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### List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1ST.PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2ND.PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3RD.PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISL</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>dualic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPEN</td>
<td>epenthetic vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACT</td>
<td>factual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI</td>
<td>feminine-indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
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<td>HABIT</td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOIN</td>
<td>joiner vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSF</td>
<td>noun stem former</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>partitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
<td>pluralizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROTH</td>
<td>prothetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>PUNC</td>
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<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
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<td>REP</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRF</td>
<td>semireflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZN</td>
<td>zoic-neuter</td>
</tr>
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INTRODUCTION

1. About the Iroquois and Iroquoian

The Hodinohsó: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 Ganyé′gehó:nogo (Mohawk people or Keepers of the Eastern Door) lived between the Allegheny and Catskill Mountains. The Onodowaio:ga (Seneca people or Keepers of the Western Door) were settled along the Genessee River. In between, the Onedagehó:n tangible (Onondaga people) lived near present-day Syracuse, New York, and the Ohnyahę́:nogo (Oneida people) lived near Lake Oneida, New York. The Gayogóhó:nogo (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 Hwíhs Niyéhwéjá:ge: (Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy or League of the Iroquois). The Dahsgáwę́ (Tuscarora people) joined the League (afterwards known as Hyei Niyéhwéjá: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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iroquoian</th>
<th>Cherokee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Iroquoian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Nations and</td>
<td>Seneca–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehannock</td>
<td>Onondaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seneca–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cayuga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onondaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohawk–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oneida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehannock</td>
<td>Susquehannock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huronian</td>
<td>Wyandot (Huron–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petun) (extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wenrohronon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral (extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erie (extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuscarora–</td>
<td>Tuscarora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottoway</td>
<td>(seriously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>endangered)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nottoway (extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laurentian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(extinct)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unclear


Cayuga (Gayogohːo:nhẽ:haʔ, or Gayogohːo:nq̪ for short, or Qgewhωwẽnhehɑʔ?) 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:nq̪) is spoken at the Lower End of Six Nations (Ganédageh in the valley) and that Upper Cayuga (Dagehyatgehó:nq̪) is spoken at the Upper End (Dagéhyaː 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 gyohd: in Lower Cayuga, and as dyohd: in Upper Cayuga. Lower Cayuga also has devoiced (whispered) vowels, such as the <q̪> in gyohd:. 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 deq̪yɑnre‘ it is not good, the first syllable <de’> has an ejective [t’] 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
dasrâ:tę́h you climb over here!, or as <d> before <r>, as in dadrâ:tę́h 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'ageh on your chins, and ohyo’tı:yeht / oh-yu’tı:yeht it is sharp.

Other sources of variation arise from vocabulary and prefix choice. Differences in vocabulary choice include using either ganôhsadaihá:ta’ or hóhji for stove. Differences in prefix choice include the word for brooch, safety pin, which is either gaijihó:q with the prefix ga- or ojihó:q with the prefix o-; or the word for potato, which is either ohôna'da’ or hôna'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 Watewayéstanih grammar (Mithun & Henry 1984) and in academic writings. The linguistic spelling system 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Coronal</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>&lt;n&gt; / n /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>&lt;d&gt; / t, d /</td>
<td>&lt;g&gt; / k, g /</td>
<td>&lt;t&gt; / ? /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;t&gt; / th /</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt; / kh /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>&lt;s&gt; / s /</td>
<td>&lt;h&gt; / h /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;s, sh&gt; / sh /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>&lt;j&gt; / tj, dz, ts, dz /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ts&gt; / tsb /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>&lt;r&gt; / ɹ /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Cayuga vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; / i /</th>
<th>&lt;u&gt; / u / (rare)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;e&gt; / e /</td>
<td>&lt;o&gt; / o /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ɛ&gt; / ɛ /</td>
<td>&lt;o&gt; / ʊ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;a&gt; / a /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Cayuga has both short and long rhymes. Long rhymes contain a long vowel like [aː], 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 ạ̲ ʔ or ah. In shortened syllables like ạ̲ ʔ 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.) 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 degađatgohsóhæ: 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 degađatgohsóhæ: contains the noun stem -gόhs- face.

- Portmanteau-ism 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. jẹ:na: you two catch it! / sni-yẹna: /

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
Deʔ hne?:. That’s why.
Dó: i?! Let me!
Trehs giʔ gyç?. My goodness!
Nẹʔ diʔ ní:hs? 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

*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)

still he is singing  
*He’s still singing.*

b. Jidwahshê:t e?:  
let’s count again  
*Let’s count again!*

c. I:sô? agidahsehê:’ gê:s  
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:gwaâhs jihsô:dâhk.  
*I’m picking strawberries*  
Jihsô:dâhk gahya:gwaâhs.  
*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?: gyê’hne: tsô: toh nähseye?:  
you again the one in fact only that you did it  
i:hs gyê’ e?: hne: tsô: toh nähseye?:  
i:hs gyê’hne: e?: tsô: toh nähseye?:  
i:hs gyê’hne: tsô: e?: toh nähseye?:  
i:hs gyê’hne: tsô: toh e?: nähseye?:
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 -aˀ 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
a. ga-nóhs-aˀ house(s)
   c.f., o-nóhs-owa:nę a big house
b. o-ˀnhóhs-aˀ egg(s)
   c.f., s-ga-ˀnhóhsa:-t, j-o-ˀnhóhsa:-t one egg
c. a-węˀyǫhgá:ˀ thumb(s)
   c.f., g-węˀyǫhgá:-ˀgeh 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
    gaˀga:? crow
    twęˀtwęˀt duck
    duwisduwiˀ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hnyagwáíʔ</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagú:s, dago:s</td>
<td>cat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só:wa:s</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dré:na:</td>
<td>skunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

12. Nouns beginning with / ji- /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji’dé:qéh</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jikji:yeʔ</td>
<td>chickadee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jihsguguʔ</td>
<td>robin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 —a’, body part nouns take the ending —a’geh, meaning on.

13. Body part nouns

a. snętsá’geh on your arm
b. knętsá’geh on my arm

- The first letter of these nouns designates the owner of the body part: <s> at the beginning of snętsá’geh means your (one person), and the <k> at the beginning of knętsá’geh 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nihú:uh</td>
<td>little boy (lit.: he is small)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eksá:ah</td>
<td>girl child (lit.: she or someone is a child)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadiksa:shó:ʔh</td>
<td>male children (lit.: they (males) are children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agó:gweh</td>
<td>girl, woman (lit.: she or someone is a person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
högwë’daseː? young man (lit.: he is a new person)
nitawëñ̌ʼhah 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-ɡë’čh my younger brother

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

16. he-nóhvwe’s 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-nóhá’:ah my maternal aunt
k-nó:ha’ my mother
k-nó’séː 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
a. haheyódanēhshrō:ni: undertaker (lit.: he fixes the bodies)
b. sha’drehdó:nih mechanic (lit.: the one who fixes cars)
c. gano’gwadaghwahs milking machine (lit.: it gathers milk)
d. degáhiṭa’ grinder (lit.: it grinds something)
e. degáyeḥsta’ blender, food processor (lit.: it mixes something)
f. dewáwëñhëh mixer (lit.: it stirs something)
g. ganóhaehs washing machine (lit.: it washes something)
h. wadréŋota’ 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)
a. dewáhöheːs deer (lit.: it has two long ears)
b. Höwadjhnyá’sodāhoh 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
The instrumental suffix often combines with three commonly-used incorporating verbs to produce new nouns.

21. Common incorporating verbs, with instrumental suffixes

a. -ędahkwa' a place where something is put
   [contains: -(y)ę- lie on the ground]
   **ehwihsdaędahkwa' a bank**
   [e+-(h)wihsd(a)N- money -ędahkwa'- place where something is put]

b. -odahkwa' an attached or standing instrument
   [A / P+ N+ contains: -odV- stand
   -ahkwa' instrument; occurs in:]
   **qodęnōdahkwa' musical instruments s**
   [o+ad+-r(en(a)N- song -odahkwa'- an attached or standing instrument]

c. -qđahkwa' an attached instrument, etc. that sticks out somehow
   [A / P+(at+) N+ contains: -qđV- attached]
   **ŋtənađqđahkwa' a bread pan s**
   [o+at+-na'd(a):N- bread -qđahkwa'- attached instrument]

21.6 Deverbal Nouns

- Deverbal nouns are formed from verbs via the addition of a suffix. (In the word *deverbal* the prefix de- means *from*, while ‘deverbal’ means *formed from verbs*). English also has deverbal nouns; for example, ‘location’ is formed by taking the verb ‘locate’ and adding the suffix ‘-tion’ (with a few spelling and sound changes).

- In Cayuga, a deverbal noun is formed by adding the nominalizer and noun stem former endings -tr-a or -sr-a to a verb.

22. Deverbal nouns

a. o-yę-hsr-a' blanket, quilts
b. ade'nę́dę̱-sr-a' measurements
   c.f., ěhs-ade'nyę́:dę̱- you will try, measure

c. ga-hyádo-hsr-a' paper
   c.f., e-hyá:ɖə-h she writes

21.7 Compound Nouns

- Compound nouns consist of two (or more) words which together denote one object. Typically, the first word of the compound is more specific in meaning while the second word is more general. (See 23.a, b). In some compound nouns, the second noun indicates a possessor. (See 23.c,d)

23. Compound nouns

a. hnyagwai? o'wāhq̱h bear meat

b. naganya'gö' o'wáhöh beaver meat
   beaver meat

c. owi:ya':áh gokwa'baby's food
   baby her food

d. owi:ya':áh gonohá:tra? 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. deyagodáwęnye' she is walking about
   b. agadek:ni: I’m eating
   c. desęnà'sgwáhgwë (you) jump!
   d. desahsagá:wë (you) yawn!
   e. sadö:nye's 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. tę'ta:kni:nöh I shouldn’t or won’t buy it
   b. hehọ:gyö: he has thrown it
   c. ahékónye' I cooked a meal for him
   d. atag'edrëhda'ëhs 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:uh how small it is
   b. nigá:dę:s how thin it is
   c. i:yǫs it is long
   d. egówaneh she is big, pregnant
   e. agri'sdowá: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 onáhsę:, which literally means they (animals) are fat, modifies the meaning of the noun daksáhe’dóhs. In this sense, the verb onáhsę: functions like an adjective.

27. Adjectival or stative verbs used as adjectives
   onáhsę: daksáhe’dóhs
   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. hégwe’dí:yo: he’s a charming or nice person
   b. shyáhkwase: 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. detgá’nha:’ it is sticking out
   b. gadę́hdá:’ it is lying spread out on the floor or the ground
   c. gagéh’ things are lying around
   d. gahe:’ it is sitting on top of something
   e. gani:yo:’ it is hanging

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

31. Positional verbs and noun incorporation
   a. gayęhsraní:yo:’t hanging blanket
   b. oyęhsra? blanket and gani:yo:’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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pronominal prefix</th>
<th>Extraprosodic word-initial consonant</th>
<th>Disyllabic minimum</th>
<th>Always accented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Particles have many functions. For example, there are:
  - interrogative particles such as hwę:doh when? (for forming questions).
  - subordinating particles such as tsěh / shěh that, etc. (for forming embedded sentences).
  - exclamations, interjections such as agi: ouch! (the equivalents of oh, uh-oh, etc.)
  - demonstrative particles such as sì:gyěh that (one) way over there (for pointing out objects) equivalent to words such as this, that, etc.
  - pronominal particles such as i:hs you (for emphatic pronouns) equivalent to words such as I, you, etc.
  - adverbial particles, including: particles of time such as é:k again (equivalent to words such as yesterday, tonight, etc.); particles of place such as sìhó: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

a. néh look; say; here, take this
b. sìh over there
c. tóh there, that much
d. gyěh the one
e. né:gyěh this (néh and gyěh)
f. sì:gyěh that (one) way over there (sìh and gyěh)
g. tó:gyěh that (tóh and gyěh)

- In contrast, particles that often form groups, such as dę:ho:dę: what (kind) can be broken up by the insertion of other particles such as hne: in fact or ni?: I.

34. Insertion of particles into particle groups

a. dę’ hne’: ho’dę’:... what, in fact...
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
i?: ni?: I, we
i:hs, ni:hs you
- The remaining pronouns are verbs, technically speaking.

36. Pronouns that are verbs (Ontario Ministry of Education & Michelson 2011)
   a. háqhe', háqha' he (lit.: he is alone)
   b. gáqhe' she (lit.: she is alone)
   c. áqhe? it (lit.: it is alone)
   d. honó:hec' they (males) (lit.: they (males) are alone)
   e. gonó:hec' they (females or mixed) (lit.: they (females or mixed) are alone)
   f. onó:hec' 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 háqhe' 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
   Haqhe' he alone
   He spoke.
   He spoke.

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

3 Noun morphology


- This section describes the parts (prefixes and suffixes or endings) that make up Cayuga nouns and verbs.

3.1 Overview

38. Noun template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun Stem Former / Joiner vowel</th>
<th>Other noun suffixes</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>jō'd</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td></td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>na'j</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td></td>
<td>pail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age-</td>
<td>'drehd</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td></td>
<td>my car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal prefixes</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Noun Stem Former / Joiner vowel</td>
<td>Other noun suffixes</td>
<td>translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>trę’d</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-go:wah augmentative</td>
<td>horsefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-neha’, -gehah’, -ka’ customary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gehę’ decessive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-’ah, -hah diminutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ago: internal locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-hneh -’geh external locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-k’ah, -akdagye’ other locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-sra’, -tra’ nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-shǫ’, -shǫ:q -’so’, -’so:q Pluralizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ho:no’ populative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-q:weh typicalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agent</th>
<th>patient</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>ak-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kni-</td>
<td>okni-</td>
<td>we two (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akni-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>we two (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwa-</td>
<td>ogwa-</td>
<td>we all (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agwa-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>we all (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ho-</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-</td>
<td>go-</td>
<td>she, someone, one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>it (animal or thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>you (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sni-</td>
<td>sni-</td>
<td>you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swa-</td>
<td>swa-</td>
<td>you all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadi-</td>
<td>hodi-</td>
<td>they (males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gae-</td>
<td>godi-</td>
<td>they (females or mixed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadi-</td>
<td>odi-</td>
<td>they (animals, objects)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -a’.

40. Unpossessed, basic nouns

a. ganöhsa’ house; consists of:
   agent noun stem NSF
   ga+ -nöhs- -a’

b. o’nhöhsa’ egg; consists of:
   patient noun stem NSF
   o+ ‘nhöhs- -a’

c. awę’yögha?: thumb; consists of:
   agent noun stem NSF
   a+ -wę’yögha:- -a’
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 -a'geh.

41. Body part noun template

knętsá'geh on my arm
agent noun stem locative
k- -nęts- -a'geh

- 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
khnę:ye:s I am tall
knętsá'geh on my arm

b. kni- we two / our two (includes listener)
knįhnę:ye:s we two are tall
kninętsá'geh on the arms of the two of us

c. akni- we two / our two (excludes listener)
aknihungę:ye:s we two are tall
akninętsá'geh on the arms of the two of us

d. dwa- we all / all of our (includes listener)
dwahnę:ye:s we all are tall
dwanętsa'geh on the arms of all of us

e. agwa- we all / all of our (excludes listener)
agwahnę:ye:s we all are tall (but not you)
agwànętsa'geh on the arms of all of us (but not you)

f. ha- he, his
hahnę:ye:s he is tall
hanętsa'geh on his arms

g. e- she, her, someone
ehnę:ye:s she / someone is tall
enętsa'geh on her arms

h. ga- it, its (object or animal)
gahnę:ye:s it (animal) is tall (nonsensical)
ganętsa'geh on its (an animal’s) arms (nonsensical)

i. s- you (one person), your
shnę:ye:s you are tall (one person)
snętsa'geh on your arm (one person)

j. sni- you two, the two of you(r)
snįhnę:ye:s you two are tall
sninętsa'geh on the arms of two of you
k. swa- you all, all of you(r)
   swahnę:ye:s you all are tall
   swanętsa’geh on the arms of all of you

l. hadi- they (males only), their
   hadihnę:ye:s they are tall (males only)
   hadinętsa’geh on their arms (males only)

m. gae- they (females or mixed group), their
   gaeñę:ye:s they are tall (females or mixed group)
   gaeñętsa’geh on their arms (females or mixed group)

n. gadi- they (animals, things), their
   gadihnę: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
   akñọqñḥókdái:nh I am sick
   akñọhsa’ my house

b. ọkni- we two, our two (there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive for patient prefixes)
   ọkñíñḥókdái:nh we two are sick
   ọkñíñhsa’ the house belonging to the two of us

c. ọgwà- we all / all of ours (there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive for patient prefixes)
   ọgwàngñḥókdái:nh we all are sick
   ọgwànghsa’ the house belonging to all of us

d. sa- you (singular), your
   sanñọqñḥókdái:nh you are sick
   sanñọhsa’ your house

e. sni- you two, the two of you(r)
   sninñọqñḥókdái:nh you two are sick
   sninñọhsa’ the house belonging to the two of you

f. swa- you all, all of you(r)
   swanñọqñḥókdái:nh you all are sick
   swanñọhsa’ the house belonging to all of you

g. ho- he, his
   honñọqñḥókdái:nh he is sick
   honñọhsa’ his house

h. go- she, someone, her
   gonñọqñḥókdái:nh she or someone is sick
   gonñọhsa’ her or someone’s house
LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

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. ogwehó:weh Indian
   b. ogwehówéhneha:’ Indian way, language
   c. ogwehówéhgeha:’ Indian kind, type
   d. ahsóheh night
   e. ahsóhehka:’ the night kind

46. decessive suffix: former
   a. akyédahkwa:’ chair
   b. akyédahkwa’gehe:’ former chair

47. diminutive suffixes: smallness; otherwise non-obvious meanings
   a. és弱点’it will be night
   b. ó’gá:sa’h evening
   c. ne’ owi:ya’ its baby
   d. owi:yá:’ah baby
   e. gwa’yó:’ rabbit
   f. gw’ayé:’ah Cottontail rabbit
   g. tsíshéhdehjíh this morning
   h. shedéhjí:hah early morning

48. internal locative suffix: in, under, etc.
   a. gahó:wa’ boat
   b. gahówagó: in a boat
49. external locative suffixes: on, at, etc.
   a. otó:we? it’s cold
   b. otów?egeh north
   c. Arnígeh, Arníhneh at Arnie’s place

50. other locative suffixes: beside, alongside
   a. akyędahkwá’ chair
   b. akyędahkwá’?k’ah beside the chair
   c. ganóhsa’ house
   d. ganóhsakdá:gye? along the house

51. nominalizer suffixes:
   a. dó: gade:nyé:déh Oh, let me try!
   b. ade’nyé:déhsra’ measurements
   c. gahná’tso: t its (attached) behind
   d. atna’tsotra’ pants (lit.: something attached to the behind)

52. pluralizer suffixes: several, a number of
   a. agétgw?eda? my suitcase
   b. agetgw?édá’sqö? my suitcases (that is, a bunch of suitcases, bundled together or thought of as a unit)
   c. agetgw?eda’sqö?oh my suitcases (that is, ones that are scattered around)

53. populative suffix: people living at
   a. Gahnawiyó’geh Oklahoma
   b. Gahnawiyó’gehö:nqö? Oklahomans

54. typicalizer suffix: Indian, real, traditional
   a. ó:gweh person
   b. ógwehö:reh Indian

4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

55. Cayuga verb template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prepronominal prefixes</th>
<th>pronominal</th>
<th>(semi / reflexive+)(noun+)</th>
<th>derivational suffixes</th>
<th>aspect suffixes</th>
<th>post-aspect suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modal</td>
<td>non-modal</td>
<td>verb stem</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d- factual</td>
<td>d- cislocative</td>
<td>described later</td>
<td>ad- semireflexive</td>
<td>-hd / -ht</td>
<td>-gehö: past</td>
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<tr>
<td>e- future</td>
<td>ti- contrastive</td>
<td>[described later]</td>
<td>adad- reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hk former</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- opticative or</td>
<td>ts- coincident</td>
<td>[described later]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-(e):k continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>de- dualic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de- negative</td>
<td>de- negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni- partitive</td>
<td>s- repetitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha- translocative</td>
<td>ha- translocative</td>
<td>[described later]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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
   q- ekni:no li will buy it
b. factual
   a- akni:no I bought it (a fact)
   a’- a’eyo she arrived (a fact)
   o- ogi:da? I slept, or I’m sleeping (a fact; said when you want to be left alone)
c. optative or indefinite
   a: a:kní:no l might / should / could / would buy it
   ae- a:eswá:ge’ you all might / should / could / would see it
   ao- aqge’ge’ 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:no? how much it costs
   cf. ganq: it’s expensive
b. coincident—while
  tsı- tsihögwe’dá:se: when he was young
  cf. högwe’dá:se: he is a young man

c. contrastive—different
  ti- tiga’drehdá:de: it’s a different car from the others

d. cislocative—here, there (closer to speaker)
  t- tga:he: it is sitting there
  cf. ga:he: it’s sitting here
  da- dasrá:teh, dadrá:teh climb (over here)!
  cf. ha’srá:teh, ha’drá:teh climb (over there)!
  g- gy’edró: she’s at home (here)
  cf. e’dró: she is home
  de- désá’dre: drive over here
  cf. he’sá’dre: drive over there

e. translocative—way over there (farther from speaker)
  he’- he’gáhe: it’s sitting way over there
  cf. ga:he: it’s sitting here
  he- heyé’dró: she’s at home, way over there
  cf. e’dró: she is home

f. dualic—two; back-and-forth motion
  de- degano:hsá:ge: two houses
  cf. niganqhsá:ge: a number of houses

g. repetitive—one, the one, again
  s- shoyé:tweh he planted it again
  cf. hoyé:tweh he planted it
  j- jotó:we: it is cold again
  cf. otó:we: it is cold
  ji- jidwáhshe:t let’s count again
  cf. dwahshe: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
  agaédá:gra? they fell down

a:- optative
  a:gahyá:go? I would pick fruit

ad- dualic and factual
  adwagahsiha:s I choked

adi- dualic and factual
adigyatnę:tsi:ya’k we two (exclusive) broke our arm

ae- optative
aeswá:ge’ you all might / should / could / would see it

ag- dualic and factual
agyagwatnę:tsi:ya’k we all (exclusive) broke our arm

aq- optative
aggio:ge’ she might / should / could / would see me

aqda- cislocative and optative
aqdasagy’qeséha’ you would come and visit

aqsa-, q:sa- repetitive and optative
aqsagahdé:di’, q:sagahdé:di’ I might, should go home

at- dualic and factual
atgaeyé:na’ they (females or mixed) did it together

da- cislocative and factual
daga:di:yó’ they (animals) came in
da- dualic
dahsge:gaíh you bite me
da:- dualic and optative
da:gatnę:tsi:ya’k I might break my arm
daqda, dq:da- dualic, cislocative, and optative
dq:da:ge’? I would come back
daqsa, dq:sa- dualic, repetitive, and optative
dq:sáeda’ she stood up again
da- dualic
dedwadagyénawahs let us all help one another
d’e, de’, de- negative
de’agadö:gtade’ I’m not happy
de’agönhé:gye’ she was stillborn; she came to be not living
dedi- negative and cislocative
héhsahshé:da’ tséh hó’wéh dedihsawihs you will trod, step where you’re not wanted (that is, trespass)

deg- dualic and cislocative
Degyotnhsá:kdó: St. Catharine’s, Ont.
déji- negative and repetitive
dejidwayé:di: we do not know any longer
des- dualic and repetitive
Té? géh déshó:yó: / Did he not come home?
d’es, des- negative and repetitive
desgá:ní:yó: t it is not hanging any longer
det-, ded- dualic and cislocative
deti’ I am coming back
d‘et, det-, d‘ed-, ded- negative and cislocative
  detgá:yę‘ it is no longer laying there

d‘ej-, dej- negative and repetitive
  deja:gó:yı: she didn’t return

dę- dualic and future
  dęhnsôte‘a? you will double it, reinforce something

dęd- dualic, cislocative, and future
  dędhs‘adre‘! you will drive over there

dęg- dualic, cislocative, and future
  dęgyá:kne‘! we two will come back

dej- dualic, repetitive, and future
  dejọŋhọsó:goht she will go in one door and out the other door (at a funeral)

dęji- dualic, repetitive, and future
  dęjidwanọhonyı:‘ we will thank again

dęs- dualic, repetitive, and future
  dęshaihwá¢twıht he will bring forth a message

dęt-, dęd- dualic, cislocative, and future
  dętda:goht I will pass that way

di- cislocative
  disáhdęgyı: you come from there

dọ- cislocative and factual
  dọghádọ‘ (where) I lost it

dọda- dualic, cislocative, and factual
  dọdá:ge‘ I’m coming back

dọsàa- dualic, repetitive, and factual
  dọsagakenę:gohtı: I thanked them again; I greeted them again

e- factual
  esáhdọ‘! you lost it

edi- dualic and factual
  edidwatné:tsı:yak we all broke our arm

e‘- future
  egátnıhga‘! I’m going to cut my hair

edi- cislocative and future
  edis’anıgıhı:yoh your mind will become adjusted

eɡ- cislocative and future
  ęgyı:gohtı: early evening

ej- repetitive and future
  ejıkse:k she can eat it again

jści- repetitive and future
  jściwá:dákəsọ‘! we will snack (lit.: bite the bread)
ę- repetitive and future
ėshahé:waht he will punish again
ęt- cislocative and future
ętse’negó:ne:k you will revolt, remove yourself (bodily and in spirit)
ha- translocative and optative
to hó: ha:’gídró:da’k where I would dwell
ha’, ha- translocative and factual
ha’ge’ I am going there
ha’dé- translocative and dualic
ha’deg’adréhdage: all kinds of cars
ha’dé- translocative, dualic, and future
ha’dé:syehs you will put them all together
haqoa-, hó:sa-, hó:sa- translocative, repetitive, and optative
to é: hó:sá:ge’? I would go again
ha’t- translocative, dualic, and factual
ha’tgenętsáonyo’? I waved my arms
ha’t- translocative and dualic
ha’tsenętsé:s you reach out!
he, he?- translocative
he’sá:dih throw it away from me!
hej- translocative and repetitive
hejónghso’t the next room
heji- translocative and repetitive
Gaç hwa’ nho hejisáihó:de’/ Where do you work again?
hes- translocative and repetitive
l’wa:k’ah heshohdrihsdóhogyé’. He’s getting nearer and nearer
hę- translocative and future
hęsyé’? you will put it there
hęs- translocative, repetitive, and future
hęsge’ I am going back there
hęt- translocative, repetitive, and future
hętsyé’? you will put it back in its place
hej- translocative, repetitive, and future
hejá:go:néht they (f / m) shall swallow again
heji- translocative, repetitive, and future
hejišasha’? you will remember back in time
hó:sa-, hó:sa- translocative, repetitive, and factual
hó:sahá:yó’ he went back inside; he arrived
j- repetitive
jodré:no:t it is singing again
ji- repetitive
  jidwahshë:t e?: let’s count again (emphatic)

na:- partitive and optative
  I:wi: to na:yá:wëh I want, intend that to happen

na’, na, n’a- partitive and factual
  tsë na:yá:wëh how it happened

na’dapqa, na’do:da- partitive, dualic, cislocative, and optative
  na’dapqa:ge’ I should come this way

na’de, n’ade- partitive and dualic
  na’dé:quadre’ how far apart they are (f / m)

na’dég- partitive, dualic, and cislocative
  tsëh nadegyadódat: during the week

na’dét- partitive, dualic, and cislocative
  na’dét:ge’ I am coming back over here, returning

na’dé:ti:ge’? I’ll come back over here, return

na’do:da- partitive, dualic, cislocative, and factual
  tsëh na’dapqa:ge’ where I’m coming from

naqsa- partitive, repetitive, and optative
  naqsaqwayéhë:k what we should be doing

nè- partitive and future
  nèwu:k’uh it will be small

nhe- partitive and translocative
  nhe:yoh sudden it occurred

ni- partitive
  nigahnë:ya? it is short

nidi- partitive and cislocative
  nidihsë:no: you (singular) come from (that is, you are X years old)

nig- partitive and cislocative
  nígyagawë:no? she comes from (that is, she is X years old)

nij- partitive and repetitive
  níjagowë:nòh female stranger (lit.: where she comes from)

nis- partitive and repetitive
  Nishayë:no:s Hold unto (Seneca Chief Title)

nit- partitive and cislocative
  nitawë:nòh male stranger (lit.: where he comes from)

nò:-, ni- partitive
  nò:ge’syá:quadé:h, niwagehsyá:o’dëh I’m... clan

nòda- partitive, cislocative, and factual
  nòdá:ge’ I come from
nqdi- partitive, cislocative, and factual
  Gaę nºq nqdi:sê:nq: / Where are you from?

nq:sa- partitive, repetitive, and factual see naqsa-

q- factual
  ogáhdro'k It frightened me; I got frightened

s- repetitive
  sgayá'da:t one (living thing)

sa- repetitive and factual
  sage'nho'trá:twah I missed the ball

sa- repetitive
  sasnęht get down from there

t- cislocative
  tadinagre' that's where they live over there
tae, te:- contrastive and optative
  tê' taeswa:geh, te:swa:geh you all shouldn't see it
ta?, ta- contrastive and factual, or contrastive, translocative, and factual
  tê' taha:yé:toh no, he won't plant
ta'de- contrastive and dualic, or contrastive, translocative, and dualic
  ta'degawá:yq: it has no wings
ta'dê- contrastive, dualic, and future, or contrastive, translocative, dualic, and future
  ta'dejatáhahk you two will walk side by side
tê?, te- contrastive and translocative
  tê' toh te'gáhe?: it's not sitting way over there
te: see tae-
  tê' te:sagâc: you are not willing
ti- contrastive
  tiga'drehdá:de' a different car
tôde, tôdi- contrastive, cislocative, and factual
  tê' tôdes'adré: tó:gyêh you won't drive that over here

tsa'- coincident and factual, or coincident, translocative, and factual
  tsâ'ga:yé:da' when it became (lit: when it landed; when it set down)

tsa'de- coincident and dualic, or coincident, translocative, and dualic
  tsâ'dé:wâ's they are the same size
tsa'dêg- coincident, dualic, and cislocative
  tsadegy'adôdadrehk the week before last
tsa'dê- coincident, dualic, and future, or coincident, translocative, dualic, and future
  tsâ'déhsyêc?: you will lay them side by side
tsi- coincident
  tsiyeksa'da:sê:'ah when she was a teenager
tê- contrastive and future, or contrastive, translocative, and future
têhayê:to ah 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 (-hnę:ye:s to be tall) that takes agent pronominal prefixes.

