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# **A Grammar of the Seneca Language**

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**Wallace Chafe**

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**Wallace Chafe**

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by Wallace Chafe

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**In Memory of Alberta Austin**



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Wallace Chafe  
Santa Barbara, California  
March 2014

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## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	HYP	hypothetical
2	second person	IN	inclusive
3	third person	INCH	inchoative
AGT	agent	INST	instrumental
AND	andative	INT.LOC	internal locative
AUG	augmentative	LK	linking vowel
BEN	benefactive	M	masculine
CAUS	causative	MID	middle
CHAR	characterizer	N	neuter
CIS	cislocative	NDIST	nominal distributive
COIN	coincident	NEG	negative
CONT	continuative	NOM	nominalizer
CONTR	contrastive	NONM	nonmasculine
DEC	decessive	NSF	simple noun suffix
DIM	diminutive	PART	partitive
DIR	directive	PAT	patient
DIST	distributive	POP	populative
DU	dual	PROG	progressive
DUP	duplicative	PROP	proper name
EVEN	eventuative	PUN	punctual
EX	exclusive	PURP	purposive
EXT.LOC	external locative	REFL	reflexive
F	feminine	REP	repetitive
FAC	factual	SG	singular
FUT	future	STA	stative
HAB	habitual	TRANS	translocative





## 1. INTRODUCTION

Seneca is a member of the Northern Iroquoian branch of the Iroquoian language family, as outlined in Figure 1.1. Other languages of this family were spoken before the European invasion, but we know of them largely through references in missionary records (e.g., Thwaites 1896-1901).

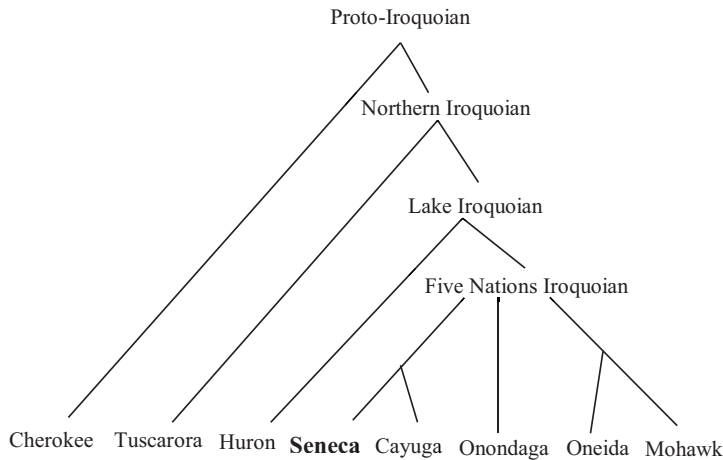


Figure 1.1. Branches of the Iroquoian Language Family

By the beginning of the 21st century the Seneca language was spoken fluently by no more than a few dozen individuals on three Seneca reservations (or ‘territories’) in western New York State. Two of these reservations, Cattaraugus and Allegany, are governed by a political body known as the Seneca Nation of Indians. The third, Tonawanda, is governed by a council of chiefs.

The origin of the name *Seneca* is obscure, but in the early 17th century a name spelled variously as Sinnekens, Sineques, and Sennecas was applied to four of the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, specifically those who lived west of the Mohawks: the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The fifth nation, the Mohawks, were the immediate neighbors of the Dutch at Fort Orange (later Albany), where they were called *Maquas*. The nations that were included under the name Sinnekens and its variants gradually contracted as the Dutch became acquainted with the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, until the name was finally limited to the westernmost nation, the Senecas (see the discussion in Ives Goddard 1978).

French missionaries and explorers, who were the first Europeans to have direct contact with the Senecas in the seventeenth century, referred to them with some variant of the name *Tsonnontouan*, evidently a Huron name referring to a big hill. The Seneca name for themselves is *Onödowá'ga:*, or ‘those of the big hill’. The similar name of another Iroquois nation, the Onondagas, means ‘at the hill’, but the hill was a different one.

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The earliest known written record of the Seneca language was apparently compiled by the French Jesuit missionary Julien Garnier (1642-1730). Garnier left France for Canada in 1662, and in 1671 he traveled to Seneca country in what is now the western part of New York State. He was forced to leave the Senecas in 1683 when hostilities arose between them and the French, but he was able to return in 1701 and he remained among the Senecas until 1709, when further hostilities forced him to leave for good.

Garnier produced two dictionaries, one of them French-Tsonnontouan and the other Tsonnontouan-French. They languished unnoticed for three centuries, until they were discovered by Michael McCafferty near the turn of the 21st century in a Jesuit archive at St. Jérôme, Québec. Subsequently the entire St. Jérôme archive, including Garnier's dictionaries, was transferred to Montréal, where it is now kept in the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada. Little attention was paid to these dictionaries following Garnier's death. They exhibit extensive water damage, and many pages are partially or wholly illegible while some were partially destroyed. Figure 1.2 shows the title page of the Tsonnontouan-French dictionary.

A comparison of Garnier's dictionaries with Seneca writings from the early 19th century shows that the intervening 18th century was a time of extensive phonological change, so extensive that Seneca speakers from 1700 and Seneca speakers today would have had difficulty understanding one another.

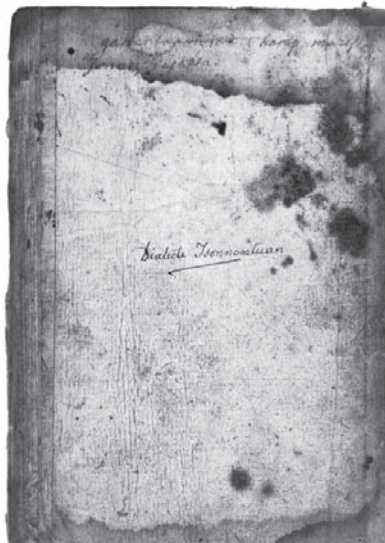


Figure 1.2. The title page of the Tsonnontouan-French dictionary

During the latter half of the 17th century the Seneca language appears to have been influenced by contact with speakers of Huron (or Wendat), which was spoken earlier in various communities south of Georgian Bay. In 1649 the Hurons were overrun by warriors from the Five Nations and the survivors scattered in several directions. A number of them found refuge among the Senecas, where they were eventually

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assimilated. Garnier lived and worked in one or more communities with significant Huron populations, and his dictionaries show evidence of Huron influence.

Written records of Seneca from most of the following 18th century are almost entirely lacking but, as mentioned above, it was a period during which the language underwent a large number of phonological changes. The 19th century, in contrast, saw much valuable linguistic work accomplished by the protestant missionary Asher Wright and others, first at the Buffalo Creek Reservation beginning in 1831 and then, after the sale of the Buffalo Creek land, on the Cattaraugus Reservation from 1836 until Wright's death in 1875.



Figure 1.3. Asher Wright, 1803-1875

Of linguistic interest is the fact that Wright recognized the glottal stop, a ubiquitous Seneca consonant that had been ignored by the Jesuits. He wrote it as an *h* with a line across the upper portion: *h̄*. 'This sound is very abundant in Seneca,' he wrote, 'and, used in conjunction with certain other modifications, the mode and time of verbs, and various other circumstances are denoted by it. No one can read or write Seneca intelligibly, who does not pay the strictest attention to this character, and avoid confounding it with the rough aspirate of the common *h*.'



Figure 1.4. Masthead of *Ne Jagó'nigóëgégswatha*'

Between 1841 and 1850 the Cattaraugus mission published a periodical titled *Ne Jagó'nigóëgégswatha*, or in English 'The Mental Elevator', literally 'it's used to raise the mind' (Figure 1.4). A work titled *A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language: with English Definitions* was published in 1842. Wright's wife Laura, who was also an accomplished linguist, described it as follows:

This work is still unfinished. These sheets contain the definitions of several hundred Seneca words and a tolerably complete explanation of the grammatical principles of the language, except the verb. In respect to the verb no complete analysis has yet been effected nor is there much reason to expect the accomplishment of this object until some competent Seneca scholar shall have become a universal grammarian.

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Laura Wright, 1809-1886

The insights captured in this work are well illustrated in the following quote, which describes a derivational suffix that linguists still term the *distributive* (with spellings changed to conform to the conventions followed in the present work).

The idea of distribution is commonly expressed by changes in the principle word; generally by suffixes ... as by the suffix “-šö”, ... *deyégahsénishé’sö* “the tears are dropping one after another from her eyes”. Sometimes the suffix “-nyö” is added to “-šö”, either to give greater intensity to the meaning, or to extend it to many similar cases, one after another; as, ... *deyégahsénishé’sönyö* “the tears are dropping profusely one after another from her eyes; or, the tears are dropping, one after another from the eyes of many persons, separately considered (Wright 1842: 99-101).

It would be difficult to improve on this description today. One can only regret that the remarkably sophisticated linguistic work of Asher and Laura Wright failed to be carried further after they passed away.



John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt, 1858-1937

Later in the 19th century important work on several of the Northern Iroquoian languages, including Seneca, was performed by John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt (Merriam 2010). Hewitt’s mother was part Tuscarora, and he is said to have learned that language from schoolmates. In 1880 he was hired as an assistant by Erminnie Smith of the Smithsonian Institution, and after her death in 1886 he secured employment with the Smithsonian, where he remained until his own death in 1937. He put great effort into compiling material for a Tuscarora dictionary, which was recently edited and published by Blair Rudes (1999). Toward the end of the 19th century Hewitt collected various versions of what he called ‘Iroquoian Cosmology’ in Onondaga, Seneca, and Mohawk, which were published in 1903 and 1928.

Hewitt had ‘a good ear’, and his transcriptions of the cosmology texts are remarkably accurate. The following is the beginning of the Seneca cosmology that was recorded from John Armstrong on the Cattaraugus Reservation in 1896. Hewitt’s free translation, intended to adhere as closely as possible to the meaning of the Seneca, is presented first. Below it is Hewitt’s transcription of the Seneca, where his abundant use of diacritics is evident. On the bottom is the spelling system that is followed in the present work.

There were, it seems, so it is said, man-beings dwelling on the other side of the sky.

**Ne’’ gwā’, gi’’on’, hadi’noñge’ ne’’ sgäoñ’iādī’’ ne’’ hěñoñgwe’.**  
**Ne:’ gwa:h gyö’öh hadinöge’ neh sgěóyadh neh hěnö:gweh.**

In the 20th century W.D. Preston and C.F. Voegelin initiated what they foresaw as a continuing series of publications on the Seneca language in the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, beginning in ‘Seneca I’ with the analysis of a text dictated by Chauncey Johnny John (Preston and Voegelin 1949). Their plan was carried further by the Swedish linguist Nils Holmer, who published ‘Seneca II’ and ‘Seneca III’ based on his fieldwork on the Allegany Reservation in the summer of 1948 (Holmer 1952, 1953). He published that material with some additions in *The Seneca Language: A Study in Iroquoian* (Holmer 1954).

The present author was encouraged by Floyd Lounsbury to begin work with the Seneca language in the summer of 1956. He worked on the Cattaraugus Reservation in 1956 and 1957 with Roy Jimerson, LeRoy Button, and Solon Jones; on the Allegany Reservation in 1958 with Ed Curry, Albert Jones, and others; and on the Tonawanda Reservation in 1959 with Corbett Sundown, Betsy Carpenter, and others. Since then he has been in contact with various individuals on all three reservations, working extensively with Alberta Austin at Cattaraugus in the early 1990s, and thereafter with Myrtle Peterson at Allegany. Sandy Dowdy at Allegany has been a constant friend and invaluable source of knowledge and support.

A comprehensive list of publications on the Seneca language is included in the References at the end of this work. In progress are a digitized English-Seneca dictionary, a Seneca-English dictionary of bases, and an expanded collection of Seneca texts.

Every language contributes in its own way to our understanding of the human mind, showing us the varied ways the mind has invented to cope with and adjust to its surroundings. All the Northern Iroquoian languages exhibit a strong verb-centeredness that was captured by Jean André Cuoq, a 19th century missionary to the Mohawks, who wrote of their language:

They don’t have articles, and they wouldn’t know how to compensate for this lack of articles either with case or with prepositions, which they also lack. Nevertheless, they have other ways of establishing and maintaining clarity of discourse. ... They have only a few adverbs and conjunctions, but in fact they have an astonishing wealth of verbs. In their language almost everything is a verb, or can become one (Cuoq 1866: 87).

Of special interest is the fact that the words of these languages express not only ideas of events and states, as is the case with the verbs of many languages, but include within a single word the participant(s) in those events and states.

It appears to be universally true that we cannot think of a particular event or state without including the idea of one or more of the participants in it. As noted by T. Givón, ‘a verb-coded event ... cannot be experienced—makes no sense—independently of its noun-coded participants’ (Givón 2001: 53). Ronald Langacker remarked that ‘an event is conceptually dependent; it cannot be conceptualized without conceptualizing the participants who interact to constitute it’ (Langacker 2008: 1004). Similarly, William Croft observed that ‘one cannot conceive of an action such as running without the involvement of a runner, or of a property such as height without something that is tall’ (Croft 2001: 87). In short, ideas of events and states almost always include within them ideas of people, objects, or abstractions that initiate, are affected by, or otherwise participate in them.

The Northern Iroquoian languages capture this requirement directly by packaging an event or state and its participants within a single word. The present work describes the way Seneca does that, and also how it includes within that same package a variety of other features that might in other languages be assigned to separate words. It is in many respects a prototypical polysynthetic or holophrastic language (Duponceau 1838, Lieber 1837).

All the Northern Iroquoian languages have undergone phonological changes that distinguish them from each other, but Seneca has been exuberant in its accumulation of such changes, and they have obscured the morphological structure of the language to a considerable degree. Because of that, it is necessary to base discussions of Seneca morphology on reconstructed forms in which the parts of words can be more easily identified. Such reconstructions are provided throughout this work.

One can hardly present a work of this kind without feeling humility. Edward Sapir once remarked that ‘all grammars leak’, and I think he had more in mind than inadvertent errors and omissions. A grammar is at best a limited attempt to document the many complexities that have arisen in the speech of countless people who have inherited ways of thinking and speaking from countless generations before them, a process with no fixed beginning in which nothing has ever stood still. These pages try to suggest at least some of that with respect to the language before us.

A language possesses extraordinary aesthetic value. I hope that some of the beauty of this remarkable language will be evident here. My own contact with it has been an enriching experience for which I will always be grateful.

## 2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

### 2.1. Introduction

Seneca is not only highly polysynthetic but also highly fusional. Numerous phonological changes, many of which evidently took place during the 18th century, obscured the boundaries of word-internal elements and thus obscured the structure of Seneca words. However, evidence that is internal to Seneca itself (Chafe 1959a), comparative evidence from related languages, and certain written materials permit the reconstruction of earlier stages of the language at a time when its morphology was more transparent and more tractable to analysis.

Modern forms of the language cannot be explained adequately without reference to such reconstructions and the changes that led to the language as it is spoken today. Modern speakers of Seneca are of course unaware of either the reconstructions or the changes that reshaped them. When current speakers acquired the language in childhood, they undoubtedly assimilated an enormous number of individual words and phrases. When they now create new words they have not heard before, that ability evidently relies on analogies derived from the modern language, a kind of ‘folk morphology’. Most of the present chapter is devoted to explaining the historical basis of today’s language, but section 4.4.1.1 suggests at least one of the ways new words may be created analogically.

A good example of the erosion created by phonological change is available in a word translatable as ‘he eats it’ which, at an earlier time, must have been pronounced **\*ihraks**. At that time this word could be segmented straightforwardly into the morphemes **\*i-hra-k-s**. The verb root **-k-** ‘eat something’ was preceded by the masculine singular agent prefix **\*hra-** and followed by the habitual aspect suffix **\*-s**. The initial **\*i-** fulfilled a Proto-Northern-Iroquoian requirement that verbs contain at least two syllables, thus providing a place for a penultimate accent.

At an early stage Seneca, as well as Cayuga and Onondaga, lost the **r** in the **\*hra-** prefix and this word became **\*ihaks**. More recently Seneca introduced an entirely new prosodic system that lacked the initial accent, leaving **\*ihaks** without it. In the meantime Seneca lost the **k** before a final **s**, and a later development lengthened the **a**, so that the word was now pronounced **\*iha:s**. Still later intervocalic **h** was lost as well, leaving **ia:s**. That is how the word is pronounced today, but the present work follows a convention of writing a lengthened two-vowel sequence like **ia:** with the colon placed between the two vowels, **i:a**, no matter which of the two vowels was lengthened historically. Each vowel in such a sequence is pronounced with a length approximately one and a half times the length of a single short vowel. There is thus no phonetic difference between **ia:s** and **i:as**, and for the sake of consistency the latter spelling is the one adopted here. A noteworthy feature of this example is the fact that two-thirds of the pronominal prefix **\*hra-** and all of the verb root **\*-k-** are now missing. Seneca speakers know that **i:as** means ‘he eats it’, but its historically segmentable parts are no longer available.

Phonological changes have often led to radical differences among members of a paradigm. For example **o’gi** ‘I said’ and **waë** ‘he said’ have nothing in common except for the final glottal stop. However, the reconstructed sequences **\*wa’ki** and **\*wa’hrai** can be analyzed transparently as containing the ‘factual’ prefix **\*wa’-**, the pronominal prefixes **\*-k-** ‘first person singular agent’ and **\*-hra-** ‘masculine singular agent’, the verb



root *\*-i-* ‘say’, and the ‘punctual’ aspect suffix *\*-’*. At the beginning of the first word *wa’* was replaced by *o’* and the *k* was voiced to *g*, leaving *o’gi’*. The second word underwent more changes. As early as Pre-Proto-Northern-Iroquoian the glottal stop was lost before *h* and the sequence *ai* was reduced to *ë*, yielding a stage at which this word was pronounced *\*wahrë’*. Subsequently the *r* was lost, leaving *\*wahë’*. The most recent change was the loss of intervocalic *h*, so that today we are left with *o’gi’* and *waë’*.

Some phonological changes are still in progress and speakers have a choice between a more conservative and a more innovative style of speech, just as English provides a choice, for example, between ‘will not’ and ‘won’t’. Typically the more conservative forms are heard in slow, deliberate, or ritual styles of speaking, whereas the more innovative forms appear in fast, casual, or colloquial styles. The casual style thus provides evidence of changes in progress. Until recently, Seneca speakers used the conservative and casual styles in contexts that were appropriate to each. However, members of the most recent generation of fluent speakers tend to restrict their speech for the most part to casual forms. Nevertheless, examples in the present work are based largely on the conservative style, which is recognized by current speakers, and in which morphological structure is somewhat more transparent. Changes that define the casual style are described in 2.10.

## 2.2. Seneca vowels today

The vowels of contemporary Seneca are shown in Table 2.1. The two nasalized vowels have been written in different ways at different times, but since the 1970s it has been common practice to spell them with a dieresis or umlaut, *ë* and *ö*, jokingly referred to as nostrils. The low front vowel is also spelled with a dieresis, *ä*, although it is not nasalized. The dieresis, in other words, shows a vowel quality that departs in some way from the quality associated with the plain letter: nasalization in the case of *ë* and *ö*, fronting in the case of *ä*.

	Front	Back
High	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>
Mid	<b>e</b>	<b>o</b>
Low-mid and nasalized	<b>ë</b>	<b>ö</b>
Low	<b>ä</b>	<b>a</b>

Table 2.1. Seneca vowels

The apparent symmetry of Table 2.1 is misleading in the sense that it obscures two significant imbalances in the relative frequencies of these vowels. For reasons given in 2.9, the low front vowel *ä* occurs in significantly fewer words than any of the other vowels except *u*. This *u* is the most restricted vowel of all, since it is confined to cases of vowel symbolism where it replaces *a* as a way of expressing unusually small size. For example:

<b>niwá’a:h</b>	‘it’s small’	<b>niwú’u:h</b>	‘it’s tiny’
<b>niyága’ä:h</b>	‘she’s small, a little girl’	<b>niyúgu’ù:h</b>	‘she’s tiny, a tiny girl’

Six of the eight vowels, then, occur with roughly comparable frequency, the vowel *ä* less often because of its limited history, and the vowel *u* only in words expressing tiny size.

The two nasalized vowels **ẽ** and **õ** were already present in Proto-Northern-Iroquoian, and for the most part they do not function as nasalized counterparts of oral vowels. However, **õ** is the nasalized reflex of **a** in the sequence **\*na**, now pronounced **nõ**, as well as in certain other environments that foster nasal assimilation.

With two minor exceptions Seneca vowels are consistently pronounced with qualities suggested by their positions in Table 2.1. The position of the two nasalized vowels reflects the phonetic values (ɛ) and (ɔ), which are intermediate in height between the mid and low vowels.<sup>1</sup> The two oral mid vowels **e** and **o**, however, have a raised pronunciation under the following limited conditions. A short mid front **e** is raised to phonetic (ɪ) between **n** and a velar stop, as with the first **e** in **snegeäh** ‘drink!’ A short mid back **o** is raised to phonetic (ʊ) when it is immediately followed by the high front vowel **i**, as in **óíwa** ‘topic, cause’. One 20th century speaker was heard to pronounce the high back vowel **u** without rounding, (u), perhaps a retention from a time when lip rounding was virtually absent from the language.

Vowels may be either short or long, and length is marked with a following colon. Sequences of two immediately adjacent vowels may also be short or long, so that **ëö**, for example, contrasts with **ë:ö**, where each vowel is approximately one and a half times as long as a short vowel (see the discussion of **i:as** in 2.1 above). Often the two vowels in such a sequence are identical, so that the triple length sequence **a:a** contrasts with long **a:**, which in turn contrasts with short **a**. There are thus three degrees of vowel length—short, long, and over-long—as illustrated in the final portions of **ni:ga** ‘how big I am’, **gá’ga:** ‘crow’, and **gaga:a** ‘story’.

Vowels are pronounced with either low or high pitch. High pitched (‘accented’) vowels are marked with an acute accent: **gagá’da** ‘white oak’. Long vowels may have high pitch throughout their length, as in **á:hse:gë** ‘you might see it’, or the pitch may fall, as in **à:díyë’he’t** ‘they should learn’, where the falling pitch is marked with a grave accent. High pitch may occur with either short or long vowels, but falling pitch occurs only with long vowels. An over-long vowel may also exhibit a falling pitch, as in **à:agë** ‘he might see it’, where the pitch falls steadily throughout the triple length sequence.

### 2.3. Seneca consonants today

The fifteen Seneca consonants are shown in Table 2.2, where the apostrophe (’) represents a glottal stop. Here too several features deserve comment. The Northern Iroquoian languages are well known for their lack of labial consonants. The velar resonant **w** may now be pronounced with a certain degree of lip rounding, but at an earlier time lip movement may have been slight or entirely absent. There is no **p**, **b**, or **m** except in ideophones and nicknames. The voiceless and voiced affricates, despite their spelling with two letters, function as unitary sounds. **j**, however, is written with a unitary symbol because of habits instilled by English spelling. Roughly half of modern Seneca speakers fail to distinguish **dz** and **j**, but pronounce both as **j** (i.e. **dž**). Thus, for example, **dza:dak** ‘seven’ is pronounced by these speakers as **ja:dak** (**dža:dak**).

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<sup>1</sup> In Chafe 1963 and 1967 these vowels were written **ɛ** and **ɔ**.

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	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Voiceless aspirated stops	<b>t</b>		<b>k</b>	
Voiced stops	<b>d</b>		<b>g</b>	
Fricatives	<b>s</b>	<b>š</b>		
Voiceless affricates	<b>ts</b>	<b>tš</b>		
Voiced affricates	<b>dz</b>	<b>j (=dž)</b>		
Glottal stop				<b>ʔ</b>
Glottal continuant				<b>h</b>
Resonants	<b>n</b>	<b>y</b>	<b>w</b>	

Table 2.2. Seneca consonants

At an earlier time the Northern Iroquoian languages did not make a phonological distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and affricates, nor did they include palatal consonants other than **y**. Mohawk and Oneida are still written with only the stops **t** and **k** and only the fricative **s**, and their phonological systems justify those more restricted inventories. In those languages the stops are allophonically voiced before vowels and resonants but are voiceless elsewhere. Seneca has developed a new phonological system in which the earlier consonant clusters **th** and **kh** have been reinterpreted as unitary voiceless aspirated stops, written here as **t** and **k**, which contrast with the voiced stops **d** and **g** (from earlier **t** and **k** immediately followed by a vowel, **w**, or **y**).

Evidence for this reinterpretation is provided by words like **ode:ka** ‘it’s burning’ with a long vowel in an open penultimate syllable, contrasting with Mohawk **yotékha** with a short accented vowel in a syllable closed by the **k**. In Seneca the voiceless aspirated **k** has come to be treated as a single consonant, whereas in Mohawk **kh** is treated as a cluster that straddles two syllables. In Seneca earlier **\*te** has been reinterpreted as **de**, and earlier **\*the** as **te**. Parallel developments have replaced **\*ke** with **ge** and **\*khe** with **ke**. Affricates have been reinterpreted in a parallel way, so that earlier **ts** before a vowel is now **dz**, earlier **tsh** is now **ts**, earlier **tš** before a vowel is now **dž** (written **j**), and earlier **tšh** is now **tš**. It should be noted that the spelling used here is preferred by Seneca speakers, who find that it comes closer to actual pronunciation.

Many but not all instances of the palatal fricative **š** are derived from an earlier sequence **sy**. The palatal affricate **tš** has two sources. One is the earlier sequence **\*tshi**, now **tši**, where **s** was palatalized by the following **i**. But **š** is also present in the current pronunciation of an earlier sequence **thy**, in which **hy** was pronounced as a voiceless fricative **y** distinct from **š**. Until a few decades ago **thy** was thus distinct from **tš** (where the **s** was palatalized by a following **i**), but today the two have now fallen together as **tš**. A parallel development occurred with the voiced affricates. The affricate **j** (**dž**) derives in part from the palatalization of **dz** before **i**, but in part from an earlier **dy**, which earlier contained a voiced fricative **y** and was thus distinct from **dž**. It is likely that these changes of **thy** to **tš** and **dy** to **j** were influenced by the constant exposure of modern speakers to the affricates spelled **ch** and **j** in English.

Despite the lack of labial consonants, the sounds **p**, **b**, and **m** do occur in a few nicknames such as **Gó’bit** and **Dagam**, as well as in ideophones such as **ba’s** ‘the crunching sound of a breaking skull’, **bläts** ‘the sound of fat legs slapping together’, and **plo’ts** ‘plop’(cf. Mithun 1982).

## 2.4. Vowels and consonants reconstructed for Proto-Northern-Iroquoian

The vowels of Proto-Northern-Iroquoian can be reconstructed as in Table 2.3. There were four oral and two nasalized vowels. In Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga the back nasalized vowel (here written **ö**) has moved higher—in Mohawk and Onondaga to a high back position (**ɯ**) and in Oneida to high mid (**ʊ**)—and in Mohawk and Oneida (but not Onondaga) the front nasalized vowel (**ë**) has moved further back (**ʌ**). The low front vowel **ä** is found only in Seneca and Onondaga.

	Front	Back
High	<b>i</b>	
Mid	<b>e</b>	<b>o</b>
Low-mid and nasalized	<b>ë</b>	<b>ö</b>
Low		<b>a</b>

Table 2.3. The vowels of Proto-Northern-Iroquoian

The consonants of Proto-Northern-Iroquoian can be reconstructed as in Table 2.4. As discussed above, the voicing distinction in the stops and affricates was not distinctive, nor were there any palatal obstruents. Whether the affricate **ts** functioned as a unitary sound or as a sequence of **t** followed by **s** is an open question. In any case the language at that stage could be written with only three obstruents—**t**, **k**, and **s**—and a total inventory of only nine consonants along with the six vowels.

	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Stops	<b>t</b>		<b>k</b>	
Fricative	<b>s</b>			
Affricate	<b>ts</b>			
Glottal stop				<b>ʔ</b>
Glottal continuant				<b>h</b>
Resonants	<b>n, r</b>	<b>y</b>	<b>w</b>	

Table 2.4. The consonants of Proto-Northern-Iroquoian

## 2.5. Reconstructed Seneca at an earlier time

To understand the phonological shape of modern Seneca words it is necessary to begin with reconstructed forms that reflect the way the language was spoken before a large number of phonological changes took place (Chafe 1959a). To judge from the dictionaries attributed to the Jesuit missionary Julien Garnier (Chapter 1), most of the changes that set modern Seneca apart from the other Northern Iroquoian languages occurred subsequent to Garnier's contact with the language and before the work of Asher Wright and others in the 19th century, when the language had acquired something close to its present form. Many of those changes must be applied in the order given below, although for others the order is irrelevant. In describing these changes it is useful to refer to the following classes of vowels and consonants:

vowels	V	= <b>i, e, ä, a, o, u, ë, ö</b>
oral vowels	V <sub>O</sub>	= <b>i, e, ä, a, o, u</b>
nasalized vowels	V <sub>N</sub>	= <b>ë, ö</b>
last vowel in a word	V <sub>L</sub>	

penultimate or earlier vowel	V <sub>p</sub>	
consonants	C	= t, k, s, ts, h, ' , n, y, w, r
obstruents	O	= t, k, s, ts, h, '
oral obstruents	O <sub>O</sub>	= t, k, s, ts
laryngeal obstruents	O <sub>L</sub>	= h, '
resonants	R	= n, y, w, r

## 2.6. The assignment of vowel length in modern Seneca

With one exception, the reconstructed forms given in parentheses in this work include neither vowel length nor accent, making it possible to state the uniquely Seneca assignment of those features. The one exception applies to the last vowel in a word that ends in a laryngeal obstruent. Whether a vowel in that position is short or long is unpredictable, and thus it is necessary to specify its length in reconstructions. In the statements to follow, 'even-numbered' and 'odd-numbered' refer to the position of a vowel as it is counted from the beginning of a word. At this reconstructed stage of the language 'vowel' and 'syllable' are synonymous, although in modern Seneca that is no longer true. (The examples cited in the following sections often include changes in addition to those being illustrated.)

**2.6.1. Vowel length in an even-numbered penult.** An even-numbered penultimate vowel was lengthened unless it was immediately followed by a laryngeal obstruent.

**wa'agwaga:we'** 'we rowed' (\*wa'yakwakawe')  
**wa:diyë:to'** 'they planted' (\*wa'hatiyëtho')

Length is absent in the following examples because the even-numbered penultimate vowel was followed by a laryngeal obstruent. Regarding the accent see 2.7.1 below.

**wa:diyë'he't** 'they learned it' (\*wa'hatiwyë'he't)  
**agadwëdëhdöh** 'I've lent it' (\*wakatwëtehtöh)

**2.6.2. Vowel length in an odd-numbered penult.** An odd-numbered penultimate vowel was lengthened if it was followed by only one consonant before the next vowel (i.e. was in an open syllable), if that consonant was not a laryngeal obstruent, and if the vowel was not **a**.

**wa'öhdë:di'** 'she went' (\*wa'yöhtëti')  
**o:yó'ti:yet** 'it's sharp' (\*yohyo'thiyecht)

Length is absent in the following example because the odd-numbered penultimate vowel was followed by two consonants.

**waodinya:k** 'they got married' (\*wa'hotinyak)

Length is absent in the following example because the odd-numbered penultimate vowel was followed by a laryngeal obstruent.

**niyáwë'öh** 'how it has happened' (\*niyawë'öh)

Length is absent in the following example because the odd-numbered penultimate vowel was **a**.

**ëyödawë** ‘she’s going to bathe’ (\*ëyötawë’)

However, penultimate **a** was lengthened if it was the first vowel in a word, unless that word was an imperative.

**ha:döh** ‘he says’ (\*hatöh)

This length is absent in an imperative.

**šadö:h** ‘write!’ (\*shyatö:h)

The exemption of the vowel **a** from lengthening in an odd-numbered penult may be traced to a time when **a** sometimes appeared as an epenthetic ‘stem-joiner’ vowel (following an incorporated noun root), and was therefore exempt from the prominence otherwise assigned to penultimate vowels. As is still the case in Mohawk and Oneida, with the stem-joiner **a** the usual penultimate prominence was passed on to an antepenultimate vowel. Seneca no longer gives special treatment to stem-joiner vowels, but does give special treatment to an odd-numbered penultimate **a** as described above.

**2.6.3. Vowel length from other sources.** Word-level prosody as described above may combine with other changes to produce words in which vowel length stems from other sources, several of which are illustrated in the following word.

**wá:te:nö:yë:** (\*wa’hathehnayë:’) ‘he set down his burden’

As stated in 2.6 above, length in the last vowel in a word where a laryngeal obstruent follows is not predictable and thus needs to be specified in reconstructions, as in this example. The even-numbered penultimate vowel in this word was lengthened because it was not immediately followed by a laryngeal obstruent: \***wa’hathehna:yë:**’. The lengthening of the antepenultimate vowel resulted from the loss of **h** before a resonant (in this case **n**) with compensatory lengthening): \***wa’hathe:na:yë:**’. The second vowel was accented in accordance with 2.7.1 below: \***wa’háthe:na:yë:**’. There followed a loss of ’ before **h** and then a loss of the intervocalic **h**, \***waáthe:na:yë:**’, and then the spreading of the accent to yield a single accented long vowel: \***wá:the:na:yë:**’. Other changes in this word included a change of **a** to **ö** after **n**, \***wá:the:nö:yë:**’, and a reinterpretation of **th** as **t**, leading to the pronunciation **wá:te:nö:yë:**’, with lengthened vowels from four different sources

## 2.7. The assignment of accent in modern Seneca

As mentioned in 2.2, accented vowels are higher in pitch than unaccented vowels, and some long vowels have falling pitch. Figure 2.1 shows the pitch contour of the word **niyó’nigò:dë:h** (\*niyo’niköhro’të:h) ‘what its mind is like’. There is a high pitch on the first (short) **o**, and a high-falling pitch on the second (long) **o**: (where **öhro** > **óho** > **óo** > **ò**:). The final **ë** was pronounced with a discourse (rather than morphological) rising contour that indicated more to come.

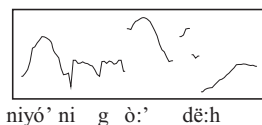


Figure 2.1. High and falling pitched vowels

**2.7.1 Accenting of an even-numbered short vowel.** An even-numbered short vowel was accented if (a) it was not the last vowel in a word and (b) it was followed by a laryngeal obstruent, by a cluster of two or more obstruents of any kind, or by **kn, tn, sn, sw,** or **sy**.

With a following laryngeal obstruent:

**ha:nyó'öh** (\*hahnyö'öh) 'white man'

With a following obstruent cluster (here **kt**):

**onókda'geh** (\*onakta'keh) 'on the bed'

With a following **sn**:

**niyósno:we'** (\*niyosnore') 'how fast it is'

**2.7.2. Accenting of an even-numbered short vowel when the following odd-numbered vowel conformed to 2.7.1.** An even-numbered short vowel was accented if the following (odd-numbered) vowel had one of the properties listed in 2.7.1.

**gegóda'geh** (\*keköta'keh) 'on my nose'

A plausible way to describe this influence of the following vowel on accent assignment is to ignore the first vowel in a word and then divide the remainder into trochaic feet (Melinger 2002). A 'strong' trochee can then be defined as one in which either of its two vowels fulfills one of the properties listed in 2.7.1. In that case an accent is assigned to the first vowel of the trochee, even if the determining property belongs to the second vowel. The word **dë:në'nígöewënyá'ta'** 'they amuse themselves' can be reconstructed as follows, where the numbers show the vowel count and the hyphens divide the word into trochaic feet, ignoring the first vowel.

**\*de-héné'-nígöh-rawër-yá'ta'**  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

The trochaic feet consist of vowels 2-3, 4-5, 6-7, and 8-9. Vowels 3, 5, and 8 fulfilled the criteria for accent placement, because each was followed by a laryngeal obstruent. Thus trochees 2-3, 4-5, and 8-9 were strong and were accented on their first vowel (vowels 2, 4, and 8 as shown with the accent marks). Vowel 6 was not accented because neither it nor vowel 7 defined a strong trochee. (Note at the beginning of **dë:në'nígöewënyá'ta'** the reduction of **déhé** to **dë:** (2.10))

**2.7.3. Words with multiple accents.** As evident in the preceding example, a word may contain more than one accent. As another example, the word **yötgóhsagóewáta'** 'face

towel’, literally ‘one uses it to wipe one’s face’, shows an accent on every even-numbered vowel.

**\*yöt-kóhsa-kóhe-wáhtha’**  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

In this case the first vowel of each trochee was followed by **h** and thus received the accent. Later the second and third **h**’s were lost: the second because it was intervocalic, the third because it was followed by two obstruents.

**2.7.4. Words with no accent.** Many words contain no word-level accent at all, since they lack any trochaic feet in which either the first or second vowel fulfilled the criteria listed in 2.7.1. An example is **deyagodawënye:h** ‘people are moving about’, literally ‘stirring’.

**te-yako-tawër-ye:h**  
1 2 3 4 5 6

**2.7.5. The absence of accenting on initial and final vowels.** The first and last vowels of a word were exempt from word-level accenting. The trochaic pattern was established by ignoring the first vowel, and the last vowel could not belong to the first syllable of a trochee. There is, however, a quite different pattern of accent assignment that is imposed at the discourse level rather than the word level, which often does assign an accent to the last vowel in a word (see Figure 2.1).

**2.7.6. Accent spreading.** The loss of **r** and of intervocalic **h** often produced uninterrupted vowel sequences. If the second of two adjacent vowels was accented the accent spread backward to include both of them, as in **ëódekö:ni** (\*ëhatekhöni’) ‘he will eat’. If the two vowels were identical, the result was a long accented vowel, as in **é:nödékö:ni** (\*ëhëhatekhö:ni’) ‘they will eat’. If, on the other hand, it was the first of the two vowels that received the accent, it did not spread rightward to the second vowel. The result is instead a falling pitch, either on two different vowels, as in **onéögwe:göh** (\*onëhakweköh’) ‘whole corn’, or on a single long vowel with a falling pitch, written with a grave accent, as in **watà:négëšö** (\*wathahanekëhsrö’) ‘roads close together’.

**2.7.7. Three definitions of ‘closed syllable’.** The assignment of length and accent described in 2.6.1 through 2.7.6 implies three distinct definitions of ‘closed syllable’. In the following statements the laryngeal obstruents **’** and **h** function as ambisyllabic; that is, when they occur alone between two vowels (V’V or VhV), they function both as the coda of the preceding syllable and the onset of the following syllable.

(a) In the assignment of length in an even-numbered penult, a closed syllable was one whose vowel was followed immediately by a laryngeal obstruent (2.6.1).

(b) In the assignment of length in an odd-numbered penult, a closed syllable was one whose coda was any consonant (2.6.2).

(c) In the assignment of accent, a closed syllable was one whose vowel was followed by a laryngeal obstruent, by a cluster of any two or more obstruents, or by **kn**, **tn**, **sn**, **sw**, or **sy** (2.7.1).

## **2.8. Phonological changes shared with all the Northern Iroquoian languages**



Results of the following changes are recognizable in all the Northern Iroquoian languages, and are thus inferred to have taken place at some stage prior to Proto-Northern-Iroquoian. They preceded the Seneca assignment of length and accent described in 2.6 and 2.7.

**Addition of a prothetic ‘i’ if a verb would otherwise contain only one vowel.** This change created a location for the Proto-Northern-Iroquoian penultimate accent, but that accent was later replaced by the Seneca accent pattern described in 2.7.

**i:ga:’** (\*i-kar’) ‘it’s in it’

**Simplification of a vowel sequence linking a pronominal prefix to a base.** The following changes change the odd-even vowel count that determines the assignment of vowel length and accent as described in 2.6 and 2.7. Other alternations applicable to pronominal prefixes are treated in terms of allomorphic variants as set forth in Table 3.1 of Chapter 3.

**\*a-i > ě.** A possible explanation for this spontaneous nasalization is the likelihood that **ai** coalesced to form a vowel in the low mid position (ɛ), where it fell together with an existing vowel that was already nasalized.

**gë:döh** (\*ka-itöh) ‘it means’

**\*ye-e or \*ye-ě > yě**

**i:yě’s** (\*iye-e’s) ‘she’s around’

**wa’ě:’** (\*wa’ye-er’) ‘she thought’

**\*ye-a > yö.** Although the change appears on the surface to have taken this form, its origin was more likely in the sequence **\*yaw-a**, making it a variant of the change that follows.

**yödögweta’** (\*ye-atökwetha’) ‘she’s in good health’

**\*wa’wak > \*ök.** The reduction of **wa(’)wa** to **ö** applied in more environments in the other Northern Iroquoian languages, but in Seneca it was for the most part restricted to cases where the factual prefix **wa’-** was followed by the 1st person singular patient prefix **wak-**. It is likely that **wa’wa** coalesced to form a vowel in the low back position (ɔ), where it fell together with an existing vowel that was already nasalized.

**ögáhda’t** (\*wa’wakahta’t) ‘I got full’

**\*’ > 0 / -h (loss of glottal stop before h).** This change is limited in Seneca to the boundary between the factual prefix **wa’-** and a following pronominal prefix with an initial **h**, which was later itself lost intervocalically and before a resonant.

**wá:da:ödö:’** (\*wa’hatahrötö:’) ‘they (m.sg.agt) asked’

**wa:yáda:ödö:** (\*wa'hyatahrötö:) 'they (m.du.agt) asked'

The sequence 'h is now found in numerous other morphological environments, for example

**óé'he'öh** (\*yohë'he'öh) 'it has stopped'

**agá'hö:n** (\*waka'höt) 'I've attached something to it'

**\*sy > š (palatalization of s before y).**

**šënē:da't** (\*syënēta't) 'finish it!'

**ša:söh** (\*syasöh) 'you're called, your name is'

## 2.9. Phonological changes not shared with all the Northern Iroquoian languages

Some of the changes in this section are unique to Seneca, while others are shared with Cayuga and/or Onondaga. There is an attempt to list these changes in the order in which they occurred, judging from their interaction. Such ordering, however, cannot always be determined with any certainty (cf. Chafe 1968, Chafe and Foster 1981).

**w > 0 / k-# (loss of word-final w after k).** This change applies both to bases ending in **kw** and to the instrumental suffix **-hkw**.

**o'tgek** (\*wa'tkehkw) 'I picked it up'

**o'gajá:'dak** (\*wa'katyera'tahkw) 'I used it'

**t, k > 0 / -s# (loss of t and k before word-final s).**

**ita:s** (\*ithats) 'he stands there'

**i:as** (\*ihaks) 'he eats it'

**V<sub>L</sub> > V<sub>L</sub>: / -O<sub>0</sub># (lengthening of the last vowel in a word before a word-final obstruent).**

See examples just above.

**y > 0 / #, '- (loss of y word-initially and after a glottal stop).** This change is commonly seen in pronominal prefixes with an initial y. However, word-initial y was *not* lost in the feminine singular agent prefix.

**agwa:s** (\*yakwaks) 'we (ex.pl) eat it'

**wa'a:gwa:k** (\*wa'yakwak) 'we (ex.pl) ate it'

**wa'éyēto** (\*wa'yeyētho) 'she planted'

*but* **yeyē:twas** (\*yeyēthwaks) 'she plants'

**r > n / -y (r became n before y).** This change appears to have predated Garnier's dictionaries. For example, Garnier's **onnaganiagon** 'castor', Seneca **(o)nöganyá'göh** 'beaver' with noun root **\*-nakar-** 'stick' followed by verb root **\*-ya'k-** 'cut, break'.

**deyöwënyeh** (\*teyöwëryeh) ‘she stirs it’

**r > w / o, ö - V<sub>O</sub> (r became w between o or ö and an oral vowel).**

**wa'é'ho:we:k** (\*wa'ye'horek) ‘she covered it’  
**gë'dö:wë'** (\*kai'törë') ‘bottom’

**r > y / i-V<sub>O</sub> (r became y between i and an oral vowel).**

**yewi:yä'** (\*yewira') ‘her offspring’

**r > y / O<sub>O</sub> - o, ö (r became y between an oral obstruent and o or ö).**

**të'jö'** (\*thai'trö') ‘he stays there’

**a > ä / r- (a became ä after r).**

**sägoḥ** (\*srakoh) ‘take it out’

**ǎ > e / -ro (short a became e before ro).**

**ëgegeodë'** (\*ëkekarotë') ‘I'll tell a story’

**ǎ > ë / -rö (short a became ë before rö).**

**ostëöjöh** (\*ostarötyö:h) ‘it's raining’

**r > 0 / V-V (loss of r between vowels).**

See the last two examples.

**R > : / -O<sub>L</sub># (loss of a resonant before a final laryngeal obstruent with compensatory lengthening).**

**i:ga:'** (\*ikar') ‘it's in it’  
**otga:h** (\*otkarh) ‘it's making a noise’

**hR > 0 / V-V (loss of h plus a resonant between vowels).**

**o'sóä'** (\*o'sohra') ‘white pine’  
**knöe's** (\*knöhwe's) ‘I like it’

**R > 0 / -h (loss of a resonant before h).**

**gaha:da'** (\*karhata') ‘forest’

**r > 0 (complete loss of r).** Compare Garnier **okte'ra'** ‘racine’ with Seneca **okdëä'** ‘root’ (\*oktehra').

**oënö'** (\*orëna') ‘song’

**VV<sub>P</sub>: > VV<sub>P</sub>** (shortening of a penultimate or earlier vowel sequence).

**oěño'** (\*orěna') 'song'

**h > 0 / V-V (loss of h between vowels).** This change must have followed that described just above. Otherwise the word would be **gaöwö'**.

**ga:öwö'** (\*kahöwa') 'boat'

**h > 0 / -OO or -O# (loss of h before two obstruents, or before a single word-final obstruent).**

**o'nísda'** (\*o'nihsta') 'corn on the cob'

**hashe:das'** (\*hashetahs) 'he counts, accountant'

**h > : / V-R (loss of h before a resonant with compensatory vowel lengthening).**

**hadé:ni:nös'** (\*hatěhninöhs) 'he sells, salesman'

**a > ä / -ä (fronting of a to ä before ä).**

**okjí'gä:'** (\*oktsi'kara') 'stump'

**ä > a / a:-, á- (defronting of ä to a after a: or á).** This change may better be regarded as a restriction on the preceding change.

**oya:a'** (\*oyara') 'bag'

**o'wà:'** (\*o'wahra') 'meat' (see  $\acute{V}_i V_i > \acute{V}_i:$  below)

**a > ö / n- (nasalization of a to ö after n).**

**ganödayë'** (\*kanatayë') 'town'

**a > ö / ë- (nasalization of a to ö after ë).**

**éötaë'** (\*ěhatharë') 'he will talk'

**a > ö / ëw- (nasalization of a to ö after ëw).**

**ëwö:dö'** (\*ëwatö') 'it will become'

**a > ö / ëh- (nasalization of a to ö after ëh).**

**gëhö:de'** (\*kaiyhate') 'river'

**a > ö / ë'- (nasalization of a to ö after ë').**

**ji'dé'ö:h'** (\*tsi'të'ahah) 'bird'

**a > ö / ö- (nasalization of a to ö after ö).**

**gwa'yò:**' (\*kwa'yöha') 'rabbit'

**a > ö / öw-** (nasalization of a to ö after öw).

**oyö:wö**' (\*oyöwa') 'tall plant'

**a > ö / ö'-** (nasalization of a to ö after ö').

**ji'dé'ö:h** (\*tsi'të'ahah) 'bird'

**ë > e / -e, -o** (denasalization of ë to e before e or o).

**é:yatšo:wi'** (\*ëheyathrori) 'I'll tell about him'  
**éótä:k** (\*ëhotharahk) 'he'll be the speaker'

**ö > o / -o** (denasalization of ö to o before o).

**o'gó:owi'** (\*wa'göhrori) 'I told you'

**V́V́ > V́V́** (spread of the accent to the left).

**wáéñö:et** (\*wa'hëñöhet) 'they stayed overnight'

**V<sub>i</sub>V<sub>i</sub> > V<sub>i</sub>:** (rewriting of two identical vowels in sequence as one long vowel).

**gahsigwä:**' (\*kahsikwara) 'fork'  
**gá:'tëshä'** (\*kara'tëshshra) 'stairs'

**V́<sub>i</sub>V<sub>i</sub> > V́<sub>i</sub>:** (rewriting of two identical vowels in sequence as one long vowel with falling pitch if there is an accent on the first).

**o'wà:**' (\*o'wahra) 'meat'

**VV: > V:V** (rewriting of the colon).

**sga:e'** (\*skaher) 'it's on it again'

**V:V: > V:V** (shortening of two long vowels in sequence).

**wa:e'** (\*wa'haher) 'he thought'

**V:V<sub>AP</sub> > V:** (shortening of an antepenultimate vowel sequence).

**wáéöyágë'dak** (\*wa'haröhyakë'tahk) 'he worked hard at it'

**k > g / -V or -R<sub>n</sub>** (k became g before a vowel, or before a resonant other than n).

**o'ga:wa:k** (\*wa'kawak) 'I sifted it'

**t > d / -V or -R<sub>n</sub>** (t became d before a vowel, or before a resonant other than n).

**oyë:de:t** (\*oyëtet) ‘it shows, is apparent’

**dy > j (=dž)** (voiced fricative y became ž).

**o’ja:gwa:t** (\*wa’tyakwat) ‘we danced’

**thy > tšh** (voiceless fricative y became šh).

**o’tša:dä’t** (\*wa’tyatra’t) ‘they (du) came together’ (see **tšh > tš** below)

**tsi > ji (=dži)**

**jisgë:h** (\*tsiskë:h) ‘ghost, skeleton’

**tshi > tšhi**

**tši’jö’** (\*tshi’trö’) ‘you live there’

**hshr > tš / -i**

**ga:yádötši:yo:h** (\*kahyatöhshriyo:h) ‘good book, bible’

**ts > dz / -V or -R<sub>n</sub>** (ts became dz before a vowel, or before a resonant other than n).

**dzakókdö:h** (\*tsakoktö:h) ‘she has returned’

**kh > k** (kh became voiceless aspirated k).

**ka’da:tës** (\*kha’tathëhs) ‘I’m thirsty’

**th > t** (th became voiceless aspirated t).

See the preceding example.

**tsh > ts**

**tša’de:wa’** (\*tsha’tewa’) ‘it’s the same size’

**tšh > tš**

**tši’jö’** (\*tshi’trö’) ‘you live there’

**t > n / V<sub>N</sub>-#** (word-final t became n after a nasalized vowel). This change took place after the middle of the 20th century.

**dedwa:dö:n** (\*tetwatöt) ‘let’s eat together’

**tn > hn** (tn > thn > hn).

**de:yádahnóe’s** (\*tehyatatnöhwë’s) ‘they like each other’

**2.10. Phonological changes still in progress and applying only to casual speech**

**ä > ë / n-** (ä was replaced by ë after n).

**onáhda' > onéhda'** (\*onrahta') 'leaf'

**Vë > ëë** (spreading of ë to a preceding vowel).

**jojéëhdöh > jojè:hdöh** (\*tyotyerëhtöh) 'it's first'

**dewagadöödzonih > dewagadè:dzonih** (\*tewakatöhrëtsonih) 'I need it'

**eo > o:** (spreading of o to preceding e).

**deódöëdzonih > dó:döëdzonih** (\*tehotöhrëtsonih) 'he needs it'

**eö > ö:** (spreading of ö to preceding e).

**deöwösnye' > dö:wösnye'** (\*tehöwasnye') 'she's taking care of him'

**ia > ya:** (reduction of i to y with compensatory lengthening of the following vowel).

**niájeha' > nyá:jeha'** (\*nihatyerha') 'he does it'

### 3. VERB MORPHOLOGY PART 1: THE MINIMAL VERB

#### 3.1. Introduction

Verbs constitute by far the most frequent word type in Seneca, as in the other Iroquoian languages. Based solely on internal morphological structure, in a sample of approximately 12,500 different words, different verbs constituted 85%, different nouns 9%, and different particles 6%. The number of different verb types is essentially open-ended. If all possible combinations of verb bases with prefixes and suffixes were counted, the number would be staggeringly high. When it comes to word tokens, however, the most frequently occurring words in actual speech are particles, since a small number of particles occur with great frequency.

Verbs follow a structural pattern that was first comprehensively and accurately described by Floyd Lounsbury in his *Oneida Verb Morphology* (1953), a work that has been basic to all subsequent work on the Northern Iroquoian languages. Although there are differences in each of these languages, most of the differences are relatively minor. There are, on the other hand, major differences in the phonological changes that have occurred in each language, and it is above all those changes that have set the languages significantly apart.

Seneca has undergone especially radical phonological change, as described in Chapter 2. As a result, although the components of a Seneca verb are very similar to those in the other languages, the forms of the verbs often diverge considerably. The following are words translatable as ‘I drank’ in Proto-Northern-Iroquoian, Onondaga, and Seneca (Chafe 1984). Seneca replaced the initial *\*wa’-* with *o’-*, the final *\*-hra’* with *-ä’*, and (less systematically) the *\*i* with *e*. As these examples suggest, phonological erosion has often made Seneca words shorter than those in the other languages.

Proto-Northern-Iroquoian:	<i>*wa’khnēkihra’</i>
Onondaga:	<i>wa’khnē:gihä’</i>
Seneca:	<i>o’knégeä’</i>

Seneca verbs are built on a *verb base* that conveys the idea of an event or state. A minimal verb base consists of a *verb root*. Derivational processes that create more complex verb bases are described in Chapter 5. A verb base is always followed by an *aspect suffix* that orients the event or state in time and in other ways, and a base is nearly always preceded by a *pronominal prefix* that conveys the idea of a participant or participants in the event or state. A verb that contains nothing more than these three components ends with either of two aspect suffixes labeled *habitual* (Lounsbury’s *serial*) and *stative* (Lounsbury’s *perfective*). Verbs that end with the *imperative* suffix may have the same minimal structure, but because they differ in other ways they are described separately in Chapter 16. The pronominal prefix may belong to a set of *agent* prefixes, a set of *patient* prefixes, or a set of *transitive* prefixes that include both an agent and a patient. Figure 3.1 shows this minimal verb structure.



pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix
agent patient transitive	root	habitual stative

Figure 3.1. Minimal verb structure

### 3.2. The habitual and stative aspect suffixes

**3.2.1. Meanings of the habitual and stative suffixes.** Verbs with this minimal structure exhibit only two aspect suffix forms, *habitual* and *stative* (Lounsbury's *iterative* and *perfective*)<sup>2</sup>, but there are four aspectual *meanings* that are expressed by those two forms.

