

# Í:se ken ake'nisténha?



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## Special thanks to:

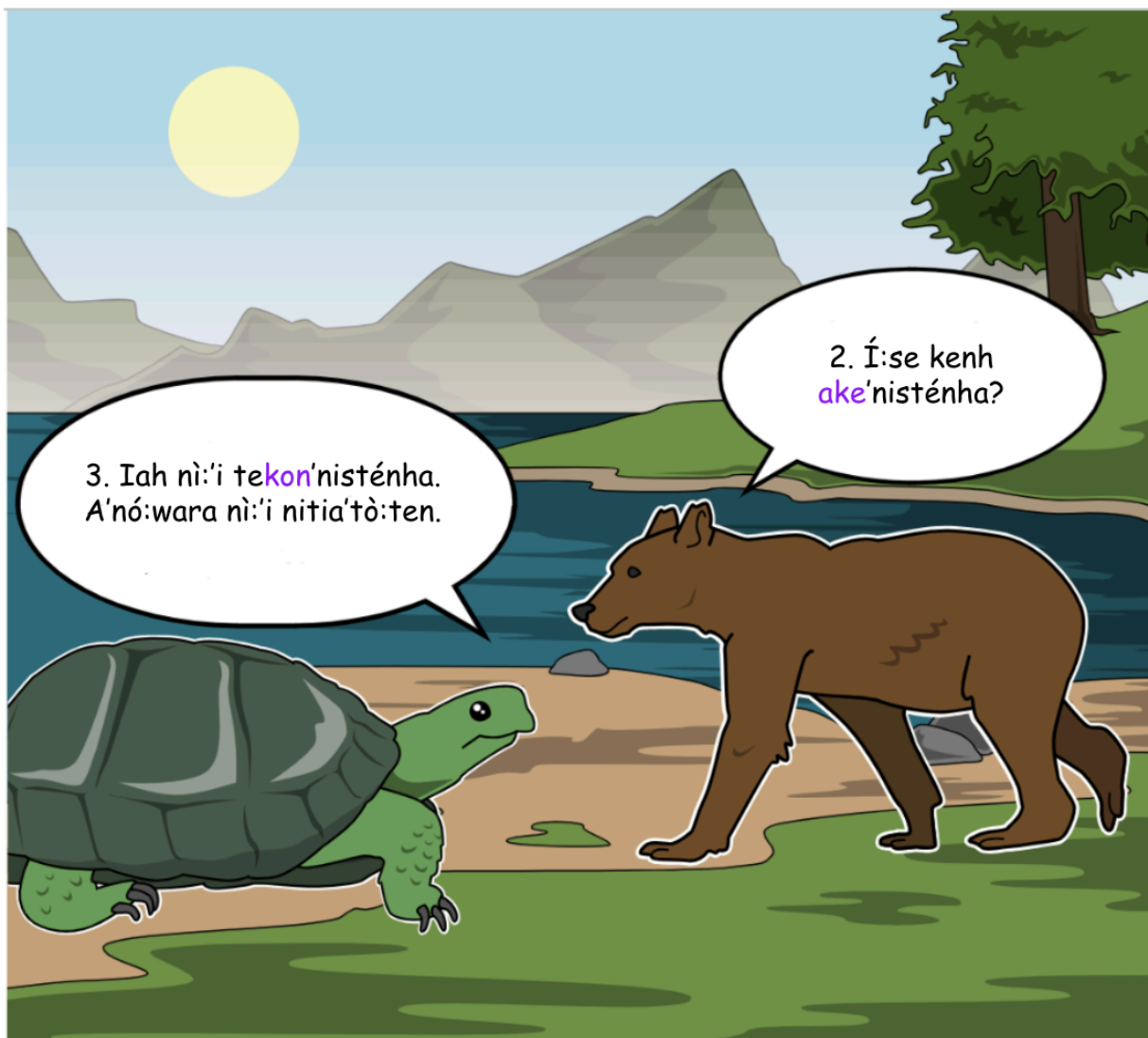
Professor Jessica Coon, Chase Boles, and the Fall 2023 Field Methods class at McGill University

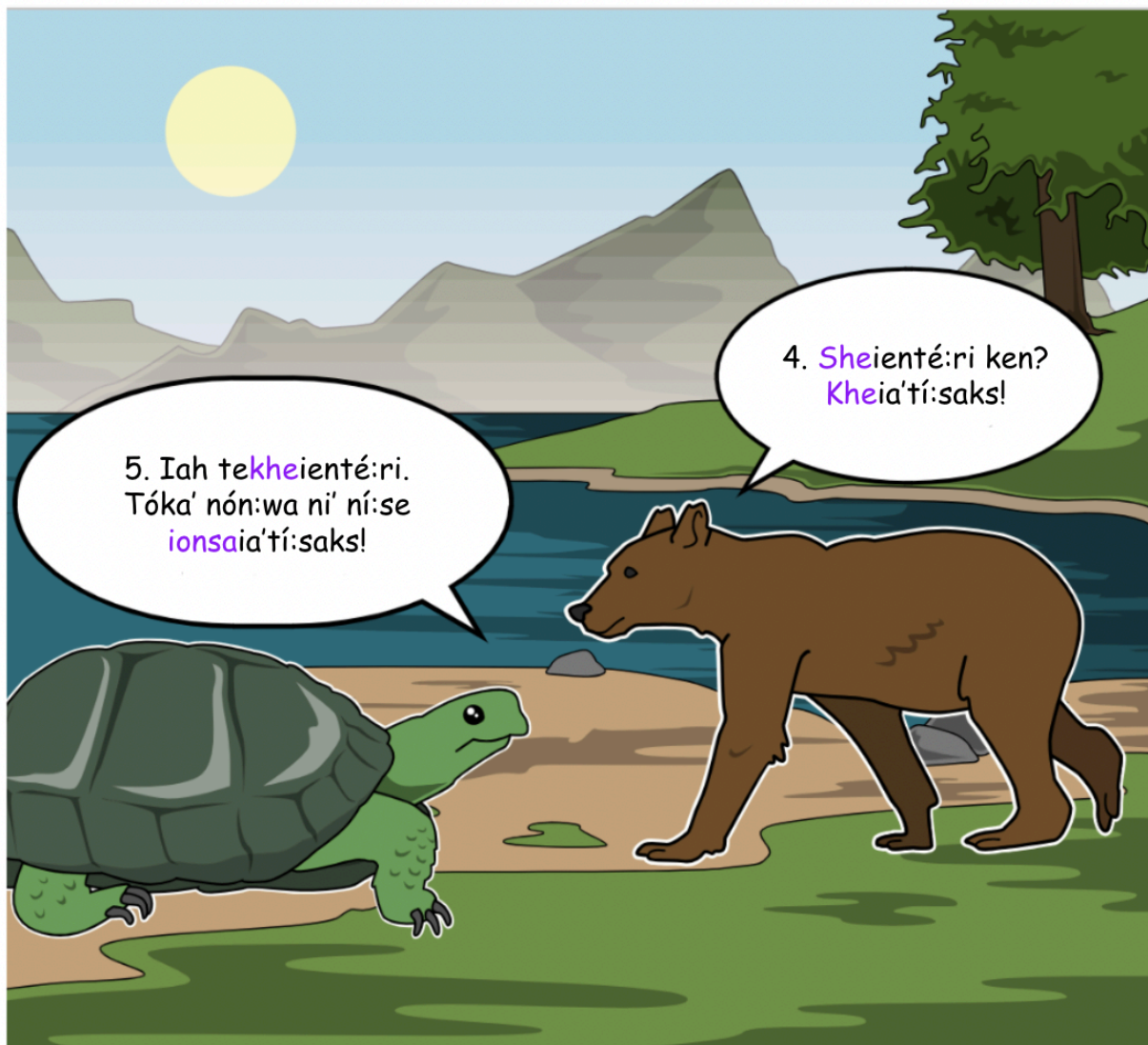
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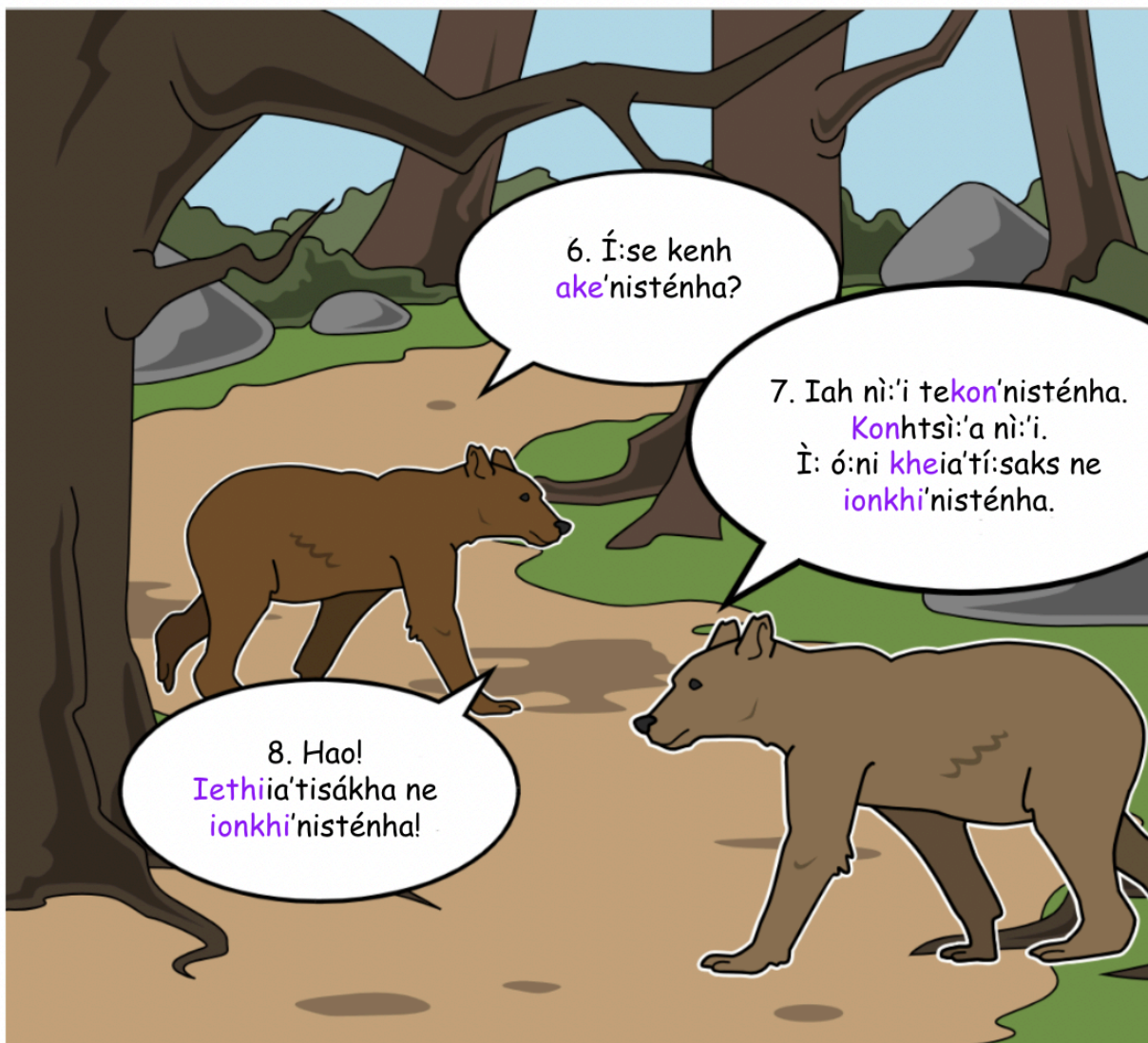
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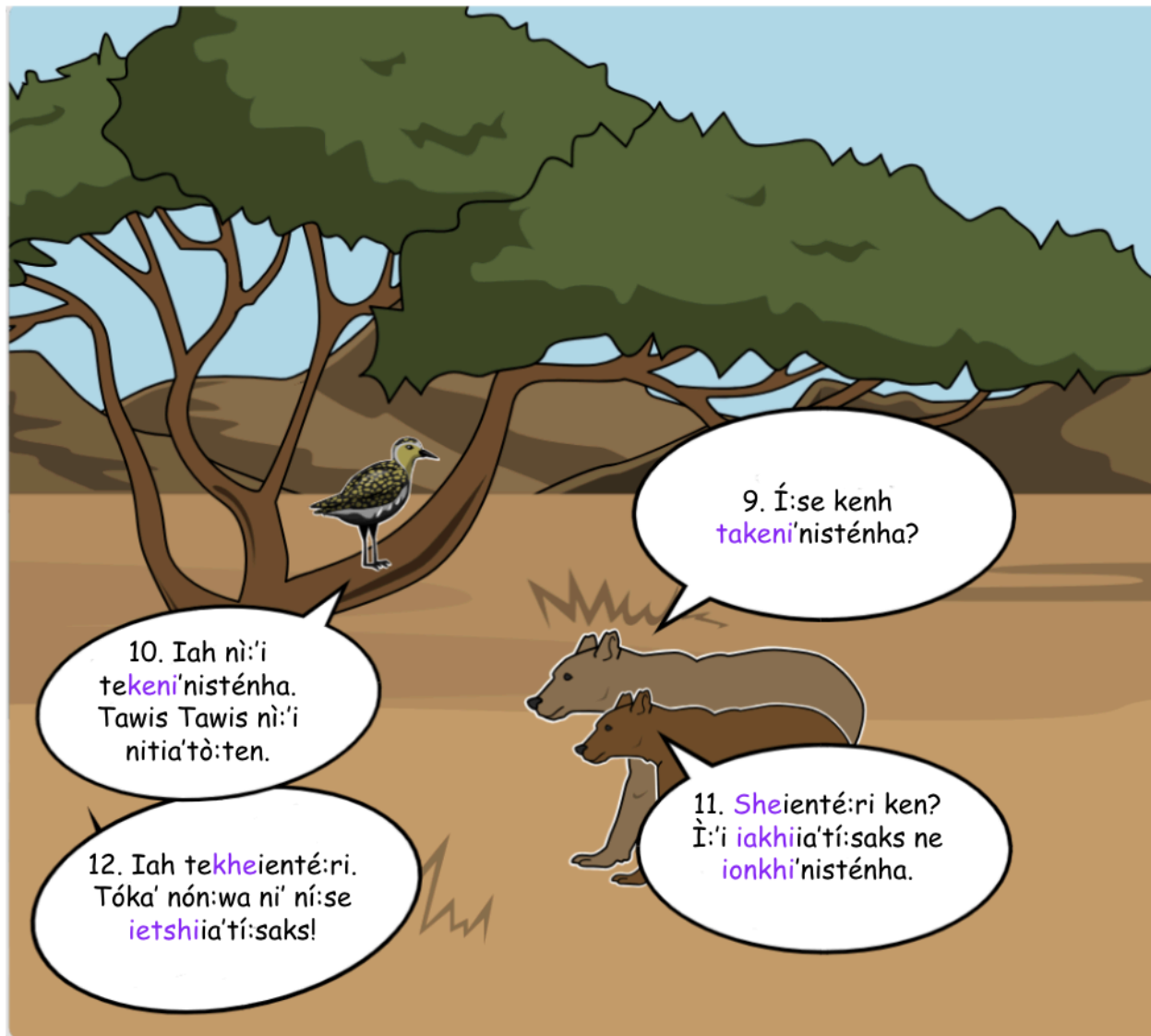
# **Section 1: Kanien'kéha only**