59. Agent pronominal prefixes
k-hnę:ye:s I am tall
    first person singular  1A
knı-hnę:ye:s we two are tall
    first and second dual inclusive  1indA
aknı-hnę:ye:s we two are tall (doesn’t include listener)
    first and third dual exclusive  1exclA
agwa-hnę:ye:s we all are tall (doesn’t include listener)
    first and third plural exclusive  1expA
dwag-hnę:ye:s we all are tall
    first and second plural inclusive  1inpA
ha-hnę:ye:s he is tall
    third person singular masculine  MA
e-hnę:ye:s she / someone is tall
    third person singular feminine-indefinite  FA
gag-hnę:ye:s it is tall
    third person singular zoic-neuter  NA
s-hnę:ye:s you (singular) are tall
    second person singular  2A
sni-hnę:ye:s you two are tall
    second person dual  2dA
swa-hnę:ye:s you all are tall
    second person plural  2pA
hadi-hnę:ye:s they (males) are tall
    third person non-singular masculine  MdpA
gae-hnę:ye:s they (females or mixed) are tall
    third person non-singular feminine  FdpA
gadi-hnę:ye:s they (animals) are tall
4.2.2 Patient Pronominal Prefixes

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

60. Patient pronominal prefixes

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

- **ŋkni-nǫhǫkdanih we two are sick**
  - first person dual 1dP

- **ŋgwa-nǫhǫkdanih we all are sick**
  - first person plural 1pP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- **odi-nǫhǫkdanih 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 (-gę’ 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-, a’-, 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.
Interactive pronominal prefixes

a-hé:-gę? I...him
a-sha:kní:-gę? she / he / someone and I...him
a-sha:gwá:-gę? they and I...him / them (males)
a-she:tní:-gę? you (singular) and I...him
a-she:dwá:-gę? you all and I...him
a-hehsé:-gę? you (singular)...him
a-she:sní:-gę? you two...him; he...you two
a-she:swá:-gę? you all...him; he...you all
a-ho:wá:-gę? she / he / someone...him
a-höwadi:-gę? they...him; she / he / someone ... them (males)
a-ha:g-é:-gę? he...me
a-sho:kní:-gę? he...us two
a-sho:gwá:-gę? he...us all
e-hyá:-gę? he...you (singular)
a-sha:go:-gę? he...her / someone / it / them (females or mixed)
a-ké:-gę? I...her / someone
a-ga:ké:-gę? I...them
a'-a:ki:-gę? she / he / someone / they and I...her / someone / them
a'-e:ti:-gę? you (singular) / you all and I...her / someone / them
a-shé:-gę? you (singular)...her / someone
a-ga:shé:-gę? you (singular)...them
a'-e:tsi:-gę? you two / you all...her / someone / them she / someone / them...you two / you all
a-ga:qdad-é:-gę? they ... her; she / someone / they(females or mixed)...them (females or mixed
ga:qdagyanawa'seh they help her, etc.
a-shagodi:-gę? they (males or animals)...her / someone / them (females or mixed)
a-gowadi:-gę? she / he / someone / they...it
a'-q:ğ-é:-gę? she / someone...me
a-ga:qg-é:-gę? they...me
a'-q:ki:-gę? she / someone / they...us
a'-e:sá:-gę? she / someone...you (singular)
a-gaesá:-gę? they...you (singular)
a-go:-gę? I...you (singular)
a-ki:-gę? she / he / someone and I...it
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:n ǫˀ 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 tĘ de-wa:g-é:-gę́h (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:-gę́ I saw (no reflexive)
   a-g-adad-é:-gę́ I saw myself (with reflexive)
   a-gādat-gę́ I saw myself (with reflexive)

63. Other variants of the reflexive prefix
   a-ha-dad-í:ya'k he shot himself
   dedwa-dag-yénawahs let all of us help one another

4.3.2 THE SEMIREFLEXIVE PREFIX

64. The semireflexive prefix
   shago-gghs-oháe: he is washing her face (no prefix)
   h-at-gghs-oháe: he is washing his (own) face (with prefix)

65. Other variants of the semireflexive prefix
   adohwihséhde: it is restful
   awagy'adohái: it washed its body
   dědwađenōhonyo: we will give thanks
   agę̤'idohai: 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:ge: (it is) tart, sour fruit
   cf. ojiwá:ge: it is tart, sour, salty

ohyága:oh good-tasting fruit
   cf. ogá:oh it is good-tasting

ohyówanéh big fruit
   cf. gagówanéh it is big

niyo:hyú:uh small fruit
   cf. niwú:uh it is small

wahyaniyó:ta' hanging fruit
   cf. gani:yo:t it is hanging

ohyá:jih dark fruit
   cf. gáhó:jih it is dark

ohyá:tgé: spoiled, rotten fruit
   cf. otgé: 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

oppositional or reversive -hsi to do the opposite
   çatroñyá:hsi? you will take your clothes off
   cf. satro:nih get dressed

inchoative -he'? become, get
   agówanhe'? it became big
   cf. gowán:neh it is big

inchoative -t, -'d become, get
   ewa'dáiha't it will get hot
   cf. o'dáihe: it is hot

inchoative -z, -(e)z' become, get
   agagwiyo:de?' it got buds
   cf. ogwi:yo:t it has buds

causative -hd, -ht cause to do something
coes:tgih: you will dirty it up
  cf. otgi: it is dirty

causative -t, -d cause to do something
  wahdëhgya:ta: a starter (for a vehicle; lit.: it starts it)
  cf. ewadrihwa:di: the ceremony will start

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

instrumental -hkwa:
  ehyádöhkwa: pencil
  cf. ehyá:döh she writes

benefactive or dative -ę, -ni do for someone
  ahadadrihwagwë:nyë: he had earned it for himself
  cf. čhsrihwagwë:nì: you will accomplish
  ődadrihöyanë: she is reading (lit.: making words for herself)

benefactive or dative -hs do for someone
  ha:hohahö:ktahs the road ran out for him (figuratively: he died)
  cf. awatahö:kdë: the road ended

distributive -ųnyö: several here and there
  ohnawaöönyö: springs
  cf. ohnawaö: well, spring

distributive -hö: several here and there
  gahá:döhö: a clothesline (lit.: things are hanging up to dry)
  cf. ohá:döh it is dry

distributive -hso: several here and there
  hoyëtwahsoö: he planted several things
  cf. hoyë:twë: he has planted

distributive -o: several here and there
  aknëhso:do: I have several houses
  cf. aknëhso:ö: I have a house

facilitative -(h)sgö: do easily
  senëhahsgö: you are a habitual borrower
  cf. čhsëniha: you will borrow, rent

eventuative -(h)sö: do eventually
  sadëhsröhë:oh you are ready
  cf. čhsehsrö:ni: you will create, fix something

intensifier -jih really
  sgeh:nojih ge: / are you really well?
  cf. sgeh: noh you are well

dislocative -dër go and do something
  sëdëdër by you go to sleep
  cf. së:da: you sleep
dislocative -\(^n\) go and do something
\(\text{ęyōdawę́}'na'\) she will go swimming
cf. \(\text{ęyōdawę́}'\) she will swim

dislocative -\(h\)n go and do something
\(\text{ahēnadāhnyohna}'\) they went fishing
cf. \(\text{ahēnadāhnyo}'\) they \((m)\) fished

dislocative -\(h\) go and do something
\(\text{sīh}sá:kah\) go and look for it
cf. \(\text{sīh}sā:k\) look for it

dislocative -(\(h\))s go and do something
\(\text{h}áy\)'twahse\(^o\) he is going to plant
cf. \(\text{h}áy\)'to\(^o\) he will plant

purposive and dislocative\(^2\) -\(dre\) go and do something
\(\text{ehsēd}'\adre\(^o\) You are / are you going to bed?
cf. \(\text{ēsēd}'\adra\(^o\) you will go to sleep

purposive and dislocative -\(h\)ne\(^o\) go and do something
\(\text{ahēnadāhnyohne}'\) they are / are they going fishing?
cf. \(\text{ahēnadāhnyohna}'\) they went fishing

purposive and dislocative -\(ke\) go and do something
\(\text{agaeså:k}e\) they are / are they going to look for it?
cf. \(\text{agaehså:k}a\) they \((f)\) went looking for it

purposive and dislocative -\(h\)se\(^o\) go and do something
\(\text{ahayētwāhse}'\) he is / is he going to plant?
cf. \(\text{ēh}ayētwāhse\(^o\) he will go planting (Foster 1993)

progressive -\(ęgye\), -\(ęgye\) be going along doing something
\(\text{agaēhyagwēhęγye}'\) (as) I’m going along in a row picking fruit
cf. \(\text{agāhyagwęh}\) I have picked fruit

augmentative -\(ge\): big
\(\text{ganōh}sot\)gę: it’s a standing big house
cf. \(\text{ganōh}sō\)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, ‘come’ \(\text{he or she eats}\), but ‘habla’ \(\text{he or she speaks}\) 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 -e’s 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 -hдąh 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>end of verb stem</th>
<th>with habitual</th>
<th>with punctual</th>
<th>with stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hsd</td>
<td>-hstaʔ</td>
<td>-hs</td>
<td>-hдąh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(d deletes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -hдąh

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)
čhadrihwašdihsıh he will take care of the event (PUNCTUAL form)
hodrihwahsdıhдąh (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>with habitual</th>
<th>with punctual</th>
<th>with stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ends with -hd</td>
<td>-htaʔ</td>
<td>-ht</td>
<td>-hдąh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ehd- on purpose</td>
<td>tsigehtaʔ</td>
<td>tsа'geht</td>
<td>tsиwağęдąh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I do it on purpose all the time</td>
<td>I did it on purpose</td>
<td>I have done it on purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -‘d</td>
<td>-‘taʔ</td>
<td>-‘t</td>
<td>-‘дąh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-je‘d- cure someone</td>
<td>skeje‘taʔ</td>
<td>ejisaje‘т</td>
<td>swageję’dąh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you cure me (all the time)</td>
<td>it will cure you again</td>
<td>it has cured me again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb stem</td>
<td>with habitual</td>
<td>with punctual</td>
<td>with stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -di / -gy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adi, ogy- throw something</td>
<td>-gye's &lt;br&gt; heho:gye's &lt;br&gt; he throws it (all the time); he is a pitcher</td>
<td>-di? &lt;br&gt; elpersa:di? &lt;br&gt; you will get rid of something, abandon it, throw it out</td>
<td>-gyʔ: &lt;br&gt; heho:gyʔ: &lt;br&gt; he has thrown it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adeg- burn up</td>
<td>-k &lt;br&gt; ode:ka? &lt;br&gt; fire; it is burning</td>
<td>-k &lt;br&gt; a'ʔ:de:k &lt;br&gt; it burned</td>
<td>-ghʔ, -gʔ: &lt;br&gt; ode:ɡʔ &lt;br&gt; it is burnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hsa'g cough</td>
<td>-gesa'ka' &lt;br&gt; I am coughing; I have a cough</td>
<td>-gsehsa'k &lt;br&gt; you will cough</td>
<td>agahs'agʔ &lt;br&gt; I have coughed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ohag- squeeze</td>
<td>-s &lt;br&gt; (g deletes) &lt;br&gt; dehstohask &lt;br&gt; you squeeze it all the time</td>
<td>-k &lt;br&gt; dehstohak &lt;br&gt; you will squeeze</td>
<td>-gʔ &lt;br&gt; dewakdoha:ɡʔ &lt;br&gt; I am squeezing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -gw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-getstw- lift to a vertical position; have a gathering</td>
<td>-gwahs &lt;br&gt; sege:tgwaḥs &lt;br&gt; you are lifting it to a vertical position; you give parties</td>
<td>-goʔ &lt;br&gt; ñeqsegetsgoʔ &lt;br&gt; you will lift things to a vertical position</td>
<td>-gwʔ &lt;br&gt; gyagoge:tgwʔ &lt;br&gt; she's having a gathering over there; she is lifting something into a vertical position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oh- dip in liquid</td>
<td>-hs &lt;br&gt; he:goḥs &lt;br&gt; I am dipping it in all the time</td>
<td>-h &lt;br&gt; he:goḥ &lt;br&gt; I will dip it in</td>
<td>-hʔ &lt;br&gt; hewagohʔ &lt;br&gt; I have already dipped, submerged it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nhaʔ- hire someone</td>
<td>-ʔs &lt;br&gt; kenhaʔs &lt;br&gt; I hire her</td>
<td>-ʔ(k) &lt;br&gt; ēsادенного &lt;br&gt; you will order something, hire something</td>
<td>-ʔʔ &lt;br&gt; ganhaʔʔ &lt;br&gt; it is hired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -hsd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hsdihsd- care fore</td>
<td>-hsaʔ &lt;br&gt; hadrihwahsdi:hsaʔ &lt;br&gt; he takes care of the event all the time; he pays attention to what is going on</td>
<td>-hs &lt;br&gt; (d deletes) &lt;br&gt; hadrihwahsdihs &lt;br&gt; he will take care of the event</td>
<td>-hsʔ &lt;br&gt; hodrihwahsdihsʔ &lt;br&gt; he is taking care of the event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -qd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-niyod- hang something up</td>
<td>-qtʔ &lt;br&gt; wāhyaʔ niyo:taʔ &lt;br&gt; a variety of (hanging) fruits</td>
<td>-qetʔ &lt;br&gt; akni:yq:deʔ &lt;br&gt; I did hang it up</td>
<td>-qt &lt;br&gt; akni:yq:ʔ &lt;br&gt; I hung it up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -ony, -oni</td>
<td>-oni(s) &lt;br&gt; go:nih, go:nihs &lt;br&gt; I make, earn</td>
<td>-oniʔ &lt;br&gt; ago:niʔ &lt;br&gt; I did make, earn</td>
<td>-oni &lt;br&gt; tiwa:ɡo:ni: &lt;br&gt; I have made it in place of something else, replaced it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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)trowi, (a)trong- 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-attró:wih(s), g-ahyá:gwahs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>with habitual</th>
<th>with punctual</th>
<th>with stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ends with -vowel + n</td>
<td>-vowel + nahs</td>
<td>-vowel + ? (n deletes)</td>
<td>-vowel + nêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(hr)(n)-cut, incise</td>
<td>krenahs _ I cut it all the time _</td>
<td>œkrené? _ I will cut it _</td>
<td>akrenéh _ I have cut it _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -ni, -ny</td>
<td>-nye's, -nyôhs</td>
<td>-ni?</td>
<td>-nyô:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tse', tsen- find something</td>
<td>ôni'denôhs _ she farts _</td>
<td>ëyôni'denì? _ she will fart _</td>
<td>agôni'denô: _ I have farted _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -tw</td>
<td>-twahs</td>
<td>-to?</td>
<td>-twêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yêtw-plant something</td>
<td>hayê:twahs _ he is a planter _</td>
<td>ëhayêto? _ he will plant _</td>
<td>hoyêtwêh _ he planted _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with a vowel</td>
<td>-vowel + h, vowel +hs</td>
<td>- vowel +?</td>
<td>- vowel +:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nêhgwihaul, carry something</td>
<td>kñêhgwih, kñêhgwihs _ I carry it all the time _</td>
<td>ëkñêhgwî? _ I will carry, move, tote it _</td>
<td>akñêhgwî: _ I have moved it _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -ê, nih</td>
<td>-nih</td>
<td>-ê?</td>
<td>-ni:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adôrîgwê, adôrgwani-threaten, scare someone</td>
<td>sheyadrynchronization-gwa:nih _ you are threatening, scaring someone _</td>
<td>ësheyadrîgwê? _ you will threaten, scare someone _</td>
<td>sheyadrîgwa:nî: _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -Vw,:</td>
<td>- vowel +wa's</td>
<td>- vowel + :? (w deletes)</td>
<td>- vowel +wêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(r)age;, (r)agew-wipe</td>
<td>grage:wahs _ I am erasing, wiping _</td>
<td>ëgrage:ge? _ I will erase, wipe _</td>
<td>agra:ge:wêh _ I have erased, wiped _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ends with -wi, ny</td>
<td>-wih, -wihs, -nye's</td>
<td>-wi?</td>
<td>-wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-owi, qny-drive</td>
<td>gado:wih, gado:wihs, gado:nye's _ I drive continually _</td>
<td>hêhsa:do:wi? _ you will drive over there _</td>
<td>aga:do:wi: _ I did the driving _</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.

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- 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-attró:wih(s), g-ahyá:gwahs
70. habitual past [A+ habitual verb +gêñ̂c; past] to be doing in the past on a continual basis or regularly; something one used to be doing: g-atrowih-s-gêñ̂c; g-ahyagwåhs-gêñ̂c;

71. future habitual [ê+ A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continual, modalizer] to be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly: ë-g-atrowih-a:k, ë-g-ahyagwåhs-e:k

72. indefinite habitual [a:- A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continual, modalizer] to possibly be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly: a:-g-atrowih-a:k, a:-g-ahyagwåhs-e:k

73. Punctual aspect verbs with modal prefixes
a. factual punctual [A+ verb stem +? punctual] an event that has occurred or is occurring at one point in time: a-g-a:tró:wi-?, a-gáhyago-?
b. future punctual [ê A+ verb stem +? punctual] an event that will occur at one point in time: ë-g-a:tró:wi-?, ë-g-áhyago-?
c. indefinite punctual [a: A+ verb stem +? punctual] an event that might, should, or could occur at one point in time: a:-g-atrowi:wi-?, a:-g-ahyå:go-?

- Static verbs can be modified by secondary aspect suffixes, or by using agentive [A+] pronominal prefixes, as shown below.
74. static [P+ verb stem +:, +êh, +ôh static] a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place: ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-êh

75. agentive static [A+ verb stem +:, +êh, +ôh static] a state of affairs that is done; the result of an event: w-atró:wi-:, w-áhyå:gw-êh

76. static past [P+ static verb form +(h)ne?: remote or +hk former (not shown)] a state of affairs that has taken place; a state of affairs that existed in the past: ag-atrowih-ne?:, ag-ahyagw-êh-ne?:

77. future static [ê- P+ static verb form +a:k +(e):k continual, modalizer] a state of affairs that will take place; a state of affairs that will be in the future: ë-wag-atrowih-a:k, ë-wag-áhyå:gw-ê:-k

78. optative static [a:- P+ static verb form +a:k +(e):k continual, 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-áhyagw-ê:-k

4.8 ASPECT SUFFIXES WITH PROGRESSIVE VERB FORMS
- Static verbs can take the progressive suffix -agye²-, -ëgyë²-, after which additional aspect suffixes can be added.
79. static [P+ verb stem +:, +êh, +ôh static] a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place: ag-a:tró:wi-:, ag-áhyagw-êh

80. progressive habitual [P+ static verb form +agye's, +ëgyë's] an activity that one is going along and doing on a continual basis: ag-atrowih-agye's, ag-ahyagwëh-ëgyë's

81. progressive habitual past [P+ static verb form +agye's +gêñ̂c; past, -ëgyë's +gêñ̂c; past] an activity that one used to go along and do on a regular basis: ag-atrowih-agye's-gêñ̂c; ag-ahyagwëh-ëgyë's-gêñ̂c;

82. progressive future habitual [ê- P+ static verb form +agye's +a:k, +ëgyë's +a:k, +ëgyë's +a:k, +ëgyë's +a:k, +e:k continual, modalizer] an activity that one will go along and do on a regular basis: ë-wag-atrowih-ëgyë's-es-e:k, ë-wag-ahyagwëh-ëgyë's-es-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-ągye’s-e:k, a:-wag-ąhyagwę́h-ęgye’s-e:k

84. progressive stative [P+ stative verb form +agye’, +ęgye’] while one is going along and doing something (another activity takes place): ag-atrowih-ągye’, ag-ąhyagwę́h-ęgye’

85. progressive indefinite stative [a:+ P+ stative verb form +agye’, +ęgye’] an activity that one might, should, etc. go along and do: a:-wag-atrowih-ągye’, a:-wag-ąhyagwę́h-ęgye’

86. progressive indefinite stative [a:+ P+ stative verb form +agye’, +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer, +ęgye’ +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer] an activity that one should have been going along and doing: a:-wag-atrowih-ągye:-k, a:-wag-ąhyagwę́h-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: -atronyahn-, -ąhyagwah-

88. dislocative habitual [A+ dislocative stem +ę’s] something one is being sent to do all the time: g-atronyahn-ę’s, g-ąhyagwah-s

89. dislocative habitual past [A+ dislocative habitual stem +ęghę:` past] something one used to be sent to do all the time: g-atronyahnę’:ęghę:`, g-ąhyagwahs-ęghę:`

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-atronyahnę’es-e:k, ę-g-ąhyagwahs-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-atronyahnę’es-e:k, a:-g-ąhyagwahs-e:k

92. factual punctual [a- A+…-ʔ] with dislocative stems [-agatronyahn-, -ąhyagwak-]

a. dislocative factual punctual [a- A+ dislocative stem +ą’ joiner vowel and punctual] something one went and did: a:-g-atronyahną’-a’, a:-g-ąhyaks-a’

b. dislocative future punctual [ę- A+ dislocative stem +ą’ joiner vowel and punctual] something one will go and do: ę-g-atronyahną’, ę-g-ąhyaksą’a

c. dislocative indefinite punctual [a:- A+ dislocative stem +ą’ joiner vowel and punctual] something one might go and do: a:-g-atronyahną’a’, a:-g-ąhyaksą’a

93. stative [P+…; ę] with dislocative stems [agatronyahn-, ąhyaks-]

a. dislocative stative [P+ dislocative stem +ęh, +ę]; ę] something one has gone and done, or something one is going and doing now: ag-atronyahnę’h, ag-ąhyaks-ę;

b. dislocative stative past [P+ dislocative stative +hne:` remote] one went there and did something (and one is back now): ag-atronyahnę’h-k, ag-ąhyaks-h-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-atronyahnę:h-k, ę-wag-ąhyaksę’h-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-atronyahnę:h-k, a:-wag-ąhyaksę:h-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 [-agatronyahne-, -ahyakse-]

95. Purposive habitual [A+(dislocative stem) +e +?s] something one goes and does all the time: ę 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-attronyahn-e-?, g-ahyá:ks-e-?

  a. purposive past [A+(dislocative stem) +e: +?punctual] something one came and did: g-attronyahn-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-atrónyáhn-e-?, a-g-áhyaks-e-?

  c. purposive future punctual [ę+ A+ (dislocative stem) +e +?] something one will go and do: ę-t-h-e-? he will come this way

  d. purposive indefinite punctual [a:+ / ʔ:+ (dislocative stem) +e +?] something one might go and do: ná?dó:dáh-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 gayéhsrahédhá:ʔ *blanket lying on the ground*. More examples are provided below.

97. Noun incorporation structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preprefix (if needed)</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>semirefl/reflective (if needed)</th>
<th>incorporated noun</th>
<th>verb + aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>yéhsra</td>
<td>déhá:ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Some nouns occur often in incorporation structures: oihwa’ *word, matter affair*, ga’ningha’ *mind*, and oya’da’ *body* are very common, as is ʔ:gweh *person*. However, when ʔ:gweh is incorporated it has an extra ‘increment’ — the incorporated version is -gwe-ʔd-. Some nouns acquire increments when they are incorporated, and many don’t.
98. Commonly incorporated nouns

a. ga'nigoh' the mind
   -'nigoh- incorporated form of 'mind'

b. q:gwéh person
   -ogwe’d- incorporated form of ‘person’

c. oihwa? message
   -rihwa-, -ihwa-, -iho-, -rih-, -ih- incorporated forms of ‘message’

d. oya’dà body
   -ya’d- 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 immoveable objects typically occur with positional verbs, often with -o:t be attached, rooted, standing, as shown in (99).

99. Incorporation of nouns designating immoveable 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:s’uh 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 -a’geh on is used, even when the meaning on is not implied in the sentence. (See §2.1.4.)

100. Use of inalienable nouns: awatqhe:q gehsina’geh 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: čhe:nq: t so:wa:s / so:wa:s čhe: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: ne’ so:wa:s the dog is a good pet (literally, it-pet-good the dog)

b. so:wa:s ak-nahsgwa-č’ 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 dagus: 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-bsowahs-tra-daihč’? hot dog
o-dagus-tra-nq: cool cat
English loan words are often incorporated into Cayuga verbs this way. (Such expressions are usually said in jest.)

104. Incorporating English nouns, with the nominalizer suffix
a. ga\text{jobtri:yo:} a good job
b. ga\text{jobtr}owa:neh a big job

Finally, some English nouns are incorporated directly without the nominalizer, (again, to humorous effect).

105. Incorporating English nouns, without the nominalizer suffix: e\text{boss}go:wah (she is) the big boss

Some Cayuga nouns have a longer form when they are incorporated. Such nouns take an ‘increment’, often, but not always, with the shape /-\text{d}/

106. Incorporating nouns with an increment
b. q:\text{gweh} person
   -\text{qwe\text{d}-} incorporated form of ‘person’

5.1 WHAT TYPES OF VERBS CAN INCORPORATE?

Verbs whose meaning includes both ‘doers’ and ‘receivers’ can incorporate nouns that designate the ‘receivers’. For example, the verb ‘to wash’ requires both a doer (someone doing the washing) and the receiver (someone or thing being washed); any noun designating the thing being washed can be incorporated into this verb:

107. To wash

\textbf{‘receiver’ noun} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Verb ‘to wash’, with incorporated noun}

geg\text{h}sa\text{g}eh \hspace{1cm} agat\text{g}oh\text{h}so\text{h}ae
  on my face \hspace{1cm} I washed my face

knu\text{t}sa\text{g}eh \hspace{1cm} agatn\text{u}t\text{sh}o\text{h}ae
  on my teeth \hspace{1cm} I brushed my teeth (literally: I washed my teeth)

gah\text{h}da\text{g}eh \hspace{1cm} aga\text{t}ah\text{h}d\text{h}o\text{h}ae
  on my ear \hspace{1cm} I washed my ears

gahsi\text{d}a\text{g}eh \hspace{1cm} age\text{h}si\text{d}o\text{h}ae
  on my foot \hspace{1cm} I washed my feet

\textbf{no noun} \hspace{1cm} h\text{a}no\text{h}ae:
  he washed it

As shown above, some verbs, such as –\text{h}o\text{h}ae wash always require a dummy incorporated noun. If no other noun is incorporated, they need a ‘dummy’ noun; for –\text{h}o\text{h}ae wash, the dummy noun is –n–.

As discussed below, two other types of verbs often incorporate nouns. The meanings of these verbs do not include ‘doers’ or ‘receivers’.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Positional verb</th>
<th>Positional verb with incorporated noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o’gra’y</td>
<td>niga:ye’</td>
<td>o’gra’ye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>where it is lying</td>
<td>snow lying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaye’hsra’y</td>
<td>gade:hd:ha’</td>
<td>gaye’hsra:de:hd:ha’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>it’s lying spread out</td>
<td>blanket lying spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohon’a:da’y</td>
<td>ehs:ha’</td>
<td>ohon’a:da’si:ha’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potato</td>
<td>she is standing</td>
<td>potatoes standing in a group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ohy’a’ ‘fruit, berries’.)

109. Adjectival verbs that incorporate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb plus noun</th>
<th>Adjectival verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohyaja:wage:</td>
<td>oga’oh</td>
<td>tart, sour fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohyaga’oh</td>
<td>gagowan:eh</td>
<td>big fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohyowa:neh</td>
<td>niw:’uh</td>
<td>small fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyohyu:’uh</td>
<td>gani:yoh:ta’</td>
<td>hanging fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahyaniy’o:ta’</td>
<td>gahoj:h</td>
<td>dark fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohy:ja:jih</td>
<td>otgeh</td>
<td>spoiled, rotten fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohy:aih</td>
<td></td>
<td>ripe fruit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

a. agogglesdi:yo: nice person
b. gaihodeshi:yo: nice work
c. 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:weh I am swimming
saeyo’ she returned
nqothse? you came from there
ha’gage: I stopped by there
agi? 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. ha’dë:yo: many different things
b. ts’a’dë:yo: an equal number of things
c. ni:yo: a certain number of things; do: ni:yo: 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: dega’ahdra:ge: two baskets
b. ni-pronominal prefix-noun-age: a certain number; niga’ahdra:ge: a number or amount of baskets
c. numeral ni-pronominal prefix-noun -age: ahsëh niga’ahdra: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-ë-hs-aqodrë? you will join two things together
b. a-t-ho-hsija:’s 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

a. ho-ˀnigo-ˀha-ˀs he understands (literally: his-mind-settles)
b. ę-hshe-ˀnigo-ˀe:k you will offend someone (literally: will-you:someone-mind-hit.punctual)
c. ę-hshe-ˀnig-o:ni-ˀ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-modal prepronominal</th>
<th>modal prepronominal (mood)</th>
<th>pronominal</th>
<th>verb+derivational suffixes</th>
<th>aspect suffixes</th>
<th>post-aspectual suffixes (tense, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cislocative, translocative, coincident, etc.</td>
<td>factual</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>optative or indefinite</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>punctual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no tense</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatrō:wih(s),</td>
<td>gatrowihsgēhęʔ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahya:gwahs</td>
<td>gahyagwahsgēhęʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>(former or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decessive suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>aga:trō:wi:,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agatrowihneʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>(remote suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gę́h:</td>
<td>gę́h:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**
    - qę̑-ęknı:nąʔ **I will buy it**

  - **Factual**
    - a- aknı:nąʔ **I bought it (a fact)**
    - aʔ- aę̑:yoʔ **she arrived (a fact)**
    - qę̑-ogı:daʔ **I slept, or I’m sleeping (a fact; said when you want to be left alone)**

  - **Optative or indefinite**
    - a- aękı:nı:nąʔ **I might / should / could / would buy it**
    - ae- aeswą:geʔ **you all might / should / could / would see it**
    - aq- aogę:egeʔ **she might / should / could / would see me**

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

a. (Ahgwih) ᡯdims‘adре:. Don’t drive over here. (note: no punctual aspect suffix)
b. Daskro:wiʔ hwe:doʔ ęsahędędiʔ. Tell me when you’re going to leave.
c. Eghayagwahse:k hę niʔ nehęgahdo:k. I'll be a fruit-picker when I grow up.
d. Ò:nę́h to:hah ęshayę:yoʔ. He's almost ready to go back.
e. Wa’jih, ę́htsyạ:đę̑. Wait, you might fall.
f. Hao’ dawksro:wih ędę̑ niʔ (ho’ ędę̑) neγa:γyeʔ. O.k., you tell me what to do!
g. Etnęʔ gę̑h / Do you want to come along with me?
h. Ehısnęʔ ęgę̑h diʔ / Are you coming along?
i. Ahgwih dę́hsyehs ohıngęa’ gyę̀gwa’ ihse: šsado:wiʔ. Don’t mix booze if you want to drive.
j. Ehısyeh. **Wake up**! or: You will wake up.
k. Ehısyo:gya’ti. **Smile**! or: You will smile.
120. Examples of what the * factual* mood prefix means

a. Ogi:da`. I slept; or: I’m sleeping (said when you want to be left alone)
b. Ögwée:ge: gi: ahsy:q. Now and again (that is, in general) you’ll be here.
c. Gwa:hs hwa` esa:gaq:. You’re willing; you’re giving permission this time.
e. Wa’hetsoq: aha:tegh. He just now got up.

121. Examples of what the * indefinite* prefix means

a. Të` ta:kní:no`. I shouldn’t, won’t buy it. (Note: no punctual suffix)
b. Të` daq toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go there. (Note: no punctual suffix)
c. To gi` shé:h ha:ge:. Just maybe I should go there. (Note: no punctual suffix)
d. Ga` ni:ga: i:se` a:se:k / Which one do you want to eat?
e. Ahi:` gi` to na:ya:weh. I just thought that’s what should happen.
f. I:wi to na:ya:weh. I want or intend for that to happen.
g. A` gyé:go` gyé:gya` a:syena:waheh. I would pick fruit if only you would help me.
h. G`atoh tsq: ta:se`te:q: / 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 *Të` ta:kní:no`. 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 *Të` ta:kní:no`. 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:geh | I see (regularly, but perhaps at irregular intervals) HABITUAL |
| ge:gehs | I see (for example, I see apple trees, orange trees,... and sometimes, I also see cherry trees) HABITUAL |
| çge:ge` | I will see PUNCTUAL |
| age:ge` | 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)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With punctual suffix</th>
<th>Without punctual suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēháyeto' he will plant</td>
<td>(të') ta:hayë:toh he won’t plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēhsaːtroːwi' you will tell</td>
<td>aḥgwih ēhsaːtroːwi'h don’t tell anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːge? I’m going</td>
<td>tē' to:da:ge' I’m not going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heːge' let me go there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daskroːwi'h ēdwe' gēh. Tell me if you’re coming along.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cut (make an incision)</th>
<th>cut, break in two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habitual -(h)reːnah</td>
<td>-(i)ya's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative -(h)reːneh</td>
<td>-(i)ya'gōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctual -(h)reːʔ</td>
<td>-(i)ya'k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No dislocative suffix</th>
<th>Dislocative suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dwakdo: let us all (inclusive) look</td>
<td>edwakdo:ha’ we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
127. Dislocative plus purposive plus punctual aspect suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dislocative suffix</th>
<th>Dislocative and purposive suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>edwakdǫhna' we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</td>
<td>edwakdǫhne' we all (incl.) are going to see it; are we all going to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-dwa-kdǫ-hna' factual-we.all-examine-dislocative-punctual</td>
<td>e-dwa-kdǫ-hn-e' factual-we.all-examine-dislocative-purposive-punctual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Some verbs of motion such as -e- go are ‘inherently’ purposive, even though they have no dislocative suffix. Examples of such verbs include: to ha'ge' I went there; kdakse' I am running; hohse' he is riding a horse; ǫkni'dre' we two are riding along in something; and gatahine' I am walking.

128. Examples of purposive forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-e' go</th>
<th>-e:3 go</th>
<th>-atɾɔnyahnę' go and tell -ahyakse' go and pick fruit</th>
<th>-atɾɔnyahnę' went and told -ahyakse' went and picked fruit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purposive habitual</td>
<td>ẹ ts'q: itse's you wander all the time: you are over there</td>
<td></td>
<td>ẹ:ge' I am here</td>
<td>ẹ:ge' I am here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i:ge's I am here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>i:ge' I am walking, moving ha'ge' I am going</td>
<td></td>
<td>gatrɔnyahnę', gahyā:kse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive past</td>
<td>to ha'ge' I went there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gatrɔnyahnę', gahyā:kse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive factual punctual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive future punctual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ête' he will come this way</td>
<td>êhsne' he will go together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to nhọ he:ge' where I am going; where I will go (definite)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive indefinite punctual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na'dǫ:dahe' he would come this way</td>
<td>a:yakne' we two would go together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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• As the above example shows, verbs in the purposive aspect can end with either [-e?] or [-e:]. Purposive verbs that end with [-e?] 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 [-e?] or [-e:] 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

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

b. Describing permanent or positive states; human subjects; with ‘agent’ pronominal prefixes (such as g-, ha-, e-, o-, etc.)

c. Describing temporary or negative states; non-human subject (‘it’); with ‘patient’ pronominal prefix (usually o-, -yo-)

d. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gadręnągá:qoh</td>
<td>it’s sweet-smelling (food odours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadręnahshá:sdeʔ</td>
<td>it’s strong-smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahojih</td>
<td>it’s dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahsha:sdeʔ</td>
<td>it’s strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahęstaʔ</td>
<td>it evaporates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga’ge:ʔ</td>
<td>it’s light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigá:dę:s</td>
<td>it’s thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá:dę:s</td>
<td>it’s thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niwá:k’ah</td>
<td>it’s small, short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagyés?ageh</td>
<td>it’s easy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahetgéh</td>
<td>evil (in mind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahhsóhọt</td>
<td>it’s coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wę:doʔ</td>
<td>it’s difficult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esróhę:</td>
<td>she’s cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaihsdowá:nę̠h</td>
<td>loud people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geji:nah</td>
<td>I’m strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gya’tgahí:ye’  I’m quick
gy’adahsnó:we’  I’m slow
hadadeji:nah  he’s brave
hawédage:  he’s weak (mentally or physically)
kné:ye:s  I’m tall
nikné:ya’  I’m short
syadghsrá:di?  you’re smart (educated)
tgénolhó:ha’  I’m a strict person

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

deyóhyojihs  it’s sour
deyótskâhôq  it’s bent
deyodohwêdsô:ni?  it lacks
deyoñâhwayânihdôh  it’s terrible
deyonôhyâ:nih  it’s terrible
deyohsdâ:te?  it’s shiny (like silver)
deyotsâ:k’dônyôgweh  it’s twisted
deyotshá’k’dq?  it’s bent
deyot’wê’no:nih  it’s round
ó:get  it’s visible
niyohá:k’ah  it’s short
odada’qoh, oda:dâ’qoh  it’s left over
oda’grâhdôh  it’s floating
odê:ka’  it’s burning
odêha’t  it’s disgusting
odedagwaeshô?  it’s straight
odâshogweh  it’s faded
ods’qoh  it’s empty, burnt up
ode’t  it’s pitiful
ogâhê’?  it has a hole in it
ogwâ’ot  it has a lump
ogyá:nôhk  it’s strange, bizarre
ohdahit  it’s filling
ohdê’gwe’?  it’s swollen
ohdôhk  it’s scary, frightening, terrifying
ohô’dê’?  it’s soft
ohní:yqoh  it’s hard
ohsde?  it’s heavy
ohsno:we?  it’s fast
ohê:  it’s dry
o’dâihê:  it’s hot
ona’nôhsdôh  it’s cooling
onê:no?  it’s mild, warm
onéhagwaht  it’s amazing
ona’hokde?  it’s painful
onô’shesde:  it’s boring, tiring
ona’kwat  it’s irritating
ona’nawê:ch  it’s wet
ona’n:  it’s cold, cool
133. Describing temporary or negative states; human subjects; with ‘patient’ pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cayuga Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agadagá′íňde′</td>
<td>I’m healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agahgá:he′?</td>
<td>I’m jealous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agáhsć:</td>
<td>I’m fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agatganó:ni′?</td>
<td>I’m wealthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agatshenó:nih</td>
<td>I’m happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agawēdá:ge′</td>
<td>I’m weak (mentally or physically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agén′ewa:′?</td>
<td>I’m surprised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age′nyá:goh</td>
<td>I’m married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age′ji:yo′?</td>
<td>I’m crippled, lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agekč′danih</td>
<td>I’m annoyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agādētshę:</td>
<td>I’m a glutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agāhdro′ni′?</td>
<td>I’m scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agāhdro′s</td>
<td>I’m frightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agāhsché:</td>
<td>I’m slow to act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agr′isdowawę:neh</td>
<td>I’m loud, noisy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agida′oḥ</td>
<td>I was asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agidehe′, agi:deht</td>
<td>I’m poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agya′dagcę:yo′?</td>
<td>I’m physically weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agyŏ:dih</td>
<td>I’m smiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agyā′dasde′</td>
<td>I’m heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aknohokdá:nih</td>
<td>I’m sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aknohsde′</td>
<td>I’m possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aknihsgo:</td>
<td>I’m late (always)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewagegę′o:š</td>
<td>I’m raggedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewagehsgenęgacy′goḥ</td>
<td>I’m pale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewagrîno:daḥoḥ</td>
<td>I don’t agree (I’m doubtful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewagyenöhoswahat</td>
<td>I’m mischievous, nosy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:nę́ he big
eksa’go:wah she is pretty e-ksa’go:wah she-child-big (child-big = pretty)
gowa:nę́ it is big gowa:nę́ big

b. Modified descriptive verb
A past tense marker was added to the descriptive verb: eksa’gowahne:’ she used to be pretty e-ksa’gowah-ne:’ she-child-big-remote
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 factual), just like any other activity verb:
heyohé: agowanhe:’ it got much bigger a-gowa-nhe:’ factual-big-become-punctual
A ‘modalizer’ was added to the descriptive verb; as the name implies, the modalizer makes it possible to add modal prefixes such as the future:
eyeksa’gowanę́:’k she will be pretty ę-ye-ksa’gowanę́:’k future-she-child-big-modalizer-punctual

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:yohs she arrives (at the same time as) (habitual, agent prefix)
a’e:yo’ 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).
chésho:gwą:’yq: he will give us all (punctual, agent prefix)
sho:gwą: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.
7.7 NEGATION

138. Positive versus negative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Positive Verbs</th>
<th>Negative Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>gatro:wih, gatro:wihs</td>
<td>(tę?) degatro:wihs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I tell all the time; I’m a teller</em></td>
<td><em>I’m not a teller (etc.)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future punctual</td>
<td>ęga:tro:wi?</td>
<td>(tę?) ta:gatro:wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(I will tell)</em></td>
<td><em>(I won’t tell)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite punctual</td>
<td>a:ɡatro:wi?</td>
<td>(tę?) ta:gatro:wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(I should tell)</em></td>
<td><em>(I shouldn’t tell)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>aga:tro:wi:</td>
<td>(tę?) de’agatro:wi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(I am telling)</em></td>
<td><em>(I’m not telling)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.