- (1) 'habitual' (a habitual or generic event)
- (2) 'progressive' (an event that extends before and after the moment of speaking)
- (3) 'perfect' (a past event with current relevance)
- (4) 'stative' (a state)

These four meanings are distributed across the two forms in ways that are determined by the nature of the verb base, and specifically whether its meaning is *consequential* or *nonconsequential*. With a consequential base an event 'results in a new state of affairs that is significantly different from the way things were before the event took place, a state of affairs that is significant enough to be often talked about' (Chafe 1980b: 44). Examples are \*-yëthw- 'plant', \*-the't- 'pound (corn)', and \*-ya'k- 'cut or break'. With a nonconsequential base the event does not create the same kind of significant result, as with \*-skatkwë'/h- 'laugh', \*-hthar- 'talk', and \*-ashet- 'count'. Some bases allow either possibility, as with \*-k- 'eat something', \*-hawī- 'carry something', and \*-ëñöhēt- 'spend the night'. With the base meaning 'eat something', for example, attention may be focused either on the activity of eating (nonconsequential) or on the result of eating (consequential), as when the eater is no longer hungry.

aspectual meaning	pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix form
habitual	agent or patient or transitive	nonconsequential	habitual
progressive	patient or transitive		stative

Figure 3.2. Aspectual meanings and forms for a nonconsequential base

**3.2.1.1. Nonconsequential events.** Figure 3.2 shows the options for a nonconsequential event. The distribution of meanings is straightforward: a habitual event is expressed with the habitual suffix, a progressive event with the stative suffix. Nonconsequential events are incompatible with the perfect meaning; one does not say 'he has laughed', for

<sup>2</sup> Chafe 1967 called the stative suffix the *descriptive*.

example. There is, however, one complication. A participant that is expressed with an agent pronominal prefix in the habitual aspect is expressed with a patient prefix in the stative aspect. Examples:

With the agent prefix **\*ha-** ‘he’ and the habitual suffixes **\*-s** or **\*-ha’**:

<b>hasga:tgwë’s</b>	‘he laughs’	(*ha-skatkwë’-s)
<b>hata:ha’</b>	‘he talks’	(*ha-hthar-ha’)

With the patient prefix **\*ho-** ‘he’ and the stative suffixes **\*-öħ** or **\*-’**:

<b>hosgátgwë’öħ</b>	‘he’s laughing’	(*ho-skatkwë’-öħ)
<b>hota:’</b>	‘he’s talking’	(*ho-hthar-’)

With the transitive prefix **\*khe(y)-** ‘I > her/them’ and the habitual suffixes **\*-ahs** or **\*-’s**:

<b>keyáshe:das</b>	‘I count them’	(*khey-aset-ahs)
<b>keshe’s</b>	‘I follow/chase her/them’	(*khe-hshe-’s)

With the transitive prefix **\*khe(y)-** ‘I > her/them’ and the stative suffixes **\*-ëħ** or **\*-’**:

<b>keyáshe:dëħ</b>	‘I’m counting them’	(*khey-aset-ëħ)
<b>keshe’</b>	‘I’m following her or them’	(*khe-hshe-’)

**3.2.1.2. Consequential events.** Figure 3.3 shows the options for a consequential event. Both habitual and progressive events are expressed with the habitual suffix. (Compare the European languages in which the same form may be translated either ‘he plants’ or ‘he is planting’.) A perfect event, which is not expressible with a nonconsequential base, is expressed for a consequential event with the stative suffix. As with nonconsequential bases, the stative aspect occurs with patient prefixes. A comparison of Figures 3.2 and 3.3 illustrates the ambiguity of the stative suffix. With a nonconsequential event it has the progressive meaning, with a consequential event it has the perfect meaning.

aspectual meaning	pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix form
habitual or progressive	agent or patient or transitive	consequential	habitual
perfect	patient or transitive		stative

Figure 3.3. Aspectual meanings and forms for a consequential base

With the agent prefix **\*ha-** ‘he’ and the habitual suffixes **\*-ahs** or **\*-s**:

<b>hayë:twas</b>	‘he plants or is planting’	(*ha-yëthw-ahs)
<b>ha:ya’s</b>	‘he cuts or is cutting it’	(*ha-ya’k-s)

With the patient prefix **\*ho-** ‘he’ and the stative suffix **\*-öħ**:

<b>hoyə:tōh</b>	‘he has planted’	(*ho-yēthw-ōh)
<b>hojá’gōh</b>	‘he has broken/cut it’	(*ho-ya’k-ōh)

With the transitive prefix **\*khe-** ‘I > her/them’ and the habitual suffixes **\*-s** or **\*-’s**:

<b>keha’s</b>	‘I hire or am hiring her/them’	(*khe-nha’-s)
<b>keye:nō:s</b>	‘I catch or am catching her/them’	(*khe-yenō-s)

With the transitive prefix **\*khe-** ‘I > her / them’ and stative suffixes **\*-ōh** or **\*-’**:

<b>kehá’ōh</b>	‘I’ve hired her/them’	(*khe-nha’-ōh)
<b>keye:nō’</b>	‘I’ve caught her/them’	(*khe-yenō-’)

**3.2.2. Stative-only verb roots.** Although most Seneca verb roots occur in both the habitual and stative aspects, there are some that occur only in the stative. Most of them involve something or someone being in a state. Some of those take a patient prefix such as **o-** or **ho-**.

<b>osde’</b>	‘it’s heavy’
<b>hohsē:h</b>	‘he’s fat’

Others take an agent prefix such as **w-** or **ha-**.

<b>waga:yōh</b>	‘it’s old’
<b>hagowanēh</b>	‘he’s big, important’

There is a tendency for agent prefixes to occur with more permanent states, but the choice is now largely arbitrary and unpredictable. The above examples have adjective-like meanings, but other stative-only roots do not. They too may take either patient or agent prefixes.

<b>otga:h</b>	‘it’s making a noise’
<b>hóio’de’</b>	‘he’s working’
<b>hano:ge’</b>	‘he lives, dwells’
<b>ha:awi’</b>	‘he’s carrying it’

Further examples are provided in Chafe (2012b).

**3.2.3. Forms of the habitual and stative suffixes.** The forms of these two aspect suffixes vary considerably, and are determined in mostly arbitrary ways by the last element in the preceding base. The following forms of the habitual aspect suffix have been recorded.

<b>*-ahs</b>	<b>*-yēthw-ahs</b> ‘plants’, <b>*-ashet-ahs</b> ‘counts’, <b>*-atihēthw-ahs</b> ‘pulls’
<b>*-a’</b>	<b>*-atkw-a’</b> ‘dances’, <b>*-norōhkw-</b> ‘loves’, <b>*-yera’tahkw-</b> ‘uses’
<b>*-a’s</b>	<b>*-wyēh-a’s</b> ‘knows how’, <b>*-atōhn-a’s</b> ‘holds a condolence ceremony’
<b>*-e’s</b>	<b>*-aty-e’s</b> ‘throws’, <b>*-yō’sehn-</b> ‘goes and visits’, <b>*-atōry-e’s</b> ‘breathes’
<b>*-ēh</b>	<b>*-nōt-ēh</b> ‘feeds’, <b>*-atēnot-ēh</b> ‘acts generously’
<b>*-ēhs</b>	<b>*-hnya’kh-ēhs</b> ‘puts together’

- \*-h     \*-të-h ‘flies’, \*-yö-h ‘arrives’, \*-nëhkwi-h ‘hauls away’
- \*-ha’   \*-the’t-ha’ ‘pounds corn’, \*-hthar-ha’ ‘talks’, \*-nöhet-ha’ ‘spends the night’
- \*-hs     \*-awi-hs ‘gives’, \*-atyake-hs ‘urinates’, \*-swahë-hs ‘hates’
- \*-öhs   \*-ahkt-öhs ‘comes’, \*-ahhtëy-öhs ‘goes’, \*-okëy-öhs ‘shells, husks’
- \*-s     \*-ahso-s ‘paints’, \*-yakë-s ‘goes out’, \*-awa(k)-s ‘sifts’ (with loss of k)
- \*-’s    \*-hawi-’s ‘carries’, \*-atkahnye-’s ‘plays’, \*-atetsë-’s ‘cures’

The following forms of the stative aspect suffix have been recorded.

- öh     \*-the’t-öh ‘is pounding corn’, \*-ya’k-öh ‘has cut’, \*-k-öh ‘has eaten’ or ‘is eating’
- \*-e’    \*-asnor-e’ ‘be fast’, \*-atët-e’ ‘be loose, hanging in the air’, \*-keht-e’ ‘carry on the back’
- \*-ëh    \*-ashet-ëh ‘is counting’
- \*-:h    \*-nëhkwi-:h ‘has hauled away’
- \*-ih    \*-yëter-ih ‘knows’, \*-ato’ktahk-ih, ‘is extreme’, \*-tokëht-ih ‘is holy’
- \*-’     \*-hthar-’ ‘is talking’, \*-hawi-’ ‘is carrying’
- \*-0     \*-t ‘be standing’, \*-köt ‘be irrevocable’, \*-es/-is/-ös ‘be long’

### 3.3. The punctual aspect suffix and the modal prefixes

**3.3.1. Introduction.** In addition to the habitual and stative aspect suffixes, there is another commonly occurring aspect suffix which, following Lounsbury, Iroquoian linguists have called the *punctual*. A better name for it might be *eventive*, contrasting with *stative*, because it functions to signal an event rather than a state, but the term *punctual* is firmly established in the Iroquoian literature. This suffix differs from the habitual and stative aspect suffixes in requiring the presence of a *modal prefix*, which precedes the pronominal prefix. There are three modal prefixes, labeled here *factual* (Lounsbury’s *aorist*), *future* (Lounsbury’s *future*), and *hypothetical* (Lounsbury’s *indefinite*).<sup>3</sup> Punctual verbs thus have four parts rather than three, as shown in Figure 3.4. Although a modal prefix usually occurs with the punctual aspect suffix, circumstances under which it may occur with a habitual or stative aspect suffix are described in 6.5.

modal prefix	pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix
factual	agent	root	punctual
future	patient		
hypothetical	transitive		

Figure 3.4. Structure of a punctual verb

**3.3.2. Meanings of the modal prefixes.** The meanings of the modal prefixes reflect a speaker’s judgment of the closeness of an event to a perceived reality, ranging from factual (judged to be real), to future (likely but not certain to be real), to hypothetical (only possibly real).

<sup>3</sup> In Chafe 1967 these are called *indicative*, *future*, and *optative*.

**3.3.2.1. The factual prefix.** The factual prefix is very often translated with an English past tense because an event remembered from the past is one whose reality was established by its past occurrence. In other uses of this prefix, however, it may express an event that is simultaneous with the act of speaking. The verb **o'ge:gë'**, for example, may be translated 'I saw it' with the English past tense, but the same word is equally appropriate if I am looking through a window and see something at this very moment: 'I see it'. Its reality stems in the latter case, not from its earlier occurrence, but from the speaker's immediate perception of it. The factual prefix is also used when interest is centered on occurrences that are typical of multiple past events, often translatable with the English present: **wa'óge'se:** 'she drives me', said by an elderly speaker whose daughter drove her to various places.

**3.3.2.2. The future prefix.** The future prefix is typically translated with an English future tense, as with **ëge:gë'** 'I'll see it' or 'I'm going to see it'. An event predicted for the future is not yet judged to be factual, but it is judged to have a relatively high probability of actually occurring. The future is also found in contexts where English would use an imperative, as in the instruction **ëhsa:wa:k** 'you will sift it', uttered during a cooking class (16.6). In some contexts it implies capability: **ëgéyë'he't** 'I will learn it' may have the force of 'I can learn it'.

**3.3.2.3 The hypothetical prefix.** The hypothetical prefix expresses a speaker's judgment that the occurrence of an event is only a possibility, neither an established fact nor probable. Depending on the context, this prefix can be translated with English 'might' or 'should', as with **a:ge:gë'** 'I might see it' or 'I should see it'. The 'might' translation is appropriate, for example, in **á:hse:gë' honóhso:t** 'you might see his house'. The 'should' translation is appropriate after **ha'degagö:n** 'it's necessary', as in **ha'degagö:n ö:saswáhsatö:** 'you should bury it again'.

**3.3.3. Forms of the punctual aspect suffix.** The most common forms of the punctual suffix are **\*-'** (glottal stop) and **\*-0** (zero). The glottal stop occurs after a vowel and after a resonant, which is lost with compensatory lengthening of the vowel.

**\*-'**     **\*-yëtho-** 'plant', **\*-ah'tëti-** 'go', **\*-en-** 'go somewhere' (> **-e:**)

With some verb bases the glottal stop is accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel. Such forms are historically distinct from the compensatory lengthening associated with the loss of a resonant. They are cognate with Onondaga forms that have raised pitch on the last syllable.

**\*-:'**     **\*-yë-:'** 'set down', **\*-hshe-:'** 'chase', **\*-ahrötö-:'** 'ask'

There is no overt marking (zero) after an obstruent:

**\*-0**     **\*-ashet** 'count', **\*-awak** 'sift', **\*-htharhahs** 'talk to someone'

A base which itself ends in a glottal stop is followed by the punctual suffix **\*-t**:

**\*-t**     **\*-snye'-t** 'speak', **\*-ta'-t** 'stand up', **\*-'sko'-t** 'fall in water'

There is an inchoative suffix (5.5.2) in which the verb base ends with **-ë** before the habitual and stative aspect suffixes (**-s** and **-ö**h respectively), but with **-ëh** before the punctual suffix, where the punctual form is zero.

\*-’/h    \***-stë**’/**-stëh** ‘become heavy’, \***-tokë**’/**-tokëh** ‘become straight’.

Other, less predictable forms of the punctual suffix include the following:

\***-ë**    \***-hthar-ë** ‘talk’, \***-hnyot-ë** ‘stand upright’, \***-ahsaw-ë** ‘begin’  
 \***-a**    \***-ö’esh-a** ‘please’, \***-hnekehr-a** ‘drink’, \***-hwanh-a** ‘tie around’  
 \***-a:**    \***-atehs’-a:** ‘prepare’ and related bases such as \***-atawihs’-a:** ‘mature’  
 \***-h**    \***-ye-h** ‘wake up’, \***-ahso-h** ‘paint’, \***-swahë-h** ‘hate’  
 \***-i**    \***-këhs-i** ‘rinse’, \***-ka’tsh-i** ‘take apart’, \***-yëter-i** ‘learn’

The following punctual suffix forms have been observed with just a few verb bases.

\***-ah**    \***-o’sohr-ah** ‘cover’, \***-atyërëkw-ah** ‘become suddenly aware’  
 \***-k**    \***-atyanö’-k** ‘poison’, \***-nöhtö’-k** ‘tire of waiting’, **-wa’hi’-k** ‘stutter’  
 \***-e:**    \***-këhsr-e:** ‘skim’, \***-’sr-e:** ‘drag’  
 \***-:h**    \***-ra’the-:h** ‘persist’

### 3.3.4. Forms of the modal prefixes

**3.3.4.1. Forms of the factual prefix.** The form \***wa’-** is retained in Seneca before a pronominal prefix that begins with **y**, and the **y** is then lost.

**wa’e:gë**    ‘she saw it’    (\***wa’yekë**’)  
**wa’agwagë**    ‘we (ex.pl.agt) saw it’    (\***wa’yakwakë**’)  
**wa’ëti:gë**    ‘we (in.nonsg.agt) saw her or them’    (\***wa’yethikë**’)

The form \***wa-** results from the loss of the glottal stop before a pronominal prefix beginning with \***h**, a reflection of the loss of the glottal stop before \***h** that predated Proto-Northern-Iroquoian. When the result was an intervocalic **h**, the **h** was subsequently lost as well.

**wa:agë**    ‘he saw it’    (\***wa’hakë**’ > \***wahakë**’)  
**wa:di:gë**    ‘they (m.pl.agt) saw it’    (\***wa’hatikë**’ > \***wahatikë**’)  
**wa:egë**    ‘I saw him’    (\***wa’hekë**’ > \***wahekë**’)

The form \***o’-** replaced \***wa’-** before a consonant other than \***y** or \***h**.

**o’si**    ‘you said it’    (\***wa’si**’)  
**o’wadi:yö**    ‘they (f.pl.agt) arrived’    (\***wa’watiyö**’)

The form \***e-** occurs before any inclusive person prefix, as well as before any second person prefix except a second person singular agent. In Proto-Northern-Iroquoian the **e** was part of the pronominal prefix and the factual form that preceded it was **w-**. Seneca lost the \***w** from \***we-**, leaving an **e-** that was reinterpreted as the form of the factual.

**ehnyádi:wís’a:**    ‘we (in.du) agreed’    (\***etnyatrihwihs’a:**’)  
**edwátgwe:ni**    ‘we (in.pl) won’    (\***etwatkweni**’)

<b>esáhda't</b>	'did you (sg) get full?'	(*esahta't)
<b>esnyátö:dëh</b>	'did you (du) hear it?'	(*esnyathötëh)
<b>eswátö:dëh</b>	'did you (pl) hear it?'	(*eswathötëh)

**3.3.4.2. Forms of the future prefix.** The future prefix usually has the form \***ë-**, as in **ëge:gë'** 'I'll see it' (3.3.2.2). However, before the pronominal prefixes \***ho-** (masculine singular patient) and \***hoti-** or \***hon-** (masculine nonsingular patient), following the loss of the intervocalic \***h**, the \***ë-** is denasalized to \***e-**. In casual speech the \***eo** sequence is replaced by \***o:** (2.10).

<b>éótä:k</b> or <b>ó:tä:k</b>	'he'll be the speaker'	(*ëhotharahk)
<b>eodiyá'dage:ha'</b> or <b>o:diyá'dage:ha'</b>	'it will help them'	(*ëhotiya'takenha')
<b>éonö'e:sha'</b> or <b>ó:nö'e:sha'</b>	'they'll be grateful for it'	(*ëhonö'esha')

A denasalization of **ë-** to **e-** also occurs before the pronominal prefix **he(y)-** (1st singular agent / masculine singular patient), resulting in a long **e:-**.

<b>e:egë'</b>	'I'll see him'	(*ëhekë')
<b>é:owi'</b>	'I'll tell him'	(*ëhehrori')
<b>é:yatšo:wi'</b>	'I'll tell about him'	(*ëheyathrori')

**3.3.4.3. Forms of the hypothetical prefix.** The most common form of the hypothetical prefix is \***aa-**, which counts as a sequence of two vowels in the assignment of accents but is realized as a long **a:**, as in **a:ge:gë'** 'I might or should see it' (3.3.2.3). However, in the environments where the factual form is \***e-** (before an inclusive person prefix, as well as before any second person prefix with the exception of a second person singular agent) the hypothetical appears as \***ae-**.

<b>gwisdë'</b> <b>aesni'</b>	'you (2nd dual agent) should say something'	(*aesni')
<b>áeswë:nëhsayëhdak</b>	'you (2nd plural agent) should shoulder it'	(*aeswëhnëhsayëhtahk)
<b>da'áöh nekoh áédwë'jo:da'k</b>	'we (in.pl.agt) can't continue to stay here'	(*aetwë'trota'k)

### 3.4. The pronominal prefixes

**3.4.1. Introduction.** In all the Northern Iroquoian languages the pronominal prefix systems have provided one of the joys and challenges of linguistic work. They were first described in detail for Oneida by Lounsbury (1953), and his description applies with minor changes to all the languages. Because a few of the prefixes have forms that are ambiguous, the question of how many pronominal prefixes each language has depends on how they are counted. Seneca has 58 different prefix *forms* but six of them perform two different functions, and thus the total set of prefix *functions* amounts to 64. The entire set is shown in Table 3.1, with agent meanings in separate rows, patient meanings in separate columns, and transitive meanings at the intersections of the rows and columns. Those with the same form but different functions are numbered 7, 7a, 8, 8a, 20, 20a, 31, 31a, 32, 32a, and 44, 44a.

**3.4.2. Neuter singular agents and patients.** A neuter singular agent is overtly marked (with the forms numbered 15 in the lower left cell of Table 3.1) only when it is not combined with a human patient. If a human patient is also present, a neuter singular agent is not overtly marked. For example, 'it saw her' is expressed as **wa'ago:gë'**





(\*wa'yakokë') with the feminine singular patient prefix *\*-yako-* 'her' and no overt marking of 'it'. Similarly, a neuter singular patient is overtly marked (with the forms numbered 24 in the upper right cell) when it is not combined with a human agent. If a human agent is also present, a neuter singular patient is not overtly marked. For example, 'he planted it' is expressed as *wá:yëto'* (\*wa'hayëtho') with the masculine singular agent prefix *\*ha-* 'he' and no marking of 'it'. In fact, *wá:yëto'* is ambiguous in the sense that it can mean either 'he planted it' (with a neuter singular patient) or simply 'he planted' (an intransitive statement without a patient). This kind of ambiguity is common in Northern Iroquoian verbs.

**3.4.3. Ambiguity of the feminine singular forms.** The feminine singular forms in 12 (for an agent) and 22 (for a patient) are ambiguous in another way. As the labels suggest, they may refer to a single female: 'she' or 'her'. But they may also refer to unidentified or nonspecific people in general, where they can be translated 'one', 'people', or 'they' in a nonspecific sense. The nonspecific meaning is probably the older of the two, and the form may be remotely cognate with a form *yi-* that functions in a similar way in the Caddo language (Chafe 1990). During the development of third person gender in the Northern Iroquoian languages the form for a nonspecific referent was extended to feminine singular.

**3.4.4. Relics of a feminine-zoic category.** The Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga languages have two distinct ways of referring to one female. For a feminine singular agent they may use *ye-* and the other variants in 12, or they may use *ka-* and the other variants in 15. In describing those languages linguists have followed Lounsbury in labeling the first option *feminine-indefinite* because of the ambiguity between *feminine* and *nonspecific* described in 3.4.3. The second option has been labeled *feminine-zoic* because of an ambiguity between *feminine* and *nonhuman animate*. The last category is usually limited to nonhuman animals (hence the term 'zoic'), although it may include growing plants.

The choice between the feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic prefixes in Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga is governed by a complex set of considerations that may vary somewhat from one language to another and even from one speaker to another. The following summary was provided by Clifford Abbott, writing of Oneida: The feminine-indefinite prefix 'is used to convey the impression that the female referred to is small, graceful, dainty, or petite,' and the feminine-zoic prefix 'is used to convey the impression the female is large, awkward, or aggressive' (Abbott 1984).

In general, Seneca does not make such a distinction but relies on the feminine-indefinite forms to refer to one female. There are, however, three pieces of evidence suggesting that Seneca did distinguish feminine-zoic from feminine-indefinite at an earlier time, abandoning that distinction more recently in favor of an exclusive use of the feminine-indefinite forms. Outside of the singular, Seneca agrees with the other languages in conflating feminine and nonhuman animate references (see prefixes 13, 14, and 23).

**3.4.4.1. Women's names.** A number of women's names contain the otherwise nonhuman singular prefix *ga-* (\*ka-), suggesting that it once also meant 'she' in the 'feminine-zoic' category. For example:

<b>Gayé'gwagwas</b> 'it (or she) gets tobacco'	(*kayë'kwakwahs)
<b>Ganyóhšo:t</b> 'it (or she) is sitting'	(*kanyohsyot)

**Gayanöse:** ‘its (or her) tracks are fresh’ (\*kayanase:’)  
**De’ganöge** ‘it (or she) isn’t abundant, is rare’ (\*te’kanakre’)

**3.4.4.2. The pronominal prefix gōwō-** (\*kōwa-). This prefix is not productive in contemporary Seneca and hence is not included in Table 3.1, but it seems earlier to have combined an agent meaning ‘she or they’ with a feminine-zoic singular patient. It was thus parallel to **hōwō-** (\*hōwa-), which combines ‘she or they’ with a masculine singular patient. It may be the only place in Seneca where ‘feminine-zoic’ is marked with a unique form. It too is found in women’s names, where it is recognized as archaic.

**Gōwōnōe’s** ‘she or they like her (feminine-zoic)’ (\*kōwanōhwe’s)  
**Gōwōni:nōh** ‘she or they buy it from her (feminine-zoic)’ (\*kōwahninōh)  
**Gōwōho:dō** ‘she or they have closed the door on her (feminine-zoic)’ (\*kōwanhotō’)  
**De’gōwōya:s** ‘she (feminine-zoic) has no name’ (\*te’kōwayas)

The same archaic flavor is recognized with the nonsingular version **gōwōti-** (\*kōwati-).

**gōwōdinōe’s** ‘she or they like them (feminine-zoic)’ (\*kōwatinōhwe’s)

**3.4.4.3. Irregular kinship terms.** A few kinship terms that appear irregular within the present system can be explained as relics of the feminine-zoic category:

**onó’ēh** ‘her mother’, *literally* ‘it (feminine-zoic) is mother to it (feminine-zoic)’ (\*ono’ēh)  
**o:hak** ‘her aunt’, *literally* ‘it (feminine-zoic) is aunt to it (feminine-zoic)’ (\*onhahk)  
**ohsot** ‘her grandmother’, *literally* ‘it (feminine-zoic) is grandparent to it (feminine-zoic)’ (\*ohsot)

**3.4.4.4. Summary of feminine-zoic relics.** In brief, these several pieces of evidence point to an earlier stage of Seneca at which the pronominal prefix system contained two ways of referring to one woman, ways that are preserved in Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga, where linguists have labeled them feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic. Apart from the relics described above, Seneca lacks a feminine-zoic category and now uses only the feminine-indefinite, here labeled simply ‘feminine’, which is ambiguous between the meanings ‘she’ and ‘one’.

**3.4.5. Forms of the pronominal prefixes.** In Table 3.1 the pronominal prefixes are shown in their reconstructed forms. As usual, the phonological processes described in Chapter 2 must be applied to words containing these prefixes to arrive at modern pronunciations. The following conventions are followed in Table 3.1.

**3.4.5.1. Loss of initial segments.** The forms (**h**)s- (6), (**w**)ak- (16), and (**ya**)ko- (22) lack the parenthesized segments when these prefixes are initial in a word. It is also the case that a prefix beginning with **y** loses that **y** in word-initial position. However, unlike the three examples just given, the loss of initial **y** is a regular phonological process. There is one conspicuous exception: the forms given for ‘she’ in 12 do not lose their initial **y**. The immunity of that **y** to initial loss is shown by underlining it.

The inclusion of (**ō**) in square brackets in 16 refers to a particular and exceptional morphemic environment. When the factual prefix \***wa**’- is followed by the first person

singular patient prefix *\*wak-* or *\*wake-*, the sequence *\*wa'wa* is replaced by *\*ö*. For example, for the meaning ‘it saw me’ one might expect *\*wa'wakekë'*, but in fact the form is *\*ökekë'* (> *öge:gë'*). This change appears to have preceded the breakup of the Northern Iroquoian languages, since it is reflected in all of them.

**3.4.5.2. Forms conditioned by the following environment.** The final portion of a pronominal prefix varies in ways determined by the initial portion of the base that follows it. The superscripts in Table 3.1 refer to these environments as follows.

V	before a vowel ( <i>*a, ä, e, ë, i, o, ö, u</i> )
CV	before a consonant ( <i>*h, k, n, r, s, t, ts, w, y, ')</i> that is followed by a vowel
RV	before a resonant ( <i>*n, r, w, y</i> ) that is followed by a vowel
tV	before <i>*t</i> followed by a vowel
hV	before <i>*h</i> or <i>*hR</i> followed by a vowel
a	before <i>*a</i> or <i>*ä</i>
e	before <i>*e</i> or <i>*ë</i>
o	before <i>*o</i> or <i>*ö</i>
	Italicized letters show sounds that are lost:
<i>a</i>	before <i>*a</i> , which is lost
<i>e</i>	before <i>*e</i> , which is lost
	The following merge into a different sound:
<i>i</i>	before <i>*i</i> , which is lost
<i>y</i>	before <i>*y</i> , which is lost
<u>y</u>	y which is not lost in word-initial position

For example, the feminine singular agent prefix (12 in the table) is listed as:

<i>*ye-</i> before a consonant or <i>*i</i> , with loss of <i>i</i>	
<i>yeyë:twas</i>	‘she plants’ ( <i>*ye-yëthwahs</i> )
<i>ye'jö'</i>	‘she stays, dwells’ ( <i>*ye'trö' &lt; *ye-i'trö'</i> )
<i>*yak-</i> before <i>*o</i> or <i>*ö</i>	
<i>yagogë:yös</i>	‘she’s husking it’ ( <i>*yak-okëyöhs</i> )
<i>yagö:gweh</i>	‘woman’ ( <i>*yak-ökweh</i> )
<i>*yö-</i> before <i>*a</i> , with loss of <i>a</i>	
<i>yö:was</i>	‘she’s sifting it’ ( <i>*yöwaks &lt; *yö-awaks</i> )
<i>*yë-</i> before <i>*e</i> or <i>*ë</i> , with loss of <i>*e</i> or <i>ë</i>	
<i>i:yë's</i>	‘she’s around’ ( <i>*i-yë's &lt; *i-ye-e's</i> )
<i>yëñöhdönyöh</i>	‘she’s thinking’ ( <i>*yëñöhtönyöh &lt; *ye-ëñöhtönyöh</i> )

The neuter singular agent prefix (15 in the table) is listed as:

<i>*ka-</i> before a consonant	
<i>gaho:dö'</i>	‘the door is closed’ ( <i>*ka-nhotö'</i> )
<i>*kë-</i> before <i>i</i> , where <i>*ai</i> > <i>*ë</i>	
<i>gë'jö'</i>	‘it stays, dwells’ ( <i>*kë'trö' &lt; *ka-i'trö'</i> )
<i>*w-</i> before <i>a, e, or ë</i>	
<i>wa:etgë'</i>	‘it’s bad’ ( <i>*w-ahetkë'</i> )
<i>i:we's</i>	‘it’s around’ ( <i>*i-w-e's</i> )
<i>wëñöhdönyöh</i>	‘it’s thinking’ ( <i>*w-ëñöhtönyöh</i> )
<i>*y-</i> before <i>*o</i> or <i>*ö</i>	

**i:yo'** 'it's in the water' (\*i-y-o')  
**yóishägës** 'bad breath' (\*y-örishrkrëhs)

The transitive prefix that combines a first person exclusive dual agent with a masculine singular patient (26 in the table) is listed as:

**\*shakni-** before a consonant  
**o'shákni:gë'** 'we (ex.du) saw him' (\*wa'-shakni-kë')  
**\*shakn-** before \*i, \*e, \*ë, \*o, or \*ö  
**o'sha:knö'** 'we (ex.du) gave it to him' (\*wa'-shakn-ö')  
**\*shaky-** before \*a  
**o'shägýatga'** 'we (ex.du) released him' (\*wa'-shaky-atka')

The transitive prefix that combines a first person exclusive plural agent with a masculine singular patient (27 in the table) is listed as:

**\*shakwa-** before a consonant:  
**o'shagwagë'** 'we (ex.pl) saw him' (\*wa'-shakwa-kë')  
**\*shakwë-** before \*i, where \*ai > ë  
**o'shagwë:dë'** 'we (ex.pl) pitied him' (\*wa'-shakwë-tër'  
< \*wa'-shakwa-itër')  
**\*shakw-** before \*a, \*e, or \*ë  
**o'shágwatga'** 'we (ex.pl) released him' (\*wa'-shakwa-tka')  
**\*shaky-** before \*o or \*ö  
**o'sha:gyö'** 'we (ex.pl) gave it to him' (\*wa'-shaky-ö')

## 4. VERB MORPHOLOGY PART 2: THE PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

### 4.1. Introduction

Section 3.3 described the three modal prefixes that occur with the punctual aspect and are positioned before a pronominal prefix. A pronominal prefix may also be preceded by one or more other prefixes from a set labeled *prepronominal*. (Lounsbury 1953 included the modal prefixes under this term). Figure 4.1 outlines the structure of a verb that has been expanded in this way. One or more of these prepronominal prefixes may occur with or without the accompaniment of a modal prefix. When both are present, the ordering of the prepronominal prefix or prefixes relative to the modal prefix varies, depending on the specific prefixes involved.

prepronominal prefix	modal prefix (with punctual aspect)	pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix
repetitive cislocative duplicative partitive translocative coincident contrastive negative	factual future hypothetical	agent patient transitive	root or expanded base	habitual stative punctual imperative

Figure 4.1. Verb structure with prepronominal prefixes

There are eight prepronominal prefixes, named as shown in Figure 4.1. Most have several uses. Some of these uses are productive, appearing with many verb bases whenever their meanings are appropriate. However, some verb bases require the presence of a specific prepronominal prefix, sometimes in a lexicalized construction with a specialized meaning. Table 4.1 shows the reconstructed forms of these prefixes in the absence of a modal prefix, and Table 4.2 shows the forms of their combinations with the three modal prefixes.

negative	coincident contrastive	trans- locative	partitive	duplicative	repetitive cislocative
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Figure 4.2. Order of the prepronominal prefixes

As can be seen in Table 4.2, the repetitive and cislocative prefixes *\*s-* and *\*t-* are positioned after the future prefix *\*ë-* in *\*ëš-* and *\*ët-*, but before the factual prefix *\*a-* in *\*sa-* and *\*ta-*. With the hypothetical prefix the repetitive and cislocative prefixes occur within the longer sequences *\*öösa-* and *\*ööta-*. More of these combinations are set forth in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1. Prepronominal Prefixes without Modal Prefixes (Reconstructed Forms)

Repetitive	s- ts <sub>(y)</sub> tsi <sub>2</sub> t <sub>s</sub>
Cislocative	t- ti <sub>2</sub>
Duplicative	te-
Partitive	ni-
Translocative	he-
Duplicative & repetitive	tes- tets <sub>(y)</sub> tetsi <sub>2</sub> tet <sub>s</sub>
Duplicative & cislocative	tet- teti <sub>2</sub>
Partitive & repetitive	nis- nits <sub>(y)</sub> nitsi <sub>2</sub> nit <sub>s</sub>
Partitive & cislocative	nit- niti <sub>2</sub>
Partitive & duplicative	na'te-
Partitive, duplicative, & repetitive	na'tes- na'tets <sub>(y)</sub> na'tetsi <sub>2</sub> na'tet <sub>s</sub>
Partitive, duplicative, & cislocative	na'tet- na'teti <sub>2</sub>
Translocative & repetitive	hes- hets <sub>(y)</sub> hetsi <sub>2</sub> het <sub>s</sub>
Translocative & duplicative	ha'te-
Translocative, duplicative, & repetitive	ha'tes- ha'tets <sub>(y)</sub> ha'tetsi <sub>2</sub> ha'tet <sub>s</sub>
Translocative & partitive	hni-
Translocative, partitive, & repetitive	hnis- hnits <sub>(y)</sub> hnitsi <sub>2</sub> hnit <sub>s</sub>
Translocative, partitive, & duplicative	hna'te-
Translocative, partitive, duplicative, & repetitive	hna'tes- hna'tets <sub>(y)</sub> hna'tetsi <sub>2</sub> hna'tet <sub>s</sub>
Coincident	tshi-
Coincident & other prepronominal prefixes	Replace partitive n with tsh
Contrastive	thi-
Contrastive & other prepronominal prefixes	Replace partitive n with th
Negative	te'-
Negative & repetitive	te's-
Negative & cislocative	te't-
Negative & duplicative	ta'te-
Negative & translocative	the'-

Key to environments

- (y) before y with loss of y
- 2 before inclusive or second person,  
except second person singular agent
- s before s otherwise
- (h) before h otherwise
- (C) before a consonant other than y or h

Table 4.2. Prepronominal and Modal Prefix Combinations (Reconstructed Forms)

	With factual	With future	With hypothetical
Modals alone	wa <sup>'</sup> <sub>(y)</sub> o <sup>'</sup> <sub>(C)</sub> e <sub>-2</sub>	ě-	aa- ae <sub>-2</sub>
Repetitive	sa- se <sub>-2</sub>	ěs- ęts <sub>(y)</sub> ętsi <sub>-2</sub> ęt <sub>-s</sub>	öösa- ööse <sub>-2</sub>
Cislocative	ta- te <sub>-2</sub>	ęt- ęti <sub>-2</sub>	ööta- ööte <sub>-2</sub>
Duplicative	o <sup>'</sup> t- o <sup>'</sup> ti <sub>-2</sub>	tě-	taa- tae <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive	na <sup>'</sup> - na <sub>(h)</sub> ne <sub>-2</sub>	ně-	naa- nae <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative	hwa <sup>'</sup> - ho <sup>'</sup> <sub>(C)</sub> he <sub>-2</sub>	hě-	haa- hae <sub>-2</sub>
Duplicative & repetitive	tösa- töse <sub>-2</sub>	těs- tęts <sub>(y)</sub> tętsi <sub>-2</sub> tęt <sub>-s</sub>	töösa- tööse <sub>-2</sub>
Duplicative & cislocative	töta- töte <sub>-2</sub>	tęt- tęti <sub>-2</sub>	tööta- tööte <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive & repetitive	nösa- nöse <sub>-2</sub>	nęs- nęts <sub>(y)</sub> nętsi <sub>-2</sub> nęt <sub>-s</sub>	nöösa- nööse <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive & cislocative	nöta- nöte <sub>-2</sub>	nęt- nęti <sub>-2</sub>	nööta- nööte <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive & duplicative	na <sup>'</sup> t- na <sup>'</sup> ti <sub>-2</sub>	na <sup>'</sup> tě-	na <sup>'</sup> taa- na <sup>'</sup> tae <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive, duplicative, & repetitive	na <sup>'</sup> tösa- na <sup>'</sup> töse <sub>-2</sub>	na <sup>'</sup> tęs- na <sup>'</sup> tęts <sub>(y)</sub> na <sup>'</sup> tętsi <sub>-2</sub> na <sup>'</sup> tęt <sub>-s</sub>	na <sup>'</sup> töösa- na <sup>'</sup> tööse <sub>-2</sub>
Partitive, duplicative, & cislocative	na <sup>'</sup> töta- na <sup>'</sup> töte <sub>-2</sub>	na <sup>'</sup> tęt- na <sup>'</sup> tęti <sub>-2</sub>	na <sup>'</sup> tööta- na <sup>'</sup> tööte <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative & repetitive	hösa- höse <sub>-2</sub>	hęs- hęts <sub>(y)</sub> hętsi <sub>-2</sub> hęt <sub>-s</sub>	höösa- hööse <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative & duplicative	ho <sup>'</sup> t- ho <sup>'</sup> ti <sub>-2</sub>	ha <sup>'</sup> tě-	ha <sup>'</sup> taa- ha <sup>'</sup> tae <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative, duplicative & repetitive	ho <sup>'</sup> tösa- ho <sup>'</sup> töse <sub>-2</sub>	ha <sup>'</sup> tęs- ha <sup>'</sup> tęts <sub>(y)</sub> ha <sup>'</sup> tętsi <sub>-2</sub> ha <sup>'</sup> tęt <sub>-s</sub>	ho <sup>'</sup> töösa- ho <sup>'</sup> tööse <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative & partitive	hna <sup>'</sup> - hna <sub>(h)</sub> hne <sub>-2</sub>	hně-	hnaa- hnae <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative, partitive, & repetitive	hnösa- hnöse <sub>-2</sub>	hnęs- hnęts <sub>(y)</sub> hnętsi <sub>-2</sub> hnęt <sub>-s</sub>	hnöösa- hnööse <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative, partitive, & duplicative	hna <sup>'</sup> t- hna <sup>'</sup> ti <sub>-2</sub>	hna <sup>'</sup> tě-	hna <sup>'</sup> taa- hna <sup>'</sup> tae <sub>-2</sub>
Translocative, partitive, duplicative, & repetitive	hna <sup>'</sup> tösa- hna <sup>'</sup> töse <sub>-2</sub>	hna <sup>'</sup> tęs- hna <sup>'</sup> tęts <sub>(y)</sub> hna <sup>'</sup> tętsi <sub>-2</sub> hna <sup>'</sup> tęt <sub>-s</sub>	hna <sup>'</sup> töösa- hna <sup>'</sup> tööse <sub>-2</sub>
Coincident	tsha <sup>'</sup> - tshae <sub>-2</sub>	tshě-	tshaa- tshae <sub>-2</sub>
Coincident & other prepronominal prefixes	Replace partitive n with tsh		
Contrastive	tha <sup>'</sup> - the <sub>-2</sub>	thě-	thaa- thae <sub>-2</sub>
Contrastive & other prepronominal prefixes	Replace partitive n with th		
Negative	te <sup>'</sup> a- te <sup>'</sup> e <sub>-2</sub>	See 4.9.3	te <sup>'</sup> aa- te <sup>'</sup> ae <sub>-2</sub>
Negative & repetitive	te <sup>'</sup> ösa- te <sup>'</sup> öse <sub>-2</sub>		te <sup>'</sup> öösa-
Negative & cislocative	te <sup>'</sup> öta-		te <sup>'</sup> ööta-

The prepronominal prefixes do not form a homogeneous set, and evidently they were added to the Seneca morphological template at different times in the history of the language, and from different sources. Figure 4.2 partially reflects this historical ordering to the extent that it can be inferred from their closeness to the following pronominal prefix. The hypothesized earliest prefixes, the repetitive and cislocative, occur on the far right. Their uses and forms are discussed in 4.2 and 4.3, followed by the duplicative (4.4),

translocative (4.5), and partitive (4.6). The coincident (4.7) and contrastive (4.8) prefixes are similar in form and position, but their functions are quite different. Discussion of the negative prefix (4.9) leads to a more general discussion of negation in Seneca, which is expressed in partially unique ways. Mithun (1995a) compared negation and its relation to the other prepronominal prefixes across the entire Iroquoian family.

## 4.2. The repetitive prefix

**4.2.1. Uses of the repetitive prefix.** The several meanings associated with the repetitive prefix (Lounsbury's *iterative*) share a focus on one particular instance within a set of events, states, people, or objects. Often the repetitive can be translated 'again'.

<b>shodékö:ni:h</b> 'he's eating again'	(*shotekhöni:h)
<b>shënö:döh</b> 'they say it again'	(*shënatöh)
<b>shóáhdöh</b> 'he has passed by again'	(*shohrahtöh)
<b>sgadéhsa'öh</b> 'I'm ready again'	(*skatehsa'öh)
<b>sgadógweta'</b> 'I'm feeling better again'	(*skatökwetha')
<b>sgadátewáta'</b> 'I repent', <i>literally</i> 'I punish myself again'	(*skatathewatha')
<b>dzögwátšo:wi:h</b> 'we're talking about it again'	(*syökwathrori:h)

In other cases a more appropriate translation is 'back'.

<b>shokdö:h</b> 'he has come back'	(*shohktö:h)
<b>shóíhsakö:h</b> 'he has gone back to look for it'	(*shoihsakhö:h)
<b>sgënóhdönyöh</b> 'I'm thinking back'	(*skënhöhtönyöh)
<b>ishe'</b> 'he walked back'	(*ishe')
<b>shadiawi'</b> 'they're carrying it back'	(*shatihawi')
<b>shënóta:ine'</b> 'they're walking back'	(*shënahahine')
<b>shonóhdëjö:je'</b> 'they're going back'	(*shonahtëtyöhatye')
<b>dzodó'öh</b> 'it has changed back'	(*syotö'öh)

In still other cases the best translation is 'still'.

<b>sgöhe'</b> 'I'm still alive'	(*skönhe')
<b>swagadawë:nye:h</b> 'I'm still moving about'	(*swakatawënye:h)
<b>sho'dáië:h</b> 'he's still warm'	(*sho'tarihë:h)

With the verb root *\*-t-* the repetitive is used in counting 'one', or to express the idea of 'another one', or sometimes 'the same one'.

<b>sga:d</b> 'one'	(*skat)
<b>sgagwënishä:d</b> 'one cent'	(*skakwënishshrat)
<b>sga:wísda:d</b> 'one dollar'	(*skahwihstat)
<b>sgagéhdä:d</b> 'one layer'	(*skakëhtarat)
<b>dzo'nya:d</b> 'one finger'	(*syo'nyat)
<b>sgaga:ad</b> 'one story'	(*skakarat)
<b>swahsö:da:d</b> 'one night'	(*swahsötat)
<b>sgáóshä:d</b> 'one box, a thousand'	(*skahöshshrat)
<b>dzeyá'da:d</b> 'one woman, another woman, the same woman'	(*syeya'tat)
<b>shayá'da:d</b> 'one man, another man, the same man'	(*shaya'tat)
<b>dzögwé'da:d</b> 'one person, another person, the same person'	(*tsökwe'tat)



**shadíya'da:d** 'the other ones, the same ones' (\*shatiya'tat)

The repetitive is obligatory with the verb root **-ati-** 'be on the other side'.

**swa:dih** 'on the other side' (\*swatih)  
**sganödadih** 'on the other side of the town' (\*skanötatih)  
**shagóhsadih** 'on the other side of his face' (\*shakóhsatih)  
**sgéhó:dih** 'on the other side of the creek' (\*skëyhatih)  
**sgadzéödih** 'on the other side of the fire' (\*skatsëhatih)

The repetitive also occurs in certain proper names as well as the names of animals with the meaning 'one characterized by, the one who, or the ...-ed one'.

**Shajenöwö's** 'the one who helps' (a Seneca chief's title)  
 (\*shatyenawa's)  
**Shogé'dzo:wa:'** 'the one with a big forehead' (a Seneca chief's title)  
 (\*shokë'tsowa:)  
**Sganyodaiyo'** 'Handsome Lake, the beautiful lake one'  
 (a Seneca chief's title and the name of the Seneca prophet)  
 (\*skanyotariyo')  
**Tsagáöhe:das** 'Jesus, the one who brings them back to life'  
 (\*tshakaönhetahs)  
**sho:nó'ne:d** 'subchief, vice-president, the one who is next in line'  
 (\*shohna'net)  
**dzagoyö:di:h** 'possum, the smiling one'  
 (\*syakoyöti:h)  
**sgédze:s** 'pike (Esox sp), the long fish'  
 (\*skëtses)

**4.2.2. Forms of the repetitive prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the repetitive prefix, including its combinations with other prepronominal prefixes and with the three modal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

The most common form of the repetitive is **\*s-**; see numerous examples above. Certain other forms are arbitrarily determined by specific morphemic environments. For the most part the cognates of these forms were already present in Proto-Northern-Iroquoian.

The form **\*ts-** occurs before a pronominal prefix beginning with **y**, and the **y** is lost. In other words, where one might expect **\*sy**, in this particular combination the result is **\*ts** (> **dz-**):

**dzeda:ke'** 'she's running back' (\*tsetakhe')  
 (cf. **yeda:ke'** 'she's running')  
**dzögwa:göh** 'we're eating it again' (\*tsökwaköh)  
 (cf. **\*ögwa:göh** 'we're eating it')

The form **\*tsi-** (> **ji-**) occurs before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix other than a second person singular agent:

**jidwe's** 'we're still around' (\*tsitwe's)  
 (cf. **idwe's** 'we're around')

**jidwadawë:nye:h** ‘we’re still moving about’ (\*tsitwatawënye:h)  
 (cf. **dedwadawë:nye:h** ‘we’re moving about’, where the duplicative \*te- (> de-)  
 is otherwise required by this base)

The form \*t- occurs before a pronominal prefix beginning with **s**, except for the second person dual and plural prefixes, where the repetitive is \*tsi- as described just above:

**tsögwá:owih** ‘he tells us again’ (\*tshökwahrroh)  
**tsetgwa:dih** ‘your left side’ (\*tshetkwatih)

### 4.3. The cislocative prefix

**4.3.1. Uses of the cislocative prefix.** In verbs of directed motion the cislocative expresses motion toward the speaker or a third person.

**jeda:ke** ‘she’s running this way’ (\*tyetakhe’)  
**to:yö:h** ‘he has come in’ (\*thoyö:h)  
**tonóhdëjö:h** ‘they have come’ (\*thonahtëtyö:h)  
**dwagyö’döh** ‘I’ve brought it in’ (\*twakyö’töh)  
**dwage:hdöh** ‘I’ve come from there’ (\*twake:htöh)  
**tanëshade** ‘his arm is extended in this direction’ (\*thanëshate’)

In verbs expressing a state or a static event the cislocative expresses a simple location. ‘there, where ... is’.

**tanö:ge** ‘where he lives’ (\*thanakre’)  
**tóio’de** ‘where he’s working’ (\*thorihö’té’)  
**tši’jö** ‘where you stay’ (\*tsi’tró’)  
**tganödayë** ‘in the town, where the town is’ (\*tkanatayë’)  
**tgá:hgwitgë’s** ‘in the east, where the sun emerges’ (\*tkarahkwitkë’s)  
**töwöhsadö** ‘they have buried him there’ (\*thöwöhsatö’)  
**të:ne’s** ‘where they are around, are present’ (\*thëne’s)  
**tahsa:ha** ‘he begins there’ (\*thahsawha’)

The cislocative is often found in place names.

**Ta:nöwöde** ‘Tonawanda Reservation, where he’s in the rapids’  
 (\*thahnawate’)  
**Tganödase:** ‘Newtown (section of the Cattaraugus Reservation),  
 where there’s a new town’  
 (\*tkanatase:’)  
**Tganödä:gwëh** ‘Canandaigua, NY, where there’s a chosen town’  
 (\*tkanatarakwëh)  
**Tganö:do** ‘New York City, where there’s a town in the water’  
 (\*tkanato’)  
**Tganödayë’go:wa:h** ‘Philadelphia, where the big city is’  
 (\*tkanatayë’kowa:h)  
**Tgëdzó:a** ‘Kinzua, PA, where there’s a fish on the end of a stick’  
 (\*tkëtsöhar’)  
**Dwasgo** ‘Auburn, NY, where there’s a bridge’  
 (\*twasko’)

With certain verbs that allow degrees of a property or of the intensity of an event, the cislocative may indicate the highest degree: ‘the most’. This usage functions as an alternative to the usages described above.

<b>tagéhjih</b> ‘he’s the oldest’ or ‘the old one there’	(*thakēhtsih)
<b>tgowa:nēs</b> ‘the biggest ones’ or ‘the big ones there’	(*tkowanēhs)
<b>tgakwāetgē</b> ‘it’s the worst food’ or ‘bad food there’	(*kakhwahetkē)
<b>tōgwé’di:yo:h</b> ‘he’s the nicest man’ or ‘nice man there’	(*thōkwe’ti:yo:h)
<b>tēnōhdō:</b> ‘he’s the boss, he’s the most in control’ or ‘he’s in control there’	(*thēnōhtōha)

The cislocative occurs obligatorily with certain verb bases.

with <b>-atyerēht-</b> ‘be first’:	
<b>jojēēhdōh</b> ‘it’s first’	(*tyotyerēhtōh)
with <b>-nhe-</b> ‘stick up for’:	
<b>jōki:he:h</b> ‘they’re sticking up for us’	(*tyōkhinhe:h)
with <b>-atehgarakt-</b> ‘growl, show anger’	
<b>dwagégā:s</b> ‘it growls’	(*twatehgarakt)
with <b>-yeri-</b> ‘be proper, right’:	
<b>tgaye:i</b> ‘in fact’	(*tkayeri)

The cislocative is also found in certain lexicalized combinations with unique meanings.

with <b>-snye-</b> ‘speak’ the meaning is ‘speak up’:	
<b>ētgēsnye’t</b> ‘I’ll speak up’	(*ētkesnye’t)
(cf. <b>ēgēsnye’t</b> ‘I’ll speak’)	
with <b>-erh(e)-</b> ‘think, want’ the meaning is ‘expect’:	
<b>itge:h</b> ‘I expect it’	(*itke:h)
(cf. <b>i:ge:h</b> ‘I want it’)	
with <b>-yehst-</b> ‘mix’ the meaning is ‘give, contribute’:	
<b>dwagyésdōh</b> ‘I’ve contributed’	(*twakyehtōh)
(cf., with the duplicative prefix, <b>dewágyesdōh</b> ‘I’ve mixed it in’)	

**4.3.2. Forms of the cislocative prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the cislocative prefix, including its combinations with other prepronominal prefixes and with the three modal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

In the absence of a modal prefix, the most common form of the cislocative is **\*t-** (> **t-** or **d-**); see numerous examples above. However, the form **\*ti-** (> **di-**) occurs before inclusive and second person pronominal prefixes other than a second person singular agent.

<b>disánōhso:d</b> ‘where your house is’	(*tisanōhsot)
<b>disátōdē’ōh</b> ‘where you have gotten to hear it’	(*tisathötē’ōh)
<b>diswášnye’ōh</b> ‘you (pl) have spoken up’	(*tiswasnye’ōh)

With the future prefix the cislocative **\*t-** follows the future **ē** in the form **\*ēt-** (> **ēt-** or **ēd-**).

**ēdwō:tis** ‘it will move this way’ (\*ētwithst)  
**ējagwagwà:** ‘we (ex.du) will go and get it there’ (\*ētyakwakwaha’)

This combination takes the form \***ēti-** (> **ēdi-**) before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent:

**ēdi:swe** ‘you (pl) will come’ (\*ētiswe’)  
**ēdídwatšo:wi** ‘we (in.pl) will talk about it here’ (\*ētitwathyowi’)

The cislocative combines with the hypothetical prefix in the form \***ööta-**.

**ö:dawátgē’ö:** ‘it might appear there’ (\*öötawatkē’ö:’)  
**ö:dagè:’sga:** ‘I might start to run there’ (\*öötakèrè’skar’)

The cislocative combines with the factual prefix in the form \***ta-**.

**dayagwajë:** ‘we (ex.pl) sat down there’ (\*tayakwathë:’)  
**dawátgē’ö:** ‘it appeared there’ (\*tawatkē’ö:’)  
**da:gajë’s** ‘he threw it to me’ (\*tahakatyë’s)  
**dayéya’dö:je** ‘she’s flying this way’ (\*tayeya’tötye’)

This combination takes the form \***te-** (> **de-**) before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

**dedwa:jë:** ‘we (in.pl) sat down there’ (\*tetwatyë:’)  
**desni:yes** ‘you (du) contributed’ (\*tesniyehst)  
**desní’nigó:hëh** ‘you (du) forgot it’ (\*tesni’nikörhëh)

#### 4.4. The duplicative prefix

**4.4.1. Uses of the duplicative prefix.** Of all the prepronominal prefixes the duplicative has the greatest variety of uses. In enumeration it is present when there are two of something, hence Lounsbury’s term *dualic*. Often the verb root in such cases is \***-ke-** ‘be a certain number of’.

**degánöhsa:ge:h** ‘two houses’ (\*tekanöhsake:h)  
**degá:wisda:ge:h** ‘two dollars, two cups’ (\*tekahwihstake:h)  
**deyógwe’da:ge:h** ‘two people’ (\*teyökwe’take:h)  
**degákxa’da:ke:h** ‘two children’ (\*tekaksa’take:h)  
**dewáhsöda:ge:h** ‘two nights’ (\*tewahsötake:h)  
**deyót’éóhdage:h** ‘two plants’ (\*teyot’chohtake:h)  
**deyóhsogwa:ge:h** ‘two colors’ (\*teyohsohkwake:h)  
**deyóywa:ge:h** ‘two rituals’ (\*teyoriwake:h)

It is also used with other verb roots or bases in counting two.

**de:níkxa’á:h** ‘two (male) children’ (\*tehníkxa’ahah)  
**dekníkxa’á:h** ‘two (female) children’ (\*tehníkxa’ahah)  
**dewáshë:h** ‘twenty’, *literally* ‘two tens’ (\*tewahshë:h)  
**dewé’nya’e:h** ‘two hundred’,  
*literally* ‘two strikes of the hand’ (\*tewé’nya’e:h)

<b>dewé'nisga:ö'</b> 'bicycle' <i>literally</i> 'two wheels'	(*tewë'nisgarö')
<b>dewágya'göh</b> 'I've broken or cut it in two'	(*tewakya'köh)
cf. <b>agyá'göh</b> 'I've broken or cut it'	(*wakya'köh)

Some items with the duplicative have a meaning that is intrinsically dual .

<b>de:ni:gëh</b> 'they are twins (male)'	(*tehnikëh)
<b>dekni:gëh</b> 'they are twins (female)'	(*teknikëh)
<b>de:niyashe:h</b> 'they are a pair'	(*tehniyashe:h)
<b>do:nödógëhdöh</b> 'they are opponents'	(*tehonatokëhtöh)
<b>dewáge'sgwa:at</b> 'my testicles', <i>literally</i> 'two stones'	(*tewake'skwarat)

Some actions and states typically involve two agents, but the duplicative continues to be used even when the number is larger than two.

<b>de:ya:dä's</b> 'they (dual) meet'	(*tehyatra's)
but also <b>dë:nödä's</b> 'they (plural) meet'	(*tehënatra's)
<b>deja:dö:n</b> 'let's (dual) eat together'	(*tetyatöt)
but also <b>dedwa:dö:n</b> 'let's (plural) eat together'	(*tetwatöt)
<b>dejadogéta'</b> 'they (dual) oppose each other'	(*tetyatokëhtha')
but also <b>dë:nödógëta'</b> 'they (plural) oppose each other'	(*tehënatokëhtha')
<b>de:yadaje:nö:s</b> 'they (dual) wrestle'	(*tehyatatyenös)
but also <b>dë:nödaje:nö:s</b> 'they (plural) wrestle'	(*tehënatatyenös)
<b>deyagyadë:nö:de:'</b> 'we (dual) are siblings, my brother or sister'	(*teyakyatëhnadre:')
but also <b>deyagywadë:nö:de:'</b> 'we (plural) are siblings, my brothers and sisters'	(*teyakwatëhnadre:')

The duplicative is obligatory with many verb bases whose meanings involve a change from one state to another.

<b>deyóhdenyö:h</b> 'it has changed from one state to another'	(*teyohtenyö:h)
<b>dewáhdíá'ta'</b> 'it alternates'	(*tewahtiha'tha')
<b>degáya:ya's</b> 'it crosses over it (e.g., a bridge over a river)'	(*tekayahya's)
<b>dewagé:hso:öh</b> 'I've put my shoes on'	(*tewakërahsoröh)
<b>deyósha'kdö:h</b> 'it's crooked, bent'	(*teyosha'ktö:h)
<b>deyóhdagä:wëh</b> 'it has opened'	(*teyohtakara'wëh)
<b>dewa:de'</b> 'it's separated'	(*tewatre')
<b>deyódaha:'</b> 'it's in confusion, disarray'	(*teyotarha:')
<b>desawënye:h</b> 'stir it!'	(*tesawënye:h)
<b>dega:dëh</b> 'it flies, airplane'	(*tekatëh)

Other bases require the duplicative although the semantic motivation is less obvious.

<b>deyághsë:twëh</b> 'she's crying'	(*teyakohsëthwëh)
<b>deyodi:yö:n</b> 'it's stretched'	(*teyotiyöt)
<b>deyágotgwëh</b> 'she's dancing'	(*teyakotkwëh)
<b>dó:döëdzo:nih</b> 'he wants it, needs it'	(*tehotöhwëtsonih)

The duplicative may also be added optionally whenever there is a dual pronominal prefix. This usage appears to have become increasingly common in recent years.

