

**Mismatches, Disagreements, and “Grammatical” Metonymy:  
You don’t always get what you want!**

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- “Agreement” is not always (semantically, syntactically) routine.

**To warm up, examples of regular reference (no new grammatical constraints), but less frequent**

- Kinship—the use of junior kinship stem to refer to senior member:

- (1) Jake ní· lakeʔníha. 3M.SG>1SG  
Jake ní· lakyáha. 3M.SG>1SG  
‘Jake is my father.’ (Margaret Antone remarked *Né· tshá·kat*. ‘It’s the same.’)
- (2) Tsyo Kaníles lakyáha.  
Joe Cornelius 3M.SG>1SG-parent-child  
‘Joe Cornelius (is) my father.’ (PC, Family and Friends, 298(2))
- (3) Lizzieha ní· aknulháh. 3FZ>1SG  
Lizzieha ní· yúkyáha. 3FI>1SG  
‘Lizzie is my mother.’ (NK 04-21-08-2)
- (4) Lizzieha kháleʔ Jake yukyΛʔokúha. 3PL>1SG  
‘Lizzie and Jake are my parents.’ (NK 04-21-08-2)
- (5) NΛ kwí kaʔi·kÁ neʔn shakoyáhaʔ wahalihwi·sákeʔ neʔn lΛnukwehu·wé laotinúhkwaht.  
nΛ kwí kaʔikΛ neʔn shako-yΛhaʔ wa-ha-lihw-isak-eʔ  
so then this the 3M.SG>3FI-parent.child FACT-3M.SG.A-news-search-PNC  
neʔn lΛn-ukwe-huwe laoti-nuhkwaht  
the 3M.PL.A-person-native 3M.PL.POSS-medicine  
‘Then her father (*not* his daughter) sought out Oneida medicine.’  
(Wisc. Ukwehuwehnéha Onúhkwaht, p.35)

**Mismatches—inside of a single word**

- need to keep separate the sort of the entity described and the pronominal argument
- senior kinship terms with FZ prefix but referred to with a verb that has FI prefix:

- (6) ThoʔnÁ kΛh né· nukwá· yako-nyák-uʔ ak-sótha.  
and then over here 3FI.P-marry-STV 3FZ.SG>1SG-grandparent  
‘And then my grandmother married over here.’ (HC, Starting Life Together, 179(5))

- some terms can have FZ or FI; the term and the verb don't need to “agree”:

(7) Tahnú· kʌs tho nú· tsikaha·wí· aw-éluʔuske? kʌs  
and then customarily in those times **3FZ.SG.P-witch** customarily

kuw-athlolí,

3>**3FZ.SG-tell.about**[STV]

‘And in those times, they used to talk about a witch,’ (MD, Doris’s Ghost Story, (1))

(8) Waʔ-shako-hnútle-neʔ kaʔikʌ akaw-éluʔuskeʔ.  
FACT-3M.SG>**3FI-follow-PNC** this **3FI.P-witch**

‘He caught up to this witch.’ (NK, Father’s Encounter, 77(36))

(9) Waʔ-shako-ʔshʌ·ní· kiʔ sʌhaʔ la-ʔshátste-ʔ  
FACT-3M.SG>**3FI-overpower:PNC** actually more 3M.SG.A-strong-STV

la-ʔshátste-ʔ tsiʔ né· ni·yót kaʔikʌ aw-éluʔuskeʔ.  
3M.SG.A-strong-STV as assertion how it is this **3FZ.SG.P-witch**

‘He overpowered her because he was stronger than this witch.’ (NK, Father’s Encounter, 77(38))

- In some cases, the term (or verb) seems to be lexicalized with the FZ, even when the referent is male:

(10) Wé·neʔ kiʔ wah, hʌ·, kʌʔ kiʔ ok tshi-ka-papisl-á·  
I suppose so yes small only COIN-**3FZ.SG.A-baby-small:STV**

tsh-aʔ-ya-ihey-eʔ

lo-nulhaʔ-kʌ.

COIN-FACT-3FI.SG.A-die-PNC

**3FZ.SG>3M.SG-mother-deceased**

‘I suppose so, yes, he was kind of just a little baby when his mother died.’ (PC, Family 307(100))

(11) Yah thyeʔ-ka-ye·lí· thikʌ Sawátis.  
not CONTR:TRNL-**3FZ.SG.A-right:STV** that **John**

‘John is not serious, he’s being silly.’

