

21.5 Variation in pronominal prefix pronunciation before O/Q and E/Ě stems

- h. novel [dɛ̄-hoy-odáihsiʔ]
DU.FUT-3S.M.P-hair.comb.PUNC
cf. expected [dɛ̄-ha-odáihsiʔ]
- i. novel [ø-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
NO.PREFIX-sore.knee.STAT (ø = no prefix)
cf. expected [a-ɔtsánɔhwa:s] 3S.P-sore.knee.STAT
- j. novel [dɛ̄-yoy-odáihsiʔ]
DU.FUT-3S.P-hair.comb.PUNC
cf. expected [dɛ̄-ya-odáihsiʔ]
- k. novel [hodin-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
3NS.M.P-sore.knee.STAT
cf. expected [hon-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
- l. novel [godin-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
3NS.FI.P-sore.knee.STAT
cf. expected [gon-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
- m. novel [odin-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]
3P.P-sore.knee.STAT
cf. expected [on-ɔtsánɔhwa:s]

21.5.2 Pronominal prefix variants before E and Ě stems

Several alternative (and possibly new or recent) P-series pronominal prefixes are also attested before E and Ě stems, as summarized in Table 21.56.

Table 21.56: P-series pronominal prefixes before E, Ě 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 [eʔɔ] ‘to will something’, Ě stem [ɛneʔwaɔ] ‘to be startled’, and Ě stem [ɛneʔwá:hɔ] ‘to startle someone’.⁵

⁵For the stem [ɛneʔwá:hɔ], the second-last vowel is typically always long and followed by a short [h] sound.

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- (18) a. novel [ɔgy-ɛ̃nɛ́ wáɔ]
1D.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [ɔkn-ɛ̃nɛ́ wáɔ]
- b. novel [ɛ̃-j-ɛ̃nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
FUT-1D.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̃-hsn-ɛ̃nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
- c. novel [ho-nɛ́ wáɔ]
3S.M.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [haw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wáɔ]
- d. novel [ɛ̃-ho-nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
FUT-3S.M.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̃-haw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
- e. novel [go-né́ wáɔ]
3fi.SG.O-startled.STAT
cf. expected [gaw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wáɔ]
- f. novel [ɛ̃-yago-nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
FUT-3S.FI.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̃-yagaw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
- g. novel [o-né́ wáɔ]
3S.P-startled.STAT
cf. expected [aw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wáɔ]
- h. novel [ɛ̃-yo-nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]
FUT-3S.P-startle.PUNC
cf. expected [ɛ̃-yaw-ɛ̃nɛ́ wá:^hdɛ́ʔ]

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. ganóhsaʔ ‘house(s)’ (unpossessed noun)
- b. aknóhsaʔ ‘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. ganóhsaʔ ‘house(s)’ A-series
- b. oʔnhóhsaʔ ‘egg(s)’ P-series
- c. adáhdiʔtraʔ ‘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 *hónaʔdaʔ* / *ohónaʔdaʔ* ‘potato’ was common in the variety of Gayogoho:nóʔnéha:ʔ spoken in Oklahoma, see §1.3.)

- (3) A- or P-series
 gajíhoha:ʔ, ojíhyoha:ʔ ‘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. ohsgwáɛ'da', sgwáɛ'da' 'coltsfoot'
- b. ogyáqhsra', agyáqhsra' '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. ganq̄hsaʔ
 ga-nq̄hs-aʔ
 3S.A-house-NSF
 'house'

b. ganaʔjáqweh
 ga-naʔj-á-qweh
 3S.A-pot-JOINERÁ-TYP
 'cooking pots' (used at the longhouse)

cf. ganáʔjaʔ
 ga-náʔj-aʔ
 3S.A-pot-NSF
 'pail', 'pot', etc.

(6) a. oyęhsráqweh
 o-yęhsr-á-qweh
 3S.P-blanket-JOINERÁ-TYP
 'shawl' (for dancing, or the type put on a corpse at a funeral)

cf. oyęhsraʔ
 o-yęhsr-aʔ
 3S.P-blanket-NSF
 'blanket'

b. onęheʔq̄:weh
 o-nęheʔ-q̄:weh
 3S.P-corn-TYP
 'corn' (flint corn)

cf. onęheʔ:
 o-nęheʔ:-
 3S.P-corn-NSF
 'corn'

(7) ahdahgwáqweh
 ahdahgw-á-qweh
 ∅.shoe-JOINERÁ-TYP
 'shoe', 'moccasin'

cf. ahdáhgwaʔ
 ahdáhgw-aʔ
 ∅.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*

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basic nouns (see §22.2.3). In such cases, they take the [o-] 3s.P prefix and the [-a'] NSF suffix. Such nouns tend to denote “detachable” body parts or elements (8).

- (8) a. onó'ja'
o-nó'j-a'
3s.P-tooth-NSF
'tooth'
- b. ojí'ehda', ojí'ohda'
o-jí'ehd/jiɔ'd-a'
3s.P-fingernail-NSF
'fingernail'
- c. ogé'a:
o-gé'a:-'
3s.P-hair-NSF
'hair', 'a rag'
- d. o'da'
o-'d-a'
3s.P-feces-NSF
'feces'
- e. otsgra'
o-tmgr-a'
3s.P-saliva-NSF
'saliva'
- f. ojínɔhgra'
o-jínɔhgr-a'
3s.P-mucus-NSF
'mucus'
- g. onyá'gwa'
o-nyá'gw-a'
3s.P-vomit-NSF
'vomit', 'vomit'

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:tʰsa'
 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:tʰsa'
 o-né:ts-a'
 3S.P-arm-NSF
 'arm' (said, for example, when holding up a doll's arm for show)
- d. ohná'tsa'
 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. gwihsɡwihs onó'a:
 gwihsɡwihs onó'a:
 pig head
 'pig's head'
- b. gwihsɡwihs ohsí'da'
 gwihsɡwihs ohsí'da'
 pig foot
 'pig's feet'
- c. gwihsɡwihs o'wáhq̄h
 gwihsɡwihs o'wáhq̄h
 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. aknóhsa'
ak-nóhs-a'
1S.P-house-NSF
'my house'
- b. ɔknínɔhsa'
ɔkní-nɔhs-a'
1D.P-house-NSF
'our house (two people)'
- c. ɔgwánɔhsa'
ɔgwá-nɔhs-a'
1p.p-house-NSF
'our house (more than two people)'
- d. sanóhsa'
sa-nóhs-a'
2S.P-house-NSF
'your house (one person)'
- e. sninóhsa'
sni-nóhs-a'
2D.P-house-NSF
'your house (two people)'
- f. swanóhsa'
swa-nóhs-a'
2P.P-house-NSF
'your house (more than two people)'
- g. honóhsa'
ho-nóhs-a'
3S.M.P-house-NSF
'his house'

¹P-series pronominal prefixes do not distinguish between INCLUSIVE and EXCLUSIVE.

- h. gonǫhsa'
 go-nǫhs-a'
 3S.FI.P-house-NSF
 'her house'
- i. onǫhsa'
 o-nǫhs-a'
 3S.P-house-NSF
 'its house'
- j. hodínǫhsa'
 hodi-nǫhs-a'
 3NS.M.P-house-NSF
 'their (males') house'
- k. godínǫhsa'
 godi-nǫhs-a'
 3NS.FI.P-house-NSF
 'their (females' or mixed) house'
- l. odínǫhsa'
 odi-nǫhs-a'
 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 [-'geh] ON suffix). A full paradigm is shown in (12).

- (12) a. knętsá'geh
 k-nęts-á'geh
 1S.A-arm-ON
 'on my arm'
- b. kninétsa'geh
 kni-nęts-a'geh
 1D.IN.A-arm-ON
 'on our arm' (two people, including listener)
- c. akninętsá'geh
 akni-nęts-á'geh
 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. goné:tsaʔ
 go-né:ts-aʔ
 3S.FI.P-arm-NSF
 ‘her arm’ (i.e. a doll’s)
- b. honé:tsaʔ
 ho-né: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. *qgyáʔse:ʔ* ([P-aʔse:ʔ] ‘cousin’, with P-series prefix)
qgy-áʔse:ʔ
1D.P-doubled.STAT
‘my cousin’
- b. *gyaʔse:ʔ* ([INTERACTIVE-aʔse:ʔ] ‘cousin’, with interactive prefix)
gy-aʔse:ʔ
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-adehnóde:ʔ] ‘siblings’ (related to verb [hnó(r)] ‘follow someone’)
- a. degaódehnó:de:ʔ
de-gaó-de-hnó:de:ʔ
DU-3NS.FI.A-SRF-sibling
‘his/her sister/brother’ (literally, ‘they follow each other’)
 - b. dehenadehnó:de:ʔ
de-hen-ade-hnó:de:ʔ
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-sibling
‘his brother’
 - c. dehenadehnó:dróʔ
de-hen-ade-hnó:dr-óʔ
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-sibling-DISTR
‘his brothers’
- (3) [de-A-(r)ihwawaʔkóʔ] ‘spouse’ (related to verb [rihwawaʔs] ‘support someone’)
- a. degaeihwawáʔkóʔ ‘her husband’,
de-gae-ihwawáʔkóʔ
DU-3NS.FI.A-support.DISTR
‘his wife’
 - b. desni:hwáwaʔkóʔ
de-sni:-hwáwaʔkóʔ
DU-2D.A-support.DISTR
‘your wife/husband’
 - c. deyakni:hwawáʔkó:ʔ
de-yakni:-hwawáʔkó:ʔ
DU-1D.EX.A-support.DISTR
‘my wife/husband’

23.1 Verbs functioning as “kinship terms”, A-series prefixes

- (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’

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- (6) [A-ad-riyahsɔʔ] ‘older siblings’
gaɔdriyáhsɔʔ
gaɔ-d-riyáhsɔʔ
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, ɛɔ] ‘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. qgwadáosq'
qgwa-d-áo'-sq'
1PL.O-SRF-run.STAT-PLRZ
'all of our ceremonial friends'
- (10) [P-a'se:] 'cousin' (related to verb [a'se:] 'doubled')
- a. qgyá'se:
qgy-á'se:
1D.P-doubled.STAT
'my cousin'
- b. honá'se:
hon-á'se:
3NS.M.P-doubled.STAT
'his cousin'
- c. qgwa'se:'só:'ah
qgwa-'se:'-só:'-ah
1PL.O-doubled.STAT-PLRZ-DIM
'all of my cousins'
- (11) [P-atsih] 'friend' (related to verb [atsih] 'paired')
- a. qgyá:tsih
qgy-á:tsih
1D.P-paired.STAT
'my friend'
- b. honá:tsih
hon-á:tsih
3NS.M.P-paired.STAT
'his friend'
- c. qgwátsihsq'
qgw-átsih-sq'
1PL.O-paired.STAT-PLRZ
'all of our friends'
- (12) [P-agyoh] 'sibling-in-law, in-laws'
- a. qgyá:gyoh
qgy-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-yagohsnyé'qh
DU-3S.FI.P-cared.for.STAT
'her adopted daughter'
- (14) [P-hwajiy-a'] 'family' (NOUN [hwajiy] 'family')
akwa:ji:ya'
ak-hwa:ji: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. hoksa'gohwáhsra'
ho-ksa'gohwáhsr-a'
3S.M.P-beautiful.one-NSF
'his girlfriend'
- c. goksa'gowáhsra'
go-ksa'gowáhsr-a'
3S.FI.P-beautiful.one-NSF
'her boyfriend'
- cf. keksa'gowáhsra' 'my girlfriend' with an INTERACTIVE prefix
ke-ksa'gowáhsr-a'
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:dre'
hey-á:dre'
1S>3S.M-grandchild
'my grandson' (kinship term with interactive prefix)
- b. henóhwe's
he-nóhwe'-s
1S>3S.M-like-HAB
'I like him' (verb with interactive prefix)
- c. hehswá'ne:t
he-hswá'n-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.

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

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-nqhk(sq')] 'close relative, to be closely related to someone' (related to verb [nqkw] 'love someone')
- a. kenqhksq'
ke-nqhksq'
1s>3s.FI-related.PLRZ
'my relatives'
 - b. shenqhksq'
she-nqhksq'
2s>3s.FI-related.PLRZ
'your relatives' (high language, describing our relationship to all people)

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- (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. hɔwágəhjih
hɔwá-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. gyaʔse:ʔ
gy-aʔse:ʔ
1>2(D)-doubled
‘cousin!’ (when directly addressing a cousin)

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

- b. gwaʔse:
gw-aʔse:
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:] 'cousin'
ogyáʔse:
ogy-áʔse:
1DU-doubled.STAT
'my cousin'
- b. [INT-aʔse:] 'cousin'
gyáʔse:
gy-aʔse:
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* '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* '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.

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- (24) [INT-*adre*'] 'grandchild relationship'
- a. *heyá:dre*^ʔ
hey-á:dre^ʔ
 1s>3s.M-grandchild
 'my grandson'
 - b. *hagá:dre*^ʔ
hag-á:dre^ʔ
 3s.M>1s-grandchild
 'his grandson, me', 'I am his grandson'
 - c. *keyá:dre*^ʔ
key-á:dre^ʔ
 1s>3s.FI-grandchild
 'my granddaughter'
 - d. *həwá:dre*^ʔ
həwá:-dre^ʔ
 3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-grandchild
 'his/her grandson'
 - e. *sheyá:dre*^ʔ
shey-á:dre^ʔ
 2s>3s.FI-grandchild
 'your granddaughter'
 - f. *qədá:adre*^ʔ
qədád-adre^ʔ
 3s.FI>3s.FI-grandchild
 'her granddaughter'
 - g. *shagó:dre*^ʔ
shagó:-dre^ʔ
 3s.M>3FI/3P-grandchild
 'his granddaughter'
 - h. *gaqə:adre*^ʔ*só:ʔ*ah
gaqəd-adre^ʔ-*shó:ʔ*ah
 3FI>3FI(+NS)-grandchild-PLRZ
 'her grandchildren'

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- i. shagódreʔsqʔ
shagó-dreʔ-shqʔ
3S.M>3FI/3P-grandchild-PLRZ
'his grandchildren'
- j. gakeyadréʔsqʔ
gakey-adréʔ-shqʔ
1S>3NS-grandchild-PLRZ
'my grandchildren'
- k. gasheyadréʔsqʔ
gashey-adréʔ-shqʔ
2S>3NS-grandchild-PLRZ
'your grandchildren'
- l. hehsá:dreʔ
hehs-á:dreʔ
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. ke'gé:ʔəh
khe-ʔgé:ʔəh
1s>3s.FI-younger.sibling
'my younger sister'
- d. qdadə'gé:ʔəh
qdadə-ʔgé:ʔəh
3s.FI>3s.FI-younger.sibling
'her younger sister'
- e. shago'gé:ʔəh
shago-ʔgé:ʔəh
3s.M>3FI/3P-younger.sibling
'his younger sister'
- f. hqwa'gé:ʔəh
hqwa-ʔgé:ʔəh
3s.M/3s.FI>3s.M-younger.sibling
'his/her younger brother'
- g. she'gé:ʔəh
she-ʔgé:ʔəh
2s>3s.FI-younger.sibling
'your younger sister'
- h. eti'gé:ʔəh
eti-ʔgé:ʔəh
1NS.IN>3s.FI/3NS-younger.sibling
'our younger sister'
- i. shqgwa'gé:ʔəh
shqgwa-ʔgé:ʔəh
3s.M>1P-younger.sibling
'our younger brother'
- (26) [INT-hawahk(səʔ)] '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. heyá'dawəh
he-yá'dawəh
1s>3s.M-niece/nephew
'my nephew'
- c. keyá'dawəh
ke-yá'dawəh
1s>3s.FI-niece/nephew
'my brother's kids'
- (30) [INT-hji'ah] 'older sibling'
- a. hehshéhji'ah
hehshé-hji'ah
2s>3s.M-older.sibling
'your older brother'
- b. kehjí'ah
khe-hjí'ah
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:ha'] 'mother' (also see 48, 53)
qkínqha'
qkí-nqha'
3s.FI/3NS>1NS-mother
'our mother'

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- (33) [INT-nohá:ʔah] ‘(maternal) aunt’⁵ (also see 49, 54)
ɔkinohá:ʔah
ɔki-nohá:ʔah
3S.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
‘our (plural) aunt’
- (34) [INT-noʔsəh] ‘(maternal) uncle’⁶ (also see 55)
- a. hɔwánɔʔsəh
hɔwá-noʔsəh
3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M-uncle
‘his/her uncle’
- b. hyanóʔsəh
hya-nóʔsəh
3S.M>2S-uncle
‘your uncle’
- c. shɔknínɔʔsəh
shɔkní-noʔsəh
3S.M>1D-uncle
‘our uncle’
- (35) [INT-ʔnih] ‘father’ (also see 56)
- a. hɔwáʔnih
hɔwá-ʔnih
3S.M/3S.FI>3S.M-father
‘his/her father’
- b. hyáʔnih
hyá-ʔnih
3S.M>2S-father
‘your father’
- (36) [INT-naʔehs] ‘step-mother’ (also see 47)
ɔknáʔehs
ɔk-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.

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- (37) [INT-[?]ni:hah] ‘godfather, step-father’ (also see 57)

hɔwa[?]ní:hah

hɔwa-[?]ní: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)

etinohá:[?]ah

‘our aunt’ (two of us)

eti-nohá:[?]ah

1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-aunt

cf. ɔkinohá:[?]ah

ɔki-nohá:[?]ah

3S.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt

‘our aunt’ (non-reversed roles, like regular different-generation kinship terms)

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

- (40) [INT-no'səh] '(maternal) uncle'
Etino'səh Eḡənatno'áowanaht
eti-no'səh
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-uncle they.become.bigheads
'Our Uncles ceremony' (reversed roles, like same-generation kinship terms)
- cf. shəknino'səh
shəkní-no'səh
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 [nenhəʃ], 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-nenhəʃ] ‘someone’s father/son-in-law’, ‘a male’s mother-in-law’
- a. hené:nhəʃs
he-né:nhəʃs
1s>3s.M-in.law
'my son-in-law'
- b. hakné:nhəʃs
hak-né:nhəʃs
3s.M>1s-in.law
'my father-in-law'
- c. hyané:nhəʃs
hya-né:nhəʃs
3s.M>2s-in.law
'your father-in-law'

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- 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)

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

Alternatively (as with same-generation kinship terms, §23.3.1), the first role for [hseyɔh] 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-yɔh] ‘a female’s mother/daughter-in-law’
- a. ɔdadehsé:yɔh
ɔdade-hsé:yɔh
3S.FI>3S.FI-in.law
‘her mother-in-law’
 - b. shehsé:yɔh
she-hsé:yɔh
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’
- hohjí’ah
ho-hjí’ah
3S.M.P-older.sibling
‘his older sister’
 - cf. hehshéhjí’ah
hehshé-hjí’ah
2S>3S.M-older.sibling
‘your older brother’ (from example 30)

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- (46) [p-hsot] ‘to have a grandmother’
- a. hohso:t
ho-hso:t
3s.M.P-grand.parent
‘his Grandma’
 - b. sahso:t
sa-hso:t
2s.P-grand.parent
‘your Grandmother’
cf. haghso:t, haksot
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’

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cf. $\text{\textcircled{q}k\text{in}\textcircled{h}a}^{\text{'}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{q}k\text{i}\text{-n}\textcircled{h}a}^{\text{'}}$
3S.FI/3NS>1NS-mother
'our mother' (from example 32)

(49) [P-no:ha:'ah] 'to have a (maternal) aunt'

a. $\text{gono:h\text{a}:'ah}$
 $\text{go-no:h\text{a}:'ah}$
3S.FI.P-aunt
'her aunt'

b. $\text{hono:h\text{a}:'ah}$
 $\text{ho-no:h\text{a}:'ah}$
3S.M.P-aunt
'his aunt' (on the maternal side)

c. $\text{sano:h\text{a}:'ah}$
 $\text{sa-no:h\text{a}:'ah}$
2S.P-aunt
'your aunt'

cf. $\text{\textcircled{q}k\text{in}\textcircled{h\text{a}:'ah}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{q}k\text{i}\text{-n}\textcircled{h\text{a}:'ah}}$
3S.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
'our aunt' (from example 33)

(50) [P-na'ehs] 'to have a step-mother'

a. $\text{akn\text{a}:'ehs}$
 $\text{ak-n\text{a}:'ehs}$
1S.P-step.mother
'I have a step-mother'

b. sana'ehs
 $\text{sa-n\text{a}:'ehs}$
2S.P-step.mother
'your step-mother'

cf. $\text{\textcircled{q}kn\text{a}:'ehs}$
 $\text{\textcircled{q}k-n\text{a}:'ehs}$
3S.FI>1S-step.mother
'my step-mother'

(from example 36)

23.3 Interactive kinship terms, interactive pronominal prefixes

- (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’)
 sadɛnihó: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. ɔkinhá:ʔah
 ɔki-nɔhá:ʔah
 3S.FI/3NS>1NS-aunt
 ‘our aunt’ (from example 33)

23 Kinship terms and pronominal prefix choice

- (55) [k-noʔsɛh] ‘my (maternal) uncle’ (optionally also a term of address)

knóʔsɛh

k-noʔsɛh

1s.A-uncle

‘my uncle’

cf. hɔwánoʔsɛh

hɔwá-noʔsɛh

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. hɔwaʔní:hah

hɔwa-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 *fe-males* 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-V]	[ga-N-V] [o-N-V] [ga-N-V]	[ga-N] [o-N] [ga-/o-N]
neuter	✗	[(N)-V] (positional V)	[ga-/o-V] some [ga-V]	[ga-N-V] [o-N-V] [ga-N-V]	[ga-N] [o-N] [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] [A-N-V]	basic noun or detachable body part noun non-detachable body part noun
neuter	✓	[N+o:t] 'have' [N+ε̣'] 'have'		[P-N+o:t/+ε̣'] [A/P-N+o:t/+ε̣']	basic noun or detachable body part noun 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. agáhshę:
ag-áhshę:
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:tęhs
s-haʔd-á:-tęhs
2S.A-throat-JOINERA-dried.out. HAB
'you are thirsty' ([NV] fixed expression)
 - b. gohaʔdí:yo:
go-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. hq̄gweʔdí:yo:
h-q̄gweʔd-í:yo:
3S.M.A-person-good.STAT
'he is a charming or nice person' (obligatorily-incorporating [+V])

- b. agogwe'dáhetge'
ag-ogwe'd-á-hetge'
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. ganq:'
ga-nq:'
3S.A-costly.STAT
'it is expensive, dear, precious'
- c. gahó'ji:
ga-hó'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:yòh
o-hní:yòh
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. gadrənagá'q̄h
ga-drən-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'

24 *Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs*

(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.

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

- b. owa' nɛ:da:
o-wa' nɛ:da:
3S.P-stuck.STAT
'it is stuck'
- c. odáhɔh
o-dáhɔh
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'dáihɛ:* (10) takes [ga-] when it incorporates [hsɔwəhd] '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'dáihɛ:
o-'dáih-ɛ:
3S.P-hot-STAT
'it is hot'
- b. gəhsɔwəhdadáihɛ:
ga-hsɔwəhd-a-dáih-ɛ:
3S.A-wire-JOINER A-hot-STAT
'hot plate'
- cf. gəhsɔwəhda'
ga-hsɔwəhd-a'
3S.A-wire-NSF
'wire, needle, nails'

24 Pronominal prefix choice for stative-only verbs

- c. o'nehsadaiḥ:
o-'nehs-a-dáih-ḥ:
3S.P-sand-JOINER-A-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. gahḥsrowá:nḥ
ga-hḥsr-owá:n-ḥ
3S.A-box-big-STAT
'big box'
cf. gahḥsra'
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, *wadíhḥ* 'it is leaning' takes the same [ga-] prefix as the noun [hḥw] 'boat' in (12a), and takes the same [o-] prefix as the noun [hah] 'road' in (12b).

- (12) a. wadíhəh
w-adíh-əh
3S.A-lean-STAT
‘it is leaning’
- b. gahəwadíhəh
gə-həw-adíh-əh
3S.A-boat-lean-STAT
‘a leaning boat’
cf. gahə:wə
gə-hə:w-ə
3S.A-boat-NSF
‘a boat’
- c. ohahaʔdíhəh
o-hah-adíh-əh
3S.P-road-lean-STAT
‘the Milky Way’
cf. oháhaʔ
o-háh-əʔ
3S.P-road-NSF
‘road’

Similar examples are shown in (13).

- (13) a. áət
á-ət
3S.P-stick.out.STAT
‘it is attached’, ‘it is sticking out’
cf. wəʔníhsgəət
w-əʔníhsg-ə-ət
3S.A-wheel-JOINER-attach.out.STAT
‘an attached wheel’
cf. ohsgyéʔdət
o-hsgyéʔd-ət
3S.P-bone-stick.out.STAT
‘bone’
- b. gá:həh
gá:həh
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. onyɛ̄'gwáohq̄h
o-nyɛ̄'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. gadéhdá:
ga-déhdá:
3S.A-lie.spread.out.STAT
'it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground'
- cf. ganehsdá:déhdá:
ga-nehsdá:-déhdá:
3S.A-board-lie.spread.out.STAT
'a floor'
- cf. owidradéhdá:
o-widr-a-déhdá:
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'jāhe:
ga-ná'j-a-he:
3S.A-pail-JOINER A-sit.up.on.top.STAT
'pail setting on something'

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- 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-hódaɛʔ
 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. odróhyo:t
 o-dróhy-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).

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- (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-itgɛʔ-qh
CIS-3S.P-SRF-fog-emanate.from-STAT
‘steam coming out’
- b. [+kahɔ] ‘adjoin, abut’
- i. sgahsakáhɔ:ʔ
s-ga-hs-a-káhɔ:-ʔ
REP-3S.A-mouth-JOINER A-adjoin.STAT-NMLZ
‘large mouth bass’
 - ii. ohyákahɔʔ
o-hy-á-kahɔʔ
3S.P-berry-JOINER A-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) [+hsiha:ʔ] ‘stand in a bunch or group’
- ojihsqdáhsih a:ʔ
o-jihsqd-á-hsiha:ʔ
3S.P-star-JOINER A-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’

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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-ɔ'] 'several standing objects'

- a. degai'ého:t
de-ga-i'éh-o:t
DU-3S.A-pile-stand-STAT
'it is piled up'
- b. gahsdéhó:dɔ'
ga-hsdéh-ó:d-ɔ'
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 *ganɔ:*' in (20) still begins with [ga-] when it incorporates *ohwíh-sda*', and similarly for the example in (21).

- (20) a. ganɔ:'
ga-nɔ:'
3S.A-costly-STAT
'it is expensive, dear, precious'
- b. gahwíhsdanɔ:'
ga-hwíhsd-a-nɔ:'
3S.A-metal-JOINER-AT-costly-STAT
'gold', 'anything expensive'

24.2 Neuter stative-only verbs and pronominal prefix choice

cf. ohwíhda'
o-hwíhda'
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. gayehsrani:yq:t
ga-yehsr-a-ni:yq:t
3S.A-blanket-JOINER-A-hang.STAT
'a hanging blanket'
- cf. oyehsra'
o-yehsr-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. oyahkwa'
o-yahkw-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-]
sgana'ja:t
s-ga-na'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'da:t
s-ga-hóna'd-a:-t
REP-3S.A-potato-JOINERA-stand.STAT
'one potato'
- d. johóna'da:t
j-o-hóna'd-a:-t
REP-3S.P-potato-JOINERA-stand.STAT
'one potato'
- cf. ohóna'da'
o-hóna'd-a'
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-JOINERA-stand.STAT
'one road'
- cf. oháha'
o-háh-a'
3S.P-road-NSF
'road'

24.2.6.1 Navel, belly button, and bottle

Two easily-confused noun stems [kse'd] and [(i)tse'd] 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'd] 'bottle' means 'navel' only when it takes an A-series prefix (30c).

- (29) [kse'd] in nouns and fixed expressions
- a. seksé'da'geh
s-e-ksé'd-a'geh
2S.A-JOINERE-belly-ON
'on your belly' (body part noun, A prefix)
- b. giksé'do:t
g-iksé'd+o:t
1S.A-belly-attached.STAT
'my navel, my belly button' (fixed expression, A prefix)

- (30) [(i)tse'd] in nouns and fixed expressions
- a. gętsé'da', gatsé'da'
ga/gę-tsé'd-a'
3S.A-bottle-NSF
'a bottle' (basic noun, A prefix)
 - b. otsé'do:t
o-tsé'd+o:t
3S.P-bottle-stand.STAT
'hubbard squash' (fixed expression, P-series prefix)
 - c. getsé'do:t
g-e-tsé'd+o:t
1S.A-JOINERĒ-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:'uh
niwú:'uh
PART-3S.A-small.STAT
'it is small'
- b. nihohkyędahkú:'uh
ni-ho-hkyędahk-ú:'uh
PART-3S.M.P-chair-small.STAT
'his small chair'
- cf. akyędahkwa'
akyędahkw-a'
Ø.PREFIX.chair-NSF
'chair'

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- (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. nihahnáʔtsʔú:ʔuh
ni-ha-hnáʔts-ú:ʔuh
PART-3S.M.A-buttocks-small.STAT
‘he has a small butt’
cf. hahnáʔtsaʔgeh
ha-hnáʔts-aʔgeh
3S.M.A-buttocks-ON
‘on his buttocks’

- (34) [+es] ‘long’
degéneʔse:s
de-g-é-neʔs-e:s
DU-1S.A-JOINERĒ-arm-long.STAT
‘my arms are long’, ‘I have two long arms’
cf. knętsáʔgeh
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) hahnyqhsowá:nəh
 ha-hnyqhs-owanəh
 3S.M.A-squash-big.STAT
 ‘he has a big head’ (not flattering)
- cf. ohnyqhsa’
 o-hnyqhs-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:yə’*, 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:yə’* ‘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:yə’* has the form [+ə’].

- (36) a. gahnyo:t
 gə-hnyyo:t
 3S.A-stick-stand.STAT
 ‘it is standing’
- b. snətsə:t
 s-nəts-o:t
 2S.A-arm-stand.STAT
 ‘you have an (attached) arm’
- cf. snətsá’geh
 s-nəts-á’geh
 2S.A-arm-ON
 ‘on your arm’
- (37) a. gá:yə’
 gá:-yə’
 3S.A-lie.on.ground.STAT
 ‘it is lying on the ground’

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- b. hoʔdréhdaɛʔ
 ho-ʔdréhd-a-ɛʔ
 3S.M.P-car-JOINER A-lie.STAT
 ‘he has a car, his car’
- c. hó:yɛʔ
 hó:-yɛʔ
 3S.M.P-lie.STAT
 ‘he has, owns it’
- cf. gáʔdréhdaʔ
 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. snétsáʔgeh
 s-néts-áʔgeh
 2S.A-arm-ON
 ‘on your arm’

- b. enó'go:t
 e-nó'g-o:t
 3S.FI.A-breast-stand.STAT
 'her (attached) breast'
 cf. enó'gwa'geh
 e-nó'gw-a'geh
 3S.FI.A-breast-ON
 'on her breast'
- c. kno'jo:t
 k-no'j-o:t
 1S.A-tooth-stand.STAT
 'I have teeth'
 cf. kno'já'geh
 k-no'j-á'geh
 1S.A-tooth-ON
 'on my teeth'

The verb [+e'] 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+e'] 'have a basic noun'
 honáhsgwaé'
 ho-náhsgw-a-e'
 3S.M.P-domestic.animal-JOINER-lie.STAT
 'he has a pet'
 cf. ganáhsgwa'
 ga-náhsgw-a'
 3S.A-domestic.animal-NSF
 'pet', 'domestic animal'
- (41) [A/P-BODY.PART.NOUN+e'] 'have a body part noun'
- a. ganó'jaé'
 ga-nó'j-a-e'
 3S.A-teeth-JOINER-lie.STAT
 'it has teeth'
- b. sagóhsaé'
 sa-góhs-a-e'
 1S.P-face-JOINER-lie.STAT
 'you have a face'

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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 *gáhe:*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-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-hang. STAT
'hanging pants'
- cf. oyáhkwa'
o-yáhkwa-a'
3s.P-pants-NSF
'pants'
- (47) adęhení:yq:t
adęhe-ní:yq:t
Ø.PREFIX.gate-hang. STAT
'gate'
- cf. adęhe'
adęhe-'
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.

25 *Pronominal prefix choice for three-aspect 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. dewagə́hdá:dḡh
de-wag-ə́hdá:d-ḡh
DU-1S.P-run-STAT
'I have run'
- (2) [DU-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-incorporated noun-verb-ASPECT]
- a. deḡhaihwágenhahs
de-ha-ihw-á-genh-a-hs
DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate-JOINERÁ-HAB
'he is a lawyer'
 - b. deḡsrihwagé:nha'
d-ḡ-hs-rihw-a-gé:nh-a-'
DU-FUT-2S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-advocate-JOINERÁ-PUNC
'you will argue, debate, protest'
 - c. deyagodiḡwágenḡh
de-yagodi-ihw-á-genh-ḡh
DU-3NS.FI.P-matter-JOINERÁ-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:só' agidahsgə́hə:' gə:s
i:só' ag-ida-hs-gə́hə: gə:s'
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-nya'gw-a-hs
 1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-JOINERĀ-HAB
 'I vomit all the time'
- b. ɔgénya'go'
 ɔg-é-nya'go-'
 FACTUAL.1S.P-JOINERĒ-vomit-PUNC
 'I vomited'
- c. agénya'gwáhɔh
 ag-e-nya'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. dehóheta'
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. ɛhshq:gwá:yq'
ɛ-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. ɛ:gɔʔ
 ɛ-g-ɔʔ
 FUT-1S.A-give-PUNC
 ‘I (doer) will give it to it (non-doer, animal)’
- b. ɛwá:gɔʔ ‘it (doer, animal) will give (it) to me (non-doer)’, ‘I will be given’,
 ɛ-wá:g-ɔʔ
 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. hehahwéhɛhs ‘he always takes the message’,
 he-ha-ihw-ɛhɛ-hs
 TRANSL-3S.M.A-matter-convey-HAB
 ‘he is a messenger’
- b. hɛhahwéhɛ:[?]
 h-ɛ-ha-ihw-ɛhɛ-:[?]
 TRANSL-FUT-3S.M.A-matter-convey-PUNC
 ‘he will take the message’
- c. hehoihwéhɛ:
 he-ho-ihw-ɛhɛ-:
 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.

25.2 Pronominal prefix choice for two- and three-role, three-aspect verbs

- (9) hewagihnó:gqh
he-wag-ihnóg-qh
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-JOINERE-like.the.taste.of-HAB
'I like the taste (of it)'
- b. ɛwa:gé:gaʔ
ɛ-wa:g-é:-gaʔ
FUT-1S.P-JOINERE-like.the.taste.of.Ø.PUNC
'I will like the taste'
- c. qge:gáʔ giʔ
qg-e:-gáʔ giʔ
1S.P-JOINERE-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-JOINERE-smell-JOINERA-HAB
'I smell (it) right now'
- b. ɛwágeshoʔ
ɛ-wág-e-sho-ʔ
FUT-1S.P-JOINERE-smell-PUNC
'I'll smell (it)'

25 Pronominal prefix choice for three-aspect verbs

- c. ɔgɛ:sho'
ɔg-é:-sho-'
FAC.1S.P-JOINERÉ-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'qh
ag-atɔdɛ'-qh
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. ageswahsgéhe:[?]
ag-e-sw-a-hs-géhe:[?]
1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-JOINERÁ-HAB-PAST
'I used to be able to smell' (but my nose quit working)
- b. agé:swahs
ag-é:-sw-a-hs
1S.P-JOINERÉ-smell-JOINERÁ-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 habituais
- 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 habituais

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. gohsóʔkaʔ

go-hsóʔk-haʔ

3S.FI.P-limp-HAB

‘she is limping’

cf. gohsóʔkahk

go-hsóʔk-ha-hk

3S.FI.P-limp-HAB-FORMER

‘she used to limp’

cf. ɛhsáhsɔʔka:k

ɛ-hs-áhsɔʔk-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:
sa-ní'-qh-ne:
2S.P-cheap-STAT-PAST
'you used to be stingy'

- b. deyagodáwənye'
de-yago-d-áwənye-'
DU-3S.FI.P-SRF-stir-STAT
'she is walking about'

cf. dəyagodawənyéha:k
d-ə-yago-d-awənyé-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:
ha-héd-ɔh-ne:
3S.M.A-lead-STAT-PAST
'he used to be a leader'

- b. degágwatwəh
de-gá-gwatw-əh
DU-3S.A-hem-STAT
'a hem'

cf. dəgagwatwəhə:k
də-ga-gwatw-əh-ə: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-eʔ]	[A-V] [P-V]
STATIVE PROGRESSIVE VERBS [V-q-h-q-gy-eʔ]	[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. itgeʔs
i-t-g-e-ʔs
PROTH-CIS-1S.A-go-HAB
‘I am here’

- b. ha'ge'
 ha'-g-e-'
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 'I am going there'
- c. ha'ge:'
 ha'-g-e-:-'
 TRANSL.FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 'I went there'
- d. í:ge'
 í:-g-e-'
 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. gehsre'
 g-e-hsr-e-'
 1S.A-JOINERĒ-chase-go-STAT
 'I am chasing it'
- b. agé'dre'
 ag-é-'dr-e-'
 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-JOINER-A-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-JOINER-A-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-JOINER-A-PROG-go-STAT

‘someone is following him along’

cf. həwáhnədreʔ

həwá-hnədr-e-ʔ

3MS/3FIS:3MS-follow-go-STAT

‘someone is following him’

- (6) [A-V-agy-eʔ] progressive verb, based on [A-V]
 gayétwagyeʔ
 ga-yétw-a-gy-e-ʔ
 3S.A-plant-JOINER A-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘it is planted along’
 cf. gayétwəh
 ga-yétw-əh
 3S.A-plant-STAT¹
 ‘it is planted’

- (7) [P-V-agy-eʔ] progressive verb, based on [P-V]
 ohsáwagyeʔ
 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-eʔ] or [-ęgy-eʔ] 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-ɔ-h-ogy-eʔ] or [P-V-ę-h-ęgy-eʔ] stative progressive verbs
- a. sahohdęhgyóhogyeʔ
 sa-ho-hdęhgy-ó-h-ɔ-gy-e-ʔ
 REP-3S.M.P-leave-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINER-PROG-go-STAT
 ‘he is on his way home’
 cf. hesáhdegyɔ:
 he-sá-hdegy-ɔ:
 TRANSL-2S.P-leave-STAT
 ‘you went over there’
- b. otsihsʔqhó:gyeʔ
 o-tsihsʔ-ɔ-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. sejá:gq̃h
s-e-já:gq̃-h
2S.A-JOINERĒ-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 Gayogho:nq'néha:ʔ prefix but is typically not expressed in English commands.

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cf. ɛhse:já:gɔ:ʔ
ɛ-hs-e:-já:gɔ:-ʔ
FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-persevere-PUNC
'you will persevere'

b. dehsáhsawɛh
de-hs-áhsawɛ-h
CIS-2S.A-start-EUPH.H
'(you) start!'

cf. ɛtsáhsawɛʔ
ɛ-t-s-áhsawɛ-ʔ
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. sheyénawaʔs
she-yénawaʔs
2S:3FIS-help.NO_ASPECT
'(you) help her!'

b. hehsyénawaʔs
hehs-yénawaʔs
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]

dɔdasahsá:wɛh
dɔda-s-ahsá: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^ʔnyé:dəh
 s-ade-^ʔnyé:də-h
 2S.A-SRF-try-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘try it!’
 cf. ɛhsadə^ʔnyé:də^ʔ
 ɛ-hs-ade-^ʔnyé:də-^ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-SRF-try-PUNC
 ‘you will try it’
- b. Gɔdagyé^ʔ desahdé:dih.
 gɔdagyé^ʔ de-s-ahdé:di-h
 right.away DU-2S.A-leave-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
 ‘Leave right away!’
 cf. ɛsahdé:di^ʔ
 ɛ-s-ahdé:di-^ʔ
 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:dq:
 s-ad-ahó:dq:
 2S.A-SRF-ask.NO_ASPECT
 ‘ask!’
 cf. ɛsadahó:dq:^ʔ
 ɛ-s-ad-ahó:dq:-^ʔ
 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-JOINERÉ-lick.NO_ASPECT
 ‘lick it!’
 cf. ɛhséganɛ:t
 ɛ-hs-é-ganɛ:t
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-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. deyɔkni^ʔdráihɛh
de-yɔkni-^ʔdráihɛ-h
DU-1D.P-hurry-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT
'let us two hurry'
- c. deyɔgwa^ʔdráihɛh
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:wa^ʔs
eti-yená:wa^ʔs
1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-help.NO_ASPECT
'let us all help her/them'
- b. dedwadagyénawa^ʔs
de-dw-adag-yénawa^ʔs
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'nyé:dəh

ó: g-ad-e-'nyé:də-h

oh 1S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-try-EUPH.H/NO_ASPECT

'Oh, let me try!'

cf. a:gade'nyé:də'

a:-g-ad-e-'nyé:də-'

INDEF-1S.A-SRF-JOINERĒ-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 [-'] PUNC ending.

- (10) [1ST PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]

a. dedwayenáwá'kq:

de-dwa-yenáwá'kq:

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. dwaḥshe:t

dw-aḥshe:t

1INP.A-count.NO_ASPECT

'let's all count'

b. dedwadagyénawahs

de-dw-adag-yénawa's

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 3_{FI.S} 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 [-'] 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. ɛhsadɛʔnyɛ:dɛʔ
ɛ-hs-ad-ɛ-ʔnyɛ:dɛ-ʔ
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 ɛtsahdé:diʔʔ
Gɔdagyéʔ ɛ-t-s-ahdé: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:yagwahsɛ:nɔʔ
a:-yagwa-hsɛ:n-ɔ-ʔ
INDEF-1P.EX.A-name-give-PUNC
'we all should give it a name'

- b. ɔ:dasáhsawɛʔ
 ɔ:da-s-áhsawɛ-ʔ
 INDEF.CIS-2S.A-begin-PUNC
 ‘you should begin’
- c. ɔ:tahá:wiʔ
 ɔ: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-JOINER-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

- ⇒ *Ahwih gwaː* ‘don’t!’
 ⇒ *Ahwih hwaː* ‘don’t!’
 ⇒ *Ahwih hwɛ:dɔh* ‘don’t ever’

27.1.7 Negative suggestions

Negative suggestions optionally begin with *tɛː* ‘no’, plus a no-aspect verb that begins with the [ta:-, tae-, te:-, etc.] CONTR.INDEF combination (17).

- (17) [tɛː CONTR.INDEF-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-NO_ASPECT]
 tɛː taeswá:gɛ:
 tɛː 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 *tɛː ta:wá:dɔh* ‘you may not’, followed by a verb with an [a:-] INDEF prefix and [-] PUNC suffix (18). (*Tɛː ta:wá:dɔh* is related to the phrase *ɛwá:dɔː* ‘yes, you may...’, both of which are described in §35.2.4.)

- (18) [tɛː ta:wá:dɔh INDEF-2ND PERSON PREFIX-VERB-PUNC]
 tɛː ta:wá:dɔh a:sejáodɛː
 tɛː t-a:-w-a:dɔː-h
 not CONTR-INDEF-3S.A-become-EUPH.H
 a:-s-e-j-á-odɛː-
 INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-smoke-JOINER A-put.in-PUNC
 ‘No smoking!’
 cf. *ɛwá:dɔː*
ɛ-w-á:dɔː-[?]
 FUT-3S.A-become-PUNC
 ‘yes, you may’

27.2 Yes-no questions with *gəh*, *ɛː*, and *do:gəhs*

Yes-no questions prompt for answers that optionally begin with *ɛhɛː* ‘yes’ or *tɛː* ‘no’. (In contrast, questions beginning with words like *sɔː* ‘who’ or *dɛː hoːdɛː*

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'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) Sgɛnójih **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) Enóhwe's **gɛh**?
she.likes.it Q
'Does she like it?'

(23) Ehé' **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'drɛhdágade'??
 'Well, were there a lot of cars?'

The following questions with *gɛh* or *tɛ'gɛh* are described further in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker)
- ⇒ *Gɛh hne:* 'how about this one?'
- ⇒ *O* ɔ; *O: ɔh* 'Oh really?'
- ⇒ *O: gɛh* 'really?'
- ⇒ *Tɛ* ʔ *gɛh de* ʔ - 'didn't?'
- ⇒ *To gɛh ɔ ne:* ʔ '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 *ɛ:* 'is it so?, isn't it so?', *tɛ* ʔ *gɛh* 'isn't it?', *ɛhɛ:* ʔ *gɛh* 'is it?', and *dó:gɛhs* 'sure, truly' (31-35, examples from Deer & Deer 2015.)

- (31) *Enɔhwe* ʔ *s ɛ:* ʔ?
 she.likes.it affirm
 'She likes it, doesn't she?'
- (32) *Wɛhnihsri:yó: wa* ʔ *ne* ʔ, *dó:gɛhs*?
 nice.day today truly
 'It's a nice day today, innit?'
- (33) *Wɛhnihsri:yó: wa* ʔ *ne* ʔ, *dó:gɛhs ɛ:* ʔ?
 nice.day today truly affirm
 'It's a nice day, innit?'
- (34) *Wɛhnihsri:yó: wa* ʔ *ne* ʔ, *tɛ* ʔ *gɛh*?
 nice.day today not Q
 'It's a nice day, innit?'
- (35) *Wɛhnihsri:yó: wa* ʔ *ne* ʔ, *ne* ʔ *ɛ:* ʔ?
 nice.day today the affirm
 'It's a nice day, innit?'

As shown in (36), *ɛ:* ʔ can also be used in statements, to signal agreement (§35.3.1).

- (36) Háe. Wə́hnisri:yó: é:'.
 Hi. nice.day affirm
 'Hi. Nice day, isn't it.'
 È́hè' é:'.
 Yes affirm
 'Yes, it is.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O'dréhdatgi' dialogue)

The following examples of tag questions and statements are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ È:'. Ne' e:' 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?'
- ⇒ È́hè' gèh 'is that right?'
- ⇒ Do:gèhs 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Do:gèhs di' gèh 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Do:gèhs e: 'it's true', 'isn't it true?'
- ⇒ Gèh 'didn't I'
- ⇒ Tè' gèh 'no?', 'isn't it?'

27.3 Negative questions

The following examples of negative questions can be found in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ Gèh tè' nigè'òh 'or not?'
- ⇒ Tè' gèh de' - 'didn't?'
- ⇒ Tè' gèh 'no?', 'isn't it?'

27.4 Equative sentences with linking verbs *né:ʔ*, *deʔgɛ:*

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 ... deʔgɛ:* ‘it isn’t’. The linked nouns (in square brackets) are shown in (38). (The ellipsis ‘...’ in *tɛʔ ... deʔgɛ:* shows where other particles can appear, to dress up the phrase.)

- (38) [tɛʔ ... N deʔgɛ: N]
 Tɛʔ hne:ʔ [ganyó:ʔ] deʔgɛ: [neʔ awɛʔhɛʔʔ]
 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 deʔgɛ:* ‘it isn’t’
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ ne:ʔ deʔgɛ:* ‘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. shẹh 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. ẹhsni'drọ:da'k
 ẹ-hsn-i'drọ:-d-a-'k
 FUT-2D.A-dwell-CAUS-JOINERÁ-MODZ
 'you two will stay home'
- d. nẹgi'drọ:da'k
 n-ẹ-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'

27 *Simple sentences*

Positional verbs (a thematic type of stative-only verb) describe the typical position of an object (42).

- (42) positional verbs
- a. shəh dwaknəhso:t
shəh d-wak-nəhs-o:t
that CIS-1s.P-house-stand.STAT
'where I dwell'
 - b. nigá:yəʔ
ni-gá:-yəʔ
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: gitsə: ni:yə:.
To: gi-tsə: ni:-y-ə:
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) [dewagegaǵhs] [to há:ge:ʔ]
I'm.unwilling there I.would.go.there
'I am unwilling to go there.'
- (2) [Haʔwa:tsʔá:ʔ] [aʔó:de:k].
it.went.down.to.nothing it.burned
'It burned down to nothing.'
- (3) [A:hɛni:hé:ʔ] [hahjáotaʔ].
he.would.quit he.smokes.all.the.time
'He would stop himself from smoking.', 'He would quit smoking.'
- (4) [Eǵɛnihé: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 ha'gahé:ʔ] [ɛshétrohna].
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:t'ah*

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:t'ah* 'it is pretend, implied'
- (9) Gwé:, [a:yéʔ] [sanəhnyə'gəh].
well it.seems you.are.hurt
'Well, [it looks like] [you are hurt].'
- (10) [A:we:t'áh] [agída'əh].
it.is.pretend I'm.sleeping
'I am pretending [(that) I am asleep].', 'I am pretending [to be asleep].'

28.2.2 Sentences with *wé:do:ʔ*, *wagyéhsaʔgeh*

Certain juxtaposed sentences begin with the clause (verb) *wé:do: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) *Wé:do: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 gaqdqh wé:do:ʔ* [John dahátahak].
 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) *Wé:do: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:gahyadqhsríyaʔksq: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:’ da:gahyadqhsriya’ksq:k.
it.is.hard the.paper.should.be.cut
‘The paper [(it) is hard to cut].’
- (17) Wagyehsa’geh da:gahyadqhsriya’gqha:k.
it.is.easy the.paper.would.be.cut
‘The paper is easy to cut.’
cf. d-a:-ga-hyadqhsr-iyā’g-ó-h-a:-k
DU-INDEF-3S.A-paper-cut-STAT-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-MODZ
- (18) Wẹ:do:’ da:gahyadqhsriya’gqha:k.
it.is.hard the.paper.should.be.cut
‘The paper is hard to cut.’

It may be that *wẹ:dq:’* and *wagyéhsa’geh* 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) Tihqwe’do’dẹ:hẹh gẹ:s tq: John ta:hehsnqhwẹ’.
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) Dehqwadinqhwẹ’s ne’ John.
they(males).don’t.like.him the John
‘It is hard to like John.’, ‘John is hard to like.’
- (21) Hqwadihswahẹhs tq: John.
They.hate.him that.one John
‘It is hard to like John.’, ‘John is hard to like.’
- (22) Hqgwe’di:yó: gẹ:s tq: John.
he.is.a.good.person usually that.one John
‘It is easy to like John.’, ‘John is easy to like.’
- (23) Hqgwe’di:yó: ne’ John.
he.is.a.good.person the John
‘It is easy to like John.’, ‘John is easy to like.’
- (24) Hodqgwe’danqhwẹ’ 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 *agatsəŋq: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) Agatsəŋq: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: agadekqó: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
agadekqó:ni’].
I.ate
‘The amount of food that I ate will last me a long time.’ (Mithun & Henry
1984: 294, Dwade:kq:nih dialogue)

29 Clauses with linking words (PARTICLES)

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:néh hni’ ohsqdagwe:góh dehodinehé:’ 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*’ *haksotgęhé:*’ *togyéh dahayagé*’ functions as a noun (denoting a person). The pronominal prefix [ha-] 3s.M.A in *daháyagé*’ links the relative clause *togyéh daháyagé*’ ‘he was going out from there’ to the noun it modifies, *ne*’ *haksótgęhé:*’ ‘my late grandfather’.

- (5) Onéh gwa’, nę-gwa’ ahsha:kni:gé? ne’ haksotgęhé:’
Now right.now now-right.now we.saw.him the my.late.grandfather
[**togyéh dahayagé**’],
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 de:jɔhsdi: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
 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, *Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ* dialogue)
- (8) Daskro:wíh [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:yóht 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:yóht shɛh Tina
 he.knows so Q Peter what the.way.it.is that Tina
 gowanawɛ'daga's?]
 she.likes.the.taste.of.candy
 'So does Peter know why Tina likes candy?'
- (11) Agahsɛ: [shɛh age:ji: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 [dɛ́ ho'dɛ́ ni-] 'how', shɛh ni:yoht 'how so'

- (14) [Dɛ́hadawɛ́:nyé' haya:sóh ɔgwehɔwéhneha:'] [gyotgót gyɛ:']
 he.wanders he.is.named Cayuga.language, always the.one
 nónɛ: ɛ:-tsɔ: ishe' dɛ́hadawɛ́:nyé'].
 you.know there.just he.is.here he.walks.about
 'Dɛ́hadawɛ́:nyé', ('he wanders'), is his Cayuga name, (because), you
 know, he always wanders around here and there.' (Mithun & Henry 1984:
 317, Sanahsgwaɛ' Gɛh Sgaho'dɛ:ɛh? dialogue)

More examples of linking words and phrases used with causative sentences are provided in the "Related" sections.

Related

- ⇒ Dɛ́ ni:yoht shɛh 'why?', §C.3
- ⇒ Hne:' shɛh 'because', §C.6
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'because', 'overly', §C.8
- ⇒ Ne:' dagaihɔ:ni' 'the reason why', 'that's why', 'because', §C.9
- ⇒ Ne:' tsɔ: 'because', 'it's just', §C.9
- ⇒ Shɛh 'that, because', §C.12

29.4 Manner clauses with [dɛ́ ho'dɛ́ 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) Asadadwɛ́ nɔhsáik? [Dɛ́ hne:' ho'dɛ́ nɔ'sye:']
 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-á'-s-ye:-'
 PART-FAC-2SG.A-do-PUNC

29 Clauses with linking words (PARTICLES)

- (16) Knigohá:ʔ [shəh 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

- ⇒ *Dəʔ hoʔ dəʔ ni-* 'how', 'what way', §C.3
⇒ *Shəh ni:yóht 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) Təʔ gyé:ʔ dəʔsgahq:dóʔ [dó: niyagonohsriyáʔgqh].
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-qh
PART-3NS.FI.P-winter-CROSS-STAT
- (19) Eǵatǵeʔsé: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'aht*) 'who'

Clauses with *sq:*... (*n'aht*) 'who' ask for or provide information about people. *Sq:* is at the beginning of the clause, *n'aht* 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:*ʔ *n'aht* *to:gyeħ* *eksá:*ʔah]?

who in.fact person that.one girl

'Who is that girl?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 71, *Sq:* *Hne:*ʔ *N'aht* *To:gyeħ*? 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'aht* *daqdekonyahne*ʔ].

you.tell.me who person she'll.come.and.eat

'Tell me who's coming to eat.'

cf. *da-q-d-e-kony-a-hn-e*ʔ

CIS.FAC-3S.FI.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-eat-JOINERA-DISL-go-PUNC

(22) *Honqhdq'* *Gwi:deh* [*sq* ʔq *n'aht* *gowanawé*ʔdagaʔs].

he.knows Peter who I.guess person she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar

'Peter knows who likes candy.'

cf. *go-wanawé*ʔd-a-gaʔ-s

3S.FI.P-sugar-JOINERA-like.the.taste.of-HAB

Sq: (*n'aht*) 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'aht* is shown in (24).

29 Clauses with linking words (PARTICLES)

- (23) Daskro:wíh [gado:gé: dędwá:do:t].
you.tell.me together we.will.eat
'Tell me (who) will eat together with us.'
- (24) Daskro:wi' [sɔ: n'aht gado:gé: dęwá: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'aht* 'who', §C.12
- ⇒ *Sɔ: go:węh* 'whose', §C.12

29.7 Clauses with *dę'* ... (*ho'dę'*) 'what'

Clauses with *dę'* ... (*ho'dę'*) 'what' ask for or provide information about objects or ideas. *Dę'* is at the beginning of the clause, *ho'dę'* is optional, and other particles can intervene between them. *Dę'* ... (*ho'dę'*) appears in direct questions (25), and in dependent clauses (26). (It likely also appears in indirect questions.) More examples of *dę'* clauses are provided in the "Related" sections.

- (25) [Dę' ní:s ho'dę' sniya:sɔh]?
what you kind you.two.are.called
'What are you two called?'
- (26) Hao' dahskro:wíh [dę' ni:' nega:gye:'].
o.k., you.tell.me what I I.will.do.it
'O.k., you tell me what to do!'

Related

- ⇒ *Dę'* - element meaning 'what', 'how', §C.3
- ⇒ *Dę' ho'dę'* '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) *Hɛtsyɛ: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*, *nə:gyəh 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 nəya:wəh?
 when it.is that it.will.happen
 'When is that going to happen?'

(31) [**Néh** toh hədwá:yə'] nə:dáh nədwá: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: niyowihsda'e:* 'what time' (32), *nə:gyəh hwa'* 'this time' (33), and *ne:' 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: niyowihsda'e:** əsahdɛ:di'].
 you.tell.me how it.is.a.certain.time you.will.leave
 'You tell me when you are going to leave.'

(33) **Dɛ'** di' ho'dɛ' nəhsa:gyé:' [nə:gyəh hwa'
 What so what.kind you.will.do.something this this.time
 dəjogɛnhó:di']?
 it.will.be.summer
 'What will you do when summer comes?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349,
 Dɛ' Ho'dɛ' Nəhsa:gye:'? dialogue)

(34) [**Ne:' hwa'** nə:gyəh sá:doh: 'dəyɔkidé:ni''] ne' gɛ:doh ne'
 it.is this.time this you.say they.will.change.us the it.means the
 tɛ'-da'ɔ: ɔgwəhɔ: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 aʔa:géʔ, “Waʔgyəh,” aʔa:géʔ, “əgehsrə:níʔ i:wí: tó: neʔ
 now she.said just.now she.said I.will.fix.it I.want that the
 sageʔaʔgéh [gaoʔ shəh nyó:ʔ əhsədəʔdraʔ.]”
 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) [Əhseganyáʔk] [əhskéyahtgaʔ].
 you.will.pay I.will.release.her
 ‘You will pay (before) I let her go.’

29.11 Clauses with *shəh naʔonishe*ʔ, *tsaʔonishe*ʔ, [tsi-] ‘while, when’

Clauses with *shəh naʔonishe*ʔ ‘while’, ‘when’ (37), *tsaʔonishe*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' [shəh nà' 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 dewagadóhwejó:nih,
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:ʔ giʔ hniʔ* ‘and that too’, ‘also’, C.9

30.2 *Hne:ʔ, Ne:ʔ ... (tsq: shəh)* ‘but’

Hne:ʔ ‘in fact’, ‘but’ and *ne:ʔ ... (tsq: shəh)* ‘it.is (just that)’ link contrasting or dissimilar ideas.¹ *Hne:ʔ* tends to occur at the end of the list of contrasting ideas (shown in square brackets in 3. The first instance of *hne:ʔ* in 3 is described in §C.6.)

- (3) [Tɛʔ hne:ʔ dəhahqáʔ ɔgwehɔ:weh], [hoʔnigɔhaɛdaʔs] hné:ʔ.
 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:ʔ nʔaht to:gyɛh? dialogue)

Ne:ʔ (plus other optional particles) appears at the beginning of a contrasting idea or CLAUSE (4).

- (4) [Swahyo:wá:ʔ age:gáʔs], [né:ʔ giʔ heyohé: age:gáʔs neʔ 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], [ji'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 ʔorʔ*, C.9
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ/Neʔ nigəʔ qh neʔ ... ʔorʔ*, 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 gyogaʔq̣h shɛh gaoʔ nitodeʔnyɛːdɛː
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' aqə:ʔəh d-* 'the most, -est, -er (of)'
- ⇒ *Ne' gyaqə: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-JOINER A-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-JOINER A-stand.STAT
 ‘one egg’
 b. jo’nhóhsa:t
 j-o-’nhóhs-a:-t
 REP-3s.P-egg-JOINER A-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-JOINER A-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-hyádqkw-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'nhóhá:ge:
 de-yo-'nhóhs-á:ge:
 DU-3S.P-egg-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 'two eggs'
 cf. o'nhóhsa'
 o-'nhóhs-a'
 3S.P-egg-NSF
 'egg'
- b. deyohsí'dá:ge:
 de-yo-hsí'd-á:ge:
 DU-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 'two feet'
 cf. ohsí'da'
 o-hsí'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) dewahdáhgwá:ge:
 de-wa-hdáhgw-á:ge:
 DU-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 'two shoes'
 cf. ahdáhgwa'
 ahdáhgw-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).

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- (14) ahseḥ niganḥsá:ge:
ahseḥ ni-ga-nḥs-á:ge:
three PART-3S.A-house-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three houses'
cf. ganḥsa'
ga-nḥs-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) ahseḥ niyohsi'dá:ge:
ahseḥ ni-yo-hsi'd-á:ge:
three PART-3S.P-foot-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three feet'
cf. ohsí'da'
o-hsí'd-a'
3S.P-foot-NSF
'feet'
- (16) a. ahseḥ niyohḥná'dage:
ahseḥ ni-yo-hḥná'd-age:
three PART-3S.P-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three potatoes'
- b. ahseḥ nigahḥná'dage:
ahseḥ ni-ga-hḥná'd-age:
three PART-3S.A-potato-be.a.certain.number.STAT
'three potatoes'
cf. ohḥná'da'
o-hḥná'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 niwahdahgwá:ge:
 ahsəh ni-w-ahdahgw-á:ge:
 three PART-3S.A-shoe-be.a.certain.number.STAT
 ‘three shoes’
 cf. ahdáhgwa’
 ahdáhgw-a’
 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. swahdahgwá:t ahdahgwáqweh
 s-wa-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’

- (19) [DE-PRONOMINAL PREFIX-PLACEHOLDER.INCORPORATED NOUN-age:
SPECIFIC.NOUN] ‘two SPECIFIC NOUNS’
degrahe[?]da:gé: ohó:dra[?]
de-grahe[?]d-a:gé: o-hó:dr-a[?]
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-ya[?]d-JOINER-A-t [living.thing]] ‘one [living.thing]’
a. sgaya[?]dá:t dagu:s
s-ga-ya[?]d-á:-t dagu:s
REP-3S.A-body-JOINER-A-stand.STAT cat
‘one cat’
b. sgaya[?]dá:t jogrihs ‘one blackbird’
c. sgaya[?]dá:t ohtahyó:ni: ‘one wolf’
d. sgaya[?]dá:t twé:twé:t ‘one duck’
e. sgaya[?]dá:t degaya[?]dáhkwa[?] ‘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-ǝ: [living.thing]] ‘three or more [living.things]’
ahséh nigé:nó: dagus
ahséh ni-gé:n-ǝ: 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 (*agǝgwe[?]dá:se:*, *haksá:[?]ah*, 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-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. dehadiahshé: 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).

31 Comparisons, counting, measuring

- (25) [NUMBER [NI-Y-Q:] [thing]]
 ahséh ni:yó: oná:tsih
 ahséh 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 [ni: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 nigętsę[?]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 awéhe[?] ‘one flower’
 b. sgá:t heyótgahtweh ‘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:nɔ́néha: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 ksó:t aʔa:géʔ], “Èhsnigòhá:k
The just she.said, [the grandmother, she.said], you.two.be.careful
gwaʔ to:gyéh, ahgwí, èhsahdó: 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,] “Jadohswéʔ 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 oḡwehó:wəh.
 now they.arrived that where they.live the real.people
 ‘Now they arrived where the Real People lived.’
- b. Oda:di:dəht dəʔhoʔdéʔ 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: Sgahoʔdé:ʔəh gəh o:yáʔ desadəhwə:jo:nih?
 anything Q other you.want.it
 ‘Is there something else you want?’
- b. Sam: Əhéʔ. Enesdanyaʔktáʔ giʔ hniʔ dewagadəhwəjó:nih.
 yes saw just and I.want.it
 ‘Yes, I also want a saw.’
- c. Ne:ʔ giʔ gyə:ʔəh əkni:nóʔ neʔ gwáhs gahenaʔtri:yó:
 it.is just I.guess I.will.buy.it the best
 enesdanyáʔktaʔ.
 good.knife saw
 ‘Then I guess I’ll buy the best cutting saw.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enəhsənyáʔdaʔsə: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:ʔ* 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:ʔs*
 the just I.remember
 ‘What I remember’
- b. *ne' dyotgót gɛ:s gona'daé' ne' ksotgɛhé:ʔ.*
 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' nə: 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-gyẹ:' səh tẹ' ní:s desanəhsgwaé:
 he.said it's you.know-this.one that not you you.don't.have.a.pet
 toh naganəhsgwiyohá:k səh niyóht ne' odi'tragá'oh."
 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. "Tẹ'-hné: hwé:dọ' dəhodahdọ:dẹ' ó:nəh ẹhayanéhẹ:'
 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'ɛ:ná'* appears in the sentence in (1a), while its incorporated counterpart [*'ɛn*] 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:néh hahonadí' ohyo'ti:yéht o'ɛ:ná' shéh 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. *oɛ:ná'*
o-ɛ:n-á'
3S.P-spear-NSF
- b. *Ne:' ne' hohsé: haho'ɛnq:dí' gwahs tsa'deyonq'ahé'*
it.is the he.is.fat he.spear-threw right middle.of.its.head
ha'gahnyó:da'.
it.stuck.there
'The fat one threw the spear right in the middle of its head, (where) it stuck.' (Keye 2012)
cf. *haho'ɛnq:dí'*
ha-ho-'ɛn-q:dí-'
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. Tę’ de’gę: hne:’ a:sę’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, *otgwęhsa’* appears in final position in (3b), where it clarifies ‘what is dripping’. (Also, illustrating that excorporation was a deliberate choice, *otgwęhsa’* could have been incorporated into *ęyó:ka’* ‘it will drip’, as shown by words like *otgwęhsokahs* ‘dripping blood’.)

- (3) a. O:nęh 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:’ ęyo:ká’ gaqhyada:gyé’ otgwęhsa’.
 it.is in.fact it.will.drip along.the.sky blood
 ‘That is what drips in the sky, blood.’
- c. Ne:’ dehsfade:ní’ shęh niyohsohgo’dęhs onrahdq:dq’ ne’
 it.is it.will.change that what.colours.they.are the.leaves the
 grahé’dq’
 trees
 ‘That’s what changes the colours the leaves of the trees.’ (Keye 2012)

33.2 Excorporated nouns in final position

Similarly, in example (4), excorporated *o'wáhq̄h*, *ne' oné̄hɛ:ʔ*, and *ohsáhe'da'* appear in final position. (The choice of excorporation must have been deliberate, since the verbs used, *q̄gwá: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: tsq: ni:yó: q̄gwá:yɛ' o'wáhq̄h. Tɛ' gwá'tóh
 it.is just a.certain.amount we.have meat not any.at.all
 dɛ'jɔ:gwá:yɛ' ne' oné̄hɛ:ʔ, 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:gyéh 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:gó:t heyohé: i:só' ɛ̄dwahnegá:go',
 it.is.necessary much more we.will.collect.liquid
 'We must collect the sap,'
 cf. ɛ̄-dwa-hneg-á:-go-ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-liquid-JOINER-gather-PUNC
- b. ɛ̄dwahnegáíht,
 we.will.heat.liquid
 'we will heat it,'
 cf. ɛ̄-dwa-hneg-a-íht
 FUT-1P.IN.A-liquid-JOINER-break.into.bits.∅.PUNC
- c. ɛ̄dwahsrq:ní' nɛ:gyéh 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-yagɛʔ* clearly links the description *togyɛh daháyagɛʔ* to the noun it modifies, *neʔ haksótgɛhɛʔ*.

- (1) Onɛh gwaʔ, nɛ-gwaʔ ahsha:kni:gɛʔ neʔ haksótgɛhɛʔ
Now right.now now-right.now we.saw.him the my.late.grandfather
[togyɛh daháyagɛʔ].
[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:gɛʔ* in (2), but after the verb in (3), with no ambiguity concerning who is speaking.

- (2) Neʔ giʔ aʔa:gɛʔ, [neʔ ksót aʔa:gɛʔ,] “ɛhsnigɔhá:k
The just she.said, [the grandmother, she.said], you.two.be.careful
gwaʔ to:gyɛh, 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)

- (3) Ne' gi' to: ne', [onəh a'a:gé' ne' kso:t,] "Jadohswe'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)

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 *gohdrɔ's* 'she/someone is scared' and *he:yɛ'* 'she/someone is there' refer to *ne' ogweh* 'the person' (in context, 'the people'). In (4b), the pronominal in *dejɔtgahnnyeh* 'she/someone doesn't play' refers to *eksa'shɔ:ʔh* 'the children'. Similarly, the prefix in *ɛyɔtgəhɛhsɔ:ʔ* 'she/someone will get up severally' refers to *ne' ogwehsɔ:ʔh* 'the people' in (4d).

- (4) a. **Gohdrɔ's** agɛ' hni' i:nɔh he:yɛ' ne'
 someone.is.scared it's.said and far someone.is.over.there the
 ogweh shɛh ena:gre'.
 person that someone.lives
 'They are scared to go too far, the people who live there.'
 cf. *gohdrɔ's*
 go-hdrɔ's
 3S.FI.A-scared.STAT
- b. **Eksa'shɔ:ʔh hni' ɔ:nɛh tɛ' ahsdeh dejɔtgahnnyeh.**
 children and now not outside someone.doesn't.play
 'The kids too now, they do not play outside.'
 cf. *dejɔtgahnnyeh*
 de-j-ɔ-t-gahnnyeh
 NEG-REP-3S.FI.A-SRF-play-HAB
- c. **O:nɛh hni' ohsɔdagwe:gɔh dehodinɛhɛ:ʔ ne' hɛnɔ:gweh shɛh**
 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 ɛyɔtɣɛhɛhsɔ:ʔ neʔ ɔɣwehsɔ: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. ɛyɔtɣɛhɛhsɔ:ʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-t-ɣɛh-ɛ-hs-q-:ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-get.up-JOINER.A-DISL-PLRZ-PUNC
- e. weʔsgɛhɛ:ʔ neʔ hnyagwaiʔdatgiʔgo:wah shɛh
 it.was.there the big.ugly.bear that
 niwahsɔ: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), *ɔtahi:neʔ* ‘she or someone walks’ refers to a backgrounded, unspecified *shɔ:gwaʔ-noht* (who was introduced in (5a, b)). Then, this unknown *shɔ: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 *shɔ:gwaʔ-noht*. The switch in prefix implies that *shɔ:gwaʔ-noht* has been revealed and is now part of the new or foregrounded information in the discourse.

- (5) a. O:nɛh gwaʔ aʔɔgyatɔ:dɛh to: shɔ:gwaʔ-noht ahsdɛh i:wa:kʔah
 now just.now we.heard that some-person outside near
 ganɔhso: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.F1.A-SRF-road-lead-PUNC
- c. O:nɛh gwaʔ ɔgya:tó:deʔ shɔgwaʔ-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-ʔɔh 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 oněh 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!’
- ⇒ *Otgòʔ, Hotgòʔoh* ‘what the...?!’, ‘for Heaven’s sake!’
- ⇒ *O, O:ò*: ‘oh’
- ⇒ *Trehs giʔ gyɛ:ʔ* ‘my goodness!’, ‘too bad!’, ‘that’s amazing!’
- ⇒ *Tɬɛ*: ‘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**, “Nawɛʔ dáʔ go:gáʔs Tina.”
 Peter he.said sugar she.likes.it Tina
 ‘Peter said, “Tina likes candy.”’
- (5) O:néh aʔa:géʔ, “Jaʔ snéht to:gyéh waʔjéh neʔ sɔ:gwaʔnóht
 now she.said you.two.get.down there right.now the someone
 ɛyagonóhnyak.”
 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:né”, agé”, ne’ Government nitawe:nó: hɔgwéh, aha:yó’ ne’
 now it.is.said the Government he.was.sent man he.arrived the
 toh. Ahshɔgwahó:wi’. O:néh, agé”, deyɔkidé:ni’.
 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 Onɔdowá’ga:’, Hi’no’ hayá:sɔh.
 he.is.their.leader it.is.said Seneca, Hi’no’ he.is.called
 ‘It is said that the one called Hi’no’ 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:’ gi’. O:néh gyé:’ 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:’ gohwihsdaga’de’.
 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:gɛ: '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:gyɛh '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, ɔ:, ɔ 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)'
- ⇒ Oh ne:ʔ 'maybe'
- ⇒ Tɛʔ giʔ shəh hwaʔ daʔɔ '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
 daedwadɛnɔhɔ: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

- ⇒ *Eɛwa:dɔ* 'yes, you may', 'it is permissible', 'you can'
- ⇒ *Eɛwa:dɔ gɛh* 'may I', 'may we'
- ⇒ *Eɛwa:dɔ gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'a possibility'
- ⇒ *Tɛ' ta:wa:dɔh* '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'sdagɛ: gaha:gɔ: wa'ne:ʔ.*
 too not.much.noise in.woods today
 'The woods are too quiet.'
Eɛɛ:ʔ, gwahs ɔ:weh seʔ.
 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:gɛhs* 'exactly', 'just so'
- ⇒ *Do:s gi'* 'just so', 'indeed'
- ⇒ *Eɛɛ* 'yes'
- ⇒ *Eɛɛ ɛ:ʔ* 'yes indeed'
- ⇒ *Eɛɛ gyɛ:ʔ* 'yes indeed'
- ⇒ *Eɛɛ seʔ* 'it is so', 'yes indeed'

- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:wəh se* 'indeed', 'for sure'
- ⇒ *Ne:* 'just so', 'indeed'

35.3.2 Disagreement markers

DISAGREEMENT MARKERS express the speaker's disagreement with previous statements or ideas (12).

- (12) *Tɛ*ʔ *gi*ʔ *hne:*ʔ *dedo:gɛhs* *de*ʔ*sá:dɔh*.
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

- ⇒ *Hɛ*ʔ*ɛh* 'no'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ 'no', 'not'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *da*ʔ*ɔ* 'it will never happen', 'definitely not'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ *ɔh*, *tɛ*ʔ *gɛ*ʔ*ɔh* 'not really'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *gwahs ɔ:wəh* 'not really', 'not quite'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *hne:*ʔ 'definitely not'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *se*ʔ 'not really', 'but then not really'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *tɔ* *ne:*ʔ, *Tɛ*ʔ *to* *ne:*ʔ 'not really'
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *dedo:gɛhs* '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) Ẽhsné' gèh 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' gyé:'q̄h.
 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) Sọheh gyé:' nóne:' gá:dq̄h deyónadáwẹnye'.
 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: ne:*’ *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) Dẹ́ hni' ho'dé' hoiho'déhsrɔ'de'?
- 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

- ⇒ Hẹ́ 'also', 'too'
- ⇒ Hni' 'and', 'also', 'too'
- ⇒ Da: ne:' hni' 'too', 'also', 'and'
- ⇒ Ne' tsɔ: gwa' toh 'also'
- ⇒ Ne:' hẹ́ hne:' 'too', 'also'
- ⇒ Ne:' hni' ne:' '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 gẹh satse:né' to:gyẹh so:wa:s?
- well, you Q its.your.pet that.one dog
- 'Well, is that your dog?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaé' Gẹh Sgaho'dé:'ẹh dialogue)

The following topic changers are described in the *Particle dictionary*, §C.

Related

- ⇒ *Gi' hne:* 'but', 'however'
- ⇒ *Gwe:* 'well'
- ⇒ *Ne:' tsq: 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' həwə:dəh.*
 the you.know she.means.him
 'He is *just the one* she means.'
- (20) *Ohyadəhsra:sé: i:wí: tɛ' hne:' ohyadəhsra:gá:yəh.*
 new.book I.want not in.fact old.book
 'I want the *new* book, not the *old* one.'
- (21) *Né: swatgahtóh grahe:t. We'sgəhé: ne' hnyagwái:. He'tgəh də'*
 look you.all.look.at.it tree it.was.here the bear high what
hni' heganə'joyaəní: 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' tsq:* 'just', 'really'

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘anyway’
- ⇒ *Gyɛː* ‘just the one’
- ⇒ *Gyɛː hneː tɛ ne* ‘it was this one, (not that one)’
- ⇒ *Hneː* ‘in fact’
- ⇒ *Ne se* ‘that’s just the one’, ‘that’s just who’
- ⇒ *Ne gyɛː ne gyɛː, neɣ nage* ‘that is what’
- ⇒ *Ne gyɛː nɛ neː* ‘emphasis’
- ⇒ *Ne to gyɛː* ‘that’s what’
- ⇒ *Neː/Ne gi gyɛː* ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’
- ⇒ *Neː di gɛh* ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that...?’
- ⇒ *Neː gi* ‘just’
- ⇒ *Neː gyɛː ne* ‘that really is’
- ⇒ *Neː he:gɛː* ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’
- ⇒ *Neː hneː neː* ‘in fact, it is’, ‘it IS’
- ⇒ *Neː ne* ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’
- ⇒ *Shɛh nohgeh* ‘even’
- ⇒ *Tɛ gyɛː nɛ ne* ‘NOT’, ‘what on earth?’
- ⇒ *Tɛ hneː ne* ‘not THAT ONE’
- ⇒ *tɛ se* ‘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

Gayogohonɔ́néha: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 Gayogohonɔ́néha: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, ʔ, 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, aʔ, a:, a:h, a:ʔ] (where a = any vowel. For [ah, aʔ], 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-ʔ, k-ʔ, s-ʔ, n-ʔ, t-k, k-t
- (3) Example syllabifications
- a. kdagʔ (k-da-gʔ) ‘grey squirrel, black squirrel’
 - b. snɛtsáʔgeh (s-nɛt-s^háʔ-geh) ‘on your arm’
 - c. tganóhso:t (t-ga-nóh-so:t) ‘a standing house’
 - d. diʔdi:ʔ (diʔ-di:ʔ) ‘blue jay’
 - e. oʔnéhsaʔ (oʔ-néh-saʔ) ‘sand’
 - f. gaʔgaʔ: (gaʔ-ga:ʔ) ‘crow, raven’
 - g. haʔhó:diʔ (haʔ-hó:-diʔ) ‘he threw it’
 - h. ó:gɛ:ʔt (ó:-gɛʔt) ‘it is visible’
 - i. oháʔkdaʔ (oh-háʔk-daʔ) ‘soot’²
 - j. aʔqdaḥqhdoháeʔ (aʔ-q-daḥ-hqḥ-doh-há-eʔ) ‘she washed her ears’
 - k. goyéhtaʔ (go-yéht-haʔ) ‘alarm clock’
 - l. ehstaʔ (ehs-t^haʔ) ‘she or someone uses it’
 - m. otéʔtraʔ (o-téʔt^h-raʔ) ‘flour, powder’
 - n. wəḥdohs (wəḥ-dohs) ‘it disappears’
 - o. a:hagwé:niʔ (a-ah-hag-wé:-niʔ) ‘he was able to do it’³
 - p. só:wa:s (só:-wa:s) ‘dog’
 - q. eksá:ʔah (ek-sá:ʔ-ʔah) ‘girl’
 - r. onohotsgéʔɛḥ (o-noh-hot^{sh}-géʔ-ʔɛḥ) ‘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 <ʔ-ʔ> denotes that a single consonant, H or <ʔ>, affiliates with both the preceding and following vowel (i.e. it is AMBISYLLABIC).

³Words like *a:hagwé:niʔ* 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. ɛhsrihwané'aksrɔ:' (ɛhs—rih—wa—né'—ak^s—rɔ:?) 'you will swear'
 b. dəhénatkwa' (dəh—hé—nat—k^wa') 'they dance'
 c. ɛtgyɔ' (ɛt—gyɔ') 'I will come in'
 d. gwé: (g^wé:) 'hello', 'well!'
 e. gatgwé'da' (gat-g^wé'-da') 'wallet', 'purse', 'suitcase', etc.

36.2 Prefixes, suffixes, affixes, and stems

Many Gayogohonɔ'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. otrɛ'dagó:wah 'horsefly'
 b. otrɛ'da' 'fly'

More often than not, however, Gayogohonq'néha: affixes are obligatory: their absence results in an incomplete word. When the prefixes in (6a, b) are removed, the result [nqhqkda:nih] does not make sense. In fact, [nqhqkda:nih] requires the prefix in order to be a word.

- (6) a. aknqhqkdá:nih
 ak-nqhqkdá:nih
 1S.P-sick.STAT
 'I am sick'
- b. sanqhqkdá:nih
 ak-nqhqkdá:nih
 2S.P-sick.STAT
 'you are sick'
- cf. *nqhqkdá:nih (not a word)

In words with obligatory affixes, one affix can still be substituted for another of the same type. For example, [nqhqkda: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 Gayogohonq'néha: grammatical terms.

- (7) a. owé:na' 'word'
- b. deganqhsó:ta' 'particle' (literally, 'it connects')
- c. gaya'dahsró:nih 'adjective' (literally, 'it dresses things up')
- d. gawəngwe:ní:yo: 'base, stem' (literally, 'the main word')
- e. dwasáwəhkwa' 'prefix' (literally, 'it begins')
- f. ohé:dq̄h 'pronominal prefix' (literally, 'in front of')
- g. ohé:dq̄h dwasáwəhkwa' 'prepronominal prefix' ('literally in front of the prefix')
- h. hewádokta' 'suffix' (literally, 'it ends')
- i. ɛshsgoəowá: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'** 'my house'
 - b. **ɔknínɔhsa'** 'our house (2 of us)'
 - c. **ɔgwánɔhsa'** 'our house (more than 2)'
 - d. **sanóhsa'** 'your (singular) house'
 - e. **sninóhsa'** 'your house (2 of you)'
 - f. **swanóhsa'** 'your house (all of you)'
 - g. **honóhsa'** 'his house'
 - h. **gonóhsa'** 'her house'
 - i. **onóhsa'** 'its house'
 - j. **hodínɔhsa'** 'their (males) house'
 - k. **godínɔhsa'** 'their (females) house'
 - l. **odínɔhsa'** '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. **sgahdé:gye's**
s-g-ahdé:gy-e's
REP-1S.A-arrive-HAB
'I go home all the time'
 - b. **ɛsgahdé:di'**
ɛs-g-ahdé:di-'
FUT.REP-1S.A-arrive-PUNC
'I will go home'
 - c. **swagáhdegyɔ:**
s-wag-áhdegy-ɔ:
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: '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:gye'
o-hah-akdá:gye'
3S.P-ROAD-ALONGSIDE
'along the edge of the road'
 - b. akdá:gye' '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-ε:-k
Ø.PREFIX.river-lie.STAT-MODZ
'river, stream, creek'
 - b. nigihú: 'uh
ni-gih-ú: 'uh
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

Gayogohonó'néha:' 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) ahékonye'
 a-he-kony-e-'
 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:yq'
 ę-sgwa-yq-'
 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, *əhsáhdɔʔ* ‘you will disappear’ (15a) would not have the suffix, while *esáhdɔʔ* ‘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. *əhsáhdɔʔ*
 ɛ-hs-áhdɔʔ-ʔ
 FUT-2S.P-lose-PUNC
 ‘you will disappear’
- b. *esáhdɔʔ*
 e-sá-hdɔʔ-:-ʔ
 FAC-2S.P-lose-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘you lost it’
- c. *əhsaʔnigóhahdɔʔ*
 ɛ-hsa-ʔnigóh-ahdɔʔ-ʔ
 FUT-2S.P-mind-lose-PUNC
 ‘you will faint’ (literally, ‘your mind will disappear’)
- d. *esahwihsdáhdɔʔ*
 e-sa-hwihsd-áhdɔʔ-:-ʔ
 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, [tsaʔdéh̄syɛʔ] (16a) describes an activity (‘you will cause them to be lying side-by-side’), while [tsaʔdégayɛʔ] (also in 16a) describes the state of ‘lying side-by-side’.

- (16) a. *tsaʔdéh̄syɛʔ*
 tsaʔd-é-hs-yɛʔ-:-ʔ
 COIN.FAC.DU-FUTURE-2S.A-lay-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘you will lay them side-by-side’

36.6 Potential change-of-state suffixes

- cf. tsa^ʔdégayɛ^ʔ
 tsa^ʔdé-ga-yɛ^ʔ
 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:yɛ^ʔ
 ni-gá:-yɛ^ʔ
 PART-3S.A-lie.STAT
 ‘where it is at, where it is placed’
- c. ɛgátgehɔ:^ʔ
 ɛ-g-át-gehɔ:-^ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-sell-CAUS-PUNC
 ‘I will have for sale’ (or, ‘I will cause to sell’)
- cf. honátgehɔ^ʔ
 hon-át-gehɔ^ʔ
 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. ha^ʔge^ʔ
 h-a^ʔ-g-e-^ʔ
 TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-go-PUNC
 ‘I am going there’
- cf. ha^ʔge:^ʔ
 h-a^ʔ-g-e:-^ʔ
 TRANSL-FAC-1S.A-go-PURP-PUNC
 ‘I went there’
- b. hadíhsre^ʔ
 hadí-hsre-^ʔ
 3NS.M.A-follow-STAT
 ‘they follow’

- cf. ɛ́sɛ́hsre:ʔ
 ɛ-s-é-hsre-:-ʔ
 FUT-2S.A-JOINERÉ-chase-PURP-PUNC
 ‘you will chase or follow’
- c. géhseʔ
 ag-é-hs-e-ʔ
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-lower.back-go-STAT
 ‘I am riding’
 cf. agéhse:ʔ ‘I rode’,
 ag-é-hs-e-:-ʔ
 1S.P-JOINERÉ-lower.back-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came riding’
- d. gegyeʔ
 g-e-gye-ʔ
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-fly-STAT
 ‘I am flying’
 cf. gegye:ʔ
 g-e-gy-e-:-ʔ
 1S.A-JOINERÉ-fly-go-PURP-STAT
 ‘I came flying’

Finally, a set of suffixes, tentatively analysed as consisting of [-:-ʔ] 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 [-ʔ] NSF suffix. The words in (18) describe an ‘object’ resulting from an activity.

- (18) a. adrihwə́hséhdɔ:ʔ
 ad-rihw-ə́hséhd-ɔ-:-ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.SRF-MATTER-hide-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘a secret (was caused)’
 cf. odrihwə́hséhdɔh
 o-d-rihw-ə́hséhd-ɔh
 3S.P-SRF-matter-hide-STAT
 ‘it is secret’
- b. adówadɔ:ʔ
 adówad-ɔ-:-ʔ
 Ø.PREFIX.hunt-STAT-NMLZ-NSF
 ‘the hunt’
 cf. agadowá:dɔh
 ag-adowá:d-ɔh
 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 *Onödowaʔga:ʔ* / Seneca). It is said to occur before the [-qh] 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
 agadehsrónihsʔqh
 ag-ad-e-hsr-óni-hsʔ-qh
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-tool-make-EV-STAT
 ‘I am ready’
- b. with [hsʔ, ihsʔ, at.hsʔ] ‘finish’
 agadehsrónihsʔqh
 ag-ad-e-hsr-óni-hsʔ-qh
 1S.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-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. swatgénihśʔahś
 sw-at-géni-hśʔ-a-hś
 2PL.A-SRF-compete-finish-JOINERÁ-HAB
 ‘you have meetings all the time’
- b. ɛhswatgeníhśʔa:ʔ
 ɛ-hsw-at-gení-hśʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-2PL.A-SRF-compete-finish-PUNC
 ‘you all will have a meeting’
- c. swatgénihśʔqh
 sw-at-géni-hśʔ-qh
 2P.P-SRF-compete-finish-STAT
 ‘you are having a meeting right now’

The remaining examples in (21–28) provide evidence that a verb [hsʔ, ihsʔ, at.hsʔ] ‘finish, use up’ exists independently. As a member of the S13 conjugation class (§36.7), it would take the [-a-hs] HAB, the [-a-:ʔ] PUNC, and the [-øh] STAT. Examples supporting the S13 conjugation class analysis, and exemplifying other compound structures with [hsʔ, ihsʔ, at.hsʔ] ‘finish’, ‘use up’, are provided in (21–28).

