

LIN 6050 STRUCTURE OF CAYUGA COURSE PACKAGE

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List of abbreviations

1	1ST.PERSON
2	2ND.PERSON
3	3RD.PERSON
A	Agent
CISL	cislocative
D	dual
DUAL	dualic
EPEN	epenthetic vowel
EXCL	exclusive
FACT	factual
FI	feminine-indefinite
FUT	future
HABIT	habitual
INCL	inclusive
INSTR	instrumental
JOIN	joiner vowel
M	masculine
MOD	modalizer
NOM	nominalizer
NSF	noun stem former
OPT	optative
P	plural
P	Patient
PART	partitive
PLUR	pluralizer
PROTH	prothetic
PUNC	punctual
PURP	purposive
REP	repetitive
RFL	reflexive
S	singular
SRF	semireflexive
STAT	stative
ZN	zoic-neuter

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

1	INTRODUCTION	4
1.1	ABOUT THE IROQUOIS AND IROQUOIAN	4
1.2	PHONOLOGY	6
1.2.1	PHONEMIC INVENTORY	6
1.3	'POLYSYNTHESIS'	7
1.4	SENTENCES AND WORD ORDER.....	7
2	PARTS OF SPEECH	9
2.1	NOUNS	9
2.1.1	BASIC NOUNS	9
2.1.2	ONOMATOPOEIC NOUNS	9
2.1.3	ANIMAL NAMES.....	10
2.1.4	BODY PART NOUNS (INALIENABLE).....	10
2.1.5	VERBAL NOUNS	10
2.1.5.1	HUMAN BEINGS (VERBAL NOUNS).....	10
2.1.5.2	KINSHIP TERMS (VERBAL NOUNS)	11
2.1.5.3	HABITUAL ASPECT VERBS (USED AS VERBAL NOUNS)	11
2.1.5.4	DESCRIPTIVE VERBAL NOUNS	11
2.1.5.5	INSTRUMENTAL VERBAL NOUNS	11
2.1.6	DEVERBAL NOUNS	12
2.1.7	COMPOUND NOUNS.....	12
2.2	VERBS	13
2.2.1	ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE VERBS	13
2.2.2	INTERACTIVE OR TRANSITIVE VERBS.....	13
2.2.3	ADJECTIVAL VERBS	13
2.2.4	POSITIONAL VERBS	14
2.3	PARTICLES	15
2.3.1	PRONOMINAL PARTICLES	16
3	NOUN MORPHOLOGY	16
3.1	OVERVIEW	16
3.2	UNPOSSESSED, BASIC NOUNS	17
3.3	BODY PART (INALIENABLE) NOUNS	18
3.4	OTHER POSSESSED NOUNS (ALIENABLE NOUNS)	19
3.5	NOUN SUFFIXES	20
4	VERB MORPHOLOGY	21
4.1	PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES	22
4.1.1.1	MODAL PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES	22
4.1.2	NON-MODAL PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES	22
4.1.3	COMBINATIONS OF PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES	23
4.2	PRONOMINAL PREFIXES	29
4.2.1	AGENT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.....	29
4.2.2	PATIENT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES	30
4.2.3	TRANSITIVE OR INTERACTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.....	30
4.3	SEMIREFLEXIVE AND REFLEXIVE PREFIXES	32
4.3.1	THE REFLEXIVE PREFIX.....	32
4.3.2	THE SEMIREFLEXIVE PREFIX	32
4.4	NOUN INCORPORATION	33
4.5	DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES.....	33
4.6	PRIMARY ASPECT SUFFIXES.....	35
4.7	SECONDARY ASPECT SUFFIXES	38
4.8	ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH PROGRESSIVE VERB FORMS	39
4.9	ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH DISLOCATIVE VERB FORMS	40
4.10	ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH PURPOSIVE VERB FORMS	41
5	NOUN INCORPORATION	41
5.1	WHAT TYPES OF VERBS CAN INCORPORATE?	43
5.2	POSITIONAL VERBS	44

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

5.3 ADJECTIVAL VERBS 44

5.4 INTRANSITIVE VERBS THAT CAN'T INCORPORATE 45

6 VERB BASES (IDIOMS) 45

7 TENSE, MOOD, ASPECT, NEGATION 46

7.1 TENSE..... 46

7.2 MOOD..... 47

7.3 ASPECT..... 48

7.4 THE PURPOSIVE ASPECT 50

7.5 THE STATIVE ASPECT AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS 52

7.6 THE STATIVE ASPECT AND PRONOMINAL PREFIX SELECTION 55

7.7 NEGATION 56

7.8 COMMANDS 56

8 SYNTAX 57

8.1 MORPHEME ORDER AND THE SYNTAX OF THE VERB TEMPLATE..... 59

9 PHONOLOGY 79

9.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY 80

9.2 UNDERLYING VOWEL LENGTH DISTINCTION 80

9.3 WORD-FINAL LENGTHENING 81

9.4 SYLLABIFICATION 82

9.5 VOWEL SANDHI (COALESCENCE, DELETION) 84

9.6 R-DELETION 85

9.7 CODA CONSONANTS 87

9.8 LARYNGEALS 88

9.9 EPENTHESIS..... 89

9.10 MINIMAL SIZE CONSTRAINTS 92

9.10.1 PROTHESIS (TWO-SYLLABLE WORD MINIMUM)..... 92

9.10.2 UNMOTIVATED PROTHESIS..... 92

9.10.3 ONE-SYLLABLE WORDS (PARTICLES, SOME KINSHIP TERMS)..... 93

9.11 ACCENT, TONIC LENGTHENING (TL) AND PRETONIC LENGTHENING (PTL)..... 94

9.12 LARYNGEAL METATHESIS 96

9.13 ODD-NUMBERED [A] AND WEIGHTLESS VOWELS 97

9.14 PHONOLOGY ABOVE THE WORD 100

9.14.1 PARTICLE ACCENTUATION AND PARTICLE GROUPS 100

9.14.2 INTONATION 103

10 BIBLIOGRAPHY 103

1 INTRODUCTION

- Resources: (Chafe 1976; Chafe 1996; Dyck 1999a; Dyck 1999b; Michael K Foster 1982; Foster 1988; Froman et al. 2002; Michelson 1988; Mithun 1989; Mithun 1990; Mithun 1999; Mithun 1996; Shimony 1994; Anonymous 1988)

1.1 ABOUT THE IROQUOIS AND IROQUOIAN

The Hodiñhsó:nih (People of the Longhouse) traditionally lived along the Mohawk River valley and around the Finger Lakes district in present-day New York State. The Ganyę'gehó:nq' (Mohawk people or Keepers of the Eastern Door) lived between the Allegheny and Catskill Mountains. The Onqodowá'ga:?' (Seneca people or Keepers of the Western Door) were settled along the Genessee River. In between, the Onqodagehó:nq' (Onondaga people) lived near present-day Syracuse, New York, and the Ohnyahęhó:nq' (Oneida people) lived near Lake Oneida, New York. The Gayogohó:nq' (People of the Pipe or Cayuga people) lived in an area between Lake Cayuga and Lake Owasco in present-day Cayuga County, New York. Together, these peoples formed the original Hwihs Niyqhwejá:ge: (Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy or League of the Iroquois). The Dahsgáo:wę' (Tuscarora people) joined the League (afterwards known as Hyeí Niyqhwejá:ge: or Six Nations) after losing their homelands in present-day North Carolina.

The original Cayuga villages were destroyed by the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, in retaliation for the Cayuga having sided with the British during the American Revolution. Many Cayuga people subsequently moved to Fort Niagara, and later, to Six Nations of the Grand River, lands granted by the Crown to the Iroquois in 1784.

Before the American Revolution, some Cayugas had settled with a western branch of the Senecas on the Lower Sandusky River in Ohio. The Cayugas and Senecas in Ohio were collectively known as the 'Sandusky Senecas'. In 1831, the Sandusky Senecas moved to present-day Miami, Oklahoma (Mithun 1979a:149; Michelson 1988:5). The variety of Cayuga spoken in Oklahoma was called Seneca and few, if any, speakers of this dialect remain. However, Cayuga is still spoken by fewer than 100 people at Six Nations, where Mohawk and Onondaga are also spoken. (This figure is from the Speakers of Aboriginal Languages Survey, conducted by Sweetgrass First Nations Language Council Inc. in 1995 and updated in 1999).

Figure 1 - Iroquoian language family

Iroquoian			
Southern			Cherokee
Northern			
	<i>Lake Iroquoian</i>		
		<i>Five Nations and Susquehannock</i>	
		<i>Seneca–Onondaga</i>	
		<i>Seneca–Cayuga</i>	Seneca Cayuga
		<i>Onondaga</i>	Onondaga
		<i>Mohawk–Oneida</i>	Mohawk Oneida
		<i>Susquehannock</i>	Susquehannock (extinct)
	<i>Huronian</i>		Wyandot (Huron–Petun) (extinct)
			Wenrohronon (extinct)
			Neutral (extinct)
			Erie (extinct)
	<i>Tuscarora–Nottoway</i>		Tuscarora (seriously endangered)
			Nottoway (extinct)
Unclear			Laurentian (extinct)

After http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iroquoian_languages, accessed 2013-12-19.

Cayuga (Gayogoho:nəhnéha:ʔ, or Gayogohó:nəʔ for short, or Ǫgwehəwéhneha:ʔ) is most closely related to Seneca, and is also related to the other Northern Iroquoian languages of Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Tuscarora. Older Cayuga speakers frequently speak more than one Iroquoian language (as well as English) and they often understand one or two more Iroquoian languages besides. For example, the late Reginald Henry was a fluent speaker of Cayuga, Onondaga, and English, and he understood Mohawk and Oneida as well.

Two varieties of Cayuga are spoken at Six Nations. It is possible that Lower Cayuga (Ganedagehó:nəʔ) is spoken at the Lower End of Six Nations (Ganédayeh *in the valley*) and that Upper Cayuga (Dagəhyatgehó:nəʔ) is spoken at the Upper End (Dagəhya:t *top of the mountain*). However, Cayuga speakers as of this writing do not report this kind of characterization.

Regardless, there are some pronunciation differences that separate Lower Cayuga from Upper Cayuga: Lower Cayuga speakers say <gy> where Upper Cayuga speakers use <dy>. For example, the number *nine* is pronounced as gyohdɔ: in Lower Cayuga, and as dyohdɔ: in Upper Cayuga. Lower Cayuga also has devoiced (whispered) vowels, such as the <ɔ̥> in gyohdɔ:. Devoiced vowels occur in odd-numbered syllables containing <h>. Similarly, in odd-numbered syllables containing a glottal stop, Lower Cayuga speakers either omit the glottal stop or pronounce it simultaneously with other segments in the syllable: for example, in the word deʔóyanreʔ *it is not good*, the first syllable <deʔ> has an ejective [tʰ] followed by an [e] with creaky voice phonation or with a single glottal catch.

Other pronunciation changes are due to something other than dialect differences. For example, the prefix meaning *you (singular)* can be pronounced either as English <sh> before <r> (spelled <sr> in Cayuga), as in

dasrá:tɛh *you climb over here!*, or as <d> before <r>, as in dadrá:tɛh *you climb over here!* The <d> pronunciation is an historical reflex of *θ. As well, some people pronounce certain words with an <o> where others use the rarer <u> sound; it is not clear what this difference stem from. Examples include dago:s / dagu:s *cat*, swayó'ts'ageh / swayú'ts'a-geh *on your chins*, and ohyo'tí:yeht / oh-yu'tí:yeht *it is sharp*.

Other sources of variation arise from vocabulary and prefix choice. Differences in vocabulary choice include using either ganq̄sadaihá'ta' or hq̄hji for *stove*. Differences in prefix choice include the word for *brooch*, *safety pin*, which is either gajíhoha:ʔ with the prefix *ga-* or ojíhoha:ʔ with the prefix *o-*; or the word for *potato*, which is either ohóna'da' or hóna'da' (without the prefix *o-*).

Two spelling systems have been developed for Cayuga, the linguistic orthography and the Henry orthography (used in this dictionary). The linguistic spelling system was developed for Native Language Teacher Certification programs in the 1970s, and is also used in the *Watęwayęstanih* grammar (Mithun & Henry 1984) and in academic writings. The linguistic spelling sytem is closer to the system used for Mohawk and Oneida. The Henry orthography was developed in the early 1980s by the late Reginald Henry. It is currently used at Six Nations. The main differences between the two systems are in the representation of consonants: where the linguistic orthography uses <th, t, kh, k, tsh, and ts>, the Henry orthography uses <t, d, k, g, ts, and j>. Cayuga speakers also tend to write <s> instead of <sh>.

1.2 PHONOLOGY

1.2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

1. Cayuga consonant inventory

Consonants	Coronal		Dorsal	Laryngeal
Nasal	<n> / n /			
Stop	<d> / t, d / <t> / t ^h /		<g> / k, g / <k> / k ^h /	<ʔ> / ʔ /
Fricative	<s> / s / <s, sh> / s ^h /			<h> / h /
Affricate	<j> / tʃ, dʒ, ts, dz / <ts> / ts ^h /			
Approximant	<r> / ɹ /			

2. Cayuga vowel inventory

Vowels	<i> / i /		<u> / u / (rare)	
	<e> / e /, <ę̄> / ẽ /		<o> / o /, <q> / õ /	
		<a> / a /		

- Cayuga has both short and long rhymes. Long rhymes contain a long vowel like [a:], or a short vowel plus a fully realized [h] or [ʔ], as in [ah] or [aʔ], optionally followed by a coda consonant other than [h] or [ʔ]. [h]

and [ʔ] are moraic in long rhymes, meaning that they are produced like devoiced or laryngealized vowels respectively (Doherty 1993). Short rhymes consist of a short vowel like [a], a non-moraic [h] or [ʔ], and an optional coda consonant other than [h] or [ʔ]. Short rhymes with non-moraic [h] or [ʔ] are devoiced or laryngealized, respectively (Doherty 1993; Dyck 1999c).

- Cayuga is a pitch-accent language, and pitch is the acoustic variable most relevant to describing Cayuga accent (Williams 2013). Laryngeal Metathesis is an accent-related phenomena (Michael K. Foster 1982) that causes shortening in odd-numbered, non-final syllables within words. Laryngeal Metathesis is shown in the orthography by underlining the vowel as in *aʔ* or *ah*. In shortened syllables like *aʔ* and *ah*, the laryngeals are not fully realized; instead, the vowel in the rhyme is glottalized or devoiced respectively.

1.3 ‘POLYSYNTHESIS’

- Cayuga has been described as a ‘polysynthetic’ language. The definition of the term ‘polysynthesis’ has always been unclear; (for an overview, see the [Wikipedia article](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polysynthetic_language).) However, when we say that Cayuga is polysynthetic, we mean that it has three characteristics: (a) head-marking; (b) a large morpheme-to-word ratio; and (c) portmanteau-ism or fusion of morphemes. Head-marking languages “... mark grammatical relations between verbs and their constituents by indexing the constituents on the verb with agreement morphemes, and the relation between noun phrases and their constituents by marking the head noun with agreement morphemes”. [http: / / en.wikipedia.org / wiki / Polysynthetic_language, accessed 2014-01-02].
- A large morpheme-to-word ratio, can be illustrated with words or verb-sentences like *degaʔdatgohsóhae*: *they are washing each other’s face*. Because of the large morpheme-to-word ratio, verbs can express the meaning of an entire sentence. Verbs can even ‘incorporate’ nouns. Noun incorporation occurs when a noun is added into a verb, resulting in a single word. For example, in English is the verb *to babysit*, which contains the noun *baby* and the verb *sit*. The verb-sentence *degaʔdatgohsóhae*: contains the noun stem - *gohs- face*.
- Portmanteauism can be illustrated by means of prefix combinations such as the following. Example (3.a) shows some portmanteau-ism, resulting in fusion of / *sni-* / *you two* and / *y...* / (the first sound of the verb stem); (3.b) shows a more transparent form for comparison.

3. Portmanteau-ism

- a. *jɛ:na: you two catch it!* / *sni-yɛna:* /
- b. *snihnégehah you two drink it!* / *sni-hnegeha-h* /

1.4 SENTENCES AND WORD ORDER

A sentence is a group of words expressing a complete thought. Some of Cayuga’s many sentence types are overviewed below. At their simplest, sentences can consist of particles or combinations of particles (a special class of single-syllable words):

4. Sentences consisting of particles

- Dɛʔ hne:ʔ. That’s why.*
Dó: í:ʔ! Let me!
Trehs giʔ gyɛʔ. My goodness!
Nɛʔ diʔ ní:hsʔ And you?

- However, sentences can be much more complicated, as in the following sentence which means I'm just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I'm unable to fill my basket.

5. Longer sentences

Tiga:gwe:góh tsq: agahyagwehęgyé's aknq:há? a:knqnhéht agá'ahdra?
here and there just I'm going along picking I'm unable I would fill it my basket

- Sentences can be formed from a verb plus a particle modifying the meaning of the verb or of the sentence. The particle can precede the verb or follow it, or appear on either side.

6. Sentences consisting of a verb and a particle (or two)

a. Ahsq̄h hodré:nq̄:t.
still he is singing
He's still singing.

b. Jidwahshé:t e:?
let's count again
Let's count again!

c. I:só? agidahsgęhę:?
much I used to sleep generally
I used to sleep a lot.

- Word order in Cayuga and other Iroquoian languages has been described as 'free' (Mithun 1992; Mithun 1999), mainly because subject and object NPs have no fixed, basic position (Mithun 1992:43–44). In many cases, the order of the noun and the verb is not crucial to the basic meaning of the sentence (as it is in English). For example, a noun denoting the receiver of the action can occur either before or after the verb in Cayuga. (In contrast, such a noun typically occurs after the verb in English). For example, the sentence *I'm picking strawberries* can be expressed with either of the following word orders:

7. No basic (SOV, SVO, etc.) word order for Cayuga

Gahya:gwáhs jihsq̄:dahk.
I'm picking strawberries

Jihsq̄:dahk gahyá:gwahs.
strawberries I'm picking

- As an example of fluid word-order, one can combine the following words in many different ways to make sentences which have largely the same meaning, *you're the only one that did it again*, with different types of emphasis.

8. Examples of fluid word order

i:hs e:?
you again the one in.fact only that you.did.it

i:hs gyę?hne: e:?
you again the one in.fact only that you.did.it

i:hs gyę?hne: e:?
you again the one in.fact only that you.did.it

i:hs gyę?hne: tsq: e:?
you again the one in.fact only that you.did.it

i:hs gyę?hne: tsq: toh e:?
you again the one in.fact only that you.did.it

2 PARTS OF SPEECH

- Cayuga has three parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and particles. Nouns name a person, place, thing, quality, event, etc. Verbs express activities such as walking, eating, etc. In Cayuga, verbs also describe characteristics and function like the English predicate adjectives *be short*, *be green*, etc. As well, in Cayuga there is a type of verb which describes an object's position.
- Particles are neither nouns nor verbs. While nouns and verbs must be at least two syllables in length, particles are single-syllable words. Some particles in Cayuga function like English pronouns such as *he*, *she*, etc., while some act like adverbs such as *today*, *soon*, *quickly*, etc., or have other functions, described later.

2.1 NOUNS

- The types of nouns in Cayuga include basic nouns; onomatopoeic animal names (these words imitate the sound that the animal makes); other animal names; body parts; verbal nouns; deverbal nouns (nouns formed from verbs); and compound nouns.
- These types of noun all have the same function—they name people, places, things, qualities, events, etc. However, they are classified below on the basis of how they are formed from basic parts.

2.1.1 BASIC NOUNS

- Unpossessed basic nouns end with *-aʔ* and begin with either *ga-*, *o-*, or *a-*, all of which mean *it*. You have to memorize which prefix a given noun takes. (*Ga-*, *o-*, and *a-* are pronominal prefixes. To find out more about the pronominal prefixes, see §4.2). Basic nouns are singular or plural in meaning, depending on the context.

9. Unpossessed basic nouns

- ga-nóhs-aʔ house(s)*
c.f., *o-nóhs-owa:nəh a big house*
- o-ʔnhóhs-aʔ egg(s)*
c.f., *s-ga-ʔnhóhsa:-t, j-o-ʔnhóhsa:-t one egg*
- a-wəʔyóhga:-ʔ thumb(s)*
c.f., *g-wʔəyóhgá:-ʔgeh on my thumb(s)*

2.1.2 ONOMATOPOEIC NOUNS

- Onomatopoeic nouns designate animals, and may imitate the sound made by the animal. Unlike the basic nouns, these nouns have no prefixes or endings.

10. Onomatopoeic nouns

gaʔga:ʔ crow
twə:twə:t duck
duwisduwi:ʔ killdeer
hihi: great horned owl

2.1.3 ANIMAL NAMES

- Another type of animal name is shown below. These are not onomatopoeic, but like other animal names, they do not have prefixes or endings.

11. Animal names

hnyagwái? *bear*

dagu:s, dago:s *cat*

só:wa:s *dog*

drê:na: *skunk*

- Many such nouns begin with <ji>, which may have been a prefix historically (Jordan Lachler, p.c.)

12. Nouns beginning with / ji- /

jí?dê:ʔəh *bird*

jikjí:ye:ʔ *chickadee*

jíhsgugu? *robin*

2.1.4 BODY PART NOUNS (INALIENABLE)

- Body part nouns (also called inalienable nouns) are different from basic nouns in several respects: while basic nouns take the ending —aʔ, body part nouns take the ending —aʔgeh, meaning *on*.

13. Body part nouns

a. snętsáʔgeh *on your arm*

b. knętsáʔgeh *on my arm*

- The first letter of these nouns designates the owner of the body part: <s> at the beginning of snętsáʔgeh means *your (one person)*, and the <k> at the beginning of knętsáʔgeh means *my*. Units such as s- and k- are examples of pronominal prefixes.

2.1.5 VERBAL NOUNS

- Verbal nouns are verbs, technically speaking, because they have the same types of prefixes and suffixes as verbs. However, verbal nouns *function* like nouns—they designate people, places, things, qualities, events, etc. For example, the verbal noun hagéhjih literally has the verbal or sentence meaning *he is an old man*, but hagéhjih is often just used in the noun sense of *an old man*. Various types of verbal nouns are described below.

2.1.5.1 HUMAN BEINGS (VERBAL NOUNS)

- Nouns denoting human beings have pronominal prefixes which designate the number (singular, plural, etc.) and gender (male, female) of the person described.

14. Verbal nouns

nihú:ʔuh *little boy (lit.: he is small)*

eksá:ʔah *girl child (lit.: she or someone is a child)*

hadiksaʔshó:ʔəh *male children (lit.: they (males) are children)*

agó:gweh *girl, woman (lit.: she or someone is a person)*

həgwé'dase:ʔ *young man (lit.: he is a new person)*

nitawenəq:hah *middle-aged male (lit.: he has come from somewhere, with diminutive suffix)*

2.1.5.2 KINSHIP TERMS (VERBAL NOUNS)

- Kinship terms often describe a *relationship* between one person or group and another. For example, the following kinship term has a prefix, he-, which designates two people, *I / my* and *he / him*.

15. A kinship term

he-ʔgɛ:ʔɛh *my younger brother*

- Used with other types of verbs, the prefix *he-* has a similar meaning, as shown in (16).

16. he-nəhweʔs *I like him* (verb with the same prefix as the kinship term in 15)

- Some kinship terms also take the same prefixes as body part nouns (that is, the agentive series of pronominal prefixes). For example, the <k> at the beginning of the following words means *I* or *my*.

17. Kinship terms that take agentive (not interactive) pronominal prefixes

k-nohá:ʔah *my maternal aunt*

k-nó:haʔ *my mother*

k-noʔsɛh *my uncle*

2.1.5.3 HABITUAL ASPECT VERBS (USED AS VERBAL NOUNS)

- Habitual aspect verbs can describe a habitual or ongoing activity. They often denote names of professions, machinery or instruments. Examples include the following.

18. Habitual aspect verbs used as verbal nouns

- haheyədanɛhsrɔ:ni: *undertaker (lit.: he fixes the bodies)*
- shaʔdrehdɔ:nihs *mechanic (lit.: the one who fixes cars)*
- ganəʔgwadáhgwahs *milking machine (lit.: it gathers milk)*
- degáhihtaʔ *grinder (lit.: it grinds something)*
- degáyɛhstaʔ *blender, food processor (lit.: it mixes something)*
- dewáwɛnyehs *mixer (lit.: it stirs something)*
- ganóhaehs *washing machine (lit.: it washes something)*
- wadrɛnotaʔ *radio (lit.: words are put in something)*

2.1.5.4 DESCRIPTIVE VERBAL NOUNS

- These verbal nouns describe the typical characteristics or functions of a person, place, or thing. They are not habitual aspect verbs, but instead occur in some other aspect.

19. Descriptive verbal nouns (not in the habitual aspect)

- dewáhəhde:s *deer (lit.: it has two long ears)*
- Həwadihnyaʔsodáhəh *the Senate (lit.: something (weighty) is hanging their necks)*

2.1.5.5 INSTRUMENTAL VERBAL NOUNS

- Instrumental verbal nouns take the instrumental ending -hkwaʔ, meaning *instrument used for...*

20. Instrumental verbal nouns

- b. naganyaʔgóʔ oʔwáhqoh *beaver meat*
 beaver *meat*
- c. owi:ya:ʔáh gokwaʔ *baby's food*
 baby *her food*
- d. owi:ya:ʔáh gonohá:ʔtraʔ *baby's soap*
 baby *her soap*

2.2 VERBS

- Types of Cayuga verbs include active, intransitive verbs; interactive, transitive verbs; adjectival verbs (also called stative verbs; these are both intransitive and transitive); positional verbs (intransitive)

2.2.1 ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- Active, intransitive verbs describe an activity in which *someone does something*, either intentionally or unwittingly. Examples include the following.

24. Active, intransitive verbs

- a. deyagodáwənyeʔ *she is walking about*
- b. agadekó:ni: *I'm eating*
- c. desənaʔsgwáhgwəh (*you*) *jump!*
- d. desahsagá:wəh (*you*) *yawn!*
- e. sadó:nyeʔs *you're breathing*

- In general, if the action described by the verb is intentional, then the verb takes *agent* pronominal prefixes in the habitual and punctual aspects, and *patient* pronominal prefixes in the stative aspect. In contrast, if the action described by the verb is unintentional, then *patient* pronominal prefixes are used in the habitual, punctual, and stative aspects.

2.2.2 INTERACTIVE OR TRANSITIVE VERBS

- Interactive, transitive verbs describe an activity or interaction in which *someone does something to someone else*.

25. Interactive, transitive verbs

- a. tɛʔ ta:kní:nqoh *I shouldn't or won't buy it*
- b. hehó:gyq: *he has thrown it*
- c. ahékqnyeʔ *I cooked a meal for him*
- d. atagʔedréhdaʔehs *he hit me with his vehicle*

2.2.3 ADJECTIVAL VERBS

- Adjectival verbs (also called stative verbs) describe characteristics of people or things. They can be transitive (allowing incorporated nouns) or intransitive (not allowing incorporated nouns). Examples include:

26. Adjectival or stative verbs

- a. niwú:ʔuh *how small it is*
- b. nigá:dę:s *how thin it is*
- c. í:yqs *it is long*
- d. egówaneh *she is big, pregnant*
- e. agriʔsdowá:neh *I'm loud, noisy*

- Adjectival verbs are used in Cayuga where predicate adjectives and adjectives would be used in English. In the following sentence, the verb onáhşę:, which literally means *they (animals) are fat*, modifies the meaning of the noun daksáheʔdohs. In this sense, the verb onáhşę: functions like an adjective.

27. Adjectival or stative verbs used as adjectives

onahşę: daksáheʔdóhs
they are fat chicken(s)

- Some adjectival verbs can also include (or incorporate) the noun which is being described. In this case, the verb expresses as much as a whole English sentence.

28. Adjectival verb-sentences

- a. hq̄weʔdí:yo: *he's a charming or nice person*
- b. shayáhkwasę: *you have new pants*

- One type of adjectival verb functions either like a pronoun, or like a sentence designating ownership.

29. Adjectival verbs optionally functioning as pronouns

agá:węh *(it is) mine, ours*

sá:węh *(it is) yours*

hó:węh *(it is) his*

gó:węh *(it is) hers*

ó:węh *(it is) its*

honá:węh *(it is) theirs (males only)*

goná:węh *(it is) theirs (females or mixed)*

oná:węh *(it is) theirs (animals)*

2.2.4 POSITIONAL VERBS

- Positional verbs describe an object's position.

30. Positional verbs

- a. detgáʔnha:ʔ *it is sticking out*
- b. gadęhda:ʔ *it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground*
- c. gagęhq̄ʔ *things are lying around*
- d. gahe:ʔ *it is sitting on top of something*
- e. ganí:yq̄:t *it is hanging*

- Positional verbs often incorporate the noun whose position is being described.

31. Positional verbs and noun incorporation

- a. gayęhsraní:yq̄:t *hanging blanket*
- b. oyęhsraʔ *blanket and ganí:yq̄:t it is hanging*

2.3 PARTICLES

- Resources for particles: (Bonvillain 1985; Chafe 2012; Froman et al. 2002; Dyck et al. 1992; Dyck 2009; Rueentan 2014)
- Particles are neither nouns nor verbs. Unlike most nouns and verbs, most particles have only one vowel, do not take a pronominal prefix, cannot begin with an extra word-initial consonant, may combine with other words, and are not always accented.

32. Properties of Cayuga particles

	Pronominal prefix	Extraprosodic word-initial consonant	Disyllabic minimum	Always accented
Particles:				
Basic nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓
Other nouns		✓	✓	✓
Verbs	✓	✓	✓	✓

- Particles have many functions. For example, there are:
 - interrogative particles such as hwé:dəh *when?* (for forming questions).
 - subordinating particles such as tséh / shéh *that, etc.* (for forming embedded sentences).
 - exclamations, interjections such as agí: *ouch!* (the equivalents of *oh, uh-oh*, etc.)
 - demonstrative particles such as sí:gyéh *that (one) way over there* (for pointing out objects) equivalent to words such as *this, that*, etc.
 - pronominal particles such as í:hs *you* (for emphatic pronouns) equivalent to words such as *I, you*, etc.
 - adverbial particles, including: particles of time such as é:ʔ *again* (equivalent to words such as *yesterday, tonight*, etc.); particles of place such as sihó:weh, sinhó:weh *over there* (equivalent to words such as *there, here*, etc.); particles of degree or measurement such as dó: *how (much)* (equivalent to words such as *so much, very*, etc.)
- Because they are short, particles often join together to form larger units. For example, individual particles such as the ones in (33.a-d) often form combinations like the ones in (33.e-g).

33. Particle combinations

- néh *look; say; here, take this*
- síh *over there*
- tóh *there, that much*
- gyéh *the one*
- né:gyéh *this* (néh and gyéh)
- sí:gyéh *that (one) way over there* (síh and gyéh)
- tó:gyéh *that* (tóh and gyéh)

- In contrast, particles that often form groups, such as dəʔhoʔdəʔ *what (kind)* can be broken up by the insertion of other particles such as hne: *in fact* or ní:ʔ *I*.

34. Insertion of particles into particle groups

- dəʔ hne:ʔ hoʔdəʔ... *what, in fact...*
- Haóʔ dahskro:wíh dəʔ ní:ʔ hoʔdəʔ nəgá:gye:ʔ.
o.k., tell me what I what I will do

2.3.1 PRONOMINAL PARTICLES

- Some particles function as the equivalent of English pronouns, demonstratives, etc.

35. Particles that are pronouns

í:ʔ, ní:ʔ *I, we*¹

í:hs, ní:hs *you*

- The remaining pronouns are verbs, technically speaking.

36. Pronouns that are verbs (Ontario Ministry of Education & Michelson 2011)

- háq̣ḥeʔ, háq̣haʔ *he (lit.: he is alone)*
- gáq̣ḥeʔ *she (lit.: she is alone)*
- áq̣ḥeʔ *it (lit.: it is alone)*
- honó:ḥeʔ *they (males) (lit.: they (males) are alone)*
- gonó:ḥeʔ *they (females or mixed) (lit.: they (females or mixed) are alone)*
- onó:ḥeʔ *they (animals) (lit.: they (animals) are alone)*

- Cayuga pronouns are used for contrast, or to emphasize or point out something contrary to expectation; otherwise they are not required in a sentence. For example, in the following sentence, the particle háq̣ḥeʔ emphasizes *who* spoke, but is optional. Such a sentence would be used to point out that *he* said something (as opposed to *she* or *they*).

37. Pronouns used for emphasis alone

Haq̣ḥeʔ aḥeʔ He spoke.
he alone he spoke

- As shown above, a Cayuga sentence does not require a pronoun. For example, the verb aḥeʔ *he spoke* is also an acceptable sentence in Cayuga. The pronominal word can be omitted here (and usually is) because the verb aḥeʔ already expresses the meaning of *he*.

3 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

- Resources: (Chafe 1967; Chafe 1996; Foster 1993; Froman et al. 2002; Michelson 1988; Mithun 1996; Mithun 1999; Mithun & Henry 2008; Ontario Ministry of Education & Michelson 2011; Sasse & Keye 1998; Woodbury 1994)
- This section describes the parts (prefixes and suffixes or endings) that make up Cayuga nouns and verbs.

3.1 OVERVIEW

38. Noun template

Pronominal prefixes	Stem	Noun Stem Former / Joiner vowel	Other noun suffixes	translation
o-	j̣oʔd	-aʔ		<i>fish</i>
ga-	naʔj	-aʔ		<i>pail</i>
age-	ʔdrehd	-aʔ		<i>my car</i>

¹ The forms <ni:ʔ> and <ni:hs> are contractions of <neʔ i:ʔ> and <neʔ i:hs>; the words <ni:hs> and <i:hs> are also spelled as <ni:s> and <i:s>.

Pronominal prefixes	Stem	Noun Stem Former / Joiner vowel	Other noun suffixes	translation
o-	trɛʔd	-a	-go:wah augmentative	<i>horsefly</i>
			-neha:ʔ, -geha:ʔ, -ka:ʔ customary	
			-gehe:ʔ decessive	
			-ʔah, -hah diminutive	
			-agɔ: internal locative	
			-hneh -ʔgeh external locative	
			-kʔah, -akdagyeʔ other locative	
			-sraʔ, -traʔ nominalizer	
			-shɔʔ, -shɔ:ʔɔh (-sɔʔ, -sɔ:ʔɔh) pluralizer	
			-ho:nɔʔ populative	
			-ɔ:weh typicalizer	

39. Noun pronominal prefixes (nouns take either the *agent* or *patient* series, as described below)

agent patient translation

k-	ak-	<i>I</i>
kni-	ɔkni-	<i>we two (inclusive)</i>
akni-	—	<i>we two (exclusive)</i>
dwa-	ɔgwa-	<i>we all (inclusive)</i>
agwa-	—	<i>we all (exclusive)</i>
ha-	ho-	<i>he</i>
e-	go-	<i>she, someone, one</i>
ga-	o-	<i>it (animal or thing)</i>
s-	sa-	<i>you (singular)</i>
sni-	sni-	<i>you two</i>
swa-	swa-	<i>you all</i>
hadi-	hodi-	<i>they (males)</i>
gae-	godi-	<i>they (females or mixed)</i>
gadi-	odi-	<i>they (animals, objects)</i>

3.2 UNPOSSESSED, BASIC NOUNS

- Unpossessed, basic nouns begin with ga-, o-, or a-, followed by the noun stem, and ending with the Noun Stem Former (NSF) suffix -aʔ.

40. Unpossessed, basic nouns

a. ganɔhsaʔ *house*; consists of:

agent noun stem NSF

ga+ -nɔhs- -aʔ

b. oʔnhɔhsaʔ *egg*; consists of:

patient noun stem NSF

o+ -ʔnhɔhs- -aʔ

c. awɛʔyɔhga:ʔ *thumb*; consists of:

agent noun stem NSF

a+ -wɛʔyɔhga:- -aʔ

3.3 BODY PART (INALIENABLE) NOUNS

- Nouns denoting attached body parts begin with an agentive pronominal prefix, followed by the noun stem, and ending with the *joiner vowel plus locative* suffix combination -aʔgeh.

41. Body part noun template

knɛtsáʔgeh *on my arm*
agent noun stem locative
k- -nɛts- -aʔgeh

- Inalienable nouns and certain adjectival verbs use the same (agentive) prefixes to convey similar meanings, as illustrated by the following examples.

42. Agentive pronominal prefixes for inalienable nouns and certain adjectival verbs

- a. k- *I, my*
khnɛ:ye:s *I am tall*
knɛtsáʔgeh *on my arm*
- b. kni- *we two / our two (includes listener)*
knɪhnɛ:ye:s *we two are tall*
kninɛtsáʔgeh *on the arms of the two of us*
- c. akni- *we two / our two (excludes listener)*
aknihnɛ:ye:s *we two are tall*
akninɛtsáʔgeh *on the arms of the two of us*
- d. dwa- *we all / all of our (includes listener)*
dwahnɛ:ye:s *we all are tall*
dwanɛtsáʔgeh *on the arms of all of us*
- e. agwa- *we all / all of our (excludes listener)*
agwahnɛ:ye:s *we all are tall (but not you)*
agwanɛtsáʔgeh *on the arms of all of us (but not you)*
- f. ha- *he, his*
hahnɛ:ye:s *he is tall*
hanɛtsáʔgeh *on his arms*
- g. e- *she, her, someone*
ehnɛ:ye:s *she / someone is tall*
enɛtsáʔgeh *on her arms*
- h. ga- *it, its (object or animal)*
gahnɛ:ye:s *it (animal) is tall (nonsensical)*
ganɛtsáʔgeh *on its (an animal's) arms (nonsensical)*
- i. s- *you (one person), your*
shnɛ:ye:s *you are tall (one person)*
snɛtsáʔgeh *on your arm (one person)*
- j. sni- *you two, the two of you(r)*
snɪhnɛ:ye:s *you two are tall*
sninɛtsáʔgeh *on the arms of two of you*

- k. swa- *you all, all of you(r)*
 swahné:ye:s *you all are tall*
 swanętsa'geh *on the arms of all of you*
- l. hadi- *they (males only), their*
 hadihné:ye:s *they are tall (males only)*
 hadinętsa'geh *on their arms (males only)*
- m. gae- *they (females or mixed group), their*
 gaehné:ye:s *they are tall (females or mixed group)*
 gaenętsa'geh *on their arms (females or mixed group)*
- n. gadi- *they (animals, things), their*
 gadihné:ye:s *they are tall (animals; nonsensical)*
 gadinętsa'geh *on their arms (animals; nonsensical)*

3.4 OTHER POSSESSED NOUNS (ALIENABLE NOUNS)

- Possession in basic or 'alienable' nouns is conveyed with a patient pronominal prefix. Alienable nouns and certain adjectival verbs use the same (patient) pronominal prefixes to convey similar meanings, as illustrated by the following examples.

43. Patient pronominal prefixes for inalienable nouns and certain adjectival verbs

- a. ak- *I, my*
 aknqhqkdá:nih *I am sick*
 aknqhsa' *my house*
- b. qkni- *we two, our two (there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive for patient prefixes)*
 qkninqhqkdanih *we two are sick*
 qkninqhsa' *the house belonging to the two of us*
- c. qgwa- *we all / all of ours (there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive for patient prefixes)*
 qgwanqhqkdanih *we all are sick*
 qgwánqhsa' *the house belonging to all of us*
- d. sa- *you (singular), your*
 sanqhqkdá:nih *you are sick*
 sanqhsa' *your house*
- e. sni- *you two, the two of you(r)*
 sninqhqkdá:nih *you two are sick*
 sninqhsa' *the house belonging to the two of you*
- f. swa- *you all, all of you(r)*
 swanqhqkdá:nih *you all are sick*
 swanqhsa' *the house belonging to all of you*
- g. ho- *he, his*
 honqhqkdá:nih *he is sick*
 honqhsa' *his house*
- h. go- *she, someone, her*
 gonqhqkdá:nih *she or someone is sick*
 gonqhsa' *her or someone's house*

- i. o- *it (object or animal)*
onq̄hōkdá:nih *it (animal) is sick*
onq̄hsaʔ *its house (note: ganq̄hsaʔ means 'a house')*
- j. hodi- *they (males only), their*
hodinq̄hōkdanih *they are sick (males only)*
hodínq̄hsaʔ *their house (males only)*
- k. godi- *they (females or mixed group), their*
godinq̄hōkdanih *they are sick (females or mixed group)*
godínq̄hsaʔ *their house (females or mixed group)*
- l. odi- *they (animals or objects), their*
odinq̄hōkdanih *they are sick (animals)*
odínq̄hsaʔ *their house (animals)*

3.5 NOUN SUFFIXES

- Suffixes that can be added to nouns are shown below. Nouns with and without suffixes are provided in order to illustrate the basic meanings of the suffixes.

44. augmentative suffix: big

- a. dagu:s *cat*
- b. dagu:sgó:wah *big cat*

45. customary suffixes: a way, type, kind

- a. q̄gwehó:wēh *Indian*
- b. q̄gwehówéhneha:ʔ *Indian way, language*
- c. q̄gwehówéhgeha:ʔ *Indian kind, type*
- d. ahsóheh *night*
- e. ahsóhehka:ʔ *the night kind*

46. decessive suffix: former

- a. akyédahkwaʔ *chair*
- b. akyédahkwáʔgēhe:ʔ *former chair*

47. diminutive suffixes: smallness; otherwise non-obvious meanings

- a. ɛyóʔga:ʔ *it will be night*
- b. oʔgá:sʔah *evening*
- c. neʔ owí:yaʔ *its baby*
- d. owi:yá:ʔah *baby*
- e. gwaʔyq̄:ʔ *rabbit*
- f. gwʔayé:ʔah *Cottontail rabbit*
- g. tsishéhdehjih *this morning*
- h. shedehjí:hah *early morning*

48. internal locative suffix: in, under, etc.

- a. gahó:waʔ *boat*
- b. gahówagq̄: *in a boat*

49. external locative suffixes: on, at, etc.
- otó:weʔ *it's cold*
 - otówʔegeh *north*
 - Arnie
 - Arnígeh, Arníhneh *at Arnie's place*
50. other locative suffixes: beside, alongside
- akyédahkwaʔ *chair*
 - akyédahkwá:ʔkʔah *beside the chair*
 - ganqhsaʔ *house*
 - ganqhsakdá:gyeʔ *along the house*
51. nominalizer suffixes:
- dó: gade:nyé:dəh *Oh, let me try!*
 - adeʔnyédəhsraʔ *measurements*
 - gahnaʔtso:t *its (attached) behind*
 - atnaʔtsotraʔ *pants (lit.: something attached to the behind)*
52. pluralizer suffixes: several, a number of
- agétgwʔədaʔ *my suitcase*
 - agetgwʔədáʔsqʔ *my suitcases (that is, a bunch of suitcases, bundled together or thought of as a unit)*
 - agetgwʔədaʔsǫ:ʔqh *my suitcases (that is, ones that are scattered around)*
53. populative suffix: people living at
- Gahnawiyóʔgeh *Oklahoma*
 - Gahnawiyóʔgehq:ʔnqʔ *Oklahomans*
54. typicalizer suffix: Indian, real, traditional
- q:gweh *person*
 - qgwehq:weh *Indian*

4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

55. Cayuga verb template

prepronominal prefixes		pronominal	(semi / reflexive+)(noun+) verb stem	derivational suffixes	aspect suffixes	post-aspect suffixes
modal	non-modal					
aʔ- factual e- future a:- optative or indefinite	d- cislocative ti- contrastive ts- coincident de- dualic deʔ- negative ni- partitive s- repetitive haʔ- translocative	described later	ad- semireflexive adad- reflexive	-hd / -ht causative -hs, -nih datives or benefactives -hn -ʔn, -dr dislocatives -hsq:ʔ, -nyq:ʔ, hnq:ʔ, -qnyq:ʔ distributives -sʔ eventulative -sgq: facilitative -ʔd / -ʔt, -nheʔ inchoatives -hkwaʔ	-hs, -haʔ, ʔs habituais -qh, -eh, -: statives -eʔ purposive -ʔ punctual -:, -h, or ø (nothing) imperative	-gəhə:ʔ past -hk former -(e):k continuative or modalizer -ʔs, -shqʔ, -sqʔ pluralizers -hne:ʔ remote

prepronominal prefixes		pronominal	(semi / reflexive+)(noun+) verb stem	derivational suffixes	aspect suffixes	post-aspect suffixes
modal	non-modal					
				instrumental -jih intensifier -agyeʔ, -qgyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ progressives -e purposive -goʔ, -gwęh, -ahsih reversives -ge: augmentative		

4.1 PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

- Resources for prepronominal prefixes: (Abbott 1981; Chafe 1961a; Chafe 1961b; Bonvillain 1981)
- There are two types of prepronominal prefixes, the modal prefixes, which indicate the verb's mood or mode, and the non-modal prefixes, which have a variety of functions.

4.1.1.1 Modal prepronominal prefixes

- Modal prepronominal prefixes convey attitudes such as uncertainty, definiteness, and possibility. The most common variants of the modal prepronominal prefixes are illustrated below with example words.

56. Modal prepronominal prefixes

a. future

ę- ękni:nqʔ *I will buy it*

b. factual

a- akni:nqʔ *I bought it (a fact)*

aʔ- aʔé:yqʔ *she arrived (a fact)*

q- qgi:daʔ *I slept, or I'm sleeping (a fact; said when you want to be left alone)*

c. optative or indefinite

a:- a:kní:nqʔ *I might / should / could / would buy it*

ae- aeswá:geʔ *you all might / should / could / would see it*

aq- aqgé:geʔ *she might / should / could / would see me*

4.1.2 NON-MODAL PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

- The non-modal prepronominal prefixes have various meanings and functions. Examples with and without the prefixes are shown in order to illustrate the basic meaning of each prefix. The most common pronunciations are also shown.

57. non-modal prepronominal prefixes

a. partitive—an amount

ni- nigá:nqʔʔ *how much it costs*

cf. ganqʔʔ *it's expensive*

b. coincident—while

tsi- tsihɔgweʔdá:se: *when he was young*

cf. hɔgweʔda:se: *he is a young man*

c. contrastive—different

ti- tigaʔdrɛhdá:deʔ *it's a different car from the others*

d. cislocative—here, there (closer to speaker)

t- tgahe:ʔ *it is sitting there*

cf. gahe:ʔ *it's sitting here*

da- dasrá:tɛh, dadrá:tɛh *climb (over here)!*

cf. haʔsrá:tɛh, háʔdrá:tɛh *climb (over there)!*

g- gyʔedrqʔ *she's at home (here)*

cf. eʔdrqʔ *she is home*

de- desáʔdre: *drive over here*

cf. heʔsáʔdre: *drive over there*

e. translocative—way over there (farther from speaker)

heʔ- heʔgáhe:ʔ *it's sitting way over there*

cf. gahe:ʔ *it's sitting here*

he- heyéʔdrqʔ *she's at home, way over there*

cf. eʔdrqʔ *she is home*

f. dualic—two; back-and-forth motion

de- deganɔhsá:ge: *two houses*

cf. niganɔhsá:ge: *a number of houses*

g. repetitive—one, the one, again

s- shoyé:twɛh *he planted it again*

cf. hoyé:twɛh *he planted it*

j- jotó:weʔ *it is cold again*

cf. otó:weʔ *it is cold*

ji- jidwáhshe:t *let's count again*

cf. dwáhshe:t *let's count*

4.1.3 COMBINATIONS OF PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

- Many of the possible combinations of prepronominal prefixes are listed below. (Many of these combinations were listed in (Foster 1993); examples were provided by the co-authors of this document).