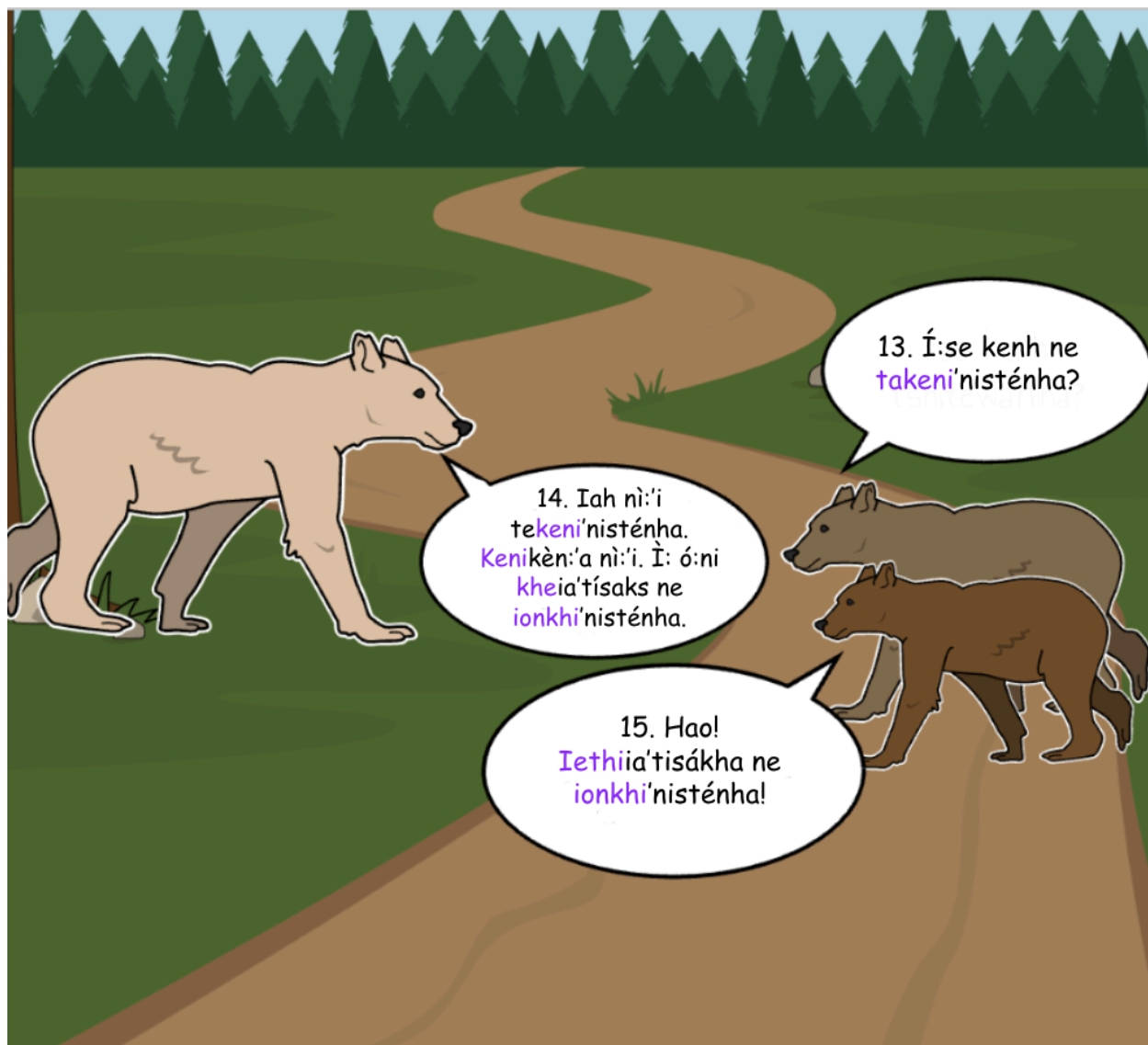


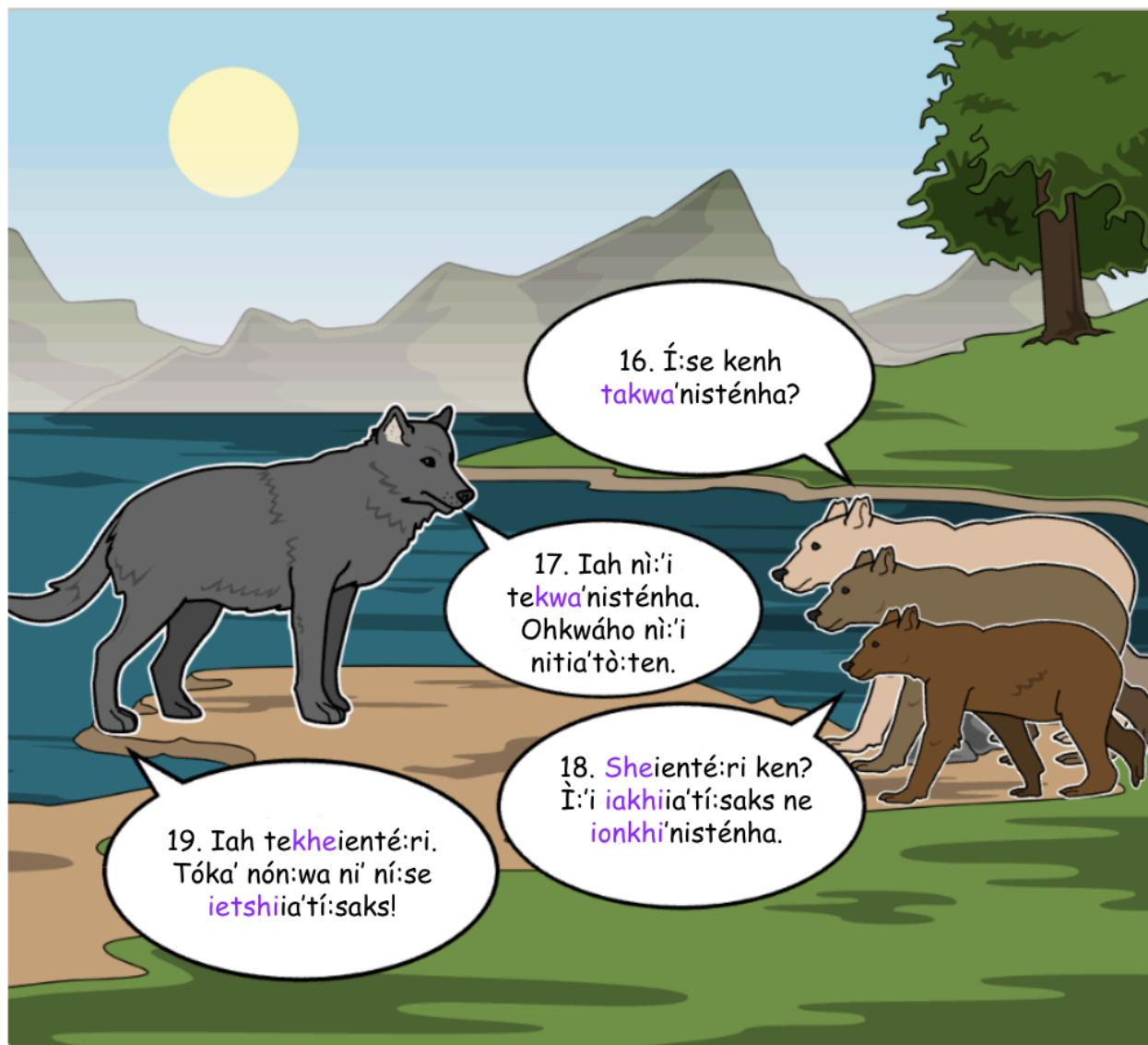














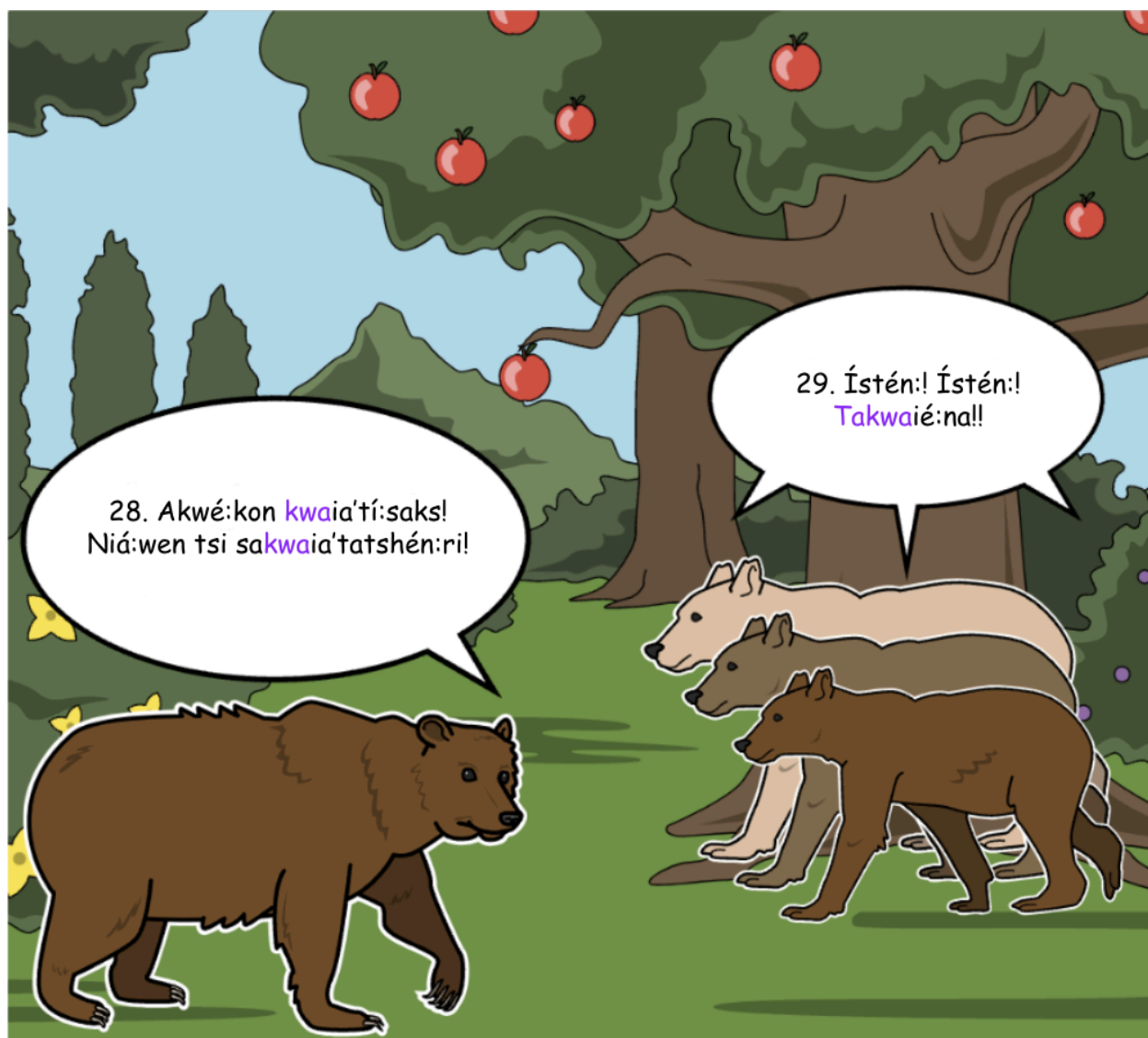









27. Tesewa'ttkahrhaté:ni.  
Sewahshòn:ne ítiété'.







# Section 2: Kanien'kéha and English



## Page 1:

1.  : Wa'ontia'tahton ne ake'nisténha! Entà:'on enkheia'tíhsake' ne ake'nisténha.  
I've lost my mother! I must go find my mother.




## Page 2:

2.  : Í:se kenh ake'nisténha?  
Are you my mother?
3.  : lah nì:'i tekón'nisténha. A'nó:wara nì:'i nitia'tò:ten.  
I am not your mother. I am a turtle.





## Page 3:

4.  : Sheienté:ri ken? Kheia'tí:saks!  
Do you know her? I am looking for her!
5.  : lah tekheienté:ri. Tóka' nón:wa ní' ní:se ionsaia'tí:saks!  
I do not know her. Maybe she is looking for you, too!




## Page 4:

6.  : Í:se kenh ake'nisténha?  
Are you my mother?
7.  : lah nì:'i tekón'nisténha. Konhtsì:'a nì:'i. ì: ó:ni kheia'tí:saks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
I am not your mother. I am your older sibling. I am also looking for our mother.
8.  : Hao! lethiia'tisákha ne ionkhi'nisténha!  
Let's go look for our mother!





**Page 5:**

9.  : Í:se kenh **takeni**'nisténha?  
Are you our mother?
10.  : lah nì:'i **tekeni**'nisténha. Tawis Tawis nì:'i nitia'tò:ten.  
I am not your mother. I am a snipe bird.
11.  : **Sheienté:ri** ken? ì:'i **iakhii**'tí:saks ne **ionkhi**'nisténha.  
Do you know her? We are looking for our mother.
12.  : lah **tekhieienté:ri**. Tóka' nón:wa ní' ní:se **ietshii**'tí:saks!  
I do not know her. Maybe she is looking for you two, too!





**Page 6:**

13.  : Í:se kenh **takehi**'nisténha?  
Are you our mother?
14.  : lah nì:'i **tekeni**'nisténha. **Kenikèn:'a** nì:'i. ì: ó:ni **kheia**'tísaks ne **ionkhi**'nisténha.  
I am not your mother. I am your younger sibling. I am also looking for our mother.
15.  : Hao! **lethii**'tisákha ne **ionkhi**'nisténha!  
Let's go look for our mother!


**Page 7:**

16.  : Í:se kenh **takwa**'nisténha?  
Are you our mother?
17.  : lah nì:'i **tekwa**'nisténha. Ohkwáho nì:'i nitia'tò:ten.  
I am not your mother. I am a wolf.
18.  : **Sheienté:ri** ken? ì:'i **iakhii**'tí:saks ne **ionkhi**'nisténha.  
Do you know her? We are looking for our mother.
19.  : lah **tekhieienté:ri**. Tóka' nón:wa ní' ní:se **ietshii**'tí:saks!  
I do not know her. Maybe she is looking for you all, too!


**Page 8:**

20.  : Ka'ní:iens ne ionkhi'nisténha!  
Where is our mother!?
21.  : Akwé:kon ken ietshiiia'tí:saks ne ietshi'nisténha?  
Are you all looking for your mother?
22.  : Hen! lakhiiia'tí:saks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
Yes! We are looking for our mother.
23.  : letshi'nisténha ronwatirihwanontón:nis ronátia'ke: "letshí:ken ken ne kheien'okòn:'a?"  
Your mother has been asking others, "Have you seen my children?"


**Page 9:**

24.  : Ohwénhstsi wa'khé:ken A'nó:wara tehotíthare.  
Not too long ago, I saw her talking with Turtle.