(21) [rihw-ihsʔ] matter-finish ‘promise, make an agreement’

- a. haíhwíhsʔahs
 ha-íhw-íhsʔ-a-hs
 3S.M.A-matter-finish-JOINERA-HAB
 ‘he is making promises’, ‘he is making agreements’
- b. ɛgríhwíhsʔa:ʔ
 ɛ-g-ríhw-ihsʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-matter-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will promise’

(22) [-at-noun-ihʔs] SRF-NOUN-finish ‘finish something’

- a. ɛgatɛdíhsʔa:ʔ
 ɛ-g-at-hɛd-íhsʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-1S.A-SRF-field-finish-PUNC
 ‘I will finish gardening’, I will finish the field’
- b. agataháhsʔa:ʔ
 a-g-at-hah-á-hsʔ-a:ʔ
 FAC-1S.A-SRF-road-JOINERA-finish-PUNC
 ‘I finished a road’

(23) [ag-yaʔd-ihsʔ] SRF-body-finish ‘mature’

- ɛyɔgyaʔdíhsa:ʔ
 ɛ-yɔ-g-yaʔd-ihsʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-3S.FI.A-SRF-body-finish-PUNC
 ‘she has matured’, ‘she has completed her life cycle’

(24) [ad-rihw-a-hsʔ] SRF-matter-JOINERA-finish ‘plan’

- ɛdwadrihwáhsʔa:ʔ
 ɛ-dw-ad-rihw-á-hsʔ-a:ʔ
 FUT-1P.IN.A-SRF-matter-JOINERA-finish-PUNC
 ‘we all will plan something’

- (25) [-hs[?]-a-hd] finish-JOINER-A-CAUSATIVE ‘use up’
 a. heǵéhs[?]aht
 h-ǵ-g-é-hs[?]-a-ht
 TRANSL-FUT-1S.A-JOINERĒ-finish-JOINER-A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 ‘I will use up’
- (26) [-at/adat-hs[?]] SRF/REFL-finish ‘get used up’
 a. awá:ts[?]a:[?]
 a-w-á:t-hs[?]-a:[?]
 FAC-3S.A-SRF-use.up-PUNC
 ‘it is worn out, all gone, burnt up’, ‘it went down to nothing’
 b. ha[?]wádats[?]ǵh
 ha[?]-w-ádat-hs[?]-ǵh
 TRANSL-3S.A-REFL-use.up-STAT
 ‘it is empty, burnt up, used up’
- (27) [de ... adǵet-hs[?]] DU...REFL-finish ‘earn, deserve’
 a. desádǵets[?]ahs
 de-s-ádǵet-hs[?]-a-hs
 DU-2S.A-REFL-finish-JOINER-A-HAB
 ‘your salary’, ‘what you make’
 b. deǵsádǵets[?]a:[?]
 d-ǵ-hs-ádǵet-hs[?]-a:[?]
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-finish-PUNC
 ‘you will earn it (money)’
 c. desádǵets[?]ǵh
 de-s-ádǵet-hs[?]-ǵh
 DU-2S.P-REFL-finish-STAT
 ‘you’ve earned or deserve it’, ‘you’ve paid your dues’
- (28) [de-...-adat-hs[?]] DU-REFL-finish ‘quarrel’
 deǵsádats[?]a:[?]
 d-ǵ-hs-ádat-hs[?]-a:[?]
 DU-FUT-2S.A-REFL-finish-PUNC
 ‘you will quarrel’

Example (29) appears to consist of [at-hs-ihs[?]] ‘SRF-NOUN-finish’, where the [-hs] element is a type of placeholder incorporated noun (see §14.1.1).

- (29) [-at-hs-ihs'] SRF-noun-finish 'ripen, mature'
- a. watsihs'a:hs
 w-at-hs-ihs'-a-hs
 3S.A-SRF-noun-finish-JOINER A-HAB
 'it is ripening, maturing'
- b. ɛwátsihs'a:
 ɛ-w-át-hs-ihs'-a:
 FUT-3S.A-SRF-noun-finish-PUNC
 'it will mature, ripen'
- c. tsihs'qh
 o-t-hs-ihs'-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.hs'-a-hd] SRF.finish-JOINER A-CAUSATIVE 'be all gone'
- a. ha'wá:ts'aht
 h-a'-w-á:t.hs'-a-ht
 TRANSL-FAC-3S.A-use.up-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 'it is all gone'
- b. ha'watnegá:ts'aht
 h-a'-w-at-hneg-á:t.hs'-a-ht
 TRANSL-FAC-3S.A-SRF-water-SRF.finish-JOINER A-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
 'water is all gone'
- c. heyóts'ahdqh
 he-yó-t.hs'-a-hd-qh
 TRANSL-3S.P-SRF-finish-JOINER A-CAUS-STAT
 'it is all gone'
- (31) [d...ad-rihw-at.hs'] CIS...SRF-matter-SRF.finish 'earn, fulfill'
- atadrihwa:ts'a:
 a-t-ha-d-rihw-a:t.hs'-a:
 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.

- a. degáʔswe:s
de-g-áʔswe:g-s
DU-1S.A-deaf-HAB
‘I am going deaf’
- b. deḡáʔswe:k
d-ḡ-g-áʔswe:k-∅
DU-FUT-1S.A-deaf-∅.PUNC
‘I will go deaf’
- c. dewagaʔswé:g-ḡh
de-wag-aʔswé:g-ḡh
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. gadḡtgadḡhaʔ
g-ad-ḡtgadḡ-haʔ
1S.A-SRF-have.fun-HAB
‘I am fun-loving’
- b. ḡhswadḡtgá:dḡ:ʔ
ḡ-hsw-ad-ḡtgá:dḡ:ʔ
FUT-2PL.A-SRF-have.fun-PUNC
‘you all will have a good time’
- c. ḡḡwadḡtgá:dḡʔ
ḡḡw-ad-ḡtgá:dḡ-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 [-ḡh] 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, [-∅] ∅.PUNC, and [-ḡh] STAT endings

- a. heḡnáʔswahtaʔ
heḡn-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. deyagodáwənyeʔ
 de-yago-d-áwənye-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:tgrí: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	[-ø]	[-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]	[aɛ-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	[-:]	[- [?]]
i, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a, a:	[-s], [-h]	S1	[- [?] -ɔh] (INCH-STAT)	[- [?]]
ʔ	[-s]	S2	[-ɔh]	[-∅]
d	[D-s] ^a	S3	[-ɔh]	[-∅]
g	[G-s]	S4	[-ɔh]	[-∅]
h	[-s]	S5	[-ɔh]	[-∅]
h	[-s]	S5	[H- [?] -ɔh] (INCH-STAT)	[-∅]
a:h	[a:H-s]	S5	[-ɔh]	[a:H-∅]
s	[-ahs]	S6	[-ɛh]	[-∅]
kh, nh	[-ahs]	S7a	[-ɛh]	[-a [?]]
h	[-ahs]	S7b	[-ɛh]	[-a [?]]
Vn ^b	[-ahs]	S8	[-ɛh]	[N-: [?]]
Vw	[-ahs]	S9	[-ɛh]	[W-: [?]]
Cw	[-ahs]	S10	[-ɛh]	[o-: [?]] ^c
a [?] w	[-ahs]	S11	[-ɛh]	[aW [?]]
	[aW [?] -s]			
a: [?] w	[a: [?] W-s]	S11	[-ɛh]	[a:W [?]]
d, g	[-ahs]	S12	[-ɔh], [ɛh]	[-∅] ^d
s [?]	[-ahs]	S13	[-ɔ]	[-a [?]]
kd	[-ɔhs]	S14	[-ɔ:]	[kD-∅]
aɔ, ɛɔ	[-s]	S15	[-∅]	[aQ:- [?]] [ɛQ:- [?]]
ey	[-ɔhs]	S16	[-ɔ:]	[eY:- [?]]
Cy (dy, gy, ny)	[-e [?] s], [-ɔhs]	S17	[-ɔ:]	[Ci- [?]] instead of [Cy- [?]]
Cy (sy)	[-ɔhs]	S17	[sY-ɔ:]	[si- [?]] instead o: [sy- [?]]
dr	[-ɔhs]	S18	[-ɔ:]	[DRs-e: [?]]
Ry ^e	[ny-e [?] s]	S19	[ny-ɔ:]	[wi- [?]] or [i- [?]] instead of [Ri- [?]]
V:G	[VG-hs]	S20a	[V:G-∅] or [V:g-ɔh]	[V:k-∅]
V [?] G	[V [?] G-s]	S20b	[V [?] G-ɔh]	[V [?] k-∅]

^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/I.

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. sagawəhá:gye'
 sa-gawə-h-á:-gy-e-'
 2S.P-paddle-EUPH.H-JOINER-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. agadəhswé'danih
 ag-ad-əhswé'd-a-ni-h
 1S.P-SRF-hunger-JOINER-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 *Qgwehəwéhneha*:⁷ '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. dɛ́gɛ́hsnyeʔ
 d-ɛ́-gé-hsnye-ʔ
 DU-FUT-1S.A-care.for-PUNC
 ‘I will look after it’

(42) end-point, with change of state

- a. atgatnɔ́hsáhsnyeʔ
 a-t-g-at-nɔ́hsá-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. Dɛ́ʔ 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. [Agatsɛnó:ni:]
'I am happy.'
- b. [Godi'gró' ne' Mary.]
godi'gró' ne' Mary
she.is.shy the Mary
'Mary is shy.'
- c. [Hɛtsyé:'] [shɛh hɔ: hesá:gweh.]
Hɛtsyé: shɛh hɔ: hesá:gweh
you.will.put.it.back.there that where you.gathered.it.there
'You will put it back where you got it.'
- d. [Agyɔ:díh] [degakegáhne' niga:gú:s'uh].
Agyɔ: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. **Agatsɛnɔːni**: ‘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. **Agatsɛnɔːní**: [shəh ahsyɔː].
 agatsɛnɔːní: shəh ahsyɔː
 I.am.happy that you.arrived
 ‘I am happy [that you’ve arrived].’
 b. **Daskro:wíh** [sɔː n’aht daɔdekɔnyahneː].
 Daskro:wíh sɔː n’aht daɔdekɔnyahneː
 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 *agatsenq̄:ni* ‘I am happy’ or *daskro:wih* ‘tell me’, both from example (46) in the previous section. In contrast, dependent clauses such as *shēh ahsyq̄* ‘that you’ve arrived’ (46a) or *sq̄: nʹaht daq̄dekq̄nyahne* ‘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:hēni:hé:ʔ] [hahjáotaʔ].
 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:di: 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:di:* ‘Peter he.knows.him’, plus the noun whose meaning is modified, *hq:gweh* ‘the man’.

- (51) [Gwi:déh hqwa:yẹ:di: 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] *adáʔditraʔ* ‘cane’
- [adahdiʔtra] *adáhdiʔtraʔ* ‘socks’
- [adahqoqhsra] *odahqoqhsraʔ* ‘asking’
- [adeʔhe] *adéʔheʔ* ‘fence’
- [adehegaqsra] *adehegáqsraʔ* ‘an invitation’
- [adehse] *odéhsheʔ* ‘cocoon, nest, hive, bee-hive’
- [adehsa] *adéhsaʔ* ‘blouse, midy’
- [adejeʔtra] *sadéjeʔtraʔ* ‘your doctor’
- [adekwahahsra] *adekwaháhsraʔ* ‘table’
- [adenideqsra] *adenidéqsraʔ* ‘the act of kindness’
- [adenihsa] *adenihsaʔ* ‘on the wall’, *odénihsaʔ* ‘wall’
- [adiʔgrqhsra] *adíʔgrqhsraʔ* ‘shyness’
- [adihakqhsra] *adihakqhsraʔ* ‘ceremonial feast’
- [adoda:] *adóda:ʔ* ‘bow’ (as in bow and arrow)
- [adogę] *adó:geʔ* ‘axe, tomahawk’
- [adqhneʔtsa] *odqhneʔtsaʔ*, *adqhneʔtsaʔ* ‘ladder or stairs’
- [adoʔjina] *adoʔjí:naʔ* ‘skate’
- [adqnhesra] *adqnhesraʔ* ‘birth’
- [adqheʔtra] *odqnehtrá:gq:* ‘in the heart’
- [adqgadqhsra, adqgadehsra] *odqgadqhsraʔ*, *odqgadéhsraʔ*, ‘celebration, fun’
- [adqwa] *adó:waʔ* ‘men’s personal chant’
- [adra:hgwa:] *odráhgwa:ʔ* ‘sun dog’
- [adraʔswa] *adráʔswaʔ* ‘luck’
- [adreʔtra] *agádrʔetraʔ* ‘my grandchild(ren)’
- [adrihwagyaqhsra] *adrihwagyaqhsraʔ* ‘disaster’
- [aʔęna] *oʔę:naʔ* ‘snowsnake, pole’

- [a'gɛhɛ] o'gɛhɛ 'ashes, bullet, dust'
 [a'gra] o'gra 'snow, snowflake'
 [agya'dawí'tra] agya'dawí'tra 'coat, dress'
 [agyaqhsra] ogyáqhsra, agyáqhsra 'trick'
 [ahdahgwa] ahdáhgwa 'shoes'
 [ʔahdra] ga'áhdra 'basket'
 [ahgwɛnya] ahgwɛ:nya 'clothing, clothes'
 [ahjí'gra] ohjí'gra 'cloud'
 [ʔahsa] 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'
 [ajahqhs-gwa, ajɛh-qhs-gwa] ajahqhs-gwá:gɔ: 'in a whisper', sajɛh-qhs-gwaɛ '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'
 [atgahnɛhtra] atgáhnyehtra 'sports, games'
 [atganqnihsra] otganqnihsra 'wealth, richness'
 [atgqhsgwa'tra] atgqhsgwa'tra 'window'
 [atgq'tra] otgq'tra 'ominous medicine'
 [atgwɛnya'tra, atgɔnya'tra] gatgwɛnya'tra, gatgɔnya'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'hda 'big-headed sucker'
 [atsohgwahda] otsógwa'hda 'pipe (for tobacco)'
 [atso'kdqhsra] atsó'kdqhsra 'hoe'
 [awɛhɛ] awɛhɛ 'flower'
 [awɛhsa] awɛhsa 'sunflower'
 [awɛ'nahsa, awɛ'nohsa] awɛ'nahsa 'tongue', gwɛ'nóhsa'geh 'on my tongue'
 [a'ya] o'ya 'female genitals, vagina'
 [ʔdatra] ga'dá:tra 'quiver'
 [di(tra)] odi: 'tea', odi'tragá'qh 'Good Tea' (name of a dog)
 [ʔdɔdra] o'dó:dra 'fat, gristle, rind'
 [ʔdrehda] ga'dréhda 'car, truck, vehicle'
 [ʔdrohsra] o'dróhsra 'fat, pig rinds'
 [ɛdehsra] ɛdéhsra 'sexual arousal'
 [ɛhni'da] ɛhni'da: 'month, moon'
 [ʔɛna] o'ɛ:na 'spear'
 [ɛ'nhotra] ɛ'nhó:tra 'ball'
 [ɛ'nihs-ga:] ɛ'nihs-ga:, wɛ'nihs-ga: 'wheel, circle, hoop'
 [ɛ'nyotra] ɛ'nyó:tra 'mittens'

A.1 Basic nouns ending in [-a'] NSF, [-tr-a'] NMLZ-NSF or [-hsr-a'] NMLZ-NSF

- [ɛtsga:] gɛtsga:ʔ 'mattress, sleeping mat'
- [ga:] ó:ga:ʔ 'a price (on something)'
- [ʔga:] oʔga:ʔ 'parable, tale, story, legend'
- [ga'd] ogá'daʔ, oga'daʔshó:ʔh 'pants, underpants'
- [ga'da] gagá'daʔ 'white oak'
- [gaha] ogáhaʔ 'eye'
- [gahdra] ogáhdraʔ 'tear(s)' (in one's eye)
- [gahehda] ogáhehdaʔ 'eyelash, the stem of a berry, the eye of the corn kernel'
- [gahgwaosa] ogahgwáohsaʔ 'eyebrow'
- [gahgwiyo'da] ogahgwiyo'daʔ 'corn husk mask with a wooden face'
- [gahihsd] gagáhihsdaʔ 'eye glasses'
- [gaho'ja] ogáho'jaʔ 'grass'
- [ganyɛ'da] ogányɛ'daʔ 'cadaver, dead body'
- [gawehsa] gagáwehsaʔ 'paddle, shovel'
- [ge'a:] ogé'a:ʔ 'hair, a rag'
- [gehda] gagéhdaʔ 'tie, scarf'
- [gihe] gi:hé:gɔ: 'in the stream, creeks, river'
- [go'a:] otgó'a:ʔ 'wampum'
- [gɔ'da] ogódaʔ 'bridge of one's nose'
- [gɔ'dra] gagó'draʔ, ogó'draʔ 'pillow, cushion, cotton batting, q-tips'
- [gɔhsa] gagóhsaʔ 'a mask'
- [gɔhsa] ogóhsaʔ 'face'
- [gɔ'tra] ogó'traʔ 'pound' (measurement)
- [gɔhstwe'ɛ:, gɔhstɔ'] ogóhstwe'ɛ:ʔ 'beard', ahatsgɔhstɔ'ɛht 'he shaved' satgóhstwe'ɛht 'shave!'
- [graheda] grahédaʔgeh 'on the tree'
- [gwɛni'da] ogwɛni'daʔ 'pennies'
- [gwɛno'da] otgwɛno'daʔ 'gizzard'
- [gwiya] ogwí:yaʔ 'limb, twig, branch'
- [gwiyo'd] gagwíyo'daʔ 'corn husk fringe around a wooden mask'
- [hada] gahá:daʔ 'forest, bush'
- [ha'da] ohá'daʔ 'quill, plume, feather, voice, throat, larynx, esophagus'
- [haha] oháhaʔ 'road'
- [ha'kda] ohá'kdaʔ 'soot'
- [hanɔhsa] ohánɔhsaʔ 'temple' (body part)
- [he'a:] ohé'a:ʔ 'corn husk'
- [he'da] ohé:daʔ 'the field' (of Iroquois origin only, pertaining to the Dish Game, see §D.18)
- [hehda] ohéhdaʔ 'dirt, earth, ground, land'
- [hehda:] ohéhda:ʔ 'fur'
- [hehna, hrehna] gahéhnaʔ, ohéhnaʔ 'cargo, bundle, load', khrehnɛhe:wiʔ 'I am carrying a bundle'
- [hehsa] ohéhsaʔ 'decayed tree, log, wood, board'
- [he'na] 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] *Gahnáwagō:* 'Warren, PA' (literally, 'in the rapids')
 [hne'dra] *ohné'drageh* 'on the ground'
 [hnega] *ohné:ga* 'liquid, alcohol'
 [hnya] *Howahnyayē:ni:* 'He Laid Down A Stick For Him' (Onondaga Chief Title), *gahnnya* 'stick'
 [hnya] *ohnya* 'the neck, the throat'
 [hnya:] *ohnya:* 'nutmeat'
 [hnyahsga:] *əhnyáhsga:* 'button'
 [hnya'sa] *ohnyá'sa* 'neck, throat'
 [hnyédahsa] *gahnnyédahsa*, *ohnyé-dahsa* 'beak'
 [hnye:ha] *ohnyé:ha* 'flint corn soup'
 [hnyo'gwa] *ohnyó'gwa* 'nut'
 [hnyo'gwidra] *ohnyó'gwidra* 'grapes'
 [hnyo'hwihsd] *ohnyó'hwihsdá* 'braided corn'
 [hnyo'hsa] *ohnyó'hsa* 'squash, melon'
 [hnyo'qhsra] *gahnnyó'qhsra* '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'
 [hojihhsda] *gahó'jihhsda*, *ohójihhsda* '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'
 [hsdawé'dra] *gahsdáwé'dra* 'rattle, horn rattle'
 [hsdowa] *gahsdó:wa* 'headdress'
 [hsəhə] *ohséhə* 'frost'
 [hsəna] *gahsə:na* 'name'
 [hsge'dra] *ohsgé'dra* 'rust'
 [hsgeha] *ohsgéha* 'louse'
 [hsgoha] *ohsgóha* 'branch'
 [hsgwa:] *gahsgwa:* 'stone, rock, boulder, bullet'

- [**jihşoda:**] *ojihşo:da:* 'cluster of stars, star'
- [**jihwa, jihy**] *gajihwa* 'hammer', *gajihyowa:neḥ* 'sledgehammer, big hammer'
- [**jihwēda**] *ojihwē:da* 'bell'
- [**jija**] *oji'ja* 'petal'
- [**jike'da**] *ojike'da* 'salt'
- [**jinḡhgra**] *ojinḡhgra* 'nasal mucus'
- [**ji'nḡwa**] *oji'nḡ:wa* 'bug, insect, worm'
- [**ji'ohda, ji'ehda**] *oji'ohda*, *oji'ehda* 'fingernails, toenails, animal nails, claws'
- [**jis**] *ó:ji:s* 'cheese' (loanword from English)
- [**jisgo'gwa:**] *oji'ohsgwa:* 'hip'
- [**jitgwa:**] *oji:tgwa:* 'yellow, bile'
- [**'ka:**] *ga'ka:* 'slip, skirt'
- [**kda**] *okda* 'nutshell'
- [**kdeha**] *okdéha* 'root, edible roots' (pepper roots, turnips, carrots)
- [**kjina**] *okji: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'
- [**nahaḡwē(tra)**] *ganaháḡwē* 'seeds, seed corn', *dēdwanahaḡwētraē* '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'jowi'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'
- [**negreḡda**] *onégreḡda* 'morel mushroom'
- [**negwa**] *oné:gwa* 'peas'
- [**neḡe:**] *onéḡe:* 'corn'
- [**'nehsa**] *o'néhsa* 'sand'
- [**nehşda:**] *ganéhsda:* 'board'
- [**nehşḡeḡe**] *ganéhsḡeḡe* 'dogfish'

A.1 Basic nouns ending in [-aʔ] NSF, [-tr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF or [-hsr-aʔ] NMLZ-NSF

[nehwa] ganéhwaʔ ‘leather, hide’	[nəhgwatra] onəhgwatraʔ ‘medicines’
[nənoga:] onə:nóga:ʔ ‘hickory wood, stick’	[nəhgwe] onəhgweʔ ‘corn cob’
[nənyoʔgwa] onənyoʔgwaʔ ‘pills’	[ʔnoksa] oʔnó:ksaʔ ‘bass (fish), oysters, shellfish, sea shells’
[ʔnhahgya, ʔnhahda] oʔnháhgyaʔ, onháhdaʔ ‘large lumber logs, timber’	[nəhkwahsra] ganəhkwahsraʔ ‘love’
[nheʔda] ganhéʔdaʔ ‘porcupine’	[nohəkdehsra] ganohəkdehsraʔ ‘sickness, an ache’
[nhehsa] ganhéhsaʔ ‘harness, ribbon, laces’	[nohotsgeʔe] onohotsgeʔeʔ ‘beech’
[nhehsra] ganhéhsraʔ ‘to take someone’s part, advocacy’	[nəhsa] ganəhsaʔ ‘house’
[ʔnhəhtsa, ʔnhwəhtsa] oʔnhəhtsaʔ, oʔnhwəhtsaʔ ‘tail of an animal’	[ʔnohsda] gaʔnóhsdaʔ ‘naked, bare’, ‘hairless or plucked carcass’
[nhoha] ganhóhaʔ ‘door’	[nəndra] onəndraʔ ‘soother, pacifier, nipple’
[ʔnhəhsa] oʔnhəhsaʔ ‘eggs’	[nənya] ganə:nyaʔ ‘dance’
[niga:həhsra] onigá:həhsraʔ ‘material, cloth’	[nənya] onə:nyaʔ ‘husk’
[ʔnigəha] gaʔnigəhaʔ ‘the mind’	[ʔnoshehsra] gaʔnóshəhsraʔ ‘jealousy’
[ʔnihsda:] oʔnihsda:ʔ ‘stem, hull of berries’	[nowa] ganó:waʔ ‘guitar, any string instrument’
[nəda] Onədaʔgeh ‘on the hill, Onondaga town’	[noweʔda] onóweʔdaʔ ‘lie’
[nəda, neda] onədagə: ‘valley’, ganədagə: ‘in, under the valley’	[nrahda] onráhdaʔ ‘leaf’
[nəgeʔda] onəgeʔdaʔ ‘catfish’	[nrahdəhsra] onrahdədáhsraʔ ‘poplar’
[nəʔgwa] onəʔgwaʔ ‘milk’	[nrahsra] onráhsraʔ ‘mushroom’
[noʔja] onóʔjaʔ ‘teeth’	[nreʔa] ganréʔaʔ ‘Eagle Feathers’ (for making friends, the one who asks for the friendship holds the feathers)
[ʔnəh] gaʔnəh ‘arrow’	[nregeʔda] onrégeʔdaʔ ‘tripe, animal stomach’
[nohaʔt] onóhaʔtaʔ ‘soap’	[nrehe] onréheʔ ‘tapeworm’
[ʔnəhda] oʔnəhdaʔ ‘bur’	[nyada:] ganyadá:ʔgeh ‘at the lake’
[ʔnəhsa] oʔnəhsaʔ ‘onions’	[nyaʔgwa] onyáʔgwaʔ ‘vomit, vomitus’
[ʔnohsda, ʔnesda] oʔnó:sdaʔ, oʔné:sdaʔ ‘nudity’	

- [nyah] *onyáha* 'native mush dish made with corn'
- [nyęda] *onyé:da* 'stem'
- [nyoda] *ganyó:da* 'spoon, canoe, birch bark canoe'
- [nyqhsa] *o'nyqhsa* 'nose'
- [oqwe'da] *gáqgwe'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:tge'* 'the sun will rise'
- [rahqhsra] *gá:hqhsra* 'cradleboard'
- [ratsge'da] *gá:tsgé'da* 'rope'
- [reña] *gáęna* 'song'
- [rihwa] *oíhwa* 'message, word, affair, business'
- [rihwahsra] *gáihwahsa* 'an agreement'
- [rihwane'aksra] *gaihwané'aksra* 'sin'
- [rihwiyohsdehsra] *gaihwiýohsdehsra* 'religion, the Christian faith'
- [risra] *gáisra* 'leggings'
- [rōda] *gáqda* 'log'
- [rōnya] *aqhnyagq;* *qhnya:gq:* 'in the river flats'
- [rōhya] *gáqhya'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] *gahsháhshdehsra*, *ohshahsdehsra* 'power, strength, energy'
- [te'tra] *oté'tra* 'flour, powder'
- [tgehetsa] *gatgéhetsa* 'handle'
- [tgi'tra] *gatgí'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)'
- [tre'da] *otré'da* 'housefly, fly'
- [tsada] *otsá:da* 'mist, steam, fog, gas, water vapour'
- [tsahda] *otsáhda* 'gall bladder'
- [tsehsda] *otséhsda* 'syrup, honey, gum, nectar'
- [tsene] *gatsé:ne* 'one animal or pet'
- [tsgé'ęda] *otsgé'ę:* 'peach pit'
- [tsgo'd] *otsgó'da* 'balsam fir'
- [tsinqhge'da] *otsinqhgé'da* 'charm society, charm'
- [twęhsa] *otwéhsa* 'liver'
- [wa:] *ó:wa:* 'air, wind, a moth'
- [waha] *o'wáhqh* 'meat', *o'wahi:yo:* 'good, tender meat'

- [^ʔwahsha:] *gá^ʔwáhsha:* ‘earrings’
 [^ʔwahsda] *gá^ʔwáh^ʔsda*, *o^ʔwahsda* ‘clothespin’
 [wajih^ʔsda] *owá^ʔjih^ʔsda* ‘peelings, bark of a tree’
 [wa^ʔwih^ʔsda] *owá^ʔwih^ʔsda* ‘peeling’
 [waya] *owa:ya* ‘fin of a fish, wings’
 [wəna] *owé:na* ‘word, voice, speech’
 [wə^ʔyohga:, wə^ʔyuhga:] *awé^ʔyohga:*, *awé^ʔyuhga:* ‘thumb’
 [wəyohsa, wənyahsa] *awéyohsa* ‘heart’, *agaəsa^ʔwənyahsa:* ‘they gave you a heart operation’
 [widra] *owi:dra* ‘ice’
 [wiya] *owí:ya* ‘young or offspring (i.e. of an animal), baby’
 [ya] *ó:ya* ‘other, another’
 [ya:] *gaya:* ‘bag, mattress, tick, pouch’ (i.e. a mattress bag into which straw is stuffed)
 [yada] *oyá:da* ‘basement, track, ditch, rut, furrow’
 [ya^ʔda] *gayá^ʔda* ‘doll’
- [ya^ʔdagenhahsra] *gaya^ʔdagénhahsra* ‘helpfulness’
 [ya^ʔdowehdahsra] *gaya^ʔdowéhdahsra* ‘the ability to think, thinking skills’
 [yahgwa] *oyáh^ʔgwa* ‘pants’
 [yana] *oyá:na* ‘tire, its track, anything that leaves tracks’
 [yanehsra] *gayánehsra* ‘rights, laws, code’
 [yə:] *ó:yə:* ‘beads’
 [yəda] *oyé:da* ‘wood, firewood’
 [yə^ʔgwa] *oyé^ʔgwa* ‘tobacco, cigarettes’
 [yəhsa:] *oyéhsa:* ‘bandage’
 [yəhsra] *oyéhsra* ‘blankets’
 [yənawahsra] *gayənawáh^ʔsra* ‘help’
 [yq^ʔda] *oyq^ʔda* ‘dead body, cadaver’
 [^ʔyohgwa] *gá^ʔyóhgwa* ‘Avocet blue stocking (bird)’
 [^ʔyohgwa] *o^ʔyóhgwa* ‘skirt, tail, feather’
 [^ʔyotsa] *o^ʔyó:tsa* ‘chin’
 [yqwa] *oyq^ʔwa* ‘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).

- [ahq^ʔhda] *sahq^ʔhda^ʔgeh* ‘on your ears’
 [ahq^ʔhda] *ohq^ʔhdag^ʔ:* ‘inner ear’
 [^ʔahsa] *se^ʔáhsa^ʔgeh* ‘on your chest’
 [ahsi^ʔda] *sahsi^ʔda^ʔgeh* ‘on your foot’
- [ahyagwiya] *swahyagwiyá^ʔgeh* ‘on your toes’
 [awə^ʔnahsa, awə^ʔnohsa] *swə^ʔnóhsa^ʔgeh* ‘on your tongue’

- [gaha] *segáha*ʔgeh ‘on your eyes’
 [gahehda] *segahehdá*ʔgeh ‘on your eyelashes’
 [gahgwaosa] *segahgwáosa*ʔgeh ‘on your eyebrow’
 [geʔa:] *sagéʔa*ʔgeh ‘on your hair’
 [gɛʔsda] *segéʔsda*ʔgeh ‘on your hairline, upper brow, forehead’
 [gɔhsa] *segóhsa*ʔgeh ‘on your face’
 [gɔhstɔʔa] *gegɔhstɔʔá*ʔgeh ‘on my whiskers, my facial hair’
 [gɔʔda] *gegɔʔda*ʔgeh ‘on the bridge of my nose’
 [goʔnya] *egóʔnya*ʔgeh ‘on her septum’
 [hana] *shaná*ʔgeh ‘on your groin, crotch’
 [hanɔhsa] *hahanɔhsá*ʔgeh ‘on his temple’
 [haʔda] *gaháʔda*ʔgeh ‘on its throat’
 [hdega:] *sehdegá:*ʔgeh ‘on your ribs’
 [hetgaʔa(:)] *sehetgaʔá*ʔgeh ‘on your anus’
 [hnaʔtsa] *snáʔtsá*ʔgeh ‘on your buttocks’
 [hnɛsa] *swahnɛhsá*ʔgeh ‘on your shoulders’
 [hnyáʔsa] *sehnyáʔsa*ʔgeh ‘on your neck (front of the neck)’
 [hnyɛdahsa] *gahnnyɛdahsá*ʔgeh ‘on its beak’
 [hoʔa] *shoʔá*ʔgeh ‘on your lap’
 [hɔʔgwa] *shɔʔgwá*ʔgeh ‘on your Adam’s apple, front of your neck’
 [hsgwa:, hsgo] *hahsgwá*ʔgeh ‘his testicles’
 [hsina] *sehína*ʔgeh ‘on your leg’
 [hsnaʔda] *sehnsáʔda*ʔgeh ‘on your calf (of leg), on your outer thighs’
 [hsɔhga:] *sehɔhgá:*ʔgeh ‘on your upper lip’
 [hsɔhgwa] *sehɔhgwa*ʔgeh ‘on your lip’
 [hshɔ, hsha] *sehshɔhneh* ‘on your lower back’ *ɛgéhshada*ʔ ‘I will fall on my back’
 [hsdoʔdra] *ohsdóʔdra*ʔgeh ‘on its feathers’
 [hsʔohda] *sehshóhda*ʔgeh ‘on your hand’
 [hsweʔna] *sehswéʔna*ʔgeh ‘on your upper back’
 [hyohsa, hyuhsa] *kyohsá*ʔgeh, *kyuh-sá*ʔgeh ‘on my elbow’
 [ihna] *gihná*ʔgeh ‘on my skin’
 [ʔnyɔhsa] *seʔnyɔhsá*ʔgeh ‘on your nose’
 [jaohoʔgwa] *sejaohóʔgwa*ʔgeh ‘on your ankle’
 [jisgoʔgwa] *sejihsgogwá*ʔgeh ‘on your hip’
 [jiʔohda, jiʔehda] *gejiʔohdá*ʔgeh ‘on my nail’, *degajiʔéhe:s* ‘claw’
 [kseʔda] *sekséʔda*ʔgeh ‘on your belly’
 [nɛtsa] *snɛtsa*ʔgeh ‘on your arm’
 [ʔnhɔhda] *seʔnhɔhdagɔ:* ‘your underarm, armpit’
 [ʔnhɔhsga:] *geʔnhɔhsgá:*ʔgeh ‘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'á:'geh 'on your
head'
[nɔ'gwa] snɔ'gwá'geh 'on your
breast'
[no'ja] snɔ'já'geh 'on your teeth'
[nra] hanrá'geh 'on his penis, phal-
lus'
[nyɛda] senyéda'geh 'on your shin'
[ɔtsa] sɔtsá'geh 'on your knee'
[rada] sradá'geh 'on your heel'
[ragwahda] sragwáhdagɔ: 'the sole
of your foot'

[sehda] seséhdagɔ: 'on the nape of
your neck'
[wɛ'yɔhga:, wɛ'yɔhga:] gwɛ'yɔhgá:'geh,
gwɛ'yuhgá:'geh 'on my thumb'
[yagwahda] eyagwáhdá'geh 'on her
palm'
[ya'da] sya'dá'geh 'on your body'
[ya'ga:] gya'gá:'geh 'on my waist'
[yo'gwa] syɔ'gwá'geh 'on your
cheeks'
[yɔhda] syɔhdá'geh 'on your gum'
[yohgwa] ga'yóhgwa'geh 'on its
tail (pertaining to birds)'
[yo'tsa] syɔ'tsá'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).

[a'hsa] o'áhs'a' 'chest'
[ahsi'da, ɛhsa] ohsi'da' 'feet',
desɛhsó:we:k 'put your shoes on'
[ahyagwiya] ohya:gwí:ya' 'toe(s)'
[awɛ'nohsa] awɛ'nɔhsa' '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] ohá:na' 'groin, crotch'
[hdega:] ohdéga:' 'ribs'

[hetga'a:] ohétga'a:' 'rear end, pos-
terior'
[hi'ya] ohí'ya' 'the body's trunk,
form'
[hna'tsa] ohná'tsa' 'buttock, ass'
[hneša] ohnéhsa' 'shoulder'
[hnya] ohnya' 'the neck, the throat'
[hnya'sa] ohnyá'sa' 'neck, throat'
[hnya'sa] ohnyá'sa'gɔ: 'in the
throat'
[ho'gwa] ohó'gwa' 'lower back (on
sides), bum cheeks'
[hsgwɛsa] ohsgwéhsa' 'spleen'
[hsina] ohsi:na' 'leg'

[hs'ohda] <i>ohsóhda</i> 'hand, paw'	[nhqtsa] <i>onhó:tsa</i> 'knee'
[hsohgwa] <i>ohsóhgwa</i> 'lips'	[nq'a:] <i>onq'a:</i> 'head'
[hswé'na] <i>ohswé'na</i> 'upper back'	[no'ja] <i>onó'ja</i> 'teeth'
[nyqhsa] <i>o'nyqhsa</i> 'nose'	[nra] <i>onra</i> 'phallus'
[jaoho'gwa] <i>ojáho'gwa</i> 'ankle'	[ny] <i>o'ny</i> 'fingers'
[ji'drɔwahda] <i>oji'drɔwáhda</i> 'the brain'	[qtsa] <i>qtsa</i> 'knee'
[jihnya'da] <i>ojihnya'da</i> 'tendon, ligament, birth cord, vein'	[ragwahda] <i>ogwáhda</i> , <i>á:gwahda</i> , 'sole, ball of foot'
[ji'ohda, ji'ehda] <i>oji'ehda</i> , <i>oji'ohda</i> 'fingernails, toenails, animal nails, claws'	[sgihyotsa] <i>sgihyó'tsa</i> 'jowls'
[jisgo'gwa] <i>oji'ohsgwa:</i> 'hip'	[twaihsra] <i>twáihstra</i> 'heart'
[kse'da] <i>oksé'da</i> 'belly'	[twɛhsa] <i>otwɛhsa</i> 'liver'
[na'gwa] <i>oná'gwa</i> 'lungs'	[wɛ'yɔhga:] <i>awé'yɔhga:</i> , <i>awé'yuhga:</i> 'thumb'
[nɛtsa] <i>oné:tsa</i> 'arm'	[wɛyɔhsa] <i>awéyɔhsa</i> 'heart'
[nhqhda] <i>onhóhda</i> 'armpit'	[ya'da] <i>oyá'da</i> 'body'
	[ya'ga:] <i>oyá'ga:</i> 'waist'
	[yo'tsa] <i>o'yó:tsa</i> 'chin'

A.4 List of agentive stative nouns

Agentive stative nouns are listed below (see §5.5).

gagá:we: 'the act of rowing'	wagyésahsdɔh 'sales, bargains'
gagánya'gɔh 'payment'	wagyɔ: 'something thrown away, discards'
wadɛnha'ɔh 'it is chartered, hired'	watwihsdɔ:ni: 'profit'
wade'nyɛdɛhsdɔh 'the act of measuring'	watwihsdɔnyá'dɔh 'profit, investment'
wagyenawáhdɔh 'a reserved or booked venue'	

A.5 List of stative nouns

Stative nouns end with the [ɔ:-'] 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’
adwagyáonyq: ‘haunted apparition’
atq:dé’q: ‘the act of hearing’
dewá’aq: ‘lacrosse, web’
gahé:yq: ‘death’
gahní:nq: ‘something that is bought’
gahsgyáonyq: ‘words of encouragement’
gahsq: ‘All Eaten Up’ (restricted ceremony for charms)
gahwíhsdanq: ‘gold, expensive things’
gaihwaéhsdq: ‘a report’
gaihwané:ge: ‘a prayer, to pray’

Ganéhq: ‘Drum Dance’
ga’nigqhahniyá: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’ditgéhsq: ‘nightmares’
onqhsodáiyq: ‘sickness, illness’
sawadrihwatwahdáhnq: ‘natural disasters’
tigaya’doní: wadónyahq: ‘a robot’ (literally, ‘it moves’)
wadewayéhsdq: ‘the process of learning’

[+iyo:] versus [+iyo’]

Several VERBS functioning as “nouns” end with [+iyo’] instead of expected [+iyo:] (1).

- (1) a. oswę’gáiyq’, swę’gaiyq’
 (o)-hswę’g-a-iyq’
 (3S.P)-noun-JOINER-beautiful.STAT
 ‘hawk’
- b. Ganyadáiyq’
 ga-nyadá-iyq’
 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'
dihsdihs 'house woodpecker'
di'di:ʔ 'blue jay'
dó:dihs 'salamander'
dó:gɛ:t 'guinea hen'
dogriya'gɔʔ 'buffalo' (possibly includes [iya'g.ɔh] cut.across-STAT)
drɛ:na: 'skunk' (possibly, [drɛ:n-a:] smell-hold.STAT)
duwísduwí:ʔ 'killdeer'
gá'ga:ʔ 'crow, raven'
gihɛ:k 'river, stream, creek' (possibly ends with [-k] MODZ)
gɔ:deh 'eel'
grahe:t 'tree' (possibly ends with [t] stand.STAT)
gwáoh 'screech owl'
gwá'da: 'flying squirrel'
gwa'yɔʔ 'rabbit'
gwé:sɛʔ 'partridge'
gwɛ'dihs 'night hawk'
gwɛ'gohnyɛʔ 'whip-poor-will'
gwidó'gwidoʔ 'black breasted woodpecker'
gwihs'gwihs 'pig'
gwiyé'gwiyé:ʔ 'high soaring hawk'
gwiyó:gɛʔ 'barn swallow' (possibly [gwiy-ó:gɛ:] twig-together.STAT)
gyó:gyo:ʔ 'Baltimore oriole'
hehshai: 'fox' (possibly [hehsa-i:ʔ] decayed.tree-coloured.STAT)
hihi: 'great horned owl'
hnyagwaiʔ 'bear' (possibly [hnyagwa-i:ʔ] NOUN-be.stuck.on.-something.STAT)
hó:ga:k 'goose' (possibly ends with [-k] MODZ)
jidé:ʔɛh 'bird' (includes [-ʔɛh] DIM)
ji'hnyo'gɛʔ 'chipmunk' ([ji-hnyo'gɛʔ] JI-stick-together.STAT)
jihsdá: 'grasshopper' (possibly related to [ga-jihsd-aʔ] 'lamp, light')
jihsgɛ: 'a ghost' (possibly [jihsgɛ:] light-see.STAT)
jihsgogoʔ, jihsguguʔ 'robin'
jihso:dahk 'strawberry' (possibly [jihso'da-hk] JI-night.STAT-FORMER)
jikjí:ye:ʔ 'chickadee'

- jinhóhgwahēh** ‘ants’ (possibly [jinhóhgwahēh] JI-NOUN-mid.STAT)
- jinó:wē:** ‘mouse’ (possibly [jinó:wē:] JI-lie(dissemble).STAT)
- jinóhsanoh** ‘cricket’ (possibly [jinóhsa-noh] JI-house-guard.HAB)
- jinohyaháe:** ‘garter snake’ (possibly [jinohyaháe] JI-NOUN-wash.STAT)
- jinyóhgwak** ‘wild walnut’ (possibly [jinyóhgwak] JI-nut-eat)
- ji’áooye:** ‘spider’ (possibly related to [o-ji’a:-’] ‘lace’)
- ji’dana:wē:** ‘butterfly’ (possibly [ji’dana:wē:] JI-NOUN-wet.STAT)
- ji’dró:wē:** ‘sea shell’
- ji’nhowé:se:** ‘hummingbird’
- ji’nohdó:ya** ‘bed bug’
- ji’o:** ‘a crab’ (possibly [ji’-o:] NOUN-submerged.STAT)
- jó:nyo:’** ‘bluebird’
- jogrihs** ‘blackbird’
- johwé’sdaga’** ‘seagull’ (possibly [johwé’sdaga’] JI-foam-like.the.taste.of.STAT)
- joní:tsgrø:t** ‘squirrel’ (possibly [joní:tsgrø:t] REP-3S.P-saliva-attached.STAT)
- jø’dáeya:’** ‘raspberries’
- jø’daga’** ‘mink’ (possibly [jø’daga’] fish-like.the.taste.of.STAT)
- kdagø’** ‘grey squirrel, black squirrel’ (possibly related to *ohi’kda’* ‘thorn, thistle’, as in [kd-agø:] thorn-€)
- nagánya’gø’** ‘beaver’
- nawé’da’** ‘sugar’ ([nawé’d-a’] NO.PREFIX.sugar-NSF)
- nøhsodáiyø:** ‘mud puppies, dogfish’
- sá:no:’** ‘raccoon’
- sá’sa’** ‘mockingbird, chatterbox’
- sgwá:yēh** ‘otter’ (possibly [sgwá:yēh] frog-verb.STAT)
- sgwagwáødø’** ‘toad’ (possibly [sgwagwá+ød-ø’] 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’
- sohø:t** ‘turkey’ (possibly ends with [ø:t] attached.STAT)
- teáø:t** ‘muskrat’ (possibly includes [ø:t] attached.STAT)
- téhtø’** ‘ground hog, woodchuck, gopher’
- teoji’** ‘iron wood (tree), red oak’
- tgwiyó:gē’** ‘channel catfish’ (possibly, [tgwiyó:gē:] SRF-twig-together.STAT)
- tsahgó:wa:’** ‘pigeon’ (possibly includes [-go:wah] AUG)
- tsa’gē:da’** ‘corn tassel’ ([tsa’gē:d-a’] NO.PREFIX.corn.tassel-NSF)
- twé:twē:t** ‘duck’
- yahgēhda’** ‘morel, black type of mushroom’ ([yahgēhd-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'

syá'dá'geh 'on your body'
sgayá'da:t 'one (living thing)'
gaya'dowéhdahsra' 'the ability to think, thinking skill'
gaę niyéya'da:?' 'which person?'
hadágya'da:s 'he has a high opinion of himself, he is self-centred'
agyá'dahsde' 'I am heavy'
hoyá'dadeht 'he is rough, agile, fleet of foot, nimble, quick-moving'
detniya'da:dó:gę: 'between you and me (our bodies)'
dogyá'da:go' 'I lody weight' (literally, 'I lost part of my body')
ęyęsayá'dago' 'they'll choose you to do something'
gya'dá:grahs 'my body smells'
agya'dagęhé:yo' 'I am physically weak'
ogyá'dagwe:s 'she gets bound up, constipated'
gya'dahsnó:we' 'I am slow'
hęsaya'dó:di: 'pounce on it!'
ęhsheya'dógohde' 'you will go right over her, go right past her, deceive her'

sagya'dqháe 'wash your body'
sagya'danę:da:k 'cling to it! Put your body next to something!'
saya'danędagqh 'you are stuck to something'
goya'danędagqhta' 'gravity' (literally, 'it keeps you down, holds you in place')
ętseya'dodáihsi' 'you will rescue someone'
ęhagya'dó:dę' 'he will stand his body up, walk on his hands'
deyoya'dóhde: 'it is brain-wracking'
tsa'degaeya'dó'dę: 'they are similar', 'they look the same'
dęsya'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'dę:dqh 'you will shake your body'
ęhsheya'dędqnya't 'you will tease someone'
ękeya'dę'nigqhae' 'I will babysit'

A.7.2 [wɛna] ‘word’

owɛ:na’ ‘word’

ɛhsawɛnáhɔ:k ‘your words will
come back on you’

gawɛnitgɛ’ɔ:’ ‘a speech’

hawɛ:ní:yo: ‘the devil’

sawɛna’ehs ‘stutter!’

gawɛnanóhsta’ ‘screech owl’ (literally, ‘it makes its voice cold’)

ɛhsadwɛná:yɛht ‘you will jeer, jest,
throw words at someone’

A.7.3 [(r)ɛna] ‘song’

gáɛna’ ‘song’

wadrɛ:no:t ‘it is singing/purring’

ɛhsadrɛnatódá:ta’ ‘you’ll go listen
to the songs’ (said as an invitation)

honadrɛnáɛ’ ‘they (Christians) are
praying’

shogwaɛnáwihso’ ‘he has given us
songs’

A.7.4 [rihwa] ‘message’

oíhwa’ ‘a message’

oíhwa’geh ‘the reason for some-
thing’

awadríhwáhdɔ’ ‘it died out, faded
away (an idea)’

agaihwháhdɔ’ ‘it became extinct,
died out’

adrihwahséhdɔ:’ ‘a secret’

ɛhsníhwahseht ‘you two will have a
secret’

awadadríhwadɔ’t ‘suicide’ (literally
‘someone did away with them-
selves’)

ɛhsadríhwa:dó:gɛhs ‘you will right
a wrong’

gaihwadó:gɛ’ ‘it is the main idea’

dɛhsrihwadrá:go’ ‘you will answer,
reply’

ɛtríhwaek ‘you will force’

dɛhsrihwagɛ:nha’ ‘you will argue,
debate, protest’

dɛgaihwhagó:dɔ:’ ‘it will smother it-
self, die out slowly on its own, pe-
ter out’ (i.e. a language)

ta:gaihwhagó:dɔ:’ ‘it won’t die out’

oihwagɛhyatgeh ‘to the edge of the
world’ (i.e. in the last days)

ha’dehoíhwagɛ’ ‘he has lots of busi-
ness/different ideas/many ideas’

hoihwagɛ:nya’t ‘he is an instigator,
complainer’

odrihwagwáihso: ‘righteousness’

godrihwagwáihso: ‘she is a righ-
teous person’

ɛhsrihwagwáihsi’ ‘you will be a wit-
ness’

ahsadadrihwagwé: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:ní:yo? 'he is the leader'
hedwaihwygyehé:to? 'we will partake'
ehsadrihwátgahq? 'you will oversee, supervise'
ehsrihwahní:ya:t 'you will affirm it or agree'
ehsríhwahs'a:? 'you will plan an idea, promise'
ehsrihwahsrq:ni? 'you will come to an arrangement'
ejjadrihwahsrq:ni? 'you will reconcile'
hoíhwi:s 'he has a long speech'
ehsríhwihsa:k 'you will investigate, inquire'
etríhwinyo?t 'you will report'
ehsheihwá'ehs 'you will blame someone'
etríhwahe:k 'you will make it happen, demand something'
etríhwa'e:k 'you will insist'
oihq:t 'it is good for something'
ejadrihwahsrq:ni? 'you two will come to an agreement'
niyoihú:'uh 'it is of little importance'
niyagoihú:'uh 'she has a small mind'
ehsríhwane:k 'you will hope, pray'
gaihwané:gę: 'hope, prayerful hope'

gaihwané'aksra? 'sin'
ehsrihwané'aksro:? 'you will swear, use profane language'
gaihwanénogye?s 'rumours'
desrihwanqhwes 'you disapprove'
dedwadadrihwanqhkwa? '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)
dehsríhwate?t 'you will explain'
hodrihwatgáha:? 'he is a supervisor, overseer'
hodrihwatgíhdqh 'he is talking dirty'
oihwatgi? 'dirty language'
oihwatgi:nyo? 'a scandal'
degaihwáedá'dre? 'every idea will always come together' (referring to harmony)
dehsaihwáedahs 'you decide'
degaihwáeda? 'they will come to an agreement'
desadrihwáedqhk, dehsadrihwáedqh 'you will gossip'
egoihwéhdę? 'I will confide in you'
ehsríhwaę? 'you will submit an idea'
etríhwawa's 'you will back up the idea' (i.e. reinforce it)
ehesrihwá:wa's 'you will back up his ideas'

A.7.5 [ˈnigɔha] ‘mind’

gaˈnigɔhaˈ ‘the mind’

knigɔhaː? ‘I am expecting something, watching for something’

saˈnigɔha:t ‘you are smart’

desaˈnigɔha:t ‘you are stupid’ (literally, ‘you are not smart’)

ɛhsaˈnigɔhahdɔ? ‘you will faint’ (literally, ‘you will lose your mind’)

dɛhsnigɔhá:ha? ‘you will annoy’

aknigɔhágahe: ‘my mind got beat’

gɔˈnigɔhagɛ:tɣɛˈs ‘she is sobbing’

deyagɔˈnigɔhá:gɔ:t ‘she cannot be swayed, she is uncompromising, distinguished’

dɛhseˈnigɔhagɛ:niˈ ‘you will bribe’

dɛshagɔˈniˈgɔha:gɛ:niˈ ‘he will overcome their mind, intimidate them’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhagwé:niˈ ‘you will out-think her’

dɛhaˈnigɔhaha? ‘he is a nuisance’

gaˈnigɔhí:yo: ‘harmony, of good mind’

dedisaˈnigɔhí:yo: ‘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’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhaˈdɛ? ‘you will cheat, betray her’

ɛhsheˈnigɔhaˈe:k ‘you will offend someone’

ɛhsɛˈnigɔhahní:ya:t ‘you will endure’

oˈnigɔhóhsde:? ‘satisfaction’

gaɔˈnigɔhɔˈkta? ‘they are giving up (in spirit)’

gɔˈnigɔha:ní:dɛ? ‘she is humble’

dewaknigɔhá:nih ‘it bothers me’

dɛhsheˈnigɔhnyaˈk ‘you will discourage someone’

ɛhseˈnigɔhodá:go? ‘you will persuade her, overcome her mind’

ɛdweˈnigɔhó:dɛ? ‘we will come up with an idea’ (i.e. plan something)

agyɔˈnigɔhó:go? ‘her mind is scattered’

ɛhsɛˈnigɔhɔˈdrɔ:? ‘you will worry, despair’, ‘you’ll be desperate’

tɛh nisaˈnigɔhɔˈdɛ: ‘your attitude, thoughts, mood’

ahɛˈnigɔhɔˈkdɛ? ‘he gave up (his will to live)’

ɛtɛˈnigɔhɔˈne:k ‘you will revolt, remove yourself’ (bodily and in spirit)

ɛhsaˈnigɔhɛh ‘you will forget’

desaˈnigɔhɛhdɔh ‘you will be sad’

dɛwəknigóhæʔ ‘it will bother me’
ɛhsheʔnigóhɛʔdɛʔ ‘you will make
someone feel better, comfort some-
one’

dwəknigóhɛʔq̄h ‘I am in sorrow,
mourning’ (literally, ‘my mind has
dropped’)

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(h)kwaʔ]

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.

otgahnɛdáhkwəʔ ‘playground’
[gahnɛ] play

q̄dahq̄hsiyohsdáhkwəʔ ‘hearing aid’
[ahq̄hs-iyohsd] ear-make.better

dwasáwəhkwəʔ ‘prefix’ [ahsaw] be-
gin/start

q̄hshédəhkwəʔ ‘doorstep’ [ashɛd]
step

q̄dawɛʔdáhkwəʔ ‘bathing suit, some-
thing used for swimming’ [awɛʔd]
cause.to.swim

degadidɛhsdáhkwəʔ ‘stable’ [dɛhs]
stop.something

q̄tgahíʔdáhkwəʔ ‘toy’ [gahíʔd]
play.with.something

ehyádq̄hkwəʔ ‘pencil’ [hyadq̄] write

q̄dohq̄ohdáhkwəʔ ‘path’ [q̄ohd]
surpass

deyq̄dogɛhdáhkwəʔ ‘trail’ [q̄ohd]
surpass

eyáhkwəʔ ‘containers’ [ya] spread

wadráhkwəʔ ‘container’ [ra] spread

q̄driyohdáhkwəʔ ‘weapon’ [riyohd]
cause.to.kill

deyq̄datnq̄honyóʔdáhkwəʔ ‘Friend-
ship Dance’ (a social dance, a
welcoming dance) [nq̄honyóʔd]
cause.to.greet

hadihahsédəhkwəʔ ‘courthouse’
[hahshɛd] ‘cause.to.counsel’

deyeyédəhkwəʔ ‘betting instru-
ment’ [yɛd] bet

onihnadókəhkwəʔ ‘nerves, sensa-
tions’ [ɛnihnadog] perceive/feel

q̄tnɛhɛhsdáhkwəʔ ‘yoke’ [nɛhɛhsd]
cause.to.stand.in.line

eniyq̄dáhkwəʔ ‘hook’ [niyq̄d] ‘hang’

q̄degaʔdáhkwəʔ ‘fire-making tool,
matches’ [adegaʔd] cause.to.burn.up

egahɛdáhkwəʔ ‘drill’ [gahɛd]
drill/make.a.hole

deyowɛnyéʔdáhkwəʔ ‘ladle’
[awɛnyéʔd] cause.to.stir/mix

eyétwəhkwəʔ ‘planting tool’ [yɛtw,
yɛto] plant

hadiyɛhdáhkwəʔ ‘Pitch Hole’
[yɛhd] knock.down/strike.down/hit

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(*h*)kwaʔ]

- ođe'nyədəhsdąkwaʔ** 'ruler, measuring tape' [ʔnyədəhsd] used.for.measuring.something
- gyođe'nyədəhsdąkwaʔ** 'pattern' [ʔnyədəhsd] used.for.measuring.something
- hadihahshé'đąkwaʔ** 'court, council chamber' [hahshé'd] cause.to.counsel
- ođadənhóđođkwaʔ** 'jail, prison (literally, place where someone is locked up)' [nhod] lock
- Gyehahshədəđąkwaʔ** 'This word is used locally to refer to Ohsweken, Ont.' (literally, 'counselling place') [hahshədə] cause.to.counsel
- deyođgá:hóđkwaʔ** 'rocking chair' [ga:hó] rock
- ođgaədəđąkwaʔ** 'the item to be pawned' [gaədəhgw] pawn
- gadi'drehdąkwaʔ** 'vehicular pathways, roads' [i'drehd] cause.to.drive
- Ekdó'đąkwaʔ** 'Small Green Corn Ceremony' (This word refers to looking at how the plants are progressing.) [kd] taste/examine/look.closely.at
- eya:nədəkdąkwaʔ** 'glue or scotch tape' [ya:nədəg] stick.to.something
- odehyojihdəđąkwaʔ** 'slide' [hyojihdəđ] cause.to.play
- onəhdonyođkwaʔ** 'brain, mind, thinker' [ənəhdonyo] think
- wadonye'dąkwaʔ** 'gill' [adonye'd] cause.to.breathe
- əhdąkwaʔ** 'path, hallway' [əhd] run
- ahgwənyáədəđąkwaʔ** 'closet' [ahgwənyá+ə] clothes-lie.on.the.ground
- deyođsi'dáhąkwaʔ** 'foot stool' [ahsi'da+hah] foot-support
- akyədəđąkwaʔ, agyədəđąkwaʔ** 'chair' [yəđ] lie.down
- deyođnahsódąkwaʔ** 'zipper' [ʔnahs+ođ] tongue-attached
- egahehdədəđąkwaʔ** 'lyed corn basket (for lying)' [gahehda+əhd] eye.(of.a.corn.kernel)-knock.down
- ođgo'traniođąkwaʔ** 'scale' (one that uses weights to balance) [go'tra-niođ] weight-hang
- ođahsróđąkwaʔ** 'flashlight, torch' [hahsra+ođ] flash.attached
- ehnega'daihá'dąkwaʔ** 'tea kettle' [hnega-'daihá'd] water-heat.up
- gadihnegahe'dąkwaʔ** 'animal watering place, watering hole, trough' [hnega-hre'd] water-place.something
- ehnyođąkwaʔ** 'pincushion' [hnyá+od-] stick-stand
- deyehona'dahíhdąkwaʔ** 'potato masher' [hona'da-hri'd] potato-break.up
- dehođwadihstodąkwaʔ** 'handcuffs' [hsd-oda:] tool-hook.on
- dehadihsta:té'dąkwaʔ** 'wax for sticks' [hsda:-ate'd] drop.of.liquid-brighten
- ehsiháokwaʔ** '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
- hadihstqdraédáhkwa** 'barn, (literally, where they put the hay)' [hstqdra+éd] hay.lay
- qdehs'ohdóhahkwa** 'thimble' [hs'ohda-oh] finger-submerge
- ehwé'ga:gwahdáhkwa** 'chisel' [hwé'ga:-hgwahd] chip-pick.off
- deyotwé'gaqódáhkwa** 'snowshoes' [hwé'ga:+qod] splint-attached
- ehwihsdáédáhkwa** 'bank' [hwihsda+éd] money-put.on.the.ground
- qdrihsdáédáhkwa** 'trap' [hrihsda+éd] metal-put.on.the.ground
- qkyadqhsráhahkwa** 'desk' [hyadqhsra+hah] paper-support
- deyehyadqhsráédáhkwa** 'cards (playing cards), bingo' [hyadqhsra+éd] paper-bet
- deyehnahíhdáhkwa** 'cut-out table' [hna-hrihd] material-cut.up
- qnihnodáhkwa** 'apron' [ni.hna+od] material-stand
- gajé'qhawi'dáhkwa** 'tray' [jé'a-hawi'd] dish-cause.to.hold
- deyqdejihoha'dáhkwa** 'brooch' [jihoha'd] cause.to.pin
- ejihsd'o'a:sdáhkwa** 'matches' (old word; literally, someone torches the fire) [jihsd-a'o'a:hsd] light-cause.to.torch
- ejihsdqhwihdáhkwa** 'lantern, torch, flashlight' [jihsd-a-hawihd] light-cause.to.hold
- ejinqwahedaniyódáhkwa** 'fish hook' [ji'nqwahe'da-niyod] insect-hang
- eksohaihqódáhkwa** 'kitchen sink or dish pan' [ksa-ohaehqod] dish-cause.to.clean
- eksaédáhkwa** 'something into which dishes are put' [ksa+éd] dish-store
- enohaehq'dáhkwa** 'something that is used for laundering' [nohaehq'd] cause.to.clean
- qtnahdodáhkwa** 'hair combs' [nahda+od] comb.stand
- qtna'dáqodáhkwa** 'bread pan' [na'da:+qod] bread-attached
- ena'da:nawéhdáhkwa** 'bread steamer' [na'da:+nawéhd] bread-make.wet
- ganagáédáhkwa**, **ganagáidáhkwa** 'whistle' [na'ga-gae/gai] horn-make.a.rattling.or.grinding.noise
- hęnatna'johgwaniyqódáhkwa** 'jock strap' [na'johsgwa-niyqod] cup-hang
- wade'nhehsódáhkwa** 'harness (for an animal)' [nhehsa+od] harness-stand
- e'dródáhkwa** 'diaper bag' [da+od] feces-stand
- enqhwatraédáhkwa** 'medicine cabinet' [nqhwatra+éd] medicine-store

A.8 Instrumental nouns ending in [-(h)kwaʔ]

ganqhsanóhsdáhkwáʔ ‘air conditioner’ [nqhsa+nohsd] house-cool.down	ogyaodáhkwáʔ ‘tent’ [ya:+od] bag-stand
qtnqhsodáhkwáʔ ‘umbrella’ [nqhsa+od] house-stand	deyqgyanóqáhkwáʔ ‘skiing’ [yana+qđ] track-attached
enowaníyqđáhkwáʔ ‘lock’ [nowa-níyqđ] rounded.back-hang	ogyaʔdanohsdáhkwáʔgeh ‘park’ [yaʔda-nohsd] body-cool.down
qtnqhaháhkwáʔ ‘wig’ [nqha+hah] head-support	deyqđeʔdratgęnyádáhkwáʔ ‘target’ [ʔdra-atgęnyad] quiver-cause.to compete
enqʔgeháháhkwáʔ ‘nursing bottle’ [nqʔgwa+geh] milk-suck	qđeʔdrehdaędáhkwáʔ ‘parking lot or garage’ [ʔdrehda+ęđ] vehicle-put.down
qtnoʔjohaeʔdáhkwáʔ ‘toothpaste’ [noʔja-ohaeʔd] tooth-clean.up	qđeʔdrehdęhdáhkwáʔ ‘sled or sleigh’ [ʔdrehda+ęhd] vehicle-hit
qđenyatsódáhkwáʔ ‘bobby pin, barrette’ [nyatsa+od] braid-stand	qđeʔkáqđáhkwáʔ ‘breach cloth’ [ʔka:+qđ] breach.cloth-attached
gęnadreńódáhkwáʔ ‘kingfisher (bird)’ [reńa+od] song-stand	eʔníkqhkwaʔ ‘something used for sewing’ [ʔníkq] sew
qđreńaędáhkwáʔ ‘church’ [reńa+ęđ] song-put.down	qđeʔsgqđáhkwáʔ ‘barbecue equipment’ [ʔsg+qđ-] roast-attached
deyqđetsgeʔiʔdrehdáhkwáʔ ‘Indian bone dice’ [tsgęʔęda-iʔdrehd] pit-drive	qđwahqđáhkwáʔ ‘roasting pan’ [ʔwaha+qđ] meat-attached
hagya:gęhdáhkwáʔ ‘man’s knapsack’ [ya:-gęhd] bag-have.around.one’s.neck	oʔwahsdqđáhkwáʔ ‘little sticks that they make for a funeral’ [ʔwahsda+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’

[**+dagyeʔ**] ‘standing along, continu-
ing on’
with [INC N] *oyádagyeʔ* ‘a gulley’
with [INC N] *gahsyádagyeʔ* ‘a passing
herd’

[**drəniyo:**] ‘smell nice’
gedrə:ní:yo: ‘I smell nice’

[**ʔdriyo:**] ‘be a good shot’, with
([PART])
haʔdri:yo: ‘he is a good, accurate
shot’

[**gahagaəheʔ**] ‘cross-eyed’
egahgáəheʔ ‘she is cross eyed’

[**gahwegəh**] ‘blind’, with [DU]
dehagahgwé:gəh ‘he is blind’

[**gahəʔji:**] ‘have a black eye’, with
[DU]

desegahəʔji: ‘you have a black eye’

[**geʔa:**] ‘ragged, bedraggled’
gegéʔa: ‘I am raggedy’

[**gəhjih**] ‘old (living thing)’
egəhjih ‘she is old, an old woman’

[**gohgowah**] ‘royalty, queen, king’
(e)gohgó:wah ‘queen, the Queen’

[**gəhsdəʔəʔod, gəhstweʔod**] ‘beard’,
with [DU]

dehagəhstweʔo: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’

[**hiʔyagaəheʔ**] ‘bent over’
haʔhiʔyagáəheʔ ‘his body trunk is
crooked’, ‘he is bent over’

[**hneye:s**] ‘tall’
ehné:ye:s ‘she is tall’

[**hnyahdod**] ‘lift one’s head’
ehnýáhdo:t ‘she has got her head up’
(said of a child who is learning to lift
its head by itself)

[hnyɔʔɔh] ‘white’

gahnnyɔʔɔh ‘it is white’

[hretgɛsʔah] ‘unattractive’

hahe:tgɛ:sʔah ‘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’)

[hsgwaowanɛʔs] ‘well-endowed’, with [DU]

dehahsgwáowanɛʔs ‘he has big rocks’ (i.e. he is well-endowed)

[hsgwiʔdrahe:ʔ] ‘wrinkly’, with [REP]

sgahsgwíʔdrahe:ʔ tsɔ: ‘you are pruny, wrinkly’ tsɔ: ‘just’

[hshad] ‘lie on one’s back’

gehshat ‘I am lying on my back’

[hshaɔd] ‘tied up’

gehsháɔt ‘I am tied up’

[hsiha:ʔ] ‘stand in a bunch or group, congregate’

gáehsiha:ʔ ‘they are standing in a group or clump’

ojihsɔdáhsiha:ʔ ‘stars showing’, ‘a group of stars’

[hsrɔhɛ:] ‘angry, cross’

ehsrɔhɛ: ‘she is habitually cross, cantankerous’

[idage:ʔ] ‘lying prostrate’

sidá:ge:ʔ ‘you are lying down, prostrate’

[idagrɔʔ] ‘several things lying prostrate’

hadídagrɔʔ ‘they are lying around’

[ihnatɛ:] ‘dry skin’

sɛhná:tɛ:, sɛhná:tɛ: ‘you have dry skin’

[itsgod] ‘sitting’

etsgo:t ‘she is sitting’

[itsgodɔʔ] ‘sitting’ (several people or animals)

gadi:tsgó:dɔʔ ‘they are sitting’

[itsgwahe:ʔ] ‘sit on something’

gitsgwáhe:ʔ ‘I am perched up on something’, ‘I am sitting on something’

[iʔdawɛnyeʔ] ‘shit-disturber’, with [DU]

deyeʔdawɛ:nyeʔ ‘she is a shit-disturber’

[iʔdrɔ] ‘live, dwell, be at home’

hadíʔdrɔʔ ‘they are at home’

[iʔdrɔd] ‘live’, ‘dwell’, ‘be at home’, ‘reside’, ‘be placed’, ‘be situated’

hadíʔdrɔ:dɔʔ ‘how they are placed’

[iʔgɛ:] ‘light-skinned, white’

haʔgɛ: ‘he is light-skinned’

[jaɔ:] ‘both’, with [DU]

degaejáɔ: ‘both of them’

[jinah] ‘strong, brave, male’

hají:nah ‘he is masculine, brave’, ‘his genitals’

[nagreʔ] ‘live somewhere’

gáenagreʔ ‘where they live’ (an area)

[nahsgwes] ‘jump far’, with [DU]

dehánahsgwe:s ‘he jumps far horizontally’

[nahsgwesɔʔs] ‘jump high’, with [DU]

dehanahsgwé:sq 'he jumps high'
 [nai] 'proud, boastful'
enai 'she is proud in a boastful manner'
 [+nege:] 'side by side'
 with [INC N] *Tayedané:ge* 'Deseronto' (literally, 'firewood side-by-side')
 [nhodonyo] 'locked up'
gadinhodó:nyo 'they are locked up'
 ['nigqhahsnowe] 'be mentally quick'
ha'nigqhahsnó:we 'he is a quick thinker'
 ['nigqhayeij] 'crazy, not right in the head', with [NEG]
teha'nigqhayéi 'he is not right in the mind'
 ['nigqhowanəh] 'broad-minded, wise, thinkers'
snigqhowá:nəh 'you have a broad mind'
 ['nyogri:] 'have a stuffed-up nose', with [DU]
degé'nyogri: 'my nose is stuffed up'

[rihwagwəniyo] 'reside', 'dwell'
grihwagwəni:yo 'where I reside, dwell' (literally, 'where I am the boss')
 [wayəhəhsdoh] 'right-handed'
hawayəhəhsdoh 'he is right-handed'
 [ya'dadoge:] 'between people, living things', with [DU]
detniya'da:dó:ge: 'between you and me', 'between our bodies'
 [yahshe:] 'two living things', with [DU]
dəhadiyáhshē: 'two males', 'they are two'
 [ya'tgaq] 'active', 'quick to move'
hayá'tgaq 'he is quick to move', 'he is active, always moving around'
 [yehwad] 'early riser'
syəhwat 'you are an early riser'
 [waihəh] 'be good at something'
sewáihəh 'you are good at something'
 [yahsqh] 'be named'
hayá:sqh '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'
 [adahədqhsgo:] 'be inquisitive', with [SRF]
sadahədqhsgo: 'you are inquisitive'

[adata:] 'be conceited, snobbish', with [REFL]
hadá:ta: 'he is conceited'
 [adatgonyəhsd] 'be stuck up, snobbish', with [REFL]
wadatgonyəhsta 'she (literally, it) is stuck up'
 [adatnigəha:] 'be wary, cautious',

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with [REFL]
wadatnigóha: 'it is wary, cautious'
[adęgonyqhsd] 'be loyal, respectful',
with [SRF]
hadęgonyqhsta 'he is loyal' (to the
cause), 'he is respectful'
[adeksa'dqni] 'be childish', with
[SRF]
qdeksa'dq:nih 'she is childish'
[adih] 'go in a direction', with [CIS]
tgáęgwadih 'they are going in a di-
rection'
[adq] 'say'
q:dq 'she says' (also see the full
paradigm on page 777)
[adqwihsriya'gs] 'be out of breath,
dying', with [SRF]
hadqwihsri:ya's 'he is out of breath',
'he is dying'
[adqwihsro'kd] 'be out of breath',
with [SRF]
hadqwihsró'kta 'he is out of breath'
[adwęnadeni, adwęnadeny] 'be
near puberty', with [DU,SRF]
dehadwęnádęnyqhs 'he is reaching
puberty', (literally, 'his voice is

changing')
[atgwadq] 'weave, zig-zag about',
with [SRF]
hatgwá:dq 'he is zig-zagging'
[atwajiyqnih] 'barren', with [NEG]
tę' deyqtwaji:yq:nih 'she is barren'
[atwęnaga:dad] 'interpreter'
hadęwęnagá:da:s 'he is an inter-
preter'
[e:hah] 'proud'
igé:hah 'I am gloating, boastful'
[ę:hęh] 'speak carelessly', with
[TRANSL,REP]
hehshawęhęh gwá'e: 'he is speak-
ing without thinking again as usual'
[gwá'-e:] 'really-again'
[ha'datęhs] 'be thirsty'
sha'dá:tęhs 'you are thirsty'
[hyadqhsraędi?] 'be smart, edu-
cated' (book-educated)
syadqhsráędi 'you are smart' (book-
educated)
[nqwehdra?] 'be cantankerous'
enqwehdra '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]
tę' desadagáide 'you feel sick'
[adehs'q] 'ready', with [SRF]

sadéhs'q 'Are you ready?' (this
might be an Onondaga word)
[adehsrqnih's'q] 'ready', with [SRF]
agadehsrqnih's'q 'I am ready'
[ade'ka:] 'hen-pecked', with [SRF]
hodé'ka: 'he is hen-pecked'
[adenqhahe:] '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]

todq:nho’k ‘he is mentally challenged’, ‘he was born premature’

[*adqñgade’*] ‘happy’, with [SRF]

odqñgade’ ‘it is fun, a good feeling’

[*adqñgade’*] ‘unhappy’, with [NEG,SRF]

de’agadqñgade’, dewagadqñgadq’ ‘I am not happy’

[*adrihodahqñh*] ‘confused’, with [DU,SRF]

dewagadrihodáhqh ‘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’

[*adrihwagwaihshq*] ‘believable, credible, righteous, fair, honest, noble’, with [SRF]

godrihwagwáihshqh ‘she is fair, righteous’

[*agya’dadaihe:*] ‘be hot’ (person)

agya’dadaihe: ‘I am hot’

[*agya’danegaq, agya’danega:*] ‘hernia’, with [DU,SRF]

dewagagya’danégaq ‘I have a hernia’

[*agyañaqñh*] ‘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’

[*agye*] ‘quiet’, with [CONTR,DU,SRF]

ta’désagyē: ‘you are quiet’

[*agyesa’geh*] ‘generous’, with [SRF]

gogyésa’geh ‘she is generous, generous to a fault’

[*agyesahsdq:*] ‘extravagant, wasteful’, with [SRF]

gogyéhsahsdq: ‘she is extravagant, wasteful’

[*ahgahe:*] ‘jealous’

gohgáhe: ‘she is jealous’

[*ahsdéhyai*] ‘be an older woman’

gohsdéhyai ‘she is an older woman’

[*ahse:*] ‘fat’

agáhse: ‘I am fat’

with [INC N] *ogóhsahse:* ‘it has a fat face’

[*ahshē:*] ‘slow-moving’

agáhshē: ‘I am slow to act’

with [INC N] *ohnyáhshē:* ‘slow beat’

[*akñiqñnya’gqh*] ‘grieve, be broken-hearted’, with [DU]

dewakñiqñnya’gqh ‘I am broken-hearted, grieving’

[*anhēhod*] ‘pee all the time’

gonhēho:t ‘she pees all the time’

[**asde:ʔeh**] ‘be old’ (living thing)
hohsdé:ʔeh ‘he is old’, ‘he is an old man’

[**atetgəḍoni:**] ‘moody, be in a bad mood’, with [SRF]
hotehtgəḍó: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]
dewagatgéʔi: ‘my hair is tangled’

[**atgeʔogw**] ‘have messy hair’, ‘scattered clothes, rags’, with [DU,SRF]
desatgeʔó:gweh ‘you have ruffled 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:ga:t ‘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]
gotsahnihd ‘she is a good worker, tireless, active, industrious, etc.’

