Oneida Teaching Grammar

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This work is intended to help those learning and teaching the Oneida language. Oneida is a complex language quite different from English and learning it requires several resources. This work is meant to be one of those resources but by no means should it be the only one. It has been my experience that the people most successful in learning Oneida have two qualities. One is a long-term commitment to learning that allows them to deal with short term frustrations and plateaus. They recognize the job is hard and slow with spurts of progress as well as setbacks. The other is a realization that individuals need different resources at different times. Sometimes it pays to memorize and sometimes conversation is better; sometimes listening is more worthwhile and sometimes analyzing word patterns leads to progress; sometimes it makes sense to practice sounds and sometimes to practice writing. The successful learners seem to know which mix of resources works best for them at any one time and how the mix should change over time.

This guide focuses on providing grammatical terms to talk about how Oneida words contain patterns of meaning. Recognizing these patterns should help learners make sense of new words by comparing them to familiar ones and so make learning overall more efficient.

The guide is also designed to present information in a particular order that starts simply and builds to more complexity. In order to do that some material is presented in an oversimplified approach early on and then presented again in a more comprehensive fashion later on. There are also reference sections and summaries that may be useful after a learner has gone through the sequences of grammatical patterns.

The vocabulary is not intended to be comprehensive, of course. Although there is quite a bit of vocabulary in the grammatical sections, the intention is to present the many grammatical patterns with as small and thus as familiar a set of vocabulary as possible.

Even though there are conversational sections and learning hints along the way, this guide is not intended to provide the resources to internalize all the information presented. The learner will need additional resources - conversations, listening opportunities, perhaps pattern drills, speaking situations, patient feedback - to transform knowledge about the language into the ability to use the language. The lessons here also do not contain very much on the social contexts in which the language is used. There are stylistic and dialectal differences and conventions about using the language in various formal and informal situations that are only hinted at in this work. The learner will need additional resources in this area as well.

Just as language is a very communal activity, so also has been the process of assembling this work. It is based on my interactions over the last two decades with a community of scholars (principally Iroquoianists), a community of speakers (tribal elders largely from Oneida, Wisconsin), and many learners (both Oneidas and non-Oneida students at the University of Wisconsin - Green Bay). I am grateful for all they have taught me but there are undoubtedly errors in this work and in true Iroquoian fashion I confess that I am still learning and ask you to forgive my errors and omissions.

Contents

Part I Introduction

SOUNDS AND THE ALPHABET

Vowels

There are six vowel sounds. They are represented by the following letters:

a, e, i, o, u, ʌ

The first four are oral vowels and correspond to the following English sounds:

a as in *ah* or *father*
e as in *they*
i as in *ski*
o as in *no*

The last two are nasal vowels spoken as if an n sound always followed:

u as in *tune*
ʌ as in *ton*

Consonants

Four consonants are known as resonants and are very close to the sounds of the English letters:

l as in *low*
n as in *no*
w as in *will*
y as in *yes*

Examples: **la lo ye yʌ wa wi nu nʌ**

h

There is also an h sound, which is pronounced as a breath of air as in *hello*. This sound is far more common in Oneida than it is in English and it occurs in Oneida in places such as before consonants where it does not occur in English. The sound itself is not difficult for English speakers to produce, but it will take some practice to produce it before consonants.

Examples: **ha he hi ho hʌ hu**
ahla ahya ihle ehnʌ ohwa ohlu

Three consonants have sounds that vary slightly depending on the surrounding sounds:

t before a vowel or resonant consonant (**l, w, y,** or **n**)
as in *still* (more like an English d)
before other sounds (or silence or whispering) as in *till*

Examples: **ta te ti to tʌ tu tha the thi tho thʌ thu**
tlu atla tye atyʌ twe ʌtwe tni etni
thlu athla thye athyʌ thwe ʌthwe thni ethni

k before a vowel or resonant consonant as in *s<u>k</u>ill* (more like an English g)
before other sounds (or silence or whispering) as in *<u>k</u>ill*

Examples: **ka ke ki ko kʌ ku kha khe khi kho khʌ khu**
klo ʌklo kya akya kwʌ akwʌ kna okna
khlo ʌkhlo khya akhya khwʌ akhwʌ khna okhna

s before a vowel or resonant consonant as in *wa<u>s</u>* (more like an English z)
before other sounds (or silence or whispering) as in *<u>s</u>ee*
There is variation among speakers in the pronunciation of **s**. It is often somewhere between an s and a z sound, but all agree that when the sound comes between two vowels, it is most like a z.

Examples: **ise usa ese isʌ**
she ashe sha esha shʌ ishʌ

ʔ

There is also a glottal stop in Oneida and it is represented by this symbol - **ʔ**. This is the catch that is made in the throat between the two vowels in *uh-uh* or *uh-oh* or *oh-oh*. It is used as a regular consonant in Oneida. However, it never occurs immediately after another consonant.

Examples: **aʔo eʔe iʔʌ uʔu**

In the following examples notice the differences between glottal stop, **h**, and neither before a consonant:

ata ahta aʔta
ekʌ ehkʌ eʔkʌ
inu ihnu iʔnu
iko ihko iʔko

Special combinations

A few additional sounds are represented by special combinations of letters.

tsy (before vowels) or **tsi** (before consonants) is used to represent the sound of the j in English *judge* or the g in *gee whiz*

Examples: **tsya tsye tsi tsyo tsyʌ tsyu**

tshy (before vowels) or **tshi** (before consonants) is used to represent the sound of the ch in *church*

Examples: **tshya tshye tshi tshyo tshyʌ tshyu**

sy is used to represent the sound of the sh in *she*

Examples: **sya sye syi syo syʌ syu**

Here then are all the letters used in writing Oneida:
a, e, h, i, k, l, n, o, s, t, u, w, y, ʌ, ʔ

Other symbols
Three additional symbols are needed to fully represent Oneida sounds. A **raised dot** (the upper dot in a colon) is used to lengthen a vowel sound. It occurs immediately after the vowel it lengthens. An **accent mark** over a vowel helps indicate the stress pattern of the Oneida word. One final symbol is needed to indicate whispered syllables that occur at the end of many Oneida words. The symbol to indicate whispering is **underlining**.

Some common problems in using this writing system for Oneida
If you are an English speaker just learning the Oneida sound system, experience has shown some parts of the writing system are more difficult than others. Here are some of the stumbling blocks that may need a little extra attention.

h before consonants
This is not a sound combination that occurs in English so both making the sound and recognizing it will take some practice. Nothing replaces oral practice for developing this new speech habit.

h after consonants
This is a sound combination that does occur in English pronunciation but it is generally not recognized in English spelling. The **h** represents an aspiration you can feel (just put your hand to your mouth as you say the sounds) so the tricky part is not in producing the sound. It is the new spelling habit that needs some attention before it becomes natural.

hs and **sh**
Since the letter **s** between two vowels always represents a **z** sound, when you hear an Oneida word with an **s** sound between two vowels, there is some aspiration and it should be written as either **hs** or **sh**. You have to listen very closely to determine whether the aspiration of the **h** comes right before or right after the **s** itself. It is not a very easy difference to hear.

Examples: **áhsʌ** *three* **áhsu** *not yet* **teyóhses** *high*
niwáshʌ *tens* **a·sé** *new* **óhses** *syrup*
ka? niwá·sa *small things*

Remember that English typically uses the combination **sh** to represent a distinct single sound but in Oneida the **sh** combination always represents an **s** sound followed by an **h** sound. The English **sh** sound corresponds to the Oneida **sy** letter combination.

Examples: **asyu ashu** **sya·tú** *write!*

Nasal vowels before stop consonants

English has no vowels that must always be nasalized. Instead English speakers tend to nasalize any vowel only if it comes before a nasal consonant. The two Oneida nasal vowels ʌ and **u** are always nasalized no matter what comes after them. When the following sound is a **t, k,** or **s**, then the movement the tongue makes in the transition between the vowel and the following consonant will automatically produce an **n** sound. Since there is no possibility of leaving that **n** out, it really does not have to be written. It is not really wrong to write it; it is just unnecessary.

Examples: **kalu·tóte?** *tree* **tutá·le?** *he came back*
lohtʌ́ti *his house* **yusá·le?** *he went back*
ʌ́ti *noon* **ʌkí·lu?** *I will say*

Before other consonants the presence of the **n** matters. Consider the following:

unhe uhe unyu uyu ʌnle ʌle

Initial consonant clusters

Oneida allows words to start with some combinations of sounds that are not used in English. These are certainly not impossible to produce but they are not familiar and will take some practice.

Some examples: **tkaye·lí** *correct* **ktákhe** *I'm running* **tkí·tlu** *I live there*

ay sound

You will at times hear in Oneida words the vowel sound heard in the English words *buy, lie, why,* or *sigh*. What you are hearing is really the **a** vowel gliding off into another vowel. Combine an **a** syllable with a **ye** syllable and notice the sound that is produced.

Examples: **aye ayʌ**
kayʌte·lí *it's a sign* **aka·yú** *old* **tkaye·lí** *correct*

ʌ, u, and **a**

Distinguishing these three vowels is sometimes tricky. For some speakers the two nasalized vowels ʌ and **u** are very close to one another. For others the **a** and ʌ are separated only by a little nasalization. It is especially difficult to hear the differences between **an** and **ʌn**. It helps to have some expectations about the sounds because your ears may not always be reliable enough to determine the spelling.

Examples: **ola·ná·** *corn soup* **kalʌ·ná·** *song, prayer*

Doubled consonants

English often uses doubled consonants in its spelling even when there is no doubling in pronunciation. In Oneida most consonants don't double their sounds so they are not doubled in writing, but there are two consonants that can be doubled in sound. They are **t** and **k**. The doubling is produced by not fully releasing the first one before you start the second one. Or you can think of it as holding the doubled consonant.

Examples: **sattókha** *you are smart*
akkʌ́ha *my blanket*

Other consonant clusters

English has more consonants but Oneida allows its consonants to combine in more combinations. These combinations may be unfamiliar but if you know the individual sounds, it should be possible to figure out the clusters.

Examples: **ótku** *snake* **tasatáwyaht** *come in*
kánhke *when* **lolaʔnháu** *he knows how*
wakknaʔkhwʌ́u *I am mad*

Final glottal stops

Glottal stops at the ends of words are notorious for dropping off. Many speakers will sometimes say them and sometimes not. In general there are only a very few cases where the presence or absence of a final glottal stop matters to the meaning, so this is not a sound distinction to get hung up on.

Initial vowels

Many Oneida words begin with a vowel. There is some variation among speakers about how to pronoun such words. Some people always add an **h** to any word beginning with a vowel and other people don't. The meaning is unaffected and so the **h** is typically not written.

RHYTHMS IN WORD PRONUNCIATION

In addition to its consonants and vowels each Oneida word has its own rhythm. In most languages rhythmic patterns come from manipulations of the pitch, loudness, and duraction of the vowels. Combinations of these acoustic features are commonly known as accent or stress. In an English word the pattern is that one syllable has the primary stress (if it is a long word there might be a syllable with a secondary stress). In Oneida there are five patterns that give words their distinctive rhythms. All the patterns are incorporated into the writing system.

The first pattern is the **straight accent** and it is most like the English pattern in which one syllable of the word is stressed (typically with a louder sound and slightly higher pitch than the other syllables). In Oneida the straight accent is indicated by an accent mark over the vowel of the stressed syllable.

tátatata tatátata tatatáta tatatatá

A second pattern is **long stress**, where the stressed vowel is extended, unlike anything in English. A raised dot indicates in writing that the vowel is extended.

tá·tatata tatá·tata tatatá·ta tatatatá·

Samples Oneida words:

wá·yat	*pie*	**í·lelhe**	*he wants*
ká·khale?	*skirt*	**á·shale?**	*knife*
olú·ya	*blue*	**o?swʌ́·ta**	*black*
kayá·tase	*girl*	**náhte? olí·wase**	*what's new*
ohwʌtsyá·ke	*on the earth*	**ukwehuwé·ne**	*Oneida (place)*
swʌná·not	*read!*	**oh niwehnisló·tʌ**	*what kind of day is it?*
o?nikú·la?	*mind*	**kayá·tale?**	*picture*
osahé·ta?	*bean(s)*	**yá·yahk**	*six*
snú·wehse	*you like it*	**wahʌ́·lu?**	*he said*
lonolú·sehe	*he's lazy*	**kanatá·ke wá·ke**	*I'm going to Green Bay*

The third pattern is the **drag - pounce**. It consists of dragging out one syllable with an even tone and then accenting the following one. The dragged syllable is indicated with a raised dot after its vowel and the accented one has an accent mark over its vowel.

ta·tátata tata·táta tatata·tá

Sample Oneida words:

tsya·ták	*seven*	**o·nʌ́ste?**	*corn*
i·kélhe?	*I want (it)*	**náhte? kʌ·túhe?**	*what does it mean?*
i·wát	*inside it*	**kohsa·tʌ́s**	*horse*
kawʌ·nés	*long word*	**kalihwi·sáks**	*she looks for news*
to·kʌ́ske	*really*	**wake·káhse**	*I like the taste of it*
hetsli?wanu·tús	*ask him!*	**náhte? yesa·yáts**	*what's your name?*
swahyo·wáhne	*apple*	**ukwehu·wé**	*Oneida (person)*
kawʌnaye·nás	*tape recorder*	**kalu·tóte**	*tree*
kana·táyʌ	*town*	**Onʌyote?a·ká**	*Oneida people*
awʌ·lá	*green*		

The fourth pattern, a **double drag**, is really a combination of the previous two. It consists of a dragged syllable (indicated by the raised dot) followed by a syllable with a long stess (indicated by both accent mark and dot).

tata·tá·ta tatata·tá·

Sample Oneida words:

ka?slehti·yó·se?	*good cars*		
sa·yʌ́· kʌ	*do you have it?*	**oye·lí·**	*ten*
katsa? ka·yʌ́·	*which one*	**i·sé·**	*you*

The last pattern, the **final drag**, seems to have no accented syllable but in these words the last syllable is dragged out with an even tone. In such words there really is an accented syllable, but it is whispered and occurs right after the dragged out syllable. So this last rhythm is actually just the drag - pounce (or double drag) rhythm combined with whispering, but since whispered syllables are not always noticed by learners, it seems like a distinctive rhythm.

tatata·tá

Sample Oneida words:

ukwehu·wé	*Oneida person*	**ni?i·sé**	*you*
o?slu·ní	*white person*	**kawʌni·yó**	*good word*
shehlo·lí	*tell her*	**oskʌnu·tú**	*deer*
nok ʌwa·tú	*it has to be*	**tyohʌ·tú**	*leader*
yawʌ·lé	*teen*	**oye·lí**	*ten*
kanuhso·kú	*in the house*	**ka?slehtowa·nʌ́**	*big vehicle*

Notice some patterns in these rhythms. Every word has an accent mark (although sometimes it is on a whispered syllable). No word has more than one accent mark. The raised dot only occurs right before or right with the accented syllable. There are no dragged syllables after an accented syllable.

It also happens that a glottal stop (**?**) never occurs immediately after a dragged vowel or an accented one. The rhythms of words are not arbitrary and there is enough patterning so that a set of rules can usually predict the type of rhythm a word will have. These rules will be presented later.

Becoming aware of the rhythms both in hearing them and producing them makes for more efficient learning. Some confusions have been common in the past. Be sure not to confuse a dragged syllable with one that has an **h** after a vowel; or to confuse an accented syllable with one that has a **?** after the vowel. Learning the expected rhythms in words will help some, but the glottal stop is often not very prominent. Close attention and plenty of oral practice will help in recognizing it.

Sample Oneida words:

skahwístat	*one dollar*	**othahyu·ní**	*wolf*
katuhkályahks	*I'm hungry*	**lahnekílha**	*he is drinking*
kahuhtá·ke	*my ear*	**teyohyó·tsist**	*salt*
yonehlákwat	*amazing*	**skahlá·ke**	*my eye*
okalyahtá·ne?	*mosquito*	**atuhkwánha**	*belt*
atekhwahlákhwa?	*table*	**skʌhnáksʌ**	*fox*
áhsʌ	*three*	**náhte? séhsaks**	*what are you looking for?*
wakanúhte	*I know*	**onúhkwaht**	*medicine*
onikwʌ́htala?	*red*	**atláhti**	*sock*
wesáhtane? kʌ	*are you full?*	**teyakolihwáhkwʌ**	*she is singing*
tsinuhnéhklis	*bee*	**lukwe?ti·yó**	*a good man*
o?sluni?kéha	*English*	**nihaya?tó·tʌ**	*the kind of man he is*
otsi?tʌ́ha	*bird*	**ot nisʌ?taló·tʌ**	*what is your clan?*
o?wá·lu	*meat*	**atwa?kánha**	*Indian (non-Iroquoian)*

WORD EXPECTATIONS

Oneida and English differ in what counts as a word. Often an Oneida word corresponds to a phrase or sentence in English. Most Oneida words (especially verbs) consist of stems with prefixes and suffixes added on. Some of these prefixes and suffixes are obligatory - meaning the stem cannot be used without them - and some are optional ways for a speaker to add more meanings. So, for example, if you were to ask a native speakers for the Oneida word for *hunt*, you would be asking for only a piece of a word. Each of the following expressions would be single Oneida words:

he's hunting
they will go hunting again over there
I should hunt for them
she used it to hunt with

Each of these is formed by adding prefixes and suffixes to a basic stem meaning *hunt.*

Even when it appears that an Oneida word corresponds well to a single English word, as with **o·nʌ́ste** *corn*, the Oneida word is often still complex. Here the word **o·nʌ́ste** consists of three parts (a prefix, a stem, and a suffix) even though the meaning of the three combined corresponds to a single English word.

Sometimes the parts of a complex Oneida word can be represented in English if you are willing to modify the English translation. So, for example, **kawʌnaye·nás** *tape recorder* could be translated as *it word-catches* to represent its internal structure. Similarly **iyʌ́ha** *my son* could be translated as *I am in the parent relation to him* and **shukwaya?tísu** *the creator* could be translated as *he has created our bodies*. Such translations are sometimes quite helpful but English only bends so far. To identify the parts of **lonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu** as *they self matter operate with-it have* shows there is a limit; it's better to use a translation such as *they carry out their responsibilities*, which captures the meaning but not necessarily the form of the Oneida word.

As with any two languages one should not expect the range of meaning of a word (or stem) to be the same in both languages. Sometimes Oneida is more specific and precise than English. Oneida has several words for kinds of squirrels but no word to cover them all as English does. On the other hand Oneida has a single term for all the plants of the squash - melon - cucumber family where English only has a technical word invented by botanists (*cucurbit*). A word such as **yoyánehle** generally corresponds to *good*, but it also extends to *nice* or *pretty* as well.

The lesson in all this is that searching for exact correspondence between words in one language and words in another is at best messy and may be impossible. The solution used in these lessons is to identify words as having both form and meaning. The forms of any langauge have their own pattern and the patterns of Oneida are described in these lessons. Collections of forms have meanings and those meanings correspond to English meanings. Translate meanings, not forms.

PRODUCTIVITY and LEXICALIZATION

One reason for using a teaching grammar such as this is that language learning can become more efficient when you learn explicit patterns (expressed as grammatical rules) than when you learn just individual expressions one by one. this is especially true when opportunitiesfor immersion are difficult to find. Linguists can probably account for any expression with some sort of tule about its formation or meaning. The problem is that some of these rules are so complex and apply to such rare circumstances that learning them, interesting as they may be, does ot rally have much of a payoff in increasing the efficiency of language learning. Rules that organize the hundreds of pronominal prefixes into sets can be very helpful whereas one that describes that an alternative form is used when a stem begins with a certain vowel and the word is short enough so the accent rules put the qaccent on a syllable before the pronominla prefix may be less helpful. It helps then to think of the productivity of the rules. This grammar is organized so that the most productive patterns and rules – those most frequent and helpful – are described before less productive rules.

There are two cautions to enjoying the benefits of productive rules. One is that speakers of a language do not always exploit productive rules. The English suffix *-er* is a good example. The rule in English is that adding *-er* to a verb creates a word that means a person or mechanism that does the action of the verb. It is a very productive rule. You can add *-er* to just about any verb. You could add it to the verb *admit* and speakers of English would certainly know what you meant but the word is hardly ever used.

The second caution is a process known as lexicalization. this is an instance of the result of a productive pattern taking on a life of its own. For example, if you put *-er* on the verb *plant*, the result should mean person or mechanism that plants and the word does indeed mean that, but it also means a container for potted plants. That is a semantic specialization and it is an example of lexicalization. If you add *-er* to the verb *play*, the

expected meanin may be lost to a semantic specialization. If you tell me your five year old son is a *player*, I am likely to think he is cooperative (*a team player*) or else he has established himself in some way as the alpha male in his group. I am less likely to think he simply spends time playing, even though that is what the rule predicts. The same process of lexicalization happens in Oneida. For example, there is a pattern of adding prefixes and suffixes to noun roots to signify counting. It is a very productive pattern but there is some lexicalization. The words for counting *boxes* tend to mean counting *thousands* instead and there are probably some nouns that are not in practice counted even though they could be. It is useful to keep in mind such limitations whenever patterns are presented in this work.

PARTS OF SPEECH

English words are classified grammatically into eight parts of speech:
verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, article, and interjection

Oneida words are classified into three parts of speech:
verb, noun, and particle.

What this means is that just because you know the part of speech of a particular English word you cannot assume it is the same in Oneida. Many words that are nouns in English are constructed as verbs in Oneida. For example:

farmer = he plants
tape recorder = it word-catches
teacher = she makes the tradition for them
table = used to place food on

Although there are distinct noun and verb stems, verbs often can incorporate noun stems inside them to form complex and descriptive verbs such as the above. English adjectives for the most part correspond to verbs in Oneida. *To be happy, old, big, lazy* and *hot* are all considered verbs in Oneida. English prepositions correspond to a number of devices in Oneida depending on their meaning. Those meanings can be expressed as: noun suffixes, separate particles, parts of complex verb stems, or verb prefixes. See pages 136-137 for some ways the meanings of English prepositions get expressed in Oneida. Anything that is not a noun or verb is considered a particle in Oneida. Particles tend not to have prefixes or suffixes and are usually short words. Many of them have grammatical functions just as English conjunctions and some adverbs do. Oneida has no articles - *a, an,* and *the.*

BASIC VERB STRUCTURE

The basic structure of an Oneida verb consists of four parts. There must always be a stem that carries the basic dictionary meaning of the verb. All verbs must have a pronoun prefix (pronominal prefix) that indicates the number (one, two, or more), gender (masculine, neuter, or either of two feminines), and grammatical person (1st - person(s) speaking; 2nd - person(s) spoken to; and 3rd - person(s) spoken about) of whoever is doing and/or receiving the action of the verb. Suffixed to the stem is an aspect marker that indicates some grammatical information. These three parts are obligatory. All Oneida verbs have them. The fourth part is a set of about a dozen prefixes (prepronominal prefixes) that are attached to the front of the pronoun prefixes. As many as half a dozen of them can occur on a single word or as few as none. They have a variety of meanings having to do with time, repetition, direction, negation, and a few other meanings.

PREFIX	PRONOUN	STEM	ASPECT SUFFIX

This seems straightforward, but three things make it more complex. One is that the pronoun prefixes exist in alternative sets. For example, in one set **wak-** means *I* and **lo-** means *he*, while in another set **k-** means *I* and **la-** means *he.* This idea of alternate forms with the same meaning also occurs occasionally in the other parts of the verb, but it is most prominent in the pronoun prefixes.

A second complication, partly caused by the first one, is that not every prefix, suffix, and stem is compatible with every other. There are patterns of selection. So, for example, certain aspect suffixes require specific prefixes and other aspect suffixes are incompatible with them (for example, modalizer prefixes only occur when the punctual aspect suffix is used); stems select a particular set of pronoun prefixes and the particular forms of their aspect suffixes; and there are certain incompatibilities between pronoun sets and aspect suffixes.

The third complication is that even after you've made the right selections, the sounds of the parts of the verb may alter or fuse with surrounding sounds. For example, if one part ends in a vowel and the next part starts in a vowel, the second vowel usually is dropped; or if putting together parts of a verb result in too many consonants in a row, then a vowel is often inserted to make the word pronouncable.

These three complications - the alternative sets of forms, the patterns of selection and compatibility, and the sound fusions and alterations - are likely to make Oneida verbs overwhelming at first. It is the strategy of these lessons to confront those complications gradually, that is to oversimplify matters at first to stress the most general patterns and then to confront more specialized patterns.

To begin with we'll focus on the stems and the pronoun prefixes. Initially we'll think of the aspect suffix as just part of the stem and only take passing notice of any pre-pronominal prefixes that occur. For the moment we'll ignore any internal structure within stems.

WHISPERING

Oneida is unusual among the world's languages in that whispering is a regular part of normal use of the language. Most words have two pronunciations depending on where they occur in a sentence. Words that occur with other words immediately after them in the same sentence have no whispering. But when those same words occur at the end of a sentence or when spoken in isolation, then the last syllable is typically whispered. Such whispering is indicated in the writing system by underlining.

Some words are exactly the same with no whispering whether there are words following or not. Other words undergo more complex changes (e.g. an extra vowel, an added **h**, or a change in rhythm) than just whispering when they occur without words following. The color words will illustrate some of the possibilities:

meaning	context form (with words following)	isolation form (alone or at end of sentence)
yellow	**otsí·nkwal**	**otsí·nkwal**
green	**awʌ·lá·**	**awʌ·lá**
red	**onikwʌ́htala?**	**onikwʌ́htala**
blue	**olú·ya?**	**olúhya**
black	**o?swʌ́·ta?**	**o?swʌ́hta**
white	**owískla?**	**owískehla**

These changes are not completely arbitrary but the patterns (and the rules for describing them) are a bit complex. They will be presented in a later lesson (page 52).

A VOCABULARY SAMPLE

The following sample vocabulary demonstrates the common sound and rhythm patterns and also illustrates how Oneida words are structured. This is a good list to learn since later lessons will be making use of these words.

1. kawʌnaye·nás	*tape recorder*
2. shukwaya?tísu	*Creator*
3. shehlo·lí	*tell her; tell them*
4. hetsli?wanu·tús	*ask him*
5. iyʌ́ha	*my son*
6. kheyʌ́ha	*my daughter*
7. aksótha	*my grandmother*
8. laksótha	*my grandfather*
9. náhte? yesa·yáts	*what is your name?*
10. kunolúhkwa	*I love you*
11. ʌskya?takénha? kʌ	*will you help me?*
12. wakanúhte	*I know*
13. ohwʌtsyá·ke	*on the earth*
14. náhte? kʌ·túhe	*what does it mean?*
15. náhte? ʌkí·lu? ____	*how do I say _____?*
16. kátsa? nu tesnákehle	*where do you live?*
17. kanúhses	*long house*
18. kanúhsote	*house, building*
19. ká·sleht	*car, vehicle*
20. ka?slehtowa·nʌ́	*big car*
21. o·nʌ́ste	*corn*
22. snú·wehse? kʌ	*do you like it?*
23. i·kélhe? akatekhu·ní	*I want to eat*
24. íhselhe? kʌ ka?i·kʌ́	*do you want this?*
25. úhka? náhte? yakotunháhehle	*who is happy?*

Part II The Basic Verb

PRONOUN PREFIXES

Every Oneida verb has a pronoun prefix attached to the front of the verb stem. There are three classes of these prefixes: transitive, subjective, and objective.

Transitive Pronoun Prefixes

Some verb stems require transitive pronoun prefixes. These prefixes include a pronoun both for the doer of the verb action and for the receiver of the action. Consider the following examples from the vocabulary sample.

kunolúhkwa	**ku-** is the pronoun prefix in which *I* is the doer and *you* is the receiver *I love you*
shukwaya?tísu	**shukwa-** is the prefix in which *he* is the doer and *us* is the receiver *he has created us = the creator*
shehlo·lí	**she-** is the prefix in which *you* is the doer and *her* or *them* is the receiver *(you) tell her* or *(you) tell them* (In English commands the subject *you* is understood, but in Oneida it is always expressed in the prefix.)
hetshlo·lí	**hets-** is the prefix in which *you* is the doer and *him* is the receiver *(you) tell him!*
ʌskya?takénha? kʌ	**-sk-** is the pronoun prefix in which *you* is the doer and *me* is the receiver. (The **ʌ-** at the beginning is a prepronominal prefix that marks future tense.) *will you help me?*

A summary of some transitive pronoun prefixes so far:

sk-	*you to me*	**ku-**	*I to you*
she-	*you to her or them*	**khe-**	*I to her or them*
hets-	*you to him*	**i-**	*I to him*
shukwa-	*he to us*		

These prefixes can be attached to various compatible stems to create words such as the following:

sknolúhkwa	*you love me*
shenolúhkwa	*you love her / you love them*
hetsnolúhkwa	*you love him*
shukwanolúhkwa	*he loves us*

khenolúhkwa	*I love her / I love them*
inolúhkwa	*I love him*

Most terms for relatives in Oneida are transitive verbs. So, from the vocabulary sample:

iyʌ́ha — **i-** is the prefix (see above) and the verb stem means *be a parent to*
iyʌ́ha means *I am a parent to him = my son*

kheyʌ́ha — **khe-** is the prefix and the verb stem means *be a parent to*
kheyʌ́ha means *I am a parent to her = my daughter* or
I am a parent to them = my children

aksótha — **ak-** is the prefix in which *she* is the doer and *me* is the receiver
aksótha means *she is grandparent to me = my grandmother*

laksótha — **lak-** is the prefix in which *he* is the the doer and *me* is the receiver
laksótha means *he is grandparent to me = my grandfather*

Some other examples of transitive pronoun prefixes:

ʌhetsyaʔtakénhaʔ kʌ	*will you help him?*
ʌshukwayaʔtakénhaʔ kʌ	*will he help us?*
skyaʔtísu	*you have made me*
sheyʌ́ha	*your children or your daughter*
shukwayʌ́ha	*our father*

Subjective and objective pronoun prefixes

When a verb stem does not require a transitive prefix (typically when there is not both a doer and a receiver), then the stem requires either the subjective set of pronoun prefixes or the objective set. The difference between them is a matter of selection more than meaning and it is not predictable from knowing the meaning of the stem. Nothing obvious you know about English will help you predict whether an Oneida verb stem will take subjective or objective prefixes. From the vocabulary sample the verb *know* and the verb *be happy* both require objective prefixes. Here is a collection of several objective prefixes:

Objective pronoun prefixes:

wak-	*I*
sa-	*you*
lo-	*he*
yako-	*she, or someone*

And here are some examples of how they attach to verb stems:

wakanúhte	*I know*
sanúhte	*you know*
lonúhte	*he knows*
yakonúhte	*she knows*
wakatunháhehle	*I am happy*
satunháhehle	*you are happy*
lotunháhehle	*he is happy*
yakotunháhehle	*she is happy*

The verb *like* requires subjective prefixes such as the following:

Subjective pronoun prefixes:

k-	*I*
s-	*you*
la-	*he*
ye-	*she, or someone*

knú·wehse	*I like it*
snú·wehse	*you like it*
lanú·wehse	*he likes it*
yenú·wehse	*she likes it or someone likes it*

The verb *like* can also be used with transitive prefixes as in the following:

kunú·wehse	*I like you*
sknú·wehse	*you like me*
inú·wehse	*I like him*
shukwanú·wehse	*he likes us*

SIMPLE SENTENCES

Statements

A verb can function as a complete sentence or additional identifications of the pronoun prefixes can be added:

lotunháhehle	*he is happy*
Amos lotunháhehle	*Amos is happy*
Wali yakotunháhehle	*Mary is happy*
hetshlo·lí Amos	*tell Amos*
shehlo·lí Wali	*tell Mary*
iyʌ́ha lotunháhehle	*my son is happy*
kheyʌ́ha yakotunháhehle	*my daughter is happy*

Notice that the pronoun prefixes must always be used even when a name is used as well. Notice also that the pronoun prefix must agree with the subject in gender (as well as number and person). The order of words in Oneida expresses emphasis more than grammatical relations, so the following are also possible:

lotunháhele? Amos	*Amos is happy*
yakotunháhele? Wali	*Mary is happy*
lotunháhele? iyʌ́ha	*my son is happy*
yakotunháhele? kheyʌ́ha	*my daughter is happy*

It is also possible to express the same meaning with the particle **né·n** between the verb and the noun as in the following:

lotunháhele? né·n Amos	*Amos is happy*
yakotunháhele? né·n Wali	*Mary is happy*
lotunháhele? né·n iyʌ́ha	*my son is happy*
yakotunháhele? né·n kheyʌ́ha	*my daughter is happy*

Notice how the arrangement of words in a sentence affects the choice of whispered or non-whispered versions of a word.

Yes-no Questions

There is an easy way to turn any statement into the corresponding yes-no question. Add the particle **kʌ**. This is simply a grammatical word that signals a question. It is always positioned as the second word in the question.

lonúhte	*he knows*
lonúhte kʌ	*does he know?*
lonúhte Amos	*Amos knows*
lonúhte kʌ Amos	*does Amos know?*
sanúhte	*you know*
sanúhte kʌ	*do you know?*
lotunháhele? iyʌ́ha	*my son's happy*
lotunháhele? kʌ iyʌ́ha	*is my son happy?*
sknolúhkwa	*you love me*
sknolúkhwa? kʌ	*do you love me?*

Who Questions

The Oneida expression for *who* is **úhka? náhte?**. By itself this is pronounced **úhka? náhohte.** It is also possible to use just **úhka?** without **náhte?** or **náhohte**. Unless you know specifically that the answer will be a male, who-questions always use a feminine pronoun prefix on the verb. The general rule is that if you don't know whether you're talking about a male or female, then you assume female as an indefinite form.

