Kanien’kéha through the eyes of a first-language speaker

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Abstract

First, I would like to state that our language, Kanien'kéha (or Mohawk), has been under constant strain from external forces since the Europeans arrived on our shores, from genocidal, political, religious and social forces. Despite all of these strains, we in 2026 still have our language and now we have control of how we teach and pass our language on to the next generations.

In this dissertation, I am focusing on how we help our new second-language (L2) speakers become more like first-language (L1) speakers in understanding how we think and use the language. I have been teaching Kanien'keha for the past 45 years. I have seen us struggle from not knowing how our language works, not knowing what writing system to use, and not knowing how to teach it. We have climbed over many obstacles to get to where we are today. This is obviously seen in our young people today, who are so proud to be Kanien'kehá:ka, who embrace our language, culture and history as they pass on our ways to their children today. They are unlike those of us elders who remember when we were told that it is better to forget who you are and to blend in with the mainstream society. In this dissertation I write for two primary audiences: first, the advanced L2 speakers, who need more in-depth linguistically-informed explanations for concepts that they've already learned, but have only glossed over. Second, for those who wish to just get a basic understanding of our language, whether they are learners, linguists, or other interested people. Therefore, it's built with the building block lessons, which can help the new learner or be used for self study with many examples to reach a good understanding. I look at how I can make a dissertation that is useful to the reader no matter what level that they are at.

I start with the sounds so that learners can read and use the examples provided for them. Then I look at the foundation of our language, and that is the kinship terms. Here you will be provided with all the pronouns that you will need to understand the relationships between you and the people around you, with the benefit of all the pronouns that show how the interactions work. Next in our quest, we will look at the imperatives, where we will see all different categories of verb forms, and show which stem classes they fall into. With that awareness, the learner will be able to conjugate the verbs for themselves. Then we will move on to the participant changing morphology; the learner will see how to start building out the verb using these new morphemes, and how to make more complex sentences. Then we will move to the nouns, where you will see real nouns and pseudo nouns (verbs pretending to be nouns), and you will know how and why they change in different ways. We will learn about incorporation, and lastly we will look at some colorful ways that the language is used by swearing.

Résumé

Tout d’abord, je tiens à préciser que notre langue, le kanien’kéha (ou mohawk), a été soumise à des pressions constantes de la part de forces extérieures depuis l’arrivée des européens sur nos côtes, qu’il s’agisse de forces génocidaires, politiques, religieuses ou sociales. Malgré toutes ces pressions, en 2026, nous avons toujours notre langue et nous contrôlons sur la manière dont nous l’enseignons et la transmettons aux générations futures.

Dans cette thèse, je m’intéresse à la façon dont nous pouvons aider nos nouveaux locuteurs de langue seconde (L2) à se rapprocher des locuteurs de langue première (L1) dans leur compréhension et utilisation de la langue. J’enseigne le kanien’keha depuis 45 ans. J’ai été témoin de nos difficultés liées au fait de ne pas savoir comment fonctionne notre langue, de ne pas savoir quel système d’écriture utiliser et de ne pas savoir comment l’enseigner. Nous avons surmonté de nombreux obstacles pour en arriver là aujourd'hui. Cela se voit clairement chez nos jeunes actuels, qui sont si fiers d'être kanien'kehá:ka, et qui épousent notre langue, notre culture, et notre histoire, tout en transmettant nos traditions à leurs enfants. Ils ne sont pas comme nous, les aînés, qui nous souvenons de l’époque où l’on nous disait qu’il valait mieux oublier qui nous étions et nous fondre dans la société dominante. Dans cette thèse, je m’adresse à deux publics principaux : d’une part, les locuteurs avancés de langue seconde, qui ont besoin d’explications linguistiques plus approfondies sur certains concepts qu’ils ont déjà appris, mais qu’ils n’ont fait qu’effleurer. D’autre part, ceux qui souhaitent simplement acquérir une compréhension de base de notre langue, qu’il s’agisse d’apprenants, de linguistes ou d’autres personnes intéressées. C'est pourquoi cette thèse est structurée en leçons modulaires, qui peuvent être utilisées pour l'auto-apprentissage, avec de nombreux exemples permettant d'atteindre une bonne compréhension. Je cherche à créer une thèse utile au lecteur, quel que soit son niveau.

Je commence par les sons, afin que les apprenants puissent lire et utiliser les exemples qui leur sont proposés. Ensuite, j'aborde les fondements de notre langue, à savoir les termes de parenté. Vous y trouverez tous les pronoms dont vous aurez besoin pour comprendre les relations entre vous et votre entourage, ainsi que tous les pronoms qui illustrent le fonctionnement de ces interactions. Je continue par explorer les impératifs, où nous verrons toutes les différentes catégories de formes verbales et indiquerons à quelles classes de racines elles appartiennent. Fort de ces connaissances, l'apprenant sera capable de conjuguer les verbes par lui-même. Nous passerons ensuite à la morphologie de changement de participant; l'apprenant verra comment commencer à construire le verbe à l'aide de ces nouveaux morphèmes, et comment former des phrases plus complexes. Nous passerons ensuite aux noms, où vous découvrirez les vrais noms et les pseudo-noms (des verbes qui se font passer

pour des noms), et vous comprendrez comment et pourquoi ils changent de différentes manières. Nous aborderons l'incorporation, et nous terminerons par examiner certains usages fleuris de la langue, dans le contexte des jurons.

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Contribution of Author

This thesis is the original work of the author, drawing on generations of Kanien’kéha speakers who passed the language down despite the many hardships.

List of abbreviations

A	agent
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CIS	cislocative
DEC	decessive
DIM	diminutive
DU	dual
DUP	duplicative
EXCL	exclusive
FI	feminine-indefinite
FZ	feminine-zoic
FUT	future
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
JR	joiner
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NMLZ	nominalizer
P	patient
PL	plural
PUNC	punctual aspect
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SRFL	semi-reflexive
STAT	stative

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Color-coding key

Throughout this dissertation, different morphemes and types of words will be highlighted in different colors so that you can start to recognize these morphemes when they appear. The key for these colors is given below (they are listed roughly in the order in which you'll learn about each one):

transitive[1]
subjective
objective
particles
kinship suffixes (LOC, DEC, -iio, -aksen, -shen)
prepronominals (DUP, FUT, etc.)
purposive
valence-changing morphology (REFL, SRFL, CAUS, BEN)
incorporated nouns
nominalizer
instrumental

[1] Note that the transitive, subjective and objective colors are all related - the transitive purple is the combination of the subjective and objective red and blue. This will be further explained in future chapters!

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is intended to open the doors for a tour through the Kanien'kéha (or Mohawk) language.[2] My wider goal is to pass on my inherent knowledge of Kanien'kéha to the next generation, but since that is impossible to do in one dissertation, I have decided to focus on the pronominal prefixes which are so important to the language. Pronominal prefixes attach to every verb in the language and tell you who you're talking about in each action. I consider them the foundation of the whole entire language, because if you don't know pronouns, you're dead in the water and you can't communicate at all.

With this goal in mind, the natural starting point is kinship terms (terms that you use for family members). In all my years of teaching, kinship terms have seemed to be the most relevant, because no matter what lesson you're doing, you're almost always talking about someone you're related to. Kinship terms are additionally important in Kanien'kéha because each of them has a pronominal prefix, just like verbs, making them an especially good starting point for learners to start to familiarize themselves with the pronoun system.

From kinship terms, the next step will be imperative verbs (commands). Since so much of the language consists of verbs, it's important to start looking at verbs next. The most simple verbs in Kanien'kéha are imperatives, because they contain no tense, aspect, or mood morphology, which can be complicated to learn. They also provide a good way to transition from learning about kinship terms, since in day-to-day speech you might often order your family members around and hear these being used in the home, and through some of those contexts learners can start to see the connections between the pronominal prefixes on the kinship terms and the pronominal prefixes on the verbs. With imperatives as the starting point, we can then ripple out to more complicated morphology in the language and see how things like the semireflexive, reflexive, causative and benefactive affect the pronominal prefixes.

There are many other natural extensions after introducing imperatives, such as building out the tenses, aspects, and moods that occur, but that is beyond the scope of this project. However, the concepts covered in this dissertation are like the nucleus, and the idea is that learners can use it to continue building out from there. Ultimately, it's important that you have the nucleus, which is really the pronominal prefixes.

With that goal in mind, this dissertation will be organized as follows. Chapter 2 will teach you about the sounds of the language so you know how to pronounce the vocabulary that you'll learn later. Chapter 3 will introduce the kinship terms which allow you to talk about family members (including deceased family members and their locations), and give a foundation for the pronominal prefixes. Chapter 4 will introduce

[2] I will use the terms Kanien'kéha and Mohawk interchangeably.

some verbs through imperatives (or commands) that directly correlate with the kinship terms. Chapter 5 starts to get more complex and introduces morphology from the imperative lens which affects the pronominal prefixes (the chapter will cover reflexives, semireflexives, causatives, and benefactives). Chapter 6 will teach noun incorporation and expand your vocabulary even more with both incorporated and independent nouns. It also includes some fun bonuses on how to swear and use colorful language in Kanién'keha and clever uses of the words. Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation with a brief summary of previous chapters, and the appendices A and B provide answer keys to the exercises in each chapter as well as some extra learning materials.

In the rest of this introduction, first I will tell you more about the motivation for this work in §1.1, and about my own background with the language in §1.2. This all relates directly to the story of my grandmother and how she shaped my life and my language, which I explain in §1.3. Then the remainder of this first chapter will provide an introduction to the Kanien'kéha language, with demographic and dialectal information in §1.4 as well as some of its basic linguistic properties in §1.5.

1.1 Motivation for this work

My hope for this document is that it can be used by the learners who do not necessarily have the large amount of time to dedicate to immersion right now, as well as those who are not enrolled due to lack of availability in immersion programs. This text can be used as a self-paced guide for those who may need more flexibility due to a demanding schedule and can also be used at home for those who may not be able to enroll in adult language programs for whatever reason.

The other motivation for this text is to build on previous teaching grammars for Kanien'kéha, specifically the work of Deering and Delisle 1976. Their text is full of important forms, examples, and notes. However, starting with the push towards French language programming in Québec in the 1970s, schools and education policies pushed Western foreign language teaching models onto Kanien'kéha and other Native languages in schools, continuing up until the late 1980s. It wasn't until more recently that more Indigenous-centered approaches to teaching and learning Kanien'kéha—such as adult immersion programming—have been recognized and adopted as central to the success of teaching Native languages (for more on the successes of Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs, see Green 2009, Green & Maracle 2018, DeCaire 2023, Benedict forthcoming). Due to the limitations of the time period, Deering and Delisle (1976) were forced to abide by curricula that obscured certain patterns of the language and prevented possible depth in certain explanations. It is important to recognize that Deering and Delisle 1976 is an extremely valuable resource that, while limited by the methods of the time, contains important information. My hope with this teaching grammar dissertation is to build on their work with more in-depth discussion and to

infuse more Indigenous- and linguistic-centered organization, focusing on the ways that first-language speakers learned to speak and allowing the patterns of the Kanien'kéha language to shine through.

1.2 My history with Kanien'kéha

My authority in this work is as a first-language speaker and teacher of Kanien'kéha. My friends and family call me Wári, from Onwá:ri Tekahawáhkwen which means "Mary who picks up the path or road." When I was a little girl my mom called me Marí'toks. I am the only child of my mom, Margaret Gabriel and my dad, John McDonald. My mom was from Kahnesatà:ke and she was one of ten siblings and my dad was one of four siblings. We lived with my grandfather, Peter McDonald, on his farm in Ahkwesáhsne. My grandfather and I were very close; I was with him most of the time up until I was 10 when he passed. As a result of my close relationship with him, I talk Kanien'kéha in a rather rough way when just talking and fooling around, more masculine, but was always corrected by my mom, who would say, "You should speak more like a young lady." My father insisted that we speak Mohawk in our household because my mother spoke more Mohawk than English, and my grandfather didn't speak much English. It was wonderful to hear the stories of the people within our neighborhood and the scary stories that my grandfather liked to tell me.

I started school (which was taught only in English) as a speaker of only Kanien'kéha. This was a very upsetting time for me; I didn't understand the situation that I was placed in. I only heard English in school and went home to a Kanien'kéha household at the end of the day. There were about ten of us in that English class that spoke only Kanien'kéha, and we were often pushed aside with less interaction than the other kids, so we didn't learn much for the whole kindergarten. I learned how to speak English from listening to other students and sitting close to my cousin William Philips who would translate for me until he got sick of me bugging him and said I needed to learn how to speak on my own. In Grade 2 we were lucky to have a teacher from our community, Betty Kelly, who had the foresight to ask the school secretary, Mrs. Ruth Papineau, to come to our class and speak Mohawk and then translate into English. For me, I missed the important time to understand how English works, how to make the sounds and how to write it. I found out much later in my life that I am dyslexic, in my last week at Albany State University –– what a shock!

I graduated from high school, then went on to college at Potsdam State to study history to become a history teacher. To my surprise, history was not for me. I took psychology courses and it was like a duck to water; it was so interesting to learn how the brain acquires language. Then I found out that Albany State University had an Iroquoian linguistics program, and transferred there, where I met and studied under the linguist Marianne Mithun. She changed my world and gave me insight into my own

language and other Iroquoian (Rotinonhsión:ni) languages. The knowledge that I learned from Marianne allowed me to learn and teach other Iroquoian languages, including Oneida and Onondaga. It was here that I got to know my fellow language masters who shared so much with me and encouraged me to study and save my research findings for future students: Reg Henry, Mercy Doxtator, Ruth Isaacs and Jake Thomas, who I would like to honor here.

My studies at Albany led me to look at education as a field for how I could help and get involved with the ongoing efforts to teach and preserve Kanien'kéha. With the introduction of Bill 101 in Québec, which forced people to learn French, the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke said: "No, we're going to teach our children Mohawk." As a result, first-language speakers with no linguistic and teaching background were now in front of classrooms. I give such great credit to my colleagues from Kahnawà:ke to be able to recognize that they needed additional help in how to learn more about how to teach and how to pass on the languages to the younger generations. These pioneers learned how to become educators through the University of Québec, learning pedagogical skills. They reached out to linguists to help them understand how the language worked. With these new pedagogical and linguistic skills, then we started learning how to teach and how to accomplish things in the classroom, and to learn more about the structure of the language.

As a result of all of this work, we now have in the sister communities the excellent programs that I mentioned above that take people who are non-speakers and produce speakers within three years of a program. Now these people are looking back and finalizing the orthographic norms and the actual teaching of Kanien'kéha as a second language. The results are stunning, because they're doing it! It is shocking to me being 72 years old and being able to talk with someone who is in their 20s and we are communicating just as if they were first-language speakers. From their humble beginnings in Kahnawà:ke, now all of our communities benefit with all of these new young speakers.

The reason that I am writing this dissertation is to share with other Kanien'kehá:ka/Mohawks what I have found in teaching Mohawk for the past 45 years and constantly studying how our language works. I have seen how children learned the language in a natural way. I have observed how adult learners learn much faster when you teach the natural word order patterns. This process works even faster if you are in an immersion setting as opposed to a second language program. I have noticed that our new speakers don't speak quite like L1 speakers; they don't build sentences in the same way. When you hear lots of different speakers, you hear a lot of diversity in their use of syntax to get their point across, but these new speakers use a more cookie cutter speech pattern. I am so proud of these new younger speakers; I never thought that I would ever be able to speak Mohawk to a young person and they would answer back. That is why I am writing this for them: to assist them in looking at how the L1 speakers

put the words together so they can sound more like an adult speaker.

I started my journey four years ago after working with Jasmine House Jimerson, Karonhiióstha' Shea Sky, Jessica Coon and Meghan Clayards as the expert language consultant for a summer course called "Linguistic elicitation for language revitalization." Jessica and Meghan suggested that I should actually consider doing a PhD to document my life's work.

I had been quite happy being under the radar and just doing my own thing, leaving my findings to my chosen younger sister Jasmine House Jimerson. But the class with Jessica and Meghan initiated the possibility of a PhD, and after thinking about it, I realized that I have enough material for a dissertation. It's been a dream of mine, not so much to get the PhD, but to document my life's work for the next generations of speakers. The reason I'm so compelled to do that is that I'm a fluent speaker, I'm trained as an anthropological linguist, and I have 45 years of teaching experience in Kanien'kéha, as well as Oneida and Onondaga. In teaching those other languages, it really hones your skill in how to better teach your own language, as you learn what works and what doesn't work. That's what propelled me to start this work, and the goal will be to package up the materials that I already have in an accessible way and pass them on to the next generation.

1.3 A dedication to my grandmother and my mom

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother Tóta Mary Jacobs Gabriel, to her sister Tóta Gladys Jacobs Gabriel who is also my grandmother—because all grandparents siblings are also your grandparents in Mohawk tradition—and to my mom Margaret Kahentawákkhon[3] Gabriel McDonald. My maternal great-grandmother Tóta Selena Garrow married Tóta Angus Jacobs Awén:nara's, and they moved from Ahkwesáhsne to Kanehsatà:ke. My grandmother, Tóta Mary, was not Tóta Angus Jacobs Awén:nara's' daughter. Selena had Mary from a prior relationship with an unknown man from Ahkwesáhsne. From what my mother told me, Tóta Angus didn't like Tóta Mary and when Indian Agents were coercing families to send their children to residential schools, Tóta Angus was going to allow Tóta Mary to be sent to Shingwauk Indian Residential School in Sault Ste Marie, Ontario. Tóta Selena told him, "if I have to send my baby, you too will send your baby and we will both feel the hurt of our first born at Shingwauk." So their daughter Tóta Gladys was also sent to Shingwauk. According to the census of 1911, the two sisters arrived in November 1911 at age 14 for Mary and 12 for Gladys. As were the customs, they were allowed to come home when they were 17 and 16, in 1915. In Figure 1, Tóta Mary is the second from the right on the top row. Tóta Gladys is right below Tóta Mary, next to the bush. The census is shown in Figure 2.

[3] Note that this name may not always be spelled with two k's, but this is how I have always pronounced and written my mother's name.



Figure 1. Children at Shingwauk beside the chapel
(File 2011-6-001-019 from Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre; reproduced with permission)

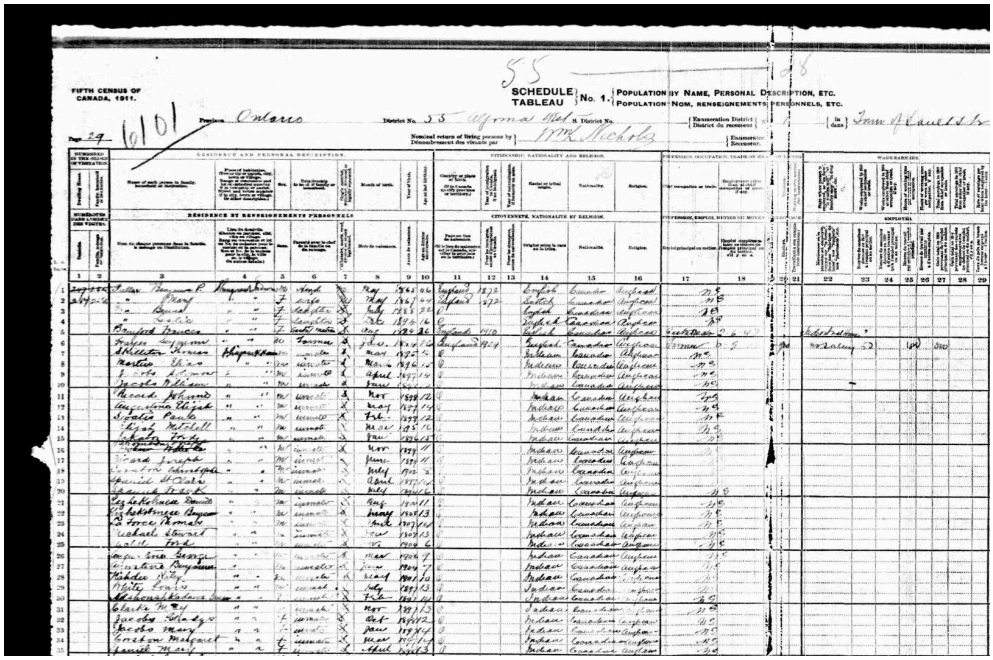


Figure 2. 1911 Shingwauk census
(File 1911 Canada Census from Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre; reproduced with permission)

At that time many of the people in Kanehsatà:ke followed the United Church and Protestant Christian faith. Shingwauk is where Indigenous Protestant Christians sent their children. Since Tóta Mary and Tóta Gladys came from a Protestant family, they were sent specifically to Shingwauk. Many from Ahkwesáhsne who were Indigenous Catholic Christians sent their children to the Spanish Indian Residential Schools in Spanish, Ontario. The idea of the residential schools was to send the children far from home so that they would forget their home life and languages. From the Canadian perspective, the schools functioned to educate and prepare Indigenous people for incorporation into Canadian society. However, in doing so, the Residential School showed the students that indigenous ways were not as good as the Canadian way of life. This caused lots of confusion in many Indigenous communities throughout Canada, as they felt not quite white enough and not quite “good” enough to be in mainstream Canadian society. Further, many children suffered countless unimaginable abuses at the hands of the people who were supposed to take care of their best interests, as documented at great length in numerous sources, including the Final Report of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (e.g. Florence 2015).

I can’t forget the story that my mother shared with me when Tóta Mary got sick with rheumatic fever. This is an inflammatory disease that can develop when strep throat or scarlet fever isn’t properly treated, and it most often affects children ages 5 to

15. When Tóta Mary got sick with rheumatic fever, she was taken to the attic of the Residential School and they did not treat her. All they did was put a screen around her and waited for her to die. But Tóta Gladys and other classmates went and collected wild strawberries and they snuck up there to feed Mary and other children who were abandoned. I find this so amazing that they remembered always being told as young children that wild strawberries were the greatest of all the medicines the Creator had given us. This seems to be a story across native cultures; there were so many different children from across Canada at Shingwauk who remembered the story of the strawberries.

I retold this story to my friend Dr. Toni House of Oneida, Wisconsin, when we visited Shingwauk, located at Algoma University in May of 2023. A photo of the original Shingwauk school (now Algoma University) is shown in Figure 3. In Figure 4, there is a photo of children in front of Shingwauk when it was still operating.



Figure 3. Original Shingwauk school
(taken by the author)



Figure 4. Children in front of Shingwauk (now Algoma University)
(File 2011-6-001-041 from Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre; reproduced with permission)

A flood of emotion came over me and I wanted to cry for both my grandmothers' loss of childhood. Then as we walked to the monument that was erected for the children a flood of strength and pride overcame me, as if the children were saying, fight back and be strong. The monument is shown in Figure 5.



Figure 5. Monument erected for children who passed at Shingwauk (taken by the author)

To my grandmother, I said thank you for not forgetting your languages and the nations that you came from, though they tried to take so much from you. Your tenacity and courage is what keeps us strong. We walked around the grounds and you could feel the lives of the children that were once there and who passed there. We said prayers for them and told them to go home. These stories are what my mother shared with me because every time I asked Tóta Mary to tell me about her life she would always say you don't need to know that.

When Tóta Mary came back at age 17, she still spoke Kanien'kéha like a child; her vocabulary was limited because she had been removed from her family and from being able to hear it all the time, and likely was afraid to speak it because of the risk of punishment or abuse. When she returned home, since everyone around her only spoke Kanien'kéha, she was forced to really become a more communicative speaker. This was especially the case given that her future husband only spoke Kanien'kéha. Additionally, when they were back in Kanehsatà:ke, because they had been forced to learn English at Shingwauk, she and Tóta Gladys essentially had a secret language together. My mother would tell stories to me that Tóta Mary and Tóta Gladys would speak in English to each other when they didn't want the people around to understand. Also the two sisters helped many in the community by writing and reading letters in English and translating them into Kanien'kéha.

Tóta Mary was also met with a surprise when she came home. She was informed that they had arranged for her to be married to Tóta Paul Arihwawákhon Gabriel, who was an older man. Tóta Gladys married Tóta Paul's brother, who was also an older man. The two sisters as mature women are shown in Figure 6.



Figure 6. The two older sisters: Tóta Gladys on the far left; Tóta Mary on the far right. Tóta Mary's brother-in-law Bernard Gabriel on the bottom, and my father's first cousin Theresa Phillips in the middle.
(family photo from the author's collection)

Both sisters had 10 children each and all became fluent Mohawk speakers. My mother was one of those 10 children. Her name was Margaret Kahentawákkhon Gabriel. I was very lucky, she was a great mother. My mother taught me so many things, one of which is my love of cooking. She was very knowledgeable of traditional medicines and traditional folklore, and that was what kept my overactive mind constantly asking "why?" and "how?" I think back on how lucky I was to have known my aunts and uncles and their first cousins. Their stories and personal knowledge of who we are as Mohawks and Iroquois people are priceless. I think having this wonderful

knowledge on who Mohawks are as people was such a great asset for me as I pursued my academic quest in history and languages of the Iroquois.

I became very close to Tóta Mary in her last years before she went to the old age home in Kahnawà:ke. I spent the summers of 1973 and 1974 in Kanehsatà:ke, when I was off from my studies at Potsdam State University. During this time I spent my day talking with her about her life and what she did, but she would never talk about residential school. She would always say "you don't need to know about that." I think of what my grandmother had done in her life as a residential school survivor: she was a mother of ten children, a Clanmother for the Bear Clan, and a great grandmother. I was very fortunate to meet staff from Algoma University in Ottawa when I was working at the Assembly of First Nations and I told them that my grandmother had gone there and asked them if I could get some information about the two sisters from Kanehsatà:ke. They sent me a collection of photographs (included in the figures above) and to my surprise there they were as little girls. This was like gold so I wanted to tell a story to my family through pictures of our grandmothers and the lost years from Kanehsatà:ke.

Because of how Tóta Mary and Tóta Gladys raised their children, I grew up with a strong sense of their Kanien'kéha identity. Back in the sixties Indigenous people started to reawaken to our ways and ideology. My grandmother accepted the Rotinonhsión:ni way of life. There were very few families in Kanenhsatà:ke who practiced the Long house way of life. The majority of the community still were very much Christian. I had a great mother, who instilled within me a great pride of my identity as a Kanien'kéha woman. Having this wonderful cultural background inspired me to pursue a higher education in order to pass the language forward to new generations of learners.

1.4 An introduction to Kanien'kéha

Kanien'kéha is part of the Northern branch of the Iroquoian language family along with other languages of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora). Other members of this branch of the family are dormant (Huron, Nottoway, Susquehannock, Laurentian, Meherrin, Petun, Erie, Neutral, and Wenro; Mithun and DeCaire 2023). There are many different estimates as to the number of advanced speakers of Kanien'kéha; DeCaire (2023) estimates 639, but I estimate that the number is today perhaps more accurately around 400. Only three or four families in the community of Ahkwesáhsne have Kanien'kéha as their first language, without a break in transmission. See Benedict (in prep) for an updated Kanien'kéha language vitality survey in Ahkwesáhsne.

Despite these statistics, Kanien'kéha has a large community of second-language learners. This growing number of second-language learners is the main motivation for this work. Community members largely have respect for the language and recognize its importance to Kanien'kehá:ka identity. Nevertheless, many

are not actively enrolled in language classes. This is mostly due to the large time commitment learning the language takes, as well as lack of space in adult language programs. A few children learn Kanien'kéha as a first language. Despite this, they typically do not remain proficient speakers, as the pressure to reject Kanien'kéha for the more prevalent English is strong (see also Stacey 2016, 2024; DeCaire 2023).

Before we move on, I include some notes about dialect variation and the choice of dialect used in this dissertation. Kanien'kéha is typically recognized as having three main dialects: Eastern (Kahnawà:ke, Kanehsatà:ke, Wáhta), Central (Ahkwesáhsne), and Western (Tyendinaga, Ohswé:ken), with the Western dialect being the most distinct from the other two. There are differences in orthography, pronunciation, as well as some lexical and grammatical variation; see DeCaire 2023 and Deer & Michelson 2024 for details. For the chapter on kinship terms, this dissertation uses forms from both the Ahkwesáhsne dialect and the Kanehsatà:ke dialect; after Chapter 3, all examples are written in the Ahkwesáhsne dialect. This is to honor both of my parents: my mother, who was a speaker of the Kanehsatà:ke dialect, and my father, who was a speaker of the Ahkwesáhsne dialect. Where these dialects differ, the first of the pair will be from Kanehsatà:ke and the second will be from Ahkwesáhsne. The details of how these dialects differ will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.5 Kanien'kéha linguistic background

Kanien'kéha is often called a "polysynthetic" language, which essentially means that it has very long and morphologically complex words, and one of those long words can express something that would take a full sentence in English. As an example, take a look at the following word:

(1) **Tentehsewennínekenʼne'.**
Your voice will come out clear again.

As you can see, this one word translates into a full sentence in English. This word can also be broken down into separate parts, called **morphemes**. Morphemes are the smallest units of meaning within a word. In linguistics papers about Kanien'kéha, you might see a word broken down into all of its component morphemes, like below:

(2) **t-en-te-hse-wenn-ineken-ʼn-e'**
DUP-FUT-CIS-2sgA-word-emit-INCH-PUNC

We won't break down words like this very often in this dissertation, but it's still important to understand what a morpheme is, as we will learn a little more about some of these morphemes in later chapters. Each of them adds a different meaning to the verb.

The verbs are the most important part of speech in Kanien'kéha because these are what you string together to create the main ideas and thoughts in the languages. There are two other parts of speech, nouns and particles, which we will also see below — but I think that the verbs are the star of the show. As we've seen above, verbs can be quite complicated, but they also have patterns. We can use templates to represent where each morpheme belongs in the verb. The basic verb template, from Mithun (2017), is shown in the table below:

(3) Verb template (Mithun 2017):

prepronominal prefixes	**pronominal prefix**	**stem**	aspectual suffixes

For the purposes of this dissertation, we will be focusing primarily on the pronominal prefixes (which form the heart of this work) and the verb stem itself. Both of these elements are found in kinship terms and imperative forms, the main focus of the chapters below. The verb stem can be further broken down, into the verb root (which is the barest form of the verb) and a few other components, displayed in the table below (Michelson 2023, Mithun 2017):

(4) Verb stem template (Michelson 2023, Mithun 2017):

reflexive/semireflexive	incorporated noun	verb root	derivational suffixes (causative/benefactive)

The reflexive, semireflexive, causative, and benefactive all relate to adding and removing the participants of the action or situation expressed by the verb and are discussed in Chapter 5. We then turn to incorporated nouns in Chapter 6.

Putting it all together, Michelson (2023) provides the following template for the maximal verb in Kanien'kéha:

(5) Expanded verb template (Michelson 2023):

prepronominal prefixes	pronominal prefix	reflexive/ semi-reflexive	incorporated noun	verb root	derivational suffixes	aspectual suffixes	post-aspectual suffixes

Highlighted are the morphemes that will be covered in this dissertation; as you can see, you'll be able to keep building outward to the prepronominals and the aspectual suffixes after you've read this work. This is just to give you the foundation.

Next, let's look at nouns. There are relatively few nouns in Kanien'kéha compared with verbs. Often, as we will see more below, words that are translated into English as nouns are actually verbs in Kanien'kéha which serve a referential function (that is, they are verbs that are used to refer to entities; see Michelson 2023, and discussed in §3.4.1 and §6.6 below). True nouns, like verbs, can be broken down into a template. They are much simpler than verbs and have only three parts: a noun prefix, a noun root, and a noun suffix, as shown in (6).

(6) Minimal noun

noun prefix	noun root	noun suffix

One of the more well-known features of Kanien'kéha is their ability to undergo noun incorporation. This is when a noun root appears inside of a verb, and in general it's more common to see an incorporated noun than an independent noun. We'll learn more about both independent nouns and noun incorporation in Chapter 6.

Finally, the last part of speech in Kanien'kéha is the particles. There are many different particles in Kanien'kéha, and they can be hard to learn as many of them don't have directly equivalent meanings in English. Particles are usually very short words, and can express meanings such as questions, emphasis, or other discourse functions. This dissertation won't have a dedicated chapter about particles, but you'll see them colored in **green** throughout, and they'll appear in many different examples so you can start to get a sense of how they work.

Chapter 2: Sounds of Kanien'kéha

In this chapter, I will discuss the sounds of Kanien'kéha. The reason that we're going to spend time looking at the sounds of Kanien'kéha is to allow you, the learner, to hear and know the actual sounds that native speakers make. This will show you how each individual sound should be pronounced. The whole idea of this is to isolate each sound and give you the chance to reproduce that sound. As a result of that, before proceeding with the rest of this thesis, this chapter will provide you with the navigational skills to pronounce all of the Kanien'kéha words in this dissertation.

2.1 Introduction to how the orthography came to be

Throughout this thesis, I will use the orthographic symbols developed for Kanien'kéha. Up until the 90s, Kanien'kéha was predominantly an oral language with mnemonic devices (i.e. Wampum belts) being used to record events that took place within Kanien'kéha history. The orthographic (writing) system first developed in the 1600s when French Jesuits did work on Kanien'kéha and other Iroquoian languages (Michelson, forthcoming). By the 1800s, the churches were writing bibles and hymns for the native communities in their languages. Since the first language of the Jesuits was French, the writing system was based on the Latin alphabet, and in many ways on French spelling (Mithun 1979, Michelson to appear). Further, the only people that had access to the writing system were either Catholic or Protestant, while the practicers of traditional ideologies were left out of the reading and writing loop. Crucially, these missionaries did not look at differences in dialect between the Kanien'kéha communities, predominantly writing for and in the Kahnawà:ke and Kanehsatà:ke communities. Since the resources created by the Jesuits were not sensitive to dialect differences, people who spoke other dialects would have to change the sounds in their minds from what they see written to how they speak. For example, people from Ahkwesáhsne would see the <t> in the word *tióhton* 'nine', and change it in their minds to <k> for the Ahkwesáhsne equivalent *kióhton*. Additionally, since the writing system was not standardized, everybody developed their own ad hoc writing system designed to capture how they as an individual heard and spoke the words. This meant that the writing system was messy and in many ways not useful, so only the older members of our communities were able to write by the 1950s.

The assimilation laws that were passed in the US and Canada resulted in native languages being taken away from children and generations of children not being able to speak Kanien'kéha, let alone even try to write it (DeCaire 2023). This continued into the 70s with Bill 101 being introduced in 1977 (Hoover & Kanien'kehá:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Centre 1992). This Bill stated that all people in Quebec, including all native people must speak French. The three Kanien'kéha communities in Québec responded

saying “our children don’t even know our own language, why should they learn yours.” So instead of teaching French in our schools, we decided to teach Kanien’kéha. This highlighted the inadequacies in the orthography that had been used up until that point. This forced us to develop some sort of consistency across the different schools and communities in the orthography. This culminated in the Kanien’kéha standardization project in Tyendinaga in 1993 (Lazore 1993), which looked to make the orthography accessible and useful to all of the communities and dialects.[4] This is the same orthographic system that I use in this thesis.

2.2 Inventory

While the orthography is exceedingly useful, it does not convey the exact sounds being pronounced in the language, as is exceedingly common for orthographies. For this reason, I will also use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in this section. The IPA is a set of symbols that identify exactly how sounds are produced. Specifically, each symbol corresponds to an exact tongue placement, lips placement, etc. In this sense, the IPA is a roadmap into the mouth and how these sounds are made. IPA symbols will be enclosed in slashes //. If one wishes to hear the exact pronunciation of a given sound, they can go to an interactive IPA chart (of which there are many online) and click on the relevant sounds to hear them.

2.2.1 Vowels

There are six vowels in Kanien’kéha. Four of the six vowels are plain oral vowels, and the other two are nasal vowels. Oral vowels are the vowels that are made by the air passing through the mouth (like in English vowels), while nasal vowels involve the air passing mostly through the nose. These vowels are shown in Table 1, with the orthographic symbol on the left, and the IPA symbol enclosed in slashes on the right. The nasal vowels are highlighted in red. Table 1 shows the tongue position used for each vowel. “High” means that the tongue is closer to the roof of the mouth whereas “low” means that the tongue is farther from the roof of the mouth. You can feel this by saying the English words *box* and *boot*; notice that your jaw lowers (to get the low tongue position) in the low vowel in *box*. “Front” vowels involve the tongue being closer to the front of the mouth, whereas “back” vowels involve the tongue being farther from the front of your mouth. You can feel this with the English words *boot* (which has a back tongue position) and *beet* (which has a front tongue position); notice that your tongue is closer to the front of your mouth in the word *beet*.

[4] Note that people within the communities who were outside of the education system and adult immersion programs still continue to write in the old way. This group is really small because it only includes first language speakers who never interacted with Kanien’kéha in a formal setting.

	Front	Central	Back
High	**i** /i/		**on** /ũ/
Mid	**e** /e/	**en** /ʌ̃/	**o** /o/
Low			**a** /ɑ/

Table 1. Vowel inventory

Note that the vowels, but not the consonants, can be marked with diacritics for stress and length (e.g. á:). This will be discussed more in §2.3.

The first oral vowel is <a> (the angled brackets here are used to enclose orthographic symbols). This vowel is pronounced similarly to the vowel in the English word *box*. Although I and many speakers pronounce this vowel with a low back tongue position, many others still use a low central position. Some examples are shown Table 2, where I've highlighted the vowel we're focusing on in red.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
áhta	shoe
akià:tawi	shirt, dress, coat
awé:ri	heart
à:kwe'ks	eagle

Table 2. <a> examples

The second oral vowel is <e>, which is pronounced similarly to the vowel in the English word *bet*. Some examples are shown in Table 3.

Kanien'kéha	English
è:neken	above
wa'eráthen'	she climbed up
éhsa'	willow
a'é:ren'	way over there

Table 3. <e> examples

The third oral vowel is <i>. This vowel is pronounced like the vowel in the English word *beet*. See the examples in Table 4.

Kanien'kéha	English
í:sek	eat it!
ohì:kta	thorn
í:se'	you
káhi	fruit, berry

Table 4. <i> examples

When <i> is pronounced before a vowel, it is pronounced like an English <y> such as in the word *yellow*. This is discussed more in the section on Kanien'kéha consonants.

The fourth oral vowel is <o>. The closest English vowel to Kanien'kéha <o> is the vowel in words such as *boat* (although it is not exactly the same). Some examples of this vowel are shown in Table 5.

Kanien’kéha	English
o’niónhsa’	nose
iehotáhkwen’	he went over there and took it out
ohónhta’	ear
iehóweron’	he poured it in

Table 5. <o> examples

The first nasal vowel is <en>. Note that although it is written with two symbols, it is pronounced as a single vowel. As described above, nasal vowels involve air passing from the back of the throat and through the nose. The pronunciation of <en> ranges from a mid central tongue position such as in the English word *bun*, to a lower farther back position such as in the English word *bomb*. Combining these tongue positions and the nasal airflow results in the Kanien’kéha vowel <en>. See the examples in Table 6.

Kanien’kéha	English
énhsko’	you will pick it
wahèn:ron’	he said
enhséta’	you will put it in
kahentà:ke	on the field

Table 6. <en> examples

It’s important to note that when you see an <en> in Kanien’kéha it is not always pronounced as the nasal vowel. If there is another vowel following the <n>, as in the verb <ienawas>, it’s pronounced as the sequence of sounds <e> and then the consonant <n> rather than the nasal vowel. (For example: <ieienawà:se>, ‘she helps it or assists it’.)

The second nasal vowel, and sixth vowel in total is <on>. Like <en>, <on> is pronounced as a single vowel, despite being written with two symbols. <on> is pronounced with a high back tongue position such as in the English word *boom*.

Combining this tongue position and the nasal airflow result in the vowel <on>. Some examples are shown in Table 7.

Kanien'kéha	English
ón:kwe	people
ohsòn:kare'	floor, board
ónhka	who
iehohtón:ni	he fainted

Table 7. <on> examples

2.2.2 Consonants

There are 10 consonant sounds in Kanien'kéha, however there are only 8 consonant symbols in the orthography. These 8 consonant symbols are: <k>, <t>, <s>, <h>, <n>, <r>, <w>, and <'>. How these are used to create the 10 consonant sounds is shown in Table 8, with the symbol on the left being orthographic and the symbol on the right being in IPA.

The chart can be read as follows. The columns indicate which articulators (parts of the mouth and throat) are relevant to the pronunciation of a given sound. "Alveolar" refers to the *alveolar ridge* in the mouth (the bump just behind your teeth). Any sound in this column involves the tongue tip touching or being closer to the alveolar ridge. The *palatal* sounds involve the tongue touching or being close to the palate, which is behind the alveolar ridge, around the top of your mouth. *Velar* sounds involve the tongue making contact with the velum, which is behind the palate. *Labiovelar* sounds involve the tongue being close to the velum, and the lips also being involved. Finally, *laryngeal* sounds only involve the use of the larynx, which is the vocal cords. The rows indicate how the articulators described in the columns interact with each other. *Stops* involve the articulators completely blocking the airflow for a short period of time, allowing air pressure to build up before letting the air burst through. For example, in <t>, the tongue tip makes contact with the alveolar ridge, completely blocking the airflow in the mouth for a short period. *Fricatives* involve the articulators being extremely close together, resulting in the air passing through sounding like hissing. *Affricates* are sounds where the first half is a stop, and the second half is a fricative. *Nasal* sounds involve the articulators completely blocking the airflow in the mouth, like stops. Unlike stops, the air pressure does not build up. Instead, the air passes through the nose. Finally, *approximants* involve the articulators approaching each other but not getting too close.

	(Post)-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Laryngeal
Stop	**t** /t/		**k** /k/	**kw** /kw/	**’** /ʔ/
Fricative	**s** /s/				**h** /h/
Affricate	**ts** /d͡ʒ/ or /t͡s/				
Nasal	**n** /n/				
Approximant	**r** /l/ or /ɾ/	**i** /j/		**w** /w/	

Table 8. Consonant inventory

The first of the ten consonants is <k>. <k> sounds like English <g> when immediately preceding vowels. <k> also sounds like English <g> when followed by an <i> (that sounds like English <y>) or a <w>. This is shown in the examples in Table 9.

Kanien’kéha	**English**
iotsk**á:ra’**	it is bitter, it is harsh
tek**á:naks**	rake
ohk**wé:sen’**	pheasant
ak**ia’táhnha’**	belt

Table 9. <k> like English <g>

When <k> is right before a consonant or if it’s at the end of a word, it sounds like an English <k>. See the examples in Table 10.

Kanien’kéha	English
kkontsheráhrhos	I paint it
aktáhko’	I should take it out
kkwè:tarons	I cut it into small pieces
té:sehk	pick it up!

Table 10. <k> like English <k>

The second consonant is <t>. When the <t> is right before a vowel, it sounds like an English <d>. See the examples in Table 11.

Kanien’kéha	English
táhskon	give it to me!
kate’skókwas	I get out of the water
takó:s	cat
katè:skos	I get into the water

Table 11. <t> like English <d>

When <t> is right before a consonant or at the end of a word, it sounds like English <t>. We can see this in the examples in Table 12.

Kanien’kéha	English
kítkit	chicken
sáhseht	hide it!
thí:ken	that one
tkén’ti	there is poop in it

Table 12. <t> like English <t>

In Ahkwesáhsne specifically, <t> changes to <k> when followed by the sequence of <i> and another vowel, <iV>; recall that this is the <i> that sounds like English <y>. The resulting <kiV> sequence (where V is a vowel), sounds like an English <gyV> sequence, just like the <kiV> sequences described above. Compare the examples from the Ahkwesáhsne dialect to the examples in the Kahnawà:ke dialect in Table 13.

Ahkwesáhsne Kanien’kéha	Kahnawà:ke Kanien’kéha	English
kiò:ron	**tiò:ron**	it’s under something
akia’táhnha’	**atia’táhnha’**	belt
kióhton	**tióhton**	nine
kiohrhèn:ton	**tiohrhèn:ton**	it’s hanging over there

Table 13. <t> becoming <k>

The third consonant is <s>. <s> sounds like English <z> in three different environments: in between vowels (VsV), at the beginnings of words (sV), and in between a glottal stop and a following vowel (‘sV). See the examples in Table 14.

Kanien’kéha	English
són’nek	move it!
shnia’sà:ke	on your throat
só:ra’	duck
asé’stsi	brand new

Table 14. <s> like English <z>

When immediately followed or preceded by a consonant, or when at the end of a word, the consonant <s> sounds like English <s>. Some examples are shown in Table 15.

Kanien’kéha	English
skária’k	pay for it!
skétsko	lift or stand it up!
kahnià:ses	giraffe, really tall glass
sáhsa’k	cough!

Table 15. <s> like English <s>

<s> sounds like English <sh> when it is between an <h> and an <i> (<hsi>). In Ahkwesáhsne, this occurs regardless of whether the following <i> is a vowel or an English <y> sound. In the other dialects, this only happens when <s> is before the English <y> sound.

Kanien’kéha	English
sahsiaríta’	you put the bags in it
ohsionhón:ta’	abdomen
ohsì:ta’	foot
áhsire’	blanket

Table 16. <si> sequences

When the letter <s> is at the beginning of a word, and followed by an <i>, it is written as <ts>, and is pronounced like the consonant <tsi> (to be discussed below; see also below on special properties of <i>). <tsi> is pronounced like English <j> in *jump*.

Kanien’kéha	English
tsié:na	hold it!
tsiéntho	plant it!
tsiá:ken	go out!
tsì:ron	say it!

Table 17. <s> becomes <ts>

The fourth consonant in the Kanien’kéha language is <tsi>. In Ahkwesáhsne, it is written <tsi> and is pronounced like English <j> in *jump*. In Kahnawà:ke and Kanehsatà:ke dialects it is written <ts> and is pronounced like [dz] (like in English *adze*).

Kanien’kéha	English
otsì:tsia’	flower
kana’tsià:ke	on the pail
ohtsià:na’	hand
kentsià:ke	on the fish

Table 18. <tsi> examples

When the second <s> is written <tshi>, it is pronounced like English <ch> like in *chalk*.

Kanien’kéha	English
tshí:tenhr	feel sorry for him!
tshiashè:ta’s	count it up for him!
tshiasontéhrha’s	add it on for him!
tshitskó:ten	sit him up!

Table 19. <tshi> examples

When <ts> is followed by a consonant, it is pronounced like the <ts> in English <hi**ts**> or <di**tz**>. In the cases where <ts> is followed by <h>, it sounds like the <ts> in English <hi**ts**> followed by an <h>.

Kanien’kéha	English
tshnekóserahw	splash water at him!
satstha’	you use it
tsken’tó:ren’	bandage him!
akitshé:na’	my pet

Table 20. <ts> followed by consonant

The fifth consonant is <n>. Kanien’kéha <n> sounds like English <n>.

Kanien’kéha	English
kané:ron	it’s pregnant (an animal)
nà:kon	under
nahò:ten	what
ohnennà:ta’	potato

Table 21. <n> examples

When <n> is at the end of a word and immediately preceded by a glottal stop, the tongue moves to make the <n> sound, but the <n> is barely audible. Additionally, in Ahkwesáhsne specifically, this is also the case when <n> comes right after <’> and right before <h>.

Kanien’kéha	English
senòn:we’n	like it!
tésta’n	stop!
io'nhétska	it is soft
ka’nheksí:io	nice silk

Table 22. Soft <n>

The sixth consonant is <r>. <r> sounds like English <l> in Ahkwesáhsne. It sounds like a combination of an English <r> and <l> sound in Kahnawà:ke and Kanehsatà:ke. This sound in the Eastern communities is almost like the rolling <r> sound in Spanish.

Kanien’kéha	English
ratό:rats	he hunts
oká:ra’	story
ratá:wens	he swims
tehró:rens	he splits it in two

Table 23. <r> examples

When an <r> at the end of a word also comes after <h>, the tongue moves to make the <r> sound, but the <r> sound is just faintly audible. In Ahkwesáhsne specifically, this is also the case when <r> is pronounced right before <h> (it is still pronounced like English <l> in these cases).

Kanien’kéha	English
senná:kahr	whistle!
sónhkahr	snore!
séhrho’	smear it on!
è:rhar	dog

Table 24. Soft <r>

The next consonant is <w>, which sounds like English <w>.

Kanien’kéha	English
wáhtons	it disappears
o’wá:ron	meat
wáhta’	maple
orawà:ta’	clay

Table 25. <w> examples

When <w> combines with <h> to get <wh>, it is equivalent to the <f> sound in English. This is also the case when <w> is at the end of a word. The examples below show this. It should be noted that the <wh> at the ends of some words is a remnant of the older form. It only shows up with specific families who still use this rule. This is more common in Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawà:ke than it is in Ahkwesáhsne.

Kanien’kéha	English
tesatáhsaw	start!
sá:sow	put it back in water!
óhwhorhte’	burdock
óhwhare’	fur

Table 26. <wh> sounds like English <f>

The next consonant is <i>, which sounds like the English <y> sound. The <i> is always followed by a vowel. Note that the Western communities (Tyendinaga and Ohswé:ken) use the <y> symbol for this sound, as shown in the second examples; it is pronounced exactly the same in both dialects, just written differently. <w> and <y> are both called “glides”.

Kanien’kéha	English
iá:were’ / yá:were’	it is smeared on it
iò:ron / yò:ron	it’s under something
ià:ia’k / yà:ya’k	six
ká:iare’ / ká:yare’	bag, pouch

Table 27. <i> sounds like English <y>

The next consonant is the glottal stop <’>. It is made by stopping the air in the throat. This is a very important consonant in Kanien’kéha. Lots of people who don’t understand the language, don’t understand the glottal stop. For example, when the French were transcribing the glottal stop a long time ago, they would leave out the glottal stop. The glottal stop is pronounced like the sound in the middle of the English expression *uh-oh*.

Kanien’kéha	English
ó’ta	feces
ani’ténhtshera’	crass steamy language
o’wá:ron	meat
attokhátshera’	intellegence

Table 28. <’> examples

The last consonant is <h>. The <h> in Kanien’kéha is just like the English <h>.

Kanien’kéha	English
oháha’	path, road
oiahè:ta’	perch
hen	yes
kahén:ta’	field

Table 29. <h> examples

2.3 Stress

There is one stressed syllable in each Kanien’kéha word. Most words have penultimate stress, meaning that the stress is on the second syllable from the end of the word (“ultimate” means “last,” and “penultimate” means “almost ultimate”). The stressed syllable can be one of two types. The first is Upstress. The syllable with Upstress is the loudest syllable in the word. Upstress is marked with an acute accent (e.g., the vowel <a> with an acute accent is <á>). In some cases, Upstressed vowels are pronounced with length. Length is marked with a colon (:) immediately following the stressed vowel. Some examples are shown in Table 30.

Kanien’kéha	English
ató:ken’	axe
a’én:na’	arrow
atahkwénia’	suit
ahsónhta’	wall

Table 30. Upstress

The second type of stressed syllable is Downstress. Downstress can be challenging to pronounce because there is no similar sound in English. It is a falling tone, which means that the pitch falls over the course of the Downstressed vowel. This makes it sound softer than Upstress. Downstress only occurs with vowel length, which seems to drag out the syllable. When you see Downstress occurring, it tells you that an <h> or <’> has fallen out of the word. We can see some examples of Downstress in the words below.

To illustrate whether an <h> or <’> has fallen off, the word below each example with downstress involves the root form “incorporated” into the verb meaning “good,” which we’ll learn about in Chapter 6. The incorporated root is underlined.

Kanien’kéha	**English**
à:share’ **wa’sharí:io**	knife good knife
akià:tawi **wakia’tawitsherí:io**	shirt, dress, coat good shirt, good dress, good coat
à:ria’ **wahrí:io**	fishhook good fishhook
onòn:ta’ **kanon’tí:io**	milk good milk

Table 31. Downstress

It is really important to learn to pronounce and perceive the difference between Upstress and Downstress because of the minimal pairs that exist in the language. Minimal pairs are word pairs that are identical in almost every way, except for one sound. These minimal pairs specifically differ in the type of stress. See some of the following examples.

Kanien’kéha	**English**
onón:ta’ **onòn:ta’**	hill milk
owí:ra’ **owì:ra’**	baby animal scar
oká:ra’ **okà:ra’**	story eye

Table 32. Minimal pairs

Note that when the stressed vowel is followed by a glottal-vowel sequence (e.g. *í'i* 'I'), it is commonly written as Downstress (as it is commonly pronounced that way). However, since I pronounce these stressed vowels with Upstress and no length, they will be written as such in this thesis. For example, I write *í'i* as opposed to *ì:'i.* For more in-depth discussion on stress, see Michelson (1988) and LiVolsi (forthcoming).

When the word doesn't have a penultimate syllable because it is too small, you need to create a syllable that can handle the stress in order for it to sound right in modern Kanien'kéha. This syllable is always <i>. It occurs in one of three different forms: Downstress, Upstress with <h>, or just <i>. I call this *fake stress*.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
ì:rowh	have him put it in water!
í:sek	eat it!
ítsien	put it on the ground/floor!
íhsket	grate it!

Table 33. Fake stress

Since stress needs to be on the penultimate syllable in Kanien'kéha, in order for the words in Table 33 to sound intelligible in modern Kanien'kéha, you need to create a syllable to hold the stress. Otherwise, there would be only one syllable in the word, and thus not have a penultimate syllable (e.g. *sek* 'eat it!'). Fake stress words are the oldest remnants of the ancient words in modern Kanien'kéha (Marianne Mithun, p.c.).

2.4 Epenthesis

Epenthesis (vowel insertion) occurs in Kanien'kéha when consonant clusters (a sequence of multiple consonants) need to be broken up. Primarily clusters where the second consonant is <n>, <r>, <w>, or <'> are not tolerated. In these cases, therefore, there's usually an epenthetic <e> that occurs breaking up the consonant cluster. We can see this in the following examples, where epenthetic <e> is breaking up clusters where <s> is the first consonant (although it does not matter what the first consonant is), and one of the above listed consonants is the second.

Kanien’kéha	English
senóhare’	wash it!
serátthen	climb it!
se’níkhon	sew it!
seweráta’	put air in it!

Table 34. Epenthesis

Kanien’kéha contrasts with the other Iroquoian languages, which do not have a problem with such clusters. There are other instances of epenthesis breaking up different types of clusters in Kanien’kéha, but these are less common.

To summarize this chapter, this has been a quick overview of the sounds that are involved in Kanien’kéha, including a brief description of stress and epenthesis. It’s more designed to help you pronounce the words within the dissertation. Someday when you take a formal Kanien’kéha class, you will at least have had the background of the sounds that your teacher will probably elaborate on. For more information on the sounds in Kanien’kéha, see Michelson (1988), Renard (2023), and LiVolsi (forthcoming).

Chapter 3: Kinship terms

This chapter will introduce readers to the kinship system of Kanien'kéha. It provides learners with the kinship terms of the language, in addition to some connecting verbs and particles that allow learners to put kinship terms into action. Specifically, this will give learners the ability to talk about their family members and the family members of others, in addition to introducing them.

I begin with terms for family members because they are the first group of words that first-language speakers learn. This is a reflection of the centrality of kinship in Rotinonhsión:ni life. My friend, Bob Brown, a hereditary Bear Clan Chief and first-language speaker of Oneida, noted that he knew all the terms for his family members before he learned the word for "table." This means that kinship terms are of enormous importance in passing the language on. The world of children is populated by family members, so the kinship terms give children a full perspective of the world that surrounds you when you are growing up. This work is therefore also intended to give adult second-language learners the ability to use language within the home with their children. Lastly, these kinship terms have been some of the first parts of the language to be lost. My cousin Marilyn Deer remarks that people don't use the kinship terms in their everyday speaking today as we L1 speakers use them. Including kinship terms in the Kanien'kéha language curriculum therefore helps to preserve their use among new speakers.

I additionally begin with kinship terms for linguistic reasons. Family member terms are a special class of words in Kanien'kéha (Michelson 2023a). Unlike in English, where the words for family members are nouns—words that refer directly to people and things—the terms for family members in Kanien'kéha are verbs, describing an active dynamic relationship between people. They use different pronouns (**pronominal prefixes**) to express these relationships. Two examples of family member terms are in (1) and (2).

(1) **ontate'nisténha'**
'her mother, her aunt'

(2) **ronara'sé'a**
'their cousin'

As the color coding indicates, the terms for family members in (1–2) consist of at least two parts.[5] The color coded part is the **pronominal prefix**, while the black part is the **stem** of the family member term. While the stem tells the listener about the type of

[5] Both of these example kinship terms actually include more than two parts; see §4.3.

relationship being described, the pronominal prefixes act as pronouns that provide information about who is related to who in the relationship. For example, **ontate-** in (1) tells about a relationship between two women, while **ron-** in (2) talks about a relationship between a group of other people. These pronominal prefixes are required for all family member terms. This means that learning the terms for family members builds the foundation for the whole set of pronouns required to understand the language, since all verbs—words for actions and states of being—in Kanien'kéha use the same pronouns as the family member terms. Mastering the family terms is therefore a natural starting point towards mastering the language.

There are two types of family member terms. One type, which I call **kinship terms**, involve relationships between individuals that are of different ages and status. Since these terms involve unequal relationships, they use pronominal prefixes that reflect the directionality of the relationships. An example of a kinship term is (3).

(3) **rohtsí'a**
'his older brother'

The relationship between an older and younger brother involves people of different ages. As we will see, the **purple** pronominal prefix shows this age difference, as well as the direction between the two members of the relationship. This difference in age and/or status is the unifying factor among kinship terms.

I call the other type of family member terms **reciprocal terms**. These relationships are relationships between people of equal age and status. Due to their equality, these relationships are reciprocal. An example is the term for 'our friend' in (4).

(4) **onkwatén:ro**
'our friend'

In the friend relationship, each friend is also a friend to all others in the group. In other words they each "friend" each other. Another way to think about this is that you are your friend's friend. You and a friend hold the same status to each other, meaning the relationship is reciprocal. On the other hand, you are not your mother's mother; you don't "mother" each other. Since reciprocal terms do not involve directionality in the way that kinship terms do, they use a different set of pronominal prefixes from the kinship terms. This can be seen by the fact that the pronominal prefix in (4) is **blue**, rather than **purple** like the one in (3). We will see that the **blue** prefixes do not reference differences in age, instead referring to both members together as a unit. Both types of family member terms provide a good linguistic basis for Kanien'kéha, since both types of prefixes appear throughout the language learning process.

The chapter is organized with more basic material at the beginning. This is keeping with the tour guide approach I adopt, discussed in Chapter 1. As the reader continues through the text, the material increases in depth and complexity, just as a tour guide begins with more surface explanations before going more in-depth as the tour continues.

First, in §3.1, I introduce the reader to the categories that Kanien'kéha uses to talk about people and things, and how these categories determine the forms of the **pronouns** in the language. Next, §3.2 introduces the kinship terms for **í'i** (I) and **í:se** (you), in addition to a couple of simple exercises to get you used to forming the kinship terms yourself. In §3.3 I show you how to introduce family members, how to have a basic conversation about family members, and some shorthand forms for family members. §3.4 breaks down the kinship terms a little more and explains some of the linguistics behind each term; we'll learn more about feminine family members, and we'll see some of the morphology that can be added to kinship terms so that you can expand your vocabulary even more. §3.5 is full of more exercises that you can use to practice what you've learned so far. Finally, §3.6 introduces dual and plural kinship terms, and §3.7 concludes.

3.1 Categorizing people, places and things

This section dives into the categories that Kanien'kéha uses to classify people and things. How the language categorizes people and things in the world is crucial to know before you can begin talking about people. The categories determine the form of the **pronouns** in the language. Pronouns are the pieces of the language that tell the listener what people or things are being discussed. They pick out the people and things that the speaker is talking about. Pronouns are used throughout the language and thus knowing which categories are relevant for organizing the world in Kanien'kéha is important to begin speaking the language. It also allows learners to begin seeing the world from a Kanien'kehá:ka worldview. I use these categories as an entry point into our tour of the language.

Kanien'kéha has two types of pronouns: **freestanding pronouns** and **pronominal prefixes**. Both allow the listener to pick out the specific people and things one is talking about, but there is one major difference. Freestanding pronouns are **freestanding**, meaning they can occur on their own without attaching to another word. They exist as a word by themselves. An example is **í:se** 'you' below.

(5) **Í:se sa'tshennón:ni.**
'You're happy.'

Here, the pronoun refers to the listener, but it stands apart from the other words in the sentence as its own word. On the other hand, pronominal prefixes are pronouns that must attach to another word. For example, the prefix **s-** is a pronoun, but it is attached as part of a bigger word in (6).

(6) **Sa'tshennón:ni.**
'You're happy.'

Here, there are no freestanding pronouns. However, it still has the same basic meaning as (5). The word **sa'tshennón:ni** has the pronoun **s-** on it. This is a pronominal prefix; it is a pronoun that refers to the listener. However, unlike the freestanding pronouns, the **s-** in **sa'tshennón:ni** cannot stand on its own. Instead, it must always appear as part of another word.

Pronouns allow the listener to determine which person or thing the pronoun refers to in the context by giving them the categories that that person or thing belongs to. They do this by appearing in different forms based on the categories of the person or thing they refer to. This is true of both the free pronouns and pronominal prefixes. It is therefore important to know which categories trigger the change in form.

Kanien'kéha has different pronoun forms for first, second, and third persons. **First person** is the form used when the speaker or writer of the sentence is talking about themselves. For example, **í'i** (or "me" in English) is a freestanding first person pronoun because it is used by the speaker to refer to the speaker themselves. First person pronouns can also be used to refer to a group of people as long as the group contains the speaker. The English pronoun "we" is therefore also a first person pronoun, because although it refers to more than one person, it is used by the speaker to refer to a group containing the speaker.

Second person pronouns are used by the speaker or writer to refer to the listener or reader of the sentence. An example is the freestanding pronoun **í:se'** ("you" in English), which the speaker uses to refer to the listener/reader of a sentence. Just as with first person pronouns, second person pronouns can refer to more than one person as long as they are the listeners/readers of the sentence. In this way, the English plural "you" and "yous" are second person pronouns, because they are used by a speaker to address a group of people together as the listeners of the sentence.

Third person forms are used by the speaker to refer to people and things that are not themselves participating in the conversation. The English "he," "she," "they," and "it" are all third person pronouns, because they are used by speakers to refer to people or things who are not involved in the conversation; that is, they refer to people and things that are neither a speaker nor a listener in a certain conversation. Instead, these pronouns refer to another person or thing, someone or something that is being discussed but that is not participating in the conversation. Some examples of

Kanien'kéha third person freestanding pronouns are **raónha** "he," **akaónha** "she," and **aónha** "she, it."

In addition to categorizing people and things by person, Kanien'kéha also uses different pronouns for third persons based on their **gender**. This is the same as in English, though the gender categories are a bit different. The first and second person pronouns "me" and "you" are used to refer to the speaker or the listener regardless of their gender. Speakers of all genders refer to themselves as "me" and listeners of all genders are referred to as "you." However, for third person pronouns, English pronouns referring to people (and things) of different genders have different forms. For example, English has "he," "she," "it," and "they," which are all third person (singular) pronouns because they refer to an individual who is neither the speaker nor the listener in the conversation. However, they are different in the gender they refer to (masculine, feminine, inanimate, unspecified). We can then say that English categorizes third person pronouns based on gender, while having no distinct gender categories for first and second person pronouns.

Kanien'kéha works in the same way. First and second person pronouns (both freestanding pronouns and pronominal prefixes) are not distinguished based on gender; **í:se'** is used by the speaker to refer to the singular listener regardless of their gender, just like **i'i** is used by the speaker to refer to themselves regardless of their gender. On the other hand, third person pronouns have different forms based on the gender of the individual they refer to. These will be explained below, but for more about the different genders in Iroquoian languages, see Abbot 1984 and Michelson 2015 on Oneida, and Bonvillain 1973 and Mithun 2015 on Kanien'kéha.

First, Kanien'kéha distinguishes third person pronouns based on whether the thing being referred to is an inanimate thing or an animate thing. All inanimates are of the **neuter** gender.[6] This includes anything that is not a human or an animal, such as a chair or a hat, and it can sometimes include plants. This is similar to English; the third person pronoun "it" only refers to inanimate things.

On the other hand, when a third person pronoun refers to an animate being, like a person or animal, its form changes based on which of three genders it is categorized as: masculine, feminine-indefinite, and feminine-zoic.

Masculine is the gender used when referring to third person people and animals who are known to be male. For example, **raónha** is the freestanding masculine singular pronoun. It is third person meaning it refers to neither the listener nor the speaker in the conversation. However, it also tells you that the person it refers to is masculine. Therefore **raónha** can be used to refer back to Joe, for example, but not

[6] This makes Kanien'kéha different from Romance languages like Spanish or French. In those languages, inanimate things have a gender as masculine or feminine. In Kanien'kéha (and English), inanimates are always neuter, and genders like feminine and masculine are only used for animate things (i.e., individuals that can actually have a gender).

Mary. Importantly, groups that include at least one male are also masculine. This may be familiar to people who have studied Spanish or French. In these languages, groups of all men are masculine and use the pronouns *ellos* or *ils*, while groups of all women are feminine and use the pronouns *ellas* or *elles*. However, as soon as the group contains at least one male, the masculine pronouns *ellos* and *ils* are used. Kanien'kéha works the same; groups of all men are masculine and use the freestanding pronoun **ronónha**, but groups including at least one male are also masculine and therefore use the same **ronónha** as a freestanding pronoun.

Talking about female third persons is a little bit more complicated. You may have noticed above that there are two genders corresponding to women: the feminine-indefinite and the feminine-zoic. This is an often confusing part of the language for learners. Both feminine-indefinite pronouns like **akaónha** 'her' and feminine-zoic pronouns like **aónha** 'her, it' refer to female individuals that are not participants in the conversation. **Aónha** can also be used for animals, but it can't be used for inanimate objects such as tables or cars. But how do you know which pronoun to use for a certain woman? How do you categorize a certain woman into either feminine-indefinite or feminine-zoic?

The choice of which gender to use when discussing women is a little complicated and depends on several factors. One is dialectal differences. In both Kahnawà:ke and Ahkwesáhsne, feminine-zoic is widely used to refer to all women, regardless of other factors. In these communities, all (third person) women are typically referred to with the feminine-zoic pronoun **aónha** 'her, it'. However, in Kanehsatà:ke, feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic are both used for women. The choice in this community of how to categorize a certain woman depends on several factors, including politeness, familiarity, and respect. It can sometimes be complicated, but it's important to understand how to use this within the different Mohawk communities. For Kanehsatà:ke speakers, feminine-indefinite is the gender category for women you have respect for. Using a feminine-indefinite pronoun, like the freestanding **akaónha** 'her', to refer to a woman is considered "classy" and polite. On the other hand, feminine-zoic pronouns, like the freestanding **aónha** 'her, it', are sometimes used for women who you do not respect. As a result, it can be very disrespectful to refer to a woman with a feminine-zoic pronoun in the Kanehsatà:ke community. Closeness is another factor governing which gender a female person is categorized as. Women who you are really close to are also referred to with feminine-zoic pronouns like **aónha**. On the other hand, feminine-indefinite can be used to show a distance between the speaker and the women being referred to. (See §4.2 and Mithun 2015, Abbott 1984, and Michelson 2015 for more on the difference between the feminine-indefinite and the feminine-zoic).

There are additionally non-female individuals that get categorized as either of these feminine genders. Feminine-zoic pronouns are sometimes used in naming for both males and females and are also used to refer to animals or non-humans, like

spirits and ghosts. It can also be used for plants to treat them as an animate being. For example, I remember in stories that my mother used to tell, an elder dreamed of the mullen (a type of plant used for respiratory illness) telling him to come and find them in the fields when he wakes. For this story, the feminine zoic was used for the trees.

Feminine-indefinite pronouns also have a use referring to non-female individuals. They are used when you don't know the gender of an individual. As an example, take the question below.

(7) *Context: You tell your friend that you sold one of your sweaters. They ask:*
Ónhka' wa'ehní:non'?
'Who bought it?'

In the sentence in example (7), the pronoun used is not a freestanding pronoun. Instead, it is the pronominal prefix **e-**, occurring as part of the verb. This pronoun refers to the "doer" of the action described by the verb, the buying of the sweater, as a feminine-indefinite individual. It is not that the person who bought it is necessarily female. In this context, your friend has no idea of the gender of the person who bought it. This is the reason the feminine-indefinite pronoun is used: since the speaker does not know the buyer's gender, a pronoun is used that tells the listener the giver is categorized as feminine-indefinite. In other words, feminine-indefinite is the gender category for third persons when the speaker does not know what gender the person is. This is similar to the English singular "they." In the sentence, "Oh, the doctor called? What did they say?," the pronoun used to refer to the doctor is "they," rather than "he" or "she." This is because the speaker does not know the gender of the doctor. If the gender of the doctor was known, "he" or "she" might be used instead. Feminine-indefinite is used similarly in Kanien'kéha.

Table 35 summarizes the singular freestanding pronouns that we have seen so far. The first column is the freestanding pronoun forms in Kanien'kéha. The second column shows the categories that each pronoun represents, with parentheticals representing how linguists abbreviate these categories. The third column shows the closest approximated English translation.

Kanien'kéha	Categories	English
í'i	First person singular (1SG)	me
í:se'	Second person singular (2SG)	you
raónha	Third person masculine singular (MSG)	him
akaónha	Third person feminine-indefinite (singular) (FI)	her, them (unknown gender)
aónha[7]	Third person feminine-zoic singular (FZSG)	her, it (animal)

Table 35. Singular free-standing pronouns

You may have noted above that pronouns in Kanien'kéha also care about the number of individuals that are referred to. This category can be called **number**. This was seen in the difference between **raónha** 'him' and **ronónha** 'them'. Both freestanding pronouns are third person, meaning they refer to individual(s) that are neither the speaker or the listener of the conversation. They are also both masculine gender, referring to individual(s) that are male. However, they are different based on their number; whereas **raónha** 'him' refers to a single individual, **ronónha** 'them' refers to a group of two or more individuals (see Table 36 for more).

Unlike gender, number is a category relevant in referring to any group of people. That means first and second person pronouns also change form based on number, just like third person pronouns do. For example, **í:se'** and **sewakwé:kon** are both second person pronouns, in that they are used by the speaker to refer to listeners in the conversation. However, **sewakwé:kon** refers to a group of listeners, specifically three or more, while **í:se'** can refer to just one.

Kanien'kéha has three number categories: singular, dual, and plural. **Singular** pronouns, for example **raónha** 'him', **akaónha** 'her', and **í'i** 'me', refer back to an individual, a singular person or thing. **Plural** pronouns like **sewakwé:kon** 'yous' and **ronónha** 'them' refer to groups of people that include three or more. However, Kanien'kéha also categorizes certain groups as being **dual**. Like the name suggests, dual pronouns are used to refer to groups of two. For example, **teseniiáhse'** is a second person pronoun. As such, it is used by a speaker to refer to the listener(s) of the

[7] There is no freestanding pronoun for the neuter gender in Kanien'kéha (Postal 1962). The neuter gender is different from the other genders in a few ways in Kanien'kéha; for more information about this, see §4.

conversation. However, it is classified as dual in number, therefore it is used to refer to exactly two listeners of the conversation. This is like “you two” in English. The dual and plural free-standing pronouns introduced above are summarized in Table 36:

Kanien’kéha	**Categories**	**English**
teseniiáhse’	Second person dual (2DU)	you two
sewakwé:kon	Second person plural (2PL)	you all
tehniiáhse’	Third person masculine dual (MDU)	they/them two (at least one male)
tekeniiáhse’	Third person feminine-zoic dual (FZDU)	they/them two (both female and/or animals)
ronónha	Third person masculine plural (MPL)	they/them all (at least one male)
onónha	Third person feminine-zoic plural (FZPL)	they/them all (all female and/or animal)

Table 36. Dual and plural free-standing pronouns

Similarly to how some categories of pronouns (e.g., first and second person) do not distinguish—that is, change form based on—gender, not all categories distinguish number. Neuter pronouns do not distinguish number. Note that the neuter gender is different in another way in that there is no freestanding pronoun to represent things of the neuter gender (Postal 1962); **aónha** cannot be used for inanimate objects. Additionally, feminine-indefinite pronouns are always singular. There is no dual or plural form of pronouns to refer to women who are categorized as feminine-indefinite; instead the feminine-zoic dual and plural pronouns must be used to refer to these women instead.

Not all pronouns differ based on all potential number combinations. The freestanding pronoun **ronónha** is used to refer to any group of people, whether they are a group of ten or a group of two (note that this means that for a group of two people that includes at least one male, either **ronónha** or **tehniiáhse’** is possible). This pronoun therefore does not distinguish between dual and plural number; it does not matter if the group is composed of two individuals or three or more. It is simply the pronoun for all non-singular non-feminine groups.

As we have seen, certain categories depend on other categories. An example is gender and third person. First and second person pronouns do not change shape based on gender. However, this is not the case for pronouns that refer to others not in the conversation (third person pronouns). Whether a third person individual or thing is animate and the gender category of this individual or thing are both extremely important for using the correct pronoun. This is because gender and animacy ("humanness") change the form of third person pronouns. If the pronoun does not refer to a third person individual or thing, gender does not matter for the pronoun.

There are two more categories that are important for the forms of Kanien'kéha pronouns. However, these categories are only distinct for first person non-singular pronouns. That is to say, these categories are only important for categorizing groups that include the speaker. This distinction is called **clusivity**. Just as gender depends on third person, we can say clusivity depends on first person and non-singular number. First person pronoun forms that refer to more than one person—that is, first person pronouns that a speaker uses to refer to a group that includes the speaker—come in two flavors in Kanien'kéha. One form is the **inclusive** form. Inclusive first person pronouns are used when the speaker wants to refer back to a group of people they are a part of and crucially, that the listener is *also* a part of. For example, **teteniiáhse'** 'me and you' is a first person dual pronoun because it is used by the speaker to refer to a group of two individuals, one of whom is the speaker. However, this is also an inclusive pronoun, meaning that the group includes the listener. Hence it means something like "me and you" in English.

There is also an **exclusive** form of first person pronouns in Kanien'kéha. Here, the listener is *not* included in the group that the pronoun refers to. For example, **teiakeniiáhse'** 'us two (and not you)' is also a first person dual pronoun like **teteniiáhse'** 'me and you', used by a speaker to refer to a group of two individuals that includes the speaker. But **teiakeniiáhse'** is the exclusive form, meaning the group that is being referred to includes the speaker but *excludes* the listener.

