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A GRAMMAR OF AKWESASNE MOHAWK

NANCY BONVILLAIN

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MAN
NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA
OTTAWA, JUNE 1973

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- N^o 8 - "A Grammar of Akwesasne Mohawk", par Nancy Bonvillain, 249 p.; \$2.50

ABSTRACT

The work is a grammar of Mohawk, as spoken at the Akwesasne (St. Regis) Reserve. The Reserve is located in southern Canada in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and in northern New York State, Franklin County.

Mohawk is one of six Northern Iroquoian languages. It is spoken today by people at six reserves in Canada and the United States. The grammar is based on fieldwork carried out at Akwesasne during nine months during the period from May 1969 through June 1971.

The grammar presents a synchronic descriptive analysis of Akwesasne Mohawk, although diachronic information is also included. It contains an introduction dealing with general characteristics of Mohawk, with the definition of the word, and with word-formation. Chapters which follow deal with a detailed discussion of phonemics and morphophonemics. The major part of the grammar is concerned with the structure and use of verbs. The different parts of Mohawk verbs are discussed: verb bases, pronominal prefixes, verbal prefixes, and verbal suffixes. Nominal constructions are also explained. There are some statements concerning syntax, although this is not a focus of the grammar.

Finally, the work includes ethnographic information, especially as it relates to language use. In this context, the domain of kinship terminology is discussed, both in terms of structure and usage.

SOMMAIRE

Le présent travail est une grammaire de la langue Mohawk telle que parlée sur la réserve d'Akwesasne (St. Regis). La réserve est située à la frontière canado-américaine, au sud des provinces du Québec et de l'Ontario et au nord de l'Etat de New York, dans le comté de Franklin.

La langue Mohawk est l'une des six qui forment le sous-groupe linguistique "Iroquois du Nord." On la parle aujourd'hui dans six réserves du Canada et des Etats-Unis. Les données nécessaires à ce travail ont été recueillies au cours de neuf mois de travail sur le terrain, échelonnés sur une période allant de mai 1969 à juin 1971.

Cette grammaire est surtout une analyse descriptive synchronique du Mohawk d'Akwesasne mais elle comporte aussi des données d'ordre diachronique. L'introduction traite des caractéristiques générales de la langue, de la définition du mot et de la formation des mots. Les chapitres suivants concernent la phonétique et la morphophonétique. La majeure partie de la grammaire traite de la structure et de l'emploi des verbes, ainsi que de leurs principales composantes: les bases, les préfixes pronominaux, les préfixes et les suffixes verbaux. On retrouvera aussi l'explication des constructions nominales et un aperçu de la syntaxe, bien que ce ne soit pas là le but premier de cette étude.

Enfin le travail comprend des informations d'ordre ethnographique, principalement en ce qui a trait à l'emploi de la langue; ainsi les termes de parenté sont présentés autant du point de vue de leur structure que de leur emploi.

PREFACE

The publication in the Mercury Series of this grammar--the author's doctoral dissertation for Columbia University--on the Akwesasne (St. Regis) dialect of Mohawk adds to the resurgence of interest in Iroquoian languages that has been gaining momentum during the last decade. The grammar is one of three recent papers by Dr. Bonvillain. Her Mohawk and English Dictionary has already been published by the New York State Education Department, and she is preparing a teaching grammar for use in the schools.

A Grammar of Akwesasne Mohawk will serve a number of purposes. It should provide scholars with close descriptive data for one northern Iroquoian language, and this is welcome at a time when comparative interest is running high. Just as important are the possible uses of the grammar by the Mohawk people themselves. Further, as everyone knows, language exists in a social and cultural context, and the author has gone beyond description of linguistic structure alone to include discussion of the Akwesasne speech community, the changing use of kinship terms and some of the phonological changes that have resulted from contact with European languages.

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Iroquoian Ethnologist

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The research for this grammar was carried out at the Akwesasne (St. Regis) Reserve, St. Regis, Quebec, Canada and Franklin County, New York. I wish to thank the St. Regis Band Council (Canada) and all of the people of Akwesasne for the opportunity to live and study on the Reserve.

It is difficult to express the gratitude I feel for the many people who helped me with this work. However, I would like to particularly thank Mrs. Beatrice Francis, without whose knowledge and patience this work would have not been possible. I also wish to especially thank Mrs. Mary Thomas, Mrs. Mary Tebo, Mr. Ernest Benedict, Mr. Paul Caldwell, and Mrs. Florence Benedict for their assistance.

To all these people and many others, I wish to express my thanks for helping in collecting the material for this grammar and for their patience at my mistakes.

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I owe an enormous intellectual and personal debt to my advisor and sponsor, Professor Harvey Pitkin. I wish to thank him for his helpful guidance and insightful advice throughout my graduate career at Columbia University. I also wish to thank Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury for his aid, both direct and indirect, in the analysis of an Iroquoian language. The linguistic analysis of Akwesasne Mohawk which is presented in this grammar is heavily influenced by Lounsbury's work, partly as presented in his Oneida Verb Morphology and partly as discussed

with him in class and privately. I would especially like to note his advice on the organization of the verbal aspect suffixes. Most of the terminology used in this grammar for the labelling of affixes is consistent with Lounsbury's work. In addition, I would like to mention the influence of the work of Professor Wallace Chafe (A Semantically Based Sketch of Onondaga; Meaning and the Structure of Language) from which ideas about agent/patient relations have been adopted.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the financial support which made my fieldwork possible: a Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation; three Contracts in Ethnology and Linguistics from the National Museums of Canada; and a grant from the Freida Foundation, New York.

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A GRAMMAR OF AKWESASNE MOHAWK

1.0. INTRODUCTORY: AKWESASNE

1.1. Mohawk is a northern Iroquoian language spoken by Mohawk Indians at six reserves in Canada and the United States: Akwesasne (St. Regis) Reserve, located partly in upper New York State and partly in the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec; Six Nations Reserve, located in Ontario; Gibson Reserve, Ontario; Tyendinaga Reserve, Ontario; Oka Reserve, Quebec; and Caughnawaga Reserve, Quebec.

According to Canadian government documents,¹ the following figures represent the populations of these reserves for 1970:

Akwesasne	2963 ²
Caughnawaga	4514
Gibson	206
Oka	777
Six Nations	8680 ³
Tyendinaga	2111

The figure for the population on the New York State area of Akwesasne is: 2,222.⁴

-
- ¹ Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands. Publication of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, 1970.
- ² This figure represents only the residents of the portion of the Akwesasne Reserve which is located in Canada.
- ³ This figure represents the entire population of the Six Nations Reserve which consists of members of the Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Tuscarora Nations.
- ⁴ State of New York, State Interdepartmental Committee on Indian Affairs: The Indian Today in New York State, page 4. Albany: 1970.

These figures represent the number of people residing at each reserve and not necessarily the number of speakers of Mohawk.

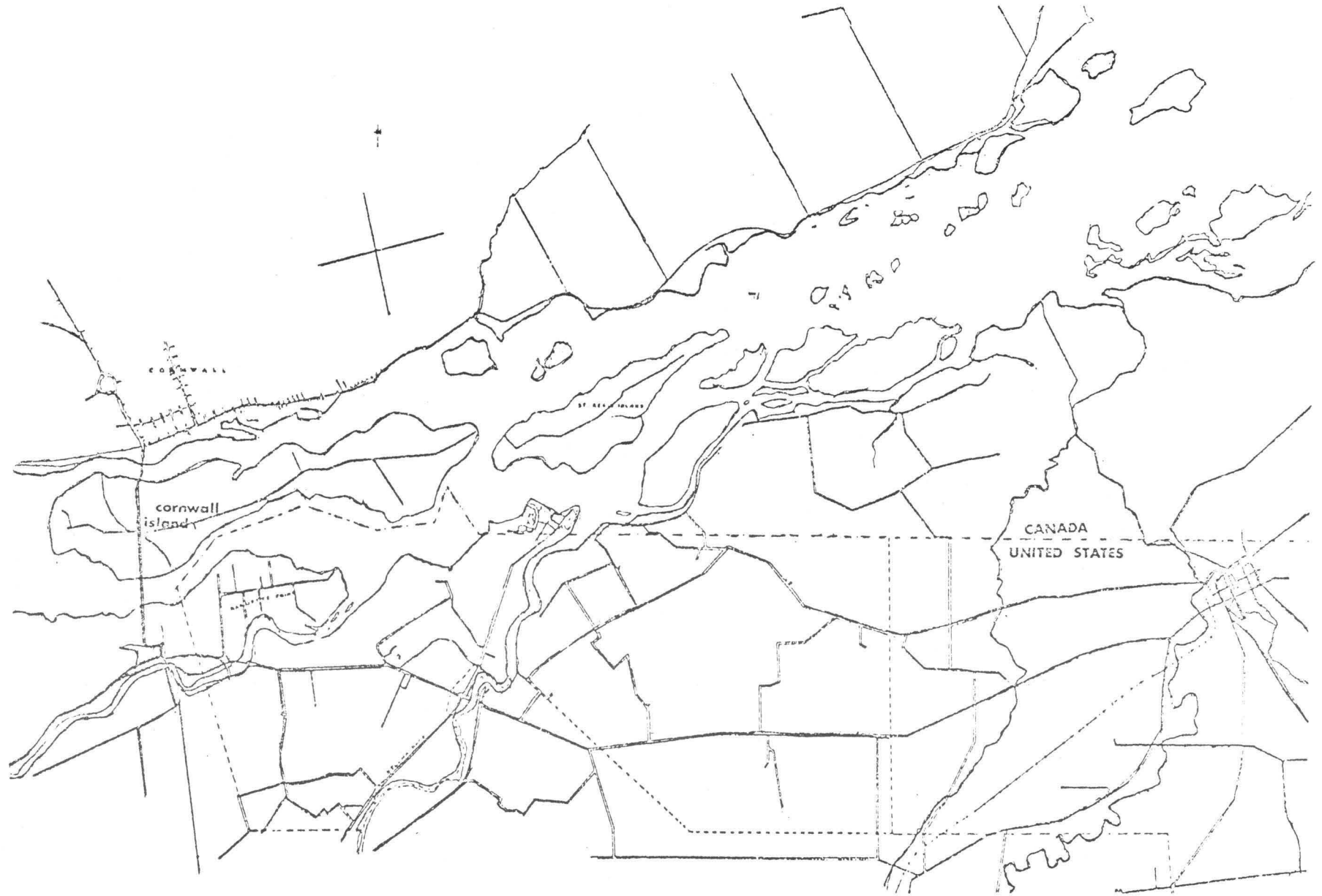
1.2. Akwesasne Reserve

The Akwesasne Reserve is located, as mentioned above, jointly in upper New York State (Franklin County) and in the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec (see map, page 9). The people of Akwesasne are historically, linguistically, and culturally one people and see themselves as such. The divisions among them into two national territories and two provincial territories within Canada are viewed as, and in reality are, arbitrary delineations imposed by the respective national governments.

There are four geographically distinct parts of Akwesasne (see map): 1. Cornwall Island, Ontario, located in the St. Lawrence River between New York State and the Canadian province of Ontario; 2. St. Regis Village, Quebec, located on a peninsula between the St. Lawrence River and the St. Regis River; 3. Snye, Quebec, located on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River; and 4. the portion of Akwesasne located in New York State and containing areas known as State Road, Cook Road, St. Regis Road, Raquette, and Hogansburg. In addition, numerous islands in the St. Lawrence River east of Cornwall Island in the province of Quebec form part of Akwesasne.

1.3. The Mohawk Language at Akwesasne

The grammar which follows is based on the Mohawk language as spoken at Akwesasne. It is difficult to estimate the number of people at Akwesasne who are speakers of Mohawk. However, a number of generalizations can be offered. People of middle age or older are



almost certain to be Mohawk speakers. With younger people, especially in their teens or younger, there is great variability. Some children grow up bilingual in Mohawk and English while others speak only English. A small number of children speak only Mohawk until they enter school. However, it seems that among children under 15 years of age, the majority speak only English, although many of these are able to understand Mohawk.

In addition to age, geographical residence on the Reserve seems to be a factor in the number of Mohawk speakers. In general, of the four major geographic areas (see 1.2. above), a higher proportion of the residents of Snye and Cornwall Island are speakers of Mohawk than those people living in St. Regis Village and New York State. This general difference in percentage of speakers refers mainly to the younger people -- those in their twenties or younger -- since almost all of the people of Akwesasne over 30 years of age speak Mohawk.

Most people at Akwesasne speak English, although some old people and a few pre-school children speak only Mohawk. French is spoken by some Akwesasne residents, also generally older people.

There has been much concern expressed recently about the decrease in the general use of the Mohawk language at Akwesasne and about the inability of many young people to speak their language. This concern has been expressed along with the resurgence of many aspects of traditional Mohawk culture. And both of these concerns have arisen with the awakening and strengthening of pride in the people's identity as Indian and as Mohawk.

Encouragement of the use of the Mohawk language has been concretely evidenced by the inclusion of the teaching of Mohawk in the curriculum

of the three elementary schools on the Canadian side of the Reserve. These schools are located one each on Cornwall Island, St. Regis Village, and Snye. Language courses were begun in the spring of 1969 at these schools and have continued to the present, although with some interruptions. Classes in the Mohawk language were begun in the spring of 1971 at Salmon River Central High School in New York State. Mohawk students from Akwesasne account for approximately 50% of the total school enrollment at Salmon River Central. The language classes, taught by an Akwesasne Mohawk speaker and teacher, are optional for the entire school. The great majority of the students in the classes are Mohawk although a few white students also attend.⁵

1.4. Linguistic Fieldwork

1.4.1. Length of Field Stay

The fieldwork for the grammar was conducted at the Akwesasne Reserve during nine months during the period from May 1969 through June, 1971.

1.4.2. Informants

Three regular informants were employed in the study. During the period of fieldwork, an average of five hours per day for five days per week were spent in elicitation. In addition to these three informants, many other Akwesasne residents were consulted concerning the language.

⁵ One "official" problem in instituting language courses at the schools has been the scarcity of Mohawk speakers who have teaching certificates. This requirement, existing in both Canada and the United States, has unnecessarily stood in the way of comprehensive innovations in the schools serving Akwesasne in terms of both language and culture courses.

Of the regular informants, work was done predominantly with B.F., a woman in her late 30's. She is fluent in both Mohawk and English and also has some knowledge of French, having at one time studied in a French-run boarding school in Quebec. The two other regular informants, M.T. and M.T.T., are both women in their 60's. Both are fluent in Mohawk and English. All of the informants are able to read and write, to some extent, the form of written Mohawk introduced by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century.

1.4.3. Elicitation

Three major types of elicitation procedures were employed in the fieldwork: single-word elicitation, sentence-elicitation, and text-elicitation. Research began with simple single-word elicitation but rapidly expanded to include phrase- and sentence-elicitation.

At several points in the fieldwork, reference was made to the two available studies of other northern Iroquoian languages.⁶ These works were used in a few instances as guidelines to what kinds of structures could be expected to come up in the elicitation of Mohawk.

The bulk of the elicitation, especially with the main informant, B.F., was based on the use of text. This method was found to be highly productive since it presented a large portion of "real speech" and

⁶ Chafe, Wallace. Seneca Morphology and Dictionary. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1967.

Lounsbury, Floyd. Oneida Verb Morphology. Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 48, 1953.

The work of Paul Postal (see bibliography) was not consulted as the basis for this grammar.

Also, note should be made that, for the most part, the terminology used in this grammar to label Mohawk affixes is consistent with the terminology that is generally accepted for Iroquoian languages and used in the cited works.

thus enabled the elicitation of many structures which do not readily appear in isolated utterances.

A number of types of text was used. One was stories and narratives of actual events. Another was recipes or descriptions of how to make or do things. A third was the use of existing materials written in Mohawk script. And a fourth was the use of actual taped conversations between several people which was then transcribed. This last type of text was perhaps the singly most effective for elicitation although all types were invaluable.

All text material was then used as the basis of detailed paradigmatic elicitation of particular verbal, nominal, and syntactic constructions.

2.0. INTRODUCTORY: LANGUAGE

As mentioned in 1.1. above, Mohawk is a northern Iroquoian language. The other northern Iroquoian languages are: Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. A related Iroquoian language, called southern Iroquoian, is Cherokee. Of these, Mohawk is most closely related to Oneida. Although Mohawk and Oneida have many similar words in common, they are not mutually intelligible.

2.1. Iroquoian

According to Lounsbury, the approximate time depth for the Iroquoian language family is 4000 years. The approximate time depth for the divergence of the northern and southern Iroquoian languages is 2500 years. And the approximate time depth for the divergence of Mohawk and Oneida is 1000 years.¹

2.2. Mohawk

The grammar which is presented in the present work is based on the language spoken at Akwesasne. Akwesasne Mohawk is one of six mutually-intelligible dialects of Mohawk which are spoken at six reserves in southern Canada and northern New York State (see 1.0. above.).

Since these dialects are, by definition, mutually-intelligible, most of the grammatical rules governing Akwesasne Mohawk are also applicable in the other Mohawk dialects. However, there are certain phonological, morphophonemic, and lexical differences. Therefore,

¹ Lounsbury, Floyd. Seminar in Iroquoian Linguistics. Yale University. March 1971.

unless otherwise stated, the term "Mohawk" used throughout this work refers specifically to Akwesasne Mohawk. Research is currently being carried out and a grammar is being prepared of the Caughnawaga dialect of Mohawk. It will be very interesting and useful to pursue comparative studies among the various Mohawk dialects as the material becomes available.

2.3. Language

2.3.1. Principles of Language

A language is a system of systems which interact and are interrelated in all areas of sound, structure, and meaning.

The importance of language lies in its function in communication. Indeed, it is the only systematic means of communication available or even conceivable. As such, the pivotal area of language in its function as communication is the semantic area, or area of meaning. Features and rules of sound and structure in language determine the forms by which meaning is communicated. Study is made of such linguistic rules in order to determine the ways in which the semantic organization of the language is conveyed. However, a study of phonological and structural rules without the relation of such rules to semantics, is, in all ways, meaningless.

The present grammar, then, will proceed as follows:

1. an introductory discussion of the definition and delineation of words will be given in 2.4. and 2.5. below;
2. a description of the sound system of Mohawk will be given in Chapter 3;

3. a discussion of general morphophonemic rules will be given in Chapter 4;
4. a discussion of linguistic systems and rules applicable to verbs will be given in Chapters 3 through 6;
5. a discussion of linguistic systems and rules applicable to nouns will be given in Chapter 9.

A detailed study of syntax is not within the scope of this grammar. However, syntactic relationships are of great relevance to the specification of the semantics of the morphological affixes. The semantic labels given to the affixes in the following chapters are therefore to be understood as temporary. They are generally consistent with labels in the literature of Iroquoian languages. A more exact specification of the semantics of verbal and nominal affixes awaits a fuller treatment of the syntax of Mohawk.

2.3.2. A Note on Terminology

The general discussion of language in the preceding section (2.3. above) should make it clear that language is not conceived of in terms of strict levels. That is, the systems of sound, structure, and semantics are not seen to comprise discrete, isolable levels of language, but rather are seen to interact and be interrelated throughout. However, aspects of sound, structure, and semantics can be isolated at some points in a discussion of individual units. That is, levels of language can be labelled in the process of an analysis and description. These labels are useful in referring to certain systems of linguistic phenomena which do differ in important respects. The important point to keep in mind is that such linguistic "levels" are

not separate but are thoroughly interrelated and interacting.

The following terms will be used in this work:

1. phonemics: the linguistic system of the organization of sound.
2. phoneme: a minimal range unit of sound which can be specified in terms of articulatory and/or acoustic features; it functions in the differentiation of meaning although it contains no inherent meaning in itself.
3. morphophonemics: the linguistic system of rules which operate in the organization of sound. Rules of morphophonemics account for the phonological adjustments of morphemes when they co-occur in adjacent positions as the result of morpheme combinations within a word.
4. morphology: the linguistic system of the organization of units of sound and meaning within a unit called a "word" (see 2.4. below.).
5. morpheme: a minimal unit of sound and meaning whose phonemes cannot be further segmented and assigned to meanings. A morpheme may represent a single semantic component (e.g. 1st person singular subject) or it may contain a unity of semantic components (e.g. 1st person singular subject and 2nd person singular object).
6. syntax: the linguistic system of relationships and juxtapositions of words within multi-word constructions.

7. semantics: the linguistic system of meaning.

Again, these terms are used as defined but they do not represent separate "levels." Rather, they are the means of labelling specific interrelated and inseparable systems of language in order to specify the characteristics of each and discuss their interaction.

2.3.3. A Note on Symbols

The symbols employed in the present work are as follows:

- / / : phonemic brackets; symbols written between such brackets are phonemes.
- [] : phonetic brackets; symbols written between such brackets represent phones.
- { } : morphemic brackets; symbols written within such brackets constitute a morpheme or a morpheme cluster.
- / ___ : "in the environment of"; for example: /t/ → d/ __V, i.e. the phoneme /t/ is realized as its allophone [d] in the environment described as "preceding a vowel."
- : "is realized as"; see example above.

2.4. Definition of the Word

2.4.1. The Mohawk word can be defined on the basis of phonological, morphophonemic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic characteristics.

2.4.1.1. Phonological Characteristics

In terms of phonology, a Mohawk word can be defined

as a sequence of phonemes which are isolated from other sequences of phonemes by features of juncture, or pause, both at the beginning and at the end of the sequence. The sequence of phonemes comprising a word is also accompanied by suprasegmental features of vowel length and stress. In Mohawk, the features of vowel length is optional; that is, a word does not necessarily have to contain a long vowel. The feature of stress is obligatory, however. All Mohawk words² must contain one and only one stressed vowel. The determination of the placement of stress within the word is complex and will be discussed in detail in 3.7.1. below. Generally, though, stress is placed on the penultimate vowel. Most exceptions to this general rule can be accounted for by subsidiary rules which shift stress from the penultimate to a preceding vowel (see 3.7.2. for the conditions of this adjustment.).

2.4.12. Morphophonemic Characteristics

In terms of morphophonemics, a Mohawk word can be defined as a unit within which morphophonemic rules are applied. That is, morphophonemic rules are relevant only within a word and not between words. These rules result in the phonological adjustments of separate morphemes as they co-occur and are combined within the boundaries of a word. They do not apply across syntactic sequences.

Mohawk, as all other Iroquoian languages, is characterized by great complexity on the morphophonemic level. The rules which make up the morphophonemic system will be discussed in Chapter 4 and in other appropriate sections of the grammar.

² There are certain particles (see Appendix A) which occur unstressed.

2.4.13. Morphological Characteristics

In terms of morphology, a Mohawk word can be defined as a unit characterized by the presence and arrangement of members of a specific number of morpheme classes. The ordering and membership of these classes depend upon the type of word concerned. That is, nouns and verbs are generally characterized by being composed of members of different morpheme classes (see 2.5. below.).

Morphemic brackets are used as defined in 2.3.3. above. That is, they encompass segments which are either monomorphemic or morpheme clusters. A morpheme cluster so designated is a fused unit which functions externally as a single morphemic unit although historically it may be composed of a cluster of separate semantic components. For example, certain pronominal prefixes are treated functionally as single morphemes while it is recognized that they are composed of specific morphemic clusters. Most subjective pronominal prefixes for non-singular subjects contain a component for person and a component for number (see 6.4. below). Each cluster of these components representing a specific pronominal prefix is treated as a fused unit since it functions as such.

In sum, then, a unit which is called a morpheme may be either a monomorphemic segment or a cluster of morphemic components. Both types of "morphemes" are labelled and treated identically because they are functionally identical.

2.4.14. Syntactic Characteristics

In terms of syntax, a Mohawk word can be defined as a unit which functions as a unit of sound and meaning in lineal

relationships with other similarly constructed and defined units.

A discussion of Mohawk syntax will not be included in the present grammar, although certain syntactic points will be mentioned as they relate to other aspects of the language.

2.4.15. Semantic Characteristics

In terms of semantics, a Mohawk word can be defined as a unit of sound which is associated with a particular meaning or meanings. Different types of words, i.e. verbs and nouns, can be characterized by different general semantic components (see 2.5. below.).

2.4.2. Syllables

A syllable is defined as a minimal sequence of sound which is able to be accompanied by suprasegmental features of length, stress, and pitch. By definition, then, a syllable must minimally be characterized by the presence of a vowel since vowels are able to co-occur with features of length, stress, and pitch whereas Mohawk consonants are not so able.

2.4.21. Syllables in Mohawk can be discussed in terms of the following:

1. vowel-initial; and
2. consonant-initial.

2.4.211. A vowel-initial syllable is minimally a unit comprised of a single vowel: V. It may also be a unit comprised of a bi-vocalic cluster.

Vowel-initial syllables may be open or closed. That is, if open,

they end with a vowel (in which case they contain only a single vowel or a bi-vocalic cluster); if closed, they end with a consonant or consonant cluster.

Vowel-initial syllable types attested in the data are:

open:	V	
	VV	
closed:	VC	VVCC
	VVC	VCCC
	VCC	VVCCC

A combined formula can be written for vowel-initial syllables which accounts for both open and closed syllables:

$$V(V)(C)(C)(C)$$

The obligatory member of a vowel-initial syllable is V. "V" may be represented by one or two vowels. Closed syllables may end with from one to three consonants.

2.4.212. A consonant-initial syllable is minimally a unit of a single consonant followed by a single vowel: CV. It, too, may be open or closed; that is, it may end with either a vowel (open) or a consonant (closed). Such a syllable may begin with either a single consonant or a consonant-cluster and may end with either a vowel, a bi-vocalic cluster, a single consonant, or a consonant-cluster.

A combined formula can be written for consonant-initial syllables which accounts for both open and closed syllables:

$$C(C)(C)V(V)(C)(C)(C)$$

The obligatory members of a consonant-initial syllable are CV. "C" may be represented by from one to three consonants and "V" may be

represented by one or two vowels. Closed syllables may end with from one to three consonants.

2.4.22. Syllables in Mohawk can co-occur with suprasegmental features of length, stress, and pitch. These features are carried by the vocalic elements in the syllables.

Syllables, that is, vowels, may be long or short and may be stressed or unstressed. Restrictions exist in Mohawk concerning the number of syllables within a single word which can be long or stressed. Restrictions also exist concerning the co-occurrences of length and stress within a syllable. (see 3.7. for a discussion of suprasegmental features and co-occurrences.)

2.5. Formation of the Word

Mohawk words are formed out of members of a specific number of morpheme classes. The morpheme classes which apply depend upon the type of word which is constructed. There are three major word types in Mohawk:

1. Verbs
2. Nouns
3. Particles

They will be discussed in turn below.

2.5.1. Verbs

By far the largest number of words in Mohawk are of the verb word-type. Verbs comprise the central statistical, structural, and semantic type in Mohawk. A verb can be defined on the basis of both structural and semantic properties.

2.5.11. In terms of semantics, a verb contains elements of meaning which fundamentally convey the idea of an action or state. Mohawk verbs basically consist of the following semantic components:

1. the specification of the action or state;
2. the specification of the subject (agent) and/or the object (beneficiary) of the action or state; and
3. modifications of the action or state in terms of components of mode, aspect, time, space, number, etc.

2.5.12. In terms of structure, a verb contains members of specific morphological classes which are particular to verbs. The basic outline of a Mohawk verb is:

Verbal Prefix	Pronominal Prefix	Verb Base	Verbal Suffix
------------------	----------------------	--------------	------------------

The verbal prefix class contains modal and non-modal prefixes (see Chapter 7); the pronominal prefix class contains prefixes designating the subject, object, and/or the co-occurrence of a particular subject and a particular object (see Chapter 6); the verb base class contains reflexive components, verb roots, and incorporated noun roots (see Chapter 5); and the verbal suffix class contains verb root suffixes, aspect suffixes and attributive suffixes (see Chapter 8).

As a class, the verbal prefix class is optional; that is, a verb can be constructed without the presence of any member of the verbal prefix class. The class of verbal suffixes is also optional, some verbs being constructed without a member of the verbal suffix class. The other two classes are obligatory; that is, a properly constructed verb must contain at least one member of each of the classes of pronominal

prefix and verb base. (For discussions of obligatory and optional members of each class and co-occurrences of members within each class, see the appropriate sections in Chapters 5 through 8 below.)

2.5.2. Nouns³

The second major word-type is the noun. In Mohawk, nouns are statistically fewer and structurally simpler than are verbs. However, they, too, can be defined on the basis of both structural and semantic properties.

2.5.21. In terms of semantics, a formal noun contains elements of meaning which fundamentally label a person, animal, place, or thing. Mohawk nouns also may contain semantic components which specify person, gender, number, condition, location, etc.

2.5.22. In terms of structure, a noun contains members of specific morphological classes which are particular to nouns. The basic outline of a Mohawk noun is:

Nominal Prefix	Noun Stem	Nominal Suffix
-------------------	--------------	-------------------

The nominal prefix class contains prefixes which specify the word as a noun and/or modify the noun in terms of person, number, and relation to verbs and to other nouns; the noun stem class contains a single noun root or compound of noun roots; and the nominal suffix

³ This discussion of Mohawk nouns refers to formal nouns, i.e. words which contain nominal morphological features. Morphological verbs which function as nouns are discussed under verbs. See Chapter 9 for a further discussion of formal nouns.

class contains suffixes which specify the word as a noun and/or modify the noun in terms of person, number, attribute, location, or relation to verbs and to other nouns. (see Chapter 9.)

As a class, the nominal suffix class is optional; that is, a noun can be constructed without the presence of any member of the nominal suffix class. The other two classes are obligatory; that is, a properly constructed noun must contain at least one member of each of the classes of nominal prefix and noun stem. (For a discussion of obligatory and optional members of each class and co-occurrences of members within each class, see the appropriate sections in Chapter 9 below.)

2.5.3. Particles

The last word-type is the particle. In Mohawk, particles are statistically few and structurally simple. However, certain of their structural and semantic properties can be discussed.

2.5.31. In terms of semantics, a particle generally expresses ideas of relationships between, and modifications of, other word-types (i.e. of verbs and nouns). Particles basically express temporal and spatial relationships and modifications.

2.5.32. In terms of structure, a particle can really only be defined negatively. That is, a particle is usually a comparatively short sequence of phonemes and morphemes which does not share any of the structural features of verbs or of nouns.

Particles will not be discussed in any detail in the present grammar, although they occur in some examples of verbal and nominal constructions. (However, see Appendix A for a list of Mohawk particles.)

3.0. PHONEMICS

3.1. Inventory of Consonant Phonemes

There are ten consonant phonemes in Mohawk:

		Place of Articulation				
		Apico- Alveolar	Blade- Alveolar	Blade- Palatal	Dorso- Velar	Glottal
Manner of Articulation	Obstruents:					
	Stops	t			k	ʔ
	Affricates			j		
	Spirants		s			h
	Resonants:					
	Nasals	n				
	Laterals	l				
	Semi- Vowels			y	w	

3.1.1 Description of Obstruent Consonants

3.1.1.1. Stops

The two stops, an apico-alveolar /t/ and a dorso-velar /k/, occur both voiceless ([t], [k]) and

voiced ([d], [g]) according to the following rules:

$$\text{stop } \begin{bmatrix} t \\ k \end{bmatrix} / _ \rightarrow \text{voiced } \begin{bmatrix} d \\ g \end{bmatrix} / _ (w,y) V$$

$$\text{voiceless } \begin{bmatrix} t \\ k \end{bmatrix} / _ (w) \#$$

$$_ C \text{ (non-Semi-Vowel)}$$

The allophones [t] and [k] are voiceless and strongly aspirated at the end of a word or before another consonant, except when before a consonant identical to itself where it occurs voiceless but unaspirated; that is, in the clusters /-tt-/ and /-kk-/, the first stop is unaspirated.

The allophones [d] and [g] are voiced and released.

For example:

voiced:

/oli:te?/	[oli:de?]	"pigeon"
/otáhsa/	[odáhsa]	"tail"
/tékeni/	[dégeni]	"two"
/oyà:kala/	[oyà:gala]	"shirt"
/ká:lis/	[gá:lis]	"stocking"

voiceless:

/sáhset/	[záhset]	"Hide it! (sg.)"
/ohyótsah/	[ohyótsah]	"chin"
/wísk/	[wísk]	"five"
/jíks/	[jíks]	"fly"

The distribution of the stop /t/ is restricted to some extent. It never occurs before the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/. The underlying sequences */ty/ is in all cases represented on the surface by the sequence /ky/. The surface /ky/ therefore

may represent underlying /ky/ or underlying */ty/ sequences.

The sequence */tw/ is represented on the surface as /tew/ (see 4.2.14. below.).

For example:

/ohnó:kwa/ [ohnó:gwa] "cheek"

/kyóhtu/ [gyóhdu] "nine"

From an underlying */ty/:¹

*/vkátyv/ → /vkákyv/ → [vgágyv]
"I'll sit down"

*/atyà:tawih/ → [akyà:tawih] → [agvâ:dawih]
"garment"

The third Mohawk stop, a glottal /?/, is sometimes released with aspiration when occurring at the end of a word. Glottal /?/ occurs as glottal stricture before all words beginning with a vowel. However, it is not written in this initial position since its occurrence there is predictable and therefore non-phonemic.

Examples of words with phonemic /?/ are:

/oji?tv:ʔa/ "bird"

/áhta?/ "shoe"

¹ Most underlying */ty/ clusters derive from the combination of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme { -at- } and a noun or verb stem beginning with /-y/. In the examples given, the underlying */vkátyv/ "I'll sit down" can be analyzed as: { v- } future mode; { -k- } 1st person singular subjective pronominal prefix; { -at } reflexive; { -yv } verb root meaning "place, put". Similarly, the underlying */atyà:tawih/ "garment" can be analyzed as: { at- } reflexive; { -yà:ta- } noun stem meaning "body"; and { -wih } verb stem "to give". These prefixes, stems and roots will be discussed further in the appropriate chapters below.

3.1.12. Affricate

Only one affricate consonant occurs in

Mohawk: a blade-palatal /j/. It occurs in accordance with the following phonological rule:

affricate /j/ → voiceless [č̥]/C__y,i
voiced [j]/ elsewhere

The voiced allophone [j] sometimes occurs following a glottal /ʔ/ before /y/ or /i/ in free variation with the voiceless allophone [c̥].