- In some cases, the FZ.SG term is ambiguous with respect to singular or plural reference. For example, *kaʔyohkwanʌ* ‘large crowd’ with the FZ.SG is the quantity expression used for many animate entities; the verb that co-occurs with this term, though, has a plural prefix (this is true also in English, as in *a large crowd is/are lining up at the stadium* or *the faculty decides/decide on a host of policy issues*.) A speaker may have in mind the group or set, or the members of the group or set.

(12) Kháleʔ nʌ kwí· kʌ-ityohkwanʌ akw-at-auntie-hokúha yah kátshaʔ  
and so then **3FZ.SG.A -large.crowd**[STV] 1SG.POSS-SRF-auntie-PLUR nowhere

teʔ-s-ku·n-é·seʔ

NEG-REP-**3FZ.PL.A-walk-HAB**

‘And all my aunts aren’t around anymore.’ (MD, My Childhood, 297(117))

**Dyadic kinship terms**—these also are a mismatch inside of a single word; dual or plural pronominal but singular referent, “half” the relation:

- sibling (e.g. -atλhnutl- ‘sister, brother, sibling’)

(13) kwáh tho lak-hnutláti-? te-yaky-atahnu·tél-e? Lyle,  
just there **3M.SG>1SG-follow.along-STV** DCL-**1EX.DU.A-sibling-STV** **Lyle**  
‘my brother Lyle was right behind me,’ (MD, Doris’s Ghost Story, (3))

(14) né· kwí· kaʔiká ak-sot-ká te-ky-atahnútl-ahkwe?,  
so this **3FZ.SG>1SG-grandparent-late** DLC-**3FZ.DU.A-be.sibling-PAST**  
‘so like this was my late grandmother’s sister,’ (MD, A Man Tells Off His Boss, 14(1))

(15) Kátshaʔ né· ka·-yá· te-ky-atλhnu·tél-e? Karin.  
where FOCUS **3FZ.SG.A-put:STV** DCL-**1EX.DU.A-sibling-STV** **Karin**  
‘Which one is Karin’s sister?’ (NK, 04-21-08-4)

- spouse (lo·né· ‘husband, wife, spouse’, cf. lónaʔ ‘couple’)

(16) Nλ kwí· né· tú·skeʔ yako-nehlakú·-u lo·n·é·,  
so then it’s truly **3FL.P-surprised-STV** **3M.DP.P-spouse**  
‘So truly then his wife was amazed,’ (MD, A Man Tells Off His Boss, 15(5))

- friend (-atλlo-)

(17) Wakuʔkwéskwaniheʔ náleʔ waʔ-e-natahle·náv-eʔ uky-atá·ló·,  
I enjoy, take pleasure in when again FACT-**3FL.A-visit-PNC** **1DU.P-friend**  
nλ kwáh thok nú· só·tsiʔ yako-nolú·se-heʔ.  
now only thing is too much **3FL.A-lazy-HAB**  
‘I enjoy when my friend visits, only thing is she’s too lazy.’ (NK, 11-29-14-15)

- in-law (e.g. -atyoha ‘brother-in-law’)

(18) tsiʔ náhteʔ wa-h-atkátho-ʔ uky-atyóha,  
what FACT-**3M.SG.A-see-PNC** **1DU.P-brother-in-laws**  
‘what my brother-in-law saw,’ (MC, The Crow, 39(12))

- neighbour (-anuhsanekλ- ‘house side-by-side’)

(19) Te-hy-anuhsaneká kAS ak-sótha,  
DLC-**3M.DU.A-neighbour[STV]** habitually **3FZ.SG>1SG-grandparent**  
tsiʔ kAS ni-ho-lλʔnhá·-u a-ha-ka·látu-ʔ.  
how usually PART-**3M.SG.P-know.how-STV** OPT-**3M.SG.A-tell.stories-PNC**  
‘A neighbour of my grandmother used to be good at telling stories.’ (GN 1981, 12(14))

- referent can be plural as well as dual, but the referent is still only “half” the relation:

(20) te-yakw-at $\lambda$ hnutl-únyu-? Tsyo khále? Walte, ..., wa-hy-atoláth-a?  
 DU-**1EX.PL.A**-siblings-DISTR-STV Joe and Walter ..., FACT-**3M.DU.A**-go.to.hunt-PNC  
 ‘my brothers Joe and Walter, the two went hunting’ (CC, A Lifetime Working, 219(15))

(21) N $\lambda$  ki? wa-hu-náklat-e? te-tw-anuhsane·k $\lambda$ .  
 now actually **3M.PL.A**-move.in-PNC DLC-**1IN.PL.A**-neighbour[STV]  
 ‘They (the ones who are neighbours with me) are moving in next door.’ (GN, 12-12-81)

**Inclusory constructions**—with a plural pronominal and a singular external term; have been analyzed sometimes as comitatives, sometimes as coordination.

- -a? ‘spouse’

(22) [akw-at-aunticha kwí· lón-a?] tho wa-hy-ate?sléhtay $\lambda$ -?  
 1SG.POSS-SRF-auntie EMPH **3M.DP.P**-married.couple there FACT-**3M.DU.A**-park.a.vehicle-PNC  
 ‘my auntie and her husband parked the car’ (MD, My First Christmas Tree, 121(2))

- -e- ‘go, walk’

(23) N $\lambda$  kyale? wí· kwáh tyotyeláhtu uhte i·kélhe? uk-yo·tá·  
 So then again just the first time I think FACT:1SG.P-work:PNC  
 [lak-sótha wa?áko- $\underline{2}$ .]  
 3M.SG>1SG-grandparent FACT-**1EX.PL.A**-go-PNC  
 ‘I think the first time I worked we went with my grandfather.’ (MD, All About Tobacco, 260(90))

- -aht $\lambda$ ty- ‘leave, set out’

(24) áhsok k $\lambda$ s nále? [aknulhá· wa?akw-aht $\lambda$ ·tí·] astéhtsi?,  
 all of a sudden habitually then my mother FACT-**1EX.PL.A**-set.out,leave:PNC morning  
 ‘my mother and us just up and left in the early morning,’ (OE, Visits to My Auntie’s, 107(11))

- - $\lambda$ - ‘say’

(25) Yah kwí· né· náhte? te?-yúkn- $\lambda$  aknulhá·  
 not EMPH it’s anything NEG-**1DU.P**-say[STV] my mother  
 ‘My mother and I didn’t say anything’ (VC, A Lifetime of Memories, 313(24))

- -thal- ‘talk, converse’

(26) Yah se? ní· úhka? th-a?te-yakni-thál-hahkwe?  
 not EMPH me anyone CONTR-DLC-**1EX.DU.A**-converse-HAB.PAST  
 ‘I never spoke to anyone.’ (NK, 07-05-07)

- -kΛ- ‘see’

(27) [kwa·-kÁ-he? thikÁ loti-stó·sl-ot-e?,] tho nukwÁ· te-hs-ya?talátye?skwe?  
 1>2,PL-see-HAB that 3M.DP.P-feather-stand-STV that’s where DLC-2SG.A-go.among.PAST  
 ‘we see you with the feathered ones, that’s where you were going among’ (RC, Bat, 36(5))

- -atatΛΛ- ‘be left over’

(28) Né· kati? ní· áhsΛ ki? ok wí· ni-ts-yáky-u-? ní·  
 So anyway we three in fact only PART-REP-1EX.PL.A-amount-STV we  
 [ts-yukw-atatΛÁ khe-?kΛ?-okúha.]  
 REP-1PL.P-left[STV] 1SG>3-sibling-PLUR  
 ‘So anyway there are only three of us brothers and sisters left.’ (HC, Starting Life Tog., 181(17))

- -atla?- ‘meet (up with)’

(29) né· ka?ikÁ [wa?-t-hú-tla-ne? ka?ikÁ shayá·tat] Polish nahaya?tó·tΛ?  
 ‘it’s this FACT-DLC-3M.PL.A-meet-PNC this one person Polish what kind he is  
 ‘then they met this person, he was Polish’ (MD, All About Tobacco, 248(11))