English does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive pronouns, but this is an important distinction in Kanien'kéha. For a more concrete example between inclusive and exclusive pronouns, take the sentence "We got invited to the ball" in the story of Onon'onserára.[8] In English, this sentence is ambiguous. If one of the step-sisters is talking to the other, the sentence is true because both the speaker and the listener (both stepsisters) were invited to the ball. However, in English the sentence is also true if one of the step-sisters is talking to Onon'onserára. Here, the "we" pronoun refers to the step-sister speaker and another person (the other step-sister) who got

[8] Onon'onserára, which means 'pumpkin girl', is the word that my grandfather coined for Cinderella when one day I came home from school with the English book in hand. I asked him to read it for me, but he couldn't read English, so he read the entire story in Mohawk, making it up as he went along looking at the pictures.

invited, while leaving the listener Onon'onserára out, as someone who did not get an invite. English must therefore rely on context to figure out whether the listener is included or not. Kanien'kéha does not have this problem; we would use different pronouns in the two contexts. In the first, where one of the step-sisters is talking to the other, both the listener and the speaker got invited to the ball, so the freestanding *inclusive* pronoun **teteniiáhse'** 'me and you' would be used. This is because the speaker (one step-sister) and the listener (the other step-sister) are both invited. On the other hand, if one step-sister is talking to Onon'onserára, the step-sister speaking would use the *exclusive* pronoun **teiakeniiáhse'** 'us two (and not you)' to refer to herself and another person (the other step-sister), but clearly excluding the listener (Onon'onserára) as someone who was invited. The different pronouns ensure that there is no ambiguity as to if the listener is included in the "we."

The inclusive and exclusive freestanding pronouns are summarized in Table 37:

Kanien'kéha	**Categories**	**English**
teteniiáhse'	First person dual inclusive (1DU.INCL)	us two; me and you
teiakeniiáhse'	First person dual exclusive (1DU.EXCL)	us two (and not you)
tewakwé:kon	First person plural inclusive (1PL.INCL)	us all; me, you, and others
iakwakwé:kon	First person plural exclusive (1PL.EXCL)	us all; me and them (and not you)

Table 37. Inclusive and exclusive freestanding pronouns

Lastly, I now list all of the freestanding pronouns in Table 38. For the second column, which lists the categories of the pronouns as explained above: note that if a category does not change form based on a certain other category, that category is not listed in the third column. For example, as discussed above, whether gender is relevant for a pronoun depends on if the person or thing it refers to is not the speaker or listener. Therefore gender categories are not listed for first and second person pronouns, because these pronouns do not change based on the gender of the individual they refer to. Similarly, differences in clusivity categories depend on the pronoun referring to a group that includes the speaker, so singular first person pronouns, as well as second and third person pronouns never have a clusivity category in their category list in the third column.

Kanien’kéha	Categories	English
í'i	First person singular (1SG)	me
teteniiáhse’	First person dual inclusive (1DU.INCL)	us two; me and you
teiakeniiáhse’	First person dual exclusive (1DU.EXCL)	us two (and not you)
tewakwé:kon	First person plural inclusive (1PL.INCL)	us all; me, you, and others
iakwakwé:kon	First person plural exclusive (1PL.EXCL)	us all; me and them (and not you)
í:se’	Second person singular (2SG)	you
teseniiáhse’	Second person dual (2DU)	you two
sewakwé:kon	Second person plural (2PL)	you all
raónha	Third person masculine singular (MSG)	him
akaónha	Third person feminine-indefinite (singular) (FI)	her, them (unknown gender)
aónha	Third person feminine-zoic singular (FZSG)	her, it (animal)
tehniiáhse’	Third person masculine dual (MDU)	them two (at least one male)
tekeniiáhse’	Third person feminine-zoic dual (FZDU)	them two (both female and/or animals)
ronónha	Third person masculine plural (MPL)	them all (at least one male)
onónha	Third person feminine-zoic plural (FZPL)	them all (all female and/or animal)

Table 38. Freestanding pronouns

In introducing the categories that Kanien'kéha uses to sort people and things, I have provided an entry into the language in two ways. For one, because pronouns are so frequent in the language, the categories of person, gender, number, and clusivity will come back again and again throughout the language learning journey. Additionally, by introducing these categories the learner can begin seeing how people and things are organized in a Kanien'kehá:ka worldview. This section has therefore provided an introduction into the language through both linguistics and through a worldview. Now that I have described these categories, I begin with the lessons on kinship terms.

3.2 Overview of kinship terms & lessons

One of the main purposes of this work is to contribute to language use in the home. As part of this goal, I introduce kinship terms in a more natural way, beginning with only the kinship terms for **í'i** (me) and **í:se'** (you) in §3.2.1. These are the family member terms that are most relevant in early conversations in the home. When I was growing up, older speakers were always telling me, "Go get your mother!" or "Talk to your cousin!" In addition, knowing the terms for one's family members allows a child to contextualize themselves: it allows them to understand how they relate to the members of their community. In growing up with the language, the family terms for **í'i** and **í:se'** are therefore extremely important. Introducing only the kinship terms for **í'i** and **í:se'** also allows the reader to learn the patterns inherent in Kanien'kéha kinship terms without overwhelming them with too many vocabulary items. As a part of the lesson on the **í'i** and **í:se'** forms of family member terms, I introduce the "anatomy" or structure of kinship terms. This will make the patterns of kinship terms explicit to readers, specifically the pattern of older>younger prefixes. I also introduce the **transitive** pronominal prefixes for combinations of singular people here. Next, I give readers practice making their own kinship terms in §3.2.2. The second half of this section shifts focus to the reciprocal terms. Similar to the first lesson, I begin this half in §3.2.3 with a lesson on the reciprocal terms for **í'i** and **í:se'**. I then introduce the pattern of reciprocal relationships, which allows for the introduction of both **subjective** and **objective** pronominal prefixes. The section then finishes with a chance to practice building one's own reciprocal terms. At this point, you will have seen all of the pronominal prefixes, which is crucial since they will also be found on all verbs in the language.

3.2.1 Lesson 1: Sahwá:tsire' tánon' ahkwá:tsire' (Your family and my family)

First, let's take a look at the kinship terms for **í:se'.** Table 39 shows mostly older family members and Table 40 shows younger family members. Family member terms are listed in pairs (if they exist), with the feminine member of the pair coming first. For example, the term for 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' are listed together, with 'grandmother' coming first. The tables separate older kinship terms from younger

kinship terms as well as ordered by pairs in order to help readers begin noticing the patterns in the kinship terms. Note that the age is not the most crucial thing about these terms, but rather the relationship you have with the person. For example, although your uncle is usually older than you, you could have an uncle who is younger than you, and you would still use the term **ianonhá'a**, because it's about the relationship and the dynamics within the family - you always know who is who. Similarly, you could have a sister-in-law who is younger than you, but you would still use **iesonháwha** to describe the relationship. Note that these are all second-person singular kinship terms; you can't use **sahsóhtha** to refer to 'your grandmothers' or 'your (2) grandmother.'

Kanien'kéha	**English**
sahsóhtha	your grandmother
iahsóhtha	your grandfather
sa'nisténha	your mother/your aunt
ia'níha	your father
ianonhá'a[9]	your uncle
sahtsí'a	your older sister
iahtsí'a	your older brother
iesanó'a	your stepmother
ianó'a	your stepfather
iesehnhónsa'	your mother-in-law
iehnhónsa'	your father-in-law

Table 39. Í:se sahwá:tsire' (your older family members)

[9] Note that some teachers will spell the kinship terms that end in -'a with a falling tone, but I have always written them and pronounced them with a short upstress.

Kanien’kéha	English
she’kén'a	your younger sister
(eh)tshe’kén'a	your younger brother
sheién'a	your daughter
(eh)tshién'a	your son
sheiateré'a	your granddaughter
(eh)tshateré'a/(eh)tshiateré'a	your grandson
sheionhwatén'a	your niece
(eh)tshionhwatén'a	your nephew
she’ksténha	your wife
(eh)tshe’ksténha	your husband
shenó'a	your stepdaughter
(eh)tshenó'a	your stepson
sheiehnhónsa’	your daughter-in-law
(e)tshehnhónsa’/(e)tshiehnhónsa’	your son-in-law
sheionháhwha	your sister-in-law[10]
(eh)tshionháhwha	your brother-in-law

Table 40. Í:se sahwá:tsire (your younger family members)

A different way to visualize the relationships between family members is through the use of family trees. Before looking at the family tree for **í:se**, familiarize yourself with this key which explains the color coding and symbols that will be used in the family trees:

[10] There are additional terms for these last two family members that can be used when the two in-laws are the same gender, and these will be introduced in §3.2.3.

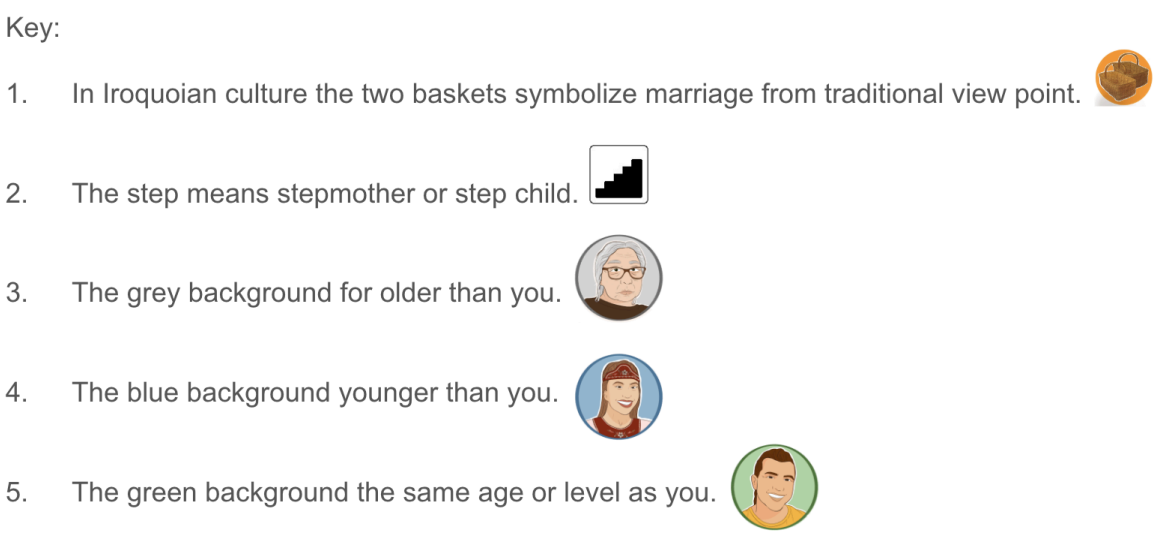


Figure 7. Kinship key

The beautiful portraits here, which you'll see throughout the trees below, were drawn by Kanien'kehá:ka artist Caira Karihwenhá:wi Nicholas. Thank you, Karihwenhá:wi! If you'd like to see bigger versions of the kinship trees, as well as some extra trees that won't be explored in detail in this section, see Appendix B.

Figure 8 below shows the family tree for older family members for **í:se**. As you can see in the key, family members that are older than you will have a **grey** background. Sometimes you'll see blue family members in the grey tree or vice versa; this is just to illustrate the relationships more clearly. For example, you need to see **she'ksténha/(eh)tshe'ksténha** (wife/husband) in Figure 8 to understand the relationship you have to **iesehnhónsa'** and **iehnhónsa'** (mother/father in law). Some terms that can be ambiguous or require further explanation have English translations.

In these diagrams, the green-framed person **í:se** is the center of the universe, and all of the kinship relationships connect to that portrait. So it's important to understand that it's **í:se** in relation to the people around you, in this case people older than you. The guy pointing at you in the portrait represents that this is **your** family, so everyone in the tree relates to **you**.

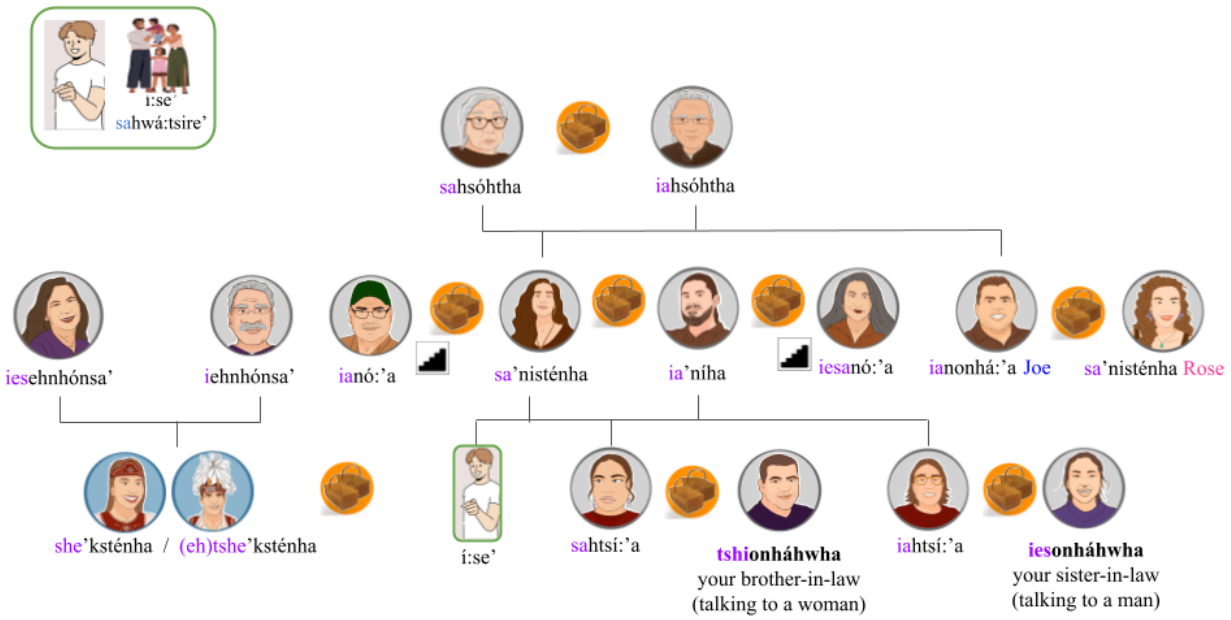


Figure 8. Í:se sahwá:tsire (your older family members)

Next is the tree for younger family members in Figure 9. Although you'll see some grey portraits, the focus is on the blue portraits; the grey ones just illustrate relations.

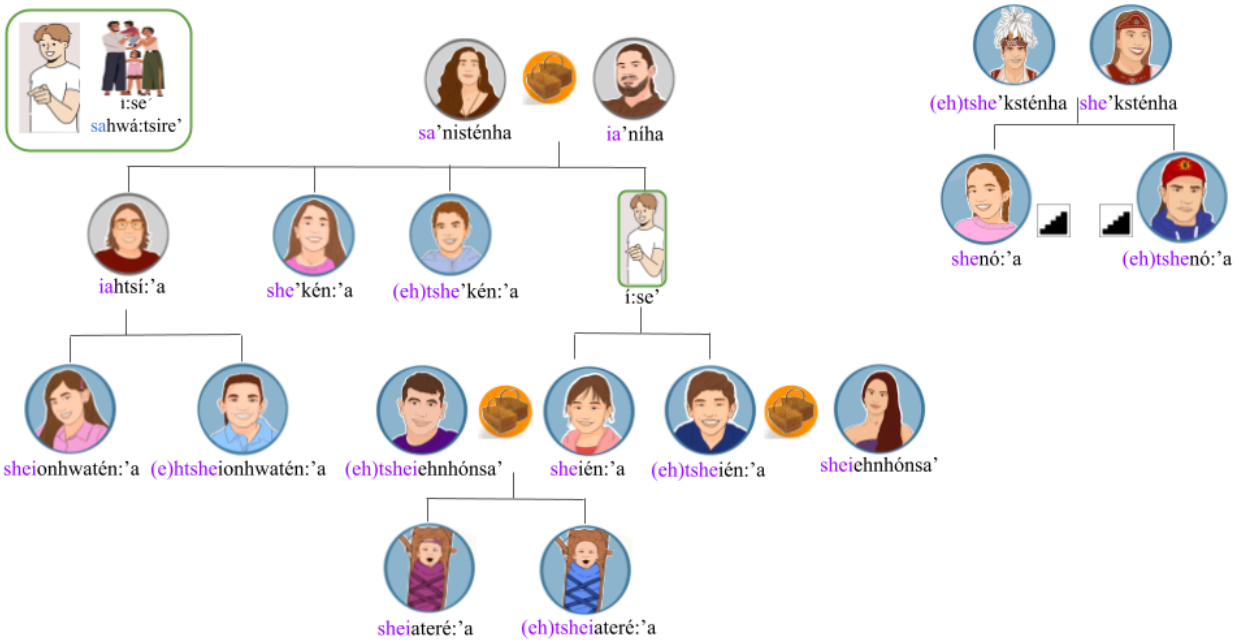


Figure 9. Í:se' sahwá:tsire' (your younger family members)

Before continuing to read through the rest of the section, try to take a guess at what each of the following parts of the family member words might mean.

What do you think **'níha** means?
What about **no'a**?
How about **ien'a**?
And what does **hsohtha'** mean?

Readers may have already noticed that the kinship terms for **í:se'** are far from random. In fact, the kinship terms above have multiple patterns. This is the section of our tour through the language where I begin to take the reader behind the scenes, to show the reader what really goes on in the background.

It may be useful to think about how English discusses family members. Take the phrase "Lionel's mother." There are two components: the word *Lionel's* and the word *mother*. Let's begin with the second word. The word *mother* is a noun, since it refers to a person; specifically, it refers to someone's female parent. The other part of the family member term in English "Lionel's mother" is *Lionel's*. This can be broken up into the noun *Lionel* (referring to a person named Lionel) and a suffix *-'s*. The suffix *-'s* in English is a **possessive** suffix. It indicates that the noun it attaches to is the owner or "haver" of another noun. That means that in English, one talks about possession in talking about family members: the mother is one that "belongs" to Lionel. Then in English the way to talk about family members is through possession, with two parts: first, a possessor noun, then second, a family member noun. This has the meaning that the family member referred to by the noun is "owned" or "belongs" to the possessor noun. In other words, family relationships in English are expressed as a relationship of one family member "belonging" to the other person in the relationship.

In contrast, Kanien'kéha does *not* use this type of possession to talk about family relationships. This is a crucial point of difference. Instead, Kanien'kéha uses the **pronominal prefixes** with its family terms. Recall that pronominal prefixes are just like the freestanding pronouns in §1.2; the only difference is that pronominal prefixes cannot

stand on their own and must appear as part of another word. Instead of indicating a possession relationship, the pronominal prefixes on family member terms in Kanien'kéha indicate the relationship between the two members of the kin bond itself. The pronoun is an audio cue, allowing the listener to understand the relationship between the people around them. The relationship is clear because different sets of pronouns are used for people who are older than you, people who are younger than you, and people who are the same age as you.

Kinship term prefixes are all about directionality. They can be described as "X-to-Y" prefixes, with X being the member of the relationship that the relationship comes from, and Y being the member that the relationship goes to. As a more concrete example, we can think of the pronoun **sa-** in **sa'nisténha** as being a "she-to-you" prefix (also symbolized "she>you" or "FZsg>2sg") because it indexes a relationship from a woman to the speaker. In other words, based on the way these prefixes work, a more apt translation than 'your mother' for **sa'nisténha** might be 'she mothers you.' The directionality of pronominal prefixes will be discussed further below.

We can see the pronominal prefixes in action by looking at the organization of the tables. The tables may have a lot of words, but these words are built from predictable rules. Specifically, let's look at Table 41 and Table 42 on the next two pages, which introduce the kinship terms for **í'i**.

Kanien’kéha	English
akhsóhtha	my grandmother
rakhsóhtha	my grandfather
ake’nisténha	my mother/my aunt
rake’níha	my father
rakenonhá'a	my uncle
akhtsí'a	my older sister
rakhtsí'a	my older brother
ionkenó'a	my stepmother
rakenó'a	my stepfather
ionkehnhónsa’	my mother-in-law
rakehnhónsa’	my father-in-law
akonháhwha	my sister-in-law (if I am a man)[11]
rakonháhwha	my brother-in-law (if I am a woman)

Table 41. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (my older family members)

[11] Remember that these are the terms that are used when the two people in the in-law relationship are different genders. For example, I always remember when my uncle came into my house he would say to my mother “shé:kon akonháwha” (‘hello sister-in-law’), and she would respond “shé:kon rakonháwha” (‘hello brother-in-law’). They would never refer to each other by their names, Margaret and Angus. The in-law terms used for when the two people in the relationship are the same gender will be introduced in §3.2.3.

Kanien’kéha	English
khe’kén'a	my younger sister
ri’kén'a	my younger brother
kheién'a	my daughter
riién'a	my son
kheiateré'a	my granddaughter
riiateré'a	my grandson
kheionhwatén'a	my niece
riionhwatén'a	my nephew
khe’ksténha	my wife
ri’ksténha	my husband
khenó'a	my stepdaughter
rinó'a	my stepson
kheiehnhónsa’ / kheshá:wha’	my daughter-in-law
riiehnhónsa’	my son-in-law

Table 42. Í'i akhwá:tsire (Younger family members)

As you may have noticed, all female kinship terms in Table 41 and Table 42 have the prefix **ak(e)-**, **ionk(e)-**, or **khe-**. These pronouns do not express a possession relationship. Instead, these pronouns audibly show the listener the relationship being described because they directly refer to a relationship that exists between a woman and the speaker. Similarly, all the male kinship terms in Table 41 and Table 42 occur with either the prefix **rak(e)-** or the prefix **ri-**. These two prefixes also directly express a relationship, but these prefixes show the relationship exists between the speaker and a man. In other words, both sets of prefixes directly show the relationship between the speaker and a person, the kin member. The difference between the two sets is simply whether the relationship is between the speaker and a woman or whether it is between the speaker and a man.

There are two ways we can see that the prefixes care about the gender of the non-speaker person in the relationship. For one, some kin terms for my older female relatives have **ak(e)-**, like the term for ‘my mother’ in (8) and the term for ‘my older sister’ in (9). On the other hand, other older female family members have **ionk(e)-**, like ‘my stepmother’ (10) and ‘my mother-in-law’ (11).

(8) **ake’nisténha**
‘my mother, my aunt’

(9) **akhtsí'a**
‘my older sister’

(10) **ionkenó'a**
‘my stepmother’

(11) **ionkehnhónsa’**
‘my mother-in-law’

Recall from §3.1 that Kanien’kéha has two different categories for women, feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic, with the difference partially being one one of closeness: women that you are close to get categorized as feminine-zoic, while women that you are more distant from get categorized as feminine-indefinite. The split between terms with **ak(e)-** and **ionk(e)-** is because they are showing relationships between the speaker and women *of different genders*. The forms with **ak(e)-** refer to close kin members, like a mother and a grandmother, hence they show a relationship between the speaker and a feminine-zoic woman, while the forms with **ionk(e)-** refer to more distant relationships, like a step-mother, so the pronoun shows a relationship between the speaker and a feminine-indefinite woman.[12] Again, we see that the prefix directly shows the relationship to the listener, with the pronouns changing based on the gender of the non-speaker member of the relationship.

Another way to see that the pronouns change based on the gender of the other person in the relationship is through the way the forms are listed in pairs. Notice that both the term for my grandmother and my grandfather share a common piece. This is clear when they are compared like in (12).

[12] See §4.2 for more details on the choice of feminine-indefinite versus feminine-zoic for family members.

(12) a. **akhsóhtha'**
‘my grandmother’
b. **rakhsóhtha'**
‘my grandfather’

Seeing them side-by-side, it is clear that the words for both of my grandparents share a part: **hsohtha'**. The terms for my older sister and my older brother, compared in (13), also have a commonality, namely the form **htsi'a**.

(13) a. **akhtsí'a**
‘my older sister’
b. **rakhtsí'a**
‘my older brother’

The same is true for the terms for ‘my younger sister’ and ‘my younger brother’, which share a part **'ken'a**.

(14) a. **khe'kén'a**
‘my younger sister’
b. **ri'kén'a**
‘my younger brother’

Likewise, ‘my wife’ and ‘my husband’ share the piece **'kstenha'**.

(15) a. **khe'ksténha'**
‘my wife’
b. **ri'ksténha'**
‘my husband’

This pair pattern continues for several pairs in Table 41 and Table 42. The only difference in the terms between my grandmother and my grandfather is the pronominal prefix: the term for my grandmother uses the prefix **ak-**, while the word for my grandfather uses the prefix **rak-**. This is similar for the pairs in (14–15), where the only difference between the female member of the pair and the male member is the prefix **khe-** versus the prefix **ri-**. This shows again that the prefixes change to reflect the gender of the members of the relationship. We can also say that the terms for both of my grandparents are based on the same **stem**, that is, the same base onto which prefixes are added. So for grandparents, the stem is **hsohtha**, and the pronominal prefix describes the two people that share the relationship, with, as an example, **ak(e)-** being used for a relationship between the speaker and a woman.

Notice the gender of the speaker does not matter for the pronouns in Table 41 and Table 42.[13] The speaker's uncle is always **rakenonhá'a**, regardless of if the speaker is a woman or a man. This is because of what was described in §3.1. In Table 41 and Table 42, the pronouns are indexing a relationship between the speaker and a third person. Whereas pronouns for third persons care about gender, pronouns that refer to the speaker or listener do not. This means that the pronoun does not change form based on the speaker's gender, only based on the gender of the other person in the relationship. However, it is also important to see that the pronoun on kinship forms cares about *both* the categories of the two members of the relationship. This is why the **í:se'** forms for kinship in Table 39 and Table 40 only differ from the **í'i** forms by the prefix. For example take the **í:se'** and **í'i** forms of fathers.

(16) a. **rake'níha**
'my father'
b. **ia'níha**
'your father'

While they both use the stem **'niha** to indicate a father relationship, the prefixes change from the **í'i** form **rake-** in (16a) to the **í:se'** form **ia-** in (16b). This is because the relationship described is no longer between the speaker and a man but rather between the *listener* and a man. Nevertheless, the prefixes for the **í:se'** kinship terms still care about the gender of the other member in the relationship just like the **í'i** prefixes do: **sa-**/**iesa-** and **she-** describe relationships between the listener and a woman, while **ia-** and **(e)tshi-** describe relationships between the listener and a man.

There is another pattern to be found in the prefixes for the **í'i** forms in Table 41 and Table 42, specifically the difference between the pair **ak(e)-**/**ionk(e)-** and **khe-** and between the pair **rak(e)-** and **ri-**, one that is also clear from the organization of the terms. In addition to describing the gender of the kin member the speaker is related to, the pronominal prefixes on kinship terms also describe the **direction** of the relationship. All women in Table 41 use the pronoun **ak(e)-** or **ionk(e)-**. All male relatives in the same table use **rak(e)-**. As shown in the caption, Table 41 has the forms for the speaker's *older* family members. That means that all older female family members use **ak(e)-**/**ionk(e)-**, while older male family members use **rak(e)-**. This is because the pronouns **ak(e)-**/**ionk(e)-** not only act as a cue for listeners as to the relationship between the speaker and a female person, but also as a cue as to the direction of the relationship: they show the relationship as going from a female person to

[13] The gender of the speaker **does** matter in certain cases for the **terms** that are used (not the pronouns); for certain in-laws, for example, there are two different terms used depending on whether the two people in the relationship are the same gender or not. See §3.2.3 for more details.

the speaker. Likewise, **rak(e)-** also encodes direction, describing the relationship going from a male person to the speaker.

Table 42 shows the terms for family members who are younger than the speaker. These words use a different set of pronouns: **khe-** for younger female relatives, and **ri-** for younger male relatives. The difference between these pronouns and those used with the older kin terms is direction. The pronouns **khe-** and **ri-** show a relationship as having the direction going from the speaker to another person. **Khe-** describes a relationship from the speaker to a female person, and **ri-** is used to describe the relationship from the speaker to a male person.

Again, another way of visualizing these terms is through family trees. Notice that the older generation in these trees (with grey portraits) consistently uses either **ak(e)-/ionk(e)-** or **rak(e)-**, while the younger generation (with blue portraits) consistently uses **khe-** or **ri-**.

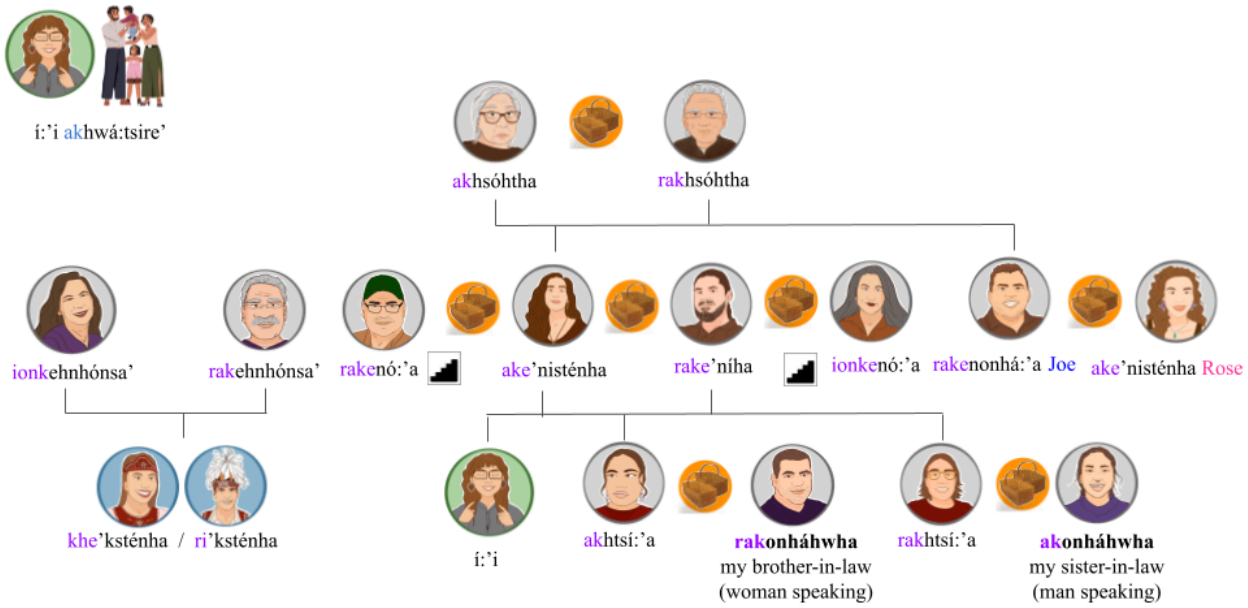


Figure 10. Í'i akhwá:tsire (older family members)

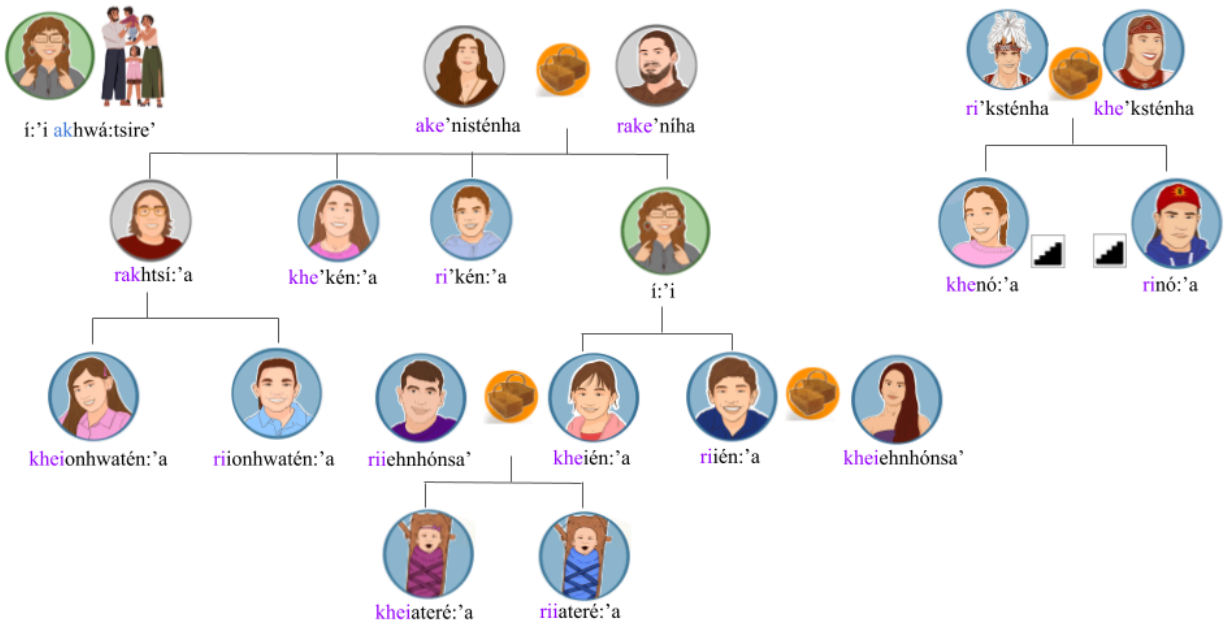


Figure 11. Í'i akhwá:tsire' (younger family members)

The directionality of the pronominal prefixes can be visualized in the directionality chart in Figure 12 below. As shown by the pink arrows between me and the women on the chart, both **ak(e)-/ionk(e)-** and **khe-** describe relationships between women and the speaker. However, the directionality of the prefixes is different: **ak(e)-/ionk(e)-** shows that the relationship is from a woman to the speaker, while **khe-** shows that the relationship is from the speaker to a woman. This directionality is shown by the arrows between the two women and the speaker. The prefixes next to the arrow correspond to the relationship shown by that arrow. As an example, the arrow from a woman to the speaker is accompanied by the prefixes **ak(e)-** and **ionk(e)-**. This is because these pronouns are those that describe relationships directed from a woman to the speaker. Due to the directionality of the pronominal prefixes, we can describe them as being "X-to-Y" prefixes, with X being the member of the relationship that the relationship comes from, and Y being the member that the relationship goes to. As a more concrete example, we can describe the pronoun **khe-** as the "I-to-her" prefix (also symbolized "I>her") because it indexes a relationship from the speaker to a woman. The same patterns of directionality seen with the women can also be observed with **rak(e)-** and **ri-** in Figure 12 for the speaker's relationships with men. Note that there are some prefixes that do not express directionality and are given in the chart with an equals sign; these will be covered in §3.2.3.

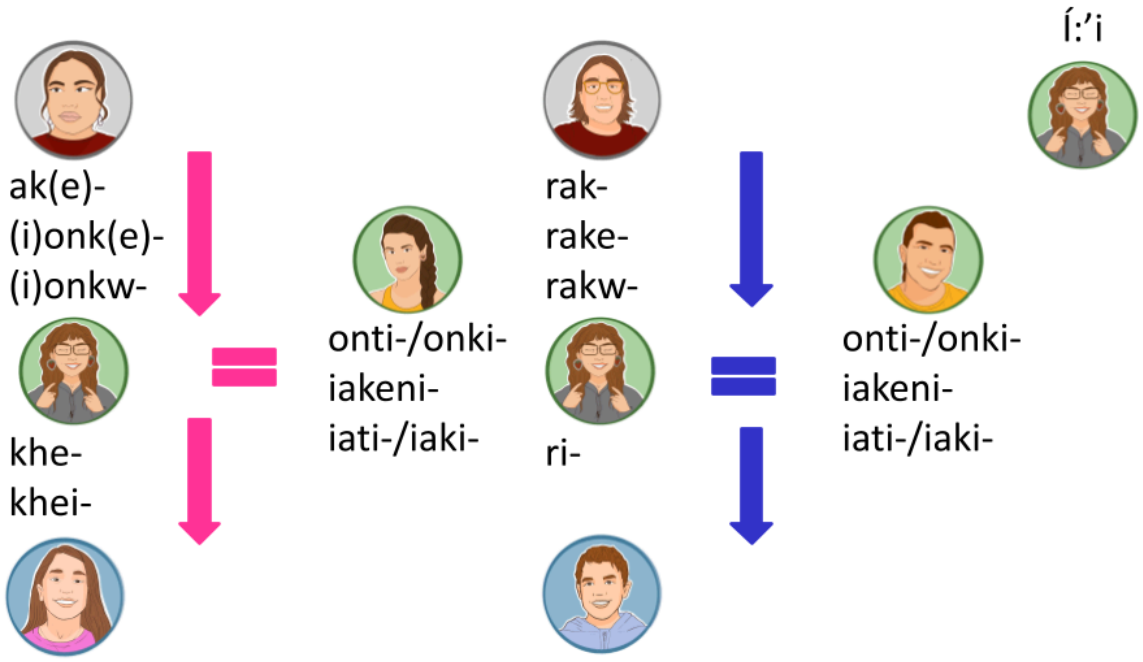


Figure 12. Pronominal prefix directionality (í'i)

The pronouns used for kinship terms are what are called **transitive pronominal prefixes** (in **purple**). The word *transitive* refers to actions or states of being that have two participants, so transitive prefixes occur on verbs that involve two people or groups of people. It is clear how the kinship stems have two participants: they refer to the relationship between two people. It is therefore intuitive that kinship terms would use the **transitive** pronominal prefixes here. The table of **transitive** pronominal prefixes for relationships between *singular* individuals are in Table 43, Table 44, Table 45, and Table 46 below.[14]

These tables are simply an abstraction of the directionality diagram (Figure 12). The first member of the prefix, always the subject, is found by going down the red columns on the left, while the second member of the prefix, the object, is found by going across blue columns at the top. The subject in the red column is the one acting on the other person, the object. Part of the reason the terms “subject” and “object” are used in these tables is because the two participants in kinship term relations behave like the subject and object of a verb; this will be discussed more in §3.4.1.

It is important to note that the pronominal prefixes in Kanien’kéha change form based on the sound at the beginning of the stem that they attach to. Table 43 shows the forms for what are often called “C-stems,” that is, stems that begin with a consonant. Most kinship terms are C-stems, so this table should allow you to create

[14] Dual and plural forms of kinship are discussed in §3.6.

forms for most singular kinship terms. The “weak **e**”, which is epenthetic, that shows up at the end of some of the prefixes, for example, **ak(e)-**, appears before the sounds **r**, **n**, **w**, and **’**, while it does not appear before **h**, **t**, **k**, or **s**. Similarly, the “ghost **h**” that appears at the beginning of some of the prefixes, like the he>her prefix **(h)shako-**, only appears when the prefix does not begin the word (the names “weak **e**” and “ghost **h**” come from the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa Year 1 curriculum (Maracle 2018)). The **(eh)** at the beginning of other pronouns is simply a matter of variation; some speakers use it, while others don’t. It’s more common to see the **(eh)** in Kanehsatà:ke, whereas speakers in Ahkwesáhsne usually drop it.

The C-stem prefixes that we have already seen on the kinship terms for **í'i** and **í:se** are highlighted in yellow in the table.

Stem	C	Object				
		í:se (2SG)	**í'i** (1SG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)		take-	(h)she-	(h)se-	(eh)tshe-
	í'i (1SG)	kon-		khe-	ke-	ri-
	akaónha (FI)	iesa-	ionke-	iontate-	konwa-	ronwa-
	aónha (FZSG)	sa-	wake-	iako-	io-	ro-
	raónha (MSG)	(h)ia-	rake-	(h)shako-	ra-	ro-

Table 43. C-stem transitive prefixes (singulars only)

The mirror between this table and the directionality diagram can be shown using a pronoun like the me>her prefix **khe-**. In the directionality diagram, it is used for female kinship terms younger than the speaker, shown by the fact that the woman is below **í'i**. In the table, since **í'i** is the older member, it is found by going down the red rows on the side to the first person singular **í'i**. Then since the relationship is going from **í'i** to a woman, follow the columns of the blue row across to the feminine-indefinite **akaónha** column. This cell has the form **khe-**, just as predicted by the directionality diagram.

The only non-C-stem family member stems are **onhwaten’a** ‘niece, nephew’ and **onháhwha** ‘opposite sex sibling-in-law’, which are O(n)-stem, **atere’a** ‘grandchild’,

which is an A-stem, and **ehnhonhsa** ‘parent/child-in-law’, which is an E-stem[15]. So that you can create all forms of the singular kinship terms, the O(n)-, A-, and E-stem prefixes are in Table 44, Table 45, and Table 46. The boxed **o** in some of the A-stem prefixes, as in the A-stem form of the he>him prefix **r[o]-**, is an **o** that “overpowers” the following **a**. What this means is that, while the rest of the prefixes simply attach to the A-stem, **r[o]-** attaches to the A-stem by deleting the beginning **a**. More concretely, when the I>her prefix **khei-** attaches to the A-stem **atere’a**, the form is **kheiateré’a** ‘my granddaughter’, which is just the prefix **khei-** plus the stem. However, when **r[o]-** attaches to this stem, the form is **roteré’a**, that is, **ro-** plus **tere’a**, which is the stem without the **a** at the beginning. This happens with every boxed **o** in the chart.

Just like the C-stems, the A-, O(n)-, and E-stem prefixes that we have already seen for **í'i** and **í:se** kinship terms are highlighted in the table.

Stem	A	Object				
		í:se (2SG)	**í'i** (1SG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)		**takw-**	**(h)shei-**	**(h)s-**	**(eh)tsh-**
	í'i (1SG)	**koni-**		**khei-**	**k-**	**rii-**
	akaónha (FI)	**ies-**	**ionkw-**	**iontat-**	**konw-**	**ronw-**
	aónha (FZSG)	**s-**	**wak-**	**iak[o]-**	**i[o]-**	**r[o]-**
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)i-**	**rakw-**	**(h)shak[o]-**	**r-**	**r[o]-**

Table 44. A-stem transitive prefixes (singulars only)

[15] You may have noticed that the family member stem **ien’a** ‘child’ starts with an **i**. There are I-stems in Kanien’kéha, but **ien’a** is actually a consonant stem, because as you’ll recall from §2, the letter **i** makes a [y] sound when it appears before another vowel, and when it makes the [y] sound like this it behaves as a consonant.

Stem	On	Object				
		í:se (2SG)	**í'i** (1SG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)		tak-	(h)shei-	(h)s-	(e)tsh-
	í'i (1SG)	koni-		khei-	k-	rii-
	akaónha (FI)	ies-	ionk-	iontat-	konwai-	ronwai-
	aónha (FZSG)	s-	wak-	iaka-	ia-	ra-
	raónha (MSG)	(h)i-	rak-	(h)shaka-	(h)r-	ra-

Table 45. On-stem transitive prefixes (singulars only)

Stem	E	Object				
		í:se (2SG)	**í'i** (1SG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)		tak-	(h)shei-	(h)s-	(e)tsh-
	í'i (1SG)	koni-		khei-	k-	rii-
	akaónha (FI)	ies-	ionk-	iontat-	konw-	ronw-
	aónha (FZSG)	s-	wak-	iakaw-	iaw-	raw-
	raónha (MSG)	(h)i-	rak-	(h)shakaw-	(h)r-	raw-

Table 46. E-stem transitive prefixes (singulars only)

Note that the **transitive** pronouns on kinship terms express the direction of the relationship as going *from older to younger people*. This is why all older women kin members use she>me prefixes and younger female kin members use me>her prefixes.

The directionality diagram in Figure 12 is set up in exactly this way: the relationship between the individual (either **í'i** or **í:se'**) and an older woman is described by a prefix going from the older woman to the individual, shown by the direction of the arrow. The arrow then corresponds to the correct prefixes for a speaker's older female kin: **ak(e)-** and **ionk(e)-**. The directionality order of prefixes from older to younger shows respect to the older member of the relationship. The older terms, such as mother and grandmother, are taught first since they are the most common. These older terms relate younger individuals to their kin in placing the older person first in the pronoun.

This can also be seen when comparing transitive kinship terms to transitive verbs. In (17), note that the she>me transitive prefix **ionk(e)-** on the term for 'my stepmother' matches the prefix on the verb **nonhwe** ('like').

(17) **Ionkenó'a ionkenòn:we's.**
My stepmother likes me.

Younger terms, on the other hand, show the relationship going from the individual to their younger family members, placing the individual before their younger relative in the pronoun. Putting younger kin members as the "destination" of the relationship shows a sense of caring and sustaining of the bond. The terms for husband and wife are also treated as younger kin terms. This reflects the caring relationship and the organization of traditional society, where all married couples were of different ages, older men marrying younger women and older women marrying younger men (Morgan and Lloyd 1901:311).

Again, this can be seen by comparing younger terms to transitive verbs. In (18), the me>her transitive prefix **khe-** on the term for 'my wife' matches the prefix on the verb **nonhwe** ('like').

(18) **Khenòn:we's ne khe'ksténha.**
I like my wife.

Importantly, the direction of the relationship shown by the pronominal prefixes is sensitive to *generational* age rather than actual age. For example, even if my aunt is younger than me, I still use the prefix **ak(e)-** with the 'aunt' stem **'nistenha** since my aunt is *generationally* older than me. This can be visualized using a family tree. Within the family tree, one's aunt will always be on the level above them, no matter how old she actually is in comparison to the individual. Therefore, the term for 'my aunt' will always use the **ak(e)-** prefix. When it comes to sibling stems **htsi'a** 'older sibling' and **'ken'a** 'younger sibling', actual age is the determining characteristic in deciding which prefix is used, following the pattern of older to younger.

So far I have discussed how Kanien'kéha uses **transitive** pronominal prefixes with kinship terms by investigating the **í'i** and **í:se'** forms of kinship introduced through the lesson in §2.1. I have also talked about why **transitive** pronominal prefixes are used on kinship terms: in Kanien'kéha, kinship terms refer to the *relationship* between a person and their kin rather than referring to one kin member as "belonging" to another. Because they reference the relationship itself, kinship terms are marked with a pronominal prefix that encodes both participants of the relationship. Along the way, I introduced all of the forms that **transitive** pronominal prefixes (for singular individuals) take when attaching to C-, A-, On-, and E-stems. Importantly, readers have seen that the pronouns on kinship terms represent the structure of the kin relation by placing participants in different orders depending on age. Specifically, the prefix used always represents the direction of the relationship, ordering the older member of the relationship before the younger member.

All of this taken together allows us to formulate an "equation" of how to create a kinship term:

Transitive pronominal prefix	**+**	**STEM**	**=**	**kinship term**
older > younger		**relationship**		

Let's make a kinship term using this equation. We can use a kinship term for **í:se'** or **í'i**, which will let us check our work against the **í:se'** and **í'i** kinship forms in Table 39, Table 40, Table 41, and Table 42. Let's try making 'your nephew'. First, we need to select the stem. The relationship described is a nephew-niece relationship, so we choose the stem **onhwaten'a** which represents this relationship. In order to finish the kinship term according to the equation, we need a pronominal prefix. This prefix should be chosen so that it follows the older to younger pattern. The older person in the relationship of you and your nephew is you, so the equation says we should use a prefix that goes from you to someone else. The other participant in the relationship, your nephew, is a man. This means that we should use the you>him prefix. The stem **onhwaten'a** is an **on**-stem, so we use Table 45 to find the prefix form. In this table, we find that the you>him prefix is **(eh)tshi-**. Then the word for 'your nephew' should be **(eh)tshionhwatén'a**. As we can see in Table 40, this is exactly right. With the help of this equation, you can now effectively refer to the family members of all singular people. All you need is Table 47 below, which has the stems for all kinship terms introduced here, along with the pronominal prefix tables (Table 43, Table 44, Table 45, and Table 46).

Kanien’kéha	English
hsohtha	grandparent
’nistenha	mother/aunt
’niha	father
nonha’a	uncle
htsi’a	older sibling
no’a	step-family member
ehnhonsa	parent/child-in-law
onhahwha	opposite sex sibling-in-law
’ken’a	younger sibling
ien’a	child
atere’a	grandchild
onhwaten’a	niece/nephew
’kstenha’	spouse

Table 47. Kinship term stems

Now you just need to remember the direction of relationships: the older>younger rule. This rule applies not just to **í:se’** and **í'i** kinship terms, but to all of them. That means that you can make the word for any single person’s kin member (for example, ‘his uncle’), just by taking the kinship stems listed in Table 47 and attaching the whole collection of prefixes shown in the transitive pronominal prefix table. As long as the older>younger rule is used, you are now able to make the kinship terms for the family members of any singular person. This includes terms for the members of third-person singulars: his family or her family.

For example, if you want to form the Kanien’kéha term for ‘his younger sister,’ all you need is to use the equation above and fill in the blanks from the table of stems and the table of prefixes. As we can see in the table above, the stem for a younger sibling is **’ken’a.** Since this is a younger relationship, we need to find the **raónha>akaónha** (he-to-her) transitive prefix, and since **’ken’a** is a C-stem, we can look in the C-stem table. Following the red subject column to find **raónha** and then the blue object row to

find **akaónha**, we get the prefix **(h)shako-**. Putting it all together, we get **shako'kén'a**, which is indeed the correct term for 'his younger sister.'

More keen readers should go to §3.4 and §3.6, for more advanced details and complications regarding kinship terms and the **transitive** pronominal prefixes, but for now, it is your turn to demonstrate what you have learned in this section.

3.2.2 Í:se' nòn:wa'! Making kinship terms

Now that you have all the older and younger kinship stems and the table of pronominal prefixes for singular people, it's your turn!

How do you say:

My older sister:
His older brother:
Your father:
Her aunt:
His daughter:
My grandson:
Your mother-in-law:

3.2.3 Lesson 2: Reciprocal terms (sahwá:tsire' tánon' ahkwá:tsire')

In this lesson, I present the terms for reciprocal relationships. Again, I only introduce forms for **í:se'** and **í'i**. First, Table 48 shows the **í:se'** reciprocal terms.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
tsaríha/tsiaríha	your sister-in-law (talking to a woman, the "you" is a woman)
tsatióha/tsiakióha	your brother-in-law (talking to a man, the "you" is a man)
tsara'sé'a/tsiara'sé'a	your cousin
tsá'tshi/tsiá'tshi	your female friend (talking to a woman, the "you" is a woman)
tsatén:ro/tsiatén:ro	your friend (talking to a woman whose friend is male, or talking to a man)
tesenísikhen	your twin
tsatate'kén'a/tsiatate'kén'a	your sibling (any younger sibling)
tsatenon'sénha/tsiatenon'sénha	your sibling (younger; the one that immediately follows you)
tetsatehnón:teren/tetsiatehnón:teren	your neighboring sibling (the one directly older or younger than you)
tetsanonhsané:ken/tetsianonhsané:ken	your neighbor

Table 48. Í:se' sahwá:tsire' (Same age family members)

Many of these terms are difficult to represent in a family tree (for example, your friend does not have as direct of a tie to you as your mother). However, those that can be visualized in a family tree structure are shown in Figure 13 below:

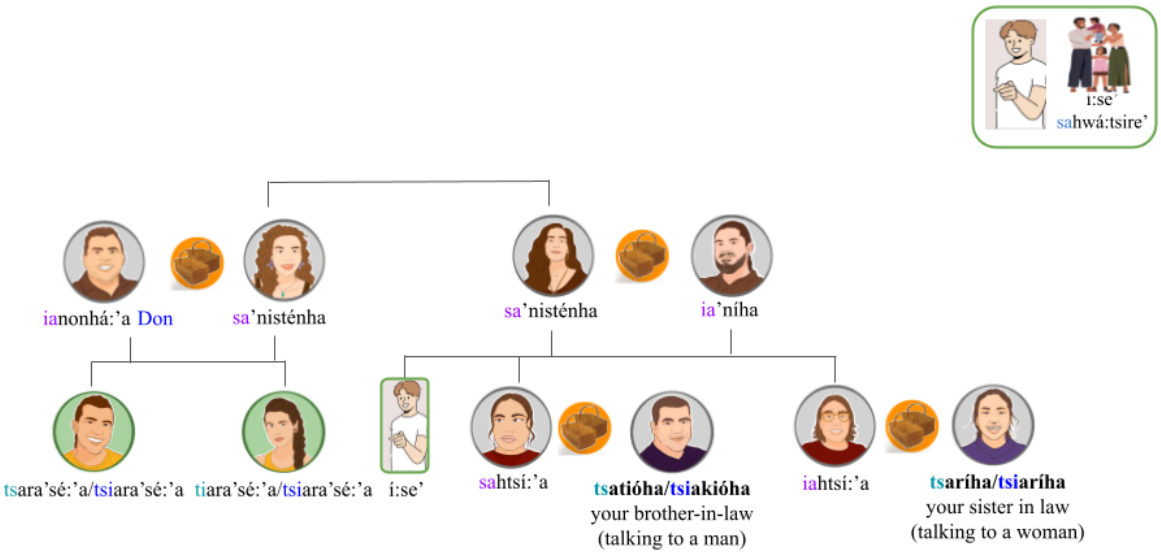


Figure 13. Í:se' sahwá:tsire' (Same age family members)

There are a few that can't be represented in the tree, but still have portraits, shown in Figure 14. Since their relationship can't be easily illustrated, translations are included.



Figure 14. Í:se' sahwá:tsire' (more same age family members)

Next, Table 49 shows the **í'i** reciprocal terms.

Kanien’kéha	English
ontiaríha/onkiaríha	my sister-in-law (woman speaking)
ontiatióha/onkiakióha	my brother-in-law (man speaking)
ontiara’sé'a/onkiara’sé'a	my cousin
ontiá’tshi/onkiá’tshi	my female friend (woman speaking)
ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro	my friend (woman speaking of a male friend, or man speaking)
teiakeníkhen	my twin
iatiatate’kén'a/iakiatate’kén'a	my sibling (any younger sibling)
iatiatenon’sénha/iakiatenon’sénha	my sibling (younger; the one that immediately follows me)
teiatiatehnón:teren/teiakiatehnón:teren	my neighboring sibling (the one directly older or younger than me)
teiatianonhsané:ken/teiakianonhsané:ken	my neighbor

Table 49. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (Same age family members)

Again, the family tree structure for **í'i** reciprocal terms is shown in Figure 15 and Figure 16 below:

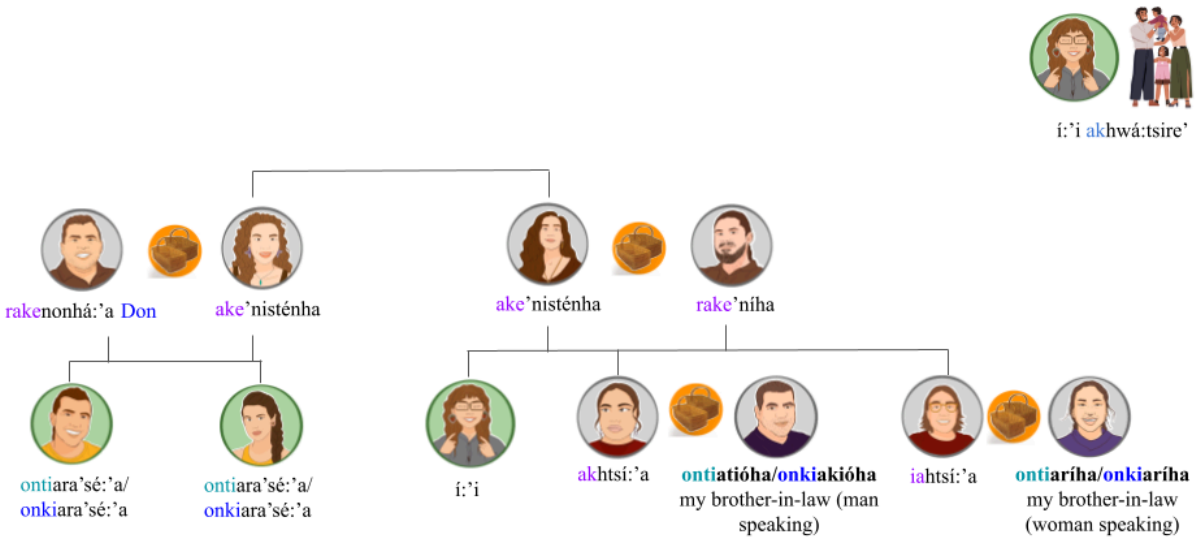


Figure 15. Í'i akhwá:tsire' (Same age family members)

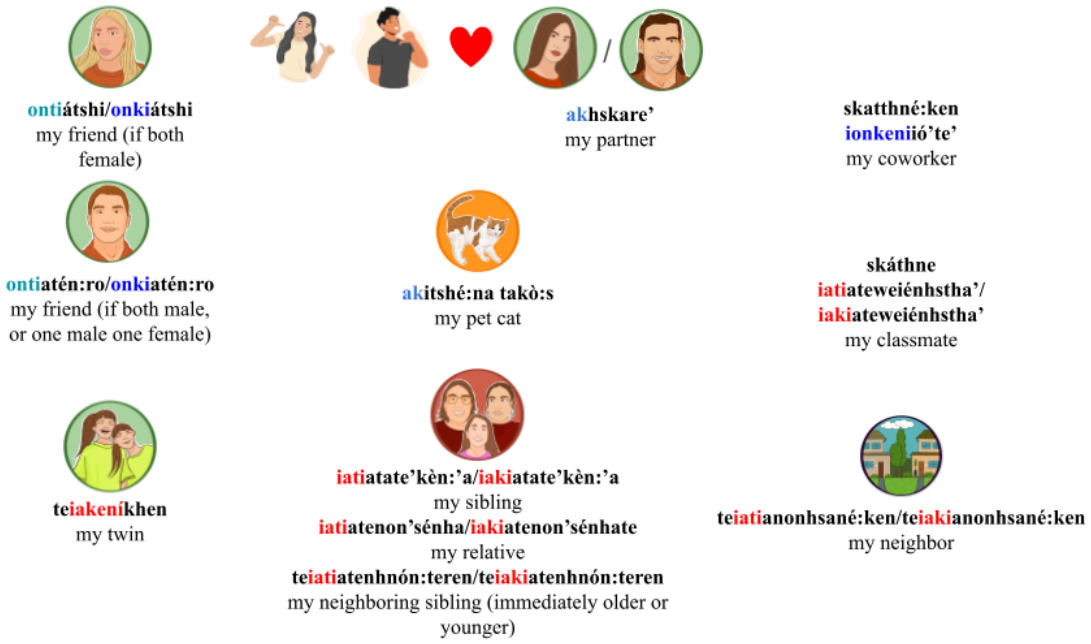


Figure 16. Í'i akwhá:tsire' (More same age family members)

Already, we see a few differences between the reciprocal terms and the kinship terms introduced in §2.1. Importantly, the reciprocal terms introduced previously do not use any of the **transitive** prefixes in the tables above. Instead, the reciprocal terms appear with two different sets of pronominal prefixes, colored **blue** and **red**.

Remember that reciprocal terms are used for relationships where both members are of the same generation/status to each other. As an example, you are your cousin's cousin or your friend's friend. Kinship terms, on the other hand, do not operate in this way because they contain two people of different statuses. For example, you are not your mother's mother. Recall that the kinship terms used **transitive** pronominal prefixes acted as a cue to the age difference in the relationship with the older>younger rule. These prefixes directly encode the direction of the relationship. However, reciprocal relationships do not have any direction. They represent people as equals in the relationship. This means that the **transitive** pronominal prefixes, which always have a direction, cannot be used for reciprocal terms. The directionality chart in Figure 12 above also shows the pronouns for reciprocal terms. They do not represent directionality, hence they are placed next to **í'i** with an equal sign.

Instead of showing direction, the prefixes on equal age terms tell the listener that the two participants of the relationship are a single unit, without any direction between them. To do this, they use **intransitive prefixes**. The relationship is visualized as one where neither participant acts on the other. This means the two individuals in the relationship are pictured as a collective group participating in the relationship. For example, instead of me or my cousin being the origin or endpoint of the relationship, we are equals. This means we are instead visualized as the collective participant of the "cousining" relationship. In this way, a more apt translation of **onkiara'sé'a** in Table 49 is 'we two are cousins' (as opposed to 'my cousin'). **Intransitive** prefixes come in two flavors: **subjective** (also known as "**agent**") prefixes (in **red**) and **objective** (also known as "**patient**") prefixes (in **blue**). We can then say that **onki-** is the first person dual ('we two') objective prefix, since it refers to both me and my cousin as a collective. Similar to the **transitive** prefixes, **subjective** and **objective** prefixes come with tables. Table 50 below shows C-stem forms for **subjective** prefixes. We'll learn more about the differences between subjective and objective prefixes in §4; for now, you just need to remember which kinship terms take subjective prefixes and which take objective prefixes.

Stem:	C
í:se (2SG)	**(h)se-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**ke-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iakeni-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakwa-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**teni-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tewa-**
akaónha (FI)	**ie-**
aónha (FZSG)	**ka-**
raónha (MSG)	**ra-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**keni-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konti-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)ni-**
ronónha (MPL)	**rati-**

Table 50. C-stem subjective prefixes

The table on the next page shows the C-stem forms of the **objective** prefixes.

Stem:	C
í:se (2SG)	**sa-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**wake-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionkeni-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkwa-**
akaónha (FI)	**iako-**
aónha (FZSG)	**io-**
raónha (MSG)	**ro-**
tekeniiáhse/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ioti-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**roti-**

Table 51. C-stem objective prefixes

Additionally, Table 52 and Table 53 show the **subjective** prefixes and **objective** prefixes for A-stems so that you can make the forms for the A-stems reciprocal terms as well.

Stem:	A
í:se (2SG)	**(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**ts-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iati-/iaki**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakw-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**ti-/ki**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tew-**
akaónha (FI)	**i[on]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**w-**
raónha (MSG)	**r-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**ti-/ki**
onónha (FZPL)	**k[on]-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)i-**
ronónha (MPL)	**r[on]-**

Table 52. A-stem subjective prefixes

Stem:	A
í:se (2SG)	**s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**ts-/tsi**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionti-/ionki**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkw-**
akaónha (FI)	**iak[o]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**i[o]-**
raónha (MSG)	**r[o]-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ion-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**ron-**

Table 53. A-stem objective prefixes

Now that you've seen some of the different forms of intransitive prefixes, here is the equation for how to form reciprocal terms:

Subjective or objective pronominal prefix + STEM = kinship term
same status **relationship**

For reciprocal terms, it doesn't matter the age or status of the people in the relationship. For example, no matter if your cousin is way older than you or way younger than you, you're still cousins.

3.2.4 Í:se nòn:wa'! Making reciprocal terms

Just like with kinship terms, you now have the knowledge required to make your own reciprocal terms for singular people. That means it's your turn!

How do you say:

His neighboring sibling?
Her (male) friend?
Your brother-in-law (talking to a man)?
My sister-in-law (woman speaking)?
Her twin?

3.3 Introducing family members

3.3.1 Lesson 3: How to introduce family members

This lesson allows you to practice the kinship terms that we have just learned in Lessons 1 and 2. The following sentences show you how to introduce each of your family members.

The words colored in **green** are called particles. They are small words that can have a variety of different meanings, and they appear all over the place in the language; you have already seen a handful of them in this section (such as **ónhka'**, which means 'who'). In the sentences below, the phrase **ne ki ne** is roughly equivalent to 'this is' in English, and the particle **tánon'** means 'and'. Lastly, the verb **iat** means 'call,' and with the transitive prefixes **iontat-/iontak-**[16] (they>her) or **ronwa-** (they>him), the verb means 'they call her' or 'they call him' (= 'her/his name is').

(19) **Ne ki ne ake'nisténha tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my mother and her name is _____.'

[16] Remember that the first example in this pair represents how it would be said in the Kanehsatà:ke dialect, while the second example is how it would be said in the Ahkwesáhsne dialect.

(20) **Ne ki ne rake’níha tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my father and his name is _____.’

(21) **Ne ki ne akhtsí'a tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my older sister and her name is _____.’

(22) **Ne ki ne rakhtsí'a tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my older brother and his name is _____.’

(23) **Ne ki ne akhsóhtha’ tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my grandmother and her name is _____.’

(24) **Ne ki ne rakhsóhtha’ tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my grandfather and his name is _____.’

(25) **Ne ki ne ake’nisténha’ tiatate’kén:ha/kiatate’kén:ha’ tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my aunt, my mother’s sibling and her name is _____.’

(26) **Ne ki ne rakenonhá'a tánon’ _____ ronwá:ia’ts.**
‘This is my uncle and his name is _____.’

(27) **Ne ki ne ionkenó'a tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my step-mother and her name is ____.’

(28) **Ne ki ne rakenó'a tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my step-father and his name is ____.’

(29) **Ne ki ne kheién'a tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my daughter and her name is _____.’

(30) **Ne ki ne riién'a tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my son and his name is _____.’

(31) **Ne ki ne khe’kén'a tánon’ _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
‘This is my younger sister and her name is _____.’

(32) **Ne ki ne ri’kén'a tánon’ _____ ronwá:iats.**
‘This is my younger brother and his name is _____.’

(33) **Ne ki ne kheiateré'a tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my granddaughter and her name is _____.'

(34) **Ne ki ne riiateré'a tánon' _____ ronwá:iats.**
'This is my grandson and his name is _____.'

(35) **Ne ki ne khe'kstén:ha' tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my wife and her name is _____.'

(36) **Ne ki ne ri'kstén:ha' tánon' _____ ronwá:iats.**
'This is my husband and his name is _____.'

(37) **Ne ki ne khenó'a tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my step-daughter and her name is _____.'

(38) **Ne ki ne rinó'a tánon' _____ ronwá:iats.**
'This is my step-son and his name is _____.'

(39) **Ne ki ne kheionhwatén'a tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my niece and her name is _____.'

(40) **Ne ki ne riionhwatén'a tánon' _____ ronwá:iats.**
'This is my nephew and his name is _____.'

(41) **Ne ki ne kherihonnién:ni tánon' _____ iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'This is my female student and her name is _____.'

(42) **Ne ki ne ririhonnién:ni tánon' _____ ronwá:iats.**
'This is my male student and his name is _____.'

3.3.2 Í:se nòn:wa'! Introducing family members

Now that we've given you some examples of how to introduce family members, it's time for you to give it a try. Fill in the blanks with the correct forms, using your family's names. If you don't have a certain family member (for example, an older sister), you can make up a name.

How would you introduce your grandmother?

Ne ki ne _____ **tánon'** _____ _____**iats.**

kinship term name prefix

How about your younger brother?

Ne ki ne _____ **tánon'** _____ _____**iats.**

How about your older sister?

Ne ki ne _____ **tánon'** _____ _____**iats.**

How about your daughter?

Ne ki ne _____ **tánon'** _____ _____**iats.**

How about your female friend?

Ne ki ne _____ **tánon'** _____ _____**iats.**

Now you have the hang of it, try it without the template.

How would you introduce your grandfather to me?
And your uncle?
How about your cousin?
How about your sister-in-law?
How about your twin?
How about your father?

3.3.3 Lesson 4: Conversation introduction

The following conversations are examples of how kinship terms can be used in a dialogue between two people. Both explore how to talk about your family members with other people.

Conversation #1

Wári: **Shé:kon Chase! Skennen'kó:wa ken?**
'Hello Chase! How are you?'

Chase: **Hen, skennen'kó:wa. Ok ní:se?**
'I'm good. And you?'

Wári: **Ioianerátie'/Ioianerákie', niá:wen. Wahtshientéhrha'ne' ken ne riién'a?**
'I'm good, thank you. Did you meet my son?'

Chase: **Hen, wahiientéhrha'ne'. Oh nahò:ten ronwá:iats?**
'Yes, I met him. What is his name?'

Wári: **Pat ronwá:iats.**
'Pat is his name.'

Chase: **Nahò:ten roió'ten ne tshién'a Pat?**
'What does your son Pat do for work?'

Wári: **Ranonhsón:nis ne Pat.**
'Pat is a construction worker.'

Chase: **Rake'níha ni' ranonhsón:nis.**
'My father is also a construction worker.'

Wári: **Ka' nón:we?**
'Where?'

Chase: **Kanehsatà:ke thoió'te'.**
'He works in Kanehsatà:ke.'

Wári: **Oh nahò:ten ronwá:iats ne ia'níha?**
'What's your father's name?'

Chase: **Wíshe ronwá:iats ne rake'níha.**
'My father's name is Wíshe.'

Conversation #2

Kó:r: **Shé:kon Bob! Ioianerátie'/Ioianerákie' ken?**
'Hello Bob! How are things?'

Bob: **Ioianerátie'/Ioianerákie'! Ok ní:se?**
'Things are good! And you?'

Kó:r: **Ioianerátie'/Ioianerákie', niá:wen. Ónhka' ne ki?**
'Things are good, thank you. Who is this?'

Bob: **Ne ki ne rake'níha tánon' Sá:k ronwá:iats.**
'This is my father. His name is Jake.'

Kó:r: **Shé:kon Sá:k. Wakatshennón:ni tsi wa'konientéhrha'ne'.**
'Hello Jake. I'm happy to meet you.'

Sá:k: **Í'i' ò:ni'.**
'Me too.'

Bob: **Raiénthos ne rake'níha.**
'My father is a farmer.'

Kó:r: **Ri'kén'a ò:ni' raiénthos. Tshienté:ri ken?**
'My younger brother is also a farmer. Do you know him?'

Sá:k: **Iah tehiienté:ri. Nahò:ten ronwá:iats?**
'I don't know him. What is his name?'

Kó:r: **Tá:wit ronwá:iats.**
'His name is David.'

Sá:k: **Hen, riienté:ri ne Tá:wit. Ontiatén:ro/Onkiatén:ro ne ronatén:ro.**
'Yes, I know David. He's my friend's friend.'

3.3.4 Lesson 5: Shorthand forms for family members

In addition to the full forms of kinship terms, Kanien'kéha also has shorthand forms for kinship relations. These are similar to the difference between "my father" and "dad" in English. The forms of shorthand kinship terms are shown in the table below. Notice the interesting stress pattern on the forms for older sister and older brother.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
áksoh	gramma/grampa
ísten	mom
rákeni	dad
aktsi'ó	older sister
raktsi'ó	older brother
kon'kén'a	younger sister or younger brother
tsári' / tsiári'	sister-in-law
tiá:tio / kiá:kio	brother-in-law
tiá:se' / kiá:se'	cousin
sáksten	wife or husband
ó:rio / ó:ri / órie	(male) buddy
kwátere'	grandchild
aktsikhè:ta	girlfriend
akwatsénhto'ks / akwatsiénhto'ks	boyfriend
kién' / tién'	child (boy or girl)

Table 54. Shorthand kinship terms

Just as with English short form kinship terms, these are the terms that speakers use to call their family members. For example, in English, when calling for your mother, you might say something like "Mom!" rather than the full form "Mother!" Similarly, to yell for your mother in Kanien'kéha, the short form **ísten** would be used rather than the full **ake'nisténha'**. You can also use these short-hand forms to talk about your family

members, but you wouldn't necessarily use these to talk about someone else's family. If you used **ísten** to talk about someone else's mother, it would be like you're inserting yourself into their family and would be excessively familiar. However, you can use these to talk about your own family to someone else; they are not purely "vocative" (a linguistics term for words that you can only use to call out to someone, like "Hey, mom!"). In some of them, you can see the transitive pronouns that always appear in the full kinship terms, but unlike the full kinship terms, the pronouns in these short-hand forms never change. In other words, these are "frozen" forms; they are always said in the same way.

The following dialogue shows how these terms are used with the regular kinship terms as well as the short forms (highlighted) so that the student gets an idea of how this works. The two work in tandem with each other. The dialogue is about a girl looking for her mom, asking different family members whether or not they've seen her. She refers to each of her family members with the slang kinship term, and they refer back to her with a slang kinship term. Note that for this conversation, only the Ahkwesáhsne dialect is used in order to make it easier to read.

Conversation #3

Ì'i: **He' aktsi'ó, wahshé:ken ken ne iethi'nisténha?**
'Hey older sis, did you see our mother?'

Aktsí'a: **Hen, kwah ónwa'k kho'k kén:tho í:ienhskwe'.**
'Yes, she was just here a second ago.'

Ì'i: **Ísten Ísten ka' níhse's?**
'Mom, Mom, where are you?'

Raktsí'a: **He kon'kén'a, oh nonkié:ren ki' tesahenrehtánions?**
'Hey lil' bro, why are you screaming around the house?'

Ì'i: **Ísten ki' wahe kheia'tíhsaks.**
'I'm looking for Mom, of course!'

Raktsí'a: **Tewa'nón:wa átste' í:tsien's.**
'Maybe she's outside.'

Ì'i: **Niá:wen, wá'tsi'k enskón:ken.**
'Thank you, I'll see you later.'

(Átste')

Ì'i: **Rákeni, wahshé:ken ne ísten?**
'Dad, have you seen Mom?'

Rake'níha: **Iah tekhé:ken. Tewa'nón:wa sa'nisténha Teré:s ioné:non atsà:kta/atsià:kta.**
'I haven't seen her. Maybe she and your aunt Theresa went to the riverside.'

Ì'i: **Á: niá:wen.**
'Ah, thank you.'

Rakenonhá'a: **Shé:kon wá:ten, ka' wáhse'?**
'Hi niece, where are you going?'

Ì'i: **Tó:ka, ísten kheia'tí:saks, wá'tsi'k enskón:ken.**
'I don't know. I'm looking for Mom, I'll see you later.'

Rakenonhá'a: **Ó:nen ki' wáhe', wa'tsi'k enskón:ken.**
'Goodbye, see you later.'

Ì'i: **Shé:kon áksoh tánon' rákso, ísten kheia'tí:saks, wa'etshí:ken ken?**
'Hi gramma and grandpa, I'm looking for my mom. Have you seen her?'

Áksoh: **Hen, átste' tkenítskote'.**
'Yes, they're sitting outside.'

Ì'i: **Ísten ísten ó:nen sakonia'tatshén:ri.**
'Mom, mom, I found you again.'

Ísten: **Oh niiotié:ren/niiokié:ren?**
'What happened?'

Ì'i: **Iah ki' kwah thé:nen teiokié:ren, nék tsi wà:kehre', tóka' sanáktote' karhá:kon taiakiate'khahakwà:na tánon' aiakiahiákha' karhata'kéha'.**
'Nothing at all happened, but I thought: if you have time, could you and me go for a walk in the forest and go pick some blueberries.'

Ísten: **Há’tskwi Teré:s, entewahiákha’ ken?**
‘Hey Theresa, shall we go berrypicking?’

Té:res: **Há ki’ tewahiákha’.**
‘Yeah, let’s go pick some berries.’

Ì'i: **Niá:wen Ísten tánon’ Ísten Teré:s, wakatshenón:ni.**
‘Thank you, Mom and Aunty Theresa, I’m happy.’