The affricate /j/ is palatal in all of its occurrences although its palatal quality may be stronger when it precedes the palatal semi-vowel /y/ or the palatal vowel /i/.

Examples of words with the affricate /j/ are:

/oʃi:ja/	[oʃi:ja]	"flower"
/jʃiks/	[jʃiks]	"fly"
/ahjʃiha/	[ahcʃiha]	"garters"

3.1.13. Spirants

The spirant /s/ is a blade-alveolar obstruent.

It occurs in accordance with the following phonological rule:

spirant /s/ → voiced [z]/V__V
#__V
voiceless [s]/ elsewhere: __C
C__V
__#

For example:

/só:lah/	[zó:lah]	"duck"
/onísela/	[onízela]	"shelf"
/kahnúhsa?/	[gahnúhsa?]	"house"
/stú:ha/	[sdú:ha]	"a little bit"
/jíks/	[jíks]	"fly"

In some instances, there is free variation between the voiced allophone [z] and the voiceless allophone [s] when in initial position before a vowel and when following a glottal /?/ before a vowel.

For some speakers, there is a tendency for the alveolar /s/ to become a palatal [š] in the environment /__i. For example:

/ohsí:na/	[ohší:na]	"leg"
/áhšile?/	[áhšile?]	"shawl"

Both the alveolar and palatal articulations of /s/ are acceptable and occur in this environment.

A morphophonemic rule applies to the cluster of alveolar /s/ and palatal /y/. It is:

$$*/s/ + */y/ \rightarrow /j/{}^2$$

The affricate consonant /j/ which occurs in place of the inadmissible cluster */sy/ is characterized by the blade articulation of /s/ and the palatal articulation of /y/.

²

The symbol /j/ may therefore represent both the simple phoneme /j/ and the morphophonemically derived /j/, resulting from the combination of the phonemes /s/ and /y/. The one symbol /j/ is used in both cases since the two segments are phonetically identical.

For example:

/t'éja?k/ "Break it in one break! (sg.)"

This form comes from an underlying */t'ésyak/ and can be analyzed as: { te- } duplicative prefix; { -s- } 2nd person singular subjective pronominal prefix; and { -ya?k } verb stem meaning "break". (These prefixes, stems, and suffixes will be discussed further in the appropriate chapters below.)

The spirant /h/ is a voiceless glottal obstruent. Examples of words in which /h/ occurs are:

/kahnúhsa?/ "house"

/h'v/ "yes"

3.1.2. Description of Resonant Consonants

3.1.2.1. Nasal

There is only one nasal consonant phoneme in Mohawk: an apico-alveolar /n/. It occurs in accordance with the following phonological rule:

nasal /n/	voiceless [n̥] / ?__#
	voiced [n] / elsewhere

For example:

/nú:wa?/ [nú:wa?] "now"

/a?v:na/ [a?v:na] "bow and arrow"

/t'ésta?n/ [d'ésta?n̥] "Stand up! (sg.)"

3.1.22. Lateral

There is only one lateral consonant in Mohawk: an apico-alveolar /l/. It occurs voiced except that it becomes voiceless in final position within a word. In this environment, the lateral /l/ is followed by aspiration or "breath."

Examples of words with the lateral /l/ are:

/laúha?/	"he"
/káhlu?/	"cradleboard"
/éhlal/	"dog"
/ojí:nekwal/	"yellow, orange"

There is some variability in the sequences of resonant + h or of h + resonant. That is, certain words with underlying /h + resonant + h/ sequences may appear with the preceding or following /-h-/ deleted. For example:

/akya?táhna?/	"belt"
/akya?tánha?/	"belt"
/atkaláhna?/	"goggle, eyeglasses"
/atkalánha?/	"goggle, eyeglasses"
/ahjínha?/	"garters"
/ahjiha?/	"garters"
/yetstahlóhsta?/	"shingles"
/yetstalhóhsta?/	"shingles"
/yekutselahlóhsta?/	"paintbrush"
/yekutselalhóhsta?/	"paintbrush"

Generally, in these examples, older informants tended to use the /resonant + h/ sequences while younger informants tended to use the /h + resonant/ sequences.

3.1.23. Semi-Vowels

The blade-palatal /y/ is a voiced semi-vowel. It is voiced in all of its occurrences. However, its distribution is restricted by the following morphophonemic rule:

$*/s/ + */y/ \rightarrow /j/$ (see 2.1.13. above)

Examples of words with the semi-vowel /y/ are:

/yà:yak/	"six"
/k'v:yeh/	"grease"

The dorso-velar semi-vowel /w/ occurs according to the following phonological rule:

semi-vowel /w/ \rightarrow voiceless [w̥]/__#
 voiceless [f]/__h
 voiced [w]/ elsewhere

For example:

/wísk/	[wísk]	"five"
/owí:la?/	[owí:la?]	"baby, infant"
/o?wháhsa/	[o?fáhsa]	"skirt"
/té:sekw/	[dé:zekw]	"pick it up! (sg.)"

3.2. Distribution of Consonant Phonemes

The following statements account for the distribution of consonant phonemes:

1. All consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position.
2. All consonant phonemes occur medially in words.
3. The following consonant phonemes occur word-finally: /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, /s/, /h/, /n/, /l/, /y/ and /w/. The palatal affricate /j/ does not occur in final position in words.
4. Clusters of two consonants may occur word initially, medially, and finally.
5. Clusters of more than two consonants do not occur initially in words.
6. Clusters of three or four consonants may occur medially in words.
7. Tri-consonantal clusters occur finally in words, but rarely in this position.
8. Clusters of more than three consonants do not occur finally in words.

The following is a chart of the bi-consonantal clusters in the data (clusters written /CC/ occur initially and/or medially; those written /-CC/ occur only medially):

c1 \ c2	t	k	ʔ	j	s	h	n	l	y	w
t	-tt	tk			ts	th				
k	kt	kk			ks	kh				
ʔ	-ʔt	-ʔk		-ʔj	-ʔs		-ʔn	-ʔl	-ʔy	-ʔw
j									jy	
s	st	sk			-ss	sh	sn	sl	sy	sw
h	-ht	-hk		-hj	-hs		-hn	hl	-hy	-hw
n						-nh		-nl	ny	
l						-lh			-ly	
y										
w						-wh				

3.3. Peripheral Phonemic Consonants

3.3.1. Description of Peripheral Phonemic Consonants

In addition to the ten consonant phonemes described above, there are two consonant phonemes which are of limited occurrence in Akwesasne Mohawk and are considered peripheral.

They are:

Place of Articulation

Place of Articulation		
	Bi-labial	
Obstruent:	Stop	p
Resonant:	Nasal	m

The bi-labial stop sound /p/ occurs in accordance with the following phonological rule:

$$\text{stop /p/} \longrightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{b/} __\text{V} \\ \text{p/} __\text{C}^3 \end{matrix}$$

For example:

/aplám/	[aplám]	"Abram, Abraham"
/pápa?/	[bába?]	"Papa"
/lapáhpot/	[labáhbót]	"catfish; bullhead"

The bi-labial nasal sound /m/ always occurs voiced.

³ It is interesting to consider the problem of whether the stop sound /p/ follows the allophonic pattern of the stop phoneme /t/ or /k/. The question revolves around the occurrence of /p/ before semi-vowels. No such cluster is attested in the data. However, there are two possible reasons for this lack: one, that the clusters *py and *pw are restricted from occurring (as the clusters */ty/ and */tw/ are restricted); and two, that since the sound /p/ is of limited occurrence the possible clusters *py and *pw simply have not been attested. It is impossible to make any judgments on the merits of either of these alternatives. They have been suggested in order to bring up the problem of the distribution of peripheral sounds which are of foreign origin.

For example:

/mäjis/	"matches"
/thámthaks/	"thumbtacks"

3.3.2. Origin and Restriction

Both bi-labial consonants /p/ and /m/ are of limited occurrence in Mohawk, attested only in words of foreign, i.e. French and English, origin. Aside from the question of origin, there are a number of specific considerations which point to the peripheral nature and function of these consonants in the sound system of Mohawk.

3.3.21. One consideration is based on knowledge of the phonemic systems of other northern Iroquoian languages. In none of these do bi-labial consonant phonemes occur.⁴ Comparative and historical material also establishes the phonemic system of proto-Iroquoian as one which lacks bi-labial consonants.⁵ The fact that these sounds are considered phonemic, although peripheral, in Akwesasne Mohawk, indicates their relatively recent origin.

⁴ See Lounsbury, Floyd, 1953 (Oneida); Chafe, Wallace, 1967 (Seneca) and 1970 (Onondaga). Also, unpublished material on Tuscarora and Cayuga supports this statement.

⁵ Lounsbury, Floyd. Seminar in Iroquoian Linguistics. Yale University, March 1971.

3.3.22. Another consideration is based on the phonological distribution of these bi-labial consonants within a word. The stop /p/ occurs only once in a consonant cluster:

/aplám/⁶ "Abram, Abraham"

The stop /p/ is not attested preceding any other consonant nor following any consonant. The nasal /m/ is never attested in any consonant cluster.

Also, the stop /p/ never occurs in final position in the corpus.

These distributional facts are clearly aberrant in comparison with those of other Mohawk consonants. (see 3.2. above.)

3.3.23. A third consideration is based on the kinds of words in which the bi-labial sounds are attested. They occur only in proper personal names of Christian origin and in certain nouns denoting articles of material culture introduced through contact with European peoples. The bi-labial sounds never occur in any inflectional or derivational morphemes. Nor do they occur in any verb roots. These are very important considerations especially in view of the fact that the verb is the central word type in Mohawk.

⁶ This word is additionally aberrant in that it is stressed on the final syllable in violation of very strong stress rules (see 3.7.21. below.).

3.3.24. The lateness of the appearance in Mohawk of the bi-labial sounds /p/ and /m/ even as phones in the language is confirmed by a comparison of words of early and of late foreign origin. That is, certain proper names and noun labels entering Mohawk through French at an early time do not contain any bi-labials which occurred in the French words. Instead, the sounds of the French words were modified so that the loanword conformed to the Mohawk phonemic system.

For example:

/u <u>w</u> á:li?/	"Marie"
/ <u>w</u> isheh/	"Michael, Mitchell"

Later loanwords, particularly recent loans from English, retain the occurring foreign bi-labials:

/ <u>m</u> ájis/	"matches"
/thá <u>m</u> thaks/	"thumbtacks"

The question of the relative time-depth of the incorporation of foreign loanwords into Mohawk and the manifestation of such temporal differences in the phonological alteration or acceptance of foreign words is a topic of great interest and importance. A more detailed study of this process in Mohawk should be pursued.

3.4. Inventory of Vowel Phonemes

There are six vowel phonemes in Mohawk:

	Front (unrd.)	Central (unrd.)	Back (rd.)
High	i		u
Mid	e	v	o
Low		a	

3.4.1. Description of Vowel Phonemes

There are four oral vowels in Mohawk: a high-front unrounded /i/, a mid-front unrounded /e/, a low-central unrounded /a/, and a mid-back rounded /o/. There are two nasal vowels: a mid-central unrounded /v/ and a high-back rounded /u/. For the sake of simplification of notation, the nasalization mark is omitted in the writing of the nasal vowels since oral vowels do not occur in the same articulatory positions.

The back vowels, /o/ and /u/, are very weakly rounded. The back nasal vowel /u/ is often articulated with complete lip closure, producing a sound very close to an [m]. However, there is no muscle tension in the lips, distinguishing this vowel from the consonant sound /m/. In fact, the closure of the lips may result from just such a lack of muscular tension. Older speakers tend to preserve the open vowel quality of /u/ to a greater degree than do the younger speakers.

The following list of numerals illustrates all of the vowel phonemes:

/vʰskah/	"one"
/tékeni/	"two"
/áhsv/	"three"
/kayé:li/	"four"
/wísk/	"five"
/yà:yak/	"six"
/játah/	"seven"
/saʔté:ku/	"eight"
/kyóhtu/	"nine"
/oyé:liʔ/	"ten"

3.5. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes

The following statements account for the distribution of vowel phonemes:

1. All vowel phonemes occur initially in words. Word-initial vowels are preceded by some weak glottal structure.
2. All vowel phonemes occur in medial position in words.
3. All vowel phonemes occur word-finally.
4. Bi-vocalic clusters may occur initially and medially, but do not occur finally in words.
5. Clusters of more than two vowels do not occur.

3.6. Peripheral Phonemic Vowel

There is a peripheral phonemic vowel /I/, a mid-high

front unrounded oral vowel. It occurs in only two basic words in the entire corpus:

/kítkit/	"chicken"
/kwískwis/	"pig"

The basic words for "chicken" and "pig", i.e. /kítkit/ and /kwískwis/, respectively, occur as part of the derived words which denote the animal's habitual man-made shelters, i.e. /kítkitne/ "chicken coop" and /kwískwísne/ "pig pen, pig sty." The sequence /-kwís/ also occurs in the word /k'vskwis/ which means "dirty-clothes basket, hamper."

The vowel sound /I/ is considered peripheral to the Mohawk phonemic system because of its extremely limited occurrence.

3.7. Suprasegmentals

3.7.1. Length and Stress

Length and stress are both considered to be prosodic features which occur with vowels. They are not viewed as separate phonological segments but rather as prosodic modifications of vowels. Length refers generally to the prosodic feature of increased temporal continuation of a vowel. Stress refers generally to the prosodic feature of increased voice pitch accompanying the vowel.

3.7.1.1. In Mohawk, there are two degrees of length: long and short. They are written as follows:

V = short vowel

V: = long vowel

In Mohawk, there are two degrees of stress: stressed and unstressed. They are written as follows:

V = unstressed vowel

Ṽ = stressed vowel

3.7.12. There is some co-occurrence of length and stress in Mohawk. All long vowels are stressed. However, not all stressed vowels are long, although this is predominantly the case. There seems to be some degree of predictability to the rules:

$$\acute{V} \longrightarrow \acute{V}: \quad / _ _ CV$$

$$\acute{V} \longrightarrow \acute{V} \quad / _ _ CCV$$

That is, a stressed vowel will tend to be long if it precedes a single consonant whereas it will tend to be short if it precedes a consonant cluster. However, the fact that there are many exceptions to these rules indicates that if vowel length is predictable from stress, the rules governing this predictability are very complex.

For example:

/onú:ta?/	"hill"
/á:ʔale?/	"crinoline slip"
/káhlu?/	"cradleboard"
/kákhwa?/	"food"
/óhskyv/	"bone"

but:

/okwáho/	"wolf" ⁷
/onájá?/	"wheat"
/ojíselá?/	"window glass, window pane"

A long stressed vowel sometimes occurs before a consonant cluster, although usually such long vowels derive from an underlying sequence of */-V̄?CC-/ (see 3.7.14. below). For example:

/onunyò:kwa?/	"dirt, clump of dirt"
	(underlying: */onunyó?kwa/)
/ò:nyale?/	"snake"
	(underlying: */ó?nyale?/)

3.7.13. Only one vowel in each word is stressed; therefore, all the other vowels in the word must be unstressed. Likewise, only one vowel in each word may be long; all the other vowels being short. However, it is possible that no vowel in the word be long. Therefore, then, each word must contain one and only one stressed vowel and may contain one or no long vowels. The rule that only one long vowel may appear in any given word is a derivative rule, derived from the rules that all long vowels must be stressed and that only one stressed vowel may appear in any given word.

⁷ It can be noted that in the majority of words which have short stressed vowels preceding a single consonant, the single consonant in question is /-h-/. However, there are also other exceptions to this dominant pattern.

The following grid diagram shows these co-occurrences:

		Stress	
		Stressed \acute{V}	Unstressed V
Length	Long V:	+	-
	Short V	+	+

When words are said in multi-word constructions in normal speech, the length of a long vowel and the stress of a stressed vowel may be somewhat diminished in keeping with phrasal and sentence contours. For example:

/o \acute{j} i:nekwal/ "yellow, orange"

but:

/o \acute{j} i \acute{n} ekwal nikaji? \acute{j} o:tv/ "dandelion" (yellow
flower)

3.7.14. There is one morphophonemic rule governing the occurrence of length and stress. The rule can be stated as follows:

\acute{V} h + resonant \longrightarrow \acute{V} :

\acute{V} ? + consonant \longrightarrow \acute{V} :

That is, the underlying sequences of stressed vowel + h + resonant or of stressed vowel + ? + any consonant undergo a process which results in the loss of the /-h-/ and the /-?-/, respectively, and a lengthening of the stressed vowel, accompanied by falling tone. (Stress and falling tone are written with the symbol: \acute{V} .)

For example:

/onù:ta?/	"milk"
	(underlying: */onú?ta?/)
/okà:la?/	"eye"
	(underlying: */okáhla?/)
/onawà:tsta?/	"mud"
	(underlying: */onawá?tsta?/)

3.7.2. Placement of Stress

3.7.21. The problem of the placement of stress within the word is very complex. However, a few patterns can be pointed out here, with others to be discussed in later sections. To begin with, the preferred syllable to receive stress is the penultimate. A word of more than one syllable spoken in isolation is very rarely stressed on the final syllable. Monosyllabic words are extremely rare.

3.7.22. The rule placing stress on the penultimate syllable must apply before the application of two additional morphophonemic rules. The first such rule supplies epenthetic vowels. For example:

/kè:yahle?/	"I remember (it)"
k-	1st person singular subjective pronominal prefix
-ehyahl-	verb stem "remember"
-?	perfective aspect suffix

The final vowel in this word, /-e-/, is epenthetic, functioning to break up an inadmissible cluster of */-l?/. The stress is placed on

the penultimate vowel in the underlying sequence */k-ehyahl-?/:
*/k-è:yahl-?/. Then the epenthetic /-e-/ is inserted.

In potentially monosyllabic words before the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, a "dummy" vowel is placed initially in the word in order to create an available penultimate position to receive stress. For example:

/í:kehle?/ "I want, I want to..."

-k- 1st person singular subjective pronominal
prefix

-ehl- verb stem "want, want to..."

-? perfective aspect suffix

A dummy vowel, /i-/, appears in order to provide for the placement of stress. Then, after the stress is placed, the epenthetic /-e-/ is inserted after the verb stem.

3.7.23. The second rule which applies after stress-placement is the rule inserting a morpheme joiner, usually /-a-/. The morpheme joiner, or filler vowel, occurs within verb stems and serves to join the various roots and morphemes that make up the verb stem (see Chapter 5 below.). For example:

/wa?katelví:nayv?/ "I prayed" (literally: "I had a prayer"):

wa?- declarative mode prefix

-k- 1st person singular subjective pronominal prefix

-atelnayv? verb stem "pray"

-ate- reflexive prefix

-lvn- root "pray, prayer"

-yv? root "have, own, possess"

The filler vowel, /-a-/ functions to join the two verb roots, /-lvn-/ and /-yv/. Although the vowel, /-a-/, is penultimate, it cannot carry stress. Therefore, the preceding vowel /-v-/ is stressed.

3.7.3. Pitch

3.7.31. Pitch is an important prosodic feature which is relevant in sentence intonation contours and particularly in interrogative constructions. When the interrogative particle /k'v?/ is used, it receives strong stress and a rise in pitch, as in the question

/í:se k'v? tho yáhse?/ "Did you (sg.) go there?"

However, it is possible to omit the interrogative particle /k'v?/ in a question. Then, in order to convey the interrogative meaning, the stressed syllable of the verb receives a strong rise in pitch, as in

/í:se tho yáhse?/ "Did you (sg.) go there?"

The change in pitch in the above question distinguishes the interrogative "Did you (sg.) go there?" from the declarative statement "You (sg.) went there.":

/í:se tho yáhse?/

3.7.32. The morphophonemic rule affecting underlying sequences of /V' h + resonant/ and of /V' ? + consonant/ discussed above in 3.7.14. has a tonal component. The rule as stated above is:

V' h + resonant → V:

$\acute{V} ? + \text{consonant} \rightarrow \grave{V}$:

That is, there is a lengthening of the stressed vowel accompanied by falling tone in replacement of the following /-h-/ and /-?-/.

4.0. MORPHOPHONEMICS

4.1. Introduction

The importance of morphophonemic adjustments as a major characteristic of Mohawk cannot be overstressed. Patterns of phonological modifications and alterations resulting from the co-occurrence of separate morphemes are complex and pervasive.

Mohawk is also characterized by a high degree of fusion of morphemes. That is, there are many instances where morpheme cuts cannot realistically be made because of the degree to which the separate semantic components within the segment have each lost much of their own distinctive phonological representation. The resulting unit is one which expresses several components of meaning but each component cannot be assigned to a definite phonological sequence. This complexity is found in several linguistic categories, especially in certain transitive pronominal prefixes (see 6.6. below for a full discussion of these prefixes.).

Although only a few verb roots will be discussed thoroughly in this grammar, it should be pointed out that many roots in Mohawk are likewise characterized by a high degree of fusion. That is, many verb roots and noun roots are unanalyzable in terms of their morphemic components. Verb stems can be analyzed and their verb class components can be segmented but the roots themselves are often not susceptible to further segmentation because of old processes of morphemic fusion. This process has occurred and is preserved in many verb stems in Mohawk. Perhaps, with more material from Mohawk and from the other Iroquoian languages, the segmentation of some unanalyzable verb and noun roots will become

possible.

4.2. Morphophonemic Rules

Morphophonemic rules in Mohawk can be divided into two general types:

1. Rules which apply in the co-occurrence of a member of one of the four major classes within the verb with a member of another of the four classes (see 2.5.12. above for a discussion of these classes).

2. Rules which apply in the co-occurrence of members of the same major class within the verb.

Only the first type of morphophonemic rule will be discussed in this chapter. That is, this chapter will outline and discuss nine general morphophonemic rules which have been abstracted from the data. The discussion here by no means includes the large number of morphophonemic rules which operate in such complex fashion in Mohawk. However, the discussion is aimed at formulating generalizations about morphophonemic processes which are applicable to large portions of the language. Rules applying to co-occurrences of particular members within each broad class are not included in this discussion but will be brought up in the appropriate chapters which follow.

4.2.1. General Morphophonemic Rules

4.2.11. Rule Governing Length and Stress

$$\acute{V} h + \text{resonant} \longrightarrow \acute{V}:$$

$$\acute{V} ? + \text{consonant} \longrightarrow \acute{V}:$$
 (see 3.7.14. for

a discussion of the operation of this rule)

The underlying sequences of stressed vowel + h + resonant and of stressed vowel + ? + any consonant undergo a process of the loss of the /-h-/ and /-?-/, respectively, and a lengthening of the stressed vowel, accompanied by falling tone. For example:

/onù:ta?/	"milk"
	(underlying: */onú?ta?/)
/oji:ja?/	"flower"
	(underlying: */ojí?ja?/)
/o?wà:lu?/	"meat"
	(underlying: */o?wáhlu?/)

The appropriate rules are confirmed, not only by the acoustic features of length and falling tone, but also by the phonological shapes of the stems when they occur in unstressed contexts.

For instance, compare the following pairs of nouns:

/onù:ta?/	"milk"
/onu?tá:ke/	"in the milk"
/oji:ja?/	"flower"
/jikaji?jayvtho/	"flowerbed" (literally: where the flowers are planted)
/o?wà:lu?/	"meat"
/ka?wáhlakelí:ta?/	"fried meat"

From an examination of each of these pairs, it is possible to discover the identity of the lost segment of the noun stem. That is, since the word /onu?tá:ke/ "in the milk" contains the phonological sequence /-u?t-/ , it can be determined that in the word /onù:ta?/ "milk" the sequence /-ù:t-/ represents an underlying sequence of /-ú?t-/ .

4.2.12. */t/ + */y/ → /ky/ (see 3.1.11. above)

The underlying sequence */-ty-/ is inadmissible in Akwesasne Mohawk. On the surface, the stop /-t-/ is replaced by the stop /-k-/ before all occurrences of the phoneme /-y-/ . The resulting sequence /-ky-/ is, of course, affected by the phonological rule which selects the voiced allophone of /k/ and is therefore represented phonetically as [-gy-] .

The morphophonemic rule */t/ + */y/ → /ky/ applies to verbs whose stems are composed of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix { at/atat } , followed by verb roots (or incorporated noun roots) beginning with the consonant /-y-/ . (see 5.2.1. below for a discussion of the reflexive/reciprocal prefixes.) For example:

/sákyv/ "Sit down! (sg.)"

s- 2nd person singular subjective prefix

-at- reflexive prefix

-yv verb root "place, put"

The verb /sákyv/ , therefore, literally means "You (sg.) place yourself!" Its underlying structure is */s-at-yv/ .

4.2.13. */s/ + */y/ → /j/ (see 3.1.13. above)

The affricate /j/ which occurs in place of the inadmissible */-sy-/ cluster is characterized by the blade articulation of /s/ and the palatal articulation of /y/.

This rule applies particularly in the formation of verbs from /y-/ initial verb stems with 2nd person singular subjects. (see 6.3.43. below). For example:

/jv̄tho/ "Plant it! (sg.)"

s- 2nd person singular subjective pronominal prefix

-ȳv̄tho verb root "plant"

The underlying structure */s-ȳv̄tho/ is manifested on the surface as /jv̄tho/.

The morphophonemic rule */s/ + */y/ → /j/ applies also to verbs containing the "iterative" non-modal verbal prefix { s- } followed by a pronominal prefix beginning with /-y-/. (see 7.2.8. below.). For example:

/tejetenyúkwas/ "she, one keeps changing"

te- duplicative verbal prefix

-s- iterative verbal prefix

-ye- 3rd person feminine/indefinite singular
subjective pronominal prefix

-tenyúkwas verb stem "Keep changing"

The underlying structure */te-s-ye-tenyúkwas/ is manifested on the surface as /tejetenyúkwas/.

4.2.14. Prefix ending in obstruent consonant →
obstruent consonant + e / ___l, n, w, ?/. That is, an epenthetic
vowel, /-e-/, is inserted after a verbal, pronominal, or verb
stem prefix ending with an obstruent consonant when such a prefix
precedes any one of the consonants /-l/, /-n/, /-w/, and /-?/.

This rule applies to a large number of prefixes:

reflexive: -at- (see 5.2.11.)

reciprocal: -atat- (see 5.2.12.)

subjective pronominal prefixes:

1st person singular: -k- (see 6.3.51.)

2nd person singular: -s- (see 6.3.52.)

transitive pronominal prefixes:

I:her, it -k- (see 6.6.11.)

you (sg.):me -(h)sek- (see 6.6.12.)

you (sg.):him -ts- (see 6.6.12.)

he:me -lak- (see 6.6.13.)

she, one, they: me -yuk- (see 6.6.14.)

she, it:me -wak- (see 6.6.15.)

Since this is a phonologically conditioned rule, it applies
to all appropriate occurrences of obstruent consonants before
/-l,-n,-w, and -?/.

4.2.15. /a/ + /i/ → /v/

This rule applies in cases of the co-occurrence of a pronominal
prefix ending with /-a-/ and a verb stem beginning with /-i-/.

For example:

/ki:telu/ "I live, stay (there)"

k- 1st person singular subjective pronominal prefix

-i?telu verb stem "live, stay"

but:

/lî:telu/ "he lives, stays (there)"

la- 3rd person masculine singular subjective pronominal
prefix

-i?telu verb stem "live, stay"

The underlying structure */la-i:telu/ is manifested on the surface
as /lî:telu/.

The morphophonemic rule /a/ + /i/ → /v/ applies to a long
list of pronominal prefixes:

subjective:

la- 3rd person masculine singular (6.3.53.)

ka- 3rd person feminine/neuter singular (6.3.55.)

tewa- 1st person plural inclusive (6.3.58.)

yakwa- 1st person plural exclusive (6.3.59.)

sewa- 2nd person plural (6.3.61.)

transitive:

kwa- I:you(pl) (6.6.11.)

we(du.):you(pl.) (6.6.16.)

we(pl.):you(sg.,du.,pl.) (6.6.17.)

(h)skwa- you(sg.,du.):us(pl.) (6.6.12.,
6.6.18.)

you(pl.):me,us(du.,pl.) (6.6.19.)

- (h)ya- he:you(sg.) (6.6.13.)
 la- he:her, it (6.6.13.)
 (h)sukwa- he:us(pl.) (6.6.13.)
 (h)tsisewa- he:you(pl.) (6.6.13.)
 you(pl.):him (6.6.19.)
 luwa- she,one,they:him (6.6.14.)
 kuwa- she,one,they:her,it (6.6.14.)
 sa- she,it:you (sg.) (6.6.15.)
 yukwa- she,it:us(pl.) (6.6.15.)
 sewa- she,it:you(pl.) (6.6.15.)
 yakwa- we(pl.):her,it (6.6.17.)
 (h)sakwa- we(pl.):him (6.6.17.)
 (h)sewa- you(pl.):her, it (6.6.19.)

4.2.16. { wa? } + { wa } → /u/

This rule applies to the co-occurrence of the aorist modal prefix { wa?- } and the 1st person objective pronominal morpheme { -wa- } (see 6.5.41. and 7.1.11. below).

For example: /wakekstv:ha/ "I'm old"

- wa- 1st person objective morpheme
 -ke- 1st person singular pronominal prefix
 -kstv:ha verb stem "be old"

but: /ukekstv:hahne?/ "I became old"

- wa?- aorist modal prefix
 -wa- 1st person objective morpheme
 -ke- 1st person singular pronominal prefix
 -kstv:hahne? verb stem "become old"

The underlying structure */wa?-wa-ke-kstv:hahne?/ is manifested on the surface as /ukekstv:hahne?/.

4.2.17. /-?/ + /y-/ → loss of /-y-/

This rule applies to the co-occurrences of verbal prefixes ending with /-?/ and pronominal prefixes beginning with /-y/.

(See 6.3.6. below.) For example:

/yutó:lats/ "she, one hunts, is hunting, is a hunter"
 yu- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite subjective
 pronominal prefix
 -ató:lats verb stem "hunt"

but:

/wa?utó:late?/ "she, one hunted"
 wa?- aorist modal prefix
 -yu- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite subjective
 pronominal prefix
 -ató:late? verb stem "hunted"

The underlying structure */wa?-yu-ató:late?/ is manifested on the surface as /wa?utó:late?/.

The morphophonemic rule /-?/ + /y-/ → loss of /-y-/ applies in cases where a verbal prefix ending with /-?/ precedes any allomorph of the following pronominal prefixes: 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite (6.3.54.); 1st person exclusive dual and plural (6.3.6.). It also applies to the /y-/ initial objective pronominal prefixes for 3rd person feminine/indefinite/neuter singular, dual, and plural objects (6.5.41., 6.5.43.,) and applies

to all /y-/ initial transitive prefixes (see chart in 6.6.2.).

4.2.2. Ordering of Rules

The importance of the proper ordering of morphophonemic rules has, to some extent, been touched upon in 4.2.1. above. However, these points need to be exemplified and discussed in greater detail.

The following examples will be examined:

/atha?kéhsu ne yahâ:ke?/ "I walked there, went
there by foot"
(verb root: -e-)

and

/atha?kéhsu ne yahésene?/ "you (dual) walked there,
went there by foot"

(See 7.1.16. and 7.2.62. for a discussion of the verbal prefixes which occur in these verbs.)

4.2.21. The verb form /yahâ:ke?/ "I went there, walked there" will be examined first below. The ordered morphophonemic rules are stated to the left and the derived forms resulting from these rules are given to the right. The notation under each rule refers to the section in the grammar in which the rule has been, or will be presented.

*/y-wa?-k-e-?/

1. $y + wa? \rightarrow ya? \rightarrow /y-a?-k-e-?/$
(7.1.15.)
 2. $-V- \rightarrow \acute{V}/\text{penultimate} \rightarrow /y-\acute{a}?-k-e-?/$
(3.7.2.)
 3. $y \rightarrow yVh/ \underline{\acute{V}} \rightarrow /yVh-\acute{a}?-k-e-?/$
(7.2.52.)
 4. $yVh \rightarrow yV_1h/ \underline{\acute{V}_1} \rightarrow /yah-\acute{a}?-k-e-?/$
(7.2.52.)
 5. $-\acute{V}^?C- \rightarrow -\acute{V}:C- \rightarrow /yah-\acute{a}:-k-e-?/$
(3.7.14.)
- Therefore $\rightarrow /yah\grave{a}:ke?/$

4.2.22. The necessity for ordering the rules as given above can be illustrated by comparing this derivation with the one offered below:

/yahésene?/ "you (dual) went there, walked there"

*/y-wa?-sen-e-?/

1. $y + wa? \rightarrow ya? \rightarrow /y-a?-sen-e-?/$
(7.1.15.)
2. $V \rightarrow \acute{V}/\text{penultimate} \rightarrow /y-\acute{a}?-sen-e-?/^1$
(3.7.2.)

¹ The epenthetic vowel /-e-/ in the subjective pronominal prefix /-sen-/ does not function in syllable counting. Therefore, the preceding vowel /-a-/ is actually counted as penultimate and receives the stress.

3. $y \rightarrow yVh / _ \acute{V} \dots \rightarrow /yVh-\acute{a}?\text{-sen-e-?}/$
 (7.2.52.)

4. $yVh \rightarrow yV_1h / _ \acute{V}_1 \dots \rightarrow /yah-\acute{a}?\text{-sen-e-?}/$
 (7.2.52.)

5. $(w)a? \rightarrow (w)e / _ se- \dots \rightarrow /yah-\acute{e}\text{-sen-e-?}/$
 (7.1.14.)

Therefore $\dots \rightarrow /yah\acute{e}sene?/$

4.2.23. The two derivations given above are identical in rules 1 through 4, differing only in rule 5. The order for rules 1 and 2 is actually interchangeable, but these two must precede the others. The application of rules 3 and 4 cannot be made until the initial /w-/ of the declarative modal prefix { wa?- } is lost and until the vowel /-a-/ receives stress. Rules 3 and 4 must apply before rule 5. This is demonstrated by the derivation for the 2nd person dual subject where it can be seen that the epenthetic vowel in /yVh-/ must be specified as /-a-/ before the change of /-a?-/ to /-e-/. If this were not the case, the form would be incorrectly derived as */yehésene?/ instead of the correct /yahésene?/.