- čhsadenyę:deʔ: you will try it
- čsadahö:doʔ: 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.)

- sadahö:doʔ: *(you)* ask!
- sade’nyę:deh *(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
- dqdahsa:waʔ 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).
Another type of command, more of a suggestion, uses an indefinite-punctual form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a:yagwa}_\text{hsa':nq}:^
 & \quad \text{we all (exclusive) should give it a name} \\
\text{q':dasahsaw}_
 & \quad \text{you should begin} \\
\text{q':taha:wi}^
 & \quad \text{he should bring something}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ahgwih}_\text{e}_\text{hsa':tro:wih}^
 & \quad \text{don’t tell anything} \\
\text{(ahgwih)}_\text{é}_\text{dihsa'}\text{drc:}.
 & \quad \text{don’t drive over there} \\
\text{ahgwih}_\text{t'o}_\text{satrnonyahsgq}:^
 & \quad \text{don’t go shooting your mouth off}
\end{align*}
\]

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 t\text{ę'} no, but it’s optional.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t\text{ę'}}_\text{taeswa'_geh} \quad \text{or t\text{ę'}:swa'_geh}^
 & \quad \text{you all shouldn’t or won’t see it} \\
\text{t\text{ę'}}_\text{ta:gtgáhtoh}^
 & \quad \text{I shouldn’t or won’t look at it} \\
\text{t\text{ę'}}_\text{ta:ge'_geh}^
 & \quad \text{I shouldn’t or won’t see it} \\
\text{t\text{ę'}}_\text{ta:kni:nq:}^
 & \quad \text{I shouldn’t or won’t buy it}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(\theta\)-role and argument). While in many languages, the \(\theta\)-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 \( \theta \)-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 \( \textit{ne} \)). 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

a. 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)


c. (Mohawk) demonstratives precede the noun that they modify in a single constituent (Baker 1996:46).

d. The Mohawk question particle ka (a cognate of Cayuga g\( \text{ë} \)) is a second-position clitic that appears after the first major constituent of the sentence (Baker 1996). (Second-position clitics are in Comp.

- 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

\[
[[\text{Specifier } [[\ldots]_X [\text{Complement}]_{Y_P}]_X]_{X_P}
\]

\[
[[\text{de} \, / \text{what} \, [\ldots]_C [\text{niihsagyea} \, / \text{you.}ight.
\]
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. ḋtkọntshi:ne²
   ḋ-t-kọ-nǎtsh-ine²
   FUT-DUAL-1S:2S-arm-lead-PUNC
   ‘I will lead you by the arm’

   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

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

- Here are some examples of Cayuga sentences:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:ga³ya:go² gyè:gwà³ a:gýyena:wa³s. I.would.pick.fruit if you.would.help.me</td>
<td>I would pick fruit if only you would help me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:ga³hyagwàhsê:k se² hê³ ni³? gyè:gwà³ a:wa³gadagaide:k. I.would.be.a.fruitpicker after.all also me if I.were.well</td>
<td>I would be a fruit picker too if I were well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:he³ni:hê³ hahjaota³. he.would.stop.himself he.smokes</td>
<td>he would stop himself from smoking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:we³t'ah agidà³qìh. pretend 1.am.sleeping</td>
<td>I’m pretending I’m asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:ye³ ji³ t'è:sh tsishé:dhjìg agahàyågo³. it.seems ji³ too.much this.morning I.picked.fruit</td>
<td>It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ađekwahâhkwa'geh ga³he³. on.top.of.the.table it.lies</td>
<td>it’s lying on top of the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:ga³tsènå:ni³ gè³ t'è:sh sà:da³gaide³. I’m.happy just that you.are.well</td>
<td>I’m happy that you are well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</strong></td>
<td><strong>English translation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agahdrọ's oneh e: ji' trehs sats: nọ:nih. I'm scared now again ji' too much you're happy</td>
<td>I'm frightened now because you're too happy again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agahs: ts'eh age: ji:yoh. I'm slow that I'm lame</td>
<td>I'm slow because I'm lame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agahyago' ts'eh na'onishọ' odahyọ:nị:. I picked fruit that while much fruit</td>
<td>I did pick fruit while it was plentiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agahyakse' eyo: he' sedehji:hah. I'm going to pick fruit tomorrow morning</td>
<td>I'm going to pick berries tomorrow morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agatshe: ni: ts'eh ahsyoh. I'm happy that you arrived</td>
<td>I'm happy you've arrived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agi'da'oh qh ts'eh na'onishọ' hohta:. I slept qh that while he spoke</td>
<td>I slept while he spoke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agwa'ngọba' shēh niyo: we' hędawaye: nẹda:. We are waiting until the time we're finished</td>
<td>We're waiting until the time we're finished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agya'dahse' dę' ni:. I'm heavy dę' me</td>
<td>I'm heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agyę' ne: desatgohe: jo:nih. I have it is you want it.</td>
<td>I have what you want.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agyọ dih degakeganhe' niga: gu' suh. I'm smiling you are looking children</td>
<td>I'm smiling because I'm looking at the children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agyọ' ngọba' go' ts'eh ọdowishẹ' gona: jih her mind is scattered that she died her friend</td>
<td>Her mind is scattered because her friend died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahadadrihwagwe: nyẹ'. he had earned it for himself</td>
<td>He had earned it for himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghwihs dihsnīghaqę'. Don't you will bother it</td>
<td>Don't bother it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghwihs ehsa: sdi: s. don't you will handle it</td>
<td>Don't disturb it; don't handle it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghwihs hęhsa' dre:. don't you will drive over there</td>
<td>Don't drive over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Aghwihs) eđhsa' dre:. don't you will drive over here</td>
<td>Don't drive over here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahi: gi' toh nẹya: węh. I thought just that it will happen</td>
<td>I thought that's what would happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsọgh gęh? more / still Q?</td>
<td>Do you want some more?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsọgh hodre: nọ:t. still he is singing</td>
<td>He's still singing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsọgh awagahyagwehẹgye'se: k gyę: gwa' ta:waknohya' go' k still i would be picking fruit if i hadn't been hurt</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsọgh e: nihs desatwẹ: jo:nih! more again you you want it</td>
<td>You still want more!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsọgh ne: ahahsowęh. still it is he is angry</td>
<td>He's still angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsōŋ ni?: agötsanq'wa:s ne' dagaihö:ni? gyotedéshö:‘qh agahyagwëhe:nö? still me my.knees.hurt the reason the.other.day i.picked.fruit</td>
<td>My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahsōŋeh ge:s agahdrö:ní:h. dark usually i.am.afraid</td>
<td>I’m (usually) afraid of the dark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aogöndöq qëge’dræhe:s i.so’i. too.much i.went.overboard a.lot</td>
<td>I ate too much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aogöndöq qëge’dræhe:s tse’h nagadëk:ö:ni’. too.much i.went.overboard that how.much i.ate</td>
<td>I ate too much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awatøhgaek ñëhsin’ageh. it.stiffened.up on.my.leg</td>
<td>my leg did stiffen up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awe’ hëgyeh tsö:</td>
<td>Let it go! (it’s just not worth bothering.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egahyagwëhe:s:k hëpl ni’ nëh ëghadö:k. i’l:pick.fruit also me when i.grow.up</td>
<td>I’ll be a fruit picker when I grow up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êgenëh’:’ knegeha’. i.will.quit i.drink</td>
<td>I’ll quit drinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êgö:yo’ ehyadøhkwa’. i.will.give.it.to.you pen</td>
<td>I will give you a pen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhso’dëhs awëhe’. you.will.arrange flowers</td>
<td>you will arrange flowers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhrs’aiwëdsotë’ ohyä’. you.will.peel.it fruit</td>
<td>you will peel the fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da: në:dah ha’gahe’ gao’ ëdëhswatrihs ñëhswadëhöshëi:yëhs.</td>
<td>Now is the time to come closer and listen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da: në:dah it.is.time at.this.time you.will.come.closer you.will.listen</td>
<td>This is where he lives, the good-looking man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da: hö:weh hö: he’dro’ ne’ haksa’go:wëh. Da: somewhere there he.lives it.is he.is.good.looking</td>
<td>Is he coming or not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahe’ gëh të’ nigë’qëh? he.is.coming Q not or</td>
<td>She knocked him off his perch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dåhöwegadagwaht. she.knocked.him.off.his.perch</td>
<td>That is also what we mean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da: në’? hni’ dwë:dëh. Da: it.is.also we.mean.something</td>
<td>And now this is what is going to happen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da: në’? onët to: niya:wëhëdre’. da: it.is.now there what.happen</td>
<td>Tell me at what time you’re going to leave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daskro:wi’ do: niyowijësdae’ ëšahë:di’. tell.me how it.is.o’clock you.will.leave</td>
<td>Tell me (who) will eat together with us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daskro:wi’ gëdö:që’ ðëdwadö:ti. tell.me together we.will.eat</td>
<td>Tell me when you’re going to leave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daskro:wi’ hëw:që’dëhë:di’. tell.me when you.will.leave</td>
<td>Tell me who’s coming to eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daskro:wi’ so’ naht daqëdeköñyahnë’. tell.me who naht someone.will.come.and.eat</td>
<td>Tell me who’s coming to eat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Sentence with word-by-word gloss** | **English translation**
---|---
Daskro:wiʔ sǫʔ naht gado:géʔ děwa:dọt: tell me who naht together we.will.eat | Tell me who is going to dine with us.
Daskro:wiʔ edwe: géʔ. tell me we.all.inclusive.will.go Q | Tell me if you’re coming along.
Daskro:wiʔ sanoh:okda:níʔ géʔ tell me you.are.sick Q | Tell me whether you’re sick.
Dęʔ hneʔ ni:yoh tęʔ de’a:go:ga’s nawę’dąʔ 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?
Dęʔ hneʔ ni:yoh tsęʔ go:ga’s nawę’dąʔ neʔ Tina? what in.fact the.reason that she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy neʔ Tina | Why does Tina like candy?
Dęʔ hneʔ i:seʔ what in.fact you.can | What do you want?
Dęʔ hneʔ ni:yoh i:seʔ what in.fact the.reason you.want | Why do you want it that way?
Dęʔ hneʔ ni:yoh shęʔ ahadone:k? what in.fact the.reason that he.removed.himself | Why did he leave?
Dęʔ hneʔ what in.fact | That’s why.
Dęʔ hiʔ ho’dęʔ hoiho’dęhsro’dęʔ what and ho’dęʔ he.works.at.a.job | What does he do?
Dęʔ ho’dęʔ eya:şoḥ neʔ sano:haʔ what ho’dęʔ she.is.called neʔ your.mother | What is the name of your mother?
Dęʔ ho’dęʔ gaeyas:şoḥnoyoʔ neʔ... what ho’dęʔ they.are.called neʔ | What are the names of your ...(female relatives)?
Dęʔ ho’dęʔ niyoh:toḥo:gyeʔ what ho’dęʔ it.is.happening | What’s happening?
Dęʔ niʔ sǫtsahtgaʔ what you you.will.give.up.something | What will you give, donate?
Dęʔ niʔ sǫ ho’dęʔ ego:yoʔ what you ho’dęʔ i.will.give.you.something | what will I give you?
Dęʔ niʔ sǫ ho’dęʔ niswa:yaoo’dę:h. what you ho’dęʔ you.are.part.of.a.clan | What is your clan? (the speaker knows you are all of the same family)
Dęʔ niʔ sǫ ho’dęʔ niswa:yaao’dę:hs. what you ho’dęʔ you.are.part.of.a.clan | What is your clan? (the speaker knows that you are from different families)
Dęʔ niʔ sǫ ho’dęʔ niyoh:toḥo: | What are you two called?
Dęʔ niʔ sa’nigpo’hęʔ what you your.kind.of.mind | What are your thoughts?
De’agowihsa:tsa’onagra:t she.had.no.breath when she.was.born | she had no breath when she was born
Dega’drehdagaha’gyeʔ tsęʔ ahėnọ:daʔ two.cars.at.a.time that they.males.put.in | they put the cars in two at a time
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dega datgį-hsohę́ː</td>
<td>They are washing each other’s face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deheṇa-daṭqhwẽ́ Gwi:deh Ed hniʔ tšėh honaːdaoʔ they.males.like.each.other Peter Ed and that they.are.friends.</td>
<td>Peter and Ed like each other because they’re friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dęʔ hneː ni:yoh tšėh toh nahsyeːʔ what in.fact the.reason that that you.do.it</td>
<td>Why in fact did you do that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dękde:niʔ tšėh niwaɡrihoːɗęː i.will.change that the.way.I.think</td>
<td>I’m going to change my outlook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewagegaʔhs to haːgeːʔ i.am.unwilling there i.would.go.there</td>
<td>I’m unwilling to go there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewahõhdeː:s n̕ ogesyaʔoːɗęː.deer i’m.part.of.a.clan</td>
<td>I’m Deer clan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: di’ n̕ ýonisoniheʔ what.amount then it.will.take.some.time</td>
<td>How long will it take (then)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: gwa’ n̕ aʔn̕ onihsheʔ what.amount gwa’ it.took.some.time</td>
<td>How long did it take?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: gwa’ n̕ ýonisoniheʔ what.amount gwa’ it.will.take.some.time</td>
<td>How long will it take then?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: iːʔ what.amount me</td>
<td>Let me!; How about me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do: n̕ wa’s what.amount it.is.a.certain.size</td>
<td>how big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: n̕ ihihsnoːʔ what.amount you.singular.come.from.a.certain.place</td>
<td>How old are you (singular)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do: n̕ iwaːɡ what.amount an.amount.of.people</td>
<td>how many people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: nitga:de’? what.amount a.certain.height</td>
<td>How high?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do: niyaːɡa’ what.amount she.is.a.certain.size</td>
<td>how big is it / she?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do: niyo what.amount it.is.a.certain.amount</td>
<td>how many, how much?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: niyωihsdq’eʔ? what.amount it.is.o’clock</td>
<td>what time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do:ɡešs di’ ɡeʔ true then Q?</td>
<td>Is that true (then)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do:ɡešs ɡeʔ true Q?</td>
<td>Is that the case? Is that true?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do: gwa’ what.amount gwa’</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do: gwa’ ni:y̕ oː ʂaɡaːɗę’ what.amount gwa’ it.is.a.certain.amount it.will.cost.you</td>
<td>It is going to cost you a certain amount.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D̕ odaheʔ ɡeʔ he.will.come.back Q</td>
<td>Is he coming back?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ė: na’ganghsa:dih ita:t.</td>
<td>again the other side he stands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėdwe? ̲ ˀ gęh?</td>
<td>Are you coming along with us?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we.all.inclusive.will.go Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėgatronyahnee:k ni?:</td>
<td>I’ll be the teller (that is, I’ll go around and announce something).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.go.around.and.tell me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes weł nę’ then you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėhę’ ge’h?</td>
<td>Is that right?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėhę’ se’.</td>
<td>It is so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes it.is.so</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehna’tsi:yō:.</td>
<td>She has a nice behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she.has.a.nice.bum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehseganya’k ̲ ˀ ̨ ̲ ȩskeyahtga?.</td>
<td>you will pay (me) before I let her go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.will.pay i.will.release.her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėhsne’ ge’h di?</td>
<td>Are you coming along?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will.you.come Q then</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enqohe’s ̲ ˀ qe‘?</td>
<td>She likes it... (doesn’t she?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she.likes.it AFFIRM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enqohe’s ge’h?</td>
<td>Does she like it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she.likes.it Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėsgohe:wi? to ge’h ne: ḥęye?:</td>
<td>I will tell you if she’s going.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.will.tell.you there Q it.is she.will.go.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėshe’ ge’h?</td>
<td>Are you going to come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.will.come Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėtne’ ge’h?</td>
<td>Do you want to come along with me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we.two.will.come Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga’to:hah todahsdoh.</td>
<td>He’s hiding somewhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somewhere he.hides.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga’toh tsō: ta:se:tse’i:.</td>
<td>Nowhere only will you find it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somewhere just you.might.not.find.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga’tohah tsō: ̲ ˀ ̨ ̲ ēse:tsaq’.</td>
<td>You will find it someplace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somewhere just you.will.find.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gado:ge: sgeh ho’dę’ ̲ ˀ ̨ ̲ a’ogwayọdahk.</td>
<td>A certain something brought us together (that is, a meeting).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>together that ho’dę’ we.all.came.together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gę’ di’ nhō:weh heha:we:nō?:</td>
<td>Where then has he gone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which then place he.has.gone.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gę’ di’ nhō:weh ihswe’s o:nę’h?</td>
<td>Where then are you now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which then place you.are.now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gę’ di’ nhō:weh niha:we:nō?:</td>
<td>Where then did he go?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which then place he.went.someplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gę’ di’ nhō:weh nihswe’s o:nę’h?</td>
<td>Where then are you now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which then place you.are.someplace now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gę’ hwa’ nhō hejisaiho’dē’?</td>
<td>Where do you work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which hwa’ place you.work.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gąę nho nødi:se:nq:?</td>
<td>Where are you from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which place you.come.from.someplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gąę nho tsi’draq?</td>
<td>Where do you live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which place you.dwell.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaę ni:ga:</td>
<td>which one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which it.contains.something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaę ni:ga: i:se’ a:se:k?</td>
<td>Which one do you want to eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which it.contains.something you.want you.might.eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaę niye:ya’darq:?</td>
<td>Which person?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaę niyo:weh heha:we:nq:</td>
<td>How far has he gone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which it.is.a.certain.distance he.has.gone.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaę nødahse:’j</td>
<td>Where do you come from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which you.come.from.someplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaę niyo:’(weh)</td>
<td>How far?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which it.is.a.certain.distance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaegowa:ne’s deqadènødrq?</td>
<td>the sisters are big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they.females.are.big they.are.sisters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaę gwa’ nø:qo(weh) towa’nigöha:’</td>
<td>She waits for him somewhere around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which gwa’ place she.waits.for.him.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gahya:gwahs jinoq:dahk.</td>
<td>I’m picking strawberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’m.picking.fruit strawberries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gakeyaddle’sho’qo deqadènøkwa:qo.</td>
<td>I will recognize them as my grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they.are.my.grandchildren i.will.love.them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gao’ nawahtgeh ts’aqödrj:yo’.</td>
<td>The time before, they fought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.time before while.they.fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gao’ nødahse:’j</td>
<td>Come this way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.place you.will.come.someplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gao’ shę niyo:(we’)</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.place that it.is.a.certain.distance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gao’ tse nyo:’to: nëya:weh.</td>
<td>before that happens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this.time that it.is.a.certain.amount that something.will.happen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayogo:’nöł gę’ ni:’s nahsy’a’dodq:’?</td>
<td>Are you Cayuga?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayuga Q you your.kind.of.body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayogo:’nöł ni:’?</td>
<td>I’m Cayuga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayuga me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi’ ge:s trehs sheno:we’?</td>
<td>Because you’re a liar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just usually too.much you.are.a.liar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi’ trehs aqoqodqoh.</td>
<td>It’s beyond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just too.much it.is.overboard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go:ga’s gęh naw’e’da’ ne’ Tina?</td>
<td>Does Tina like candy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy ne’ Tina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōdagye’ desahdö:di.</td>
<td>leave right away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right.away leave.here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gədagye’ etsahdeo?:di’.</td>
<td>You will leave right away!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right.away you.will.leave.here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gəgwedase?: ni?:</td>
<td>I’m a young person (said jokingly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’m.a.young.person me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gəgwehọ:weh ni?:</td>
<td>I’m Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’m.a.real.person me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gowędagę: ne?: tsọ niyesęda’.</td>
<td>She’s a wimp because she’s just a small person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she’s.wimpy it.is just she’s.tiny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaḥs hwa’ esagagę:</td>
<td>You’re willing / giving permission this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifier next you.are.willing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaḥs q:weh a:yę’ tę’ deshọ:toq:de’.</td>
<td>It really seems like he doesn’t (want to) hear; he has selective hearing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifier really it.seems not he.doesn’t.hear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaḥs q:weh tsa’họ:ya’t honi’qh.</td>
<td>He can’t help himself, he’s really really stingy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifier really he.can’t.help.himself he’s.stingy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaḥs wa’he tshọ: to: na’a:weḥ.</td>
<td>That just happened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifier that.time just there it.has.happened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwe: a:yę’ sanọhyagęh.</td>
<td>Well, it looks like you’re hurt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well it.seems you’re.hurt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwe:, oδe’dreḥdagade’?</td>
<td>Were there a lot of cars?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well, there.were.many.cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwi:deh ahe’ Tina go:ga’s nawę’dą’.</td>
<td>Peter said that Tina likes candy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.said Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter they.males.knowe.each.other he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter they.males.know each other man he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwi:deh dehẹndagaqę:di: howanawędąga’s.</td>
<td>The man that Peter knows likes candy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter they.males.know each other man he.likes.the.taste.of.candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.said candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it Tina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.likes.the.taste.of.it Ed his.candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwi:deh ho:ga’s howanawę’dą’a’.</td>
<td>Peter likes his candy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.likes.the.taste.of.it his.candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwi:deh honọhdọ’ (dę’ ho’dę’) só’ naht só’ gaęŋọhwę’s.</td>
<td>Peter knows who likes what.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.knows what ho’dę’ who naht who they.like.the.taste.of.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwi:deh honọhdọ’ dę’ho’dę’ gaęŋọhwę’s.</td>
<td>Peter knows what they like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter he.knows what ho’dę’ they.like.the.taste.of.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Gwí:deh ħonqhdɔ' gęh (dɛho'de') sọ' naht sọ' gäenqwe'’s?  
Peter he.knows Q what ho'de' who naht who they.like.the.taste.of.it | Does Peter know who likes what? |
| Gwí:deh ħonqhdɔ' gęh sọ' ɔh naht gowanawɛ’daga’’s?  
Peter he.knows Q who SPECULATE naht someone.likes.the.taste.of.candy | Does Peter know who likes candy? |
| Gwí:deh ħonqhdɔ' gęh tsęh go:ga’s nawɛ’da’ ne'?  
Tina?  
Peter he.knows Q that she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy ne'? Tina | Does Peter know that Tina likes candy? |
| Gwí:deh ħonqhdɔ’ tsęh Tina nawɛ’da’ go:ga’s.  
Peter he.knows that Tina candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it | Peter knows that Tina likes candy. |
Peter he.likes.him he.is.a.friend, his.friend | Peter likes his friend. |
Peter he.knows.him man he.likes.the.taste.of.it candy | The man that Peter knows likes candy. |
| Gye:ɡwa’ ahagwe:nir?  
if he.could.do.it | Maybe if he could do it, if he is able? |
| Gye:ɡwa’ ahogaq’  
if he.would.be.willing | Maybe if he would agree, if he’s willing? |
| Gye:ɡwa’ o:nəh ahaqde’di’?  
if now he.would.leave | What if he should leave now? |
| Ha’wə:tsa’? ə’o:de:k.  
it.went.down.to.nothing it.burned | it burned down to nothing |
| Hahnə’tsi:yo:.  
he.has.a.nice.bum | He has a nice behind |
| Hao’ dahskro:wih dɛ’ ni?: (ho’de’) nęgə:gye?:.  
o.k. tell.me what me ho’de’ i.will.do.something | O.k., you tell me what to do! |
| Hao’ dahskro:wih dɛ’ ni?: nęgə:gye?:.  
o.k. tell.me what me i.will.do.something | Tell me what to do. |
| Hɛ:ɡe:’?  
Let me go there (asking permission) | |
| Hɛ’ hne:’?  
too in.fact | also |
| Hegye’h gি’?  
it.doesn’t.matter just | just leave well enough alone! |
| Hehshe:da:ge:’ e?:.  
he’s.lying.over.there again | He’s lying over there again! |
| Hętsę:’ tsęh hə:hesa:ɡwəh.  
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 |  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Högwe’di:yo: geh? he.is.a.nice.person Q</td>
<td>Is he a nice person?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Högweh geh agögweh nige’qoh Dan eya:sogh? man Q woman or Dan someone.is.named</td>
<td>Was it a man or a woman whose name is Dan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Högweh geh agögweh nige’qoh? man Q women or</td>
<td>Was it a man or a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohs: nê tso: gwa toh nihahn:ye:s. he’.fat it.is just intensifier there he.is.short</td>
<td>He’s stout and he’s also short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohs: tsa’onihse’nögwe’dase: he.is.fat during.the.time he.was.young</td>
<td>while he was young, he was fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoiho’di:s’ri:yo: ne?: man Q woman or Dan someone.is.named</td>
<td>Was it a man or a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohs: tsa’nö: gwa toh nihahn:ye:s. he’.fat it.is</td>
<td>He’s stout and he’s also short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hii: hii: naney: nga: nga: he’.fat during.the.time he.was.young</td>
<td>while he was young, he was fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho:hi:de sos’ri:yo: gi: ne?: he’.fat during.the.time he.was.young</td>
<td>Was it a man or a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hii: hii: naney: nga: nga: he’.fat during.the.time he.was.young</td>
<td>He’s stout and he’s also short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hii: hii: naney: nga: nga: he’.fat during.the.time he.was.young</td>
<td>while he was young, he was fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honahs: he’. ne?: dehenad qwar: he’. fat also ne?: they.males.are.fat also ne?: they.males.are.brothers</td>
<td>Your brothers are also fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ di’ geh Gwi:deh dë’ ni:yocht së’të’h na:wë’da’ go:ga’s ne Tina. he.knows so Q Peter what the.reason that candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne?: Tina</td>
<td>Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ di’ geh Gwi:deh dë’ ni:yocht së’të’h na:wë’da’ go:ga’s ne’ Tina he.knows so Q Peter what the.reason that Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.candy</td>
<td>Does Peter know why Tina likes candy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ di’ geh Gwi:deh dë’ ho’dë’ Tina enö:hi:’s? he.knows so Q Peter what ho’dë’ Tina she.likes.it</td>
<td>Does Peter know what Tina likes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ di’ geh Gwi:deh tsë’të’h na:wë’da’ go:ga’s ne’ Tina he.knows so Q Peter that candy she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne’ Tina</td>
<td>Does Peter know that Tina likes candy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ geh Gwi:deh tsë’të’h go:ga’s na:wë’da’ ne’ Tina he.knows Q Peter that she.likes.the.taste.of.it ne’ Tina</td>
<td>Does Peter know that Tina likes candy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ Gwi:deh dë’ ho’dë’ Tina enö:hi:’s. he.knows Peter what ho’dë’ Tina she.likes.it</td>
<td>Peter knows what Tina likes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ Gwi:deh dë’ ho’dë’ Tina go:ga’s he.knows Peter what ho’dë’ Tina she.likes.the.taste.of.it</td>
<td>Peter knows what Tina likes (to eat).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honhödo’ Gwi:deh so’oh naht gowana:wë’da’go:ga’s he.knows Peter who SPECULATE naht someone.likes.the.taste.of.candy</td>
<td>Peter knows who likes candy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotg’oh asy’! for.heaven’s.sake you.have.arrived</td>
<td>For heaven’s sake, you got here! What the... you made it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>English translation</strong></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwadín̩hwe's hëno:gweh. she.likes.them men</td>
<td>She likes men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwë:doh</td>
<td>ever, when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwë:doh di' e:j:yô? when then she.will.arrive</td>
<td>When then is she going to arrive?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwë:doh di' e:j:yô?</td>
<td>When then is she going to return?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwë:doh eyoh:di' when she.will.leave</td>
<td>When is she going away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwë:doh ne'? to nêya:wêh? when it.is that something.will.happen</td>
<td>When is that going to happen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwë:doh ne'? to nêya:wêh?</td>
<td>When is that going to happen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwëd̩gwa' to niyawê'oh. when intensifier that something.happened</td>
<td>It happened sometime in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwëd̩gwa' to niyawê:dhê'. when intensifier something.is.going.to.happen</td>
<td>Sometimes it’s going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: gëh e: sgwarto:wi? me Q again you.tell.me</td>
<td>Are you talking about me again? (joking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: gëh sgi:doh? mme Q you.mean.me</td>
<td>Do you mean me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: gëh sgwarto:wi? mme Q you.tell.me</td>
<td>Are you talking about me?  (a little bit paranoid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: tsegowa:nêh. me i'm.the.oldest</td>
<td>I’m the oldest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:hs gyê' hne: toh nahsyê':. you that.one and that you.did.something</td>
<td>Are you the one that did it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:hs gyê' hne: tsq: e' toh nahsyê':. yyou that.one and just again that you.did.something</td>
<td>You’re the only one that did that again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:hs gyê' hne': you that.one and</td>
<td>That’s you!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:nh gi'dra'. it.is.far i.live</td>
<td>I live far away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:nh tgasgwi'dra'. it.is.far this.prune.lies.there</td>
<td>Far away this Old Prune lives / sits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:s di' gëh hne:? you so Q and</td>
<td>How about you then?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:s gëh hne:? you Q and</td>
<td>How about you? Was that you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:so' agidahsgëh:ge:s. much i.used.to.sleep usually</td>
<td>I used to sleep a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:so' degadènoñnoñyôh. much I.am.thankful</td>
<td>I am very thankful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:so' ga'dreh'dashq:ôh ho:yê' qtgahi'dahkwa'. many cars he.owns toy</td>
<td>He has many toy cars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:so' gohwihsdaq'. Onehagwaht gi'. much she.has.money it’s.amazing just</td>
<td>She has a lot of money; it’s amazing how much!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:wa:k'ah đədahotrihsdəhogyeʔ.</td>
<td>He’s getting nearer and nearer again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near he’s.getting.nearer.again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:wi to na:ya:wēh.</td>
<td>I want, intend that to happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.want that something.might.happen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihse: gęh to: ne: dwa:yeʔ?</td>
<td>Do you think we should do it that way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.think Q that it.is we.all.do.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ji ge:s trehs jahsę: tseh nisinhę:ye:s.</td>
<td>You’re too fat for your height.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an.amount usually too.much you.two.are.fat that you.two.have.a.certain.height</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ji'ı ge:s trehs shenə:wę:</td>
<td>You lie too much; you’re too much of a liar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an.amount usually too.much you’re.a.liar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jidwahshe:t eʔ.</td>
<td>let’s count again! (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let.us.all.count.again again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jidwahshe:t gi'ı gyeʔ eʔ.</td>
<td>let’s count it again then!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let’s.all.count.again just again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihso:dahk gahya:gwahs.</td>
<td>I’m picking strawberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strawberries i.am.picking.fruit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke'nigọhaʔ owi:yaʔ.</td>
<td>I’m watching a baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.watch.someone baby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knigọhaʔ' ęye:yọʔ.</td>
<td>I’m expecting her to arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.expect she.will.arrive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knigọhaʔ' tseh ho:weh degatahahk.</td>
<td>I watch where I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.watch that place i.will.walk.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knigọhaʔ' tseh niyoht degatahahk.</td>
<td>I watch how I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.watch that the.way i.will.walk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knọhwe's gę:s tsịgoggle'da:seʔ tiga:goh gę:s agahyagwehgye'sgęhęʔ?</td>
<td>When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.like usually while.i.am.a.young.person here.and.there usually i.used.to.pick.fruit.here.and.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ?</td>
<td>that is, it is so, it is that, because, what it is that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ? da: gaihọ:niʔ</td>
<td>the reason why, because, because of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is now the.reason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ? diʔ gęhʔ?</td>
<td>Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is so Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ? gaihọ:nih.</td>
<td>That’s what makes it that way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is the.reason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is usually i.say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ? gìʔ</td>
<td>that is...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is just</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ? giʔ e:doh.</td>
<td>That’s what she means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is just she.means.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is just i.mean.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: gi? gyę?: it.is just that.one</td>
<td>Just because.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: gi? hę:doh. it.is just he.means.it</td>
<td>That’s what he means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: go:weh. it.is she.owns.it</td>
<td>That’s hers. (a little more definite than Nefj hnefj gjFWvH.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: gwa:hs gahwajiyagwani:yo. it.is intensifier the.main.family</td>
<td>It’s the main (that is, matrilineal) family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: he:ge; agyohsętoh. it.is just that she.cried</td>
<td>All she did was cry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hę' hne:' ho:weh nę:gyeh. it.is also in fact he.owns.it this.one</td>
<td>This is also his.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hne: go:weh. it.is in fact she.owns.it</td>
<td>That’s hers in fact.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne: ho:ni? it.is the.reason</td>
<td>that is why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hę:ni? to: ni:yoht. it.is the.reason that it.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td>That’s why it’s that way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: nęh dwahęgyołḥ. it.is now i.arrive.there</td>
<td>When I get there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: ni:s? it.is you</td>
<td>How about you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: ęh ne' o:nęh ha'gahe: edwa:diho'da:t. it.is SPECULATE ne' now the.time.has.come we.all.work</td>
<td>And it is now time for us to work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne: tsq: it.is only</td>
<td>but (it is only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: tsq: dehoya'dohdoh. it.is only he.is.thinking.about.it</td>
<td>That’s just what he’s thinking about (he’s preoccupied.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nę: tsq: niwatona'da'. it.is only it.is.a.small.potato</td>
<td>It’s a small, puny potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nę: gyę?: gi:doh. it.is that.one i.mean.it</td>
<td>That is what I mean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nę: gyę?: ne' to:gyęh. it.is that.one ne' that.one.there</td>
<td>That is the one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hę' hne: gąqwe'da'. it.is also in fact her.people</td>
<td>Also in fact that is her family, one of her people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hne: ne' gaihwagwę:ni:yο. it.is in fact ne' it.is.the.main.thing</td>
<td>That in fact is the main thing, the main item.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hwa' eyotshenę:ni?: it.is this.time she.will.be.happy</td>
<td>This time she will be happy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: hwa' gi:doh. it.is this.time i.mean.it</td>
<td>I mean that this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: ęh. it.is SPECULATE</td>
<td>That, I guess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne: tsq: hęway'ada':s. it.is just she.leans.on.him</td>
<td>He’s the only one she depends on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nę:dah</td>
<td>Here, take this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęː toh gwai ʰeːdɾoʔ Allan.</td>
<td>Allan lives on this side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is here that.side he.dwells Allan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęː tsq: niyo: hohwihsdaqː.</td>
<td>Right now he has very little money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it.is 'ist only a.certain.amount he.has.money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęʔ aqʰeːʔa tahnásəwːnəʔ.</td>
<td>He has the biggest ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ it.alone he.has.the.biggest.bum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęʔ diʔ niːʔ?</td>
<td>How about you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right.here so you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ giʔ shēh hwaʔ eːdoh.</td>
<td>Maybe that’s the one she means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ just that this.one she.means.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ gwaʔ toh giːdoh.</td>
<td>I also mean that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ intensifier that i.mean.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ gyaqʰeːʔeː ɡyonoʔ shehsdcː.</td>
<td>the most sickening, tiring, aggravating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ it.alone it.is.the.most.tiring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęʔ neː iːs.  Dęː niːs ho’dəʔ nisənig ho’dəʔ?</td>
<td>How about you? What are your thoughts?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right.here it.is you what you ho’dəʔ your.kind.of.thoughts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ qːweh gaqːeːʔoːhk.</td>
<td>They’re really related.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ really they.are-relatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ giʔ ɛːʔ eː toh theʔs.</td>
<td>He’s here again!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ just AFFIRM again that he.is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ giʔ gyqː asːiʔ.</td>
<td>That’s just what you said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ just that.one you.said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ giʔ gyqː gaqːdoh.</td>
<td>That’s just what the women say.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nneʔ just that.one they.females.say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ giʔ gyqː hanaːdoh.</td>
<td>That’s just what the men say.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ just that.one they.males.say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ gwaʔ toh haːhɔwadihaːʔ.</td>
<td>They also took him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ_gwaʔ that they.took.him.over.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ seʔ hɔwːeːdoh.</td>
<td>He’s the one she means.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ just.so she.means.him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ to neːʔ shagohsganeːːs.</td>
<td>She is the one he desires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ that it.is she.desires.him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ to neːʔ, ʔeʔ to neːʔ tegaːyeiːʔ.</td>
<td>That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nneʔ that it.is not that it.is it’s.not.right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęʔ when</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęʔ toh hɛdwaːyoʔ neʔ:dah nɛdwaːyeʔ.</td>
<td>When we arrive there, we will do it this way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when that.one we.all.arrive.there this.one we.will.do.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nęʔ neː iːs.  Dęː nis ho’dəʔ nisənig ho’dəʔ?</td>
<td>How about you? What are your thoughts?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right.here it.is you what you ho’dəʔ you.have.a.certain.kind.of.mind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ to gyqːʔa hɔˈhɔyːdəʔawːeːh.</td>
<td>That’s what happened to him over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neʔ that that.one it.happened.to.him.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne′ toh ni:yǫ:</td>
<td>that many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne′ toh ni:yǫ: ho:yǫ?.</td>
<td>That’s how many he has.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne′ toh ni:yǫ: ho:yǫ. ne′ that.a.certain.amount he.owns.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neyãgon̄sowanan̄ę:ę:</td>
<td>She will have big houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nige′oḥ</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O: gę?</td>
<td>Said when really questioning someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: h Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O: tę′ oḥ gi′, gatgi′shę̄ ne′: hwa′ oh not SPECULATE just maybe it is this time</td>
<td>Maybe I will, maybe I won’t (i.e. come along)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O: tę′ oḥ, gatgi′shę̄ gye′:gwa′. oh not SPECULATE maybe if</td>
<td>Maybe, maybe not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ gwa′ edawayę̄nęda′. now this.time we.all.have.finished</td>
<td>We’re finished already.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:nę̄ now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ e′i:s toh ha′segohe′:k. now again you that you.hit.over.there</td>
<td>You’re getting into someone else’s fight again, butting in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ gi′ ēgoye′:ę̄ setwahso′oḥ. nnow just i.will.kick.your.bones</td>
<td>I’m (just) now going to kick you around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ gi′ ha′:gahe′: ę̄ şeštroyo′na′. nnow just it.is.time you.will.take.him.back</td>
<td>It is time for you to take him back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ gi′ hodehronih̄s′oḥ. nnow just he.is.ready</td>
<td>He is ready now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ to:hah ēsha′:yo′. now almost he.will.go.back</td>
<td>He’s almost ready to go back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:nę̄ to:hah to′ heshe′:i. now almost there he.wil.go.over.there.again</td>
<td>He’s almost ready to return (there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O:ya′ nę̄hsadagyę′: other you.will.do.yourself</td>
<td>you will make yourself different (i.e. disguise yourself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oğwę́he′:gę′ ge′:s ahsyo′. nnow.and.again usually you.have.arrived</td>
<td>Now and again (that is, in general) you’ll be here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oḥ, gę′ oḥ SPECULATE Q SPECULATE</td>
<td>I guess, I wonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohsę̄: so:wa′s satshe′:nę′. it.is.fat dog your.pet</td>
<td>Your dog is fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohsga′n̄hti tę̄h nihahnatsi′yo′. it.is.attractive that he.has.a.nice.bum</td>
<td>he has an attractive behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohsga′n̄hti tę̄h niyehnatsi′yo′. it.is.attractive that she.has.a.nice.bum</td>
<td>she has an attractive behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onę̄ e′ agri′:sdowa′nę′. now again i′m.nosy</td>
<td>I’m loud, noisy again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onę̄ e′: toh hadaditsgō′t. now again there he.is.seting.himself</td>
<td>Now again he has himself sitting there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onę̄ di′ to:hah hegahe′: ę̄ şešwenhę′:′. now so almost it.will.be.time we.all.will.quit</td>
<td>Now it is almost time for us to quit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni? ge? oh.</td>
<td>I wonder if you’re sick!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.sick Q SPECULATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni? ge? di?</td>
<td>Are you sick?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.sick Q so</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni? gi? ge?</td>
<td>Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.sick then Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni? te? ngie’oh?</td>
<td>Are you sick or not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.sick not or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni? te? ngie’q?</td>
<td>Are you sick or not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanohonkd:ni?</td>
<td>Are you sick?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.sick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satshe:ne’ so:wa:s ohse:</td>
<td>Your dog is fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your.pet dog it.is.fat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekdo: se:hi niyo:go:ro’de:.</td>
<td>taste it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>try.it that what.kind.of.taste.it.has</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgats’o’ etsahshe:t</td>
<td>count by ones, one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ones you.will.count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgeno:. De’ ho’de’ nisagyéha’?</td>
<td>Hi. What are you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi what ho’de’ you.are.doing.something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgeno:jih geh?</td>
<td>Are you well?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.well Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgeno:sho’? oh satahi:ne’</td>
<td>amble along slowly!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slowly you.walk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se:hi niyo:yade:</td>
<td>how deep it is (the hole)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that it.is.a.certain.depth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se:hi ni:was</td>
<td>how big they are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that it.is.a.certain.size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shéh niyo:weh tana:gre’.</td>
<td>How far he is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that it.is.a.certain.distance he.lives.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shéh niyo:weh tganadaq’.</td>
<td>How far the town is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that it.is.a.certain.distance town.lying.there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se:hi, tse:</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shéh nhóweh hehehta’ oné’dagóshq’, age’.</td>
<td>Where he goes, under the pines it’s been said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that place he.goes.there under.the.pines it.is.said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shéh niyo’? (we’?)</td>
<td>how far, how much, how many, until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si: nhó:weh tgan:yo:ti saga:’dawi’tra’.</td>
<td>Your coat is hanging way over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over.there that.place it.is.hanging.there your.coat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sningo:ha’? geh?</td>
<td>Are you expecting, watching for something?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.are.expecting.something Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Só: hnc’? naht</td>
<td>who (is it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who in fact naht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Só: go:weh</td>
<td>whose (is that)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who she.owns.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Só: oh naht?</td>
<td>which person?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who SPECULATE naht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So: go:węh tọ gadrēhdase? who someone.owns.it that it.is.a.new.car</td>
<td>Who owns that new car?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sọq’ qh naht gona:tsih hōwanghwe’s (ne’) Gwi:deh. who SPECULATE naht someone’s.friend someone.likes.him ne‘ Peter</td>
<td>Whose friend likes Peter?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōdinaht gona:tsih Gwi:deh shagonhwe’s. who so naht her.friend Peter he.likes.someone</td>
<td>Whose friend does Peter like?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soq:’ah ोqyenawahs someone.someone.help.me</td>
<td>someone help me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soqwehọ:weh gęh? you.are.a.real.person Q</td>
<td>Are you Indian?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’dą da:hōwayenawa’s not emphatic they.would.help.him</td>
<td>(Definitely not); no one will help him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’dą toh ta:ge: not emphatic there i.wouldn’t.go.there</td>
<td>No, I will definitely not go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’dewagada’gaide’. not i.am.not.we.</td>
<td>No, I’m not well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ ga’toh de’ga:yę’ not anywhere it’s.not.lying</td>
<td>It’s not laying anywhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ ga’toh. Tę’ gi’ dehe:ęę: not anywhere not just i.didn’t.see.him</td>
<td>Nowhere. I didn’t see him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gi’ shēl. not just that</td>
<td>Maybe not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gęh dehse: to: ne’ dwa:yę?’ not Q you.don’t.think that it.is.we.all.do</td>
<td>Don’t you think we should do that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gęh dehsho:yọ?: not Q he.didn’t.return</td>
<td>Did he not come home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gęh desho:yọ?:</td>
<td>Did he not come home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gęh ne’ desa:węh? not Q ne’ it.isn’t.yours</td>
<td>Isn’t that yours?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gęh? not Q</td>
<td>Isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gi’ gwa’ dewagada’gaide’. not just gwa’ i’m.not.well</td>
<td>I’m just not feeling well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gi’ shēl hwa’. not just that next</td>
<td>Maybe not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ gwahs q:weh ोgwweh deęę: not intensifier really person it.is.not</td>
<td>No, you’re not really human.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ hęe’? dehojįtwęh. not in.fact he.didn’t.plant</td>
<td>No, in fact he did not plant. (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ hęe’? hwa’ to ta:yę:węh. not in.fact next that it.won’t.happen</td>
<td>No, that’ll never really happen this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ hwę; doh to ta:gyę’. not when that i.won’t.do.it</td>
<td>I would never do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tę’ hwę; doh to tọ: ęsha:gyę’. not when that that one he.will.do.again</td>
<td>No, he’ll never do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not when that one you.will.live.again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ ne:? dege:.</td>
<td>It’s not the one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not it.is it.is.not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ ni: toh ta:ge?:.</td>
<td>No, I’m not going there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not me that i.won’t.go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ ni: ta:gye:na:.</td>
<td>I refuse to accept it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not me i.won’t.accept.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ sga:ho’dë’ desenöhdqö’.</td>
<td>No, you don’t know nothing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not anything you.don’t.know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ tô ne:? dedo:gehs.</td>
<td>No, it’s not really true.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not that.one it.is it.isn’t true</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ tôdesa’dre: to:gye:h!</td>
<td>Don’t (or you won’t) drive that over here!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not you.won’t.drive over here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ toh dega:?.</td>
<td>It’s not setting there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not there it.isn’t.seting.up.on.top.of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ toh ta:ge:.;</td>
<td>No, I will not go (there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not there i.won’t.go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ toh te’ga:he:?.</td>
<td>It’s not setting way over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not there it’s not.seting.way.over.there.on.top.of.something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tę) ta:haye:toh</td>
<td>(no,) he won’t plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not he.won’t.plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ daq: to na:yaa:wëh.</td>
<td>It will never happen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not definitely that it.would.happen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ gi’ daq: to na:yaa:wëh.</td>
<td>No, it (just) will not happen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not just definitely that it.would.happen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ gi’ daq tayagoga:.</td>
<td>No, she (just) will never agree to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not just definitely she.won’t.be.willing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ gi’ hne:? dedo:gehs de’sa:doh.</td>
<td>No, it’s not really true what you’re saying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not just in.fact it.isn’t.true.you.aren’t.saying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tęˀ gi’ ni:’ to ta:gye:.</td>
<td>No, I (just) will not do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not just me that i.won’t.do.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tgwëhe:’hahkdoës.</td>
<td>Sometimes he comes (around).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes he.appears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti:ga:ge:go’h tsö: agahyagwëhege’y’s aknöha’ a:knoñheht aga’ahdra’’.</td>
<td>I’m just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I’m unable to fill my basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here.and.there just i’m.going.along.picking.fruit i.can’t i.would.fill.up.my.basket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigua:dréhda:de’h ne:’ a:hnö:nö’.</td>
<td>He bought a different car.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>different.kind.of.car it.is he.bought.it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti:na go:ga’s naye’dä’</td>
<td>Tina likes candy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti:na she.likes.the.taste.of.it candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To qii ni:yoh.</td>
<td>I wonder if it’s like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ǫh ni:yohdqwne:. that SPECULATE it.used.to.be.a.certain.way</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gaq: ne? ni:yøht? that Q SPECULATE it.is.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td>I wonder if it’s like that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ge? ǫh ni:yøht? that Q SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td>I wonder if it’s like that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gi? shëh ha:ge:. that just that he.should.go.over.there</td>
<td>Maybe I should go there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to gi? tÅ¥ that just that</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To heqye? tÅ¥ age:ji:yø. that it.doesn’t.mater that i.am.lame</td>
<td>I’m really crippled (there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hø hayëhe?. there the.place he.puts.it.there</td>
<td>he’s always putting it there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hø: ha:gi’dø:da’k there the.place i.would.dwell.over.there</td>
<td>where I would dwell (over there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hø: ha’ge’. there the.place i.went.over.there</td>
<td>I went there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hø: he’ge’ dwagye:seh. there the.place i.will.go.over.there it’s.cheapest</td>
<td>There I will go where it’s cheap (shopping).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hø: he’ge’. there the.place i.will.go.over.there</td>
<td>There I will go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hø: sre:hah. there the.place you.put.it</td>
<td>That’s where you put it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hø:weh ha:yë there the.place he.puts.it</td>
<td>where he puts or places it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to niyo: that it.is.a.certain.amount</td>
<td>that much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To niyo:we? that it.is.a.certain.distance</td>
<td>that far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To tsq:. that just</td>
<td>That’s enough! (i.e. stop pouring); there; that much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To: geh ha’se’ shëh nho: dedwatgënyo?: there Q you.are.going.over.there that.place the.fair</td>
<td>Are you going to the fair?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To: gi? tsq: ni:yø. there just only it.is.a.certain.amount</td>
<td>That’s just all there is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To: ni:yø’ ne? heshe’s. thehere it.is.a.certain.amount it.is you.are.over.there.again</td>
<td>That’s your birthday. (lit.: that’s when you come around again.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To: ni:yø’ nę’ heha:we:noh. that it.is.a.certain.distance ne?’ he.went.over.there</td>
<td>That’s as far as he has gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To:gyëh hogwe’dase:’ah shogwahyadq:nih. this.one young.man he.writes.for.us</td>
<td>That young man does our writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tø: hwa’ gi:døh. that.one hwa’ i.mean</td>
<td>I mean that one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence with word-by-word gloss</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To' ge'-o ni:yoht. that Q SPECULATE it.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td>I wonder if it’s like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toh</td>
<td>there, that much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohgeh</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohgeh geh nhowe' toh na'a:weh? there Q place that something.happened</td>
<td>Where did it happen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toh geh ne'? that Q it.is</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toh tso: niyowe' hęsę'dro?:. that just it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.drive.over.there</td>
<td>That’s only as far as it will take you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To niyo:we' hę'we' wa'hę' hęhsyo'. that it.is.a.certain.distance you.will.be.there time you.will.arrive.there</td>
<td>You’ll get that far before you arrive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trehs</td>
<td>because, too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trehs gi? gyę'. too.much just that.one</td>
<td>My goodness!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trọghgeh tso: jọgwaiho'de'. barely only we’re.working.again</td>
<td>We’re barely working.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trọghgeh tso: ọgwahdegya'doh. barely only we.all.started.it</td>
<td>We’re just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa'onishe'</td>
<td>while, during the time that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tseq: e' ne' satro:wi:. disgust again ne' you.are.talking</td>
<td>You’re talking about that again! (Expression of disgust.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh hę:(weh) that place</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh na'onishe' that it.took.a.certain.amount.of.time</td>
<td>while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh nęya:weh that it.will.happen</td>
<td>what will happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh nigaha': ne' ekọny'a'ta'so:oh that it.holds.something it cooking.utensils</td>
<td>the kinds of things you cook with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh niyo:weh that it.is.a.certain.distance</td>
<td>how far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh niyo:weh tana:gre' that it.is.a.certain.distance he.lives.there</td>
<td>How far he is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheh niyoht that it.is.a.certain.way</td>
<td>how, in what manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shęh q:weh nito:ne:nọ:. that really they.males.come.from.there</td>
<td>Where they really come from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsigọwe'da:se' ę: gę's gahyagwahsgę':. when.i.was.a.young.person usually i.used.to.gather.berry</td>
<td>when I was a young person I usually picked berries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsigọwe'da:se' ę: gę's gahyagwahsgę':.</td>
<td>When I was a young person I usually picked berries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsihaksada:se:</td>
<td>when he was a teenager, a young kid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PHONOLOGY