3.4 Venturing deeper: The linguistics of kinship terms

The last two sections have introduced the kinship and reciprocal terms for Kanien’kéha. Through these family member terms, I have also introduced the **transitive** and **intransitive** pronominal prefixes. These pronouns are found on the family member terms in order to refer to the members of the relationship. Readers have had a chance to practice forming the kinship terms on their own, as well as the ability to introduce kin to others. Lastly, they have seen introductions in practice through some practice dialogues.

The material in this session is intended to be more detailed than the previous sections in order to allow readers to more thoroughly understand the make-up of family member terms. This enables learners to make sense of how these terms appear more broadly in the language. First, I go through the relationship between the pronominal prefixes and the family member stems more thoroughly. I show that family member terms in Kanien’kéha are special, in that they are a special type of verb (Michelson 2023a). This helps explain the relationship between the pronominal prefixes and the stems for family members, as Kanien’kéha verbs always take pronominal prefixes to mark the participants in the action. This characterization also allows learners to understand some potentially surprising behavior of family member terms: in addition to referring to a member of the relationship, these terms may refer to the relationship itself. This partially helps explain why I introduced family member terms first, since it allows learners to internalize the pronominal prefixes that will return again and again throughout the learning process.

I then introduce more complications in the gender categories of female family members. I discuss the patterns of which female family members are feminine-zoic and those that are feminine-indefinite, as well as the effect on meaning that changing a female relative’s category can have. I also use these terms to discuss certain prefixes that alternate between having an **i-** at the beginning and not.

Lastly, I give more detail on the family members themselves. I show that these stems are also able to be broken down into further parts. This helps learners make sense of more complex forms I introduce here: the terms for family members' houses, the words for late family members, as well as the words to describe (not) having family members (and some of their qualities).

3.4.1 Family member stems as verbs

A common thread among the sections so far is the use of the pronominal prefixes with family member terms. I have reiterated that these pronouns on family member terms do not represent possession as one would expect from the English translations. Instead, the family member stems use these pronouns to indicate the members of the relationship. While I have previously described this use of the pronominal prefixes with family member terms, I have not discussed why family terms are treated this way in Kanien'kéha. The answer is that *Kanien'kéha family member terms are a special type of verb* (Koenig and Michelson 2010, Michelson 2023). Sometimes they can be used to refer to people, like in this example:

(43) **Ake'nisténha' iakotshennón:ni.**
'My mother is happy.'

In (43), the kinship term **ake'nisténha'** is being used to refer directly to a person in the real world, 'my mother.' However, in the following example, the kinship term truly acts like a verb:

(44) **Í'i kon'nisténha'.**
'I am your mother.' (literally: 'I mother you.')

In fact, the fact that family member terms are verbs is another reason why I have introduced the family member terms first: the forms of pronouns that must be learned to master the family member terms will be used on every verb in the language. The mastery of the pronouns used with family member forms is therefore crucial to learning the language—these forms of the pronouns will continue to return throughout the language learning process.

First, it is important to note that the family member terms, while being verbs, can be used to refer to people in the same way that a noun like "woman" can. This is how we have seen family member terms being used thus far. The speaker uses the word **sa'nisténha'** to directly refer to a person in the real word, your mother or your aunt. We can then say that **sa'nisténha'** is behaving similar to a noun in this case, even

though it's morphologically closer to a verb. This is also true of the reciprocal terms, like **onkiatén:ro/ontiatén:ro** which can be used to directly refer to a real person, my friend.

On the other hand, there are several ways that we can show that the family member stems are verbs. For one, the job of a verb is to relate several people, places, and things (that is, nouns) together. In this way, the family member stems are verbs, because they relate multiple people together.

Another way in which family member terms are verbs is in their use of the pronominal prefixes. These pronominal prefixes, which we see used with the family member terms, are the **same** as the pronouns used with verbs in the language.

First, the kinship terms come with **transitive** pronominal prefixes. **Transitive** verbs relate two (groups of) participants together. But with transitive verbs, there is a hierarchy between the two: one participant, the subject, is an "agent" while the other, the object, is the "patient." An agent is the person doing the action, and the patient is the person undergoing the action. Another way to think about this is that the verb describes an action going from the agent to the patient. An example is the transitive verb in (45).

(45) **Enkonié:nawa'se'.**
'I will help you.'

The word is a transitive verb based on the stem **ienawa's** 'help', because it relates an agent to a patient. For this verb, the agent—the helper—is the speaker, while the patient is the person being helped, the listener. The verb therefore is transitive, because it describes an action going from one participant (the helper) to another (the person being helped). Another example of a transitive verb is (46).

(46) **Wa'ontientéhrha'ne'/Wa'onkientéhrha'ne'.**
'She met me.'

In this case, the agent, or the "meet-er," is a woman, while the patient, or the "meet-ee," is the speaker. Again, the verb in (46) is transitive because it orders the two (groups of) participants on a hierarchy of agent to patient. The meeting action goes from her to me. As expected, transitive verbs come with **transitive** pronominal prefixes. These pronouns are what shows direction of the action between the two participants, by using the agent>patient prefix. This is why the I>you prefix **kon-** is used in (45): it shows the relationship of agent (the speaker) to patient (the listener) by indicating that the action of the verb goes from the agent to the patient.

Kinship terms act just like transitive verbs in this way. The kinship terms also relate two members of a relationship *and* those members are ordered based on direction, with the relationship going from the older member to the younger one. It is therefore not a surprise that kinship terms share the use of **transitive** pronominal

prefixes. As an example, the relationship between the listener and the listener's daughter is represented by the **she-** prefix, which indexes the relationship as going from you to a woman (since she is younger than you). Similarly, transitive verbs that describe an action from the listener to a woman—in other words, verbs describing an action where the agent is the listener and the patient is a woman—also use the **she-** prefix. We can directly see that kinship terms and transitive verbs use pronominal prefixes in the same way by looking at the sentence in (47).

(47) **Sheién'a shehró:ri!**
'Tell your daughter!'

Here, the command is that you tell your daughter. We'll learn more about commands in Chapter 4. Since the relationship between you and your daughter goes from you to her, the you>her prefix **she-** is found on the kinship stem **ien'a** 'child'. Similarly, the verb based on the stem **hrori** 'tell' describes an action that goes from you (the "teller") to a woman (the one being told). This means the verb **shehró:ri** '(you) tell her' also uses the prefix **she-**, showing the direction of the action between the two participants. A different example is in (48).

(48) **Rake'níha rákkens.**
'My father sees me.'

Since my father is an older man, the relationship goes from him to me, so the he>me prefix **rak(e)-** is used on the kinship stem **'niha** 'father'. The action of seeing is an action my father (a man) is doing to me, so the verb **rákkens** 'he sees me' also appears with the he>me prefix **rak(e)-**. One last example is (49).

(49) **Riionhwatén'a enhíhnha'ne'.**
'I will hire my nephew.'

Since the relationship between me and a nephew goes from me to a man, the me>him prefix **rii-** appears with the stem **onhwaten'a** 'nephew, niece'. The verb **enhíhnha'ne'** 'I will hire him' also describes an event that has a direction of going from me, the hirer, to my nephew, the man being hired. Therefore, it also takes the form of the **ri-** prefix.[17] These examples show how the kinship terms act just like transitive verbs: both use **transitive** prefixes to indicate an action or relationship going from one participant to another.

[17] Many prefixes beginning with **r**- have forms beginning with **h-** when preceded by other morphemes. See Martin 2023:68 for more detail.

Even though they use a different set of pronominal prefixes, the reciprocal terms are also verbs. There is another set of verbs that are called **intransitive**. These verbs only have one participant or group of participants. Intransitive verbs only have one set of participants because they describe events and relationships that do not have one of the roles that transitive verbs have. In other words, some intransitive verbs only have a patient, while others only have an agent. However, the commonality is that they do not show any directionality between participants, because the action described doesn't have any directionality. An example is (50).

(50) **Wakí:ta's.**
'I'm sleeping.'

This verb, created with the stem **ita'** 'sleep', describes an action that has only one participant, the speaker. This is because the action of sleeping does not have any direct effect on anyone to make them the patient; there is only the "sleep-er," the one doing the action. This means the verb is intransitive. A similar example is (51).

(51) **Ratiráthens.**
'They're climbing.'

Here, again, there is no patient, just a single group of agents—a group of climbers. Both of the examples (50–51) are intransitive because there is only one participant in the action, whether this is a group or an individual. Because intransitive verbs do not have any directionality, they instead use the **intransitive** pronominal prefixes, either the **subjective** pronouns or the **objective** pronouns. Which set of prefixes gets used for a certain intransitive verb is largely a property of the verb itself, and you just have to memorize which verbs take **subjective** or **objective** pronouns (see Mithun 1991, 2006:197; Baker 1996; Koenig and Michelson 2015).[18]

We can see then that the reciprocal terms, just like the kinship terms, are verbs as well. There is no directionality between the two participants in the reciprocal relationship. This lack of directionality is shared by both reciprocal terms and intransitive verbs. Because of this lack of directionality, reciprocal terms describe a relationship in which multiple people together are the single participating group in the relationship. Because of this, they also use the **subjective** and **objective** pronouns just like intransitive verbs. Just like above with the transitive verbs, we can see the use of these pronouns on both verbs and the reciprocal terms in examples like (52).

(52) **Ó:nen onkwara'se'okón'a ionkwatá:wen.**

[18] This is not entirely true, since there are a few patterns that emerge, and which set is chosen can also be influenced by other factors like aspect; see cited and §4.3 on intransitive verbs.

‘My cousins and I have already swam.’

The cousin reciprocal relationship includes me and my multiple cousins. Because there is no direction in this relationship, me and my cousins are treated as a collective. This results in the use of the we all **objective** prefix **onkw-**. Similarly, the verb **ionkwatá:wen** ‘we all have swam’ describes an event in which me and my cousins all participated. However, there is no direction between me and my cousins in this event; we were all collective agents of swimming. Therefore, the verb is intransitive. Hence, the same we all **objective** prefix **ionkw-** is used.[19]

This same pattern works with the **subjective** prefixes too. Me and my siblings in (53) are referred to with the collective we all **subjective** prefix **iakw-** since **atate’ken’a** ‘sibling’ describes a reciprocal relationship with no direction. Similarly, the verb **iakwakhón:nis** describes an action that me and all my siblings participated in collectively, so it also refers to us as a group via the we all **subjective** prefix **iakwa-**, too.

(53) **Iakwatate’ko’okón’a she’s iakwakhón:nis.**
‘My siblings and I used to cook.’

These examples then show the same symmetry between intransitive verbs and reciprocal terms that was found between transitive verbs and kinship terms. The similar behavior between verbs and family member terms is not a coincidence. The use of the pronominal prefixes on both is due to the fact that family member terms are verbs. Importantly, the pronominal prefixes are *required* on both verbs and family member terms. Without them, there is no way to understand which participants are involved in the action or relationship, or how these participants are related by the action or relationship. The necessity of pronominal prefixes on both verbs and family member terms is yet another parallel between these two classes of words.

As we have seen throughout, kinship terms can be used in a way similar to many nouns, in that they refer to a person in the world, one of the individuals in the kinship relation (e.g., ‘my father’, ‘your younger brother’, etc.). When used this way, kinship terms do not describe the relationship itself, but rather one of the individuals in the relationship. However, since the family member terms are verbs, they may also be used to describe the relationship itself. In other words, the family member terms can be used to refer to a relationship that one has with one’s relative. When used this way, the kinship terms can take any of the **transitive** pronouns. The I>you **kon**- prefix is naturally used on kinship terms when they are serving as verbs—that is, when they are not used

[19] See §3.4.2 for more details on the disappearing **i** in this case.

to describe any individual in the relationship but instead describe the relationship of kinship between me and you. This is shown in the example sentence (54) below.

(54) *Context: My daughter is talking back to me when I ask her to do the dishes.*
Í: ki' wáhe' kon'nisténha tánon' wa'konhró:ri seksoharénion.
'I am your mother, and I told you to do the dishes.'

Here, the stem **'nistenha'** 'mother' is used like a verb. In this context, it does not refer to a person, neither the mother nor the daughter in the relationship. Instead, the kinship term acts like a verb, describing the relationship itself as being one of mothering between you and me, an action that goes from the older person (the speaker) to the younger (you, the listener). In cases like these, kinship terms act like verbs in English, such as 'to mother someone'. Perhaps a more correct translation for **kon'nisténha'** then might be 'I mother you'. The stem **'niha'** 'father' acts the same way in (55).

(55) *Context: You are my child and you bring back a bad report card. I tell you you need to do better in school. You say, "Why should I?" I say:*
Í: ki' wáhe' kon'níha' tánon' konhró:ris kiótkon satéweienhst.
'I am your dad and I keep telling you to always study.'

In the context below, the root **hsohtha'** 'grandparent' also acts like a verb 'grandparent someone'. Because the relationship being described is one of you being my grandparent, the you>me prefix **tak-** is used to represent the relationship going from you, my grandfather, to me, your grandchild.

(56) *Context: My grandfather likes to play pranks, but he is frustrated that I also like to play pranks. He asks why I play pranks so much. I say:*
Í:se' ki' wáhe' takhsóhtha'! Tiótkon/Kiótkon satshwa'tánions.
'Well, you're my grandfather! You're always playing around.'

When used as verbs, kinship terms can take any of the **transitive** prefixes, not just those involving you and me. In example (57), the I>her prefix **khe-** is used in **kheién'a**. Here, **kheién'a** is a noun because it refers to a person, my daughter, as one of the participants in the relationship of parent-child.

(57) **Tiótkon/Kiótkon kheié:nas ne kheién'a ne tsi iakotsi'tà:re'.**
'I'm always holding my daughter because she cries a lot.'

However, the same word can also be used as a verb, as in (58). Instead of referring to one of us in the relationship, it instead expresses the relationship between me and my daughter.

(58) *Context: At a children's birthday party, one of the other parents asks if you know the birthday girl.*
Hen, í: ki' wáhe' kheién'a, **khe**ienté:ri.
'Yes, she's my daughter, I know her.'

Here, the same word as in (57) **khe**ién'a is used. However, in contrast, in the context of (58), the word doesn't refer to either the parent or the daughter but rather asserts that me and the girl in the context share a relationship of parent-child between us. The I>her **khe-** prefix is still used because the described relationship goes from me, the older parent, to my younger daughter. This shows that kinship terms allow the same range of pronominal prefixes as other verbs do.

Below is another context that illustrates the verbal character of the kinship terms. Here, the kinship terms act more like verbs, describing the relationship rather than either of the members of the relationship.

(59) *Context: Your grandson Shawátis got in trouble at school and you are called in to talk to the principal. The front office asks who you're here to see, and you say Shawátis. They ask who you are.*
a. **Shawátis í'i rii**até'a.
'Shawátis is my grandson.'
b. **Shawátis í'i ri**hsóhtha'.
'I'm Shawátis's grandfather.'

In the context in (59), both the stem **atere'a** and **hsohtha'** can be used. This is because here these stems do not refer to either person in the relationship. Instead, they are used as verbs describing the relationship between me, the speaker, and Shawátis. Both the stems **atere'a** and **hsohtha'** refer to a grandparent-grandchild relationship. Because they both describe the relationship between Shawátis and me equally well, they can both be used in the situation. If kinship terms were not verbs, this would not be expected, since when used as nouns, the stems **atere'a** and **hsohtha'** refer to different individuals. However, here they can both be used, which is more evidence of kinship terms as verbs.

The use of family member terms as verbs easily extends to the reciprocal terms. With these terms, the relationship is visualized as one where neither participant acts on the other. This means that when reciprocal terms are used as a verb, they are

intransitive, describing a relationship with one collective participant. For example, I can use the stem **ara'se'a** 'cousin' as a verb to describe the cousin relationship as in (60).

(60) *Context: My cousin and I are introducing ourselves on a game show in which pairs compete against each other.*
Shé:kon! Wíshe ióntiats/**iónk**iats, **tánon' ne ki ne Steve, tánon' ont**iara'sé'a/**onki**ara'sé'a.
'Hello! My name is Wíshe, and this is Steve, and we're cousins.'

In this context, the speaker, Wíshe, is not referring to either himself or his cousin Steve with the kinship term **ont**iara'sé'a/**onki**ara'sé'a. Instead, he is describing the relationship between himself and his cousin. More explicitly, he is using this reciprocal term as a verb instead of as a noun. Because this is a reciprocal relationship, the 'cousining' relationship is intransitive, with no direction between Wíshe and Steve. Instead, the two of them are treated as the collective participant of the cousin relationship. Then in this context, a more apt translation of **ont**iara'sé'a/**onki**arasé'a is 'we two are cousins'.

This also works with reciprocal terms that use **subjective** prefixes, like the stem **khen** 'twin'. In the context in (61), I am not using the reciprocal term to refer to either me or my twin. Instead, I am describing a relationship between us: the relationship of being a twin. Just like with the relationship between cousins, although multiple people are related, there is no hierarchy between the two twins, so they are seen as a collective in the 'twin' relationship. Under the verbal usage, the better translation for **te**ten**í**khen is 'you and I are twins'.

(61) *Context: My twin asks why we look so alike.*
Teten**í**khen **ki' wáhe'.**
'You and I are twins obviously.'

I showed here family member terms have some properties of nouns, but importantly, they are a special type of verb. I included several examples to support this by showing that the family member terms can also be used in the same way that other verbs can. This better explains why family member terms appear with the same range of pronominal prefixes as appear with verbs. There are other ways that show that kinship terms are verbs; see Koenig and Michelson 2010 and Michelson 2023 for more details.

3.4.2 Feminine family members and the disappearing *i* and *w*

One distinction discussed in §2.1 was the fact that the terms for some female family members (typically) use different pronouns. This is true based on age more generally

due to the older>younger rule, but there are also differences in pronouns used among terms for female family members in the same age grouping (i.e., among family member terms for women older than you). An example is the pair of terms below.

(62) **ionkehnhónsa'**
'my mother-in-law'

(63) **ake'nisténha'**
'my mother'

Both my mother and my mother-in-law are in a generation above mine, so following the older>younger rule, the transitive prefixes on these terms should be she>me. Despite this, they have two different prefixes: the stem **'nistenha'** 'mother' appears with the prefix **ake-**, while the stem **ehnhonsa'** 'parent/child-in-law' appears with the prefix **ionk-**.

As I showed previously, the difference in prefixes for the two stems is based on gender. Recall from §3.1 that Kanien'kéha has two genders for women, and there are several complexities that go into which gender is used for a certain woman. This means that there are two she>me prefixes: a she>me prefix where 'she' is feminine-indefinite and one where 'she' is feminine-zoic. This is the exact difference between (62) and (63). The stem **'nistenha'** 'mother' uses the she/it>me prefix **ake-**, where 'she' is feminine-zoic, while the stem **ehnhonsa'** 'parent/child-in-law' uses the she/they>me prefix **ionk-**, where 'she' is feminine-indefinite. The difference in the gender of the two women is based on closeness. Recall that one of the main differences in whether a certain woman is categorized as feminine-zoic or feminine-indefinite is how close someone is emotionally to that particular woman. If the speaker is very close to the woman, she would be categorized as feminine-zoic. On the other hand, to show distance between the speaker and a certain woman, the woman would be categorized by the speaker as feminine-indefinite. This helps account for the pattern of the different prefixes used among older women. Your mother, your aunt, your grandmother, and your older sister are all close older female relatives. Because of this closeness to you, they are categorized as feminine-zoic. On the other hand, your mother-in-law or your stepmother are older female relatives, but are not particularly close. They therefore get categorized as feminine-indefinite. For younger female family members, there is no difference: all younger female family members are typically categorized as feminine-indefinite. This is to show the endearment towards younger members.

Notice that these categorizations are *not* hard and fast rules. Instead, they represent the *typical* forms used by speakers: close older female family members are usually categorized as feminine-zoic, while all other women in one's family are normally categorized as feminine-indefinite. That being said, female family members (of both

classes) can use prefixes that categorize them in the other female category from that which they are usually categorized in. For example, another difference that matters in categorizing women into the different genders is based on respect. Women that one has large respect for are categorized as feminine-indefinite, while women that one does not respect can be categorized as feminine-zoic. That means that the terms for some close female family members—ones that would typically be categorized as feminine-zoic—could also be categorized by a speaker as feminine-indefinite if they are highly respected. For example, the stem **'nistenha'** 'mother' typically occurs with prefixes categorizing a mother as feminine-zoic, because she is a close female family member. On the other hand, if a speaker has a lot of respect for their mother, they could use the word in (64).

(64) **ionke'nisténha**
'my mother'

In this case, the she/they>me pronoun **ionke-** is used, rather than the she,it>me pronoun **ake-**, which is the pronoun that would usually be used. By using the **ionke-** prefix, the mother in the relationship is categorized as feminine-indefinite, allowing the speaker to show a great amount of respect for her. The same can be done with younger family members, as shown in (65).

(65) **Tién'a/Kién'a ki' wáhe' tho na'ká:iere'.**
'My daughter did it.' (could be low respect for daughter)

Here, the form used for the daughter classifies her as feminine-zoic, it could be seen as the speaker equating their daughter to an 'it'. This is opposite to the normal usage of feminine-indefinite with younger female family members. However, these feminine-zoic forms are not definitively and only low respect; the sentence above could also be used to show that you're very familiar with your daughter, and the variation between forms could also depend on individual family dialects. As a learner, a good rule of thumb in the beginning is to stick to the feminine-indefinite, unless you are confident that you should use the feminine-zoic!

An important note needs to be said about the pronoun **ionke-**, as well as a few other pronouns. Specifically, these pronouns have two forms: one beginning with **i** and one where this **i** is absent. As an example, take the uses of the she/they>her pronoun in the words below.

(66) **Á:nen iontátiats/iontákiats.**
'Her name is Anne.'

(67) **ontathtsí'a**
'her older sister'

In (66), the verb is **iontátiats/iontákiats** 'her name is'. However, the literal translation is 'they call her'. Because the calling action is from an unknown person to a woman, the verb is prefixed with the she/they>her pronoun. Similarly, the family member term in (67) refers to a woman's older sister. This is a relationship between a woman and an older woman, hence the she/they>her prefix is used following the older>younger rule. Despite the fact that these two forms both use the she/they>her prefix, this prefix has a different form in the two cases: **iontat-** and **ontat-**. In other words, the she/they>her pronoun has a form beginning with **i** and a form where this **i** is missing.

This alternation is less surprising than learners might think. Pronouns beginning with **i** and **w** often have two forms: a form where the **i** and **w** appear, and a form where they disappear. This difference has often been noted as a property distinguishing nouns and verbs in the language (Mithun 2000, Michelson 2024; see Koenig and Michelson 2010 for use of this as a diagnostic). Verbs always take prefixes that have the initial **i** or **w**, while the same prefixes use the form without **i**/**w** when appearing on nouns. Family member terms are a special example. As we've seen previously, terms for family members can be used like nouns by referring to a family member, a real person. They can also be used as verbs, describing the relationship between two people itself (see §4.1). Because of their mixed noun-verb behavior, family member terms that appear with prefixes that begin with "disappearing" **i** can appear with both forms of the prefix: both the pronoun appearing with the **i** and the one where it disappears.[20]

Nevertheless, the different forms of pronouns with "disappearing" **i** are not random when they are used with family member terms. The difference is one based on the degree of affection expressed. As an example, we can use the variant word for 'my mother' using the her>me prefix **(i)onke-**. Both of the forms with and without the first **i** are allowed with the stem **'nistenha'** 'mother', as shown by (68–69).

(68) **ionke'nisténha**
'my mother'

(69) **onke'nisténha**
'my mother'

[20] This is not true of **w-**initial pronouns; these pronouns always lose the beginning **w** when appearing on family member terms. For example, the she/it>me prefix **wak(e)-** always appears as **ak(e)-** with family member terms. Family member terms can never take the form **wak(e)-**.

The use of **onke'nisténha'** 'my mother' versus **ionke'nisténha'** 'my mother' is mostly a matter of variation, but one way it could differ could be based on the affection in the relationship you have with your mother. The form that appears with the initial **i**, the form in (68), might be used by a speaker in a context in which their mother is the most important person in their life, and where there is a lot of affection between them and their mother. On the other hand, the other form, **onke'nisténha'**, the form where the **i** disappears in (69), could be better for a context in which the speaker was adopted and wants to refer to their birth mother they have never met. In this context, there is an emotional distance between the speaker's mother and the speaker. The emotional distance allows the speaker to use the **i-**less form, **onke'nisténha'** 'my mother'.
Again, however, it's important to note that there is not a hard and fast rule that we can use to describe the difference between these two forms. It depends on the family and the individual speaker; some families are much more familiar with each other, and some are more formal, so the rule is hard to pin down. Some speakers use the form with the initial glide while others don't. Impressionistically as a native speaker, I have the sense that **onke'nisténha'** feels more formal, and I would be more inclined to use the form **ionke'nisténha'** when referring to my own mother. But don't stress too much about the variation in these forms, it's just important to note that it exists. It shows the vitality of the language that there are different forms and that their usages might change, which is a good thing — we don't want Kanien'kéha to become a frozen language like Latin![21]

In this section, I described the pattern of feminine-zoic and feminine-indefinite classification for family terms. The usual pattern is that close older female family members are classified as feminine-zoic and thus use pronouns involving feminine-zoic individuals, while other female family members are classified as feminine-indefinite and thus use another set of pronouns, those encoding feminine-indefinite individuals. I also showed that this is a tendency, and that other factors (discussed in §3.1) can be used to classify female family members, allowing them to appear with prefixes that refer to them as the opposite female gender than usual. Lastly, I discussed how certain pronouns have "disappearing" **i**, which results in two forms of the same pronoun.

[21] This is something that Marianne Mithun and I talked about back in 1977 when we were discussing this particular topic. She emphasized that when an Iroquoian language starts to suffer, the complicated kinship terminologies are one of the first things to erode when a language becomes stressed. This could be part of the reason why we don't know exactly why both the i- and the i-less forms exist in the language, or what the exact difference is between them.

3.4.3 Breaking down the stems

In §2.1, I showed how kinship terms involve a kinship stem and a pronominal prefix that indicates the members of the relationship. This allowed us to make an equation to make the Kanien'kéha words for any kinship member, as long as the relationship was between two individuals. In this subsection, I detail how the stems of family member terms are themselves more complex. This will allow us to form more equations.

ROOT + **{EXTRAS}** + **DIM** = **family member stem**
relationship **locative** **diminutive**
decessive

ROOT + **NMLZ** + **V** = **have a [quality] relative**
relationship **nominalizer** **quality**

ROOT + ***shen*** + **(PST)** = **have a family member stem**
relationship **former past**

Figure 17. Introduction to the equations in this chapter

These equations will allow the learner to build more complex stems based on the family member roots, which can be used to express location, late family members, and how to express having a family member.

3.4.3.1 Lesson 6: Locatives

The following family member terms involve the use of the locative suffixes **-'ke** or **-hne,** followed by *-ha*, which we come back to later. These are organized in Table 55, Table 56, and Table 57. These give the meaning 'at'. When attached to kinship terms, these suffixes give the meaning 'at so-and-so's place'. For example **ake'nistenhnéha'** means 'at my mother's place' or 'at my mother's house'. Note that it's not literally 'at my mother's **place**' but more like 'at my mother', but it's more natural to translate into English with a noun like 'place' or 'house.' The following trees show the complete forms for all kinship terms for **í:'i**.

Kanien’kéha	English
akhsohthnéha	at my grandmother’s place
rakhsohthnéha	at my grandfather’s place
ake’nistenhnéha	at my mother/my aunt’s place
rake’nihnéha	at my father’s place
rakenonha’kéha	at my uncle’s place
akhtsi’néha	at my older sister’s place
rakhtsi’néha	at my older brother’s place
ionkeno’kéha	at my stepmother’s place
rakeno’kéha	at my stepfather’s place
ionkehnhonsa’kéha	at my mother-in-law’s place
rakehnhonsa’kéha	at my father-in-law’s place
akonhahwhà:ke / akonhahwháhne	at my sister-in-law’s place (man speaking)
rakonhahwhà:ke / rakonhahwháhne	at my brother-in-law’s place (woman speaking)

Table 55. Ì'i akhwatsí:rakon (locatives: older family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
khe’ken’kéha	at my younger sister’s place
ri’ken’kéha	at my younger brother’s place
kheien’kéha	at my daughter’s place
riien’kéha	at my son’s place
kheiatere’kéha	at my granddaughter’s place
riiatere’kéha	at my grandson’s place
kheionhwaten’kéha	at my niece’s place
riionhwaten’kéha	at my nephew’s place
khe’kstenha’kéha	at my wife’s place
ri’kstenha’kéha	at my husband’s place
kheno’kéha	at my stepdaughter’s place
rino’kéha	at my stepson’s place
kheiehnhonsa’kéha	at my daughter-in-law’s place
riiehnhonsa’kéha	at my son-in-law’s place

Table 56. Ì'i akhwatsí:rakon (locatives: younger family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
ontiarihà:ke / onkiarihà:ke **ontiarihá**hne / **onkiarihá**hne	at my sister-in-law’s place (woman speaking)
ontiatiohà:ke / onkiakiohà:ke **ontiatioháhne / onkiakioháhne**	at my brother-in-law’s place (man speaking)
ontiara’se’kéha / onkiara’se’kéha	at my cousin’s place
ontia’tshíhne / onkia’tshíhne	at my female friend’s place (woman speaking)
ontiatenróhne / onkiatenróhne **ontiatenrò:ke / onkiatenrò:ke**	at my friend’s place (woman speaking of a male friend, or man speaking)
teiakenikhenhnéha	at my twin’s place
iatiatate’ken’kéha / iakiatate’ken’kéha **iatiatenon’sen’kéha / iakiatenon’sen’kéha**	at my sibling’s place at my relative’s place
teiatiatehnonterenhnè:ke / **teiakiatehnonterenhnè:ke**	at my neighboring sibling’s place (my directly older or younger sibling)
teiatianonhsanekèn:ke / teiakianonhsanekèn:ke	at my neighbor’s place

Table 57. Ì'i akhwatsí:rakon (locatives: equal age family members)

There are a few things of note on these locative forms. For one, you may have noticed that the locative **-’ke** or **-hne** seems to “split” some of the family member stems in two. For example, the stem for ‘father’ is **’niha**, to which pronominal prefixes are added to form the full word. However, the **-hne** locative appears to split this stem, coming in between the **’ni** part and the **ha** part in the word **rake’nihnéha** ‘at my father’s house’. In fact, the careful reader may have already noticed that most of the family member terms end in **-ha** or **-a**, and that the locative suffix **-hne** or **-’ke** splits this **-(h)a** from the rest of the kinship term.[22] This is because the majority of the family member stems consist of several parts. All family member terms are based on a **root**, which is

[22] The very careful reader will note that the **-ha** at the end of the stems **ariha** ‘sister-in-law’ (women), **atioha/akioha** ‘brother-in-law’ (men), and **onhahwha** ‘opposite-sex sibling-in-law’ does *not* get separated from the rest of the stem by the locative suffix. This is simply because the **-ha** in these stems is not the same -ha; these roots just happen to end in **-ha**.

the part of the word that gives the base meaning of the kinship term. Importantly, roots cannot be broken down further; they are not complex. Most family member terms also include the **diminutive** suffix **-(h)a**, added to the root in order to form the family member stem. On other words in the language, the diminutive suffix is often used to indicate smallness. On kinship terms, this suffix gives a meaning of connection, closeness and tenderness to the family member. As a more concrete example, the root for 'uncle' is actually just **nonha**. However, to form the full kinship stem for uncle, the diminutive suffix **-'a** is added. Because they are more complex, the normal way family member stems are made can also be summarized by an equation.

ROOT + **DIM** = **basic family member stem**
relationship **diminutive**

Figure 18. Basic family member equation

The locative forms of family member terms are then made with a different equation:

ROOT + **LOC** + **DIM** = **family member location stem**
relationship **locative** **diminutive**

Figure 19. Locative family member equation

Instead of attaching the diminutive suffix directly to the root for a family member term, the locative suffix is first added to the root and then the diminutive suffix is attached to the stem created out of root plus locative. Hence, to make 'my uncle's house', the locative suffix **-'ke** is added to the root **nonha** to make **nonha'ke**, and then the diminutive **-ha** is added to make the full stem **nonha'keha**. As soon as the he>me prefix **rake-** is added, we get the correct form **rake**nonha'kéha 'my uncle's house'. This is why they appear to "split" certain bases in two. This difference between family member roots and the more complex stems will be important in subsequent lessons.

An additional note is that certain family member terms use the locative **-'ke** and some use the locative **-hne**. This difference is based on the root, so unfortunately must be memorized. Nevertheless, more roots use **-'ke**, so it may suffice to memorize only the roots that use **-hne**.

3.4.3.2 Lesson 7: The decessive

Table 58, Table 59, and Table 60 show the forms for my late family members, using the **decessive** suffix **-'kenha**, which signals that the person it is attached to is deceased, and can be used similarly to 'late' in English 'my late mother'.

Kanien’kéha	English
akhsohtkénha	my late grandmother
rakhsohtkénha	my late grandfather
ake’nistenhkénha	my late mother/aunt
rake’nihkénha	my late father
rakenonha’kénha	my late uncle
akhtsi’kénha	my late older sister
rakhtsi’kénha	my late older brother
ionkeno’kénha	my late stepmother
rakeno’kénha	my late stepfather
ionkehnhonsa’kénha	my late mother-in-law
rakehnhonsa’kénha	my late father-in-law
akonhahwha’kénha	my late sister-in-law (man speaking)
rakonháhwha’kénha	my late brother-in-law (woman speaking)

Table 58. Í'i akhwatsire’kénha (decessive: older family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
khe’ken’kénha	my late younger sister
ri’ken’kénha	my late younger brother
kheien’kénha	my late daughter
riien’kénha	my late son
kheiatere’kénha	my late granddaughter
riiatere’kénha	my late grandson
kheionhwaten’kénha	my late niece
riionhwaten’kénha	my late nephew
khe’kstenha’kénha	my late wife / my ex-wife
ri’kstenha’kénha	my late husband / my ex-husband
kheno’kénha	my late stepdaughter / my estranged stepdaughter
rino’kénha	my late stepson / my estranged stepson
kheiehnhonsa’kénha	my late daughter-in-law / my ex-daughter-in-law
riiehnhonsa’kénha	my late son-in-law / my ex-son-in-law

Table 59. Í'i akhwatsire’kénha (decessive: younger family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
ontiariha’kénha / onkiariha’kénha	my late sister-in-law (woman speaking)
ontiatioha’kénha / onkiakioha’kénha	my late brother-in-law (man speaking)
ontiara’se’kénha / onkiara’se’kénha	my late cousin
ontia’tshihkénha / onkia’tshihkénha	my late female friend (woman speaking)
ontiatenro’kénha / onkiatenro’kénha	my late friend (woman speaking of a male friend, or man speaking)
teiakenikhén:tahkwe’ **teiakenikhen’kénha**	my late twin
iatiatate’ken’kénha / iakiatate’ken’kénha **iatiatenon’sénhahkwe’ / iakiatenon’sénhahkwe’**	my late siblings my late relatives
teiatiatehnonta’kwe / teiakiatehnonta’kwe	my late neighboring sibling (my directly older or younger sibling)
teiatianonhsanekèn:ne / **teiakianonhsanekèn:ne**	my late neighbor

Table 60. Í'i akhwatsire’kénha (decessive: equal age family members)

The decessive suffix **-’kenha** is also able to attach to noun roots, as will be discussed in later work on nouns. This is due to the mixed noun-verb nature of kinship roots as discussed in §3.4.1 (see also Koenig and Michelson 2010). Recall that there is a difference between the family member roots and more complex family member stems to which pronominal prefixes are added. As exemplified by the terms in the table below, the decessive suffix **-’kenha** attaches to the root, meaning it does not use the form of the family member term with the diminutive. This means we have an additional equation for late family members.

ROOT + **DEC** = **late family member stem**
relationship **decessive**

Figure 20. Late family member equation

3.4.3.3 Lesson 8: Having (good and bad) family members

The following table shows how a speaker says they have each of the family members. In order to say that you used to have a relative, the former past suffix **-hkwe'** is added.

Kanien'kéha	English	Kanien'kéha (past)	English (past)
wakhsóhtshen	I have a grandparent	**wakhsohtshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a grandparent
wake'nisténhshen	I have a mother or aunt.	**wake'nistenhshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a mother or aunt.
wake'níhshen	I have a father.	**wake'nihshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a father.
wakhtsíshen	I have an older sibling.	**wakhtsishén:tahkwe'**	I used to have an older sibling.
wake'kénhshen	I have a younger sibling.	**wake'kenhshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a younger sibling.
wakara'séhtshen	I have a cousin.	**wakara'sehtshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a cousin.
wakenonhà:tshen	I have an uncle.	**wakenonha'tshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have an uncle.
wakenáhkwaien	I have a spouse.	**wakenahkwaién:tahkwe'**	I used to have a spouse.
wakewíraien	I have a child.	**wakewiraién:tahkwe'**	I used to have a child.
wakenò:tshen	I have a step-child.	**wakeno'tshén:tahkwe'**	I used to have a step-child.

wakenhwatèn:tshen	I have a niece or nephew.	**wakenhwaten’tshén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a niece or nephew.
wakaterè:shen	I have a grandchild.	**wakatere’shén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a grandchild.
wakarihátshen	I have a sister-in-law.	**wakarihatshén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a sister-in-law.
wakatiohátshen / wakakiohátshen	I have a brother-in-law.	**wakatiohatshén:tahkwe’ / wakakiohatshén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a brother-in-law.
waka’tshíhshen	I have a female friend.	**waka’tshihshén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a female friend.
wakatenrò:shen	I have a male friend or companion.	**wakatenro’shén:tahkwe’**	I used to have a male friend or companion.
wakhskáraien	I have a girlfriend or boyfriend.	**wakhskaraién:tahkwe’**	I used to have a girlfriend or boyfriend.
wakonhnhonsèn:tshen	I have a mother- or father-in-law.	**wakonhnhonsen’tshén:tahkwe’**	I have a mother or father in-law.

Table 61. Having family members

Of note is that these verbs are based on the root of the family member term, rather than the stem form with the diminutive **-(h)a**. Here, the root of the family member term appears directly attached to the verb **shen** ‘have (a family member)’.[23] Additionally, the former past suffix **-hkwe’** can also attach to let the listener know that the speaker no longer has the family member.[24] This is another equation:

[23] The exceptions are having a spouse, a partner, or a child. These involve the verb root **ien** ‘have’ alongside noun incorporation, to be discussed in a later work on verbs.
[24] See Gatchalian 2024, 2025 for more on the former past **-hkwe’**.

ROOT + ***shen*** + **(PST)** = **have a family member stem**
relationship **former past**

Figure 21. Having a family member equation

Another way we can use the roots to build more verbs is in the table below. These show how I say I have a good or bad family member. These are the two most common verbs used alongside the family member terms.

Kanien'kéha	English	Kanien'kéha	English
wakhsohtsherí:io	I have a nice grandparent	**wakhsohtsheráksen**	I have a bad grandparent
wake'nistenhtsherí:io	I have a nice mother or aunt.	**wake'nistenhtsheráksen**	I have a bad mother or aunt
wake'nihsherí:io	I have a nice father.	**wake'nihsheráksen**	I have a bad father
wakhtsi'sherí:io	I have a nice older sibling.	**wakhtsi'sheráksen**	I have a bad older sibling.
wake'kenhsherí:io	I have a nice younger sibling.	**wake'kenhsheráksen**	I have a bad younger sibling.
wakara'senhsherí:io	I have a nice cousin.	**wakara'senhseráksen**	I have a bad cousin.
wakenonha'tsherí:io	I have a good uncle.	**wakenonha'tsheráksen**	I have a bad uncle.
wakenahkwí:io	I have a good spouse.	**wakenahkwáksen**	I have a bad spouse.
wakewirí:io	I have a good daughter or son.	**wakewiráksen**	I have a bad daughter or son.
wakeno'shentsherí:io	I have a good step-daughter or step-son.	**wakeno'shentsheráksen**	I have a bad step-daughter or step-son.

wakonhwaten'tsherí:io	I have a good niece or nephew.	**wakonhwaten'tsheráksen**	I have a bad niece or nephew.
wakatere'hserí:io	I have a good grandchild.	**wakatere'hseráksen**	I have have a bad grandchild.
wakariho'tsherí:io	I have a good sister-in-law. (woman to woman)	**wakariho'tsheráksen**	I have a bad sister-in-law. (woman to woman)
waktio'tsherí:io/ wakkio'tsherí:io	I have a good brother-in-law. (man to man)	**wak(a)tio'tsheráksen/ wakkio'tsheráksen**	I have a bad brother-in-law. (man to man)
wakonhahwha'tsherí:io	I have a good brother-/sister-in-law. (opposite sex)	**wakonhahwha'tsheráksen**	I have a bad brother-/sister-in-law. (opposite sex)
waka'tshihserí:io	I have a good female friend.	**waka'tshihseráksen**	I have a bad female friend.
wakatenro'serí:io	I have a good male friend.	**wakatenro'seráksen**	I have a bad male friend.
wakhskarí:io	I have a good girlfriend or boyfriend.	**wakhskaráksen**	I have a bad girlfriend or boyfriend.
wakehnhonsa'tsherí:io	I have a good mother- or father-in-law.	**wakehnhonsa'tsheráksen**	I have a bad mother- or father-in-law.
waksha'whatsherí:io	I have a good daughter-/son-in-law.	**waksha'whatsheráksen**	I have a bad daughter-/son-in-law.

Table 62. Having good and bad family members

You may have noticed that here, **í:io** means 'nice/good' while **áksen** means 'bad'. You may also have recognized the kinship roots in these words. However, there is also an additional **-'tsher**, **-htsher**, or **-hser** piece in between the verb and the kinship roots. This is called a **nominalizer**, which is involved with noun incorporation. Do not fret

about this just yet! Noun incorporation and nominalizers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The important piece is that in these forms the root for the family member term is used, rather than the stem form.

Through lessons on locatives, the decessive, and having family members, I have shown that the stems for the basic family member terms are not so basic after all, often containing the diminutive suffix **-(h)a** attached to the root. However, these lessons showed that different stems can be built from the family member roots in order to express different things, for example, the place a family member lives, or to express that one has a nice family member. These stems, just like the basic stem for family member terms, can be visualized as different equations. The equations introduced in this chapter are repeated again here.

ROOT + **{EXTRAS}** + **DIM** = **family member stem**
relationship **locative / decessive / (nothing)** **diminutive**

ROOT + **NMLZ** + **V** = **have a [quality] relative**
relationship **nominalizer** **quality**

ROOT + ***shen*** + **(PST)** = **have a family member stem**
relationship **former past**

Figure 22. All equations introduced in this chapter

3.5 Exercises

This section provides teachers and learners with a broad range of exercises focusing on kinship terms. These exercises are intended to target multiple different skills, from vocabulary to conversation. There are a total of five exercises for this chapter. Most exercises can be done without the use of this document or an answer key; however, the answers to the few exercises requiring answers are listed in Appendix A.

Exercise 1: Family tree

This exercise targets vocabulary and conversational practice. The student will introduce others to their own family using a family tree. Create a family tree with all of your family members. Include pictures of your family members as well as their names. Then

introduce your family to someone else, using the particles and verbs for introducing people (see §3.1 and §3.3 for dialogue examples).

Exercise 2: Introducing someone else's family

This exercise targets vocabulary and conversational practice. Choose another person's family tree and present it to someone else using the particles and verbs for introducing people. Remember that this means the pronouns for each of the kinship terms in the family tree will be different than if you were introducing your own family to someone else!

Exercise 3: Introductions fill-in

This exercise targets the use of pronominal prefixes with both kinship and reciprocal terms as well as with the introduction verbs introduced in the practice conversations. Fill in the blanks with the kinship term based on the picture accompanying the sentence. Remember to use the form of the kinship term that corresponds to the person in the sentence. An example is presented below, but any number of pictures could be used, allowing for all sorts of new forms to be practiced.

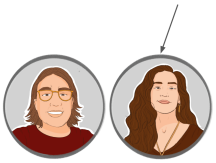
Speaker A: **Shé:kon [Speaker B]! Í:kehre' ahtshientéhrha'ne' ne ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro Sá:k.**

Speaker B: **Shé:kon Sá:k. Skennen'kó:wa ken?**

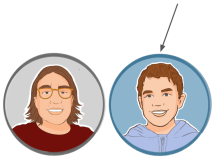
Sá:k: **Hen, skennen'kó:wa. Ok ní:se?**

B: **Skennen'kó:wa, niá:wen.**

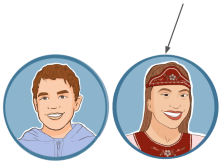
A: **Wahsheientéhrha'ne' ken ne Sá:k _____ wáhe? Onwá:ri _____.**

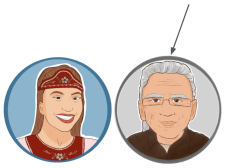


B: **Iah, wahiientéhrha'ne' ne _____. Ahawíhtha' _____.**



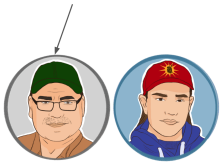
A: **Ahawíhtha' _____, Sosén: _____.**





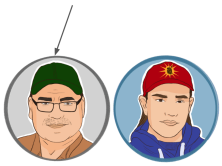
B: **Ónhka’ ne Sosén: _____?**

A: **Wíshe _____.**

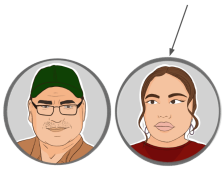


B: **Í:se ne Wíshe _____ wáhe?**

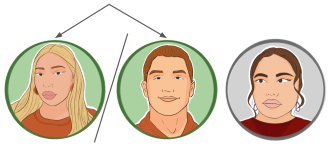
A: **Hen, Wíshe _____.**



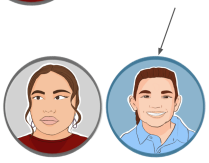
B: **Wa’kheientéhrha’ne’ ne Wíshe _____, tánon’ Skaneniésha’ _____.**



A: **_____ ne Skaneniésha’.**



B: **Í'i _____ ne Skaneniésha’ _____.**



Exercise 4: Children’s story

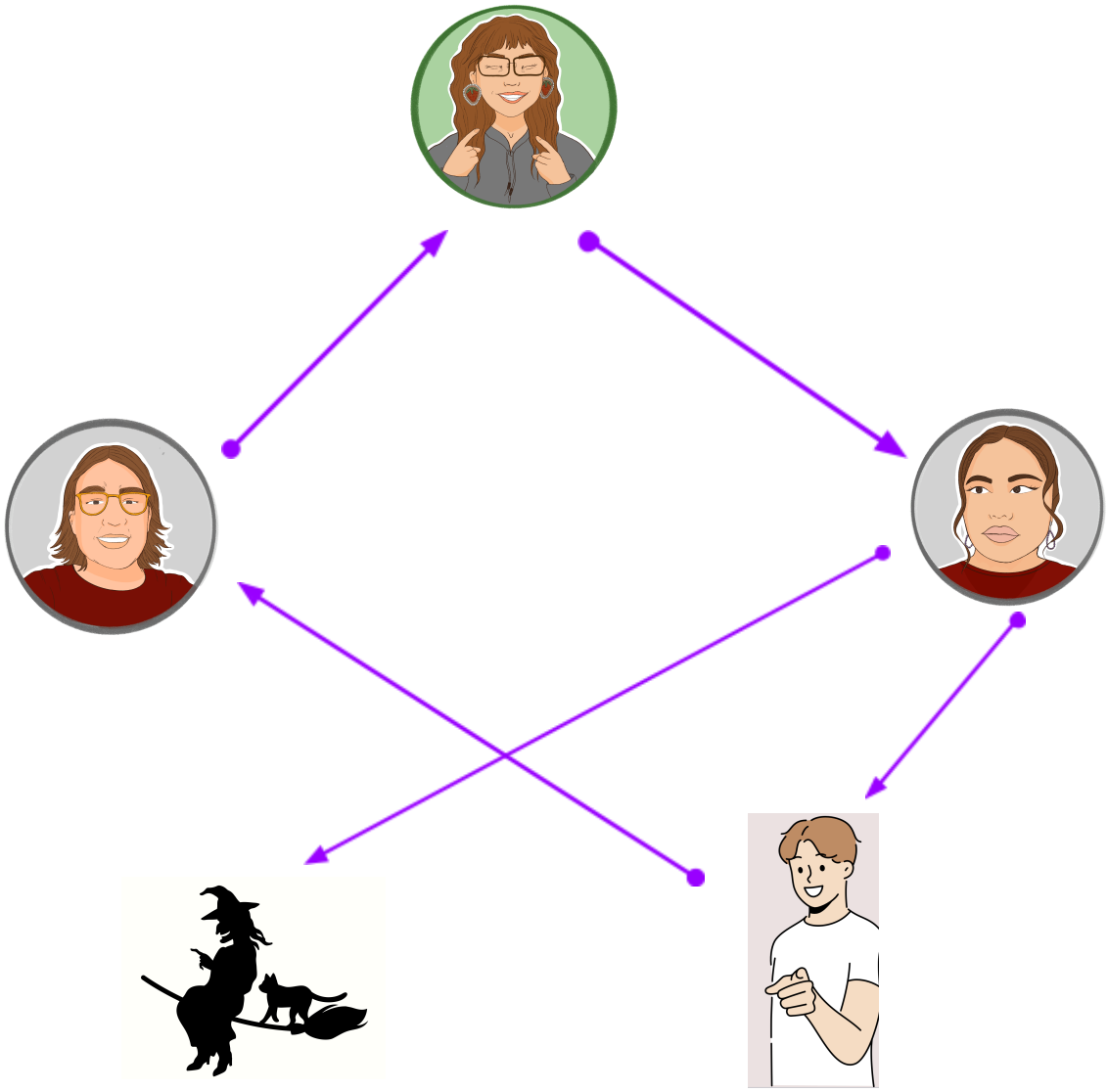
This exercise targets kinship terms in their role as describing a relationship. Write a story about an animal who has lost their mother and/or father and attempts to find them by asking others if they are their mother/father. The others should be related to the lost animal in other ways, using other kinship terms besides mother and father. For an example, see Brass 2024.

Exercise 5: Relationship web

This exercise is intended to cement the **transitive** pronominal prefixes. There are two variants of this exercise. In the first, a **transitive** prefix is provided in purple. The student should draw an arrow across the web from the higher participant to the lower participant. In the second, the arrows of the web are already provided. The student should then label each arrow with the **transitive** prefix that correctly indicates the relationship shown by the arrow.

Variant: This can also be done in a classroom via yarn. Pass a ball of yarn around to others until a large web is created. Go from one end to the other, asking other students to provide the **transitive** prefix that describes the relationship between one person and another. This can also be used to cement me-to-X prefixes as well by creating a chain of people from one end to the other, asking the person beginning the relationship to name the **transitive** prefix that indicates the relationship between them and the next person in the web.

Exercise 5.1
Label each of the arrows with the prefix that correctly indicates the relationship, as indicated by the direction of the arrow. Use the C-stem form of the prefixes. The witch in this diagram represents the feminine-zoic gender.

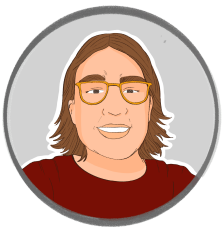


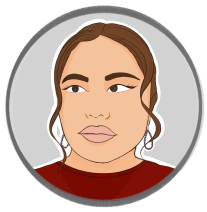
Exercise 5.2

Using the word bank of pronouns, draw and label an arrow for each pronoun. The arrow should go between the individuals that represent the participants of the relationship, as well as the direction of the relationship.

k(e)-	**ia-**	**she-**
(i)onk(e)-	**khe-**	**sa-**







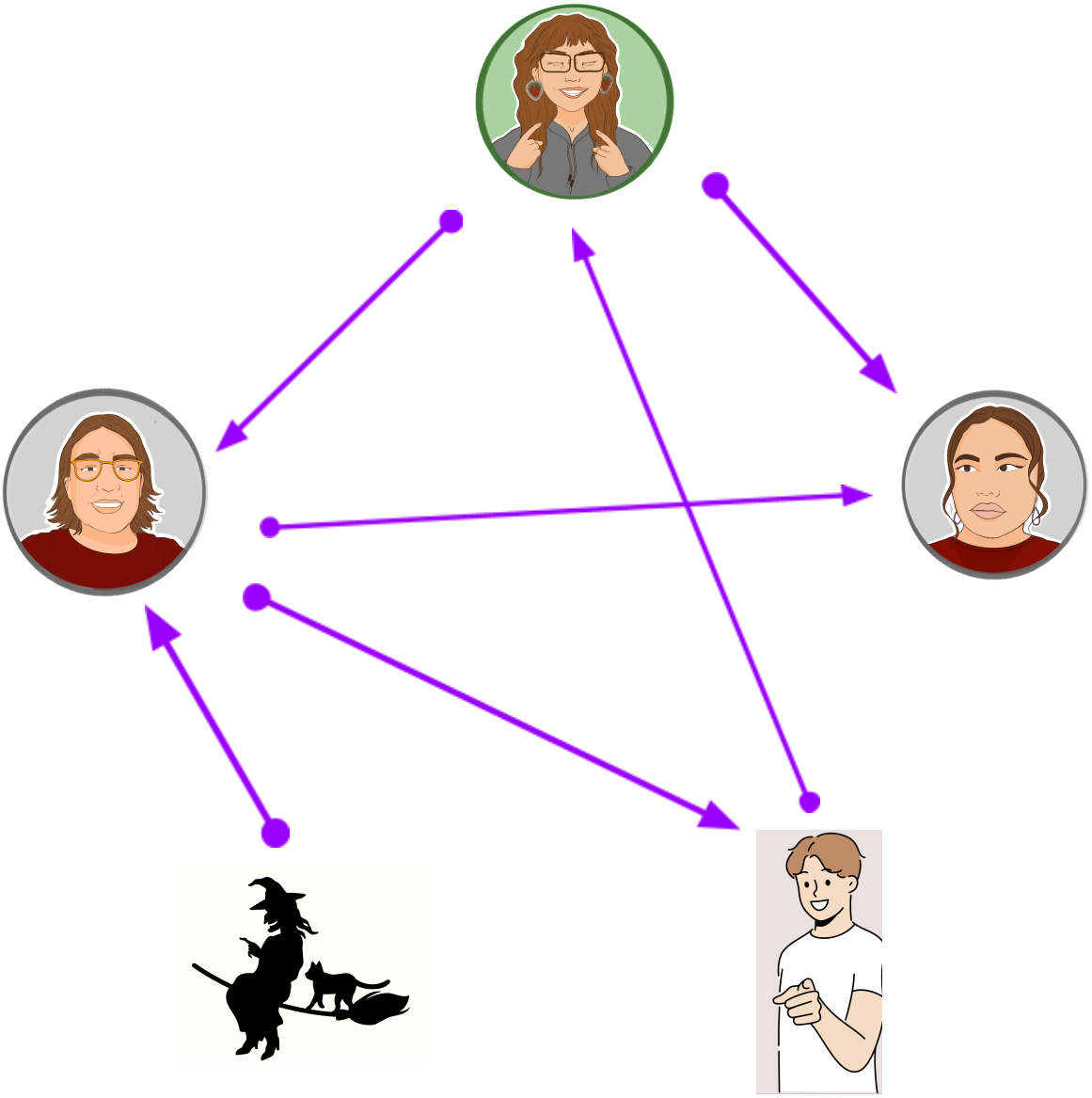




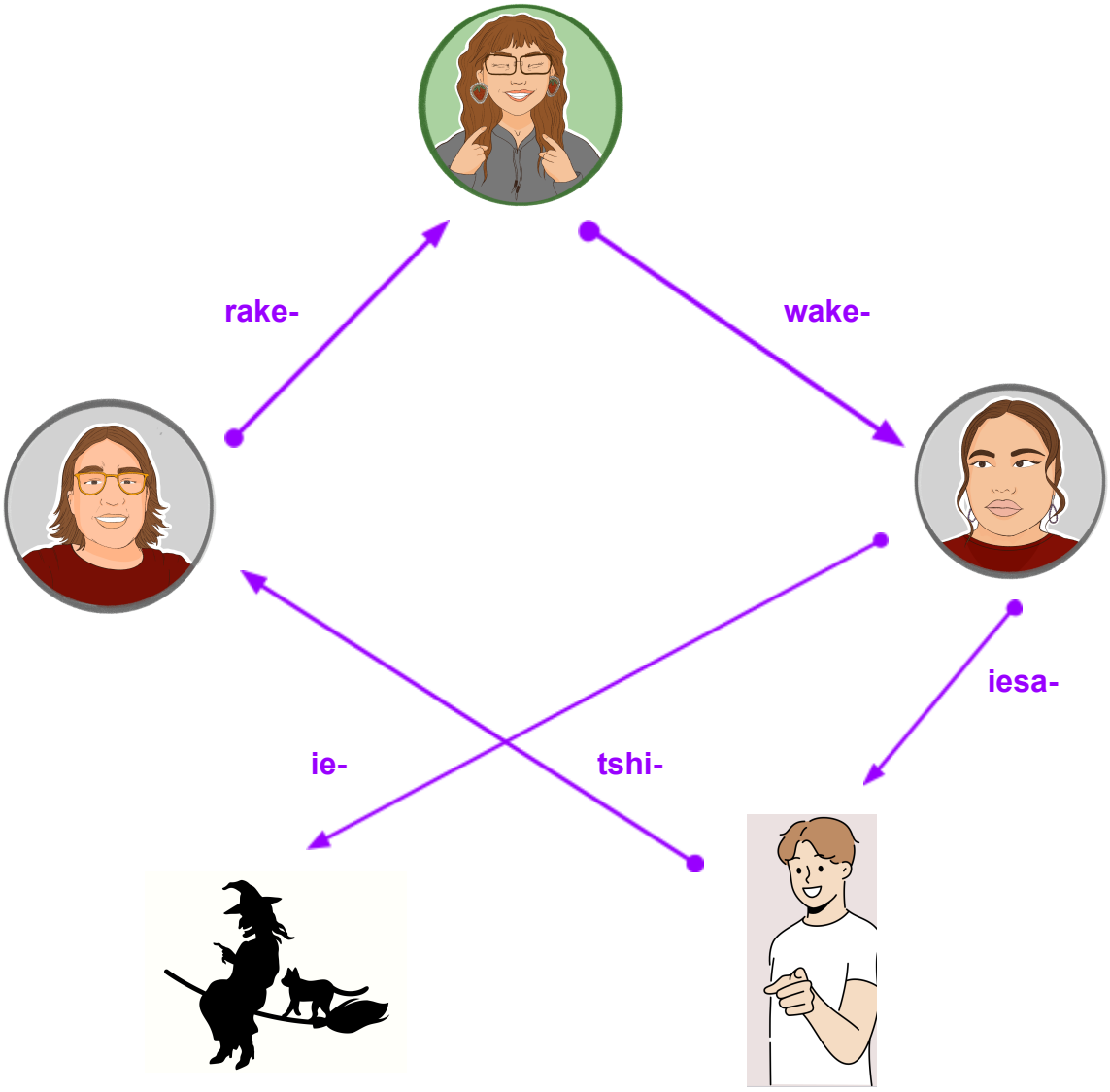
Exercise 5.3

Label each of the arrows with the prefix from the word bank that correctly indicates the relationship, as indicated by the direction of the arrow. Note that not every prefix in the word bank will be used!

ri-	**khe-**	**rak(e)-**
sa-	**kon-**	**tak(e)-**
shako-	**tshi-**	**ia-**
iontat-	**k(e)-**	**ro-**



Example exercise (with answers)



3.6 Introducing dual and plural forms

In previous sections of this work, I have discussed the family member terms that are used for singular people. All family member terms thus far have either referred to a singular family member or described a relationship between two singular individuals. However, many people have multiple family members of the same status, for example, three aunts, or five younger sisters. Or, you and a sibling might together be talking about a shared family member. To represent this, I introduce the forms for dual and

plural family member terms. These will allow readers to refer to two or more family members, as well as to describe relationships that exist between one group of people and another person or group of people, like ‘our mother’ and ‘their grandparents’.

Until now, the **transitive** prefixes used in examples and given in tables have only expressed relationships between singular individuals, for example one man acting on me (one person). On the other hand, dual and plural family member terms describe relationships between an individual and a group of people, as in ‘my daughters’, or between two groups of people, as in ‘our parents’. This means that the **transitive** prefixes introduced so far are insufficient to refer to dual and plural family member terms, since they only describe relationships between singular individuals. They are not able to express the relationships required for dual and plural forms of kinship terms. Instead, we need additional **transitive** prefixes, this time indexing relationships between singular, dual, and plural individuals. More prefixes means a bigger table! Table 63 below provides the C-stem forms for all combinations of people (including the singular-to-singular prefixes previously introduced).

The chart below works just like the smaller tables for pronouns introduced previously (e.g., in §3.2.1). Remember that to read this table, you can go down the red column to find the subject, and then go across the blue row to find the object, which will land you in the box with the transitive prefix that you’re looking for. For example, if I wanted to find the you all>them (females) transitive prefix, I would go down the red column to find **sewakwé:kon**, then across the blue row to find **onónha**, and I would land on the box for the transitive prefix **ietshi-,** which is indeed the you all>them transitive prefix.[25] To see this big table broken down into some more digestible quadrants, see §4.2.

[25] It is important to note that the bottom right corner of this next table, involving the forms **iakoti-**, **(h)shakoti-**, **konwati-**, and **ronwati-**, is complex and often shows a lot of overlap, meaning that sometimes more than one form is possible.

Stem	C	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**i'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				take-	takeni-	takwa-	(h)se-	(e)tshe-	(h)she-		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				takeni-	takeni-	takwa-	seni-	(e)tshiseni-	ietshi-		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				takwa-	takwa-	takwa-	sewa-	(e)tshisewa-			
	i'i (1SG)	kon-	keni-	kwa-				ke-	ri-	khe-		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	keni-	keni-	kwa-				iakeni-	(h)shakeni-	iakhi-		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	kwa-	kwa-	kwa-				iakwa-	(h)shakwa-			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							teni-	(e)tshiteni-	iethi-		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							tewa-	(e)tshitewa-			
	aónha (FZSG)	sa-	seni-	sewa-	wake-	ionkeni-	ionkwa-	io-	ro-	iako-		
	raónha (MSG)	(h)ia-	(e)tshiseni-	(e)tshisewa-	rake-	(h)shonkeni-	(h)shonkwa-	ra-		(h)shako-		
	akaónha (FI)	iesa-	ietshi-		ionke-	ionkhi-		konwa-	ronwa-	iontate-	konwati-	ronwati-
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									iakoti-		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									(h)shakoti-		

Table 63. All C-stem transitive pronominal prefixes

Just like the pronouns for singular>singular relationships, the dual and plural pronouns slot right into the equation for basic family member terms, attaching directly to the stem created from the kinship root and the diminutive.

Now that we've discussed the rules for the pronouns of the dual and plural forms of kinship terms as well as introduced the new chart of pronouns, we will introduce some example forms of dual and plural kinship forms. The following tables display the kinship terms used when talking about the family members of dual and plural groups of people. Table 64, Table 65, and Table 66 display the kinship terms for second person dual ("you two").

Kanien'kéha	**English**
ietshihsóhtha	your(2) grandmother
(e)tshisenihsóhtha	your(2) grandfather
ietshi'nisténha	your(2) mother/my aunt
(e)tshiseni'níha	your(2) father
(e)tshiseninonhá'a	your(2) uncle
ietshihtsí'a	your(2) older sister
(e)tshisenihtsí'a	your(2) older brother
ietshinó'a	your(2) stepmother
(e)tshiseninó'a	your(2) stepfather
ietshiiehnhónsa'	your(2) mother-in-law
(e)tshisenehnhónsa'	your(2) father-in-law
ietshiionháhwha	your(2) sister-in-law
(e)tshisenonháhwha	your(2) brother-in-law

Table 64. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse senihwá:tsire' (older family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
ietshi’kén'a	your(2) younger sister
(eh)tshiseni’kén'a	your(2) younger brother
ietshiién'a	your(2) daughter
(eh)tshiseniién'a	your(2) son
ietshiiateré'a	your(2) granddaughter
(eh)tshitsateré'a/(eh)tshitsiateré'a	your(2) grandson
ietshiionhwatén'a	your(2) niece
(eh)tshisenonhwatén'a	your(2) nephew
ietshinó'a	your(2) stepdaughter
(eh)tshiseninó'a	your(2) stepson
ietshiiehnhónsa’	your(2) daughter-in-law
(eh)tshisenehnhónsa’	your(2) son-in-law

Table 65. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíhse senihwá:tsire’ (younger family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
sewara’sé'a	your(2) cousin
sewatén:ro	your(2) friend
teseníkhen	your(2) twin
tsatate’kén'a / tsiatate’kén'a	your(2) siblings
tetsanonhsané:ken / tetsianonhsané:ken	your(2) neighbor

Table 66. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíhse senihwá:tsire’ (equal age family members)

Next, Figure 23 and Figure 24 below display the family trees for second person dual (“you two”).

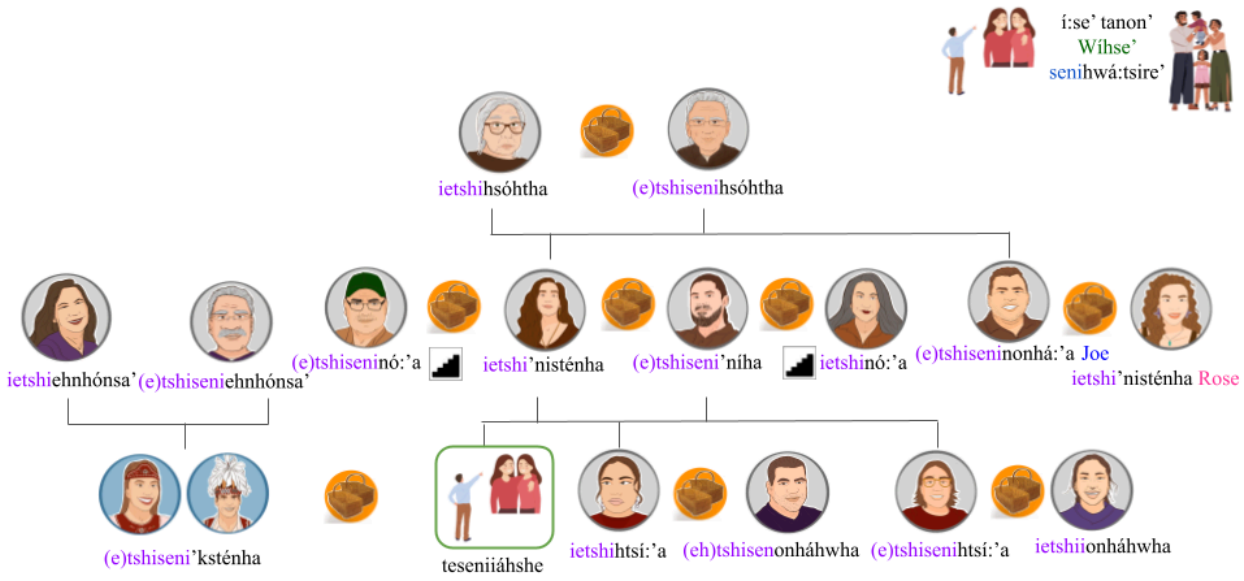


Figure 23. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse senihwá:tsire' (older family members)

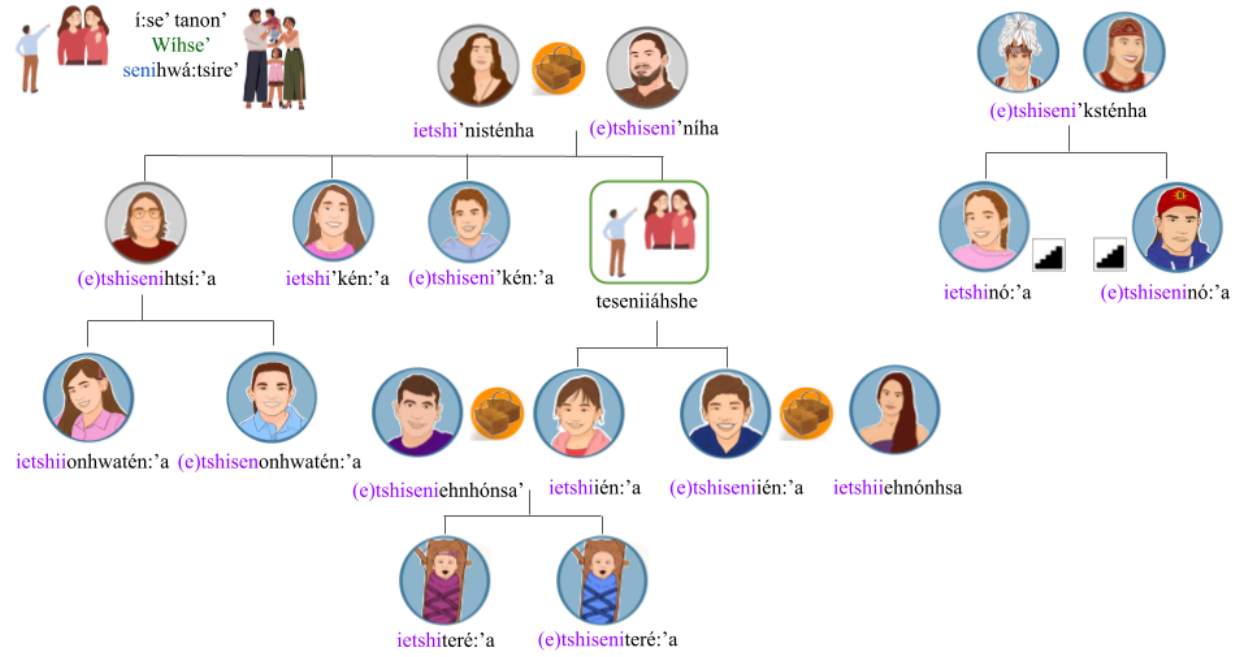


Figure 24. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse senihwá:tsire' (younger family members)

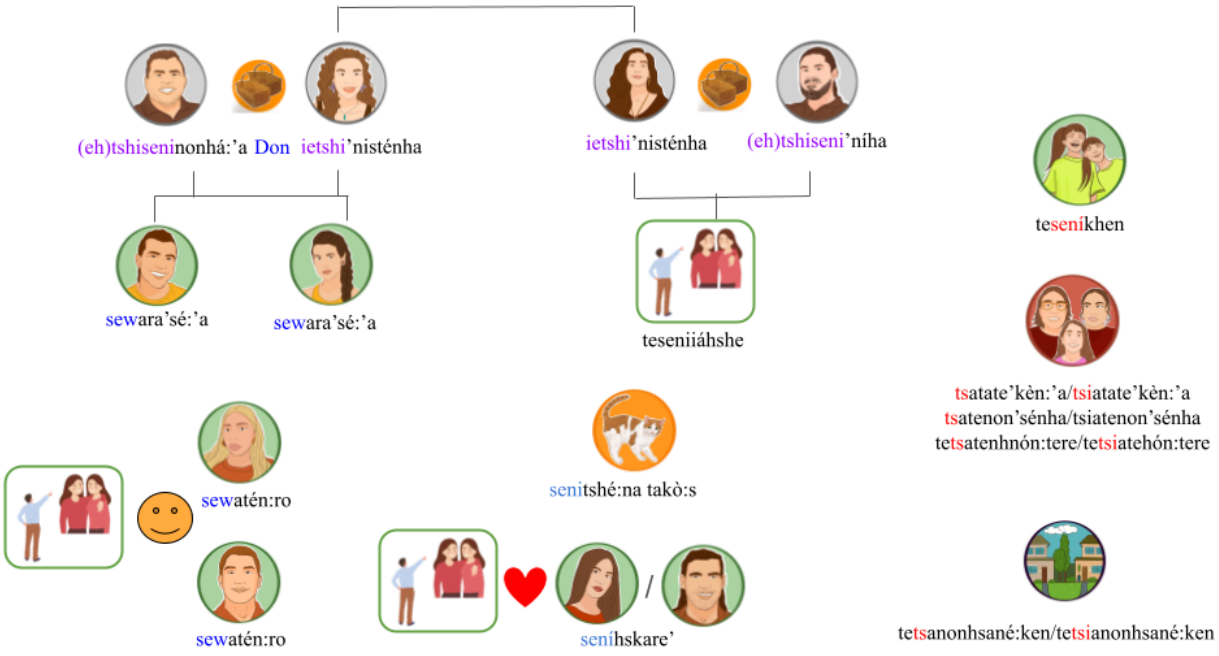


Figure 25. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse senihwá:tsire' (same age family members)

Next, Table 67, Table 68 and Table 69 display the family member terms for second person plural ("you all").