If the rules for each of the two derivations were viewed as closed sets of rules applying only to these particular forms, then the 5th rule in the derivation for the 1st person singular subject could occur after the 2nd rule in that derivation. However, it is placed at the end because it is assumed that the same set of rules applies to the entire paradigm. In fact, rule 5 in the 1st person singular subject derivation should more specifically be listed as rule 6 since in an ordered sequence of

all rules applying to the whole paradigm it must occur after rule 5 of the 2nd person dual subject derivation has been applied. If this were not the case, then the 2nd person dual subject form would be incorrectly derived as */yahè:sene?/ rather than the correct /yahésene?/.

4.2.24. Therefore, in summary, the rules for the derivation of all the person forms in the paradigm for declarative mode translocative verbs are ordered as follows:

1. $y + wa? \rightarrow ya?$
2. $V \rightarrow \acute{V}/\text{penultimate}$
3. $y \rightarrow yVh/ _ \acute{V}$
4. $yVh \rightarrow yV_1h/ _ \acute{V}_1$
5. $(w)a? \rightarrow (w)e/ _ se-$
6. $-\acute{V}?C- \rightarrow -\acute{V}:C-$

In the derivations presented in 4.2.21. and 4.2.22. above, the application of rule 5 is motivated by the presence of the 2nd person dual subjective pronominal prefix /sen-/. Once this rule has applied, rule 6 is no longer applicable and therefore is not activated. In the 1st person singular subject derivation, rule 5 is bypassed since the appropriate motivating environment is lacking. Then rule 6 can be applied.

4.2.25. There are a number of considerations supporting the method of formulating derivational rules in ordered sequences applying to whole paradigms. One consideration is the economy and clarity of the resulting statement of rules. Rather than postulating overlapping rules for a number of sub-sets in a

given paradigm, only one set of rules need be formulated. If the rules in such a system are properly ordered, exceptions to any particular rule will not have to be marked. The application of a later rule when inappropriate to the final outcome of the underlying structure will be inhibited by a previous rule which changes the derived form on which further rules are applied.

(see 4.2.24. above.)

In addition to the economy and clarity of rule-writing, this view of rule ordering has the advantage of an ensuing relative simplicity of the model of language processes. By ordering and thereby expanding the domain of a particular set of rules, the entire system of rules within a language is simplified. Instead of postulating a larger number of sets of rules with applicability to a more restricted number of derivations, fewer systems of rules can be postulated. A more encompassing system of rules can be applied in a greater number of derivations, thereby eliminating overlapping rules and resulting in a tighter organization of rules.

On the one hand, it seems more desirable and realistic, considering the way a language functions, to depict language processes in as general terms as possible. On the other hand, too much generalization in rule-writing is not desirable and, in fact, is misleading because although the economy of the rules is great, so also is the confusion resulting from the listing or marking of many exceptions. A too general view of language rules implies too great a burden on the speaker in sorting and arranging the components of his language. It also ignores historical linguistic processes which may affect only certain portions of a particular

language for historical and linguistic reasons.

Therefore, the view of language advocated here is that it is best to present linguistic rules in systems as broad as possible so that the rule systems are economical and have as general an applicability as possible without putting an undue burden on the speaker's ability to construct utterances. Greater applicability of rule systems is often achieved by the ordering of the rules.

One further note should be added to this discussion. It concerns the danger of confusing any particular model of description of a language with the actual workings of the language process. In the real behavior of speech, phonological forms and linguistic processes and rules operate together as a system, or a system of systems. Rules are abstracted from phonological segments in the writing of a description of a language because this is schematically the only clear way to present any linguistic analysis. However, it is only obvious to say that this separation does not occur in actual speech behavior. Nor can one really specify the exact operations taking place within the brain of the speaker. A particular model of description is chosen because it is thought to present the results of a linguistic analysis in as clear and realistic terms as possible. Of course, linguistic analysis and description are actually separate, a description being a way of organizing and presenting the results of an analysis. The two are obviously related but they are not identical, just as the description of a language and the behavioral reality are related but not identical.

5.0. VERB BASES

5.1. An introductory note should be given describing, in broadest terms, the structure of Mohawk verbs in order to indicate the placement of each of the verbal position classes within the verbal system.

5.1.1. The Mohawk Verb

Verbal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Verb Base	Verbal Suffixes
modals	subjective	reflexive	verb root suffixes
non-modals	objective	reciprocal	aspects
	transitive	verb roots	attributives
		incorporated noun roots	

Mohawk verbs consist of elements which can be divided into four general classes: verbal prefixes, pronominal prefixes, verb bases, and suffixes. The first of these, verbal prefixes, is an optional class. The last, verbal suffixes, is also an optional class. That is, some verbs do not contain members of either of these two classes. The other two classes, i.e. pronominal prefixes and verb bases, are obligatory classes. That is, all properly constructed verbs must contain at least one member of each of these classes.

1. Verbal prefixes occur initially in verbs. They are of two general semantic types: modal and non-modal.

a. Modal prefixes: The modal prefixes express the attitude of the speaker toward what is being said, reflecting the validity, probability, or desirability of the action or state described by the verb.

In structural terms, modal prefixes are sometimes word-initial although they are sometimes preceded by some other verbal prefix.

b. Non-modal prefixes: Non-modal prefixes express a variety of different ideas such as negation, direction of action, repetitiveness of action or state, partition of action, relation of action specified to some other aspect of time or space, etc.

In structural terms, non-modal prefixes are sometimes word-initial although they are sometimes preceded by some other verbal prefix.

2. Pronominal prefixes occupy the second major position class within the verb. They denote the subject and/or object of the action or state described by the verb and are of three major types: subjective, objective, and transitive.

a. Subjective: Subjective pronominal prefixes express the subject or agent of the action or state described by the verb.

b. Objective: Objective pronominal prefixes express the object or beneficiary of the action or state described by the verb.

c. Transitive: Transitive pronominal prefixes express the co-occurrence of a particular subject and a particular object.

3. Verb bases occupy the third major position class within the verb. They are composed of one or more verb roots, or of an incorporated noun root and a verb root, and various expansions of the verb roots. The verb base may also contain an initial unit expressing the idea of reflexivity or reciprocity which refers to the subject of the verb.

4. Verbal suffixes occupy the final major position class within the verb. They are of three general types: root suffixes, aspect suffixes, and attributive suffixes.

a. Root suffixes: Root suffixes express a number of ideas concerned with modifying the verb or expressing relationships between the subjects and objects of the state or action described by the verb.

b. Aspect suffixes: Aspect suffixes express the temporal distribution of the action or state described by the verb. Aspect suffixes designate an action or state in relation to its position on a continuum of time, without referring to any particular time or tense. That is, they describe whether an action or state is continuous, interrupted, repetitive, etc.

c. Attributive suffixes: Attributive suffixes express ideas which involve particular characteristics of size, number, or condition referring to the subject or agent of the verb. Attributive suffixes occur with non-modal verbs and also with nouns.

The verb base and the verbal suffixes together form the verb stem. The shape of the verb stem is crucial in the conditioning of the pronominal prefixes, although in some cases, the shape of the modal prefix is also a determining factor in conditioning the shape of the pronominal prefixes.

5.1.2. The four general verbal classes (see 5.1.1. above) are established on both structural and semantic grounds. In structural terms, the members of each class occur in the same broad positional slot within the verb. Moreover, they share characteristics of morphophonemic

patterning. That is, they are sensitive to common morphophonemic rules and adjustments. Often, the members of each class function in similar ways to condition morphophonemic adjustments in members of adjacent verbal classes.

In semantic terms, the members of each verbal class share some element of common meaning. For example, the class of pronominal prefixes is made up of separate elements all of which share the general meaning of denoting the subject and/or object of the action or state described by the verb. The class of verb bases consists of elements all of which share the general meaning of denoting a specific action or state which the verb functions to convey. The classes of verbal prefixes and verbal suffixes are more heterogenous in meaning but their members also share characteristics of general semantic and grammatical meaning.

5.1.3. Each of these four general verbal classes can themselves be analyzed into several sub-classes. These will be discussed in turn in each of the relevant chapters that follow. However, it can be pointed out here that the establishment of the sub-classes is also based upon both structural and semantic grounds. Each sub-class, therefore, has two major characteristics. One describes the sub-class in terms of the morphophonemic structure of its members and the lineal positional arrangement in which each member belongs in relation to other members of the same sub-class. The other characteristic describes the sub-class in terms of a common shared meaning.

In most instances, the structural and semantic characteristics of verbal sub-classes converge; that is, the sub-class established on semantic grounds is identical to the one established on structural grounds.

However, especially in the broad general verbal classes of verbal prefixes and verbal suffixes, this is not always the case. For example, the class of verbal prefixes consists of the semantic sub-classes of modal and non-modal prefixes. Structurally, however, the member of each of these semantic sub-classes do not always occur in the same lineal position in relation to each other or to other verbal classes. This complexity of the interaction of structural and semantic characteristics will be explained and exemplified in particular detail in the appropriate chapters which follow. The problem has been mentioned in this introduction in order to give some insight into the general characteristics and complexities of Mohawk verbs.

5.2. Verb Bases

Verb bases in Mohawk are composed of the following obligatory and optional elements:

(reflexive/ reciprocal)	(incorporated noun root)	verb root (s)
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As has been outlined above (see 5.1.1.), the verb bases occupy the third major position class within the Mohawk verb. Verb bases are themselves composed of three kinds of elements. The first of these is an optional reflexive/reciprocal element; the second is an optional incorporated noun root; and the third is an obligatory verb root.

5.2.1. Reflexive/Reciprocal: { -at-/-atat- }

The first element in the verb base is an optional reflexive { -at- }. It has a variety of functions:

1. To express a reflexive meaning, ie. the subject or agent

performing some action upon himself;

2. to make the subject or agent the beneficiary of the action or state described by the verb;

3. to convert transitive verbs into intransitive verbs;

4. to make a form of "medio-passive," where the verb expresses a kind of passive without a specific agent overtly expressed;

5. to reverse the meaning of certain verb roots.

The reciprocal {-atat-} is formally a reduplication of the reflexive. It is used to express action by two or more people toward each other. This formal reduplication is interesting semantically. That is, {-at-} expresses a reflexive idea (action happening by one person to himself) and {-atat-} expresses a reciprocal idea (action happening by two or more people to each other).

The reciprocal is also used in some verb bases to express the idea of reflexivity when the verb base already contains the reflexive element for some other function.

5.2.11. The reflexive {-at-} is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

{-at-} → -at- / ___ V

___ C (non-l, n, w, ?, h/C, y)

-ak- / ___ y

-ate- / ___ l, n, w, ?, h/C

-an- / ___ incorporated noun roots beginning with /-i- /

-C- (t, k, te, n) / o ___

u ___

The following examples of the occurrence of the reflexive {-at-} are grouped according to semantic functions (see 5.2.1. above):¹

1. to express a reflexive meaning, i.e. the subject or agent performing some action upon himself:

/wahate?nikuhlísa?/ "he made up his mind"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-h- 3rd person masculine singular subject

-ate- reflexive

-?nikuhlísa? "make a mind"

/tausahsatahwa?néta?/ "you (sg.) would put another covering on yourself again"

tau- indefinite modal and duplicative prefix

-sa- iterative prefix

-hs- 2nd person singular subject

-at- reflexive

-ahswa?néta? "put a covering on"

/nú: niyotenaktatsvílyu/ "she, it found a place, bed for herself, itself"

ni- partitive prefix

-yo- 3rd person singular feminine/neuter object

-(a)te- reflexive

-naktatsvílyu "final a bed, place"

¹ Note that in these examples and elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, the segments which are isolated after the examples are given in their proper allomorphic shapes. For a full discussion of underlying structures and their morphophonemic adjustments, see the appropriate chapters following.

2. to make the subject or agent the beneficiary of the action or state described by the verb:

/ú:kweh lotú:ʔu/ "he became human"

lo- 3rd person singular masculine object

-(a)t- reflexive

-ú:ʔu "become, make"

/satenehkwaʔéhstu/ "you (sg.) are baptized"

s- 2nd person singular object

-ate- reflexive

-nehkwaʔéhstu "baptize"

/askwatelvnayv:hahseʔ/ "would you (sg.) pray for me"

a- indefinite modal prefix

-skw- transitive pronominal prefix for 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object

-ate- reflexive

-lvnayv:hahseʔ "pray" (literally: have a prayer for)

3. to convert transitive verbs into intransitive verbs:

/tewakatehnuhukyú:neʔ/ "I had my door open"

te- duplicative prefix

-wak- 1st person singular object

-ate- reflexive

-hnuhukyú:neʔ "open door"

/watkatelyvʔtawvlyeʔ/ "I made a mistake"

wa- declarative modal prefix

-t- duplicative prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-ate- reflexive

-yv?tawóllye? "make a mistake" (literally: stir up an error)

4. to make a form of "medio-passive," where the verb expresses a kind of passive without a specific agent overtly expressed:

/wa?tewakatenuhyanihtv/ "I was shocked"

wa?- aorist modal prefix

-te- duplicative prefix

-wak- 1st person singular object

-ate- reflexive

-nuhyanihtv verb stem "shock, surprise, be an unusual event"

/wakatela?swáksv/ "I have bad luck"

wak- 1st person singular object

-ate- reflexive

-la?swáksv "bad luck"

/yakotelihukhohtaní:tsku/ "she, one tires easily, gets bored easily"

yako- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite object

-(a)te- reflexive

-lihukhohtaní:tsku "tire easily"

5. to reverse the meaning of some verb bases:

/wakhní:nu? akyà:tawih/ "I bought a coat"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-hní:nu? "buy"

/wa?katvhní:nu? akyà:tawih/ "I sold a coat"

wa? aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-at- reflexive

-v^hni:nu? "sell"

/wa?úkenih/ "I borrowed it"

wa?- aorist modal prefix

-uke- 1st person singular object

-nih "borrow"

/wa?katv:nih/ "I lent it out"

wa?- aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-v^h:nih "lend"

5.2.12. The reciprocal {-atat-} is affected by the following morphophonemic rules: (Note that these rules are similar to the rules which affect the reflexive -- see 5.2.11. above):

{-atat-} → -atat- / ____ V

____ C (non-l, n, w, ?, h/C, y)

-atak- / ____ y

-atate- / ____ l, n, w, ?, h/C

-atan- / ____ incorporated noun roots beginning with /-i- /

-taC- (tat, tak, tate, tan) / o ____

u ____

The reciprocal {-atat-} is used to express the idea of the action performed by two or more individuals upon each other. With certain verb bases, the reciprocal also functions to express or emphasize a reflexive idea. This usage occurs with verb bases which already contain the reflexive {-at-} where the latter refers to some other semantic function.

For example:

/yakwatate?k^v:?a/ "our (pl., excl.) sister" (literally: "we (pl., excl.) are siblings to each other")

yakw- 1st person plural exclusive subject

-atate- reciprocal

-?kv:?a "sibling"

/ú:kweh lotatú:ni/ "he made himself human"

lo- 3rd person masculine singular

object

-(a)tat- reciprocal

-ú:ni verb stem "make, build"

The following three verb stems can be compared:

/-uni/ "make, build"

/-atuni/ "grow"

/-atatuni/ "make oneself"

The first of these, /-uni/, is the basic verb stem "make, build." The second, /-atuni/, is formed by the prefixation of the reflexive /-at-/ to the base /-uni/ and gives the meaning "grow." The last stem /-atatuni/, is formed by the prefixation of the reciprocal /-atat-/ to the base /-uni/ and gives the meaning "make oneself" as in "make oneself human."

5.2.2. The second element in the verb base is an optional incorporated noun root. Most transitive verbs which have direct objects are able to incorporate the noun root representing the direct object. However, not all noun roots are able to become incorporated in verb bases. There is a certain amount of hierarchical nominal classification in Mohawk. That is, certain nouns are grouped together semantically and form a particular sub-class of nouns. Each sub-class contains a general noun

which can substitute in nominal incorporation for all of the specific nouns in its sub-class. When this occurs, the specific noun is retained in the construction as a separate word. Its function is to specify the exact reference which is only broadly categorized by the incorporated general noun root.

5.2.21. One type of noun incorporation is completely optional. That is, the verb base may or may not contain its direct object as an incorporated noun. Both possibilities for such verbs are given below:

1. /wa?kyv̄tho? oji:ja?/ "I planted a flower"

wa?- aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-yv̄tho? "plant"

/wakji?jayv̄tho?/ "I planted a flower"

2. /wakhní:nu? kanákta?/"I bought a bed"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-hní:nu? "buy"

/wa?kenaktahní:nu?/ "I bought a bed"

3. /lawé:ku no?wà:lu/ "he ate, has eaten the meat"

law- 3rd person masculine singular subject

-é:ku "eat"

/lo?wahlá:ku "he ate, has eaten the meat"

4. /wahohkalé:wahte? lahyo?sáhke/ "he hurt his elbow"

wa- declarative modal prefix

-ho- 3rd person masculine singular object

-hkalé:wahte? "hurt, injure"

/wahohyo?sakalé:wahte?/ "he hurt his elbow"

5.2.22. Another use of noun incorporation is required with certain verb bases. These nouns are not, strictly speaking, the direct objects of the verbs. However, they are obligatory in the construction of the given verb bases and must always be incorporated:

/li?nikù:lale?/ "I'm watching, guarding him"

li- transitive pronominal prefix for 1st person
singular subject and 3rd person singular
masculine object

-?nikù:lale? "watch, guard"

/o?nikù:la?/ "mind"

/niha?nikuhlá:?a/ "he is mentally childish"

ni- partitive prefix
-ha- 3rd person masculine singular subject
-?nikuhlá:?a "be childish"
/o?nikù:la?/ "mind"

/wa?teskwatkahlú:ti/ "you (sg.) gave me a dirty look"

wa?- aorist modal prefix
-te- duplicative prefix
-skw- transitive pronominal prefix for 2nd person
singular subject and 1st person singular object
-at- reflexive

-kahlú:ti "dirty, bad look"

/okà:la?/ "eye"

/latelihwató:lats/ "he's a gossip, he gossips, he's gossiping"

- 1- 3rd person masculine singular subject
 -ate- reflexive
 -lihwató:lats "gossip" (literally: hunt news)
 /oli:wa?/ "news, ideas"

5.2.23. Noun incorporation is also used to express the noun classifier which represents the sub-class of nouns to which the specific direct object belongs. In these cases, the specific noun is expressed as a separate word in the construction:

/wakenahskwayv:tahkwe? ne takóhs/ "I used to have an animal - cat"

wake- 1st person singular object

-nahskwa- animal

-yv:tahkwe? "have, own, possess"

/-takóhs/ "cat"

/wakeselehtahní:nus?se? ne "bike"/ "I bought a vehicle - bike"

wake- 1st person singular object

-selehta- vehicle

-hní:nu?se? "buy (for)"

/ká:seleh/ "vehicle"

/wake?wahlanù:waks ne kítktIt o?wà:lu/ "I'm hungry for meat -
 chicken meat"

wake- 1st person singular object

-?wahla- meat

-nù:waks "be hungry for, hunger for"

/o?wà:lu/ "meat"

/kítktIt o?wà:lu/ "chicken meat"

5.2.3. The final element in the verb base is the obligatory verb root. Some verb bases contain one verb root while others may contain two verb roots.

Verb roots may consist of as little as one phoneme, either a consonant or a vowel. Verb roots may, of course, be more complex, but they rarely contain more than two syllables.

Because of the complexities of both the derivational and inflectional processes in Mohawk, a complete verb generally contains a verb base which is more than a minimal verb root. However, verbs are attested which contain a simple verb root as the entire structure of the verb base. Several of these are listed below: (Note that these verbs do, of course, contain pronominal prefixes as well as certain other inflectional elements occurring as verbal prefixes or suffixes.):

/í:kehle?/ "I want (it), I want to..."

í:- dummy vowel

-k- 1st person singular subject

-ehl- root: "want it, to..."

-? perfective aspect suffix

/wà:kv/ "I said it, I'm the one who said it"

wà:- 1st person objective prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-v root: "say"

/ó:nv wà:koh/ "now I've arrived"

wà:- 1st person objective prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-oh root: "arrive, come"

/shé:ku nikúhne?/ "I'm still alive"

ni- partitive prefix

-k- 1st person singular subject

-úhn- root: "live, be alive"

-? perfective aspect suffix

/kʷ: ká:yv?/ "it's here, it's lying here"

ka- 3rd person singular feminine/neuter subject

-yv? root: "place, put, be, lie"

5.2.4. The formation of verb bases by the addition of verbal suffixes to verb bases will be discussed in the chapter on Verbal Suffixes (see 8.0. below.).

6.0. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

6.1. As discussed in 5.1.1. above, the pronominal prefixes occur in the second broad position class within the verb. Pronominal prefixes, in general, designate the subject or actor of the action or state described by the verb. In Mohawk, there are three types of pronominal prefixes: subjective, objective, and transitive. The subjective prefixes designate the agent of the verb; the objective prefixes designate the object or patient of the action or state of the verb; and the transitive prefixes express an array of co-occurrences of persons or things as agent and patient of the action or state described by the verb.

The specific allomorphic shape of the pronominal prefix is determined by the initial phoneme or phonemes of the verb stem and in certain specific cases is secondarily determined by the final phoneme of the modal verbal prefix.

This chapter will proceed as follows: an outline of stem-classes will be given, followed by a description of the pronominal prefixes. The first to be discussed are the subjective prefixes. The objective prefixes will follow and finally the transitive pronominal prefixes will be discussed.

6.2. Stem-Classes

There are eight stem-classes which determine or select the allomorphic shape of the pronominal prefix which precedes. These stem-classes are established on both formal and functional grounds. In formal terms, the members of each class share a common initial

phonological element or sequence. In functional terms, the members of each class select identical allomorphs of the pronominal prefixes.

Class I. This stem-class consists of four sub-classes of consonant-initial verb stems:

- a. stems with the initial single consonants: t, k, j, s, and h;
- b. stems with initial consonant cluster: h/C (where C represents any consonant);
- c. stems with initial: s/stop;
- d. stems with initial: k/resonant

Class II. This stem-class also consists of four sub-classes of consonant-initial verb stems:

- a. stems with the initial single consonants: l, n, and w;
- b. stems with initial /?/, whether as a single consonant or in a cluster;
- c. stems with initial bi-consonantal clusters not covered above in Class I b, I c, and I d;
- d. stems with initial tri-consonantal clusters.

Class III. Stems with initial /y/.

Class IV. Stems with initial /i/.

Class V. Stems with initial /a/.

Class VI. Certain stems with initial /e/ (these will be referred to as /e¹/ stems).

Class VII. Certain stems with initial /e/ (these will be referred to as /e²/ stems) and all stems with initial /A/.

Class VIII. Stems with initial /o/ and stems with initial /u/.

6.3. Subjective Pronominal Prefixes

6.3.1. The following is a chart of the semantic categories which can be expressed by the subjective pronominal prefixes:

Person	Number	Inclusive/ Exclusive	Gender
1st	singular		
	dual	incl/excl	
	plural	incl/excl	
2nd	singular		
	dual		
	plural		
3rd	singular		masculine
			feminine and indefinite
			feminine and neuter
	dual		masculine
			feminine and indefinite and neuter
			masculine
plural	feminine and indefinite and neuter		

As can be seen, it is possible to express three kinds of person: first, second, and third. First-person subjects are specified for one of three kinds of number: singular, dual, and plural

(three of more). Non-singular 1st person subjects are further specified as inclusive or exclusive. The inclusive/exclusive designation is not applicable to 1st person singular subject.

Second-person subjects are also specified for singular, dual, or plural number. The inclusive/exclusive designation is not applicable.

Third-person subjects are specified for singular, dual, or plural number. Additionally, they are specified for gender. In Mohawk, there are four semantic genders but only three morphological or grammatical genders. As used in this grammar, a semantic gender (also: a semantic category) is one that is defined and abstracted on the basis of a shared meaning. A morphological gender (also: a morphological category) is one that is defined and abstracted on the basis of shared morphological features. In Mohawk, then, there is some overlap and convergence of semantic categories into morphological ones. The four semantic genders are: masculine, feminine, indefinite, and neuter. They are discussed below.

6.3.2. Third person Singular Subjects

6.3.2.1. Masculine

Masculine singular subjective pronominal prefixes are used to designate male human beings or male animals.

6.3.2.2. Non-masculine¹

The non-masculine semantic genders are: feminine,

¹ The term "non-masculine" is not used here to imply a basic opposition of masculine/non-masculine. It is used simply as a convenient covering label for three semantic genders which have no masculine semantic components.

indefinite, and neuter. These three semantic genders overlap and fall together into two morphological categories. The following discussion arranges the non-masculine semantic genders into their two morphological categories and points out the semantic components of each of them. The major semantic problem is the differentiation of female beings and their assignment into one of the two morphological classes.

6.3.221. Feminine/Indefinite

The feminine/indefinite morphological gender consists of "feminine" and "indefinite" semantic genders.

a. The "indefinite" component consists of:

1. all unidentified humans whose sex is either unknown or not thought to be relevant;
- and 2. indefinite or generalized persons, spoken of in English as "one," "a person," "they" as in "One should behave." or "What are they wearing this year?"

b. The "feminine" component consists of:

1. female human beings who are regarded in some prestigious or respectful way by the speaker. Generally included in this category are old women, especially when older than the speaker. Women of high social status in the family or community are generally within this category, regardless of the personal attitude of the speaker toward such a woman. This may be changing somewhat with younger speakers but it is still the norm.

and 2. female human beings, regardless of social or relational considerations for whom the speaker has feelings of affection or closeness.

6.3.222. Feminine/neuter

The feminine/neuter morphological class consists of "feminine" and "neuter" semantic genders.

a. The "neuter" component consists of:

1. all inanimate objects.

b. The "feminine" component consists of:

1. all female animals and any animal of unspecified sex.

and 2. female human beings who do not come under the description given in 6.3.221. above. The designation of a female as falling into this category may be derogatory, although this is not necessarily so. It may or may not reflect a momentary or general negative feeling on the part of the speaker toward the female who is spoken about. Some speakers feel that there is a physical criterion here. That is, a girl or woman who is awkward or aggressive may more readily fall into this category, whereas one who is graceful and quiet may tend to be classed above. There seems to be general feeling that this category, while perhaps not involving disrespect, does not signal respect.

6.3.223. It is very difficult to be precise about the differentiation of female humans into the two categories of "feminine/indefinite" or "feminine/neuter" because there are very few general rules which can be abstracted from actual behavior. Age is the only criterion which approaches having general applicability and even this is modified by the relative age of the speaker and referent and perhaps recently by attitudes of younger speakers toward the elderly.

6.3.3. Third-Person Non-singular Subjects

6.3.31. Masculine

In 3rd person non-singular, i.e. dual and plural, numbers the masculine morphological category comprises male human beings and any grouping of male and female subjects. That is, "masculine dual" may designate either two males or one male and one female. Likewise, "masculine plural" may designate a plurality of males or a plural group of any combination of males and females, including at least one male.

6.3.32. Non-Masculine

In 3rd person non-singular, i.e. dual and plural, numbers all "feminine," "indefinite," and "neuter" semantic genders fall together into one morphological category. That is, the semantic distinctions among these three non-masculine genders are neutralized on the morphological level. The 3rd person non-masculine non-singular numbers include all females, all indefinite persons, and all inanimate objects.

6.3.4. Phonological Shapes of the Subjective Pronominal Prefixes

The data for the selection of the proper phonological shape of the subjective pronominal prefixes will be presented below. Rules accounting for the attested shapes of the prefixes are given. The data are organized in terms of the stem-classes which are the determining or selecting factors.

The charts on the following pages summarize the morphophonemic adjustments which will be discussed in turn in 6.3.41. through 6.3.48. below.

Class	1st person				
	sg.	dual incl.	dual excl.	plural incl.	plural excl.
I	k-	teni-	yakeni-	tewa-	yakwa-
II	ke-	teni-	yakeni-	tewa-	yakwa-
III (-y-)	k-	teni-	yakeni-	tewa-	yakwa-
IV (-i-)	k-	yaken-		yakwΛ-	
V (-a-)	k-	ky-	yaky-	tew-	yakw-
VI (-e ¹ -)	k-	ten-	yaken-	tew-	yakw-
VII (-e ² -, -Λ-)	k-	yaken-		yakw-	
VIII (-o-, -u-)	k-	ten-	yaken-	tew-	yaky-

Class	2nd person		
	sg.	dual	plural
I	(h)se-	seni-	sewa-
II	(h)se-	seni-	sewa-
III (-y-)	(h)s-	seni-	sewa-
IV (-i-)	(h)s-	sen-	sewΛ-
V (-a-)	(h)s-	j-	sew-
VI (-e ¹ -)	(h)s-	sen-	sew-
VII (-e ² -, -Λ-)	(h)s-	sen-	sew-
VIII (-o-, -u-)	(h)s-	sen-	j̃-

Class	3rd Person						
	masc. sg.	masc. dual	masc. pl.	fem/ ind. sg.	fem/ neut. sg.	fem/ i/n dual	fem/ i/n pl.
I	la-	(h)ni-	lati-	ye-	ka-	keni-	koti-
II	la-	(h)ni-	lati-	ye-	ka-	keni-	koti-
III (-y-)	la-	(h)ni-	lati-	ye-	ka-	keni-	koti-
IV (-i-)	l _Λ -	(h)n-	lun-	ye-	k _Λ -	ken-	kun-
V (-a-)	l-	(h)y-	lu-	yu-	w-	ky-	ku-
VI (-e ¹ -)	l-	(h)n-	lun-	y- y _Λ -	w-	ken-	kun-
VII (-e ² -) (- _Λ -)	law-	lun-		yakaw-	yaw-	kun-	
VIII (-o-) (-u-)	(h)l-	(h)n-	lun-	yak-	y-	ken-	kun-

6.3.41. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class I (stems with initial: t, k, j, s, h, h/C, s/stop, and k/resonant):

1st person singular	k-
2nd person singular	² (h)se-
3rd p. sg. masculine	la-
feminine/	
indefinite	ye-
feminine/	
neuter	ka-
1st p. dual inclusive	teni-
exclusive	yakeni-
1st p. plural inclusive	tewa-
exclusive	yakwa-
2nd p. dual	seni-
plural	sewa-
3rd p. dual masculine	(h)ni-
feminine/	
indefinite/	
neuter	keni-
plural masculine	lati-
feminine/	
indefinite/	
neuter	koti-

² The notation (h) indicates that when the 2nd person singular prefix is word initial it appears without the /h-/ but when it is non-initial, the /h-/ is realized.

6.3.42. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class II (stems with initial: l, n, w, ?, bi-consonantal clusters not covered in Class I, tri-consonantal clusters): These prefixes are identical to those selected by Stem-Class I above with the following difference:

1st person singular ke-

6.3.43. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class III (y-stems) are also the same as those selected by Stem-Class I above with the following difference:

2nd person singular (h)s-

6.3.44. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class IV (i-stems):

1st p. sg.	k-
2nd p. sg.	(h)s-
3rd p. sg. masculine	lΛ-
feminine/	
indefinite	ye-
feminine/	
neuter	kΛ-
1st p. dual inclusive/	
exclusive	yaken-
plural inclusive/	
exclusive	yakwΛ-
2nd p. dual	sen-
plural	sewΛ-
3rd p. dual masculine	(h)n-

fem./indef/	
neuter	ken-
plural masculine	lun-
fem/indef/	
neuter	kun-

Following all pronominal prefixes ending in vowels, the initial /i-/ of the verb stem is lost.

6.3.45 Prefixes selected by Stem-Class V(a-stems):

1st p. singular	k-
2nd p. singular	(h)s-
3rd p. sg. masculine	l-
fem/indef	yu-
fem-neuter	w-
1st p. dual inclusive	ky-
exclusive	yaky-
plural inclusive	tew-
exclusive	yakw-
2nd p. dual	j-
plural	sew-
3rd p. dual masculine	(h)y-
fem/indef/	
neuter	ky-
plural masculine	lu-
fem/indef	
neuter	ku-

Here, too, prefixes ending in vowels are followed by verb stems which lose their initial /a-/.

6.3.46. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class VI (e¹-stems):

1st p. singular	k-
2nd p. singular	(h)s-
3rd p. sg. masculine	l-
fem/indef	y (and in some cases /yΛ-/ which involves loss of stem initial /e-/)
fem/neuter	w-
1st p. dual inclusive	ten-
exclusive	yaken-
plural inclusive	tew-
exclusive	yakw-
2nd p. dual	sen-
plural	sew-
3rd p. dual masculine	(h)n-
fem/indef/	
neuter	ken-
plural masculine	lun-
fem/indef/	
neuter	kun-

6.3.47 Prefixes selected by Stem-Class VII (e²-/

stems and all /Λ-/ stems):

1st p. singular	k-
2nd p. singular	(h)s-
3rd p. sg. masculine	law-
fem/indef	yakaw-
fem/neuter	yaw-

1st p. dual inclusive/	
exclusive	yaken-
plural inclusive/	
exclusive	yakw-
2nd p. dual	sen-
plural	sew-
3rd p. dual/plural	
masculine	lun-
fem/indef/neuter	kun-

6.3.48. Prefixes selected by Stem-Class VIII

(/o-/ stems and /u-/ stems):

1st p. singular	k-
2nd p. singular	(h)s-
3rd p. sg. masculine	(h)l-
fem/indef	yak-
fem/neuter	y-
1st p. dual inclusive	ten-
exclusive	yaken-
plural inclusive	tew-
exclusive	yaky-
2nd p. dual	sen-
plural	ǰ-
3rd p. dual masculine	(h)n-
fem/indef/	
neuter	ken-

plural masculine	lun-
fem/indef/	
neuter	kun- (and in some cases free variation with kon-)

6.3.5. Rules

On the basis of the data presented in the previous section, more general rules can be formulated to account for the attested shapes of the subjective pronominal prefixes. These rules are stated below in terms of generalizations of phonological selection.

6.3.51.