úhka? náhte? yakonúhte	*who knows?*
úhka? náhte? yakotunháhehle	*who is happy?*
úhka? náhte? yenú·wehse	*who likes it?*
úhka? náhte? shenolúhkwa	*who(m) do you love?*
úhka? náhte? sheyʌ́ha	*who is your daughter?*

Negative statements

Negative statements are made by adding the particle **yah** before the verb and by attaching a special negative prefix to the verb. This is usually **te?-** (or just **te-** before an **h** or **s**) and it is one of the dozen or so prepronominal prefixes. If the verb already has a prepronominal prefix, then the negative prefix often combines or fuses with that prefix in ways that will be explained later.

yah te?yakonúhte	*she doesn't know*
yah teshukwanolúhkwa	*he doesn't love us*
yah te?wakanúhte	*I don't know*
yah te?knú·wehse	*I don't like it*

The h - l rule - a sound rule

When the negative prefix (or in fact any prefix) is added to a verb whose pronoun prefix starts with an **l-**, then that **l-** changes to an **-h-**. This is a very general pattern with only a few exceptions. Use **l-** when it starts a word and **-h-** when it doesn't.

lonúhte	*he knows*
yah tehonúhte	*he doesn't know*
lanú·wehse	*he likes it*
yah tehanú·wehse	*he doesn't like it*
lotunháhehle	*he is happy*
yah tehotunháhehle	*he isn't happy*

PRONOUN SUBCLASSES

The pronoun prefixes given earlier are just a few of many that are possible. There are fifteen subjective prefixes, about a dozen objective ones, and nearly sixty transitives. Each of those prefixes has variations that depend on the initial sound of the verb stem. It makes sense to classify stems both by what general class they are in (subjective, objective, or transitive) but also by the beginning sound. Here are the subclasses listed in the order of their frequency:

a-stems	verb stems that begin with **a**
c-stems	verb stems that begin with consonants (Except for a few peculiarities with stems that begin with **y** or **h**, it doesn't matter which consonant it is.)
i-stems	verb stems that begin with **i**
o-stems	verb stems that begin with either **o** or **u**
e-stems	verb stems that begin with either **e** or **ʌ**

The first two subclasses are the biggest (over 80 percent of all Oneida verb stems) so we'll concentrate on those and postpone the others until later. Here's a slightly extended list of pronoun prefixes (still not the full list):

	objective		subjective	
	a-stem	c-stem	a-stem	c-stem
I	**wak-**	**wak-**	**k-**	**k-**
you	**sa-**	**sa-**	**(h)s-**	**(h)s-**
he	**lo-**	**lo-**	**la-**	**la-**
she	**yako-**	**yako-**	**yu-**	**ye-**
they	**lon-**	**loti-**	**lu-**	**lati-**

(The h in parentheses is only used when there's a prepronominal prefix.)
The verb stems from the previous lessons can now be identified as follows:

tell	**-hlo·lí**	transitive c-stem
ask	**-liʔwanu·tús**	transitive c-stem
parent of	**-yʌ́ha**	transitive c-stem
grandparent of	**-hsotha**	transitive c-stem
love	**-nolúhkwa**	transitive c-stem
help	**-yaʔtakénha**	transitive c-stem
know	**-anúhte**	objective a-stem
live	**-nakehlu**	subjective c-stem
like	**-nú·wehse**	subjective c-stem and transitive c-stem
be happy	**-atunháhehle**	objective a-stem

Vowel drop rule - a sound rule

In general when a pronoun prefix ending in a vowel is attached to a stem beginning in a vowel, the verb stem vowel is dropped. This is true of all the a-stems. There are some exceptions among o-stems.

Some more verbs

work	**-yo·té**	objective	c-stem
have money	**-hwístayʌ**	objective	c-stem
be hungry	**-atuhkályaks**	subjective	a-stem
eat	**-atekhu·níhe**	subjective	a-stem
drink	**-hnekílha**	subjective	c-stem

Some examples:

wakyo·té	*I am working*
satuhkályaks kʌ	*are you hungry?*
lutekhu·níhe	*they are eating*
yah tehahnekílha	*he doesn't drink*
úhka? náhte? yakohwístayʌ	*who has some money*
lonatunháhele? kʌ kheyʌ́ha	*are my children happy?*
yah te?wakhwístayʌ	*I haven't got any money*

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

There are several expressions for *yes*. The most general word is **ʌ́·ʌ**. Use it for answering questions. For agreeing with someone you can use **né·** or **né· wah**. The word for *no* is **yáhtʌ**. There is also a slightly less formal word **tah**. For an intermediate response, you can use **khe·lé ki? wah** which means *I guess so* or **tat nu?u** which means *maybe*.

Greetings

she·kú	*hello* (a name or special greeting term for a relative can be added right after **she·kú**, the context form)
shekóli	*hello* (a greeting typically between males)
skʌnʌ?kó kʌ	*how are you?*
skʌnʌ?kó	*fine*
oh (ni·sé) niyohtuháti	*how is it going with you?*
yoyanláti	*it's going fine*
kwah tsi? niyokwéni	*as well as can be expected*
náhte? olí·wase	*what's new?*
yah oh náhohte	*nothing*
kwah ok o·nʌ́	*the same* (this can be used as a greeting exchange - it is simply asked with a questioning intonation **kwah ok o·nʌ́** and answered with a declarative one **kwah ok o·nʌ́**)
ok ni?i·sé	*and you?*

Identifications

uhka? náhte? thi·kʌ́	*who is that?*
lu·kwé	*man*
yu·kwé	*woman*
yeksá	*child or girl*
laksá	*boy*
ukwehu·wé ni?í	*I am Oneida, or I am Iroquois*
onʌyote?a·ká ni?í	*I am Oneida (People of the Standing Stone)*
o?slu·ní· ni?í	*I am white*
atwa?kánha ni?í	*I am an Indian (non-Iroquoian)*
ukwehuwé·ne teknú·tehlu	*I live in Oneida*
kanatá·ke teknú·tehlu	*I live in Green Bay*
kanatá·ke teknákehle	*I live in Green Bay*
oh nesʌ?taló·tʌ	*what is your clan?*
oskle·wáke niwaki?taló·tʌ	*I am bear clan*
onyáhtʌ niwaki?taló·tʌ	*I am turtle clan*
okwáho niwaki?taló·tʌ	*I am wolf clan*

Part III The Basic Noun

NOUNS

Oneida has several types of nouns.

One type is the whole word noun. It is not made up of stems, prefixes, and suffixes but exists simply as a whole word itself. There are, however, very few nouns in this class. Examples are **é·lhal** *dog* and **takós** *cat* and **kóskos** *pig*.

A second type of noun is built from a noun stem. Just as with the verbs, noun stems can be identified by their beginning sound. A-stems typically have no prefix but may have a suffix. Consonant stems typically have either a **ka-** or an **o-** prefix plus some suffix. These prefixes and suffixes do not add to the meaning of the noun but they are required in order to turn the stem into a word. Some examples:

stem	word	English
-nʌst-	**o·nʌ́ste**	*corn*
-ʔsleht-	**ká·sleht**	*car, vehicle*
-nʌy-	**onʌ·yá**	*stone*
-(u)hwʌtsy-	**ohwʌ́tsya**	*earth*
-wʌn-	**owʌ·ná**	*word, sound, voice*
-ahta-	**áhta**	*shoe*
-atʌnaʔtsl-	**atʌná·tsehli**	*lunch, groceries*

The particular choice of prefix and suffix is not predictable just by knowing the stem and meaning. It is something that has to be learned for each word.

The third type of noun is actually a word constructed as a verb and used as a noun. The verb often is a description of the noun. Examples:

shukwayaʔtísu	*he has made us = the creator*
kawʌnaye·nás	*it word-catches = tape recorder*
iyʌ́ha	*I am parent to him = my son*
tyohʌ·tú	*one who leads = the boss*
yakolihunyʌ·níhe	*she makes the tradition for them = teacher*
skʌhnáksʌ	*it has bad skin = fox*
lotlíhute	*the idea comes off of him = (he is) an official*
kanúhsote	*the house is standing = house*
onʌyoteʔa·ká·	*people of the standing stone = Oneidas*

NOUNS IN SIMPLE SENTENCES

Oneida has a word for *this* - **ka?i·kʌ́** - and a word for *that* - **thi·kʌ́** - but there is no word for *to be* (*am, is, are, was, were*). Simple identification questions are:

náhte? ka?i·kʌ́	*what is this?*
náhte? thi·kʌ́	*what is that?*

náhte? is the word for *what*. The particle **né·** can also be used in identification questions. It has about the same meaning:

náhte? né· ka?i·kʌ́	*what is this?*
náhte? né· thi·kʌ́	*what is that?*

Answers to identification questions can take the following forms:

ká·sleht ka?i·kʌ́	*this is a car*
ká·sleht né· ka?i·kʌ́	*this is a car*
né· né· ka?i·kʌ́ ká·sleht	*what this is is a car*

Yes-no questions with a noun take the following forms:

ká·sleht kʌ	*is it a car?*
ká·sleht kʌ thi·kʌ́	*is that a car?*
né· kʌ thi·kʌ́ ká·sleht	*is that a car?*

THE VERB *WANT*

The common forms of the verb *want*, one of the few e-stems, are presented here. Note the rhythm shifts.

i·kélhe	*I want*	**yah té·kelhe**	*I don't want*
íhselhe	*you want*	**yah téhselhe**	*you don't want*
í·lelhe	*he wants*	**yah té·lelhe**	*he doesn't want*
i·yʌ́lhe	*she wants*	**yah té·yʌlhe**	*she doesn't want*
lʌ·nélhe	*they want*	**yah tehʌ·nélhe**	*they don't want*

This is a good verb to use with nouns:

íhselhe? kʌ ká·sleht	*do you want a car?*
ʌ́·ʌ, i·kélhe? ká·sleht	*yes, I want a car*
i·yʌ́lhe? kʌ Wali ká·sleht	*does Mary want a car?*
náhte? í·lelhe	*what does he want?*
úhka? náhte? i·yʌ́lhe? ká·sleht	*who wants a car?*

ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Since Oneida has no separate class of adjectives, English adjectives correspond to verbs in Oneida. As verbs they require a pronoun prefix as in the following examples:

yakotunháhehle	*she is happy*	(**yako-** + **-atunháhele**)
lonolú·se	*he is lazy*	(**lo-** + **-nolú·se**)
luttókha	*they are smart*	(**lu-** + **-attókha**)
salha·lé kʌ	*are you ready*	(**sa-** + **-lha·lé**)
lo·tʌ́ht	*he is poor, pathetic*	(**lo-** + **-i·tʌ́ht**)
wakatsanu·ní·	*I am glad*	(**wak-** + **-atsanu·ní·**)

And since the function of adjectives is to modify nouns, there are many adjectival verbs in Oneida that typically incorporate a noun stem. For example, **-owa·nʌ́** is the verb stem that means *big*. It combines with noun stems to form complex stems. A pronoun prefix is then added to the complex stem to make a complete word - **ka-** or **o-** for c-stems and **w-** for a-stems.

kanuhsowa·nʌ́	*(it's) a big house*
ka?slehtowa·nʌ́	*(it's) a big car*
kawʌnowa·nʌ́	*(it's) a big word*

Here are some common adjectival verb stems:

-i·yó	*good*	requires ka- prefix
-áksʌ	*bad*	requires ka- prefix
-ase	*new*	requires o- prefix
-aka·yú	*old*	requires o- prefix
-es	*long*	requires ka- prefix

Some examples:

ka?slehti·yó	*a good car*
ka?slehtáksʌ	*a bad car*
o?sléhtase	*a new car*
o?slehtaka·yú	*an old car*
kawʌ·nés	*a long word*
kanúhses	*a long house*

Only one adjectival verb can be attached to a noun at a time. If you want to talk about *a good long word*, you have to say *it's a good word and a long word.*

kawʌni·yó okhále? kawʌ·nés

Some adjectives require a coordination of particles, prefixes, and suffixes. *Little* is such an example. To say *a little house* requires a particle **ka?**, then a prepronominal prefix (technically called the partitive) **ni-**, then the pronoun prefix **ka-**, then the noun root for *house* **-nuhs-**, and finally the suffix for *little* **-á** or a plural form **-á·sa**.

ka? nikanuhsá	*little house*
ka? nika?slehtá	*little car*
ka? nikawʌná	*little word*
ka? nikawʌná·sa	*little words*

A similar pattern turns the adjectival verb *long* into *short.*

ka? nikanuhsésha *short house*
ka? nika?slehtésha *short car*
ka? nikawʌnésha *short word*
ka? nikanʌstésha *short corn*

Kind-of

To ask a *what-kind-of* question involves incorporating a noun stem with the verb stem **ó·tʌ** (or **-o?tʌ-**) and adding prefixes in the following way:

ot ni + ka + noun root + ó·tʌ

The particle **ot** is another word for *what* used specifically with **-ó·tʌ** to mean *what kind of.* The prepronominal prefix **ni-** is technically called the partitive and is required in many questions. It does not add any special meaning but it will sound wrong to omit it.

examples:

ot nikawʌnó·tʌ *what kind of word is it?*
ot nika?slehtó·tʌ *what kind of car is it?*
ot nikanuhsó·tʌ *what kind of house is it?*
ot nikanʌstó·tʌ *what kind of corn is it?*

To answer a *what-kind-of* question a single descriptive word is appropriate:

kawʌ·nés *a long word*
o?slehtaka·yú *an old car*
kanuhsi·yó *a good house*

It is also appropriate to use the following:

kawʌ·nés nikawʌnó·tʌ *a long word*
o?slehtaka·yú nika?slehtó·tʌ *an old car*
kanuhsi·yó nikanuhsó·tʌ *a nice house*

A *what-kind-of* phrase can also be used with other verbs:

ot nika?slehtó·tʌ íhselhe *what kind of car do you want?*
ot nikanuhsó·tʌ snú·wehse *what kind of house do you like?*

WHICH QUESTIONS

The Oneida phrase for *which* or *which one* is **kátsa ka·yʌ́·**

kátsa ka·yʌ́· íhselhe *which one do you want?*
kátsa ka·yʌ́· nika?slehtó·tʌ snú·wehse *which kind of car do you like?*

POSSESSION

The verb root for *have* or *possess* is **-yʌ**. It is most frequently used with a noun root to form a complex stem. The vowel **-a-** is used to join the noun and verb roots together. This **-a-** contributes no additional meaning and is called simply a stem-joiner. The following are examples of these complex stems:

-ʔsléhtayʌ	*have a car*
-atʌná·tslayʌ	*have groceries*
-nʌ́stayʌ	*have corn*

To turn stems into complete words pronoun prefixes are needed. The verb **-yʌ** requires objective prefixes but the sub-class is determined by the beginning sound of the complex stem (in this case, the beginning sound of the attached noun root).

wakatʌná·tslayʌ	*I have groceries*
lotʌná·tslayʌ	*he has groceries*
lonatʌná·tslayʌ	*they have groceries*
waknʌ́stayʌ	*I have corn*
yakonʌ́stayʌ	*she has corn*
lotinʌ́stayʌ	*they have corn*

If you want to indicate both possession and a description of a noun as in *he has a good car*, then it is possible to use two words:

loʔsléhtayʌ kaʔslehti·yó

But it is also possible to use the objective pronominal prefix and the adjectival verb on the same noun as in:

loʔslehti·yó	*he has a good car*

There is another way to indicate possession. English uses possessive adjectives such as *my, your, his, her,* and *their*. Oneida uses a set of pronominal prefixes for attaching to nouns. They are close to, but not exactly the same as, the prefixes that attach to objective verb stems:

	a-stems	c-stems
my	**akwa-**	**ak-**
your	**sa-**	**sa-**
his	**lao-**	**lao-**
her	**ako-**	**ako-**
their	**laon-**	**laoti-**

The vowel drop rule applies here:

ahta	*shoe*	**owʌ·ná**	*word*
akwáhta	*my shoe*	**akwʌ·ná**	*my word*
sáhta	*your shoe*	**sawʌ·ná**	*your word*
laóhta	*his shoe*	**laowʌ·ná**	*his word*
akóhta	*her shoe*	**akowʌ·ná**	*her word*
laonáhta	*their shoe*	**laotiwʌ·ná**	*their word*

ká·sleht	*car*
aké·sleht	*my car*
sá·sleht	*your car*
laó·sleht	*his car*
akó·sleht	*her car*
laotí·sleht	*their car*

Epenthesis - a sound rule

When putting together stems and prefixes and suffixes sometimes clusters of consonants are formed that are not considered pronouncable in Oneida. For example, a prefix ending in **-k** joined to a stem beginning with **-khw-** produces **-kkhw-**, which is not possible. And any prefix ending in a consonant before a stem beginning with **-ʔ** creates an impossible cluster. To avoid such impossible clusters a vowel called technically an epenthetic vowel is added. It is always the vowel **-e-** in Oneida. There is no meaning associated with this vowel but it is required. The linguistic process of adding sound to facilitate pronounciation is called epenthesis.

wak (objective pronoun prefix) + **ʔsléhtayʌ** (verb stem meaning *have a car*)
wake?sléhtayʌ *I have a car*

MORE ON NOUNS

Here are some more noun roots and how they are used as full words:

money	**-hwist-**	**ohwísta**	
food	**-khw-**	**kákhwa**	
song, prayer	**-lʌn-**	**olʌ·ná**	
animal	**-naskw-**	**kanáskwa**	
medicine	**-nuhkwat-**	**onúhkwat**	
mind	**-ʔnikuhl-**	**oʔnikúhla**	(**oʔnikú·laʔ** is the context form)
person	**-ukwe-**	**u·kwé**	

W - O Rule - a sound rule

When a stem ends in a **-w** and a suffix or another stem begins with a **u-** or **o-**, then the **-w** is lost when the parts are combined. For example **-khw-** and **-naskw-** end in **-w** and the *kind-of* root (**ó·tʌ**) begins in **o-**. So:

ot nikakhó·tʌ	*what kind of food is it?*
ot nikanaskó·tʌ	*what kind of animal is it?*

NOUN EXTENDERS

Some noun stems require a special suffix before a verb stem can be attached to them. This suffix adds no meaning but is required. The form of the suffix varies from word to word so it must be learned as an extension of the noun. Three of the nouns encountered so far require noun extenders:

-ahta-	*shoe*	**-ahtahkw-**	*shoe* (with extender)
-nuhkwat-	*medicine*	**-nuhkwatsl-**	*medicine* (with extender)
-ukwe-	*person*	**-ukweʔt-**	*person* (with extender)

For example:

kanuhkwatsli·yó	*good medicine*
ohtáhkwase	*new shoe* (some say **ahtáhkwase**)
ukweʔti·yó	*good person*
waknuhkwátslayʌ	*I have medicine*

If a verb stem is not attached to the noun, then the extender is not used:

sanúhkwat	*your medicine*
laóhta	*his shoe*

COUNTING

Numbers

úskah	*one*
téken	*two* (**tékni** is the context form)
áhsʌ	*three*
kayé	*four*
wisk	*five*
yá·yahk	*six*
tsya·ták	*seven*
té·klu	*eight*
wá·tlu	*nine*
oye·lí	*ten*

Incorporated counting

To say one of any object involves the following pattern:

prepronominal prefix + pronoun prefix + noun root (plus extender) + verb root

s-	**ka-**	**-at**
(iterative)	(**w-** for a-stems)	

Examples:

skawʌ·nát	*one word, one voice*
ska?sléhtat	*one car, one vehicle*
skanáskwat	*one animal*
skahwístat	*one dollar* (literally, *one money*)
swahtáhkwat	*one shoe*

If you say **úskah owʌ·ná**, people will understand what you mean but think you're using a kind of babytalk. Incorporated counting is much preferred.

To say two of any object involves the following pattern:

prepronominal prefix + pronoun prefix + noun root (plus nominalizer) + verb root

te-	**-ka-**	**-ake**
(dualic)	(**w-** for a-stems)	

Examples:

tekawʌ·náke	*two words, two voices*
teka?sléhtake	*two cars, two vehicles*
tekanáskwake	*two animals*
tekahwístake	*two dollars*
tewahtáhkwake	*two shoes*

To say three or more of anything involves the following pattern:

number prepronominal prefix + pronoun prefix + noun root (plus extender) + verb root

ni-	**-ka-**	**-ake**
(partitive)	(w- for a-stems)	

Examples:

áhsʌ nikawʌ·nákᵉ	*three words, three voices*
wísk nika?sléhtakᵉ	*five cars, five vehicles*
yá·yahk nikanáskwakᵉ	*six animals*
wá·tlu nikahwístakᵉ	*nine dollars*

Higher Numbers

Numbers between ten and twenty are formed by adding the word for *-teen* **yawʌ·lé** after the numbers one to nine:

úskah yawʌ·lᵉ	11
tékni yawʌ·lᵉ	12
áhsʌ yawʌ·lᵉ	13
kayé yawʌ·lᵉ	14
wisk yawʌ·lᵉ	15
yá·yahk yawʌ·lᵉ	16
tsya·ták yawʌ·lᵉ	17
té·klu yawʌ·lᵉ	18
wá·tlu yawʌ·lᵉ	19

Multiples of tens are formed by using the word for *tens* (or *decades*) **niwáshʌ**:

tewáshʌ	20
áhsʌ niwáshʌ	30
kayé niwáshʌ	40
wisk niwáshʌ	50
yá·yahk niwáshʌ	60

Examples of numbers up to one hundred:

tewáshʌ wisk	25	(two tens five)
kayé niwáshʌ téken	42	(four tens two)
wisk niwáshʌ té·klu	58	(five tens eight)
áhsʌ niwáshʌ áhsʌ	33	(three tens three)
té·klu niwáshʌ wisk	85	(eight tens five)

The word for *hundred* is **úskah tewʌ?nyáwelu**, which does not change or incorporate:

wisk tewʌ?nyáwelu ok yá·yahk niwáshʌ uskah	561
tsya·ták tewʌ?nyáwelu ok wisk	705
úskah tewʌ?nyáwelu ok tékni yawʌ·lᵉ	112
wisk tewʌ?nyáwelu nikahwístakᵉ	$500

The word for *thousand* is **skanutó·tslat**, literally *one box*, probably from a strongbox of money.

CLASSIFICATORY COUNTING

Only noun stems can be incorporated in the above pattern. So how do you count other kinds of nouns such as the whole word nouns like **é·lhal** *dog* or the description nouns like **skʌhnáksʌ** *fox*? In such cases you incorporate a more general noun. In this case **-naskw-** *domestic animal* and **-lyoʔt-** *wild animal* are the more general noun stems.

skanáskwat é·lhal	*one dog*
áhsʌ nikanáskwake é·lhal	*three dogs*
tekalyó·take skʌhnáksʌ	*three foxes*
oye·lí nikalyó·take skʌhnáksʌ	*ten foxes*

In this way Oneida speakers classify the objects of the world into categories. This happens not just in counting as we will see when we discuss noun incorporation more fully (see page 58).

COUNTING PEOPLE

Nouns for people generally do not follow the incorporated pattern used with most simple nouns. Instead there are special words for counting people.

shayá·tat	*one person* (male)
tsyeyá·tat	*one person* (female)
tehniyáshe	*two people* (at least one male)
tekniyáshe	*two people* (females)
áhsʌ niha·tí	*three people* (at least one male)
áhsʌ niku·tí	*three people* (females)

Higher numbers or indefinite amounts follow the last pattern above by substituting other numbers or particles for **áhsʌ.**

oye·lí niha·tí	*ten people*
tohkaʔ niha·tí	*several people*
to niha·tí	*how many people*
tho niha·tí	*that many people*

LOCATIVE SUFFIXES

Oneida does not really use prepositions but it does have several noun suffixes that indicate relative locations (near, in, on, and under). They are:

-ákta	*near*
-aktúti (or **-aktáti**)	*alongside*
-á·ke	*on*
-aʔkéshu	*all over*
-aku	*in* (the **a** is a stem joiner and the accent falls initially on the syllable before the **a**)
-akúshu	*deep in, through*
-o·kú	*under*

These are attached to noun roots (after a nominalizer, if the noun root has one) as in the following examples:

kaʔslehtákta	*near the car*
kaʔslehtá·ke	*on the car*
kaʔsléhtaku	*in the car*
kaʔslehto·kú	*under the car*
kanuhsákta	*near the house*
kanuhsá·ke	*on the house*
kanuhso·kú	*under the house*
ohwʌtsyá·ke	*on earth*
ohwʌtsyo·kú	*under the earth*
kanuhkwatslákta	*near the medicine*
kalʌ·náku	*in the song*
kaluhyá·ke	*in the sky* (= *on the blue* **-luhy-** is the root for *blue*)
oshuhkalá·ke	*on the floor* (**-shuhkal-** is the noun root for *board*)

There is also a suffix that means *at one's place* and it attaches to names or words for people. Its form is **-ke** if the word ends in a consonant and **-ʹ·ne** if it ends in a vowel.

Amóske	*at Amos' place*
Walí·ne	*at Mary's place*
lakeʔnihá·ke	*at my father's place*
ukwehuwé·ne	*at the Oneidas' place*

ORIENTATION VERBS

Oneida has a number of adjectival verbs that describe the orientation or position of nouns. Like other adjectival verbs they attach to the end of the noun root. Many Oneida nouns, especially for sizable objects, are rarely used without specifying their orientation or position in some way. These orientational verbs offer an easy way to do that. The two most common ones are:

-yʌ	*lie*
-ote?	*stand*

Some examples:

kanúhsote	*a house (standing)*	**-nuhs-**	*house*
kalu·tóte	*a tree (log standing)*	**-lut-**	*log, tree*
kanʌ·yóte	*a stone standing*	**-nʌy-**	*stone*
kakʌ́hote	*a flag (cloth standing)*	**-kʌh-**	*cloth*
kahʌ·táyʌ	*a field (lying)*	**-hʌt-**	*field*
kanyata·láyʌ	*a lake (lying)*	**-nyatal-**	*lake*
kana·táyʌ	*a town (lying)*	**-nat-**	*town*
kanʌ·yáyʌ	*a stone (lying)*	**-nʌy-**	*stone*

It is possible to use a word such as **kanúhsa** without any orientational verb but it calls to mind an imagined house or a pictured one floating in the abstract rather than one standing on the ground as houses usually do. For smaller objects, such as a stone, that can be moved around into different positions, it is possible to speak about the object in the abstract without specifying an orientation, e.g. **onʌ·yá**.

There are also other less frequently used orientational verbs:

-ute?	*protrude from, be attached to*
-ale?	*be in* (as a part or member)
-at	*be in*
-a·té·	*exist, extends*
-it	*be in*
-hele?	*be on top of*
-o	*be in water*
-óhale?	*be stuck on the end of*

These orientation verbs often create derived stems with specialized meanings.

Some examples:

kanʌ·yále?	*rocky*	**-nʌy-**	*stone*
kayá·tale?	*picture (body in it)*	**-ya?t-**	*body*
yonikwʌ́hsale?	*bloody (blood in it)*	**-nikwʌhs-**	*blood*
yotsistóhkwale?	*star (sparks in it)*	**-tsistohkw-**	*spark*
kanʌ·yát	*it's loaded (bullet in it)*	**-nʌy-**	*stone, bullet*
wá·yat	*pie (fruit in it)*	**-(a)hy-**	*fruit*
yotsítsyute?	*blooming (flower in it)*	**-tsitsy-**	*flower*
yohté·lute?	*it's rooted (root on it)*	**-htehl-**	*root*
lʌtáhsute?	*he has a tail (tail on him)*	**-itahs-**	*tail*
lotlíhute?	*he's an official (issue on him)*	**-lihw-**	*issue*
yohwʌtsya·té	*the earth (earth extends)*	**-uhuwʌtsy-**	*earth*
yonutáhele?	*hilltop*	**-nut-**	*hill*
wehnisla·té	*today (day extends)*	**-ehnisl-**	*day*

NOUN SUFFIXES

There are a handful of special suffixes that attach after regular noun suffixes.

-kó	*great*
-kʌ́	*passed on*
-u·wé	*original, native*
-kéha?	*the ways of*
-hnéha?	*the ways of*
-ha·ká·	*the people of*

The meaning of **-kó** is often specific to the word it is attached to. It is always accented. This is an exception to the regular accent rules and suggests that in generations past it was part of a longer expression that has become simplified. Consider the following examples:

latolatskó	*mighty hunter*
	(**lato·láts** = *a hunter*)
takoskó	*wild cat*
	(**takos** = *cat*)
onuhkwatkó	*powerful medicine*
	(**onúhkwat** = *medicine*)
yutatlihunyʌnitha?kó	*university, college*
	(**yutatlihunyʌnítha?** = *school*)

-kʌ́ is typically used on a word referring to a person and adds the meaning that the person is no longer alive. Sometimes, however, it is used on inanimate objects to show they are no longer owned or operating. This suffix is always accented and never whispered.

aksotkʌ́	*my late grandmother*
yukhinulha?kʌ́	*our mother who is now dead*
yukhihsothokukʌ́	*our ancestors who have passed on*
ka?slehtkʌ́	*it used to be a car*

-u·wé refers to native objects or beings to distinguish them from later innovations.

ahta?u·wé	*moccasin*
	(**ahta?** = *shoe*)
ukwehu·wé	*Oneida or Iroquoian person*
	(**u·kwé** = *person*)
kitkithu·wé	*prairie chicken*
	(**kitkit** = *chicken*)

-kéha? occurs on words that end in a consonant and **-hnéha?** occurs on words that end in a vowel but both have the same meaning *the characteristic ways of.* They attach to nouns that refer to people. For example:

ukwehuwehnéha *in the Oneida way, the Oneida language*
(**ukwehu·wé** = *Oneida*)
o?sluni?kéha *in the white way, the English language*
(**o?slu·ní·** = *white people*)

-ha·ká· attaches to a place word and refers to the people of that place.

kanatakuha·ká *people from in town, cityfolk*
(**kana·táku** = *in town*)
Simoha·ká *people from Seymour*
(**Simo** = *Seymour*)
onʌyote?a·ká *Oneidas, People of the Standing Stone*
(**onʌ·yóte** = *standing stone*)

PEOPLE NOUNS

Noun stems referring to people are a little different from those referring to objects. The people nouns generally take the same prefixes that verbs take. As we will see later [page 99] the words for relatives are even more like verbs when they take transitive prefixes as in **laksótha?** *my grandfather,* more literally *he is grandfather to me.*

The noun stems for people of various ages are the following

-ksa?- *child* (takes subjective prefixes)
keksá· *I am a child*
seksá· *you are a child*
laksá· *he is a child, boy*
yeksá· *she is a child, girl*
latiksa?shúha? *(they are) children*

-nikʌhtluha- *male teen* (takes subjective prefixes)
lanikʌhtlúha *he is young, a teenager*
(cf. **-nikʌhtlu-** *handsome*
lanikʌ́htlu *he is handsome* **lanikʌ́htehlu**)

-ya?taseha- *female teen* (takes subjective prefixes)
yeya?taséha *she is young, a teenage*
(cf. **-ya?tase-** *pretty*
yeyá·tase *she is pretty* **yeyá·tase**)

-yʌha- *young adult* (takes objective prefixes plus **ka? nit-**)
ka? nithoyʌ́ha *he is young*
ka? nityakoyʌ́ha *she is young*

-yʌʔsa- *young adults* (for plural forms of **-yʌha-**)
kaʔ nithotiyʌ́·sa *they are young*

-kstʌ- *old person* (takes objective prefixes)
wakekstʌ́ha *I am old*
sakstʌ́ha *you are old*
lokstʌ́ha *he is old, old man*
yakokstʌ́ha *she is old*
akokstʌ́ha *old woman*
lotikstʌ́ha *old people*
lotikstohokúha *old people*
lotiktsohokukʌ́ *ancestors* (old people who have passed on)

-kwʌnaʔt- *elder* (takes objective prefixes)
lokwʌná·ta *he is an elder*
yakokwʌná·ta *she is an elder*
lotikwʌná·ta *elders*

There is also a noun stem for infants **-wil-** but it is used like most object nouns. Thus:
kaʔ nikawilá *a small baby*

The general word for being a person is **-ukwe-**. It is a u-stem and takes the subjective prefixes for a u-stem listed below. It is also used in a generic sense without any pronominal prefix:

k-	*I*	**ku·kwé**	*I am a person*
s-	*you*	**su·kwé**	*you are a person*
l-	*he*	**lu·kwé**	*he's a person; a man*
y-	*she*	**yu·kwé**	*she's a person; a woman*
lʌn-	*they*	**lʌnu·kwé**	*they are people; people*
		u·kwé	*people*

These same pronoun prefixes can be used when the noun **-ukwe-** is attached to adjectival verbs, but it requires an extender **-ʔt-**.
lukweʔti·yó *he's a good person*
lʌnukweʔtáksʌ *they are bad people*

In an earlier conversation vocabulary we learned you could say *I am Oneida* **ukwehu·wé niʔí** or *I am white* **oʔslu·ní· niʔí** with a special pronoun. You can also use subjective pronominal prefixes:

kukwehu·wé	*I am Oneida*	**kaʔslu·ní·**	*I am a white person*
lukwehu·wé	*he is Oneida*	**laʔslu·ní·**	*he is a white person*
yukwehu·wé	*she is Oneida*	**yuʔslu·ní·**	*she is a white person*

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

The expression for *or* is **ok ne?n**. There are several words for *and*. The most common word for connecting two objects is **okhale?** or simply **khale?**. When *and* means something like *and so*, then **okhna?** or **tahnú** is a good translation. **Nok tsi?** means *but.*

Table talk

se·ká·se? kʌ ...	*Do you like ...?* (Use only for foods - it really means *do you like the taste of it.*)
wake·káhse	*I like it.*
wake·ká·se? onu?uhsla?kó	*I like pumpkin.*
tasatʌ́nyat ...	*pass it (this way)!*
íhselhe? kʌ ...	*do you want ...?*
yah té·kelhe	*I don't want it.*
ʌ́·ʌ, i·kélhe	*yes, I want it.*
yawéku	*it tastes good*
wesáhtane? kʌ	*did you have enough?*
wakáhtu	*I'm full*

MINI NOUN DICTIONARY

What follows is a listing of the noun roots that have occurred so far and an assortment of others with the information needed to build them into words. In the left column are listed the Oneida noun roots in alphabetical order. If the noun root requires a noun extender before certain suffixes, it is included in parentheses. The middle column is the general English meaning. In the right column is the most basic Oneida word that can be made from the noun root. The form in parentheses is the pronunciation without words coming after it. You can use this list to practice building words from the noun roots and the patterns described in Part III.