(30) tahnú· wa?-t-yakw-átla-ne? kÁ· akw-atΛlo-?sl-a?-shúha.  
 and FACT-DLC-1EX.PL.A-meet-PNC y’know 1SG.POSS-friends-NMZR-NSF-PLUR  
 ‘(The other night I went out,) and I met up with my friends.’ (BS, Wintertime, 154(1))

- atatyΛtele?- ‘get to know one another’

(31) wa?-t-hy-atat-yΛ·téle-ne? ki? wí· ka?ikÁ wí· n laPolish.  
 FACT-DLC-3M.DL.A-REFL-recognize-PNC in fact this the Polish  
 ‘he [my father] and this Polish man got to know one another.’ (MD, All About Tobacco, 248(12))

- Also: -eht- ‘go somewhere’, -(e)w- ‘arrive’, -atawya?tahn- ‘go to school’, -atΛnayΛhn- ‘go to church’, -atitakhe- ‘ride in’, -khuni- ‘cook’, -nakle- ‘reside’, -nunyahkw- ‘dance’, -nyak- ‘marry’, -atΛnihaht- ‘take turns’, -atatekhunyΛ- ‘cook for one another’, -atut- ‘eat together’, -atyel- (with COIN and DLC) ‘do the same thing’

### • Inlusory construction can include a dyadic term

A dyadic term (such as ‘sibling’) can be part of an inlusory construction (35). Note that dyadic terms with an external noun, such as *Tsim yatanosáha* ‘Jim’s sister’, look like inlusory constructions. The dyadic term has a nonsingular prefix, and the external noun identifies one of the members of the (kin) relation. But the referent of the dyadic term is *singular*—the referent is only one of the two members in the relation (e.g. Jim’s *sister* in (35)). So dyadic structures need to be kept distinct from inlusories. They can co-occur though:

- (32) Tsim y-atanoʔsáha waʔ-ákn-eh̄t-eʔ.  
 Jim 3M.DU.A-siblings FACT-1EX.DU.A-go.somewhere-PNC  
 ‘I went [to the store] with Jim’s sister.’ (OE, 08-14-17)

### Metonymy

Metonymy (deferred reference) is a semantic phenomenon where there is a recognized, stable relationship between two classes of objects, and because of this stable relationship a member of one class is used sometimes to directly refer to an associated member of the other class. For example, *The saxophone has the flu* involves a stable relation between musicians and instruments, or *The pad thai is unhappy with his bill* involves the typical association between restaurant customers and dishes. In (36) there is a typical association between children and nationalities, and in (37) between possessor and possessed.

- (33) tsoʔk n-a-hon-ahutsy-ó-ta-ʔ tho lu-tayá-t-haʔ.  
 several PART-FACT-3M.DP.P-world-kind-PNC there 3M.PL.A-go.to.school-HAB  
 ‘all different nationalities went to school there.’ (MD, My Childhood, 295(107))

- (34) ne ki o·ná neʔn olihwi·yó tsiʔ wahoka·lí neʔn laotsenΛʔká.  
 ne ki oná neʔn olihwi·yó tsiʔ wa-ho-kaly-ʔ neʔn lao-tsenΛ-ʔ-ká  
 it’s then surely that FACT-3FZ.SG>3M.SG-bite-PNC this 3M.SG.POSS-pet-NSF-DEC  
 ‘(If it [this boat] goes a short distance and gets hung up, this boat where the bug is in,) then for sure it will bite the former owner of this pet.’ (Wisc. Witch Stories, p.139)

### “Grammatical” metonymy

In a purely semantic metonymy one syntactic expression is associated with two indices. But in “grammatical metonymy” there are two syntactic expressions, each associated with an index, and the two indices are “metonymically” related. Thus the relation between two terms is not one of strict co-indexing; importantly there is no overt syntactic coding of the relation. For example, in (38) the argument of the count verb -ke- ‘amount to’ (namely, bags) and the argument of the verb -ientho- ‘plant’ (namely, potatoes) have to be construed as being related to one other; there is no overt syntactic coding of that relation (as in English *bag of potatoes*). Several sub-types of this loose co-indexing are attested.