1st p. singular	{k-} → k- / ___ V
	___ y
	___ single t, k, j, s, h
	___ h/C
	___ s/stop
	___ k/resonant
	ke- / ___ single l, n, w
	___ ?
	___ CC (not h/C, s/stop, k/resonant)
	___ CCC

6.3.52

2nd p. singular	{(h)s-} → (h)s- / ___ V
	___ y

(h)se-/_C (non-y)

6.3.53

3rd p. singular	{ hla- }	hla-/_C
masculine		lv-/_i (loss of i)
		(h)l-/_o, u, a, e ¹
		law-/_e ² , v

One general morphophonemic rule applies to all masculine pronominal prefixes (singular, dual, and plural):

$$l \longrightarrow l/\# ____$$

h/when non-initial

This rule applies throughout except in verbs where the syllable preceding the masculine pronominal prefix is stressed. Stress is placed in accordance with counting and shifting rules stated in 3.7.2. above. The syllable preceding the pronominal prefix may either contain a verbal prefix or it may be an empty syllable containing a "dummy" vowel. The purpose of empty syllables is to provide for the placement of stress and is necessary in the construction of certain verbs.

When a stressed syllable precedes a masculine pronominal prefix, the initial /-l-/ of the pronominal prefix is retained. For example:

/lató:lats? "he hunts, is hunting, is a hunter"

l- 3rd person masculine singular subject

-ató:lats "hunt"

/tehalistó:lalaks/ "he types, is typing, is a typist"

te- duplicative prefix

-ha- 3rd person masculine singular subject

- listó:lalaks "type"
- list- "iron, metal"
- olalak- "press, squeeze"
- s serial aspect suffix

but:

/i:lehle?/ "he wants it, wants to..."

- i:- dummy vowel
- l- 3rd person masculine singular subject
- ehl- "want"
- ? perfective aspect suffix

/yahà:lawe?/ "he arrived there, went there, reached the top"

- yah- translocative prefix
- à:- declarative modal prefix
- la- 3rd person masculine singular subject
- w- "arrive,"
- ? punctual aspect suffix

/ata?kéhsu ne vthle?/ "he will walk here, come here on foot"

- v- future modal prefix
- t- cislocative prefix
- hl- 3rd person masculine singular subject
- e- "come"
- ? perfective aspect suffix

6.3.54.

3rd p. singular	{ ye- }	ye/___C
feminine/		___i (loss of i)
indefinite		yu-/___a (loss of a)
		y-, yv-/___e ^l (loss of e ^l occurs after yv-)

yakaw-/___e², Λ

yak-/___o, u

6.3.55.

3rd p. singular	{ka-}	→ ka-/___C
feminine/		ka-/___i (loss of i)
neuter		w-/___a, e ¹
		yaw-/___e ² , Λ
		y-/___o, u

6.3.56.

1st p. dual	{teni-}	→ teni-/___C
inclusive		ten-/___V (non-a)
		3ky-/___a

6.3.57

1st p. dual	{yakeni-}	→ yakeni-/___C
exclusive		yaken-/___V (non-a)
		yaky-/___a

6.3.58

1st p. plural	{tewa-}	→ tewa-/___C
inclusive		tew Λ -/___i (loss of i)
		tew-/___V (non-i)

³ This form is not as aberrant as it looks on the surface. The cluster */-ty-/ is not permissible in Akwesasne Mohawk. It is realized instead as /-ky-/ (see 4.2.12. above.).

6.3.59.		
1st p. plural exclusive	{yakwa-}	→ yakwa-/___C yakwa-/___i (loss of i) yakw-/___a, e, Δ yaky-/___o, u
6.3.60		
2nd p. dual	{seni-}	→ seni-/___C sen-/___V (non-a) 4j-/___a
6.3.61.		
2nd p. plural	{sewa-}	→ sewa-/___C sewa-/___i (loss of i) sew-/___V (non-i)(non-o, u) j ^y -/___o, u
6.3.62		
3rd p. dual Masculine	{(h)ni-}	→ (h)ni-/___C (h)n-/___V (non-a) (h)y-/___a
6.3.63.		
3rd p. dual feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	{keni-}	→ keni-/___C ken-/___V (non-a) ky/___a

⁴ This form is not as aberrant as it looks on the surface. The cluster */-sy-/ is not permissible in Akwesasne Mohawk but is represented on the surface by /-j-/ (see 4.2.13. above).

6.3.64.

3rd p. plural	{ lati- }	→ lati- / ___ C
masculine		lu- / ___ V (non-a)
		lu- / ___ a (loss of a)

6.3.65

3rd p. plural	{ koti- }	→ koti- / ___ C
feminine/ indefinite/ neuter		kun- / ___ V (non-a)
		ku- / ___ a (loss of a)

6.3.6. Certain pronominal prefixes are affected by the shape of the modal prefix which precedes them. A general morphophonemic rule can be stated which applies in all such cases. This rule is secondary; that is, it applies to the given pronominal prefix after the shape of such a prefix is first selected on the basis of the morphophonemic rules given in 6.3.5 above.

The rule for the selection of pronominal prefixes by verbal prefixes is:

verbal prefix ending /-?/ + pronominal prefix beginning

/y- / → loss of prefix initial /y- /

This rule applies specifically to the following pronominal prefixes:

"feminine/indefinite" singular: { ye- }

1st p. exclusive dual:	{ yakeni }
1st p. exclusive plural:	{ yakwa- }

For example:

/vyekwé:ni ne tho yv:yv/ "she, one will be able to go"

v- future modal prefix

-ye- 3rd person singular feminine-indefinite subject

-kwé:ni "can, be able to"

/wa?ekwé:ni ne tho yá:yv/ "she, one was able to go"

wa?- declarative modal prefix

-e- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite subject

-kwé:ni "can, be able to"

To exemplify the hierarchial process of rule application, the rules for the formation of the verb /wa?ekwe:ni/ "she, one was able to ..." are given below:

1. modal prefix + pronominal prefix + verb stem
2. declarative mode + 3rd p. sing. fem/indef + "be able to"
3. declarative mode + 3rd p. sing. fem/indef + {-kwe:ni}
4. declarative mode + {ye-} + {-kwé:ni}
5. {wa?-} + {ye-} + {-kwé:ni}
6. {wa?} + /yekwé:ni?/
7. /wa?ekwé:ni?/

This schematization of the proper construction of the verb /wa?ekwe:ni/ indicates that the proper form of the pronominal prefix is selected first by the verb stem which follows it. Then the pronominal prefix is secondarily affected by the shape of the modal prefix which precedes it.

All of the allomorphs of the pronominal prefixes mentioned above, i.e. {ye-}, {yakeni-}, and {yakwa-} are affected by the /y-/ deletion rule, as are the /y-/ initial allomorphs of the 3rd person feminine/neuter singular prefix, i.e. /yaw-/ and /y-/, the feminine/neuter prefixes which occur preceding stem-classes VII (e²- and ^- stems) and VIII (o- and u-stems), respectively.

6.4. Pronominal Prefix Components

On the basis of the data and the rules given in 6.3.5. and 6.3.6. above, certain recurring components can be isolated from the subjective pronominal prefixes and particular meanings can be assigned to them.

6.4.1. Singular Components

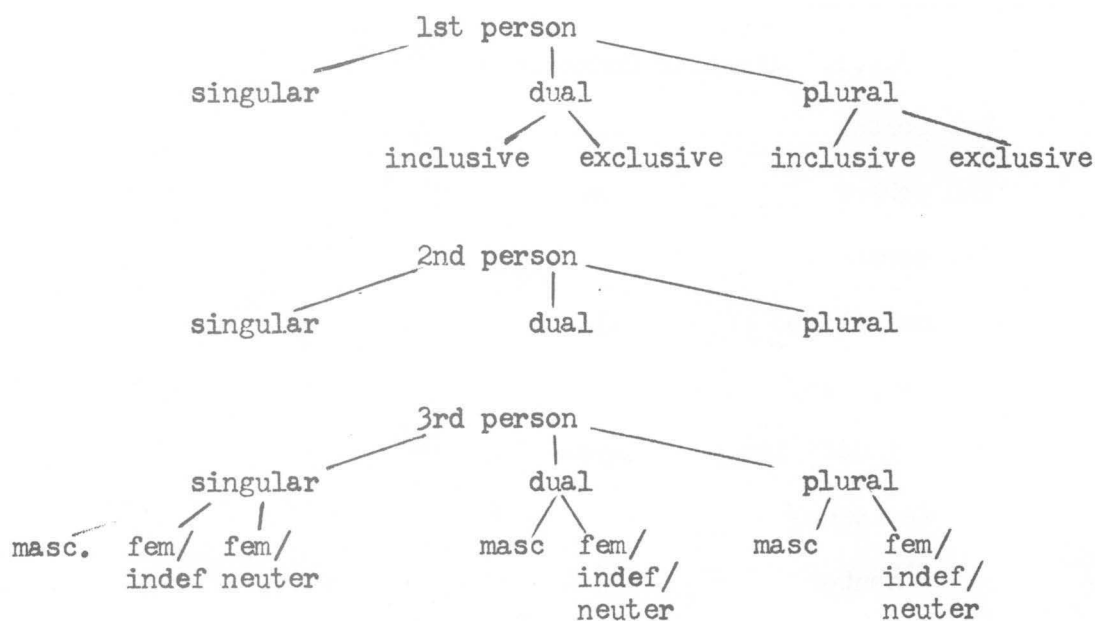
1st person	-k-
2nd person	-s-
3rd person	
masculine	-la-
feminine/	
indefinite	-ye-
feminine/	
neuter	-ka-

6.4.2. Non-singular Components

inclusive	-te-
exclusive	-ya-
dual	-ni-
plural	
1st, 2nd p.	-wa-

3rd p. -ti-

6.4.3. The following tree diagrams schematize the co-occurrences of person, number, and gender components. The person and number components are primary. The distinction of inclusive and exclusive person and the distinctions of gender are secondary since their application is restricted to a particular person component and even within these persons, the distinctions are sometimes merged. Since the person and number components are equally primary, the trees can be arranged according to two equal alternatives. The tree structure beginning with the person components is given below:



6.4.4. Formation of Non-singular Prefixes

In some cases, the shape of the non-singular pronominal prefix is arrived at by the simple joining of the person and number components. In others, certain phonological changes take place in the formation of the non-singular pronominal prefixes. In one instance, i.e. in the non-masculine dual and plural 3rd person,

there is a neutralization of two categories distinguished in the singular. That is, the categories of "feminine/indefinite" and "feminine/neuter" are merged in the dual and plural. The resultant shape of the prefix is derived from the singular prefix for "feminine/neuter."

6.4.41. The following chart contains an analysis of the non-singular pronominal prefixes in terms of their components:

	Person	Inclusive/ Exclusive		Number	
		Incl.	Excl.	Dual	Plural
1st dual incl.		te-		-ni	
1st dual excl.	-k-		ya-	-ni	
1st plural incl.		te-			-wa
1st plural excl.	-k-		ya-		-wa
2nd dual	s-			-ni	
2nd plural	s-				-wa
3rd dual masculine	(1)-			-ni	
3rd dual fem/indef/ neuter	ke-			-ni	
3rd plural masculine	la-				-ti
3rd plural fem/indef/ neuter	ku- ko-				-ti

6.4.42. The inclusive prefixes are not marked for person. It is possible that since "inclusive" only occurs in the 1st person, its overt marking for person is redundant and therefore unnecessary. The fact remains, however, that the exclusive prefixes are marked for person although they, too, only occur in the 1st person.

6.4.43. In the 1st and 2nd person non-singular prefixes, the allomorphic shape of the person marker is in keeping with selection rules specified in 6.4.1. and 6.4.2. above (with the exception of the 1st person plural exclusive). That is, the inclusion of an epenthetic vowel, -e-, is necessary to break up an inadmissible consonant cluster. For example: 2nd person /s-/ + dual /-ni/ → {seni-} .

6.4.44. In the 3rd person masculine dual prefix, the person marker only appears when the pronominal prefix is non-initial. And in non-initial position, /l-/ is realized as /h-/, in keeping with the rule stated in 6.3.53. above.

6.4.45. The person markers for the 3rd person non-masculine non-singular prefixes are somewhat aberrant and do not follow directly from the rules for singular prefixes. As mentioned above, the singular categories of "feminine/indefinite" and "feminine/neuter" are merged in the non-singular forms, but the vowel in the resulting person marker seems peculiar to these prefixes and does not follow the previously stated general rules.

6.4.5 The following complete paradigms illustrate the selection rules for the formation of the subjective pronominal prefixes.

The eight paradigms illustrate the selection rules appropriate to each of the eight verb stem-classes (see 6.2. above.). The following verb stems are exemplified:

- Class I: -hninu- "buy"
 Class II: -nutek- "close"
 Class III: -yvtho- "plant"
 Class IV: -i'telu- "live, stay"
 Class V: -atolat- "hunt"
 Class VI: -ehl- "want"
 Class VII: -enu- "walk, go by foot"
 Class VIII: -uni- "make, build"

Class I: -hninu- "buy" (see 6.3.41. above.)

khní:nus	k hní:nus	"I buy, am buying, am a buyer"
sehní:nus	se hní:nus	"you (sg.) buy"
lahní:nus	la hní:nus	"he buys"
yehní:nus	ye hní:nus	"she, one buys"
kahní:nus	ka hní:nus	"she, it buys"
tenihní:nus	teni hní:nus	"we (dual incl.) buy"
yakenihní:nus	yakeni hní:nus	"we (dual excl.) buy"
tewahní:nus	tewa hní:nus	"we (pl. incl.) buy"
yakwahní:nus	yakwa hní:nus	"we (pl. excl.) buy"
senihní:nus	seni hní:nus	"you (dual) buy"
sewahní:nus	sewa hní:nus	"you (pl.) buy"
nihní:nus	ni hní:nus	"they (masc. dual) buy"

kenihní:nus	keni hní:nus	"they (f/i/n/ dual) buy"
latihní:nus	lati hní:nus	"they (masc, pl.) buy"
kotihní:nus	koti hní:nus	"they (f/i/n pl.) buy"

Class II: -nutek- "close" (see 6.3.42. above)

kenú:teks	ke nú:teks	"I'm closing it"
senú:teks	se nú:teks	"you (sg.) are closing it"
lanú:teks	la nú:teks	"he's closing it"
yenú:teks	ye nú:teks	"she, one is closing it"
kanú:teks	ka nú:teks	"she, it is closing it"
teninú:teks	teni nú:teks	"we (du. incl.) are closing it"
yakeninú:teks	yakeni nú:teks	"we (pl. incl.) are closing it"
téwanú:teks	tewa nú:teks	"we (du. excl.) are closing it"
yakwanú:teks	yakwa nú:teks	"we (pl. excl.) are closing it"
seninú:teks	seni nú:teks	"you (dual) are closing it"
sewanú:teks	sewa nú:teks	"you (pl.) are closing it"
ninú:teks	ni nú:teks	"they (masc. dual) are closing it"
keninú:teks	keni nú:teks	"they (f/i/n dual) are closing it"
latinú:teks	lati nú:teks	"they (masc. pl.) are closing it"
kotinú:teks	koti nú:teks	"they (f/i/n pl.) are closing it"

Class III: -yvtho- "plant" (see 6.3.43. above.)

kyvthos	k yvthos	"I plant, am planting, am a planter"
jevthos	j vthos	"you (sg.) plant"
layvthos	la yvthos	"he plants"
yeyvthos	ye yvthos	"she, one plants"
kayvthos	ka yvthos	"she, it plants"
teniyvthos	teni yvthos	"we (du. incl.) plant"
yakeniyvthos	yakeni yvthos	"we (du. excl.) plant"
tewayvthos	tewa yvthos	"we (pl. incl.) plant"
yakwayvthos	yakwa yvthos	"we (pl. excl.) plant"
seniyvthos	seni yvthos	"you (dual) plant"
sewayvthos	sewa yvthos	"you (plural) plant"
niyvthos	ni yvthos	"they (masc. du.) plant"
keniyvthos	keni yvthos	"they (f/i/n du.) plant"
latiyvthos	lati yvthos	"they (masc. pl.) plant"
kotiyvthos	koti yvthos	"they (f/i/n pl.) plant"

Class IV: -i'telu- "live, stay" (see 6.3.44. above.)

kì:telu	k ì:telu	"I live, stay (there)"
jì:telu	j ì:telu	"you (sg.) live"
lṽ:telu	lṽ: telu	"he lives"
yè:telu	yè: telu	"she, one lives"
kṽ:telu	kṽ: telu	"she, it lives"
yakenì:telu	yaken ì:telu	"we (du. incl, excl) live"
yakwṽ:telu	yakwṽ: telu	"we (pl. incl, excl) live"

senì:telu	sen ì:telu	"you (dual) live"
sewv̀:telu	sewv̀: telu	"you (plural) live"
nì:telu	n ì:telu	"they (masc. dual) live"
kenì:telu	ken ì:telu	"they (f/i/n du.) live"
lunì:telu	lun ì:telu	"they (masc. pl.) live"
kunì:telu	kun ì:telu	"they (f/i/n pl.) live"

Class V: -atolat- "hunt" (see 6.3.45. above.)

kató:lats	k ató:lats	"I hunt, am hunting, am a hunter"
sató:lats	s ató:lats	"you (sg.) hunt"
lató:lats	l ató:lats	"he hunts"
yutó:lats	yu tó:lats	"she, one hunts"
wató:lats	w ató:lats	"she, it hunts"
kyató:lats	ky ató:lats	"we (dual incl) hunt"
yaykató:lats	yaky ató:lats	"we (dual excl) hunt"
tewató:lats	tew ató:lats	"we (pl. incl) hunt"
yakwató:lats	yakw ató:lats	"we (pl. excl) hunt"
jató:lats	j ató:lats	"you (dual) hunt"
sewató:lats	sew ató:lats	"you (plural) hunt"
yató:lats	y ató:lats	"they (masc. du.) hunt"
kyató:lats	ky ató:lats	"they (f/i/n du.) hunt"
lutó:lats	lu tó:lats	"they (masc. pl.) hunt"
kutó:lats	ku tó:lats	"they (f/i/n pl.) hunt"

Class VI: -ehl- "want (see 6.3.46. above.)

í:kéhle?	í: k ehle?	"I want it, I want to..."
íhsehle?	í hs ehle?	"you (sg.) want"
í:lehle?	í: l ehle?	"he wants"
í:yehle?	í: y ehle?	"she, one wants"
í:wehle?	í: w ehle?	"she, it wants"
ítenehle?	í ten ehle?	"we (du,incl) want"
yákenehle?	yáken ehle?	"we (du.excl) want"
ítewehle?	í tew ehle?	"we (pl. incl.) want"
yákwehle?	yákw ehle?	"we (pl.excl.) want"
ísenehle?	í sen ehle?	"you (dual) want"
ísewehle?	í sew ehle?	"you (plural) want"
⁵ íhnehle?	í hn ehle?	"they (masc.du.) want"
íkenehle?	í ken ehle?	"they (f/i/n du.) want"
lú:nehle?	lú:n ehle?	"they (masc. pl.) want"
kú:nehle?	kú:n ehle?	"they (f/i/n pl.) want"

Class VII: -enu- "walk, go by foot" (see 6.3.47. above.)

nitewaké:nu	ni:te wa k é:nu	"I walked her, came by foot"
nitehsé:nu	ni te hs é:nu	"you (sg.) came"
nithawé:nu	ni t haw é:nu	"he came"

⁵ Note that the form /íhnehle?/ is an exception to the morphophonemic rule: V + h + resonant → V: (see 3.7.14.).

nikyakawé:nu	ni k yakaw é:nu	"she, one came"
nikyawé:nu	ni k yaw é:nu	"she, it came"
nikyakené:nu	ni k yaken é:nu	"we (dual incl, excl) came"
nikyakwé:nu	ni kyakw é:nu	"we (pl. incl, excl) came"
nitesené:nu	ni te sen é:nu	"you (dual) came"
nitesewé:nu	ni te sew é:nu	"you (plural) came"
nithuné:nu	ni t hun é:nu	"they (masc dual, pl.) came"
nitekuné:nu	ni te kun é:nu	"they (f/i/n du., pl.) came"

Class VIII: -uni- "make, build" (see 6.3.48. above)

kú:nis	k ú:nis	"I make, build; am making, building; am a maker, builder"
sú:nis	s ú:nis	"you (sg.) make"
hlú:nis	hl ú:nis	"he makes"
yakú:nis	yak ú:nis	"she, one makes"
yúnis	y ú:nis	"she, it makes"
tenú:nis	ten ú:nis	"we (du incl) make"
yakenú:nis	yaken ú:nis	"we (du excl) make"
tewú:nis	tew ú:nis	"we (pl. incl.) make"
yakyu:nis	yaky ú:nis	"we (pl. excl.) make"
senú:nis	sen u:nis	"you (dual) make"
jú:nis	j u:nis	"you (pl.) make"
nu:nis	n u:nis	"they (masc dual) make"
kenu:nis	ken u:nis	"they (f/i/n dual) make"
lunu:nis	lun ú:nis	"they (masc pl) make"
kunú:nis	kun ú:nis	"they (f/i/n pl) make"

6.5. Objective Pronominal Prefixes

Objective Pronominal Prefix:

subjective		objective
pronominal	+	prefix
prefix		marker

The objective pronominal prefix consists of the subjective pronominal prefix and an objective marker. The particular positional arrangements of these two components for each person will be discussed in 6.5.2. below and following.

6.5.1. Objective pronominal prefixes express a number of relationships between the agent and patient or beneficiary of a verb. These relationships are outlined and exemplified below.

1. Animate agent and neuter patient. (These verbs are often translated into English as transitives.):

/wakákye?s/ "I lose it, I keep losing it"

wa- objective marker

-k- 1st person singular prefix

-ákye?- "lose"

-s serial aspect suffix

/tewakatuhjú:ni/ "I want it, I want to do it"

te- duplicative prefix

-w- objective marker

-k- 1st person singular prefix

-atuhjú:ni "want"

/loká:latus/ "he tells stories"

l- 3rd person masculine singular prefix

-o- objective marker

-ká:latu- "tell a story"

-s serial aspect suffix

2. Neuter agent and animate patient. (These verbs are often translated into English as passives.):

/ukenehlá:ko?/ "it surprised me; I was surprised"

u- objective marker and declarative modal prefix

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-nehlá:ko? "surprise"

/ukwatv[?]anáhlo[?]/ "I've been witched"

u- objective marker and declarative modal prefix

-kw- 1st person singular prefix

-atv^a náhlo[?] "witch"

/wahoteselú:ti[?]/ "lightning hit him; he was hit by lightning"

wa- declarative modal prefix

-h- 3rd person masculine singular prefix

-o- objective marker

-teselú:ti[?] "(lightning) hit"

3. There are certain verb bases which occur only with objective pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefix is often translated as the subject or actor, the verb generally describing a state or condition of the grammatical subject. The whole construction is often translated into English as an intransitive verb.

/wakewa:nis/ "I stutter, I'm a stutterer"

wa- objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-wá:ni "stutter"

-s serial aspect suffix

/lokstv':ha/ "he's old"

l- 3rd person masculine singular prefix

-o- objective marker

-kstv':ha "be old"

/yó:taʔs/ "she, it is sleeping"

y- 3rd person feminine/neuter singular prefix

-ó:- objective marker

-taʔ- "sleep"

-s serial aspect suffix

4. With verb bases containing a noun root, the objective prefix refers to the possessor of the incorporated noun:

/tewakenuhsáhju/ "my house is dirty"

te- duplicative prefix

-wa- objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-nuhs- "house"

-áhju "be dirty"

/wakenáhsqwayvʔ/ "I have an animal"

wa- objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

náhsqwa- "animal"

-yvʔ "have, own, possess"

6.5.2 Objective Morphemes

The objective morphemes which co-occur with the

subjective pronominal prefixes are:

1st person (singular, dual, plural): wa-

2nd person (singular): -a

3rd person (singular, dual, plural): -o

6.5.3. Arrangement

The arrangement of the objective morphemes in relation to the subjective pronominal prefixes is as follows:

Objective Pronominal Prefixes

Person

1st person

singular	objective marker: wa-	subjective prefix: -k-
dual	wa-	-ya-keni-
plural	wa-	-ya-kwa-

2nd person

singular	subjective prefix: (h)s-	objective marker: -a-
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3rd person

singular masculine	subjective prefix: l-	objective marker: -o-
-----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

feminine/ indefinite	yak-	-o-
-------------------------	------	-----

feminine/ neuter	y-	-o-
---------------------	----	-----

dual, plural masculine	subjective prefix: l-ti	objective marker: -o-
---------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------

feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	y-ti	-o-
------------------------------------	------	-----

As can be seen, in the 1st person (singular and non-singular),

the objective morpheme precedes the appropriate subjective prefix. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, the objective morphemes follow the appropriate subjective pronominal prefixes. Also, as can be seen, the objective marker does not co-occur with 2nd person non-singular prefixes, as will be further discussed in 6.5.42. below.

6.5.4. There are a number of general morphophonemic rules which apply in the construction of objective pronominal prefixes. These are discussed below.

6.5.41. Two rules apply to the 1st person objective pronominal prefixes:

$$\{wa?\} + \{-wa-\} \longrightarrow /u-/$$

$$\{wa-\} + -(y)a- \longrightarrow /(y)u-/$$

The first rule applies in 1st person singular forms with the modal prefix $\{wa?-.\}$. It means that when the objective morpheme $\{-wa-\}$ occurs following the declarative modal prefix $\{wa?-,\}$ both are merged and are realized as $/u-/\$. For example:

$/wakekst\acute{v}:ha/$ "I'm old"

wa- objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-kst\acute{v}:ha "be old"

$/ukekst\acute{v}:hahne?/$ "I became old"

u- declarative modal prefix and objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-kst\acute{v}:hahne? "become old"

The underlying structure for "I became old" is

$*/wa?-wa-ke-kst\acute{v}:hahne?/$.

However, before a verb base with an initial vowel /-a-/, the rule is slightly modified:

{wa[?]-} + {-wa-} + {-k-} (1st person) + /-a-/ → /ukwa-/

That is, /-w-/ is inserted after the 1st person singular prefix

{-k-} before the stem-initial vowel /-a-/.

For example:

/wakatela[?]swí:yo/ "I have good luck"

wa- objective marker

-k- 1st person singular prefix

-atela[?]swí:yo "have good luck"

/ukwatela[?]swí:yoste[?]/ "I had good luck (e.g. last night)"

u- declarative modal prefix and objective marker

-kw- 1st person singular prefix

-atela[?]swí:yoste[?] "have good luck"

The underlying structure of "I had good luck" is

*/wa[?]-wa-k-atel[?]swí:yoste[?]/.

The second rule listed above, i.e. {wa-} + /(y)a/ → /(y)u/, applies to all 1st person non-singular prefixes. That is, the subjective pronominal prefixes {yakeni-} and {yakwa-,} the dual and plural 1st person prefixes, respectively, become /yukeni-/ and /yukwa-/ in the objective paradigm.

When these 1st person non-singular objective prefixes co-occur with the declarative modal prefix {wa[?]-} (or with any other verbal prefix ending with /-[?]/), the initial /y-/ of the pronominal prefix is lost following the final /-[?]/ of the verbal prefix, in keeping with the rule stated in 6.3.6. above. For example:

/yukeni?nikuhláksvs/ "we (dual) are sad"

yakeni- 1st person dual prefix

yukeni- 1st person dual objective prefix

-?nikuhláksv- "be sad"

-s serial aspect suffix

/wa?ukeni?nikuhláksv/ "we (dual) were sad"

wa?- declarative modal prefix

-yukeni- 1st person dual objective prefix

-?nikuhláksv "be sad"

Note that in the objective 1st person non-singular prefixes, the distinction between inclusive and exclusive person is neutralized. The attested non-singular objective prefixes are derived from the subjective exclusive prefixes. It is interesting to recall that the subjective pronominal prefixes for inclusive 1st person agents do not contain a 1st person component (see 6.4.42.). That is, the subjective pronominal prefixes for 1st person inclusive dual {teni-} and 1st person inclusive {tewa-} lack the 1st person component marker {-k-} . This fact and the fact that the objective prefixes for 1st person non-singular are based on the exclusive 1st person prefixes suggest that the category of "exclusive" is more basic in Mohawk than is the category of "inclusive."

The shape of the 1st person subjective pronominal prefixes, both singular and non-singular, which follow the objective morpheme {wa-} is in all cases consistent with the selection rules given in 6.3.5. above. That is, the subjective prefix is selected by the shape of the verb stem which follows it.

6.5.42 The objective morpheme for 2nd person singular $\{-a-\}$ follows the singular subjective 2nd person prefix $\{(h)s-\}$. The shape of the subjective prefix is in keeping with the selection rule stated in 6.3.52. above; that is, the 2nd person singular prefix is realized as $\{(h)s-\}$ when preceding the vowel $/-a/$.

The following rule applies to the shape of the 2nd person singular objective morpheme:

$$\{-a-\} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} a/___C \\ v/___i \text{ (loss of } i) \\ \emptyset/___V \text{ (non-} i) \end{array}$$

In the 2nd person non-singular, i.e. dual and plural, there is no overt representation for the objective. Therefore, the shape of the 2nd person non-singular prefixes in the objective paradigm are identical to those in the subjective paradigm.

In Akwesasne Mohawk, the objective morpheme is overtly realized in the 2nd person singular only with verb stems beginning with consonants. It does not occur with vowel-initial verb stems in Akwesasne Mohawk except those beginning with $/-i/$, and in this case, the objective morpheme undergoes the same morphophonemic changes that characterize underlying $/-a-/$ occurring with $/-i-/$ stems (see 6.3.44. above). That is, the $/-a-/$ of the objective morpheme is realized as $/-v-/$ preceding $/i-/$ initial verb stems (with a characteristic loss of the stem-initial $/i-/$).

6.5.43 The objective morpheme for 3rd person (singular and non-singular), $\{-o-\}$, follows the 3rd person

subjective pronominal prefixes. The shape of the subjective prefix is consistent with the selection rules given in 6.3.53., 6.3.54. and 6.3.55. above. That is, the subjective prefixes, which occur are those which are appropriate before the vowel /-o-/. These are:

3rd person sing. masculine: (h)l-

feminine/
indefinite: yak-

feminine/
neuter: y-

When the 3rd person objective prefixes precede verb stems beginning with vowels, the initial vowel of the stem is lost:

objective
morpheme { -o- } + /V-/initial \longrightarrow loss of initial
verb stem V of stem

In the 3rd person non-singular prefixes, the objective morpheme -o- follows the person marker but precedes the number marker. The distinction between dual and plural 3rd person is neutralized in the objective prefixes. The objective prefixes for non-singular 3rd person are derived from the plural subjective prefixes.

The 3rd person non-singular objective prefixes are:

with consonant-initial verb stems:

masculine: loti-

feminine/
indefinite/
neuter yoti-

with vowel-initial verb stems:

masculine: lon-

feminine/
indefinite/
neuter: yon-

These 3rd person non-singular objective prefixes are constructed with the following components:

	<u>Person</u>		<u>Objective</u>		<u>Plural</u>
masculine:	l	-	o	-	ti/___C n/___V
feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	y	-	o	-	ti/___C n/___V

As can be seen, the 3rd person non-singular, non-masculine objective prefix is based on the 3rd person singular subjective prefix for "feminine/neuter." The allomorph which occurs here, /y-/, is the appropriate one preceding the vowel /-o-/.

6.5.5. To summarize and illustrate the rules given in the section 6.5 above for the formation of objective pronominal prefixes, three complete paradigms are given below. The following verb stems will be illustrated:

- hs?- "finish" (Stem-Class I)
- ahtvky- "leave, go away" (Stem-Class V)
- nikuhlaksv- "be sad, cry" (Stem-Class II)

Stem-Class I: -hs?- "finish" (see 6.3.41. above)

wá khsu?	wá k hsu?	"I (have) finished it"
sá hsu?	s á hsu?	"you (sg.) finished it"
ló hsu?	l ó hsu?	"he finished it"
yakó hsu?	yak ó hsu?	"she, one finished it"
yó hsu?	y ó hsu?	"she, it finished it"

yukeníhsu?	y-kení u hsu?	"we (du.) finished it"
yukwáhsu?	y-kwá u hsu?	"we (pl.) finished it"
seníhsu?	sení hsu?	"you (dual) finished it"
sewáhsu?	sewá hsu?	"you (pl.) finished it"
lotíhsu?	l-tí o hsu?	"they (masc.) finished it"
yotíhsu?	y-tí o hsu?	"they (f/i/n) finished it"

Stem-Class V: -ahtvky- "leave, go away" (see 6.3.45. above)

wakahtvkyu	wa k ahtvkyu	"I left, went away"
sahtvkyu	s ahtvkyu	"you (sg.) left"
lohtvkyu	l o htvkyu	"he left"
yakohtvkyu	yak o htvkyu	"she, one left"
yohtvkyu	y o htvkyu	"she, it left"
yukyahtvkyu	y-ky u ahtvkyu	"we (dual) left"
yukwahtvkyu	y-kw u ahtvkyu	"we (pl.) left"
jahtvkyu	j ahtvkyu	"you (dual) left"
sewahtvkyu	sew ahtvkyu	"you (pl.) left"
lonahtvkyu	l-n o ahtvkyu	"they (masc.) left"
yonahtvkyu	y-n o ahtvkyu	"they (f/i/n) left"

Stem -Class II: -?nikuhláksv- "be sad, cry (over sadness)"
(see 6.3.42. above)

wake?nikuhláksvs	wa ke ?nikuhláksvs	"I'm sad, crying"
sa?nikuhláksvs	s a ?nikuhláksvs	"you (sg.) are sad"
lo?nikuhláksvs	l o ?nikuhláksvs	"he is sad"
yako?nikuhláksvs	yak o ?nikuhláksvs	"she, one is sad"

yoʔnikuhláksvs	y o ʔnikuhláksvs	"she, it is sad"
yukeniʔnikuhláksvs	y-keni u ʔnikuhláksvs	"we (dual) are sad"
yukwaʔnikuhláksvs	y-kwa u ʔnikuhláksvs	"we (pl.) are sad"
seniʔnikuhláksvs	seni ʔnikuhláksvs	"you (dual) are sad"
sewaʔnikuhláksvs	sewa ʔnikuhláksvs	"you (pl.) are sad"
lotiʔnikuhláksvs	l-ti o ʔnikuhláksvs	"they (masc.) are sad"
yotiʔnikuhláksvs	y-ti o ʔnikuhláksvs	"they (f/in/n) are sad"

6.6 Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

The transitive pronominal prefixes express the co-occurrence of the agent and the patient of the verb. That is, they express the relationship of one person or thing as agent of the action of the verb to another person or thing as patient. For the most part, the transitive pronominal prefixes cannot be easily analyzed into component parts and are best treated as fused units which express the idea of a relationship in addition to denoting specific persons or things.