[**awəh**] ‘have, own’
agá:wəh ‘it is mine’

[**ʔdai:**] ‘dirty’, with [DU]
dəhóʔdaiʔ ‘he got dirty’ (covered with manure)

[**əḍage:**] ‘be cowardly, timid, weak, wimpy’
gowəḍage:, agawəḍá: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:wə:sə: ‘he has the shoes on’

[**gahagwaəḍ**] ‘have a sty’
agegahágwaəḍ ‘I have a sty’

[**gahehdə**] ‘dandruff’
sagahehdə ‘you have dandruff’

[**geʔod**] ‘bald’, with [NEG]

tɛʔ dɛhógeʔo:t ‘he has no hair’, ‘he is bald’

[*geʔɔd*] ‘be raggedy, hairy’, with [DU]

dewagegéʔɔ:t ‘I am raggedy’

[*gɔhsahníyɔh*] ‘two-faced, brazen’
sagɔhsahní:yɔh ‘you are two-faced’

[*gwaɔd*] ‘have an abscess, bump, bulge’

agégwaɔ:t ‘I have an abscess, boil’

[*haʔdiyo:*] ‘be a good singer’

gɔhaʔdí:yo: ‘she is a good singer, she has a good voice’

[*hsgyɛnaʔgyaʔgɔh*] ‘pale’, with [DU]
dewagehsgɛnagyaʔgɔh ‘I am pale’

[*hsgyɔʔwatɛ, hsgyɛʔwatɛ*] ‘thin, skinny’

hohsgyɛʔwatɛ:, hohsgyɔʔwatɛ: ‘he is skinny’

[*iʔdaihɛhdrod*] ‘sweating’

hoʔdaihɛhdro:t ‘he is sweating’

[*idaɔ:*] ‘lucky, fortunate’

sɛdáɔ ‘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, dewágiɔ:t ‘I am filthy’

[*itsgrod*] ‘drool’

sɛtsgro:t ‘you are drooling’

[*jinaʔdɔ:*] ‘handsome’ (males only)

hojínaʔdɔ: ‘he is a handsome man’

[*jitsgri:*] ‘have curly hair’, with [DU]

deyójitsgri: ‘it has curly hair’

[*jiyoʔ*] ‘crippled, lame’

gojí:yoʔ ‘she is crippled’

with [INC N] *gɔhsinají:yoʔ* ‘she has a bad leg’

[*nhraʔtɛʔ*] ‘grey hair’

gonhraʔtɛʔ ‘she has grey hair’

[*ʔnigɔhad*] ‘smart’

sáʔnigɔha:t ‘you are smart, brilliant’

[*ʔnigɔhad*] ‘stupid, foolish, ignorant’, with [NEG]

dɛhoʔnigɔha:t ‘he is ignorant, unthinkingly foolish’

[*ʔnigɔhagɔd*] ‘uncompromising, unbending’, with [NEG]

deyagɔʔnigɔhá:gɔ:t ‘she cannot be swayed’, ‘she is uncompromising, distinguished’

[*ʔnigɔhahníyɔh*] ‘have a strong mind’

aknigɔhahní:yɔh ‘I have a strong mind’

[*ʔnigɔhanidɛhd*] ‘humble’

gɔʔnigɔha:ní:dɛht ‘she is gentle, nice, humble’

[*ʔnigɔhɛhdɔh*] ‘sad’, with [DU]

desaʔnigɔhɛhdɔh ‘you are sad’

[*ʔnigɔhiyo:*] ‘satisfied, peaceful, good mind, content, harmonious’, with [CIS]

dwaknigɔhí:yo: ‘I am satisfied, peaceful’

[*ʔnigɔhiyo:*] ‘grumpy, grouchy, unhappy’, with [NEG,CIS]

dedisaʔnigɔhí:yo: ‘you are grumpy, grouchy, not happy’

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[**ʔnigəhowanəh**] ‘broad-minded, wise, thinker’

hodiʔnigəhowá:nəʔs ‘they are wise, have the capacity for thinking’

[**ʔnigəhoʔdɛ:**] ‘think a certain way’, with [PART]

tʂəh nisaʔnigəhoʔdɛ: ‘your attitude, mood’

[**niʔəh**] ‘stingy, greedy, cheap’

goniʔəh ‘she is stingy’

[**nədanhəh**] ‘guilty’

gonədanhəh ‘she is guilty’

[**nədanhəh**] ‘innocent’, with [NEG]

dehonədanhəh ‘he is innocent’

[**nəhaʔkdə:**] ‘hang one’s head’, with [DU]

deyonəhá:kdə: ‘it is hanging its head’ (in sadness or shame)

[**nəhgəd**] ‘fair haired, light hair’

gonəhgɛ:t ‘she is fair haired, she has light hair’

[**nəhsdeʔ**] ‘value something’

aknəhsdeʔ ‘I value it’

[**nəʔned**] ‘behind, next in line’, with [REP]

shonəʔnet ‘he is behind him, he is next in line’

[**nənyatgiʔ**] ‘dance badly, dance poorly’

gonənyatgiʔ ‘she does not dance very well’

[**noʔsəh**] ‘lazy’

aknəʔsəh ‘I am lazy’

[**ʔnyəhswahaʔd**] ‘nosy, mischievous’, with [DU]

dewageʔnyəhswahaʔt ‘I am mischievous, nosy’

[**əgweʔdahetgɛʔ**] ‘cruel’

agəgweʔdahetgɛʔ ‘she is a cruel, mean person’

[**əhɛʔjih**] ‘private’

gonəhɛʔjih ‘they are private people’

[**əhsriyaʔgəh**] ‘be a certain age’, with [PART]

do: nisəhsriyáʔgəh ‘how old are you’

[**ənhɛʔ**] ‘alive’

agə:nheʔ ‘she is alive’

[**ənhɛhgw**] ‘live on, sustained by’

agənhɛhgəh ‘someone lives on it’, ‘she is sustained by it’

[**ənyahnəʔ**] ‘include, designate’

háənyahnəʔ ‘he has included or designated’

[**rihəʔd**] ‘agent, faithkeeper’, with [SRF]

hodrihə:t ‘he is a faithkeeper, an agent’

[**rihoʔdahəh**] ‘disagree’, with [DU]

dewagrihóʔdahəh ‘I am not in complete agreement’

[**rihoʔdeʔ**] ‘be working’

hoihoʔdeʔ ‘he is working’

[**rihogaʔd**] ‘speak with sharp words’

hoihogaʔt ‘he speaks sharp words’

[**rihsdowanəh**] ‘loud, noisy’

agrihsdowá:nəh ‘I am loud and noisy’

[**rihu:ʔuh**] ‘sensitive, small-minded’, with [PART]

niwagrihú:ʔuh ‘I am sensitive’

[**rihwadogɛ:**] ‘reliable’

hoihwadó:gɛ: ‘he is a reliable person’

[rihwadogɛ:] ‘traitor’, with [NEG]
dehoihwa:dó:ge: ‘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)’
godíyaʔdáhseʔ ‘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’
sayédeʔoh ‘you are really good at
something’

with [INC N] *sakwayédéʔo:* ‘you are a
good cook’

[yoɣyeʔni:] ‘have the giggles, smile
a lot’

hoyɔ:gyé:ni: ‘he is a smiler, a giggler’

B.1.4 Verbs taking P-series personal prefixes, habitual aspect only

[adatsɛhs] ‘be tired’, with [SRF]
agádatsɛhs ‘I am tired’

[adawɛnyaʔseh] ‘be confused’, with
[DU,SRF]

dewagadawęnyá'seh 'I am confused and doubtful', (literally, 'my thinking is going around in circles')

[**adędęnya'dahsgo:**] 'be happy-go-lucky', 'be a joker', 'be obnoxious', with [SRF]

hodędęnyá'dahsgo: 'he is a joker, or happy-go-lucky', 'he is obnoxious'

[**adęgwe'dagęnyęhsd**] 'be choosy, discriminating', with [SRF]

hodęgwe'dagęnyęhs 'he is choosy about who he associates with', 'he discriminates'

[**adęhswe'danih**] 'be hungry', with [SRF]

agadęhswe'danih 'I am hungry'

[**ado'kdę, ado'kdani**] 'dissatisfied', with [CIS,SRF]

dwagado'kdá:nih 'I am dissatisfied'

[**ahsaw'e**] 'have asthma', with [DU]

deyago'ahsaw'ehs 'she has asthma'

[**ahsęwadenye's, atsęwadenye's**] 'be dizzy'

agahsęwadenye's, agatsęwadenye's 'I am dizzy'

[**atęnyęhsd**] 'be clean, discriminating', 'have high standards', with [SRF]

gotęg:nyęhs 'she has high standards'

[**atędad**] 'disobedient', with [NEG]

desa:tę:da:s 'you are disobedient'

[**atowahsd**] 'cold (person)', with [SRF]

agatowáhsta' 'I am cold'

[**'daiha'seh**] 'too hot'

ho'daihá'seh 'he is too hot'

[**ęhe:, ęhew**] 'outspoken', with [TRANSL,REP]

hejagonęheh 'they are outspoken'

[**hneganyęhs**] 'have a hangover'

hohnęganyęhs 'he has a hangover'

[**na'gow**] 'lack a spirit, be ominous', with [NEG,(REP)]

o:nęh dejagona'gó:wahs 'she is ominous'

[**ne'dra'danih**] 'be nauseous, nauseated'

akne'dra'dá:nih 'I am nauseated, nauseous'

[**'nigęhaę, 'nigęhanih**] 'unconcerned, indifferent', with [CONTR,DU]

ta'deho'nigęhá:nih 'he is unconcerned, indifferent'

[**'nigęhaęda's**] 'understand'

ho'nigęháęda's 'he understands'

[**'nigęhaęda's**] 'misunderstand', with [NEG]

tę'deho'nigęháęda's 'he does not understand'

[**nęhękdanih**] 'be sick'

aknęhękdá:nih 'I am sick'

[**nęhyani's**] 'be frugal, stingy', with [DU]

deyagonęhyani's 'she is frugal'

[**ęhe**] 'be alone'

gáęhe', gáęha' 'she' (emphatic pronoun), literally, 'she is alone'

[**ęwihshęyęhs**] 'be breathless, out of breath', with [DU]

haęwihshę:yęhs 'he is out of breath', 'his breath is ebbing away'

[rihwahtsɛnyahsgɔ:] ‘find fault’
saihwatsɛnyahsgɔ: ‘you find faults’

[rɔhgwanih] ‘be itchy’
agrɔhgwanih ‘I am itchy’

[wayɛnhɛʹsgɔ:] ‘be clever, educated’
howayɛnhɛʹsgɔ: ‘he is a fast learner, a quick study’

[wayɛnhɛʹsgɔ:] ‘slow learner’, with [NEG]

dɛhowayɛnhɛʹsgɔ: ‘he has difficulty learning’

[u:ʹuh] ‘small’, with [PART]
niwú:ʹuh ‘it is small’
 with [INC N] *niyokdɛhu:ʹuh* ‘small root’
 with [INC N] *nigaʹdrɛhdú: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:yɔ: gahna:ʹ* ‘how much gas is in there’

[adagwɛhdɛ:] ‘flat, dented’, with [SRF]
dewadagwɛhdɛ:, deyodagwɛhdɛ: ‘it is flat’

[+aʹ] ‘be small’, with [PART]
 with [INC N] *gaoʹ niwakyɛdáhkwaʹ* ‘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] *niwadrawíhsdadɛ: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 gagéhɔʹ ‘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] *gahɔwadíhɔh* ‘leaning boat’
 with [INC N] *ohahadíhɔh* ‘the Milky way’

[adragwaeʹ] ‘limp’, with [SRF]
wadrágwaeʹ ‘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:dré'* 'they are one foot apart')

[**adřenaga'qh**] 'sweet-smelling'
gadřenagá'qh 'it smells good, sweet, appetizing'

[**agyeseh**] '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'

[**ahsohqd**] '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] *degahəná'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] *nigihnadə: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'

gə'gə:, gá:gə: 'it is white', 'it is light-skinned', 'it is light-coloured'

with [INC N] *onéhege*: ‘white corn’

[gɛ́do:] ‘stuck on something’

gagédo: ‘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)

[gɛ́do:ʔaɛ́] ‘attached’

gagédó:ʔaɛ́ ‘it is attached to something’

[gehɔ́] ‘lie about’

gagéhɔ́ ‘things are lying about’

with [INC N] *wahyágehɔ́* ‘fruit lying around on the ground’

with [INC N] *gawidragéhɔ́* ‘scattered ice’

[gɔd] ‘necessity, duty’, with [CIS]

tgá:gɔ:t ‘a compelling must’

[gɔd] ‘be last’, with [TRANSL,REP]

hesgá:gɔ:t ‘the last’

[gowanɛ́hah] ‘fairly big’

gowa:né:hah ‘it is fairly big’

[he:] ‘sitting on top of something’

gáhe: ‘it is sitting up on top of something’, ‘it is sitting here’

with [INC N] *odaʔenáhe:* ‘street car’

with [INC N] *gakwáhe:* ‘tea meetings’, ‘supper’

[he:tɛ́] ‘evil, bad, ugly’

wahé:tɛ́h ‘evil (in mind)’, ‘bad’

gahé:tɛ́ ‘it is ugly’

ehé:tɛ́ ‘she is ugly or unruly’

with [INC N] *oksaʔdahé:tɛ́* ‘spoiled child’

with [INC N] *gaʔdrɛ́nahé:tɛ́* ‘it smells bad’

[hnegad] ‘watery’

gahné:ga:t ‘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’

[hsrɔnyaʔd] ‘made from something’

gahsrɔnyaʔdɔh ‘it is made from’

[hwɛ́ga-ʔo:] ‘notched’, with [hwɛ́ga-/N]

with [INC N] *gahwɛ́gaʔo:* ‘it is notched’

with [INC N] *gáɔdaʔo:* ‘notched tree’

[iyaʔksɔ́] ‘cut off, broken’, with [DU]

degáyaʔksɔ́ ‘it is broken’

[nagreʔ] ‘rare’, with [NEG,REP]

dehsgánagreʔ ‘it is rare’

[niyɔd] ‘hanging’

ganí:yɔ:t ‘it is hanging’

with [INC N] *gayɛ́hsraní:yɔ:t* ‘a hanging blanket’

with [INC N] *ganowaní:yɔt* ‘hanging lock’

[nɔ:] ‘costly, dear, expensive’

ganɔ: ‘it is expensive, dear, precious’

nigá:nɔ: ‘how much it costs’

with [INC N] *gahwíhdsanɔ:* ‘gold’, ‘expensive items’

[ʔnɔhd] ‘be in something’

gaʔnɔht ‘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]

té’ 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]

té’ 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]

déhadiyáhshhe: ‘two males’

[yahshe-sq] ‘two each’, ‘two’ at a
time’, with [DU]

degadiyáhshesq ‘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]

té’ detga:yéi’, té’ detga:yí:’ ‘it is bad, false, wrong’

B.1.6 Verbs taking A-series neuter prefixes, habitual aspect only

[adagwēniyo’] ‘be wild’

wadagwēní: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’

[**hsɛniyohsta**] ‘complimentary’

gɔwahsɛniyohsta ‘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+ɔni:**] ‘plentiful’, with [SRF]

odahyó:ni: ‘plentiful fruit’

[**ad+N+ɔni:**] ‘little, few’, with [NEG,SRF]

de’odahyó:ni: ‘not much fruit on the trees’

[**ad+N+ɔnyahnɔ**] ‘growing’, with [SRF]

otɔdɔnyáhnɔ ‘growing bushes, saplings’

[**adehsdahsɔ:**] ‘worn out’, with [SRF]

odéhsdahsɔ: ‘it is worn out’

[**adehsɣyɛ’diya’g**] ‘fractured bone’, with [DU,SRF]

deyodehsɣyɛ’diyá’gɔh ‘fractured bone’

[**adɛnɔhyanihd**] ‘terrible, overwhelming’, with [DU,SRF]

deyodɛnɔhyanihdɔh ‘it is overwhelming, terrible’

[**+adih**] ‘the other side of [INC N]’, with [REP]

with [INC N] *joháhadih*, *swaháhadih* ‘the other side of the road’

[**adogɛ’ɔh**] ‘duel, between’, with [DU,SRF]

deyodogɛ’ɔh ‘it is in between’, ‘a duel between two people’

[**adrɛnaga’ɔh**] ‘smell good’, with [SRF]

with [INC N] *gadɛnagá’ɔh* ‘it smells good, sweet, appetizing’

[**adrɔhyogewɛh**] ‘clear sky’

odrɔhyogé:wɛh ‘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’nhɔsá:ge:* ‘two eggs’

with [INC N] *dewahdahgwá:ge:* ‘two shoes’

[**+age:**] ‘three or more [INC N]’, with NUMERAL, PART

with [INC N] *ahsɛh niganɔsá: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’dewəhnihsrage*: ‘every day’, ‘many days’

[+age-hagye’] ‘two [INC N] at a time’, with [DU]

with [INC N] *dega’drehdagehá:gye’* ‘two cars at at time’

[agyana’dahnq’, agyena’dahnq’] ‘patterned fabric’, with [SRF]

ogyanadáhnq’, ogyenadáhnq’ ‘patterned material’, ‘calico’, ‘printed fabric’

[agyanohg] ‘strange, bizarre’, with [SRF]

ogyá:nohk ‘it is strange, bizarre’

[ahd] ‘resemble, be like’, with [PART] and preceded by a particle

such as *də’* ‘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’

[ahdrqhg] ‘dangerous, frightening, scary’

ohdrqhk ‘it is frightening, fierce, scary’, ‘danger’

[ahoga’d] ‘clearly-heard sound’

ohó:ga’t ‘a clear sound’

[ahsde:] ‘evaporated, empty, dried out’

ohsde: ‘it is empty, evaporated’

[ahsde’] ‘heavy’

ohsde’ ‘it is heavy’

with [INC N] *oíhwahsde’* ‘mental burden’, ‘preoccupation’

with [INC N] *gaiho’dé’srahsde’, oiho’déhsrahsde’* ‘heavy or hard work’

with [INC N] *tsəh niyogotrá:sde’* ‘weight, pounds, poundage’ *tsəh* ‘that’

[ahsəhsde:’] ‘regretful’

oséhsde:’ ‘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’

[ahshə:] ‘slow-moving’

ohshə: ‘it is slow-moving’

with [INC N] *ohnyáhshə:* ‘a slow beat’

[ahshed] ‘same number of things’, with [COIN,DU]

tsa’deyohshé:dəh ‘it is the same number (of)’

[+a:k’ah] ‘short’, with [PART] or [DU]

with [INC N] *deyenətsa:k’ah* ‘her arm is short’

with [INC N] *nihogə’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'kdqnyogweh] 'winding roads', with [DU,SRF]

deyotaha'kdqnyó:gweh 'winding roads'

[atede:] 'past day'

té:de:' '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:nqni] 'rich', with [SRF]

qtga:nó:ni: 'it is precious'

[atgríhsrɔ'] 'several wrinkled items', with [SRF]

otgríhsrɔ' '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'nqni] 'round', with [DU,SRF]

deyotwe'nó:ni: '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'

[dagwaseh, adedagwaseh, +agwaseh] 'bruise', with [SRF] / *da*

odagwaseh, odedagwá:sesh 'it is bruised'

with [INC N] *odahyagwá:sesh* 'bruised fruit, fruit with brown spots'

[daihe:] 'hot'

o'dáihē: 'it is hot, spicy'

with [INC N] *ohnegadáihē:* 'hot water'

with [INC N] *wēhnihsradáihē:* 'it's a hot day'

[+de'] 'existing object'

with [INC N] *ohá:de'* 'an existing road'

with [INC N] *wēhnihsrade'* '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]

with [INC N] *tiganqhsa:dé:ʔah* ‘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’

[+ʔe:] ‘coloured’

with [INC N] *swéʔdaʔe:* ‘black’

with [INC N] *onráhdaʔe:* ‘green’

with [INC N] *aqhyaeʔ, qhyaeʔ* ‘blue’

[+d-sqʔ] ‘each, per [INC N]’, or ‘one [INC N] at a time’, with [REP]
with [INC N] *sgaʔdréhdatsqʔ* ‘each car’, ‘one car at a time’

with [INC N] *johsʔdatsqʔ* ‘a one foot distance’, ‘one foot apart’

[+eʔ] ‘lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *oʔgráeʔ* ‘there is snow on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahédaeʔ* ‘meadow’, ‘pasture’, ‘field’

[+eʔdʔ] ‘several objects lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahédaéʔdʔ* ‘meadows’

[+eʔdʔnyʔ] ‘many objects lying on the ground’

with [INC N] *gahadáeʔdʔnyʔ* ‘forests’

[+eʔhe:] ‘direction of, -ward, etc.’,
with [PART],[CIS] / [TRANSL],[INC N]

nigyowáeʔhe: ‘the direction of the wind’

with [INC N] *heyohnegéʔhe:* ‘downstream’

[eʔnigohawənyaʔd] ‘entertaining’,
with [DU,SRF]

deyoʔnigohawé:nyaʔt ‘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:sʔah] ‘somewhat short in length’

with [INC N] *nigəhné:sʔah* ‘a short length of cloth’

[+e:sqʔs] ‘several long objects’

with [INC N] *onrahde:sqʔs* ‘long leaves’

with [INC N] *ganqhsé:sqʔs* ‘long-houses’

[etʔah] ‘pretend’

a:wé:tʔah ‘implied’, ‘pretend’

[+gaʔdeʔ, atgaʔdeʔ] ‘many’, with [NEG], means ‘few’

otgáʔdeʔ ‘often’, ‘many’, ‘lots’

with [INC N] *deyodeʔdrehdagáʔdeʔ* ‘not many cars’

[+gaʔdeʔ] ‘often’, ‘many’, ‘lots’

odeʔdrehdágaʔdeʔ ‘a lot of cars’

[+gaʔdeʔ] ‘to have many [INC N]’,
with [PART],P-series prefix

with [INC N] *honahsgwagáʔdeʔ* ‘he has many pets’

[gahaədahd] ‘fuzzy, out of focus, opaque,unclear’, with [CONTR,DU]

taʔdeyogaháədaht ‘it is fuzzy, out of focus, opaque, unclear’

[gahdeh] ‘raw’

ogáhdeh ‘it is raw’

with [INC N] *oʔwahagáhdeh* ‘raw meat’

- [ga'qh] 'taste good'
STAT *ogá'qh* 'it tastes good'
- [ga'qhsrae'] 'tasteless', with [NEG]
de'oga'qhsrae' 'it is tasteless'
- [ga'qhsriyo:] 'taste good'
oga'qhsri:yo: 'it tastes good'
- [+gayqh] 'old (object, not person)'
ogá:yqh 'it is old'
with [INC N] *ohona'da:gá:yqh* 'old potato'
with [INC N] *gaenagá:yqh* 'old song'
- [+gęd] 'visible', 'white'
ó:gę't 'it is visible'
with [INC N] *onéhege:t* 'white corn'
with [INC N] *wahsú'dage:t* 'white foot'
- [gę'd] 'transparent', with [TRANSL]
heyó:gę't 'it is transparent'
- [gedra'] 'unripe, raw, green'
ogé:dra' 'it is green' (not ripe), 'raw fruit'
- [gęhe'd] 'disgusting, boring'
ogéhe't 'it is boring, disgusting'
- [+gęhyad] 'edge, end, just above'
with [INC N] *oihwagéhya:t* 'it is almost to the end'
with [INC N] *ohnegagéhya:t* 'just above the water'
- [gød] 'always', with [CIS,SRF]
gyótgø:t 'always'
- [+gri'] 'juice, liquid'
with [INC N] *ohyá:gri'* 'juice, fruit juice'
with [INC N] *o'dá:gri'* 'muddy water'
- [+gwegqh] 'all, everything'
gwé:gqh, agwé:gqh, ogwé:gqh 'everything', 'all'
with [INC N] *węhnihsragwé:gqh* 'all day'
with [INC N] *onęhegwé:gqh* 'whole corn', 'all of the corn'
- [ha'gędre'] 'crusty snow'
ohá'gędre' 'crusty snow'
- [hahędahnoh] 'stripes'
ohahędahnoh 'striped, patterned'
- [ha:k'ah] 'short in height', with [PART]
niyo:há:k'ah 'it is short in height'
- [hate'] 'bright', with [DU]
deyóhate' 'it is bright (i.e. sunlight)'
- [he'do] 'hang over'
ohé'doh 'it is hanging over' (an edge, a chair)
- [+heh] 'mid'
with [INC N] *gáqhyahęh* 'noon', 'mid sky'
- [+heh] 'mid, half way', with [COIN,DU]
with [INC N] *tša'dewęhnihsrahęh* 'half a day'
with [INC N] *tša'deganóhsahęh* 'in the middle of the house'
- [hehdae'] 'furry'
ohéhdae' 'it is furry'
- [hehjihweh] 'really dried out'
ohéhjihweh 'it is really dried out'
- [hna'ge:] 'behind'
ohná'ge:?', ná'ge:?' 'behind'
- [hna'gejih] 'back then, past (in the past), late'

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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]
niyohnodá: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'

ohsgyé'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'

[**hsogwadagəh**] 'dark colours'

ohsohwadá:gəh 'dark colour'

[**hsohwadehd**] 'bold, bright colours'

ohsəhwadeht 'vibrant colours, fluorescent, neon'

[**hwihsdana'go:'**] 'spendthrift'

(*o*)*hwihsdaná'go:'* 'big spender, spendthrift'

[**hyo'tiyehd**] 'sharp'

ohyu'tí:yeht, ohyo'tí: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'dí:yo:* 'nice potato'

with [INC N] *ganahsgwí:yo:* 'nice pet'

[**jihnyowaəð**] 'spotty'

ojihnyowáəð 'it is spotty'

[**jike'daweht**] 'salty'

ojike'dá:weht 'it is salty'

[**jiwage:**] 'sour, bitter, salty'

ojiwage: '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] *ohehdaná:wę:* ‘wet, moist dirt, earth’

[**nehagwahd**] ‘amazing, awesome’
onéhagwaht ‘it is amazing, awesome’

[**nenqʷ**] ‘warm weather, mild weather’

oné:nqʷ ‘it is mild, warm’, ‘a warm or hot day’

[**+nha:ʷ**] ‘sticking out’, with [DU,CIS]
with [INC N] *detganqhsá:nha:ʷ* ‘it is a house sticking out’

[**+no:ʷ**] ‘cold, cool’
with [INC N] *ohnégano:* ‘cold water’
with [INC N] *owá:no:* ‘a cold wind’

[**+nqhd**] ‘spooky’
with [INC N] *qyganqhsá:nqht* ‘their weird, odd, spooky house’

[**nqhgwiyaʷ**] ‘wet, saturated’
onqhgwiyaʷ ‘it is soaking wet, saturated’

[**nqhqkdeʷ**] ‘painful’
onqhqkdeʷ ‘it is painful’

[**nqhqkdenyqʷ**] ‘painful all over’
onohqkde:nyqʷ ‘there is pain all over’

[**nqhyanihd**] ‘terrible, overwhelming’, with [DU]
deyonqhyá:niht ‘it is terrible, frugal, cheap’

[**nqʷne:ʷ**] ‘sacred, holy, forbidden’
onqʷne:ʷ ‘it is forbidden, sacred, holy’
with [INC N] *oihwanqʷne:ʷ* ‘forbidden idea’

[**ʷnoshaʷd**] ‘enviable’
oʷnó:shaʷt ‘it is jealous, envious’

[**nqʷshehsde:ʷ**] ‘boring’

onqʷshesde:ʷ ‘it is boring, tiring’

[**nowęhd**] ‘absurd, unbelievable’
onó:węht ‘it is absurd, unbelievable’

[**+ʷo:**] ‘notched’
with [INC N] *gáqdaʷo:* ‘notched tree’

[**+q:**] ‘resemble’
with [INC N] *oʷgrq:* ‘it looks like snow’

[**o:ʷ, weʷ**] ‘distance, amount’, with [PART]
niyó:weʷ ‘how far (in distance)’

[**+od**] ‘standing or rooted object’
with [INC N] *odóʷdo:t* ‘swells (waves)’

with [INC N] *ganqhsot* ‘(standing) house’

[**+od**] ‘at the [INC N]’, with *shęh* ‘that’ [CIS]

with [INC N] *shęh tganqhsot* ‘at the house’

[**qd**] ‘attached object’
aq:t ‘it is attached’, ‘it is sticking out’
with [INC N] *odáʷaq:t* ‘a web’

[**qd**] ‘a number of attached objects’, with NUMERAL [PART]
ahsęh niwęʷnihsqáqt ‘it has three wheels’

[**qd**] ‘protrude’, with [CIS]
heyáqt ‘it protrudes’

[**+oʷdę:**] ‘a type of’, with [PART]
with [INC N] *niyogaʷqhsroʷdę:* ‘how it tastes’

with [INC N] *nigaęnóʷdę:* ‘a type of song’

[**oʷdę:**] ‘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'

[qhgwad] 'itchy'

áqhgwa:t 'it is itchy'

[+ohsgo'] 'cleared', with [DU]

ohéhdqhsqo' '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]

dé'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'

[tɛ:] 'spoiled, rotten'

otɛ: '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'dréhdatti'* 'ugly car'

[tsade'qh] 'damp'

otsáde'qh 'it is damp'

[tsahni'g] 'frighten, scare'

otsáhnihk 'it is frightening, scary'

[tsesdaɛ:] 'sticky'

otséhsdaɛ' 'it is sticky'

[tsihshɛ'qh] 'numb'

otsíhshɛ'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’

owíhjih ‘it is overcooked’

[ya’dq̄h] ‘direction’

(ts̄h) niyóya’dq̄h ‘a direction’

[ya’dowehde:] ‘contemplation’, with [DU]

deyoyá’dówehde:’ ‘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’datḡ:] ‘decomposed corpse’

oyaq’dá:tḡ: ‘a state of decomposition’

[ȳdehd] ‘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

[ahyojihs] ‘sour, bitter, salty’, with [DU]

deyóhyojihs ‘it is bitter, salty, sour’

[atnakdagonyq̄hs] ‘an important or

prestigious seat or place’, with [SRF]

otnakdagó:nyq̄hs ‘important, prestigious seat or place’

B.1.9 Conjugation of the irregular verb [+e:s], [+i:s], [q̄:s] ‘long’

The verb meaning ‘to be long’ has several forms: it is [q̄: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) [q̄:s] ‘long’

a. í:yq̄:s

í:y-q̄:s

PROTH-3S.A-long.STAT

‘it is long’

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- b. tɛʔ deʔyɔ:s
tɛʔ deʔ-y-ɔ:s
not NEG-3S.A-long.STAT
'it is not long'
- c. niyó:sʔah
ni-y-ó:s-ʔah
PART-3S.A-long.STAT-DIM
'just a little bit long'
- d. ó:sqʔs
ó:s-qʔs
NO.PREFIX-long.STAT-PL
'lengthy objects'

(2) [+e:s] 'long'

- a. onóʔje:s
o-nóʔj-e:s
3S.P-tooth-long.STAT
'fang'
- b. ganóhse:s
ga-nóhs-e:s
3S.A-house-long.STAT
'longhouse'
- c. ganóhsé:sqʔs
ga-nóhs-é:s-qʔs
3S.A-house-long.STAT-PL
'longhouses'
- d. hogéʔe:s
ho-géʔ-é: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. ohsdi: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:sejáodε'
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-ʔk] stand-JOINERÁ-FORMER
gonadřenó:daʔk
gon-ad-ręn-ó:d-a-ʔk
3NS.FI.P-SRF-song-stand.STATIVE-JOINERÁ-FORMER
'they did sing'
- g. STATIVE PROGRESSIVE [+od-a-gy-e-ʔ] stand-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT
honadřenódagye'
hon-ad-ręn-ód-a-gy-e-ʔ
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 [qđ-haʔ] attached-HAB
Hahsdawędrq:ta'
ha-hsdawędr-qđ-ha'
3S.M.A-rattle-attach-HAB
'Attaching Rattles' (Mohawk Chief Title)
- b. PUNCTUAL [qđ-ε'] attached-PUNC
ęhsadε'sgq:dε'
ę-hs-ad-ε-ʔsg-ó:d-ε'
FUTURE-2S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-roast-put.in-PUNC
'you will roast'
- c. stative [q:t] attached.STAT
wadε'sgq:t
wa-d-é-ʔsg-q:t
3S.A-SRF-JOINERÉ-roast-attached.STAT
'it is roasting, frying'

- d. STATIVE PAST [q̄d-a-ʔk] attached-JOINER A-FORMER
 gotnaʔdáqdaʔk
 go-t-naʔdá-qd-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

[aʔawayq̄di, aʔawayq̄gy] ‘drizzle’
 STAT *oʔawayq̄:gyq̄:* ‘it is drizzling’,
 ‘misty rain, fine rain’

[ad+N+owę] ‘split in two from
 within’, with [DU,SRF]
 PUNC *adwa:dó:wę?* ‘it split’
 STAT *deyo:dó:wę?* ‘it is split in two’

[adadq̄ni, adadq̄ny] ‘emerge spon-
 taneously, do spontaneously’, with
 [CONTR+,REFL]
 PUNC *tęwadadq̄:ni?* ‘it will emerge or
 appear unintentionally’, ‘it will do it
 by itself’

[adaʔgradenyq̄:] ‘snow flurry’, with
 [SRF]
 STAT *odaʔgradé:nyq̄:* ‘there are snow
 flurries’

[adaʔgrahd] ‘float, resurface, sur-
 face’, with [SRF]
 HAB *wadáʔgrah̄taʔ* ‘it resurfaces con-
 tinually’
 PUNC *dq̄dawadáʔgrah̄k* ‘it resurfaced’
 STAT *odaʔgrah̄dq̄h* ‘it is floating’

[adagwasd] ‘get bruised’, with [SRF],
 N/da
 PUNC *ęwádagwa:s* ‘it will get bruised’

STAT *odedagwá:sdq̄h* ‘it is bruised’

[adagwęhdę:] ‘become dented, be
 flat’, with [DU,SRF], (also see
 [ahdagwa:s] ‘dent’ §B.2.1

PUNC *adwadagwęhdę:* ‘it became
 dented’

STAT *deyodagwęhdę:, dewadagwęhdę:*
 ‘it is flat’

with [INC N] *deyotsq̄ęʔęęhdę:* ‘flat
 pits’

[adahsq̄dragw] ‘unjoin, come apart’,
 with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewadq̄hsq̄dragwahs* ‘it comes
 apart’

PUNC *dęęnadahsq̄drá:goʔ* ‘they will
 be unjoined (i.e. a train, chain), they
 will come apart’

STAT *deyodq̄hsq̄dragwęh* ‘it is dis-
 jointed’

[adahsogw] ‘fade, lose colour’, with
 [SRF]

PUNC *ęwadahsó:goʔ* ‘it loses its
 colour’ (i.e. old paint)

STAT *odáhsogwęh* ‘it is faded’

[adaʔyodę] ‘become erect’, with
 [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwadaʔyó:dɛʔ* ‘it will be erect’
(poised to strike)

[**adehsda:denyɔ**] ‘sprinkle’

STAT *odesdá:denyɔ:* ‘it is sprinkling’

[**adehsiyogw**] ‘fray’, with [(DU),SRF]

PUNC *awadehsí:yó:goʔ* ‘it frayed’

STAT *deyodahsi:yó:gweh* ‘it is frayed’

[**adehstoʔdrɛhd**] ‘moult, pluck’, with
[SRF]

PUNC *awadehstóʔdrɛht* ‘it moulted’

[**adɛnhaʔ**] ‘order, charter, hire something’, with [SRF]

STAT *wadɛnhaʔɔh* ‘it is chartered, hired’

[**adetgihd**] ‘weather, bad weather, stormy weather, turn ugly, storm’

PUNC *awádetgiht* ‘it was bad weather, stormy’

STAT *odétgihdɔh* ‘it is storming right now’

[**adewa:dahgw, wa:dahgw**] ‘deflate’, with [(SRF)]

PUNC *awadewa:dáhgoʔ* ‘it deflated’

STAT *gawa:dáhgwɛh* ‘it is deflated’

[**adɔda:d**] ‘contain something’, with [(SRF)]

HAB *wadɔ:dá:taʔ* ‘it contains something’, ‘a container’

[**adoʔkd**] ‘be lacking, not enough’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *dawádoʔkdahs* ‘it lacks’, ‘it is not enough’

PUNC *dawádoʔkdɛʔ* ‘it lacked’, ‘it was not enough’

STAT *gyodóʔkdaʔɔh* ‘it is lacking’

[**adratsɔ**] ‘get torn, ripped’, with [SRF]

HAB *wadrá:tsɔhs* ‘it gets torn all the time’

STAT *odrá:tsɔh* ‘it is torn’

[**adrihwagwenɔni:**] ‘full moon’, with [DU]

PUNC *adwadrihwagwenó:ni:* ‘there was a full moon’

STAT *deyodrihwagwenó:ni:* ‘there is a full moon’

[**adrihwahdɔʔ**] ‘eclipse’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadrihwáhɔʔ* ‘an eclipse’ (literally, ‘the moon got lost’)

[**adrihwahdɛdi, adrihwahdɛgy**] ‘start a ceremony’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛwadrihwahdɛ:diʔ* ‘the ceremony will start’

STAT *odrihwahdɛ:gyɔ:* ‘the ceremony’

[**adrihwahdɔ**] ‘die out (ideas)’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadrihwáhɔʔ* ‘it died out, faded away’ (an idea)

[**adwɛnod**] ‘bay, howl’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadwɛnó:dɛʔ* ‘it did bay, howl’

STAT *odwé:no:t* ‘it is baying, howling’

[**agyaʔdawihsy**] ‘shed skin’ (said of a snake), with [SRF]

PUNC *awagyaʔdáwihsiʔ* ‘it shed its skin’ (a snake)

[**-ahdagwa:s**] ‘dent’

HAB *wahdagwá:sahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛwáhdagwa:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ohdagwá:sɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ahdɛ́'gw] 'swell'

HAB *wahdɛ́'gwahs* 'it swells up'
 PUNC *awáhdɛ́'goh* 'it swelled up'
 STAT *ohdɛ́'gweh* 'it is swollen'

[a:hgwitɛ́'] 'sun rise', with [(CIS)]
 HAB *tgá:hgwitɛ́'s* 'east' (direction),
 'the sun rises there'

PUNC *ɛ́tgá:hgwitɛ́'* 'the sun will rise'
 STAT *deyogwitɛ́'oh, gya:hgwitɛ́'oh*
 'the sun, moon has risen'

[ahsdehsd] 'evaporate, dry up, boil
 dry, go dry'

HAB *wahsdéhsta'* 'it is evaporating',
 'it evaporates'
 PUNC *ɛ́wá:hsdehs* 'it will go dry, evaporate'

STAT *ohsdéhsdoh* 'it has evaporated,
 all dried up'

[ahsha:gwani:] 'remember'

STAT *ohsha:gwá:ni:* 'rememberance',
 'to remember'

[ahstwa'] 'shrink'

HAB *wahstwahs* 'it shrinks'
 PUNC *ɛ́wáhstwa'* 'it will shrink' (i.e.
 wool)
 STAT *ohstwá'oh* 'it has shrunk'

[ahstwahd] 'shrink up'

HAB *wahstwáhta'* 'it shrinks' (i.e.
 wool)
 PUNC *awáhstwaht* 'it shrank'

[ahyai] 'ripen'

HAB *wahyáís* 'a musk melon', 'a can-
 taloupe', (literally, 'fruit is beginning
 to ripen')
 PUNC *ɛ́wáhyai'* 'it will ripen'
 STAT *ohyáih* 'ripe fruit'

[a'sɛ́', +ɛ́] 'fall off, drop, reduce, fall
 in', with [TRANSL N/a's]

with [INC N] HAB *hewá'sɛ́'s* 'it falls
 in' (all the time)

with [INC N] PUNC *hɛ́wá'sɛ́'* 'it will
 fall in'

with [INC N] STAT *heyó'sɛ́'oh* 'it has
 fallen in'

with [INC N] *heyohneɛ́'oh* 'falling
 water'

[a'sɛ́', +ɛ́] 'fall, drop, reduce', with
 [CIS N/a's]

with [INC N] HAB *dwasɛ́'s* 'it falls, it
 is a dropper'

with [INC N] PUNC *dawá'sɛ́'* 'it
 dropped, reduced'

with [INC N] STAT *gyosé'oh* 'it has
 fallen off something'

with [INC N] *gyohnéɛ́'oh* 'falling wa-
 ter'

[ataɛ́dɔnyoh] 'shimmer, twinkle',
 with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewatáɛ́dɔnyoh* 'it is twinkling',
 'it is shimmering'

PUNC *adwatáɛ́dɔnyoh* 'it shimmered'

[atehgya'g] 'erode', with [SRF]

HAB *watéhgya's* 'it (ground) is erod-
 ing'

PUNC *ɛ́wáhtehgya'k* 'it will erode'

[atɛ́tɛ́hd] 'go bad', with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *dawátehtɛ́ht* 'it went bad'

[atgrɛ́grɛ́hdoh] 'dreary, grey sky',
 with [DU,SRF]

STAT *deyotgrɛ́grɛ́hdoh* 'the sky is
 dreary, grey'

[atneɛ́'gw] 'high tide', with [CIS]

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PUNC *ędwatnegé'go* 'it will be high tide'

STAT *gyotnéę'gwęh* 'high tide'

[**atneę'gwahd**] 'tidal wave', with [CIS]

PUNC *dawatnegé'gwaht* 'tidal wave'

[**atno**] 'pollution', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęwá:tno:* 'there will be pollution'

[**atogai**] 'stiff, stiffen up', with [SRF]

HAB *watógais* 'it stiffens up all the time'

PUNC *awatogái* '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'oh* 'it is empty, burnt up, used up'

[**atsa'ged, atsa'kd**] 'bend, be flexible', with [DU,SRF N/hs]

HAB *dewátsa'kdohs* 'it bends all the time', 'it is flexible'

PUNC *dewátsa'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'ahdoh* 'it is all gone'

with [INC N] *ha'watnegáts'aht* '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'oh* 'it is done for the season', 'it has gone full cycle', 'it is mature', 'they (plants) have finished out'

[**atsihse:**] 'ripe'

PUNC *awátsihse:* 'it ripened for harvesting'

STAT *otsihshe:* '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 *dęwatwada:sę:dahk* 'it will encircle it' (speaking of the calendar year)

[**+dase**] 'whirl, swirl around' (fluid, air), with [DU]

HAB *degawá:dasehs* 'tornado'

PUNC *atgahnegádase:* 'hydrologic cycle, water cycle'

STAT *ohnawadá:se:* 'whirlpool'

[**'drehdahetę'**] 'break down' (said of vehicles)

PUNC *oęe'drehdáhetę'* 'my car broke down'

STAT *odrehdahétę'oh* 'a car is broken down'

[**ędajihš**] 'twilight'

HAB *wędą:jihš* 'dusk, twilight'

[**ęniho'g**] 'lightning', with [DU]

HAB *dewęnihoks, dewęniho's* 'it is lightning'

PUNC *adwęniho'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 *onáwæ̃* ‘it has sunk in liquid’

[**ga:hgwẽ**] ‘sunset’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hegáhgwẽs* ‘to the setting sun, the direction of the sunset, west’

PUNC *ha’gáhgwẽ* ‘sunset’, ‘the sun went down’

[**gɛ̃nhɔ̃di, gɛ̃nhɔ̃gy**] ‘summer’, with [DU]

PUNC *dɛ̃yogɛ̃nhɔ̃:di* ‘it will be summer’

[**gowanhe**] ‘become big’

PUNC *agagowá:nhe* ‘it became big’

[**hehdagahatw**] ‘plough’

HAB *gahehdagáhatwahs* ‘plow’

STAT *gahehdagáhatwɛ̃h* ‘ploughed field’

[**hnegagyɛ̃hɛ̃tw**] ‘low tide’, with [DU,CIS]

PUNC *dɛ̃tgahnegagyɛ̃hɛ̃:to* ‘it will be low tide’

[**hnegahe:**] ‘high tide’, with [CIS]

PUNC *ɛ̃tgahnegáhe:k* ‘it will be high tide’

[**hretgɛ̃**] ‘go bad, spoil’ (said of ideas)

PUNC *ɛ̃wáhɛ̃tɛ̃gɛ̃* ‘it (an idea) will spoil, go bad’

[**hsdaɛ̃da**] ‘stop raining’

PUNC *agahsdáɛ̃da* ‘it stopped raining’

[**hsdaowanahd**] ‘rain hard’

PUNC *agasdáowanahd* ‘it rained hard’

[**hsdaowanɛ̃h**] ‘rain hard’

STAT *gahsdaowá:nɛ̃h* ‘it is raining hard’

[**hsgɛ̃drɔ̃d**] ‘rusting, mouldy’

PUNC *awahsgɛ̃drɔ̃:dɛ̃:* ‘it got mouldy’, ‘it got rusty’

[**+ihɛ̃h**] ‘shake’

with [INC N] PUNC *agyɔ̃hwẽjáihɛ̃h* ‘earthquake’, (literally, ‘the land shook’)

[**ihnodɔ̃**] ‘flood’

PUNC *awɛ̃hnó:dɔ̃:* ‘flood’, ‘it flooded’

STAT *ohnó:dɔ̃* ‘it is flooded’

[**ji’daga:, ji’dagai**] ‘whining, crying sound’, with [DU]

HAB *degaji’dá:ga:* ‘a whiner, cryer’

PUNC *atgaji’dágai* ‘(there was) whining, crying, repetitive complaining’

[**jihsda’dɔ̃**] ‘go with the fire’

PUNC *ɛ̃sẽjihsdá’dra* ‘you will go with the fire’ (refers to the Gaihwí:yo: convention)

STAT *hodijihsdá’dɔ̃:* ‘they have gone to the fire’ (refers to the Gaihwí:yo: convention)

[**’nhɛ̃tsɛ̃dɔ̃h**] ‘wag one’s tail’, with [DU]

STAT *dɛ̃yo’nhɛ̃tsɛ̃dɔ̃hɔ̃h* ‘it is wagging its tail’

[**’nɔ̃:**] ‘removed’, with [CIS]

STAT *gyonɔ̃:* ‘it has been removed’

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[nɔʔa:ga:, nɔʔa:gai] ‘noise made by banging head’, with [DU,REP]

PUNC *dəhsɡanɔʔa:gái* ‘there will be heads banging’

STAT *desɡanɔʔá:ga:* ‘a head banging’

[nɔnhe] ‘fill up’

HAB *ɡanó:nhe*’s ‘it fills up all the time’

PUNC *agánɔnhe*’ ‘it filled up’

[ɔhwejaiheh] ‘earthquake’

PUNC *agyɔhwejáihēh* ‘earthquake’, (literally, ‘the land shook’)

[rihsdiʔdr] ‘survey’

HAB *hadíhsdiʔdrehs* ‘they are surveying the land’, ‘surveyors’

STAT *ɡaihsdiʔdrɔ:* ‘it has been surveyed’

[rihwahdɔʔ] ‘die out, become extinct’

PUNC *agaihwáhdɔʔ* ‘it became extinct, died out’ (old word, said of ideas)

STAT *oihwahdɔʔɔh* ‘it is extinct’

[rihwɛdaʔ] ‘wear out’

PUNC *agaihweʔdaʔ* ‘it wore out’ (i.e. clothing)

[+tɛhsd] ‘dry up, evaporate’

PUNC, with [INC N] *sagagáhóʔjatɛhs* ‘the grass dried up’

[waɛhɛwiʔ] ‘hurricane’

HAB *ɡawaɛhé:wiʔ* ‘hurricane’

[waʔnɛda:ʔg] ‘stick to, cling to’

HAB *owaʔnɛ:da:s* ‘it sticks to it’, ‘it adheres to it’

PUNC *aʔowaʔnɛ:da:ʔk, aʔowaʔnɛ:da:ʔ* ‘it is stuck’

STAT *owaʔnɛdá:gɔh* ‘it is stuck on something’

[wa:nohsd] ‘become cold, cool’ (weather)

PUNC *sagawá:nohs* ‘it became cooler’

STAT *owa:nóhsdɔh* ‘it got cold (weather)’

[wɛɔɛnawɛ:] ‘become a wet day’

PUNC *awɛɔɛnáwɛ:* ‘it got wet’, ‘the day got wet’

[yagɛhdahgw] ‘come out suddenly’, with [CIS]

PUNC *dagayagɛhdahk* ‘it came out (suddenly)’

[yɛdaʔ] ‘settle’, with [TRANSL,CIS]

PUNC *hatgayɛ:daʔ* ‘it is settled’

[yɛdehte] ‘emerge unintentionally’

PUNC *aʔɔyɛdéhte* ‘it emerged unintentionally’

[yesh] ‘be too bad’

PUNC *agayeshaʔ* ‘it is too bad’

[weodeɛ] ‘become mouldy’

PUNC *agawéodeɛʔ* ‘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'
awęęęnáwę: 'it got wet', 'the day got wet'
degawá:dasehs 'tornado'
dewadewayędąqha 'it is thundering'
dewęnihó'ksqh 'lightening'
deyotgręgręhdqh 'the sky is dreary, grey'
deyotsadáę 'it is foggy'
deyoyęgwáę: 'it is a smoky or hazy day'
ęyohsdąqdi 'it is going to rain'
ęyo'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:nyq: 'there are snow flurries'
odęhaqt 'sunshine'
odesdá:denyo: 'it is sprinkling'
odręhyo:t 'rainbow'
ogahgwędq:gyq: 'it is snowing snow pellets'

ohji'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'
aogohdqh onę:nq 'it is exceptionally hot' (weather)
ononyąędagye sadaogyo: 'freezing rain'
ononyąę 'it is frozen'
onyę'gwadá:se 'drifting snow'
osdaq: 'it looks like rain'
osdaqyo: '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)
owídrogyq: 'it is hailing', 'sleet'
o'áwaye 'dew'
o'awayq:gyq: 'it is drizzling'
o'dáihe: 'a hot day'
o'grq: 'it looks like snow'
o'grq:gyq: 'it is snowing'
o'growanáhdqh 'it is snowing hard'
węnihsrí: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’grɔdi, a’grɔgy**] ‘snow’

PUNC *eyo’gró:di* ‘it will snow’

STAT *o’gró:gyɔ*: ‘it is snowing’

[**a’growanahd**] ‘snow hard’

STAT *o’growanáhdɔh* ‘it is snowing hard’

[**ɛh, ɛ**] ‘happen’, with [PART]

HAB *niyá:wəhs* ‘how it happens’

PUNC *nəyá:wəh* ‘it will happen’

STAT *niyáwə’ɔh* ‘how it did happen’

[**hɛ**] ‘be day’

PUNC *eyó:hɛ* ‘it will be tomorrow’

[**hsdagwæ**] ‘dirty, soiled’

PUNC *a’ohsdagwáɛ*: ‘it got dirty or soiled’

STAT *ohsdágwæɛ*: ‘it is soiled, dirty, stained’

[**hsdaɔdi, hsdaɔgy**] ‘rain’

PUNC *eyohsdáɔdi* ‘it is going to rain’

STAT *osdáɔgyɔ*: ‘it is raining’

[**hsgɛ’draɛ**] ‘get rusty’

HAB *ohsgé’draɛ:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *eyohsgɛ’draɛ*: ‘it will get rusty’

STAT *ohsgé’draɛ*’ (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’

[**nyahɛh, nyahe**] ‘boil’

HAB *onyáhɛhs* ‘it is boiling’

PUNC *egyónyahɛh* ‘it will boil’

STAT *onyáhɛ’ɔh* ‘it has boiled’

[**ɔhwɛhsdaga:**] ‘make a wheezing noise’

STAT *ohwɛhsdaga*: ‘it is wheezing’

[**tgeh, tge**] ‘become rotten’

HAB *otgéhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *a’ótgeh* ‘it became spoiled, rotten’

STAT *otgé’ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**tsihsdɛh, tsihsdɛ**] ‘get numb’

PUNC *a’ótsihsdɛh* ‘it got numb’

STAT *otsíhsdɛ’ɔh* ‘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:gwe, adadahsha:gwani**]

‘make oneself remember, remind oneself’, with [CIS,REFL]

PUNC *ɛtsadadahshá:gwe*’ ‘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 *qadadrihonyanih* '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 *esadadrihwagwé:nye's* 'you will achieve'
[adadriwahdq'd] 'commit suicide', with [REFL]
 PUNC *awadadriwahdq'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 *esadadrohé:ge* 'you will accumulate (things, ideas, etc.) for yourself'
[adadwedeht, adadwedeht] 'forfeit one's life, give up one's life', with [SRF]/[REFL]
 HAB *sadwedehta* 'you forfeit things all the time'
 PUNC *asa:dwé:deht* 'you forfeited'

PUNC *awadadwé:deht* 'it (a pet) forfeited its life'
[adadwiyahdq'd] 'have an abortion', with [REFL]
 HAB *qadadwiyáhdqta* 'abortion'
 PUNC *agadadwiyahdq't* 'I had an abortion'
 STAT *agadadwiyahdq'dqh* 'I did have an abortion'
[ada'gehod] 'have, get an erection', with [SRF]
 PUNC *ehadagehó:de* 'he will get an erection'
 STAT *sadá'geho:t* 'you have an erection'
[adagya'dahgwa'd] 'do push ups', with [DU,REFL]
 HAB *degaqdagya'dahgwa'ta* 'they are doing push ups'
 PUNC *degaqdagya'dahgwa't* 'they will do push ups'
[adagyenaw, adagyenaq, adagyena:] 'wrestle', with [DU,REFL]
 HAB *dehēnada:gyé:nahs* 'wrestlers', 'they are wrestling'
 PUNC *esadagyé:na:* 'you will wrestle'
 IMP *desadagyé:na:* 'you wrestle!'
[adahgahsdq, adahgahsd] 'endure', with [SRF]
 HAB *sadáhgahsta* 'you do endure'
 PUNC *esadahgáhsdq* 'you will tough it out, endure'
 IMP *sadáhgahsdq:* 'you endure!', 'go and cook in the cookhouse!'
[adahgwæ] 'store something', with [SRF]

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HAB *sadahgwáęę* 'you store things all the time'

PUNC *asadahgwáę* 'you did store it'

IMP *sadáhgwaę* 'store it, hold on to it temporarily!'

[**adahihsd**] 'prevent', with [SRF]

HAB *gadáhihsta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgadahíhsdę* 'I will prevent'

STAT *agadahíhsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adahnyo**] 'fish'

HAB *gadáhnyoh, gadáhnyoha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgadahnyo:* 'I will fish'

STAT *agadahnyo* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adahodó:**] 'ask around, enquire, ask for something', with [SRF]

HAB *gaodahódóha* 'they are asking right now'

PUNC *ęgadahó:dó:* 'I will ask around'

IMP *sadahó:dó:* 'ask!', 'enquire!'

PUNC, with (INC N) *agakwahó:dó:* 'it asked for food'

[**adahohsiyohsd**] 'listen to someone, obey', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęjihswadahohsí:yohs* 'you all will listen again'

STAT *agadahohsí:yohs* 'I listen'

[**adahsehd**] 'hide oneself, something', with [SRF]

HAB *gadáhsehta* 'I hide'

PUNC *ęgenadáhseht* 'they will hide'

STAT *agadahséhdoh* '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'

[**adatgohę**] 'box', with [DU,REFL]

HAB *dehęnadátgohę:s* 'boxers', 'they are boxing'

[**adatrewahd**] 'apologize, repent', with [REP,REFL]

HAB *tsadatrewáhta* 'you are repenting right now', 'you repent all the time'

PUNC *sahęnada:tré:waht* 'they repented'

STAT *satréwahdoh* 'you have been punished'

[**adats'**] 'argue', with [DU,REFL]

HAB *dehęnadá:ts'ahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dehsa: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:yodá:wę:* 'she might swim'

STAT *hodá:węh* 'he did swim'

IMP *ha'sádawę:* 'you swim over there'

[**ada'węhęd**] 'go over' (a fence, etc.), with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dęwada'węhę:t* 'it will go over the fence'

STAT *deyoda'wéhəhdəh* 'it went over the fence', 'it is going over the fence'

[ade'daɒni] 'get dirty, muddy', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛgade'daɒni* 'I am going to get muddy'

[ade'dɔ] 'give birth, be due', with [SRF]

HAB *ɔde'dɔha* 'child-bearing', 'she is giving birth right now'

PUNC *ɛyɔde'dɔ:* 'when she will be due'

PURP *ɔde'dɔhne* 'she is about to give birth'

[ade'drawi, ade'drɔ] 'allow, let go', with [SRF]

HAB *gade'drawihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgade'drɔ* 'I will allow, let do'

STAT *agade'dra:wi:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ade'drehdaɛ] 'park one's vehicle', with [CIS,SRF]

STAT *gyɔgyadedréhdaɛ* 'we all parked our car over there'

[adega'd] 'burn something up, start a fire'

HAB *ɔdega'ta* 'someone burns up something'

PUNC *ɛga:dé:ga't* 'I will start a fire'

STAT *agadega'dóge:* 'I have a big fire going'

[adɛgahnye'] 'comfort a child, babysit', with [SRF]

HAB *gadɛgahnyeh* 'I am babysitting'

PUNC *ɛhsadɛgáhnye* '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 *ɛgɛnadé'go* 'they will flee or run away'

STAT *agade'gweh* 'I am running away'

[adɛhɛ:g] 'sun-tan', 'get a tan', with [SRF]

PUNC *esádɛhɛ:k* 'you got a tan'

STAT *sadɛhɛ:k* 'you are getting a sun tan'

[adehɛh, adehɛ'] 'feel bad, embarrassed, ashamed', with [SRF]

HAB *gadehɛhs* 'I am embarrassed, ashamed'

PUNC *ɛgadehɛh* 'I will be embarrassed'

STAT *hodéhɛ'ɔh* 'he is embarrassed right now'

[adehɛ'ɔhsd] 'widow, widower', with [SRF]

PUNC *a'ɔdehɛ'ɔhs* 'she became a widow'

STAT *hodehɛ'ɔhsdɔh* 'he is a widower'

[adɛhninɔ] 'sell, buy'

HAB *ɔdehni:nɔh* 'store', 'storekeeper'

PUNC *a'ehni:nɔ* 'she purchased'

STAT *gahní:nɔ* 'something that is bought'

IMP *tɛ'ta:kní:nɔh* 'I should not or will not buy it'

[adɛhnyeha:] 'win a bet', with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *agənadəhnyəha:* 'they won a bet'

[**adəhod**] 'stack things, put one thing on top of another', with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəsadəhó:də* '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 *qdehsgyɔ'wáta'ta* 'someone loses weight, diets'

PUNC *agaqdehsgyɔ'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 *əwádehswaht* 'it will smell it'

IMP *sadé:swaht* 'you smell it, sniff it!'

[**adehswahdahno**] 'sniff something', with [SRF]

IMP *sadehswahdáhno:* 'you sniff!'

[**adəhwihsdanilahdani, adəhwihsdanilahdɛ**] 'lend money', with [SRF]

HAB *sadəhwihsdaniháhdanih* 'you lend money', 'a lender'

[**adejaho'gwagahatw**] 'twist one's ankle', with [SRF]

PUNC *agadejaho'gwagahá:to* 'I twisted my ankle'

[**adejəhənedahgw**] 'prepare a fire', with [SRF]

PUNC *əsadəjəhənɛ:dahk* 'you will prepare your fire'

[**adejəhiyohsd**] 'make a good fire', with [SRF]

IMP *sadejəhí:yohs* 'make a good fire'

[**adejəhɔni**] 'start a fire', with [SRF]

PUNC *əgadejəhó:ni* 'I will start a fire' (old word)

IMP *sadejəhó:nih* 'make a fire'

[**adejinɔdagragw**] 'pick one's nose', with [SRF]

HAB *qdejinɔdagrá:gwahts* 'she is picking her nose'

[**adejɪ'ohgya'g**] 'cut one's nails'

HAB *gadejɪ'óhgya's* 'I am cutting my nails'

PUNC *əgadejɪ'ohgya'k* 'I am going to cut my nails'

[**adekɔni**] 'eat', with [SRF]

HAB *gaqdekó:nih* 'they eat'

PUNC *agənade:kó:ni* 'they ate'

STAT *hode:kó:ni* 'he is eating'

IMP *sade:kó:nih* 'you eat'

[**adekɔnige:**] 'feast', with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsadekɔnige:* 'you will feast'

[adekwahe] ‘serve a meal’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agaḡdékwahe* ‘they put on a meal’

[adēna’d] ‘take a lunch’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ēga:dé:na’t* ‘I will take a lunch’

STAT *agadēná’doh* ‘I have taken a lunch’

[adē’nahga:w] ‘stick one’s tongue out’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degadē’náhga:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dēgadē’náhga:’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagadē’nahgá:wēh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[adēha’] ‘hire, command, order’, with [SRF]

HAB *hēnádēha’s* ‘they hire it’

PUNC *ēsádēha’* ‘you will order something, hire something’

[adēnidēhd] ‘plead’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadēnidēhta’* ‘you plead all the time’

PUNC *ēhsadēní:dēht* ‘you will plead’

STAT *gonadēnidēhdoh* ‘they are pleading’

[adēnihahsd] ‘lend’

HAB *ḡnihahsta’* ‘someone lends’

[adenḡhahe:] ‘happy’

HAB *gadḡnhahé:ha’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēgadḡnháhe’* ‘I will become happy’

STAT *hodonḡháhe:’* ‘he is happy’

[adēḡhgaḡ, adēḡhga:] ‘cut one’s hair’

HAB *gadēḡhḡáḡs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēgadēḡhḡa:’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadēḡhḡaḡ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[adēḡhḡnyḡ] ‘give thanks’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dēdwadēḡhḡnyḡ:’* ‘we all will give thanks’

[adēḡnyad] ‘mourn’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadēḡnyas* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēhsadēḡnyat* ‘you will mourn’

STAT *agadēḡnyadoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[adēḡnowēhd] ‘deny’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadēḡnowēhta’* ‘I am in denial’, ‘I am denying’

PUNC *agadēḡnó:wēht* ‘I denied’

[adenya’gwahd] ‘vomit (make oneself vomit)’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadenya’ḡwáhta’* ‘I make myself vomit’

PUNC *agadenyá’ḡwaht* ‘I made myself throw up’

IMP *sadénya’ḡwaht* ‘make yourself vomit!’

[adēnyo] ‘kill someone’

STAT *hodé:nyo:* ‘he has killed someone’

[adē’niḡoha:] ‘take care of something, monitor’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadē’niḡohaha’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

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PUNC *ɛgadəʔnigɔháɛʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadəʔnigɔhá:*ʔ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adɛʔnigɔhahniyaʔd**, **ʔnigɔhahniyaʔd**] ‘endure’, with [(SRF)]

PUNC *ɛhsaʔnigɔhahni:yaʔt* ‘you will endure’ (literally, ‘you will toughen or strengthen your mind’)

IMP *sadɛʔnigɔhahni:yaʔt* ‘keep your mind strong’

[**adɛʔnyɛdɛ]** ‘try something, attempt something, sample something’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadeʔnyɛ:dɛhs* ‘I try all the time’

PUNC *a:gadeʔnyɛ:dɛʔ* ‘I might try or attempt’

IMP *sadeʔnyɛ:dɛh* ‘sample, try it!’

[**adɛʔnyɛdɛhsd**] ‘measure something’, with [SRF]

STAT *wadeʔnyɛdɛhsdɔh* ‘the act of measuring’

[**adɛʔnyɛdɛhsd**] ‘copy, compare’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ɛtsadɛʔnyɛ:dɛhs* ‘you will copy, use as a model or pattern’

IMP *dahsadɛʔnyɛ:dɛhs* ‘copy! compare!’

[**adɛʔnyod**] ‘celebrate, party’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadɛʔnyotaʔ* ‘you celebrate all the time’, ‘you are celebrating’

PUNC *ɛhsadɛʔnyó:dɛʔ* ‘you will celebrate’

STAT *wadɛʔnyo:t* ‘a celebration, party’

[**adɛʔsgɔd**] ‘roast, fry something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsadɛʔsgó:dɛʔ* ‘you will roast’

STAT *wadɛʔsgɔ:t* ‘it is roasting, frying’

IMP *sadɛʔsgó:dɛh* ‘you fry it, roast it!’

[**adɛʔsgoh**] ‘immerse, baptize, go into water’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadeʔsgohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsádɛʔsgoh* ‘you will go into the water’

STAT *agadɛʔsgóhɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adeshahsdɔh**] ‘use one’s strength’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadeshahsdóhaʔ* ‘I use my strength’

PUNC *ɛhsadesháhsdɔh* ‘you will use your strength’

[**adeteʔtra:**] ‘powder oneself’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadéteʔtra:s* ‘I am powdering myself’

PUNC *ɛgadetéʔtra:* ‘I am going to powder myself’

[**adɛʔsʔ**] ‘earn, deserve’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desádɛʔsʔahs* ‘your salary, what you make’

PUNC *dɛhsádɛʔsʔa:ʔ* ‘you will earn money’

STAT *desádɛʔsʔɔh* ‘you’ve earned or deserve it’, ‘you’ve paid your dues’

[**adetsaʔd**] ‘struggle, squirm, frenzied, revolt’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadétsaʔtaʔ* ‘you struggle all the time’

PUNC *əhsádet̥saʔt* ‘you will struggle, squirm to get loose, revolt’

STAT *sadétsaʔd̥h* ‘you are going along struggling’

[**adetsəhsd**] ‘be a glutton, gobble, gorge oneself’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsádet̥səhs* ‘you will be a glutton’, ‘you will gobble, gorge yourself’

[**adewayəhsd**] ‘learn’, with [SRF]

HAB *ədewayəhstaʔ* ‘she is a novice, learner, beginner’

PUNC *əhsadewáyəhs* ‘you will learn’

STAT *sadewayəh̥sd̥h* ‘you are learning’

[**adid̥r̥hdahoʔdr̥o**] ‘stay awake’, with [SRF]

STAT *agadid̥r̥hd̥ahóʔdr̥o*: ‘I had to stay awake’

[**adiy̥oð**] ‘stretch something’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewadiy̥o:taʔ* ‘it stretches’ (a word for ‘rubber band’), ‘balloon’, ‘elastic’

PUNC *atog̥ahadiy̥o:d̥eʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ad̥oð**] ‘sing *Ad̥o:waʔ*, eat together’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deya:gwá:d̥o:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *d̥eya:gwá:d̥o:t* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *d̥eyog̥wad̥o:d̥h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ad̥oð**] ‘sing *Ad̥o:waʔ*, eat together’, with [SRF]

HAB *gad̥o:taʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əga:d̥o:d̥eʔ* ‘I will sing male chant’

STAT *agá:d̥o:t* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adodahsy**] ‘appear unintentionally’, with [SRF]

HAB *gadódahs̥ohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgadodáhsiʔ* ‘I will appear’

STAT *agadodáhs̥o:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adodaisy**] ‘escape, get loose’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahadodáisiʔ* ‘he got loose, escaped’

[**adodaisy**] ‘comb one’s hair’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degadodáish̥ohs* ‘I am combing my hair’

PUNC *d̥egadodáisiʔ* ‘I am going to comb my hair’

STAT-PROG *dewagadodaihs̥o:h̥o:gyeʔ* ‘I am going along combing my hair’

IMP *desadodáisiʔ* ‘you comb your hair’

[**ad̥ogohd**] ‘pass by, go past’, with [SRF]

HAB *had̥og̥ohtaʔ* ‘he goes past all the time’

PUNC *aha:d̥o:goht* ‘he went past’

STAT *hod̥og̥ohd̥h* ‘he has gone past’

[**adogw**] ‘scatter’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB and [INC N] *dewad̥ej̥ihs̥dog̥wahs* ‘a burst of flames’

PUNC *adwa:d̥o:goʔ* ‘it scattered’

STAT *d̥eyódog̥w̥eh* ‘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 *heṇadogwe’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 *degaqdóhda:s* ‘they tidy up’, ‘they are maids, housecleaners’

PUNC *deśádohda:* ‘you will tidy it up or clean it’

STAT *deyodohdáhoh* ‘it is tidy, neat’

IMP *desádohda:* ‘clean up!’

[adoghswe’dę] ‘short of breath’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadoghswe’ta* ‘he is short of breath’

PUNC *ahadoghswe’dę* ‘he will be short of breath’

[adohwida’d] ‘swing’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadohwidá’ta* ‘you swing’ (all the time), ‘you are a swinger’

PUNC *a:sadohwí:da’t* ‘you will swing’
STAT *sadohwidá’doh* ‘you are swinging’

IMP *sadohwí:da’t* ‘you swing!’

[ado’jinehd] ‘skate’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degaqdo’jinéhta* ‘they figure-skate’

[ado’kd] ‘end something’

HAB *gadó’kta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgádó’kdę* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT (*agado’kdá’oh*) (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[adq’neg] ‘remove oneself’, with [CIS,SRF]

PUNC *ęśádq’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 *ęwádq’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 *sagádqnhet* ‘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 *wadónye'ta* 'how it breathes',
'its a breather', 'the gill'

[**adótgadó**] 'have a good time, enjoy
oneself, have fun', with [SRF]

HAB *gadoťgá:dóha* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

PUNC *ęhswadóťgá:dó:* 'you all will
have a good time'

STAT *ogwadóťgá:dó:* 'we all are hav-
ing fun'

[**adóťsod**] 'pray on one's knees',
with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dęhęnadóťsota* 'they pray on
their knees'

PUNC *dęyóđóťsó:dę:* 'she will become
Christian', 'she will kneel in prayer'

[**adóťw**] 'burn something'

HAB *wadóť:twahs* 'what it burns' (for
fuel)

DISL PUNC and [INC N] *ęsyę'góťwáh-
sa* 'you will go burn tobacco'

[**adowad**] 'hunt', with [SRF]

HAB *hadó:wá:s* 'he is a hunter'

PUNC *ęhádó:wá:t* 'he will hunt'

STAT *agadowá:dóh* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

[**adowi, adóny**] 'drive', with [SRF]

HAB *gado: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, adóny**] 'breathe', with [SRF]

HAB *odó:nye's* 'she is breathing'

IMP *sadó:wih* 'breathe!'

[**adowihshę**] 'rest', with [SRF]

HAB *gadowihshęhę* 'I rest all the
time'

PUNC *a'odowihshę:* 'she rested'

[**adówihsręhd, adóihsręhd**]
'breathe', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęyóđowihsręht* 'she will
breathe'

STAT *godowihsręhdóh* 'she is breath-
ing'

[**a'dra', +o'dra'**] 'meet', with [DU]

HAB *degáodra's* 'they meet all the
time'

PUNC *atgáodra* 'they met'

STAT *dęhonadrá'óh* 'they are meeting
right now'

STAT with [INC N] *dęhonataho'drá'óh*
'converging roads'

[**adranegaó, adranega:**] 'explode',
with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dewadranégaos* 'it is exploding'

[**adręnaę**] 'pray' (said of Christians),
with [SRF]

HAB *tęnadręnáęha* 'they are pray-
ing'

STAT *honadręnáę* 'they (Christians)
are praying'

[**adręnawę'doh**] 'put sugar in liq-
uid', with [SRF]

HAB *degadręnáwę'dohs* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęgadręnáwę'doh* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagadręnawę'dohóh* (Sasse &
Keye 1998)

[**adręnod**] 'sing, make music', with
[SRF]

HAB *ęęnadręnó:ta* 'they are singers'

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PUNC *a:gaḍrɛ:nó:ta:k* ‘I would be a singer’

STAT *godrɛ:no:t* ‘she is singing’

[**adɾɛŋɔni**] ‘compose a song’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔḍrɛŋó:nih* ‘they are composers’

PUNC *ahadrɛŋó:ni* ‘he made a song’

STAT *gonadrɛŋó:ni* ‘they composed a song’

IMP *sadrɛ:nó:nih* ‘you make a song’

[**adriho’dad**] ‘work’, with [SRF]

HAB *hɛnadrihó’da:s* ‘they work’, ‘they are workers’

PUNC *ɛgaɔḍriho’dat* ‘they are going to work’

IMP *sadrího’dat* ‘you work’

[**adrihsdanega:, adrihsdanegaɔ**] ‘scream’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dehsadrihsdanegáɔhs* ‘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’

[**adrihwaɛḍɔhk**] ‘gossip’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deyɔḍrihwaɛḍɔhkwa’* ‘a female gossip’

PUNC *dɛsadrihwáɛḍɔhk* ‘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 *edwadrihwahɛ:gya’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 *hadrihwahsdihsta’* ‘he takes care of the event all the time’, ‘he pays attention to what is going on’

PUNC *ɛhadrihwáhsdih* ‘he will take care of the event’

STAT *hodrihwahsdihsdɔh* ‘a chairman’, (literally, ‘he looks after the message’), ‘he is taking care of this event’

[**adrihwahsehd**] ‘hide a secret’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahɛnadrihwahseht* ‘they hid their idea’, ‘they schemed’

STAT *odrihwasehdɔh* ‘it is secret’

[**adrihwahsrɔni**] ‘reconcile’, with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ɛjijadrihwahsró:ni* ‘you two will reconcile’

[**adrihwanyehd**] ‘send a message’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *həswadrihwányeht* ‘you all will send a message’

[*adrihwaṓni*] ‘heal’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhswadrihwáṓni* ‘you will heal’

[*adrihwatgaha*;, *adrihwatgahṓ*] ‘oversee, supervise’, with [SRF]

HAB *hodrihwatgáha*:? ‘he is a supervisor, overseer’

PUNC *əhsadrihwátgahṓ*:? ‘you will oversee, supervise’

[*adrihwatgihd*] ‘talk dirty’, with [SRF]

STAT *hodrihwatgíhdṓh* ‘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:hwahts’a*:? ‘they are earning, fulfilling it’

[*adri’sda*:, *adri’sdaḗ*] ‘join in’

HAB *gadri’sdaha*? (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egadri’sdáḗ*? ‘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:drí:yo*? (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *wadri:yo*: ‘war, fight’

[*adrṓgw*, *adrṓgo*] ‘keep something’

PUNC *əsa:drṓ:go*? ‘you will keep’

[*adroheg*] ‘gather together, congregate, flock together’, with [(CIS),SRF]

HAB *gənádrṓhe:s* ‘they are flocking’

PUNC *ədwádrṓhe:k* ‘we all will gather together’

[*adrṓhya’d*] ‘unwilling, stubborn, balk at a suggestion’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahadrṓhyá’dahk* ‘he balked at the suggestion’

STAT *godrṓhya’t* ‘she is unwilling, stubborn’

[*adwahd*, *atwahd*] ‘miss something’, with (INC N+)

HAB *gadwáhta*? ‘I miss it always’

PUNC and [INC N] *sagḗ’no’trá:twah*t ‘I missed the ball’

STAT *agádwahdṓh* ‘I have or did miss it’

[*adwḗdehd*] forfeit, with [SRF]

HAB *sadwḗdehta*? ‘you forfeit things all the time’

STAT *keyadwḗdehdṓh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*adwḗnaga:dad*] ‘interpret’

PUNC *əgadwḗna:gá:da:t* ‘I will interpret’

[*adwḗnayḗhd*] ‘jeer, jest, lambaste someone, denigrate someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsadwḗná:yḗht* ‘you will jeer, jest, throw words at someone’

[*adwḗnṓda*:] ‘speak’, with [SRF]

PUNC *a:gadwḗ:nṓ:dahk* ‘I should use that language’

[*adwḗnṓdi*, *adwḗnṓgy*] ‘throw one’s voice’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *həsadwḗnṓ:di*? ‘you will throw your voice’ (as a ventriloquist)

[*adwiyanṓ*] ‘babysit’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

HAB *sadwíyanq̄h* ‘you babysit all the time’, ‘you are babysitting right now’

PUNC *ęsadwiyá:nq̄:* ‘I will babysit’

[**adwiyaoq̄gw, adwiyaoq̄go**] ‘adopt a baby’

HAB *sadwiyáoq̄gwahs* ‘you adopt babies’

PUNC *ęhsadwiyáoq̄go* ‘you will adopt a baby’

STAT *agadwiyáoq̄gwęh* ‘I have adopted a baby’

[**adwiyodi, adwiyogy**] ‘abandon one’s child’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhsadwiyó:di* ‘you will abandon your baby, child’

STAT *wadwiyogyq̄:* ‘abandoned child’

[**a’ehsd**] ‘poke something’, with [DU]

HAB *deswá’ehsta* ‘you all are poking’

STAT *dewaga’ęhsdq̄h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**a’ęnaę**] ‘play snowsnake’, with [DU]

HAB *dęhęna’ęnáęę* ‘they are snowsnake players’

PUNC *da:yagwa’ęnáę* ‘we all would play snowsnake’

[**a’ęna’ehsd**] ‘spear something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęhsa’ęná’ęhs* ‘you will spear something’

[**a’ęęhoh**] ‘load a firearm’

HAB *ga’ęęhohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgá’ęęhoh* ‘I will load a firearm’

STAT *aga’ęęhóhoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**agya’dadih**] ‘lean against something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęsagya’dá:dih* ‘you will lean against something’

[**agya’dagwaihshy**] ‘straighten up one’s body’, with [SRF]

HAB *gagya’dagwáihshyq̄hs, gagya’dagwáihshq̄hs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgagya’dagwáihshyi, ęgagya’dagwáihsi* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agagya’dagwáihshyq̄:, agagya’dagwáihshq̄:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**agya’dahniya’d**] ‘strong in body’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ędwagya’dahni: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 *ęsagya’dá:wit* ‘you will put on clothes’

STAT *sagya’dawí’dq̄h* ‘you have on clothing’

[**agya’dodi, agya’dogy**] ‘pounce’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *hęsagya’dó:di* ‘you will pounce on it!’

[**agya’dohae**] ‘bathe’, with [SRF]

HAB *hagya’doháe* ‘he is bathing’

PUNC *ęwagy’adoháe* ‘it is going to give me a bath’

IMP *sagya’doháe* ‘you take a bath’

[**agyeę**] ‘sit’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhswá:gyę:* ‘you all will sit’

IMP *sagyɛ:* ‘you sit down!’

[**agyɛhd**] ‘begin, be the first’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tgagyɛ:hta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *etgá:gyɛ:ht* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *gyogyɛhdɔh* ‘the first one, the beginning’

[**agyɛhɛtw, agyɛhɛto**] ‘pull’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tgagyɛhɛtwahs* ‘I am a puller’

PUNC *ɛtgagyɛhɛ:to* ‘I will pull’

[**agyɛhɛtw, agyɛhɛto**] ‘retract’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

HAB *tgagyɛhɛtwahs* ‘I am a puller’

PUNC *ɛtgagyɛhɛ:to* ‘I will pull’

STAT *hehswagyɛhɛ:twɛh* ‘you retracted’

[**agyɛhsaɔ**] ‘bandage oneself’, with [SRF]

IMP *sagyɛhsaɔ* ‘bandage yourself!’

[**agyɛna’ta’, agyana’ta’**] ‘act, mark something’, with [SRF]

HAB *ogyána’ta*’ ‘actress’

PUNC *ɛgyá:na’t* ‘I will mark something’

STAT *ogyána’dɔh* ‘it is marked’

[**agyenawahd**] ‘cling to something, hang on, book a venue’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsagyená:waht* ‘you will retain or book a venue’, ‘hold onto, cling to something’

STAT *ogyenawáhdɔh* ‘an area’ (literally, ‘something is clinging to something’)

IMP *sagyénawaht* ‘cling to it! hang on!’

[**agyesahd**] ‘waste’, with [SRF]

HAB *sagyɛhsahta*’ ‘you are wasteful’

PUNC *ɛhsa:gyɛ:saht* ‘you will waste’

[**agyɔ’sɛ:**] ‘visit’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛgagyɔ’séha*’ ‘I am going to go and visit’

STAT *hogyɔ’sé:tsɔ:* ‘he is a live-in’ *tsɔ:* ‘just’

[**ahdɛdi, ahdɛgy**] ‘leave, go away’

HAB *gahdɛ:gyɛ’s, gahdɛ:gyɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgahdɛ:di*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agáhdɛgyɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahdɛdi, ahdɛgy**] ‘originate from, come from’, with [CIS]

STAT *dwagáhdɛgyɔ:* ‘I come from’

[**ahdɛdi, ahdɛgy**] ‘go home’, with [REP]

HAB *sgahdɛ:gyɛ’s* ‘I go home all the time’

PUNC *ɛhsgahdɛ:di*’ ‘I will go home’

STAT-PROG *sahohdɛhgyɔhɔgyɛ*’ ‘he is on his way home’

IMP *sasahdɛ:dih* ‘go home!’

[**ahdɛ’gw, +ɛgw**] ‘swell up’, with [SRF,N/ahd]

with [INC N] HAB *wáhdɛ’gwahs* ‘it swells up’

with [INC N] PUNC *ɛwáhdɛ’go*’ ‘it will swell up’

with [INC N] STAT *ohdɛ’gwɛh* ‘it is swollen’

with [INC N] PUNC *ɛhagya’dɛ’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 *wahdɔhs* '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 *sahdo:* '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 *sahdo:k* 'grow!' (unusual form)

[**ahgaodɔnyɔ**] 'tap trees'

PUNC *əyagwahgaodó:nyɔ:* 'we all will tap trees'

[**ahged**] 'stop in'

PUNC *əgáhge:t* 'I will stop in'

[**ahged**] 'come back', with [DU,CIS]

PUNC *dɔdasahge:t* 'you should come back'

[**ahged**] 'return, regress', with [REP]

HAB *swahgé:dahs* 'you return, regress'

IMP *sasáhge:t* 'return!'

[**ahja:**, **ahjaɛ**] 'push away', with [TRANSL,DU]

HAB *ha'degahjá:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ha'degahjáɛ* '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 *dəwagahjí: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 *əgahjoháɛ* 'I am going to wash my hands'

IMP *sajóhae* 'you wash your hands'

[**ahɔg**] 'hear, understand a language'

HAB *sahó:ka* 'you understand the language'

PUNC *əgáqhɔ:k* 'they will understand a language'

STAT *agahó:gɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsa'g**] 'cough'

HAB *gahsá'ka* 'I have a cough or I am coughing'

PUNC *ə́sáhsa'k* 'I will cough'

STAT *agáhsa'gəh* 'I am coughing'

[**ahsaw, ahsawə, ahsa:**] 'begin, start', with [CIS]

HAB *dedwawsawé:ha'* 'to restart'

PUNC *ədyagwáhsá:wə'* 'we all will begin or start'

STAT *tohsa:'* 'he has begun'

IMP *dehsáhsawəh* 'you begin! you start!'

[**ahsaw, ahsawə, ahsa:**] 'restart, resume', with [DU,CIS]

HAB *dedwawsawé:ha'* 'to restart'

PUNC *dədaháhsá:wə'* 'he restarted'

STAT *degyóhsa:'* 'it has resumed'

IMP *dədaháhsá:wəh* 'you should start again!'

[**ahsdaha, ahsdaə**] 'cry'

HAB *gahsdá:ha'* 'I am crying'

PUNC *əgáhsdaə'* 'I will cry, weep'

STAT *agasdáə'əh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsdaha'ge:**] 'sob'

HAB *əhstáha'ge:* 'someone is sobbing'

[**ahsdi:sd**] 'pay attention, bother with'

HAB *dehsgahsdí:sta'* 'I no longer pay attention'

PUNC *ə́sá:sdi:s* 'you will pay attention'

STAT *sahsdí:sdəh* 'you are paying attention' (right now)

IMP *sahsdi:s* 'pay attention!'

[**ahsehd**] 'hide something'

HAB *gahséhta'* 'I do hide something'

PUNC *ə́gáhseht* 'I will hide something'

STAT *agáhsehdəh* 'I am hiding something'

[**ahsganye**] 'shuffle'

HAB PAST *əhsgányehahk* 'she used to shuffle'

PUNC *əyóhsganye:'* 'she will shuffle'

STAT *gohsgá:nye:'* 'she has shuffled'

IMP *desáhsganye:* 'you shuffle!'

[**ahsgyaə**] 'walk fast'

HAB *hahsgyáəha'* 'he walks quickly', 'he gives someone encouragement'

PUNC *əhsáhsgyaə'* 'you will walk fast!', 'you will encourage'

STAT-PROG *hohsgyáəgye'* 'he is going along walking quickly'

[**ahsha:nye**] 'rub, scrub', with [DU]

HAB *degahshá:nyehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgahshá:nye:'* 'I will rub, scrub'

STAT *dewagahshá:nye'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahshed**] 'count'

HAB *hənahshé:dahs* 'they count things'

PUNC *ədwáhshet* 'we all will count'

STAT *tša'deyohshé:dəh* 'it is the same number of'

IMP *jidwáhshet* 'let us all count again'

[**ahshəda'**] 'step on something'

PUNC *əhsahshé:da'* 'you will step on something'

[**ahshəda'**] 'stagger', with [TRANSL,REP]

B Verb dictionary

STAT *hehshohshədə'qh tsq:* 'he is staggering' *tsq:* 'just'

[**ahshətw**] 'cry', with [DU]

HAB *degáhsəhtwəhs* 'I am crying'

PUNC *agyóhsəhto* 'she cried'

STAT *o:néh* 'now' *ní:* 'I' *dewagahshéhtwəh* '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'ksgø:* 'you are always stumbling, tripping, stubbing your toe', 'you are a klutz'

PUNC *ədihsahsi'gya'k* 'you will stumble, stub your toe'

[**ahsnəhd, a:snəhd**] 'get down, descend, dismount', with [(SRF)]

HAB *ga(h)snəhta'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əsá:snəht* 'you will get down'

STAT *sahsnəhdqó:gye'* 'you are getting down from there right now'

IMP *sahsnəht* 'get down from there!'

[**ahsədqəni**] 'mark the night, designate a time'

PUNC *əhsahsədqə:ni'* 'you will mark the night' (i.e. set a time)

STAT *wahsə:də:ni:* 'the night is marked' (i.e. a time has been designated)

[**ahsədrə, ahsədre:**] 'join together', with [DU]

HAB *desahsədré:ha'* 'you join things

together all the time', 'you do puzzles'

PUNC *dəhsahsə:drə'* 'you will join two things together'

STAT *deyodəhsə:drə:'* 'it is joined'

IMP *desəhsədrəh* 'you join it!'

[**ahsədrə, ahsədre:**] 'resume, add on', with [TRANSL,CIS]

PUNC *hətsəhsədrə'* 'you will resume, add on'

[**ahsoh**] 'paint'

HAB *gahsohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgáhsəh* 'I will paint'

STAT *agáhsəhəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahswəhd**] 'extinguish, put out'

HAB *həná'swəhta'* 'they are firemen'

IMP *səhsəwəht* 'put the light out'

[**ahswə'da:**] 'blacken'

HAB *gahswə'da:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgáhsəwə'da:* 'I will blacken something'

STAT *agahswə'dáhəh,*

agahswə'dá:həh (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahtga'w**] 'release, let go, give up'

HAB *sahtga's* 'you forfeit, you let go of things all the time'

PUNC *ahəwənáhtga:?, ahəwanahtga:?* 'they released him, them'

STAT *agáhtga'* 'I gave it up' (right now)

[**ahtga'w**] 'replace', with [DU,CIS]

STAT *dedwatga'wəh* 'to replace' (literally, 'it has been re-given')

[**ajəhəhsgwəɛ**] 'whisper'

PUNC *əhsajəhəhsgwəɛ'* 'you will whisper'

IMP *sajəhəhsgwəɛ'* 'whisper!'

[**akyadɔ**] ‘have a reading, have one’s fortune told’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛgákyadɔ:* ‘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:neɔ* ‘they raced’

STAT *dewa:géɔ*, *dewa:gáɔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**aɔ’dad**] ‘blow’

HAB *gáɔ’da:s* ‘I blow’

PUNC *hehsáɔ’dá:t* ‘you will blow’

STAT *agaɔ’dá:dɔh* ‘I am blowing now’, ‘I have blown’

[**a’səhd**] ‘drop something’

HAB *ga’séhta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgá’səht* ‘I will drop something’

STAT *agá’səhdɔh* (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’shenáwagɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**a’sweg**] ‘deaf’, with [DU]

HAB *degá’swe:s* ‘I am getting deaf’

PUNC *dəgá’swe:k* ‘I will be deaf’

STAT *deyɔ’swé:gɔh* ‘she is deaf’

[**atadad**] ‘rise up’, with [SRF]

HAB *watá:da:s* ‘it rises up’

PUNC *ɛwa:tá:da:t* ‘it will rise up’

STAT-PROG *otadadɔhɔgye* ‘it is going along rising up’

[**atahahgw**] ‘walk’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dəhənatahahkwá’ gahnnyɔ’ɔh-srá’geh* ‘they are ironworkers’, (literally, *dəhənatahahkwá’* ‘they walk on the iron’) *gahnnyɔ’ɔhsrá’ge* ‘on the iron’

PUNC *dəgátahahk* ‘I will walk’

[**atahahgw**] ‘stray, go off the road, turn into one’s driveway’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhsatahá: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 *ahənatáhi’ta:* ‘they came to a consensus’, ‘they followed their idea’, ‘now they are ready to go’ (referring to the Confederacy Council)

[**atahsrōd**] ‘night-fish’, with [SRF]
PUNC *ahēnatahsrō:dē* ‘they carried a torch, lantern, flashlight’

[**atēdihs**] ‘finish a field’, with [SRF]
HAB *dwatēdihs’ahs* ‘we are finishing the field’

PUNC *edwatēdihs’a:* ‘we all finished the field’ (said after threshing the wheat, etc.)

STAT *ōgwatēdihs’ōh* ‘we finished the field’

[**atēdōni**] ‘tend (a garden), garden’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ēhsatēdō:ni* ‘you will make your garden’

[**atga:dahgw**] ‘hollow out, take out wood chips’

PUNC *ēhsatgá:dahgo* ‘you will hollow out’ (a canoe, a wooden bowl, etc.), ‘you will take out the chips’

[**atgaēhēgw**] ‘double back’, with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ōsagatgaēhē:go* ‘I should turn around and go back the way I came’

[**atgahadeni, atgahadeny**] ‘turn oneself around’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dēhsatgaha:dé:ni* ‘you will turn yourself around’

STAT *dewagatgahadé:nyō:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *desatgaha:dé:nih* ‘you turn around!’

[**atgahadenyōgwahō:**] ‘twirl around’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgahadenyōgwahō:* ‘you twirl!’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’

HAB *gegáhatwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēgegahá:to* ‘I’ll plough, turn up’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’, with [SRF]

HAB *watgáhadōhs* ‘it rolls’

[**atgahatw, atgahato**] ‘roll over, turn over’, with [SRF]

PUNC *awadē’drehdagáhato* ‘a vehicle turned over’

IMP *satgáhatoh* ‘you roll over!’

[**atgahawēnye:**] ‘blurred vision’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atgatgaháwēnye:* ‘I had blurred vision’

[**atgahdōnyō**] ‘look around’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desatgahdō:nyōhs* ‘you are looking around’

[**atgahdrōni**] ‘stare at, examine closely’, with [SRF]

HAB *satgahdrō:nihs* ‘you are staring at it’, ‘examining it closely’

[**atgahgwēg**] ‘close one’ eyes’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dēsátgahgwe:k* ‘you will close your eyes’

[**atgahi’d**] ‘play with something’, with [SRF]

HAB *ōtgáhi’ta* ‘what she plays with’, ‘a toy’

PUNC *awátgahi’t* ‘it played with it’

STAT *gotgáhi’dōh* ‘she is playing with it now’

[**atgahiyohsd**] ‘examine closely, peer at something’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *ęsatgahí:yohs* ‘you will look closely at something, peer at something’

STAT *agatgahíyohsdoh* ‘I am staring at it, examining it closely’

[**atgahnje**] ‘play’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *ęgátgahnje:* ‘I will play’
 STAT *hotgáhnye:* ‘he is playing’
 IMP *satgáhnye:* ‘play!’

[**atgahq:, atgaha:, atgahaq**] ‘watch, pay attention’
 HAB *satgáhqoha:* ‘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 *ęhsatgahq:di:* ‘you will roll your eyes (in disgust), ‘you will snub someone’

[**atgahqnyq**] ‘flirt, make eyes at someone’, with [SRF]
 PUNC *ęhsatgahq:nyq:* ‘you will flirt, bat your eyes’

[**atgahtw**] ‘look at’, with [SRF]
 HAB *satgáhtwahs* ‘you look all the time’
 PUNC *hętsátgahto:* ‘you will look back’
 STAT *sgá:t heyótgahtwęh* ‘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)

[**atgęh**] ‘get up, awaken’, with [SRF]
 HAB *gatgęhęhs* ‘I get up all the time’
 PUNC *agá:tęh* ‘I got up’
 STAT *agátgęhoh* ‘I am up now’
 IMP *satgęh* ‘you get up’

[**atgęhjhd, atgęhjhsd**] ‘age, get old’, with [SRF]
 HAB *hatgęhjhta:* ‘he is getting old’
 STAT *otgęhjhsdóhogyę:* ‘it is getting old or aging’

[**atgęhq**] ‘sell’, with [SRF]
 HAB *hatgęhoha:* ‘he is an auctioneer’, (literally, ‘he is a seller’)
 PUNC *ęgátgęhq:* ‘I will have for sale’
 STAT *honátgęhq:* ‘they are selling something’

[**atgęihsd**] ‘move over, be moveable’, with [SRF]
 HAB *watgęihsta:* ‘it is portable’
 PUNC *ęga:tęihs* ‘I will move over’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)
 STAT *agatgęisdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**atgęni, atgęny**] ‘compete’, with [DU,SRF]
 HAB *dęhęnatgę:nyqhs* ‘a fair’, ‘they compete’
 STAT *dęhonatgę:nyq:* ‘they compete’

[**atgęnihs?**] ‘we will counsel, have a meeting’, with [SRF]
 HAB *swatgęnihs?ahs* ‘you have meetings all the time’
 PUNC *ęhswatgęnihs?a:* ‘you all will have a meeting’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *swatgénéihš'q̄h* 'you are having a meeting right now'

[atgq̄hsagri] 'smirk, wrinkle up one's face', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgq̄hsá:gri:* 'you wrinkle up your face, smirk!'

[atgq̄hsohae] 'wash one's face', with [SRF]

STAT with [INC N] *agatgq̄hsóhae* 'I did wash my face'

IMP with [INC N] *satgq̄hsoháe* 'wash your face'

[atgq̄hstq̄'ēhd, atgq̄hstwe'ēhd] 'shave', with [SRF]

HAB *hatgq̄hstq̄'ēhta* 'he is shaving'

PUNC *ahatgq̄hstq̄'ēht* 'he shaved'

STAT *agatgq̄hstq̄'ēhdq̄* 'I have shaved'

IMP *satgq̄hstq̄'ēht, satgq̄hstwe'ēht* 'you shave'

[atgq̄'jonyahnq̄] 'apply makeup', with [SRF]

IMP *satgq̄'jonyahnq̄:* 'beautify yourself, apply make-up!'

[atgq̄'traniyq̄dē] 'weigh oneself', with [SRF]

PUNC *agaqtgq̄'trani:yq̄:dē* 'they weighed themselves'

[atgq̄wa'dq̄ni] 'tan a hide', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęsatgq̄wa'dq̄:ni* 'you will tan a hide'

[atgregrēhd] 'frown', with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *agyqtgregrēht* 'she frowned'

STAT *deyagotgregrēhdq̄* 'she is frowning'

IMP *desatgregrēht* '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 *dēhénatkwa* 'they dance'

PUNC *dēhé:na:t* 'they will dance'

STAT *dewá:tgweh* '(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 *ahęnatgwénige:* 'the big win, victory' (literally, 'they won big')

[atgweņyadeni, atgweņyadeny] 'change one's clothes', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhsatgweņya:dé:ni* 'you will change your clothes'

[atgwi'a'e] 'wink', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatgwi'a'ek* 'you wink!'

[atnadaę] 'camp, inhabit', with [SRF]

PUNC *ęsatnadáę* 'you will inhabit'

[atnadinyq̄'d] 'move into a dwelling', with [SRF]

STAT *watnadinyq̄'dq̄h* 'it has moved in'

[atnahsgq̄ni] 'tame an animal', 'raise a pet', with [SRF]

PUNC *ahatnahsgq̄:ni* 'he raised a pet'

STAT *watnahsgó:ni* ‘it has been made into a pet’

[*atnahsgóni*] ‘tease domestic animals’, with [CIS,SRF]

HAB *tənatnahsgó:nih* ‘they are teasing the animal(s)’

[*atnahsgóni*] ‘get comfortable in one’s bed’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əsatnahsgó:ni* ‘you will get comfortable in bed’

[*atnakdiyohsd*] ‘make oneself comfortable’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agatnakdí:yohs* ‘I made myself comfortable’

[*atnasq*] ‘oil oneself’, with [SRF]

HAB *hatná:sq* ‘he is oiling himself’

PUNC *ahátnasq:* ‘he did oil himself’

IMP *satná:sq:* ‘oil yourself!’