**Page 10:**

25.  : Sok sakhé:ken Tawis Tawis tehotíthare.  
Then I saw her again talking with Snipe.



**Page 11:**

26.  : Sok sakhé:ken Ohkwáho tehotíthare.  
Then I saw her again talking with Wolf.

**Page 12:**

27.  : Tesewa'ttkahrhaté:ni. Sewahshòn:ne ítiete'.  
All of you, turn around. She is standing behind you.

**Page 13:**

28.  : Akwé:kon kwai'a'tí:saks! Niá:wen tsi sakwai'a'tatshén:ri!  
I have been looking for you all! Thank goodness I have found you again!
29.  : Ístén:! Ístén:! Takwaié:na!!  
Mama! Mama! Hold us!!

# Section 3: Glosses

## Glossed forms:

### Page 1:

1. Wa'ontia'tahton                      ne      ake'nisténha!  
wa'-ont-ia't-ahton                    ne      ake-'nistenha  
FACT-FI>1sg-body-disappear.STAT    NE      FZsg>1sg-mother  
she/they>me                              she/it>me  
I've lost my mother!
- Entà'on                                    enkheia'tíhsake'                      ne      ake'nisténha.  
En-ta'on                                   en-khe-ia't-ihsak-e'                  ne      ake-'nistenha.  
FUT-be.necessary                    FUT-1sg>FI-body-seek-PUNC      NE      FZsg>1sg-mother  
    I>her                                      she/it>me  
I must go find her.

### Page 2:

2. Í:se      kenh      ake'nisténha?  
ise      kenh      ake-'nistenha?  
you      Q      FZsg>1sg-mother  
    she/it>me  
Are you my mother?
3. lah      nì:i      tekon'nisténha.  
iah      nii      te-kon-'nistenha  
NEG    I      NEG-1sg>2sg-mother  
    I>you  
I am not your mother.

A'nó:wara      nì:i      nitia'tò:ten.  
a'nowara      nii      ni-t-ia't-oten  
turtle      I      PART-1sgA-body-be.a.kind.of  
I am a turtle.

### Page 3:

4. Sheienté:ri      ken?                      Kheia'tí:saks!  
she-ienteri      ken                              khe-ia't-isak-s  
2sg>FI-know      Q                                  1sg>FI-body-seek-HAB  
you>her                                    I>her  
Do you know her? I am looking for her!



11. Sheienté:ri ken? Ì:'i iakhiia'tí:saks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
 she-ienteri ken í'i iakhi-ia't-isak-s ne ionkhi-'nisténha  
 2sg>FI-know Q we 1excl.du>FI-body-seek-HAB NE FI>1du-mother  
 you>her we 2 (not you)>her she>us 2  
 Do you know her? We are looking for our mother.

12. Iah tekheienté:ri. Tóka' nón:wa ní' ní:se ietshia'tí:saks!  
 Iah te-khe-ienteri toka' nonwa ni nise ietshi-ia't-isak-s  
 NEG NEG-1sg>FI-know maybe also? you FI>2du-body-seek-HAB  
 I>her she>you 2  
 I do not know her. Maybe she is looking for you two, too!

**Page 6:**

13. Í:se kenh takeni'nisténha?  
 ise kenh takeni-'nisténha  
 you Q 2sg>1du-mother  
 you>us 2  
 Are you our mother?

14. Iah nì:'i tekeni'nisténha. Kenikèn:'a nì:'i.  
 Iah ní'i te-keni-'nistenha keni-ken'a ní'i  
 NEG I NEG-1sg>2du-mother 1sg>2du-younger.sibling I  
 I>you 2 I>you 2  
 I am not your mother. I am your younger sibling.