58. combinations of prepronominal prefixes

a- *factual*

agaedá:graʔ *they fell down*

a:- *optative*

a:gahyá:goʔ *I would pick fruit*

ad- *dualic and factual*

adwagahsíha:s *I choked*

adi- *dualic and factual*

- adigyatnɛ:tsí:yaʔk *we two (exclusive) broke our arm*
- ae- *optative*
aeswá:geʔ *you all might / should / could / would see it*
- ag- *dualic and factual*
agyagwatnɛ:tsí:yaʔk *we all (exclusive) broke our arm*
- aq- *optative*
aogé:geʔ *she might / should / could / would see me*
- aqda- *cislocative and optative*
aqdasagyʔqséhaʔ *you would come and visit*
- aqsa-, q:sa- *repetitive and optative*
aqsagahdɛ:diʔ, q:sagahdɛ:diʔ *I might, should go home*
- at- *dualic and factual*
atgaeyé:naʔ *they (females or mixed) did it together*
- da- *cislocative and factual*
daga:dí:yqʔ *they (animals) came in*
- da- *dualic*
dahsge:gáih *you bite me*
- da:- *dualic and optative*
da:gatnɛ:tsí:yaʔk *I might break my arm*
- daqda, dq:da- *dualic, cislocative, and optative*
dq:dá:ge:ʔ *I would come back*
- daqsa, dq:sa- *dualic, repetitive, and optative*
dq:sáedaʔ *she stood up again*
- de- *dualic*
dedwadagyénawahs *let us all help one another*
- dʔe, deʔ-, de- *negative*
deʔagadótgadeʔ *I'm not happy*
deʔagqnhé:gyeʔ *she was stillborn; she came to be not living*
- dedi- *negative and cislocative*
hɛhsahshɛ:daʔ tɕɛh hq:wéh dedih sawihs *you will trod, step where you're not wanted (that is, trespass)*
- deg- *dualic and cislocative*
Degyotnqhsá:kdq: *St. Catharine's, Ont.*
- deʔji- *negative and repetitive*
dejidwayé:di: *we do not know any longer*
- des- *dualic and repetitive*
Tɛʔ gɛh deshó:yq: / *Did he not come home?*
- dʔes, des- *negative and repetitive*
desga:ní:yq:t *it is not hanging any longer*
- det-, ded- *dualic and cislocative*
detgeʔ *I am coming back*

d'et, det-, d'ed-, ded- *negative and cislocative*

detgá:yə? *it is no longer laying there*

d'ej-, dej- *negative and repetitive*

deja:gó:yq: *she didn't return*

dẹ- *dualic and future*

dẹhsná'net'a:? *you will double it, reinforce something*

dẹdi- *dualic, cislocative, and future*

dẹdihs?adre:? *you will drive over there*

dẹg- *dualic, cislocative, and future*

dẹgyá:kne:? *we two will come back*

dẹj- *dualic, repetitive, and future*

dẹjtnqhsq:goht *she will go in one door and out the other door (at a funeral)*

dẹji- *dualic, repetitive, and future*

dẹjidwanqhonyq:? *we will thank again*

dẹs- *dualic, repetitive, and future*

dẹshaihwáetwaht *he will bring forth a message*

dẹt-, dẹd- *dualic, cislocative, and future*

dẹtga:dq:goht *I will pass that way*

di- *cislocative*

disáhdegyq: *you come from there*

dq- *cislocative and factual*

dqáhhdq:? *(where) I lost it*

dqda- *dualic, cislocative, and factual*

dqdá:ge? *I'm coming back*

dqsa- *dualic, repetitive, and factual*

dqsagakenqhq:nyq:? *I thanked them again; I greeted them again*

e- *factual*

esáhdq:? *you lost it*

edi- *dualic and factual*

edidwatnq:tsí:ya?k *we all broke our arm*

ẹ- *future*

ẹgátnqhgá:? *I'm going to cut my hair*

ẹdi- *cislocative and future*

ẹdis?anigqhi:yoh *your mind will become adjusted*

ẹg- *cislocative and future*

ẹgyo?gá:hah *early evening*

ẹj- *repetitive and future*

ẹjé:kse:k *she can eat it again*

ẹji- *repetitive and future*

ẹjidwana?dáiksq:? *we will snack (lit.: bite the bread)*

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

ɛs- *repetitive and future*

ɛshahé:waht *he will punish again*

ɛt- *cislocative and future*

ɛtsɛʔnigóhoʔne:k *you will revolt, remove yourself (bodily and in spirit)*

ha:- *translocative and optative*

to hó: ha:gʔidró:daʔk *where I would dwell*

haʔ, ha- *translocative and factual*

haʔgeʔ *I am going there*

haʔde- *translocative and dualic*

haʔdegʔadréhdage: *all kinds of cars*

haʔdɛ- *translocative, dualic, and future*

haʔdɛ:syehs *you will put them all together*

haqsa-, hó:sa-, hó:sa- *translocative, repetitive, and optative*

to é: hqsá:ge:ʔ *I would go again*

haʔt- *translocative, dualic, and factual*

haʔtgenɛtsáqnyq:ʔ *I waved my arms*

haʔt- *translocative and dualic*

haʔtsɛnɛtse:s *you reach out!*

he, heʔ- *translocative*

heʔsá:dih *throw it away from me!*

hej- *translocative and repetitive*

hejónqhsq:t *the next room*

heji- *translocative and repetitive*

Gaɛ hwaʔ nhq hejisáihoʔdeʔ / *Where do you work again?*

hes- *translocative and repetitive*

I:wa:kʔáh heshohdrihsdóhogyɛʔ. *He's getting nearer and nearer*

heɛ- *translocative and future*

heɛsyɛ:ʔ *you will put it there*

heɛs- *translocative, repetitive, and future*

heɛsgeʔ *I am going back there*

heɛt- *translocative, repetitive, and future*

heɛtsyɛ:ʔ *you will put it back in its place*

hej- *translocative, repetitive, and future*

heja:gó:nɛht *they (f/m) shall swallow again*

heji- *translocative, repetitive, and future*

hejisasha:ʔ *you will remember back in time*

hó:sa-, hqsá- *translocative, repetitive, and factual*

hó:sahá:yqʔ *he went back inside; he arrived*

j- *repetitive*

jodré:no:t *it is singing again*

ji- *repetitive*

jidwahshé:t e:ʔ *let's count again (emphatic)*

na:- *partitive and optative*

I:wí: to na:yá:wəh *I want, intend that to happen*

naʔ, na, nʔa- *partitive and factual*

tseŋ naʔá:wəh *how it happened*

naʔdaɔda, naʔdɔ:da- *partitive, dualic, cislocative, and optative*

naʔdɔ:dá:geʔ *I should come this way*

naʔde, nʔade- *partitive and dualic*

naʔdegáɔdreʔ *how far apart they are (f/m)*

naʔdeg- *partitive, dualic, and cislocative*

tseŋ nadegyadɔdai: *during the week*

naʔdet- *partitive, dualic, and cislocative*

naʔdé:tgeʔ *I am coming back over here, returning*

naʔdɛt- *partitive, dualic, and cislocative and future*

naʔdɛ:tge:ʔ *I'll come back over here, return*

naʔdɔda- *partitive, dualic, cislocative, and factual*

tseŋ naʔdɔ:dá:ge:ʔ *where I'm coming from*

naɔsa- *partitive, repetitive, and optative*

naɔsaɔgwayəhe:k *what we should be doing*

nɛ- *partitive and future*

nɛwú:kʔuh *it will be small*

nhe- *partitive and translocative*

nhé:yoht *suddenly it occurred*

ni- *partitive*

nigahné:yaʔ *it is short*

nidi- *partitive and cislocative*

nidihsé:no: *you (singular) come from (that is, you are X years old)*

nig- *partitive and cislocative*

nigyagawé:noʔ *she comes from (that is, she is X years old)*

nij- *partitive and repetitive*

nijagowé:nɔh *female stranger (lit.: where she comes from)*

nis- *partitive and repetitive*

Nishayé:no:s *Hold unto (Seneca Chief Title)*

nit- *partitive and cislocative*

nita:wé:nɔh *male stranger (lit.: where he comes from)*

nɔ:-, ni- *partitive*

nɔ:geʔsyáoʔde:h, niwagehsyáoʔdeh *I'm... clan*

nɔda- *partitive, cislocative, and factual*

nɔdá:ge:ʔ *I come from*

nq̄di- *partitive, cislocative, and factual*

Gaę n̄h̄o n̄q̄di:sé:n̄o: / *Where are you from?*

n̄o:sa- *partitive, repetitive, and factual* see naq̄sa-

q- *factual*

oq̄áhd̄roʔk *It frightened me; I got frightened*

s- *repetitive*

sgayáʔda:t *one (living thing)*

sa- *repetitive and factual*

saḡeʔnhoʔtrá:twah̄t *I missed the ball*

sa- *repetitive*

sas̄n̄eht *get down from there*

t- *cislocative*

tadínagreʔ *that's where they live over there*

tae, te:- *contrastive and optative*

t̄eʔ taeswa:ḡeḥ, te:swa:ḡeḥ *you all shouldn't see it*

taʔ, ta- *contrastive and factual, or contrastive, translocative, and factual*

t̄eʔ taha:ȳe:toh *no, he won't plant*

taʔde- *contrastive and dualic, or contrastive, translocative, and dualic*

taʔdegawá:ȳo:t *it has no wings*

taʔd̄e- *contrastive, dualic, and future, or contrastive, translocative, dualic, and future*

taʔdejatáhahk *you two will walk side by side*

teʔ, te- *contrastive and translocative*

t̄eʔ toh teʔgáhe:ʔ *it's not sitting way over there*

te: see tae-

t̄eʔ te:sagáę: *you are not willing*

ti- *contrastive*

tigaʔdrehdá:deʔ *a different car*

t̄oḍe, t̄oḍi- *contrastive, cislocative, and factual*

t̄eʔ t̄oḍesʔadré: tó:gyeḥ *you won't drive that over here*

t̄saʔ- *coincident and factual, or coincident, translocative, and factual*

t̄saʔga:ȳe:daʔ *when it became (lit: when it landed; when it set down)*

t̄saʔde- *coincident and dualic, or coincident, translocative, and dualic*

t̄saʔdé:waʔs *they are the same size*

t̄saʔdeg- *coincident, dualic, and cislocative*

tsadegyʔad̄oḍadrehk *the week before last*

t̄saʔd̄e- *coincident, dualic, and future, or coincident, translocative, dualic, and future*

t̄saʔd̄eḥsȳe:ʔ *you will lay them side by side*

tsi- *coincident*

tsiyeksaʔda:sé:ʔah *when she was a teenager*

t̄e- *contrastive and future, or contrastive, translocative, and future*

təhayəto:ʔah *he'll just plant it any old way or helter-skelter*

4.2 PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

- Resources for pronominal prefixes: (Abbott 1984; Abrams 2006; Barrie 2003; Chafe 1967; Chafe 1960a; Koenig & Michelson 2010; Mithun 1991; Nichols 1988; Froman et al. 2002; Michelson 1988; Michelson 1991; Bonvillain 1973) xx add (Deer 2012)
- There are three types of pronominal prefixes, the agent series, the patient series, and the interactive or transitive series. Each type is discussed below.

4.2.1 AGENT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The following table shows a verb (-hné:ye:s *to be tall*) that takes agent pronominal prefixes.

59. Agent pronominal prefixes

k-hné:ye:s *I am tall*

first person singular 1A

kni-hné:ye:s *we two are tall*

first and second dual inclusive 1indA

akni-hné:ye:s *we two are tall (doesn't include listener)*

first and third dual exclusive 1exclA

agwa-hné:ye:s *we all are tall (doesn't include listener)*

first and third plural exclusive 1expA

dwa-hné:ye:s *we all are tall*

first and second plural inclusive 1inpA

ha-hné:ye:s *he is tall*

third person singular masculine MA

e-hné:ye:s *she / someone is tall*

third person singular feminine-indefinite FA

ga-hné:ye:s *it is tall*

third person singular zoic-neuter NA

s-hné:ye:s *you (singular) are tall*

second person singular 2A

sni-hné:ye:s *you two are tall*

second person dual 2dA

swa-hné:ye:s *you all are tall*

second person plural 2pA

hadi-hné:ye:s *they (males) are tall*

third person non-singular masculine MdpA

gae-hné:ye:s *they (females or mixed) are tall*

third person non-singular feminine FdpA

gadi-hné:ye:s *they (animals) are tall*

third person non-singular zoic-neuter ZdpA

4.2.2 PATIENT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The following table shows a verb (-n̄h̄okdanih *to be sick*) that takes patient pronominal prefixes.

60. Patient pronominal prefixes

ak-n̄h̄okdá:nih *I am sick*
first person singular 1P

okni-n̄h̄okdanih *we two are sick*
first person dual 1dP

ogwa-n̄h̄okdanih *we all are sick*
first person plural 1pP

sa-n̄h̄okdá:nih *you (singular) are sick*
second person singular 2P

sni-n̄h̄okdá:nih *you two are sick*
second person dual 2dP

swa-n̄h̄okdá:nih *you all are sick*
second person plural 2pP

ho-n̄h̄okdá:nih *he is sick*
third person singular masculine MP

go-n̄h̄okdá:nih *she / someone is sick*
third person singular feminine-indefinite FP

o-n̄h̄okdá:nih *it is sick*
third person singular zoic-neuter 3znP

hodi-n̄h̄okdanih *they (males only) are sick*
third person non-singular masculine MdpP

godi-n̄h̄okdanih *they (females or mixed) are sick*
third person non-singular feminine FdpP

odi-n̄h̄okdanih *they (animals) are sick*
third person non-singular zoic ZdpP

4.2.3 TRANSITIVE OR INTERACTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

- The following example is of the verb (-ḡeʔ *to see, punctual aspect*), which takes transitive or interactive pronominal prefixes. Each word in the following table ends with the verb and begins with the factual prefix a-, aʔ-, or e-. Sometimes the epenthetic vowel -e- occurs between the pronominal prefix and the verb. Other words are sometimes provided in order to show further variants.

61. Interactive pronominal prefixes

a-hé:-gɛʔ *I...him*

a-sha:kní:-gɛʔ *she / he / someone and I...him*

a-sha:gwá:-gɛʔ *they and I...him / them (males)*

a-she:tní:-gɛʔ *you (singular) and I...him*

a-she:dwá:-gɛʔ *you all and I...him*

a-hehsé:-gɛʔ *you (singular)...him*

a-she:sní:-gɛʔ *you two...him; he...you two*

a-she:swá:-gɛʔ *you all...him; he...you all*

a-ho:wá:-gɛʔ *she / he / someone...him*

a-hɔwadí:-gɛʔ *they...him; she / he / someone ... them (males)*

a-ha:g-é:-gɛʔ *he...me*

a-shɔ:kní:-gɛʔ *he...us two*

a-shɔ:gwá:-gɛʔ *he...us all*

e-hyá:-gɛʔ *he...you (singular)*

a-sha:gó:-gɛʔ *he...her / someone / it / them (females or mixed)*

a-ké:-gɛʔ *I...her / someone*

a-ga:ké:-gɛʔ *I...them*

a²-a:kí:-gɛʔ *she / he / someone / they and I...her / someone / them*

a²-e:tí:-gɛʔ *you (singular) / you all and I...her / someone / them*

a-shé:-gɛʔ *you (singular)...her / someone*

a-ga:shé:-gɛʔ *you (singular)...them*

a²-e:tsí:-gɛʔ *you two / you all...her / someone / them she / someone / them...you two / you all*

a-gaɔdad-é:-gɛʔ *they ... her; she / someone / they(females or mixed)...them (females or mixed)*

gaɔdagyenawa²seh *they help her, etc.*

a-shagodí:-gɛʔ *they (males or animals)...her / someone / them (females or mixed)*

a-gowadí:-gɛʔ *she / he / someone / they...it*

a²-ɔ:g-é:-gɛʔ *she / someone...me*

a-gaɔg-é:-gɛʔ *they...me*

a²-ɔ:kí:-gɛʔ *she / someone / they...us*

a²-e:sá:-gɛʔ *she / someone...you (singular)*

a-gaesá:-gɛʔ *they...you (singular)*

a-gó:-gɛʔ *I...you (singular)*

a-kní:-gɛʔ *she / he / someone and I...it*

a-gwá:-gɛʔ *they and I...it*

a-sg-é:-gɛʔ *you (singular)...me*

e-skní:-gɛʔ *you (singular) / you two...us two*

e-sgwá:-gɛʔ *you...us*

- In addition to taking these prefixes, active transitive verbs can also take the agent and patient series prefixes. For example, the verb *to buy* can take the agentive prefix meaning *I*, as in a:-k-hní:nɔʔ *I should buy something*. As shown in this example, when agent prefixes are used in active transitive verbs, an object noun (translated as *something* or *it* above) is implied. Conversely, when an active, transitive verb such as *to see* takes a patient prefix such as (w)ag(e)- *me*, the subject *it or something* is implied, as in tɛʔ de-wa:g-é:-gɛh *(it) did not see me*.

4.3 SEMIREFLEXIVE AND REFLEXIVE PREFIXES

- The semireflexive and reflexive prefixes come after the pronominal prefixes. Examples of verbs with and without each type of prefix are contrasted below.

4.3.1 THE REFLEXIVE PREFIX

62. The reflexive prefix

a-g-é:-gɛʔ *I saw (no reflexive)*

a-g-adad-é:-gɛʔ *I saw myself (with reflexive)*

a-gádat-gɛʔ *I saw myself (with reflexive)*

63. Other variants of the reflexive prefix

a-ha-dad-í:yaʔk *he shot himself*

dedwa-dag-yénowahs *let all of us help one another*

4.3.2 THE SEMIREFLEXIVE PREFIX

64. The semireflexive prefix

shago-gɔhs-oháe: *he is washing her face (no prefix)*

h-at-gɔhs-oháe: *he is washing his (own) face (with prefix)*

65. Other variants of the semireflexive prefix

adɔhwihséhde:ʔ *it is restful*

awagyʔadohái:ʔ *it washed its body*

dɛdwadɛnɔhɔnyɔ:ʔ *we will give thanks*

agɛsʔidóhai: *I did wash my feet*

4.4 NOUN INCORPORATION

- Resources for noun incorporation: (Baker 1991; Bonvillain 1974; Bonvillain 1989; Woodbury 1975)
- Incorporated nouns occur after pronominal prefixes or (semi-)reflexive prefixes and before the verb stem. The following examples contrast verbs with and without the incorporated noun *ohya* 'fruit, berry' in its incorporated form *-(h)y(a)-*.

66. Examples of noun incorporation

ohyajiwá:gɛ: (*it is*) *tart, sour fruit*
 cf. *ojíwagɛ:* *it is tart, sour, salty*

ohyága³q̄h *good-tasting fruit*
 cf. *ogá³q̄h* *it is good-tasting*

ohyówaneh *big fruit*
 cf. *gagówaneh* *it is big*

niyohyú:³uh *small fruit*
 cf. *niwú:³uh* *it is small*

wahyaniyó:ta³ *hanging fruit*
 cf. *gani:yq:t* *it is hanging*

ohyá:jih *dark fruit*
 cf. *gahó:jih* *it is dark*

ohyá:tɛ: *spoiled, rotten fruit*
 cf. *otɛ:* *it is rotten*

4.5 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

- Derivational suffixes can occur after the verb stem. The following example compares verbs with a suffix and verbs without in order to illustrate the basic meanings added by the suffixes. A *joiner vowel*, *-a-*, sometimes occurs between the verb stem and the suffix; aspect suffixes also occur after the suffixes shown below.

67. Derivational suffixes

opposite or reversive *-hsi* *to do the opposite*
ɛsatrɔnyáhsi³ *you will take your clothes off*
 cf. *satrɔ:nih* *get dressed*

inchoative *-he³* *become, get*
agówanhe³ *it became big*
 cf. *gowá:nɛh* *it is big*

inchoative *-³t, -³d* *become, get*
ɛwa³dáiha³t *it will get hot*
 cf. *o³dáihɛ:* *it is hot*

inchoative *-³, -(ɛ)³* *become, get*
agagwiyó:dɛ³ *it got buds*
 cf. *ogwí:yq:t* *it has buds*

causative *-hd, -ht* *cause to do something*

əhsé:tgiht *you will dirty it up*
cf. otgiʔ *it is dirty*

causative -ʔt, -ʔd *cause to do something*
wahdéhgyaʔtaʔ *a starter (for a vehicle; lit.: it starts it)*
cf. ɛwadrihwahdɛ:di-ʔ *the ceremony will start*

causative-instrumental -(h)st, -(h)sd
degadidáhstaʔ *stable, barn, bus stop (lit.: it makes them stand up)*
cf. gá:di:t *they (animals) are standing*

instrumental -hkwaʔ
ehyádɔhkwaʔ *pencil*
cf. ehyá:dɔh *she writes*

benefactive or dative -ɛ, -ni *do for someone*
ahadadrihwagwɛ:nyɛʔ *he had earned it for himself*
cf. ɛhsrihwagwɛ:niʔ *you will accomplish*
ɔdadrihɔnyanih *she is reading (lit.: making words for herself)*

benefactive or dative -hs *do for someone*
haʔhohahóʔktahs *the road ran out for him (figuratively: he died)*
cf. awatahóʔkdeʔ *the road ended*

distributive -ɔnyɔʔ *several here and there*
ohnawáodɔnyɔʔ *springs*
cf. ohnáwao:t *well, spring*

distributive -hnɔʔ *several here and there*
gaháʔdɔhnɔʔ *a clothesline (lit.: things are hanging up to dry)*
cf. oháʔdɔh *it is dry*

distributive -hsɔʔ *several here and there*
hoyétwahsɔʔ *he planted several things*
cf. hoyé:twɛh *he has planted*

distributive -ɔʔ *several here and there*
aknɔhsó:dɔʔ *I have several houses*
cf. aknɔhso:t *I have a house*

facilitative -(h)sgɔ: *do easily*
sɛníhahsgɔ: *you are a habitual borrower*
cf. ɛhsɛnihaʔ *you will borrow, rent*

eventuative -(h)sʔ *do eventually*
sadehsrɔnihsʔɔh *you are ready*
cf. ɛhsehsrɔ:niʔ *you will create, fix something*

intensifier -jih *really*
sgɛ:nɔjih gɛh / *are you really well?*
cf. sgɛ:nɔh *you are well*

dislocative -ʔdr *go and do something*
sɛdáʔdrah *you go to sleep*
cf. sɛ:daʔ *you sleep*

dislocative -²n *go and do something*
 ɛyɔdawɛ²na² *she will go swimming*
 cf. ɛyɔdawɛ:² *she will swim*

dislocative -hn *go and do something*
 ahɛnadáhnyohna² *they went fishing*
 cf. ahɛnadáhnyo:² *they (m) fished*

dislocative -h *go and do something*
 sihsá:kah *go and look for it*
 cf. sihsa:k *look for it*

dislocative -(h)s *go and do something*
 hayɛtwáhse² *he is going to plant*
 cf. ɛháyɛto² *he will plant*

purposive and dislocative² -²dre² *go and do something*
 ehsɛd²adre² *You are / are you going to bed?*
 cf. ɛsɛd²adra² *you will go to sleep*

purposive and dislocative -hne² *go and do something*
 ahɛnadáhnyohne² *they are / are they going fishing?*
 cf. ahɛnadáhnyohna² *they went fishing*

purposive and dislocative -ke² *go and do something*
 agaesá:ke² *they are / are they going to look for it?*
 cf. agaehsá:ka² *they (f) went looking for it*

purposive and dislocative -hse² *go and do something*
 ahayɛtwáhse² *he is / is he going to plant?*
 cf. ɛhayɛtwáhsa² *he will go planting* (Foster 1993)

progressive -ɛgye², -ɔgye² *be going along doing something*
 agahyagwɛhɛgye² *(as) I'm going along in a row picking fruit*
 cf. agáhyagwɛh *I have picked fruit*

augmentative -ge: *big*
 ganóhsotge: *it's a standing big house*
 cf. ganóhso:t *it's a standing house*

4.6 PRIMARY ASPECT SUFFIXES

- Traditional descriptions recognize three primary aspects, the habitual, punctual, and stative. Michelson (1995) provides evidence for a fourth primary aspect, the purposive. Only the habitual, punctual, and stative forms are discussed in this section.
- French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, etc., have several types of infinitive verbs: for example, Spanish has ‘-er’ verbs (like ‘comer’ to eat), and ‘-ar’ verbs (like ‘hablar’ to speak). Each type of verb requires special endings: for example, ‘comer’ *he or she eats*, but ‘hablaa’ *he or she speaks* in Spanish.

² The purposive -e- always occurs after the dislocative.

- Cayuga also has special sets of endings for verbs: the habitual, punctual, and stative endings come in several varieties. For example, the habitual ending could be -haʔ or -aʔ for one verb, but -hs, or -h for another verb, and -eʔs for yet another.
- As with Spanish, etc., there doesn't seem to be much rhyme or reason to the Cayuga endings. However, there are some rules of thumb. For example if a habitual verb ends with -htaʔ, the verb will likely end with -ht in the punctual and -hdq̄h in the stative.
- Some rules of thumb for the most common patterns are listed (68); an example verb is provided with each. However, to be certain about the aspect suffixes for individual verbs, look in the Cayuga-English dictionary, or ask a Cayuga speaker.
- Example (68) should be interpreted as in the following example:

<i>end of verb stem</i>	<i>with habitual</i>	<i>with punctual</i>	<i>with stative</i>
-hsd	-hstaʔ	-hs (d deletes)	-hsdq̄h

If the verb stem ends with -hsd (in the grammatical information sections of the dictionary entries) then:

- the habitual verb ends with -hstaʔ
- the punctual verb ends with -hs (the final 'd' deletes)
- the stative verb ends with -hsdq̄h

So, for example, the verb

-(a)drihwahsdihsd- *to look after an event* would be conjugated as follows:

hadrihwahsdihstaʔ *he takes care of the event all the time; he pays attention to what is going on* (HABITUAL form)

ḡhadrihwahsdihs *he will take care of the event* (PUNCTUAL form)

hodrihwahsdihsdq̄h *(a) chairman (lit.: he looks after the message) (he is) taking care of this event* (STATIVE form)

Abbreviations include:

(i) the letter <i> is not found in all forms

-V any vowel

- Note: Where two patterns are shown, you must ask a speaker or consult the dictionary about which of the two patterns will be used for a particular verb. In addition, many verbs are irregular and do not follow the patterns shown below.

68. Aspect suffixes

<i>verb stem</i>	<i>with habitual</i>	<i>with punctual</i>	<i>with stative</i>
ends with -hd	-htaʔ	-ht	-hdq̄h
-ehd- <i>on purpose</i>	tsigehtaʔ <i>I do it on purpose all the time</i>	tšaʔgeht <i>I did it on purpose</i>	tsiwagéhq̄h <i>I have done it on purpose</i>
ends with -ʔd	-ʔtaʔ	-ʔt	-ʔdq̄h
-jēʔd- <i>cure someone</i>	skejēʔtaʔ <i>you cure me (all the time)</i>	ejisajēʔt <i>it will cure you again</i>	swagejēʔdq̄h <i>it has cured me again</i>

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verb stem	with habitual	with punctual	with stative
ends with -di / -gy -adi, ogy- <i>throw something</i>	-gye's heho:gye's <i>he throws it (all the time); he is a pitcher</i>	-di' ehsa:di' <i>you will get rid of something, abandon it, throw it out</i>	-gyo: heho:gyo: <i>he has thrown it</i>
ends with -g -adeg- <i>burn up</i> -hsa'g <i>cough</i>	-ka' ode:ka' <i>fire; it is burning</i> ga'hsa'ka' <i>I am coughing; I have a cough</i>	-k a'o:de:k <i>it burned</i> e'sahsa'k <i>you will cough</i>	-geh, -goh ode:geh <i>it is burnt</i> agahs'agoh <i>I have coughed</i>
ends with -g -ohag- <i>squeeze</i>	-s (g deletes) dehstoha:k <i>you squeeze it all the time</i>	-k dehstoha:k <i>you will squeeze</i>	-goh dewakdoha:goh <i>I am squeezing it</i>
ends with -gw -getstw- <i>lift to a vertical position; have a gathering</i>	-gwahs sege:tsgwahs <i>you are lifting it to a vertical position; you give parties</i>	-go' e'hssetsgo' <i>you will lift things to a vertical position</i>	-gweh gyagoge:tsgweh <i>she's having a gathering over there; she is lifting something into a vertical position</i>
ends with -h -oh- <i>dip in liquid</i>	-hs he:gohs <i>I am dipping it in all the time</i>	-h he:goh <i>I will dip it in</i>	-hoh hewagohoh <i>I have already dipped, submerged it</i>
ends with -' -nha'- <i>hire someone</i>	-'s kenha's <i>I hire her</i>	-'(k) e'sadenha' <i>you will order something, hire something</i>	-'oh ganha'oh <i>it is hired</i>
ends with -hsd -hsdihsd- <i>care fore</i>	-hsta' hadrihwahsdi:hsta' <i>he takes care of the event all the time; he pays attention to what is going on</i>	-hs (d deletes) e'hadrihwahsdihs <i>he will take care of the event</i>	-hsdoh hodrihwahsdihsdoh <i>he is taking care of the event</i>
ends with -qd -niyqd- <i>hang something up</i>	-qta' wahya' niyo:ta' <i>a variety of (hanging) fruits</i>	-qde' akni:yo:de' <i>I did hang it up</i>	-qt akni:yo:t <i>I hung it up</i>
ends with -qny, -qni -qny, -qni <i>make, earn</i>	-qni(s) go:ni, go:nihs <i>I make, earn</i>	-qni' ago:ni' <i>I did make, earn</i>	-qni: tiwa:go:ni: <i>I have made it in place of something else, replaced it</i>

verb stem	with habitual	with punctual	with stative
ends with -vowel + n -(hr)e(n)- cut, incise	-vowel + nahs kre:nahs <i>I cut it all the time</i>	-vowel + :? (n deletes) ɛkre:? <i>I will cut it</i>	-vowel + nəh akre:nəh <i>I have cut it</i>
ends with -ni, -ny -tseɪ, tsɛny- <i>find</i> <i>something</i>	-nye?s, -nyqhs qni?denyqhs <i>she farts</i>	-ni? ɛyqni?de:ni? <i>she will fart</i>	-nyq: agɛni?denyq: <i>I have farted</i>
ends with -tw -yɛtw- <i>plant something</i>	-twahs hayɛ:twahs <i>he is a planter</i>	-to? ɛhayɛto? <i>he will plant</i>	-twɛh hoyɛtwɛh <i>he planted</i>
ends with a vowel -nɛhgwi- <i>haul, carry</i> <i>something</i>	-vowel +h, vowel +hs knɛhgwi, knɛhgwihs <i>I carry it all the time</i>	- vowel +? ɛknɛhgwi? <i>I will carry, move, tote</i> <i>it</i>	- vowel +: aknɛhgwi: <i>I have moved it</i>
ends with -ɛ, nih -adrɔhgwe, adɔhgwanih- <i>threaten, scare</i> <i>someone</i>	-nih shɛyadr-hgwa:nih <i>you are threatening, scaring</i> <i>someone</i>	-ɛ? ɛhsɛyadr-hgwe? <i>you will threaten, scare</i> <i>someone</i>	-ni: shɛyadr-hgwa:ni:
ends with -Vw, : -(r)age:, (r)agew- <i>wipe</i>	- vowel +wa?s grage:wahs <i>I am erasing, wiping</i>	- vowel +:?(w deletes) ɛgrage:? <i>I will erase, wipe</i>	- vowel +wɛh agra:ge:wɛh <i>I have erased, wiped</i>
ends with -wi, ny -owi, qny- <i>drive</i>	-wih, -wihs, -nye?s gado:wih, gado:wihs, gado:nye?s <i>I drive continually</i>	-wi? hɛhsa:do:wi? <i>you will drive over there</i>	-wi: aga:do:wi: <i>I did the driving</i>

4.7 SECONDARY ASPECT SUFFIXES

- The information in this section is from the paradigms discovered by (Michelson & Henry n.d.). Forms listed were re-elicited and double-checked with Cayuga speakers.
- The following examples illustrate prefixes and suffixes which can be added to the habitual, punctual, or stative verb forms in order to create additional meanings. Two verbs, -(a)trɔwi, (a)trɔny- *tell s.o.*, and -(a)hyagw, (a)hyago- *pick fruit, berries* are illustrated. Approximate translations are provided, but the meanings are very dependent on the context of the discourse.
- The meaning of habitual aspect verbs can be modified by secondary aspect suffixes, as shown below. Abbreviations include [A+] (agent pronominal prefix required) and [P+] (patient pronominal prefix required).

69. habitual aspect verbs [A+] to be doing on a continual basis or regularly: g-atró:wih(s), g-ahyá:gwahs

70. habitual past [A+ habitual verb +gęhę:ʔ past] to be doing in the past on a continual basis or regularly; something one used to be doing: g-atrowihs-gęhę:ʔ, g-ahyagwahs-gęhę:ʔ
71. future habitual [ę+ A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] to be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly: ę-g-atrowih-a:k, ę-g-ahyagwáhs-e:k
72. indefinite habitual [a:- A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] to possibly be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly: a:-g-atrowih-a:k, a:-g-ahyagwáhs-e:k
73. Punctual aspect verbs with modal prefixes
- factual punctual [a A+ verb stem +ʔ punctual] an event that has occurred or is occurring at one point in time: a-g-a:tró:wi-ʔ, a-gáhyago-ʔ
 - future punctual [ę A+ verb stem +ʔ punctual] an event that will occur at one point in time: ę-g-a:tró:wi-ʔ, ę-g-áhyago-ʔ
 - indefinite punctual [a: A+ verb stem +ʔ punctual] an event that might, should, or could occur at one point in time: a:-g-atró:wi-ʔ, a:-g-ahyá:go-ʔ
- Stative aspect verbs can be modified by secondary aspect suffixes, or by using agentive [A+] pronominal prefixes, as shown below.
74. stative [P+ verb stem +:, +ęh, +qh stative] a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place: ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-ęh
75. agentive stative [A+ verb stem +:, +ęh, +qh stative] a state of affairs that is done; the result of an event: w-atró:wi-:, w-ahyá:gw-ęh
76. stative past [P+ stative verb form +(h)ne:ʔ remote or +hk former (not shown)] a state of affairs that has taken place; a state of affairs that existed in the past: ag-atrowi-hne:ʔ, ag-ahyagw-ęh-ne:ʔ
77. future stative [ę- P+ stative verb form +a:k +(e):k continuative, modalizer] a state of affairs that will take place; a state of affairs that will be in the future: ę-wag-atrowih-a:k, ę-wag-ahyá:gw-ę:-k
78. optative stative [a:- P+ stative verb form +a:k +(e):k continuative, modalizer] a state of affairs that might take place; a state of affairs that might be in the future: a:-wag-a:tró:wi:-k, a:-wag-ahyagw-ę:-k

4.8 ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH PROGRESSIVE VERB FORMS

- Stative verbs can take the progressive suffix -agyeʔ-, -ęgyeʔ-, after which additional aspect suffixes can be added.
79. stative [P+ verb stem +:, +ęh, +qh stative] a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place: ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-ęh
80. progressive habitual [P+ stative verb form +agyeʔs, +ęgyeʔs] an activity that one is going along and doing on a continual basis: ag-atrowih-agyeʔs, ag-ahyagwęh-ęgyeʔs
81. progressive habitual past [P+ stative verb form +agyeʔs +gęhę:ʔ past, -ęgyeʔs +gęhę:ʔ past] an activity that one used to go along and do on a regular basis: ag-atrowih-agyéʔs-gęhę:ʔ, ag-ahyagwęh-ęgyéʔs-gęhę:ʔ
82. progressive future habitual [ę- P+ stative verb form +agyeʔs +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer, +ęgyeʔs +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] an activity that one will go along and do on a regular basis: ę-wag-atrowih-ágyeʔes-e:k, ę-wag-ahyagwęh-ęgyeʔes-e:k

83. progressive indefinite habitual [a:- P+ stative verb form +*agye*'s +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer, +*ęgye*'s +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] an activity that one might go along and do on a regular basis: a:-wag-atrowih-agyé's-e:k, a:-wag-ahyagwêh-ęgyé's-e:k
84. progressive stative [P+ stative verb form +*agye*'s, +*ęgye*'s] while one is going along and doing something (another activity takes place): ag-atrowih-agye', ag-ahyagwêh-ęgye'
85. progressive indefinite stative [a:+ P+ stative verb form +*agye*'s, +*ęgye*'s] *an activity that one might, should, etc. go along and do*: a:-wag-atrowih-agye', a:-wag-ahyagw-êh-ęgye'
86. progressive indefinite stative [a:+ P+ stative verb form +*agye*'s +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer, +*ęgye*'s +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] an activity that one should have been going along and doing: a:-wag-atrowih-agye:-k, a:-wag-ahyagwêh-ęgye:-k

4.9 ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH DISLOCATIVE VERB FORMS

- Verbs with a dislocative suffix can take the following additional aspect forms:

87. dislocative stems: -atrŋnyahn-, -ahyagwah-
88. dislocative habitual [A+ dislocative stem +e's] *something one is being sent to do all the time*: g-atrŋnyahn-e's, g-ahyá:gwah-s
89. dislocative habitual past [A+ dislocative habitual stem +gêhç:?' *past*] *something one used to be sent to do all the time*: g-atrŋnyahné's-gêhç:?', g-ahyagwahs-gêhç:?'
90. dislocative future habitual [ę+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k *continuative, modalizer*] *something one will be sent to do all the time*: ę-g-atrŋnyáhn'es-e:k, ę-g-ahyagwáhs-e:k
91. dislocative indefinite habitual [a:+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k *continuative, modalizer*] *something one might be sent to do all the time*: a:-g-atrŋnyahné's-e:k, a:-g-ahyá:gwáhs-e:k
92. factual punctual [a- A+...-?] with dislocative stems [-agatrŋnyahn-, -agahyaks-]
 - a. dislocative factual punctual [a- A+ dislocative stem +a' *joiner vowel and punctual*] *something one went and did*: a-g-atrŋnyáhn-a', a-g-áhyaks-a'
 - b. dislocative future punctual [ę- A+ dislocative stem +a' *joiner vowel and punctual*] *something one will go and do*: ę-g-atrŋnyáhn-a', ę-g-áhyaksa'
 - c. dislocative indefinite punctual [a:- A+ dislocative stem +a' *joiner vowel and punctual*] *something one might go and do*: a:-g-atrŋnyáhn-a', a:-g-ahyá:ks-a'
93. stative [P+...:, ęh] with dislocative stems [agatrŋnyahn-, agahyaks-]
 - a. dislocative stative [P+ dislocative stem +q̄h, +q:, +ęh] *something one has gone and done, or something one is going and doing now*: ag-atrŋnyáhn-q̄h, ag-áhyaks-q̄:
 - b. dislocative stative past [P+ dislocative stative +hne:?' *remote*] *one went there and did something (and one is back now)*: ag-atrŋnyáhn-q̄h-k, ag-áhyaks-q̄h-k
 - c. dislocative future stative [ę+P+ dislocative stative -k *modalizer*] *something one will have gone and done (by the time someone else does something else)*: ę-wag-atrŋnyahnq:-k, ę-wag-ahyáksq̄h-k
 - d. dislocative indefinite stative [a:+P+ dislocative stative -k *modalizer*] *something one would have gone and done (by the time someone else would have done something else)*: a:-wag-atrŋnyáhnq:-k, a:-wag-ahyáksq̄h-k

4.10 ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH PURPOSIVE VERB FORMS

- Purposive aspect verbs with a dislocative and purposive suffix can take the following additional aspect forms.
- 94. Purposive verb [-e to go]; purposive stems [-agatrɔnyahne-, -ahyakse-]
- 95. Purposive habitual [A+(dislocative stem) +e +[?]s] something one goes and does all the time: ɛ tsó: i-t-s-e-[?]s you wander all the time; you are over there
- 96. purposive punctual [A+(dislocative stem) +e +[?] punctual] something one has come to do: g-atrɔnyahn-e-[?], g-ahyá:ks-e-[?]
 - a. purposive past [A+(dislocative stem) +e: +[?]punctual] something one came and did: g-atrɔnyahn-e:-[?], g-ahyá:ks-e:-[?]
 - b. purposive factual punctual [a+ A+ (dislocative stem) +e +[?]] something one will go and do; something one is going to do now: a-g-atrɔnyáhn-e-[?], a-g-ahyaks-e-[?]
 - c. purposive future punctual [ɛ+ A+ (dislocative stem) +e +[?]] something one will go and do: ɛ-t-h-e-[?] he will come this way
 - d. purposive indefinite punctual [a:+ / ɔ:+ (dislocative stem) +e +[?]] something one might go and do: na[?]dɔ:dá-h-e-[?] he would come this way

5 NOUN INCORPORATION

- *Noun incorporation* is another term for noun+verb compounds. Many noun+verb compounds are idiomatic expressions (or bases), meaning that the meaning of the whole cannot be determined from the meaning of the parts.
- Some English N+V compound verbs, which are analogous to Cayuga noun incorporation structures, include ‘browbeat’, ‘brainwash’, ‘brainstorm’, ‘daydream’, and ‘to fireproof’. In addition, idiomatic expressions like ‘split hairs’, ‘eat crow’, and ‘kick the bucket’ are similar in spirit to Cayuga noun incorporation structures. (See [this page](#) for a list of English compounds.)
- The basic structure of any Cayuga verb with incorporated noun is as follows, using the example of gayɛhsradɛhda:[?] *blanket lying on the ground*. More examples are provided below.

97. Noun incorporation structure

prepronominal prefix (if needed)	pronominal prefix	semireflexive or reflexive (if needed)	incorporated noun	verb+aspect
	ga-		yɛhsra	dɛhda: [?]

- Some nouns occur often in incorporation structures: oihwa[?] *word, matter affair*, ga[?]nigoḥa[?] *mind*, and oya[?]da[?] *body* are very common, as is ɔ:gweh *person*. However, when ɔ:gweh is incorporated it has an extra ‘increment’ — the incorporated version is -ɔgwe-[?]d-. Some nouns acquire increments when they are incorporated, and many don’t.

98. Commonly incorporated nouns

a. ga'nigqha' *the mind*

-²nigqh- *incorporated form of 'mind'*

b. q:gweh *person*

-qgwe³d- *incorporated form of 'person'*

c. oihwa' *message*

-rihwa-, -ihwa-, -riho-, -iho-, -rih-, -ih- *incorporated forms of 'message'*

d. oya³da' *body*

-ya³d- *incorporated form of 'body'*

- Some nouns only occur in incorporated structures. For example, the noun grahe:t always occurs with the verb -t *to stand*. Nouns designating immovable objects typically occur with positional verbs, often with -o:t *be attached, rooted, standing*, as shown in (99).

99. Incorporation of nouns designating immovable objects

ga-nqhs-o:t (*standing*) *house*

- When nouns designating body parts occur in basic noun form, as in ohsi:na' *leg*, they have a strange, 'detached' reading (as in, owner unknown; unattached leg). More often, body part nouns occur within verbs, as in de-gae-hsin-u:s²uh *they (females or mixed group) have two small legs*. In addition, if the body part noun is expressed on its own without being incorporated into a verb, a special construction for inalienable nouns with -a³geh *on* is used, even when the meaning *on* is not implied in the sentence. (See §2.1.4.)

100. Use of inalienable nouns: awatqhgæk **gehsina³geh** *my leg stiffened up* (literally, it.stiffened.up on.my.leg)

- Nouns denoting animal names and loan words typically cannot be incorporated with verbs. Instead, such nouns stand alone in a sentence.

101. Unincorporable nouns: qhe:nq:t **so:wa:s** / so:wa:s qhe:nq:t *I will feed the dog*

- In cases where verbs require an incorporated noun, but the noun cannot be incorporated, a generic noun can be incorporated instead. For example, in the case of so:wa:s, the noun ganahsgwa' *pet, domesticated animal* is incorporated:

102. Unincorporable nouns and place-holder incorporations

a. ga-nahsgw-i:yo: ne² so:wa:s *the dog is a good pet (literally, it-pet-good the dog)*

b. so:wa:s ak-nahsgwa-q² *I have a dog (literally, dog I-pet-have)*

- Another way to incorporate a noun is to add the nominalizer suffix -tr(a) or -sr(a): for example, normally unincorporable nouns like so:wa:s and dagu:s *cat* can be incorporated with the addition of the suffix -tr(a). Here are some humorous examples of [calques](#):

103. Incorporation with a nominalizer suffix

o-hsowahs-tra-daihe:² *hot dog*

o-dagus-tra-nq: *cool cat*

5.2 POSITIONAL VERBS

- One group that usually incorporates nouns includes the positional verbs—verbs which describe the typical position or location of an object.

108. Positional verbs that incorporate

Noun	positional verb	positional verb with incorporated noun
o'gra? snow	niga:ye? where it is lying	o'grae? snow lying
gayehsra? blanket	gadehda:? it's lying spread out	gayehsradehda:? blanket lying spread out
ohon'ada? potato	ehsiha:? she is standing	ohon'ada'siha:? potatoes standing in a group

5.3 ADJECTIVAL VERBS

- The other group includes *stative* or *adjectival* verbs, verbs which describe typical states, qualities, or characteristics of people or objects. (The noun that is incorporated in these examples is ohya? 'fruit, berries'.)

109. Adjectival verbs that incorporate

Verb plus noun	adjectival verb	translation
ohyajiwaḡ:		<i>tart, sour fruit</i>
ohyaga'qh	oga'qh	<i>good-tasting fruit</i>
ohyowa:neh	gagowanḡh	<i>big fruit</i>
niyohyu:uh	niwu:uh	<i>small fruit</i>
wahyaniyo:ta?	gani:yo:t	<i>hanging fruit</i>
ohya:jih	gahqjih	<i>dark fruit</i>
ohya:tḡe:?	otḡḡh	<i>spoiled, rotten fruit</i>
ohyaih		<i>ripe fruit</i>

- In some cases, adjectival verbs cannot occur on their own without an incorporated noun. This is the case with the verb -i:yo: 'to be good, nice.':

110. Verbs that must incorporate

- agḡḡwe'di:yo: *nice person*
- gaiho'dḡhsri:yo: *nice work*
- gajobtri:yo: *good job*

5.4 INTRANSITIVE VERBS THAT CAN'T INCORPORATE

- Some verbs cannot incorporate at all. This is because their meaning only implies a ‘doer’, not a ‘receiver’ of the action. Such verbs are *intransitive*—they can take agent or patient prefixes, but they cannot take interactive prefixes.

111. Intransitive verbs that cannot incorporate

gahnih *it is barking*
 gada:wəh *I am swimming*
 saeyqʔ *she returned*
 nqdahse:ʔ *you came from there*
 haʔgage:t *I stopped by there*
 agiʔ *I said*

6 VERB BASES (IDIOMS)

- Resources for verb bases: (Foster, Michelson & Woodbury 1989; Sasse n.d.)
- Iroquoian verbs minimally consist a pronominal prefix and verb stem (i.e., a command; (Chafe 1960b)).
- However, most verbs (non-imperatives) also require an aspect suffix (either the habitual, punctual, or stative).
- In addition, many verbs require further morphemes to be present in order to convey the desired meaning. If the relevant morphemes are not there, it either changes the meaning of the verb, or creates a nonsensical expression. For example, the verb -q: *be a certain number of things* can have various meanings, depending on the prefixes used:

112. Verb idioms, -q: *be a certain number*

- a. **haʔde:yq:** *many different things*
- b. **tʂaʔde:yq:** *an equal number of things*
- c. **ni:yq:** *a certain number of things*; do: ni:yq: *how many?*

- Similarly, the verb -age: *be two or more* means *two* with the prefix de- and means *more than two* with the prefix ni-:

113. Verb idioms, -age: *be two or more*

- a. **de-**pronominal prefix-noun-age: degaʔahdra:ge: *two baskets*
- b. **ni-**pronominal prefix-noun-age: a *certain number*; nigaʔahdra:ge: *a number or amount of baskets*
- c. **numeral ni-**pronominal prefix-noun -age: ahsəh nigaʔahdra:ge: *three baskets*

- Many verbs require the dualic prefix d- / t-, which often (but not always transparently) expresses the idea of a two-part or back-and-forth motion.

114. Verb idioms with the dualic prefix

- a. **d-ə-hs-ahsədrəʔ** *you will join two things together*
- b. a-**t-ho-hsiha:ʔs** *he choked*

- Verbs such as the above, that require morphemes other than a pronominal prefix and aspect suffix in order to express their meaning, are similar to idiomatic expressions — expressions where the meaning of the whole is not predictable from the meaning of the parts. English also has idiomatic expressions, but because English is an ‘isolating’ language (with few morphemes per word), idioms are expressed through several words. Some examples include ‘cut up’, ‘cut off’, ‘cut out’, ‘cut in’, etc.
- Many verbs acquire a special meaning when they incorporate a particular type of noun. Such noun incorporation structures can be completely transparent in meaning, in which case they are *not* idiomatic expressions. However, in many cases, the meaning is not transparent — the meaning of the whole is not predictable from the meaning of the parts. English has a handful of similar expressions, with idioms such as ‘eat crow’ (be repentant), and ‘make-believe’ (pretend), etc.

115. Verb idioms with noun incorporation

- ho-ʔnigoha-ɛdaʔs *he understands* (literally: his-mind-settles)
- ɛ-hshe-ʔnigoha-ʔe:k *you will offend someone* (literally: will-you:someone-mind-hit.punctual)
- ɛ-hshe-ʔnigoh-ɔ:ni-ʔ *you will influence, persuade someone* (literally: will-you:someone-mind-make-punctual)

7 TENSE, MOOD, ASPECT, NEGATION

- Resources for tense, mood, aspect, and negation: (Chafe 1960b; Chafe 1961c; Chafe 1980; Foster 1986; Foster 1985; Lounsbury 1953; Michelson 1975; Michelson 1995; Michelson & Henry n.d.)
- The Cayuga and English systems are very different. Cayuga has a few tense markers, and a very well-developed aspect and mood system. English, in contrast, is all about tenses. (Foster 1985; 1986) was the first to observe that many Iroquoian ‘tenses’ were actually ‘aspect’ categories.
- Tense, mood and aspect are expressed in special positions in the Cayuga verb

116. Position slots for tense, mood and aspect

<i>non-modal prepronominal</i>	<i>modal prepronominal (mood)</i>	<i>pronominal</i>	<i>verb+derivational suffixes</i>	aspect suffixes	<i>post-aspectual suffixes (tense, etc.)</i>
cislocative, translocative, coincident, etc.	factual future optative or indefinite			habitual punctual stative purposive	former remote

7.1 TENSE

- Tense: describes the time of an activity relative other point(s) on a time-line

I am reading vs. I was reading vs. I will be reading (all describe an ongoing activity, but the first occurs in the present, the second in the past, and the third, in the future)

117.Examples of Cayuga tense

	no tense	past tense	
habitual	gatró:wih(s), gahyá:gwahs	gatrowíhsgéhe:?, gahyagwahsgéhe:?	(former or decessive suffix)
stative	aga:tró:wi., agáhyagwəh	agatrowíhne:? agahyagwéhne:?	(remote suffix)

7.2 MOOD

- Mood: describes the speaker’s attitude towards the activity or event in question. Here are some English examples, where mood is expressed by the auxiliary verb.

I **can** read (the speaker has the ability to perform the activity)

I **might** read; I could read (the activity is possible)

I **would** read (the activity depends on some condition)

I **should** read (the activity is desirable)

I **must** read (the activity is obligatory)

- If a Cayuga verb has a mood prefix, it also has a punctual aspect suffix (a glottal stop -ʔ at the end of the word). Exceptions are discussed at the end of this section.
- In the following example shows that each mood prefix (except for the *future*) has several possible forms, depending on what precedes or follows.

118.Examples of Cayuga mood markers

future

ɛ- ɛkní:nɔʔ *I will buy it*

factual

a- akní:nɔʔ *I bought it (a fact)*

a²- a²é:yɔʔ *she arrived (a fact)*

ɔ- ɔgí:daʔ *I slept, or I'm sleeping (a fact; said when you want to be left alone)*

optative or indefinite

a:- a:kní:nɔʔ *I might / should / could / would buy it*

ae- aeswá:gɛʔ *you all might / should / could / would see it*

aɔ- aɔgé:gɛʔ *she might / should / could / would see me*

119.Examples of how the *future* mood prefix is used, and what it means

- (Ahgwih) ɛdihsʔadre:. *Don't drive over here.* (note: no punctual aspect suffix)
- Daskro:wiʔ hwɛ:doʔ ɛsahdɛ:diʔ. *Tell me when you're going to leave.*
- ɛgahyagwahse:k hɛ ni:ʔ nɛh ɛgahdo:k. *I'll be a fruit-picker when I grow up.*
- O:nɛh to:hah ɛsha:yɔʔ. *He's almost ready to go back.*
- Waʔjih, ɛhtsyahʔdɛʔ. *Wait, you might fall.*
- Haoʔ dahskro:wih dɛʔ ni:ʔ (hoʔ dɛʔ) nɛga:gye:ʔ. *O.k., you tell me what to do!*
- ɛtne:ʔ gɛh / *Do you want to come along with me?*
- ɛhsneʔ gɛh diʔ / *Are you coming along?*
- Ahgwih dɛhsyehs ohnegaʔ gyɛgwaʔ ihse: ɛsado:wiʔ. *Don't mix booze if you want to drive.*
- ɛhsyeh. *Wake up!* or: *You will wake up.*
- ɛhsyɔ:gyaʔt. *Smile!* or: *You will smile.*

120. Examples of what the *factual* mood prefix means

- a. Qgi:daʔ. *I slept*; or: *I'm sleeping (said when you want to be left alone)*
- b. Ogweḥe:gyeʔ gɛ:s ahsyɔʔ. *Now and again (that is, in general) you'll be here.*
- c. Gwahs hwaʔ esa:gaɛ:. *You're willing; you're giving permission this time.*
- d. O:nɛgwaʔ edwawayɛ:nɛ:daʔ. *We're finished already.*
- e. Waʔhetsɔ: aha:tɛḥ. *He just now got up.*

121. Examples of what the *indefinite* prefix means

- a. Tɛʔ ta:kní:nɔ:. *I shouldn't, won't buy it.* (Note: no punctual suffix)
- b. Tɛʔ daɔ toh ta:ge:. *No, I will definitely not go there.* (Note: no punctual suffix)
- c. To giʔ shɛḥ ha:ge:. *Just maybe I should go there.* (Note: no punctual suffix)
- d. Gaɛ ni:ga: i:seʔ a:se:k / *Which one do you want to eat?*
- e. Ahi:ʔ giʔ to na:ya:wɛḥ. *I just thought that's what should happen.*
- f. I:wi to na:ya:wɛḥ. *I want or intend for that to happen.*
- g. A:gahya:goʔ gyɛ:gwaʔ a:sgyena:wahs. *I would pick fruit if only you would help me.*
- h. Gʔatoh tsɔ: ta:se:tɛi:. *Just nowhere will you find it.* (Note: no punctual suffix)

- As mentioned above, verbs with mood prefixes normally require a punctual aspect suffix. However, the punctual aspect suffix is missing from commands and future negatives (such as Tɛʔ ta:kní:nɔ:. *I shouldn't or won't buy it*). The reason could be this: the punctual aspect suffix means that an activity takes place once; it has a beginning and end point. As you can imagine, commands don't have beginning or end points — nothing has happened yet! Similarly, future negatives such as Tɛʔ ta:kní:nɔ:. *I shouldn't or won't buy it* don't have a real beginning or end — you're actually denying that the activity will even take place.

7.3 ASPECT

- Aspect: describes *how* an activity takes place: whether it happens all the time, or off-and-on (habitual, iterative); whether it is a one-time event (punctual); whether it is a state resulting from having completed an activity (the perfective or stative). Here are some English examples; in English, you often have to use an expression consisting of more than one word to convey an aspectual distinction.

I am reading vs. I read (all the time) vs. I have read (all are in the 'unmarked' or 'present' tense; the first is an ongoing activity; the second is 'unmarked' for aspect; the third is a state resulting from having completed an activity).