The transitive pronominal prefixes are listed and discussed below. They are arranged in paradigms according to the agent of the verb. Rules for the selection of the phonological shapes of the transitive prefixes are given and then general rules applying to these prefixes are abstracted and discussed.

6.6.1. Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

6.6.1.1. 1st person singular agent:

I : you (sg.) ⁶ko- → ko/___C

⁶ {ko-} varies freely with /ku-/. Both can occur initially and both can occur stressed or unstressed. In comparison with other Iroquoian languages, it seems that the basic proto-Iroquoian shape of this prefix has the nasal, rather than oral, vowel; that is */ku-/ or possibly */khu-/. The Akwesasne Mohawk /ko-/ is the result of the denasalization of /-u-/ to non-nasal /-u-/ and a lowering of the vowel height of /-u-/ to /-o-/. The first change, i.e. denasalization, is subphonemic while the second change is a phonemic one. However, in current Akwesasne speech, the free variation of /ku-/ and /ko-/ indicates that these changes are not yet complete.

Although representing the prefix as {ko-} rather than as /ku-/ superficially obscures the historical origin of the form, the choice was made on the basis of the fact that {ko-} is statistically more prevalent at Akwesasne than is /ku-/.

		_____e, i (loss of vowel)
		koy/_____a, o, u
I : him	li →	li/_____C
		_____e, i (loss of vowel)
		liy/_____a, o, u
I : her, one, them	khe- →	khe/_____C
		_____e, i (loss of vowel)
		khey/_____a, o, u
I : her, it	k- →	k/_____C (non-?, l, n, w)
		_____V
		ke/_____?, l, n, w
I : you (dual)	keni- →	keni/_____C
		ken/_____V (non-a)
		ky/_____a
I : you (pl.)	kwa- →	kwa/_____C
		_____e, a (vowel loss)
		kwv/_____i (vowel loss)
		ky/_____o, u

6.6.12. 2nd person singular agent:

you (sg) : me	(h)sek- →	(h)sek/_____V (non-a, i)
		_____C (non-?, y, l, n, w)
		⁷ (h)ske/_____?, l, n, w)

⁷ There is free variation in the 2nd person subject transitive prefixes between the prefix partials /(h)s-/ and /ta-/ when preceding a consonant. That is, /(h)ske-/ can also be realized as /take-/ but /(h)sek-/ can only be realized as /(h)sek-/. For convenience, all forms are written /(h)s-/, with the understanding that this can be replaced by /ta-/ before consonants.

			(h)skw/___a
			(h)sk/___y, i
you (sg) : him	ts-	⁸ →	ts/___V
			___C (non-?, l, n, w, h/n)
			tse/___?, l, n, w, h/n
you (sg) : her, one, them	(h)se-	→	(h)se-/___C
			___e, i (vowel loss)
			(h)sey/___a, o, u,
you (sg) : her, it	(h)s-	→	(h)s/___C (non-?, y, h/n)
			___V (non-i)
			se/___?, h/n
			j/___y, i
you (sg) : us (dual)	(h)skeni-	→	(h)skeni/___C
			___V (non-a, o, u) (vowel loss)
			(h)skeni/___o, u
			(h)sky/___a
you (sg) : us (plural)	(h)skwa-	→	(h)swka/___C
			___a, e (vowel loss)

⁸ There is free variation between the cluster /-ts-/ and the affricate /-c-/ before a vowel in any of the transitive prefixes which express any subject/object co-occurrence of the 3rd person singular masculine and 2nd person singular, dual, or plural. The only prefix in which this free variation has no relevance is the one expressing 3rd person singular masculine subject with 2nd person singular object ("he: you (sg.)"). The stated free variation is irrelevant in that prefix because it has a completely different phonological shape. For convenience, the cluster is always written /-ts-/, with the understanding that it varies freely with /-c-/ when preceding a vowel.

(h)skwv/___i (vowel loss)

(h)skway/___o,u

6.6.13. 3rd person singular masculine

he : me	lak- → lak/___C (non-?,l,n,w) ___V (non-a) lake/___?,l,n,w lakw/___a
he : you (sg)	(h)ya- → (h)ya/___C ___a, e (vowel loss) (h)yv/___i (vowel loss) (h)y/___o, u
he : him	lo- → lo/___C ___V (vowel loss)
he : her, one them	(h)sako- → (h)sako/___C ___V (vowel loss) (non-u) (h)saka/___u
he : her, it	la- → la/___C ___V (loss) (non-i,u) lv/___i (loss) (h)l/___u
he : us (dual)	(h)sukeni- → (h)sukeni/___C ___V (loss) (non-a) (h)suky/___a
he : us (plural)	(h)sukwa → (h)sukwa/___C ___V (loss) (non-i)

		(h)sukwv/___i (loss)
he : you (dual)	(h)tsiseni-	→ (h)tsiseni/___C
		___V (loss) (non-u)
		(h)tsisen/___u
he : you (pl.)	(h)tsisewa-	→ (h)tsisewa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i,o,u)
		(h)tsisewv/___i (loss)
		(h)tsisew/___o, u

6.6.14. 3rd person singular

feminine/indefinite agent:

she, one : me	yuk-	→ yuk/___C (non-?,l,n,w)
		___V (non-a)
		yuke/___?,l,n,w
		yukw/___a
she, one : you (sg.)	yesa-	→ yesa/___C
		___V (loss)
she, one : him	luwa-	→ luwa/___C
		___V (loss) (Non-i)
		luwv/___i (loss)
she, one : her, one	yutat-	→ yutat/___C (non-?,l,n,w,y)
		___V
		yutate/___?,l,n,w
		yutak/___y
she, one : her, it	kuwa-	→ kuwa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		kuwv/___i (loss)

she, one : us (dual, plural)	yukhi- → yukhi/___C ___V (loss)
she, one : you (dual, plural)	yetsi- → yetsi/___C ___V (loss)
she, one : them (masc.)	luwati- → luwati/___C ___V (loss)
she, one : them (fem/indef/ neuter)	kuwati- → kuwati/___C ___V (loss)
6.6.15. 3rd person singular	
feminine/neuter agent:	
she, it : me	wak- → wak/___C (non-?,l,n,w) ___V wake/___?,l,n,w
she, it : you (sg)	sa- → sa/___C ___V (loss) (non-i) sv/___i (loss)
she, it : him	lo- → lo/___C ___V (loss)
she, it : her, one, them	yako- → yako/___C ___V (loss)
she, it : her, it	yo- → yo/___C ___V (loss)
she, it : us (dual)	yukeni- → yukeni/___C yuken/___V (non-a) yuky/___a
she, it : us (pl.)	yukwa- → yukwa/___C ___V (loss) (non-i)

		yukwv/___i (loss)
she, it : you (du)	seni- →	seni/___C ___V (loss)
she, it : you (pl)	sewa- →	sewa/___C ___V (loss) (non-i) sewv/___i (loss)
6.6.16. 1st person dual agent:		
we (du) : you (sg)	keni- →	keni/___C ken/___V (loss) (non-a) ky/___a
we (du) : him	(h)sakeni-	(h)sakeni/___C (h)saken/___V (non-a) (h)saky/___a
we (du) : her, one, them	yakhi- →	yakhi/___C ___V (loss)
we (du) : her, it	yakeni- →	yakeni/___C yaken/___V (non-a) yaky/___a
we (du) : you (du)	keni- →	keni/___C ken/___V (non-a) ky/___a
we (du) : you (pl)	kwa- →	kwa/___C ___V (loss) (non-i) kwv/___i (loss)

6.6.17. 1st person plural agent:

we (pl) : you (sg)	kwa- →	kwa/___C
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			____V (loss) (non-i)
			kwv/____i (loss)
we (pl) : him	(h)sakwa-	(h)sakwa/____C	
			____V (loss) (Non-i)
			(h)sakwv/____i (loss)
we (pl) : her, one, them	yakhi-	yakhi/____C	
			____V (loss)
we (pl) : you (dual, plural)	kwa- →	kwa/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-i)
			kwv/____i (loss)

6.6.18. 2nd person dual agent:

you (du) : me	⁹ (h)skeni-	(h)skeni/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-a)
			(h)sky/____a
you (du) : him	tsiseni-	tsiseni/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-a)
			tsij/____a
you (du) : her, one, them	yetsi-	yetsi/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-a)
			yetsiy/____a
you (du) : her, it	(h)seni-	(h)seni/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-a)
you (du) : us (dual)	(h)skeni-	(h)skeni/____C	
			____V (loss) (non-a)

⁹ See footnote # 7 in 6.6.12. above for the alternation between /⁹(h)s-/ and /ta-/ when preceding a consonant.

		(h)sky/___a
you (du) : us (plural)	(h)skwa-	(h)skwa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		(h)skwv/___i (loss)
6.6.19. 2nd person plural agent:		
you (pl) : me	¹⁰ (h)skwa-	(h)skwa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		(h)skwv/___i (loss)
you (pl) : him	tsisewa-	tsisewa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		tsisewv/___i (loss)
you (pl) : her, one, them	yetsi-	yetsi/___C
		___V (loss) (non-a)
		yetsiy/___a
you (pl) : her, it	(h)sewa-	(h)sewa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		(h)sewv/___i (loss)
you (pl) : us (dual, plural)	(h)skwa-	(h)skwa/___C
		___V (loss) (non-i)
		(h)skwv/___i (loss)

¹⁰ See footnote # 7 in 6.6.12. above for the alternation between /*(h)s-*/ and /*ta-*/ when preceding a consonant.

6.6.20. 3rd person non-singular (dual, plural) masculine, feminine/indefinite/neuter agents:

The transitive prefixes which express the co-occurrences of 3rd person non-singular masculine, feminine/indefinite/neuter agents are identical to those for 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents discussed above in 6.6.14.

The forms for 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents and those for 3rd person non-singular agents can be disambiguated by the addition of separate pronominal words which refer to the agent of the verb. For example:

¹¹ /waʔukhló:liʔ/ "she, one told me" "they told me"
 ("told it to me/told me to...")

but:

/akáuha waʔukhló:liʔ/ "she, one told me"
 /lonúha waʔukhló:liʔ/ "they (masc., dual, plural) told me"
 /onúha waʔukhló:liʔ/ "they (fem/indef/neuter, dual, plural)
 told me"

The pronouns for "they" can be further disambiguated as follows:

/tehnú:kweh waʔukhló:liʔ/ /two men, they told me"
 /lonú:kweh waʔukhló:liʔ/ "many men, they told me"

and

/tekenú:kweh waʔukhló:liʔ/ "two women, they told me"

¹¹ The initial /y-/ of the transitive prefix {yuk-} "she, one, they: me" is lost after the final /-:/ of the aorist modal prefix waʔ-, as discussed in 6.3.6. above.

/konú:kweh wa ʔukhló:liʔ/ "many women, they told me"

6.6.2. The charts below summarize the transitive pronominal prefixes which express agent/patient co-occurrences.

agent \ patient	1 sing.	1 dual	1 plural
1 sg.			
1 dual			
1 pl.			
2 sg.	(h)sek-	(h)skeni-	(h)skwa-
2 dual	(h)skeni-	(h)skeni	(h)skwa-
2 pl.	(h)skwa-	(h)skwa-	(h)skwa-
3 sing. masc.	lak-	(h)sukeni-	(h)sukwa-
3 sing. fem/ind. nonsing. masc/fem/ ind/neuter	yuk-	yukhi-	yukhi-
3 sing. fem/n.	wak-	yukeni-	yukwa-

agent \ patient	2 sing.	2 dual	2 plural
1 sg.	ko-	keni-	kwa-
1 dual	keni-	keni-	kwa-
1 plural	kwa-	kwa-	kwa-
2 sg.			
2 dual			
2 plural			
3 sing. masc.	(h)ya-	(h)tsiseni-	(h)tsisewa
3 sing. fem/ind. nonsing. masc/fem/ ind/neuter	yesa-	yetsi-	yetsi-
3 sing. fem/ neuter	sa-	seni-	sewa-

patient agent	3 sing. masc.	3 sing. fem/ indef.	3 sing. fem/ neuter	3rd nonsing. masc/fem/ ind/neuter
1 sing.	li-	khe-	k-	khe-
1 dual	(h)sakeni-	yakhi-	yakeni-	yakhi-
1 pl.	(h)sakwa-	yakhi-	yakwa-	yakhi-
2 sg.	ts-	(h)se-	(h)s-	(h)se-
2 dual	tsiseni-	yetsi-	(h)seni-	yetsi-
2 pl.	tsisewa-	yetsi-	(h)sewa-	yetsi-
3 sing. masc.	lo-	(h)sako	la-	(h)sako
3 sing. fem/ind. nonsing. masc/ f/i/n	luwa-	yutat-	kuwa-	luwati-(masc.) kuwati-(fem/ indef/ neuter)
3 sing. fem/ neuter	lo-	yako-	yo-	yako-

6.6.3. A number of general rules can be abstracted from the data given in the section above.

6.6.31. The agent and patient components in transitive pronominal prefixes are generally those that were abstracted for the subjective pronominal prefixes (see 6.4. above).

The rules for the ordering of agent/patient components within transitive pronominal prefixes are as follows:

Person	Transitive Prefix
1st person: sing.: dual: plural	agent + patient
2nd person: sing.	agent + patient
dual: plural	agent + patient (if patient is 1st person) patient + agent (if patient is 3rd person)
3rd person: sing. masc.	patient + agent
sing. fem/ ind/neuter nonsing. masc/fem/ ind/neuter	agent + patient

That is, the agent component precedes the patient component unless the patient is 3rd person singular masculine, in which case the patient component expressing 3rd person singular masculine patient always

precedes its agent. However, if the agent is 2nd person non-singular (i.e. dual and plural) and the patient is masculine (singular, dual, or plural), then the patient component always precedes the agent component.

It is to be noted that these rules apply only to those transitive prefixes which overtly express both the agent and patient components. They logically cannot apply where the agent and patient are so highly fused that the transitive prefix cannot be further analyzed into separate agent and patient components but must be treated as a fused unit. Also, these rules logically cannot apply where one or the other of the agent and patient components is not at all overtly expressed.

6.6.311. The only isolable component in the transitive prefix paradigm which has not already been discussed is the reflexive/reciprocal {-atat-}. The reciprocal component {-atat-} occurs in the transitive prefix expressing the co-occurrence of 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agent with 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patient (and therefore also 3rd person non-singular agent with 3rd person feminine/indefinite patient). This transitive prefix is {yutat-} (see above chart). The initial /a-/ of the reciprocal {-atat-} is lost when in combination with the 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite prefix /yu-/, as discussed in 6.3.54. above.

It is interesting and important to note that the only paradigm in which prefixes expressing 3rd person non-singular patients are different from those expressing 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patients is the paradigm for 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents. The co-occurrence of 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents with 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patients is expressed

by the transitive prefix {yutat-} whereas the co-occurrence of 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents with 3rd person non-singular patients is expressed by the transitive prefixes {luwati-} and {kuwati-} , for 3rd person non-singular masculine patients and 3rd person non-singular feminine/indefinite/neuter patients, respectively. This is also the only occurrence of separate transitive prefixes for 3rd person non-singular masculine and 3rd person non-singular non-masculine patients. They are formed in this case by the addition of the 3rd person plural marker /-ti/ to the transitive prefixes for 3rd person singular masculine patient {luwa-} and 3rd person singular feminine/neuter patient {kuwa-} .

6.6.32. The phonological alternations of transitive prefixes expressing 1st person singular patients follows the rules given for 1st person singular subjective pronominal prefixes given in 6.3.51. above. That is, an epenthetic vowel /-e-/ is inserted after the 1st person singular component /k-/ when preceding the consonants /-l, -n, -w, and -?/. Clusters of the consonant /k-/ followed by /l,n, or ?/ are always inadmissible in Akwesasne Mohawk. The cluster /-kw-/ is permissible within a morpheme but is not permissible across morpheme boundaries.

6.6.33. The transitive prefixes which express 3rd person singular feminine/neuter agents are identical to the pronominal prefixes in the objective paradigm, as discussed in 6.5. above. However, the transitive prefixes expressing the co-occurrence of 3rd person singular feminine/neuter agent and 3rd person non-singular patient are different from the prefixes in the objective paradigm. Instead, the

prefixes for the co-occurrence of 3rd person singular feminine/neuter agent and 3rd person non-singular patient are identical to the transitive prefixes expressing the co-occurrences of 3rd person singular feminine/neuter agent and 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patient.

In other words, the co-occurrences of the 3rd person singular feminine/neuter agent with animate patients is not overtly represented in the transitive prefixes. They are represented, instead, by the objective pronominal prefix appropriate to each patient in the paradigm.

6.6.34. Transitive prefixes which refer to 3rd person singular feminine/neuter patients have the subjective pronominal prefix shape of the agent. That is, 3rd person singular feminine/neuter patients are not overtly expressed in the transitive prefixes. They are expressed, instead, by the subjective pronominal prefix appropriate to the agent.

The only exception to this rule is to express the co-occurrence of 3rd person feminine/neuter patients and 3rd person feminine/indefinite agents. In this case, the transitive prefix is {kuwa-} .

6.6.35. Non-singular number for agents is expressed as the final component in the transitive prefixes. Except with 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patients (and therefore also with 3rd person non-singular patients), dual agents are represented in the transitive prefixes by the final component /-ni/, while plural agents are expressed by the final component /-wa/. The only exception

to this rule is when the transitive prefix expresses the co-occurrence of singular or dual agents with plural patients. In these cases, non-singular number is represented by the plural marker /-wa/.

For example, the transitive prefix ¹² {kwa-} expresses the following agent/patient co-occurrences:

1st p. sg. agent / 2nd p. pl. patient

1st p. dual agent / 2nd p. pl. patient

1st p. pl. agent / 2nd p. sg. patient

1st p. pl. agent / 2nd p. dual patient

1st p. pl. agent / 2nd p. pl. patient

The transitive prefix {kwa-} therefore expresses any combination of 1st person agent and 2nd person patient where the agent and/or patient is plural. The ambiguity of this prefix results from the fact that plurality of agent and of patient is expressed by the plural marker /-wa/ and is expressed only once in each particular transitive prefix.

¹² The fact that the transitive prefix {kwa-} contains a cluster of /k/ and /w/ seems to violate the statement in 6.6.34. above to the effect that the /-kw-/ cluster is only permitted in Akwesasne Mohawk within a morpheme and not across morpheme boundaries. It may be that the prefixes show a high degree of morpheme fusion, characteristic of Iroquoian languages, which permits certain /-kw-/ clusters. On the other hand, the statement made concerning the inadmissability of /-kw-/ clusters across morpheme boundaries may have to be modified to refer only to the morpheme boundaries between pronominal prefixes and verb stems; that is, the rule may apply only across boundaries of different verbal classes but may not apply across morpheme boundaries within a particular verbal class.

6.6.351. When a dual agent co-occurs with a dual patient, the duality of number is expressed by the dual component /-ni/. However, as with the plural component, the dual marker is expressed only once. Therefore, certain transitive prefixes are ambiguous for other agent/patient co-occurrences. The prefix {(h)skeni-} may express the following co-occurrences of agent and patient:

2nd p. sg. agent / 1st p. dual patient

2nd p. dual agent / 1st p. sg. patient

2nd p. dual agent / 1st p. dual patient

In other words, the prefix {(h)skeni-} expresses the fact that the agent and/or patient is dual and neither is more than dual. It applies to any appropriate combination of 2nd person agent and 1st person patient.

6.6.352. The same kind of ambiguity results with transitive prefixes expressing plural number in some combination of 2nd person agent and 1st person patient. The prefix {(h)skwa-} has parallel ambiguities to those discussed above for the prefix {kwa-} except that {(h)skwa-} refers to co-occurrences of 2nd person agent and 1st person patient while {kwa-} refers to co-occurrences of 1st person agent and 2nd person patient. The prefix {(h)skwa-} may refer to the following agent/patient co-occurrences:

2nd p. sg. agent / 1st p. pl. patient

2nd p. dual agent / 1st p. pl. patient

2nd p. pl. agent / 1st p. sg. patient

2nd p. pl. agent / 1st p. dual patient

2nd p. pl. agent / 1st p. pl. patient

That is, the prefix $\{(h)skwa-\}$ can refer to any co-occurrence of 2nd person agent and 1st person patient where one or both are plural.

6.6.36. Non-singular number for patients is expressed as the final component in the transitive prefixes. Except with 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents (and therefore also with 3rd person non-singular agents), dual patients are represented in the transitive prefixes by the final component $/-ni-/$, while plural patients are represented by $/-wa/$. Examples of these prefixes and their ambiguities have already been discussed in 6.6.35. above. It should be kept in mind that only 1st person and 2nd person dual and plural agents and patients are expressed by these non-singular number markers since 3rd person non-singular patients are expressed with the same prefix as the one used for 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite patients. Third person non-singular agents likewise follow the paradigm for prefixes expressing 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agents.

6.6.361. Dual and plural patients are merged when they co-occur with 3rd person feminine/indefinite agents (and therefore also with 3rd person non-singular agents). The shape of the number component is aberrant for 1st and 2nd person patients. However, non-singular number is expressed for 3rd person patients by the regular plural component for 3rd person: $/-ti/$.

6.6.4. To summarize and illustrate the rules given in section 6.6.1. above for the formation of transitive pronominal prefixes,

a complete paradigm is given below. The paradigm involves a consonant-initial verb stem of Stem-Class I: -hloli[?]- "tell, order" in the sense of "tell it to someone," or "tell someone to do something."

A number of morphophonemic rules which have been discussed in Chapter 4 above will be repeated below since they affect the underlying sequences in the formation of the appropriate verb forms:

1. All prefixes expressing 3rd person masculine agent or patient are affected by the rule:

$$/l-/\longrightarrow /h-/ \text{ when non-initial}$$

2. All pronominal prefixes with initial /y-/ are affected by the rule:

$$\text{modal prefix } \{wa^?-\} + /yV-/\longrightarrow /wa^?V-/\$$

3. Under certain conditions the aorist prefix $\{wa^?-\}$ is realized as /wa-/:

$$\{wa^?\} + /l-\rightarrow(h-)/\longrightarrow /wah-/\$$

4. Under certain conditions the aorist prefix $\{wa^?-\}$ is realized as /we-/:

$$\{wa^?\} + /se-/\longrightarrow /wese-/\$$

Stem-Class I: -hloli[?]- "tell, order" (see 6.3.41. above.)

1st person singular agent: (see 6.6.11. above)

wa [?] kohló:li [?]	wa [?] ko hló:li [?]	"I told you (sg.)" (told it to you, told you to...)
wahihló:li [?]	wa hi hló:li [?]	"I told him"
wa [?] khehló:li [?]	wa [?] khe hló:li [?]	"I told her, one, them"

wa [?] khló:li [?]	wa [?] k hló:li [?]	"I told her, it"
wa [?] kenihló:li [?]	wa [?] keni hló:li [?]	"I told you (dual)"
wa [?] kwahló:li [?]	wa [?] kwa hló:li [?]	"I told you (pl.)"

2nd person singular agent: (see 6.6.12. above)

wahsekhló:li [?]	wa hsek hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told me"
wahtshló:li [?]	wa hts hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told him"
wahsehló:li [?]	wa hse hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told her, one, them"
wahshló:li [?]	wa hs hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told her, it"
wahskenhlo:li [?]	wa hskeni hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told us (dual)"
wahskwakló:li [?]	wa hskwa hló:li [?]	"you (sg.) told us (pl.)"

3rd person singular masculine agent: (see 6.6.13. above.)

wahakhló:li [?]	wa hak hló:li [?]	"he told me"
wahyahló:li [?]	wa hya hló:li [?]	"he told you (sg.)"
wahohló:li [?]	wa ho hló:li [?]	"he told him"
wahsakohlo:li [?]	wa hsako hló:li [?]	"he told her, one them"
wahahló:li [?]	wa ha hló:li [?]	"he told her, it"
wahsukenhlo:li [?]	wa hsukeni hló:li [?]	"he told us (du.)"
wahsukwahló:li [?]	wa hskwa hló:li [?]	"he told us (pl.)"
wahtsisenhlo:li [?]	wa htsiseni hlo:li [?]	"he told you (du.)"
wahtsisewahló:li [?]	wa htsisewa hlo:li [?]	"he told you (pl.)"

3rd person singular feminine/indefinite agent and 3rd person non-singular agent (see 6.6.14. and 6.6.20. above)

wa [?] ukhló:li [?]	wa [?] uk hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told me"
wa [?] esahló:li [?]	wa [?] esa hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told you (sg.)"
wahuwahló:li [?]	wa huwa hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told him"
wa [?] utathló:li [?]	wa [?] utat hló:li [?]	"she, one they told her, one"
wa [?] kuwahló:li [?]	wa [?] kuwa hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told her, it"
wa [?] ukhihló:li [?]	wa [?] ukhi hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told us (du,pl)"
wa [?] etsihló:li [?]	wa [?] etsi hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told you (du, pl)"
wahuwatihló:li [?]	wa huwati hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told them (masc. du.pl)"
wa [?] kuwatihló:li [?]	wa [?] kuwati hló:li [?]	"she, one, they told them (fem/indef/neuter dual, pl.)"

3rd person singular feminine/neuter agent: (see 6.6.15. above)

ukhló:li [?]	u k hló:li [?]	"she, it told me"
usahló:li [?]	u sa hló:li [?]	"she, it told you (sg.)"
wahohló:li [?]	wa ho hló:li [?]	"she, it told him"
wa [?] akohló:li [?]	wa [?] ako hló:li [?]	"she, it told her, one, them"
wa [?] ohló:li [?]	wa [?] o hló:li [?]	"she, it told her, it"
wa [?] ukenihló:li [?]	wa [?] ukeni hló:li [?]	"she, it told us (du)"
wa [?] ukwahló:li [?]	wa [?] ukwa hló:li [?]	"she, it told us (pl)"
usenihló:li [?]	u seni hló:li [?]	"she, it told you (du)"
usewahló:li [?]	u sewa hló:li [?]	"she, it told you (pl)"

1st person dual agent: (see 6.6.16. above):

wa [?] kenihló:li [?]	wa [?] keni hló:li [?]	"we (du) told you (sg.)"
wahsakenihló:li [?]	wa hsakeni hló:li [?]	"we (du) told him"
wa [?] akhihló:li [?]	wa [?] akhi hló:li [?]	"we (du) told her, one, them"
wa [?] akenihló:li [?]	wa [?] akeni hló:li [?]	"we (du) told her, it"
wa [?] kenihló:li [?]	wa [?] keni hló:li [?]	"we (du) told you (du.)"
wa [?] kwahló:li [?]	wa [?] kwa hló:li [?]	"we (du) told you (pl.)"

1st person plural agent: (see 6.6.17. above):

wa [?] kwahló:li [?]	wa [?] kwa hló:li [?]	"we (pl) told you (sg.)"
wahsakwahló:li [?]	wa hsakwa hló:li [?]	"we (pl) told him"
wa [?] akhihló:li [?]	wa [?] akhi hló:li [?]	"we (pl) told her, one them"
wa [?] akwahló:li [?]	wa [?] akwa hló:li [?]	"we (pl) told her, it"
wa [?] kwahló:li [?]	wa [?] kwa hló:li [?]	"we (pl) told you (du.,pl.)"

2nd person dual agent: (see 6.6.18. above)

wahskenihló:li [?]	wa hskeni hló:li [?]	"you (du) told me"
wahtsisenihló:li [?]	wa htsiseni hló:li [?]	"you (du) told him"
wa [?] etsihló:li [?]	wa [?] etsi hló:li [?]	"you (du) told her, one, them"
wesenihló:li [?]	we seni hló:li [?]	"you (du) told her, it"
wahskenihló:li [?]	wa hskeni hló:li [?]	"you (du) told us (du)"
wahskwahló:li [?]	wa hskwa hló:li [?]	"you (du) told us (pl)"

2nd person plural agent: (see 6.6.19. above)

wahskwahló:li?	wa hskwa hló:li?	"you (pl) told me"
wahtsisewahló:li?	wa htsisewa hló:li?	"you (pl) told him"
wa?etsihló:li?	wa? etsi hló:li?	"you (pl) told her, one, them"
wesewahló:li?	we sewa hló:li?	"you (pl) told her, it"
wahskwahló:li?	wa hskwa hló:li?	"you (pl) told us (dual, pl.)"

6.7. Kinship Terminology

This section will present an application of the analysis of pronominal prefixes to data collected of the Akwesasne kinship terminological system. Mohawk kin terms are structurally verbs and, as such, obligatorily contain a pronominal prefix. All three types of pronominal prefixes, i.e. subjective, objective, and transitive, occur on kinship terms. The particular type of pronominal prefix which occurs on any given kin term is determined by that kin term. They are not interchangeable. The analysis presented below is concerned only with the pronominal prefixes in the kin terms. The verb stems which constitute the kin terms will not be analyzed here. For the most part, the verb stems in the kin terms do not occur with other functions in other environments.

6.7.1. Mohawk kinship terms may be grouped into two main classes according to the type of pronominal prefix which is present in the term. The first, and most numerous, class consists of kin terms which take transitive pronominal prefixes, while the second consists of kin terms which take subjective or objective prefixes. Generally, these types are organized on the basis of the following broad criteria:

Transitive: older speaker/younger referent

younger speaker/older referent

Subjective

or

age equivalence of speaker and referent

objective:

The transitive kin term class contains twenty-four kinship terms which designate individuals of either of the following

relationships:

1. relatives belonging to a generation other than that of the speaker, either younger or older (sixteen terms);
- and 2. relatives belonging to the same generation as that of the speaker but where relative age is distinguished (eight terms).

The subjective/objective kin term class contains ten kinship terms which designate individuals belonging to the same generation as that of the speaker where relative age is not distinguished.

6.7.2. The transitive class of kinship terms may be further divided on the basis of the relative age of the kinsman and the speaker. As has been discussed in 6.6 above, transitive pronominal prefixes express the co-occurrence of agent and patient. The prefix can therefore express the speaker as the agent or as the patient of the action or state described by the verb. In the kinship terminology, the relative age of the kinsman and the speaker determines which of the two is expressed as agent and which as patient. The elder, whether speaker or person spoken about, is expressed as the agent while the younger, whether speaker or person spoken about, is expressed as the patient.

The data below are divided into groups depending upon the relative age of the kinsman and the speaker:

6.7.21. Where the kinsman referred to is of a generation older than that of the speaker (Note that the transitive pronominal prefix expresses the elder kinsman as the agent and the younger speaker as the patient):

/lake [?] niha [?] /	my father (literally: he to me is father)
/lake [?] nuhá [?] : [?] a/	my uncle (my mother's brother; my father's brother)
/laksóttha [?] /	my grandfather
¹³ /aksóttha [?] /	my grandmother
/laksà:wha [?] /	my father-in-law (female speaker)
/yuksà:wha [?] /	my mother-in-law (female speaker)
/lakwehúsa [?] /	my father-in-law (male speaker)
/yukwehúsa [?] /	my mother-in-law (male speaker)

6.7.22. Where the kinsman referred to is of a generation younger than that of the speaker (Note that the transitive pronominal prefix expresses the elder speaker as the agent and the younger kinsman as the patient):

/liy [?] v: [?] a/	my son
/khey [?] v: [?] a/	my daughter
/liyuhwat [?] v: [?] a/	my nephew
/kheyuhwat [?] v: [?] a/	my niece
/liyatelé: [?] a/	my grandson
/kheyatelé: [?] a/	my granddaughter

¹³ It can be noted that the transitive pronominal prefix which occurs in this kin term, /ak-/, differs from the one used in other kin terms and the one found to express the co-occurrence of 3rd person feminine/indefinite agents ("she, one") and 1st person singular patients ("me"). The latter prefix, /yuk-/, has become the productive prefix in Mohawk through processes of historical linguistic change where it has taken over the function of the older prefix /ak-/. The prefix /ak-/ remains in Akwesasne Mohawk only in a few kinship terms.

/liyehúsaʔ/	my son-in-law
/khesà:whaʔ/	my daughter-in-law

6.7.23. Where the kinsman referred to is of the same generation as that of the speaker but where there are distinctions made according to relative age (Note that the transitive pronominal prefix expresses the elder, whether speaker or kinsman, as the agent and the younger as the patient):

/lakjí:ʔa/	my older brother
/akjí:ʔa/	my older sister
/liʔkúv:ʔa/	my younger brother
/kheʔkúv:ʔa/	my younger sister
/lakuhá:whaʔ/	my brother-in-law (female speaker)
/akuhà:whaʔ/	my sister-in-law (male speaker)
/likstúv:hah/	my husband
/khekstúv:hah/	my wife

For sibling terms, the crucial factor in determining whether the speaker or his kinsman will be expressed as the agent or the patient is the criterion of age; that is, the elder, whether speaker or kinsman, is expressed by the transitive pronominal prefix as the grammatical agent while the younger is expressed as the grammatical patient.

In the kinship terms for opposite-sexed in-law of the same

generation (i.e. "my brother-in-law" (female speaker) /lakuhá:whaʔ/; and "my sister-in-law (male speaker) /akuhá:whaʔ/), the transitive pronominal prefix expresses the kinsman as the grammatical agent and the speaker as the grammatical patient regardless of the actual relative ages of the individuals concerned.

In the terms for spouse, i.e. "my husband" /likstv:ha/ and "my wife" /kyekstv:ha/, the transitive pronominal prefix expresses the speaker as the grammatical agent and the kinsman as the grammatical patient, regardless of the actual relative ages of the individuals concerned.