Kanien’kéha	English
ietshihsóhtha	your(3+) grandmother
(e)tshisewahsóhtha	your(3+) grandfather
ietshi’nisténha	your(3+) mother/my aunt
(e)tshisewa’níha	your(3+) father
(e)tshisewanonhá'a	your(3+) uncle
ietshihtsí'a	your(3+) older sister
(e)tshisewahtsí'a	your(3+) older brother
ietshinó'a	your(3+) stepmother
(e)tshisewanó'a	your(3+) stepfather
ietshiiehnhónsa’	your(3+) mother-in-law
(e)tshisewehnhónsa’	your(3+) father-in-law
ietshiionháhwha	your(3+) sister-in-law
tshitsonháhwha/tshitsionháhwha	your(3+) brother-in-law

Table 67. Í:se tánon’ Wíhse’ tánon Wári sewahwá:tsire’ (older family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
ietshi’kén'a	your(3+) younger sister
(e)tshisewa’kén'a	your(3+) younger brother
ietshiionhwatén'a	your(3+) niece
(e)tshitsonhwatén'a/(e)tshitsionhwatén'a	your(3+) nephew

Table 68. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíhse tánon’ Wári sewahwá:tsire’ (younger family members)

Kanien’kéha	English
sewara’sé'a	your(3+) cousin
sewatén:ro	your(3+) friend
tesewákhen	your(3+) twin
sewatate’kén'a	your(3+) siblings
tesewanonhsané:ken	your(3+) neighbor

Table 69. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíhse tánon’ Wári sewahwá:tsire’ (equal age family members)

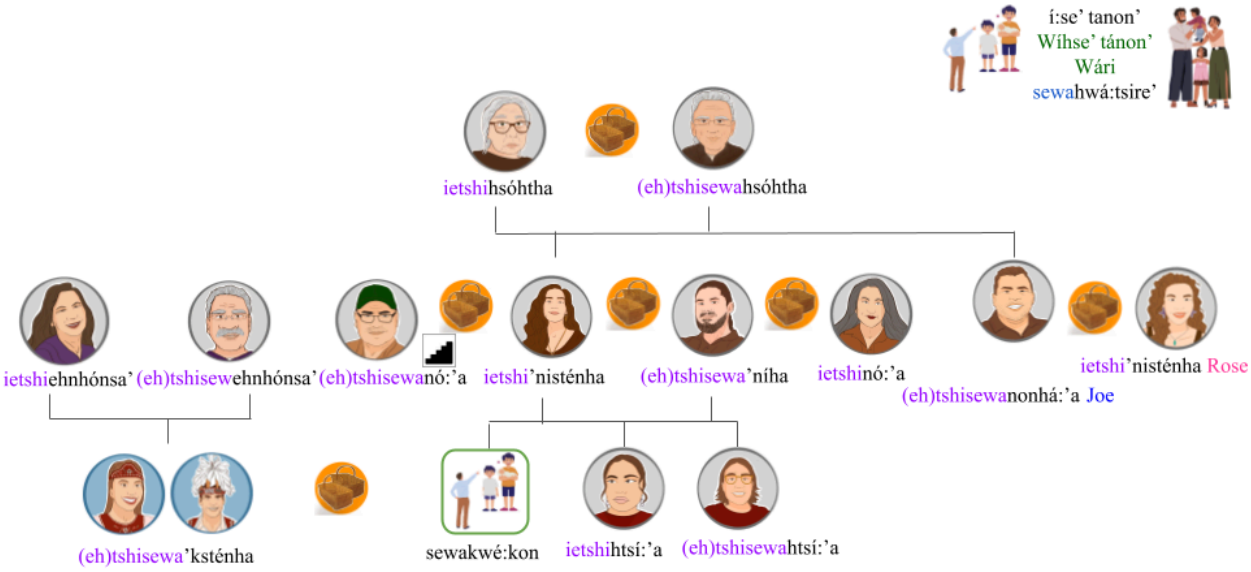


Figure 26. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíhse tánon’ Wári sewahwá:tsire’ (older family members)

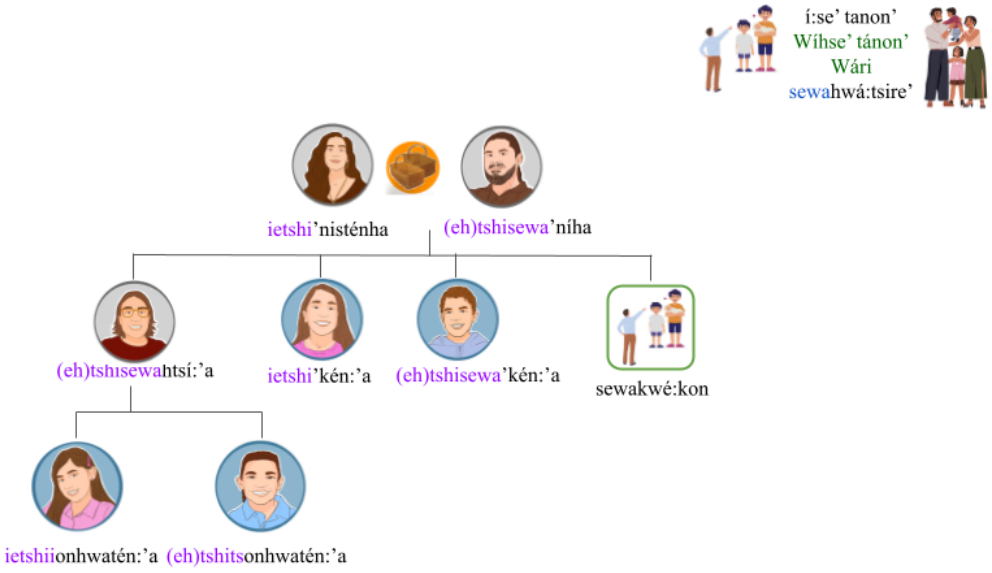


Figure 27. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse tánon' Wári sewahwá:tsire' (younger family members)

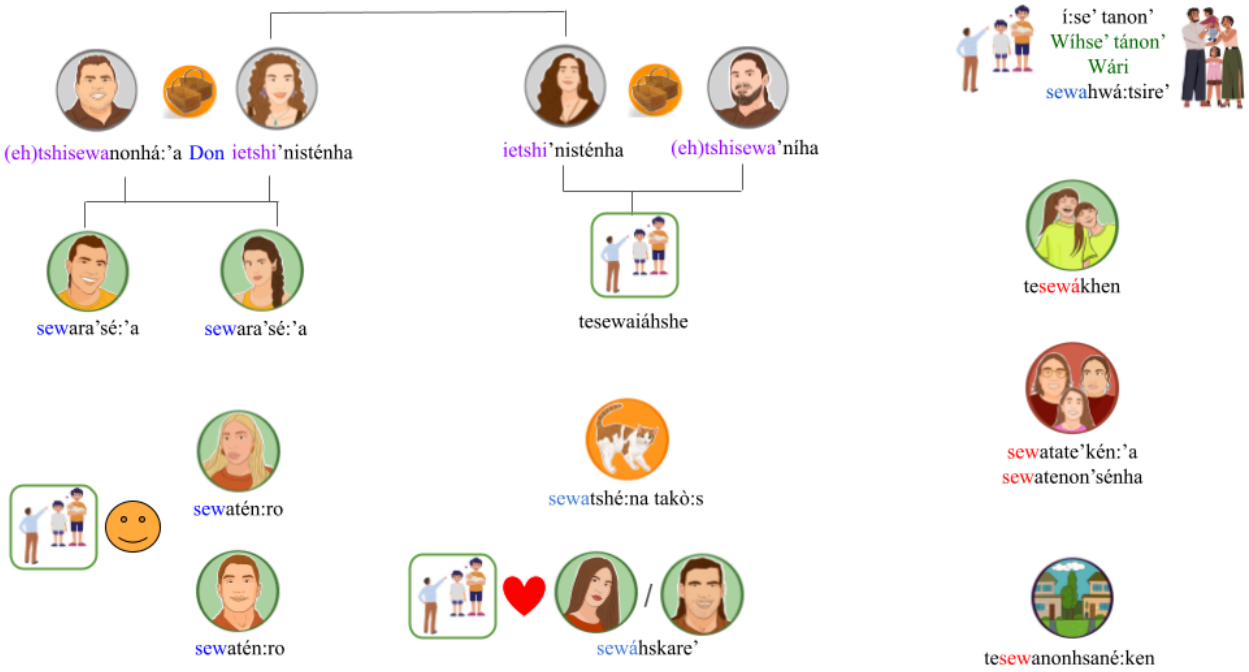


Figure 28. Í:se' tánon' Wíhse tánon' Wári sewahwá:tsire' (same age family members)

Next, Table 70 displays some family member terms for first person dual inclusive (‘you and I’).

Kanien’kéha	English
iethihsóhtha	our(2, inclusive) grandmother
(eh)tshitenihsóhtha	our(2, inclusive) grandfather
iethi’nisténha	our(2, inclusive) mother/my aunt
(eh)tshiteni’níha	our(2, inclusive) father
(eh)tshiteninonhá'a	our(2, inclusive) uncle
iethihtsí'a	our(2, inclusive) older sister
(eh)tshitenihtsí'a	our(2, inclusive) older brother
iethi’kén'a	our(2, inclusive) younger sister
etshiteni’kén'a	our(2, inclusive) younger brother
iethinó'a	our(2, inclusive) stepmother
(eh)tshiteninó'a	our(2, inclusive) stepfather
onkwara’sé'a	our(2, inclusive) cousin
onkwatén:ro	our(2, inclusive) friend

Table 70. Í:se’ tánon’ í'i onkenihwá:tsire’ (our(inclusive) family)

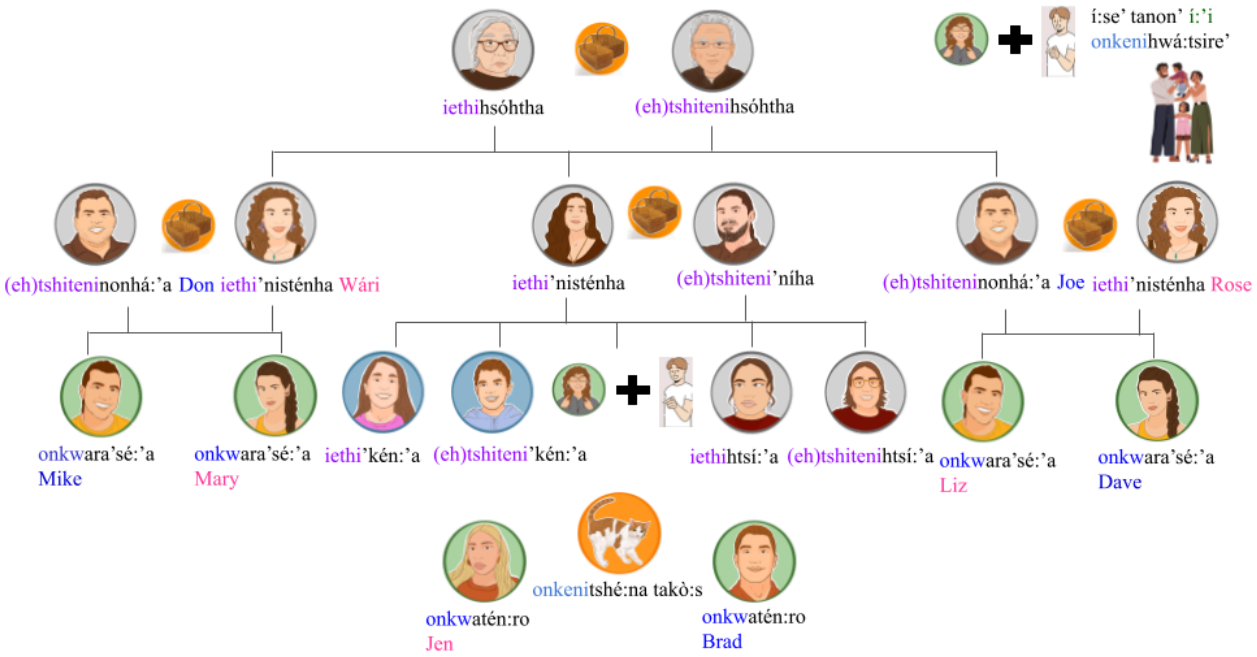


Figure 29. Í:se' tánon' í'i onkenihwá:tsire'

Next, Table 71 displays some family member terms for first person plural inclusive (“you all and I”).

Kanien’kéha	English
iethihsóhtha	our(3+, inclusive) grandmother
(eh)tshitewahsóhtha	our(3+, inclusive) grandfather
iethi’nisténha	our(3+, inclusive) mother/my aunt
(eh)tshitewa’níha	our(3+, inclusive) father
(eh)tshitewanonhá'a	our(3+, inclusive) uncle
iethihtsí'a	our(3+, inclusive) older sister
(eh)tshitewahtsí'a	our(3+, inclusive) older brother
iethi’kén'a	our(3+, inclusive) younger sister
(eh)tshitewa’kén'a	our(3+, inclusive) younger brother
iethinó'a	our(3+, inclusive) stepmother
(eh)tshitewanó'a	our(3+, inclusive) stepfather
onkwara’sé'a	our(3+, inclusive) cousin
onkwatén:ro	our(3+, inclusive) friend

Table 71. Í:se’ tánon’ í'i tánon’ Wári onkwahwá:tsire’

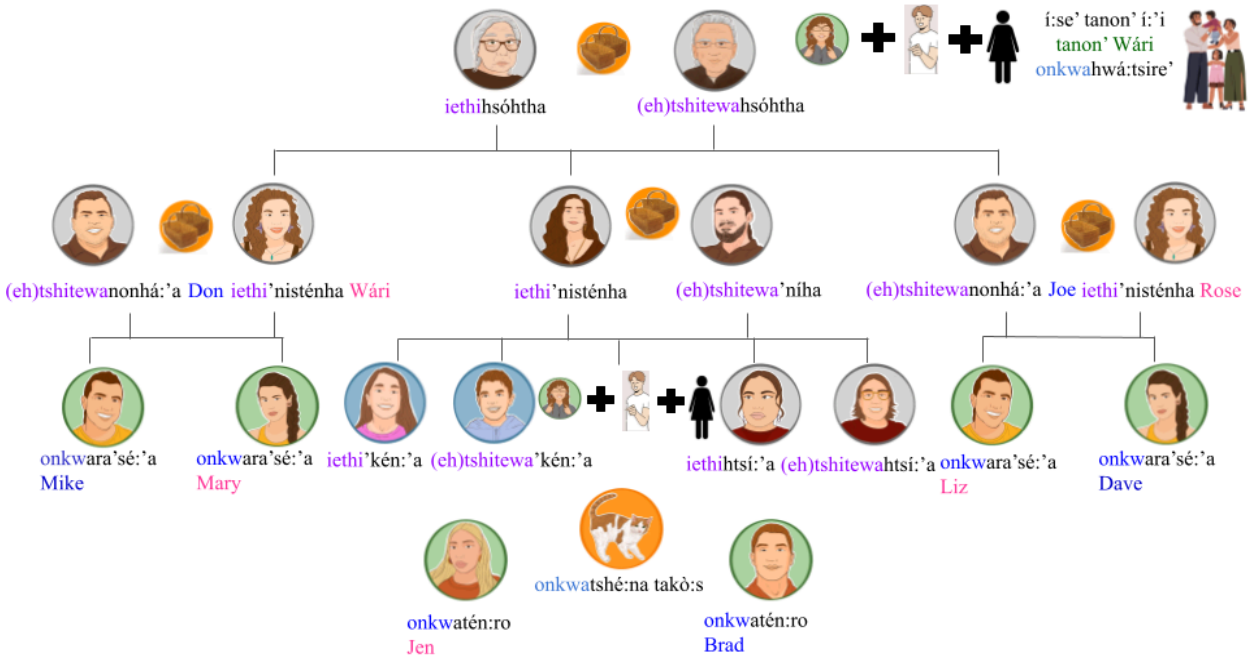


Figure 30. Í:se' tánon' í'i tánon' Wári onkwahwá:tsire'

Lastly, Table 72 displays some family member terms for third person non-singular ("they"). The "they" in this case can be either dual or plural. If you look back up at Table 63 above, you may notice that the pronouns in the third-person non-singular columns do not change forms depending on whether the group is dual or plural. Thus, these forms can be used for either dual or plural groups of people.

Kanien’kéha	English
akotihsóhtha	their grandmother
ronwahsóhtha	their grandfather
akoti’nisténha	their mother/their aunt
ronwa’níha	their father
ronwanonhá'a	their uncle
akotihtsí'a	their older sister
ronwahtsí'a	their older brother
akoti’kén'a	their younger sister
ronwa’kén'a	their younger brother
akotinó'a	their stepmother
ronwanó'a	their stepfather
ronara’sé'a	their cousin
onatén:ro	their friend

Table 72. Tekeniiáhse’ tánon’ onónha aotihwá:tsire’

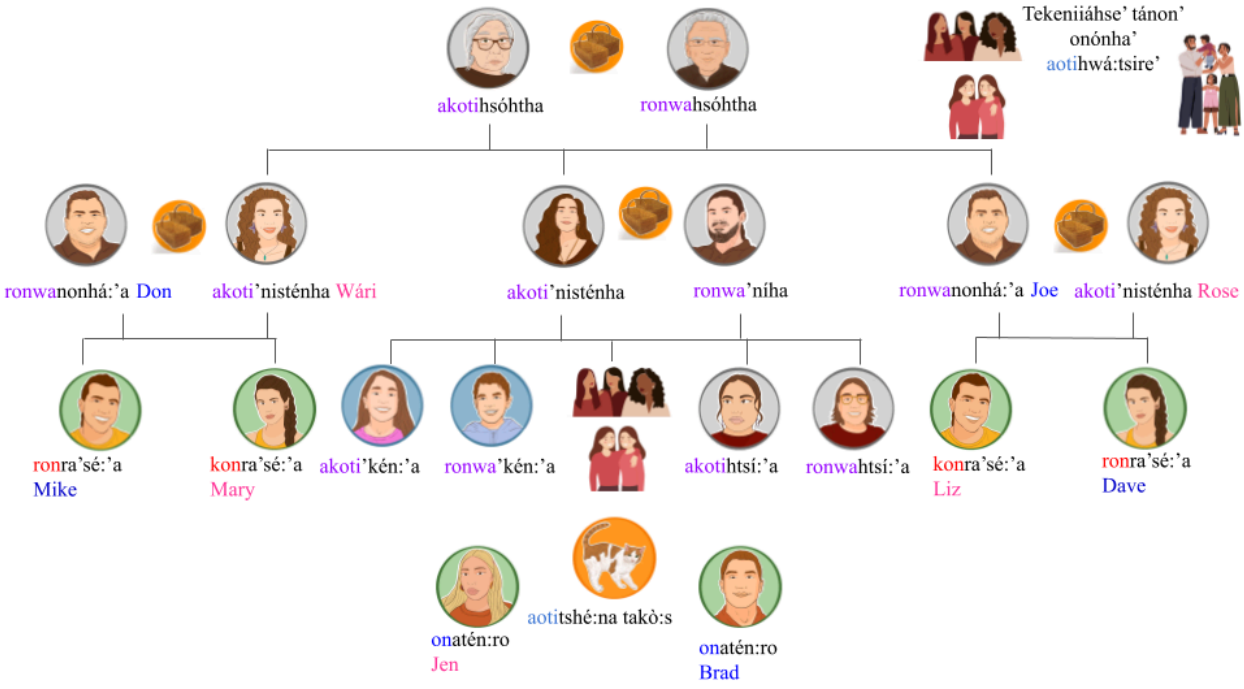


Figure 31. Tekeniiáhse' tánon' onónha aotihwá:tsire'

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced Kanien'kéha via the vocabulary of family. In addition to being introduced to the roots for both kinship and reciprocal terms, students also learned supporting verbs and particles used to introduce their kin through example sentences and conversations. Additionally, this chapter provided exercises targeting the formation of the kinship and reciprocal terms, enabling learners to put their vocabulary into action.

Terms for family members were chosen as the initial point of entry into the tour of Kanien'kéha for two main reasons. For one, kinship is highly important in Kanien'kéha life, with these terms being the first terms learned by first-language speakers. Because of the importance of kinship in Kanien'kehá:ka life, family member terms are crucial to usage of language within the home for second-language speakers starting families. Second, family terms in Kanien'kéha are verbs representing a relationship between two people. As such, they appear with **transitive** pronominal prefixes that identify the two people related, or otherwise with **subjective** and **objective** prefixes indicating the group of related individuals. *All* Kanien'kéha verbs use one of these sets of pronominal prefixes, and therefore by introducing kinship terms, the learner already has a sense of how to use the prefixes that will occur throughout the process of learning Kanien'kéha.

Now that learners have a good sense of how these prefixes work, it's time to put their understanding to use and look more closely at verbs in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Imperatives

As a child, I remember being told to do things for people in my family, and this increased my verb vocabulary and I started to see the connections between the pronominal prefixes found on the kinship terms, and those found on all verb forms in the language. There are lots of ways to command people to do things, but the term “imperative” is used to describe a specific verb form in a language. These are verb forms that typically have the function of getting someone to do something (Jary & Kissine 2014). Cross-linguistically, imperatives are typically drawn from a distinct verbal paradigm which is used exclusively for directive speech acts, so they are morphologically distinct from other clauses in the language (Isac 2015). Imperatives cannot be true or false, and they commonly use alternate strategies of negation from regular clauses (Portner 2018). All of these things are true for imperatives in Kanien’kéha, as we will see in this chapter.

Importantly, not all commands are imperatives; you can command someone to do something without using the specific imperative verb form (Jary & Kissine 2014). For example, a true imperative in English would be something like:

(1) Run!

But you could also technically command someone to run by saying:

(2) You must run.

However, (2) is no longer a true imperative - we’re not using the specific structure dedicated to ordering someone. Instead, it’s a declarative sentence. We’ll be focusing only on true imperatives, like (1), throughout this chapter.

In this section I will show the reader how to use the kinship forms we learned in the last chapter with different types of verb commands to give the listener a sense of what we heard as young Mohawk speakers. From there, we’ll learn how to make some more complicated verb forms, still with a focus on imperatives. There will be many verb lists in this section for new speakers to show and pass on the words that we were lucky to hear from our parents and family members.

Additionally, there is a good linguistic reason for moving to imperatives next: they are morphologically more simple because they contain no temporal, aspectual, or modal inflection, so in many cases they consist of just a verb root and a pronominal prefix. This makes them a good place to start getting learners even more familiar with the pronominal prefixes as well as some of the verb morphology.

First, in §4.1, we’ll learn about how imperatives are different in Kanien’kéha from English, in that they can be directed at first and third-persons as well as second persons. Then in §4.2, we will see each stem form for transitive verbs, as well as many

word banks full of transitive imperatives that you can use in your day to day conversations. We'll also see the dualic prepronominal prefix for the first time, and there will be dialogues and exercises to practice. In §4.3 we'll introduce verbs that take subjective and objective pronominal prefixes and go through the different stem forms for each of these as well. Finally, in this section we'll also see the purposive suffix in addition to more dialogues and exercises.

4.1 First, second, and third-person imperatives

Before we introduce the vocabulary of this section, it's important to understand a little bit about how imperatives work in Kanien'kéha, because they don't behave exactly the same as they do in English.

Myers and Mittelstaedt (2025) detail one way in which imperatives in Kanien'kéha are significantly different from imperatives in languages like English. In most languages, imperatives can only be understood as being directed at 2nd persons ('you' in English). For example, a typical imperative in English is shown in (3).

(3) **(You) Listen!**

We don't usually say the 'you' out loud in commands, but it is always implied; you have to be talking to someone directly to use a command like this.

In Kanien'kéha, like English, imperatives can have second person subjects, and these are interpreted in the same way as commands in English. For example, a typical second-person command in Kanien'kéha is shown in (4).

(4) **Satahónhsatat!**
(You) Listen!

Note that unlike English, the second person pronominal prefix **s-** here is not only possible, but obligatory (in English, it's possible to have the "you" pronoun in front of the verb, but not obligatory). Recall that all verbs in Kanien'kéha must have a pronominal prefix, whether subjective, objective or transitive.

On the other hand, in English, it is impossible to use non-second person subjects in imperatives. The following strange-sounding sentence (using third person) illustrates this. You can't use a sentence like (5) to express that you want someone else to get dressed. You can imagine a context where you might want to use this; if you're a bridesmaid talking to another bridesmaid, and you want the bride to get dressed. But an imperative in this form is just not grammatical in English.

(5) ***She/her get dressed!**

But a command like this *is* possible in Kanien'kéha:

(6) **Iontsherón:ni!**
May she get dressed! / Have her get dressed! / Let her get dressed!

In English, extra material (in the form of the words "may," "have," or "let") is needed to express something like this, because English imperatives are only for 2nd person. But Kanien'kéha can form both first and third-person commands in the exact same way as second-person ones. This is shown in the following tables.

Recall from the last chapter that pronominal prefixes in Kanien'kéha come in several different forms. Transitive prefixes, in purple, are for verbs that have two animate participants. Verbs with only a single animate participant use either **subjective** or **objective** prefixes. Let's start with simple second person commands that use subjective prefixes, Table 73.

í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse (2DU)**	**sewakwé:kon (2PL)**
Satahónhsatat! (You) listen!	**Tsiatahónhsatat!** (You two) Listen!	**Sewatahónhsatat!** (You all) listen!

Table 73. Second person subjective commands

Next, let's take a look at some first person commands. The closest translation for these in English uses the word "may" or "let," but remember that it's not a completely accurate translation; in Kanien'kéha these are truly commands. It's not asking for permission, more like ordering the universe that something happen for me.

í'i (1SG)	**teiakeniiáhse (1EXCL.DU)/ teteniiáhse (1INCL.DU)**	**iakwakwé:kon (1EXCL.PL)/ tewakwé:kon (1INCL.PL)**
Tó: katahónhsatat![26] May I listen!	**Tó: iakiatahónhsatat!** May we(2,exclusive) listen!	**Tó: iakwatahónhsatat!** May we(3+,exclusive) listen!
	Tó: kiatahónhsatat! May we(2,inclusive) listen!	**Tó: tewatahónhsatat!** May we(3+,inclusive) listen!

Table 74. First person subjective commands

Lastly, here are third-person commands, split into a table for females and a table for males. Again in order to make the English sentences make sense, the word “may” is used in the translations, but remember that extra material is not needed to make these imperatives in Kanien’kéha.

akaónha (FI)/aónha (FZSG)	**tekeniiáhse (FZDU)**	**onónha (FZPL)**
Tó: iontahónhsatat! May she listen!	**Tó: kiatahónhsatat!** May they(2F) listen!	**Tó: kontahónhsatat!** May they(3+F) all listen!
Watahónhsatat! May she/it listen!		

Table 75. Third person feminine subjective commands (unique to Kanien’kéha)

raónha (MSG)	**tehniiáhse (MDU)**	**ronónha (MPL)**
Tó: ratahónhsatat! Have him listen!	**Tó: iatahónhsatat!** Have them(2M) listen!	**Tó: rontahónhsatat!** Have them(3+M) listen!

Table 76. Third person masculine subjective commands (unique to Kanien’kéha)

As these tables have shown, English needs extra material to express the first and third person commands. But Kanien’kéha can use the same basic imperative verb form for all three (Myers & Mittelstaedt 2025).

This therefore makes imperatives a great place to start as you begin to learn the

[26] In many of the first and third-person imperatives, you’ll notice the particle **tó:** in front of the verb. The closest translation for this particle in English is “let” or “have” (as in “let/have her listen!”), and just helps to make the first and third person imperative forms sound more natural, although it is not necessary.

different verbs, because you will be able to practice with all of the different pronominal prefixes, not just second person ones. And remember that you've seen all of these prefixes before, when we learned about kinship terms; subjective prefixes were first introduced back in §3.2.3.

With this in mind, we can make an equation for how to form imperatives, just like our kinship term equations above. And since imperatives are the barest form of the verb (with no aspect or mood morphology), we only need two ingredients for this equation:

Pronominal prefix	**+**	**STEM**	**=**	**imperative**
transitive, subjective, or objective		**verb**		

Figure 32. Equation for imperatives

We saw examples of subjective prefixes on imperatives, but we can also have objective and transitive prefixes on imperative forms. As a sample, below are some initial examples of **objective** and **transitive** commands, also showcasing all the different person forms to emphasize how imperatives are different in Kanien'kéha from English. Remember that we've seen objective and transitive pronominal prefixes before; back in §3.2.3 for objectives, and §3.2.1 for transitives.

í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse (2DU)**	**sewakwé:kon (2PL)**
Sánia'k! (You) get married!	**Senínia'k!** (You two) get married!	**Sewánia'k!** (You all) get married!

Table 77. Second person objective commands

í'i (1SG)	**teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)/ teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)**	**iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)/ tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)**
Ha' wakénia'k![27] May I get married!	**Ha' ionkenínia'k!** May we(2) get married!	**Ha' ionkwánia'k!** May we(3+) get married!

Table 78. First person objective commands

[27] Like **tó:**, the particle **ha'** is another particle that makes the first and third person imperatives sound better. It has a meaning similar to "let's go" in English, as in "let's (the two of us) go get married!" Again, it's not necessary for the sentence to be grammatical but just helps it sound more natural.

akaónha (FI)/aónha (FZSG)	tekeniiáhse (FZDU)	onónha (FZPL)
Ha’ iakónia’k! May she get married!	**Ha’ iotínia’k!** Let them(2F) get married!	**Ha’ iotínia’k!** Let them(3+F) get married!
Ha’ iónia’k! Let it get married!		

Table 79. Third person female objective commands

raónha (MSG)	tehniiáhse (MDU)	ronónha (MPL)
Ha’ rónia’k! Let him get married!	**Ha’ rotínia’k!** Let them(2M) get married!	**Ha’ rotínia’k!** Let them(3+M) get married!

Table 80. Third person male objective commands

í:se>í'i (2SG>1SG)	í:se>teteniiáhse’/ teiakeniiáhse’ (2SG>1DU)	í:se>tewakwé:kon/ iakwakwé:kon (2SG>1PL)
Skwatahónhsatat![28] You listen to me!	**Skiatahónhsatat!** You listen to us(2)!	**Skwatahónhsatat!** You listen to us(3+)!

Table 81. Transitive you>me commands (second person>first person)

There is something interesting to note about these first few examples. All of them showcase a second person singular agent and a first person patient. You may recall from the table in §3.2.1 above that the forms for these prefixes are usually represented as **tak(e)-, takeni-,** and **takwa-**. However, when another prefix appears in front of the pronominal prefix, their form changes from **tak(e)-** to **sk(e)-, takeni-** to **skeni-,** and **takwa-** to **skwa-**.

Certain first-language speakers of Kanien’kéha, including me, use the **sk(e)-, skeni-,** and **skwa-** forms of these prefixes in imperatives as well. So while you might hear other speakers say **takwatahónhsatat**, **takiatahónhsatat,** and

[28] Usually the form of the í:se>í'i (2SG>1SG) prefix would be distinct from the form of the í:se>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon (2SG>1PL) prefix. However, for A-stems, 2SG>1SG and 2SG>1PL are both **skw-/takw-**, so you need to rely on context to determine whether **takwatahónhsatat** means ‘you listen to me’ or ‘you listen to us’.

takwatahónhsatat, any time you see imperatives that use these prefixes in this dissertation they will be written in their **sk(e)-**, **skeni-**, and **skwa-** forms. This is not necessarily a regional dialect difference but more so a difference between individual speakers; it's a part of my family dialect to use the **sk-** forms in imperatives, so that's how they'll be represented in this dissertation. If it's helpful, you can imagine that it's almost as if the imperative has a silent prefix before it, and that's why it can use the **sk-** forms.

A couple other examples of transitive imperatives are given in the tables below. Note that forms involving the feminine-indefinite have three possible meanings, all provided in the table, as described for this gender above.

í:se>akaónha (2SG>FI)	**teseniiáhse>akaónha/ ronónha (2DU>FI)**	**sewakwé:kon>akaónha/ ronónha (2PL>FI)**
Sheiatahónhsatat! 1. You listen to her! 2. You listen to them! 3. You listen to someone!	**letshiatahónhsatat!** 1. You two listen to her! 2. You two listen to them! 3. You two listen to someone!	**letshiatahónhsatat!** 1. You all listen to her! 2. You all listen to them! 3. You all listen to someone!

Table 82. Transitive you>her/them/someone commands (second person>third person)

í:se>akaónha (1SG>FI)	**teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse> akaónha (1DU>FI)**	**tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon> akaónha (1PL>FI)**
Tó: kheiatahónhsatat! 1. May I listen to her! 2. May I listen to them! 3. May I listen to someone!	**Tó: iakhiatahónhsatat!** 1. May we(2) listen to her! 2. May we(2) listen to them! 3. May we(2) listen to someone!	**Tó: iakhiatahónhsatat!** 1. May we(3+) listen to her! 2. May we(3+) listen to them! 3. May we(3+) listen to someone!

Table 83. Transitive me>her/them/someone commands (first person>third person)

í:se>raónha (2SG>MSG)	**teseniiáhse>raónha** (2DU>MSG)	**sewakwé:kon>raónha** (2PL>MSG)
Tshiatahónhsatat! You listen to him!	**Tshitsiatahónhsatat!** You two listen to him!	**Tshisewatahónhsatat!** You all listen to him!

Table 84. Transitive you>him commands (second person>third person)

In the rest of this chapter, we'll first learn about **transitive** imperatives in §4.2 (commands that use **purple** prefixes, like the ones shown just above), and practice commanding family members using the kinship terms from the last section. Then in §4.3 we'll learn about **intransitive** imperatives (commands that use **subjective** or **objective** prefixes), and continue to practice in the same way.

4.2 Transitive imperatives

Remember that most kinship terms use **transitive** pronominal prefixes, which occur on verbs that involve at least two animate participants and express directionality between them. In addition to the kinship stems, there are many verbs which use transitive pronominal prefixes, and in this section we'll start looking at these verbs in their imperative forms.

As seen in the equation above, transitive imperatives will consist of minimally a **purple** pronominal prefix and a verb stem. To illustrate this, let's build the transitive imperative "(you) tell her!" The verb root for 'tell' is **hrori**, which is a C-stem verb. Recall from §3.6 that the C-stem **í:se>akaónha** prefix is **she-.** Putting these together, we get the imperative **she**hró:ri ('you tell her!').

We can also expand this simple sentence and practice using the kinship terms we learned in the last section. If, for example, you are planning to visit your friend and you want her to tell her daughter that you're coming, you could say:

(7) **She**hró:ri **she**ién'a!
(You) Tell your daughter!

In the remainder of this section, you'll learn many different transitive verbs and practice making them into imperatives in addition to using the kinship terms that we've already learned.

4.2.1 Introducing all stem forms

Remember that we learned in §3.2 that prefixes in Kanien'kéha change shape depending on the first sound of the stem they attach to. We have already seen the singular forms of **C-, A-, O/On-,** and **E/En-stem** transitive prefixes in §3.2.1, but now that we are looking at verbs, it's important to fill in all the stem possibilities as well as all the dual and plural forms so that we can build any transitive imperative.

I always say that there are 9 different stems in Kanien'kéha. Some people say there are 7, and others say there are 5; this is because some of the stem groups can be collapsed, as the prefix forms are either identical or very similar. If you separate it into 9, these stems are: **C**-stem, "**Fake e**"-stem, **Y**-stem, **A**-stem, **I**-stem, **E**-stem, **En**-stem, **O**-stem, and **On**-stem.

Talking about all these stems brings me back to when I first learned about this, working with Marianne Mithun in the 70s. As a native speaker, I wasn't aware that the language was this complicated, and that prefixes will take different forms depending on the letter that the stem starts with. As a native speaker, you never have an inkling that there's such a thing as a stem, but as a learner, it's absolutely crucial to learn each stem type because without it you'll have no way of navigating the language. Let's briefly go through each stem type before we start to look at verbs.

True **C**-stems, which were first introduced in §3.2.1, are verbs that start with the consonants **h**, **k**, **s**, or **t**. One example is the verb **-hiaton**, which means 'write.' Adding a prefix, we get:

(8) **Shiá:ton!**
(You) write!

"**Fake e**"-stems are also actually C-stems. These are verbs that start with the consonants **r**, **n**, **w**, or **'**. Verbs that start with these consonants require an epenthetic **e** to be inserted after certain prefixes to break up the consonant cluster (see Chapter 2). For example, the **í:se>raónha** transitive prefix appears as **tsh-** before true C-stems, but as **tshe-** before these "fake-e" stems. One example is the verb **-nohare**, which means 'wash.' Adding a prefix, we get:

(9) **Senóhare!**
(You) wash it!

Y-stems are also technically C-stems. These are verbs that start with **i** + a vowel, meaning that the **i** is pronounced like a **y**, since it appears before a vowel. Y-stems use (almost) the same prefix forms as true C-stems; one of the only places where they differ is in second person singular (í:se) subjective forms, where the prefix will appear as **ts-**

instead of **s-**. One Y-stem verb is **-iena**, which means ‘hold.’ Adding this prefix, we get:

(10) **Tsié:na!**
(You) hold it!

Together, these three types of C-stems (true, fake e, and Y) make C-stems the most common stem type in Kanien’kéha.

A-stems are the next most common verb type after C-stems. We’ve seen some A-stem kinship terms, so these should be familiar. Remember that the boxed **[o]** that appears in many of these prefixes deletes the following **a** of the verb stem. One example of an A-stem verb is **-atawen**, which means ‘swim.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(11) **Satá:wen!**
(You) swim!

Next are **I**-stems, which are the first new stem that we’ll learn about in this section; there are no I-stem kinship terms. Similar to A-stems, you’ll see that many I-stem prefixes will have a boxed **[en]**, which deletes the following **i** of the verb stem. One example of an I-stem verb is -**i’tsténht**, which means ‘scale fish.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(12) **Tsi’tsténht!**
(You) scale the fish!

We have seen some **E**-stem prefixes before, since there are a handful of kinship terms that are **E**-stems. One example of an **E**-stem verb is **ehsak**, which means ‘look.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(13) **Séhsak!**
(You) look!

En-stems are often collapsed with **E**-stems, because the prefix forms are exactly the same. However, because they are two different vowels, I introduce them separately. **E-** and **En-**stem verbs deserve an honorable mention because they are some of our most archaic words, and there are very few of them. An **En**-stem verb is -**en’tskwek,** which means ‘hold breath/be quiet.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(14) **Sén’tskwek!**
(You) hold your breath or be quiet!

We also saw a couple of **O**-stems back in the kinship terms section, so they might be a

little familiar. One **O**-stem verb is **ohetst**, which means ‘pass.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(15) **Sóhetst!**
Pass it!

Just like with **E/En**-stems, **On**-stems are often collapsed with **O**-stems because the forms of the prefixes are the same for **O** and **On**-stem verbs. However, I will again introduce them separately since they are different vowels. An **On**-stem verb is **-onni**, which means ‘make.’ Adding a prefix, we get:

(16) **Són:ni!**
Make it!

The **í:se** prefixes that I used as examples as I was introducing each of the stems don’t change too much between each stem type. However, throughout the next few sections you’ll see more and more places where the prefixes differ depending on which stem they attach to, and it’s important to pay attention to these differences.

A summary of the 9 different stem types, and the ways in which they are sometimes collapsed, can be seen in the diagram below:

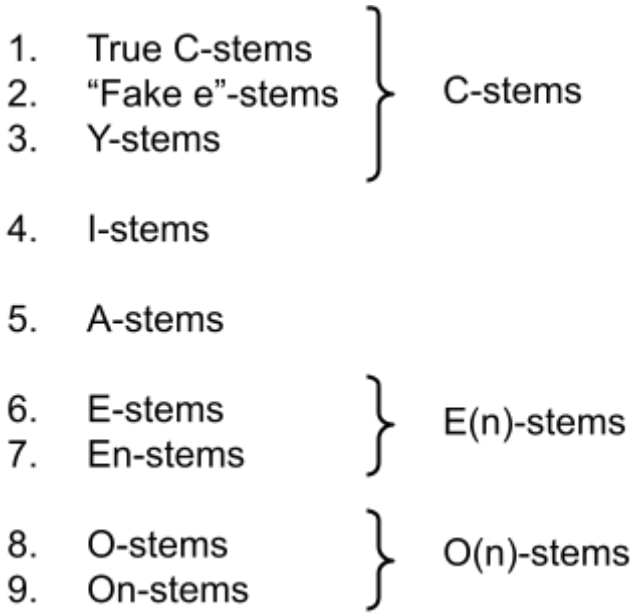


Figure 33. Diagram of stem types

4.2.1.1 True C-stems

As we dive into transitive imperatives, let’s first take a look at some true C-stem transitive verbs. Since most kinship terms are C-stems, the forms of these prefixes

should be familiar. As mentioned above, the verb root **hrori** means ‘tell’. To give you a sense of the imperatives that you can form with different pronominal prefixes, Table 85 first shows some commands with **hrori** for singular transitive prefixes for younger female family members. Next, Table 86 also gives some singular transitive commands, but with younger male family members.

Kanien’kéha	English
Shehró:ri she’kén'a!	Tell your little sister!
Tó: khehró:ri khe’kén'a!	May I tell my little sister!
Iontathró:ri ne ontate’kén'a!	May she tell her little sister!
Shakohró:ri shako’kén'a!	May he tell his little sister!
Iohró:ri ako’kén'a!	May she(FZ) tell her little sister!

Table 85. C-stem commands (younger females)

Kanien’kéha	English
Tshró:ri tshe’kén'a!	Tell your little brother!
Tó: rihró:ri ri’kén'a!	May I tell my little brother!
Ronwahró:ri ne ronwa’kén'a!	May she tell her little brother!
Rohró:ri ne ro’kén'a!	May he tell his little brother!
Rohró:ri ne ro’kén'a!	May she(FZ) tell her little brother!

Table 86. C-stem commands (younger males)

Note that in these examples, the prefix on the imperative verb always matches the prefix on the kinship term. This is to get you used to the idea that kinship terms are also verbs, and so the prefixes that you’ve already learned for the kinship terms are exactly the same as the ones that you will need to form verbs. However, it’s important to note that the prefixes don’t always have to match. For example, you could always say things like the examples below, where the prefixes don’t match:

(17) **Shehró:ri khe’kén'a!**

Tell my little sister!

(18) **Rohró:ri ri’kén'a!**

Have him tell my little brother!

Most of the examples in this dissertation will be those where the pronoun on the imperative and the one on the kinship term match, but just keep in mind that it doesn’t have to be this way.

Remember that we saw the full table of C-stem transitive prefixes in §3.6. As a reminder, the table is repeated below.

Stem	C (h, k, s, t)	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**sk-/ tak-**	**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**(h)s-/t-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)she-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**seni-**	**(e)tshiseni-**	**ietshi-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**skwa-/ takwa-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**sewa-**	**(e)tshisewa-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**kon-**	**keni-**	**kwa-**				**k-**	**ri-**	**khe-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**keni-**	**keni-**	**kwa-**				**iakeni-**	**(h)shakeni-**	**iakhi-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**kwa-**	**kwa-**	**kwa-**				**iakwa-**	**(h)shakwa-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**teni-**	**(e)tshiteni-**	**iethi-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tewa-**	**(e)tshitewa-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**sa-**	**seni-**	**sewa-**	**wak-**	**ionkeni-**	**ionkwa-**	**io-**	**ro-**	**iako-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)ia-**	**(e)tshiseni-**	**(e)tshisewa-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonkeni-**	**(h)shonkwa-**	**ra-**		**(h)shako-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**iesa-**	**ietshi-**		**ionk-**	**ionkhi-**		**konwa-**	**ronwa-**	**iontat-**	**konwati-**	**ronwati-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakoti-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakoti-**		

Table 87. C-stem transitive prefixes

These tables can look really overwhelming, but remember that we've already practiced with most of these prefixes in the kinship terms section. To make them a little less scary to look at, we'll break them down into smaller quadrants so you can start to see the patterns in some of the prefixes.

First, let's look at the first person and second person quadrant (from the upper left corner of Table 87). These are all the forms you need to refer to the speaker (í'i) and the hearer (í:se).

Stem	C (h, k, s, t)	Object					
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				ske-/ take-	skeni-/ takeni-	skwa-/ takwa-
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				skeni/ takeni-	skeni-/ takeni-	skwa-/ takwa-
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				skwa-/ takwa-	skwa-/ takwa-	skwa-/ takwa-
	í'i (1SG)	kon-	keni-	kwa-			
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	keni-	keni-	kwa-			
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	kwa-	kwa-	kwa-			

Table 88. First- and second-person transitive prefixes

If you take some time looking at each of the prefixes in this quadrant, you may notice some patterns that emerge. For example, all of the first-person to second-person prefixes start with a **k**, while all of the second-person to first-person prefixes start with either **s-** (in imperatives or when another prefix is in front of them) or **ta-**. Many of the prefixes that involve duals end in **ni**, and the ones that involve plurals end in **wa**.

Next, let's keep building out the table to include some third-person singular forms, on the right and below of Table 88. (**aónha** and **raónha**).

Stem	C (h, k, s, t)	Object							
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)							**(h)s-/t-**	**(eh)tsh-**
	teseniiáhse (2DU)							**seni-**	**(e)tshiseni-**
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)							**sewa-**	**(e)tshisewa-**
	í'i (1SG)							**k-**	**ri-**
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)							**iakeni-**	**(h)shakeni-**
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)							**iakwa-**	**(h)shakwa-**
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**teni-**	**(e)tshiteni-**
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tewa-**	**(e)tshitewa-**
	aónha (FZSG)	**sa-**	**seni-**	**sewa-**	**wak-**	**ionkeni-**	**ionkwa-**	**io-**	**ro-**
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)ia-**	**(e)tshiseni-**	**(e)tshisewa-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonkeni-**	**(h)shonkwa-**	**ra-**	

Table 89. Third-person singular transitive prefixes

Again, take a look and try to notice some patterns here. All of the pronouns involving duals once again have **ni** at the end of the prefix, and those involving plurals have **wa** at the end. You may also notice that for some of the males, the pronouns are bidirectional; **(e)tshiseni-** is the pronoun for both **raónha**>**teseniiáhse** and for **teseniiáhse**>**raónha**, and **(e)tshisewa-** is the pronoun for both **raónha**>**sewakwé:kon** and **sewakwé:kon**>**raónha**. Many of the male pronouns also look very similar to the feminine zoic pronouns, but with some extra material at the beginning; for example **teni-** (**teteniiáhse**>**áonha**) vs. **(e)tshiteni-** (**teteniiáhse**>**raónha**).

Now we can focus in on the last part of the table in Table 87, the third-person plurals, wrapped around Table 89 on the right and bottom:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="2">Stem
C (h, k, s, t)</th><th colspan="11">Object</th></tr>
<tr><th>í:se (2SG)</th><th>teseniiáhse (2DU)</th><th>sewakwé:kon (2PL)</th><th>í'i (1SG)</th><th>teteniiáhse (1DU)</th><th>tewakwé:kon (1PL)</th><th>áonha (FZSG)</th><th>raónha (MSG)</th><th>akaónha (FI)</th><th>onónha (FZDU/PL)</th><th>ronónha (MDU/PL)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="14">Subject</td><td>í:se (2SG)</td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3">(h)she-</td></tr>
<tr><td>teseniiáhse (2DU)</td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">ietshi-</td></tr>
<tr><td>sewakwé:kon (2PL)</td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>í'i (1SG)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3">khe-</td></tr>
<tr><td>teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">iakhi-</td></tr>
<tr><td>iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)</td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">iethi-</td></tr>
<tr><td>tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)</td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td colspan="3" bgcolor="#d9d9d9"></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>aónha (FZSG)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="3">iako-</td></tr>
<tr><td>raónha (MSG)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3">(h)shako-</td></tr>
<tr><td>akaónha (FI)</td><td rowspan="3">iesa-</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">ietshi-</td><td rowspan="3">ionk-</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">ionkhi-</td><td rowspan="3">konwa-</td><td rowspan="3">ronwa-</td><td>iontat-</td><td rowspan="3">konwati-</td><td rowspan="3">ronwati-</td></tr>
<tr><td>onónha (FZDU/PL)</td><td>iakoti-</td></tr>
<tr><td>ronónha (MDU/PL)</td><td>(h)shakoti-</td></tr>
</table>

Table 90. Third-person plural transitive prefixes

This last quadrant may be the hardest to notice patterns in, but there are still a few; many of the prefixes that involve duals have **hi** at the end, and most of the bottom right quadrant prefixes (with plural third persons acting on other plural third persons) end in **ti**. There is also one bidirectional pronoun in this quadrant; **ietshi-** is the prefix for both **akaónha/onónha/ronónha>teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon**, and **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>akaónha/onónha/ronónha**.

Ultimately, you'll need to memorize all of these prefixes, and just looking at the table may not be the best way to do it; you may want to practice with flashcards or another memorization tactic that works for you. The tables are just a good way to

represent all of the prefixes in one place, and to get you to notice some of the patterns that arise so that the memorization may not seem so daunting.

4.2.1.2 “Fake e”-stems

Next, the following verb **nont** (‘feed someone’) is also a C-stem, although verbs of this type are sometimes called “fake e”-stems because the “weak **e**” for certain C-stem pronominal prefixes shows up here. This “weak **e**” (also called an “epenthetic **e**”) on certain prefixes (like **tsh(e)-**) appears before C-stems that start with **r, n, w,** and **’**. Remember from Chapter 2 that Mohawk doesn’t like to have certain consonants next to each other (whereas in other Northern Iroquoian languages, these clusters are fine), so this **e** needs to be inserted to break them up.

Kanien’kéha	**English**
Shé:nont she’kén'a!	Feed your little sister!
Tó: khé:nont khe’kén'a!	May I feed my little sister!
Iontaté:nont ne ontate’kén'a!	May she get her little sister up!
Shakó:nont shako’kén'a!	May he feed his little sister!
Ió:nont ako’kén'a!	May she(FZ) feed her little sister!

Table 91. “Fake e”-stem commands (acting on younger females)

Kanien’kéha	**English**
Íhtshenont tshe’kén'a!	Feed your little brother!
Tó: rí:nont ri’kén'a!	May I feed my little brother!
Ronwá:nont ne ronwa’kén'a!	May she feed her little brother!
Ró:nont ro’kén'a!	May he feed his little brother!
Ró:nont ro’kén'a!	May she(FZ) feed her little brother!

Table 92. “Fake e”-stem commands (acting on younger males)

Below is the full table of “fake e”-stem transitive prefixes

Stem	C (r, n, w, ’)	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**i'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**áonha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				ske-/ take-	skeni-/ takeni-	skwa-/ takwa-	(h)se-	(e)tshe-	(h)she-		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				skeni/ takeni-	skeni-/ takeni-	skwa-/ takwa-	seni-	(e)tshiseni-	ietshi-		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				skwa-/ takwa-	skwa-/ takwa-	skwa-/ takwa-	sewa-	(e)tshisewa-			
	i'i (1SG)	kon-	keni-	kwa-				ke-	ri-	khe-		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	keni-	keni-	kwa-				iakeni-	(h)shakeni-	iakhi-		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	kwa-	kwa-	kwa-				iakwa-	(h)shakwa-			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							teni-	(e)tshiteni-	iethi-		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							tewa-	(e)tshitewa-			
	aónha (FZSG)	sa-	seni-	sewa-	wake-	ionkeni-	ionkwa-	io-	ro-	iako-		
	raónha (MSG)	(h)ia-	(e)tshiseni-	(e)tshisewa-	rake-	(h)shonkeni-	(h)shonkwa-	ra-		(h)shako-		
	akaónha (FI)	iesa-	ietshi-		ionke-	ionkhi-		konwa-	ronwa-	iontate-	konwati-	ronwati-
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									iakoti-		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									(h)shakoti-		

Table 93. “Fake e”-stem transitive prefixes

C-stem verbs (both true and “fake e”) are the most common in Kanien’kéha, so there are a lot of verbs that start with a consonant. The following word bank of C-stem transitive commands is therefore a big one. For the word banks in this section, only the **í:se>akaónha** pronoun **she-** will be used, but there will be opportunities to practice using other pronouns in the next exercise section (4.2.2).

Lastly, you may notice the particle **tóhsa** (which means ‘don’t’) popping up in some of these examples. This is a particle that we use to form negative imperatives, in other words, to tell someone not to do something; these kinds of particles are also called “prohibitives.” **Tóhsa** is used in some of the examples below because they will make more sense if you’re telling someone not to do them. **Tóhsa** is a very useful particle, and it’s a strong, direct command that tells the hearer: ‘don’t do this action.’

Kanien’kéha	**English**
Shekhónnien she’kén'a!	Cook for your little sister!
Shenóhare’s she’kén'a!	Wash something for your little sister!
She’níkhon’s she’kén'a!	Sew something for your little sister!
Shena’tarónnien she’kén'a!	Make bread for your little sister!
Shera’wistóhtshion’s she’kén'a!	Peel something for your little sister!
Sherákwa’s she’kén'a!	Save something for your little sister!
Shena’khón:ni she’kén'a!	Make your little sister mad!
Shekahrhaté:nien she’kén'a!	Empty something for your little sister!
Shekarháttho she’kén'a!	Turn your little sister over!
Shekontsheráhrho’s she’kén'a!	Paint for your little sister!
Shekón:seren she’kén'a!	Put a pillow under your little sister!
Shewístoht she’kén'a!	Cool off your little sister!
She’tskó:ten she’kén'a!	Sit your little sister up!
Shekonhsóhare’ she’kén'a!	Wash your little sister’s face!
Shetakerí:ta’s she’kén'a!	Fry something for your little sister!
Shehnè:kanont she’kén'a!	Give your little sister water!

Shé:nont she’kén'a!	Feed your little sister!
Shetáhkwa’s she’kén'a!	Take something out for your little sister!
Shehshnié:non she’kén'a!	Assist your little sister!
Shekweniénht she’kén'a!	Respect your little sister!
Shé’tskwe’k she’kén'a!	Shut your little sister up!
Shé’tskarons she’kén'a!	Put a mat down for your little sister!
Shehio’tí:ia’ts she’kén'a!	Sharpen something for your little sister!
Shehiá:tons she’kén'a!	Write for your little sister!
Shehní:nons she’kén'a!	Buy something for your little sister!
Shekwatá:kwas she’kén'a!	Fix it for your little sister!
Shekaratón:ha’s she’kén'a!	Tell your little sister a story!
Sheri’wanón:tons she’kén'a!	Ask your little sister!
Shehnónksa she’kén'a!	Go get your little sister!
Shé:ra’s she’kén'a!	Cover your little sister!
Shetásten she’kén'a!	Put your little sister to sleep!
Sheken’én:ion she’kén'a!	Look at your little sister!
Shehtháhra’s she’kén'a!	Talk to or lecture your little sister!
Shehshwanón:na she’kén'a!	Have your little sister’s back or back her up!
Shetsì:tsion she’kén'a!	Give your little sister flowers!
Shetsikhè:ton she’kén'a!	Give your little sister candy!
Sheké’tsko she’kén'a!	Get your little sister up!
Shehnià:sa she’kén'a!	Hug your little sister!
Shenontsistó:rok she’kén'a!	Cover your little sister’s head!
Tóhsa shé:sko she’kén'a!	Don’t drown your little sister!

Tóhsa sheiathón:ro she'kén'a!	Don't dunk your little sister in water!
Tóhsa shé:rio she'kén'a!	Don't beat your little sister!
Shenòn:tanon't she'kén'a!	Give milk to your little sister!
Tóhsa shetsi'tón:ni she'kén'a!	Don't make your little sister cry!
Tóhsa shena'kón:ni she'kén'a!	Don't make your little sister mad or angry!
Tóhsa sheken'tstaráia'k she'kén'a!	Don't slap your little sister!
Tóhsa shehshwa'tón:ni she'kén'a!	Don't tease your little sister!
Sheiénha's she'kén'a!	Save that for your little sister!

Table 94. Word bank of C-stem transitive commands

4.2.1.3 Y-stems

Next, there are also some stems that start with an **i** in the Kanien'kéha orthography, but in fact act as consonant stems. This is because when an **i** appears before another vowel in Kanien'kéha, it actually sounds like the English letter **y**, which is a consonant. The first few examples in the following tables use the Y-stem verb **ienawa's** ('help someone').

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Sheié:nawa's sheién'a!	Help your daughter!
Tó: kheié:nawa's sheién'a!	May I help my daughter!
Iontakié:nawa's ne ontatién'a/ontakién'a!	May she help her daughter!
Shakoié:nawa's ne shakoién'a!	May he help his daughter!
Akoié:nawa's ne akoién'a!	May she(FZ) help her daughter!

Table 95. Y-stem commands (acting on younger females)

Kanien’kéha	English
Tshié:nawa’s tshién'a!	Help your son!
Tó: riié:nawa’s riién'a!	May I help my son!
Ronwaié:nawa’s ne ronwaién'a!	May she help her son!
Roié:nawa’s ne roién'a!	May he help his son!
Roié:nawa’s ne roién'a!	May she(FZ) help her son!

Table 96. Y-stem commands (acting on younger males)

The table for these so-called “Y-stem” prefixes is given below; notice that they are almost identical to C-stems. The only place where “y-stems” differ from C-stems is in the í:se>aónha box; this prefix sometimes appears as **ts-** rather than **(h)s-**.

Stem	iV[29]	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**ski-/ taki-**	**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**ts-/(h)s-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)she-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skeni-/ takeni-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**seni-**	**(e)tshiseni-**	**ietshi-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**skwa-/ takwa-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**skwa-/ takwa-**	**sewa-**	**(e)tshisewa-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**kon-**	**keni-**	**kwa-**				**k-**	**ri-**	**khe-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**keni-**	**keni-**	**kwa-**				**iakeni-**	**(h)shakeni-**	**iakhi-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**kwa-**	**kwa-**	**kwa-**				**iakwa-**	**(h)shakwa-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**teni-**	**(e)tshiteni-**	**iethi-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tewa-**	**(e)tshitewa-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**sa-**	**seni-**	**sewa-**	**wak-**	**ionkeni-**	**ionkwa-**	**io-**	**ro-**	**iako-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)ia-**	**(e)tshiseni-**	**(e)tshisewa-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonkeni-**	**(h)shonkwa-**	**ra-**		**(h)shako-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**iesa-**	**ietshi-**		**ionk-**	**ionkhi-**		**konwa-**	**ronwa-**	**iontak-**	**konwati-**	**ronwati-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakoti-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakoti-**		

Table 97. Y-stem transitive prefixes

[29] Here, the V indicates that the [i] in the verb stem appears before a vowel (hence making a “y” sound).

Kanien’kéha	English
Sheia’tsiòn:ni’t sheién'a!	Lay your daughter down!
Sheia’tí:ta’ sheién'a!	Place your daughter in something!
Sheia’titáhko sheién'a!	Take your daughter out of something!
Sheià:tawi’t sheién'a!	Put a coat on your daughter!
Sheién:ton sheién'a!	Give wood to your daughter!
Sheientí:ta’s sheién'a!	Put wood in for your daughter!
Sheió’tenhst sheién'a!	Make your daughter work!
Sheié:na sheién'a!	Hold your daughter!
Sheia’tohtahrho sheién'a!	Eliminate or remove your daughter!
Sheia’tohserón:ko sheién'a!	Massage your daughter!
Sheia’tokerón:tat sheién'a!	Lay your daughter on her side!
Sheia’taniión:ten sheién'a!	Hang your daughter up like in a cradleboard!
Sheia’tíniont sheién'a!	Take your daughter home!

Table 98. Y-stem transitive commands word bank

4.2.1.4 A-stems

Next, let's take a look at some A-stem transitive commands. For the first few examples, we'll use the stem **atáwenhst**, which means 'give someone a bath'.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sheiatáwenhst sheiateré'a!	Give your granddaughter a bath!
Tó: kheiatáwenhst kheiateré'a!	May I give my granddaughter a bath!
Iontatatáwenhst ne iontatateré'a!	May she bathe her granddaughter!
Shakotáwenhst ne shakoteré'a!	May he bathe his granddaughter!
Iotáwenhst ne akoteré'a!	May she(FZ) bathe her granddaughter!

Table 99. A-stem commands (acting on younger females)

Kanien'kéha	English
Tshiatáwenhst ne tshiateré'a!	Give your grandson a bath!
Tó: riiatáwenhst riiateré'a!	May I bathe my grandson!
Ronwatáwenhst ne ronwateré'a!	May she bathe her grandson!
Rotáwenhst ne roteré'a!	May he bathe his grandson!
Rotáwenhst ne roteré'a!	May she(FZ) bathe her grandson!

Table 100. A-stem commands (acting on younger males)

Below is the full table for all A-stem transitive prefixes. Recall from §3.2.1 that there is a boxed **[o]** in some of these prefixes; this means that the **o** replaces the **a** at the beginning of the verb stem.

Stem	A	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**sk-/ tak-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**(h)s-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)shei-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**ski-/ taki-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**ts-**	**(e)tshits-**	**ietshii-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**skw-/ takw-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**sew-**	**(e)tshisew-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**koni-**	**ki-**	**kw-**				**k-**	**rii-**	**khei-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**ki-**	**ki-**	**kw-**				**iati-**	**(h)shaki-**	**iakhii-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**kw-**	**kw-**	**kw-**				**iakw-**	**(h)shakw-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**ki-**	**(e)tshiki-**	**iethii-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tew-**	**(e)tshitew-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**s-**	**ts-**	**sew-**	**wak-**	**ionki-**	**ionkw-**	**i[o]-**	**r[o]-**	**iak[o]-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)i-**	**(e)tshitsi-**	**(e)tshisew-**	**rakw-**	**(h)shonki-**	**(h)shonkw-**	**r-**		**(h)shak[o]-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**ies-**	**ietshii-**		**ionkw-**	**ionkhii-**		**konw-**	**ronw-**	**iontat-**	**konwan-**	**ronwan-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakon-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakon-**		

Table 101. A-stem transitive prefixes

Now that we have the full table of A-stem transitive prefixes, below is a word bank of many different A-stem transitive verbs that you can use these prefixes with.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sheiatáwenhst sheiateré'a!	Give your granddaughter a bath!
Sheiahtsióhare' sheiateré'a!	Wash your granddaughter's hands!
Sheiatken'sé:ra sheiateré'a!	Go and check on your granddaughter!
Sheiatahónhsatat sheiateré'a!	Listen to your granddaughter!
Sheiateró:rok sheiateré'a!	Watch your granddaughter!
Sheiahiahní:nons sheiateré'a!	Buy fruit for your granddaughter!
Sheia'tenhní:non's sheiateré'a!	Sell it to your granddaughter!
Sheiaten'nikón:raren sheiateré'a!	Watch out for your granddaughter!
Sheianonhwaró:rok sheiateré'a!	Put on a hat for your granddaughter!
Sheiatonhé:wa's sheiateré'a!	Sweep for your granddaughter!
Sheiataséhten sheiateré'a!	Hide from your granddaughter! (like hide-and-seek)
Sheia'tontaní:ra sheiateré'a!	Accompany or go with your granddaughter!
Sheia'tóhtshion sheiateré'a!	Pull your granddaughter out from under something!
Sheia'tón'nek sheiateré'a!	Move your granddaughter out of the way of something!

Table 102. Word bank of A-stem transitive commands

4.2.1.5 O/On-stems

Next, let's look at some O/On-stem verbs. For the first few examples, we'll use the On-stem verb **onnien**, which means 'make someone do something.'

Kanien’kéha	English
Sheiónnien sheionhwatén'a!	Make your niece do something!
Tó: kheiónnien kheionhwatén'a!	May I make my niece do something!
Iontatónnien ne iontatonhwatén'a!	May she make her niece do something!
Shakaónnien ne shakaonhwatén'a!	May he make his niece do something!
Iaónnien ne aonhwatén'a!	May she(FZ) make its niece do something!

Table 103. O(n)-stem commands (acting on younger females)

Kanien’kéha	English
Tshiónnien tshionhwatén'a!	Make your nephew do something!
Tó: riiónnien riionhwatén'a!	May I make my nephew do something!
Ronwaiónnien ne ronwaionhwatén'a!	May she make her nephew do something!
Raónnien ne raonhwatén'a!	May he make his nephew do something!
Raónnien ne raonhwatén'a	May she(FZ) make her nephew do something!

Table 104. O(n)-stem commands (acting on younger males)

Below is the full table for O-/On-stem transitive prefixes

Stem	O(n)	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**sk-/ tak-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**(h)s-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)shei-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**sken-/ taken-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**sen-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**ietshii-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**ski-/ taki-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**ski-/ taki-**	**ts-/sew-**	**(e)tshits-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**koni-**	**ken-**	**ki-**				**k-**	**rii-**	**khei-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**ken-**	**ken-**	**ki-**				**iaken-**	**(h)shaken-**	**iakhii-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**ki-**	**ki-**	**ki-**				**iati-/iakw-**	**(h)shati-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**ten-**	**(e)tshiten-**	**iethii-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**ki-/tew-**	**(e)tshiti-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**s-**	**sen-**	**ts-**	**wak-**	**ionken-**	**ionki-**	**ia-**	**ra-**	**iaka-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)i-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**(e)tshits-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonken-**	**(h)shonki-**	**(h)r-**		**(h)shaka-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**ies-**	**ietshii-**		**ionk-**	**ionkhii-**		**konwai-**	**ronwai-**	**iontat-**	**konwan-**	**ronwan-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakon-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakon-**		

Table 105. O(n)-stem transitive prefixes

Now that we have the full table of O(n)-stem transitive prefixes, below is a word bank of a few different O(n)-stem transitive verbs that you can use these prefixes with.

Kanien’kéha	English
Sheió’tsions’ sheionhwatén'a!	Pull it out for your niece!
Sheiohrhón:kwa’s sheionhwatén'a!	Gather it for your niece!
Sheio’kwats sheionhwatén'a!	Dig it for your niece!
Sheiókwa’s sheionhwatén'a!	Take it out of water for your niece!

Table 106. O(n)-stem transitive commands word bank

4.2.1.6 E/En-stems

Recall from earlier that there are some C-stem verbs that are occasionally called “fake e”-stems because there is a “weak **e**” that shows up for certain prefixes. In addition to these “fake e”-stems, there are some real E(n)-stems which have a different set of pronominal prefixes. Some examples of E(n)-stem transitive imperatives are given below; for the first few examples, we’ll use the e-stem verb **eta’as**, which means ‘put it in for someone.’

Kanien’kéha	English
Sheié:ta’as sheiehnónhsa!	Put it in for your daughter-in-law!
Tó: kheié:ta’as kheiehnónhsa!	May I put it in for my daughter-in-law!
Iontaté:ta’as ne iontatehnónhsa!	May she put it in for her daughter-in-law!
Shakawé:ta’as ne shakawehnónhsa!	May he put it in for his daughter-in-law!
lawé:ta’as ne akawehnónhsa!	May she(FZ) put it in for her daughter-in-law!

Table 107. E(n)-stem commands (acting on younger females)

Kanien’kéha	English
Tshié:ta’as tshiehnónhsa!	Put it in for your son in law!
Tó: riié:ta’as riiehnónhsa!	May I put it in for my son in law!
Ronweié:ta’as ne ronwehnónhsa!	May she put it in for her son in law!
Rawé:ta’as ne rawehnónhsa!	May he put it in for his son in law!
Rawé:ta’as ne rawehnónhsa!	May she(FZ) put it in for its son in law!

Table 108. E(n)-stem commands (acting on younger males)

Below is the full table for E/En-stem transitive prefixes.

Stem	E(n)	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**sk-/ tak-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**(h)s-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)shei-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**sken-/ taken-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**sen-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**ietshii-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**skw-/ takw-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**skw-/ takw-**	**sew-**	**(e)tshisew-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**koni-**	**ken-**	**kw-**				**k-**	**rii-**	**khei-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**ken-**	**ken-**	**kw-**				**iaken-**	**(h)shaken-**	**iakhii-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**kw-**	**kw-**	**kw-**				**iakw-**	**(h)shakw-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**ten-**	**(e)tshiten-**	**iethii-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tew-**	**(e)tshitew-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**s-**	**sen-**	**sew-**	**wak-**	**ionken-**	**ionkw-**	**iaw-**	**raw-**	**iakaw-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)i-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**(e)tshisew-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonken-**	**(h)shonkw-**	**(h)r-**		**(h)shakaw-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**ies-**	**ietshii-**		**ionk-**	**ionkhii-**		**konw-**	**ronw-**	**iontat-**	**konwan-**	**ronwan-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakon-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakon-**		

Table 109. E(n)-stem transitive prefixes

Now that we have the full table of E(n)-stem transitive prefixes, below is a word bank of a few different E(n)-stem transitive verbs that you can use these prefixes with. E(n)-stem verbs are really rare in the language, but they are still important to learn.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sheién'tskwe'k ne sheién'a!	Shut your daughter up!
Sheienhé'tshanon't sheién'a!	Give your daughter some sausage!
Sheien'náhsanon't sheién'a!	Give your daughter some tongue!

Table 110. E(n)-stem transitive commands word bank

4.2.1.7 I-stems

Now let's look at some true I-stem verbs. For these first few examples, we will use the verb **i'teron**, which means 'have pity for someone.'

Kanien'kéha	English
Shé'teron[30] sheién'a!	Put your daughter down on the floor or ground! / Keep her home!
Khé'teron ne kheién'a!	May I put my daughter down on the floor or ground! / May I keep her home!
Iontatí'teron ne ontakién'a!	May she put her daughter down on the floor or ground! / May she keep her home!
Shakó'teron ne shakoién'a!	May he put his daughter down on the floor or ground! / May he keep her home!
Ió'teron ne akoién'a!	May she(FZ) put her daughter down on the floor or ground! / May she(FZ) keep her home!

Table 111. I-stem transitive commands word bank

[30] You may see this verb written as **shè:teron/khè:teron/iontatì:teron**, etc. in other learning materials, but I've never said it with a falling tone, so I have chosen to write these verbs in the way that I pronounce them.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tshí’teron tshién'a!	Put your son down on the floor or ground / Keep him home!
Rí’teron ne rién'a!	May I put my son down on the floor or ground! / May I keep him home!
Ronwén’teron ne ronwaién'a!	May she put her son down on the floor or ground! / May she keep him home!
Ró’teron ne roién'a!	May he put his son down on the floor or ground! / May he keep him home!
Ró’teron ne roién'a!	May she(FZ) put its son down on the floor or ground! / May she(FZ) keep him home!

Table 112. I-stem transitive commands (acting on younger males)

Below is the full table for I-stem transitive verbs. Much like the A-stem prefixes that have a boxed **[o]**, some of the I-stem prefixes have a boxed **[o], [e]** or **[en]**. The boxed letter deletes the following **i** of the verb stem when it attaches to the verb. For example, when the you>her transitive prefix **(h)sh[e]-** attaches to the I-stem verb **i’teron** (‘live’), the boxed **[e]** deletes the initial **i** of the verb stem to become **shé’teron**.

Stem	iC[31]	Object										
		í:se (2SG)	**teseniiáhse** (2DU)	**sewakwé:kon** (2PL)	**í'i** (1SG)	**teteniiáhse** (1DU)	**tewakwé:kon** (1PL)	**aónha** (FZSG)	**raónha** (MSG)	**akaónha** (FI)	**onónha** (FZDU/PL)	**ronónha** (MDU/PL)
Subject	**í:se** (2SG)				**sk-/ tak-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**skw[en]-/ takw[en]-**	**ts-/(h)s-**	**(e)tsh-**	**(h)sh[e]-**		
	teseniiáhse (2DU)				**sken-/ taken-**	**sken-/ taken-**	**skw[en]-/ takw[en]-**	**sen-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**ietsh-**		
	sewakwé:kon (2PL)				**skw[en]-/ takw[en]-**	**skw[en]-/ takw[en]-**	**skw[en]-/ takw[en]-**	**sew[en]-**	**(e)tshisew[en]-**			
	í'i (1SG)	**k[on]-**	**ken-**	**kw[en]-**				**k-**	**r-**	**kh[e]-**		
	teiakeniiáhse (1EX.DU)	**ken-**	**ken-**	**kw[en]-**				**iaken-**	**(h)shaken-**	**iakh-**		
	iakwakwé:kon (1EX.PL)	**kw[en]-**	**kw[en]-**	**kw[en]-**				**iakw[en]-**	**(h)shakw[en]-**			
	teteniiáhse (1IN.DU)							**ten-**	**(e)tshiten-**	**ieth-**		
	tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)							**tew[en]-**	**(e)tshitew[en]-**			
	aónha (FZSG)	**s[en]-**	**sen-**	**sew[en]-**	**wak-**	**ionken-**	**ionkw[en]-**	**i[o]-**	**r[o]-**	**iak[o]-**		
	raónha (MSG)	**(h)i[en]-**	**(e)tshisen-**	**(e)tshisew[en]-**	**rak-**	**(h)shonk[en]-**	**(h)shonkw[en]-**	**r[en]-**		**(h)shak[o]-**		
	akaónha (FI)	**ies[en]-**	**ietsh-**		**ionk-**	**ionkh-**		**konw[en]-**	**ronw[en]-**	**iontat-**	**konwat-**	**ronwat-**
	onónha (FZDU/PL)									**iakot-**		
	ronónha (MDU/PL)									**(h)shakot-**		

Table 113. I-stem transitive prefixes

[31] The iC in this case represents the fact that the [i] in the verb stem occurs before a consonant.

Kanien’kéha	English
Shé:tenhr sheién'a!	Have pity on her!
Shé’tonióhtha’s sheién'a!	Put it in a pile or stack for her!
Shé’tskaron’s sheién'a!	Put a mat or rug or mattress down for her!
She’tskó:ten sheién'a!	Sit her down or sit her upright!
She’tstáhrho’s sheién'a!	Place the shingles on for her!
She’tstarhónkwa’s sheién'a!	Remove the shingles for her!
She’tsténhta’s sheién'a!	Remove the fish scales for her!
Shetsi’niónkeren sheién'a!	Remove the snot off her!
She’tó:kew sheién'a!	Wipe the feces from her!
She’tskeró:kew sheién'a!	Wipe the spit from her!

Table 114. I-stem transitive commands word bank

4.2.2 Dualic (with transitives)

When I used to teach language classes, I taught imperatives with the dualic prefix, because many commands include the dualic prefix. This belongs to a class of morphemes in Kanien’kéha called “pre-pronominal prefixes,” as shown in the verb template table in example (3) on pg. 35, which appear before the pronominal prefixes that are on every verb. I will therefore introduce the dualic in this chapter, because you need to know how both categories of verbs work - you can’t just walk around with one set of commands, and I’ve noticed that a lot of learners don’t know how to use the dualic.

The dualic (or duplicative) prefix can convey several meanings, and they are not always predictable. It is commonly used to mean ‘two,’ as in **tekanónhsake** (‘two houses’); it likely comes from the word for the number 2, **tékeni**. It can also be used to convey a change in position or state, as in **testa’n** (‘stand up/stop’). It takes the form *te-, t-,* or *ti*, and appears before the pronominal prefix (Martin 2023). It commonly occurs on verbs that involve two objects (especially body parts that come in pairs), and verbs whose inherent meaning involves the idea of two cannot occur without the dualic prefix (Michelson & Price 2011). I use the color **pink** to mark any pre-pronominal prefixes, including the dualic.

With this in mind, here is a word bank of transitive commands that use the dualic pre-pronominal prefix.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tesheia’tawèn:raht!	Toss her over!
Tesheià:tahkw!	Pick her up from the floor or ground!
Teshekahkwen’taténien!	Put on a tire for her!
Teshetsikhe’táhrho’s!	Add or put in sugar for her!
Teshehiotsi’táhrho’s!	Add or put in salt for her!
Teshekwáttho’s!	Hem or fold it for her!
Tesheiáhta!	Put on her shoes for her!
Tesheiahtáhsion!	Take off her shoes for her!
Teshekarén:ren!	Rock her in a rocking chair or back and forth!
Teshenia’tanékaron!	Burp her!
Teshehshwen’nané:ta!	Put more layers of blankets on her!
Tesheháhsteren’k!	Put pants on her!
Tesheháhsterén’kshion!	Take her pants off of her!
Teshenonhwé’tshaweron!	Tilt her head towards the floor!
Teshekarhaté:ni!	Turn her around!
Tesheiáwe’st!	Give her a shot or needle!
Teshenorónhkwanion!	Kiss her!