[*atna’tsədq*] ‘shake one’s behind’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəhsatna’tsé:dq* ‘you will shake your behind’

[*atnegoni*] ‘ferment something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əhsatnegó:ni* ‘you will ferment something’

[*atnəhsədq*] ‘shrug’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atatnəhsé:dq* ‘he shrugged’

[*atnətsadahgw*] ‘dislocate one’s shoulder, arm’, with [SRF]

PUNC *asatnətsádahgo* ‘your arm came out of its socket’

PUNC *a’qtətsádahgo* ‘she dislocated her arm’

[*atnətsá’drɔ*] ‘cross one’s arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəhswatnətsá’drɔ:* ‘you all will cross your arms’

STAT *deswatnətsá’drɔ* ‘you all have your arms crossed’

[*atnətsiya’g*] ‘break one’s arm’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəgatnətsí:ya’k* ‘I will break my arm’

[*atnɔ’aədɔh*] ‘nod one’s head, shake one’s head’, with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatnɔ’aədɔh* ‘you nod, shake your head’

[*atnɔ’a:nh*] ‘tie up around one’s head, have a burden strap’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dəsatnɔ’a:nha* ‘you will have a burden strap’

[*at’nɔhda:*] ‘embark, get into a vehicle’, with [SRF]

HAB *gat’nɔhda:s* ‘I get into a vehicle’

PUNC *əgát’nɔhda:* ‘I will embark, get in a vehicle’

STAT *agat’nɔhdáhɔh, agat’nɔhdá:hɔh* ‘I embarked, got into a vehicle’

[*at’nɔhdahgw*] ‘disembark, get out of a vehicle’, with [SRF]

PUNC *əgat’nɔhdáhgo* ‘I will disembark, get out of a vehicle’

[*atnɔhgaɔ, atnɔhga:*] ‘cut hair’, with [SRF]

HAB *gatnɔhgaɔs* ‘I always cut my hair’, ‘I am cutting my hair’

PUNC *əgátnɔhga:* ‘I am going to cut my hair’

STAT *agatnɔhgáɔ* ‘I did get my hair cut’

[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 *desatnɔhwe: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:*ʔ ‘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 *háʔgatrehnagehsíʔ* ‘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:trɔ: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’desatsá’ge:t* ‘you bend backward!’

[atsaide] ‘beg, freeload’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desatsáide:s* ‘you are a freeloader’

PUNC *dɛgatsáide:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatsáide:* ‘I did freeload’

IMP *desatsáide:* ‘you beg!’

[atsɛhd] ‘tired, sleepy’

HAB with [INC N] *ga’nigɔhátsɛhta* ‘a tired mind’

PUNC *agáɔtsɛht* ‘they were tired or sleepy’

STAT *agátsɛhdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atsɛnɔni] ‘become happy, glad’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agatsɛnɔ:ni* ‘I got happy’

[atsga’hɔ] ‘chew’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dɛyótsga’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!’

[atsgɛna’gya’g] ‘get pale’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *dɛgatsgɛná’gya’s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛgatsgɛná’gya’k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatsgɛná’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’drɔ, atsina’dre, atnɛtsa’d-
 drɔ, atnɛtsa’dre] ‘cross one’s legs, arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *deswatsiná’drɔ* ‘you all have your legs crossed’

STAT *deswatnɛtsá’drɔ* ‘you all have your arms crossed’

IMP *desatnɛtsá’dre* ‘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)

B Verb dictionary

[atwe'nɔ̃nihsd] 'make something round', with [DU,SRF]

IMP *desatwe'nɔ̃:nihs* 'you make it round'

[atwidra:, adwidra:] 'put butter on'
HAB *degátwidra:s, gadwí:dra:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛ̃ga:twí:dra:, ɛ̃ga:dwí:dra:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagatwidrá:hɔ̃h, agad-widrá:hɔ̃h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[atwihsdaɛ] 'reserve money, economize, set money aside', with [SRF]
STAT *satwíhsdaɛ'* 'you will reserve money'

[atwihsdanihahsd] 'lend money', with [SRF]
HAB *satwihsdanihahs* 'you lend money'

[atwihsdani'ɔ̃hsd] 'economize', with [SRF]

HAB *satwihsdani'ɔ̃hs* 'you economize'

PUNC *ɛ̃hsatwíhsdani'ɔ̃hs* 'you will economize'

[atwihsdɛ'da:] 'waste money', with [SRF]

HAB *satwíhsdɛ'da:s* 'you burn your money'

PUNC *agatwíhsdɛ'da:'* 'I wasted my money'

[awag] 'winnow, shake out, sift'

HAB *sá:wa:s* 'you are a winnower, shaker, sifter'

PUNC *ɛ̃hsa'gɛ̃hɛ:wa:k* 'you will winnow the chaff' (corn or beans)

STAT *sawá:gɔ̃h* 'I am sifting right now'

[awaksɔ] 'winnow, shake out, sift'
STAT *sawá:ksɔh* 'you are winnowing, shaking, sifting right now'

[awɛ̃hɛd] 'lift, carry up to'
HAB with [INC N] *gana'jawɛ̃hɛ:s* 'grain auger'

PUNC *ɛ̃gáwɛ̃hɛ:t* 'I will lift, carry up to'

STAT *agawɛ̃hɛ:dɔ̃h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[awɛ̃nye] 'stir, mix', with [DU]
HAB *degáwɛ̃nyeh* 'I stir all the time'

PUNC *dɛ̃gáwɛ̃nye:'* 'I will stir'
STAT *dewagawé:nye'* 'I am stirring'

IMP *dehsáwɛ̃nye:'* 'beat, mix, stir!'

[a'wɛ̃tw, a'wɛ̃da'] 'kill several'
HAB *gadá'wɛ̃twahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛ̃gada'wɛ̃to'* 'I will kill several'
STAT *hona'wɛ̃dá'ɔ̃h* 'they are dead, killed off' (Dead People)

[awi'd] 'insert'
HAB *hesáwi'ta'* 'you insert something all the time'

PUNC *ɛ̃gá:wi't* 'I will insert'
STAT *agáwi'dɔ̃h* (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 *dəkdaʔ* ‘I will stand up, stop’IMP *dehsdaʔ* ‘stand up, stop!’

[+dad] ‘create’

PUNC, with [INC N] *tsaʔhəhwejá:da:t* ‘when he made the earth’STAT, with [INC N] *həhwejadá:dəh* ‘he has created the earth’

[dagwaihshd] ‘go straight’, with [TRANSL,N/d]

PUNC *həhsadagwáihshd* ‘you will go straight’

[dagwaihshy] ‘straighten something’, with [N/da]

HAB, with [INC N] *hadinehsda:gwáihshs* ‘they are straightening out the board’PUNC, with [INC N] [da]: *əhsdagwáihshy* ‘you will straighten’

[dahgw] ‘take out’

HAB *wəhe:tgéʔ gadáhgwahs* ‘spring tonic for males’ (literally, ‘the.ugly.stuff it.takes.out’)PUNC *əkdhágoʔ* ‘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] *saʔgəhədáhghoh* ‘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!’

[ʔdaihəhdrahiʔ] ‘sweat profusely, perspire’, with [DU]

PUNC *ətseʔdaihəhdráhiʔ* ‘you will sweat profusely, perspire’

[ʔdaʔni] ‘get muddy’

PUNC *agaʔdáʔniʔ* ‘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:kɛ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[dəhda:, dəhdaɛ] ‘lie spread out on the ground’

HAB *kdəhdá:haʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)PUNC *əkdhədaɛʔ* ‘I will lay down, spread out’ (e.g. something on floor)STAT *akdhəda:ʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[deni, deny] ‘empty something’

PUNC *aha:dé:niʔ* ‘he emptied something’STAT *gadé:nyʔ:* ‘it is empty’

[deni, deny] ‘change something’, with [DU]

HAB *dekdé:nyeʔs, dekdé:nyʔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)PUNC *dəkdé:niʔ* ‘I will change something’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *dewákdenyɔ*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**diyɔd**] ‘stretch’, with [DU]
HAB *dewadiyɔ:ta*’ ‘it stretches’ (a word for ‘rubber band’), ‘balloon’, ‘elastic’

STAT *deyagodi:yɔ:t* ‘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-dɔhá: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’d**] ‘rush something’, with [DU]

STAT *deyo’draíha’t* ‘hurried or immediate attention, urgent matter, urgency’, ‘a rush’

IMP *dɛhse’draíha’t* ‘you rush something, hurry something up’

[**’dre, ’drɔ**] ‘drag it’

HAB *gɛ’dre’s, gɛ’dre*’ ‘I drag it, I am dragging it’

PUNC *ɛgé’dre:’* ‘I will drag it’

STAT *agé’drɔ*: ‘I dragged it’, ‘I am dragging it’

E and Ē-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**+’e**] ‘hit, pound, tap something’, with [N]/*hwa*

HAB, with [INC N] *ganája’ehs* ‘grain threshing machine’

PUNC, with [INC N] [hwa] *ɛhswá’e:k* ‘you will pound, tap’

STAT, with [INC N] [hwa] *hohwá’e:* ‘he is tapping’

[**ehd**] ‘do on purpose, go on purpose’, with [COIN]

HAB *tsigéhta*’ ‘I do it on purpose all the time’

PUNC *tsa’geht* ‘I did it on purpose’

STAT *tsiwágehɔh* ‘I did it on purpose’

[**ehd**] ‘do unintentionally’, with (*tɛ*’) ‘not’ [CONTR,DU]

STAT *tɛ’ ta’dɛhawéhdɔ*: ‘he did not mean it’

[**ɛhdad, wɛhdad**] ‘run’, with [DU]

HAB *degaɔwéhda:s* ‘they run’

PUNC *da:gáɔwéhda:t* ‘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 *tawédahgəh* ‘he believes’

[*ehdahgw*] ‘come or go by vehicle’, with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *hegédahkwa* ‘I come or go by vehicle’

[*əhdatə, wəhdatə*] ‘run all over’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəgənhdá:tə?* ‘they will run all over’

[*əhsga:*] ‘take off fast (making a rattling noise)’, with [CIS,N]

PUNC *awéhsga:* ‘it took off fast’ (i.e. a car, a dog)

[*əhsga:*] ‘spin out (making a noise)’, with [REP]

PUNC *sawéhsga:* ‘it spun out’

[*əhsi’dagədrahw*] ‘earth’, with [DU]

STAT *dəyogwəhsi’dagədrahwəh* ‘earth’ (‘where we put our feet’)

[*əhsi’dohae*] ‘wash one’s feet’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahəsi’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’

[*ənadinyə’d*] ‘move into a dwelling’, with [SRF]

HAB *gənadinyə’ta* ‘I am moving into a dwelling’

STAT *gonənadinyə’dəh* ‘they have moved in’

[*ənagrad*] ‘be born, settle someplace new’, with [SRF]

HAB *əná:gra:s* ‘the birthing’

PUNC *əgənagra:t* ‘I will be born, go and settle someplace new’

STAT *agənagrá:dəh* ‘I was born’

[*ənətsaonyə:*] ‘wave one’s arms’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *atgənətsaonyə:* ‘I waved my arms’

IMP *desənətsaonyə:* ‘wave your arms (goodbye)!’

[*ənə’waə, anə’waə*] ‘surprised, startled’, with [SRF]

HAB *gənə’waə* ‘I get surprised’

PUNC *agəné’wa:* ‘I was surprised’

STAT *oné’waə* ‘something unexpected, surprising’

[*ə’nhə:*] ‘play ball’

HAB *dəgə’nhə:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgə’nhə:k* ‘I will play ball’

STAT *dewágə’nhə:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ənı’dagew, ənı’dage:*] ‘wipe one’s behind’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *ɛgɛnidá: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'nigɔhɔ'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)’

[*ɛnigyohgwagɛny*] ‘vote, cast lots’, with [DU,SRF]

PUNC *dɛhsɛnigyohgwagɛ:ni?* ‘you will vote, cast lots’

[*ɛniha*] ‘borrow, rent’, with [SRF]

HAB *sɛnihahsgɔ:* ‘you are a habitual borrower’

PUNC *ɛhsɛniha?* ‘you will borrow, rent’

[*ɛnihe:, 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!’

[*ɛnihnadog*] ‘perceive, feel’, with [SRF]

HAB *sɛnihnadó:ka?* ‘you are perceiving something right now’

PUNC *ɛhsɛnihná:do:k* ‘you will perceive something’

STAT *agɛnihna:dó:gɛh, aganihna:dó:gɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ɛnihsgyage, anihsgyage*] ‘urinate, pee’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaɔnihsgyá:gɛhs* ‘they urinate’

PUNC *agaɔnihsgyage?* ‘they urinated’

STAT *agɛnihsgyá:ge:* ‘I am urinating’

[*ɛni'jɔhsgwaɛ:*] ‘squat’, with [SRF]

HAB *sənijohsgwáəhə* ‘you squat all the time’

PUNC *əsənijohsgwáə* ‘you will squat’
IMP *səni’johsgwáə* ‘squat!’

[*ənitsgodonyo*] ‘sit ups’, with [SRF]

HAB *gaonitsgó:ta* ‘they do sit ups’

PUNC *əgaonitsgodó:nyo:* ‘they will do sit ups’

[*ənitsgrōdi, ɛnitsgrōgy*] ‘spit’, with [SRF]

IMP *səni:tsgró:dih* ‘you spit!’

[*ɛniya’gya’g, ɛniya’gya’g*] ‘burp, belch’, with [SRF]

HAB *degeɲiyá’gya’s, deganiyá’gya’s* ‘I burp, belch’

PUNC *atgeɲinyá’gya’k* ‘I burped, belched’

STAT *dewageɲiya’gyá’goh* ‘I am burping, belching’

[*enɔ*] ‘originate from someplace, come from someplace’, with [PART,CIS]

HAB *nita:wé:nɔh* ‘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:dó: he’sénogye* ‘you are moving forward’

[*enɔ-gy-e*] ‘roam about randomly’, with [CONTR]

HAB-PROG *tigənenó:gye’s* ‘they are roaming about’

[*ənohgra:*] ‘cause an allergic reaction, give someone a rash’, with [SRF]

HAB *gowənohgra:s* ‘poison ivy’, ‘any plant that causes a skin infection’

PUNC *əhsawənohgra:* ‘it will give you an allergic reaction’

STAT *agənohgrá:’oh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ənɔhwed, anɔhwed*] ‘stay overnight’, with [SRF]

HAB *geɲóweta’, ganóweta’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egənohwe:t egánohwe:t* ‘I will stay overnight’

STAT *agənohwé:doh, aganohwé:doh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ənɔhwehsta*] ‘bedroom’ (literally, ‘place to stay overnight’), with [SRF]

HAB *onóhwehsta* ‘bedroom’

[*əno’sgwi, ono’sgwi*] ‘sweep’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degóno’sgwihs* ‘I am sweeping’

PUNC *dəgəno’sgwi* ‘I will sweep’

STAT *dewageɲó’sgwi:* ‘I have swept’

IMP *desəno’sgwi* ‘sweep!’

[*ɛ’nowaɛ*] ‘squat’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛsə’nowáɛ* ‘you will squat, hunch down’ (as for Gayədowa:nəh Peach Pit Game)

[*ənɔwaɛd*] ‘sink something’, with [SRF]

PUNC *agənoháwədəhk* ‘I made it sink’

[*ənɔwəhd*] ‘tell a lie’, with [SRF]

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *agɛ:nó:wɛht* 'I lied'

[ɛ'nyɑ:] 'govern, watch, look after',
with [DU]

HAB *dehsé'nyɑ:* 'you are looking after it right now'

PUNC *atsé'nyɑ:* 'you looked after it'

[ɛnyaha'd] 'boil something', with
[SRF]

IMP *sɛnyáha't* 'boil it!'

[ɛ'nyɑ'we, ɛ'nyɑ'o] 'clap', with
[DU,SRF]

IMP *desé'nyɑ'we:k, desé'nyɑ'o:k* 'you

clap!'

[ɛ:sɛtw] 'kick something'

HAB *gɛ:sɛtwahs* 'I am kicking'

PUNC *ɛgɛ:hsɛ:to* 'I will kick it'

STAT *agɛ:sɛ:twɛh* 'I did kick it'

IMP *sɛ:sɛ:toh* 'kick it!'

[ɛ'tsigahgya'g] 'cartwheel', with
[DU,SRF]

HAB *desɛ'tsihgáhgya'ks* 'you do cartwheels'

PUNC *dɛsɛ'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'

[+gadá] 'raise up something'

HAB, with [INC N] *wadahsgwagá:da:s* 'lift bridge'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ɛdwaɛnágada:t* 'we all will raise the song'

[ga:dɔ] 'tell a story'

HAB *gegá:dɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛge: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 *ɛgega:gwé:ni* 'I will afford it'

[gahadeni, gahadeny] 'turn something on', with [DU]

IMP *deseɣa:dé:ni* 'turn it on!' (involves movement)

[gahdrɔni] 'stare'

HAB *sagahdró:nihs* 'you are staring at it'

IMP *sagahdró:ni:* 'you are nosy, always looking)', 'gape', 'stare!'

[gahɛd] 'drill, hole'

HAB *gagáhɛta* 'a drill bit'

PUNC *ahadigahé:dɛ* 'they made a hole'

STAT *ogáhɛ:t* 'it has a hole in it, an opening', 'a hole'

IMP *segahé:dɛ* 'drill!'

[gahɛdɛhd] 'hull berries'

PUNC *ɛhsegahé:dɛht* 'you will hull berries'

[gahehgya'g] 'hull berries'

PUNC *ɛsegáhéhgya'k* 'you will hull berries'

[ganɛd] 'lick'

HAB *segá:nɛ:s* ‘you are a licker’, ‘you are a brown-noser’

PUNC *ɛhséganɛ:t* ‘you will lick it’

STAT-PROG *saganɛdɔ́hɔgye* ‘you are going along licking it’

IMP *segá:nɛ:t* ‘you lick!’

[*ganya*’g] ‘pay’

HAB *egá:nya*’s ‘she pays all the time’

PUNC *a’éganya*’k ‘she paid’

STAT *gagánya*’gɔh ‘payment’

[*ganya*’kd] ‘pay with’

HAB *egánya*’kta’ ‘what one pays with’, ‘barter’

STAT-PROG *goganya*’kdɔ́hɔgye’ ‘she is paying as she goes along’

[*ga*’tsy] ‘take off, remove’

HAB *gagá*’tsɔhs (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgága*’tsi’ ‘I will take off’

STAT *agéga*’tsɔ: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*gawe*] ‘row, paddle’

HAB *segáweha*’k ‘you used to paddle’

PUNC *ɛhségawe:*’ ‘you will row’

STAT *agégawe*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*gɛ*] ‘look ahead, foresee’, with *ohɛ:dɔh* ‘ahead’ and [TRANSL]

HAB *ohɛ:dɔ: heha:dí:gɛh* ‘they look ahead, tell the future’

[*ged*] ‘grate, scrape, file’

HAB *segé:dahs* ‘you are scraping something right now’

PUNC *ɛhsé:ge:t* ‘you will grate, scrape, file’

STAT *sagé:dɔh* ‘you are scraping something right now’

IMP *sé:ge:t* ‘grate, scrape, file it!’

[*ged*] ‘scratch oneself’, with [SRF]

HAB, with [INC N] *sahnatsagé:dahs* ‘you are scratching your behind’

PUNC *ɛhsá:tge:t* ‘you will scratch (yourself)’

STAT *satgé:dɔh* ‘you are scratching yourself’

[*gɛdr*, *gɛse:*] ‘skim off, scrape off’, with [DU]

HAB *degégedrɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛge:gé:se:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagegé:drɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*gɛdrɔ*] ‘skim, separate’, with [DU,N]

HAB, with [INC N] *dewahahágɛdrɔhs* ‘road scraper, grader’

PUNC, with [INC N] *dɛsewidrágɛdrɔ:*’ ‘you will take the cream off, skim the milk’

[*gɛihsd*] ‘move, postpone’

HAB *segéihsta*’ ‘you postpone it all the time’, ‘you move it all the time’

PUNC *ɛdwa:géis* ‘we all will postpone’

STAT *sagéihsdɔh* ‘you have postponed it’

[*getsgw*] ‘raise to a vertical position, give a party’

HAB *segé:tsgwahs* ‘you are lifting it to a vertical position’, ‘you give parties’

PUNC *ɛhségetsgo*’ ‘you will lift things to a vertical position’

STAT *gyagógetsgwɛh* ‘she is having a gathering over there’, ‘she is lifting something into a vertical position’

IMP *segé:tsgoh* ‘you raise something to a vertical position’

[gowanahd, gowanəhd] ‘enlarge something, make something big’

HAB *gagowanáhta* ‘it makes things big’

PUNC, with [INC N] *ęsehs-gōhaowá: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 *degé:gwatwahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dehsé:gwato* ‘you will hem’

STAT *degá:gwatwəh* ‘hem’

[+gweg] ‘close something’

HAB, with [INC N] *qgyá’dagwe:s* ‘she gets bound up, constipated’

PUNC, with SRF+INC N *deśátgahgwe:k* ‘you will close your eyes’

STAT, with SRF+INC N *gogya’dagwé:gōh* ‘she is constipated’

[gweni, gweny] ‘able to do something, succeed, win’

HAB *gegwé:nye*’s, *gegwé:nyōhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęha:gwé:ni* ‘he can do it’

STAT *agégwenyō*: (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’dōh* ‘it is dry’ (i.e. fields, weather), ‘drought’

[ha:dad] ‘raise something up, rise up’

HAB *ká:da:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęká:da:t* ‘I will raise something’

STAT *aka:dá:dōh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ha’danawəhd] ‘quench one’s thirst’

PUNC *ęyeha’dánawē:* ‘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’

[hahshę] ‘counsel’

HAB *haháhshęhę* ‘he is a counsellor’

PUNC *ęhahahsęhę:k* ‘he will be a counsellor’

[haq] ‘bead something’, with [DU]

HAB *deyeháqha* ‘she is beading’

[hate'd] 'brighten up', with [DU]
 HAB *dekáte'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'

[hawihşə:] 'carry around'
 PUNC *əhahawihşə:* 'he will carry
 something around'

[hədohsga'w] 'clear fields, land'
 HAB *hadihədóhsga:*'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 *ohəhsdoh* (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 *dehóhgwa'doh* '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'

B Verb dictionary

[**hnegadeni, hnegadeny**] ‘drain something’

IMP *snega:dé:nih* ‘drain it!’ (literally, ‘change the water!’)

[**hnegagyêhêt**] ‘sip’, with [DU]

PUNC *êtsnegagyêhêt* ‘you will sip through a straw!’

[**hnegatsêi, hnegatseny**] ‘divine, witch for water’

HAB *hadihnegâtsenyôhs* ‘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 *eyehnégeha* ‘she will drink it’

STAT *aknégehêh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *snegéhah* ‘drink’

[**hnegogohd**] ‘filter liquid, strain liquid’, with [DU]

PUNC *dêhsne:gô:goh* ‘you will filter, strain liquid’

STAT, with [SRF] *deyotnegógohdoh* ‘strained water’

[**hni**] ‘bark’

HAB *gahnih, gahnih* ‘it is barking’

PUNC *egéhni* ‘I will bark’

[**hniya’d**] ‘tighten’

PUNC *ekní:ya’t* ‘I will tighten up’

STAT *gahníya’doh* ‘it is tight, tightened’

[**hnyenê’s**] ‘experience the passing of a chief’ (literally, ‘a stick falls over’)

PUNC *a’ogwahnyé:nê’s* ‘we all are experiencing the passing of a chief’

[**’howeg, +oweg**] ‘cover’

HAB *ge’hó:we:s* ‘I am covering something’

PUNC *êhse’hó:we:k* ‘you will cover something’

STAT *age’howé:goh* ‘I did cover something’

IMP, with [INC N] *segô’dró:we:k* ‘you put the pillowcase on’

[**hr**] ‘put, place’

HAB *kré:ha* ‘I am setting (it on something)’

PUNC *êhshre* ‘you will set it or place it on something’

STAT *hewá:kre:’* ‘I put, placed it over there’

IMP *itrêh* ‘you place it!’

[**hrêd**] ‘lead’

PUNC *êháhêt* ‘he will lead’

STAT *hahé:dô* ‘he is the front, leader’

[**hrê’da:**] ‘burn something’

HAB *krê’da:s* ‘I (always) burn something’

PUNC *êhsré’da:’* ‘you will burn something’

STAT *akré’da:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hreg**] ‘push’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hekre:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hêkre:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *hewa:kré:goh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hren, hre:**] ‘cut something with a knife’

HAB *kré:nahs* ‘I cut it all the time’

PUNC *êkre:’* ‘I will cut it’

STAT *akré:nəh* ‘I did cut it’

[**hrenahnq**] ‘cut something up, shave with a knife’

PUNC *əhsrénahnq:* ‘you will shave (with a draw knife)’

[**hretgəh**] ‘wreck something’

PUNC *əhsré:tgəh* ‘you will wreck it’

[**hretgəhd**] ‘damage something, ruin something, wreck something’

PUNC *əhshé:tgəht* ‘you will damage, ruin, wreck something’

STAT *gahétgəhdəh* ‘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’əh* ‘it is broken’

[**hrih**] ‘pour, spill’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hekrihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *həkrih* ‘I will pour’

STAT *hewákrihəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hrihd**] ‘break something into smaller pieces, grind up something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsriht* ‘you will break something’

STAT, with [INC N] *degahehdáhihdəh* ‘land that is disced or worked’

IMP *dəhsriht* ‘grind!’

[**hrəhwə**] ‘bar something, put up a barrier’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsrəhwə*’ ‘you will bar something, put up a barrier’

[**+hs**, **+ihs**] ‘finish, use up’, with [SRF]

PUNC, with [INC N] *agataháhsa:*’ ‘I finished a road’

[**hsadə**] with [CIS] and P *prefix*, means ‘mount a horse, come by horseback’, with INT *prefix*, means ‘carry on one’s back’

PUNC *əgyagəhsá:də*’ ‘she will come by horseback’

[**hsadq**] ‘bury someone, an animal’

PUNC *əgəhsadq:*’ ‘I will bury it (an animal)’

STAT *agəhsadq*’ ‘I buried it (an animal)’

[**hs’ahd**] ‘finish, use up’, with [CIS]

HAB *hegəhs’ahta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hegəhs’aht* ‘I will use up’

STAT *hewagehs’áhdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsd**] ‘use, wear’

HAB *ehsta*’ ‘she uses or people use’

PUNC *é:yehs* ‘she will use (something)’

STAT-PROG *gəhsdəhəgye*’ ‘she is arriving wearing that’

IMP *ihsehs* ‘use it!’

[**hsda:te’d**] ‘shine something’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəgehsdá:te’t* ‘I am going to shine it’

STAT *dəgahsdá:te’dəh* ‘it is shined, waxed, polished’

[**hsdihsd**] ‘care for, look after, be in charge of’

PUNC *əhá:sdi:s* ‘he is will be chosen to look after the event or ceremony’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *gohsdíhşdoh* ‘she is a director, principle, head, etc.’

[**hşenoni**] ‘store, put away’

PUNC *asehşenó:ni* ‘you did store it’

STAT *gahşenó:ni* ‘stored items’

IMP *sehşenó:nih* ‘store it!’ ‘put it away!’

[**hşenoni**] ‘preserve something’, with [SRF,N]

IMP, with [INC N] *sadahyahşenó:nih* ‘you preserve fruit!’

[**hşenowanhe**] ‘become important, famous’

PUNC *ahsehşenówanhe* ‘you became famous’ (literally, ‘your name got big’)

[**hşgwadahgw**] ‘neuter an animal, geld an animal’

PUNC *ehowahşgwa:dáhgo* ‘they will geld, neuter, fix him’, (literally, ‘they will remove his testicles’)

STAT *gahşgwá:dahgwəh* ‘a neutered animal, a gelding’

[**hşhada**] ‘fall on one’s back’

HAB *gehshá:da*’s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egéhshada* ‘I will fall on my back’

STAT *agehshadá’oh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsha’ged, hsha’kd**] ‘bend, fold in two’, with [DU]

PUNC *deşéhsage:t* ‘you will fold it once, bend it’

[**hşhe’agwəhdəhsta**] ‘rolling pin’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *deyehshe’agwəhdəhsta* ‘rolling pin’

[**hşihaq**] ‘block up’

HAB *gehsiháqha*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egéhsiháq* ‘I will block up’

STAT *agehsiháq*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hşiyaqnyahnq**] ‘fluid dancer’

PUNC *ahahşiyaqnyáhnq*’ ‘he is a fluid dancer’

[**hşnotsy**] ‘peel bark’

HAB *gehsnó:tsqhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *egéhsnotsi*’ ‘I will peel bark’

STAT *agehsnotsq*: (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hşróni**] ‘fix, create, make’

HAB *shahsró:nihş* ‘repairman’

PUNC *ehsehşró:ni*’ ‘you will create, make something’

IMP *sasehnihşgahşró:nih* ‘fix the wheel’

[**hşrónyahno**] ‘make several things, prepare several things’

HAB *aknihşrónyahnoh* ‘we two are making several things’

PUNC *eyagwadehşrónyahno*’ ‘we all will prepare things’

[**hşto’drehd**] ‘pluck feathers’

PUNC *eshšto’dreht* ‘you will pluck feathers’

IMP *sehstó’dreht* ‘pluck!’

[**hşto’wihşd**] ‘hurt oneself’

PUNC *ejisahştó:wi:s* ‘you will rehurt yourself’

[**hta:,htaę**] ‘talk,speak’

HAB *gehtá:ha*’ ‘I talk’

PUNC *egehtae*’ ‘I will talk, speak’

STAT *gohta*’ ‘she is speaking’

STAT *agehtaę*’ ‘I did talk’

STAT *agéta:k* ‘I did talk’

[**hta:gw**] ‘discuss’, with [DU]

PUNC *dədwah́tá:go* ‘we all will discuss’

[hwa'e] ‘tap’

STAT *hohwá'e*: ‘he is tapping’

[hwanh] ‘tie onto’

HAB *kwanhahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əkwá:nha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *akwá:nhəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hwədahd] ‘clear, make a clearing’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsehwe:daht* ‘you will make a clearing’

[hwe'noŋi] ‘wrap something’

IMP *swe'no:nih* ‘wrap it!’

[hwə'sdoŋi] ‘whip (eggs, etc.)’

PUNC *əhswə'sdó:ni* ‘you will whip (e.g. a meringue)’

[hwihsdahihd] ‘make change’, with [DU]

PUNC *dəhswihsdahiht* ‘you will make change’

[hyado] ‘write’

HAB *ehyádqha*, *ehyá:dqh* ‘she is a secretary, stenographer, court recorder, transcriber’

PUNC *əkyá:dq:* ‘I will write’

STAT *akyá:dq* ‘I have written’

[hyohsgwəhda:] ‘fall forward’, with [DU]

HAB *dekyóhsgwəhda:*’s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəkyóhsgwəhda:* ‘I will fall forward’

STAT *dewakyóhsgwəhdá:*’qh (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hyo'tiyq, hyu'tiyq] ‘sharpen’

HAB *kyo'tiyqha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əkyo'ti:yq:* ‘I will sharpen’

STAT *akyo'ti:yq* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

I-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[i, ɛ] ‘say’

PUNC *a'á:gə* ‘she did say’

STAT *á:gə*: ‘(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 *əyédagra* ‘she will fall down’

STAT *agidagrá'qh* ‘I have fallen’

[idqhgwahswahd] ‘extinguish a flame, dim the lights’

PUNC *əhsidqhgwáhstwaht* ‘you will dim the lights’

STAT *gədqhgwáhstwáhdqh* ‘the flame is turned down’

[i'dre] ‘drag something, ride along in a vehicle, drive’

HAB *qkní'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'drɔd] 'live, dwell, be at home, reside, be placed, be situated'

PUNC *əhsni'drɔ:da'k* 'you two will stay home'

[i'drɔda'] 'land', with [DU]

HAB *dege'drɔ:da's* 'it lands there all the time'

PUNC *dege'drɔ:da'* 'it will land'

STAT *dəho'drɔdɑ'ɔh* 'he has landed'

[ihey, ihe:] 'die'

HAB *hehé:yɔhs* 'he is dying'

PUNC *əgihe:* 'I will die'

STAT *awe:t'á:* *agihé:yɔ*: 'I am pretending I am dead' *awe:t'á:* 'it is pretend'

[ihnagɛ'dowɛ] 'put a patch on'

HAB *gihnagɛ'dowɛha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgihnagɛ'dó:wɛ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agihnagɛ'do:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ihnanɛdakd] 'stick a patch on something'

HAB *gihnanɛdá:kta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgihnanɛ:da:k* 'I will put a patch on (cloth)'

STAT *agihnanɛdakdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[ihsag] 'seek, look for'

HAB *gihsa:s* 'I am looking for it'

PUNC *əgihsa:k* 'I will seek or look for it'

STAT *agihsagɔh* 'I am looking for it'

IMP *sihsa:k* 'look for it'

[ihsag] 'look for a mate', with [DU]

HAB *dedwádehsa:s* 'we are looking for mates'

[ihsdɛhd, sdɛhd] 'scale fish'

PUNC *əséhsdɛht* 'you will take the scales off (the fish)'

[+iya'g] 'cut, break, cross something'

HAB, with [INC N] *enéhsdanya's*, *enéhsdaiya's* 'she is sawing a board'

PUNC, with [INC N] *awátehgya'k* 'it did erode'

STAT, with [INC N] *swáɔgya'gɔh* 'you all have cut the log'

IMP, with [INC N] *sadeji'óhgya'k* 'you cut your nails'

[iy'ag, 'ag] 'shoot'

HAB *hadí:y'a:s* 'they are shooting'

PUNC *əgá'a:k* 'I will shoot'

[iya'ksɔ'] 'cut, break into pieces', with [TRANSL,DU]

PUNC, with [INC N] *əsehsgwiyá'ksɔ:* 'you will cut the twigs off'

STAT *ha'degayá'ksɔ'* '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 *sejɛhɛh* ‘you go get water (with a pail, dipper)’
 [ji’dɛda] ‘stop crying’
 IMP *seji’dɛ:da* ‘stop crying!’
 [jihodagw] ‘open something’
 IMP *sejihodá:gɔh* ‘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 niyɛjihsdó: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 *dɛhsejihsgó: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’

[**kahsi**] ‘share, divide’, with [DU]

HAB *degékahsɔhs* ‘I divide it’

PUNC *dɛhsékahsi* ‘you will share, divide’

STAT *dewagekáhsɔ*: ‘I have taken one object apart’

[**kahsɔgw**] ‘divide something into parts’, with [(DU)]

PUNC *dɛhsékahsɔ́:go* ‘you will divide it into parts’

STAT *hoihwakáhsɔgweh* ‘he has divided into parts or duties’

[**kahsɔgwahɔ**] ‘divide into categories’, with [DU]

PUNC *dɛsekahsɔ́gwahɔ* ‘you will divide them (several objects) up into categories’

IMP *desekahsɔ́gwahɔ*: ‘you divide them (several objects) up into categories’

[**kda’e**] ‘shell something’, with [DU]

IMP *dehsékda’e:k* ‘shell (them)! hit the shell!’

[**kdɔ**] ‘examine, look closely at, try (e.g., by tasting)’

HAB *hadíkdɔha* ‘they examine it’

PUNC *agé:kdɔ*: ‘I did look closely at it’, ‘I have examined it’

STAT *agé:kdɔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMP *sekdɔ*: ‘examine it!’

[**kdɔnyɔ**] ‘examine fully’

PUNC *ɛhsékdɔnyɔ* ‘you will fully examine it’

IMP *dwakdɔ́:nyɔ*: ‘let’s examine’

[**kdotsy**] ‘shell something’

PUNC *ɛhsékdotsih* ‘you will shell (eggs, coconuts, etc.)’

[**kɔni**] ‘cook something’

HAB *gakó:nihs* ‘it cooks’

PUNC *age:kó:ni* ‘I cooked a meal’

STAT *gokó:ni*: ‘she is cooking’

IMP *sekó:nih* ‘cook’

[**ksohaiɔ**] ‘go and wash dishes’

HAB *geksoháihɔh* ‘I am washing dishes’

IMPER *seksoháihɔ*: ‘wash the dishes’

[**kwɛda**] ‘finish eating’

PUNC *ɛga:kwé:da* ‘it is going to finish eating’

STAT *agekwɛdá’ɔh* ‘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 *ɛjidwaná’da:k* ‘we all will snack’, (literally, ‘we all will eat bread’)

STAT *akna’dáigɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**na’daiksɔ**] ‘bite into bread, snack’

PUNC *ɛjidwana’dáiksɔ*: ‘we all will snack’, (literally, ‘we all will bite the bread’)

[**naga:, nagai**] ‘whistle’

PUNC *ɛsnágai* ‘you will whistle’

STAT *haná:ga*: ‘he is whistling’

IMP *snagái*: ‘whistle!’

[**nagehsrɔni**] ‘hill plants’
 IMP *snagehsrɔ: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 *ahaʔnɔhgwaʔe:k* ‘he beat the drum (barrel)’

[**nahsɔd**] ‘join’, with [DU]
 PUNC *dɛhsnahsɔ:dɛʔ* ‘you will join’

[**naʔjod**] ‘boil in a pot’
 PUNC *ɛhsnaʔjɔ:dɛʔ* ‘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*] *ɛhs-ganaʔná:wɛʔ* ‘it will thaw or melt again’
 STAT, with [INC N] [*naʔ*] *onaʔnawɛʔɔh* ‘it has thawed, melted’

[**naʔnawɛʔdah**] ‘melt something’, ‘liquefy something’
 STAT, with [INC N] [*naʔ*] *ganaʔnawɛʔ-dahɔh* ‘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-nawɛhdɔh* ‘it has been melted’

[**neda:dɛhdaɛ**] ‘lay a floor’

PUNC *ɛhsneda:dɛhdáɛʔ* ‘you will lay a floor’

[**nɛhɛ:**] ‘guard something’, with [DU]
 HAB *dɛhadinéhɛhɛʔ* ‘they are guards’
 STAT *dɛhodinéhɛ:* ‘they are guarding something (i.e. strikers)’, ‘security guards’

[**nɛhɛd**] ‘guard, stand in a line, participate in a work-bee’, with [DU,(CIS)]
 HAB *dɛhadinéhɛda:s* ‘they are guards’, ‘they are participants in a work-bee’

[**nɛhɛsrɔni**] ‘stand in line’
 STAT *ganɛhɛhsrɔ:ni:* ‘a line formed’
 IMP *swanɛhɛsrɔ:nih* ‘you all stand in line or a formation!’

[**nɛhgwi, nɔhgwi**] ‘carry something, move something, haul something’
 HAB *knɛhgwi(h)s* ‘I carry it all the time’
 PUNC *ɛknɛhgwiʔ* ‘I will carry, move, tote, haul, drag it’
 STAT *aknɛhgwi:* ‘I have moved it’
 IMP *snɛhgwi(h)* ‘move it!’

[**nɛhsgw**] ‘steal’
 HAB *knɛhsgwahs* ‘I am a thief’
 PUNC *ɛhsnéhsgoʔ* ‘you will steal it’
 STAT *ganɛhsgwɛh* ‘stolen property, plunder’, ‘something robbed’

[**nehwiyaʔg**] ‘circumcise’
 PUNC *ɛhadinehwí: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 *desenętsę: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 *ęge:nhó:dq’* ‘I will lock it’

STAT *age:nhó:dq’* ‘I have locked it’

[**nhodqgw**] ‘open’

HAB *genhódqwahs* ‘I open or unlock’

PUNC *ęhahwanhodq’go’* ‘he will open the gathering’

STAT *agenhodq’gweh* ‘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 *ęgęnhoha:* ‘I will close the door’

STAT *agenhoháhoh, aghenhohá:hoh* ‘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 *knigóha:*’ ‘I am expecting, watching’

PUNC *ęknigóha’k* ‘I will expect it, be watching out for something’

IMP *snigóha’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’

[’**nigqgaheý, nigqgahe:**] ‘lose patience’

HAB *aknigqgáhehs* ‘I am running out of patience’, ‘I am impatiently waiting’

[**nihaq**] ‘string, bead something’

HAB *eniháqha’* ‘she is stringing or beading something’

PUNC *ękníhaq’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *akníhaq’* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[’**nihsdęhd**] ‘hull berries’

PUNC *ęhsnísdęht* ‘you will hull strawberries’

[’**nikq**] ‘sew’

HAB *e’ní:kqhs, ganíkqha’* ‘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 *akni:yq:t* ‘I hung it up’

[**niyqdagw**] ‘unhang something’, with [DU]

PUNC *ɛtsniyɔdá:go* 'you will unhang it'

[+nɔ] 'guard'

HAB, with [INC N] *Hagyɛdahkwá:nɔh* 'Guardian of the Chair (Title)', 'sub-chief'

[nɔ:] 'fail, cost dearly'

PUNC *ɛhsá:nɔ:* 'you will fail'

STAT *ganɔ:* 'it is expensive, dear, precious'

[nɔ'geh] 'suck milk'

HAB *knɔ'gé:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛknɔ'gɛha* 'I will suck (milk)'

STAT *aknɔ'gɛhɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nohae] 'clean, wash something', with [N/n]

HAB, with [INC N] [n] *knoháehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC, with [INC N] [n] *ɛknóhae*' (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 *ɛknɔhgwa:s* 'I will pick scattered things from ground'

STAT *aknɔhgwasɛh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔnhehd] 'fill something up'

HAB *knɔnhéhta*' (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsnɔ:nheht, ɛhsné:nheht* 'you will fill in'

STAT *aknɔnhehdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔnyaɛ] 'freeze'

HAB *deganɔnyáɛhɛ*' 'it does not freeze'

PUNC *ɛganɔnyáɛ*' 'it will freeze'

STAT *onɔnyaɛ*' 'it is frozen'

[nɔnyotsy] 'husk corn'

PUNC *ɛhsnɔnyotsi, ɛhsnényotsi*' 'you will husk the corn'

[nɔwadeni, nɔwadeny] 'strain something'

PUNC *ɛhsnɔwadé:ni*' 'you will strain'

STAT *ganɔwadé:nyɔ:* 'it is being strained'

[nɔwag] 'crave something'

HAB *knɔ:wa:s* 'I crave something'

PUNC *ɛknɔ:wa:k* 'I will crave something'

STAT *aknɔwagɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nɔwayɛhd] 'bargain, barter, strike a deal', with [DU]

HAB *dehsnɔwayɛhta*' 'you are a bargainer'

PUNC *dɛhsnɔwayɛht* 'you will barter, bargain, affirm a deal'

STAT *dewaknɔwáyɛhdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[nrahdɛhd] 'deleaf, pluck leaves'

PUNC *ɛhsénrahdɛht* 'you will pick off leaves'

[nyagɛ] 'escape, run away'

HAB *ge'nyá:gɛ*'s 'I am an escaper'

PUNC *sha'nyá:gɛ*' 'he escaped'

STAT *godi'nyá'gɛ'ɔh* 'they ran away'

[nya:gw] 'have a hand in it, contribute', with [DU]

STAT-PROG *dɛyago'nyá:gwɛhɛgye*' 'she will have a hand in it'

[nyɛta:, nyɛta:h] 'lock (a door, etc.)'

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HAB *genyéta:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *egényeta:* 'I will lock (a door)'
STAT *agenyétáhoh*, *agenyétá:hoh*
(Sasse & Keye 1998)
[nyo] 'kill', see [riyo, nyo] §B.2.3

[nyogwaihdsaga:] 'snore', with
[DU]
STAT *dege'nyogwaihdsá:ga:* 'I am
snoring'

O and Q-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[q:] 'make something resemble it'
with [REP]

HAB *sgó:ha'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *esgq:* 'I will make it that again'
STAT *swagq:* (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)'

[qda:] 'put in'
HAB *só:da:s* 'you put something in'
PUNC *ehsó:da:* 'you will put an ob-
ject in there'
STAT *agq:dá:hoh* 'I have put it in'

[qda'd] 'shake, shiver, quiver'
HAB *godá'ta'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *egó:da't* 'I will shake'
STAT *agóda'doh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[odagw] 'remove, detach'
HAB, with [INC N] *hadəno'jódagwahs*
'he is a dentist'
PUNC *esódagó:* 'you will remove or
detach something'
STAT, with [INC N] *otnegodá:gweh*
'splashing water'

IMPER, with [INC N] *sagehédá:goh* 're-
move the ashes out of it'

[qdahsd] 'put something in'
HAB *henódahsta'* 'they put it in there
all the time'

[odaihsy] 'undrape', with [DU]
PUNC *etsodáihsi'* 'you will undrape
something'

[+qdi, +ogy] 'throw something'
PUNC, with [INC N] *hq'gehnyó:di'* 'I
threw a stick'
STAT, with [INC N] *gahsgwáogyq:*
'gravel has been put down'

[odrah] 'sprinkle'
HAB *godrahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)
PUNC *ehénodrah* 'they will sprinkle
on something'
STAT *agódrahoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[odrahsd] 'sprinkle deliberately'
HAB *henódrahsta'* 'they sprinkle on'
STAT *honódrahsdoh* 'they are going
along sprinkling', 'they have sprin-
kled'

[og] 'axe something, chop some-
thing'
HAB *ge'ohs* 'I am a chopper'
PUNC *ehsá'o:k* 'it will chop you'
STAT *age'ó:goh* 'I did chop', 'I have
chopped'

[**qoɦd**] ‘filter, strain, penetrate’,
with [DU]

PUNC *də̀só:goht* ‘you will penetrate’
IMPER *də̀hsó:goht* ‘filter, strain it!’

[**qoɦd**] ‘go under something’, with
[DU,SRF,N]

PUNC, with [INC N] *də̀hsadə́'hé:gqht*
‘you will go under the fence’

[**qoɦd**] ‘exaggerate’, with [TRANSL]
PUNC *hə̀só: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 *hewágoɦoh* ‘I have already
dipped, submerged it’

[**ohaə, oha:**] ‘attach’

HAB *gohá:ha*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ə̀hsóhaə*’ ‘you will attach something’

STAT *oha:*’ ‘it is attached (to something)’

[**ohga:**] ‘coat with a substance, rub
something on’

HAB *soɦga:s* ‘you coat something all
the time’ (i.e. for a living)

PUNC *ə̀sóhga:*’ ‘you will coat something’
(with a paste, etc.)

STAT *soɦgá:hqh* ‘you have coated it’

[**ohnyahsy**] ‘sort, filter something’

HAB *degóhnyahsqhs* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

PUNC *degóhnyahsi*’ ‘I will sort, filter’

STAT *dewagohnyáhsq:* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

[**qə̀wejahsgə̀nh**] ‘fight over land’,
with [DU]

HAB *haqə̀wejáhsqə̀nhahs* ‘land researcher’
(literally, ‘he fights for land’)

STAT *saqə̀wejáhsqə̀nhə̀h* ‘you are
fighting over the land right now’

[**qə̀wejahsnye**]’ ‘conserve land’,
with [DU]

HAB *deyqə̀kiyqə̀wejáhsnye*’ ‘they look
after our lands (title, office)’

[**o’jiye’g**] ‘suck, absorb’

HAB *go’jiye’s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ə̀go’jí:ye:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ago’jiyé:gqh* (Sasse & Keye
1998)

[**o’jiyq**] ‘suck, absorb’

HAB *go’jí:yqhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ə̀go’jí:yq:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *ago’jí:yq:*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**o’kdə, o’kdani**] ‘finish something’,
with [TRANSL]

HAB *hegó’kta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *hegó’kdə*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q’neg**] ‘remove something’

HAB *gq’néhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ə̀gq’ne:k* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agq’né:gqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q’n.eg**] ‘take away, subtract’, with
[CIS]

HAB *tsq’nehs* ‘you subtract, take
away all the time’

PUNC *ə̀tsq’ne:k* ‘you will subtract’

STAT *disq’nq:* ‘you have taken away’

IMPER *dahsq’nq:* ‘subtract!’

[**q’neksq**] ‘remove several things’

B Verb dictionary

IMPER *só'né:ksq:* 'you remove several things'

[**q̄nɛhd**] 'swallow', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hegónɛhta'* 'I swallow'

PUNC *hegó:nɛht* 'I will swallow'

STAT *hewagónɛhdoh* 'I have swallowed'

IMPER *ha'só:nɛht* 'you swallow!'

[**q̄nɛhtge:**] 'gulp', with [TRANSL]

PUNC *ha'gónɛhtge:* 'I took a big swallow (gulp)'

[**q̄ni, q̄ny**] 'make, earn'

HAB *gó:nih, gó:nihs* 'I make, earn'

PUNC *agó:ni'* 'I did make, earn'

STAT *agó:ni:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMPER *só:nih* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q̄ni, q̄ny**] 'use in place of something else, replace', with [CONTR]

HAB *tigó:nihs* 'I use something in place of (something else)'

[**owɛ**] 'split in two', with [DU]

HAB, with [INC N] *degaihó:wɛhs* 'computer'

PUNC *atgó:wɛ:'* 'I split it open'

STAT, with [SRF] *deyo:dó:wɛ'* 'it is split (in two)'

IMPER *desó:wɛ:* 'halve it!'

[**otsy**] 'remove an outer covering, shell'

HAB *gotsqhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgó:tsi'* 'I will strip skin off'

STAT *agó:tsq:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC, with [INC N] *ɛhsékdotsi'* 'you will shell' (eggs, coconuts, etc.)

[**+oweksy**] 'uncover something'

PUNC, WITH INC N *ɛhsna'sgowé:ksih* 'you will uncover the bed'

R-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[**ra, ya**] 'spread'

HAB *ih سرا:s* 'you spread it on all the time'

PUNC *ɛhsra:'* '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 *ɛgrá:ge:'* 'I will erase or wipe it'

STAT *agra:gé:wɛh* '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 *ɛhsrá:go'* 'you will choose or take out'

STAT *agra:gweh* 'I have picked it out', 'I have chosen that one'

[**ranawɛ'doh**] 'sweeten something'

PUNC *ɛhsranawɛ'doh* 'you will sweeten'

[**ranawɛ'doweg**] 'ice or frost something' (e.g. a cake)

PUNC *ɛhsranawɛ:dó:we:k* 'you will ice, frost something' (e.g. a cake)

[ra'nege] 'put two things together'
 HAB *degra'né:gəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgra'né:gə:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *dewagra'né:gə?* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rate] 'climb'

HAB *gratehs* 'I climb'

PUNC *əsrá:tə?* 'you will climb!'

STAT *agrá:tə:* 'I did climb'

IMP *dahsrá:təh, dadrá:təh* 'climb (over here)!'

[rawihsdotsy] 'peel something'

HAB *grawihsdotsəhs* 'I peel'

PUNC *əsrawaihsdó:tsi?* 'you will peel'

STAT *agrawihsdó:tsə:* 'I peeled'

IMP *srawihsdotsih* 'peel it!'

[reṅaganye] 'chant, sing, yodel'

HAB *haṅagá:nyeh* 'he is trilling the song'

PUNC *əhswaṅaganye:* 'you all will sing, yodel, chant'

[reṅoda:] 'record songs'

PUNC *ahaṅó:da:* 'he recorded songs or taped'

[rihəni] 'incite'

PUNC *ətrihó:ni?*, *əsrihó: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 *əsríhsda:* 'you will iron'

STAT *agrihsdá:həh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rihsdoh] 'trap'

HAB *gadrihsdohs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əgádrihsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agadrihsdóhəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[rihsgya'ksə] 'slice something up'

PUNC *əsríhsgya'ksə?* 'you will slice something up'

[rihwa'e] 'demand something, insist on something', with [CIS]

PUNC *ətríhwa'e:k* 'you will demand something, insist, force something'

[rihwa'ehsd] 'demand a report, demand an account', with [DU]

PUNC *atgaogríhwa'ehs* 'they wanted a report'

[rihwaədahgw] 'hold responsibility'

PUNC *əgaihwaədahk* 'it will become someone's responsibility'

STAT *gaihwaədahgəh* 'a collective responsibility'

[rihwaətwahd] 'spread the news', with [DU,(REP)]

HAB *dehaihwáətwahs* 'he brings forth the message all the time'

PUNC *dəshaihwáətwah* 'he will bring forth a message'

STAT *dehshoihwáətwəh* 'he is bringing forth the message right now'

[rihwagenh] 'argue', with [DU]

HAB *dehaihwágenhahs* 'he is a lawyer'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *dəhsrihwagé:nha* 'you will argue, debate, protest'

STAT *deyagodi:hwágenhəh* 'they are arguing'

[rihwagwaih_{sy}] 'witness'

PUNC *əhsrihwagwáih_{si}* '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 *hedwaih_{wagyəhə}:tohs, hedwaih_{wagyəhə}:twahs* 'we all partake', 'we all pull forth the words or ideas all the time'

PUNC *hejidwaih_{wagyəhə}to* 'we all will bring the idea back again'

STAT *heyogwaih_{wadihətwəh, heyogwaih_{wagyəhətwəh}}* 'we have pulled forth the ideas', 'we are participating right now'

[rihwahe] 'present an idea'

PUNC *əhsrihwahə* 'you will present an idea'

[rihwahniya'd] 'harden something, settle something, affirm something, get married'

PUNC *əgrihwahní:ya:t* 'I will affirm it, agree, defend it'

[rihwahs', rihwihs'] '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 *haihwih_s'óhogyə* 'he is going along making promises, making agreements'

[rihwahsnye] 'oppose, disagree', with [CONTR,DU]

HAB *ta'degrihwáhsnye* '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 *əjijadrihwahsrə:ni* 'you two will reconcile'

[rihwahwinyo'd] (possibly, [rihwinyo'd]) 'report on something'

PUNC *ətrihwáh_{wí}: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 *agrihwané'agəh* '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 *əhsríhwane: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 *dəhsríhwate't* 'you will explain'

[rihwaya'g] 'denounce something, disapprove of something', with [DU]

PUNC *dəhsríhwaya'k* 'you will denounce it, disapprove of it'

[rihwayenaw, rihwayenaɔ, rihwayena:] 'accept advice'

PUNC *əhsrihwayé:na:* 'you will accept advice, a suggestion, etc.'

[rihwehd] 'give someone an important message'

PUNC *ətríhweht* 'you will bring the idea down'

[rihwehe] 'convey a message', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehaihwéhehs* 'he always takes the message', 'he is a messenger'

PUNC *hehaihwéhe:* 'he will take the message'

STAT *hehoihwéhe:* 'he has taken a message'

[rihwiyo:hsd] '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 *əgrí:yo', əhá:nyo'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ahá:nyo'* 'he killed (an animal)'

STAT *agrí: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'nigəháohe: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'kdɔnyɔgw] 'fold something up', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛsɛsha'kdɔnyɔgo* 'you will fold something up'

[+ta'd] 'dry something out'

HAB, with [INC N] *wahgwɛnyatá'ta* 'clothes dryer'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ɛhsnéhɛta't* 'you will dry corn'

STAT, with [INC N] *ganɛhɛtá'dɔh* 'dried corn'

[te'd] 'pound'

HAB *geté'ta* 'I am a pounder'

PUNC *ɛgéte't* 'I will pound'

STAT *ageté'dɔh* 'I did pound'

IMP *seteht* 'pound! (corn, etc.)'

[tsahni] 'frighten, scare'

HAB *getsáhnihs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *asétsahni'k* 'you are afraid'

STAT *agetsahni'ɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[tsɛi, tsɛny] 'find'

HAB *getsé:nye's*, *getsé:nyɔhs* 'I am a finder of things'

PUNC *a:yetséi* 'she might find it'

STAT *agétsɛnyɔ*: 'I have found it'

[tsgɛ'ɛdahgw] 'deseed, remove seeds'

PUNC *ɛhsetsɛgɛ'ɛdahgo* 'you will remove seeds'

W-stem, three-aspect, personal, changing from A- to P-series

[waɔda:] 'inflate something'

HAB *gawáɔda:s* 'pump (air)'

STAT *gawaɔdá:hɔh* 'it is inflated'

IMP *sewáɔda:* 'you inflate (a tire, balloon)!'

[wayɛnɛda'] 'complete'

HAB *hawayɛné:da's* 'he finishes'

PUNC *a'ewayɛ:né:da* 'she finished'

STAT *gawayɛnéda'ɔh* 'it is ready, prepared'

[wɛnɔhgrodragw] 'remove weeds'

PUNC *ɛgwɛnɔhgródago* 'I'll weed'

[widragɛdrɔ] 'skim milk, separate cream', with [DU]

HAB *degawidrágɛdrɔhs* 'cream separator'

PUNC *dɛsewidrágɛdrɔ:* 'you will take the cream off, skim the milk'

STAT *degawidrágɛdrɔ:* '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 *ɛgyá'daɛ* 'I will draw, take pictures'

[ya'dagɛhey] 'physically weak in body, limp'

HAB *agya'dagɛhé:yɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *agya'dagéhe:* 'I got limp, weak'

STAT *agya'dagéhé:yò:* 'I am physically weak, slow'

[*ya'dahdò*] 'get lost' (said of a person)

HAB *gya'dáhdòhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęgyá'dahdò'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *agya'dahdò'òh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ya'dahsròni, ya'dahsròny*] 'dress something up'

HAB *gaya'dáhsrò:nih* 'it dresses it up'

[*ya'dé'*] 'fall into' (person), with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *hegyá'dé's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęhtsyá'dé'* 'you will fall into it'

STAT *hewagya'dé'òh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*ya'dodròhgwaò*] 'twitch'

HAB *saya'dodròhgwáòha'* 'you are twitching (right now)'

[*ya'dodròhgwaòni*] 'shiver'

HAB *saya'dodròhgwáònihsgò:* 'you are always shivering'

[*ya'dowehd*] 'think about, consider', with [DU]

HAB *deyeya'dówehta'* 'she is a thinker (seer)'

PUNC *dęgya'dó:weht* 'I will think over'

STAT *dewagya'dówehdòh* 'I have already thought about it', 'I am thinking about it'

[*ya'drę*] 'put on top', with [DU,SRF]

HAB *degyá'dręha', degya'dré:ha'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęgyá'drę'* (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'gòh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*yagę*] 'go out'

HAB *gyá:gę's* 'I am going out'

PUNC *ęhsyá:gę'* 'you will go out'

STAT *heyoyagę'òh* 'that's where it went out'

[*ya'gyeneę*] 'fall over, pass on, die'

PUNC *ahayagyé:neę'* 'he fell over' (refers to passing on)

[*yahnò*] 'touch, pick at, grope', with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehsyáhnòha'* 'you are picking at something' (i.e. your food), 'you are a groper'

PUNC *hehsyáhnò:* 'you will grope, touch, pick at'

STAT *hehsyáhnòh* 'you are touching here and there, groping'

[*yaò*] 'bead something', with [DU]

HAB *desyáòha'* 'you are beading'

STAT *degáyaò'* 'it is beaded'

[*yę*] 'set, put, place something'

HAB *hayéhe'* 'he puts, places it there (continuously)'

PUNC *ęhsyę:* 'you will put it there!'

STAT *nigá:yę'* 'where it is at, where it is placed'

IMP *iję:* 'you put it down', 'leave it alone!'

B Verb dictionary

[yɛ] ‘put things side by side, lie side by side’, with [COIN,DU]

PUNC *tsaʹdɛhsyɛ:ʹ* ‘you will put, lay them side by side’

STAT *tsaʹdɛgayɛʹ* ‘it is lying or setting side by side’

[yɛ] ‘gamble, bet, play a game’, with [DU]

STAT *dɛho:dí:yɛʹ*, *deto:dí:yɛʹ* ‘they are gambling, betting’

[yɛ:, yɛ:] ‘do’

HAB *nigyɛ:haʹ* ‘I do’

PUNC *nɛ:gyɛ:ʹ* ‘I will do’

STAT *nigyó:yɛ:ʹ* ‘what it is doing’

IMP *sgɛnɔ:ʹɔh nɛh tsyɛ:ʹ* ‘you take your time’ *sgɛnɔ:ʹɔh* ‘slowly’ *nɛh* ‘now’

[yɛ:, yɛ:] ‘touch’, with [TRANSL]

HAB *hehsyɛ:haʹ* ‘you are a toucher’

PUNC *hɛhsyɛ:ʹ* ‘you will touch’

STAT *hehsá:yɛ:ʹ* ‘you did touch something’

[yɛh] ‘awake, wake up’

HAB *igyɛhs* ‘I wake up (all the time)’

PUNC *ɛhsyɛh* ‘you will wake up!’

STAT *sá:yɛ:ʹ* ‘you are awake’

IMP *ijeh* ‘wake up!’

[yɛdaʹ] ‘become, acquire, obtain’

HAB *gayɛ:daʹs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛsa:yɛ:daʹ* ‘you will acquire, obtain’

STAT *oyɛdaʹɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[yɛdei, yɛdi] ‘know’

STAT *dejidwayɛ:di:ʹ* ‘we all do not know any longer’

[yɛdr, yɛs] ‘skin something’, also see [yɛse] (next column)

HAB *gyɛdrɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛgyɛ:se:ʹ* ‘I will skin’

STAT *agyɛ:drɔ:ʹ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[yɛʹgwaʹe] ‘tan something, smoke something’

PUNC *ɛhsyɛʹgwaʹe:k* ‘you will smoke it’ (meat, etc.), ‘you will tan it’

[yɛhɛtw, yɛhɛto] ‘pull something’, with [TRANSL/CIS]

PUNC *ɛtgyɛhɛtoʹ* ‘I will pull it’

[yehsd] ‘mix together’, with [DU]

PUNC *dɛsyɛhs* ‘you will mix them all together’

STAT, with [INC N] *degahnɛgá:yɛhs-dɔh* ‘water is mixed in it’

IMP, with [INC N] *dehsnɛgayɛhs* ‘dilute it with water!’

[yɛnaw, yɛnaɔ, yɛna:] ‘catch, receive, accept, hold something’

HAB *gyɛ:nahs, gyɛnáɔhs* ‘I catch, receive, accept, hold it’

PUNC *agyɛ:na:ʹ* ‘I caught it’, ‘I received it’

STAT *agyɛ:náɔ:, agyɛ:na:ʹ* ‘I have caught it, received it’

IMP *jɛ:na:ʹ* ‘you (s) catch it! (an animal, etc.)’

[yɛnaw, yɛnaɔ, yɛna:] ‘grab something’, with [CIS/TRANSL]

IMP *datsɛ:na:ʹ* ‘you grab it!’

[yɛnaw, yɛnaɔ, yɛna:] ‘work together’, with [DU]

PUNC *atadiyɛ:na:ʹ* ‘they did it together (i.e. accomplices)’

[yɛnawaʹkɔ] ‘work together, be complicit, be accomplices’, with [DU]

HAB *degadiyenawá'kq'* 'they are accomplices'

IMP *dedwayenáwa'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 *dehsyí: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

[adadeɛ] ‘end up with something, remain, have leftovers, be leftover’

PUNC *ogadade:*ʔ ‘I remained’, ‘I was left over’

PUNC *ogadade:*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 *agadedrɛhdətɡidanihsɛhɛ:*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 *agadehsrɛʔdɔ: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 *hehó: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 *hehó:gyɔ:* ‘he has thrown it (stative)’

Table B.1: Say

factual punctual	stative	habitual
<i>agí</i> 'I said'	<i>á:gę</i> : 'I have said'	<i>ga:dq̄h</i> 'I say'
<i>á:kni</i> ?, <i>a'á:kni</i> 'we two (not you) said'	<i>q̄knę</i> : 'we two have said'	<i>agyá:dq̄h</i> 'we two say'
<i>ekní</i> ?, <i>etní</i> 'you and I said'		<i>gyá:dq̄h</i> 'you and I say'
<i>á:gwę</i> ?, <i>a'á:gwę</i> 'we, not you, said'	<i>q̄:gwę</i> 'we all have said'	<i>agwá:dq̄h</i> 'we, not you, say'
<i>edwę</i> ?, <i>etwę</i> 'we and you said'		<i>dwá:dq̄h</i> 'we and you say'
<i>así</i> 'you (one) said'	<i>í:sę</i> : 'you (one) have said'	<i>sá:dq̄h</i> 'you (one) say'
<i>esní</i> 'you two said'	<i>ihsnę</i> : 'you two have said'	<i>já:dq̄h</i> 'you two say'
<i>eswę</i> 'you all said'	<i>ihswę</i> : 'you all have said'	<i>swá:dq̄h</i> 'you all say'
<i>ahę</i> 'he said'	<i>há:wę</i> : 'he has said'	<i>há:dq̄h</i> 'he says'
<i>á:gę</i> ?, <i>a'á:gę</i> 'she said'	<i>gá:wę</i> : 'she has said'	<i>q̄:dq̄h</i> 'she, someone says'
<i>awę</i> 'it said'	<i>á:wę</i> : 'it has said'	<i>wá:dq̄h</i> 'it is said'
<i>ahę:ni</i> 'they (males) said'	<i>hó:nę</i> : 'they (males) have said'	<i>hęná:dq̄h</i> 'they (males) say'
<i>agá:gę</i> 'they (fe/males) said'	<i>gó:nę</i> : 'they (fe/males) have said'	<i>gaogadq̄h</i> 'they (fe/males) say'
<i>agę:ni</i> 'they (animals) said'	<i>ó:nę</i> : 'they (animals) have said'	<i>gená:dq̄h</i> 'they (animals) say'

Table B.2: Want, think

stative	stative past	factual punctual	indefinite punctual	future punctual
í:wí: 'I want, think'	<i>gehéhk</i> 'I was thinking'	<i>ahí:</i> [?] 'I wanted, thought'	<i>ó:wí:</i> [?] 'I should want, think'	<i>éhi:</i> [?] 'I will want, think'
akné: 'we two (not you) want, think'	<i>aknéhehk</i> 'we two (not you) were thinking'	<i>akne:</i> [?] 'we two (not you) wanted, thought'	<i>á:yakne:</i> [?] 'we two (not you) should want, think'	<i>eyákne:</i> [?] 'we two (not you) will want, think'
ikné: 'you and I want, think'	<i>knehehk</i> 'you and I were thinking'	<i>ekne:</i> [?] 'you and I wanted, thought'	<i>áekne:</i> [?] 'you and I should want, think'	<i>ékne:</i> [?] 'you and I will want, think'
agwé: 'we all (not you) want, think'	<i>agwéhék</i> 'we all (not you) were thinking'	<i>agwé:</i> [?] 'we all (not you) wanted, thought'	<i>á:yagwé:</i> [?] 'we all (not you) should want, think'	<i>eyágwé:</i> [?] 'we all (not you) will want, think'
idwé: 'we all (including you) want, think'	<i>dwehéhk</i> 'we (all including you) were thinking'	<i>edwe:</i> [?] 'we all (including you) wanted, thought'	<i>áedwe:</i> [?] 'we all (including you) should want, think'	<i>édwe:</i> [?] 'we all (including you) will want, think'
ihsé: 'you (s) want, think'	<i>sehehk</i> 'you (s) were thinking'	<i>ase:</i> [?] 'you (s) wanted, thought'	<i>ásse:</i> [?] 'you (s) should want, think'	<i>éhsé:</i> [?] 'you (s) will want, think'
ihsné: 'you two want, think'	<i>snehehk</i> 'you two were thinking'	<i>esne:</i> [?] 'you two wanted, thought'	<i>áesne:</i> [?] 'you two should want, think'	<i>éhsne:</i> [?] 'you two will want, think'
ihswé: 'you all want, think'	<i>swehehk</i> 'you all were thinking'	<i>eswe:</i> [?] 'you all wanted, thought'	<i>áeswe:</i> [?] 'you all should want, think'	<i>éhswe:</i> [?] 'you all will want, think'
ihé: 'he wants, thinks'	<i>hehehk</i> 'he wants, thinks'	<i>ahé:</i> [?] 'he wanted, thought'	<i>á:he:</i> [?] 'he should want, think'	<i>éhe:</i> [?] 'he will want, think'
í:yé: 'she wants, thinks'	<i>éhehk</i> 'she wants, thinks'	<i>a'é:</i> [?] 'she wanted, thought'	<i>á:yé:</i> [?] 'she should want, think'	<i>é:yé:</i> [?] 'she will want, think'
í:we: 'it wants, thinks'	<i>wehehk</i> 'it wants, thinks'	<i>awe:</i> [?] 'it wanted, thought'	<i>á:we:</i> [?] 'it should want, think'	<i>é:we:</i> [?] 'it will want, think'
hé:ne: 'they (males) want, think'	<i>hénéhehk</i> 'they (males) were thinking'	<i>ahé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (males) wanted, thought'	<i>a:hé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (males) should want, think'	<i>éhé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (males) will want, think'
gáę 'they (females or mixed group) want, think'	<i>gáęhk</i> 'they (females or mixed group) were thinking'	<i>agáę:</i> [?] 'they (females or mixed group) wanted, thought'	<i>á:gáę:</i> [?] 'they (females or mixed group) should want, think'	<i>égáę:</i> [?] 'they (females or mixed group) will want, think'
gé:ne: 'they (animals) want, think'	<i>généhehk</i> 'they (animals) were thinking'	<i>agé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (animals) wanted, thought'	<i>a:gé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (animals) should want, think'	<i>égé:ne:</i> [?] 'they (animals) will want, think'

IMPER *he'sá:dih* 'throw it away from me'

PUNC, with [INC N] *hó'géhnyó:di'* 'I threw a stick'

[adodahsy] 'appear unintentionally', with [CONTRSRF]

PUNC *ta'sadodáhsi'* 'you appeared unintentionally'

[adqahq] 'be frantic, horrified', with [SRF]

HAB *dewagadqahqha'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dęwagadqahq:* 'I will be frantic, horrified'

STAT *dewagadqahq'* (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 *ɔgadraswiyɔhsdɛ* ‘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 *gyagoyá’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 *gogyá’dagwé:gɔh* ‘she is constipated’

[**agya’dɾ, agya’sɛ**] ‘be on top’, with
[DU,SRF]

HAB *dewagya’dré:ha* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛwágya’dre* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *deyógya’sɛ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**agyanɔ’**] ‘dream’, with [SRF]

HAB *ogyá:nɔ’s* ‘it dreams’

PUNC *ɛyógyanɔ’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 *dewagyáɔnyɔh* ‘it (a haunted vision) is happening right now’

PUNC *adwagagyáɔnyɔ’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)

[**ahdrɔʔ**] 'be scared, frightened'

HAB *agáhdɔʔs* 'I am scared, frightened'

PUNC *ɛwághadrɔʔk* 'I will be frightened'

STAT *agáhdɔʔɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

IMPER *sáhdɔʔk* 'be afraid! (nonsensical)'

[**ahsɛhsd**] 'regret, become jealous'

HAB *sahséhtahk* 'you used to regret it'

PUNC *ɛwághahsɛhs* 'I will get jealous'

STAT *agásɛhsdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ahsha:, ahshaʔdr**] 'remember, recall', with [TRANSL/REP]

PUNC *ɛwághahsha:ʔ* 'I will remember'

STAT *shohsháʔdrɔh* 'he is remembering (right now)'

[**ahshɛdaʔ**] 'step on something, stagger', with [TRANSL,REP]

STAT *heshohshɛdáʔɔh tsɔ:* 'he is staggering' *tsɔ:* 'just'

[**ahsihaʔs**] 'choke', with [DU]

HAB *desáhsíhaʔs* 'you are choking'

PUNC *atóhsíha:ʔs* 'he did choke'

[**ahsoʔg**] 'limp'

HAB *gohsóʔkaʔ* 'she is limping'

PUNC *ɛwághahsoʔk* 'I will limp'

[**anhɛhɛhih**] 'dribble, pee', with [CIS]

PUNC *daʔagonhéhɛhih* 'she dribbled (peed)'

[**atgahatgihd**] 'give dirty looks', with [SRF]

HAB *satgahatgihdɔh* 'you are always giving dirty looks, you are giving dirty looks (right now)'

PUNC *asatgahá:tgiht* 'you give dirty looks'

[**atganyaʔgɛ**] 'reimbursed, refunded', with [REP,SRF]

PUNC *ɛjisatgányaʔgɛʔ* 'you will be reimbursed, refunded'

[**atiyaʔg**] 'hold a grudge', with [SRF]

HAB *hotíyaʔsgɔ:* 'he is testy', 'he has a short fuse'

PUNC *ɛhsa:tí:yaʔk* 'you will hold a grudge'

STAT *satíyaʔgɔh* 'you are holding a grudge right now'

[**atɔdɛh, atɔdɛʔ**] '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 *agatɔdɛʔɔh* 'I have heard it before'

[**atrewahd**] 'be punished', with [SRF]

HAB *satréwahtaʔ* '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 *ɔgwátsɔʔnyo:t* 'we all turned our backs to the bush', 'we all for-

sook religion, family, etc.’ (high language)

[atwajijɔ̄di, atwajijɔ̄gy] ‘abandon one’s family’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahotwaji:yɔ̄:di* ‘he abandoned his family’

STAT *hotwajijɔ̄:gyɔ̄*: ‘he has abandoned the family’, ‘he threw his family aside’

[dɔ̄hgwa:, idɔ̄hgwa:] ‘have, get a fever’

HAB *akdɔ̄hgwa:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ogídɔ̄hgwa*: ‘I got a fever’

STAT *akdɔ̄hgwá:hɔ̄h* ‘I have a fever’ with [INC N] *gaya’dadɔ̄hgwahs* ‘AIDS, HIV’

[’draihɛ̄] ‘hurry’, with [DU]

HAB *deyagɔ̄’dráihɛ̄hs* ‘she is in a hurry’

PUNC *adyɔ̄knɪ’dráihɛ̄* ‘we two hurried’

IMPER *desa’dráihɛ̄h* ‘hurry up!’

[’drahehsd] ‘overdo, exaggerate, be extreme’

HAB *sá’dráhehsta* ‘you are always going overboard’, ‘you are excessive’

PUNC *ɛ̄wagɛ̄’dráhehs* ‘I will exaggerate’

STAT *heyótehsdɔ̄h* (possibly, *heyó’-drahéhsdɔ̄h*) ‘it is extreme’

[ɛ̄dɔ̄h] ‘shake’, with [DU]

HAB, with [INC N] *deyogyɔ̄hgwé:dɔ̄hs* ‘upheaval of a crowd of people (celebration, riot)’

PUNC *dɛ̄ya:wé:dɔ̄h* ‘it will sway, shake’

STAT, with [INC N] *deyo’nhɛ̄tsɛ̄-dɔ̄hɔ̄h* ‘it is wagging its tail’

IMPER, with [INC N] *desaya’dé:dɔ̄h* ‘you will shake (your body)’

[ɛ̄hsɛ̄dɔ̄h] ‘stamp one’s feet’, with [(DU)]

STAT *howɛ̄hsɛ̄hdɔ̄h* ‘he is keeping a beat with his feet’

[ɛ̄’nidodaihɛ̄] ‘fart’, with [SRF]

PUNC *aho’nido:dáihɛ̄* ‘he farted’

[ɛ̄’nigɔ̄hane’waɔ̄, ɛ̄’nigɔ̄hane’wa:] ‘be mentally startled, surprised’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛ̄sɛ̄’nigɔ̄hané’wa*: ‘you will be mentally startled’

[ɛ̄’nigɔ̄hgaē] ‘suffer’, with [CIS,SRF]

STAT *desɛ̄’nigɔ̄hgaē* ‘you suffer’

[ɛ̄’nigɔ̄hɔ̄’drɔ̄h] ‘worry’, with [SRF]

HAB *sɛ̄’nigɔ̄hɔ̄’drɔ̄h* ‘you are a worrier’

PUNC *ɛ̄hsɛ̄’nigɔ̄hɔ̄’drɔ̄:* ‘you will worry, despair’, ‘you will be desperate’

[ɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄] ‘know’

HAB *dyonóhdɔ̄ha*?, *gyonóhdɔ̄ha* ‘she is a bossy woman’

PUNC *ɛ̄wagɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄:k* ‘I will know’

STAT *agɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄* ‘I know’

[ɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄nyɔ̄] ‘think’

PUNC *ɛ̄hsɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄:nyɔ̄:* ‘you will wonder, think’

STAT *sɛ̄nɔ̄hdɔ̄nyɔ̄h* ‘you are wondering, thinking’

[ga’] ‘like the taste of something’

HAB *agɛ̄:ga’s* ‘I like the taste of it’

PUNC *ɔ̄gɛ̄’ga* ‘I liked the taste of it’

STAT *ogá’ɔ̄h* ‘it tastes good’

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[gaɛ] ‘be willing, consent, agree’
 HAB *hogáɛs* ‘he is willing’
 PUNC *ɛwagegáɛʔ* ‘I will consent, agree, say okay’
 STAT *agegáɛʔoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gaɛ] ‘unwilling’, with [NEG]
 HAB *dewagegáɛhs* ‘I am always unwilling’
 STAT *dewagegáɛ* ‘I do not want to do it’, ‘I am unwilling’

[ga:hdɛ] ‘cost someone’
 PUNC *oge:gá:hdɛʔ* ‘that’s how much it cost me’

[gahdrahi] ‘cry, shed tears’
 PUNC *ɛhsagahdráhiʔ* ‘you will shed tears’

[gahdredɔ] ‘shed tears’
 PUNC *ɛsagahdré:dɔ*: ‘you will shed tears’

[gahdrod] ‘drip tears’
 PUNC *ɛhsagahdró:dɛʔ* ‘you will drip tears’
 STAT *sagáhdro:t* ‘you are tearing up’ (shedding tear-drops)

[gahoʔsd] ‘get an eyelash in one’s eye’, with [DU]
 PUNC *adwagegáhoʔs* ‘I got an eyelash in my eye’

[hed] ‘yell, scream’, with [DU]
 HAB *déhóhetaʔ* ‘he is hollering’
 PUNC *atóhe:t* ‘he hollered or yelled’

[hetsogw] ‘be tricked, fooled’, with [(REP)]
 HAB *tsohétsohwahs* ‘it tricks him all the time’

PUNC *ahohetsó:goʔ* ‘it tricked him (like the frog)’
 STAT *shohétsogwɛh* ‘he was fooled (like the frog)’

[hnyɛʔsgaʔohsd, hnyaʔsgaʔohsd] ‘have hiccups’
 HAB *hohnyáʔsgaohs* ‘he is hiccuping, hiccoughing’
 PUNC *ɛwagehnyɛʔsgaʔohs ɛwagehnyáʔsgaʔohs* ‘I will have hiccups’
 STAT *agehnyɛʔsgáʔohsdoh, agehnyáʔsgáʔohsdoh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[hsadɛ] ‘mount a horse, come by horse’
 PUNC *ɛwagehsá:dɛʔ* ‘I will mount a horse’

[hsgɛna:ʔ] ‘have a stroke’
 PUNC *aho:hsgé:na:ʔ* ‘he had a stroke’

[hsnagrig] ‘have, get muscle cramps’
 PUNC *ogéhsnagri:k* ‘I had muscle cramps, I got a cramp’

[hsnagri(k)sɔ] ‘have, get muscle cramps’
 PUNC *ogehsnagriksɔ:ʔ* ‘I got cramps’
 STAT *ogehsnagrihsɔʔ* ‘I am all cramped up’

[idaʔ] ‘sleep, hibernate’
 HAB *odí:daʔs* ‘they sleep, hibernate all the time’
 PUNC *ɛwa:gí:daʔ* ‘I will sleep’
 STAT *agídaʔoh* ‘I was asleep, I am sleeping’

[Cidrɛhda:ʔ] ‘sleepy, tired’¹
 HAB *agídrɛhda:ʔs* ‘I am sleepy’

¹‘C’ means that I of the stem does not delete.