NOUN ROOT (EXTENDER)	MEANING	WORD (ISOLATION FORM)
-ahkwʌny-	*clothes*	**ahkwʌ́nyaʔ (ahkwʌ́ni)**
-(a)hsliye- (-ʔt-)	*string*	**ahsli·yé· (ahsli·ye)**
-ahta- (-hkw-)	*shoe*	**áhta (áhta)**
-ahtahnawʌ- (-tsl-)	*ball*	**ahtá·nawʌ (ahtá·nawʌ)**
-ahy-	*fruit, berry*	**káhik (káhik)**
-atekhwahlakhw- (-atsl-)	*table*	**atekhwahlákhwaʔ (atekhwahlákhwa)**
-atlaʔsw-	*luck*	**atlá·swaʔ (atláhswa)**
-atokwat- (-sl-)	*spoon*	**atókwat (atókwat)**
-atʌnaʔtsl-	*lunch*	**atʌná·tsliʔ (atʌná·tsehli)**
-atyaʔtawiʔt- (-sl-)	*dress, shirt, jacket*	**atyá·tawiht (atyá·tawiht)**
-aʔahsl-	*basket*	**[ashé·nut]**
-aʔkʌhl-	*dirt*	**oʔkʌ́·laʔ (oʔkʌ́hla)**
-hnʌnaʔt-	*potato*	**ohnʌná·taʔ (ohnʌnáhta)**
-hnek-	*liquid*	**ohne·ká·** *(liquor)* **(ohne·ka)**
-hsoʔkw-	*nut*	**ohsó·kwaʔ (ohsóhkwa)**
-hsʌn-	*name*	**ohsʌ·ná· (ohsʌ·na)**
-htehl-	*root*	**ohté·laʔ (ohtéhla)**
-hul-	*gun*	**káhuleʔ (káhule)**
-hut-	*plant*	**óhuteʔ (óhute)**
-huw-	*boat*	**kahuwe·yá (kahuwe·ya)**
-hwatsil-	*family*	**kahwa·tsíleʔ (kahwa·tsíhle)**
-hwist-	*money*	**ohwístaʔ (ohwísta)**
-hʌt-	*field, garden*	**kahʌtá·ke** *(in the field)*
-hyatuhsl-	*paper, book*	**kahyatúhsliʔ (kahyatúhsehli)**
-itahs-	*tail*	**otáhsaʔ (otáhsa)**
-itsy-	*fish*	**kʌ́tsyʌ (kʌ́tsi)**
-ityohkw-	*crowd, team*	**kʌtyóhkwʌ (kʌtyóhkwʌ)**
-kal-	*story, cost*	**oka·lá· (oka·la)**
-khw-	*food*	**kákhwaʔ (kakhwa)**
-ks-	*dish, plate*	**[átsyʌ] (átsi)**
-ksaʔ- (-t-)	*child*	**yeksá·**
-kstʌ-	*old person*	**akokstʌ́haʔ (akokstʌ́ha)**
-kʌh-	*cloth*	**okʌ́haʔ (okʌ́ha)**

-kwil-	*twig*	okwi·lá· (okwi·la)
-kwʌna?t-	*elder*	akokwʌná·ta? (akokwʌnáhta)
-lan-	*corn soup*	ola·ná· (ola·na)
-lihw-	*news, issue*	olí·wa? (olíhwa)
-lut-	*tree, log*	ka·lúte? (ka·lúte)
-lʌn-	*song, prayer*	olʌ·ná· (olʌ·na)
-lyo- (-?t-)	*animal*	kályo? (káli)
-na?tal-	*bread*	kaná·talok (kaná·talok)
-nakt-	*bed*	ka·nákte? (ka·nákte)
-naskw-	*animal, pet*	kanáskwa? (kanáskwa)
-nat-	*town, settlement*	kanatá·ke *(in town, Green Bay)*
-nikʌhtluha-	*male teen*	lanikʌhtlúha (lanikʌhtlúha)
-nhaht-	*branch*	ónhahta? (ónhahta)
-nlaht-	*leaf*	ónlahta? (ónlahta)
-nuhkwa?t- (-sl-)	*medicine*	onúhkwaht (onúhkwaht)
-nuhs-	*house*	kanúhsote? (kanúhsote)
-nut-	*hill*	onutá·ke *(on the hill)*
-nutakl- (-itsl-)	*sugar*	onutákli? (onutákehli)
-nuto?tsl-	*box*	kanutó·tsli? (kanutó·tsehli)
-nu?t-	*milk*	onú·ta? (onúhta)
-nu?usl-	*squash, melon*	onu?úsli? (onu?úsehli)
-nʌst-	*corn*	o·nʌ́ste? (o·nʌ́ste)
-nʌy-	*stone, bullet*	onʌ·yá· (onʌ·ya)
-nyatal-	*lake*	kanyatalá·ke *(on the lake)*
-sahe?t-	*beans*	osahé·ta? (osahéhta)
-shu?kal-	*floor, board*	oshu?kalá·ke *(on the floor)*
-skaw-	*brush (woodsy)*	oska·wáku *(in the brush)*
-slʌht-	*sleep, dream*	oslʌ́hta? (oslʌ́hta)
-sto?sl-	*feather*	ostó·sli? (ostó·sehli)
-the?tsl-	*flour*	othé·tsli? (othé·tsehli)
-tsi?nahkw-	*nest*	otsi?náhkwa? (otsi?náhkwa)
-tsi?tsy-	*flower (beer)*	otsí·tsya? *flower* (otsí·tsi *beer*)
-tsi?tʌ- (-tsl-)	*bird*	otsi?tʌ́ha? (otsi?tʌ́ha)
-tsist-	*fire, spark*	o·tsíste? (o·tsíste)
-uhwʌtsy-	*earth, land*	ohwʌ́tsya? (ohwʌ́tsi)
-ukwe- (-?t)	*person*	yu·kwé (yu·kwe)
-wʌn-	*word, voice*	owʌ·ná· (owʌ·na)
-wil-	*baby*	owi·lá· (owi·la)
-wis-	*glass, ice*	o·wíse? (o·wíse)
-yʌt-	*wood*	o·yʌ́te? (o·yʌ́te)
-ya?t-	*body*	oyá·ta? (oyáhta)
-ya?taseha-	*female teen*	yeya?taséha (yeya?taséha)
-yal-	*bag*	ka·yále? (ka·yále)
-yo?tʌhsl-	*work*	kayo?tʌ́hsla? (kayo?tʌ́hsehla)
-yukw-	*tobacco*	oyúkwa? (oyúkwa)
-yu?kwal-	*smoke*	oyú·kwala? (oyú·kwala)

-yʌha-	*young person*	**kaʔ nityakoyʌ́ha (kaʔ nityakoyʌ́ha)**
-ʔnhuhs-	*egg*	**oʔnhúhsaʔ (oʔnhúhsa)**
-ʔnikuhl-	*mind*	**oʔnikú·laʔ (oʔnikúhla)**
-ʔwahl-	*meat*	**oʔwá·luʔ (oʔwáhlu)**
-ʔwatsist-	*bark (of tree)*	**oʔwa·tsísteʔ (oʔwa·tsíste)**

I-STEMS

In general when a prefix ending in -a is attached to a stem beginning with -i, the two combine as -ʌ-. So when the ka- prefix is used with i-stems, this rule applies as in the following examples:

kʌtsyowa·nʌ́	*big fish*	**ka- + -itsy- + -owanʌ**
kʌtsi·yó	*good fish*	**ka- + -itsy- + -iyo**
kʌtyohkowa·nʌ́	*big crowd*	**ka- + -ityohkw- + -owanʌ**
kʌtáhses	*long tail*	**ka- + -itahs- + -es**

There is more about i-stems later on p. 92.

O-stems and u-stems are described later on p. 93.

Part IV Pattern Expectations

ACCENT PATTERNS

If you are constructing a word out of stems and prefixes and suffixes according to one of the patterns given in these lessons, then there are some rules that help predict the accent placement and rhythm of the word. These rules apply to the context form of the word, the version without any whispering.

The basic rule is to count back two vowels from the end and place an accent on that vowel. In counting back those two vowels, skip any epenthetic vowels (an **-e-** inserted to break up an unallowed cluster of consonants) in final syllables or stem joiners (an **-a-** that connects a noun root to a verb root in a complex stem).

The next step is to test for certain special conditions that may alter the accent.

1. If the accented vowel is immediately before a glottal stop then the glottal stop is dropped and the vowel is lengthened and given a falling tone (marked with both the raised dot and the accent mark).

-á?- → **-á·-**

2. If the accented vowel is immediately before an **-hl-**, **-hy-**, **-hw-**, or **-hn-**, then the **-h-** is dropped and the vowel is lengthened and given a falling tone (marked with both the raised dot and the accent mark).

-áhn- → **-á·n-**

3. If the accented vowel is immediately before a single consonant other than **-h-** (single consonant means not a cluster of consonants before the next vowel), then the vowel is lengthened and the accent is shifted to the following vowel.

-áta- → **-a·tá-**

Some examples:

one animal **s + ka + naskw + at** = **skanaskwat**
place the accent **skanáskwat**
test for special conditions (none apply) **skanáskwat**

one word **s + ka + wʌn + at** = **skawʌnat**
place accent **skawʌ́nat**
test for special conditions (#3) **skawʌ·nát**

one mind **s + ka + ?nikuhl + at** = **ska?nikuhlat**
place accent **ska?nikúhlat**
test for special conditions (#2) **ska?nikú·lat**

I have a car	**wak + ʔsleht + yʌ =**	**wakeʔslehtayʌ**
place accent		**wakeʔsléhtayʌ**
test for special conditions	(none apply)	**wakeʔsléhtayʌ**
a good house	**ka + nuhs + iyo =**	**kanuhsiyo**
place accent		**kanuhsíyo**
test for special conditions	(#3)	**kanuhsi·yó**
his car	**lao + ʔsleht =**	**laoʔsleht**
place accent		**laóʔsleht**
test for special conditions	(#1)	**laó·sleht**

Because these rules have few exceptions, they can be used to reason backwards. If you know the correct pronunciation of a word you can sometimes figure out its constituent parts. For example since long accented syllables only result from a transformed **-ʔ-** or **-h-** (before a resonant sound), **nikaʔslehtó·tʌ** must contain a root **-oʔtʌ** to account for the long accented syllable. In **lonÁstayʌ** the **-a-** must be a stem joiner or the accent would not have been placed three vowels from the end. These rules can also be helpful in guiding your hearing of new words. For example, you would not expect to hear a long accented vowel before an **-h-** or an accented vowel before a glottal stop or a cluster of consonants between a dragged syllable and an accented one. The rules can be quite helpful in this way, but they are not foolproof. Some exceptions can be explained as part of historical processes that have changed the language over the generations (for that reason they are sometimes used to speculate about older forms of the language). Remember also that the rules apply to context forms only. The rules that convert the context forms into final forms (the ones that usually have the whispered endings) may distort things. Consider the word for *mind*. It is made up of a normal prefix **o-** and then a noun root **-ʔnikuhl-** and finally a suffix **-aʔ**. The accent rules apply as expected:

o + ʔnikuhl + aʔ =		**oʔnikuhlaʔ**
place accent		**oʔnikúhlaʔ**
test for special conditions	(#2)	**oʔnikú·laʔ**

This is indeed how the word is pronounced in context with words coming after it, but then the rules for whispering replace the long vowel with an **-h-** before the whispered syllable:

oʔnikúhla

WORKING WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS

If you have the opportunity to learn new words and expressions from someone who already speaks Oneida, there are a few precautions that can make your questioning more satisfying and productive. Native speakers, those who have learned Oneida as their first language, did not learn by being taught about writing, stems, prefixes, or grammatical terms. They may have been exposed to some grammatical labels, or some writing system, or may have done their own analysis of the language, but the most reliable resource they have is their knowledge of the spoken language, its words and expressions. If you ask questions such as:

What is the stem for *potato*?
How do you spell that?
Is there an h in that word?
Is that an objective verb?
Where's the accent in that word?
What is the whispered syllable in this word?
Do I need an epenthetic vowel here?

then you are asking about the analysis of the language and you may or may not get reliable answers. It's something like asking an English speaker where the past tense in *went* is. One can speak the language perfectly well without knowing the answers to any of them. The kind of questions that tap a speaker's reliable knowledge are questions such as:

How do you say *potato*?
Which of these two pronunciations sounds better?
How do you say *she likes him*?
How do I ask someone's name?
What does _____ mean?

Transcribing

Converting someone's spoken language to writing is a skill that improves with practice and knowledge. The more you know the expected sound patterns (the possible sounds, the accent patterns, and which sounds can go together) and how the letters represent those sounds, the better your ears can focus. The more stems and roots you learn, the easier it is to spot them as building blocks in larger words. To transcribe any word you will probably need to hear it repeated several times. Use your own pronunciation to provide the speaker with feedback about whether you are hearing the word accurately. You can ask a speaker to say the word slowly but remember unnatural slowness adds some distortion to natural speech - rhythms, glottal stops, and h's in particular. If you do transcribe a word spoken very slowly, make sure you also listen to it spoken at a natural rate to verify it. If you have trouble with some detail (is that sound an **h** or a long vowel; is the accent on the second or third syllable), see if you can produce the contrast between your choices and ask the speaker to tell you which sounds better.

It is almost impossible to accurately transcribe a whispered syllable. You can often tell that such a syllable exists but not what the sounds are. The best recourse is to listen to

the unwhispered form of the same word. Since the whispered form is the one that is natural to say in isolation, to hear the unwhispered form you'll need to hear it in a sentence with words following it. One of the easiest ways to do this is to create a simple yes-no question so the word you are trying to transcribe comes at the beginning of a sentence followed by the question word **kʌ**. If that doesn't work, you might think of a more complicated sentence as long as the word you are interested in doesn't come at the end.

Analysis

Unless you are trying to learn Oneida word by word, when a speaker tells you a new word, you probably want to figure out its internal structure, especially the stem it is built on. Then you can use your knowledge of the grammar to create other words from the same stem. This is like solving a puzzle and you often need several clues. You know from what you've learned so far that stems get distorted in various contexts - an initial vowel on a verb stem may have been swallowed up by a pronoun prefix (vowel drop rule); a glottal stop or **h** may be missing because of an accent rule; you may not know whether an -**e**- is part of a stem or an epenthetic vowel; some consonants may be part of a noun stem or a nominalizer; and so on. Use your knowledge of these rules to help reconstruct the stems. At times you will need to collect additional words from the speaker. Here's an example.

Suppose I have managed to transcribe a word for *he's sick* as:

lonuhwáktanihe

I know there must be a pronoun prefix for *he* and a verb stem for *sick*. I recognize **lo**- as one of the *he* prefixes. This tells me the verb stem takes objective prefixes (a **la**- would have been subjective). I don't know whether the verb stem starts with -**n**- or whether the **lo**- prefix caused a vowel to drop. I can find out by asking the speaker how to say *I am sick*. If the speaker says **wakanuhwáktanihe**, I know the verb is an a-stem. If it is **waknuhwáktanihe**, then the stem begins with the -**n**-. It turns out to be the latter, so the stem is -**nuhkwaktani**-. It takes objective pronoun prefixes and it means *to be sick.*

Another example - suppose I have asked how to say *she's tired* and I have transcribed the speaker's response as:

teyakohwishʌhe·yú

The beginning of the word doesn't match any pronoun prefix I know for *she*, so there must be some other prefix there. I do recognize -**yako**- as an objective prefix for *she*. To check if a vowel has been swallowed up I ask the speaker how to say *I'm tired* and transcribe the reply as:

tewakhwishʌhe·yú

I recognize the **wak**- prefix for *I* so now I know the stem is -**hwishʌhe·yú** with objective pronoun prefixes and an additional prefix **te**- is required.

One more example. Suppose you ask a speaker for the word for *sugar* and transcribe the answer as:

onutákehli

To learn the context form of this word, ask how to say *is it sugar?*. This might be:

onutákli? kʌ

If you also ask how to say *I have some sugar*, you can transcribe the response as:

waknutaklí·tslay^

From these you can figure out that the stem for *sugar* is -**nutakli**-. It requires a nominalizer -**ʔtsl**-. You know the glottal stop is there because the accent has turned it into the long falling tone and that could not have come from any other sound before a -**t**-. The -**e**- in the noun must not be part of the stem, but something that is just part of the isolation form that goes along with the whispered syllable.

Meaning

Asking Oneida speakers about meaning is a trickier matter. You're really asking about translation and people's translation skills vary considerably. If you keep in mind that exact equivalents between languages are rare and that most languages have lots of synonyms, you shouldn't be surprised that focussing in on a specific meaning is hard work. Nor should you be surprised that different speakers see different shades of meaning in the same word. The same thing happens in English. When you are confronted with contrasting words that seem to have the same meaning, ask the speaker when one would be used but not the other. If this isn't working, make some guesses yourself and see how the speaker reacts to them. This way you can get a more precise understanding of vocabulary. For example, you can learn that there are several words for *animal*. The one we've learned **kanáskwa** is a generic word for animal but also contrasts with **kutíli** which are more the wild animals and **katshe·n^** which is *a pet*. You can also learn that there are several words for *mother*, one of which really means *parent* (the gender is in the pronoun prefix) and another meaning both *mother* and *aunt*.

WHISPERING RULES

Many Oneida words have two slightly different pronunciations depending on whether they occur at the end of a sentence or not. The form of the word that occurs within a sentence is called the context form; the form that occurs when the words come at the end of a sentence or if the word is spoken by itself is called the isolation or sentence final form. The most common difference between the two is that the last syllable of the isolation form is often whispered while it is fully pronounced in the context form. But there are other possible differences and although one cannot predict from one form of the word what the other will be, most words fall into one of the following six categories:

V represents any vowel (**a,e,i,o,u,ʌ**)
R represents the resonants or semivowels (**l,y,w,n**)
C represents any consonant or cluster of consonants
underlining represents whispering

In the examples that follow context forms are on the left and isolation forms are on the right.

1. No Change: For many words the context form and the isolation form are the same.

skahwístat	*one dollar*
é·lhal	*dog*

2. Simple Whispering: A context form ending in a vowel with or without a following glottal stop -V(ʔ) often becomes an isolation form with a whispered vowel -V̲.

otsiʔtʌ́ha	*bird*	**otsiʔtʌ́h<u>a</u>**
o·nʌ́steʔ	*corn*	**o·nʌ́st<u>e</u>**
katekhu·níheʔ	*I'm eating*	**katekhu·ní<u>he</u>**

3. Laryngeal Hop: **h** and **ʔ** are called laryngeal sounds because they are made far back in the mouth. Context forms ending in the combination -**VRV**ʔ become -**Vh<u>RV</u>** in their isolation form. It is as if the final glottal stop becomes an '**h**' and hops in front of the resonant.

swahyo·wáneʔ	*apple*	**swahyo·wáh<u>ne</u>**
oʔwá·luʔ	*meat*	**oʔwáh<u>lu</u>**
wakhwístayʌ	*I have money*	**wakhwístahy<u>ʌ</u>**

Compare this with the simple whispering type where the resonant is not whispered, that is, -**VRV** becomes -**VR<u>V</u>** in isolation:

ohkwa·lí	*bear*	**ohkwa·l<u>i</u>**
awʌ·lá	*green*	**awʌ·l<u>a</u>**
oskʌnu·tú	*deer*	**oskʌnu·t<u>u</u>**

4. Epenthesis: Context forms ending in the combination -**VCRV**ʔ add an epenthetic vowel '**e**' before the whispered syllable so that the isolation forms end in -**VCeh<u>RV</u>**.

onutákliʔ	*sugar*	**onutákeh<u>li</u>**
owískaʔ	*white*	**owískeh<u>la</u>**

5. Disappearing '**y**': Context forms ending in the combination -**VCyV(ʔ)** with or without the final glottal stop turn into isolation forms ending in -**VCih**.

sátyʌ	*sit down*	**sátih**
kʌ́tsyʌ	*fish*	**kʌ́tsih**
takná·tsyu	*give me a kettle*	**takná·tsih**

6. Disappearing Dot: Context forms ending in the combination -**V·CV(ʔ)** become -**VhCV** in their isolation form.

niwahsohkó·tʌ	*color*	**niwahsohkóhtʌ**
osahé·ta	*beans*	**osahéhta**

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Here's some vocabulary for interacting with speakers about Oneida in Oneida:

náhteʔ ʌkí·luʔ _____	*How do I say _____ ?*
náhteʔ kʌ·túheʔ _____	*What does _____ mean?*
tkaye·lí kʌ	*Is it correct?*
kátsaʔ ka·yʌ́· tkaye·li	*Which one is correct?*
she·kú úskah	*one more time*
tutasátlatst	*do it again*
oskʌnaʔshúha	*slowly*
tsí·lu ukwehuwehnéha	*speak in Oneida*
oʔsluniʔkéha	*in English*
né· kʌ tsá·kat	*are they the same?*
katsaʔ ka·yʌ́· akí·lu	*which one should I say?*
yawʌʔkó	*thank you*
yah teʔwakeʔnikuhlayʌtá·u	*I don't understand*

Part V Verb Forms

ASPECT SUFFIXES

So far we have not paid too much attention to separating stems from suffixes, but some important grammatical information is carried in suffixes. Most verb stems occur with one of four basic suffixes. The forms and meanings of these suffixes are quite varied. The grammatical names of the four suffixes are: serial (also called habitual), punctual, imperative, and perfective (also called stative).

Serial

Typical forms of the serial are: **-he?, -ha?, -as, -s, -?se?, -hse?**
The **-e-** before the final glottal stop is epenthetic. Each verb stem selects one of these forms as its serial suffix. There is some patterning here, but it is probably easiest just to learn the selected form when you learn the verb stem.

There are two basic meanings of the serial. One is that the activity of the verb is habitual and ongoing. This is generally the meaning conveyed by the simple present tense in English. *I swim. He farms. She sings.* The other meaning of the serial is that the activity of the verb is happening at this time. This is generally the meaning conveyed by the present progressive tense in English. *I am swimming. He is farming. She is singing.* The first meaning is possible for all verbs that have a serial suffix. The second is possible for only some verbs. Which verbs they are is unfortunately not fully predictable from either the form or meaning of the verb stem.

Some of the verb stems you have already met have serial suffixes:

-atuhkalyaks consists of the stem **-atuhkalyak-** and the serial **-s**
-atekhu·níhe? consists of the stem **-atekhuni-** and the serial **-he?**
-hnekílha? consists of the stem **-hnekil-** and the serial **-ha?**
the **-s** at the end of **kawʌnaye·nás** is a serial suffix
the **-he?** at the end of **kʌ·túhe?** is a serial suffix
the **-hse?** at the end of **snú·wehse?** is a serial suffix

-hkw- and -khw- a sound rule

There are some verb stems that end with **-hkw-** that select the **-ha?** serial suffix. The combination of **hkw + ha?** becomes **-khwa?** when words follow and **-hkwa** when silence follows.

kunolúkhwa?	*I love you*	**kunolúhkwa**
yehyatúkhwa?	*pen, pencil (one writes with it)*	**yehyatúhkwa**

Punctual

The forms of the punctual suffix typically are: **-ʔ**, **-ʌʔ**, or **-neʔ**. The **-neʔ** is used for stems that end in a glottal stop. The choice between the other two has to be learned separately for each verb stem. Notice that if a stem ends in a consonant, an epenthetic **-e-** must be inserted before the glottal stop suffix.

The meanings of the punctual are dependent on the prepronominal prefixes. Among those prefixes are three modal prefixes called:

aorist (also called factual) which has several forms, most typically **-waʔ-** or **wa-**
future which is always **ʌ-**
indefinite which is typically **a-**.

One of these prefixes occurs whenever there is a punctual suffix and a punctual suffix occurs whenever there is one of the three modal prefixes. Prefix and suffix are linked. The aorist has several meanings but its most typical meaning is simple past tense. It can also signal a current definiteness as in *I hereby tell you* or *I promise that ...* different from the use of the English present tense with a habitual meaning. The future prefix signals future tense. The indefinite prefix is usually used in complex sentences (see page 97), often with a meaning of *should* or *would*.

Imperative

The most typical mark of the imperative aspect is the lack of a suffix although some stems ending in glottal stop use an **-n**. The meaning of the imperative is a command.

Perfective

The forms here are: no suffix, **-ʔ**, **-u**, **-ʌ**, **-ʔu**, and **-nu** with the first three being the most common. The choices among them have to be learned for each stem.

There are three basic meanings of the perfective and they all suggest states more than actions. One is a kind of state that is usually translated by an adjective in English - *tired, happy, old, good*. A second is a kind of state that results from a previous action. In English this corresponds to the perfect tense - *has eaten, has planted, has learned*. The focus is on the result of the past action rather than on the past action itself. The third meaning of the perfective is a current activity. Notice this was also one of the meanings of the serial aspect. Which of the three meanings is used is dependent on the particular verb stem and unfortunately the choice has to be learned for each one. But if the serial suffix of a particular verb stem has the meaning of current activity, then the perfective suffix will not.

Some of the verbs you have already met have had perfective suffixes.

the **-u** on the end of **shukwayaʔtísu** is perfective (he has made our bodies)
the **-ʔ** on the end of **-atunháheleʔ** is perfective (the **-e-** before it is epenthetic)
the lack of suffix on the end of **-anúhte** signals the perfective
the lack of suffix on the end of **-yʌ** signals the perfective

One peculiarity of the perfective is that, except for a neuter subject, it does not tolerate subjective pronoun prefixes. That means even if a verb stem required subjective pronoun prefixes with all other aspect suffixes, they could not be used with the perfective aspect. Objective prefixes are substituted instead.

A neuter pronoun prefix **ka-** can be used on some verbs with perfective suffixes to indicate that an action has been done without identifying who did it, as in *it's been planted, it's been washed,* or *it's been harvested.*

A summary of the meanings of the aspect suffixes:

serial	*do/does* *is doing*
punctual with aorist	*did, hereby do/does*
punctual with future	*will do*
punctual with indefinite	*to do, should do, would do*
imperative	*do!*
perfective	*has done* *is doing* *is, has been done*

To learn a new verb stem you need to know the following:
1. the type of pronoun prefixes required (subjective, objective, or transitive)
2. the beginning sound of the stem (vowel stems, consonant stems)
3. the four aspect suffixes (serial, punctual, imperative, perfective)
4. which aspect suffix means current activity (serial or perfective)
5. the meaning and form of the verb stem

The material in 1, 3, and 4 is not predictable once you know 5, so it must be learned for each stem. It is the kind of material that a good dictionary should provide. From this base literally thousands of words can be built by the rules in these lessons.

Some examples:

eat stem: **-atekhuni-** (a-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes
serial suffix: **-he?** (serial expresses current activity)
punctual suffix: **-?**
imperative suffix: none
perfective suffix: none
samples:

yutekhu·níhe?	*she's eating*	serial
wahatekhu·ní·	*he ate*	aorist and punctual
lotekhu·ní	*he has eaten*	perfective
satekhu·ní	*eat!*	imperative
ʌkatekhu·ní·	*I'll eat*	future and punctual

look for words stem: **-wʌnisak-** (c-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes
serial suffix: **-s** (serial expresses current activity)
punctual suffix: **-ʔ**
imperative suffix: none
perfective suffix: **-u**
samples:

kwʌni·sáks	*I look for words*	serial
wayewʌni·sáke?	*she looked for words*	aorist and punctual
swʌni·sák	*look for words!*	imperative
lowʌnisa·kú	*he has looked for words*	perfective
lawʌni·sáks	*he is looking for words*	serial

read stem: **-wʌnahnot-** (c-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes
serial: **-ha?**
punctual: **-ʌ**
imperative: none
perfective: **-ʔ** (perfective expresses current activity)
samples:

wakwʌná·note?	*I am reading*	perfective
lawʌnahnótha?	*he reads*	serial
ʌyewʌnahno·tʌ́	*she will read*	future and punctual
wahawʌnahno·tʌ́	*he read*	aorist and punctual
swʌná·not	*read!*	imperative

sing stem: **-lihwahkw-** (c-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes; requires **te-** prefix
serial: **-ha?**
punctual: **-ʔ**
imperative: none
perfective: **-ʌ** (perfective expresses current activity)
samples:

teyakolihwáhkwʌ	*she's singing*	perfective
tehalihwákhwa?	*he sings*	serial
tʌklí·wahkwe?	*I will sing*	future and punctual
tʌslí·wahkw	*sing!*	imperative
waʔthalí·wahkwe?	*he sang*	aorist and punctual

(Notice that prefixes before the pronouns fuse together in particular ways: **te-** + **ʌ-** = **tʌ-** and **te-** + **wa(ʔ)-** = **waʔt-**. More on this on page 72)

do stem: **-atyel-** (a-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes; requires prefix **ni-**
serial: **-ha?** (serial expresses current activity)
punctual: **-?**
imperative: none
perfective: **-u**
samples:

náhte? nihsatyélha?	*what are you doing?*	serial
náhte? nahátyele?	*what did he do?*	aorist and punctual
náhte? niwakatye·lú	*what have I done?*	perfective
náhte? nʌyútyele?	*what will she do?*	future and punctual

NOUN INCORPORATION

Many complex verb stems contain both a noun root and a verb root. We have already met some such stems:

kwʌni·sáks	*I look for words* contains **-wʌn-** *word* and **-isak-** *look for*
kawʌnaye·nás	*tape recorder* contains **-wʌn-** *word* and **-yena-** *catch*
ka?slehtowa·nʌ́	*big car* contains **-?sleht-** *car* and **-owa·nʌ́** *big*
lohwístayʌ	*he's got money* contains **-hwist-** *money* and **-yʌ-** possess

This process of combining noun roots and verb roots is called noun incorporation and it is a common way words are formed in Oneida. Some verb roots require an incorporated noun. Verb roots such as **-o?tʌ-**, **-owa·nʌ́**, and the counting verbs **-at** and **-ake** do not exist without some noun to combine with. Other verb roots typically have an incorporated noun but can be used without one. The root **-yʌ-** is an example. It usually incorporates a noun, but it can be used without one:

náhte? lo·yʌ́·	*what does he have?*
sa·yʌ́· kʌ	*do you have it?*
wáki (isolation form of **wákyʌ**)	*I've got it*

There are other verb roots that do not permit incorporated nouns. The stems **-nú·wehse?** *like* and **-noluhkw-** *love* do not combine with nouns. There are two stems that mean *eat*. One of them **-k-** usually incorporates the particular food involved and the other one **-atekhuni-** never does (because it really means *to eat a meal* and already contains an incorporated general noun for food **-khw-**).

Learning which verbs incorporate nouns and which don't is another part of learning the language somewhat like learning in English that you can say *this saddens me* but not *this happies me*.

The verb **-isak-** is one that typically has an incorporated noun. For example:

la?slehti·sáks	*he looks for cars*
yenuhsi·sáks	*she looks for houses*
khwisti·sáks	*I look for money*

lakhwi·sáks	*he looks for food*
yutʌna?tsli·sáks	*she looks for groceries*
yenuhkwatsli·sáks	*she looks for medicine*
lanaskwi·sáks	*he looks for animals*
slʌni·sáks	*you look for songs*

Notice that these are all subjective pronoun prefixes because that is what the verb root **-isak-** requires, but one is an a-stem and the others are c-stems because that depends on the beginning sound of the incorporated noun (**-atʌna?tsl-** *groceries*). Notice also that if a noun root has an extender, then that extender is used when the noun is incorprated.

The verb **-isak-** does occur without an incorporated noun but it becomes an e-stem verb **-ehsak-**.

kéhsaks	*I'm looking for it*
náhte? séhsaks	*what are you looking for?*
náhte? léhsaks	*what is he looking for?*
náhte? yakéhsaks	*what is she looking for?*
náhte? lʌnéhsaks	*what are they looking for?*

Only noun stems can be incorporated, not whole words. To say *he looks for big cars* one would say *he looks for cars, big cars*:

la?slehti·sáks ka?slehtowa·nʌ́

An incorporated noun is generally not specific as to number. **La?slehti·sáks** means *he is car-looking* and he may be looking for one or many cars.

There is not always a choice to use noun incorporation, but when there is, should you incorporate or not? For example, is there a difference between **kanáskwa? lo·yʌ́** and **lonáskwayʌ** for *he has an animal* or between **kanáskwa? léhsaks** and **lanaskwi·sáks** for *he is looking for an animal*? It might be helpful here to think of noun incorporation not as a syntactic choice but as a vocabulary choice. If you were to say in English *she values the state of being wise* or *she values wiseness*, people might think you are covering for lacking (or forgetting) the word *wisdom* in your vocabulary. Similary in Oneida using incorporation is often the sign of a more developed vocabulary.

Noun incorporation does, however, have an imortant classificatory function. It can remind speakers of the categories in the Oneida worldview. A dog is a kind of animal so if yu can't incorporate the word for dog (because é·lhal is not a noun stem, it is a whole word noun), you can incorporate a noun that classifies dog. Thus:

lanaskwi·sáks é·lhal *he's looking for a dog (he's animal-looking for a dog)*

yeya?ti·sáks laksótha *she's looking for my grandfather (she's person-looking for my grandfather*

kekhwi·sáks wá·yat *I'm looking for pie (I'm food-looking for pie)*

VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

English uses auxiliary (helping) verbs and infinitives to express many common meanings such as necessity, possibility, obligation, desire, and ability. Oneida has neither but is still able to express the same meanings by other ways.