I read all the time; I'm a reader (habitual)

I read off and on, once in a while (iterative, or habitual)

122. Examples of Cayuga aspect

- ge:gɛḥ *I see (regularly, but perhaps at irregular intervals) HABITUAL*
- ge:gɛḥs *I see (for example, I see apple trees, orange trees,... and sometimes, I also see cherry trees)*
 HABITUAL
- ɛge:gɛʔ *I will see PUNCTUAL*
- age:gɛ: *I have seen it STATIVE*

- A verb with a punctual aspect suffix must have a mood prefix (either the factual, indefinite, or future). In other words, verbs with a punctual aspect suffix are either factual-punctual, future-punctual, or indefinite-punctual.
- In contrast, a verb with a mood prefix doesn't necessarily have a punctual aspect suffix.
- The punctual aspect suffix means that the activity described happens just once; it has a beginning and end point. Given this fact, can you see why some of the verbs listed below do *not* have a punctual aspect suffix (a glottal stop at the end of the word)?

123. Verbs with and without a punctual aspect suffix

With punctual suffix	Without punctual suffix
əháye ^ʔ to ^ʔ <i>he will plant</i>	(te ^ʔ) ta:hayé:toh <i>he won't plant</i>
əhsa:tró:wí ^ʔ <i>you will tell</i>	ahgwih əhsa:tro:wih <i>don't tell anything</i>
da:ge ^ʔ <i>I'm going</i>	te ^ʔ tó:da:ge: <i>I'm not going</i>
	he:ge: <i>let me go there</i>
	Daskro:wih ədwe: gəh. <i>Tell me if you're coming along.</i>

- The habitual aspect can describe an activity that is ongoing (a present-tense activity), an activity that occurs over and over again, an activity that happens off-and-on, an activity that happens all the time, or a profession (so-and-so does the same activity all the time). Think of the habitual as being a series of punctual events.
- The stative or perfective aspect describes the state resulting from an activity. If the activity doesn't have an end-point or 'consequence', then this type of verb is often translated with the present tense in English. If the activity has an end-point or consequence, then this type of verb is often translated with the 'perfect' form in English (e.g. I have done, I will have done, I had done).
- The consequential versus non-consequential distinction was first discussed by Chafe (1980). The term 'consequential' corresponds to Vendler's 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' verb types (inherent aspect types, or Aksionsart); 'non-consequential' corresponds to Vendler's 'activity' verbs.
- To explain the usage of the habitual and stative, we'll start off by discussing two verbs with similar meanings (*cut*). The three basic forms that each verb takes is listed below.

124. The aspectual forms of two verbs meaning 'cut'

	cut (make an incision)	cut, break in two
habitual	-(h)re:na ^h s	-(i:)ya ^ʔ s
stative	-(h)re:nə ^h	-(i)ya ^ʔ gə ^h
punctual	-(h)re: ^ʔ	-(i:)ya ^ʔ k

- There is a difference in meaning between these two verbs:
 - The verb meaning 'make an incision' describes an activity or process that doesn't have to have an end point or 'consequence'.
 - The verb meaning 'break in two' definitely has a consequence, or results in an easy-to-observe change of state: something that was whole is now in two pieces. This particular verb requires an incorporated noun; (it isn't the case that all 'consequential' verbs require an incorporated noun).

- Now let’s compare the meanings of these verbs in the habitual, stative, and factual-punctual (the reasons for these choices will become obvious).

125. Comparing the meanings of the habitual, stative, and factual-punctual

	do something all the time; it’s your profession (habitual form used)	be doing something right now (habitual form used)	be doing something right now (stative form used)	to have done something (stative form used)	a fact that happens at one point in time (factual-punctual form used)
cut, break (in two)	hadi’nhahgya’s <i>they (m) are loggers; they (m) cut down the timber (all the time)</i>	hanehsdanya’s <i>he is sawing a board (right now)</i>		swaq:gya’gqoh <i>you all have cut the log</i>	ahadi’nhahgya’k <i>they (m) cut the timber</i>
cut (make an incision)	kre:nahs <i>I cut it all the time</i>		akre:nqeh <i>I am cutting it</i>	akre:nqeh <i>I have cut it</i>	akre:’ <i>I cut it</i>

- Notice that the habitual and stative aspect forms have different ‘readings’ (meanings, translations, etc.), depending on whether the verb is consequential or non-consequential.
- For both types of verbs, the habitual can have a ‘generic’ reading (you do something all the time or on a regular basis; it’s your profession). The question is whether or not the habitual can have a present progressive reading (you’re doing something right now).
- If the verb is consequential, then the habitual form has a present progressive reading, and the stative form has a ‘perfect’ reading (you have done something).
- If the verb is non-consequential, then the *stative* form has a present progressive meaning, while the habitual form does not.
- Some verbs (such as -g *eat*) can be viewed as either ‘consequential’ (you’re full as a result) or ‘non-consequential’ (it’s an activity). For such verbs, the stative has either a present progressive or a perfect meaning, depending on the context.

7.4 THE PURPOSIVE ASPECT

- Karin Michelson has written several descriptions of the purposive aspect, and was the first to argue that the purposive is a distinct type of aspect. See (Michelson & Henry n.d.) for Cayuga and Oneida paradigms.
- The purposive aspect and the dislocative suffix often go together. Verbs with a dislocative suffix can either be followed directly by the punctual aspect suffix or be followed by the purposive aspect suffix and the punctual aspect suffix.

126. Dislocative plus punctual aspect suffix

No dislocative suffix	Dislocative suffix
dwakdq: <i>let us all (inclusive) look</i>	edwakdqhna’ <i>we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</i>

dwa-kdɔ: we.all-examine	e-dwa-kdɔ-hn-a-ʔ factual-we.all-examine-dislocative-joiner-punctual
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127. Dislocative plus purposive plus punctual aspect suffixes

Dislocative suffix	Dislocative and purposive suffix
edwakdɔhnaʔ <i>we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</i>	edwakdɔhneʔ <i>we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</i>
e-dwa-kdɔ-hna-ʔ factual-we.all-examine-dislocative-punctual	e-dwa-kdɔ-hn-e-ʔ factual-we.all-examine-dislocative-purposive-punctual

- Some verbs of motion such as -e- *go* are ‘inherently’ purposive, even though they have no dislocative suffix. Examples of such verbs include: to haʔge:ʔ *I went there*; kdakseʔ *I am running*; hohseʔ *he is riding a horse*; ɔkniʔdreʔ *we two are riding along in something*; and gatahineʔ *I am walking*.

128. Examples of purposive forms

	-eʔ <i>go</i>	-e:ʔ <i>go</i>	-atrɔnyahneʔ <i>go and tell</i> -ahyakseʔ <i>go and pick fruit</i>	-atrɔnyahne:ʔ <i>went and told</i> -ahyakse:ʔ <i>went and picked fruit</i>
purposive habitual	ɛ tsɔ: itseʔs <i>you wander all the time; you are over there</i> i:geʔs <i>I am here</i>			
purposive	i:geʔ <i>I am walking, moving</i> haʔgeʔ <i>I am going</i>		gatrɔnyahneʔ, gahya:kseʔ	
purposive past		to haʔge:ʔ <i>I went there</i>		gatrɔnyahne:ʔ, gahya:kse:ʔ
purposive factual punctual			agatrɔnyahneʔ, agahyakseʔ	
purposive future punctual	ɛteʔ <i>he will come this way</i> to nhɔ hɛ:geʔ <i>where I am going; where I will go (definite)</i>	ɛhsne:ʔ <i>you two will go together</i>		
purposive indefinite punctual	naʔdɔ:dáheʔ <i>he would come this way</i>	a:yakne:ʔ <i>we two would go together</i>		

- As the above example shows, verbs in the purposive aspect can end with either [-eʔ] or [-e:ʔ]. Purposive verbs that end with [-e:ʔ] *and that have NO mood prefix* can have a past tense meaning (even though they have no tense suffix). This way of expressing the past tense is unique to the purposive aspect, and the forms are called ‘purposive past’ forms.
- Other purposive forms end with either [-eʔ] or [-e:ʔ] *AND* take a mood prefix. I haven’t been able to figure out the difference in meaning between such forms.

7.5 THE STATIVE ASPECT AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

- Many Cayuga verbs have the same function as English predicate adjectives. (Predicate adjectives occur after the verb *to be* in English; examples are ‘we are sick’, ‘it is wet’, etc.) We can call such verbs ‘descriptive’ verbs. Descriptive verbs typically only occur in the stative aspect.
- The following description is based on work by (Michelson 1991). Descriptive verbs take specific types of pronominal prefixes, as described below.

129. There are four major types of descriptive verbs

- Describing permanent or positive states; non-human subject (‘it’); with ‘agent’ pronominal prefix (usually ga-, or a-)
- Describing permanent or positive states; human subjects; with ‘agent’ pronominal prefixes (such as g-, ha-, e-, q-, etc.)
- Describing temporary or negative states; non-human subject (‘it’); with ‘patient’ pronominal prefix (usually o-, -yo-)
- Describing temporary or negative states; human subjects; with ‘patient’ pronominal prefixes (ag-, ho-, ago-, etc.)

130. Describing permanent or positive states; non-human subject (‘it’); with ‘agent’ pronominal prefix

gadɾɛnagáʔoh	<i>it’s sweet-smelling (food odours)</i>
gadɾɛnahshá:sdeʔ	<i>it’s strong-smelling</i>
gahojih	<i>it’s dark</i>
gahsha:sdeʔ	<i>it’s strong</i>
gahęstaʔ	<i>it evaporates</i>
gaʔge:ʔ	<i>it’s light</i>
nigá:dę:s	<i>it’s thin</i>
gá:dę:s	<i>it’s thick</i>
niwá:kʔah	<i>it’s small, short</i>
wagyésʔageh	<i>it’s easy</i>
wahetgęh	<i>evil (in mind)</i>
wahsóhọt	<i>it’s coloured</i>
wę:do:ʔ	<i>it’s difficult</i>

131. Describing permanent or positive states; human subjects; with ‘agent’ pronominal prefixes

esróhę:	<i>she’s cross</i>
gaihdsowá:nęh	<i>loud people</i>
gejí:nah	<i>I’m strong</i>

gyaʔtgahí:yeʔ	<i>I'm quick</i>
gyʔadahsnó:weʔ	<i>I'm slow</i>
hadadejí:nah	<i>he's brave</i>
hawédagę:	<i>he's weak (mentally or physically)</i>
kné:ye:s	<i>I'm tall</i>
nikné:yaʔ	<i>I'm short</i>
syadqhsráędiʔ	<i>you're smart (educated)</i>
tęęńhdqhaʔ	<i>I'm a strict person</i>

132. Describing temporary or negative states; non-human subject ('it'); with 'patient' pronominal prefix

deyóhyojihs	<i>it's sour</i>
deyótshakdqh	<i>it's bent</i>
deyodqhwędsó:niʔ	<i>it lacks</i>
deyodęnyhanihdqh	<i>it's terrible</i>
deyonqhyá:nih	<i>it's terrible</i>
deyohsdá:teʔ	<i>it's shiny (like silver)</i>
deyotshaʔkdqnyqgweh	<i>it's twisted</i>
deyotsháʔkdq:	<i>it's bent</i>
deyotwęʔnó:nih	<i>it's round</i>
ó:ęęt	<i>it's visible</i>
niyqhá:kʔah	<i>it's short</i>
odadaʔqh, oda:dáʔqh	<i>it's left over</i>
odaʔgráhdqh	<i>it's floating</i>
odé:kaʔ	<i>it's burning</i>
odéhaʔt	<i>it's disgusting</i>
odedagwaeshqʔ	<i>it's straight</i>
odáhsogwęh	<i>it's faded</i>
odsʔqh	<i>it's empty, burnt up</i>
odę:t	<i>it's pitiful</i>
ogáhe:ʔ	<i>it has a hole in it</i>
ogwáqt	<i>it has a lump</i>
ogyá:nohk	<i>it's strange, bizarre</i>
ohdaht	<i>it's filling</i>
ohdęʔgweʔ	<i>it's swollen</i>
ohdrqhk	<i>it's scary, frightening, terrifying</i>
ohóʔdę:ʔ	<i>it's soft</i>
ohní:yqh	<i>it's hard</i>
ohsdeʔ	<i>it's heavy</i>
ohsnó:weʔ	<i>it's fast</i>
ohę:	<i>it's dry</i>
oʔdáihęh	<i>it's hot</i>
onaʔnohsdqh	<i>it's cooling</i>
oné:nqʔ	<i>it's mild, warm</i>
onéhagwaht	<i>it's amazing</i>
onóhqkdeʔ	<i>it's painful</i>
onóʔshesde:	<i>it's boring, tiring</i>
onáʔkwat	<i>it's irritating</i>
onáʔnawę:h	<i>it's wet</i>
onáʔno:ʔ	<i>it's cold, cool</i>

osdé:ʔəh	<i>it's old (i.e. an old dog or cat)</i>
osde:	<i>it's empty, evaporated</i>
osgá:neht	<i>it's attractive; envy</i>
otgiʔ	<i>ugly, dirty</i>
otgáíʔni:h	<i>it's noisy, loud</i>
otgəh	<i>it's rotten</i>
otshésdaeʔ	<i>it's a sticky substance</i>
otsháhnihk	<i>it's frightening, scary</i>
otshísdaʔqh	<i>it's dried up</i>
otshísdaʔqh	<i>it's numb</i>
oihq:t	<i>it's good for something</i>
owaʔné:da:s	<i>it's sticky</i>
ojihkeʔdá:weht	<i>it's salty</i>
ojiwageh	<i>it's bitter</i>
oyé:deh	<i>recognizable</i>
oyé:deht	<i>it's plain to be seen</i>
oyó:gyat	<i>it's amusing, laughable</i>
oyá:de:s	<i>deep hole</i>
oyá:nreʔ	<i>it's nice, good</i>

133. Describing temporary or negative states; human subjects; with ‘patient’ pronominal prefixes

agadagáíʔdeʔ	<i>I'm healthy</i>
agahgá:hé:ʔ	<i>I'm jealous</i>
agahsə:	<i>I'm fat</i>
agatganó:niʔ	<i>I'm wealthy</i>
agatshenó:nih	<i>I'm happy</i>
agawədá:gə:	<i>I'm weak (mentally or physically)</i>
agénʔewa:ʔ	<i>I'm surprised</i>
age:nyá:gqh	<i>I'm married</i>
age:jí:yoʔ	<i>I'm crippled, lame</i>
agekéʔdanih	<i>I'm annoyed</i>
agádetshe:	<i>I'm a glutton</i>
agáhdřʔni:ʔ	<i>I'm scared</i>
agáhdřʔs	<i>I'm frightened</i>
agáhshe:	<i>I'm slow to act</i>
agriʔsdowá:neh	<i>I'm loud, noisy</i>
agídaʔqh	<i>I was asleep</i>
agídehdeʔ, agí:dəht	<i>I'm poor</i>
agyaʔdagəhé:yoʔ	<i>I'm physically weak</i>
agyó:dih	<i>I'm smiling</i>
agyáʔdasdeʔ	<i>I'm heavy</i>
aknqhkdá:nih	<i>I'm sick</i>
aknqhsdeʔ	<i>I'm possessive</i>
akníhsgo:	<i>I'm late (always)</i>
dewagegéʔq:t	<i>I'm raggedy</i>
dewagehsgənyagyáʔgqh	<i>I'm pale</i>
dewagrihoʔdahqh	<i>I don't agree (I'm doubtful)</i>
dewagyenqhswhat	<i>I'm mischievous, nosy</i>

dewáigijɔ:t	<i>I'm filthy</i>
dwagadokdá:nih	<i>I'm dissatisfied (with the amount)</i>
gohsɛ:	<i>she's fat</i>
goʔnigqha:ní:dɛʔ	<i>she's humble</i>
gosdɛ:ʔɛh	<i>she is old</i>
hodiyaʔdá:deht	<i>they are rough, agile, fleet of foot, nimble</i>
hodiyoqéʔnih	<i>they have the giggles</i>
hodónqhae:	<i>he's happy</i>
hogáɛs	<i>he's willing</i>
hojáʔdatgiʔ	<i>he's dirty, has dirty ways</i>
qknehá:goʔ	<i>I'm amazed</i>

- Some descriptive verbs can be modified in various ways; they can even be turned into activity verbs (in which case they can then occur in more than just the stative aspect).

134. Modified descriptive verbs

- a. Unmodified descriptive verb -go:wah or -gowa:nɛh *be big*
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| eksaʔgó:wah <i>she is pretty</i> | e-ksaʔ-go:wah <i>she-child-big (child-big = pretty)</i> |
| gowá:nɛh <i>it is big</i> | gowa:nɛh <i>big</i> |
- b. Modified descriptive verb
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| A past tense marker was added to the descriptive verb: | eksaʔgowáhne:ʔ <i>she used to be pretty</i> | e-ksaʔ-gowah-ne:ʔ <i>she-child-big-remote</i> |
| The verb was turned into an activity verb by adding a suffix meaning ‘become’; now it can take a punctual aspect suffix and mood prefix (here, the <i>factual</i>), just like any other activity verb: | heyohé: agówanheʔ <i>it got much bigger</i> | a-gowa-nhe-ʔ <i>factual-big-become-punctual</i> |
| A ‘modalizer’ was added to the descriptive verb; as the name implies, the modalizer makes it possible to add modal prefixes such as the <i>future</i> : | ɛyeksaʔgowanéhɛ:k <i>she will be pretty</i> | ɛ-ye-ksaʔ-gowanɛh-ɛ:k <i>future-she-child-big-modalizer.punctual</i> |

7.6 THE STATIVE ASPECT AND PRONOMINAL PREFIX SELECTION

135. Most activity verbs take a ‘patient’ pronominal prefix in the stative aspect, and ‘agent’ pronominal prefixes in the other aspects.

e:yqhs *she arrives (at the same time as) (habitual, agent prefix)*
 aʔe:yqʔ *she arrived (punctual, agent prefix)*
 go:yq: *she has arrived (stative, patient prefix)*

136. The stative aspect has no effect on ‘interactive’ pronominal prefixes (ones that express both the ‘doer(s)’ and ‘receiver(s)’ of an action).

ɛhshq:gwa:yqʔ *he will give us all (punctual, agent prefix)*
 shogwa:wi: *he has given us (stative, patient prefix)*

137. A handful of activity verbs take ‘patient’ pronominal prefixes regardless of what aspect they’re in. Such verbs usually describe an activity over which you have no real control.

- agi:daʔs** *I'm a (good) sleeper* (habitual, patient prefix)
ɛwagi:daʔ *I will sleep* (punctual, patient prefix)
agidaʔqh *I was asleep; I am sleeping* (stative, patient prefix)

7.7 NEGATION

138. Positive versus negative verbs

a.	habitual	gatro:wih, gatro:wihs <i>I tell all the time; I'm a teller</i>	(teʔ) degatro:wihs <i>I'm not a teller (etc.)</i>
b.	future punctual	ɛga:tro:wiʔ <i>I will tell</i>	(teʔ) ta:gatro:wi: <i>I won't tell</i>
c.	indefinite punctual	a:gatro:wiʔ <i>I should tell</i>	(teʔ) ta:gatro:wi: <i>I shouldn't tell</i>
d.	stative	aga:tro:wi: <i>I am telling</i>	(teʔ) deʔagatro:wi: <i>I'm not telling</i>

- To make a habitual or a stative verb negative, just add the ‘negative’ prefix (deʔ-) to the verb.
- When the verb has a mood prefix, there are further complications.
 - The glottal stop punctual affix suffix is missing from the negative verbs (138.b,c)
 - The future prefix is replaced by the indefinite in negative verbs. As a result, words like ‘ta:gatro:wi:’ have two possible meanings, corresponding to *won't* and *shouldn't* (138.b,c).

7.8 COMMANDS

139. Future punctual verbs can be used as commands; this type of command is fairly emphatic.

ɛhsadenyɛ:deʔ *you will try it*
 ɛsadahó:dó:ʔ *you will ask*

140. For another type of command, the verb has no punctual aspect suffix (no glottal stop) and no mood prefix. Sometimes an [h] occurs at the end of such verb forms. (See §9.3 for an explanation.)

sadahó:dó: *(you) ask!*
 sadeʔnyɛ:dɛh *(you) try it!*

141. Another type of command is more of a suggestion. The verb takes an ‘indefinite’ modal prefix and may or may not take a punctual aspect suffix. (In the second example given here, this particular verb would end with a glottal stop instead of an [h] if it had a punctual aspect suffix.)

ae:swa:k *you all should eat it*
 dɔdahsaḡhsa:wɛh *you should start again! (command)*

142. While you normally command ‘you’ to do something (e.g., by saying ‘you do it!’), you can also urge anyone else to do something. Such commands begin with the word ‘let’ in English ‘let me’, ‘let’s’, ‘let us’, ‘let him’, ‘let them’, etc. Like the examples in (140), this type of Cayuga command has no mood prefix or aspect suffix — just a pronominal prefix and a verb (sometimes with an added [h] at the end of the word).

dedwadagyénawahs	<i>let us all help each other</i>
dedwayenáw'akq:	<i>let's work together</i>
do: gadenyé:dəh	<i>oh, let me try</i>

143. Another type of command, more of a suggestion, uses an indefinite-punctual form.

a:yagwahsə:nqʔ	<i>we all (exclusive) should give it a name</i>
q:dasahsawəʔ	<i>you should begin</i>
q:taha:wiʔ	<i>he should bring something</i>

- So far, we've looked at positive commands, but there are also negative ones, overviewed below.

144. One type of negative command has the word 'ahgwih' followed by a verb. (The 'ahgwih' is optional — it can be omitted if the context makes it clear that this is a negative command.) The verb has either a future or an indefinite modal prefix, and does not have a punctual aspect suffix.

ahgwih ɛhsa:tro:wih	<i>don't tell anything</i>
(ahgwih) ɛdihsa'dre:.	<i>don't drive over there</i>
ahgwih tɔsatronyahsgo:	<i>don't go shooting your mouth off</i>

- Negative commands don't usually have a punctual aspect ending (a glottal stop ending). This is because the activity in question doesn't have a beginning or end point (in fact, you don't want the activity to take place at all!)

145. For another type of negative command, which is more of a suggestion, the verb takes a 'contrastive' prefix (the word begins with a t-) followed by an indefinite mood prefix, and, again, no glottal stop punctual aspect ending. You can also include the word tɛʔ *no*, but it's optional.

tɛʔ taeswa:gɛh; or te:swa:gɛh	<i>you all shouldn't or won't see it</i>
tɛʔ ta:gatgáhtoh	<i>I shouldn't or won't look at it</i>
tɛʔ ta:gé:gɛh	<i>I shouldn't or won't see it</i>
tɛʔ ta:kní:nq:	<i>I shouldn't or won't buy it</i>

8 SYNTAX

- Resources about syntax or word order: (Baker 1991; Mithun 1974; Mithun 1984)
- In typological studies, word order is described using terms like S(ubject), V(erb) and O(bject). Languages like English are said to have a default SVO word order for simple, active, declarative (SAD) sentences.
- In contrast, word order in Cayuga (and other Iroquoian languages) has been described as 'free', in the sense that speakers have no preference for SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OSV, or VSO word order (Mithun 1992:43–44)
- Free word order is probably a consequence of the fact that Iroquoian verbs are inflected to show person and number features for subject and object NPs. Consequently, Cayuga does not need to use word order to signal syntactic relations, and NPs order is fairly free.
- There are technical explanations for Iroquoian free word order. Both Jelinek (1984) and Baker (1996) explain it by claiming that NPs are not in A(rgument) positions, but are generated as adjuncts outside of the sentence. For Baker, this creates a problem for the Theta Criterion, (which requires a 1:1 relationship between θ -role and argument). While in many languages, the θ -roles of the verb are expressed syntactically (i.e., via government relations that result in fixed word order), Baker claims that in polysynthetic languages,

the θ -roles of the verb are expressed morphologically within the verb; he calls this the *Polysynthesis Parameter* or *Morphological Visibility Condition*:

- While the order of NPs is fairly free, the ordering of NPs and other constituents in Cayuga is partly determined by pragmatic criteria. For example, new information tends to occur toward the beginning of the sentence or clause (Mithun 1992:29–30) newsworthy items occur before less newsworthy items (1992:31–32); and new topics are introduced earlier in the sentence. In addition, indefinite NPs occur before definite NPs (which are optionally marked by *neʔ*). These and other pragmatic principles interact to determine surface word order of NPs in Cayuga.
- Generative analysis tend to account for ‘pragmatic’ word order by assuming the existence of XPs like Foc(us)P(hrase). NP / DPs would move to the Spec of such XPs.
- There are some instances of fixed word order in Iroquoian:

146. Fixed word order

- WH words that are not in-situ are in Comp (i.e., they have to be to the left of the verb). “WH-words and phrases are in Comp by the time of S-structure.” (Baker 1996:68 ff.). “Baker argues that Mohawk question-word NP’s are required to appear in comp (as opposed to relatively free order of other NP’s). The basis of this analysis is the claim that wh-words (as opposed to other overt NP’s) are able to appear in D-Structure A-positions, because they have someplace to go: comp. They can thus evade whatever it is that blocks overt NP’s from A-positions.” (Anderson 1997:14)
 - Numbers precede nominals (Mithun 1992).
 - (Mohawk) demonstratives precede the noun that they modify in a single constituent (Baker 1996:46).
 - The Mohawk question particle *ka* (a cognate of Cayuga *geḥ*) is a second-position clitic that appears after the first major constituent of the sentence (Baker 1996). (Second-position clitics are in Comp.
 - Neʔ* precedes NPs which are specific.
 - Neʔ* precedes verbs used as nouns.
- In generative syntax, instances of fixed word order are explained by assuming syntactic constraints requiring the relevant words to occur in the Spec or Head position of a constituent that contains the NP or VP in complement position.

147. Word order and syntax

[[Specifier [[...]_X [Complement]_{YP}]_{X'}]_{XP}
 [[*dεʔ* / what [[...]_C [*nihsagyehaʔ* / you.are.doing]_{IP}]_{C'}]_{CP}
 [[... [*gyε:gwaʔ* / if]_C [*ihseʔs* / you.are.here]_{IP}]_{C'}]_{CP}
 [[... [*neʔ* / the]_D [*owi:yaʔ* / offspring]_{NP}]_{D'}]_{DP}

- The word order of particles can also be explained syntactically. Keusen (xx) observed that particle groups beginning with *ne:ʔ* have a templatic order. Similarly, we can observe that many particle groups have a fixed order.
- Some aspects of particle word order can be derived by assuming specific functional projections (FPs). Most particle groups are clause-initial, supporting the idea that they are functional projections above CP.
- “Munaro and Poletto (2003, 2009) were the first to propose that particles head functional projections and may attract the clause they select to their specifier. They propose that particles head functional projections

in the CP layer and that when final they attract their clausal complement to their specifier.” (Anderson 1997:13–14).

8.1 MORPHEME ORDER AND THE SYNTAX OF THE VERB TEMPLATE

- One insight from generative syntax is that the order of morphemes within the verb-sentence is similar to the order of constituents within the clause (IP) in other languages. The fact, then, that Cayuga verbs are sentence-like, is explained by assuming that verbs really are sentences, in a sense. Here is an example of a possible syntactic structure for the Cayuga verb.

148. Syntactic structure of the Cayuga verb

a. ɛtkɔnɛtshí:neʔ

ɛ-t-kɔ-nɛtsh-ine-ʔ

FUT-DUAL-1S:2S-arm-lead-PUNC

‘I will lead you by the arm’

b. [[ɛ]_{FP} [[t]_{ADV} [[k]_{FP} [[ɔ]_{FP} [[[nɛtsh]_i]_N [ine]_j]_V [[ʔ]_F [[t]_j]_V [t_i]_{NP}]_{VP}]_F]_{FP}]_{FP}]_{FP}]_{ADVP}]_{FP}

- A summary of Cayuga word order and the order of morphemes within the verb is provided in (149).

149. Summary of syntax and word order

- [DP / NP] [[FPs in the CP layer] [CP] [IP / VP]] [DP / NP]
- [Nouns] [[Discourse Particles] [Other Particles] [Verb-Sentence]] [Nouns]
- See (148.b)

- Here are some examples of Cayuga sentences:

150. Cayuga sentences with glosses (Dyck et al. 1992)

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
A:gahya:goʔ gyɛ:gwaʔ a:sgyena:wahs. I.would.pick.fruit if you.would.help.me	I would pick fruit if only you would help me.
A:gahyagwahse:k seʔ heʔ ni:ʔ gyɛ:gwaʔ a:wagadagaide:k. I.would.be.a.fruit.picker after.all also me if I.were.well	I would be a fruit picker too if I were well
A:hɛni:hɛ:ʔ hahjaotaʔ. he.would.stop.himself he.smokes	he would stop himself from smoking
A:we:tʔah agidaʔqh. pretend I.am.sleeping	I’m pretending I’m asleep
A:yeʔ jiʔ trɛhs tsishedéhjih agahyagoʔ. it.seems jiʔ too.much this.morning I.picked.fruit	It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.
Adekwahahkwaʔgeh gahɛ:ʔ. on.top.of.the.table it.lies	it’s lying on top of the table
Agaʔtsɛnɔ:ni: giʔ tɛh sadaʔgaideʔ. I’m.happy just that you.are.well	I’m happy that you are well

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Agahdroʔs oneh e: jiʔ trehs satsɛ:nɔ:nih. I'm.scared now again jiʔ too.much you're.happy	I'm frightened now because you're too happy again.
Agahsɛ: tsɛh age:ji:yoh. I'm.slow that I'm.lame	I'm slow because I'm lame.
Agahyagoʔ tsɛh naʔonisheʔ odahyɔ:ni:. I.picked.fruit that while much.fruit	I did pick fruit while it was plentiful
Agahyakseʔ ɛyo:hɛʔ sedɛhji:hah. I'm.going.to.pick.fruit tomorrow morning	I'm going to pick berries tomorrow morning
Agatshɛnɔ:ni: tsɛh ahsyɔh. I'm.happy that you.arrived	I'm happy you've arrived.
Agidɑʔɔh ɔh tsɛh naʔonisheʔ hohta:ʔ. I.slept ɔh that while he.spoke	I slept while he spoke.
Agwaʔnigɔhaʔ shɛh niyo:weʔ hɛdwawayɛ:nɛdaʔ. we.are.waiting that a.certain.amount we.will.finish	We're waiting until the time we're finished.
Agyaʔdahsdeʔ dɛʔ ni:ʔ. I'm.heavy dɛʔ me	I'm heavy.
Agyɛʔ ne:ʔ desatgɔhe:jo:nih. I.have it.is you.want.it	I have what you want.
Agyɔ:dih degakegahneʔ niga:gu:ʔsuh I'm.smiling you.are.looking children	I'm smiling because I'm looking at the children.
Agyɔʔnigɔho:gɔʔ tsɛh ɔdowishɛʔ gona:jih her.mind.is.scatered that she.died her.friend	Her mind is scattered because her friend died.
Ahadadrihwagwe:nyɛʔ. he.had.earned.it.for.himself	He had earned it for himself
Ahgwih dɛhsnigɔhaɛʔ. Don't you.will.bother.it	Don't bother it.
Ahgwih ɛhsa:sdi:s. don't you.will.handle.it	Don't disturb it; don't handle it.
Ahgwih hɛhsaʔdre:. don't you.will.drive.over.there	Don't drive over there.
(Ahgwih) ɛdihsaʔdre:. don't you.will.drive.over.here	Don't drive over here.
Ahi:ʔ giʔ toh nɛya:wɛh. I.thought just that it.will.happen	I thought that's what would happen
Ahsɔh gɛh? more / still Q?	Do you want some more?
Ahsɔh hodre:nɔ:t. still he.is.singing	He's still singing.
Ahsɔh awagahyagwɛhɛgyeʔse:k gyɛ:gwaʔ ta:waknɔhyaʔgɔ:k still i.would.be.picking.fruit if i.hadn't.been.hurt	I would still be picking fruit if I didn't get hurt. (I would still have been picking fruit if I hadn't been hurt)
Ahsɔh e:ʔ nihs desatwɛ:jo:nih! more again you you.want.it	You still want more!
Ahsɔh ne:ʔ ahahsowɛh. still it.is he.is.angry	He's still angry.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Ahsq̄h ni:ʔ agq̄tsanq̄hwa:s neʔ dagaihq̄:niʔ gyotedq̄shq̄:ʔq̄h agahyagwq̄hne:ʔ still me my.knees.hurt the reason the.other.day i.picked.fruit	My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.
Ahsq̄heh ge:s agahdr̄ni:h. dark usually i.am.afraid	I'm (usually) afraid of the dark.
Aq̄gohdq̄h q̄geʔdrahehs i:soʔ. too.much i.went.overboard a.lot	I ate too much.
Aq̄gohdq̄h q̄geʔdrahehs tseq̄h nagadeq̄:niʔ. too.much i.went.overboard that how.much.i.ate	I ate too much
Awatq̄hgaek gq̄hsinʔageh. it.stiffened.up on.my.leg	my leg did stiffen up
Aweʔ hegyeh tsq̄:. Let it go! (it's just not worth bothering.)	Let it go! (it's just not worth bothering.)
Eq̄gahyagwahse:k heʔ ni:ʔ neq̄h eq̄gahdo:k. i'll.pick.fruit also me when i.grow.up	I'll be a fruit picker when I grow up
Eq̄q̄niheʔ:ʔ knegehaʔ. i.will.quit i.drink	I'll quit drinking
Eq̄q̄:yoʔ ehyadq̄hkwaʔ. i.will.give.it.to.you pen	I will give you a pen
Eq̄hsdo:gq̄hs aweq̄heʔ. you.will.arrange flowers	you will arrange flowers
Eq̄hsraʔwihsdotsiʔ ohyaʔ. you.will.peel.it fruit	you will peel the fruit
Da: neq̄:dah haʔgaheʔ gaoʔ eq̄dihsWatrihs eq̄hswadaq̄hqs̄i:yohs. Da: neq̄:dah it.is.time at.this.time you.will.come.closer you.will.listen	Now is the time to come closer and listen.
Da: hq̄:weh hq̄: heʔdr̄q̄ʔ ne:ʔ haksasʔgo:wah. Da: somewhere there he.lives it.is he.is.good-looking	This is where he lives, the good-looking man.
Daheʔ q̄q̄h teʔ nigq̄ʔq̄h? he.is.coming Q not or	Is he coming or not?
Dahq̄wq̄sgodagwaht. she.knocked.him.off.his.perch	She knocked him off his perch
Da: ne:ʔ hniʔ dweq̄:dq̄h. Da: it.is also we.mean.something	That is also what we mean.
Da: ne:ʔ onq̄h to: niya:wq̄hdreʔ. da: it.is now there what.will.happen	And now this is what is going to happen.
Daskro:wiʔ do: niyowihsdaeʔ eq̄sahdeq̄:diʔ. tell.me how it.is.o'clock you.will.leave	Tell me at what time you're going to leave.
Daskro:wiʔ gado:gq̄: deq̄dwa:do:t. tell.me together we.will.eat	Tell me (who) will eat together with us.
Daskro:wiʔ hweq̄:doʔ eq̄sahdeq̄:diʔ. tell.me when you.will.leave	Tell me when you're going to leave.
Daskro:wiʔ sq̄: naht daq̄dekq̄nyahneʔ. tell.me who naht someone.will.come.and.eat	Tell me who's coming to eat.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Daskro:wiʔ sɔ: naht gado:gɛ: dɛwa:dɔ:t. tell.me who naht together we.will.eat	Tell me who is going to dine with us.
Daskro:wih ɛdwe: gɛh. tell.me we.all.inclusive.will.go Q	Tell me if you're coming along.
Daskro:wih sanɔhɔkda:niʔ gɛh? tell.me you.are.sick Q	Tell me whether you're sick.
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yoht tɛʔ deʔa:go:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ neʔ Tina? what in.fact the.reason not she.doesn't.like.the.taste.of.it candy neʔ Tina?	Why doesn't Tina like candy?
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yoht tɛh go:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ neʔ Tina? what in.fact the.reason that she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy neʔ Tina	Why does Tina like candy?
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ i:se:ʔ what in.fact you.can	What do you want?
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yoht i:se:ʔ what in.fact the.reason you.want	Why do you want it that way?
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ ni:yoht shɛh ahadone:k? what in.fact the.reason that he.removed.himself	Why did he leave?
Dɛʔ hne:ʔ. what in.fact	That's why.
Dɛʔ hniʔ hoʔdɛʔ hoihoʔdɛhsroʔdeʔ? what and hoʔdɛʔ he.works.at.a.job	What does he do?
Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ eya:sɔh neʔ sanɔ:haʔ? what hoʔdɛʔ she.is.called neʔ your.mother	What is the name of your mother?
Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ gaeyasɔhɔnyɔʔ neʔ... what hoʔdɛʔ they.are.called neʔ	What are the names of your ...(female relatives)?
Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ niyohtɔhɔ:gyeʔ what hoʔdɛʔ it.is.happening	What's happening?
Dɛʔ ni:s ɛtsahtgaʔ? what you you.will.give.up.something	What will you give, donate?
Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ ɛgɔ:yɔʔ what you hoʔdɛʔ i.will.give.you.something	what will I give you?
Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ niswaʔsyaoʔdɛ:h. what you hoʔdɛʔ you.are.part.of.a.clan	What is your clan? (the speaker knows you are all of the same family)
Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ niswaʔsyaoʔdɛ:hs. what you hoʔdɛʔ you.are.part.of.a.clan	What is your clan? (the speaker knows that you are from different families)
Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ sniya:sɔh? what you hoʔdɛʔ you.two.are.called	What are you two called?
Dɛʔ ni:s saʔnigɔhoʔdɛ:ʔ what you your.kind.of.mind	What are your thoughts?
Deʔagowihsra:t tsaʔɔnagra:t. she.had.no.breath when.she.was.born	she had no breath when she was born
Degaʔdrehdagehaʔgyeʔ tɛh ahɛnɔ:da:ʔ. two.cars.at.a.time that they.males.put.in	they put the cars in two at a time

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Degaqdatgqhsahae? they.are.washing.each.other's.faces.	They are washing each other's face
Dehɛnadatnqhwɛ's Gwi:deh Ed hni' tɛɛh hona:dao' they.males.like.each.other Peter Ed and that they.are.friends	Peter and Ed like each other because they're friends.
Dɛ' hne:?' ni:yoht tɛɛh toh nahsye:?' what.in.fact.the.reason.that.that.you.do.it	Why in fact did you do that?
Dɛkde:ni' tɛɛh niwagriho'dɛ: i.will.change.that.the.way.I.think	I'm going to change my outlook
Dewagegaɛhs to ha:ge:'. i.am.unwilling.there.i.would.go.there	I'm unwilling to go there
Dewahq̄hde:s nq̄gesyao'dɛ:h. deer i'm.part.of.a.clan	I'm Deer clan.
Do: di' nɛyonishe'?' what.amount.then.it.will.take.some.time	How long will it take (then)?
Do: gwa' na'q̄nihshe'?' what.amount.gwa'it.took.some.time	How long did it take?
Do: gwa' nɛyonishe'?' what.amount.gwa'it.will.take.some.time	How long will it take then?
Do: i:?! what.amount.me	Let me!; How about me?
do: ni:wa's what.amount.it.is.a.certain.size	how big?
Do: nidihse:no:?? what.amount you.singular.come.from.a.certain.place	How old are you (singular)?
do: niga:gq̄ what.amount.an.amount.of.people	how many people
Do: nitga:de'?' what.amount.a.certain.height	How high?
do: niya:ga' what.amount.she.is.a.certain.size	how big is it / she?
do: niyo: what.amount.it.is.a.certain.amount	how many, how much?
Do: niyowihsd̄a'e'?' what.amount.it.is.o'clock	what time
Do:gɛhs di' gɛh? true then Q?	Is that true (then)?
Do:gɛhs gɛh? true Q?	Is that the case? Is that true?
do: gwa' what.amount.gwa'	how many
Do: gwa' ni:yq̄: ɛsaga:dɛ'. what.amount.gwa'it.is.a.certain.amoiunt it.will.cost.you	It is going to cost you a certain amount.
Dq̄dahe' gɛh? he.will.come.back Q	Is he coming back?

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
E: na ² ganqhsa:dih ita:t. again the.other.side he.stands	He's standing on the other side of the house.
Eḍwe:ʔ gəh? we.all.inclusive.will.go Q	Are you coming along with us?
Eḡatroyahnese:k ni:ʔ. I.go.around.and.tell me	I'll be the teller (that is, I'll go around and announce something).
Eḡe: sḡenq. Neʔ diʔ ni:s? yes well neʔ then you	I'm fine thanks. And you?
Eḡeʔ gəh? yes Q	Is that right?
Eḡeʔ seʔ. yes it.is.so	It is so.
Ehnaʔtsi:yo:. she.has.a.nice.bum	She has a nice behind
Eḡseganyaʔk eḡskeyahtgaʔ. you.will.pay i.will.release.her	you will pay (me) before I let her go
Eḡsneʔ gəh diʔ? will.you.come Q then	Are you coming along?
Enqweʔs e:ʔ? she.likes.it AFFIRM	She likes it...(doesn't she?)
Enqweʔs gəh? she.likes.it Q	Does she like it?
Eḡgoho:wiʔ to gəh ne: heḡe:ʔ. i.will.tell.you there Q it.is she.will.go.there	I will tell you if she's going.
Eḡsheʔ gəh? you.will.come Q	Are you going to come?
Eḡtne:ʔ gəh? we.two.will.come Q	Do you want to come along with me?
Gaʔto:hah todahsdq. somewhere he.hides.there	He's hiding somewhere.
Gaʔtoh tsq: ta:se:tsɛi:. somewhere just you.might.not.find.it	Nowhere only will you find it
Gaʔtohah tsq: eḡse:tsaḡeʔ. somewhere just you.will.find.it	You will find it someplace.
Gado:gḡe: shḡeḡ hoʔdeʔ aʔqḡwayqdahk. together that hoʔdeʔ we.all.came.together	A certain something brought us together (that is, a meeting).
Gaḡ diʔ nḡo:wəh heha:we:nq:ʔ which then place he.has.gone.there	Where then has he gone?
Gaḡ diʔ nḡo:wəh ihsweʔs o:nḡeḡ? which then place you.are now	Where then are you now?
Gaḡ diʔ nḡo:wəh niha:we:no:ʔ which then place he.went.someplace	Where then did he go?
Gaḡ diʔ nḡo:wəh nihsweʔs o:nḡeḡ? which then place you.are.someplace now	Where then are you now?
Gaḡ hwaʔ nḡo: hejisaihoʔdeʔ? which hwaʔ place you.work.there	Where do you work?

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Gaę nhq nqdi:se:nq:? which place you.come.from.someplace	Where are you from?
Gaę nhq tsi'drɔ'ʔ? which place you.dwell.there	Where do you live?
gaę ni:ga: which it.contains.something	which one
Gaę ni:ga: i:se' a:se:k? which it.contains.something you.want you.might.eat	Which one do you want to eat?
Gaę niye:ya'da:ʔ? which person	Which person?
Gaę niyo:weh heha:we:nq:. which it.is.a.certain.distance he.has.gone.there	How far has he gone?
Gaę nqdahse:ʔ which you.come.from.someplace	Where do you come from?
gaę niyo:ʔ(weh) which it.is.a.certain.distance	How far?
Gaegowa:ne's degaɔdehnɔdrɔ'ʔ. they.females.are.big they.are.sisters	the sisters are big
Gaę gwa' nhq:(weh) tɔwa'nigɔha:ʔ. which gwa' place she.waits.for.him.there	She waits for him somewhere around.
Gahya:gwahs jihɔ:dahk. i'm.picking.fruit strawberries	I'm picking strawberries
Gayadre'shɔ:ʔqh deɔadenɔhɔkwahk. they.are.my.grandchildren i.will.love.them	I will recognize them as my grandchildren
Gao' nawahtgeh tsa'gaɔdri:yo'ʔ. this.time before while.they.fought	The time before, they fought.
Gao' nqdahse:ʔ. this.place you.will.come.someplace	Come this way.
gao' she niyo:(we') this.place that it.is.a.certain.distance	before
Gao' tse nyo:ʔ to: neya:weh. this.time that it.is.a.certain.amount that something.will.happen	before that happens
Gayogoho:nɔh ge' ni:s nahsya'dode'ʔ? Cayuga Q you your.kind.of.body	Are you Cayuga?
Gayogoho:nɔh ni:ʔ. Cayuga me	I'm Cayuga.
Gi' ge:s trehs sheno:we'ʔ. just usually too.much you.are.a.liar	Because you're a liar.
Gi' trehs aɔgohdɔh. just too.much it.is.overboard	It's beyond.
Go:ga's geħ nawe'da' ne' Tina? she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy ne' Tina	Does Tina like candy?
Gɔdagye' deshahde:dih. right.away leave.here	leave right away.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Gɔdagyeʔ ɛtsahde:diʔ. right.away you.will.leave.here	You will leave right away!
Gɔgwedase:ʔ ni:ʔ. iʔm.a.young.person me	I'm a young person (said jokingly)
Gɔgwehq:wɛh ni:ʔ. iʔm.a.real.person me	I'm Indian.
Gowɛdagɛ: ne:ʔ tsɔ niyesgɛdaʔ. she's.wimpy it.is just she's.tiny	She's a wimp because she's just a small person.
Gwahs hwaʔ esagaɛ:. intensifier next you.are.willing	You're willing / giving permission this time.
Gwahs ɔ:wɛh a:yeʔ tɛʔ desho:tɔ:deʔ. intensifier really it.seems not he.doesn't.hear	It really seems like he doesn't (want to) hear; he has selective hearing.
Gwahs ɔ:wɛh tsaʔho:ya:t honiʔqh. intensifier really he.can't.help.himself he's.stingy	He can't help himself, he's really really stingy.
Gwahs waʔhe tshɔ: to: naʔa:wɛh. intensifier that.time just there it.has.happened	That just happened.
Gwe: a:yeʔ sanɔhyagɔh. well it.seems you're.hurt	Well, it looks like you're hurt.
Gwe:, odeʔdrɛhdagadeʔ? well, there.were.many.cars	Were there a lot of cars?
Gwi:deh ahɛʔ Tina go:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ. Peter he.said Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy	Peter said that Tina likes candy.
Gwi:deh dehenadagyɛ:di: ho:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ. Peter they.males.know.each.other he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy	The man that Peter knows likes candy.
Gwi:deh dehenadagyɛ:di: hɔ:gweh ho:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ. Peter they.males.know.each.other man he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy	The man that Peter knows likes candy.
Gwi:deh dehenadagyɛ:di: howanawɛʔdagaʔs. Peter they.males.know.each.other he.likes.the.taste.of.candy	The man that Peter knows likes candy.
Gwi:deh ha:dɔh nawɛ:daʔ go:gaʔs Tina. Peter he.said candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it Tina	Peter said, "Tina likes candy."
Gwi:deh ho:gaʔs Ed howanawɛʔdaʔ Peter he.likes.the.taste.of.it Ed his.candy	Peter likes Ed's candy.
Gwi:deh ho:gaʔs howanawɛʔdaʔ. Peter he.likes.the.taste.of.it his.candy	Peter likes his candy.
Gwi:deh honɔhdɔʔ (de hoʔdeʔ) sɔʔ naht sɔʔ gaɛnɔhweʔs. Peter he.knows what hoʔdeʔ who naht who they.like.the.taste.of.it	Peter knows who likes what.
Gwi:deh honɔhdɔʔ deʔhoʔdeʔ gaɛnɔhweʔs. Peter he.knows what hoʔdeʔ they.like.the.taste.of.it	Peter knows what they like.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Gwi:deh honqhdq? gex (deho?de?) sq? naht sq? gaenqhwe?s? Peter he.knows Q what ho?de? who naht who they.like.the.taste.of.it	Does Peter know who likes what?
Gwi:deh honqhdq? gex sq? qh naht gowanawe?daga?s? Peter he.knows Q who SPECULATE naht someone.likes.the.taste.of.candy	Does Peter know who likes candy?
Gwi:deh honqhdq? gex tseh go:ga?s nawe?da? ne? Tina? Peter he.knows Q that she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy ne? Tina	Does Peter know that Tina likes candy?
Gwi:deh honqhdq? tseh Tina nawe?da? go:ga?s. Peter he.knows that Tina candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it	Peter knows that Tina likes candy.
Gwi:deh hqwanqhwe?s hona:dao?, hona:tsih. Peter he.likes.him he.is.a.friend, his.friend	Peter likes his friend.
Gwi:deh hqwaye:di: ho:gweh ho:ga?s nawe?da? Peter he.knows.him man he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy	The man that Peter knows likes candy.
Gye:gwa? ahagwe:ni?? if he.could.do.it	Maybe if he could do it, if he is able?
Gye:gwa? ahogae? if he.would.be.willing	Maybe if he would agree, if he's willing?
Gye:gwa? o:neh ahahde:di?? if now he.would.leave	What if he should leave now?
Ha?wa:ts?a:? a?o:de:k. it.went.down.to.nothing it.burned	it burned down to nothing
Hahna?tsi:yo:. he.has.a.nice.bum	He has a nice behind
Hao? dahskro:wih de? ni:? (ho? de?) neqa:gye:?. o.k. tell.me what me ho?de? i.will.do.something	O.k., you tell me what to do!
Hao? dahskro:wih de? ni:? neqa:gye:?. o.k. tell.me what me i.will.do.something	Tell me what to do.
He:ge:? he? hne:? too in.fact	Let me go there (asking permission) also
He:gyeh gi?! it.doesn't.matter just	just leave well enough alone!
Hehshē:da:ge:? e:?. he's.lying.over.there again	He's lying over there again!
He:tsye:? tseh ho hesa:gweh. you.will.put.it.there that.place you.got.it.there	you will put it back where you got it
Heyohe: agowanhe? much.more it.got.bigger	it got much bigger
hni?	also, and, too

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Hogwe ² di:yo: gəh? he.is.a.nice.person Q	Is he a nice person?
Hogweh gəh agogweh nige ² oh Dan eya:sqh? man Q woman or Dan someone.is.named	Was it a man or a woman whose name is Dan?
Hogweh gəh agogweh nige ² oh? man Q women or	Was it a man or a woman?
Hohse: ne tsq: gwa toh nihahne:ye:s. he's.fat it.is just intensifier there he.is.short	He's stout and he's also short.
Hohse: tsa ² onihse ² hogwe ² dase:. he.is.fat during.the.time he.was.young	while he was young, he was fat
Hoiho ² de ² sri:yo: gi ² ne:?. he.has.a.good.job just it.is	He just has a good job.
Hona:dao ² howanqhwe ² s he ² ne ² Gwi:deh. his.friend he.likes.him also ne ² Peter	His friend likes Peter also.
Honahse: he ² ne ² dehenadehndro ² . they.males.are.fat also ne ² they.males.are.brothers	Your brothers are also fat.
Honohdo ² di ² gəh Gwi:deh de ² ni:yoht tseh nawe ² da ² ? go:ga ² s ne Tina. he.knows so Q Peter what.the.reason that candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne ² Tina	Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?
Honohdo ² di ² gəh Gwi:deh de ² ni:yoht tseh Tina gowanawe ² daga ² s? he.knows so Q Peter what.the.reason that Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.candy	Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?
Honohdo ² di ² gəh Gwi:deh de ² ho ² de ² Tina enqhwe ² s? he.knows so Q Peter what ho ² de ² Tina she.likes.it	Does Peter know what Tina likes?
Honohdo ² di ² gəh Gwi:deh tseh nawe ² da ² go:ga ² s ne ² Tina. he.knows so Q Peter that candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne ² Tina	Does Peter know that Tina likes candy?
Honohdo ² gəh Gwi:deh tseh go:ga ² s nawe ² da ² ne ² Tina. he.knows Q Peter that she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne ² Tina	Does Peter know that Tina likes candy?
Honohdo ² Gwi:deh de ² ho ² de ² Tina enqhwe ² s. hhe.knows Peter what ho ² de ² Tina she.likes.it	Peter knows what Tina likes.
Honohdo ² Gwi:deh de ² ho ² de ² Tina go:ga ² s he.knows Peter what ho ² de ² Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it	Peter knows what Tina likes (to eat).
Honohdo ² Gwi:deh sq ² oh naht gowanawe ² daga ² s. he.knows Peter who SPECULATE naht someone.likes.the.taste.of.candy	Peter knows who likes candy.
Hotgo ² oh asyo ² ! for.heaven's.sake you.have.arrived	For heaven's sake, you got here! What the... you made it!