6.7.3. It should be noted that all of the kinship terms given above are terms of reference; that is, they are terms which are used by the speaker when referring to his kinsman. For the most part, the terms of address, i.e. terms used by the speaker when talking directly to or calling his kinsman, contain the same transitive pronominal prefix as does the corresponding term of reference. The difference between terms of reference and terms of address concerns the verbal suffixes which are added to the verb base. However, there are two kinship terms where the terms of address contain different pronominal prefixes from the terms of reference. These are:

/li:kʷ:ʔa/	my younger brother (reference)
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/khe:kʷ:ʔa/	my younger sister (reference)
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but:

/ku:ko:ó:/	my younger sibling (brother; sister) (address)
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The 1st person dual prefix is used when the term refers to one kinsman while the 1st person plural prefix is used when the term refers to two or more kinsmen. This is consistent with the idea of the unity of the speaker and kinsman since the speaker and one kinsman form a group of two, hence the dual prefix, while the speaker and two or more kinsmen form a group of three or more, hence the plural prefix.

The kinship terms given below are all those which contain subjective or objective pronominal prefixes. It should be noted that the terms given are terms of reference and therefore contain prefixes which express the 1st person non-singular exclusive. Kin terms of address which correspond to these differ in that the pronominal prefix expresses the 1st person non-singular inclusive. This difference is consistent with the use of inclusive/exclusive markers; that is, the inclusive refers to the speaker and hearer (terms of address) while the exclusive refers to the speaker and someone other than the hearer (terms of reference).

The relevant kin terms are:

/yakyatátenuhkweː/	we (dual, excl.) are related; we are relatives; he, she, one is my relative; my relative
/yakyatatekʷ:ʔa/	my sibling (we two are siblings)
/yakwatatekʷ:ʔa/	my two siblings (we plural are siblings)
/yakwatateːkoʔoku:ʔa/	my three (or more) siblings
/yukyalaːsé:ʔa/	my cousin (we two are cousins)
/kyakeniːteluːʔ/	my spouse (literally: we two live there together)
/yukyakyóhaː/	my brother-in-law (male speaker)

/yukyalihaː/	my sister-in-law, (female speaker)
/yukyavːloː/	we (dual excl.) are the husbands of two sisters
/yukyattsi/	we (dual excl.) are the wives of two brothers

For the purposes of this discussion, kinship terms which contain subjective pronominal prefixes and those which contain objective pronominal prefixes can be grouped together since the prefix in both cases expresses an identical idea, that of the unity of the speaker and his kinsman. The occurrence of the subjective or the objective prefix is selected by the verb base and the verbal suffixes.

Special note can be made here that the category of terms for one's sibling-in-law demonstrates both unity and differentiation. That is, terms for one's own-sexed sibling-in-law occur with the 1st person dual subjective pronominal prefix, thus demonstrating the unity of the speaker and referent (see /yukyakyóhaː/ "my brother-in-law (male speaker)" and /yukyalihaː/ "my sister-in-law (female speaker)"). Terms for one's opposite-sexed sibling-in-law, however, occur with the appropriate transitive pronominal prefix, thus demonstrating a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and referent (see /lakuhaːwhaː/ "my brother-in-law (female speaker)" and /akuhaːwhaː/ "my sister-in-law (male speaker)").

6.7.5. The significance of the analysis of kinship terms on the basis of the kind of pronominal prefix which occurs relates to the significance of the distinction of age in Mohawk culture. As has been shown, transitive prefixes occur on kin terms where relative age is distinguished, either within the speaker's generation or across generations. Subjective/objective prefixes occur on kin terms where

the relative age of speaker and kinsman is not distinguished.

In traditional Mohawk culture, as set down in the literature of the Iroquois and as later reported by Lewis Henry Morgan in the mid-19th century (see bibliography), attitudes and behavior toward kinsmen were very strongly influenced by the relative ages of the people involved. Attitudes and behavior of deference toward one's elder relatives, both across generations and within one's own generation, were very important in the system of social relationships. This was true both in informal interpersonal behavior and in the formal behavior associated with the political and ceremonial functioning of the League of the Iroquois.¹⁵

Attitudes of deference toward one's elders are still the ideal at Akwesasne although actual behavior has changed considerably. The value placed on the attainment of the ideal is still strong but the degree to which the ideal is realized has diminished. In the more traditional sections of the Reserve and among the more traditional families, the ideal deferential behavior toward one's elders still occurs. However, for younger people at Akwesasne, deferential behavior and attitudes toward one's elders is less important in actual practice than it is for older people. This is especially so in regard to kinsmen of one's own generation, particularly one's siblings, although it is also true for many younger people in regard to kinsmen of an older generation.

¹⁵ See especially Morgan (1851) and Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites (1883). See also: The Great Law of Peace of the People of the Longhouse (White Roots of Peace, 1971).

The stability of the kinship terms in contrast to the changing social habits and values brings up the question of linguistic lag. The distinctions which are made within the kin terms as expressed by the pronominal prefixes are distinctions which were at one time important in Mohawk culture but which for the most part do not function culturally at the present time. The kinship terms have become frozen lexical items which no longer signal the cultural behavior which the linguistic analysis implies. The linguistic structure, then, has remained intact even after it no longer has cultural significance, or when its cultural significance has greatly diminished.

This is not to imply that the Mohawk kinship system has remained unchanged. It has in fact changed considerably since Morgan's description in the mid-19th century.¹⁶ However, the changes which have taken place are changes in the occurrence and distribution of lexical items. They are not changes within the lexical items themselves.¹⁷ That is, the lexical items have remained stable although their usage has been modified.

According to Morgan, the term for Father was also used to refer to Father's Brother and the term for Mother was used to refer additionally to Mother's Sister. Separate terms existed for Mother's Brother and Father's Sister. On one's own generation, terms for Brother and Sister

¹⁶ Morgan, 1871, pp. 131-169:

¹⁷ Note the persistence of /ak-/ and /ku-/ in the kinship terms. The prefix /ak-/ survives only on three kin terms (see 6.7.21. above). The prefix /ku-/ occurs on one term of address and is the older phonological shape of the currently used prefix /ko-/, (see 6.7.3. above).

were extended to refer to one's parallel cousins, i.e. the children of one's Father's Brother (called "Father") and one's Mother's Sister (called "Mother"). A person's own children were called Son and Daughter. These terms were extended to refer to one's same-sexed siblings' children while the children of one's opposite-sexed siblings were called by different terms.

In comparing Morgan's set of kin terms with those elicited at Akwesasne, a number of striking changes in usage have occurred. With only one exception, these changes involve the restriction of kin terms referring basically to the nuclear family. Whereas in Morgan's time, nuclear family terms were extended to collateral relatives, these terms are now restricted to usage within the nuclear family itself. The term for Father, /lake'níha?/, is used to refer only to one's own father while one's Father's Brother and one's Mother's Brother are both called /lake'nuhá:ʔa/ "uncle". Also, the terms for Older Brother /lakjí:ʔa/, Older Sister /akjí:ʔa/, Younger Brother /li?kǔv:ʔa/ and Younger Sister /khe?kǔv:ʔa/ are used to refer only to one's own siblings. All of the children of all of one's parents' siblings are called by the term /yukyalaʔsé:ʔa/, "we two are cousins." Finally, the terms for Son, /liyǔv:ʔa/, and Daughter, /kheyǔv:ʔa/, are used to refer only to one's own children. The children of one's sibling are called /liyuhwatǔv:ʔa/, Nephew, and /kheyuhwatǔv:ʔa/, Niece.

The only nuclear family term whose usage has expanded is the terms for Mother, /istáh/.¹⁸ The kin term /istáh/ is used at Akwesasne

¹⁸ The term /istáh/ has not been discussed in 6.7.2. or 6.7.4. above because its shape is unanalyzable. It contains no pronominal prefix.

to refer to one's own Mother and also one's Mother's Sister and One's Father's Sister.¹⁹

Essentially, then, the changes in usage of Mohawk kin terms at Akwesasne have been along the lines of conforming to the Euro-American kinship system. The changes undoubtedly result from pressures of both linguistic and social acculturation. Only the term /istáh/ "Mother" has held out against these pressures.

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It is interesting to note in comparison that the Caughnawaga Mohawk dialect contains a borrowed French kin term /akwatv:t/ "my aunt" which is used for one's Mother's Sister and One's Father's Sister. The people at Akwesasne are aware of this difference and say that the Caughnawaga /akwatv:t/ is not a Mohawk word.

7.0. VERBAL PREFIXES

The general class of verbal prefixes occupies the initial position within the Mohawk verb. Verbal prefixes directly precede pronominal prefixes (see 5.1.1. above.).

The class of verbal prefixes contains two major sub-divisions. Verbal prefixes are either modal or non-modal. These sub-classes do not separate neatly into two positions within the general class of verbal prefixes. In cases of the co-occurrence of certain specific verbal prefixes, the modal prefix precedes the non-modal one. However, given other specific verbal prefixes, the non-modal prefix precedes the modal one. The dynamics of these co-occurrences and relative positions will be discussed and exemplified in the appropriate sections below.

The following is a chart of the position classes of the verbal prefixes:

Non-Modal	Non-Modal	Modal	Non-Modal	Modal	Non-Modal	Modal
Parti- tive n	Trans- loca- tive y	Aorist wa?	Duplica- tive t	Indefi- nite a	Itera- tive s	Aorist and
Coinci- dent s				Future v	Cisloc- ative t	Indefi- nite a
Con- tras- tive th						
Negative						
te?						

7.1. Modal Prefixes

There are three modal prefixes in Mohawk. Generally, modal prefixes express the attitude of the speaker toward what is being said, reflecting the validity, probability, or desirability of the action or state involved in the statement.

Specifically, the modal prefixes are:

{wa?-}	aorist
{a-}	indefinite
{v-}	future

The modal prefixes are mutually exclusive for semantic reasons; that is, their meanings are such that they would never co-occur in any given word. By definition, then, a verb cannot be specified as both future and indefinite or both aorist and indefinite, etc. However, the aorist modal prefix is listed in a separate position class from the indefinite and future prefixes because of the relative order that these prefixes take in relation to other verbal (non-modal) prefixes (see 7.0. above).

7.1.1. The Aorist Prefix

The aorist modal prefix {wa?-} expresses the idea that the action or state described by the verb has definitely occurred or is definitely occurring. It simply states a fact. Aorist verbs in Mohawk are often translated into English in past or present tenses.

There are six morphophonemic rules which affect the phonological shape of the aorist prefix.

7.1.11. {wa?-} + {wa-} → u- This rule applies in 1st person singular objective pronominal prefixes, where

the objective morpheme is {wa-} . For example:

/wákekstv:ha/ "I'm old"

wa- objective marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-kstv:ha "be old"

/ukekstv:hahne?/ "I became old"

u- aorist modal prefix and objective
marker

-ke- 1st person singular prefix

-kstv:hahne? "become old"

The underlying structure for "I became old" is */wa?-wa-ke-kstv:hahne?/.

7.1.12. {wa?-} + -h- → wah-

This rule applies where the aorist prefix is followed by any of a number of /-h-/ initial pronominal prefixes. The prefixes affected are generally those which express the co-occurrence of any 2nd person subject with an animate object or the co-occurrence of any 3rd person masculine subject or object with any other person (see 6.6.2. above).

For example:

/wahsekhlo:lih/ "you (sg.) told me"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-hsek- transitive prefix for 2nd person singular
subject and 1st person singular object

-hlo:lih "tell, order"

The underlying structure here is */wa?-hsek-hlo:lih/.

/wáhtsisenihlo:lih/ "he told you (dual)"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-htsiseni- transitive prefix for 3rd person masculine singular
subject and 2nd person dual object

-hló:lih "tell, order"

The underlying structure is */wa?-htsiseni-hló:lih/.

The rule: {wa-?} + -h- → wah- can be seen to apply additionally after a general morphophonemic rule which changes the initial /l-/ of all 3rd person masculine pronominal prefixes to /-h-/ when non-initial.

However, a detailed rule can be included to specify this situation.

7.1.13. {wa?-} + /l-/ → /wah-/

for example:

/lo?nikuhláksv/ "he's sad, crying"

lo- 3rd person masculine objective pronominal prefix

-?nikuhláksv "be sad, cry"

-s serial aspect suffix

but:

/waho?nikuhláksv/ "he was sad, cried"

wa- aorist modal prefix

-ho- 3rd person masculine objective pronominal prefix

-?nikuhláksv "be sad, cry"

The underlying structure for the latter is */wa?-lo-?nikuhláksv/.

If the rule /l-/ → /-h-/ when non-initial (applying only in pronominal prefixes) is seen to apply before the attachment of the modal prefix, then the more general rule stated in 7.1.12. above is sufficient to cover this special situation. However, it is thought preferable to include the specific rule in 7.1.13. since the actual functioning of language is probably more in terms of the application

of simultaneous processes rather than a strict ordering of operations in temporal sequences.

7.1.14. $\{wa?\} \rightarrow we-/__se$

This rule applies when the aorist modal prefix precedes 2nd person non-singular (dual and plural) subjective pronominal prefixes. It also applies when the aorist mode precedes transitive pronominal prefixes which express the co-occurrence of 2nd person non-singular agents with 3rd person singular feminine/neuter patients (see 6.6.2. above). For example:

/weseni^hló:lih/ "you (du.) told her, it"

we- aorist modal prefix

-seni- transitive pronominal prefix for 2nd person dual
agent and 3rd person feminine/neuter singular
patient

-hló:lih "tell, order"

The underlying structure here is */wa?-seni-hló:lih/.

7.1.15. The shape of the aorist modal prefix is sometimes affected by other verbal (non-modal) prefixes which may precede it:

/C-/ + $\{-wa?\}$ \rightarrow /Ca?-/

That is, when the aorist modal prefix $\{wa?\}$ follows another verbal prefix ending with a consonant, the /-w-/ of the aorist is lost.

For example:

/wa?uté:ko/ "she, one ran away" (no particular starting
point or destination
is specified)

wa?- aorist modal prefix

-u- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite
subjective pronominal prefix

-té:ko "run away"

but:

/yaʔuté:ko/ "she, one ran away" (from some place to a place
in a direction away from
the speaker)

y- translocative non-modal prefix

-a?- aorist modal prefix

-u- 3rd person singular feminine/indefinite
subjective pronominal prefix

-té:ko "run away"

The underlying structure for the latter is */y-waʔ-yu-té:ko/. The non-modal translocative prefix {y-} expresses the idea that the action of the verb occurs in a direction away from the speaker (for a detailed discussion of the translocative prefix, see 7.2.5. below).

7.1.16. The aorist prefix {waʔ-} is sometimes realized as /-à:-/. This occurs when the aorist prefix forms the penultimate syllable and thereby receives stress (see 3.7.2. above). For example:

/athaʔkéhsu neʔ yahà:keʔ/ "I walked there, went there by foot"

yah- translocative non-modal prefix

-à:- aorist modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subjective pronominal prefix

-eʔ "walk"

The underlying structure is */yVh-wáʔ-k-eʔ/.

7.1.2. The Indefinite Prefix

The indefinite modal prefix {a-} expresses the idea that the action or state described by the verb will possibly or probably occur sometime in the future. In other words, the action or state is not now occurring or has not yet occurred, but will possibly or

probably occur at some time. The indefinite prefix generally, unless negated, connotes a certain desire on the part of the speaker that the action or state should occur. Indefinite verbs are often translated into English as conditionals, although they are sometimes translated in present or future tenses.

7.1.21. The indefinite modal prefix occurs as {a-} except as provided:

- {a-} → au/___ iterative non-modal prefix s-
 au/___ 1st person singular subjective prefix, when
 co-ordinated after a verb of desire or volition
 in the past
 a/___ elsewhere

7.1.22. A verb containing an indefinite prefix often occurs in a construction with another verb which expresses some kind of desire, volition, or attitude of the speaker toward the anticipated action or state described by the indefinite verb. For example:

/í:kehle? akhnekí:la?/ "I want to drink"

- a- indefinite modal prefix
 -k- 1st person singular subjective prefix
 -hnekí:la? "drink"

/í:kehle? ausakató:li?/ "I want to drive again"

- au- indefinite modal prefix
 -sa- iterative non-modal prefix
 -k- 1st person singular subjective prefix
 -ató:li? "drive"

/waku?wéskwani ne? ake?ní?khu/ "I like to sew"

- a- indefinite modal prefix

-ke- 1st person singular subjective prefix

-ní?khu "sew"

/kaská:neks ne ake?ní?khu/ "I would like to sew"

/teyotuhujóhu ne ahayvtho?/ "he should plant (it)"

a- indefinite modal prefix

-ha- 3rd person masculine singular subjective prefix

-yvtho? "plant"

/teyotuhujuhú:ne? ne ahoyvtho?/ "he should have planted"

/teyotuhujuhú:ne? ne aukyvtho?/ "I should have planted"

au- indefinite modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subjective prefix

-yvtho? "plant"

/vhakwé:ni ne? ahá:late?/ "he can, is able to lie down"

a- indefinite modal prefix

-h- 3rd person masculine singular subjective prefix

-á:late? "lie down"

/ahokwényu ne? aholá:tu/ "he could have, would have been
been able to lie down (but
didn't)"

a- indefinite modal prefix

-ho- 3rd person masculine singular objective prefix

-lá:tu "lie down"

/aukwatkwényuke?/ "I would have won (it) (but didn't)"

au- indefinite modal prefix

-kw- 1st person singular subjective prefix

-atkwényuke? "win"

/seléka? ne? ahá:vw?/ "he almost said it (but didn't)"

a- indefinite modal prefix

-h-	3rd person masculine singular subjective prefix
-á:wv?	"say"
/yausayeteniya?tvhawe?/	"we (dual) would take her, it back with us"
y-	translocative non-modal prefix
-au-	indefinite modal prefix
-sa-	iterative non-modal prefix
-yeteni-	transitive pronominal prefix for 1st person dual subject and 3rd person feminine/neuter singular object
-ya?tvhawe?	"take, carry a body"

7.1.3. The Future Prefix

The future modal prefix {v-} expresses the idea that the action or state described by the verb will definitely occur at some time in the future. It expresses the certainty on the part of the speaker that the action or state will take place. Some negative commands are composed of a verb in the future mode, preceded by a separate word, translatable into English as "don't." Future modal verbs in Mohawk are generally translated into English in the future tense. For example:

/vkyvtho?/	"I will plant (it)"
v-	future modal prefix
-k-	1st person singular subjective prefix
-yvtho?	"plant"
/vwa:tu?/	"it will be possible"
v-	future modal prefix
-w-	3rd person singular feminine/neuter subjective prefix

-á:tu? "be able, can, be possible"

/vwá:tu? kV? vká:late?/ "Will I be able to lie down, be allowed to lie down?"

"Will it be possible that I will lie down?"

v- future modal prefix

-k- 1st person singular subjective prefix

-á:late? "lie down"

/utá:u ji vke?ní?khu/ "I have to sew (it)"

v- future modal prefix

-ke- 1st person singular subjective prefix

-?ní?khu "sew"

/tóhsa? vsaná:khv/ "Don't get, be angry!" (sg.)

v- future modal prefix

-sa- 2nd person singular subjective prefix

-ná:khv "be angry"

/tóhsa? vskwatsté:list/ "Don't bother me, touch me, pester me! (sg.)"
"Leave me alone!"

v- future modal prefix

-skw- transitive pronominal prefix for 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object

-atsté:list "pester, touch, annoy, bother"

7.2. Non-Modal Prefixes

In addition to the modal prefixes discussed in 7.1. above, there are eight non-modal verbal prefixes which can occur in Mohawk verbs. These prefixes express a variety of different ideas which cannot be unified under a more specific label. They are listed below and will be discussed in turn in an order based on their position class

arrangement within the verb. (see 7.0. above).

The position class arrangement of the non-modal verbal prefixes is based on their patterns of co-occurrence. The basic position class chart is repeated here:

Non-Modal	Non-Modal	Modal	Non-Modal	Modal	Non-Modal	Modal
Parti- tive n Coinci- dent s Con- tras- tive th	Trans- loca- tive y	Aorist wa?	Duplica- tive t	Indefi- nite a Future v	Itera- tive s Cisloc- ative t	Aorist and Indefi- nite a
Negative te?						

Certain combinations of non-modal verbal prefixes are mutually exclusive on formal grounds, i.e. they do not occur together in any Mohawk verb. For example, the iterative, {s-}, and the cislocative, {t-}, never occur in the same verb although both can occur in similar position in relation to other verbal prefixes. Since they never co-occur and since they occur in the same position in relation to other verbal prefixes, they are placed in the same position class.

Other non-modal verbal prefixes are mutually exclusive on semantic grounds, i.e. their meaning restricts the occurrence of the prefixes

in any one given verb. Verbal prefixes which are semantically incompatible do not co-occur but they may or may not be in the same position class. Placing semantically incompatible prefixes in different position classes is based on the relative order of these prefixes with other verbal prefixes with which they are both compatible. And placing semantically compatible prefixes in the same position class is based on the fact that they never co-occur formally. A position class, then, is derived from observable patterns of formal co-occurrence.

The non-modal verbal prefixes are:

{n-}	partitive
{s-}	coincident
{th-}	contrastive
{te?-}	negative
{y-}	translocative
{t-}	duplicative
{s-}	iterative
{t-}	cislocative

7.2.1. The only generalization which can be offered about the semantic characteristics of non-modal verbal prefixes is the idea of the unity of spatial and temporal locatives. The idea of "locative" in Mohawk entails components both of spatial location, i.e. specifying the place or direction of an event, and of temporal location, i.e. specifying the time of occurrence of an event. This semantic unity of time and space is exemplified and expressed by the following non-modal verbal prefixes:

partitive	{n-}	(see 7.2.23.)
coincident	{s-}	(see 7.2.3.)

translocative {y-} (see 7.2.6.)

cislocative {t-} (see 7.2.9.)¹

The special characteristics and usages of each of these prefixes will be discussed in the appropriate sections below.

7.2.2. Partitive

The partitive prefix {n-} expresses a variety of ideas which are concerned with specifying a certain portion, number, manner, place, or time of an occurrence or state.

The partitive prefix, along with the coincident, contrastive, and negative, occupies the initial position class within the verb. It precedes all modal prefixes as well as all other verbal prefixes not included in its own position class (see chart in 7.2. above). By definition, it does not co-occur with the other verbal prefixes in its own position class.

The partitive {n-} is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

² {n-} → na?-/ habitual, regular

¹ Similar semantic components are expressed by the progressive verb root suffix {-hakyē-} (see 8.3.6. below.)

² The symbol {n-} has been chosen to represent the partitive prefix even though the prefix is never attested in this phonological shape. The choice was between /n-/ and /ni-/ and the former was decided upon partly because the morphophonemic change of */ni-/ to /na?-/ or to /nu-/ would be phonologically unmotivated. Therefore, I have left the vowels as part of the allomorphs and have stated the conditioning environments in semantic terms, in keeping with the data. The meanings related to the conditioning environments cannot be attached to the different vowels because the meanings may apply only to one particular prefix, with another meaning applying to a different prefix. The solution offered, then, may be aesthetically displeasing, but it seems to me that it is appropriate.

/jina?akó:ta?we?/ "when one goes to sleep"

na?- partitive prefix

-akó:- 3rd person singular feminine/
indefinite prefix

-ta?we? "sleep"

/na?kata?weya?te?/ "when I enter, go in"

na?- partitive prefix

-k- 1st person singular subjective
prefix

-ata?weya?te? "enter, come in"

nu-/ directional

/kvhnekwa? nuta:se?/ "you (sg.) came over
here"

nu- partitive prefix

-t- cislocative prefix

-a:- aorist modal prefix

-s- 2nd person singular prefix

-e? "come"

ni-/ elsewhere

/to nihá:ti/ "how many of them?"

ni- partitive prefix

-há:ti 3rd person masculine non-
singular prefix

/ji nihawno:tv/ "the way he speaks"

ni- partitive prefix

-ha- 3rd person masculine singular
prefix

-wvo:tv "the kind of voice"

7.2.21. Quantifier -- expresses how much, how many, amount of, number of, duration of, specification of time:

- /to nihá:ti/ "how many of them?"
 /áhsv nihá:ti/ "three of them"
 /to nithó:yu/ "How old is he?"
 /ji nikali:wes/ "while, during"
 /tékeni niyohselá:ke nikalí:wes/ "two years duration"
 /ji niwahsúhtes/ "during the night"

The partitive prefix {n-} also occurs in the enumeration of items of three or more, as well as in the formation of numerals for multiples of ten which are thirty or more:

- /já:tah niyolí:wake/ "there are seven items"
 /wísk nikanáktake/ "three beds"
 /kayé:li niwáhsv/ "forty"

7.2.22. Manner -- expresses the manner of, kind of, the way, or how (what way):

- /ji nihawvnó:tv/ "the way he speaks" (literally: the way his words are, the way his voice is)"
 /ji nihaya?tó:tv/ "the way he looks, the way he is" (literally: the way his body is)"
 /ji na?tekya?tolehtatseló:tv/ "my judgment" (literally: the kind of judging I do, the way I regularly judge, my habitual way of judging)"
 /ji niwvtó:le? níkv:/ "how difficult it is"
 /to niyolihwanelákwhah/ "how wonderful, strange, awesome it is"
 /ne? niwakyé:sv/ "it's very easy; the way, manner is very easy"

Interrogative constructions of manner can also be made with the

partitive prefix. They ask "What kind of, what manner?":

- /to nihaya?tó:tv/ "What does he look like?"
 (literally: what is the way his
 body is?)
- /(oh) niwahsokó:tv/ "What color is it?"
- /óhute? niwahsokó:tv/ "it's green-color"
- /(oh) nikanyahtaló:tv/ "What kind of cloth is it?"

7.2.23. Locative -- Locative categories in Mohawk contain ideas of both spatial and temporal location. That is, a locative prefix can function to specify or pinpoint an action or state in terms of physical space and/or in terms of the time that the event occurs. The partitive prefix {n-} functions in this way, as do the coincident, translocative, and cislocative prefixes (see 7.2.3., 7.2.6., and 7.2.9. below, respectively). (Also, see 8.3.6. below for a discussion of similar semantics of the progressive verb root suffix.)

The partitive prefix {n-} occurs in expressions of spatial location. It expresses the place of, place where an event occurs and is usually preceded by a separate word expressing "place, where", /-nú:/,:

- /vkatolíssv jinú: niyolákwawéhlo/ "I'll rest where it's shady"
- /tho nú: niyotenaktatsvílyu/ "that's where she, it found a bed,
 place for herself"
- /jinú: niyakoyóhtekwe?/ "where she, one used to work, was working"
- /ka?nú: nihv:telu/ "Where does he live?"
- /jiknú: kv? nithoyelányu/ "here and there he struck them (matches)"

The partitive prefix {n-} also occurs in expressions of temporal location. It expresses the time when, when, time of an event:

- /ji na?akó:ta?we?/ "when one goes to sleep"

/na?katáweya?te?/ "when I go in, enter"

7.2.24. Diminutive -- expresses relative smallness in dimension of size:

/niwá:?a/ "it's small"

/niká:?a/ "she, one is small"

/nikatúhsa/ "it's thin"

/niyenvyěsha/ "she, one is short"

(compare: /yehnǎ:yes/ "she, one is tall")

/niyúhsa káhnyv/ "it's a short stick"

(compare: /í:yus káhnyv/ "it's a long stick")

/thi nikanuhsá:?a/ "that little house"

(compare: /thi kanuhsa?kó:wa/ "that big house")

7.2.25. Continuation -- expresses the continuation of an action or state in the present, when known to have existed previously. In this type of construction, the verb is often preceded by a separate word, /shé:ku/, meaning "still, more.":

/shé:ku thó: nikahyá:tu/ "it's still written there"
(e.g. on a wall)

/shé:ku nikyvthos/ "I'm still planting"

/shé:ku nihinú:we?s/ "I still like him"

/shé:ku nikatkwényes/ "I still win, I still keep winning"

/shé:ku kv? nisatékkhah/ "Do you (sg.) still have heat?"

7.2.26. Directional -- expresses movement to some place which is specified by a directional or locational particle or word:

/kaná:taku nutá:yv?/ "she, one came uptown"

/kwah ki? ksú:ne? kvh nutayá:wv?/ "behind me, this is what happened"

/ohná:kv nekwa' nutá:se?/ "in the back, you (sg.) come around!"

7.2.3. Coincident

The coincident prefix {s-} expresses ideas that have to do with temporal or spatial relationships of actions and states. In this sense, the coincident is basically a locative prefix. The coincident expresses relative temporal sequences or expresses the fact that certain states or actions occur in relation to other states or actions. The coincident prefix also can express the idea that two or more states or actions are the same or occur at the same time.

The coincident prefix, being in the first position class within the verb (see 7.2. above), by definition is always word-initial. It precedes all modal prefixes as well as all other verbal prefixes with which it can co-occur.

The coincident prefix is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\begin{aligned} \{s-\} &\rightarrow s/___V \\ &\quad ___hy \\ &\quad si/___C \text{ (non-y, -hy)} \end{aligned}$$

7.2.31. Temporal subordination -- expresses the idea that a state or action occurs at a certain time when other events also happen:

/sa?ehyatu?selú:ni/ "when she, one made a will; at the time she made a will"

/shé:ku siwakyóhte?/ "when I was still working, at the time that I was still working"

/ka? sihú:na?s/ "when they (masc. pl.) were this size" (accompanied by gesture of size)

7.2.32. Temporal reference -- expresses the idea that a state or action occurs in relation to a particular time or time period:

/wv hú:nise? sikoya?tisakuhákye?s/ "it's a long time since, that, during which I'm, I've been going around looking for you (sg.)"

/síhskale?/ "on that date"

/siwvtáktah/ "on Saturday"

/siwakeseléhtayv?/ "I had a car (at that time)"

7.2.33. Expresses the idea that a particular state or action already occurs when another state or action takes place. In this type of construction the verb is often preceded by a separate word, /ó:nv/, meaning "now, then, already.":

/sihanákele?/ "he was already born"

/ó:nv siye?nikuhlaksá:ʔa/ "already, she, one was senile" (she was of childish mind)

/ó:nv siyukwatahswáhtu/ "we (pl.) had already put out the light"

7.2.34. Simultaneity -- expresses the idea that two or more events are coincident in time:

/jináhe? sikúhne? siwakatí:wv/ "Since, as long as I've been alive, I've been thin"

³/ "it would be odd" kohsat'v'sneh

sitetewakenunyáhkvw "nurse's uniform"

siwakátstu/

"It would be odd if, in a barn, I were dancing if I were wearing a nurse's uniform"

³ This utterance occurred in a text and was elicited with the English words as indicated.

7.2.35. Similarity -- expresses the idea that certain actions or states are the same or similar:

/sa?té:yot/ "it's the same"

/sa?tehú:nas/ "they (masc. pl.) are the same size"

/sa?tetewawnó:tv/ "we (pl. incl.) speak the same" (literally:
our words are the same)

/sa?tetewahlukhahtseló:tv/ "we (pl. incl.) speak the same
language"

7.2.4. Contrastive

The contrastive non-modal prefix {th-} expresses ideas concerned with negation and contrast.

The contrastive prefix is always word-initial. It precedes all other verbal prefixes, modal and non-modal, with which it co-occurs (see 7.2. above.).

The contrastive prefix is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\begin{array}{l} \{th-\} \longrightarrow th-/_V \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \quad kh-/_y \end{array}$$

7.2.41. Negation

With some verbs, the contrastive prefix expresses the idea of negation. It occurs with verbs containing any other verbal prefix except the iterative or cislocative. (The idea of negation in verbs containing the iterative or cislocative prefix is expressed by the negative prefix--see 7.2.5. below.) In the meaning of negation, a verb with a contrastive prefix is preceded by a separate negative particle, /iyáh/.

With the declarative modal prefix and the duplicative non-modal prefix {t-} :

/iyáh tha?tehalistó:lalaks/ "he's not a typist"

/iyáh tha?tewakhlíhtu/ "I didn't break it"

With the translocative prefix {y-} :

/iyáh kaná:taku khyayákene?/ "we (du.) will not be going uptown"

/iyáh khyahihyá:tu?se?/ "I won't write to him there"

With the indefinite modal prefix {a-} : (Verbs in the indefinite mode with the contrastive prefix are often translated into English as negative future verbs.):

/iyáh thakkwé:ni?/ "I can't, I'm not able to, I won't"

/iyáh thakathú:tate?/ "I won't consent, I'll refuse"

/iyáh thahakyv:tele?s/ "he wouldn't know, recognize me"

/tokáh iyáh thayokenólu/ "if it hadn't rained..."

7.2.42. Contrast

With the verb root /-t-/, the contrastive prefix expresses the meaning of "different":

/tha?teyoli:wate?/ "they (fem/neuter dual) are different ideas"

7.2.5. Negative

The negative prefix {te-} expresses the idea of the negation of the state or action described by the verb. It occurs as the initial prefix in the verb and is followed by either a pronominal prefix, the iterative prefix, or the cislocative prefix. (see 7.2. above.) Before any other verbal prefix, the idea of negation is expressed by the contrastive prefix (see 7.2.41. above).

Verbs containing the negative prefix are usually preceded by a

separate negative particle, /iyáh/, which is translatable into English as "not" or "negative."