**Resources:** (Benger 1984; Benger 1985; Chafe & Foster 1981; Doherty 1993; Dyck 1990; Dyck 1997; Dyck 1999c; Dyck 2009; 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Henry</th>
<th>Linguistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ts, tsy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- At the end of words, both writing systems use <t> or <k>, but not <th> or <kh>.
LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

9.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Coronal</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>&lt;n&gt; / n /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>&lt;d&gt; / t, d /</td>
<td>&lt;g&gt; / k, ɡ /</td>
<td>&lt;ʰ&gt; / ʔ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>&lt;s&gt; / s /</td>
<td>&lt;s, sh&gt; / ʃ, ʂ /</td>
<td>&lt;h&gt; / h /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>&lt;j&gt; / tj, dz, ts, dz /</td>
<td>&lt;ts&gt; / tsʰ /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>&lt;ɾ&gt; / ɾ /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

153. Vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; / i /</th>
<th>&lt;u&gt; / u (rare)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;e&gt; / e /</td>
<td>&lt;o&gt; / o /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ɛ&gt; / ɛ /</td>
<td>&lt;o&gt; / ō /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;a&gt; / a /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

154. nasalized [ã]

neʔ hwaʔ next; this (coming) time [hwãʔ]
desdaʔ stop! stand up! (often spelled as ‘desda’n’ [desdãʔ]

- Phoneticians explain that this kind of phonetic nasalization happens when the vocal tract configuration (in this case, for [ɑ]) 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))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cayuga</th>
<th>Proto-form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -atawę: haʔsátawę: you swim over there</td>
<td>PI *-atawę:- R95:37 bathe, swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -i:, -e: ihse: you want, think</td>
<td>PI *-e:ri- R95:37 believe, think</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-  

tehóh:taehne?  

*he is going along*  
yelling  

PLI *-hërəht-  

*M88:175*  
yell
(b) -hka:-  

sahka:kwáha?  

go get some wood chips!  

PLI *o-hkâ:r-a*  

*M88:176*  
chip of wood

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) i:se:k  
eat it!  
i-s-e-k  
PROTH-2SA-EPEN-eat
(b) i:ke:s  
I eat (all the time)  
i-k-e-k-s  
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 [rɛ] ends with the punctual aspect suffix [\-].

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

**imperative** | **punctual**
--- | ---
(a) sahto:  
dive!  
s-ahto:  
2SA-dive
(b) çáhto?:  
you will submerge something  
ç-sahto:-?  
FUT-2SA-dive-PUNC
c. tahsáhtshohih  
bite it!  
ta-hs-at-shohih  
CISL-2SA-SRF-bite
d. ḥešáhtshohih  
you will bite it  
ḥ-č-hs-at-shohih:-?  
TRANS-FUT-2SA-SRF-bite-PUNC
e. ithr  
place it!  
i-t-hrɛ  
PROTH-2SA-place
f. ḥethrɛ?  
you will put it back in its place  
ḥ-č-t-hrɛ:-?  
TRANS-FUT-2SA-place-PUNC

\[\textit{The accented [ā:] in this example was underlyingly long (Michelson 1988: 176).}\]
\[\textit{word-final / ks / is realized as [s] in Cayuga. See example (·) for further discussion.}\]
9.4 SYLLABIFICATION

159. Cayuga syllable template

a. \( \sigma \)

b. \( \mu \mu \)

c. \( (C_1) \) (V / L) \( (C_2) \)

- The syllable ‘\( \sigma \)’ (159.a) optionally includes an onset consonant \( (C_1) \) or a coda consonant \( (C_2) \).
- 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

| \( \epsilon \).héhs.nót.rê? \( \text{you will follow him} \) | \( \epsilon \)-héhs-hnôtrê? |
| \( \text{FUT-2S:3MS-follow.PUNC} \) | \( \text{2S:3MS-follow} \) |

Even-numbered closed penults

| hehs.nô:t.rê? \( \text{you follow him!} \) | hehs-hnôtrê? |

\( \text{FUT-2S:3MS-follow} \)
• 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.  tiʔ.ʔiʔ  blue jay
b.  oʔ.néh.ʔaʔ  sand
c.  kaʔ.kaʔ  crow; raven
d.  haʔ.hóʔ.ʔiʔ  he threw it
e.  óʔ.ʔęp  it is visible
f.  oh.aʔ.ʔaʔ  soot
g.  aʔ.o.tah.ʔohl.ʔaʔ  she washed her ears
h.  ko.yéht.ʔaʔ  alarm clock
i.  ehs.tʔaʔ  she / someone uses it
j.  ot.hěh.ʔaʔ  flour; powder

• 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.  wah.tohs  it disappears
b.  aʔ.hak.wéʔ.ʔiʔ  he was able to do it
c.  kat.kʷʔʔ.ʔaʔ  wallet, etc.
d.  ka.náhs.kʷʔʔ.ʔaʔ  tame animal, pet, domestic animal
e.  teh.ʔ.ʔnat.kʰwʔ.ʔaʔ  they (m.) dance

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).
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- /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. sóː.waː:s dog
b. ka.náhs.kʷaʔ tame animal, pet, domestic animal
c. ek.sáʔ.ah girl
d. o.noh.otʰ.ʁəʔ.ɣh beech tree
e. tʰah.kó:.wah pigeon
f. qhs.rih.wa.neʔ.ək⁵.ʁoʔ? you will swear, use profane language
g. oh.ohk.ʁaʔ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>q, u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i+i = i</td>
<td>i+e=e</td>
<td>i+V=iyV</td>
<td>i+V=iyV</td>
<td>i+V=iyV</td>
<td>i+V=iyV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e+i=e</td>
<td>e+e=q*</td>
<td>e+V=ey+V</td>
<td>e+V=ey+V</td>
<td>e+V=ey+V</td>
<td>e+V=ey+V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>a+i=q</td>
<td>a+e=e</td>
<td>a+a=a</td>
<td>a+o=ay+o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o+i=o</td>
<td>o+e=aw+e</td>
<td>o+a=o</td>
<td>o+o=a+o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q, u</td>
<td>a+q=q</td>
<td>a+q=ay+q</td>
<td>q+q=qy+q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^7\) With one exception, sonorant segments, including /w/, do not occur in codas in Cayuga. The exception is /n/ in /nr/ clusters: o.yá:n.reʔ? o-yá:n.reʔ? 3NP-good.STAT it is good.

\(^8\) The /kʰ/ in (163.b-e) is a phoneme in Cayuga; in contrast, however, [sʰ] 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 —> ę

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Coalescence of a+i —&gt; ę</th>
<th>ghe:yoḥs</th>
<th>ga-ihey-ṃhs</th>
<th>3nA-die-habit</th>
<th>it is dying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_easy:yoḥs</td>
<td>ha-ihey-ṃhs</td>
<td>3mA-die-habit</td>
<td>he is dying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehe:yoḥs</td>
<td>e-ihey-ṃhs</td>
<td>3fisA-die-habit</td>
<td>she is dying, on her deathbed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. No coalescence of a+i —> ę

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>habitual</th>
<th>ghe:yoḥs</th>
<th>g-ihey-ṃhs</th>
<th>1sA-die-habit</th>
<th>I am dying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>ṑgihe:ʔ</td>
<td>ṑ-g-ihey-ʔ</td>
<td>fut-1sA-die-punct</td>
<td>I will die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>awe:t’ʔa:ʔ agohe:yo:</td>
<td>ag-ihey-ʔ</td>
<td>1sP-die-stat</td>
<td>I’m pretending I am dead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

167. / e+e / —> [ę], 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. With / -e- / go</th>
<th>Coalescence and nasalization</th>
<th>Lack of coalescence and nasalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dòdaq̣</td>
<td>she is coming back</td>
<td>dòda:gẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dòda-(y)e-e-ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>dòda-g-e-ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñtgaq̣</td>
<td>they (f / m) will come</td>
<td>ñtẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñt-gae-e-ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ-t-h-e-ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha’q̣</td>
<td>they (f / m) are going</td>
<td>ha’sẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha’-gae-e-ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ha’-s-e-ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigaq̣s</td>
<td>they are roaming about</td>
<td>ti:wehs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-gae-e-ʔs</td>
<td></td>
<td>ti-w-e-hs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a stray animal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| i:ye:            | she wants                    | ihse:                                  |
| i-ye-e:          |                               | i-hs-e:                                |

168. Preference for no coalescence before ǫ-stems

a. ěgo:ýʔ I will give you
b. ěhswa:ýʔ, ějoʔ it will give you all, you all will give it
b. ědwa:ýʔ I / we will give you all / it; we all will arrive

9.6 R-DELETION

- 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.
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169. [r ~ n] alternations

a. kanést[aa]ʔ  ‘board’
   ka-nesta*r-aʔ
   IT-board-NSF

b. enésta[ny]a’s  ‘she is sawing a board’
   e-nesta*r-ya\ks
   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[ghó:]wih  ‘let me tell you’
   k\g-\c-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\jhw\a\ehs  he was blamed
   a-ho-(r)ihw-a\ehs
   FACT-3MP-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC

b. no r-deletion
   ag\rihwa\ehs  he was blamed
   a-ho-(r)ihw-a\ehs
   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. srakwáhtak\q:  on the ball, sole, of your (sg.) foot
   s-rakwaht-a-k\q:
   2SA-sole-JOINER-ON

b. swa:kwahtá:k\q:  on your (pl.) soles
   swa-akwaht-a-k\q:
   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\(^9\) *it is good, nice, beautiful*

- o-yanre\(^9\)
- 3NA-beautiful

*b.* onráhta’ *leaf*

- o-nraht-a\(^2\)
- PREFIX-leaf-NOUN.STEM.FORMER

*c.* onyç:ta\(^3\) *stem*

- o-nyç-t-a\(^7\)
- PREFIX-leaf-NOUN.STEM.FORMER

*d.* ohnyôhsa’ *squash; melon*

- o-hnyôhs-a\(^7\)
- 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.* ękrá:ke[:\] *I will erase, wipe*

- č-k-rakew-\(^2\)
- FUT-1SA-erase-PUNC

*b.* kraké:[w]ahs *I am erasing, wiping*

- k-rakew-ahs
- 1SA-erase-HAB

**Deletion of / n / :**

*c.* ėkhre[:\] *I will cut it*

- č-k-hren-\(^2\)
- FUT-1SA-cut-PUNC

*d.* khré:[n]ahs *I cut it all the time*

- k-hren-ahs
- 1SA-cut-HAB

**Deletion of [y]:**

*e.* ėkíhe[:\] *I will die*

- č-k-ihey-\(^2\)
- FUT-1SA-die-PUNC

*f.* hêhê:[y]qhs *he is dying*

- ha-ihey-qhs
- 3NA-die-HAB

---

\(^9\) Some [ny] clusters originated from / ry / or proto *ry clusters. (Michelson 1988)
Deletion of sonorants, even when they are not followed by glottal stop:

g. hehoihwéhe: he has taken a message h. twétehě: whitha’morning star
   (lit.: it brings the day)

he(’)-ho-(r)iwéhe: t-wétehě: wi-ht-ha’
TRANS-3MSP-message-take.STAT CISL-3NA-day-take-CAUSE-HABIT

• As shown in (174.a-e), underlying word-final / w-ˀ/ , / n-ˀ/ and / y-ˀ/ are realized as [:ˀ]. 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’] and [t’])
  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. ęha:tó:wa:t he will hunt
e-ha-towat-ˀ
FUT-3MSA-hunt-PUNC

b. í:ke:s I eat (all the time)
i-k-e-k-s
PROTH-1SA-EPEN-eat-HABIT

c. í:se:k eat it!
i-s-e-k
PROTH-2SA-EPEN-eat

d. ható:wa:s he is a hunter
ha-towat-s
3MSA-hunt-HABIT

e. sató:wa:t hunt!
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 LARYNGEAALS

• 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 / V̶ / is realized as [V̆], 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), 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 /trę/ 'odour'; for comparison, (176.b) illustrates a parallel environment where e-epenthesis is not required.

176. E-epenthesis between SRF and noun stem
a. ə.tɛ.t.rę:ná.i
   o-(a)t-trę-a-i
   3ZN-P-SRF-odour-be.stuck.to.something
   'an odour'
b. kat.rę:no.wá:nę
   ka-trę-ownę
   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, /ktǫ:/ ‘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. sɛk.tǫ:
s-ktǫ:
   2s-examine
   'examine it!'
b. tɔ′ak.tǫ:
twa-ktǫ:
   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. tekatnos̄hsnyeh
   te-k-at-nos̄-hnsye-h
   DUAL-1SA-SRF-house-JOINER-clean.up-HABIT
   ‘I am cleaning up the house’
b. ka.nόh.so:t

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-nøhs-ot
3ZNÅ-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. ḋ.ėn.yā.tªb.ò.tÅ.I.ʔ.khw.ª
   ḋ-(a)i-nyatsh-ot-a-hkhwaª
   3FIA-SRF-braid-be.standing-JOINER-INSTR
   ‘bobby pin; barrette’

b. eh.yá.tªkhw.ª
   e-hyat-hkhwaª
   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)

- 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. Awathôkaik kehsin’akeh.
   a-wa-(a)i-hôkai-k
   k-hsin-a’keh
   FACT-3ZNA-SRF-stiffen-MOD 1SA-leg-on
LIN 6050 Structure of Cayuga. Course Package.

‘My leg stiffened up’

b. ękęka:kwé:niʔ
   ę-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.\[1\]

182. Prothesis
   
   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

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\[1\] 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.
183. Unmotivated prothesis

a. ihse: you (s) want
   i-hs-e: PROTH-2SA-want STAT\(^\text{12}\)

b. ihsé:hah you (s) gloat
   i-hs-é:-hah PROTH-2SA-want STAT DIM

c. ihe: he wants
   i-h-e: PROTH-3MSA-want STAT

d. ihé:hah he thinks highly of himself; his thoughts
   i-h-é:-hah PROTH-3MSA-want STAT DIM

e. iwá:k ah (it is) near
   i-w-á:k’ah PROTH-3ZNA-be short STAT DIM

- 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).\(^\text{13}\) These suffixes are non-cohering suffixes, which have the type of structure illustrated in (184.a).\(^\text{14}\) 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.\(^\text{15}\)

184. Representation of non-cohering suffixes

a. Non-cohering suffix: \[((\text{verb stem } \text{)} \text{ (affix)})\] \(\text{wd}\)

b. Regular suffix: \[((\text{verb stem } + \text{ affix } )\] \(\text{wd}\)

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

\(\text{9.10.3} \text{ One-syllable words (particles, some kinship terms)}\)

- 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’i again, hni’ and, shë that, ne’ 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 /shë/ that; and that (b) they must be long when they are citation forms or words in isolation (as in [shë]).

186. Particles with [h]-augmentation

a. shë that

b. shëniyó:we’ 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:thɔː:tɛʔ… I heard it...
   hoʔtɛʔ… he is driving...

b. Utterance-final word, or word in isolation:
   aka:thɔː:teʔ I heard it.
   tehstaʔ 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  hayɛːth.wahs  he plants
b. even; closed by a laryngeal  akawɛːkɛh.ɛʔ  it used to be mine
c. even; open; containing [a]; TL  hotɔhswɛtɛ:nih  he is hungry
d. even; open; TL  ahɛ:kɛʔ  I saw him
e. odd; open; TL and PTL  aka:kɛh.ɛʔ  I saw them
f. odd; containing [a]  akatɔhswɛtanih  I am hungry
g. odd; closed by a consonant cluster  čhâyɛt.hoʔ  he will plant
h. odd; closed by a laryngeal  howɛkɛh.ɛʔ  it used to be his

- 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
a. Odd-numbered penult containing [a]; no antepenult
   aki? it is said
b. Odd-numbered penult closed by a laryngeal; no antepenult
   ihe: he wants
   i-h-e:
   PROTH-3MSA-want.STAT

c. 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
a. ha'tekä'enha: all kinds of songs
   ha'-te-ka-(r)än-ake:
   TRANS-DUAL-3NA-song-be.a.certain.number.of
b. ǫkyatáokohe: my former ceremonial friend
   ǫky-at-ao-këhe:?
   1IDP-SRF-friend-FORMER

c. 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 / ŋ / 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 (σ̆) followed by a laryngeal potentially undergo LM, while even-numbered syllables (σ́) do not.

191. Laryngeal Metathesis and foot structure

\[ ([σ̆ σ́)_{\text{IAMB}} (σ̆ σ́)_{\text{IAMB}} \cdots ]_{\text{CAYUGA WORD}} \]

- 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. \( a^2\text{qta\text{h}̲tqháe}^ə \)
   \( a^2-(y)q-(a)t-ahq̲t-oháe-^ ŋ \)
   FACT-3\text{FIA-ear-wash-PUNC}
   feet: \{a²,q\} \{tah.oh\} \{toh.á\}  e
   phonetic: [a².ð. t̲a.₀h.wtº.á.eʔ]
   ‘she washed her ears’

b. \( øtahq̲tôháe \)
   \( ø-(a)t-ahq̲t-ôháe \)
   3\text{FIA-SRF-ear-wash.STAT}
   feet: \{o.tah\} \{q.h.tôh\} \{a. e
   phonetic: [o.dah.₀h.dôh.a.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. ęhshéhw’aehs
\[\text{ę}-\text{hshe-(r)hw-a-’ehs}\]
FUT-2S:3S-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC
feet: {ęhshé} {w’a. ehs}
phonetic: [ęhs’héhw.əŋ.ə] ‘you will blame someone’

b. ahojhwá’ehehs
\[\text{a-ho-(r)ihw-a-’ehs}\]
FACT-3MP-matter-JOINER-hit.PUNC
feet: {ah.o} {ihwá’} ehs
phonetic: [ah.o.ihwá’] ‘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. tgehñáqha?
\[\text{te-hen-aq-ha}’\]
DUAL-3MP-race-HABIT
feet: {tehø} {ná. q. ha}?
phonetic: [tehë.ná.öh.a?] ‘they (males) are racing’

b. tekñáqha?
\[\text{te-ken-aq-ha}’\]
DUAL-3ZNPA-race-HABIT
feet: {tekø} {ná. qh. a}?
phonetic: [tekë.ná.öh.a?] ‘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
hotohsw’etá:nih
\textit{he is hungry}
Odd-numbered penults

akatq̪hsw̌ẽ'tanih

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: táokye? 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 /œ/: / 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. otsi’n̂ọw’aa’shọ:/’oŋ insects
    o-tsí’n̂ọw-a-shọ:/’oŋ
    3N-insect-JOINER-PLURALIZER
   b. kanyatá:kọ: in the lake
    ka-nyata:-kọ:
    3N-lake-in

   - When underlyingly long /a:/ ’s are shortened they are once again unaccentable: in (198), the long /a:/ of the stem /n̂ọ’a:/ head has been shortened in order to avoid a trimoraic sequence, [aː]. 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:/

   kanq̌’aq̌: a head lying on the ground
   ka-n̂ọ’a:-q̌:
   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**
      
      | µ | µ |
      |---|---|
      i  a  etc.
      
   b. **long vowels**
      
      | µµ | µµ |
      |---|---|
      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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. short vowels</th>
<th>b. long vowels</th>
<th>c. Mora-less short /a/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i, e, ę, o, ǫ, u)</td>
<td>(i:, e:, ę:, o:, ǫ:, u:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

µ    µµ
\   /
V    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 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,ę,ē/ and two short vowels, /a,e/, without underlying moras. (Mohawk /ē/ is cognate with Cayuga /ǫ/ and /ę/ with /ę/.) 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.
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, tęˀ 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)

a. tęˀ no
b. Neˀ gyę:ˀ tęˀ deˀ agashá:ˀ s Now, I don’t remember...
   it again no I don’t remember

c. Tęˀ deˀ agohsdó:ˀ 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)

a. hadadiˀ dreˀ tsó: he was just riding
   hadádiˀ dreˀ tsó: drag just

b. sheníyó:weˀ how much, how many, how far, until
   shēh niyó:weˀ that be a certain distance

c. giˀ tsó: just...
   giˀ tsó: just, really only, just

d. negiˀ tsó: it’s just that...
   né:ˀ giˀ 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 \( t\sigma \dot{\dot{\eta}} \)).