Table 115. Dualic transitive commands word bank

4.2.3 Dialogues

Below are some simple sentences that give you an idea of how you can start to use these transitive imperatives in your day-to-day life. These sentences also introduce some new vocabulary: there are a couple of different verbs and particles here that give you an idea of how you can build on the simple commands to make longer, more complex sentences.

1. **Shehró:ri sa'nistenha ka' wáhse!**
   Tell your mother where you are going!

2. **Shehró:ri sa'nistenha nahò:ten ihséhre'!**
   Tell your mother what you want!

3. **Shehró:ri sa'nistenha tsi nahò:ten iah tehséhre'!**
   Tell your mother what you don't want!

4. **Shehró:ri sa'nistenha tsi shenorónhkhwa!**
   Tell your mother that you love her!

5. **Shehró:ri sa'nistenha nahò:ten tesatonhontsió:ni!**
   Tell your mother what you need!

6. **Shehró:ri sa'nisténha ontathtsí'a iekhón:ni!**
   Tell your mother's older sister to cook!

7. **Shehró:ri she'kén'a onátshi ionhiákha!**
   Tell your little sister's female friend to go pick berries!

8. **Tshró:ri ia'níha ka' wáhse!**
   Tell your father where you are going!

9. **Tshró:ri ia'níha nahò:ten ihséhre'!**
   Tell your father what you want!

10. **Tshró:ri ia'níha tsi nahò:ten iah tehséhre'!**
    Tell your father what you don't want!

11. **Tshró:ri ia'níha tsi tshenorónhkhwa!**
    Tell your father that you love him!

12. **Tshró:ri ia'níha nahò:ten tesatonhontsió:ni!**
Tell your father what you need!

4.2.4 Í:se nòn:wa! - Exercises

Now we will give you some exercises to start practicing using these transitive imperatives. The goal here is to have you make short but useful sentences to get your point across to other people. We will also start using some new nouns and verbs later on for you to practice.

As you're going through these exercises, keep in mind that word order can make a difference when you're giving commands. Unlike English (which has a strict word order), words in Kanien'kéha can go in any order, but the order that you choose will make a difference in the interpretation of your sentence. For example, if you say:

(19) **Shehró:ri** sa'nistenha!

That means that the action ('tell her') is more important than the person you're talking about. However, if you instead say:

(20) **Sa'nistenha** shehró:ri!

This means that who you're talking about (in this case **sa'nistenha**) is more important. Grammatically, these two sentences are identical; they mean the same thing and a native speaker will know what you're talking about either way. But if you wish to sound more like a native speaker, then it's important for you to use the word order to emphasize what's more important. Is it the person or the action? For more details on word order in Kanien'kéha, you can consult works such as Flaim 2025 and Mithun 2020.

In the following exercises, we're going to start practicing using dual and plural transitive commands. For example, if I'm commanding two of you to cook for someone, I'll say **ietshikhónnien**. But many of these dual and plural transitive prefixes have multiple possible interpretations. The prefix **ietshi-** is one of these prefixes; it has six possible meanings. These are: (1) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>akaónha**; (2) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>tekeniiáhse**; (3) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>onónha**; (4) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>akaónha** + **raónha**; (5) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>tehniiáhse**; and (6) **teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon>ronónha**. For **ietshi**-, the directionality can also be flipped for all of these combinations (notice it's in two places in the big transitive prefixes table). So it can also mean **akaónha>teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon**; **tekeniiáhse>teseniiáhse/sewakwé:kon**, etc.

You can also see this information visually in the tables, where you can see the same prefix in two different places, and you can see that certain cells are larger because they combine meanings from different categories.

The next few sentences first show you how many options can actually come from just one prefix. This is why it's important to practice all the prefixes and learn all the possible combinations. Note here that for all of the places where it says teseniiáhse or 'you two', this could be replaced with sewakwé:kon or 'you all', and the same prefix would be used.

teseniiáhse>akaónha
letshihró:ri ietshi'nisténha!
You two tell your mom!

teseniiáhse>tekeniiáhse
letshihró:ri sahsótha tánon' tsiara'sé'a!
You two tell your grandmother and your cousin!

teseniiáhse>onónha
letshihró:ri sa'nisténha' tánon sahtsí'a tánon' she'kén'a!
You two tell your mom, your older sister and your baby sister!

teseniiáhse>akaónha + raónha
letshihró:ri sa'nisténha' tánon' ia'níha!
You two tell your mom and dad!

teseniiáhse>tehniiáhse
letshihró:ri iahsótha tánon' tsiatén:ro!
You two tell your grandfather and your male friend!

teseniiáhse>ronónha
letshihró:ri ietshinonha'okón'a!
You two tell your uncles!

Exercise 1: Prefixes and people

Now that you've seen the possibilities for **ietshi-,** it's time to practice using this prefix yourself! First, fill in the boxes below. Try to pick different kinship terms to fill in the boxes to continue to practice using your kinship vocabulary.

Fill in the boxes:

teseniiáhse>akaónha
[ ] hró:ri [ ] !
You two tell one female!

teseniiáhse>tekeniiáhse
[ ] hró:ri [ ] tánon' [ ]!
You two tell two females!

teseniiáhse>onónha
[ ] hró:ri [ ] tánon' [ ] tánon' [ ]!
You two tell three females!

teseniiáhse>akaónha + raónha
[ ] hró:ri [ ] tánon' [ ]!
You two tell a female and a male!

teseniiáhse>tehniiáhse
[ ] hró:ri [ ] tánon' [ ]!
You two tell two males!

teseniiáhse>ronónha
[ ] hró:ri [ ] tánon' [ ] tánon' [ ]!
You two tell three males!

Here is a possible answer key so that you can check your work on the previous page. Note that you don't have to use the exact kinship terms that are listed here in your answers, as long as they match the English description underneath the sentence (one female, two females, etc.).

Answer Key

teseniiáhse>akaónha

letshi hró:ri ietshihsótha !

You two tell your grandmother!

teseniiáhse>tekeniiáhse

letshi hró:ri ietshinó:'a tánon' ietshiién:'a !

You two tell your stepdaughter and daughter!

teseniiáhse>onónha

letshi hró:ri sewara'sé:'a tánon' ietshi'nisténha tánon' ietshihtsí:'a !

You two tell your cousin and your aunt and your older sister!

teseniiáhse>akaónha + raónha

letshi hró:ri ietshi'kén:'a tánon' sewatén:ro! !

You two tell your little sister and your male friend!

teseniiáhse>tehniiáhse

letshi hró:ri tshiseni'níha tánon' tshiseni'nonhá:'a !

You two tell your father and your uncle!

teseniiáhse>ronónha

letshi hró:ri tshiseniién:'a tánon' tshiseninó:'a tánon' tshisenonhwatén:'a !

You two tell your son and your stepson and your nephew!

We'll use this same format for the next few exercises (filling in the prefix and choosing matching kinship terms) to go through all of the second-person transitive prefix forms. Next we'll look at **(e)tshiseni-**, which has fewer possibilities: either you 2>him, or he>you 2. The answer keys for the rest of the exercises in this section can be found in Appendix A.

Fill in the boxes:

teseniiáhse>raónha
[ ]hró:ri[ ] !
You two tell one male!

raónha>teseniiáhse
[ ]hró:ri[ ] !
May one male tell you two!

Next is **(e)tshisewa-**, which also has two meanings: either you all>him, or him>you all.

Fill in the boxes:

sewakwé:kon>raónha
[ ]hró:ri[ ] !
You all tell one male!

raónha>sewakwé:kon
[ ]hró:ri[ ] !
Have him tell you all!

The next few prefixes can be considered transitive if they describe you acting on either an inanimate thing or feminine-zoic female. These are **(h)se-** (you>she/it), **seni-** (you 2>she/it), and **sewa-** (you all>she/it).

Fill in the boxes:

í:se>aónha

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You tell her/it!

teseniiáhse>aónha

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You two tell her/it!

sewakwé:kon>aónha

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You all tell her/it!

Next we'll look at the prefix **takwa-**, which, more similar to **ietshi-**, has many different possible meanings. It can mean you>us all, you 2>us all, you all>us all, you all>us 2, and you all>me. Remember that when I use this prefix in imperatives, **takwa-** instead takes the form **skwa-**, but this might not be true for all speakers.

Fill in the boxes:

í:se>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You tell us all!

teseniiáhse>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You two tell us all!

sewakwé:kon>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You all tell us all!

sewakwé:kon>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

[ ]hró:ri[ ]!

You all tell us 2!

sewakwé:kon>í'i

[ ] hró:ri [ ] !

You all tell me!

Next we'll look at the prefix **takeni-**, which also has multiple meanings: either you>us 2, you 2>us 2, or you 2>me. Like **takwa-,** for me this prefix takes the form **skeni-** in imperatives.

Fill in the boxes:

í:se>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

[ ] hró:ri [ ] !

You tell us two!

teseniiáhse>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

[ ] hró:ri [ ] !

You two tell us two!

teseniiáhse>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

[ ] hró:ri [ ] !

You two tell me!

Our last transitive prefix to look at is **tak(e)-**, which only has one meaning: you>me. Once again, in imperatives, **tak(e)-** instead looks like **sk(e)-** for me**.**

Fill in the boxes:

í:se>í'i

[ ] hró:ri [ ] !

You tell me!

Exercise 2: Fill in the prefix

Now, we'll practice using some verbs from different stem classes in addition to the dual and plural transitive prefixes so that you can practice changing the prefixes depending on the verb stem they attach to. Remember that some prefixes will delete the first sound of the stem they attach to; for these, cross out the first letter of the verb stem as you're

filling in the answers. Again, for answer keys to this exercise, see Appendix A.

Fill in the correct prefix:

í:se>tehniiáhse

_____**hró:ri ia'sótha tánon' ia'nonhá'a!**

You tell your grandfather and uncle!

í:se>tekeniiáhse

_____**ri'wanón:tons!**

You ask them(2F)!

teseniiáhse>raónha

_____**hnónksa!**

You two go get him!

sewakwé:kon>raónha

_____**hnónksa!**

You all go get him!

í:se>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

_____**rá:kwa's!**

You save something for us 2!

teiakeniiáhse>í:se

_____**atáwenhst!**

May we(2,excl) give you a bath!

akaónha>raónha

_____**ónnien!**

May she make him do something!

iakwakwé:kon>onónha

_____**én'tskwe'k!**

May we(3+,excl) shut them(3+F) up!

tewakwé:kon>raónha

 **i’tskóten!**

May we(3+,incl) sit him up!

ronónha>akaónha

 **ió’tenhst!**

May they(3+M) make her work!

teteniiáhse>onónha

 **hní:non’s!**

May we(2,incl) buy something for them(3+F)!

akaónha>í'i

 **kwatá:kwas!**

May she fix it for me!

sewakwé:kon>í'i

 **hiatons!**

You all write something for me!

onónha>akaónha

 **ateró:rok!**

Have them(3+F) watch her!

tewakwé:kon>ronónha

 **ó’tsions’!**

May we(3+,incl) pull it out for them(3+M)!

teteniiáhse>raónha

 **a’tontaní:ra!**

May we(2,incl) accompany him!

teiakeniiáhse>raónha

 **aten’nikón:raren!**

May we(2,excl) watch out for him!

raónha>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

 **karatón:ha’s!**

May he tell us two a story!

teseniiáhse>raónha

 **hthához’s!**

You two lecture him!

raónha>raónha

 **nont!**

May he feed him!

teseniiáhse>í'i

 **nóhare’s!**

You two wash it for me!

akaónha>akaónha

 **’níkhon’s!**

May she sew it for her!

ronónha>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

 **kontshereahrho’s!**

May they(3+M) paint for us all!

akaónha>í:se

 **kahrhaténien!**

May she empty something for you!

tehniiáhse>akaónha

 **takerí:ta’s!**

May they(2M) fry something for her!

onónha>onónha

 **hnè:kanont!**

May they(3+F) give them(3+F) water!

í'i>í:se

 **atahónhsatat!**

May I listen to you!

aónha>onónha

 **atonhé:wa's!**

May it sweep for them(3+F)!

raónha>akaónha

 **i'tsténhta's!**

May he remove fish scales for her!

teseniiáhse>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

 **i'tonióhtha's!**

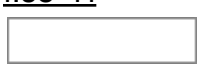
You two put it in a pile or stack for us two!

teiakeniiáhse>teseniiáhse

 **a'tón'nek!**

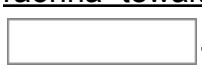
May we(2,excl) move you two out of the way!

í:se>í'i

 **ri'wanón:tons!**

You ask me!

raónha>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

 **tsì:tsion!**

May he give us all flowers!

í'i>sewakwé:kon

 **hnià:sa!**

May I hug all of you!

í'i>akaónha

 **tsikhè:ton!**

May I give her candy!

ronónha>ronónha

 **hshwanón:na!**

May they(3+M) back them(3+M) up/have their back!

raónha>aónha

 **na’tarónnien!**

May he make bread for it!

í'i>raónha

 **a’tenhní:non’s!**

Let me sell it to him!

iakwakwé:kon>raónha

 **atken’sé:ra!**

May we(3+,excl) check on him!

í:se>akaónha

 **ataséhten!**

You hide on her!

raónha>sewakwé:kon

 **ken’én:ion!**

May he look at you all!

onónha>teseniiáhse

 **anonhwaró:rok!**

May they(3+F) put a hat on you two!

iakwakwé:kon>sewakwé:kon

 **hshnié:non!**

May we(3+,excl) assist you all!

raónha>teseniiáhse

 **kweniénht!**

May he respect you two!

teseniiáhse>aónha

 **wístoht!**

You two chill it!

teseniiáhse>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

 **kón:seren!**

You two put a pillow under us all!

í'i>teseniiáhse

 **karháttho!**

May I turn you two over!

iakwakwé:kon>í:se

 **hio’tí:ia’ts!**

May we(3+,excl) sharpen something for you!

raónha>í:se

 **tátsten!**

May he put you to sleep!

iakwakwé:kon>teseniiáhse

 **i’tstáhrho’s!**

May we(3+,excl) place shingles on for you two!

raónha>í'i

 **ké’tsko!**

May he get me up!

sewakwé:kon>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

 **i’tstarhónkwa’s!**

You all remove shingles for us two!

í:se>aónha

 **ia’tíniont!**

You take it home/to a safe place!

teiakeniiáhse>sewakwé:kon

 **ia’tohserón:ko!**

May we(2,excl) massage you all!

sewakwé:kon>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

 **tsi’tón:ni!**

You all make us all cry!

Exercise 3: Word bank

Next, use these two word banks to make your own commands from scratch. When you make your sentences, practice using transitive prefixes other than just **she-** and **tsh-**. You can fill in the blanks of the sample sentences on the next page, or use the empty space to write your own sentences from scratch.

<u>í:se>akaónha (2SG>FI):</u>

Shekhónnien! Cook for her!	**Sheri'wanón:tons!** Ask her!	**Sheke'tsko!** Get her up!	**She'tskó:ten!** Sit her up!
Shehnónksa! Go get her!	**Sheia'tí:ta!** Put her in!	**Sheià:tawi't!** Put a shirt on her!	**Shé:nont!** Feed her!
Shé:ra's! Cover her!	**Sheié:na!** Hold her!	**Shetásten!** Put her to sleep!	**Sheken'én:ion!** Look at her!

<u>í:se>raónha (2SG>MSG):</u>

Tshekhónnien! Cook for him!	**Tsheri'wanón:tons!** Ask him!	**Tshke'tsko!** Get him up!	**Tshi'tskó:ten!** Sit him up!
Tshihnónksa! Go get him!	**Tshia'tí:ta!** Put him in!	**Tshià:tawi't!** Put a shirt on him!	**Íhtshenont!** Feed him!
Íhtshra's! Cover him!	**Tsié:na!** Hold him!	**Tshitásten!** Put him to sleep!	**Tshken'én:ion!** Look at him!

Here are some blank spaces to practice using the verbs from the word bank above. Remember that you'll always use the prefix form where **akaónha** is the patient, if you're talking about actions performed on a female kinship member. Below are kinship terms you should know well from <u>Chapter 3</u>. They are separated in this manner to highlight that all of these different kinship terms, whether they are older, younger, or the same age, can use the same imperative form.

Older female kinship terms

Shehró:ri	sa’nisténha!
_____	sahsóhtha!
_____	sahtsí'a!
_____	iesanó'a!
_____	iesehnhónsa’!

Younger female kinship terms

_____	she’kén'a!
_____	sheién'a!
_____	sheiateré'a!
_____	sheionhwatén'a!
_____	she’ksténha!

Same age female (reciprocal) terms

_____	tsiátshi!
_____	tsiaríha!
_____	tsiará’se’a!

Older male kinship terms

Tshró:ri	ia’níha!
_____	iahsóhtha!
_____	iahtsí'a!
_____	ianó'a!
_____	iehnhónsa’!

Younger male kinship terms

_____	tshe’kén'a!
_____	tshién'a!
_____	tshiateré'a!
_____	tsionhwatén'a!
_____	tshe’ksténha!

Same age male (reciprocal) terms

_____	tsiatén:ro!
_____	tsiakióha!
_____	tsiará’se’a!
_____	tsiakióha!

4.3 Subjective and objective imperatives

We learned in §3.2.3 that in addition to the kinship stems that use **transitive** pronominal prefixes, there are some family member terms that use **subjective** or **objective** pronominal prefixes as well. Verbs are the same; there are many verb stems that use either subjective or objective prefixes rather than transitive prefixes. We find these when there is only a single animate participant, whereas transitive prefixes involve two animate participants (more details below). This section will introduce some of these verbs and get you used to practicing all of the different persons and stem classes for them.

Remember from §3.4.1 that it's not always clear which verbs take **subjective** pronominal prefixes and which verbs take **objective** pronominal prefixes. In general, this is not a completely clear-cut distinction and in many cases you'll just have to memorize which verbs use subjectives and which verbs use objectives. However, there are a couple of patterns that you can look out for.

In general, the subjects of **subjective** verbs tend to be more agentive; in other words, they have a little more control over the action described by the verb (Mithun 1991). They also tend to occur in verbs describing events. For example, in the imperative verb **shní:non** ('you) buy it!'), the subject 'you' (represented by the subjective pronoun **s-**) has full control over the buying event.

On the other hand, the subjects of **objective** verbs tend to be less agentive; they have less control over the action described by the verb (Mithun 1991). They also tend to occur in verbs describing states. For example, in the imperative verb **sa'nikonhraién:ta'n** ('you) understand!'), the subject 'you' (represented by the objective pronoun **sa-**) does not have nearly as much control over their state of understanding as they do over the buying event, hence the objective pronoun.

This pattern doesn't hold true for every verb, but it can be helpful to look out for while you're first learning about which verbs take objective vs. subjective pronouns.[32] One last detail you might notice is that verbs that take subjective pronouns are much more common than those that take objective pronouns. For that reason, you'll see that there are much larger word banks in §4.3.1 than in §4.3.2.

4.3.1 Subjective imperatives

We will start with some examples of imperatives with **subjective** prefixes from each of the stem classes. First, a handful of true C-stem subjective imperatives are introduced below. Remember that the true C-stem pronouns appear before stems starting with h, k,

[32] Whether a verb takes a subjective or objective pronominal prefix can also depend on the verb's **aspect**. But learning about aspect would be too much to cover in this dissertation; for more about this, see Mithun 1991, Mithun 2006, Baker 1996, Koenig and Michelson 2015, and Gatchalian 2025.

s, or t, and don't have the epenthetic e that appears in some of these prefixes.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Ská:we!	Row (with an oar)!
Shní:non!	Buy it!
Stáhko!	Take it out!

Table 116. C-stem subjective imperatives

Here, we need to talk briefly about the difference between transitive and intransitive **verbs** vs transitive and intransitive **prefixes.**

A transitive verb is a verb that has two **participants**, sometimes called "arguments" of a verb. In other words, there are two distinct entities involved in the action described by the verb. A lot of the time, transitive verbs will involve two **animate** participants, and when this is the case they always use one of the purple **transitive** prefixes, like the ones we saw in the previous section.

However, sometimes a transitive verb will have only one animate participant. When this is the case, the verb will take either a **subjective** or **objective** prefix, not a **transitive** one. For example, one of the verbs in the word bank just above is **shní:non**, which means '(you) buy it!'. This is a verb that has two participants: 'you' and 'it'. But since the patient of this verb, 'it', is inanimate, the verb uses a **subjective** prefix. This is still a transitive verb because it has two participants, but since one of the participants is inanimate, it does not use a **transitive** prefix, but rather a **subjective** one. For more on the status of inanimate participants in Kanien'kéha and how they interact with the pronominal prefixes, see Coon (2025).

Verbs that are **intransitive**, or in other words, verbs that have only one participant, will also take either **subjective** or **objective** prefixes. This is the case for another verb in the word bank above, **ská:we**, which means '(you) row!'. Here, there is only one participant, 'you', and a **subjective** prefix is used.

In summary, verbs that take **subjective** or **objective** prefixes will either be intransitive, with one participant, or they will be transitive but have at least one inanimate participant.

4.3.1.1 True C-stems

We'll now continue with some more true C-stem subjective imperatives. We have seen some C-stem subjective pronouns before in §3.2.3 when we learned about reciprocal terms. As a reminder, here is the full table of C-stem subjective pronouns:

Stem:	C (h, k, s, t)
í:se (2SG)	**(h)s-/t-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iakeni-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakwa-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**teni-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tewa-**
akaónha (FI)	**ie-**
aónha (FZSG)	**ka-**
raónha (MSG)	**ra-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**keni-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konti-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)ni-**
ronónha (MPL)	**rati-**

Table 117. C-stem subjective prefixes

As mentioned in the previous section, C-stem verbs are the most common in Kanien'kéha (and C-stem verbs that take subjective pronouns are particularly common), so this first word bank of true C-stem subjective imperatives is a big one.

Kanien’kéha	English
Skwé:ni!	Be able! (like: You can do it!)
Shá:wi!	Carry it!
Skaré:ni!	Collect it!
Skwé:taron!	Cut it!
Shnekí:ra!	Drink!
Skahraté:ni!	Empty it!
Ska’èn:ion!	Examine it!
Skwatá:ko!	Fix it!
Skahrhátho!	Flip it!
Shwe’nón:ni!	Fold it!
Stakerì:ta!	Fry it!
Skó:ha!	Get it!
Shá:ren!	Hang it up!
Stsiénhaien!	Have a meeting!
Shwá:e’k!	Hit it!
Shráhrho!	Land on a dock!
Skarèn:rat!	Lean it!
Skétsko!	Lift it up!
Sken’én:ion!	Look at it!
Shiatonhserón:ni!	Make a will!
Skahkwen’tón:ni!	Make a circle!
Stsihkwakwe’nón:ni!	Make a fist!
Shnekínekenht!	Make juice!

Shrie’nón:ni!	Package it!
Skontsheráhrho!	Paint it!
Shnenna’tara’wistótshion!	Peel potatoes!
Stsì:tsiako!	Pick flowers!
Shnenna’taiéntho!	Plant potatoes!
Skahréhkia’k!	Pluck stems!
Skohó:rok!	Plug it!
Shón:tako!	Pull weeds!
Stsiserakará:tat!	Raise the window!
Sharàta’t!	Raise it up!
Shrá:ko!	Remove it from the surface!
Skwénnienhst!	Respect it!
Skè:ron!	Scatter it!
Shiothí:ia’t!	Sharpen it!
Shnió:ten!	Stand it up!
Skón:rek!	Strike it!
Shniotá:ko!	Take it down!
Ská:raton!	Tell a story!
Skahrahté:ni!	Throw it out!
Shwánerenk!	Tie it up!
Shwatá:se’!	Twist it!
Skohóhtsion!	Uncork it!
Stakwaríhsi!	Unwrinkle it!
Shiá:ton!	Write it!

Table 118. C-stem subjective commands word bank

In addition to the regular C-stem subjective verbs, there are also some C-stems that I call “fake stress” verbs. Marianne Mithun and I coined this term back in the 70s when we were first talking about some of these older verbs. Recall from Chapter 2 that the initial **i** in these examples appears when there are not enough syllables in the word to assign stress to, so an extra syllable needs to be added for there to be a place to put the stress.

Another interesting thing to note in these examples is the presence of the ghost **h** in the prefix **(h)s-**. This “ghost h” usually appears when anything comes before the pronominal prefix. However, in imperatives, the h usually does **not** appear, even when something is in front of the **(h)s-** prefix, as we’ll see in §4.3.2 with dualics - but it does appear in these imperatives, when the fake stress **i** syllable appears in front! This may differ from dialect to dialect (in Kanhawà:ke, for example, the **h** is usually not written (Deer & Michelson 2024), but I always pronounce the **h** in these examples).

Kanien’kéha	**English**
Íhsko!	Pick it up (plant, fruit or flower)!
Íhskwi’t!	Move it over!
Íhshren!	Place it above ground or on the floor!
Íhsket!	Grate it or file it down!
Íthsher![33]	Follow it!
Íhsket!	Grate it!
Íthsha!	Finish it!

Table 119. Fake stress C-stem subjective commands

4.3.1.2 “Fake e”-stems

Next, the following verbs are “fake e”-stems (because the “weak **e**” for certain C-stem pronominal prefixes shows up here). Remember from §4.2 that this “weak **e**” on certain prefixes (like **s(e)-**) appears before C-stems that start with **r, n, w,** and **’**.

[33] Before C-stems that start with **hs**, the **(h)s-** prefix becomes **t-**.

Kanien’kéha	English
Serátsion!	Rip it!
Serihstáhrho!	Iron it!
Senòn:we’n!	Like it!

Table 120. “Fake e”-stem subjective imperatives

The table for “fake e”-stem subjective pronouns is given below:

Stem:	C (r, n, w, ’)
í:se (2SG)	**(h)se-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**ke-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iakeni-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakwa-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**teni-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tewa-**
akaónha (FI)	**ie-**
aónha (FZSG)	**ka-**
raónha (MSG)	**ra-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**keni-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konti-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)ni-**
ronónha (MPL)	**rati-**

Table 121. “Fake e”-stem subjective prefixes

Below is a word bank of “fake e”-stem subjective imperatives.

Kanien’kéha	**English**
Setshá:ni’k!	Be afraid!
Serihwanón:ton!	Ask something!
Sera’nenták!	Attach it!
Senà:ton!	Call it!
Sená:ton!	Charge or estimate it!
Será:ko!	Choose!
Seráthen!	Climb!
Sehnhó:ton!	Close it!
Senón:tek!	Close it with a lid!
Serò:rok!	Collect it!
Serihwarò:rok!	Collect information!
Sekhón:ni!	Cook!
Sewistóht!	Cool it!
Serhó:rok!	Cover it!
Seríhsion!	Demolish it!
Sè:sko’n!	Drown (yourself)!
Setshén:ri!	Find something!
Senennió:kwanohst!	Freeze it!
Se’wà:rariht!	Fry the meat!
Serénha'n!	Get used to it!
Sene’kón:rek!	Hammer it!

Seniión:ten!	Hang it!
Seriserón:ni!	Knit!
Senòn:we'n!	Like something!
Senientháhrhok!	Lock it!
Senaktahserón:ni!	Make a bed!
Sena'tarón:ni!	Make a pie!
Sehnotón:ko!	Open it!
Senotékhsi!	Open it! (lid)
Sera'wistóhtshi!	Peel it!
Senón:tek!	Put the lid on!
Senerahtarò:rok!	Rake the leaves!
Sewennà:noth!	Read it!
Séhro!	Rub it on!
Seksahrón:nion![34]	Set the table!
Se'níkhon!	Sew!
Senénhsko!	Steal it!
Senénhstenht!	Take the corn off the cob!
Seniontá:ko!	Take it down!
Senienthará:ko!	Unlock it!
Senatà:ra!	Visit!
Senóhare!	Wash it!
Seksóhare!	Wash dishes!
Seksó:kewh!	Wipe it!
Senèn:renht!	Yank it!

[34] Here, the epenthetic e appears (even though the stem starts with a *k*) because otherwise there would be a consonant cluster of *sks*, which Kanien'kéha does not allow.

Sera’wistakahrá’tho!	Flip the pancakes or page!

Table 122 (above). “Fake e”-stem subjective imperatives word bank

Kanien’kéha	English
Íhseriht!	Cook it!
Íhsehre’!	Want it!
Íhsenan!	Fill it to the top!
Íhseren!	Pour something into a container!
Íhserahst!	Draw it or take a picture!

Table 123. C-stem subjective fake stress and epenthetic e commands word bank

4.3.1.3 Y-stems

Remember from §4.2 that there are also some stems that start with an **i** in the Kanien’kéha orthography, but in fact act as consonant stems. This is because when an **i** appears before another vowel in Kanien’kéha, it actually sounds like the English letter **y**, which is a consonant. A handful of examples of Y-stem subjective verbs are given below.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tsié:na!	Hold it!
Tsien’kóntho!	Burn the tobacco!
Tsió’ta’t!	Hinder or block it! / Get in the way!

Table 124. Y-stem subjective imperatives

The table for Y-stems is given below; notice that they are almost identical to C-stems. The only place where they differ from C-stems is in the first row; the pronoun for **í:se** sometimes appears as **ts-** rather than **(h)s-**.

Stem:	iV
í:se (2SG)	**ts-/(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**t-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iakeni-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakwa-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**teni-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tewa-**
akaónha (FI)	**ie-**
aónha (FZSG)	**ka-**
raónha (MSG)	**ra-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**keni-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konti-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)ni-**
ronónha (MPL)	**rati-**

Table 125. Y-stem subjective prefixes

Lastly, here is a word bank of some Y-stem subjective imperatives.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tsia’táta!	Bury it!
Tsién:na!	Catch it!
Tsió’kwat!	Dig it!
Tsiá:ken’n!	Go out!
Tsié:na!	Hold it!
Tsia’kón:ni!	Lay down!
Tsiéntho!	Plant it!
Tsién:seron!	Skin it!
Tsiénhna’!	Take it there!
Tsientón:tho!	Throw the wood in the stove!
Tsierónni’tst!	Mark it!
Tsià:ken’n!	Get out!
Tsià:kenhw!	Get something out from inside!
Tsia’tsión:ni’k!	Remain in bed!
Tsientón:tho!	Add more wood to the fire!

Table 126. Y-stem subjective imperatives word bank

Kanien’kéha	English
Ítsia’k!	Cut it off!
Ítsien!	Leave it alone! / Put it down on the floor or ground!
Ì:tsion’t!	Move inside! / Make a score or goal!

Table 127. Y-stem subjective fake stress imperatives

4.3.1.4 A-stems

Next, a handful of A-stem subjective verbs are given below:

Kanien’kéha	English
Satá:wen!	Swim!
Satkáhtho!	Look at it!
Sató:ri!	Drive!

Table 128. A-stem subjective imperatives

The full table for A-stem subjective imperatives is given below:

Stem:	A
í:se (2SG)	**(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**ts-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iati-/iaki**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakw-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**ti-/ki**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tew-**
akaónha (FI)	**i[on]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**w-**
raónha (MSG)	**r-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**ti-/ki**
onónha (FZPL)	**k[on]-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)i-**
ronónha (MPL)	**r[on]-**

Table 129. A-stem subjective prefixes

Finally, a word bank full of A-stem subjective imperatives is provided below.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Satshikóia'k!	Box!
Satónrie!	Breathe!
Satenawiróhare!	Brush your teeth!
Satenna'tsherahní:non!	Buy groceries!

Satateráːko!	Choose something for yourself!
Satkerothíːha!	Comb your hair!
Sathónːtat!	Consent!
Sáhshaʼk!	Cough!
Satèːser!	Crawl!
Sáhso!	Color!
Satshóːri!	Eat soup!
Saniʼtéːni!	Fart!
Sáttok!	Feel or sense or notice something!
Sateríːio!	Fight!
Satekhwíːsa!	Finish your food!
Sarhioʼkawíːne!	Fish!
Satkoʼtsiónːni!	Fix your hair!
Satíːta!	Get in!
Satitáhko!	Get out!
Satsherónːni!	Get dressed!
Satateweienénːtaʼn!	Get ready!
Satkétsko!	Get up!
Satatáːwi!	Give yourself a gift!
Saʼtaríhaʼt!	Heat it up!
Satonkáriaʼk!	Be hungry!
Satóːrat!	Hunt!
Sateráːko!	Keep it!
Sarahséntho!	Kick it!
Sáːrat!	Lie down!

Sahtén:ti!	Leave!
Sáhtka'!	Let it go!
Satenó:wenht!	Doubt it!
Saté:ka't!	Light it on fire!
Satahónhsatat!	Listen!
Satatken'én:ion!	Look at yourself!
Sà'senht!	Lower it!
Satera'shwí:io!	Be lucky!
Satsienhón:ni!	Make a fire!
Saten'tarón:ni!	Make a pie!
Sakia'tawi'tsherón:ni!	Make a shirt!
Sate'nienténhst!	Measure it!
Satenonhsóhare'!	Mop the floor!
Sathrienón:ni!	Pack!
Sate'nikonhrí:iohst!	Be patient!
Sà:iako!	Pick fruit!
Sátswa'ht!	Play!
Sáweron!	Pour it!
Satéweienhst!	Practice or study!
Satétsien't!	Study medicine!
Saterén:naien!	Pray!
Sahiahserón:ni!	Prepare the fruit!
Sanonhwaró:rok!	Put a hat on!
Sateweién:ton!	Put it away!
Sakià:'tawit!	Put a jacket on!

Sakia'táhna'k!	Put your seat belt on!
Satsherón:nik!	Put your socks on!
Satewénteht!	Reject it!
Satoríshen!	Rest!
Sate'skón:ten!	Roast it!
Saté:ko!	Run away!
Satenhní:non!	Sell it!
Sarón:tat!	Shoot it!
Saterennó:ten!	Sing!
Sákien!	Sit!
Sáhstoht!	Shrink it!
Sattóhkha!	Be smart!
Satshó:ko!	Smoke!
Satéswaht!	Smell it!
Satá:ti!	Speak!
Satshinonhwaténia't!	Spin it around!
Satónhew!	Sweep!
Sanonhwarorókhsion![35]	Take your hat off!
Sakia'tawi'táhshion!	Take your jacket off!
Sathró:ri!	Tell!
Sanonhtonnión:ko!	Think about it!
Sate'nién:ten!	Try it!
Sahkwíshron!	Try hard!
Sà:swa't!	Turn it off!

[35] Many dialects will drop the **-on** at the end of **sanonhwarorókhsion** and **sakai'tawi'táhshion** so that they end in just -hsi**.** However, my mother always pronounced the -**on**, so that's how I say it.

Saníhskia’k!	Urinate!
Sátsha!	Use it!
Sátsik!	Throw up!
Saterò:rok!	Watch!
Saterhá:rat!	Wait!
Satè:sko!	Get in the water!
Sate’skó:ko!	Get out of the water!
Satenentshóhare!	Wash your arm!
Sahióhare!	Wash the fruit!
Satenontsistóhare!	Wash your hair!
Sahtsióhare!	Wash your hands!
Sateniahróhare!	Wash your neck!
Sahská:nek!	Wish!
Satshá:ton!	Bury it!
Saní’taien!	Take a poop!
Sáhsa’k!	Cough!

Table 130. A-stem subjective imperatives word bank

4.3.1.5 O/On-stems

Next, the following sets of imperatives are examples of O and On-stem verbs.

Kanien’kéha	English
Só:ko!	Take it out of the water!
Sóhtsi!	Pull it out!
Sotáhrok!	Fasten it!

Table 131. O-stem subjective imperatives

Kanien’kéha	English
Són:ni!	Make it!
Són:ten!	Attach it!
Són’nek!	Move it out of the way!
Sóntho!	Add wood to or stoke the fire!

Table 132. On-stem subjective imperatives

We have yet to see any O- or On-stem subjective prefixes yet, and some of them look a little different. The table for these prefixes is first provided below:

Stem:	O/On
í:se (2SG)	**(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**ts-/sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iaken-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iati-/iakw-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**ten-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**ti-/tew-**
akaónha (FI)	**iak-**
aónha (FZSG)	**i-**
raónha (MSG)	**(h)r-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**ken-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konn-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)n-**
ronónha (MPL)	**ronn-**

Table 133. O(n)-stem subjective prefixes

Below is a word bank of O- and On-stem subjective imperatives.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sohá:ren!	Attach it to the end!
Sò:kwa't!	Dig into something!
Sohrhón:ko!	Gather it!
Sotáhrhok!	Hook it on!
Só:rok!	Insert it!
Soriané:ron!	Move something around!
Sóhetst!	Pass it!
Sóhtshi!	Pull it out!
Sotaríhsion!	Release it!
Sohará:ko!	Shorten it!
So'tshí:rek!	Suck it!
Sotaríkhsi!	Unhook it!
Son'weskwani!	Enjoy it!
Í:sohw! / Í:so!	Place it in water or liquid!

Table 134. O(n)-stem subjective imperatives word bank

4.3.1.6 E/En-stems

Recall from earlier that there are some C-stem verbs that are occasionally called "fake e"-stems because there is a "weak **e**" that shows up for certain prefixes. In addition to these "fake e"-stems, there are some real E- and En-stems which have a different set of pronominal prefixes. Some examples of E- and En-stem subjective imperatives are given below:

Kanien’kéha	English
Séhsak!	Look for it!
Se’níkhon!	Sew it!
Sená:kahr!	Whistle!

Table 135. E-stem subjective imperatives

Kanien’kéha	English
Sén’tskwek!	Hold your breath or be quiet!

Table 136. En-stem subjective imperatives

The table for these true E(n)-stems is given below:

Stem:	E(n)
í:se (2SG)	**(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iaken-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakw-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**ten-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tew-**
akaónha (FI)	**iak-**
aónha (FZSG)	**w-**
raónha (MSG)	**(h)r-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**ken-**
onónha (FZPL)	**konn-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)n-**
ronónha (MPL)	**ronn-**

Table 137. E(n)-stem subjective prefixes

Table 138 is a word bank of E and En-stem subjective imperatives.

Kanien'kéha	English
Seiennárhro!	Oil it or put oil on it!
Seienáta'!	Put oil or gas into it!
Senekerí:ia'k!	Cut the grass or hay!
Senhe'tshá:riht!	Cook the sausage!
Sen'nahsá:riht!	Cook the tongue!
Sén'tskwek!	Hold your breath!
Í:sek!	Eat it!

Table 138. E(n)-stem subjective imperatives word bank

4.3.1.7 I-stems

Next, the following set of imperatives are examples of true I-stem verbs.

Kanien'kéha	English
Tsíhe!	Die!
Tsi'tsténht!	Remove the scales from the fish!
Tsí'tskaron!	Put down a mat or rug or mattress on the floor or ground!
Tsí'ta'k!	Eat shit!
Ì:tsion't!	Take it inside or score a goal!

Table 139. I-stem subjective imperatives

We haven't yet seen I-stem subjective prefixes yet either. Remember from I-stem transitive prefixes that the boxed **[en]** in these tables means that the **[en]** deletes the following **i** of the verb stem when it attaches to the verb. So for example, while the prefix **ts-** would attach directly to the verb stem *ihei* for 'die' to make **tsíhe**, the prefix **sew[en]-** would delete the initial **i** to make **sewénhe**.

Stem:	iC
í:se (2SG)	**ts-/(h)s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew[en]-**
í'i (1SG)	**k-**
teiakeniáhshe (1EX.DU)	**iaken-**
iakwaké:kon (1EX.PL)	**iakw[en]-**
teteniiáhshe (1IN.DU)	**ten-**
tewakwé:kon (1IN.PL)	**tew[en]-**
akaónha (FI)	**i[e]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**k[en]-**
raónha (MSG)	**r[en]-**
tekeniiáhshe (FZDU)	**ken-**
onónha (FZPL)	**kont-/konn-**
tehniiáhshe (MDU)	**(h)n-**
ronónha (MPL)	**rat-/ronn-**

Table 140. I-stem subjective prefixes

Kanien’kéha	English
Tsi’tstáhrho!	Put the shingles on!
Tsi’terón:tak!	Stay home!
Tsi’tstahrhón:ko!	Take the shingles off or remove the fish scales!
Tsientón:tho!	Add more wood to the fire!

Table 141. I-stem subjective imperatives word bank

4.3.2 Dualic (with subjectives)

The dualic prefix, first introduced in the previous section about transitive imperatives, can also be used with subjective imperatives. Several verbs from each stem class that require the dualic pre-pronominal prefix are listed below. For some verbs, it’s not particularly clear why they might require the dualic prefix, but for others, like **a’sharo’k** (‘clap’), it is more obvious; two hands are necessarily involved when clapping, and it therefore makes sense that this verb would require the dualic.

Below is a large word bank of many different subjective verbs that use the dualic.

Consonant-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Testó:kenht!	Align it on target!
Tetshà:keht![36]	Bend it!
Testé:ni!	Change it!
Téshriht!	Break it!
Testsi’nehtará:ron!	Bead it!
Teshnékonkieht!	Boil water!
Teskahkwen’taté:ni!	Change the tire!
Teshahí:ia’k!	Cross the road!

[36] Before C-stems that start with **hs**, the **(h)s-** prefix becomes **t-**.

Teshna’néta!	Double it up!
Tésten!	Fly!
Teshwístaien!	Gamble!
Teskwátho!	Hem it!
Téstahst!	Make it stop!
Téstsihkwaien!	Play pool!
Teshna’netáhko!	Photocopy it!
Testarátthe’t!	Polish or shine it!
Teshio’tsistáhrho!	Put salt on it!
Testsikhe’táhrho!	Put sugar on it!
Testsihkò:rarak!	Press the button!
Testò:rarak!	Press it or squeeze it!
Testakwénhtehst!	Press it down!
Teskarén:ren!	Rock or sway or shake it!
Teshwe’nón:ni!	Roll it up!
Tésta’n!	Stand up or stop!
Testsihkwarón:ten!	Tie a knot!
Téshnerenk!	Tie it together!
Teskahrhaté:ni!	Turn it around!
Testsiáhon!	Whisper!
<u>Epenthetic/fake e + dualic subjective imperatives</u>	
Tè:seri’k!	Put two pieces together!
Teserihwa’será:ko!	Answer!

Tesenonniáhkhw!	Dance!
Té:sehw or Té:sekhw!	Pick it up!
Teseriwa’será:ko!	Answer it!
Teseri’wakénhnha!	Argue!
Tesera’né:karon!	Bust it!
Teseweienhnhá:ra’n!	Be busy!
Teserí:wahkhw!	Sing hymns!
Teseristí:ia’k!	Cross the border!
Tesenonniáhkhw!	Dance!
Teserihotáhrhok!	Disagree!
Téseren’k!	Tie it together!
Té:sehkhw!	Pick it up!
Tesera’né:ken!	Place it side by side!
Teserénhsaron!	Praise!
Tesé:khen!	Put it together!
Tesenákhon!	Scratch it!
Teseniehtohtáhrho!	Shovel the snow!
Tesewennakháhsi!	Take the word apart!
Téseri’k!	Fasten two items next to each other!
<u>A-stem + dualic subjective imperatives</u>	
Tesawèn:raht!	Toss it over!
Tesahsháro’k!	Clap!
Tesa’tshà:ket!	Bend over!

Tesanonsó:ten!	Squat!
Tesani’tsionhkhw!	Jump!
Tesani’tstarókwat!	Spray it from your mouth!
Tesani’tskwáhkwanion!	Hop!
Tesákiehst!	Add to it!
Tesatohtáhrho!	Clean!
Tesateròn:wek!	Close your eyes!
Tesahséntho!	Cry!
Tesaterenhsá:seren!	Cross your legs!
Tesa’shá:ris!	Cut it!
Tesattókwaht!	Dig around!
Tesa’tskà:nhon!	Eat a meal!
Tesatón:tarikt!	Giggle!
Tesahkwatá:se!	Go around it!
Tesatthna’né:ta!	Layer the clothing!
Tesawénrie!	Mix it!
Tesateronwékhsion!	Open your eyes!
Tesateráhkih!	Put on leggings!
Tesa’niá:nawenk!	Put on mittens!
Tesatáhsterenk!	Put on pants!
Tesaráhtat!	Run!
Tesatthón:went!	Slide!
Tesato’tsinehtsherón:ten!	Skate!

Tesa’tstaró:kwaht!	Splash!
Tesatsikhe’táhrho!	Sweeten it!
Tesatahsterénkhsi!	Take your pants off!
Tesaráhtahsion!	Take your shoes off!
Tesatén:tsha!	Win!
O-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tesohtáhrho!	Clean it up!
Tesó:ia’k!	Aim or shoot at the target!
Teso’tshísko!	Slip!
On-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tesón:koht!	Saturate it with liquid or oil or color!
Tesón:kia’k!	Dig a trench!
Tesontahní:ra’t!	Pack it down with earth or press down on it!
I-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tetsí’tsionht!	Make it dirty!
Tetsi’tenhró:ten!	Layer bricks!
Tetsi’tohtáhrho!	Remove the manure! / Shovel shit!
Y-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tétsia’k!	Break it or cut it in two!
Tétsien!	Gamble!
Tetsià:iak!	Cross over!
Tetsia’tó:reht!	Make a judgment!

Tetsiéhst!	Add to it!
Tetsiá:seron!	Double up!
Tetsiénkia'k!	Chop wood!
Tetsià:ia'k!	Cross over!
Tetsia'toréhtha!	Judge!
Tetsientó:ten!	Stack it up!
E-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tesenónniahkw!	Dance!
Tesekhánion!	Put it together!
En-stem + dualic subjective imperatives	
Tesenhniserarihtén:ni!	Change it to a different day!
Tesen'nahsà:riht!	Chop up the tongue!

Table 142. Dualic subjective imperatives word bank

4.3.3 Purposive

In addition to the dualic, there is a suffix called the purposive which is particularly useful to use with commands, because it means "over there," and can be attached to commands to mean that the action needs to be done over there. It can be used on both intransitive and transitive imperatives. It can take the form *-h(a), -(a)'n(a), -hn(a), -hr(a), -(a)'nh(a), -hser(a),* and *-'ser(a)* (Martin 2023, Michelson & Price 2011). Which forms take which prefix is a topic for future work.

I've noticed that second language speakers don't use this suffix, instead they'll put particles together. For example, they will say something like:

(21) **Í:se nonkwá: stáhko!**
Take it out over there!

The sentence in (21) is still grammatical, just a little wordy. This is as opposed to the native speaker, who would use the purposive suffix on the imperative and say:

(22) **Stahkóha**!
Take it out over there!

Similarly, the native speaker will use the purposive and say:

(23) **Wá:s Atwater shninòn:ra káhi!**
‘Go buy it over at Atwater!’

But non-native speakers would use particles instead, making it too wordy, and say:

(24) **Wá:s Atwater shní:non káhi!**
Go buy it over at Atwater!

More examples of how native speakers use the purposive with commands are given below:

Bare command	Command + purposive
Sáhseht! Hide it!	**Óksa sahsehtà:na!**[37] Hurry and hide it over there!
Sáhset! Count!	**Ha’ wá:s sahsetà:na!** Now go and count it over there!
Sathónkia’k! Cut the grass!	**Há:nio sathónkià:kha’!** Come on, go cut the grass over there!
Sátken’s! See it!	**Ha’ wá:s sátken’sé:ra!** Now go and see it over there!
Sa’tshó:ri! Have soup!	**Ha’ wá:s sa’tshoriá:na!** Now go and have soup over there!
Sa’terí:io! (you) Fight!	**Wá:s sa’teriióhsera!** (you) Go and fight over there!
Sa’tko’tsión:ni! Style your hair!	**Wá:s sa’tko’tsionniá:na!** Go style your hair over there!

Table 143. Purposive commands

Next, some fake stress commands (with epenthetic **i**) are provided in the table below. Notice how when the purposive suffix is added to these commands, the epenthetic **i** disappears, because the suffix makes it so that there are enough syllables for stress to be assigned to the second-to-last syllable without needing to add another vowel.

[37] Note that the particles **óksa**, **ha’**, and **há:nio** can all be switched around and used with any of these verbs, it just depends what you want to emphasize.

Bare command	Command + purposive
Í:sowh! Immerse it in water!	**Wá:s só:ha' thi kahonwé:ia'!** Go and put that boat in water!
Í:satst! Use it! / Wear it!	**Ha' wá:s satstá:na thi akià:tawi!** Now you go over there and put on a shirt!
Íshren! Place it above the floor or ground!	**Í:si' nonkwá:ti shrénna thi aké:ra!** Go and place it over there above the floor or ground! (e.g. on a shelf)
Ískeht! Grate it!	**Wá:s í:si' nonkwá:ti sketá:na thi óhtera!** Go and grate the roots over there!
Ì:serahst! Draw it or take a picture!	**Ńa:nio seráhstana!** Come on, go take pictures over there!
Ì:sena'n! Fill or pour it to the top!	**Wá:s senahnón'kha thi katshe'shón'a!** Go and fill those jars to the top!
Ísko! Pick it (fruit or vegetable or medicine)!	**Wá:s í:si' nonkwá:ti ískóha!** Pick it over there!

Table 144. Fake stress purposive commands

4.3.4 Objective imperatives

Next, we will discuss imperatives that use **objective** prefixes. Remember that these can either be intransitive verbs, with just one participant, or transitive verbs where one of the participants is inanimate.

4.3.4.1 C-stems

Let's start with some C-stem objective imperatives. First, here are a handful of C-stem objective imperatives.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Sanà:kwen!	Be angry!
Tóhsa nón:wa satsi'ió:ha'n!	Don't be weak! / Don't be lazy!

Table 145. C-stem objective imperatives

We have seen C-stem objective imperatives before in the kinship terms section (§3.2.3), but as a reminder, here is the full table:

Stem:	C (h, k, s, t)
í:se (2SG)	**sa-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionkeni-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkwa-**
akaónha (FI)	**iako-**
aónha (FZSG)	**io-**
raónha (MSG)	**ro-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ioti-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**roti-**

Table 146. C-stem objective prefixes

Just like subjective C-stems, objective C-stems can also be split up into the true C-stems above and “fake e”-stems, in which some prefixes have an epenthetic e that appears before stems that start with the consonants r, n, w, or ’. For objective prefixes, only the first-person singular **wak(e)-** has this fake e. The table illustrating this is just after the first few examples of fake-e stem imperatives.

Kanien’kéha	English
Sanehrá:ko!	Be amazed!
Sa'nikonhraién:ta'n!	Understand!

Table 147. “Fake e”-stem objective imperatives

Stem:	C (r, n, w, ')
í:se (2SG)	**sa-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**wake-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionkeni-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkwa-**
akaónha (FI)	**iako-**
aónha (FZSG)	**io-**
raónha (MSG)	**ro-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ioti-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**roti-**

Table 148. “Fake e”-stem objective prefixes

Next, a word bank of C-stem objective imperatives is provided below. There are not as many objective verbs as there are subjective verbs in Kanien’kéha, so this is the only word bank in this section.

Kanien’kéha	English
Sanà:khwen!	Get mad!
Saniáhe's!	Depend on something!
Sa'nikónhrhen'n!	Forget!
Sa’níhsko!	Be late!
Sará:nie!	Rub!
Sa'nikonhráksen!	Be sad!
Sanonhwákten!	Be sick!
Sáhsho!	Smell something!
Sarénnha'n!	Get used to it!
Saká:ri!	Bite it!

Table 149. “Fake e”-stem objective imperatives word bank

4.3.4.2 Y-stems

Just like the subjective pronouns, objective pronouns also have Y-stems. As a reminder, these are stems that start with the letter **i**, but since this **i** occurs before another vowel, it makes a “y” sound.

Kanien’kéha	English
Saiéhson!	Laugh!
Saió’ten!	Work!

Table 150. Y-stem objective imperatives

Stem:	iV
í:se (2SG)	**sa-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**seni-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sewa-**
í'i (1SG)	**wat-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionkeni-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkwa-**
akaónha (FI)	**iako-**
aónha (FZSG)	**io-**
raónha (MSG)	**ro-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ioti-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**roti-**

Table 151. Y-stem objective prefixes

4.3.4.3 A-stems

We have also seen some A-stem objective prefixes in the kinship terms section. First, a handful of A-stem objective imperatives are provided below:

Kanien’kéha	English
Sáhton!	Be full!
Satshennón:ni!	Be happy!
Satshennoníhak!	Be happy all the time!
Sathón:te'n!	Hear!
Sa'taríhen'n!	Get hot or warm!

Table 152. A-stem objective imperatives

As a reminder, here is the table of A-stem objective prefixes. Remember that the boxed **[o]** means that the prefix deletes the following **a** that the verb stem starts with.

Stem:	A
í:se (2SG)	**s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**ts-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionti-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkw-**
akaónha (FI)	**iak[o]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**i[o]-**
raónha (MSG)	**r[o]-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ion-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**ron-**

Table 153. A-stem objective prefixes

4.3.4.4 O/On-stems

Next, a couple of O- and On-stem objective imperative verbs are provided below. We have yet to see O(n)-stem objective prefixes; the table for these prefixes is given after the first couple of examples of commands.

Kanien’kéha	English
Sótsienht!	Dig it or scoop it out!
Só:ko!	Take it out of water or liquid!
Sóhtsi!	Pull it out!

Table 154. O-stem objective imperatives

Kanien’kéha	English
Són:ni!	Make it!
Són:ten!	Attach it!
Sónhnek!	Move it out of the way!
Son'wéhskwen!	Enjoy doing something!

Table 155. On-stem objective imperatives

Stem:	O(n)
í:se (2SG)	**s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**ts-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionken-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionti-**
akaónha (FI)	**iaka-**
aónha (FZSG)	**ia-**
raónha (MSG)	**ra-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ion-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**ron-**

Table 156. O(n)-stem objective prefixes

4.3.4.5 E/En-stems

Next, some E(n)-stem objective imperative verbs are given below. We have yet to see E(n)-stem objective pronouns, and the table for these pronouns is provided after the imperatives table.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sená:kahr!	Whistle!

Table 157. E(n)-stem objective imperatives

Stem:	E(n)
í:se (2SG)	**s-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionken-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkw-**
akaónha (FI)	**iakaw-**
aónha (FZSG)	**iaw-**
raónha (MSG)	**raw-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**ion-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**ron-**

Table 158. E(n)-stem objective prefixes

4.3.4.6 l-stems

Lastly we have true l-stem objective imperatives. We have yet to see true l-stem objective prefixes; the table for these prefixes is provided below.

Kanien’kéha	English
Sén:tahw!	Sleep!

Table 159. l-stem objective imperatives

Stem:	iC
í:se (2SG)	**s[en]-**
teseniáhshe (2DU)	**sen-**
sewakwé:kon (2PL)	**sew[en]-**
í'i (1SG)	**wak-**
teiakeniáhshe/teteniiáhshe (1DU)	**ionken-**
iakwaké:kon/tewakwé:kon (1PL)	**ionkw[en]-**
akaónha (FI)	**iak[o]-**
aónha (FZSG)	**i[o]-**
raónha (MSG)	**r[o]-**
tekeniiáhshe/onónha (FZDU/PL)	**iot-**
tehniiáhshe/ronónha (MDU/PL)	**rot-**

Table 160. I-stem objective prefixes

4.3.5 Dualic (with objectives)

Just like some of the subjective imperative verbs that we saw above, some objective verbs can also take the dualic prefix. A few dualic verbs from each of the stem classes are shown below.

C-stem (including fake-e's) + dualic	
Tesaròn:se!	Be perplexed!
Tesané:ren!	Choose the wrong one!
Teshwawén'ek!	Wrap it around something!
A-stem + dualic	
Tesarénhseren!	Brace yourself!
Tesanò:serik!	Put your teeth together!
Tesanonsò:ten!	Squat down!
O-stem + dualic	
Tesó:ren!	Split it in two!
Tesohtáhrho!	Clean this up!
On-stem + dualic	
Tesónkiak!	Make a trench!
Tesón:koht!	Saturate something thoroughly (like color, oil, or liquid)!
I-stem + dualic	
Tesén'tsionhst!	You are sneezing!
Tesén'tsionhst!	Sneeze!
Y-stem + dualic	
Tesaià:then!	You are pathetic!

Tesaia’tá’tsion!	You are dirty or perverted!
Tesaiá’toien!	The task is directed to you!

Table 161. Dualic objective imperative

4.3.6 Dialogues

The following dialogues display how to use some of the imperatives introduced in the previous section in a conversation. In each of the following dialogues, the imperatives that we learned are in the first line, where Wári is giving Wíshe a command. In the next two lines, Wíshe asks why he should obey the command, and Wári gives an explanation. There are a lot of extra verbs and particles introduced here, but try to focus on the imperatives in the first line for now!

<u>Dialogue 1:</u>

Wári: **Wíshe, tesó:ren thi!**
Split that in two!

Wíshe: **Oh nonkiè:ren tsi takó:ren?**
Why should I split it in two?

Wári: **Né: tsi tékeni tewakatonhontsió:ni.**
Because I wanted two pieces.

<u>Dialogue 2:</u>

Wári: **Wíshe, í:sowh thi kahonwé:ia!**
Wíshe, put the boat in the water!

Wíshe: **Nonkié:ren tsi á:kowhe' ne kahonwé:ia?**
Why should I put the boat in the water?

Wári: **Né: tsi í:kehre akahtonwà:reke!**
Because I want to go for a boat ride!

<u>Dialogue 3:</u>

Wári: **Tetsià:iak!**
Cross over!

Wíshe: **Nonkiè:ren?**
Why?

Wári: **Né: tsi íkehre takiá:iahke.**
Because I wanted to cross.

4.3.7 Í:se nòn:wa! - Exercises

Now we will give you some exercises so that you can practice using all of the intransitive imperatives that have been introduced in this section.

So far, we have seen only second-person singular intransitive imperatives, such as the one below:

(25) **Í:se nón:wa satá:wen!**
You swim now!

But it's important to also practice using dual and plural prefixes, in second person as well as first and third person. Here are some examples of second person dual and plural imperatives:

(26) **Í:se nón:wa tsiatá:wen!**
You two swim now!

(27) **Í:se nón:wa sewatá:wen!**
You all swim now!

For the following exercises, you will practice using both subjective and objective prefixes other than second person singular, with verbs of all the different stem classes. Remember that there will be some prefixes which delete the first letter of the verb stem when they attach to the verb; be sure to cross those out as you're filling in the prefixes.

Exercise 1: Fill in the subjective prefix

í'i
_____**kóha!**
May I get it!

sewakwé:kon
_____**rhó:rok!**
You all cover it!

akaónha
_____**á:rat!**
May she lie down!

teiakeniiáhse
_____**ohrhón:ko!**
May we(2,incl) gather it!

raónha
_____**íhe!**
May he die!

aónha
_____**ié:na!**
May she/it hold it!

onónha
_____**én'tskwet!**
May they(3+F) hold their breath!

tekeniiáhse
_____**on'wéskwani!**
May they(2F) enjoy it!

iakwakwé:kon
_____**ató:rat!**
May we(3+,excl) hunt!

raónha

 **nóhare!**

May he wash it!

teteniiáhse

 **hiá:ton!**

May we(2,incl) write!

ronónha

 **kè:ron!**

May they(3+M) respect it!

akaónha

 **atsherón:ni!**

May she get dressed!

tewakwé:kon

 **iéntho!**

May we(3+,incl) plant it!

tehniiáhse

 **ia'kón:ni!**

May they(2M) lay down!

Exercise 2: Fill in the objective prefix

teseniiáhse

_____**hwa’ék!**

You two hit it!

teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

_____**’nikonhraién:ta’n!**

May we two understand!

raónha

_____**rénnha’n!**

May he get used to it!

í'i

_____**rénie!**

May I rub!

onónha

_____**atshennón:ni!**

May they(3+F) be happy all the time!

akaónha

_____**ió’ten!**

May she work!

tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

_____**iéhson!**

May we all laugh!

ronónha

_____**ótsienht!**

May they(3+M) dig!

aónha

_____**'nikónhrhen'n!**

May it forget!

Chapter 5: Participant-changing morphology

As we've already seen, different verbs can have different numbers of participants in the action described by the verb. Transitive verbs have two participants, indicated by either a purple **transitive** prefix (when both participants are animate) or a **subjective**/**objective** prefix (when only one participant is animate), and intransitive verbs have only one participant, indicated by either a **subjective** or **objective** prefix.

However, there are ways to change a transitive verb into an intransitive verb, or an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. In Kanien'kéha, this is accomplished through **participant-changing morphology** (also called "valence-changing morphology"), which we will color-code in **orange**. There are four main morphemes that can be used to change the number of participants in a verb in Kanien'kéha: the reflexive, the semireflexive, the causative and the benefactive. These are all also called "derivational affixes," first introduced in the verb template in (4) on pg. 35.

First, as an example, recall the following verb from the imperatives section:

(1) **Tshken'én:ion!**
(You) look at him!

This is a transitive verb with a purple prefix, so it has two animate participants, in this case "you" and "him." This verb can be changed from a transitive verb (with two participants) into an intransitive verb (with one participant) through the addition of a reflexive prefix: **atat-**. This prefix tells us that the person doing the action (looking) is the same as the person who is the object of the action, meaning we have only a single participant. This is shown in the example below:

(2) **Satatken'én:ion!**
(You) look at yourself!

As you can see, the addition of a reflexive prefix has caused the purple transitive prefix to turn into a red subjective prefix, since there is now only one participant of the verb ("you"). The semireflexive does something similar, changing a transitive verb into an intransitive one, although its function is a little more complicated; we'll learn more about it in §5.1.2.

(3) **Sheia'titáhko!**
(You) get her out!

(4) **Satitáhko!**
(You) get out!

On the other hand, verbs that are originally intransitive can be changed into transitive verbs. This is accomplished using one of two suffixes: the causative or the benefactive.

First, recall the intransitive verb for “work” introduced in the imperatives section:

(5) **Saió’ten!**
(You) work!

The objective prefix here can be changed into a purple one through the addition of a causative suffix (in this case, **-hst**):

(6) **Sheió’tenhst!**
(You) make her work!

The benefactive suffix has a different meaning from the causative, but accomplishes a similar function of adding a participant and so changing a subjective or objective prefix on an intransitive verb to a purple transitive one. For example, recall the verb for “buy”:

(7) **Shní:non!**
(You) buy it!

The subjective prefix here can be changed to a transitive one through the addition of a benefactive suffix, in this case **-s**:

(8) **Shehní:nons!**
(You) buy it for her!

The following sections will take you through each of these four morphemes in more detail, explaining their meanings and providing new vocabulary and exercises for you to practice with. First, we’ll discuss participant-removing morphology and learn more about the differences between reflexive and semireflexive verbs in §5.1. §5.1.1 will get into more detail about reflexives, while §5.1.2 will go over semireflexives. Next we’ll discuss participant-adding morphology in §5.2, with §5.2.1 going into more detail about causatives and §5.2.2 getting into benefactives.

5.1 Participant-removing: Reflexive & semireflexive

As mentioned above, the reflexive and semireflexive both change the number of participants of a verb. This means that if we start with a transitive that has two animate

participants (purple prefix), we will end up with an intransitive form that uses either a red or blue prefix. This section will explain the functions of the reflexive and semireflexive and provide many examples of each.

Second-language learners of Kanien'keha often remark about the difficulty of fully understanding the difference between the uses of the reflexive and semi-reflexive. As a native speaker, the best way I can describe it is that a reflexive refers to one performing an action completely on themselves, while a semi-reflexive does express a similar meaning, but to less of an extent. A semi-reflexive focuses on the action happening, but often not on who is doing it. One way to further explain this is through contextualization. Take into consideration the following scenario.

A mother has two children. Her oldest is on the brink of adulthood, while her youngest is a young child. Both children enter the kitchen as she is cooking. She tells them to go wash their hands. First, the mother instructs the oldest using the semireflexive, saying:

(9) **Satsióhare!**
Get your hands washed! (using the semi-reflexive **at-**)

Then the youngest walks up to their mother with their hands held out for the mother to wash them. The mother now uses the full reflexive and states:

(10) **Satatsióhare!**
Wash your own hands! (using the full reflexive **atat-**)

In the case of these examples, the use of the full reflexive **atat-** in (10) emphasizes that the child must wash their own hands without help from the mother. The example in (9) focuses on the fact that the child's hands need to be washed, but doesn't specify who should do it.

Another way of wrapping your head around this difference is by mapping out the different number of participants expressed in a transitive verb, a semireflexive verb, and a reflexive verb.

As we already learned when we talked about kinship terms in §3.4.1, transitive verbs have two participants: an agent (the "doer") and a patient (the "undergoer"). A semireflexive removes one of those two participants, usually the agent, leaving only the patient. A reflexive, on the other hand, expresses that the two participants of the verb (the agent and the patient) are one and the same.

In summary, transitive verbs have an **agent,** an **action,** and a **patient.** Semireflexive verbs have an **action** and a **patient.** Reflexive verbs also have an **agent**, an **action**, and a **patient**, but the **agent** is the same as the **patient**.

As an example, take a look at the imperatives verbs for a masculine 3rd person in the following table:

Transitive (agent, verb, patient)	**Semireflexive (verb, patient)**	**Reflexive (agent = patient)**
Tshré:waht! You punish **him**!	**Rathré:waht!** Let **him** be punished!	**Ratathré:waht!** May **he** punish **himself**!

Table 162. Initial transitive, semireflexive, and reflexive verbs

For that first verb, **tshré:waht**, there is an agent (you) and a patient (him), expressed in the transitive prefix, which are different from each other. When you add the semireflexive, the **transitive** prefix changes to a **subjective** one, and the patient (him) becomes the sole participant in the verb. When you say **rathré:waht**, you're expressing that the patient (him) should be punished, but not specifying any agent; anyone can do the punishing. Then when you say **ratathré:waht**, you're now saying that the patient (him) is the same as the agent (he); he should be punished, and he should also be the one doing the punishing.

This distinction between the three can also be illustrated in a diagram. As we discussed, transitive verbs have an **agent**, a **verb**, and a **patient**, and the **agent** and **patient** are both expressed as part of the purple transitive prefix.



Figure 34. Transitive verb diagram

Note here that in transitive verbs, the agent and the patient are both attached to the verb in the form of a **transitive** prefix, like in the verb **tshré:waht**. Then, in reflexive verbs, the **agent** is the same as the **patient**. Reflexive verbs almost always take a **subjective** intransitive prefix (Michelson 2023), which represents both the agent and the patient.



Figure 35. Reflexive verb diagram

And finally, semireflexives remove one of the two participants of the verb; usually the **agent**, but sometimes the **patient**; determining which one is which is a topic for future work. Semireflexive verbs also take **subjective** prefixes in the imperative.

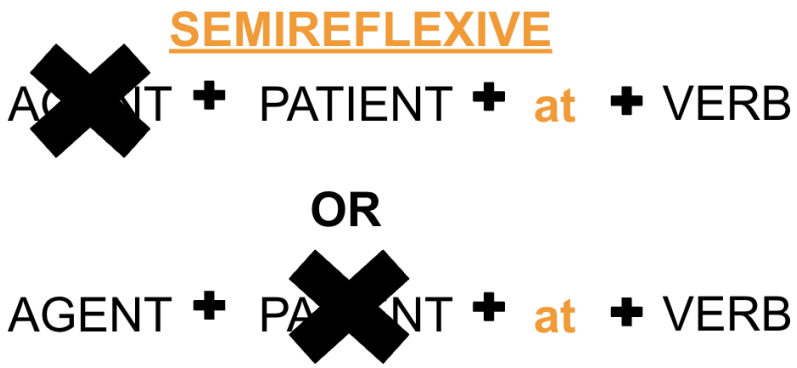


Figure 36. Semireflexive verb diagram

Other examples which emphasize this distinction are expressed in the following table. Some of the examples have added contexts to help you understand the difference between the three variations of the verb.

Transitive verb	**Semireflexive verb**	**Reflexive verb**
Tóhsa tshekaré:waht! Don't (you) hurt him!	**Tóhsa ratkaré:waht!** May he not get hurt!	**Tohsa ratatkaré:waht!** May he not hurt himself!
Tshe'nikonhró:ri! You entertain him!	**Rate'nikonhró:ri!** May he have a good time! Context: You're sending	**Ratate'nikonhró:ri!** May he entertain himself!

Context: You have two children, and you need to get some things done around the house, so you tell your older child to entertain your younger one while you're working.	your son off on a field trip, and you hope that he is entertained while he's there (you don't know who will be doing the entertaining).	Context: You're leaving your son alone for a while, and you hope he finds something to do with himself while you're gone.
Tetshe'nikonhrawén:rie! Entertain him! Context: You're telling someone to give your son something to exercise his mind.	**Tehate'nikonhrawén:rie!** May he be entertained! Context: Your son has an active imagination and needs someone to entertain his mind (not specifying who).	**Tehatate'nikonhrawén:rie!** May he entertain himself! Context: I'm going to give my son a maze so that he entertains himself.
Tóhsa tskenhren'serón:ni! Don't (you) speak ill of him!	**Tóhsa ratkenhren'serón:ni!** May he not be spoken ill of!	**Tóhsa ratatkenhren'serón:ni!** May he not speak ill of himself!
Tshenikón:rarak! You be careful of him! Context: You're telling someone not to hang out with this guy over here because he's kind of sketchy.	**Raten'nikón:rarak!** May he be careful! Context: Your son is going on a hike, and you're hoping that nothing happens to him.	**Ratate'nikón:rarak!** May he take care of himself! Context: Your son is going into the woods, and you want him to be very cognizant of his environment, take care of himself, and look out for himself all the time.
Tóhsa tshériio! Don't you beat or kill him!	**Tóhsa raterí:io!** May he not get in a fight! Context: My son is going to a UFC fight and I hope he doesn't get into a fight (I don't know who might beat	**Tóhsa ratateri:io!** May he not beat himself! Context: Some guys just over-exert themselves when exercising, so this verb expresses that I hope he

	him up, but I'm expressing that I hope nobody does).	doesn't go overboard and beat himself up.
Tskétsko! You get him up!	**Ratkétsko!** May he get up! Context: You're the physical therapist and you're hoping that he's recovered enough to be able to get up on his own volition.	**Ratatkétsko!** May he get himself up! Context: he needs to set his own alarm, push himself out of bed

Table 163. Transitive, semireflexive, and reflexive verbs

As the diagram shows, sometimes, the single participant of the semireflexive isn't necessarily the patient or "undergoer" of the verb, but rather the agent. This is true for the verb **hrori** ('tell'), where adding the semireflexive removes the agent, and the patient ("him") becomes the agent of the semireflexive verb.

Transitive verb	Semireflexive verb	Reflexive verb
Tshró:ri! You tell him!	**Rathró:ri!** May he tell! (e.g. he should tell the truth, or he should tell somebody)	**Ratathró:ri!** May he tell himself!
Tshéha'n! You hire him! Context: I want you to hire Wíshe as a worker.	**Raténhna'n!** May he be hired! Context: Wíshe should apply for work. He should put himself out there to be hired.	**Ratatehna'n!** May he hire himself! Context: May he hire himself as a consultant for a firm. Wíshe has the expertise, he should hire himself to do that.
Tshià:rist! You stop him! / You shut him up! Context: Stop him or tell him to be quiet; there's a little kid screaming his head off, and someone could tell you this.	**Ratà:rist!** May he stop it! / May he shut up! Context: The kids are all screaming and yelling, and he's got to make it stop	**Ratatà:rist!** May he stop himself! / May he shut himself up!

Table 164. Semireflexives with agents

Sometimes the reflexive and semireflexive are understood as involving the possessor of a noun that has been incorporated into the verb (discussed more in §6 below), like in these examples:

Transitive verb	Semireflexive verb	Reflexive verb
Tshenawiróhare! You brush his teeth!	**Ratenawiróhare!** May he get his teeth cleaned!	**Ratatenawiróhare!** May he brush his teeth!
Tshenontsistóhare! You wash his head!	**Ratenontsistóhare!** May he get his head washed!	**Ratatenontsistóhare!** May he wash his head!

Table 165. (Semi)reflexives with incorporated nouns

Lastly, sometimes the semireflexive either has a more specialized or less predictable meaning (Martin 2023, Michelson & Price 2011, Michelson 2023). These are harder to learn since there isn't really a pattern, and the easiest way is just to memorize them for each verb. Notice that the full reflexive, on the other hand, is always predictable.

Base verb	Semireflexive verb
Shní:non! Buy it!	**Satenhní:non!**[38] Sell it!
Sè:ser! Drag it!	**Satè:ser!** Crawl!
Tshétsien't! You cure him!	**Tshiatétsien't!** You treat him!
Serò:rok! Gather it!	**Saterò:rok!** Watch it!

Table 166. Unpredictable semireflexives

Now that we've had a chance to compare the reflexive and semi-reflexive, the following two subsections will give more examples of each of them individually. §5.1.1 will focus on an in-depth discussion of reflexives. §5.1.2 focuses on semireflexives.
Second-language learners often remark that the semireflexive is really hard to learn. It's

[38] For more on what might be going on here, see Renard (2024). He argues that these unpredictable meanings can actually be explained by Kanien'kéha having a low applicative head which introduces a source argument.

even difficult for me as a native speaker to think of these, because they can really twist your brain around.

5.1.1 Reflexives

The reflexive prefix goes in between the pronominal prefix and the verb root, and it means that the agent (the person doing the action) is the same as the patient (the person undergoing the action). This meaning is expressed words like “herself,” “himself,” etc. in English. Kanien’kéha doesn’t have a separate word like this, but rather indicates the same reflexive concept on the verb directly. There are two main forms of the reflexive in Kanien’kéha: **atat(e)-** and **atatен-** (Martin 2023). The reflexive comes between the pronoun and the verb. This means that the pronominal prefix itself will always use its A-stem variant, since the reflexive always starts with an *a*. It also means that the reflexive will be sensitive to the initial sound of the verb stem, just like pronominal prefixes were above. For this reason, I’m giving tables of forms divided based on initial verb sound, just like above.

Some consonant-stem verbs (those that start with *h, k, s,* or *t*) use the reflexive form **atat-** (Martin 2023). Below is a table of those consonant-stem verbs that take **atat-**.