With pronominal prefixes only:

- /iyáh te?kyvté:lih/ "I don't know"
 /iyáh tehá:kv/ "he can't see, he's blind"
 /iyáh kv te?sanú:wala?/ "you (sg.) don't have a brain!"
 /iyáh te?wake?nikuhlaksv:?v/ "I wasn't sad"
 /iyáh tehinú:we?s/ "I don't like him"
 /iyáh nuwá:tu tehakwanowvhtv:ni/ "he never lies to me"
 /iyáh tekheyvtelé:?u/ "I didn't recognize her, one, them"

With the iterative prefix {s-} :

- /iyáh te?skayá:kv?s/ "she, it doesn't go out anymore"
 /iyáh tesewá:koh/ "I didn't arrive back"
 /iyáh tejukwatsvlyu/ "we (pl.) didn't find it again"

With cislocative prefix {t-} :

- /iyáh tetewakatá:tih/ "I didn't answer, didn't say anything"
 /iyáh tekyakotawayá:tu/ "she, one didn't come in, enter there"

7.2.6. Translocative

The translocative non-modal prefix {y-} expresses ideas which have to do with a locality or direction away from the speaker, either at the time of the action or at the time of the utterance. If the verb describes a change in location or a direction of movement, then the direction is away from the speaker,⁴ starting either at a place

⁴ This is so in all verbs with non-1st person subjects. In verbs with 1st person subjects, the translocative prefix refers to motion in a direction away from the hearer.

where the speaker is or at some other place, but always involving a direction of movement away from the speaker. If the verb does not describe a change in location or a direction of movement, then the translocative prefix refers to the fact that the state or action of the verb is either the result of such movement or occurs in a time or place distant from the speaker at the time of the action or at the time of the utterance. This, then, is another example of the unity of ideas in Mohawk of spatial and temporal location (for others, see 7.2.23., 7.2.3., 7.2.9., and 8.3.6.).

The translocative prefix may also express the idea that the action takes place in a direction away from a locale that is the normal place for behavior, e.g. go upstairs in a house, climb up a tree, go downstairs into a cellar.

When the translocative prefix co-occurs with any modal prefix (i.e. the declarative, indefinite, and future), the translocative precedes the modal. The translocative prefix follows the non-modal prefixes which occur in the initial position class (i.e. partitive, coincident, and contrastive). The translocative prefix is semantically incompatible with the cislocative prefix and the two therefore do not co-occur even though they are in different position classes (see 7.2. above).

7.2.61. The following morphophonemic rules affect the translocative prefix:

$$\begin{aligned} \{y\} &\longrightarrow y/__V \\ &ye/__C \\ &yVh/__V' \\ &yu/__iterative\ prefix \{s-\} \end{aligned}$$

For example:

In non-modal verbs:

/yekatketótha/ "I'm peeking (over there)"

/yotká:te? yekatátkvs/ "I often look in the mirror"

/yehv?telú:tahkwe?/ "he was living, staying over there"

/yehi?ni?khú:nis/ "I sew for him over there"

/yehihyatú:ni/ "I'm writing to him"

In modal verbs:

/tho nú: ya?kakyv/ "I sat (down) over there"

/atha?kéhsu ne? ya?ákene?/ "we (dual) went there by foot,
walked there"

/yahaté:ko/ "he ran away" (away from speaker)

/vyóhlv?ne? yv:yuwe?/ "she, one will arrive there tomorrow"

/tewakatuhjú:ni sé?s tho yá:ke?/ "I wanted to go there
(but didn't)"

/yasatená:taloh/ "Dunk your bread in the liquid! (sg.)"
(e.g. in coffee, milk, etc.)

/ya?keláhthv/ "I climbed up (a tree); I went upstairs"

/ohujó:ku ya?kátsnvhte?/ "I went down, climbed down into
the cellar"

/yahəláhthv/ "he climbed up (away from speaker)"

/ya?tvhanijúhkwhkwe?/ "he'll jump up"

7.2.62. As stated in the morphophonemic rules above (see 7.2.61.), the translocative prefix sometimes has the shape /yVh-/. The rule applies when the translocative prefix directly precedes a stressed vowel. The vowel in the prefix /yVh-/ is actually epenthetic and has the phonological shape of the stressed vowel which follows the /h-/.

The rules can be stated:

$$\{y-\} \longrightarrow yVh/\text{---}\acute{V}$$

and:

$$yVh- \longrightarrow yV_1h/\text{---}\acute{V}_1$$

For example:

/atha?kéhsu ne? yvhv':ke?/ "I will walk there, go there by foot"

yvh-	translocative prefix
-v-	future modal prefix
-k-	1st person singular subjective prefix
-e?	"walk, go by foot"

Here, the stressed long vowel /-v':-/ is the modal prefix for future. It is stressed because it is the penultimate vowel (see 3.7.2. above). The rule above states that the form of the translocative prefix occurring directly before a stressed vowel is /yVh-/, where /-V-/ is realized as identical to the following stressed vowel, in this case /-v':-/. The epenthetic vowel /-v-/ must be short even though the following vowel on which it is modelled is long. This is so because no more than one long vowel may be present in any Mohawk word (see 3.7.13. above). Therefore, the epenthetic vowel has the phonological shape of the following vowel, but is always short.

The example given above can be contrasted with another form in the same paradigm:

/atha?kéhsu ne? yvkú:ne?/ "they (fem/indef/neuter pl.) will walk there, go there by foot"

y-	translocative prefix
-v-	future modal prefix
-kun-	3rd person feminine/indefinite/neuter plural subjective prefix
-e?	"walk, go by foot"

In this case, the translocative prefix does not directly precede the stressed penultimate vowel /-ú:-/. Therefore, the shape of the translocative prefix here is /y-/, in keeping with the morphophonemic rules stated in 7.2.61. above. (see 4.2.2. above for a more detailed discussion of the complexities of these rules and their ordering.)

7.2.7. Duplicative

The duplicative non-modal prefix {t-} expresses a variety of ideas, all of which share the basic idea that more than one person, object, action, or state is involved.

The duplicative prefix precedes the future modal and indefinite modal prefixes as well as the iterative and cislocative non-modal prefixes. It follows all other non-modal prefixes and also follows the declarative modal prefix (see 7.2. above).

The duplicative prefix {t-} is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\begin{array}{l} \{t-\} \longrightarrow t/___V \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad V___C \text{ (non-t)} \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad ___Cy \\ te/\#___C \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad C___C \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad ___CC \text{ (non-Cy)} \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad ___t \\ tu/___ \text{cislocative prefix } t- \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad ___ \text{iterative prefix } s- \end{array}$$

7.2.71. Quantifier -- expresses the idea of "two" in the enumeration of objects or persons:

/tekawí:sake/	"two glasses"
/tehnú:kwe?/	"two men"
/tekenú:kwe?/	"two women"

7.2.72. Occurs when two or more agents are required for the action or state described by the verb:

/wa?thyátela?ne?/	"they (masc. dual) met"
/tvjitéwatekháhsih/	"we (pl. incl.) will part, separate"
/teskyaké:lu/	"they (fem/indef/neuter dual) look alike, resemble each other"
/ya?tehutela?né:kv/	"they (masc. pl.) were sitting there together"
/sa?tehú:nas/	"they (masc. pl.) are the same size"

7.2.73. Occurs when the verb refers to a state or action involving a number of aspects, parts, or processes:

/áhsv na?tehayá:sele?/	"it has three layers, it's triple"
/tehotstikahwhvhákye?/	"he was travelling around, travelling along, roaming all around"
/tehahnvhsaká:lu/	"he has wide shoulders"
/ya?tahutkahtúnyuhwe?/	"they (masc. pl.) would look around there at a lot of things"
/wa?tewákya?ke?/	"it broke into two pieces"

7.2.74. Occurs when the verb refers to changes of state of the object or the subject. Where the object undergoes change, the subject is represented by the appropriate subjective pronominal prefix. Where the subject undergoes change or is affected by some force

or process, it is represented by the appropriate objective pronominal prefix.⁵ :

/tejetenyúkwas/	"she, one keeps changing things" (e.g. details in a story)
/wa?thəwvlye?/	"he messes, stirs it, them up"
/tahó:yu?ne?/	"he's aging"
/teyakotuhnakalí:ʔu/	"she, one is orphaned"
/tewakatehnuhukyú:ne?/	"I had my door open"
/wa?tehsakohúlya?ke?/	"he chocked her, one, them"
/wa?tewakatenuhyaníhtv/	"I was shocked, appalled; it shocked, appalled me"

7.2.75. Occurs in place of the iterative prefix {s-} with verbs containing the cislocative prefix {t-} . The iterative and cislocative prefix occur in the same position class; that is, they are formally mutually exclusive (see 7.2. above.).

In this situation, the duplicative prefix expresses the meaning of the iterative prefix; i.e. having to do with repetition, return, etc. and often translatable into English as "again, back, re-". The replacement of the iterative by the duplicative is somewhat consistent

⁵ In two recent works, Wallace Chafe discusses Onondaga pronominal prefixes in terms of agent and patient functions. Chafe states that when the subject of the verb is related to its verb as agent (or experiencer), then the subject is represented by the subjective pronominal prefix. When the subject of the verb is related to its verb as patient (or beneficiary), then the subject is represented by the objective pronominal prefix (see pp. 8 ff. of Chafe's A Semantically Based Sketch of Onondaga). This analysis is consistent with the patterns of subjective and objective pronominal prefix alternation in Akwesasne Mohawk.

semantically. These prefixes both share a meaning having to do with repetition or recurrence, in the iterative with events or states and in the duplicative with agents or parts of activities. What is curious is that the iterative and cislocative prefixes are formally mutually exclusive even though they are semantically compatible. Also the fact that the cislocative and translocative prefixes occur in different position classes within the verb is curious since they are semantically opposites and therefore never co-occur.

Examples of the use of the duplicative prefix to express the meaning of the iterative in verbs which contain the cislocative are:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| /tutá:le?/ | "he came back here" |
| /tutayútsnvhte?/ | "she, one came downstairs" (she had been downstairs at some previous time and she then returned) |
| /tutokke?tóhstahkwe?/ | "I suddenly appeared back again" |

7.2.8. Iterative

The iterative prefix {s-} expresses ideas of repetition, recurrence, or return of an action or state. These ideas can usually be translated into English as "again," "back," "re-."

In non-modal or future modal verbs, the iterative prefix occurs directly preceding the pronominal prefixes; that is, it follows the future modal prefix as well as all the non-modal prefixes with which it can co-occur (see 7.2. above.). When in declarative or indefinite modal verbs, the iterative precedes these modal prefixes, both of which in this case are realized as /-a-/ (see 7.2. above). The iterative and cislocative prefixes cannot co-occur. Therefore, when for semantic reasons they would both be expected, the iterative is

replaced by the duplicative prefix (see 7.2.75. above).

The iterative prefix is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\{s-\} \rightarrow s/__V$$

$$__C \text{ (non-}y, s, w)$$

$$se/__s, w$$

$$j/__y$$

$${}^6ji/__ \text{1st and 2nd person dual and plural}$$

For example:

/shotuhné:tu/	"he came back to life"
/vskató:ktv?/	"I'll run out of it again"
/tejetenyúkwas/	"she, one keeps changing"
/yvske?/	"I'll go back there (later)"
/kátke? sewahvkyúhe?/	"when is she, it going back home, returning home?"
/iyáh teskayá:kv?s/	"she, it doesn't go out anymore"

7.2.9. Cislocative

The cislocative non-modal prefix {t-} expresses ideas that have to do with a locality or direction near of toward the speaker,⁷ either at the time of the action or at the time of the utterance. If the verb describes a change in location or a direction of movement,

⁶ The form /ji-/ represents two phonological changes:
1. /s/ → /j/ /__y; and 2. /je/ → /ji/

⁷ This is so in all verbs with non-1st person subjects. In verbs with 1st person subjects, the cislocative prefix refers to motion in a direction toward the hearer.

then the direction is toward the speaker, either arriving near or by the speaker or coming in a direction toward the speaker. If the verb does not describe a change in location or a direction of movement, then the cislocative prefix refers to the fact that the state or action described is either a result of such movement or occurs in a time or place near or by the speaker at the time of the action or at the time of the utterance. (See 7.2.23., 7.2.3., 7.2.6., and 8.3.6. for discussions of other prefixes and suffixes which demonstrate the unity of ideas of spatial and temporal location.)

The cislocative prefix may also express the idea that the action takes place in a direction toward a locale that is the normal place for behavior, e.g. come downstairs, climb down from a tree onto the ground, come upstairs from a cellar.

In combination with the future modal prefix or in a non-modal verb, the cislocative prefix always follows the future modal or the non-modal prefixes. In combination with either only the declarative modal or only the indefinite modal prefixes, the cislocative again follows these prefixes. However, in declarative or indefinite modal verbs which also contain the duplicative prefix, the cislocative prefix precedes the modal prefixes, both of which in this environment are realized as /-a-/. (see 7.2. above.).

Although occurring in different position classes, the cislocative and translocative prefixes are mutually exclusive for semantic reasons; the former involving direction toward the speaker and the latter involving direction away from the speaker. For these semantic reasons, then, the cislocative and translocative prefixes never co-occur.

Although semantically compatible, the cislocative and iterative

prefixes are formally mutually exclusive, occurring in the same position class. The correctness of this analysis is demonstrated by the fact that in verbs whose meaning calls for both the cislocative and the iterative prefixes, the iterative prefix does not occur but is replaced by the duplicative prefix (see 7.2.75. above).

7.2.91. The cislocative prefix is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\begin{aligned} \{t-\} &\rightarrow t/ ___ V \\ &\# ___ C \text{ (non-y)} \\ &te/ ___ CC \\ &C ___ C \text{ (non-y)} \\ &V ___ C \text{ (non-y)} \\ &k/ ___ y \end{aligned}$$

For example:

/kvhnekwá thv́tskote?/	"he's sitting here"
/telutó: nutà:le?/	"he came (here) from Toronto"
/v́tke?/	"I will come (here)"
/takátsnvhte?/	"I came down (downstairs)" (I was upstairs)
/vthátsnvhte?/	"he'll come down here from upstairs"
/tahaláhv?/	"he climbed up (toward me, from below)"

With the duplicative:

/tutayútsnvhte?/	"she, one came downstairs again"
/tvthanijúhkwahkwe?/	"he'll jump down"

7.2.92. Certain verbs of motion (i.e. climb, go or come upstairs or downstairs) can be used to illustrate some interesting

Also:

/vtkeláhthv?/ "I'll climb up"
 (from below--e.g. I'm in a well in the ground
 and will climb up to ground level where the
 hearer is)

and "I'll come upstairs"
 (hearer is upstairs in the house already
 and I will come up from the main level
 to where hearer is)

v- future modal prefix
 -t- cislocative prefix
 -ke- 1st person singular subject

but:

/yvkeláhthv?/ "I'll go upstairs"
 (hearer is on main level and I will go
 go to upstairs level away from hearer)

y- translocative prefix
 -v- future modal prefix
 -ke- 1st person singular subject

The same piece of physical behavior can be expressed using either the cislocative or translocative prefix, the correct one chosen on the basis of to whom the information in the utterance is being conveyed. For example, if I were down inside a well with a number of other people and there were also some people standing above us on the ground, and I were saying "I will climb up", I would use either the cislocative or translocative prefix depending upon who was the recipient of this information. For example:

/yvkeláhthv?/ "I'll climb up"
 (from inside the well to the ground)
 (said to someone with me down in the well--
 therefore, my movement will be away from the
 hearer)

but:

/vtkeláthv?/ "I'll climb up"
 (from inside the well to the ground)
 (said to someone above us on the ground--
 therefore, my movement will be toward
 the hearer)

Both of these verbs describe movement toward a locale which is habitual for behavior (e.g. to the ground level). Both, in fact, describe the same physical behavior. However, the decisive semantic component is the direction of movement in relation to the hearer. This is demonstrated by the fact that the cislocative prefix is used when the movement is toward the hearer whereas the translocative prefix is used when the movement is away from the hearer.

8.0. VERBAL SUFFIXES

The general class of verbal suffixes occupies the last of the four verbal position classes (see 5.1.1. above). Verbal suffixes follow verb bases. They are of three general types:

1. verb root suffixes
2. aspect suffixes
3. attributive suffixes

The verb root suffixes follow the verb roots and precede the aspect suffixes. The aspect suffixes, then, are word-final. The attributive suffixes co-occur with only a limited class of non-modal verbs and are word-final.

8.1. Verb root suffixes express a number of ideas concerned with modifying the verb or expressing relationships between the subjects and objects of the state or action described by the verb. These suffixes follow verb roots or verb bases which are themselves composed of one or more verb roots with possible incorporated noun roots.

Aspect suffixes, in general, express and describe the temporal distribution of the action or state described by the verb. Aspect suffixes designate an action or state in relation to its position on a continuum of time, without referring to any particular time or tense. That is, they describe whether an action or state is continuous, interrupted, repetitive, etc.

Attributive suffixes express ideas which involve particular characteristics of size, number, or condition referring to the agent or subject of the verb.

8.2. Suffix Formation

Before proceeding to a discussion of the verbal suffixes themselves, it is appropriate to point out and exemplify certain general options and processes available in the formation of Mohawk verbs.

The formation of verbs, particularly of the verbal suffixes, is extremely complex. Several possible patterns of suffix formation exist:

8.2.1. In terms of the suffix components, the simplest verb form is the basic imperative. It is expressed by the absence of verbal suffixes. For example:

/sató:lat/ "hunt!" (sg.)

s- 2nd person singular subject

-ató:lat "hunt"

/tésta?n/ "stand! stand up!" (sg.)

té- duplicative prefix

-s- 2nd person singular subject

-ta?n "stand (up)"

8.2.2. The next level of complexity is exemplified by verbs which contain a single verbal aspect suffix. For example:

/lató:lats/ "he hunts, he's hunting, he's a hunter"

l- 3rd person masculine singular subject

-ató:lat- "hunt"

-s serial aspect suffix

/vkató:late?/ "I'll hunt"

- v- future modal prefix
- k- 1st person singular subject prefix
- ató:lat- "hunt"
- e? punctual aspect suffix

/lotolá:tu/ "he hunted"

- lo- 3rd person masculine singular object
- tolá:t- "hunt"
- u perfective aspect suffix

8.2.3. Verbs can be made up of increasing levels of complexity by additional cycles of suffix formation. That is, after the aspect suffix (see 8.4. below) is added to the verb base, additional aspectual and non-aspectual verbal suffixes can be joined to the verb. For example:

/tehatkahtúnnyus/ "he's looking around"

- te- duplicative prefix
- h- 3rd person masculine singular subject
- atkaht- verb base: "look"
- ú- perfective aspect suffix
- nyu- distributive suffix
- s active state aspect suffix

/takuhnetuhákye?s/ "you (sg.) keep me alive, you are
are keeping me alive"

- tak- transitive pronominal prefix for 2nd person
singular subject and 1st person singular object
- uhnet- verb base: "live, life"
- u- perfective aspect suffix

-hákye?- progressive suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

8.3. Non-Aspectual Verb Root Suffixes

The eight verb root suffixes are:

Causative	{ -ht }
Distributive	{ -nyu- }
Benefactive I	{ -vni- }
II	{ -?s- }
Progressive	{ -hákye- }
Continuative	{ -k- }
Ambulative	{ -?n- }
Former Past	{ -kwe?- }

The following chart places the non-aspectual verb root suffixes in their proper position-class arrangement. (It is understood that these relative positions apply to verbs which have not been re-cycled through options of verb formation--see 8.2. above.). The verb root suffixes will be discussed in turn below according to their position within the verb.

Causative	Distributive	Benefactive	Progressive	Former Past
ht	nyu	vni	hakye	kwe?
		s	Continuative	
			k	
			Ambulative	
			?n	

8.3.1. Causative

The causative verb root suffix { -ht- } expresses a number of ideas related to the concept of causation. The subject or actor of the verb may perform some action upon an object or another person which results in a change of state of that object or person. The subject or actor may cause another person or an object to undergo some process or be somehow transformed. The causative suffix also co-occurs with verb bases where its meaning has become metaphoric, often disguising or distorting the semantics of the causative component. However, although the semantics cannot be stated precisely, the causative suffix can be isolated on formal grounds. It occurs as follows:

/akwa?nikuhlayvtáhtv?/ "for me to make you(pl.)

understand"

-?nikuhlayvtá- verb base: "understand"

-ht- causative suffix

-v? perfective aspect suffix

/yoji?yohtú:nis/ "it makes her, it lazy"

-ji?yo- verb base: "lazy"

-ht- causative suffix

-ú:- perfective aspect suffix

-ni- benefactive I suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

/tukewvnatáhkwahte?/ "I spoke right out" (literally:
I took the words out)

-wvnatáhkwa- verb base: "speak"

-ht- causative suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

8.3.2. Distributive

The distributive verb root suffix $\{-nyu-\}$ expresses the idea of a multiplicity of objects or actions which are distributed over time or space. The distributive suffix may refer to a distribution of the objects of the verb or it may refer to the repetition of the action itself or to the fact that the action described by the verb involves a necessary distribution or repetition over time or space.

For example:

/tehatkahtúnyus/ "he's looking around"

-atkaht- root: "look, eye"

-ú- perfective aspect suffix

-nyu- distributive suffix

-u- perfective aspect suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

/kanuhtúnyu/ "I'm thinking (many thoughts)"

-nuht- root: "think"

-ú- perfective aspect suffix

-nyu distributive suffix

/teyotohetstányus/ "she, one is, was going back and forth"

/vhseli?wanutunyú:hahse?/ "you (sg.) will ask her, one,
them many things"

/tehatányus/ "he's mixing them (those things) up"

8.3.3. Benefactive I

There are two verb root suffixes which can be labelled "benefactive." They occur in the same position class within the verb and are therefore mutually-exclusive.

Both of the benefactive suffixes express the idea of action toward another person in which that person is the recipient of an object or the beneficiary of an action.

The verb root suffix labelled "Benefactive I" is treated in this section, while the second is treated below.

The benefactive I verb root suffix { -vni- } occurs as follows:

/sakolihunyú:ni/ "he taught, was teaching her, one, them"

-lihuny- stem: "teach"

-vni benefactive suffix

/kwa?nekú:nis/ "I beg you (pl.)"

-?nek- stem: "beg"

-vni- benefactive suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

- /khekalatú:ni/ "I was telling her, one, them a story"
 /wateníhas/ "she, it used to lend it out"
 /sana?talú:ni/ "you (sg.) make the bread!"

8.3.4. Benefactive II

The benefactive II verb root suffix $\{-?s-\}$ occurs as follows:

/vkoselehtahní:nu?se?/ "I'll buy a vehicle for you (sg.)"

-selehtahní:nu- stem: "buy a vehicle"

-?s- benefactive suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

/wa?kyukyakyelúnyu?se?/ "we (du.) had a very strange thing happen to us"

-akyelúnyu- stem: "strange, awesome"

-?s- benefactive suffix

-e? punctual aspect suffix

/waholi?wanú:to?se?/ "he asked him"

-li?wanu:to- stem: "ask"

-?s- benefactive suffix

-e? punctual aspect suffix

/wahahnekáhla?se?/ "he offered her, it a drink"

-hnekahla- stem: "drink"

-?s- benefactive suffix

-e? punctual aspect suffix

8.3.5. Progressive

The progressive verb root suffix $\{-hakye-\}$ expresses

the idea that the action or state described by the verb occurs over a period of time or space. It can refer to an action or state which requires time or space to be accomplished or it can refer to a repetition of actions or states. The progressive suffix, then, contains components of meaning which exemplify the unity of temporal and spatial locatives in Mohawk. (For discussions of verbal prefixes which exemplify similar semantic ranges, see 7.2., 7.2.23., 7.2.3., 7.2.6. and 7.2.9. above.)

For example:

/lonvyohlukwvhákye?/ "he's picking up, gathering stones as
he's coming along"

-nvyohlukwv- base: "pick up, gather"

-hákye- progressive suffix

-? perfective aspect suffix

/loya?tahsehtakwvhákye?s/ "he's hiding here and there all over"

-ya?tahsehtakwv- base: "hide a body"

-hákye?- progressive suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

/takuhnetuhákye?s/ "you (sg.) keep me alive, you are keeping me
alive"

/lonatelihwahtvkyatuhákye?/ "they (masc. pl.) are accomplishing
many things"

With some verb stems, the progressive suffix occurs in a shorter form, i.e. with shape /-kye-/. For example:

/yakotulyoktákye?/ "she, one was out of breath"

-tulyoktá- "be out of breath"

-kye- progressive suffix

-? perfective aspect suffix

/kotitakhehnúkye?s/ "they (fem/indef/neuter pl.) are
running around"

-takhehnú- base: "run around"

-kye?- progressive suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

/luwawvnúkye?s/ "she, one, they keep disobeying him"
(literally: she, one, they keep
losing his voice, words)

-wvnú- base: "word"

-kye?- progressive suffix

-s active state aspect suffix

8.3.6. Continuative

The continuative verb root suffix { -k- } expresses the idea that the action or state described by the verb occurs over a particular period of time. For example:

/vhlúhneke?/ "he'll be alive, be living; he'll live"

-úhn- root: "live"

-k- continuative suffix

-e? punctual aspect suffix

/wa?ketsá:ni?ke?/ "I was afraid"

-tsá:ni?- base: "be afraid, fear"

-k- continuative suffix

-e? punctual aspect suffix

/tehutitáhke?/ "they (masc. pl.) were riding together"

-atitáh- base: "ride"

-k- continuative suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

/naho?tv:hsu nahunehyahláhkwake?/ "things for them (masc.
pl.) to remember"

-ehyahlahkwa- base: "remember"

-k- continuative suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

8.3.7. Ambulative

The ambulative verb root suffix $\{-?n-\}$ expresses the idea that the action described by the verb involves walking.

The ambulative suffix is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\begin{array}{l} \{-?n-\} \longrightarrow \text{hn}/\dot{V} ___ \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{n}/\dot{V}: ___ \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad ?n/V ___ \end{array}$$

For example:

/yukwayakv?v:ne?/ "we (pl. excl.) went out"

-yakv?v- stem: "go out"

-n- ambulative suffix (from underlying -?n-)

-?e perfective aspect suffix

/lastelihstv:ne?/ "he was laughing (as he ran away)"

-stelihstv- stem: "laugh"

-n- ambulative suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

/sahi?telúhna?/ "when I took him there"

-i?telú- base: "live, stay"

-hn- ambulative suffix

-a? perfective aspect suffix

/wakenujistv?tù:ne?/ "I hang my head low (while I'm walking)"

-nujistv?tu- stem: "hang a head"

-n- ambulative suffix

-e? perfective aspect suffix

8.3.8. Former Past

The former past verb root suffix {-kwe?} occurs word-finally to express the idea that the action or state described by the verb occurred during a period of time before the time of speaking. The action or state has since stopped occurring and there is no expectation that it will resume. For example:

/yeyákwe?skwe?/ "we (pl. excl.) were there"

-e?- root: "go, be"

-s- active state aspect suffix

-kwe? former past suffix

/yakonahskwayv:tahkwe?/ "she, one used to have an animal, pet"

-nahskwayv:tah- stem: "have, own, possess an animal, pet"

-kwe? former past suffix

/yohwistaká:tehkwe?/ "she, it used to have a lot of money"

-hwistaká:teh- stem: "have money"

-kwe? former past suffix

/yehv?telú:tahkwe?/ "he was living, staying there" (at that time)

-i?telú:tah- stem: "live, stay"

-kwe? former past suffix

8.4. Aspect Suffixes¹

The aspect suffixes occur in final position in the verb. The only exception to this rule is in the case of aspect suffixes in combination with the former past suffix. Here, the former past suffix is always word-final (see 8.3.9. above).

In general, aspect suffixes express ideas which refer to the placement of the occurrence described by the verb on a continuum of time, without referring to a specific temporal instance. That is, the aspect suffixes express ideas relating to the kind of time or temporal sequences in which the occurrence takes place while not themselves specifying that temporal fact as occurring in the past, future, etc.

In Mohawk, four aspects are expressed; two of these refer to active verbs: punctual and active state; and two refer to passive verbs: perfective and passive state. These four aspects can be semantically defined as follows:

Active:

Punctual: The punctual aspect refers to a single event; that is, the action described by the verb occurs once at some particular time although that particular time is not specified by the punctual aspect suffix.

Active State: The active state aspect refers to the continuity of the occurrence of the verb over a period of time.

¹

I am indebted to Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury for his help and guidance in discussing problems related to the analysis of the aspect suffixes.

In this case, "state" refers to the fact that the actor or subject of the verb is in the state of performing some action. The active state aspect has two semantic components: one, serial, refers to an action or state which occurs at repeated points in time; the other, progressive, refers to an action or state which occurs over a continuous period of time.

Passive:

Perfective: The perfective aspect refers to the occurrence of states, whether as inherent states or as states resulting from actions.

Passive State: The passive state aspect refers to states which are the results of the actions of the actors or subjects of active aspect states. That is, these states, i.e. passive states, have a component of passivity, i.e. of expressing the patient or object of some action, and a component of non-punctuality, i.e. of occurring over a period of time, either at repeated points or continuously.

8.4.1. The shape of the aspect suffixes depends upon their co-occurrence with a number of other verbal categories. Some of these verbal categories are represented by modal prefixes while others are represented by non-aspectual suffixes and still others do not have overt formal markers. The particular phonological shape of the aspect suffix in any particular co-occurrence with other verbal categories depends upon the verb base itself. That is, there are sets of "conjugation classes" into which verb bases fall. The members of these conjugation classes are generally determined

by morphological conditioning.

8.4.2. Following this section there is a chart of the verbal categories which may co-occur. The filler for each co-occurrence is illustrated by a form of the verb "to plant," the base for which is /-yvtho-/. In the intersections for the active aspect suffixes, the verb for "to plant" is exemplified with the 3rd person masculine singular pronominal prefix subject "he" except for the forms for the imperative where the pronominal prefix then represents the 2nd person singular subject "you." In the intersections for the passive aspect suffixes, the verb "to plant" is exemplified with the 3rd person feminine/neuter singular subject "it." The phonological shapes of all pronominal prefixes are in accordance with selection rules discussed in Chapter 6 above.

The verb forms illustrated with passive aspect suffixes are given without agents. It is possible to express the agent who performs the action which results in the passive states by the use of the appropriate objective pronominal prefix, as discussed in 6.5. above. For example, /kayv'thu/ "it is planted" but /loyv'thu/ "it is planted by him".

The chart of verbal aspect suffixes follows:

ASPECT SUFFIXES: ACTIVE		
	Punctual	Active State Serial
Present (no overt markers)		/layv́thos/ "he's planting; he plants; he's a planter"
Former Past /-kwe?/		/layv́thoskwe?/ "he used to plant"
Indefinite Mode /a-/	/ahayv́tho?/ "for him to plant" (one event: one day, one crop, one field, one season)	/ahayvthóhseke?/ "for him to continue to plant, keep on planting"
Future Mode /v-/	/vhayv́tho?/ "he will plant"	/vhayvthóhseke?/ "he'll continue to plant, keep planting"
Aorist Mode /wa?-/	/wahayv́tho?/ "he planted (it)"	
Imperative (no overt marker)	/jv́tho/ "Plant!"	/jvthóhsek/ "Keep planting! Continue to plant!"

ASPECT SUFFIXES: PASSIVE		
	Perfective Punctual	Passive State Serial
Present (no overt marker)	/kayv̄thu/ "it is planted; it is in the state of being planted"	
Former Past /-kwe?/	/kayvthù:ne/ "it was planted; it used to be planted"	
Indefinite Mode /a-/	/akayv̄thoke?/ "for it to be planted; be in the state of being planted"	/akayvthóhake?/ "for it to be, continue to be, keep on being planted; continue to be in the state of being planted"
Future Mode /v-/	/vkayv̄thoke?/ "it will be planted"	/vkayvthóhake?/ "it will continue to be planted; keep being planted"
Aorist Mode /wa?-/		
Imperative (no overt marker)	/kayv̄thok/ "Let it be planted!"	/kayvthóhak/ "Let it continue to be planted; keep being planted!"

8.4.3. From the above charts, several formal generalizations concerning the composition of aspect suffixes can be stated.

8.4.31. The verb forms for the active punctual aspect are constructed on the verb base alone, in this case /-yvtho-/. The imperative is expressed by the absence of any formal suffix on the verb base. In the other verbal aspectual categories, glottal stop, /-ʔ/, is the marker for the aspect suffix; the particular semantic differences are expressed by the particular modal prefix markers.

8.4.32. The verb forms for the active state aspect are constructed on the simple serial or progressive suffix, which in this case is $\{-s-\}$. The verb form /layvthos/ "he plants, he is planting, he is a planter" illustrates this basic form around which the others are constructed.

8.4.321. The active state suffix marker $\{-s-\}$ is affected by the following morphophonemic rules:

$$\{-s-\} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{hse}/\overset{\cdot}{V}___ \\ \text{s}/V___ \\ \text{C}___ \end{array}$$

8.4.33. The aspect suffix component $\{-k-\}$ occurs in three of the aspect suffix categories. Its semantic function is to express the occurrence of a state. It does not occur with the punctual aspect since logically a single event is not a state. The "stative" or "continuative" $\{-k-\}$ can be added to the active

state serial base:

/vhayvthóhseke?/ "he will continue to plant,
he will keep planting"

/jvthóhsek/ "Keep planting! (sg.)" "Continue
to plant! (sg.)"

In these examples, the concept of "state" refers to the actor or subject of the verb who is expressed as being in the state of performing an action.

The stative suffix {-k-} can also be added to the passive aspect verbs:

/vkayvthoke?/ "it will be planted"

/vkayvthóhake?/ "it will continue to be planted;
it will keep being planted"

In these examples, the concept of "state" refers to the patient or object of the verb which is expressed as being in a state resulting from an action.

8.4.34. The passive state aspect suffix is expressed by the component {-ha-}:

/vkayvthóhake?/ "it will continue to be planted;
it will keep being planted"

/kayvthóhak/ "Let it continue to be planted! (sg.)"
Let it keep being planted!"

8.4.35. Seven of the intersections in the charts do not have attested verb forms and are therefore left blank (see 8.4.2. above). The reasons for the absence of verbs for these hypothetical co-occurrences are the logical incompatibility of the particular semantic categories.

8.4.351. The punctual aspect, expressing a single event, cannot co-occur with either the present or former past categories because these categories express actions which are non-punctual, i.e. actions which occur over a period of time either as serial (repeated events) or progressive (continuous events).

8.4.352. The passive state aspect likewise cannot co-occur with either the present or former past categories because the passive state aspect refers to the continuation of an activity. The idea of the continuity of an activity is incompatible with the semantics of the former past which refers to an action or state occurring over a period of time in the past and no longer occurring in the present and not expected in the future. The idea of the continuity of an activity is also incompatible with the semantics of the present which focusses on the present occurrence of an activity with no extension into another time period, either past or future.