Necessity

The expression **nok ʌwa·tú** means *it has to be*. Literally it is made up of the particle **nok** which means *only* and **ʌwa·tú** which means *it will become* or *it will be possible.* **Nok ʌwa·tú** followed by a verb with the future tense (and therefore with the punctual aspect as well) is one way to express necessity:

nok ʌwa·tú ʌkatekhu·ni	*I have to eat (it has to be that I will eat)*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌswʌnahno·tʌ́	*you must read*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌhanaskwi·sáke	*he has to look for animals*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌhsatekhu·ni	*you've got to eat*
nok ʌwa·tú tʌyelí·wahkwe	*she has to sing*

Another verb that can be used for necessity is **teyotuhutsyóhu** (**teyotuhwʌtsyóhu** is an alternative pronunciation).

teyotuhutsyóhu ʌkatekhu·ní·	*I have to eat (it is necessary I will eat)*

Possibility

One way to express possibility is to use the above construction for necessity without the particle **nok**. English translations include: *may, might, it is possible that...*, *can* (but not in the sense of ability), or *it is permitted that....*

ʌwa·tú ʌkatekhu·ni	*I might eat (it is possible that I will eat)*
ʌwa·tú ʌyewʌnahno·tʌ́	*she may read*
ʌwa·tú ʌhahwisti·sáke	*he might look for money*
ʌwa·tú tʌslí·wahkwe	*you can sing*

Impossibility

The negative form of **ʌwa·tú** is **yah thau·tú** but the following verb tends to have the indefinite preix rather than the future.

yah thau·tú akatekhu·ní	*I may not eat*
yah thau·tú ayewʌnahno·tʌ́	*she is not allowed to sing*
yah thau·tú ahahwisti·sáks	*he can't look for money*
yah thau·tú taslí·wahkwe	*you may not sing*

Ability

The verb stem **-kweni-** is used in the future tense along with another verb to express ability (usually physical ability). The root **-kweni-** takes subjective pronoun prefixes and its punctual suffix is **-ʔ**, which becomes a long falling tone through the accent rules.

ʌskwe·ní· kʌ ʌsnuhkwatsli·sáke	*can you look for medicine?*
ʌyekwe·ní· tʌyelí·wahkwe	*she can sing*
ʌkkwe·ní· ʌkatekhu·ni	*I can eat*
ʌhakwe·ní· kʌ nʌhátyehle	*can he do it?*

The negative form is as follows:

yah kʌ thaskwe·ní· ʌsnuhkwatsli·sáke	*can't you look for medicine?*
yah thayekwe·ní· tʌyelí·wahkwe	*she can't sing*
yah thakkwe·ní· ʌkatekhu·ni	*I can't eat*
yah kʌ thahakwe·ní· nʌhátyehle	*can't he do it?*

There is another word for ability and that is **-laʔnhaʔ-**. It is used in the perfective aspect (the suffix is **-u**) and therefore has objective pronoun prefixes. The verb following it has an indefinite tense prefix. The meaning of the two verbs is slightly different. The root **-laʔnhaʔ-** suggests an ability based on some learning or instruction while **-kweni-** is more a physical ability.

ʌkkwe·ní· tʌklí·wahkwe	*I can sing (my mouth works)*
waklaʔnhá·u taklí·wahkwe	*I can sing (I know how)*
yakolaʔnhá·u kʌ ayenuhkwatsli·sáke	*can she look for medicine?*
lolaʔnhá·u ahawʌnahno·tʌ́	*he can read*
salaʔnhá·u kʌ nahsátyehle	*do you know how to do it?*

Negative Commands

Oneida has a handy particle **tákʌ** that means *don't*. It can be used by itself or with a verb in the future tense. Notice that, unlike positive commands, the negative commands do not use the imperative aspect suffix. Both types of commands do use pronoun prefixes.

satekhu·ni	*eat!*
tákʌ ʌhsatekhu·ni	*don't eat!*
tákʌ tʌslí·wahkwe	*don't sing!*
tákʌ nʌhsátyehle	*don't do it!*

Obligation

One way to express mild obligation is to use the indefinite tense.

ahatekhu·ni	*he should eat, he ought to eat*
tayelí·wahkwe	*she should sing*
akwʌnahno·tʌ́	*I ought to read*

NON-ACTION VERBS

There are quite a few verbs that do not have the expected set of four aspect suffixes. Many of these follow a different pattern. They are verbs that are either translated into English as adjectives such as *lucky* or *cold* or they are verbs that typically express a state rather than an action, e.g. *remember, know, hold.* They generally have no serial suffix but they do have a present or habitual meaning in a form with either no suffix or just a glottal stop. There is no punctual suffix but a past tense is formed by adding either a serial past (if the present form ends in **-eʔ**) or a perfective past (if the present form ends any other way). The serial past used is **-(a)hkwe** (the **-a-** is used if the final **-e-** is epenthetic). The perfective past used is **-ˑhnéˑ** (or sometimes **-ˊˑne**).

A future tense is formed by adding the future prefix **ʌ-** and a suffix that is either **-(a)keʔ** (if the present form ends in **-e**) or **-hakeʔ** (otherwise).

An indefinite tense is formed exactly like the future except with the indefinite tense prefix instead of the future prefix.

An imperative is constructed from the future by taking off the **ʌ-** prefix from the front and the **-eʔ** suffix from the end.

Here are some examples:

lonúhteʔ	*he knows*
lonúhtehkwe	*he knew*
ʌhanúhtekeʔ	*he will know*
ahanúhteketʔ	*for him to know*
kéˑyaleʔ	*I remember*
kehyáˑlahkweʔ	*I remembered*
ʌkehyáˑlakeʔ	*I'll remember*
sehyáˑlak	*remember!*
yakoˑyʌ́	*she has it*
yakoyʌˑhnéˑ	*she had it*
ʌyakoyʌˑtákeʔ	*she will have it*
sayʌˑták	*have it!*
tehotoˑtéˑ	*he is quiet*
tehotoˑtéhkwe	*he was quiet*
tʌhotoˑtékeʔ	*he will be quiet*
tesatoˑték	*be quiet!*

wakatlaʔswi·yó	*I'm lucky*
wakatlaʔswiyo·hné·	*I was lucky*
ʌwakatlaʔswiyóhakeʔ	*I will be lucky*
satlaʔswiyóhak	*be lucky!*

When the **-ʔseʔ** plural is added to certain adjectives, then the corresponding serial past form is **-ʔskwe** and the suffix for the future is **-hsekeʔ** as in this example:

kaʔslehti·yó·seʔ	*good cars*
kaʔslehti·yó·skwe	*the cars were good*
ʌkaʔslehtiyóhsekeʔ	*the cars will be good*

PAST TIME

Languages typically have multiple ways of expressing the past. Oneida has at least four verb forms. If you ask a native speaker to translate a generic past statement, the answer could be any one of the four, but there are differences among them. Two of the four we have already met: one is formed by putting an aorist prefix and a punctual suffix on a verb, and the other is formed by putting the perfective suffix on a verb stem. A third way to express the past is an extension of the serial suffix. The forms correspond to the regular serial suffix forms:

serial serial	past serial suffix
-s	**-skwe?**
-as	**-askwe?**
-he?	**-hahkwe?**
-ha?	**-hahkwe?**
-se?	**-skwe?**
-hse?	**-skwe?**
-?se?	**-?skwe?**

All the **e**'s before glottal stops are epenthetic. What makes this serial past different from the others is the sense that the action has been habitual in the past. The easiest way to capture that in English is with *used to*.

lawʌni·sákskwe?	*he used to look for words*
náhte? nihsatyélhahkwe?	*what did you used to do? / what were you doing?*
yewʌnahnóthahkwe?	*she used to read*
katekhuníhahkwe?	*I used to eat / I was eating*

There is also a past perfective that is formed by adding -·**hné**· to a perfective suffix ending in a vowel. This is an unusual form that violates the accent rules and is only possible with certain verbs. Its meaning is that the state represented by the perfective suffix continued in the past. The simplest English translation is either *used to* or *had done.*

teyakolihwahkwʌ·hné	*she used to sing, she had sung*
shukwahloli·hné	*he used to tell us, he had told us*

The past perfective is also the usual way to indicate the past of an adjectival verb.

ka?slehti·yó	*good car*
ka?slehtiyo·hné·	*the car used to be good*
kanuhsowa·nʌ́	*big house*
kanuhsowanʌ·hné	*the house used to be big*
ot nihaya?tó·tʌ	*how does he look?*
ot nihaya?to?tʌ·hné	*how did he used to look?*

FUTURE TIME

English has multiple ways of expressing future time. Besides the simple future tense *I will sing* there is also a special expression *going to* as in *I'm going to sing* or you can use the present tense with a future adverb as in *I sing tomorrow night*. Oneida has a simple future tense using the future prefix with the punctual suffix (see p. 49), but it also has a suffix, called the dislocative, with a meaning very close to the English *going to. Going to* can mean either movement (to be on one's way) or intention (where informal English uses *gonna*). When the dislocative is used, a new set of aspect endings is used in place of the verb's regular aspect endings. With the dislocative the aspect endings are always: **-e?** for the serial when it means present time (this serial is called the purposive by many liguists) and **-ehse?** when it means habitual aspect; **-a?** for the punctual; **-a** for the imperative; and **-u** for perfective. There are several forms of the dislocative itself and when combined with the aspect endings, they fall into the following four sets:

serial (now)	**-he?**	**-hsle?**	**-ˑne?**	**-ˑhnéˑ**
serial (usually)		**-hehse?**	**-hslehse?**	**-ˑnehse?**
punctual	**-ha?**	**-hsa?**	**-ˑna?**	**-ˑhnáˑ**
imperative	**-ha**	**-hsa**	**-ˑna**	**-hná**
perfective	**-hu**	**-hsu**	**-ˑnu**	**-hnú**

The first set tends to be used with verb stems that end in consonants and all the others with stems ending with vowels. Some verbs add an **-a-** just before the dislocative. This means if you know the verb stem, you can't necessarily predict which dislocative (if any) is used, but you can make some reasonable guesses.

The meanings of the dislocative are usually translatable by some form of *go to* or *going to*. More specifically:

dislocative and serial means *going to* ____ or *gonna*____. This expresses intention.

dislocative with a special serial suffix ending in **-se?** means *habitually goes to* ____ or *habitually going to* ____. This expresses movement.

dislocative and punctual with the aorist prefix means *going (elsewhere) to* ____

dislocative and punctual with the future prefix means *will go to* ____

dislocative and imperative means *go* ____!

dislocative and perfective means *gone to* ____ or *gone* ____*ing*

a special dislocative ending added to the perfective (**-hnuˑnéˑ**) means *gone to* ____ *and come back.*

Some examples:

-atolat- verb stem meaning *hunt*

latoláthe?	*he's gonna hunt, he intends to hunt* (serial - intention)
latoláthehse?	*he's always going hunting* (serial - movement)
wahatolátha?	*he is going (away) to hunt* (punctual)
satolátha	*go hunt!* (imperative)
lotoláthu	*he's gone hunting* (perfective)
ʌhato·láte?	*he will hunt* (without the dislocative)

-yʌtho- verb stem meaning *plant*

yeyʌthóhsle?	*she's gonna plant, she intends to plant*
yeyʌthóhslehse?	*she's always goes planting*
wa?(y)eyʌthóhsa?	*she's going (away) to plant*
tsyʌthóhsa	*go plant!*
yakoyʌthóhsu	*she's gone to plant*
yakoyʌthohsuhnu·né·	*she's gone to plant and come back*
yeyʌthóhsles	*she goes planting*
ʌyeyʌ́tho?	*she will plant* (without the dislocative)

-atekhuni- a verb stem meaning *eat*

katekhunyá·ne?	*I'm gonna eat, I intend to eat*
katekhunyá·nehse?	*I always go to eat*
wa?katekhunyá·na?	*I'm going (away) to eat*
satekhunyá·na	*go eat!*
wakatekhunyá·nu	*I've gone to eat*
ʌkatekhu·ní·	*I will eat* (without the dislocative)

-atolishʌ- a verb stem meaning *rest*

latolishʌ́·ne?	*he's gonna rest, he intends to rest*
wahatolishʌ́·na?	*he's going (away) to rest*
satolishʌ́·na	*go rest!*
lotolishʌ́·nu	*he's gone to rest*
lotolishʌhnu·né·	*he's gone and come back from a rest*
latolishʌ́·nes	*he's habitually going to rest*
ʌhatolíshʌ	*he will rest* (without the dislocative)

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Telling time

to niyohwistá·e	*what time is it?*
úskah niyohwistá·e	*one o'clock*
oye·lí minit yotukóhtu tékni niyohwistá·e	*ten minutes after two o'clock*
wisk minit tsi? niyo·lé· áhsʌ niyohwistá·e	*five minutes until three o'clock*
ʌ́tyʌ ni·káhle	*noon time*
astéhtsi	*morning*
kwahsuté·ke	*night time*
ahsúthʌ	*midnight*
the·tʌ́	*yesterday*
ʌyólhʌne	*tomorrow*

Commands

tasatá(w)yaht	*come in!*
ka·tsi	*come here!*
sátih	*sit down!*
sátkwit	*move over!*
kʌ́·tho sé·sek	*stay here!*
háo satekhu·ní	*come and eat!*
ányo, ányo	*hurry, hurry!*
tehsaslíh	*hurry up!*
satnúhtuht	*wait!*
atsyók	*in a little while*
oskana?shú	*slow down!*
tákʌ	*don't!*
satkʌ́·lat	*stop it!*
ísi yasa·tí	*throw it away!*
téhsek thi·kʌ́	*pick it up!*
skó·na	*go get it!*
kas thi·kʌ́	*hand me that!*
ni·yót	*look!*
tutahsátlatst	*do it again!*
wahs ki? wah	*go on!*
satla?swiyóhak	*have good luck!*
se?nikú·lalak	*be careful!*

Part VI More Affixes

PARTICLES

Verbs and nouns tend to be complex in Oneida because they can have many internal parts. The particles, however, are simpler in form. They tend to be short - one, two, or three syllables. They perform a number of different functions in the language, some of them are quite straightforward and have easy English translations, while others cover ranges of meaning that are subtle and nearly impossible to translate. Sometimes a sequence of particles has a meaning that is distinct from the meaning of any of the particles in the sequence. The use of particles is part of what distinguishes different styles of speaking. More are used in ceremonial speech, for example.

One can begin to learn the particles by grouping some of the more straightforward ones by function. They deal with time, place, extent, grammatical connectives, and conversational interaction.

Question Particles

náhte?	*what*
náhohte	*what* (sentence final form)
úhka náhte?	*who*
kánhke	*when*
to nikaha·wí·	*when*
kátsa? nu	*where* (requires a locative or partitive prefix)
kátsa? ka·yʌ́·	*which one*
náhte? aolí·wa?	*why, for what reason*
oh ni·yót	*how*
to ni·kú	*how much*
to niha·tí	*how many people*
to niku·tí	*how many females*

Time Particles

elhúwa	*recently*
o·nʌ́ or **nʌ**	*now, or at that time*
úwa or **núwa** or **nu?ú**	*now, or today*
oksa?	*right away, soon*
swatye·lʌ́	*sometimes*
tyótkut	*always*
yotká·te	*always*
yah nuwʌ·tú	*never*

Place Particles

ákta	*nearby*
ákte	*somewhere else*
átste	*outside*
é·nike	*up, above*
ehtá·ke	*down, below*
kʌ́·tho	*here*
kʌh nu	*here*
kʌh nukwá	*this way*
ohná·kʌ	*back, behind*
ohʌ·tú	*ahead, in front*
ná·ku	*underneath*
tho nukwá	*there*
aʔe nukwá	*over there, away*
isi nukwá	*over there, far away*

Agreement Particles

ʌ́·ʌ	*yes*
né·	*yes, it is so*
né· wah	*yes, it is so*
né· kiʔ wah	*yes, indeed*
to·kʌ́ske	*for sure*
khele	*I guess, it seems so*
khelé kiʔ wah	*I guess so*
kwaʔnyó	*it seems*
wé·ne kiʔ wah	*it seems so*
úhteʔ wi	*maybe so*
tá·t nuʔú	maybe so
yáhtʌ	*no*
táh	*no*
to·káh	*I don't know*
áhsu	*not yet*

Extent Particles

e·só	*much, a lot*
ostúha	*a little*
kwah i·kʌ́ tsiʔ	*very much* (before verbs)
só·tsiʔ	*very much, too much*
tsiléhkwah	*almost*
akwe·kú	*all*

Connective Particles

okhale?	*and* (connecting two objects)
ok ne?n	*or*
okhna?	*and then*
táhnu	*and then*
nok tsi?	*but*
ok	*and* (used in counting large numbers)
tho ne? o·nʌ́	*then*

Relative Particles

tsi? ka·yʌ́·	*the one who*
tsi? náhte?	*whatever*
kanyó (onʌ́)	*when, whenever*
tho nu	*then*
kátsa? ok nu	*somewhere*
tsyok náhte?	*something, somethings*
úhka ok náhte?	*someone*

Conversational Interaction Particles

she·kú	*hello, still, again*
yawʌ?kó	*thanks*
yo	*you're welcome*
hao	*come on!*
ake·	*ouch*
o·nʌ́ ki? wah	*good by*
ni·yót	*how it is, look at that!*
otsé	*wow!*
tho ni·kú	*that's enough*

THE DUALIC PREFIX

There are eleven prefixes that can be attached to verbs before the pronoun prefix. Each of the eleven has a grammatical label, a range of uses and meanings, and rules that affect its form and potential to combine with other prefixes. We have already met some of these prefixes. There are the three tense prefixes: the future, the aorist, and the indefinite tense. Earlier on we encountered the negative prefix. And then there were three more prefixes used in counting: the iterative **s**-; the dualic **te**-; and the partitive **ni**-.

The dualic meant *two* in counting, but it has other uses as well. There are quite a few verb stems that require the dualic prefix. For example, the following all require the dualic prefix:

-**teni**- *change* subjective pronouns

-**tényehse?**	serial	(current activity)
-**te·ní·**	punctual	
-**te·ní**	imperative	
-**tényu**	perfective	

-**awʌlye**- *stir, move around* subjective pronouns

-**awʌ́lyehe?**	serial	(current activity)
-**awʌ́lye?**	punctual	
-**awʌ́lye**	imperative	
-**awʌ́lye**	perfective	

-**khahsy**- *divide, separate* subjective pronouns

-**kháhsyus**	serial	(current activity)
-**kháhsyi**	punctual	
-**kháhsyi**	imperative	
-**kháhsyu**	perfective	

-**thal**- *converse, talk* subjective pronouns

-**thálha?**	serial	
-**tha·lʌ́·**	punctual	
-**thal**	imperative	
-**thale?**	perfective	(current activity)

-**nuhwelatu**- *thank, greet* transitive pronouns (variants: -**nehelatu**- or -**nuhelatu**-)

-**nuhwela·túhe?**	serial
-**nuhwela·tú·**	punctual
-**nuhwela·tú**	imperative
-**nuhwela·tú**	perfective

-nuwayʌht- *shop, trade, barter*		subjective pronouns
	-nuwayʌ́tha?	serial (current activity)
	-nuwa·yʌ́hte?	punctual
	-nuwa·yʌ́ht	imperative
	-nuwayʌ́htu	perfective
-ya?toleht- *judge, decide*		transitive pronouns
	-ya?tolétha?	serial
	-ya?to·léhte?	punctual
	-ya?to·léht	imperative
	-ya?toléhtu	perfective (current activity)

Words built from these stems always use the dualic prefix, even though it contributes no easily discernible meaning. There are, however, a few verb stems that have one meaning with a dualic prefix and another without it. For example, **-ya?k-** means *break* without a dualic prefix but it means *break in two* with a dualic prefix; **-atati-** means *speak* without the dualic prefix but *respond* with it.

The dualic prefix combines with the tense prefixes in the following ways:

dualic alone	**te-**
aorist and dualic	**wa?t-**
future and dualic	**tʌ-**
indefinite and dualic	**ta-**

The dualic prefix is almost identical to the negative prefix. The negative prefix **te(?)-** usually has a glottal stop but that drops off if the next sound is **-h-** or **-s-**. It is still possible to tell them apart. The negative prefix is always used with a negative particle, most often **yah**. If you learn which verb stems require the dualic prefix, then you will know to expect it. When you want to express the negative of a verb that requires the dualic, then the two prefixes combine as **tha?te-** (never as **te?te-** or **tete?-**). The negative prefix is never used with any of the three tense prefixes. Instead, when you want to express the negative and the tense meanings, a different prefix called the contrastive is used:

aorist and contrastive	**tha?-**
aorist and contrastive and dualic	**tha?t-**
future and contrastive	**thʌ-**
future and contrastive and dualic	**tha?tʌ-**
indefinite and contrastive	**tha-**
indefinite and contrastive and dualic	**tha?ta-**

Some examples:

context form	isolation form	
teyuwʌ́lyehe?	**teyuwʌ́lyehe**	*she stirs it*
wa?thawʌ́lye?	**wa?thawʌ́li**	*he stirred it*
tʌkawʌ́lye?	**tʌkawʌ́li**	*I will stir it*

tákʌ tʌhsawʌ́lye?	**takʌ tʌhsawʌ́li**	*don't stir it!*
yah tha?tehonawʌ́lye	**yah tha?tehonawʌ́li**	*they haven't stirred it*

teha·yá·ks	*he breaks it in two*
wa?tye·yá·ke?	*she broke it in two*
tewakyá·ku	*I have broken it in two*
yah tha?tewakyá·ku	*I haven't broken it in two*
yah tha?tʌye·yá·ke?	*she will not break it in two*

teyenuhsatényehse?	*she changes houses*
wa?thanuhsate·ní·	*he changed the house*
yah tha?teyenuhsatényehse?	*she doesn't change houses*
i·kélhe? taknuhsate·ní·	*I want to change the house*

tehotíthale?	*they are talking*
lanú·wehse? tahatha·lʌ́·	*he likes to talk*
tákʌ tʌstha·lʌ́	*don't talk!*

tʌshukwanuhwela·tú·	*he will thank us*
wa?teshukwanuhwela·tú·	*he thanked us*
tashukwanuhwela·tú·	*he should thank us*
tʌkhenuhwela·tú·	*I will thank them*

washakoya?to·léhte?	*he judged them*
tehatinuwayʌ́tha?	*they are shopping*
wa?tyenuwa·yʌ́hte?	*she shopped*
wa?thakháhsyi	*he divided it*

i - y changes - a sound rule

The sound -**y**- is the consonantal form of the vowel -**i**-. A conversion from one to the other often happens depending on whether the surrounding sounds are consonants or vowels. For example, stems ending in -**i**- often change to -**y**- before suffixes beginning with vowels as the final -**i**- in the verb -**teni**- *change* changes before the serial suffix -**ehse?**.

Another place a conversion happens is in words that end in a vowel then a consonant then -**y**- and then a vowel. With such words the isolation or sentence final form does not whisper the final syllable but instead converts the -**y**- and vowel into -**i**-.

	context form	isolation form
he has changed it	**tehotényu**	**tehoténi**
I stirred it	**wa?tkawʌ́lye?**	**wa?tkawʌ́li**
sit down!	**sátyʌ**	**sáti**

Notice that the isolation forms appear to violate the accent rules (accent before a single consonant), but recall that the accent rules apply to the context forms only. You can in fact reason that when an isolation form ends in an accented vowel plus a single consonant (other than -**h**-) plus -**i**- that the corresponding context form ends in the accented vowel plus the single consonant plus -**y**- plus some vowel.

...**VCi** → ...**VCyV**

where V stands for vowel and C for consonant

ITERATIVE PREFIX

With the counting verb -**at** the iterative prefix means *one* but with most other verbs the iterative prefix is like the English *re-*. It is usually translated as either *back* as in *return* or as *again* as in *redo*. The usual form of the iterative is **s**-. Before a pronoun prefix that begins with -**y**- the iterative prefix is **ts**-. It combines with the tense prefixes and dualic prefix in the following ways:

iterative alone	**s-** (or **ts-** before -**y**-)
iterative and dualic	**tes-**
iterative and aorist	**sa-**
iterative and aorist and dualic	**tusa-**
iterative and future	**ʌs-**
iterative and future and dualic	**tʌs-**
iterative and indefinite	**usa-**
iterative and indefinite and dualic	**tusa-**

Sometimes the iterative prefix creates an idiomatic meaning. For example, the verb -**ahtʌti**- means *leave* or *set out*, but with the iterative prefix it means *go home*.

Examples:

i·kélhe? akahtʌ·tí·	*I want to leave* (no iterative)
i·kélhe? usakahtʌ·tí·	*I want to go home* (with iterative)
tákʌ ʌhsahtʌ·tí·	*don't leave!*
tákʌ ʌsehsahtʌ·tí·	*don't go home!*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌkahtʌ·tí·	*I have to leave*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌskahtʌ·tí·	*I have to go home*
shahtʌ́tyehse?	*he goes home*
tsyakohtʌ́tyu	*she's gone home*

Note that the iterative prefix sometimes is easy to confuse with the pronoun prefix for *you*.

satekhu·níhe?	*you are eating*	(**s**- here is the pronoun *you*)
shatekhu·níhe?	*he is eating again*	(**s**- here is the iterative prefix and **ha**- is the pronoun *he*)

The pronunciations of these two are very close but different.

The iterative is also used in turning descriptions into names.

skakahlákso	*walleyed pike*	(**kakahlákso** *it has bad eyes*)
tsyoná·kales	*ox*	(**yoná·kales** *it has long horns*)
skʌhnáksʌ	*fox*	(**kʌhnáksʌ** *it has bad skin*)

LOCATION AND DIRECTION: CISLOCATIVE AND TRANSLOCATIVE PREFIXES

Oneida has many particles that have to do with location just as English does but it also has two verb prefixes for location and direction. They are the translocative (**ye**-) and the cislocative (**t**-). On verbs of motion they indicate the direction: translocative is away and cislocative is towards. With other verbs they indicate location: translocative is far away and cislocative is simply located somewhere. There are some verbs that require a locative prefix but for the most part the locative prefixes are optional, although in general more Oneida speakers opt to use them (usually along with some particles) than English speakers might.

Both of the locatives combine with other prefixes and here are the combinations with the tense prefixes:

cislocative alone	**t-**
translocative alone	**ye-**
cislocative and aorist	**ta-**
translocative and aorist	**ya?-**
cislocative and future	**ʌt-**
translocatve and future	**yʌ-**
cislocative and indefinite	**uta-**
translocative and indefinite	**ya-**

The verb stem **-hawe-** can mean either *take* or *bring* depending on which locative prefix is used:

yaháhawe?	*he took it away*
taháhawe?	*he brought it here*

The locative prefixes can also combine with the iterative prefix:

yusáhawe?	*he took it back*
tusáhawe?	*he brought it back*

Similarly the stem **-atʌnyeht-** *send* can use a locative prefix to indicate the direction of sending:

tahsatʌ́nyeht	*send it here!*
yahsatʌ́nyeht	*send it away!*

The cislocative is easy to confuse with the dualic if you don't pay close attention to the order of sounds. There are times, however, when it is impossible to tell from a single word. The phrase *where do you live?* from the sample vocabulary is:

kátsaʔ nu tesnákehle

Kátsaʔ nu means *where* so **tesnákehle** is the verb meaning *you live*. The **-s-** is the pronoun prefix for *you*. What is the prefix **te-**? Is it a dualic prefix implying this verb requires a dualic prefix? Or is it the cislocative prefix with an epenthetic **-e-** signifying *you live there*? From that one word it is impossible to tell. But if you know the phrase for *where does he live*?, which is:

kátsaʔ nu thanákehle

then you can reason that **-ha-** is the pronoun prefix for *he* so the **t-** must be a cislocative prefix, not a dualic prefix which would have been **te-**. This kind of reasoning by comparing forms is typically necessary when you learn new vocabulary from a native speaker.

The cislocative is often used with nouns that have orientational verbs on them. Particles are usually used as well.

tsiʔ thonúhsote	*at his house*
tsiʔ tyakonúhsote	*at her house*
tsiʔ tkana·táyʌ	*at the settlement, in town*
ohʌ·tú tsiʔ tkanúhsote	*in front of the house*
ohʌ·tú tsiʔ tkanyata·láyʌ	*in front of the lake*
ohná·kʌ tsiʔ tkanúhsote	*behind the house*
ohná·kʌ tsiʔ tkalu·tóte	*behind the tree*

Sometimes the cislocative can create idiomatic phrases:

cislocative **t** + pronoun **ho** + verb **ahtʌty** + perfective **ʌ** = **thohtʌ́tyʌ**
where he has set out from = *his house*
(Note: the isolation form of this word is **thohtʌ́ti**.)

Here are some verbs that are used with a cislocative prefix:

-atilut- *pull* (serial **-haʔ**; punctual **-ʌ**; perfective **-ʔ**)

thatilútaʔ	*he's pulling it*
tayutilu·tʌ́	*she pulled it*
twakati·lúteʔ	*I have pulled it*

(Note: this verb is also used with a dualic prefix instead of the cislocative. The meaning changes from *pull* to *stretch*.)

-ʔnikuhlayelit- *please, satisfy* (serial **-s**; punctual **-ʔ**; perfective **-u**)

teshakoʔnikuhlaye·líts	*he pleases them*
ʌteshukwaʔnikuhlaye·líteʔ	*he'll satisfy us*

-lihwayelit- *tell the truth*

tyelihwaye·líts	*she tells the truth*
taslihwaye·líteʔ	*you told the truth*
twaklihwayeli·tú	*I've told the truth*

-atke?tot- *peek out* (serial **-ha?**; punctual **-ʌ**; perfective **-?**)

thatke?tótha?	*he peeks out*
tayutke?to·tʌ́	*she peeked out*

-anuhtu- *have one's way, decide* (serial **-he?**; punctual **-?**; perfective **?u**)

thanúhtuhe?	*he decides things*
ʌtyunúhtu?	*she will have her way*

-atahsaw- *start*

tahatáhsawʌ	*he started*

-ehtahkw- *believe*

twakehtáhkwʌ	*I believe*

MOTION VERBS

There are a handful of verbs ending in **-e** and expressing motion (e.g. *run, chase, drag*) that have a few peculiarities. Unlike many other verbs whose serial form expresses both habitual activity and current activity, these verbs have separate forms for the two meanings. A serial form **-hse?** expresses habitual activity and the lack of a suffix expresses current action. The punctual suffix is **-?** and the perfective suffix is **-nu**. The serial past is **-skwe** and the perfective past is **-nu·hné·**.

The other peculiarity of these motion verbs is that the aorist prefix functions in place of the translocative to mean action going away.

latákhehse?	*he runs*
latákhe	*he is running*
ʌhatákhe?	*he will run*
lotakhenú	*he has run, he ran*
wahatákhe	*he is running away, he ran off*
tahatákhe	*he is running this way*
latákheskwe	*he used to run*
lotakhenu·hné·	*he had run*

VERB STEM STRUCTURE

So far the map of an Oneida verb is the following:

PREFIXES - PRONOUN PREFIXES	- VERB STEM	- ASPECT SUFFIX	- EXTENDED SUFFIXES

There are eleven prefixes:
three tenses: aorist, future, indefinite
two locations: cislocative, translocative
and six others: iterative, dualic, partitive, negative, contrastive, coincident

There are three types of pronoun prefixes: subjective, objective, transitive (each with subclasses dependent on the initial sound in the verb stem)

There are four aspect suffixes: serial, punctual, imperative, perfective

There are several extended suffixes, including: past serial, past perfective, and progressive.

The verb stem itself may be fairly simple (there are a few that are represented by just a single letter) or it may be quite complex. The internal structure of verb stems follows this map:

REFLEXIVES - INCORPORATED NOUN ROOT	(EXTENDER)- STEM JOINER	- VERB ROOT	- ROOT SUFFIXES

All complex verb stems have to have at least a verb root. The other elements may occur depending on the stem. The stem joiner, which is always the vowel -a-, adds no particular meaning but is used simply to join a noun root ending in a consonant to a verb root beginning with one.

noun root	extender	stem joiner	verb root	English	stem
-wʌn-			**-isak-**	*look for words*	**-wʌnisak-**
			-anuhte-	*know*	**-anuhte-**
-hwist-		**-a-**	**-yʌ-**	*have money*	**-hwistayʌ-**
-nuhkwat-	**-sl-**	**-a-**	**-yʌ-**	*have medicine*	**-nuhkwatslayʌ-**
-nuhkwat-	**-sl-**		**-isak-**	*look for medicine*	**-nuhkwatslisak-**
			-atolat-	*hunt*	**-atolat-**

REFLEXIVE

The most common form of the reflexive is **-at-**, but other forms are used with particular stems. An epenthetic **-e-** is sometimes needed to break up an unacceptable cluster of consonants. If the next sound after the reflexive is an **-i-**, then the reflexive is **-an-** instead of **-at-**. There are also particular stems that select **-al-** or **-atʌ-** or **-a-** as their reflexive. All forms of the reflexive start with **-a-** and since the reflexive always comes at the beginning of verb stems, that means that verbs with reflexives are all a-stems.

The meaning of the reflexive is a bit variable. For some verbs adding a reflexive means that the action is done for or to the doer of the action.

-wʌnisak-	*look for words*
-atwʌnisak-	*look for words for oneself*
-khahsy-	*separate, split*
-atekhahsy-	*divorce* (separate self)
-yʌ-	*set, place*
-atyʌ-	*sit (set oneself)*
-awʌlye-	*stir*
-atawʌlye-	*travel (stir oneself)*

Many times, however, adding the reflexive creates an idiomatic shift in the meaning:

-khuni-	*cook*
-atekhuni-	*eat*
-hninu-	*buy*
-atʌhninu-	*sell*
-ʔskut-	*burn*
-ateʔskut-	*fry*
-hloli-	*tell*
-athloli-	*tell about*

Full Reflexive

There is also a kind of reflexive called the full reflexive which has only one form **-atat(e)-** and which means that the same individual both does and receives the action. The other reflexive is sometimes called the semi-reflexive to distinguish it from this full reflexive.