**wa'ákniswáěh** or **o'jákniswáěh** 'we (ex.du) didn't like it'  
 (\*wa'tyákniswahěh) or (\*wa'tyákniswahěh)

**4.4.1.1. Word-internal borrowing from English.** Recent years have seen the rise of a construction in which an English verb functions as the root of a Seneca verb, surrounded by Seneca affixes. The basic structure of such words is shown in Figure 4.2. Within such a word there is a switch from Seneca to English phonetics, and then a switch back to Seneca phonetics in any following suffixes. In the following examples the English portion, with English spelling, is underlined.

**dewagaderetiredöh** 'I've retired' (\*tewakateretiredöh)  
**desadetápedöh** 'you're taping (tape-recording)' (\*tesatetapedöh)  
**o'jagwadeshópda:nö** 'we (ex.pl) went shopping' (\*wa'tyakwateshópdahna')

duplicative prefix	pronominal prefix	middle marker <b>-ate-</b>	English verb	various suffixes
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Figure 4.2. Word-internal borrowing from English

In this construction it is almost always the case that the English verb is directly preceded by the middle voice prefix **\*-ate-** (5.2), and that the pronominal prefix is preceded by the duplicative prepronominal prefix. The middle voice prefix converts the English verb into an **a**-stem, by far the most common stem type in the language, thereby limiting the choice of the pronominal prefix form to the form that occurs most often. The duplicative prefix is the most commonly occurring prepronominal prefix, so it too limits the form of the pronominal prefix to that which occurs frequently. Thus, the duplicative prefix and the middle voice prefix together sharply reduce the number of pronominal prefix forms from which a speaker needs to choose. It appears that this combination constitutes a kind of folk morphology on which new creations can easily be based. In these words the English verb is always accented, even when it occurs in a syllable that would not be accented if the word were composed entirely of Seneca elements.

**4.4.1.2. The duplicative in place of the repetitive.** The repetitive prefix and the cislocative prefix are mutually exclusive. When there is a need to express the repetitive meaning in the presence of the cislocative, the repetitive function is assumed by the duplicative, with meanings such as 'again' and 'back'.

**dedwadigá:ne:** 'they (feminine) are looking for it again' (\*tetwatikahnre:)  
**detgye:i'** 'I'm all right again' (\*tetkyeri')  
**dejago:yö:h** 'she has come back' (\*tetyakoyö:h)  
**dejagwaga:wes** 'we row back' (\*tetyakwakawehs)  
**detgánöhsö:d** 'the house back there' (\*tetkanöhsot)

If, however, the duplicative prefix is required by the verb base in any case, the repetitive meaning need not be present:

**detóda'öh** 'he stood up there' or 'he stood up there again', (\*tethota'öh)  
 where the base \*-ta' (> -da'-) 'stand up' requires the duplicative.

**4.4.1.3. The reciprocal construction.** As discussed in 5.3.3, the duplicative prefix is used in combination with the reflexive prefix \*-atat- to express a reciprocal meaning.

**4.4.2. Forms of the duplicative prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the duplicative prefix, including its combinations with the three modal prefixes and with other prepronominal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix the duplicative form is \*te- (> de-); see numerous examples above. With the future prefix, the duplicative \*t- precedes it in the combination \*të- (> dë-).

**dëgö:snye:** 'I'll take care of you' (\*tëkösnye:)  
**dë:nödawënye:** 'they'll move about' (\*tëhënatawënye:)  
**dëсныадә:гә** 'they two will see each other' (\*tëсныатәтәкә')

The duplicative \*t- follows the factual prefix in the form \*wa't- (> o't- or o'd-).

**o'tha:ya'k** 'he broke it in two' (\*wa'thaya'k)  
**o'tgyá:ya'k** 'I crossed over' (\*wa'tkyahya'k)  
**o'jéya:ya'k** 'she crossed over' (\*wa'tyeyahya'k)

But this combination takes the form \*wa'ti- (> o'di-) before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

**o'didwadade:gë** 'we (pl in) see each other' (\*wa'titwatatekë')  
**o'diswadade:gë** 'you (pl) see each other' (\*wa'tiswatate:kë')

Duplicative \*t- precedes the hypothetical prefix aa- in the form \*taa- (> daa-).

**da:gek** 'I might pick it up' (\*taakehk)  
**da:sda't** 'you might stand up' (\*taasta't)  
**da:ada't** 'he might stand up' (\*taahata't)

But this combination takes the form \*tae- (> dae-) before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

**daedwadade:gë** 'we (pl in) might see each other' (\*taetwatatekë')  
**daeswadade:gë** 'you (pl) might see each other' (\*taeswatatekë')

## 4.5. The translocative prefix

**4.5.1. Uses of the translocative prefix.** With verbs of directed motion the translocative prefix indicates a direction away from the speaker or a third person.

**hege:ta** 'I go there' (\*heke:htha')  
**hegà:ta** 'it went past' (\*hekahrahtha')  
**heodiyágë'öh** 'they've gone out' (\*hehotiyakë'öh)

**hewageáhdöh** ‘I’m pointing it there’ (\*hewakekahtöh)

With other verbs, whether they express events or states, the translocative prefix indicates a distant location, ‘there, yonder, where something happens’.

**hé:nötga:twas** ‘they keep looking that way’ (\*hehënatkathwahs)  
**héódahséhöh** ‘he’s hiding there’ (\*hehotahsehtöh)  
**ho’wáhdö** ‘it disappeared there’ (\*hwa’wahtó’)  
**heoyanítgë’öh** ‘he has left there’ (\*hehoyanítkë’öh)  
**heyágwa:ya:kta** ‘where we pick berries’ (\*heyakwahyaktha’)  
**hewádi:nísdahgwa** ‘where they bark’ (\*hewatihnistahkwa’)

The translocative is obligatory with certain verb bases whose meanings involve motion away.

**hewágo’ya:göh** ‘I’ve thrown it that way’ (\*hewako’yaköh)  
**ho’dwénö’sgó’ya:k** ‘it jumped (away)’ (\*ho’twëna’sko’yak)  
**hewa:ka:h** ‘I’ve taken it’ (\*hewakha:h)

Sometimes the translocative indicates that an event or state has reached a limit of some kind.

**heyós’ahdöh** ‘it’s used up’ (\*heyohs’ahtöh)  
**ho’ga:kda’t** ‘it went up to a certain point’ (\*hwa’kakta’t)  
**heyónöhsódahdöh** ‘nights have gone by’ (\*heyonöhsötahdöh)

The translocative and duplicative together convey a meaning of totality, ‘all’.

**ha’de:yö:h** ‘everything, all kinds of things’ (\*ha’teyö:h)  
**ha’deganyó’dage:h** ‘all kinds of animals’ (\*ha’tekanyo’take:h)  
**ha’deyo:do’k** ‘all the way at the end’ (\*ha’teyoto’k)  
**ha’dégya’di:h** ‘I’m all alone’ (\*ha’tekya’ti:h)  
**ha’dedwadahnóóhgwa** ‘we all love one another’ (\*ha’tetwatatnoröhkwa’)

**4.5.2. Forms of the translocative prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the translocative prefix, including its combinations with the three modal prefixes and with other prenominal prefixes, are shown in Table 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix, the translocative appears as **\*he-**; see examples above. With modal prefixes the translocative form is usually **\*h**, preceding the modal prefix.

With the future prefix **\*ë-**, the translocative **\*h** precedes it in the combination **\*hë-**.

**hë:öyö** ‘he will arrive there’ (\*hëhayö’)  
**hëhse:** ‘you will go there’ (\*hëhsen’)  
**hëyótgahdë** ‘she’ll face that way’ (\*hëyötkahtë’)

With the hypothetical prefix **\*aa-**, the translocative **\*h** precedes it in the combination **\*haa-**.

**ha:ge:** ‘I might go there’ (\*haaken’)



<b>ha:agë</b> ‘he might see there’	(*haahakë)
<b>ha:gaye:</b> ‘it might do it there’	(*haakayer)

This combination takes the form **\*hae-** before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

<b>háéhne:</b> ‘we (in.du) might go there’	(*haetnen)
<b>háéswe:</b> ‘you (pl) might go there’	(*haeswen)

With the factual prefix **o’-** (\*wa’-), the translocative **\*h** precedes it in the combination **ho’-** (\*hwa’-).

<b>ho’wáhsawë</b> ‘it began there’	(*hwa’wahsawë)
<b>ho’wá’së’t</b> ‘it fell there’	(*hwa’wa’së’t)

With the factual prefix **\*e-**, the translocative **\*h** precedes it in the combination **\*he-**.

<b>hedwe:</b> ‘we (in.pl) went there’	(*hetwen)
<b>hedwájë:to</b> ‘we (in.pl) took hold of it’	(*hetwatihëtho)

With the factual prefix **wa’-**, until recently the translocative **h-** preceded it in the combination **hwa’-**. Among recent speakers, however, the **h** has been dropped. As a consequence, in this environment it is no longer possible to distinguish the translocative-factual combination from a simple factual. (Compare the alternative pronunciations of words like *white* in American English.)

<b>(h)wa’a:gwe:</b> ‘we (ex.pl) went there’	(*hwa’akwen)
<b>(h)wá:gi:nök</b> ‘he summoned me’	(*hwa’hakihnök)

#### 4.6. The partitive prefix

**4.6.1. Uses of the partitive prefix.** The partitive prefix most often indicates the degree of some quantifiable idea—‘how much’, ‘how many’, or ‘to what degree’.

<b>ni:yö:h</b> ‘how much, how many’	(*niyö:h)
<b>niyo:we</b> ‘how far’	(*niyore)
<b>niyósno:we</b> ‘how fast’	(*niyosnore)
<b>niwákni:gön</b> ‘how much I know’	(*niwakniköht)
<b>niyojji:yo:h</b> ‘how good his dog is’	(*niyotsiyiyo:h)

The partitive is used regularly in enumeration when there are three or more of something. In this usage it contrasts with the duplicative prefix, which is used when there are precisely two. Usually the verb root in such cases is **\*-ke-** ‘be a certain number of’.

<b>sëh niwáhsöda:ge:h</b> ‘three nights’	(*niwahsötake:h)
Cf. <b>dekni:h dewáhsöda:ge:h</b> ‘two nights’	
<b>sëh nigá:wisda:ge:h</b> ‘three dollars, cups’	(*nikahwihstake:h)
Cf. <b>dekni:h degá:wisda:ge:h</b> ‘two dollars, cups’	
<b>sëh niyósáé’dage:h</b> ‘three (kinds of) beans, three-bean soup’	(*niyosahe’take:h)
Cf. <b>dekni:h deyoásé’dage:h</b> ‘two beans’	

With verbs expressing the kind or manner of something, the partitive can be translated ‘how’, ‘in what way’.

<b>nijóhsa:</b> ‘how it begins’	(*nityohsaw’)
<b>niwáda’hō:n</b> ‘how it’s attached’	(*niwata’höt)
<b>niyogwenyō:h</b> ‘how it’s possible’	(*niyokwenyō:h)
<b>niyóhdējō:h</b> ‘how it’s going’	(*niyohtētyō:h)
<b>niyáwēsđáhgōh</b> ‘how it has happened’	(*niyawēstahkōh)

It is required by the verb root **\*-o’tē-** ‘be a certain kind, a certain way’.

<b>nigaēnó’dē:h</b> ‘the kind of song it is’	(*nikarēno’tē:h)
<b>nigagéo’dē:h</b> ‘the kind of story it is’	(*nikakaro’tē:h)
<b>niógwe’dódē:h</b> ‘the kind of person he is’	(*nihökwe’to’tē:h)
<b>nigēōdó’dē:h</b> ‘the kind of tree it is’	(*nikarōto’tē:h)
<b>nió’nigó:’dē:h</b> ‘the way his mind is’	(*niho’nikōhro’tē:h)

The verb root **\*-yer-** ‘do’ also requires the partitive prefix.

<b>nigye:ha</b> ‘I do it’	(*nikyerha’)
<b>nioye:ēh</b> ‘he has done it’	(*nihoyerēh)

**4.6.2. Forms of the partitive prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the partitive prefix, including its combinations with the three modal prefixes and with other prepronominal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix, the partitive form is **\*ni-**; see numerous examples above. With the future prefix, the partitive **\*n** precedes it in the combination **\*nē-**:

<b>nēya:wēh</b> ‘what will happen’	(*nēyawēh)
<b>nēhsaje:ā’t</b> ‘how you will use it’	(*nēhsatyera’t)
<b>nēyó’hasdēh</b> ‘how strong it will become’	(*nēyo’hastēh)

With the hypothetical prefix **\*aa-**, the partitive **\*n** precedes it in the combination **\*naa**. Speakers vary between the pronunciations **na:-** and **nō:-** (mimicking the usual change of short **na** to **nō**).

<b>na:yawēh</b> or <b>nō:yawēh</b> ‘how it might happen’	(*naayawēh)
<b>na:yagē</b> or <b>nō:yagē</b> ‘what she might say’	(*naayakē’)
<b>ná:wa’dáia’t</b> or <b>nō:wō’dáia’t</b> ‘it might warm it’	(*naawa’tariha’t)

This combination takes the form **\*nae-** before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

<b>náésni</b> ‘what you (du) might say’	(*naesni’)
<b>náéswaye:’</b> ‘you (pl) might do it’	(*naeswayer’)

The partitive **\*n** combines with the factual prefix **\*wa’-** in the form **\*na’-** (> **nō’-**).

<b>nō’ōgwaje:’</b> ‘how we (ex.pl) did it’	(*na’yōkwatyer)
<b>nō’wō:dih</b> ‘on which side’	(*na’watih)

This combination takes the form **\*ne-** before an inclusive or second person pronominal prefix, with the exception of a second person singular agent.

**nesni** ‘what you (du) said’ (\*nesni’)  
**nedwa:ye:’** ‘we (in.pl) did it’ (\*netwayer’)

#### 4.7. The coincident prefix

**4.7.1. Uses of the coincident prefix.** When it is used alone (in the absence of another prepronominal prefix), the coincident expresses temporal subordination (‘when’), usually with reference to a generic state or event.

**tšigógwe’da:se:’** ‘when I was a young man’ (\*tshikökwe’tase:’)  
**tšiwágasha:a’s** ‘when I remember it’ (\*tshiwakashara’s)  
**tšigátga:nye:h** ‘when I was playing’ (\*tshikatkahnye:h)

The coincident combines with the duplicative prefix in the combination **\*tsha’t-** to express ‘the same’.

**tša’de:wa’** ‘it’s the same size’ (\*tsha’tewa’)  
**tša’déyo’dë:h** ‘it’s the same kind, a tie score’ (\*tsha’teyo’të:h)  
**Tša’degéöy:s** ‘skies of the same length’ (\*tsha’tekaröhyes)  
 (a chief’s title)

The coincident and factual prefixes combine with the verb root **\*-t-** ‘stand’ as another way of expressing sameness or similarity.

**tša’ga:t** ‘it’s the same, similar’ (\*tsha’kat)  
**tša’gáíwa:t** ‘it’s the same story’ (\*tsha’karihwat)

**4.7.2. Forms of the coincident prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the coincident prefix, including its combinations with the three modal prefixes and with other prepronominal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix, the coincident form is **\*tshi-**; see examples above.

With the future prefix, the coincident **\*tsh** precedes it in the combination **\*tshë-**.

**tšëwö:da:k** ‘when it will be contained in it’ (\*tshëwatak)  
**tšëgëöj’s:e:k** ‘when I will be present’ (\*tshëgëhötye’sek)

With the hypothetical prefix, the coincident **\*tsh** precedes it in the forms **\*tshaa-** and **\*tshae-**.

**tsha:gë’** ‘when I might see it’ (\*tshaakë’)  
**tsháéswë’** ‘when you (pl) might see it’ (\*tshaeswë’)

With the factual prefix, the coincident **\*tsh** precedes it in the forms **\*tsha’-** and **\*tshe-**.

**tsha’gáhsawë’** ‘when I began’ (\*tsha’kawsawë’)

**tshaēnōdi:yo'** 'when they fought' (\*tsha'hēnatriyo')  
**tsheswadi:yo'** 'when you (pl) fought' (\*tseswatriyo')

There is a frequently heard variant form of the sequence **tsha** in which the initial **t** is lacking: **sha'gáhsawē'** 'when I began' etc.

#### 4.8. The contrastive prefix

**4.8.1. Uses of the contrastive prefix.** This prefix indicates that a state or event is different, unusual, abnormal, unexpected, or extreme.

**tiga:de'** 'it's different' (\*thikate')  
**tiyógwe'da:de'** 'a different person' (\*thiyökwe'tate')  
**tiyódō'ōh** 'it has become unusual' (\*thiyota'ōh)  
**tiöye:ēh** 'he's doing it in an unusual way' (\*thihoyerēh)  
**tiyóhjön** 'it's very frightening' (\*thiyohtrōht)

**4.8.2. Forms of the contrastive prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the contrastive prefix, including its combinations with the three modal prefixes and with other prepronominal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix, the contrastive form is **\*thi-**; see examples above.

With the future prefix, the contrastive **\*th** precedes it in the combination **\*thē-**.

**tēgōjé'se:k** 'I will be continue to be present' (\*thēkēhōtye'sek)  
**tē:nōdōhōhdē:di'** 'their lives are just beginning' (\*thēhēnātōnhahtēti')

With the hypothetical prefix, the contrastive **\*th** precedes it in the forms **\*thaa-** (> **ta:**) and **\*thae-** (> **tae-**).

**ta:yawēh** 'it won't happen again' (\*thaayawēh)  
**taedwaye:h** 'we can't do it' (\*thaetwayerh)

With the factual prefix, the contrastive **\*th** precedes it in the forms **\*tha'-** (> **ta'-**) and **\*the-** (> **te-**).

**ta'eyá:nō:'** 'she just did a little here and there' (\*tha'yeyerahnō')  
**tedwáióhse:'** 'we finish it' (\*thetwarihohse:')

The following example was observed in a context where it was preceded by another contrastive word, in which the contrastive prefix was attached to the particle **sgē:nō'** 'well-being, health'.

**tisgē:nō' tedwáióhse:'** 'it is very well that we finish it'

#### 4.9. The negative prefix

**4.9.1. Uses of the negative prefix.** As the name implies, the negative prefix expresses a judgment that an event or state does not coincide with reality. In the following examples with the habitual and stative aspects this prefix takes the form **\*te'-** (> **de'-**).

<b>de'gyë:twas</b> 'I don't plant'	(*te'kyëthwahs)
<b>de'énöe's</b> 'she doesn't like it'	(*te'yenöhwe's)
<b>de'wi:yo:h</b> 'it's not good'	(*te'wiyo:h)
<b>de'we:so'</b> 'not much'	(*te'weso')

Seneca has extended the use of the negative prefix to certain morphological environments where it does not occur in the other Northern Iroquoian languages. For example, in those other languages a word containing this prefix is regularly preceded by a particle meaning 'no': Mohawk and Oneida **yah**, Onondaga **híya**, and Cayuga **thë'**. Seneca speakers may also use the word **hë'ëh** 'no' in a similar way, sometimes with another particle separating **hë'ëh** from the negated word containing **de'**.

<b>hë'ëh de'ónökdo:t</b> 'there isn't time'
<b>hë'ëh nä:h de'dzó'dë:h</b> 'it isn't like that anymore'

Often in Seneca, however, the negated verb occurs without the preceding **hë'ëh**, as in the following examples and many more.

<b>de'sgya:gë's</b> 'I don't go out anymore'
<b>de'we:so' de'gyë:twas</b> 'I don't plant very much'

The second of these examples contains a double negation, with the first word a negation of the particle **we:so'** 'a lot'.

Lounsbury (1953: 47) stated that in Oneida the negative prefix may occur either alone or in combination with the repetitive or cislocative prepronominal prefixes, but that in other environments negation is signaled by the contrastive prefix. In Seneca, however, the negative prefix may also occur with the duplicative and translocative prepronominal prefixes, as well as with the factual and hypothetical modal prefixes. It does not occur, however, with the partitive, coincident, contrastive, or future prefixes.

**4.9.1.1. The negative prefix with a particle.** It is not unusual for the negative prefix to be attached to a particle as well as to a verb.

<b>de'sö:ga:'</b> 'no one'	Cf. <b>sö:ga:'</b> 'somebody'
<b>de'we:so'</b> 'not much'	Cf. <b>we:so'</b> 'a lot'
<b>de'wë:döh</b> 'never'	Cf. <b>wë:döh</b> 'when'
<b>de'to:hah</b> 'not even close'	Cf. <b>to:hah</b> 'near, nearly'
<b>de'ónëhjih</b> 'not long ago'	Cf. <b>ónëhjih</b> 'long ago'
<b>de'ni:s</b> 'not you'	Cf. <b>ni:s</b> 'you'
<b>de'do:gës</b> 'not true'	Cf. <b>do:gës</b> 'true'
<b>de'we:ëh</b> 'not far'	Cf. <b>we:ëh</b> 'far'

**4.9.1.2. The negative prefix with a noun.** In rare cases the negative prefix is attached to a noun.

<b>de'gagä:'</b> 'not a story, a fact'	Cf. <b>gaga:a'</b> 'story'
<b>de'gánö'dza'</b> 'not a pot'	Cf. <b>gánö'dza'</b> 'pot'
<b>de'swáíwa'</b> 'not your (pl) fault'	Cf. <b>óíwa'</b> 'cause'

**4.9.2. Forms of the negative prefix.** Reconstructed forms of the negative prefix, including its combination with other prepronominal prefixes and with the factual and hypothetical modal prefixes, are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

When there is no modal prefix, the negative form is \*te'- (> de'-); see examples above. In casual speech negative \*te'- harmonizes to \*ta'- when followed by the vowel **a**.

With the repetitive prefix \*s-, the negative precedes it in the combination \*te's- (> de's-).

<b>de'sgya:gë's</b> 'I don't go out anymore'	(*te'skyakë's)
<b>de'dzó'dë:h</b> 'it isn't like that anymore'	(*te'syo'të:h)

With the cislocative prefix \*t-, the negative precedes it in the combination \*te't- (> de't-).

<b>de'të'jö'</b> 'he isn't living there'	(*te'thë'trö')
<b>de'jë's</b> 'she isn't coming'	(*te'tyë's)

With the duplicative prefix \*te-, the negative precedes it in the combination \*ta'te- (> da'de-).

<b>da'degaye:i'</b> 'it isn't enough'	(*ta'tekayeri')
<b>da'déyoha:teh</b> 'it doesn't give light'	(*ta'teyorhatheh)

With the translocative prefix \*he-, the negative overlaps it in the form \*the'- (> te'-).

<b>te'ós'ahdöh</b> 'it isn't used up'	(*the'yos'ahtöh)
<b>te'ga:gö:n</b> 'it's not forever'	(*the'kaköt)

**4.9.3. Future and past negations.** Future and past negations are expressed with unique morphological constructions. Future negation is expressed with the contrastive prefix followed by the hypothetical modal prefix and the imperative suffix at the end of the word (14.4).

<b>tá:ke:gëh</b> 'I won't see her'	(*thaakhekëh)
Cf. <b>ëke:gë</b> 'I will see her'	
<b>tö:saye:yöh</b> 'she won't get back'	(*thöösayeyöh)
Cf. <b>ëdze:yö</b> 'she'll get back'	

Past negation is expressed by combining the negative prefix \*te'- with a stative aspect form of the verb in which, however, the final vowel is lengthened and followed by a glottal stop.

<b>de'ke:gë:'</b> 'I didn't see her'	(*te'khekë:')
Cf. <b>ke:gë:h</b> 'I've seen her'	
<b>dó:da'ö:'</b> 'he didn't go to sleep'	(*te'hota'ö:')
Cf. <b>hodá'öh</b> 'he's asleep'	
<b>de'ó'së'ö:'</b> 'it didn't fall'	(*te'yo'së'ö:')
Cf. <b>o'së'öh</b> 'it has fallen'	

When the negative prefix is combined with the factual prefix, the verb does not signal past tense but rather a negated generic event or state. In the following examples the negative precedes the factual prefix **a** or **e** in the forms **\*te'a-** (> **da'a-** with vowel harmony) or **\*te'e-** (> **de'e-**).

<b>da'ágatgë:ni'</b> 'I don't compete'	(*te'akatkëni')
<b>da'awagáshä:t'</b> 'I don't remember'	(*te'awakashara't)
<b>da'awagegayëh</b> 'I don't consent'	(*te'awakekayëh)
<b>de'éswasha:a't'</b> 'you (pl) don't remember'	(*te'eswashara't)

The negative prefix precedes the hypothetical prefix **aa** or **ae** in the forms **\*te'aa-** (> **de'a:-** or **da'a:-**) and **\*te'ae-** (> **de'ae-**).

<b>da'a:ge:go'</b> 'I couldn't accept it'	(*te'aakeko')
<b>de'aeswa:go'</b> 'you (pl) couldn't accept it'	(*te'aeswako')
<b>da'a:gagwe:ni'</b> 'it wouldn't be possible'	(*te'aakakweni')
<b>da'a:gesnye't'</b> 'I couldn't talk'	(*te'aakesnye't)

Mithun (1995a) discussed competing forces that may have led to the special constraints and forms associated with the negative prefix in the various Northern Iroquoian languages.





## 5. VERB MORPHOLOGY PART 3: EXPANDED VERB BASES

### 5.1. Introduction

The verb root, as shown in Figures 3.1 and 4.1, may be expanded in one or more of the various ways that are sketched in Figure 5.1. The term *base* will be used for any or all of these expansions. A base may begin with a middle voice prefix (5.2) or a reflexive prefix (5.3), the verb root may be preceded by an incorporated noun root (5.4), and the root may be followed by one or more of a set of derivational suffixes (5.5).

			derivational suffix
middle voice or reflexive prefix	incorporated noun root	verb root	causative- instrumental inchoative benefactive distributive ambulative andative directional eventuative reversive circumstantial

Figure 5.1. Expansions of the verb base

### 5.2. The middle voice prefix

When the middle voice (Lounsbury's *semireflexive*) prefix is present, it is the first element in the verb base. Its forms vary considerably.

**5.2.1. Functions of the middle voice prefix.** Typically the agent of an event that is marked with the middle voice prefix is not only the initiator of the event but is also affected by it in some way. For example, the agent may act on something that belongs to him or her.

**wá:tgösgáhadë'** 'he turned his face upward' (\*wa'hatköhskarhatë')  
**hodíhigwá:öh** 'he has put his hat on' (\*hotirhikwarahröh)

The middle voice prefix may change a base from transitive to intransitive.

**o'twado:wë:'** 'it split' (\*wa'twatowë:')

Cf. **dewago:wë'** 'I've split it' (\*tewakowë')

**wa:ajë:'** 'he sat down' (\*wa'hatyë:')

Cf. **wa:ayë:'** 'he set it down' (\*wa'hayë:')

Or it may change a base from active to passive.

<b>o'gáde'ho:we:k</b> 'I got covered'	(*wa'kate'horek)
Cf. <b>wa'é'ho:we:k</b> 'she covered it'	(*wa'ye'horek)
<b>o'wa:ja'k</b> 'it was broken off'	(*wa'watya'k)
Cf. <b>o'kya'k</b> 'I broke it'	(*wa'kya'k)

Sometimes a base with the middle voice prefix means the reverse of what it means without it.

<b>o'gádē:ni:nō</b> 'I sold it'	(*wa'katēhninō')
Cf. <b>o'kni:nō</b> 'I bought it'	(*wa'khninō')

In other cases the resulting meaning is less predictable.

<b>é:yatšo:wi</b> 'I'll tell about him'	(*ēheyathrori')
Cf. <b>é:owi</b> 'I'll tell him'	(*ēhehrori')
<b>odō:ni:h</b> 'it's growing'	(*otōni:h)
Cf. <b>ēyagō:ni</b> 'she'll make it'	(*ēyakōni')
<b>wa'ōdekō:ni</b> 'she ate'	(*wa'yōtekhōni')
Cf. <b>wa'ékō:ni</b> 'she cooked'	(*wa'yekhōni')

**5.2.2. Forms of the middle voice prefix.** The forms of this prefix are varied, and not always phonologically predictable. The most common form is **\*-at-**, followed in roughly descending order of occurrence by **\*-ate-**, **\*-ē-**, **\*-atē-**, **\*-ēn-**, **\*-ēr-**, **\*-a-**, **\*-ēni-**, and **\*-an-**. Lounsbury (1947) pointed to intriguing resemblances between the forms of Iroquoian middle voice prefixes and similar elements in Cariban languages.

**\*-at-** (often > **-ad-**) occurs regularly before a base beginning with a vowel or a resonant followed by a vowel, sometimes with an intervening **h**. It is found occasionally in irregular examples. To repeat examples above:

<b>o'twado:wē:</b> 'it split'	(*wa'twatowē:')
<b>wa:ajē:</b> 'he sat down'	(*wa'hatyē:')
<b>wá:tšo:wi</b> 'he told about it'	(*wa'hathrori')
<b>wá:tgōsgáhadē</b> 'he turned his face upward'	(*wa'hatköhskarhatē')

**\*-ate-** (> **-adē-**) occurs before a base beginning with two obstruents, two resonants, sometimes before a resonant and an obstruent (in either order), and rarely before s, t, or r.

<b>odésgayō:ni:h</b> 'growing bushes'	(*oteskawōni:h)
<b>yödélyēsta</b> 'she's learning'	(*yōtewyēstha')
<b>ēhsádeha't</b> 'you will dry it'	(*ēhsaterha't)
<b>wadésáé'dō:n</b> 'baked beans'	(*watesahe'töt)
<b>o'wadá:hgwi:nē't</b> 'the moon went in'	(*wa'waterahkwinë't)

\*-**ĕ**- occurs before a base beginning with \***n**, or with \***n** preceded or followed by a laryngeal obstruent.

**o'tĕnō'sgwak** 'he jumped up' (\*wa'thĕna'skwahkw)  
**wāĕnĕ'nya:da:t** 'they reached out their hands' (\*wa'hĕnĕ'nyatat)  
**o'gĕ:nĕhsāwĕhta:t** 'I put my shoulder next to it' (\*wa'kĕhnĕhsawĕhtat)

\*-**atĕ**- (> -**adĕ**-) occurs in the same phonological environments as -**ĕ**-, but with other bases.

**hadĕ:hō's** 'he hires, employer' (\*hatĕnha's)  
**waĕnōdĕ'ne:a** 'they won' (\*wa'hĕnatĕ'neha:?)  
**agādĕ:ni:nō** 'I've sold it' (\*wakatĕhninō')

Some bases with \*-**atĕ**- have alternate forms with \*-**ate**- (> -**ade**-).

**ĕhsādĕ'nīkō:** or **ĕhsāde'nīkō:** 'you will sew' (\*ĕhsatĕ/ate'nikhō:')

The following appears to show vowel harmony with the \***ĕ** of the root.

**o'gadĕ:gĕ** 'I saw it for myself' (\*wa'katĕkĕ')

\*-**ĕn**- occurs before some bases beginning with **i**.

**hĕnī'dota** 'he's defecating' (\*hĕnī'tohta')  
**hĕnīsgōje**'s 'he's spitting' (\*hĕnīskrōtye's)

\*-**ĕr**- occurs before \*-**ahs**- and \*-**ahsi't**- 'foot' and \*-**ahtahkw**- 'shoe'. The resulting sequence \***ĕra** was replaced by \***ĕä** and finally **ĕ:**.

**o'tgĕ:hso:we:k** 'I put my shoes on' (\*wa'tkĕrahsorek)  
*literally* 'I covered my feet'  
**agĕ:hsī'ja'gōh** 'my foot has been cut off' (\*wakĕrahsi'tya'kōh)  
**desĕ:hdāhgwane:dĕh** 'put on your overshoes' (\*tesĕrahtahkwanetĕh)

\*-**a**- occurs before the noun root \*-**tsĕh**- 'fire'.

**honōtsĕ:ōni:h** 'they have made themselves a fire' (\*honatshĕhōni:h)

\*-**ĕni**- occurs before the noun root \*-**s'oht**- 'hand'.

**agĕnis'ōhda:e** 'I've put my hand on it' (\*wakĕnis'ohtaher')

\*-**an**- occurs more rarely before bases beginning with \***i**.

**o'dwáni:nya'k** 'it cut the skin' (\*wa'twanihnya'k)

### 5.3. The reflexive prefix

Like the middle voice prefix, the reflexive is the first element in the verb base.

**5.3.1. Functions of the reflexive prefix.** The reflexive prefix differs semantically from the middle voice prefix by separating more clearly the two roles of the participant, who is simultaneously both agent and patient.

**o'gádate:'** 'I cut myself' (\*wa'katathren')  
**o'gadade:gë'** 'I saw myself' (in a mirror) (\*wa'katatekë')  
**sadája'dágehah** 'help yourself' (\*satatya'takenhah)

**5.3.2. Forms of the reflexive prefix.** The reflexive prefix is formed by reduplication of the middle marker, and specifically by prefixing **\*-at-** (> **-ad-**) to one of the middle voice prefix forms, yielding **\*-atat-**, **\*-atate-**, **\*-atë-**, **\*-atatë-**, **\*-atën-**, **\*-atër-**, **\*-ata-**, **\*-atëni-**, or **\*-atan-**. As with the middle voice prefix, these forms are only partially predictable on a phonological basis.

**5.3.3. The reciprocal construction.** When the reflexive prefix is combined with the duplicative prepronominal prefix (4.4.1.3), the result is a reciprocal meaning in which several agents act on one another.

**o'tënödade:gë'** 'they saw each other' (\*wa'thënatatekë')  
**de:yadaje:nö:s** 'they (dual) wrestle' (\*tehyatayenas)  
*literally* 'they grab each other'  
**dë:nödaje:nö:s** 'they (plural) wrestle' (\*tehënatayenas)  
**do:nödajenöwö'se:h** 'they're helping each other' (\*tehonatayenawa'se:h)

### 5.4. The incorporated noun root

**5.4.1. Functions of noun incorporation.** The verb root is often preceded by an incorporated noun root. (Noun incorporation in other Northern Iroquoian languages is discussed in Woodbury 1975 and Mithun 1984.) The result is a derived base in which the meaning of the noun root limits in some way the meaning of the verb root: often, but by no means always, as the patient of an action or state. (See 7.3 for noun roots that substitute incorporation for the simple noun suffix.)

**wá:ho:dö:'** 'he closed the door' (\*wa'hanhotö:')  
**wahgwa:se:'** 'new suit' (\*wahkwase:')

Occasionally the incorporated noun plays the role of an instrument rather than a patient.

**wá:ge'nhya:yën** 'he hit me with a club' (\*wa'hake'nhyayëht)



**dë:nëñó'skwaha'** 'they jump, jumping contest' (\*dehëñëna'skwarha')

With the translocative and duplicative prefixes, the middle voice prefix, and the verb root \*-o'yak- 'throw': 'jump somewhere'

**ha'déonó'sgo'ya:göh'** 'he has jumped over there' (\*ha'tehona'sko'yaköh)

With the duplicative prefix, the middle voice prefix, and the verb root \*-(i)ya'k- 'cross': 'jump across'

**o'ténö'sgwi:ya'k'** 'he jumped across' (\*wa'thëna'skwiya'k')

With the duplicative prefix, the cislocative prefix, the verb root \*-ot- 'stand upright', and the causative suffix \*-ht- 'jump back down':

**dödä:nó'sgo:dat'** 'he jumped back down there' (\*tötahana'skotaht)

**5.4.3.2. The manner noun root \*-karh- 'turn'.** The resultant combinations have been lexicalized and may accept a second incorporated noun base. For example:

With the verb root \*-t- 'be standing' and the causative suffix \*-ho- 'turn (transitive)'

**o'égaha:to'** 'I turned it' (\*wa'gekarhatho')

Plus the incorporated noun base \*-nhotökwa'shr- 'key', *literally* 'what opens the door'

**o'géhodógwa'shágaha:to'** 'I turned the key' (\*wa'kenhotökwa'shrakarhatho')

With the verb root \*-teni- 'change' and the causative suffix \*-t- 'roll'

**wá:gahadenya't'** 'he rolled it' (\*wa'hakarhatenya't')

With the middle voice prefix, the incorporated noun root \*-rihw- 'speech', and the verb root \*-ëta'- 'come to the end': 'for a speech to end in a turning manner', i.e. 'turn over the floor'.

**o'dwádi:wágahë:da't'** 'the speech ends, the floor is turned over' (\*wa'twatrihwakarhëta't')

## 5.5. Derivational suffixes

**5.5.1. Introduction.** A verb root may be followed by one or more suffixes to create a derived base whose meaning or function differs in some way from the meaning or function of the verb root alone. Seneca has thirteen of these derivational suffixes. None of them occurs with all verb roots and some occur with very few. Often the derived meaning is unpredictable. Several of these suffixes in sequence can form successive layers of derivation. The order of their introduction here reflects increasing distance from the root when more than one is present. With a few exceptions, if the preceding root ends with a consonant and the derivational suffix begins with a consonant, the stem-joiner vowel \*a

separates the two consonants (see 5.4.2). Derivational suffixes include the following, described in the sections indicated.

- Inchoative (5.5.2)
- Archaic causative (5.5.3)
- New causative (5.5.4)
- Instrumental (5.5.5)
- Distributive (5.5.6)
- Double distributive (5.5.7)
- Benefactive (5.5.8)
- Andative (5.5.9)
- Andative plus purposive (5.5.10)
- Archaic reversive (5.5.11)
- New reversive (5.5.12)
- Directive (5.5.13)
- Facilitative (5.5.14)
- Eventuative (5.5.15)
- Ambulative (5.5.16)
- Combinations of derivational suffixes (5.5.17)

**5.5.2. The inchoative suffix.** The inchoative suffix creates a derived base that indicates entry into the state expressed by the underived root or base. It can usually be translated ‘become’, ‘get’, or ‘come to be’. The term *inchoative* is a misnomer since the meaning is not one of beginning, but it has nevertheless become the traditional term in Iroquoian studies. Inchoative forms, usually conditioned unpredictably by the preceding verb root or base, include \*-'-, \*-'he'-, \*-'-/-h, and \*-'ë'/'ëh. The \*-'h and \*-'ëh alternatives in this list are the forms that occur with the punctual aspect. The aspect suffixes that follow the inchoative are habitual \*-'s, stative \*-'ö'h, and punctual \*-'t, except that after inchoative \*-'h and \*-'ëh there is no overt punctual ending.

Examples of inchoative \*-'-:

- \*-'sko- ‘be in water’ occurs with inchoative \*-'- in \*-'sko'- ‘fall in water’:      habitual  
**ha'sgo's** ‘he falls in the water’  
     stative **ho'sgó'ö'h** ‘he has fallen in the water’  
     punctual **wá'sgo't** ‘he fell in the water’
- \*-ahtö- ‘lose’ occurs with inchoative \*-'- in \*-ahtö'- ‘get lost, disappear’:      habitual  
**wahtö's** ‘it gets lost’  
     stative **ohdó'ö'h** ‘it's gotten lost’  
     punctual **o'wáhdö't** ‘it got lost’.
- \*-yë(t)- ‘be in place’ occurs with inchoative \*-'- in \*-yëta'- ‘land, come down’:  
     habitual \***gayë:da's** ‘it lands’  
     stative **oyëda'ö'h** ‘it has landed’  
     punctual **o'gayë:da't** ‘it landed’.

Examples of inchoative \*-'he'-:

- \*-iyo- ‘be good’ occurs with inchoative \*-'he'- in \*-iyo'he'- ‘become good’:  
     habitual **wiyó'he's** ‘it becomes good’  
     stative **awíyo'hé'ö'h** ‘it has become good’  
     punctual **o'wíyo'he't** ‘it became good’.

- \*-**wyë**- ‘know’ occurs with inchoative \*-’**he**’- in \*-**wyë’he**’- ‘learn’: habitual **geyé’he**’s ‘I learn’  
 stative **agéyë’he’öh** ‘I’ve learned’  
 punctual **o’géyë’he’t** ‘I learned’.
- \*-**atsi**- ‘be dark’ occurs with inchoative \*-’**he**’- in \*-**atsi’he**’- ‘get dark’: habitual **wají’he**’s ‘it gets dark’  
 stative **oj’he’öh** ‘it’s gotten dark’  
 punctual **o’wáji’he’t** ‘it got dark’.

Examples of inchoative \*-’-/**h** (\*-’- occurs with the habitual and stative aspects and \*-**h** with the punctual, which has no overt form; see 3.3.3.):

- \*-**ri**- ‘be done, cooked, ripe’ occurs with inchoative \*-’-/**h** in \*-**ri**’-/**rih** ‘get done’:  
 habitual **ga:i**’s ‘it gets done’  
 stative **óí’öh** ‘it has gotten done’  
 punctual **o’ga:ih** ‘it got done’
- \*-**atkrë**- ‘be putrid, rancid, spoiled, rotten’ (\*-**krë**- ‘stink’ preceded by middle voice prefix \*-**at**-) occurs with inchoative \*-’-/**h** in \*-**atkrë**’-/**atkrëh** ‘putrify’:  
 habitual **otgë**’s ‘it putrifies’  
 stative **otgë’öh** ‘it has putrified’  
 punctual **wa’o:tgëh** ‘it putrified’
- \*-**yeri**- ‘be right, true, proper’ occurs with inchoative \*-’-/**h** in \*-**yeri**’-/**yerih** with the meaning ‘assemble, gather’:  
 habitual **hodiye:is** ‘they assemble’  
 stative **hodiyé’öh** ‘they have assembled’  
 punctual **waodiye:ih** ‘they assembled’.

Inchoative \*-’-/**ëh** occurs with roots whose stative ending is \*-’**e**’. (\*-’**ë**’- occurs with the habitual and stative aspects and \*-’**ëh** with the punctual, which has no overt form.)

- \*-**st**- ‘be heavy’ occurs with inchoative \*-’**ë**’-/**ëh** in \*-**stë**’-/\*-**stëh** ‘become heavy’:  
 habitual **osdë**’s ‘it becomes heavy’  
 stative **osdë’öh** ‘it has become heavy’  
 punctual **wa’o:sdëh** ‘it became heavy’
- \*-**asnor**- ‘be fast’ occurs with inchoative \*-’**ë**’-/**ëh** in \*-**asnorë**’-/\*-**asnorëh** ‘speed up’:  
 habitual **osno:wë**’s ‘it speeds up’  
 stative **osnówë’öh** ‘it has sped up’  
 punctual **wa’ósno:wëh** ‘it sped up’
- \*-**nakr**- ‘be plentiful’ occurs with inchoative \*-’**ë**’-/**ëh** in \*-**nakrë**’-/\*-**nakrëh** ‘become plentiful’:  
 habitual **ganö:gë**’s ‘it becomes plentiful’  
 stative **onögë’öh** ‘it has become plentiful’  
 punctual **o’ganögëh** ‘it became plentiful’

**5.5.3. The archaic causative suffix.** Of very limited distribution is a causative suffix with the shape \*-**hw**-. It combines with aspect suffixes as follows: habitual \*-**hwahs**, stative \*-**hwëh** or sometimes \*-**höh**, punctual \*-**ho**’-. The resulting meaning is often unpredictable. Examples:

- \*-**karhat**- ‘turn’ (intransitive) occurs with the archaic causative \*-**hw**- in \*-**karhathw**- ‘turn’ (transitive):



- habitual **gegáhatwas** ‘I turn it’  
 stative **agégaha:twéh** ‘I’ve turned it’  
 punctual **o’gégaha:to** ‘I turned it’
- \*-yě(t)- ‘be lying’ occurs with the archaic causative \*-hw- in \*-yěthw- ‘plant’:  
 habitual **gyětwas** ‘I plant’  
 stative **agyë:töh** ‘I have planted’  
 punctual **o’gyë:to** ‘I planted’
- \*-atkaht- ‘face, confront’ loses its internal **h** with the archaic causative \*-hw- in \*-atkathw- ‘look at’:  
 habitual **gatga:twas** ‘I’m looking at it’  
 stative **agátgatwéh** ‘I’ve looked at it’  
 punctual **o’gátgato** ‘I looked at it’

**5.5.4. The new causative suffix.** This suffix creates derived bases that express the idea of an event in which an agent is responsible for causing the event expressed by the underived root or base. It can often be translated ‘cause to’ or ‘make’, but in other cases it leads to specialized meanings. Causative forms, conditioned by the preceding verb root or base, include \*-ht-, \*-'t-, \*-hst-, \*-st-, and \*-t-. The \*-hst- variant is evidently cognate with a Tuscarora verb root of the same form meaning ‘use’. It is more common than \*-st-, which appears to be a reduced form of it. The aspect suffixes that follow the causative are habitual \*-ha’, stative \*-öh, and punctual \*-0 (no overt ending).

Examples of causative \*-ht-:

- \*-ya’tyenë- ‘fall over’ (of a person) occurs with causative \*-ht- in \*-ya’tyenëht- ‘make someone fall’:  
 habitual **höwóya’jénëta** ‘they make him fall’  
 stative **höwóya’jénëhtöh** ‘they have made him fall’  
 punctual **ëwöyá’je:nën** ‘they will make him fall’.
- \*-a’së- ‘fall’ occurs with causative \*-ht- in \*-a’sëht- ‘drop’:  
 habitual **ga’séta** ‘I drop it’  
 stative **agá’sëhdöh** ‘I’ve dropped it’  
 punctual **o’gá’sën** ‘I dropped it’
- \*-nönhe- ‘be full’ occurs with causative \*-ht- in \*-nönheht- ‘fill’:  
 habitual **knöhéta** ‘I fill it’  
 stative **aknöhehdöh** ‘I’ve filled it’  
 punctual **o’knö:het** ‘I filled it’

Examples of causative \*-'t-:

- \*-ahrök- ‘hear’ occurs with causative \*-'t- in \*-ahröká’t- ‘notify’:  
 habitual **heyáögá’ta** ‘I notify him’  
 stative **heyáögá’döh** ‘I’ve notified him’  
 punctual **wáéya:öga’t** ‘I notified him’
- \*-atek- ‘burn’ (intransitive) occurs with causative \*-'t- in \*-ateká’t- ‘make a fire’:  
 habitual **hadéga’ta** ‘he makes a fire’  
 stative **hodéga’döh** ‘he’s made a fire’  
 punctual **wa:de:ga’t** ‘he made a fire’
- \*-nyahr- ‘boil’ (intransitive) occurs with causative \*-'t- in \*-nyahra’t- ‘boil’ (transitive):  
 habitual **yenya:’ta** ‘she boils it’

stative **gonyà:döh** ‘she’s boiling it’  
 punctual **wa’ényá:döh** ‘she boiled it’.

Examples of causative \*-hst-:

- \*-yëre- ‘be hurt’ occurs with causative \*-hst- in \*-yërehst- ‘hurt, injure’: habitual  
**hagyë:sta** ‘he hurts me’  
 stative **hagyë:sdöh** ‘he has hurt me’  
 punctual **wa:gyë:ës** ‘he hurt me’
- \*-tokë- ‘be straight’ occurs with causative \*-hst- in \*-tokëhst- ‘straighten’:  
 habitual **kdogësta** ‘I straighten it’  
 stative **akdogësdöh** ‘I’ve straightened it’  
 punctual **o’kdo:gës** ‘I straightened it’.
- \*-rhë- ‘be dry’ occurs with causative \*-hst- in \*-rhëhst- ‘dry’ (transitive): habitual  
**gahësta** ‘drier’, *literally* ‘it dries’  
 stative **ohësdöh** ‘drought’, *literally* ‘what’s been dried’  
 punctual **o’ga:hës** ‘it dried it’

Examples of causative \*-t-:

- \*-atëtohek- ‘be packed’ occurs with causative \*-t- in \*-atëtohekt- ‘pack’: habitual  
**hadëdo:ekta** ‘he packs it’  
 stative **hodëdo:ekdöh** ‘he has packed it’  
 punctual **wa:dëdö:ek** ‘he packed it’.
- \*-karit- ‘be on a slant’ occurs with causative \*-t- in \*-karitat- ‘cause to slant’ or ‘get the best of’:  
 habitual **höwödigaïda:ta** ‘they get the best of them’  
 stative **höwödigaïda:döh** ‘they’ve gotten the best of them’  
 punctual **waöwödigaïda:t** ‘they got the best of them’
- \*-hnir- ‘be hard, solid’ occurs with causative \*-t- in \*-hnirat- ‘make solid’:  
 habitual **ha:niyáta** ‘he makes it solid’  
 stative **ho:niyädöh** ‘he has made it solid’  
 punctual **wa:ni:yä:t** ‘he made it solid’.

With certain roots or bases any of these causative forms may have an alternative instrumental meaning, with semantic slippage between an agent and an instrument. This construction is often used with the habitual aspect to refer to an object or place that is used for something, as in the last three examples following.

- \*-yëthw- ‘plant’ (see 5.5.2) occurs with causative \*-ht- in \*-yëthwaht- ‘use for planting’:  
 habitual **gyët wáta** ‘I use it for planting’  
 stative **agyët wahdöh** ‘I’ve used it for planting’  
 punctual **o’gyë:twat** ‘I used it for planting’
- \*-khöni- ‘cook’ occurs with causative \*-’t- in \*-khönya’t- ‘use for cooking’:  
 habitual **yekönya’ta** ‘cooking utensil, cookhouse’, *literally* ‘one uses it for cooking’
- \*-ënöhe- ‘stay overnight’ occurs with causative \*-hst- in \*-ënöhehst- ‘use for staying overnight’:  
 habitual **yënöesta** ‘bedroom’, *literally* ‘one uses it for staying overnight’
- \*-awak- ‘sift’ occurs with causative \*-t- in \*-awakt- ‘use for sifting’:

habitual **yöwö:kta** ‘sieve’, *literally* ‘one uses it for sifting’

The causative forms described above are for the most part mutually exclusive, but occasionally they occur with the same root or base with slightly different meanings. For example, the root **\*-ahso-** ‘color or paint’ (transitive) occurs without a causative in:

habitual **hahso:s** ‘he paints, painter’

stative **agáhsoöh** ‘I’ve painted it’

punctual **o’gáhsoh** ‘I painted it’

and with the following causative forms:

With causative **\*-ht-** in **\*-ahsoht-**:

habitual **gahsóta** ‘I paint with it’

With causative **\*-hst-** in **\*-ahsohst-**:

habitual **yöhsósta** ‘paintbrush’, *literally* ‘one uses it for painting’

With causative **\*-t-** in **yöhsó:ta** ‘paintbrush’, but also the plant *Hierarcium aurantiacum* or *H. pratense*.

Occasionally a causative form has an inchoative meaning:

The stem **\*-hnyö’öh** ‘be a white man’ occurs with causative **\*-hst-** in **\*-atehnyö’öhst-** ‘become like a white man’, presumably from ‘it makes (someone) like a white man’:

habitual **hënóde:nyö’östa** ‘they become like white men’

punctual **waënödé:nyö’ös** ‘they became like white men’

**5.5.5. The instrumental suffix.** This suffix, with the form **\*-hkw-**, creates derived bases that refer to something that is used for the purpose of the action expressed by the underived root or base. It takes habitual **\*-a**, stative **\*-éh** or **\*-öh**, and punctual **\*-0** with loss of the final **w**.

**\*-ahso-** ‘color, paint’ occurs with instrumental **\*-hkw-** in **\*-ahsohkw-** ‘use for coloring, painting’:

habitual **ohsóhgwa** ‘color, paint, dye’

**\*-hashët-** ‘hold a council’ occurs with instrumental **\*-hkw-** in **\*-hashëtahkw-** ‘use for holding a council’:

habitual **hadiashédahgwa** ‘council house, courthouse’, *literally* ‘they use it for holding a council’

punctual **wá:diáshë:dak** ‘they held a council on it’

**\*-atyera’t-** ‘use’ occurs with instrumental **\*-hkw-** in **\*-atyera’tahkw-** ‘make use of’:

habitual **hënójá:’dahgwa** ‘they make use of it’

stative **honójá:’dahgöh** ‘they have made use of it’.

punctual **ë:nójá:’dak** ‘they will make use of it’

A frequent way of referring to an object that is used for some purpose is to combine this instrumental suffix, the habitual aspect, and the feminine singular agent prefix:

**\*-atrënot-** ‘sing’ occurs with instrumenal **\*-hkw-** in **\*-atrënotahkw-** ‘use for singing’:

habitual **yödënodáhgwa** ‘musical instrument’, *literally* ‘one uses it for singing’.

**5.5.6. The distributive suffix.** The distributive suffix indicates either that an event or state affects several people or objects or that it is distributed in time or space (Mithun 1999: 88-91). It differs from a plural marker in implying that the several entities are of different types, or are located at different places or at different times. It is found very

often (though certainly not exclusively) in the stative aspect. It may consist of nothing more than the vowel \*-**ö**-, or this vowel may be preceded by one or more consonants in \*-**hö**-, \*-**hnö**-, \*-**hsö**-, \*-**nyö**-, \*-**shrö**-, and \*-**'hö**-. It is followed by the aspect markers habitual \*-**h** or \*-**ha**', stative \*-**'**, and punctual \*-**:**'.

Examples of distributive \*-**ö**- (usually after **t** or **r**):

\*-**niyöt**- 'hang' has distributive \*-**niyötö**- 'hang various things' or 'hang things in various places':

habitual **kniyö:döh** 'I hang things'  
 stative **akniyö:dö** 'I've hung things'  
 punctual **o'kniyö:dö:** 'I hung things'

\*-**tsihrot**- 'plug something up' has distributive \*-**tsihrotö**- 'plug things up':

habitual **geji:odöh** 'I plug them up'  
 stative **ageji:odö** 'I've plugged them up'  
 punctual **o'geji:odö:** 'I plugged them up'.

\*-**kwähr**- 'be in a place' has distributive \*-**kwährö**- 'be here and there':

habitual **gogwöö** 'people are here and there'.

Examples of distributive \*-**hö**-:

\*-**yas**- 'be named' has distributive \*-**yashö**- 'have names' or 'call people's names':

stative **hadiyashö** 'they are named'  
 punctual **wá:yashö:** 'he called the names'.

\*-**hnya'kh**- 'put together' has distributive \*-**hnya'khahö**- 'put things together':

stative **ga:nyá:kaö** 'quilt', *literally* 'things put together'

\*-**nöhskw**- 'steal' has distributive \*-**nöhskwahö**- 'steal things':

habitual **hanósgwaöh** 'thief', *literally* 'he steals things'

Examples of distributive \*-**hnö**-:

\*-**yéht**- 'hit' has distributive \*-**yéhtahnö**- 'hit repeatedly':

habitual **hayéhda:nöh** 'he's hitting it repeatedly'  
 stative **hoyéhda:nö** 'he has hit it repeatedly'  
 punctual **wá:yéhdá:nö:** 'he hit it repeatedly'

\*-**athrori**- 'tell about' has distributive \*-**athroryahnö**- 'tell about things':

habitual **gatsónya:nöh** 'I'm telling about things'  
 stative **agátsonyá:nö** 'I've told about things'  
 punctual **ägátsonyá:nö:** 'I'll tell about things'.

\*-**aterha't**- 'dry something of one's own' has distributive \*-**aterha'tahnö**- 'dry one's things':

habitual **yödéha'dá:nöh** 'she dries her things'  
 stative **godéha'dá:nö** 'she has dried her things'  
 punctual **wa'ódehá'da:nö:** 'she dried her things'.

Examples of distributive \*-**hsö**-:

\*-**ha**- 'take' has distributive \*-**hahsö**- 'take things':

habitual **há:hsöh** 'he takes things'  
 stative **hoahsö** 'he has taken things'  
 punctual **wá:ahsö:** 'he took things'.

- \*-**yéthw**- ‘plant’ has distributive \*-**yéthwahsö**- ‘plant things’:  
habitual **hayétwahsöh** ‘he plants things’  
stative **hoyétwahsö** ‘he has planted things’  
punctual **wá:yétwáhsö:** ‘he planted things’.
- \*-**hshe**- ‘chase’ has distributive \*-**hshehsö**- ‘chase things’:  
habitual **geshéhsöh** ‘I chase things’  
stative **agéshehsö** ‘I’m chasing things’  
punctual **o’géshehsö:** ‘I chased things’.

Examples of distributive \*-**nyö**-:

- \*-**ktö**- ‘check out, investigate’ has distributive \*-**ktönyö**- ‘feel around among several objects, examine (with transitive prefix)’:  
habitual **hokdö:nyöh** ‘he’s examining him’  
stative **hokdö:nyö** ‘he has examined him’  
punctual **wáokdönyö:** ‘he examined him’.
- \*-**atorö**- ‘mend, patch’ has distributive \*-**atorönyö**- ‘mend several things’ or ‘patch something in several places’:  
habitual **yodoönyöh** ‘she puts in patches’  
stative **godoönyö** ‘she has put in patches’  
punctual **wa’odo:önyö:** ‘she put in patches’.
- \*-**hyatö**- ‘write’ has distributive \*-**hyatönyö**- ‘write things’:  
habitual **ye:ya:döh** ‘she writes things’  
stative **go:ya:dö** ‘she’s written things’  
punctual **wa’eyadö:** ‘she wrote things’.