Kanien’kéha	English
Satatken’én:ion!	Look at yourself!
Satatkwatákwa’s!	Fix something for yourself!
Satatkeróhthihw!	Comb yourself!
Satatkonhsóhare!	Wash your face!
Tóhsa nón:wa satatterónhkwen	Don’t make yourself afraid now!
Tóhsa nón:wa satatthwishá’t!	Don’t overexert yourself!
Satathní:non’s’!	Buy this for yourself!
Tóhsa satátthre’n!	Don’t cut yourself!
Satathnekón:nien!	Make a drink for yourself!
Satattsì:nahst!	Encourage yourself to do something! / Be brave!
Satatháhrha’s’!	Talk to yourself!
Satatthnekoseráhw!	Splash water on yourself!
Satatthnekáhrhas!	Pour yourself a drink!

Table 167. Consonant-stem verbs with *atat*

Verbs that start with a vowel also take the **atat-** form of the reflexive prefix (Martin 2023). These are shown in the next table.

Kanien’kéha	English
Satatahonhtóhare’!	Wash your ears!
Satatahtsióhare’!	Wash your hands!
Satatahsi’tóhare’!	Wash your feet!
Satatahstóhta’s!	Make the garment smaller for yourself!
Sataton’wesénhston!	Pretend (to yourself) all is good!
Satatonhnakénhnen!	Be self-sustaining!
Satatì:tenr!	Feel sorry for yourself!
Satati’tò:kehw!	Wipe your own butt!
Satatí’tskaron!	Put a mat, rug, or mattress down for yourself!
Satatí’tskeró:kehw!	Wipe your own spit!
Satati’tskó:ten!	Sit yourself there or make yourself sit up
Satatí’teron!	Keep yourself at home or stay in!
Satató:kwas!	Take it out of the water or liquid for yourself!
Satató’kwa’ts!	Dig it up for yourself!
Satatón:nien!	Make yourself do something! (e.g., motivate yourself to finish something)
Satatennahsaríhta’s!	Cook the animal tongue for yourself!
Satatenhe’tsharíhta’s!	Cook the sausages for yourself!
Satatenhe’tshón:nien!	Make sausages for yourself!
Satatenhní:seron!	Give yourself a day off!

Table 168. Vowel-stem verbs with *atat*

Next are dualics. These are exactly the same as the examples above, it just requires the dualic prefix to indicate that there is a duality there in the verb. This is especially clear in the verb “put your pants on,” because you have two legs! It also applies to things like glasses, scissors, and shoes.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tesatatahrhó:ton!	Be kind to yourself!
Tesatathásteren’k!	Put your pants on!
Tesatathahsterénkhsion!	Take your pants off!
Tesatatkáneren!	Stare at yourself in the mirror!

Table 169. Reflexives with duplicatives (*atat*)

Consonant-stem verbs that start with *n*, *r*, *w*, or *’* all take the take **atate-** reflexive prefix (instead of **atat-**), because they require an epenthetic e to break up the consonant cluster that would arise if you only used **atat-** (Martin 2023, and see Chapter 2).

Kanien’kéha	English
Sataterihwahserónnion!	Fix your matters for yourself!
Satateri’wanón:tons!	Ask yourself!
Sataterihwí:sa’s!	Make a decision for yourself!
Sataterihwahstén:ni!	Regret this!
Satateri’tstóhare’!	Wash your own navel!
Satatera’tsken’tón:ni!	Braid your own hair!
Satatenontarón:nien!	Make soup for yourself!
Satatenonhsón:nien!	Make a house for yourself!
Satatenawiróhare’!	Wash your dentures for yourself!
Satatenaktó’ttha’s!	Give yourself some time!

Satatenaktónnien!	Make yourself a bed or place!
Satatenóhare’s’!	Wash it yourself!
Satatenó:ronhk!	Love yourself!
Tóhsa nón:wa satateniskiá:ke!	Don’t urinate on yourself now!
Satatena’kón:ni!	Make yourself mad!
Satatenòn:we’n!	Like yourself!
Tóhsa satatenonhskà:ri!	Don’t have a fit in your house!
Satatewén:teht!	Abandon yourself! (like losing yourself or letting yourself go)
Satatewennahnó:tha’s!	Read it for yourself!
Satatewístoht!	Make yourself cold or chill!
Satate’wahrharíhta’s!	Cook your own meat!

Table 170. Consonant-stem verbs with *atate*

Some more dualic consonant (*r*, *n*, *w*, *’*)-stem verbs are in the table below. Again these are the same as above; they just require the dualic prefix because there is some meaning of duality in the verb.

Kanien’kéha	English
Tesatate’nikonhrhá:ren!	Worry yourself!
Tesatate’nikonhrhawén:rie!	Mentally entertain yourself!
Tesatate’wáhsharon!	Change your earrings
Tesatateráhkihw!	Put your sock on for yourself!
Tóhsa nón:wa tesatateriahtí’khon!	Don’t yell or abandon yourself!
Tóhsa nón:wa tesataterihwaierón:nien!	Don’t confuse yourself!
Tóhsa nón:wa tesatateriahtí’khon!	Don’t bitch at yourself!
Tesatatewahraríhta’s!	Make your own hamburger or chop your own meat!
Tóhsa nón:wa tesatatenonhnhiá:ni’k!	Don’t skimp on things for yourself!

Table 171. Reflexives with duplicatives (*atate*)

There is another form of the reflexive prefix which is **ataten-**. Martin (2023) says that these are really rare. There isn’t a phonological rule for the verbs that take **ataten-** (although it always appears before consonants, and in these examples, always before glottals); you just have to memorize these.

Kanien’kéha	English
Satataten’nikòn:raren!	Take care of yourself!
Satataten’niskwáhten!	Delay time for yourself!
Satataten’tsten’niá:ron!	Make yourself industrious or productive!
Tóhsa nón:wa satataten’tstí:ka’t!	Don't make yourself throw up!
Tóhsa nón:wa satataten’ni’tá:ta!	Don’t shit yourself now!

Table 172. Verbs with *ataten-*

Lastly, there are some verbs which appear to have the reflexive form **atak-**. In reality, this is just a different version of the **atat-** prefix; recall from Chapter 2 that in the Ahkwesáhsne dialect, the consonant **t** changes to **k** before consonant **i** (the **i** that sounds like **y** before vowels)**.** Because there is no **ty** sound in Ahkwesáhsne, only **ky**, the final **t** in *atat-* changes to **k** to become **atak-**.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Satakió'tenhst!	Make yourself work!
Satakio'tenhserónnien!	Make work for yourself!
Satakién:ha's!	Save or reserve something for yourself!
Satakié:na!	Restrain yourself!
Satakienawákon!	Hold yourself back from something!
Tóhsa satakié:sáht!	Don't overexert or waste yourself!

Table 173. Verbs with *atak-*

5.1.2 Semireflexives

As we discussed above, semireflexives can be tricky to learn. Not only are their meanings sometimes unpredictable, but they also have many more forms than the full reflexive: they can take the form **at(e)-**, **an(i)-**, **ar-**, **aten-**, and **a-** (Martin 2023). Like the full reflexive, the semireflexive occurs in between the pronominal prefix and the verb root.

First we'll look at semireflexives that take the form **at-**, which is one of the most common semireflexive forms. A-stem, E-stem, En-stem, O-stem, and On-stem verbs all take the semireflexive **at-**, as well as consonant-stem verbs that start with *h*, *k*, *s*, and *t* (Martin 2023).

Kanien’kéha	English
Satò:rok!	Get under!
Satóhtsion!	Get out from under it!
Saton’wé:shen!	Drink to get drunk!
Saton’wesénhton!	Act like you’re good or like everything’s fine!
Satonhnà:ra’!	Enjoy yourself!
Tesatón:koht!	Go ahead of the crowd!
Satenhníseron!	Reserve a day to yourself or kill some time for yourself!

Table 174. Verbs with *at-*

Other consonant stems (those that start with *r*, *n*, *w*, and ʾ) take the semireflexive **ate-**, with the epenthetic e needed to break up the consonant cluster (Martin 2023).

Kanien’kéha	English
Saterò:rok!	Watch it!
Satera’tsken’tón:ni!	Make your own braids!
Satera’shwiióha’k!	Make you have good luck!
Satera’nén:ta’kt!	Make yourself stay close to the edge!
Tóhsa satenò:wenht!	Don’t doubt it!
Satenónhkaron!	Cut your own hair!
Tóhsa satenonhwarori’tón:ni!	Don’t make yourself a fool!
Satenatíta’!	Go down the street!
Sate’wahrharíhta’s!	Cook your own meat!
Sate’nhonhsaríhta’s!	Cook your own eggs!
Sate’whahsón:ni!	Make your own skirt!
Sate’wahsharón:ni!	Make your own earrings!
Sateweraráhton!	Give yourself some air!
Satewistohserárho!	Butter your own bread!
Satewerá:raht!	Put the air into it yourself!

Table 175. Verbs with *ate-*

I-stem verbs take the semireflexive **an-** (Martin 2023).

Kanien’kéha	English
Tóhsa saní’taien!	Don’t shit!
Tóhsa saní’té:ni!	Don’t fart!
Tóhsa saní’niónkerik!	Don’t wrinkle up your nose with disdain!
Sani’tskerón:ti!	Spit it out!
Sani’tskó:ten!	Sit or sit up straight!
Sani’tskotáhrho’k!	Sit on the edge of the seat!

Table 176. Verbs with *an-*

The ar- semireflexive prefix is a rare one, Martin (2023) notes that it only appears in front of certain incorporated nouns, like *ahta* ‘shoe’ and *ohsì:ta* ‘foot.’ Don’t worry too much about the noun incorporation yet, this will be discussed in Chapter 6!

Kanien’kéha	English
Sarahtahkwahní:non!	Sell shoes!
Sarahsi’tóntawe’t!	Make your feet move up, down, and around!
Tóhsa sara’séntho!	Don’t wake up late!
Sara’nén:ta’kt!	Attach it to something!
Saratsión:kwen!	Tear it up into shreds!
Tóhsa tesarahsì:kia’k!	Don’t break your foot!
Tóhsa tesarahsi’tí:sere!	Don’t drag your feet or waste time!

Table 177. Verbs with *ar-*

Notice that most of the examples above have either the word for “shoe” or the word for “foot” incorporated, but you can do so much with those two nouns, so it’s important to learn this rare form of the semireflexive.

Some verbs use the **aten-** form of the semireflexive prefix. Like **ataten-**, there is not a rule for which verbs take **aten-**. Note also that verbs which take the **aten-** semireflexive prefix may not take the **ataten-** full reflexive (Michelson 2023). For example, the verb **hninon** takes the semireflexive prefix **aten-**, but the full reflexive **atate-**.

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Satenhní:non!	Sell it!
Saten'nikonhró:ri!	Have a nice time!

Table 178. Verbs with *aten-*

Finally, the rarest form of the semireflexive is **a-**. These are restricted to just a few noun incorporations, such as "house," "mind," and "village" (Martin 2023).

Kanien'kéha	**English**
Sa'nikòn:ria'k!	Give up!
Sanonhsawén:rat!	Add an addition to your house!
Tesanonhsatà:se!	Go around the house!
Tesanà:tahkw!	Move (from one residence to another)!
Tóhsa tesa'nikonhrá:ren!	Don't let it bother you!

Table 179. Verbs with *a-*

5.2 Participant-adding: Causative and benefactive

Now that we've seen how the reflexive and semireflexive morphemes function as participant-removing morphology, it's time to learn about the other side of the spectrum. Just as Kanien'kéha has morphemes like the reflexive and semireflexive which remove participants, it also has two morphemes which add participants: the causative and the benefactive.

Although both the causative and the benefactive add a participant to the verb, they have different meanings and uses. We'll learn about these in the next two sections.

5.2.1 Causatives

The causative morpheme is another member of the group of participant-changing morphemes in Kanien'kéha. The main function of the causative is—as the name suggests—to add a causer. In doing this, it turns an intransitive verb (a verb that involves only one participant in the action) into a transitive verb (a verb that involves two participants: an agent or causer and a patient) (Michelson & Price 2011). To compare with the previous section, while the semireflexive often removes an agent, the causative adds one. We can see this in a diagram similar to the one we used to describe reflexives and semireflexives. First, a regular intransitive verb has just one participant, either an agent or a patient, as in the following diagram:

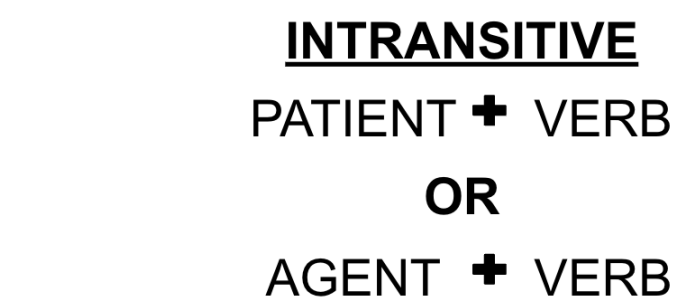


Figure 37. Regular intransitive verbs

A causative adds an agent to an intransitive verb. This is shown in the following diagram:

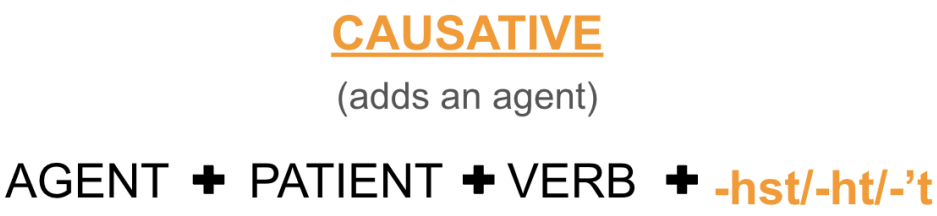


Figure 38. Causative verbs

We'll learn more about which pronominal prefixes causative verb use below.

The causative usually conveys the meaning of "cause" or "make" (Martin 2023). Michelson & Price (2011) note that it adds agency to the verb, in that it adds the idea that someone is responsible for bringing about the situation described by the verb. Bonvillain (1973) lists a number of potential meanings of the causative morpheme: the agent of the verb may perform some action upon a patient which results in the change of state of that patient; the agent may cause the patient to undergo some process or be

somehow transformed; or the meaning of the causative verb may have become metaphoric, often disguising or distorting the original meaning of the suffix.

There are a couple of different forms of the causative morpheme, but they are consistent in that all of them contain the sound t; they are: **-st**, **-hst**, **-t**, **-'t**, and **-ht** (Martin 2023). A few initial examples of the causative are provided in the table below. In the left column are intransitive verbs, and the right column shows how the intransitive verbs become transitive when a causative suffix is added, as the causative adds an agent.

As we will see in the tables below, verbs with causative suffixes most often take either a **subjective** or **transitive** prefix (Mithun 2006).[39] Let's start with causative verbs that use **transitive** prefixes. The table below is formatted with the causative-less intransitive verb in the left column, and the causative transitive verb in the right one. Notice that the addition of the suffix adds an agent to the verb, and since there is now another animate participant involved in the action, a transitive prefix must be used. You may recognize many of these verbs from the word banks of transitive imperatives in §4.2 –now you know that those were not just plain verbs, and they can be further broken down to show the causative!

[39] However, a verb's **aspect** can affect the choice of pronominal prefix. The exception is that verbs that take subjective prefixes will change to objective prefixes in the stative (Mithun 2006) - but learning about aspect is outside the scope of this dissertation. As a next step, this is something that I would love for my students to keep working on with all kinds of aid from me.

Intransitive verb	Causative verb
lakoió’ten! May she work!	**Sheió’tenhst!** Make her work! (You cause her to work!)
Tóhsa iewístos! May she not get cold!	**Shewístoht!** Cool her off! (You cause her to get cold!)
Iontá:wen! May she swim!	**Sheiatáwenhst!** Give her a bath! (You cause her to bathe!)
	Shehsté:rihst![40] Laugh at her!
	Shekwénnienhst![41] Respect her! (You cause respect for her!)
lakotshennón:ni! May she be happy!	**Sheiatshennóniaht!** Be happy for her! (You cause happiness for her!)

Table 180. Causatives with transitive prefixes

But remember that not all transitive verbs necessarily take **transitive** prefixes. If a transitive verb has at least one inanimate participant, then it will take either a subjective or objective prefix. Therefore, you will often see causative suffixes on verbs with subjective or objective prefixes. The causative still functions as adding an agent, it’s just that either the agent or patient in the resulting verb is inanimate, so either a subjective or objective prefix will be used.

Many of these non-causative verbs sound a little unnatural as imperatives, and it is more common to hear them as statements. They are therefore listed in the form of a statement in the left column. It’s more important to pay attention to the imperatives in the right column, and how the causative adds an agent (a doer) to the verb.

Verb without causative	Verb with causative
Ionenniò:kweno.	**Senenniò:kwenohst!**

[40] There is a non-causative version of this verb; the verb root **steri** means ‘funny,’ and if you just wanted to say ‘it’s funny’ you would say ‘**iosté:ris**.’ However, since this is an odd one to put in the imperative, we’ve left it out of the table.
[41] This one comes from a particle: **io’tkwénnies**, which means ‘proper’ or ‘formal.’

It's frozen.	Freeze it! Context: Could mean to actually put it in the freezer, or could mean to freeze a relationship, if you're fighting too much
Ioná:nawen. It is wet.	**Senà:nawenhst!** Make it wet!
Io'taríhen. It is warm.	**Sa'taríhaht!** Heat it up! (e.g. leftovers, pizza, room, etc.)
Wátsha's. It burns.	**Sátsa'aht!** Burn it!
Kakowá:nen. It is big.	**Skó:wenenht!** Make it larger! Context: Asking someone to make the font larger, or if I have a jacket that's too small, asking someone to enlarge it
Iotékha'. It is burning.	**Saté:kaht!** Light it on fire! / Make a fire!
Iotsharókwen. It's noisy.	**Satsharókwaht!** Make lots of noise! Context: There's a bear coming this way, and if we make lots of noise he'll go away
Iostáthen. It is dry.	**Sstá'thaht!** Dry it! (dishes, clothes, hang up the clothes)
Kanó:ron. It is precious/expensive.	**Senó:ronhst!** Save it! (coven - used for something precious)
Tóhsa sè:sko'n! Don't drown!	**Tóhsa sà:skoht!** Don't let it drown you! (could be water, or a situation)
Satshennón:ni!	**Satshenónniaht!**

Be happy!	May it make you happy!

Table 181. Causatives with subjective/objective verbs

Some verbs that look like they have a causative do not have a non-causative version. This is because some of these verbs have been fossilized with a causative; in other words, there may have historically been a non-causative version that is no longer used, and the causative is now seen as part of the verb.

Causative verb
Satsinonhwaténia'ht! You spin around! (may it cause you to spin)
Sahténkia'ht! Start something up! (e.g. engine, meeting)
Sà:senht! Brush it off or knock it off! Context: There's some lint on your shirt, get it off; or there are nuts on the windowsill, knock them off
Sà:swaht! Turn off the lights or turn off the flame! (e.g. stove, or candle)
Sera'nén:takht! Stick it! (e.g. post-its, stick a poster to the wall)
Se'nikónhrha'ht! Cheat! (e.g. a test, or anything where it's to your favor)
Senónwakenhst! Drain it! (e.g. spaghetti, or anything that needs to have water flow through it)

Table 182. Causative verbs without non-causative versions

Next, the following table contains some duplicative verbs that have causatives. Those that don't have non-causative versions are in the following table.

Verb without causative	Verb with causative
Teiohrì:'on. It is broken.	**Teserihwà:riht!** Break a situation! Context: Two people bickering back and forth with each other, and you want it to stop, or somebody's trying to push something through and you put a stop to it
Tewarénie's. It goes all over.	**Tesarénia'ht!** Pass things around! Context: Pass the test around, or the bread if you're sitting at a table

Table 183. Causatives with duplicative verbs

Duplicative causative verbs
Tetsia'tò:reht! Look at both sides of the situation or decide!
Teserihwanòn:ianiht! Exaggerate! (literally: make the matter bigger than it is)
Teserihwén:ta't! Crack open the door or make a small opening on something to let in air or just open slightly!

Table 184. Duplicative causatives without non-causative versions

Finally, below is a table of causative verbs which need the "fake stress" **i** at the beginning of the verb, because there are not enough syllables in the causative verb to place the stress.

Bare verb	Verb + causative
ló:ri. It is cooked	**Ì:seriht!** Cook it!
	Ístaht! Stick it out! Context: Sticking out a pole and giving it to you
Í:kare’. It is in it.	**Íserahst!** Draw or take a picture of it!

Table 185. Causatives with fake stress verbs

Now that we’ve seen a couple of examples of how the causative works, we can make an interesting connection to the semireflexives that we learned about in the previous section. As you’ll see in the next table, there are many verbs which use both the causative and the semireflexive. You may find it helpful to think of these verbs as the causative adding an agent, and the semireflexive taking that agent away.

This may become clearer through the use of an example. Let’s start with a plain verb, that has neither the causative or the semireflexive.

(11) **Wakia’tahkarí:io.**
I’m flexible/fit.

Adding the causative morpheme to this verb adds an agent to the action. Since there are now two animate participants, we’ll also need to use a transitive prefix instead of an objective one.

(12) **Skia’tahkarí:iohst!**
(You) make me exercise! (literally: You cause me to get flexible/fit!)

Context: You’re my personal trainer, and I’m ordering you to

Finally, you can add the semireflexive to this verb to suppress the agent that we just added (thus changing the transitive prefix to a subjective one) and give it a new meaning.

(13) **Kakia'tahkarí:iohst!**
May I work out! (literally: May I be caused to get flexible/fit!)

Here, since the agent "you" from (12) is gone again, there is no one forcing flexibility. Instead, the agent ("I") is taking action to make itself flexible, hence the metaphorical meaning of "working out."

This may seem confusing at first, given that based on the definitions we've provided thus far, the causative adds an agent and the semireflexive removes one, so how could they be found on the same verb? But notice that in (12) above, you're not just adding an agent, but you're also adding the **notion of causation** in addition to the person doing the causing. You're adding an agent, 'you', but you're also adding the idea of causation, someone is causing 'me' to become flexible or fit. In (13), we're keeping that idea of causation, but removing the actual causer, so there's no more 'you' involved in the action.

There are many such verbs, which use both the causative and the semireflexive. For many of these verbs, a plain version (without either the semireflexive or the causative) no longer exists, so it can be hard to see the meanings that the semireflexive and the causative add to the verb. Still, try to notice some patterns in the examples in the table below.

Semireflexive + causative verbs
Sátkwiht! Move over!
Saterihwakà:tenhst! Swear!
Satenó:wenht! Doubt it! Context: Someone says he just won the trifecta in NYC… you should doubt it!
Sate'nikonhrí:iohst! Be patient! (this too shall end!)
Sátswa'ht! Play! (using your whole body) Context: Playing tag, playing hide-and-seek

Satkà:riht! Play with it! (using just your fingers) Context: Fiddling with key in doorknob, playing with legos, playing chess
Satenonhwáktaht! Play sick! Context: Don't go to work tomorrow, play sick!
Satshí:nenhst! Make yourself brave or make yourself aggressive or don't be a wuss!
Sakiè:saht! Waste it or be frivolous with it!
Sate'nièn:tenhst! Mark it! Context: You're a carpenter, I'm ordering you to cut that 2 by 4 at this length. Could also be telling someone to "remember that."

Table 186. Causatives with semireflexives

The last thing I'll note about the causative in this section is an important limitation. It is impossible in Kanien'kéha to add a causative to a verb that is already transitive. You can't add a third participant to a verb with two participants (Mithun 2006). There are other ways to express causation in these cases, often using the verb -**onni** which means 'make', as in this sentence: **Peter wahakón:nien à:keke ne ohnennà:ta** ('Peter made me eat the potatoes.') There is no morphological causative in this sentence, but causation is still expressed with the verb 'to make.'

5.2.2 Benefactives

Now that we have a good sense of how the causative works, the last morpheme that we'll learn about in this section is the benefactive. The benefactive also adds a participant to the verb, and also turns intransitive verbs into transitives, but it carries a different meaning.

The benefactive is used for actions that are done for someone's "benefit" (although the action does not have to actually benefit someone), and is often translated

into English with phrases like “for,” “to,” “at,” or “on” someone or something (DeCaire 2023). Even though it’s called the benefactive and can be used when the verb has a positive effect on someone, it can also have a “malefactive” interpretation, meaning someone is negatively affected by the verb. The benefative is used to add a participant who is in some way affected by the event or situation; this can be positive (a “beneficiary”) or negative (a “maleficiary”).

The benefactive has many different forms. These include **-hs**, **-’s**, **-’se**, **-hahs**, **-en**, **-enni**, **-ni**, **-wi**, and **-i** (Martin 2023). These can be difficult to learn because often the same verb will take a different form of the benefactive depending on its aspect (Martin 2023). However, since we won’t touch aspect in this dissertation, we’ll focus on the benefactives that verbs take when they’re in imperative form.

The benefactive involves both an **agent** and a **beneficiary** (or maleficiary). We’ve already learned about agents, but the term “beneficiary” is new — this refers to someone who is affected by or benefits from the action. The benefactive adds a beneficiary to a verb which already has at least an agent (and may also have an inanimate patient). The transitive pronominal prefix on benefactive forms refers to the agent and the beneficiary (Michelson & Price 2011).[42]

This may be easier to see in a diagram. Remember that a verb without a benefactive will either be intransitive (with only one participant), or transitive (with two participants, but at least one must be inanimate). That verb will therefore take either a subjective or objective prefix. A benefactive will take that original verb and add a **beneficiary**, which is always animate. This is represented in the following diagram:



Figure 39. Benefactive diagram

Unlike causatives, which often take a subjective pronominal prefix, verbs with the benefactive most commonly take **transitive** pronominal prefixes (Michelson & Price 2011), as we’ll see in the following tables.[43]

[42] Note that the benefactive can also be added to intransitive verbs that only have a patient, and the resulting verb with the benefactive takes an **objective** prefix. These verbs have only a **beneficiary** and a **patient**. However, these verbs would be strange in the imperative, and they would also have different forms of the benefactive morpheme because the form of the benefactive often changes based on the aspect of the verb (DeCaire 2023, Martin 2023). But see Coon (2025) and Martin (2023) for more details on benefactive verbs that take objective prefixes.

[43] As mentioned in the previous footnote, there are also some benefactive verbs that take **objective** prefixes, but since these do not appear in imperative form they are omitted in this dissertation.

We'll start with verbs that take the benefactive suffix **-'s** in imperatives. Notice that in the lefthand column, the verb takes a subjective prefix as it has only one animate participant, whereas the benefactive adds another animate participant and the verb must therefore take a transitive pronominal prefix.

Like the causatives, there are some verbs which include a benefactive suffix but which do not have a form without a benefactive. These are forms that have either been fossilized with a benefactive, or that used to have a form without the benefactive that is no longer used.

Verb without benefactive	**Verb with benefactive**
Shní:non! Buy it!	**Shehní:non's!** Buy it for her!
Satenhní:non! Sell it!	**Sheiatenhní:non's!** Sell it to her!
Se'níkhon! Sew it!	**She'níkhon's!** Sew it for her!
Senóhare! Wash it!	**Shenóhare's!** Wash it for her!
Seristáhrho! Iron it!	**Sheristáhrho's!** Iron it for her!
Senonhsóhare! Wash the house!	**Sheiatenonhsóhare's!** Wash her house for her!
Se'serehtóhare! Wash the car!	**She'serehtóhare's!** Wash her car for her!
Senatà:ra! Visit!	**Shenatahré:na's!** Visit her!
	Sheiá'tken's! Check on her!

Table 187. -'s benefactives

Benefactive verbs can also sometimes take **subjective** prefixes when they are combined with a reflexive; see Table 193 below for these examples.

Next, let's look at a couple of imperatives which take the **-hs** or **-hahs** form of the benefactive suffix. Notice the same pattern of the subjective prefix in the left column which changes to a transitive prefix on the right.

Verb without benefactive	**Verb with benefactive**
Shiá:ton! Write it!	**Shehiá:tonhs!** Write it for her!
Serihwanón:ton! Ask it!	**Sherihwanón:tonhs!** Ask her!
Ítsien! Put it down![44]	**Sheién:hahs!** Save it for her! Context: Cake is on the counter and you're telling your son not to eat it all, save some for your sister

Table 188. -hs benefactives

Finally, below is a table of imperatives which take the **-en** benefactive suffix.

[44] This verb (**-ien**) has several different meanings. As an imperative it usually means "put it down" or "leave it there," but it can also mean "have," and the meaning changes slightly to "save" when the benefactive is added.

Verb without benefactive:	Verb with benefactive:
Sekhón:ni! Cook it!	**Shekhónnien!** Cook for her!
Satú:ri! Drive!	**Sheiatórien!** Drive for her!
Satena’tsherón:ni! Make lunch!	**Sheiatena’tsherónnien!** Make lunch for her!
Sakia’tawitsherón:ni! Make a shirt!	**Sheiakia’tawitsherónnien!** Make a shirt for her!
Se’whashón:ni! Make a skirt!	**She’whashónnien!** Make a skirt for her!

Table 189. -en benefactives

As always, since the dualic is such a common prepronominal prefix, there are benefactive verbs which will have the dualic. A few are listed below.

Verb without benefactive	Verb with benefactive
Tesohtáhrho! Clean it up!	**Tesheio’táhrho’s!** Clean it for her!
Tétsia’k! Break it!	**Teshé:ia’khs!** Break in two for her or share it with her!

Table 190. Dualic benefactives

Finally, like we did with causatives, we can use what we’ve learned about the benefactive and put it together with what we’ve already learned about the reflexive. You will often see benefactives and full reflexives occurring together on the same verb. The resulting verb will get the meaning that the agent and the beneficiary of the action are the same, so the verb is often translated as “they do this action for themselves.” Some examples are in the following table.

Verb with benefactive	Verb with reflexive and benefactive
Tshe’shén:ni! Defeat him! / Overpower him! Context: You’re watching a fight and saying ‘come on! Defeat him!’	**Ratate’tshén:ni!** May he defeat himself! Context: He’s trying to beat his own personal best
Tshe’khónnien! Cook for him! Context: You’re a mother and you’re ordering the baby-sitter to cook dinner for your son	**Ratatekhónnien!** May he cook for himself! Context: I’m mad at my boyfriend and I just want him to do something for himself for once

Table 191. Benefactives with reflexives

Now you have many more vocabulary words that you can use, and you’ve learned a little bit more about how those words can be broken down so you can understand more about why they mean what they do. For this last chapter of the dissertation, we’ll learn about nouns and noun incorporation, which will expand your vocabulary even more and give you access to a crucial element of the language

Chapter 6: Nouns and noun incorporation

Most of this dissertation so far has focused on verbs. Now we are going to start adding nouns and noun incorporation into the mix. This has always been my favorite lesson to teach. Incorporating nouns into verbs adds spice and color to the language. We'll start in this introduction with a mini lesson on nouns and noun incorporation, so you get a taste of how this stuff works before we get into the details.

First, let's start with a simple sentence which includes a basic independent noun.

(1) **Shní:non ne kanónhsa'!**
Buy the house!

Here, we have a simple imperative that we've already learned, **shní:non**, or 'buy it!'. We have the particle **ne**, which is an important and tricky particle to learn — for now, just keep in mind that it often appears before independent nouns when they follow a verb. And finally we have an independent noun, **kanónhsa'**, which means 'house.' As we'll learn in §6.1, this independent noun has three parts: a noun prefix **ka-**, a noun root **-nonhs-**, and a noun suffix **-a'**. In Kanien'kéha, we can take just the noun root and incorporate it directly into the verb. This is shown in the following example:

(2) **Senonhsahní:non!**
Buy the house!

Throughout, incorporated nouns will be colored in **dark red**; all the other colors are consistent with what you have already seen throughout this dissertation. In the incorporated version in (2), we've taken the noun root **-nonhs-** and stuck it inside the verb. It also needs an extra **-a-** morpheme called a **joiner,** which we'll learn more about in §6.2. Now you have a little preview of how noun incorporation works.

In the rest of this chapter, we'll learn how to add incorporated nouns to the imperatives that we've already seen to accentuate what the noun is doing, like for example: boil the potatoes, cook the meat, or make a skirt. These nouns set up the best part of this lesson. A handful of examples are given in the table below to give you a taste of what you'll be able to say by the end of this section. Notice the benefactive in orange!

Imperative (with incorporated noun)	English translation
Skehnanà:to’s!	Cook the potatoes in water for me! (command)
Takhnanà:to’s!	Cook the potatoes in water for me! (more of a request)
Konhnanà:to’s!	May I cook the potatoes in water for you!
Shehnanà:to’s!	Cook the potatoes in water for her!
Khehnanà:to’s!	May I cook the potatoes in water for her!
Tshnanà:to’s!	Cook the potatoes in water for him!
Rihnanà:to’s!	May I cook the potatoes in water for him!
Shnanà:to’s!	Cook the potatoes in water for her/it!

Table 192. Noun incorporation with transitive prefixes

Now that we’ve gone on a brief tour of what there is to learn about nouns in Kanien’kéha, the remaining sections will get into more detail. The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. First, in §6.1, we’ll learn what regular nouns look like in Kanien’kéha. In §6.1.1, the learner will get to know the nouns and what their base root form is. This will help in predicting how to change the noun to accept verb suffixes that will describe what the noun is doing. In §6.1.2, the reader will learn about possession, and how to say that someone owns a noun. Then in §6.2, we’ll learn how to take those nouns and incorporate them into verbs. In §6.3, we’ll learn more about incorporation through the lens of verbs called “stative-only” verbs or “adjectival” verbs, which will allow the learner to be able to describe nouns with ease. In §6.4 we’ll learn more about a morpheme called the **nominalizer** and how this morpheme can differentiate between what we’ll call “true” and “fake” nouns, as well as how it relates to noun incorporation. In §6.5 I’ll teach you how to swear in Kanien’kéha, which is important for cultural reasons but also includes some interesting patterns of noun incorporation. Finally, in §6.6 we’ll see some more independent nouns that are really verbs serving a referential function, and connect back to kinship terms as we’ll see how truly verb-centric Kanien’kéha is.

6.1 Independent nouns

6.1.1 Basic noun prefixes

This section discusses independent nouns and their form. What I mean by “independent nouns” is nouns that appear on their own, as separate words, and not incorporated into a verb. Independent nouns are relatively rare to see in Kanien’kéha because a lot of the time they’re incorporated (for more on noun incorporation being the default, see DeCaire et al. 2017, Boles 2024, and Flaim 2025). But when nouns do appear separate from the verb, they require at least a noun prefix and a noun suffix in addition to the noun root. This is illustrated with the following equation:

noun prefix	**+**	**ROOT**	**+**	**noun suffix**	**=**	**independent noun**
(i)o-, ka-				**-a’, -(e)’, -on**		

The first thing to learn is the different noun prefixes. These can be divided into two major groups: those that take subjective prefixes (some form of **ka-**), and those that take objective prefixes (some form of **(i)o-**). These are **neuter** pronominal prefixes; recall from §3.1 that the neuter gender in Kanien’kéha is used for inanimate things, like the pronoun “it” in English. They correspond to the subjective and objective neuter forms of pronominal prefixes. Importantly (and just like we’ve seen above), **ka-** and **o-** have different forms depending on the initial sound of the noun stem they attach to.

To illustrate this more clearly, let’s look at a table that contains just the neuter pronominal prefixes and the different forms that they have depending on the first letter of the stem that they attach to.

Stem	Subjective neuter prefix	Objective neuter prefix
True C-stem	**ka-**	**(i)o-**
“Fake e”-stem	**ka-**	**(i)o-**
Y-stem	**ka-**	**(i)o-**
A-stem	**(w)-**	**(i)[o]-**
O/On-stem	**(i)-**	**(i)a-**
E/En-stem	**(w)-**	**(i)aw-**
I-stem	**k[en]-**	**(i)[o]-**

Table 193. Neuter noun prefixes

You may have noticed that in the table above, all of the glides (**i** and **w**) are in parentheses. This is because, as you will recall from Chapter 3, prefixes that attach to nouns (and some kinship terms) delete the initial glide. In the rest of this section we will see lots of nouns that begin with **a**, which I often teach as a separate category because these nouns seem irregular, but it’s important to note that this initial **a** is not a prefix. Instead, it’s part of the stem; the **w-** prefix is the form of the subjective that would normally appear on A-stems, and here it is deleted because the stem is a noun. So really, the nouns that start with **a** are a part of the subjective/**ka-** class.

In general, nouns in the **ka-** class tend to be manmade, while those that are in the **o-** class are part of the natural world. However, this is not a very strict rule and you’ll see some exceptions in the following tables.

Let’s start with **ka-** class nouns. As seen in the table above, **ka**- is the most common form of the subjective neuter prefix, and that’s why it’s one of the most frequent prefixes that you’ll find on nouns. **ka-** in this form occurs on consonant-stem noun roots (true C-stems, “fake e”-stems, and Y-stems). For example, the noun root **-nonhs-** means “house,” and it takes the noun prefix **ka-** and noun suffix **-a’** when it appears on its own. Using the equation to add it all together, this means that the noun prefix **ka-** + noun root **-nonhs-** + noun suffix **-a’** forms the independent noun **kanónhsa’**. Below is a list of a few other consonant-stem nouns that take the prefix **ka-**.

Noun root	Independent noun	English meaning
nonhs	**kanónhsa’**	house
nahskw	**kanáhskwa’**	pet/slave
hna’t	**kahnà:ta’**	purse
khw	**káhkwa’**	food
hnhoh	**kahnhóha’**	door
renn	**karén:na’**	song/music
tsh	**kátshe’**	bottle
’nahkw	**ka’náhkwa’**	tub/barrel
’nhien	**kà:nhien**	stick
hrh	**káhrha’**	forest

Table 194. Consonant-stem nouns with *ka-*

Next, let’s look at A-stem nouns. There are many A-stem nouns which are in the **ka-** class; they take the subjective neuter prefix. But recall that the A-stem neuter subjective prefix is **w-**, rather than **ka-**. But since initial glides delete for nouns, the **w-** in front of these nouns does not appear, meaning that they start with just **a**. Below is a list of these A-stem nouns.

Noun root	Independent noun	English meaning
a’ar	**à:'are’**	net
a’shar	**à:share’**	knife
a’ther	**à:there’**	basket

Table 195. A-stem nouns

There are some I-stem noun roots that also take this subjective neuter prefix, but because they are I-stems, this prefix undergoes a sound change to become **ken-**. The

en of this prefix deletes the following I of the noun root, as we've seen throughout the previous chapters.

Noun root	**Independent noun**	**English meaning**
itsi	**kéntsion'**	fish
istkar	**kéntskare'**	mat/carpet/rug/matress
iie	**kén:ie'**	oil/grease

Table 196. Vowel-stem nouns with *ken-*

Other nouns take the objective neuter prefix **io-**. However, as we know, nouns undergo a phonological rule where initial glides are deleted. Here, this means that the initial **i-** is deleted, making the noun prefix look like **o-**. For example, the root **-hwist-** means "money" or "bell," and it takes the noun prefix **o-** and noun suffix **-a'** when it appears on its own. Using the equation, this gives you noun prefix **o-** + noun root **-hwist-** + noun suffix **-a'** to form the independent noun **ohwísta'.**

Below is a list of noun roots that take the **o-** noun prefix; for consonant-stem noun roots, the **o-** prefix attaches directly to the root, while for A- and I-stem noun roots, the **o-** prefix deletes the initial vowel of the noun root.

Noun root	Independent noun	English meaning
hwist	**ohwísta’**	money
ia’kar	**oià:kara’**	blouse
kahkwen’t	**okahkwèn:ta’**	wheel
kar	**oká:ra’**	story
nekw	**oné:kwa’**	pea
ratsken’t	**oratskèn:ta’**	braid
wer	**ówera’**	air or wind
neker	**onékeri’**	hay
ihwhar	**óhwhare’**	fur
ha’t	**ohà:ta**	core of fruit or tree
itstenhr	**otstèn:ra’**	boulder
itst	**ótsta’**	scab
ihn	**óhna’**	skin or leather
akhar	**ohká:ra’**	bark
ahsohkw	**ohsóhkwa’**	color
atshat	**ohtshá:ta**	cloud or steam
tsihker	**otsì:kera**	cloud (older word)[45]

Table 197. Nouns with *o-* prefix

There is one E-stem noun root: *-eri-*, which means heart (Martin 2023). This takes the objective neuter noun prefix, which is *iaw-* for E-stems; however, since the initial glide deletes in nouns, it appears as *aw-.*

[45] This word is the same in Kanien’kéha and Oneida.

Noun root	Independent noun	English meaning
eri	**awé:ri**	heart

Table 198. E-stem nouns

Finally, certain noun roots do not take a noun prefix. For example, most En-stem nouns actually begin with the vowel en, On-stem nouns begin with the vowel on, and the one O-stem noun begins with the vowel O. In reality, these are just like the A-stem nouns above; the subjective neuter prefix for O/On-stems is **i-** and the one for E/En-stems is **w-**, so those glides delete and these nouns just start at the stem. These are listed in the table below.

Noun root	Independent noun	English meaning
enhni’t	**enhnì:ta’**	month or moon
enhniser	**enhnísera’**	day
enniser	**ennísera’**	shelf
ohser	**óhsera’**	year or winter
onkwe’t	**ón:kwe**	person
onhontsi	**onhóntsia**	earth or land

Table 199. Nouns without a prefix

6.1.2 Possession

Now we move on to possession or ownership. We will learn there are forms that show possession over the noun; in other words, the noun can belong to someone. Like pronominal prefixes, the possessive pronouns change shape depending on the stem of the noun they attach to. We will learn how to identify the possessive pronoun for each noun root; for first person singular, these are: *akwa*, *ak*, *ake*, *akia*, *aki*, *akwen*, *ako*, *akon*, *akwe*. This makes the learner aware of the sound that goes with the root form.

We’ll start with the full table for the noun **áhta’**, meaning ‘shoe.’ You may notice that the possessive prefixes are very similar in form to **objective** prefixes; they are therefore colored in blue.

There are a couple other things to note about these prefixes. First, we can compare them directly to the noun prefixes by slotting them into the same formula that we've already learned for nouns. Except now, instead of a noun prefix, we'll have a possessive prefix:

possessive prefix + ROOT + noun suffix = possessed noun

ak-, s-, ako-, etc. **-a', -e', -'**

Nouns will have the regular **ka-** or **o-** class pronominal prefix when they're unpossessed. But nouns can also be possessed; in Kanien'kéha we can talk about how all of these nouns belong to different people. The possessive prefix then replaces the **ka-/o-** prefix that would be on the unpossessed noun.

As previously mentioned, almost all of these prefixes are identical to objective prefixes, but there are a couple important sound changes to note. First, all of the initial glides (**w-** and **i-**) are deleted, since the possessive prefixes attach to nouns. There is also a sound change for the masculine possessive prefixes and the plural feminine ones, so instead of the usual **ro-**, **ron-** and **ion-**, they become **rao-**, **raon-** and **aon-**.

Kanien’kéha pronoun	Possessed noun	Translation
í:se	**sáhta’**	your shoe
teseniiáhse	**tsiáhta’**	your(2) shoe
sewakwé:kon	**sewáhta’**	your(3+) shoe
í'i	**akwáhta’**	my shoe
teiakeniiáhse	**onkiáhta’**	our(2, excl) shoe
iakwakwé:kon	**onkwáhta’**	our(3+, excl) shoe
akaónha	**akóhta’**	her shoe
tekeniiáhse	**aonáhta’**	their(2F) shoe
onónha	**aonáhta’**	their(3+F) shoe
raónha	**raóhta’**	his shoe
tehniiáhse	**raonáhta’**	their(2M) shoe
ronónha	**raonáhta’**	their(3+M) shoe
aónha	**aóhta’**	her/its shoe
í:se & í'i	**onkiáhta’**	our(2, incl) shoe
tewakwé:kon	**onkwáhta’**	our(3+, incl) shoe

Table 200. A-stem noun with possessive pronouns

To give you a sense of how the possessive prefixes can change, the following table gives one example of a noun from each stem class, all using the first-person possessive prefix. Remember that these are forms of the patient prefixes, so to make possessive forms for other types of possessors, you can use the tables above and what you know about the different types of stem classes.

Stem	Possessed noun	Translation
True C-stem	**akhiatonhsera’**	my paper or book
“Fake e”-stem	**akè:sere’**	my car
Y-stem	**ákiare**	my bag
A-stem	**akwáhta’**	my shoe
O/On-stem	**akonhón:tsia’**	my land
E-stem	**akwenékeri’**	my hay
En-stem	**akenhé’tsha’**	my sausage
I-stem	**akí’tá:ra’**	my clan

Table 201. Different stem classes with possessive pronouns

6.2 Incorporating nouns

Now that we know what regular independent nouns look like, we can start learning about one of the most pervasive processes in Kanien’kéha, noun incorporation. This essentially means that a noun will appear inside a verb.

When nouns are incorporated, only the noun **root** appears inside the verb (no noun prefix or suffix). The noun root appears in between the pronominal prefix and the verb root. This gives rise to the following equation:

Pronominal prefix + noun root + verb stem = verb

The following tables of imperative verbs illustrate how noun roots can be incorporated into the verb. Just like above, they are organized by stem, so that you can observe how the pronominal prefix changes depending on the form of the stem, which in most simple cases now begins with the incorporated noun. Since in these cases the pronominal prefix will attach directly to the incorporated noun, it’s now the form of the incorporated noun that will determine the shape of the pronominal prefix (for example, if an A-stem noun is incorporated into a verb, that verb will now take A-stem pronominal prefixes). You’ll see some nominalizers highlighted in light purple in these tables; don’t worry about these yet, we’ll see more explanation in §6.3.2.

The following prefixes are organized based on the stem of the noun, so that you can see that it's now the incorporated noun which determines the shape of the prefix that attaches to the verb. We'll start with some A-stem nouns.

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
áhta shoe	**Sahtahkón:ni**! Make moccasins!	**ahta**
káhi fruit	**Sà:io**! Cook the fruit in water or liquid!	**ahi**
akià:tawi' shirt, dress, or coat	**Sakia'tawi'tsherón:ni**! Make a shirt, dress, or coat!	**akia'tawi**
à:share' knife	**Tesa'shà:ris!** Cut it with scissors!	**a'shar**

Table 202. A-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
ohwísta’ bell or money	**Shwistá'ek!** Ring the bell!	**hwist**
ohwá’tsta foam or froth	**Shwa’tstón:ni!** Make foam or whip it into a froth!	**hwa’tst**
ohtè:ra roots	**Stè:ro!** Cook the roots in water or liquid!	**htehr**
otsikhè:ta sugar	**Testsikhe’táhrho!** Add sugar or sweetener to it!	**tsikhe’t**
kiohiò:tsis salt	**Teshio’tsistáhrho!** Add salt to it!	**hio’tsis**
ohstá:ra rain drop or spray of water	**Tesahtstarókwaht!** Splash or spray it!	**hstar**

Table 203. Consonant-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
one’konhrhéstha hammer	**Sene’kón:re’k** Hit it with a hammer or punch it!	**ne’kon**

Table 204. “Fake e”-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
oien’kwaón:we’ tobacco	**Tsien’kóntho!** Add tobacco to the fire!	**ien’kw**
ó:iente’ wood	**tsientó:ten!** Add wood to or stoke the fire!	**ient**

Table 205. Y-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
óhna skin	**Tsíhnariht!** Cook the skin!	**ihn**
óhna skin	**Tetsihnà:riht!** Cut up the skin or make the skin into patterns!	**ihn**
óhna skin	**Tetsihnáseron!** Make two skin layers!	**ihn**
kéntsion fish	**Tsí:tsio!** Cook the fish in water!	**itsi**
kéntsion fish	**Tsitsiahserón:ni!** Clean or dress the fish!	**itsi**
kén’tskare’ rug or mattress	**Tsi’tskaróhare!** Wash the rug!	**i’tskar**

Table 206. I-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
awen’náhshon tongue	**Sen’náhsariht!** Cook the tongue!	**en’nahs**
awen’náhshon tongue	**Sen’náhso!** Cook the tongue in water!	**en’nahs**

Table 207. En-stem incorporated nouns

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
oné:keri hay	**Senekeri’ak!** Cut the hay!	**eneker**
oné:keri hay	**Senekerí:ta!** Put the hay into something!	**eneker**
awé:ri heart	**Seríhso!** Cook the heart in water or liquid!	**eri[hs]**

Table 208. E-stem incorporated nouns

6.3 Modifying nouns: Stative-only forms and incorporation

In this section we will learn how to incorporate nouns into simple “stative-only” verb forms: the noun can be nice, ugly, big, small, new or old, costly or inexpensive, etc. I often teach these kinds of verbs first when I start looking at noun incorporation with my students because it’s one of the most simple forms of incorporation and allows you to describe the qualities or attributes of that noun.

In English when we want to modify or say something specific about a noun, we use an adjective. But Kanien’kéha doesn’t have a separate word class of adjectives! Instead, we have special verb forms, sometimes called “stative-only” verbs. As the name implies, these are verbs that can only appear in the stative aspect, and cannot appear in the habitual or punctual aspect[46] without extra morphology. Other works, for example Baker & Travis (1998) and Baker (2003), have also called these verbs

[46] These will not be introduced in this dissertation; just know that they are different aspect forms which communicate how the action described by the verb extends over time.

“adjectival,” since they are very often descriptive in nature, as you’ll see in the next few tables. You don’t have to worry too much about what it means that these verbs can only appear in the stative, since we won’t learn about aspect in this dissertation (see e.g., Martin 2023 and Gatchalian 2025). Just know that they’re a special kind of verb, and that it’s especially common to see noun incorporation with these verbs.

In the next few tables we’ll see both **ka-** and **o-** class nouns incorporated into these stative-only verbs; the stative verbs maintain their own prefixes, and the incorporated noun loses its pronominal prefix. One common stative-only verb that takes subjective pronominal prefixes is the verb **hetken**, which means ‘ugly.’ Taking the noun **kanónhsa’** (‘house’) and incorporating it into this verb, we get:

(1) **Kanonhsahétken.**
ka-nonhs-a-hetken
N.A-house-JR-ugly.STAT
‘It’s an ugly house.’

There are a couple things to notice about this example (which has been broken down to help you see the component parts). First, in this case the subjective neuter pronominal prefix that goes with the verb happens to be the same as the one that appears on the independent noun, but we’ll see that this is not always the case. The noun root **-nonhs-** is incorporated into the verb as usual, but there’s an extra piece of morphology, that **a,** labeled “JR,” which stands for “joiner.” The joiner will appear between the noun root and the verb if the noun root ends in a consonant and the verb stem begins with a consonant (Michelson 1988, Boles 2024). In other words, if you incorporated a noun into a verb and ended up with two or more consonants next to each other in the resulting verb, a joiner has to be inserted to break up the cluster. You’ll also see the joiner in between the verb root and derivational suffixes for the same reason.

Now let’s look at a stative-only verb which takes objective prefixes:

(2) **Iononhsahní:ron.**
io-nonhs-a-hnir-on
N.P-house-JR-hard-STAT
‘It’s a hard house.’

Here, the verb **hní:ron**, which means ‘hard,’ takes objective prefixes, and so the verb now begins with the objective neuter pronominal prefix **io-**. Notice also that the glide is back, showing that this is not a noun. And as in (1), we need the joiner to break up the consonant cluster that would arise if we just stuck the noun root and verb together without anything in between.

Now let's look at some tables of stative-only verbs to fully illustrate how these verbs can be used to describe the nouns incorporated into them. We'll start with an A-stem noun, *káhi* ('fruit'). This is a slightly irregular noun; normally A-stem nouns start with an **a**, since the subjective neuter prefix for A-stems is **w-**, which deletes on nouns. But even though *káhi* starts with a **k**, we'll see in the tables that it's really an A-stem as it takes the prefixes **w-** or **i[o]-** when it's incorporated into one of these verbs.

One last thing to note about these tables is that the first two verbs in the list, **iio** and **aksen**, are special. They cannot just appear on their own as the rest of the verbs can; they can only appear with a noun incorporated into them. They are also special in that they can incorporate kinship terms, as we saw in §3.4.3.3.

Stative-only verbs + incorporated noun	**Translation**
Wahí:io.	It's good fruit.
Wahiáksen.	It's bad fruit.
Wahiowá:nen.	It's a big fruit.
Ken' niwahiá'a.	It's a small fruit.
Wáhies.	It's a long fruit.
Ken' niwahiésha.	It's a short fruit.
Wahiasé'tsi.	It's a new fruit.
Wahiaká:ion.	It's an old fruit.
Wahiá:kon.	It's a delicious fruit.
Iah tewahiákon.	It's a gross fruit.
Wahianó:ron.	It's an expensive fruit.
Iah tewahianó:ron.	It's a cheap fruit.
Iohiahní:ron.	It's a hard fruit.
Iohiahná:wen.	It's a wet fruit.
Iohia'nhé'tska.	It's a soft fruit.

Table 209. Stative-only verbs with A-stem noun (*káhi*)

Next, let's look at a consonant-stem noun. *ohnanà:ta* takes the objective noun prefix **o-** as an independent noun, but when incorporated into a stative-only verb that takes subjective prefixes, the verb will take **ka-**. And as expected, when incorporated into a stative-only verb that takes objective prefixes, the verb will take **io-** (this time with the glide **i**, since it's a verb rather than a noun).

Incorporated noun	**Translation**
Kahnana'tí:io.	It's a good potato.
Kahnana'táksen.	It's a bad potato.
Kahnana'towá:nen.	It's a big potato.
Ken' nikahnana'tá'a.	It's a small potato.
Kahnanatà:es.	It's a long potato.
Ken' nikahnana'téhsa.	It's a short potato.
Kahnana'tasé'tsi.	It's a new potato.
Kahnana'taká:ion.	It's an old potato.
Kahnana'tá:kon.	It's a delicious potato.
Iah tekahnana'tá:kon.	It's a gross potato.
Kahnana'tanó:ron.	It's an expensive potato.
Iah tekahnana'tanó:ron.	It's a cheap potato.
Iohnana'tahní:ron.	It's a hard potato.
Iohnana'taná:wen.	It's a wet potato.
Iohnana'tanhe'tska.	It's a soft potato.

Table 210. Stative-only verbs with consonant-stem (**o-** class) noun (*ohnanà:ta*)

Finally, the next table also has a consonant-stem noun, but **ka-** class (it takes **ka**- as its noun prefix): *kahonwé:ia* ('boat'). When the noun root **-honw-** is incorporated into the stative-only verbs, it shows the exact same patterns as **-hnana't-** above.

Incorporated noun	Translation
Kahonwí:io.	It's a good boat.
Kahonwáksen.	It's a bad boat.
Kahoniowá:nen.[47]	It's a big boat.
Ken' nikahonwá'a.	It's a small boat.
Kahón:wes.	It's a long boat.
Ken' nikahonwéhsa.	It's a short boat.
Kahonwasé'tsi.	It's a new boat.
Kahonwaká:ion.	It's an old boat.
Kahonwanó:ron.	It's an expensive boat.
Iah tekahonwanó:ron.	It's a cheap boat.
Iohonwahní:ron.	It's a strong or sturdy boat.
Iohonwaná:wen.	It's a wet boat
Iohonwa'nhé'tska.	It's a soft boat.

Table 211. Stative-only verbs with consonant-stem (**ka-** class) noun (*kahonwé:ia*)

6.3.1 Possessed stative-only forms and external possession

Now, we're going to combine what we've learned about possessed nouns in 6.1.2 and what we now know about stative-only verbs. Below you'll see that nouns can be incorporated into a stative-only verb along with a pronominal prefix, like in the example below.

(3) **Waka'therí:io.**
wak-ather-iio
1sgP-basket-good
'my nice basket' / 'I have a nice basket.'

[47] Since the sound sequene [wo] doesn't exist in Kanien'kéha, the **w** in **-honw-** changes to an **i** before the verb **owá:nen**.

As you can see, these are often translated into English with two different meanings: one with the English possessive pronoun (‘my,’ ‘your,’ etc.) and one with the verb ‘have.’ Structures like this are called “external possession” or “possessor raising” in the linguistics literature. This term means that the possessor of the incorporated noun is “raised,” or made more prominent, and now is treated like the subject of a verb. We can see that this is exactly what’s happening in Kanien’kéha; even though one of the English translations has a possessor, ‘my,’ the word **waka’therí:io** no longer has a possessive pronominal prefix but an objective one (which we can immediately see since the glide is still there, unlike the possessive version). For more about external possession in general, see Deal 2017, and for more about external possession specifically in Kanien’kéha, see Baker 1999 and Boles 2024.

A full table of these externally-possessed incorporated nouns is shown below. As you can see, they now require an objective prefix rather than a possessive one (the glides no longer delete, and we have **ro-** instead of **rao-.** These are all therefore truly verbs, rather than possessed nouns, despite their translations.

Kanien’kéha pronoun	**Possessed noun + verb**	**Translation**
í:se	**sa’therí:io**	your nice basket / you have a nice basket
teseniiáhse	**tsia’therí:io**	your(2) nice basket / you(2) have a nice basket
sewakwé:kon	**sewa’therí:io**	your(3+) nice basket / you(3+) have a nice basket
í'i	**waka’therí:io**	my nice basket / I have a nice basket
teiakeniiáhse	**ionkia’therí:io**	our(2, excl) nice basket / we(2, excl) have a nice basket
iakwakwé:kon	**ionkwa’therí:io**	our(3+, excl) nice basket / we(3+, excl) have a nice basket
akaónha	**iako’therí:io**	her nice basket / she has a nice basket
tekeniiáhse	**iona’therí:io**	their(2F) nice basket / they(2F) have a nice basket
onónha	**iona’therí:io**	their(3+F) nice basket /

		they(3+F) have a nice basket
raónha	**ro’therí:io**	his nice basket / he has a nice basket
tehniiáhse	**rona’therí:io**	their(2M) nice basket / they(2M) have a nice basket
ronónha	**rona’therí:io**	their(3+M) nice basket / they(3+M) have a nice basket
aónha	**io’therí:io**	her/its nice basket / she/it has a nice basket
í:se & í'i	**ionkia’therí:io**	our(2, incl) nice basket / we(2, incl) have a nice basket
tewakwé:kon	**ionkwa’therí:io**	our(3+,incl) nice basket / we(3+,incl) have a nice basket

Table 212. True nouns with possessive prefixes

6.4 “True” vs. “fake” nouns

As mentioned in the introduction, there are two different kinds of incorporated nouns in Kanien’kéha, sometimes called “true” and “fake” nouns. True nouns are just regular nouns that don’t need any extra material when they’re incorporated into the verb. All of the incorporated nouns we’ve seen so far have been true nouns. What are sometimes called “fake” nouns are actually originally verbs, and they therefore require a morpheme called the **nominalizer** in order to incorporate them into another verb.

6.4.1 “True” nouns

True nouns in Kanien’kéha are those where, when they incorporate, the verb attaches directly to the noun root (sometimes requiring a joiner) with no change to noun root.

Since we’ve only seen true nouns before, this is a good opportunity to keep expanding your vocabulary and learn some more of them. We’ll start with A-stem nouns.

Independent noun	**Incorporated noun**	**Noun root**
áhshara’	**Wahsharí:io.** It’s a nice or good strap.	**ahshar**

strap or burden strap or rein		
áhsire’ blanket	**Wahsirí:io.** It’s a nice or good blanket.	**ahsir**
áhskwa’ bridge or dock	**Wahskwí:io.** It’s a nice or good bridge or dock.	**ahskw**
ahskwèn:na’ porch	**Wahskwen’ní:io.** It’s a nice or good porch.	**ahskwen’n**
ahshónhta’ wall	**Wahshonhtí:io.** It’s a nice or good wall.	**ahshonht**
aten’èn:ra’ fence or palisade a log enclosure	**Waten’enhrí:io.** It’s a nice or good fence.	**aten’enhr**
o’kèn:ra’ dirt or earth	**Wakenhrí:io.** It’s nice or good dirt or earth.	**akenhr**
à:ria’ fishhook	**Wahrí:io.** It’s a nice or good fishhook.	**ahr**
a’én:na’ bow	**Wa’enní:io.** It’s a nice or good bow.	**a’enn**
atáhkwenia’ suit or outfit	**Watahkwení:io.** It’s a nice or good suit or outfit.	**ahkwen**
a’tóhsera’ tent	**Wa’tohserí:io.** It’s a nice or good tent.	**a’tohser**
à:are’ Net, curtain, or mesh	**Wa’arí:io.** It’s a nice or good net, curtain, or mesh.	**a’ar**

ate’wáhshare’ earrings	**Wate’wáhsharí:io.** They’re nice or good earrings.	**ate’wahshar**
ahserí:ie’ String or rope.	**Wahseri’tí:io.** It’s a nice or good string or rope.	**ahserit**
oniá’tara’a’ cloth	**Wennia’tarí:io.** It’s a nice or good cloth.	**ennia’tar**

Table 213. A-stem true nouns

Next we’ll look at consonant stem true nouns with an O noun prefix, meaning that the noun root begins with a consonant, but they take the O noun prefix in their independent noun form.

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
onén:ia’ rock or bullet	**Kanení:io.** It’s a nice or good rock or bullet.	**neni**
otsí:ra’ top or spinner	**Katshirhí:io.** It’s a nice or good top or spinner.	**tsir**
oháhsera’ light or lamp	**Kahahserí:io.** It’s a nice or good light or lamp.	**hahser**
okóntshera’ paint	**Kakontsherí:io.** It’s nice or good paint.	**kontsher**
ókwire’ bush or sapling or tree	**Kakwirí:io.** It’s a nice or good bush,sapling or tree.	**kwir**
óhses syrup	**Kahsestí:io.** It’s nice or good syrup.	**hses[t]**

ohnáwera’ spring or well	**Kahnawerí:io.** It’s a nice/good spring or well.	**hnawer**
otsíhkwa’ fist, war club, knot in a tree or bump on the head.	**Katsihkwí:io.** It’s a nice or good fist, war club, knot in a tree, button or bump on the head.	**tsihkw**
ohshòn:kare’ board or floor	**Kahshon’tarí:io.** It’s a nice or good board or floor.	**shòn:kar**
otsiénha’ fire	**Katsienhí:io.** It’s a nice or good fire.	**tsienh**
o’wà:ron meat	**Ka’wahrí:io.** It’s nice or good meat.	**’wahr**
otsì:tsia’ flower	**Katsi’tsí:io.** It’s a nice or good flower.	**tsi’tsi**

Table 214. Consonant stem with O-prefix true nouns

Finally, we’ll look at some more consonant stem true nouns that take a **ka-** prefix in their independent noun form.

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Noun root
kahonwé:ia’ boat	**Kahonwí:io.** It’s a nice or good boat.	**honw**
kákhwa’ food	**Kakhwí:io.** It’s nice or good food.	**khw**
kanónhsa’ house	**Kanonhsí:io.** It’s a nice or good house.	**nonhs**
kà:khara’ slip	**Ka’kharí:io.** It’s a nice or good slip.	**’khar**
karón:ta’ tree	**Karontí:io.** It’s a nice or good tree.	**ront**
káksa’ Dish or plate	**Kaksí:io.** It’s a nice or good dish or plate.	**ks**
kanákta’ bed or place	**Kanaktí:io.** It’s a nice or good bed or place.	**nakt**
kanósera’ buffalo robe	**Kanoserí:io.** It’s a nice or good buffalo robe.	**noser**

Table 215. Consonant stem with Ka- prefix true nouns

6.4.2 “Fake” nouns

Next we’ll look at “fake” nouns, which require a nominalizer in order to be incorporated. The nominalizer is a special type of morpheme which can be added to a verb in order to “nominalize” it, or change it into a noun. Note that you will see many different nominalizers here and they will be color coded in **light purple**. What is happening here is that the verb pretending to be a noun must be changed from being a verb into a noun by adding the nominalizer that will allow the verb to incorporate it.

Nominalizers can take the form *-htsher, -'tsher, -tsher, -hser, -ser, -ht, -'t, -t,* and *-hkw* (Martin 2023). More work is needed to determine which one appears on which form. You will see several of these forms in the table below.

Independent noun	Incorporated noun	Original verb root
akià:tawi dress, coat, shirt	**Wakia'tawi'tsherí:io.** It's a nice dress, coat, or shirt.	**akia'tawi** body cover
atáhsteren pants	**Watahsteren'tsherí:io.** They're nice pants.	**atahsteren** leg cover
atateweià:ra shawl	**Watateweiahtsherí:io.** It's a nice shawl.	**ateweia** shoulder cover
ateráhki leggings	**Waterahki'tsherí:io.** They're nice leggings.	**aterahki** foot and calf cover
atenentsháhna bracelet or watch	**Watenentshahna'tsherí:io.** It's a nice bracelet or watch.	**atenentshahna** goes around the wrist
atkahrhána eyeglasses	**Watkahrhana'tsherí:io.** They're nice eyeglasses.	**attkahrhana** goes around the eyes
anòn:warore' hat	**Wanonhwarore'tsherí:io.** It's a nice or good hat.	**nonhwarore'** brain cover
atókwa spoon	**Watokwahtsherí:io.** It's a nice or good spoon.	**atokwa** spoon
atekkhwà:ra table	**Watekkhwahra'tsherí:io.** It's a nice or good table.	**atekkhwahra** where you place food
ani'tskwà:ra chair	**Wani'tskwahra'tsherí:io.** It's a nice or good chair.	**aní'tskwahra** where you place your hips
atshíhna arm band or garter	**Watshihna'tsherí:io.** It's a nice arm band or garter.	**atshihna'** goes around the upper arm
atthwawen'é'kstha'	**Watthwawen'e'kstha'tsherí:io.**	**atthwawen'e'kstha'**

diaper	It’s a nice diaper.	it wraps around you
atthnió:ta’ brooch	**Watthnió:ta’tsherí:io.** It’s a nice brooch.	**atthniota’** it pins onto you
atenontéktha’ lid	**Watenontektha’tsherí:io.** It’s a nice lid.	**senontek** from verb to cover or seal
atkòn:sera’ pillow	**Watkon’serahtsherí:io.** It’s a nice or good pillow.	**attkon’sera** where you place your face
ahthénno ball	**Wahthenno’tsherí:io.** It’s a nice or good ball.	**ahthenno** ball
ahserì:ie string or rope	**Wahseri’tí:io.** It’s a nice or good string or rope.	**ahseri** string or rope
ató:ken axe	**Watoken’serí:io.** It’s a nice or good axe.	**atoken** from verb to split in two
atkerothí:ia’ comb	**Watkerothiia’tsherí:io.** It’s a nice or good comb.	**atkerothiw** from verb to comb hair
a’tshó’kten hoe	**Wa’tsho’kten’sherí:io.** It’s a nice or good hoe.	**a’tsho’kten** from a very old verb
ató’tsine’ skate	**Wato’tsinehtsherí:io.** It’s a nice or good skate.	**ato’tsine** from verb to slide
a’tsherón:nia clothing	**Wa’tsheronniahtsherí:io.** It’s nice or good clothing.	**a’tsheronnia** from verb to get dressed

Table 216. “Fake” nouns

6.5 Swearing

This section turns to swearing, which as we’ll see, has an interesting relationship to incorporation. The idea with this swearing part is to show you exactly the productivity of the language. You may be startled to see some of these vulgar words included in this dissertation, but it’s really an important part of the language. Now we can express the full range of language use, so we’re not just idealizing the language. Some people have a romantic vision of Kanien'kéha, of it being so pristine and proper. In reality though, it’s

a very earthy and very productive language, and when you show people how to playfully intensify their words, you really start seeing the productivity. Swearing is a very integral part of showing exactly how the language works, and it's important to document in the context of revitalization to make sure the language is passed down to the next generation with its full expressive richness. Not everyone might be comfortable talking about it, but I am, and I'll be your guide.

My grandfather always used these types of words, so swearing was a constant part of my childhood. His language was very colorful. He might command me:

(4) **Sahtahkwakóha!**
Go get the shoe!

But if I wasn't paying attention enough, he might say:

(5) **Sateneri'tahtahtakóha!**
Go get the damn shoe!

So growing up and spending so much time with him, I learned all these very colorful ways to intensify your basic imperatives. In general, this seems to be more "man's language," but having hung out with my father and my grandfather so much for the first 10 years of my life, I had quite a colorful vocabulary. This always shocked my grandmother in Oka since she was so prim and proper. But this is a very important part of the language to conserve and to document, because you're now seeing the playfulness and the humorous part of the language, as well as ways to intensify how you want the command delivered.

I'm including swearing in the noun incorporation section because swear words seem to break all kinds of incorporation rules. Normally, you can only incorporate one noun into a verb at a time. However, there are some swear words in Kanien'kéha which allow you to incorporate once, twice, or three times (see also Mittelstaedt 2024)! For example, in (5), the root of the root *neri't* from the swear word *onaneri:ta* is incorporated, but so is the word *áhta* 'shoe'.

First, below is a list of some words that are vulgar, or considered swear words. Note that not all of these are inherently vulgar every time; they all have vulgar uses, but these are context-dependent, you have to know the context that you're using it in. For example, **kéntsion** can mean both 'fish' and 'penis.' But if I say **tsitsià:ke**, which means 'on your fish', it's pretty clear that you're not talking about the fish in the ocean.

Kanien'kéha	**English**

onerì:ta[48]	vagina
ononhwawerí:ta	stupid, crazy, weird, odd
iorihwén'te'	gross or vulgar language
ótkon	power, devil, evil
otsískwa	vagina, disrespected female (more vulgar)
kéntsion	fish, penis
kió:tokte'	not all there, missing (intended towards someone's lack of intelligence)
oterihón:ko	sickening, pestering (intended for a continuous distraction)
otsi'nón:wa	bug (intended to describe someone who is irritating or offensive)
ohrétsha	stump (intended to offend someone's small penis)
whák	fuck (borrowed from English)
tesate'nístokte	you're missing a screw (intended towards someone's lack of intelligence)
se'nhnónhsata	you're putting eggs into her/it

Table 217. List of swear words

Now we can combine what we've learned about swearing, incorporation, and imperatives to make imperatives that include swears in the form of incorporated nouns. The next table gives a couple examples of these. You'll notice that, like regular incorporated nouns, swear words are incorporated into verbs preceding the verb and following the pronominal prefix and semireflexive, in the same place as regular incorporated nouns. But unlike regular incorporated nouns, they can be "stacked"; multiple swear words can be incorporated into one verb. And if there is a regular noun incorporated into that verb, the swear word will precede it.

[48] Note from Wishe Mitchell Mittelstaedt that the late Roy Adams, great speaker from Snye, told him *onerì:ta* is specifically the word for vagina whereas the word *otsískwa'* translates as 'cunt'.

Kanien'kéha imperative + swear	English translation
Sateneri'tákien!	Sit the hell down!
Satkon'seratsherákien!	Sit your devil self down!
Sateneri'tawhá'ktsherákien!	Sit the fuck down! (double incorporation)
Sateneri'tawhá'ktsheratkon'serákien!	Sit the fuck down you damn devil! (triple incorporation)

Table 218. Imperatives with swear words

This shows that a very simple command can now take on these very colorful incorporations, which amplifies the intensity of how you want this command to be delivered to the listener. The last one especially shows the productivity of the language. If you want to speak like a native speaker, words like this are what you're aiming for!

Because swear words are so special in that they can be "stacked," or double-incorporated, Mittelstaedt (2024) argues that they are their own special type of morpheme which he calls "expressives." There are a couple of other unique elements of swear words which he points out: although expressives are incorporated in all the examples above, they are not treated in the same way as regular incorporated nouns in that they are not truly arguments of the verb. Whereas in (1) above, the incorporated noun root **ahta** ('shoe') is an argument of the verb **kóha** ('get'), adding the swear word **neri't** does not add another argument to the verb, it just adds a sense of vulgarity. In other words, **sateneri'tahtahtakóha** does not mean 'go get the vagina shoe' or 'go get the vagina and the shoe,' but rather 'go get the damn shoe.'

Just for fun, the last table of this section contains some verbs which are not imperatives, but rather just statements. This table shows again that swear words in Kanien'kéha can break all kinds of rules. All of the following swear words are incorporated into the verb *-aterihón:ko-* ('be sickening'), which already has the noun root *-rihw-* incorporated into it. Therefore, all of the words in the following table have at least two nouns incorporated into them, and you can even incorporate up to three, as in the last two examples.

Kanien'kéha	English
Sateneri'taterihón:ko.	You are a sickening vagina.
Satatkonseraterihón:ko.	You are a sickening devil.

Sattsi’nonwaterihón:ko.	You are a sickening bug.
Satatsiskwaterihón:ko.	You are a sickening vagina.
Sanitsiaterihón:ko.	You are a sickening penis.
Tesaneri’tatonhnokte’.	You are sickeningly stupid.
Sateneri’tanitsiaterihón:ko.	You are a sickening vagina penis.
Tesaneri’tatsiskwatonhnokte’.	You are a sickening stupid lacking vagina.
Sate’nhehtsientsheraterihón:ko’	You are a sickening or annoying bitch.
Sanen’é:ias.	You are craving seed.

Table 219. More incorporated swears

6.6 Verbs acting as nouns

In this last section, we will learn about some more words that, similar to kinship terms, are often used in a referential function despite the fact that they are truly verbs. Baker (1996) calls these “pseudo-nouns” or “pseudonominals.” It’s important to make clear that these pseudo-nouns are not nouns at all. They do not take the noun prefixes, but can be used referentially, meaning they can be used to refer to beings or things in the world, the same way that regular nouns can.

We’ll start with words that are sometimes called “feminine indefinite nouns.” They are called this because they take a feminine indefinite prefix (rather than **(i)o-** or **ka-**, which are neuter prefixes). In reality, though, these are actually verbs.

All of the following examples have an instrumental suffix, which is often translated as ‘use for/with.’ The instrumental suffix attaches to a verb root and changes the meaning to ‘one uses it to ___’ (this is why these examples have the feminine indefinite prefix, since it can mean ‘someone/one’). For example, in the first example, the verb root is -ateweienhst- (‘to learn/study’), and attaching the instrumental *-hkw-* makes it mean ‘one uses it to learn/study,” or ‘school.’ A lot of the time these words are used to describe the world around you. It may therefore be easy to think of them as nouns, since they are often used referentially, to refer to an object in the world around you; however, like kinship terms, they are really verbs that are being used in this way.

Many of these are newer words, because they describe places or things that didn’t exist prior to colonization. One good example is **iakotà:stha**, which means ‘anesthesia’ - obviously the word for ‘anesthesia’ hasn’t been in the language for very

long, but you can use this word to refer to anything that will put you to sleep, such as anesthesia.