PUNC *ɛsaidrɛ́hda:*ʔ ‘you will get sleepy’

[**Cidrɛ́hgyenyɛ́**ʔs] ‘nod off’, ‘fall asleep’

HAB *sidrɛ́hgyé:nyɛ́*ʔs ‘you are nodding off, falling asleep’

[**Cidrɛ́hdiyohsd**] ‘sleep well’

PUNC *ɛsaidrɛ́hdi:yohs* ‘you will have a nice sleep’

[**ʔnahgɔ́d**] ‘get or be inflamed’, ‘get or have a bee sting, hives’

PUNC *ɛsaʔnahgɔ́:dɛ́*ʔ ‘you will get a bee sting’

STAT *oʔnáhgɔ́:t* ‘it (skin) is inflamed’, ‘a bee sting’

[**naʔkwɛ́h, naʔkwɛ́**] ‘be angry’

HAB *aknáʔkwɛ́hs* ‘something makes me angry’

PUNC *ahónáʔkwɛ́h* ‘he became very angry’

STAT *aknáʔkwɛ́ʔh* ‘I am angry’

[**nehagw, nehagwa**] ‘surprised’

HAB *aknéhagwahs* ‘I am always amazed’

PUNC *ɔ́knéhago*ʔ ‘I was amazed or surprised’

STAT *aknehagwáʔh* ‘I am amazed’

[**nhi**] ‘err, make a mistake’

HAB *ɔ́gwá:nhi*ʔs ‘we all make mistakes’

PUNC *ɛhsá:nhi*ʔk ‘you will err, make a mistake’

STAT *agénhiʔh* ‘I have made a mistake, an error’

[**ʔnigɔ́haʔehsd**] ‘have a settled mind’, with [TRANSL]

PUNC *haʔhoʔnigɔ́haʔehs* ‘his mind settled on’

[**ʔnigɔ́hahdɔ́**] ‘faint’

PUNC *ɔ́knigɔ́háhdɔ́*ʔ ‘I fainted’

[**ʔnigɔ́hahetgɛ́**ʔs] ‘sob, cry uncontrollably’

HAB *aknigɔ́háhetgɛ́*ʔs ‘I am crying, uncontrollably’

[**ʔnigɔ́hɛ́h, ʔnigɔ́hɛ́**] ‘forget’

HAB *swaknigɔ́hɛ́hs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsaʔnigɔ́hɛ́h* ‘you will forget’
STAT *swaknigɔ́héʔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**ʔnigɔ́gahéy, ʔnigɔ́gahe:**] ‘be exhausted (mentally), lose patience’

PUNC *aknigɔ́hágahe:*ʔ ‘my mind got beat’, ‘I am mentally exhausted’

STAT *aknigɔ́hagahé:yoh* ‘I am mentally exhausted’

[**ʔnigɔ́hiyoh**] ‘become satisfied, content’ ‘adjust’, with [(CIS)]

PUNC *ɛhsaʔnigɔ́hí:yoh* ‘you will be satisfied’

[**ʔnigɔ́hiyohsd**] ‘become comfortable in mind, become satisfied, become content’

PUNC *ɛhsaʔnigɔ́hí:yohs* ‘your mind will adjust’ (i.e. become comfortable)

[**ʔnigɔ́hsadɔ́**] ‘lonesome’

HAB *aknigɔ́hsá:dɔ́*ʔs ‘I am lonesome’

PUNC *ɛwaknigɔ́hsadɔ́*ʔk ‘I will get lonesome’

STAT *oʔnigɔ́hsá:dɔ́hk* ‘it is lonesome, mournful’

[**nihsgw**] ‘be late’

PUNC *ɛwáknihsgo*ʔ ‘I will be late’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *aknihsgo'qhogye* 'I am arriving late'

[**nq**] 'unable'

HAB *aknqha* 'I am unable'

PUNC *ewá:knq:* 'I will be unable'

STAT *honq'qh* 'he is unable'

[**nqdanha**] 'be found guilty'

PUNC *ahonqda:nha* 'he was found guilty'

[**'nodra**] 'have skin sores, be infected'

PUNC *qhsa'no:dra'* *sehsóhgwa'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 *go'nó:drahs* 'she has open, weeping sores'

PUNC *a'ago'nó:drahs* 'she got chicken pox, a skin infection, allergic reactions', 'she became infected'

STAT *sa'nódrahsdqh* 'it has given you an infection, an allergic reaction', 'you have already had an allergic reaction'

[**nqhaged**] 'put one's head down', with [DU]

PUNC *dqhsanqhá:ge:t* 'you will put your head down'

[**nqhnyag**] 'be, get hurt'

HAB *aknqhnyas* 'I hurt'

PUNC *ewáknqhnyak* 'I will get hurt'

STAT *honqhnyagqh* 'he is hurt'

[**nq's**] 'tire of something, get sick of something'

PUNC *q'knq's* 'I am sick of it, bored, fed up', 'I got sick of it'

[**nyag**] 'be married'

HAB *agé:nyas* 'I am getting married right now'

PUNC *ewágenyayak* 'I will be married'

STAT *agényagqh* 'I am married'

[**'nyagq**] 'pass wind, fart'

HAB *agó'nyagq's* 'she passing wind, farting'

[**nya'gw, nya'go**] 'vomit'

HAB *agényagwahas* 'I am vomiting', 'I am a vomiter, I vomit all the time'

PUNC *ogényaggo* 'I vomited'

STAT *agenyagwáhqh* 'I am vomiting (right now)'

[**o'gwad**] 'dig'

HAB *o'gwas* 'it digs'

PUNC *a'ó'gwa:t* 'it dug'

STAT *agó'gwadqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**q'wesahs**] 'have a good time'

HAB *agó'weshahs* 'I am having a good time, enjoying something'

[**q'weseq, q'wesgwani**] 'enjoy oneself'

HAB *agó'wesgwá:nih* 'I enjoy it'

PUNC *ewagq'wé:sq* 'I will enjoy myself'

[**qwihshq'qh**] 'pant, be short of breath'

STAT *gaqwiwhshq'qh* 'she is panting'

[**ra:dog**] 'blister one's heel'

PUNC *ográ:do:k* 'I blistered my heel'

[**rihwaqda**] 'decide', with [DU]

PUNC *atoihwáqdas* 'he came to a decision or conclusion'

IMPER *dehsaihwaęda*'s 'you decide'
 [sw, sho] 'smell (involuntarily)'
 HAB *agę:swahs* 'I smell it (at the time when this is being said)'
 PUNC *ęwągesho*' 'I will smell it (unintentionally)'
 with [INC N] *goheyędą:swahs* 'she smells a dead body'
 ['tsęhsd] 'sneeze', with [DU]
 HAB *desą'tsęhstahk* 'you have sneezed, you were sneezing'
 PUNC *dęsą'tsęhs* 'you will sneeze'
 [węna'd] 'give up'
 HAB *agewęną'ta*', *agwęną'ta*' 'I give up (all the time)'
 PUNC *esa:wę:na't* 'you gave up'
 STAT *agewęną'dęh* 'I have given up'
 [węna'ehsd] 'stutter'
 HAB *sawęna'ęhsta*' 'you stutter'
 [węnahę] 'get what's coming to you'
 PUNC *ęhsawęnąhęk* 'your words will come back on you', 'you will be revenged, repaid for your words'
 [wiyageheya's] 'die' (said of a baby)
 PUNC *agowiyagehę:ya*'s 'her baby died'
 [ya'dadęg] 'burn up (body)'

PUNC *a'odiyą'dade:k* 'they (animals) got burned up'
 [ya'dahdręgw] 'quiver, shudder'
 PUNC *ęsaya'dahdrę:gę*' 'you will quiver, shudder'
 [ya'dahshę'] 'be slow, late'
 PUNC *ęgyą'dahshę*' 'I was late'
 [ya'ditę's] 'have nightmares, sleepwalk'
 HAB *goyą'ditę's* 'she is having a nightmare', 'she is sleepwalking'
 [ya'dędi] 'be abandoned, left out, left behind'
 PUNC *ęgya'dę:di*' 'I got left behind, left out, abandoned'
 [ya'dęda'd] 'shiver, shake', 'be nervous'
 HAB *saya'dędą'ta*' 'you are nervous, shaking, shivering'
 PUNC *ęsaya'dę:da't* 'you will shiver, shake'
 STAT *agya'dędą'dęh* 'I shiver'
 [yędi, yęgy] 'smile'
 HAB *hoyę:dih* 'he is smiling'
 PUNC *aho:yę:di*' 'he smiled'
 STAT PAST *hoyęgyęhne:*' 'he has already smiled', 'he did smile'

B.2.5 Three-aspect verbs taking interactive prefixes

A-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[adadrihwanęhękw] 'respect, show respect for one another', with [DU,REFL]
 PUNC *dędwadadrihwanęhkwa:k* 'we

all will show respect for one another'

[adahgwaęhęhsd] 'pawn something off on someone', with [SRF]

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PUNC *ahagadahgwáęhęhs* ‘he did pawn (to me)’

[**ada’sęhd**] ‘put someone down, discriminate against someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadá’sęhta* ‘he puts people down’, ‘he discriminates’

STAT *shęyadahsęhdqh* ‘you have already put someone down’, ‘you discriminated against her’

[**adędonya’d**] ‘joke, make fun of someone, tease’, with [SRF]

HAB *hadędonyá’ta* ‘he is a joker’

PUNC *ęhsheya’dędonya’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 *agadędónya’dqh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**adęna’tranqđ**] ‘serve food to someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęgwadęná’tranq:t* ‘we will give you food’

[**adęnyehd**] ‘sentence someone, refer someone’, with [TRANSL,SRF]

PUNC *hęqoyadę:nyeht* ‘I will refer you (to someone else)’

[**adę’nigqha:**] ‘take care of something, monitor’, with [SRF]

HAB *qkiya’dę’nigqha:* ‘monitors (people)’ (literally, ‘they monitor them’)

[**adę’sgoh**] ‘immerse, baptize, go into water’, with [SRF]

HAB *hqwáde’sgohs* ‘baptism’ (literally, ‘they baptize them’)

[**adewayęnqni**] ‘care for something, do things carefully’, with [SRF]

HAB *sadewayę:nq:nih* ‘you care for it / things all the time’

PUNC *ęshsheyadewayę:nq:ni* ‘you will take care of them, care for them (for a while)’

STAT *hodewayę:nq:ni* ‘he has done it carefully’

[**adi, ogy**] ‘abandon someone, let someone go’

PUNC *ęhshęyadi* ‘you will abandon someone, let them go’

[**adodahdę, adodahdani**] ‘trip someone’, with [DU,SRF]

HAB *desadodáhdanih* ‘it trips you all the time’

PUNC *dęhsadodáhđę* ‘it will trip you’

[**adodaisy**] ‘help someone escape’, ‘rescue someone’, ‘save someone’

PUNC *ęshsheyadodáisi* ‘you will help her escape’, ‘you will save her’

[**adodaisy**] ‘comb someone’s hair’, with [DU]

PUNC *dęqoyodáisi* ‘I am going to comb your hair’

[**adqoghdę**] ‘deceive, outdo someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhseyadqoghdę* ‘you will outdo someone’, ‘you will go right over her, go right past her’, ‘you will deceive her’

[**adriyohsdę**] ‘make someone fight’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęgasheyadriyóhsdę* ‘you will make them fight’

[*adrōhgwe, adrōhgwani*] ‘threaten someone, scare someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *sheyadrōgwá:nih* ‘you are threatening, scaring someone’

PUNC *ęhsheyadrōhgwe* ‘you will threaten, scare someone’

[*adrō’węhsd*] ‘abuse someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *dehshagodrō’węhsta* ‘he abuses someone’

PUNC *dękeyadrō’węhs* ‘I will abuse her’

STAT *dekeyadrō’węhsdōh* ‘I have abused her’

[*adwędehd*] ‘release someone’

PUNC *ękeyadwędę:deht* ‘I will release someone’

STAT *keyadwędędōh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*a’ęna:*] ‘curse someone, hex someone’

HAB *ga’ęna:s* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ęhsheyę’ę:na:’* ‘you will curse, hex someone’

STAT *aga’ęnáhōh, aga’ęná:hōh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*a’ęna’ehsd*] ‘spear someone or something with a stick’, with [DU]

PUNC *atōwę’ęnā’ehs* ‘he speared him with a stick’

[*agya’dōda:*] ‘represent someone, represent an organization’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ęhshagogyá’dó:dahk* ‘he will be an ambassador’, ‘he will represent someone’ (literally, ‘they will put his body in’)

[*agyesahd*] ‘abandon someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ahōwagyé: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 *ęhsahdó:ga’t* ‘you will grow something’

STAT *ōgahdogá’dōh* ‘she raised me’ (i.e. a guardian)

[*ahdrōhgwe’*] ‘frighten someone’

PUNC *ęhsáhdrōhgwe’* ‘it will frighten you’

[*ahōdō*] ‘ask someone’

PUNC *ahōwahō:dō:’* ‘they or s/he asked him, them’

IMP *hehsahō:dō:* ‘you ask him’

[*ahōgaha’*] ‘be invited’

PUNC *ęhsahōgáha’* ‘you will be invited or asked to go’

[*ahsehd*] ‘hide something’, ‘rob someone’

HAB *shagóhsęhta* ‘he is a robber, stealer’

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PUNC *ahqwanáhseht* ‘they robbed him, them’

STAT *gahséhdqh* ‘robbed, hidden’

[**ahsganeg**] ‘want, desire, long for someone, something’

HAB *gohsgá:ne:s, goyáhsgane:s* ‘I desire you’

PUNC *ehsáhsgane:k* ‘you will be tempted, you will long for something’

STAT *sahsgáneksqh* ‘you are longing for something’

[**ahsganekde**] ‘tempt someone’

PUNC *ehsheyahsgánekdé?, ehshhehs-gané:kdé?* ‘you will tempt someone’

[**ahsgyaqnyo**] ‘encourage someone’

HAB *gakeyahsgyáqnyoh* ‘I am giving them words of encouragement’

PUNC *ehsasgyáqnyo?* ‘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’wéhégye?* ‘you are going along giving things up’

[**atahahgwa’dé, atahahgwa’dani**] ‘corrupt someone’, with [SRF]

PUNC *ehsheyatahahgwá’dé?* ‘you will corrupt her/them’ (literally, ‘you will take her off the path’) (ceremonial or high language)

[**atgē’sē**] ‘watch someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *gáqtgēhseh* ‘they are watching something going on’

PUNC *a:gakeyatgē’sē:?* ‘I should watch them’

[**atgowanahde, atgowanēhde**] ‘rape someone’, with [SRF]

HAB *shagotgowanahdá:nih* ‘he is a rapist’, ‘he is raping someone now’

PUNC *ahshagotgowanáhdé?, ahshagot-gowanēhdé?* ‘he raped her’ (literally, ‘he forced her in a big way’)

[**atgō’tra:**] ‘bewitch someone’

PUNC *egoyatgō’tra:?* ‘I will bewitch you’

[**atgō’tra:sd**] ‘bewitch someone’

PUNC *egoyatgō’tra:s* ‘I will bewitch you’

D-to-G-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[**dogēh**] ‘find someone out’

HAB *kedó:gehs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ēke:dó:gēh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kedógē’qh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**+’ehsd**] ‘hit someone’s NOUN’, with [DU] and [INC N]

PUNC *ate’drehdá’ehs* ‘I hit his car’

[**ē’nigohotahsd**] ‘suggest to some-

one, advise someone', with [CIS]
 PUNC *ɛtseyɛ'nigɔhótahs* 'you will suggest to her, advise her'

[ɛ'nyɑ'dad] 'point out someone', with [SRF]

PUNC *ɛhshɛ'nyɑ'da:t* 'you will point someone out'

[gahgɛny] 'see with one's own eyes'
 HAB *kegáhɛnyɔhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛkegáhɛni'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kegáhɛnyɔ:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gahgweg] 'outsmart, deceive someone', with [DU]

PUNC *dɛhshɛgáhwe: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 *dahsɛ: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 *shɛgéhɛnih* '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 *ahsɛgɛhɛ'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 *ɛhɛgɛhɛ'trɔ:ni'* 'you will be mean, abusive'

[gɔhɛ] 'punch something, hit something with one's fist'

HAB *segóhe:s* 'you hit it all the time'

PUNC *ahágɔhe:k* 'he punched it'

STAT *agegɔhé:gɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[gɔhsohai] 'wash someone's face', with [N/n]

STAT *shagɔgɔhsóhai* '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 *gahshɛgowánɛhta'* '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 *dɛ́shshɛyahahiya'kdɛ́* 'you will escort her across the road'

[**hahs**] 'serve someone'

HAB *shɛháshɛh* 'you serve her/them all the time'

PUNC *ɛ́shshé:hahs* 'you will serve someone'

[**hewahd, hrewahd**] 'punish someone'

PUNC *ɛ́gasshéhé:waht* 'you will punish them'

[**hiya'g**] 'hold a grudge', 'get someone's goat'

PUNC *a'ɛ́sahí:ya'k* 'she got your goat'

[**hkw**] 'take from someone'

PUNC, with [INC N] *ahsagokwáhkwa'* 'he grabbed the food from her'

[**hkwɛ́, hkwani**] 'remove, take back from someone'

PUNC *shɔ́wádihkwɛ́* 'they took it back from him again'

[**hna'tsa'e**] 'spank someone'

PUNC *ɛ́hyahna'tsá'e:k* 'he will spank you'

[**hnegodrah**] 'baptize someone'

HAB *hɔ́wadíhnégodrahs* 'baptism', 'christening' (literally, 'they sprinkle him, them')

STAT *hɔ́watnegódrahɔ́h* 'they have been baptized'

[**hnɔ́dr**] 'follow someone'

PUNC *ɛ́héshnɔ́drɛ́* 'you will follow him'

STAT *hɔ́wáhnɔ́drɛ́* 'someone is following him'

IMP *dɔ́dahehsnɔ́:drɛ́h* 'you follow him back'

[**hnɔ́dragehsɔ́**] 'follow someone around'

PUNC *ɛ́shshenɔ́drágehsɔ́:* 'you will follow someone around'

[**hnya'drɛ́, hnya'drag**] 'hang someone'

HAB *hɔ́wadíhnyá'drɛ́hs* 'they hang him, them all the time'

PUNC *ahɔ́wadíhnyadrɛ́:* 'they hanged him, them'

STAT *hɔ́wadíhnyá'dragɔ́h* 'they have already hanged him (and his neck broke)'

[**hɔ́dayɛ́hd**] 'whip someone'

PUNC *ɛ́kehɔ́dá:yɛ́ht* 'I will whip her'

[**hɔ́gao, hɔ́gawi**] 'invite someone'

HAB *kehógawih*s (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛ́shshɛhɔ́gáo* 'you will invite her/them'

STAT *kehógawi:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hɔ́nya'g**] 'choke someone, strangle someone'

HAB *dekó:nya's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dɛ́héshshɔ́nya'k* 'you will strangle him'

STAT *dɛ́wakɔ́nyá'gɔ́h* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hrehnagehdad**] 'charge someone with a message'

PUNC *əhehsrehnágehda: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] *əhqwadiyqwahe:ʔ* ‘they will cut his guts, he’ll have internal surgery’

[**hrenaʔtraʔas**] ‘stab someone, something with a knife’

HAB *kehenaʔtraʔasahs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kehenaʔtraʔaseh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hrenaʔtraʔehsd**] ‘stab with a knife’, with [DU]

HAB *dehsehenaʔtraʔéhstaʔ* ‘you stab it repeatedly’

PUNC *dəgqhenáʔtraʔehs* ‘I will stab you’

STAT-PROG *dewagehenaʔtraʔehsdóhogyeʔ* ‘I am going along stabbing things’

[**hrihsd**] ‘bump someone’

PUNC *ahéhihs* ‘I bumped him (i.e. with a car)’

[**hrq̄hwaʔs**] ‘wait for someone’

PUNC *əgq̄hwaʔs* ‘you will wait for me’

IMP *dahskr̄hwaʔs* ‘wait for me’

[**hrowi**] ‘tell someone’

PUNC *ahshagohó:wiʔ* ‘he told her’

IMP *shehó:wih* ‘tell her’

[**hsade**] ‘carry on one’s back’

PUNC *əhshéhsadeʔ* ‘you will carry someone on your back’

[**hsətr̄oni**] ‘make someone fat’

PUNC *əhsahsətr̄ó:niʔ* ‘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 *əkéhshatoʔ* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

STAT *kehshá:twəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**hsinodahde, 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 *degéhsnyeʔs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *dəgéhsnyeʔ* ‘I will look after’

STAT *deyagohsnyéʔqh* ‘her adopted daughter’

HAB, with [INC N] *dəhaheyq̄dahsnyéhaʔ* ‘he is a funeral director’ (literally, he looks after bodies)

[**hstoda:**] ‘handcuff someone’, with [DU]

PUNC *atqwadihstó:da:ʔ* ‘they handcuffed him, them’

[**hswahəh**] ‘hate, dislike someone’

HAB *gq̄hswáhəhs* ‘I hate you’

PUNC *əhséhswahəh* ‘you will hate, dislike’

B Verb dictionary

STAT *agehswahéhqh* (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'

[**hswé'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'dahswahéh.drq:**] 'scold someone'

HAB *she'dáhsawahéhs* 'you scold people all the time'

HAB *gake'dahswáhéhdroh* 'I am going along scolding people'

PUNC *ahadi'dahswahéhdro:'* 'they scolded, reprimanded'

PUNC, with [SRF] *agēni'dahswahéhdro:'* 'I got scolded'

[**i'danyo, i'danyohsr**] 'beat someone up'

PUNC *ahqwe'dá:nyo'* 'someone beat him up, broke his spirit'

STAT *hqwé'danyóhsrgh* '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 *éhshé:dé:'* 'you will pity her, show mercy, compassion'

STAT *gédéq'* 'to help each other', 'compassion, helpfulness'

IMP *dahsgí:dé:* 'pity me'

[**idrehdowi, idrehdony**] 'wake someone up'

HAB *kedréhdonye's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ékedréhdó:wi'* 'I will wake someone up'

STAT *kedrehdowí'qh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[**i'drq**] 'elect someone'

PUNC *ahqwadí'drq'* 'they placed or elected him'

[**ihnqg**] 'call someone', with [TRANSL/CIS]

HAB *tagíhnq:s* 'he is calling me'

PUNC *hégíhnq:k* 'I will call'

STAT *hewagíhnq:gqh* 'I have called it', 'it has called me'

IMP *ha'síhnq: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 *ahajihgwa'e:k* 'he punched it'

STAT *gajihgwa'e:* 'it punches'

[*'kaowe:s*] 'be hen-pecked'

HAB *hōwa'káowe:s* 'he is hen-pecked'

[*kda'e*] 'peck something'

PUNC *ēhsákda'e:k* 'it will peck you'

[*kdō*] 'test someone'

PUNC *ēgwá:kdō:* 'I will test you all'

[*kdōhn*] 'go and see someone'

PUNC *ēkékdōhna'* 'I am going to see her'

[*kwanōd*] 'feed someone'

PUNC *ēgékwanō:t* 'I will feed it'

N-, O-, Q-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[*na'gye*] 'imitate, mock, mimic something', with [(CIS)]

PUNC *ētsná'gye:* 'you will imitate, mock, mimic, something'

PUNC *ēdisaná'gye:* 'it will mock, imitate you'

[*nętsine*] 'take someone by the arm', with [(CIS)]

PUNC *ętgōņę:tsi:ne'* 'I will take you by the arm'

[*ne'wahde, ne'wa:(h)de*] 'startle someone, surprise someone'

PUNC *ęheyene'wá:de'* 'I will startle him'

[*nha'*] 'hire, command someone'

HAB *kenha's* 'I hire her'

PUNC *ęgáshenha'* 'you will command, hire them'

STAT *kenhá'oh* 'I have hired her'

[*nhe'*] 'take someone's part'

HAB *tkenhe's* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ętké:nhe'* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*'nigōha'd, 'nigōha'dani*] 'cheat, betray someone'

HAB *gashe'nigōha'dá:nih, gashe'nigōha'ta'* 'you betray them continually'

PUNC *ęhshe'nigōha't* 'you will cheat someone'

[*'nigōha'e*] 'offend someone'

PUNC *ęhshe'nigōha'e:k* 'you will offend someone'

[*'nigōhaę, 'nigōha:]* 'bother someone, annoy someone', with [(DU)]

HAB *dehsknigōhá:ha'* 'you are annoying me'

PUNC *dęhsnigōháę'* 'you will be annoying'

STAT *dewaknigōha:* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*'nigōhagęni, 'nigōhagęny*] 'corrupt (someone's mind), intimidate someone', with [(DU)]

HAB *deshagō'nigōhagęnyōhs* 'he intimidates people all the time'

B Verb dictionary

PUNC *dəshshe'nigəhagé:ni'* 'you will corrupt (someone's mind)'

[^ʔnigəha'gweni] 'out-think someone'

PUNC *əhshe'nigəhagwé:ni'* 'you will out-think her'

[^ʔnigəhawənye] 'entertain someone', with [DU]

IMP *deshe'nigəhawé:nye:'* 'entertain her/them!'

[^ʔnigəhnyə'g] 'discourage someone', with [DU]

PUNC *dəshshe'nigəhnyə'k* 'you will discourage someone'

[^ʔnigəhodagw] 'persuade someone, best someone, influence someone, get the better of someone, bribe someone'

PUNC *əhse'nigəhodá:go'* 'you will persuade her, overcome her mind'

[^ʔnigəho'drə] 'console someone'

PUNC *əhshe'nigəho'drə:'* 'you will console someone' (literally, 'you will caress someone's mind')

[^ʔnigəhəni] 'persuade someone, influence someone'

PUNC *əhshe'nigəhə:ni'* 'you will influence, persuade someone'

[nəd] 'feed someone, an animal'

HAB *knə:dəh, knə:dəhs* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əkno:t* 'I will give it something to eat, feed it'

STAT *knə:də:* (Sasse & Keye 1998) with [INC N] *ahshagəhyá:nə:t* 'he gave her fruit'

[nəgeha'd] 'breast-feed'

PUNC *əhshenəgéha't* 'you will breast-feed'

[^ʔnəhda:] 'give someone a ride, put someone in'

PUNC *əhshé'nəhda:'* 'you will put someone in something, you will give someone a ride'

[nəhdəhahsd, nəhdəh] 'force someone, rape someone', with [CIS]

HAB *tgashəyənəhdəhahs* 'you force people all the time'

PUNC *dahshagonəhdəhahs* 'he forced her'

[nəhkw] 'love someone'

HAB *kenəhkwa'* 'I love her'

PUNC *əké:nə:hk* 'I will love her'

[nəhnyə'g] 'hurt someone, something'

PUNC *əhshénəhnyə'k* 'you will hurt someone'

[nəhəkw] 'revere, treat like kin, recognize as kin', with [DU]

HAB *dekenəhəkwə'* '(she who) I revere as'

PUNC *dəgakenəhəkwə:k* 'I will recognize them as my kin'

[nəhənyə] 'thank, greet someone', with [DU]

HAB *dekenəhənyəha'* 'I thank someone'

PUNC *dəkenəhə:nyə:'* 'I will greet, thank someone'

STAT *dekenəhə:nyə'* 'I am thanking someone'

[nohsga'də, nohsga'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 *dehšnəhwe's* 'you dislike (it)'

[**nəhwetso'd**] 'turn someone upside down', with [DU]

PUNC *dəgəonəhwétso'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 *ahəwaənanho:dəgo'* 'he took over the song'

[**rihəd**] 'appoint someone, delegate

PUNC *atəwanyáoha:k* 'someone squeezed his neck'

[**əgwə'danəhsgw**] 'kidnap someone'

PUNC *əhsəgwə'danəhsgo'* '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 *agəhwa:t* (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 *shəgwáihə:t* 'he has appointed us'

B Verb dictionary

[rihowanahd] ‘praise, flatter someone’

PUNC *əshshehowá:naht* ‘you will praise her, uplift her spirits, flatter her’

[rihwa'ehsd] ‘blame someone’

PUNC *ahsríhwá'ehs* ‘you are blaming something’

[rihwa'ehsdə, rihwa'ehsdanih] ‘demand an audience from someone’

PUNC *əhəwadi:hwá'ehsdə* ‘they will unravel his message, demand an audience from him’

[rihwahniya'd] ‘marry someone’

STAT *shagodi:hwahníya'dəh* ‘they got married by the Chiefs’, ‘a marriage ceremony’ (usually sanctioned by the Chiefs), (literally, ‘they hardened them’)

[rihwanəhəkw] ‘care for, respect someone’s ideas’

PUNC *a:goihwanəhkwa:k* ‘I should care for, respect your ideas’

[rihwawa's] ‘support someone,

agree with someone, back up someone’

HAB *hehwáwá'seh* ‘I agree with him, support him’

PUNC *əhehsríhwá:wa's* ‘you will back up his ideas’

[rihwəhdə] ‘give someone an important message’

PUNC *əgəihwəhdə* ‘I will give you a significant message’

[rəhyagə'd] ‘make someone work hard or labour’, ‘make someone groan with effort’

PUNC *əhsəhəyáge'dahk* ‘it is going to make you groan’

[shənyəgw, shəny] ‘overpower someone’ (physically)

HAB *she'shə:nyəhs* ‘you are always overpowering someone’, ‘you are overpowering someone right now’

PUNC *əhshe'shə:ni* ‘you will overpower someone’

STAT *she'shənyəgwəh* ‘you have overpowered someone’ (a long time ago)

T-, W-, Y-stem, three-aspect, interactive

[tragwə'da'e] ‘slap someone on the cheek’

PUNC *əhsetragwə'da'e:k* ‘you will slap it (on the cheek)’

[wayəhsdə, wayəhsdani] ‘train, teach, educate someone’

PUNC *əhshewayé:sdə* ‘you will train, educate, teach someone’

STAT *gawayəhsdá:ni* ‘it has been taught’

[wiyənəhsgw] ‘kidnap a child’

PUNC *ahawiyánəhsgo* ‘he stole a child, kidnapped’

STAT *gawiyənəhsgwəh* ‘a kidnapped child’

[ya'da:] ‘rely on someone’, ‘hold a small baby or creature in one’s arms’

HAB *həwadiyá'da:s* ‘they rely on him, them’

PUNC *əkéya'da:* 'I will rely on her', 'I will take her up (as in, hold a baby)'

[*ya'dadidrɔhgwahɔ*] 'make someone twitch'

PUNC *ahoya'dadidrɔgwáhɔ:* 'it made him twitch'

[*ya'dagenh*] 'help someone'

PUNC *a:hyaya'dagé:nha* 'he would help you'

[*ya'dagɛny, ya'dagɛni, ya'tgɛny, ya'tgɛni*] 'beat someone (in a race), compete with someone'

PUNC *ahɔwadiya'dágɛnye:* 'they raked him over the coals' (literally, 'they dragged him around')

PUNC *ɛhsheya'tgé:ni* 'you will beat someone (in a race)'

[*ya'dahdrɔgw*] 'caress someone'

HAB *hehsya'dahdrɔ:gwahs* 'you are caressing him now'

PUNC *ɛhehsya'dahdrɔ:gɔ* 'you will caress him'

STAT *hehsya'dahdrɔ:gweh* 'you did caress him'

[*ya'dahen, ya'dahe:*] 'operate on someone' (with a scalpel)

HAB *hɔwadiya'dahé:neh* 'they operate on him'

PUNC *ahɔwadiya'dáhe:* 'they gave him an operation'

[*ya'datsei, ya'datsɛny*] 'find someone'

PUNC *ha'ɔdagya'datséi* 'she found her over there'

[*ya'di'dre*] 'drag someone'

STAT *hɔwaya'dí'drehsrɔh* 'someone is going along dragging him'

[*ya'dinyɔd*] 're-elect someone', with [TRANSL,REP]

PUNC *hɔsahɔwadiya'dinyɔ:t* 'they re-elected him, them'

[*ya'gyenɛhd*] 'knock someone down bodily'

HAB *keya'gyenɛhta* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *ɛhsya'gyé:nɛht* 'you can knock it down'

STAT *keya'gyenyɛhdɔh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[*yahsd*] 'name someone, something'
STAT *hodíyahsdɔh* 'they have named it'

[*yahsɔ*] 'call someone's name, call bingo', with [CIS/TRANSL]

HAB *tgyahsɔha* 'I call them', 'I am a bingo caller'

PUNC *hɛhshéyahsɔ:* 'you will call someone's name'

[*yahsɔnyɔ*] 'call someone's name over and over', with [CIS/TRANSL]

HAB *tseyáhsɔnyɔh* 'you call someone's name all the time'

PUNC *ɛtseyahsɔ:nyɔ:* 'you will be calling someone's name'

[*yaɔ'datren(y)ahnɔ*] 'make an incision in a cadaver', with [DU]

HAB *dehadiyaɔ'datrenyáhnɔ* 'they made an incision in a cadaver'

PUNC *atadiyaɔda'trenáhnɔ:* 'they made an incision in a cadaver'

[*yɛde:*] 'recognize someone'

PUNC *ɛgyé:de:* 'I will recognize it'

IMP *ta:gaesayé:de:* 'they will not recognize you' (i.e. a disguise)

B Verb dictionary

[yehd] ‘wake up someone’

HAB *keyéhta*’ (Sasse & Keye 1998)

PUNC *əhsyeht* ‘you will wake up something’

STAT *keyéhdəh* (Sasse & Keye 1998)

[yenahs] ‘police’

HAB *shagodiyé:nahs* ‘policemen’ (literally, ‘they help us’)

[yenawa’s] ‘help someone’

HAB *əkiyenáwa’səh* ‘they are helpers’

(literally, ‘they help us’)

PUNC *əgəyená:wa’s* ‘I will help you’

IMP *shyéna’wa’s* ‘you help her’

[yesahd] ‘condemn, slander, insult someone’

HAB *shyéhsahta*’ ‘you always insult, slander someone’

PUNC *əhsyé:saht* ‘you will condemn, slander, insult someone’

DISL STAT *shyéhsahdáhnoh* ‘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’

í: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’ nədáhse:’ 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 *gadidaksénogye*‘(s) ‘they
are running about, roaming’

[e-:’ah] CONTR...go-DIM ‘walk along
any old way’

STAT *tihé:’ah* ‘he is just walking
along’

[ehd] ‘do on purpose, go on purpose’
HAB *gehta* ‘I usually go’

[ɛ-nah-awɛnye] DU-...SRF-scalp-stir
‘be crazy, go insane’

PUNC *dɛʂɛnaháwɛnye:* ‘you will go
insane’

STAT *desɛnaháwɛnye* ‘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 *sɛ’nyé:de* ‘you came for a pur-
pose’

[od-agy-e] stand-PROG-go ‘go along
doing something’

STAT-PROG *gaji’dodá:gye* ‘someone
is going along crying’

[rad-e] climb-go ‘climb’

STAT *srá:de* ‘you are climbing’

[ya’t-gahiy-e]body-agile-go ‘be
quick, agile’

STAT *gya’tgahí:ye* ‘I am quick’

[’dre] ‘to drag’ versus [(i)’dre] ‘to drive’

The verbs [’dre] ‘to drag’ and [(i)’dre] ‘drive’ are similar but take different pronominal prefixes and aspect suffixes. The verb [’dre] ‘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) [’dre] ‘to drag’

a. habitual

i. *gɛ’dre*’s

ge-’dre-’s

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)^ʔdre] 'to drive, ride along, come by vehicle' takes P prefixes with all aspect forms (7).

- (7) [(i)^ʔdre] 'drive', 'ride along', 'come by vehicle'
- a. HABITUAL
 $sa^{\prime}dreh$
 $sa^{-\prime}dre-h$
2S.P-drive-HAB
'you are driving'
 - b. PUNCTUAL
 - i. $d\text{e}d\text{i}hsa^{\prime}dre:^{\prime}$
 $d\text{e}d\text{i}-hsa^{-\prime}dre:^{-\prime}$
DU.FUT.CIS-2S.P-drive-PUNC
'you will drive over here'
 - ii. $\text{e}dyagod\text{i}^{\prime}dre:^{\prime}$
 $\text{e}-d-yagod\text{i}^{-\prime}dre:^{-\prime}$
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-ɔʔ] ‘continue on’, with
 [TRANSL-...REFL-do-PL-DISTR]
 STAT *haʔgadagyéʔsɔʔ* ‘it continues on
 endlessly’

[ade-ʔdre] ‘drag oneself’, [SRF-drag]
 HAB *wadéʔdreʔs* ‘a drag’, ‘a car’ (old
 word, literally, ‘it is dragging itself’)

[ag-yenɔ-gy-e] ‘fly about, float
 about’ [SRF-originate.from-
 float/fly-go]
 HAB-PROG *gadigyenó: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-ɔgy-e] ‘a crowd roaming
 about’ [crowd-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *gegyóhgɔgyeʔs* ‘people
 roaming about’

[nɔhgwi-j-ɔgy-e] ‘come back all wet,
 saturated’ [REP...saturated-PROG-
 go]
 STAT-PROG *sganɔhgwi-j-ɔgyeʔ* ‘it came
 back all wet’

[rihwa-gehd-e] ‘be a responsibility’
 [matter-have.around.one’s.neck-
 go]
 STAT *gaihwa-géhd-eʔ* ‘responsibility’

B.3.4 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking P-series pronominal prefixes

[ad-ahsehd-ɔh-ɔgy-e] ‘sneak around’ [SRF-hide-STAT-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *honadahsehđoghgye*’s
 ‘they are sneaking around’

[ad-awɛnye] ‘walk about, wander’
 [DU...SRF-stir]
 PUNC *deyagodawɛnyéhahk* ‘they will be walking about’
 STAT *deyagodáwɛnye*’ ‘she is walking about’

[ade-’gw-ɛh-ɛgy-e] ‘avoid, run away’ [SRF-AVOID-STAT-PROG-go]
 HAB-PROG *sade’gwɛhɛ: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-gɛihsd-ɔh-ɔgy-e] ‘travel along’
 [PART...SRF-postpone/move-STAT-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *niyagotgɛihsdoghgye*’
 ‘she is travelling as she is moving’

[at-hna’tsa-gɛny-e] ‘be fidgety’
 [SRF-buttocks-compete-go]
 STAT *satna’tsagɛ: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-ɛh-ɛgy-e] ‘skip along’ [DU-skip-STAT-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *deyagona’sgwɛhɛ:gye*’
 ‘she is skipping along’

[nɛhɛd-e] ‘guard, stand in a line’
 [DU...stand.in.line-go]
 STAT *dɛhodinɛhɛ:de*’ ‘they are already guarding’, ‘they are standing there (in a line formation)’, ‘they are guarding’

[nhɔd-agy-e] ‘have in one’s mouth while moving’ [mouth/opening-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *honhɔdagye*’ ‘he has it in his mouth as he moves’

[ɔnhe-gy-e] ‘be stillborn’ [NEG...live-PROG-go]
 STAT-PROG *deagɔnhɛ:gye*’ ‘she was stillborn’, ‘she came to be not living’

[sha-in-e] ‘be governed’ [string-lead-go]
 STAT *ɔgwahsháine*’ ‘we all are governed’

B.3.5 Complex verbs of motion with [e] ‘go’, taking P-series neuter pronominal prefixes

[ad-rɛd-agy-e] ‘soar’ [SRF-hover-PROG-go]

HAB-PROG *odrɛdagye*’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 *ɛhéshnɔdrɛ*’ ‘you will follow him’

STAT *hɔwáhnɔdre*’ ‘someone is following him’

[hnɔdr-agy-e] ‘follow along with someone’ [follow-PROG-go]

STAT-PROG *hɔwahnɔdrá:gye*’ ‘someone 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 *ɛtɔnɛtsí: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

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- 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'-tsó: 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) ahsêh nigẹ:nọ: dagus
three a.number.of.animals cats
'three cats'
- (14) ahsêh niga:gọ: ga:gọgwé'dase:
three a.number.of.women young.women
'three young women'
- (15) ahsêh nihe:nọ: hadiksa'sọ:'qh
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-na'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'
- ahsêh niyohóná'dage:, ahsêh 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 niwəʔnihsǵáɔt
ahséh ni-w-əʔnihsǵ-á-ɔt
three PART-3S.A-wheel-JOINER A-attached.STAT
‘it has three wheels’
cf. hyeiʔ niwəʔnihsǵáɔt
‘it has six wheels’

B.4.4 [A...-yahshe:] ‘two living things’

- (22) a. degadiyáhshe:
de-gadi-yáhshe:
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’

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- e. Tréhs gotgá'de'. Jì'tréhs gotgá'de'.
(jì')-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. aknyòhsagá'de'
ak-hnyòhs-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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<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>gi</i> ʹ <i>tsɔ:</i> <i>gwahs</i> ʹ ‘that’s basically all’	<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>to</i> <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ ‘that’s what’ (<i>ne</i> ʹ) <i>to:</i> ... <i>ne:</i> ʹ ‘that’s it’, ‘that’s’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>he:gyɛ:</i> ʹ ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’	<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>toh</i> ʹ ‘that is’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>hɛ</i> ʹ <i>hne:</i> ʹ ‘also too’	<i>Ne</i> ʹ (<i>tsɔ:</i>) <i>gwa</i> ʹ <i>toh</i> ʹ ‘and also just this’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>hne:</i> ʹ <i>ne:</i> ʹ ‘in fact, it is!’, ‘It is’	<i>Ni:</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ, <i>ni:</i> ʹ <i>gɛ:</i> ʹ ‘I did’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>hni</i> ʹ <i>ne:</i> ʹ ‘and that also’	<i>Tɛ</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ <i>nɛ</i> ʹ <i>ne</i> ʹ ‘what on earth?’, ‘emphatically no’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ (<i>ne</i> ʹ) ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’	<i>Tɛ</i> ʹ <i>hne:</i> ʹ ‘definitely not’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>nɛh</i> ʹ ‘it is when’	<i>Tɛ</i> ʹ <i>hne:</i> ʹ (<i>ne</i> ʹ) ‘not <i>that one</i> ’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>ɔh</i> ʹ ‘I guess it is’	<i>Tɛ</i> ʹ <i>to</i> <i>ne:</i> ʹ ‘not really’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>se</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ ‘you know’	<i>Tɛ</i> ʹ <i>ɔ:</i> , <i>tɛ</i> ʹ <i>ɔh</i> ʹ ‘maybe not’
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>tsɔ:</i> <i>shɛh</i> ʹ ‘but’	<i>Toh</i> - <i>geh</i> ʹ ‘and then’
<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>gwa</i> ʹ- <i>toh</i> ʹ ‘also’	<i>To</i> <i>gɛ</i> - <i>ɔ</i> / <i>gaɔ</i> (<i>ne:</i> ʹ), <i>to</i> <i>ɔ</i> ʹ ‘whether’, ‘if’, ‘I wonder if’
<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ <i>nɛ</i> ʹ <i>ne:</i> ʹ (emphasis)	<i>Wa</i> ʹ <i>gyɛh</i> ʹ ‘listen!’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you...?’
<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ <i>ne</i> ʹ <i>gyɛ:</i> ʹ / <i>negɛ</i> ʹ <i>nagɛ</i> ʹ ‘that is what’	<i>Wa</i> ʹ- <i>jih</i> ʹ ‘wait!’
<i>Ne</i> ʹ <i>se</i> ʹ ‘that’s just the one’, ‘that’s just who’	

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

<i>Dɛ</i> ʹ ... <i>ho</i> ʹ <i>dɛ</i> ʹ <i>ni</i> - ‘how’, ‘in what way’ (d, iq, dq)	(<i>gao</i> ʹ) <i>shɛh</i> <i>niyo:we</i> ʹ ‘until, before’ (d)
<i>Dɛ</i> ʹ ... <i>ni:yoht</i> ʹ ‘why’ (i, d)	<i>Gwahs</i> <i>heyohe:</i> ʹ ‘the most, -est’ (i, d)
<i>Dɛ</i> ʹ ... (<i>ho</i> ʹ <i>dɛ</i> ʹ) ‘what’ (d, iq, dq)	(<i>gwahs</i>) <i>shɛh</i> <i>ni</i> - ‘as...as’ (i, d)
<i>Do:</i> ... <i>ni</i> - ‘how much’, ‘how many’ (d, iq, dq)	<i>Gyɛ:gwa</i> ʹ <i>a:-</i> ‘if’ (i, d)
<i>Do:</i> <i>niyowihsda</i> ʹ <i>e:</i> ʹ ‘when’, ‘at what time’ (i, d)	<i>Gyɛ:gwa</i> ʹ <i>ta:-</i> ‘if not’ (i, d)
<i>Gaɛ</i> ʹ ... <i>hɔ:weh</i> ʹ ‘where, which place’ (d, dq)	<i>Hɛ:gyɛh</i> , <i>hɛ:gyɛh</i> (<i>shɛh</i>) ... ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’ (d)
<i>Gao</i> ʹ ... <i>ni</i> - ‘less so, -er’ (i, d)	<i>Heyohe:</i> ʹ ‘more, -er’ (i, d)

<i>Hne:</i> ʹ (<i>shəh</i>) ‘because’ (d)	<i>Shəh</i> ‘because’ (d)
<i>Hwə:dq̄h</i> ‘when’ (dq, iq)	<i>Shəh</i> ‘that’ (d)
<i>I:nq̄h ... gaoʹ neʹ</i> ‘far from’, ‘inadequate amount’ (i, d)	<i>Shəh hq̄:weh</i> ‘the place where’, ‘whereabouts’ (d)
<i>ʃi ... trehs ... shəh</i> ‘too much so for’, ‘too much so’ (i, d)	<i>Shəh naʹonisheʹ / tsaʹonisheʹ / tsi-</i> ‘while’, ‘when’ (d)
(<i>ji</i>) <i>trehs</i> ‘because’ (d)	<i>Shəh ni:yoht</i> ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’ (d)
(<i>neʹ</i>) <i>aq̄hə:ʹəh d-</i> ‘the most, -est, -er (of)’ (i, d)	<i>Shəh niyo:weʹ</i> ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’ (i, d)
<i>Neʹ gyaq̄hə:ʹəh d-</i> ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’ (i, d)	<i>Shəh noh-geh</i> ‘even’ (emphasizing the unexpected) (i, d)
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ ... ‘because’, ‘it is’ (d, i)	<i>Sq:</i> ... (<i>nʹaht/nʹoht</i>) ‘who’ (d, iq, dq)
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>gwahs d-</i> ‘the most, -est’ (i, d)	<i>Sq: go:wəh</i> ‘whose’ (d, iq, dq)
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ ... <i>hq̄:niʹ / dagaihq̄:niʹ</i> ‘why’ (d, i)	<i>Təʹ gəh deʹ-</i> ‘isn’t it?’ (i, d)
<i>Ne:</i> ʹ <i>hwaʹ</i> ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’ (d, i)	<i>To ... ni-</i> ‘to that degree’ (i, d)
<i>Nə:-gyəh hwaʹ</i> ‘this time’, ‘when’ (d, i)	<i>To niyo:weʹ</i> ‘that far’, ‘that much’ (i, d)
<i>Nəh</i> ‘when’ (d)	<i>Tohgeh ... hq̄: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) *Nə:* ‘this’, ‘these’
Gaə gwaʹ...ni-NOUN ‘wherever NOUN is’
Nə:-gyəh ‘this’, ‘this one’
To:-gyəh ‘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’
Neʹ ‘the’ (etc.)

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- (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*[?]) *ɛ:* ‘isn’t it so?’, ‘yes?’
 ‘no?’, ‘innit?’
 ... *ɔh ne:* ‘maybe’

... *ɔh, ɔ:* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’
 ... (*se*[?]) *hɛ*[?] *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:gɛhs* ‘isn’t it true?’
 b. *Do:gɛhs ɛ:* ‘isn’t it true?’
 c. *Ehɛ:*[?] *gɛh* ‘is that right?’
 d. *Tɛ*[?] *gɛh* ‘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[?]ahshɔ:[?]ɔh</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>Ahsɔh</i> ‘more!’ (asking for food or
 drink)
 <i>Ahsɔh gɛh</i> ‘do you want more?’
 (offering food or drink)
 <i>Ajú:</i> ‘yikes!’ (said in response to
 an unpleasant sensation)
 <i>Awe[?] hɛgyeh tsɔ:</i>, <i>awɛ[?] hɛgyeh tsɔ:</i>
 ‘let it go’
 <i>Da: ne[?] toh</i> ‘that’s all’
 <i>Daji:hah (gwa[?])</i> ‘soon’, ‘in a
 short while’
 <i>Do: i:</i>[?] ‘let me!’, ‘how about me?’</p> | <p><i>Dó:ga</i>[?] ‘I don’t know’
 <i>Dó:gɛhs</i> ‘exactly’, ‘for sure’
 <i>Do:gɛhs di[?] gɛh</i> ‘isn’t it true?’
 <i>Do:s gi</i>[?] ‘just so’, ‘indeed’
 <i>Ehɛ</i>[?] ‘yes’
 <i>Ehɛ[?] ɛ:</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ehɛ[?] gyɛ:</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ehɛ[?] se</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Ewa:dɔ[?] gɛh</i> ‘may I?’, ‘may we?’
 <i>Ewa:dɔ[?] gi[?]-shɛh</i> ‘maybe’,
 ‘possibly’
 <i>Gwahs ɔ:wɛh se</i>[?] ‘yes indeed’
 <i>Gwa[?] ti:gɛ:</i> ‘plainly’, ‘clearly’, ‘as
 it is’
 <i>Gwa[?]-toh</i> ‘exactly that’
 <i>Gwé:</i> ‘well!’, ‘hello’
 <i>Hái[?], háe[?]</i> ‘hi’ (a word attributed</p> |
|--|--|

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to Oneida or Tutelo)	<i>None:</i> ?, <i>nəne:</i> ? ‘mind you’, ‘you know’
<i>Hanyoh, hanyohanyoh</i> ‘do it!’, ‘come on’	<i>Nyá:wəh</i> ‘thanks’
<i>Hao</i> ? ‘come on’, ‘o.k.’	<i>Nyoh</i> ‘you’re welcome’, ‘alright’, ‘o.k.’
<i>Hao</i> ? <i>də</i> ? <i>nyoh</i> ‘o.k. then.’	<i>O: gəh?</i> ‘really?’
<i>Hao</i> ? <i>di</i> ? <i>sah</i> ‘alright’, ‘o.k.’	<i>O: tɛ</i> ? <i>qh</i> ... (<i>gat</i>) <i>gi</i> ?- <i>shəh</i>
<i>Hɛ:gyeh</i> (<i>tsɔ:</i>) ‘no matter’, ‘not likely’, ‘not for long’, ‘never mind’	<i>gyɛ:gwa</i> ?/ <i>ne:</i> ? <i>hwa</i> ? ‘maybe, maybe not’
<i>Hɛ:gyeh gi</i> ? ‘leave well enough alone’	<i>O:, ó:ò:</i> ‘oh!’
<i>Hɛ</i> ? <i>ɛh</i> ‘no’	<i>O</i> ?- <i>ɔ:</i> , <i>o:</i> <i>qh</i> ‘oh really?’
<i>Hoh, ho:</i> ‘what the...?’	<i>Sgɛ:nɔ:</i> ? <i>qh</i> ‘slowly’
<i>Hoho:</i> ‘aha!’, ‘oh no!’	<i>Sgé:nɔ</i> ? ‘hello’
<i>Hotqɔ</i> ? <i>qh</i> , <i>otqɔ</i> ? ‘what the...?’, ‘for heaven’s sake!’	<i>Si</i> ... <i>gwa:dih</i> ‘move it!’ (said to a dog)
<i>Ho</i> ? <i>dɛ</i> ? ‘kind (of thing)’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? ‘no’
<i>I:</i> ? <i>hne:</i> ? ‘I am’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>dedó:gɛhs</i> ‘not really’, ‘it isn’t true’
<i>I:</i> ? <i>hya:</i> ? ‘me first’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>gi</i> ? <i>ni:</i> ?/ <i>ni:s</i> ‘no, me/you!’
<i>I:</i> ? <i>se</i> ? ‘I am’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>gi</i> ? <i>shəh hwa</i> ? (<i>daq:</i> ?) ‘maybe not’
<i>Nɛ:</i> ‘look!’, ‘say...’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? (<i>gwahs</i>) <i>ɔ:wəh</i> ‘not really’
<i>Nɛ:-gyɛh hwa</i> ? ‘this here’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>gyɛ:</i> ? <i>qh</i> , <i>tɛ</i> ? <i>gɛ</i> ? <i>qh</i> ‘not really’
<i>Nɛ:-dah</i> ‘here, take this’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>i:</i> ? ‘not me’
<i>Nɛ:-dah</i> ‘this way’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>ne:</i> ? <i>dɛ</i> ? <i>gɛ:</i> ‘it isn’t the one’
<i>Nɛ: di</i> ? <i>ni:s/i:</i> ? ‘how about you/me?’	<i>Tɛ</i> ? <i>se</i> ? ‘but then, not really’
<i>Nɛ: ne:</i> ? <i>i:s/i:</i> ? ‘how about you/me?’	<i>To tsɔ:</i> ‘that’s enough’, ‘that’s all for now’
<i>Nɛ: toh</i> ‘here’, ‘this many’	<i>Trehs gi</i> ? <i>gyɛ</i> ? ‘my goodness!’, ‘too bad!’, ‘that’s amazing!’
<i>Ne:</i> ? ‘yes indeed’	<i>Tsé:</i> ‘oh my!’
(<i>Ne</i> ?) <i>gwa</i> ?- <i>toh</i> ‘here’ (rather than there)	<i>Wa</i> ?- <i>jihhya:</i> ? ‘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 onéh awádegoʔ.
 ow she.cried now she.ran.away
 “Ow!” she cried and ran away. (Keye 2016, Circle Book 10, The Magic Chair)

Ahgwih gwaʔ ‘don’t!’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of negation” (§8.6, §27.1.6); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (12) Snigə:há:k giʔ gyé:ʔ shə nyó: hətse:ʔ. Ahgwih gwaʔ
 watch.out just emphasis that place you.will.go do.not emphasis
 ejisahnəhnyáʔk é:ʔ!
 you.will.be.hurt again
 ‘Watch out as you go. Don’t get hurt again!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 386, Gahá:gə: dialogue)

Ahgwih hwaʔ ‘don’t!’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of negation” (§8.6, §27.1.6); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (13) Ahgwih hwaʔ 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’ti: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:’ɔh hni’ ɔ:nɛh tɛ’ **ahsdeh** dɛ’jɔtɔhnyeh.
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** jatɔhnyɛhah!
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

⇒ *Ahsq̄h* ‘more’ (asking food or drink), p. 817

Ahsq̄h ‘more’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (19) *Ahsq̄h e:ʔ* nihs desatwejó:nih!
more again you you.want.it
‘You still want more!’

Related

⇒ *Ahsq̄h gəh* ‘Do you want some more?’, p. 817
⇒ *Ahsq̄h* ‘more’ (asking food or drink), p. 817

Ahsq̄h ‘more’ (asking food or drink)

Particle; free-standing; used when asking for more food or drink.

Related

⇒ *Ahsq̄h* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816
⇒ *Ahsq̄h gəh* ‘Do you want some more?’, p. 817

Ahsq̄h gəh ‘Do you want some more?’

Particle group; a question asked when serving food or drink.

- (20) *Ahsq̄h gəh?*
more Q
‘Do you want some more?’

Related

⇒ *Ahsəh* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816

⇒ *Ahsəh* ‘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:ye: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’

Aqəhdəh ‘exceptional’, ‘over the top’, ‘extremely’, ‘too much so’

Verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

(23) **Aqəhdəh** oné:nə’.
it.is.surpassed it.is.warm/hot.weather
‘It is exceptionally hot weather.’

Related

⇒ *Ji aqəhdəh* ‘too much so’, p. 915

Aq̣ḥeʔ, Aq̣haʔ ‘it’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (24) áq̣ḥeʔ
 á-q̣ḥeʔ
 3S.P-alone.STAT
 ‘it is alone’

Related

- ⇒ *Neʔ aq̣ḥeʔ:ʔəh d-stative.verb ... (sḥəh gaoʔ ni-stative.verb)* ‘the most, -est, -er (of)’, p. 920
 ⇒ *Neʔ gyaq̣ḥeʔ:ʔəh d-stative-verb... (sḥəh ni-stative.verb)* ‘the most’, ‘the greatest’, p. 922

Aweʔ ḥe:gyeh tṣo:, Aweʔ ḥe:gyeh tṣo: ‘let it go’

Verb and particle group; free-standing expression functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5).

- (25) Aweʔ ḥe:gyeh tṣo:.
 it.is.said no.matter just
 ‘Let it go!’ ‘Never mind that!’

Related

- ⇒ *Ḥe:-gyeh, Ḥe:-gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Ḥe:-gyeh gạə ḥo:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Ḥe:-gyeh giʔ* ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
 ⇒ *Ḥe:-gyeh sḥəh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
 ⇒ *Ḥe:-gyeh tṣo:* ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
 ⇒ *To ḥe:gyeh sḥəh* ‘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.

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- (26) A:we:t'áh tsq: de:sá'tsəhs.
it.is.pretend just you.will.sneeze
'Pretend to sneeze!'

A:yɛ: 'I guess', 'it seems'

Verb functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); appears before another clause or verb.

- (27) Gwé:, a:yé' sanq'hnya'gəh.
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,
Gəhwajiyá:de' dialogue)

- (29) **Da:** gi' gyɛ:ʔ gwa:díh wanaháotrahɔʔ.
 here just this.one side hats.are.lying
 ‘Over here are the hats.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agyaʔdawiʔtraʔ
 dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
 ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

Da: hɔ:wɛh hɔ: ‘this is where’

Particle group *da:...hɔ:wɛh* (*hɔ:*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:wɛh*, *nhɔ:wɛh*.

- (30) **Da:** nhɔ:wɛh hɔ: hɛʔdrɔʔ.
 here place place he.lives.here
 ‘This is where he lives.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
 ⇒ *Hɔ:wɛh* ‘where’, p. 907

Da: ne:ʔ, **Da:** ne:ʔ hniʔ ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’

Particle group *da: ne:ʔ* (*hniʔ*) signals the continuation of a previous topic and the addition of new information (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (31) **Da** ne:ʔ hniʔ dwɛ:dɔh.
 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:’ onəh ‘and now’

Particle group, *da: (ne:) onəh* is used at the beginning of a performance (a speech); clause-initial.

- (32) **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.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930

Da: ne’ 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 ne’ toh.**
and the that
‘That’s all.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da:* ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ *Da: ne’ toh* ‘that’s all’, p. 822
- ⇒ *Ne:* ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930

⇒ *To*:, *Toh*, *Tɔ*: ‘that one’, p. 1016

Da: ne: dah ‘and now’

Particle group, signaling the beginning of a speech, etc.; clause-initial.

- (34) **Da: ne:** **dah** haʔgahéʔ gaoʔ ɛdihswatríhs
 and this.one and it.is.time closer you.will.bump.together
 ɛhswadaḥqhsí:yohs.
 you.will.listen
 ‘Now is the time to come closer and listen.’

Related

- ⇒ *Da*: ‘and’, p. 820
 ⇒ *Da: ne: dah* ‘and now’, p. 823
 ⇒ *Ne:* ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948
 ⇒ *Ne:-dah* ‘this’, ‘this way’, p. 953

Daji:hah gwaʔ ‘soon’, ‘a short while’

Particle group *daji:hah* (*gwaʔ*) functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (35) **Daji:hah gwaʔ** giʔ tsɔ: o:nɛḥ sagaɔdagaidá:t neʔ
 early right.then just only now they.were.feeling.better.again the
 háɔgweʔdaʔ.
 his.people
 ‘Soon his people were starting to feel better.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (36) *Toh* giʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ haʔgaeyóʔ, haʔgaogyóʔsé:ʔ **dají:hah**.
 there just also in.fact they.arrived.there, they.visited.there a.while
 ‘Also when they arrived, they visited for a little while.’ (Henry 2005)
- (37) *A:yé:ʔ* **dají:hah** tsɔ: o:nɛḥ adekwahasraʔgéh aʔehéʔ...
 it.seemed a.little.while just now on.the.table she.placed.it
 ‘It seemed only a little while before she put it (bread) on the table...’
 (Henry 2005)

- (38) A'a:gé', "Wa'gyéh dehsni:yóh daji:hah o:néh!"
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'ɛ: gwa'-heh tɛ' se' 'but then not really'

Particle group; tag (§30).

- (39) de'-ɛ: gwa'-heh tɛ' se'
not-it.is.so intensifier-heh not you.know
'but then, not really'
- (40) I:wí' gé:s agatganó:ni', de'ɛ:-gwahéh tɛ' 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:'*, *Ne' e:'* '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
⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Dɛ' '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:* ‘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:sɔh?*
 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 ní:s ɛtsahtgaʔ?*
 what you you.will.give.up
 ‘What will you give, donate?’
- (44) *Dɛʔ ní:s saʔnigɔhoʔdɛ:ʔ*
 what you your.kind.of.thoughts
 ‘What are your thoughts?’
- (45) *Gwi:déh honɔhdóʔ [dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ gáɛnɔhweʔs].*
 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 agoʔhsdɔːʔ 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 hnéːʔ íːseːʔ?*
what in.fact you.want.it
‘What do you want?’

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with [dɛ́ ... (ho' dɛ́)] 'what', p. 590
- ⇒ *Dɛ́* 'what', 'how', p. 824
- ⇒ *Dɛ́*, *dɛ́ ho' dɛ́* 'what', p. 825
- ⇒ *Dɛ́ ho' dɛ́ ni-* 'how', 'what way', p. 828
- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
- ⇒ *Hne:* 'in fact', p. 901
- ⇒ *Ho' dɛ́* 'kind', p. 904

Dɛ́ hni' 'for sure'

Particle group ...*dɛ́ hni'* emphasizes a fact (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (49) *Agya' dɔhsde' dɛ́ hni'*.
 I'm.heavy what and
 'I am heavy for sure.'
- (50) *Nɛ́: swatgahtóh grahe:t. We' sgehé: ne' hnyagwái:. He' tgéh dɛ́*
 look you.all.look.at.it tree it.was.here the bear high what
hni' *heganó' joyaoní: tó:gyéh! Nɛ́: ne: hó:ní'*
 and the.marks.are.made.up.there those.ones see it.is the.reason
gonahdró's ne' ó:gweh. Oya' danehagwáht dɛ́ hni' negyéh
 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

- ⇒ *Dɛ́* 'what', 'how', p. 824
- ⇒ *Hni'* '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) Asadadwɛ́nəhsáik? 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' sgahó'dɛ́ deho'nigɔhaɛdá's [dɛ́ ho'dɛ́ niyo:gyé: ne'
not the nothing he.doesn't.understand what kind how.it.works the
gəhwísda'e:s].
clock
'No, he doesn't understand how time works.' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 508) (Aqhdɛgyóhe' 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

Dɛʔ ni:yoht shɛh ‘why?’

Particles and verb *dɛʔ ... ni:yoht (shɛh)* 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 dagaihɔ:niʔ* ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’ are used instead.

- (54) **Dɛʔ hné:ʔ ni:yóht shɛh ahádɔʔ ne:kʔ**
 what in.fact the.way.it.is that he.withdrew
 ‘Why did he leave?’
- (55) **Dɛʔ 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) **Dɛʔ diʔ hoʔ dɛʔ ni:yóht tréhs hnaʔ gɛ:ʔ?**
 what so what the.way.it.is too late
 ‘Why was it so late?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aqhdɛgyóheʔ dialogue)
- (57) **Honɔhdɔʔ diʔ gɛh Gwí:deh [dɛʔ ni:yóht shɛh Tina**
 he.knows so Q Peter what the.way.it.is that Tina
 gowanawéʔ dagaʔ sʔ]
 she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar
 ‘Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?’

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ* ‘what’, ‘how’ 824
 ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘because’, p. 982

Dɛʔ ɔh hne:ʔ hoʔ dɛʔ ‘what on earth?’, ‘I wonder what?’

Particle group *dɛʔ oh ne:ʔ (hoʔ dɛʔ)* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); clause-initial in direct questions (58), indirect questions (59), and dependent clauses (not shown).

- (58) **Ogaʔ ɔh né:gyɛh! Dɛʔ ɔ-hne:ʔ hoʔ dɛʔ? 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) [Dɛ́ ɔ-hnéː na:ya:wéh] gyɛ:gwáː gwe:góh hɛhnéː
What I.wonder-in.fact it.would.happen if all also.in.fact
a:gaɔgyáː dáhk neː agógwɛː daː?
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 *Dɛ́* ... (*hoːdɛ́*) 'what', p. 590
- ⇒ *Dɛ́* 'what', 'how' 824
- ⇒ *Hoːdɛ́* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *Neː* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Oh neː* 'maybe', p. 975
- ⇒ *Oh, Q; Q* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974

Diː 'so', 'then'

Particle signaling acknowledgement of something just said (§35.3.3); enclitic.

- (60) Dó:gɛhs diː gɛh?
true so Q
'Is that true then?'
- (61) Gaɛ diː nhɔ:wéh nihsweːs o:nɛh?
which then place you.are.someplace now
'Where then are you now?'
- (62) Hwɛ:dóh diː ɛje:yɔː?
when then she.will.return
'When then is she going to return?'
- (63) I:s diː gɛh hneː?
you then Q in.fact
'How about you then?'
- (64) ɛhɛː sgɛːnɔː. Nɛː diː ní:s?
yes fine and so you
'I am fine thanks. And you then?'

- (65) Sanq̄h̄kdá:ni' ḡh di'?'
 you are.sick Q so
 'Are you sick then?'
- (66) Ēhsné' ḡh di'?'
 we.two.will.go.together Q then
 'Are you coming along then?'
- (67) Do: di' neyónishe'?'
 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:n̄q'?'
 how it.costs.a.certain.amount
 'How much does it cost?'
- (69) Do: ní:wa's?'
 how it.is.a.certain.size
 'How big is it?'
- (70) Do: niyá:ga'?'
 how she.is.a.certain.size
 'How big is she / it?'
- (71) Do: nitgá:de'?'
 how it.stands.out
 'How high is it?'
- (72) Do: niyohwihsdá'e'?'
 how the.way.it.strikes.the.metal
 'What time is it?'
- (73) Do: nisohsriyá'ḡh?>
 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’ónishe’?*

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: niyowihsda’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: niyowihsda’e:’?**
how it.is.a.certain.time
‘What time is it?’
- (86) **Daskro:wí’** [**do: niyowihsda’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:’ ohóná’ 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:’ qh].

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 ę: ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836

Do:gəhs, Do:gəhs ɛ:ʔ ‘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: wáʔneʔ, **dó:gəhs?**
it.is.a.nice.day today, true
‘It’s a nice day today, innit?’
- (91) Wəhnihsri:yó: wáʔneʔ, **dó:gəhs ɛ:ʔ?**
it.is.a.nice.day today, true affirm
‘It’s a nice day, innit?’

Related

- ⇒ *Do:gəhs* ‘really’, ‘very’, p. 835
⇒ *Do:gəhs diʔ gəh* ‘it’s true’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836
⇒ *Do:gəhs ɛ:* ‘it’s true’, ‘exactly’, ‘just so’, ‘isn’t it true?’, p. 836

Do:gəhs diʔ gəh ‘it’s true’, ‘isn’t it true?’

Particle group asking for confirmation (§27.2.2); free-standing.

- (92) **Dó:gəhs diʔ gəh?**
True so Q
‘Is that true then?’

Dohga:ʔah ‘a few’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5).

- (93) **dohga:ʔah**
dohg-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:néħ **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:gyeħ! De' óhne:' ho'de'?' **Do:s** nawé'daweħ!
 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'agyatgę'sé:'.
 oh the just really we.looked.at.it
 'Oh, then we really had a good look.' (Henry 2005)
- (97) Akeyatgahtó', o:néħ **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) Wɛ̣hnihsri:yó: wáʔneʔ, 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

[ẹ:, e:] (possible atypical verb)

[ẹ:, e:] may be an atypical verb. The following words may be related.

- (106) a. *ne:*ʔ ‘it is’
 b. *d̥eʔg̥e:* ‘it isn’t’
 c. *niwa:g̥eʔ* ‘so many’ (Henry 2005)
 d. *g̥e:s* ‘usually’
 e. *he:g̥e:* ‘all’
 f. *e:*ʔ ‘it is so’, ‘affirmative’
 g. *ti:g̥e:* ‘something odd’

Related

⇒ Equative sentences with linking verbs *né:*ʔ ‘it is’ or *d̥eʔg̥e:* ‘it isn’t’, p. 574
 ⇒ *E:*ʔ, *Neʔ e:*ʔ ‘isn’t it so?’, ‘yes?’, ‘no?’, ‘innit?’, p. 838
 ⇒ *G̥e:s* ‘generally, used to, usually, normally’, p. 864
 ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ equative, p. 930
 ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *he:g̥e:* ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’, p. 940
 ⇒ *Otgaʔdeʔ neʔ niwa:g̥eʔ ni-* ‘as many as’, p. 972
 ⇒ *T̥eʔ d̥eʔg̥e:* ‘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: t̥ɛhs̥ɛhsage:t ẹ: gwa:dih h̥ɛhsóda: ẹ:*
 it.is you.will.bend.it other side you.will.hook.it other
n̩aʔohahá:dih degyohó:do:t to h̩o: h̥ɛhsóda:.
 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

Ẹ: ni-NOUN+adih ‘on the other side of NOUN’

Particle and incorporating verb [ẹ: ni-NOUN+adih] functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (108) Ne: ṭə̣ṣẹ́hṣage:ṭ ẹ: gwa:dih ḥə̣ṣọ́da: ẹ:
it.is you.will.bend.it other side you.will.hook.it other
ṇạ'ohahá:diḥ degyoḥọ́:do:ṭ ḥọ: ḥə̣ṣọ́da:.
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) Ẹ: nagaṇḥsa:diḥ ita:ṭ.
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

Ẹḥẹ' ‘yes’

Particle functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

Related

- ⇒ *Eḥẹ' ẹ:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 841
⇒ *Eḥẹ' g̣eh* ‘is that right?’, p. 841
⇒ *Eḥẹ' gỵẹ:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
⇒ *Eḥẹ' se* ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’, p. 842

Ẹḥẹ' ẹ:' 'yes indeed'

Particle group (*eḥẹ'*) *ẹ:'* functions as an agreement marker (§35.3.1); enclitic. A speaker can use *ẹ:'* to affirm or emphasize her statement; the listener can use *eḥẹ' ẹ:'* to agree.

(110) Ne' gi' ẹ:' e:' toh ihe's.
 ne' just affirm again there he.is
 'he is here again!'

(111) Sam:
 Háe. Ẉeḥnisri:yó: é:'.
 hi nice.day affirm
 'Hi. Nice day, isn't it.'
 Neil:
 Ẹḥé' é:'.
 yes affirm
 'Yes it is, isn't it.' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 339, O'dréhdatgi' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *E:'*, *Ne' ẹ:'* 'isn't it so?', 'yes?', 'no?', 'innit?', p. 838
- ⇒ *Eḥẹ'* 'yes', p. 840
- ⇒ *Eḥẹ' g̣eh* 'is that right?', p. 841
- ⇒ *Eḥẹ' gỵe:'* 'yes indeed', p. 842
- ⇒ *Eḥẹ' se'* 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842

Ẹḥẹ' g̣eh 'is that right?'

Particle group and free-standing expression functioning as a "tag question" (§27.2.2).

(112) Ẹḥẹ' g̣eh?
 yes Q
 'Is that right?'

Related

- ⇒ *Ehẹ́* ‘yes’, p. 840
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ ẹ̀:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ gyẹ̀:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ se* ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’, p. 842

Ehẹ́ gyẹ̀: ‘yes indeed’

Particle group and free-standing expression, functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

(113) Neighbour:

Sgẹ̀:nọ́ . Sé sgehẹ̀: ẹ̀: gwá tóh wá jih?.

Hello, you.were.here affirmation just.now not.long.ago

‘Hello. Weren’t you here a while ago?’

Sam:

Ehẹ́ gyẹ̀:.

yes this.one

‘Yes I was.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, *Dwẹ̀nọ̀hsanekahọ́* dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ehẹ́* ‘yes’, p. 840
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ ẹ̀:* ‘yes indeed’, p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ gẹh* ‘is that right?’, p. 841
- ⇒ *Ehẹ́ se* ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’, p. 842

Ehẹ́ se ‘it is so’, ‘yes indeed’

Particle group and free-standing expression, functioning as an “agreement marker” (§35.3.1).

(114) *Ehẹ́ se*.

Yes you.know

‘Yes indeed.’

Related

- ⇒ *Eheʔ* ‘yes’, p. 840
- ⇒ *Eheʔ e:ʔ* ‘yes indeed’, p. 841
- ⇒ *Eheʔ gɛh* ‘is that right?’, p. 841
- ⇒ *Eheʔ gyɛ:ʔ* ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
- ⇒ *Seʔ* ‘you know’, p. 977

Ėwa:dɔʔ ‘yes, you may’, ‘it is permissible’

Verb functioning as an evidential marker (§35.2).

- (115) *Ėheʔ, ɛ̇wá:dɔʔ*.
 yes it.will.be.possible
 ‘Yes, you may.’
- (116) *Né:ʔ giʔ aʔa:gɛʔ, “Ėwa:dɔʔ, ɛ̇wa:dɔʔ ojikeʔ dáʔ sdɔ:hah*
it.is just she.said, it.is.possible, it.is.possible salt a.little
ɛ̇hsnihs, deyohsaít hniʔ.”
you.will.use, pepper also
 ‘And then she said, “Use a little salt, and pepper too.”’
- (117) *Ó:, neʔ gíʔ gyɛ:ʔ aʔa:gɛʔ, “Owidra:htáʔ hniʔ ɛ̇wa:dɔʔ*
Oh, the just this.one she.said, butter and it.is.possible
ɛ̇hsráh neʔ onáʔda:ʔ.”
you.will.spread the bread
 ‘Oh, and she also said, “There is butter to spread on your bread.”’ (Henry 2005)
- (118) *Swasha:ʔ sé:k shɛh taʔ dewɛ̇hnihsragé: ɛ̇wa:dɔʔ*
you.remember that every.day it.is.possible.
daedwadɛ̇nɔ́hó:nyɔ:ʔ.
we.should.give.thanks
 ‘Remember every day is a good day, and we can give thanks for that.’
 (Carrier et al. 2013)

- (119) O:nəh agasdáeda'. Ewa:dó' ganadagó: həkné: ó:nəh.
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:dó' gəh* 'may I', 'may we', p. 844
⇒ *Ewa:dó' gi' shəh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844

Ewa:dó' gəh 'may I', 'may we'

Particle group functioning as question ; clause-initial; (also see §35.2).

- (120) Ewa:dó' gəh ɛgatgəhsóhai?
it.is.possible Q I.will.wash.my.face
'May I wash my face?'
- (121) Ewa:dó' gəh ne' ohnégagri'?'
it.is.possible Q the soup
'May we have some soup?' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Ewa:dó'* 'yes, you may', 'it is permissible', p. 843
⇒ *Ewa:dó' gi' shəh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844

Ewa:dó' gi' shəh 'maybe', 'a possibility'

Particle group functioning as an "evidential marker" (§35.2).

- (122) ɛwa:dó' gi' shəh
it.will.be.possible just that
'maybe'

Related

⇒ *Ewa:dqʔ* ‘yes, you may’, ‘it is permissible’, p. 843

⇒ *Ewa:dqʔ 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

[-ga:ʔ] element (referring to living beings)

[-ga:ʔ] element appearing in several particle combinations; enclitic; refers to living beings.

Related

⇒ *Sq:-ga:ʔ* ‘anyone’, ‘any living thing’, p. 997

⇒ *Sq:-ga:ʔ ah* ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything’, p. 997

⇒ *Tɛʔ sq:-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^ʔ-toh** tsɔ: ta:setséi:
nowhere only you.will.find.it
'You just won't find it anywhere.'

Related

- ⇒ [Ga^ʔ-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
- ⇒ *Ga^ʔ-to:hah* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'around', 'anywhere', 'thereabouts', p. 846
- ⇒ *Ga^ʔ-to:hah tohgeh* 'thereabouts', p. 847
- ⇒ *Tɛ^ʔ* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ^ʔ ga^ʔ-toh, Ga^ʔ-toh* 'nowhere', 'not anywhere', p. 1004

Ga^ʔ-to:hah 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'around', 'anywhere', 'thereabouts'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (124) **Ga^ʔto:háh** todáhsdɔh.
somewhere he.is.hiding.there
'he is hiding somewhere, someplace.'
- (125) **Ga^ʔtoháh** tsɔ: ɛse:tséi^ʔ.
somewhere only you.will.find.it
'You will just find it someplace.'
- (126) Si gí^ʔ-shéh hwa^ʔ gwa:díh **ga^ʔtoháh** 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^ʔ-] element (referring to a location), p. 845
- ⇒ *Ga^ʔ-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 gyɛ:ʔ a:yɛ:ʔ degróʔ nigahwihsda:gé: gɛh, gaʔtó:hah
 oh, I.said just that.one I.guess eight dollars Q, somewhere
 neʔ enesdanyaʔktaʔ tohgéh degahwihsda: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,
 Enqhsqnyaʔdaʔsó:ʔqh 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

- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-noun* ‘wherever NOUN is’, p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘which place’, ‘where’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gaɛ niyó:weʔ* ‘how far’, ‘which distance’, p. 853
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898

Gaɛ gwaʔ gwa:dih ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’

Particle group *gaɛ gwaʔ 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 [heʔ-] TRANSL prefix.

- (128) ɛʔsatwada:séʔ **gaɛ-gwaʔ gwai hɛhse:**ʔ dɛhsatgahdó:nyɔʔ.
you.will.come.around whichever way you.will.go you.will.take.a.look
‘Whichever way you go, look around.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’, p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ hɔ:wɛh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-noun* ‘wherever NOUN is’, p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih*, *Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

Gaɛ gwaʔ hɔ:wɛh ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’

Particle group *gaɛ gwaʔ...hɔ:(wɛh)* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; the following verb requires the [ni-] PART, [d-] CIS, or [heʔ-] TRANSL prefix; *hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:wɛh*, or *nhɔ:wɛh*. *Gaɛgwaʔ hɔ:wɛh* can be used in a figurative sense to mean ‘around’ or ‘about’ (133–134)

- (129) **Gaɛ-gwaʔ nhɔ:wɛh** tɔwaʔnigóha:ʔ.
which-just.there place she.waits.for.him.there
‘She waits for him somewhere, someplace.’

- (130) To hó: iwá:k'ah to hó: gɛtsgo:t gaɛ-gwa' nhó:
 there place near there place it.sits which-just.there place
 'Near there somewhere is where it will be.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (131) O:, tɛ' gi' gwahs a:yɛ:' dɛ'agɛnɔhdɔ' gaé nhó: dɔgáhdɔ:'
 oh, not just really it.seems I.do.not.know which place I.lost.it,
 gaɛ-gwá' gi' nhó: nɛ:-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, Gatgwɛ'da' dialogue)
- (132) Gyotgɔ:t gɛ:s ne' tgá:gɔ:t hɛháha:' ne'
 always usually the it.is.necessary he.will.take.it.there the
 gaɛ-gwa' hó: hɛhé:'
 which-just.there place he.went.there
 'He always had to take it with him wherever he went.' (Henry 2005)
- (133) Saleslady:
 Do: niyohshe:dɛh sehsta'?'
 how it.is.numbered you.use.it
 'What size do you wear?'
 Lila:
 Ó:, gaɛ-gwa' nhó: ne' géi sgahe' ɔ: niyohshé:dɛh.
 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'-dɛ'nyóh. ɛtgɔhnɔksɛ' gi' gyɛ:' gaɛ-gwa'-nhó: ne'
 ok. I'll.pick.you.up just then which-just.there-place the
 jadakhshó:'ɔh.
 seven-ish
 'All right. I'll pick you up somewhere around sevenish.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 349, Dɛ' Ho'dɛ' Nɔsa: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 tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
- ⇒ *Hɔ: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 niyéyaʔ da:ʔ*
 which someone’s.body.is.contained.in.it
 ‘which person’, ‘which woman’
- (138) Ó:, a:yé:ʔ ní:ʔ né:ʔ gwahs knɔhweʔ s neʔ hehsháɛʔ niyohsohgoʔ dɛ:,
 oh, I.guess I it.is really I.like t he brown
 né:ʔ gíʔ-shéh neʔ ojiʔtgwa:gé:tʔ ah, jiʔtgwá:ʔ gíʔ-shéh,
 colour, it.is maybe the yellow.one, yellow
 otgwehjiʔ a:gé:t gíʔ-shéh. Gaɛ gwáʔ gíʔ ní:gá:
 maybe, pink maybe. whichever really just
 né: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'enohái:ʔ, tohgéh gaɛ gwa'
 there the bag, the usually she.washed.it, then whichever right.then
 ní:wa' to: ne' gayá:ʔ a'ehsró:ni'.
 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:k?
 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' hq:weh 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848
- ⇒ Gaɛ gwa' ni-noun 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ Gaɛ gwa' tɕ: '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-gwá' nigátse'dá' to: a'akninó: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' hq:weh 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848

- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

Gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ: ‘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 [heʔ-] TRANSL prefix.

- (142) *gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ:*
which emphasis just
‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* ‘which’, p. 847
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ gwa:dih* ‘whichever way’, ‘whichever side’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ hɔ:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-* ‘whichever one (of several)’, ‘whichever person’, p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ ni-noun* ‘wherever NOUN is’, p. 851
- ⇒ *Gwaʔ* ‘immediately’, ‘right then’, ‘just then’, ‘finally’, p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, Gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873
- ⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Gaɛ hɔ:weh ‘which place’, ‘where’

PARTICLE GROUP *gaɛ ... (hɔ:weh)* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), clause-initial in direct questions (143–147) and dependent clauses (148–149); *hɔ:weh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:weh*, or *nhɔ:weh*; (also see §29.8).

- (143) *Gaɛ hne:ʔ sagyaʔ dawiʔ traʔ?*
Where in.fact your.coat
‘Where is your coat?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)
- (144) *Gaɛ nɔdahse:ʔ*
Where you.come.from.a.certain.place
‘Where do you come from?’

- (145) **Gaɛ** di' **nhɔ:wéh** ihswe's o:nɛh?
Which so place you.are now
'Where then are you now?'
- (146) **Gaɛ:** **nhɔ:** tsi'drɔ'ʔ?
Which place you.live.there
'Where do you live?'
- (147) **Gaɛ** hwa' **nhɔ:** hejisaiho'de'ʔ?
Which this.time place you.work.over.there
'Where do you work?'
- (148) Tɛ' dɛ'agɛnɔhdɔ' [gaɛ **nhɔ:** nigá:yɛ'ʔ].
Not I.don't.know which place it.is.placed.somewhere
'I don't know where it is.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)
- (149) Tɛ' gi' ní:' dɛ'ge:gé: [gaɛ-ʔ **nhɔ:** desáhɔ:'ʔ].
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, Gatgwɛ'da' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gaɛ* 'which', p. 847
⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907

Gaɛ niyó:we' 'how far', 'which distance'

Particle and verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial in direct questions.

- (150) **Gaɛ niyo:wé'** heha:wé:nɔ:
which it.is.a.certain.distance he.has.gone.there
'How far has he gone?'

Related

⇒ *Gaę* ‘which’, p. 847

Gaę niyo:we’ tsq: ‘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) *gaę niyo:we’ tsq:*
which it.is.a.certain.distance just
‘whenever’

Related

⇒ *Gaę* ‘which’, p. 847

Gao’ ‘this side’, ‘this way’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (152) *Gao’ nqđáhse:’.*
this.way you.will.come.a.certain.way
‘Come this way.’
- (153) *Gao’ dqđé:swe:!*
this.way you.all.return
‘Come back!’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (154) *Da:nę:dah ha’gahé’ gao’ ędihswatríhs*
and.now it.is.time this.way you.all.will.come.closer
ęhswadáhqhsí: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-akyədáhkwa'* PART-3S.A-chair-be.a.certain.size.STAT

- (158) Ne:ʔ **gaoʔ** 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:ʔ tsó: hné:ʔ sa:dóh sh̥h [gaoʔ ahsóh niwagoḥsríyaʔgoh]...
 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-ḥsr-íyaʔg-oh PART-1S.P-winter-cross-STAT
- (160) Aḥe:ʔéḥ hniʔ gyogaʔoh sh̥h [gaoʔ nitod̥nyé: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-JOINERĒ-try-STAT

Related

- ⇒ *Gaoʔ* ‘this side’, ‘this way’, p. 854
- ⇒ *Gaoʔ nawahtgeh* ‘the time before then’, p. 855
- ⇒ *Gaoʔ sh̥h niyo:weʔ* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856

Gaoʔ sh̥h niyo:weʔ, Sh̥h niyo:weʔ ‘before’, ‘until’

Particle group (*gaoʔ*) *sh̥h niyo:weʔ* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial in dependent clauses; *niyo:weʔ* also has the short forms *ní:yo:ʔ* or *nyo:*. For more examples, see §29.10.

- (161) **gaoʔ sh̥h nyó:ʔ** to: neyá:w̥h...
 which that it.is.a.certain.distance that it.will.happen...
 ‘before that happens...’ (sentence fragment)
- (162) O:n̥h aʔa:géʔ, “Waʔgyéh,” aʔa:géʔ, “ḗgehsr̥o:níʔ i:wí: tó: neʔ
 now she.said just.now she.said I.will.fix.it I.want that the
 sageʔaʔgéh [gaoʔ sh̥h nyó:ʔ ḗhs̥édaʔdraʔ.]”
 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

Gaḡe', Gaḡha' 'she'

Verb functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); free-standing.

- (163) *gáḡe'*
ga-ḡe'
 3S.FI.P-alone.stative
 'she is alone'

Ga:t gi' shəh 'maybe', 'or maybe'

Particle group *...(ga:t)-gi'-shəh* functions as a doubt or certainty marker (§35.2); enclitic.

- (164) *ga:t-gi' shəh*
 just that
 'maybe', 'or maybe'
- (165) *To gi' shəh há:ge:.*
 there just that I.should.go.there
 'Maybe I should go there.'
- (166) *Dəgyadawənyehá' [gyə:gwá' gi' shəh hni' egyádawə:'].*
 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
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shəh niŋɛ'ɔh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh ga:t gi' shəh gyɛ:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh 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'ɔ'* '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
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shəh niŋɛ'ɔh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh ga:t gi' shəh gyɛ:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh 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'ɔ'* 'maybe not', p. 1006

Gɛh 'Q' (question marker)

Particle ... *gɛh 'Q'* is used with questions that imply *ɛhɛ'* '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) Sgə̀nójiḥ gə̀ḥ?
you.are.well Q
'Are you well?'
- (169) Ẹ̀dwé:ʔ gə̀ḥ?
we.will.go.together Q
'Are you coming along with us?'
- (170) Ẹ̀hsnéʔ gə̀ḥ diʔ?
we.will.go Q so
'Are you coming along?'
- (171) I:ʔ gə̀ḥ sɡi:də̀ḥ?
I Q you.mean.me
'Do you mean me?'
- (172) Ahsə̀ḥ gə̀ḥ?
more Q
'Do you want some more?'

Related

- ⇒ *Ahsə̀ḥ gə̀ḥ* 'Do you want some more?', p. 817
- ⇒ *Do:gə̀ḥs diʔ gə̀ḥ* 'it is true', 'isn't it true?', p. 836
- ⇒ *Eḥéʔ gə̀ḥ* 'is that right?', p. 841
- ⇒ *Ewa:də̀ʔ gə̀ḥ* 'may I', 'may we', etc., p. 844
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ* 'whether', 'if', p. 860
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ* 'didn't I', p. 860
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ* 'mind you', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ ga:t giʔ shə̀ḥ nigə̀ʔə̀ḥ* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ hne:ʔ* 'how about this one?', p. 862
- ⇒ *Gə̀ḥ tə̀ʔ nigə̀ʔə̀ḥ* 'or not?', p. 863
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ diʔ gə̀ḥ* 'is that it then?', 'is that', p. 932
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gə̀ḥ ... ne:ʔ / neʔ nigə̀ʔə̀ḥ neʔ ...* 'or?', p. 933
- ⇒ *O: gə̀ḥ* 'really?', p. 961
- ⇒ *Tə̀ʔ gə̀ḥ* 'no?', 'isn't it?', p. 1005
- ⇒ *Tə̀ʔ gə̀ḥ deʔ* 'didn't?', p. 1005
- ⇒ *To gə̀ḥ ə̀ 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 [sanqhqkdá:ni’ gəh]?
you.tell.me you.are.sick Q
‘Tell me whether you are sick.’

(174) Esgoho:wí’ [to gəh ne: hé:yé:’].
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:, agi’ gi’ gye:’ a:yé:’ degró’ nigahwihsda:ge: gəh, ga’tó:ha ne’
Oh I.said just that.one it.seems eight dollars, Q, about the
enesdanya’kta’ toh-gé degahwihsda:gé: hne:’ ne’ gajihwa’.
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, Enqhsqnya’da’só:’qh 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’danẹhwíh
 you.walk Q the when you.will.go.to.school bus
 ẹhsatnọhdá: ẹhsehdáhk] *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)

- (180) [Desaðɔhwɛ:jo:níh] **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:níhs **gɛh** ne' ɛhsadekɔ:ní' o'ga:s'áh] [(ga:t gi' shéh) 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' shéh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shéh tɛ'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shéh 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' shéh gyɛ:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' ɔh ga:t gi' shéh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Shéh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tɛ'* 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shéh 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-q:, Ga-q: ne:’ ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’

Particle group *gəh oh* (*ne:*’) introduces conditional clauses (§29.2); enclitic. *Gəh oh* is also spelled as *gə’o*, *gəo* or *gaq:*.

- (183) *Sanq̄hokda:ní’ gá-q: / gə-q:.*
 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, q:, q* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974

⇒ *To:, Toh, Tq:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *To gəh q ne:*’ ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’, p. 1018

Gəh tɛ’ nigé’qh ‘or not?’

Particle group ... *gəh* (...) *tɛ’ nigé’qh* ‘or not?’ functions as a conjunction, connecting alternative choices (§30); *gəh* is enclitic and *tɛ’ nigé’qh* 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’qh?**
 he.is.coming Q not or
 ‘Is he coming or not?’
- (185) [*Sanq̄hokda:níh*] **tɛ’ nigé’qh?**
 you.are.sick not or
 ‘Are you sick or not?’

Related

- ⇒ *Gəh* ‘Q’ (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ ...*Nigəʔəh* ‘or’ (conjunction), p. 958
- ⇒ *Təʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Gɛ:s ‘generally’, ‘used to’, ‘usually, normally’

Particle functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); enclitic.

- (186) I:sóʔ agidəhsgehé:ʔ **gɛ:s**.
much I.used.to.sleep generally
‘I generally used to sleep a lot.’
- (187) Jiʔ **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:ʔ **gɛ:s** gá:dəh.
it.is usually I.say
‘That’s what I usually say.’
- (189) Ji **gɛ:s** trehs jahsɛ: tseh nisnihné: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** agahdróʔni:.
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 **gi'** é:dɔh.
it.is just she.means.it
'That's just what she means.'
- (192) Sanɔhɔkda:níʔ **gi'** gɛh?
you are.sick just Q
'Are you really sick?' 'Are you sick for sure?'
- (193) Tɛʔ ga'toh. Tɛʔ **gi'** dehé:gɛ:
not anywhere not just I.did't.see.him
'Nowhere. I just didn't see him.'
- (194) Hoiho'de'sri:yó: **gi'** ne:ʔ.
he.has.a.good.job just it.is
'He just has a good job.'
- (195) Waheʔ **gi'** gatahí:neʔ.
now just I.am.walking
'I am just getting on my way.'

Related

- ⇒ *Do:s gi'* 'just so', 'indeed', p. 837
- ⇒ *Ewa:dɔʔ gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh tɛʔ* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shɛh nigɛ'ɔh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gi' gyɛ:ʔ* 'just do it!', p. 866
- ⇒ *Gi' gyɛ:ʔ* 'quite', 'kind of', p. 866
- ⇒ *Gi' hne:ʔ* 'but', 'however', p. 867
- ⇒ *Gi' ne:ʔ* 'it is just', p. 868
- ⇒ *Gi' tsɔ:* 'just', 'really', p. 869
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ gi' shɛh* 'or maybe', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʔ gi' shɛh hwaʔ* 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyeh gi'* 'leave well enough alone', p. 899

- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ ‘just’ (emphasis), p. 933
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ/*Ne*ʔ *gi*ʔ *gye:*ʔ ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’, p. 934
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *gye:*ʔ *hya:*ʔ ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *gye:*ʔ *qh* ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *hni*ʔ ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’, p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *shəh* *hwa*ʔ ‘maybe this time’, p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *shəh* *ne*ʔ ... *gi*ʔ *shəh* ‘or’, p. 937
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *gi*ʔ *tsə*ʔ *gwahs*ʔ ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ *O:* *tə*ʔ *qh* *ga:t* *gi*ʔ *shəh* *gye:gwə*ʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *O:* *tə*ʔ *qh* *ga:t* *gi*ʔ *shəh* *ne:*ʔ *hwa*ʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Tə*ʔ *gi*ʔ *ni:*ʔ ‘no, not me’, p. 1006
- ⇒ *Tə*ʔ *gi*ʔ *shəh* *hwa*ʔ *da*ʔ *q*ʔ ‘maybe not’, p. 1006
- ⇒ *Trehs* *gi*ʔ *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:geʔ, “ohsno:wé:ʔ ah **gi**ʔ **gye:**ʔ hwaʔ sahsyqʔ!”
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

- ⇒ *Gi*ʔ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gi*ʔ *gye:*ʔ ‘just do it!’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Gye:*ʔ ‘just the one’, p. 881

Giʔ **gye:**ʔ ‘just do it!’

Particle group ... *gi*ʔ *gye:*ʔ adds emphasis to a command (§27.1.5); enclitic.

- (197) *Jidwahshé:t* **gi**ʔ **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. Sasẹda'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:séh 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, Enqhsqnya'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'dɛhsri:yó: **gi' ne:'**.
he.has.a.good.job just it.is
'He just has a good job.'

Related

⇒ *Gi'* 'just', p. 865

Gi' shɛh 'maybe', 'or maybe'

Particle group.