8.4.353. The aorist mode co-occurs only with the punctual active aspect. It cannot co-occur with any other aspect because it refers to an action which occurred once and is completed. The punctual active aspect is compatible with the aorist mode since both contain a semantic component referring to a single event. The aorist mode is semantically incompatible with the other aspect categories since all these refer to states which are either non-completed, i.e. which occur now or at some future time, or which are non-punctual, i.e. which occur over a period of time.

8.4.4. A very complex problem in the analysis of the

Mohawk aspect suffix system is the determination of the perfective suffix forms. In Oneida Verb Morphology, Floyd Lounsbury sets up a series of five major conjugation classes, with fourteen sub-classes in all, to account for the various aspect suffix forms. The verbs which fall into the particular classes and sub-classes sometimes share phonological similarities in the endings of the verb bases. However there is also much overlapping so that no generalized phonological selection statements can be formulated to account for all of the data.

No attempt will be made in this work to go more deeply into the complexities and problems of this matter. A description has been presented above of the semantic categories which are represented and expressed by the aspect suffix system. The co-occurrences of these semantic categories with non-aspectual semantic categories has also been discussed and exemplified. In illustrating this system with the verb "to plant", some formal complexities have been pointed out which are also pertinent to many other Mohawk verbs. To leave the matter at this point in the present work is not to ignore it but simply to recognize its problems and reserve them for additional study.

8.5. Attributive Suffixes

In addition to the aspect and non-aspectual verbal suffixes discussed above, there are four "attributive suffixes" which can be added to either a non-modal verb or to a noun. Generally, these suffixes express ideas which involve particular characteristics of size, number, or condition referring to the agent of the verb (in

non-modal verbs) or to the noun. In all cases, the attributive suffixes occur finally in the word.

8.5.1. Characterizer

The characterizer attributive suffix $\{-ha:ka?\}$ expresses the idea that someone or something is characterized by the verb or noun to which the suffix is added. For example:

/kahnawa?kehá:ka?/ "the people of Caughnawaga; the people who are at the rapids"
 (/kahnawâ:ke/ "Caughnawaga; at the rapids")

8.5.2. Decessive

The decessive attributive suffix $\{-kvha?\}$ expresses the idea of the former existence but present non-existence of someone or something. For example:

/yukyala?se?kvha?/ "my deceased relative, cousin; he, she was my relative, cousin"

(/yukyala:se?/ "my cousin, relative"
 Literally: we (du. excl) are cousins, relatives")

/i:ʔi akenuhsa?kvha?/ "it used to be my house; it was my house"

ake- possessive pronominal prefix for 1st person singular possessor

-nuhs- root: "House"

-a?- perfective suffix

-kvha? decessive attributive suffix

8.5.3. Pluralizer

The pluralizer attributive suffixes $\{-su:ʔa?\}$ and

{-okú:?a?} express the idea of plurality or multiplicity of persons or objects. For example:

/kheyo?okú:?a?/ "my daughters (reference)" "all my daughters"

(/kheyv:?a/ "my daughter")

8.5.4. Populative

The populative attributive suffix {-(C)ó:nv} expresses the idea of residence at a particular place or membership in a particular group. For example:

/ahkwesashló:nv/ "person who lives at Akwasasne"

(/ahkwesásne/ "Akwasasne"
(literally: where the
partridge drums")

/lalistakehló:nv/ "he's an ironworker"
(literally: he's a resident,
inhabitant of iron)

la- 3rd person masculine singular subject

-list- root: "iron, metal"

-ake- "at"

-hló:nv populative attributive suffix

9.0. NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

There are two kinds of nouns in Mohawk: formal nouns and functional nouns. All formal nouns are also functional nouns but the obverse is not necessarily true. A formal noun is distinguished by a number of characteristics of form which are specific to nouns, differing from those of verbs. A functional noun is a word which functions as a noun, i.e. which is used to label a particular object, place, or person. According to its formal characteristics, a functional noun may formally be a noun or a verb. This chapter is mainly concerned with formal nouns, i.e. those which share formal nominal characteristics. (Functional nouns which are formally verbs are constructed of prefixal, base, and suffixal components in accordance with rules discussed in the appropriate chapters five through eight above.)

9.1. Formal Nouns

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{/nominal} & & \text{noun} & & \text{(nominal} \\ \text{prefix} & + & \text{stem} & + & \text{suffix)/} \end{array}$$

Formal nouns are composed of three elements: an obligatory nominal prefix, an obligatory noun stem, and an optional nominal suffix.

9.1.1. The nominal prefixes are:

ka-

o-

These nominal prefixes are morphologically conditioned; that is, the occurrence of either one in any given case is selected by the noun stem itself and does not follow any phonological or semantic patterns.

9.1.2. The noun stems are composed of an obligatory noun

root and optionally may contain a morpheme joiner, usually /-a-/.

9.1.3. The nominal suffixes are:

-?

-a?

-u?

Nominal suffixes are optional. Noun stems may end with the base root or they may end with a nominal suffix.

As in the case of nominal prefixes, nominal suffixes are morphologically conditioned. Their occurrence, therefore, cannot be predicted on the basis of phonological or semantic patterns.

9.1.4. A more detailed diagram of formal nouns follows:

/nominal prefix + noun root + (morpheme joiner) + (nominal suffix)/

Examples of formal nouns are:

/ojíhkwa?/	"tuber: beet, carrot, turnip, etc." "button"
/ó:kwile?/	"tree"
/kanúhsa?/	"house"
/onó:la?/	"corn husk"
/oʔwá:lu?/	"meat"
/ká:lis/	"sock, stocking"

9.2. In addition to these nouns sharing structural characteristics, there are a number of others which must be recognized as nouns but which do not have the formal structure of either nouns or verbs. Most of these are animal or natural names and many are probably onomatopoeic.

For example:

/kítkit/	"chicken"
----------	-----------

/kwískwIs/	"pig"
/tawístawís/ ¹	"snipe, plover, sandpiper"

There are some additional animal and natural names which are not onomatopoeic but which however do not follow the normal patterns of nominal structure formation.

For example:

/éhlalh/ ²	"dog"
/takò:s/ ³	"cat"
/éhsah/	"black ash tree"

9.3. Nouns may be composed of other suffixal elements which are attached to the noun stems. These elements are semantic and syntactic; that is, they express components of meaning and also express relationships between the noun to which they are attached and other nominal and/or verbal segments. (Note that some of these elements may also occur with certain verbs and have been discussed in 8.5. above.)

9.3.1. Attributive Suffixes

The attributive suffixes generally express characteristics of size, number, or condition of the noun. They are added to the complete

¹ This word is additionally unusual in its phonological structure. It contains two stressed syllables and thereby violates very strong stress rules in Akwesasne Mohawk (see 3.7.12. above).

² This word is additionally unusual in that the morphophonemic rule: /V̇ + h + resonant → V̇:/ is violated (see 3.7.14. above).

³ This word is also unusual in that the final vowel is stressed. This too violates very strong phonological rules, as discussed in 3.7.1. above.

noun; that is, they follow the nominal suffix, if present, or the noun stem, in the absence of a nominal suffix. The four attributive suffixes are discussed below.

9.3.11. Augmentative

The augmentative attributive suffix /-kó:wa/ expresses the idea of largeness in size or importance. For example:

/onu?usela?kó:wa/	"pumpkin"
/onu?ú:sela?/	"squash, watermelon, pumpkin, cantaloupe, cucumber, etc."
-kó:wa	augmentative suffix
/kvja?kó:wa/	"sturgeon" (literally: big fish)
/k'vju?/	"fish"
-kó:wa	augmentative suffix

9.3.12. Characterizer

The characterizer attributive suffix {há:ka?} expresses the idea that someone or something is characterized by the noun that precedes it. The suffix occurs as /á:ka?/ following /?___. For example:

/kahnawa?kehá:ka?/	"the people of Caughnawaga; the people who are at the rapids"
/kahnawà:ke/	"Caughnawaga" (literally: at the rapids)
-há:ka?	characterizer suffix

9.3.13. Pluralizer

The pluralizer attributive suffix {-sú:?a?} expresses the idea of plurality or multiplicity of persons or objects

or of types of persons or objects. For example:

/ojihkwa?su:ʔa?/	"vegetables; all kinds of vegetables"
/ojihkwa?/	"tuber"
-su:ʔa?	pluralizer suffix
/oʔuwalaʔsu:ʔa?/	"all different kinds of plants"
/oʔu:wala?/	"plant"
-su:ʔa?	pluralizer suffix

9.3.2. Locative Suffixes

The locative suffixes express the idea of the location of a person or object. They may also express the idea of a relationship of a person or an object to a particular place or space. The four locative suffixes which will be discussed below are:

{-ke}	{-ne}	: "at," "in," "on," "to"
{-ku}		: "in," "inside"
{-oku}		: "under"
{-akta}		: "near," "by," "next to"

9.3.2.1. {-ke} {-ne}

The locative suffixes {-ke} and {-ne} express the idea of the location of something "at," "in," "on," or "to" something else. They are added to the complete noun; that is, they follow the nominal suffix, if present, or the noun stem, in the absence of a nominal suffix.

The following morphophonemic rules generally apply:

locative	→	-ke/?__
		-ne/elsewhere

That is, the locative suffix {-ke} occurs as a suffix after nouns ending in a glottal stop while the locative {-ne} occurs after all other nouns. There are a number of exceptions to this rule and there is a degree of optional choice with some other nouns.

Generally, when a noun ends in a glottal stop and is followed by the locative suffix {-ke}, the noun-final glottal stop is lost and is replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel accompanied by falling tone, according to rules discussed in 3.7.14. above. For example:

/onú:taʔ/	"hill"
/onutà:ke/	"on the hill"
/onekwvhsaʔ/	"blood"
/onekwvhsà:ke/	"in the blood"

9.3.211. The locative suffixes {-ke} and {-ne} may also express the idea of the domicile of a person or animal, and as such are frequently found in place names. For example:

/əhkweśasne/	"Akwesasne" (literally: the place where the partridge drums)
/ohkwé:svʔ/	"partridge"
/kahnawà:ke/	"Caughnawaga" (literally: on the rapids)
/kvjaʔkowáhne/	"Ft. Covington (N.Y.)" (literally: at the place of the sturgeon, big fish)
/kvjaʔkó:wa/	"sturgeon" "big fish"

These locative suffixes are used with some animal names to indicate the place where the named animal is kept:

/kítkítne/	"chicken coop"
/kítkít/	"chicken"

/kohsátv̄sne/ "stable; barn"

/kohsá:tv̄s/ "horse"

Finally, the suffixes $\{-ke\}$ and $\{-ne\}$ may be added to proper names to indicate the home of the named person. The meaning may roughly be translated into English as "at the house of" or is perhaps best translated by the French "chez." For example:

/an̄v̄hne/ "at Annie's, at Annie's house, chez Annie"

/á:nv̄h/ "Ann, Annie, Anna"

/taʔwítne/ "at David's, at David's house, chez David"

/tà:wit/ "David"

9.3.22. $\{-ku\}$

The locative suffix $\{-ku\}$ expresses the idea of location of something "in," or "inside," something else. It is added to the noun stem, thereby eliminating the nominal suffix, if present. For example:

/ohw̄vjaku/ "inside the earth; under the ground"

/ohw̄vja/ "earth; ground"

/oshú:waku/ "in the ditch; in the hole in the ground"

/ohsú:waʔ/ "ditch; hole in the ground"

/khnyà:saku/ "in, inside my throat"

/ohnyà:sa/ "throat"

9.3.23. $\{-oku\}$

The locative suffix $\{-oku\}$ expresses the idea of location of something "under" something else. It is added to the noun stem, thereby eliminating the nominal suffix, if present. For example:

/khsyó:ku/ "on my palm" (literally: under my palm)

/ohsyaʔ/ "palm of hand"

9.3.24. { -akta }

The locative suffix { -akta } expresses the idea of the location of something "near," "by," or "next to" something else. It is added to the noun stem, thereby eliminating the nominal suffix, if present.

/kanuhsákta/	"near, by the house"
/kanúhsa?/	"house"
/kanatákta/	"near, by the town, settlement"
/kaná:ta?/	"town, settlement, village"

9.3.3. { -néha? } { -kéha? }

The nominal suffixes { -néha? } and { -kéha? } may be added to a complete noun to express the idea that something is done "according to" the habits or behavior of something else. The suffix -kéha? occurs following /?___, while -néha? occurs elsewhere.

For example:

/akwesasnéha?/	"the language spoken at Akwasasne" (Literally: according to the way of Akwasasne)
/solahnéha/	"Duck Dance" (a social dance) (literally: according to, according to the ways of the duck)
/só:láh/	"duck"

9.4. Personal Possessive Prefixes

Another modification of nouns involves the affixing of a personal possessive prefix which indicates the possession by the person of the thing expressed by the noun.

9.4.1. The phonological shape of the personal possessive

prefix is selected by the initial phoneme of the noun to which it is attached.

The rules for the selection of the personal possessive prefixes are somewhat similar to those accounting for the selection of subjective pronominal prefixes by verb stems as discussed in 6.3. above.

9.4.2. For the purposes of the selection of the appropriate phonological shape of the personal possessive prefixes, nouns may be grouped into the following three noun-stem classes:

- 1) Consonant-initial stems
- 2) /a-/ -initial stems
- 3) /u-/ -initial stems

These stem classes will be considered in turn below.

9.4.21. Consonant-initial Stems

The large majority of nouns in Mohawk fall into the class of consonant-initial stems. These include all nouns which have been characterized as formal nouns, containing a nominal prefix /ka-/ or /o-/.

In combination with the personal possessive prefix, the nominal prefix /ka-/ or /o-/ is dropped and the possessive prefix then directly precedes the consonant-initial stem.

The following set of personal possessive prefixes occurs with consonant-initial noun stems:

1st person singular	:	ake-
2nd person singular	:	sa-
3rd person singular masculine	:	lao-

feminine/ indefinite	:	ako-
feminine/ neuter	:	ao-
1st person dual	:	ukeni-
1st person plural	:	ukwa-
2nd person dual	:	seni-
2nd person plural	:	sewa-
3rd person dual and plural	:	
masculine	:	laoti-
feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	:	aoti-

9.4.211. There is a sub-class of consonant-initial stems which begin with the consonant /h-/. These noun stems select a set of personal possessive prefixes which are identical to those selected by other consonant-initial noun stems with the following exceptions:

1st person singular	:	ak-
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9.4.22. The second largest group of nouns fall into the category of /a-/-initial noun stems. These are all nouns which lack a formal nominal prefix and begin with the phoneme /a-/.

The following set of personal possessive prefixes occurs with /a-/-initial noun stems:

1st person singular	:	akw-
2nd person singular	:	s-
3rd person singular masculine	:	lao-

feminine/ indefinite	:	ako-
feminine/ neuter	:	ao-
1st person dual	:	uky-
1st person plural	:	ukw-
2nd person dual	:	j-
2nd person plural	:	sew-
3rd person dual and plural		
masculine	:	laon-
feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	:	aon-

The personal possessive prefixes for all 1st and 2nd person forms and for 3rd person non-singular forms directly precede the /a-/ -initial stem. In combination with the possessive prefixes for 3rd person singular forms, the initial /a-/ of the noun stem is dropped.

9.4.23. There are a few nouns which begin with the phoneme /u-/. The following set of personal possessive prefixes occurs with this class:

1st person singular	:	ak-
2nd person singular	:	s-
3rd person singular masculine	:	la-
feminine/ indefinite	:	aka-
feminine/ neuter	:	a-
1st person dual and plural	:	uk-

2nd person dual	:	sen-
2nd person plural	:	sew-
3rd person dual and plural		
masculine	:	laon-
feminine/ indefinite/ neuter	:	aon-

All of these prefixes (including those ending with a vowel /-a/) precede the /u-/ initial noun stem.

9.4.3. The following paradigms illustrate the rules for the selection of personal possessive prefixes and the formation of personal possessive nouns. Possessive constructions generally contain a separate personal pronoun which precedes the possessed noun and indicates the possessor.

Class I: -nakt- "bed, place, seat" (see 9.4.21. above)

kanákta "bed, place, seat"

í:ʔi akenákta?	ake nákt a?	"it's my bed, place, seat"
í:se sanákta?	sa nákt a?	"it's your (sg.) bed"
laúha laonákta?	lao nákt a?	"it's his bed"
akaúha akonákta?	ako nákt a?	"it's her, one's bed"
aúha aonákta?	ao nákt a?	"it's her, it's bed"
í:ʔi akeninákta?	akeni nákt a?	"it's our (du.) bed"
í:ʔi akwanákta?	akwa nákt a?	"it's our (pl.) bed"
í:se seninákta?	seni nákt a?	"it's your (du.) bed"
í:se sewanákta?	sewa nákt a?	"it's your (pl.) bed"
lonúha laotinákta?	laoti nákt a?	"it's their (masc. du., pl.) bed"

onúha aotinákta? aoti nákt a? "it's their (fem/indef/neuter
du., pl.) bed"

Class II: -aht- "shoe" (see 9.4.22. above)

áhta? "shoe"

í:~i akwáhta?	akw áht a?	"it's my shoe"
í:se sáhta?	s áht a?	"it's your (sg.) shoe"
laúha laóhta?	laó ht a?	"it's his shoe"
akaúha akóhta?	akó ht a?	"it's her, one's shoe"
aúha aóhta?	aó ht a?	"it's her, it's shoe"
í:~i ukyáhta?	uky áht a?	"it's our (du.) shoe"
í:~i ukwáhta?	ukw áht a?	"it's our (pl.) shoe"
í:se jáhta?	j áht a?	"it's your (du.) shoe"
í:se sewáhta?	sew áht a?	"it's your (pl.) shoe"
lonúha laonáhta?	laon áht a?	"it's their (masc. du., pl.) shoe"
onúha aonáhta?	aon áht a?	"it's their (fem/indef/neuter du., pl.) shoe"

Class III: -ut- "pail" (see 9.4.23. above)

ú:ta? "pail"

í:~i akú:ta?	ak ú:t a?	"it's my pail"
í:se sú:ta?	s ú:t a?	"it's your (sg.) pail"
laúha lau:ta?	la ú:t a?	"it's his pail"
akaúha akaú:ta?	aka ú:t a?	"it's her, one's pail"
aúha aú:ta?	a ú:t a?	"it's her, it's pail"
í:~i ukú:ta?	uk ú:t a?	"it's our (du. pl) pail"
í:se senú:ta?	sen ú:t a?	"it's your (du.) pail"

í:se sewú:ta?	sew ú:t a?	"it's your (pl.) pail"
lonúha laonú:ta?	laon ú:t a?	"it's their (masc. du., pl.) pail"
onúha aonú:ta?	aon ú:t a?	"it's their (fem/indef/neuter du., pl.) pail"

9.5. Enumerations

Nouns may also be included in numerical constructions in order to indicate the number of persons or objects referred to by the noun.

9.5.1. Numerical constructions for one or two objects are of two types. The first consists of the following simple syntactic arrangement:

/numeral/ + /complete noun/

The second type consists of the following morphological ordering within a single word:

/numerical prefix + noun stem + numerical suffix/

9.5.11. The separate numerals for "one" and "two"

are:

/vhska/ "one"

/tékeni/ "two"

9.5.12. When combined within a word with an inanimate noun stem, the appropriate numerical prefixes are:

/ska-/ "singular"

/teka-/ "dual"

These numerical prefixes are composed of the following elements:

/s-/ singular numerical component

/te-/ dual numerical component

/-ka-/ 3rd person feminine/neuter pronominal prefix

The dual numerical component, /te-/, also functions as a verbal non-modal prefix referred to as "duplicative" and is discussed in 7.27. above.

9.5.13. The numerical suffix which follows a noun stem enumerated for two objects is:

/-ke/ dual numerical suffix

In the enumeration of singular nouns, the numerical suffix is absent.

9.5.14. The following sets of nouns and numerical constructions illustrate the available alternatives in numerical formation:

/oháhsela?/	"lamp; light"
/vhska oháhsela?/	"one lamp, light"
/skaháhselah/	"one lamp, light"
/tékeni oháhsela?/	"two lamps, lights"
/tekahahselá:ke/	"two lamps, lights"
/kanúhsa?/	"house"
/vhska kanúhsa?/	"one house"
/skanúhsah/	"one house"
/tékeni kanúhsa?/	"two houses"
/tekanúhsake/	"two houses"

9.5.2. Numerical constructions for plural, i.e. three or more, objects have the following syntactic and morphological arrangement:

/numeral/ + /numerical prefix + noun stem + numerical suffix /

In this construction, a separate numeral word, expressing the appropriate number precedes the numeralized noun which in turn is made up of a numerical prefix, a noun stem, and a numerical suffix.

The numerical prefix and suffix are the same for all plural nouns, the particular number being expressed by the appropriate numeral word.

The numerical prefix and suffix are:

/nika-/ plural numerical prefix

/-ke/ plural numerical suffix

The numerical plural prefix /nika-/ is composed of two elements:

/ni-/ plural numerical component

/-ka-/ 3rd person singular feminine/neuter pronominal prefix

The plural numerical prefix /ni-/ also functions as a verbal non-modal prefix referred to as "partitive" and is discussed in 7.22.

above.

The plural numerical suffix /-ke/ is identical to the dual numerical suffix and can therefore more accurately be termed a "non-singular numerical suffix."

The following numerical constructions illustrate the proper formation:

/áhsv nikanúhsake/ "three houses"

/wísk nikahahselá:ke/ "five lamps, lights"

9.5.3. There are some modifications of the above patterns for the enumeration of living things. In enumerations, the noun referring to a person or an animal is preceded by a separate numeralized noun. If the number of people or animals is plural, i.e. three or more,

the separate numeralized noun is itself preceded by the appropriate numeral word. The construction, therefore, is:

(/plural numeral/) + /numeralized word/ + /complete noun/

The numeralized noun is composed of the following:

/numerical prefix + pronominal prefix + noun stem/

The numerical prefixes are:

/s-/ singular

/te-/ dual

/ni-/ plural

The pronominal prefixes which occur in the numeralized noun refers to the appropriate 3rd person forms:

/-ha-/ 3rd person masculine singular

/-ye-/ feminine/indefinite singular

/-ka-/ feminine/neuter singular

/-hni-/ masculine dual

/-keni-/ feminine/indef/neuter dual

/-hati-/ masculine plural

/-kuti-/ feminine/indef/neuter plural

All of these pronominal prefixes may apply to human beings. The only one which may never apply to non-human animals is the prefix /-ye-/ which only refers to 3rd person feminine/indefinite singular subjects, all of whom are, by definition, human.

The following paradigm illustrates the numerical constructions for non-human animals:

/kanó:jot/ "muskie"

/skayà:tah kanó:jot/ "one female muskie"

/tekeniyáhsv kanó:jot/	"two female muskies"
/áhsv níkú:ti kanó:jot/	"three female muskies"
/shayà:tah kanó:jot/	"one male muskie"
/tehniyáhsv kanó:jot/	"two male muskies"
/áhsv níhá:ti kanó:jot/	"three male muskies"

The following paradigms illustrate the numerical constructions for human beings. (Note that the pronominal prefix within the noun itself reflects the number of people expressed in accordance with pronominal prefix rules as discussed in Chapter 6 above.):

/yeksa:ʔaʔ/	"small girl"
⁴ /jeyà:tah yeksa:ʔaʔ/	"one small girl"
/tekeniyáhsv tekeniksa:ʔaʔ/	"two small girls"
/áhsv níkú:ti kotiksaʔokú:ʔaʔ/	"three small girls"
/kaksa:ʔaʔ/	"small girl"
/skayà:tah kaksa:ʔaʔ/	"one small girl"
/tekeniyáhsv tekeniksa:ʔaʔ/	"two small girls"
/áhsv níkú:ti kotiksaʔokú:ʔaʔ/	"three small girls"
/laksa:ʔaʔ/	"small boy"
/shayà:tah laksa:ʔaʔ/	"one small boy"
/tehniyáhsv tehniksa:ʔaʔ/	"two small boys"
/áhsv níhá:ti latiksaʔokú:ʔaʔ/	"three small boys"

⁴ The numeralized noun /jeyà:taʔ/, "one female body", contains the pronominal prefix /je-/ in accordance with morphophonemic rules whereby /s + y → j/ as discussed in 3.1.13. above.

APPENDIX A: PARTICLES

The following list contains the most commonly used particles in Mohawk. The particles are listed alphabetically according to the Mohawk. (See 2.5.3. above for a discussion of Mohawk particles.)

/á:leh/	again
/əseʔkv/	because
/əʔé:lu/	away, far away
/é:soh/ /é:su/	a lot; much
/hányu/	come on! let's...
/hʔ:/	yes
/í:nu/	far
/íse/	there; over there
/iyáh/	no
/iyáh tv/	no (emphatic)
/kahnú:/	right here; here
/kəʔnú:/	where (is it?); where
/kátʔ/	or
/kátke/	when
/kátkek/	sometime
/khá:leʔ/	finally again
/khé:kv/	instead
/khé:lek/	maybe
/kí:kv/	this; this one
/nékji/	but
/nekwá/	direction; the way
/íse nekwá/	over there; in that direction; that way

/kvh nelwa/	over here; in this direction; this way
/-nú:/	place
/kahnú:/	right here
/thonú:/	right there
/nú:wa?/	now
/óksa?/	hurry up!
/óksək/	right away; immediately
/ó:nv/	now; already; good-bye
/ó:nv thó:ha?/	it's almost time
/ó:nvk/	right away; immediately
/o:ni/	also; too
/shé:ku/	still; more; hello
/seléka/	almost
/sók/	then
/stú:ha/	a little bit
/tó:ka/	if
/toka?nú:wa/	maybe
/tó:ske?/	very much
/wáhhe?/	I <u>guess</u> so! <u>Isn't</u> it? "N'est-ce pas?"
/ki?wáhhe?/	that's so; of course; that's the way it is, isn't it?
/wá?jek/	later on, after a while (today)

APPENDIX B: LIST OF AFFIXES

-a-	2nd person singular objective prefix 6.5.2.
-a-	indefinite modal prefix 7.1.2.
ak-	1st person sing. personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
ako-	3rd person sing. feminine/indefinite personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
-akta	locative nominal suffix: "near," "by," "next to" 9.3.24.
ao-	3rd person sing. feminine/neuter personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
aoti-	3rd person dual, plural feminine/indefinite/neuter personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
-at-	reflexive prefix 5.2.11.
-atat-	reciprocal prefix 5.2.12.
-a?	nominal suffix 9.1.3.
-v-	future modal prefix 7.1.3.
-vni-	benefactive I suffix 8.3.3.
-ha-	passive state aspect suffix 8.4.34.
-há:ka?	characterizer verbal and nominal suffix 8.5.1.; 9.3.12.
-haky-	progressive suffix 8.3.5.
-hla-	3rd person sing. masculine subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.53; transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. masculine agent/3rd person sing. feminine/neuter patient 6.6.13.
-(h)ni-	3rd person dual masculine subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.62.
-(h)s-	2nd person sing. subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.52. transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing. agent/3rd person feminine/neuter patient 6.6.12.

- (h)sakeni- transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person
dual agent/3rd person masc. patient 6.6.16.
- (h)sako- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing.
masc. agent/3rd person sing. feminine/indefinite
patient and 3rd person non-singular patient
6.6.13.
- (h)sakwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person plural
agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.17.
- (h)se- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing.
agent/3rd person sing. feminine/indefinite
patient and 3rd person non-sing. patient
6.6.12.
- (h)sek- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing.
agent/1st person sing. patient 6.6.12.
- (h)seni- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person dual
agent/3rd person sing. feminine/neuter patient
6.6.18.
- (h)sewa- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person plural
agent/3rd person sing. feminine/neuter patient
6.6.19.
- (h)skeni- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing.
agent/1st person dual patient 6.6.12.;
2nd person dual agent/1st person sing., dual
patient 6.6.18.
- (h)skwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing. agent/
1st person plural patient 6.6.12.; 2nd person dual
agent/1st person plural patient 6.6.18.; 2nd person
plural agent/1st person sing., dual, plural patient
6.6.19.
- (h)sukeni- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing.
masc. agent/1st person dual patient 6.6.13.
- (h)sukwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing.
masc. agent/1st person plural patient 6.6.13.
- ht- causative verbal suffix 8.3.1.
- (h)tsiseni- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing.
masc. agent/2nd person dual patient 6.6.13.
- (h)tsisewa- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing.
masc. agent/2nd person plural patient 6.6.13.

- (h)ya-* transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. masc. agent/2nd person sing. patient 6.6.13.
- k-* 1st person sing. subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.51.;
- transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person sing. agent/3rd person sing. fem/neuter patient 6.6.11.
- k-* continuative suffix 8.3.6.
- k-* stative aspect suffix 8.4.33.
- ka-* 3rd person sing. fem/neuter subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.55.
- ka-* nominal prefix 9.1.1.
- ke* locative nominal suffix: "at," "in," "on," "to" 9.3.21.
- ke* non-singular (dual, plural) numerical nominal suffix 9.5.13.; 9.5.2.
- keni-* 3rd person dual fem/indef/neuter subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.63.;
- transitive prefix: 1st person sing. agent/2nd person dual patient 6.6.11.
- 1st person dual agent/2nd person sing., dual patient 6.6.16.
- k'vha?* decessive verbal attributive suffix 8.5.2.
- khe-* transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person sing. agent/3rd person sing. fem/indef. patient and 3rd person non-sing. patient 6.6.11.
- ko-* transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person sing. agent/2nd person sing. patient 6.6.11.
- koti-* 3rd person plural fem/indef/neuter subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.65.
- kó:wa* augmentative nominal attributive suffix 9.3.11.
- ku* locative nominal suffix: "in," "inside" 9.3.22.
- kuwa-* transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indefinite agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/3rd person fem/neuter patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.

- kuwati- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef. agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/3rd person non-sing. non-masc. patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- kwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person sing., dual agent/2nd person plural patient 6.6.11.; 6.6.16.;
- 1st person plural agent/2nd person sing. dual, plural patient 6.6.17.
- kwe? former past suffix 8.3.8.
- lak- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. masc. agent/1st person sing. patient 6.6.13.
- lao- 3rd person sing. masc. personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
- laoti- 3rd person dual, plural masc. personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
- lati- 3rd person
6.3.64.
- li- transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person sing. agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.11.
- lo- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. masc. agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.13; 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.15.
- luwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- luwati- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef. agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/3rd person non-sing. masc. patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- ne locative nominal suffix: "at," "in," "on," "to" 9.3.21.
- néha? "according to" nominal suffix 9.3.3.
- ni- partitive prefix 7.2.2.
- nika- plural numerical nominal prefix 9.5.2.
- nyu- distributive suffix 8.3.2.

-o-	3rd person objective pronominal prefix 6.5.2.
o-	nominal prefix 9.1.1.
-(C)ó:nv	populative verbal attributive suffix 8.5.4.
-oku-	locative nominal suffix "Under" 9.3.23.
-okú:ʔaʔ	pluralizer verbal attributive suffix 8.5.3.
-s-	coincident prefix 7.2.3.
-s-	iterative prefix 7.2.8.
-s-	serial, progressive active state aspect suffix 8.4.32.
-sa-	transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/2nd person sing. patient 6.6.15.
sa-	2nd person sing. personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
-seni-	2nd person dual subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.60.;
	transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/2nd person dual patient 6.6.15.
seni-	2nd person dual personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
-sewa-	2nd person plural subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.61.;
	transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/2nd person plural patient 6.6.15.
sewa-	2nd person plural personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
ska-	singular numerical nominal prefix 9.5.12.
-sú:ʔaʔ	pluralizer verbal and nominal attributive suffix 8.5.3.; 9.3.13.
-t-	duplicative prefix 7.2.7.
-t-	cislocative prefix 7.2.9.

-te?-	negative prefix 7.2.5.
teka-	dual numerical nominal prefix 9.5.12.
-teni-	1st person dual inclusive subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.56.
-tewa-	1st person plural inclusive subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.58.
-th-	contrastive prefix 7.2.4.
-ts-	transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person sing. agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.12.
-tsiseni-	transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person dual agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.18.
-tsisewa-	transitive pronominal prefix: 2nd person plural agent/3rd person sing. masc. patient 6.6.19.
ukeni-	1st person dual personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
ukwa-	1st person plural personal possessive nominal prefix 9.4.21.
-u?	nominal suffix 9.1.3.
-wa-	1st person objective pronominal prefix 6.5.2.
-wak-	transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/1st person sing. patient 6.6.15.
-wa?-	aurist modal prefix 7.1.1.
-y-	translocative prefix 7.2.6.
-yakeni-	1st person dual exclusive subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.57.; transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person dual agent/3rd person sing. fem/neuter patient 6.6.16.
-yakhi-	transitive pronominal prefix: 1st person dual, plural agent/3rd person sing. fem/indef. patient and 3rd person non-sing. patient 6.6.16.; 6.6.17.

- yako- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/3rd person sing. fem/indef. patient and 3rd person non-sing. patient 6.6.15.
- yakwa- 1st person exclusive subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.59.
- ye- 3rd person sing. fem/indef subjective pronominal prefix 6.3.54.
- yesa- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/2nd person sing. patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- yetsi- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/2nd person dual, plural patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.; 2nd person dual. plural agent/3rd person sing. fem/indef patient and 3rd person non-sing. patient 6.6.18.; 6.6.19.
- yo- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/3rd person sing. fem/neuter patient 6.6.15.
- yuk- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/1st person sing. patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- yukeni- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/1st person dual patient 6.6.15.
- yukhi- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/1st person dual, plural patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- yukwa- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/neuter agent/1st person plural patient 6.6.15.
- yutat- transitive pronominal prefix: 3rd person sing. fem/indef agent and 3rd person non-sing. agent/3rd person sing. fem/indef patient 6.6.14.; 6.6.20.
- ? active punctual aspect suffix 8.4.31.
- ? nominal suffix 9.1.3.
- ?n- ambulative verbal suffix 8.3.7.
- ?s- benefactive II suffix 8.3.4.

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