Examples of distributive \*-**shrö**-:

- \*-**yënëta**- ‘finish a project’ has distributive \*-**yënëta’shrö**- ‘finish several projects’:  
habitual **agwayënëdá’söh** ‘we finish our projects’  
stative **ögwayënëdá’sö** ‘we’ve finished our projects’  
punctual **wa’agwayënëdá’sö:** ‘we finished our projects’.
- \*-**snye**- ‘speak’ has distributive \*-**snye’shrö**- ‘speak about various things’:  
habitual **hadísnye’söh** ‘they speak about various things’  
stative **hodísnye’sö** ‘they’ve spoken about various things’  
punctual **wá:disnyé’sö:** ‘they spoke about various things’.

Examples of distributive \*-**hö**-:

- \*-**ahkwi**- ‘clean up’ has distributive \*-**ahkwi’hö**- ‘clean things up’:  
habitual **gahgwí’höh** ‘I’m cleaning things up’  
stative **agáhgwí’hö** ‘I’ve cleaned things up’  
punctual **o’gáhgwí’hö:** ‘I cleaned things up’.
- \*-**ksohare**- ‘wash a dish’ has distributive \*-**ksohare’hö**- ‘wash dishes’:  
habitual **agwáksowáe’höh** ‘we’re washing dishes’  
stative **ögwáksowáe’hö** ‘we’ve washed the dishes’  
punctual **wa’agwáksowáe’hö:** ‘we washed the dishes’.
- \*-**nëhkwi**- ‘haul’ has distributive \*-**nëhkwi’hö**- ‘haul things’:  
habitual **hanéhgwí’höh** ‘he hauls things’  
stative **honéhgwí’hö** ‘he has hauled things’  
punctual **wá:néhgwí’hö:** ‘he hauled things’.

**5.5.6.1. The double distributive.** Sometimes a distributive suffix is followed by a second distributive suffix, which in such cases always has the form **\*-nyö-**. The following are a few examples:

Double distributive **\*-önyö-**:

**\*-ahsaw-** ‘begin’ has double distributive **\*-ahsawönyö-** ‘begin various things’:  
punctual **é:nöhsawönyö:** ‘they will begin various things’

Double distributive **\*-hönyö-**:

**\*-ne’ak-** ‘do something wrong’ has double distributive **\*-ne’akhönyö-** ‘do various wrong things’:  
habitual **hané’akö:nyöh** ‘he does various wrong things’

Double distributive **\*-hnönyö-**:

**\*-atö-** ‘say’ has double distributive **\*-atöhnönyö-** ‘say various things’:  
habitual **gadö:nönyöh** ‘I say various things’

Double distributive **\*-shrönyö-**:

**\*-ashara’-** ‘remember’ has double distributive **\*-ashara’shrönyö-** ‘remember various things’:  
habitual **agáshá:’šönyöh** ‘I remember various things’

Double distributive **\*-’hönyö-**:

**\*-itër-** ‘show pity’ has double distributive **\*-itër’hönyö-** ‘show pity repeatedly’:  
punctual **wa:gidé’hönyö:** ‘he had pity on me several times’

**5.5.7. The benefactive suffix.** The benefactive suffix (traditionally called the *dative* in Iroquoian studies) indicates that an event or state occurs for the benefit or the detriment of someone. It occurs in several different forms, with the habitual and stative forms (before the slash) differing from the punctual forms (following the slash): **\*-ni/-ë-**, **\*-ni/-/hahs**, **\*-hse-/hs**, **\*-’se-/’s**, **\*-i-**. Following the benefactive suffix the habitual aspect suffix is **\*-h**, the stative is **\*-:h**. The punctual aspect suffix is **\*-’** after **\*ë**, but **-0** after **\*s**.

Examples of benefactive **\*-ni/-ë-**:

**\*-ahseht-** ‘hide’ has benefactive **\*-ni/-ë-** in **\*-ahsehtani-/ahsehtë-** ‘hide something from someone’:

habitual **hagáhsehda:nih** ‘he hides it from me’  
stative **hagáhsehda:ni:h** ‘he has hidden it from me’  
punctual **wá:gahséhde’** ‘he hid it from me’.

**\*-hsröni-** ‘make’ has benefactive **\*-ni/-ë-** in **\*-hsrönyani-/hsrönyë-** ‘make something for somebody’:

habitual **höwóhšönya:nih** ‘they make it for him’  
stative **höwóhšönya:ni:h** ‘they’ve made it for him’  
punctual **waöwóhšönyë’** ‘they made it for him’.

\*-asterihst- ‘manage’ has benefactive \*-ni-/-ë- in \*-asterihstani-/-asterihstë- ‘manage for somebody’:

habitual **ögásdéisdanih** ‘she manages it for me’  
stative **ögásdéisdani:h** ‘she’s managing it for me’  
punctual **wa’ógasdéisdë** ‘she managed it for me’.

Examples of benefactive \*-ni-/-hahs:

\*-hthar- ‘talk’ has benefactive \*-ni-/-hahs in \*-tharani-/-tharhahs- ‘talk to somebody’:

habitual **höwóditä:ni:h** ‘they talk to them’  
stative **höwóditä:ni:h** ‘they’re talking to them’  
punctual **waöwóditahas** ‘they talked to them’.

\*-öhwat- ‘point out’ has benefactive \*-ni-/-hahs in \*-öhwatani-/-öhwathahs- ‘point out to somebody’:

habitual **hagó:wóda:ni:h** ‘he points it out to me’  
stative **hagó:wóda:ni:h** ‘he has pointed it out to me’  
punctual **wá:gó:wótas** ‘he pointed it out to me’.

\*-atwënöt- ‘wish for the best’ has benefactive \*-ni-/-hahs in \*-atwënötani-/-atwënöthahs- ‘wish someone well’:

habitual **heyadwënödanih** ‘I wish him well’  
stative **heyadwënödani:h** ‘I’m wishing him well’  
punctual **waeyadwënötas** ‘I wished him well’.

Examples of benefactive \*-hse-/-hs:

\*-sthw- ‘be a small amount’ has benefactive \*-hse-/-hs- in \*-sthwahse-/-sthwahs ‘be small for someone’:

habitual **agéstwahseh** ‘it gets small for me’ (as clothes)  
stative **agéstwahse:h** ‘it’s gotten small for me’  
punctual **öge:stwas** ‘it got small for me’.

\*-tokë- ‘be straight’ has benefactive \*-hse-/-hs in \*-tokëhse-/-tokëhs ‘set somebody straight, explain to somebody’:

habitual **godógëhseh** ‘it’s explained to her’  
stative **godógëhse:h** ‘it’s been explained to her’  
punctual **wa’agodo:gës** ‘it was explained to her’.

\*-yëthw- ‘plant’ has benefactive \*-hse-/-hs in \*-yëthwahse-/-yëthwahs- ‘plant for somebody’:

habitual **hagyëtwahseh** ‘he plants for me’  
stative **hagyëtwahse:h** ‘he has planted for me’  
punctual **wá:gyëtwas** ‘he planted for me’

Examples of benefactive \*-’se-/-’s:

\*-hniñö- ‘buy’ has benefactive \*-’se-/-’s in \*-hniñö’s(e)- ‘buy for someone’:

habitual **hakniñö’seh** ‘he buys it for me’  
stative **hakniñö’se:h** ‘he has bought it for me’  
punctual **wá:kni:ñö’s** ‘he bought it for me’

\*-’nyakë- ‘escape’ has benefactive \*-’se-/-’s in \*-’nyakë’s(e)-/’nyakë’s ‘run away from’:

habitual **shagó’nyagë’seh** ‘he runs away from her’  
stative **shagó’nyagë’se:h** ‘he has run away from her’  
punctual **o’shagó’nya:gë’s** ‘he ran away from her’

\*-yö- ‘arrive’ has benefactive \*-’se/-’s in \*-yö’s<sup>4</sup> ‘visit’:  
 habitual **hagyó’s<sup>4</sup>seh** ‘he visits me’  
 stative **hagyó’s<sup>4</sup>se:h** ‘he’s visiting me’  
 punctual **wa:agyö’s** ‘he visited me’

Benefactive \*-i- is rare, occurs with specialized meanings, and has been found only in the habitual and stative aspects:

\*-ihsak- ‘look for’ has benefactive \*-i- in \*-ihsaki- ‘look for for somebody’:  
 habitual **góih<sup>4</sup>sagih** ‘monkey’, *literally* ‘it looks for it for it’ (reference to grooming)  
 \*-rihwihsak- ‘look for information’ has benefactive \*-i- in \*-rihwihsaki- ‘look for information about somebody’:  
 stative **shagói<sup>4</sup>wihsagi:h** ‘he has investigated her’  
 \*-rihwahkw- ‘raise a topic’ has benefactive \*-i- in \*-rihwahkwi- ‘be forbidden to somebody’:  
 stative **hodi:wáh<sup>4</sup>wi:h** ‘it’s forbidden to them’

**5.5.8. The andative suffix.** The andative suffix<sup>4</sup> indicates that someone goes somewhere in order to do something. It corresponds to English constructions exemplified by ‘go fishing’, ‘go and eat’, or simply ‘go eat’. Its most common forms are \*-h- and \*-hn-. Less common are \*-hs-, \*-hshr-, \*-’h-, and \*-’n-. Following the andative the habitual aspect suffix is \*-e’s, the stative \*-ö:h, and the punctual \*-a’.

Examples of andative \*-h-:

\*-atorat- ‘hunt’ has andative \*-h- in \*-atorath- ‘go hunting’:  
 habitual **hadó<sup>4</sup>wäte’s** ‘he goes hunting’  
 stative **hadó<sup>4</sup>wätö:h** ‘he’s gone hunting’  
 punctual **wa:dowä:ta’** ‘he went hunting’  
 \*-ahyak- ‘pick berries’ has andative \*-h- in \*-ahyakh- ‘go berry-picking’:  
 habitual **yö:ya:ke’s** ‘she goes berry-picking’  
 stative **go:ya:kö:h** ‘she’s gone berry-picking’  
 punctual **wa’ó:yaka’** ‘she went berry-picking’  
 \*-ihsak- ‘look for’ has andative \*-h- in \*-ihsakh- ‘go and look for’:  
 habitual **gihsa:ke’s** ‘I go and look for it’  
 stative **agihsakö:h** ‘I’ve gone and looked for it’  
 punctual **o’gihsaka’** ‘I went and looked for it’

Examples of andative \*-hn-:

\*-yö’s<sup>4</sup>- ‘visit’ has andative \*-hn- in \*-yö’s<sup>4</sup>sehn- ‘go and visit’:  
 habitual **shagó<sup>4</sup>yö’sé:ne’s** ‘he goes to visit her’  
 stative **shagó<sup>4</sup>yö’sé:nö:h** ‘he’s gone to visit her’  
 punctual **o’shagoyó’s<sup>4</sup>se:nö’** ‘he went to visit her’  
 \*-h<sup>4</sup>ninö- ‘buy’ has andative \*-h<sup>4</sup>ninöhn- ‘go and buy’:  
 habitual **agwá:ninó:ne’s** ‘we (pl ex) go and buy it’  
 stative **agwá:ninó:nö:h** ‘we’ve gone and bought it’  
 punctual **wa’ágwa:nínö:nö’** ‘we went and bought it’

<sup>4</sup> Called the *transient* suffix in Chafe 1967. Also called the *dislocative*.



\*-atekhöni- ‘eat’ has andative \*-atekhönyahn- ‘go and eat’:  
habitual **hënódekónya:ne’s** ‘they go and eat’  
stative **honódekónya:nö:h** ‘they’ve gone and eaten’  
punctual **waëñódekónyá:nö** ‘they went and ate’

Examples of andative \*-hs-:

\*-yëthw- ‘plant’ has andative \*-yëthwahs- ‘go planting’  
habitual **hayëtwahse’s** ‘he goes planting’  
stative **hojëtwahsö:h** ‘he’s gone planting’  
punctual **wá:yëtwáhsa** ‘he went planting’  
\*-ktö- ‘test’ has andative \*-ktöhs- ‘go and test’:  
habitual **hakdöhse’s** ‘he goes and tests it’  
stative **hokdöhsö:h** ‘he’s gone and tested it’  
punctual **wá:kdöhsa** ‘he went and tested it’  
\*-yë’hi- (with patient prefix) ‘make a mistake’ has andative \*-yë’hihs- ‘go and make mistakes’:  
habitual **hojë’hihse’s** ‘he goes and makes mistakes’  
stative **hojë’hihsö:h** ‘he’s gone and made mistakes’  
punctual **wáóyë’hihsa** ‘he went and made mistakes’

Examples of andative \*-hshr-:

\*-atëñö’ö- ‘watch over’ has andative \*-atëñö’öhshr- ‘go and watch over’:  
habitual **hadëñö’öshe’s** ‘he goes and watches over it’  
stative **hodëñö’öshö:h** ‘he’s gone and watched over it’  
punctual **wa:dëñö’öshä** ‘he went and watched over it’  
\*-ya’tayeri- (with patient prefix) ‘gather, assemble’ has andative \*-ya’tayerihshr- ‘go and assemble’:  
habitual **ögwáya’dáyéishé’s** ‘we go and assemble’  
stative **ögwáya’dáyéishö:h** ‘we’ve gone and assembled’  
punctual **wa’ögwayá’dáyéishä** ‘we went and assembled’  
\*-atriyo- ‘fight’ has andative \*-atriyohshr- ‘go and fight’:  
habitual **agwadiyöshe’s** ‘we go and fight’  
stative **ögwadiyöshö:h** ‘we’ve gone and fought’  
punctual **wa’ögwadiyöshä** ‘we went and fought’

Examples of andative \*-’h-:

\*-atawë- ‘bathe, swim’ has andative \*-atawë’h- ‘go swimming’:  
habitual **agwadawë’he’s** ‘we go swimming’  
stative **ögwadawë’hö:h** ‘we’ve gone swimming’  
punctual **wa’agwadawë’hö** ‘we went swimming’  
\*-atawënye- (with duplicative prefix) ‘move about’ has andative \*-atawënye’h- ‘go for a walk’:  
habitual **da:dawënye’he’s** ‘he goes for walks’  
stative **do:dawënye’hö:h** ‘he’s gone for a walk’  
punctual **o’tadawënye’ha** ‘he went for a walk’  
\*-atkënihs- ‘hold a meeting’ has andative \*-atkënihs’a’h- ‘go to church’:  
habitual **gatgënis’á’he’s** ‘I go to church’  
stative **agátgënis’a’hö:h** ‘I’ve gone to church’

punctual **o'gátgënis'a'ha'** 'I went to church'

Examples of andative \*-n-:

- \*-**hnekehr-** 'drink' has andative \*-**hnekehran-** 'go and drink':
  - habitual **knegéá'ne's** 'I go and drink'
  - stative **aknégéá'nö:h** 'I've gone and drunk'
  - future **ëknégéá'nö** 'I'll go and drink'.
- \*-**tsëhot-** 'smoke' has andative \*-**tsëhota'n-** 'go and smoke':
  - habitual **gedzéodá'ne's** 'I go and smoke'
  - stative **agédzéóda'nö:h** 'I've gone and smoked'
  - future **ëgédzéóda'nö** 'I'll go and smoke'.
- \*-**atkaht-** 'look at' has andative \*-**atkahtan-** 'go and look at':
  - habitual **hatgáhda'ne's** 'he goes and looks at it'
  - stative **hotgáhda'nö:h** 'he's gone and looked at it'
  - punctual **wá:tgahdá'nö** 'he went and looked at it'.

**5.5.8.1. The andative plus purposive construction.** The andative suffix is part of a unique construction in which it is followed by the *purposive* suffix. This andative-purposive combination usually indicates that something is imminent or impending, about to happen, or on the way to happening in the near future. It occurs both with and without the future and factual modal prefixes. Its placement following the andative suffix gives it the appearance of a fifth aspect suffix, supplementing the habitual, stative, punctual, and imperative aspect suffixes, but otherwise it has little in common with those other aspects and it occurs nowhere else. Its form is always \*-e'.

With the future prefix there is a meaning of imminent occurrence.

\*-**athrori-** 'tell about' has andative plus purposive in \*-**athrorayahne'** 'be about to tell about'.

**ëyótšonyá:ne'** 'she's about to tell about it'

With the factual prefix there is an added flavor of inevitability.

\*-**atorat-** 'hunt' has andative plus purposive in \*-**atorathe'** 'be about to go hunting'.

**wa:dowä:te'** 'he's (certainly) about to go hunting'

The andative-purposive combination in the absence of either the factual or future modal prefix means that someone has arrived at the present location for a purpose (hence the name *purposive*).

**hatówäte'** 'he came to hunt'.

Often, however, it is difficult to distinguish between purpose and imminent occurrence:

\*-**atgahnje-** 'play' has andative plus purposive in \*-**atgahnje'he'** 'be about to play'.

**hëñótga:nyé'he'** 'they're about to play' or 'they're here for the purpose of playing'

\*-a'swatō- 'build a dam' has andative plus purposive in \*-a'swatōhne' 'be about to build a dam':

**hēnō'swadō:ne'** 'they're about to build a dam'

The use of the purposive suffix in a subordinate purpose clause is discussed in 12.5.

**5.5.9. The ambulative suffix.** The ambulative suffix indicates that an event occurs, or that someone is in some state, while walking. Its shape is \*-hne- and is followed by the stative aspect suffix \*-' or the stative-distributive suffix \*-'s. Examples:

\*-kē- 'see' has the ambulative suffix in \*-kēhne- 'see while walking':

stative **hōwógē:ne'** 'she sees him while walking'

\*-atō- 'say' has the ambulative suffix in \*-atōhne- 'say while walking':

stative **hadō:ne'** 'he says it while walking'

\*-nōhaktani- 'be sick' has the ambulative suffix in \*-nōhaktanihne- 'be sick while walking':

stative-distributive **honō:kdáni:ne's** 'he's sick but he's walking around'

**5.5.10. The directive suffix.** This suffix occurs with a few verb roots of motion to indicate that the motion takes place toward some location. Usually and perhaps always it is accompanied by the translocative prefix \*h(e)-. The prefix and suffix together can be translated simply 'there'. Its shape is \*-n-, which is replaced by length before the punctual aspect suffix \*-' . It takes the following aspect suffix forms: habitual \*-ōhs, stative \*-ō:h, punctual \*-' . Examples:

\*-e- 'go' has the directive suffix in \*-en- 'go somewhere':

habitual **hege:nös** 'I go there'

stative **hewage:nō:h** 'I've gone there'

punctual **ho'ge:'** 'I went there'

\*-takhe- 'run' has the directive suffix in \*-takhen- 'run somewhere':

habitual **yedáke:nös** 'she runs there'

stative **heyagodáke:nō:h** 'she has run there'

punctual **(h)wa'édake:'** 'she ran there'

\*-atyē- 'fly' has the directive suffix in \*-atyēn- 'fly somewhere':

habitual **hewaje:nös** 'it flies there'

stative **heyoje:nō:h** 'it has flown there'

punctual **ho'wa:je:'** 'it flew there'

**5.5.11. The archaic reversive suffix.** This suffix indicates the reverse of what is meant by the verb root or base alone. It appears with fewer roots or bases than the new reversive suffix described below in 5.5.12. It has the shape \*-hs- and takes the following aspect forms: habitual \*-ōhs, stative \*-ō:h, punctual \*-' . Examples:

\*-hwanh- 'tie up, wrap' has the archaic reversive suffix in \*-hwanhahs- 'untie, unwrap':

habitual **ha:wáhahsös** 'he unties it'

stative **ho:wáhahsō:h** 'he has untied it'

punctual **wá:waháhsi'** 'he untied it'

\*-ē'nyore- and duplicative prefix 'put on one's gloves', *literally* 'cover one's hands', has the archaic reversive suffix in \*-ē'nyorehs- 'take off one's gloves':

habitual **deyē'nyowéhsös** 'she takes off her gloves'

- stative **deyagawë'nyowéhsö:h** 'she's taken off her gloves'  
punctual **o'jë'nyowéhsi'** 'she took off her gloves'  
\*-**atra'nët-** 'be stuck' has the archaic reversive suffix in \*-**atra'nëtahs-** 'come unstuck':  
habitual **wadá'nédáhsös** 'it comes unstuck'  
stative **odá'nédáhsö:h** 'it's come unstuck'  
punctual **o'wádä'nédahsi'** 'it came unstuck'

**5.5.12. The new reversive suffix.** More common is the new reversive suffix (Lounsbury's *inflective*)<sup>5</sup>, which also indicates the reverse of what is meant by the verb root or base alone. It has the shape \*-**kw-** (\*-**ko-** with the punctual aspect), and takes the following aspect forms: habitual \*-**ahs**, stative \*-**ëh**, punctual \*-. Examples:

- \*-**nhotö-** 'close the door' has the new reversive suffix in \*-**nhotökw-** 'open the door':  
habitual **hahodögwas** 'he opens the door'  
stative **hohodögwëh** 'he has opened the door'  
punctual **wá:hodö:go** 'he opened the door'  
\*-**niyöt-** 'hang' has the new reversive suffix in \*-**niyötakw-** 'take down' (something hanging):  
habitual **yeniyöda:gwas** 'she takes it down'  
stative **goniyöda:gwëh** 'she's taken it down'  
punctual **wa'eniyödago** 'she took it down'  
\*-**o'sohr-** 'cover' has the new reversive suffix in \*-**o'sohrakw-** 'uncover':  
habitual **go'sóägwas** 'I uncover it'  
stative **agó'so:ägwëh** 'I've uncovered it'  
punctual **o'gó'so:ägo** 'I uncovered it'

**5.5.13. The facilitative suffix.** The facilitative indicates that something occurs with little external motivation, easily. It has the shape \*-**hsk-** and is always followed by the stative aspect suffix \*-**ö:h**. Examples:

- \*-**hni-** 'bark' has the facilitative suffix in \*-**hnihsk-** 'bark easily':  
stative **o:nísgö:h** 'it barks at every little thing'  
\*-**wyë'he'-** 'learn' has the facilitative suffix in \*-**wyë'hehsk-** 'learn easily':  
stative **hodiyë'hésgö:h** 'they learn easily'  
\*-**'niköhrhë-** 'forget' has the facilitative suffix in \*-**'niköhrhëhsk-** 'forget easily':  
stative **go'nígöhésgö:h** 'she forgets easily, is forgetful'

**5.5.14. The eventuate suffix.** The eventuate indicates that something occurs in the course of events, eventually, sooner or later. It has the shape \*-**hs'-** and is always followed by the stative aspect suffix \*-**ö:h**. Examples:

- \*-**ehyö-** 'die' has the eventuate suffix in \*-**ehyöhs'-** 'eventually die':  
stative **hawë:yös'ö'h** 'eventually he died'  
\*-**ahhtëy-** 'go, set out' has the eventuate suffix in \*-**ahhtëyöhs'-** 'eventually leave'.  
stative **honóhdëjös'ö'h** 'eventually they left'.  
\*-**yö-** 'arrive' has the eventuate suffix in \*-**yöhs'-** 'eventually arrive'.  
stative **hodíyös'ö'h** 'they arrived eventually'

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<sup>5</sup> In Chafe 1967 the *opposite*. Also called the *undoer*.

**5.5.15. Combinations of derivational suffixes.** A derivational suffix may be followed by another derivational suffix. The following are representative examples.

It is common for the causative suffix, in one of the various forms listed in 5.5.4, to be followed by the instrumental suffix *\*-hkw-* described in 5.5.5 to form a word that has been lexicalized as a way of describing an object that is used for some purpose. Typically this construction occurs with the feminine singular agent prefix.

Causative *\*-t-* plus instrumental *\*-hkw-* in **yödóishédahgwa** ‘couch’, *literally* ‘one uses it for resting’

Causative *\*-’t-* plus instrumental *\*-hkw-* in **yötge’owà:’dáhgwa** ‘shampoo’, *literally* ‘one uses it to wash one’s hair’

Causative *\*-hst-* plus instrumental *\*-hkw-* in **gáéhdiyósdahgwa** ‘fertilizer’, *literally* ‘one uses it to improve the soil’

The causative suffix may also be followed by the benefactive suffix (5.5.7), which takes the form *\*-ni/-ë-*. Examples:

Causative *\*-ht-* plus benefactive *\*-ni/-ë-* in *\*-shahnihtani/-shahnihtë-* ‘annoy’, *literally* ‘cause fear to someone’: **agéssha:níhdanih** ‘it annoys me’

Also in *\*-rihwéhtani/-rihwéhtë-* ‘give someone something to say’: **waöwóiwéhdë** ‘they gave it to him to say’

Causative *\*-’t-* plus benefactive *\*-ni/-ë-* in *\*-rihónya’tani/-rihónya’të-* ‘give someone a reason for something’: **hóiónyá’danih** ‘they’ve given him a reason for it’

The following are a few other lexicalized extensions of the causative suffix.

Causative *-’st-* plus inchoative *\*-he’-* in *\*-atero’sthe’-* ‘become friends’: **waonödéo’sthe’t** ‘they became friends’

Causative *\*-ht-* plus ambulative *\*-hne-* in **go’éné:hda:ne** ‘poison ivy’, *literally* ‘a stick that leaves something while one is walking’

Causative *\*-ht-* plus distributive *\*-ö-* in **gagáehdéhödö** ‘cornbread’, *literally* ‘dropped hulls’

Other derivational suffix combinations include the following.

New reversion *\*-kw-* plus causative *\*-ht-* in **wa’öjéda:gwat** ‘she got up from where she was sitting’

Also in **dewagadíhsadenyögwáhdöh** ‘I’m turning one way and then the other’

New reversion *-kw-* plus benefactive *\*-hs-* in **waonödáwtä:gwat** ‘it was separated from them’

Also in **wa'ögwajó:yoda:gwas** 'we lost someone we depended on', *literally* 'the sky fell down on us'

New reversive **-kw-** plus distributive **\*-hö-** in **wáóno'dzodagwá:ö'** 'he took his teeth out'

Instrumental **\*-hkw-** plus causative **\*-t-** in **hadénóóhgwa'ta'** 'he makes it difficult for himself, avoids doing it'

Instrumental **\*-hkw-** plus benefactive **\*-ni-** in **hodénóóhgwanih** 'he's making it difficult for himself, avoids doing it'

Distributive **\*-hö-** plus instrumental **\*-hkw-** in **deyódödzyáshöhgwa'** 'chiefs', *literally* 'one uses it for giving names to their nations'

Distributive **\*-nyö-** plus instrumental **\*-hkw-** in **Ganóóhgwa:nyök** 'a feast for the dead', *literally* 'let it be used for expressions of love'

## 6. VERB MORPHOLOGY PART 4: EXTENDED ASPECT SUFFIXES

### 6.1. Introduction

The three aspect suffixes that were introduced in 3.2 and 3.3 (habitual, stative, and punctual) may be extended by the addition of any of four postaspect suffixes that carry additional meanings related to aspect or tense. They include the following:

- stative-distributive (6.2)
- past (6.3)
- progressive (6.4)
- continuative (6.5)

### 6.2. The stative-distributive suffix

This suffix adds a distributive meaning to the stative aspect, extending the meaning of the word to cover multiple varied entities. Its meaning thus overlaps with that of the distributive derivational suffix described in 5.5.6. The first examples below show its most common form, \*-’s, which replaces a final \*h or \*’ of the stative aspect suffix, along with a shortening of any preceding long vowel. Its precise meaning depends on whether the stative verb expresses a property (with an adjective-like meaning) or an action. The following are examples of properties.

<b>waga:yö’s</b> ‘various things are old’	(*wakayö’s)
Cf. <b>waga:yöh</b> ‘it’s old’	
<b>otgi’s</b> ‘various things are dirty’	(*otki’s)
Cf. <b>otgi</b> ‘it’s dirty’	
<b>ganöhsasdë’s</b> ‘various big houses’	(*kanöhsastë’s)
Cf. <b>ganöhsasdë:</b> ‘big house’	
<b>ganöhsi:yo’s</b> ‘railroad cars’, <i>literally</i> ‘nice houses’	(*kanöhsiyo’s)
Cf. <b>ganöhsi:yo:h</b> ‘nice house’	

With actions the stative-distributive suffix indicates that the event is distributed in space. The best English translation often includes the word ‘around’, as in the first two examples below. The distributive meaning is especially clear in the third example:

<b>hada:ke’s</b> ‘he’s running around’	(*hatakhe’s)
Cf. <b>hada:ke</b> ‘he’s running’	
<b>gaje’s</b> ‘it’s flying around’	(*katye’s)
Cf. <b>gaje</b> ‘it’s flying’	
<b>hóio’de’s</b> ‘he’s working at odd jobs’	(*horiho’të’s)
Cf. <b>hóio’de</b> ‘he’s working’	

**6.2.1. Other forms of the stative-distributive suffix.** Although the most common form of this suffix is \*-’s, as in the examples above, certain other verb bases condition other, partially different forms.

Examples of stative-distributive \*-**hs**:

- o:ni:yös** ‘several things are tough, hard’ (\*ohniröhs)  
Cf. **o:ni:yöh** ‘it’s tough, hard’  
**gowa:nës** ‘several things are big’ (also **gowa:né’s**) (\*kowanéhs)  
Cf. **gowa:nëh** ‘it’s big’

Examples of stative-distributive \*-**ö’s** (following a stop):

- gagë:dö’s** ‘several things are white’ (\*kakëratö’s)  
Cf. **gagë:én** ‘it’s white’  
**o:yághíyehdö’s** ‘several things are sharp’ (\*ohyakarhiyehtö’s)  
Cf. **o:yághí:yet** ‘it’s sharp’

Examples of stative-distributive \*-**öhs** (following s):

- yö:sös** ‘several things are long’ (\*yösöhs)  
Cf. **i:yö:s** ‘it’s long’  
**gadë:sös** ‘several things are thick’ (\*gadësöhs)  
Cf. **ga:dë:s** ‘it’s thick’

### 6.3. The past suffix

This suffix signals an event that took place, or a state that was in effect, at a time before the present or before some other reference time. It takes several forms, which must be described separately for its combination with the habitual aspect and with the stative aspect. It also replaces the punctual aspect suffix in combination with the future modal prefix to form a future perfect passive construction. It does not occur with the punctual aspect in combination with the factual modal prefix, a construction that is itself commonly used to locate an event in the past.

**6.3.1. Forms of the past suffix with the habitual aspect.** The several forms of the habitual-past combination are all derived from an early form \*-**hkwa**’. The \*-**wa**’ portion of this sequence, however, appears only with habitual suffixes that end in \***s**, in which case the past form is \*-**kwa**’ (> -**gwa**’):

- hadówäsgwa** ‘he used to hunt’ (\*hatoratskwa’)  
Cf. **hado:wä:s** ‘he hunts’  
**hënë’sgwa** ‘they used to be around’ (\*hëne’skwa’)  
Cf. **hé:ne’s** ‘they’re around’



**hadigowáněsgwa** ‘they were big, important’ (\*hatikowaněhskwa’)  
 Cf. **hadigowa:něh** ‘they’re big, important’

If the habitual form without the past suffix ends in a glottal stop, the glottal stop is replaced by \***hk**:

**ha:négehak** ‘he used to drink’ (\*hahnekehrhahk)  
 Cf. **ha:négeha** ‘he drinks’  
**keya:stak** ‘I used to call her’ (\*kheyasthahk)  
 Cf. **keya:sta** ‘I call her’  
**heswanōdayédáhgwak** ‘you (pl) used to camp there’ (\*heswanatayětahkwahk)  
 Cf. **heswanōdayédáhgwa** ‘you camp there’

If the habitual form without the past suffix ends in **h**, the past form is \***-ahk**:

**hěnótšowiak** ‘they use to tell about it’ (\*hěnathrorihahk)  
 Cf. **hěnótšo:wih** ‘they tell about it’  
**agwádō:k** ‘we used to say it’ (\*akwatöhahk)  
 Cf. **agwa:döh** ‘we say it’  
**hadáwěök** ‘he used to bathe, swim’ (\*hatawěhahk)  
 Cf. **hada:wěh** ‘he bathes, swims’

**6.3.2. Forms of the past suffix with the stative aspect.** If the stative form without the past suffix ends in **h**, the **h** is preserved and the past ending is \***-na**’ (> **-nō**’). If the preceding vowel was long it is shortened, but the **h** in the sequence \***-hna**’ is then replaced by length:

**niyó’dě:nō** ‘the way it was’ (\*niyo’těhna’)  
 Cf. **niyó’dě:h** ‘the way it is’  
**geksá’diyó:nō** ‘I was a good child’ (\*keksa’tiyohna’)  
 Cf. **geksá’di:yo:h** ‘I’m a good child’  
**hahsēnowáně:nō** ‘he used to be a chief’ (\*hahsēnowaněhna’)  
 Cf. **hahsēnowa:něh** ‘he’s a chief’, *literally* ‘his name is great’

If the stative form without the past suffix ends in a glottal stop, the past form is \***-hk**, which replaces the glottal stop. The **h** causes the preceding vowel to be short, but is then lost:

**tadinōgek** ‘they used to live there’ (\*thatinagrehk)  
 Cf. **tadinōge** ‘they live there’  
**hěnō:hek** ‘they were alive’ (\*hěnönhehk)  
 Cf. **hěnō:he** ‘they are alive’  
**ganóhso:dök** ‘there used to be houses’ (\*kanóhsotöhk)  
 Cf. **ganóhso:dō** ‘houses’

After a nonlaryngeal consonant the past form is **\*-ahk**. The **h** causes the preceding vowel to be short, but is then lost:

- hodi:y:dak** ‘they used to have it’ (\*hotiyětahk)  
 Cf. **hodi:yë** ‘they have it’ (This root has the form **\*-yët-** before a vowel.)  
**tšhi’jö:dak** ‘you used to live there’ (\*tši’trötahk)  
 Cf. **tšhi’jö** ‘you live there’ (This root has form **\*-i’tröt-** before a vowel.)  
**honóhso:dak** ‘his house (in the past)’ (\*honóhsotahk)  
 Cf. **honóhso:t** ‘his house’

**6.3.3. The future perfect passive construction.** The past suffix replaces the punctual aspect suffix in combination with the future modal prefix to create a future perfect passive construction. The **\*** of the punctual ending is replaced by **\*hk**, whose **h** shortens the preceding vowel and is then lost.

- ëöwönyok** ‘they will have killed him’ (\*ëhöwaryohk)  
 Cf. **ëöwönyo** ‘they will kill him’

The preceding vowel is short even when the punctual ending has a long vowel.

- ëgáhsadök** ‘it will have been buried’ (\*ëkahsatöhk)  
 Cf. **ëgéhsadö:** ‘I will bury it’

**6.4. The progressive suffix**

The progressive suffix indicates that an event or state is spread over several locations in space or time or both. It differs from the distributive derivational suffix (5.5.6) and the stative-distributive suffix (6.2) in the fact that the separate events or states are arrayed along a temporal or spatial continuum. This suffix is added to whatever stative aspect form is determined by the verb base, but is then itself followed by any of the three aspect suffixes, as shown in Figure 6.1. Its basic form is **\*-atye-** after a consonant and **\*-tye’** after a vowel. Its aspect forms are habitual **\*-(a)tye’s**, stative **\*-(a)tye’**, and punctual **\*-(a)tye’**.

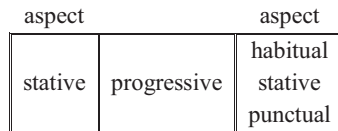


Figure 6.1. Position of the progressive suffix

Examples of locations arrayed in space:

<b>hóíhsagò:je</b> ‘he’s looking around for it’	(*horihsakòhatye’)
Cf. <b>hóíhsagòh</b> ‘he’s looking for it’	
<b>jeda:je</b> ’s ‘she’s standing around there’	(*tyetatye’s)
Cf. <b>i:je:t</b> ‘she’s standing there’	
<b>niyógwe’dáge:aje</b> ‘how many people are arrayed’	(*niyókwe’takehatye’)
Cf. <b>niyógwe’da:ge:h</b> ‘how many people’	

Examples of locations arrayed in time:

<b>ohé’ö:öje</b> ‘it’s gradually becoming light, daybreak’	(*yorhë’òhatye’)
Cf. <b>ohé’òh</b> ‘it has become light’	
<b>onenöje</b> ‘it’s getting progressively warmer’	(*yonenötöye’)
Cf. <b>one:nö</b> ‘it’s warm’	
<b>ögwátöda:je</b> ‘we are listening along’	(*yökwathötötye’)
Cf. <b>ögwátö:de</b> ‘we are hearing it’	

Examples of locations arrayed in both space and time:

<b>hodé’gwë:öje</b> ‘he’s running away’	(*hote’kwëhatye’)
Cf. <b>hodé’gwëh</b> ‘he has run away’	
<b>hodígeöda:je</b> ‘they’re laying it down all along’	(*hotikehötötye’)
Cf. <b>hodígeö</b> ‘they’ve laid it down’	
<b>niyoweje</b> ‘how far it’s going along’	(*niyoretöye’)
Cf. <b>niyo:we</b> ‘how far it is’	
<b>gaöyotye</b> ‘the boat is moving along in the water’	(*kahöwotöye’)
Cf. <b>ga:öyo</b> ‘the boat is in the water’	

Any restrictions on cooccurrence are governed, not by the preceding stative aspect suffix but by the following word-final aspect suffix, where any of the three aspects—habitual, stative, and punctual—can occur. For example, in the following word the final suffix is the punctual, with which the future prefix is compatible;

<b>dëtodiyò:je</b> ‘they will be coming back’	(*tëthotiyöhatye’)
Cf. <b>dëtodiyó:je</b> ‘they are coming back’	

### 6.5. The continuative suffix

The continuative suffix indicates that an event or state continues over a period of time. Because the three modal prefixes—factual, future, and hypothetical—normally require the punctual suffix, verbs with the habitual and stative suffixes do not normally occur with those modal prefixes. The continuative suffix, however, overcomes this restriction by allowing one of the modal prefixes to occur with a habitual or stative verb. For that



The habitual plus continuative combination may also occur with the hypothetical modal prefix, where it can be translated ‘should (or might) keep doing something’.

**áĕnĕnĕhdĕnyĕ:ĕk** ‘they should keep thinking’ (\*aahĕnĕnĕhtĕnyĕhak)  
**á:sgwĕdĕ:hse:k** ‘you (plural) should keep being kind to me’ (\*aaskwĕtĕrahse:k)

The habitual plus continuative combination has not been observed with the factual prefix.

**6.5.2. The continuative suffix with the stative aspect.** With the stative aspect the continuative signals the prolonged occurrence of a state. It occurs most often with the future modal prefix, yielding meanings translatable as ‘will continue to be a certain way’.

If the stative ending alone consists of a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, the stative plus continuative combination replaces the glottal stop with **\*k (> :k)**.

**ĕgĕĕya:de:k** ‘there will continue to be a sky’ (\*ĕkĕrĕhyatek)  
**ĕyĕdihsĕnyĕ:dĕ:k** ‘they will continue to have names’ (\*ĕyĕtihsĕnayĕtĕk)

If the stative ending alone ends in **\*h**, the continuative adds **\*-ak** and the **\*h** of **\*-hak** is lost after determining a preceding accent.

**ĕwĕyo:ak** ‘it will continue to be good’ (\*ĕwĕyohak)  
**nĕyĕ’dĕ:ĕk** ‘the way it will continue to be’ (\*nĕyĕ’tĕhak)

If the verb base ends in a consonant, the stative plus continuative combination has the form **\*-a’k**.

**ĕga:da’k** ‘it will continue to be standing’ (\*ĕkata’k)  
**ĕjĕhsawa’k** ‘it will continue to be beginning there’ (\*ĕtyĕhsawa’k)

The stative plus continuative combination with the hypothetical modal prefix yields meanings such as ‘should (or might) continue to be a certain way’.

**da:yagyĕdi:ak** ‘we (exclusive dual) might be together’ (\*taayakyatihak)  
**áĕdwĕ’jĕ:da’k** ‘we (inclusive plural) might continue to stay’ (\*aetwĕ’tĕta’k)

The stative plus continuative combination with the factual modal prefix signals a continuing state that is currently ongoing.

**esá:negĕ:ĕk** ‘you are continually drunk’ (\*esahnekehrĕhak)  
**daonĕdawĕnyĕ:ak** ‘they are continually moving about there’ (\*tahonatawĕnyehak)

**6.5.3. The continuative suffix with imperatives.** The continuative suffix occurs with imperative verbs to yield meanings such as ‘keep doing it!’.

<b>sniyé:ök</b> ‘keep doing it! (dual)’	(*sniyerhëhak)
<b>dësnitá:hgó:je’s:k</b> ‘keep on talking! (dual)’	(*tësnitharahköhatye’ssek)
<b>sajé:ök</b> ‘keep still, stay calm!’	(*satyerëhak)

There is, however, a preference for using the future prefix for the imperative meaning.

<b>ëhsátgačöök</b> ‘(you will) keep watching it!’	(*ëhsatkaharök)
<b>dëhsawënyé:ak</b> ‘(you will) keep stirring it!’ (both with stative plus continuative)	(*tëhsawënyehak)

## 7. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

### 7.1. Introduction

The morphology of Seneca nouns is considerably simpler than that of verbs, although the two bear some resemblances. As shown in Figure 7.1, a morphological noun is built on a noun base, which in the simplest case consists of a noun root. The base is preceded by a pronominal prefix, whose form resembles that of certain verbal pronominal prefixes but whose function is different. The pronominal prefix may be neutral in the sense that it contributes no specific pronominal meaning, or it may indicate the alienable or inalienable possessor of whatever is denoted by the base. The base is followed by one of three suffixes that are unrelated to the aspect suffixes of verbs. The simple noun suffix shows nothing more than the fact that the word is a noun, or the noun may have a suffix that shows an external or internal location.

pronominal prefix	noun base	noun suffix
neutral alienable inalienable	noun root	simple noun suffix external locative internal locative

Figure 7.1. Minimal noun structure

### 7.2. The noun suffixes

**7.2.1. The simple noun suffix.** This suffix contributes nothing to the meaning of the word beyond the fact that it is a morphological noun. Its form is usually *\*-a'* (> *-ö'* in a nasalizing environment). The following have neuter prefixes *\*ka-* (> *ga-*) or *\*o-*.

<b>osga:wa'</b> 'bushes, brush'	(*oskawa')
<b>o'wà:'</b> 'meat'	(*o'wahra')
<b>ga:öwö'</b> 'boat'	(*kahöwa')

A small number of morphological nouns end with **h** rather than a glottal stop.

<b>gayó:wah</b> 'moccasin'	(*kayohwah)
<b>gédzöh</b> 'fish'	(*kaitsah)
<b>gë:nöh</b> 'skin, leather, handkerchief'	(*kaihnhah)

**7.2.2. The external locative suffix.** This suffix can usually be translated 'at' or 'on'. Its most common form is *\*-a'keh* (> *-a'geh*).

<b>osgáwa'geh</b> 'at the bushes'	(*oskawa'keh)
<b>gáöwö'geh</b> 'at the boat'	(*kahöwa'keh)
<b>gë'öhgá:geh</b> 'on the bank'	(*kai'öhgara'keh)
<b>Ga:nöwö'geh</b> 'at the rapids, Kahnawake Mohawk Reserve'	(*kahnawa'keh)

In some cases, particularly after a base or full word ending in **h**, the external locative has the form **\*(h)neh**.

**gashô:neh** ‘in the back’ (\*kashöhneh)  
**no’yé:neh** ‘at mother’s house’ (cf. **no’yêh** ‘mother’) (\*no’yêhneh)  
**ögwé’öwé:neh** ‘where Indians are, on the reservation’ (\*ögwé’öwehneh)

The **\*(h)neh** form occurs in the names of several seasons of the year.

**goshé:neh** ‘in the winter’ (\*koshrehneh)  
**gëgwídekneh** ‘in the spring’ (\*kaikwitekhneh)  
**géhé:neh** ‘in the summer’ (\*kainhehneh)

It also appears in the names of certain moons, which correspond only approximately to English months:

**Nisgówakneh** ‘January’ (\*niskowakhneh)  
**O:yáikneh** ‘June’ (\*ohyarikhneh)  
**Sáisgekneh** ‘July’ (\*sariskekhneh)  
**Gëdë’ökneh** ‘August’ (\*kaitë’ökhneh)  
**Géökneh** ‘October’ (\*kairakhneh)  
**Gahsá’kneh** ‘November’ (\*kahsa’khneh)

It is sometimes attached to English borrowings.

**store-neh** ‘at the store’  
**backway-neh** ‘by the back way’

**7.2.3. The internal locative suffix.** This suffix, with the form **\*-akö:h** (> **-agö:h**), specifies an internal location, usually inside something.

**gaöwögö:h** ‘in the boat’ (\*kahöwakö:h)  
**osgawagö:h** ‘in the bushes’ (\*oskawakö:h)  
**odëónóshägö:h** ‘in the shade’ (\*oatëöhönoshrakö:h)  
**ganödagö:h** ‘in the town’ (\*kanatakö:h)  
**yöëdzagö:h** ‘in the earth’ (\*yöhwëtsakö:h)  
**Ga:nöwögö:h** ‘Warren, PA’, *literally* ‘in the rapids’ (\*kahnawakö:h)

Sometimes the location is ‘under’ rather than ‘in’.

**owisägö:h** ‘under the ice’ (\*owisrakö:h)  
**gë’öhgä:gö:h** ‘under the bank’ (\*kai’öhkarakö:h)  
**ganöhsagö:h** ‘in or under the house’ (\*kanöhsakö:h)

### 7.3. Positional verb roots in place of the simple noun suffix

Certain noun roots do not occur with the simple noun suffix (7.2.1), but are instead incorporated with stative forms of verb roots that have roughly positional meanings: **\*-yë** ‘be laid out’, **\*-ot** ‘be vertical or standing upright’, or **\*-te** ‘be in place’.



**7.3.1. Examples of noun roots with \*-yë’ ‘be laid out’.**

<b>ganödayë’</b> ‘town’	(*kanatayë’)
<b>gëda:yë’</b> ‘field’	(*kaitayë’)

**7.3.2. Examples of noun roots with \*-ot ‘be vertical or standing upright’.**

<b>ganöhsot</b> ‘house’	(*kanöhsot)
<b>o’ha:ot</b> ‘rainbow’	(*o’harot)

**7.3.3. Examples of noun roots with \*-te’ ‘be in place’.** These are the most numerous roots of this type, and include geographical meanings such as

<b>yöëdzade’</b> ‘the earth’	(*yöhwëtsate’)
<b>onödade’</b> ‘hill’	(*onötate’)
<b>gasdë:de’</b> ‘cliff, rocky bank’	(*kastëhrate’)
<b>gaenöde’</b> ‘ridge’	(*kahenate’)
<b>ogöwöde’</b> ‘knoll, ridge’	(*oköwate’)
<b>yö:nya:de’</b> ‘flat plain’	(*yöñnyate’)
<b>o:ade’</b> ‘road’	(*ohate’)
<b>gëhsa:de’</b> ‘room’	(*kaihsate’)
<b>gayanöde’</b> ‘tracks’	(*kayanate’)
<b>gëhö:de’</b> ‘river’	(*kaiyhate’)
<b>ga:nöwöde’</b> ‘rapids’	(*kahnawate’)
<b>gëöyade’</b> ‘sky’	(*karöhyate’)

And divisions of time such as

<b>yoshä:de’</b> ‘winter, year’	(*yoshrate’)
<b>gagëhöde’</b> ‘summer’	(*kakënhate’)
<b>wë:níshäde’</b> ‘day, today’	(*wëñnihshrate’)
<b>wë:ní’dade’</b> ‘month’	(*wëñni’tate’)
<b>wahsödade’</b> ‘night’	(*wahsötate’)

As well as

<b>o:äde’</b> ‘the wind’	(*owrate’)
<b>wasgwa:de’</b> ‘shed, porch, roof’	(*waskwate’)
<b>oshä:de’</b> ‘muscle, cord’	(*osharate’)

**7.4. Pronominal prefixes with nouns**

Noun roots and bases are usually preceded by pronominal prefixes. However, rather than signaling the agents of events or the patients of states as is the case with verbs, these prefixes often show a possessor of whatever is denoted by the noun root or base.

**7.4.1. The neuter prefixes.** If the entity is not possessed, the noun root or base is preceded by one of the two neuter prefixes (numbers 15 and 24 in Table 3.1), where the neuter patient prefix is *\*yo-/yaw-/ya-* (lacking the *y* in word-initial position) and the neuter agent prefix is *\*ka-/kě-/w-/y-*. These prefixes have nothing to do with the gender of the noun root or base but are unpredictably selected by it. The patient prefix is historically the older of the two, and there is a tendency for the agent prefix to accompany roots and bases whose meanings are of more recent origin.

With the neuter patient prefix:

<b>owā:nō</b> ‘sugar’	(*orana’)
<b>o:nyé’sda</b> ‘chestnut’	(*ohnye’sta’)
<b>o’nē:ya</b> ‘bone’	(*o’nēya’)
<b>odē:shā</b> ‘medicine ceremony’	(*oatēshra’)

With the neuter agent prefix:

<b>gashé’da</b> ‘bottle, jug’	(*kashe’ta’)
<b>ga’séhda</b> ‘wagon, car’	(*ka’srehta’)
<b>gahóa</b> ‘door’	(*kanhoha’)
<b>gahé’da</b> ‘porcupine’	(*kanhe’ta’)

**7.4.2. Alienable possession.** The full range of patient prefixes can be attached to a noun root or base to indicate alienable possession, the possession of something that need not be permanent.

<b>gahigwā:</b> ‘hat’	(*karhikwara’)
<b>agíhigwa:a</b> ‘my hat’	(*akrhikwara’)
<b>hohigwā:</b> ‘his hat’	(*horhikwara’)
etc.	
<b>ga:wísda</b> ‘cup’	(*kahwihsta’)
<b>akwísda</b> ‘my cup’	(*akhwihsta’)
<b>go:wísda</b> ‘her cup’	(*kohwihsta’)
etc.	
<b>ga’áshā</b> ‘basket’	(*ka’ahshra’)
<b>agé’ashā</b> ‘my basket’	(*ake’ahshra’)
<b>go’áshā</b> ‘her basket’	(*ko’ahshra’)
etc.	
<b>ganóhso:t</b> ‘house’	(*kanóhsot)
<b>aknóhso:t</b> ‘my house’	(*aknóhsot)
<b>ögwánóhso:t</b> ‘our house’	(*ökwanóhsot)
etc.	

**7.4.3. Inalienable possession.** Agent prefixes indicate inalienable possession, the possession of something that cannot normally be taken away. Almost all examples are permanent body parts. Although it is not obligatory, usually such words often end with the external locative suffix *\*-a’keh* (> *-a’geh*), even when the external locative meaning ‘on’ is not necessarily present.

<b>os’óhda</b> ‘hand’	(*os’ohta’)
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<b>ges'óhda'</b> or <b>ges'óhda'geh</b> 'my hand'	(*ges'oh̄ta'keh)
<b>yes'óhda'</b> or <b>yes'óhda'geh</b> 'her hand'	(*yes'oh̄ta'keh)
etc.	
<b>onē:sha'</b> 'arm'	(*onēsha')
<b>knēsha'</b> or <b>knēshá'geh</b> 'my arm'	(*knēsha'keh)
<b>hanē:sha'</b> or <b>hanēsha'geh</b> 'his arm'	(*hanēsha'keh)
etc.	
<b>ogō:da'</b> 'nose'	(*okōta')
<b>gegō:da'</b> or <b>gegōda'geh</b> 'my nose'	(*kekōta'keh)
<b>segō:da'</b> or <b>segōda'geh</b> 'your nose'	(*sekōta'keh)
etc.	
<b>ogà:'</b> 'eye'	(*okahra')
<b>gegà:'</b> or <b>gegà:'geh</b> 'my eye'	(*kekahra'keh)
<b>yegà:'</b> or <b>yegà:'geh</b> 'her eye'	(*yekahra'keh)
etc.	

Inalienable possession is also evident in

<b>kwaji:yä'</b> 'my family'	(*khwatsira')
<b>ye:waji:yä'</b> 'her family'	(*yehwatsira')
etc.	

The following illustrates a creative use of the alienable-inalienable distinction.

<b>óóhda'</b> 'ear'	(*oahöhta'),
<b>gáóhda'</b> or <b>gáóhda'geh</b> 'my ear'	(*kahöhta'keh)
<b>gáóhdagö:h</b> 'in my ear'	(*kahöhtakö:h)
etc.	
but also with a patient prefix	
<b>agáóhda'</b> 'my interpreter' (alienable ear)	(*akahöhta')

**7.4.4. Nouns that lack a pronominal prefix.** Some nouns whose roots or bases begin with **a**, **e**, or **ë**, where the neuter agent pronominal prefix **w-** might be expected, lack the **w** and thus lack an overt pronominal prefix.

<b>awéö'</b> 'flower'	(*awēha')
<b>adéhsa'</b> 'nest'	(*atehsa')
(cf. <b>odéhsa'</b> 'its nest')	
<b>a'sgwíhsa'</b> 'ax, hatchet'	(*a'skwihsa')
<b>awéo'da'</b> 'pipe, tube, stovepipe, lamp'	(*awero'ta')
<b>adodä:'</b> 'shoulder belt, suspenders'	(*atotara')
(‘put something over oneself’)	
<b>ajá'doda:a'</b> 'saddle'	(*atya'totara')
(‘put one’s body over something’)	
<b>ehdá'geh</b> 'at the bottom'	(*eh̄ta'keh)
<b>ë:ní'da'</b> 'month, moon (as a period of time)'	(*ēh̄ni'ta')
<b>ë:nyásgä:'</b> 'brooch'	(*ēh̄nyaskara')
<b>ë'níga:a'</b> 'hoop'	(*ē'nikahra')
<b>ë'nísgä:'</b> 'wheel'	(*ē'nihskara')

### 7.5. Prepronominal prefixes with nouns

Although the prepronominal prefixes described in Chapter 4 are for the most part reserved for verbs, there are occasional cases where they are attached to specific nouns. The prepronominal prefixes that have been observed to occur occasionally with nouns include the repetitive, cislocative, partitive, coincident, and negative.

**7.5.1. The repetitive prefix with nouns.** This prefix, based on the form \*s-, indicates a specific selection from a range of choices. When combined with the nominal distributive suffix \*-shö' it can be translated 'every' or 'each'.

swē:ní'dashö' 'every month' (cf. wē:ní'dade' 'month')  
dzögwé'dashö' 'each person' (cf. ö:gweh' 'person') (repetitive \*sy- > dz-)  
dzagónöhsa:shö' 'from house to house' (cf. gonóhso:t' 'her house')

**7.5.2. The cislocative prefix with nouns.** This prefix, based on the form \*t-, indicates that an object is located in some contextually identified place.

tga:wa:sa' 'the snowsnake there' (cf. ga:wa:sa' 'snowsnake')  
jokdéá'shó' 'the roots there' (cf. okdéá' 'root') (\*ty- > j-)

**7.5.3. The partitive prefix with nouns.** This prefix, based on the form \*ni-, focuses attention on the choice of a specific instance of a category.

nigá'ashä' 'what basket it is' (cf. ga'áshä' 'basket')  
níawaji:yä' 'what his family is' (cf. ha:waji:yä' 'his family')  
níahsē:nö' 'what his name is' (cf. hahsē:nö' 'his name')  
niyogä:' 'what the fare is' (cf. ogä:gwe:göh' 'full fare, full price')

**7.5.4. The coincident prefix with nouns.** This prefix, based on the form \*tshi- (> tši-), indicates when the referent of the pronominal prefix was in the state expressed by the noun root.

tšiyágwaksá'shó'öih' 'when we (exclusive plural) were children' (root \*-ks-)  
tšidwáksa'shó'öih' 'when we (inclusive plural) were children'  
tšimáneh' 'when it was Monday, last Monday' (borrowed from English)

With the coincident \*tsha'- (> tsa'-) and duplicative (\*te- > de-) prefixes:

tša'dedzögweh' 'all you (plural) people'

**7.5.5. The negative prefix with nouns.** The negative prefix \*te'- (> de'-) is occasionally attached to a noun.

de'gagä:' 'not a story' (i.e. a fact) (cf. gaga:a' 'story')  
de'gánö'dza' 'not a pot' (cf. ganö'dza' 'pot')  
de'swáíwa' 'not your fault' (cf. óíwa' 'cause')

## 7.6. Nominalized verb bases

There are two suffixes that can be added to a verb base to yield a derived noun base. Such a noun base conveys the idea of an entity that is associated in some way with the event or state conveyed by the underlying verb base, but there is no consistent way to predict what that meaning will be.

**7.6.1. The nominalizing suffix \*-hshr- / \*-’shr-.** This nominalizer occurs with a large number of verb bases. The choice between the two forms is unpredictable. Often the derived noun base is followed by the simple noun suffix \*-a’. Like other noun bases it may be preceded by either a neuter patient or a neuter agent pronominal prefix. There is a tendency for words that are historically older to begin with the neuter patient prefix, usually \*o-.