The following table provides a list of some of these feminine indefinite nouns as well as the verb stems that they are built on, with the instrumental suffix in **yellow**. As you'll notice, the instrumental suffix has two main forms: *-hkw* and *-(h)t* (Martin 2023).

Feminine indefinite noun	**Verb stem**
ionteweienhstáhkwa school or tool to study with	-ateweienhst- study
ion'kenhrià:kshtha ashtray (literally: 'where one place ashes' or 'where one removes ashes from a woodstove')	-a'kenhria'k- drop ashes
ionteriiohstáhkwa weapons	-ateriiohst- fight
ienenhstaienthóhstha corn planter machine	-nenhstaientho- plant corn
iehwa'ék'stha Bat or beating stick for removing beans from shell	-hwa'e'st- Hit or strike
iakononhwakhtanì:tha something that will make you sick	-nonhwakhtani- be sick
iakotà:stha' atáhkweni suit you wear at night (pj's)	-ita'- sleep
iakotà:stha anesthesia (something that puts you to sleep)	-ita'- sleep
iakotsièn:tha something that will cure you	-tsienht- treat/heal

Table 220. Feminine indefinite nouns

Now that we know so much about how to put words together in the language, we can combine what we've learned about noun incorporation with what we've just seen about instrumental suffixes. First, below is an example of regular noun incorporation. Notice

that there is a semireflexive here, which, as we learned, is often included in noun incorporation constructions to indicate possession of the noun.

(6) **iontenonhsón:ni**
she builds her house

Now, if we add an instrumental, we get the following word:

(7) **iontenonhsonnià:tha**
building materials (literally: ‘one uses it to build a house’)

So as you can see, the language starts to expand more and more as you learn the functions of the different morphemes.

The very last thing that you’ll learn in this dissertation connects to what we learned about kinship terms. Recall that true nouns are relatively uncommon in Kanien’kéha, and most of the words in the language are actually verbs. This is true of kinship terms, as we saw in Chapter 3; although kinship terms are verbs, they can be used referentially, meaning that they can be used to refer to people in the world.

There are many other words, besides kinship terms, that are technically verbs but that are commonly used referentially. Often, these are words that describe professions, as you’ll see in the table below.

Kanien’kéha	**English**	**Literal translation**
shakorihonnién:nis	teacher	he teaches them
shako’nawirahserón:nis	dentist	he fixes their teeth
shakoia’tahré:nas	surgeon	he cuts into their body
shakotà:stha’	anaesthesiologist	he puts them to sleep
shakotetsién:tha’	doctor	he treats them
shakote’nikonhratkèn:ses	psychologist	he looks at their mind
shakotkahratkèn:ses	optometrist	he looks at their eyes

Table 221. Professions

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to show how a first-language speaker looks at our language, so you can see what we see. This is what we had from our elders, which built an awareness from older speakers to new speakers. It is now our responsibility to step up and share how we view and see our language. This will ensure that we pass on the words of our ancestors to the next generation.

The thesis started by introducing the sounds in Kanien'kéha in Chapter 2, as this is the first thing that first language speakers hear and learn. The sounds were shown in order to show you how to make, hear, read, and write each sound. This not only prepared you for the Kanien'kéha in the rest of the thesis, but also for Kanien'kéha in the real world, as the language only comes alive when interacting with people and actually making the sounds. I went through each sound in Kanien'kéha, showing examples for each. Time here was taken to choose the best examples to show you how to mimic each sound. Additionally, it was emphasized how each syllable is actually pronounced, therefore ensuring that intelligibility was maintained. Then, I looked at how the stressed syllable is usually the second syllable from the end (e.g. *satkáhtho* 'Look at it!'), and how this is the syllable that is loudest (most prominent) in the word. Finally, I described the epenthetic vowels in Kanien'kéha, which include epenthetic <*e*> (e.g. *tékeriks* 'I put them together'), which cannot be stressed, as well as <*i*>, which is inserted when the word is too small, and results in fake stress (e.g. *íhsko* 'Pick the fruit!').

In Chapter 3, I discussed the kinship terms in Kanien'kéha. I discussed how, as older speakers, we notice that younger speakers often don't convey the precise relationship that is necessary for the context. For example, whereas older speakers would always include the relationship to someone else when talking about a mother (e.g. our mother, your mother, etc.), younger speakers will just say 'mother' without specifying. To address this, I described the full kinship term system, and how these included not just the words for 'mother' (*istén:*), for example, but the pronominal prefixes that encode the relationship as well (e.g. *ake'nisténha* 'my mother'). In this way, the kinship terms in partnership with the pronouns create a sort of web of relationships that connects us to each other, connects family with nation, and nation to Iroquois Confederacy. This shows how all of us are related to each other. This discussion of kinship terms also provided the entry-way into the pronoun system in Kanien'kéha, in the same way that we as older speakers learned the language.

While the kinship terms give the blueprint of all the people in your world, as well as your relationships to them, the imperative shows how we use verbs to connect actions to the various people and relationships in your world. This was discussed in Chapter 4. The imperative is an important early step in the learning process because as children learning the language, we were often told what to do via commands.

Additionally, since the imperative usually is minimalist in terms of its morphology, it is a more simple starting point on which the learner can then build. For example, the word *sákien* 'Sit!' includes the subjective second person pronoun *s-* as well as the verb root *-akien-*, with no other morphology. I first discussed the imperative with subjective pronouns, then with the objective pronouns, which then led to the transitive pronouns. This connects us back to kinship and reinforces the relationships learned in the preceding chapter. Within each of these categories (subjective, objective, transitive), there were three sub-categories: plain, dualic, and fake stress. For example, there is the plain subjective imperative (e.g. *sákien* 'Sit!'), the dualic subjective imperative (e.g. *tésta'n* 'Stand!'), and the fake stress subjective imperative (e.g. *í:sowh* 'Put it in water or liquid!'), which includes the prosthetic discussed in Chapter 2. Learning the imperatives gave us a large base and vocabulary, as we now had the pronouns as well as many verbs.

In Chapter 5, I addressed the types of suffixes and prefixes that can be added to change the number of people involved in an event. Specifically, these suffixes and prefixes either add more people to the event, or reduce the number. These are called participant changing morphology (i.e. valence-changing morphology). I started by discussing the morphology that reduces the number of participants, which are the two reflexive prefixes: the semi-reflexive and the reflexive. When either the semi-reflexive and the reflexive is added onto a word, it means that the subject is doing the action do themselves. In this sense, the semi-reflexive/reflexive removes the object from the equation (e.g. reflexive: satathró:ri 'Tell yourself!'; semi-reflexive: sathré:waht 'You get punished!'). On the other hand, the causative and the benefactive *add* a participant to the event. In the case of the benefactive, when it is added to a word, it adds a person for which the event is happening (i.e. the recipient). For example, in the word *she'khónnien* 'Cook for her!', someone is receiving the product of the cooking action. Without the benefactive, there would be no recipient; it would mean 'you cook her'. In the case of the causative, when it is added, it adds a causer of the event. For example, in the word *sheió'tenhst* 'Make her work!', with the causative suffix *-hst*, there is a causer involved that is making 'her work'. Without the causative, it would just be an imperative saying 'Work!'.

After introducing the verbs that relate people to actions and to each other, I introduced in Chapter 6 the things that people can relate to via the verbs: the nouns. Nouns are my favorite subject to teach as they tell us what objects were in our world before the Europeans came to our shores, and how we created new words for objects introduced to us (e.g. à:there' 'basket', karístatsi 'metal' or 'iron'). I showed how, in Kanien'kéha, nouns can either be independent, or incorporated. I started by discussing independent nouns, showing that they are generally made up of a noun prefix, a noun root, and a noun suffix (e.g. kéntsion' 'fish'; kéntskare' 'mat', 'carpet', 'rug', 'matress'; kén:ie' 'oil', 'grease'). I then showed how these nouns can be possessed by replacing

the noun prefixes with possessive prefixes (e.g. akítsion ‘my fish’). I like this because now you can tell who owns something and who it belongs to. I then discussed incorporating nouns, which is where the fun really begins. This is when you “incorporate” a noun into a verb, to describe the state of the noun or what is happening to it (e.g. kentsí:io ‘good fish’). I then made the distinction between real nouns (described above), and pseudo-nouns, which are verbs pretending to be nouns (e.g. akià:tawi ‘shirt’ or ‘it covers your body’). Lastly, I described how swearing works in Kanien’kéha, and how this involves the incorporation of certain words (e.g. wakenari’tentsiarónhkwani ‘my vagina fish is itchy’). This allows the speaker to describe the world around them in colorful idioms or harsh rebukes of what they have strong feelings for.

Over the last 7 months, I have used the structure and content of this thesis as a guide for the curriculum in a class where I teach advanced L2 speakers. This has been a very insightful experience for me. At the beginning of the class, students tended to mix up pronouns. This prompted me to review all pronouns in all 9 stem classes and look very carefully at how each form looks in subjective, objective and transitive (as done in Chapters 3 and 4). Consequently, students are becoming much more effective in being able to do quick verb conjugations. We have also worked on the pre-pronominal prefixes. While the students have massively improved, we still need to work on the translocative and cislocative. This is especially the case when these are being combined with the future tense. This reminds me of when we speakers were young and our parents or elders would say “I understand what you are trying to say, but it would make much better sense to say it this way.” I see the roles of us elders to be with the younger speakers and model for them by telling stories and doing everyday talk, and correcting them in a positive way so they can converse better.

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A Answer keys to exercises

3.2.1 Lesson 1: Sahwá:tsire’ tánon’ akhwá:tsire’ (Your family and my family)

What do you think **’níha** means?
father
What about **no’a**?
step-family member
How about **ien’a**?
child
And what does **hsohtha’** mean?
grandparent

3.2.2 Í:se’ nòn:wa’! Making kinship terms

My older sister:
akhtsí'a
His older brother:
rohtsí'a
Your father:
ia’níha
Her aunt:
ontate’nisténha
His daughter:
ronwaién'a *or* **shakoién'a**
My grandson:
riiateré'a
Your mother-in-law:
iesehnhónsa’

3.2.4 Í:se’ nòn:wa’! Making reciprocal terms

His neighboring sibling?
tehiatehnón:teren
Her (male) friend?
ronatén:ro
Your brother-in-law (talking to a man)?
tsatióha/tsiakióha
My sister-in-law (woman speaking)?
ontiaríha/onkiaríha
Her twin?
tekeníkhen

3.3.2 Í:se’ nòn:wa’! Introducing family members

How would you introduce your grandmother?
Ne ki ne akhsóhtha tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats.

How about your younger brother?
Ne ki ne ri’kén’a tánon’ [name] ronwá:iats.

How about your older sister?
Ne ki ne akhtsí’a tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats.

How about your daughter?
Ne ki ne kheién’a tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats.

How about your female friend?
Ne ki ne onkiá’tshi/onkiatén:ro tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats.
(**Ontiá’tshi/Onkiá’tshi** if you are female, **ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro** if you are male.)

How would you introduce your grandfather to me?
Ne ki ne rakhsóhtha tánon’ [name] ronwá:iats.

And your uncle?
Ne ki ne rakenonhá’a tánon’ [name] ronwá:iats.

How about your cousin?
Ne ki ne ontiara’sé’a/onkiara’sé’a tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats/ronwá:iats.
(**Iontátiats/Iontákiats** if your cousin is female, **ronwá:iats** if your cousin is male.)

How about your sister-in-law?
Ne ki ne ontiaríha/onkiaríha/akonháhwha’ tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats.
(**Ontiaríha/Onkiaríha** if you are female, **akonháhwha’** if you are male.)

How about your twin?
Ne ki ne teiakeníkhen tánon’ [name] iontátiats/iontákiats/ronwá:iats.
(**Iontátiats/Iontákiats** if your twin is female, **ronwá:iats** if your twin is male.)

How about your father?
Ne ki ne rake’níha tánon’ [name] ronwá:iats.

3.5, Exercise 3: Introductions fill-in

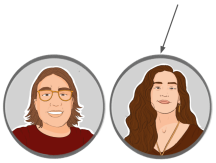
Speaker A: **Shé:kon [Speaker B]! Í:kehre' ahtshientéhrha'ne' ne ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro Sá:k.**

Speaker B: **Shé:kon Sá:k. Skennen'kó:wa ken?**

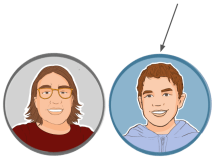
Sá:k: **Hen, skennen'kó:wa. Ok ní:se?**

B: **Skennen'kó:wa, niá:wen.**

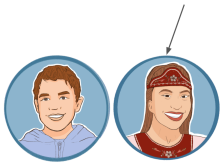
A: **Wahsheientéhrha'ne' ne Sá:k ro'nisténha' wáhe? Onwá:ri iontátiats/iontákiats.**



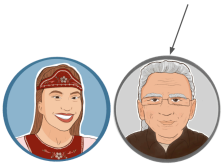
B: **Iah, wahiientéhrha'ne' ne ro'kén'a. Ahawíhtha' ronwá:iats.**



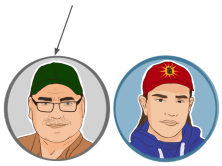
A: **Ahawíhtha' shako'ksténha', Sosén: iontátiats/iontákiats.**



B: **Ónhka' ne Sosén: ronwahsóhtha?**



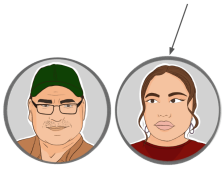
A: **Wíshe ronwá:iats.**



B: **Í:se ne Wíshe ianó'a wáhe?**

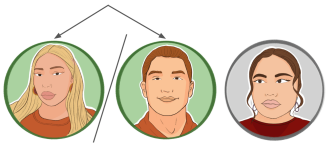
A: **Hen, Wíshe rakenó'a.**



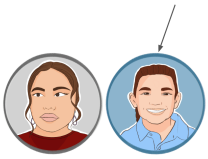


B: **Wa’kheientéhrha’ne’ ne Wíshe rahtsí'a, tánon’ Skaneniésha’ iontátiats/iontákiats.**

A: **Ontiatén:ro/Ontiátshi/Onkiatén:ro/Onkiá’tshi ne Skaneniésha’.**

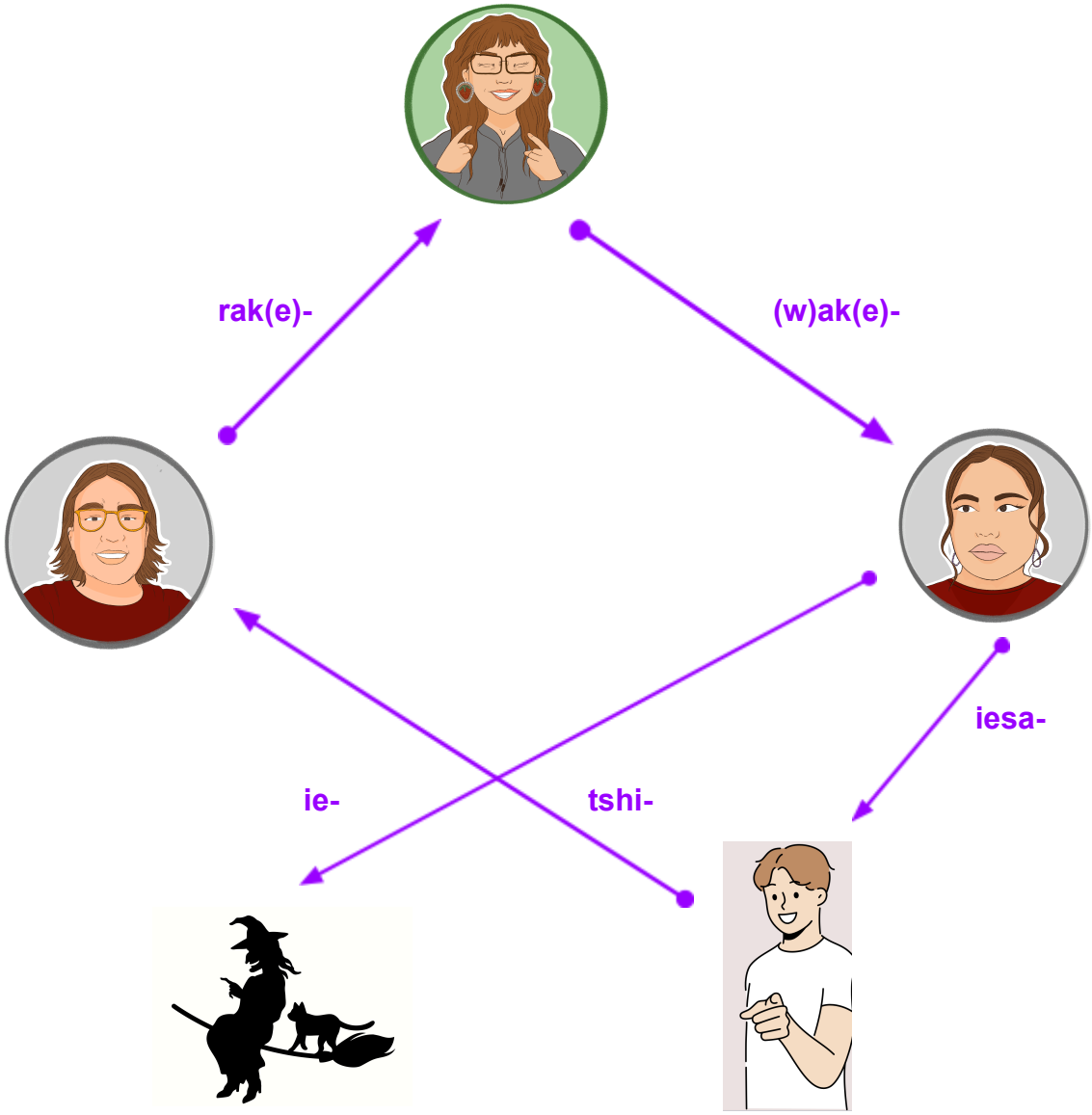


B: **Í'i ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro ne Skaneniésha’ ronionhwatèn'a.**

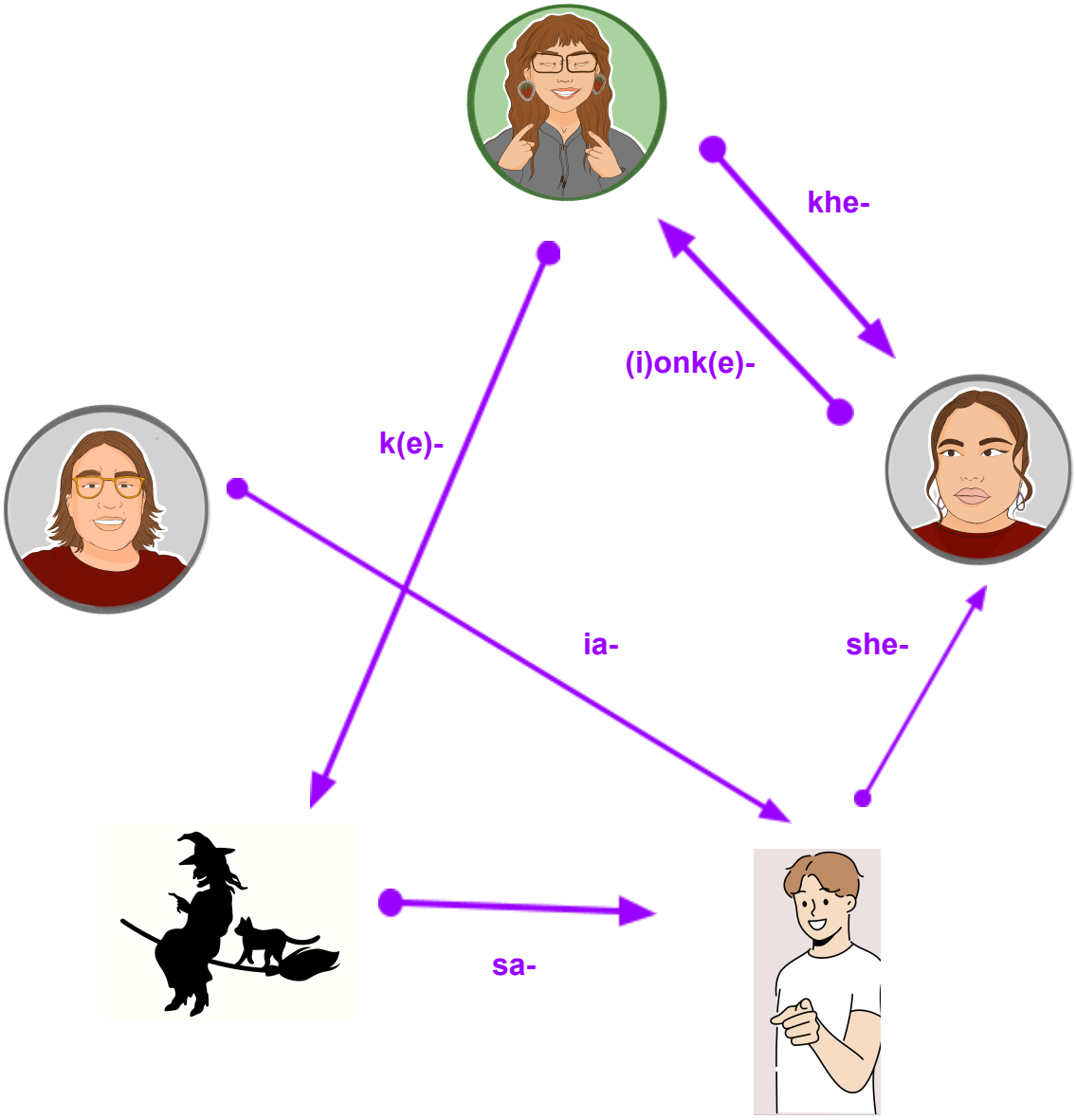


3.5, Exercise 5: Relationship webs

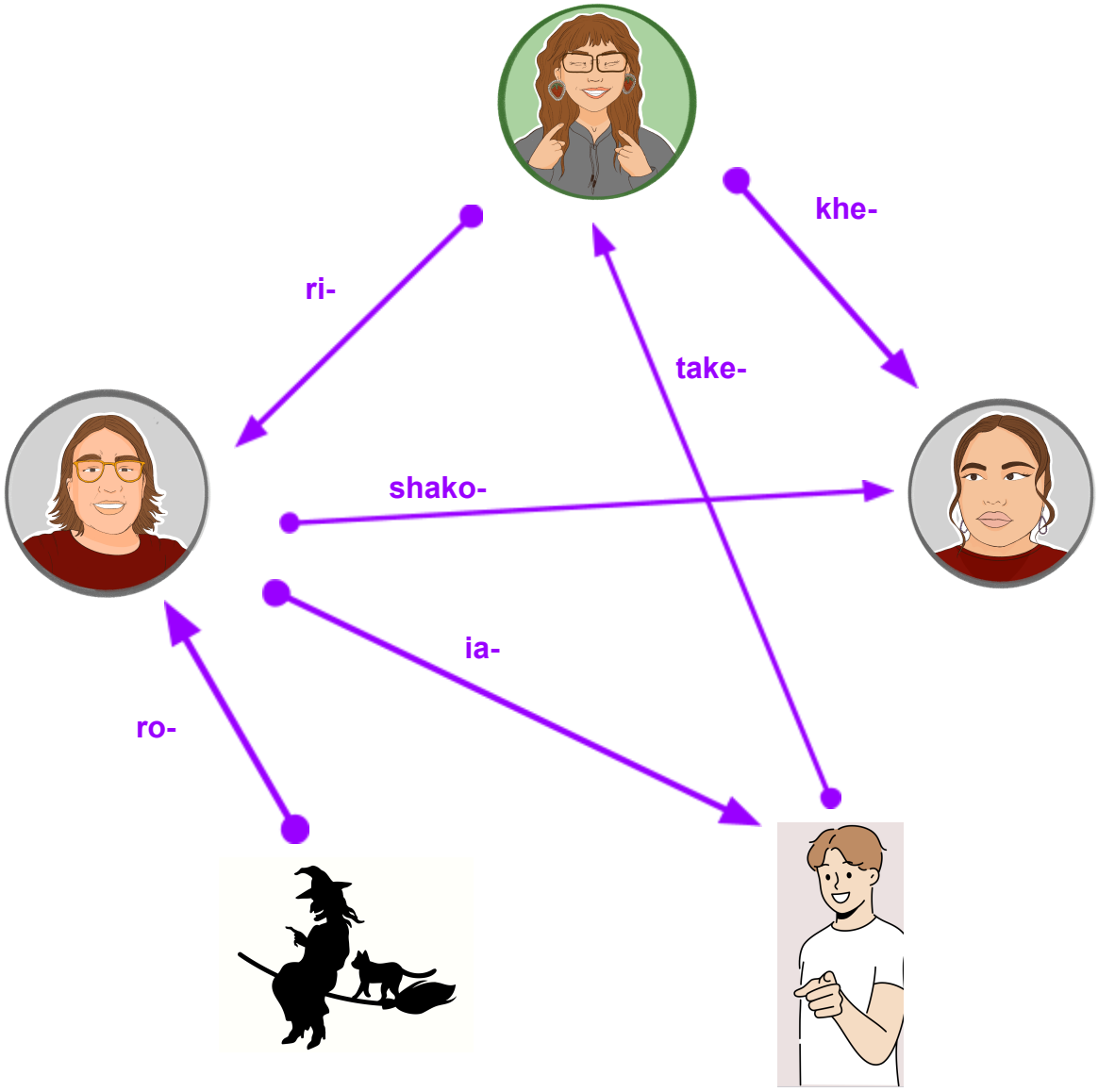
Exercise 5.1 answers



Exercise 5.2 answers



Exercise 5.3 answers



4.2.4 Í:se’ nòn:wa’! Exercises (transitive imperatives)

Exercise 1: Prefixes and people

teseniiáhse>raónha

Tshiseni hró:ri etshiseni'níha !

You two tell one male!

raónha>teseniiáhse

Tshiseni hró:ri teseniiáhse! !

May one male tell you two!

---

sewakwé:kon>raónha

Tshisewa hró:ri tshisewa'níha !

You all tell your father!

raónha>sewakwé:kon

Tshisewa hró:ri sewakwé:kon !

Have your father tell you all!

í:se>aónha

Se hró:ri sa'nisténha !

You tell her/it!

teseniiáhse>aónha

Seni hró:ri seni'nisténha !

You two tell her/it!

sewakwé:kon>aónha

Sewa hró:ri sewa'nisténha !

You all tell her/it!

í:se>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Skwa hró:ri tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon !

You tell us all!

teseniiáhse>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Skwa hró:ri tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon !

You two tell us all!

sewakwé:kon>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Skwa hró:ri tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon !

You all tell us all!

sewakwé:kon>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Skwa hró:ri teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse !

You all tell us 2!

sewakwé:kon>í'i

Skwa hró:ri nì:'i !

You all tell me!

í:se>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Skeni hró:ri teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse !

You tell us two!

teseniiáhse>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Skeni hró:ri teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse !

You two tell us two!

teseniiáhse>í'i

Skeni hró:ri nì:'i! !

You two tell me!

í:se>í'i

Sk hró:ri nì:'i !

You tell me!

Exercise 2: Fill in the prefix

í:se>tehniiáhse

She **hró:ri ia’sótha tánon’ ia’nonhá'a!**

You tell your grandfather and uncle!

í:se>tekeniiáhse

She **ri’wanón:tons!**

You ask them(2F)!

teseniiáhse>raónha

(E)tshiseni **hnónksa!**

You two go get him!

sewakwé:kon>raónha

(E)tshisewa **hnónksa!**

You all go get him!

í:se>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Skeni **rá:kwa’s!**

You save something for us 2!

teiakeniiáhse>í:se

Ki **atáwenhst!**

May we(2,excl) give you a bath!

akaónha>raónha

Ronwai **ónnien!**

May she make him do something!

iakwakwé:kon>onónha

Iakhii **én’tskwe’k!**

May we(3+,excl) shut them(3+F) up!

tewakwé:kon>raónha

(E)tshitewen **i’tskóten!**[49]

May we(3+,incl) sit him up!

ronónha>akaónha

Shakoti **ió’tenhst!**

May they(3+M) make her work!

teteniiáhse>onónha

Iethi **hní:nons!**

May we(2,incl) buy something for them(3+F)!

akaónha>í'i

Ionk **kwatá:kwas!**

May she fix it for me!

sewakwé:kon>í'i

Skwa **hiá:tons!**

You all write something for me!

onónha>akaónha

Iakon **ateró:rok!**

Have them(3+F) watch her!

tewakwé:kon>ronónha

Iethii **ó’tsions’!**

May we(3+,incl) pull it out for them(3+M)!

teteniiáhse>raónha

(E)tshiki **a’tontaní:ra!**

May we(2,incl) accompany him!

[49] Don’t forget to cross out the **i** for this example!

teiakeniiáhse>raónha

Shaki **aten’nikón:raren!**

May we(2,excl) watch out for him!

raónha>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Shonkeni **karatón:ha’s!**

May he tell us two a story!

teseniiáhse>raónha

(E)tshiseni **hthához’s!**

You two lecture him!

raónha>raónha

Ró: **nont!**

May he feed him!

teseniiáhse>í'i

Skeni **nóhare’s!**

You two wash it for me!

akaónha>akaónha

Iontate **’níkhon’s!**

May she sew it for her!

ronónha>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Ionkhi **kontshereahrho’s!**

May they(3+M) paint for us all!

akaónha>í:se

Iesa **kahrhaté:nien!**

May she empty something for you!

tehniiáhse>akaónha

Shakoti **takerí:ta’s!**

May they(2M) fry something for her!

onónha>onónha

Konwati **hnè:kanont!**

May they(3+F) give them(3+F) water!

í'i>í:se

Koni **atahónhsatat!**

May I listen to you!

aónha>onónha

Iako **atonhé:wa's!**

May it sweep for them(3+F)!

raónha>akaónha

Shako **i'tsténhta's!**

May he remove fish scales for her!

teseniiáhse>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Taken **i'tonióhtha's!**

You two put it in a pile or stack for us two!

teiakeniiáhse>teseniiáhse

Ki **a'tón'nek!**

May we(2,excl) move you two out of the way!

í:se>í'i

Take **ri'wanón:tons!**

You ask me!

raónha>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Shonkeni **tsì:tsion!**

May he give us all flowers!

í'i>sewakwé:kon

Kwa **hnià:sa!**

May I hug all of you!

í'i>akaónha

Khe **tsikhè:ton!**

May I give her candy!

ronónha>ronónha

Ronwati **hshwanón:na!**

May they(3+M) back them(3+M) up/have their back!

raónha>aónha

Ra **na’tarónnien!**

May he make bread for it!

í'i>raónha

Rii **a’tenhní:non’s!**

Let me sell it to him!

iakwakwé:kon>raónha

Shakw **atken’sé:ra!**

May we(3+,excl) check on him!

í:se>akaónha

Shei **ataséhten!**

You hide on her!

raónha>sewakwé:kon

(E)tshisewa **ken’én:ion!**

May he look at you all!

onónha>teseniiáhse

Ietshii **anonhwaró:rok!**

May they(3+F) put a hat on you two!

iakwakwé:kon>sewakwé:kon

Kwa **hshnié:non!**

May we(3+,excl) assist you all!

raónha>teseniiáhse

(E)tshiseni **kweniénht!**

May he respect you two!

teseniiáhse>aónha

Seni **wístoht!**

You two chill it!

teseniiáhse>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Skeni **kón:seren!**

You two put a pillow under us all!

í'i>teseniiáhse

Keni **karháttho!**

May I turn you two over!

iakwakwé:kon>í:se

Kwa **hio’tí:ia’ts!**

May we(3+,excl) sharpen something for you!

raónha>í:se

Ia **tátsten!**

May he put you to sleep!

iakwakwé:kon>teseniiáhse

Kwen **i’tstáhrho’s!**

May we(3+,excl) place shingles on for you two!

raónha>í'i

Rak **ké’tsko!**

May he get me up!

sewakwé:kon>teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Skwen **i’tstarhónkwa’s!**

You all remove shingles for us two!

í:se>aónha

Ts **ia’tíniont!**

You take it home/to a safe place!

teiakeniiáhse>sewakwé:kon

Kwa **ia’tohserón:ko!**

May we(2,excl) massage you all!

sewakwé:kon>tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Skwa **tsi’tón:ni!**

You all make us all cry!

4.3.7 Í:se’ nòn:wa’! Exercises (subjective and objective imperatives)

Exercise 1: Fill in the subjective prefix

í'i

K **kóha!**

May I get it!

sewakwé:kon

Sewa **rhó:rok!**

You all cover it!

akaónha

Ión: **á:rat!**

May she lie down!

teiakeniiáhse

Iaken **ohrhón:ko!**

May we(2,incl) gather it!

raónha

Rén **íhe!**

May he die!

aónha

Ka **ié:na!**

May she/it hold it!

onónha

Ronn **én’tskwet!**

May they(3+F) hold their breath!

tekeniiáhse

Ken **on’wéskwani!**

May they(2F) enjoy it!

iakwakwé:kon



ató:rat!

May we(3+,excl) hunt!

raónha



nóhare!

May he wash it!

teteniiáhse



hiá:ton!

May we(2,incl) write!

ronónha



kè:ron!

May they(3+M) respect it!

akaónha



atsherón:ni!

May she get dressed!

tewakwé:kon



iéntho!

May we(3+,incl) plant it!

tehniiáhse



ia'kón:ni!

May they(2M) lay down!

Exercise 2: Fill in the objective prefix

teseniiáhse

Seni **hwa’ék!**

You two hit it!

teteniiáhse/teiakeniiáhse

Ionkeni **’nikonhraién:ta’n!**

May we two understand!

raónha

Ro **rénnha’n!**

May he get used to it!

í'i

Wake **rénie!**

May I rub!

onónha

Ion **atshennón:ni!**

May they(3+F) be happy all the time!

akaónha

Iako **ió’ten!**

May she work!

tewakwé:kon/iakwakwé:kon

Ionkwa **iéhson!**

May we all laugh!

ronónha

Ron **ótsienht!**

May they(3+M) dig!

aónha

Io **'nikónhrhen'n!**

May it forget!

B Extra materials

Here are the kinship slides that you've already seen (plus some extras, like the trees for **raónha** and **akaónha**), but much bigger so that you can see all the details.

Key:

1. In Iroquoian culture the two baskets symbolize marriage from traditional view point. 

2. The step symbolizes a step-relationship (e.g. step-mother or step-child). 

3. The grey background is used for people older than you. 

4. The blue background is used for people younger than you. 

5. The green background is used for people who are the same age or level as you. 

Figure 40. Kinship key (appendix)

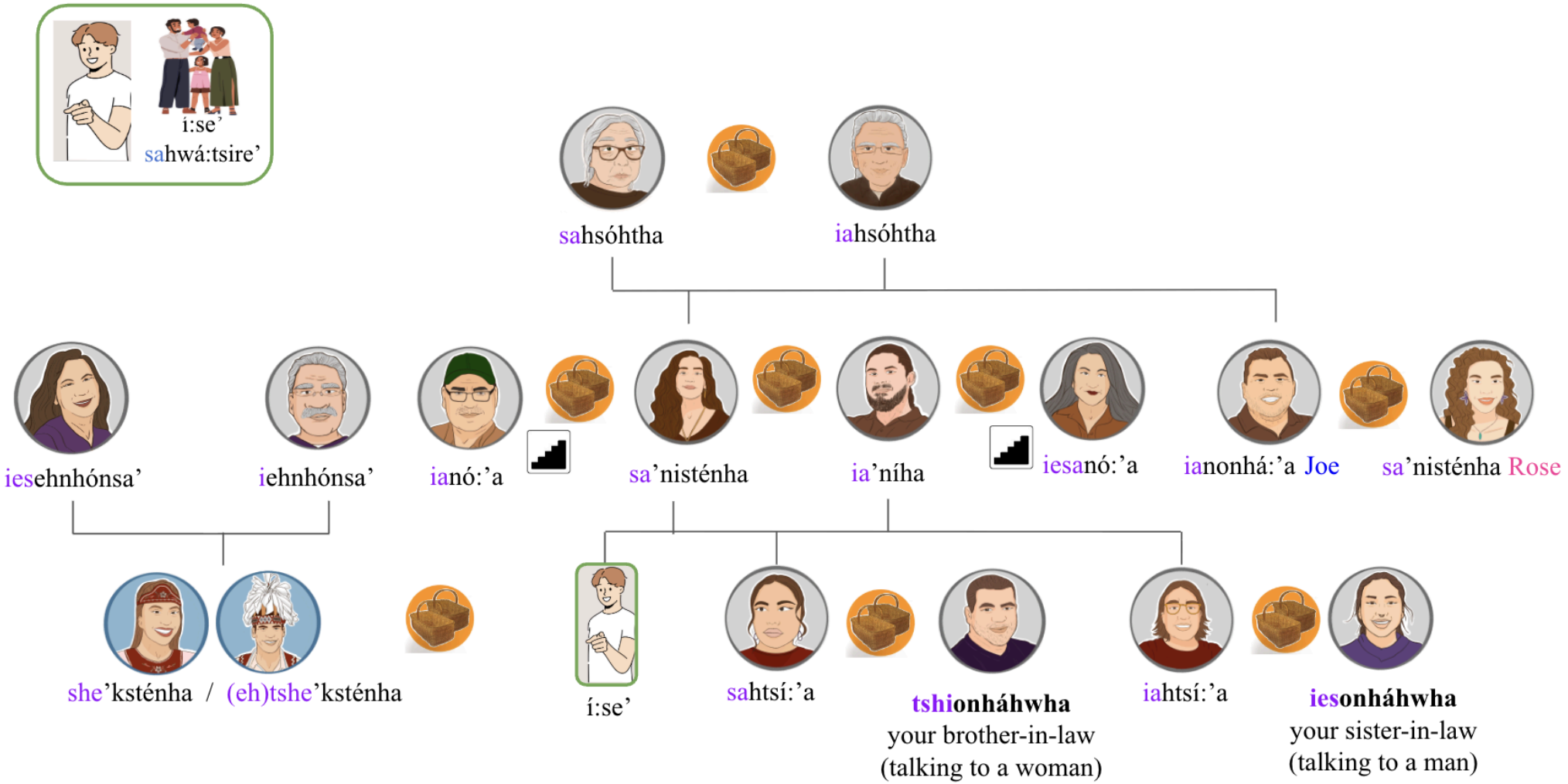


Figure 41. Í:se’ sahwá:tsire’ (older family members - appendix)

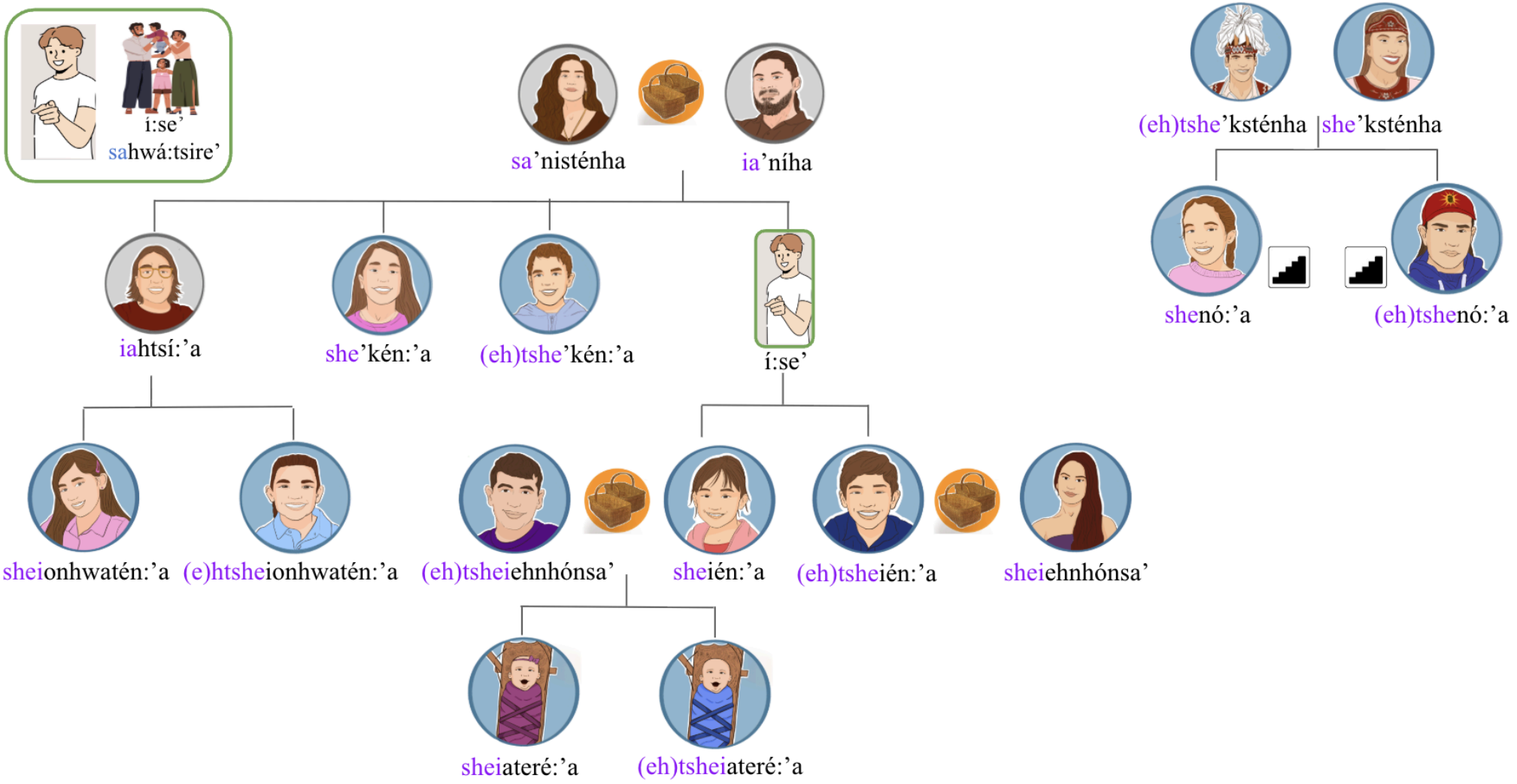


Figure 42. Í:se’ sahwá:tsire (younger family members - appendix)

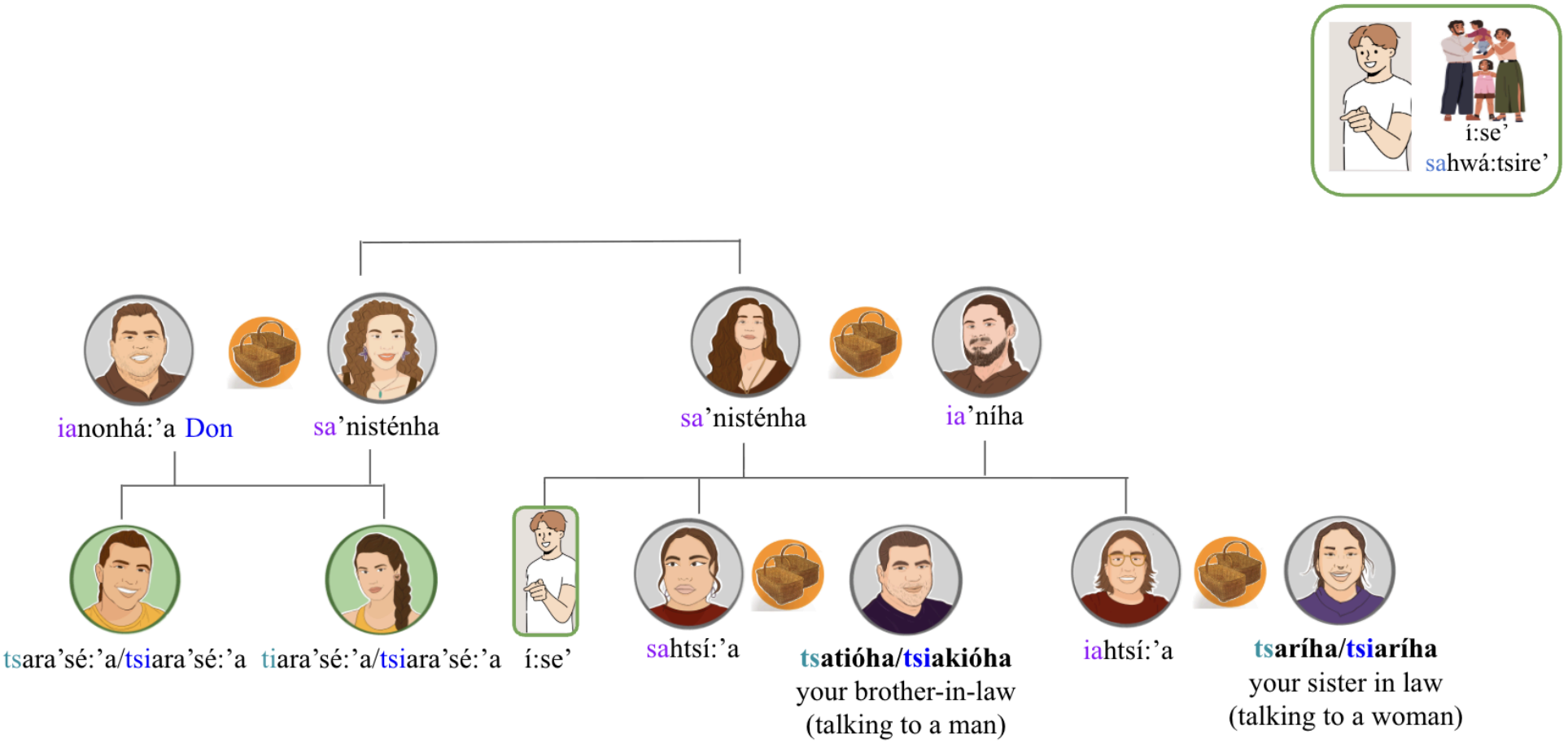


Figure 43. Í:se' sahwá:tsire' (reciprocal family members - appendix)



tsátshi/tsiátshi
your friend (only if both female)



sáhskare’
your partner



satshé:na/satshé:nen takò:s
your pet cat

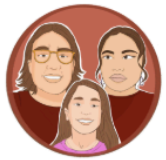
skatthné:ken
seniió’te’
your coworker



tsatén:ro/tsiatén:ro
your friend (if both male, or one male and one female)



teseníkhen
your twin



tsatate’kèn:’a/tsiatate’kèn:’a
(your sibling)
tsateno’sénha/tsiateno’sénha
(your relative)
tetsatenhnón:tere/tetsiatehón:tere
(your neighboring sibling - immediately older/younger than you)

skáthne
tsateweiénhstha’/
tsiateweiénhstha’
your classmate



tetsanonhsané:ken/tetsianonhsané:ken
your neighbor

Figure 44. Í:se’ sahwá:tsire’ (more reciprocal family members - appendix)

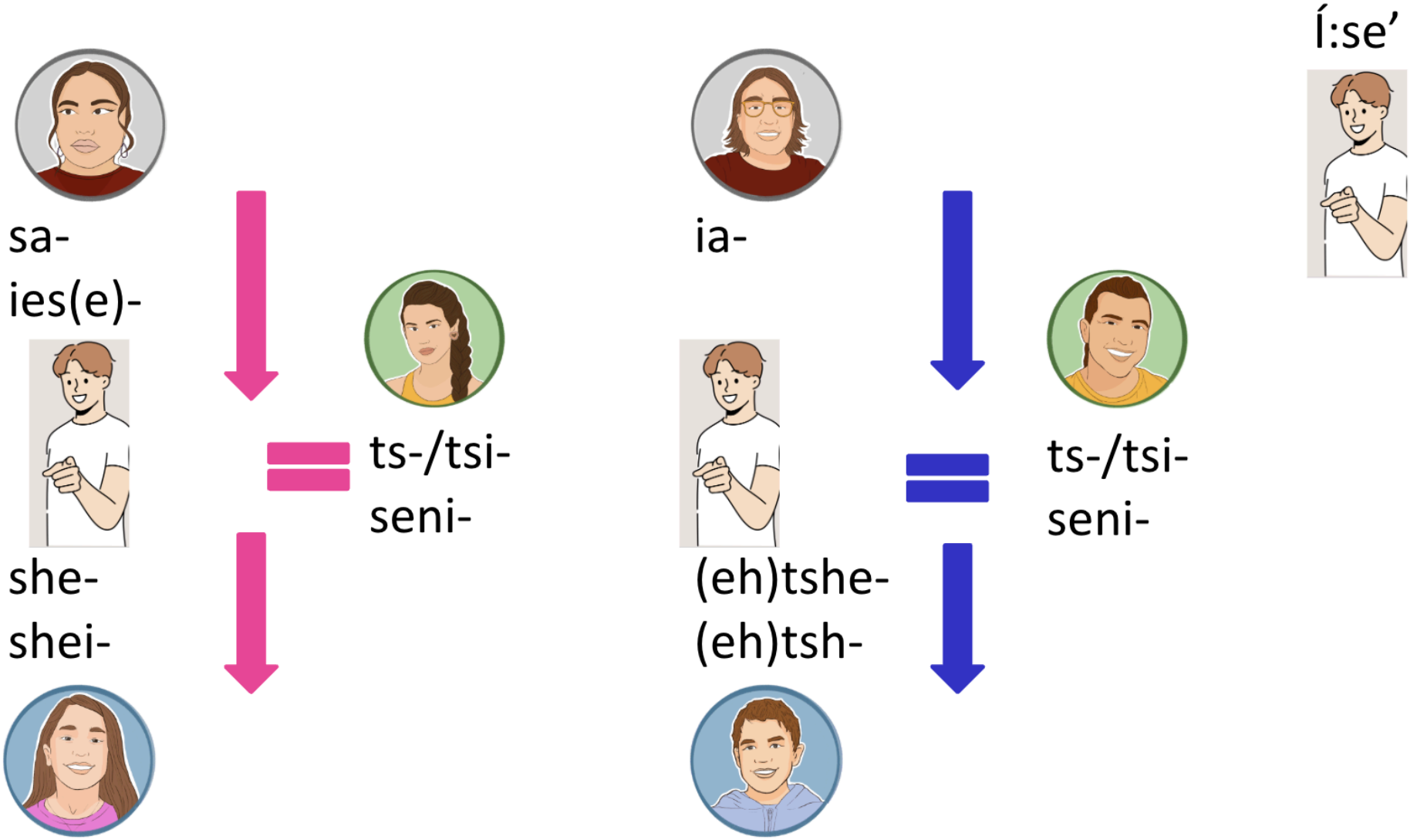


Figure 45. Í:se’ prefix diagram (appendix)

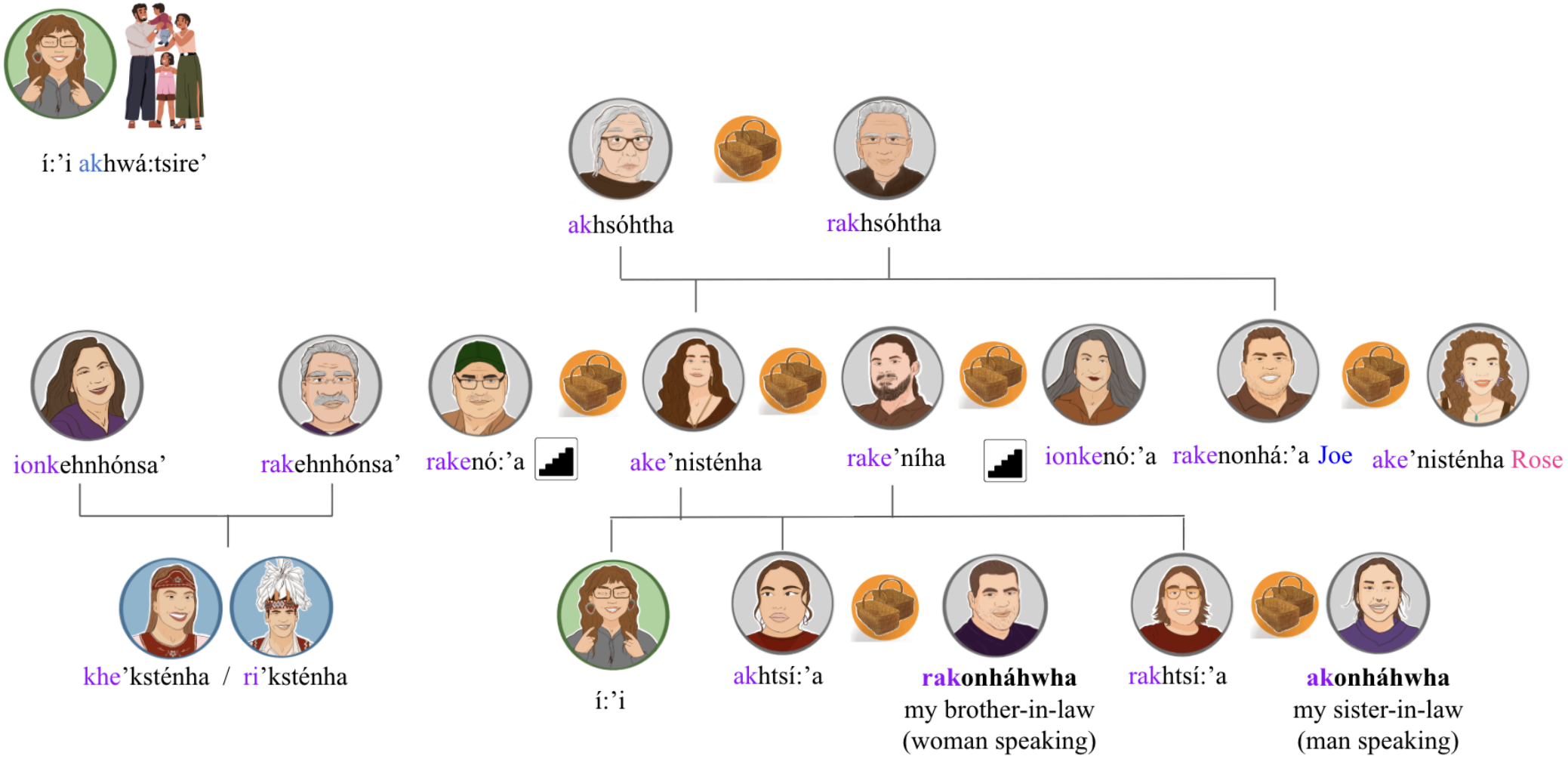


Figure 46. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (older family members - appendix)

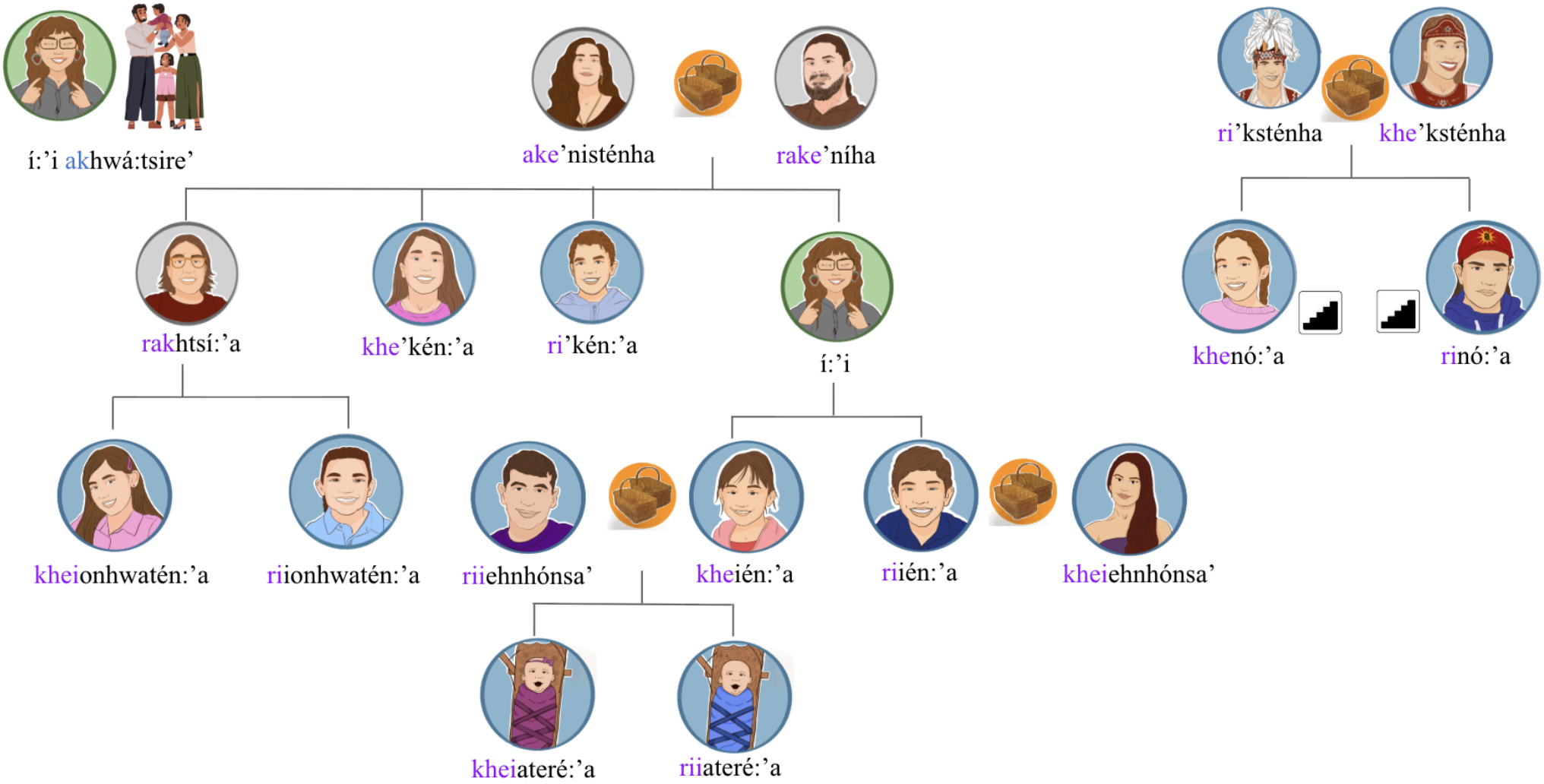


Figure 47. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (younger family members - appendix)

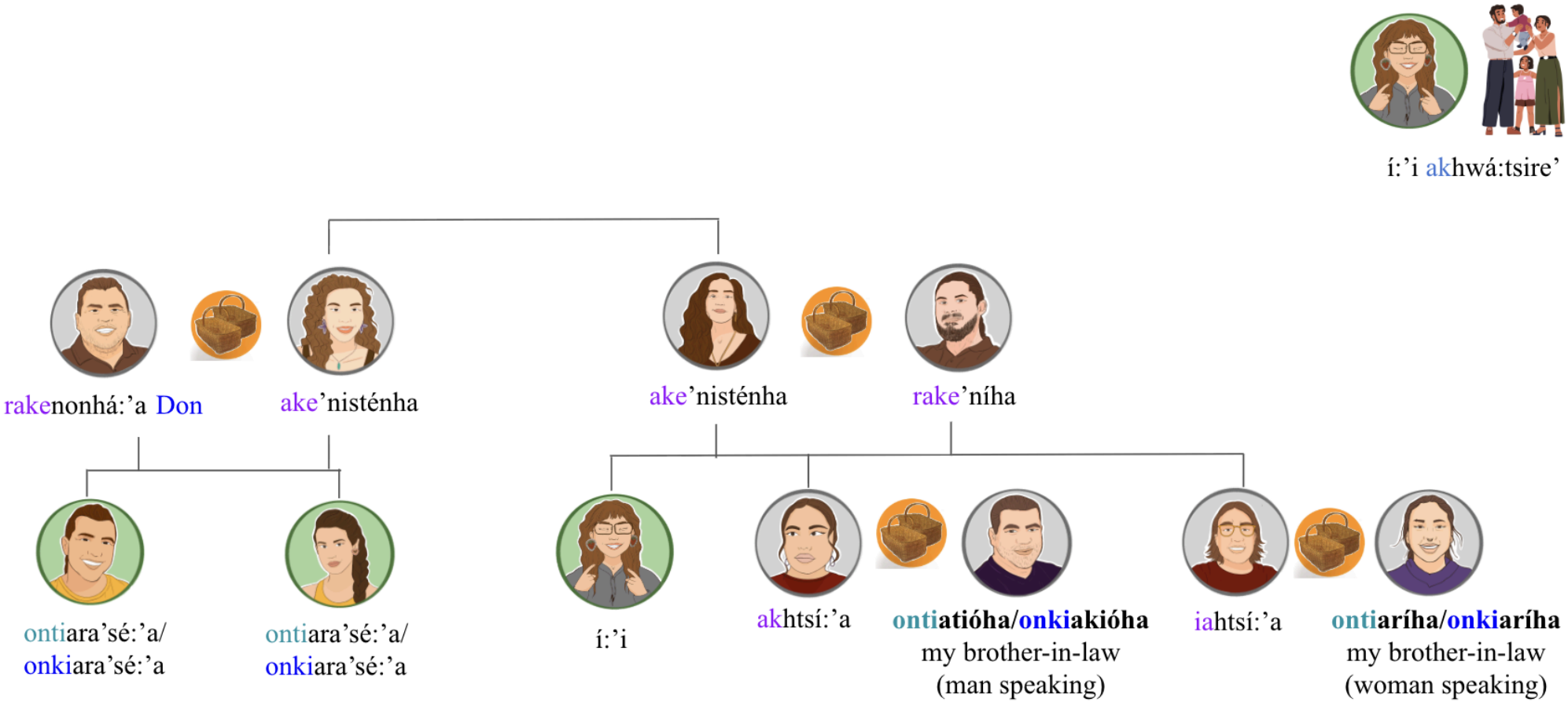


Figure 48. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (reciprocal family members - appendix)



ontiátshi/onkiátshi
my friend (if both female)



akhskare’
my partner

skatthné:ken
ionkeniió’te’
my coworker



ontiatén:ro/onkiatén:ro
my friend (if both male, or one male one female)

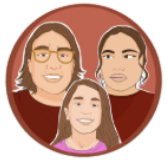


akitshé:na takò:s
my pet cat

skáthne
iatiateweiénhstha’/
iakiateweiénhstha’
my classmate



teiakeníkhen
my twin



iatiatate’kèn:’a/iakiatate’kèn:’a
my sibling
iatiatenon’sénha/iakiatenon’sénhate
my relative
teiatiatenhnón:teren/teiakiatenhnón:teren
my neighboring sibling (immediately older or younger)



teiatianonhsané:ken/teiakianonhsané:ken
my neighbor

Figure 49. Í'i akhwá:tsire’ (more reciprocal family members - appendix)

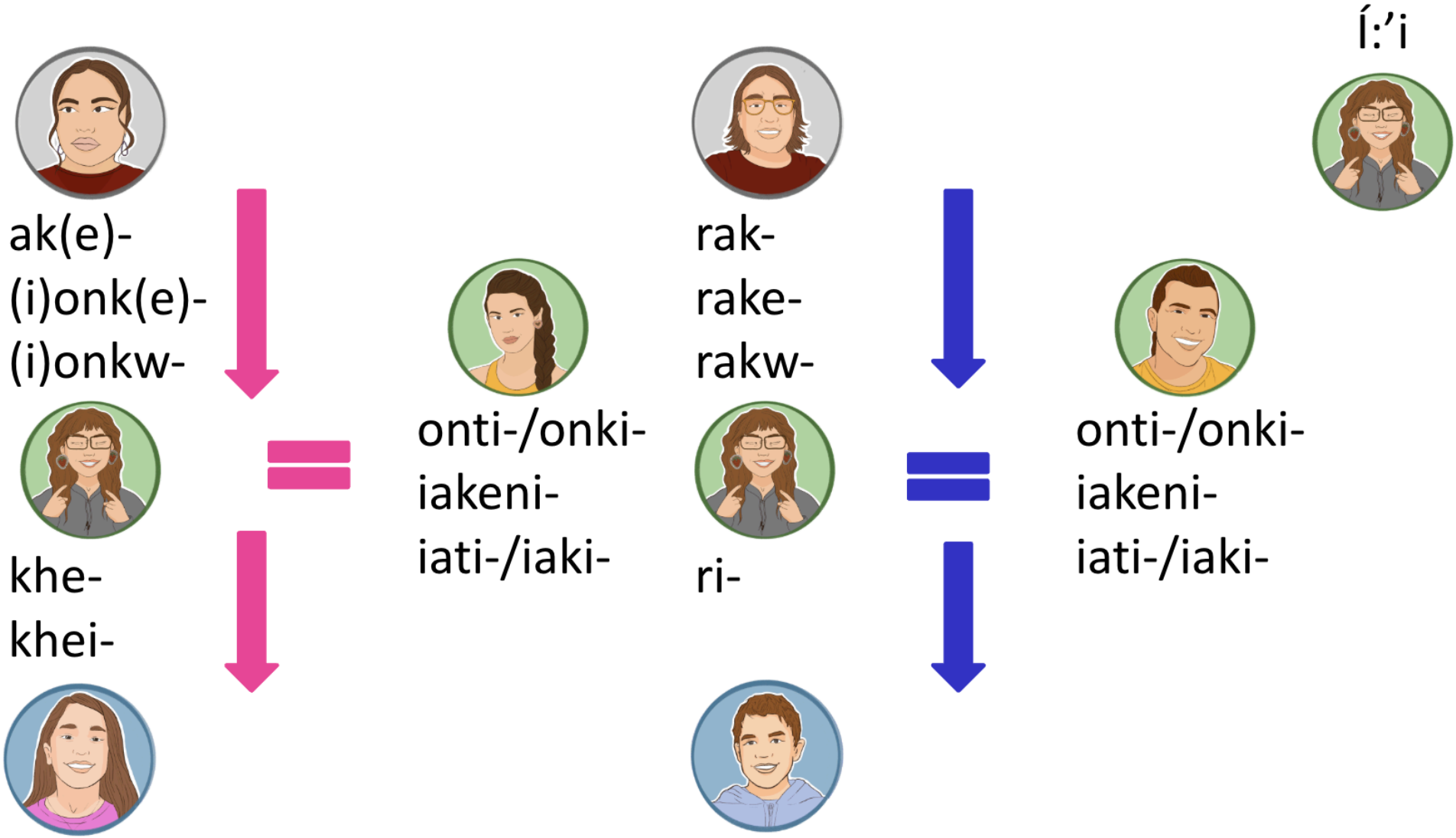


Figure 50. Í'i prefix diagram (appendix)

Deceased Kinship nouns

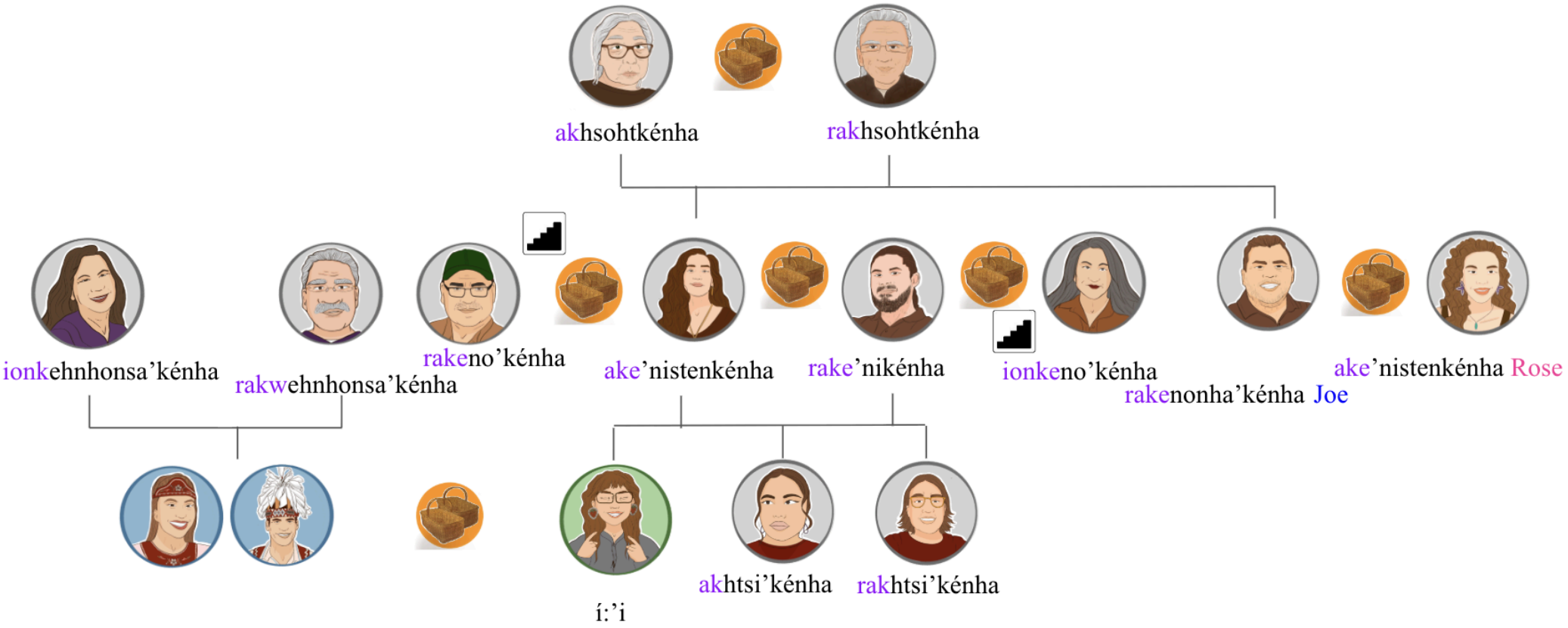


Figure 51. Older kinship terms (appendix)

Deceased Kinship nouns

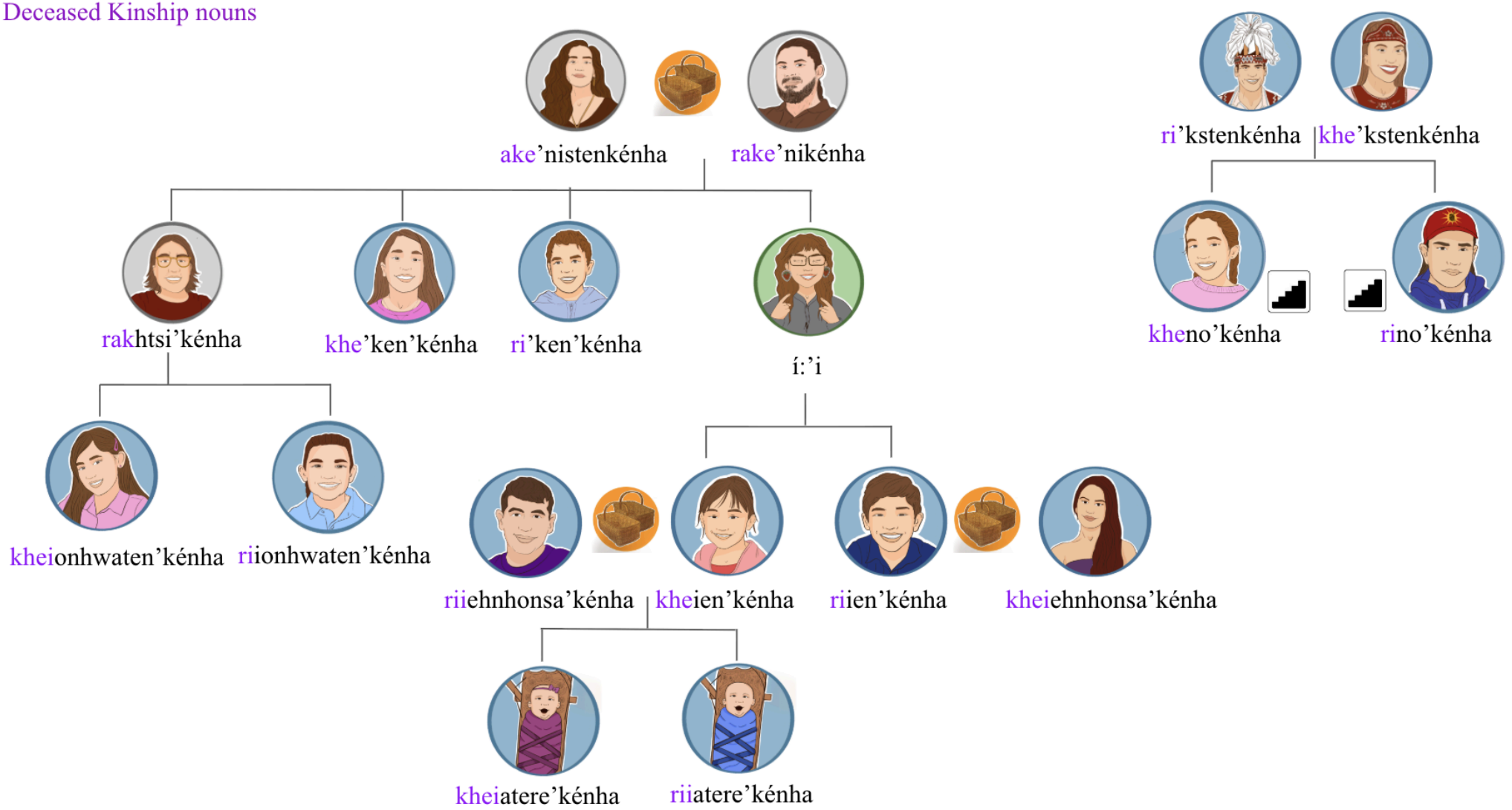


Figure 52. Younger deceased kinship terms (appendix)