• 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:\( \dot{\dot{\eta}} \)/ is produced as [ne].

• Weak particles can have shortened rhymes that lack moraic [ʔ], as in \( gi\dot{\dot{\eta}} \) in (202.c-d) above. Finally, weak particles can be realized without ‘euphonic’ [h], like [she\( \dot{\dot{\eta}} \)] in (202.b), whose strong form is [sh\( \dot{\dot{\eta}} \dot{h} \)]. 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)

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<td><strong>P</strong></td>
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• 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, \( \iota \)): A clause in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Intonational Phrase (\( \iota \)), in phonological representation.

• MATCH (phrase, \( \phi \)): A phrase in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Prosodic Phrase (\( \phi \)), in phonological representation.

• MATCH (word, \( \omega \)): A word in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding Prosodic Word (\( \omega \)), 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, \( \phi \)) satisfy the following markedness constraint:

204. **BINMIN** (\( \phi \), \( \sigma \)) 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 ne² (with a moraic [ʔ] ) is a well-formed prosodic word because it is bimoraic. In contrast, the weak form of this particle, ne̲² (with a non-moraic [ʔ]), 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 [ʔ]
   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: gwa² gę:s)( n’aonishē²) ... (MHS_4)
   b. (Jadohsw’édâ:nih) (gęH) | (Ō:) | ... (MHS_28)
   c. (Ne’ gi’ agásha:²) (shęh) (MHS_23)
   d. (Né’)(ni:i ahí:) (ęga: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 dę² 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 *(dę² niyogyehă’), 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 dę² is not part of (210.b).

210. Phrase with a P+V combination
   a. dę² niyogyehă’ (MHS_87)
   b. (dę’ (niyogyehă’))
9.14.2 **INTONATION**

- Pitch and intensity work together to signal metrical prominence in words; pitch is the best cue (Williams 2013; Rueentan 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
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</tbody>
</table>
**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 [‘e-C,i].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
<th>Approximate translation, or further explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>I or we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>you (one, two, or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>she, he, or it (‘it’ can be an animal or an object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>one person only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>two people only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>more than two people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>more than one person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>excludes 2nd persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>includes 2nd persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3 dual exclusive</td>
<td>first and third person, two people, excludes 2nd person</td>
<td>She and I, He and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3 plural exclusive</td>
<td>first and third person, more than two people, excludes 2nd persons</td>
<td>They and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 dual inclusive</td>
<td>first and third person, two people, includes 2nd person</td>
<td>You (singular) and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 plural inclusive</td>
<td>first and third person, more than two people, includes 2nd persons</td>
<td>you (plural) and I, ‘youse’ and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>a type of gender</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine-indefinite</td>
<td>a type of gender, unique to Cayuga</td>
<td>she, someone, one, somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>a type of gender</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>a type of gender</td>
<td>it (an object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zonic</td>
<td>a type of gender</td>
<td>it (an animal); note that ‘zonic’ is like ‘zoo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>a grammatical role; ‘agents’ are often ‘active’, or are the ‘subjects’ of a sentence</td>
<td>‘She’ is a ‘subject’ in the sentence ‘She likes her’, ‘She’ is an ‘agent’ in the sentence ‘She kicked the ball’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>a grammatical role; ‘patients’ are often ‘passive’ or are the ‘objects’ or recipients of an action in a sentence</td>
<td>‘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’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>a grammatical role</td>
<td>Ø in the ‘agent’ column means ‘it (agent or subject)’, Ø in the ‘patient’ column means ‘it (patient or object)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is based on Michael Foster’s work; Foster, M. 1993. Course notes for Ling. 29-381. Carleton University. Foster’s table, in turn, is based on Lounsbury’s work: Lounsbury, F. 1953. Oneida Verb Morphology. Published for the Dept. of Anthropology, Yale University, by the Yale University Press.
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.

- gadrenahsha:sde: it's strong-smelling
- gahọ:jih it's dark
- gahsha:sde: it's strong
- ga:ge: it's light
- niga:de:s it's thin
- ga:de:s it's thick
- niwa:k'ah it's small, short
- wagyes:ageh it's easy
- wahetgeh evil (in mind)
- wahsohosh it's coloured
- wę:do: 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
- aqkdq'oh it's dangerous (i.e. terrifying)
- de'aqwe:saht it's unpleasant
- deyohate' it's bright (i.e. sunlight)
- deyohyojihs it's sour
- deyotshakdoh it’s bent
- deyodqhwędso:nit it lacks
- deyodenqhoanihdoh it’s terrible
- deyonohya:nih it’s terrible
- deyosta:te it’s shiny (like silver)
- deyotsha'kdnonyogwheh it’s twisted
- deyotsha'kdo: it’s bent
- deyotwędqho: it’s necessary
- deyotwe'no:nih it’s round
- deyoya'dohde: it’s brain-wracking
- gyoyagyec'oh it’s sticking out

- heyo:sde: it has boiled down
- heyoyagyec'oh where it comes out
- o:ge: visible
- niyoha:k’ah it’s short
- odadq'oh, odardq'oh it’s left over
- oda'grahtqoh it’s floating
- ode:ka’ it’s burning
- odeha’t it’s disgusting
- odedagwaeshq’ it’s straight
- odahsogwéh it’s faded
- oj’qoh it’s empty, burnt up
- o:dě:t it’s pitiful
- ogahc’ it has a hole in it
- ogwaqt it has a lump
- ogya:nok it’s strange, bizarre
- ohdahnt it’s filling
- ohdé’gwé’ it’s swollen
- ohdrqhk it’s scary, frightening
- oho’dęc’ it’s soft
Adjectival verbs with prefixes meaning ‘IT’

### Adjectival verbs with patient prefixes meaning ‘it’ (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohno:de:s</td>
<td>deep water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohni:yqh</td>
<td>it’s hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohsde³</td>
<td>it’s heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohsno:we³</td>
<td>bright colours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohsno:we³</td>
<td>it’s fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohsno:we³</td>
<td>it’s dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o²daihêh</td>
<td>it’s hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okahs</td>
<td>it trickles, drips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona’nohsdôh</td>
<td>it’s cooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onenôq²</td>
<td>it’s mild, warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onehagwaht</td>
<td>it’s amazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onohokde⁴</td>
<td>it’s painful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onoš²shesd:e</td>
<td>it’s boring, tiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona’kwat</td>
<td>it’s irritating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona’nawê:h</td>
<td>it’s wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona’nö:no:²</td>
<td>it’s cold, cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osdë:²eh</td>
<td>it’s old (i.e. an old dog or cat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osde:hneh</td>
<td>it has gone down (i.e. the water level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osde:</td>
<td>it’s empty, evaporated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osga:neht</td>
<td>it’s attractive; envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otgi³</td>
<td>ugly, dirty (normally incorporating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otgaï³ni:h</td>
<td>it’s noisy, loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otgeh</td>
<td>it’s rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otshesdai³</td>
<td>it’s a sticky substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otshahnihk</td>
<td>it’s frightening, scary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otshishë³qh</td>
<td>it’s numb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oihor</td>
<td>it’s good for something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owa’nö:da:sh</td>
<td>it’s sticky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojihke³da:weht</td>
<td>it’s salty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojiwegêh</td>
<td>it’s bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oye:deh</td>
<td>recognizable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oye:deht</td>
<td>it’s plain to be seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyo:gyat</td>
<td>it’s amusing, laughable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oya:de:š</td>
<td>deep hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oya:rei³</td>
<td>it’s nice, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aogât</td>
<td>it’s rough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyôs</td>
<td>it’s long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning ↓</th>
<th>A stem</th>
<th>E or ħ stem</th>
<th>I stem</th>
<th>O or Ǫ stem</th>
<th>U stem</th>
<th>Ǫ stem (n, 'n, hn, h)</th>
<th>C stem (n, 'n, hn, h)</th>
<th>C stem (other)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-adawhs to be swimming</td>
<td>gada:whs</td>
<td>ṣenihēha'</td>
<td>gidagra's</td>
<td>godas</td>
<td>ni-ụ:uh to be small, ni-(-a)s:u:uh to be several small items</td>
<td>-(n)ẹyes to be tall</td>
<td>-(g)ē(j)ih to be old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.e, k</td>
<td>we two (including listener)</td>
<td>gy, kn.i, tn.i</td>
<td>ṣenihēha', ṣenihēha'</td>
<td>knida:gra's, tnoda:s</td>
<td>niku:u'h</td>
<td>tni:Ọye:s</td>
<td>tni:Ọge(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kni:Ọye:s</td>
<td>we two (not including listener) y.agw.a, y.ayg</td>
<td>agydawhs</td>
<td>agyenancehēha'</td>
<td>aknida:gra's</td>
<td>niyaknu:u'h</td>
<td>akni:Ọye:s</td>
<td>aknig(e)(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all (not including listener)</td>
<td>y.agw.a, y.ayg</td>
<td>dwada:whs</td>
<td>dwenihēha'</td>
<td>gyoda:gra's</td>
<td>nigungyu:u'h</td>
<td>dwa:Ọye:s</td>
<td>dwag(e)(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.s.e</td>
<td>sada:whs</td>
<td>səni:hehə'</td>
<td>sidagra's</td>
<td>sədodas</td>
<td>nisito:u'h</td>
<td>shn:Ọye:s</td>
<td>səge(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two j, sn.i</td>
<td>jada:whs</td>
<td>snenihēha', snenihēha'</td>
<td>snida:gra's</td>
<td>snoda:s</td>
<td>nisito:u'h</td>
<td>sni:Ọye:s</td>
<td>snig(e)(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.en, h.ad.i</td>
<td>hada:whs</td>
<td>həni:hehə'</td>
<td>hədagra's</td>
<td>hodas</td>
<td>ni:hu:u'h</td>
<td>ha:Ọye:s</td>
<td>hag(e)(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) gaq, gae, gai</td>
<td>qada:whs</td>
<td>qəni:hehə'</td>
<td>qeda:gra's</td>
<td>qo:da:s</td>
<td>ni:ga:gu:u'h</td>
<td>e:Ọye:s</td>
<td>ege(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (animals) gen, gad.i</td>
<td>genadawhs</td>
<td>genenihēha'</td>
<td>gadida:gra's</td>
<td>genoda:s</td>
<td>nigenus:u'h</td>
<td>gadi:Ọye:s</td>
<td>gadi:ge(j)ih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; AGENT series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with other prefixes</th>
<th>g.e, k</th>
<th>gy, kn.i, tn.i</th>
<th>y.ag, y.akn</th>
<th>y.agw.a, y.agy</th>
<th>dw.a, gy</th>
<th>h.s.e</th>
<th>j, sn.i</th>
<th>h.sw.a, j</th>
<th>h.a, hę</th>
<th>y.o, y.e, y.ag</th>
<th>w.a, gę, y (or no sound), ga</th>
<th>h.ęn, h.ad.i</th>
<th>gaö, gae, gag</th>
<th>gen, gad.i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>níg.e</td>
<td>ník.ni</td>
<td>níyak.ni</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>nídw.a</td>
<td>níhs.e</td>
<td>nísn.i</td>
<td>níhs.w.a</td>
<td>níh.ę</td>
<td>níyö, níye</td>
<td>níwö, níyö</td>
<td>níh.ad.i</td>
<td>nígae</td>
<td>nígad.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni.k</td>
<td>níg.ník</td>
<td>níyak.níyag</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níyagw.a</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ę</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
<td>níyag</td>
<td>níw.níyag</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
<td>nígą</td>
<td>nígad.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni.g</td>
<td>níg.níy</td>
<td>níyak.níyagy</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níyagw.a</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ę</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
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<td>ni.w</td>
<td>níg.níy</td>
<td>níyak.níyagy</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níyagw.a</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ę</td>
<td>níj</td>
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<td>nígad.i</td>
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<td>ni.j</td>
<td>níg.níy</td>
<td>níyak.níyagy</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níyagw.a</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ę</td>
<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
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<td>níw.níyag</td>
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<td>nígad.i</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni.ęnö</td>
<td>níg.níy</td>
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<td>níh.ęn</td>
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<td>nígad.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni.ęnööö</td>
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<td>níyagw.a</td>
<td>níyagy</td>
<td>níj</td>
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<td>níj</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
<td>níyag</td>
<td>níw.níyag</td>
<td>níh.ęn</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:** -aʔodaːs to be obedient; deʔ-aʔodaːs to be disobedient; -adqʰswetʼaʔ to be short of breath; -adqʰnyqʰstʼaʔ to be loyal; -adqʰnyqʰstʼaʔ to be stuck up, selfish; -adataːʔ to be conceited; -adəʔophqʰsgː to be inquisitive; -adətqwaːnqː to self-important, egotistical; -adekxaːdypːnih to be childish; -adqʰwihroʔktaʔ to be out of breath; -adəwayqːstʼaʔ to be a novice, a learner, a beginner; -adətnigqːʔaʔ to be cautious, wary; -adagyaːdadaːs to have a high opinion of oneself, be self-centred, be bold; -atahineʔ (habitual) to be walking; -adqʰ (stative) to be saying something, to say;

**E or ŋ stem:** -eːhah to be proud, to gloat; d-ehdaqʰhsqːqː to be really gullible

**I stem:** -ihnaːtː to have dry skin

**O or Ō stem:** -qnheʔ to be alive

**U stem:** (none)

**C stem (n, ŋ, hn):** -naiː to be proud, boastful; -noshː to be jealous, envious; -nqwethdra to be cantankerous; -hnahdoːt to have one’s head up (said of a child who is learning to lift its head by itself); -hnqʰqː to be white; -‘nigqʰahsnoːwe’ to be a quick thinker; de-nahawenyeː to be crazy

**C stem (h,w,y):** -hɑːdɑːtːehs to be thirsty; -hɛtqː to be evil, bad, ugly; -hɛtqːs’ah to be unattractive; -hi’yagaqːheʔ to bent over, to have a crooked body trunk; - hôʔjiː to be dark-coloured; -waihqː to be good at something; -waqʰqʰhsqː to be right-handed; -ya’tqahíːyeʔ to be quick; des-ya’dā’nigqːʔaːt to be a nuisance

**C stem (other):** -dɛːniːyoː to smell nice; -dɛːriːyoː to be a good shot; -gahgqeh to be crosseyed; de-gahqoʔjiː to have a black eye; -gehjih to be old; -geʔaːʔ to be raggedy, tattered; -gohgwah to be royalty; -gωwaneqː to be big; -gωwaneqː to be big, pregnant; -gωwaneqːghoːwah to be really big; -gohqʰstwˀoːʔ to have a beard; -grah to stink; -jiːnah to be masculine, brave; -jiːn’adqː to be a handsome man; de-hsgwaowanqːs to be well-endowed (males only), literally: to have big rocks; -hsɾqʰ to be cross, cantankerous
### Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; PATIENT series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning ↓</th>
<th>A stem</th>
<th>E, % stem</th>
<th>I stem</th>
<th>O, Q stem</th>
<th>C stem (n, ’n, hn)</th>
<th>C stem (r)</th>
<th>C stem (other)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-adagadagaide’</td>
<td>agadawę’h</td>
<td>agenihe’</td>
<td>agidagra’oh</td>
<td>agoda’hoh</td>
<td>aknigohat’</td>
<td>agriho’dę’</td>
<td>agegwaqt’</td>
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<tr>
<td>to be well, fine, healthy</td>
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<td>-ensihe’ to have quit</td>
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<td>-idagra’oh to have fallen</td>
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<tr>
<td>-oda'hoh to have draped it</td>
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<tr>
<td>-’nigohat to be smart, brilliant</td>
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<tr>
<td>-rigo’dę’ to be working</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gwaqt to have a boil, abscess</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 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.)

#### Examples:
- adagadagaide’ to be well, fine, healthy
- ensihe’ to have quit
- idagra’oh to have fallen
- oda’hoh to have draped it
- ’nigohat to be smart, brilliant
- rigo’dę’ to be working
- gwaqt to have a boil, abscess
Adjectival verbs, subject is not 'IT'; PATIENT series

OTHER VERBS CONJUGATED LIKE THIS:

**A stem:** -ahqah: to be jealous; -ahse: to be fat; -ahshe: to be slow-moving; -asde:q: to be old; -atqo: to have (evil) power; -awe:h to have, own it; -awinowyse: to have a cold; -atehtgedon: to be moody; -ahse: to be riding a horse; -aehbshiih: to be ready; -adigro: to be shy; -adroya: to be unwilling, stubborn; -atsahiht to be industrious, a good worker; -atsenon: to be happy; -agyanq: to be addicted, possessed; ta-de:agye: to be quiet; -adonsewdanii: to be hungry; -agtonyohs to have high standards; -adtiqhahdoge: to be immature in mind; -adrihwhawshqo: to be fair, righteous, noble; -adaqotagdo: -adaqotagde: to be unhappy; -adaqotagdo: -adaqotagde: to feel good; -adokdani: to be dissatisfied; -adatshe: to be tired; -adawenyaqoseh: to be confused, doubtful; -hspawdaneiyse: -atshawdaneyen: to be dizzy; -atna:tsganye: to be fidgety; -ade:ka: to be hen-pecked (males only); -adexq:sho: to be a widower, widow; -adonohahe: to be happy; -ad-teqe: to have tangled hair; -adrihodahs: to be confused, indecisive; -adrihek: to be a faithkeeper, an agent; -adrihohodus: to be confused or mixed up; -atqge:owqeh: to have messy hair; -adnhi: to be alive; to be born, to be full of life; -adacnho: to be mentally challenged, to be born premature; -aehsrrq: to be ghoulish, to be glaring at someone; -adrihowi: to be clumsy, feeble; -adets: to be a glutton; -a-gya:danagaq: to have a hernia; -agyehsahds: to be wasteful, extravagant; -agyexq:age: to be very generous; -(a)daqehod have an erection; -adogwe:adonyohs to be choosy about who one associates with, to discriminate; -adq:hp:ni: to be a newborn child; -adqo:se: to benefit from; -adqost: to benefit someone;

**E, Ë stem:** -enow: to be a liar; -eqdage: to be timid, cowardly, weak; -edhahgo: to believe in something, to be credulous, gullible; -eq:nqighagae: to suffer; -eq:hsoweks: to have one's shoes on

**I stem:** -idaqto: to be chosen, special, fortunate; -idj:qto: to be filthy; -itsgroot to drool

**O, Q stem:** -oqehjih: to be private; -ogw:edahetge: to be cruel, mean; -o:hsriyaq: goh: to be a certain age; -eq:nhegyee: to be still-born

**C stem (n, n, nh):** des-nagqohwahs: to be ominous, lack a spirit; de-na:sgwwegheyge: to be skipping along; -ne:dra:dani: to be nauseous, nauseated; -hneganyohs to have a hangover; de-"qnihuat: to be ignorant, foolish; "qnihogado: to be undecided, indecisive; "qnihagahqeyohq: to be mentally exhausted; te-"qnihogayei: to be not right in the mind; "qnihagayqot: to be uncompromising, steadfast; fastf: "qnihahniniqotion: to be strong, nice; "qnihahniniqotion: to be gentle, nice, humble; "qnihohowaneq: to be wise, to have the capacity for thinking, to have a broad mind; d-"qnihqe:q: goh: to be sad, to be in sorrow, in mourning; de-"qnihohodh: to be sad de-"qnihonya: goh: to be broken-hearted, grieving; d-"qnihioyoh: to be satisfied, peaceful; del-"qnihioysis: to be grumpy, ghoulish, unhappy; ded-"qnihohods: to be discontent; de-nodanhe: to be innocent; de-nophy: to be a devil; de-nqhoswaha: to be nosy; ni-"qhi: to be stingy; -nodanhe: to be guilty ta-"qnihohini: to be unconcerned, indifferent; -nqge: to be fair-haired, to have light hair; -nqho: to be bald; -nqho: to have grey hair; -nhsde: to value, cherish something; "nonyagi:q: to be a bad dancer; -nosh: to be lazy

**C stem (r):** -rihoa:q: to speak sharp words; -riqo:dehsriyo: to have a good job; -rihwadogo: to be reliable; -de-rihoa:qoh: to disagree; ni-rihu:u: to be (overly) sensitive; sgahodqo: to be a de-nqhagagaq: to be innocent

**C stem (other):** -daiha:seh: to be too hot; -daihehdroot to sweat; de-"qga:hs to be unwilling; -ghagwagqaqt to have a sty in one's eye; -ghadro: to shed tears, tear up; de-"qghahwago: to be blind; -gahehags: to have dandruff; -ge:qort: to be bald; -ghoshahnyohq: to be two-faced; -ge:qoy: to be ragged; -ha:diyo: to be a good singer, to have a good voice; de-hsgne:qagho: to be pale; -hsqyo:ate: -hsqye:ate: to be skinny; -atshawdaneyen: -atshawdaneyen: to be dizzy; -ijyo: to be crippled; -jitshgri: to have curly hair; -wayenhe:sgs: to learn easily, be a quick study; de-"qwayenhe:sgo: to have difficulty learning; de-wqgo: to have shoes on; -wenadeht to be harsh-speaking; -wiyaqto: to be pregnant; -wiyaqdas: to be with child; -yanortge: to be a slow runner; -ya-"daqah: to be hot; -ya-da: to have a hot body; -ya-da:dan: to be reliable, dependable; -ya-dadeht to be nimble, active, energetic; -ya-dageheyo: to be physically weak, slow; -ya-dahshe: to be slow-moving; -yedi: to know; -yogye: to be a fighter, a biggler

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A-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning</th>
<th>Habitual AGENT</th>
<th>Future-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Stative PATIENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-adawęhs</td>
<td>gadawęhs</td>
<td>egađawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>agada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>avaladyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>-adawę́ to have swum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (including listener) gy</td>
<td>gyada:węhs</td>
<td>egyadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aegyada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aegyadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ogyadyawę́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two (not including listener) y.agy</td>
<td>aygadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ayyadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ayyadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ayyadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all (including listener) y.agw</td>
<td>agwadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ayagwadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>a′ayagwadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>oγwadyawę́; ⁹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.s</td>
<td>sada:węhs</td>
<td>ešada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aehsada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>esada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>sada:wę́</td>
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<td>you two j</td>
<td>jada:węhs</td>
<td>ejada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ejada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ejada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>jada:wę́</td>
</tr>
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<td>you all h.sw</td>
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<td>eswada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>eswada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>eswada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>swada:wę́</td>
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<td>he ⁴ h</td>
<td>hada:węhs</td>
<td>ehada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ahada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>ahada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>hoda:wę́</td>
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<td>aọda:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aọda:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>goda:wę́</td>
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<td>it ⁶ w</td>
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<td>ewada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>awada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>awada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>oda:wę́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.en</td>
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<td>eḥenadawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aḥenadawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aḥenadawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>honadawę́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) gaq</td>
<td>gaqada:węhs</td>
<td>egqada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>agaqada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>agaqada:wę́; ⁹</td>
<td>gonadawę́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) gęn</td>
<td>gęnadawęhs</td>
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<td>aęnadawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>aęnadawę́; ⁹</td>
<td>onadawę́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 e- future, a- indefinite or a’- factual prefixes. The latter occur before the pronominal prefix, and can change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefixes. For example, the prefix meaning she is q- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yq- after e- 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:wę́; ⁹ instead of aegyada:wę́; ⁹.
³ Note [ć] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].
⁴ The [a] of the stem (-adawę́hs, -adawę́; ⁹) is missing in some of these forms.
A-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:
de-awênyeh (habitual) to stir all the time, de-awênye:’ (punctual) to stir
de-adawênye’ (stative) to be walking about
-adegata’ (habitual), -adegâ’t (punctual) to cause something to burn, to start a fire
d-a’swe:k (habitual), de-a’swe:k (punctual), de-a’swé:gôh (stative) to be deaf, to become deaf
-ahdo:’ (punctual), -ahdo: (stative) to dive
-ahdôhs (habitual), -ahdô’ (punctual) to disappear
-adawês (habitual), -adawê:’ (punctual), -dawê (stative) to swim
-ahdôhs (habitual), -ahdô’ (punctual) to disappear
-adô’ (punctual), -adô’ôh to become (possibly only with ‘IT’ prefix)
-atgehôha’ (habitual), -atgehô’ (punctual), -atgehô (stative) to sell something
-a’swahta’ to be a fireman (habitual), -ahstwaht (punctual) to extinguish a fire or flame, -ahstwahdôh (stative) to extinguish a fire or flame
-adôwâas (habitual), -adôwâat (punctual), -adôwadôh (stative) to hunt
de-awênyeh (habitual), de-awênye:’ (punctual), de-awênye’ (stative) to stir, mix something
s-ahdêgaye’s (habitual), s-ahdê:di’ (punctual), s-ahdêgôyô: (stative) to go home, to leave for home
d-ahdêgaye’s (habitual), d-ahdê:di’ (punctual), d-ahdêgôyô: (stative) to come from there
hes-ahdêgaye’s (habitual), hes-ahdê:di’ (punctual), hes-ahdêgôyô: (stative) to go over there
gatôwi:sahs to be a woman, to sing seed songs (habitual), gatôwi:sah to sing seed songs (punctual), agatôwi:sêh to sing seed songs (stative)
hes-asâha:’ (punctual), s-ahsha’dôh (stative) to remember
hes-asâha:’ (punctual), hes-ahsha’dôh (stative) to remember back in time
-ahsgane:’s (habitual), -ahsgane:k (punctual), -ahsganekôh (stative) to long for something, desire something, want something
-ahdôgahs (habitual) to be prepubescent, to be maturing, -ahdo:k (punctual) to grow
wahsdehsta’ (habitual), ewâstehs (punctual), ohshdehshôh (stative) to evaporate, dry up (‘IT’ prefix only)
-atrôni:’ (punctual) to get dressed
de-adra’s to meet all the time (habitual), de-adra’ to meet (punctual), de-adra’ôh to be meeting right now (stative)
deyagonadra’ôh they deserve each other (stative)

... and many more ...
### E- and Ē-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning</th>
<th>Habitual AGENT</th>
<th>Future-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Stative PATIENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-enīnē to quit all the time</td>
<td>ẽ-enīnē to quit</td>
<td>a-enīnē would, could, should quit</td>
<td>a-enīnē did, in fact, quit</td>
<td>-enīnē to have quit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 g</td>
<td>ẽnenēh</td>
<td>aęnen̄ēh</td>
<td>aęnen̄ēh</td>
<td>aęnen̄ēh</td>
<td>aęnen̄ēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (including listener) kn, tn</td>
<td>kwenenīnēh, tnenenīnēh</td>
<td>etrenenīnēh, ekrenenīnēh</td>
<td>aetrenenīnēh, aekrenenīnēh</td>
<td>etrenenīnēh, ekrenenīnēh</td>
<td>ọkrenenīnēh, ọtrenenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (not including listener) y.agy</td>
<td>agyenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´gyenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´gyenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´gyenenīnēh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all (not including listener) y.agw</td>
<td>awenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´wenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´wenenīnēh</td>
<td>a´wenenīnēh</td>
<td>ọgwenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all (including listener) dw</td>
<td>dwenenīnēh</td>
<td>edwenenīnēh</td>
<td>aedwenenīnēh</td>
<td>edwenenīnēh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.s</td>
<td>senēnēh</td>
<td>ehenenīnēh</td>
<td>aeheenenīnēh</td>
<td>ehenēnēh</td>
<td>senēnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two h.sn</td>
<td>snenīnēh, jenīnēh</td>
<td>ehsnenenīnēh, ejenenīnēh</td>
<td>aehsnenenīnēh, aejenenīnēh</td>
<td>ehsnenenīnēh, ejenenīnēh</td>
<td>snenīnēh, jenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all h.sw</td>
<td>swenīnēh</td>
<td>ehswenenīnēh</td>
<td>aehswenenīnēh</td>
<td>ehswenenīnēh</td>
<td>swenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hē h</td>
<td>henenīnēh</td>
<td>ehenenīnēh</td>
<td>ahenenīnēh</td>
<td>ahenenīnēh</td>
<td>honenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shē y.q</td>
<td>qnenenīnēh</td>
<td>eyonenīnēh</td>
<td>ayoqenīnēh</td>
<td>a´qenīnēh</td>
<td>gonenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it w</td>
<td>wenīnēh</td>
<td>ewenenīnēh</td>
<td>awenenīnēh</td>
<td>awenenīnēh</td>
<td>onenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.ẹn</td>
<td>ẹnemenenīnēh</td>
<td>ehenenīnēh</td>
<td>ahenenīnēh</td>
<td>ahenenīnēh</td>
<td>honenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) ẹọ</td>
<td>ẹọnenenīnēh</td>
<td>ẹgẹnenenīnēh</td>
<td>aẹọnenenīnēh</td>
<td>aẹọnenenīnēh</td>
<td>gonenīnēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) gen</td>
<td>genenenīnēh</td>
<td>egenenenīnēh</td>
<td>agenenenīnēh</td>
<td>agenenenīnēh</td>
<td>onenīnēh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 q- 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 q- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yq- after q- or a-.

---

1. The static 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:tnenīnēh’ instead of aetnenīnēh’.
3. Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].
4. The [e] of the stem (-enīnēh’, -enīnēh’, -enīnēh’) is missing in some of these forms.

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E- and Ɛ-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:
-e:눠 (stative), -eʔ (punctual), -e (habitual) think, want, will something to happen
ti-eʔah (habitual) to be walking along
d-ehdahgah (habitual) to be really gullible
d-ehdahg (habitual) to be gullible
-e’s (habitual) to be someplace, to exist; -eʔ (punctual) to go; -eʔ (punctual) to go; -e (stative) to go, walk, move
de-aq:haʔ/éq:ha’ (habitual) to be a racer, de- aneqʔ/éneqʔ (punctual) to race
tsi-ehda’ (habitual), tsi-eht (punctual), tsi-ehd (stative) to do something on purpose
de-ę’nya: (habitual), de-ę’nya: (punctual) to look after something
-ęniheʔ/­aniheʔ (habitual), -ęniheʔ (punctual), -ęnihe (stative) to stop or quit
wenqaweq’ (habitual), wənqwaç’ (punctual), wənqwaç (stative) to sink in liquid (with ‘IT’ prefix only)
-ęnihnaðok (habitual), -ęnihnaðok (punctual) to perceive something
-ęniq:hswaqeq’ (habitual), -ęniq:hswaqeq (punctual) to squat
dwenqhoks, dwenqh’ (habitual), adwenq’h (punctual) to be lightning out, for lightning to be striking (with ‘IT’ prefix only)
d-e dahkwa’ (habitual) to originate or come from some place
ti-enq:ge’s (habitual) to be roaming about
-ęhsətwaḥ/ęsətwaḥ (habitual), -ęsətoʔ/­ęsəto (punctual), -ęhsətwęḥ/­ęsətwęḥ (stative) to kick something
hes-ęqhe (habitual) to be outspoken, to speak carelessly
-ęnq:doṇyəʔ (habitual), -ęnq:doṇyəʔ (punctual) to think, to wonder, to feel well
de-ęnahsgwaḥkwa’ (habitual), d-ęnahsgwaḥk (punctual), de-ęna’sgwagwęḥ (stative) to jump
### I-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Future-Punctual</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual</th>
<th>Stative¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-idagra’s to be forever falling</td>
<td>-idagra’s</td>
<td>-idagra’s</td>
<td>-idagra’s</td>
<td>-idagra’s</td>
<td>-idagra’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gidagra’s</td>
<td>gidagra’s</td>
<td>gidagra’s</td>
<td>gidagra’s</td>
<td>gidagra’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (including listener) kn, tn</td>
<td>knidagra’s, tnidagra’s</td>
<td>knidagra’s, etnidagra’s</td>
<td>aeknidagra’s, aetnidagra’s²</td>
<td>eknidagra’s, etnidagra’s³</td>
<td>oknidagra’s⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (not including listener) y. akn</td>
<td>aknidagra’s</td>
<td>ayaknidagra’s</td>
<td>a’aknidagra’s</td>
<td>a’aknidagra’s</td>
<td>a’aknidagra’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all (not including listener) y. agw</td>
<td>agwedagra’s</td>
<td>ayagwedagra’s</td>
<td>a’agwedagra’s</td>
<td>a’agwedagra’s</td>
<td>a’agwedagra’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all (including listener) dw</td>
<td>dwedagra’s</td>
<td>edwedagra’s</td>
<td>ewedagra’s</td>
<td>edwedagra’s</td>
<td>edwedagra’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.s</td>
<td>sidagra’s</td>
<td>ehsidagra</td>
<td>aehsidagra</td>
<td>aehsidagra</td>
<td>aehsidagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two h.sn</td>
<td>snidagra’s</td>
<td>ehsnidagra</td>
<td>aehsnidagra</td>
<td>aehsnidagra</td>
<td>aehsnidagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all h.sw</td>
<td>swedagra’s</td>
<td>eeswedagra</td>
<td>aeeswedagra</td>
<td>aeeswedagra</td>
<td>aeeswedagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he h.ę</td>
<td>hèdagra’s</td>
<td>eḥedagra</td>
<td>aḥedagra</td>
<td>aḥedagra</td>
<td>aḥedagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she y.e</td>
<td>edagra’s</td>
<td>eyedagra</td>
<td>aeyedagra</td>
<td>aeyedagra</td>
<td>aeyedagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it ge</td>
<td>gedagra’s</td>
<td>egedagra</td>
<td>aegedagra</td>
<td>aegedagra</td>
<td>aegedagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.od</td>
<td>hadidagra’s</td>
<td>eḥahidagra</td>
<td>aḥahidagra</td>
<td>aḥahidagra</td>
<td>aḥahidagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) gae</td>
<td>gaedagra’s</td>
<td>egaedagra</td>
<td>aegaedagra</td>
<td>aegaedagra</td>
<td>aegaedagra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) gad</td>
<td>gadidagra’s</td>
<td>egađidagra</td>
<td>aegađidagra</td>
<td>aegađidagra</td>
<td>aegađidagra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 ė- 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 ė- 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’dryṣ (static), -i’dryṣ:dɡ’ (static, plural subject), -I’dryṣ:da’k (punctual) to live or dwell somewhere, to be placed somewhere
de²-i:nes (habitual) to be extinct

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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, eːmida:gra’ instead of aetmida:gra’.  
³ Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].  
⁴ The [i] of the stem (idagra’oh, idagra’s, -idagra’) is missing in many of these forms.
### O- and Ō-stems, AGENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning ↓</th>
<th>Habitual AGENT</th>
<th>Future-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual AGENT</th>
<th>Stative PATIENT ¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### 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 ē- 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 ag- when it is at the beginning of the word, but yag- after ē- or a:-. Finally, not many verbs are conjugated like this because not many verbs like this begin with [o] or [ǫ].

### Other verbs conjugated like this:
- ō:da:s (habitual), -ō:daː (punctual), -ō:daːhːgh 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 [eː] at the beginning of these words instead of [æː]; for example, eːtmida:gra instead of aetmida:gra.

³ Note [eː] at the beginning of these words, instead of [aː].