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Hwadinohwe's henogweh. she.likes.them men	She likes men.
hwedoh	ever, when
Hwedoh di' eje:yoh'?	When then is she going to arrive?
Hwedoh di' eje:yoh'?	When then is she going to return?
Hwedoh eyohde:di'?	When is she going away.
Hwedoh ne: to neya:weh?	When is that going to happen?
Hwedoh ne: to neya:weh?	When is that going to happen?
Hwedoh gwa' to niyaweh'oh. when intensifier that something.happened	It happened sometime in the past.
Hwedoh gwa' to niyawehdre'.	Sometime it's going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)
Hwedoh gwa' to niyawehdre'.	Sometime it's going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)
Hwedoh gwa' to niyawehdre'.	Sometime it's going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)
I: geh e: sgwatro:wi:? me Q again you.tell.me	Are you talking about me again? (joking)
I: geh sgi:doh? mme Q you.mean.me	Do you mean me?
I: geh sgwatro:wi:? mme Q you.tell.me	Are you talking about me? (a little bit paranoid)
I: tgegowa:neh. me i'm.the.oldest	I'm the oldest.
I:hs gyeh hne: toh nahsye:? you that.one and that you.did.something	Are you the one that did it.
I:hs gyeh hne: tsq: e: toh nahsye:? yyou that.one and just again that you.did.something	You're the only one that did that again
I:hs gyeh hne:? you that.one and	That's you!
I:noh gi'dra'.	I live far away.
I:noh tgasgwi'drae:? it.is.far this.prune.lies.there	Far away this Old Prune lives / sits.
I:s di' geh hne:?? you so Q and	How about you then?
I:s geh hne:?? you Q and	How about you? Was that you?
I:so' agidahsghehe: ge:s. much i.used.to.sleep usually	I used to sleep a lot
I:so' degadenohonyoh. much I.am.thankful	I am very thankful.
I:so' ga'drehd'ashq:oh ho:ye' otgahi'dahkwa'.	He has many toy cars.
I:so' gohwihsdae'. Onehagwaht gi'. much she.has.money it's.amazing just	She has a lot of money; it's amazing how much!

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
I:wa:kʰah dɔdahotrihsdɔhɔyeʔ. near he's.getting.nearer.again	He's getting nearer and nearer again.
I:wi to na:ya:wɛh. I.want that something.might.happen	I want, intend that to happen
Ihse: gɛh to: ne: dwa:ye:ʔ you.think Q that it.is we.all.do.it	Do you think we should do it that way?
Ji gɛ:s trehs jahsɛ: tɛh nisnihɛ:ye:s. an.amount usually too.much you.two.are.fat that you.two.have.a.certain.height	You're too fat for your height.
Jiʔ gɛ:s trehs sheno:wɛ:. an.amount usually too.much you're.a.liar	You lie too much; you're too much of a liar.
Jidwahshe:t e:ʔ. let.us.all.count.again again	let's count again! (emphatic)
Jidwahshe:t giʔ gyeʔ e:ʔ. let's.all.count.again just again	let's count it again then!
Jihsɔ:dahk gahya:gwahs. strawberries i.am.picking.fruit	I'm picking strawberries
Keʔnigɔha:ʔ owi:yaʔ. i.watch.someone baby	I'm watching a baby
Knigɔha:ʔ ɛye:yɔʔ. i.expect she.will.arrive	I'm expecting her to arrive
Knigɔha:ʔ tɛh hɔ:wɛh dɛgatahahk. i.watch that place i.will.walk.there	I watch where I walk
Knigɔha:ʔ tɛh niyoht dɛgatahahk. i.watch that the.way i.will.walk	I watch how I walk
Knɔhwe's gɛ:s tsigɔweʔda:seʔ tiga:gwe:gɔh gɛ:s agahyagwehɛyeʔsgɛhɛ:ʔ I.like usually while.i.am.a.young.person here.and.there usually i.used.to.pick.fruit.here.and.there	When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit
ne:ʔ it.is	that is, it is so, it is that, because, what it is that
ne:ʔ da: gaihɔ:niʔ it.is now the.reason	the reason why, because, because of
Ne:ʔ diʔ gɛhʔ it.is so Q	Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
Ne:ʔ gaihɔ:nih. it.is the.reason	That's what makes it that way.
Ne:ʔ gɛ:s ga:dɔh. it.is usually i.say	That's what I usually say.
ne:ʔ giʔ it.is just	that is...
Ne:ʔ giʔ e:dɔh. it.is just she.means.it	That's what she means.
Ne:ʔ giʔ gi:dɔh. it.is just i.mean.it	That's what I mean.

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Ne: [?] gi [?] gyɛ: [?] it.is just that.one	Just because.
Ne: [?] gi [?] hɛ:dɔh. it.is just he.means.it	That's what he means.
Ne: [?] go:wɛh. it.is she.owns.it	That's hers. (a little more definite than Nefj hnefj gJfwh.)
Ne: [?] gwahs gahwajiyagwani:yo [?] it.is intensifier the.main.family	It's the main (that is, matrilineal) family.
Ne: [?] he:gɛ: agyɔhsetoh. it.is just.that she.cried	All she did was cry.
Ne: [?] hɛ [?] hne: [?] ho:wɛh nɛ:gyeh. it.is also in.fact he.owns.it this.one	This is also his.
Ne: [?] hne: [?] go:wɛh. it.is in.fact she.owns.it	That's hers in fact.
ne: [?] ho:ni [?] it.is the.reason	that is why
Ne: [?] hɔ:ni [?] to: ni:yoht. it.is the.reason that it.is.a.certain.way	That's why it's that way.
Ne: [?] nɛh dwahegyɔh. it.is now i.arrive.there	When I get there.
Ne: [?] ni:s? it.is you	How about you?
Ne: [?] ɔh ne [?] o:nɛh ha'gahe: [?] edwadriho'da:t. it.is SPECULATE ne [?] now the.time.has.come we.all.work	And it is now time for us to work.
ne: [?] tsɔ: it.is only	but (it is only)
Ne: [?] tsɔ: dehoya'dohdɔh. it.is only he.is.thinking.about.it	That's just what he's thinking about (he's preoccupied.)
Nɛ: [?] tsɔ: niwatona'da [?] it.is only it.is.a.small.potato	It's a small, puny potato
Ne: [?] gyɛ: [?] gi:dɔh. it.is that.one i.mean.it	That is what I mean.
Ne: [?] gyɛ: [?] ne [?] to:gyɛh. it.is that.one ne [?] that.one.there	That is the one.
Ne: [?] hɛ [?] hne: [?] gaɔgwe'da [?] it.is also in.fact her.people	Also in fact that is her family, one of her people.
Ne: [?] hne: [?] ne [?] gaihwaɔgwe:ni:yo. it.is in.fact ne [?] it.is.the.main.thing	That in fact is the main thing, the main item.
Ne: [?] hwa [?] ɛyotshɛnɔ:ni [?] it.is this.time she.will.be.happy	This time she will be happy.
Ne: [?] hwa [?] gi:dɔh. it.is this.time i.mean.it	I mean that this time.
Ne: [?] ɔh. it.is SPECULATE	That, I guess.
Ne: [?] tsɔ: hɔway'ada: [?] s. it.is just she.leans.on.him	He's the only one she depends on.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Nẹ:dah	Here, take this.
Nẹ:ʔ toh gwai heʔdrɔʔ Allan. it.is here that.side he.dwells Allan	Allan lives on this side.
Nẹ:ʔ tsɔ: niyɔ: hohwihsdaɛ:ʔ. it.is ʔist only a.certain.amount he.has.money	Right now he has very little money.
Neʔ aɔhe:ʔɛh tahnaʔtsowa:nɛh. Neʔ it.alone he.has.the.biggest.bum	He has the biggest ass.
Nẹʔ diʔ ni:sʔ right.here so you	How about you?
Neʔ giʔ sheh hwaʔ e:dɔh. neʔ just that this.one she.means.it	Maybe that's the one she means.
Neʔ gwaʔ toh gi:dɔh. neʔ intensifier that i.mean.it	I also mean that.
neʔ gyaɔhe:ʔɛh gyonɔʔshehsde:ʔ neʔ it.alone it.is.the.most.tiring	the most sickening, tiring, aggravating
Nẹʔ ne:ʔ i:s. Dɛʔ ni:s hoʔdɛʔ nisaʔnigɔhoʔdɛʔʔ right.here it.is you what you hoʔdɛʔ your.kind.of.thoughtss	How about you? What are your thoughts?
Neʔ ɔ:wɛh gaɔde:nɔhk. neʔ really they.are.relatves	They're really related.
Neʔ giʔ ɛ:ʔ e:ʔ toh iheʔs. neʔ just AFFIRM again that he.is	He's here again!
Neʔ giʔ gyɛʔ asiʔ. neʔ just that.one you.said	That's just what you said.
Neʔ giʔ gyɛʔ gaɔ:dɔh. nneʔ just that.one they.females.say	That's just what the women say.
Neʔ giʔ gyɛʔ hana:dɔh. neʔ just that.one they.males.say	That's just what the men say.
Neʔ gwaʔ toh haʔhɔwadiha:ʔ. neʔ gwaʔ that they.took.him.over.there	They also took him.
Neʔ seʔ hɔwɛ:dɔh. neʔ just.so she.means.him	He's the one she means.
Neʔ to ne:ʔ shagohsgane:s. neʔ that it.is she.desires.him	She is the one he desires.
Neʔ to ne:ʔ, tɛʔ to ne:ʔ tega:yei:ʔ. nneʔ that it.is not that it.is it's.not.right	That's the one that's 'not all there.'
nɛh	when
Nɛh toh hɛdwa:yɔʔ nɛ:dah nɛdwa:ye:ʔ. when that.one we.all.arrive.there this.one we.will.do.it	When we arrive there, we will do it this way.
Nɛh ne:ʔ i:s. Dɛʔ nis hoʔdɛʔ nisaʔnigɔhoʔdɛʔʔ right.here it.is you what you hoʔdɛʔ you.have.a.certain.kind.of.mind	How about you? What are your thoughts?
Neʔ to gyɛ:ʔ haʔhoyʔada:wɛh. neʔ that that.one it.happened.to.him.there	That's what happened to him over there.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
ne [?] toh ni:yq: ne [?] that.one a.certain.amount	that many
Ne [?] toh ni:yq: ho:yē [?] . ne [?] that.one a.certain.amount he.owns.it	That's how many he has.
Neyagonḡhsowanḡhē:k nige [?] qh	She will have big houses or
O: gēh? oh Q	Said when really questioning someone
O: tē [?] qh gi [?] , gatgi [?] shēh ne: [?] hwa [?] oh not.SPECULATE just maybe it.is this.time	Maybe I will, maybe I won't (i.e. come along)
O: tē [?] qh, gatg [?] ishēh gye:gwa [?] . oh not SPECULATE maybe if	Maybe, maybe not.
O:nēh gwa [?] edwawayēḡda [?] . now this.time we.all.have.finished	We're finished already.
o:nēh	now
O:nēh e: [?] i:s toh ha [?] segḡhe:k. now again you that you.hit.over.there	You're getting into someone else's fight again, butting in.
O:nēh gi [?] ēgoyē [?] ēsetwahn [?] qh. nnow just i.will.kick.your.bones	I'm (just) now going to kick you around.
O:nēh gi [?] ha [?] gahe: [?] ēshetrohna [?] . nnow just it.is.time you.will.take.him.back	It is time for you to take him back.
O:nēh gi [?] hodehsronih [?] qh. now just he.is.ready	He is ready now.
O:nēh to:hah ēsha:yq [?] . now almost he.will.go.back	He's almost ready to go back.
O:nēh to:hah to: heshe: [?] . now almost there he.wil.go.over.there.again	He's almost ready to return (there).
O:ya [?] nēhsadagye: [?] other you.will.do.yourself	you will make yourself different (i.e. disguise yourself)
Ogweḡhe:gye [?] gē:s ahsyq [?] . nnow.and.again usually you.have.arrived	Now and again (that is, in general) you'll be here.
qh, gē [?] qh SPECULATE Q SPECULATE	I guess, I wonder
Ohse: so:wa:s satshe:nē [?] . it.is.fat dog your.pet	Your dog is fat.
Ohsga:naht tseḡh nihahnatsi:yo:. it.is.attractive that he.has.a.nice.bum	he has an attractive behind
Ohsga:naht tseḡh niyehnatsi:yo:. it.is.attractive that she.has.a.nice.bum	she has an attractive behind
Onēh e: agri [?] sdowa:neh. now again i'm.noisy	I'm loud, noisy again.
Onēh e: [?] toh hodaditsgo:t. now again there he.is.seting.himeself	Now again he has himself sitting there.
Onēh di [?] to:hah hēgahe: [?] ēdwenihē: [?] . now so almost it.will.be.time we.all.will.quit	Now it is almost time for us to quit.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Sanq̄hokda:niʔ gēʔ q̄h. you.are.sick Q SPECULATE	I wonder if you're sick!
Sanq̄hokda:niʔ gēh diʔ? you.are.sick Q so	Are you sick?
Sanq̄hokda:niʔ giʔ gēh? you.are.sick then Q	Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?
Sanq̄hokda:niʔ tēʔ nigeʔq̄h? you.are.sick not or	Are you sick or not?
Sanq̄hokda:niʔ tēʔ nigeʔq̄? you.are.sick	Are you sick?
Satshe:nēʔ so:wa:s ohse:. your.pet dog it.is.fat	Your dog is fat.
Sekd̄q̄: shēh niyogaʔq̄hsroʔdē:. try.it that what.kind.of.taste.it.has	taste it!
Sgatsq̄ʔ ętsahshe:t ones you.will.count	count by ones, one by one
Sgēn̄q̄: Dēʔ hoʔdēʔ nisagyéhaʔ? hi what hoʔdēʔ you.are.doing.something	Hi. What are you doing?
Sgēn̄q̄jih gēh? you.are.well Q	Are you well?
Sgēn̄q̄sh̄q̄:ʔq̄h satahi:neʔ slowly you.walk	amble along slowly!
shēh niyo:yade:s that it.is.a.certain.depth	how deep it is (the hole)
shēh ni:was that it.is.a.certain.size	how big they are
Shēh niyo:weh tana:greʔ. that it.is.a.certain.distance he.lives.there	How far he is.
Shēh niyo:weh tganadaēʔ. that it.is.a.certain.distance town.lying.there	How far the town is.
shēh, tshēh	how
Shē nh̄q̄weh hehehtaʔ onēʔdaḡhsq̄ʔ, agēʔ. that place he.goes.there under.the.pines it.is.said	Where he goes, under the pines it's been said.
shēh niyo:ʔ(weʔ)	how far, how much, how many, until
Si: nh̄q̄:weh tgani:yq̄:t sagyaʔdawiʔtraʔ. over.there that.place it.is.hanging.there your.coat	Your coat is hanging way over there.
Sniḡq̄ha:ʔ gēh? you.are.expecting.something Q	Are you expecting, watching for something?
sq̄: hne:ʔ naht who in fact naht	who (is it)
sq̄: go:wēh who she.owns.it	whose (is that)?
Sq̄: q̄h naht? who SPECULATE naht	which person?

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Sq: go:wəh tɔ gadrehdase:ʔ who someone.owns.it that it.is.a.new.car	Who owns that new car?
Sqʔ qh naht gona:tsih hɔwanɔhweʔs (neʔ) Gwi:deh. who SPECULATE naht someone's.friend someone.likes.him neʔ Peter	Whose friend likes Peter?
Sɔdinaht gona:tsih Gwi:deh shagonɔhweʔs. who so naht her.friend Peter he.likes.someone	Whose friend does Peter like?
Sɔga:ʔah ɔgyenawahs someone someone.help.me	someone help me!
Sɔgwehɔ:wəh gəh? you.are.a.real.person Q	Are you Indian?
Tɛʔ daɔ a:hɔwayenawaʔs not emphatic they.would.help.him	(Definitely not); no one will help him.
Tɛʔ daɔ toh ta:ge:. not emphatic there i.wouldn't.go.there	No, I will definitely not go.
Tɛʔ dewagadaʔgaideʔ. not i.am.not.we..	No, I'm not well.
Tɛʔ gaʔtoh deʔga:yeʔ. not anywhere it's.not.lying	It's not laying anywhere.
Tɛʔ gaʔtoh. Tɛʔ giʔ dehe:gə:. not anywhere not just i.didn't.see.him	Nowhere. I didn't see him.
Tɛʔ giʔ sheh. not just that	Maybe not.
Tɛʔ gəh dehse: to: ne:ʔ dwa:yeʔ? not Q you.don't.think that it.is we.all.do	Don't you think we should do that?
Tɛʔ gəh dehsho:yɔ:ʔ not Q he.didn't.return	Did he not come home?
Tɛʔ gəh desho:yɔ:ʔ	Did he not come home?
Tɛʔ gəh neʔ desa:wəh? not Q neʔ it.isn't.yours	Isn't that yours?
Tɛʔ gəh? not Q	Isn't it?
Tɛʔ giʔ gwaʔ dewagadaʔgaideʔ. not just gwaʔ i'm.not.well	I'm just not feeling well.
Tɛʔ giʔ sheh hwaʔ. not just that next	Maybe not.
Tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wəh ɔgweh dege:. not intensifier really person it.is.not	No, you're not really human.
Tɛʔ hne:ʔ dehojətweh. not in.fact he.didn't.plant	No, in fact he did not plant. (emphatic)
Tɛʔ hne:ʔ hwaʔ to ta:ya:wəh. not in.fact next that it.won't.happen	No, that'll never really happen this time.
Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to ta:gyeʔ. not when that i.won't.do.it	I would never do that.
Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to tɔ: ɛsha:gyeʔ. not when that that.one he.will.do.again	No, he'll never do that.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh tɔ: sɔsadɔnhɛ:k. not when that.one you.will.live.again	You'll never come alive again.
Tɛʔ ne:ʔ deɣɛ:. not it.is it.is.not	It's not the one.
Tɛʔ ni: toh ta:ge:ʔ. not me that i.won't.go	No, I'm not going there.
Tɛʔ niʔ ta:gye:na:. not me i.won't.accept.it	I refuse to accept it.
Tɛʔ sgahoʔdɛʔ desɛnɔhdɔʔ. not anything you.don't.know	No, you don't know nothing.
Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ dedo:gehs. not that.one it.is it.isn't true	No, it's not really true.
Tɛʔ tɔdesaʔdre: to:gyɛh! not you.won't.drive over.here	Don't (or you won't) drive that over here!
Tɛʔ toh degahe:ʔ. not there it.isn't.seting.up.on.top.of	It's not setting there.
Tɛʔ toh ta:ge:. not there i.won't.go	No, I will not go (there).
Tɛʔ toh teʔgahe:ʔ. not there it's.not.seting.way.over.there.on.top.of.something	It's not setting way over there.
(tɛʔ) ta:hayɛ:toh not he.won't.plant	(no,) he won't plant
Tɛʔ daɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. not definitely that it.would.happen	It will never happen.
Tɛʔ giʔ daɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. not just definitely that it.would.happen	No, it (just) will not happen.
Tɛʔ giʔ daɔ tayagogaɛ:. not just definitely she.won't.be.willing	No, she (just) will never agree to.
Tɛʔ giʔ hne:ʔ dedo:gehs deʔsa:dɔh. not just in.fact it.isn't.true you.aren't.saying	No, it's not really true what you're saying.
Tɛʔ giʔ ni:ʔ to ta:gye:. not just me that i.won't.do.it	No, I (just) will not do that.
Tgwehɛ:ʔ hahkdɔhs. sometimes he.appears	Sometimes he comes (around).
Tiga:gwe:gɔh tsɔ: agahyagwehɛgyeʔs aknɔhaʔ a:knɔnheht agaʔahdraʔ. here.and.there just i'm.going.along.picking.fruit i.can't i.would.fill.up my.basket	I'm just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I'm unable to fill my basket.
Tigaʔdréhda:deʔ ne:ʔ ahahni:nɔʔ. different.kind.of.car it.is he.bought.it	He bought a different car.
Tina go:gaʔs nawɛʔdaʔ Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy	Tina likes candy
To ɔh ni:yoht. That SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way	I wonder if it's like that.

LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
To qh ni:yohdqhne: that SPECULATE it.used.to.be.a.certain.way	I wonder if it used to be like that; I wonder if that's how it was. (lit.: That, I wonder, if it used to be)
To gaq: ne:ʔ ni:yoht? that Q SPECULATE it.is it.is.a.certain.way	I wonder if it's like that?
To geʔ qh ni:yoht? that Q SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way	I wonder if it's like that?
To giʔ shəh ha:ge:. that just that he.should.go.over.there	Maybe I should go there.
to giʔ tshəh that just that	maybe
To həgyeʔ tshəh age:ji:yoʔ. that it.doesn't.matter that i.am.lame	I'm really crippled (there).
To hq hayəhəʔ. there the.place he.puts.it.there	he's always putting it there
to hq: ha:giʔdrq:daʔk there the.place i.would.dwell.over.there	where I would dwell (over there)
To hq: haʔgeʔ. there the.place i.went.over.there	I went there.
To hq: hə:geʔ dwagye:səh. there the.place i.will.go.over.there it's.cheapest	There I will go where it's cheap (shopping).
To hq: hə:geʔ. there the.place i.will.go.over.there	There I will go.
To hq: sre:hah. there the.place you.put.it	That's where you put it.
to hq:weh ha:yəh there the.place he.puts.it	where he puts or places it
to niyq: that it.is.a.certain.amount	that much
To niyo:weʔ that it.is.a.certain.distance	that far
To tsq:. that just	That's enough! (i.e. stop pouring); there; that much
To: gəh haʔseʔ shəh nho: dedwatgənyo:ʔ there Q you.are.going.over.there that.place the.fair	Are you going to the fair?
To: giʔ tsq: ni:yq:. there just only it.is.a.certain.amount	That's just all there is.
To: ni:yoʔ ne:ʔ hesheʔs. there it.is.a.certain.amount it.is you.are.over.there.again	That's your birthday. (lit.: that's when you come around again.)
To: ni:yoʔ neʔ heha:we:noh. that it.is.a.certain.distance neʔ he.went.over.there	That's as far as he has gone.
To:gyəh hqgweʔdase:ʔah shqgwahyadq:nih. this.one young.man he.writes.for.us	That young man does our writing.
Tq: hwaʔ gi:dqh. that.one hwaʔ i.mean	I mean that one

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
Toʔ geʔq ni:yoht. that Q SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way	I wonder if it's like that.
toh	there, that much
tohgeh	then
Tohgeh gəh nhoweʔ toh naʔa:weh? there Q place that something.happened	Where did it happen?
toh gəh ne:ʔ that Q it.is	if
Toh tsq: niyoweʔ heseʔdrq:ʔ. that just it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.drive.over.there	That's only as far as it will take you.
To niyo:weʔ heʔseʔ waʔheʔ hehsyqʔ. that it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.be.there time you.will.arrive.there	You'll get that far before you arrive.
trehs	because, too much
Trehs giʔ gyɛʔ. too.much just that.one	My goodness!
Trqhgeh tsq: jəgwaihoʔdeʔ. barely only we're.working.again	We're barely working.
Trqhgeh tsq: qəwahdəgyaʔdoh. barely only we.all.started.it	We're just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).
tʂaʔonishəʔ	while, during the time that
Tʂɛ: eʔ neʔ satro:wi:. disgust again neʔ you.are.talking	You're talking about that again! (Expression of disgust.)
shəh hq:(weh) that place	where
shəh naʔonishəʔ that it.took.a.certain.amount.of.time	while
shəh nəya:wəh that it.will.happen	what will happen
shəh nigaha:ʔ neʔ ekqnyaʔtaʔsq:qh that it.holds.something it cooking.utensils	the kinds of things you cook with
shəh niyo:weh that it.is.a.certain.distance	how far
shəh niyo:weh tana:greʔ that it.is.a.certain.distance he.lives.there	How far he is.
shəh niyoht that it.is.a.certain.way	how, in what manner
Shəh q:wəh nito:ne:nq:. that really they.males.come.from.there	Where they really come from.
Tsigogweʔda:seʔ gɛ:s gahyagwahsgəhe:ʔ. when.i.was.a.young.person usually i.used.to.gather.fruit	when I was a young person I usually picked berries
Tsigogweʔda:seʔ gɛ:s gahyagwahsgəhe:ʔ.	When I was a young person I usually picked berries.
tsihaksada:se:	when he was a teenager, a young kid

Sentence with word-by-word gloss	English translation
tsihq̄w'eda:se:	when he was a young man
Wa'gyeh̄ desa'draiheh̄! hey, hurry.up	Would you hurry up!
Wa'heh̄ ahsyq̄'. just.now you.arrive	You finally arrived (just now).
Wa'hehge:ha' ahakq̄:ni'. at.long.last he.cooked	At long last he (just now) decided to cook.
Wa'he tsq̄: aha:tgeh̄. just.now only he.got.up	He just now got up.
Wa'ji:hah to hegyq̄'. later there i.will.arrive.over.there	I will arrive after a while.
Wa'jih, ehtsyā'de'. wait, you.will.fall.there	Wait, you might fall.
Wa'he' gi' gatahi:ne'. just.now just i'm.walking	I'm just getting on my way.

9 PHONOLOGY

- Resources: (Benger 1984; Benger 1985; Chafe & Foster 1981; Doherty 1993; Dyck 1990; Dyck 1997; Dyck 1999c; Dyck 2009; Dyck 1996; Michael K. Foster 1982; Hopkins 1987; Lounsbury 1942; Melinger 1997a; Melinger 1997b; Michelson 1988; Michelson 1989a; Mithun 1979b; Pepper 1986; Postal 1969; Rudes 1974; Rudes 1995; Woodbury 1981)
- Note that most of the examples in this section are in the *linguistic* orthography, not in the *Henry* orthography.

151. The Henry and linguistic orthographies compared

Henry	Linguistic
t	th
d	t
k	kh
g	k
s	sh
ts	tsh
j	ts, tsy

- At the end of words, both writing systems use < t > or < k >, but not < th > or < kh >.

9.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

152. Consonant inventory (Henry orthography shown in angle brackets)

Consonants	Coronal	Dorsal	Laryngeal
Nasal	<n> / n /		
Stop	<d> / t, d / <t> / t ^h /	<g> / k, g / <k> / k ^h /	<ʔ> / ʔ /
Fricative	<s> / s / <s, sh> / s ^h /		<h> / h /
Affricate	<j> / tʃ, dʒ, ts, dʒ / <ts> / ts ^h /		
Approximant	<r> / ɹ /		

153. Vowel inventory

Vowels	<i> / i /		<u> / u / (rare)
	<e> / e / , <ɛ̃> / ɛ̃ /		<o> / o / , <q> / ɔ̃ /
		<a> / a /	

- A few words have a nasalized [ã] sound.

154. nasalized [ã]

ne:ʔ hwaʔ	next; this (coming) time	[hwãʔ]
desdaʔ	stop! stand up! (often spelled as ‘desdaʔn’)	[desdãʔ]

- Phoneticians explain that this kind of phonetic nasalization happens when the vocal tract configuration (in this case, for [a]) favours nasalization (lowering of the velum).

9.2 UNDERLYING VOWEL LENGTH DISTINCTION

- PNI had underlyingly long and short vowels (Rudes 1995:28).
- Underlying length was in some cases preserved in word-final syllables in Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora (Rudes 1995:23).
- In some cases, historically short vowels became long in Cayuga as a result of processes such as r-loss (Foster 1982).

155. Underlyingly long word-final vowels (Cayuga forms are from (Froman et al. 2002) and proto-forms are from (Rudes 1995))

Cayuga	Proto-form
a. -atawɛ: haʔsatawɛ: you swim over there	PI *-atawɛ:- R95:37 bathe, swim
b. -i:, -e: ihse: you want, think	PI *-e:ri- R95:37 believe, think

c.	-i:, -e:	í:wi:	<i>I want, hope</i>	PI *-e:ri-	R95:37	<i>believe, think</i>
d.	-atkɛ:	otkɛ:	<i>it is rotten, decayed; spoilage</i>	PI *-kɛ:h-	R95:42	<i>decay, rot, spoil</i>
				PNI *-atkɛh-		
e.	-ase:	á:se:ʔ	<i>it is new</i>	PNI *-ʔá:cé:ʔ	R95:50	<i>new</i>

156. Underlyingly long non-word-final vowels (Cayuga forms are from (Froman et al. 2002); proto-forms are from (Michelson 1988:170–185)).

	Cayuga		Proto-form	
a.	-he:t- tɛhohé:tahneʔ	<i>he is going along yelling</i>	PLI *-hɛreht-	M88:175 <i>yell</i>
b.	-hka:- sahka:kwáhaʔ	<i>go get some wood chips!</i>	PLI *-o-hká:r-aʔ ³	M88:176 <i>chip of wood</i>

9.3 WORD-FINAL LENGTHENING

- Two word-final lengthening or augmentation processes occur: vowel lengthening, and [h] insertion.
- The lengthening in example (·.b) could be a consequence of Compensatory Lengthening (CL). However, CL does not explain all cases: there is no apparent reason for epenthetic [e] to lengthen in (·.a); no underlying segments are deleted in (·.a), so there is no need for CL.

157. Word-final vowel lengthening

- a. í:se:k *eat it!*
 i-s-e-k
 PROTH-2SA-EPEN-eat
- b. í:ke:s *I eat (all the time)*
 i-k-e-k-s⁴
 PROTH-1SA-EPEN-eat-HABIT

- Example (158) illustrates augmentation of word-final syllables by [h]. In (158.a,b), there is no augmentation because the verb ends with an underlyingly long vowel. In (158.c,d), there is no augmentation because the verb ends with an underlying [h]. Augmentation occurs in (158.e), where the word would end with the syllable [rɛ] unless an [h] were added; for comparison, there is no augmentation in (158.f) because the syllable [rɛʔ] ends with the punctual aspect suffix [-ʔ].

158. Augmentation of word-final syllables by [h]

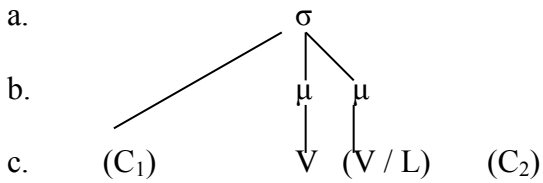
	<i>imperative</i>		<i>punctual</i>
a.	sáhto: <i>dive!</i> s-ahto: 2SA-dive	b.	ɛsáhto:ʔ <i>you will submerge something</i> ɛ-sahto:-ʔ FUT-2SA-dive-PUNC
c.	tahsátshohih <i>bite it!</i> ta-hs-at-shohih CISL-2SA-SRF-bite	d.	hɛhsátshohih <i>you will bite it</i> h-ɛ-hs-at-shohih-ʔ TRANS-FUT-2SA-SRF-bite-PUNC
e.	ithrɛh <i>place it!</i> i-t-hrɛ PROTH-2SA-place	f.	hɛthrɛʔ <i>you will put it back in its place</i> h-ɛ-t-hrɛ-ʔ TRANS-FUT-2SA-place-PUNC

³ The accented [á:] in this example was underlyingly long (Michelson 1988: 176).

⁴ word-final /ks/ is realized as [s:] in Cayuga. See example (·) for further discussion.

9.4 SYLLABIFICATION

159. Cayuga syllable template



- The syllable ‘σ’ (159.a) optionally includes an onset consonant (C₁) or a coda consonant (C₂).
- The nucleus obligatorily contains a vowel (V).
- The vowel can be short (i.e., be linked to one mora ‘m’ on the timing tier; 159.b) or long (i.e., be linked to two moras on the timing tier; 159.b).
- The nucleus optionally contains a laryngeal (L).
- For convenience, the maximal syllable template in (159.c) will be referred to as a CVC syllable template.
- The main evidence for the CVC template is that clusters such as [kr] and [tr] *close the previous syllable* for the purposes of accent assignment (160).
- (A period indicates a syllable boundary in example 160 and elsewhere.)

160. Alternative ways of syllabifying / kr / and / tr / clusters

- a. Assuming a complex onset: CV.trV CV.krV
- b. Assuming a simple onset and coda: CVt.rV CVk.rV

- As shown in (160), if Cayuga allowed two consonants in the onset, then, all things being equal, clusters such as / tr / and / kr / would syllabify in the onset (160.a) — partly due to the principle of Onset Maximization.
- However, if Cayuga allowed only a single consonant in the onset, then clusters such as / tr / and / kr / would be heterosyllabic (160.b).
- A condition against accenting certain closed syllables, described below, provides evidence for the CVC analysis in (160.b).
- Counting from the beginning of the word, odd-numbered *closed* penults cannot be accented; in such cases, the antepenult is accented instead.
- In contrast, even-numbered penults are accented even if they are closed.
- Example (161) illustrates that syllables are closed for the purpose of accent assignment when a vowel is followed by a [tr] or [kr] cluster.

161. Evidence for a CVC template

- | | Odd-numbered closed penults | | Even-numbered closed penults |
|----|---|----|---------------------------------------|
| a. | ɛ.héhs.nɔt.rɛʔ <i>you will follow him</i> | b. | hehs.nɔ́:t.rɛʔ <i>you follow him!</i> |
| | ɛ-hehs-hnɔtrɛʔ | | hehs-hnɔtrɛʔ |
| | FUT-2S:3MS-follow.PUNC | | 2S:3MS-follow |

c.	ak.yót.k.rək.rəht <i>she frowned</i> ⁵ d.	te.ya.kot.k.rək.rəh.təh <i>she is frowning</i>
	a-k-yə-(a)t-krəkərəht	te-yako-(a)t-krəkərəht-əh
	FACT-DUAL-3FIA-SRF-frown.PUNC	DUAL-3FIP-SRF-frown-STAT

- Examples (161.a,c) illustrate that odd-numbered penults closed by [k.r] and [t.r] clusters cannot be accented (the antepenult is accented instead).
- For comparison, examples (161.b,d) illustrate that even-numbered syllables closed by [k.r] and [t.r] sequences *can* be accented.
- Examples such as (161.a,c) demonstrate that [k.r] and [t.r] clusters are heterosyllabic.
- Cayuga therefore has a CVC syllable template.⁶
- A CVC template entails that word-medial clusters can contain at most two consonants.
- Larger clusters do occur: however, in order to syllabify such larger underlying sequences within a CVC template, the continuant segments [h], [ʔ], [w], and [s] are underparsed and realized as secondary articulations (Dyck 1999c). (Even so, the default is to fully parse where possible.)
- Consequently, surface segment sequences contain at most two stop segments (t, k, n), plus a number of continuants (h, ʔ, s, w).

162. Laryngeals

a.	tíʔ.ti:ʔ	<i>blue jay</i>
b.	oʔ.néh.saʔ	<i>sand</i>
c.	kaʔ.ka:ʔ	<i>crow; raven</i>
d.	haʔ.hó:tiʔ	<i>he threw it</i>
e.	ó:kəʔt	<i>it is visible</i>
f.	oh.áʔk.taʔ	<i>soot</i>
g.	aʔ.ə.təh.əh.təh.á.eʔ	<i>she washed her ears</i>
h.	ko.yéht.haʔ	<i>alarm clock</i>
i.	ehs.t ^h aʔ	<i>she / someone uses it</i>
j.	ot.héʔt ^h .raʔ	<i>flour; powder</i>

- Postvocalic laryngeals syllabify in the preceding nucleus (162.a-i), even when they are intervocalic (162.f,g).
- In contrast, postconsonantal laryngeals syllabify either as fully-parsed onset segments (162.d,h,j), or as secondary articulations to other segments (162.i,j).

163. Syllabification of / w /

a.	wəh.təhs	<i>it disappears</i>
b.	a:h.ak.wé:niʔ	<i>he was able to do it</i>
c.	kat.k ^w éʔ.taʔ	<i>wallet, etc.</i>
d.	ka.náhs.k ^w aʔ	<i>tame animal, pet, domestic animal</i>
e.	təh.é.nat.k ^{hw} aʔ	<i>they (m.) dance</i>

⁵ Examples (161.c,d) contain an extrasyllabic consonant; a single extrasyllabic consonant can occur word-initially, and also word-medially. word-medial extrasyllabic consonants only occur at the boundary between the prefixes and the verb stem proper. See Dyck (1999) for further discussion.

⁶ Many analyses of Cayuga accent placement assume that Cayuga makes reference to two syllable templates (see (Michael K. Foster 1982:60,62; Michelson 1988:103)). The CVC template, inherited from Proto-Lake-Iroquoian (Michelson 1988:103), is said to be relevant for accent assignment in odd-numbered penults, while a CCVC template, innovated in Cayuga, is relevant for accent assignment in even-numbered penults. However, a single CVC template is sufficient for both syllabification and accent placement in Cayuga (Dyck 1997; Dyck 1999c).

- / w / can be realized either as a fully-parsed onset segment (163.a,b),⁷ or as a secondary articulation in larger clusters such as [t.k^w], [t.k^{hw}], and [s.k^w] (163.c-e).⁸

164. Syllabification of / s /

- a. só:.wa:s *dog*
- b. ka.náhs.k^wa[?] *tame animal, pet, domestic animal*
- c. ek.sá:?.ah *girl*
- d. o.noh.ot^s.kɛ[?].ɛh *beech tree*
- e. t^sah.kó:.wah *pigeon*
- f. ɛhs.rih.wa.ne[?].ak^s.rɔ:?[?] *you will swear, use profane language*
- g. oh.óh^sk.ra[?] *slippery elm*

- / s / is realized either as a fully-parsed segment in onset (164.a, c) or coda (164.a, b) position, or as a secondary articulation (i.e., as part of an affricate 164.d, e, f).
- It is not clear how to syllabify / s / (within a CVC template), in clusters such as the one in (164.g). The position taken here is merely that in some instances, the syllabification of / s / is exceptional, as in other languages.

9.5 VOWEL SANDHI (COALESCENCE, DELETION)

- When two vowels occur at a morpheme boundary / ...V+V... / , one deletes, or both vowels somehow merge together, so that only one vowel occurs. (This is a common process cross-linguistically, often referred to as vowel sandhi.)
- In Cayuga, vowel coalescence occurs at the boundary between pronominal prefixes and the stem. See the pronominal prefix chart for the evidence for this process, which is summarized below.

165. Vowel sandhi in Cayuga

1st↓ 2nd→	i	e	ɛ	a	o	ɔ, u
i	i+i=i	i+e=e i+V=iyV	i+V=iyV	i+V=iyV	i+V=iyV	i+V=iyV
e	e+i=e	e+e=ɛ*	e+V=ey+V	e+V=ey+V	e+V=ey+V	e+V=ey+V
ɛ						
a	a+i=ɛ	a+e=e		a+a=a	a+o=ay+o	
o	o+i=o	o+e=aw+e		o+a=o	o+o=a+o	
ɔ, u				a+ɔ=ɔ a+ɔ=ay+ɔ		ɔ+ɔ=ɔy+ɔ

⁷ With one exception, sonorant segments, including / w / , do not occur in codas in Cayuga. The exception is / n / in / nr / clusters: o.yá:n.re[?] ? o-yanre[?] / 3NP-good.STAT *it is good*.

⁸ The / k^w / in (163.b-e) is a phoneme in Cayuga; in contrast, however, [s^w] from underlying / sw / is not a phoneme. The underparsing of / w / described in (163) is thus independently needed for word-initial / sw / sequences.

166.a+i → ɛ

a. Coalescence of a+i → ɛ

gɛhe:yɔhs	ga-ihey-ɔhs 3znA-die-habit	it is dying
hɛhe:yɔhs	ha-ihey-ɔhs 3msA-die-habit	he is dying
ehe:yɔhs	e-ihey-ɔhs 3fisA-die-habit	she is dying, on her deathbed

b. No coalescence of a+i → ɛ

habitual	gihe:yɔhs	g-ihey-ɔhs 1sA-die-habit	I am dying
punctual	ɛgihe:ʔ	ɛ-g-ihey-ʔ fut-1sA-die-punct	I will die
stative	awe:tʔa:ʔ agihe:yɔ:	ag-ihey-ɔ: 1sP-die-stat	I'm pretending I am dead

167. / e+e / → [ɛ], but only if the second / e / is the sole vowel of the verb stem. The process applies to two prefixes / (y)e- / 3fis and / gae- / 3fipl.

a. With / -e- / go

Coalescence and nasalization		Lack of coalescence and nasalization	
dɔdaɛʔ dɔda-(y)e-e-ʔ	she is coming back	dɔda:geʔ dɔda-g-e-ʔ	I am coming back
ɛtgaɛʔ ɛt-gae-e-ʔ	they (f / m) will come	ɛteʔ ɛ-t-h-e-ʔ	he will come this way
haʔgaɛʔ haʔ-gae-e-ʔ	they (f / m) are going	haʔseʔ haʔ-s-e-ʔ	you are going
tigaɛʔs ti-gae-e-ʔs	they are roaming about	ti:wehs ti-w-e-hs	a stray animal

b. With / -e:- / think, hope, want

i:yɛ: i-ye-e:	she wants	ihse: i-hs-e:	you want
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168. Preference for no coalescence before ɔ-stems

- ɛgɔ:[y]ɔʔ I will give you
- ɛhswa:[y]ɔʔ, ɛjɔʔ it will give you all, you all will give it
- ɛdwa:[y]ɔʔ I / we will give you all / it; we all will arrive

9.6 R-DELETION

- Resources: (Chafe & Foster 1981:130ff; Michelson 1988:169–187).
- Synchronically and historically, / r / deletes between vowels.
- Morpheme-finally, proto-*r lenited to zero when the following morpheme was vowel-initial (169.a), but became / n / when the following morpheme began with / y / (169.b), resulting in synchronic [n ~ Ø] alternations.

169. [r ~ n] alternations

- a. kanést[aa]ʔ ‘board’
ka-nesta*r-aʔ
IT-board-NSF
- b. enésta[ny]aʔs ‘she is sawing a board’
e-nesta*r-yaʔks
SHE-board-cut.ASP

- Morpheme-initially, synchronic r-deletion results in [r ~ Ø] alternations (170).

170. [r ~ Ø] alternations

- a. ta[khr]ó:wih ‘tell me!’
tak-hrowih
YOU.S;ME-tell.IMP
- b. k[qhó:]wih ‘let me tell you’
kq-hrowih
ME;YOU.S-tell.IMP

- All stems with morpheme-initial / final proto-*r or synchronic / r / pattern like consonant-initial / final stems; such stems do not undergo nor trigger vowel coalescence.

171. R-initial stems

- a. r-deletion resulting in lack of vowel sandhi

aho**ihwá**ʔehs *he was blamed*
a-ho-(r)ihw-a-ʔehs
FACT-3MP-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC

- b. no r-deletion

agr**ihwa**ʔehs *he was blamed*
a-ho-(r)ihw-a-ʔehs
FACT-3MP-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC

- Long [a:] in (i.b) can be viewed as a sequence of two short [a]’s separated by a deleted / r / (Michelson 1988:175–176); there is no need to assume word-medial Compensatory Lengthening (CL).

172. Apparent CL as a result of intervocalic r-loss

- a. srakwáhtakq: *on the ball, sole, of your (sg.) foot*
s-rakwaht-a-kq:
2SA-sole-JOINER-ON
- b. swa:kwahtá:kq: *on your (pl.) soles*
swa-akwaht-a-kq:
2PA-sole-JOINER-ON

9.7 CODA CONSONANTS

- Non-word-final codas pattern differently than word-final codas.
- Non-word-finally, there is only one type of sonorant coda, occurring in [n.r] and [n.y] clusters.⁹

173. Codas containing / n /

- a. oyá:nre[?] *it is good, nice, beautiful*
o-yanre[?]
3NA-beautiful
- b. onráhta[?] *leaf*
o-nraht-a[?]
PREFIX-leaf-NOUN.STEM.FORMER
- c. onyɛ:ta[?] *stem*
o-nyɛt-a[?]
PREFIX-leaf-NOUN.STEM.FORMER
- d. ohnyóhsa[?] *squash; melon*
o-hnyóhs-a[?]
PREFIX-squash-NOUN.STEM.FORMER

- As shown in (173.a), non-word-final coda-[n] *fails* to prevent Tonic Lengthening (TL) or Pre-Tonic Lengthening (PTL). It is not moraic, or does not receive WBP.
- Non-word-final sonorant codas are not moraic.
- Non-word-final obstruent codas similarly fail to prevent TL or PTL; see, e.g., (161.b). Non-word-final obstruent codas are not moraic.
- Word-finally, sonorants pattern differently than obstruents.

174. Word final deletion of / w,n,y / , with apparent CL

Deletion of [w]:

- a. ɛkrá:ke[:][?] *I will erase, wipe*
ɛ-k-rakew-[?]
FUT-1SA-erase-PUNC
- b. kraké:[w]ahs *I am erasing, wiping*
k-rakew-ahs
1SA-erase-HAB

Deletion of / n / :

- c. ɛkhre[:][?] *I will cut it*
ɛ-k-hren-[?]
FUT-1SA-cut-PUNC
- d. khré:[n]ahs *I cut it all the time*
k-hren-ahs
1SA-cut-HAB

Deletion of [y]:

- e. ɛkihe[:][?] *I will die*
ɛ-k-ihey-[?]
FUT-1SA-die-PUNC
- f. hɛhé:[y]qhs *he is dying*
ha-ihey-qhs
3NA-die-HAB

⁹ Some [ny] clusters originated from / ry / or proto *ry clusters. (Michelson 1988)

i. Proto *kar *price*; synchronic [: ~ n] alternation:
a. o:ka:[?] *price* b. a[?]ekanya[?]k *she paid*
o-[?]ga:-a[?] a[?]-e-kan-ya[?]k

Deletion of sonorants, even when they are not followed by glottal stop:

g.	hehoihwəḥə: <i>he has taken a message</i> h.	twəṭəḥə:wihtha' <i>morning star</i> (<i>lit.: it brings the day</i>)
	he(?)-ho-(r)ihw-əḥə:	t-w-ət-əḥə:wi-ht-ha'
	TRANS-3MSP-message-take.STAT	CISL-3NA-day-take-CAUSE-HABIT

- As shown in (174.a-e), underlying word-final / w-ʔ / , / n-ʔ / and / y-ʔ / are realized as [ʔ]. Examples (174.g,h) illustrate that / w / (and perhaps by extension, / y / and / n /) delete word-finally even when not followed by a glottal stop. In other words, / w,n,y / are realized as vowel length in word-final codas.
- / ts / and / ks / are realized as [s] word-finally (175.b-e). This may be a language-particular means of realizing a word-final affricate. (Underlying / ks / and / ts / are realized as single segments ([k^s] and [t^s]) whenever the syllable template can only accommodate a single segment.) Evidence that this is a language-particular strategy is that the same word-final sequences are realized as [ts] and [ks] in Mohawk, etc. (Michelson 1988:12).
- The obstruent (not the glottal stop) is realized in underlying word-final obstruent+glottal stop sequences (175.a).
- In contrast, the glottal stop, not the sonorant, is realized in underlying word-final sonorant+glottal stop sequences (174).

175.word-final obstruents

a.	əha:tó:wa:t <i>he will hunt</i> ə-ha-towat-ʔ FUT-3MSA-hunt-PUNC		
b.	í:ke:s <i>I eat (all the time)</i> i-k-e-k-s PROTH-1SA-EPEN-eat-HABIT	c.	í:se:k <i>eat it!</i> i-s-e-k PROTH-2SA-EPEN-eat
d.	ható:wa:s <i>he is a hunter</i> ha-towat-s 3MSA-hunt-HABIT	e.	sató:wa:t <i>hunt!</i> s-atowat 2SA-hunt

- (Chafe 1977) argues that glottal stop deletes word-finally after an obstruent, and then triggers CL.
- Against CL in (175.a): word-medially, deletion and CL do not occur. Word-finally, vowel lengthening occurs even where CL is not required (c.f., 175.b). The simplest explanation is that there is no CL.
- Summary: the word-final versus non-word-final distinction is important. (Consonants are only deleted word-finally; non-word-finally, deletion is unavailable.)

9.8 LARYNGEALS

- Resources: (Lounsbury 1953:565–569; Foster 1974:260–265; Michael K. Foster 1982:68–71; Chafe 1977:177–178)

- Descriptively, laryngeals ‘prevent’ lengthening of the preceding vowel in lengthening environments (Michelson 1988:118).
- In lengthening environments, laryngeals are realized as non-modally voiced vowels:
- “...a sequence / V² / is realized as [V[̃]V], i.e. as a long vowel with a change in voice quality from modal voice to creaky voice.” (Doherty 1993:107)
- a / Vh / sequence is realized as a long vowel with a change from modal voice to voicelessness, i.e., as [VV] (Doherty 1993).
- The phonetic description in Doherty (1993) makes it clear that laryngeals prevent lengthening in the sense that they realize the second mora of a bimoraic (lengthened) syllable in lengthening environments.
- In contrast, there is no evidence that laryngeals are moraic in non-lengthening environments.
- In non-lengthening environments, laryngeals are realized in two different ways, depending on whether they occur in metrically weak or strong syllables.
- In metrically weak syllables, the laryngeals are underparsed and realized as vowel phonation, a process known as Laryngeal Metathesis. See §9.12 for details of LM.
- Laryngeal Metathesis takes place even when postvocalic laryngeals are intervocalic. Iroquoianists have therefore argued that intervocalic laryngeals syllabify with the preceding syllable.
- Chafe (1970:76) considers intervocalic laryngeals to be ambisyllabic in Onondaga.
- Michelson (1988:64) proposes that intervocalic laryngeals syllabify in the coda of the first syllable in a V-laryngeal-V sequence in Mohawk and in Oneida.
- Benger (reported in (Michelson 1988:118)) proposes that intervocalic laryngeals syllabify in the nucleus with the first vowel of a V-laryngeal-V sequence in Cayuga.
- Doherty (1993:122)‘s phonetic description of Cayuga intervocalic laryngeals are being as non-modally-voiced vowels is consistent with Benger’s analysis of intervocalic laryngeals.
- Laryngeals can occur in onsets (as can any other sonorant in Cayuga). In contrast, there is evidence that they syllabify in the nucleus when post-vocalic, where they can be moraic.
- This patterning unremarkable if the laryngeals are classified as vocoids or approximants, rather than as true consonants
- Doherty (1993:102) makes this claim for Cayuga laryngeals.
- Chomsky and Halle (1968:303,307) make a similar claim for laryngeals cross-linguistically.
- Laryngeals fail to pattern like true consonants in other respects: for example, while sonorant consonants such as / n, w, y / delete word-finally after a vowel, the laryngeals do not delete in the same environment.

9.9 EPENTHESIS

- There are two types of epenthesis in Cayuga words.

- E-epenthesis inserts an [e] at the boundary between prefixes and a following verb or noun stem (stem),¹⁰ where required for syllabification purposes, as well as between / tt / and / kk / sequences. Example (176.a) shows e-epenthesis (highlighted) between the ‘semireflexive’ (SRF) morpheme and the following noun stem / trɛn / ‘odour’; for comparison, (176.b) illustrates a parallel environment where e-epenthesis is not required.