- container–contained

- (35) Tóhkaʔ s kwí· ni-ka-ya·l-á-ke waʔ-akwa-yátho-ʔ.  
 a few usually PART-3FZ.SG.A-bag-JN-amount.to[STV] FACT-1EX.PL.A-plant-PNC  
 ‘We planted a few bags [of potatoes].’ (GN, An Oneida Childhood, 213(117))

- (36) kháleʔ s-ka-ya·l-á-t ohnaná·taʔ tekahwístake nikano·lú·  
 and REP-3FZ.SG.A-bag-be.one[STV] potato two dollars it cost  
 ‘and one bag of potatoes costs two dollars.’ (MD, Grocery list)

(37) osahé·taʔ kwí· waʔ-kni-naʔts-iha·l-á·,  
 bean EMPH FACT-3FZ-DL-A-kettle-hang:PNC  
 ‘they boiled beans’ (NK, Beans in the Soup, 118-119(10))

• measure (or group)–ingredients (or members)

(38) Kwáh tsi’ niku skatshé:tat o:náste’ swatokwá:tslat baking soda áhsatste’.  
 Just however many one quart corn one tablespoon b.s. you will use  
 ‘For one quart of corn use one tablespoon of baking soda.’ (Cornelius et al. 1985, p. 63)

(39) yah teʔské·yaleʔ tá·tkΛ áhsΛ niwáshΛ tékni tsiʔ nikú oyú·kwaʔ  
 I don’t remember anymore whether thirty-two however many tobacco  
 tsiʔ kwí· ni-kΛ-thóhkwa-a-ke káh.  
 what PART-3FZ.SG.A-bundle-JN-amount.to[STV] y’know  
 ‘I don’t remember anymore if it was thirty-two, how many bundles of tobacco there were.’  
 (MD, All About Tobacco, 250(24))

• buildings–occupants

(40) tsiʔ nikú ka-núhs-ot-eʔ lati-farmer kwí· neʔ thó·neʔ.  
 however many 3Z.N.SG.A-house-stand-STV 3M.PL.A-farmer EMPH at that time  
 ‘It was like I guess every house was farmers at that time.’ (MD, My Childhood, 282(35))

• part–whole

(41) Aʔé· kwí· n-aʔte-yo-ta·l-á· yako-naʔal-o·l-ú.  
 great EMPH PART-DLC-3FZ.SG.P-brim-size:STV 3FI.P-brain-cover-STV  
 ‘And she was wearing a hat with a really broad brim.’ (GN, The Flirt, 33(14))

• object–stuff

(42) W-ahsohkw-iyó kaʔnhehsatásha yako-t-yá·t-ut-eʔ  
 3FZ.SG.A-colour-pretty[STV] taffeta 3FI.P-SRF-body-attach-STV  
 ‘She had on a taffeta blouse that was a pretty colour.’ (GN, The Flirt, 33(13))

(43) Lo-t-nakt-uny-á-ni-ʔ thiká lakeʔníha o·yáteʔ náhteʔ,  
 3M.SG.P-SRF-bed-make-JN-DISTR-STV that my father wood what  
 ‘My father made the beds out of wood,’ (GN, An Oneida Childhood, 205(40))

(44) né· s thiká yo-kah-á-kst-eʔ tsoʔk náhteʔ atyaʔtawiʔt-ho·kú·,  
 it’s habitually that 3FZ.SG.P-cloth-JN-heavy-STV several what coat-PLUR  
 waʔ-u-t-kah-úny-a-ht-eʔ.  
 FACT-3FI.A-SRF-cloth-make-JN-CAUS-STV

‘heavy cloth from all kinds of old coats, that’s what she used to make quilts.’  
(GN, An Oneida Childhood, 205(42))

- taxonomic

(45) Tóhka? kAs kwí· ni-yot-ityóhk-w-a-ke osahé·ta?  
a few usually EMPH PART-3FZ.PL.P-crowd-JN-amount.to[STV] bean  
‘There would be a few varieties of beans.’ (GN, An Oneida Childhood, 215(137))

- distributivity

(46) wísk niwáshΛ nikasahé·take tayukhi·yú· ts-y-ukwé·t-a-t.  
fifty so many beans CISL-FACT-3>1DP-give:PNC REP-3FZ.SG.A-person-JN-one[STV]  
‘they gave each of us fifty beans.’ (NK, The Bean Game, 24(13))

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