- Ì: ó:ni kheia'tísaks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
 i oni khe-ia't-isak-s ne ionkhi-'nistenha  
 I also 1sg>FI-body-seek-HAB NE FI>1pl-mother  
 I>her she>us all  
 I am also looking for our mother.

15. Hao! lethia'tisákha ne ionkhi'nisténha!  
 hao iethi-ia't-isak-ha ne ionkhi-'nisténha  
 okay 1incl.pl>FI-body-seek-PURP NE FI>1pl-mother  
 we all>her she>us all  
 Let's go look for our mother!

**Page 7:**

16. Í:se kenh takwa'nisténha?  
 ise kenh takwa-'nisténha  
 you Q 2sg>1pl-mother  
 you>us all  
 Are you our mother?

17. lah nì:'i tekwa'nisténha.  
 iah ní'i te-kwa-'nisténha  
 NEG I NEG-1sg>2pl-mother  
 I>you all  
 I am not your mother.
- Ohkwáho nì:'i nitia'tò:ten.  
 ohkwaho ní'i ni-t-ia't-oten  
 wolf I PART-1sgA-body-be.a.kind.of  
 I am a wolf.
18. Sheienté:ri ken? ì:'i iakhiia'tí:saks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
 she-ienteri ken í'i iakhi-ia't-isak-s ne ionkhi-'nisténha  
 2sg>FI-know Q we 1excl.pl>FI-body-see-HAB NE FI>1pl-mother  
 you>her we all (not you)>her she>us all  
 Do you know her? We are looking for our mother.
19. lah tekheienté:ri. Tóka' nón:wa ní' ní:se ietshiiatí:saks!  
 iah te-khe-ienteri toka' nonwa ni nise ietshi-ia't-isak-s  
 NEG NEG-1sg>FI-know maybe also? you FI>2pl-body-see-HAB  
 I>her she>you all  
 I do not know her. Maybe she is looking for you all, too!

#### Page 8:

20. Ka'ní:iens ne ionkhi'nisténha!?  
 ka'niiens ne ionkhi-'nistenha  
 Where is she NE FI>1pl-mother  
 she>us all  
 Where is our mother!?
21. Akwé:kon ken ietshiiatí:saks ne ietshi'nisténha?  
 akwekon ken ietshi-ia't-isak-s ne ietshi-'nisténha  
 all Q 2pl>FI-body-see-HAB NE FI>2pl-mother  
 you all>her she>you all  
 Are you all looking for your mother?
22. Hen! Iakhiia'tí:saks ne ionkhi'nisténha.  
 hen iakhi-ia't-isak-s ne ionkhi-'nistenha  
 yes 1excl.pl>FI-body-see-HAB NE FI>1pl-mother  
 we all (not you)>her she>us all  
 Yes! We are looking for our mother.
23. Ietshi'nisténha ronwatrihwanontón:nis ronátia'ke':  
 Ietshi-'nistenha ronwati-rihwanonton-ni-s ron-atia'k-e':  
 FI>2pl-mother FI>Mpl-ask-BEN?-HAB? MplP-others-PUNC  
 she>you all she>them  
 Your mother has been asking others:

“letshí:ken ken ne kheien’okòn:’a?”  
 ietshi-ken ken ne khe-ien’-okon’a  
 2pl>Mpl-see Q NE 1sg>Mpl-child-PL  
 you all>them I>them  
 “Have you seen my children?”

**Page 9:**

24. Ohwénhstsi wa’khé:ken A’ nó:wara tehotíthare.  
 ohwenhstsi wa’khe-ken A’ nó:wara te-roti-thare.  
 not.long.ago FACT-1sg>FI-see turtle DUP-MplP-talk  
 I>her  
 Not too long ago, I saw her talking with Turtle.

**Page 10:**

25. Sok sakhé:ken Tawis Tawis tehotíthare.  
 sok sa-khe-ken Tawis Tawis te-roti-thare.  
 then REP-1sg>FI-see snipe DUP-MplP-talk  
 I>her  
 Then I saw her again talking with Snipe.

**Page 11:**

26. Sok sakhé:ken Ohkwáho tehotíthare  
 Sok sa-khe-ken Ohkwaho te-roti-thare  
 then REP-1sg>FI-see wolf DUP-MplP-talk  
 I>her  
 Then I saw her again talking with Wolf.

**Page 12:**

27. Tesewa’ttkahrhaté:ni. Sewahshón:ne ítiete’.  
 te-sewa’ttkahrhateni Sewa-hshonne i-t-ie-t-e’  
 DUP-2plA-turn.around 2pl-back-PLACE EPEN-CIS-FI.A-stand-STAT  
 All of you, turn around. She is standing behind you.

**Page 13:**

28. Akwé:kon kwaiatí:saks! Níá:wen tsi sakwaiat’atshén:ri!  
 akwekon kwa-ia’t-isak-s niawen tsi sa-kwa-ia’t-a-tshenri  
 all 1sg>2pl-body-see-HAB thank that REP-1sg>2pl-body-JR-find  
 I>you all I>you all  
 I have been looking for you all! Thank goodness I have found you again!

29. Ístén:!! Ístén:!! Takwaié:na!!



isten isten takwa-iena!!  
mom mom 2sg>1pl-hold  
you>us  
Mommy! Mommy! Hold me!!

## Index of Glosses:

The above forms include many abbreviations in order to represent the meanings of each part of each word in Kanien'kéha. A list of the meanings of these abbreviations is provided below. (There are other morphemes in Kanien'kéha that are not included in these lists; these are only the morphemes that appear in the story above).

### Verbs:

<i>Prepronominal prefixes</i>		
<i>Gloss</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>Common form(s)</i>
CIS	cislocative	<i>(-on)t-, (-on)te-, (-on)ta-, (-on)ti-, ka-</i>
DUP	duplicative	<i>(-)te-, (-)t-, -ti-,</i>
FACT	factual	<i>wa'-, we-, wa-,</i>
FUT	future	<i>en-</i>
NEG	negative	<i>te-, tha'-, th-</i>
PART	partitive	<i>ni-, n-, na'-</i>
REP	repetitive	<i>(-on)s-, (-on)se-, (-on)sa-, (-)tsi-, (-)ts-</i>

<i>Aspectual suffixes</i>		
<i>Gloss</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>Common form(s)</i>
HAB	habitual	<i>-s, -ha', -hs</i>
PUNC	punctual	<i>-, -e', -o', -en', -i', -a'</i>
STAT	stative	<i>-e', -en, -on, -∅0</i>

<i>Derivational affixes</i>		
<i>Gloss</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>Common form(s)</i>
BEN	benefactive	<i>-en-, -enni-, -hs-, -(h)ahs-, -i-, -(a)ni</i>
PURP	puposive	<i>-h-, -hser-, -hr-, -hn-, -(h/')nh-</i>

<i>Inserted vowels</i>		
<i>Gloss</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>Common form(s)</i>
EPEN	epenthetic vowel	<i>e, i-</i>
JR	joiner vowel	<i>a</i>

### Nouns:

<i>Noun suffixes</i>		
<i>gloss</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>description</i>
PL	pluralizer	<i>-okon, -okon'a, -shon, -hshon, -shon'a, -'s</i>

### Pronominal Prefixes:

Pronominal prefixes (pronouns) distinguish person, number, and gender. Abbreviations used for these features are:

<i>person</i>		<i>gender</i>		<i>number</i>	
1	1st person (I, we)	M	masculine (he, him)	sg	singular
2	2nd person (you, yous)	FI	feminine/indefinite (she, her, someone)	du	dual
3	3rd person (she, he, it)	FZ	feminine/zoic (she, her, it-animal)	pl	plural
INCL	inclusive (I and you)	N	neuter, inanimate (it-thing)		
EXCL	exclusive (I and others)				

There are three sets of pronominal prefixes in Kanien'kéha: subjective/agent (A), objective/patient (P), and transitive pronouns. We focus on transitive pronouns in this story (for a further explanation of transitive pronouns, see the appendix), but there are a few subjective and objective pronouns in the story as well. These are shown in the table below:

<b>Subjective/agent pronouns:</b>		
<b>Pronoun form</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>description</b>
<i>k(e)-/t-</i>	1sgA	1st person singular (I)
<i>ie-</i>	FI.A	feminine indefinite (she, someone, they)
<i>sewa-</i>	2plA	2nd person plural (yous 3+)
<b>Objective/patient pronouns:</b>		
<b>Pronoun form</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>description</b>
<i>roti-</i>	MplP	masculine plural (they, at least one male)

The forms for transitive pronouns are shown below. The symbol > in the glosses for these forms is used to stand in for any transitive verb. See the appendix for a table with these forms.

<b>Transitive pronouns for C-stems (based on Martin 2023)</b>		
<i>note: these are used when there are two animate participants</i>		
<b>Pronoun form</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>description</b>
<i>kon-</i>	1sg>2sg	I>you
<i>keni-</i>	1sg>2du 1excl.du>2ns	I>yous 2 me and someone else>yous non-singular (2+)
<i>kwa-</i>	1sg>2pl 1excl.pl>2ns	I>yous 3+ me and them>yous non-singular (2+)
<i>ri-</i>	1sg>Msg	I>him
<i>khe-</i>	1sg>3ns	I>her, them, someone
<i>k(e)-</i>	1sg>FZsg	I>her, it-animal
<i>htshiteni-</i>	1incl.du>Msg	you and me>him
<i>htshitewa-</i>	1incl.pl>Msg	me, you, and them>him
<i>hshakeni-</i>	1excl.du>Msg	me and someone else>him
<i>hsakwa-</i>	1excl.pl>Msg	me and others>him
<i>iethi-</i>	1incl.ns>3ns	me, you (others)>her, them, someone

<i>iakhi-</i>	1excl.ns>3ns	me and others>her, them, someone
<i>teni-</i>	1incl.du>FZsg	me and you>it-animal
<i>iakeni-</i>	1excl.du>FZsg	me and someone else>it-animal
<i>tewa-</i>	1incl.pl>FZsg	me, you, and others>it-animal
<i>iakwa-</i>	1excl.pl>FZsg	me and others>it-animal
<i>tak(e)-</i>	2sg>1sg	you>me
<i>takeni-</i>	2sg>1du 2du>1du 2du>1sg	you>us2 you2>us2 you2>me
<i>takwa-</i>	2sg>1pl 2du>1pl 2pl>1pl 2pl>1sg	you>us3+ you2>us3+ you3+>us3+ you3+>me
<i>hshe-</i>	2sg>Flsg 2sg>3ns	you>her, someone you>them2+
<i>htsh(e)-</i>	2sg>Msg	you>him
<i>hs(e)-/ts-</i>	2sg>FZsg	you>her, it - animal
<i>ionk(e)-</i>	Flsg>1sg 3ns>1sg	her, someone>me them2+>me
<i>ionkhi-</i>	Flsg>1sg 3ns>1sg	her, someone>me Them2+>me
<i>ionsa-/ies-a-</i>	Flsg>2sg 3ns>2sg	her, someone>you Them2+>you
<i>ietshi-</i>	Flsg>2ns 3ns>2ns 2ns>3ns 2ns>Flsg	her, someone>you2+ them>you2+ you2+>them you2+>her, someone
<i>iontat(e)-</i>	Flsg>Flsg 3ns>Flsg	her, someone>her, someone them>her, someone
<i>ronwa-</i>	Flsg>Msg 3ns>Msg	her, someone>him them>him
<i>konwa-</i>	Flsg>FZsg 3ns>FZsg	her, someone>her, it - animal them>her, it - animal

<i>rak(e)-</i>	Msg>1sg	he>me
<i>hshonkeni-</i>	Msg>1du	he>us two
<i>hshonkwa-</i>	Msg>1pl	he>us 3+
<i>hia-</i>	Msg>2sg	he>you
<i>htshiseni-</i>	Msg>2du 2du>Msg	he>yous two
<i>htshisewa-</i>	Msg>2pl 2pl>Msg	he>yous 3+
<i>hshako-</i>	Msg>3ns Msg>F1sg	he>her, them, someone
<i>ro-</i>	Msg>Msg FZsg>Msg	he>him her, it-animal>him
<i>hra-</i>	Msg>FZsg	he>her, it-animal

# Section 4: Iorihwawénhte | Appendix

## Oh nontiè:ren wa'akwakarahià:ton | Why did we write this story?

We created this story with the objective to utilize almost all C-stem transitive pronouns whilst providing illustrations to create clear visual context. The story is meant for anyone who wishes to learn Kanien'kéha transitive pronouns as well as parents with young children who wish to read them a bed-time story. In addition to the book, we have created this linguistic appendix for anyone looking for extra learning resources concerning transitive pronouns, as well as a few exercise pages that go along with the story to test knowledge of the pronouns.