Related

⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857

Gi' shɛh, Ne:' **gi' shɛh ne'** ... **gi' shɛh** 'or'

Particle group (*ne:'* *gi' shɛh ne'*) ... *gi' shɛh* functions as a conjunction, connecting an additional list of choices, []. *Ne:'* *gi' shɛh ne'* optionally appears before the first item in the list; the other choices are followed by *gi' shɛh*.

Related

⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ shəh neʔ ... giʔ shəh* ‘or’, p. 937

Giʔ tsɔ: ‘just’, ‘really’

Particle group ... *giʔ (tsɔ:)* is used for emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (205) To: **giʔ tsɔ:** ní:yɔ:
 that just only it.is.a.certain.amount
 ‘That’s just all there is.’

Related

⇒ *Giʔ* ‘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:hɛʔ ‘they (females or mixed group)’

Verb functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (207) gonó:hɛʔ
 gon-ó:hɛʔ
 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’

Gɔdagye ‘immediately’, ‘right away’

Atypical word functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (209) Háó’ desa’dráihəh, gɔdagye’ 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
gajə’ gaɔda: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) Ǝsadrə’swahetgə’s gwa’ shəh gyotgót: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'-heh tε' se'* 'but then not really', p. 824
- ⇒ *Dε' gwa' ho'dε'* 'whatever one (of several)', p. 826
- ⇒ *Do: gwa' ni:yo:* 'a certain amount', 'a certain measure', 'however much', p. 832
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa' gwa:dih* 'whichever way', 'whichever side', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa' hq:weh* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'wherever', 'around', p. 848
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa' ni-* 'whichever one (of several)', 'whichever person', p. 850
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa' ni-noun* 'wherever NOUN is', p. 851
- ⇒ *Gaε gwa' tsq:* 'wherever', 'somewhere', p. 852
- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', p. 870
- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'do it now!', p. 871
- ⇒ *Gwa' ti:ge:* 'plainly', 'clearly', 'as it is', p. 872
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa' a:-verb* 'if', p. 885
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa' gi' shεh* 'or maybe', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa' gi' shεh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa' hne: hwa'* 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ *Gye:gwa' ta:-* 'if not', 'if it hadn't been', p. 887
- ⇒ *Hwε:dqh gwa'* 'sometime', 'whenever', 'once', p. 909
- ⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921
- ⇒ *Ne' tsq: gwa' toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne: tsq: gwa' toh ni-* 'just a little bit', 'very little', p. 952
- ⇒ *O: tε' qh ga:t gi' shεh gye:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O:nεh gwa'* 'suddenly', 'already', 'finally', 'all at once', p. 969
- ⇒ *Sq: gwa', sq: gwa' n'aht* 'anybody at all', 'anyone at all', 'any living thing', 'somebody', 'whoever', p. 995
- ⇒ *Sq: gwa' n'aht o:ya'* 'someone else', p. 996

Gwa' '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:ye:*, *seńi:hε:' gwa'.*
 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:gɛ: 'plainly', 'clearly', 'as it is'

Particle and verb functioning as an "evidential marker" (§35.2); free-standing.

- (214) *gwa'* *ti:gɛ:*
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) *Èhé', ganó:?', né:?' tsɔ: shɛh oya:nré' gi' gyé:'*
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,
Enɔhsɔnya'da'só:?'ɔh dialogue)
- (217) *Ne' gwa'-toh* *gi:dɔh.*
ne' right.then-that.one I.mean.it
'I also mean that.'

- (218) Ne' gwa'-toh ha'hqwa:diha:'.
 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, To:* '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:-gyeh gwa:dih* 'here', 'this side', 'over here', p. 955
 ⇒ *Nigwa:dih* '-ward, direction', p. 958
 ⇒ *Ohna'ge: gwa:dih sheh* '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) *Èhé’, gwáhs gi’ oḡwatga’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 sḡe:nḡ:ḡh awádesḡoh 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 tẹ’ sḡahḡ’de’ o:nḡh de’sḡá:yẹ’.*
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’degaḡhyaḡhḡneh...*
...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 q:weh* ‘really’, p. 876
- ⇒ *Gwahs q:wəh se*’ ‘indeed’, ‘for sure’, p. 876
- ⇒ *Gwahs shəh ni-* ‘as...as’, p. 877
- ⇒ *Gwahs wa*’-*heh tsq:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gi*’ *tsq: gwahs* ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs d-* ‘the most’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs heyohe:*’ ‘the most, -est’, p. 939
- ⇒ *Tə*’ *gwahs q:weh* ‘not really’, ‘not quite’, p. 1007

Gwahs ‘anyway’

Particle conveying focus or emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (224) *Sq: ní:s n’aht gwahs? Tə’ gwáhs q:wi: də’goyédéi. Dave*
 who you someone anyway not anyway really I.don’t.know.you Dave
Maracle gəh haya:sóh 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’dréhdatgi’ dialogue)

Gwahs heyohe:’, Ne:’ gwahs heyohe:’ ‘the most, -est’

Particle group [(ne:’) *gwahs* stative.verb (heyohe:)] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:*’ *gwahs heyohe:*’ ‘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:wɛh 'really'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (226) **Gwahs ɔ:wɛh** tsa'ho:yá:t honí'ɔh.
really truly he.cannot.help.it he.is.stingy
'He just cannot help himself, he is really really stingy.'
- (227) **Gwahs ɔ:wɛh** 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:wɛh se'* 'indeed', 'for sure', p. 876
⇒ *O:wɛh, Ne' ɔ:wɛh* 'really', p. 976

Gwahs ɔ:wɛh 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:
 Eḡe:ʔ, gwahs ɔ:weh seʔ.
 yes very it.is.true you.know
 'Yes, much too quiet.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* 'really', 'just', 'quite', p. 874
- ⇒ *Gwahs ɔ:weh* 'really', p. 876
- ⇒ *O:weh, Neʔ ɔ:weh* 'really', p. 976
- ⇒ *Seʔ* 'you know', p. 977

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.

- (230) Enagḡhsra:gwe:góh giʔ o:nəh agaehne:ga:gó:ʔ gwahs shəh
 all.the.inhabitants just now they.collected.water so.much that
 nagaegwé:niʔ.
 how.much.they.could
 'So all the village began collecting as much liquid as they could.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (231) Atḡ:ná:t giʔ. [Gwahs shəh nihodigwe:nyó:] atḡ:na: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) Sḡe:nó:ʔ ɔh shəh nəhse:gwé:niʔ dḡhsátahahk
 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

⇒ *Sheh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Gwahs wa’-heh tsq: ‘just now’, ‘just a short while ago’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (233) **Gwahs wa’heh tsq:** to: na’á:wəh.
really today only that it.happened
‘That just happened.’
- (234) **Gwahs wa’heh tsq:** agatna’daqda:gweh.
really today only I.took.bread.out
‘I just took it out of the oven.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 376, Dajoh dialogue)
- (235) Ehé’, o:nəh gi’ agadehsrónih’s’qh. **Gwahs wa’heh-tsq:**
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

⇒ *Tsq:* ‘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 gəh satse:néʔ to:gyéh so:wa:s?
 so, you Q its.your.pet that.one dog
 ‘Well, is that your dog?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaéʔ Gəh
 Sgahoʔdé:ʔəh dialogue)
- (238) **Gwé:**, dədwaʔənáéʔ agéʔ ɛyó:héʔ. Oyanrahsdòh giʔ
 well we.will.play.snowsnake it.is.said tomorrow. It.is.ideal just
 hne:ʔ shəh 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’ɛnáɛ’ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwe*: ‘well!’, p. 879

Gwe:gɔh, Agwe:gɔh, Ogwe:gɔh ‘all’, ‘everything’

Verb (atypical, when without [o-] 3s.P prefix), functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

(239) O:nɛ́h gi’ adyɔkni’draihɛ́h, a’akniksaohé:k **gwé:gɔh** ho’dé’, ho’dé’
now just we.hurried, 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)

Related

⇒ *Gwe:gɔh, Agwe:gɔh, Ogwe:gɔh* ‘completely’, ‘totally’, p. 880

⇒ *Hegwe:gɔh, Ne’ hegwe:gɔh* ‘the whole thing’, p. 924

Gwe:gɔh, Agwe:gɔh, Ogwe:gɔh ‘completely’, ‘totally’

Verb (atypical, when without [o-] prefix) functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

(240) A:yé:’ hni’ **gwe:gɔh** agadranawɛ’do’kdá’ɔh 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, Dwɛnɔhsanékahɔ’ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwe:gòh, Agwe:gòh, Ogwe:gòh* ‘all’, ‘everything’, p. 880

⇒ *Hegwe:gòh, Ne’ hegwe:gòh* ‘the whole thing’, p. 924

Gyẹ:’ ‘just the one’

Particle ... *gyẹ:’* conveys emphasis (§35.4.4); enclitic.

- (241) *Honòksó’ se’ ne’ Hagówanəh shəh haqhá’ gyẹ:’*
 he.knew you.know the he.is.big that he.alone emphasis
gaihwaədahgòh dəshagòhsnyé’ ne’ háogwə’da’.
 the.responsibility he.will.lead.them the his.people
 ‘Their leader knew he was responsible for his people.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (242) *Hé:gyeh. Tẹ’ gyẹ:’ ta:yoyənawá’s ne’ otgó’tra’ ne’ o:nəh*
 no.matter not emphasis it.wouldn’t.be.helped the magic the now
dwəhsre’.
 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:nəh di’ ihse:t gyẹ:’ nóne:’ dehsatgəhdó:nyòhs.*
 now then you.are.standing emphasis you.know you.look.around
 ‘And now you will stand there looking.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (244) *Səheh gyẹ:’ nóne:’ gá:dəh deyonadáwənye’.*
 nighttime emphasis you.know I.say they.walk.around
 ‘As I said, at night, they walk around.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)
- (245) *Ne:’ se’ gẹ:s ne’ swe’gé:hah hənədəhni:nəh gẹ:s ne’*
 it.is you.know usually the long.ago they.sold us ually
gwa’yò’ gyẹ:’.
 the rabbits emphasis
 ‘A long time ago, they used to sell rabbits.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Ehɛ*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘yes indeed’, p. 842
- ⇒ *Gi*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘just do it!’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Gi*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘quite’, ‘kind of’, p. 866
- ⇒ *Gyɛ*:ʹ *hne*:ʹ *tɛ*ʹ *ne*ʹ ‘it was this one, (not that one)’, p. 883
- ⇒ *Gyɛ*:ʹ *q̄h* ‘maybe’, ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder’, p. 884
- ⇒ *Ne*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *nɛ* *ne*:ʹ (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *ne*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ, *Neɣ*ʹ *nage*ʹ ‘that is what’, p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne*ʹ *to* *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘that’s what’, p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne*ʹ *to* *gyɛ*:ʹ *hɔ*:*weh* ‘it is where’, p. 927
- ⇒ *Ne*:ʹ *ne*ʹ *gi*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’, p. 934
- ⇒ *Ne*:ʹ *gi*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *hya*:ʹ ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Ne*:ʹ *gi*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *q̄h* ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Ne*:ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *ne*ʹ ‘that really is’, p. 940
- ⇒ *Ne*:ʹ *se*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘you know’, p. 945
- ⇒ *Ni*:ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ, *Ni*:ʹ *gɛ*:ʹ ‘I did it’, p. 957
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *nɛ* *ne*ʹ ‘not’, ‘what on earth?’, p. 1008
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʹ *gyɛ*:ʹ *q̄h*, *Tɛ*ʹ *gɛ*ʹ *q̄h* ‘not really’, p. 1009
- ⇒ *Wa*ʹ *-jih* *gyɛ*:ʹ ‘almost’, ‘just about’, p. 1036

[-gyɛh] ‘this’, ‘that’

[-gyɛh] is an enclitic element occurring in the following particle combinations.

Related

- ⇒ *Hɛ*:-*gyɛh*, *hɛ*:*gyɛh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hɛ*:-*gyɛh* *shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hɛ*:-*gyɛh* *tsɔ*:ʹ ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *Nɛ*:-*gyɛh* ‘this one’, p. 955
- ⇒ *Nɛ*:-*gyɛh* *gwa*:*dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’, p. 955
- ⇒ *Nɛ*:-*gyɛh* *hwa*ʹ ‘this time’, p. 956
- ⇒ *Si*:-*gyɛh* ‘that one over there’, p. 992
- ⇒ *To*:-*gyɛh* ‘that one’, p. 1023
- ⇒ *Wa*ʹ *-gyɛh* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Wa*ʹ *-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 neʔ*) 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 tsɔː eːʔ toh nahsyeːʔ
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) Tsaːdeyɔhweʒagahɛh gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ hɔːweh to:gyɛh hɔː
as.the.land.rises.up emphasis here it.is where there where
heyagwɛːdrɔː 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) Ohnegatgí gyɛːʔ nɛ neːʔ ɛwá:dɔː.
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', "Hotgənihsa'nhó: gyé' 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:nəh gyé' 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 gyé' 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', gyé' né ne:' hó: dyɔknida'ɔh
we.were.looking.at.her emphasis here it.is there we.were.sleeping
hé'tgəh.
upstairs
'We were looking at her where we were asleep upstairs.' (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ Ne' gyé' nɛ ne:' (emphasis), p. 923

Gyé' ɔh, gɛ' ɔh 'maybe', 'I guess', 'I wonder'

Particle group ... gyé' ɔh, gɛ' ɔh functions an evidential marker (§35.2); emphatic; enclitic. Possibly related to gɛh ɔh.

- (255) Ó:, degyegahné' gi'. O:nəh gyé' 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)
- (256) O:nəh gi' gyé' ɔh ɛsgahdé:di'. O:nəh gyé' nɔne:'
now just this.one I.guess I.will.go.home now emphasis you.know
hné:' ha'wa:j'áht degáhswə'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, Dajɔh dialogue)

- (257) Né:ʔ gyé:ʔ qh hné:ʔ nɛh agídagraʔ agadadwɛʔ nɛhsáik.
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, Gəhá:gɔ: dialogue)
- (258) Tɛʔ giʔ hné:ʔ dɛʔ aɣɛnɔhdɔʔ a:ɣɛʔ nɔhsaniháʔ ɣɛʔ qh 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, Dwɛnɔhsanékahɔʔ dialogue)
- (259) To ɣɛʔ qhni:yoht?
that I.guess it.resembles.something
'I wonder if it is like that?'

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛh oh, Gɛ-ɔ:, Ga-ɔ: ne:* 'is it that?', 'if it is that', p. 863
 ⇒ *Gyɛ:* 'just the one', p. 881
 ⇒ *Oh, Q:, Q* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974

Gyɛ:gwaʔ 'if'

Particle *gyɛ:gwaʔ* introduces conditional clauses; clause-initial in dependent clauses [], implying a prerequisite condition or hypothetical situation (§29.2). *Gyɛ:gwaʔ* requires a following verb beginning with an [a:-] INDEF prefix, and the verb often lacks an aspect suffix.

- (260) Tɛʔ deɣɔhsdi:s o:nɛh ɣyɛ: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 ɣyɛ:gwaʔ a:sgyená:waʔs
I.would.pick.fruit if you.would.help.me
'I would pick fruit if only you would help me.'
- (262) Ahɣwíh dɛhsyéhs ohné:gaʔ ɣyɛ: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:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh* ‘or maybe’, p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh hwaʹ* ‘maybe this time’, p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʹ hne:ʹ hwaʹ* ‘just maybe’, p. 887
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʹ ta:-* ‘if not’, ‘if it hadn’t been’, p. 887
- ⇒ *O: tɛʹ qh ga:t giʹ shɛh gyɛ:gwaʹ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

Gyɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh ‘or maybe’

Particle group ..., ... *gyɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh* (...) functions as a conjunction, connecting alternative choices []; appears between or after the two choices (§30). (For *ne:ʹ giʹ shɛh neʹ*, also shown below, see “Related”.)

- (263) [Dɛgyadawɛnyɛháʹ] *gyɛ:ʹ-gwáʹ giʹ-shɛ́h* [ne:ʹ giʹ-shɛ́h neʹ
we.will.walk.about if maybe [it.is maybe the
ɛgyádawɛ:ʹ].
we.will.swim]

‘We could go for a walk or maybe go for a swim.’ (Michelson 2011: 45)

Related

- ⇒ *Giʹ* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwaʹ a:-verb* ‘if’, p. 885
- ⇒ *Ne:ʹ giʹ shɛh neʹ* ... *giʹ shɛh* ‘or’, p. 937
- ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982

Gyɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh hwaʹ ‘maybe this time’

Particle group (*g*)*yɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛh hwaʹ* functions as a doubt or certainty marker (§35.2); free-standing; *gyɛ:gwaʹ* can also be pronounced as *yɛ:gwaʹ*.

- (264) “*Yɛ:gwaʹ yɛ:gwaʹ giʹ shɛ́h hwaʹ*,” *aʹa:géʹ*.
if if just that this.time she.said
“‘If you do, maybe this time,’ she said.” (Henry 2005)

Related

⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa'* 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) *Dwadɛhnɔdrɔ'*, **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)

Hao' 'o.k.'

Particle signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); free-standing.

- (269) *O:nɛh a'a:gé'*, "*Ja'snɛht* *to:gyɛh wa'jɛh* *ne' sɔ:gwa' 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:, **háó'**."
"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

- ⇒ *Dɛ* 'what', 'how', p. 824
- ⇒ *Hao* 'o.k.', p. 888
- ⇒ *Nyoh* 'you're welcome', 'alright', 'o.k.', p. 960

Hao' di' sah 'alright', 'o.k.'

Particle group signaling acknowledgement (§35.3.3); free-standing. (*Sa*' means 'look!' or 'see!' in Tuscarora, Rudes 1999.)

- (273) **Hao' di' sáh.** O:nɛh gi' hyá:. Nya:wɛh gi' gyé:' shɛh
ok so you.know now just time acknowledge just this.one that
nyó: daskn'óhda:
how.it.is you.put.me.in
'Alright. So long. Thanks for the ride.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339,
O'dréhdatgi' dialogue)
- (274) **Hao' di' sáh,** ɛkni:nó' gi' gyé:' qh.
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)

Related

- ⇒ *Di* 'so', 'then', p. 830
- ⇒ *Hao* 'o.k.', p. 888
- ⇒ *Sah* 'you know', p. 976
- ⇒ *Se* 'you know', p. 977

Haqɛ', Haqha' 'he'

Verb functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); free-standing.

- (275) háqɛʔ
 ha-qɛʔ
 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

- ⇒ *Deʔɛ: gwaʔ-heh tɛʔ seʔ* ‘but then not really’, p. 824
 ⇒ *Gwahs waʔ-heh tsɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
 ⇒ *Waʔ-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033
 ⇒ *Waʔ-heh-geha:ʔ* ‘finally’, ‘at long last’, p. 1034

Hehdaʔgeh gwa:dih ‘below’, ‘low’

Phrase *hehdaʔgeh* (*gwa:dih*) functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial; *gwa:dih* can also be spelled or pronounced as *gwai*. *Hehdaʔgeh* is possibly related to *ohéhdáʔgeh* ‘on dirt, earth, ground, land’.

- (276) **hehdaʔgeh gwai**
 on.the.ground side
 ‘the bottom’
- (277) **hehdaʔgéh nitgá:deʔ**
 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

Hehdagejih '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) **Hehdagejih** niga:gyéʔ 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' tsɔ:* ‘elsewhere’, p. 893
- ⇒ *O:ya'* ‘another’, ‘other’, ‘else’, p. 973
- ⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

Hejo:ya' tsɔ: ‘elsewhere’

Noun and particle functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); free-standing. Also see *o:ya'* ‘another, other, else’.

Related

- ⇒ *Hejo:ya' tsɔ:* ‘another thing again’, p. 892
- ⇒ *O:ya'* ‘another’, ‘other’, ‘else’, p. 973
- ⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘only’, p. 1030

He:tgɛh ‘above’, ‘up’, ‘superior’

Atypical noun functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); also metaphorically means ‘superior’; clause-initial.

- (281) **hé:tgɛh**
 above
 ‘above, up, aloft’
- (282) **he:tgɛh** *tgá:de'*
 above it.exists
 ‘it is superior’

Related

- ⇒ *He:tgɛhjih* ‘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: dagwaishq: ‘straight ahead’

Phrase functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (284) **He:yó:** **dagwaishq:** ha’ohahá:de’.
a.far.distance straight the.road.goes
‘The road goes straight ahead.’
- (285) **He:yó:** **dagwaishq:** ha’ohahadagyé’ heyógwadre:’.
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
⇒ *Senyę’sgwadih* ‘to your left’, p. 978
⇒ *Sewaihqhsdqh gwa:dih* ‘to your right’, p. 978

Heyohe:’ ‘more’

Verb functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (286) O:nəh **heyohé:** agadqhswe’danilh!
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 *Ganq̄honyq̄hk* ‘Thanksgiving Address’ in (Foster 1974) is shown below.

- (289) **hẹ:-né:** ne' í: ne:-gyé̄h, 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:'** gyę: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) Agahyagwęhné:' **se'** **hẹ' ni:'**.
I've.picked.fruit you.know also the.me
'I've also picked fruit.' (I've experienced this)

- (292) Eǵahyagwahsé:k hẹ́ ni:’ nẹh ẹǵáhdo:k.
I’ll.pick.fruit also the.me when I.will.mature
‘I’ll be a fruit picker when I grow up.’
- (293) Ó:, ǵoǵagyé’ hẹ́ ni:’ ha’a:kni:yó’!
oh right.away also the.us we.two.went.in
‘Oh, right away we both got up and went in!’ (Henry 2005)
- (294) Eǵhé’, ǵǵwatǵa’de:’ah. Swahwajiyowanéh di’-gẹh hẹ́ 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, Gahwajiyá:de’ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Hẹ́ ‘also’, ‘too’, p. 895
- ⇒ I:, Ni:’ ‘I’, ‘we’, p. 910
- ⇒ I:s, Ni:s ‘you’ (any number of people), p. 913
- ⇒ Se’ ‘you know’, p. 977

Hẹ́:-dah ‘and now’

Particle group functioning as a sentence connector; used at the beginning of lines in speeches.

- (295) hẹ́-dá: o:nẹh, to niyó:wé’, nigahá:wí’.
hẹ́-and now that is.how.far it.is.carried.
‘And now the time has come.’ (Foster 1974)

Related

- ⇒ Da: ‘and’, p. 820
- ⇒ Hẹ́: (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:gyéh.** Tẹ' gyé: ta:yoyɛnawá's ne' otgɔ'tra' ne' o:néh
no.matter not emphasis it.won't.help.it the magic the now
dwahsre'.
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*, *Awɛ' 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 gi* 'leave well enough alone', p. 899
- ⇒ *Hẹ:-gyẹh 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 [he'-] TRANSL prefix; *hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ*:, *nhɔ*:, *hɔ:wɛh*, or *nhɔ:wɛh*.

- (297) Ji'dɛ:éh ni: , ɛ: tsɔ: ɛhsgé:gye' hẹ:gyéh gaɛ
birds I, indeed just I.go.along.seeing.them.again no.matter which
hɔ:wéh ɛwa:dó' hé:ge:?"
place it.is.possible I.will.go.there
'Birds are all I see no matter where I may go.' (Henry 2005)

Related

- ⇒ *Aweʹ hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Aweʹ hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Hẹ:-gyɛh*, *hẹ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh giʹ* ‘leave well enough alone’, p. 899
- ⇒ *Hẹ:-gyɛh 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 giʹ ‘leave well enough alone’

Particle group *hẹ:gyeh* / *hẹ:gyeh giʹ* functions as a “command” (§27.1.5).

- (298) **Hẹ:-gyɛh giʹ!**
 no.matter just
 ‘Leave well enough alone!’

Related

- ⇒ *Aweʹ hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Aweʹ hẹ:gyeh tsɔ*: ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Hẹ:-gyɛh*, *hẹ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hẹ:gyeh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898
- ⇒ *Hẹ:-gyɛh 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:-gyɛh shɛh ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’

Particle group *hẹ:-gyɛh* / *hẹ:-gyeh (shɛh)* ... is clause-initial in conditional clauses (§29.2).

- (299) Jiʹ dɛ:ʹ ɛh ní:ʹ, ɛ: tsɔ: ɛhsge:gyéʹ [hẹ:gyɛh gaɛ hɔ:wɛh
 birds I, affirm just I.will.fly.again [no.matter which way
 ɛwa:dɔʹ hɛ:ge:ʹ].”
 it.may.be I.will.go.there]
 ‘Birds are all I see no matter where I may go.’ (Henry 2005)

- (300) Tẹ́ d'áọ a:wadahsgwí'trọ:ni', [hẹ:gyẹh ne'
not not.at.all it.won't.wrinkle, even.if the
haesatronihá:k aesé:da'].
you.would.have.clothes.on you.would.sleep
'It won't wrinkle, even if you sleep with your clothes on.' (Mithun &
Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (301) [Hẹ:gyẹh shẹh agadatséhse:], tga:gọ:t ẹge:tséi'.
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) [Hẹ:gyẹh shẹh de'ọgwadọtga:dé'] "onẹh-gi'hyá:" ayagwẹ' wa'jih
no.matter that we.are.not.happy, "good-bye" we.say in.a.while
hné: tsọ: ẹja:kí:gẹh.
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

- ⇒ Awe' hẹ:gyeh tsọ, Awe' hẹ:gyeh tsọ: 'let it go', p. 819
- ⇒ [-gyẹh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
- ⇒ Hẹ:-gyeh, Hẹ:gyeh 'no matter', p. 898
- ⇒ Hẹ:gyeh gaẹ họ:weh 'no matter where', 'no matter which place', p. 898
- ⇒ Hẹ:gyeh gi' 'leave well enough alone', p. 899
- ⇒ Hẹ:-gyeh tsọ: 'it doesn't matter', 'never mind', p. 900
- ⇒ To hẹ:gyeh shẹh 'really', p. 1019

Hẹ:-gyẹh tsọ: 'it doesn't matter', 'never mind'

Particle group hẹ:-gyẹh / hẹ:-gyeh tsọ: functions as an "evidential marker" (§35.2); free-standing, or clause-initial.

- (303) Tẹ́. Hẹgyẹh tsọ:. Sedehjí:hah ní: ẹgahde:dí' gọdagye'.
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, Ẹkníyẹto' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Aweʹ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ*, *Aweʹ 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 giʹ* ‘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

Hɛʹɛh ‘no’

Particle signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); said to be a slang-like expression.

Hne:ʹ ‘but’

Particle functioning as a “conjunction” (§30); enclitic.

- (304) *Tɛʹ hne:ʹ* [dɛhahɔkáʹ ɔgwehɔ:wɛh], [hoʹnigɔhaɛdaʹs] **hné:ʹ**.
 not in.fact [he.doesnʹt.speak Indian], [he.understands] in.fact
 ‘He doesnʹt speak Indian, but he does understand.’ (Mithun & Henry
 1984: 61, *Sɔ: hne:ʹ nʹaht to:gyɛh?* dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:ʹ* ‘in fact’, p. 901

Hne:ʹ ‘in fact’ (emphatic)

Particle used for emphasis or focus (§35.4.4, also see §30.2); enclitic.

- (305) *Ne:ʹ hne:ʹ gó:wɛh*.
 it.is in.fact she.owns.it
 ‘Thatʹs hers in fact.’ ‘Thatʹs hers.’
- (306) *Dɛʹ hne:ʹ í:se:ʹ?*
 what in.fact you.want.it
 ‘What in fact do you want?’ ‘What do you want?’

C Particle dictionary

- (307) Dẹ' hne:ʔ ho'dẹ'ʔ
what in.fact kind
'What kind in fact?' 'What kind?'
- (308) Dẹ' hne:ʔ ni:yóht shẹh 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 gẹh hne:ʔ?
you Q in.fact
'Was that in fact you?' 'Was that you?'
- (310) I:s di' gẹh hne:ʔ?
you so Q in.fact
'How about you then?' 'How about you?'

Related

- ⇒ Dẹ' hne:ʔ ho'dẹ'ʔ 'what', p. 826
- ⇒ Gẹh hne:ʔ 'how about this one?', p. 862
- ⇒ Gi' hne:ʔ 'but', 'however', p. 867
- ⇒ Gyẹ:ʔ hne:ʔ tẹ' ne' 'it was this one, (not that one)', p. 883
- ⇒ Gyẹ:gwa' hne:ʔ hwa' 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ Hne:ʔ 'but', p. 901
- ⇒ Hne:ʔ shẹh 'because', p. 902
- ⇒ I:ʔ hne:ʔ 'no, I am', p. 911
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hẹ' 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
- ⇒ Tẹ' hne:ʔ 'definitely not', p. 1010
- ⇒ Tẹ' hne:ʔ ne' '...not that one', p. 1010

Hne:ʔ shẹh 'because'

Particle group *hne:ʔ (shẹh)* is clause-initial in a causative dependent clause (§29.3).

- (311) O:nəh gi' gyé:'-q̄h ɛsgahdɛ:di'. O:nəh gyé:' nɔne:'
 Now just emphasis-I.guess I.will.go.home. Now emphasis you.know
 [hne:' ha'wa:j'áht degáhsɰa'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, Dajq̄h dialogue)
- (312) Oyanrahsdɔ gi' [hne:' shɛh i:só' o'gráɛ'].
 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, Dɛdwa'ɛnáɛ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:*' 'in fact', p. 901
 ⇒ *Shɛh* '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) Dɛhɛnadatnq̄hwé's [Gwi:déh] [Éd] hni' shɛh 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'deyɔhsóhgwaɛ:, [otgwéhji'a'], [ɔhy'áɛ'], [swɛ'd'áɛ'],
 Oh, all.sorts.of.colours, [red], [blue], [black],
 [nrahd'áɛ'], dewagyɛsahsdɔ hni' [ne' gɛ:'gé:] niyohsɔhgo'dɛ'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 hoʔ dɛʔ hoihoʔ dɛhsrɔʔ deʔ?*
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

Hoʔ dɛʔ ‘kind’

Particle functioning as a “definite pronoun” §6.4; free-standing.

- (316) *O:nɛh giʔ adyɔkniʔ draihɛh, aʔakniksaohé:k gwé:gɔh hoʔ dɛʔ, hoʔ dɛʔ*
now then we.hurried.up we.gathered all the.kind, the.kind
ɛyá:gwaɦs.
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 hoʔdɛʔ neʔ onáʔda:ʔ.
 it.seems oven.bread the.kind the bread
 ‘It looks like homemade biscuits.’
 Sam: Né:ʔ tó ne:ʔ do:géhs hoʔdɛʔ. Gonaʔda:yɛdeiʔ-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) Èhɛʔ, né:ʔ giʔ neʔ gwáhs gɛ:s stɔ:hɔh oya:nré:ʔah hóʔdɛʔ.
 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

- ⇒ *Dɛʔ*, *Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’, p. 825
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ gwaʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘whatever one (of several)’, p. 826
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what’, p. 826
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ ni-* ‘how’, ‘what way’, p. 828
- ⇒ *Dɛʔ ɔh hne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ* ‘what on earth?’, p. 829
- ⇒ *Sgahoʔdɛ:ʔɛh* ‘something’, p. 979
- ⇒ *Sgahoʔdɛ:ʔɛh o:yaʔ* ‘anything else’, p. 979
- ⇒ *Shɛh hoʔdɛʔ* ‘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: ɔ:wí: ɛyɔtnáʔdáɔdɛʔ,” aʔa:géʔ, “to:gyɛh ogaʔɔh
 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'ɛnáɛ'
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) **honó:hɛ'**
hon-ó:hɛ'
3NS.M.P-alone.STAT
'they (males) are alone'

Hotq'ɔh, Otgɔ' 'what the?', 'for Heaven's sake!'

Verb *hotq'ɔh* 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

⇒ *Otgqʹ, hotgqʹqh* ‘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

⇒ *Gaə gwaʹ hq:weh* ‘somewhere’, ‘someplace’, ‘wherever’, ‘around’, p. 848

⇒ *Gaə hq:weh* ‘which place’, ‘where’, p. 852

⇒ *Hə:gyeh gaə hq:weh* ‘no matter where’, ‘no matter which place’, p. 898

⇒ *Hq:weh* ‘where’, p. 907

⇒ *Neʹ to gyə:ʹ hq:weh* ‘it is where’, p. 927

⇒ *Shəh 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:géʹ, “ohsno:wé:ʹah giʹ gyə: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:, dɛ́ ní:s hwa' ho'dɛ́ nɛswa:gyé: nɛ:gyɛh
well, what you this.time kind you.will.do.something this
hwa' dɛyogɛnhɔ:di'?'
this.time it.will.be.summer
'Well, what are you going to do this summer?'
Sam: Ó:. Eɣyagwahdɛ:di' ní: hwa'.
oh, we're.going.away we this.time
'Oh, we're going away this time.'
Junior: Ó:o, tɛ́ hwa' taeswayɛtwahsɔ: gɛh?
oh, not this.time you.won't.plant Q
'Oh, you are not going to plant this time?'
Sam: Tɛ́. Eɣyagwahdɛ:di' ní: hwa'.
no, we're.going.away we this.time
'No, we're going away this time.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 402,
Eɣyagwahdɛ:di' dialogue)
- (326) Ne: se' gyɛ: gɛ:s to:gyɛh hwa' nɛh sɔhɛh nɛh
it.is you.know emphasis usually that.one time when night when
gadidaksɛnɔgye's shɛh nhɔ: ohádenyɔ'.
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
- ⇒ Gwahs hwa' 'this time for sure', p. 875
- ⇒ Gyɛ:gwa' gi' shɛh hwa' 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ Gyɛ:gwa' hne: hwa' 'just maybe', p. 887
- ⇒ Ne: gi' shɛh hwa' 'maybe this time', p. 936
- ⇒ Ne: hwa' 'this (coming) time', 'when', p. 942
- ⇒ Nɛ: hwa' wa'-ne: 'nowadays', p. 950
- ⇒ Nɛ:-gyɛh hwa' 'this time', p. 956
- ⇒ O: tɛ́ qh ga:t gi' shɛh ne: hwa' 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ Tɛ́ gi' shɛh hwa' da'ɔ' 'maybe not', p. 1006
- ⇒ To:-hwa', Tɔ:-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 nẹya:wẹh?
 when it.is that it.will.happen
 ‘When is that going to happen?’
- (328) **Hwẹ:dọh** diʔ ẹje:yọʔ?
 when so she.will.return
 ‘When then is she going to return?’
- (329) Daskro:wíh [**hwẹ:dọh** ẹsahdẹ: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 niyáwẹʔq̄h.
 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)

C Particle dictionary

- (333) **hwɛ:dɔh gwa'** ne' shɛh nidwa:gɛ: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' gye:?' 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

- ⇒ *Dɛʹ ni:*ʹ ‘I am for sure’, p. 828
- ⇒ *Do: i:*ʹ ‘let me!’, ‘how about me?’, p. 833
- ⇒ *I:ʹ hne:*ʹ ‘no, I am’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:*ʹ, *Ni:*ʹ, ‘I’, ‘we’, p. 910
- ⇒ *I:ʹ hya:*ʹ ‘me first’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:ʹ se*ʹ ‘I am’, p. 911
- ⇒ *I:ʹ geh* (*gwa:dih*) ‘on my side’, ‘as for me’, p. 912
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *di*ʹ *ni:*s, p. 950
- ⇒ *Ni:*ʹ *gyɛ:*ʹ, *ni:*ʹ *gɛ:*ʹ ‘I did it’, p. 957
- ⇒ *Se*ʹ *hɛ*ʹ *ni:*ʹ ‘me too’, ‘us too’, p. 977
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʹ *gi*ʹ *ni:*ʹ ‘no, not me’, p. 1006
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʹ *i:*ʹ ‘not me’, ‘not us’, p. 1012

***I:ʹ hne:*ʹ ‘no, I am’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (335) *I:ʹ hne:*ʹ.
 I in.fact
 ‘No, *I am.*’ (answering the question, “Is she leaving?”)

***I:ʹ hya:*ʹ ‘me first’, ‘us first’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (336) *I:ʹ hya:*ʹ.
 I first
 ‘Me first.’

***I:ʹ se*ʹ ‘I am’**

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1) with contrastive focus; free-standing.

- (337) *I:ʹ se*ʹ.
 I you.know
 ‘No, *I am.*’ (answering the question, “Is she leaving?”)

Related

⇒ *I:*ʔ, *Ni:*ʔ, 'I', 'we', p. 910

⇒ *Se*ʔ '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:nɔh 'far'

Atypical verb functioning as an "adverb of place" (§8.3); clause-initial.

(339) **I:nɔh** tgidrɔʔ.

it.is.far I.live.there

'I live far away.'

Related

⇒ *I:nɔh gao*ʔ *ne*ʔ '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:'ge:'* '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.

C Particle dictionary

- (341) Dó:gəhs í:so' gotş:nə: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' gə'drehda'só:'əh hó:yə'.
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 əyagwayétwahşə:'...,
...really a.fair.amount we.will.plant.things
'... we'll plant a lot,...'(Mithun & Henry 1984: 420, Əswayəto' Gəh?
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 dədahodrihsdəhə: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 aq̄ghd̄qh* ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘more (than usual)’, ‘too much so’, p. 915
- ⇒ *Ji trehs* ‘because’, ‘overly’, p. 916
- ⇒ *Ji trehs sh̄eh* ‘too much so for’, ‘so much so’, p. 917

Ji aq̄ghd̄qh ‘too much so’

Particle and verb *ji ... aq̄ghd̄qh* functions as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial before an “adjectival” (stative-only) verb.

- (345) Èh̄éʔ ji giʔ aq̄ghd̄qh oȳhsrí:yoʔ, neʔ gwahs q̄: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,
 Oȳhsraʔ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Aq̄ghd̄qh* ‘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) D̄éʔ diʔ hoʔd̄éʔ ni:yóht tr̄éhs hnaʔḡeʔ?
 what then thing the.reason too late
 ‘Why was it so late?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aq̄hd̄ęyóheʔ 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, trɛhs 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, Agyaʔdawíʔtraʔ dialogue)
- (349) Jiʔ gɛ:s trɛhs shenó:wɛ:.
too usually too.much.so you.lie
‘You lie too much.’ ‘you are too much of a liar.’
- (350) A:yeʔ ji trɛhs tsishedɛhjɪh 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 trɛhs* ‘because’, ‘overly’, p. 916
- ⇒ *Ji trɛhs shɛh* ‘too much so for’, ‘so much so’, p. 917
- ⇒ *Shɛh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982
- ⇒ *Trɛhs* ‘too much’, p. 1027

Ji trɛhs ‘because’, ‘overly’

Particle group (*ji trɛhs*) is clause-initial in causative dependent clauses (§29.3).

- (351) ɛʔsgihnoqséʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ, [tréhs tɛʔ dɛʔagɛʔdréhdaɛʔ].
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, Qdwɛnɔdáhtaʔ dialogue)
- (352) Agahdrɔʔs onɛh e: [ji trɛhs satɛ:nɔ: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** gɛ:s **trehs** jəhsɛ: **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 agwánɛhgwiʔ.
 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 *sɔ*: ‘who’.

Related

⇒ *Sq:*, *sq:* *n'aht* 'who', p. 993

⇒ *Sq:* *gwa' n'aht* 'anybody at all', 'anyone at all', 'any living thing', 'somebody', 'whoever', p. 995

⇒ *Sq:* *gwa' n'aht o:ya'* 'someone else', p. 996

Na'gɛː, Ohna'gɛː 'late'

Verb (*oh*)*na'gɛː* functions as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

(355) **Ohna'gɛː** *ihse'*

late you.are.here

'You are late again.' (said at the moment)

Related

⇒ *Ohna'gɛː gwa:dih sheh* 'behind', p. 965

⇒ *Ohna'gehjih* 'late', 'back then', p. 966

⇒ *Ohna'gehjih* 'late', 'back then', 'the bottom', p. 966

⇒ *Ohna'gɔ:* 'underneath', 'beneath', 'under', p. 966

Ne' 'that is', 'the'

Particle signaling that the item it modifies constitutes shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); *ne'* also identifies a generic category of event or state (Chafe 1994: 155). Enclitic to the phrase it modifies (shown in bold).

(356) *Dɛ' ho'dɛ' eya:sɔh* **ne' sanɔ:ha'?**

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) *Honahsé: he' ne' deheɲadeɲno:dro'.*

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' gonohgé:t*, Esther *hné:ʔ 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 *gẹh 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' *họwanohwé's hẹ' ne' Gwí:deh*.
 his.friend he.likes.him also the Peter
 'His friend likes Peter also.'
- (361) identifying a generic state of ownership
Tẹ' gẹh ne' desá:wẹh?
 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 gẹ:s gona'daé' ne'
 the just I.remember the always usually she.made.bread the
ksotgẹhé:ʔ 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' Hahnẹ:yé:s, "Sgẹnọ':óh *hẹdwá:trihs*. *Ędwadenyẹ:dé'*
 he.said the tall.one slowly we.all.will.approach we.all.will.try
ne' tawẹnihná: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' gyaq̄hɛ:ʔɛh 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
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ hne:ʔ tɛʔ ne'* 'it was this one, (not that one)', p. 883
- ⇒ *I:nq̄h gao' ne'* 'far from enough', p. 913
- ⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne' aq̄hɛ:ʔɛh d-* 'the most, -est, -er (of)', p. 920
- ⇒ *Ne' gwa' toh* 'here (rather than there)', p. 921
- ⇒ *Ne' gyɛ:ʔ ne' gyɛ:ʔ, neq̄ɛ'nageʔ* 'that is what', p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne' gyɛ:ʔ ne' ne:ʔ* (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne' hegwe:gq̄h* 'the whole thing', p. 924
- ⇒ *Ne' heyohe:ʔ* 'more, -er', p. 924
- ⇒ *Ne' se'* 'that's just the one', 'that's just who', p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne' to gyɛ:ʔ* 'that's what', p. 926
- ⇒ *Ne' to gyɛ:ʔ hq̄: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' tsq̄: gwa' toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gɛh ... ne:ʔ/ne' nigɛʔq̄h ne' ...* 'or?', p. 933
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ/ne' gi' gyɛ:ʔ* 'that's just it', 'that's it for sure', p. 934
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gi' shɛh ne' ... gi' shɛh* 'or', p. 937
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ ne'* 'that really is', p. 940
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ ne'* 'it is', 'that is', 'that's what', p. 943
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ se' gɛ:s ne'* 'back then', 'a long time ago', p. 945
- ⇒ *O:nɛh, ne' o:nɛh* 'now', 'when', 'then', 'at this time', p. 967
- ⇒ *Otga'de' ne' niwa:gɛʔ ni-* 'as many as', p. 972
- ⇒ *O:weh, ne' q̄:weh* 'really', p. 976
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ gyɛ:ʔ ne' ne'* 'not', 'what on earth?', p. 1008
- ⇒ *Tɛʔ hne:ʔ ne'* '...not that one', p. 1010

Ne' aq̄hɛ:ʔɛh d-stative.verb ... (shɛh gao' ni-stative.verb) 'the most, -est, -er (of)'

Phrase [(ne') aq̄hɛ:ʔɛh d-STATIVE.VERB (ni-d-STATIVE.VERB)] is used in comparisons (§31.1); (ne') aq̄hɛ:ʔɛh precedes a stative verb beginning with [d-] CIS.

- (364) **ne' aq̄hɛ:ʔɛh dwakyɛdaḡowanɛh**
 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 gyogaʔ ɔh **shɛh gaóʔ** nitodeʔnyé:dɛː.
 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-ʔnyé:dɛː- PART-CIS-3S.M.P-SRF-JOINERÉ-try-STAT

- (366) **Íːʔ aɔhɛːʔɛh** tknɛːyé:s **shɛh nigyɔː.**
 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-hnɛːyé:s 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) **Sgé:nɔʔ. Seʔsgɛhɛːʔ** 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*, *Toq*: 'there', 'that place', p. 1017

Ne' gyaqhe:ʔeh d-stative.verb ... (shəh ni-stative.verb) 'the most', 'the greatest'

Particle group [(neʔ) g-y-aqhe:-ʔeh d-STATIVE.VERB (shəh) ni-VERB)] is used in comparisons (§31.1); (*neʔ*) *gyaqhe:ʔeh* precedes a verb beginning with [d-/g-] CIS.

- (369) **ne' gyaqhe:ʔeh gyonqʔshéhsde:ʔ**
 the the.most very.sickening
 'the most sickening, tiring, aggravating'
 cf. g-ya-qhe:ʔ-eh CIS-3s.P-alone.STAT-DIM
 cf. g-yo-nqʔshéhsde:ʔ CIS-3s.P-sickening.STAT
- (370) **ne' gyaqhe:ʔeh dwakyədaḡówanəh**
 the the.most very.big.chair
 'the greatest chair'
 cf. g-ya-qhe:ʔ-eh CIS-3s.P-alone.STAT-DIM
 cf. d-w-akyədaḡówan-eh CIS-3s.A-chair-big-STAT
- (371) O:nəh ahəwawə:ná:ʔ **ne' gyaqhe:ʔeh thahnə:yé:s shəh**
 then he.had.words.with.him the most he.was.so.tall that
nihé:nq:
 they.were.a.certain.number
 'I am the tallest one here.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
 cf. thahnə:yé:s CIS-3s.M.A-tall.STAT
 cf. ni-hé:-nq: 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, Negɛʹnageʹ ‘that’s what’

Particle group *neʹ gye:ʹ neʹ gye:ʹ* or *negɛʹnageʹ* 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) **Negɛʹnageʹ gi:dɔh.**

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 ne ne:ʹ (emphasis)

Particle group (*neʹ*) *gye:ʹ ne ne:ʹ* conveys emphasis (§35.4.4); clause-initial.

(374) “**Ne:ʹ**,” aʹa:géʹ, “**neʹ gye:ʹ ne ne:ʹ** deyoʹkiʹnya: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 ne ne:ʹ** toh hó: heʹnatgeʹnihsʹanhaʹ,

the emphasis here it.is that.one place they.will.meet

ahatgeʹnihsʹanháʹ neʹ hodiyanéhsɔʹ

he.holds.council the they.call.it

‘He went to where they hold council. it is called Ahatgeʹnihsʹanhaʹ (‘he holds council’).’ (Henry 2005)

hɔ:niʔ heyohé:ʔ wagyésaʔgeh.
 because more w-ag-yésaʔgeh
 3S.A-SRF-easy-STAT

‘You look for the tracks first, because it is easier.’ (Mithun & Henry 1980)

- (379) Qɔwa:yéʔ giʔ hné:ʔ neʔ wagye:séh heyóhe:ʔ,
 we.have just in.fact the w-ag-ye:s-éh more
 3S.A-SRF-cheap-STAT

wagyesəhsó:ʔqh.
 w-ag-yes-éh-só:ʔqh
 3S.A-SRF-cheap-stative-pluralizer

‘But we do have cheaper ones, the cheaper kind.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159, Enqhsɔnyaʔdaʔsó:ʔqh dialogue)

- (380) Eɣhatɣʔsé:ʔ gɛ:s neʔ joni:tsgró:t heyohé:ʔ i:sóʔ agahnegeháʔ
 he.went.looking usually the squirrel more it.is.a.lot he.drunk.sap,
 aɔgágríʔ, haqháʔ giʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ toh nəhá:ye:ʔ.
 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:ʔ* ‘more’, p. 894
- ⇒ *Heyohe:ʔ shɛh* ‘more than’, p. 895
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ gwahs heyohe:ʔ* ‘the most, -est’, p. 939

Neʔ q:wɛh, Q:wɛh ‘really’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (381) Neʔ q:wɛh gaqdé:nqhk.
 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' hqwe:dqh.
 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'da:weh.
 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

Neʔ 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
- ⇒ *Neʔ* ‘that is’, ‘the’, p. 918
- ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

Neʔ to: ne:ʔ ‘that’s the one’

Particle group (*neʔ to: ... ne:ʔ*) functions as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (384) **Neʔ 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** *heseʔs*].
 that.one where it.is you.are.there
 ‘That’s your birthday.’ (literally, ‘that’s when you come around again.’)

Related

- ⇒ *Neʔ* ‘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:yě' .
it that.one a.certain.number he.owns.it
'That's how many he has.'

Related

- ⇒ Ne' 'that is', 'the', p. 918
⇒ To:, Toh, Tɔ: 'that one', p. 1016

Ne' tsɔ: gwa' toh 'also'

Particle group, *ne' (tsɔ:) 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'hɔwadíha:']
the emphasis that.one they.took.him.away
'They also took him.'
- (389) Hóhsé: [ne' tsɔ: 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, Tɔ: 'that one', p. 1016
⇒ Tsɔ: '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) Hwɛ:dɔh [né:ʔ to neyá:wɛh]?
 when [it.is that it.will.happen]
 ‘When [is it that that’s going to happen]?’
- (391) Tigaʔdreħda:déʔ [né:ʔ ahahní:nɔʔ].
 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:ʔ, Ne:ʔ ... (tsɔ: shɛh) ‘but’, p. 596
- ⇒ Da: ne:ʔ onɛh ‘and now’, p. 822
- ⇒ Da: ne:ʔ, da: ne:ʔ hniʔ ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘and’, p. 821
- ⇒ Dɛʔ qh ne:ʔ hoʔdɛʔ ‘what on earth?’, p. 829
- ⇒ E:, E: (possible atypical verb), p. 839
- ⇒ Giʔ ne:ʔ ‘it is just’, p. 868
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ‘just so’, ‘indeed’, p. 930
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ ‘it is’ (equative), p. 930
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ dagaihɔ:niʔ ‘the reason why’, ‘that’s why’, ‘because’, p. 931
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ diʔ gɛh ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that’, p. 932
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ gɛh ... ne:ʔ/neʔ nigɛʔqh neʔ ... ‘or?’, p. 933
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ ‘just’ (emphasis), p. 933
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ hya:ʔ ‘before all else’, ‘first’, p. 935
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ qh ‘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
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ gwahs d- ‘the most’, p. 938
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ gwahs heyohɛ:ʔ ‘the most, -est’, p. 939
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ gwahs hwaʔ ‘this time for sure’, p. 875
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ ‘that really is’, p. 940
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ he:gɛ:ʔ ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘all’, p. 940
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ‘too’, ‘also’, p. 941
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ ne:ʔ ‘in fact, it is’, ‘it is’, p. 942
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hniʔ ne:ʔ ‘and that also’, p. 942
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘this (coming) time’, ‘when’, p. 942
- ⇒ Ne:ʔ neʔ ‘it is’, ‘that is’, ‘that’s what’, p. 943

- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *qh* ‘I guess it is’, p. 944
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *se*ʔ *gɛ:s ne*ʔ ‘back then’, ‘a long time ago’, p. 945
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *se*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ ‘you know’, p. 945
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *tsɔ:* ‘because’, ‘it’s just’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *tsɔ:* *shɛh* ‘but’, ‘it’s just that’, p. 947
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ *tsɔ:* ‘that’s only’, ‘that’s all’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:*ʔ/*ne*ʔ *gi*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ ‘that’s just it’, ‘that’s it for sure’, p. 934
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *hwa*ʔ *wa*ʔ-*ne:*ʔ ‘nowadays’, p. 950
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *ne:*ʔ *i:s* ‘how about you’, p. 951
- ⇒ *Nɛh*, *ne:*ʔ *nɛh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’, p. 956
- ⇒ *Ne*ʔ *gyɛ:*ʔ *nɛ ne:*ʔ (emphasis), p. 923
- ⇒ *Ne*ʔ *to:* *ne:*ʔ ‘that’s the one’, p. 927
- ⇒ *O:* *tɛ*ʔ *qh ga:t gi*ʔ *shɛh ne:*ʔ *hwa*ʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Oh ne:*ʔ ‘maybe’, p. 975
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *ne:*ʔ *dɛ*ʔ *gɛ:* ‘without, lacking’, p. 1012
- ⇒ *Tɛ*ʔ *tɔ ne:*ʔ, *Tɛ*ʔ *to ne:*ʔ ‘not really’, p. 1015
- ⇒ *To gɛh ɔ ne:*ʔ ‘I wonder if it is’, p. 1018
- ⇒ *To niyo:we*ʔ *ne:*ʔ ‘when’, p. 1021
- ⇒ *Wa*ʔ-*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] *hɛ*ʔ *hne:*ʔ (**ne:**ʔ) [gwihsɣwihs].
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’ gyé:’ nẹ ne:’ dəyóki’ 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:gyèh!” 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: Èhẹ’ 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:’ dagaihọ: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’ ogyanahsédhọh.
 it.is you.know the.reason it-has-hidden-its-tracks
 ‘That is because it has hidden 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) Èhẹ’, gyé’ dró’ gi’. Né:’ gi’ ho:ní’ to itgé’s
 yes, she.is.home just. it.is just the.reason there I.am.there
 wẹhnihsragwé:gọh.
 all.day
 ‘Yes, she is home. That’s why I was there all day.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 456, Oyẹhsra’ dialogue)

- (399) Ahsòh ní:ʔ agòtsanòhwá:s [neʔ dagaihò:níʔ gyotedèhsò:ʔ òh
still I my.knees.are.sore the the.reason this.other.day
agahyagwèhne:ʔ]
I.picked.fruit
‘My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.’
- (400) [Ne:ʔ hò:níʔ í:wi: ɛsədewá:yɛ:s], a:gasheyáʔ dágenhaʔ
it.is the.reason I.want you.will.learn you.should.help.them
sògwéʔ dasòʔ í:soʔ 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:ʔ ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ diʔ gèhʔ ‘is that it then?’, ‘is that...?’

Particle group and free-standing expression or tag (§27.2.2).

- (401) Ne:ʔ diʔ gèhʔ
it.is so Q
‘Is that it then?’ (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
- (402) Junior: Si giʔ gyɛ:ʔ dagáɛʔ ó:nèh!
there just this.one they.are.coming now
‘Well here they come now!’
Pete: Ne:ʔ diʔ gèhʔ A:yé:ʔ hné:ʔ gáegèhjih.
it.is so Q? it.seems in.fact they.are.old.women
‘Is that them? They look old!’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔ gó:wah
dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Di* 'so', 'then', p. 830
- ⇒ *Gɛh* 'Q' (question marker), p. 858
- ⇒ *Ne*: 'it is', p. 928

Ne': gɛh ... ne':/ne' nigɛ'ɔh ne' ... 'or?'

Particle group (*ne': gɛh*) ... *ne':/ne' nigɛ'ɔh ne'* ... functions as a conjunction (§30), for connecting a list of choices []; *ne': gɛh* appears before the list, and *ne':/ne' nigɛ'ɔh 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': nigɛ'ɔh**
 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' nigɛ'ɔh 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:’ gi’ to:gyéh agó:gweh.
it.is just that.one woman
‘She’s the one.’

Related

- ⇒ Gi’ ‘just’, p. 865
⇒ Ne:’ ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:’/ne’ gi’ gyé:’ ‘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) Ne’ gi’ gyé:’ asi’.
the just this.one you.said
‘That’s what you said.’
- (408) Ne’ gi’ gyé:’ gáqdq̄h.
the just this.one they(females).mean
‘That’s what the women say.’
- (409) “Tga:gót t gyé’ q’ q̄h hyahsót, ne’ shəh nyo:’
it.is.obligatory I.guess your.grandfather the that a.certain.time
əhshá:yq’, wa’héh ó:nəh. Né’ gi’ gyé:’.”
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) Ne’ gi’ gyé:’ dó:gəhs.
the just this.one it.is.true
‘That’s just what we did...’ (Henry 2005) (referring to cleaning up after
playing)
- (411) “Ó:, ne’ gi’ gyé:’”, a’a:gé’, “owidra:hta’ hni’ ɛwa:dó’
oh the just this.one she.said butter also it.is.possible
əhsrá ne’ ona’da:’.”
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 gyɛ:* 'quite', 'kind of', p. 866
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:* 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ *Ne* 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928

Ne: gi gyɛ: hya: 'before all else', 'first'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (412) Háo'. Ne' gi' gyɛ: 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' gyɛ: hya: ɛdwa:gyɛht
 it.is just emphasis for.now/this.time we.will.knock.down
 ɛyagwa'granhohsro:dé' né:-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
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:* 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ *Hya:* 'first', 'before anything else', p. 910
- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928

Ne: gi gyɛ: oh 'I guess'

Particle group, emphatic, functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (414) Eḡhé? né? gi? gyɛ? ɔh ne:gyɛh né? Degahwɪhsda:gé:
yes it.is just this.one I.wonder this.one the two.dollars
nigajihwa:nó? Né? ɛkní:nó?
the.hammer.costs it.is I.will.buy.it
‘Yes. I guess I will buy the two-dollar hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984:
158, Enɔhsɔnya?da?só?ɔh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gi?* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Gyɛ?* ‘just the one’, p. 881
- ⇒ *Ne?* ‘it is’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Oh, ɔ; ɔ* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974

Ne? gi? hni? ‘and that too’, ‘and that also’

Particle group [ne? gi? ITEM ITEM hni?] ‘also (etc.)’ functions as an emphatic conjunction (§30) linking a list of similar items []. *Ne? gi?* appears at the beginning of the clause, and the linked items occur between it and *hni?*.

- (415) Né? gi? [Sampsón], [Deliláh] hni? gaɔdatáwəhksɔ?. Ahsɛh
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, Eksa?gó:wah dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gi?* ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ *Hni?* ‘and’, p. 903
- ⇒ *Ne?* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne? gi? shɛh hwa? ‘maybe that’s the one’

Particle group functioning as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (416) *Ne:*' *gi*' *shəh* *hwa*' é:dəh.
 it.is just that this.time she.means.it
 'Maybe that's the one she means.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gi*' 'just', p. 865
 ⇒ *Hwa*' 'this time', 'next', p. 907
 ⇒ *Ne:*' 'it is', p. 928
 ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Ne:' *gi*' *shəh* *ne*' ... *gi*' *shəh* 'or'

Particle group (*ne:*' *gi*' *shəh* *ne*') ... *gi*' *shəh* functions as a conjunction (§30), 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*.

- (417) Ó:, a:yé:' ní:' né:' gwahs knəhwe's ne' hehsá'ə' niyohsəhgo'də:, né:'
 Oh, it.seems I it.is really I.like the brown it.is.coloured, it.is
gi'-*shəh* *ne*' [oji'tgwa:gé:t'ah], [ji'tgwá:' *gi*'-*shəh*], [otgwəhji'a:gé:t
 maybe the [light.yellow], [yellow or], [pink
gi'-*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, Agya'dawí'tra'
 dialogue)
- (418) [Hna'gəhká:'] *gi*'-*shəh* [sgəho'də:'əh]?
 underclothes or anything
 'Underclothes or something?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225,
 Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (419) Tə' gəh ta'desədəhwejo:nih sgəho'də:'əh o:ya'?' [Adáhdí'tra']
 not Q you.don't.want.it something else? [socks],
 [ahdahgwá'] *gi*'-*shəh*?
 [shoes] or
 'There was not anything else you wanted? Stockings, or shoes?' (Mithun
 & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)

- (420) Tɛʔ sgahɔʔdɛʔ [neʔ oʔwáhɔh], [jɪʔdɛ:ʔɛh], [oɔʔdáy] **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) ɛyɔɔwadáhnyo:k, [né:ʔ giʔ tsɔ: gwahs ɛyagyɔnhéhɔhɔ: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, ɛyagwáhdé: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 dwakyędahgówanęh
 it.is emphasis very.big.chair
 ‘the biggest chair’
 cf. d-w-akyędahg-ówan-ęh CIS-3S.A-chair-big-STAT

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, p. 874
 ⇒ *Ne:* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne: gwahs heyöhe:’ ‘the most, -est’

Particle group [(ne:) gwahs STATIVE.VERB (heyöhe:)] is used in comparisons (§31.1).

- (423) Tohgéh ne:gyęh gwahs gajihyowa:nęh heyöhe:
 here this.one the.most very.big.hammer it.is.beyond
 ‘Here is the biggest hammer.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enęhsęnya’da’sq:’qh dialogue)
 cf. ga-jihy-owa:n-ęh 3S.A-hammer-big-STAT
- (424) Dá gi’ gwa:dih tgahq’ ne: gwahs oyá:nre’s...
 Over just here it.rests it.is the.most good.ones
 ‘Over here are the best (ones)...’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 159,
 Enęhsęnya’da’sq:’qh dialogue)
 cf. 3S.P-good.STAT-PL

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs* ‘really’, ‘just’, ‘quite’, p. 874
 ⇒ *Heyöhe:* ‘more’, p. 894
 ⇒ *Heyöhe:* *shęh* ‘more than’, p. 895
 ⇒ *Ne’ heyöhe:* ‘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:dòh.**
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 daniyòdagoháqʔ.**
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 tsó: he:gɛ́ neʔ ahatsɛnq:níʔ** **neʔ o:nɛ́h 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, Aqhdɛgyɛheʔ 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** deḥḥnadḥhnó: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: onéh **hɛʔ hne:ʔ** aʔejihó:déʔ, gaya:gó: **hɛʔ**
 that.one place she.put.it.in now also in.fact she.closed.it in.the.bag also
hné: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

C Particle dictionary

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 gaihwaŋwɛ:ni: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 hniʔ 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 hniʔ ne:ʔ
it.is in.fact it.is
‘and that also’

Related

- ⇒ *Hniʔ* ‘and’, p. 903
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ* ‘it is’, p. 928

Ne:ʔ hwaʔ ‘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: 'deyokide:niʔ'] neʔ ge:doh neʔ
 it.is this.time this you.say: they.will.change.us the it.means the
 teʔ-daʔo: ogwehə:wéh 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:ni.
 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 tó:gyeħ!"
 oh, it.is I that
 "Oh, I want (to do) that!" (Henry, 2005) (mend clothes)
- (440) Ne:ʔ ge:s gá:doh.
 it.is usually I.say
 'That's what I usually say.'
- (441) Ne:ʔ gó:wəh.
 it.is she.owns.it
 'That's *hers*.' (Speakers said that this phrase was 'a little more definite'
 than "ne:ʔ hne:ʔ gó:wəh".)

Related

⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918

⇒ *Ne:'* 'it is', p. 928

Ne:’ nẹh, Nẹh ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’

Particle group (*ne:’*) *nẹh* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial to dependent clauses.

Related

⇒ *Nẹh, ne:’ nẹh* ‘when’, ‘once’, ‘as soon as’, p. 956

Ne:’/ne’ nigẹ’ọh ne’ ..., Ne:’ gẹh ... ne:’/ne’ nigẹ’ọh ne’ ... ‘or?’

Particle group (*ne:’ gẹh*) ... *ne:’/ne’ nigẹ’ọh ne’* ... functions as a conjunction (§30), for connecting a list of choices; *ne:’ gẹh* appears before the list, and *ne:’/ne:’ nigẹ’ọh ne:’* appears after the first item in a list of two choices.

Related

⇒ *Ne:’ gẹh ... ne:’/ne’ nigẹ’ọh ne’* ... ‘or?’, p. 944

Ne:’ ọh ‘I guess it is’

Particle group, emphatic, functioning as an “evidential marker” (§35.2); clause-initial.

- (442) *Ne:’ ọh ne’ o:nẹh 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.’

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Oh, o:, o* 'I guess', 'I wonder (if)', p. 974
- ⇒ *Oh ne:* 'maybe', p. 975

***Ne:* se' gɛ:s ne'** 'generally', 'used to', 'usually', 'normally'

Particle group *ne:* (*se'*) *gɛ:s ne'* functions as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (443) *Ne:* se' gɛ:s ne' swe'gé:hah hɛnadɛhni:nɔh gɛ:s ne'
 that you.know usually the long.ago they.sell used.to this
 gwa'yɔ' gyɛ:'.
 rabbit then
 'A long time ago, they used to sell rabbits.' (Mithun & Henry 1980)

Related

- ⇒ *Gɛ:s* 'generally, used to, usually, normally', p. 864
- ⇒ *Ne'* 'that is', 'the', p. 918
- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

***Ne:* sé' gyɛ:'** 'you know'

Particle group signaling shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); or just a means of keeping the floor in a conversation; clause-initial.

- (444) *Ne:* sé' gyɛ:'. gɛ:s to:gyɛh hwa' nɛh sɔhɛh nɛh
 it.is you.know this.one usually that.one this.time once nighttime once
 gadidaksɛnɔgye's shɛh nhɔ: ohádenyɔ'.
 they.roamed.about that where roads.are
 'This is how it is, you know, at night when they run around their roads.'
 (Mithun & Henry 1980)

- (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 degahq̄hstóʔe:s.
it.is emphasis too.much it.has.long.whiskers
'Because its whiskers are too long.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317,
Sanahsgwaɛʔ Gɛh Sgahoʔdɛ:ʔɛh? 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) Sɔgweʔdi:yó: giʔ hné:; né:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh [téʔ gwahs ɔ:wé
you.are.nice just in.fact, it.is just that [not really really
dɛʔaknɔhweʔó:ʔ shɛ nhó: snagreʔ], tréhs a:yé:ʔ ɔknigɔhsá:dɔʔk.
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, Eksaʔgó:wah
dialogue)
- (451) Èhɛʔ, ganó:ʔ, [né:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh oya:nréʔ giʔ gyɛ:ʔ gwaʔtoh.]
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,
Enq̄hsɔnyaʔdaʔsɔ:ʔq̄h dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ne:* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne:* *tso: shəh* 'it's just that', p. 947
- ⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
- ⇒ *Tso:* 'just', 'only', p. 1030

Nẹ: 'this', 'these'

Particle functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing or phrase-initial (as in *nẹ: atsógwəhda* 'these pipes, this pipe').

- (452) *Ehẹ́*, *ohya:jí* *ho'dé* *degahswa'né:t* *ogwá:yẹ́*. **Nẹ:** *gi* *gyé:*
Yes, berry kind pie we.have.it. this.one just emphasis
sná'dá:k.
eat.it.
'Yes, we have blueberry pie. Here then, eat this (pie).' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294, *Dwade:kó:nih* dialogue)
- (453) *O:néh gi*, *gado:gé:* *gaetsgó:t*, *gado:gé:* *hni* *agaejaodé* **nẹ:**
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) *Gaẹ gwa* *gi'shəh* *nhọ:wéh* *a:gadóhse:* **nẹ:**
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: nẹ: dah* 'and now', p. 823
- ⇒ *Nẹ:* 'look!', 'say!', 'see', p. 949
- ⇒ *Nẹ: di' ni:s* 'how about you?', p. 950

- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *hwa' wa'-ne:'* 'nowadays', p. 950
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *ne:'* *i:s* 'how about you', p. 951
- ⇒ *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
- ⇒ *Nɛ:* *tsɔ: ni-* 'just', p. 953
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-dah* 'this', 'this way', p. 953
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-dah* 'here, take this', p. 954
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh* 'this one', p. 954
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh gwa:dih* 'here', 'this side', 'over here', p. 955
- ⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh hwa'* 'this time', p. 956

Nɛ: 'look!', 'say!', 'see!'

Particle functioning as a "command" (§27.1.5), said when drawing attention to something.

- (455) *Nɛ:*. *Tɛnɛnɔgye's*. *Háe! háe!*
 Look they.originate.from.there hi hi
 'Look. There they are. Hi! Hi!' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, *Dɛdwa'ɛnáɛ'* dialogue)
- (456) *Nɛ:* *ha'satgahtóh o:yá' tganóhso:t*. *A:yé:'* *sɔgwa'*
 say have.a.look other house.standing.over.there it.seems someone
n'áht gonɛnə'dínyɔ'dɔh.
 person they.have.moved.in
 'Say, have a look at the next house. It seems like somebody has moved in.'
 (Mithun & Henry 1984: 441, *Dwɛnɔhsanékahɔ'* dialogue)
- (457) *Nɛ:* *swatgahtóh grahe:t*.
 Look! take.a.look tree
 'Look at this pine tree.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (458) *Nɛ:* - *ne:'* *hɔ:ni'* *gonahdrɔ'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:’ ‘nowadays’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (460) **Nɛ: hwa’ wa’-ne:’ tɛ’ de’sgánagre’.**
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:’* ‘today’, ‘now’, p. 1037

Nẹ: ne:’ i:s ‘how about you?’

Particle group; free-standing.

- (461) Nẹ: ne:’ i:s? Dẹ’ nis ho’dẹ’ nisa’nigóho’dẹ:?
 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:’* ‘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 gi’ nhó: ẹgatn’ọhdáhgo’.
 this.one-here just where I.will.debarK
 ‘I’ll get out here.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, O’dréhdatgi’ dialogue)
- (463) Tẹ’ gyé:’ hné:’ dẹhadi’drehdó: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’dréhdatgi’ dialogue)
- (464) Nẹ: toh ni:yó: hó:yẹ’.
 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 niyó:** hohwihnsdaɛʔ.
this.here just even that a.certain.amount he.has.money
‘Also, right now he has very little money.’
- (467) Hohsé: **nɛ: tsɔ: gwaʔ toh nihahné: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: hohwíhnsdaɛʔ.
 this.here just a.certain.amount he.has.money
 ‘He has very little money.’

(469) Nɛ: tsɔ: niwatónáʔ daʔ.
 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:yeʔ.
 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
- ⇒ *Nɛ̃*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948
- ⇒ *Nɛ̃:-dah* ‘here, take this’, p. 954

Nɛ̃:-dah ‘here, take this’

Particle group functioning as a “command” (§27.1.5), said when handing an item to someone.

- (471) Nɛ̃:-dáh giʔ gyɛ:ʔ satgɛ:ʔ sé: agwáyáʔ da: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
- ⇒ *Nɛ̃*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

Nɛ̃:-gyɛh ‘this one’

Particle group functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing or preceding the word it modifies (as in *nɛ̃:gyɛh hwaʔ* ‘this time’).

- (472) Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ho:wɛ́h nɛ̃:-gyɛh.
it.is also in.fact it.is.his this.one
‘This is also his.’

Related

- ⇒ [-gyɛh] ‘this’, ‘that’, p. 882
- ⇒ *Nɛ̃*: ‘this’, ‘these’, p. 948

⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh gwa:dih* ‘here’, ‘this side’, ‘over here’, p. 955

⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh hwaʔ* ‘this time’, p. 955

***Nɛ:-gyɛh 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 nɛ:gyɛh 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, *Gəhwajiyá:deʔ* dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* ‘to one side’, p. 873

⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh* ‘this one’, p. 954

***Nɛ:-gyɛh hwaʔ* ‘this one’**

Particle group functioning as “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

- (474) *Ne:ʔ nəh toh nəyá:wɛh həwátgatsaʔt shɛh nəh:*
 that-is when that.one so.it.will.happen it.will.come.off that place
hesodá:həh nɛ:-gyɛh hwaʔ gáɛho: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

⇒ *Hwaʔ* ‘this time’, ‘next’, p. 907

⇒ *Nɛ:-gyɛh* ‘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
dejojẹnhó: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) Eẹgahyagwahsé:k hẹ' ni:' [nẹh ẹgáhdó: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 dwáhdé: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) Eỵosdaẹda'ọhó:k gi'-shẹ-hwa' hne:' [nẹh ẹtsyeh].
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: gyɛ:?, Ni: gɛ:?' I did it'

Particle group functioning as an "emphatic pronoun" (§6.1); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (480) Ni: gɛ: tóh-ne:ʔ ɔgahdɔ: neʔ agétgwɛʔdaʔ. Tɛʔ ní:s gaʔ-tóh
 the.me emphasis this.one I.lost.it the my.wallet not you anywhere
 deʔse:gɛ:ʔ
 you.didn't.see
 '...mind you, I lost my wallet. You haven't seen it?' (Mithun & Henry
 1984: 184, Gatgwɛʔdaʔ dialogue)

- (481) Ni: gɛ: giʔ ahí:ʔ a:gɛniháʔ sa:wɛʔ
 the.me emphasis just I.thought I.should.borrow you.own.it
 degahenáʔtraʔse:ʔ.
 scissors
 'I thought I might borrow your scissors.' (Mithun and Henry, 1984, 368)
 (Degahenáʔtraʔse:ʔ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Gye:* 'just the one', p. 881

⇒ *I:*, *Ni:*, 'I', 'we', p. 910

Nigε'qh (conjunction)

Particle ...*nigε'qh* 'or' appears in conjunction phrases (§30, §30.3); enclitic.

Related

⇒ *Gεh ga:t gi' shεh nigε'qh* 'or?', p. 861

⇒ *Gεh tε' nigε'qh* 'or not?', p. 863

⇒ *Ne:' gεh ... ne:/ne' nigε'qh 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:, tε' gyε:'-qh **onenε'géh nigwa:díh** 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, Dε'
Ho'dε' Nεsa: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:ʔ*, *nyo:ʔ* '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:ʔ* 'when', p. 1021

None:ʔ, Nəne:ʔ 'mind you', 'you know'

Particle signaling shared knowledge (known to both speaker and listener, §35.3.4); free-standing.

- (483) *Səheh gyə:ʔ nōne:ʔ gá:dəh deyonadáwənyeʔ*.
 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 giʔ gyé:ʔəh ɛsəhdé:diʔ. O:nəh gyé:ʔ nōne:ʔ hné:ʔ*
 now just I.guess I.will.go.home now emphasis you.know in.fact
ha'wa:j'áht degáhswə'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:ʔ* 'it is', p. 928
- ⇒ *Nə:* '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 *nyá:wəh* 'thanks' or *nya:wəh (seʔ) héʔ ni:ʔ* 'thanks, me too' (to the Creator), and the other people say *nyoh* in acknowledgement.

- (485) **Nya:wəh** gi' gyé:ʔ adi:dwá:dọ:t.
acknowledge just this.one we.all.ate.together
'Thank you that we ate together.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 294,
Dwade:kó:nih dialogue)
- (486) Hao' di' sáh. O:nəh gi' hyá:. **Nya:wəh** gi' gyé:ʔ shəh
Ok so you.know now just time acknowledge just this.one that
nyó: daskn'óhda:.
place how.it.is you.put.me.in
'Alright. So long. Thanks for the ride.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339,
O'dréhdatgi' dialogue)
- (487) Ahé' ne' hagehjihá' **nya:wəh** shəh ehswá:yọ'ʔ.
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:wəh* 'thanks'.
One can also say it sarcastically to bug someone.

- (488) **Nyoh!** **Nya:wəh** hni'. O:nəh gi' ɛgakeho:wí' akwá:ji:ya',
Ok! Thanks as.well now just I.will.tell.them my.family
ɛgake'nigəhəđáhdé' shəh niyó:gyé:ʔ.
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," ahé' ne' hagehjih, "dɛgadɾɛnɔ:táhs gi' ne'
o.k. he.said the old.man I.will.pray/hope just the
ehswadɾahswíhyəh: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: gyagohdɛgyɔ:?
 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’ qh ga:t gi’ shɛh gyɛ:gwa’* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

⇒ *O: tɛ’ qh ga:t gi’ shɛh ne:’ hwa’* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962

‘O ɔ:, O: qh’ ‘oh really?’

Particle group functioning as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2), implying *ɛhɛ’* ‘yes’ or *tɛ’* ‘no’ answers.

- (491) O: qh?
 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 niɣɛ' 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: (giʔ), (ga:t-)giʔ shɛ̃h ne:ʔ hwaʔ.
 oh not I.guess just just that it.is this.time
 ‘Maybe, maybe not.’

Related

- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shɛ̃h ‘maybe’, ‘or maybe’, p. 857
- ⇒ Ga:t giʔ shɛ̃h tɛ̃ ʔ ‘maybe not’, ‘or not’, p. 858
- ⇒ Gɛ̃h ga:t giʔ shɛ̃h niɣɛ̃ʔ qh ‘or?’, p. 861
- ⇒ Giʔ ‘just’, p. 865
- ⇒ O:, ó:ò: ‘oh’, p. 961
- ⇒ O: tɛ̃ ʔ qh ga:t giʔ shɛ̃h gyɛ:gwaʔ ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ Oh, ɔ:, ɔ ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974
- ⇒ Shɛ̃h ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 982
- ⇒ Tɛ̃ ʔ ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999
- ⇒ Tɛ̃ ʔ giʔ shɛ̃h hwaʔ daʔ ʔ ‘maybe not’, p. 1006

Ogwehɛ:gyéʔ ‘now and then’, ‘now and again’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (495) Ogwehɛ:gyéʔ gɛ:s ahsyɔʔ.
 now.and.again usually you’ll.arrive
 ‘Now and again you’ll be here.’

Related

- ⇒ Hɛ:-gyɛ̃h, Hɛ:gyɛ̃h ‘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:yẹ' 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'sénogye'.
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*^ʔ*gę*: *gwa:dih shęh* ‘behind’, p. 965
- ⇒ *Ohna*^ʔ*gęhjih* ‘late’, ‘back then’, ‘the bottom’, p. 966
- ⇒ *Ohna*^ʔ*gę*: ‘underneath’, ‘beneath’, ‘under’, p. 966

Ohna^ʔ*gę*: *gwa:dih shęh* ‘behind’, ‘back’, ‘backwards’

Verb and particle group (*oh*)*na*^ʔ*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^ʔ tsę: **na**^ʔ*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**^ʔ*gę*:^ʔ hejiswaťgáhtoh.
 don’t back you.all.will.look.that.way
 ‘You must not look back.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (504) Gei nińęnado:wá:s ne^ʔ gwa^ʔ-tóh ne^ʔ hodi:tse:né^ʔ so:wá:s
 four a.number.of.hunters the that.one the their.pet dog
ohna^ʔ*gę*:^ʔ hadínęhe:^ʔ.
 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**^ʔ*gę*:^ʔ/**na**^ʔ*gę*:^ʔ **shęh** ganóhso:t
 behind that standing.house
 ‘behind the house’
- (506) **ohna**:*gę*:^ʔ ganóhsade^ʔ
 behind the.existing.house
 ‘the house behind the house’
- (507) Ne: gi^ʔ tsę: **na**^ʔ*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'gɛhjih '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'gɛhjih* '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 di' nhɔ:wɛh nihswe's ó:nɛh?*
 which then place you.all.are.here now
 'Where then are you now?'
- (513) **O:nɛh** *gi' ha'gahé: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** *gi' hodehsroníhs'ɔh.*
 now just he.is.ready
 'He is ready now.'
- (515) **O:nɛh** *gi' ɛgoyɛ'ɛɛtwaʔhsɔ'ɔh.*
 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
eyagokwaj̄hséha: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, Q̄d̄w̄en̄q̄dáhtaʹ 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 dew̄en̄ihóksq̄h 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 hodádit̄s̄go:t.
now again there he.sits.himself
‘Now again he has himself sitting there.’
- (519) Agahdr̄oʹs **o:n̄eh e:ʹ** ji trehs sat̄s̄e:n̄ó: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'ségøhe: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 gwa'**, **nə-gwa'** ahsha:kni:gé' ne' hagehsotgəhé:
 now just.now now-just.now we.saw.him the our.late.grandfather
 togyəh dəhayagé',
 there he.was.going.out
 'And all at once we saw my late grandfather, who was going out from there.' (Henry 2005)
- (525) Gytogót toh hehéhta', heyohé: hə hne:' i:só'
 always that.one he.did.it.on.purpose, even and in.fact more
 ahahnegéha'. **O:nəh gwa'** aho'nigəháəda', aga:gwe:ní' ahóyogya'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) Honó'séh hada:ksé' ne' hohshə:. **O:nəh gwa'** a:yé:' ahédagra'.
 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 gwa'** dó:gəhs ahéhe: hagéhji'.
 now just.now truly he.conveyed.it.to.her this.old.one
 'Finally the Old One (Hi'No') gave her the news she wanted.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (528) **O:nəh é:'** Hi'no' ha'hó:di' dewənihóksəh shəh níwe:
 now again Hi'no' he.threw.it lightning.bolts that where.it.was
 oshaísda', **o:nəh gwa'** ahá:nyo'.
 snake, now just.now he.died
 'Again and again Hi'No' hurled lightning bolts at the monster snake. Finally the poisoner, the giant serpent, was killed.' (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa'* 'immediately', 'right then', 'just then', 'finally', p. 870
 ⇒ *O:nəh, Ne' 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: toháʔ** ɛdwahdɛ:diʔ.
 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:ʔ.
 now almost there he.will.return.there
 ‘He is almost ready to return.’
- (531) **O:nəh to:háh** John ɛhshodɔhswéʔdɛʔ.
 Now almost John he.will.become.hungry.again.
 ‘John is almost going to get hungry again.’
- (532) **O:nəh diʔ to:háh** hɛgahé:ʔ ɛdwɛnihe:ʔ.
 now so almost the.time.has.come we.will.quit
 ‘Now it is almost time for us to quit.’
- (533) **O:nəh hné:ʔ to:háh** ja:dáhk niyohwihsdáʔe:.
 now in.fact almost seven o’clock
 ‘It is now almost seven o’clock.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgəh dialogue)
- (534) **O:nəh to:háh** ɛshá:yɔʔ.
 now almost he.will.go.back
 ‘He is almost ready to go back.’
- (535) **O:nəh giʔ to:háh** hɛkní:yoh.
 now just almost we.will.arrive.there
 ‘We’ll be there soon.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481, Dɛdwaʔɛnáɛʔ dialogue)

Related

⇒ *O:nəh*, *Neʔ 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: tgwáháqʔ 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 deʔagodigaɛʔq:ʔ akínɔhaʔ. 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 ganóhsesgeh.
 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
- ⇒ Sgahoʔdeʔɛh 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 *’qh*, *’q:*, *’q*.

- (544) To *’q:* ní:yoht.
that I.wonder it.is.like.that
‘I wonder if it is like that.’
- (545) Agi’da’*’qh qh* shèh nà’onishé’ hohta:’.
I.slept I.guess that during he.spoke
‘I suppose I slept while he spoke.’
- (546) A:yé:’ gwe:gó’ *q* swayá’dá:’. Swatga’dé’ gi’ gye:’.
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, Gəhwajiyá:de’ dialogue)
- (547) Ó:, hyei’shó:’ *’q áqdaḥse’*. Onèh *’q*
O, six-ish you.should.come then. I.guess
’eyagokwaiḥséha: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’ dialogue)
- (548) *’qh*, a:yé:’ i:wí: odq̄tga:dé’ *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,
’Eyagwəhdé:di’ dialogue)
- (549) A:yé:’ agwèh onèhé’ osahe’dá’ ohq̄nā’dá’ *q* hni’,
it.seems we.have corn beans potatoes I.guess and
‘... It seems like we think corn, beans, and potatoes,’ (Mithun & Henry
1984: 420, *’Eṣwayəto’ Gèh* dialogue) (listing what will be planted)
- (550) I:wí: ahséh nigaya:gé:’ *q* a:gagwé:ni’.
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,
’Eṣwayəto’ Gèh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Dɛːʔ qh neːʔ hoːdɛːʔ* ‘what on earth?’, p. 829
- ⇒ *Gyɛːʔ qh* ‘maybe’, ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder’, p. 884
- ⇒ *Neːʔ giʔ gyɛːʔ qh* ‘I guess’, p. 935
- ⇒ *Neːʔ qh* ‘I guess it is’, p. 944
- ⇒ *Oːʔq; oː qh* ‘oh really?’, p. 961
- ⇒ *Oː tɛːʔ qh gaːt giʔ shɛh gyɛːgwaːʔ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Oː tɛːʔ qh gaːt giʔ shɛh neːʔ hwaːʔ* ‘maybe, maybe not’, p. 962
- ⇒ *Oh neːʔ* ‘maybe’, p. 975
- ⇒ *Tɛːʔ gyɛːʔ 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** gohwihsdagaːdeː.
 Mary I.wonder it.is she.has.a.lot.of.money
 ‘Maybe Mary has a lot of money.’
- (552) “Dɛːʔ **qh** **neːʔ** na:ya:wɛh,” aːa:gɛːʔ,
 what I.wonder it.is it.would.happen she.said
 “e:gyadeːsgóh nɛːgyɛh ohnáwaot?”
 we.should.immerse.ourselves this well
 “‘What would really happen,’ she said, ‘if we got into the well?’” (Henry 2005)
- (553) Akeyatgahtóː, agíː, “Tɛːʔ **qh** **neːʔ** daːʔó a:wá:dqː.”
 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:weh, Ne' q:weh 'really'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); clause-initial.

- (554) Ne' q:weh gaqde:nqhk.
the truly they.are.related
'They really are related.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs q:weh* 'really', p. 876
⇒ *Gwahs q:wəh se'* 'indeed', 'for sure', p. 876
⇒ *Sheh q:weh* '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
- ⇒ *Ehe' se'* 'it is so', 'yes indeed', p. 842
- ⇒ *Gwahs q: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: se'* 'you know', p. 945
- ⇒ *Sah* 'you know', p. 976
- ⇒ *Se' he' ni: se'* 'me too', 'us too', p. 977
- ⇒ *Tε' se'* 'not really', 'but then not really', p. 1013

Se' he' ni: se' 'me too', 'us too'

Particle group ... (*se'*) *he' ni: se'* functions as an emphatic pronoun (§6.1); enclitic.

- (556) A:ga^hyagwa^hsé:k se' he' ni: se' 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) Agahyagwe^hné: se' he' ni: se'.
 I've.picked.fruit you.know also the.me
 'I've also picked fruit.' (I've experienced this)

Related

- ⇒ *He'* 'also', 'too', p. 895
- ⇒ *He' ni: se'* 'me too', 'us too', p. 896
- ⇒ *I: se', Ni: se'*, 'I', 'we', p. 910
- ⇒ *Se'* 'you know', p. 977

Senyɛ́'sgwadih 'to your left'

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (558) **senyɛ́'sgwadih**
se-nyɛ́'s-gwadih
REP-2S.A-NOUN-side.STAT
'to your left'
- (559) **Senyɛ́'sgwadih** goya'danɛ́dagóh 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:díh** 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
⇒ *Senyɛ́'sgwadih* 'to your left', p. 978

Sgaho'dé:ʔəh ‘something’, ‘anything’

Particle functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (561) Hna'gəhká:ʔ gi'-shəh sgaho'dé:ʔəh?
 Undies or something
 ‘Underclothes or something?’ (saleslady suggesting something to buy)(Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (562) A:sná'daəní' gi' gyé:ʔ, sgaho'dé:ʔəh ne' wa'jih 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, Dwəŋəhsanékahə' dialogue)
- (563) A:yé:ʔ sgaho'dé:ʔəh snegé:haʔ.
 it.seems something you.are.drinking
 ‘It looks like you are drinking something.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)

Related

⇒ *Ho'dé* ‘kind’, p. 904

⇒ *Sgaho'dé:ʔəh o:ya* ‘anything else’, p. 979

Sgaho'dé:ʔəh o:ya ‘anything else’

Particle and noun, *sgaho'dé:ʔəh ... o:ya* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (564) Tə' gəh ta'desadəhwejo:nih sgaho'dé:ʔəh o:yaʔ? Adáhdí'tra'
 not Q any.old.thing.you.want anything other? socks
 ahdahgwá' gi'-shəh?
 shoes maybe?
 ‘There was not anything else you wanted? Stockings, or shoes?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 225, Agya'dawí'tra' dialogue)
- (565) Sgaho'dé:ʔəh di' gəh o:yá' sanáhsgwaəʔ?
 anything so Q other you.have.pets
 ‘Do you have any other pets?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 317, Sanahsgwaəʔ gəh sgaho'dé:ʔəh? dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Ho'de'* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *O:ya'* 'another', 'other', 'else', p. 973
- ⇒ *Sgaho'de:eh* 'something', p. 979

Sganye'sgwadih 'to its left'

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial.