⁴ Note [eː] at the beginning of these words, instead of [aː].
### A-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning</th>
<th>Stative PATIENT</th>
<th>Habitual PATIENT</th>
<th>Future-Punctual PATIENT</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual PATIENT</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual PATIENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ahdرو'ني:</td>
<td>-ahdرو's be scared, frightened</td>
<td>-ahdرو'k will be frightened</td>
<td>-ahdرو'k would, could, should be frightened</td>
<td>-ahدرو'k to be, in fact, frightened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I w.ág</td>
<td>aghadرو'ني:</td>
<td>aghadرو’s</td>
<td>aghادرو’k</td>
<td>aghادرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two y.óng</td>
<td>ögyahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>ögyahدرو’s</td>
<td>ögyاهدرو’k</td>
<td>ögyاهدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all y.ów</td>
<td>ogyahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>ogyahدرو’s</td>
<td>ogyأهدرو’k</td>
<td>ogأهدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.ś</td>
<td>sahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>sahدرو’s</td>
<td>اسahدرو’k</td>
<td>اسahدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all h.św</td>
<td>swahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>swahدرو’s</td>
<td>اسwhدرو’k</td>
<td>اسwhدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/š.ő</td>
<td>hohدرو’ني:</td>
<td>hohدرو’s</td>
<td>اسhدرو’k</td>
<td>اسhدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she/ya.ğö</td>
<td>gohدرو’ني:</td>
<td>gohدرو’s</td>
<td>اسghدرو’k</td>
<td>اسghدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it/y.ő</td>
<td>ohدرو’ني:</td>
<td>ohدرو’s</td>
<td>اسghدرو’k</td>
<td>اسghدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.ón</td>
<td>honahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>honahدرو’s</td>
<td>اسhnahدرو’k</td>
<td>اسhnahدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) ya.ğon, y.ąon</td>
<td>gonahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>gonahدرو’s</td>
<td>اسgnahدرو’k</td>
<td>اسgnahدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) y.òn</td>
<td>onahدرو’ني:</td>
<td>onahدرو’s</td>
<td>اسohدرو’k</td>
<td>اسohدرو’k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 ــfuture, ـ indefinite or ـ 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 ـ future. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

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1. Note the use of [a:q] instead of [a:] at the beginning of ‘I’ words.
2. Note the use of [q] 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:swahدرو’k instead of اسwhدرو’k.
4. Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].
5. The [a] of the stem (ـahدرو’ني:’, ـahدرو’s, ـahدرو’k) is missing in these forms.
Other verbs conjugated like this:

-ahdrollo’s (habitual), -ahdrolk (punctual), -ahdrolni:’ (stative) to be frightened, scared
odeka’ (habitual), a’odek (punctual), odegeh (stative) to burn (with ‘IT’ prefix only)
a-todehs (habitual), -todeh (punctual), -tode’oh, -atode’ (stative) to hear
-adedredatgede’ (punctual) to have a bad dream
-ahda’s (habitual), -ahda’ (punctual), -ahda’oh (stative) to be full of food, finish eating
de-ahsiha’s (habitual), de-ahsiha:’s (punctual) to choke
de-atsga’hoo’ (habitual), de-atsga’hoo:’ (punctual) to be chewing
-ataghoha’ (habitual), ehsatgahec’ (punctual), -atagha:’ (stative) to pay attention, to watch
-ataghonyo’ (punctual) to flirt, bat one’s eyes
-ahsehahhk (past habitual), -ahsehs to regret something
-adahsehdothogyo’s (habitual) to be sneaking about
-ahsha’dronyo’ (stative) to reminisce, remember back in time
-ahsgena:’ (punctual) to have a stroke
-adrihwatgahah:’ (habitual), -adrihwatgaho:’ (punctual) to oversee, supervise
he-adwenodi’ (punctual) to throw one’s voice (ventriloquist)
he-agye’s (habitual), he-adii’ (punctual), he-agyo: (stative) to throw something
-ahoka’ (habitual), -ahox (punctual) to understand (a language)
E- and Ė-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning ↓</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Future-Punctual</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I w.ag, qq</td>
<td>d-waghdagʷə̌ to believe</td>
<td>d-waghdaghkwə̌</td>
<td>ḏq-waghdak will believe</td>
<td>ḏq-waghdak would, should, could believe</td>
<td>at-waghdak did, in fact, believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all y.qgw</td>
<td>gq-qaghdagʷə̌</td>
<td>gq-qaghkwa̓</td>
<td>qg-qaghdak</td>
<td>qg-qaghdak</td>
<td>agq-qaghdak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.s</td>
<td>dse-waghdagʷə̌</td>
<td>dse-waghkwa̓</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>adse-waghdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two h.sn</td>
<td>dse-waghdagʷə̌</td>
<td>dse-waghkwa̓</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>adse-waghdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all h.sw</td>
<td>dse-waghdagʷə̌</td>
<td>dse-waghkwa̓</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>qdse-waghdak</td>
<td>adse-waghdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hȇ h.o, h.aw</td>
<td>tohdaghgẘh, tawehdaghgẘh</td>
<td>tohdaghkẘa, tawehdaghkwa̓</td>
<td>ṭo-hdagh, ṭawehdagh</td>
<td>ṭo-hdagh, ṭawehdagh</td>
<td>ato-hdagh, atawehdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shȇ y.o, y.agaw</td>
<td>gyq-hdaghgẘh, gyqawe-hdaghgẘh</td>
<td>gyq-hdaghkẘa, gyqawehdaghkẘa</td>
<td>qgyq-hdagh, qgyqawehdagh</td>
<td>qgyq-hdagh, qgyqawehdag</td>
<td>agyq-hdagh, agyqawehdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It̑ y.o, y.aw</td>
<td>gyohdaghgẘh, gyawehdaghgẘh</td>
<td>gyohdaghkẘa, gyawehdaghkẘa</td>
<td>qgyohdagh, qgyawehdag</td>
<td>qgyohdagh, qgyawehdag</td>
<td>agyohdagh, agyawehdag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.on</td>
<td>tonehdaghgẘh</td>
<td>tonehdaghkẘa</td>
<td>ṭon-e-hdagh</td>
<td>ṭon-e-hdagh</td>
<td>atone-hdagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) ya.gon, y.agon</td>
<td>gyagonehdaghgẘh</td>
<td>gyagonehdaghkẘa</td>
<td>qgyagonehdagh</td>
<td>qgyagonehdagh</td>
<td>agyagonehdagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) y.on</td>
<td>gyonehdaghgẘh</td>
<td>gyonehdaghkẘa</td>
<td>qgyonehdagh</td>
<td>qgyonehdagh</td>
<td>agyonehdagh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 q- 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 yq- when it is at the very beginning of the word, as in ḏq-wagh’dha, but it is yq- after q-, as in ḏq-wagh’dha. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

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1 The words in this column can also end with -hdaghqə̌ instead of -hdaghgwə̌; e.g., dwagehdaghqə̌ or dwagehdaghgwə̌.
2 Note the use of [ə̌] 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:sehdagh instead of aesehdagh.
4 Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].
5 The [e] of the stem (-hdaghgẘh, -hdaghkẘa, -hdakh) is missing in some of these forms.
E- and E̓-stems, Patient series pronominal prefixes

Other verbs conjugated like this:

-әә̓hóhɔ' (habitual) to make decisions or be strict, -ә̓̓hɔ'd̓ (punctual) to know, -ә̓hɔ' (stative) to know

nid-e:n (habitual) be a stranger, be a certain age; nid-e:no: to come from some place, be a certain age

niyawęhs (habitual) how it happens, aya:weh (punctual) I wish or hope so, niyawę’oh (stative) how it did happen ('IT prefix only)

ta’de:ehq’ (stative) to not mean or intend something
I-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning ↓</th>
<th>Stative PATIENT</th>
<th>Habitual PATIENT</th>
<th>Future-Punctual PATIENT</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual PATIENT</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual PATIENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I w.ag</td>
<td>agida’oh I am asleep</td>
<td>agida’s I sleep all the time, I hibernate</td>
<td>qwagida’i will sleep</td>
<td>aqgida’ would, could, should sleep</td>
<td>a’qgida’ did, in fact, sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two y.ogn</td>
<td>ognida’oh</td>
<td>ognida’s</td>
<td>eyognida’</td>
<td>ayognida’</td>
<td>a’yognida’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all h.sen</td>
<td>seda’oh</td>
<td>seda’s</td>
<td>eyeseda’</td>
<td>ayeseda’</td>
<td>a’yaseseda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular) h.se</td>
<td>sida’oh</td>
<td>sida’s</td>
<td>eyisida’</td>
<td>ayesida’</td>
<td>a’yasesida’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two h.sen</td>
<td>snida’oh</td>
<td>snida’s</td>
<td>eyisnida’</td>
<td>ayesnida’</td>
<td>a’yasesnida’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all h.sen</td>
<td>swida’oh</td>
<td>swida’s</td>
<td>eyiswida’</td>
<td>ayeswida’</td>
<td>a’yaseswida’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’h.o</td>
<td>hoda’oh</td>
<td>hoda’s</td>
<td>eyoha’da’</td>
<td>ayoha’da’</td>
<td>a’ayo’da’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she’ya.go,y.ago</td>
<td>goda’oh</td>
<td>goda’s</td>
<td>eyagoda’da’</td>
<td>ayagoda’</td>
<td>a’a’agoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it’y.o</td>
<td>oda’oh</td>
<td>oda’s</td>
<td>eyoda’da’</td>
<td>ayo’da’</td>
<td>a’o’da’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.od</td>
<td>hodida’oh</td>
<td>hodida’s</td>
<td>eyohodi’da’</td>
<td>aho’da’</td>
<td>a’hodi’da’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) ya.god</td>
<td>godida’oh</td>
<td>godi da’s</td>
<td>eyagodi’da’</td>
<td>ayo’godi’d</td>
<td>a’ago’da’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) y.od</td>
<td>odida’oh</td>
<td>odi’da’s</td>
<td>eyodi’da’</td>
<td>ayo’di’da’</td>
<td>a’o’di’d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 q- 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 go- when it is at the very beginning of the word, but yago- after q-. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

Other verbs conjugated like this:
-i:deht (stative), -i:dehte’ (punctual) to be poor (at something), to be poverty-stricken
-ida’dre’ (punctual) go to bed

1 Note the use of [a:] instead of [a:] at the beginning of ‘I’ words.
2 Note the use of [o] instead of [a] at the beginning of ‘I’ words.
3 The [i] of the stem (-ida’oh, -ida’s, -ida’) is missing in many of these forms.
4 You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [ae]; for example, e:s:da’ instead of aehs:e:da’.
5 Note [e] at the beginning of these words, instead of [a].
O-stems, PATIENT series pronominal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix meaning</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Future-Punctual</th>
<th>Indefinite-Punctual</th>
<th>Factual-Punctual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w:ag</td>
<td>o'gwadəg (?)</td>
<td>o'gwas to be digging, uncovering</td>
<td>ǫ-gwat will dig, uncover</td>
<td>a'-gwat would, could, should dig, uncover</td>
<td>a'-gwat did, in fact, dig, uncover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two y.əkn</td>
<td>əkno'gwadəg</td>
<td>əkno'gwas</td>
<td>əkno'gwət</td>
<td>a'əkno'gwət</td>
<td>a'əkno'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two h.s</td>
<td>sə'gwadəg</td>
<td>sə'gwas</td>
<td>sə'gwət</td>
<td>a'sə'gwət</td>
<td>a'sə'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all j</td>
<td>jə'gwadəg</td>
<td>jə'gwas</td>
<td>jə'gwət</td>
<td>a'jə'gwət</td>
<td>a'jə'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he h (or no sound)</td>
<td>hə'gwadəg</td>
<td>hə'gwas</td>
<td>hə'gwət</td>
<td>a'hə'gwət</td>
<td>a'hə'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she y.a.g, a.g</td>
<td>gə'gwadəg</td>
<td>gə'gwas</td>
<td>gə'gwət</td>
<td>a'gə'gwət</td>
<td>a'gə'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only) h.on</td>
<td>hono'gwadəg</td>
<td>hono'gwas</td>
<td>hono'gwət</td>
<td>a'hono'gwət</td>
<td>a'hono'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed) ya.gon, y.a gon</td>
<td>gəno'gwadəg</td>
<td>gəno'gwas</td>
<td>gəno'gwət</td>
<td>a'gəno'gwət</td>
<td>a'gəno'gwət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals) y.on</td>
<td>o'no'gwadəg</td>
<td>o'no'gwas</td>
<td>o'no'gwət</td>
<td>a'o'no'gwət</td>
<td>a'o'no'gwət</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 -ǫ 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 ga- when it is at the very beginning of the word, but yaga- after ǫ-. Note that all of the verb forms take PATIENT prefixes.

**Other verbs conjugated like this:**
- o'wehsgwa:nih (habitual), o'wesə' (punctual) enjoy something, enjoy oneself - q̱:nhe ə (stative) to be alive
- o'wesha:nhs (habitual) have a good time, enjoy oneself - q̱:nyahunq ə to have included, to have designated
- de'ə-ohnhegye' (stative) be stillborn
- agənheghə (stative) live on something, be sustained by something

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1 Note the use of [əo] instead of [ə:] at the beginning of ‘I’ words
2 Note the use of [ə] instead of [ə:] at the beginning of ‘I’ words.
3 You can use [e:] at the beginning of these words instead of [əe]; for example, e:hsə'gwa:n instead of aehsə'gwa:n.
4 Note [e:] at the beginning of this word, instead of [ə].
**Interactive pronominal prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>o-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>a-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>i-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l...him</td>
<td>ahe:ge^1</td>
<td>heyahodohya^1</td>
<td>behno:ς^1</td>
<td>eheyene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eheyoy^1, deheyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]he and l...him</td>
<td>asha:kni:ge^1</td>
<td>shakmiyahodohya^1</td>
<td>shakmihnος^1</td>
<td>eshagye:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eshak:knος^1, dehshakmiyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they and l...him/them (males)</td>
<td>asha:gw:a:ge^1</td>
<td>shagwahodohya^1</td>
<td>shagwe:hnος^1</td>
<td>eshagwe:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>esha:gyος^1, dehshagwayodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (s) and l...him (males)</td>
<td>ashetmi:ge^1</td>
<td>shegyahodohya^1</td>
<td>shetnihnος^1</td>
<td>eshetnene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>esha:thni:yo^1, esha:tnο^1, dehshetniyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you[p] and l...him (males)</td>
<td>aschedwa:ge^1</td>
<td>shedwahodohya^1, shetwahodohya^1</td>
<td>shedwεhnος, shetwεhnος</td>
<td>eshchedwene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>esha:due^1, dehshedwodayodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you...him</td>
<td>ahebse:ge^1</td>
<td>hebabahodohya^1</td>
<td>hebhno:ς^1</td>
<td>ehebsene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>ehebso^1, dehshbodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two...him, he...you two</td>
<td>ashesni:ge^1</td>
<td>shejahodohya^1</td>
<td>shesnhihnος^1</td>
<td>ehesnene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>ehesni:yo^1, ehesnο^1, dehshesniyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all...him, he...you all</td>
<td>asheswa:ge^1</td>
<td>sheswahodohya^1</td>
<td>sheswe:hnος^1</td>
<td>eheswe:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eheswe:swa:yo^1, eheswe:jo^1, dehsheswayodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he...him</td>
<td>ahook:wa:ge^1</td>
<td>bowahodohya^1</td>
<td>bhowεhnος^1</td>
<td>ehook:we:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eho:wo^1, dehhowodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they...him, s/he...them (male)</td>
<td>ahyowadi:ge^1</td>
<td>bowεnhahodohya^1</td>
<td>bowεnhno:ς^1</td>
<td>ehyowɛnene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>ehyow:yo^1, ehyow:enο^1, dehhyowedayodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...me</td>
<td>aha:ge:ge^1</td>
<td>hagahodohya^1</td>
<td>haghno:ς^1</td>
<td>ehaγενε:wahde^1</td>
<td>eha:go^1, dehagodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...us two</td>
<td>ashok:ni:ge^1</td>
<td>shogyahodohya^1</td>
<td>shokhnος^1</td>
<td>eoshagye:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eoshokno^1, dehshoknodaiahi^2, dehshokniyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...us all</td>
<td>ashogw:wa:ge^1</td>
<td>shogowahodohya^1</td>
<td>shogwe:hnος^1</td>
<td>eoshogwe:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eoshog:wo^1, dehshogwayodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...you</td>
<td>ehyaq:ge^1</td>
<td>hyahodohya^1</td>
<td>ehyeqno:ς^1</td>
<td>ehyeqe:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>ehyaq:yo^1, dehhyaqodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...her/them (fi)</td>
<td>asha:go:ge^1</td>
<td>shagohodohya^1</td>
<td>shagohno:ς^1</td>
<td>eshagone:ne:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eshagao^1, esha:go:yo^1, dehshagoyaodaiahi^2, dehshagodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l...her</td>
<td>ake:ge^1</td>
<td>keyahodohya^1</td>
<td>kehnος^1</td>
<td>ekeyene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>ekeyο^1, dekeyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/we two...them</td>
<td>agake:ge^1</td>
<td>gakeyahodohya^1</td>
<td>gakehnος, kurkehnος</td>
<td>egakeyenene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>egakeyο^1, degakeyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they and l...them [females only]</td>
<td>a'aki:ge^1</td>
<td>akiyahodohya^1</td>
<td>akihnος^1</td>
<td>eayakiyenene:wa:de^1</td>
<td>eya:kiyο^1, deyakiyodaiahi^2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 The [i] of the stem (-idagra'oh, -idagra's, -idagra') is missing in many of these forms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interactive pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>o-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>a-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>i-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you you (p) and I...her/them</td>
<td>a’etsi:ge’</td>
<td>etsiyahodqha’a</td>
<td>etihnqs</td>
<td>eyetiyan’wa:de’</td>
<td>eyetiyan’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you...her</td>
<td>ashe:ge’</td>
<td>sheyahodqha’a</td>
<td>shehnqs</td>
<td>esheyn’wa:de’</td>
<td>esheyn’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you...them</td>
<td>aga:shexi:g</td>
<td>gasheyahodqha’a</td>
<td>gashehnqs, ka:shahodqha’a</td>
<td>egasheyn’wa:de’</td>
<td>egasheyn’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they...you, you...them, she...you...her</td>
<td>a’etsi:ge’</td>
<td>etsiyahodqha’a</td>
<td>etihnqs</td>
<td>eyetiyan’wa:de’</td>
<td>eyetiyan’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they [females only]...her/them</td>
<td>aqaxig</td>
<td>gasaxig</td>
<td>qaaxig</td>
<td>eqaxig</td>
<td>eqaxig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they [males only]...her/them (fi)</td>
<td>ashadodi:ge’</td>
<td>shagonahodqha’a</td>
<td>shagonhnqs</td>
<td>eshagonen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eshagonen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he...them [males only], they...him, they...them</td>
<td>ahowadi:ge’</td>
<td>hqwehodqha’a</td>
<td>hwadinhnqs</td>
<td>ehowanen’wa:de’</td>
<td>ehowanen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she...me</td>
<td>a’ogx:ge’</td>
<td>sgaxhodqha’a</td>
<td>ogaxhnqs</td>
<td>eygxen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eygxen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she...us, they...us</td>
<td>a’o’kix:ge’</td>
<td>okiyahodqha’a</td>
<td>okiyhnqs</td>
<td>eyokiyen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eyokiyen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she...you [s]</td>
<td>a’esai:ge’</td>
<td>esiyahodqha’a</td>
<td>esihnqs</td>
<td>eyesnen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eyesnen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they...you [s]</td>
<td>aqasai:ge’</td>
<td>gasaxhodqha’a</td>
<td>gasaxhnqs</td>
<td>egasaxen’wa:de’</td>
<td>egasaxen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I...you</td>
<td>aq:ge’</td>
<td>goyahodqha’a</td>
<td>gohnqs</td>
<td>egoyen’wa:de’</td>
<td>egoyen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/we excl. dual...you two/it</td>
<td>akni:ge’</td>
<td>kniyahodqha’a</td>
<td>knihnqs</td>
<td>eknnen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eknnen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/we...you all/it</td>
<td>agwi:ge’</td>
<td>gwayahodqha’a</td>
<td>gwhnqs</td>
<td>egwene’wa:de’</td>
<td>egwene’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you...me</td>
<td>aseq:ge’</td>
<td>sghahodqha’a</td>
<td>sgihnqs</td>
<td>ehsqen’wa:de’</td>
<td>ehsqen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I...you (singular), We two...you (singular), etc.,</td>
<td>eskni:ge’</td>
<td>skyahodqha’a</td>
<td>sknihnqs</td>
<td>eksknen’wa:de’</td>
<td>eksknen’wa:de’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>a-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>i-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I…you all , We all…you (singular), etc.</td>
<td>esgwà:geʔ</td>
<td>sgwahdòqhaʔ</td>
<td>sgwèhòq:s</td>
<td>ñégwèn̓g:wà:deʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:geʔ, then, the INTERACTIVE prefix means ‘YOU saw ME’.
### INTERACTIVE pronominal prefixes — AGENT/INTERACTIVE

**Agent/interactive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>a-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>i-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I…it</td>
<td>age:geʔ</td>
<td>gahodohəʔ</td>
<td>gihno:s</td>
<td>ęgęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (including listener)…it</td>
<td>eni:geʔ, ekni:geʔ</td>
<td>gyahodohəʔ</td>
<td>mihno:s, kmihno:s</td>
<td>ęknęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we two (not including listener)…it</td>
<td>a'akni:geʔ</td>
<td>aghyodohəʔ</td>
<td>aknihno:s</td>
<td>ęyaŋyene'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we all (including listener)…it</td>
<td>a'agwa:geʔ</td>
<td>agwahodohəʔ</td>
<td>agwėhno:s</td>
<td>ęyaŋwene'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (singular)…it</td>
<td>edwa:geʔ</td>
<td>dwahodohəʔ</td>
<td>dwėhno:s</td>
<td>ędwėne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you two…it</td>
<td>ehswa:geʔ</td>
<td>swahodohəʔ</td>
<td>swėhno:s</td>
<td>ęhswęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all…it</td>
<td>ehswa:geʔ</td>
<td>swahodohəʔ</td>
<td>swėhno:s</td>
<td>ęhswęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he…it</td>
<td>aha:geʔ</td>
<td>baḥodohəʔ</td>
<td>baḥno:s</td>
<td>ębañęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she…it</td>
<td>a'e:geʔ</td>
<td>bəḥodohəʔ</td>
<td>bəḥno:s</td>
<td>ębəñęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it…it</td>
<td>a'ga:geʔ</td>
<td>wəḥodohəʔ</td>
<td>węhno:s</td>
<td>ęwęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (males only)…it</td>
<td>ahadi:geʔ</td>
<td>ḳəḥodohəʔ</td>
<td>ḳəhno:s</td>
<td>ęḳəñęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (females or mixed)…it</td>
<td>a'ga:geʔ</td>
<td>gəḥodohəʔ</td>
<td>gęhno:s</td>
<td>ęgęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (animals)…it</td>
<td>agadi:geʔ</td>
<td>ęgęnahodohəʔ</td>
<td>gęjuhno:s</td>
<td>ęgęne'wa:deʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 ḡadawęʔ, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c-stem FACTUAL-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>a-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>i-stem HABITUAL</th>
<th>e-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
<th>o-stem FUTURE-PUNCTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it...me</td>
<td>OLEAN 3'</td>
<td>OLEAN 3'</td>
<td>OLAN'</td>
<td>OLAN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...us two</td>
<td>a'OEKNI 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKNI 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKNI 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKNI 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...us all</td>
<td>a'OEKW 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKW 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKW 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKW 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...you (singular)</td>
<td>OHSA 3'</td>
<td>OHSA 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...you two</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...you all</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...him</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHSAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
<td>OHAH 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...her</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...it</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
<td>a'OEKO 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...them (males only)</td>
<td>AHODI 3'</td>
<td>AHODI 3'</td>
<td>AHODI 3'</td>
<td>AHODI 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...them (females or mixed)</td>
<td>a'AGODI 3'</td>
<td>a'AGODI 3'</td>
<td>a'AGODI 3'</td>
<td>a'AGODI 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it...them (animals)</td>
<td>a'ODI 3'</td>
<td>a'ODI 3'</td>
<td>a'ODI 3'</td>
<td>a'ODI 3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 agidę́th, it means 'I am poor'. In contrast, when it occurs on the verbs shown here, as in OLEAN 3', 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 OLEAN 3'. 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)trowi, (a)trony- *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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepronominal prefixes (adverbs)</th>
<th>Prepronominal prefixes (mood)</th>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>Derivational prefixes</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Derivational suffixes</th>
<th>Purposive and progressive</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Derivational suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semireflexive -ad, -ade, -at-, -ag</td>
<td>causative -hd, -ht</td>
<td>purposive -e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive -adad, -adade, -adat, -adag</td>
<td>datives or benefactives -hs, -s, -nih, -e</td>
<td>progressive -agyeʔ, -ogyeʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocatives -hn, -n, -dr</td>
<td>facilitative -sgəʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eventuative -sʔ</td>
<td>instrumental -hkwaʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inchoatives -dʔ, -dʔ, -nheʔ</td>
<td>intensifier -jih</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reversives -goʔ, -gw, -hs</td>
<td>augmentative -ge:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causative-instrumental -hsd, -hst, -hs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
37. See 43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form (see 43)</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Postaspectual suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual past</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>V + dislocative</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>-gehë:ʔ <em>past</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future habitual</td>
<td>ęż future</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>-a:k, -e:k continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite habitual</td>
<td>a: indefinite</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>-a:k, -e:k continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. See 44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form (see 44)</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>factual punctual</td>
<td>ą²- factual</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future punctual</td>
<td>ęż- future</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>V + dislocative (see 50)</td>
<td>punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite punctual</td>
<td>a:- indefinite</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

39. See 45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form (see 45)</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Postaspeclual suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agentive stative</td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td>V + dislocative</td>
<td>(see 50, 51)</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative past</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-(h)neʔ remote -(h)k former</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future stative</td>
<td>ę- future</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-a:k, -ęk continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite stative</td>
<td>a:- indefinite</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-a:k, -ęk continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive stative (see 46)</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ągyeʔ, -ęgyeʔ progressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

40. See 46, 47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Postaspectual suffixes</th>
<th>Postaspectual suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>progressive stative (see 46, 47)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[P+]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive factual stative</td>
<td>aˀ- factual</td>
<td>[P+]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive future stative</td>
<td>e- future</td>
<td>[P+]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite stative</td>
<td>a:- indefinite</td>
<td>[P+]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite stative</td>
<td>a:- indefinite</td>
<td>[P+]</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>a:k, -e:k continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

41. See 48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form (see 48)</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal Verb stem</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Postaspectual suffixes</th>
<th>Aspect suffix</th>
<th>Postaspectual suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>progressive stative (see 46 above)</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ughty, -ergy }</td>
<td>-s habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive habitual</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ughty, -ergy }</td>
<td>-s habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive habitual past</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ughty, -ergy }</td>
<td>-s habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td>-chy: past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive future habitual</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ughty, -ergy }</td>
<td>-s habitual</td>
<td>-a:k, -e:k continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite habitual</td>
<td>a: indefinite</td>
<td>[P +]</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>-ughty, -ergy }</td>
<td>-s habitual</td>
<td>-a:k, -e:k continuative (also called a modalizer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

42. See 52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verb form (see 52)</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Purposive -e</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V + dislocative (see 50)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-igung habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive habitual past</td>
<td></td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-igung punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive past</td>
<td></td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e:</td>
<td>-igung punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive factual punctual</td>
<td>a: factual</td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-igung punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive future punctual</td>
<td>ç: future</td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-igung punctual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive indefinite punctual</td>
<td>a:- indefinite</td>
<td>[A +]</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-igung punctual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>[A+]</td>
<td>to be doing on a continual basis or regularly</td>
<td>g-atró:wih(s)</td>
<td>(tęˀ) degatro:wihs</td>
<td>ahgwih tōsatrōnyāhsğoˀ: don't go shooting your mouth off</td>
<td>ahgwih tōsatrōnyāhsğoˀ: don't go shooting your mouth off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual past</td>
<td>[A+ habitual verb +ğęhɛ:?', past]</td>
<td>to be doing in the past on a continual basis or regularly; something one used to be doing</td>
<td>g-atrowihs-ğęėhɛ:?, g-ahyagwāhs-ğęėhɛ:ˀ</td>
<td>(tęˀ) degatrowihsğęėhɛ:ˀ</td>
<td>ahgwih tōsatrōnyāhsğoˀ: don't go shooting your mouth off</td>
<td>ahgwih tōsatrōnyāhsğoˀ: don't go shooting your mouth off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future habitual</td>
<td>[e+ A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>to be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly</td>
<td>e-g-atrowihs-a:k, e-g-ahyagwāhs-e:k</td>
<td>(tęˀ) ta:gatrowiha:k</td>
<td>ahgwih ḗhsatrowiha:k don't be talking about it (in the future)</td>
<td>ahgwih ḗhsatrowiha:k don't be talking about it (in the future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite habitual</td>
<td>[a:- A+ habitual verb +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>to possibly be doing in the future on a continual basis or regularly</td>
<td>a:-g-atrówij-a:k, a:-g-ahyagwāhs-e:k</td>
<td>(tęˀ) ta:gatrowiha:k</td>
<td>ahgwih e:satrowiha:k don't be talking about it now (said at the moment)</td>
<td>ahgwih e:satrowiha:k don't be talking about it now (said at the moment)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

44. The punctual aspect, and forms based on the punctual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>factual punctual</td>
<td>[a  A+ verb stem +ˀ punctual]</td>
<td><em>an event that has occurred or is occurring at one point in time</em></td>
<td>a-g-a:tró:wi-ˀ, a-gáhyago-ˀ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future punctual</td>
<td>[e  A+ verb stem +ˀ punctual]</td>
<td><em>an event that will occur at one point in time</em></td>
<td>e̱-g-a:tró:wi-ˀ, e̱-g-áhyago-ˀ</td>
<td>(tẽ') ta:gro:wi:</td>
<td>ahgwih e̱hsa:tro:wih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite punctual</td>
<td>[a:  A+ verb stem +ˀ punctual]</td>
<td><em>an event that might, should, or could occur at one point in time</em></td>
<td>a:-g-atró:wi-ˀ, a:-g-ahyá:go-ˀ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ahgwih hwaˀ a:satro:wih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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45. The stative aspect, and forms based on the stative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>[P+ verb stem +; , +čh, +qh stative]</td>
<td>a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place</td>
<td>ag-a:tró:wi:-, ag-áhyagw-čh</td>
<td>(tę') de'agatro:wi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agentive stative</td>
<td>[A+ verb stem +; , +čh, +qh stative]</td>
<td>a state of affairs that is done; the result of an event</td>
<td>w-atró:wi:-, w-ahyá:gw-čh</td>
<td>(tę') dewa:tro:wi:</td>
<td>ahgwih a:watro:wi:</td>
<td>don't let it tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative past</td>
<td>[P+ stative verb form +(h)ne?: remote or +hk former (not shown)]</td>
<td>a state of affairs that has taken place; a state of affairs that existed in the past</td>
<td>ag-atrowí-hne:? , ag-áhyagw-čh-ne:?</td>
<td>(tę') de'agatrowi:jhne:?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future stative</td>
<td>[č- P+ stative verb form +a:k +e):k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>a state of affairs that will take place; a state of affairs that will be in the future</td>
<td>č-wag-atrówi:h-č-k, č-wag-áhyá:gw-č-e:-k</td>
<td>(tę') ta:wagatrowiha:k</td>
<td>ahgwih čhsatrowiha:k</td>
<td>don't be talking about it (in the future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite stative</td>
<td>[a:- P+ stative verb form +a:k +e):k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>a state of affairs that might take place; a state of affairs that might be in the future</td>
<td>a:-wag-a:tró:wi:-k, a:-wag-áhyagw-č-e:-k</td>
<td>(tę') ta:waga:tro:wi:k</td>
<td>ahgwih hne'? a:satrowi:k, e:satrowi:k</td>
<td>you shouldn't have been talking about it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

46. The progressive: You can create a ‘progressive’ verb by adding the progressive suffix -agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ to a basic stative verb form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>[P+ verb stem +:, + apellido, +ə apellido]</td>
<td><em>a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place</em></td>
<td>ag-ą:tró:wi:, ag-ąhagw-ą</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive stative</td>
<td>[P+ stative verb form +agyeˀ, -ęgyeˀ]</td>
<td><em>while one is going along and doing something (another activity takes place)</em></td>
<td>ag-atrowih-ągyeˀ, ag-ąhagwəh-ęgyeˀ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Once you have the progressive stative form, you can add mood prefixes and aspect suffixes to it:

47. Additional progressive stative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>progressive factual stative</td>
<td>[aˀ+ P+ progressive form]</td>
<td><em>an activity that one might, should, etc. do</em></td>
<td>a:-wag-atrowih-ągyeˀ, a:-wag-ąhagw-ę-ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>(tęˀ) dewagatrowjha:ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀse:ę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive future stative</td>
<td>[ęˀ+ P+ progressive form]</td>
<td><em>an activity that one might, should, etc. do</em></td>
<td>a:-wag-atrowih-ągyeˀ, a:-wag-ąhagw-ę-ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>(tęˀ) dewagatrowjha:ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀse:ę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite stative</td>
<td>[aˀ+ P+ progressive form]</td>
<td><em>an activity that one might, should, etc. do</em></td>
<td>a:-wag-atrowih-ągyeˀ, a:-wag-ąhagw-ę-ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>(tęˀ) dewagatrowjha:ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀse:ę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite stative</td>
<td>[aˀ+ P+ progressive form+a:ąk, +ę:ęk continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td><em>an activity that one might, should, etc. do</em></td>
<td>a:-wag-atrowih-ągyeˀ, a:-wag-ąhagw-ę-ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>(tęˀ) dewagatrowjha:ęgyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀ</td>
<td>a:hsatrowihagyeˀse:ę</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>progressive habitual</td>
<td>[P+ progressive form + s]</td>
<td>an activity that one is going along and doing on a continual basis</td>
<td>ag-atrowih-agye's, g-atrowih-á:gye's, ag-ahyagwék-ęgye's</td>
<td>(tę') dewagatrowįha:gye's(s)</td>
<td>ahgwih hne'</td>
<td>te:satrowįha:gye'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive habitual past</td>
<td>[P+ progressive habitual +gęhę?] past</td>
<td>an activity that one used to go along and do on a regular basis</td>
<td>ag-atrowih-agyé's-gęhę?, ag-ahyagwék-ęgye's-gęhę?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive indefinite habitual</td>
<td>[a:- P+ progressive habitual +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>an activity that one might go along and do on a regular basis</td>
<td>a:-wag-atrowiḥ-ągyé's-e:k, a:-wag-ahyagwék-ęgye's-e:k</td>
<td>(tę') ta:wagatrowįha:gye'se:k</td>
<td>ahgwih e:satrowįha:gye'se:k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dislocative stem</td>
<td>-at̄roñyah-, -ahyagwah-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative habitual</td>
<td>[A+ dislocative stem +e’s]</td>
<td>something one is being sent to do all the time</td>
<td>g-at̄roñyah-e’s, g-ahyágwah-s</td>
<td>(tɛ’) degat̄roñyahne’s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative habitual past</td>
<td>[A+ dislocative habitual stem +gč̱eːː; past]</td>
<td>something one used to be sent to do all the time</td>
<td>g-at̄roñyahné’s-gč̱eː;</td>
<td>(tɛ’) degat̄roñyahne’sgč̱eː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative future habitual</td>
<td>[ɛ+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>something one will be sent to do all the time</td>
<td>ɛ-g-at̄roñyahné’s-e-k, ɛ-g-ahyágwáhs-e:k</td>
<td>(tɛ’) taːgat̄roñyahne’se:k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative indefinite habitual</td>
<td>[a:+A+ dislocative habitual stem +a:k, +e:k continuative, modalizer]</td>
<td>something one might be sent to do all the time</td>
<td>a:-g-at̄roñyahné’s-e:k, a:-g-ahyágwáhs-e:k</td>
<td>(tɛ’) taːgat̄roñyahne’se:k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dislocative stem</td>
<td>[-agatrogenyahn-, -agahyaks-]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative factual punctual</td>
<td>[a- A+ dislocative stem +a’ joiner vowel and punctual]</td>
<td>something one went and did</td>
<td>a-g-atrogenyahn-a’, a-g-ahyaks-a’</td>
<td>(te’)</td>
<td>ta:gatrogenyahn’a’</td>
<td>ahgwih \ ehsatronyahn’a’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative future punctual</td>
<td>[e- A+ dislocative stem +a’ joiner vowel and punctual]</td>
<td>something one will go and do</td>
<td>e-g-atrogenyahn-a’, e-g-ahyaks’a’</td>
<td>(te’)</td>
<td>ta:gatrogenyahn’a’</td>
<td>ahgwih \ ehsatronyahn’a’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative indefinite punctual</td>
<td>[a: A+ dislocative stem +a’ joiner vowel and punctual]</td>
<td>something one might go and do</td>
<td>a:-g-atrogenyahn-a’, a:-g-ahyaks’a’</td>
<td>(te’)</td>
<td>ta:gatrogenyahn’a’</td>
<td>ahgwih \ a:hsatronyahn’a’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dislocative stem</td>
<td>[-agatrɔnyahn-, -agahyaks-]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative stative</td>
<td>[P+ dislocative stem +qh, +q:, +qh]</td>
<td>something one has gone and done, or something one is going and doing now</td>
<td>ag-atrɔnyahn-qh, ag-ahyaks-q:</td>
<td>(tê') dewagatrɔnyahnq:</td>
<td></td>
<td>ahgwih a:atronyahnq:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative stative past</td>
<td>[P+ dislocative stative +hne:? remote]</td>
<td>one went there and did something (and one is back now)</td>
<td>ag-atrɔnyahn-qh-k, ag-ahyaks-qh-k</td>
<td>(tê') dewagatrɔnyahnqhk</td>
<td>ahgwih a:atronyahnqhk, e:atronyahnqhk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative future stative</td>
<td>[q+P+ dislocative stative -k modalizer]</td>
<td>something one will have gone and done (by the time someone else does something else)</td>
<td>q-wag-atrɔnyahnq:k, q-wag-ahyaksq:k</td>
<td>ahgwih a:atronyahnqhk, e:atronyahnqhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislocative indefinite stative</td>
<td>[a:+P+ dislocative stative -k modalizer]</td>
<td>something one would have gone and done (by the time someone else would have done something else)</td>
<td>a:-wag-atrɔnyahnq:k, a:-wag-ahyaksq:k</td>
<td>ahgwih a:atronyahnqhk, e:atronyahnqhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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52. Aspect suffixes with purposive verb forms: purposive aspect verbs with a dislocative and purposive suffix can take the following additional aspect forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>required prefixes and endings</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>positive verb form</th>
<th>negative verb form</th>
<th>positive command</th>
<th>negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purposive verb</td>
<td>[-e to go]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive stems</td>
<td>[-agatrǫnyahne-, -ahyakse-]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive habitual</td>
<td>[A+(dislocative stem) +e +’\ s]</td>
<td>something one goes and does all the time</td>
<td>g-atrǫnyahn-e-’s, g-ahyá:ks-e-’s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>[A+(dislocative stem) +e +’ punctual]</td>
<td>something one has come to do</td>
<td>g-atrǫnyahn-e’, g-ahyá:ks-e’</td>
<td>(tę’)</td>
<td>degatrǫnyahne?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive past</td>
<td>[A+(dislocative stem) +e: +’ punctual]</td>
<td>something one came and did</td>
<td>g-atrǫnyahn-e:-’, g-ahyá:ks-e:-’</td>
<td>(tę’)</td>
<td>dewagatrǫnyahn e?:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive factual punctual</td>
<td>[a: A+ (dislocative stem) +e +’]</td>
<td>something one will go and do; something one is going to do now</td>
<td>a-g-atrǫnyáhn-e-’, a-g-áhyaks-e’</td>
<td>(tę’)</td>
<td>degatrǫnyahne?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive future punctual</td>
<td>[ę: A+ (dislocative stem) +e +’]</td>
<td>something one will go and do</td>
<td>e-g-atrǫnyáhn-e’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive indefinite punctual</td>
<td>[a:+ / ę:+ (dislocative stem) +e +’]</td>
<td>something one might go and do</td>
<td>a:-g-atrǫnyahne’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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53. The verb /-e/- *go*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>linguistic name of verb form</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Positive command</th>
<th>Negative command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| purposive                   | i:ge⁹  
*I'm walking, etc.* | tẽ⁹ dege⁹ |                  |                  |
|                            | da:ge⁹  
*I am going* | tẽ⁹ tõ:da:ge: |                  |                  |
|                            | ha'ge⁹  
*I went* | tẽ⁹ toh ta'ge⁹ |                  |                  |
| purposive past              | edwe:⁹  
*We all went together* | tẽ⁹ te:dwe: |                  |                  |
| purposive habitual          | i:ge's  
*I'm here* | tẽ⁹ dege's |                  |                  |
| purposive future punctual   | he:ge:²  
*I will go* | tẽ⁹ toh ta:ge: | he:ge:  
*Let me go there* | tẽ⁹ ta:ge: |
|                            | de:ge¹  
*I'll come back this way* | tẽ⁹ tõ:da:ge: |                  |                  |
|                            | hẽhse:²  
*I'm going back there* | tẽ⁹ tõ: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.
Appendix B: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Cayuga

L. Bibliography

Foster, Michael K. 1993. Course notes for Ling. 29-381. Ms. Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, ms.
Cayuga particles

**aga:węh**
- it is mine, ours
  - [(a)węh have, own]

**agi:**
- ouch!

**ahgwih**
- Don’t...
  - (Ahgwih) ędihsa’dre:. Don’t drive over here.
  - Ahgwih hęhsa’dre:. Don’t drive over there.
  - Ahgwih dehsniqqhać’. Don’t bother it.
  - Ahgwih ēhsa:sdı:s. Don’t disturb it; don’t handle it.

**aju!**
- ouch! (exclamation, said when you touch something cold or hot)

**aŋhe’y**
- it (lit.: it is alone)
  - [(a)ŋhe’y alone]

**aŋhe’y:č̱̱h**
- the most

**ahsdeh**
- outside, outdoor

**ahsq̱, ahsq̱(h)**
- still, yet, some more; More! (Said when you want someone to pour a drink.)
  - Ahsq̱ gęh? Do you want some more?
  - Ahsq̱ ne?: ahahsowęh. He’s still angry.
  - Ahsq̱ ni?: agøtsanq̱hwa:s neq̱ dagaihø:niq̱ gyoteq̱hshıq:ıq̱ agahyagwechnıq:. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.
  - Ahsq̱ awagahyagweq̱hgye’sę:k gyę:gya’t ta:wakṉqhy’aq̱k. 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).
  - Ahsq̱ e’nihs desatwę:jo:nıh! You still want more!

**awę’y**
- it is said
Cayuga particles

da
  here (does not occur alone)
  see: **dagwa:dih, da...gwa:dih**
  see: **dane:**
  see: **dane:?hni?**
  see: **dane:onęh**
  see: **da:netoh**
  see: **da:nę:dah**
  see: **danhọweh**
  see: **da:onęh**
  see: **nę: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? dwę:doh. That is also what we mean.

dane:?onęh, dane(?)onę(h)
  and now that
  [da, ne:? , o:nęh]
  Dane:onęh to niya:węhdre'. And now this is what is going to happen.

da:netoh
  that is all
  [da, ne', to]

da:nę:dah
  now this also
  [da, nę:, nę:dah]
  Da:nę:dah ha'gahe' gao' ędihswwatrihs ęhsdadahęhs:yi:hs. Now is the time to come closer and listen.

danhọweh, da(n)họweh
  this is where
  [họ(weh), nhọ:(weh), da]
  Da:nhọ:weh hö: he’drog' ne?:? haksa’go:wa. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.
Cayuga particles

**da:onęh**
and now
[da, o:nęh]

**dege:hec(h, (tę) dege:hec(h)**
not too many
[ę]:

**dejaq:**
both (of you two)

**dę, de(?)**
what (short form); why
[dę, ho'dę']
Dę hne: i:se:/? What do you want?
Dę hne: ni:yoht shęh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?
Agya'dahsde' dehni:. I'm heavy.
Dę ni: sətsahtgα/ What will you give, donate?
Dę ni: sa'nigöho'dę:/ What are your thoughts?
Dęhne: ni:yoht tsęh toh nahsye:?. Why did you do that?

**dę' hne:, de(?) hne(?)**
what? why?; what is that? why me? (or any similar expression of exasperation)
[dę', hne:?]
Dę hne: i:se:/? What do you want?
Dę hne: ni:yoht i:se:/? Why do you want it that way?
Dę hne: ni:yoht shęh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?
Dęhne: ni:yoht tsęh toh nahsye:?. Why did you do that?

**dę'ho'dę? de(?)ho(?)dę(?)**
what
[dę', ho'dę']
Dę hne: ho'dę?/ What kind?
Hao dahskro:wi hę de? ni: (ho' de?) nęga:gye:? O.k., you tell me what to do!
Cayuga particles

di', di(')
so, then
Do:gehs di' geh/ Is that true (then)?
Gaq di? nh:weh nihswes o:ngeh/ Where then are you now?
Hwe:doh di? eje:yq'/ When then is she going to return?
I:s di? gheh hne:/ How about you then?
Ne' di' ni:s/ How about you then?
Ne? di' gheh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
Sanohokda:ni? ge di'/ Are you sick (then)?
Ehsne' gheh di'/ Are you coming along (then)?
Ehe: sgenoh. Ne' di' ni:s/ I’m fine thanks. And you (then)?
Do: di' neyonishe'/ How long will it take (then)?

do:, do(')
how (or other terms involving measurement)
Daskro:wi' do: niyowihsdae' esahde:di'. You tell me at what time you’re going to leave.
Do: nitga:de'/ How high?
Do: gwa' neyonishe'. A certain length of time.
Do: i'?! Let me!; How about me?
Do: ni:wa's/ How big?
Do: niga:go/ How many people?
Do: niya:ga'/ How big is it/she?
Do: niyo:/ How many, how much?
Do: nidihshe:no:/ How old are you? (singular)
Do:gwa' ni:yq: esaga:de'. It is going to cost you a certain amount.
Do: gwa' na'onihshe'/ How long did it take?
Do: di' neyonishe'/ How long will it take?

do: i'? 
let me!
[do, i'?]

dodinyo:we', dod(')inyo:(we?)
how far is it then?
[do, di', niyo:(we?), nyo:(we?)]

do: ga'
I do not know
Cayuga particles

do:gwa?
how; certain amount, a measure
[do, gwa']
Do: gwa' nęyonishe'. A certain length of time.
Do:gwa? ni:yq: ęsaga:dę'. It is going to cost you a certain amount.

e?:, e(?)
again
Agahdro's onęh e: jitrehs satšę: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'sdowa:neh.... (now again) I’m loud, noisy
i:hs gęy'hne: tsoq: e?: toh nahsyę?: 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:neh e:?: i:s toh ha'seghe:k. You’re getting into someone else’s fight again, butting in.
Ahsqoh e: nihs desa'twę:jo:nih! You still want more (again)!
Ne'gi'q: e?: toh ihe's. He’s here again!
Tsę: 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'aqanghsa:dih ita't. He’s standing on the other side of the house.
Enqhwes'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.

g'a', g(?)a
(does not occur alone)
see: g'atoh
see: g'ato:hah
see: te' ga'toh
Cayuga particles

\texttt{gaē, gaē(•)}
\begin{itemize}
\item which, where, somewhere
\end{itemize}

Gaē diʔ nhʔ:weh nihsweʔs o:nēh/ Where then are you now?
Gaē niyeyą′daʔ/ Which person? Which woman?
Gaē ni:ga: i:seʔ a:se:k/ Which one do you want to eat?
Gaęgwąʔ nhą:̃(weh) tąwą′nigóhaʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.
Gaę nétahsę:/ Where do you come from?
Gaę nhń: nődi:se:ną:/ Where are you from?
Gaę nhń tsiʔdrą̃/ Where do you live?
Gaę hwaʔ nhń hejisaį̃hö̃deʔ/ Where do you work?
Gaę niyo:weh heha:we:ną:. How far has he gone?

\texttt{gaęnhö:weh, (gaę) hö:̃(weh), (gaę) nhö:(weh)}
\begin{itemize}
\item what place, where
\end{itemize}

[gaę, hö(weh), nhö:(weh)]
Gaę diʔ nhő:weh nihsweʔs o:nēh/ Where then are you now?
Gaę diʔ nhő:weh heha:we:ną:/ Where then has he gone?
Gaęgwąʔ nhő:(weh) tąwą′nigóhaʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.
Gaę nhń nődi:se:ną:/ Where are you from?
Gaę nhń tsiʔdrą̃/ Where do you live?
Gaę hwaʔ nhń hejisaį̃hö̃deʔ/ Where do you work?

\texttt{gaę nyo:weʔ, gaę n(i)yö:(weʔ)}
\begin{itemize}
\item How far?
\end{itemize}
[gaę, nyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]
Gaę niyo:weh heha:we:ną:. How far has he gone?

\texttt{gaę:diʔ, gaę(•)di(•)}
\begin{itemize}
\item where is it then (emphasizing where)
\end{itemize}
[gaę, diʔ]
Gaę diʔ nhő:weh nihsweʔs o:nēh/ Where then are you now?
Gaę diʔ nhő:weh heha:we:ną:/ Where then has he gone?

\texttt{gaęgwąʔ nhÖ:weh, gaęgwąʔ(•) nhÖ:(weh)}
\begin{itemize}
\item somewhere around; someplace, thereabouts
\end{itemize}
[gaę, gwąʔ, h ö(weh), nhör:(weh)]
Gaęgwąʔ nhő:(weh) tąwą′nigóhaʔ. She waits for him somewhere, someplace.
Cayuga particles

gao?:, gao(?)
this side, this way; at this time; before; less
gao? shę nyo?: to: nęya:węh before that happens
gao? nawahtgeh tsa?gaọdri:yo’. The time before, they fought.
Gao? nądahe?:. Come this way.
Da:nci:dah ha’gahe’ gao’ ędíhsawatrihs ęhswaďałęhs:yoḥs. Now is the time to come closer and listen.

gao? nawahtgeh, gao(?) nawahtgeh
before that time
[gao?:, nawahtgeh]
Gao? nawahtgeh tsa’gaọdri:yo’. The time before, they fought.

gao’ shę nyo:(we?), gao(?) tsęh nyo:(we?)
before that time
[gao?:, shęh/tsęh, nıy:(we?), nyo:(we?)]
gao’ shę nyo?: to: nęya:węh before that happens

gaohe?:
she, her (lit.: she is alone)
[(a)ọhe?: alone]

(gat)g’i’shęhwa’, (gat)gi(?)shęhwa(?)
maybe, perhaps
[gi’, shęh, tsęh, hwa’]
Ne’ gihshęhwa’ e:đoḥ. Maybe that’s the one she means.

g’atoh, g(?)ato(h)
nowhere, somewhere, anywhere
[ga’, to, to:hah]
G’atoh tso: ı:e:tsę:. Nowhere only will you find it

g’ato:hah, g(?)ato(?)hah
somewhere
[ga’, to, to:hah]
G’ato:hah todahsdọḥ. He’s hiding somewhere.
G’atohah tso: ęse:tsaę’. You will find it someplace.

gę?:, ge(?)
be the one
[ge:]}
Tę’ nę?: deę:. It’s not the one.
Trehs gi? ge?. My goodness!
gěh, gę(h)
particle indicating a question; whether, if, etc.
[gęh]
Ahsō gęh/ Do you want some more?
Dahe? gęh tę nigeq'oh/ Is he coming or not?
Daskro:wih sanqʰokda:nĩ gęh/ Tell me whether you’re sick.
Daskro:wih ędwe: gęh. Tell me if you’re coming along.
Do:ģěhs di' gęh/ Is that true?
Dqdahe' gęh/ Is he coming back?
Do:ģěhs gęh/ Is that the case? Is that true?
Enqʰowe's gęh/ Does she like it?
Hoğluhe gęh aqąqweh nigeq'oh Kim eya:sqʰ/ Was it a man or a woman whose name is Kim?
Hoğluhe gęh aqąqweh nigeq'oh/ Is it a man or a woman?
Hoğluhe’di:yo: gęh/ Is he a kind person?
I:s di' gęh hne:/ How about you then?
Ilhe: gęh to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?
Ne: di' gęh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
O: gęh/ Said when really questioning someone.
Sanqʰokda:nĩ gi' gęh/ Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?
Sanqʰokda:nĩ ge di'/ Are you sick?
To qeq'qh ni:yoth/ I wonder if it’s like that?
To: gęh ha'se' shęh nho: dedwatqesano:/ Are you going to the fair?
Tę' gęh dehse: to: ne: dwa:ye'/ Don’t you think we should do that?
Tę' gęh dehsa:yo:/ Did he not come home?
Tę' gęh/ Isn’t it?
Ędwe:’ gęh/ Are you coming along with us?
Ęhe' gęh/ Is that right?
Ęhsne' gęh di'/ Are you coming along?
Ęsqegho:wi' to gęh ne: hęqe:?. I will tell you if she’s going.
Ęshe' gęh/ Are you going to come?
Gayogqo:nqʰ gę? nĩ:s naqsyadqdę'/ Are you Cayuga?
Soğweho:weh gęh/ Are you Indian?
I:’ gęh sqi:qo'/ Do you mean me?
I:’ gęh sqwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me? (a little bit paranoid)
I:’ gęh e: sqwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me again? (joking)
Cayuga particles

Sge insured geh/ Are you well?
Snigo:ha? geh/ Are you expecting, watching for something?
I:s gehne?/ Was that you?
Etne? geh/ Do you want to come along with me?

gë:s
generally, used to, usually, basically
I:so' agahsidgë: së. I used to sleep a lot.
Ji' gë:s trehs sheno:we:. You lie too much; you’re too much of a liar (generally).
Ne? gë:s ga:do'h. That’s what I usually say.
Ji gë:s trehs jahse: tsëh nisnhëye:s. You’re (generally) too fat for your height.
Ahsqeh gë:s agahdroni:h. I’m (usually) afraid of the dark.
Tsigögwe’dæ:se' gë:s gahyagwahsegë: së. When I was a young person I usually picked berries.
Knöwe’s gë:s tsigögwe’dæ:se’ tig/gwe:go: ñ gë:s agahyagwëhëgye’sgëhë: së. When I was young, I used to love going all over and picking fruit.
Ogwëhë:gye’ gë:s ahso: s. Now and again (that is, in general) you’ll be here.

gi’, gi()
j ust, really
Gi’ trehs aqogodqõh. It’s (just) beyond.
Ne? gi’ e:do'h. That’s (just) what she means.
Ne? gi’ gi:do'h. That’s (just) what I mean.
Ne? gi’ he:do'h. That’s (just) what he means.
O: teqo: gi’, gatg’ishëh ne:’ hwà’ (Just) maybe I will, maybe I won’t (come along)
O:nëh gi’ hodehronihs’ôh. He is (just) ready now.
O:nëh gi’ egoyë’çëtwaqo’ôh. I’m (just) now going to kick you around.
Sanöhökda:ni? gi’ geh/ Are you really sick? Are you sick for sure?
To gi’ shëh ha:ge:. just maybe I should go there.
Trehs gi’ gë’. My goodness!
Të’ gåtonh. Të’ gi’ dehese:ge: Nowhere. I just didn’t see him.
Të’ gi’ gwa:dewagada’gäide’. I’m just not feeling well.
Wahe’ gi’ gatahi:ne’. I’m just getting on my way.
Agatšenö:ni? gi’ tsëh sada’gäide’. I’m just happy that you are well.
Hoioh’de’srï:yo: gi’ ne:’. He just has a good job.
Ahi? gi’ to na:ya:wëh. I just thought that’s what should happen.
Ahi? gi’ to neya:wëh. I just thought that’s what would happen.
Ne’gi’gyë’ asi’. That’s just what you said.
Cayuga particles

Ne‘gi‘gyę‘ gaq:doh. That’s just what the women say.
Ne‘gi‘gyę‘ hana:doh. That’s just what the men say.
Hęgyehgi‘? just leave well enough alone!
Tę‘gi‘daq: to na:ya:węh. No, it (just) will not happen.
Tę‘gihne‘? dedo:ģehs de‘sa:doh. No, it’s not really true what you’re saying.
Tę‘gidaq tayagoga:. No, she (just) will never agree to...
Tę‘gini‘? to ta:gyę:. No, I (just) will not do that.

gi’ gyę‘: , gi() gyę(‘)
just (because)
[gi?, gyę:?]

Jidwahshe:t gi’ gyę‘ e:. Let’s (just) count it again then!
Ne?: gi’ gyę‘. Just because.

g’ihne‘: , g()ihne(‘)
instead
[gi?, hne:?]

g’ihshęh , g()ihshęh, g()itsęh
maybe
[gi?, shęh, tsęh]

O: tę‘qoh, gatg’ishęh ne:’ hwa’. Maybe, maybe not.
Tę? g’i shęh. Maybe not

g’ihshęhwa‘, g()ihshęhwa(‘), g()ihtsęhwa(‘)
maybe that
[gi?, shęh, tsęh, hwa?]  
Tę? gi’ shęh hwa’. Maybe not.

g’itsō:, g()itsō(‘)
just that, just there  
[gi?, tsō:]
To: gitsō: ni:yı:. That’s just all there is.

gonawęh
it is theirs (f/m)
[(a)węh have, own]

gonō:hę‘
they (f/m) (lit.: they (f/m) are alone)
[(a)hę‘ alone]
Cayuga particles

go:wêh
   it is hers
   [(a)wêh have, own]

gôdagye’
   immediately, right away
   [gôdagye’]
   Gôdagye’ êtsahdê:di’. You will leave right away!

gwa’, gwa()’
   referring to a measure of time (does not occur alone)
   see: do:gwa’
   see: gaçgwa’ nhô:(weh)
   see: gwa’ ti:ge:’
   see: gwatoh
   see: gyê:gwa’
   see: gyê’:g wahne:hwa’
   see: hwêdogwa’
   see: ne’gwatoh
   see: nêtsq:gwatoh
   see: o:nêgwa’

gwa’ ti:ge:, gwa() ti:ge:’
   plainly, clearly, as it is
   [gwa’, ti:ge:’]

gwa:dih, gwai
   to one side
   Si:hne? gwai hêhsadî?. Throw that over there!
   see: sigwa:dih

gwahs
   (does not occur alone)
   see: gwahs q:weh
   see: gwahs wahetsq:
   see: ne? gwahs hwa’
   see: tê? gwahs q:weh
Cayuga particles

gwahs ʔ:weh
really
[gwahs, ʔ:weh]
Gwahs ʔ:weh a:yeʔ teʔ desho:to:deʔ. It really seems like he doesn’t (want to) hear; he has selective hearing.

gwahs wahetsqo:
just now; just a few seconds ago
[gwahs, wa’(heh), tsq:]
Gwahs wa’hetqo: to: na’a:wəh. That just happened.

gw’atoh, gw(ʔ)ato(h)
it will be also; also
[gwaʔ, to]
Neʔ gwatoh gi:dəh. I also mean that.

gwe:
well! (surprise or sarcasm); can also mean ‘hello’
Gwe: a:yeʔ sanqhyaq:oh! Well, it looks like you’re hurt!

gwe:ɡoh, agwe:ɡoh, ogwe:ɡoh
everything, all

gyaqheʔ:čh
the most, the greatest
[aqheʔ:čh]
neʔ gyaqheʔ:čh gyonq’shehsdeʔ the most sickening, tiring, aggravating

gyeʔ?, gyε(ʔ)
(does not occur alone)
see: giʔ gyεʔ?
see: gyε:ɡwaʔ
see: gyεʔɡwahne:hwaʔ
see: gyεʔhneʔ?
see: neʔgyεʔ?
see: neʔgyεʔneʔ?
see: netogyɛʔ?
see: netogyɛ(n)ho:weh
see: wajihkeʔ? (gyεʔ?)
Cayuga particles

gye:’gwa’, gye(?)gwa()
maybe, if, perhaps, what if, if only
[gye:, gwa’]
Gye:’gwa’ ahagwe:ni?/ Maybe if he could do it, if he is able?
Gye:’gwa’ ahoga’, ahaga’/ Maybe if he would agree, if he’s willing?
Gye:’gwa’ o:nēh ahahdê:di?/ What if he should leave now?
O: tē’oh, gatg’ishēh gye:’gwa’? Maybe, maybe not.
A:gagehyagwahse:k se hē ni?: gye:’gwa’ a:wagadagaide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.
A:gagehyagwe:gwe:gye:’se:k gye:’gwa’ ta:waknōhy’agē: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:’gwa’hneh:’hwa’, gye(?)gwa()hne(?)hwa()
just maybe
[gye:, gwa’, hne:, hwa’]

gye:h, gye(h)
_does not occur alone_

see: nē:gyēh
see: si:gyēh
see: to:gyēh
see: wa’gyēh

gye’hneh:, gye(?)hne(?)
that is
[gye:, hne:?]
I:hs gye’hneh?: That’s you!
I:hs gye’hneh?: toh nahsyʔe:]. Are you the one that did it.
I:hs gye’hneh?: tsô: e?: toh nahsyʔe?: You’re the only one that did that again

haiʔ
hello (a word attributed to Oneida or Tutelo)

haoʔ
o.k.; come on!
Hao’dahskro:wih dē’ ni?: (ho’dē’) nēgā:gye?:. O.k., you tell me what to do!

haoʔ d’enyoh, hao(?) d(?)enyoh
O.k. then.
[hao’, dē’, nyoh]
Cayuga particles

**haopher, haopha**
he (lit.: he is alone)
[(a)opher alone]

**he:ge**:
just, only, all
Ne: he:ge: agyohsétoh. All she did was cry.

**he:tgéh**
up, above

**he', he(')**
refers to also, too (does not occur alone)
see: he'hne:?
see: he'ni:?
see: ne:hehne:?

**he'qh**
no (a slang-like expression)

**he'gyeh, he'gye(h)**
it doesn’t matter; it doesn’t make any difference
Hégyehgí! Leave well enough alone!
Awe? hégyeh tsq:. Let it go! (It’s not worth bothering.)

**he'hne:?, he(')hne(?)**
too, also, and
[hé, hne:]
Honahsé: hé ne? déhénadéhno:dro'. Your brothers are fat.

**he'ni:?, he(')ni(?)**
me too
[hé', ne', i:?
Égahyagwahse:k hé ni?: néh égahdo:k. I’ll be a fruit picker when I grow up.
A:gahyagwahse:k se hé ni?: gyé:gwa a:wadagáide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.

**hne:?, hne(?)**
in fact
Dé? hne: i:se?: What in fact do you want?
Dé? hne: ho'dé'/ What kind in fact?
I:s di? géh hne: How about you then in fact?
Té? hne: dehoyé'twé:h. No, in fact he did not plant. (emphatic)
Cayuga particles

Dë̀hne?: ni:yoh tsëh toh nahsyë?:. Why in fact did you do that?
I:s gë̀hne?:/ Was that in fact you?
Ne?:hë̀hne?: gaqgwe’da?:. Also in fact that is her family, one of her people.
Ne?:hë̀në’ gaihwawë:ni:yö. That in fact is the main thing, the main item.
Të̀gë̀hne?: dedö:géhs deë:sa:doh. No, it’s not in fact really true what you’re saying.

hni’, hni(’)
also, and, too
Dë̀ hni’ ho’dë̀ hoïho’déhsro’dë’? And what does he do?
Dane:’hni? dwë:do’h. That is also what we mean.

ho’dë’, ho(’)dë(’)
what
[dë’, ho’dë’]
Gado:ge: shëh ho’dë’ a’ogwayqdahk. 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:wëh
it is theirs (males only)
[(a)wëh have, own]

honqê:heq?
they (males) (lit.: they (males) are alone)
[(a)qê: alone]

hotqoq:oh
Say! Hey! Wow! What the...?! For Heaven’s sake! (exclamation; said when something is out of the ordinary).
Hotqoq:oh asyoq?!! For heaven’s sake, you got here! What the... you made it!

ho:wëh
it is his
[(a)wëh have, own]
Cayuga particles

hq, hq(:)
there (does not occur alone)
see: danhq:weh
see: gaegwa’ nhq:(weh)
   see: (ga) hq:(weh)
   see: hq(weh), nhq:(weh)
see: netogyε(n)hq:weh
see: shenhq:weh
see: si:nhq:(weh), si:hq:(weh)
see: to nhq: (weh), to hq: (weh)
see: danhq:weh

hq:ni’
referring to a reason why (does not occur alone)
see: ne?:hq:ni’

hq:(weh), (n)hq:(weh)
to be somewhere
Da:nhq:weh hq: he’dro’ ne?: haksa’go:wah. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.
Shenhq:weh hehehta’ onq’dagohs0’, age?. Where he goes, under the pines it’s been said.
Si:nhq:weh tgani:y0: t saga’yadawi’tra’. Your coat is hanging way over there.
To hq: he:ge’ dwagye:seh. There I will go where it’s cheap (shopping).

hwa?, hwa(’)
nejt (the ‘a’ is sometimes nasalized) (does not occur alone)
see: (gat)gi’shehwa’
see: gishshehwa’
see: ne:gishehwa’
see: ne?: gwahs hwa’
see: ne?:hwa’
see: to:(hwa’)

hwedogwa?, hwedogwa(’)
sometime
[hwε:doh, gwa’]
Hwedogwa’ toniyawehdre’. Sometime it’s going to happen. (i.e. a prediction)
Hwedogwa’ toniyawε’qoh It happened sometime in the past.
Cayuga particles

**hwę:doh, hwę(:)doh(h)**

ever, when


Hwę:doh di’ eje:yo’? When then is she going to return?

Hwę:doh ne:? ę to nęya:węh/ When is that going to happen?

Hwę:doh ęyohdę:di’? When is she going away?

**hya’?, hya(?)**

refers to a period of time (does not occur alone)

see: i?:hya’?

see: o:nęh g’ihya’?

see: wa’jihya’?

**i’?, ni’?, (n)i(?)**

me, I, we, us

[(ne’), i’?]

Do: i’?! Let me!; How about me?

... ni’? gaqgyahsta’. They call me … (not common)

Gayogoho:nōh ni’. I’m Cayuga.

Go’geweho:weh ni’. I’m Indian.

I’? gęh sgi:doh/ Do you mean me?

I’? tsegowa:nęh. I’m the oldest.

I’? gęh sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me? (a little bit paranoid)

I’? gęh e: sgwatro:wi:/ Are you talking about me again? (joking)

Agya’dasho? dęhni?: I’m heavy.

Tę’ ni: toh ta:ge?:. No, I’m not going there.

Egatronyahesek ni’? I’ll be the teller (that is, I’ll go around and announce something)

Tę’ ni’? ta:gye:na: I refuse to accept it.

Ahsōh ni’? agqtsanqwa:s ne’ dagaih:ni’ gyotedęsho’:qoh agahyagwęhnę?:. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.

Tę’gni? to ta:gye:. No, I will not do that.

**i’:geh, i(?)geh**

as for me

[i’?, geh]

**i’:geh gwadih**

on my side; referring to a matrilineage

[gwadih, gwai]
Cayuga particles

i:hya?: i:(?)hya(?)
me first
[i:, hya:]

i:nqh
far
I:nqh tgidro?. I live far away.
I:nqh tgasgwidrap:. Far away this Old Prune lives/sits.

i:s, i:(h)s
you

i:s tsq:
only you; you’ll do.
[i:s, tsq:]

i:so'
much, many, lots
I:so' g?adh?Asho:?qh ho:ye?q tga?:dahkwa? He has many toy cars.
I:so' agidahsgeh?: ge:s. I used to sleep a lot.
Agosgdoh ge'drahehs i:so?. I ate too much
I:so' gohwihsdaq? Onewagwat qi?. She has a lot of money; it’s amazing how much!

i:wa:k'ah
nearby
I:wa:k’ah d?dahotrihsh?ogye’. 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: wa’jih
see: wajihk?: (gye?:)
see: wa’jihtsq:
see: wa’jihya:?

jitrehs
too much
[jih, trehs]
Agahdro's one e: ji trehs satshen:w:no:nih. I’m frightened now because you’re too happy again.
A:ye’ ji trehs tishedehjih agahyago’. It seems to me I picked too much fruit this morning.
Cayuga particles

**naht**
(does not occur alone)
see: sọ: **hne:** naht
see: sọ 'q naht

**nawahtgeh**
(does not occur alone)
see: gao' nawahtgeh

**ne', ne(‘)**
that, the
Dé? ho’dé? eya:sóh ne? sanó:ha?/ What is the name of your mother?
Dé? ho’dé? gaeyasóqonyo? ne’... What are the names of your ...(female relatives)?
Honahsę: hę? ne? dehenadéhno’dró’. Your brothers are also fat.
tséh nigahá?: ne’ ekonya’ta’so;óh the kinds of things you cook with
Ne’ aóqé’:èh tahnat’sowa:néh. He has the biggest ass.
Ahsóh ni?: agotsanóqwa:s ne? dagaiho:ní? gyotedéhšho?:óh agahyagwé:hne?:. My knees are still sore because of the other day (when) I picked fruit.
Ne’gi’yé’: asi’. That’s what you said.
Ne’gi’yé’ gaq:dóh. That’s what the women say.
Ne’gi’yé’ hana:dóh. That’s what the men say.
Ne’ gihtshé:hwa’ e:dóh. Maybe that’s the one she means.
Ne’ gwa’to:hi:dóh. I also mean that.
ne’ gyaqé’:èh gyonó’shehsde?: the most sickening, tiring, aggravating
Ne’tone?:, t’é’tone?: tega:yei’:’. That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’
Ne’ q:weh gaqde:nóhk. They’re really related.
Ne’se’ hóqwé:dóh. He’s the one she means.
Tșę: e’ne’ satro:wį:. You’re talking about that again! (Expression of disgust.)
Tę’ gęh ne’ desa:węh/ Isn’t that yours?