Lacking from the story is an inclusion of many other subjective and objective pronouns, as well as the different stem forms of the pronouns. Though many of the C-stem transitive pronouns are utilized in the story, not all were included.

## What is a “transitive pronoun”?

In English, pronouns are words used to refer to people or entities. English pronouns express person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd), number (singular and plural) and gender (she, he, it). Person in English distinguishes between the speaker(s) (1st person: I/we), the addressee(s) (2nd person: you/yous), or someone who doesn't belong to either of those categories (3rd person: she/he/it/they). Number distinguishes between the amount of people being spoken about, and includes singular and plural in English (I vs. we, you vs. yous, she/he/it vs. they). Finally, gender denotes the gender of the referent, and might include feminine, masculine, and neuter (she, he, it, and they). These pronouns also might look different depending on where they are in the sentence (we/he/she vs. us/him/her).

Kanien'kéha, like English, has some stand-alone pronouns that appear on their own (such as *ì:'i*, “I”, or *í:se*, “you”). However, Kanien'kéha also has **pronominal prefixes** that appear at the beginning of every noun and verb, which indicate the people or things being talked about in a sentence. These prefixes also distinguish person, number, and gender, in some more specific ways than English (for example, there are separate prefixes for when you are talking about two people (dual) versus more than two people (plural)). There are three groups of pronominal prefixes: subjective (or agent), objective (or patient), and transitive. For the purposes of this story, we focus solely on transitive pronouns.

A transitive pronoun attaches to the beginning of transitive verbs, which are verbs that express an action, situation, or relation of one individual (the subject, or agent) that affects another individual (the object, or patient). An example of a transitive sentence in English is “I see **her**”, where “I” is the agent and is in control of the action, while “her” is the patient, the receiver of the action. In Kanien'kéha, this sentence can be expressed with just one word, by attaching the transitive pronominal prefix that means “I > her” to the verb that means “see”.

Khé:kens.  
khe-kens  
1sg>FI-see  
I>her  
'I see her.'

In the “glosses” for these forms (the abbreviations underneath the words that we use to indicate what they mean), the > symbol that we use for transitive prefixes expresses the direction of the relation. In this case, the pronoun **khe** expresses both “I” and “her,” specifically that “I” is acting on (>) “her.”

## What is a “kinship term”?

Kinship terms are words that we use to express family relationships (such as mother, father, grandmother, older sister, little brother, etc. in English). In Kanien’kéha, these terms are actually verbs. Every kinship term has a transitive pronoun attached to it to indicate the two people involved in the kinship relation. One example of this is the word “rake’níha,” (my father), which can also be translated as “he fathers me.”

Rake’níha.  
rake-’níha  
Msg>1sg-father  
he>me  
'He fathers me./'My father.'

But how can we tell who is the “agent” and who is the “patient” in these relationships? In Kanien’kéha, a good general rule is that the older person in the relationship will be the agent and the younger person will be the patient. For example, there are two different words for “sibling” in Kanien’kéha, and they use different transitive pronominal prefixes based on the age difference:

Raktsì:’a  
rak-tsi’  
Msg>1sg-older.sibling  
he>me  
'He’s my older brother.'

Ri’kèn:’a  
ri-’ken’a  
1sg>Msg-younger.sibling  
I>him  
'He’s my younger brother.'



Overall, transitive pronominal prefixes are prefixes that attach to the beginning of a verb to denote the participants in an action, situation, or relationship. The agent is generally the doer of the action, while the patient is the receiver of the action. Kinship terms express relationships using transitive pronouns, and in these terms, the older person is the agent and the younger person is the patient.

## What is a “stem”?

In Kanien’kéha, the form of a noun or verb can affect what a pronominal prefix will sound like. Kanien’kéha verb stems are categorized based on the sound that they start with, and these sounds affect what the pronominal prefixes look like. In this story, we focus mostly on “C-stems,” meaning verbs that start with a consonant. The other stem categories include A-stems, I-stems, E/En-stems, and O/On-stems. Here is an example of a “C-stem” pronominal prefix from the story:

lethiia’tisákha  
iethi-ia’t-isak-ha  
1incl.pl>FI-body-seek-PURP  
we all>her  
‘We all look for her.’

The written *i* in Kanien’kéha is pronounced like the English *y* when it is before another vowel. For that reason, *-ia’t-* (body) counts as a C-stem and gets a C-stem pronominal prefix. The form of the pronominal prefix *iethi-* would look slightly different if it came before a verb stem that starts with a different sound.

## Why do some pronouns look different than expected?

When you refer to a list or a table of transitive pronouns, you’ll notice that some of them will look a little bit different than they do in the story. This section touches on a few of those differences.

### Deleting *w* and *i/y* from the beginning of a pronoun prefix

The pronouns at the beginning of kinship terms will often look different to how they will look in a pronoun chart. The following three kinship terms are examples of when the consonants (*w*) or (*i/y*) get deleted when they are at the front of a verb.

ake’nisténha  
(w)ake-’nistenha  
FZsg>1sg-mother  
she>me  
‘my mother’

o’nisténha  
(i)o-’nistenha  
FZsg>FZsg-mother  
she>her-mother  
‘her mother’

ontate’nisténha  
(i)ontate-nistenha  
FI>FI-mother  
she>her-mother  
‘her mother’

These consonants are always deleted at the beginning of kinship terms. They are also often deleted when the words they attach to describe nouns (such as *à*:there, ‘basket’ and *ó*:kwire, ‘tree’).

## Why do some prefixes have an (h) and (e) in front?

The (h) in parentheses for some of the prefixes that is often seen in pronoun charts and tables is present because when a pronoun prefix has another prefix attached before it (like the negation prefix *te-*), this (h) gets inserted.

Sheienté:ri	lah	te <sub>h</sub> sheienté:ri
she-ienteri	iah	te- <sub>h</sub> she-ienteri
2sg>FI-know	NEG	NEG-2sg>FI-know
you>her		you>her
'You know her.'		'You don't know her.'

The (e) in the parentheses for some of the prefixes that you might see in pronoun charts and tables is present because in some dialects of Kanien'kéha, this (e) at the beginning is still pronounced (but most speakers today drop this (e)). In this story, we did not include it.

<u>Our story:</u>	<u>Some dialects of Kanien'kéha:</u>
Tshiteniia'tisákha	Etshiteniia'tisákha
tshiteni-ia't-isak-ha	etshiteni-ia't-isak-ha
1incl.du>Msg-body-see-PURP	1incl.du>Msg-body-see-PURP
we two>him	we two>him
'We two look for him.'	'We two look for him.'

## Why do some prefixes have an r that turns into h?

Many of the masculine pronominal prefixes start with an **r**. However, you may notice that in the story, some of the masculine prefixes start with **h**. This is because the **r** becomes an **h** when there is another prefix attached to the front of the pronoun prefix.

en <sub>h</sub> iiatíhsake'	Riia'tí:saks!
en-ri-ia't-ihsak-e'	ri-ia't-isak-s
FUT-1sg>Msg-body-see-PUNC	1sg>Msg-body-see-HAB
I>him	I>him
'I will look for him.'	'I am looking for him.'

As you can see in these examples, when there is another prefix before the masculine prefix (in this case, the future prefix *en-*), the **r** becomes an **h**.

## **How to read a pronoun table?**

All of the transitive pronoun forms used in our story are shown in the tables below. The "subject" of the transitive relation is noted in the red column, while the "object" of that relation is noted in the blue row. For example, the table demonstrates that the prefix **kon-** means I > you (1sg>2sg), since it is located in the **1sg (I)** row and **2sg (you)** column.

**Pronoun table 1 (feminine forms only)**

OBJ/P → SUBJ/A ↓	2sg you	2du you 2	2pl you all	1sg me	1du us 2	1pl us all	FZsg her/it	FI she/the m	FZdu/pl them (Fs)
2sg you				take	takeni	takwa	(h)se	(h)she	
2du you 2				takeni	takeni	takwa	seni	ietshi	
2pl you all				takwa	takwa	takwa	sewa		
1sg I	kon	keni	kwa				ke	khe	
1ex.du s.o. & I	keni	keni	kwa				iakeni	iakhi	
1ex.pl they & I	kwa	kwa	kwa				iakwa		
1in.du you & I							teni	iethi	
1in.pl you all & I							tewa		
FZsg she/it	sa	seni	sewa	wake	ionkeni	ionkwa	io	iako	
FI she/they	iesa	ietshi		ionke	ionkhi		konwa	iontate	konwati
FZdu/pl they (Fs)								iakoti	

**Pronoun table 2 (masculine forms only)**

OBJ/P → SUBJ/A ↓	2sg you	2du you 2	2pl you all	1sg me	1du us 2	1pl us all	Msg him	Mdu/pl them (Ms)	
2sg you				take	takeni	takwa	(e)tshe	(h)she	
2du you 2				takeni	takeni	takwa	(e)tshiseni	ietshi	
2pl you all				takwa	takwa	takwa	(e)tshisewa		
1sg I	kon	keni	kwa				ri	khe	
1ex.du s.o. & I	keni	keni	kwa				(h)shakeni	iakhi	
1ex.pl they & I	kwa	kwa	kwa				(h)shakwa		
1in.du you & I							(e)tshiteni	iethi	
1in.pl you all & I							(e)tshitewa		
Msg he	(h)ia	(e)tshisen i	(e)tshisewa	rake	(h)shonkeni	(h)shonkwa	ro	(h)shako	
Mdu/pl they (Ms)	iesa	ietshi		ionke	ionkhi		ronwa	(h)shakoti	ronwati

## Section 5: Exercises

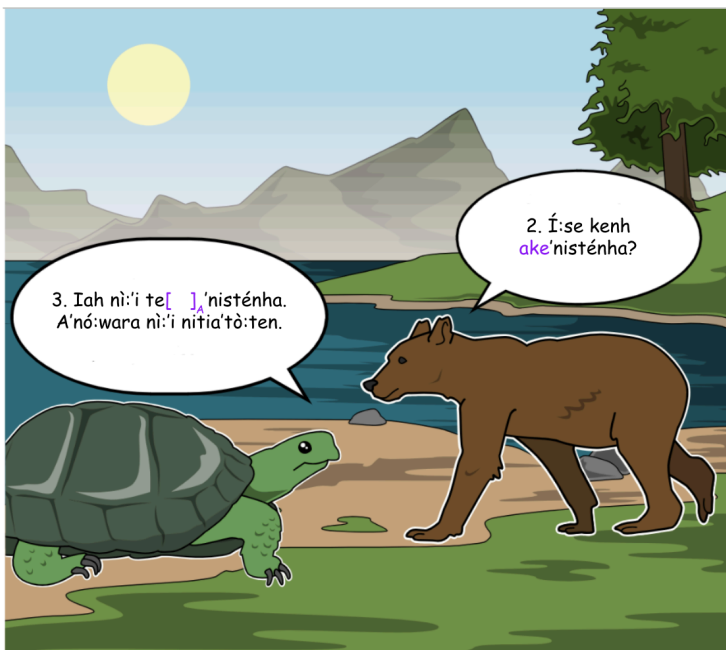


1. I lost my mother! (She disappeared from me!)

A. \_\_\_\_\_

I must go find (her,) my mother.