- (566) **sganye'sgwadih**
 s-ga-nye's-gwadih
 REP-3S.A-NOUN-side.STAT
 'to its left'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwa:dih, gwai* 'to one side', p. 873
- ⇒ *He:yo: dagwaisho:* 'straight ahead', p. 894
- ⇒ *Sewaihohsdoh gwa:dih* 'to your right', p. 978

Shəh '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 *tseh*.

- (567) *Dega'dreħda'geħa:gye'* [**shəh** ahə:nó:da:'].
 two.cars.at.a.time [that they.put.in]
 '[They put in] the cars two at a time.'
- (568) *Gwi:déh ahé'* [Tina go:gá's nawé'da'].
 Peter he.said [Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy]
 'Peter said [Tina likes sugar/candy].' (This sentence shows that **shəh** is optional.)

- (569) Gwi:déh honqhdó' [shəh 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 **shəh** is optional.)
- (571) A:yé:' do:géhs ɔ: odɔtga:dé' [shəh 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) **shəh** niyó:sde'
that how.heavy.it.is
'mass'
- (573) **shəh** nigá:dɛ:s
that how.thick.it.is
'volume', 'density', 'mass', 'how thick it is'
- (574) **shəh** niyóyade:s
that how.deep.it.is
'a hole'
- (575) **shəh** niwagade'dró'dɛ:
that how.I.feel
'how I feel about something, someone'
- (576) [shəh niyo:wéh] taná:gre'
[that it.is.a.certain.distance] he.lives.there
'He lives [that far (away)].'
- (577) Sekdó: [shəh niyoga'óhsrɔ'dɛ:]
try.it [that what.kind.of.taste.it.has]
'Taste it!' 'Try [what it tastes like]!'
- (578) Ohsga:náht [shəh nihahnatsí:yo:].
it.is.attractive [that what.a.nice.butt.he.has]
'He has [an attractive butt].'

C Particle dictionary

- (579) Dəkde:ní' [shɛh niwagrihó'dɛ:].
I.will.change.it [that what.my.kind.of.matter.is]
'I am going to change [my outlook].'
- (580) Aqoɣhɔdɔh oge'drahéhs [shɛh nagadekó:ni'].
it.is.above.average I.exceeded [that what.I.ate]
'I ate too much.'
- (581) O:nɛh hni' ohsɔdagwe:gɔh dɛhodinɛhé:' ne' hɛnɔ:gwéh [shɛh
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 '[]').

Shɛh 'because'

Particle, clause-initial in causative dependent clauses (§29.3). Also pronounced as *tɛh*.

- (582) Dɛhɛnadatnɔhwé's Gwi:déh Ed hni' [shɛh hona:dáo']
They.like.each.other Peter Ed and that they.are.friends
'Peter and Ed like each other because they are friends.'
- (583) Agyɔ'niɣo:gó' [shɛh ɔdowishé' goná:jih].
her.mind.is.scattered that she.died her.friend
'She is broken-hearted because her friend died.'

Related

- ⇒ *Nigé'ɔh* 'or?', *Gi' shɛh* 'or', etc., p. 597
- ⇒ *Dɛ' ni:yoht shɛh* 'why?', p. 829
- ⇒ *Ewa:dɔ' gi' shɛh* 'maybe', 'a possibility', p. 844
- ⇒ *Gao' shɛh niyo:we'* 'before', 'until', p. 856
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh* 'maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ *Ga:t gi' shɛh tɛ'* 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ *Gɛh ga:t gi' shɛh nigé'ɔh* 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ *Gwahs shɛh ni-* 'as...as', p. 877

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa' gi' shɛh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 886
- ⇒ *Gyɛ:gwa' gi' shɛh* 'or maybe', p. 886
- ⇒ *Heyohe:' shɛh* 'more than', p. 895
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh shɛh* 'no matter how much', 'whether or not', 'even if', p. 899
- ⇒ *Hne:' shɛh* 'because', p. 902
- ⇒ *Ji trehs shɛh* 'too much so for', 'so much so', p. 917
- ⇒ *Ne:' gi' shɛh hwa'* 'maybe this time', p. 936
- ⇒ *Ne:' gi' shɛh ne' ... gi' shɛh* 'or', p. 937
- ⇒ *Ne:' tsɔ: shɛh* 'but, it's just that...', p. 947
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shɛh gyɛ:gwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *O: tɛ' qh ga:t gi' shɛh ne:' hwa'* 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ *Ohɛ:dɔ: shɛh* 'ahead', 'in front', 'forward', p. 964
- ⇒ *Ohna'gɛ: gwa:dih shɛh* 'behind', p. 965
- ⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', p. 980
- ⇒ *Shɛh hɔ: heyodokda'qh* 'the bottom', p. 984
- ⇒ *Shɛh ho'dɛ'* 'a certain something', 'that which', p. 983
- ⇒ *Shɛh hɔ:weh* 'the place where', 'whereabouts', p. 984
- ⇒ *shɛh na'onishe', tsa'onishe'*, [tsi-] 'while', 'when', p. 985
- ⇒ *Shɛh ni:yoht ni-* 'how', 'the manner in which', p. 986
- ⇒ *Shɛh niyo:we'* 'as far as', 987
- ⇒ *Shɛh nohgeh* 'even', p. 988
- ⇒ *Tɛ' gi' shɛh hwa' da'ɔ'* 'maybe not', p. 1006
- ⇒ *To hɛ:gyɛh shɛh* 'really', p. 1019
- ⇒ *Toh shɛh ni-* 'to that degree', p. 1022

Shɛh ho'dɛ' 'a certain something', 'that which'

Particle group functioning as a "definite pronoun" §6.4; free-standing.

- (584) Gado:gɛ: **shɛh ho'dɛ'** a'ɔgwayɔdahk.
 together that kind we.all.came.together
 'A certain something that brought us together.' (a meeting, etc.)

Related

- ⇒ *Ho'dɛ'* 'kind', p. 904
- ⇒ *Shɛh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Shəh hɔ: heyodokda'ɔh 'the bottom'

Particle group and verb *shəh hɔ: heyodokdá'ɔh* functions as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); likely clause-initial; *hɔ:weh* is spelled variously as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:weh*, or *nhɔ:weh*.

- (585) shəh hɔ: heyodokda'ɔh
that place the.end
'the bottom'

Related

- ⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982

Shəh hɔ:weh 'the place where', 'whereabouts'

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), clause-initial in dependent clauses; *hɔ:weh* is spelled variously as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:weh*, or *nhɔ:weh*.

- (586) Knigɔhá:ʔ [shəh hɔ:wéh dəgátahak].
I.watch that where I.will.walk
'I watch where I walk.'
- (587) Hɛtsyé:ʔ [shəh 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.'
- (588) [shəh hɔ:wéh nito:né:nɔ:]
that where they.come.from.a.certain.place
'where they come from'

Related

- ⇒ Clauses with *hɔ:(weh)* 'the place where', p. 591
⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *Shəh* 'that', 'because', p. 982
⇒ *Shəh hɔ: heyodokda'ɔh* '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' qh qh [shəh na' onishé' hohta:'].
 I.slept I.guess that it.is.a.certain.time he.is.speaking
 'I slept while he spoke.'
- (590) Hohsé: [tsa' onihse' hɔgwé'dase:].
 he.was.fat while he.is.a.young.man
 'While he was young, he was fat.'
- (591) [Tsigogwe'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 gɛ:s [tsigogwe'da:sé'] tiga:gwe:góh gé:s
 I.love.it usually when.I.was.young all.over usually
 agahyagwəhɛgyé'sgɛhe:'.
 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

Shẹh ni-, Shẹh ni:yoht ni- ‘how’, ‘the manner in which’

Particle and verb [(shẹh) ni-, shẹh ni:yoht ni-] is clause-initial in a manner clause (§29.4).

- (593) Knigqhá:ʔ [shẹh ni:yóht dẹgátahahk].
I.watch that which.way I.will.walk
‘I watch how I walk.’
cf. ni:-yó-ht PART-3S.P-resemble.STAT

- (594) shẹh nàʔá:wẹh
that how.it.happened
‘how it happened’
cf. n-áʔ-á:-w-ẹh PART-FAC-3S.P-happen-STAT

- (595) shẹh niyóyanreʔ
that how.good.it.is
‘how good it is’
cf. ni-yó-yanreʔ PART-3S.P-good.STAT

- (596) niyá:wẹhs
ni-yá:-w-ẹ-hs
PART-3S.P-happen-HAB
‘how it happens’

- (597) niyáwẹʔqh
ni-yá:-w-ẹ-ʔqh
PART-3S.P-happen-STAT
‘how it did happen’

Related

⇒ *Shẹh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980

Shẹh niyo:weʔ ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’

Particle group *shẹh 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:’, **shẹh niyó:’** 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’ hẹwagi’dró:’ [**shẹ 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’ shẹh niyo:we’* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we’, ni:yo:’, nyo:’* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shẹh* ‘that’, ‘because’, p. 980
- ⇒ *Toh niyo:we’* ‘that far’, p. 1020
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we’ ne:’* ‘when’, p. 1021

Shẹh niyo:we’, Gao’ shẹh niyo:we’ ‘before’, ‘until’

Particle group (*gao’*) *shẹh niyo:we’* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2, §29.10); clause-initial in dependent clauses; *niyó:we’* also has the short forms *ní:yo:’* or *nyo:’*.

- (600) Agwa’nigqhá’ [**shẹh niyo:wé’** hẹdwawayẹ:né:da’].
we.are.waiting that it.is.a.certain.distance we.will.finish
‘We’re waiting until the time we’re finished.’
- (601) Háo’ o:nẹh dajagyẹhẹ:toh! He’ sniḡdi’dré: o:nẹh [**shẹh**
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, Dẹdwa’ẹnáj’ 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:doh
oh much it.is.lessened today, that even the fish, I.say
gye:' 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:yọ:t.
over.there it.is.hanging.there
‘It was hanging over there.’
- (605) Si: giʔ gyẹ:ʔ dagáẹʔ ó:nẹh!
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:weh* ‘way over there’, p. 991
 ⇒ *Si:-gyẹh* ‘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:yẹʔ.
over.there side it.lies.there
‘It is lying over there.’
- (607) Si giʔ-shẹh hwaʔ gwa:dih gaʔto:háh tganí:yọ:t.
over.there maybe this.place side somewhere it.is.hanging.there
‘Maybe it is hanging somewhere over there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142,
Satgẹh 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:díh 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 nǎ'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, Eşwayəto' 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:wɛh** tɣani:yɔ:t sagya'dawí'tra'.
over.there place it.is.hanging.there your.coat
'Your coat is hanging way over there.'
- (615) Si: **hɔ:wɛh** ha'ɛ' ɛyékwa', wa'jih 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:wɛh* '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 tɣá: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

- ⇒ S_Q, s_Q: nʼaht ‘who’, p. 993
- ⇒ S_Q: go:wəh ‘whose’ (interrogative), p. 995
- ⇒ S_Q: gwaʼ nʼaht ‘anybody at all’, ‘anyone at all’, ‘any living thing’, ‘somebody’, ‘whoever’, p. 995
- ⇒ S_Q: gwaʼ nʼaht o:yaʼ ‘someone else’, p. 996
- ⇒ S_Q: gwadih ‘on some other side’, p. 996
- ⇒ S_Q:-ga:ʼ ‘anyone’, ‘any living thing’, p. 997
- ⇒ S_Q:-ga:ʼah ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything (living)’, p. 997
- ⇒ T_Qʼ s_Q:-ga:ʼ ‘nobody’, ‘no one’, p. 1014

S_Q:, S_Q: nʼaht ‘who’

Particle group s_Q:... (nʼaht/nʼoht) 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) S_Q: ne:ʼʼ?
Who it.is
‘Who’s there?’
- (618) S_Q: hne:ʼ nʼáht to:gyəh eksá:ʼah?
who in.fact person that.one girl
‘Who is that girl?’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 61, S_Q: Hne:ʼ Nʼaht To:gyəh?
dialogue)
- (619) S_Q: ʼəh hne:ʼ nʼaht gaqde:nəhk.
who I.wonder in.fact person her.relative
‘I am wondering who her people are.’
- (620) Daskro:wíʼ [s_Q: nʼaht daqdekónyahnəʼ].
you.tell.me who person someone.is.coming.to.eat
‘Tell me who’s coming to eat.’
- (621) Gwi:déh honəhdóʼ gəh [s_Q ʼə nʼáht gowanawéʼdagaʼsʼ]?
Peter he.knows Q who I.wonder person she.likes.the.taste.of.sugar
‘Does Peter know who likes candy?’

C Particle dictionary

- (622) Toh hɔ:wéh goda'stá' gɛ:s [sɔ: n'áht ne' ɛyɔŋɔhwé: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: agɔgwe'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 ga'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

Sq: 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) Sq: go:wəh tɔ gəʔdrəhdase:ʔ?
 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
 ⇒ *Sq:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

Sq: gwaʔ, Sq: gwaʔ nʔaht, Sq: gwaʔ nʔoht ‘anybody at all’, ‘anyone at all’, ‘any living thing’, ‘somebody’, ‘whoever’

Particle group *sq:-gwaʔ (nʔaht/nʔoht)* functions as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (627) Ahgwíh sq:-gwaʔ da:yókí:dahs.
 don’t someone-right.then they.should.stop.us
 ‘Don’t let anyone stop us.’ (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (628) Nɛ: haʔsatgahtóh o:yáʔ tganóhso:t. A:yé:ʔ
 look look.at.it other the.house.there It.seems
 sq:-gwaʔ-nʔáht gonɛnəʔdínyqʔdoh.
 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, Dwɛnɔhsanékahqʔ dialogue)
- (629) Háóʔ sq:-gwaʔ-nʔáht gaqdaʔgéh dɛhá:daʔ.
 come.on someone-right.then-person on.the.log he.stands
 ‘Come on, somebody stand on the log.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 481,
 Dɛdwaʔɛnəɛʔ dialogue)

- (630) Ahéʔ, “Tẹʔ gwahs.” Ahéʔ, “Trehş sɔ:-gwaʔ-nʔóht giʔ
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 tgá:gɔ:t sɔ:-gwaʔ-nʔóht o:yaʔ
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

⇒ *Sq:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

***Sq:-ga:ʔ* ‘anyone’, ‘any living thing’**

Particle group functioning as an “indefinite pronoun” (§6.5); free-standing.

- (632) *Hada:di:géʔ hnyagwáiʔ téʔ hwę:dóʔ sq:gá:ʔ degye:gé:ʔ toh*
 ...they.saw.it bear not ever anything it.was.seen that.one
na:gagowanéħę:k, to hniʔ na:yoyáʔ 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:ʔ] element (referring to living beings), p. 845

⇒ *Sq:* ‘some (person, thing)’, ‘any (person, thing)’, p. 992

***Sq:-ga:ʔah* ‘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) *sq:-ga:ʔah*
sq:-ga:-ʔah some(one)-ELEMENT-DIMINUTIVE
 ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything (living)’
- (634) *Sqga:ʔáh gęh hqwa:yé:di:ʔ*
 someone Q he.knows.him
 ‘Does someone know him?’ ‘Who knows him?’

C Particle dictionary

- (635) **Sq̄ga:ʼáh** ḡeh neʼ gaḡo:gwéh sw̄n̄hsanekah̄oʼ neʼ t̄éʼ
 Anyone Q the women your.neighbours the not
 deʼ agonyá:ḡoh?
 they.aren't.married
 'Do you have any women neighbors who are not married?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʼgó:wah dialogue)
- (636) Ne:ʼ giʼ h̄o:niʼ ahí:ʼ gyé:gwaʼ hné: hwaʼ a:gatró:wiʼ
 it.is just the.reason I.thought if in.fact this.time I.would.tell
 gyé:gwaʼ hné: hwaʼ **sq̄gá:ʼah** ɛ̄hod̄iʼ niḡohá̄edaʼ n̄e:-gyéh hwaʼ
 if in.fact this.time someone they.will.understand this time
 sh̄eh niga:ȳe:.
 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:w̄eh giʼ gyé:ʼ do:ḡéhs a:setséiʼ **sq̄gá:ʼah**
 I.hope just emphasis sure you.would.find.it someone
 a:heyaʼ dagé:nhaʼ,
 I.will.help.him
 'I sure hope you find someone who could help you, (Mithun & Henry 1984: 339, Oʼdréhd̄atgiʼ dialogue)
- (638) **Sq̄ga:ʼáh** ɔ̄gyénawahs!
 someone someone.help.me
 'Someone help me!'
- (639) Ó: Gyé:gwaʼ giʼ gyé:ʼ ɛ̄ga:she:ḡéʼ **sq̄gá:ʼah**,
 Oh, if just emphasis you.will.see.them someone,
 ɛ̄gasheho:wíʼ sh̄eh ɔ̄getgw̄éʼ dáhd̄o:ʼ.
 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, Gatgw̄éʼdaʼ dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [-ga:ʔ] 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** segé:is.
 little.bit move
 ‘Move a little bit.’
- (641) Tɛʔ hné:ʔ dɛʔheʔs. Honɔhɔkda:níh gyé:ʔ-gɛh **stɔ:həh**
 no in.fact he.is.not.here he.is.sick this.one-Q a.little
 hotowinyɔʔ sé: 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:dɛh. Gyɛ:gwáʔ-hne:-hwáʔ **stɔ:həh**
 four tens what.size.it.is maybe-in.fact a.little
 degyáhdiheh, shɛh 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**Tɛʔ ‘no’, ‘not’**

Particle signaling disagreement (§35.3.2); optional before a negated verb.

- (643) **Tɛʔ** ta:hayé:toh.
 not he.won’t.plant
 ‘No, he won’t plant.’

C Particle dictionary

- (644) **Tẹ'** **dewagadagáide'**.
not I'm.not.well
'No, I am not well.'
- (645) **Tẹ'** **toh degáhe:'**.
not there it.is.not.setting
'No, it isn't setting there.'
- (646) **Tẹ'** **tɔdesa'dré: tó:gyɛh!**
not you.won't.drive that.one
'Don't drive that over here!'
- (647) **Tẹ'** **ta'deyagodawé:nye'**.
not she.is.not.walking.about
'No, she isn't walking about.'
- (648) **Tẹ'** **ni:' toh tá:ge:'**.
not I there I'm.not.going
'No, I am not going there.'
- (649) **Tẹ'** **ni:' ta:gyé:na:.**
not I I.won't.accept.it
'No, I will not accept it.'
- (650) **Tẹ'** **gi' ni:' to tá:gye:.**
not just I there I.won't.do.it
'No, I will not do that.'

Tẹ' ahsɔh 'not yet'

Particle group *tẹ' ... ahsɔh* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (651) **Tẹ'** **gɛh ahsɔh de'otsehdɔh tó:gyɛh?!**
not Q yet it.is.not.getting.tired this.one
'Isn't that bear getting tired yet?!' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (652) **Tẹ'** **ahsɔh de'agatgéhɔh.**
not yet I'm.not.up
'I am not yet up.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgɛh dialogue)

Related

⇒ *Ahsəh* ‘still’, ‘yet’, p. 816

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

Tɛʔ daʔɔ ‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’

Particle group *tɛʔ ... daʔɔ* signals disagreement (§35.3.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (653) **tɛʔ da ʔɔ**
not and I.wonder
‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’
- (654) **Tɛʔ daʔɔ** toh tá:ge:.
not definitely.not there I.should.go.there
‘No, I will definitely not go.’
- (655) **Tɛʔ daʔɔ** a:həwayená:waʔs.
not definitely.not he.should.help.him
‘Definitely not; no one will help him.’
- (656) **Tɛʔ giʔ daʔɔ** ta:yagógaɛ.
no just definitely.not she.would.agree
‘No, she will never agree.’
- (657) “O:nɛh giʔ gɛ:s tɛʔ gwahs daʔɔ 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) **Jiʔtrɛhs** sahse:, sanəʔséh hniʔ. **Tɛʔ daʔɔ** 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:’ a:yé:’ niwú:s’uh. A:yé:’ tẹ́ da’o
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, Agya’dawí’tra’ dialogue)
- (660) A:yé:’ gyẹ:’ stọ:hóh ganó:’. Ne:’ tsó: shẹh oya:nré’
it.seems this.one little.bit expensive it.is just that good.ones
sẹ́-gyé: hné:’ gwa’-toh. Tẹ́ da’o
you.know-this.one in.fact that.one not certainly.not
a:wadahsgwí’tró:ni’, hẹ:gyẹ: ne’ haesatronihá:k
it.won’t.get.wrinkles no.matter the you.would.wear.clothes
aesé:da’.
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, Agya’dawí’tra’ dialogue)
- (661) O:nẹh o hné:’ gwé:goh. Tẹ́ o hné:’ da’o
now I.guess in.fact all not I.wonder in.fact definitely.not
daqsagọ’nigoháẹ’ 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, Dwẹnọhsanekahọ’ 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) Tɛ́ tɔ́ ne:ʔ dedó:gɛ́hs.
no that.one it.is it.is.not.true
'No, it isn't really true.'
- (663) Tɛ́ giʔ hne:ʔ dedo:gɛ́hs deʔsá:dɔ́h.
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:gɛ́hs* 'it is true', 'isn't it true?', p. 835
⇒ *Tɛ́* 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛ́ deʔgɛ́: 'it isn't'

Particle group [tɛ́ ... NOUN deʔgɛ́: neʔ NOUN] or [tɛ́ ... NOUN NOUN deʔgɛ́:] '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 [tɛ́ ... NOUN deʔgɛ́:] 'noun is not' conveys the idea that the noun (in square brackets) does not exist (667).

- (664) tɛ́ deʔ-gɛ́:
not not-it.is
'it isn't'
- (665) Tɛ́ hne:ʔ [ganyó:ʔ] deʔgɛ́: [neʔ awéheʔ]
Not in.fact animal it.is.not the flower(s)
'Flowers are not animals.'
- (666) Tɛ́ ní:ʔ deʔa:gé:gaʔs. Tɛ́ [ní:ʔ] [gwaʔyɔʔ] deʔgɛ́:.
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) Tɛ́ gwahs ɔ:wéh [ɔ:gwéh] degé:.
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:yɔ:?*
 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

Tɛ̃' gi' ni:' 'no, not me'

Particle group functioning as an “emphatic pronoun” (§6.1); free-standing.

- (673) Tɛ̃' gi' ni:' to tá:gye:.
not just the.me that I.wouldn't.do.it
'No, I will not do that.'

Related

- ⇒ Gi' 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ I:' Ni:' 'I, 'we', p. 910
- ⇒ Tɛ̃' 'no', 'not', p. 999

Tɛ̃' gi' shɛ̃h hwa' da'ɔ' 'maybe not'

Particle group *tɛ̃' gi' shɛ̃h (hwa')* (*daɔ:*) functions as a “doubt or certainty marker” (§35.2); free-standing or clause-initial.

- (674) Tɛ̃' gi' shɛ̃h hwa' - wa'gyɛ̃h dɛ̃' nɛ̃yá:wɛ̃h.
not just that this.time presently what it.will.happen
'Maybe not – we'll see.' (Carrier et al. 2013)
- (675) [Tɛ̃' gi' shɛ̃h hwa' daɔ: toh na:yá:wɛ̃h.]
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 gi' shɛ̃h 'maybe', 'or maybe', p. 857
- ⇒ Ga:t gi' shɛ̃h tɛ̃' 'maybe not', 'or not', p. 858
- ⇒ Gɛ̃h ga:t gi' shɛ̃h niɣɛ̃'ɔh 'or?', p. 861
- ⇒ Gi' 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ Hwa' 'this time', 'next', p. 907
- ⇒ O: tɛ̃' ɔh ga:t gi' shɛ̃h gyɛ̃:gwa' 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ O: tɛ̃' ɔh ga:t gi' shɛ̃h ne:' hwa' 'maybe, maybe not', p. 962
- ⇒ Shɛ̃h 'that', 'because', p. 980

⇒ *Tɛʔ* ‘no’, ‘not’, p. 999

⇒ *Tɛʔ daʔ q* ‘it will never happen’, ‘definitely not’, p. 1001

***Tɛʔ gwahs q:wɛh* ‘not really’, ‘not quite’**

Particle group *tɛʔ (gwahs) (q:wɛh)* signals disagreement (§35.3.2); clause-initial.

- (676) *Tɛʔ gwahs q:wɛh q:gwɛh dege:*
 not really truly person it.is.not
 ‘No, you are not really human.’
- (677) *Sq: ní:s nʔaht gwahs? Tɛʔ gwáhs q:wɛh dɛʔgoyɛdeí.* Dave
 who you who anyway not really truly I.do.not.know.you Dave
 Maracle gɛh haya:sóh neʔ hyáʔnih?
 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, Oʔdréhdətgiʔ dialogue)
- (678) *Tɛʔ giʔ hné:ʔ gwahs á:yɛ:ʔ, tréhs gyɛ:ʔ qh do:gɛhs*
 not just in.fact really it.seems too.much this.one I.guess it.is.true
wəhdahgwadɛ:s dewagɛ:sq:
 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, Gəhá:gq: dialogue)
- (679) *Tɛʔ gwahs deʔqniwayɛnédaʔqʔ, stó:hqh 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 degowanɛh 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* *ɔ:weh* ‘really’, p. 876
- ⇒ *O:weh*, *ne* *ɔ: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:yɔ*: *ɔgwa:yɛ*’ *o*’*wáhɔh*. **Tɛ**’
 it.is little it.is.a.certain.amount we.have meat not
gwa’-**toh** *dɛ*’*jɔ*:*gwa:yɛ*’ *ne*’ *onɛ*hɛ:’, *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’ *gyɛ*:’ *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' nẹya:wéh ẹdwáganya'k? Tẹ'
 then she.said what so something.will.happen we.will.pay not
 gyẹ: ne ne' - dẹ' di' ho'dẹ' ẹdwahs? Tẹ' gyẹ: ne ne:
 emphasis here the - what so kind we.will.use not emphasis here the
 ni: dẹ' ọ:gwa:yé' ne' ohwíhnda'."
 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
 nọne: 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, Eswayeto' Gẹh dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ *Gye:* 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ *Gye:* *qh* 'maybe', 'I guess', 'I wonder', p. 884
- ⇒ *Oh, q;* *q* '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) Ohyadqhsra:sé: i:wí: tɛ? hne: ohyadqhsra:gá:yqh.
new.book I.want not in.fact old.book
'I want the *new* book, not the *old* one.'
- (688) Agadadrihqnyé? ohyadqhsra: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:diʔ tɛʔ hne:ʔ neʔ gáqɛʔ.
 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 gaqɛʔ ne:ʔ. Tɛʔ hne:ʔ haqɛʔ 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
- ⇒ *Tɛ*: 'no', 'not', p. 999
- ⇒ *Tɛ* *dɛ* *gɛ*: 'it isn't', p. 1003

***Tɛ* *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:niʔ*, *dɛ* *ɛgwaheh* *tɛ* *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*. *Tɛ* *se* *sɔ:-gwáhs* *dɛ* *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
- ⇒ *Tɛ*: 'no', 'not', p. 999

***Tɛ* *sgaho* *dɛ* 'nothing', 'not anything'**

Particle group (*tɛ*)... *sgaho* *dɛ* functions as an "indefinite pronoun" (§6.5); free-standing.

- (700) *Tɛ* *sgaho* *dɛ* *desɛnɔhdɔ*.
 not anything you.do.not.know
 'No, you don't know anything.'

C Particle dictionary

- (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, Qdweŋqdáhtaʔ
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** dɛʔagodekó: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-odɛ-ʔ
INDEF-2S.A-JOINERÉ-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

***Tgɔ́haɔ́gyeʔ* ‘sometimes’**

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (707) *A:yé:ʔ gɛ:s tɔ́haɔ́gyeʔ neʔ tɛʔ gwáhs dɛʔ akniksaʔ dí: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
 ⇒ *Tgwɛ́hɛ:ʔ* ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

Tgwahaq:’ ‘sometimes’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (708) Ó: otgá’dé’ hne:’ gę:s ne’ tgwáhaq:’ hyei’, ó: tgwaháq:’ 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

- ⇒ *Tgøhaogye*’ ‘sometimes’, p. 1015
⇒ *Tgwęęę:*’ ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

Tgwęęę:’ ‘sometimes’

Atypical verb functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

- (709) Tgwęęę:’ hakdøhs.
sometimes he.stops.back.in
‘Sometimes he comes back around.’

Related

- ⇒ *Tgøhaogye*’ ‘sometimes’, p. 1015
⇒ *Tgwahaq:*’ ‘sometimes’, p. 1016

To, To:, Toh, Tq: ‘that one’

Particle functioning as a “demonstrative pronoun” (§6.3); free-standing.

- (710) Ahí:’ gi’ toh neyá:węh.
I.thought just that.one it.will.happen
‘I thought that’s what would happen.’
- (711) Dę’ hne:’ ni:yóht shęh toh naħsye:’?
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' tsq: gwa' toh* 'also', p. 928
- ⇒ *Ne: toh* 'here', p. 951
- ⇒ *Ne: toh gwa:dih* 'on this side', p. 952
- ⇒ *Ne: tsq: gwa' toh ni-* 'just a little bit', 'very little', p. 952
- ⇒ *Te' ga'-toh* 'nowhere', 'not anywhere', p. 1004
- ⇒ *Te' gwa'-toh* 'none at all', p. 1008
- ⇒ *Te' tq ne:?', Te' to ne:'* 'not really', p. 1015
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tq:* 'that one', p. 1016
- ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tq:* 'there', 'that place', p. 1017
- ⇒ *To gəh q ne:'* 'I wonder if it is', p. 1018
- ⇒ *To: gwa:dih* 'on that side', p. 1018
- ⇒ *To he:gyeh sheh* 'really', p. 1019
- ⇒ *To: hq: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 sheh ni-* 'to that degree', p. 1022
- ⇒ *To tsq:* 'that's all', p. 1023
- ⇒ *To tsq:* 'that's enough', p. 1023
- ⇒ *To:-gyeh* 'that one', p. 1023
- ⇒ *Toh-geh* 'there, then', p. 1025
- ⇒ *Toh-geh* 'and then', p. 1026
- ⇒ *Toh-geh hq:weh* 'where', p. 1026
- ⇒ *Toh-jih* 'just the one', 'just such a one', p. 1027

To, To:, Toh, Tq: '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) Dewagegaéhs **to:** há:ge:'.
 I'm.unwilling that.one I.will.go.there
 'I am unwilling to go there.'

Related

⇒ *To:, Toh, Tq:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

To gɛh ɔ ne:ʔ ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’

Particle group *to* (*gɛh*) (*ɔ*) (*ne:ʔ*) introduces conditional clauses (713–716), §29.2; clause-initial or free-standing. *Gɛh ɔ* is also spelled as *gɛʔɔ*, *gɛɔ* or *gaɔ*; and *ɔ* is also spelled as *ʔɔ*, *ɔh*, or *ɔ:*.

- (713) O gá-ɔ:/gɛ-ɔ: ne:ʔ 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) Eɣgoho:wíʔ [to gɛh ne:ʔ hé: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:ʔ* ‘is it that?’, ‘if it is that’, p. 863
⇒ *Oh*, *ɔ:*, *ɔ* ‘I guess’, ‘I wonder (if)’, p. 974
⇒ *Oh ne:ʔ* ‘maybe’, p. 975
⇒ *To:, Toh, Tq:* ‘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:-gyeh, hɛ:gyeh* ‘no matter’, p. 898
 ⇒ *Hɛ:-gyeh shɛh* ‘no matter how much’, ‘whether or not’, ‘even if’, p. 899
 ⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

To **hɔ:wɛh** ‘there’, ‘where’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3); clause-initial. *Hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:wɛh*, *nhɔ:wɛh*.

- (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** hɔ: sré:hah.
there place you.place.it
'That's where you put it.'

Related

- ⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907
⇒ *To:, Toh, Tɔ:* 'that one', p. 1016

To ne:ʔ, Neʔ to ne:ʔ 'that's the one'

Particle group (*ne:ʔ*) *to: ... ne:ʔ* functions as a "demonstrative pronoun" (§6.3); emphatic; clause-initial.

Related

- ⇒ *Neʔ to: ne:ʔ* 'that's the one', p. 927

To niyo:weʔ 'that far'

Particle and verb *toh ... niyo:weʔ* is used in comparisons (§31.1). *Niyó:weʔ* also has the short forms *ní:yo:ʔ* or *nyo:*.

- (722) **To** niyo:wéʔ hɛʔséʔ wa'héʔ hɛhsyɔʔ.
that a.certain.distance you.will.be.there time you.will.arrive.there
'You'll get that far before you arrive.'
- (723) **Toh** tsɔ: ni:yo:wéʔ hɛséʔ drɔ:ʔ.
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:ʔ neʔ heha:wé:noh.
that a.certain.distance the he.went.over.there
'That's as far as he has gone.'

- (725) “A:yé:ʔ, shəh nyó:ʔ ha'héʔ dedwataha'sé:ʔ, **to**
 it.seems that a.certain.distance he.went.there the.crossroad, that
nyo:wéʔ,” a'a:géʔ ne' ogya'sé:ʔ, a'a:géʔ.
 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:ʔ ahi:ʔ 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' shəh niyo:we'* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we'*, *ni:yo:ʔ*, *nyo:ʔ* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shəh niyo:we'* ‘as far as’, ‘as much as’, p. 986
- ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016
- ⇒ *To: niyo:we' ne:ʔ* ‘when’, p. 1021

To niyo:we' ne:ʔ ‘when’

Particles and verb, *to: ... niyo:(we') ne:ʔ* functions as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial. *Niyó:we'* also has the short forms *ní:yo:ʔ* or *nyo:*.

- (727) **To:** ni:yó: ne:ʔ heshe's.
 that a.certain.amount.of.time it.is you'll.come.around.again
 ‘That’s when your birthday is.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gao' shəh niyo:we'* ‘before’, ‘until’, p. 856
- ⇒ *Niyo:we'*, *ni:yo:ʔ*, *nyo:ʔ* ‘a certain distance’, ‘a certain time’, p. 958
- ⇒ *Shəh 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'nigqhá: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*, *To*: '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 ɛsheknigqhá: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 akyédəhkwa'.
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*, *To*: '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 hɔgwe^ʔdasé:^ʔah* ‘that young man’).

- (733) **Tɛ^ʔ tɔ:^ʔdesa^ʔdré: tó:-gyɛh!**
 not do.not.drive that.one
 ‘Don’t drive that one over here!’

- (734) Sɛnihé: tó:-gyɛh!
quit.it that.one
'Quit that!'
- (735) Ne:ʔ gyɛ:ʔ neʔ tó:-gyɛh.
it.is this.one the that.one
'That is the one.'
- (736) Sɔ: hne:ʔ nʔáht tó:-gyɛh?
Who in.fact a.certain.person that.one
'Who is that?' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksaʔgó:wah dialogue)
- (737) To:-gyɛh hɔgweʔ dase:ʔáh shɔgwahyadó:nih.
that.one young.man he.writes.for.us
'That young man does our writing.'
- (738) Ne:ʔ seʔ gyɛ:ʔ gɛ:s to:-gyɛh hwaʔ nəh sɔheh nəh
it.is you.know this.one usually that time when night when
gadidaksénɔgyeʔs shɛh nhɔ: ohádenyɔʔ.
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

- ⇒ [-gyɛh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
⇒ To:, Toh, Tɔ: 'that one', p. 1016

To:-hwaʔ, Tɔ:-hwaʔ 'that time'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (739) Tɔ:-hwaʔ gí:dɔh.
that.one-that.time I.mean.it
'I mean it that time.'

Related

⇒ *Hwa'* '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'-to:hah* 'somewhere', 'someplace', 'around', 'anywhere', 'thereabouts', p. 846

⇒ *Ga'-to:hah tohgeh* 'thereabouts', p. 847

⇒ *O:neḥ 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) *Ẽtsá:ʔ*, **tohgéh** *hɛtsá:ʔ* *gwaʔ* *tóh* *neḥ*
 you.will.take.it, there you.will.take.it.there emphasis there when
ɛgéhshahsiʔ.

I.have.finished.with.them

'You can take them back when I have finished with them. (Mithun & Henry 1984: 368, *Degahená'tra'se:ʔ* dialogue)

Related

⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘there’, ‘that place’, p. 1017

⇒ *Toh-geh hɔ:wɛh* ‘where’, p. 1026

Toh-geh ‘and then’

Particle signaling the continuation of a previous topic (§35.4.2); clause-initial.

- (742) *Eya*ˈdɑ:t *gɔŋhɔgɛ:t*, [**toh-géh** *jɛyɑ*ˈdɑ:t
this.one.woman she.is.fair-haired that.one-on this.one.woman
*gɔgɛ*ˈɑjɪ:]
she.has.dark.hair
‘One is fair, and the other has dark hair.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88,
*Eksɑ*ˈgɔ:wɑh dialogue)
- (743) **Toh-géh**, *í:*ˈhnɛ:ː *hɛgɔhawihdɛ*ː *sadɛnɑ*ˈtrɑː.
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,
*Ekníyɛtɔ*ˈ dialogue)
- (744) **Toh-géh** *nɛ*ˈ ɑgɔ:gwéh, *nɛ:*ˈ hɛ *hnɛ:*ː *deyagyadɛhnɔ:de*ːː.
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,
*Gɑhwajiyɑ:de*ː dialogue)

Related

⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* ‘that one’, p. 1016

⇒ *Toh-geh* ‘there’, p. 1025

Toh-geh hɔ:wɛh ‘where’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of place” (§8.3), §29.8; clause-initial in direct questions. *Hɔ:wɛh* can be spelled or pronounced as *hɔ:*, *nhɔ:*, *hɔ:wɛh*, or *nhɔ:wɛh*.

- (745) **Toh-géh** gɛh hɔ:wéh toh na'á:weh?
 that.one-on Q place there something.happened
 'Where did it happen?'

Related

- ⇒ *Hɔ:weh* 'where', p. 907
 ⇒ *To:*, *Toh*, *Tɔ:* 'there', 'that place', p. 1017
 ⇒ *Toh-geh* 'there', p. 1025
 ⇒ *Toh-geh* '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** shɛh ní:wa's.
 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,
 Agya'dawí'tra' 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 ɔknigɔhsá:dɔ'k.
 ...too.much.so it.seems I.got.lonesome
 '...I seem to get too lonesome.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 88, Eksa'gó:wah
 dialogue)

- (748) Ji' gę:s trehs shenó:wę:.
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 shęh 'too much so for', 'so much so', p. 917
- ⇒ Trehs gi' gyę:' 'my goodness', 'too bad', 'that's amazing', p. 1028

Trehs gi' gyę:' 'my goodness!', 'too bad!', 'that's amazing!'

Particle group functioning as an "exclamation" (§35.1), conveying surprise or disappointment.

- (749) O:, tręhs gi' gyę:' agayesha', osdaqyó: hné:' ó:nęh.
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: tręhs-gi'-gyę:' do:gęhs sadra'swahé:tęę', shęh
oh, it.is.amazing it.is.true your.luck.turned.bad that
ne'saya'da:węh 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, Gąhá:gọ: dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ Gi' 'just', p. 865
- ⇒ Gyę:' 'just the one', p. 881
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'more (than usual)', 'too much so', p. 915
- ⇒ Ji trehs 'because', 'overly', p. 916

Tròhgeh tsɔ: ‘barely’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of degree” (§8.5); emphatic; clause-initial.

- (751) **Tròhgeh tsɔ:** ɔgwahdegyá’dòh.
barely just we.begin
‘We’re just barely able to make it go.’ (speaking of a ceremony, etc.)
- (752) **Tròhgeh tsɔ:** jɔgwaihó’dé’.
barely just we.work.again
‘We’re barely working.’

Related

⇒ *Tsɔ:* ‘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) Agí’dá’òh òh [shèh na’onishé’ 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) [Tsigògwé’dasé:] gé:s gahyagwahsgéhe:’.
when.I.was.young usually I.would.pick.berries
‘When I was a young person I usually picked berries.’
- (756) Knòhwé’s gé:s [tsigògwé’dasé’] tiga:gwe:gòh gé:s
I.love.it usually when.I.was.young all.over usually
agahyagwehègyé’sgèhe:’
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 naʹonishəʹ*, *tsaʹonishəʹ*, [tsi-] ‘while’, ‘when’, p. 985

Tsɛ: ‘oh my!’

Particle functioning as an “exclamation” (§35.1), conveying mild disgust or exasperation; pronounced as [tsæ:] ([æ] sounds like the A in ‘tack’).

- (757) **Tsɛ:** e:ʔ 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) Hwíhs agéʹ [tsɔ: naʹgahwíhsdáʹe:k] to nyó:
five it.is.said [only a.certain.number.of.hours] that amount.of.time
haʹgáɛʹ.
they.went.there
‘They said it took only five hours to get there.’ (Mithun & Henry 1984: 508, Aqhdɛgyóheʹ dialogue)
- (760) **Tsɔ:** niwahonáʹde:s.
just a.certain.length.of.potato
‘They are just short spuds.’ (speaking of young children)

Related

- ⇒ *Hne:ʔ, Ne:ʔ ... (tsɔ: shɛh)* ‘but’, p. 596
- ⇒ *Aweʔ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ:, Aweʔ hɛ:gyeh tsɔ:* ‘let it go’, p. 819
- ⇒ *Gaɛ gwaʔ tsɔ:* ‘wherever’, ‘somewhere’, p. 852
- ⇒ *Giʔ tsɔ:* ‘just’, ‘really’, p. 869
- ⇒ *Gwahs waʔ-heh tsɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Hejo:yaʔ tsɔ:* ‘another thing again’, p. 892
- ⇒ *Hejo:yaʔ tsɔ:* ‘elsewhere’, p. 893
- ⇒ *Hɛ:gyɛh tsɔ:* ‘it doesn’t matter’, ‘never mind’, p. 900
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ giʔ tsɔ: gwahs* ‘that’s really all’, p. 938
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ:* ‘that’s only’, ‘that’s all’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ:* ‘because’, ‘it’s just’, p. 946
- ⇒ *Ne:ʔ tsɔ: shɛh* ‘but’, ‘it’s just that’, p. 947
- ⇒ *Neʔ tsɔ: gwaʔ toh* ‘also’, p. 928
- ⇒ *Nɛ: tsɔ: gwaʔ 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**[waʔ-] (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 waʔ-heh tsɔ:* ‘just now’, ‘just a few seconds ago’, p. 878
- ⇒ *Nɛ: hwaʔ waʔ-ne:ʔ* ‘nowadays’, p. 950
- ⇒ *Waʔ-gyɛh* ‘presently’, ‘so now’, ‘then’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Waʔ-gyɛh* ‘listen’, ‘excuse me’, ‘would you’, p. 1032
- ⇒ *Waʔ-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033
- ⇒ *Waʔ-heh-geha:ʔ* ‘finally’, ‘at long last’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘after a while’, ‘eventually’, ‘just a while ago’, p. 1034
- ⇒ *Waʔ-jih* ‘wait!’, p. 1035

- ⇒ *Wa'-jih gyɛ:* 'almost', 'just about', p. 1036
- ⇒ *Wa'-jih hya:* 'wait a minute', 'wait a while', 'wait!', p. 1037
- ⇒ *Wa'-ji-hah* 'presently', 'a little later', 'after a bit', 'after a while', 'afterwards', 'later', p. 1036
- ⇒ *Wa'-ne:* 'today', 'now', p. 1037

Wa'-gyɛh 'presently', 'so now', 'then'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of time" (§8.2); clause-initial.

(761) Lila:

Wa'gyɛh di' sete'traníhahsah, nawɛ'dá' hni' ɛtséniha'.
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:

Hao' dɛ' nyóh. **wa'gyɛh** di' é:' ne'-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,
Dwɛnɔhsanékahɔ' dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [gyɛh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
- ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Wa'-gyɛh* 'listen', 'excuse me', 'would you', p. 1032

Wa'-gyɛh 'listen!', 'excuse me', 'would you'

Particle group functioning as a "command" (§27.1.5).

(762) **Wa'gyɛh!**

so.now

'Listen!', 'Excuse me!'

- (763) **Wa'gyɛh** desa'draihɛh!
 so.now hurry.up
 'Would you hurry up!'

Related

- ⇒ [gyɛh] 'this', 'that', p. 882
 ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
 ⇒ *Wa'-gyɛh* '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' gatahi:ne'.
 just.now just I'm.walking
 'I am just now getting on my way.'
- (765) To niyo:wé' hɛ'sé' **wa'héh** hɛhsyɔ'.
 that a.certain.distance you.will.go.there just.now you.will.arrive
 'You'll get that far before you arrive.'
- (766) **Wa'héh** ahsyɔ'.
 finally you.arrived
 'You finally arrived.' (just now)
- (767) **Wa'héh tsɔ:** ahá:tɛh.
 just.now only he.got.up
 'He just now got up.'

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs wa'-heh tsɔ:* '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^ʔ-heh-geha:^ʔ ‘finally’, ‘at long last’

Particle group functioning as an “adverb of time” (§8.2); clause-initial.

(768) **wa^ʔ-heh-geha:^ʔ**
current.moment-element-former
‘finally’, ‘at long last’

(769) **Wa^ʔhehgehá:^ʔ** aha:kó:ni^ʔ.
at.long.last he.cooked
‘At long last he (decided to) cook.’

Related

- ⇒ *Gwahs wa^ʔ-heh tsə:* ‘only just now’, p. 878
- ⇒ [-heh] element (related to time), p. 891
- ⇒ [wa^ʔ-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Wa^ʔ-heh* ‘just now’, ‘finally’, p. 1033

Wa^ʔ-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^ʔ toh né:^ʔ tga:gó:t ɛga:yɛ:dá^ʔk,” a^ʔa:gé^ʔ, “**wa^ʔjih**
a.lot that.one it.is it.is.necessary it.will.be.done she.said after.a.while
ɛhswa:tó:wa:t.”
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^ʔ gyó:do^ʔk wa^ʔne:^ʔ, shéh nohgeh ne^ʔ ojó^ʔda^ʔ, gá:dəh
oh it.is.much it.is.lessened today that even the fish I.say
gyɛ:^ʔ **wa^ʔjih.**
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:nệh a'a:gé', "Ja'snệt to:gyệh wa'jìh ne' sọ:gwa' nóht
 now she.said get.down there eventually the someone person
 ẹyagonọhnya'k."
 she.will.get.hurt
 'And then she said, "Both of you get down before somebody gets hurt."
 (Henry 2005)
- (773) Honẹnọhdọ' shẹh wa'jìh tsọ: o:nệh sọ:gwa' noht ẹyagonyó'
 they.know that after.a.while just now someone person she.will.die
 ne' nẹ:gyệh Hnyagwai'datgi'gó:wah.
 the this.one Ugly.Bear
 'They knew Ugly Bear would soon become even more bold. (Carrier et al.
 2013)
- (774) O:nệh gi' a'a:gé', "Wa'jìh tsọ:," a'a:gé', "ẹga'daiha't
 now just she.said after.a.while just she.said I.will.heat.up
 ha'dé:yọ:," a'a:gé'.
 various.things she.said
 'Now then she said, "In just a little while I'll heat up various things."
 (Henry 2005)
- (775) Wa'jìh tsọ: o:nệh ẹgyahdẹ:di'.
 after.a.while just now we.will.leave
 'You and I will leave pretty soon.' (Mithun & Henry 1984: 142, Satgẹh
 dialogue)

Related

- ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
- ⇒ *Wa'-jìh* 'wait!', p. 1035
- ⇒ *Wa'-jìh gye:* 'almost', 'just about', p. 1036
- ⇒ *Wa'-jìh hya:* 'wait a minute', 'wait a while', 'wait!', p. 1037
- ⇒ *Wa'-ji:hah* 'presently', 'a little later', 'after a bit', 'after a while', 'afterwards', 'later', p. 1036

Wa'-jìh 'wait!', 'hold up!'

Particle group *wa'-jìh* 'wait' is clause-initial in commands (§27.1.5).

- (776) **Wa'jih**, ɛtsyá'dɛ'.
wait you.will.fall
'Wait, you might fall.'

Related

- ⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
⇒ *Wa'-jih* 'after a while', 'eventually', 'just a while ago', p. 1034

Wa'-jih gyɛ:ʔ 'almost', 'just about'

Particle group functioning as an "adverb of degree" (§8.5); emphatic; likely clause-initial.

Related

- ⇒ *Gyɛ:ʔ* 'just the one', p. 881
⇒ [wa'-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031
⇒ *Wa'-jih* 'after a while', 'eventually', 'just a while ago', p. 1034
⇒ *Wa'-ji:hah* 'presently', 'a little later', 'after a bit', 'after a while', 'afterwards', 'later', p. 1036
⇒ *Wa'-jih hya:ʔ* 'wait a minute', 'wait a while', 'wait!', p. 1037

Wa'-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) **Wa'ji:hah to** hɛgyɔʔ.
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
- ⇒ *Ne:* *hwaʔ waʔ-ne:* ‘nowadays’, p. 950
- ⇒ [waʔ-] (referring to the current moment), p. 1031

C.15 Y particles

Yɛ:gwa' 'if'

Alternative way to pronounce *gyɛ:gwa' 'if'*.

Related

⇒ *Gyɛ: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[?]-q̄h] DU-P-care.for-STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deyagohsnye[?]q̄h ‘her adopted daughter’

AUNT (MATERNAL) [INT-nohá:-[?]ah-(shq̄:q̄h)] 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.

q̄kinq̄há:[?]ah ‘our aunt’

gakenq̄ha[?]ahsq̄:[?]q̄h ‘my aunts’

AUNT (MATERNAL) [INT-nohá:-[?]ah] INT-aunt/mother-DIM.

etinq̄há:[?]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’

q̄gyá:tsih ‘my friend, my boyfriend, my girl friend’

goksa[?]gowáhsra[?] ‘her boyfriend’

BROTHER – SEE SIBLING

deyagyadehnq̄:de:[?] ‘my brother, my sister’

hehjí[?]ah ‘my older brother’

he[?]gé:[?]q̄h ‘my younger brother’

BROTHER-IN-LAW – SEE ‘IN-LAW’

q̄gyá:gyoh ‘my brother-in-law, sister-in-law’

CHILD [INT-hawahk-(shq̄[?])] INT-child-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term.

hehá:wahk ‘my son’

kehá:wahk ‘my daughter’

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COUSIN (TERM OF ADDRESS) [INT-a³se:³] INT-doubled.STAT. Same-generation kinship term.

gya³se:³ ‘cousin!’ (when directly addressing a cousin)

gwa³se:³ ‘cousins’ (when directly addressing one’s cousins)

COUSIN [P-a³se:³] P-doubled.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

honá³se:³ ‘his cousin’

ogyá³se:³ ‘my cousin’

ogwa³sé:³sə³ ‘our cousins’

COUSIN (TO HAVE A COUSIN) [P-a³se:³-shə³] P-doubled.STAT-DECLARE-KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

ogya³sé:³shə³ ‘our cousins’

DAUGHTER – SEE ‘CHILD’

kehá:wahk ‘my daughter’

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW – see ‘in-law’

kehsé:yəh ‘daughter-in-law’

FAMILY [P-hwajiy-a³] P-family-NSF. Noun functioning as a kinship term.

akwa:jí:ya³ ‘my family’

FATHER [INT-³nih] INT-father. Different-generation kinship term.

həwá³nih ‘his/her father’

hya³nih ‘your father’

FATHER (HAVE A FATHER) [P-³nih-shə³] P-father-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

ho³níshə³ ‘he has a father’

FATHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [ha -³nih] 3S.M.A-father. This word only takes [ha-] 3S.M.A, which means ‘my paternal relative’.

ha³nih ‘my father’, ‘Dad’

FATHER-IN-LAW – SEE ‘IN-LAW’

hakné:nhə: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-ao³-(shə³)] P-SRF-run.STAT-(PLRZ). Verb functioning as a kinship term.

honadáo³sə³ ‘they are friends’

hona:dáo³ ‘his ceremonial friend’

ogwadáo³sə³ ‘we all are buddies, friends’

ogwá:dao³ ‘we all are friends’

ogyá:dao³ ‘my ceremonial friend’, ‘Friend’ (term of address)

FRIEND (HAVE, BECOME A CEREMONIAL FRIEND) [P-ad-ao³-tse:³] P-SRF-run.STAT-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

agaqdáo³tse:³ ‘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’

ogwátsihəsə³ ‘all of our friends’

FRIEND, BOYFRIEND, GIRLFRIEND [INT-ksa³gowahsr-a³] INT-beautiful.one-NSF. Same-generation kinship term.

heksa³gowáhsra³ ‘my boyfriend’

keksa³gowáhsra³ ‘my girlfriend’

FRIEND, BOYFRIEND, GIRLFRIEND [P-ksa³gowahsr-a³] P-beautiful.one-NSF. Noun functioning as a kinship term.

hoksa'gohwáhsra 'his girlfriend'
ageksa'gówahsra '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 'STEPFATHER' [ha'ni:hah] 3S.M.A-step-father. This word only takes [ha-] 3S.M.A, which means 'my paternal relative'.

ha'ní:hah 'my godfather'

GRANDCHILD [INT-adre'-(shə')] 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'

həwá:dre' 'his/her grandson'

sheyá:dre' 'your granddaughter'

qədádadre' 'her granddaughter'

shagó:dre' 'his granddaughter'

gaqdadre'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'

sahso:t 'your Grandmother'

GRANDMOTHER (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS; ALSO A TERM OF RESPECT FOR AN OLD WOMAN) [k-hsot] 1S.A-grandparent. 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'

etihsot 'our grandmother'

hagéhsot, haksot 'my grandfather'

həwáhsot 'his/her grandfather'

GRANDPARENT (TO HAVE A GRANDPARENT) [P-hsot-shə'] P-grandparent-DECLARE.KINSHIP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

hohsó:tsə' '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-hseyəh] INT-female.sex.in.law. Different-generation kinship

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term.

qgehsé:yǝh ‘my mother-in-law’ (a woman speaking)

kehsé:yǝh ‘my daughter-in-law’ (a woman speaking)

IN-LAW (A FEMALE’S MOTHER/DAUGHTER-IN-LAW) [INT-hseyǝh] INT-female.sex.in.law. Same-generation kinship term.

qdadehsé:yǝh ‘her mother-in-law’

shehsé:yǝh ‘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-nenhǝs] INT-in.law. Different-generation kinship term.

hené:nhǝ:s ‘my son-in-law’

hakné:nhǝ:s ‘my father-in-law’

hyané:nhǝ:s ‘your father-in-law’

qkné:nhǝ:s ‘my mother-in-law’ (a man speaking)

IN-LAW (SOMEONE’S FATHER/SON-IN-LAW, A MALE’S MOTHER-IN-LAW) [INT-nenhǝs] INT-different.sex.in.law. Same-generation kinship term.

hǝwánenhǝ:s ‘his/her father-in-law, son-in-law’

shagónenhǝ:s ‘his mother-in-law’

shené:nhǝ:s ‘your mother-in-law’ (when speaking to a man)

KIN – SEE ‘RELATIVES’

qǝénǝhksǝ ‘relatives, kin,’ etc.

MOTHER [INT-no:haʔ] INT-mother. Different-generation kinship term.

etínǝhaʔ ‘our mother’, ‘women’

qǝátǝnǝhaʔ ‘her mother’

qkínǝhaʔ ‘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:nhǝ:s ‘my (a male’s) mother-in-law’

NEIGHBOUR [de-A-nǝhsa-kahǝh] DU-A-house-adjoin.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deswǝnǝhsákahǝʔ ‘your neighbour’

swǝnǝhsakáhǝʔ ‘your neighbours’

deyagwanǝhsakáhǝh ‘my neighbours’

NEIGHBOUR [de-A-nǝhsa-ne:ge:] DU-A-house-side.by.side.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

deyagyanǝhsané:ge: ‘my neighbour’

NEPHEW, NIECE [INT-ǝhwadǝʔ-(shǝʔ)] INT-nephew/niece-(PLRZ). Different-generation kinship term.

heyǝhwa:dǝʔ ‘my nephew’

gakeyǝhwá:dǝʔ ‘my brother’s children’, ‘my nieces and nephews’

keyǝhwá:dǝʔ ‘my niece’

gasheyǝhwádǝʔsǝʔ ‘your nieces and nephews’

NEPHEW, NIECE [INT-yaʔdawǝh] INT-support.someone.STAT. Different-generation kinship term.

gakeyaʔdá:wǝh ‘my brother’s

children'

heyá'dawèh 'my nephew'

keyá'dawèh 'my brother's kids'

NIECE – SEE 'NEPHEW, NIECE'

keyòhwá:dé' 'my niece'

NIECE (MATERNAL) [INT-hawa:k-'ah] INT-child-DIM. The child of one's mother's brother or mother's sister. Different-generation kinship term.

òdatawá:k'ah 'her maternal niece'

kehawá:k'ah 'my maternal niece'

RELATIVE (TO BE MUTUALLY RELATED) [A-adè-nòhk-(shò')] A-SRF-mutually.related-(PLRZ). Verb functioning as a kinship term.

agwadènhòksò' 'we are relatives'

agya:dé:nòhk 'my relative'

òdènhòksò' 'relatives, kin, etc'

ògwadènhòksò' 'our relatives'

sadé:nòhk 'any relative (of yours)'

ja:dé:nòhk 'your relative'

gèna:dé:nòhk 'they (animals) are related'

RELATIVE (TO HAVE RELATIVES ON ONE'S FATHER'S SIDE) [P-adè-ni-hò:nò'] P-SRF-father-POP. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

sadèni'hò:nò' 'your relatives on your (sg) father's side'

RELATIVE (CLOSE RELATIVE) [INT-nòhk-shò'] INT-love-PLRZ. Same-generation kinship term.

kenòhksò' 'my relatives'

shenòhksò' 'your relatives' (high language, describing our relationship to all people)

RELATIVE [P-ògwe'd-a'] P-people-NSF. Noun functioning as a kinship term.

agògwe'da' 'my relatives'

SIBLING (NEAR IN AGE) [de-A-adè-hnòde:'] DU-A-SRF-follow.STAT, [de-A-adè-hnòd-rò'] DU-A-SRF-follow-DISTR.STAT. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

degadèhnò:de:' 'my sibling'

degaòdèhnò:de:' 'his/her sister', 'his/her brother'

dèhènadèhnò:de:' 'his brother'

dèhènadèhnò:drò' 'his brothers'

deyagyadèhnò:de:' 'my brother, my sister' (my nearest sibling)

SIBLING (YOUNGER) [INT-'gè:'èh] INT-younger.sibling. Different-generation kinship term.

he'gè:'èh 'my younger brother'

heshe'gè:'èh 'your younger brother'

khe'gè:'èh 'my younger sister'

òdade'gè:'èh 'her younger sister'

shago'gè:'èh 'his younger sister'

hòwa'gè:'èh 'his / her younger brother'

she'gè:'èh 'your younger sister'

eti'gè:'ah 'our younger sister'

shògwa'gè:'ah 'our younger brother'

SIBLING (OLDER) [A-ad-riyah-shò'] A-SRF-older.sibling-PLRZ. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

gaòdriyáhsò' 'my older siblings'

SIBLING (OLDER) [t-A-gowanè-'s] CIS-A-big.STAT-PL. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

tgaegówanè's 'my older siblings'

SIBLING (OLDER) [INT-hji-'ah] INT-older.sibling-DIM. Verb functioning as a kinship term.

hehshéhji'ah 'your older brother'

kehji'ah 'my older sister'

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- hehji'ah* 'my older brother'
həwáhji'ah 'his older brother'
gakehji'áhsə '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'**
qgyá: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'**
qgyá:gyoh 'my brother-in-law', 'my sister-in-law'
- SON – SEE 'CHILD'**
hehá:wahk 'my son'
- SON-IN-LAW – SEE 'IN-LAW'**
hené:nhə:s 'my son-in-law'
- SPOUSE, HUSBAND, WIFE (INFORMAL)** [INT-gəhjih] INT-old.person.STAT. Same-generation kinship term.
hegəhjih 'my husband', 'my old man'
kegəhjih 'my wife', 'my old lady'
hehségəhjih 'your husband', 'your old man'
shegəhjih 'your wife', 'your old lady'
həwágəhjih 'her husband', 'her old man'
shagógəhjih 'his wife', 'his old lady'
- SPOUSE, HUSBAND, WIFE** [de-A-(r)ihwawa'kə] DU-A-support.STAT
 Verb functioning as a kinship term.
degaeihwawá'kə 'her husband', 'his wife'
desni:hwáwa'kə 'your wife', 'your husband'
deyakni:hwawá'kə '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
həwá'ní: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'ní: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:ʔ] INT-step.parent/child. Different-generation kinship term.

*qkno:*ʔ ‘my step-mother’
*hqwá:no:*ʔ ‘her step-son’
*qdá:tno:*ʔ ‘her step-daughter’
*hakno:*ʔ ‘my step-father’
*hehsno:*ʔ ‘your step-son’
*shé:no:*ʔ ‘your step-daughter’

STEP-SON – SEE ‘STEP-RELATIVE’

*hqwá:no:*ʔ ‘her step-son’

UNCLE (MATERNAL UNCLE) [INT-noʔsəh] 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.

gakénoʔsəh ‘my uncles’
gakenoʔsəhsq:ʔqh ‘my uncles’
haknoʔsəh ‘he is my uncle’

hqwánoʔsəh ‘his/her uncle’

hyanóʔsəh ‘your uncle’

shqknínoʔsəh ‘our uncle’

UNCLE (MATERNAL UNCLE) [INT-noʔsəh] INT-maternal.uncle. Different-generation kinship term, with reversed roles (meaning that the stem is inflected just like a same-generation kinship term).

Etingʔsəh Eḡenatnoʔáowanaht ‘Our Uncles ceremony’ [eti-noʔsəh]
 1NS.IN>3S.FI/3NS-uncle *Eḡenatnoʔáowanaht* ‘they become Bigheads’

UNCLE (ALSO A TERM OF ADDRESS) [k-noʔsəh] 1S.A-maternal.uncle. This word only takes [k-] 1s.a, which means ‘my maternal relative’.

knóʔsəh ‘my uncle’

WIFE – SEE ‘SPOUSE’

kegéhjih ‘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:ʔ ‘Grandchild!’ (term of address said by any old person to a young child)

Gwaʔse: ‘Cousins!’ (term of address used when directly speaking to one’s cousins)

Gyá:tsi: ‘Friend!’

Gyaʔse: ‘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!’

Knoʔsəh ‘Uncle!’

Kso:t ‘Grandma!’

Sgə:nq: Degyadehnq:de:ʔ ‘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’sq:’qh ‘male children’ [hadiksa’sq:’qh] 3NS.M.A-child-PLRZ

haksa’dasé:’ah ‘teenage boy’ [ha-ksa’dasé:-’ah] 3S.M.A-child.increment-new.STAT-DIM

eksa’dasé:’ah ‘teenage girl’ [e-ksa’dasé:-’ah] 3S.FI.A-child.increment-new.STAT-DIM

hogwé’dase: ‘young man’ [h-ogwé’dase:] 3S.M.A-person-new.STAT

agogwe’dá:se: ‘young woman’ [agogwe’d-á:se:] 3S.FI.A-person-new.STAT

agó:gweh ‘girl’, ‘woman’ [ag-ó:gweh] 3S.FI.A-person

hó:gweh ‘man’ [h-ó:gweh] 3S.FI.A-person

nitawenó:hah ‘middle-aged male’ [ni-t-haw-enó:-hah] PART-CIS-3S.M.A-originate.from-DIM

nigyagawe:nó:hah ‘middle-aged female’ [ni-g-yagaw-e:nó:-hah] PART-CIS-3S.FI.A-originate.from-DIM

hagéhjih ‘old man’, ‘husband’ [hagéhjih] 3S.M.A-old.STAT

egéhjih ‘old woman’, ‘wife’ [egéhjih] 3S.FI.A-old.STAT

gaegéhjihsq:’qh ‘elderly people’ [gaegéhjih-sq:’qh] 3NS.FI.A-old.STAT-PLRZ

D.4 Clans

INTRODUCTIONS

- (1) Dé’ ni:s ho’dé’ nisa’syáo’dé:?
what you kind your.kind.of.clan
‘What is your clan?’

cf. ni-sa-’sya-o’dé: PART-2S.P-clan-type.of.STAT

- (2) Dé’ ni:s ho’dé’ niswa’syáo’dé:?
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’dé: PART-2P.P-clan-type.of.STAT

- (3) Déʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ niswaʔsyáoʔdɛʔ:sʔ
 what you kind your.kinds.of.clan
 ‘What is your clan?’ (The speaker knows that you are from different families.)
 cf. ni-swa-ʔsya-oʔdɛʔ:-ʔs PART-2P.P-clan-type.of.STAT-PL
- (4) ... niwagɛʔsyáoʔdɛʔ; nɔgɛʔsyáoʔdɛʔ:
 my.kind.of.clan
 ‘I am ... clan.’
 cf. ni-wag-e-ʔsyá-oʔdɛʔ: PART-1S.P-JOINER E-clan-type.of.STAT
 cf. nɔg-e-ʔsyá-oʔdɛʔ: PART.1S.P-JOINER E-clan-type.of.STAT

BEAR CLAN [A-hnyagwai] [ga-ʔsyá:-deʔ] 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 gaʔsyá:deʔ ‘they (males) are Bear Clan’

BEAVER CLAN
naganyáʔgɔʔ ‘beaver’
naganyaʔgɔʔ nɔgɛʔsyáoʔdɛʔ: ‘I am Beaver clan’

CLAN
oʔsya:dé:nyɔʔ ‘clans’ [o-ʔsya:-dé:-nyɔʔ] 3S.P-clan-exist-DISTR.STAT
gaʔsyá:deʔ ‘clan’ [ga-ʔsyá:-deʔ] 3S.A-clan-exist.STAT

CLAN MOTHER
honaʔgá:ʔ eha:ʔ ‘clan mother’ [honaʔgá:-ʔ] 3S.M.P-horn-NSF [e-ha:-ʔ] 3S.F.I.A-hold-STAT

DEER CLAN
dewáhɔhdé:s ‘deer’
dewáhɔhdé:s nɔgɛʔsyáoʔdɛʔ: ‘I am Deer clan’

EEL CLAN
gɔʔ:deh ‘eel’
gɔʔ:déh nɔgɛʔsyáoʔdɛʔ: ‘I am Eel clan’

HAWK CLAN [p-hswɛʔgaiyoʔ] 3S.P-hawk
oswɛʔgaiyoʔ, swɛʔgaiyoʔ ‘hawk’
hodihsɛʔgaiyoʔ ‘they are Hawk clan’
agehsɛʔgaiyoʔ ‘I am Hawk clan’
hodihsɛʔgaiyoʔ ‘they (fe/males) are Hawk clan’

HERON CLAN
degaɔhyágahne:ʔ ‘Great Blue Heron clan’

MOIETY
ɔgwatnɔhsóhdahgweh ‘our moiety, side’, ‘grouped clans, sides’ [ɔgwa-t-nɔhs-ódahgw-ɛh] 1P.P-SRF-house-detach-STAT

ɔgwatnɔhsóʔkdaʔɔh ‘our clan, side’, ‘our end of the Longhouse’ [ɔgwa-t-nɔhs-óʔkdaʔ-ɔh] 1P.P-SRF-house-end-STAT

ɔgyáʔsehshɛʔ ‘the opposite side’ [ɔgy-áʔseh-shɛʔ] 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-nyáhde:] 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) *Sqgwehó:weh gəh?*
you.are.a.real.person Q
'Are you Indian?'
cf. *s-ogweh-ó:weh* 2S.A-person-TYP
- (6) *Qgwehó:weh gəh?*
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' niwagohętsó'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

AHKWEAHSNE PEOPLE

Ogwešahsnehó:nq' [o-gwešahs-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

Gwahsdqonqgehó:nq' [gwahsdqonq-gehó:nq'] Ø.PREFIX-boston¹-POP-ON-POP

CAUGHNAWAUGANS

Gahnawa'gehó:nq' [ga-hnaw-a'gehó:nq'] 3S.A-rapids-JOINER-A-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

Ohwę'gá: Dehone:sowé:ksq' ohwę'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:nhahweh [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

Dehonadetgwehsáyehsdq̄h [de-hon-ad-e-tgwehsá-yehsd-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-qhwej-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 Hodijhsdáq' 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-qhweja:-
dó:gé:] 3NS.M.P-land-true.STAT

Deyodihó:nq' [de-yo-di-hó:nq'] DU-
3S.P-NOUN(tea?)-POP

UPPER END PEOPLE

Dagéhyatgehó: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

Gowéne'shé:dqh 'Her Voice Sus-
pended', 'Her Voice Scattered' [go-
wéne-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' [howa-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:sqh 'He Has Bruised Himself'
[s-ho-gwá:s-qh] REP-3S.M.P-bruise-
STAT

Tadodá:ho' 'Entangled' [t-ha-d-
odá:ho'] CIS-3S.M.A-SRF-draped.STAT

D Thematic dictionary

Tatgahdḡhs ‘He Looks Around’ [t-h-at-gahdḡ-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:wḡh ‘Door Partly Open’ [de-yo-n-inho-gá:w-ḡh] DU-3S.P-SRF-door-split-STAT

Ganó:gai: ‘Threatened’ [ga-nó:-gai:] 3S.A-noun-make.rattling.noise.STAT

Ganḡhi:’dá:wi’ ‘Curled Hair’ [ga-nḡhi:’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

Shogḡ’jó:wa:’ ‘Large Forehead’ [s-ho-gḡ’j-ó:wa:’] REP-3S.M.P-forehead-big.STAT

Tsa’degáḡhye:s ‘Skies of Equal Length’ [tsa’de-gá-ḡhy-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

Deyohḡwé:tḡ:’ ‘Mossy Place’ [de-yo-hḡwé:tḡ:’] DU-3S.P-unanalysed

Deyḡhyó:go: ‘It Touches the Sky’ [de-y-ḡhy-ó:go:] DU-3S.P-sky-verb.STAT

Deyotowéhḡḡh ‘Double Cold’ [de-yo-t-howéh-gḡh] DU-3S.P-SRF-cold-REV

Gadagwá:sḡh ‘It Is Bruised’ [ga-d-agwá:s-ḡh] 3S.A-SRF-bruised-STAT

Gaji’ḡdáwḡheh ‘Coming On Its Knees’ [ga-ji’ḡdáwḡheh] 3S.A-unanalysed

Hadḡdá:heha’ ‘Putting It On Top’ [ha-d-ḡdá:h-e-ha’] 3S.M.A-SRF-drape-DISL-go-HAB

Hagá’ḡ:yḡh ‘He Looks Both Ways’ [ha-gá’ḡ:y-ḡh] 3S.M.A-verb-STAT

Hagyá’drḡhne’ ‘He Will Put Bodies One on Top of the Other’ [ha-g-yá’d-rḡ-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

Awḡhe’gó:wah ‘Doubtful’, ‘High Hill’, ‘Wide Branch’, ‘Large Flower’ [awḡhe’-gó:wah] flower-AUG

Degaihó:gḡ’ ‘Between the News’ [de-ga-ih-ó:gḡ’] DU-3S.A-matter-between.STAT

Dyḡnhéḡgwḡh ‘Double Life’, ‘Our Sustenance’ [d-y-ḡnhéḡgw-ḡh] CIS-3S.P-sustained.by-STAT

Hahsdawḡdr-ó:t-ha’ ‘Attaching Rattles’ [ha-hsdawḡdr-ó: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-ḡ’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

Tsaʔdegáihwade ‘News Is Different from Another’, ‘Two of Same News’ [tsaʔde-gá-ihwa-deʔ] COIN.DU-3S.A-matter-exist.STAT

D.6.5 Oneida Chiefs

Dewadaḥohdɛ:dɔhs ‘It Is Shaking Its Ears’ [de-wa-d-ḥohd-ɛ:dɔ-hs] DU-3S.A-SRF-ear-shake-HAB

Deyohaʔgwɛ:de ‘Open Voice’ [de-yo-haʔgwɛ:deʔ] DU-3S.P-throat-exist.STAT

Ganɔhgweiyó:dɔ ‘Standing Corn Cobs’ [ga-nɔhgwe-iy-ó:d-ɔʔ] 3S.A-corn.cob-unanalysed-stand-DISTR.STAT

Hadwɛnái:kɔh ‘Shouting Loudly’ [ha-d-wɛnái-i:k-h-ɔh] 3S.M.A-SRF-voice-stuck.on-MODZ-STAT

Hagyaʔdonɛhta ‘He Lowers His Body’ [ha-g-yaʔd-onɛht-haʔ] 3S.M.A-SRF-body-lower-HAB

Honyaʔdashá:yɛ: ‘Slow-Moving Body’ [ho-nyaʔd-ashá:yɛ:] 3S.M.P-body-slow.moving.STAT

Howatsadɛḥoh ‘He Is Buried’, ‘He Is Dampened’ [hɔwa-tsadɛḥ-ɔh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-bury-STAT

Hoʔdátshɛhde ‘Carrying a Quiver Around His Neck or Shoulder’ [hoʔdá-tshɛhd-e-ʔ] 3S.M.P-quiver-noun-go-STAT

Shonɔhse: ‘He Is of a Longhouse’ [s-ho-nɔhs-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:nɛʔs ‘chiefs’ [hadi-gowá:nɛʔs] 3NS.M.A-big.STAT-PL

hodiyanéhsɔ ‘they (males) are chiefs’ [hodi-yanéh-shɔʔ] 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

Hoyánetaʔ ‘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

Deoʔjaʔjáʔgɔh (a Chief’s name)

FUNERAL (FOR A CHIEF)

agaʔhnyé:nɛʔ ‘something fell over’, ‘the passing of a chief’ (high language) [a-gaʔhnyé:nɛʔ-ʔ] FAC-3S.A-fall.over-PUNC

aʔogwaʔhnyé:nɛʔs ‘we all are experiencing the passing of a chief’ [aʔogwaʔhnyé:nɛʔ-s] FAC-1P.P-fall.over-PUNC.PL

D Thematic dictionary

PINE TREE CHIEF

Hqwahnyohsodá:hqh [hqwa-hnyohs-
odá:hqh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-squash-
mix.up.STAT

SUBCHIEF

Hqwaqdá:nqh, Háqdanqh ‘He Is the
Watcher of the Log’, ‘a subchief’
[hqwa-qdá:-nqh] 3ms/3fis:3ms-log-
guard.STAT [há-qda-nqh] 3S.M.A-log-
guard.STAT

D.7 Months

Gaya’dagó:wah ‘January’ [ga-ya’dá-
gó:wah] 3S.A-doll-big.STAT

Ganráhdahgah ‘February’ [ga-nráhda-
hgah] 3S.A-leaf-unanalysed

Ganęsgwaqta:’ah ‘March’ [ga-nęsgwa-
qt-há:-’ah] 3S.A-frog-put.in-HAB-DIM

Ganęsgwaq:ta’gó:wah ‘April’ [ga-
nęsgwa-q:t-há’-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

Jihsgęhneh ‘August’ [jihsg-ę-hneh]
grasshopper-JOINER-AT/ON

Sá’gęhneh ‘September’ [sá’g-ę-hneh]
cough-JOINER-AT/ON

Sa’gęhnehgó:wah ‘October’ [sa’g-ę-
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

dewęhni’dá:ge: ‘two months’ [de-
w-ęhni’d-á:ge:] DU-3S.A-month-
two.or.more.STAT

ęhni’dá:’ ‘a month’, ‘a moon’
[ęhni’dá:-’] month-NSF

ęhni’dase:’ ‘it is a new month’ [ęhni’d-
ase:’] month-new.STAT

ęswęni’dá:’ ‘it will be a new month
again’ [ę-s-w-ęni’dá:-’] FUT-REP-3S.A-
month-PUNC

ęwadęhni’dó’kta:k ‘every month will
end’ [ę-wa-d-ęhni’d-ó’kt-ha:-k] FUT-
3S.A-SRF-month-end-HAB-MODZ

swęhni’dá:t ‘one month’ [s-w-
ęhni’d-a:-t] REP-3S.A-month-JOINER-
stand.STAT

tsa’dewęhniđahę ‘middle of the month’
[tsa’de-w-ęhniđ-a-hę] COIN.DU-3S.A-
month-JOINER-mid.STAT

węhni’dadé:nyq’ ‘months’ [w-
ęhni’d-adé:-nyq’] 3S.A-month-exist-
DISTR.STAT

D.8 Periods of time in the day

The following terms are arranged approximately in chronological order.

D.8 Periods of time in the day

- dewędı:ya's** 'it cuts the day' (referring to a period of time) [de-w-ęd-ı:ya'-s] DU-3S.A-day-cut-HAB
- dewęhnihsrı:ya's** 'it cuts the day' (referring to a period of time) [de-w-ęhnihsrı:ya'-s] DU-3S.A-day-cut-HAB
- ha'gáhe:** 'the time has arrived' [ha'-gá-he:] TRANSL-3S.A-sit.up.on.top.STAT
- nigahá:wi'** 'a period of time' [ni-ga-há:wi-'] PART-3S.A-hold-STAT
- niyodo'dá:gye's** 'up to these times' [ni-yo-d-o'kd-á:-gye-e-'s] PART-3S.P-SRF-end-JOINER-PROG-go-HAB
- shęh niwadęhnihsrı:ne's** 'the time of day' *shęh* 'that' [ni-wa-d-ęhnihsrı:ne-'s] PART-3S.A-SRF-day-lead-go-HAB
- dawę:dó:dę'** 'dawn, daybreak' [da-w-ę:d-ó:dę-'] 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-jihah-hné:-hah] early.morning-INTS-DIM-AT/ON-DIM
- tsishédęhjih** 'earlier this morning' [tsi-shédęh-jih] COIN-early.morning-INTS
- gaq:hyahęhsó:'q̄h** 'around noon' [ga-q:hya-ęh-shó:'q̄h] 3S.A-sky-mid.STAT-PLRZ
- tsa'degáq̄hyahęh** 'right at noon' [tsa'de-gá-q̄hya-ęh] COIN.DU-3S.A-sky-mid.STAT
- tsigaq̄hyáhęh** 'at noon' (previous noon) [tsi-ga-q̄hyá-ęh] COIN-3S.A-sky-mid.STAT
- daó'gahne'** 'early night is coming' [da-ó-'ga-hn-e-'] DU.FAC-3S.P-evening-DISL-go-PUNC
- hegahgwá:'ah** 'when the sun is low in the sky', 'late afternoon' [he-ga-rahgw-á:'ah] TRANSL-3S.A-sun-small.STAT
- deyá'gas** 'the night is coming', 'early night' [de-yá-'ga:-s] DU-3S.P-evening-HAB
- ęgyo'gá:hah** 'it will be early night' [ę-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
- wędá:jihs** 'dusk', 'twilight' [w-ęd-á:-jihs] 3S.A-day-JOINER-dark.STAT
- ahsq̄heh** 'night' [ahsq̄-heh] night-TIME
- ęyó'ga:** 'it will be tonight' [ę-yó-'ga:-'] FUT.3S.P-evening-PUNC
- gyohsq̄:dehk** 'the other night' [g-yo-hsq̄:d-e-hk] CIS-3S.A-night.NOUN-INCREMENT-go-FORMER
- ha'dęwahsq̄dą:da'** 'when night has arrived' [ha'dę-w-ahsq̄d-ą:da-'] TRANSL.DU.FUT-3S.P-night.NOUN-INCREMENT-arrive-PUNC
- ha'dęwahsq̄dage:** 'many nights', 'every night' [ha'de-w-ahsq̄d-age:] TRANSL.DU-3S.A-night-be.a.certain-number.STAT
- q̄dahsq̄da:diháhsdq̄h** 'past midnight' [q̄-d-ahsq̄d-a:dih-á-hsd-q̄h] 3S.FIA-SRF-night-side.STAT-JOINER-INSTR-STAT
- ohsq̄dagwé:gq̄h** 'all through the night', 'all night' [o-hsq̄d-a-gwé:g-q̄h] 3S.P-night-JOINER-all-STAT
- sq̄:de'** 'last night' [sq̄:d-e-'] night-go-STAT

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tša'dewahsɔ:tɛh 'at midnight'
[tša'de-w-ahsɔ:t-hɛh] COIN.DU-3S.A-
night.NOUN.INCREMENT-mid.STAT

ɛhsahsɔdɔ:ni 'you will mark the night'
(referring to setting a time for a

meeting) [ɛh-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

ahsɛh neyó:da: 'three days from now'
ahsɛh 'three' [ne-yó:-d-a:] PART.FUT-
3S.A-SRF-hold.STAT

dawɛhnihsraɛdɔ:gye 'the coming days'
[da-w-ɛhnihsra-ɛd-ɔ:-gy-e-'] CIS-3S.A-
day-become-STAT-PROG-go-STAT

dwɛhnihsradé:nyɔhk 'days past' [d-
w-ɛhnihsr-ade:-nyɔ-hk] CIS-3S.A-day-
exist-DISTR.STAT-FORMER

ɛ:deh 'daylight', 'day'

ɛhswɛhnihsráɛda 'another day' (for-
mal language) [ɛhs-w-ɛhnihsrá-ɛda']
FUT.REP-3S.A-day-become.STAT

ɛyó:hɛ 'it will be tomorrow' [ɛ-yó:-hɛ-
'] FUT-3S.P-day-PUNC

gyoté:dɛhk, gyoté:dɛht 'the other day',
'the day before yesterday' [g-yo-té:dɛ-
hk] CIS-3S.P-day.STAT-FORMER

gyotedɛhsɔ:ɔh 'several days past' [g-
yo-tedɛh-sɔ:ɔh] CIS-3S.P-day.STAT-
PLRZ

ha'wɛhnihsradenyó:gye 'days ahead'
[ha'-w-ɛhnihsr-ade-nyɔ:-gy-e-']
TRANSL-3S.A-day-exist-DISTR-PROG-
go-STAT

hejó:hɛ 'the day after tomorrow' [hej-
ó:-hɛ'] TRANSL.FUT.REP-3S.P-day.STAT

hejóhɛ'drɔh 'every other day' [hej-ó-
hɛ'-dr-ɔh] TRANSL.REP-3S.P-day.DISL-
STAT

té:dɛ: 'yesterday' [té:dɛ:-'] [day-STAT]

tša'dewɛhnihsrahɛh 'half a day'
[tša'de-w-ɛhnihsrā-hɛh] COIN.DU-
3S.A-day-half.STAT

wa'ne: 'today' (particle, hence, no af-
fixes to show)

wɛhnihsradé:nyo 'every day', 'many
days' [w-ɛhnihsr-ade:-nyɔ'] 3S.A-day-
exist-DISTR.STAT

wɛhnihsrade 'this day' [w-ɛhnihsr-
ade'] 3S.A-day-exist.STAT

D.10 Seasons and years

degawadé:nyɔhs 'season' [de-ga-wa-
dé:nyɔ-hs] DU-3S.A-air-change-HAB

dɛyogɛnhɔ:di 'it will be summer' [dɛ-
yo-gɛnh-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

gagwidehjí:hah 'early spring' [ga-gwid-
ɛh-jí:-hah] 3S.A-spring-STAT-INTS-DIM

gagwidehneh 'springtime', 'in the

- spring' [ga-gwíd-é-hneh] 3S.A-spring-STAT-AT/ON
- geṇeṇagéhneh** 'fall', 'autumn' [g-ṇeṇ-a'gé-hneh] 3S.A-fall-ON-AT/ON
- geṇhéhneh** 'summer' [g-ṇh-é-hneh] 3S.A-summer-STAT-AT/ON
- gohsréhneh** 'winter time' [g-ohsr-é-hneh] 3S.A-winter-STAT-AT/ON
- johsrá:tsq'** 'yearly' [j-ohsr-á:-t-shq'] 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 dęwatwadá:se'** 'one year' *sgá:t* 'one' [dę-w-at-hwadá:se-'] DU.FUT-3S.A-SRF-turn-PUNC
- sgá:t eyóhsrat** 'one year' *sgá:t* 'one' [ę-y-óhsr-a:-t] FUT-3S.P-winter-JOINERÁ-stand.PUNC
- shęh niyotgeisdq̄h:gyé'** **deyowá-węnye'** 'seasons' *shęh* 'that' [ni-yo-t-geisd-q̄h-q̄:-gy-é-'] PART-3S.A-SRF-move.OVER-STAT-STAT-PROG-go-STAT [de-yo-wá-węnye-'] DU-3S.A-air-change-STAT
- tsigadehgwí:deh** 'last spring' [tsi-ga-d-ęhgwí: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.