-noluhkw-	*love*
-atatnoluhkw-	*love oneself*

When combined with the full reflexive the dualic prefix **te-** adds the meaning of a reciprocal action.

tehutatnolúkhwaʔ	*they love each other*

ROOT SUFFIXES

There is a small class of suffixes that are sometimes used to extend a verb. These suffixes occur singly and in combinations before the aspect suffixes. In fact, when they occur, these suffixes and not the verb root itself determine the forms for the aspect suffixes. This class of suffixes contains the following:

instrumental	*do with*, or *use it to do*
distributive	*do here and there* (see page 83)
causative	*cause to do*, or *make one do* (see page 82)
dative	*do for one* (see page 107)
dislocative	*go do* (see page 65)
inchoative	*become* (see page 110)
undoer	reverse action (see page 111)

Instrumental

We will postpone discussion of most of these until later, but for now we will take a look at the instrumental suffix. It has several forms **-ht-, -ʔt-, -st-, -hkw-** with particular verbs selecting among them. With the aspect suffixes these are:

serial	**-thaʔ**	**-ˊ·thaʔ**	**-staʔ**	**-khwaʔ**
punctual	**-hteʔ**	**-hteʔ**/ **-ˊ·teʔ**	**-steʔ**	**-hkweʔ**
imperative	**-ht**	**-ht**	**-st**	**-hk**
perfective	**-htu**	**-htu**/ **-ˊ·tu**	**-stu**	**-hkwʌ**

The meaning of this suffix is to focus on something used in doing the action such as a tool or special place. For example:

-atolat-	hunt	**-atolatst-**	*hunt with it*
-ateswaʔt	*play*	**-ateswaʔtahkw-**	*play with it*
-atekhuni-	*eat*	**-atekhunyaʔt-**	*eat with it*
-hninu-	*buy*	**-hninuʔt-**	*buy with it*
-lihwahkw-	*sing*	**-lihwahkwaʔt-**	*sing with it*
-ohale-	*clean*	**-ohaleht-**	*clean with it*
-yʌtho-	*plant*	**-yʌthoht-**	*plant with it*
-hyatu-	*write*	**-hyatuhkw-**	*write with it*
-uni-	*make*	**-unyaʔt-**	*make out of it*

Sometimes the **-hkw-** form of the instrumental doubles with one of the others to form **-htahkw-**, **-ʔtahkw-**, or **-stahkw-**. These usually refer to specific tools.

The instrumental suffix provides a common way of turning verbs into corresponding nouns either with a generic subject or in some cases with no pronoun prefix at all.

Some examples:

teyelihwahkwá·tha?	*hymnal (one sings with it)*
yehyatúkhwa?	*writing tool (one writes with it)*
yehwistayʌtákhwa?	*bank (one has money there)*
teyutawʌlyétha?	*travelling place (one travels there)*
yekhunyá·tha?	*kitchen (one cooks with it)*
yehnekihlá·tha?	*dipper (one uses it to drink with)*
kahʌtiyostákhwa?	*fertilizer (the field is good with it)*

In some ways this use of the instrumental is like the English suffix -er in *planter*, *mixer*, or *computer*.

Causative

Quite a few roots can be extended with a suffix which is identical in form to the instrumental suffix but has a meaning of *to cause* or *make happen*. Here are some common examples:

-iyo	*good*	**-iyost-**	*make good*
-wʌniyo-	*good word*	**-wʌniyost-**	*praise*
-atla?swiyo-	*good luck*	**-atla?swiyost-**	*wish good luck*
-a?talihʌ-	*warm, hot*	**-?taliha?t-**	*heat*
-owanʌ	*big*	**-owanaht-**	*enlarge*
-hsʌnowanʌ	*reputation*	**-hsʌnowanaht-**	*respect, honor*
-hetkʌ	*ugly*	**-hetkʌht-**	*spoil, ruin*
-na?khwʌ	*mad*	**-atna?khwaht-**	*get oneself mad*
-ahtʌty-	*leave, go*	**-ahtʌtyaht-**	*make it go*
-ye-	*wake up*	**-yeht-**	*wake one up*
-atek-	*burn*	**-ateka?t-**	*make it burn*
-ate?kw-	*run away*	**-ate?kwaht-**	*chase away*
-at-	*be in*	**-ata?-**	*put in*
-hli-	*fragile*	**-hliht-**	*break* (requires a dualic)
-atawʌ-	*swim*	**-atawʌst-**	*give one a bath*

Some examples:

satahuhsi·yóst	*listen up! (make your ears good)*
satla?swiyóhake	*good luck!*
washakohsʌnowa·náhte?	*he honored her*

PLURALS

In English the distinction between singluar and plural is very basic and the language forces the distinction on its speakers. In Oneida the distinction is less basic. The word **ká·sleht** could mean *cars* as easily as *car*. Of course when a speaker wants to be specific the language has ways of expressing number, in fact, many ways. One can use special plural suffixes on noun roots and certain verb roots, plural pronoun prefixes in verbs, or a root suffix known as the distributive.

Noun suffixes

The two suffixes **-shúha?** and **-(h)okúha?** are attached to some noun roots to indicate plural. The choice is generally determined by the particular noun root although on some noun roots either is possible and on others neither is possible.

áhta?	*shoe*	**ahta?shúha?**	*shoes*
onúhkwat	*medicine*	**onuhkwathokúha?**	*medicines*
owʌ·ná·	*word*	**owʌna?shúha?**	*words*

Adjective suffixes

Some of the verb roots that translate as adjectives in English have a plural suffix **-?se?** as in the following:

-owa·nʌ́·se?	*big ones*
-i·yó·se?	*good ones*

Examples:

kanuhsowa·nʌ́·se?	*big houses*
kalʌni·yó·se?	*good songs*

The verb root for *little* also has a special plural form:

-á·sa	*little ones*

For example:

ka? nikawʌná·sa	*little words*

Distributive

The distributive is one of the root suffixes that can occur at the end of a complex verb stem before the aspect suffixes. The distributive has a number of forms **-hslu-**, **-nyu-**, **-hu-**, **-tu-**, and **-u-**. There are also combined forms **-hslunyu-**, **-hunyu-**, **-tunyu-**, and **-unyu-**. The choice among these is a matter of selection by the verb root. The meaning this suffix adds is that the action takes place at various places (distributed in space), to various things (plural), or at various times (distributed in time). The aspect suffixes that follow a distributive are:

serial	**-he?**
punctual	**-?**
imperative	
perfective	**-?**

Here are some examples of how adding a distributive suffix changes the meaning of a stem:

-thal-	*talk, converse*
-thalunyu-	*talk it over, talk about it*
-alu?tat-	*shoot*
-alu?tathu-	*shoot here and there*
-kalatu-	*tell a story*
-kalatunyu-	*tell stories*
-atyel-	*do something*
-atyelanyu-	*do things*
-atlʌnot-	*play music*
-atlʌnotunyu-	*play various music*
-nuhsot-	*a house standing*
-nuhsotu-	*houses standing*

Some examples:

kanuhso·tú	*houses*
lotlʌnotúni	*he's playing various music*
nihatyelányuhe?	*what things he does*
yekalatúnyuhe?	*she tells stories*
lotíthale?	*they are talking*
lotithalúni	*they are talking it over*
wahalú·tate?	*he shot*
wahalu?táthu?	*he shot here and there*

Plural Pronoun prefixes

Another way to indicate grammatical number is not on the noun but on the pronoun prefix that agrees with it in the verb. Where in English you might say *The birds are singing*, in Oneida it might be closer to *They are singing, (that is) bird.* **Tehotilihwáhkwʌ (né·n) otsi?tʌ́ha**. An Oneida speaker knows we are talking about several birds, not by any suffix on *bird* but by the **-hoti-** prefix in the verb. Oneida, in fact, has a much richer system for indicating number with pronoun prefixes than English does with its pronouns.

Often in Oneida there is a three way distinction of number. Instead of just the singular and plural that English has, Oneida has a singular, a dual for pairs of objects, and a

plural for collections of three or more. Here are some of the additional subjective pronoun prefixes:

you

you two	**sni-**	for c-stems
	tsya-	for a-stems
you all	**swa-**	

they

they two	**(h)ni-**	for c-stems (indicates at least one male)
they two	**(h)ya-**	for a-stems (indicates at least one male)
they two	**kni-**	for c-stems (indicates both females)
they two	**kya-**	for a-stems (indicates both females)

(note: the **-h-** in parentheses is present as long as it is not the beginning of the word)

they all	**lati-**	for c-stems (indicates at least one male)
they all	**lu-**	for a-stems (indicates at least one male)
they all	**kuti-**	for c-stems (indicates all females)
they all	**ku-**	for a-stems (indicates all females)

we

we two	**tni-**	for c-stems (indicates just you and me)
we two	**tya-**	for a-stems (indicates just you and me)
we two	**yakni-**	for c-stems (indicates me and someone else)
we two	**yakya-**	for a-stems (indicates me and someone else)
we all	**twa-**	(indicates you are included)
we all	**yakwa-**	(indicates you are excluded)

For the objective pronoun prefixes:

The objective prefixes for *you* are exactly the same as the subjective ones above.

The objective prefixes for *they* do not make a distinction between pairs and larger collections.

they	**loti-**	for c-stems (at least one male)
	lon-	for a-stems (at least one male)
	yoti-	for c-stems (all females)
	yon-	for a-stems (all females)

The prefixes for *we* do not make a distinction between including and excluding you.

we two	**yukni-**	for c-stems
	yukya-	for a-stems
we all	**yukwa-**	for all stems

Some examples:

Subjective a-stems:

tsyatekhu·níhe	*you two are eating*
swatekhu·níhe	*you all are eating*
yatekhu·níhe	*the two of them are eating*
kyatekhu·níhe	*the two women are eating*
lutekhu·níhe	*they are eating* (at least three)
kutekhu·níhe	*the women are eating* (at least three)
yakyatekhu·níhe	*we two (someone else and I) are eating*
tyatekhu·níhe	*we two (you and I) are eating*
yakwatekhu·níhe	*we are eating* (at least three of us but not you)
twatekhu·níhe	*we all are eating* (including you)
yato·láts	*they two are hunting*
luto·láts	*they all are hunting*
twato·láts	*we all are hunting*
tehyatekháhsyus	*they are divorcing*
tetyatekháhsyus	*we (you and I) are divorcing*
teyakyatekháhsyus	*we (my spouse and I) are divorcing*

subjective c-stems:

sniwʌni·sáks	*you are both looking for words*
kniwʌni·sáks	*the two women are looking for words*
tniwʌni·sáks	*you and are looking for words*
yakniwʌni·sáks	*we two (but not you) are looking for words*
niwʌni·sáks	*the two of them are looking for words*
latiwʌni·sáks	*they all are looking for words*
kutiwʌni·sáks	*the women are looking for words*
yakwawʌni·sáks	*we all (but not you) are looking for words*
twawʌni·sáks	*we all (including you) are looking for words*
tehnikháhsyus	*they two are separating it*
tesnikháhsyus	*you two are separating it*
kutiyʎthos	*the women are planting*
tniyʎthos	*you and I and planting (just the two of us)*
twayʎthos	*all of us are planting (including you)*

objective a-stems:

tsyanúhte	*you both know*
swanúhte	*you all know*
lonanúhte	*they know*
yonanúhte	*the women know*
yukyanúhte	*we two know*
yukwanúhte	*we all know*
yukwatunháhele?	*we are all happy*
yonatunháhele?	*the women are happy*
tsyatunháhele?	*you both are happy*

objective c-stems

snihwístayʌ	*you two have money*
yotihwístayʌ	*the women have money*
lotihwístayʌ	*they have money*
yuknihwístayʌ	*the two of them have money*
yukwahwístayʌ	*we all have money*
tehotilihwáhkwʌ	*they are singing*
teyotilihwáhkwʌ	*they (females) are singing*
teyuknilihwáhkwʌ	*we both are singing*

PROGRESSIVE

There is a special verb suffix that means someone is going along doing the action of the verb. Motion and continuity are both part of the meaning. The form of the suffix is -**hatye**- although on some verbs it shortens to -**atye**- or even to -**tye**-. This suffix attaches to the perfective aspect suffix to form a new complex stem and then additional aspect suffixes can be added:

-hátyehseʔ	serial	*go along doing*
-hátyeʔ	punctual	*went (will go, should go) along doing*
-hátye	imperative	*go along doing!*
-hátyeʔ	perfective	*going along doing*

The whispered form of **-hátyeʔ** is -**háti** and is so common it often replaces the context form even when other words follow.

Some examples:

teyukwatewʌlyeháti *we are travelling along*
(**te-** dualic; **yukw-** pronoun; **-ate-** reflexive; **-wʌlye-** verb; **-hati** progressive)

tetwatewʌlyehátyehseʔ *we travel along*
(**te-** dualic; **twa-** pronoun; **-ate-** reflexive; **-wʌlye-** verb; **-haty**e- progressive; **-hseʔ** serial)

tʌtwatewʌlyeháti *we will be travelling along*
(**t-** dualic; **-ʌ-** future; **-twa-** pronoun; **-ate-** reflexive; **-wʌlye-** verb; **-hati** progressive)

lotiyʌthuháti *they are planting along*
(**loti-** pronoun; **-yʌtho-** verb; **-u-** perfective; **-hati** progressive)

yukwatekhuniháti *we are going along eating*
(**yukwa-** pronoun; **-atekhuni-** verb; **-hati** progressive)

teyotilihwahkwʌ́ti *they (females) are singing along*
(**te-** dualic; **-yoti-** pronoun; **-lihwahkw-** verb; **-ʌ-** perfective; **-ti** progressive)

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Sports vocabulary

tatsye·n<u>á</u>	*catch it!* (said by thrower)
ka?sh^ni·y<u>ó</u>	*good shot, good aim*
skú·lek	*hit it!*
taskú·lek	*hit it here!*
é·nike yaskú·lek	*hit it high!*
salahs^t<u>ho</u>	*kick it!*
tahsalahs^t<u>ho</u>	*kick it here!*
yahsalahs^t<u>ho</u>	*kick it there!*
taskalhatényat	*roll it here!* (said by kicker)
yaskalhatényat	*roll it there!* (said by others)
tehsaláhtat	*run!*
o·n<u>^</u>	*now! (go!)*
satnúhtut	*wait up! stay!*
yasahkwíshe	*go for it!*
yasa·t<u>í</u>	*throw it there!*
tasa·t<u>í</u>	*throw it here!*
taswá·ek	*hit it here!* (with a bat or racquet)
yaswá·ek	*hit it away!*
selhó·lok	*trap it! (cover it!)*
etsehkwe	*take it away from him!*
átste yotukóht<u>u</u>	*out of bounds, it's gone out*
yoyánehl<u>e</u>	*it's good, (in bounds)*
wa?eyó·tat	*interference*
uthya·t<u>ú</u>	*score (it scored)*
yah teyothya·t<u>u</u>	*no score*
yah té·kal<u>e</u>	*no fair, illegal move*
takaha·l<u>á</u>ne	*it's hung up* (ball in a tree)
ná·ku utu·kóht<u>e</u>	*it went underneath*
í· akwa·w<u>^</u>	*it's mine; I've got it*
i·sé sa·w<u>^</u>	*it's yours*
i·sé nu?ú	*your turn*
úhka? náhte? yeh^·t<u>ú</u>	*who's ahead?*
twatolísh<u>^</u>	*time out! (let's rest)*
ahtá·naw<u>^</u>	*ball*
yekú·leks ahtá·naw<u>^</u>	*volleyball*
lanúnh<u>a</u>	*goalie (he guards it)*
lanúnha? lao·w<u>^</u>	*it's goalie's (ball)*

Questions

náhte?	*what*
náhohte	*what?* (said by itself)
náhte? né· thi·kʌ́	what is that?
úhka? náhte?	*who*
úhka? náhohte	*who?* (said by itself)
úhka? náhte? né· thi·kʌ́	*who is that?*
kátsa? nu	*where*
to nikaha·wí	*what time*
to niyohwistá·e	*what time is it?*
kánhke nu	*when?*
náhte? aolí·wa	*why; what is the reason*
to ni·kú	*how much; how many?* (said of objects)
to niha·tí	*how many (people)*
to niku·tí	*how many (females)*
katsa? ka·yʌ́	*which one*

Part VII Pronominal Prefixes

TWO FEMININE GENDERS

Grammatical gender in Oneida is more complicated than in English because Oneida has two feminine genders. That is there are always two ways to translate *she* into Oneida. Technically, they are labelled *feminine-indefinite* and *feminine-zoic*. An Oneida speaker who wants to refer to a female has to decide which of the two genders to use. The difference between them is a bit tricky because not everyone agrees about the meaning. For some people it is a matter of age so that for referring to the very young and the old the feminine-zoic is appropriate and for the inbetween ages the feminine-indefinite is appropriate. For others it is a matter of size or daintiness with feminine-zoic being appropriate for referring to larger or less dainty females. Still others use the femine-zoic to indicate a special personal bond to some female where the feminine-indefinite indicates a more formal relation.

Speakers do, however, agree on one difference between the two genders and that is that both have a use in addition to referring to females. The feminine-indefinite is used to refer to someone whose gender is unknown or perhaps doesn't matter. If you want to ask who did something or refer to an object that belongs to someone or even talk about a child and in each case you don't know whether it is *he* or *she* but you have to use a pronoun prefix, then the feminine-indefinite is the pronoun to use. On the other hand if you are talking about animals, then the pronoun to use is the feminine-zoic. The feminine-zoic is also used for inanimate objects so it represents a neuter gender as well.

All the examples of *she* pronouns used so far in these lessons have been feminine-indefinites. The forms for feminine-zoic are:

ka-	for subjective c-stems
w-	for subjective a-stems
yo-	for objective c-stems and a-stems

Examples:

yehnekílha?	*she drinks; someone drinks*
kahnekílha?	*she drinks; it drinks*
yutekhu·níhe?	*she is eating, someone is eating (feminine-indefinite)*
watekhu·níhe?	*she is eating, it is eating (feminine-zoic)*
yakonúhte	*she knows; someone knows*
yonúhte	*she knows; it knows*

I-STEMS

Not all noun and verb stems begin with **-a-** or a consonant. There are also some stems that begin with **-i-** and these require a slightly different set of pronoun prefixes.

The I-stem sound rule

For the most part the c-stems prefixes can be used with i-stems, but when the prefix ends in **-a-**, it combines with the **-i-** at the beginning of the stem to become **-ʌ-**.

-a- + **-i-** = **-ʌ-**

With prefixes ending in any other vowel the regular vowel drop rule applies and the **-i-** of the stem is dropped. There is also some variation in the subjective plural prefixes. Some people use the c-stem forms **lati-** for general plural and **kuti-** for females while others use the forms **lʌn-** for general plural and **kun-** for females.

-i·tás	*be asleep* objective	**-ítsyaks**	*eat fish* subjective
waki·tás	*I'm asleep*	**kítsyaks**	*I eat fish*
yukni·tás	*we (2) are asleep*	**yaknítsyaks**	*we (2) eat fish (not you)*
		tnítsyaks	*we (2) eat fish*
yukwʌ·tás	*we all are asleep*	**yakwʌ́tsyaks**	*we all eat fish (not you)*
		twʌ́tsyaks	*we all eat fish*
sʌ·tás	*you are asleep*	**sítsyaks**	*you eat fish*
sni·tás	*you two are asleep*	**snítsyaks**	*you two eat fish*
swʌ·tás	*you all are asleep*	**swʌ́tsyaks**	*you all eat fish*
lo·tás	*he's asleep*	**lʌ́tsyaks**	*he eats fish*
yako·tás	*she's asleep*	**yétsyaks**	*she eats fish*
yo·tás	*she's asleep, it's asleep*	**kʌ́tsyaks**	*she eats fish, it eats fish*
yoni·tás	*they (fem) are asleep*	**kunítsyaks**	*they (fem) eat fish*
		or **kutítysaks**	
loni·tás	*they are asleep*	**lʌnítysaks**	*they eat fish*
		or **latítsyaks**	

Some i-stem nouns:

-ityohkw-	*crowd, gang, people*	**kʌtyóhkwʌ**
-itsy-	*fish*	**kʌ́tsi** (shortened form of **kʌ́tsyʌ**)
-iʔtal-	*clan*	**oʔta·lá·**

O-STEMS AND U-STEMS

There are also a small number of stems that begin with -**o**- and -**u**-. The pronoun prefixes for these stems are also slightly different:

meaning	subjective	objective
I	**k-**	**wak-**
we two (not you)	**yakn-**	**yukn-**
we two (you and I)	**tn-**	**yukn-**
we all (not you)	**yaky-**	**yuky-**
we all (and you)	**ty-**	**yuky-**
you (alone)	**(h)s-**	**s-**
you two	**sn-**	**sn-**
you all	**tsy-**	**tsy-**
she, someone	**yak-**	**yaka-**
she, it	**y-**	**ya-**
he	**hl-**	**la-**
they two (fem)	**kn-**	**yon-**
they two	**(h)n-**	**lon-**
they all (fem)	**kun-**	**yon-**
they all	**lʌn-**	**lon-**

Note several peculiarities in this set.

1. **yaky-**, **ty-**, and **tsy-** are all prefixes that occur in the set with a-stems but with a-stems they indicate dual number (two) and with o-stems and u-stems they indicate plural (at least three).

2. In the subjective form for *he* the **h - l** rule is violated in that the -**l**- never disappears. The -**h**- disappears when it is at the very front of a word or when the accent falls on a vowel before it. The normal **h - l** rule does apply to the objective *he* form.

3. With the objective forms **yaka**-, **ya**-, and **la**- the normal vowel drop rule is violated. Words occur with both the -**a**- and the -**o**- or -**u**- vowels together.

subjective	examples		
-**unhe**-	*be alive, live*	-**uni**-	*make*
kúnhe	*I'm alive*	**ku·níhe?**	*I'm making it*
yaknúnhe	*we're alive (two not you)*	**yaknu·níhe?**	*we're making it*
tnúnhe	*we're alive (you and I)*	**tnu·níhe?**	*we're making it*
yakyúnhe	*we're alive (not you)*	**yakyu·níhe?**	*we're making it*
tyúnhe	*we're alive (all)*	**tyu·níhe?**	*we're all making it*
súnhe	*you're alive*	**su·níhe?**	*you're making it*

snúnhe	*you two are alive*	**snu·níhe?**	*you two are making it*
tsyúnhe	*you all are alive*	**tsyu·níhe?**	*you all are making it*
yakúnhe	*she's alive, someone's alive*	**yaku·níhe?**	*she's (or someone's) making it*
yúnhe	*she's alive, it's alive*	**yu·níhe?**	*she's making it, it's making it*
lúnhe	*he's alive*	**lu·níhe?**	*he's making it*
knúnhe	*they two (fem) are alive*	**knu·níhe?**	*they two (fem) are making it*
núnhe	*they two are alive*	**nu·níhe?**	*they two are making it*
kunúnhe	*they all (fem) are alive*	**kunu·níhe?**	*they all (fem) are making it*
lʌnúnhe	*they all are alive*	**lʌnu·níhe?**	*they all are making it*

objective examples

-ohsliyá·ku	*how old* requires **na?te** prefix-	**-ókwʌ**	*taken out, removed*
na?tewakohsliyá·ku	*how old I am*	**wakókwʌ**	*I've taken it out*
na?teyuknohsliyá·ku	*how old we (2) are*	**yuknókwʌ**	*we two have taken it out*
na?teyukyohsliyá·ku	*how old we all are*	**yukyókwʌ**	*we all have taken it out*
na?tesohsliyá·ku	*how old you are*	**sókwʌ**	*you've taken it out*
na?tesnohsliyá·ku	*how old you (2) are*	**snókwʌ**	*you two have taken it out*
na?tetsyohsliyá·ku	*how old you all are*	**tsyókwʌ**	*you all have taken it out*
na?teyakaohsliyá·ku	*how old she is*	**yakaókwʌ**	*she's taken it out*
na?teyaohsliyá·ku	*how old she (it) is*	**yaókwʌ**	*she's (it's) taken it out*
na?tehaohsliyá·ku	*how old he is*	**laókwʌ**	*he's taken it out*
na?teyonohsliyá·ku	*how old they are*	**yonókwʌ**	*they've taken it out*
na?tehonohsliyá·ku	*how old they are*	**lonókwʌ**	*they've taken it out*

If you want to ask someone's age, the question form is:

to na?tesohsliyá·ku *how old are you?*

E-STEMS

The few e-stems in Oneida require their own set of pronoun prefixes, but there is considerable overlap with the other sets.

meaning	subjective	objective
I	**k-**	**wak-**
we two (not you)	**yakn-**	**yukn-**
we two (and you)	**tn-**	**yukn-**
we all (not you)	**yakw-**	**yukw-**
we all (and you)	**tw-**	**yuk**w-
you (alone)	**(h)s-**	**s-**
you two	**sn-**	**sn-**
you all	**sw-**	**sw-**
he	**(h)l-**	**law-**
she, someone	**yak-**	**yakaw-**
she, it	**w-**	**yaw-**
they two (fem)	**kn-**	**yon-**
they two	**(h)n-**	**lon-**
they all (fem)	**kun-**	**yon-**
they all	**lʌn-**	**lon-**

As with o-stems and u-stems the subjective *he* pronoun is an exception to the **h-l** rule. Here the **-l-** never drops out.

subjective examples:

-ehsaks	*look for*	**-é·yale?**	*remember*
kéhsaks	*I look for it*	**ké·yale?**	*I remember*
yaknéhsaks	*we two (not you) look for it*	**yakné·yale?**	*we two (not you) remember*
tnéhsaks	*we two look for it*	**tné·yale?**	*we two remember*
yakwéhsaks	*we all (not you) look for it*	**yakwé·yale?**	*we all (not you) remember*
twéhsaks	*we all look for it*	**twé·yale?**	*we all remember*
séhsaks	*you look for it*	**sé·yale?**	*you remember*
snéhsaks	*you two look for it*	**sné·yale?**	*you two remember*
swéhsaks	*you all look for it*	**swé·yale?**	*you all remember*
léhsaks	*he looks for it*	**lé·yale?**	*he remembers*
yah tehléhsaks	*he doesn't look for it*	**yah tehlé·yale?**	*he doesn't remember*
yakéhsaks	*she looks for it*	**yaké·yale?**	*she remembers*
wéhsaks	*she (it) looks for it*	**wé·yale?**	*she (it) remembers*
knéhsaks	*they two (fem) look for it*	**kné·yale?**	*they two (fem) remember*
néhsaks	*they two look for it*	**né·yale?**	*they two remember*
kunéhsaks	*they (fem) look for it*	**kuné·yale?**	*they (fem) remember*
lʌnéhsaks	*they look for it*	**lʌné·yale?**	*they remember*

objective examples:

-ehsa·kú	*has looked for*	**-ehtáhkwʌ**	*believe* with cislocative
wakehsa·kú	*I've looked for it*	**twakehtáhkwʌ**	*I believe*
yuknehsa·kú	*we two have looked for it*	**tyuknehtáhkwʌ**	*we two believe*
yukwehsa·kú	*we all have looked for it*	**tyukwehtáhkwʌ**	*we all believe*
sehsa·kú	*you've looked for it*	**tesehtáhkwʌ**	*you believe*
snehsa·kú	*you both have looked for it*	**tesnehtáhkwʌ**	*you both believe*
swehsa·kú	*you all have looked for it*	**teswehtáhkwʌ**	*you all believe*
lawehsa·kú	*he's looked for it*	**thawehtáhkwʌ**	*he believes*
yakawehsa·kú	*she's looked for it*	**tyakawehtáhkwʌ**	*she (someone) believes*
yawehsa·kú	*she (it) has looked for it*	**tyawehtáhkwʌ**	*she (it) believes*
yonehsa·kú	*they (fem) have looked for it*	**tyonehtáhkwʌ**	*they (fem) believe*
lonehsa·kú	*they've looked for it*	**thonehtáhkwʌ**	*they believe*

Short Verb Accent - a sound rule

Oneida has a special accent rule for very short stems. Whenever you put the required pieces of an Oneida verb together and you wind up with only a single syllable (single vowel) then the word is too short for the accent rules. In such cases a dummy syllable is added to the front of the word. The dummy syllable consists of just the vowel -**i**- and it adds no meaning; it just provides enough syllables for the accent rules to apply.

An important e-stem that happens to be very short is the stem **-e-** which means *walk*, *go,* or *be somewhere*. This stem is used without any aspect suffix to mean *walking*:

í·le	*he is walking* (**i** dummy; **-hl-** pronoun; **-e-** verb stem)
ya·ké	*she is walking* (**yak-** pronoun; **-e-** verb stem)
i·wé	*it is walking* (**i** dummy; **-w-** pronoun; **-e-** verb stem)

The perfective aspect suffix for this stem is **-nu** and it changes the meaning to *gone*:

lawe·nú	*he's gone*
yakawe·nú	*she's gone*

The serial suffix **-hse?** is used along with the partitive prefix (**ni-**) to mean *be somewhere:*

tho ní·lehse?	*he's there*
katsa? nu ní·lehse?	w*here is he?*
katsa? nu níhsehse?	*where are you?*

The aorist prefix, which usually means past time, means current time with **-e-**:

katsa? wáhse	*where are you going?*
Kanatá·ke wá·ke	*I'm going to Green Bay*

FIRST PERSON TRANSITIVE PRONOUNS

Here is the complete set of pronoun prefixes for transitive verbs that involve the first person (I or we):

meaning	form
I to you	**ku-** (**kuy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
I (we) to you (if there are two of either you or us)	**kni-** (**ky-** for a-stems and **kn-** for e- and o-stems)
I (we) to you (if there are at least three of either you or us)	**kwa-** (**ky-** for o-stems; **yakwʌ-** for i-stems; **kw-** for e-stems)
I to him	**hi-** (**hiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
I to her or them	**khe-** (**khey-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
I to it	**k-**
you to me	**sk-** (**skw-** for a- and e-stems)
you to me (us) (if there are two of either you or us)	**skni-** (**sky-** for a-stems; **skn-** for e- and o-stems)
you to me (us) (if there are at least three of either you or us)	**skwa-** (**sky-** for o-stems; **skwʌ-** for i-stems; **skw-** for e-stems)
he to me	**lak-** (**lakw-** for a- and e-stems)
she or they to me	**yuk** (**yukw-** for a- and e-stems)
we to him (we = I and not you)	**shakni-** (**shaky-** for a-stems; **shakn-** for e- and o-stems)
we to him (we = at least three but not you)	**shakwa-** (**shaky-** for o-stems; **shakw-** for e-stems)
we to him (we = you and I)	**hethni-** (**hethy-** for a-stems; **hethn-** for e- and o-stems)
we to him (we = at least three including you)	**hethwa-** (**hethy-** for o-stems; **hethw-** for e-stems)
he to us (us = just two of us)	**shukni-** (**shuky-** for a-stems; **shukn-** for e- and o-stems)
he to us (us = at least three of us)	**shukwa-** (**shuky-** for o-stems; **shukw-** for e-stems)
we to her or them (we = two of us)	**yakhi-** (**yakhiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
we to her or them (we = at least three of us)	**yethi-** (**yethiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
she or they to us	**yukhi-** (**yukhiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)

Notice an important ambiguity. The basic pronoun for I to you alone is **ku-**. This pronoun has a dual form **kni-** but it is not clear from the pronoun itself whether this means there are two of you or two of me (us) or both. In the plural form **kwa-** again it is not clear from the pronoun alone whether the plural refers to the agent (at least three of us doing something to you) or the patient (I doing something to at least three of you)

or both. A similar ambiguity happens in the dual and plural forms of the basic pronoun for you to me **sk-**.

SECOND PERSON TRANSITIVE PRONOUNS

meaning	form	
you to him	**hets-**	
you two to him	**hetsni-**	(**hetshy-** for a-stems; **hetsn-** for e- and o-stems)
you all to him	**hetswa-**	(**hetshy-** for o-stems; **hetsw-** for e-stems)
you to her or them	**she-**	(**shey-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
you all to her or them	**yetshi-**	(**yetshiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)
he to you (alone)	**(h)ya-**	(**(h)yay-** for e- and o-stems)
he to you two	**hetsni-**	(**hetshy-** for a-stems; **hetsn-** for e- and o-stems)
he to you all	**hetswa-**	(**hetshy-** for o-stems; **hetsw-** for e-stems)
she or they to you	**yesa-**	(**yes-** for e-stems; **yesay-** for o-stems)
she or they to you all	**yetshi-**	(**yetshiy-** for all vowel stems except i-stems)

Notice how, unless the pronoun for you is singular, the transitivity (who is doing what to whom) is reversible. **Hetswa-** can equally well mean that you all are doing something to him or that he is doing something to you all.

THIRD PERSON TRANSITIVE PRONOUNS

meaning	form	
he to him	**lo-**	(**law-** for e-stems; **la-** for o-stems)
he to her or them	**shako-**	(**shakaw-** for e-stems; **shaka-** for o-stems)
she or them to him	**luwa-**	(**luway-** for o-stems; **luw-** for e-stems)
she to it	**kuwa-**	(**kuway-** for o-stems; **kuw-** for e-stems)
she to her	**yutat-**	
she or they to them	**kuwati-**	(**kuwʌn-** for all vowel stems)
	luwati-	(**luwʌn-** for all vowel stems)
it to her or them	**yako-**	(**yakwaw-** for e-stems; **yaka-** for o-stems)
they to them	**yakoti-**	(**yakon-** for all vowel stems)
	shakoti-	(**shakon-** for all vowel stems)

Some examples:

shakonolúhkwa	*he loves her, he loves them*
shukwanolúhkwa	*he loves us*
shakotinolúhkwa	*they love them*
kunolúhkwa	*I love you*
sknolúhkwa kʌ	*do you love me?*
khenolúhkwa	*I love her, I love them*
hetswanolúhkwa	*he loves all of you, you all love him*

RELATIVES

Since words for relatives are typically verbs, they require pronoun prefixes. The verb identifies the relationship and the pronoun identifies the people involved. So for example, the word for *my father* **lakeʔníha** is literally *he is in the father relationship to me*. The literal meaning raises a possible ambiguity when the verb is used as a noun for aspecific relative. Does the word **lakeʔníha** refer to him as the one who is my father or to me as the one who he is father of? The solution to this ambiguity is handled differently by different verbs. For example, there are two verbs that mean *to be a grandparent of* **-hsótha** and **-atléha**. The first one puts the focus on the doer pronoun so that **laksótha** (literally *he is grandparent to me*) is used for *my grandfather*. The second one puts the focus on the receiver pronoun so that **iyatléha** (literally *I am grandparent to him*) is used for *my grandson*. The conceivable words **ihsótha** *I am grandparent to him* and **lakwatléha** *he is grandparent to me* are seldom, if ever, used. The verbs for *older sibling* show a similar trade off in focus: **-(h)tsíha** has a focus on the doer pronoun and **-ʔkʌ́ha** has a focus on the receiver pronoun so that **laktsíha** (literally *he is older sibling to me*) is used for *my older brother* and **iʔkʌ́ha** (literally *I am older sibling to him*) is used for *my younger brother*.