176.E-epenthesis between SRF and noun stem

- a. *o.tɛt.rɛ.ná.iʔ*
o-(a)t-trɛn-a-iʔ
3ZNP-SRF-odour-be.stuck.to.something
‘an odour’
- b. *kat.rɛ.no.wá:.nɛh*
ka-trɛn-owanɛh
3ZNA-odour-big
‘a big smell, odour, scent’

- Example (177.a) shows e-epenthesis between the pronominal prefix ‘you (sg.)’ and the following verb stem, / ktɔ:/ ‘examine’; for comparison, (177.b) illustrates a similar environment where e-epenthesis is not required.

177.E-epenthesis between pronominal prefix and verb stem

- a. *sEk.tɔ:*
s-ktɔ:
2S-examine
‘examine it!’
- b. *tʷak.tɔ:*
twa-ktɔ:
1INCLP-examine
‘let us all (inclusive) look’

- A second type of epenthesis involves joiner-[a], shown below. The joiner vowel can be analysed as an epenthetic vowel, since, in most cases, the presence of the joiner vowel is required for syllabification purposes between derivational morphemes and stems.
- In other cases, however, the presence of a joiner vowel is morphologically conditioned. (See Michelson 1988, chapter 6 for an overview of the relevant conditions.)
- Example (178.a) illustrates a joiner vowel, required for syllabification purposes, between the noun and verb stems; for comparison, example (178.b) shows a parallel environment where the joiner vowel is not required.

178.The joiner vowel ([a]-epenthesis) between the noun and verb stems

- a. *tekatnɔhsÁhsnyeh*
te-k-at-nɔhs-a-hsnye-h
DUAL-1SA-SRF-house-JOINER-clean.up-HABIT
‘I am cleaning up the house’
- b. *ka.nɔh.so:t*

¹⁰ Where necessary for clarity, the term ROOT will denote a lexical unit that does not take affixes and the term STEM will denote a lexical unit that takes affixes. Otherwise, the term STEM will constitute a cover term for both stems and roots.

ka-nqhs-ot
 3ZNA-house-be.standing
 ‘a (standing) house’

- Example (179.a) illustrates a joiner vowel, required for syllabification purposes, between the verb stem and a following derivational affix (the instrumental); for comparison, example (179.b) illustrates a parallel environment not requiring a joiner vowel.

179. The joiner vowel ([a]-epenthesis) between a verb stem and a derivational affix

a. *q.ten.ya.t^{sh}ó.tA_h.k^{hw}a[?]*
q-(a)t-nyatsh-ot-a-hkhwa[?]
 3FIA-SRF-braid-be.standing-JOINER-INSTR
 ‘bobby pin; barrette’

b. *eh.yá.tq_h.k^{hw}a[?]*
e-hyatq-hkhwa[?]
 3FIA-write-INSTR
 ‘pen, pencil’

- Finally, example (180.a) illustrates an environment where the presence of joiner-[a] is morphologically conditioned; joiner-[a] is required at the juncture between an incorporated noun stem and a following verb stem; meanwhile, as examples (180.b,c) illustrate, an epenthetic vowel is not required between [(h)s] and [y] elsewhere.

180. Morphologically-conditioned joiner vowel ([a]-epenthesis)

a. *ęk.nq_h.sA.yé:to[?]*
ę-k-(?)nqhs-a-yetw-[?]
 FUT-1SA-onion-JOINER-plant-PUNC
 ‘I will plant onions’

b. *s^ya[?].tóh.a.i*
s-ya[?]t-ohai
 2S-body-wash
 ‘give it a bath!’

c. *ka^hs.yá.tak.ye[?]*
ka-hsy-a-takye[?]
 3ZNA-herd-JOINER-be.standing.along
 ‘a passing herd’

- While the above examples illustrate that epenthesis applies within the Cayuga word, example (181) shows that epenthesis fails to apply between Cayuga words. In (181.a), epenthesis fails to apply between two [k]’s belonging to separate Cayuga words. In contrast, as shown in (181.b), epenthesis between two [k]’s is obligatory within Cayuga words.

181. No epenthesis between words

a.	<i>Awathqkaík keh_{sín}’akeh.</i>	
	<i>a-wa-(a)t-hqkai-k</i>	<i>k-hsin-a’keh</i>
	FACT-3ZNA-SRF-stiffen-MOD	1SA-leg-on

‘My leg stiffened up’

- b. əkEka:kwé:ni?
 ē-k-ka:-kweni-?
 FUT-1SA-price-be.able.to.do.something-PUNCT
 ‘I will afford it’

9.10 MINIMAL SIZE CONSTRAINTS

- Minimal size constraints require prosodic constituents to consist of a minimal number of syllables or mora.
- In Cayuga, there are two minimal size constraints, one for nouns and verbs, and one for particles and word-final syllables. Nouns and verbs must be at least two syllables long. In contrast, particles and word-final syllables must have at least two moras; specifically, they consist of a single syllable with a long rhyme.

9.10.1 PROTHESIS (TWO-SYLLABLE WORD MINIMUM)

- In Northern Iroquoian languages, the prothetic vowel [i] is added just in case a verb has only one vowel (Chafe 1977:170; Michelson 1988:119).
- In Proto-Northern Iroquoian (PNI) and in some daughter languages prothesis took place in order to produce an accentable (disyllabic) word (Chafe 1977:170). However, prothesis often fails to create accentable words in Cayuga; for example, the word in (182), is not accentable.¹¹

182. Prothesis

itktaʔk *I was standing there* (Mithun & Henry 1984:567)
i-t#k-taʔ-k
PROTH-CISL-I-stand.up-MODALIZER

- Prothesis could also be viewed as an augmentation processes, taking place in order to create minimally-sized words: McCarthy and Prince (1986 / 1999:243; xx reference not in Zotero) argue that in languages with constraints on minimal word size, the Strict Layering Hypothesis (SLH) requires Pwds to contain at least one foot. Augmentation processes thus take place to ensure a minimal foot—and Pwd—size. Prothesis in languages related to Cayuga, including Mohawk, can be analysed as resulting from such a minimal Pwd-size constraint (Michelson 1988:54).

9.10.2 UNMOTIVATED PROTHESIS

- Some instances of prothesis are apparently unmotivated, occurring in words that already have two vowels. However, there is a straightforward explanation of such cases, since words unmotivated prothesis have non-cohering suffixes.
- Examples (183.a, c) illustrate the prototypical environment of [i]-prothesis, where a prothetic [i] occurs if a verb word would otherwise contain only one syllable). In contrast, examples (183.b, d, e) display apparently

¹¹ Calculating ‘even’ and ‘odd’ numbering from the beginning of the word, an odd-numbered penult cannot be accented if it is closed. In longer words containing an odd-numbered penult, the antepenult is accented instead; however in words with no antepenult, the word remains accentless. See §6 for details about accent placement.

unmotivated prothesis: the words in (183.b, d, e) are already two syllables in length *without* the prothetic word-initial [i].

183. Unmotivated prothesis

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. ihse: <i>you (s) want</i>
i-hs-e:
PROTH-2SA-want.STAT¹²</p> | <p>b. ihsé:hah <i>you (s) gloat</i>
i-hs-é:-hah
PROTH-2SA-want.STAT-DIM</p> |
| <p>c. ihe: <i>he wants</i>
i-h-e:
PROTH-3MSA-want.STAT</p> | <p>d. ihé:hah <i>he thinks highly of himself;</i>
<i>his thoughts</i>
i-h-é:-hah
PROTH-3MSA-want.STAT-DIM</p> |
| | <p>e. iwá:kʔah <i>(it is) near</i>
i-w-á:kʔah
PROTH-3ZNA-be.short.STAT-DIM</p> |

- The exceptionally prothetic words in (183.b, d, e) all end in one of the two diminutive suffixes / -hah / (183.b, d) or / -ʔah / (183.e).¹³ These suffixes are non-cohering suffixes, which have the type of structure illustrated in (184.a).¹⁴ In contrast to the regular type of suffix illustrated in (184.b), non-cohering suffixes fail to form a unit with the preceding stem domain.¹⁵

184. Representation of non-cohering suffixes

- a. Non-cohering suffix: [(verb stem) (affix)]_{wd}
- b. Regular suffix: [(verb stem + affix)]_{wd}

- Examples such as [ktakseʔ] *I am running* / k-takseʔ / 1SA-run.PURP.PRES illustrate that prothesis is *not* a requirement of the prefix span, which, in such words, remains without a prothetic vowel

9.10.3 ONE-SYLLABLE WORDS (PARTICLES, SOME KINSHIP TERMS)

- Some kinship terms like kso:t *mother* have no prothetic vowel and so are only one syllable in length. Similarly, particles are only one syllable long. Such one-syllable words have long rhymes, and are in this sense analogous to word-final syllables, which also must be long.

185. Examples of one-syllable words with long rhymes: e:ʔ *again*, hniʔ *and*, shəh *that*, neʔ *the*.

- Particles ending with [h] have a final [h] when in isolation (186.a), but do not have this final [h] in other contexts, as in (186.b). This is because of [h] augmentation, described in §9.3. [h]-augmentation provides evidence that (a) some particles are underlyingly short, as in /shə/ *that*; and that (b) they must be long when they are citation forms or words in isolation (as in [shəh]).

186. Particles with [h]-augmentation

- a. **shəh** *that*
- b. **shəniyó:weʔ** *how far it is*

¹² This verb stem can be glossed as *think, hope, or want*.

¹³ The verb in (183.e) does not occur without a diminutive suffix. In contrast, the examples in (183.a-d) illustrate that the other verbs can occur without a diminutive suffix.

¹⁴ Raffelsiefen (1999:164; xx reference not in Zotero) proposes a similar structure for English non-cohering suffixes such as *-hood, -less*.

¹⁵ The structure in 184.a violates the Strict Layering Hypothesis; the suffix(es) in question are either not parsed prosodically, or link directly to a unit above the Pwd level.

9.11 ACCENT, TONIC LENGTHENING (TL) AND PRETONIC LENGTHENING (PTL)

- Distinguish between accent in citation forms / isolated words and accent of words in context.
- Word accent is on the final syllable when words are *non-utterance-final* (Chafe 1977:170; Foster 1974; Michael K. Foster 1982).

187. Final Accent in (non-)utterance-final words

a. Non-utterance-final word:

aka:tho:té? ... *I heard it...*

ho?tré? ... *he is driving...*

b. Utterance-final word, or word in isolation:

aka:tho:te? *I heard it.*

tehsta? *stand up! stop!*

- words which have no accent when utterance-final or when in isolation, have a final accent when non-utterance-final.

188. Non-final Accent

a. even; closed by a consonant cluster; TL	hayé:th.wahs	<i>he plants</i>
b. even; closed by a laryngeal	akawəkəh.ə:?	<i>it used to be mine</i>
c. even; open; containing [a]; TL	hotəhswe?etá:nih	<i>he is hungry</i>
d. even; open; TL	ahé:kə?	<i>I saw him</i>
e. odd; open; TL and PTL	aka:khé:kə?	<i>I saw them</i>
f. odd; containing [a]	akatəhswe?tanih	<i>I am hungry</i>
g. odd; closed by a consonant cluster	əháyet.ho?	<i>he will plant</i>
h. odd; closed by a laryngeal	howəkəh.ə:?	<i>it used to be his</i>

- All even-numbered penults are accented (188.a-d).
- They are lengthened by a process known as Tonic Lengthening (TL; 188.a,c,d), unless they are followed by glottal stop / ʔ / or / h / (188.b).
- The absence of TL before laryngeals is explained elsewhere; briefly, even-numbered penults containing laryngeals are already bimoraic or long by virtue of containing a moraic laryngeal.
- Odd-numbered open penults not containing [a] are accented (188.e).
- They are also lengthened due to TL (188.e)
- In such words, the (even-numbered) antepenults are also lengthened by the process known as PreTonic Lengthening (PTL; 188.e). (As before, lengthening fails to take place in such even-numbered antepenults if the relevant syllable contains an (already moraic) laryngeal.)
- Odd-numbered, open penults containing underlyingly short [a] are not accented — the antepenult is accented instead (188.f).

- Similarly, odd-numbered *closed* penults are not accented — the antepenult is accented instead (188.g, h).
- Syllables are closed either by a consonant cluster such as / tr / (188.g;), or by a single intervocalic laryngeal (188.h).
- One principled exception to accent assignment as described in (188) has to do with smaller words. Smaller words fail to receive Accent (189) when in isolation because they do not meet the conditions for Accent assignment outlined in (188).

189. Accentless words

- Odd-numbered penult containing [a]; no antepenult
aki[?] *it is said*
- Odd-numbered penult closed by a laryngeal; no antepenult
ihe: *he wants*
i-h-e:
PROTH-3MSA-want.STAT
- Odd-numbered, closed penult; no antepenult
etwe:[?] *we all went together*
e-tw-e:[?]
FACT-1IPA-go.PURP.PAST

- Other principled exceptions to accent assignment (188) are due to Accent Shift (190). Accent Shift can result in pre-antepenultimate accent (190.a,b).

190. Accent Shift

- ha[?]tekáɛnake: *all kinds of songs*
ha[?]-te-ka-(r)ɛn-ake:
TRANS-DUAL-3NA-song-be.a.certain.number.of
- ɔkyatáokɛɛ:[?] *my former ceremonial friend*
ɔky-at-ao-kɛɛ:[?]
1IDP-SRF-friend-FORMER
- áoka[?]t *it is rough*
a-oka[?]t
3NA-rough.STAT

- Lengthening of accented vowels in hiatus is blocked (a fact first observed by (Benger 1984:45–49)).
- Accent shift can also create a situation in which the first vowel of a word—an odd-numbered penult—is accented (190.c).
- The examples in (190) illustrate that odd-numbered / a / is not inherently unaccentable. (Interestingly, there are no cases in which / a / is the second of two vowels in hiatus; the morphophonemics ‘conspire’ to prevent this.)

9.12 LARYNGEAL METATHESIS

- While the primary foot of the Cayuga word is marked by pitch accent, secondary feet are abstract. Evidence that they exist includes (a) the even- versus odd- count, described above; and (b) a process (mis-)named Laryngeal Metathesis (LM; (Lounsbury 1963:565–569; Foster 1974:260–265; Chafe 1977:177–178; Michael K. Foster 1982:68–71)).
- LM affects the weak (first) syllable of an iamb (Foster 1974:260–265; Michael K. Foster 1982:68–71) and has been viewed as a type of iambic shortening (Hayes 1995:223). LM is illustrated in (192) - (194). As shown by the phonetic transcriptions in (192) - (194), LM is really a process of feature spreading, rather than metathesis (Mithun 1989:252–253; Doherty 1993:276–294); LM of / h / is realized as devoicing of the entire syllable in question, while LM of / ʔ / is realized as glottalization or creaky-voicing of the syllable in question.
- As shown in (191), LM (and the even- versus odd- count provide evidence for abstract secondary feet within the Cayuga word. Odd-numbered syllables (σ) followed by a laryngeal potentially undergo LM, while even-numbered syllables (σ') do not.

191. Laryngeal Metathesis and foot structure

$[(\sigma \sigma')_{IAMB} (\sigma \sigma')_{IAMB} \dots]_{CAYUGA \text{ WORD}}$

- The third and fifth syllables in (192.a) have undergone LM, triggered by postvocalic [h]. LM here results in devoicing. In contrast, the second and fourth syllables in (192.b) have not undergone LM because they are even-numbered. (Periods denote syllable boundaries. Curly brackets represent foot boundaries; only non-controversial foot boundaries are shown.)

192. LM in syllables closed by [h]

a. $a^? \text{q} \text{t} \text{a} \text{h} \text{q} \text{h} \text{t} \text{ó} \text{h} \text{á} \text{e}^?$
 $a^?-(y) \text{q}-(a) \text{t}-\text{a} \text{h} \text{q} \text{h} \text{t}-\text{ó} \text{h} \text{á} \text{e}^?$
 FACT-3FIA-ear-wash-PUNC
 feet: $\{a^? . \text{q}\} \{\text{t} \text{a} \text{h} . \text{q} \text{h}\} \{\text{t} \text{ó} \text{h} . \text{á}\} e^?$
 phonetic: $[a^? . \text{ð} . \text{t} \text{a} . \text{ð} \text{h} . \text{t}^w . \text{á} . \text{e}^?]$
 ‘she washed her ears’

b. $\text{q} \text{t} \text{a} \text{h} \text{q} \text{h} \text{t} \text{ó} \text{h} \text{á} \text{e}$
 $\text{q}-(a) \text{t}-\text{a} \text{h} \text{q} \text{h} \text{t}-\text{ó} \text{h} \text{á} \text{e}$
 3FIA-SRF-ear-wash.STAT
 feet: $\{\text{q} . \text{t} \text{a} \text{h}\} \{\text{q} \text{h} . \text{t} \text{ó} \text{h}\} \{\text{a} . \text{e}\}$
 phonetic: $[\text{ð} . \text{d} \text{a} \text{h} . \text{ð} \text{h} . \text{d} \text{ó} \text{h} . \text{a} . \text{e}]$
 ‘she is washing her ears’

- Finally, LM fails to take place when the vowel is both preceded and followed by a laryngeal, as shown in the third syllable in (192.b).
- The odd-numbered penult in (193.a) has undergone LM, triggered by a postvocalic glottal stop [ʔ]. In this case, LM of [ʔ] results in creaky voicing. In contrast, the penult in (193.b) has not undergone LM because it is even-numbered.

193.LM in syllables closed by [ʔ]

- a. əhshéhwʔaehs
 ə-hshe-(ri)hw-a-ʔehs
 FUT-2S:3S-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC
 feet: {əh.shéh} {wʔa. ehs}
 phonetic: [əh.sʰéh.wə.ɛhs]
 ‘you will blame someone’
- b. ahojhwáʔehs
 a-ho-(r)ihw-a-ʔehs
 FACT-3MP-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC
 feet: {ah.o} {ih.wáʔ} ehs
 phonetic: [ah.o.ɨ.wáʔ.ɛhs]
 ‘he was blamed’

- The examples in (194) illustrate that LM can affect the first syllable of the Cayuga word.

194.LM in Cayuga word-initial syllables

- a. tehənáqhaʔ
 te-hən-aq-haʔ
 DUAL-3MP-race-HABIT
 feet: {teh.ə} {ná. q. haʔ}
 phonetic: [te.hě.ná.ðh.aʔ]
 ‘they (males) are racing’
- b. tekənáqhaʔ
 te-kən-aq-haʔ
 DUAL-3ZNPA-race-HABIT
 feet: {te.kə} {ná. qh. aʔ}
 phonetic: [te.kě.ná.ðh.aʔ]
 ‘they (animals) are racing’

- Nevertheless, LM fails to take place if the first syllable of the Cayuga word is onsetless.
- Finally, LM fails to take place in Cayuga word-final syllables (194.a). This is because the final syllable is an accentable head; LM only affects non-head syllables.

9.13 ODD-NUMBERED [A] AND WEIGHTLESS VOWELS

- Calculating even and odd from the beginning of the word, even-numbered penults containing [a] (195.a) can be accented (and lengthened). In contrast, odd-numbered penults containing [a] cannot be accented; the antepenult is accented instead (195.b).

195.Accenting penults containing [a]

- a. Even-numbered penults
 hotqhswʔetá:nih
 he is hungry

- b. Odd-numbered penults
 akatq̄hswéʔtanih
I am hungry

- Odd-numbered [a] *can* be accented if it immediately precedes a penultimate vowel (196). The penult in (196) would normally be accented. However the rule of Accent Shift requires that accent moves to the antepenult when the antepenult and penult are in hiatus. As shown in (196), Accent Shift indiscriminately applies to any vowel, including odd-numbered [a].

196. Odd-numbered [a] in hiatus is accented: táokyeʔ *it is coming, floating along (in the water)*

- Underlyingly long penultimate vowels are accented regardless of odd-or even-numbered status. For example, underlyingly long / ɔ: / is accented in (197.a), even though the penult in (197.a) violates the condition against accenting odd-numbered penults followed by a laryngeal (188.e). Similarly, odd-numbered, penultimate / a: / 's are accented if they are underlyingly long, as shown in (197.b). Any underlyingly long vowel—including [a]—is accentable without condition.

197. Accentuation of underlyingly long vowels

- a. otsiʔnɔwaʔshɔ:ʔqh *insects*
 o-tsiʔnɔw-a-shɔ:ʔqh
3N-insect-JOINER-PLURALIZER

- b. kanyatá:kɔ: *in the lake*
 ka-nyata:-kɔ:
3N-lake-in

- When underlyingly long / a: / 's are shortened they are once again unaccentable: in (198), the long / a: / of the stem / nɔʔa: / *head* has been shortened in order to avoid a trimoraic sequence, [a:ɛ]. Once shortened, the odd-numbered, penultimate [a] cannot be accented, and the antepenult is accented instead (as in 188.g).

198. Shortening of long / a: /

kanɔʔaɛʔ *a head lying on the ground*
 ka-nɔʔa:-ɛʔ
3N-head-lie

- The ban against accenting odd-numbered [a] has more to do with vowel length than quality.
- Moraic theory: short and long vowels are distinguished by the number of underlying mora (Hyman 1985; McCarthy & Prince 1986; Hayes, 1989; references not in Zotero). Short vowels have one mora (199.a) and long vowels have two (199.b).

199. Vowel length

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---|------|--------------------|----|------|
| a. | short vowels | | b. | long vowels | | |
| | μ | μ | | μμ | μμ | |
| | | | | \\ | \\ | |
| | i | a | etc. | i: | a: | etc. |

- A different type of contrast between long / a: / and short / a / has developed in Cayuga. While underlying long / a: / has two moras, underlying short / a / has no underlying moras. Short / a / thus differs from other short vowels in Cayuga.

200. Underlying representations for vowels

a.	short vowels (i, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, u)	b.	long vowels (i:, e:, ɛ:, o:, ɔ:, u:)	c.	Mora-less short / a /
	μ V		μμ \\ V:		a

- Weightless vowels, or vowels without an underlying timing unit, have been posited for many language families, including Salishan (Shaw; references not in Zotero), Algonquian (LeSourd 1993; references not in Zotero), and Iroquoian (Michelson 1989b).
- Algonquian: LeSourd (1993:115ff; references not in Zotero) argues that inherently unaccentable [ə]’s in Passamaquoddy have no representation on the timing tier, whereas other short vowels do. LeSourd then posits various mechanisms which provide moras to such vowels in special contexts, rendering inherently unaccentable vowels accentable (but not necessarily accented). Crucially, mora-less vowels receive moras only in order to meet independent prosodic requirements. For example, LeSourd (1993:119-12; references not in Zotero) demonstrates that timing units are inserted in order to license otherwise stray word-medial consonants. The epenthetic timing unit then links a the ‘floating’ schwa.
- Some Iroquoian languages developed a three-way contrast (between long, short and weightless vowels) from an historic, two way contrast (between long and short vowels): historically, Proto-Northern Iroquoian (PNI) maintained an underlying contrast between long and short vowels (Rudes 1995:28). The PNI vowel length contrasts were preserved in word-final syllables in Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora (Rudes 1995:23).
- Several Iroquoian languages then developed weightless vowels. The best documented case, that of Mohawk, is presented in Michelson (1989b). Although Mohawk lost the historic PNI length distinction, it developed a distinction between short vowels with one underlying mora / i, e, a, o, ʌ, ẽ / and two short vowels, / a, e / , without underlying moras. (Mohawk / ʌ / is cognate with Cayuga / ɔ / , and / ẽ / with / ɛ / .) Michelson (1989b:52 ff) analyses inherently unaccentable [e]’s and [a]’s in Mohawk as mora-less.
- Cayuga not only preserved a contrast between underlyingly long and short vowels (as defined in 199), but also innovated one mora-less vowel, / a / . A similar innovation occurred in Mohawk, except that Mohawk developed two weightless vowels / a / and / e / (and lost the long versus short contrast).
- Weightless vowels are inherently ‘invisible’ to accent. However, they can be rendered ‘visible’ to accent purposes if they happen to acquire one or even two moras. Weightless vowels acquire moras in order to prevent constraint violations. The environments of Vocalic Weight By Position are varied, as the following non-comprehensive survey of various language families shows.

9.14 PHONOLOGY ABOVE THE WORD

This section of the course notes includes findings from Lana William's thesis (Williams 2013) and Behak Rueentan's thesis (Rueentan 2014).

9.14.1 PARTICLE ACCENTUATION AND PARTICLE GROUPS

- Cayuga particles can be accented on their own, but usually their accentuation is somehow dependent on surrounding words. The accentuation of Cayuga particles is also different from the pattern for nouns and verbs. First, particles in isolation have an accent: in (201.a) below, *té[?]* is shown as an accented citation form. In context, particles can occur either with no accent, as in (201.b), or with an accent, as in (201.c):

201. Particle accentuation (Henry 2005)

- té[?] no*
- Ne[?] gyé:[?] tɛ[?] de[?]agashá:[?]s Now, I don't remember...*
it again no I.don't.remember
- Té[?] de[?]agohsdó:[?] She never used...*
not she.didn't.use.it

- This is different from the accentuation of nouns and verbs in that any noun or verb that can be accented, will be accented somehow.
- Cayuga particles can optionally form prosodic groups with the surrounding words, or with each other. Example (202) gives examples of particle groups in Cayuga. In (202.a) the group is a verb followed by a particle. In (202.b) the group is a particle followed by a verb. The groups in (202.c-d) consist solely of particles. The second line shows how each word (in this case a verb or particle) would be accented if pronounced in isolation (or as a citation form).

202. Particle groups (Dyck 2009)

- hadadi[?]dré[?]tsó: he was just riding*
hadádi[?]dre[?] tsó:
drag just
- shɛniyó:we[?] how much, how many, how far, until*
shéh niyó:we[?]
that be.a.certain.distance
- gi[?]tsó: just...*
gí[?] tsó:
just, really only, just
- negi[?]tsó: it's just that...*
né:[?] gí[?] tsó:
it is just, really only, just

- Particle groups consist of 'strong' and 'weak' versions of particles. Strong particles are prosodically prominent and weak ones are prosodically non-prominent.

- Prosodically prominent (strong) forms, such as citation forms in isolation, have a pitch-accent (for example the citation form *tsó:*).
- Prosodically non-prominent (weak) particles do not have an accent (i.e. their pitch is not higher than surrounding words in context). In addition, weak forms might have shortened vowels, as in (202.d) above, where / ne:ʔ / is produced as [ne].
- Weak particles can have shortened rhymes that lack moraic [ʔ], as in *giʔ* in (202.c-d) above. Finally, weak particles can be realized without ‘euphonic’ [h], like [shɛ] in (202.b), whose strong form is [shɛh]. Accentuation, shortening, and euphonic [h] affect N / V-word-units as well, but in qualitatively different ways than in particles.
- The system of prominence for N / V-word-units is different from the system for particles (Column A); but for both systems (Column B), long vowels are longer than short vowels, and accented vowels have a higher pitch than unaccented vowels. (Rueentan 2014:50–51)

203. Summary of N / V and P systems of prominence (Rueentan 2014:50–51)

		A	B
Duration	N / V	l / a > l / u > s / u > s / a	long > short
	P	l / a > l / u > s / a > s / u	long > short
Pitch	N / V	s / a > l / a > l / u > s / u	accented > unaccented
	P	/ l / a > s / a > s / u > l / u	accented > unaccented

- The following, from (Rueentan 2014:22–25).
- Match theory (Selkirk 2009; 2011; references not in Zotero), which accounts for the relation between syntactic and prosodic constituents using the framework of Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993 / 2004; references not in Zotero).
- MATCH (clause, ι): A clause in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Intonational Phrase (ι), in phonological representation
- MATCH (phrase, φ): A phrase in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Prosodic Phrase (φ), in phonological representation.
- MATCH (word, ω): A word in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Prosodic Word (ω), in phonological representation.
- Mismatches between syntactic and phonological units arise when markedness constraints are ranked above Match correspondence constraints (Selkirk 2011; references not in Zotero)
- In Cayuga, well-formed N / V-word-units (possibly, φ) satisfy the following markedness constraint:

204. BINMIN (φ, σ) N / V-word-units must be minimally disyllabic

- Particles (ω) violate (204) as they are only one syllable long. However, their accented ('strong') forms satisfy a separate constraint that requires Pwds to be minimally binary (assuming iambic, quantity-sensitive feet):

205. BINMIN (ω , Ft) Pwds must consist of at least one Foot

- For example, the strong form of the particle $ne^?$ (with a moraic [?]) is a well-formed prosodic word because it is bimoraic. In contrast, the weak form of this particle, $ne^?$ (with a non-moraic [?]), is not a well-formed Prosodic word because it does not meet minimal size constraints for Pwds.
- Deriving particle groups

206. Right-edge boundary placement: place a right-edge boundary

- a. after every accented word
- b. after euphonic [h]
- c. before a pause

207. Left-edge boundary placement: place a left-edge boundary

- a. immediately after a right-edge prosodic boundary
- b. after a pause.

208. Resulting structures (numbers refer to lines in (Henry 2005))

- a. (Do: gwa[?] gɛ:s)(n[?]aonishé[?]) ... (MHS_4)
- b. (Jadohsw[?]edá:nih) (gɛH) | (Ó:) | ... (MHS_28)
- c. (Ne[?] gi[?] agásha:[?]s) (shɛh) (MHS_23)
- d. (Né[?]) (ni:[?] ahí:[?]) (ɛga:tro:wí[?]) (MHS_1)

- Below, from (Rueentan 2014:59–60)

209. Cliticization: PWds (particles) merge with adjacent units and become prosodically subordinate, in order to avoid Match violations.

- If $de^?$ in (210.a) is analyzed as part of the same unit as the verb, Laryngeal Metathesis would no longer apply to the penult, which would now be even-numbered. The resulting structure would be $*(de^?$ niyogyehá[?]), wrongly predicts that [gye] is even-numbered, and therefore not subject to Laryngeal Metathesis. This can be resolved by assuming that the particle is a prosodic clitic and only the innermost brackets are the domain of accent placement, which $de^?$ is not part of (210.b).

210. phrase with a P+V combination

- a. $de^?$ niyogyehá[?] (MHS_87)
- b. $(de^?$ (niyogyehá[?]))

9.14.2 INTONATION

- Pitch and intensity work together to signal metrical prominence in words; pitch is the best cue (Williams 2013; Ruentan 2014).
- Cayuga speakers do not employ the modulation of pitch to define phrase-types, except for WH- questions, for which the pitch is significantly higher than for any other phrase-type. This finding suggests that WH-questions have a special type of intonation contour. (Williams 2013:84)
- Particles are less prominent than other words (Williams 2013:86)
- Double-accented words are the most prominent (Williams 2013:87).
- For words with a single-accent, distinguish between finally- and non-finally-accented words (Williams 2013:88).
- Words with final accent have greater pitch / intensity, suggesting that the right edge of words with final accent is marked by a special type of high tone. The narrower range of pitch and intensity on final-accent words suggests that such words are not followed by a L tone. (Williams 2013:89)
- Intonation patterns consist of (a) a pitch accent (H*); (b) a boundary tone (H% or L%).
- Narrative (declarative) phrases and yes-no questions; [H* L%] (single-accented verb); [H* H%] (double-accented verb). (Williams 2013:131)
- Quotatives: pitch reset (Williams 2013:122)
- The second case consists of WH- questions, where, the typical pattern is to have a pitch accent (H) occurring on the WH-word, followed by a drop in pitch (i.e. a L tone) that continues to the end of the phrase. This creates a contour in which the pitch peak occurs much further to the left in the phrase than it would ordinarily; in particular, the last word of the phrase has no pitch peak. An example of this H L L pattern. (Williams 2013:104–105 ff)
- The intonation contour of the WH- phrase is [H* L- L%], with a pitch accent (H*) on the WH-word, followed by a L that continues to the phrase end, where there is a low boundary tone. (Williams 2013:138)

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Cayuga pronominal prefix paradigms

Draft edition
Carrie Dyck

Table of Contents

Large pronominal prefix table	1
Adjectival verbs, subject is 'IT'	3
Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'	5
Agent prefixes	5
Patient prefixes	8
Non-adjectival, intransitive verbs	10
Agent series, A stem	10
Agent series, E stem	12
Agent series, I stem	14
Agent series, O stem	15
Patient series, A stem	16
Patient series, E stem	18
Patient series, I stem	20
Patient series, O stem	21
Interactive prefixes, transitive verb	22
Interactive, all stems	22
Agent/interactive, all stems	25
Patient/interactive, all stems	26

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Based on Dyck, Carrie. 2013. *Cayuga pronominal prefixes*.

Cayuga Pronominal Prefix Chart (the gy/ky dialect)

		1 singular PATIENT	1 dual PATIENT	1 plural PATIENT	2 singular PATIENT	2 dual PATIENT	2 plural PATIENT	3 singular PATIENT			3 non-singular PATIENT				
								zoic/neuter/Ø	male	feminine-indef	zoic	male	female		
1 singular AGENT					56 gɔ-C.ɨ go-n	57 kni-C kn-e,i,o	58 gwa-C gw-a,e gwɛ-ɨ gy-o	1 g k-n ge-k, ʔn	25 hi-/he-C hiy-/hey-V h/he-ɨ	40 ke-C.ɨ key-V	41 gake-/kake-C.ɨ gakey-/kakey-V				
1+3 dual exclusive AGENT					2 ^Y akni-C ^Y akn-e,i,o ^Y agy-a			26 shakni-C shakn-e,i,o shagy-a	42 ^Y aki-C ^Y ak-i ^Y akiy-V						
1+3 plural exclusive AGENT					3 ^Y agwa-C ^Y agw-a,e ^Y agwɛ-ɨ ^Y agy-o	27 shagwa-C shagw-a,e shagwɛ-ɨ shagy-o									
1+2 dual inclusive AGENT								4 kni-, tni-C kn-, tn-e, i,o gy-a	28 shetni-C shetn-e,i,o shegy-a	43 ^Y eti-C ^Y et-i ^Y etiy-V					
1+2 plural inclusive AGENT								5 dwa-C dw-a,e dwɛ-ɨ gy-o	29 shedwa-C shedw-a,e shedwɛ-ɨ shegy-o						
2 singular AGENT		59 sg-V sk-n sge-k,g	60 skni-C skn-e,i,o sgy-a	61 sgwa-C sgw-a,e sgwɛ-ɨ sgy-o				6 (h)s-C,V (h)se-k d-r	30 hehs-C,V hehse-k,g	44 (h)she-C.ɨ (h)shey-V	45 gashe-/kashe-C.ɨ gashey-/kashey-V				
2 dual AGENT								7 sni-C sn-e,i,o j-a	31 shesni-C shesn-e,i,o shej-a	46 ^Y etshi-C ^Y etsh-i ^Y etshiy-V					
2 plural AGENT								8 swa-C sw-a,e swɛ-ɨ j-o	32 sheswa-C shesw-a,e sheswɛ-ɨ shej-o						
3 singular AGENT	zoic neuter Ø	15 ^W ag- w ^{ak} -n w ^{age} -k,g ɔg/ɔk/ɔge- factual	16 ^Y ɔkni-C ^Y ɔkn-e,i,o ^Y ɔgy-a	17 ^Y ɔgwa-C ^Y ɔg-a,e ^Y ɔgwɛ-ɨ ^Y ɔgy-o	18 sa-C s-a,e sɛ-ɨ	7a sni-C sn-e,i,o j-a	8a swa-C sw-a,e swɛ-ɨ j-o	9ga-C gɛ-ɨ w-a,e ^Y -o	19 ^Y o-C.ɨ ^Y aw-e ^Y a-o	20 ho-C.ɨ haw-e,(i) ha-o	21 ^{YA} go-C.ɨ ^{YA} gaw-e ^{YA} ga-o	22 ^Y odi-C.ɨ ^Y on-V	23 hodi-C.ɨ hon-V	24 ^{YA} godi-C.ɨ ^{YA} gon-V	
	male	35 hag- hak-n hage-k	36 shɔkni-C shɔkn-e,i,o shɔgy-a	37 shɔgwa-C shɔgw-a shɔgwɛ-ɨ shɔgy-o	38 hya- hy-a hyɛ-ɨ	31a shesni-C shesn-e,i,o shej-a	32a sheswa-C shesw-a,e sheswɛ-ɨ shej-o	10 ha-C h-V hɛ-ɨ	33 hɔwa- hɔw-a,e hɔwɛ-ɨ hɔway-o		39 shago-C.ɨ shagaw-e shaga-o		50 hɔwadi-C.ɨ hɔwan-V	39 shago-C.ɨ shagaw-e shaga-o	
	feminine-indefinite	51 ^Y ɔg- ^Y ɔk-n ^Y ɔge-k,g	53 ^Y ɔki-C ^Y ɔkiy-V ^Y ɔk-i		54 ^Y esa-C ^Y es-V ^Y esɛ-ɨ	46a ^Y etshi-/ ^Y etsi-C ^Y etshiy-/ ^Y etsiy-V ^Y etsh/ ^Y ets-i		11 ^Y e-C.ɨ ^Y ɔ-a ^Y ag-e,o ^Y ɛ-ɛ		47 ^Y ɔdad- ^Y ɔdag-y ^Y ɔdat-n		50 gɔwadi-C.ɨ gɔwan-V (hadi-)		48 gaɔdad- gaɔdag-y gaɔdat-n	
3 non-singular AGENT	zoic non-s	52 gaɔg- gaɔk-n gaɔge-k,g		55 gaesa-C gaesɛ-ɨ				12 gadi-C.ɨ gen-V	34 hɔwadi-C.ɨ hɔwan-V		49 shagodi-C.ɨ shagon-V		48 gaɔdad- gaɔdag-y gaɔdat-n		
	male non-s							13 hadi-C.ɨ hɛn-V							49 shagodi-C.ɨ shagon-V
	female non-s							14 gae-C.ɨ gaɔ-a ga:g-e,o gaɛ-ɛ							48 gaɔdad- gaɔdag-y gaɔdat-n

Explanation of the chart

Superscript (raised) letters indicate sounds that are only pronounced when the prefix in question follows a vowel sound. For example, prefix ‘11’ is listed as [^ye-C,i].

e^yda:graʔ *she is forever falling*

e^yedagraʔ *she will fall*

a:yeda:graʔ *she might/could/should fall*

a^yedagraʔ *she fell*

-C	the next sound is any consonant
-n	the next sound is [n], [ʔn], or [hn] in some of the forms of the verb
-k, -g, etc.	the next sound is [k], [g], etc.
-V	the next sound is any vowel
-i	the next sound, [i], only occurs in some forms of the verb; if this prefix is used, there is no [i] sound following the prefix
-a, etc.	the next sound, [a], only occurs in some forms of the verb; if this prefix is used, there is no [a] sound following the prefix
-e	the next sound after this prefix can be [e]
-o, etc.	the next sound after this prefix is [o], etc.
-e,o,a	this prefix occurs before stems beginning with the sounds [e], [o], or [a]
-factual	For the ‘I’ prefix only (number 15), and only for verbs that normally beginning with the [aʔ] <i>factual</i> prefix, you will hear [oq], [ok], or [oqe] instead of [aʔ + ^w ag], [aʔ + ^w ak] or [aʔ + ^w age].

Abbreviation	Explanation	Approximate translation, or further explanation
1	first person	I or we
2	second person	you (one, two, or more)
3	third person	she, he or it (‘it’ can be an animal or an object)
singular	one person only	
dual	two people only	
plural	more than two people	
non-s(ingular)	more than one person	
exclusive	excludes 2nd persons	
inclusive	includes 2nd persons	
1+3 dual exclusive	first and third person, two people, excludes 2nd person	She and I, He and I
1+3 plural exclusive	first and third person, more than two people, excludes 2nd persons	They and I
1+2 dual inclusive	first and third person, two people, includes 2nd person	You (singular) and I
1+2 plural inclusive	first and third person, more than two people, includes 2nd persons	you (plural) and I; ‘youse’ and I
female	a type of gender	she, they (females or mixed group): in Cayuga, the ‘they (female or mixed group)’ pronouns can refer to a group of females, OR to a mixed group of males and females.
feminine-indef(inite)	a type of gender, unique to Cayuga	she, someone, one, somebody
male	a type of gender	he, they (males); in Cayuga, the ‘they (male)’ pronouns can only refer to a group of males, and not to a mixed group of males and females.
neuter	a type of gender	it (an object)
zoic	a type of gender	it (an animal); note that ‘zoic’ is like ‘zoo’
Agent	a grammatical role; ‘agents’ are often ‘active’, or are the ‘subjects’ of a sentence	‘She’ is a ‘subject’ in the sentence ‘She likes her’. ‘She’ is an ‘agent’ in the sentence ‘She kicked the ball’.
Patient	a grammatical role; ‘patients’ are often ‘passive’ or are the ‘objects’ or recipients of an action in a sentence	‘Her’ is an ‘object’ in the sentence ‘She likes her’. ‘Her’ is the ‘patient’ or ‘recipient’ of the action in the sentence ‘The dog licked her.’
Ø	a grammatical role	Ø in the ‘agent’ column means ‘it (agent or subject)’ Ø in the ‘patient’ column means ‘it (patient or object)’

Adjectival verbs with prefixes meaning 'IT'

Adjectival verbs with agent prefixes meaning 'it'

The following adjectival verbs with 'agent' prefixes either take **ga-** *it* or **w.a-** *it*.

gadr̥nahsha:sdeʔ *it's strong-smelling*

gah̥qʔjih *it's dark*

gahsha:sdeʔ *it's strong*

gaʔg̥e:ʔ *it's light*

niga:d̥e:s *it's thin*

ga:d̥e:s *it's thick*

niwa:kʔah *it's small, short*

wagyesʔageh *it's easy*

wah̥etg̥eh *evil (in mind)*

wah̥soh̥q̥t *it's coloured*

w̥e:do:ʔ *it's difficult*

Adjectival verbs with patient prefixes meaning 'it'

The following adjectival verbs with patient prefixes either take **a-** *it* or **y.o-** *it*.

aqhkwat *it's itchy*

aqkd̥qʔqh *it's dangerous (i.e. terrifying)*

deʔ**a**qwe:saht *it's unpleasant*

deyohateʔ *it's bright (i.e. sunlight)*

deyohyojihs *it's sour*

deyotshakd̥qh *it's bent*

deyod̥ohw̥d̥so:niʔ *it lacks*

deyod̥en̥q̥hyanih̥d̥qh *it's terrible*

deyon̥q̥hya:nih *it's terrible*

deyosta:teʔ *it's shiny (like silver)*

deyotshaʔkd̥ony̥q̥g̥weh *it's twisted*

deyotshaʔkd̥o: *it's bent*

deyotw̥d̥soh̥qh *it's necessary*

deyotw̥eʔno:nih *it's round*

deyoyaʔdoh̥de: *it's brain-wracking*

gyoyagyeʔqh *it's sticking out*

heyo:sde: *it has boiled down*

heyoagyeʔqh *where it comes out*

o:g̥et *visible*

niy̥q̥ha:kʔah *it's short*

odadaʔqh, oda:daʔqh *it's left over*

odaʔgrah̥d̥qh *it's floating*

ode:kaʔ *it's burning*

odehaʔt *it's disgusting*

odedagwaesh̥qʔ *it's straight*

odah̥sogw̥eh *it's faded*

ojʔqh *it's empty, burnt up*

o:d̥e:t *it's pitiful*

ogahe:ʔ *it has a hole in it*

ogwaqt *it has a lump*

ogya:nohk *it's strange, bizarre*

ohdaht *it's filling*

ohd̥eʔg̥weʔ *it's swollen*

ohdr̥qh̥k *it's scary, frightening,*

terrifying

ohoʔd̥e:ʔ *it's soft*

Adjectival verbs with prefixes meaning 'IT'

Adjectival verbs with patient prefixes meaning 'it'(continued)

ohno:de:s	deep water
ohni:yoh	it's hard
ohsde [?]	it's heavy
ohsohwadeht	bright colours
ohsno:we [?]	it's fast
ohę:	it's dry
o [?] daihęh	it's hot
okahs	it trickles, drips
ona [?] nohsdoh	it's cooling
one:nq [?]	it's mild, warm
onehagwaht	it's amazing
onohokde [?]	it's painful
ono [?] shesde:	it's boring, tiring
ona [?] kwat	it's irritating
ona [?] nawę:h	it's wet
ona [?] no: [?]	it's cold, cool
osde: [?] ęh	it's old (i.e. an old dog or cat)

osdehneh	it has gone down (i.e. the water level)
osde:	it's empty, evaporated
osga:neht	it's attractive; envy
otgi [?]	ugly, dirty (normally incorporating)
otgai [?] ni:h	it's noisy, loud
otgęh	it's rotten
otshesdae [?]	it's a sticky substance
otshahnihk	it's frightening, scary
otshishę [?] oh	it's numb
oihq:t	it's good for something
owa [?] nę:da:s	it's sticky
ojihke [?] da:weht	it's salty
ojiwagęh	it's bitter
oyę:deh	recognizable
oyę:deht	it's plain to be seen
oyq:gyat	it's amusing, laughable
oya:de:s	deep hole
oya:nre [?]	it's nice, good
aogat	it's rough
i:yqs	it's long

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes shown here are found in cells '9' and '19' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This is the simplest set of pronominal prefixes to teach, since most of these verbs can only take an 'IT' prefix. They normally cannot take a 'personal' prefix like the ones meaning 'I', 'YOU', SHE, etc.

Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; AGENT series

Prefix meaning ↓	A stem	E or Ẹ stem	I stem	O or Ọ stem	U stem	C stem (n, ?n, hn, h)	C stem (other)
	-adawẹhs to be swimming	-ẹnihẹha? to quit all the time	-idagra?s to be forever falling	-o:da:s to be draping it	ni-u:?uh to be small, ni-u:s?uh to be several small items	-hneye:s to be tall	-gehjih to be old
I g,e,k	gada:wẹhs	gẹnihẹha?	gida:gra?s	goda:s	nigu:?uh	knẹ:ye:s	gegehjih
we two (including listener) gy, kn.i, tn.i	gyada:wẹhs	knẹnihẹha?, tnẹnihẹha?	knida:gra?s, tnida:gra?s	knoda:s, tnoda:s	niknu:?uh, nitnu:?uh	tnihne:ye:s, knihne:ye:s	tnigehjih, knigehjih
we two (not including listener) y.agy, y.akn.i	aygadawẹhs	agyẹnihẹha?	aknidagra?s	akno:da:s	niyaknu:?uh	aknihne:ye:s	aknigehjih
we all (not including listener) y.agw.a, y.agy	agwadawẹhs	agwẹnihẹha?	agwẹdagra?s	agy:da:s	niyagyu:?uh	agwahnẹ:ye:s	agwagehjih
we all (including listener) dw.a, gy	dwada:wẹhs	dwẹnihẹha?	dwẹda:gra?s	gy:da:s	nigyu:?uh	dwahnẹ:ye:s	dwagehjih
you (singular) h.s.e	sada:wẹhs	sẹnihẹha?	sida:gra?s	so:da:s	nisu:?uh	shnẹ:ye:s	segehjih
you two j, sn.i	jada:wẹhs	snẹnihẹha?, jẹnihẹha?	snida:gra?s	sno:da:s	nisnu:?uh	snihne:ye:s	snigehjih
you all h.sw.a, j	swada:wẹhs	swẹnihẹha?	swẹda:gra?s	jo:da:s	niju:?uh	swahnẹ:ye:s	swagehjih
he h.a, hẹ	hada:wẹhs	hẹnihẹha?	hẹda:gra?s	ho:da:s	nihu:?uh	hahnẹ:ye:s	hagehjih
she y.ọ, y.e, y.ag	ọda:wẹhs	ọnihẹha?	eda:gra?s	ago:da:s	niya:gu:?uh	ehne:ye:s	egehjih
it w.a, ge, y (or no sound), ga	wada:wẹhs	wẹnihẹha?	gẹda:gra?s	o:da:s	niwu:?uh	gahnẹ:ye:s	gagehjih
they (males only) h.ẹn, h.ad.i	hẹnadawẹhs	hẹnẹnihẹha?	hadidagra?s	hẹno:da:s	nihẹnu:s?uh	hadihne:ye:s	hadigehjih
they (females or mixed) gaọ, gae, ga:g	gaọdawẹhs	gaọnihẹha?	gaedagra?s	ga:go:da:s	niga:gu:s?uh	gaehne:ye:s	gaegehjih
they (animals) gẹn, gad.i	gẹnadawẹhs	gẹnẹnihẹha?	gadidagra?s	gẹno:da:s	nigẹnu:s?uh	gadihne:ye:s	gadigehjih

Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; AGENT series

with other prefixes ↓	g.e, k	gy, kn.i, tn.i	y.agy, y.akn	y.agw.a, y.agy	dw.a, gy	h.s.e	j, sn.i	h.sw.a, j	h.a, hẹ	y.ọ, y.e, y.ag	w.a, gẹ, y (or no sound), ga	h.ẹn, h.ad.i	gaọ, gae, ga:g	gẹn, gad.i
ni	nig.e ni.k	nikn.i nitn.i nigy	niyakn.i niyagy	niyagw.a niyagy	nidw.a nigy	nihs.e	nisn.i nij	nihs.w.a nij	ni.h.a ni.hẹ	niyọ niye niyag	niw.a nigẹ niy niga	ni.had.i ni.hẹn	nigae nigaọ niga:g	nigad.i nigẹn
de	deg.e de.k	dekn.i detn.i degy	deyakn.i deyagy	deyagw.a deyagy	dedw.a degy	dehs.e	desn.i dej	dehs.w.a dej	de.h.a de.hẹ	deyọ deye deyag	dew.a dege dey dega	de.had.i de.hẹn	degae degaọ dega:g	degad.i degeẹn
d	tg.e tk	dikn.i digy	gyakn.i gyagy	gyagw.a gyagy	didw.a digy	dih.s.e	disn.i dij	dihsw.a dij	t.a tẹ	gyọ gye gyag	dw.a tge gy tga	tad.i tẹn	tgae tgaọ tga:g	tgad.i tgeẹn
de'	deg.e dek	dekn.i detn.i degy	de'akn.i de'agy	de'agw.a de'agy	dedw.a degy	de's.e	de'sn.i de'j	de'sw.a de'j	de.h.a de.hẹ	de'ọ de'e de'ag	de'w.a dege de' dega	de.had.i de.hẹn	degae degaọ dega:g	degad.i degeẹn
des, s	desg.e desk	dejkn.i dejigy	dejakn.i dejagy	dejagw.a dejagy	dejidw.a dejigy	dejis.e	dejisn.i dejij	dejisw.a dejij	des.h.a des.hẹ	dejọ deje dejag	deswa desge dej desga	des.had.i des.hẹn	desgae desgaọ desga:g	desgad.i desgeẹn

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '1' - '14' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This is the next simplest set of pronominal prefixes to teach. The only kind of change you can make to these verbs is to change the pronominal prefixes, as shown. (The reason is that the verbs listed here and on the next page normally only occur in one 'aspect'. That is, they normally occur only in the 'stative' aspect, or only in the 'habitual' aspect. In contrast, other verbs discussed later can occur in three different aspects.)

Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; AGENT series

OTHER VERBS LIKE THIS:

A stem: -atqda:s to be obedient; de[?]-atqda:s to be disobedient; -adqhswehta[?] to be short of breath; -adeqonyqhsta[?] to be loyal; -adatqonyqhsta[?] to be stuck up, selfish; -adata:[?] to be conceited; -adahqhdqhsqo: to be inquisitive; -adatgowa:nqh to self-important, egotistical; -adeksa[?]dq:nih to be childish; -adqhwihstro[?]hta[?] to be out of breath; -adewaye:sta[?] to be a novice, a learner, a beginner; -adatnigqha:[?] to be cautious, wary; -adagy[?]ada:s to have a high opinion of oneself, be self-centred, be bold; -atahine[?] (habitual) to be walking; -adqh (stative) to be saying something, to say;

E or E stem: -e:hah to be proud, to gloat; d-ehdahqhsqo: to be really gullible

I stem: -ihna:tq: to have dry skin

O or Q stem: -qnhe[?] to be alive

U stem: (none)

C stem (n, ?n, hn): -nai: to be proud, boastful; -nosq: to be jealous, envious; -nqwqhdra[?] to be cantankerous; -hnyahdo:t to have one's head up (said of a child who is learning to lift its head by itself); -hnyq[?]qh to be white; -[?]nigqahsno:we[?] to be a quick thinker; de-nahawenye[?] to be crazy

C stem (h,w,y): -ha[?]da:tqhs to be thirsty; -hetq: to be evil, bad, ugly; -hetq:s[?]ah to be unattractive; -hi[?]yagaq:he[?] to bent over, to have a crooked body trunk; -hq[?]ji: to be dark-coloured; -waihqh to be good at something; -wayqhhsdqh to be right-handed; -ya[?]tgahi:ye[?] to be quick; des-ya[?]da[?]nigqha:t to be a nuisance

C stem (other): -drq:ni:yo: to smell nice; -[?]dri:yo: to be a good shot; -gahgaqehh to be crosseyed; de-gahq[?]ji: to have a black eye; -qehjih to be old; -ge[?]a:[?] to be raggedy, tattered; -gohgowah to be royalty; -gowanqh to be big; -gowanqh to be big, pregnant; -gowanqhgo:wah to be really big; de-gqhstwe[?]o:t to have a beard; -grahs to stink; -ji:nah to be masculine, brave; -jin[?]adq: to be a handsome man; de-hsgwaowanq[?]s to be well-endowed (males only), literally: to have big rocks; -hsrqh: to be cross, cantankerous

Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; PATIENT series

Prefix meaning ↓	A stem	E, Ẽ stem	I stem	O, Ọ stem	C stem (n, ʔn, hn)	C stem (r)	C stem (other)
	<i>-adagadagaideʔ</i> to be well, fine, healthy	<i>-ɛniheʔ</i> to have quit	<i>-idagraʔqh</i> to have fallen	<i>-o:da:hqh</i> to have draped it	<i>-ʔnigqha:t</i> to be smart, brilliant	<i>-rihoʔdeʔ</i> to be working	<i>-gwaq:t</i> to have a boil, abcess
I w.ag.e	agadawɛh	agɛniheʔ	agidagraʔqh	ago:da:hqh	aknigqha:t	agrihoʔdeʔ	agegwaq:t
we two y.ogy, y.ɔkn.i	ogyadawɛh	ɔknɛniheʔ, ɔtnɛniheʔ	ɔknidagraʔqh	ɔkno:da:hqh	ɔkniʔnigqha:t	ɔkni:hoʔdeʔ	ɔknigwaq:t
we all y.ogw.a, y.ogy	ogwadawɛh	ogwɛniheʔ	ɔwɛdagraʔqh	ogyo:da:hqh	ogwaʔnigqha:t	ogwaihoʔdeʔ	ogwagwaq:t
you (singular) h.s.a	sada:wɛh	sɛniheʔ	sɛdagraʔqh	so:da:hqh	saʔnigqha:t	saihoʔdeʔ	sagwaq:t
you two j, h.sn.i	jada:wɛh	snɛniheʔ, jɛniheh	snidagraʔqh	sno:da:hqh	sniʔnigqha:t	sni:hoʔdeʔ	snigwaq:t
you all h.sw.a, j	swada:wɛh	swɛniheʔ	swɛdagraʔqh	jo:da:hqh	swaʔnigqha:t	swaihoʔdeʔ	swagwaq:t
he ho, h, haw	hoda:wɛh	honiheʔ	hodagraʔqh	ho:da:hqh	hoʔnigqha:t	hoihoʔdeʔ	hogwaq:t
she ya.go, ya.ga	goda:wɛh	goniheʔ	godagraʔqh	gao:da:hqh	goʔnigqha:t	goihoʔdeʔ	gogwaq:t
it y.o, y.aw	oda:wɛh	oniheʔ	odagraʔqh	o:da:hqh	oʔnigqha:t	oihoʔdeʔ	ogwaq:t
they (males only) h.on, h.od.i	honadawɛh	honɛniheʔ	hodidagraʔqh	hono:da:hqh	hodiʔnigqha:t	hodi:hoʔdeʔ	hodigwaq:t
they (females or mixed) ya.gon, ya.god.i	gonadawɛh	gonɛniheʔ	godidagraʔqh	gono:da:hqh	godiʔnigqha:t	godi:hoʔdeʔ	godigwaq:t
they (animals) y.on, yod.i	onadawɛh	onɛniheʔ	odidagraʔqh	ono:da:hqh	odiʔnigqha:t	odi:hoʔdeʔ	odigwaq:t

ni-	ni wag.e	niy ɔkn.i niy ogy	niy ogw.a niy ogy	ni s.a	ni sn.i ni j	ni sw.a ni j	ni ho	niy ago	niy o	ni hod.i ni hon	niy agod.i niy agon	niy od.i niy on	TEACHING NOTE: The prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - '24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'.) This is the next simplest set of pronominal prefixes to teach. The only kind of change you can make to these verbs is to change the pronominal prefixes, as shown. (The reason is that the verbs listed here and on the next page normally only occur in one 'aspect'. That is, they normally occur only in the 'stative' aspect, or only in the 'habitual' aspect. In contrast, other verbs discussed later can occur in three different aspects.)
de-	de wag.e	dey ɔkn.i dey ogy	dey ogw.a dey ogy	de sa	de sn.i de j	de sw.a de j	de ho	dey ago	dey o	de hod.i de hon	dey agod.i dey agon	dey od.i dey on	
d-	d wag.e	gy ɔkn.i gy ogy	gy ogw.a gy ogy	di sa	di sn.i di j	di sw.a di j	to	gy ago	gy o	to d.i to n	gy agod.i gy agon	gy od.i gy on	
deʔ-	deʔ ag.e	deʔ ɔkn.i deʔ ogy	deʔ ogw.a deʔ ogy	de sa	de sn.i de j	de sw.a de j	de ho	deʔ ago	deʔ o	de hod.i de hon	deʔ agod.i deʔ agon	deʔ od.i deʔ on	
des- s-	des wag.e	dej ɔkn.i dej ogy	dej ogw.a dej ogy	de jisa	de jisn.i de jij	de jisw.a de jij	de sho	dej ago	de jo	de shod.i de shon	dej agod.i dej agon	dej od.i dej on	

Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; PATIENT series

OTHER VERBS CONJUGATED LIKE THIS:

A stem: -ahgaḥe: to be jealous; -ahse: to be fat; -ahshe: to be slow-moving; -asde:ʔeh to be old; -atgəʔ to have (evil) power; -aweh to have, own it; -atowinyəʔse: to have a cold; -atehtgədə:ni: to be moody; -ahseʔ to be riding a horse; -adehsrənihsʔəh to be ready; -adiʔgrəʔ to be shy; -adrəhyaʔt to be unwilling, stubborn; -atsahniht to be industrious, a good worker; -atsənə:ni: to be happy; -agyanaʔəh to be addicted, possessed; taʔde-agye: to be quiet; -adəhsweʔdanih to be hungry; -atgənyohs to have high standards; de-atnigəhahdogəh to be immature in mind; -adrihwagwaihəh to be fair, righteous, noble; de-adətgə:da:ʔ, de-adətgə:da:ʔ to be unhappy; -adətgə:da:ʔ, -adətgə:da:ʔ to feel good; d-adokda:ni: to be dissatisfied; -adatsəhse: to be tired; de-adawənyaʔseh to be confused, doubtful; -hsəwadenyeʔs, atsəwadenyeʔs to be dizzy; -atnaʔtsagə:nyeʔ to be fidgety; -adeʔka:ʔ to be hen-pecked (males only); -adehəʔəhəsdəh to be a widower, widow; -adonəhahe:ʔ to be happy; de-atgeʔi:ʔ to have tangled hair; de-adrihodahse:ʔ to be confused, indecisive; -adrihə:t to be a faithkeeper, an agent; de-adrihodahəh to be confused or mixed up; de-atgeʔo:gwəh to have messy hair; -adənhi: to be alive, to be born, to be full of life; d-adənhoʔk to be mentally challenged, to be born premature; -adehsrəʔdə:ni: to be grouchy, to be glaring at someone; -adriho:wi: to be clumsy, feeble; -ade:tse: to be a glutton; de-agyaʔdanegaə: to have a hernia; -agyehsahsdə: to be wasteful, extravagant; -agyeʔageh to be very generous; --(a)daʔgehod have an erection; -adəgwʔedagənyəhəh to be choosy about who one associates with, to discriminate; -adə:hə:niʔ be a newborn child; -adəʔse:ʔ to benefit from; -adəʔstaʔ to benefit someone;

E, Ǝ stem: -ənəwə: be a liar; -ədəgə: to be timid, cowardly, weak; d-ehdahgəh to believe in something, to be credulous, gullible; deʔ-əʔnigəhgaeʔ to suffer; de-əhsoweksəʔ to have one's shoes on

I stem: -idaə: to be chosen, special, fortunate; de-ijə:t to be filthy; -itsgro:t to drool

O, Q stem: -əhəʔjih to be private; -əgwʔedahetgəʔ to be cruel, mean; ni-ohsriyaʔgəh to be a certain age; deʔ-ənhegyeʔ to be still-born

C stem (n, ʔn, hn): des-naʔgo:wahs to be ominous, lack a spirit; de-naʔsgwəhəgyeʔ to be skipping along; -neʔdraʔdanih to be nauseous, nauseated; -hneganyohs to have a hangover; deʔ-ʔnigəha:t to be ignorant, foolish; -ʔnigəhado:gə: to be undecided, indecisive; -ʔnigəhagahe:yəh to be mentally exhausted; teʔ-ʔnigəhayei:ʔ to be not right in the mind; -ʔnigəhagə:t to be uncompromising, steadfast; -ʔnigəhahni:yəh to have a strong mind; -ʔnigəhani:dəht to be gentle, nice, humble; -ʔnigəhanidəht to be gentle, nice, humble; -ʔnigəhowanəh to be wise, to have the capacity for thinking, to have a broad mind; d-ʔnigəhəʔəh to be sad, to be in sorrow, in mourning; de-ʔnigəhəhdəh to be sad de-nigəhnyəʔgəh to be broken-hearted, grieving; d-ʔnigəhi:yo: to be satisfied, peaceful; det-ʔnigəhi:yo: to be grumpy, grouchy, unhappy; ded-ʔnigəhiyohsde:ʔ to be discontent; de-nədanhəh to be innocent; de-nəhya:ni:s to be frugal; de-nyəhswahaʔt to be nosy; -niʔəh to be stingy; -nədanhəh to be guilty taʔde-ʔnigəhanih to be unconcerned, indifferent; -nəhge:t to be fair-haired, to have light hair; -nəhəkdanih to be sick; -nəhraʔteʔ to have grey hair; -nəhsdeʔ to value, cherish something; -nənyatgiʔ to be a bad dancer; -nəʔseh to be lazy

C stem (r): -riho:gaʔt to speak sharp words; -rihoʔdəhsri:yo: to have a good job; -rihwado:gə: to be reliable; deʔ-rihoʔdahəh to disagree; ni-rihu:ʔuh to be (overly) sensitive; sgahoʔdəʔ de-rihwaəʔ to be innocent

C stem (other): -ʔdaihaʔseh to be too hot; -ʔdaihədro:t to sweat; deʔ-gaəhs to be unwilling; -gahagwaə:t to have a sty in one's eye; -gahdro:t to shed tears, tear up; de-gahgwe:gəh to be blind; -gahehdə:ʔ to have dandruff; deʔ-geʔo:t to be bald; -gəhsahni:yəh to be two-faced; de-geʔə:t to be raggedy; -haʔdi:yo: to be a good singer, to have a good voice; de-hsgənagyaʔgəh to be pale; -hsgyəʔwate:, hsgyəʔwate: to be skinny; -hsəwadenyeʔs, atsəwadenyeʔs to be dizzy; -ji:yoʔ to be crippled; de-jitsgri: to have curly hair; -wayənheʔsgə: to learn easily, be a quick study; deʔ-wayənheʔsgə: to have difficulty learning; de-wə:sə: to have shoes on; -wənadeht to be harsh-speaking; -wi:ya:t to be pregnant; -wiyaədaʔdreʔ to be with child; -yano:tge: to be a slow runner; -yaʔdaʔdaihe: to be hot, to have a hot body; -yaʔdadani: to be reliable, dependable; -yaʔdadeht to be nimble, active, energetic; -yaʔdagəhe:yə: to be physically weak, slow; -yaʔdahshe: to be slow-moving; -yə:di: to know; -yəgyəni: to be a smiler, a giggler

A-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Habitual</i> AGENT	<i>Future-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Factual-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Stative</i> PATIENT ¹
Prefix meaning ↓	- <i>adawęhs</i> to be swimming	ę- <i>adawę:</i> ? will swim	a:- <i>adawę:</i> ? might, could, should swim	a ² - <i>adawę:</i> ? did, in fact, swim	- <i>adawęh</i> to have swum
I <i>g</i>	<i>gada:węhs</i>	ę <i>gadawę:</i> ?	a: <i>gada:wę:</i> ?	<i>agadawę:</i> ?	<i>agadawęh</i>
we two (including listener) <i>gy</i>	<i>gyada:węhs</i>	ę <i>gyadawę:</i> ?	<i>aegyada:wę:</i> ? ²	<i>agyadawę:</i> ?	<i>ogyadawęh</i>
we two (not including listener) <i>y.agy</i>	<i>aygadawęhs</i>	ę <i>yagyada:wę:</i> ?	<i>a:yagyadawę:</i> ?	<i>a'yagyada:wę:</i> ?	
we all (not including listener) <i>y.agw</i>	<i>agwadawęhs</i>	ę <i>yagwada:wę:</i> ?	<i>a:yagwadawę:</i> ?	<i>a'agwada:wę:</i> ?	<i>ogwadawęh</i>
we all (including listener) <i>dw</i>	<i>dwada:węhs</i>	ę <i>dwadawę:</i> ?	<i>aedwada:wę:</i> ? ²²	<i>adwadawę:</i> ?	
you (singular) <i>h.s</i>	<i>sada:węhs</i>	ę <i>sadawę:</i> ?	<i>aehsadawę:</i> ? ²³	<i>esadawę:</i> ? ²³	<i>sada:węh</i>
you two <i>j</i>	<i>jada:węhs</i>	ę <i>jadawę:</i> ?	<i>aejada:wę:</i> ? ²³	<i>ejadawę:</i> ? ²⁴	<i>jada:węh</i>
you all <i>h.sw</i>	<i>swada:węhs</i>	ę <i>swadawę:</i> ?	<i>aeswada:wę:</i> ? ²³	<i>eswadawę:</i> ? ²⁴	<i>swada:węh</i>
he ⁴ <i>h</i>	<i>hada:węhs</i>	ę <i>hadawę:</i> ?	<i>a:hadawę:</i> ?	<i>ahadawę:</i> ?	<i>hoda:węh</i>
she ⁵ <i>y.ɔ</i>	<i>ɔda:węhs</i>	ę <i>yɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>a:yɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>a'ɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>goda:węh</i>
it ⁵ <i>w</i>	<i>wada:węhs</i>	ę <i>wadawę:</i> ?	<i>a:wadawę:</i> ?	<i>awadawę:</i> ?	<i>oda:węh</i>
they (males only) <i>h.ęn</i>	<i>hęnadawęhs</i>	ę <i>hęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>a:hęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>ahęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>honadawęh</i>
they (females or mixed) <i>gaɔ</i>	<i>gaɔdawęhs</i>	ę <i>gaɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>a:gaɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>agaɔdawę:</i> ?	<i>gonadawęh</i>
they (animals) <i>gęn</i>	<i>gęnadawęhs</i>	ę <i>gęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>a:gęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>agęnadawę:</i> ?	<i>onadawęh</i>

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '1' - '14' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ę- *future*, a:- *indefinite* or a²- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is ɔ- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yɔ- after ę- or a:-.

¹ The stative forms of the verb take the PATIENT series pronominal prefixes, not the AGENT prefixes, and so the prefixes in the *stative* column are different from the remaining prefixes.

² You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:*gyada:wę:*? instead of ae*gyada:wę:*?

³ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁴ The [a] of the stem (-*adawęh*, -*adawęhs*, -*adawę:*?) is missing in some of these forms.

A-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:

de-awęnyeh (habitual) *to stir all the time*, de-awęnye:ʔ (punctual) *to stir*

de-adawęnyeʔ (stative) *to be walking about*

-adegataʔ (habitual), -ade:gaʔt (punctual) *to cause something to burn, to start a fire*

d-aʔswe:s (habitual), de-aʔswe:k (punctual), de-aʔswe:gɔh (stative) *to be deaf, to become deaf*

-ahdo:s (habitual), -ahdo:ʔ (punctual), -ahdo: (stative) *to dive*

-ahdɔhs (habitual), -ahdɔʔ (punctual) *to disappear*

-adawęhs (habitual), -adawę:ʔ (punctual), -dawęh (stative) *to swim*

-ahdɔhs (habitual), -ahdɔʔ (punctual) *to disappear*

-adɔʔ (punctual), -adɔʔɔh *to become (possibly only with 'IT' prefix)*

-atgehɔhaʔ (habitual), -atgehɔʔ (punctual), -atgehɔʔ (stative) *to sell something*

-aʔswahtaʔ *to be a fireman* (habitual), -ahstwaht (punctual) *to extinguish a fire or flame*, -ahstwahdɔh (stative) *to extinguish a fire or flame*

-ado:wa:s (habitual), -ado:wa:t (punctual), -adowadɔh (stative) *to hunt*

de-awęnyeh (habitual), de-awęnye:ʔ (punctual), de-awę:nyeʔ (stative) *to stir, mix something*

s-ahdęgyeʔs (habitual), s-ahdę:diʔ (punctual), s-ahdęgyɔ: (stative) *to go home, to leave for home*

d-ahdęgyeʔs (habitual), d-ahdę:diʔ (punctual), d-ahdęgyɔ: (stative) *to come from there*

hes-ahdęgyeʔs (habitual), hes-ahdę:diʔ (punctual), hes-ahdęgyɔ: (stative) *to go over there*

gatɔ:wi:sahs *to be a woman, to sing seed songs* (habitual), ęgaɔtɔ:wi:s *to sing seed songs* (punctual), agatɔwi:sęh *to sing seed songs* (stative)

hes-asha:ʔ (punctual), s-ahshaʔdrɔh (stative) *to remember*

hes-asha:ʔ (punctual), hes-ahshaʔdrɔh (stative) *to remember back in time*

-ahsgane:s (habitual), -ahsgane:k (punctual), -ahsganeksɔh (stative) *to long for something, desire something, want something*

-ahdo:gahs (habitual) *to be prepubescent, to be maturing*, -ahdo:k (punctual) *to grow*

wahsdehstaʔ (habitual), ęwa:stehs (punctual), ohsdehsdɔh (stative) *to evaporate, dry up ('IT' prefix only)*

-atrɔ:niʔ (punctual) *to get dressed*

de-adraʔs *to meet all the time* (habitual), de-adraʔ *to meet* (punctual), de-adraʔɔh *to be meeting right now* (stative)

deyagonadraʔɔh *they deserve each other* (stative)

... and many more ...

E- and Ė-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Habitual</i> AGENT	<i>Future-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Factual-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Stative</i> PATIENT ¹
Prefix meaning ↓	- <i>ɛ̇nihėha</i> ? to quit all the time	<i>ɛ̇-ɛ̇nihė:</i> ? will quit	<i>a:-ɛ̇nihė:</i> ? would, could, should quit	<i>a-ɛ̇nihė:</i> ? did, in fact, quit	- <i>ɛ̇nihė</i> ? to have quit
I g	<i>gɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇gɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a:gɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>agɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>agɛ̇nihė</i> ?
we two (including listener) kn, tn	<i>knɛ̇nihėha</i> ?, <i>tnɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇tnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>ɛ̇knɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>aetnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>aeknɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ²	<i>etnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>eknɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>ɔknɛ̇nihė</i> ?, <i>ɔtnɛ̇nihė</i> ?
we two (not including listener) y.agy	<i>agyɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇yagyɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a?agyɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a?agyɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	
we all (not including listener) y.agw	<i>agwɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇yagwɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a?agwɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a?agwɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>ɔgwɛ̇nihė</i> ?
we all (including listener) dw	<i>dwɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇dwɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>aedwɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ³	<i>edwɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ³	
you (singular) h.s	<i>sɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇hsɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>aehsɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ³	<i>ehsɛ̇nėhė:</i> ? ⁴	<i>sɛ̇nihė</i> ?
you two h.sn	<i>snɛ̇nihėha</i> ?, <i>jɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇hsnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>ɛ̇jɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>aehsnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>aejɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ³	<i>ehsnɛ̇nihė:</i> ?, <i>ejɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ⁴	<i>snɛ̇nihė</i> ?, <i>jɛ̇nihėh</i>
you all h.sw	<i>swɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇hswɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>aehswɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ³	<i>ehswɛ̇nihė:</i> ? ⁴	<i>swɛ̇nihė</i> ?
he ⁴ h	<i>hɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇hɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a:hɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>ahɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>honihɛ̇</i> ?
she ⁵ y.ɔ	<i>ɔnihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇yɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>a:yɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>a?ɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>gonihɛ̇</i> ?
it w	<i>wɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇wɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a:wɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>awɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>onihɛ̇</i> ?
they (males only) h.ɛ̇n	<i>hɛ̇nɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇hɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a:hɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>ahɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>honɛ̇nihė</i> ?
they (females or mixed) ⁵ gaɔ	<i>gaɔnihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇gaɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>a:gaɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>agaɔnihė:</i> ?	<i>gonɛ̇nihė</i> ?
they (animals) gɛ̇n	<i>gɛ̇nɛ̇nihėha</i> ?	<i>ɛ̇gɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>a:gɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>agɛ̇nɛ̇nihė:</i> ?	<i>onɛ̇nihė</i> ?

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '1' - '14' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with *ɛ̇-* future, *a:-* indefinite or *a?*- factual prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is *ɔ-* when it is at the beginning of the word, but *yɔ-* after *ɛ̇-* or *a:-*.

¹ The stative forms of the verb take the PATIENT series pronominal prefixes, not the AGENT prefixes, and so the prefixes in the *stative* column are different from the remaining prefixes.

² You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, *e:tnɛ̇nihė:*? instead of *aetnɛ̇nihė:*?

³ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁴ The [ɛ̇] of the stem (-*ɛ̇nihė*?, -*ɛ̇nihėha*?, -*ɛ̇nihė:*?) is missing in some of these forms.

E- and Ē-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-e:ʔ: (stative), -e:ʔ (punctual), -e: (habitual) *think, want, will something to happen*

ti-e:ʔah (habitual) *to be walking along*

d-ehdahgq̄hsgq̄h (habitual) *to be really gullible*

d-ehdahgq̄h (habitual) *to be gullible*

-eʔs (habitual) *to be someplace, to exist; -eʔ (punctual) to go; -e:ʔ (punctual) to go; -eʔ (stative) to go, walk, move*

de-aq̄:haʔ/eq̄haʔ (habitual) *to be a racer, de- aneq̄ʔ/eq̄eq̄ʔ (punctual) to race*

tsi-ehtaʔ (habitual), tsi-eht (punctual), tsi-ehd̄q̄h (stative) *to do something on purpose*

de-εʔnya:ʔ (habitual), de-εʔnya:ʔ (punctual) *to look after something*

-ε̄nih̄haʔ/-anih̄haʔ (habitual), -ε̄ni:h̄ε̄:ʔ (punctual), -ε̄nih̄ε̄ʔ (stative) *to stop or quit*

wε̄n̄q̄waε̄h̄ε̄ʔ (habitual), awε̄n̄q̄waε̄:ʔ (punctual), awε̄n̄q̄waε̄:ʔ (stative) *to sink in liquid (with 'IT' prefix only)*

-ε̄nih̄nado:kaʔ (habitual), -ε̄nih̄nado:k (punctual) *to perceive something*

-ε̄nij̄q̄hsgwaε̄h̄ε̄ʔ (habitual), -ε̄nij̄q̄hsgwaε̄:ʔ (punctual) *to squat*

dewε̄nīhoks, dewε̄nīhoʔs (habitual), adwε̄nīhoʔk (punctual) *to be lightning out, for lightning to be striking (with 'IT' prefix only)*

d-edahkwaʔ (habitual) *to originate or come from some place*

ti-en̄q̄gyeʔs (habitual) *to be roaming about*

-ε̄hs̄ε̄twahs/ε̄:s̄ε̄twahs (habitual), -ε̄hs̄ε̄toʔ/-ε̄:s̄ε̄toʔ (punctual), -ε̄hs̄ε̄twε̄h/-ε̄:s̄ε̄twε̄h (stative) *to kick something*

hes-ε̄h̄ε̄h̄ (habitual) *to be outspoken, to speak carlessly*

-ε̄n̄q̄hd̄nȳq̄h (habitual), -ε̄n̄q̄hd̄nȳq̄:ʔ (punctual) *to think, to wonder, to feel well*

de-ε̄nahsgwahkwaʔ (habitual), d-ε̄nahsgwahk (punctual), de-ε̄naʔsgwahgwε̄h (stative) *to jump*

I-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Habitual</i>	<i>Future-Punctual</i>	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i>	<i>Factual-Punctual</i>	<i>Stative</i> ¹
Prefix meaning ↓	-idagra's to be forever falling	ɛ-idagra' will fall	a:-idagra' would, could, should fall	a ² -idagra' did, in fact, fall	-idagra'ɔh
I g	gida:gra's	ɛgidagra'	a:gida:gra'	agidagra'	agidagra'ɔh
we two (including listener) kn, tn	knida:gra's, tnida:gra's	ɛknidagra', ɛtnidagra'	aeknida:gra', aetnida:gra' ²	eknidagra', etnidagra' ³	ɔknidagra'ɔh
we two (not including listener) y.akn	aknidagra's	ɛyaknida:gra'	a:yaknidagra'	a'aknida:gra'	
we all (not including listener) ⁴ y.agwɛ	agwɛdagra's	ɛyagwɛda:gra'	a:yagwɛdagra'	a'agwɛda:gra'	ɔwɛdagra'ɔh
we all (including listener) dwɛ	dwɛda:gra's	ɛdwɛdagra'	a:dwɛda:gra'	edwɛdagra'	
you (singular) h.s	sida:gra' s	ɛhsidagra'	a:hsida:gra'	ehsidagra'	sɛdagra'ɔh
you two h.sn	snida:gra's	ɛhsnidagra'	a:hsnidagra'	ehsnidagra'	snidagra'ɔh
you all h.swɛ	swɛda:gra's	ɛswɛdagra'	a:swɛda:gra'	eswɛdagra'	swɛdagra'ɔh
he h.ɛ	hɛda:gra's	ɛhɛdagra'	a:hɛda:gra'	ahɛdagra'	hodagra'ɔh
she y.e	eda:gra's	ɛyedagra'	a:yeda:gra'	a'edagra'	godagra'ɔh
it gɛ	gɛda:gra's	ɛgɛdagra'	a:gɛda:gra'	agɛdagra'	odagra'ɔh
they (males only) h.od	hadidagra's	ɛhadidagra'	a:hadidagra'	ahadida:gra'	hodidagra'ɔh
they (females or mixed) gae	gaedagra's	ɛgaeda:gra'	a:gaedagra'	agaeda:gra'	godidagra'ɔh
they (animals) gad	gadidagra's	ɛgadida:gra'	a:gadidagra'	agadida:gra'	odidagra'ɔh

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '1' - '14' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ɛ- *future*, a:- *indefinite* or a²- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is e- when it is at the beginning of the word, but ye- after ɛ- or a:-. Finally, not many verbs are conjugated like this because not many verbs like this begin with [i].

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-i'drɔ:t (stative), -i'drɔ:dɔ' (stative, plural subje^t), -i'drɔ:da'k (punctual) *to live or dwell somewhere, to be placed somewhere*

de²-i:ne:s (habitual) *to be extinct*

¹ The stative forms of the verb take the PATIENT series pronominal prefixes, not the AGENT prefixes, and so the prefixes in the *stative* column are different from the remaining prefixes.

² You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:tnida:gra' instead of aetnida:gra'.

³ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁴ The [i] of the stem (-idagra'ɔh, -idagra's, -idagra') is missing in many of these forms.

O- and Q-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Habitual</i> AGENT	<i>Future-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Factual-Punctual</i> AGENT	<i>Stative</i> PATIENT ¹
Prefix meaning ↓	-o:da:s to be draping it	ɛ-o:da: will drape it	a:-o:da: would, could, should drape it	a ² -o:da: did, in fact, drape it	-o:da:hq̄h to have draped it
I g	goda:s	ɛgoda:	a:go:da:	agoda:	ago:da:hq̄h
we two (including listener) tn, kn	knoda:s, tnoda:s	ɛtno:da:, ɛkno:da:	aetno:da:, aekno:da: ²	etno:da:, ekno:da: ³	q̄kno:da:hq̄h
we two (not including listener) y.akn	akno:da:s	ɛyakno:da:	a:yakno:da:	a ² akno:da:	
we all (not including listener) y.agy	agyoda:s	ɛyagyoda:	a:yagyoda:	a ² agyoda:	q̄gyoda:hq̄h
we all (including listener) gy	gyoda:s	ɛgyoda:	aegyoda:	egyoda: ⁴	
you (singular) h.s	so:da:s	ɛhso:da:	aehso:da:	ehso:da:	so:da:hq̄h
you two h.sn	sno:da:s	ɛsno:da:	aesno:da:	esno:da:	sno:da:hq̄h
you all j	jo:da:s	ɛjo:da:	aejo:da:	ejo:da:	jo:da:hq̄h
he h (or no sound)	ho:da:s	ɛho:da:	a:ho:da:	aho:da:	ho:da:hq̄h
she y.ag	ago:da:s	ɛya:go:da:	a:ya:go:da:	a ² a:go:da:	ga:da:hq̄h
it y (or no sound)	o:da:s	ɛyo:da:	a:yo:da:	a ² o:da:	o:da:hq̄h
they (males only) h.ɛn	hɛno:da:s	ɛhɛno:da:	a:hɛno:da:	ahɛno:da:	hono:da:hq̄h
they (females or mixed) ga:g	ga:go:da:s	ɛga:go:da:	a:ga:go:da:	aga:go:da:	gono:da:hq̄h
they (animals) gɛn	gɛno:da:s	ɛgɛno:da:	a:gɛno:da:	ageɛno:da:	ono:da:hq̄h

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '1' - '14' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ɛ- *future*, a- *indefinite* or a²- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is ag- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yag- after ɛ- or a:-. Finally, not many verbs are conjugated like this because not many verbs like this begin with [o] or [q̄].

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-q̄da:s (habitual), -q̄da:² (punctual), -q̄da:hq̄h to put something inside of something

¹ The stative forms of the verb take the PATIENT series pronominal prefixes, not the AGENT prefixes, and so the prefixes in the *stative* column are different from the remaining prefixes.

² You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:tnida:gra² instead of aetnida:gra².

³ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁴ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

A-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Stative PATIENT</i>	<i>Habitual PATIENT</i>	<i>Future-Punctual PATIENT</i>	<i>Indefinite-Punctual PATIENT</i>	<i>Factual-Punctual PATIENT</i>
Prefix meaning ↓	-ahdrɔʔni:ʔ <i>get scared, frightened</i>	-ahdrɔʔs <i>be scared, frightened</i>	ɛ-agahdrɔʔk <i>will be frightened</i>	a:-agahdrɔʔk <i>would, could, should be frightened</i>	aʔ-agahdrɔʔk <i>to be, in fact, frightened</i>
I w.ag	agahdrɔʔni:ʔ	agahdrɔʔs	ɛwagahdrɔʔk	aɔgahdrɔʔk ¹	ɔgahdrɔʔk ²
we two y.ɔgy	ɔgyahdrɔʔni:ʔ	ɔgyahdrɔʔs	ɛyɔgyahdrɔʔk	a:yɔgyahdrɔʔk	aʔɔgyahdrɔʔk
we all y.ɔgw	ɔgwahdrɔʔni:ʔ	ɔgwahdrɔʔs	ɛyɔgwahdrɔʔk	a:yɔgwahdrɔʔk	aʔɔgwahdrɔʔk
you (singular) h.s	sahdrɔʔni:ʔ	sahdrɔʔs	ɛsahdrɔʔk	aesahdrɔʔk ³	esahdrɔʔk ⁴
you two j	jahdrɔʔni:ʔ	jahdrɔʔs	ɛjahdrɔʔk	aejahdrɔʔk ²	ejahdrɔʔk ³
you all h.sw	swahdrɔʔni:ʔ	swahdrɔʔs	ɛswahdrɔʔk	aeswahdrɔʔk ²	eswahdrɔʔk ³
he ⁵ h.o	hohdrɔʔni:ʔ	hohdrɔʔs	ɛhohdrɔʔk	a:hohdrɔʔk	ahohdrɔʔk
she ² ya.go	gohdrɔʔni:ʔ	gohgrɔʔs	ɛyagohdrɔʔk	a:yagohdrɔʔk	aʔagohdrɔʔk
it ² y.o	ohdrɔʔni:ʔ	ohdrɔʔs	ɛyohdrɔʔk	a:yohdrɔʔk	aʔohdrɔʔk
they (males only) h.on	honahdrɔʔni:ʔ	honahdrɔʔs	ɛhonahdrɔʔk	a:honahdrɔʔk	ahonahdrɔʔk
they (females or mixed) ya.gon, y.agon	gonahdrɔʔni:ʔ	gonahdrɔʔs	ɛyagonahdrɔʔk	a:yagonahdrɔʔk	aʔagonahdrɔʔk
they (animals) y.on	onahdrɔʔni:ʔ	onahdrɔʔs	ɛyonahdrɔʔk	a:yonahdrɔʔk	aʔonahdrɔʔk

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - 24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'.) This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ɛ- *future*, a:- *indefinite* or aʔ- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is go- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yago- after ɛ- or a:-. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

¹ Note the use of [aɔ] instead of [a:] at the beginning of 'I' words.

² Note the use of [ɔ] instead of [a] at the beginning of 'I' words.

³ You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:swahdrɔʔk instead of aeswahdrɔʔk.

⁴ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁵ The [a] of the stem (-ahdrɔʔni:ʔ, -ahdrɔʔs, -ahdrɔʔk) is missing in these forms.

A-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-ahdrɔʔs (habitual), -ahdrɔʔk (punctual), -ahdrɔʔniʔ (stative) *to be frightened, scared*
 ɔde:kaʔ (habitual), aʔɔ:de:k (punctual), ɔdegeḥ (stative) *to burn (with 'IT' prefix only)*
 a-tɔ:dɛḥs (habitual), -tɔ:dɛḥ (punctual), -atɔdɛʔḥ, -atɔ:deʔ (stative) *to hear*
 -adedrɛdatgideʔ (punctual) *to have a bad dream*
 -ahdaʔs (habitual), -ahdaʔ (punctual), -ahdaʔḥ (stative) *to be full of food, finish eating*
 de-ahsihaʔs (habitual), de-ahsiha:ʔs (punctual) *to choke*
 de-atsgaʔhɔʔ (habitual), de-atsgaʔhɔʔ (punctual) *to be chewing*
 -atgahḥaʔ (habitual), ɛhsatgahḥɔʔ (punctual), -atgaha:ʔ (stative) *to pay attention, to watch*
 -atgahɔnyɔʔ (punctual) *to flirt, bat one's eyes*
 -ahsɛhtahk (past habitual), -ahsɛhs *to regret something*
 -adahsehɔḥɔgyeʔs (habitual) *to be sneaking about*
 -ahshaʔdrɔnyḥ (stative) *to reminisce, remember back in time*
 -ahsgɛna:ʔ (punctual) *to have a stroke*
 -adrihwatgaha:ʔ (habitual), -adrihwatgahḥɔʔ (punctual) *to oversee, supervise*
 he-adwɛnɔ:diʔ (punctual) *to throw one's voice (ventriloquist)*
 he-agyeʔs (habitual), he-adiʔ (punctual), he-agyɔ: (stative) *to throw something*
 -ahḥkaʔ (habitual), -ahḥ:k (punctual) *to understand (a language)*

E- and Ė-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Stative</i>	<i>Habitual</i>	<i>Future-Punctual</i>	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i>	<i>Factual-Punctual</i>
Prefix meaning ↓	<i>d-ehdahgweh</i> to believe	<i>d-ehdahkwa?</i> to be a believer (?)	<i>ḋe-ehdahk</i> will believe	<i>da:-ehdahk</i> would, should, could believe	<i>at-ehdahk</i> did, in fact, believe
I w.ag, ȯg	dwagehdahgweh ¹	dwagehdahkwa?	ḋdwagehdahk	da:ogehdahk ²	adwagehdahk
we two y.ȯkn	gyȯknehdahgweh	gyȯknehdahkwa?	ęgyȯknehdahk	da:yȯknehdahk	agyȯknehdahk
we all y.ȯgw	gyȯgwnehdahgweh	gyȯgwnehdahkwa?	ęgyȯgwnehdahk	da:yȯgwnehdahk	agyȯgwnehdahk
you (singular) h.s	disehdahgweh	disehdahkwa?	ḋdisehdahk	da:ehsehдахk ³	edisehdahk ⁴
you two h.sn	disnehdahgweh	disnehdahkwa?	ḋdisnehdahk	da:ehsnehdahk ²	edisnehdahk ³
you all h.sw	diswehdahgweh	diswehdahkwa?	ḋtswehdahk	da:ehswehdahk ²	ediswehdahk ³
he ⁵ h.o, h.aw	tohdahgweh, tawehdahgweh	tohdahkwa?, tawehdahkwa?	ḋtohdahk, ḋtawehdahk	da:hohdahk, da:hawehdahk	atohdahk, atawehdahk
she ³ y.o, y.agaw	gyȯhdahgweh gyagawehdahgweh	gyȯhdahkwa?, gyagawehdahkwa?	ęgyȯhdahk, ęgyagawehdahk	da:yȯhdahk, da:yagawehdahk	agyȯhdahk, agyagawehdahk
it ³ y.o, y.aw	gyȯhdahgweh gyawehdahgweh	gyȯhdahkwa?, gyawehdahkwa?	ęgyȯhdahk, ęgyawehdahk	da:yohdahk, da:yawehdahk	agyohdahk, agyawehdahk
they (males only) h.on	tonehdahgweh	tonehdahkwa?	ḋtonehdahk	da:honehdahk	atonehdahk
they (females or mixed) ya.gon, y.agon	gyagonehdahgweh	gyagonehdahkwa?	ęgyagonehdahk	da:yagonehdahk	agyagonehdahk
they (animals) y.on	gyonehdahgweh	gyonehdahkwa?	ęgyonehdahk	da:yonehdahk	agyonehdahk

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - '24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'.) This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with *ḋ-* future, *a:-* indefinite or *a?*- factual prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is *yȯ-* when it is at the very beginning of the word, as in *ȯnȯhḋȯha?*, but it is *yȯ-* after *ḋ-*, as in *ęyȯnȯhḋȯk*. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

¹ The words in this column can also end with *-ehdahgȯh* instead of *-ehdahgweh*; e.g., *dwagehdahgȯh* or *dwagehdahgweh*.

² Note the use of [ȧȯ] instead of [a:] at the beginning of 'I' words.

³ You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, *e:sehдахk* instead of *aesehdahk*.

⁴ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

⁵ The [e] of the stem (*-ehdahgweh*, *-ehdahkwa?*, *-ehdahk*) is missing in some of these forms.

E- and Ē-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-eṅṅhd̥qhaʔ (habitual) *to make decisions or be strict*, -eṅṅhd̥q:k (punctual) *to know*, -eṅṅhd̥qʔ (stative) *to know*
 nid-e:n̥q̄h (habitual) *be a stranger, be a certain age*; nid-e:n̥q̄: *to come from some place, be a certain age*
 niya:w̥q̄hs (habitual) *how it happens*, a:ya:w̥q̄h (punctual) *I wish or hope so*, niyaw̥q̄ʔh (stative) *how it did happen ('IT prefix only)*
 taʔde-ehd̥qʔ (stative) *to not mean or intend something*

I-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

	Stative PATIENT	Habitual PATIENT	Future-Punctual PATIENT	Indefinite-Punctual PATIENT	Factual-Punctual PATIENT
Prefix meaning ↓	-idaʔqh <i>be asleep, be sleeping</i>	-idaʔs <i>sleep all the time, hibernate</i>	ɛ-idaʔ <i>will sleep</i>	a:-idaʔ <i>would, could, should sleep</i>	aʔ-idaʔ <i>did, in fact, sleep</i>
I w.ag	agidaʔqh <i>I am asleep</i>	agi:daʔs <i>I sleep all the time, I hibernate</i>	ɛwa:gi:daʔ <i>I will sleep</i>	aqgi:daʔ ¹	qgi:daʔ ² <i>I slept; I am sleeping</i>
we two y.qkn	qknidaʔqh	qkni:daʔs	eyo:kni:daʔ	a:yqkni:daʔ	aʔqkni:daʔ
we all ³ y.qgwɛ	qgwɛdaʔqh	qgwɛ:daʔs	eyo:gwɛ:daʔ	a:yqgwɛ:daʔ	aʔq:gwɛ:daʔ
you (singular) ¹ h.sɛ	sɛdaʔqh	sɛ:daʔs	ɛhsɛ:daʔ	aehsɛ:daʔ ⁴	ehsɛ:daʔ ⁵
you two h.sn	snidaʔqh	sni:daʔs	ɛhsni:daʔ	aehsni:daʔ ²²	ehsni:daʔ ²³
you all ¹ h.swɛ	swɛdaʔqh	swɛ:daʔs	ɛhswɛ:daʔ	aehswɛ:daʔ ²²	ehswɛ:daʔ ²³
he ¹ h.o	hodaʔqh	ho:daʔs	ɛho:daʔ	a:ho:daʔ	aho:daʔ
she ¹ ya.go, y.ago	godaʔqh	go:daʔs	ɛya:go:daʔ	a:yago:daʔ	aʔago:daʔ
it ¹ y.o	odaʔqh	o:daʔs	ɛyo:daʔ	a:yo:daʔ	aʔo:daʔ
they (males only) h.od	hodidaʔqh	ho:di:daʔs	ɛho:di:daʔ	a:hodi:daʔ	ahodi:daʔ
they (females or mixed) ya.god	godidaʔqh	go:di:daʔs	ɛyagodi:daʔ	a:yago:di:daʔ	aʔagodi:daʔ
they (animals) y.od	odidaʔqh	o:di:daʔs	ɛyo:di:daʔ	a:yodi:daʔ	aʔo:di:daʔ

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - 24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'.) This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ɛ- *future*, a:- *indefinite* or aʔ- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is go- when it is at the very beginning of the word, but yago- after ɛ-. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-i:dɛht (stative), -idɛhteʔ (punctual) *to be poor (at something), to be poverty-stricken*

-idaʔdreʔ (punctual) *go to bed*

¹ Note the use of [aɔ] instead of [a:] at the beginning of 'I' words.

² Note the use of [ɔ] instead of [a] at the beginning of 'I' words.

³ The [i] of the stem (-idaʔqh, -idaʔs, -idaʔ) is missing in many of these forms.

⁴ You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:sɛ:daʔ instead of aehsɛ:daʔ.

⁵ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].

O-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

	<i>Stative</i>	<i>Habitual</i>	<i>Future-Punctual</i>	<i>Indefinite-Punctual</i>	<i>Factual-Punctual</i>
Prefix meaning ↓	-o'gwa:dɔh (?)	-o'gwa:s to be digging, uncovering	ɛ-gwa:t will dig, uncover	a-gwa:t would, could, should dig, uncover	a' ² -gwa:t did, in fact, dig, uncover
I w.ag	ago'gwa:dɔh	ago'gwa:s	ɛwago'gwa:t	aqgo'gwa:t ¹	qgo'gwa:t ²
we two y.ɔkn	ɔkno'gwadɔh	ɔkno'gwa:s	ɛkno'gwa:t	a:yɔkno'gwa:t	a' ² ɔkno'gwa:t
we all y.ɔgy	ɔgyo'gwadɔh	ɔgyo'gwa:s	ɛyɔgyo'gwa:t	a:yɔgyo'gwa:t	a' ² ɔgyo'gwa:t
you (singular) h.s	so'gwa:dɔh	so'gwa:s	ɛhso'gwa:t	ae'hso'gwa:t ³	ehso'gwa:t ⁴
you two h.sn	sno'gwa:dɔh	sno'gwa:s	ɛhno'gwa:t	ae'hno'gwa:t ¹	ehno'gwa:t ²
you all j	jo'gwa:dɔh	jo'gwa:s	ɛjo'gwa:t	aejo'gwa:t ¹	ejo'gwa:t ²
he h (or no sound)	ho'gwa:dɔh	ho'gwa:s	ɛho'gwa:t	a:ho'gwa:t	aho'gwa:t
she ya.ga, y.aga	gao'gwadɔh	gao'gwa:s	ɛyagao'gwa:t	a:yagao'gwa:t	a' ² agao'gwa:t
it y (or no sound)	o'gwa:dɔh	o'gwa:s	ɛyo'gwa:t	a:yo'gwa:t	a' ² o'gwa:t
they (males only) h.on	hono'gwadɔh	hono'gwa:s	ɛhono'gwa:t	a:hono'gwa:t	ahono'gwa:t
they (females or mixed) ya.gon, y.agon	gono'gwadɔh	gono'gwa:s	ɛyagono'gwa:t	a:yagono'gwa:t	a' ² agono'gwa:t
they (animals) y.on	ono'gwadɔh	ono'gwa:s	ɛyono'gwa:t	a:yono'gwa:t	a' ² ono'gwa:t

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - '24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'.) This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. In addition, in the punctual aspect, the verb can begin with ɛ- *future*, a- *indefinite* or a'²- *factual* prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefixes, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning *she* is ga- when it is at the very beginning of the word, but yaga- after ɛ-. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

Other verbs conjugated like this:

- ɔ'wehsgwa:nih (habitual), -ɔ'we:sɛ' (punctual) *enjoy something, enjoy oneself*
- ɔ'weshahs (habitual) *have a good time, enjoy oneself*
- de'²-ɔnhe:gye' (stative) *be stillborn*
- agɔnhehgɔh (stative) *live on something, be sustained by something*
- ɔ:nhe' (stative) *to be alive*
- ɔnyahnɔ' to have included, to have designated

¹ Note the use of [aɔ] instead of [a:] at the beginning of 'I' words

² Note the use of [ɔ] instead of [a] at the beginning of 'I' words.

³ You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:hso'gwa:t instead of ae'hso'gwa:t.

⁴ Note [e] at the beginning of this word, instead of [a].

INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes

	c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL	a-stem HABITUAL	i-stem HABITUAL	e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL	o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL
I...him	ahē:geʔ	heyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	hehnq̄:s ¹	ēheyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēhe:yq̄ʔ, dēheyodaihsiʔ
[s]he and I...him	asha:kni:geʔ	shakniyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shaknihnq̄:s	ēshagyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēsha:khnq̄ʔ, dēshakniyodaihsiʔ
they and I...him/them (males)	asha:gwa:geʔ	shagwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shagwēhnq̄:s	ēshagwēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēsha:gyq̄ʔ, dēshagwayodaihsiʔ
you (s) and I...him	ashe:tni:geʔ	shegyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shetnihnq̄:s	ēshetnēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshe:thni:yq̄ʔ, ēshe:tnq̄ʔ, dēshetniyodaihsiʔ
you[p] and I...him	ashe:dwa:geʔ	shedwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ, shetwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shedwēhnq̄:s, shetwēhnq̄:s	ēshedwēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshe:dwa:yq̄ʔ, dēshedwayodaihsiʔ
you...him	ahēse:geʔ	hehsahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	hehsihq̄:s	ēhehsēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēhe:hsq̄ʔ, dēhehsodaihsiʔ
you two...him, he...you two	ashe:sni:geʔ	shejahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shesnihnq̄:s	ēshesnēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshe:sni:yq̄ʔ, ēshe:snq̄ʔ, dēshesniyodaihsiʔ
you all...him, he...you all	ashe:swa:geʔ	sheshwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	sheswēhnq̄:s	ēsheyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshe:swa:yq̄ʔ, ēshe:jq̄ʔ, dēsheswayodaihsiʔ
s/he...him	aho:wa:geʔ	hqwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	hqwēhnq̄:s	ēhowēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēhq̄:wa:yq̄ʔ, dēhqwawayodaihsiʔ
they...him, s/he...them (male)	ahqwadi:geʔ	hqwēnahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	hqwadihnq̄:s	ēhqwānēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēhqwadi:yq̄ʔ, ēhq̄:wē:nq̄ʔ, dēhqwadiyodaihsiʔ, dēhqwēnodaihsiʔ
he...me	aha:ge:geʔ	hagahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	hagihq̄:s	ēhagēneʔwahdēʔ	ēha:gq̄ʔ, dēhagodaihsiʔ
he...us two	ashq̄:kni:geʔ	shq̄gyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shq̄knihnq̄:s	ēshq̄gyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshq̄knq̄ʔ, dēshq̄knodaihsiʔ, dēshq̄kniyodaihsiʔ
he...us all	ashq̄:gwa:geʔ	shq̄gwahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shq̄gwēhnq̄:s	ēshq̄gwēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshq̄:gwa:yq̄ʔ, dēshq̄gwayodaihsiʔ
he...you	ehya:geʔ	hyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	ēhyēhnq̄ksaʔ	ēhyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēhya:yq̄ʔ, dēhyayodaihsiʔ
he...her/them (fi)	asha:go:geʔ	shagohq̄d̄q̄haʔ	shagohnq̄:s	ēshagoneʔwa:dēʔ	ēshagaq̄ʔ, ēsha:go:yq̄ʔ, dēshagoyodaihsiʔ, dēshagaodaihsiʔ
I...her	ake:geʔ	keyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	kehnq̄:s	ēkeyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēke:yq̄ʔ, dēkeyodaihsiʔ
I/we two...them	agake:geʔ	gakeyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	gakehnq̄:s, ka:kehnq̄:s	ēgakeyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēga:ke:yq̄ʔ, dēgakeyodaihsiʔ
they and I...them [females only]	aʔa:ki:geʔ	akiyahq̄d̄q̄haʔ	akihnq̄:s	ēyakiyēneʔwa:dēʔ	ēya:ki:yq̄ʔ, dēyakiyodaihsiʔ

¹ The [i] of the stem (-idagraʔq̄h, -idagraʔs, -idagraʔ) is missing in many of these forms.

INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes

	c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL	a-stem HABITUAL	i-stem HABITUAL	e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL	o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL
you/you (p) and I...her/them	a [?] e:ti:ge [?]	etiyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	etihno:s	eyetiyene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eye:ti:y [?] q [?] , deyetiyodaihsi [?]
you...her	ashe:ge [?]	shayahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	shehno:s	eshyene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eshe:y [?] q [?] , dehsheyodaihsi [?]
you [s]...them	aga:she:ge [?]	gasheyahq [?] d [?] qha [?] , ka:sheyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gashehno:s, ka:shehno:s	egasheyene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	ega:she:y [?] q [?] , degahsheyodaihsi [?]
they...you, you...them, she...you, you...her	a [?] e:tsi:ge [?]	etsiyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	etsihno:s	eyetsiyene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eye:tsi:y [?] q [?] , deyetsiyodaihsi [?]
she...her	a [?] q [?] dade:ge [?]	q [?] dadahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	q [?] dadihno:s	eyq [?] dade [?] ne [?] wahd [?] e [?]	ey [?] q [?] da:d [?] q [?] ,
they [females only]...her/them [females only]	agaq [?] dade:ge [?]	gaq [?] dadahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gaq [?] dadihno:s	egaq [?] dade [?] ne [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	egaq [?] da:d [?] q [?]
they [males only]...her/them (fi)	ashagodi:ge [?]	shagonahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	shagodihno:s	eshagonene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	esha:go:n [?] q [?] , dehshagonodaihsi [?] , dehshagodiyodaihsi [?]
s/he...them [males only], they...him, they...them	ahowadi:ge [?]	h [?] ow [?] enahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	h [?] owadihno:s	ehowanene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eh [?] q [?] wa:n [?] q [?] , deh [?] owanodaihsi [?] , deh [?] owadiyodaihsi [?]
she...me	a [?] q [?] ge:ge [?]	q [?] gahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	q [?] gihno:s	eyq [?] gene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	ey [?] q [?] g [?] q [?] , deyq [?] godaihsi [?]
they...me	agaq [?] ge:ge [?]	gaq [?] gahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gaq [?] gihno:s	egaq [?] gene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	egaq [?] g [?] q [?] , degaq [?] godaihsi [?]
she...us, they...us	a [?] q [?] :ki:ge [?]	q [?] kiyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	q [?] kihno:s	eyq [?] kiyene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	ey [?] q [?] :ki:y [?] q [?] , deyq [?] kiyodaihsi [?]
she...you [s]	a [?] e:sa:ge [?]	esahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	esehno:s	eyesene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eye:s [?] q [?] , eye:sa:y [?] q [?] , deyesodaihsi [?] , deyesayodaihsi [?]
they...you [s]	agae:sa:ge [?]	gaesahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gaesehno:s	egaesene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	egaesa:y [?] q [?] , egaes [?] q [?] , degaesodaihsi [?] , degaesayodaihsi [?]
I...you	ago:ge [?]	goyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gohno:s	egone [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	ego:y [?] q [?] , degoyodaihsi [?]
I/we excl. dual...you two/it	akni:ge [?]	kniyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	knihno:s	eknene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	ekn [?] q [?] , , ekni:y [?] q [?] , deknodaihsi [?] , dekniyodaihsi [?]
I/we...you all/it	agwa:ge [?]	gwayahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	gwehno:s	egwene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	egwa:y [?] q [?] , degwayodaihsi [?]
you...me	asge:ge [?]	sgahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	sgihno:s	eshgene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eshg [?] q [?] , dehsgodaihsi [?] , dehsгойodaihsi [?]
I...you (singular), We two...you (singular), etc.,	eskni:ge [?]	skyahq [?] d [?] qha [?]	sknihno:s	esknene [?] wa:d [?] e [?]	eshkni:y [?] q [?] , dehskniyodaihsi [?]

INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes

	c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL	a-stem HABITUAL	i-stem HABITUAL	e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL	o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL
I...you all , We all...you (singular), etc.	e sgwa :gɛʔ	sgwahɔdɔhaʔ	sgwɛhnɔ:s	ɛsgwɛneʔwa:dɛʔ	ɛsgwa:yɔʔ, dɛsgwayodaihsiʔ

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells '25' - '61' of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. However, to save space, only one aspect form for each verb is shown. The aspect is indicated in the column header.

INTERACTIVE prefixes convey an 'interaction' between a personal pronoun that is a subject, like 'I', and a personal pronoun that is an object, like 'ME'. In verbs like asge:gɛʔ, then, the INTERACTIVE prefix means 'YOU saw ME'.

INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes — AGENT/INTERACTIVE

Agent/interactive

	C-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL	a-stem HABITUAL	i-stem HABITUAL	e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL	o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL
I...it	age:geʔ	gahqoqohaʔ	gihno:s	egeneʔwa:deʔ	degodaihsiʔ
we two (including listener)...it	etni:geʔ, ekni:geʔ	gyahqoqohaʔ	tnihno:s, knihno:s	ekneneʔwa:deʔ	deknodaihsiʔ
we two (not including listener)...it	aʔakni:geʔ	agyahqoqohaʔ	aknihno:s	eyagyeneʔwa:deʔ	deyaknodaihsiʔ
we all (not including listener)...it	aʔagwa:geʔ	agwahqoqohaʔ	agwehno:s	eyagweʔwa:deʔ	deyagyodaihsiʔ
we all (including listener)...it	edwa:geʔ	dwahqoqohaʔ	dwehno:s	edweʔwa:deʔ	degyodaihsiʔ
you (singular)...it	ehse:geʔ	sahqoqohaʔ	sehno:s	ehseneʔwa:deʔ	dehsodaihsiʔ
you two...it	ehsni:geʔ	jahqoqohaʔ	snihno:s	ehsneʔwahdeʔ	dehsnodaihsiʔ dehsniyodaihsiʔ
you all...it	ehswa:geʔ	swahqoqohaʔ	swehno:s	ehsweneʔwa:deʔ	dehswayodaihsiʔ, dejodaihsiʔ
he...it	aha:geʔ	hahqoqohaʔ	hehno:s	eheneʔwa:deʔ	dehodaihsiʔ
she...it	aʔe:geʔ	qhohqoqohaʔ	ehno:s	eyoneʔwahdeʔ	deyagodaihsiʔ
it...it	aʔga:geʔ	wahqoqohaʔ	gehno:s	eweneʔwa:deʔ	deyodaihsiʔ
they (males only)...it	ahadi:geʔ	henahqoqohaʔ	hadihno:s	eheneʔwa:deʔ	dehenodaihsiʔ
they (females or mixed)...it	agae:geʔ	gaqhohqoqohaʔ	gaejno:s	egaoneʔwahdeʔ	ga:gogweʔdi:yo: dega:godaihsiʔ
they (animals)...it	agadi:geʔ	genahqoqohaʔ	gadijno:s	egeneneʔwa:deʔ	degenodaihsiʔ

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this table are summarized in cells ‘1’ - ‘14’ of the large pronominal prefix chart. This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the ‘stative’, ‘habitual’ and ‘punctual’ aspects. However, to save space, only one aspect form for each verb is shown. The aspect is indicated in the column header.

We have called this set of prefixes ‘AGENT/INTERACTIVE’ because they can be used for two types of verbs. For example, when the prefix meaning ‘I’ occurs on the verb egadaweʔ, it means ‘I swim’. In contrast, when it occurs on the verbs shown here, it means ‘I saw IT’. In other words, the meaning of ‘IT’ is implied, when ‘AGENT/INTERACTIVE’ prefixes are used with the type of verb shown here.

INTERACTIVE prefixes convey an ‘interaction’ between a subject, like ‘I’, and an object, like ‘IT’, in verbs like age:geʔ. AGENT/INTERACTIVE prefixes convey an interaction between a personal pronoun that is a subject, and an ‘IT’ object.

Interactive pronominal prefixes - PATIENT/INTERACTIVE

PATIENT/INTERACTIVE

	c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL	a-stem HABITUAL	i-stem HABITUAL	e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL	o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL
it...me	qge:geʔ	agahqđhaʔ	agihno:s	ageneʔwaq:, ɛwageneʔwa:deʔ	agqtsanqhwa:s, deʔwagodaihsiʔ
it...us two	aʔqkni:geʔ	qgyahqđhaʔ	qknihnq:s	qkneʔwaq:., ɛyqkneʔwa:deʔ	qknqtsanqhwa:s, deʔyqknodaihsiʔ
it...us all	aʔqgwa:geʔ	qgwahqđhaʔ	qgwɛhnq:s	qgweneʔwaq:, ɛyqgweneʔwa:deʔ	qgyqtsanqhwa:s, deʔyqgwayodaihsiʔ
it...you (singular)	ehsa:geʔ	sahqđhaʔ	sɛhnq:s	seneʔwaq:, ɛhseneʔwa:deʔ	sqtsanqhwa:s, deʔhsayodaihsiʔ
it... you two	ehsni:geʔ	jahqđhaʔ	snihnq:s	sneneʔwaq:, ɛhsneneʔwahdeʔ	snqtsanqhwa:s, deʔhsnodaihsiʔ
it...you all	ehswa:geʔ	swahqđhaʔ	swɛhnq:s	sweneʔwaq:, ɛhsweneʔwa:deʔ	jqtsanqhwa:s, deʔhswayodaihsiʔ
it...him	aho:geʔ	hohqđhaʔ	hohnq:s	honeʔwaq:, ɛhonʔewa:deʔ	hqtsanqhwa:s, , haqtsanqhwa:s, deʔhoyodaihsiʔ
it...her	aʔago:geʔ	gohqđhaʔ	gohnq:s	gaweneʔwaq:, goneʔwaq:, ɛyqneʔwahdeʔ	gqtsanqhwa:s, gaqtsanqhwa:s, deʔyagoyodaihsiʔ
it...it	aʔo:geʔ	ohqđhaʔ	ohnq:s	oneʔwaq:, ɛyoneʔwahdeʔ	qtsanqhwa:s, aqtsanqhwa:s, deʔyoyodaihsiʔ
it...them (males only)	ahodi:geʔ	honahqđhaʔ	hodihno:s	honeneʔwaq:, ɛhoneneʔwa:deʔ	honqtsanqhwa:s
it...them (females or mixed)	aʔagodi:geʔ	gonahqđhaʔ	godihno:s	gonenʔewaq:, ɛyagonenʔewa:deʔ	gonqtsanqhwa:s
it...them (animals)	aʔodi:geʔ	onahqđhaʔ	odihno:s	onenʔewaq:, ɛyoneneʔwa:deʔ	onqtsanqhwa:s, deʔyonodaihsiʔ

TEACHING NOTE: the prefixes in this chart are summarized in cells '15' - 24' of the large pronominal prefix chart. (The numbering in the relevant row is '15, 16, 17, 18, 7a, 8a' and '19-24'). This set of pronominal prefixes is more difficult because the verbs here can occur in the 'stative', 'habitual' and 'punctual' aspects. However, to save space, only one aspect form for each verb is shown. The aspect is indicated in the column header.

We have called this set of prefixes 'PATIENT/INTERACTIVE' because they can be used for two types of verbs. For example, when the prefix meaning 'I' occurs on the verb agi:deht, it means 'I am poor'. In contrast, when it occurs on the verbs shown here, as in qge:geʔ, it means 'IT saw ME'. In other words, the meaning of 'IT' is implied, when 'PATIENT/INTERACTIVE' prefixes are used with the type of verb shown here, and the personal prefix shown, for example the one meaning 'I', means 'ME' instead.

INTERACTIVE prefixes convey an 'interaction' between a subject, like 'IT', and an object, like 'ME', in verbs like qge:geʔ. PATIENT/INTERACTIVE prefixes convey an interaction between an 'IT' subject and a personal pronoun that is an object.

K. Tense / aspect / mood paradigms

- Based on: (Michelson & Henry n.d.; Ontario Ministry of Education & Michelson 2011)
- The following tables illustrate prefixes and suffixes which can be added to the habitual, punctual, or stative verb forms in order to create additional tense or mood distinctions. Two verbs, -(a)trɔwi, (a)trɔny- *tell s.o.*, and -(a)hyagw, (a)hyago- *pick fruit, berries* are illustrated. Approximate translations are provided, but the meanings are very context-dependent.
- Please take these tables with a grain of salt: most of these examples, particularly the negatives, need to be double-checked.

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

36. Affix order

Prepronominal prefixes (adverbs)	Prepronominal prefixes (mood)	Pronominal prefixes	Derivational prefixes	Verb stem	Derivational suffixes	Purposive and progressive	Aspect suffixes	Derivational suffixes
			semireflexive -ad, -ade, -at-, -ag		causative -hd, -ht	purposive -e		distributives -hsq: [?] , -nyq: [?] , hnq: [?] , -qnyq: [?]
			reflexive -adad, -adade, -adat, -adag		datives or benefactives -hs, - [?] s, -nih, -e	progressive -agye [?] , -ogye [?] , -egye [?]		pluralizers -sq [?] , - [?] s
					dislocatives -hn, - [?] n, -dr			facilitative -sgq:
					eventuative -s [?]			instrumental -hkwa [?]
					inchoatives - [?] d, - [?] d, -nhe [?]			intensifier -jih
					reversives -go:, -gw, -hs			augmentative -ge:
					causative-instrumental -hsd, -hst, -hs			

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

37. See 43

Name of verb form (see 43)	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Aspect suffixes	Postaspectual suffixes
habitual		[A +]	V	habitual	
habitual past		[A +]	V + dislocative	habitual	-gęę:ʔ <i>past</i>
future habitual	ę <i>future</i>	[A +]	(see 49)	habitual	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> (also called a <i>modalizer</i>)
indefinite habitual	a: <i>indefinite</i>	[A +]		habitual	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> (also called a <i>modalizer</i>)

38. See 44

Name of verb form (see 44)	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Aspect suffixes
factual punctual	aʔ- <i>factual</i>	[A +]	V	punctual
future punctual	ę- <i>future</i>	[A +]	V + dislocative	punctual
indefinite punctual	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[A +]	(see 50)	punctual

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

39. See 45

Name of verb form (see 45)	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Aspect suffixes	Postaspectual suffixes
stative		[P +]	V	stative	
agentive stative		[A +]	V + dislocative	stative	
stative past		[P +]	(see 50, 51)	stative	-(h)ne: [?] <i>remote</i> -(h)k <i>former</i>
future stative	ε- <i>future</i>	[P +]		stative	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> (also called a <i>modalizer</i>)
indefinite stative	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[P +]		stative	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> (also called a <i>modalizer</i>)
progressive stative (see 46)		[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -εgye [?] <i>progressive</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

40. See 46, 47

Name of verb form	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Aspect suffixes	Postaspectual suffixes	Postaspectual suffixes
progressive stative (see 46, 47)		[P +]		stative	-agyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ <i>progressive</i>	
progressive factual stative	aʔ- <i>factual</i>	[P +]		stative	-agyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ <i>progressive</i>	
progressive future stative	ę- <i>future</i>	[P +]		stative	-agyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ <i>progressive</i>	
progressive indefinite stative	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[P +]		stative	-agyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ <i>progressive</i>	
progressive indefinite stative	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[P +]		stative	-agyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ <i>progressive</i>	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative (also called a modalizer)</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

41. See 48

Name of verb form (see 48)	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Aspect suffixes	Postaspectual suffixes	Aspect suffix	Postaspectual suffixes
progressive stative (see 46 above)		[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -ęgye [?] <i>progressive</i>	-s habitual	
progressive habitual		[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -ęgye [?] <i>progressive</i>	-s habitual	
progressive habitual past		[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -ęgye [?] <i>progressive</i>	-s habitual	-gęęh <i>past</i>
progressive future habitual	ę- <i>future</i>	[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -ęgye [?] <i>progressive</i>	-s habitual	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> <i>(also called a modalizer)</i>
progressive indefinite habitual	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[P +]		stative	-agye [?] , -ęgye [?] <i>progressive</i>	-s habitual	-a:k, -e:k <i>continuative</i> <i>(also called a modalizer)</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

42. See 52

Name of verb form (see 52)	Mood	Pronominal	Verb stem	Purposive -e Purposive past -e:	Aspect suffixes
purposive			V + dislocative (see 50)		
purposive habitual		[A +]		e	- [?] s <i>habitual</i>
purposive		[A +]		e	- [?] <i>punctual</i>
purposive past		[A +]		e:	- [?] <i>punctual</i>
purposive factual punctual	a [?] - <i>factual</i>	[A +]		e	- [?] <i>punctual</i>
purposive future punctual	ε- <i>future</i>	[A +]		e	- [?] <i>punctual</i>
purposive indefinite punctual	a:- <i>indefinite</i>	[A +]		e	- [?] <i>punctual</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

43. The habitual aspect, and forms based on the habitual

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
habitual	[A+]	<i>to be doing on a continual basis or regularly</i>	g-atró:wih(s) g-ahyá:gwahs	(tɛʔ) degatro:wih		ahgwih tɔsatronyahsgo: <i>don't go shooting your mouth off</i>
habitual past	[A+ habitual verb +gɛhɛ:ʔ past]	to be doing in the past on a continual basis or regularly; something one used to be doing	g-atrowihsgɛhɛ:ʔ, g-ahyagwahsgɛhɛ:ʔ	(tɛʔ) degatrowihsgɛhɛ:ʔ		
future habitual	[ɛ+ A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>to be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly</i>	ɛ-g-atrowih-a:k, ɛ-g-ahyagwáhs-e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:gatrowiha:k		ahgwih ɛhsatrowiha:k <i>don't be talking about it (in the future)</i>
indefinite habitual	[a:- A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>to possibly be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly</i>	a:-g-atrówih-a:k, a:-g-ahyágwáhs-e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:gatrowiha:k		ahgwih e:satrowiha:k <i>don't be talking about it now (said at the moment)</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

44. The punctual aspect, and forms based on the punctual

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
factual punctual	[a A+ verb stem + [?] punctual]	<i>an event that has occurred or is occurring at one point in time</i>	a-g-a:tró:wi- [?] , a-gáhyago- [?]			
future punctual	[ɛ A+ verb stem + [?] punctual]	<i>an event that will occur at one point in time</i>	ɛ-g-a:tró:wi- [?] , ɛ-g-áhyago- [?]	(tɛ [?]) ta:gatro:wi:		ahgwih ɛhsa:trow:ih
indefinite punctual	[a: A+ verb stem + [?] punctual]	<i>an event that might, should, or could occur at one point in time</i>	a:-g-atró:wi- [?] , a:-g-ahyá:go- [?]			ahgwih hwa [?] a:satro:wih

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

45. The stative aspect, and forms based on the stative

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
stative	[P+ verb stem +:, +ɛh, +qh stative]	<i>a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place</i>	ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-ɛh	(tɛʔ) deʔagatro:wi:		
agentive stative	[A+ verb stem +:, +ɛh, +qh stative]	<i>a state of affairs that is done; the result of an event</i>	w-atró:wi-:, w-ahyá:gw-ɛh	(tɛʔ) dewa:tro:wi:		ahgwih a:watro:wi: <i>don't let it tell</i>
stative past	[P+ stative verb form +(h)ne:ʔ remote or +hk former (not shown)]	<i>a state of affairs that has taken place; a state of affairs that existed in the past</i>	ag-atrowí-hne:ʔ, ag-ahyagw-ɛh-ne:ʔ	(tɛʔ) deʔagatrowihne:ʔ		
future stative	[ɛ- P+ stative verb form +a:k +(e):k continuative, modalizer]	<i>a state of affairs that will take place; a state of affairs that will be in the future</i>	ɛ-wag-atrówih-a:k, ɛ-wag-ahyá:gw-ɛ:-k	(tɛʔ) ta:wagatrowiha:k		ahgwih ɛhsatrowiha:k <i>don't be talking about it (in the future)</i>
indefinite stative	[a:- P+ stative verb form +a:k +(e):k continuative, modalizer]	<i>a state of affairs that might take place; a state of affairs that might be in the future</i>	a:-wag-a:tró:wi:-k, a:-wag-áhyagw-ɛ:-k	(tɛʔ) ta:waga:tro:wi:k		ahgwih hneʔ a:satro:wi:k, e:satro:wi:k <i>you shouldn't have been talking about it</i>

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

46. The progressive: You can create a ‘progressive’ verb by adding the progressive suffix -agye[?]-, -ęgye[?]- to a basic stative verb form.

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form
stative	[P+ verb stem +:, +ęh, +q̄h stative]	<i>a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place</i>	ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-ęh
progressive stative	[P+ stative verb form +agye [?] , +ęgye [?]]	<i>while one is going along and doing something (another activity takes place)</i>	ag-atrowih-agye [?] , ag-ahyagwęh-ęgye [?]

- Once you have the progressive stative form, you can add mood prefixes and aspect suffixes to it:

47. Additional progressive stative forms

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
progressive factual stative	[a [?] + P+ progressive form]		q̄gatrowihagye [?]	(tę [?]) dewagatrowi _h a:gye [?]		
progressive future stative	[ę+ P+ progressive form]		ęwagatrowi _h a:gye [?]	(tę [?]) dewagatrowi _h a:gye [?]		ahgwih ęhsatrowihagye [?]
progressive indefinite stative	[a:+ P+ progressive form]	<i>an activity that one might, should, etc. go along & do</i>	a:-wag-atrowih-agye [?] , a:-wag-ahyagw-ęh-ęgye [?]	(tę [?]) dewagatrowi _h a:gye [?]		ahgwih e:satrowi _h agye [?]
progressive indefinite stative	[a:+ P+ progressive form+a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>an activity that one should have been going along & doing</i>	a:-wag-atrowih-agye:-k, a:-wag-ahyagwęh-ęgye:-k			ahgwih e:satrowi _h agye [?] se:k

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

48. You can also take the basic progressive stative form (see 46), turn it into a habitual by adding the ending -s, and then add various mood prefixes and aspect suffixes

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
progressive habitual	[P+ progressive form + s habitual]	<i>an activity that one is going along and doing on a continual basis</i>	ag-atrowih-agye's, g-atrowih-á:gye's, ag-ahyagwəh- ęgye's	(tɛʔ) dewagatrowiha:gyeʔ(s)		ahgwih hneʔ te:satrowiha:gyeʔ
progressive habitual past	[P+ progressive habitual +gɛhɛʔ past]	<i>an activity that one used to go along and do on a regular basis</i>	ag-atrowih-agyé's- g\hɛʔ, ag-ahyagwəh- ęgyé's-g\hɛʔ			
progressive future habitual	[ɛ- P+ progressive habitual +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>an activity that one will go along and do on a regular basis</i>	ɛ-wag-atrowih- ágy'es-e:k, ɛ-wag-ahyagwəh- ęgy'es-e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:wagatrowihagyeʔse:k		ahgwih ɛ:satrowihagyeʔse:k
progressive indefinite habitual	[a:- P+ progressive habitual +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>an activity that one might go along and do on a regular basis</i>	a:-wag-atrowih- agyé's-e:k, a:-wag-ahyagwəh- ęgyé's-e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:wagatrowihagyeʔse:k		ahgwih e:satrowihagyeʔse:k

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

49. Dislocative habitual aspect forms: you can add a dislocative suffix (meaning *go and ...*) to a verb stem, and then create various habitual aspect forms:

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
dislocative stem	-atrɔnyahn-, -ahyagwah-					
dislocative habitual	[A+ dislocative stem +e's]	<i>something one is being sent to do all the time</i>	g-atrɔnyahn-e's, g-ahyá:gwah-s	(tɛʔ) degatrɔnyahne's		
dislocative habitual past	[A+ dislocative habitual stem +gɛhɛ:ʔ past]	<i>something one used to be sent to do all the time</i>	g-atrɔnyahné's- g√hɛ:ʔ, g-ahyagwahs- gɛhɛ:ʔ	(tɛʔ) degatrɔnyahne'sgɛhɛ:ʔ		
dislocative future habitual	[ɛ+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>something one will be sent to do all the time</i>	ɛ-g-atrɔnyáhn'es- e:k, ɛ-g-ahyagwáhs- e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:gatrɔnyahne'se:k		
dislocative indefinite habitual	[a:+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]	<i>something one might be sent to do all the time</i>	a:-g-atrɔnyahné's- e:k, a:-g- ahyágwahs-e:k	(tɛʔ) ta:gatrɔnyahne'se:k		

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

50. Dislocative punctual aspect forms: you can add a dislocative suffix (meaning *go and ...*) to a verb stem, and then create various punctual aspect forms:

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
dislocative stem	[-agatrɔnyahn-, -agahyaks-]					
dislocative factual punctual	[a- A+ dislocative stem +a [?] joiner vowel and punctual]	<i>something one went and did</i>	a-g-atrɔnyáhn-a [?] , a-g-áhyaks-a [?]	(tɛ [?]) ta:gatɔnyahna [?]		ahgwih ɛhsatrɔnyahna [?]
dislocative future punctual	[ɛ- A+ dislocative stem +a [?] joiner vowel and punctual]	<i>something one will go and do</i>	ɛ-g-atrɔnyáhn-a [?] , ɛ-g-áhyaksa [?]	(tɛ [?]) ta:gatɔnyahna [?]		ahgwih ɛhsatrɔnyahna [?]
dislocative indefinite punctual	[a:- A+ dislocative stem +a [?] joiner vowel and punctual]	<i>something one might go and do</i>	a:-g-atrɔnyáhn-a [?] , a:-g-ahyá:ks-a [?]	(tɛ [?]) ta:gatɔnyahna [?]		ahgwih a:satrɔnyahna [?]

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

51. Dislocative stative aspect forms: you can add a dislocative suffix (meaning *go and ...*) to a verb stem, and then create various stative aspect forms:

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
dislocative stem	[-agatrɔnyahn-, -agahyaks-]					
dislocative stative	[P+ dislocative stem +ɔh, +ɔ:, +ɛh]	<i>something one has gone and done, or something one is going and doing now</i>	ag-atrɔnyáhn-ɔh, ag-áhyaks-ɔ:	(tɛʔ) dewagatrɔnyahnɔh		ahgwih a:satrɔnyahnɔ:
dislocative stative past	[P+ dislocative stative +hne:ʔ remote]	<i>one went there and did something (and one is back now)</i>	ag-atrɔnyáhn-ɔh-k, ag-áhyaks-ɔh-k	(tɛʔ) dewagatrɔnyahnɔhk		ahgwih a:satrɔnyahnɔhk, e:satrɔnyahnɔhk
dislocative future stative	[ɛ+P+ dislocative stative -k modalizer]	<i>something one will have gone and done (by the time someone else does something else)</i>	ɛ-wag-atrɔnyahnɔ:-k, ɛ-wag-ahyáksɔh-k			ahgwih a:satrɔnyahnɔhk, e:satrɔnyahnɔhk
dislocative indefinite stative	[a:+P+ dislocative stative -k modalizer]	<i>something one would have gone and done (by the time someone else would have done something else)</i>	a:-wag-atrɔnyáhnɔ:-k, a:-wag-ahyáksɔh-k			ahgwih a:satrɔnyahnɔhk, e:satrɔnyahnɔhk

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

52. Aspect suffixes with purposive verb forms: purposive aspect verbs with a dislocative and purposive suffix can take the following additional aspect forms:

linguistic name of verb form	required prefixes and endings	basic meaning	positive verb form	negative verb form	positive command	negative command
Purposive verb	[-e to go]					
purposive stems	[-agatrɔnyahne-, -ahyakse-]					
purposive habitual	[A+(dislocative stem) +e + ² s]	<i>something one goes and does all the time</i>	g-atrɔnyahn-e- ² s, g-ahyá:ks-e- ² s			
purposive	[A+(dislocative stem) +e + ² [punctual]]	<i>something one has come to do</i>	g-atrɔnyahn-e- ² , g-ahyá:ks-e- ²	(tɛ ²) degatrɔnyahne ²		
purposive past	[A+(dislocative stem) +e: + ² punctual]	<i>something one came and did</i>	g-atrɔnyahn-e:- ² , g-ahyá:ks-e:- ²	(tɛ ²) dewagatrɔnyahn e: ²		
purposive factual punctual	[a+ A+ (dislocative stem) +e + ²]	<i>something one will go and do; something one is going to do now</i>	a-g-atrɔnyáhn-e- ² , a-g-áhyaks-e- ²	(tɛ ²) degatrɔnyahne ²		
purposive future punctual	[ɛ+ A+ (dislocative stem) +e + ²]	<i>something one will go and do</i>	ɛ-g-atrɔnyáhn-e- ²			
purposive indefinite punctual	[a:+ / ɔ:+ (dislocative stem) +e + ²]	<i>something one might go and do</i>	a:-g-atrɔnyahn-e ²			

Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

53. The verb /-e-/ go

linguistic name of verb form	Positive	Negative	Positive command	Negative command
purposive	i:geʔ <i>I'm walking, etc.</i>	tɛʔ degeʔ ¹		
	da:geʔ <i>I am going</i>	tɛʔ tɔ:da:ge:		
	haʔgeʔ <i>I went</i>	tɛʔ toh taʔgeʔ		
purposive past	edwe:ʔ <i>We all went together</i>	tɛʔ te:dwe:		
purposive habitual	i:geʔs <i>I'm here</i>	tɛʔ degeʔs		
purposive future punctual	hɛ:ge:ʔ ² <i>I will go</i>	tɛʔ toh ta:ge:	he:ge: <i>Let me go there</i>	tɛʔ ta:ge:
	dɛtgeʔ <i>I'll come back this way</i>	tɛʔ tɔ:da:ge:		
	hɛhsgeʔ <i>I'm going back there</i>	tɛʔ tɔ:sa:ge:		

¹ The negative purposive forms should be checked to see if they end with a glottal stop or not.

² It is unclear why the final vowel of this word is long.

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Cayuga particles

aga:wəh

it is mine, ours
[(a)wəh have, own]

agi:

ouch!

ahgwih

Don't...

(Ahgwih) ɛdihsa'dre:. Don't drive over here.

Ahgwih həhsa'dre:. Don't drive over there.

Ahgwih dəhsnigqhae?. Don't bother it.

Ahgwih ɛhsa:sdi:s. Don't disturb it; don't handle it.

aju!

ouch! (exclamation, said when you touch something cold or hot)

aqhe?

it (lit.: it is alone)
[(a)qhe? alone]

aq:hə:ʔəh

the most

ahsdeh

outside, outdoor

ahsqh, ahsq(h)

still, yet, some more; More! (Said when you want someone to pour a drink.)

Ahsq gəh? Do you want some more?

Ahsq ne:ʔ ahahsowəh. He's still angry.

Ahsq hodre:nq:t. He's still singing.

Ahsq ni:ʔ agqtsanqhwa:s ne? dagaihq:ni? gyotedəhshq:ʔqh agahyagwəhne:?. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.

Ahsq awagahyagwəhəgye?se:k gyə:gwa? ta:waknəhy?agq:k. I would still be picking fruit if I didn't get hurt. (I would still have been picking fruit if I hadn't been hurt).

Ahsq e?nihs desatwə:jo:nih! You still want more!

awə?

it is said

Cayuga particles

da

here (does not occur alone)

see: **dagwa:dih, da...gwa:dih**

see: **dane:?**

see: **dane:?^hni?**

see: **dane:onɕh**

see: **da:netoh**

see: **da:nɛ:dah**

see: **danhɔweh**

see: **da:onɕh**

see: **nɛ:dah**

dagwa:dih

over here, this side here

[da, gwa:dih]

dane:?, dane(:?)

that it

[da, ne:?]

dane:?^hni?, dane(:?)^hni(?)

that also

[da, ne:?, hni?]

Dane:?^hni? dwɛ:dɔh. That is also what we mean.

dane:?^honɕh, dane(:?)^honɕ(h)

and now that

[da, ne:?, o:nɕh]

Dane:onɕh to niya:wɛhdre?. And now this is what is going to happen.

da:netoh

that is all

[da, ne?, to]

da:nɛ:dah

now this also

[da, nɛ:, nɛ:dah]

Da:nɛ:dah ha?gahe? gao? ɛdihswatrihs ɛhswad^hhɔhsi:yohs. Now is the time to come closer and listen.

danhɔweh, da(n)hɔweh

this is where

[hɔ(weh), nhɔ:(weh), da]

Da:nhɔ:weh hɔ: hɛ?drɔ? ne:? haks^ha?go:wah. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.

Cayuga particles

da:oneh

and now

[da, o:neh]

dege:həh, (te?) dege:həh

not too many

[ge:]

dejaq:

both (of you two)

də?, də(?)

what (short form); why

[də?, ho?də?]

Də? hne:ʔ i:se:ʔ/ What do you want?

Də? hne:ʔ ni:yoht shəh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?

Agya?dahsde? dəhni:ʔ. I'm heavy.

Də? ni:s ɛtsahtga?/ What will you give, donate?

Də? ni:s sa?nigəho?də:/ What are your thoughts?

Dəhne:ʔ ni:yoht tshəh toh nahsye:ʔ. Why did you do that?

də? hne:ʔ, də(?) hne(:ʔ)

what? why?; what is that? why me? (or any similar expression of exasperation)

[də?, hne:ʔ]

Də? hne:ʔ i:se:ʔ/ What do you want?

Də? hne:ʔ ni:yoht i:se:ʔ/ Why do you want it that way?

Də? hne:ʔ ni:yoht shəh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?

Dəhne:ʔ ni:yoht tshəh toh nahsye:ʔ. Why did you do that?

də?ho?də? də(?)ho(?)də(?)

what

[də?, ho?də?]

Də? hne: ho?də?/ What kind?

Hao? dahskro:wih də? ni:ʔ (ho? də?) nəga:gye:ʔ. O.k., you tell me what to do!

Hao? dəhskro:wi? də? ni? (ho? də?) nəga:gye:ʔ. Tell me what to do.

Cayuga particles

diʔ, di(?)

so, then

Do:gəhs diʔ gəh/ Is that true (then)?

Gaę diʔ nhq:weh nihsweʔs o:nəh/ Where then are you now?

Hwę:dəh diʔ ęje:yqʔ/ When then is she going to return?

I:s diʔ gəh hne:ʔ/ How about you then?

Nęʔ diʔ ni:s/ How about you then?

Ne:ʔ diʔ gəh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)

Sanqəkdɑ:nıʔ gę diʔ/ Are you sick (then)?

Ęhsneʔ gəh diʔ/ Are you coming along (then)?

Ęhę: sęęnəh. Nęʔ diʔ ni:s/ I'm fine thanks. And you (then)?

Do: diʔ nęyonisheʔ/ How long will it take (then)?

do:, do(:)

how (or other terms involving measurement)

Daskro:wıʔ do: niyowıhsdaeʔ ęsahdę:diʔ. You tell me at what time you're going to leave.

Do: nitga:deʔ/ How high?

Do: gwaʔ nęyonisheʔ. A certain length of time.

Do: i:ʔ! Let me!; How about me?

Do: ni:waʔs/ How big?

Do: niga:gq/ How many people?

Do: niya:gaʔ/ How big is it/she?

Do: niyo:/ How many, how much?

Do: nidihse:no:ʔ/ How old are you? (singular)

Do:gwaʔ ni:yq: ęsaga:dęʔ. It is going to cost you a certain amount.

Do: gwaʔ naʔqnihsheʔ/ How long did it take?

Do: diʔ nęyonisheʔ/ How long will it take?

do: i:ʔ

let me!

[do, i:ʔ]

dodinyo:weʔ, dod(?)inyo:(weʔ)

how far is it then?

[do, diʔ, niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

do:gaʔ

I do not know

Cayuga particles

do:gwa?

how; certain amount, a measure
[do, gwa?]

Do: gwa? neyonishe?. A certain length of time.

Do:gwa? ni:yq: ęsaga:dę?. It is going to cost you a certain amount.

e:?, e(:?)

again

Agahdrq?s onęh e: jitrehs satshe:nq:nih. I'm frightened now (again) because you're too happy.

I:? gęh e: sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me again? (joking)

Onęh e: agri?sdowna:neh.... (now again) I'm loud, noisy

i:hs gyę?hne:? tsq: e:? toh nahsye:? You're the only one that did that again

jidwahshe:t e:?. Let's count again!

jidwahshe:t gi? gye? e:?. Let's count it again then!

Hehshe:da:ge:? e:?. He's lying over there again!

O:nęh e:? i:s toh ha?segqhe:k. You're getting into someone else's fight again, butting in.

Ahsqh e:?nihs desa?twę:jo:nih! You still want more (again)!

Ne?gi?ę:? e:? toh ihe?s. He's here again!

Tse: e?ne? satro:wi:.. You're talking about that again! (Expression of disgust.)

ę:?, ę(:?)

Isn't it so? Yes? (question marker; asking for confirmation)

Ę: n?aganqhsa:dih ita:t. He's standing on the other side of the house.

Enqhwę's ę:?. She likes it...(doesn't she?) (This is a statement with some doubt; it asks for some confirmation.)

ęhe?

yes; expressions using this word include:

Ęhe? gęh/ Is that right?

Ęhe? se?. It is so.

ga?, g(?)a

(does not occur alone)

see: **g?atoh**

see: **g?ato:hah**

see: **tę? ga?toh**

Cayuga particles

gaɛ, gaɛ(:)

which, where, somewhere

Gaɛ diʔ nɦo:weh nihsweʔs o:nɛh/ Where then are you now?

Gaɛ niyeyaʔda:ʔ/ Which person? Which woman?

Gaɛ ni:ga: i:seʔ a:se:k/ Which one do you want to eat?

Gaɛgwaʔ nɦo:(weh) tɔwaʔnigɔha:ʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.

Gaɛ nɔdahse:/ Where do you come from?

Gaɛ nɦo nɔdi:se:nɔ:/ Where are you from?

Gaɛ nɦo tsiʔdrɔʔ/ Where do you live?

Gaɛ hwaʔ nɦo hejisaihoʔdeʔ/ Where do you work?

Gaɛ niyo:weh heha:we:nɔ:. How far has he gone?

gaɛnɦo:weh, (gaɛ) hɔ(:weh),

(gaɛ) nɦo(:weh)

what place, where

[gaɛ, hɔ(weh), nɦo:(weh)]

Gaɛ diʔ nɦo:weh nihsweʔs o:nɛh/ Where then are you now?

Gaɛ diʔ nɦo:weh heha:we:nɔ:/ Where then has he gone?

Gaɛgwaʔ nɦo:(weh) tɔwaʔnigɔha:ʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.

Gaɛ nɦo nɔdi:se:nɔ:/ Where are you from?

Gaɛ nɦo tsiʔdrɔʔ/ Where do you live?

Gaɛ hwaʔ nɦo hejisaihoʔdeʔ/ Where do you work?

gaɛ nyo:weʔ, gaɛ n(i)yo:(weʔ)

How far?

[gaɛ, niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

Gaɛ niyo:weh heha:we:nɔ:. How far has he gone?

gaɛ:diʔ, gaɛ(:)diʔ

where is it then (emphasizing where)

[gaɛ, diʔ]

Gaɛ diʔ nɦo:weh nihsweʔs o:nɛh/ Where then are you now?

Gaɛ diʔ nɦo:weh heha:we:nɔ:/ Where then has he gone?

gaɛgwaʔ nɦo:weh, gaɛgwaʔ(?) (n)hɔ:(weh)

somewhere around; someplace, thereabouts

[gaɛ, gwaʔ, hɔ(weh), nɦo:(weh)]

Gaɛgwaʔ nɦo:(weh) tɔwaʔnigɔha:ʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.

Cayuga particles

gao:ʔ, gao(:ʔ)

this side, this way; at this time; before; less

gaoʔ shə nyo:ʔ to: nəya:wəh before that happens

gaoʔ nawahtgeh tsaʔgaqdri:yoʔ. The time before, they fought.

Gaoʔ nqdahse:ʔ. Come this way.

Da:nə:dah haʔgaheʔ gaoʔ ɛdihswatrihs ɛshwadahqhsi:yohs. Now is the time to come closer and listen.

gaoʔ nawahtgeh, gao(?) nawahtgeh

before that time

[gao:ʔ, nawahtgeh]

Gaoʔ nawahtgeh tsaʔgaqdri:yoʔ. The time before, they fought.

gaoʔ shəh nyo:(weʔ), gao(?) tshəh nyo:(weʔ)

before that time

[gao:ʔ, shəh/tshəh, niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

gaoʔ shə nyo:ʔ to: nəya:wəh before that happens

gaqhəʔ

she, her (lit.: she is alone)

[(a)qhəʔ alone]

(gat)gʔishəhwaʔ, (gat)gi(?)shəhwa(?)

maybe, perhaps

[giʔ, shəh, tshəh, hwaʔ]

Neʔ gihshəhwaʔ e:dq̄h. Maybe that's the one she means.

gʔatoh, g(?)ato(h)

nowhere, somewhere, anywhere

[gaʔ, to, to:hah]

Gʔatoh tsq̄: ta:se:tsei:. Nowhere only will you find it

gʔato:hah, g(?)ato(:)hah

somewhere

[gaʔ, to, to:hah]

Gʔato:hah todahsdq̄h. He's hiding somewhere.

Gʔatohah tsq̄: ɛse:tseʔ. You will find it someplace.

gɛ:, gɛ(:)

be the one

[gɛ:]

Tɛʔ ne:ʔ degɛ:. It's not the one.

Trehs giʔ gɛʔ. My goodness!

Cayuga particles

gẹh, gẹ(h)

particle indicating a question; whether, if, etc.

[gẹh]

Ahsq gẹh/ Do you want some more?

Dahe[?] gẹh tẹ[?] nigẹ[?]qh/ Is he coming or not?

Daskro:wih sanqhqkda:ni[?] gẹh/ Tell me whether you're sick.

Daskro:wih ẹdwe: gẹh. Tell me if you're coming along.

Do:gẹhs di[?] gẹh/ Is that true?

Dqdahe[?] gẹh/ Is he coming back?

Do:gẹhs gẹh/ Is that the case? Is that true?

Enqhwe[?]s gẹh/ Does she like it?

Hqgweh gẹh agqgweh nigẹ[?]qh Kim eya:sqh/ Was it a man or a woman whose name is Kim?

Hqgweh gẹh agqgweh nigẹ[?]qh/ Is it a man or a woman?

Hqgwe[?]di:yo: gẹh/ Is he a kind person?

I:s di[?] gẹh hne:[?]/ How about you then?

Ihse: gẹh to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?

Ne:[?] di[?] gẹh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)

O: gẹh/ Said when really questioning someone.

Sanqhqkda:ni[?] gi[?] gẹh/ Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?

Sanqhqkda:ni[?] gẹ di[?]/ Are you sick?

To gẹ[?]qh ni:yoht/ I wonder if it's like that?

To: gẹh ha[?]se[?] shẹh nho: dedwatgẹnyo:/ Are you going to the fair?

Tẹ[?] gẹh dehse: to: ne:[?] dwa:ye[?]/ Don't you think we should do that?

Tẹ[?] gẹh dehsho:yq:/ Did he not come home?

Tẹ[?] gẹh/ Isn't it?

Edwe:[?] gẹh/ Are you coming along with us?

Ehẹ[?] gẹh/ Is that right?

Ehsne[?] gẹh di[?]/ Are you coming along?

Esgoho:wi[?] to gẹh ne: hẹyẹ:[?]. I will tell you if she's going.

Eshe[?] gẹh/ Are you going to come?

Gayogqho:nqh gẹ[?] ni:s nahsya[?]dode[?]/ Are you Cayuga?

Sqgwehq:weh gẹh/ Are you Indian?

I:[?] gẹh sgi:dqh/ Do you mean me?

I:[?] gẹh sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me? (a little bit paranoid)

I:[?] gẹh e: sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me again? (joking)

Cayuga particles

Sgęnqjih gęh/ Are you well?

Snigõha:ʔ gęh/ Are you expecting, watching for something?

I:s gęhne:ʔ/ Was that you?

Ętne:ʔ gęh/ Do you want to come along with me?

gę:s

generally, used to, usually, basically

I:soʔ agidahsgęhę:ʔ gę:s. I used to sleep a lot.

Jiʔ gę:s trehs sheno:wę:. You lie too much; you're too much of a liar (generally).

Ne:ʔ gę:s ga:dõh. That's what I usually say.

Ji gę:s trehs jahşę: tşęh nisnihnę:ye:s. You're (generally) too fat for your height.

Ahsõheh gę:s agahdrõni:h. I'm (usually) afraid of the dark.

Tsigõgweʔda:seʔ gę:s gahyagwahsgęhę:ʔ. When I was a young person I usually picked berries.

Knõhweʔs gę:s tsigõgweʔda:seʔ tiga:gwe:gõh gę:s agahyagwęhęgyeʔsgęhę:ʔ. When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit.

Ogwęhę:gyeʔ gę:s ahsyõʔ. Now and again (that is, in general) you'll be here.

giʔ, gi(?)

just, really

Giʔ trehs aõgõhdõh. It's (just) beyond.

Ne:ʔ giʔ e:dõh. That's (just) what she means.

Ne:ʔ giʔ gi:dõh. That's (just) what I mean.

Ne:ʔ giʔ hę:dõh. That's (just) what he means.

O: tęʔõ: giʔ, gatgʔishęh ne:ʔ hwaʔ (Just) maybe I will, maybe I won't (come along)

O:nęh giʔ hõdehsronihsʔõh. He is (just) ready now.

O:nęh giʔ ęgõyęʔęşętwahşõʔõh. I'm (just) now going to kick you around.

Sanõhõkda:niʔ giʔ gęh/ Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?

To giʔ shęh ha:ge:. just maybe I should go there.

Trehs giʔ gęʔ. My goodness!

Tęʔ gʔatõh. Tęʔ giʔ dehe:gę: Nowhere. I just didn't see him.

Tęʔ giʔ gwah dewagadaʔgaideʔ. I'm just not feeling well.

Waheʔ giʔ gatahi:neʔ. I'm just getting on my way.

Agaʔtsęnõ:ni: giʔ tşęh sadaʔgaideʔ. I'm just happy that you are well.

Hõihoʔdeʔsri:yo: giʔ ne:ʔ. He just has a good job.

Ahi:ʔ giʔ to na:ya:węh. I just thought that's what should happen.

Ahi:ʔ giʔ to nęya:węh. I just thought that's what would happen.

Neʔgiʔgyęʔ asiʔ. That's just what you said.

Cayuga particles

Ne'gi'gye' gaq:dqh. That's just what the women say.

Ne'gi'gye' hana:dqh. That's just what the men say.

Hęyehgi?! just leave well enough alone!

Tę'gi'daq: to na:ya:węh. No, it (just) will not happen.

Tę'gihne: dedo:gęhs de'sa:dqh. No, it's not really true what you're saying.

Tę'gidaq tayagogae:. No, she (just) will never agree to...

Tę'gini: to ta:gye:. No, I (just) will not do that.

gi' gye:?, gi(?) gye(:?)

just (because)

[gi', gye:']

Jidwahshe:t gi' gye' e:?. Let's (just) count it again then!

Ne: gi' gye:?. Just because.

g'ihne:?, g(?)ihne(:?)

instead

[gi', hne:']

g'ihshęh, g(?)ihshęh, g(?)itsęh

maybe

[gi', shęh, tsęh]

O: tę'qh, gatg'ishęh gye:gwa?. Maybe, maybe not.

O: tę'qh, gatg'ishęh ne: hwa?. Maybe, maybe not.

Tę' gi' shęh. Maybe not

g'ihshęhwa?, g(?)ihshęhwa(?), g(?)ihtsęhwa(?)

maybe that

[gi', shęh, tsęh, hwa?]

Tę' gi' shęh hwa?. Maybe not.

g'itsq:, g(?)itsq(:)

just that, just there

[gi', tsq:]

To: gitsq: ni:yq:. That's just all there is.

gona:węh

it is theirs (f/m)

[(a)węh have, own]

gonq:hę'

they (f/m) (lit.: they (f/m) are alone)

[(a)qhe' alone]

Cayuga particles

go:wəh

it is hers

[(a)wəh have, own]

gɔdagyeʔ

immediately, right away

[gɔdagyeʔ]

Gɔdagyeʔ ɛtsahdɛ:diʔ. You will leave right away!

gwaʔ, gwa(?)

referring to a measure of time (does not occur alone)

see: **do:gwaʔ**

see: **gaɛgwaʔ nhɔ:(weh)**

see: **gwaʔ ti:gɛ:**

see: **gwatoh**

see: **gyɛ:gwaʔ**

see: **gyɛ:ʔgwahne:hwaʔ**

see: **hwɛdɔgwaʔ**

see: **neʔgwatoh**

see: **nɛtsɔ:gwatoh**

see: **o:nɛgwaʔ**

gwaʔ ti:gɛ:, gwa(?) ti:gɛ:

plainly, clearly, as it is

[gwaʔ, ti:gɛ:]

gwa:dih, gwai

to one side

Si:hne:ʔ gwai hɛhsadiʔ. Throw that over there!

see: **sigwa:dih**

gwahs

(does not occur alone)

see: **gwahs ɔ:wəh**

see: **gwahs wahetsɔ:**

see: **ne:ʔ gwahs hwaʔ**

see: **tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wəh**

Cayuga particles

gwahs ɔ:weh

really

[gwahs, ɔ:weh]

Gwahs ɔ:weh a:yeʔ tɛʔ desho:tɔ:deʔ. It really seems like he doesn't (want to) hear; he has selective hearing.

Gwahs ɔ:weh tsaʔho:ya:t honiʔq̄h. He can't help himself, he's really really stingy.

gwahs wahetsɔ:

just now; just a few seconds ago

[gwahs, waʔ(heh), tsɔ:]

Gwahs waʔhetsɔ: to: naʔa:wɛh. That just happened.

gwʔatoh, gwʔ(ʔ)ato(h)

it will be also; also

[gwaʔ, to]

Neʔ gwatoh gi:dq̄h. I also mean that.

gwe:

well! (surprise or sarcasm); can also mean 'hello'

Gwe: a:yeʔ sanq̄hyagq̄h! Well, it looks like you're hurt!

gwe:gq̄h, agwe:gq̄h, ogwe:gq̄h

everything, all

gyaḡḡe:ʔɛh

the most, the greatest

[aḡḡe:ʔɛh]

neʔ gyaḡḡe:ʔɛh gyonq̄ʔshehsde:ʔ the most sickening, tiring, aggravating

gyɛ:ʔ, gyɛ:(ʔ)

(does not occur alone)

see: **giʔ gyɛ:ʔ**

see: **gyɛ:gwaʔ**

see: **gyɛ:ʔgwahne:hwaʔ**

see: **gyɛʔhne:ʔ**

see: **ne:ʔgyɛ:ʔ**

see: **ne:ʔgyɛ:neʔ**

see: **netogyɛ:ʔ**

see: **netogyɛ(n)hɔ:weh**

see: **wajihkɛ:ʔ (gyɛ:ʔ)**

Cayuga particles

gye:ʔgwaʔ, gye(:ʔ)gwa(ʔ)

maybe, if, perhaps, what if, if only
[gye:ʔ, gwaʔ]

Gye:gwaʔ ahagwe:niʔ/ Maybe if he could do it, if he is able?

Gye:gwaʔ ahogaɛʔ, ahagaɛʔ/ Maybe if he would agree, if he's willing?

Gye:gwaʔ o:nɛh ahahde:diʔ/ What if he should leave now?

O: teʔq̄h, gatgʔishɛh gye:gwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.

A:gahyagwahse:k se hɛ ni:ʔ gye:gwaʔ a:wagadagaide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.

A:gahya:goʔ gye:gwaʔ a:sgyena:wahs. I would pick fruit if only you would help me.

Ahsq̄h awagahyagwehɛgyeʔse:k gye:gwaʔ ta:waknq̄hyʔagq̄:k. I would still be picking fruit if I didn't get hurt. (I would still have been picking fruit if I hadn't been hurt).

gye:ʔgwaʔhne:ʔhwaʔ, gye(:ʔ)gwa(ʔ)hne:(ʔ)hwa(ʔ)

just maybe
[gye:ʔ, gwaʔ, hne:ʔ, hwaʔ]

gyɛh, gye(h)

(does not occur alone)

see: **ne:gyɛh**

see: **si:gyɛh**

see: **to:gyɛh**

see: **waʔgyɛh**

gyeʔhne:ʔ, gye(ʔ)hne:(ʔ)

that is
[gye:ʔ, hne:ʔ]

I:hs gyeʔhne:ʔ That's you!

I:hs gyeʔhne:ʔ toh nahsye:ʔ. Are you the one that did it.

I:hs gyeʔhne:ʔ tsq̄: e:ʔ toh nahsye:ʔ You're the only one that did that again

haiʔ

hello (a word attributed to Oneida or Tutelo)

haoʔ

o.k.; come on!

Haoʔ dahskro:wih deʔ ni:ʔ (hoʔ deʔ) neɛga:gye:ʔ. O.k., you tell me what to do!

haoʔ dʔɛnyoh, hao(ʔ) d(ʔ)ɛnyoh

O.k. then.
[haoʔ, deʔ, nyoh]

Cayuga particles

haqheʔ, haqhaʔ

he (lit.: he is alone)

[(a)qheʔ alone]

he:ge:

just, only, all

Ne:ʔ he:ge: agyqhsətoh. All she did was cry.

he:tgeh

up, above

heʔ, he(?)

refers to also, too (does not occur alone)

see: **heʔhne:ʔ**

see: **heʔni:ʔ**

see: **ne:ʔhehne:ʔ**

heʔeh

no (a slang-like expression)

he:gyeh, he:gye(h)

it doesn't matter; it doesn't make any difference

Heqyehgi?! Leave well enough alone!