**ne’, ne(‘)**
that is, it is
Tiga’dréhda:de’ ne:? ahahniːnó?. He bought a different car.
Hwę:dóh ne? to nęya:węh/ When is that going to happen?
Hșe: gęh to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?
Néne?: i:s. Dé? nis ho’dé? nisa’nigóhodé’? How about you? What are your thoughts?
Ne’:hwa’ gyotshenó:ni? This time she will be happy.
Ne?: gaihó:níh. That’s what makes it that way.
Cayuga particles

Ne:? gi? e:doh. That’s what she means.
Ne:? gi? gi:doh. That’s what I mean.
Ne:? hne:? go:wëh. That’s hers.
Ne:? go:wëh. That’s hers. (a little more definite than Ne:? hne:? go:wëh.)
Ne:? ge:š ga:doh. That’s what I usually say.
Ne:? gwahs gahwajiayagwani:yo’ It’s the main (that is, matrilineal) family.
Ne:? he:ge: agy:hsëtëh. All she did was cry.
Ne:? hë? hne:? ho:wëh në:gyëh. This is also his.
Ne:? nëh gwa’hë:gyo:sh. When I get there.
Ne:? tsq: deho:ya’dohdoh. That’s just what he’s thinking about. (that is, he’s preoccupied.)
Ne:? di? geh/ Is that it then? (that is, is that what you were referring to?)
Netoh ni:yo: ho: ye’. That’s how many he has.
O: tê’oh, gatg’ishëh ne:? hwa’. Maybe, maybe not.
O: tê’o: gi’, gatg’ishëh ne:? hwa’ Maybe I will, maybe I won’t (come along)
To ge’d: ne:? ni:yo’t/ I wonder if it’s like that?
To: ni:yo? ne:? heshe’s. That’s your birthday. (lit.: that’s when you come around again.)
Tê’ geh dehse: to: ne:? dwa:ye’/ Don’t you think we should do that?
Esgoho:wi? to geh ne: hëye’? I will tell you if she’s going.
Gowëdagë: ne:? tsq niyesgyëda’. She’s a wimp because she’s just a small person.
Agyë’ ne:? desatgo:he:jo:nih. I have what you want.
Hoiho’de’sri:yo: gi? ne?:. He has a good job.
Në’ tsq: niwatona’da’. It’s a small, puny potato.
Da:nh:weh hò: hë’dro’ ne’? haksa’go:wah. This is where he lives, the good-looking man.
Dane:?hni? dwë:doh. That is also what we mean.
Dane:onëh toni:ya:wëhdrë’? And now this is what is going to happen.
Ne’tone’?:, tê’tone’? tega:yei’?:. That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’
Ne’:gyë’? gi:doh. That is what I mean.
Ne’:hëhne’? gaqgwe’dah’. Also that is her family, one of her people.
Ne’:hne:ne’ gaihwagwe:ni:yo. That is the main thing, the main item.
Ne’:hwa’ gi:doh. I mean that this time.
Ne’:qôh. That, I guess.
Ne’ qô ne’o:nëh ha’gahe’? edwadriho’dah’t. And it is now time for us to work.
Tê’ tøj ne’? dedo:gehs. No, it’s not really true.
Cayuga particles

**neʔ gwahs hwaʔ, ne(?) gwahs hwa(?)**
- it’s that one for sure
- [neʔ, gwahs, hwaʔ]

Gwahs hwaʔ esaga: You’re willing / giving permission this time.

**neʔ qʔ:weh**
- that really
- [neʔ, qʔ:weh]

Neʔ qʔ:weh gaq:de:nhk. They’re really related.

**negę’nage’, negę(?)nage(?)**
- that is what
- Negę’nage’ gi:d ǫh. That’s what I meant to say.

**negę?:, neg(?)gi(?)ę(?)**
- that is the one (emphatic)
- [neʔ, giʔ, ęʔ]

Ne’giʔę?: eʔ toh ihe’s. He’s here again!

**neʔgiʔę?):, ne(?)gi(?)gyę(?)**
- that’s the one, that’s it, that’s what
- Ne’giʔę?: asim. That’s what you said.
- Ne’giʔę?: gaq:de:nhk. That’s what the women say.
- Ne’giʔę?: hana:de:nhk. That’s what the men say.

**neʔgiʔni(h), ne(?)gi(?)ni(h)**
- and that too; also
- [neʔ, giʔ, hniʔ]

**neʔgiʔshęʔ, ne(?)gi(?)shęʔ(h), ne(?)gi(?)tsęʔ(h)**
- probably
- [neʔ, giʔ, shę, tsę]

**neʔgiʔshęʔhwaʔ, ne(?)gi(?)shęʔhwa(?), ne(?)gi(?)tsęʔhwa(?)**
- maybe that
- [neʔ, giʔ, shę, tsę, hwaʔ]

**neʔgwʔatoh, ne(?)gwato(h)**
- and also
- [neʔ, gwaʔ, to]

Ne’gwatoh haʔhawadihaʔ. They also took him.

**neʔgyę?:, ne(?)gyę(?)**
- it is
- [neʔ, gyęʔ]

Ne’gyęʔ: gi:d ǫh. That is what I mean.
Cayuga particles

neʔgyę:neʔ, ne(ʔ)gyę(ʔ)ne(ʔ)
   it is that
   [neʔ, gyęʔ, neʔ]
   Neʔgyę:neʔ to:gyęh. That is the one.

neʔhęʔhneʔ, ne(ʔ)hę(ʔ)hne(ʔ)
   it also is
   [neʔ, hęʔ, hneʔ]
   Neʔhęʔhneʔ gağıwędaʔ. Also that is her family, one of her people.

neʔhne:neʔ, ne(ʔ)hne(ʔ)ne(ʔ)
   and that also is
   [neʔ, hneʔ, neʔ]

neʔhniʔ, ne(ʔ)hni(ʔ)
   too, also, and
   [neʔ, hniʔ]

neʔhniʔneʔ, ne(ʔ)hni(ʔ)ne(ʔ)
   and that also
   [neʔ, hniʔ]

neʔho:niʔ, ne(ʔ)ho:niʔ
   that is the reason why; that is why
   [neʔ, ho:niʔ]
   Neʔ ho:niʔ to: niyoht. That’s (the reason) why it’s that way.

neʔhwaʔ, ne(ʔ)hwa(ʔ)
   nejt, this (coming) time
   [neʔ, hwaʔ]
   Neʔhwaʔ eyotshęŋo:niʔ This time she will be happy.
   Neʔhwaʔ gi:doh. I mean that this time.

neʔneʔ, ne(ʔ)ne(ʔ)
   it is
   [neʔ, neʔ]

neʔonęh, neʔonę(ʔ)
   it is now
   [neʔ, onęh]

neʔtoh, ne(ʔ)to(ʔ)
   it is that
   [neʔ, to]
   Neʔtoh ni:yọ: ho:yeʔ. That’s how many he has.
Cayuga particles

\textit{ne'togyəː, ne(\textup{')}togyəː(\textup{')})}  
be it so  
[ne\textup{'}, to, gyəː?]  
Netogyəː ha\textup{'}hoy\textup{'}ada:węh. That’s what happened to him over there

\textit{ne'togyəː(h):weh, ne(\textup{')}togyəː(\textup{')})(n)hə:weh}  
it is where  
[ne\textup{'}, to, gyəː?, hə(weh), nhə:(weh)]

\textit{ne'toneː, ne(\textup{')}toneː(\textup{')})}  
that’s the one  
[ne\textup{'}, to, neː?]  
Ne\textup{'}toneː shagohs\x9aːnə:s. She is the one he desires.

\textit{ne\textup{'}tsəː, ne(\textup{')}tsəː(\textup{')})}  
that is only; that is all  
[ne\textup{'}, tsəː]  
Ne\textup{'}tsəː hə\textup{'}way\textup{'}ada:s. He’s the only one she depends on.  
Ne\textup{'} tsəː deho\textup{'}yadows\x91h\x91h. That’s all he’s thinking about (that is, he’s preoccupied.)

\textit{nɛː}  
Look! Here, take this! (exclamation, said when pointing to something)

\textit{nɛːdah}  
this way; Here, take this! (said when giving something to someone)  
[nɛː, da]  
Nɛː toh hę\textup{'}dwa:yə? nɛːdah nę\textup{'}dwa:yɛː?. When we arrive there, we will do it this way.

\textit{nɛːgyəɛ, nɛːgyəɛ(h)}  
this (one)  
[nɛː, gyəɛ]  
Neː hə\textup{'} hneː ho\textup{'}węh nɛːgyəɛ. This is also his.

\textit{nɛh, nɛ(h)}  
when (only at the beginning of embedded clauses; for statements, not questions)  
[nɛh, oːnɛh]  
Nɛh toh hę\textup{'}dwa:yə? nɛːdah nę\textup{'}dwa:yɛː?. When we arrive there, we will do it this way.  
Neː nɛh dwahęgyəh. When I get there.

\textit{nɛːtəh, nɛ(\textup{')}tə(h)}}  
right here, over there  
[nɛː, to]  
Nɛtəh ni:yəː ho\textup{'}yəɛ. That’s how many he has.

\textit{nɛːtəh gwai, nɛ(\textup{')}tə(h)} gwai}  
here (rather than there)
Cayuga particles

[nę:, to, gwa:dih]
Nę:toh gwai hę’dro’ Allan. Allan lives on this side.

nę:?tsq:, nę(?)tsq(?)
just a little bit
[nę?, tsq:]
Nę:tsq:gwatoh niyọ: hohwihsdaq:?. Also right now he has very little money.
Nę:tsq: niyọ: hohwihsdaq:?. Right now he has very little money.

nę’tsq:gw’atoh, nę(?)tsq(?)gw(?)ato(h)
right now; quickly; immediately;
[nę’, tsq:, gwa’, to]
Hohsę: nętsq:gwatoh nihahnę:ye:s. He’s stout and he’s also short.

nigę’oh, nigę’o(h)
or, or is it, if it is
[nigę’oh, ọ]
Högwew geh agögwew nigę’oh Kim eya:sọh/ Was it a man or a woman whose name is Kim?
Högwew geh agögwew nigę’oh/ Is it a man or a woman?
To’ ge’ọ ni:yoht. I wonder if it’s like that.

niyo:we’, nyo:we’, niyo(?)(:we’), nyo(?)(:we’)
to be a certain distance
[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’ nę’ heha:we:noh. That’s as far as he has gone.
Toniyo:we’ he’se’ wa’he’ hęhsyọ’. You’ll get that far before you arrive.
Agwa’nigọha’ sheniyo:we’ hędawaye:nęda’. We’re waiting until the time we’re finished.

nya:węh, nya:wę(h)
thank you

nyoh
you’re welcome; all right; o.k. (a term of acknowledgement); can also be said in response to nya:węh; one can also say it sarcastically to bug someone.

o:, o()
So? Oh really?
O: geh/ Said when really questioning someone.

ogwęehę:gyę’, ogwęehę(;)gyę(?)
now and then, now and again
[ogwęehę:gyę’]
Ogwęehę:gyę’ gę:’ahsyọ’. Now and again you’ll be here.
Cayuga particles

**ona:węh**
- it is theirs (animals)
- [(a)węh have, own]

**onę:diʔ, onę(ː)di(ː)**
- so now
  - [o:ne:(diʔ)]
  - Onędiʔ to:hah hęgaheʔ:ędwęniheʔ?. Now it is almost time for us to quit.

**onę:eʔ, onę:e(ː)**
- now, again
  - [o:ne:eh, ne:ʔ]
  - Onęeʔ toh hodaditsgo:t. Now again he has himself sitting there.

**o:ne:ghwaʔ, o:ne(h)gwa(ʔ)**
- suddenly; already
  - [o:ne:ghwaʔ]
  - O:ne:ghwaʔ edwawayęniędaʔ. We’re finished already.

**o:ne:h, o:ne(h), (o:)ne(h)**
- now, when, at this time
  - Gaę diʔ nhọ:weh nihsweʔs o:ne:h/ Where then are you now?
  - Gųę:ghwaʔ o:ne:h aahę:dę:diʔ/ What if he should leave now?
  - O:ne:h giʔ haʔgaheʔ:ęshetrohnaʔ. It is time for me to take him back.
  - O:ne:h giʔ hodehsronihsʔqıʔh. He is ready now.
  - O:ne:h giʔ ęgoyę:ęsętwaʔoʔqıʔh. I’m now going to kick you around.
  - O:ne:h to:hah to: hesheʔ?. He’ş almost ready to return (come back).
  - O:ne:h to:hah ęsha:yqıʔ. He’s almost ready to go back.
  - Agahdro’ıs onę: e: ji trehs satshe: nıʔ nıh. I’m frightened now because you’re too happy.
  - O:ne:h eʔ: i:s toh haʔseghe: k. You’re getting into someone else’s fight again, butting in.
  - Dane:onę: toniya:węndreʔ. And now this is what is going to happen.

**o:ne:h gʔiha:yʔ, o:ne(h) g(ː)iha:y(ː)**
- so long for now; good-bye
  - [onę:h, gʔiʔ, hyaʔ?]

**o:ne:h to:hah, (o:)ne(h) to:hah, to:hah**
- almost
  - [o:ne:h, to:hah]
  - O:ne:h to:hah John ęshodqıhswe’deʔ. Now almost John is going to get hungry again.
Cayuga particles

on𝑞:he⁗
they (animals) (lit.: they (animals) are alone)
[(a)𝑞hɛ⁗ alone]

o’q:, o’q(·)
Oh really?
[o:, qh]

o: ⁖tɛ’q:, o: ⁖tɛ’q(·), o: ⁖tɛ’q(h)
no! (very emphatic); maybe not
[o:, tɛ’, qh]
O: ⁖tɛ’q, gatg’ishɛh gye:ɡwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.
O: ⁖tɛ’q, gatg’ishɛh ne?: hwaʔ. Maybe, maybe not.
O: ⁖tɛ’q: ɡiʔ, gatg’ishɛh ne?: hwaʔ? Maybe I will, maybe I won’t (come along)

o:weh
it is its; it belongs to it
[(a)weh have, own]

qh, ⁖q(h), ⁖q(·)
I guess, I wonder (if)
To ɡɛ’q ni:yoht/ I wonder if it’s like that?
To ’q ni:yoht. I wonder if it’s like that.
To ’q: ni:yohdqne:. I wonder if it used to be like that; I wonder if that’s how it was.
Agi’d’aqhq tsq n’aonishe? hohta?:. I slept while he spoke.
Ne:’qh. That, I guess.
Ne?: qh ne:o:nɛh ha’gahe?: edwadriho’d’a:t. And it is now time for us to work.

qhe⁗:, qhe⁗(·?)
maybe
[qh, ne:?]
Mary qhe⁗? gohwihsdaga’d’e’. Maybe Mary has a lot of money.

q:weh
(does not occur alone)
see: gwahs q:weh
see: neʔ q:weh
see: tɛ⁗ gwahs q:weh
see: tsɛh q:weh

sa:weh
it is yours
[(a)weh have, own]
Cayuga particles

se', se()  
after all, just, so, also, too  
Èhe' se'. It is so.
Agahyagwêhne:' sehê'ni?: I’ve also picked fruit (I’ve experienced this)
A:ga:hyagwâhs:k se hê ni?: gyê:gwa' a:wagadagaide:k. I would be a fruit picker too if I were well.
Ne'se' hîwê:dôh. He’s (just) the one she means.

sgaho'dę', sgaho()dę()  
anything, something, nothing  
Sgaho'dę' dawatehtêght. Something’s not right.
Tę' sgaho'dę' desênohdó:. No, you don’t know anything (lit.: nothing).

shêh, tsêh, shê(h), tsê(h)  
of, because, how, that (etc.) (many examples of tsêh do not translate well into English)
Dega'dréhdâghâ'gyê'sh ahyenô:da?:. They put the cars in two at a time.
Shêh tganôtso:t ita:t. He’s standing at the house.
Dę' hne?: ni:yoh shêh ahadone:k/ Why did he leave?
Gado:ge: shêh hûtôdę' a'ogwayôdahk. A certain something brought us together (for example, a meeting).
Tę' gi' shêh hwa'. Maybe not.
To hêgyê' tsêh age:ji:yô'. I’m really crippled.
Ji ge:s trehs jahse: tsêh nisnihe:ye:s. You two are too fat for your height.
Agatshenô:ni: tsêh ahsyôh. I’m happy you’ve arrived.
Aga'tsênô:ni: gi' tsêh sada'gaide'. I’m happy that you are well.
Agahse: tsê age:ji:yoh. I’m slow because I’m lame.
Shêh k捏tsâ'geh ôknohnyak. My arm hurts.

ntsêh nigaha:' ne' ekonya'ta'sô:ôgh the kinds of things you cook with
Aqôghôdôh oge'drahehs tsêh nagadekô:ni?: I ate too much.
tsêh hô ha'ge?: where I went
ntsêh nôda:ge?:, tsêh na'dô:da:ge?: where I’m coming from
Ohsga:naht tsêh niyehntsâ:yo:. She has an attractive bum.
Ohsga:naht tsêh nihahtntsâ:yo:. He has an attractive bum.
Sekdô: tsêh niyoga'ôhösro'dę:. Taste it!
Agahyagô' tsêh n'aonishe' odahyô:ni:. I did pick fruit while it was plentiful.
ô:ge:hs hê niyagoiô'dę' how people are (that is, human activities)
tsêh nêya:wêh what will happen
Cayuga particles

Dękde:nį? tsęḥ niwagriḏeː. I’m going to change my outlook.

ahenadrihwahseht tsęḥ nihęnągyę:ha?. They hid their ideas of what they are up to, what they are doing (that is, they are scheming).

Hętsyęʔ? tsęḥ họ hesagwe. You will put it back where you got it.

Knigōhaʔ? tsęḥ niyoht degatahahk. I watch how I walk.

Knigōhaʔ? tsęḥ họ:weh degatahahk. I watch where I walk

Dęǹeʔ? ni:yoh tsęḥ toh naḥsyeʔ?. Why did you do that?

Agwa’nigōhaʔ? shęniyo:weʔ hędwawayę:nędaʔ. We’re waiting until the time we’re finished.

Tsęḥ ő:weh nito:ne:nę:. Where they really come from.

shęho’dęʔ, tsęho’dęʔ, shęho(’)dę(’), tsęho(’)dę(’)

whatever, a certain something

[shęh, tsęh, ho’dęʔ]

Gado:ge: shęh ho’dęʔ a’qgwayo dahk. A certain something brought us together (for example, a meeting).

shęnho:weh, shę(n)ho:we(h), tsę(n)ho:we(h)

where abouts

[shęh, tsęh, họ(weh), nhọ:(weh)]

tsęḥ họ haʔgeʔ? where I went

Hętsyęʔ? tsęḥ họ hesagwe. You will put it back where you got it.

Knigōhaʔ? tsęḥ họ:weh degatahahk. I watch where I walk

Hęhsahshędąʔ? tsęḥ họweh dedihsawihs. You will trod, step where you’re not wanted (that is, trespass). Shęnhọweh hehehtaʔ onę’dagohsoʔ, ageʔ. Where he goes, under the pines it’s been said.

shęniyo:weʔ, shęniyo:(weʔ), tsęniyo:(weʔ)

(how) much, (how) many, (how) far, until

[shęh, tsęh, niyo:(weʔ), nyo:(weʔ)]

Agwa’nigōhaʔ? shęniyo:weʔ hędwawayę:nędaʔ. We’re waiting until the time we’re finished.

si, si(·), si(h)

there

Si:gyęh tga:yęʔ, de:sehk. That lying over there, pick it up!

Si:hnęʔ? gwai hęhsadįʔ. Throw that over there!

Si:nhọ:weh tga:ni:yọ: t saga’yadawįtraʔ. Your coat is hanging way over there. (lit.: Way over there, hanging, your coat.)

Sihneʔ? sigwadįʔ 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: sigwadih ha’se:. Get over there! (speaking generally to an animal)

**si:gyêh, si:gyê(h)**
that, way over there
[si, gyêh]
Si:gyêh tga:yê, de:sehk. That lying over there, pick it up!

**sihne:’, si(hne:’)**
over there
[si, hne:’]
Si:hne:’ gwai hêhsadi?. Throw that over there!
Sihne:’ sigwadih ha’se:. Get over there! (speaking generally to an animal)

**si:nhö:weh, si:(n)hö:(weh)**
way over there
[si, ho(weh), nhö:(weh)]
Si:nhö:weh tgan:i:yö:t sagya’dawi’tra’. Your coat is hanging way over there. (lit.: Way over there, hanging, your coat.)

**sgaho’dë:?eḥ, sgaho(‘)dë:?eḥ**
something
[sgaho’dë:?eḥ, ho’dë’]

**sö’ōh, sö(‘ɔh), sö(:)**
who (short form)
Daskro:wi’ sö: nhaht daqdekoñyahne’. Tell me who’s coming to eat.
Sö’ōh hne:’ naht gaqđe:nöhk. I’m wondering who her people are.
Sö:go:weh tọ gadeṛḥas:?. Who owns that new car?
Söga:’ah gèḥ hòwayeði:/ Does someone know him? Who knows him?

**sö: go:weḥ**
whose (is that)?
[sö(‘ɔh)]
Sö:go:weḥ tọ gadeṛḥas:?. Who owns that new car?

**sö: hne:’ naht**
who (is that?)
[sö(‘ɔh), hne:’, n’aht]
Sö’ōh hne:’ naht gaqđe:nöhk. I’m wondering who her people are.
Cayuga particles

so'q̱h naht, so(ʔ)h naht, so(ː) naht
who, which (person, one)
[sō(ʔ), n'ah]'t
Daskro:wi' sō: nhaht daq'dek'onyahne'. Tell me who’s coming to eat.
Daskro:wi' sō: nhaht daq'dek'onyahne'. Tell me who’s coming to eat.
Daskro:wi' sō: nhaht gaq'deg: dēwā:dōt. Tell me who is going to dine with us.
Sō'q̱h hne': nhaht gaq'deg:nok. I’m wondering who her people are.

so'ga:(ʔ)h
someone
[sō(ʔ)h]
So'ga:ʔah geh hōwayēdi:/ Does someone know him? Who knows him?

sd'q̱:hah
a little bit
Sd'q̱:hah segei:s. Move a little bit.

tə', tə(ː)
no, not
Dahe' geh tə' nige'q̱h/ Is he coming or not?
Gwaqs q:weh a:ye tə' desho:to:de'. It really seems like he doesn’t (want to) hear. (selective hearing)
Sanq'hoq'da:nī? tə' nige'q̱/ Are you sick or not?
Tə' geh dehse: to: ne?: dwa:ye'/ Don’t you think we should do that?
Tə' geh dehsho:yq:/ Did he not come home?
Tə' g'atoh. Tə' gi' dehe:ge: Nowhere. I didn’t see him.
Tə' gi' shēh hwa'. Maybe not.
Tə' gi' shē. Maybe not
Tə' geh/ Isn’t it?
Tə' gi' gwaq dwa'gada'gaide'. I’m not feeling well.
Tə' dwa'gada'gaide'. I’m not well.
I:wı' ge:s agatq'ano:nı', de'gwahe tə' se'. I’m wealthy, but then not really.
Tə' toh degahe?:. It’s not setting there.
Tə' tōdesa'dre: to:gyeh! Don’t (or you won’t) drive that over here!
Tə' toh tə'gahe?:. It’s not setting way over there.
Tə' ta'deyagodawenye?. No, she’s not walking about
(Tə') ta:hay:toh. No he won’t plant.
Tə' hne?: dehoyetwēh. No, he did not plant. (emphatic)
Cayuga particles

Tę' ni: toh ta:ge?:. No, I’m not going there.
Tę' toh ta:ge:. No, I will not go.
Tę' daq toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go.
Tę' ni? ta:gye:na: I refuse to accept something.
Ne?tone:, tę?tone?: tega:yei:. That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’
Tę' sgaho?dę' desen?hdo?:. No, you don’t know nothing.
Tę' to ne?: dedo:gehs. No, it’s not really true.
Tę'gidaq tayagogac:.. No, she will never agree to...
Tę'gini: to ta:gye:. No, I will not do that.
Tę' gęh ne? desa:węh/ Isn’t that yours?

te'daq, t(')ędaq(): it will never happen, definitely not
[tę', da, qh]
Tę' daq toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go.
Tę' daq a:họwayenawas. (Definitely not); no one will help him.
Tę'daq: to na:ya:węh. It will never happen.
Tę'gi'daq: to na:ya:węh. No, it will not happen.

tę' g'atoh, tę(') g(?)ato(h) nowhere, anywhere
[tę', ga', to]
Tę' g'atoh d'ega:yę? It’s not laying anywhere.
Tę' g'atoh. Tę' gi' dehe:ęc: Nowhere. I didn’t see him.

tę' gwahs ọ:weh, tę(') gwahs ọ:weh not really
[tę', gwahs, ọ:weh]
Tę' gwahs ọ:weh ọɡweh degę:.. No, you’re not really human.

tę' hne:, tę(') hne(?) not (that)
[tę', hne:]
Tę' hne: hwa to ta:ya:węh. No, that’ll never really happen this time.
Cayuga particles

te' hwe:dn̓oh, te(') hwe:dn̓oh
never; not ever
[te', hwe:dn̓oh]
Te' hwe:dn̓oh to: sosadone:k. You’ll never come alive again.
Te' hwe:dn̓oh to: ęsha:gye`. No, he’ll never do that.
Te' hwe:dn̓oh to ta:gye`. I would never do that.

te' sgahodę'ce`, (te') sgahodę`dę`
nothing
[te`, sgahodę`dę`, ho`dę`]
Te' sgahodę`dę` deschnohdę`. No, you don’t know nothing.

te' to ne`, te(') to ne(`)
not really
[te`, to, ne`]
Te' to ne` dedo:geh. No, it’s not really true.

te'ęgeh, te(')ęgeh
no?
[te`, ęgeh]
Te' ęgeh ne` desa:węh/ Isn’t that yours? (lit.: that’s yours, no?)

te'gidaq, te(')gi(')daq(:)
No, it will not happen; definitely not
[te`, gi`, da, q:]
Te'gidaq to na:ya:węh. No, it will not happen.
Te'gidaq tayagoga:. No, she will (definitely not) ever agree to...

te'gihne`, te(')g(')ihne(`)
not really
[te`, gi`, hne`]
Te'gihne` dedo:gehş de'sa:dn̓oh. No, it’s not really true what you’re saying.

te'gini`, te(')g(')ini(`)
no, not me
[te`, gi`, i:`]
Te'gini` to ta:gye:. No, I will not do that.

te' nigé`o`:h, te(') nigé`o`:h
isn’t it
[niğe`o`:h, o`:h]
Dahe` ęgeh te` niğe`o`:h/ Is he coming or not?
Sanqoşökda:ni? te` niğe`o`:/ Are you sick or not?
Cayuga particles

tę se', tę()se()
not really
[tę', se']
I:wi? ge:s agatganq:ni?, de$qewahe tę se?. I’m wealthy, but then not really.

tgwęhex', tgwęhex(:?)
sometimes
Tgwęhex? hahdọhs. Sometimes he comes (around).

to:, to(), to(h)
that, there, where
gao? shę nyo?: to: nęya:węh before that happens
Gwahs wa$hęthšọ: to: na$awęh. That just happened.
Hwę$dọh ne?: to nęya:węh/ When is that going to happen?
Ihse: gę$h to: ne: dwa:ye:/ Do you think we should do it that way?
Ne?: họ:ni? to: ni:yọht. That’s (the reason) why it’s that way.
O:nę$h to:hah: to: heshe:. He’s almost ready to return (there).
To gę$q ni:yọht/ I wonder if it’s like that?
To gi? shę$h ha:ge:. Maybe I should go there.
To ṣọ ni:yọht. I wonder if it’s like that.
To ḣọ: ni:yọhtne:. I wonder if it used to be like that; I wonder if that’s how it was. (lit.: That, I wonder, if it used to be)
To: gę$h ha$se shę hno: dedwagęnyo:/ Are you going (there) to the fair?
To: ni:yo$e ne?: heshe’s. That’s your birthday. (lit.: that’s when you come around again.)
To: ni:yo$e ne? heha:we:noh. That’s as far as he has gone.
Toh gę$hęŋhowe$ toh na$a:weh/ Where did it happen?
To$ ge$q ni:yọht. I wonder if it’s like that.
Tę$ gę$h dehse: to: ne?: dwa:ye’/ Don’t you think we should do that?
Tę$ hwę$dọh to: sọsadonhe:k. You’ll never come alive again (from there).
Tę$ hwę$dọh to: ęsha:gyę’. No, he’ll never do that.
Tę$ hwę$dọh to ta$gyę’. I would never do that.
Ęsgo$ho:wi? to gę$h ne: heỳę?:. I will tell you if she’s going (there).
To hegyę’ tṣę$h age:jii:yo?’. I’m really crippled (there).
I:hs gyę$hne?: toh nahlsoye’/. Are you the one that did it.
i:hs gyę$hne?: tsọ: e’? toh nahlsoye’? You’re the only one that did that again
Tę$ toh degahę?:. It’s not setting there.
Tę$ ṭòdesa’dre: to:gyę$h! Don’t (or you won’t) drive that over here!
Tę' toh te'gahe?:. It’s not setting way over there.
To ho: ha:gi'dro:da'k where I would dwell (over there)
Tę' ni: toh ta:ge?:. No, I’m not going there.
Tę' toh ta:ge:. No, I will not go (there).
Tę' daq toh ta:ge:. No, I will definitely not go (there).
To ho: he:ge?:. There I will go.
To ho: ha:ge?:. I went there.
I:wi to na:ya:węh. I want, intend that to happen.
Ahi:? gi? to na:ya:węh. I thought that’s what should happen.
Ahi:? gi? to nęya:węh. I thought that’s what would happen.
dewagega:hs to ha:ge?:. I’m unwilling to go there.
O:nęg e:s toh ha'segqhe:k. You’re getting into someone else’s fight again, butting in (there).
Dane:onęg toniya:węhdrę. And now this is what is going to happen (there).
Dęhe:n: ni:yoht tsęh toh nahsyę?:. Why did you do that?
To: gitsq: ni:yọ:. That’s all there is.
Ne’ gwatoh gi:dq. I also mean that.
Ne’tone?:, tę’tone?:’ tega:yei?:. That’s the one that’s ‘not all there.’
To ho: he:ge?: dwagye:şek. There I will go where it’s cheap (shopping).
Toh tsq: niyowe: hęse:dro?:. That’s only as far as it will take you.
To:gyęh högwewadęse:ah shọgwahyadę:nih. That young man does our writing.
Tę’ hne?: hwa to ta:ya:węh. No, that’ll never really happen this time.
Tę’gi’daq: to na:ya:węh. No, it will not happen (there).
Wa’ji:hah to hęgyọ?:. I will arrive (there) after a while.

to:gyęh, to:gyę(h)
that (one)
[to, gyęh]
Tę’ tődesa’dre: to:gyęh! Don’t (or you won’t) drive that over here!
Ne’gyę:ne’ to:gyęh. That is the one.
To:gyęh högwewadęse:ah shọgwahyadę:nih. That young man does our writing.

to:hah
there
O:nęg to:hah to: heshe?:. He’s almost ready to return (there).
O:nęg to:hah ęsha:yọ?:. He’s almost ready to go back (there).
Onędi’ to:hah hegęhe?: ędwenihe?:. 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 gênhowe’n toh na’à:weh/ Where did it happen?

**to: ho:weh, to(:) nh: (weh)**
there, where
[to nh: (weh), to ho: (weh), ho]
to ho: ha:gi’dro:da’k where I would dwell (over there)
To ho: hê:ge?. There I will go.
To ho: ha’ge?. I went there.
to ho:weh ha:yêh where he puts or places it
To ho hayêhê’. He’s always putting it there.
To ho: sre:hah. That’s where you put it.
To ho: hê:ge? dwagye:sêh. 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.
Toniiyo:we’ hê’sê’ wa’he’ hêhsyê’. You’ll get that far before you arrive.

**To tsq:, To tsq(:)**
That is enough! (that is, stop pouring)
[to, tsq:]
Toh tsq: niyowe’ hêšê’dro?:. That’s only as far as it will take you.

**tk:. hwa’**
that one
[to, hwa’]
Tê’ hwê:do:h to tê: çhsa:gye’. No, he’ll never do that.
Sô:go:wêh tê gadrehda?:. Who owns that new car?
Tô:hwa’ gi:do:h. I mean that one.
Tê’ tê ne’? dedo:gehs. No, it’s not really true.

**trehs**
more (than usual) (denotes something ejtreme)
Jî’ gê:s trehs sheno:we:. You lie too much; you’re too much of a liar.
Gî’ trehs aqogohdôh. It’s beyond.
Cayuga particles

Agahdro’s onę: e: ji trehs satshę:nq:nih. I’m frightened now because you’re too happy.
Trehs also occurs in expressions such as:
Trehs gi’ gę?. My goodness!

trohgheh tsq:, trohge(h) tsq(:)
barely
[trōh, geh, tsq:]
Treghs tsq: ȯgwahdęgya’dóh. We’re just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).
Treghs tsq: jógwaiho’dę’. We’re barely working.

tsq!:  
exclamation (of disgust) (pronunciation: [tse:])
Tsq: e’nę’ satro:wi:. You’re talking about that again! (expression of disgust.)

tseh q:weh, sheh q:weh
it is really
[shęh, tsęh, q:weh]
Tsęh q:weh nito:ne:nq:. Where they really come from.

tsq:, tsq(:)
that is all; just; only
G’atóhah tsq: ęse:tašę?. You will (just) find it someplace.
Ne’: tshq: dehoya’dohdṉ́h. That’s just what he’s thinking about. (that is, he’s preoccupied.)
Gowędagę: ne’: tsq niyesgęda’. She’s a wimp because she’s just a small person.
i:hs gye’hne?: tsq: e’ toh nahsye?: You’re the only one that did that again
Ne’: tsq: niwatona’déra’. It’s (just) a small, puny potato.
Tiga:gwe:gə̀q tsq: ágahyagwęḥęęyę’s aknọha? a:knọheht aġa’ahdraʔ. I’m just going along picking fruit here and there (because) I’m unable to fill my basket.
Treghs tsq: ȯgwahdęgya’dóh. We’re just barely able to make it go (for example, a ceremony).
To: gitsq: ni:yo:. That’s all there is.
Aweʔ hęęyęh tsq:; Aweʔ hęęyęh tsq:. Let it go! (it’s just not worth bothering.)
Toh tsq: niyowę’ hęęʔdroʔ:. That’s only as far as it will take you.
Treghs tsq: jógwaiho’dę’. We’re (just) barely working.
G’atóh tsq: ta:se:tsq:. (Just) nowhere will you find it
Wa’hetsq: aha:tgę́h. He just now got up.

wa’gyę́h, wa(’)gyę(h)
Listen! Excuse me! (exclamation to get someone’s attention)
[wa’gyę́h, wa(heh), gyę́h]
Cayuga particles

Wa’gyęh desa’draihe! Would you hurry up!

**wa’heh, wa(’heh)**
just (now)

Gwahs wa’hetshq: to: na’a:węh. That just happened.
Wahe? gi? gatahi:ne?. I’m (just now) getting on my way.
Toniyo:we’ hö?se’ wa’he’ hęhsyö?’. You’ll (just) get that far before you arrive.
Wa’hetsq: aha:tgęh. He just now got up.
Wa’gyęh desa’draihe! Would you hurry up (just now)?
Wa’heh ahsyö’. You finally arrived (just now).
Wa’hehge:ha’ ahakö:ni’. At long last he (just now) decided to cook.

**wa’hehge:ha’, wa(’hehge:ha’)**
finally, at last long
[wa’(’heh)]
Wa’hehge:ha’ ahakö:ni’. At long last he decided to cook.

**wa’hetsq:, wa(’hetsq:)**
just now
[wa’(’heh), tsq:]
Gwahs wa’hetshq: to: na’a:węh. That just happened.
Wa’hetsq: aha:tgęh. He just now got up.

**wa’ji:hi:, wa(’ji:hi(h)**
after awhile; wait
[wa’(’heh), jih]
Wa’ji:h, ęhtsyą’dę’. 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 hęgyö?’. I will arrive after a while.

**wa’jihkę? gyę?:, wajihkę?: (gyę?:)**
almost, just about
[wa’(’heh), jih, gyę?:]

**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’neʔ, wa(ʔ)ne(ʔ)
today, now
[waʔ(heh), neʔ]