B. \_\_\_\_\_

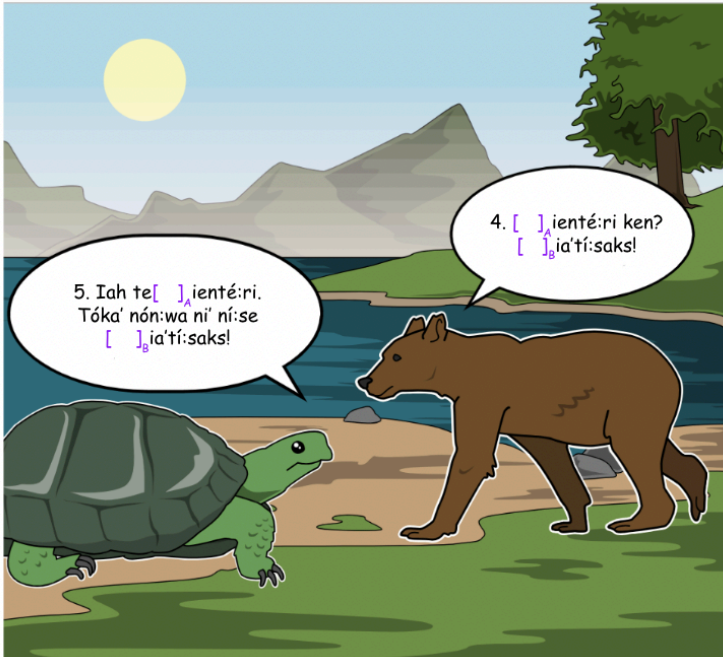


2. Are you my mother?

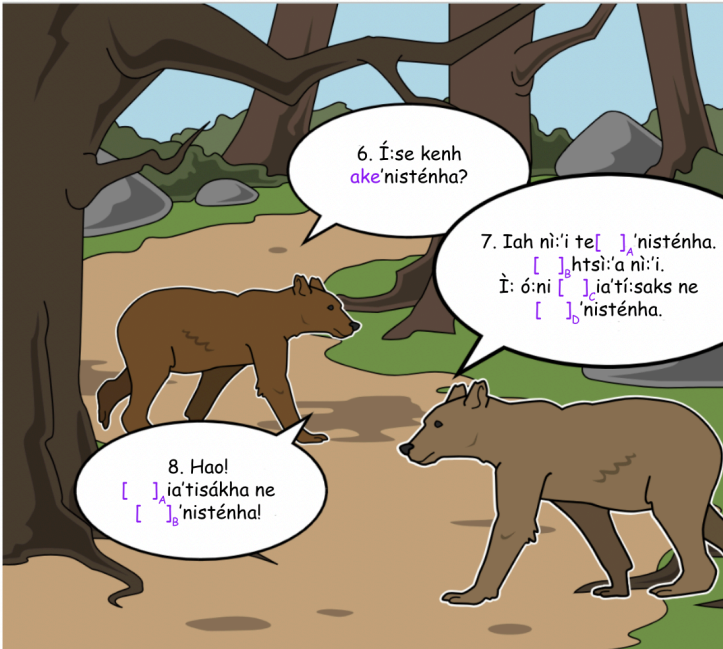
3. I am not your mother.

A. \_\_\_\_\_

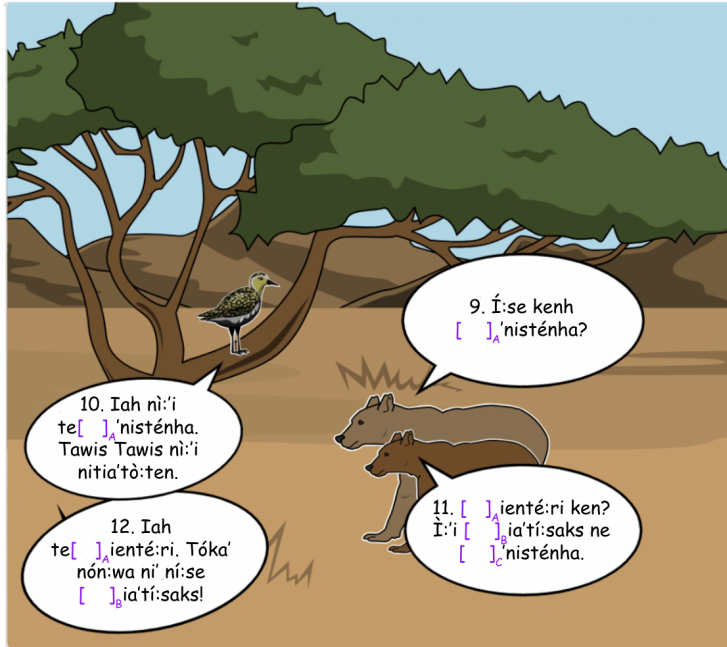
I am a turtle.



4. Do **you** know **her**?  
A. \_\_\_\_\_  
I am looking for **her**.  
B. \_\_\_\_\_
5. I do not know **her**.  
A. \_\_\_\_\_  
Maybe **she** is looking for **you**, too!  
B. \_\_\_\_\_

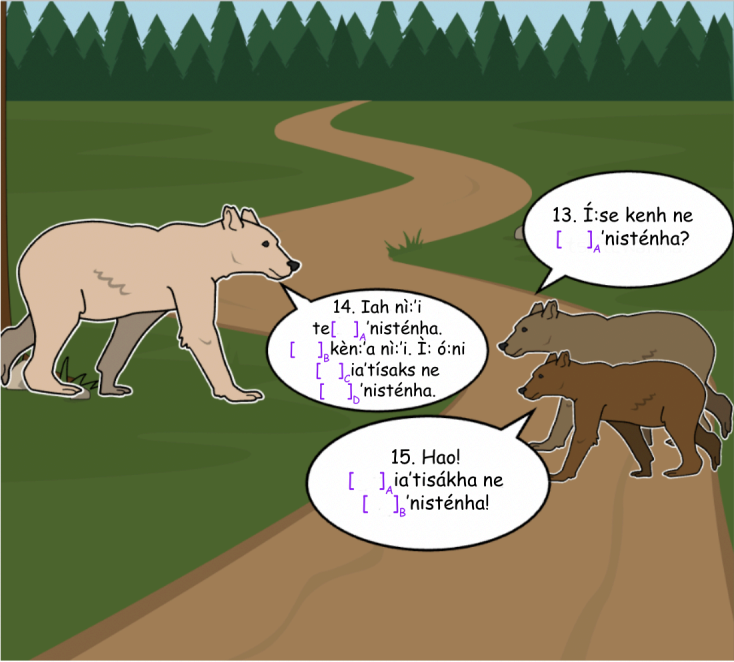


6. Are you my mother?
7. I am not your mother. (I am not a mother to **you**.)
- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
I am your younger sibling. (I am a younger sibling to **you**).
- B. \_\_\_\_\_  
I am also looking for our mother. (I am also looking for **her**...
- C. \_\_\_\_\_  
**she** mothers **us two** (our mother)).
- D. \_\_\_\_\_
8. Ok! Let's **us two** go look for **her**...
- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
our mother (**she** mothers **us two**).
- B. \_\_\_\_\_



9. Are you our mother? (Do **you** mother **us two**?)  
A. \_\_\_\_\_
10. I am not your mother. (I am not a mother to **you two**.)  
A. \_\_\_\_\_  
I am a snipe.
11. Do **you** know **her**?  
A. \_\_\_\_\_  
We are looking for her... (**We two, but not you**, are looking for **her**...)  
B. \_\_\_\_\_  
...our mother. (...**she** who mothers **us two**).  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
12. **I** do not know **her**.  
A. \_\_\_\_\_  
Maybe **she** is looking for **you two**, too!  
B. \_\_\_\_\_





13. Are you our mother? (Do **you** mother **us two**?)

A. \_\_\_\_\_

14. I am not your mother. (I am not a mother to **you two**).

A. \_\_\_\_\_

I am your older sibling. (I am an older sibling to **you two**).

B. \_\_\_\_\_

I am also looking for **her**...

C. \_\_\_\_\_

**she** who mothers **us all**.

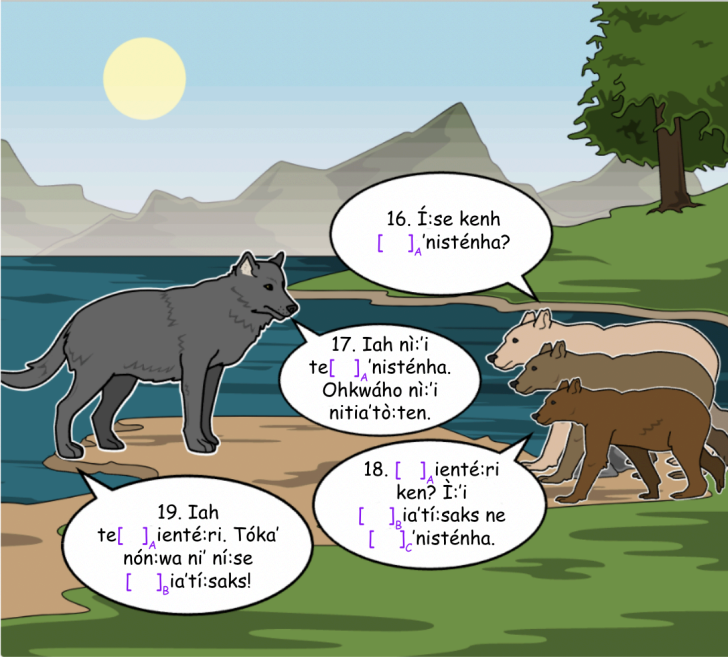
D. \_\_\_\_\_

15. Ok! Let's **us all** go look for **her**,

A. \_\_\_\_\_

**she** who mothers **us all**.

B. \_\_\_\_\_



16. Are you our mother? (Do **you** mother **us all**?)

A. \_\_\_\_\_

17. I am not your mother. (I am not a mother to **you all**.)

A. \_\_\_\_\_

I am a wolf.

18. Do **you** know **her**?

A. \_\_\_\_\_

We are looking for her... (**we all, but not you**, are looking for **her**...)