- Awędędá'qh** 'Monday' [aw-ęd-ędá'-qh] 3S.P-day-end-STAT
- Ęwę:dę:da'** 'next Monday' [ę-w-ę:d-ę:da-'] FUT-3S.A-day-end-PUNC
- Tsa'wę:dę:da'** 'last Monday' [tsa'-w-ę:d-ę:da-'] COIN.FAC-3S.A-day-end-PUNC
- Dekní: hadq't** 'Tuesday' *dekní:* 'two' [hadq't] day.STAT
- Dekní: hadq'tgęhe:'** 'last Tuesday' *dekní:* 'two' [hadq't-gęhe:'] day.STAT-FORMER
- Ahséh Hadq't** 'Wednesday' *ahséh* 'three'
- Ahséh Hadq'tgęhe:'** 'last Wednesday'
- Geí: Hadq't** 'Thursday' *geí* 'four'
- Geí: Hadq'tgęhe:'** 'last Thursday'
- Hwíhs Hadq't** 'Friday' *hwíhs* 'five'
- Hwíhs Hadq'tgęhe:'** 'last Friday'
- Nakdóhaehs** 'Saturday' [nakd-ohae-hs] bed-wash-HAB
- Hejonakdóhaehs** 'next Saturday' [hejo-nakd-óhae-hs] TRANSL.REP-3S.P-bed-wash-HAB
- Tsiyonakdóhaehs** 'last Saturday' [tsi-yo-nakd-óhae-hs] COIN-3S.P-bed-wash-HAB
- Awędadógęhdqh** 'Sunday' [aw-ęda-dógęhd-qh] 3S.P-day-make.true-STAT
- Ęyaqdadogęhte'** 'next Sunday' [ę-ya-qda-dogęhd-h-e-'] FUT-3S.P-day-make.true-DISL-go-PUNC
- Tsiyaqdadogęhdqh** 'last Sunday' [tsi-ya-qda-dogęhd-qh] COIN-3S.P-day-make.true-STAT
- oyá' degyadqdá:drehk** 'last week' [o-yá-'] 3S.P-other-NSF [deg-y-ad-qdá:-

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dr-e-hk] DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-DISL-
go.STAT-FORMER
shəh naʔdegyadə́dai ‘during the week’
shəh ‘that’ [naʔdeg-y-ad-ə́da-i] PART-
DU-CIS-3S.A-SRF-day-stuck.on.STAT
Tsaʔdegyadə́dai, tsaʔdegyadə́dadeʔ
‘during the week’ [tsaʔdeg-y-ad-
ə́da-í] COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-

stuck.on.STAT [tsaʔdeg-y-ad-ə́d-adeʔ]
COIN.DU.CIS-3S.P-SRF-day-exist.STAT
sgá:t ə́yaə́dadogéhteʔ ‘one week’ *sgá:t*
‘one’ [ə́-ya-ə́da-dogéhd-h-e-ʔ] FUT-
3S.P-day-make.true-DISL-go-PUNC
tsaʔdegyadə́dadrehk ‘week before
last’ [tsaʔdeg-y-ad-ə́da-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: niyowihsdáʔe:ʔ ‘What time is it?’
do: ‘how’ [ni-yo-wihsd-á-ʔe:] PART-
3S.P-metal-JOINER A-strike.STAT

jə́hwihsdáʔehne:ʔ ‘it was one o’clock’ [j-
ə́hwihsd-a-ʔe-hne:ʔ] REP-3S.P-metal-
JOINER A-strike.STAT-REM

D.12.1 On the hour

sgá:t jə́hwihsdáʔe:, sgá:t ə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘one o’clock’ *sgá:t* ‘one’ [(j)-
ə́hwihsd-a-ʔe:] (REP)-3S.P-metal-
JOINER A-strike.STAT

dekni: deyə́hwihsdáʔehne:ʔ ‘it was two
o’clock’ [de-yo-hwihsd-a-ʔe-hne:ʔ] DU-
3S.P-metal-JOINER A-strike.STAT-REM

dekni: dejə́hwihsdáʔe:, dekni: deyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘two o’clock’ *dekni:* ‘two’
[de(j)-ə́hwihsd-á-ʔe:] DU.REP)-3S.P-
metal-JOINER A-strike.STAT

ahsə́h niyə́hwihsdáʔehne:ʔ ‘it was three
o’clock’ [ni-yo-hwihsd-a-ʔe-hne:ʔ]
PART-3S.P-metal-JOINER A-strike.STAT-
REM

ahsə́ niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘three o’clock’ *ah-
sə́* ‘three’ [ni-yo-hwihsd-á-ʔe:] PART-
3S.P-metal-JOINER A-strike.STAT

tsaʔdegáqyahə́h / gáqyahə́h ‘noon’
[tsaʔde-gá-qhy-a-hə́h] (COIN.DU)-3S.A-
sky-JOINER A-mid.STAT

géi niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘four o’clock’ *géi*
‘four’

tsaʔdewahsə́q:tə́h / wahsə́q:tə́h ‘midnight’
[tsaʔde-w-ahsə́q:d-hə́h] COIN.DU-3S.A-
night-mid.STAT

ja:dáhk niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘seven o’clock’
ja:dáhk ‘seven’

D.12.2 Past the hour

gyə́hdə́: niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘nine o’clock’
gyə́hdə́: ‘nine’

tsaʔdeyohsə́:nə́qʔ niyodə́qə́hdə́h ‘it is
half-past the hour’ [tsaʔde-yə́-
hs-ə́:nə́qʔ] COIN.DU-3S.P-noun-
originate.from-STAT [ni-yo-d-ə́qə́hd-
ə́h] PART-3S.P-SRF-surpass-STAT

sgá:t sgahéʔ niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘eleven
o’clock’ *sgá:t sgahéʔ* ‘eleven’

dekni: sgahéʔ niyə́hwihsdáʔe: ‘twelve
o’clock’ *dekni: sgahéʔ* ‘twelve’

odə́qə́hdə́ ‘it has gone beyond, sur-
passed’ [o-d-ə́qə́hd-ə́h] 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 degro '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'
dewahshé: hwíhs odqoghdó géi 'twenty-five past four', '4:25' *dewahshé: 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-á'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-JOINERÁ-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' dekní: sgahe' '11:45', 'quarter to twelve' *hwíhs sgahe'* 'fifteen', *dekní: sgahe'* 'twelve'
hwíhs gyonq:há' hyéi' '5:55', 'five to six'
hwihshq', hwihshq:qh 'five-ish', 'around five o'clock' [hwihshq', hwihshq:qh]

Degyo'nehsáhqh 'Burlington, ON' [deg-yo-'nehs-á-hqh] DU.CIS-3S.P-sand-JOINERÁ-lie.across.STAT
Detgahnegaha'gó:wah 'Dunnville, ON' [det-ga-hneg-a-ha'gó:wah] DU.CIS-3S.A-water-JOINERÁ-HAB-AUG
Detgahnnyqhsráhdq' 'Kingston, ON' [det-ga-hnyqhsr-áhdq-'] DU.CIS-3S.A-metal.bars-hidden.STAT
Detgayédánege', Tayédané:ge' 'Tyendinaga, ON' [detgayédánege'] [(de)t-ha-yéd-a-né:ge:'] (DU)-CIS-3S.M.A-log-JOINERÁ-side.by.side.STAT
Dewa'gagéh ganqhse:s 'Seneca Longhouse (Longhouse at Six Nations, ON)'

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- Deyohatéhsho'** 'Pittsburgh, PA' [de-yo-hat-éh-sho'] DU-3S.P-bright-STAT-PLRZ
- Deyohwejahkashógwahnó'** 'states' (referring to the United States) [de-yo-hwej-a-hkashógw-a-hno'] DU-3S.P-land-JOINERA-divided-JOINERA-DISTR.STAT
- Deyoyadáe'** 'No Ditch, Cattaragus, NY' [de-yo-yad-á-é'] NEG-3S.P-ditch-JOINERA-lie.STAT
- Deyoyegwá:kəh** 'Sandy's Road' [de-yo-yegw-á:kəh] DU-3S.P-tobacco-JOINERA-joined.STAT
- Dwahyáyetwəh** 'Jordan, ON' [d-wa-hyá-yetw-əh] 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-ago:] 3S.A-bay-IN
- Gahnáwageh** 'Caughnawaga/Kahnawake, Quebec' [ga-hnáv-a'geh] 3S.A-moving.water-ON
- Gahnáwago:** 'Warren, PA' [gahnávago:] [ga-hnáv-ago:] 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-ago:] 3S.A-valley-IN
- Ganehsadá:geh** 'Kanesatake/Oka, QC' [ga-'nehs-a-d-á:geh] 3S.A-sand-JOINERA-stand.STAT-ON
- Ganó:nyo'** 'New York, NY' [ga-nó:-nyo'] 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)
- Ganyadáyo'** 'Ontario', 'Lake Ontario' [ga-nyadá-yo'] 3S.A-lake-beautiful.STAT
- Ganyé'gehónqgeh** 'Mohawk Territory' [ga-nyé-'ge-hó:nq-geh] 3S.A-flint-ON-POP-ON
- Gayétwahgeh** 'Cornplanter Reserve' (near Warren, Pennsylvania) [ga-yétw-á'geh] 3S.A-planted-ON
- Gihé'gowáhneh** 'the Grand River' (in Ontario) [gihé'-gowá-hneh] 3S.A.river-AUG-AT/ON
- Gwagówahneh** 'England' [gwagówa-hneh] queen-AT/ON
- Gwahsdqónqgeh** 'United States' [gwahsdq-hónq-geh] boston²-POP-ON
- Gwésahsneh, Ogwésahsneh** 'Ahkwe-sahsne 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-á-hkwa'] CIS-3S.FI.A-counsel-JOINERA-INSTR
- Gyohnégano:** 'Cold Spring, NY' [g-yo-hnég-a-no:] CIS-3S.P-water-JOINERA-cold.STAT

²Referring to America.

- Gyonqhsadé:geh** ‘Cornplanter Reserve’ (a placename on Cornplanter Reserve) [g-yo-nqhs-adé:g-eh] CIS-3S.P-house-burn-STAT
- Hanadagányahsgeh** ‘Washington, DC’ [ha-nad-a-gánya-hs-geh] 3S.M.A-town-JOINER-destroy-HAB-ON
- Hyeí Niyqhwéjá:ge:** ‘Six Nations’ *hyeí* ‘six’ [ni-y-qhwéj-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’jú:’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-ęh] 3S.P-stick-JOINER-AT-STAT
- Ohswé:ge’** ‘Ohsweken, ON’
- Qhwéjagáyqhneh** ‘Europe’ [o-hwéj-a-gáyq-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
- Onódagęh** ‘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-nęd-á:dih] REP-3S.A-pine-side-STAT
- Sganyada:digó:wah** ‘Europe’ [s-ganyada:-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-hayęd-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-hnaw-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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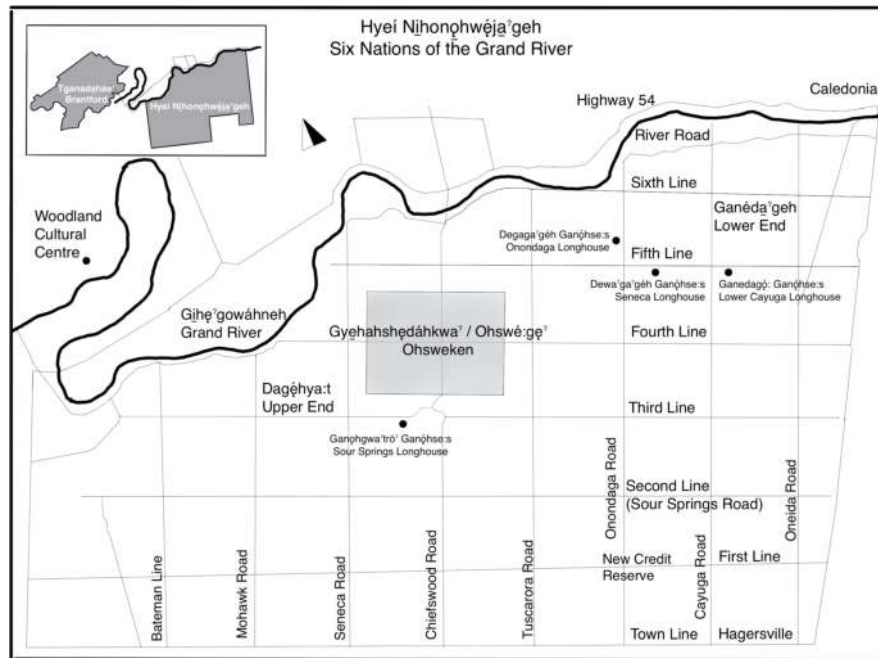


Figure D.1: Six Nations today, based on (Froman et al. 2002: xiv).

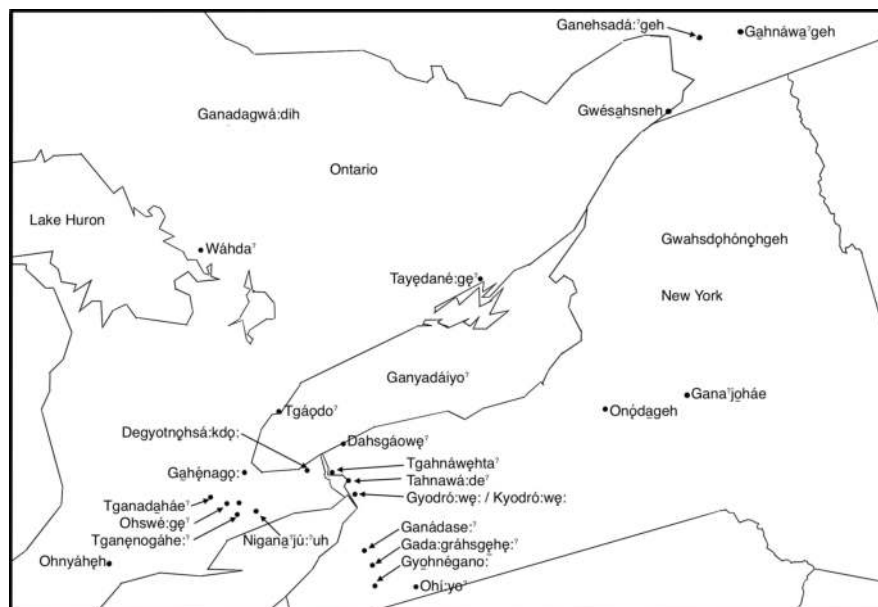


Figure D.2: Gayogohó:nq' place names, Ontario and New York State, based on (Mithun & Henry 1984: 37).

Tganənogáhe:ʔ ‘Hagersville, ON’ [t-ga-nənog-á-he:ʔ] CIS-3S.A-hickory- JOINERA-sitting.on.top.of.STAT

Tgáq:doʔ ‘Toronto, ON’ [t-gá-qd-oʔ] CIS- 3S.A-log-submerged.STAT

Tgayaʔdagwəniyoʔgeh ‘Ottawa, ON’ [t-ga-yaʔd-a-gwəniyoʔ-geh] CIS-3S.A- body-JOINERA-principal.STAT-ON

Wáhtaʔ ‘Gibson Reserve, ON’ wáhtaʔ ‘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:nqʔ ‘Hello.’

Gwé:. ‘Hello.’

Háiʔ / háeʔ. ‘Hello.’ (a word attributed to Oneida or Tutelo)

Agadaʔgáideʔ. ‘I feel well.’

Aknəhəkdá:nih. ‘I am sick.’

Agatowínyoʔse:. ‘I have a cold.’

Aknəʔá:nəhwa:s. ‘I have a headache.’

Oyányragyeʔ. ‘It is going well.’

Haoʔ dəʔ nyoh. ‘O.k. then.’

O:nəh giʔ hyá:ʔ. ‘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:nqʔ sweʔgəh tgəgəhne:ʔ!
hello long.ago I.saw.you
‘I haven’t seen you for a while!’

(16) Təʔ, təʔ desgé:nqʔ
no no not.well
‘No, I am not well.’

(13) Sgé:nqʔ gəh?
well Q
‘Are you well?’

(17) Sgé:nqʔ genəhdənyəh.
well I.feel
‘I am fine or healthy.’

(14) Sgenəjih gəh?
really.well Q
‘Are you really well?’

(18) Neʔ neʔ í:s?
that it.is you
‘What about you?’

(15) Əhéʔ sgé:nqʔ.
yes well
‘I am fine thanks.’

(19) Neʔ diʔ í:s?
the so you
‘What about you?’

(20) Dəʔ hoʔdəʔ niyohdəhə:gyeʔ?
what kind it.is.going.along.happening
‘What’s happening?’, ‘How’s it going?’

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- (21) Dẹ' ho'dẹ' niságyeha'?
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'de'?
you.are.working
'Are you working?'
- (25) Gaẹ hwa' nhọ: hejisaiho'de'?
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'de'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: nisohsriyá'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 nidihsué:nq:
 how you where.you(all).originate.from
 ‘How old are you?’
- (31) Ahsé niwáhshe: niwagoḥsríya’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. ...niwagoḥsríya’gḥ ‘I am ... years old’
 cf. ni-wag-ḥsr-íya’g-ḥ PART-1S.P-winter-cross-STAT
 - b. ... nisoḥsríyá’gḥ ‘you (singular) are ... years old’
 - c. ... nisnoḥsríyá’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. ... nidihsué: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) Dé’ ní:s ho’dé’ 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:' gęh sgí:dq̄h?
I Q you.mean.me
'Do you mean me?'
- (39) Nę: 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-q̄h 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-ó-h-ony-q̄h 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. ... dwayasq̄hó: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. ... gadíyasq̄h ‘they (animals) are called ...’ (referring to a team name)
- p. ... gadiyasq̄honyq̄h ‘they (animals) are called ...’ (referring to a list of names)
- q. ... hadíyasq̄h ‘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. Gaę 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. Gaę hq̄: disahdęgyq̄:?
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'
... 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

sga:t 'one'
dekni: 'two'
ahsęh 'three'
gęi 'four'
hwıhs 'five'

hyęi' 'six'
ja:dahk 'seven'
degrɔ' 'eight'
gyohdq: 'nine'
wahshę: 'ten'

D.15.2 Multiples of 10

wahshę: '10', 'ten' [w-ahsh-ę:] 3s.A-
count.STAT
dewáshę: '20', 'two tens' [de-w-áhsh-
ę:] DU-3s.A-count.STAT
niwáshę: 'some tens' [ni-w-áhsh-ę:]
PART-3s.A-COUNT.STAT
ahsę niwáshę: '30', 'three tens'

gęi niwáshę: '40', 'four tens'
hwıhs niwáshę: '50', 'five tens'
hyęi' niwáshę: '60', 'six tens'
ja:dáhk niwáshę: '70', 'seven tens'
degrɔ' niwáshę: '80', 'eight tens'
gyohdq: niwáshę: '90', 'nine tens'

D.15.3 Multiples of 100

sgá:t dewẹ́ nyawe: ‘100’, ‘one hundred’
 sgá:t ‘one’ [de-w-ẹ́-ny-a-we:] DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

dekní: dewẹ́ nyawe: ‘200’, ‘two hundred’
 dekní: ‘two’ [de-w-ẹ́-ny-a-we:] DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘some hundreds’
 [na’de-w-ẹ́-ny-á:-we:] PART.DU-3S.A-SRF-finger-JOINER-verb.STAT

ahsé na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘300’, ‘three hundreds’

géi na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘400’, ‘four hundreds’

hwíhs na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘500’, ‘five hundreds’

hyeí na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘600’, ‘six hundreds’

ja:dáhk na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘700’, ‘seven hundreds’

degró na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘800’, ‘eight hundreds’

gyohdó: na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘900’, ‘nine hundreds’

D.15.4 Multiples of 1000

na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘some hundreds’

wahshé: na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘1000’, ‘ten hundreds’

dewahshé: na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘2000’, ‘twenty hundreds’

[ahsé niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘3000’, ‘thirty hundreds’

[géi niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘4000’, ‘fourty hundreds’

[hwíhs niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘5000’, ‘fifty hundreds’

[hyeí niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘6000’, ‘sixty hundreds’

[ja:dáhk niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘7000’, ‘seventy hundreds’

[degró niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘8000’, ‘eighty hundreds’

[gyohdó: niwahshé:] na’ dewẹ́ nyá:we: ‘9000’, ‘ninety hundreds’

D.15.5 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers describe a position in a series of numbers.

dawá:gyẹ:ht ‘first’ [d-a-w-á:gyẹ:ht] CIS-FAC-3S.A-start.with.Ø.PUNC

gyogyẹhdoh ‘first’ [g-yo-gyẹ: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:gọ:t ‘last’ [hes-gá:-gọ: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.

həwá:dra:s ‘times’ [h-ɛ-w-adraʔ-hs] CIS-FUT-3S.A-meet-CAUS.Ø.PUNC
sgá:t həwá:dra:s ‘once’, ‘one time’

dekní: həwá:dra:s ‘twice’, ‘two times’

ahséh həwá:dra:s ‘thrice’, ‘three times’

D.15.7 Money

gwé:nihs ‘penny’

gwənihsóʔoh ‘change’ [gwənihs-shóʔoh] penny-PLRZ

sgagwéniʔda:t ‘1¢’, ‘one penny’, ‘one cent’ [s-ga-gwéniʔd-a:t] REP-3S.A-penny-NMLZ-JOINER-stand.STAT

hwíhs niyogwéniʔdage: ‘5¢’, ‘five pennies’ [ni-yo-gwéniʔd-age:] PART-3S.P-penny-three.or.more. STAT

hwíhsgwé:nihs ‘5¢’, ‘a nickel’ [hwíhsgwé:nihs] five-penny

wahshé:gwé:nihs ‘10¢’, ‘a dime’ [wahshé:-gwé:nihs] ten-penny

hwíhsgahéʔgwé:nihs ‘15¢’, ‘15 cents’ [hwíhsgahéʔ-gwé:nihs] five-teen-penny

dewahshé:gwé:nihs ‘20¢’, ‘twenty cents’ [dewahshé:-gwé:nihs] twenty-penny

degahsióʔtrage: ‘25¢’, ‘twenty-five cents’, ‘a quarter’ [de-ga-hsióʔtr-age:] DU-3S.A-bit-three.or.more. STAT

gei: nigahsióʔtrage: ‘50¢’, ‘fifty cents’ [ni-ga-hsióʔtr-age:] PART-3S.A-bit-three.or.more. STAT

hyeiʔ nigahsióʔtrage: ‘75¢’, ‘seventy-five cents’

ohwíhdsáʔ ‘money’ [o-hwíhds-aʔ] 3S.P-money-NSF

sgahwíhdsá:t ‘one dollar’ [s-ga-hwíhdsá:t] REP-3S.A-money-JOINER-stand.STAT

degahwíhdsá:ge: ‘two dollars’ [de-ga-hwíhdsá:ge:] DU-3S.A-money-three.or.more. STAT

ahséh nigahwíhdsá:ge: ‘three dollars’ [ni-ga-hwíhdsá: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:deʔ* (see below), both morpheme breakdowns and translations are provided. In contrast, for compound entries such as *Qgwehqwéh Oihwagéhsqʔ* (see below), only the approximate translations of each word of the compound are provided.

ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Qgwehqwéh Oihwagéhsqʷ

Qgwehqwéh ‘First Nations people’

Oihwagéhsqʷ ‘affairs, statistics’

ABORIGINAL TRAPPERS’ FEDERATION

Qgwehqwéh Honęnigyohgwaéʷ Hę-nadrihsdáęhęʷ

Qgwehqwéh ‘First Nations people’

honęnigyohgwaéʷ ‘their (males) crowd, group, association’

hęnadrihsdáęhęʷ ‘they (males) are trappers’

ABORIGINAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

Qgwehqwéh Gaihqnyá:ni:ʷ Hęná-gyeheʷ

Qgwehqwéh ‘First Nations people’

gaihqnyá:ni:ʷ ‘education’

hęnagyeheʷ ‘they (males) do it’

ADMINISTER

hadi:hwahé:deʷ ‘an administration’
[hadi-ihw-a-hę:d-e-ʷ] 3NS.M.A-matter-
JOINERA-ahead-go-STAT

haihwahé:deʷ ‘he is an administrator’
[3S.M.A-matter-JOINERA-ahead-go-STAT]

eihwahé:deʷ ‘she is an administrator’
3S.FI.A-matter-JOINERA-ahead-go-STAT

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

ganqhsagwę:ní:yoʷ [ga-nqhs-a-gwęniyoʷ] 3S.A-house-JOINERA-principal.STAT

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Tęnęʷ nigqhó:taʷ ‘they (males) make suggestions’
[t-hęn-ę-ʷnigqhot-haʷ] CIS-3NS.M.A-SRF-suggest-habitual.STAT

Hadi:hwadogéhstaʷ ‘they (males) make things right’
[hadi-ihw-a-dogéhst-haʷ]

3NS.M.A.-matter-JOINERA-set.straight-HAB

AFFAIRS

hęnahshe:dáhs oihwagéhsqʷ ‘affairs, statistics’

hęnahshedahs ‘they (males) count’

oihwagéhsqʷ ‘matters’

AGENCY

gęgyohgwagéhqʷ ‘associations’, ‘councils’, ‘agencies’, ‘groups’ [ga-igyohgw-a-géhqʷ] 3S.A-crowd-JOINERA-lie.about.STAT

AMBASSADOR

gonhaʷ tráʷ shagogyáʷ danqhwá:nih ‘ambassadors’, ‘commissioners’

gonhaʷ tráʷ ‘someone’s assistant’

shagogyáʷ danqhwá:nih ‘he represents people’

ARBITRATION

dęhadi:hwagé:nhaʷ ‘arbitration’
[dę-hadi-ihw-a-gé:nh-a-ʷ] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate.for-JOINERA-HAB

ARCHIVE

oihwagá:yqh, **oihwagáyqhsqʷ** ‘archives’ [o-ihw-a-gá:y-q-(hsqʷ)] 3S.P-matter-JOINERA-old.item-STAT-(PLRZ)

ARM (OF AN ORGANIZATION)

heganętsá:deʷ ‘an arm/branch/division’ (of an organization), ‘a municipality’ [he-ga-nęts-á:deʷ] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

heganętsa:déʷ deyqkiyqhwejáʷ nya:ʷ ‘an arm/branch/division’ (of an organization)

deyqkiyqhwejáʷ nya:ʷ ‘they look after our land’

heganętsa:déʷ deyodekahsqgwáhqʷ ‘divisions’ (of an organization)

D Thematic dictionary

deyodekahsogwahq 'they (objects) are divided'

ARTS

hɛnagyenáhta 'the Arts' [hɛn-ag-yenáht-ha'] 3NS.M.A-SRF-perform-HAB

ARTS COUNCIL

Hɛnagyenahotá *Gɛgyóhgwaɛ*

hɛnagyenahota 'they (males) perform'
gɛgyohgwaɛ 'association'

ARTS FOUNDATION

Oihwagwe:góh *Hadiya* *dahsdahnóh*
Honahsdi:hsdoh

oihwagwe:goh 'the whole idea'
hadiya *dahsdahnóh* 'they (males) make things'
honahsdi:hsdoh 'foundation'

ASSEMBLY

Honohwejagwɛ:ni:yo 'they (males) lead the land' [hon-ohwej-agwɛ:ni:yo'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINER-principal.STAT

ASSEMBLY OF FIRST NATIONS

Honohwejagwɛ:ni:yó *Honɛnigyohgwahsró:ni:*

honohwejagwɛ:ni:yo 'assembly'
honɛnigyohgwahsró:ni: 'they (males) fix groups'

ASSISTANT

ɛyagoyɛnawá *syagye* 'she will go along helping' [ɛ-yago-yɛnawá-sy-a-gy-e-'] FUT-3S.FI.A-help-JOINER-PROG-go-PUNC

ASSOCIATION

gɛgyohgwagého 'associations', 'councils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-a-gého'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINER-lie.about.STAT

ASSURANCE

adrihwagyaqhsrá *hadíganya*'s 'insurance, assurance'

adrihwagyaqhsra 'disaster'

hadiganya's 'they (males) pay'

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Dɛhahwagɛnhasgó:wah 'he is the Attorney General', 'he is the principal lawmaker' [dɛ-ha-ihw-a-gɛnha-sgó:wah] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINER-argue.for-HAB-AUG

AUDITOR

hɛnatwihsda:nóh *hadikdoha*'

hɛnatwihsdanoh 'they (males) guard the money'

hadikdoha' 'they (males) examine it'

hɛnatwihsda:nóh *honátgaha:*'

honatgaha:' 'they (males) are watching'

AUDITOR GENERAL

Hatwihsdanohgó:wah (*ohé:dq:*) [h-at-hwihsd-a-noh-gó:wah] 'he is the chief money-guarder' 3S.M.A-SRF-money-JOINER-guard.STAT-AUG

ohé:dq: 'ahead'

BETTER BUSINESS BUREAU

Honahdɛgya' *dóh* *Tadidagwáihshqhs*

honahdɛgya' *doh* 'business', 'industry'
tadidagwaihshqhs 'where they (males) keep things straight'

BAILIFF

hɔwaih wáwa' *se* 'he goes and supports him' [hɔwa-ihw-á-wa's-e-'] 3SG.M.HUM>3SG.M-matter-JOINER-reinforce-go-STAT

BANK

ehwihsdáɛdahkwa'

[e-hwihsd-á-ɛd-á-hkwa'] 3S.FI.A-money-JOINER-put-JOINER-INSTR

BANK OF CANADA

Ehwihsdaędahkwa'gowáhneh [e-hwihsd-a-ęd-a-hkwa'-gowá-hneh]
3S.FI.A-money-JOINER A-put-JOINER A-
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

Towa:na:wí: Gaya'dagęnhahsrá'
Gayánehsra'
towa:na:wí: 'he has given us rights'
gaya'dagęnhahsra' 'helpfulness'
gayanehsra' 'rights', 'laws', 'code'

BOARD

honadrihwahsdí:hsdoh 'board', 'bureau', 'office', 'department', 'foundation', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-oh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER A-care.for-STAT

BONDS

sayé:dq' 'you own things' [sa-yé:-d-q']
2S.P-have-EUPH.D-DISTR.STAT

BRANCH

heganętsá:de' 'an arm, branch, division (of an organization)', 'a municipality' [he-ga-nęts-á:de'] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

heganętsa:dé' deyqkiyohwejá'nya:'
'an arm, branch, division of an organization'

deyqkiyohweja'nya:' 'they look after our land'

heganętsa:dé' deyodekahsogwáhq' divisions (of an organization)

deyodekahsogwahq' 'they (objects) are divided'

BUREAU

honadrihwahsdí:hsdoh 'board', 'bureau', 'office', 'department', 'foundation', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-oh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER A-care.for-STAT

BUSINESS

honahdegyá'doh 'business', 'industry' [hon-ahdegyá'd-oh] 3NS.M.P-cause.to.leave-STAT

BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

honahdegya'doh gęgyóhgwae'
honahdegya'doh 'business', 'industry'
gęgyohgwae' 'association', 'council', 'agency', 'group'

CABINET

Gwago:wáh Gaogwe'dá' Gęgyohgwagéhq'

Gwa:go:wah 'royalty'

gaogwe'da' 'people'

gęgyohgwagehq' 'associations', 'councils', 'agencies', 'groups'

CANADA ACT

Gayanehsrá' Qgwahsháine'

gayanehsra' 'rights', 'laws', 'code'

qgwahshaine' 'they govern us'

CANADA COUNCIL

Ohwihsdá' Tęnáhtga's

ohwihsda' 'money'

tęnahtga's 'they (males) forfeit, let go of it'

CANADA POST CORPORATION

Gahyadqhsranęhwih Gęgyóhgwae'

gahyadqhsranęhwih 'post office'

gęgyohgwae' 'corporation'

CANDIDATE

dęhéhda:t [dę-h-éhda:t] 'he will run'
DU.FUT-3S.M.A-run.Ø.PUNC

D Thematic dictionary

CAPITAL CITY

Ganadagwẹ:ní:yo' [ga-nada-gwẹ:ní:yo']
3S.A-town-principal.STAT

CENSUS

hẹnadogwẹ'dahshé:dahs' 'they (males)
count people' [hẹn-ad-ogwẹ'd-a-
hshé:d-a-hs] 3NS.M.A-SRF-people-
JOINERA-count-JOINERA-HAB

CHAIRMAN

hodrihwahsdihsdoh 'he looks after mat-
ters', 'he takes care of business' [ho-d-
rihw-a-hsdihsd-oh] 3S.M.P-SRF-matter-
JOINERA-care.for-STAT

hokyẹdahkwáhshdihsdoh 'he cares for
the chair' [ho-kyẹdahkw-á-hsdihsd-
oh] 3S.M.P-chair-JOINERA-care.for-
STAT

CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, BILL OF RIGHTS

Towa:na:wí: Gaya'dagẹnhahsrá'
Gayánehsra'
towa:na:wí: 'he has given us rights'
gaya'dagẹnhahsra' 'helpfulness'
gayánehsra' 'rights'

CHIEF

hadigowá:nẹ's 'they (males) are big'
[hadi-gowá:n-ẹ's] 3NS.M.A-big-STAT-
PL

CHIEF JUSTICE

Shagodenyéhta'go:wah 'he is our prin-
ciple judger' [shago-denyéht-ha'-
go:wah] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-judge-HAB-AUG

CHILD WELFARE

eksa'shọ:ọh họwadihswá'neta'
eksa'shọ:ọh 'they (fe/males) are chil-
dren'
họwadihswá'neta' 'they support them'

CHILDREN'S AID OFFICE

hadiksashọ'ọh dẹhọwadihsnye'
hadiksa'shọ:ọh 'they (males) are chil-
dren'
dẹhọwadihsnye' 'they care for them'

CITIZENSHIP

dẹhọwadidenye's 'they change
them' [dẹ-họwadi-denyé-'s] DU-
3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-change-HAB

**dẹhọwadidenyé's tsẹh nịhonọh-
wẹjọ'dẹ:**
tsẹh 'that, what'
nịhonọhwẹjọ'dẹ: 'their kind of land' [nị-
hon-ọhwẹj-ọ'dẹ:] PART-3NS.M.P-land-
type.of.STAT

COALITION

sgẹgyohgwá:t odọ'ọh
sgẹgyohgwa:t 'one group'
odọ'ọh 'it has become'

sga'nigọhá:t odọ'ọh
sga'nigọha:t 'one mind'

dẹhodi:hwáẹda'seh 'coalition' [dẹ-
hodi-ihw-á-ẹd-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'danọhgwá:nih
'ambassadors', 'commissioners'
gonha'tra' 'someone's assistant'
shagogyá'danọhgwa:nih 'he represents
people'

CONSENSUS

degaihwáeda's [de-ga-ihw-á-éd-a-'s]
DU-3S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-lie.down-
JOINERÁ-HAB

CONSERVATION

dehenohwéjáhshnye' 'they (males) care
for the land'
[de-hen-ohwéj-á-hshnye-'] DU-3NS.M.A-
land-JOINERÁ-care.for-HAB

honohwejátgaha:' 'they (males)
look after the land' [hon-ohwej-
á-tgah-a:'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINERÁ-
pay.attention.to-HAB

CONSTITUTION

Gayanehsra' gó:wah [ga-yanehsr-a'-
gó:wah] 3S.A-law-NSF-AUG

CONSTITUTION ACT

Gahyadohsragwe:ní:yo' [ga-hyadohsr-
a-gwe:ní:yo'] 3S.A-paper-JOINERÁ-
principal.STAT

CONSUMER'S AFFAIRS

Gahninohnyo' Odedagwaihshohagye'
gahninohnyo' 'consumption, pur-
chased items'
odedagwaihshohagye' 'it is being
straightened out'

CORPORATION

dehonagyéhsdoh 'they (males) stir
things together' [de-hon-ag-yéhsd-
oh] DU-3NS.M.P-SRF-mix.together-
STAT

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

qdadenhodohkwá' oíhwa'geh
qdadenhodohkwa' 'jail', 'prison'
oíhwa'geh 'the reason/idea for some-
thing'

COUNSELOR

haháhshhèhè' 'he gives advice' [ha-
háhshè-hè'] 3S.M.A-give.advice-HAB

COUNCIL

gëgyóhgwaé' 'association', 'council',
'agency', 'group' [ga-igyóhgw-a-é']
3S.A-crowd-JOINERÁ-lie.STAT

gëgyohgwagého' 'associations', 'coun-
cils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-
a-gého'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINERÁ-
congregate.STAT

COUNTRY

odohwejá:de' 'existing land' [o-d-
ohwej-á:de'] 3S.P-SRF-land-exist.STAT

COURTS

Hadiahshé'dahkwa'gowáhgeh 'where
the main counsellors are' [hadi-
hahshé'd-á-hkwa'-gowá-hgeh]
3NS.M.A-counsel-JOINERÁ-INSTR-AUG-
AT/ON

hadiahshé'dahkwa' [hadi-hahshé'd-
á-hkwa'] 3NS.M.A-counsel-JOINERÁ-
INSTR

COURTHOUSE

dehadiahshédáhkwa' [de-hadi-
hahshé'd-á-hkwa'] DU-3NS.M.A-
counsel-JOINERÁ-INSTR

CROWN

gwa:gó:wah 'royalty', 'king', 'queen',
'the crown'

CROWN CORPORATION

Gwa:go:wáh Dehonagyéhsdoh
gwa:go:wah 'royalty'
dehonagyéhsdoh 'a corporation'

CROWN COUNCIL

Gwa:go:wáh Deshagodihwagé:nhahs
gwa:go:wah 'royalty'
deshagodihwagé:nhahs 'they argue for
us'

CSIS (CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE)

dehadinehédá:s honadrihwahshédoh
ohwejá:edonyo' 'intelligence agency',

D Thematic dictionary

‘spy agency’

dehadineḥeda:s ‘they (males) are guards’

honadrihwahseḥdḥ ‘they are secretive’

ohwejae:donyo ‘lands’, ‘countries’

CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Tiyogwe[?]dadejih Goihwageh

Tiyogwe[?]dadejih ‘culture’

goihwageh ‘someone’s affairs’

CULTURE

Tiyogwe[?]dadejih [ti-y-ogwe[?]d-ade-jih]

CONTR-3S.P-person-exist.STAT-INTS

CURATOR

ekdḥdḥkwa[?]géh hohsdíhsdḥ

ekdḥdḥkwa[?]geh ‘museum’

hohsdíhsdḥ ‘he is a director’

DEPARTMENT

honadrihwahsdí:hsdḥ ‘board’, ‘bureau’, ‘office’, ‘department’, ‘foundation’, ‘institute’ [hon-ad-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-ḥ] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINERÁ-care.for-STAT

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY AND MINES

Ohwejagéh Wahdegy[?]atá[?] Ohwejagḥ-sḥ[?] Honadrihwahsdí:hsdḥ

ohwejageh ‘on earth’

wahdegya[?]ta[?] ‘a starter’

ohwejagḥsḥ[?] ‘under the earth’

honadrihwahsdí:hsdḥ ‘department’

DEVELOPMENT

hodisrḥníhagey[?] ‘they (males) are developing it’ [hodi-hsrḥní-h-a-gy-e-[?]] 3NS.M.P-make-EUPH.H-JOINERÁ-PROG-go-STAT

DIRECTOR

gohsdíhsdḥ ‘she is a director, principal, head’ [go-hsdíhsd-ḥ] 3S.FI.A-care.for-STAT

hohsdíhsdḥ ‘he is a director, principal, head’ [ho-hsdíhsd-ḥ] 3S.M.A-care.for-STAT

gaihḥnya:ní:[?] gohsdíhsdḥ ‘she is an education director’

gaihḥnya:ni:[?] ‘education’

owe:ná[?] hohsdíhsdḥ ‘he is a language director’

owe:na[?] ‘word’

degahsnye[?]ḥ:[?] hosdíhsdḥ ‘he is a maintenance director’

degahsnye[?]ḥ:[?] ‘it cleans up’

degaḥdohdá:s ohé:dḥ ‘maintenance director’

degaḥdohda:s ‘they (fe/males) tidy up’

ohé:dḥ ‘head’, ‘lead’

gaihwaohḥ:[?] hohsdíhsdḥ ‘he is a research director’

gaihwaohḥ:[?] ‘gathered news or ideas’

DIVISION (OF AN ORGANIZATION)

heganḥsa:de[?] ‘an arm, branch, division (of an organization)’, ‘a municipality’ [he-ga-ḥḥs-a:de[?]] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

heganḥsa:de[?] deyḥkiyḥwejá[?]nya:[?] ‘an arm, branch, division of an organization’

deyḥkiyḥweja[?]nya:[?] ‘they look after our land’

heganḥsa:de[?] deyodekahsḥgwaḥḥ:[?] ‘divisions (of an organization)’

deyodekahsḥgwaḥḥ:[?] ‘they (objects) are divided’

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (OFFICE)

ohę:dq: **ha'watahi:né'** **gotganq-nihagye'**

ohę:dq: 'ahead', 'lead'

ha'watahi:né' 'it is walking there'

gotganqnihagye' 'prosperity'

EDUCATION (POSTSECONDARY)

he:tgęh tga:dęh hęnadewąęhsta'
'higher learning', 'postsecondary education'

he:tgę' tga:de' 'it is superior'

hęnadewąęhsta' 'they (males) are learners'

ELECT, ELECTION

dęhęnęnigyoęgwagę:ni' 'they will have an election' [dę-hęn-ęn-igyoęgw-a-gę:ni-'] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-crowd-JOINERÁ-compete-PUNC

dęhsęnigyoęgwagę:ni' 'you will vote, cast lots' [dęhsęnigyoęgwagę:ni'] DU.FUT-2S.A-SRF-crowd-JOINERÁ-compete-PUNC

hqsá'hqowadiyá'dinyq:t 'they re-elected him, them' [hqsá'-hqowadi-yá'd-inyq:t] CIS.REP.FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-body-put.in.Ø.PUNC

sahqwaditsgó:dę' 'they re-elected him, them' [sa-hqowadi-tsg-ó:d-ę'] REP.FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.body-put.in-PUNC

ahqwaditsó:dę' 'they elected him, them' [ahqwaditsó:dę'] FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.body-put.in-PUNC

ha'ha:yq' né: tó ahqwadi:tsgó:dę' 'they elected him, them'

ha'ha:yq' 'he scored'

ne: tó ahqwadi:tsgó:dę' 'it is that they (males) elected him, them'

EMPLOYEE

senhá'tra' 'you are an employee' [s-ehá'tr-a'] 2S.A-JOINERÉ-hired.person-NSF

EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION, HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Hęnadęhá's Dęhęnadqgw'edá-dęnye's

hęnadęha's 'they (males) order it'

dęhęnadqgw'edadęnye's 'human development', 'people are changed'

EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

Dęhadiho'dęhsragwęni:yo' 'their (males) main work place' [dę-hadiho'dęhsr-a-gwęni:yo'] DU-3NS.M.A-work.place-principal.STAT

ENVIRONMENT

tsęh niyohdqhogyé' tsęh hqhwę-jadá:dqh

tsęh niyohdqhogyé' 'what it is like'

tsęh hqhwęjadadqh 'that he has created the earth'

FEDERAL

hadigowáhşq' 'they (males) are big' [hadi-gowáh-shq'] 3NS.M.A-big.STAT-PLRZ

FEDERATION

dęęnadawęnye'ta'gęh 'place where things are stirred up' [dę-gęnad-awęnye't-ha'-gęh] DU-3P.A-SRF-get.stirred-up-HAB-ON

FISH AND WILDLIFE

ganadadwę:ni:yó' gadi:nyo:'

gęnadadwę:ni:yo' 'they (animals) are wild'

gadi:nyo:' 'wild animals'

FOREST INDUSTRY

hadi'nhahgyá's honahdęgyá'dqh

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-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-oh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER-A-care.for-STAT

GOVERN

ogwahsháine' 'we all are governed' [ogwa-sháine'] 1P.P-governed.STAT

GOVERNMENT

deyokiyohwejá'nya: 'they look after our land', 'they take care of business' (refers to a title, an office) [de-yokiy-ohwej-á-'nya:-'] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINER-A-govern-HAB

GOVERNOR GENERAL, PRIME MINISTER

gwa:go:wáh gonhá'tra'

gwa:go:wah 'royalty'

gonha'tra' 'someone's assistant'

GRANT

hqwadihwíhsdawih 'a subsidy', 'a grant' [hqwadi-hwíhsd-awi-hs] 3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-money-give-HAB

GROUP

gegyohgwagéhq' 'associations', 'councils', 'agencies', 'groups' [ga-igyohgw-a-géhq'] 3S.A-crowd-JOINER-A-congregate.STAT

honęniyóhgwaę' 'their groups lying there' [hon-ęni-igyóhgw-a-ę'] 3NS.M.P-SRF-group-JOINER-A-lie.STAT

HEALTH

Ada'gaidęhsrá' Oihwa'geh

adagaidęhsra' 'health'

oihwa'geh 'the reason, the idea for something'

HEALTH CANADA

ada'gaidęhsrá' dehodí:hwahja:'

adagaidęhsra' 'health'

dehodi:hwahs'a:' 'they (males) are earning, fulfilling it'

HIGHER EDUCATION

he:tgéh tga:déh hęnadewáyęhsta' 'higher learning', 'postsecondary education'

he:tgę' tga:de' 'it is superior'

hęnadewayęhsta' 'they (males) are learners'

HOUSE OF COMMONS, LEGISLATURE

hęnagyeđahkwá' hadiyanęhsrọ:nih

hęnagyeđahkwa' 'their (males) chair'

hadiyanęhsrọ:nih 'they (males) make the laws'

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION

Hęnadęhá's Dehęnadogw'edádenye's

hęnadęha's 'they (males) order it'

dehęnadogwe'dadenye's 'human development', 'people are changed'

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Heyogwe'da:gwe:góh Goyanęhsraę' Gęgyóhgwaę'

heyogwe'da:gwe:goh 'all humans everywhere'

goyanęhsraę' 'someone's laws, rights'

gegyohgwawę' '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:hsdḡh 'board', 'bureau', 'office', 'department', 'foundation', 'institute', etc. [hon-ad-rihw-a-hsdí:hsd-ḡh] 3NS.M.P-SRF-matter-JOINER A-care.for-STAT

INSURANCE

adrihwagyaḡhsrá' hadíganya's 'insurance', 'assurance'

adrihwagyaḡhsra' 'disaster'

hadiganya's 'they (males) pay'

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

ohsḡdagḡhsḡ 'an intelligence agency' [o-hsḡd-agḡ-hsḡ] 3S.P-darkness-IN-PLRZ

dehadineḡheda:s honadrihwahsehdḡh ohwejáḡḡonyḡ 'intelligence agency', 'spy agency'

dehadineḡheda:s 'they (males) are guards'

honadrihwahsehdḡh 'they (males) are secretive'

ohwejáḡḡonyḡ 'various lands, countries'

JAIL

ḡdadḡnhódḡhkwa' 'jail', 'prison' [ḡ-dadḡ-nhódḡhkwa'-ha'] 3S.FI.A-REFL-locked.up-HAB

JUDGE

shagodeḡnyéhta' 'he judges us' [shagodeḡ-nyéhta'-ha'] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-SRF-judge-HAB

JURY

deshagodiya'dówehta' 'they think about us' [de-shagodi-ya'dówehta'-ha'] DU-3NS(NFI):3FI-think.about-HAB

JUSTICE

gaihwaḡhsró:nih 'justice', 'rules' [ga-ihw-a-hsrḡ:ni-h] 3S.A-matter-JOINER A-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'dḡhsrá' gayaneḡhsrá' hadiḡsre'

gaiho'dḡhsra' 'work'

gayaneḡhsra' 'rights, laws', etc.

hadiḡsre' 'they (males) follow'

LABOUR RELATIONS BOARD

gaiho'dḡhsrá' gayaneḡhsrá' honádihs-dḡh

gaiho'dḡhsra' 'work'

gayaneḡhsra' 'rights', 'laws', etc.

honahsdi:hsdḡh 'foundation', 'board', etc.

LAND

sahwé:ja', sḡhwé:ja', saḡhwé:ja' 'your land/property/real estate' [s(a)-(ḡ)hwé:j-a'] 2S.P-land-NSF

LAND CLAIM

heḡḡhwejáḡhsgenhahs 'they (males) contest land' [heḡ-ḡhwej-á-hsgenh-a-hs] 3NS.M.A-land-JOINER A-compete.for-JOINER A-HAB

LAND OWNER, LAND TITLE

honḡhwejáḡ:dḡ 'land owners', 'land titles' [hon-ḡhwej-á-ḡ:-d-ḡ'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINER A-have-euph.d-DISTR.STAT

honḡhwejáḡhsnḡ 'land titles' [hon-ḡhwej-á-hsn-ḡ'] 3NS.M.P-land-JOINER A-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.FI.A-laws-make-HAB

swayanehsró:nih 'you're a lawmaker' [swa-yanehsr-ó:ni-h] 2S.A-laws-make-HAB

LAWYER, ATTORNEY

dehaihwágenhahs 'he is a lawyer' [de-ha-ihw-á-genh-a-hs] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate.for-JOINERA-HAB

dehadihwágenhas 'they (males) are lawyers' [de-hadi-hw-á-genh-a-hs] DU-3NS.M.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate.for-JOINERA-HAB

dehaihwagenhahsgó:wah 'he is the Attorney General' [de-ha-ihw-a-genh-a-hs-gó:wah] DU-3S.M.A-matter-JOINERA-advocate.for-JOINERA-HAB-AUG

LEADER

hqwadigówanęh 'their leader' [hqwadigówan-ęh] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-big-STAT

shedwagowá:nęh 'he is our leader' [shedwa-gowá:n-ęh] 1INP:3MS-big-STAT

shagoę:dó: (gyohwéjade') 'leader' (of a land, country, or territory)

shagoę:dó: 'a leader'

gyohwéjade' 'existing land'

LEGISLATURE, HOUSE OF COMMONS

Hęnagyędahkwá' Hadiyanehsró:nih

hęnagyędahkwá' 'their (males) chair'

hadiyanehsró:nih 'they (males) make the laws'

LICENSING AND CONTROL BOARD

hqwadihyadqhsra:wihš gayanehsrá'geh

hqwadihyadqhsra:wihš 'licensing body'

gayanehsra'geh 'rights' (etc.)

LICENSING BODY

hqwadihyadqhsrá:wihš [hqwadihyadqhsr-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'qh 'they (males) are employees', etc. [hadi-nhá'tr-a'-shq'qh] 3NS.M.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

MINISTER

gonhá'tra'sq' 'they (fe/males) are ministers' [go-nhá'tr-a'-shq'] 3S.FI.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

hadinha'trá'shq' 'they (males) are ministers or aides' [hadi-nhá'tr-á'-shq'] 3NS.M.A-employed.person-NSF-PLRZ

gwa:go:wáh gonhá'tra' 'Governor General', 'Prime Minister'

gwa:go:wah 'royalty', etc.

gonhá'tra' 'someone's assistant'

MINISTRY

hqwadishahsdęhsrá:wi: 'they (males) give them power' [hqwadishahsdęhsr-á:wi:-] 3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-power-give-STAT

MULTILINGUALISM

ta'degawénage: 'all kinds of languages', 'multilingualism' [ta'de-ga-wén-age:]
CONTR.DU-3S.A-voice-number.of.STAT

MUNICIPAL

hadiahshéhe? 'they (males) are municipal' [hadi-hahshé-he?] 3NS.M.A-counsel-HAB

MUNICIPALITY

heganetsá:de 'an arm/branch/division' (of an organization), 'a municipality' [he-ga-nets-á:de?] TRANSL-3S.A-arm-exist.STAT

NATIONAL

heyqweja:gwé:qoh 'lands everywhere' [he-y-qhwej-a:gwé:g-oh] TRANSL-3S.A-land-JOINER-ALL-STAT

NATURAL RESOURCES

gawayenahta:? *ohwejagéhgeha:?*
gawayenahta:? 'resources'
ohwejagéhgeha:? 'earthly things'

NATURE

nahawayénanhe? 'his finished creation' [na-ha-wayén-a-nh-e-?] 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

deyqiyqhwejháhsnye? 'they look after our land' (refers to a title, an office) [de-yqiy-qhwejh-á-hsnye-?] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINER-care.for-HAB

deyqiyqhwejá'nya:? 'they look after our land, take care of business' (refers

to a title, an office) [de-yqiy-qhwej-á-'nya:?] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINER-watch.over-HAB

OMBUDSMAN

enhá'tra? 'ombudsman', etc. [e-nhá'tra-a?] 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 heyeyihwahwinyó'ta'geh

q:gwéh 'person'

heyeyihwahwinyó'ta'geh 'someone puts in ideas'

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION,
HIGHER LEARNING

he:tgéh tga:déh hēnadewáyqhsta? 'higher learning', 'postsecondary education'

he:tgéh tga:déh 'it is superior'

hēnadewayqhsta? 'they (males) are learners'

PREMIER

Ohēdqhgó:wah (ne?) 'Premier (of)' [ohēdqh-gó:wah] 3S.P-lead-STAT-AUG
ne? 'the'

PRESERVATION, CONSERVATION

dehēnqhwéjáhhsnye? 'land preservation', 'land conservation' [de-hēnqhwéj-á-hhsnye-?] DU-3NS.M.A-land-JOINER-care.for-HAB

PRESIDENT

shagohe:dó: gyohwéjade? 'leader' (of a land, country, or territory)

D Thematic dictionary

shagohe:dq: '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'

shagohe:dq: gyohwéjade' 'leader' (of a land, country, or territory)

shagohe:dq: 'he leads us'

gyohwejade' 'existing land'

PRINCIPAL

gohsdíhsdqh 'director', 'principal', 'head', etc. [go-hsdíhsd-qh] 3S.FI.P-care.for-STAT

PRISON

qdadənhódqhkwa' 'jail', 'prison' [q-dadə-nhódqhkwa-ha'] 3S.FI.A-REFL-locked.up-HAB

PRIVY COUNCIL

Gwa:go:wáh Hqwadihnya'sodáhqh

Gwa:go:wah 'royalty', etc.

Hqwadihnya'sodáhqh [hqwadi-hnya'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:gweh [de-y-qhwej-akahsó:gw-eh] 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

hqsa'hqwadiya'dinyqt 'they re-elected him, them' [hqsa'hqwadiya'd-inyqt] 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

Hatwihsdanqhó:gó:wah (ohé:dq) [h-at-hwihsd-a-nqh-gó:wah] 3S.M.A-SRF-money-JOINERÁ-guard.STAT-AUG

ohé:dq: '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

gaegowáhsq' 'they are royalty' [gae-gowáh-shq'] 3NS.FI.A-big.STAT-PLRZ

RULES

gaihwaḥsró:nih ‘justice’, ‘rules’
[ga-ihw-a-hsró:ni-h] 3S.A-matter-
JOINERÁ-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

Shagohyadóḥsehgó:wah ‘he is our
main paper-getter’ [shago-hyadó-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’séh ‘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

honatgwēhé:gye’s ‘they (males) gather
along (information)’ [hon-at-gw-ēh-
é:-gy-e-’s] 3NS.M.P-SRF-pick.up-STAT-
JOINER-PROG-go-HAB

STATISTICS, STATISTICS CANADA

hēnahshe:dáhs oihwagéhsq’ ‘affairs’,
‘statistics’

hēnahshedahs ‘they (males) count’

oihwagehsq’ ‘matters’

STOCK EXCHANGE, STOCK MARKET

dehēnatwihsdadé:nyqhs ‘a stock ex-
change’, ‘stock market’, ‘the Dow
Jones’, ‘the Toronto Stock Exchange’,
etc. [de-hēn-at-hwihsd-a-dé:ny-qhs]
DU-3NS.M.A-SRF-money-JOINERÁ-
change-HAB

SUBSIDY

hqwadihwihsdawihs ‘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-JOINERÁ-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

deyqkiyqhwejháhsnye’ ‘they look after
our land’ (referring to a title, an office)
[de-yqki-y-qhwejh-á-hsnye-’] DU-
3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINERÁ-
care.for-HAB

deyqkiyqhwejá’nya:’ ‘they look after
our land’, ‘they take care of business’

D Thematic dictionary

(refers to a title, an office) [de-yqki-y-ɔhwej-á-’nya-:’] DU-3FIS/3NS:1NS-EUPH.Y-land-JOINERÁ-govern-HAB

TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY

Deyɔhwejíya’gɔh ‘it cuts across the land’ [de-y-ɔhwej-íya’g-ɔh] DU-3S.A-land-cut.across-STAT

URBAN DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

enagrehsraé’ hodisrɔnihagye’

enagrehsraé’ ‘urban’

hodisrɔnihagye’ ‘they (males) are developing it’

VOTE

dɛhsɛnigyohgwagé:ni’ ‘you will vote, cast lots’ [dɛhsɛnigyohgwagé:ni’] DU.FUT-2S.A-SRF-crowd-JOINERÁ-compete-PUNC

dɛhɛnɛnigyohgwahgé:ni’ ‘they (males) will vote, cast lots’ [dɛ-hɛn-ɛn-igyohgw-a-gé:ni-’] DU.FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-group-JOINERÁ-compete-PUNC

WELFARE OFFICE

tonadɛnídɛ’ɔh ‘place where they (males) show pity’ [t-hon-adɛ-nídɛ’-ɔh] CIS-3NS.M.P-SRF-be.kind-STAT

D.17 High language

Gayogɔho:nɔ’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’danɔh ‘amulet’ [go-yá’da-nɔh] 3S.FI.P-doll-guard.STAT

CHARM SOCIETY, CHARM

otsinɔhgé’dá’ [o-tsinɔhgé’d-a’] 3S.P-charm-NSF

CONSENSUS

sgaíhwa:t ‘one mind’ (said when consensus is reached in the High Council), ‘one idea’ [s-ga-íhw-a:-t] REP-3S.A-matter-JOINERÁ-stand.STAT

CONSIDER

ɛgátgɔdrahk ‘I will sleep on it, consider it’ [ɛ-g-át-gɔdr-ahk] FUT-1S.A-SRF-pillow-lift.up.PUNC

COOKHOUSE

ɔtgahdɛhsdáhkwá’geh ‘Cookhouse’ [ɔ-t-gah-dɛhsd-á-hkwa-’geh] 3S.FI.A-SRF-eye-string.up-JOINERÁ-INSTR-ON

gahsdɔhgwage: ‘Cookhouse’ [gahsdɔhgw-age:] 3S.A-endure-ON

ganɔhsáɔ:weh ‘the cookhouse’ (at the Longhouse) [ga-nɔhsá-ɔ:weh] 3S.A-house-TYP

sadáhgahsdɔ: ‘go and cook in the cookhouse’ [s-ad-áhghahsdɔ:] 2S.A-SRF-endure.NO_ASPECT

ɛgaɔdáhghahsdɔ: ‘go and cook in the cookhouse’ [ɛ-gaɔ-d-áhghahsdɔ:] FUT-3NS.FI.A-SRF-endure.Ø.PUNC

DEATH

esatahí:t'a: 'you will earn the heavenly road' [e-s-at-hah-í:t'a:-?] FUT-2S.A-SRF-road-take-PUNC

a'qtahí:t'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

dejagqhwíhsra:t 'she no longer has breath', 'she's dead' [dej-ag-qhwíhsra:-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

agaihwáhdq' 'it became extinct/died out' (archaic word) [a-ga-ihw-áhdq-?] FAC-3S.A-matter-disappear-PUNC

dəgaihwaqó:dq:' 'it will smother itself/die out slowly on its own/peter out' (for example, a language at a critical state) [dɛ-ga-ihw-a-qó:d-q:'] DU-3S.A-matter-JOINERADISTR.PUNC

tagaihwaqó:dq:' 'it smothered itself/died out slowly on its own/petered out' [ta:-ga-ihw-a-qó:d-q:'] CONTR.FAC-3S.A-matter-JOINERADISTR.PUNC

agaihwaqó:dq:' 'it died out' [a-ga-ihw-a-qó:d-q:'] FAC-3S.A-matter-JOINERADISTR.PUNC

FORSAKE

oqwátsq'nyo:t 'we all turned our backs to the bush', 'we all forsook religion, family' [oqwá-t-hs-q'-ny-o:t] 1P.P-SRF-lower.back-DISTR-DISTR-stand.STAT

FUNERAL

ahaya'gyé:ne' 'he fell over' (refers to passing on) [a-ha-ya'g-yé:ne-?] FAC-3S.M.A-body-fall.over-PUNC

a'ogwa'hnyé:ne's 'we all are experiencing the passing of a chief' [a'-ogwa'hny-é:ne-'s] FAC-1P.P-noun-fall.over-HAB

əhəwadinəhda: 'there will be a funeral for him' [e-həwadi-nəhda:] FUT-3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-put.in.PUNC

deyotnəhsó:goht 'she will go by the Longhouse' (referring to a funeral) [de-yo-t-nəhs-ó:goht] DU-3S.FI.A-SRF-house-surpass.PUNC

əsatgahóha: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) [e-s-at-gah-óha:t] FUT-2S.A-SRF-eye-wash.PUNC

o'wahsdədhkwa' 'small sticks made for a funeral ceremony' [o-'wahsdə-dá-hkwa'] 3S.P-pin-put.in-JOINERAINSTR

dehadihsda:té'dəhkwa' 'wax for small sticks made for a funeral ceremony' [de-hadi-hsda:-té'd-ə-hkwa'] DU-3NS.M.A-shiny.object-polish-JOINERAINSTR

HONOUR ahayəgwahsó:nyeht 'he honoured them with tobacco' [a-ha-yəgwahs-ó:nyeht] FAC-3S.M.A-tobacco-JOINERAHONOUR.PUNC

HOOP

wə'nihsqa:ní:yq:t 'a hanging hoop' [w-ə'nihsqa:-ní:yq:t] 3S.A-wheel-hang.STAT

wə'nihsqa:ə' 'a hoop' (lying down) [w-ə'nihsqa-ə'] 3S.A-wheel-lie.STAT

D Thematic dictionary

wę'níhsga:ʔ, ę'níhsga:ʔ 'a circle hoop', 'a wheel' [(w)-ę'níhsga:-ʔ] (3S.A)-wheel-NSF

INVITATION a'qkiné:tša:ʔ 'a nation-to-nation invitation' (preceded by a speech) [a'qki-né:ts-a:-ʔ] FAC-3FIS/3NS:1NS-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'ágehdaḥ 'men' (high language) [hodi-hsge'-á-gehdaḥ] 3NS.M.P-bones-JOINER-tie-STAT

MARRY shagodi:hwahníyadq̄h 'they got married by the Chiefs' (a marriage ceremony sanctioned by the Chiefs) [shagodi-ihw-a-hníya'd-q̄h] 3NS(NFI):3FI-matter-JOINER-toughen-STAT

MESSAGE

gaihwahehtá:hq̄h 'an inserted message' [ga-ihw-a-wehtá:h-q̄h] 3S.A-matter-JOINER-insert-STAT

qhatehnáhtgehda:t 'he will carry a large load or bundle', 'he will carry a message' [q̄-ha-t-hehn-áhtgehda:t] FUT-3S.M.A-SRF-bundle-JOINER-charge.with.PUNC

q̄kéhnyę' 'I will put a load on him, put a bundle on him' (that is, give him a message to convey) [q̄-k-héhn-nyę-'] FUT-1S.A-bundle-make-BEN-PUNC

qhqwadihehnq̄:nyę' 'they will make him a load or bundle to carry', 'they will send him with a message' [q̄-hqwadi-hehn-q̄:nyę-'] FUT-3MS/FIS:3M,3NS:3M-bundle-make-BEN-PUNC

RATTLE

gahsdáwę'dra' 'rattle', 'horn rattle' [gahsdáwę'dr-a'] 3S.A-rattle-NSF

owajihsdá' gahsdáwę'dra' 'bark rattle' [o-wajihsd-á'] 3S.P-bark-NSF

q̄tq̄wisadakhkwá' gahsdáwę'dra' 'box turtle rattle' [q̄-t-hq̄wisad-a-hkwá'] 3S.FI.A-SRF-make.seed.songs-JOINER-INSTR

ona'gá: gahsdáwę'dra' 'horn rattle' [ona'gá:-'] 3S.P-horn-NSF

okdá' gahsdáwę'dra' 'nut rattle', 'shell rattle' [o-kd-a'] 3S.P-nutshell-NSF

ganyahdęgo:wáh gahsdáwę'dra' 'snapping turtle rattle' [ga-nyahdęgo:wáh] 3S.A-turtle-AUG

ohnyohsaq:wéh gahsdáwę'dra' 'squash rattle' [o-hnyohs-a-q:wéh] 3S.P-squash-JOINER-TYP

gaihsdá' gahsdáwę'dra' 'tin rattle' [gaihds-á'] 3S.A-tin-NSF

ganyahdę: gahsdáwę'dra' 'turtle rattle' [ga-nyahdę:] 3S.A-turtle

RECOGNIZE

deyetinq̄hq̄hkwá' 'we refer to them as' (recognize as kin) [de-yetinq̄hq̄hkw-ha'] DU-1INNS:3FIS/3NS-recognize.as.kin-HAB

deshedwanq̄hq̄hkwá' 'we refer to him as' (recognize as kin) [deshedwa-nq̄hq̄hkw-ha'] DU-1INP:3MS-recognize.as.kin-HAB

dęgakenq̄hq̄hkwá:k 'I will recognize them as my kin' [dę-gake-nq̄hq̄hkw-ha:k] DU-1S:3NS-recognize.as.kin-HAB-MODZ

dedwanq̄hq̄hkwá' 'we all refer to it as' (recognize as kin) [de-dwa-nq̄hq̄hkw-ha'] DU-1P.IN.A-recognize.as.kin-HAB

RIGHTEOUS

oya'dawá:doh 'a righteous person' [o-ya'd-a-wá:d-oh] 3s.P-body-JOINER-verb-STAT

SPEECH

deyoihwadogéhdoh 'a shortened

speech' [de-yo-ihw-a-dogéhd-oh] DU-3s.P-matter-JOINER-MAKE.right-STAT

TIDY UP

desadadéhsnyeh 'tidy up', 'groom yourself', 'prepare yourself mentally' [de-s-adad-é-hsnyeh] DU-2s.A-REFL-JOINER-groom.NO_ASPECT

D.18 Betting

Words having to do with the ceremonial betting game.

a'ehédáé: '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-JOINER-lie-PUNC

a'ehédaédó: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-éd-ó:-nyo:] FAC-3s.FI.A-field-JOINER-lie.EUPH.D-DISTR-DISTR.PUNC

ahahédáé: 'he won the throw' (in a betting game) [a-ha-héd-á-é:] FAC-3s.M.A-field-JOINER-lie-PUNC

deyodetsgé'ihdréhdáhkwa' [de-yo-d-e-tsgé'-ihdréhd-á-hkwa'] DU-3s.FI.A-SRF-JOINER-bone-drive-JOINER-INSTR

eyodéhsahe'danó:na: 'she will be the bean watcher' (for a betting game)

[é-yo-d-e-hsahe'd-a-nó:-n-a:] FUT-3s.FI.A-SRF-JOINER-bean-JOINER-guard-DISL-JOINER-PUNC

hahsahe'dá:gwahs 'he picks out the beans' (for a betting game) [hahsahe'd-á:-gw-a-hs] 3s.M.A-bean-JOINER-pick-JOINER-HAB

háohes: 'he collects the bets', 'he gathers' (referring to a betting game activity) [há-ohes:] 3s.M.A-gather-HAB

heho'énó:gye's 'he throws the sticks' (referring to a betting game activity) [he-ho'-én-ó:gye-'s] TRANSL-3s.M.P-stick-throw-HAB

ohé:da' 'the field' (of Iroquois origin only, refers to the Dish Game) [o-hé:da'] 3s.P-field-NSF

shédáé 'you lay the field' (referring to taking bets) [s-héd-á-é] 2s.A-field-JOINER-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)

Deyakwetnóhsqta [de-yagwa-t-nóhs-qt-ha'] DU-1P.EX.A-SRF-house-clean.up-HAB

DEVIL DANCE

Ga'nogeyo: 'Grinding the Arrow' (forbidden ceremony) [ga-'no-geyo:] 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

Gajihsa 'Husk Face', 'False Face' [ga-jih-sa'] 3S.A-corn.husk-NSF

FINISH PLANTING (CEREMONY)

Gotēdihs'ánho [go-t-hēd-ihs'-á-nh-ó'] 3S.FI.P-SRF-field-finish-JOINER-DISTR.STAT

FOUR MAIN CEREMONIES

Gayēdowá:nēh 'Peach Pit Game' [ga-yēd-owá:n-ēh] 3S.A-firewood-big-STAT

Gei: Niwahsqdá:ge: 'Four Nights Ceremony' (part of Sustenance dances or gaenahsq:q̄h) *gei* 'four' [ni-w-ahsqd-á: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

ahadó:de 'men's chant', 'he is singing adó:wa'' [a-ha-d-ó:de-'] FAC-3S.M.A-SRF-put.in-PUNC

hēnadōwihsrēhta 'they are accompanying adó:wa'' (singing *he' he' he'*)

[hēn-ad-ōwihsr-ēht-ha'] 3NS.M.A-SRF-breath-hit-HAB

Gayēdowá:nēh Gaje 'Peach Pit Dish game' [ga-yēd-owá:n-ēh] 3S.A-firewood-big-STAT [ga-jē-'] 3S.A-dish-NSF

Ohsdowagó:wah 'Great Feather Dance' [o-hsdow-a-gó:wah] 3S.P-feather-JOINER-AUG

Sdáohs 'Great Feather Dance'

Ganého: 'Drum Dance' [ga-ného:-'] 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

Edwanawē'dáohē:k 'Gathering of the Sugar Ceremony' (done during Drying Up the Trees) [ē-dwa-nawē'd-á-ohē:k] FUT-1P.IN.A-sugar-JOINER-gather.PUNC

GREEN BEAN CEREMONY

Ēhēnadehsahe'dáohē:k 'they (males) gather the green beans' [ē-hēn-ad-e-hsahe'd-á-ohē:k] FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-JOINER-bean-JOINER-gather.PUNC

HUSK FACE

Gajihsa 'Husk Face', 'False Face' [ga-jih-sa'] 3S.A-corn.husk-NSF

MAPLE SAP CEREMONY

Haditsehsdó:da:s 'they (males) are putting the sap in the tree' [hadi-tsehsd-ó:da:-s] 3NS.M.A-sap-put.in-HAB

Odehadó:ni: 'Maple Sap Ceremony', 'the woods' [o-d-e-had-ó:ni:] 3S.P-SRF-JOINER-woods-make.STAT

Ehadiyaqda:ta't 'Drying Up the Trees Ceremony' (performed at the ending of the maple sap run) [e-hadi-yaqd-á:ta't] FUT-3NS.M.A-log-JOINERA-dry.up.PUNC

Shadiyaqdata' 'Dry Up the Trees' (performed at the end of the maple sap run) [s-hadi-yaqd-a-ta'] REP-3NS.M.A-log-JOINERA-dry.up.STAT

Otshesdadq:da:s 'Tree or Sap Dance' [otshesdad-q:da:s] 3s.P-sap-put.in-HAB

MEDICINE MASK

Ojihsgwagwaha' 'they come after their mush' (Seneca ceremony) [o-jihsgw-a-gw-á-h-a'] 3S.P-mush-JOINERA-pick.up-JOINERA-DISL-JOINERA-STAT

MIDWINTER

Ganaháowi:' 'Midwinter Ceremony' [ga-nah-á-owi:] 3S.A-scalp-JOINERA-water.drum.STAT

Gaihwanoqsgwa'gó:wah/Gaiwhanahsgwa'gó:wah 'Midwinter Ceremony' [ga-ihw-a-noqsgwa'/nahsgwa'-gó:wah] 3S.A-matter-JOINERA-verb-AUG

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-JOINERA-water.drum-PUNC

Qgwanaháowih 'we all are having the Midwinter Ceremony' [qgwanah-á-owi-h] 1P.P-scalp-JOINERA-water.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-JOINERA-make.STAT

etadina'dá:gwahe' '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-JOINERA-DISL-go-PUNC

dētadijihgwagwáhe' 'they (males) will come back for their mush (said of False Faces)' [dēt-hadi-jihgw-a-gw-á-h-e'] CIS.FUT.DU-3NS.M.A-mush-JOINERA-pick.up-JOINERA-DISL-go-PUNC

MOON CEREMONY

Ahsqhehká: Etihsot 'Moon Ceremony' [ahsqheh-ká:] night-TYP [eti-hso:t] 1INNS:3FIS/3NS-grandmother

Eshagodiwenq:góht Ahsqhehká: Ehní'dagye's 'Moon Ceremony' (literally, 'uplifting the stature of the moon') [e-shagodi-wen-q:góht] FUT-3NS(NFI)>3FI-voice-surpass.PUNC [ahsqheh-ká:] night-TYP [ehní'd-agye-e's] month-JOINERA-PROG-go-HAB

dēyago'nya:gwéhegye' 'she will have a hand in it' [dē-yago'-nya:gw-éh-é-gye-e'] DU.FUT-3S.FI.P-hand-put.in-STAT-JOINERA-PROG-go-PUNC

OUR UNCLES CEREMONY

Etino'séh Ehenatno'áo:wanaht 'Our Uncles Ceremony' (literally, 'they (males) become bigheads') [etino'séh] YOU(SE).AND.I:HER/THEM.uncle [e-hen-at-no'á-o:wanaht] FUT-3NS.M.A-SRF-head-get.big.PUNC

SHAKE PUMPKIN CEREMONY

Gahídqhq: [g-ahídq-h-q:] 3S.A-shake-dislocative-STAT

Hēnahi'dóhs Hodihsdawē'drá' ahséh sgaé' niyodihsyá:ge: 'Shake Pumpkin Rattle Ceremony, thirteen types'

D Thematic dictionary

Hənahi'dóhs [hən-ahi'do-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'do-hs] 3NS.M.A-shake-HAB

Gahadiyá'gq' 'Crossing the Forest Song' (part of Shake Pumpkin, restricted) [ga-had-iyá'g-q'] 3S.A-forest-cross-STAT

SUN CEREMONY

Əhqwadiwanq:góht Ədehká:' Gá:gwa:'

Əhqwadiwanq:góht [ə-hqwadi-wən-q:góht] FUT-3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M, 3NS>3M-voice-surpass.PUNC

Ədehgehá:' [ədəh-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'.

ahqwadihsahq:dę' 'they committed him to the main fire' (refers to sending a delegate to the Gaihwí:yo: convention) [a-hqwadi-hsah-q:d-ę'] FAC-3MS/FIS:3MNS,3NS:3M-lower.back-put.in-PUNC

Dəhahsqwáhgya's 'He Breaks the Wires' (refers to Handsome Lake's nephew) [də-ha-hsqwáhg-ya'-s] DU-3S.M.A-wire-break-HAB

Dqsahaihwáętwah 'He Who Seeded the News', 'He Who Spread

THANKSGIVING CEREMONY

Ganqhonyqhk [ga-nqhony-qh-k] 3S.A-thank-STAT-MODZ

THANKSGIVING OPENING

Ohędó: Gaihwahdehgqh Ganqhonyqhk

Ohędó [o-ęd-ó:] 3S.P-ahead-STAT

Gaihwahdehgqh [ga-ihw-ahdehg-qh] 3S.A-matter-verb-STAT

Ganqhonyqhk 'Thanksgiving' 3S.A-thank-STAT-MODZ

THUNDER CEREMONY

Hqwadiwęnoqhtá' Hadiwęnodagye's

Hqwadiwęnoqhtá' [hqwadi-węnoqht-há'] 3S.M/3S.FI>3NS.M,3NS>3M-voice-surpass-HAB

Hadiwęnodagye's [hadi-węn-ód-agye-e-'s] 3NS.M.A-voice-stand.STAT-JOINER-A-PROG-go-HAB

WHITE DOG FEAST

Ganiyqdq' [ga-niyqd-q'] 3S.A-hang-DISTR.STAT

the News' (refers to Handsome Lake) [dqsaha-ihw-á-ętwah] DU.FACTUAL.REPETITIVE-3S.M.A-matter-JOINER-A-spread.STAT

ęhsejihstá'dra' 'you will go with the fire' (refers to going to the Gaihwí:yo: convention) [ę-hs-e-jihsd-á'dra-'] FUT-2S.A)-JOINER-E-fire-meet-PUNC

Gajihsdagwe:ní:yo' 'the Main Fire' [gajihsd-a-gwe:ní:yo'] 3S.A-fire-JOINER-A-principal.STAT

Honadejihsdane:t 'Fire Keepers'

[hon-ad-e-jíhsd-a-ne:t] 3NS.M.P-SRF-
JOINERÉ-fire-JOINERÁ-guard.STAT
Hodejíhsdá:ne:t ‘Fire Keeper’ [ho-d-e-
jíhsd-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.

Atęnahdáhgwae:’ ‘Horseshoes’, ‘Moc-
casin Game’ [at-hęn-ahdáhgwae-ę’]
FAC.DU-3NS.M.A-shoe-lay.down-PUNC

Dewę’nhotránahsot ‘Dingball’, ‘Dou-
ble Ball Game (a medicine game)’ [de-
w-ę’nhotr-á-nahsot:] DU-3S.A-hoop-
join.STAT

Deyqhs’idáihahs ‘Door Keepers’
Dance’, ‘every other step dance’ (a
medicine dance; the *Hado’i:s* ‘False
Faces’ also dance this with their grand-
children.) [de-yq-hs’id-á-di-h-a-hs]
DU-3S.FI.A-foot-JOINERÁ-side-EUPH.H-
JOINERÁ-HAB

Gahnegá:hqh ‘Head Lead on a Stick’
(a term used with the snowsnake
game) [ga-hneg-á:hqh] 3S.A-water-

crossed.STAT

Gaję’geha:’ ‘Bowl Game’, ‘Dish Game’
[ga-ję’-geha:’] 3S.A-dish-TYP

Hadiyęhdáhkwa’ ‘Pitch Hole’ (a term
used with the snowsnake game) [hadi-
yęhd-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’

Wę:sęhtwahs ‘football’ (a medicine
game) [w-ę:sęhtw-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

dęhadihnyó:da:s ‘Tug O’ War’ (a cere-
mony or healing ritual) [dę-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:səhtwahs ‘football’ (a medicine game) [w-é:səhtw-a-hs] 3S.A-kick-JOINERÁ-HAB

D.23 Songs

Miscellaneous terms relevant for medicines.

ahaə́náganye: ‘he chanted’, ‘he trilled the music’ [a-ha-ə́n-á-ganye:-ʔ] FAC-3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

Atadadí:trahk ‘Roll Call Chant’ [at-ha-dad-í:tr-a-hk] FAC-DU-3S.M.A-REFL-cane-JOINERÁ-pick.up.Ø.PUNC

ə́dwaə́nagé:tsgoʔ ‘we all will raise the song’ [ə́-dwa-ə́n-a-gé:tsgo-ʔ] FUT-1P.IN.A-song-JOINERÁ-raise.up-PUNC

ə́haə́náganyeʔ ‘he will trill the song’ [ə́-ha-ə́n-á-ganye:-ʔ] FUT-3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

ə́hswaə́náganye: ‘you all will sing’ [ə́-hswa-ə́n-á-ganye:-ʔ] FUT-2P.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-PUNC

gaə́naweʔ dá:hoh ‘an inserted song’ [ga-ə́n-aweʔ dá:hoh] 3S.A-song-inserted.STAT

haə́nagá:nyeh ‘he is trilling the song’ [ha-ə́n-a-gá:nye-h] 3S.M.A-song-JOINERÁ-make.noises-HAB

hehsgaə́ná:gə́:t ‘the last song’ [hehsga-ə́n-á:gə́:t] TRANSL.REP-3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-last.STAT

Ohwejaʔ gehgehá:ʔ Gaə́nasó:ʔ qh ‘earth songs’

Ohwejaʔ gehgehá:ʔ [o-hwej-aʔ gehgehá:ʔ] 3S.P-earth-ON-TYP

Gaə́nasó:ʔ qh [ga-ə́n-a-shó:ʔ qh] 3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-PLRZ

o:nə́h diʔ ə́waə́nagáe: ‘let the song begin’

o:nə́h ‘now’ *diʔ* ‘then’

ə́waə́nagáe: [ə́-wa-ə́n-a-gáe:] FUT-3S.A-song-make.noise.PUNC

D.24 Social dances and songs

Dakshaeʔ dohsgeha:ʔ ‘Chicken Dance’ [dakshaeʔ dohs-geha:ʔ] chicken-TYP

Degaʔ nədótgeha:ʔ ‘Alligator Dance’ [degaʔ nədót-geha:ʔ] alligator-TYP

Daʔ nusdaʔ geha:ʔ ‘Naked Dance’ [daʔ nusdaʔ-geha:ʔ] PREFIX-naked.STAT-TYP

Deyə́datnə́honyóʔ də́hkwaʔ ‘Friendship Dance’ (a social dance, a welcoming dance) [de-yə́-dat-

nə́honyóʔ d-a-hkwaʔ] DU-3S.FI.A-REFL-cause.to.be.thankful-JOINERÁ-INSTR

Ə́sga:nyé:ʔ Gaə́nagáyoqhka:ʔ ‘Women’s Old Shuffle Dance’

Ə́hsga:nyé:ʔ [ə́hs-ga:nyé:-ʔ] foot-shuffle-STAT

Gaə́nagáyoqhka:ʔ [ga-ə́n-a-gáyoqhka:ʔ] 3S.A-song-JOINERÁ-old.item-STAT-TYP

Ə́hsga:nyé:ʔ Gáé:nase:ʔ ‘Women’s New

- Shuffle Dance Song
Ēhsɡa:nyé: [ĕhs-ga:nyé:-] foot-shuffle-STAT
- Gáę:nase:* [ɡá-ęn-ase:] 3S.A-song-new-STAT
- Ēhsɡa:nyé:** **Sɡadigají:nah** **Deyéhnyota** ‘One Side Male Dance, Male Dance’ (a dance or ceremony done with a paternal cousin, uncle, etc.)
Ēhsɡa:nyé: [ĕhs-ga:nyé:-] foot-shuffle-STAT
- Sɡadigají:nah* [s-gadi-gají: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-’dá: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
- Ganéhw’ae:** ‘Delaware Skin Dance’ [ɡa-néhw-a-e:] 3S.A-skin-JOINERÁ-strike-STAT
- Gayó:wah** ‘Moccasin Dance’ [ɡa-yó:w-a-h] 3S.A-moccasin-JOINERÁ-verb
- Gayowagá:yqh** ‘Old Moccasin Dance’ [ɡa-yow-a-ɡá:y-qh] 3S.A-moccasin-JOINERÁ-old.object-STAT
- Gwa’yóęha:** ‘Rabbit Dance’ [ɡwa’yó’-ęha:] rabbit-TYP
- Jihsgogo’ęha:** ‘Robin Dance’ [jihsgogo’-ęha:] robin-TYP
- Qdadęhnyóha** ‘Ferrying Dance’ [q-dad-ę-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
- Otowegęha:** ‘Northern Dance’ [otowe’-ęha:] cold-TYP
- Otsínhahq** ‘Gartered Dance’ [o-t-hsín-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’-ęha:] ditch-TYP
- Sanogęha:** ‘Raccoon Dance’ [sa:no:’-ęha:] raccoon-TYP
- Sɡadigají:nah** ‘One Side Male Dance’ (a social dance done with a paternal cousin, uncle, etc.) [s-gadi-gají:nah] REP-3P.A-brave-STAT
- Tsahgowa’ęha:** ‘Pigeon Dance’ [tsahgowa’-ęha:] pigeon-TYP
- Twętwętgęha:** ‘Duck Dance’ [twętwętgęha:] 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-aḥsod-á-egoh] DU-3S.P-SRF-darkness-JOINER-verb.STAT

Deyodaḥsodaétsota ‘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’jitgéhoh ‘Taking Out Kettle’ [ga-na’j-itgéh-oh] 3S.A-pot-issue.from-STAT

D.26 Miscellaneous dances

Awadanúdanq ‘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

Èsgá:nye:’ ‘Women’s Dance’ [èhs-gá:nye:’] foot-shuffle.STAT

Gaditse’dó’d’adq ‘Shaking the Bottle’ [gadi-tse’d-óda’d-q] 3P.A-bottle-shake-DISTR.STAT

Gakówanèh ‘Big Green Corn Dance’ [ga-k-ówan-èh] 3S.A-food-big-STAT

Ganonyowá:nèh ‘Big Dance’, ‘Creator’s Dance’ [ga-nony-owá:n-èh] 3S.A-dance-big-STAT

Qdadehnyóha ‘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’nae:’ ‘Strike the Stick’, ‘Little Horses Dance’ [aw-’én-a-é] 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

Èsga:nyé:’ Gaenagáyqhka:’ ‘Women’s Old Shuffle Dance’

Èsga:nyé:’ ‘Shuffle Dance’

Gaenagáyqhka:’ [ga-èn-a-gáy-qh-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-'ən-a-'e:] 3S.A-spear-JOINERASTRIKE.STAT

Wasá:seh 'Rain Dance', 'War Dance' (of the Osage) *Wasá:seh* 'Osage'

D.28 Sacred Society dances

Hənáhi'dohs 'Gourd Society Dance' (part of Shake Pumpkin) [hən-áhi'd-ohs] 3NS.M.A-shake-HAB

Qđəya'dahsró:nih 'Dress-up Society Dance' (a Tutelo Ceremony) [q-đə-

ya'd-a-hsró:nih] 3S.FI.A-SRF-body-JOINERAmake.STAT

Ohgí:we: 'Ghost Society Dance' (takes place in spring and fall, but only in fall at Sour Springs) [o-hgí: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:wí:s 'they (fe/males) will sing the seed songs' (songs which are also used as lullabies) [ə-gaqtó:wí:s] FUT-3NS.FI.A-sing.seed.songs.Ø.PUNC

Gaę:na'só:'ah, Gaę:na'só:'əh 'songs', 'songs for Our Sustenance' [ga-ę-na-'shó:'əh] 3S.A-song-NSF-PLRZ

Gyonhehgóh odiáę:na' 'what we all live on', 'Our Sustenance', 'Women's Old Shuffle Dance Song', 'Sustenance Songs'

Gyonhehgóh [g-y-onhehg-óh] CIS-3S.P-live.on-STAT

odiáę:na' [odi-aę: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:' Gaęnagáyqhka:' 'Women's Old Shuffle Dance'

əsga:nyé:' [əhs-gá:nye:] foot-shuffle.STAT

gaęnagáyqhka:' [ga-ę-na-gáy-qh-ka:] 3S.A-song-JOINERAOld.object-STAT-TYP

Gei: Niwahsqdá:ge: 'Four Nights Ceremony' (part of *gaęna'só:'əh* 'Suste-

nance dances')

gei 'four'

Niwahsqdá:ge: [ni-w-ahsqd-á:ge:] PART-3S.A-night-number.of.STAT

odiáę:na' 'dance, song' [odi-aę:n-a'] 3NS.O-song-NSF

Ohnyqhsá' odiáę:na' 'Squash Dance'

Ohnyqhsá' [o-hnyqhs-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-néhw-a:s] 3S.A-leather-JOINERÁ-eat.HAB

Hadiwęńódagye's 'Thunderers' [hadiwęń-ód-a-gy-e-'s] 3NS.M.A-voice-put.in-JOINERÁ-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)

Nagányagę:t 'White Beaver (legendary figure)' [nagány-a-gę:t] beaver-JOINERÁ-white.coloured-STAT

Onęhetqo' 'Corn Bug' (a bug with evil power) [o-nęhe-tqo'] 3S.P-corn-evil.power-STAT

Ohsinatí:yeht 'Sharp Legs' (legendary figure) [o-hsin-a-tí:yeht] 3S.P-leg-JOINERÁ-sharp-STAT

Ohsohdaté:'ah 'Little Dry Hand' (legendary figure) [o-hsohd-a-té:-'ah] 3S.P-hand-JOINERÁ-dry-STAT-DIM

Ohsqđowahgó:wah 'Angel of Death', 'Spirit of Death' [o-hsqđ-owah-gó:wah] 3S.P-blackness-verb-AUG

O'nyá:tę: 'Dry Fingers' (legendary figure) [o-'ny-á:tę:] 3S.P-finger-JOINERÁ-dry-STAT

Shagodá:daęgwahs 'He Takes Out People's Feces' (legendary figure) [shago'dá:-daęgw-a-hs] 3MS:3FI/3P.P-feces-remove-JOINERÁ-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.