The verb that means *to be a parent of* **-yʌ́ha** is more flexible and can focus on either the doer or the receiver pronoun, although for each word there is a more typical focus. Thus yukʌ́ha (literally *they are parents to me*) is used for my parents with a focus on the doer pronoun while **iyʌ́ha** (literally *I am parent to him*) is used for *my son* with a focus on the receiver pronoun. The verbs that mean *to be uncle/aunt to* **-ʌhwatʌ́ha** and *to be parent-in-law to* **-enhúsa** have a similar flexibility.

However, the verbs that mean *to be mother/aunt/uncle to* **-nulhá** and *to be father of* **-ʔníha** focus on the doer pronoun, while the verb *to be spouse to* **-kstʌ́ha** focuses on the receiver pronoun.

There is another complexity with the verbs for relatives. The normal pronoun **yuk(w)-** usually means *they/she to me*. With relative verbs this prounoun prefix is used to mean *they to me* and a new prefix **ak(w)-** is used just for *she to me*. Thus **yukyʌ́ha** means *my parents* while **aknulhá** means *my mother*. The usually pronoun prefix **yako-** also changes and becomes **ako-** with the relative verbs. There are also some relative verbs which are not transitive. The verb for *cousin*, for example, does not literally mean *A is cousin to B*, but rather simply *they are cousins*. The pronoun prefixes are dual or plural but they are not transitive. Thus **yukyalá·se** (literally *we two are cousins*) is used for *my cousin*. The verb for *friend* works exactly the same way: **yukyatʌ·ló** (literally *we two are friends*) is used for *my firend*. Both of these are objective verbs. Two verbs that are subjective (not transitive) are **-atʌhnut(e)le** *sibling* and **-iʔt(e)lu** *spouse*.

Yakyatʌhnútehle (literally *we two are siblings*) means *my sibling* and **teyakní·tehlu** (literally *we two live together*) means *my spouse*.

Finally, there are a couple of relation verbs that take possessive prefixes the way English does rather than pronoun prefixes. The words for *girlfriend* **-yaʔtasé·tsli** and *boyfriend* **-nikʌhtlú·tsli** are treated as nouns:

akyaʔtasé·tsli	*my girlfriend*
laoyaʔtasé·tsli	*his girlfriend*
aknikʌhtlú·tsli	*my boyfriend*
akonikʌhtlú·tsli	*her boyfriend*

The words listed here are given in relationship to the first person *I*; the prefixes would have to change to indicate other people's relatives. Many of the relatives have special greeting forms used after **she·kú**.

		greeting form
aknulhá	*my mother*	**nʌ**
lakeʔníha	*my father*	**láke**
aktsíha	*my older sister*	**áktsi**
laktsíha	*my older brother*	**láktsi**
kheʔkʌ́ha	*my younger sister*	**kuʔkʌ́**
iʔkʌ́ha	*my younger brother*	**kuʔkʌ́**
aksótha	*my grandmother*	**áksot**
laksótha	*my grandfather*	**láksot**
aknulhá	*my aunt*	**nʌ**
laknulhá	*my uncle*	**knulhá**
yukyalá·se	*my cousin*	**kyáhse**
kheyʌ́ha	*my daughter*	**kyʌ**
iyʌ́ha	*my son*	**kyʌ**
teyakní·tehlu	*my spouse*	
kheyenhúsa	*my daughter-in-law*	
iyenhúsa	*my son-in-law*	
akwenhúsa	*my mother-in-law*	
lakwenhúsa	*my father-in-law*	
kheyatléha	*my granddaughter*	**kwáte**
iyatléha	*my grandson*	**kwáte**
kheyʌhwatʌ́ha	*my niece*	**wátʌ**
iyʌhwatʌ́ha	*my nephew*	**wátʌ**
yukyatʌ·ló	*my friend*	**kyatʌ́**

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Weather

ot niwehnisló·tʌ	*what kind of day is it?*
wehnisli·yó	*good day*
wehnisláksʌ	*bad day*
yotho·lé	*cold*
yokʌno·lú	*raining*
yo?talíhʌ	*hot*
yotáhalote	*sunny*
yowelu·tú	*windy*
yota?klókwʌ	*snowy*
yoyanlástu	*good day*
swístohse? kʌ	*are you cold?*
ʌ́ʌ, kwístohse	*yes, I'm cold*
kwah i·kʌ́ tsi? kwístohse	*I'm very cold*
ostúha kwístohse	*I'm a little bit cold*

Part VIII

THE THANKSGIVING - PART ONE

A traditional act before any Iroquoian gathering is for someone to give the Thanksgiving address or the "opening" as it is often called. This is a part of the oral tradition and can be quite short or very lengthy depending on the speaker's skill and the occasion. It is not a memorized text but varies from speaker to speaker and from occasion to occasion. It involves the thanking of creation from the earth to the sky world and how much gets included is part of the variation. What follows is a list of one version of the parts of the world that are thanked. Later we will offer a simple way to turn this list into a short version of the thanksgiving itself.

kʌtyóhkwʌ *the people*

yukhinulhá ohwʌ́tsya *mother earth*
(**yukhi**- she to us; -**nulha**- *be mother to*; **o**- prefix; -**hwʌtsy**- *earth*; -**a** suffix)

onekliʔshúhaʔ *the grasses*
(**o**- prefix; -**anekl**- *grass*; -**iʔ** suffix; -**shuhaʔ** plural suffix)

áhsʌ naʔtekutahnu·téle *three sisters* (corn, beans, and squash)
(**ahsʌ** *three*; **naʔte**- partitive and dualic; -**ku**- feminine plural; -**atahnutle**- *sibling*)

awʌ́hihteʔ *strawberry*

onuhkwatho·kú *medicines*
(**o**- prefix; -**nuhkwat**- *medicine*; -**hoku** plural suffix)

oyukwaʔu·wé *tobacco*
(**o**- prefix; -**yukw**- *tobacco*; -**aʔ** suffix; -**uwe**- *native* or *original*)

kaluta?shúhaʔ *trees*
(**ka**- prefix; -**lut**- *tree*; -**aʔ** suffix; -**shuhaʔ** plural suffix)

kutíli *animals*
(**kuti**- feminine plural prefix; -**lyo**- *animal*)

ohnekanusho·kú *waters*
(**o**- prefix; -**hnekanus**- *water*; -**hoku** plural suffix)

otsiʔtʌhaʔshúhaʔ *birds*
(**o-** prefix; **-tsiʔtʌha-** *bird*; **-ʔ** suffix; **-shuhaʔ** plural suffix)

owelaʔshúhaʔ *winds*
(**o-** prefix; **-wel-** *wind* or *breath*; **-aʔ** suffix; **-shuhaʔ** plural suffix)

latishakayu·té·seʔ *thunderers*
(**lati-** plural prefix; **-shakayute-** *thunder*; **-ʔseʔ** serial suffix)

shukwaʔtsíha otáhalaʔ *elder brother the sun*
(**shukwa-** *he to us* prefix; **-ʔtsiha-** *elder brother*; **o-** prefix; **-tahal-** *sun*; **-aʔ** suffix)

yukhihsóthaʔ wehní·tale *grandmother moon*
(**yukhi-** *she to us* prefix; **-hsot-** *grandparent*; **-haʔ** suffix; **w-** prefix; **-ehniʔtal-***moon*)

yotsistohkwa·lú *stars*
(**yo-** prefix; **-tsistohkwal-** *star*; **-u-** distributive suffix)

kayé niyukwé·take tehutlihwatenyá·thaʔ *the four messengers*
(**kaye** *four*; **ni-** partitive; **-y-** *someone* prefix; **-ukwe-** *person*; **-ʔt-** nominalizer; **-ake** counting verb; **te-** dualic prefix; **-hu-** *they* prefix; **-at-** reflexive; **-lihw-** *tradition*; **-atenyaʔt-** *bring*; **-haʔ** serial suffix)

shukwayaʔtísu *the creator*
(**shukwa-** *he to us* prefix; **-yaʔt-** *body*; **-is(aʔ)-** *create*; **-u** perfective suffix)

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Since an Oneida verb is essentially a clause, a sentence in Oneida is complex when it has more than a single verb in it. The syntax of the language helps specify the relation between the verbs. There are many possible relations, but here are a few basic types.

Adverbial subordination

In this type one verb expresses the time, place, manner, condition, comparison or extent of the other verb. In English we typically do this with subordinating conjunctions such as *when, if, because,* or *until.* Oneida has particles or combinations of particles that perform similar functions.

ta·t	*if*
to·kát	*if*
né· tsi?	*because*
né· aolí·wa? tsi?	*because (the reason that)*
né· tsá·kat tsi?	*the same as*
tsi? ni·yót tsi?	*the way that*
tsi? niyo·lé tsi?	*until, as far as*
tsi? niyosno·lé tsi?	*as soon as, as fast as*
kanyó	*when*

Seldom in languages is there just a single way to express an idea and so there are alternatives to these particles. Consider, for example, several ways to express *when.* Besides the regular particle **kanyó**, there is a verb prefix called the coincident (see page 115) that can be used. Sometimes the subordination is implied rather than expressed as when the particle **onʌ́** *then* or *now* is repeated with verbs.

kanyó ʌhatuhkályake?	*when he gets hungry*
tshikeksá	*when I was a child* (coincident prefix **tshi-**)
onʌ́ wahatuhkályake? onʌ́ wahatekhu·ní·	*when he got hungry, he ate*

Complementation

Many verbs express relations about beings and objects, but many also express relations about events and situations. *He wants some pie* expresses a relationship between him and the pie, but *he wants you to get her some pie* expresses a relationship between him and an event of your getting her some pie. We can say that your getting her some pie is expressed by a verb that completes (is a complementation of) the verb *want.* English has a number of syntactic constructions for this type of complementation including a *that* clause, with or without the *that* expressed

I hear (that) he's going hunting

an infinitive clause

I want him to go hunting

or an -ing clause

I prevented him from going hunting.

Oneida also has several syntactic constructions for verb complementation. Here are four of them.

1. coordination

Sometimes two independent verbs are used without any coordinating particle and the complementation is simply inferred.

lothu·té wa?tyohʌ·léhte? *he hears it yelled = he hears some yelling*
tahatáhsawʌ? wahatekhu·ní· *he began he ate = he began to eat*

2. particle subordination

The particle **tsi?** can be used like the English word *that* to mark a complement clause.

lonúhte tsi? wahatolátha? *he knows that he is going hunting*
washakohlo·lí· tsi? ʌhatolátha? *he told them that he will go hunting*
lothu·té tsi? wahutolátha? *he heard that they are going hunting*
kʌ·túhe? tsi? wahatolátha? *it means that he is going hunting*

3. indefinite prefix

Many times the complement verb is expressed with the indefinite prefix **a-**.

washakohlo·lí· ahutolátha? *he told them to go hunting*
wa?thotilihwayʌ·tá·se? ahutolátha? *they decided to go hunting*

4. future prefix

The complement verb can also be expressed with the future prefix **ʌ-**.

wa?thotilihwayʌ·tá·se? ʌhutolátha? *they decided that they will go hunting*

Here are some very common verbs that typically are used with complement verbs:

wakatu?weskwá·tu *I enjoy* (doing something)
(-**atu?wekswa?t- -ha?** serial; -**e?** punctual; -**u** stative)
wahatkʌ́·lahte? *he stopped* (doing something)
(-**atkʌhlaht- -ha?** serial; -**e?** punctual; -**u** stative)
yutewyʌtétha? *she practices* (doing something)
(-**atewyʌteht- ha?** serial; -**e?** punctual; -**u** stative)
sate?nyʌ·tʌ́ *try!* (doing something)
(-**ate?nyʌt- -ha?** serial; -**ʌ?** punctual; -**e?** stative)

Relative clauses

Sometimes a sentence becomes complex because one of the nouns in it is described by another verb - a situation or event. We can start with a simple verb

lóthale? *he is talking*

and then add a noun to identify the pronoun **lo-** in the verb

lóthale? (ne?n) Wilu *Bill is talking*

or we could add a verb used as a noun to identify that pronoun
lóthale? ne?n shakotátyahse? *their spokesman (he speaks for them) is talking*

or we could describe that pronoun with another verb directly
lóthale? ne?n kʌ́·tho lanákle? *the one who lives here is talking*

or by using the particles **tsi? ka·yʌ́·** *the one who.*
lóthale? tsi? ka·yʌ́· kʌ́·tho lanákle? *the one who lives here is talking*

The particles **tsi? náhte?** *that which* or *whatever* can be used for objects or abstractions.
lothu·té tsi? náhte? wa?kí·lu *he hears what I said*

Part IX More Affixes

DATIVE SUFFIX

Oneida has a suffix that occurs after the verb stem and before the aspect suffix that has the function of converting a nontransitive verb into a transitive one. It changes the meaning from *to do something* to *to do something for someone*. The technical label for this suffix is the *dative*. It has several forms. With either a serial suffix following it (the serial suffix itself is always **-he?**) or a perfective suffix following (the perfective suffix is zero) the dative can be any one of the following:

-?se- or **-ni-** or **-ʌni-** or **-?seni-**

With the punctual suffix following (the punctual suffix is **-?**) the dative is:

-hs- or **-ʌ-**

Examples:

-uni-	*make*
-unyʌni-	*make for*

lu·níhe?	he's making it	**shakaunyʌ·níhe?**	*he's making it for her*
ʌhlu·ní·	he'll make it	**ʌshakaúnyahse?**	*he'll make it for her*

-hninu-	*buy*
-hninu?seni-	*buy for one*
shakohninu?se·níhe?	*he buys for her* (serial)
ʌshakohni·nú·se?	*he'll buy for her* (punctual)
shakohninu?se·ní	*he has bought for her* (perfective)

-khuni-	*cook*
-khunyʌni-	*cook for one*
khekhunyʌ·níhe?	*I cook for her* (serial)
wa?khekhúnyʌ	*I cooked for her* (punctual)
(**wa?khekhúni** in whispered form)	
khekhunyʌ·ní	*I have cooked for her* (perfective)

-hyatu-	*write*
-hyatu?seni-	*write to one*
shehyatu?se·níhe? kʌ	*do you write to them?*
washehya·tú·se? kʌ	*did you write to them?*
shehyatu?se·ní kʌ	*have you written to them?*

-atlʌnot-	*play music*
shukwatlʌnotha?se·níhe?	*he plays music for us*
washukwatlʌnóthahse? kʌ	*did he play music for us?*
shukwatlʌnotha?se·ní	*he's playing music for us*

-anuhtu-	*have one's way, decide things*
shakonuhtu·níhe?	*he forces them*
washakonúhtuhse? kʌ	*did he force them?*
shakonuhtu·ní	*he's forced them*

-?taliha?t-	*make it hot*
ku?taliha?tʌ·níhe?	*I'm warming it up for you*
wa?ku?talihá·tʌ?	*I warmed it up for you*
ku?taliha?tʌ·ní	*I've warmed it up for you*

-li?wanut-	*ask a question*
sheli?wanutʌ?se·níhe? kʌ	*are you asking them a question*
ʌsheli?wanu·tʌ́·se? kʌ	*will you ask them*
sheli?wanutʌ?se·ní kʌ	*have you asked them*

-kalatu-	*tell a story*
shukwakalatu·níhe?	*he's telling us a story*
ʌshukwakala·tú·se?	*he'll tell us a story*
shukwakalatu?se·ní	*he's told us a story*

-atewyʌ?tu-	*fix*
kuyatewyʌ?tʌ·níhe?	*I'm fixing it for you*
ʌkuyatewyʌ́·tuhse?	*I'll fix it for you*
kuyatewyʌ?tʌ·ní	*I've fixed it for you*

-lihwathe?t-	*explain*
shelihwathe?tʌ·níhe?	*you explain it to them*
washelihwathé·tʌ?	*you explained it to them*
shelihwathe?tʌ·ní	*you have explained it to them*

-atlihwahtʌtye?t-	*carry out a responsibility*
shukwatlihwahtʌtye?tʌ·níhe?	*he's carrying out a responsibility for us*
washukwatlihwahtʌtyé·tʌhse?	*he carried out a responsibility for us*
shukwatlihwahtʌtye?tʌ·ní	*he's carried out a responsibility for us*

-lihuni- *be the cause*
shakolihunyʌ·níhe? *he teaches them, he is a teacher*
washakolihúnyʌ? *he taught them*
(**washakolihúni** in whispered form)
shakolihunyʌ·ní *he has taught them*

-kalya?k- pay
lakályahks *he pays for it*
shakokalyakʌ·níhe? *he pays them*
wahakályahke? *he paid for it*
washakokályahkse? *he paid them*
lokalyá·ku *he has paid for it*
shakokalya?kʌ·ní *he has paid them*

-naktot- *have a chance*
khenaktóthahse? *I give them a chance*
wa?khenaktóthahse? *I gave them a chance*
khenaktotʌ·ní *I have given them a chance*

-atati- *speak*
shakotátyahse? *he speaks for them (a spokesman)*

INCHOATIVE SUFFIX

The inchoative suffix is attached to the end of stems of many adjectival verbs. Its form is mostly a single glottal stop, although there is some variation, and its meaning is to get into or become whatever condition the adjectival verb expresses.

-iyo	*be good*
-iyoʔ	*become good*
-atlaʔswiyo	*be lucky*
-atlaʔswiyoʔ	*get lucky*
-atʌlo	*be friends*
-atʌloʔ	*become friends*
-kstʌha	*be old*
-kstʌhaʔ	*become old*
-ʔslehtayʌ	*have a car*
-ʔslehtayʌtaʔ	*get a car*
-ʔnikuhlayʌ	have a thought
-ʔnikuhlayʌtaʔ	*get a thought, understand*

The verbs with the inchoative suffix take either the punctual aspect suffix **-neʔ** or the stative suffix -**u**. Some examples:

wahatlaʔswiˑyóˑneʔ	*he got lucky*
wahyatʌˑlóˑneʔ	*they (two) became friends*
ʌhokstʌ́hane?	*he'll get old*
akeʔslehtayʌˑtáˑneʔ	*I should get a car*
waʔkeʔnikuhlayʌˑtáˑneʔ	*I understood*
yakotlaʔswiyóu	*she has gotten lucky*
lokstʌháu	*he has become old*
yakoʔnikuhlayʌtáˑu	*she has understood, she understands*

UNDOER SUFFIX

There is a suffix which, when added to a verb stem, creates a new verb stem whose meaning is the reverse of the first one. It has two forms **-kw-** (or **-akw-** after consonants) and **-sy-** (or **-ahsy-** after consonants). Some examples:

-khwah(e)l-	*set the table*	**sekhwahél**	*set the table!*
-khwahlakw-	*clear the table*	**sekhwahlák**	*clear the table!*
-nhotu-	*shut the door*	**senho·t**	*shut the door!*
-nhotukw-	*open the door*	**senhotu·kw**	*open the door!*
-atyaʔtal-	*join a group*		
-atyaʔtalakw-	*drop out of a group*		
-o-	*immerse in water*		
-okw-	*take out of water*		
-yʌtho-	*plant*		
-yʌthokw-	*harvest*		
-atsluni-	*dress*	**satslu·n**	*get dressed!*
-atslunyahsy-	*undress*	**satslunyáhs**	*get undressed!*
-nutek-	*close*	**snu·ték**	*close it!*
-nuteksy-	*open*	**snutéks**	*open it!*
-yest-	*mix together*		
-yestahsy-	*sort out*		
-hweʔnuni-	*wrap up*		
-hweʔnunyahsy-	*unwrap*		
-tsihkwalut-	*tie a knot*		
-tsihkwalutahsy-	*untie a knot*		

The aspect suffixes for the undoer verbs are quite regular:

-ákwas	serial	**-áhsyus**	
-a·kó·	punctual	**-áhsi**	
-ákwʌ	stative	**-áhsyu**	(**-áhsi** in whispered form)

Some examples:

latiyʌthos	*they are planting*
latiyʌthókwas	*they are harvesting*
lotyá·taleʔ	*he has joined*
lotyaʔtalákwʌ	*he has resigned*
waʔthatsihkwalu·tʌ́	*he tied the knot*
waʔthatsihkwalutáhsi	*he untied the knot*
teyeyésta	*she mixes it*
teyeyestáhsyus	*she sorts it out*

CONTINUATIVES

The aspect suffixes of verbs cover many important meanings, but there are a few meanings not covered by them. For example, we know that a habitual action is expressed with a serial suffix, but what about a future habitual action. For that meaning and a few others an extension of the aspect suffixes known as the continuative is used. The form of the continuative is **-k-** and it is attached to either a serial or perfective suffix and then topped off with either a punctual suffix **-eʔ** or an imperative (no marking). Consider the following examples:

kyʌ́thos	*I plant* (serial)
ʌkyʌ́thoʔ	*I will plant* (punctual)
ʌkyʌthóhsekeʔ	*I will be planting, I'll keep planting* (serial-continuative-punctual)
akyʌthóhsekeʔ	*I should be planting* (serial-continuative-punctual)
swayʌthóhsek	*Keep on planting!* (serial-continuative-imperative)
lato·láts	*he hunts, he's a hunter* (serial)
ʌhato·láteʔ	*he will hunt* (punctual)
ʌhatolátsekeʔ	*he'll keep hunting* (serial-continuative-punctual)
ahatolátsekeʔ	*for him to keep hunting* (serial-continuative-punctual)
satolátsek	*Keep on hunting!* (serial-continuative-imperative)

Here is how the form of the serial suffixes changes when they are extended with the continuative:

serial	serial-continuative-punctual	
-s	**-(h)sekeʔ**	(the **-h-** occurs only after vowels)
-as	**-ahsekeʔ**	
-heʔ	**-hekeʔ**	
-haʔ	**-hekeʔ**	(notice this is not **-hakeʔ**)
-ʔseʔ	**-ʔshekeʔ**	

The continuative **-k-** is also added on verbs ending in a perfective suffix. Either a punctual or an imperative aspect can be added after that. When the punctual is used, only the future or indefinite tense prefixes can be used, never the aorist. The meaning with the future is *will be done* if subjective pronoun prefixes are used and *would have done* if objective or transitive pronouns are used. The meaning with the indefinite is *should be done* or *for it to be done* if subjective prefixes are used and *should have done* or *for one to have done* if objective or transitive prefixes are used. Some examples follow:

yoyʌ́thu	*it has been planted*	(perfective)
ʌkayʌ́thukeʔ	*it will be planted*	(perfective-continuative-punctual)
akayʌ́thukeʔ	*it should be planted*	(perfective-continuative-perfective)
kayʌ́thuk	*let it be planted!*	(perfective-continuative-imperative)

loyʌ́thu	*he has planted* (perfective)
ʌhayʌ́thuke?	*he would have planted* (perfective-continuative-punctual)
ahayʌ́thuke?	*he should have planted, for him to have planted*
lotola·tú	*he has hunted* (perfective)
ʌhotola·túke?	*he would have hunted* (perfective-continuative-punctual)
ahotola·túke?	*he should have hunted* (perfective-continuative-punctual)

There is also one more form of the continuative which is attached to verbs ending in a perfective suffix. Its form is -**hake?** and it requires either a future or indefinite prefix. It means *would/should) have been doing*. There is also an imperative form -**hak**.

ʌhayʌthúhake?	*he would have been planting*
ahatolatúhake?	*he should have been hunting*
satla?swi·yó	*you have good luck*
satla?swiyóhak	*have good luck!*
tho ni·yót	*the way it is*
tho niyotúhake?	*the way it should be*
tho niyotúhak	*let it be that way!*

This form is also the usual way to indicate the simple future of an adjectival verb.

ka?slehti·yó	*good car*
ʌka?slehtiyóhake	*it will be a good car*
kanuhsowa·nʌ́	*big house*
ʌkanuhsowanʌ́hake	*it will be a big house*
ot nikalʌnó·tʌ	*what kind of song is it?*
ot nʌkalʌno?tʌ́hake	*what kind of song will it be?*

BODY PARTS

Noun roots that refer to parts of the body are used differently in Oneida from the way they are used in English. From a noun root such as -**kahl**- *eye* it is possible to construct a simple noun **okáhla**, but it is far more common for the root either to be incorporated into a verb or, if that is not possible, to be used with a possessive prefix. Body parts belong to people and that is reflected in the language. These noun roots are different, however, because they do not add the usual possessive prefixes for nouns. Instead, they use the subjective pronoun prefixes found with verbs. They also are typically used with locative suffixes.

	your	*my*	*his*	*her*
head	**snutsí·ne**	**knutsí·ne**	**lanutsí·ne**	**yenutsí·ne**
eye	**skahlá·ke**	**kkahlá·ke**	**lakahlá·ke**	**yekahlá·ke**
nose	**se?nyú·ke**	**ke?nyú·ke**	**la?nyú·ke**	**ye?nyú·ke**
ear	**sahuhtá·ke**	**kahuhtá·ke**	**lahuhtá·ke**	**yuhuhtá·ke**
neck	**senyalá·ke**	**kenyalá·ke**	**lanyalá·ke**	**yenyalá·ke**
arm	**snʌtshá·ke**	**knʌtshá·ke**	**lanʌtshá·ke**	**yenʌtshá·ke**
hand	**sesnú·ke**	**kesnú·ke**	**lasnú·ke**	**yesnú·ke**
leg	**tshiná·ke**	**khsiná·ke**	**lahsiná·ke**	**yehsiná·ke**
foot	**sahsí·ke**	**kahsí·ke**	**lahsí·ke**	**yuhsí·ke**
back	**seshú·ne**	**keshú·ne**	**lashú·ne**	**yeshú·ne**
teeth	**snawí·ke**	**knawí·ke**	**lanawí·ke**	**yenawí·ke**
belly	**snikwʌ?té·ne**	**knikwʌ?té·ne**	**lanikwʌ?té·ne**	**yenikwʌ?té·ne**

If you did put the usual noun possessive on one of these, e.g. **akwahúhta** for *my ear*, then you are referring not to your own ear but to some other ear you happen to have, say a fake ear or a toy ear. One exception to this is the word for hair, which takes the regular possessive prefixes.

hair	**sanuhkwísne**	**aknuhkwísne**	**laonuhkwísne**	**akonuhkwísne**

This distinction is known as alienable and inalienable possession. Since your body is normally part of you, you cannot separate it from yourself (inalienable possession) and that requires verb pronoun prefixes. Items you can separate from yourself (alienable possession) use the regular possessive prefixes.

The form of the noun for many body parts is a bit different (but not predictably so) when it is incorporated into a verb. For example:

waknutsistanú·waks	*I have a head ache*
wakkahlanú·waks	*I have an eye ache*
wake?nyuhsanú·waks	*I have a sore nose*
wakahuhtanú·waks	*I have an ear ache*
wakenyalanú·waks	*I have a pain in my neck*
wakahsi?tanú·waks	*I have a pain in my foot*
wakeswanú·waks	*I have a pain in my back*
waknawilanú·waks	*I have a toothache*
waknikwʌ?tanú·waks	*I have a stomachache*

PARTITIVE, COINCIDENT, AND CONTRASTIVE

We have already met the tense prefixes (future, aorist, and indefinite), the locative prefixes (translocative and cislocative), as well as the iterative, dualic, and negative prefixes that all occur before the pronoun prefixes on verbs. There are three more and each has a number of uses.

Partitive

One is the partitive prefix. Its form always contains an **n**-.

partitive	**ni-**	with dualic	**naʔte-**
partitive and aorist	**naʔ-**	with dualic	**naʔt-**
partitive and future	**nʌ-**	with dualic	**naʔtʌ-**
partitive and indefinite	**na-**	with dualic	**naʔta-**

We actually have already met one use of the partitive and that is in counting. The partitive prefix is used when counting three or more of anything:

áhsʌ nikaʔsléhtake *three cars*
wisk niyukwé·take *five persons*

The partitive is used most often when particles of time, place, or manner are also used. It is the particles that seem to require the use of the partitive.

katsaʔ nu nihatiyʌ́thos *where are they planting?*
kʌh nu nʌhatiyʌ́thoʔ *they will plant here*
ot ni·yót tsiʔ nihatiyʌ́thos *how do they plant?*
ot nikaʔslehtó·tʌ *what kind of car is it?*

In all of these the particular particles **katsaʔ nu** *where*, **kʌh nu** *here*, **ot ni·yót tsiʔ** *how*, and **ot** *what* require the partitive prefix.

There are also a few particular verbs that seem to require the partitive. One is the verb *happen*. The verb stem is **-ʌ-** and the few stems that begin with **ʌ** take the same pronoun prefixes as e-stems. Another verb stem **-yaʔtawʌ-** means *happen to someone*.

tho niya·wʌ́s *it happens*
náhteʔ naʔa·wʌ́neʔ *what happened?*
tho niyawʌ́u *it happened*
náhteʔ nisayá·tawʌs *what happened to you? what is wrong with you?*
náhteʔ nahoyá·tawʌneʔ *what happened to him*

Coincident

Another of the prepronominal prefixes is the coincident. It is characterized by **tsh**- and it combines with other prefixes exactly as the partitive does (just substitute **tsh**- where the partitive forms have **n**-). The general meaning of the coincident is *same*. With verbs it generally means *same time* or *when*.

tshikeksá *when I was a child, at the same time I was a child*
(**tshi**- coincident; **-k**- pronoun; **-e**- epenthetic vowel; **-ksa** *child*)

The coincident is frequently used with the dualic prefix.

The word for *same* by itself is **tsá·kat**.

né kʌ tsá·kat *is it the same?*

Contrastive

The last prefix is called the contrastive and it is in some ways the opposite of the coincident. Its general meaning is *different*. It is characterized by **th-** and it combines with other prefixes just as the partitive does (just substitute **th-** for **n-**). It is generally used with some particles to emphasize that the action of the verb is particularly unusual. The contrastive also is used as a negative in places where the regular negative prefix (**te?-**) can not be used. The regular negative does not combine with the dualic or the tense prefixes.

The root -e-

The verb root **-e-** was introduced on page 95 as an example of an e-stem. It is frequently used with iterative, partitive, and locative prefixes as well as the tense prefixes. Here are some common constructions and the identification of their parts:

ka íske *I'm back*
(í short accent; **-s-** iterative; **-k-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

kanusku i·kéhse *I'm in the house*
(í short accent; **-k-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-ehse** serial aspect)

atste nukwáh téhsehse *you're outside*
(**te-** cislocative; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-ehse** serial aspect)

katsa? níhsehse *where are you?*
(**ni-** partitive; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-ehse-** serial aspect)

katsa yéhseskwe *where were you?*
(**ye-** translocative; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-skwe** past habitual)

kanatá·ke ye·késkwe *I was in Green Bay*
(**ye-** translocative; **-k-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-skwe** past habitual)

kanatá·ke kʌ nyehséskwe *were you in Green Bay?*
(**n-** partitive; **-ye-** translocative; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-skwe** past habitual)

í tho nyʌ́ke *I'll go there*
(**n-** partitive; **-ʌ-** future; **-k-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

kanatá·ke nyétowe *let's go to Green Bay*
(**n-** partitive; **-ye-** translocative; **-tw-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

kanatá·ke nyaháhse *go to Green Bay!*
(**n-** partitive; **-yaha-** translocative; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root; imperative suffix)

oksaʔ tʌtkẹ *I'll be right back*
(**t-** dualic (for iterative); **-ʌ-** future; **-t-** cislocative; **-k-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

kánhke tʌtéhsẹ *when will you be back?*
(**t-** dualic (for iterative); **-ʌ-** future; **-te-** cislocative; **-hs-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

ʌ́tneʔ kʌ *are you coming?* (literally, *are we two going?*)
(**ʌ-** future; **-tn-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-ʔ** punctual suffix)

ʌ́tweʔ kʌ *are you coming?* (literally, *are we all going?*)
(**ʌ-** future; **-tw-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-ʔ** punctual suffix)

íhselheʔ kʌ aétene *do you want to come along?*
(**ae-** indefinite tense; **-tn-** pronoun; **-e-** root)

kanatá·ke nyakawenu *she's gone to Green Bay*
(**n-** partitive; **-yakaw-** pronoun; **-e-** root; **-nu** perfective suffix)

uhkaʔ náhteʔ tho i·yʌ́ *who is that walking there?*
(**i-** short accent; **-yʌ** pronoun; root vowel drops)

AN EXAMPLE VERB

Now that we've seen many of the parts that can go into an Oneida verb, let's look at what it might mean to learn a word. Suppose we wanted to learn the word meaning *clean* or *wash*. This is built on the verb root -**ohale**-. We have to learn the aspect suffixes for this verb. They are:

serial	**-he?**
punctual	**-?**
imperative	(nothing)
perfective	(nothing)

Dummy Roots

One peculiarity of this verb root (and of quite a few others) is that it requires an incorporated noun to express the object (or type of object) that is being washed. Sometimes people want to talk about washing without any particular object in mind and for those cases the language provides a dummy noun root (for this verb root the dummy is just -**n**-), so you might want to think of the stem for *wash* as being -**nohale**-. Since it begins with a consonant, it will take the pronoun prefixes that go with c-stem verbs. The verb is regular in that it takes subjective pronoun prefixes (except, of course, with the perfective aspect where no verbs take subjective prefixes). With this information we can now construct some words:

knóhalehe?	*I wash, I'm washing it*
ʌknóhale?	*I'll wash it*
wa?knóhale?	*I washed it*
aknóhale?	*for me to wash it*
snóhale	*Wash it!*
waknóhale	*I have washed it*
kanóhale	*it has been washed, it's clean*
nok ʌwa·tú ʌyenóhale?	*she has to wash it*
i·kélhe? asnóhale?	*I want you to wash it*
ʌhakwe·ní· kʌ ahanóhale?	*can he wash it?*
twanóhale	*let's all wash it!*
sahanóhale?	*he washed it again*
katsa? nu nihanóhalehe?	*where is he washing it?*

We can also form new stems by incorporating any noun stems we may know.