**oté’shä** ‘flour, meal’ (base \*-the’shr- from \*-the’t- ‘pound corn’)  
**onowá:’shä** ‘soap’ (base \*-nohara’shr- from \*-nohar- ‘wash’)  
**onósdá’shä** ‘sassafras’ (*Sassafras albidum*) (base \*-nöhsta’shr- from \*-nöhst- ‘treasure, value highly’)  
**onéshawíshä** ‘humerus’ (base \*-nëshawíshr- from \*-nëshawi- ‘carry the arm’)  
**odégé’shä** ‘charred remains of a fire’ (base \*-atek- ‘burn’ plus the stative aspect suffix \*-ë(h))

Words that are historically more recent tend to begin with the neuter agent prefix, usually \*ka- (> ga-).

**gá:téshä** ‘stairs, ladder’ (base \*-ra’théshsr- from \*-ra’thé- ‘climb’)  
**gagányá’shä** ‘knife’ (base \*-karya’shr- from \*-kari- ‘bite’)  
**gahodögwá’shä** ‘key’ (base \*-nhotökwa’shr- from \*-nhotöko- ‘open the door’)  
**ga:yádöshä** ‘paper, book’ (base \*-hyatöhshsr- from \*-hyatö- ‘write’)  
**ga’hásdeshä** ‘strength, power’ (base \*-’hastehshsr- from \*-’haste- ‘be strong’)

Nominalized forms whose base begins with a or ë may lack an overt pronominal prefix (cf. 7.4.4).

**adógwá’shä** ‘spoon, ladle’ (base \*-atokwa’shr- from \*-atoko- ‘scatter’)  
**ahšónyashä** ‘clothes’ (base \*-ahsröni- ‘dress’)  
**adéo’shä** ‘friendship’ (base \*-atëro- ‘be friends’)  
**adénö’shä** ‘lunch’ (base \*-atënö’t- ‘take food with one’)  
**ëni:shä** ‘shelf’ (base unknown)

A derived noun may end with the external locative prefix \*-a’keh (> -a’geh).

**oté’shä’geh** ‘in the flour’ (base \*-the’shr- from \*-the’t- ‘pound corn’)  
**ga:yádöshä’geh** ‘on paper’ (base \*-hyatöhshsr- from \*-hyatö- ‘write’)  
**ëníshä’geh** ‘on the shelf’ (base unknown)

Or it may end with the internal locative prefix \*-akö:h (> -agö:h).

**odëönóshägö:h** ‘in the shade’ (base \*-atëhönohshsr- from \*-atëhöno- ‘be shady’)  
**hadí’hasdëshägö:h** ‘in their power’ (base \*-’hastehshsr- from \*-’haste- ‘be strong’)  
**ëníshägö:gwa:h** ‘under the shelf’ (base unknown)

**7.6.2. The nominalizing suffix \*-’t-.** This suffix, whose form suggests the causative suffix \*-’t-, is found in a few unusual combinations. In the following its nominalizing function is clear.

**gayáne’da** ‘chieftainship’ (base \*-yane’t- from \*-yane- ‘be a chief’)

Cf., with the more productive nominalizer described in 7.6.1, **gayáneshä** ‘law’ (base \*-yanehshr-).

It also appears in the incorporating form of the noun base \*-ökwe(’t)- ‘person’, as in **högwé’di:yo:h** ‘he’s a good person’. Cf., without this element, **hö:gweh** ‘(male) person’. Similar is its use in \*-ksa(’t)- ‘child’, as in **yeksá’di:yo:h** ‘she’s a good child’. Cf., without this element, **yeksá’a:h** ‘little girl’.

### **7.7. The proper nominalizer \*-’.**

With a few words a final \*-’ is added to form a proper name.

**Ohi:yo** ‘Allegany Reservation’ (cf. **ohi:yo:h** ‘beautiful river’)

**Sganyodaiyo** (see 4.2.1) ‘Handsome Lake’ (cf. **kanyodaiyo:h** ‘beautiful lake’)

**Shogé’dzo:wa:’** ‘the one with a big forehead’ (a chief’s title) (cf. **-kē’ts-** ‘forehead’ and **-kowa:h** ‘augmentative’)

## 8. CLITICS

### 8.1. Introduction

A Seneca verb or noun may be supplemented with a final clitic. Clitics are distinguished from the extensions of aspect suffixes described in Chapter 6 by the fact that they do not take their own aspect suffixes, but also by their ability to attach more loosely to a variety of words. They are discussed under the following labels.

- augmentative (8.2)
- diminutive (8.3)
- characterizer (8.4)
- populative (8.5)
- decessive (8.6)
- directional (8.7)
- nominal distributive (8.8)
- intensifier (8.9)
- nativizer (8.10)

Sequences of two or more clitics are described in 8.11.

### 8.2. The augmentative

The augmentative clitic, **\*-kowa:h** (> **-go:wa:h**) adds a meaning of large size and/or importance. Its meaning is distinct from that of the verb root **\*-stē-** ‘be big’ (physically), and has more in common with the meaning of **\*-owanē-** ‘be big, important’, from which it probably developed as an abbreviated version. Its meaning sometimes focuses primarily on size.

- gá’ga:go:wa:h** ‘raven’ (cf. **gá’ga:’** ‘crow’)
- ganyáhdēgo:wa:h** ‘large snapping turtle’ (cf. **ganyáhdē:h** ‘snapping turtle’)
- góíhsagigo:wa:h** ‘gorilla’ (cf. **góíhsagih** ‘monkey’)
- hēnódē:nínōsgo:wa:h** ‘shopping mall’ (cf. **hēnódē:ni:nōs** ‘they buy’)

In other uses the augmentative creates a name that is applied to a person or a place that stands out in size, importance, or in some other way.

- Hanödaga:nyásgo:wa:h** ‘President of the United States’ (cf. **hanödaga:nya:s** ‘president’, *literally* ‘he bites towns’)
- Sganyodä:digo:wa:h** ‘European’, *literally* ‘on the other side of the great lake’ (cf. **sganyodä:dih** ‘on the other side of the lake’)
- Gáíwanösösgwá’go:wa:h** ‘Midwinter Ceremony’  
*literally* ‘great valuable ceremony’

**ha'séhdayo:we'go:wa:h** 'chief engineer' (on a train)  
(cf. **ga'séhdayo:we'** 'train', *literally* 'fast wagon')  
**gowáhgo:wa:h** 'king' (origin uncertain, but related to Mohawk **kó:ra** 'governor')

It appears in the kinship terms:

**aksótgo:wa:h** 'great grandmother' (cf. **akso:t** 'grandmother')  
**haksótgo:wa:h** 'great grandfather' (cf. **hakso:t** 'grandfather')

### 8.3. The diminutive

The diminutive clitic, \*-'**ah** or \*-'**ah**, adds a meaning of approximation or endearment.

**hojánōt'ah** 'he's kind of funny, a clown' (cf. **hoja:nōn** 'he's amusing, funny')  
**hajánō'dá'ah** 'clown' (cf. **hajánō'ta** 'he does tricks, clown, acrobat')

It is found in the names of certain days or months, as well as references to times of day or stages in a life.

**Wēda:k'ah** 'Friday' (cf. **Wē:da:k** 'Saturday')  
**Ganáhdō'k'ah** 'October' (approximately), *literally* 'the end of leaves'  
**Nis'ah** 'February' (approximately) (etymology unknown)  
**o'gā:s'ah** 'evening' (cf. **o'ga:as** 'it gets dark')  
**wa'ó'gā:s'ah** 'toward evening'  
**niénōhō's'ah** 'little babies' (cf. **niénōhō's** 'babies')  
**haksá'dase:'ah** 'young man, teenager' (cf. **hōgwé'dase:'** 'young man')

The initial glottal stop is missing after **h**.

**yegéhjihah** 'oldish woman' (cf. **yegéhjih** 'old woman')  
**onō:kdánihah** 'sickliness' (cf. **onō:kda:nih** 'it's sick')

### 8.4. The characterizer

The characterizer clitic is used in naming a people or another entity that is characterized by some prominent feature. With some words its form is \*-'**ka:**' (> -**ga:**').

**Onödowá'ga:**' 'Seneca', *literally* 'characterized by a great hill'  
**Onéyotga:**' 'Oneida', *literally* 'characterized by a standing stone')  
**Hadishagánē'ga:**' 'Delaware (Indians)' (etymology uncertain)

With other words the form of the characterizer is \*-'**kha:**' (> -**ka:**').

**Ögwé'öwe:ka:**' 'characteristic of Indians, especially the Seneca language'



(cf. **Ögwé'ö:weh** 'Indian')

**Hadí:nyö'ö:ka:** 'characteristic of white men' (cf. **Hadí:nyö'ö:h** 'white man')

**Ga:nyó'öka:** 'the English language'

**gaëñögáyöka:** 'characterized by an old song'

In the following word the form of the characterizer is **\*-kéha:** (> **-gé:a'**).

**Oyáda'gé:a'** 'Cherokee', *literally* 'characterized by caves'

### 8.5. The populative

The populative clitic is used in reference to a group of people, most often the residents of a certain place. Its form is **\*-hronö'** (> **-:onö'**).

**Ohíyo:onö'** 'people of the Allegany Reservation' (**Ohí:yo'**)

**Ta:nöwóde:onö'** 'people of the Tonawanda Reservation' (**Ta:nöwóde'**)

**Ganödásé:onö'** 'people of Newtown' (a section of the Cattaraugus Reservation)

(cf. **Tganödase:** 'Newtown')

**Gayógwe:onö'** 'Cayugas' (etymology uncertain)

Occasionally the reference is to people with some other distinguishing property.

**hadíksesó:onö'** 'the ones who throw far to the plate' (outfielders)

**agadóni:onö'** 'people of my father's clan' (cf. **agadó:ni:h** 'my father's clan')

### 8.6. The decessive

The decessive clitic, **\*-kéha:** (> **-gë:ö'**) is used most often in references to deceased individuals, usually relatives, 'the late...':

**aksótgë:ö'** 'my late grandmother' (cf. **akso:t** 'my grandmother')

**shagwá'nigë:ö'** 'our late father' (cf. **shagwá'nih** 'our father')

**hagéhjigë:ö'** 'our deceased male ancestor' (cf. **hagéhjih** 'old man')

It may also indicate an object or place that once had some property but has it no longer.

**ögwawëgë:ö'** 'our former possession' (cf. **ögwa:wëh** 'it belongs to us (plural)')

**Ga'dä:gësgë:ö'** 'Cattaraugus Reservation', *literally* 'the clay used to stink'  
(referring to the banks of Cattaraugus Creek) (cf. **ga'dä:gës** 'the clay stinks')

### 8.7. The directional

The directional clitic **\*-kwa:h** (> **-gwa:h**) can be translated 'toward' or 'in the direction of'. The word to which it is attached retains its usual prosodic pattern except for two

modifications: the immediately preceding vowel is always accented, and if the word otherwise ends in a vowel plus **h**, the **h** is lost and the vowel is lengthened.

**Ohi:yó'gwa:h** 'toward the Allegany Reservation' (cf. **Ohi:yo'** 'the Allegany Reservation')

**tganödayé'gwa:h** 'toward the town' (cf. **tganödayë'** 'where the town is')

**o:édó:gwa:h** 'toward the front, in the future' (cf. **o:édó:h** 'in the front')

**gayéösdó:gwa:h** 'toward the right side' (cf. **hayéösdöh** 'his right side')

**sgagä:dí:gwa:h** 'toward the other side' (cf. **sgagä:dih** 'on the other side')

The directional clitic is used in compass directions.

**tgä:hgwitgë'sgwa:h** 'toward the east' (cf. **tgä:hgwitgë's** 'where the sun rises')

**hegä:hgwë'sgwa:h** 'toward the west' (cf. **hegä:hgwë's** 'where the sun sets')

**jone:nó'gwa:h** 'toward the south' (cf. **jone:nö'** 'where it is warm')

**otówe'gé:gwa:h** 'toward the north' (cf. **otówe'geh** 'where it is cold')

### 8.8. The nominal distributive

The nominal distributive clitic, **\*-shö'öh** or **\*-shö'**, indicates that there is more than one of something, but also that the included entities are different in some way. It thus has much in common semantically with the distributive derivational suffix, but it is attached to a full word rather than a verb root and the resulting word is a noun.

**agáwëshó'öh** 'my (various) belongings' (cf. **aga:wëh** 'it belongs to me')

**óiwagáyöshó'öh** 'the old ways' (cf. **óiwaga:yöh** 'the old way')

**tganödayé'shó'öh** 'where the towns are' (cf. **tganödayë'** 'where the town is')

**wajíshó'öh** 'dark or black things' (cf. **wa:ji:h** 'it's dark, black')

**ojánöshó'öh** 'nicknacks' (cf. **oja:nön** 'it's funny, amusing')

**yödéyëstä'shó'öh** 'the things one reads' (cf. **yödéyësta'** 'one is reading it')

**hadíjinóshó'öh** 'men' (cf. **haji:nöh** 'man, male')

**hadígëhjshó'öh** 'the old people' (cf. **hadígëhjih** 'they are old')

The shorter form **\*-shö'** occurs in certain words with lexicalized meanings.

**óédöshö'** 'leaders, head ones' (cf. **o:édó:h** 'in the front')

**kenö:kshö'** 'my relatives' (cf. **ke:nö:k** 'I'm related to them')

**kéawakshö'** 'my children' (cf. **ke:awak** 'my daughter')

**hënódatšo:shö'** 'married couples' (cf. **yada:tšo:** 'he and his wife, she and her husband')

### 8.9. The intensifier

The intensifier clitic, **\*-htsih** (> **-hjih**) or with the extended form **\*-htsiwëh** (> **-hjiwëh**) intensifies in some way the meaning of the word to which it is attached. An immediately preceding **h** or glottal stop is deleted.

With **\*-htsih**:

**ónëhjih** ‘long ago’ (cf. **o:nëh** ‘now, then’)

**we:ëhjih** ‘very far’ (cf. **we:ëh** ‘far’)

**ne’hóhjih** ‘right there’ (cf. **ne’hoh** ‘there’)

With **\*-htsiwëh**:

**o:yáihji:wëh** ‘overripe fruit’ (cf. **o:ya:ih** ‘ripe fruit’)

**honóhdöhji:wëh** ‘he knows it very well’ (cf. **honóhdö** ‘he knows it’)

**agátödéhji:wëh** ‘I’m listening carefully’ (cf. **agátö:de** ‘I hear it’)

**dá:ga:náhji:wëh** ‘he’s observing it closely’ (cf. **dá:ga:ne:** ‘he’s looking at it’)

### 8.10. The nativizer

The clitic **\*-’öweh** is attached to a noun to characterize something as native, prototypical, or genuine.

**ögwé’ö:weh** ‘Indian, Native American’ (cf. **ö:gweh** ‘person’)

**ahdáhgwa’ö:weh** ‘native shoe, moccasin’ (cf. **ahdáhgwa** ‘shoe’)

**oyé’gwa’ö:weh** ‘Indian tobacco’ (*Nicotiana rustica*) (cf. **oyé’gwa** ‘tobacco’)

**o:nyóhsa’ö:weh** ‘Indian squash’ (cf. **o:nyóhsa** ‘squash’)

**ganó’dza’ö:weh** ‘Indian pot, iron kettle’ (cf. **ganó’dza** ‘pot’)

### 8.11. Clitic sequences

The following words illustrate the layering of clitic sequences.

**ögwé’öwëshö’öh** ‘Indians’ (nativizer plus nominal distributive)

**ögwé’öwe:ka:** ‘characteristic of Indians, the Seneca language’  
(nativizer plus characterizer)

**sganyodä:digówa:onö** ‘Europeans’ (augmentative plus populative)

**hadígëhjishö’ógë:ö** ‘deceased ancestors’ (nominal distributive plus decessive)

**haníshéonö’gé:gwa:h** ‘toward hell’ (populative plus external locative plus directional)

**o’gá:s’á:né:gwa:h** ‘toward evening’ (diminutive plus external locative plus directional)



## 9. KINSHIP TERMS

### 9.1. Introduction

The traditional way of referring to relatives in the Seneca language followed a classification system quite different from that with which English speakers are familiar.<sup>7</sup> At the present time, however, with everyone speaking English most of the time, the English kinship system is more familiar and is replacing the traditional one.

As an example, in the traditional Seneca system **ha'nih** included not only one's biological father but also all his male relatives of the same generation as him. Similarly, **no'yëh** included not only one's biological mother but also all her female relatives of the same generation as her. **Age:hak** included one's father's female relatives of the same generation as him, while **haknó'sëh** included one's mother's male relatives of the same generation as her. Nowadays, however, **ha'nih** and **no'yëh** are often used only for one's immediate father and mother, while **age:hak** and **haknó'sëh** are used in the same way as 'aunt' and 'uncle' in English (including either father's or mother's relatives). Other differences are mentioned below.

With regard to their form, kinship terms bear resemblances to both verb and noun morphology but are different enough to require the separate descriptions in this chapter. Their pronominal prefixes sometimes differ from what one would otherwise expect. Most of these terms are analyzed here on the basis of a verb *stem* that includes a verb base plus an aspect suffix. (See also Chafe 1963: 19-26.) The relation of the pronominal prefixes to these stems is discussed for Oneida in Koenig and Michelson (1910).

Kinship terms are organized here under the following general headings.

- Relatives in general (9.2)
- Relatives of the same generation (9.3)
- Relatives one generation apart (9.4)
- Relatives two generations apart (9.5)
- Relatives three generations apart (9.6)
- Relatives by marriage (9.7)
- Step-parents and step-children (9.8)
- Relatives by adoption (9.9)
- Ritual friendship (9.10)
- Casual friendship (9.11)

In the English translations 'exclusive', 'inclusive', 'singular', 'dual', and 'plural' are abbreviated 'ex', 'in', 'sg', 'du', and 'pl'.

### 9.2. Relatives in general

The verb stem **\*-nök** means 'be related to'.

**niyo:nök** 'what the relationship is' (\*niyonök)  
**he:nök** 'my male relative', *literally* 'I'm related to him' (\*henök)

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<sup>7</sup> See the classic description of the Seneca system in Morgan 1997 [1870], especially pp. 167-169.

**ke:nök** ‘my female relative’, *literally* ‘I’m related to her or them’ (\*khenök)  
**hesnök** ‘your male relative’, *literally* ‘you’re related to him’ (\*hehsnök)  
**she:nök** ‘your female relative’, *literally* ‘you’re related to her or them’ (\*shenök)

If the reference is to more than one relative, that fact is signaled by the addition of the nominal distributive suffix **-shö’**.

**kenö:kshö’** ‘my relatives’ (\*khenökshö’)  
**shenö:kshö’** ‘your relatives’ (\*shenökshö’)

A reciprocal relationship is indicated with the addition of the reflexive prefix **-atë-**, creating the stem **-atënök** ‘be related to each other’, but without the duplicative prefix that is otherwise present in reciprocals (5.3.3). The nominal distributive suffix **-shö’** indicates the presence of more than one person in the other half of the reciprocal relationship.

**dwadë:nök** ‘we (in pl) are related to each other (sg)’ (\*twadënök)  
**agwadë:nök** ‘we (ex pl) are related to each other (sg)’ (\*yakwadënök)  
**dwadë:nökshö’** ‘we (in pl) are related to each other (pl)’ (\*twadë:nökshö’)  
**agwadë:nökshö’** ‘we (ex pl) are related to each other (pl)’ (\*yakwadë:nökshö’)

A nominalized form appears as **\*-nökshr-** in **ganö:kshä’** ‘relationship’ (\*kanökshra’).

The noun root **\*-hwatsir-** refers to a family.

**ga:waji:yä’** ‘family’ (\*kahwatsira’)  
**kwaji:yä’** ‘my family’ (\*khwatsira’)  
**sa:waji:yä’** ‘your family’ (\*sahwatsira’)  
**ye:waji:yä’** ‘her family’ (\*yehwatsira’)  
**ha:waji:yä’** ‘his family’ (\*hahwatsira’)  
**ga:wajiyä:de’** ‘the family is present’ (\*kahwatsirate’)  
**ye:wajiyä:yë’** ‘she has a family’ (\*yehwatsirayë’)  
**wa:yátwajiyö:ni’** ‘the two of them made a family’ (\*wahyathwatsiröni’)  
**wa:yátwajiyowa:nën** ‘the two of them made a big family’ (\*wahyathwatsirowanëht)

Related words are

**shodínöhsa:t**, *literally* ‘they are of one house’ (\*shotinöhsat)  
**nö’degané:es**, *literally* ‘how long a lineage’ (\*na’tekanëhres)

### 9.3. Relatives of the same generation

**9.3.1. Twins.** The verb stem **\*-khëh** with the duplicative prefix means ‘be twins’.

**de:ni:këh** or **de:ikëh** ‘they two (masculine or mixed gender) are twins’  
 (\*tehnikhëh)  
**dekni:këh** or **degi:këh** ‘they two (femine) are twins’ (\*teknikhëh)

**9.3.2. Siblings.** Traditionally siblings were relatives of the same generation whose parents were related, provided those parents were of the same sex. These terms were also

used for members of the same moiety. The verb stem **\*-atēhnatre:** with the duplicative prefix means ‘be siblings’.

<b>deyagyadē:nō:de:</b> ‘we (ex du) are siblings’	(*teyakyatēhnatre:’)
<b>deyagwadē:nō:de:</b> ‘we (ex pl) are siblings’	(*teyakwatēhnatre:’)
<b>desnyádē:nō:de:</b> ‘you (du) are siblings’	(*tesnyatēhnatre:’)
<b>deswádē:nō:de:</b> ‘you (pl) are siblings’	(*teswatēhnatre:’)
<b>de:yádē:nō:de:</b> ‘they (masculine du) are siblings’	(*tehyatēhnatre:’)
<b>dē:nōdē:nō:de:</b> ‘they (masculine pl) are siblings’	(*tehēnatēhnatre:’)
<b>degyádē:nō:de:</b> ‘they (feminine du) are sisters’	(*teknatēhnatre:’)
<b>dewēnōdē:nō:de:</b> ‘they (feminine pl) are sisters’	(*tewēnatēhnatre:’)
<b>sēh nō’dewēnōdē:nō:de:</b> ‘three sisters’	(*na’tewēnatēhnatre:’)

This same base followed by the distributive suffix **\*-ō-** and the nominal distributive suffix **\*-shō**’ is used to refer to members of the same moiety.

<b>agyádē:nójō’shō</b> ‘we (ex du) belong to the same moiety’	(*yakyatēhnatrō’shō)
<b>agwádē:nójō’shō</b> ‘we (ex pl) belong to the same moiety’	(*yakwatēhnatrō’shō)
<b>honódē:nójō’shō</b> ‘they (masculine) belong to the same moiety’	(*honatēhnatrō’shō)
<b>onódē:nójō’shō</b> ‘they (feminine) belong to the same moiety’	(*yonatēhnatrō’shō)

The verb stem **\*-tsi** (> **-ji**) occurs with an irregular set of pronominal prefixes to indicate an older sibling.

<b>hahji</b> ‘my older brother’	(*hahtsi’)
<b>ahji</b> ‘my older sister’	(*ahtsi’)
<b>shedwáhji</b> ‘our (in pl) older brother’ (also refers to the sun)	(*shetwahtsi’)
<b>shagwáhji</b> ‘our (ex pl) older brother’	(*shakwahtsi’)

The verb stem **\*-’kē:** (> **-’gē:**) occurs with regular pronominal prefixes to indicate a younger sibling, literally translatable as ‘have as one’s younger sibling’.

<b>he’gē:</b> ‘my younger brother’	(*he’kē:’)
<b>ke’gē:</b> ‘my younger sister’	(*khe’kē:’)

Several younger siblings are indicated with the addition of the nominal distributive **\*-shō’ōh**.

<b>he’gē:’shō’ōh</b> ‘my younger brothers’	(*he’kē:’shō’ōh)
<b>ke’gē:’shō’ōh</b> ‘my younger sisters’	(*khe’kē:’shō’ōh)

Reciprocal sibling relationships are referred to with this stem and the addition of the middle voice prefix, **\*-ate’kē:** (> **-ade’gē:**).

<b>yadé’gē:</b> ‘he and his brother or sister, she and her brother’	(*hyate’kē:’)
<b>gyadé’gē:</b> ‘she and her sister’	(*kyate’kē:’)
<b>agyáde’gē:</b> ‘we (ex du) are siblings’	(*yakyate’kē:’)
<b>agwáde’gē:</b> ‘we (ex pl) are siblings’	(*yakwate’kē:’)
<b>hēnóde’gē:</b> ‘they (masculine pl) are siblings’	(*hēnate’kē:’)
<b>snyadé’gē:</b> ‘your brother’, <i>literally</i> ‘you (du) are siblings’	(*snyate’kē:’)

With the reflexive replacing the middle voice prefix, the stem **\*-atate'kë:** is used to refer to the younger members of the relationship, 'be to each other as older to younger siblings'.

<b>snyadáde'gë:</b> 'your (du) younger brothers'	(*snyatate'kë:')
<b>swadáde'gë:</b> 'your (pl) younger brothers'	(*swatate'kë:')
<b>dwadáde'gë:</b> 'our (ex pl) younger brothers'	(*twatate'kë:')
(also used to refer to white men)	

**9.3.3. Cousins.** Traditionally cousins were relatives of the same generation whose parents were related, provided those parents were *not* of the same sex. These terms were also used for members of the opposite moiety. The verb stem **\*-ara'se:** means 'be cousins'.

<b>agyà:'se:</b> 'we (ex du) are cousins'	(*yakyara'se:')
<b>agwà:'se:</b> 'we (ex pl) are cousins'	(*yakwara'se:')
<b>yà:'se:</b> 'they (masc du) are cousins'	(*yara'se:')
<b>hënë:'se:</b> 'they (masc pl) are cousins'	(*hënara'se:')
<b>hënë:'se:'gé:gwa:h</b> 'toward the opposite moiety'	(*hënara'se:'kekwa:h)

This base is nominalized with **\*-hshr-** followed by the verb root **\*-ë-** to refer specifically to membership in the opposite moiety. The resulting stem **\*-ara'seshë** takes patient pronominal prefixes.

<b>óá'seshë</b> 'membership in opposite moieties'	(*ora'seshë')
<b>ögyà:'seshë</b> 'we (du) belong to opposite moieties'	(*yökyara'seshë')
<b>ögwà:'seshë</b> 'we (pl) belong to opposite moieties'	(*yökware'seshë')
<b>honë:'seshë</b> 'they (masculine) belong to opposite moieties'	(*honara'seshë')
<b>onë:'seshë</b> 'they (feminine) belong to opposite moieties'	(*yonara'seshë')

#### 9.4. Relatives one generation apart

**9.4.1. Parents and children.** Traditionally parents and children were relatives one generation apart where the older member was either a biological parent of the younger or was related to, the same generation as, and the same sex as a biological parent.

The noun base **\*-ksa't-** 'child' appears in words like the following, where possession is marked as alienable with patient pronominal prefixes:

<b>gaksá'da</b> 'child, baby'	(*kaksa'ta')
<b>agéksa'da</b> 'my child'	(*akeksa'ta')
<b>goksá'da</b> 'her child'	(*koksa'ta')
<b>hoksá'da</b> 'his child'	(*hoksa'ta')
<b>hodíkxa'da</b> 'their child'	(*hotiksa'ta')

Note also

<b>goksá'dayë</b> 'she has a child'	(*koksa'tayë')
<b>hoksá'dayë</b> 'he has a child'	(*hoksa'tayë')
<b>nisáksa'da:yë</b> 'how many children you have'	(*nisaksa'tayë')

Offspring are referred to collectively with the noun root **\*-wir-**.



<b>yewi:yä</b> ‘her offspring (child or children)’	(*yewira’)
<b>hodiwiyä’shö</b> ‘their offspring’	(*hotiwira’shö’)
<b>gawi:yä</b> ‘fetus’	(*kawira’)

The same root may be incorporated with the verb root **\*-ase-** ‘be new’ to refer to a newborn child.

<b>gowiyäse:</b> ‘her newborn child’	(*kowirase:’)
<b>hodiwiyä:se:</b> ‘their newborn child’	(*hotiwirase:’)
<b>gawiyäse:</b> ‘a newborn child’	(*kawirase:’)
<b>agwiyägá’de</b> ‘I have many children’	(*wakwiraka’tē’)

**9.4.2. Sons and daughters.** The verb stem **\*-hawahk** ‘have as son or daughter’ appears in words like the following:

<b>he:awak</b> ‘my son’	(*hehawahk)
<b>ke:awak</b> ‘my daughter’	(*khehawahk)
<b>kéáwakshö</b> ‘my sons and daughters’	(*khehawahkshö’)
<b>ho:awak</b> ‘his son’	(*hohawahk)
<b>go:awak</b> ‘her daughter’	(*kohawahk)
<b>shagóawak</b> ‘his daughter’	(*shakohawahk)
<b>höwö:wök</b> ‘her or their son’	(*höwahawahk)
<b>shagódi:awak</b> ‘their daughter’	(*shakotihawahk)
<b>hesha:wak</b> ‘your son’	(*hehshawahk)
<b>she:awak</b> ‘your daughter or your children’	(*shehawahk)
<b>gö:öwök</b> ‘my son or daughter’ (speaking to him or her)’	(*köhawahk)
<b>höwödiáwakshö</b> ‘their children’	(*höwatihawahkshö’)
<b>heshöwödiáwákshö</b> ‘their children’s children’	(*heshöwötihawahkshö’)

The verb stem **\*-hawahk** may occur with the reflexive prefix **\*-atat-** to mean ‘be parent and child to each other’.

<b>yadátawak</b> ‘he and his son or daughter, she and her son’	(*yatathawahk)
<b>gyadátawak</b> ‘she and her daughter’	(*kyatathawahk)

**9.4.3. Mother.** The speaker’s mother is called **no’yëh**. (\*no’yëh)

The verb stem **\*-no’ëh** ‘have as mother’ (without the y) appears in

<b>ögwáno’ëh</b> ‘our (ex) mother’	(*yökwano’ëh)
<b>etíno’ëh</b> ‘our (in) mother’	(*yethino’ëh)
<b>akíno’ëh</b> ‘our mother or mothers’	(*yakhino’ëh)
<b>sanó’ëh</b> ‘your mother’	(*sano’ëh)
<b>swanó’ëh</b> ‘your (pl) mother’	(*swano’ëh)
<b>onó’ëh</b> ‘her mother’	(*yono’ëh)
<b>honó’ëh</b> ‘his mother’	(*hono’ëh)
<b>shakotinó’ëh</b> ‘their mother’	(*shakotino’ëh)
<b>onó’ëgë:ö</b> ‘the late mother’	(*yono’ëkëha:’)

**9.4.4. Father.** The speaker’s father is called **ha’nih**. (\*ha’nih)

The verb stem **-a'nih** 'have as father' appears in

<b>gwa'nih</b> 'our father' (addressed to him)	(*kwa'nih)
<b>shagwá'nih</b> 'our father' (referring to him)	(*shakwa'nih)
<b>ya'nih</b> 'your father'	(*hya'nih)
<b>ho'nih</b> 'his or her father'	(*ho'nih)
<b>hodí'nih</b> 'their (masc or mixed) father'	(*hoti'nih)
<b>höwö'nih</b> 'their (fem) father'	(*höwa'nih)
<b>shagwá'nigé:ö</b> 'our deceased father'	(*shakwa'nikéha:')

**9.4.5. Aunts and uncles.** Traditionally aunts and uncles were related to, the same generation as, and a different sex from a biological parent.

The verb stem **\*-nhahk** means 'be aunt to'.

<b>age:hak</b> 'my aunt'	(*wakenhahk)
<b>ho:hak</b> 'his aunt'	(*honhahk)
<b>o:hak</b> 'her aunt'	(*yonhahk)
<b>ya:hak</b> 'your aunt' (said to a man)	(*hyanhahk)
<b>esa:hak</b> 'your aunt' (said to a woman)	(*yesanhahk)

The verb stem **\*-no'séh** means 'be uncle to'.

<b>haknó'séh</b> 'my uncle'	(*hakno'séh)
<b>honó'séh</b> 'his uncle'	(*hono'séh)
<b>shakóno'séh</b> 'her uncle'	(*shakono'séh)
<b>yanó'séh</b> 'your uncle'	(*hyano'séh)
<b>etíno'séh</b> 'our (in) uncles'	(*yethino'séh)

**9.4.6. Nieces and nephews.** Traditionally nieces and nephews were related through a man's sister or a woman's brother.

The verb stem **\*-hsö'neh** means 'have as nephew or niece' with a woman speaking.

<b>hehsó'neh</b> 'my nephew (woman speaking)'	(*hehsö'neh)
<b>kehsó'neh</b> 'my niece' (woman speaking)'	(*khehsö'neh)
<b>hehséhsó'neh</b> 'your nephew (woman speaking)'	(*hehsehsö'neh)
<b>shehsó'neh</b> 'your niece or nieces (woman speaking)'	(*shehsö'neh)

The verb stem **\*-éhwaté'** means 'have as nephew or niece' with a man speaking.

<b>heyé:wö:dë'</b> 'my nephew (man speaking)'	(*heyéhwaté')
<b>keyé:wö:dë'</b> 'my niece (man speaking)'	(*kheyéhwaté')
<b>hehsé:wö:dë'</b> 'your nephew (man speaking)'	(*hehséhwaté')
<b>höwöyé:wö:dë'</b> 'her or their nephew (man speaking)'	(*höwayéhwaté')

A reciprocal relation is expressed with the addition of the reflexive prefix **\*-atat-**.

<b>yadádë:wö:dë'</b> 'they (du) are uncle and nephew to each other'	(*yatatéhwaté')
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### 9.5. Grandparents and grandchildren

The verb stem *\*-atre* means ‘have as grandchild’.

<b>heya:de</b> ‘my grandson’	(*heyatre’)
<b>keya:de</b> ‘my granddaughter’	(*kheyatre’)
<b>keyáde’shö</b> ‘my grandchildren’	(*kheyatre’shö’)
<b>haga:de</b> ‘my grandfather’	(*hakatre’)
<b>yade</b> ‘your grandson’	(*hyatre’)
<b>esa:de</b> ‘your granddaughter’	(*yesatre’)
<b>ho:de</b> ‘his or her grandson’	(*hotre’)
<b>shago:de</b> ‘his granddaughter’	(*shakotre’)

A reciprocal relation is expressed with the addition of the reflexive prefix *\*-atat-*.

<b>yadadade</b> ‘he and his grandson or granddaughter, she and her grandson’	(*yatataatre’)
<b>gyadadade</b> ‘she and her granddaughter’	(*kyatataatre’)

A nominalized base *\*-atre’shr-* appears in

<b>agáde’shä</b> ‘my grandchildren’	(*wakatre’shra’)
<b>sadé’shä</b> ‘your grandchildren’	(*satre’shra’)
<b>hodé’shä</b> ‘his grandchildren’	(*hotre’shra’)
<b>godé’shä</b> ‘her grandchildren’	(*kotre’shra’)
<b>honóde’shä</b> ‘their grandchildren’	(*honatre’shra’)

The nominalized base is incorporated with the verb stem *\*-ka’tē* ‘be many’ in

<b>agáde’shága’de</b> ‘I have many grandchildren’	(*wakatre’shraka’tē’)
<b>godé’shága’de</b> ‘she has many grandchildren’	(*kotre’shraka’tē’)
<b>hodé’shága’de</b> ‘he has many grandchildren’	(*hotre’shraka’tē’)

A verb stem *\*-hsot* with partially irregular pronominal prefixes means ‘be grandparent to’.

<b>hakso:t</b> ‘my grandfather’	(*haksot)
<b>akso:t</b> ‘my grandmother’	(*waksot)
<b>shedwáhsot</b> ‘our (in) grandfather’	(*shetwahsot)
<b>etihsot</b> ‘our (in) grandmother or grandparents’ (also refers to the moon)	(*yethihshot)
<b>yahso:t</b> ‘your grandfather’	(*yahsot)
<b>esáhsot</b> ‘your grandmother’	(*yesahsot)
<b>hohso:t</b> ‘his or her grandfather’	(*hohsot)

The following are used to refer to deceased grandparents.

<b>haksótgë:ö</b> ‘my late grandfather’	(*haksotkëha:’)
<b>aksótgë:ö</b> ‘my late grandmother’	(*waksotkëha:’)

A nominalized base *\*-hsohshr-* appears in

<b>swahsóshäyë'</b> 'you (pl) have a grandparent or grandparents'	(*swahshshrayë')
<b>hodíhsoshä:yë'</b> 'they (pl) have a grandparent or grandparents'	(*hotihsohshrayë')
<b>hodíhsoshá'shō'öh</b> 'their grandparents'	(*hotihsohshra'shō'öh)
<b>ögwáhsoshá'shō'ögë:ö'</b> 'our late grandparents'	(*yökwhshshra'shō'ökëha:')

## 9.6. Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren

These relations are expressed with the addition of the augmentative clitic **\*-kowa:h**.

<b>keyáde'go:wa:h</b> 'my great-granddaughter'	(*kheyatre'kowa:h)
<b>heyáde'go:wa:h</b> 'my great-grandson'	(*heyatre'kowa:h)
<b>aksótgo:wa:h</b> 'my great-grandmother'	(*waksotkowa:h)
<b>haksótgo:wa:h</b> 'my great-grandfather'	(*haksotkowa:h)

## 9.7. Relatives by marriage

The verb root **\*-nyak-** means 'get married'.

<b>wa:onya:k</b> 'he got married'	(*wa'honyak)
<b>wa'agonya:k</b> 'she got married'	(*wa'yakonyak)
<b>waodinya:k</b> 'they got married'	(*wa'hotinyak)
<b>sa:onya:k</b> 'he got married again'	(*sahonyak)
<b>agenyagöh</b> 'I'm married'	(*wakenyaköh)
<b>de'swagena:göh</b> 'I'm not married anymore'	(*te'swakenyaköh)
<b>honyágö:nö'</b> 'he used to be married'	(*honyaköhna')
<b>ëyökninya:k</b> 'we (ex du) will get married'	(*ëyökninyak)
<b>á:yöki:nya:k</b> 'we (du) might get married'	(*aayökhinyak)

A colloquial way of expressing the idea of getting married is with the verb base **\*-atra'nekë:'**, *literally* 'get together'.

<b>o'tsádä'ne:gë:'</b> 'they (du) got together'	(*wa'thyatra'nekë:')
<b>dë:yádä'ne:gë:'</b> 'they (du) will get together'	(*tëhyatra'nekë:')
<b>dösa:dä'ne:gë:'</b> 'he got together again'	(*tösahatra'nekë:')
<b>da'dé:yadä'ne:gë:h</b> 'they (du) aren't together'	(*ta'tehyatra'nekë:h)
<b>deyödä'négëhse'</b> 'she is about to marry'	(*teyötra'nekëhse')
<b>deyödä'négëhse's</b> 'she goes and gets married'	(*teyötra'nekëhse's)

Other related words include

<b>o'tënödähniögöenóet</b> 'they took a liking to each other' (*wa'thënatatniköhranöhweht)	
<b>ëödí:wa:niyädë'</b> 'they'll make it official', <i>literally</i> 'they'll confirm the matter'	(*ëhatirihwahniratë)

**9.7.1. Spouse.** The following words are used for a spouse, evidently derived from a verb stem **\*-hro:'**.

<b>yo:'</b> 'spouse'
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**né:yo:** ‘his wife’ or ‘her husband’  
**yo’gé:ö** ‘his late wife’ or ‘her late husband’  
**né:yo’gé:ö** ‘his ex-wife’ or ‘her ex-husband’

The reciprocal relation of husband and wife is expressed with the addition of the reflexive prefix in the verb stem **\*-atathro:**.

**dzada:tšo:** ‘he and his wife, she and her husband’ (\*hyatathro:’)  
**šada:tšo:** ‘you and your wife’ (\*syatathro:’)  
**hënódatšo:shö** ‘they are married couples’ (\*hënatathroshö’)

A noun root that refers either to a married couple or to one member of such a couple is **\*-nöhk-**.

**ganóhgwa** ‘married couple’ (\*kanöhkwa’)  
**honóhgwa** ‘his wife’ (\*honöhkwa’)  
**gonóhgwa** ‘her husband’ (\*konöhkwa’)

Other related words include

**deyágyatgö’sähgwa** ‘we (ex du) share our pillow’ (\*teyakyatkö’srahkwa’)  
**deyagyatgöédähgwa** ‘we (ex du) rest our heads together’ (\*teyakyatköhëtahkwa’)  
**do:nödádasdéisdöh** ‘they are managing each other’ (\*tehonatatasterihstöh)

**9.7.2. Siblings-in-law.** Siblings-in-law of the same sex are referred to with the verb stem **\*-atyoh**.

**agya:joh** ‘my brother-in-law’ (said by a man), ‘my sister-in-law’ (said by a woman)  
 (\*akyatyoh)

A man may refer to his sister-in-law with either of the following.

**agá’ni:ye** ‘my sister-in-law’ (\*akra’nire’)  
**agya:nyëh** ‘my sister-in-law’ (\*akyanyëh)

The following words appear to have been intended by Morgan (1870: 169) but are no longer recognized (Chafe 1963: 25).

**keyéö** ‘my sister-in-law’ (said by a man) (\*kheyëha’)  
**heyéö** ‘my brother-in-law’ (said by a woman) (\*heyëha’)

**9.7.3. Parents-in-law.** The relation between a parent-in-law and a daughter-in-law is expressed with the verb stem **\*-sa**.

**ke:sa** ‘my daughter-in-law’ (\*khesa’)  
**she:sa** ‘your daughter-in-law’ (\*shesa’)  
**hage:sa** ‘my father-in-law’ (said by a woman) (\*hakesa’)  
**öge:sa** ‘my mother-in-law’ (said by a woman) (\*yökesa’)  
**go:sa** ‘her daughter-in-law’ (\*kosa’)

The relation between a parent-in-law and a son-in-law is expressed with the verb stem **\*-enhös**.

**akne:hös** ‘my son-in-law’, ‘my father-in-law or mother-in-law’ (said by a man), (\*yaknenhös:s)  
**agwe:hös** ‘our son-in-law’, ‘my parents-in-law’ (said by a man) (\*yakwenhös)

In a few other words the verb stem is instead **\*-nenhös**.

**shaknínehös**:s ‘our (ex du) son-in-law’ (\*shakninenhös)  
**yadáhnehös**:s ‘he or she and his or her son-in-law’ (\*hyatatnenhös)

Parents-in-law of the same couple are referred to with

**agwadēno:ö** ‘we are co-parents-in-law’ (\*yakwatēnorö’)  
*literally* ‘we are dear to each other’

### 9.8. Step-parents and step-children

The verb stem **\*-no:** means ‘have as stepchild’.

**he:no:** ‘my stepson’ (\*heno:’)  
**ke:no:** ‘my stepdaughter’ (\*khenö:’)  
**hakno:** ‘my stepfather’ (\*hakno:’)  
**höwö:no:** ‘her stepson’ or ‘their stepson’ (\*höwano:’)

The verb stem **\*-nö’ihs** means ‘be stepparent to’.

**haknö’is** ‘my stepfather’ (\*haknö’ihs)  
**aknö’is** ‘my stepmother’ (\*waknö’ihs)  
**honö’is** ‘his stepfather or stepmother’, ‘her stepfather’ (\*honö’ihs)  
**onö’is** ‘her stepmother’ (\*yonö’ihs)

### 9.9. Relatives by adoption

The verb base **\*-ksa’taröko-** means ‘adopt a child’, *literally* ‘acquire a child’.

**agéksa’dëögwëh** ‘I’ve adopted a child’ (\*wakeksa’tarökwëh)  
**höwóksa’dëögwëh** ‘she or they have adopted him’ (\*höwaks’a’tarökwëh)  
**o’géksa’dëögo** ‘I adopted a child’ (\*wa’keksa’taröko’)

The verb base **\*-ökwe’taröko-** means ‘adopt a person’:

**o’gógwe’dëögo** ‘I adopted someone’ (\*wa’kökwe’taröko’)

The verb base **\*-asterihst-** ‘take charge of’ is also used for such a relationship:

**heyásdéisdöh** ‘I’ve adopted him’, (\*heyasterihstöh)  
*literally* ‘I’ve taken charge of him’  
**é:yasde:is** ‘I’ll adopt him’ (\*ëheyasterihs)

### 9.10. Ritual friendship

The Senecas have had a practice of creating a fictional relationship between two otherwise unrelated individuals, who are spoken of in English as ‘friends’. The verb stem meaning ‘be friends’ in that sense is *\*-atshih*.

<b>ögya:tših</b> ‘we (du) are friends’	(*yökyatshih)
<b>ögwa:tših</b> ‘we (pl) are friends’	(*yökwatshih)
<b>honö:tših</b> ‘they (pl) are friends’	(*honatshih)

It is shortened to **tših** in expressions like **hae’ tših!** ‘hi, friend!’

### 9.11. Casual friendship

A less formalized friendship relation is expressed with the verb base *\*-atëro-*.

<b>ögyade:o’</b> ‘we (du) are friends’	(*yökyatëro’)
<b>ögwade:o’</b> ‘we (pl) are friends’	(*yökwatëro’)
<b>ögwádéo’shö</b> ‘we all are friends’	(*yökyatëro’shö’)
<b>honöde:o’</b> ‘they are friends’	(*honatëro’)
<b>gyade:oh</b> ‘friend!’	(*kyatëroh)

Causative and inchoative suffixes are added in:

<b>waonödéo’ste’t</b> ‘they became friends’	(*wa’honatëro’sthe’t)
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A nominalized base occurs in:

<b>adéo’shä</b> ‘friendship’	(*atëro’shra’)
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## 10. SYNTAX PART 1 AMPLIFYING A PRONOMINAL MEANING

### 10.1. Introduction

A description of Seneca syntax must take into account the fact that the polysynthetic verb morphology of this language includes within a single word a number of elements which, in many other languages, would appear as separate words within a clause. The traditional view of syntax as describing constructions inside and outside the clause is difficult to apply in this language because so much of what would elsewhere be inside a clause is included here inside a word. Chapters 10-12 are organized on a different basis, describing ways in which elements inside a word, or sometimes an entire word, are *amplified* by elements outside the word.

As described in Chapters 3-7, Seneca verbs convey various kinds of information concerning an event or state: its participants, its aspectual properties, its relation to perceived reality, its location in space or time, whether it is a cause or instrument, whether it is distributed across entities or across time, whether it benefits someone or harms them, whether it involves going somewhere to perform an action or being performed while walking, whether it happens easily, or whether it is the culmination of a series of other events. Such information is closely packed within the verb, where each element has its own form and position determined by the morphological patterns that have been described.

The present chapter looks at ways of amplifying the meanings of pronominal prefixes in order to convey more information about the participant(s) in an event or state. Chapter 11 describes ways of amplifying the meanings of prepronominal prefixes and aspect suffixes by adding more information concerning space, time, and epistemology. Chapter 12 discusses ways of amplifying the meaning of an entire verb by adding a subordinate verb.

This chapter focuses on independent first and second person pronouns (10.2), the pronoun-like behavior of the noun root *\*-öhw-* (10.3), indefinite pronouns (10.4), demonstrative pronouns (10.5), and uses of the particle *neh* (10.6).

### 10.2. First and second person pronouns

Basic properties of the participants in an event or state—their person, number, inclusivity, and participant roles as agents, patients, or beneficiaries—are obligatorily included within almost every verb. Sometimes, however, reference to a participant is amplified with the addition of a separate first or second person pronoun that gives more prominence to a referent than the verb-internal prefixes alone. These separate pronouns distinguish first and second person only, not number, inclusivity, or participant role. Besides adding prominence to a referent, they may contrast one referent with another, either expressed or implied.

**10.2.1. The first person independent pronoun *i:*'.** Whereas the verb-internal first person prefixes distinguish number (singular, dual, plural), inclusivity (inclusive, exclusive), and role (agent, patient, beneficiary), there is only one verb-external first person pronoun, *i:*', which can be translated 'I', 'me', 'we', or 'us' as the context demands.

**I' nā:h koh hi:gē:h ne'hoh niwagaje:ēh.**  
 I emphasis and that there I'm doing it  
*And I was the one doing that there.*

**Ónēhjih nē:h i' tšigō:he'.**  
 long time this I I'm alive  
*I've been living a long time.*

**Ha'degagō:n i' ha'de:yō:h o'gi'.**  
 it's necessary I many things I said  
*I had a lot of things to say.*

**Wa'óknošga:i' nā:h i'.**  
 she caused me trouble emphasis me  
*She got after me.*

**I' ne:' agwádakenōje's,**  
 we it is we (in pl) are running around  
*We were running around,*

**I' koh wa'óki:owi',**  
 us and they told us (pl)  
*And they told us,*

**Ogwe:nyō:h dēyōgwadádesnye:' i'.**  
 it's possible we (pl) will take care of ourselves we  
*We can take care of ourselves.*

**10.2.1.1. First person plus neh in ni:'. Often i:' is preceded by the particle neh** (see 10.6 below) in the contracted form **ni:'**, whose meaning can be approximated with the English expression 'as for me (or us)'.

**Gatga:' ni:' gē:s ögegē:dē',**  
 sometimes I repeatedly I'm tired of it  
*As for me, sometimes I get tired of it,*

**Nā:h ni:' i:wi:h da'áwahnígōhēh.**  
 emphasis I I think I don't forget it  
*As for me, I don't think I forget it.*

**Da:h ni:' o:nēh nē:gē:h, gegēhjih ni:',**  
 so me now this I'm old me  
*So as for me now, I'm old,*

**da:h hē'ēh nā:h koh ni:' da'gwísdē'.**  
 so not emphasis and me nothing  
*so for me there's nothing.*

**Ne:' ni:' gē:s neh, dödayagwagawe' gē:s.**  
 it is us repeatedly namely we (ex pl) rowed back repeatedly  
*As for us, we always rowed back.*

**Ni:'** is often found in quotations.

**Ne:' ni:' knö:wö:s o'gi'.**  
 it is I I'm hungry for it I said  
*'I'm hungry for it,' I said.*

**Wa:etgë' ni:' gënóhdönyöh o'gi'.**  
 it's bad I I think I said  
*'I think bad things,' I said.*

**Ni:' nä:h koh wa'a:gë'.**  
 me emphasis and she said  
*'And it was me,' she said.*

**O:nëh ni:' ëgáhdë:di' wa'a:gë'.**  
 now I I will go she said  
*'Now I will go,' she said.*

**Ne:' neh öki:owi', hë'ëh nä:h gyó'öh ni:',**  
 it is namely they told us not emphasis reported we  
*They told us, Not for us,*

**asdeh ta:yagwé'se:k.**  
 outside we shouldn't be around  
*we shouldn't be around outside.'*

**10.2.1.2. First person plus -ah in i:'ah.** First person **i:'** may be followed by the diminutive suffix **-ah** in the word **i:'ah**, perhaps expressing humility on the part of the speaker.

**Ne'hoh gë:s hegényohšodaje's nä:h i:'ah.**  
 there repeatedly I'm sitting around there emphasis me  
*I was sitting around there.*

**I:' kdale's nä:h i:'ah.**  
 I I'm running around emphasis me  
*I was running around.*

**Degadogé'öh neh i:'ah.**  
 it's hard for me namely me  
*It's hard for me.*

**10.2.1.3. First person plus neh and -ah in ni:'ah.** First person **i:'** may combine with both **neh** and **-ah** in the contracted form **ni:'ah**.

**Tšigéksa'à:h ni:'ah.**  
 when I was a child me  
*As for me, when I was a little boy.*

**O'dwagaje:nō:s ni:'ah.**

I was hallucinating me  
*As for me, I was seeing things.*

**Ne:' ni:' neh gë'nigöëgawe:tak ni:'ah.**

assertion me namely I used to assert myself me  
*As for me, I used to assert myself.*

**Gögwé'di:yo:h ne'hoh nä:h ni:'ah gyö'ö'h waë'.**

I'm a good person there emphasis me reported he said  
*As for me, I'm a good person he said.*

**Geshá:nis ni:'ah.**

I'm afraid me  
*As for me, I'm afraid.*

**10.2.2. The second person independent pronoun i:s.** Whereas the verb-internal second person pronominal prefixes may distinguish number (singular, dual, plural) and (when they are singular but not when they are dual or plural) their role (agent, patient, beneficiary), there is only one verb-external second person pronoun, **i:s** 'you'.

**I:s á:hö'ö'h.**

you the most  
*You're the best.*

**I:s né:wa' ne'hoh ho'se:t.**

you this time there you go there  
*It's your turn to go there.*

**Sniyá'dä:je' i:s neh dzada:tšo:'.**

you (du) are there you namely you and your wife  
*Were you there with your wife?*

**10.2.2.1. Second person plus neh in ni:s.** Like **i:'**, **i:s** may be preceded by the particle **neh** in the contracted form **ni:s** 'as for you'.

**Sö:h ni:s?**

who? you  
*As for you, who are you?*

**Dë'ëh ni:s ša:sö'h?**

what? you you are called  
*As for you, what's your name?*

**Ne'hoh ni:s nëyó'dë:ök jotgö:n.**

that you it will be so always  
*As for you, it will always be that way for you.*

**10.2.2.2. Second person plus diminutive -'ah in i:s'ah.** Second person **i:s** may be followed by the diminutive suffix **-'ah** in the combination **i:s'ah**, perhaps expressing affection toward the listener.

**Ēhsí:waye:is            gwa:h   nō:h   nā:h   i:s'ah.**  
 you will accomplish it   but   I guess   emphasis   you  
*I guess you will really do it.*

**10.2.2.3. Second person plus neh and -'ah in ni:s'ah.** Second person i:' may combine with both **neh** and **-'ah** in the contracted form **ni:s'ah**.

**Ne'hoh waih   nē:h   niyó'dē:h   ni:s'ah   deswadagwáhse:h.**  
 that   indeed   this   how it is   you   you have lost somebody  
*As for you who have lost somebody, that's the way it is.*

**10.3. The noun root \*-öhw- '-self'.** This noun root is the basis for words that function as emphatic pronouns, distinguishing person, gender, and (in the third person) number, as set forth in Table 10.1. Each form is shown in pairs. The form on the right, in which the **hw** sequence has been reduced to **h**, is the one more often heard today, while the **hw** form was used more often by speakers of an earlier generation.

	Singular	Nonsingular
1st person	<b>agö:hwö' or agö:hö'</b> 'I myself'	
2nd person	<b>söhwö' or söhö'</b> 'you yourself'	
Masculine	<b>háöhwö' or ha:hö'</b> 'he himself'	<b>honö:hwö' or honö:hö'</b> 'they (masc) themselves'
Feminine	<b>gáöhwö' or ga:hö'</b> 'she herself'	<b>onö:hwö' or onö:hö'</b> 'they (nonmasc) themselves'
Neuter	<b>áöhwö' or a:hö'</b> 'it itself'	

Table 10.1. Inflections of the noun root \*-öhw- '-self'

Examples:

**I:'   gē:s            o'jógesnye:'.  
 me   repeatedly   she took care of me  
*She always took care of me.***

**da:h   o:nēh   wa:eh   gáöhwö'   wa'ódekö:ni'.**  
 so   then   first   she herself   she ate  
*before she herself ate.*

**Ga:hö'   nā:h   gē:s            wa'egä:go'.  
 she herself   emphasis   repeatedly   she received payment  
*She herself always did get paid.***

**Ne:'   neh   háöhwö'   ne'hoh   niyö:ēh.  
 it is   namely   he himself   that   what he has done  
*That is what he himself has done.***

**Ha:hö' wa:yēde:i'.**  
he himself he learned  
*He's the one who learned.*

**Ne:' neh áóhwö' shö:h jonóhdös'öh.**  
it is namely itself just it has happened spontaneously  
*It happened all by itself.*

**Ne:' a:hö' shö:h ewödöní:ak.**  
it is itself just it will keep growing  
*It will just keep growing by itself.*

**Ne:' koh neh honö:hwö'**  
it is and namely they themselves  
*And they themselves*

**dē:yádahnóöhgwa:k.**  
they (m.du.agt) will keep loving each other  
*will keep loving each other.*

**Honö:hö' nä:h gáíwayédahgöh.**  
they themselves emphasis it's a responsibility  
*It's a responsibility for themselves.*

**10.3.1. The stem \*-öhwa'kehah 'oneself alone'.** The words described above are sometimes extended with the addition of \*-'kehah, which apparently consists of the external locative suffix \*-'keh followed by the diminutive \*-ah. The resulting meaning is 'oneself alone' or 'by oneself'. The following examples are all from the Creation story that was dictated to J.N.B. Hewitt by John Armstrong in 1896, suggesting that it was more common at that time.