B. \_\_\_\_\_

...our mother. (**she** who mothers **us all**.)

C. \_\_\_\_\_

19. I do not know **her**.

A. \_\_\_\_\_

Maybe **she** is looking for **you all**, too!

B. \_\_\_\_\_



20. Ka'ní:iens ne  
[ ]<sub>A</sub>'nisténha?

21. Akwé:kon ken  
[ ]<sub>A</sub>'ia'tí:saks ne  
[ ]<sub>B</sub>'nisténha?

22. Hen!  
[ ]<sub>A</sub>'ia'tí:saks ne  
[ ]<sub>B</sub>'nisténha.

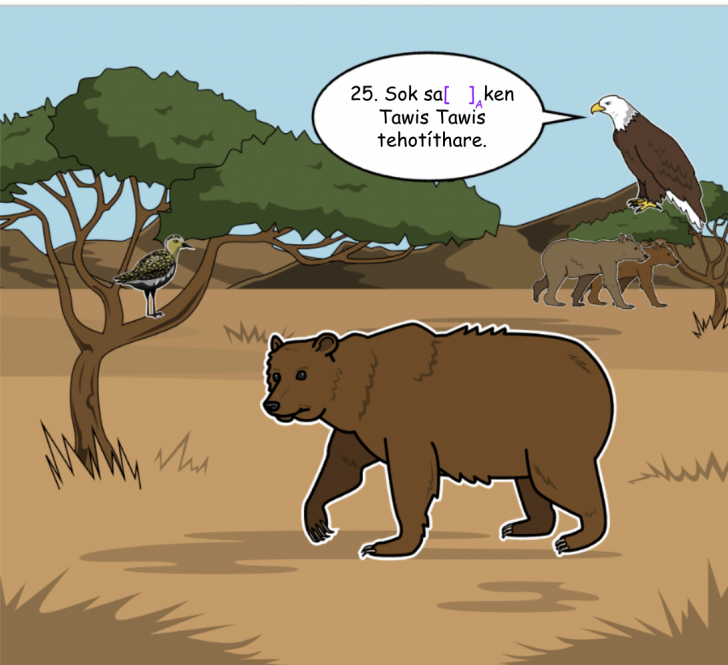
23. [ ]<sub>A</sub>'nisténha  
[ ]<sub>B</sub>rihwanontón:nis ronátia'ke:  
"[ ]<sub>C</sub>ken ken ne [ ]<sub>B</sub>ien'okòn:'a?"

20. Where is our mother!?! (Where is **she** who mothers **us all**?)
- A. \_\_\_\_\_
21. Are **you all** looking for **her**...
- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
...your mother? (...**she** who mothers **you all**?)
- B. \_\_\_\_\_
22. Yes! We are looking for her... (**We all, but not you**, are looking for **her**...)
- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
...our mother. (**she** who mothers **us all**.)
- B. \_\_\_\_\_
23. Your mother... (**she** who mothers **you all**...)
- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
...**she** has been going around asking **others**:
- B. \_\_\_\_\_  
"Have **you** seen **them**..."
- C. \_\_\_\_\_  
...my children?" (**I** am a parent to **them**)
- D. \_\_\_\_\_



24. Not too long ago, I saw her talking with Turtle.

A. \_\_\_\_\_



25. Then I saw her again talking with Snipe.

A. \_\_\_\_\_

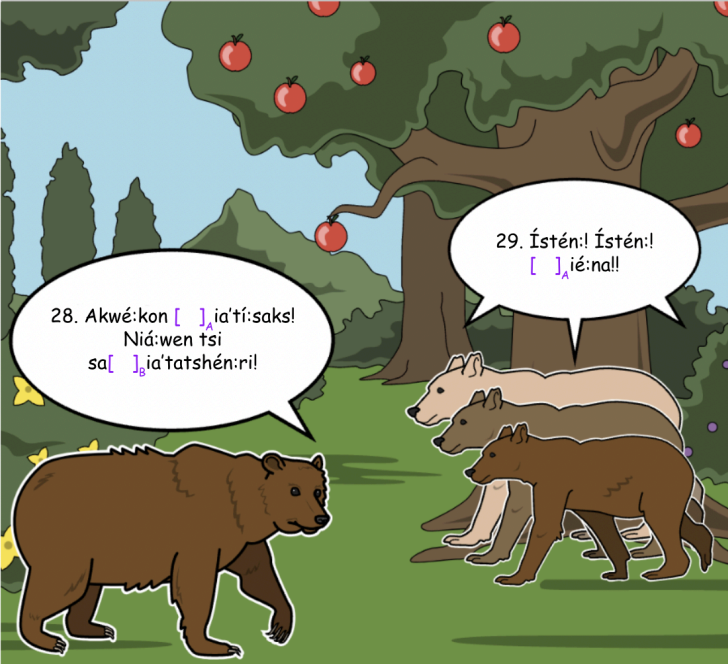


26. Then I saw her again talking with Wolf.

A. \_\_\_\_\_



27. Turn around, all of you. She is standing behind you all.



28. Akwé:kon [ ɣ ]ia'ti:saks!  
 Niá:wen tsi  
 sa[ ɣ ]ia'tatshén:ri!

29. Ístén! Ístén!  
 [ ɣ ]ié:na!

28. I have been looking for you all!

A. \_\_\_\_\_

Thank goodness I have found you all again!

B. \_\_\_\_\_

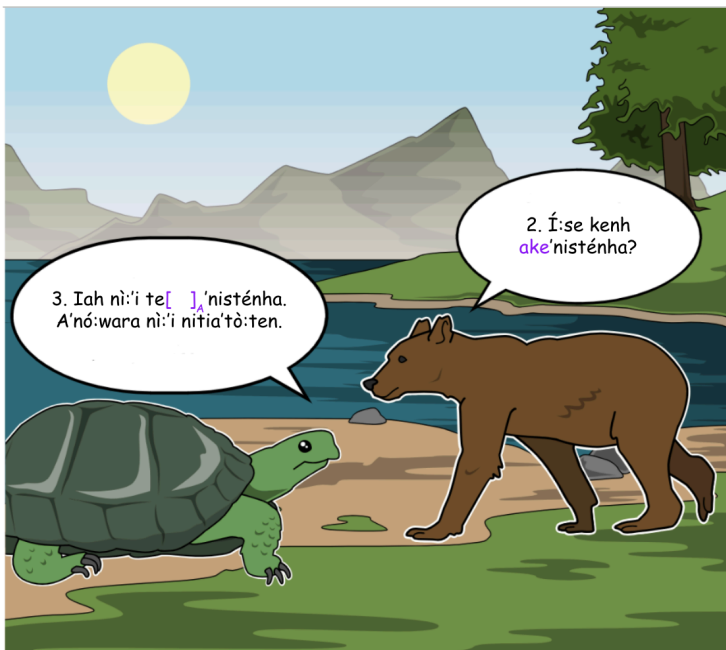
29. Mama! Mama! You hold us!

A. \_\_\_\_\_

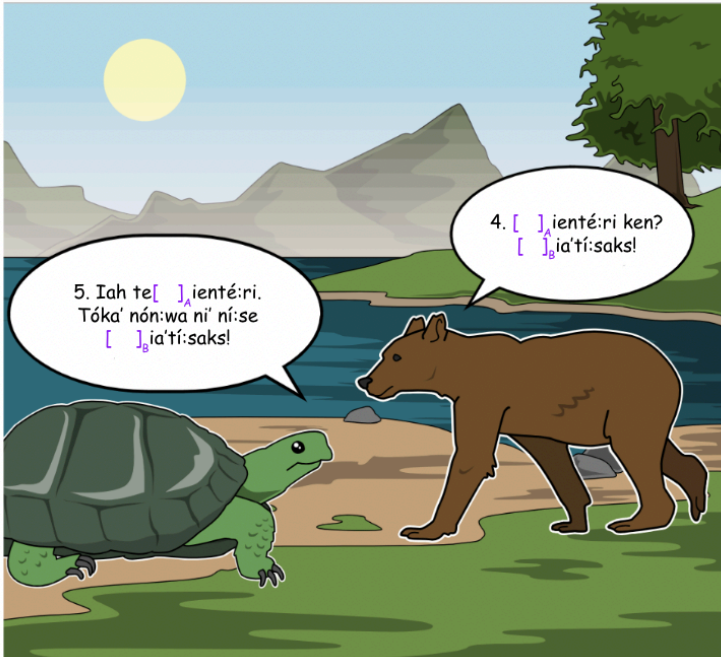
## Section 6: Solutions to the exercises



1.
  - A. ont (wa'ontia'tahton), she/they > me / FI > 1sg
    - a. meaning: "She disappeared from me"
  - B. khe (enkheia'tísake'), I > her/them / 1sg > FI
    - a. meaning: "I must find her"

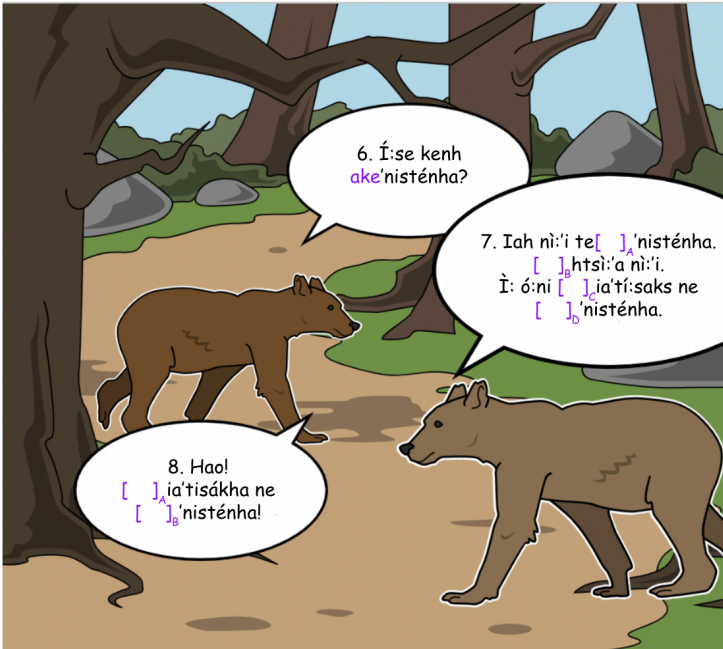


3.
  - A. kon (tekon'nisténha), I > you / 1sg > 2sg
    - a. meaning: "I am not your mother"



- 4.
- A. **she** (sheienté:ri), **you > her / 2sg > FI**
    - a. meaning: "you know her"
  - B. **khe** (kheia'tí:saks), **I > her / 1sg > FI**
    - a. meaning: "I am looking for her"
- 5.
- A. **khe** (tekheienté:ri), **I > her / 1sg > FI**
    - a. meaning: "I do not know her"
  - B. **ionsa** (ionsaia'tí:saks), **she > you / FI > 2sg**
    - a. meaning: "she is looking for you"



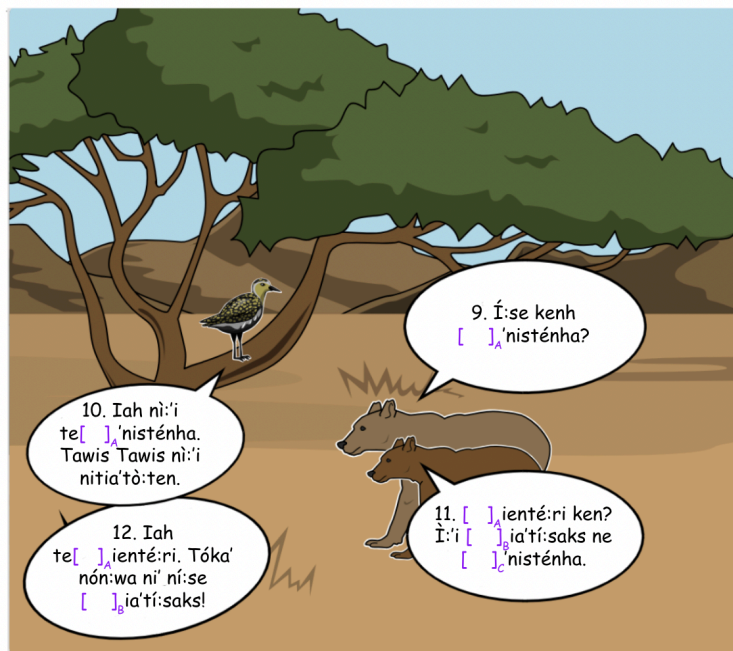


7.