-ksohale-	*wash dishes*	(**-ks-** *dish*)
-?slehtohale-	*wash cars*	(**-?sleht** *car*)
-nʌstohale-	*wash corn*	(**-nʌst-** *corn*)
-kuhsohale-	*wash face*	(**-kuhs-** *face*)
-nawilohale-	*brush teeth*	(**-nawil-** *tooth*)
-ya?tohale-	*bathe*	(**-ya?t-** *body*)
kanʌstóhale	*washed corn (corn bread)*	(**-nʌst-** *corn*)

If you are washing someone else, you will use transitive pronoun prefixes. If you are washing yourself, then add a reflexive. Note that this makes the stem start with an **-a-** and therefore it will take the pronoun prefixes for a-stems.

-atkuhsohale-	*wash one's own face*
-atnawilohale-	*brush one's own teeth*
-atya?tohale-	*bathe (oneself), take a bath*

Since cleaning is often a repetitive action, many of these stems can be extended with a distributive suffix. In this case the stem with the distributive takes exactly the same aspect suffixes as the stem without the distributive.

-nohalenyu-	*wash several* (usually used for washing clothes)
-ksohalenyu-	*wash dishes*
-atya?tohalenyu-	*take baths*

It is also possible to wash for someone else, so dative suffixes are possible.

ʌkheksohalényuhse? *I'll wash dishes for her*

(**ʌ-** future; **-khe-** pronoun (*I-her*); **-ks-** incorporated noun *dish*; **-ohale-** *wash*; **-nyu-** distributive; **-hs-** dative; **-e?** punctual aspect suffix)

And since cleaning is something there are lots of tools for, there are plenty of opportunities to use instrumental suffixes.

-nohale?t-	*wash with it*
-nohale?tanyu-	*wash several with it* (with distributive)

The instrumental suffixes allow the creation of many specific tools by using the verb as a noun.

kanohalényuhe?	*washing machine*
yeksohale?takhwa?	*dish rag*
yeksohalétha?	*dish rag*
yeksohale?tanyúkhwa?	*dish pan*
yutya?tohale?tákhwa?	*bath tub*
yenʌstohalétha?	corn washing basket
yutnawilohale?tákhwa?	*tooth brush*
tyenohalétha?	*washroom*
yenaktohalétha?	*scrub brush*

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

We have seen that whereas English uses pronouns as separate words *(I, me, you, him, she* etc.) Oneida in contrast uses complex prefixes on verbs. But in fact Oneida does have some pronouns as separate words. They have, however, specialized uses, most often for emphasis. The first person pronoun for both singular and plural is **í·**, **ní**, or **ni?í**. The first of these (**í·**) is typically used at the beginning of a sentence; the second one (**ní**) is used between particles and verbs; and the third one (**ni?í**) usually occurs at the ends of sentences. Some common uses are the following:

yah ni?í	*not me! (or not us!)*
í· kwi tyohʌ·tú	*I'm the boss*
yah ní tewakanúhte	*I don't know* (special emphasis on *I*)
yah tewakanúhte	*I don't know* (no special emphasis on *I*)
yah ní teyukwanúhte	*we don't know*
í· akwa·wʌ́	*it's mine; it belongs to me*

The second person pronoun is **i·sé**, **ni·sé**, or **ni?i·sé**. The three varieties are distributed just as the first person forms are. Some examples:

yah ni?i·sé	*not you!*
i·sé kʌ sa·wʌ́	*is it yours?*
ok ni?i·sé	*and you?*
yah ni·sé tesanúhte	*you don't know*
i·sé kʌ sanúhte	*are you the one who knows?*

The third person emphatic pronoun is not used as much as the other two and it only has a single form **né·**. When a specific gender or number is needed, there is another pronoun:

laulhá·	*he*
akaulhá·	*she*
aulhá·.	*she, it*
lonulhá·	*they*

COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE

English forms comparative adjectives by adding a suffix (-er) or by using the adverb *more*. Oneida simply uses the particle **sʌ́ha**. For the superlative degree English either adds the suffix -est or uses the adverb *most*. Oneida uses the particle **né·** and adds the cislocative (**t-**) prefix, even though this use has nothing to do with location or direction. Some examples:

sʌ́ha lotunháhehle	*he's happier*
né· thotunháhehle	*he's the happiest*
sʌ́ha kanaskwi·yó	*a better animal*
né· tkanaskwi·yó	*the best animal*
sʌ́ha kanuhsowa·nʌ́	*a bigger house*
né· tkanuhsowa·nʌ́	*the biggest house*
sʌ́ha yutuhkályahks	*she's hungrier*
né· tyutuhkályahks	*she's the hungriest*

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Whereabouts

katsaʔ wáhse	*Where are you going?*
kanatá·ke wá·ke	*I'm going to Green Bay*
ukwehuwé·ne wá·ke	*I'm going to Oneida*
oksaʔ tʌ́tke	*I'll be right back*
katsaʔ ní·lehse	*Where is he?* (name can be added at the end)
katsaʔ ni·yʌ́·se	*Where is she?*
katsaʔ nu níhseskwe	*Where were you?*
kʌh nukwá	*right here*
kʌ́·tho	*here*
ísi nukwá	*over there*
aʔé nukwá	*far over there*

Part X Texts

THANKSGIVING - PART TWO

If you already know the words for the aspects of creation that are thanked in the thanksgiving address, then you can create simple sentences just by adding the right word for thanking as follows:

tʌtwanuhela·tú *we'll thank it*
tʌhethwanuhela·tú *we'll thank him*
tʌyethinuhela·tú *we'll thank her or them*

Use the first one (*thank it*) for the strawberry, tobacco, and water; use the *second (thank him*) for the creator and the elder brother sun; and use the last one (*thank her* or them) for everything else.

Each thanking can then be introduced and concluded by sentences expressing the hope for shared thinking. One such introductory sentence is the following:

Akwe·kú uskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla.
all one that we'll gather our minds

ʌ- -twa- -hwe?nuni- yukwa- -?nikuhl- -a
future pronoun verb root *our* noun root suffix

More freely this could be translated as *May we all gather our minds together as one.*

A concluding sentence for each thanking might be the following:

Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla
so how the way it is our minds

ni- -yo- -ht- -u- -hak
partitive *it* verb root perfective continuative

Translated freely, this is *So, let our minds be this way.*

At this point the thanksgiving consists of 18 sections of the following form:

Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌ...-pronoun-...**nuhela·tú** [name of thankee]. **Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.**

This version can now be expanded even more by adding a reason for thanking each of the parts of creation. A generic way to do this is to thank each one for still carrying on its responsibilities. The word for *carry on one's responsibilities* is **-atlihwahtʌtyé·tu**. This is a perfective verb that requires objective prefixes.

-at- -lihw- -ahtʌty- -e?t- -u
reflexive noun verb instrumental perfective aspect
culture *operate* *use*

lotlihwahtʌtyé·tu	he carries on his responsibilities
yakotlihwahtʌtyé·tu	she carries on her responsibilities
yotlihwahtʌtyé·tu	it carries on its responsibilities
lonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu	they carry on their responsibilities
yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu	they (females) carry on their responsibilities

The particle **she·kú** is used for *still* and the particle **tsi?** is used as a connector. For example:

Tʌhethwanuhelaꞏtú shukwaya?tísu tsi? sheꞏkú lotlihwahtʌtyéꞏtu.
we'll thank the creator that still he carries on his responsibilities

More experienced speakers, of course, add more variation in their thanksgiving. Here are a few examples of fairly simple variations in the the reasons.

Thank the people **tsi? akweꞏkú skʌꞏnʌ́ yakwanuhtúnyuhe**.
that all peaceful we are thinking

Thank the animals or birds **tsi? sheꞏkú yethiyatkáthos**.
that still we see them

Thank the waters **tsi? sheꞏkú yukwatstuháti.**
that still we go on using them

Thank the messengers **tsi? sheꞏkú yukhi?nikúꞏlale.**
that still they care for us

Thank the creator **tsi? olihwakweꞏkú lowyʌnʌtáu.**
that everything he has finished (created)

The whole of the thanksgiving is usually introduced by some introductory words such as:

swatahuhsiꞏyóst tsi? náhte? ohʌꞏtú kalihwatéhtu.
listen closely to what ahead subject matter

swa-	**-at-**	**-ahuhs-**	**-iyo-**	**-st-**
pronoun	reflexive	ears	good	make

After the thanking of the parts of creation, the speaker typically asks the audience to forgive any errors with a humble admission of still learning. The very end of the thanksgiving can be marked by the phrase **Ta tho nikawʌnʌ́hak. Tá·ne.**

Ta aeswatahuhsiꞏyóste? oꞏnʌ́ tsi? náhte? ohʌꞏtú yolihwatéhtu

1. Akweꞏkú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nuꞏníꞏ yukwa?nikúꞏla? tsi? akweꞏkú oskʌꞏnʌ́ yukwanuhtúni (*or* yakwanuhtúnyuhe). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

2. Akweꞏkú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nuꞏníꞏ yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaꞏtú yukhinulhá ohwʌ́tsya? tsi? sheꞏkú yakotlihwahtʌtyéꞏtu (*or* yakotlihwahtʌtye?tuháti). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

3. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú onekli?shúha? tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

4. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú áhsʌ na?tekutahnu·téle tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

5. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌtwanuhelaʼtú (ka? niyohʌtésha) awʌhihte? tsi? she·kú yotlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

6. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú onuhkwatho·kú tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

7. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla.Tʌtwanuhelaʼtú oyukwa?u·wé tsi? she·kú yotlihwahtʌtyé·tu (*or* yukwatstuháti). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

8. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú kaluta?shúha (*or* nya?tekalu·táke) tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

9. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌtyethinuhelaʼtú kutíli tsi? she·kú yethiyatkáthos (*or* yukwatkathuháti). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

10. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú ohnekanusho·kú tsi? she·kú yukwatstuháti. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

11. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú otsi?tʌha?shúha tsi? she·kú yethiyatkáthos (*or* yukwatkathuháti). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

12. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhelaʼtú owela?shúha tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu (*or* lonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

13. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhela·tú latishakayu·té·se? tsi? she·kú lonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

14. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌhethwanuhela·tú shukwa?tsíha otáhala (*or* né·n kwʌte?kékha wehní·tale) tsi? she·kú lotlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

15. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhela·tú yukhihsótha (kwa?ahsute?kékha) wehní·tale tsi? she·kú yakotlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

16. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhela·tú yotsistohkwa·lú tsi? she·kú yonatlihwahtʌtyé·tu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

17. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌyethinuhela·tú kayé niyukwé·take (*or* nihʌnukwé·take) tehutlihwatenyá·tha? tsi? she·kú yukhi?nikú·lale (*or* yukhi?nikuhlatáti). Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

18. Akwe·kú úskah tsi? ʌtwahwe?nu·ní· yukwa?nikúhla. Tʌhethwanuhela·tú shukwaya?tísu tsi? olihwakwe·kú lowyʌnʌtáu. Ta tho niyohtúhak yukwa?nikúhla.

Ta aswélheke? kʌtyóhkwa? né·n tho niyo·lé· wakatkwe·ní·
so as you will the people this far I am able
né·n tekanuhelatúhsla né·n katsa? ok nú takwatóktʌ né·n wa?tkatʌ́·nuke?
the thanksgiving where ever I am lacking I made an error
né·n skwatílhik né·n tho niyo·lé· wakatkwe·ní· né·n elhúwa
forgive me that far I am able recently
wakewyʌtehta?uháti né·n kanʌ́·laku akata·tí·. Ta tho niyohtúhak né·n
I am learning before a group to speak
yukwa?nikuhla. Ta ne tho.

ONEIDA WRITING SYSTEMS

Like nearly all native American languages Oneida does not have a traditional writing system. There are some traditional mnemonic figures, as on condolence canes, to help speakers recall names and parts of ceremonies, but those figures do not represent individual sounds so that words can be written with them.

Europeans introduced alphabetic writing to northeastern America through missionaries. Of all the missionary groups the early French Jesuits made the most effort to learn native ways, especially among the Mohawks. For learning and writing the Mohawk language they used letters from the Roman alphabet and tried to be as consistent as possible in matching letters to sounds. This is not easy. All languages use differences in sound some of which are important differences for distinguishing words, e.g. the difference between *till* and *dill*, and some of which are less important differences which are just part of your mouth accommodating the surrounding sounds, e.g. the difference between the **'t'** in *till* and the **'t'** in *still*. With practice over time speakers learn to pay more attention to the important sound differences in their language and less attention to the automatic sound differences. Unfortunately a sound difference that may be important in one language may be inconsequential in another and vice versa. A good writing system should have symbols for all the important sound differences but it will get needlessly complex if it includes all the unimportant automatic ones. The French system for Mohawk was fairly good except for representing accents and rhythms and a version of the French system is still in use among the Mohawks. It is not totally unambiguous, however. For example, it uses **'o'** to represent the o-sound, **'n'** to represent the n-sound, and **'on'** to represent the nasalized u-sound. When you see an **'on'** written you have to figure out whether it is an on-sound or an u-sound. The writing system also uses **'en'** to represent the nasal vowel ʌ-sound.

Oneida and Mohawk are closely related languages and there are examples of people in the 1800's writing Oneida by simply using the Mohawk system. A few letters, a Bible, and some hymnals exist using this system. But most Oneida speakers in the 1800's did not use any writing system at all.

Throughout the nineteenth century there were individuals, some white anthropologists and a few natives, who made studies of the Iroquoian languages and they all seem to have developed their own writing systems. There is a lot of overlap in these personal systems and a good deal of variation in consistency from individual to individual.

By the turn of the century the general principle that some sound differences are important (they carry meaning differences) and some aren't (they are automatic adjustments) and that each language sorted the two types differently was becoming clearer. It became known as the phonemic principle. In the 1930's this principle was applied to Oneida and a writing system was devised for the WPA sponsored writers' project that produced a hymnal and a manuscript collection of about 800 texts. The hymnal was the most widespread example of written Oneida in Wisconsin until the tribal school began. This writing system used letters from the

Roman alphabet plus a few special characters taken from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

A simplified version of the writing system was used in the hymnal as opposed to the manuscript texts. That was possible because sung Oneida is different from spoken Oneida. When sung the tune of the song determines the rhythm of the words so all the marks invented to indicate accent and rhythm can be left out. Glottal stops and whispering, which are important parts of the spoken language, are also omitted when singing. In addition for the hymnal, words were broken into syllables to better match the beats of the tune. All this makes it relatively easy to use the writing in the hymnal for singing.

The 1930's version used for the spoken language is a perfectly adequate writing system. Linguists studying the language over the next few decades, however, began to make a few adjustments and those adjustments were incorporated into the writing system used in the language project of the 1970's which produced some curriculum and a wide range of written materials.

To illustrate one of these adjustments consider the following example. The 1930's version used both the letter '**t**' and the letter '**d**' while the 1970's version used just '**t**'. The two systems are convertible. Both use the letter '**t**' before '**k**', '**t**', '**s**', and silence. A '**t**' before anything else in the 1930's system corresponds to a '**th**' in the 1970's system. A '**d**' in the 1930's system always corresponds to a '**t**' in the 1970's system. The two systems are not changing the sounds of the language, just the letters used to represent the sounds like *kwik* vs. *quick* or *boyz* vs. *boys*. Which system is better? Well, initially the 1930's system seems a bit more natural (for English speakers) because it uses both '**t**' and '**d**' just like English. However, English is not terribly consistent. The '**t**' sounds in *still* and *water* are a lot closer to a '**d**' sound. But the big difference comes when one constructs Oneida words out of stems, prefixes, and suffixes. In the 1930's system if a stem ends in '**d**' and the suffix starts with '**h**', then the '**dh**' has to change to '**t**'. If the suffix starts with '**k**', then the '**dk**' has to change to '**tk**'. In the 1970's system the stem ends consistently in '**t**' no matter what the suffix starts with. The trade off, then, is that the 1930's system may be a bit easier for learning your first few words but seeing how complex words are made up becomes harder later on and involves lots of spelling rules such as the ones above while the 1970's system is more unEnglish-like to begin with but simpler in the long run.

There are similar differences in that the 1930's system has both '**k**' and '**g**' while the 1970's system has just '**k**'; the 1930's system used '**j**' and '**c**' while the 1970's system has '**tsy**' and '**tshy**'. The 1930's system also used raised letters for whispered sounds while the 1970's system uses underlining.

In addition to these standardized systems many individuals have their own writing system or adapted one of the standards ones. Consequently one is likely to encounter a lot more variation in spelling than in pronunciation among speakers. The spelling used in these lessons (the 1970's system) is consistent.

Part XI Summaries

ADJECTIVE SUMMARY

English adjectives correspond to several types in Oneida. Here is a summary of them.

Some English adjectives correspond to simple non-action verb stems in Oneida and, like all verb stems, need pronominal prefixes to make complete words. *Difficult* and *old* (when describing people) are in this type.

wʌto·lé	*it is difficult*	(-**ʌtole**-)
lokstʌ́ha	*he is old*	(-**kstʌha**-)

A second type is a verb stem that typically requires an incorporated noun. *Good, big,* and *old* (when describing objects) are in this category.

kawʌni·yó	*good word*	(-**iyo**-)
kawʌnowa·nʌ́	*big word*	(-**owanʌ**-)
owʌnaka·yú	*old word*	(-**akayu**-)
kawʌ·nés	*long word*	(-**es**)

Using an incorporated noun is certainly most typical for these but some of them are occasionally used without any affixes at all:

a·sé	*new*	(-**ase**-)
aka·yú	*old*	(-**akayu**-)

Some of the others are slightly modified when used without an incorporated noun as in:

kwa·nʌ́	*big*	(-**owanʌ**-)

And the rest use entirely different stems when there is no incorporated noun.

yoyánle?	*good*	(-**iyo**-)
i·yús	*long*	(-**es**-)

For a few English adjectives the Oneida counterpart is a regular action verb stem, which requires one of the four aspect suffixes. It is usually the serial form that corresponds to the adjective. *Hungry* is in this class.

katuhkályaks	*I am hungry*	(-**atuhkalyak**-)

Both English and Oneida have a way of converting most action verbs into adjectives that express the state that results from the action of the verb. In English this is the past participle (*having been) washed, (having been) planted* and in Oneida these correspond to verbs with a perfective aspect suffix.

kayʌ́thu	*it is planted*	(-**yʌtho**- + -**u**)
kanóhale	*it is clean, washed*	(-**ohale**- + zero)

Finally there is a small set of suffixes that convert all sorts of stems into adjectives. Examples of four such suffixes are given here.

-(a)t creates impersonal stative adjectives

yonolú·set	*it is boring*	(**-nolu?se-** *lazy*)
yonehlákwat	*it is amazing*	(**-nehlakw-** *amaze*)
yauwéskwat	*it is fun*	(**-uweskw-** *enjoy*)
yotétsat	*it is scary*	(**-atetsʌ-** *frighten*)
teyowískwat	*it is slippery*	(**-wiskw-** *slip*)
yonyehe·sát	*it is dependable*	(**-nyehes-** *depend on*)
yolihwaye·nát	*it is reasonable*	(**-lihwayena-** *trust, accept*)

-tskwʌ describes someone who does an action easily

lo?nikulhʌ́·tskwʌ	*he's forgetful*	(**-?nikulhʌ?-** *forget*)
thotu?nétskwʌ	*he is easily frightened*	(**-atu?ne-** *frighten*)
tehote?tuhkwalátskwʌ	*he is sweaty*	(**-ate?tuhkwal-** *sweat*)

ósku converts nouns into adjectives meaning full of the noun

onikwʌhsósku	*bloody*	(**-nikwʌhs-** *blood*)
o?kʌhlósku	*dirty*	(**-a?kʌhl-** *dirt, soil*)
onʌyósku	*full of stone*	(**-nʌy-** *stone*)
osnuhsósku	*bare handed*	(**-snuhs-** *hand*)

-o·lú converts nouns (or verbs with nominalizers) to adjectives meaning looking or appearing some way

yotetsatslo·lú	*scary looking*	(**-atetsʌ-** *scare* + **-tsl-**)
lotli?waksʌhslo·lú	*he's mean looking*	(**-atli?waksʌ-** *mean* + **hsl-**)
yo?swʌ?to·lú	*it looks black*	(**-a?swʌt-** *black*)
awelu?usketslo·lú	*looking like a witch*	(**-awelu?uske-** *witch* + **tsl-**)
tehonahalawʌlyetslo·lú	*he looks foolish*	(**-nahalawʌlye-** *crazy* + **-tsl-**)

NOUN SUMMARY

Words that are nouns in English fall into several categories in Oneida as partly described on page 27. Three types were described there. We can summarize those three and add a fourth.

The simplest type is a noun in which there are no separable stems or affixes. Most of these are animals and concrete objects.

é·lhal	*dog*
takos	*cat*
kitkit	*chicken*
ato·kʌ́	*axe*
u·ték	*bucket*
átsi	*dish*
atókwat	*spoon*

The second and most common type is a simple noun root which becomes a word by adding a prefix (usually **ka-** or **o-**) and often a suffix (usually a vowel plus a glottal stop). A-stem noun roots typically have no prefix. These noun roots are basic building blocks in many more complex words.

o·nʌ́ste?	*corn*	(-**nʌst-**)
kanáskwa?	*animal*	(-**naskw-**)
á·shale?	*knife*	(-**a?shal-**)
kaná·talok	*bread*	(-**na?tal-**)
onúhkwat	*medicine*	(-**nuhkwat-**)

The third type of noun is really a description built out of a verb stem. There are many ways this can be done but the two most common are to use a verb stem with an instrumental suffix or a verb stem with a serial aspect suffix. In the first case the noun is described by its use. In the second it is described by its characteristic activity. Some a-stem verbs can be used as nouns without the pronoun prefixes normally required in verbs.

yehyatúkhwa?	*pen, pencil*	(-**hyatu-** *write* + -**hkw-**)
shakonawilahslu·níhe?	*dentist*	(-**nawilahsluni-** *clean teeth*)
la?swátha?	*fireman*	(-**?swat-** *burn*)
layʌ́thos	*farmer*	(-**yʌtho-** *plant*)
lahʌta?kehlo·lú	*farmer*	(-**hʌta?ke-** *in the field*)
yelihwaskénhas	*attorney*	(-**lihwaskenh-** *argue*)
atslunyákhwa?	*clothes*	(-**atsluny-** *dress* + -**hkw-**)
atekhwahlákhwa?	*table*	(-**atekhwahl-** *put food on* + **hkw-**)

The fourth type of noun is created directly from a verb stem by adding a nominalizer suffix, typically **-hsl-** but there are others. This converts the verb into the corresponding noun as in the following examples:

kaya?takenháhsla?	*help*	(**-ya?takenha-** *help*)
ona?khwʌ́hsla?	*anger*	(**-na?khwʌ-** *angry*)
kahyatúhsli?	*paper*	(**-hyatu-** *write*)
atehʌ́hsla?	*shame*	(**-atehʌ-** *ashamed*)
atholáhsla?	*a cold*	(**-athole-** *cold*)
atuhkalyá·ksla?	*diet*	(**-atuhkalyak-** *hungry*)
ahlukhá·tsla?	*language*	(**-ahluk-** *speak*)
atliyóhsla?	*war*	(**-atliyo-** *fight*)
atunhétsla?	*life*	(**-atunhe-** *live*)
atyelúhsla?	*accident*	(**-atyelu-** *trick*)
wehyahlá·ksla?	*remembrance*	(**-ehyahl-** *remember*)
kanoluhkwá·tsla?	*love*	(**-noluhkw-** *love*)

VERB SUMMARY

In learning new verbs the key problem is figuring out which prefixes and suffixes can be put on the verb. To solve that problem one needs to know the following:

1. does the verb require any prepronominal prefix?
   - **-awʌlye-** *stir* requires the dualic prefix
   - **-htʌti-** *go home* requires the iterative prefix
   - **-atahsawʌ-** *start* requires the cislocative prefix
2. does the verb have subjective, objective, or transitive pronominal prefixes?
   - **-atekhuni-** *eat* takes subjective pronouns
   - **-anuhte-** *know* takes ojective pronouns
   - **-hloli-** *tell* takes transitive pronouns
3. what is the beginning sound of the verb stem: c-stem (see page 24), a-stem (see page 24), i-stem (see page 92), e-stem (see page 95), o-stem (see page 93)?
4. what type of verb is it for suffixes
   a. non-action verbs (adjectives and statives) (see page 62)
      - **-anuhte-** know
      - **-yʌ-** have
5. is past expressed by the serial past (**-skwe** or **-hkwe**) or perfective past (**-hne**)?
   b. motion verbs (see page 77)
      - **-e-** go
      - **-takhe-** run

   c. *going to* verbs - dislocatives (see page 65)
      - **-atolath-** go hunt
      - **-atekhunyaʔn-** go eat

   d. regular verbs
6. is current activity expressed by the serial or perfective? (see page 54f)
7. what are the forms for the serial, punctual, and perfective? (see page 54f)
8. is there a derivational suffix?
   - distributive (see page 83)
   - dative (see page 107)
   - instrumental (see page 81)
   - causative (see page 82)
   - inchoative (see page 110)
   - undoer (see page 111)
9. does the verb incorporate nouns always, sometimes, or never? (see page 58)
10. does the verb have a reflexive and if so how does it change the meaning? (see page 79)

The answers to these questions will establish the pattern of prefixes and suffixes for each verb. One way to become comfortable with new verbs is to learn an example verb for each pattern - for example, a sample subjective a-stem, a transitive c-stem, a motion verb, a non-action verb, etc. Then new vocabulary is learned in relation to the samples you have already learned. Another way is to know the rules described in this work for

composing words from stems, prefixes, and suffixes. Then new vocabulary is learned by following those rules.

Here are a couple of examples:

-yʌ- *have*

1. no required prepronominal prefixes
2. takes ojective pronouns
3. c-stem (y is a consonant)
4. non-action verb (stative)
5. past is expressed with **-hne**
6.
7.
8. distributive is **-yʌtu-** **wake?slehtayʌ·tú** I have cars
   dative is **-yʌni-** **shakotlihwayʌ·níhe?** he makes them responsible
   instrumental is **-yʌtahkwʌ** **kalihwayʌtáhkwʌ** it is appointed
   causative is **-yʌta?-** **tekalihwayʌtá·u** it is agreed
   inchoative is **-yʌta?-** **waho?slehtayʌ·tá·ne?** he got a car
   undoer: none
9. typically incorporated the noun possessed
10. reflexive changes meaning from *have* to *place*

lo?sléhtayʌ	he has a car
lote?sléhtayʌ	he has parked a car
lohu·wáyʌ	he has a boat
lothu·wáyʌ	he has anchored a boat

-uni- *make, create*

1. no prepronominal prefix required
2. subjective pronouns
3. u-stem
4. regular (can be made into a *going to* verb by adding a suffix **-unya?n-**)
5.
6. serial expresses current activity
7. serial suffix is **-he?**; punctual suffix is **-?**; and stative suffix is **-?**
8. distributive **-unyanyu-** make several
   dative **-unyʌni-** make for
   instrumental **-unya?t-** make out of
   causative none
   inchoative none
   undoer none
9. often incorporated the object created
10. reflexive changes meaning to *grow* or *make for self*

-atuni-	grow
-atnʌstuni-	grow corn
-atnuhsuni-	build a house for self

POSSESSION SUMMARY

Oneida has several ways to indicate possession, some of which have already been described. For simple nouns there is a special set of possessive prefixes. The complete set is given in the summary charts (see page 152).

aké·sleht	my car
sá·sleht	your car
akó·sleht	her car
aknáskwa	my animal
sanáskwa	your animal
laonáskwa	his animal

For inalienable nouns, like most parts of the body, the pronoun prefixes for subjective verbs indicate the possessor:

knutsí·ne	my head
snutsí·ne	your head
yenutsí·ne	her head
kahuhtá·ke	my ear
sahuhtá·ke	your ear
lahuhtá·ke	his ear

For nouns with adjectival or orientational verbs, the pronoun prefixes for objective verbs usually indicate the possessor:

waknúhsote?	my house (house standing for me)
sanúhsote?	your house
yakonúhsote?	her house
waknaskwi·yó	my good animal
sanaskwi·yó	your good animal
lonaskwi·yó	his good animal

There are also two verbs for indicating possession. One is **-yʌ** which takes objective pronoun prefixes and means *have*.

wákyʌ	I have it (**wáki** in the isolation form)
sa·yʌ́· kʌ	do you have it?
lo·yʌ́·	he has it (**lo·yʌ́** in the isolation form)
úhka náhte? yako·yʌ́	who has it?

For this verb the object possessed is typically incorporated:

wanáskwayʌ	I have an animal
wake?sléhtayʌ	I have a car

The other verb is **-awʌ** which requires the possessive prefixes usually found on nouns and is translated as a possessive pronoun. An emphatic pronoun is almost always used along with it:

í· akwa·wʌ́	it's mine	(isolation form = **í· akwa·wʌ́**)
i·sé kʌ sa·wʌ́	is it yours?	
né· lao·wʌ́	it's his	
úhka náhte? ako·wʌ́	whose is it?	

LOCATION SUMMARY

Location and direction are expressed by the folowing means:

1. locative suffixes on noun stems (see page 37)

-akta *near*	**-aktúti** *alongside*	**-á·ke** *on*
-a?késhu *all over*	**-aku** *in*	**-akúshu** *through*
-o·kú *under*	**-ke** *at*	**-ne** *at*

2. locative prepronominal prefixes on verbs (see page 75)
   - cislocative **-t-**
   - translocative **ye-**

3. particles

kaló *before*	**ohʌ·tú** *ahead*	**ohná·kʌ** *behind*
é·nike *above, over*	**ná·ku** *beneath*	**ákte** *elsewhere*
tsi? (nu) *at*	**kʌ́·tho** *here*	**tho (nu)** *there*

4. **nukwá** *direction*

ot nukwá	*which direction?*
kʌh nukwá	*this direction, here*
tho nukwá	*that direction, there*
otholé·ke nukwá	*north* (cold direction)
tkaké·thohse nukwá	*east* (it rises direction)
ʌ́tyʌ nukwá	*south*
ya?tewatshʌ́thohse nukwá	*west* (it sets direction)

PREPOSITIONS

Oneida has no prepositions. Instead it uses other resources to express the meanings that English prepositions have. Because the common English prepositions not only have multiple meanings but also often function as other parts of speech, especially particles and adverbs, it is useful to organize this discussion by functions.

1. location (including place, direction, and source)

Oneida uses noun suffixes, verb prefixes, and particles to express location (see Summary of Location page 135). Here are some correspondences:

above	**é·nike** (particle)
at	**tsi? ** plus cislocative **t-** prefix
	tsi? nu
	-ne (noun suffix)
along	**-aktúti** (noun suffix)
before	**ohʌ·tú** (particle)
behind	**ohná·kʌ** (particle)
by	**-akta** (noun suffix)
in	**-aku** (noun suffix)
near	**-akta** (noun suffix)
over	**é·nike** (particle)
through	**-a?késhu** (noun suffix)
toward	**nukwá** (particle)
under	**-o·kú** (noun suffix)
	ná·ku (particle)

2. time

English time prepositions are mostly used in phrases with nouns of time and those phrases function as adverbs (at night, during the day, for a week, until spring, etc.). Since the time words in Oneida are as likely to be verbs as nouns, the correspondences are less predictable. Here are some of the more predictable ones:

after	**yotukóhtu**
before	**tsi? niyo·lé**
during	**tsi? ni-** noun root **-es**
until	**tsi? niyo·lé**

3. comparison

The English prepositions *as, like*, and *than* are expressed in Oneida by the comparative phrase **tsi? ni·yót tsi?** *the way that* or by the coincident verb prefix **ts-** the same as.

4. accompaniment

The English preposition of accompaniment is *with*. Accompaniment in Oneida is usually reflected in the verb's pronoun prefixes. Instead of *I did something with them* Oneida would say *we did something*. When there is need to be more specific an additional noun is just added to the sentence without any preposition, so *I went to town with my father* would be **waʔákneʔ kanatá·ke yaʔníha** *we two went to town my father*.

5. instrument

The English prepositions for instruments and tools are *with* and *by*, but in Oneida the idea is expressed through the verb **-atst-** use or by verbs with an instrumental suffix.

6. purpose

The English prepositions for purpose are *for* and *to* and these correspond to dative suffixes on verbs.

7. partition

The English preposition for partition is *of* and it corresponds to the partitive **ni-** prefix on verbs.

8. possession

Possession in English is expressed by the preposition *of* (as well as by the possessive suffix *-'s*, possessive adjectives and pronouns, and subjects of possessive verbs like *own, possess*, and *have*). For the Oneida resources see the Summary of Possession (see page 134).