**Söhö'geah né:wa' ēhsékdö:nö:' neh ökní'e:odö'.**  
by yourself this time you will check them namely our (du) traps  
*This time you by yourself will check the traps we set.*

**I:' shö:h gēs agóhögéah o'gádekö:ni' wa'a:gē'.**  
I just repeatedly by myself I eat she said  
*I always eat by myself she said.*

**Da:h o:nēh háóhögéah shö:h hodékö:ni:h neh hagéhjih.**  
so then by himself just he is eating namely old man  
*So then the old man was eating all by himself.*

**10.4. Indefinite pronouns.** The following third person pronouns have an indefinite reference.

**sö:ga:'** 'someone, anyone' (10.4.1)

**de'sö:ga:'** 'no one' (10.4.1.1)

**ha'gwisdē'** or **gwisdē'** 'something' (10.4.2)

**da'ágwisdë'** or **da'gwisdë'** 'nothing' (10.4.2.1)

**na'áhdë'ëh** 'things' (10.4.3)

**gye:h** 'some' (10.4.4)

**10.4.1. sô:ga:'** 'someone, anyone'

**Ēké:owi' sô:ga:'.**

I'll tell them someone

*I'll tell someone.*

**Jô:gwah sô:ga:' ho:wísdáyë'.**

if someone he has money

*If someone has money.*

**Da'áôh sô:ga:' áôsayanótgë:ni'.**

it's impossible someone they might beat you

*It's impossible for anyone to beat you.*

**10.4.1.1. de'sô:ga:'** 'no one'

**De'sô:ga:' dë:nô:ôka' ôgwé'ôwe:ka:'.**

no one they don't understand it the Indian language

*No one understands Indian.*

**10.4.2. ha'gwisdë' or gwisdë'** 'something'

**Ojike'da:e' ha'gwisdë'.**

it's salty something

*Something is salty.*

**Ga:nyo' ha'gwisdë' wa:di:gë'.**

when something they see it

*When they see something.*

**Gwisdë' ëhni:k.**

something we two will eat it

*Let's eat something.*

**10.4.2.1. da'ágwisdë' or da'gwisdë'** 'nothing'

**Da'ágwisdë' do:ogë:'.**

nothing he didn't see it

*He didn't see anything.*

**Ne:' da'ágwisdë' neh wa:etgë' na:yawëh.**

it is nothing namely it's bad it would happen

*Nothing bad would happen.*

**Da'gwisdë' dô:daga:tga'.**

nothing I wouldn't donate it

*I can't donate anything.*

**10.4.3. na'áhdě'ěh 'things'**

**Ne:' koh neh ganyó'agwah na'áhdě'ěh hoyédaje'.**  
it is and namely different things he had  
*And each had different things.*

**Di'gwah shō:h na'áhdě'ěh.**  
whatever just things  
*Just whatever things*

**Da:h ne:' háé'gwah neh gado:gě:h na'áhdě'ěh.**  
so it is also namely certain things  
*So also certain things.*

**10.4.4. gye:h 'some'**

**Gye:h á:hdak heh wá:di'ha:sděh.**  
some very there they become strong  
*Some become very strong.*

**Ne'hoh gye:h niyó'dě:h.**  
that some how it is  
*That's the way some are.*

**Onónö'da' gye:h agyë:töh.**  
potatoes some I've planted it  
*I've planted some potatoes.*

**10.5. Demonstrative pronouns.** The following particles 'point to' a third person referent.

**në:gě:h** 'this' and **hi:gě:h** 'that' (10.5.1)

**në:dah** 'this one here' and **në:ne'** 'that one there' (10.5.2)

**ne'hoh** 'that' or 'there' (10.5.3)

**10.5.1. në:gě:h 'this' and hi:gě:h 'that'.** These demonstratives usually point directly to a referent and often correspond to English 'this one' and 'that one'.

**Në:gě:h wa:děno:dě'.**  
this he sang  
*This is what he sang.*

**Në:gě:h ho'ga:kda't.**  
this it went to a certain point  
*This was how far it went.*

**So'jih o'dáië:h në:gě:h.**  
too much it's hot this  
*This is too hot.*



**A:yë:' nā:h gagwe:gōh nē:gē:h.**  
it seems emphasis it's all this  
*It seems this is all of it.*

**Wë:nítši:yo:h nē:gē:h né:wa'.**  
good day this this time  
*Today is a good day.*

When **nē:gē:h** functions as a demonstrative adjective, as in English 'this man', it is typically followed by **neh** 'namely', as in

**Nē:gē:h neh hō:gweh.**  
this namely man  
*This man (this one, namely a man).*

**Nē:gē:h neh yadádehso:t.**  
this namely he and his grandparent  
*This boy and his grandmother (this, namely he and his grandparent).*

Sometimes **nē:gē:h** is reduced to **nē:h**.

**Nē:h neh hosgé'égéhdá'.**  
this namely warrior  
*This warrior.*

Functioning in a parallel way is **hi:gē:h** 'that' or 'that one'.

**Ne:' gahóá' hi:gē:h.**  
it is door that  
*That's a door.*

**Ne:' hi:gē:h johsa:'.**  
it is that where it started  
*That's where it started.*

**Da:h ne:' hi:gē:h.**  
so it is that  
*So that's it.*

**Së:nōh nēhsa:je:h hi:gē:h.**  
don't what you will do that  
*Don't do that!*

**Hi:gē:h neh o'sóá'.**  
that namely pine tree  
*That pine tree.*

**Hi:gē:h neh ögwayéisdahgwa'.**  
that namely we (pl) use it for meeting  
*That meeting place of ours.*

**10.5.2. The particle i:gë:h.** Although it resembles **në:gë:h** and **hi:gë:h** in form, **i:gë:h** is most easily translated as the head of a relative clause, ‘the one who’.

**hadí:negága’ha:sta’ i:gë:h**  
they enjoy drink the ones who  
*the ones who are alcoholics*

**ögwa:tšo:h i:gë:h**  
we (pl) are friends the ones who  
*those of us who are friends*

**onó’ëgé:ö’ i:gë:h**  
the deceased mother the one who  
*the one who was the mother*

**hi:gë:h o:ya:ji’ i:gë:h**  
those blackberries the ones that  
*those that were blackberries*

**Dorothy i:gë:h de:yádi:nö’**  
Dorothy the one who they (du) lived together  
*the one who lived with Dorothy*

**10.5.3. në:dah ‘this here’ and né:ne’ ‘that there’.** These two demonstratives are parallel to **në:gë:h** and **hi:gë:h**, but in this case the referent is clearly present, either because it is pointed to directly or because its identity stands out from the context. **Në:dah!** ‘Here!’ is often used when handing something to someone.

**Në:dah sehgi:yä’.**  
this here your toe  
*Here’s your toe (speaking to a baby).*

**Në:dah neh ojike’da’.**  
this here namely salt  
*Here’s the salt.*

**Në:dah neh nigaëno’dë:h.**  
this here namely how the song is  
*Here’s how the song is.*

**Në:dah i:s ëhsá’hödë’.**  
this here you you will add it  
*(You will) add this!*

**Në:dah nëyo:da’.**  
this here how many days it will be  
*In this many days.*

With **né:ne’** ‘that there’ the referent is also contextually obvious.

**Da'agēnōhdō' né:ne'.**  
 I don't know it that there  
*I don't know that (in answer to a question).*

**Né:ne' dwē:nishāde:nyök.**  
 those there days  
 In those days (we have been talking about).

**Né:ne' swa:dih niswáiwáita' swēnēshage:sgoh!**  
 those on the other side you are opposed raise your arms!  
*Those of you who are opposed raise your arms (to vote)!*

**Hodóishē' háé'gwah né:ne'.**  
 he's retired also that one  
*He's retired too (the man they were talking about).*

**Ne:' tga:wa:sa', nā:h ni:' de'gē:' né:ne' da'áгатgá:nye:'.**  
 it is snowsnake emphasis I not much that I didn't play it  
*As for snowsnake, I didn't play that very much.*

**Gisgwíshō'ōh ne:' gē:s, ne:' gē:s né:ne',**  
 pigs it is repeatedly it is repeatedly those  
*It was pigs, it was them,*

**agwáhehgōh háé'gwah né:ne'.**  
 we (pl) were surviving also those  
*we were surviving on those too.*

**10.5.4. ne'hoh 'that or there'.** The referent of this very common particle is usually a topic or a cluster of events or states, rather than a particular person or thing. It may point to something that was introduced earlier in the discourse (10.5.4.1) or to something distant in space (10.5.4.2). Sometimes it stands in apposition to a preceding noun (10.5.4.3).

#### **10.5.4.1. Distal location in discourse**

**Ne'hoh gáíō:nih.**  
 that it's the reason  
*That's the reason.*

**Ne'hoh niyó'dē:nō'.**  
 that how it was  
*That's how it was.*

**Ne'hoh niyáwē'ōh.**  
 that how it happened  
*That's how it happened.*

#### **10.5.4.2. Distal location in space**

**Ne'hoh o'wadädë'.**  
there it perched  
*It perched there.*

**Ne'hoh hotgá:nye:h.**  
there he's playing  
*He's playing there.*

**Ne'hoh gani:yö:n.**  
there it's hanging  
*It's hanging there.*

**10.5.4.3. Appositional demonstrative ne'hoh.** In an example like the following, which is rare, **ne'hoh** may seem to function as a demonstrative adjective, 'that fish'. But such cases are probably better interpreted in terms of a noun followed by a demonstrative that stands in apposition to it, literally 'the fish, that one'.

**Gëdzöh ne'hoh.**  
fish that  
*That fish.*

**10.6. The particle neh 'namely'.** Seneca pronominal prefixes express the following types of information regarding the participants in events and states.

person (first, second, third, inclusive, exclusive)  
gender (masculine, feminine, neuter)  
number (singular, dual, plural)  
role (agent, patient, beneficiary)

A speaker may decide that a hearer needs more information concerning a participant than the above choices provide. In that case the verb may be followed by the particle **neh**, anticipating an amplification to follow. In examples throughout this work it will be seen that **neh** is sometimes followed by a comma, sometimes preceded by a comma, or the comma is absent. The comma represents the boundary of an intonation unit that verbalizes a single focus of consciousness (e.g., Chafe 1994c). Its placement suggests that the speaker is already thinking of the amplification (when the comma follows **neh**), or thinks of it subsequently (when the comma precedes **neh**), or thinks of the verb and its amplification simultaneously (when no comma is present).

**10.6.1. Amplification with a noun.** In the following example the speaker remembered an incident from her childhood when she went to visit some relatives and took with her a teddy bear.

**Ho'ka:' koh neh, nyagwai',**  
I took it and namely bear  
*And I took a (teddy) bear.*

The English translation might suggest that **neh** marks **nyagwai'** 'bear' as a direct object, but that would distort its true function. The pronominal prefix in the verb **ho'ka:'** 'I took it' included overt reference to a first person agent but the neuter patient had no overt marking. As explained in 3.4.2, neuter participants are overtly marked only when the

verb does not also mark some human participant like the first person referent here. In this case the nature of the implied neuter patient ‘it’ was amplified with the noun **nyagwai** introduced with **neh**.

In the next example the amplifying noun is built on the noun root **\*-öhw-** ‘self’ (10.3), where, as in other examples below, the masculine singular agent prefix **ha-** repeats the prefix of the main verb. The speaker had described how this man had gone into the woods with his daughter, and this sentence made it clear that the one who went hunting was the man by himself, without the daughter.

**Da:h o:nëh nã:h hadówäte’s neh haöhwö’.**  
 so then emphasis he goes hunting namely he himself  
*So then he went hunting by himself.*

The following was spoken at the beginning of a story. The verb **wá:hdë:di** ‘he set out’ introduced a masculine singular agent. The narrator then added **neh** and the word for ‘man’ as an amplification.

**Nónëhjih wá:hdë:di’ neh, hö:gweh.**  
 long.ago he set out namely a man  
*Long ago he set out, a man.*

The word **hö:gweh** might seem to have provided little information beyond what was provided by the masculine singular agent prefix in **wá:hdë:di**, which already established that the person who set out was a single male. But assigning this referent to the **hö:gweh** category activated a complex set of associations that included his role in Seneca society, his relation to his family, and his expected behavior, properties that amplified his status as more than masculine singular alone.

The inclusion of a masculine singular referent in **wá:hdë:di** did not make this referent identifiable (or ‘definite’). In order to be identifiable a referent needs prior assignment to a specific lexical category. The information supplied by a pronominal prefix alone is not sufficient to create identifiability. The translation ‘a man’ is thus more appropriate than ‘the man’, removing any temptation to regard **neh** as a definite article.

**10.6.2. Amplification with a verb.** In the following example the speaker realized that the hearer would want to know more than just the fact that the visitors were two males, so he added **neh** and amplified that information with **yadátawak** ‘a father and son’, whose form is that of a stative verb that can be translated literally ‘they are father and son to each other’ (9.4.1).

**Né:ne:’ wa:ya:jö’s neh, yadátawak.**  
 those they (masculine dual) visited namely a father and son  
*They visited, a father and his son.*

In the next example the speaker was talking about a man who used to walk through the woods near her house, inspecting the gas pipelines that ran through her property. She said

**Ha’de:yö:h nō:h gë:s ha:gëh, neh do:dawë:nye:h.**  
 many things I guess repeatedly he sees it namely he is moving about  
*I guess he kept seeing many things, the one who was moving about.*

The word **ha:gēh** ‘he sees it’ contains a masculine singular agent prefix, but the speaker decided that the hearer needed to know more about this man, so she added **neh** and the verb **do:dawē:nye:h** ‘he is moving about’ with a masculine singular *patient* prefix. Its patient role was dictated by the stative aspect ending (3.2.1.1).

The next example is a statement attributed to the original False Face, represented by the wooden mask used for curing that is a distinctive Iroquois art form (Fenton 1987).

**Ēkéya’dágeha’, neh      ěyógya’da:a’t      gi’shēh.**  
 I will help them    namely    they will depend on me    maybe  
*I will help them, those who may depend on me.*

The pronominal prefix **\*khe-** (> **ke-**) in **Ēkéya’dágeha’** ‘I will help them’ combines a first person singular agent ‘I’ with a third person plural patient ‘them’. The pronominal prefix **\*yök-** (> **yög-**) in **ěyógya’da:a’t** ‘they will depend on me’ reverses these roles by combining a third person plural agent ‘they’ with a first person singular patient ‘me’. The False Face amplified the information in the first verb by explaining who it was he would help.

In the next example the amplification provides further information about the implied neuter patient of **wá:tšonyá:nö:’** ‘he told about things’, which is not plural, as the English translation suggests, but ‘distributive’ (5.5.6), distributed in this case over a variety of things the man told about. The neuter singular prefix **\*yaw-** (> **öw-**) of **nö’ö:wēh** ‘what happened’ shares that referent.

**Da:h wá:tšonyá:nö:’    neh,    negē’      né:yo:’    heh    nö’ö:wēh.**  
 so    he told about things    namely    specifically    his wife    how    what happened  
*So he told about things, what happened to his wife.*

**10.6.3. The particle sequence ne:’ neh.** There is a very common Seneca usage in which an assertion is introduced with the two-particle sequence **ne:’ neh**, often the first element in a sentence. The second of these particles is the **neh** ‘namely’ whose function was described above. The first particle, **ne:’**, does not correspond directly to anything found in English but its function can be approximated with the translation ‘it is’. Occasionally a Seneca speaker may express agreement with something by saying nothing more than **ne:’**, roughly ‘it is the case’ or ‘that’s right’. More often, however, **ne:’** is supplemented with another particle, such as **waih** ‘indeed’ in **ne:’ waih** ‘indeed so’, or **nö:h** ‘I guess’ in **ne:’ nö:h** ‘I guess so’.

In the sequence **ne:’ neh, ne:’** implies the vague neutral referent that is captured by ‘it’ in the translation ‘it is’. That referent triggers the need for the further information that is supplied by a following amplification.

**Ne:’    neh      we:so’    ganiyayéök.**  
 it is    namely    much    there used to be snow  
*(It is the case that) there used to be a lot of snow.*

**Ne:’    neh      gējóhgowa:nēh    neh      hadí:nyö’öh.**  
 it is    namely    it’s a big crowd    namely    white men  
*(It is the case that) there was a big crowd of white men.*



## 11. SYNTAX PART 2 AMPLIFYING A SPATIAL, TEMPORAL, OR MODAL MEANING

### 11.1. Introduction

The last chapter described ways in which the meaning of a pronominal prefix can be amplified with several kinds of pronouns, as well as with the more open possibilities introduced by the particle **neh**. It is also possible for the meaning of a prepronominal prefix or an aspect suffix to be amplified with an adverb. This chapter reviews adverbs of that sort, with examples of their use. They may locate an event or state in space (11.2), in time (11.3), epistemologically (11.4), or in degree (11.5).

### 11.2. Location in space

**asdeh** ‘outside, outdoors’

**Ho’ge:’ asdeh.**  
I went there outside  
*I went outside.*

**ö:gyeh** ‘inside, indoors’

**Ö:gyeh da’ágwatgá:nye:’.**  
inside we (ex pl) played there  
*We played inside.*

**dosgëh** ‘near, nearby, close’

**Dosgëh o’wa:dö’.**  
close it became  
*It got close.*

**ga:o’** ‘this way, in this direction’

**Ga:o’ dasa:tis!**  
this way move here!  
*Move this way!*

**gatgá’hoh** ‘somewhere, anywhere’

**Në:gë:h ganödayë’ gatgá’hoh.**  
this town somewhere  
*Somewhere in this town.*

**de’gátga’hoh** ‘nowhere’

**De’gátga’hoh de’age:nö:’.**  
nowhere I didn’t go there  
*I didn’t go anywhere.*



**he'tgēh** 'up, overhead'

**He'tgēh ho'wáhge:t.**  
up it went there  
*It went up.*

**hó:öweh** 'over there'

**Hó:öweh tadinöge'.**  
over there they live  
*They live over there.*

**nékoh** 'here' (also **nékoh, nókoh**)

**Nékoh ye'jō'.**  
here she stays  
*She stays here.*

**nō'gē:'** 'in the back, behind, the last one, afterwards, earlier'

**Da:h nō'gē:' ne'hoh.**  
so in the back there  
*So there in the back.*

**Nō'gē:' hatgá:nyeh.**  
in the back he plays  
*Backfield player (football), guard (basketball).*

**Nō'gē:' dwē:nishāde:nyök.**  
in the back in those days  
*In the old days.*

**Nō'gē:' shō:h o'gayagē't neh jísda'tšéö'.**  
the last just it emerged namely fawn  
*The very last to emerge was the fawn*

**hó:gwa:h** 'toward there' (also **hó:öwé:gwa:h**)

**Da:h o:nēh negē' hó:gwa:h skdake'.**  
so then specifically toward there I'm running back  
*So then I was running back that way.*

**Hó:öwé:gwa:h koh sē:nōh ne'hoh hēhse:h.**  
toward there and don't there you will go there  
*And don't go over there.*

**sí:gwa:h** 'over there, further'

**Sí:gwa:h shō:h nō:yo'dé:ök.**  
over there just the way it continued to be  
*How it was over there.*

**we:ëh** ‘far’

**We:ëh osgáwak’ah hwa:ëne:’.**  
far next to the brush they went there  
*They went far off next to the brush.*

### 11.3. Location in time

**o:nëh** ‘now, then, at a particular time’

**O:nëh ni:’ ëgáhdë:di’.**  
now I I will go  
*Now I will go.*

**O:nëh o’didwanò:nyó:’.**  
now we give thanks for it  
*Now we give thanks for it.*

**O:nëh wá:diáshë:’.**  
then they held a council  
*Then they held a council.*

**Da:h o:nëh o:ya’ sa:onya:k.**  
so then another he married again  
*So then he married someone else.*

**Ne:’ neh o:nëh nã:h shò:h koh o’wáhsawë’.**  
it is namely then emphasis just and it began  
*And it was just then that it began.*

**ónëhjih** ‘a long time, long ago’

**Ónëhjih tgögé:nö’.**  
a long time since I’ve seen you  
*It’s been a long time since I’ve seen you.*

**Ónëhjih në:gë:h nijáwë’òh.**  
long ago this what happened  
*This is what happened long ago.*

**jotgö:n** ‘always, all the time’

**Jotgö:n nã:h ye:awi’ neh godá’dishã’.**  
always emphasis she’s carrying it namely her cane  
*She always carried her cane.*

**jáwë’òh** ‘always, each time’

**Jáwë’òh ögyátga:nye:h.**  
always we are playing  
*We were always playing.*

**Jáwě'òh nā:h ne' agáshā:'s jotgō:n.**  
each time emphasis it is I remember it all the time  
*I always remember it.*

**né:wa'** 'at this time, today, nowadays'

**Né:wa' da'ágatō:de'.**  
this time I didn't hear it  
*I didn't hear it this time.*

**O'gyá'dowéhdā:nō' nē:gē:h né:wa'.**  
I think about things this nowadays  
*I think about things nowadays.*

**Nē:gē:h né:wa' wē:níshāde'.**  
this this time today  
*On this day.*

**ne'hó:öweh** 'at that time'

**De'wádesta' ne'hó:öweh.**  
it isn't any use at that time  
*It didn't do any good at that time.*

**ne'hóöwéshö'** 'in those times'

**Da:h nā:h do'ó'dē:nō' ne'hóöwéshö' hi:gē:h.**  
so (emphasis) it wasn't that way in those times those  
*So it wasn't that way in those days.*

**ae'** or **nae'** 'again, another thing' (**nae'** is a contraction of **neh ae'**.)

**Da:h o'gáwaye:ih ae' wa'agoyá'daye:ih.**  
so it is proper again people gather  
*And so it is proper that people gather again.*

**Ĕsgō:gē' ae'.**  
I'll see you again again.  
*I'll see you again.*

(The usual way of saying goodbye.)

**Da:h o:nēh ae' nē:gē:h.**  
so now again this  
*So now this other thing.*

**Nē:gē:h nae' koh nā:h neh hadí:nyö'òh.**  
his again and (emphasis) namely white men  
*And again this was the white men.*

**ahsöh** ‘still, yet’

**Da:h ahsöh nē:gē:h wē:nishāde’.**  
so still this day  
*So still today.*

**Da:h ne:’ ahsöh ni:’ agáshā:’s.**  
so it is still I I remember it  
*So I still remember it.*

**Ahsöh nā:h haksá’a:h.**  
still (emphasis) he’s a boy  
*He’s still a boy.*

**Ahsöh nā:h de’shōwōtgá’wēh.**  
still (emphasis) they haven’t released him  
*They haven’t released him yet.*

**ya:e’** ‘first, before that’

**Ne:’ dih ya:e’ heh nēya:wēh.**  
it is (new topic) first where what will happen  
*This is what will happen first.*

**Ēhsájō’sē:’ ya:e’ nekó:gwa:h.**  
you’ll visit first toward here  
*You’ll visit here first.*

**da’júh** ‘in a short time, for a little while’

**Da’júh nā:h shō:h wá:je’nit.**  
in a short time (emphasis) just he got enough  
*In just a short time he got enough.*

**gatga:’** ‘sometimes’

**Gatga:’ gē:s wá:hge:t da’júh shō:h.**  
sometimes repeatedly he comes for a little while just  
*Sometimes he comes for just a little while.*

**Gatga:’ gē:s o’tgadawē:nye:’ asdeh.**  
sometimes repeatedly I move around outside  
*Sometimes I walk around outside.*

**Ēsáē’he’t gatga:’.**  
you will stop sometimes  
*Stop in sometimes!*

**gē:s** ‘habitually, repeatedly’

**Ne:’ gē:s neh wa:dijí:odō:’.**  
it is repeatedly namely they plugged them up  
*They always plugged them up.*

**Dayáawatéyo’dzēn gē:s.**  
we slid down repeatedly  
*We kept sliding down.*

**Ne’hoh nā:h gē:s jeda:je’s.**  
there (emphasis) repeatedly she’s standing around  
*She kept standing around there.*

**jigwas** or **jigos** or **jigus** ‘soon’

**Jigwas ěsgō:gē’.**  
soon I’ll see you again  
*I’ll see you again soon.*

**Dējíhnita:ě’ jigwas.**  
we’ll talk again soon  
*We’ll talk again soon.*

**Ěgō:nō:n nā:h jigos shō:h.**  
I’ll feed you (emphasis) soon just  
*I’ll feed you pretty soon.*

**te:dē’** ‘yesterday’

**Te:dē’ sa:di:yō’.**  
yesterday they returned  
*They came back yesterday.*

**Ne:’ nō:h neh te:dē’ nōdagayéēnō’.**  
it is I guess namely yesterday how it had been done  
*It must have been done yesterday.*

**johgwē’** ‘finally, in the end’

**Johgwē’ wa’óyě’hí’šō:’.**  
in the end there were mistakes  
*In the end there were mistakes.*

**jē:gwah** ‘abruptly in the course of events, finally, suddenly’

**Jē:gwah shō:h ědwádekō:ni’.**  
finally just we (in pl) will eat  
*Finally we’ll eat.*

**Jë:gwah shō:h waōwōgaidat neh gá:hgwa'gé:onō'.**  
finally just they overcame them namely Gahkwas  
*Finally they got the best of the Gahkwas.*

**Jë:gwah dayótgaeh.**  
suddenly there was a noise  
*Suddenly there was a noise.*

**Ne:' neh jë:gwah o:nëh o'gagwe:ni'.**  
it is namely suddenly then it was possible  
*Suddenly then it was possible.*

(This particle is evidently related to verbs like the following.)

**Wa:jë:gwah nä:h shō:h,**  
the first thing he knew (emphasis) just  
*The first thing he knew,*

(The same word is used as a subordinator that means 'if (abruptly), if it happens that'.)

**Ne:' neh jë:gwah,**  
it is namely if  
*If it happens to be the case that,*

**Jë:gwah shō:h o'se:gë' ga:yë',**  
if just you see it it's lying  
*If you happen to see it lying,*

**Jë:gwah gë:s gwisde' da'agënohdö',**  
if repeatedly something I don't know it  
*If it happens that I don't know something,*

**wa'jih** 'a while ago'

**Wa'jih ne'hoh hegé'sgwa' tganodayë'.**  
a while ago there I was around there in town  
*A while ago I was there in town.*

**Wa'jih shō:h kéonya:nöh.**  
a while ago just I was telling her  
*I was telling her just a little while ago.*

**Sam nä:h wa'jih wá:at?**  
Sam (emphasis) a while ago he went by  
*Did Sam go by a little while ago?*

**ta'gë:'öh** 'after a while'

**Ta'gë:'öh nä:h ne'hoh dödà:da't.**  
after a while (emphasis) there he stood there again  
*After a while he stood there again.*

**Ta'gè:'òh wa'a:gë',**  
after a while she said  
*After a while she said,*

**Ta'gè:'òh nā:h da'a:òh ö:sa:dowä:ta'.**  
after a while (emphasis) it's impossible he would go hunting again  
*After a while he couldn't go hunting anymore.*

**nónëjhj** 'long ago'

**Ëgátšonyá:nö:' gë:s heh niyoje:ëh nónëjhj.**  
I'll tell about things repeatedly where the way it is long ago  
*I'm going to tell about the way things were long ago.*

**Ne:' nónëjhj hadinögek.**  
it is long ago they lived  
*They lived a long time ago.*

**Watgá:nye'shänögek nā:h nónëjhj.**  
there were a lot of games (emphasis) long ago  
*There were a lot of games long ago.*

**11.4. Epistemic orientation.** The following particles orient an event or state epistemically.

**a:yë:'** 'it seems'

**A:yë:' në:gë:h niyo:we' ho'gíó'kdë'.**  
it seems this how far it is where I end it  
*It seems it's come to the point where I finish.*

**A:yë:' ye:yádöshäyëde:ih.**  
it seems she knows books  
*It seems she's well-read.*

**A:yë:' ne:' nö:h.**  
it seems it is I guess  
*I guess so.*

**do:gës** 'really, it's true'

**Do:gës nā:h ne'hoh niyáwë'òh.**  
really (emphasis) that how it happened  
*That's what really happened.*

**Da:h o:nëh do:gës o'gíhsa:k.**  
so then really I looked for it  
*So then I really looked for it.*

**Do:gēs nā:h koh wa'a:gē'.**  
it's true (emphasis) and she said  
*And it's true, she said.*

**de'do:gēs** 'it isn't true'

**Negē' nā:h de'do:gēs.**  
specifically (emphasis) it isn't true  
*It isn't really true.*

**dogé'ö:'** 'in fact, actually'

**Dogé'ö:' nē:gē:h ē:nōdihēhdá:nö:'.  
in fact this they will go down the river  
*In fact they would go down the river.***

**Dogé'ö:' wo'óhsödáe'he't.**  
in fact the night was over  
*In fact the night was over.*

**O'tadēnō:nyö:' koh gē:s dogé'ö:'.  
he gave thanks and repeatedly in fact  
*And in fact he kept giving thanks.***

**gi'shēh** 'maybe, perhaps'

**Wá:nigō:hō't gi'shēh nō:h nā:h.**  
he cheated maybe I guess (emphasis)  
*I guess maybe he cheated.*

**Dewé'nya'e:h nigá:wisda:ge:h gi'shēh.**  
two hundred how many dollars maybe  
*Maybe two hundred dollars.*

**Ha:nyó'ōh ye:nyó'ōh gi'shēh.**  
white man white woman maybe  
*A white man or white woman.*

**gyö'ōh** 'it is said, hearsay'

**Hoksá'dayē' gyö'ōh gwa'hoh.**  
he has a child (hearsay) from before  
*It is said he had a child from before.*

**Wáódi'se:' gyö'ōh gē:s neh ga'séhdano:we'.  
they rode (hearsay) repeatedly namely the train  
*It is said they rode on the train.***

**Da:h o:nēh nā:h gyö'ōh sa:ayö'.  
so then (emphasis) (hearsay) he came back  
*So then it is said he came back.***



**i:wi:h** ‘I think’

**O’kéya’da:at i:wi:h.**  
I depend on them I think  
*I think I depend on them.*

**Hadijinóshō’ōh ni:’ i:wi:h ogéisdōh honēnowē:h.**  
the men I I think the most they are liars  
*I think the men are the biggest liars.*

**I:wi:h hó:ōweh hē:ge:’.**  
I think toward there I will go there  
*I think I’ll go there.*

**waih** ‘really, in fact, indeed’

**Ēyógwahdō:’ waih nō:h.**  
we’ll lose it really I guess  
*I guess we’ll really lose it.*

**Ne:’ waih nē:gē:h hēnōjá:’dahgwa’.**  
it is really this they use it  
*This is what they really use.*

**O’gátgēhjis waih.**  
I got old really  
*I really got old.*

**nō:h** ‘I guess’

**Ne:’ nō:h agyé’his.**  
it is I guess I did wrong  
*I guess I did wrong.*

**Do:gēs nō:h.**  
it’s true I guess  
*I guess so.*

**Gowénōih nō:h.**  
she’s crazy I guess  
*I guess she’s crazy.*

**wa:i’** ‘I thought’

**Ne’hoh koh ha’degaye:i’ wa:i’.**  
that and it’s enough I thought  
*And I thought that was enough.*

**Wa:i' niyóíwa' ěgátšonyá:nō'?**  
I thought the way it is I will tell about things  
*I thought I would tell about how things were.*

**Wa:i' dĕgadesnack.**  
I thought I will have a snack  
*I thought I would have a snack.*

**ga:nyó'agwah** 'different'

**Ga:nyó'agwah heh nioĕnó'dĕ:h.**  
different there his song  
*His song was different.*

**Ga:nyó'agwah neh na'áhdĕ'ĕh.**  
different namely things  
*Different things.*

**Niĕnōhó'dĕ:nō' nónĕhjih ga:nyó'agwah.**  
how their lives were long ago different  
*How their lives were different long ago.*

**negĕ'** 'specifically, uh'. This common particle fills a hesitation during which the speaker chooses an appropriate word to follow. Perhaps the best English translation is 'uh'.

**I:s negĕ' hi:gĕ:h?**  
you specifically that one  
*Were you (specifically) the one?*

**Ne:' negĕ' e:i'.**  
it is specifically wild cherry  
*It's (specifically) wild cherry*

**Dayó'hasdĕh negĕ' dagádake'.**  
it speeded up specifically it ran there  
*It speeded up (specifically) as it ran.*

**Wa:di:yō' negĕ' neh tganōdayĕ'.**  
they arrived specifically namely in town  
*They arrived (specifically namely) in town.*

**11.5. Orientation in degree.** The following particles orient an event or state in terms of degree.

**á:hō'ōh** 'the most'

**Ne:' á:hō'ōh wadísha:nis.**  
it is the most it scares them  
*It scares them the most.*

**Ne:' á:hö'öh óiowa:nëh.**  
it is the most an important matter  
*It's the most important thing.*

**Ne:' á:hö'öh hadíyëöh honótga:nyé'tši:yo:h.**  
it is the most they know how they are playing well  
*They knew how to play the best.*

**agwas** 'very, very much'

**Agwas hayá'dagwëni:yok.**  
very much he was the important one  
*He was greatly honored.*

**Agwas waöwögaida:t.**  
very they defeated him  
*He was completely defeated.*

**Agwas koh aknósde' nekoh.**  
very and I treasure it here  
*And I treasure it here very much.*

**á:hdak** 'very much, too much'

**Ä:hdak ojiwagëh.**  
too much it's sour  
*It's too sour.*

**Ä:hdak ke:dë:s háe'gwah.**  
very much I'm good to her also  
*I was very good to her too.*

**Hodí:waná:gwáhdöh á:hdak gëdzanöge'.**  
he was surprised very much there are a lot of fish  
*He was surprised there were so many fish.*

**dóhdahgeh** 'very, extremely'

**Dóhdahgeh onó'no:h.**  
extremely it's cold  
*It's extremely cold.*

**Dóhdahgeh owänöe'.**  
extremely it's sweet  
*It's extremely sweet.*

**ostö:h** 'a little bit'

**O'wé:no:dö:' ostö:h.**  
it flooded a little  
*It flooded a little bit.*

**O:nëh gë:s a:yë:' ostö:h sawíyo'he't.**  
then repeatedly it seems a little it got better  
*Then it seemed to get a little better.*

**Ne:' shö:h neh ostö:h osgawayë'.**  
it is just namely a little brush  
*There was just a little bit of brush.*

**sa'** 'little, a little way'

**Sa' niyo:we' ha'dósa:da't.**  
a little how far he stopped again  
*After a little way he stopped again.*

**Sa' niénöhó's'ah.**  
little little ones  
*Little babies.*

**Sa' niyághó'öh.**  
little little girl  
*A little girl.*

**sa'gwah** 'instead'

**Sa'gwah hénókdös.**  
instead they come  
*They come instead.*

**Ne:' koh gáíö:nih sa'gwah ne'hoh gi'jö'.**  
it is and it's the reason instead there I live  
*And that's the reason I live there instead.*

**shö:h** 'just, only'

**Wis nigá:wisda:ge:h nä:h shö:h.**  
five how many dollars (emphasis) just  
*It was just five dollars.*

**Dayótgë'ò:je' shö:h.**  
it was getting worse just  
*It was just getting worse.*

**Da:h dagésgatgwëh shö:h nä:h i' gë:s.**  
so I laughed just (emphasis) I repeatedly  
*So I just laughed.*

**to:hah** ‘almost, nearly’

**O’jógëhö:di’**                      **o:nëh to:hah.**  
when it becomes summer    then    almost  
*When it’s almost summer.*

**To:hah ëgyënë:da’t.**  
almost    I’ll have it ready  
*I almost have it ready.*

**To:hah dewadogwá’tši:h niwadogwá’shä’ä:h.**  
almost    two spoonfuls    small spoonfuls  
*Almost two teaspoons.*

**we:so’** ‘a lot, much’

**We:so’ ne:’ wa’ögyësdë’.**  
a lot    it is    she taught me  
*She taught me a lot.*

**Ne:’ we:so’ ha:négehak.**  
it is    a lot    he used to drink it  
*He used to drink a lot of it.*

**We:so’ negë’ ha’de:yö:h nö’ga:je:’.**  
a lot    specifically    many things    I did  
*I did a lot of different things.*

## 12. SYNTAX PART 3 AMPLIFYING THE MEANING OF AN ENTIRE VERB

### 12.1. Introduction

This chapter describes ways in which the meaning of a main verb can be amplified by the addition of a subordinate verb which is introduced by a subordinating particle. Spatial subordination is described in 12.2, temporal subordination in 12.3, manner subordination in 12.4, and purposive subordination in 12.5. Attribution of speech is described in 12.6, and attribution of thought in 12.7. Embedded questions are described in Chapter 15.

### 12.2. Spatial subordination

By far the most common spatial subordinator is **hě:öweh** ‘where’. The subordinate verb may amplify the meaning of the translocative prefix in the main verb, expressed by the initial **h-** in the following example.

**Ho’gáhge:t gë:s hě:öweh o’ténödé’säë’.**  
I went there repeatedly where they voted  
*I kept going there where they voted.*

The translocative prefix may itself be supplemented by the particle **ne’hoh** ‘there’.

**Ne’hoh hędwe:’, hě:öweh tēn’jō’.**  
there we will go there where they are staying there  
*Let us go there where they are staying.*

The main verb may have an intrinsically spatial meaning, as with the verb meaning ‘stay (somewhere)’.

**Ne:’ shō:h neh gi’jō’ hě:öweh knōge’.**  
it is just namely I stay where I live  
*I just stay where I live.*

The subordinate verb may function as a spatial complement to a cognitive verb.

**Háé’gwah o’gyēde:i’, hě:öweh ogwe:nyō:h ěge:go’.**  
also I learned where it is possible I will pick it  
*I also learned where I could pick it.*

**Agénöhdō’ háé’gwah hě:öweh ne:’ neh jo:yě’.**  
I know it also where it is namely it is there  
*I also know where there is some.*

Another spatial subordinator is **gatgá’hoh** ‘anywhere’.

**Gë:s waenödē’ gatgá’hoh hwa:e’.**  
repeatedly I followed him anywhere he went there  
*I always followed him anywhere he went.*

Similar in usage is **gawédi'gwah** 'wherever'.

**Wa:agë' së'ëh nã:h, gawédi'gwah nijawe:nö:h hi:gë:h.**  
 he saw it because emphasis wherever how it has come that one  
*Because he saw wherever that one came from.*

The particle **gáédi'gwah** is still another alternative.

**Ho'she' hodé'gwë:öje', gáédi'gwah ho'we:'.**  
 it chased him there he was running away wherever it went there  
*It chased him as he was running away, wherever it went.*

### 12.3. Temporal subordination

There are two commonly used temporal subordinators whose functions overlap. Unlike the spatial subordination in 12.2, temporal subordination typically precedes the main verb.

The simplest temporal subordinator is **ga:nyo'** 'when, as soon as'.

**Ga:nyo' nã:h wa'ögwagë:'dé', wa'ákiyáshë:'.**  
 when emphasis we got tired of it we laid them down  
*As soon as we got tired of it, we laid them down.*

The other common temporal subordinator is **no:nëh** 'when', transparently a contraction of **neh** 'namely' and **o:nëh** 'then, at a particular time'. It often occurs in the sequence **ne:' no:nëh** 'it is (the case that) when...' The main verb may be introduced with a resumptive **o:nëh** 'then'.

**Ne:' no:nëh wa'ójohgwé'he't, o:nëh ne:' wá:tšo:wi'.**  
 it is namely when the crowd settled down then it is he told about it  
*When the crowd settled down, then he told about it.*

**Ne:' no:nëh o'dwásgä:', o:nëh ne'hoh wá:'wasda:ya't.**  
 it is when it opened its mouth then there he put in the stick  
*When it opened its mouth, then he put the stick in there.*

**Ga:nyo'** and **no:nëh** sometimes occur in sequence.

**Ne:' ga:nyo' no:nëh o'gájashé:nö', o:nëh ne:' o'gëñöhdö:nyö:'.**  
 it is when when I go to bed then it is I think  
*When I go to bed, then I think.*

A temporal subordinating particle sequence is **o:nëh wa:eh** 'before', consisting of **o:nëh** followed by **wa:eh** 'just then, at that specific time':

**Eodiga:yëh o:nëh wa:eh ogwe:nyö:h ha'gwísdë'.**  
 they will consent then just then it is possible something  
*They will give their consent before anything is possible.*

The particle **wědódi'gwah** 'whenever' is used when the specific time is left open.

**Ne:' waih neh é:nöhsödaye:öni' wědódi'gwah ëyagoyá'daye:ih.**  
it is indeed namely they will set a night whenever people will gather  
*They will set a night when people will gather.*

#### 12.4. Manner subordination

The particle **heh** has no single or obvious English translation. It appears very often before a verb that begins with the partitive prefix, where it might be translated 'how, in what manner, at what point, to what degree' depending on the meaning of the verb.

**heh niyó'dē:h**  
how it is a certain way  
*the way it is*

**heh niyoje:eh**  
how it has been done  
*how it was done*

**heh niyáwē'öh**  
how it has happened  
*what happened*

The sequence **heh niyo:we'** 'how far it is' can be translated 'until'.

**heh niyo:we' sa:ayö' neh ha'nih**  
how as far as it is he came back namely father  
*until father returned*

If the subordinate verb lacks the partitive prefix and if that verb has a spatial meaning, the best translation may be 'where'.

**Wa:di:yö' heh todinöda:yē'.**  
they arrived where they camp there  
*They arrived where they camped.*

**Ganyo:' ëgádakenöjé'se:k, heh ëyöédza:de:k.**  
game it will continue to run about where the earth will be  
*Game will continue to be running about where the earth will be.*

#### 12.5. Purposive subordination

The usual way of expressing purpose, often the purpose of going somewhere, is with a verb whose base ends with the andative derivational suffix followed by the purposive suffix, but without either the factual or the future modal prefix (5.5.8.1). The last word in the following example can be reconstructed as *\*shökh-ihnök-h-e'*, where **-h-** is the andative and **-e'** is the purposive.



**Da:h o:néh nā:h wa:ayō' neh, shōkí:nōke'.**  
 so then emphasis he arrived namely he was to get us  
*So then he arrived to get us.*

Occasionally a purposive meaning is implied by an andative verb alone, without the purposive suffix. Here the last word can be reconstructed as \*o'-k-yēta-kwa-h-a', where again -h- is the andative, followed by the punctual aspect suffix -a'.

**O:néh asdeh ho'ge' o'gyēdagwà:'.**   
 then outside I went there I went and got firewood  
*Then I went outside to get firewood.*

**12.6. Attributing speech.** The principal verb root of saying is the irregular \*-atō/ē/i-. The form \*-atō- occurs in the habitual aspect, \*-ē- in the stative, and \*-i- in the punctual and imperative. However, with a feminine singular agent the punctual form is -ē- and the feminine singular agent form is \*yak-. Thus, for example

**ha:d:oh** 'he says'  
**ha:wē:h** 'he has said'  
**wāē'** 'he said' (from \*wa'hai')  
**yō:dōh** 'she says'  
**ga:wē:h** 'she has said'  
**wa'a:gē'** 'she said' (from \*wa'yakē')

The verb of saying may simply precede a direct quote.

**Da:h o:néh wa'a:gē', 'Sē:nōh shō:h ēhsátga:nya't.**  
 so then she said don't just you will play with it  
*So then she said, 'Just don't play with it.'*

**Ne:' neh wāē', 'Ne:' dih ya:e' heh nēya:wēh.'**  
 it is namely he said it is topic first how it will happen  
*He said, 'This is what will happen first.'*

It is common in storytelling for the attribution to follow the quote, and to be preceded by the hearsay particle **gyō'ōh**.

**'Asdeh nō:h gotgá:nye:', gyō'ōh wa'a:gē'.**  
 outside I guess she's playing hearsay she said  
*'I guess she's playing outside,' she said.*

**'Heh nihšano:we', gyō'ōh wāē'.**  
 how you run fast hearsay he said  
*'You're such a fast runner,' he said.*

Although they are comparatively rare, there are occasional examples of indirect speech in which there is a shift from first to third person. In the following example, what he actually said was **Owísä'gëshö' sa:kät** 'I went back on the ice'.

**Waë' waih owisá'gëshö' sá:at.**  
he said in fact on the ice he went by again  
*He said he went back on the ice.*

**12.7. Attributing thought.** Direct thoughts are expressed in a parallel way.

**Ne:' neh wa'ë:', 'Ne:' neh ëwógatö:de:k.'**  
it is namely she thought it is namely I will hear it  
*She thought, 'I will hear it.'*

**Da:h o:nëh wa:e', 'Da'á:öhh à:kät hi:gë:h.'**  
so then he thought it's impossible he might pass me that one  
*So then he thought, 'That one can't pass me.'*

In the following examples the attribution is accompanied by **gyö'öhh** and follows the quoted thought. Here the aspect is stative.

**'Ne:' ha'dà:yá'di:h,' gyö'öhh i:yë:h.**  
it is he's all alone hearsay she is thinking  
*'He's all alone,' she was thinking.*

**'A:yë:' gwa:h i:' a:yögwáya'dágeha',' gyö'öhh i:eh.**  
it seems but us it should help us hearsay he is thinking  
*'But it seems it should help us,' he was thinking.*

There are also occasional examples of indirect thought, with a shift from first to third person. In this example his actual thought was **áeyá'dohda:ah** 'I will put him out'.

**Wa:e' ö:wöyá'dohda:ah.**  
he thought he would put him out  
*He thought he would put him out (in a ball game).*

In another example of indirect thought his actual thought was **ëkéshe'dá:ni:nö'** 'I will buy them a bottle'.

**I:eh gyö'öhh neh, éögöshé'da:ni:nö'.**  
he is thinking hearsay namely he will buy them a bottle  
*He was thinking he would buy them a bottle.*



### 13. SYNTAX PART 4 WORD ORDER

Seneca is a language that might be described as exhibiting ‘free word order’, which is to say that its words are not ordered in a familiar pattern such as subject-verb-object, subject-object-verb, or the like. In Chapters 10-12 we saw how words and phrases that amplify the content of a verb quite naturally follow that verb. The manner in which the ordering of words within phrases is determined by a variant of ‘information flow’ was described in Chafe (1994c: 156-159). That discussion is summarized here.

While describing a birthday celebration at the Longhouse, the person being celebrated said

- 1 **Gëdzöh oëno’ waënoðëno:dë’.**  
fish its song they sang it  
*They sang fish dance.*

The first two words, **gëdzöh oëno’**, literally ‘fish its song’, are a lexicalized reference to a familiar Seneca dance. As with lexicalized phrases in general, they occur only in a fixed order. Of more interest is that fact that the fish dance was mentioned first in the phrase, the reverse of the English order. From an English point of view it might be thought that 1 shows the order object-verb, but Seneca is an agent-patient language where subjects and objects do not play a role. One might then hypothesize that 1 shows a patient-verb order, but that possibility is belied by 2, where the patient comes second.

- 2 **O’kniyö:dö:’ gwidë’shö’öh.**  
I hung them up some things  
*I hung up some things.*

Prior to 1 it had been said that various songs (or dances) had been performed, so the idea of singing was already given. The ordering in 1 might thus seem to show a principle of new information before given. However, that hypothesis is disconfirmed by the fact that in 2 it was the entire event, not just the hanging up, that was new.

Here we can evoke the principle of ‘newsworthiness’ (Mithun 1987, 1995b), where the first element in a phrase is the most newsworthy. The speaker of 2 saw no need to specify the particular objects she had been hanging up, and perhaps did not even remember what they were. It was the action of hanging them up that was newsworthy, because her physical condition made it difficult for her. The unimportant identity of what she was hanging up was expressed only in the most general terms.

The principle can be stated as follows. A noun whose referent is more newsworthy than the remainder of a phrase appears before the verb, whereas a less newsworthy nominal referent appears after the it. The nominal expression need not be a patient, as it was in 1 and 2. In 3 it was the idea of the white woman.

- 3 **Ye:nyó’öh shö:h yökdös sedëhjah.**  
white woman just she comes in the morning  
*A white woman just comes in the morning.*

In 4 we see the opposite. The idea of the man was already given, and the addition of the wife did not increase the newsworthiness of this referent. What was newsworthy was the idea of their running around.

4 **Ne:**’ **o’tšè:hda:tö:**’      **neh**      **yada:tšo:**’.  
it is    they two ran around    namely    man and wife  
*The man and his wife ran around.*

Mithun (1995a) suggested that this ‘newsworthy first’ strategy takes advantage of the heightened pitch and amplitude that are likely to be found at the beginning of an intonation unit. It does provide a satisfying explanation for word order in Seneca and probably in other Northern Iroquoian languages. Certainly, however, newsworthiness needs to be more clearly defined.

## 14. SYNTAX PART 5 COORDINATION

### 14.1. Introduction

This chapter describes ways in which two or more constituents of a sentence may be conjoined.

**14.2. Simple juxtaposition.** Two verbs may be simply juxtaposed with no overt marker of coordination.

**O'tadenyó'daga:i' wa:anyo'.**  
he took advantage of it he killed it  
*He took advantage of it and killed it.*

**O'tga:dë' nã:h gyö'öh dosgëh neh wa'ödädë'.**  
it flew emphasis hearsay nearby namely it perched  
*It flew and perched nearby.*

### 14.3. koh 'and'.

The conjunction **koh** 'and' makes the coordination explicit and joins constituents of equal importance. It is frequently postposed, as in the first example.

**Ha'de:yö:h níajehak, hëdzó'yasgwa' koh.**  
many things he used to do it he used to fish and  
*He used to do many things, and he used to fish.*

**O'tënöjanöë' ae' né:wa' koh wá:tgwe:ni'.**  
they raced again this time and he won  
*They raced and again this time he won.*

**Dedzá:öh ögwé'ö:we:ka', ga:nyó'öka:' koh age:ta:'.**   
both Indian ways white ways and I'm talking  
*I'm talking both Indian and English.*

### 14.4. háé'gwah or há:gwah 'also, too'

Whereas **koh** joins constituents of equal weight, **háé'gwah** 'also, too' is attached to a constituent that supplements preceding information.

**Ogwe:nyö:h éówisda:go' neh sgagä:dí:gwa:h háé'gwah.**  
it's possible he will take money namely the other side also  
*It's possible he will take money from the other side too.*

In the following example the role of the mother and grandmother, who are conjoined with **koh**, is shown with **háé'gwah** to be supplementary to the role of the speaker (who saw him first).



**Ne:' neh dó:di'nigöeyë:da's,**  
it is namely they don't understand it  
*They didn't understand it,*

**gwa:h heh ögwá'nigöeyë:da's ni:' neh hadiksa'shö'öh.**  
but we understand it we namely children  
*but we children did understand it.*

**Gwa:h heh do'ódesdö:' a:yë:'.**   
but it didn't do any good it seems  
*But it didn't seem to do any good.*

#### 14.7. **së'ëh** 'because'

Corresponding to English 'because' is Seneca **së'ëh**.

**Awédetgä:de' së'ëh dösayogéhö:di' o:nëh.**  
it's pleasant because it's summer again now  
*It's pleasant because it's summer again now.*

**Ha'degagö:n së'ëh gyö'öh.**  
it's necessary because hearsay  
*Because it's necessary.*

**Ne:' së'ëh neh knöe's.**  
it is because namely I like it  
*It's because I like it.*





## 15. QUESTIONS

### 15.1. Introduction.

Questions fall into two major classes: ‘yes-no questions’ which ask the addressee to confirm or disconfirm an assertion, and ‘information questions’ which ask the addressee to provide the kind of information specified by a question word.

**15.2. Yes-no questions.** Unlike the other Five Nations languages, Seneca lacks a particle that would signal a yes-no question, which is distinguished from a declarative sentence by intonation alone. The final syllable of a yes-no question is pronounced with a level (as opposed to falling) pitch, which may be either in the middle of or near the bottom of the speaker’s range, as illustrated in the following examples. Figure 15.1 compares the falling intonation contour of **wa’ójashë:** ‘she lay down’ with the mid level contour of **wa’ójashë:** ‘did she lie down?’ Figure 14.2 compares the falling contour of **esáhdö:** ‘you lost it’ with the low level contour of **esáhdö:** ‘did you lose it?’

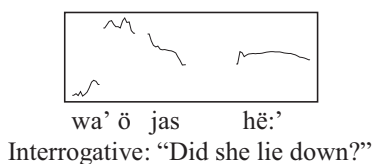
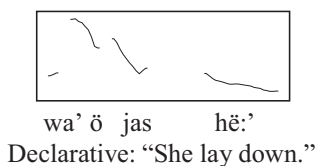


Figure 15.1. “She lay down.” versus “Did she lie down?”

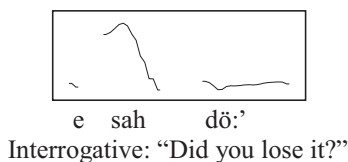
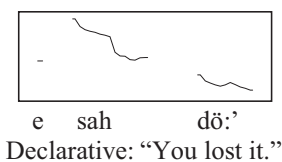


Figure 15.2. “You lost it.” versus “Did you lose it?”

### 15.3. Information questions.

The following particles and particle sequences are used to introduce information questions.

<b>sö:h</b>	‘who?’
<b>wë:döh</b>	‘when?’
<b>ga:weh</b>	‘where?’
<b>do:h</b>	‘how much, how many?’
<b>dë’ëh</b>	‘what?’ or ‘how?’
<b>dë’ëh na’ot</b>	‘what kind, what way?’
<b>dë’ëh go:wa:h</b>	‘why?’

Examples:

**Sö:h nō:ye:’?**  
who? he did it  
*Who did it?*

**Wë:döh nō:ye:’?**  
when? he did it  
*When did he do it?*

**Ga:weh snöge’?**  
where? you dwell  
*Where do you live?*

**Do:h nisá:wisda:yë’?**  
how much? how much money you have  
*How much money do you have?*

**Dë’ëh na’ot hayásö:nö’?**  
what what kind his name was  
*What was his name?*

**Dë’ëh go:wa:h o’snyáde’go’?**  
why you ran away  
*Why did you run away?*

**Dë’ëh nō:ye:’?**  
what? or how? he did it  
*What did he do? or How did he do it?*

The last example is ambiguous. The verb root *\*-yer-* ‘do’ is always arbitrarily accompanied by the partitive prepronominal prefix, visible here in the initial **n**. With the meaning ‘What did he do?’ the partitive prefix is required by the root and contributes no additional meaning of its own, as with the translation ‘What

did he do?’. Alternatively, the partitive prefix may add the meaning ‘how?’ leading to the translation ‘How did he do it?’.

#### 15.4. Embedded questions

An embedded yes-no question may be introduced with the subordinator **jë:gwah** ‘if, whether’.

**Wáéya:ödö:’ jë:gwah ha:hö’ nō:ye:’.**  
I asked him whether he himself he did it  
*I asked him if he did it.*

**Da’agëñóhdö’ jë:gwah ne:’ nō:ye:’.**  
I don’t know if it is he did it  
*I don’t know if he did it.*

With an embedded information question one of the particles listed in 15.3 may occur in place of **jë:gwah**.

**Wáéya:ödö:’ sō:h nō:ye:’.**  
I asked him who he did it  
*I asked him who did it.*

**Wáéya:ödö:’ wë:döh nō:ye:’.**  
I asked him when he did it  
*I asked him when he did it.*

**Wáéya:ödö:’ dë’ëh go:wa:h nō:ye:’.**  
I asked him why he did it  
*I asked him why he did it*

**15.5. The irrealis marker di’gwah.** Other constructions make use of the irrealis marker **di’gwah**, which appears sometimes as a separate word and sometimes as a clitic attached to one of the particles listed in 15.3. It may occur by itself as a way of admitting a lack of knowledge.

**A:ge:h, di’gwah!**  
oh dear (irrealis)  
*Oh dear, I don’t know!*

**Di’gwah nā:h nēya:wëh.**  
(irrealis) (emphasis) what will happen  
*I don’t know what will happen.*

With an embedded irrealis yes-no question the subordinator may be simply **di’gwah**, indicating a greater degree of uncertainty than with **jë:gwah**.

**Da’agëñóhdö’ di’gwah na’ot nō:ye:’.**  
I don’t know (irrealis) what kind he did it  
*I don’t know what he did.*

**Da'agēnóhdö' di'gwah go:wa:h nö:ye:'.**  
 I don't know (irrealis) why he did it  
*I don't know why he did it.*

**O'gádáóhdi:yos nē:gē:h di'gwah na'ot.**  
 I listen hard to it this (irrealis) what  
*I listen hard to whatever this is.*

When **di'gwah** is cliticized to an interrogative particle it indicates greater uncertainty than the interrogative particle alone. **Só:di'gwah** by itself can be translated 'whoever'.

**O'tšadadi:wa'is, só:di'gwah ogéisdöh ha'hásdešowanéh.**  
 they discussed it whoever it is more he has great power  
*They discussed, whoever was the more powerful.*

**Da'agēnóhdö' só:di'gwah nö:ye:'.**  
 I don't know whoever he did it  
*I don't know whoever did it.*

**De'swágasha:a's só:di'gwah waë'.**  
 I don't remember it whoever he said it  
*I don't remember whoever said it.*

The same pattern is followed with **dē'ēh** 'what?', **wē:döh** 'when?', and **ga:weh** 'where'.