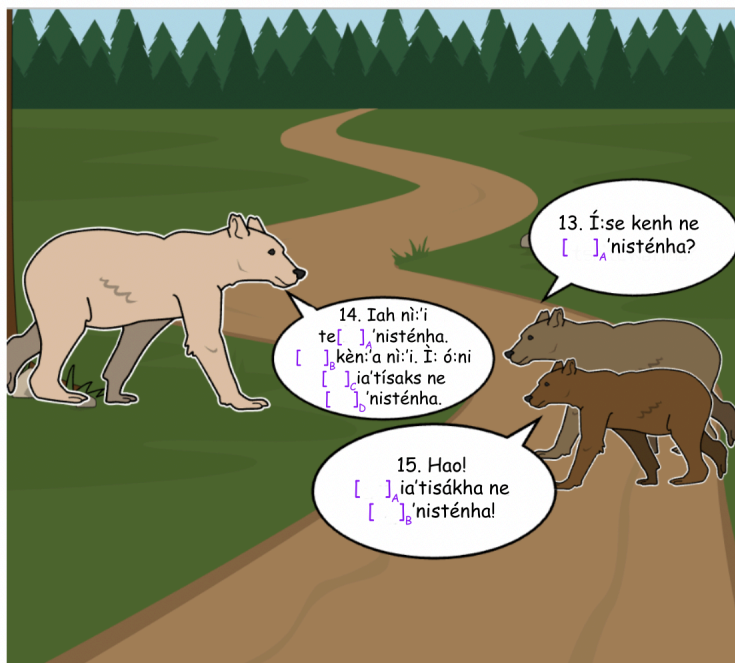
- A. **kon** (tekon'nisténha), I > you / 1sg > 2sg  
a. meaning: "I am not your mother"
- B. **kon** (konhtsi:'a), I > you / 1sg > 2sg  
a. meaning: "I am your older sibling"
- C. **khe** (kheia'tí:saks), I > her / 1sg > FI  
a. meaning: "I am looking for her"
- D. **ionkhi** (ionkhinisténha), she > us 2 / FI > 1du  
a. meaning: "our mother"

8.

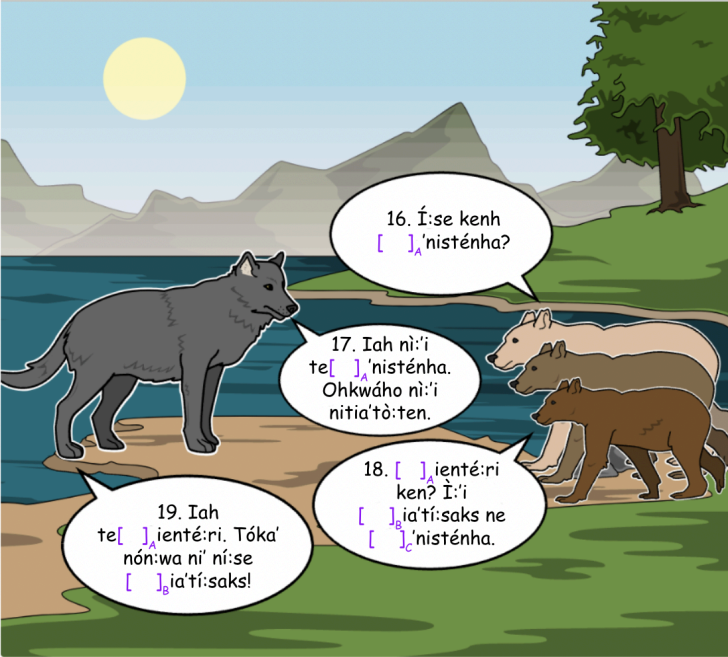
- A. **iethi** (iethiia'tisákha), we 2 > her / 1in.du > FI  
a. meaning: "we 2 look for her"
- B. **ionkhi** (ionkhinisténha), she > us 2 / FI > 1du  
a. meaning: "our mother"



- 9.
- A. **takeni** (**takeni'**nisténha), **you > us 2 / 2sg > 1du**  
 a. meaning: "you are our two's mother"
- 10.
- A. **keni** (**tekeni'**nisténha), **I > you 2 / 1sg > 2du**  
 a. meaning: "not your mother"
- 11.
- A. **she** (**sheienté:ri**), **you > her / 2sg > FI**  
 a. meaning: "you know her"
- B. **iakhi** (**iakhii'a'tí:saks**), **we 2 > her / 1ex.du > FI**  
 a. meaning: "we 2 are looking for her"
- C. **ionkhi** (**ionkhinisténha**), **she > us 2 / FI > 1du**  
 a. meaning: "our mother"
- 12.
- A. **khe** (**tekheienté:ri**), **I > her / 1sg > FI**  
 a. meaning: "I do not know her"
- B. **ietshi** (**ietshii'a'tí:saks**), **she > you 2 / FI > 2du**  
 a. meaning: "she is looking for you two"



- 13.
- A. **takeni** (**takeni'**nisténha), **you > us two / 2sg > 1du**
    - a. meaning: “you are our two’s mother”
- 14.
- A. **keni** (**tekeni'**nisténha), **I > you 2 / 1sg > 2du**
    - b. meaning: “not your mother”
  - B. **keni** (**kenikèn:'a**), **I > you 2 / 1sg > 2du**
    - a. meaning: “your younger sibling”
  - C. **khe** (**kheia'tí:saks**), **I > her / 1sg > FI**
    - a. meaning: “I am looking for her”
  - D. **ionkhi** (**ionkhinisténha**), **she > us all / FI > 1pl**
    - a. meaning: “our mother”
- 15.
- A. **iethi** (**iethiia'tisákha**), **we all > her / 1in.pl > FI**
    - a. meaning: “we all look for her”
  - B. **ionkhi** (**ionkhinisténha**), **she > us all / FI > 1pl**
    - a. meaning: “our mother”



- 16.
- A. **takwa** (takwa'nisténha), you > us all / 2sg > 1pl  
a. meaning: "you are our mother"
- 17.
- A. **kwa** (tekwanisténha), I > you all / 1sg > 2pl  
a. meaning: "not your mother"
- 18.
- A. **she** (sheienté:ri), you > her / 2sg > FI  
a. meaning: "you know her"
- B. **iakhi** (iakhiia'tí:saks), we all > her / 1ex.pl > FI  
a. meaning: "we all are looking for her"
- C. **ionkhi** (ionkhinisténha), she > us all / FI > 1pl  
a. meaning: "our mother"
- 19.
- A. **khe** (tekheienté:ri), I > her / 1sg > FI  
a. meaning: "I do not know her"
- B. **ietshi** (ietshiiatí:saks), she > you all / FI > 2pl  
a. meaning: "she is looking for you all"



20. A. **ionkhi** (**ionkhi'**nisténha), **she > us all / FI > 1pl**  
 a. meaning: "our mother"
21. A. **ietshi** (**ietshii'a'tí:saks**), **you all > her / 2pl > FI**  
 a. meaning: "you are looking for her"  
 B. **ietshi** (**ietshi'**nisténha), **she > you all / FI > 2pl**  
 a. meaning: "your mother"
22. A. **iakhi** (**iakhiia'tí:saks**), **we all > her / 1ex.pl > FI**  
 a. meaning: "we all are looking for her"  
 B. **ionkhi** (**ionkhi'**nisténha), **she > us all / FI > 1pl**  
 a. meaning: "our mother"
23. A. **ietshi** (**ietshi'**nisténha), **she > you all / FI > 2pl**  
 a. meaning: "your mother"  
 B. **ronwati** (**ronwati'rihwanontón:nis**), **she > them / FI > Mpl**  
 a. meaning: "she is asking them"  
 C. **ietshi** (**ietshi:ken**), **you all > them / 2pl > Mpl**  
 a. meaning: "you all see them"  
 D. **khe** (**kheien'okòn:'a**), **I > them / 1sg > Mpl**  
 a. meaning: "my children"



24.

- A. **khe** (wa'khé:ken), I > her / 1sg > FI  
 a. meaning: "I saw her"



25.

- A. **khe** (sakhé:ken), I > her / 1sg > FI  
 a. meaning: "I saw her again"



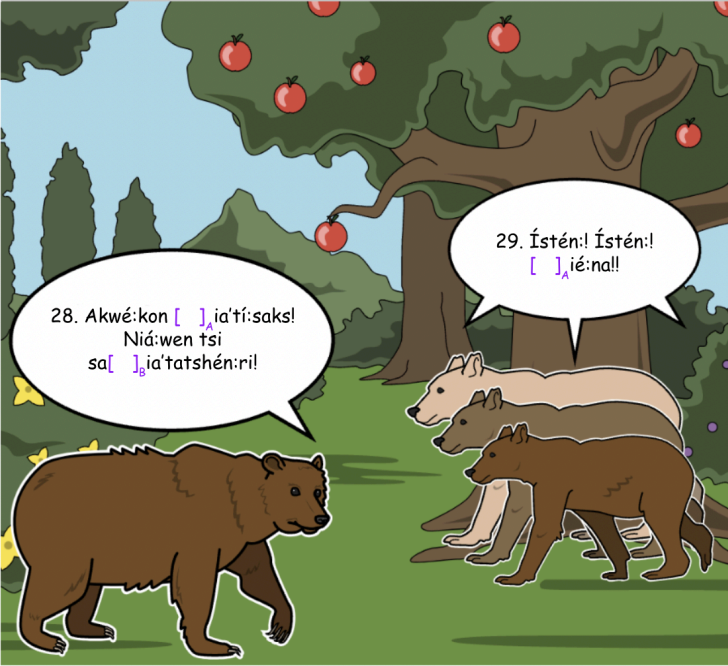
26.

- A. **khe** (sakhé:ken), I > her / 1sg > FI
  - a. meaning: "I saw her again"



27.

- A. Not applicable



- 28.
- A. **kwa** (**kw**ia'tí:saks), I > you all / 1sg > 2pl
    - a. meaning: "I have been looking for you all!"
  - B. **kwa** (**sa**kwia'tatshén:ri), I > you all / 1sg > 2pl
    - a. meaning: "I have found you all"
- 29.
- A. **takwa** (**ta**kwaié:na), you > us / 2sg > 1pl
    - a. meaning: "hold us"