Aweʔ heqyeh tsq:. Let it go! (It's not worth bothering.)

heʔhne:ʔ, he(?)hne:(?)

too, also, and

[heʔ, hne:ʔ]

Honahse: heʔ neʔ dehenadehno:droʔ. Your brothers are fat.

heʔni:ʔ, he(?)ni:(?)

me too

[heʔ, neʔ, i:ʔ]

Egahyagwahse:k he ni:ʔ neh eqahdo:k. I'll be a fruit picker when I grow up.

A:gahyagwahse:k se he ni:ʔ gyę:gwaʔ a:wagadagaide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.

hne:ʔ, hne:(?)

in fact

Dęʔ hne:ʔ i:se:ʔ/ What in fact do you want?

Dęʔ hne: hoʔdęʔ/ What kind in fact?

I:s diʔ geh hne:ʔ/ How about you then in fact?

Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ go:węh. That's hers in fact.

Tęʔ hne:ʔ dehoqetwęh. No, in fact he did not plant. (emphatic)

Cayuga particles

Dəhne:ʔ ni:yoht tseḥ toh nahsye:ʔ. Why in fact did you do that?

I:s gəhne:ʔ/ Was that in fact you?

Ne:ʔhəhne:ʔ gaogweʔdaʔ. Also in fact that is her family, one of her people.

Ne:ʔhne:neʔ gaihwaḡwe:ni:yo. That in fact is the main thing, the main item.

Təʔgihne:ʔ dedo:gəhs deʔsa:dəh. No, it's not in fact really true what you're saying.

hniʔ, hni(?)

also, and, too

Dəʔ hniʔ hoʔdəʔ hoihoʔdəhsroʔdeʔ/ And what does he do?

Dane:ʔhniʔ dwə:dəh. That is also what we mean.

hoʔdəʔ, ho(?)dəʔ

what

[dəʔ, hoʔdəʔ]

Gado:gə: shəh hoʔdəʔ aʔogwayədahk. A certain something brought us together (that is, a meeting).

hoh!

what the...?! (expression of surprise)

hoho:!

Aha! Uh-oh! Yes! (exclamation, said in anticipation of something bad or good; for example, someone's about to win at bingo, or have a fight)

[hoho:]

hona:wəh

it is theirs (males only)

[(a)wəh have, own]

honə:həʔ

they (males) (lit.: they (males) are alone)

[(a)əhəʔ alone]

hotgəʔəh

Say! Hey! Wow! What the...?! For Heaven's sake! (exclamation; said when something is out of the ordinary).

Hotgəʔəh asyəʔ! For heaven's sake, you got here! What the... you made it!

ho:wəh

it is his

[(a)wəh have, own]

Cayuga particles

hɔ:, hɔ:(:)

there (does not occur alone)

see: **danhɔweh**

see: **gaɛgwaʔ nhɔ:(weh)**

see: **(gaɛ) hɔ:(weh)**

see: **hɔ(weh), nhɔ:(weh)**

see: **netogyɛ(n)hɔ:weh**

see: **shɛnhɔ:weh**

see: **si:nhɔ:(weh), si:hɔ:(weh)**

see: **to nhɔ: (weh), to hɔ: (weh)**

see: **danhɔweh**

hɔ:niʔ

referring to a reason why (does not occur alone)

see: **ne:ʔhɔ:niʔ**

hɔ:(weh), (n)hɔ:(weh)

to be somewhere

Da:nhɔ:weh hɔ: hɛʔdrɔʔ ne:ʔ haksɑʔgo:wah. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.

Shɛnhɔweh hehehtaʔ onɛʔdagɔhsɔʔ, aɣɛʔ. Where he goes, under the pines it's been said.

Si:nhɔ:weh tgani:yɔ:t sagyaʔdawiʔtraʔ. Your coat is hanging way over there.

To hɔ: hɛ:ɣeʔ dwagye:sɛh. There I will go where it's cheap (shopping).

hwaʔ, hwa(?)

nejt (the 'a' is sometimes nasalized) (does not occur alone)

see: **(gat)giʔshɛhwaʔ**

see: **gihshɛhwaʔ**

see: **ne:gihshɛhwaʔ**

see: **ne:ʔ gwahs hwaʔ**

see: **ne:ʔhwaʔ**

see: **tɔ:(hwaʔ)**

hwɛdɔgwaʔ, hwɛdɔgwa(?)

sometime

[hwɛ:dɔh, gwaʔ]

Hwɛdɔgwaʔ toniyawɛhdreʔ. Sometime it's going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)

Hwɛdɔgwaʔ toniyawɛʔɔh It happened sometime in the past.

Cayuga particles

hwę:dq̄h, hwę(:)dq̄(h)

ever, when

Daskro:wiʔ hwę:doʔ ęsahdę:diʔ. Tell me when you're going to leave.

Hwę:dq̄h diʔ ęje:yq̄ʔ/ When then is she going to return?

Hwę:dq̄h ne:ʔ to ńęya:węh/ When is that going to happen?

Hwę:dq̄h ęyq̄hdę:diʔ/ When is she going away?

hya:ʔ, hya(:)ʔ

refers to a period of time (does not occur alone)

see: **i:ʔhya:ʔ**

see: **o:ńęh gʔihya:ʔ**

see: **waʔjihya:ʔ**

i:ʔ, ni:ʔ, (n)i(:)ʔ

me, I, we, us

[(neʔ), i:ʔ]

Do: i:ʔ! Let me!; How about me?

... ni:ʔ gaq̄gyahstaʔ. They call me ... (not common)

Gayogøho:ńq̄h ni:ʔ. I'm Cayuga.

Gq̄gwehq̄:węh ni:ʔ. I'm Indian.

I:ʔ gęh sgi:dq̄h/ Do you mean me?

I:ʔ tgegowa:ńęh. I'm the oldest.

I:ʔ gęh sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me? (a little bit paranoid)

I:ʔ gęh e: sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me again? (joking)

Agyaʔdahsteʔ dęhni:ʔ. I'm heavy.

Tęʔ ni: toh ta:ge:ʔ. No, I'm not going there.

Ęgatrq̄nyahnese:k ni:ʔ. I'll be the teller (that is, I'll go around and announce something)

Tęʔ niʔ ta:gye:na: I refuse to accept it.

Ahsq̄h ni:ʔ agq̄tsanq̄hwa:s neʔ dagaihq̄:niʔ gyotedęhshq̄:ʔq̄h agahyagwęhne:ʔ. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.

Tęʔgini:ʔ to ta:gye:.. No, I will not do that.

i:ʔgeh, i(:)ʔgeh

as for me

[i:ʔ, geh]

i:ʔgeh gwa:dih

on my side; referring to a matrilineage

[gwadih, gwai]

Cayuga particles

i:ʔhya:ʔ, i(:ʔ)hya(:ʔ)

me first

[i:ʔ, hya:ʔ]

i:nɔh

far

I:nɔh tgidrɔʔ. I live far away.

I:nɔh tgasgwiʔdraɛ:ʔ. Far away this Old Prune lives/sits.

i:s, i(:h)s

you

i:s tsɔ:

only you; you'll do.

[i:s, tsɔ:]

i:soʔ

much, many, lots

I:soʔ gʔadrehdʔashɔ:ʔɔh ho:yɛʔ ɔtgahiʔdahkwaʔ He has many toy cars.

I:soʔ agidahsgɛhɛ:ʔ gɛ:s. I used to sleep a lot.

Aɔgɔhdɔh ɔgeʔdrahehs i:soʔ. I ate too much

I:soʔ gɔhwihsdæʔ Onehagwat giʔ. She has a lot of money; it's amazing how much!

i:soʔ degadɛnɔhɔnyɔh. I am very thankful.

i:wa:kʔah

nearby

I:wa:kʔah dɔdahotrihsdɔhɔgyeʔ. He's getting nearer and nearer again.

jih, ji(h)

refers to a measure of amount or time (does not occur alone)

see: **jitrehs**

see: **waʔjih**

see: **wajihkɛ:ʔ (gyɛ:ʔ)**

see: **waʔjihtsɔ:**

see: **waʔjihya:ʔ**

jitrehs

too much

[jih, trehs]

Agahdrɔʔs onɛ e: ji trehs satshe:nɔ:nih. I'm frightened now because you're too happy again.

A:yeʔ ji trehs tsishedɛhjih agahyagoʔ. It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.

Cayuga particles

naht

(does not occur alone)

see: sɔ: hne:ʔ naht

see: sɔ ʔɔ naht

nawahtgeh

(does not occur alone)

see: gaoʔ nawahtgeh

neʔ, ne(?)

that, the

Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ eya:sɔh neʔ sanɔ:haʔ/ What is the name of your mother?

Dɛʔ hoʔdɛʔ gaeyasɔhɔnyɔʔ neʔ... What are the names of your ... (female relatives)?

Honahsɛ: hɛʔ neʔ dehenadɛhnɔdrɔʔ. Your brothers are also fat.

tshɛ nigaha:ʔ neʔ ekɔnyaʔtaʔsɔ:ɔh the kinds of things you cook with

Neʔ aɔhɛ:ʔɛh tahnaʔtsowa:nɛh. He has the biggest ass.

Ahsɔh ni:ʔ agɔtsanɔhwa:s neʔ dagaihɔ:niʔ gyotedɛhshɔ:ʔɔh agahyagwɛhne:ʔ. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.

Neʔgiʔgyɛʔ asiʔ. That's what you said.

Neʔgiʔgyɛʔ gaɔ:dɔh. That's what the women say.

Neʔgiʔgyɛʔ hana:dɔh. That's what the men say.

Neʔ gihshɛhwaʔ e:dɔh. Maybe that's the one she means.

Neʔ gwatoh gi:dɔh. I also mean that.

neʔ gyaɔhɛ:ʔɛh gyonɔʔshehsde:ʔ the most sickening, tiring, aggravating

Neʔtone:ʔ, tɛʔtone:ʔ tega:yei:ʔ. That's the one that's 'not all there.'

Neʔ ɔ:wɛh gaɔde:nɔhk. They're really related.

Neʔseʔ hɔwɛ:dɔh. He's the one she means.

Tsɛ: eʔneʔ satro:wi:. You're talking about that again! (Expression of disgust.)

Tɛʔ gɛh neʔ desa:wɛh/ Isn't that yours?

ne:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)

that is, it is

Tigaʔdrɛhda:deʔ ne:ʔ ahahni:nɔʔ. He bought a different car.

Hwɛ:dɔh ne:ʔ to nɛya:wɛh/ When is that going to happen?

Ihse: gɛh to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?

Nɛne:ʔ i:s. Dɛʔ nis hoʔdɛʔ nisaʔnigɔhoʔdɛʔ/ How about you? What are your thoughts?

Ne:ʔhwaʔ ɛyotshɛnɔ:niʔ This time she will be happy.

Ne:ʔ gaihɔ:nih. That's what makes it that way.

Cayuga particles

Ne:ʔ giʔ e:dq̄h. That's what she means.

Ne:ʔ giʔ gi:dq̄h. That's what I mean.

Ne:ʔ giʔ hę:dq̄h. That's what he means.

Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ go:węh. That's hers.

Ne:ʔ go:węh. That's hers. (a little more definite than Ne:ʔ hne:ʔ go:węh.)

Ne:ʔ gę:s ga:dq̄h. That's what I usually say.

Ne:ʔ gwahs gahwajiyagwani:yoʔ It's the main (that is, matrilineal) family.

Ne:ʔ he:gę: agyq̄hsętoh. All she did was cry.

Ne:ʔ hęʔ hne:ʔ ho:węh nę:gyeh. This is also his.

Ne:ʔ nęh gwaʔ hę:gyq̄h. When I get there.

Ne:ʔ tsq̄: dehoyaʔdohdq̄h. That's just what he's thinking about. (that is, he's preoccupied.)

Ne:ʔ diʔ gęh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)

Netoh ni:yq̄: ho:yęʔ. That's how many he has.

O: tęʔq̄h, gatgʔishęh ne:ʔ hwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.

O: tęʔq̄: giʔ, gatgʔishęh ne:ʔ hwaʔ Maybe I will, maybe I won't (come along)

To gęʔq̄: ne:ʔ ni:yoht/ I wonder if it's like that?

To: ni:yoʔ ne:ʔ hesheʔs. That's your birthday. (lit.: that's when you come around again.)

Tęʔ gęh dehse: to: ne:ʔ dwa:yeʔ/ Don't you think we should do that?

Ęsgoho:wiʔ to gęh ne: hęyę:ʔ. I will tell you if she's going.

Gowędage: ne:ʔ tsq̄ niyesgyędaʔ. She's a wimp because she's just a small person.

Agyęʔ ne:ʔ desatgq̄he:jo:nih. I have what you want.

Hoihoʔdeʔsri:yo: giʔ ne:ʔ. He has a good job.

Nę:ʔ tsq̄: niwatonaʔdaʔ. It's a small, puny potato

Da:nhq̄:węh hq̄: hęʔdrq̄ʔ ne:ʔ haksɑʔgo:wah. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.

Dane:ʔhniʔ dwę:dq̄h. That is also what we mean.

Dane:onęh toniya:węhdreʔ. And now this is what is going to happen.

Neʔtone:ʔ, tęʔtone:ʔ tega:yei:ʔ. That's the one that's 'not all there.'

Ne:ʔgyę:ʔ gi:dq̄h. That is what I mean.

Ne:ʔhęhne:ʔ gaq̄gweʔdaʔ. Also that is her family, one of her people.

Ne:ʔhne:neʔ gaih汪wę:ni:yo. That is the main thing, the main item.

Ne:ʔhwaʔ gi:dq̄h. I mean that this time.

Ne:ʔq̄h. That, I guess.

Ne:ʔ q̄h neʔo:nęh haʔgahe:ʔ edwadrihoʔda:t. And it is now time for us to work.

Tęʔ tq̄ ne:ʔ dedo:gehs. No, it's not really true.

Cayuga particles

ne:ʔ gwahs hwaʔ, ne(:ʔ) gwahs hwa(:ʔ)

it's that one for sure

[ne:ʔ, gwahs, hwaʔ]

Gwahs hwaʔ esagaɛ: You're willing / giving permission this time.

neʔ ɔ:wɛh

that really

[neʔ, ɔ:wɛh]

Neʔ ɔ:wɛh gaɔde:nɔhk. They're really related.

negeʔnageʔ, nege(:ʔ)nage(:ʔ)

that is what

Negeʔnageʔ gi:dɔh. That's what I meant to say.

neʔgiʔe:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)e(:ʔ)

that is the one (emphatic)

[neʔ, giʔ, e:ʔ]

Neʔgiʔe:ʔ e:ʔ toh iheʔs. He's here again!

neʔgiʔgye:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)gye(:ʔ)

that's the one, that's it, that's what

Neʔgiʔgyeʔ asiʔ. That's what you said.

Neʔgiʔgyeʔ gaɔ:dɔh. That's what the women say.

Neʔgiʔgyeʔ hana:dɔh. That's what the men say.

neʔgiʔnih, ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)ni(h)

and that too; also

[neʔ, giʔ, hniʔ]

ne:ʔgiʔshɛh, ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)shɛ(h), ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)tsɛ(h)

probably

[ne:ʔ, giʔ, shɛh, tsɛh]

ne:ʔgiʔshɛhwaʔ, ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)shɛhwa(:ʔ), ne(:ʔ)gi(:ʔ)tsɛhwa(:ʔ)

maybe that

[ne:ʔ, giʔ, shɛh, tsɛh, hwaʔ]

neʔgwʔatoh, ne(:ʔ)gwato(h)

and also

[neʔ, gwaʔ, to]

Neʔgwatoh haʔhɔwadiha:ʔ. They also took him.

ne:ʔgye:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)gye(:ʔ)

it is

[ne:ʔ, gye:ʔ]

Ne:ʔgye:ʔ gi:dɔh. That is what I mean.

Cayuga particles

ne:ʔgyɛ:neʔ, ne(:ʔ)gyɛ(:)neʔ

it is that

[ne:ʔ, gyɛ:ʔ, neʔ]

Ne:ʔgyɛ:neʔ to:gyɛh. That is the one.

ne:ʔhɛʔhne:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)hɛʔ(h)hne(:ʔ)

it also is

[ne:ʔ, hɛʔ, hne:ʔ]

Ne:ʔhɛhne:ʔ gaɔgweʔdaʔ. Also that is her family, one of her people.

ne:ʔhne:ne:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)hne(:)neʔ

and that also is

[ne:ʔ, hne:ʔ, neʔ]

ne:hniʔ, ne(:)hniʔ

too, also, and

[ne:ʔ, hniʔ]

ne:ʔhniʔne:ʔ, ne(:ʔ)hniʔne(:ʔ)

and that also

[ne:ʔ, hniʔ]

ne:ʔhɔ:niʔ, ne(:ʔ)hɔ:niʔ

that is the reason why; that is why

[ne:ʔ, hɔ:niʔ]

Ne:ʔ hɔ:niʔ to: ni:yoht. That's (the reason) why it's that way.

ne:ʔhwaʔ, ne(:ʔ)hwaʔ

nejt, this (coming) time

[ne:ʔ, hwaʔ]

Ne:ʔhwaʔ ɛyotshɛnɔ:niʔ This time she will be happy.

Ne:ʔhwaʔ gi:dɔh. I mean that this time.

ne:neʔ, ne(:)neʔ

it is

[ne:ʔ, neʔ]

neʔo:nɛh, neʔo:nɛ(h)

it is now

[neʔ, o:nɛh]

ne:toh, ne(:)to(h)

it is that

[neʔ, to]

Netoh ni:yɔ: ho:yɛʔ. That's how many he has.

Cayuga particles

neʔtogyɛ:ʔ, ne(?)togyɛ(:ʔ)

be it so

[neʔ, to, gyɛ:ʔ]

Netogyɛ:ʔ haʔhoyʔada:wɛh. That's what happened to him over there

neʔtogyɛ:ʔhɔ:wɛh, ne(?)togyɛ(:ʔ)(n)hɔ:wɛh

it is where

[neʔ, to, gyɛ:ʔ, hɔ(wɛh), nhɔ:(wɛh)]

neʔtone:ʔ, ne(?)tone(:ʔ)

that's the one

[neʔ, to, ne:ʔ]

Neʔtone:ʔ shagohsgane:s. She is the one he desires.

ne:ʔtsɔ:, ne(:ʔ)tsɔ(:)

that is only; that is all

[ne:ʔ, tsɔ:]

Ne:ʔtsɔ: hɔwayʔada:ʔs. He's the only one she depends on.

Ne:ʔ tsɔ: dehayadowɛhdɔh. That's all he's thinking about (that is, he's preoccupied.)

nɛ:

Look! Here, take this! (exclamation, said when pointing to something)

nɛ:dah

this way; Here, take this! (said when giving something to someone)

[nɛ:, da]

Nɛh toh hɛdwa:yɔʔ nɛ:dah nɛdwa:ye:ʔ. When we arrive there, we will do it this way.

nɛ:gyɛh, nɛ:gyɛ(h)

this (one)

[nɛ:, gyɛh]

Ne:ʔ hɛʔ hne:ʔ ho:wɛh nɛ:gyɛh. This is also his.

nɛh, nɛ(h)

when (only at the beginning of embedded clauses; for statements, not questions)

[nɛh, o:nɛh]

Nɛh toh hɛdwa:yɔʔ nɛ:dah nɛdwa:ye:ʔ. When we arrive there, we will do it this way.

Ne:ʔ nɛh dwaɛgyɔh. When I get there.

nɛ:toh, nɛ(:)to(h)

right here, over there

[nɛ:, to]

Nɛtoh ni:yɔ: ho:yɛʔ. That's how many he has.

nɛ:toh gwai, nɛ(:)to(h) gwai

here (rather than there)

Cayuga particles

[nɛ:, to, gwa:dih]

Nɛ:toh gwai hɛʔdrɔʔ Allan. Allan lives on this side.

nɛ:ʔtsɔ:, nɛ:(ʔ)tsɔ:(:)

just a little bit

[nɛ:ʔ, tsɔ:]

Nɛ:tsɔ:gwatoh niyɔ: hohwihsdaɛ:ʔ. Also right now he has very little money.

Nɛ:tsɔ: niyɔ: hohwihsdaɛ:ʔ. Right now he has very little money.

nɛʔtsɔ:gwʔatoh, nɛʔ(?)tsɔ:(:)(gwʔ)ato(h)

right now; quickly; immediately;

[nɛʔ, tsɔ:, gwaʔ, to]

Hohsɛ: nɛʔtsɔ:gwatoh nihahnɛ:ye:s. He's stout and he's also short.

nigɛʔɔh, nigɛʔɔ(h)

or, or is it, if it is

[nigɛʔɔh, ɔh]

Hɔgwɛh gɛh agɔgwɛh nigɛʔɔh Kim eya:sɔh/ Was it a man or a woman whose name is Kim?

Hɔgwɛh gɛh agɔgwɛh nigɛʔɔh/ Is it a man or a woman?

Toʔ gɛʔɔ ni:yoht. I wonder if it's like that.

niyo:weʔ, nyo:weʔ, niyoʔ(?)(:weʔ), nyoʔ(?)(:weʔ)

to be a certain distance

[niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

To: ni:yoʔ nɛ:ʔ hesheʔs. That's your birthday. (lit.: that's when you come around again.)

To: ni:yoʔ nɛʔ heha:we:noh. That's as far as he has gone.

Toniyo:weʔ hɛʔseʔ waʔheʔ hɛhsyɔʔ. You'll get that far before you arrive.

Agwaʔnigɔhaʔ shɛniyo:weʔ hɛdwawayɛ:nɛdaʔ. We're waiting until the time we're finished.

nya:wɛh, nya:wɛ(h)

thank you

nyoh

you're welcome; all right; o.k. (a term of acknowledgement); can also be said in response to nya:wɛh; one can also say it sarcastically to bug someone.

o:, o(:)

So? Oh really?

O: gɛh/ Said when really questioning someone.

ogwɛhɛ:gyeʔ, ogwɛhɛ(:)gyeʔ(?)

now and then, now and again

[ogwɛhɛ:gyeʔ]

Ogwɛhɛ:gyeʔ gɛ:s ahsyɔʔ. Now and again you'll be here.

Cayuga particles

ona:wəh

it is theirs (animals)
[(a)wəh have, own]

onə:diʔ, onə(:)diʔ

so now
[o:nəh, diʔ]

Onədiʔ to:hah həgahe:ʔ ɛdwənîhə:ʔ. Now it is almost time for us to quit.

onəʔe:ʔ, onəʔe(:)ʔ

now, again
[o:nəh, nəh, e:ʔ]

Onəʔe:ʔ toh hodaditsgo:t. Now again he has himself sitting there.

o:nəhgwaʔ, o:nə(h)gwaʔ

suddenly; already
[o:nəh, gwaʔ]

O:nəhgwaʔ edwawayənədaʔ. We're finished already.

o:nəh, o:nə(h), (o:)nə(h)

now, when, at this time

Gaɛ diʔ nhə:wəh nihsweʔs o:nəh/ Where then are you now?

Gyə:gwaʔ o:nəh ahahdə:diʔ/ What if he should leave now?

O:nəh giʔ haʔgahe:ʔ ɛshetrohnaʔ. It is time for me to take him back.

O:nəh giʔ hodehsronihsʔəh. He is ready now.

O:nəh giʔ ɛgoyɛʔɛsətwaħsəʔəh. I'm now going to kick you around.

O:nəh to:hah to: heshe:ʔ. He's almost ready to return (come back).

O:nəh to:hah ɛsha:yəʔ. He's almost ready to go back.

Agahdrəʔs onə e: ji trehs satshe:nə:nih. I'm frightened now because you're too happy.

Onə e: agriʔsdowa:nəh. I'm loud, noisy again.

O:nəh e:ʔ i:s toh haʔsegəhe:k. You're getting into someone else's fight again, butting in.

Dane:onəh toniya:wəhdreʔ. And now this is what is going to happen.

o:nəh gʔihya:ʔ, o:nə(h) gʔihya(:)ʔ

so long for now; good-bye
[onəh, giʔ, hya:ʔ]

o:nəh to:hah, (o:)nə(h) to:hah, to:hah

almost
[o:nəh, to:hah]

O:nəh to:hah John ɛhshodəhsweʔdəʔ. Now almost John is going to get hungry again.

Cayuga particles

onq:hɛʔ

they (animals) (lit.: they (animals) are alone)
[(a)ɔhɛʔ alone]

oʔq:, oʔq(:)

Oh really?
[o:, ɔh]

o: tɛʔq:, o: tɛʔq(:), o: tɛʔq(h)

no! (very emphatic); maybe not
[o:, tɛʔ, ɔh]

O: tɛʔɔh, gatgʔishɛh gye:gwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.

O: tɛʔɔh, gatgʔishɛh ne:ʔ hwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.

O: tɛʔq: giʔ, gatgʔishɛh ne:ʔ hwaʔ Maybe I will, maybe I won't (come along)

o:wɛh

it is its; it belongs to it
[(a)wɛh have, own]

ɔh, ɔ(h), ɔ(:)

I guess, I wonder (if)

To gɛʔq ni:yoht/ I wonder if it's like that?

To ʔq ni:yoht. I wonder if it's like that.

To ʔq: ni:yohdɔhne:. I wonder if it used to be like that; I wonder if that's how it was.

Agiʔdʔaɔh ɔ tɛɛ nʔaonishɛʔ hohta:ʔ. I slept while he spoke.

Ne:ʔɔh. That, I guess.

Ne:ʔ ɔh neʔo:nɛh haʔgahe:ʔ edwadrihoʔda:t. And it is now time for us to work.

ɔhne:ʔ, ɔhne(:ʔ)

maybe
[ɔh, ne:ʔ]

Mary ɔhne:ʔ gohwihsdagaʔdeʔ. Maybe Mary has a lot of money.

ɔ:wɛh

(does not occur alone)

see: **gwahs ɔ:wɛh**

see: **neʔ ɔ:wɛh**

see: **tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wɛh**

see: **tsɛh ɔ:wɛh**

sa:wɛh

it is yours
[(a)wɛh have, own]

Cayuga particles

se[?], se(?)

after all, just, so, also, too

Eḥe[?] se[?]. It is so.

Agahyagwəḥne:[?] seḥe[?]ni:[?]. I've also picked fruit (I've experienced this)

A:gahyagwəḥse:k se ḥe ni:[?] gyɛ:gwa[?] a:wagadagaide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.

Ne[?]se[?] ḥwə:[?]dəh. He's (just) the one she means.

sgaho[?]dɛ[?], sgaho(?)dɛ(?)

anything, something, nothing

Sgaho[?]dɛ[?] dawatehtgəht. Something's not right.

Tɛ[?] sgaho[?]dɛ[?] desənəhdɔ[?]. No, you don't know anything (lit.: nothing).

shəh, tsəh, shɛ(h), tsɛ(h)

of, because, how, that (etc.) (many examples of tsəh do not translate well into English)

Dega[?]dréhdagéha[?]gye[?] shɛ aḥənɔ:da:[?]. They put the cars in two at a time.

Shəh tganəhso:t ita:t. He's standing at the house.

Dɛ[?] hne:[?] ni:yoht shəh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?

Gado:gɛ: shəh ho[?]dɛ[?] a[?]ɔgwayədahk. A certain something brought us together (for example, a meeting).

Tɛ[?] gi[?] shəh hwa[?]. Maybe not.

To ḥɛgye[?] tsəh age:ji:yo[?]. I'm really crippled.

Ji gɛ:s trehs jəḥsɛ: tsəh nisnihɛ:ye:s. You two are too fat for your height.

Agatshənɔ:ni: tsəh ahsyəh. I'm happy you've arrived.

Aga[?]tsənɔ:ni: gi[?] tsəh sada[?]gaide[?]. I'm happy that you are well.

Agahsɛ: tsɛ age:ji:yoh. I'm slow because I'm lame.

Shəh knɛtsa[?]geh ɔknəhnyak. My arm hurts.

tsəh nigaha:[?] ne[?] ekɔnya[?]ta[?]sɔ:əh the kinds of things you cook with

Aɔgəhdəh ɔge[?]drahehs tsəh nagadekɔ:ni[?]. I ate too much.

tsəh ḥɔ ha[?]ge:[?] where I went

tsəh nəda:ge:[?], tsəh na[?]dɔ:da:ge:[?] where I'm coming from

Ohsga:naht tsəh niyehnatsi:yo:. She has an attractive bum.

Ohsga:naht tsəh nihahnatsi:yo:. He has an attractive bum.

Sekdɔ: tsəh niyoga[?]əhsro[?]dɛ:. Taste it!

Agahyago[?] tsəh n[?]aonishe[?] odahyɔ:ni:. I did pick fruit while it was plentiful.

ɔ:gweh tsəh niyagoiho[?]dɛ[?] how people are (that is, human activities)

tsəh nəya:wəh what will happen

Cayuga particles

Dəkde:niʔ tʂɛh niwagrîhoʔdɛ:. I'm going to change my outlook.

ahɛnadrihwahseht tʂɛh niɛnagye:haʔ. They hid their ideas of what they are up to, what they are doing (that is, they are scheming).

Hɛtsye:ʔ tʂɛh hɔ hesa:gweh. You will put it back where you got it.

Knigɔha:ʔ tʂɛh niyoht dɛgatahahk. I watch how I walk.

Knigɔha:ʔ tʂɛh hɔ:weh dɛgatahahk. I watch where I walk

Dɛhne:ʔ ni:yoht tʂɛh toh nahsye:ʔ. Why did you do that?

Agwaʔnigɔhaʔ shɛniyo:weʔ hɛdwawayɛ:nɛdaʔ. We're waiting until the time we're finished.

Tʂɛh ɔ:weh nito:ne:nɔ:. Where they really come from.

shɛhoʔdɛʔ, tʂɛhoʔdɛʔ, shɛho(?)dɛ(?), **tʂɛho(?)dɛ(?)**

whatever, a certain something

[shɛh, tʂɛh, hoʔdɛʔ]

Gado:gɛ: shɛh hoʔdɛʔ aʔɔgwayɔdahk. A certain something brought us together (for example, a meeting).

shɛnhɔ:weh, shɛ(n)hɔ:we(h), **tʂɛ(n)hɔ:we(h)**

whereabouts

[shɛh, tʂɛh, hɔ:(weh), nhɔ:(weh)]

tʂɛh hɔ haʔge:ʔ where I went

Hɛtsye:ʔ tʂɛh hɔ hesa:gweh. You will put it back where you got it.

Knigɔha:ʔ tʂɛh hɔ:weh dɛgatahahk. I watch where I walk

Hɛhsahshɛ:daʔ tʂɛh hɔweh dedihsawihs. You will tread, step where you're not wanted (that is, trespass).

Shɛnhɔweh hehehtaʔ onɛʔdagɔhsɔʔ, agɛʔ. Where he goes, under the pines it's been said.

shɛniyo:weʔ, shɛ(n)yo:(weʔ), **tʂɛ(n)yo:(weʔ)**

(how) much, (how) many, (how) far, until

[shɛh, tʂɛh, niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

Agwaʔnigɔhaʔ shɛniyo:weʔ hɛdwawayɛ:nɛdaʔ. We're waiting until the time we're finished.

si, si(:), si(h)

there

Si:gyɛh tga:yɛʔ, de:sehk. That lying over there, pick it up!

Si:hne:ʔ gwai hɛhsadiʔ. Throw that over there!

Si:nhɔ:weh tgani:yɔ:t sagyaʔdawiʔtraʔ. Your coat is hanging way over there. (lit.: Way over there, hanging, your coat.)

Sihne:ʔ sigwadih haʔse:. Get over there! (speaking generally to an animal)

Cayuga particles

sigwa:dih

over there; move it! (a common way of telling a dog to move)

[si, gwa:dih]

Sihne:ʔ sigwadih haʔse:. Get over there! (speaking generally to an animal)

si:gyeḥ, si:gye(h)

that, way over there

[si, gyeḥ]

Si:gyeḥ tga:yeʔ, de:sehk. That lying over there, pick it up!

sihne:ʔ, si(hne:ʔ)

over there

[si, hne:ʔ]

Si:hne:ʔ gwai heḥsadiʔ. Throw that over there!

Sihne:ʔ sigwadih haʔse:. Get over there! (speaking generally to an animal)

si:nhq:weh, si(:n)hq:(weh)

way over there

[si, hq(weh), nhq:(weh)]

Si:nhq:weh tgani:yq:t sagyaʔdawiʔtraʔ. Your coat is hanging way over there. (lit.: Way over there, hanging, your coat.)

sgahoʔde:ʔeḥ, sgaho(?)de:ʔeḥ

something

[sgahoʔde:ʔeḥ, hoʔdeʔ]

sqʔqh, sq(ʔqh), sq(:)

who (short form)

Daskro:wiʔ sq: nhaht daqdekonyahneʔ. Tell me who's coming to eat.

Sqʔqh hne:ʔ nhaht gaqde:nqhk. I'm wondering who her people are.

Sq:go:wex tḡ gadrehdase:ʔ. Who owns that new car?

Sqga:ʔah geḥ hḡwayedi:/ Does someone know him? Who knows him?

sq: go:wex

whose (is that)?

[sq(ʔqh)]

Sq:go:wex tḡ gadrehdase:ʔ. Who owns that new car?

sq: hne:ʔ nhaht

who (is that?)

[sq(ʔqh), hne:ʔ, nʔaht]

Sqʔqh hne:ʔ nhaht gaqde:nqhk. I'm wondering who her people are.

Cayuga particles

sɔʔq̄h naht, sɔʔ(q̄h) naht, sɔʔ(:) naht

who, which (person, one)

[sɔʔ(q̄h), nʔaht]

Daskro:wiʔ sɔ: nhaht daʔdekq̄nyahneʔ. Tell me who's coming to eat.

Daskro:wiʔ sɔ: nhaht daʔdekq̄nyahneʔ. Tell me who's coming to eat.

Daskro:wiʔ sɔ: nhaht gado:gɛ: dɛwa:dɔ:t. Tell me who is going to dine with us.

Sɔʔq̄h hne:ʔ naht gaʔdɛ:nq̄hk. I'm wondering who her people are.

sɔga:(ʔah)

someone

[sɔʔ(q̄h)]

Sɔga:ʔah gɛh hɔwayɛdi:/ Does someone know him? Who knows him?

sdɔ:hah

a little bit

Sdɔ:hah segei:s. Move a little bit.

tɛʔ, tɛʔ(?)

no, not

Daheʔ gɛh tɛʔ nigeʔq̄h/ Is he coming or not?

Gwahs ɔ:weh a:yeʔ tɛʔ desho:tɔ:deʔ. It really seems like he doesn't (want to) hear. (selective hearing)

Sanq̄hokda:niʔ tɛʔ nigeʔq̄/ Are you sick or not?

Tɛʔ gɛh dehse: to: ne:ʔ dwa:yeʔ/ Don't you think we should do that?

Tɛʔ gɛh dehsho:yɔ:/ Did he not come home?

Tɛʔ gʔatoh. Tɛʔ giʔ dehe:gɛ: Nowhere. I didn't see him.

Tɛʔ giʔ sheh hwaʔ. Maybe not.

Tɛʔ gʔi sheh. Maybe not

Tɛʔ gɛh/ Isn't it?

Tɛʔ giʔ gwah dewagadaʔgaideʔ. I'm not feeling well.

Tɛʔ dewagadaʔgaideʔ. I'm not well.

I:wiʔ ge:s agatganɔ:niʔ, deʔɛgwahe tɛʔ seʔ. I'm wealthy, but then not really.

Tɛʔ toh degahe:ʔ. It's not setting there.

Tɛʔ tɔdesaʔdre: to:gyɛh! Don't (or you won't) drive that over here!

Tɛʔ toh teʔgahe:ʔ. It's not setting way over there.

Tɛʔ taʔdeyagodawɛnyeʔ. No, she's not walking about

(Tɛʔ) ta:hayɛ:toh. No he won't plant.

Tɛʔ hne:ʔ dehoɛtweh. No, he did not plant. (emphatic)

Cayuga particles

Tɛʔ ni: toh ta:ge:ʔ. No, I'm not going there.

Tɛʔ toh ta:ge:. No, I will not go.

Tɛʔ daɔ toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go.

Tɛʔ niʔ ta:gye:na. I refuse to accept something.

Neʔtone:ʔ, tɛʔtone:ʔ tega:yei:ʔ. That's the one that's 'not all there.'

Tɛʔ sɔa:hoʔdɛʔ desɛnɔhdɔʔ. No, you don't know nothing.

Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ dedo:gehs. No, it's not really true.

Tɛʔgihne:ʔ dedo:gehs de'sa:dɔh. No, it's not really true what you're saying.

Tɛʔgidaɔ tayagogaɛ:. No, she will never agree to...

Tɛʔgini:ʔ to ta:gye:. No, I will not do that.

Tɛʔ gɛh neʔ desa:wɛh/ Isn't that yours?

tɛʔdaɔ, t(?)ɛdaɔ(:)

it will never happen, definitely not

[tɛʔ, da, ɔh]

Tɛʔ daɔ toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go.

Tɛʔ daɔ a:hɔwayenawaʔs. (Definitely not); no one will help him.

Tɛʔdaɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. It will never happen.

Tɛʔgiʔdaɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. No, it will not happen.

tɛʔ gʔatoh, tɛ(?) g(?)ato(h)

nowhere, anywhere

[tɛʔ, gaʔ, to]

Tɛʔ gʔatoh dʔega:yeʔ It's not laying anywhere.

Tɛʔ gʔatoh. Tɛʔ giʔ dehe:gɛ: Nowhere. I didn't see him.

tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wɛh, tɛ(?) gwahs ɔ:wɛh

not really

[tɛʔ, gwahs, ɔ:wɛh]

Tɛʔ gwahs ɔ:wɛh ɔgweh degeɛ:. No, you're not really human.

tɛʔ hne:ʔ, tɛ(?) hne(:ʔ)

not (that)

[tɛʔ, hne:ʔ]

Tɛʔ hne:ʔ hwa to ta:ya:wɛh. No, that'll never really happen this time.

Cayuga particles

tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh, tɛʔ(?) hwɛ:dɔ(h)

never; not ever

[tɛʔ, hwɛ:dɔh]

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh tɔ: sɔsadonhe:k. You'll never come alive again.

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to tɔ: ɛsha:gyeʔ. No, he'll never do that.

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to ta:gyeʔ. I would never do that.

tɛʔ sgahoʔdɛʔ, (tɛʔ) sgahoʔ(?)dɛʔ(?)

nothing

[tɛʔ, sgahoʔdɛʔ, hoʔdɛʔ]

Tɛʔ sgahoʔdɛʔ desɛnɔhdɔʔ. No, you don't know nothing.

tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ, tɛʔ(?) to ne:(ʔ)

not really

[tɛʔ, to, ne:ʔ]

Tɛʔ tɔ ne:ʔ dedo:gehs. No, it's not really true.

tʔɛgɛh, tʔ(?)ɛgɛʔ(?)

no?

[tʔ, gɛh]

Tɛʔ gɛh neʔ desa:wɛh/ Isn't that yours? (lit.: that's yours, no?)

tɛʔgiʔdaɔ, tɛʔ(?)giʔ(?)daɔ(:)

No, it will not happen; definitely not

[tɛʔ, giʔ, da, ɔ:]

Tɛʔgiʔdaɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. No, it will not happen.

Tɛʔgidaɔ tayagogaɛ:. No, she will (definitely not) ever agree to...

tɛʔgʔihne:ʔ, tɛʔ(?)gʔ(?)ihne:(ʔ)

not really

[tɛʔ, giʔ, hne:ʔ]

Tɛʔgihne:ʔ dedo:gɛhs deʔsa:dɔh. No, it's not really true what you're saying.

tɛʔgʔini:ʔ, tɛʔ(?)gʔ(?)ini:(ʔ)

no, not me

[tɛʔ, giʔ, i:ʔ]

Tɛʔgini:ʔ to ta:gye:. No, I will not do that.

tɛʔ nigɛʔɔh, tɛʔ(?) nigɛʔɔh

isn't it

[nigɛʔɔh, ɔh]

Daheʔ gɛh tɛʔ nigɛʔɔh/ Is he coming or not?

Sanɔhɔkda:niʔ tɛʔ nigɛʔɔ/ Are you sick or not?

Cayuga particles

tɛʔseʔ, tɛʔ(?)seʔ

not really
[tɛʔ, seʔ]

I:wiʔ ge:s agatganɔ:niʔ, deʔɛgwahe tɛʔ seʔ. I'm wealthy, but then not really.

tgwɛhɛ:ʔ, tgwɛhɛ:(ʔ)

sometimes

Tgwɛhɛ:ʔ hahkdɔhs. Sometimes he comes (around).

to:, to(:), to(h)

that, there, where

gaoʔ shɛ nyo:ʔ to: nɛya:wɛh before that happens

Gwahs waʔhetshɔ: to: naʔa:wɛh. That just happened.

Hwɛ:dɔh ne:ʔ to nɛya:wɛh/ When is that going to happen?

Ihse: gɛh to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?

Ne:ʔ hɔ:niʔ to: ni:yoht. That's (the reason) why it's that way.

O:nɛh to:hah to: heshe:ʔ. He's almost ready to return (there).

To gɛʔɔ ni:yoht/ I wonder if it's like that?

To giʔ shɛh ha:ge:. Maybe I should go there.

To ʔɔ ni:yoht. I wonder if it's like that.

To ʔɔ: ni:yohdɔhne:. I wonder if it used to be like that; I wonder if that's how it was. (lit.: That, I wonder, if it used to be)

To: gɛh haʔseʔ shɛh nho: dedwatgɛnyo:/ Are you going (there) to the fair?

To: ni:yoʔ ne:ʔ heshe:s. That's your birthday. (lit.: that's when you come around again.)

To: ni:yoʔ nɛʔ heha:we:noh. That's as far as he has gone.

Toh geh gɛnhoweʔ toh naʔa:wɛh/ Where did it happen?

Toʔ geʔɔ ni:yoht. I wonder if it's like that.

Tɛʔ gɛh dehse: to: ne:ʔ dwa:yeʔ/ Don't you think we should do that?

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh tɔ: sɔsadonhe:k. You'll never come alive again (from there).

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to tɔ: ɛsha:gyeʔ. No, he'll never do that.

Tɛʔ hwɛ:dɔh to ta:gyeʔ. I would never do that.

ɛsgoho:wiʔ to gɛh ne: hɛyɛ:ʔ. I will tell you if she's going (there).

To hɛgyeʔ tsɛh age:ji:yoʔ. I'm really crippled (there).

I:hs gyɛʔhne:ʔ toh nahsye:ʔ. Are you the one that did it.

i:hs gyɛʔhne:ʔ tsɔ: e:ʔ toh nahsye:ʔ You're the only one that did that again

Tɛʔ toh degahe:ʔ. It's not setting there.

Tɛʔ tɔdesaʔdre: to:gyɛh! Don't (or you won't) drive that over here!

Cayuga particles

Tɛʔ toh teʔgahe:ʔ. It's not setting way over there.

to hɔ: ha:giʔdrɔ:daʔk where I would dwell (over there)

Tɛʔ ni: toh ta:ge:ʔ. No, I'm not going there.

Tɛʔ toh ta:ge:.. No, I will not go (there).

Tɛʔ daɔ toh ta:ge:.. No, I will definitely not go (there).

To hɔ: hɛ:geʔ. There I will go.

To hɔ: haʔgeʔ. I went there.

I:wi to na:ya:wɛh. I want, intend that to happen.

Ahi:ʔ giʔ to na:ya:wɛh. I thought that's what should happen.

Ahi:ʔ giʔ to nɛya:wɛh. I thought that's what would happen.

dewagegaɛhs to ha:ge:ʔ. I'm unwilling to go there.

O:nɛh eʔ i:s toh haʔsegɔhe:k. You're getting into someone else's fight again, butting in (there).

Dane:onɛh toniya:wɛhdreʔ. And now this is what is going to happen (there).

Dɛhne:ʔ ni:yoht tɛh toh nahsye:ʔ. Why did you do that?

To: gitsɔ: ni:yɔ:.. That's all there is.

Neʔ gwatoh gi:dɔh. I also mean that.

Neʔtone:ʔ, tɛʔtone:ʔ tega:yei:ʔ. That's the one that's 'not all there.'

To hɔ: hɛ:geʔ dwagye:sɛh. There I will go where it's cheap (shopping).

Toh tsɔ: niyoweʔ hɛsɛʔdrɔ:ʔ. That's only as far as it will take you.

To:gyɛh hɔgweʔdase:ʔah shɔgwahyadɔ:nih. That young man does our writing.

Tɛʔ hne:ʔ hwa to ta:ya:wɛh. No, that'll never really happen this time.

Tɛʔgiʔdaɔ: to na:ya:wɛh. No, it will not happen (there).

Waʔji:hah to hɛgyɔʔ. I will arrive (there) after a while.

to:gyɛh, to:gyɛ(h)

that (one)

[to, gyɛh]

Tɛʔ tɔdesaʔdre: to:gyɛh! Don't (or you won't) drive that over here!

Ne:ʔgyɛ:neʔ to:gyɛh. That is the one.

To:gyɛh hɔgweʔdase:ʔah shɔgwahyadɔ:nih. That young man does our writing.

to:hah

there

O:nɛh to:hah to: heshe:ʔ. He's almost ready to return (there).

O:nɛh to:hah ɛsha:yɔʔ. He's almost ready to go back (there).

Onɛdiʔ to:hah hɛgahe:ʔ ɛdwɛnɛhɛ:ʔ. Now it is almost time for us to quit (there).

Cayuga particles

toh geh, to(h) geh

and then; that's when; then; where
[to, geh]

Toh geh ghenhowe? toh na?a:weh/ Where did it happen?

to: hq:weh, to(:) (n)hq:(weh)

there, where
[to hq: (weh), to hq: (weh), hq]

to hq: ha:gi?drq:da?k where I would dwell (over there)

To hq: he:ge?. There I will go.

To hq: ha?ge?. I went there.

to hq:weh ha:yeh where he puts or places it

To hq hayeh?. He's always putting it there.

To hq: sre:hah. That's where you put it.

To hq: he:ge? dwagye:seh. There I will go where it's cheap (shopping).

to: niyo:we?, to(:) n(i)yo:(we)?

that far, when
[to, niyo:(we?), nyo:(we?)]

To: ni:yo? ne:? heshe?s. That's your birthday. (lit.: that's when you come around again.)

To: ni:yo? ne? heha:we:noh. That's as far as he has gone.

Toniyo:we? he?se? wa?he? hehsyo?. You'll get that far before you arrive.

To tsq:, To tsq(:)

That is enough! (that is, stop pouring)
[to, tsq:]

Toh tsq: niyowe? he?e?drq:?. That's only as far as it will take you.

tq:(hwa?)

that one
[to, hwa?]

Te? hwē:dqh tq: sqsardonhe:k. You'll never come alive again.

Te? hwē:dqh to tq: e?sha:gye?. No, he'll never do that.

Sq:go:wqh tq gadrehdase:?. Who owns that new car?

Tq:hwa? gi:dqh. I mean that one.

Te? tq ne:? dedo:gehs. No, it's not really true.

trehs

more (than usual) (denotes something extreme)

Ji? ge:s trehs sheno:wq:. You lie too much; you're too much of a liar.

Gi? trehs aqghdqh. It's beyond.

Cayuga particles

Ji gę:s trehs j_hsę: t_{sh} nisnih_hę:ye:s. You're too fat for your height.

Agahdr_o's onę e: ji trehs satshę:n_o:nih. I'm frightened now because you're too happy.

Trehs also occurs in expressions such as:

Trehs gi' gę'. My goodness!

tr_ohgeh ts_o:, tr_ohge(h) ts_o(:)

barely

[tr_oh, geh, ts_o:]

Tr_ohgeh ts_o: ęgwahdęgya'd_oh. We're just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).

Tr_ohgeh ts_o: j_ogwaiho'de'. We're barely working.

t_{sh}ę!

exclamation (of disgust) (pronunciation: [ts_{sh}ę:])

T_{sh}ę: e'ne' satro:wi:. You're talking about that again! (expression of disgust.)

t_{sh}ę ę:weh, sh_{sh}ę ę:weh

it is really

[sh_{sh}ę, t_{sh}ę, ę:weh]

T_{sh}ę ę:weh nito:ne:n_o:. Where they really come from.

ts_o:, ts_o(:)

that is all; just; only

G'atohah ts_o: ęse:ts_{sh}ę'. You will (just) find it someplace.

Ne:' tsh_o: deho_oya'dohd_oh. That's just what he's thinking about. (that is, he's preoccupied.)

Gowędage: ne:' ts_o niyęsgęda'. She's a wimp because she's just a small person.

i:hs gyę'hne:' ts_o: e:' toh nahsye:' You're the only one that did that again

Nę:' ts_o: niwatona'da'. It's (just) a small, puny potato.

Tiga:gwe:g_oh ts_o: agahyagwęhęgye's akn_oha' a:kn_oh_heht aga'ahdra'. I'm just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I'm unable to fill my basket.

Tr_ohgeh ts_o: ęgwahdęgya'd_oh. We're just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).

To: gits_o: ni:y_o:. That's all there is.

Awe' hęgyeh ts_o:, Awe' hęgyeh ts_o:. Let it go! (it's just not worth bothering.)

Toh ts_o: niyowe' hęsę'dr_o:'. That's only as far as it will take you.

Tr_ohgeh ts_o: j_ogwaiho'de'. We're (just) barely working.

G'atoh ts_o: ta:se:tsęi:. (Just) nowhere will you find it

Wa'hets_o: aha:tęh. He just now got up.

wa'gyęh, wa'(?)gyę(h)

Listen! Excuse me! (exclamation to get someone's attention)

[wa'gyęh, wa'(heh), gyęh]

Cayuga particles

Wa[?]gyeḥ desa[?]draiḥeḥ! Would you hurry up!

wa[?]heh, wa^(?)heh

just (now)

Gwahs wa[?]hetshq: to: na[?]a:wəḥ. That just happened.

Wahe[?] gi[?] gatahi:ne[?]. I'm (just now) getting on my way.

Toniyo:we[?] he[?]se[?] wa[?]he[?] heḥsyq[?]. You'll (just) get that far before you arrive.

Wa[?]hetsq: aha:tgəḥ. He just now got up.

Wa[?]gyeḥ desa[?]draiḥeḥ! Would you hurry up (just now)!

Wa[?]heh ahsyq[?]. You finally arrived (just now).

Wa[?]hehge:ha[?] ahakq:ni[?]. At long last he (just now) decided to cook.

wa[?]hehge:ha[?], wa^(?)hehge:ha^(?)

finally, at long last

[wa[?](heh)]

Wa[?]hehge:ha[?] ahakq:ni[?]. At long last he decided to cook.

wa[?]hetsq:, wa^(:)hetsq^(:)

just now

[wa[?](heh), tsq:]

Gwahs wa[?]hetsq: to: na[?]a:wəḥ. That just happened.

Wa[?]hetsq: aha:tgəḥ. He just now got up.

wa[?]jih, wa^(?)ji(h)

after awhile; wait

[wa[?](heh), jih]

Wa[?]jih, eḥtsya[?]də[?]. Wait, you might fall.

wa[?]ji:hah, wa^(?)ji:hah

presently, a little later, after a bit; after a while; afterwards; later

[wa[?](heh)]

Wa[?]ji:hah to heḡyq[?]. I will arrive after a while.

wa[?]jihke:[?] gye:[?], wajihke:[?] (gye:[?])

almost, just about

[wa[?](heh), jih, gye:[?]]

wa[?]jihtsq:, wa^(?)jihtsq^(:)

soon, in a while, pretty soon

[wa[?](heh), jih, tsq:]

wa[?]jihya:[?], wa^(?)jihya^(:?)

wait a minute, a while; wait!

[wa[?](heh), jih, hya:[?]]

Cayuga particles

wa[?]ne:[?], wa^(?)ne(:[?])

today, now

[wa[?](heh), ne:[?]]