**De'swágasha:a's dē'ēdi'gwah waë'.**  
 I don't remember it whatever he said it  
*I don't remember whatever he said.*

**De'swágasha:a's wēdódi'gwah waë'.**  
 I don't remember it whenever he said it  
*I don't remember whenever he said it.*

**Da'agēnóhdö' wēdódi'gwah nö:ye:'.**  
 I don't know whenever he did it  
*I don't know whenever he did it.*

**Da'agēnóhdö' gawédi'gwah nö:ye:'.**  
 I don't know wherever he did it  
*I don't know wherever he did it.*

**15.6. The subordinator ádi'gwah.** The subordinator may also be **ádi'gwah**, obviously related to **di'gwah** but a different word. It is translatable, like **jē:gwah**, as 'if, whether', but with greater uncertainty.

**Ne:' neh wá:ga:ödö:' ádi'gwah gyétwas.**  
 it is namely he asked me whether I plant  
*He asked me if I plant.*

**Da:h neh wá:ga:ödö:’ ádi’gwah wiyóaje’.**  
so namely he asked me whether it’s doing well  
*So he asked me if it’s doing well.*

The same **ádi’gwah** is used in an information question where English might use ‘what’ or ‘how’.

**Wa:yáda:ödö:’ ádi’gwah niyó’dë:h ga’nígö:ë’.**  
they (dual) asked what how it is the opinion  
*They asked what the opinion was.*

**Da:h ne:’ da’agëñóhdö’ ádi’gwah në:gë:h nō:di:ye:’.**  
do it is I don’t know how this how they did it  
*So I don’t know how they did this.*

**15.7. Other usages.** Occasionally an indirect question will appear without any of the above subordinators. If the question involves which instance of a category is the correct one, **na’ot**, roughly ‘what kind’ or ‘which instance’, may be used alone.

**De’swágasha:a’s na’ot gaya:söh.**  
I don’t remember it what kind it is called  
*I don’t remember what it’s called.*

The verb root **\*-wyëh-** ‘know how’ appears without a subordinator in the following.

**De’géyéöh a:gatí’sdaé’.**  
I don’t know how I should talk  
*I don’t know how to talk.*



## 16. IMPERATIVES

### 16.1. Introduction

The minimal imperative verb structure is shown in Figure 16.1. It is identical with the minimal structure containing the habitual and stative aspects shown in Figure 3.1 except for the presence of the imperative suffix.

pronominal prefix	verb base	aspect suffix
agent patient transitive	root	imperative

Figure 16.1. Minimal imperative verb structure

### 16.2. Forms of the imperative suffix

The form of the imperative suffix is identical with that of the punctual suffix (3.3.3), except that wherever the punctual has a final ' (glottal stop), the imperative has **h**.

**sahdë:dih** 'go!', cf. **o'gáhdë:di** 'I went'  
**dwatgwe:nih** 'let's win!', cf. **edwátgwe:ni** 'we won'  
**snönó'dotših** 'peel the potatoes!', cf. **o'knónó'do:tši** 'I peeled the potatoes'  
**snegeäh** 'drink it!', cf. **o'knégeä** 'I drank it'  
**sajë:h** 'sit down!', cf. **o'ga:jë:** 'I sat down'  
**satis** 'move over!' cf. **o'ga:tis** 'I moved over'  
**hešenöwö's** 'help him!', cf. **waeyenö:wö's** 'I helped him'  
**se'ho:we:k** 'cover it!', cf. **o'gé'ho:we:k** 'I covered it'  
**sashe:t** 'count it', cf. **o'ga:she:t** 'I counted it'

### 16.3. The form of the second person agent prefix in imperatives

In imperatives the second person agent prefix is descended from an earlier \***θ**- (theta), as suggested by the form of this prefix in the Tuscarora language. In most environments this **θ** has fallen together with Seneca **s** and is thus indistinguishable from the second person agent prefix in non-imperative verbs. However, before a base that begins with **y** this prefix in imperatives is **dz-** or **j-** depending on the speaker; see 2.3), and before a base beginning with **i** it is consistently **j-** for all speakers.

**sajë:h** (\*satyë:h) 'sit down!'  
**se:goh** (\*sekoh) 'pick it!'  
**i:dza'k** or **i:ja'k** (\*iθya'k) 'cut it!'  
**i:dzën** or **i:jën** (\*iθyëht) 'hit it!'



**ji'ya:k** (\*θi'yak) 'shoot it!'  
**jihsa:k** (\*θihsak) 'look for it!'

#### **16.4. Imperatives with prenominal prefixes**

With the repetitive, cislocative, and translocative prefixes, imperatives add the form of the factual, so that the imperative forms of those prefixes are **sa-**, **ta-**, and **ho'**-. The duplicative and partitive forms, however, are simply **te-** and **ni-**.

With the repetitive:

**sasáhge:t** (\*sasahket) 'come back!'  
**saseganya'k** (\*sasekanya'k) 'pay it back!'

With the cislocative:

**dasa:dih** (\*tasatih) 'throw it here!'  
**dasa:tis** (\*tasathihst) 'move this way!'  
**da:dzöh** or **da:jöh** (\*taθyöh) 'come in!'

With the translocative:

**ho'sátgatoh** (\*ho'satkathoh) 'look at it there!'  
**ho'sáde'sgoh** (\*ho'sate'skoh) 'dive in!'

With the duplicative:

**desê:hda:t** (\*tesërëhtat) 'run!'  
**desawënye:h** (\*tesawërye:h) 'stir it!'

With the partitive:

**niya:wëh** (\*niyawëh) 'let it happen!'  
**ni:dze:h** or **ni:je:h** (\*niθyerh) 'do it!'

With the contrastive:

**ta'sa:je:h** (\*tha'satyerh) 'keep still, calm down!'  
**táówö'nígöhó'dëh** (\*thahöwa'niköhra'tëh) 'let him not be cheated!'

With the cislocative prefix and with the duplicative prefix functioning in place of the repetitive (4.4.1.2):

**dödásha:h** (\*tötashawh) 'bring it back!'  
**döda:dzöh** (\*tötaθyöh) 'come back in!'

As described in 4.9.3, a construction that consists of the contrastive and hypothetical prefixes and the imperative suffix is the way of expressing a negative future.

**taedwaye:h** (\*thaetwayerh) ‘we won’t do it’

**tö:sadí:waje:öh** (\*thöösatrihwayeröh) ‘you will not have an accident’

### 16.5. Prohibitions

The prohibitive particle meaning ‘don’t!’ is either **së:nöh** or **hë:noh**, with **së:nöh** more common in the data examined here. It is usually followed by a verb containing the future prefix and the imperative suffix.

**Së:nöh hëhse:h!**

don’t you will go there

*Don’t go there!*

**Së:nöh nëhsa:je:h hi:gë:h!**

don’t you will do it that

*Don’t do that!*

It is often separated from its complement verb by another particle or particles.

**Së:nöh shö:h ne’hoh ëhsé’së:k!**

don’t just there you will continue to be around

*Just don’t be around there!*

It may also occur without a complement.

**Së:nöh waë’.**

don’t he said

*‘Don’t!’ he said.*

With a complement containing the hypothetical modal prefix it expresses a negative purpose.

**Ëhsátgaëök së:nöh so’jih ojígwa’ ha:wadö’.**

you will keep watching it don’t too mush it might become

*Keep watching it so that it doesn’t become too mushy!*

### 16.6. The use of future verbs rather than imperatives

Seneca often uses verbs in the future mode where English would use an imperative. This usage is prevalent, for example, when issuing instructions, as in the following directions for making buttermilk biscuits.

- 1 **O:nö' ähsóhga:' gakse:s.**  
oil you will spread it on it long pan  
*You will grease a baking pan.*
- 2 **Oté'shä' ähsë' gadzë'geh.**  
flour you will put it in in a bowl  
*You will put some flour in a bowl.*
- 3 **Ähsyadö:ni'.**  
you will make a hole  
*You will make a well (in the flour).*
- 4 **Sëh niwadogwá'tsi:h yesà:ta' ähsë'.**  
three full spoons baking powder you will put it in  
*You will put in three tablespoons of baking powder.*
- 5 **Sgashé'di:h onó'gwtgë:h ähsëoto'.**  
one quart buttermilk you will pour it in  
*You will pour in a quart of buttermilk.*
- 6 **Gahsigwä:' ähsyá:'dak,**  
fork you will use it  
*You will use a fork,*
- 7 **ähsadeyé:ös,**  
you will be careful  
*carefully,*
- 8 **dëhsawënye:' neh onó'gwtgë:h.**  
you will stir it namely buttermilk  
*you will stir the buttermilk.*
- 9 **Ostö:shó'öh koh dëhšes neh oté'shä',**  
small amounts and you will mix it namely flour  
*And you will mix in small amounts of flour,*
- 10 **niyo:we' oshé'ä' ëwö:dö'.**  
until dough it will become  
*until it will become dough.*
- 11 **Ähsadëdó:ek neh oshé'ä'.**  
you will knead it namely flour  
*You will knead the flour.*

- 12 **Ostö:h**                    **oshé'ä'** **ëhša'k,**  
a small amount   dough   you will break it  
*You will break off a little dough.*
- 13 **ëhsátwe'nö:ni'**                    **koh.**  
you will make a ball                    and  
*and you will shape it into a ball.*
- 15 **Ëhsés'at**                    **ne'hoh** **nëhše:'.**  
you will use it up   that                    you will do it  
*You will use up the rest the same way.*
- 15 **Gakse:sgeh**                    **koh** **ëhséönyö:'.**  
on the long pan   and                    you will put them on it  
*And you will place them on the baking pan.,*
- 16 **Ëhsátähgö:dë'**                    **niyo:we'** **ëga:ih.**  
you will bake it   until                    it will be done  
*You will bake it until done.*



## 17. INTERJECTIONS

### 17.1. Exclamations

<b>A:ge:h!</b>	‘My goodness! Oh dear!’
<b>A:gye:h!</b>	“
<b>Gye:h!</b>	“
<b>E:gyeh!</b>	“
<b>Agya:h!</b>	‘Ouch!’
<b>Aju:h!</b>	‘Brrr!’ (shivering)
<b>Ä:’!</b>	‘Yuk!’
<b>Dza:göh!</b>	(word of encouragement)
<b>Dzok!</b>	‘Well then immediately!’
<b>Gyo:hoh!</b>	‘Gee whiz!’
<b>Ha:gyeh!</b>	‘Oh boy!’
<b>Ha:h!</b>	‘Hah!’
<b>Hao?’!</b>	‘OK! Go for it!’
<b>Ho:h!</b>	‘Ahah!’
<b>Hoho:h!</b>	‘Ahah!’
<b>Ho’óstö:h!</b>	‘Not at all!’
<b>Në:dah!</b>	‘Here! (offering something)’
<b>O:h!</b>	‘Oh!’
<b>Wá:tšisnëh!</b>	‘Oh go on!’
<b>Wáyë:’ ?</b>	‘Isn’t it?, N’est-ce pas?’

### 17.2. Commands

<b>Ga:jih!</b>	‘Come here!’
<b>Go’geh !</b>	‘Hurry up!’
<b>Si:gwa:h!</b>	‘Go away! Scram!’

### 17.3. Responses

<b>Ĕ:h.</b>	‘Yes.’
<b>Hë’ëh.</b>	‘No.’
<b>Nya:wëh.</b>	‘Thank you.’
<b>Nyoh.</b>	‘So be it! Amen!’

### 17.4. Greetings and goodbyes

<b>Hae’.</b>	‘Hi!’
<b>Nya:wëh sgë:nö’.</b>	‘Hello.’
<b>Sadögweta’?</b>	‘How are you?’
<b>Ĕsgö:gë’ ae’.</b>	‘I’ll see you again.’
<b>Dëjîhnyadade:gë’.</b>	‘We’ll see each other again.’
<b>Dëjîhnyatà:’së’.</b>	‘Our paths will cross.’



## 18. EXAMPLE TEXTS

The four texts that follow were chosen to be representative of several different Seneca genres. Extended examples of ceremonial language are available in Chafe 1961.

Text 1 is a short extemporaneous description of Ed Curry's gardening activities, invented on the spot when he was asked in early fieldwork to provide an example of the Seneca language. He was a master orator, accustomed to delivering ritual speeches and telling stories, and here he showed his ability to create a short piece of unplanned language on the spot.

Text 2 is taken from a conversation between two friends, Lee Hemlock and Stanley Huff, recorded by Alberta Austin on the Cattaraugus Reservation.

Text 3 is one of several stories that explain the origin of the Seneca masks that are known as False Faces (**gagóhsa'**, described in Fenton 1987). This version, told by Solon Jones, is one of several quite different stories regarding their origin.

Text 4 by Roy Jimerson is a semi-historical, beautifully told narrative that provides an interesting window on the Seneca defeat and subsequent assimilation of the **Gá:hgwa'gé:onó'**, who lived to the west of them. They may have been the people known variously as Neutrals, Wenros, or Gahkwas, although Jimerson called them in English Mingos. Here I use the name Gahkwas, which comes closest to the Seneca name. Apparently by the 20th century they had come to be confused with Meskwakis (Fox), some of whom were also adopted by the Senecas (Hunter 1956). A version of this story, told in English by a certain Mr. Parker, is in Caswell 2007 [1892]: 255-256.

Each numbered segment of these texts represents a prosodically defined unit: either a sentence with a final (usually falling) pitch contour, shown with a period, or a nonfinal intonation unit with a nonfinal (level or rising) pitch contour, shown with a comma. The first line of each numbered segment shows the words that were said, the second line shows a breakdown of complex words into the reconstructed forms of component morphemes, the third line glosses those morphemes,<sup>8</sup> the fourth line provides a translation for each word, and the fifth line is a free translation of the entire segment.

Words in the first line are shown as they are pronounced in isolation, ignoring various changes that may have occurred in connected speech. Citing a word in a consistent form, as here, has the advantage of relating it to a consistent dictionary entry, while at the same time illustrating the results of the word-level phonological processes described in Chapter 2. Actual pronunciations may vary, however, depending on the discourse context in which a word is uttered. The word-level prosody described in Chapter 2 may be supplemented or overridden by discourse prosody not fully described in this work. Chafe (1993) described the stylized prosody of two ceremonial speeches, but did not account in detail for the more complex prosody of spontaneous speech.

Telling about an incident in her childhood, one Seneca speaker said this.

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<sup>8</sup> The abbreviation LK is used for a 'stem-joiner' vowel (5.4.2).



**Heh niyo:we' sa:ayö' neh ha'nih.**

how how far he returned namely father

*Until father returned.*

A partial attempt to capture the pronunciation of this excerpt might be the following.

**He niyowe' sa:ayö' ná:'nih.**

Until he returned namely father

We can note first of all that **heh niyo:we'** is an idiom translatable as 'until'. It was pronounced here very softly and rapidly with a shortening of the **o** in **niyo:we'**. The substantive words **sa:ayö'** and **ná:'nih** were pronounced more loudly and slowly. The final **h** of both **heh** and **neh** was lost, as often happens to a word-final **h** when another word immediately follows. When the next word began with an **h**, an intermediate stage such as **ne ha'nih**, would be likely to lose what was now an intervocalic **h**, leaving **ne a'nih**, which would lead further to the contracted and accented sequence **ná:'nih**. Presenting all four texts similarly 'as said' would be a complex and less than fully satisfying undertaking.

**Text 1. Ed Curry's Garden**  
**Recorded at Quaker Bridge, Allegany Reservation, July 11, 1957**

Mr. Curry was asked to say a few words in Seneca, and this is what he immediately produced. It is interesting for its spontaneity, for its repetitions, and for the evidence it gave of matters that concerned him.

- 1 Da:h ne:' dih neh ěgátšonyá:nö:'.  
 ě-k-at-hrory-a-hnö:-'  
 FUT-1.SG.AGT-MID-tell-LK-DIST-PUN  
 so it is topic namely I'm going to tell about things  
 So I'm going to tell about things.**
- 2 Ne:' neh hāgyó'se:h neh hō:gweh.  
 hak-yō-'se:-h h-ōkweh  
 M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-arrive-BEN-STA M.SG.AGT-person  
 it is namely he's visiting me namely man  
 A man was visiting me.**
- 3 Ne:' neh wā:ga:ōdō:' ádi'gwah gyětwas.  
 wa'-hak-ahrötö:-' k-yěthw-ahs  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-ask-PUN 1.SG.AGT-plant-HAB  
 it is namely he asked me whether I plant  
 He asked me if I plant.**
- 4 Da:h o:nēh dwagwénitgě'ōh o'gi'.  
 t-wak-wěn-itkě'-ōh o'-k-i-'  
 CIS-1.SG.PAT-word-emit-STA FAC-1.SG.AGT-say-PUN  
 so then I've spoken out I said  
 So then I spoke out, I said.**
- 5 Do:gēs ne'hoh nā:h.  
 yes indeed that (emphasis)  
 Yes I do.**
- 6 Gyětwas naeh. 7 Ostō:shó'ōh.  
 k-yěthw-ahs o-síhw-ō:h=shō'ōh  
 1.SG.AGT-plant-HAB N.SG.PAT-be.a.few-STA-NDIST  
 I plant (emphasis) a few different things  
 I do plant. A few things.**
- 8 Da:h ne:' wā:ga:ōdō:' ádi'gwah na'áhdě'ēh gyětwas.  
 wa'-hak-ahrötö:-' k-yěthw-ahs  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-ask-PUN 1.SG.AGT-plant-HAB  
 so it is he asked me whatever things I plant  
 So he asked me what kind of things I plant.**

- 9 **Da:h o:nëh o'gátšonyá:nö:'.  
o'-k-at-hrory-a-hnö-:'**  
FAC-1.SG.AGT-MID-tell-LK-DIST-PUN  
so then I told about them  
*So then I told about them.*
- 10 **O'gi',  
o'-k-i-'**  
FAC-1.SG.AGT-say-PUN  
I said  
*I said,*
- 11 **onónö'da' gye:h agyë:töh.  
o-nönö't-a' wak-yëthw-öh  
N.SG.PAT-potatoes-NSF 1.SG.PAT-plant-STA  
potatoes some I've planted  
*I've planted some potatoes.***
- 12 **Onéö' koh gye:h agyë:töh,  
o-nëh-a' wak-yëthw-öh  
N.SG.PAT-corn-NSF 1.SG.PAT-plant-STA  
corn and some I've planted  
*And I've planted some corn,***
- 13 **osáe'da' koh gye:h.  
o-sahe't-a'  
N.SG.PAT-beans-NSF  
beans and some  
*and some beans.***
- 14 **Okdóä'shó'öh koh gye:h.  
o-ktehr-a'=shö'öh  
N.SG.PAT-root-NSF-NDIST  
roots and some  
*And some roots.***
- 15 **O'nóhsa' gye:h.  
o-'nóhs-a'  
N.SG.PAT-onions-NSF  
onions some  
*Some onions.***
- 16 **O'gyáshönyö:' na'áhdë'ëshó'öh agyë:töh.  
o'-k-yas-hönyö-:': na'ahtë'ëh=shö'öh wak-yëthw-öh  
FAC-1.SG.AGT-name-DIST-PUN thing-NDIST 1.SG.PAT-plant-STA  
I named them things I've planted  
*I named the things I planted.***
- 17 **Da:h neh wá:ga:ödö:'  
wa'-hak-ahrötö-:':  
FAC-M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-ask-PUN  
so namely he asked me  
*So he asked me***
- 18 **ádi'gwah wiyóaje'.  
w-iyo-h-atye-'  
N.SG.AGT-be.good-STA-PROG-STA  
whether it's doing well  
*if it's doing well.***

- 19 **Da:h o:nëh wáéo:wi',**  
 wa'-he-hrori-'  
 FAC-1.SG.AGT/M.SG.PAT-tell-PUN  
 so then I told him  
*So then I told him,*
- 20 **ne'hoh nō:h ha'degaye:i',**  
 ha'-te-ka-yeri-'  
 TRANS-DUP-N.SG.AGT-be.proper-STA  
 that I guess it's enough  
*Well enough I guess,*
- 21 **nigaädó'dë:h.**  
 ni-ka-hët-o'të:-h  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-garden-be.a.certain.way-STA  
 how the garden is  
*how the garden is.*
- 22 **Nä:h de'we:so' de'gyë:twas,**  
 te'-w-eso-' te'-k-yëthw-ahs  
 NEG-N.SG.AGT-be.much-STA NEG-1.SG.AGT-plant-HAB  
 (emphasis) not much I don't plant  
*I don't plant much,*
- 23 **da:h ne' gwa:h neh ostö:shó'öh.**  
 o-sthw-ö:h-shó'öh  
 N.SG.PAT-be.a.few-STA-NDIST  
 so it is but namely a few things  
*but a few things.*
- 24 **Da:h ne'hoh nö'jökniä:wëh,**  
 n-a'-t-yökni-hthar-a-wë-h  
 PART-FAC-DUP-EX.DU.PAT-talk-LK-happen-PUN  
 so that how we talked  
*So that's how we happened to talk,*
- 25 **në:h neh hö:gweh hgyó'se:h,**  
 h-ökweh hak-yö-'se:-h  
 M.SG.AGT-person M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-arrive-BEN-STA  
 this namely man he's visiting me  
*this man who was visiting me,*
- 26 **hagáödö:nyöh ádi'gwah gyëtwas.**  
 hak-ahrötö-nyö-h k-yëthw-ahs  
 M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-ask-DIST-HAB 1.SG.AGT-plant-HAB  
 he's asking me things whether I plant  
*who was asking me things about whether I plant*
- 27 **Adi'gwah koh wiyóaje'.**  
 w-iyo-h-atye-'  
 N.SG.AGT-be.good-STA-PROG-STA  
 whether and it's doing well  
*And whether it's doing well.*

- 28 Da:h wáéonyá:nö:’.**  
 wa’-he-hrory-a-hnö-:’  
 FAC-1.SG.AGT/M.SG.PAT-tell-LK-DIST-PUN  
 so I told him  
*So I told him.*
- 29 Da:h ne’hoh nē:gē:h niyóíwa’,**  
 ni-yo-rihw-a-’  
 PART-N.SG.PAT-matter-be.a. size-STA  
 so that this the size of the matter  
*So that's what there was to it,*
- 30 hagáödò:’,**  
 hak-ahrötö-ha’  
 M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-ask-HAB  
 he’s asking me  
*he was asking me,*
- 31 da:h ne’hoh nā:h shö:h koh niyóíwa’**  
 ni-yo-rihw-a-’  
 PART-N.SG.PAT-matter-BE.A.SIZE-STA  
 so that (emphasis) just and the size of the matter  
*and so that was just as much as*
- 32 o’gátšonyá:nö:’.**  
 o’-k-at-hrory-a-hnö-:’  
 FAC-1.SG.AGT-tell-LK-DIST-PUN  
 I told about things  
*I told about.*
- 33 Da:h nehoh.**  
 so that  
*So that's it.*

**Text 2. The Arrival of Spring**  
**Excerpt from a conversation between Leland Hemlock and Stanley Huff**  
**Recorded by Alberta Austin, Cattaraugus Reservation, March 12, 1991**

- 1 L **Wë:nítši:yo:h**                      **në:gë:h**    **né:wa'.**  
w-ëhinishr-iyo-:h  
N.SG.AGT-day-be.good-STA  
it's a nice day                      this                      this time  
*It's a nice day today.*
- 2 S **Mhm, ogwásdöh.**  
o-kwahst-öh  
N.SG.PAT-be.good.weather-STA  
mhm                      it's nice weather  
*Mhm, it's nice weather.*
- 3 L **Ë:h. Awédetgä:de'.**  
AW-ëtetgarat-E'  
N.SG.PAT-be.pleasant-STA  
yes                      it's pleasant  
*Yes. It's pleasant.*
- 4 L **Knigó:ë'**                              **nä:h**                      **ëwódi'no't.**  
k-niköhr-a-r-'  
1.SG.AGT-mind-LK-be.in-STA  
I'm anxious                              (emphasis)                      they will peep  
*I'm anxious for the peepers to peep.*
- 5 L **Gawëni:yo:h**                              **gë:s**                      **ëhsádi:wátö:dëh.**  
ka-wën-iyo-:h  
N.SG.AGT-sound-be.good-STA  
it's a nice sound                              repeatedly                      you will listen to it  
*It's always a nice sound when you listen to it.*
- 6 S **Ë:h, ëdzo:hë't**                              **nö:h**    **nä:h**                      **shö:h,**  
ë-s-yo-rhë'-t  
FUT-REP-N.SG.PAT-become.day-PUN  
yes                      tomorrow again                              I guess    (emphasis)    just  
*Yes, tomorrow again I guess,*
- 7 S **dëyógëhó:di'**                              **nä:h**                      **dëgánöe't,**  
t-ë-yo-gënhöti-'  
DUP-FUT-N.SG.PAT-become.mild-PUN  
it will become mild                              (emphasis)                      it will be liked  
*there will be welcomed mild weather,*
- 8 S **ëshënidzó'yaka'.**  
ë-s-hën-its-o'hak-h-a'  
FUT-REP-M.PL.AGT-fish-throw-AND-PUN  
they'll go fishing again  
*they'll go fishing again.*

- 9 L **Ge:gëh** **gë:s** **ga'séhdagéödö'** **hó:öweh,**  
 ke-kë-h ka-'seht-a-kehöt-ö-'  
 1.SG.AGT-see-HAB N.SG.AGT-car-LK-lay.down-DIST-STA  
 I see it repeatedly cars parked over there  
*I keep seeing cars parked over there,*
- 10 L **onödagó:gwa:h.**  
 o-nöt-akö:h=kwa:h  
 N.SG.PAT-hill-INT.LOC-TOWARD  
 below the hill.  
*below the hill.*
- 11 L **Adi'gwah nä:h gwa:h,**  
 whether (emphasis) but  
 But whether,
- 12 L **ga:o'** **nëdwë:ne:'** **neh,**  
 n-ë-t-wën-en-'  
 PART-FUT-NONM.PL.AGT-come-PUN  
 this way how they will come namely  
*when they come this way,*
- 13 L **de'ónesdo:h** **neh lake ahsöh.**  
 te'-yo-nehsto-:h  
 NEG-N.SG.PAT-be.frozen-STA  
 it isn't frozen namely lake still  
*the lake isn't still frozen.*
- 14 S **Gwisdë' dih nä:h hadiye:nö:s?**  
 hati-yenö-s  
 M.PL.AGT-catch-HAB  
 something (topic shift) (emphasis) they catch it  
*Do they catch anything?*
- 15 S **Onenöje'** **o:nëh negë'.**  
 o-nea-tye-'  
 N.SG.PAT-be.warm-prog-STA  
 it's getting warm now specifically  
*It's getting warm now.*
- 16 S **Ö:dawënodawë:ën,** **gë:s** **wa:ëni',**  
 ö:-t-a-wën-at-awëhët-0 wa'-hën-i-'  
 HYP-CIS-HYP-NONM.PL.AGT-MID-go.up-PUN FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN  
 they might come up repeatedly they say  
*They might come up, they always say,*
- 17 S **ga:nyo' gëdzöh.**  
 when fish  
*when there are fish.*

- 18 S **Dëyógëhö:di'** **o:nëh.**  
t-ë-yo-kënhöti-'  
DUP-FUT-N.SG.PAT-become.mild-PUN  
it will become mild now  
*It will become mild now.*
- 19 S **Ha'de:yö:h** **ëswödoja:k.**  
ha'-te-y-ö-:h  
TRANS-DUP-N.SG.AGT-be.an.amount-STA  
everything  
*Everything will grow again.*
- 20 L **We:so'** **gë:s** **hënídzo'ya:s** **ónëhjih wáyë:'.  
w-eso-'  
N.SG.AGT-much-STA  
a lot** **repeatedly** **hën-its-o'yak-s  
M.PL.AGT-fish-throw-HAB  
they fish** **long ago isn't it**  
*They fished a lot in the old days didn't they.*
- 21 L **Gwas de', gwas nä:h,** **a:yë:' gë:s a:h,  
very (neg) very (emphasis) it seems repeatedly ah  
Wasn't it, a lot, it seems,**
- 22 S **tšihšógwe'da:se:'.  
tsi-hs-ökwe't-ase-:'  
COIN-2.SG.AGT-person-young-STA  
when you were young  
when you were young.**
- 23 L **Ë:h, ëwóknö:'s** **nä:h o:nëh.**  
ë-wak-norö-'s-0  
FUT-1.SG.PAT-be.difficult-BEN-PUN  
yes I'll get lazy (emphasis) now  
*Yes, I'm getting lazy now.*
- 24 L **O'gátgëhjis** **nö:h nä:h o:nëh.**  
o'-k-at-këhtsi-hst-0  
FAC-1.SG.AGT-be.old-CAUS-PUN  
I got old I guess (emphasis) now  
*I guess I got old now.*
- 25 S **Mm, háé'gwah.**  
mm also  
Mm, me too.
- 26 L **Knöe's** **gwa:h nä:h,**  
k-nöhwe'-s  
1.SG.AGT-like-HAB  
I like it but (emphasis)  
*But I like it,*



- 27 L **gëhógöshö'** **ëgadawënye'ha'.**  
 ka-iyh-akö-shö' ë-k-at-awënye-'h-a'  
 N.SG.AGT-creek-INT.LOC-THOROUGH FUT-1.SG.AGT-MID-stir-AND-PUN  
 all along the creek I will go walking  
*to go walking all along the creek.*
- 28 S **Mhm, koh awëdetgä:de'.**  
aw-ëtetkarat-e'  
N.SG.PAT-be.pleasant-STA  
 mhm and it's pleasant  
*and it's pleasant.*
- 29 S **Gadógweta' ga:nyo', o'gënöda:snën gë:s.**  
 k-atökwet-ha' o'-k-ë-nöt-anëht-0  
 1.SG.AGT-feel.well-HAB FAC-1.SG.AGT-hill-descend-PUN  
 I'm feeling well when I go down the hill repeatedly  
*I'm feeling well whenever I go down the hill.*
- 30 L **Irvin gye:h o'jáknýadä't,**  
o'-t-yakny-atra'-t  
FAC-DUP-EX.DU.AGT-come.together-PUN  
 Irvin some we met  
*I met Irvin once,*
- 31 L **hëdzó'ya:s.** 32 S **Ë:h?**  
 ha-its-o'yak-s yes  
 M.SG.AGT-fish-throw-HAB Yes?  
 he's fishing  
*he was fishing.*
- 33 L **Ë:h nekoh, onödagö:h.**  
o-nöt-akö:h  
N.SG.PAT-hill-int.LOC  
 yes here at the bottom of the hill  
*Yes here, at the bottom of the hill.*
- 34 S **Hë:nödásnëta'?**  
 he-h-ë-nöt-asnëht-ha'  
 TRANS-M.SG.AGT-MID-hill-go.down-HAB  
 he goes down the hill there  
*Does he go down the hill there?*
- 35 L **Wa:gadëyogwähde'.**  
 wa'-hak-atëyokwaht-ë'  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT/1.SG.PAT-startle-PUN  
 he startled me  
*He startled me.*

- 36 L **O'gajë:gwah** **shö:h ne:'**,  
 o'-k-atyërékw-ah  
 FAC-1.SG.AGT-realize-PUN  
 I became suddenly aware just it is  
*I suddenly realized,*
- 37 L **o'jáknýadä't.**  
 o'-t-yakny-atra'-t  
 FAC-DUP-EX.DU.AGT-come.together-PUN  
 we met  
*who I met.*
- 38 L **Gwe:göh de:egë:'.**  
 te'-he-kë-:'  
 NEG-1.SG.AGT/M.SG.PAT-see-NEG.PAST  
 not even I didn't see him  
*I didn't even see him.*
- 39 L **Agáta:ine'** **shö:h,**  
 wak-at-hah-ine-'  
 1.SG.PAT-MID-road-proceed-STA  
 I was walking just  
*I was just walking,*
- 40 L **o'gajë:gwah** **shö:h,**  
 o'-k-atyërékw-ah ha-t-atye-'s  
 FAC-1.SG.AGT-realize-PUN M.SG.AGT-stand-PROG-HAB  
 I became suddenly aware just Irving (emphasis) he's standing around  
*I suddenly realized*
- 41 L **Irvin nä:h** **hada:je's.**  
 ha-t-atye-'s  
 M.SG.AGT-stand-PROG-HAB  
 Irvin (emphasis) he's standing around  
*Irvin was standing there.*
- 42 L **O'jáknýadä't.**  
 o'-t-yakny-atra'-t  
 FAC-DUP-EX.DU.AGT-come.together-PUN  
 we met  
*We met.*
- 43 **Hëdzó'ya:s** **háé'gwah.**  
 ha-its-o'yak-s  
 M.SG.AGT-fish-throw-HAB  
 he's fishing also  
*He was fishing too.*

- 44 S **Waënöda:snën** **gë:s** **hi:gë:h.**  
 wa'-h-ë-nöt-asnëht-0  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-MID-go.down-PUN  
 he goes down the hill repeatedly this  
*He always goes down the hill.*
- 45 S **De'shóió'de'** **hae'gwah.**  
 te'-s-ho-riho't-e'  
 NEG-REP-M.SG.PAT-be.working-STA  
 he's not working anymore also  
*He's not working anymore either.*
- 46 S **Hodóishë'** **háé'gwah** **né:ne'.**  
 ho-atóhishë-'  
 M.SG.PAT-rest-STA  
 he's resting also that one  
*He's retired too.*
- 47 S **Waënöda:snën** **ë:'** **gë:s,**  
 wa'-h-ë-nöt-asnëht-0  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-MID-hill-go.down-PUN  
 he goes down the hill in fact repeatedly  
 He always goes down the hill,
- 48 S **shö:h neh** **ëödögwe:ta:k** **i:eh.**  
 ë-h-atókwet-ha-k  
 FUT-M.SG.AGT-feel.well-HAB-CONT PRO-M.SG.AGT-think-STA  
 just namely he will be feeling well he's thinking  
*just when he thinks he's feeling well.*
- 49 S **O'tadawénye'ha',**  
 o'-t-h-atawénye-'h-a'  
 FAC-DUP-M.SG.AGT-move-AND-PUN  
 he went for a walk  
*He went for a walk,*
- 50 S **gëhógöshö'** **gë:s** **wa:e'.**  
 ka-iyh-akö-shö'  
 N.SG.AGT-creek-EXT.LOC-THOROUGH FAC-M.SG.AGT-go-PUN  
 all along the creek repeatedly he went  
*he went along the creek.*
- 51 L **Ne:' nā:h i:',**  
 it is (emphasis) I  
*I will too,*
- 52 L **ga:nyo'** **ësganenö:nyö:'** **ostö:h.**  
 ë-s-ka-nena-nyö-'  
 FUT-REP-N.SG.AGT-be.warm-DIST-PUN N.SG.PAT-a.little-STA  
 as soon as it will warm up again a little  
*as soon as it warms up again a little.*

- 53 L **Virgil nā:h wa'jih wá:at,**  
 wa'-ha-hraht-0  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-pass.by-PUN  
 (name) (emphasis) recently he went by  
*Did Virgil go by a while ago,*
- 54 L **nekoh wá:at?** 55 S **Ĕ:h.**  
 wa'-ha-hraht-0 yes  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-pass.by-PUN Yes.  
 here he went by  
*did he go by here?*
- 56 S **Háéo'dē:öwi' nā:h.** 57 L **O:h.**  
 ha-heho't-ēhawi-' oh  
 M.SG.AGT-gun-carry-STA (emphasis) Oh.  
 he's carrying a gun  
*He was carrying a gun.*
- 58 S **Wa:dowā:te' nō:h gwisdē'.** 59 L **O:h.**  
 wa'-ha-atorat-e' oh  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-hunt-PURP Oh.  
 he's going to hunt it I guess something  
*I guess he's going to hunt something.*
- 60 S **Ganö:ge' nō:h nā:h koh ahsöh,**  
 ka-nakre-'  
 N.SG.AGT-be.many-STA  
 there are many I guess (emphasis) and still  
*And I guess there's still a lot of them,*
- 61 S **gwa'yò:'. 62 S Di'gwah gwa:h na'ot.**  
 kwa'yòh-a' whatever but what kind  
 rabbit-NSF rabbit-NSF  
 rabbit Or whatever.  
*rabbits.*
- 63 L **Gwa'yò:' ĕ:h ganö:ge'.** 64 S **Ĕ:h.**  
 kwa'yòh-a' ka-nakre-' yes  
 rabbit-NSF N.SG.AGT-be.many-NSF Yes.  
 rabbit yes there are many  
*Yes there are a lot of rabbits.*
- 65 L **Virg nō:h ni:' i:wi:h hojýä'shö',**  
 ho-tsir-a'-shö'  
 M.SG.PAT-dog-NDIST  
 (name) I guess I I think his dogs  
*I think Virg's dogs,*

- 66 L beagle **honósgwayë'?**  
 ho-naskw-a-yë'  
 M.SG.PAT-pet-LK-have-STA  
 (English) he has a pet  
*does he have a beagle?*
- 67 S **Do:gës nō:h ni' i:wi:h.**  
 it's true I guess I I think  
*I think so.*
- 68 L **Da:h ne' hi:gē:h nekó:gwa:h**  
 nekoh-kwa:h  
 here-TOWARD  
 so it is these toward here  
*So they're the ones who around here*
- 69 L **gē:s wēnōdo:wā:s.**  
 wēn-atorat-s  
 N.PL.AGT-hunt-HAB  
 repeatedly they hunt  
*they're always hunting.*
- 70 L **Gee,** 71 L **ga:ōgwah nō:h nigéjohgwa' ē:h,**  
 (English) ni-ityohkw-a'  
 Gee, PART-crowd-NSF  
 very big I guess how big a crowd yes  
*I guess it was a really big bunch,*
- 72 L **ji:yäh né:wa'.** 73 L **Hadishe's nō:h gwa'yò:'.  
 dog this time  
 of dogs this time.** hati-hshe-'s  
 M.PL.AGT-chase-HAB  
 they're chasing it I guess rabbit  
*I guess they were chasing a rabbit.* kwa'yòh-a'
- 74 L **Nekógwa:h nā:h o'wado:gēn.**  
 nekloh-KWA:H  
 here-TOWARD  
 toward here (emphasis) it went straight  
*It came straight toward here.* o'-w-atokēht-0  
 FAC-N.SG.AGT-go.straight-PUN
- 75 S **Otší'wā:k?**  
 o-tshi'war-ahk  
 N.SG.PAT-be.interesting.to watch.STA.PAST  
 it was interesting to watch  
*Was it interesting to watch?*
- 76 L **Ē:h.**  
 yes  
*Yes.*
- 77 L **Oja:nōn sē'ēh nā:h.** 78 S **Ē:h.**  
 o-atyahaht-0  
 N.SG.PAT-be.comical-STA  
 it's comical because (emphasis)  
*Because it's comical.* yes  
*Yes.*

- 79 S **De'sganöge'** **hi:gë:h na'ot dë'ëh.**  
 te'-s-ka-nakre-'  
 NEG-REP-N.SG.AGT-be.plentiful-STA  
 it isn't plentiful that that kind what  
*That sort of thing isn't common anymore.*
- 80 S **De'shadiye:ha'** **hi:gë:h jiyä'shö'öh.**  
 te'-s-hati-yer-ha'  
 NEG-REP-M.PL.AGT-do-HAB tsira-'shö'öh  
 they don't do it anymore that dogs  
*They don't do it anymore with dogs.*
- 81 L **Beagles gë:s hanöe's hi:gë:h wáyé:'.**   
 ha-nöhwe'-s  
 M.SG.AGT-like-HAB  
 (English) repeatedly he likes it that isn't it  
*He likes beagles doesn't he.*
- 82 S **Ë:h.** 83 SH **Dewáöhde:s ne:' gaya:söh hi:gë:h.**  
 yes te-w-ahöht-es-0 ka-yas-öh  
 Yes. DUP-N.SG.AGT-ear-long-STA N.SG.AGT-called-STA  
 long ears it is that  
*It's called long ears.*
- 84 L **Dewáöhde:s?**  
 te-w-ahöht-es-0  
 DUP-N.SG.AGT-ear-long-STA  
 long ears  
*Long ears?*
- 85 S **Dewáöhde:s gë:s hadiyasta' neh hound dog.**  
 te-w-ahöht-es-0  
 DUP-N.SG.AGT-ear-long-STA  
 long ears repeatedly they call it namely (English)  
*They call a hound dog long ears.*
- 86 S **Awédetgä:de' së'ëh dösayogéhö:di' o:nëh.**  
 aw-etetkarat-e'  
 N.SG.PAT-be.pleasant-STA t-ö-s-a-yo-kënhöti-'  
 it's pleasant because it's summer again now  
*It's pleasant because it's summer again now.*
- 87 S **Jigos nä:h shö:h ae' ëswódi'no't koh.**  
 ë-s-wati-'no'-t  
 FUT-REP-N.PL.AGT-peep-PUN  
 soon (emphasis) just again they'll peep and  
*And pretty soon the peepers will peep again.*
- 88 S **Gë' gë:s o:nëh gáf'sdi:yo:h hi:gë:h,**  
 ka-ri'st-iyó:-h  
 N.SG.AGT-sound-nice-STA  
 really repeatedly now it's a nice sound that  
*Really now that's always a nice sound,*

- 89 S **ëhsádi:wátó:da:t** **ae'.** 90 L **Do:gë:s nã:h.**  
 ë-hs-at-rihw-athöt-a-t-0 it's true (emphasis)  
 FUT-2.SG.AGT-topic-listen.to-LK-CAUS-PUN *That's right.*  
 you will listen to it again
- 91 L **Hö:ga:k koh gë:s** **o'wádiät.** 92 S **Mm.**  
 o'-wati-hraht-0 mm  
 FAC-N.PL.AGT-pass.by-PUN *Mm.*  
 geese and repeatedly they pass by  
*And geese keep going by.*
- 93 S **Hö:ga:k koh gë:s** **o'gã:s'ah** **sá:diät.**  
 o-'karah-s-'ah s-a-hati-hraht-0  
 N.SG.PAT-get.dark-HAB-DIM REP-FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.by-PUN  
 geese and repeatedly in the evening they go by again (males)  
*And geese go by again in the evening.*
- 94 S **Gë:s** **sawádiät.** 95 S **Awédetgã:de'.**  
 s-a-wati-hraht-0 aw-ëtetkarat-e'  
 REP-FAC-N.PL.AGT-go.by-PUN N.SG.PAT-be.pleasant-STA  
 repeatedly they go by again (females) it's pleasant  
*They go by again. It's pleasant.*
- 96 L **Awédetgã:de' nã:h ahsöh söhe'.** 97 S **Ë:h.**  
 aw-ëtetkarat-e' (emphasis) s-önhe-' yes  
 2.SG.AGT-be.alive-STA *Yes.*  
 it's pleasant (emphasis) still you're alive  
*It's pleasant you're still alive.*
- 98 S **Ahsöh dewagadawënye:h** **yóédza'geh.**  
 te-wak-at-awënye:-h y-öhwëts-a'keh  
 DUP-1.SG.PAT-MID-stir-STA N.SG.AGT-earth-EXT.LOC  
 still I'm moving about on the earth  
*I'm still walking around on the earth.*
- 99 S **Ne:' gë:s** **wa:ëni'** **hi:gë:h neh,**  
 wa'-hën-i-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN  
 it is repeatedly they say that namely  
*That's what they always say,*
- 100 S **deyögwé:hsi'dágë'sáhgöh** **gyö'öh gë:s,**  
 te-yökw-ër-ahsi't-a-ké'srahk-öh  
 DUP-EX.PL.PAT-MID-foot-LK-provide.support-STA  
 it supports our feet hearsay repeatedly  
*it supports our feet,*
- 101 S **Mother Earth i:gë:h.**  
 (English) (English) which is  
*which is Mother Earth.*

- 102 L **Ga:nyo' gē:s agátō:de' nā:h,**  
 wak-athöt-e'  
 1.SG.PAT-hear-STA  
 when repeatedly I hear (emphasis)  
*Whenever I hear it,*
- 103 L **hō:ga:k shadiāta',**  
 s-hati-hraht-ha'  
 REP-M.PL.AGT-go.by-HAB  
 geese they go by again  
*geese go by again,*
- 104 L **gee nā:h gē:s gwisdē' nō'ō:wēh,**  
 n-a'-yaw-ēh-0  
 PART-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
 (English) (emphasis) repeatedly something it happens  
*Gee something always happens,*
- 105 L **gya'da:gō:h ē:h.**  
 k-ya't-akō:h  
 1.SG.AGT-body-INT.LOC  
 in my body yes  
*in my body.*
- 106 S **Ē:h.** 107 S **Sahsadögwe:' gē:s a:yē:'.**  
 yes s-a-hs-atökwe-:'  
 Yes. REP-FAC-2.SG.AGT-feel.well-PUN  
 you feel better again repeatedly it seems  
*It always seems you feel better again.*
- 108 L **Ē:h.** 109 L **Di'gwa:h gē:s go:wa:h.**  
 yes I don't know repeatedly why  
 Yes. *I don't know why.*
- 110 L **Gwisdē' nō:h gē:s nō'ō:wēh gya'da:gō:h.**  
 n-a'-yaw-ēh-0  
 PART-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN 1.SG.AGT-body-INT.LOC  
 something guess repeat it happens in my body  
*I guess something always happens in my body.*
- 111 S **Sahsóshi:ya'k, wach negē' gē:s hi:gē:h neh.**  
 s-a-hs-oshr-iyā'k-0  
 REP-FAC-2.SG.AGT-cross-PUN  
 you crossed another winter this point specifically repeat that namely  
*You went through another year, that's what it is.*
- 112 S **Hi:gē:h ga:nyo' sawádāshága'tši', goshe:ka:'.**  
 s-a-w-atrahshr-a-ka'tsh-i'  
 REP-FAC-N.SG.AGT-season-LK-take.apart-PUN N.SG.AGT-winter-CHAR  
 that when the season ended again the winter kind  
*That's when the winter season ended again.*





**Text 3. The First False Face**

**Told by Solon Jones**

**Recorded at Newtown on the Cattaraugus Reservation, May 7, 1957**

- 1 **Da:h o:nëh ëgátšonyá:nö:’**,  
 ë-k-athrory-a-hnö-:’  
 FUT-1.SG.AGT-tell.about-LK-DIST-PUN  
 so now I will tell about things  
*So now I will tell about things,*
- 2 **heh nijáwësdáhgöh**,  
 ni-t-yaw-ë-st-a-hk-öh  
 PART-CIS-N.SG.PAT-happen-CAUS-LK-INST-STA  
 how it happened  
*how it happened,*
- 3 **shagojowéhgo:wa:h**,  
 shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
 M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
 the great defender  
*the false face,*
- 4 **ne’hoh në:gë:h odadó:ni:h**,  
 o-atat-öni-:h  
 N.SG.PAT-REFL-make-STA  
 there this it has made itself  
*that it came into being,*
- 5 **hé:öweh yeyá’dade’** **neh ö:gweh.**  
 ye-ya’t-a-te-’  
 F.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.present-STA  
 where they are there namely people  
*among the people.*
- 6 **Ne:’ neh hö:gweh**,  
 h-ökweh  
 M.SG.AGT-person  
 it is namely a man  
*There was a man,*
- 7 **ne’hoh do:dawénye:aje’** **hodowädö:je’**,  
 te-ho-atawëny-h-atye-’  
 DUP-M.SG.PAT-stir-STA-PROG-STA  
 there he is moving about  
 M.SG.PAT-hunt-STA-PROG-STA  
 he is going along hunting  
*he was going about hunting,*
- 8 **gahadagö:shö’**.  
 ka-rhat-akö-shö’  
 N.SG.AGT-woods-INT.LOC-THROUGHOUT  
 throughout the woods  
*through the woods.*
- 9 **Da:h ne’hoh nöö:wëh** **hotö:de’**,  
 n-a’-yaw-ëh-0  
 PART-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
 so there it happened  
 N.SG.PAT-hear-STA  
 he hears it  
*So there he heard it,*



- 18 **Da:h ne'hoh okji'geot,**  
o-ktsi'gar-ot-0  
N.SG.PAT-stump-be.upright-STA  
so there a stump was there  
*And there there was a stump,*
- 19 **deyóswē:de',**  
te-yo-swēte-'  
DUP-N.SG.PAT-hollow-STA  
it was hollow  
*it was hollow,*
- 20 **ne'hoh wa:atis,**  
wa'-ha-athihst-0  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-move-PUN  
there he moved  
*he went up to it,*
- 21 **nö'gö:h wá:tgato',**  
wa'-ha-atkatho-'  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-look-PUN  
inside he looked  
*he looked inside,*
- 22 **da:h ne'hoh wa:agë',**  
wa'-ha-kë-'  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-see-PUN  
so there he saw it  
*and there he saw it,*
- 23 **wa:ogë' i:at níu'u:h,**  
wa'-ho-kë-'  
FAC-M.SG.PAT-see-PUN  
he saw him  
*he saw a tiny man standing,*
- i:at**  
i-ha-t-0  
PRO-M.SG.AGT-stand-STA  
he's standing
- níu'u:h,**  
ni-hu-u'uhuh  
PART-M.SG.PAT-tiny  
he's tiny
- 24 **shagojowéhgo:wa:h,**  
shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
the great defender  
*the false face,*
- 25 **tgaye:i' ga'no:wa' ha:a',**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
in fact  
*he was holding a turtle rattle,*
- ga'no:wa'**  
ka-'now-a'  
N.SG.AGT-carapace-NSF  
turtle rattle
- ha:a',**  
ha-haw-'  
M.SG.AGT-hold-STA  
he's holding it
- 26 **tagósgaha:t,**  
t-ha-köhs-karhat-0  
CIS-M.SG.AGT-face-turn-STA  
he's looking up  
*he was looking up,*
- 27 **ne:' koh neh tgaye:i' hota:?',**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
it is and namely really  
*and he was actually talking,*
- hota:?',**  
ho-hthar-'  
M.SG.PAT-talk-STA  
he's talking



- 36 **ne:' neh jodé'hasdö'** **ho'dóhgóéöh.**  
t-yo-ate-'hast-ö-' ho-'töhhkoréh-öh  
CIS-N.SG.PAT-MID-strong-DIST-STA M.SG.PAT-have.a.fever-STA  
it is namely it is strong he has a fever  
*he had a high fever.*
- 37 **Ne:' koh neh tgwéhdä:'ë:' níáya'dó'dë:h.**  
tkwéhtar-a-'ë:' ni-ha-ya't-o'të-:h  
blood-LK-color.of PART-M.SG.AGT-body-be.so-STA  
it is and namely red how his body is  
*And his body was red.*
- 38 **Hë'ëh da'áöh gwisdë' ná:di:ye:'**  
n-aa-hati-yer-'  
PART-HYP-M.PL.AGT-do-PUN  
no it's impossible something they did it  
*They couldn't do anything*
- 39 **naöwóya'dágeha'.**  
n-aa-hö-wa-ya't-a-kenh-a'  
PART-HYP-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-body-LK-help-PUN  
they would help him  
*to help him.*
- 40 **Da:h ne'hoh wa'a:wëh**  
wa'-yaw-ëh-0  
FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
so there it happened  
*So it happened*
- 41 **o'gagwe:ni'** **wá:tšonyá:nö:'**  
o'-ka-kweni-' wa'-ha-athrory-a-hnö-:'  
FAC-N.SG.AGT-be.possible-PUN FAC-M.SG.AGT-tell.about-LK-dist-PUN  
it was possible he told about things  
*he was able to tell*
- 42 **në:dah niyó'dë:h** **wá:tgato'.**  
ni-y-o'të-:h wa'-ha-atkatho-'  
PART-N.SG.AGT-what.kind-STA FAC-M.SG.AGT-observe-PUN  
here what kind he observed it  
*the kind of things he saw.*
- 43 **Da:h o:nëh wá:dihšö:ni'** **gagóhsa',**  
wa'-hati-hsröni-' ka-köhs-a'  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-make-PUN N.SG.AGT-face-NSF  
so then they made it face  
*So they made a face,*

- 44 **o'tadiyööda:ak** **në:gë:h**  
o'-t-hati-yerötar-a-hk-0  
FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-resemble-LK-INST-PUN  
they made it resemble it this  
*they made it resemble this*
- 45 **wá:tšo:wi'** **heh** **nigáya'dó'dë:h.**  
wa'-ha-athrori-'  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-tell.about-PUN  
he told about it there  
ni-ka-ya't-o'të-:h  
PART-N.SG.AGT-body-be.so-STA  
the way it was  
*the shape he told about.*
- 46 **Da:h** **tgaye:i'** **në:gë** **wa:diyé'gwahsö:nye:t,**  
**:h**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
so indeed this  
wa'-hati-yë'kw-a-hsöry-e:ht-0  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-tobacco-LK-savor-CAUS-PUN  
they burned tobacco for it  
*So they burned tobacco for it,*
- 47 **waënöödíšök**  
wa'-hën-at-öhisyöhk-0  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-MID-persist-PUN  
they prayed  
*they prayed*
- 48 **neh** **ne'hoh** **i:gë:h** **sgë:nö'** **hö:saya:wëh,**  
s-ka-inö-'  
REP-N.SG.AGT-well-STA  
well-being  
h-öö-sa-yaw-ëh-0  
TRANS-HYP-REP-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
it would happen  
namely that who  
*that he would get well again,*
- 49 **në:gë:h** **heh** **niyó'dë:h** **dagáiwadiyö:dë'.**  
ni-y-o'të-:h  
PART-N.SG.AGT-be.so-STA  
this where how it is  
t-a-ka-rihw-a-tiyöt-ë-'  
CIS-FAC-N.SG.AGT-topic-LK-stretch-BEN-PUN  
it caused him distress  
*from what was wrong with him.*
- 50 **Da:h** **do:gës** **ne'hoh** **nö'ö:wëh,**  
n-a'-yaw-ëh-0  
PART-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
so indeed that  
it happened  
*So indeed that did happen,*
- 51 **sgë:nö'** **hö:saya:wëh,**  
h-öö-s-a-yaw-ëh-0  
TRANS-HYP-REP-HYP-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
well-being it should happen again  
*that things improved again,*

- 52 **da:h ne:' koh neh t'gaye:i'**,  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
so it is and namely in fact  
*and so in fact,*
- 53 **sa' niyoweje'**  
ni-yo-re-tye-'  
PART-N.SG.PAT-how.far-PROG-STA  
little. way how far along it is  
*every so often*
- 54 **o:nēh háíögóta'**,  
ha-rihökoht-ha'  
M.SG.AGT-perform.one's.obligation-HAB  
then he performs his obligation  
*he performs his ceremony,*
- 55 **nē:dah na'ot shagojowéhgo:wa:h do:gē:h,**  
shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
here this kind the great defender together  
*together with this false face,*
- 56 **t'gaye:i' nē:gē:h wáówö'géosäh,**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
in fact this  
wá'-höwa-a'kēhr-osrah-0  
FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-ashes-sprinkle-PUN  
they sprinkled ashes on him  
*and they sprinkled ashes on him,*
- 57 **t'gaye:i' koh**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
in fact and  
*and in fact*
- 58 **o'wadēnōhdē:di' neh hoēnō',**  
o'-w-atrēnahtēti-'  
FAC-N.SG.AGT-song.go.on-PUN  
his song went on  
neh  
ho-rēn-a'  
M.SG.PAT-song-NSF  
namely his song  
*his song went on,*
- 59 **a:hö' shō:h dawēnōhdö:' neh gaēnō',**  
t-a-w-ēnōhtö-.'  
CIS-FAC-N.SG.AGT-in.control-PUN  
itself just it forced it  
neh  
ka-rēn-a'  
N.SG.AGT-song-NSF  
namely song  
*the song just came out by itself,*



- 60 **nē:dah neh nigaēnó'dē:h,**  
 ni-ka-rēn-o'tē-:h  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-song-be.so-STA  
 this namely how the song is  
*the way the song was,*
- 61 **o'wádi:wáhdē:di'**  
 o'-w-at-rihw-ahtēti-'  
 FAC-N.SG.AGT-MID-thing-go-PUN  
 the thing went  
*it went on*
- 62 **hē'ēh sō:ga:' de'tónōhdō'**  
 te'-t-ho-ēnōhtō-'  
 NEG-CIS-M.SG.PAT-know-STA  
 no someone they don't know it  
*no one knew it*
- 63 **sí:gwa:h nō'wō:dih.**  
 n-a'-w-ati-h  
 PART-FAC-N.SG.AGT-other.side-PUN  
 over there on which side  
*before.*
- 64 **Da:h nē:gē:h niyo:we' o'kdá'ōh.**  
 ni-yo-re-'  
 PART-N.SG.PAT-be.so.far-STA N.SG.AGT-come.to.the.end-STA  
 so this how far it is it has come to the end  
*And so up to this time.*
- 65 **Ne'hoh niyó'dē:h,**  
 ni-y-o'tē-:h  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-be.so-STA  
 that how it is  
*That's how it is,*
- 66 **ne:' gayá'dagéhashä' ēyagodò:'s,**  
 ka-ya'takenh-a-hshr-a'  
 N.SG.AGT-help-LK-nom-NSF FUT-F.SG.PAT-become.for-PUN  
 it is help it will become to people  
*it will become a help to people,*
- 67 **só:di'gwah na'ot nē:gē:h ētgáiwadiyō:dē',**  
 sō:-ti'gwah  
 FUT-CIS-N.SG.AGT-topic-LK-stretch-PUN  
 whoever what kind this it will cause distress  
*whoever is in distress,*