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

People Descriptions

yekhowa·nʌ́	she's a big eater
yehnʌ·yés	she's tall
ka? niyehnʌyésha	she's short
yeyá·tase	she's good looking
lanikʌ́htehlu	he's good looking (**lanikʌ́htlu** context form)
wakatakali·té	I'm active, lively (**wakatakali·té** context form)
waknίu	I'm stingy
wakniskóu	I'm late
wakniskouháti	I'm late (on my way)
tewakewyʌnhaláu	I'm busy (now)
teyewyʌnha·lás	she's busy (always)
wakatya?tahslu·ní·	I'm all dressed up
yehétkʌ	she's ugly
tewaknʌhalawʌlyéu	I'm crazy
lotlihwatyéni	he's talkative
wakeslʌ́htalase	I'm sleepy
yuttokha?	she's smart
waknuhwáktanihe?	I'm sick
katuhkályahks	I'm hungry
wakatunháhehle	I'm happy (**wakatunháhele?** context form)
ya?teholí·wake?	he's comical
lukwe?ti·yó	he's a good person
lotla?swi·yó	he's lucky
lotla?swáksʌ	he's unlucky

Summary of Grammatical Terms

adjective In English adjectives are descriptive words that modify nouns but in Oneida adjectives are a type of verb. See the summary of adjectives page 128.

affix Prefixes and suffixes collectively are known as affixes. They are attachments to verb roots and stems.

alienable possession The objects of possession come in two sorts, those that can be given away such as cars and tools and those that cannot such as legs and necks. Different pronominal prefixes are used for each type. Alienable possession is the term for objects that can be given away.

aorist This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. In form it is usually **wa?**- although it has quite a few other forms when it combines with other prepronominal prefixes. Its most usual meaning is simple past tense, but there are exceptions with certain verb stems. It can only be used when the verb has a punctual aspect suffix.

aspect suffix Every Oneida verb ends with one of four possible suffixes that indicate the type of action involved. The four suffixes are serial, punctual, imperative, and perfective.

a-stem Any verb stem that begins with -**a**- before pronominal prefixes are attached.

causative A derivational suffix added to verb stems that creates new verb stems with the additional meaning of causing or making something happen. Its form is identical to the instrumental suffix.

cislocative This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. Its usual form is -**t**-. It is most often used to indicate the location of an action. If the verb stem implies motion, then the cislocative suggest the motion is towards the speaker. But it has other uses as well.

coincident This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. Its form is **ts**- and its meaning involves some notion of sameness.

comparative A form of the adjective with either the suffix -*er* or the additional word *more.* The meaning of the comparative in Oneida is expressed by the particle **sʌ́ha.**

context form The pronunciation of a word that does not occur at the end of a sentence is its context form. This form does not have any whispered parts.

continuative A derivational suffix usually containing a -**k**- that expresses a number of meaning modification of a verb. See page 112.

contrastive This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. Its form is **th-** and its meaning involves some notion of difference or unusualness. It sometimes is used as the negative.

c-stem Any verb or noun stem that begins with a consonant.

dative This is a derivational suffix. Among its forms are **-hs-**, **-ʌ-**, and **-ʌni-**. Its function is often to make a transitive verb out of an intransitive one, usually with the meaning of doing something on behalf of or for someone else.

derivation The prefixes and suffixes that alter the meaning of a stem in sometimes unpredictable ways, or that sometimes occur and sometimes do not, are derivations of that stem. Derivations are patterned but less regular than inflections.

derivational suffix After the main verb root and before the aspect suffix a number of derivational suffixes can be added to modify the meaning of the stem in partly predictable ways. There are about half a dozen such suffixes. Among them are: instrumental, distributive, dative, and causative.

dislocative This is a derivational suffix that addes the meaning of *going to* to the verb. It is also used with a particular aspect suffix to express intention.

distributive This is one of the derivational suffixes. Among its many forms are **-nyu-** and **-u-**. It adds some kind of severalness to the action of the verb: several participants, several times, several places, several ways.

dual This is one of the grammatical numbers and means exactly two. It applies to pronouns and pronominal prefixes.

dualic This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. Its usual form is either **-t-** or **-te-** like the cislocative but because of the way it combines with other prefixes, it can always be distinguished from the cislocative. Many stems require this prefix with no special addition to the meaning. Sometimes it adds the meaning of *two.*

dummy root Many verb roots that are used most typically with incorporated nouns can be used in a generic sense as well. In such cases a dummy noun root (with each verb root having its own specific dummy root) is used.

epenthesis A sound process of adding additional sounds into a word. In Oneida when assembling parts of a word would otherwise create a cluster of consonants that would not be pronouncable in Oneida.

epenthetic vowel The vowel **-e-** is used to break up impossible clusters of consonants. It adds no additional meaning.

e-stem Any stem beginning with either **-e-** or **-ʌ-** before pronominal prefixes are attached.

exclusive This refers to a kind of plural *we* that excludes the person spoken to, a *we* that means *me and them but not you.*

extender A suffix (often **-hsl-** or **-tsl-**) that is attached to noun roots when they are used in more complex stems. It adds no additional meaning. Since each noun root has a preferred extender (many noun roots require none at all), the extender can be thought of as an extension of the noun root itself.

factual An alternative name for the aorist prefix.

feminine indefinite One of the two feminine genders in Oneida. See page 91. It is called indefinite because it is used whenever the gender is unknown.

feminine zoic One of the two feminine genders in Oneida. See page 91. This one is also used for most animals.

first person The grammatical term for pronouns that include the person speaking, such as *I, me, we,* or *us.*

full reflexive A grammatical prefix that attaches to the beginning of verb stems. Its form is **-atat(e)-** and it adds the meaning of doing the action on oneself.

future tense One of the prepronominal prefixes that indicates future time. Its form is consistently **-ʌ-** and it is only used on verbs that have punctual aspect suffixes.

habitual Any verb form that has the meaning of an action being done routinely or extended over time whether past, present, or future is called habitual. It is the opposite of punctual and both punctual and habitual are known as grammatical aspects.

imperative Imperatives are commands.

inalienable possession The objects of possession come in two sorts, those that can be given away such as cars and tools and those that cannot such as legs and necks. Different pronominal prefixes are used for each type. Inalienable possession is the term for objects that cannot be given away, primarily parts of the body.

inchoative This is a derivational suffix. It attaches to verb stems that mean states or conditions and it adds the meaning of getting into that state or condition.

inclusive This term is used for pronouns or pronominal prefixes that include both the speaker and the listener, a kind of *we* or *us.*

incorporated noun Oneida verb stems can be quite complex and some contain noun roots within the verb stem itself. If a noun root is not a separate word but part of a complex verb, then it is called incorporated.

indefinite tense One of the three tense prefixes, its most typically form is **-a-** and its meaning is either a mild kind of obligation (*should, ought*) or it is used to indicate various kinds of subordination in a sentence. For example, it is used on verbs after the verb *want* to indicate what action is wanted.

inflection This is a class of prefixes or suffixes noted for their regularity and predictaility of meaning. In English nouns are inflected for number and verbs are inflected for tense. In Oneida verbs are typically inflected for aspect.

instrumental This is part of a complex verb stem. It is a derivational suffix added to a verb root to give the extra meaning of using something to do the action or doing the action with something (typically a tool but sometimes a place).

isolation form The form of pronunciation used when a word is spoken alone or at the end of a sentence. It often involves some whispering or alternation from the context form. Although their pronunciations may be different, their meanings are the same.

i-stem Any noun or verb stem that begins with **-i-**.

iterative This is one of the prepronominal prefixes. Its usual form is **-s-** and it adds several meanings such as *again, back,* or *one.*

lexicalization The process of a composed expression acting as a single integrated word (lexical item). The process usually involves some unpredicted specialization in meaning. The components in **kawʌnaye·nás** predict it means *it catches words*, but it actually has become lexicalized to mean just *tape recorder*.

locative This refers to location. There are two locative prepronominal prefixes: cislocative and translocative.

masculine The grammatical term for pronouns and pronominal prefixes that indicate males.

negative The grammatical term for any particles and prefixes that express negation. There is one prefix that used most typically and it is known as the negative prefix **te(ʔ)-**.

nominalizer A suffix (often **-hsl-** or **-tsl-**) that is attached to verb roots when they are used as noun stems in more complex stems.

noun In English nouns are identified by their form (the kinds of suffixes, such as plural, they can have) and by their role (such as subject) in a sentence. In Oneida nouns can be identified by their forms (words built from noun roots with noun affixes) or by their uses so that even words constructed as verbs can be used as nouns.

number The grammatical category for singluar, dual, and plural. It is a feature of pronoun prefixes.

objective This is the name for a class of intransitive pronoun prefixes on verbs. It is the opposite of subjective, which is the other class. Learning verbs in Oneida involves learning whether they are in the objective or subjective class and in general it cannot be predicted from the English translation.

orientation verb This is a verb root expressing a physical orientation such as standing, lying, stuck on the end of, or attached to. They are often used with incorporated noun roots to indicate whether the noun is in its expected orientation or not.

o-stem Any stem that begins with **-o-** or **-u-** before pronoun prefixes are attached.

particle This term is used in Oneida for any word that is neither a noun or a verb. They are usually one or two syllables and cannot be broken down into parts. They are used to express all sorts of syntactic and discourse meanings.

participle In English participles are verbs turned into adjectives such as *falling leaves* (present participle) or *fallen leaves* (past participle). Oneida has no specific participles. Such meanings are conveyed by the different aspects of the verb.

partitive This is one of the eleven pre-pronominal prefixes. Its form always includes an **n** and it has a variety of meanings in counting and questions as well as being required by some particular verb stems.

past perfective This is one of the ways of indicating past time. It is a form **-hne** suffixed to the end of a verb with a perfective suffix already on it

past serial This is another way of indicating past time. Its form **-(h)kwe** is attached to verbs ending in a serial suffix.

past tense There is not a single way to indicate past time in Oneida. Different verbs use different devices, sometimes prefixes such as the aorist, and sometimes suffixes.

perfective aspect This is a verb suffix that takes the action of the verb as a state, either the state of doing the action right now or the state of have complete the action. It is also called the stative aspect.

person Grammatical person is a feature of pronouns or pronoun prefixes. The first person indicates the one(s) speaking; the second person is whomever is spoken to; and the third person is whomever is spoken about. *I* is a first person pronoun; *you* is a second person pronoun; and *they* is a third person pronoun.

plural In English plural is the grammatical number for anything that is not singular, but in Oneida there is a dual number for two of anything so plural is for three or more of anything.

possessive Both English and Oneida have multiple ways of expressing possession, sometimes with verbs such as *have* and *own*, and sometimes with sets of special pronoun prefixes.

predicate Most sentences consist of identifying some object or individual and making a claim about that object or individual. The predicate is the part that makes the claim. It can be very simple such as the verb *laughed* or it can be more complex such as *washed clothes over and over for someone else.* In Oneida verb stems, either simple or complex, are the predicates.

prefix Any attachment of identifiable form or meaning to the front of a root or stem. Most Oneida stems need prefixes to make them complete words.

preposition In English these are small words such as *in, on, under, of, with* that express spatial and grammatical meanings with nouns. Oneida does not have a separate class of words that correspond to prepositions. Instead their meanings are folded into various suffixes and verb stems.

prepronominal prefix Any of the eleven prefixes that are used in front of the pronoun prefixes on Oneida verbs. Each has its own form, meaning, and ability to combine with others. They modify the meaning of the verb with reference to time,place, and a number of other adverbial meanings.

productivity How frequently or widely a particular grammatical pattern or process applies.

progressive A verb suffix that indicates ongoing action or action while one is in motion.

pronominal prefix A prefix required on any verb stem to provide information about who is doing or receiving the action of the verb. These prefixes fall into different classes and subclasses depending on the verb they attach to and include information about the number and gender of the particpants in the verb's activity.

punctual aspect This is a suffix on verb stems that indicates the verb's activity is being seen as happening at a single point, as opposed to being ongoing or completed. Whenever the punctual aspect suffix is used, one other three tense prefixes (aorist, future, or indefinite) must also be used.

purposive This is an aspect suffix that adds the meaning of intention to the verb.

reflexive This is a derivational prefix that is added to verb stems. It is always at the front of stems that the pronoun prefixes attach to. There are several modifications it adds to the meaning of the verb, many involving reflecting the action back somehow on the actor. The particular meaning modification has to be learned for each verb stem.

root A root is not a whole word. It is a building block to which various prefixes and suffixes and possibly other roots are added. There are both noun and verb roots. Roots cannot typically be separated into smaller components.

root suffix There are several of these suffixes such as causative, dative, distributive, and instrumental that attach to verb roots and add specific meaning modifications to them. The root with its attached suffix then becomes a verb stem.

second person Pronoun forms that refer to *you* are called second person. Unlike English, Oneida has different forms depending on how many individuals are meant by *you.*

semi-reflexive One of the two reflexive prefixes that attach to verb stems. It is the shorter form and its meaning is more variable than the other one - the full reflexive.

serial aspect This is a suffix on verb stems that indicates either habitual or current activity of the verb.

singular One of the grammatical numbers, as opposed to dual and plural in Oneida.

stative Any predicate that describes a state or condition is a stative. It is the opposite of an action, although the result of an action can be described as a state. Stative is also an alternative name for the perfective aspect.

stem This is the form of a verb that contains at least a verb root and maybe several derivational affixes to which pronoun prefixes and aspect suffixes are attached to make a complete word. The verb stem expresses a predicate.

stem class Verb stems falls into several classes depending on the sound they begin with. This is important in determining which set of pronoun prefixes must be attached to the verb stem.

stem joiner When an incorporated noun and a verb stem are joined together in a complex verb stem they are often separated by the vowel **-a-**. This vowel is necessary but adds no additional meaning. It simply joins the noun and verb stems together.

subjective This is the name for a class of intransitive pronoun prefixes on verbs. It is the opposite of objective, which is the other class. Learning verbs in Oneida involves learning whether they are in the objective or subjective class and in general it cannot be predicted from the English translation

suffix Any attachment of identifiable form or meaning to the end of a root or stem. Most Oneida stems need suffixes to make them complete words.

superlative The form of adjectives characterized by the suffix *-est* or the adverb *most.* In Oneida the superlative is indicated by a particle and a prefix.

third person This is a characteristic of pronouns or pronoun prefixes involving neither the speaker nor the one spoken to. Pronouns such as *he, she,* and *they* are third person.

transitive Transitive verbs indicate both a doer and a receiver of the action of the verb. Intransitive verbs indicate just the individual(s) doing the action or being in a state. In English transitive verbs are those that have a direct object and in general those correspond to transitive verbs in Oneida but not always. In Oneida transitive verbs are defined by the class of pronoun prefix the verb stem requires. There are also a number of derivational suffixes in Oneida (as there are in English) that change intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

translocative This is one of the prepronominal prefixes on verbs that indicates direction or sometimes location. It is an optional addition on many verbs but required on some.

Main Parts of an Oneida Verb

PREPRONOMINAL PREFIX	/	PRONOMINAL PREFIX	/	STEM	/	ASPECT SUFFIX

Possible Parts of an Oneida Stem

REFLEXIVE / INCORPORATED NOUN WITH EXTENDER / VERB ROOT / DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

Types of Pronominal Prefixes

subjective
objective
transitive

(Note: each type contains information about number, gender, and person; and the form varies with the stem class of the verb the prefix is used with.)

Types of Prepronominal Prefixes

modal prefixes (tenses): aorist, future, and indefinite
location and direction: translocative and cislocative
counting prefixes: iterative, dualic, partitive
others: contrastive, coincident, negative

Types of Aspect Suffixes

serial (ongoing, habitual, or current)
punctual (single occurrence)
perfective (state or condition)
imperative (command)

SUMMARY OF SOUND RULES

When constructing the building blocks of roots, stems, prefixes and suffixes for Oneida words, certain combinations necessitate some changes in the basic form of the building blocks. The rules describing these changes can be divided into four groups: rules that apply to whole words; rules that apply to prefixes; rules that apply to stems; and rules that apply to suffixes.

Rules that apply to whole words

Epenthesis (page 32)

The vowel -e- is inserted to break up unallowable clusters of consonants.

Accent rules (page 47)

These are rules for determining the placement of accent and the resulting rhythm patterns of words.

Rules that apply to prefixes

h - l alternation on pronominal prefixes (page 23)

Pronominal prefixes that begin with an **l** in the pronominal charts use the **l** only if there are no addition prefixes before it. If there are additional prefixes, then the **l** is replaced by an **h**.

vowel drop (page 25)

The vowels are the beginning of stems only occur after pronoun prefixes ending in consonants. If the pronoun prefixes end in a vowel, then the vowel that begins the stem is dropped.

loss of glottal stops (on pre-pronominal prefixes) before **h** and **s** -

Any prepronominal prefix that ends in a glottal stop in the chart is dropped if the following sound (on the pronoun prefix) is either **h** or **s**.

loss of **y** (on pronominal prefixes) after the aorist **wa?**-

For many speakers any pronoun prefix on the chart that begins with a **y** drops that **y** if it comes right after the aorist prefix **wa?-**.

(w)a?wa changes to **u** (on combinations of pre-pronominal and pronominal prefixes) When the prepronominal prefix ends in -**a?** and the pronoun prefix begins in **wa**-, then the entire combination changes to -**u**-.

loss of **h** (on pronominal prefixes) when the **h** is word initial or to avoid **hsk** and **hst** When a pronoun prefix begins with an **h** and there is no additional prefix before the **h**, then that **h** is dropped. The **h** is also dropped if it comes right before an **sk** or **st** combination.

addition of **e** (on certain pronominal prefixes) after consonants -
If there's a prepronominal prefix ending in a consonant right before a pronoun prefix beginning with either **t** or **s**, then an **e** is inserted right before the **t** or **s**.

dummy **i** (page 96)
On very short words that do not have enough syllables for the accent rules to operate, then a dummy syllable consisting of just **i** is added to the front of the word.

s becomes **ts**
A pronoun prefix ending in **s** becomes **ts** before any stem that begins with a **y**.

s becomes **st**
A pronoun prefix ending in **s** becomes **st** before a stem that begins with an **s**.

Rules that apply to stems

stem joiners (page 78)
An -**a**- is often inserted between an incorporated noun ending in a consonant and a verb beginning with a consonant in forming a complex stem.

w - o rule (page 33)
When one root ends in a **w** and the immediately following one starts with an **o** within the same word, then the **w** is dropped.

glottal stop changes to **h**
A glottal stop that occurs before a single consonant or **kw** but in a syllable after the accented syllable changes to an **h**.

loss of **h**
When a prefix ends in **s** and a stem begins with **hl**, **hy**, **hw**, or **hn**, then the **h** is dropped.

Rules that apply to suffixes

whispering rules for utterance final position (page 52)

kw + **h** (page 54)
When a stem ends in -**kw** and a suffix begins with an **h**, then the -**kwh**- changes to -**khw**-.

w - o changes (page 33)
Certain stems ending in **w** (but not all) change the **w** to **o** before a suffix consisting of a glottal stopage

i - y changes (page 73)
A stem ending in an **i** changes the **i** to **y** before suffixes starting with consonants.

Prepronominal Prefix Chart

	alone	future	aorist	indefinite
		ʌ	**waʔ**	**a**
iterative	**s**	**ʌs**	**sa**	**usa**
cislocative	**t**	**ʌt**	**ta**	**uta**
dualic	**te**	**tʌ**	**waʔt**	**taa**
translocative	**ye**	**yʌ**	**yaʔ**	**yaa**
partitive	**ni**	**nʌ**	**naʔ**	**naa**
coincident	**tshi**	**tshʌ**	**tshaʔ**	**tshaa**
contrastive	**thi**	**thʌ**	**thaʔ**	**thaa**
negative	**teʔ**			
dualic + iterative	**tes**	**tʌs**	**tusa**	**tuusa**
dualic + cislocative	**tet**	**tʌt**	**tuta**	**tuuta**
dualic + translocative	**yaʔte**	**yaʔtʌ**	**yaʔt**	**yaʔtaa**
dualic + partitive	**naʔte**	**naʔtʌ**	**naʔt**	**naʔtaa**
dualic + coincident	**tshaʔte**	**tshaʔtʌ**	**tshaʔt**	**tshaʔtaa**
dualic + contrastive	**thaʔte**	**thaʔtʌ**	**thaʔt**	**thaʔtaa**
partitive + iterative	**nis**	**nʌs**	**nusa**	**nuusa**
partitive + cislocative	**nit**	**nʌt**	**nuta**	**nuuta**
partitive + translocative	**nye**	**nyʌ**	**nyaʔ**	**nyaa**
cislocative + iterative	**tes**	**tʌs**	**tusa**	**tuusa**
cislocative + coinc.	**tshit**	**tshʌt**	**tshuta**	**tshuuta**
cislocative + contra.	**thit**	**thʌt**	**thuta**	**thuuta**
cislocative + negative	**teʔt**			
translocative + iter.	**yes**	**yʌs**	**yusa**	**yuusa**
translocative + coinc.	**tshye**	**tshyʌ**	**tshyusa**	**tshyuusa**
translocative + contra	**thye**	**thyʌ**	**thyusa**	**thyuusa**
iterative + coincident	**tshis**	**tshʌs**	**tshusa**	**tshuusa**
iterative + contrastive	**this**	**thʌs**	**thusa**	**thuusa**
iterative + negative	**teʔs**			
dualic + trans + iter	**yaʔtes**	**yaʔtʌs**	**yaʔtusa**	**yaʔtuusa**
part. + du + iter	**naʔtes**	**naʔtʌs**	**naʔtusa**	**naʔtuusa**
part + du + cisloc	**naʔtet**	**naʔtʌs**	**naʔtuta**	**naʔtuuta**
part + du + trans	**nyaʔte**	**nyaʔtʌ**	**nyaʔt**	**nyaʔtaa**

coinc + du + iter	**tshaʔtes**	**tshaʔtʌs**	**tshaʔtusa**	**tshaʔtuusa**
coinc + du + cisloc	**tshatet**	**tshatʌt**	**tshaʔtuta**	**tshaʔtuuta**
coinc + du + transloc	**tshyaʔte**	**tshyaʔtʌ**	**tshyaʔt**	**tshyaʔtaa**
contra + du + iter	**thaʔtes**	**thaʔtʌs**	**thaʔtusa**	**thaʔtuusa**
contra + du + cisloc	**thaʔtet**	**thaʔtʌt**	**thaʔtuta**	**thaʔtuuta**
contra + du + transloc	**thyaʔte**	**thyaʔtʌ**	**thyaʔt**	**thyaʔtaa**
part + transloc + iter	**nyes**	**nyʌs**	**nyusa**	**nyuusa**
coinc + transloc + iter	**tshyes**	**tshyʌs**	**tshyusa**	**tshyuusa**
contra + trans + iter	**thyes**	**thyʌs**	**thyusa**	**thyuusa**
part + trans + du + iter	**nyaʔtes**	**nyaʔtʌs**	**nyaʔtusa**	**nyaʔtuusa**
coinc + trans + du + iter	**tshyaʔtes**	**tshyaʔtʌs**	**tshyaʔtusa**	**tshyaʔtuusa**
contra + trans + du + iter	**thyaʔtes**	**thyaʔtʌs**	**thyaʔtusa**	**thyaʔtuusa**

Possessive Prefixes

English	a-stems	c-stems	o/u stems	i-stems
my	akwa-	ak-	ak-	ak-
your (sg.)	sa-	sa-	s-	sʌ-
your (two)	tsya-	sni-	sn-	sn-
your (plural)	swa-	swa-	tsy-	swʌ-
his	lao-	lao-	lao-	lao-
her	ao-	ao-	ao-	ao-
her	ako-	ako-	akao-	ako-
our (two)	yukya-	yukni-	yukn-	yukn-
our (plural)	yukwa-	yukwa-	yuky-	yukwʌ-
their	laona-	laoti-	laon-	laot-
their (fem. only)	aona-	aoti-	aon-	aot-

VOCABULARY SETS

Animals

takóhs	cat
é·lhal	dog
kohsa·tʌ́s	horse
tsyonhúskwalut	cow
kítkit	chicken
kóskos	pig
síksik	sheep
kaya?táklahse	goat
ohkwa·lí	bear
oskʌnu·tú	deer
othahyu·ní	wolf
skʌhnáksʌ	fox
anó·ki	muskrat
aní·tas	skunk
otsi?no·wʌ́	mouse
otshuhkalo·lʌ́	rabbit
ʌti·lú	raccoon
atú·yot	eagle
káhuk	goose
talu?kó	duck
ká·ka	crow
skawelo·wáhne	turkey (**skawelo·wáne?** context form)
oli·té	dove
tsiskóko	robin
tsiks	fly
tsyonhutstókwi	ant
slíkslik	cricket
tsístalak	grasshoper
kana·wʌ́	butterfly
okalyahtáhne	mosquito (**okalyahtá·ne?** context form)
a?no·wál	turtle
ótku	snake
kwale·lʌ́	frog

Trees

wáhta	maple
ohnéhta	pine
kalíhtu	oak (red)
otokʌ́ha	oak (white)

Foods

o·nʌ́ste	corn
osahéhta	beans (**osahé·ta?** context form)
onu?úhsehli	squash (**onu?úhsli?** context form)
ohnʌnáhta	potato
watnʌ?ʌ́·kwas	rice
otsínkwal ohtéhla	carrot (**ohté·la?** context form)
tewahnyakháni	tomato
á·nuk	onion
teyotsahe?takwe?nu·ní	peas
kahik	fruit
swahyo·wáhne	apple (**swahyo·wáne?** context form)
teyotahyá·ktu	banana (bent fruit)
kaná·talok	bread
kanʌstóhahle	corn bread (**kanʌstóhale?** context form)
okahslótha	green corn bread
ola·ná	corn soup
waté·skut kaná·talok	fry bread
ohnekákehli	soup (**ohnekákli?** context form)
ohne·kánus	water
onúhta	milk (**onú·ta?** context form)
o?wáhlu	meat (**o?wá·lu?** context form)
teyohyó·tsis	salt
owistóhsehli	butter (**owistóhsli?** context form)

Directions

tkaké·tohse? nukwá	east
ʌ́tyʌ nukwá	south
ya?tewatshʌ́thohse? nukwá	west
otholé·ke nukwá	north

Colors

onikwʌ́htala	red
olúhya	blue (**olú·ya?** context form)
otsí·nkwal	yellow or orange
awʌ·lá	green
owískehla	white (**owískla?** context form)
o?swʌ́hta	black (**o?swʌ́·ta?** context form)
ata?kʌ́hla	gray (**ata?kʌ́·la?** context form)
yohalʌnʌ́hta	purple
oh niwahsohkó·tʌ	what color is it?
olú·ya? niwahsohkó·tʌ	it's blue

Places

ukwehuwé·ne	Oneida
kanatá·ke	Green Bay
talu?kowánhne	Duck Creek
kanatakalyásne	Washington, DC

Weather

ot niwehnisló·tʌ	what kind of day is it?
wehnisli·yó	good day
wehnisláksʌ	bad day
yotho·lé	cold
yokʌno·lú	raining
yo?talíhʌ	hot
yotáhalote	sunny
yowelu·tú	windy
yota?klókwʌ	snowy
yoyanlástu	good day

Seasons

kwa?kanhé·ke	summer
kanana?ké·ne	fall
kohsla?ké·ne	winter
kukwité·ne	spring

Clothes

satya?tahslu·ní	you are dressed up
atslunyákhwa	clothes
atyá·tawiht	jacket, shirt, coat
oyá·khale	blouse
ká·khahle	skirt
anhuskwá·la	pants
atláhti	socks
áhta	shoe
aná·alohle or **anú·walohle**	hat

Days of the week

yawʌtʌtáu	Monday
tekníhatut	Tuesday
ahsʌ́hatut	Wesnesday
kayelíhatut	Thursday
wiskhatut	Friday
ʌtákta	Saturday
yawʌtatokʌ́hti	Sunday

Chart of Pronominal Prefixes

	subjective				objective			
	c-stem	a-stem	o-stem	e-stem	c-stem	a-stem	o-stem	e-stem
I	**k**	**k**	**k**	**k**	**wak**	**wak**	**wak**	**wak**
we (2ex)	**yakni**	**yaky**	**yakn**	**yakn**	**yukni**	**yuky**	**yukn**	**yukn**
we (2in)	**tni**	**ty**	**tn**	**tn**				
we (3ex)	**yakwa**	**yakwa**	**yaky**	**yakw**	**yukwa**	**yukwa**	**yuky**	**yukw**
we (3in)	**twa**	**twa**	**ty**	**tw**				
you	**hs**	**hs**	**hs**	**hs**	**sa**	**sa**	**s**	**s**
you (2)	**sni**	**tsy**	**sn**	**sn**	**sni**	**tsy**	**sn**	**sn**
you (3)	**swa**	**swa**	**tsy**	**sw**	**swa**	**swa**	**tsy**	**sw**
it/she	**ka**	**wa**	**yo**	**w**	**yo**	**yo**	**yao**	**yaw**
he	**la**	**la**	**hl**	**hl**	**lo**	**lo**	**lao**	**law**
she	**ye**	**yu**	**yak**	**yak**	**yako**	**yako**	**yakao**	**yakaw**
they (2f)	**kni**	**ky**	**kn**	**kn**	**yoti**	**yon**	**yon**	**yon**
they (3f)	**kuti**	**ku**	**kun**	**kun**				
they (2m)	**hni**	**hy**	**hn**	**hn**	**loti**	**lon**	**lon**	**lon**
they (3m)	**lati**	**lu**	**lʌn**	**lʌn**				

I-stems are just like c-stems except that the **i** combines with a final **a** in the pronominal prefix to form **ʌ** (**a** + **i** > **ʌ**) and the 'they' forms for many speakers are like the forms for **e**-stems and **o**-stems.

Combining rules:

1. An **e** is inserted before prefixes beginning with **t** or **s** when there is a prepronominal prefix.
2. Vowel Drop: when a prefix ends in a vowel and a stem starts in a vowel the second vowel drops.
3. An **l** at the beginning of a prefix changes to **h** is there is a prepronominal prefix.
4. An **h** at the beginning of a prefix drops if it is at the beginning of a word.
5. A **y** at the beginning of a prefix is dropped (for some speakers) after a **wa?** prefix.

a-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I				kuy	ky		k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)							yaky		shaky	yakhiy		
we all (- you)					kwa		yakwa		shakwa			
we two (+ you)							ty		hethy	yethiy		
we all (+ you)							twa		hethwa			
you	skw	sky	skwa				hs		hets	shey		
you two							tsy		hetsy	yetshiy		
you all							swa		hetswa			
it/she	wak	yuky	yukwa	sa	tsy	swa	w	yo	lo	yako	yon	lon
he	lakw	shuky	shukwa	hya	hetsy	hetswa	la			shako		
she	yukw	yukhiy		yesa	yetshiy		yu	kuwa	luwa	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)							ky			yakon		
they all (fem)							ku					
they two							hy			shakon		
they all							lu					

c-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I				ku	ky		k		hi	khe		
we two (- you)							yaky		shakni	yakhi		
we all (- you)				kwa			yakwa		shakwa			
we two (+ you)							ty		hethni	yethi		
we all (+ you)							twa		hethwa			
you	sk	skni	skwa				hs		hets	she		
you two							sni		hetsni	yetshi		
you all							swa		hetswa			
it/she	wak	yukni	yukwa	sa	sni	swa	ka	yo	lo	yako	yoti	loti
he	lak	shukni	shukwa	hya	hetsni	hetswa	la			shako		
she	yuk	yukhi		yesa	yetshi		ye	kuwa	luwa	yutat	kuwati	luwati
they two (fem)							kni			yakoti		
they all (fem)							kuti					
they two							hni			shakoti		
they all							lati					

e-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I				kuy	kn		k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)							yakn		shakn	yakhiy		
we all (- you)				kw			yakwa		shakw			
we two (+ you)							tn		hethn	yethiy		
we all (+ you)							tw		hethw			
you	skw	skn	skw				hs		hets	shey		
you two							sn		hetsni	yetshiy		
you all							sw		hetsw			
it/she	wak	yukn	yukw	sa	sn	sw	w	yaw	law	yakaw	yon	lon
he	lakw	shukn	shukw	hyay	hetsn	hetsw	le			shako		
she	yukw	yukhiy		yesa	yetshiy		yak	kuw	luw	yutat	kuw∧n	luw∧n
they two (fem)							kn			yakon		
they all (fem)							kun					
they two							hn			shakon		
they all							l∧n					

o-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I				kuy	kn		k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)							yakn		shakn	yakhiy		
we all (- you)				ky			yaky		shaky			
we two (+ you)							tn		hethn	yethiy		
we all (+ you)							ty		hethy			
you	sk	skn	sky				hs		hets	shey		
you two							esn		hetsn	yetshiy		
you all							etsy		hetsy			
it/she	wak	yukn	yuky	s	sn	tsy	y	yao	lao	yakao	yon	lon
he	lak	shukn	shuky	hyay	hetsn	hetsy	hl			shakao		
she	yuk	yukhiy		yesay	yetshiy		yak	kuway	luway	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)							kn			yakon		
they all (fem)							kun					
they two							hn			shakon		
they all							lʌn					

i-stems

	me	**us two**	**us all**	**you**	**you two**	**you all**	**it**	**it/her**	**him**	**her**	**them (fem)**	**them**
I				ku	kn		k		hi	khe		
we two (- you)							yakn		shakn	yakhi		
we all (- you)				yakwʌ			yakwʌ		shakwʌ			
we two (+ you)							tn		hethn	yethi		
we all (+ you)							twʌ		hethwʌ			
you	sk	skn	skwʌ				hs		hets	she		
you two							sn		hetsn	yetshi		
you all							swʌ		hetswʌ			
it/she	wak	yukn	yukwʌ	sʌ	sn	swʌ	kʌ	yo	lo	yako	yon	lon
he	lak	shukn	shukwʌ	hyʌ	hetsn	hetswʌ	lʌ			shako		
she	yuk	yukhi		yesʌ	yetshi		ye	kuwʌ	luwʌ	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)							kn			yakon yakoti	kuwati	luwati
they all (fem)							kuti kun					
they two							hn			shakon shakoti		
they all							lati lʌn					