- 68 **we:so'** **në:gë:h** **oyédeté'öh,**  
o-yëtethe'-öh  
N.SG.PAT-become.apparent-STA  
much this it has become apparent  
*as has appeared often,*
- 69 **ne:'** **ogwe:nyö:h** **ëshagodiya'dágeha',**  
o-kweny-ö:h ë-shakoti-ya'takenh-a'  
N.SG.PAT-be.able-STA FUT-3.NONSG.AGT/FEM.SG.PAT-help-PUN  
it is it is possible they will help them  
*they will be able to help them,*
- 70 **neh** **shagojowéhgo:wa:h.**  
shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
namely false face  
*the false faces.*
- 71 **Da:h** **o:nëh** **waih** **no:nëh** **gayé'götwëh,**  
ka-yë'kw-öthw-ëh  
N.SG.AGT-tobacco-burn-STA  
so then indeed when tobacco is burned  
*So when tobacco is burned,*
- 72 **da:h** **ne:'** **koh** **há:'gwah** **neh** **tgaye:i',**  
t-ka-yeri-'  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA  
so it is and also namely in fact  
*and so also in fact,*
- 73 **ne'hoh** **hëyowënöwi:sat,**  
h-ë-yo-wën-awisaht-0  
TRANS-FUT-N.SG.PAT-word-touch.glancingly-PUN  
that it will mention it there  
*it will be mentioned there,*
- 74 **waodiyé'gwahsö:wi',**  
wa'-hoti-yë'kw-a-hsöri-'  
FAC-M.PL.PAT-tobacco-LK-savor-PUN  
they smell the tobacco  
*they smell the tobacco,*
- 75 **neh** **gáédi'gwah** **nä:h** **niyo:we'**  
ni-yo-re-'  
PART-N.SG.PAT-how.far-STA  
namely wherever (emphasis) how far it is  
*however far it is*

- 76 **nigé:öje'** **odóédzajëönyö'**  
 part-ka-rö-h-atye-' o-at-öhwëts-a- te-hönyö-'  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-things.be.in-STA N.SG.PAT-land-LK-be.present-DIST-STA  
 where it is different lands  
*in different lands,*
- 77 **da:h o:nëh gwas në:gë:h**  
 so then very much this  
*so then this*
- 78 **ne:' ne'hoh todíawíhdahgöh,**  
 t-hoti-hawihtahk-öh  
 CIS-M.PL.PAT-bring.about-STA  
 it is there they have brought it about  
*where they brought it about,*
- 79 **neh ga'hásdeshä',**  
 ka-'haste-hshr-a'  
 N.SG.AGT-be.strong-NOM-NSF  
 namely power  
*the power,*
- 80 **ne:' në:h neh do:dinó'go:' nã:h,**  
 te'-hoti-na'kor-'  
 NEG-M.PL.PAT-be.vulnerable-STA  
 it is this namely they can do anything (emphasis)  
*they can do anything,*
- 81 **da'agagwe:ni', ögwé:neh ne'hoh,**  
 te'-a-ka-kweni-' ökweh-neh  
 NEG-FAC-N.SG.AGT-be.possible-PUN person-EXT.LOC  
 it wasn't possible where people are there  
 that couldn't be done, where people are,
- 82 **áéné'se:k nagwas shagojowéhgo:wa:h,**  
 aa-hën-e-'s-ek shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
 HYP-M.PL.AGT-go-STA.DIST-CONT M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
 they might be around very false face  
*the false faces might be there,*
- 83 **niénö's'à:h.**  
 ni-hën-a's'ahah-0  
 PART-M.SG.AGT-small.ones-STA  
 little ones  
*the little ones*
- 84 **Da:h ne:' gwa:h neh desgayëödá:hgöh,**  
 te-s-ka-yërötar-a-hk-öh  
 DUP-CIS-N.SG.AGT-resemble-LK-INST-STA  
 so it is but namely it's made to resemble it  
*so it's made to resemble it closely,*

- 85 **ogwényös'öh,**  
o-kweny-ö-hs'-öh  
N.SG.PAT-be.able-STA-EVEN-STA  
it eventually succeeded  
*it eventually succeeded,*
- 86 **ne'hoh todiyö'dáhgöh,**  
t-hoti-yö'tahk-öh  
CIS-M.PL.PAT-arrive.by.means.of-STA  
there they arrived with it  
*they came with it,*
- 87 **ga'hásdeshä'** **honódö'se:'öh,**  
ka-'haste-hshr-a' hon-atö'se-'-öh  
N.SG.AGT-be.strong-NOM-NSF M.PL.PAT-have.enough-INCH-STA  
power they got enough  
*they got enough power,*
- 88 **në:gë:h né:wa' neh shagojowéhgo:wa:h,**  
shako-atyowe-h-kowa:h  
M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-defend-HAB-AUG  
this this time namely false face  
*the false faces now,*
- 89 **ne'hoh ögwé:neh,**  
ökweh-neh  
person-EXT.LOC  
there where people are  
*among the people,*
- 90 **gagéöda:je'** **gahšö:ni:h,**  
ka-kehöt-atye-' ka-hsröni-:h  
N.SG.AGT-lay.down-PROG-STA N.SG.AGT-make-STA  
it's laid down all along it's made  
*it's made here and there,*
- 91 **o:wé'gä:'** **gayá:'dahgöh,**  
o-hwë'kar-a' ka-yera't-a-kw-öh  
N.SG.PAT-wood-NSF N.SG.AGT-use-LK-INST-STA  
wood it's used for it  
*wood is used for it,*
- 92 **ne:' neh tga:ye:i'** **hodiyë'gwáhsönye:hdöh,**  
t-ka-yeri-' hoti-yë'kw-ahsöri-e:ht-öh  
CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.right-STA M.PL.PAT-tobacco-savor-CAUS-STA  
it is namely indeed they've given it the scent of tobacco  
*indeed they've given it the scent of tobacco,*

- 93 **o:nēh ga'hásdeshä'** **odó'öh.**  
 ka-'haste-hshr-a' o-atö'-öh  
 N.SG.AGT-be.strong-nom-NSF N.SG.PAT-become-STA  
 now power it has become  
*now it has become powerful.*
- 94 **Ogwe:nyö:h ëshagoyá'dage:ha' neh ö:kweh,**  
 o-kweny-ö:h ë-shako-ya'takenh-a'  
 N.SG.PAT-be.able-STA FUT-M.SG.AGT/3.PAT-help-PUN  
 it is possible he will help them namely people  
*He will be able to help people,*
- 95 **ga:nyo' hë:öweh gwisde' në:gë:h ëtgáiwadiyö:dë',**  
 ë-t-ka-rihw-a-tiyöt-ë'  
 FUT-CIS-N.SG.AGT-topic-LK-stretch-PUN  
 when where something this it will cause distress  
*when something causes distress,*
- 96 **tša'dë:wön,**  
 tsha'-t-ë-w-aht-0  
 COIN-DUP-FUT-N.SG.AGT-be.right.choice-PUN  
 it will be the right choice  
*it will be the right choice,*
- 97 **hodigwenyö:h koh,**  
 hoti-kweny-ö:h  
 M.PL.PAT-be.able-STA  
 they are able and  
*and they are able,*
- 98 **gatgá'hoh nētadiyà:'dak ëgayédétehšö:ni',**  
 n-ë-t-hati-yera'tahk-0 ë-ka-yëtethe-hshr-öni-'  
 PART-FUT-M.PL.AGT-use-PUN FUT-N.SG.AGT-appearance-NOM-make-PUN  
 anywhere how they will use it it will make an appearance  
*wherever they will use it and it will make an appearance,*
- 99 **heh ne:' do:nödödzo:nih na:shagotiyá'dage:ha',**  
 te-hon-atöhwëtsoni-h n-aa-shakoti-ya'takenh-a'  
 DUP-M.PL.PAT-want-HAB PART-HYP-3.NONSG.AGT/F.SG.PAT-help-PUN  
 how it is they want it that they might help them  
*they want to help them,*
- 100 **jë:gwah sō:ga:' jóiwadi:yö:n,**  
 t-yo-rihw-a-tiyöt-0  
 CIS-N.SG.PAT-topic-LK-stretch-STA  
 if someone in distress  
*if someone is in distress,*

**101 da:h ne'hoh niyo:we'**  
ni-yo-re-'  
PART-N.SG.PAT-so.far-STA  
so there how far it is  
*so at this point*

**102 nē:gē:h nigí:wayēde:ih**  
ni-k-rihw-a-yēter-ih  
PART-1.SG.AGT-topic-LK-know.about-STA  
this what I know about it  
*this is what I know about the matter.*

**neh niyóiwá'geh.**  
ni-yo-rihw-a-'keh  
PART-N.SG.PAT-topic-EXT.LOC  
namely in the matter







- 9 **Dewá'ä:ö'** **gye:h,**  
 te-w-a'ar-r-ö-'  
 DUP-N.SG.AGT-netting-be.in-DIST-STA  
 lacrosse some  
*One was lacrosse,*
- 10 **waodiye:ih** **negë',** **gëjohgowa:nëh.**  
 wa'-hoti-yeri-h ka-ityohk-owanë-h  
 FAC-M.PL.PAT-gather-PUN N.SG.AGT-crowd-big-STA  
 they gathered specifically a big crowd  
*they gathered, a big crowd.*
- 11 **Da:h** **waodiye:ih** **negë',**  
 wa'-hoti-yeri-h  
 FAC-M.PL.PAT-gather-PUN  
 they gathered specifically  
*So they gathered,*
- 12 **ha'de:yö:h** **wáénötgá:nye:'.  
 ha'-te-y-ö-h wa'-hën-atkahnye-:'**  
 TRANS-DUP-N.SG.PAT-many-STA FAC-M.PL.AGT-play-PUN  
 many things they played  
*they played all kinds of things.*
- 13 **Gage:da',** **dewá'ä:ö',**  
 ka-ket-a' te-w-a'ar'-r-ö-'  
 N.SG.AGT-hoop.and.javelin-NSF DUP-N.SG.AGT-netting-be.in-DIST-STA  
 hoop and javelin lacrosse  
*Hoop and javelin, lacrosse*
- 14 **o'tënëñó'sgwaë'** **koh,** **o'tëñöjanöë'** **koh.**  
 o'-t-hën-ëna'skwar-ë' o'-t-hën-atyanar-ë'  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-jump-PUN FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-run.a.race.PUN  
 they jumped and they ran races and  
*and jumping, and foot races.*
- 15 **Da:h** **ne:' neh,** **nö'gë:'.  
 so it is namely last  
*So the last thing,***
- 16 **o'öäk** **neh,** **o'tšadaje:nö:'.  
 wa'-yo-hrahk-0 o'-t-hy-atat-yenö-:'**  
 FAC-N.SG.PAT-come.last-PUN FAC-DUP-M.DU.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
 it came last namely they wrestled  
*it came last, the wrestling*
- 17 **Gá:hgwa'gé:onö',** **Onödowá'ga:'.  
 ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronö' o-nöt-owa-'ka:'**  
 N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP N.SG.PAT-hill-big-CHAR  
 the Gahkwás  
*The Gahkwás, the Senecas.*





- 35 **neh** **Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
 ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronö'  
 N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
 namely the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 36 **Dzok o:nëh nã:h,**  
 well then (emphasis)  
*Well then,*
- 37 **waënödéhšönyá:nö:'** **ha'de:yö:h** **negë'** **neh,**  
 wa'-hën-atehsröny-a-hnö-:.'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-prepare-LK-DIST-PUN TRANS-DUP-N.SG.AGT-many-STA  
 they got things ready many things that is namely  
*they got many things ready,*
- 38 **o'tënöshë:nye:'** **nö:h** **gaya:söh** **neh,**  
 o'-t-hën-ashënye-:'  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-train-PUN N.SG.AGT-be.called-STA  
 they trained I guess it's called namely  
*they trained I guess it was called,*
- 39 **ga:nyo' gë:s na'ot negë'** **hayëöh,**  
 ha-wyëh-öh  
 M.SG.AGT-know.how-STA  
 when repeatedly what kind specifically he knew how  
*whatever he knew how to do,*
- 40 **waënödéhšönyá:nö:'**  
 wa'-hën-atehsröny-a-hnö-:.'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-prepare-LK-DIST-PUN  
 they got things ready  
*they got things ready.*
- 41 **Da:h ne:' koh negë'** **neh,**  
 so it is and specifically namely  
*And so,*
- 42 **o'tënödaje:nö:'** **në:gë:h,**  
 o'-t-hën-atat-yenö-:.'  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
 they wrestled these  
*they wrestled,*
- 43 **honö:hö'** **shö:h** **o'tënödaje:nö:'**  
 hon-öhw-a'  
 M.PL.PAT-self-NSF FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
 they themselves just they wrestled  
*they just wrestled among themselves*

- 44 **da:h ne:’ waöwöyá’dä:go’,**  
 wa’-höwa-ya’t-rako-’  
 FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-body-choose-PUN  
 so it is they chose him  
*so they picked him out,*
- 45 **ne:’ nagwas o:nēh dó:nö’go:was.**  
 te’-ho-na’kor-ahs  
 NEG-M.SG.PAT-be.vulnerable-HAB  
 it is very then he’s invulnerable  
*the one who was the most competent.*
- 46 **Ne:’ dēödaje:nö:’.**  
 t-ē-h-atat-yenö-’  
 DUP-FUT-M.SG.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
 it is he will wrestle  
*He would wrestle.*
- 47 **Da:h ne:’ nā:h ho’gá:e’ nē:gē:h,**  
 h-o’-ka-hew-’  
 TRANS-FAC-N.SG.AGT-time.come-PUN  
 so it is (emphasis) the time came this  
*So the time came,*
- 48 **wáénötgá:nye:’ da:h,**  
 wa’-hēn-atkahnye-:’  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-play-PUN  
 they played so  
*they played and so,*
- 49 **gwas shö:h nōsayawēh,**  
 n-ō-s-a-yaw-ēh-0  
 PART-FAC-REP-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
 very just it happened again  
*it just happened again,*
- 50 **waöwödí’ne:a’,**  
 wa’-höwati-’neha-:’  
 FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-beat-PUN  
 they beat them  
*they beat them,*
- 51 **tga:gö:n nā:h na’ot wáénötgá:nye:’,**  
 t-ka-köt-0  
 CIS-N.SG.AGT-be.necessary-STA  
 whatever (emphasis) what kind they played  
*whatever they played,*

- 52 waöwödi'ne:a'.**  
 wa'-höwati-'neha-:'  
 FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-beat-PUN  
 they beat them  
*they beat them.*
- 53 O'ténöjanöë'**  
 o'-t-hën-atyanar-ë'  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-run.a.race-PUN  
 they ran races  
*They ran races*
- 54 ae' né:wa' koh wá:tgwe:ni'.**  
 wa'-ha-atkweni-'  
 FAC-M.SG.AGT-win-PUN  
 again this time and he won  
*and he won again this time.*
- 55 Gage:da' koh wá:tgwe:ni' há:'gwah.**  
 ka-ket-a' wa'-ha-atkweni-'  
 N.SG.AGT-hoop.and.javelin-NSF FAC-M.SG.AGT-win-PUN  
 hoop and javelin and he won also  
*He won in hoop and javelin too.*
- 56 O'ténö'sgwa:ë' koh.**  
 o'-t-h-ëna'skwar-ë'  
 FAC-DUP-M.SG.AGT-jump-PUN  
 he jumped and  
*And in jumping.*
- 57 Agwas waöwögaida:t neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
 wa'-höwa-karitat-0 ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronö'  
 FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-defeat-PUN N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
 completely they defeated him namely the Gahkwás  
*They completely defeated the Gahkwás.*
- 58 Gayótgë'ò:je' honóhgáiës.**  
 ka-yo-atkëh-òh-atye-'  
 N.SG.AGT-N.SG.PAT-increase-STA-PROG-STA M.PL.PAT-become.annoyed-HAB  
 it was increasing  
*They were getting increasingly annoyed.*
- 59 Da:h o:nëh nö'gë:' o'óäk**  
 wa'-yo-hrahk-0  
 FAC-N.SG.PAT-come.last-PUN  
 so then last it came last  
*So then the last thing*



- 69 **Da:h nō'gē:' ne'hoh,**  
 so behind there  
*So behind them there,*
- 70 **ne:' neh etino'ēh o'dwadi:da't.**  
 o'-t-wati-da'-t  
 FAC-DUP-F.PL.AGT-stand-PUN  
 it is namely our mothers they stood  
*stood our mothers.*
- 71 **Da:h o:nēh tiga:de' ae' shō:h,**  
 thi-ka-te-'  
 CONTR-N.SG.AGT-be.present-STA  
 so then differently again just  
*So then again in contrast,*
- 72 **heh nigá:ōni:h da:h ne:' neh,**  
 ni-ka-hah-ōni:h  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-path-make-STA  
 there how the order was so it is namely  
*in order were*
- 73 **hēnōgwe'da:se:'.**  
 hēn-ōkwe't-ase-'  
 M.PL.AGT-person-young-STA  
 the young people  
*the young people.*
- 74 **Ogánya'shādegēshō' ne:' gē:s hōwōdi:ya:s.**  
 o-karya'shr-a-tek-ē-shō'  
 N.SG.PAT-knife-LK-burn-STA-NDIST  
 burnt knives it is repeatedly they call them  
*Burnt Knives is what they called them.*
- 75 **Dzok o:nēh ae' o'tšadaje:nō:' nē:gē:h,**  
 o'-t-hy-atat-yenō-:'  
 FAC-DUP-M.DU.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
 well then again they wrestled these  
*Well then again they wrestled,*
- 76 **honódehsá'ōh koh negē' neh,**  
 hon-atehsa'-ōh  
 M.PL.PAT-be.ready-STA  
 they are ready and specifically namely  
*and they were ready,*
- 77 **ēōwōnōēn ga:nyo' ēōwōyá'je:nēn.**  
 ē-hōwa-nōheht-0  
 FUT-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-crush.head-PUN  
 they will crush his head when they will put him down  
*to bash in his head when they put him down.*



- 78 O'tšadaje:nö:'** **në:gë:h,**  
o'-t-hy-atat-yenö-'  
FAC-DUP-M.DU.AGT-REFL-grab-PUN  
they wrestled these  
*They wrestled,*
- 79 o:h o'yönishe't** **gyö'öh do:nödaje:nö:h.**  
o'-y-önishe'-t  
FAC-N.SG.AGT-become.long.time-PUN  
oh it became a long time  
*oh, they were wrestling for a long time.*  
**gyö'öh do:nödaje:nö:h.**  
te-hon-atat-yenö-:h  
DUP-M.PL.PAT-REFL-grab-STA  
hearsay they're wrestling
- 80 Jë:gwah shö:h waöwögaida:t** **neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
wa'-höwa-karitat-0  
FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-best-PUN  
finally just they got the best of him  
*Finally they got the best of the Gahkwa.*  
**neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
namely ka-rahkw-a-'ke-hronö'  
N.SG.AGT-sun-LK-EXT.LOC-POP  
the Gahkwa
- 81 Waöwóéhda'is,** **hö:gweh,**  
wa'-höwa-heht-a'ihst-0  
FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-ground-pierce-PUN  
they threw him on the ground  
*They threw a man on the ground,*  
**hö:gweh,**  
h-ökwe-h  
M.SG.AGT-person-STA  
man
- 82 waöwödíya'dágeha'** **negë'** **neh, waöwönóën.**  
wa'-höwati-ya'takenh-a'  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-help-PUN  
they helped them specifically  
*they helped them to bash his head in.*  
**neh, waöwönóën.**  
wa'-höwa-nöhwéht-0  
FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-crush.head-PUN  
they crushed his head
- 83 O'töwönóhaga:',**  
o'-t-höwa-nönhaka-'  
FAC-DUP-3.AGT/3.SG.PAT-spread.out-PUN  
they spread him out  
*they spread him out,*
- 84 ahsöh shö:h de'shótgëöh** **nä:h,**  
te'-s-ho-atkëh-öh  
NEG-REP-M.SG.PAT-get.up-STA  
still just  
*he still hadn't gotten up,*  
**nä:h,**  
(emphasis)
- 85 waöwöye:nö:',** **ééwöewat** **o:nëh.**  
wa'-höwa-yenö-'  
FAC-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-grab-PUN  
they grabbed him  
*they grabbed him to punish him then.*  
**ééwöewat**  
ë-höwa-hewaht-0  
FUT-3.AGT/M.SG.PAT-punish-PUN  
they will punish him  
**o:nëh.**  
then



- 94 **ga:nyo' yóédza'geh**                      **hösagayë:da't,**  
y-öhwëts-a'keh                      h-ö-s-a-ka-yëta'-t  
N.SG.AGT-earth-EXT.LOC              TRANS-FAC-REP-FAC-N.SG.AGT-land-PUN  
when              on the earth              it landed again  
*when it landed back on the earth,*
- 95 **o:nëh ae' daënöjá'dö:di'**                      **negë' neh,**  
t-a-hën-at-ya't-öti-'  
CIS-FAC-M.PL.AGT-MID-body-throw-PUN  
then              again              they jumped in                      specifically              namely  
*they jumped in,*
- 96 **Gá:hgwa'gé:onó'.**  
ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronó'  
N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 97 **Honódehsá'ö:öje'**                      **nä:h neh,**  
hon-atehsa'-öh-atye-'  
M.PL.PAT-get.ready-STA-PROG-STA  
they are getting ready                      (emphasis)              namely  
*They were getting ready,*
- 98 **ga'sgwihsa'**                      **hadí:a',**  
ka-'skwihs-a'                      hati-haw-'  
N.SG.AGT-hatchet-NSF              M.SG.PL-carry-STA  
hatchet                      they are carrying  
*they were carrying hatchets,*
- 99 **da:h o:nëh ae' negë'**                      **Onödowá'ga:',**  
o-nöt-owa-'ka:'  
N.SG.PAT-hill-big-CHAR  
so              then              again              specifically              the Senecas  
*on the other hand the Senecas,*
- 100 **hadí'nigó:i:yo:h**                      **nä:h**  
hati-'niköh-iyo-:h  
M.PL.AGT-mind-good-STA  
they have good minds                      (emphasis)  
*they were honest*
- 101 **gwisdë'**                      **dë:ne:h**                      **negë' neh,**  
te'-hën-er-h  
NEG-M.PL.AGT-think-STA  
something              they don't think                      specifically              namely  
*they didn't suspect anything*

- 102 **ne'hoh nēya:wēh** **jigwas,**  
n-ě-yaw-ěh-0  
PART-FUT-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN  
that it will happen soon  
*what was about to happen,*
- 103 **da:h dá:di:awi'** **neh hēnōdiyósdahgwa'.**  
te'-hati-hawi-'  
NEG-M.PL.AGT-carry-STA M.PL.AGT-MID-kill-CAUSE-LK-INST-HAB  
so they aren't carrying it namely they use them to kill  
*so they weren't carrying weapons.*
- 104 **Da:h ne:' o:nēh hadi:a'** **nō:h nā:h**  
hati-haw-'  
M.PL.AGT-carry-STA  
so it is then they're carrying it I guess (emphasis)  
*And I guess the Gahkwas were carrying them.*
- 105 **neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onō'.**  
ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronō'  
N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
namely the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 106 **Waēnōdi:yo'** **dih nē:gē:h,**  
wa'-hēn-atrīyo-'  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-fight-PUN  
they fought (topic shift) these  
*They fought,*
- 107 **ga:nyo' nā:h** **nōdà:yà:'dak** **Nōdowá'ga:',**  
n-ō-t-a-ha-yera'tahkw-0 o-nōt-owa-'ka:'  
PART-FAC-CIS-FAC-M.SG.AGT-use-PUN N.SG.PAT-hill-big-CHAR  
when (emphasis) the Senecas  
*in which case the Seneca used them,*
- 108 **ēōdi:yo',**  
ě-ha-atrīyo-'  
FUT-M.SG.AGT-fight-PUN  
he will fight  
*to fight,*
- 109 **da:h waōwōdigaida:t** **gyō'ōh nā:h.**  
wa'-hōwati-karit-a-t  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-slant-LK-CAUS  
so they got the best of them hearsay (emphasis)  
*so they got the best of them.*

- 110 **A:ye:' tšigos shō:h ë:nödë'go' o:nëh.**  
 ë-hën-ate'ko-'  
 FUT-M.PL.AGT-run.away-PUN  
 it seems soon just they will run away then  
*It seems that soon they were going to run away.*
- 111 **Da:h o:nëh gyö'öh o'tódi:et negë' neh,**  
 o'-t-hoti-hereht-0  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.PAT-yell-PUN  
 so then hearsay they yelled specifically namely  
*So then they yelled,*
- 112 **hënogwe'da:se:', Ogánya'shädegëshö'öh,**  
 hën-ökwe't-ase-:' o-karya'shr-a-tek-ë-shö'öh  
 M.PL.AGT-person-young-STA N.SG.PAT-knife-LK-STA-NDIST  
 young men burnt knives  
*the young men, the Burnt Knives,*
- 113 **dödäenë:hda: koh waënödi:yo'.**  
 t-ö-t-a-hën-ërëhtat-0 wa'-hën-atrivo-'  
 DUP-FAC-CIS-FAC-M.PL.AGT-run-PUN FAC-M.PL.AGT-fight-PUN  
 they ran back and they fought  
*and they ran back and fought.*
- 114 **Gáóhja' wa:diä:'dak.**  
 wa'-hati-yera't-a-hkw-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-use-LK-INST-PUN  
 they used it  
*They used whips.*
- 115 **Da:h o:nëh nä:h hi:gë:h,**  
 so then (emphasis) those  
*So then they,*
- 116 **ga:nyo' wa:digá'ë:yö:' neh,**  
 wa'-hati-ka'ëyö-:'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-notice-PUN  
 when they noticed it namely  
*when they noticed,*
- 117 **hadígëhjih o:nëh nä:h,**  
 hati-këhtsi-h  
 M.PL.AGT-be.old-STA  
 the old men then (emphasis)  
*the old men,*
- 118 **ë:nötgwe:ni' nö:h,**  
 ë-hën-atkwëni-'  
 FUT-M.PL.AGT-win-PUN  
 they will win I guess  
*they were probably going to win,*

- 119 **dōdāēnōtšīnōs** **há:’gwah.**  
t-ō-t-a-hēn-atshīnōhs-0  
DUP-FAC-CIS-FAC-get.tough-PUN  
they got tough also  
*they got tough too.*
- 120 **Da’júh nā:h shō:h**  
soon (emphasis) just  
*In just a short time*
- 121 **waōwōdíē’gwat** **negē’ neh,**  
wa’-hōwati-hē’kwaht-0  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-do.battle.with-PUN  
they did battle with them specifically namely  
*they did battle with them,*
- 122 **Gá:hgwa’gé:onō’.**  
ka-rahkw-a’ke-hronō’  
N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 123 **A:yē:’ honótga’de’ nō:h nā:h**  
hon-atka’tē-’  
M.PL.PAT-a.lot-STA  
it seems a lot of them I guess (emphasis)  
*It seems a lot of them I guess*
- 124 **neh waōwōdi:nyo’.**  
wa’-hōwati-ryo-’  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-kill-PUN  
namely they killed them  
*they killed them.*
- 125 **Waēnōdé’go’ koh a:yē:’ waēnōdónya:nō:’.**  
wa’-hēn-ate’ko-’  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-run.away-PUN  
they ran away and it seems they were scattered  
*They ran away and it seems they were scattered.*
- 126 **Dzok o:nēh sáēnōhdē:di’ Nōdowá’ga:’ tadinōge’**  
s-a-hēn-ahtēti-’  
REP-FAC-M.PL.AGT-go-PUN  
well then they went back hill-big-CHAR CIS-M.PL.AGT-live-STA  
the Senecas where they live  
*Well then the Senecas went back to where they lived.*
- 127 **Dó:šo:wē:h nō:h.**  
tehohshrowē:h  
(analysis uncertain)  
Buffalo I guess  
*Buffalo I guess.*

- 128 **Hösà:di:yö'** **në:gë:h,** **wá:díáshë:'.  
h-ö-s-a-hati-yö-'  
TRANS-FAC-REP-FAC-M.PL.AGT-arrive-PUN wa'-hati-hashë-.'  
they arrived back there these FAC-M.PL.AGT-council-PUN  
*They arrived back there and held a council.***
- 129 **Da:h ne:' negë' hi:gë:h,  
so it is specifically that  
*So it was,***
- 130 **waodí:wanà:go'** **waodiyano:wëh  
wa'-hoti-rihwanehrako-'  
FAC-M.PL.PAT-be.surprised-PUN FAC-M.PL.PAT-take.a.path-PUN  
they were surprised they took a path  
*they were surprised at the path they took***
- 131 **neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.  
ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronö'  
N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
namely the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.***
- 132 **Nä:h gyö'ö'h wa:ëni',  
wa'-hën-i-'  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN  
(emphasis) (hearsay) they said  
*They said,***
- 133 **ëdwadi:yo'** **nä:h ha'degagö:n  
ë-tw-atriyo-'  
FUT-IN.PL.AGT-fight-PUN ha'-te-ka-köt-0  
TRANS-DUP-N.SG.AGT-be.necessary-STA  
we will fight (emphasis) it's necessary  
*we'll have to fight***
- 134 **heh nö'ö:wëh.** **135 Ëyétinönya:ni'.  
n-a'-yaw-ëh-0  
PART-FAC-N.SG.PAT-happen-PUN ë-yethi-nönyahni-'  
FUT-IN.NONSG.AGT/3.PAT-frighten.off-PUN  
when what happened we'll scare them off  
*after what happened. We'll scare them off.***
- 136 **Dzok o:nëh nä:h gyö'ö'h  
well then (emphasis) (hearsay)  
*Well then***
- 137 **waënodéhsönyá:nö:'** **në:gë:h,  
wa'-hën-atehshróny-a-hnö-:'  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-prepared-LK-DIS-PUN  
they prepared things these  
*they got things ready,***

- 138 **é:nöhdë:di'** **negë'** **neh,** **ë:nödiyoshä'.**  
 ë-hën-ahtëti-'  
 FUT-M.PL.AGT-go-PUN specifically namely FUT-M.PL.AGT-fight-and-PUN  
 they will go they will go and fight  
*they would go and fight.*
- 139 **Gwas** **gëjöhgwagwe:göhh** **wáénöhdë:di'.**  
 ka-ityohkw-a-kwek-öh wa'-hën-ahtëti-'  
 N.SG.AGT-crowd-LK-all-STA FAC-M.PL.AGT-go-PUN  
 very big crowd they went  
*A whole crowd went.*
- 140 **Negë'** **neh** **ga:öwö'** **wá:di:a'.**  
 ka-höw-a' wa'-hati-haw-'  
 N.SG.AGT-boat-NSF FAC-M.PL.AGT-carry-PUN  
 specifically namely boat they carried it  
*They took a boat.*
- 141 **Hadiawi'** **në:gë:h** **neh,**  
 hati-hawi-'  
 M.PL.AGT-carry-STA  
 they're carrying it this namely  
*They were carrying it,*
- 142 **ogwe:nyö:h** **neh** **ë:nödi:yo',**  
 o-kweny-ö:h namely ë-hën-aatriyo-'  
 N.SG.PAT-be.able-STA FUT-M.PL.AGT-fight-PUN  
 it's possible namely they will fight  
*they would be able to fight,*
- 143 **jë:gwah** **dëwödöëdzoh.**  
 t-ë-w-atöhwëtsö-0  
 DUP-FUT-N.SG.AGT-be.needed-PUN  
 if it will be needed  
*if it would be needed.*
- 144 **Wa:di:yo'** **nä:h** **gyö'öh** **neh** **tadinöge',**  
 wa'-hati-yö-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-arrive-PUN t-hati-nagre-'  
 they arrived (emphasis) (hearsay) namely CIS-M.PL.AGT-dwell-STA  
*They arrived where they lived,*
- 145 **neh** **Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
 ka-rahkw-a'ke-hronö'  
 N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
 namely the Gahkwaw  
*the Gahkwaw.*



- 146 **nā:h**      **de'sgátga'hoh**      **honóde'gwēh**      **nā:h**      **gyö'ōh.**  
 te'-s-katka'hoh      hon-ate'gw-ēh  
 NEG-REP-somewhere      M.PL.PAT-run.away-STA  
 (emphasis) nowhere      they're running away      (emphasis) (hearsay)  
*There was nowhere for them to escape.*
- 147 **O:nēh**      **wá:díáshē:'**      **nē:gē:h**      **wa:ēni',**  
                  wa'-hati-hashē-'  
                  FAC-M.PL.AGT-council-PUN      wa'-hēn-i-'  
                  they counceled      these      FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN  
 then      they counceled      these      they said  
*Then they held a council and said,*
- 148 **nā:h**      **da'áōh**      **neh,**  
 (emphasis)      it's impossible      namely  
*it was impossible*
- 149 **tgá:hgwitgē'sgwa:h**      **há:ēne:'.**  
 t-ka-rahkw-itkē'-s-kwa:h      h-aa-hēn-en-'  
 CIS-N.SG.AGT-sun-emerge-HAB-TOWARD      TRANS-HYP-M.PL.AGT-go.somewhere-PUN  
 the east      they might go there  
*for them to go toward the east.*
- 150 **Ne:'**      **neh**      **gáfō:nih**      **ne:'**      **nā:h**      **neh,**  
                  ka-rih-ōni-h  
                  N.SG.AGT-matter-make-HAB  
 it is      namely      it's the reason      it is      (emphasis)      namely  
*The reason was that,*
- 151 **Hodínōhsō:ni:h**      **nā:h**      **ne'hoh**      **hadinōge'.**  
 hoti-nōhs-ōni-:h           hati-nagre-'  
 M.PL.PAT-house-make-STA      (emphasis)      there      M.PL.AGT-dwell-STA  
 the Iroquois      they live  
*the Iroquois lived there.*
- 152 **Hadíya'da:'**      **Nödowá'ga:'.**  
 hati-ya't-a-r-'  
 M.PL.AGT-body-LK-be.in-STA      nōt-owa-'ka:'  
 they are among them      hill-big-CHAR  
*The Senecas were among them.*
- 153 **Da:h**      **ne:'**      **koh**      **neh**  
 so      it is      and      namely  
*And it was that*
- 154 **da'áōh**      **otówe'gégwa:h**      **há:ēne:'.**  
                  o-thor-e'-ke-kwa:h      h-aa-hēn-en-'  
                  N.SG.PAT-cold-STA-EXT.LOC-TOWARD      TRANS-HYP-M.PL.AGT-go.there-PUN  
 impossible      toward the north      they might go there  
*they couldn't go toward the north,*

- 155 **ganyodae'**      **nā:h**      **da'á:diät.**  
 ka-nyotare-'  
 N.SG.AGT-lake-STA      (emphasis)      te'-aa-hati-hraht-0  
 lake      they couldn't get past it  
*they couldn't get past the lake.*
- 156 **Da:h neh**      **tgá:hgwé'sgwa:h,**  
    t-ka-rahkw-ë'-s-kwa:h  
    CIS-N.SG.AGT-sun-drop-HAB-TOWARD  
 so      namely      toward the west  
*And toward the west,*
- 157 **o:ya'**      **nā:h**      **tadinöge:nyö'**  
 o-hy-a'  
 N.SG.PAT-other-NSF      (emphasis)      t-hati-nagre-nyö-'  
 another      they live  
*others lived*
- 158 **do:dí:wi:yo:h.**  
 te'-hoti-rihw-iyó-:h  
 NEG-M.PL.PAT-matter-good-STA  
 they are hostile  
*who are hostile.*
- 159 **Ö:daöwödi:nyo'**      **ne'hógwa:h**      **há:éne:'.'**  
 öotahöwatiryó-'  
 HYP-CIS-HYP-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-kill-PUN      that way      h-aa-hën-en-'  
 they would kill them      they might go there  
*They would kill them if they went that way.*
- 160 **Da:h ne:' gyö'öh**      **waë'**      **neh**      **hahsënowa:nëh,**  
    wa'-ha-i-'  
    FAC-M.SG.AGT-say-PUN      namely      ha-hsën-owanë-h  
 so      it is (hearsay)      he said      the chief  
*So then the chief said,*
- 161 **sga:t shö:h onö:kdo:t**      **neh**      **ë:nödé'go'**  
    o-nakt-ot-0      è-hën-ate'ko-'  
    N.SG.PAT-place-stand.up-STA      FUT-M.PL.AGT-escape-PUN  
 one      just      place      namely      they will escape  
*there's just one place for them to escape*
- 162 **gyö'öh**      **waë'.**  
    wa'-ha-i-'  
    FAC-M.SG.AGT-say-PUN  
 (hearsay)      he said  
*he said.*

- 163 **Nä:h neh Jehgwa' hē:ne:'.  
h-ē-hēn-en-'  
TRANS-FUT-M.PL.AGT-go.somewhere-PUN**  
(emphasis) namely (placename) they will go there  
*They will go to Jehgwa'.*
- 164 **Ho'k o:nēh waōwōdishe:'.  
wa'-hōwati-hshe-:'.  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-chase-PUN**  
well then they chased them  
*Well then they chased them.*
- 165 **Gyō'ōh Ohi:yo' tgēhō:de' nē:gē:h,  
o-iyh-iyō-'  
N.SG.PAT-river-nice-PROP CIS-N.SG.AGT-river-LK-in.place-STA**  
(hearsay) Allegany river this  
*On the Allegany River,*
- 166 **gēhōkdaje' heone:nō:h.  
ka-iyh-a-kt-0-atye-'  
N.SG.AGT-river-LK-next.to-STA-PROG TRANS-M.PL.PAT-go.somewhere-STA**  
along next to the river they were going there  
*they were going along next to the river.*
- 167 **Wá:dihēn nā:h neh,  
wa'-hati-rhēht-0  
FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.all.night-PUN**  
they stayed up all night (emphasis) namely  
*They went all night,*
- 168 **hōwēnōtgáēö' di'gwah nē:nōje:'.  
hōwēn-atkaharō-'  
3.PL.AGT/3PL.PAT-watch-STA n-ē-hēn-atyer-'  
PART-FUT-M.PL.AGT-do-PUN**  
they're watching it whatever what they will do  
*they were watching what they would do.*
- 169 **O'gā:s'a:né:gwa:h nā:h  
o-'karah-s-'ah-hne-kwa:h  
N.SG.PAT-get.dark-HAB-DIM-EXT.LOC-TOWARD**  
toward evening (emphasis)  
*Toward evening*
- 170 **ne'hoh nā:h hwa:ēne:'. nē:gē:h,  
h-wa'-hēn-en-'  
TRANS-FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.somewhere-PUN**  
there (emphasis) they went there these  
*they went there,*

- 171 **wa:dinōdayē:’**  
 wa’-hati-nat-a-yē-:’  
 FAC-M.PL.agt-town-LK-set.down-PUN  
 they made camp  
*they made camp.*
- 172 **neh Gá:hgwa’gé:onō’.**  
 ka-rahkw-a’ke-hronō’  
 N.SG.AGT-sun-EXT.LOC-POP  
 namely the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 173 **Da:h wa:dinōdayē:’ shō:h há:’gwah**  
 wa’-hati-nōt-a-yē-:’  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-town-LK-set.down-PUN  
 so they made camp just also  
*So they also made camp*
- 174 **neh Nōdowá’ga:’.**  
 nōt-owa-’ka:’  
 hill-big-CHAR  
 namely the Senecas  
*the Senecas.*
- 175 **A:yē:’ nē:gē:h wa’ó’gā:h,**  
 wa’-yo-a’karah-0  
 FAC-N.SG.PAT-get.dark-PUN  
 it seems this it got dark  
*It seems it got dark,*
- 176 **wa:diáshē:’ dēyēti’nígōögē:ni’ shō:h.**  
 wa’-hati-hashē-:’ t-ē-yethi-’nikōhr-a-kēni-’  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-council-PUN DUP-FUT-NONSG.AGT/3.PAT-mind-LK-defeat-PUN  
 they held a council we’ll outsmart them just  
*they held a council, "We will just outsmart them."*
- 177 **Da:h ne:’ nā:h waēnijóhgō:ni’ nē:gē:h**  
 wa’-hēn-i’tyohkw-ōni-’  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-group-make-PUN  
 so it is (emphasis) they formed a group those  
*So they formed a group*
- 178 **ga:nyo’ wa’ó’gā:h.**  
 wa’-yo-a’karah-0  
 FAC-N.SG.PAT-get.dark-PUN  
 when it got dark  
*when it got dark.*

- 179 Sēh gyö'ōh nigáōwō:ge:h,**  
 ni-ka-hōw-a-ke-:h  
 PART-N.SG.AGT-boat-LK-how.many-STA  
 three (hearsay) how many boats  
*Three boats,*
- 180 waēnōdé'nōhda:ah nē:gē:h,**  
 wa'-hēn-ate'nōhtarāh-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-get.in-PUN  
 they got in these  
*they got in,*
- 181 waēnōdi:hēn.**  
 wa'-hēn-atihēht-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.downstream-PUN  
 they went down the river  
*they went down the river.*
- 182 Nā:h wáénōtwatase',**  
 wa'-hēn-athwatase-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.around-PUN  
 (emphasis) they went around  
*They went around,*
- 183 gyö'ōh de'we:ēh nā:h dosgēh,**  
 (hearsay) not far (emphasis) near  
*it wasn't far,*
- 184 heyótwada:se:h dosgēh nā:h neh,**  
 he-yo-athwatase-:h  
 TRANS-N.SG.PAT-go.around-STA  
 it went around there near (emphasis) namely  
*it curved around nearby,*
- 185 nidzōāhdōh.**  
 ni-s-yo-hraht-ōh  
 PART-REP-N.SG.PAT-pass.by-STA  
 it came back again  
*and came back again.*
- 186 O:nēh nā:h gyö'ōh waēnōdé'nōhda:ah,**  
 wa'-hēn-ate'nōhtarāh-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-get.in-PUN  
 then (emphasis) (hearsay)  
*Then they got in,*
- 187 sōeh negē' o:nēh,**  
 night specifically now  
*it was night now,*

- 188 **ga:nyo' nē:gē:h wa:di:yō' nā:h**  
 wa'-hati-yō-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-arrive-PUN  
 when these they arrived (emphasis)  
*when they arrived*
- 189 **heh todinōda:yē',**  
 t-hoti-nat-a-yē-'  
 CIS-M.PL.PAT-town-LK-set.down-STA  
 where they have camped there  
*where they had camped,*
- 190 **o'tódiéhda:nō:' nā:h gē:s nā:h,**  
 o'-t-hoti-hereht-a-nō-:'  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.PAT-yell-LK-DIST-PUN  
 they yelled severally (emphasis) repeatedly (emphasis)  
*they all yelled,*
- 191 **wá:diät.**  
 wa'-hati-hraht-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-pass.by-PUN  
 they passed by  
*as they passed by.*
- 192 **Wáénōtwadase',**  
 wa'-hēn-athwatase-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-go.around-PUN  
 they went around  
*They went around,*
- 193 **da:h o:nēh nā:h negē' neh ga:öwö',**  
 ka-höw-a-'  
 N.SG.AGT-boat-SNF  
 so then (emphasis) specifically namely boat  
*so then the boats,*
- 194 **dödà:dik,**  
 t-ö-t-a-hati-hk-0  
 DUP-FAC-CIS-M.PL.AGT-pick.up-PUN  
 they picked them back up  
*they picked them back up*
- 195 **hogwá:gwa:h hösà:dí:öyoh.**  
 h-ö-s-a-hati-höw-oh-0  
 TRANS-FAC-REP-FAC-M.PL.AGT-boat.put.in.water-PUN  
 toward that way they put them back in the water  
*they put them back in the water on the other side.*

- 196 **Nä:h gyö'öh nionöje:ëh,**  
 ni-hon-atyer-ëh  
 PART-M.PL.PAT-do-STA  
 (emphasis) (hearsay) what they did  
*What they did,*
- 197 **ne:' neh o'tádihën.**  
 o'-t-hati-rhëht-0  
 FAC-DUP-M.PL.AGT-stay.up.all.night-PUN  
 it is namely they stayed up all night  
*they stayed up all night.*
- 198 **Da:h o:nëh nä:h neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'**  
 ka-rahw-a-'ke-hronö'  
 N.PL.AGT-sun-LK-EXT.LOC-POP  
 so then (emphasis) namely the Gahkwás  
*So then the Gahkwás*
- 199 **honótgaöö' hodíga'ë:yö' nä:h**  
 hon-atkaharö-' hoti-ka'ëyö-'  
 M.PL.PAT-watch-STA M.PL.PAT-notice-STA  
 they're watching they've noticed (emphasis)  
*were watching and they noticed*
- 200 **we:so' wá:diät.**  
 wa'-hati-hraht-0  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-pass.by-PUN  
 a lot they passed by  
*that they passed by many times.*
- 201 **Nä:h wa:ëne:' á:hdahgöh nö:h nä:h**  
 wa'-hën-er-' o-hrahtahkw-öht  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-think-PUN N.SG.PAT-surpass-STA  
 so they thought very much I guess (emphasis)  
*They thought it was a very*
- 202 **gëjöhgowa:nëh.**  
 ka-ityohkw-owanë-h  
 N.SG.AGT-group-big-STA  
 big group  
*big group.*
- 203 **Da:h o:nëh nä:h,**  
 so then (emphasis)  
*So then,*
- 204 **wa'o:hë't nä:h gyö'öh**  
 wa'-yo-rhë'-t  
 FAC-N.SG.PAT-get.light-PUN  
 the next day (emphasis) (hearsay)  
*the next day*

- 205 **waënödóišö:k**                      **negë'**                      **dà:dítaë'.**  
 wa'-hën-atöhisyoöhk-0                      t-aa-hati-hthar-ë'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-request-PUN                      DUP-HYP-M.PL.AGT-talk-PUN  
 they requested                      specifically  
*they requested that they would talk.*
- 206 **Nä:h**                      **wá:díáshë:'**                      **në:gë:h**                      **waënödátatga'.**  
    wa'-hati-hashë-:'                      wa'-hën-atat-atka'w-'  
    FAC-M.PL.AGT-council-PUN                      FAC-M.PL.AGT-REFL-let.go-PUN  
 (emphasis) they held a council                      those                      they surrendered  
*They held a council and they surrendered.*
- 207 **Nä:h**                      **da'áöh**                      **negë'**                      **áëñótgwe:ni'**  
    aa-hën-atkweni-'  
    HYP-M.PL.AGT-win-PUN  
 (emphasis) impossible                      specifically                      they might win  
*It was impossible for them to win*
- 208 **á:hdak**                      **honótga'de'**                      **hodíähdöh.**  
    hon-atka'te-'  
    M.PL.PAT-many-STA                      M.PL.PAT-pass.by-STA  
 too much                      they are many                      they are passing by  
*with so many passing by.*
- 209 **Da:h**                      **waënödátatga',**  
    wa'-hën-atat-atka'w-'  
    FAC-M.PL.AGT-REFL-let.go-PUN  
 so                      they surrendered  
*So they surrendered,*
- 210 **wa:ëni'**                      **ga:nyo'**                      **nä:h**                      **ëswénöhdö:'**  
 wa'-hën-i-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN                      when                      (emphasis)                      ë-sw-ëñóhtö-:'  
 they said                      you will know  
*they said it's time for you to decide*
- 211 **nësgwa:ye:'.?**  
 n-ë-skwa-yer-'  
 PART-FUT-2.PL.AGT/1.PL.PAT-do-PUN  
 what you will do to us  
*what you will do to us.*
- 212 **Dzok**                      **o:nëh**                      **nä:h**                      **gyö'öh**                      **wá:díáshë:'**                      **në:gë:h,**  
    wa'-hati-hashë-:'                      wa'-hën-atat-atka'w-'  
    FAC-M.PL.AGT-council-PUN  
 well                      then                      (emphasis)                      (hearsay)                      they counceled                      these  
*Well then they held a council,*



- 213 **da:h a:yë:' á:hdak nō:h heh,**  
 so it seems very much I guess when  
*so it seemed very much*
- 214 **we:so' honōdiyó:nō' Nōdowá'ga:',**  
 hon-atrīyo-hnō' nōt-owa-'ka:'  
 M.PL.PAT-fight-STA.PAST hill-big-CHAR  
 a lot they had been fighting the Senecas  
*the Senecas had been fighting a lot,*
- 215 **de'shonōgwé'dayé' nā:h áēnōdi:yo'.**  
 te'-s-hon-ōkwe't-a-yē-' aa-hēn-atrīyo-'  
 NEG-REP-M.PL.PAT-person-LK-have-STA HYP-M.PL.AGT-fight-PUN  
 they don't have people (emphasis) they might fight  
*they didn't have people left to fight.*
- 216 **Dzok o:nēh nā:h wa:ēni',**  
 wa'-hēn-i-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-say-PUN  
 well then (emphasis) they said  
*Well then they said,*
- 217 **ēyētīyōgwe'dēōgo' shō:h.**  
 ē-yethiy-ōkwe't-a-rōko-'  
 FUT-IN.NONSG.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-person-LK-collect-PUN  
 we'll adopt them just  
*We'll just adopt them.*
- 218 **Dowá'ga:' ē:nōdō'.**  
 nōt-owa-'ka:' ē-hēn-atō-'  
 hill-big-CHAR FUT-M.PL.AGT-become-PUN  
 Senecas they will become  
*They will become Senecas.*
- 219 **Ho'todí:wáé'he't nē:gē:h**  
 h-o'-t-hoti-rihw-a-hē'he'-t  
 TRANS-FAC-DUP-M.PL.PAT-things-LK-stop-PUN  
 things stop these  
*It was the end of things for them*
- 220 **waōwōdí:owi' neh Gá:hgwa'gé:onō',**  
 wa'-hōwati-hrōri-' ka-rahkw-a-'ke-hronō'  
 FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-tell-PUN N.SG.AGT-sun-LK-ext.loc-POP  
 namely the Gahkwás  
*they told the Gahkwás,*
- 221 **Nōdowá'ga:' nā:h ē:nōdō'.**  
 nōt-owa-'ka:' ē-hēn-atō-'  
 hill-big-CHAR FUT-M.PL.AGT-become-PUN  
 Senecas (emphasis) they will become  
*they will become Senecas.*



- 230 **gayó:wah,**  
ka-yohw-ah  
n.sg.agt-moccasin-nsf  
moccasins  
*moccasins*
- 231 **ne:’ nā:h wá:tšo:wih neh,**  
wa’-ha-athrori-h  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-tell-HAB  
it is (emphasis) it tells namely  
*it tells,*
- 232 **ëöwöyógwe’dëögo’.**  
ë-höway-ökwe’t-a-röko-’  
FUT-3.NONSG.AGT/M.SG.PAT-person-LK-collect-PUN  
they will adopt him  
*they will adopt him.*
- 233 **Ëótga’ nā:h níáya’dó’dë’,**  
ë-ha-atka’w-’  
FUT-M.SG.AGT-give.up-PUN  
he’ll give it up (emphasis) his identity  
*He’ll give up his identity,*
- 234 **nā:h neh Onödowá’ga:’ ë:ödö’.**  
o-nöt-owa-’ka:’  
N.SG.PAT-hill-big-CHAR  
Seneca  
FUT-M.SG.AGT-become-PUN  
(emphasis) namely he’ll become  
*he’ll become a Seneca.*
- 235 **Da:h o:nëh nö:di:ye:’ hi:gë:h,**  
n-a-hati-yer-’  
PART-FAC-M.PL.AGT-do-PUN  
so then what they did those  
*So then that’s what they did,*
- 236 **ne’hoh nā:h gyö’öh dödáöwódi:a’.**  
t-ö-t-a-höwati-haw-’  
DUP-FAC-CIS-FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-bring-PUN  
there (emphasis) (hearsay)  
*they brought them back.*
- 237 **Sa:di:yö’,**  
s-a-hati-yö-’  
REP-FAC-M.PL.AGT-arrive-PUN  
they got back  
*They got back,*

- 238 **Nödowá'ga:' waënödö'.**  
 nõt-owa-'ka:' wa'-hën-atö-'  
 hill-big-CHAR FAC-M.PL.AGT-become-PUN  
 Senecas they became  
*they became Senecas.*
- 239 **Wa:dí:wahdö' nã:h negë' neh,**  
 wa'-hati-rihw-ahtö-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-topic-lose-PUN  
 they forgot (emphasis) specifically namely  
*They forgot*
- 240 **Gá:hgwa'gé:onö' hënö:döh.**  
 ka-rahkw-a-'ke-hronö'  
 N.SG.AGT-sun-LK-EXT.LOC-POP M.PL.AGT-say-HAB  
 Gahkwas they say  
*they said they were Gahkwas.*
- 241 **Agwás'ö:weh nã:h wa:dí:wahdö',**  
 wa'-hati-rihw-ahtö-'  
 FAC-M.PL.AGT-topic-lose-PUN  
 completely (emphasis) they forgot it  
*They completely forgot it,*
- 242 **ne'hoh o:nëh Nödowá'ga:' waënödö'.**  
 nõt-owa-'ka:' wa'-hën-atö-'  
 hill-big-CHAR FAC-M.PL.AGT-become-PUN  
 that then Senecas they became  
*then they became Senecas.*
- 243 **Tša:di:yö' nã:h,**  
 tsh-a-hati-yö-'  
 COIN-FAC-M.PL.AGT-arrive-PUN  
 after they came (emphasis)  
*After they came,*
- 244 **në:gë:h né:wa' de'wë:döh da'à:hse:gë' në:gë:h neh,**  
 te'-wëdöh te'-a-hse-kë-'  
 NEG-when NEG-FAC-2.SG.AGT-see-PUN  
 this now never you don't see it this namely  
*nowadays you don't ever see it,*
- 245 **sö:ga:' á:ë' neh**  
 aa-h-ë-'  
 HYP-M.SG.AGT-say-PUN  
 someone he would say namely  
*that someone would say*



- 254 **tšáénöhde:ni'**  
tsh-a-hën-ah-teni-'  
COIN-FAC-M.PL.AGT-MID-change-PUN  
after they changed  
*after they changed*
- 255 **Hadís-gwa:s gyö'öh nã:h waöwödi:ya:s.**  
wa'-höwati-yast-0  
FAC-3.AGT/3.NONSG.PAT-call-PUN  
Hadís-gwa:s (hearsay) (emphasis) they called them  
*they called them Hadís-gwa:s.*
- 256 **Da:h nē:gē:h né:wa',**  
so this this time  
*So nowadays,*
- 257 **sö:ga:' éódi'sdaë' neh hagéhjih,**  
ë-h-at-i'st-a-r-ë'  
FUT-M.SG.AGT-sound-LK-be.in-PUN M.SG.AGT-be.old-STA  
someone he will speak namely old man  
*when some old man will speak,*
- 258 **sö:ga:' wáótšo:wi',**  
wa'-ho-athrori-'  
FAC-M.SG.PAT-talk.about-PUN  
someone he talks about him  
*he talks about someone,*
- 259 **dá:ë',**  
t-aa-h-ë-'  
CIS-HYP-M.SG.AGT-say-PUN  
he might say  
*he might say,*
- 260 **ne:' nã:h hi:gē:h neh Hasgwáhgehah.**  
it is (emphasis) that namely Hasgwáhgehah  
*that one is Hasgwáhgehah (a man).*
- 261 **Yesgwáhgehah gi'shēh.**  
Yesgwáhgehah maybe  
*Or Yesgwáhgehah (a woman).*
- 262 **Da:h o:nēh negē' nã:h o'gátšonyá:nö:',**  
o'-k-athroy-a-hnö-:'  
FAC-1.SG.AGT-tell.about-LK-DIST-PUN  
so now specifically (emphasis) I told about things  
*So now I told about things,*

- 263** **wá:tšo:wi'**                      **heh,**      **niodiyá'dawé'öh**  
wa'-h-athrori-'                      ni-hoti-ya't-a-wë'-öh  
FAC-M.SG.AGT-tell.about-PUN      PART-M.PL.PAT-body-LK-happen-STA  
he told about it                      namely      what happened to them  
*he told about what happened to them*
- 264** **neh**      **Gá:hgwa'gé:onö'.**  
ka-rahkw-a-'ke-hronö'  
N.SG.AGT-sun-LK-EXT.LOC-POP  
namely      the Gahkwas  
*the Gahkwas.*
- 265** **Da:h**      **nehoh.**  
so      that  
*So that's it.*

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