Location Kinship nouns

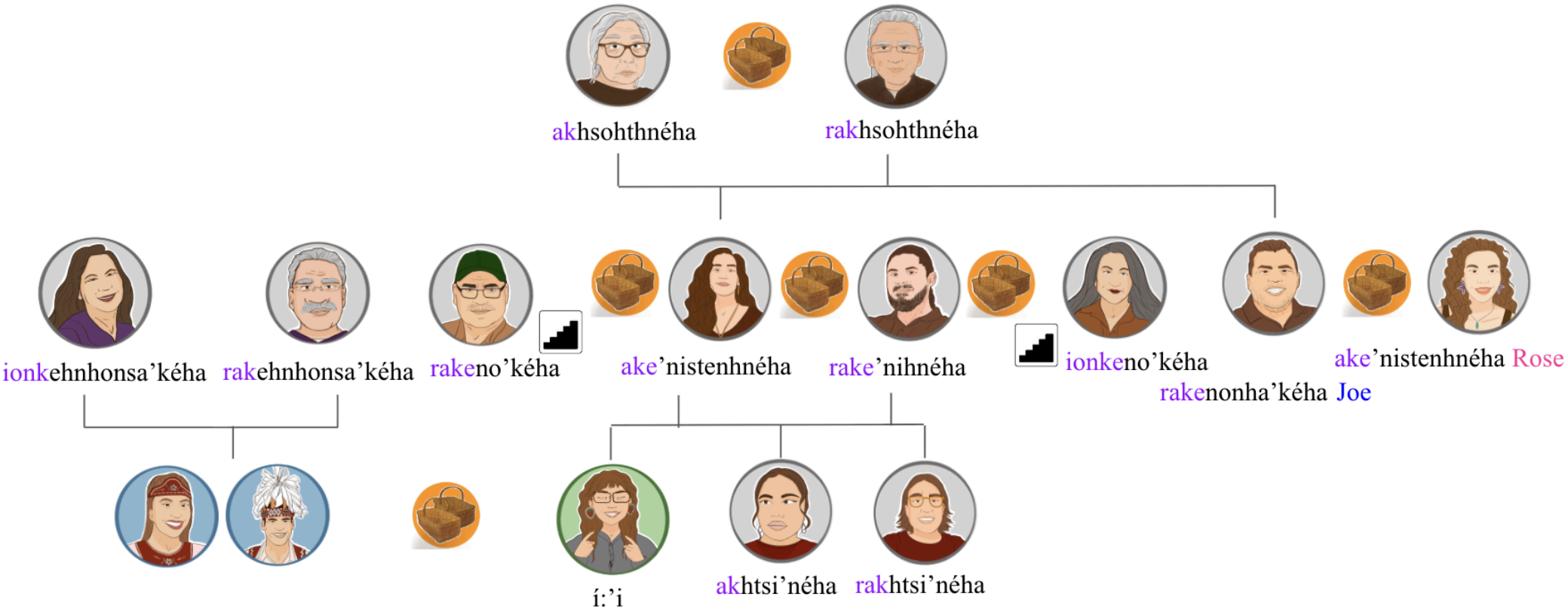


Figure 53. Older location kinship terms (apendix)

Location Kinship nouns

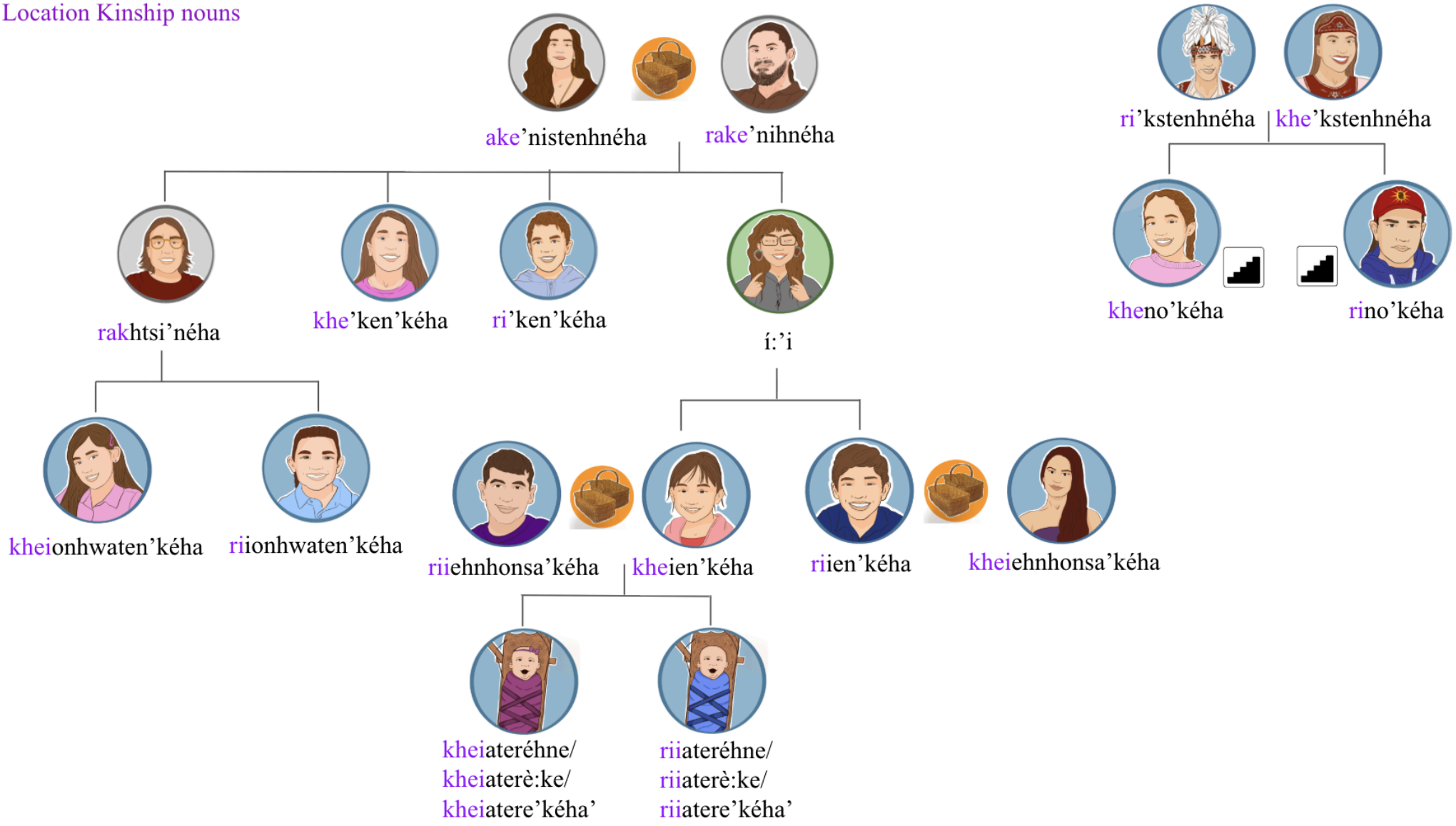


Figure 54. Younger location kinship terms (appendix)

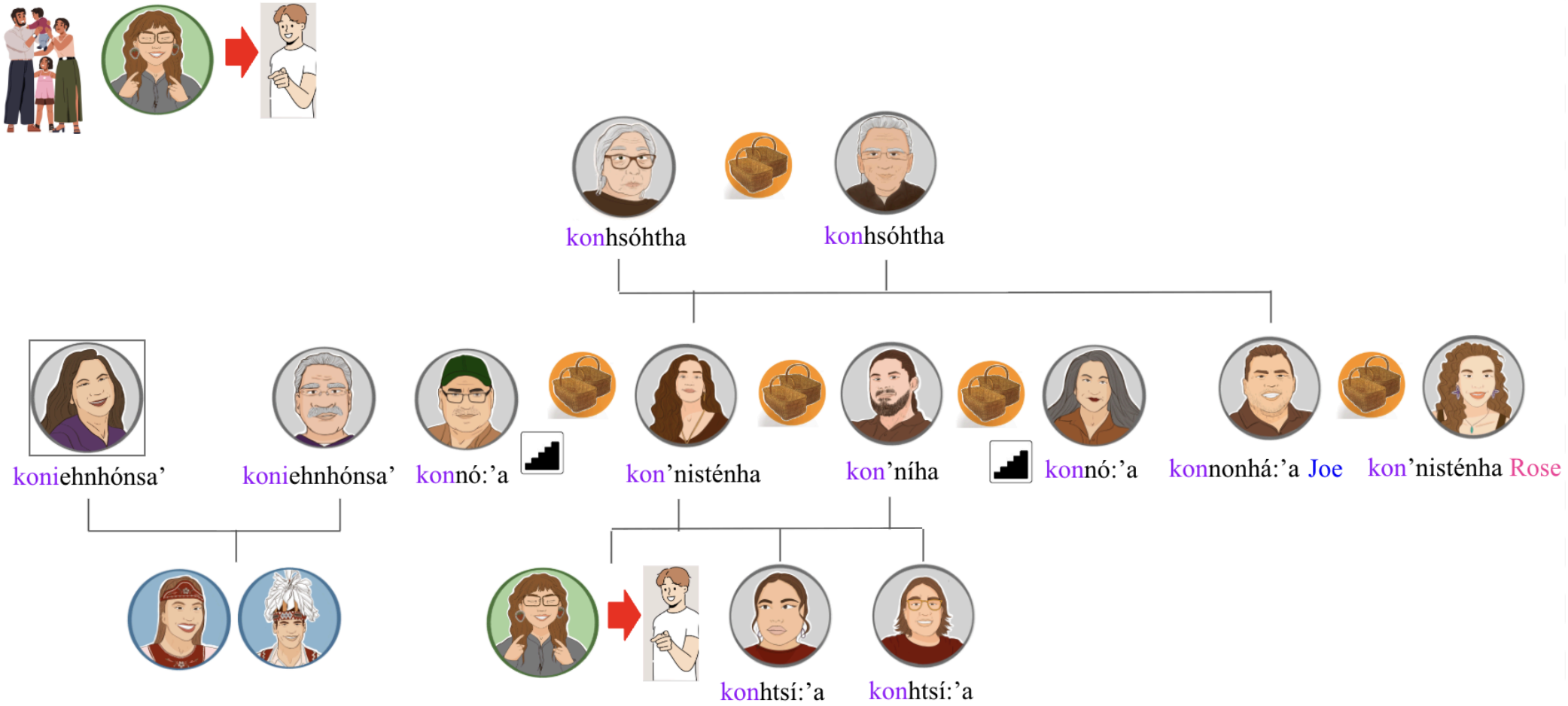


Figure 55. Í'i>í:se’ (older family members - appendix)

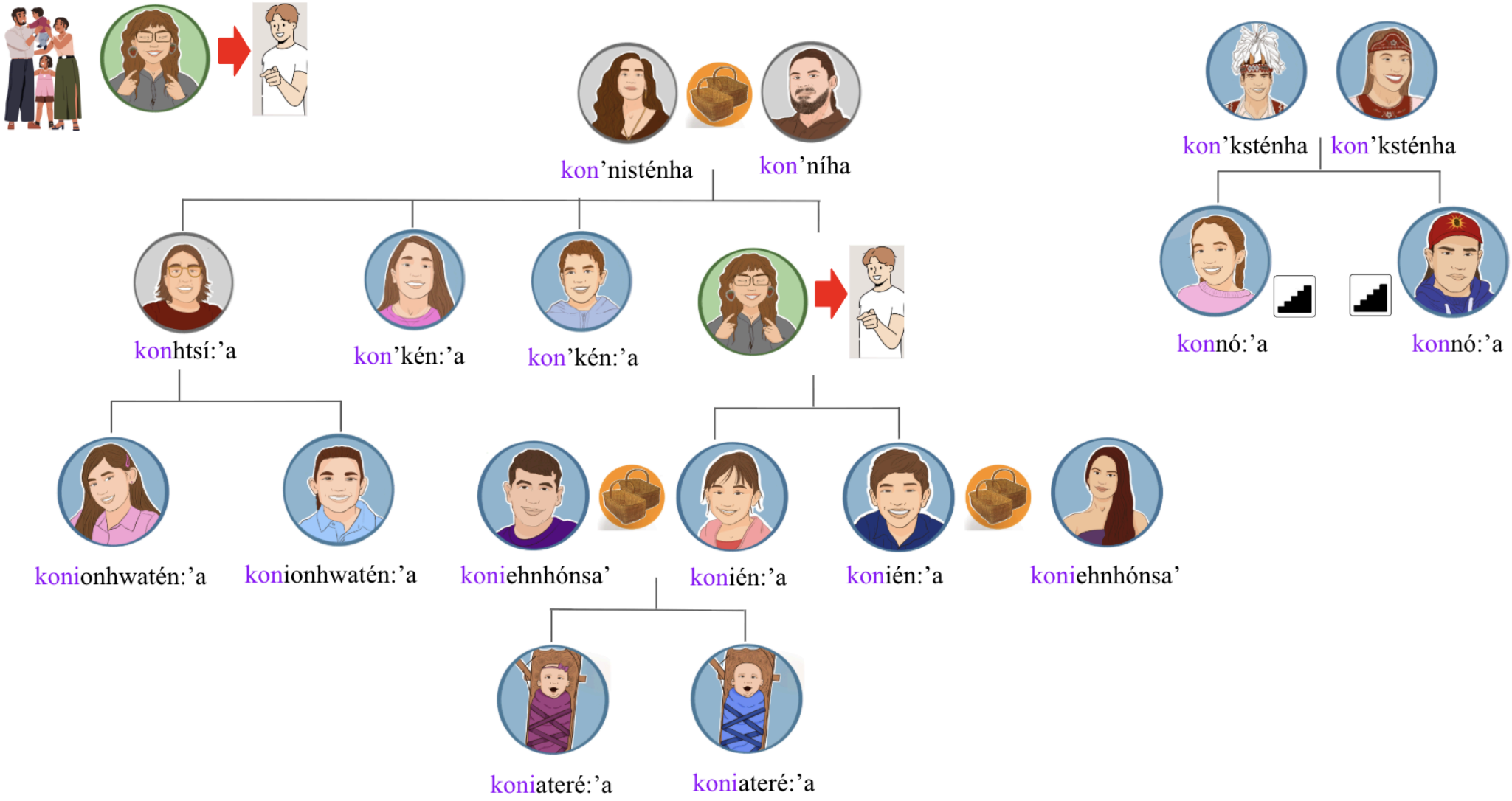


Figure 56. Í'i>í:se (younger family members - appendix)

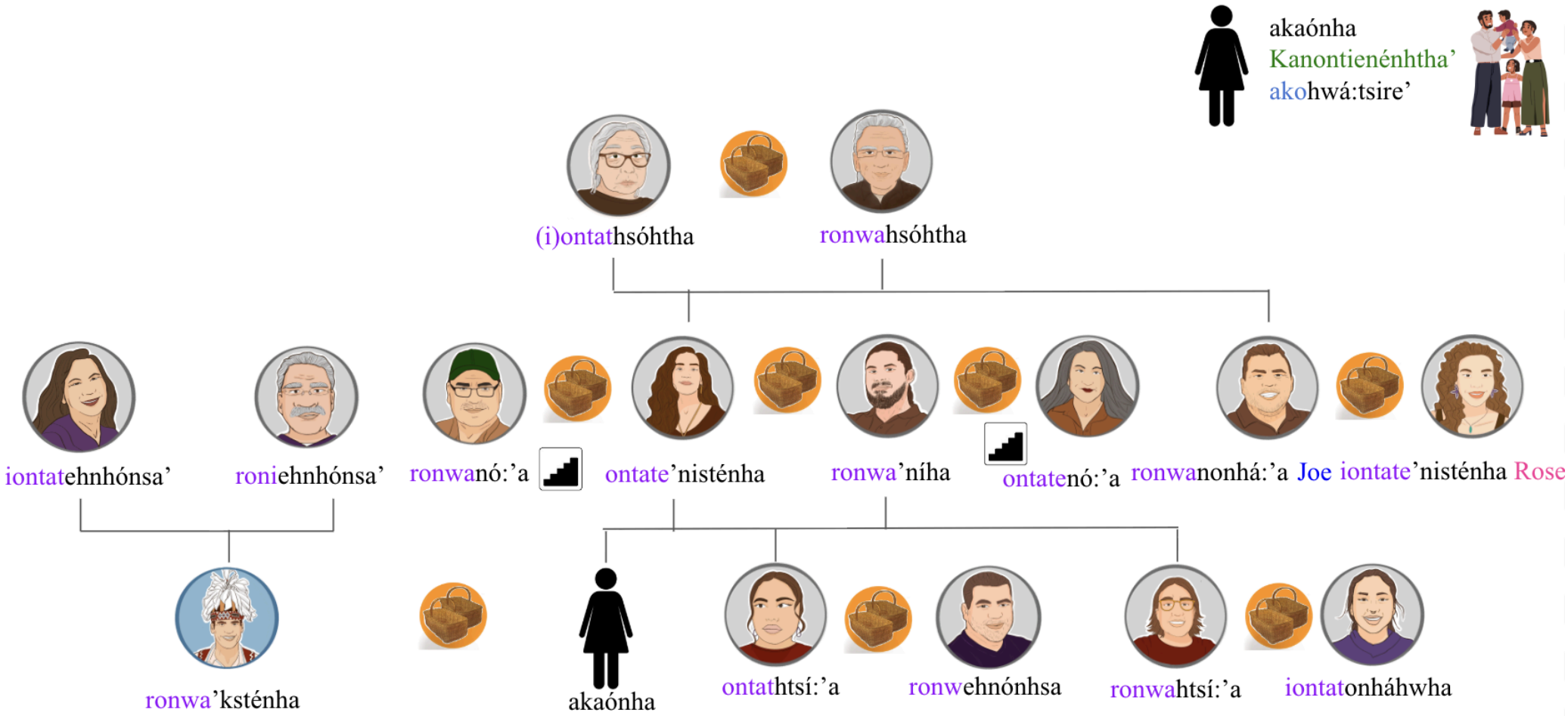


Figure 57. Akaónha akohwá:tsire’ (older family members - appendix)

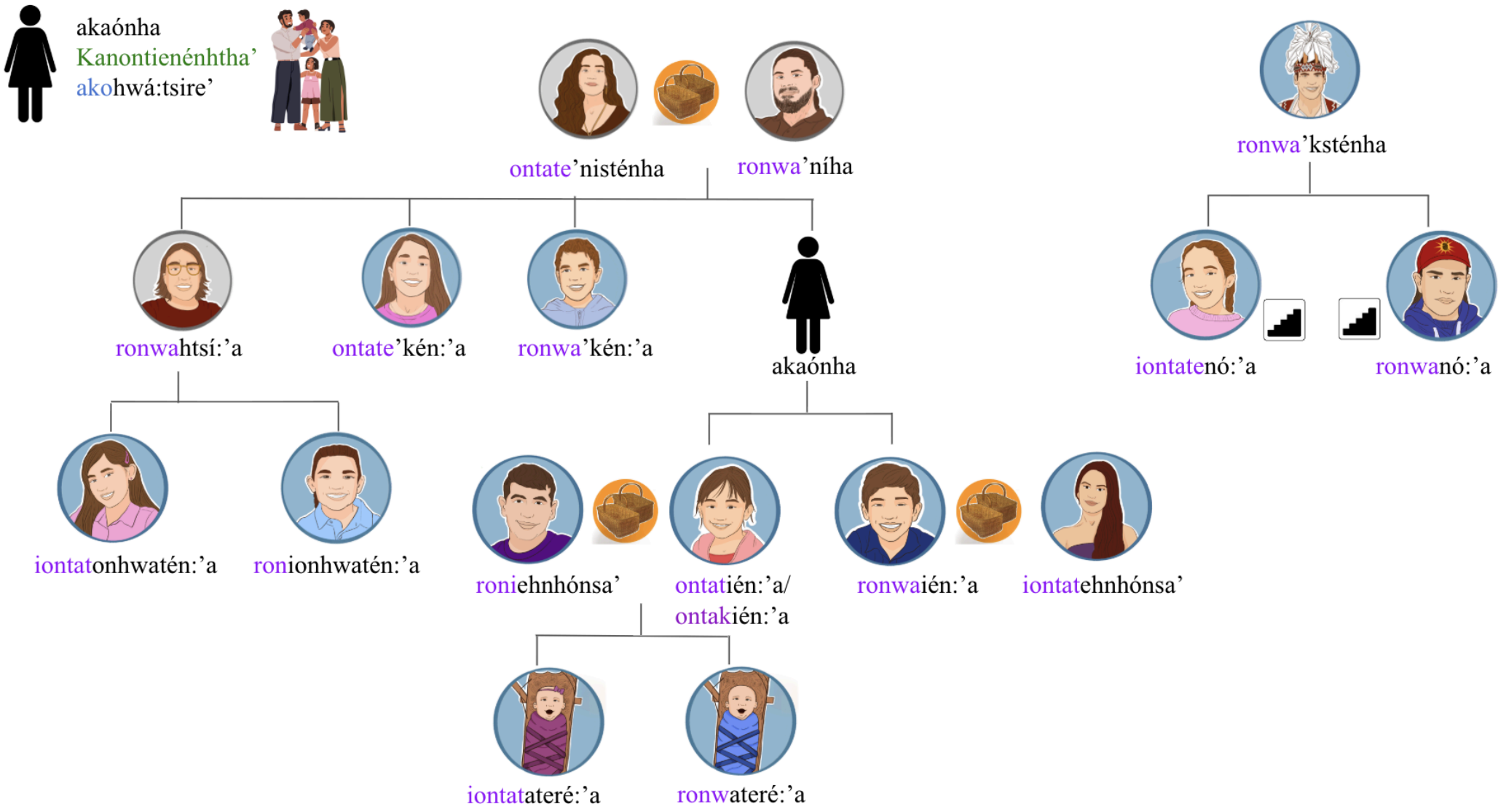


Figure 58. Akaónha akohwá:tsire’ (younger family members - appendix)

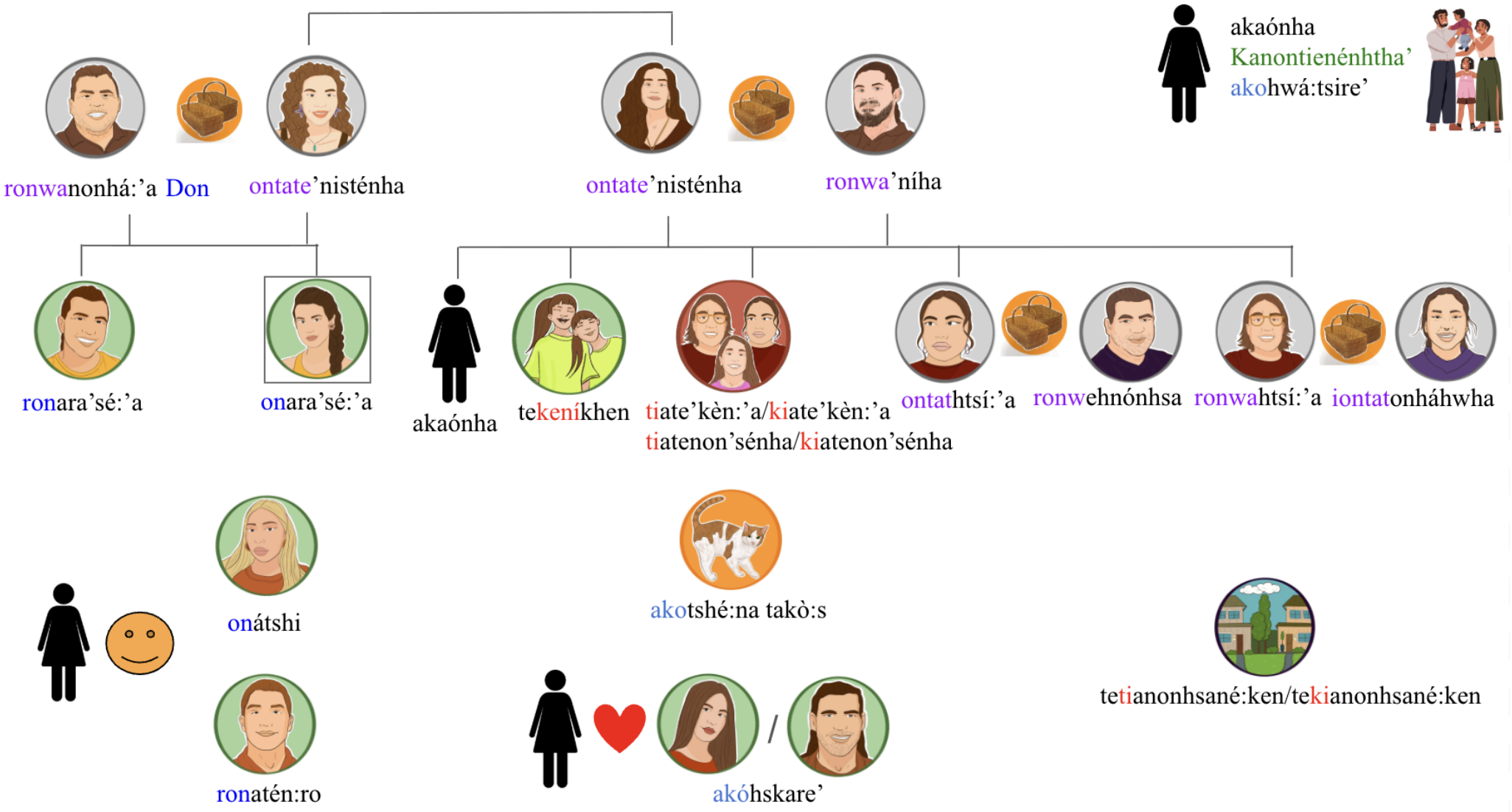


Figure 59. Akaónha akohwá:tsire’ (reciprocal family members - appendix)

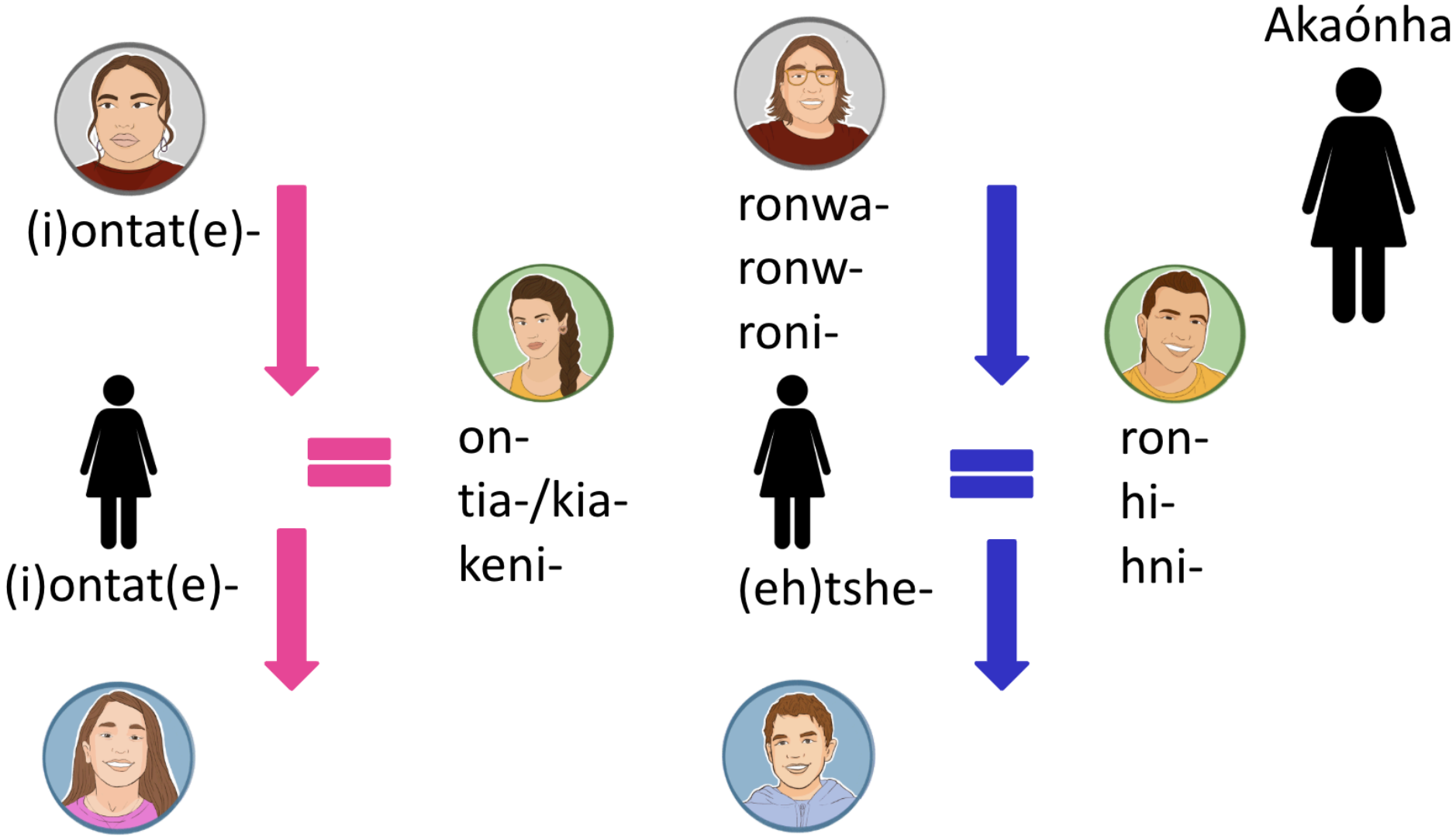


Figure 60. Akaónha prefix diagram (appendix)

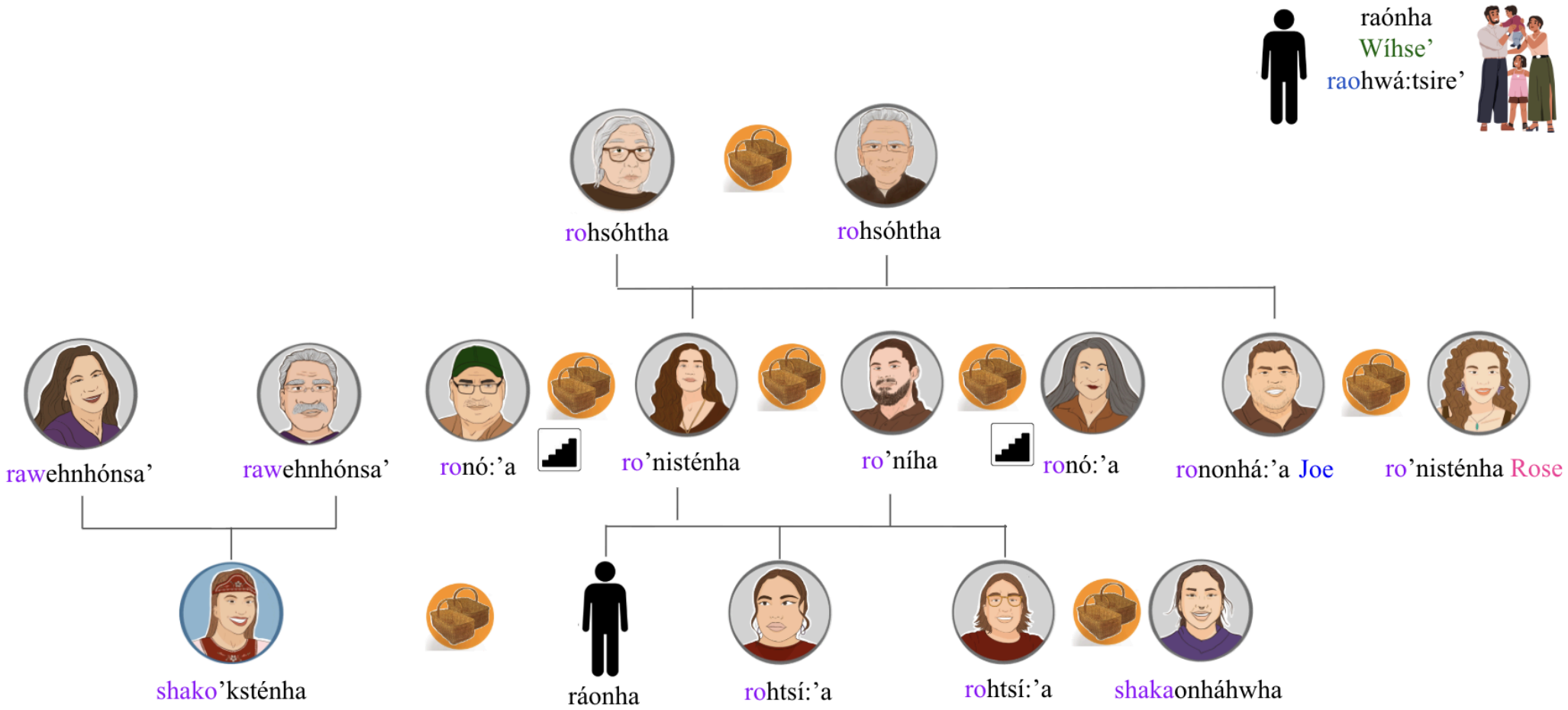


Figure 61. Raónha raohwá:tsire' (older family members - appendix)

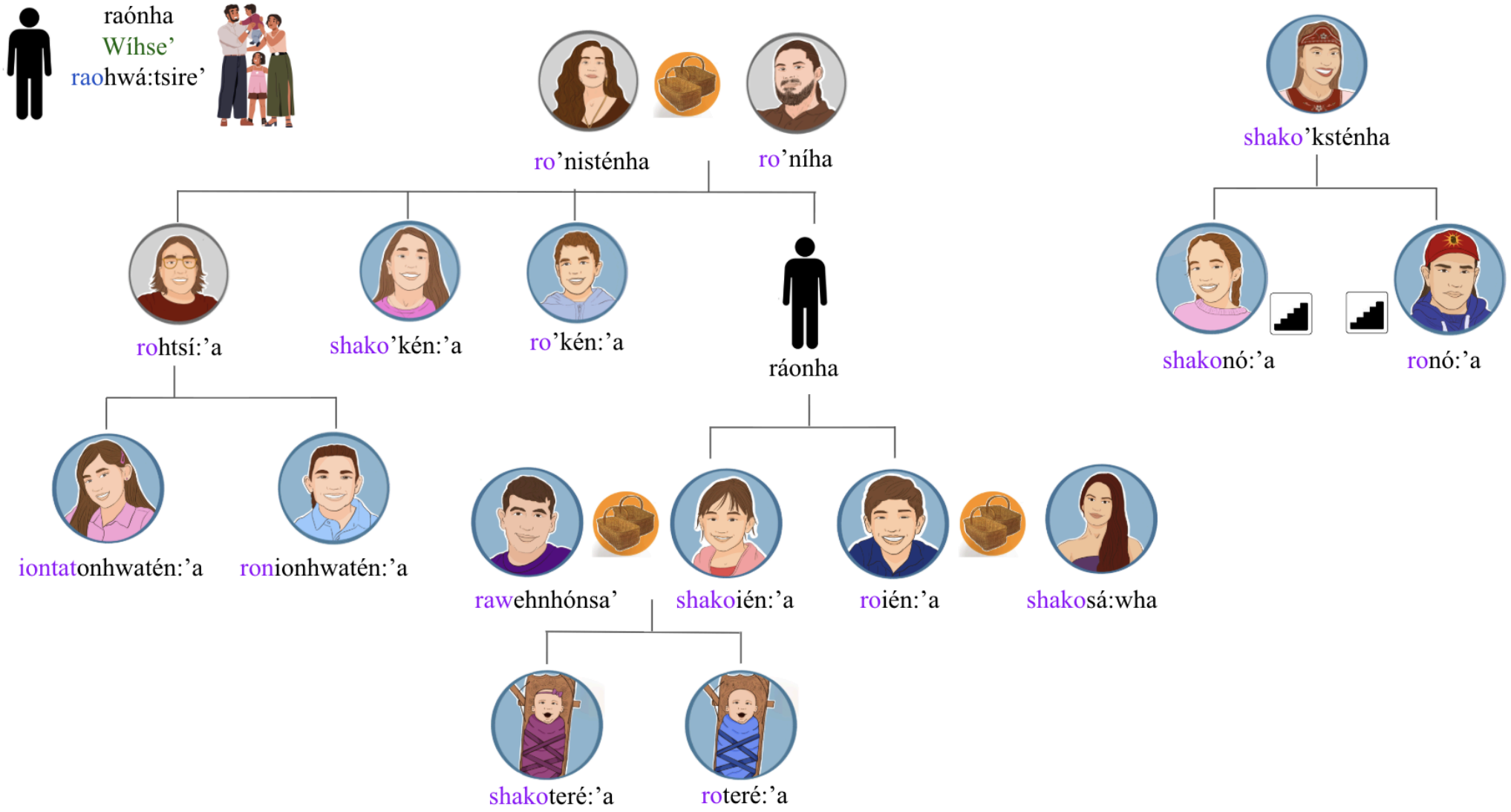


Figure 62. Raónha raohwá:tsire’ (younger family members - appendix)

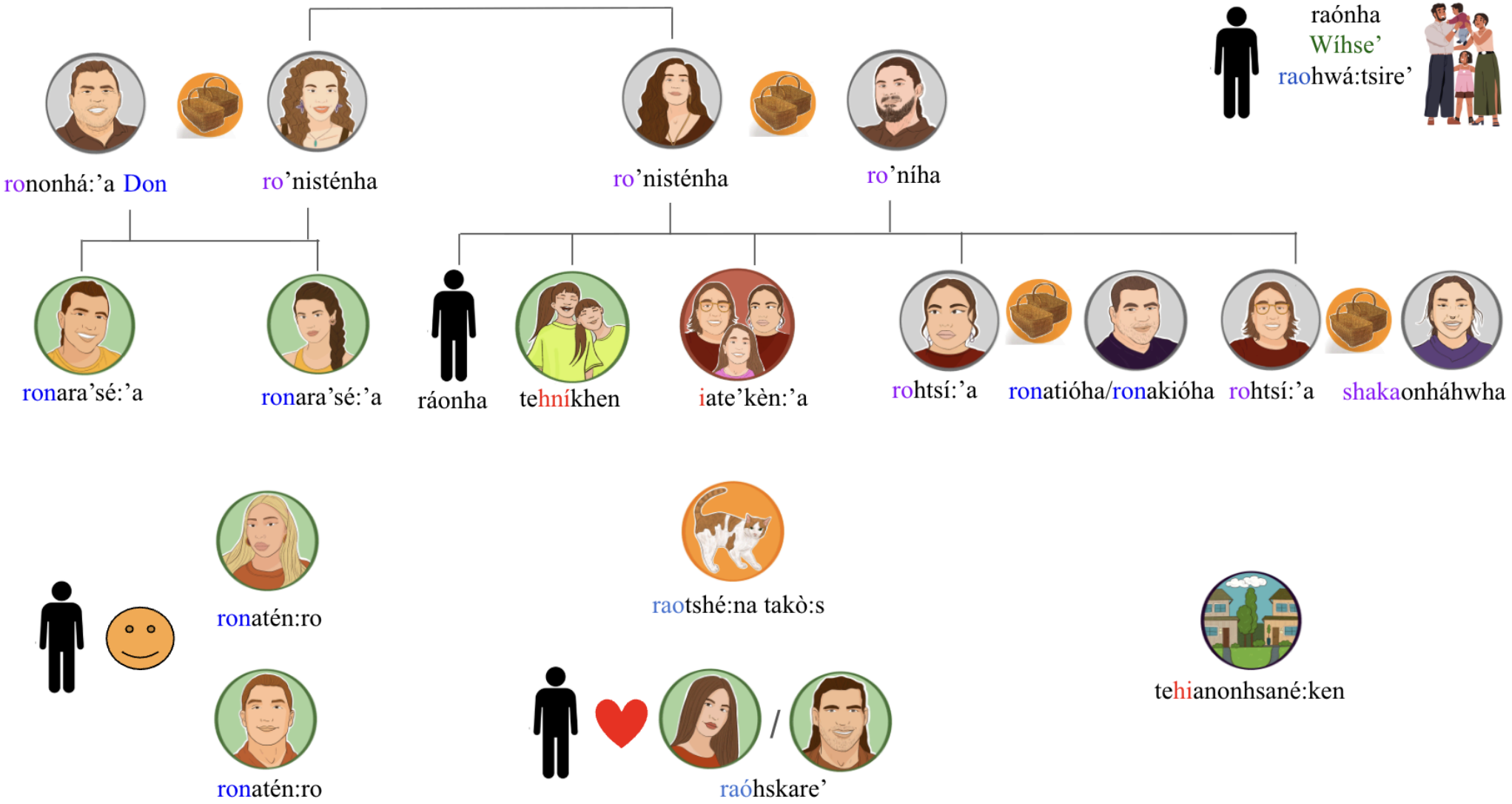


Figure 63. Raónha raohwá:tsire (reciprocal family members - appendix)

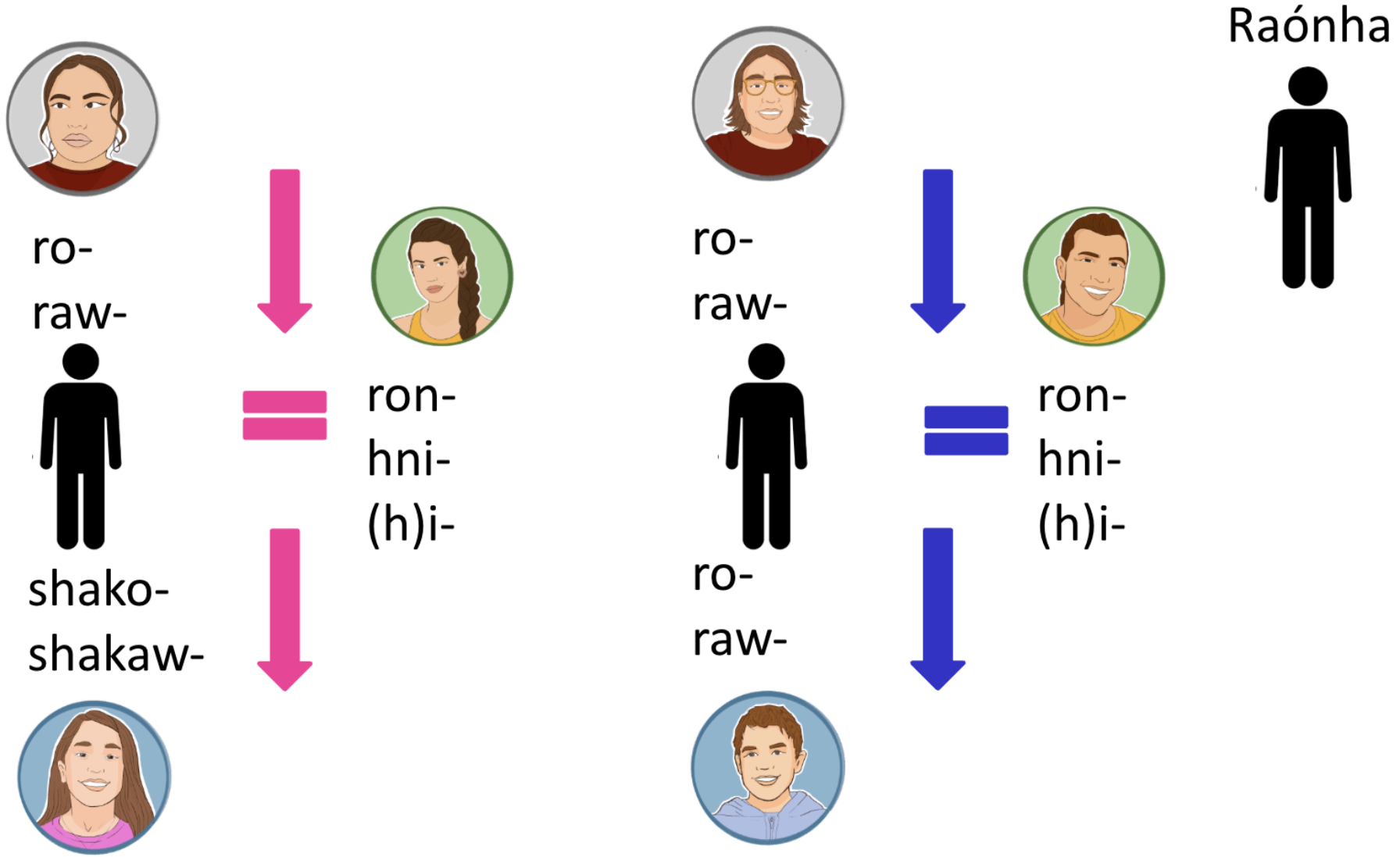


Figure 64. Raónha prefix diagram (appendix)

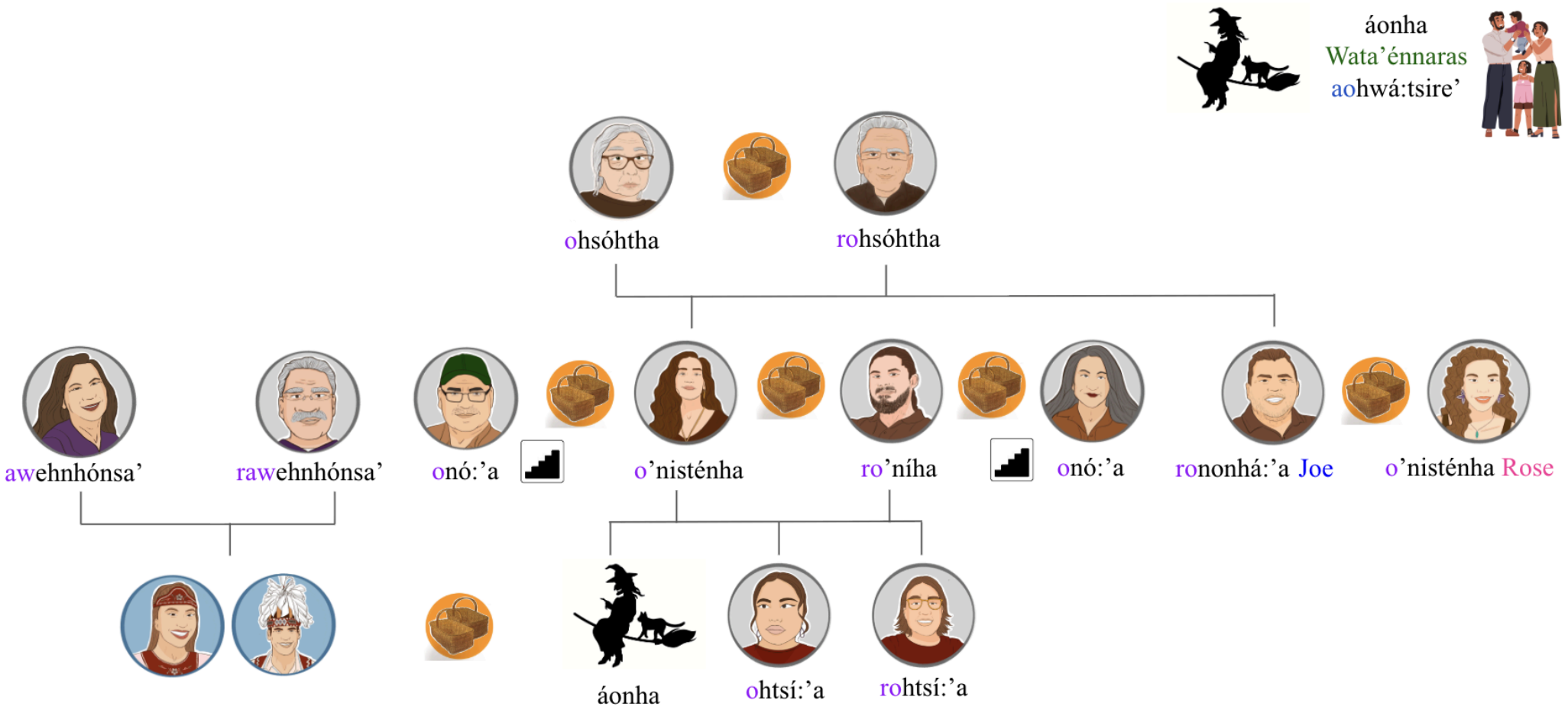


Figure 65. Aónha aowhá:tsire’ (older family members - appendix)

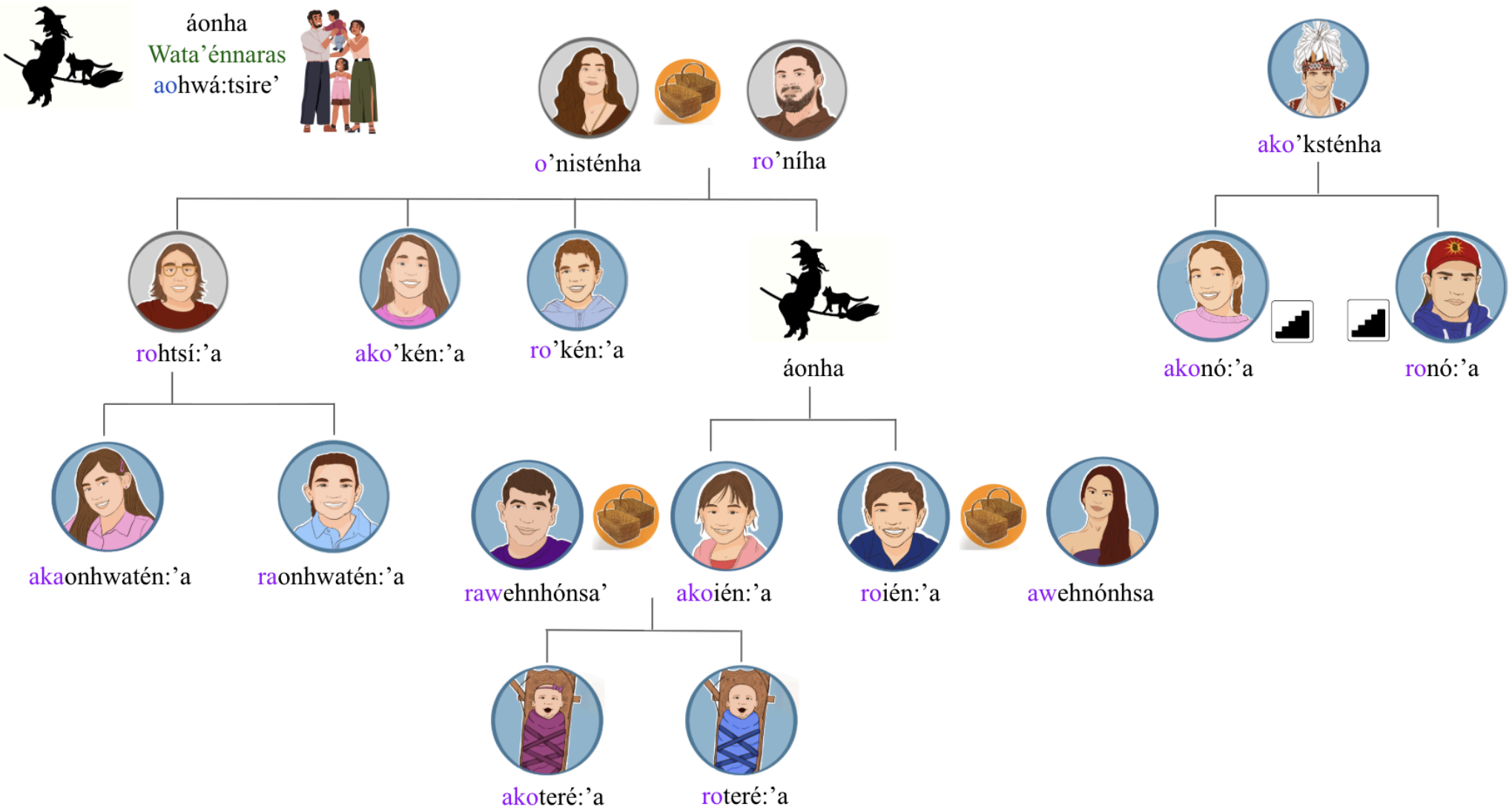


Figure 66. Aónha aowhá:tsire’ (younger family members - appendix)

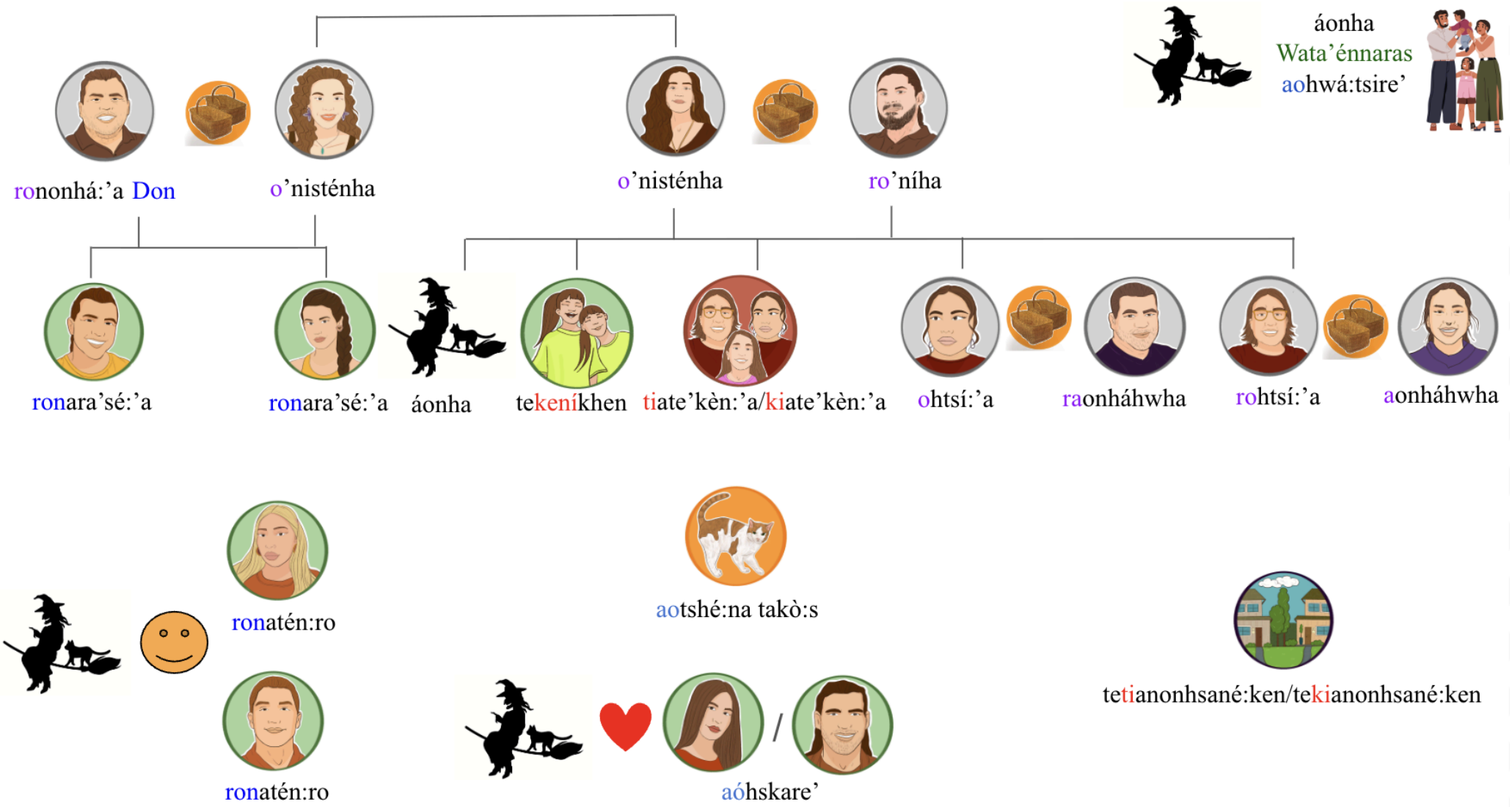


Figure 67. Aónha aowhá:tsire' (reciprocal family members - appendix)

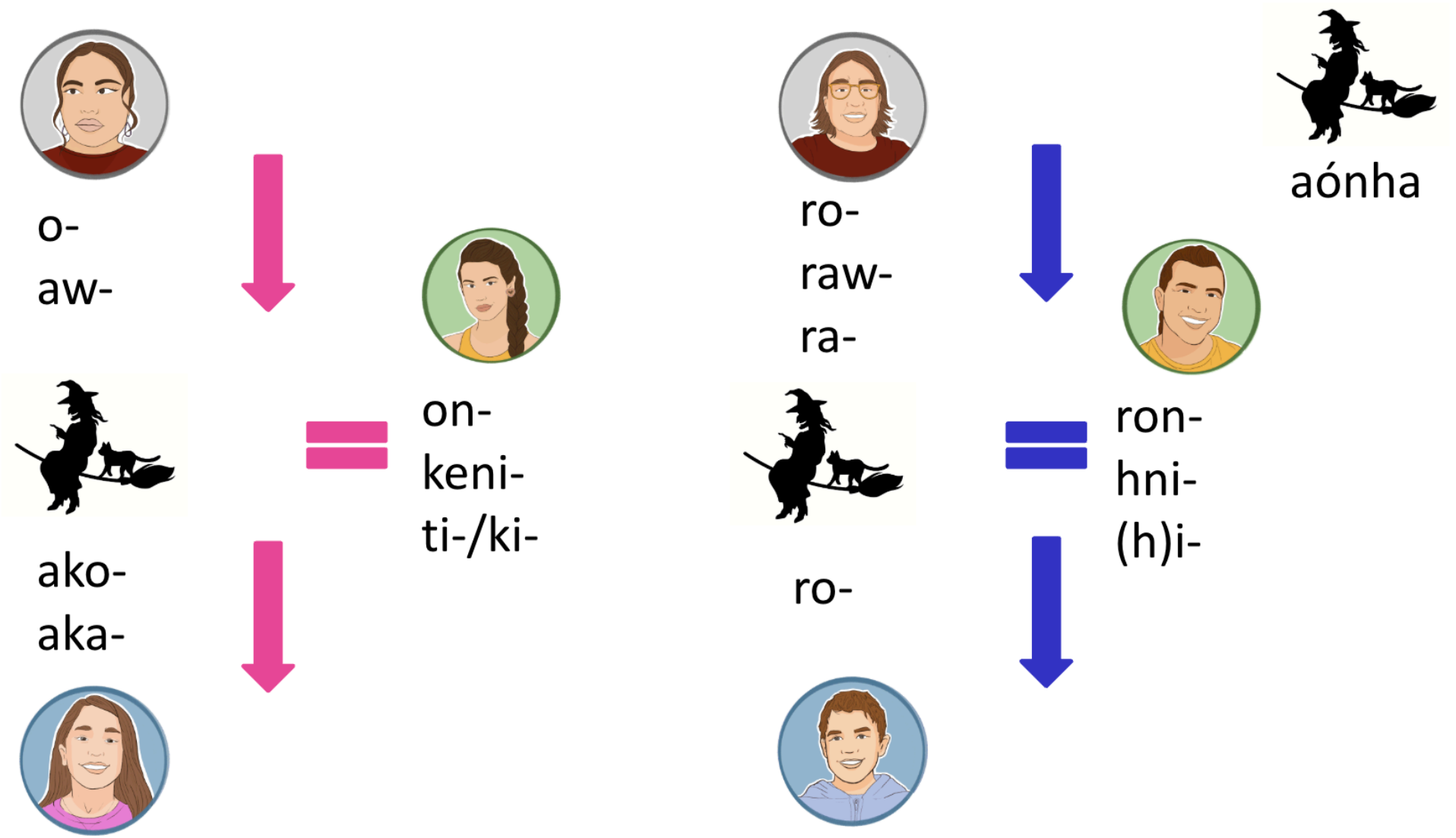


Figure 68. Aónha prefix diagram (appendix)

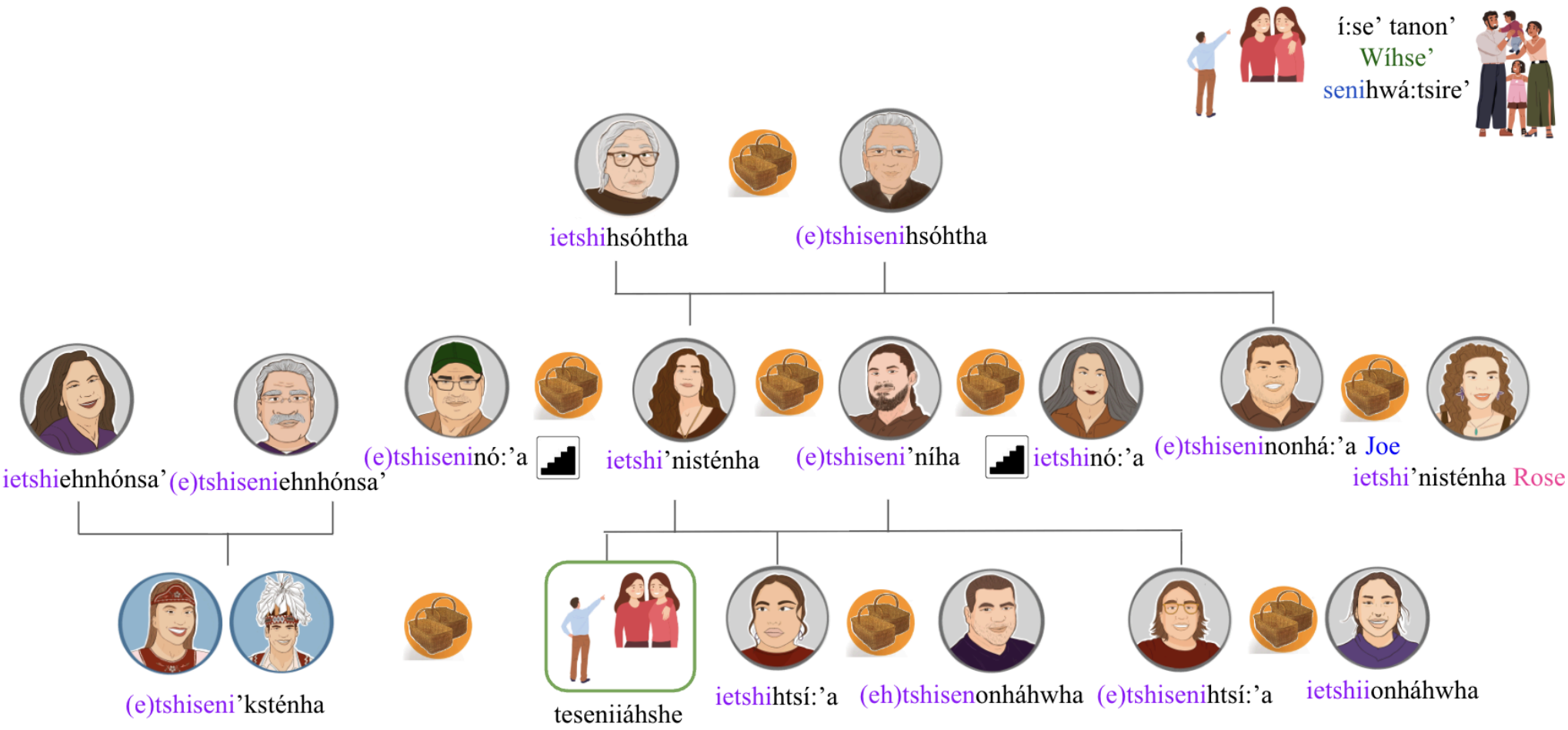


Figure 69. Í:se' tánon' Wíshe' senihwá:tsire' (older family members - appendix)

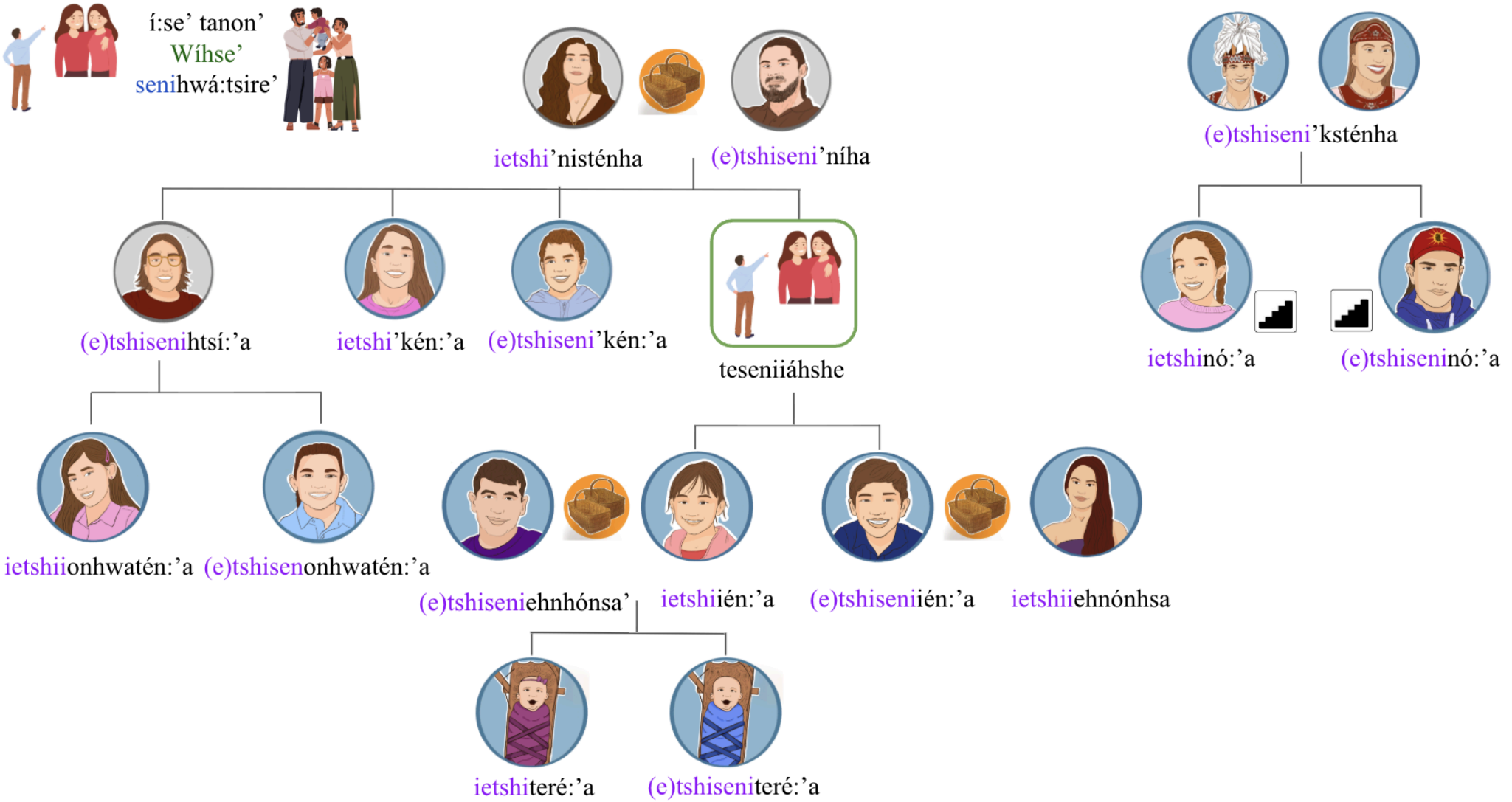


Figure 70. Í:se tánon’ Wíshe senihwá:tsire’ (younger family members - appendix)

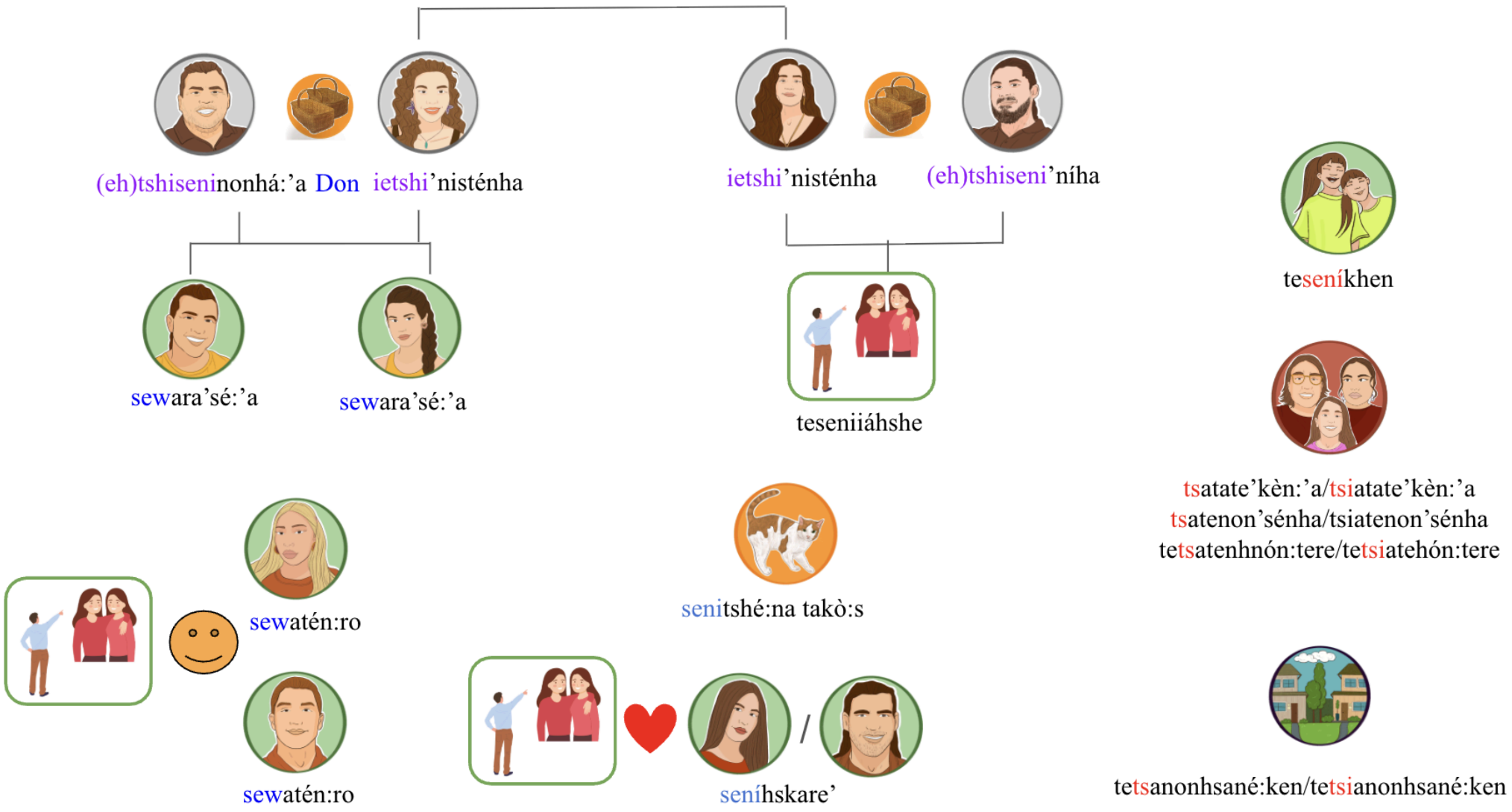


Figure 71. Í:se' tánon' Wíshe senihwá:tsire' (reciprocal family members - appendix)

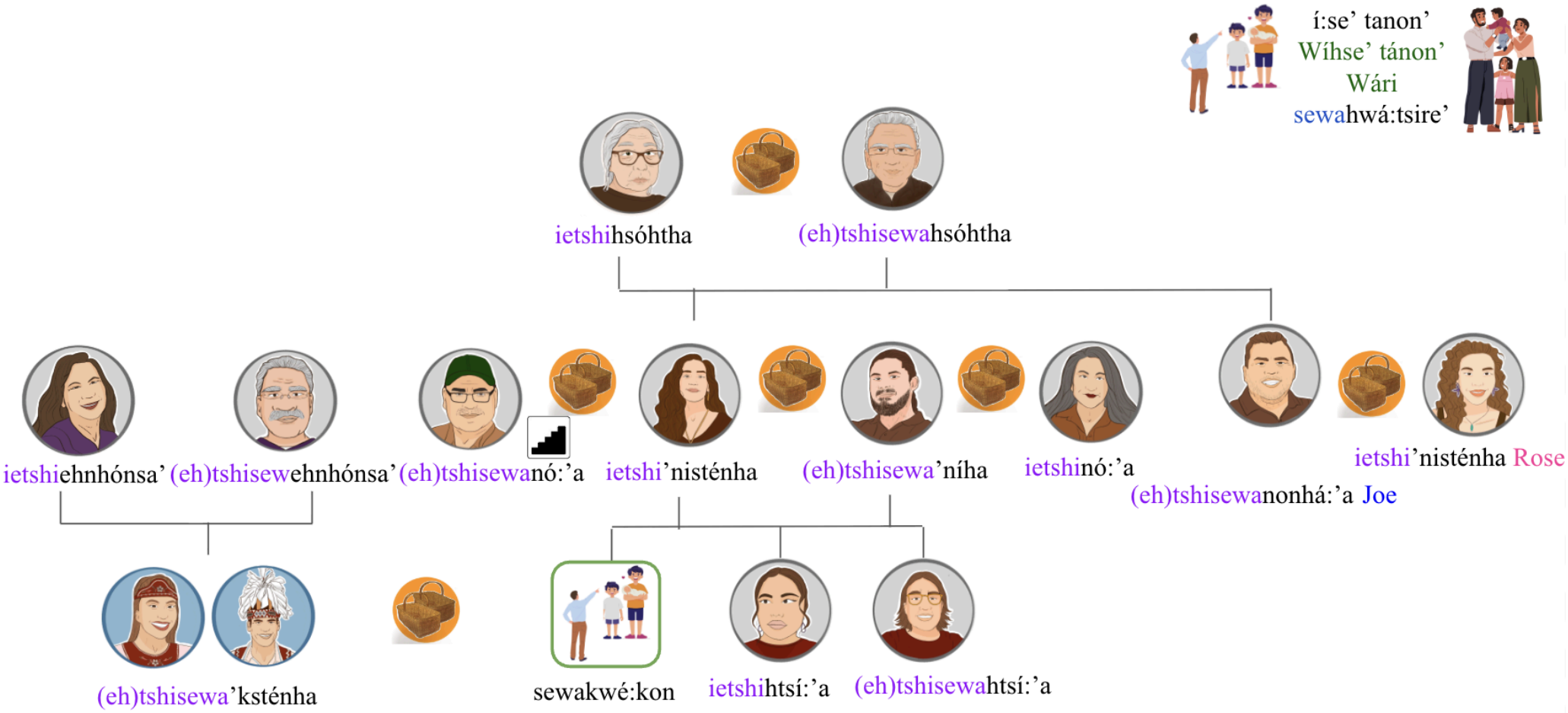


Figure 72. Í:se' tánon' Wíshe tánon' Wári sewahwá:tsire' (older family members - appendix)



í:se’ tanon’
Wíhse’ tánon’
Wári
sewahwá:tsire’





ietshi’nisténha (eh)tshisewa’níha



(eh)tshisewahtsí:’a ietshi’kén:’a (eh)tshisewa’kén:’a sewakwé:kon



ietshiionhwatén:’a (eh)tshitsonhwatén:’a

Figure 73. Í:se’ tánon’ Wíshe tánon Wári sewahwá:tsire (younger family members - appendix)

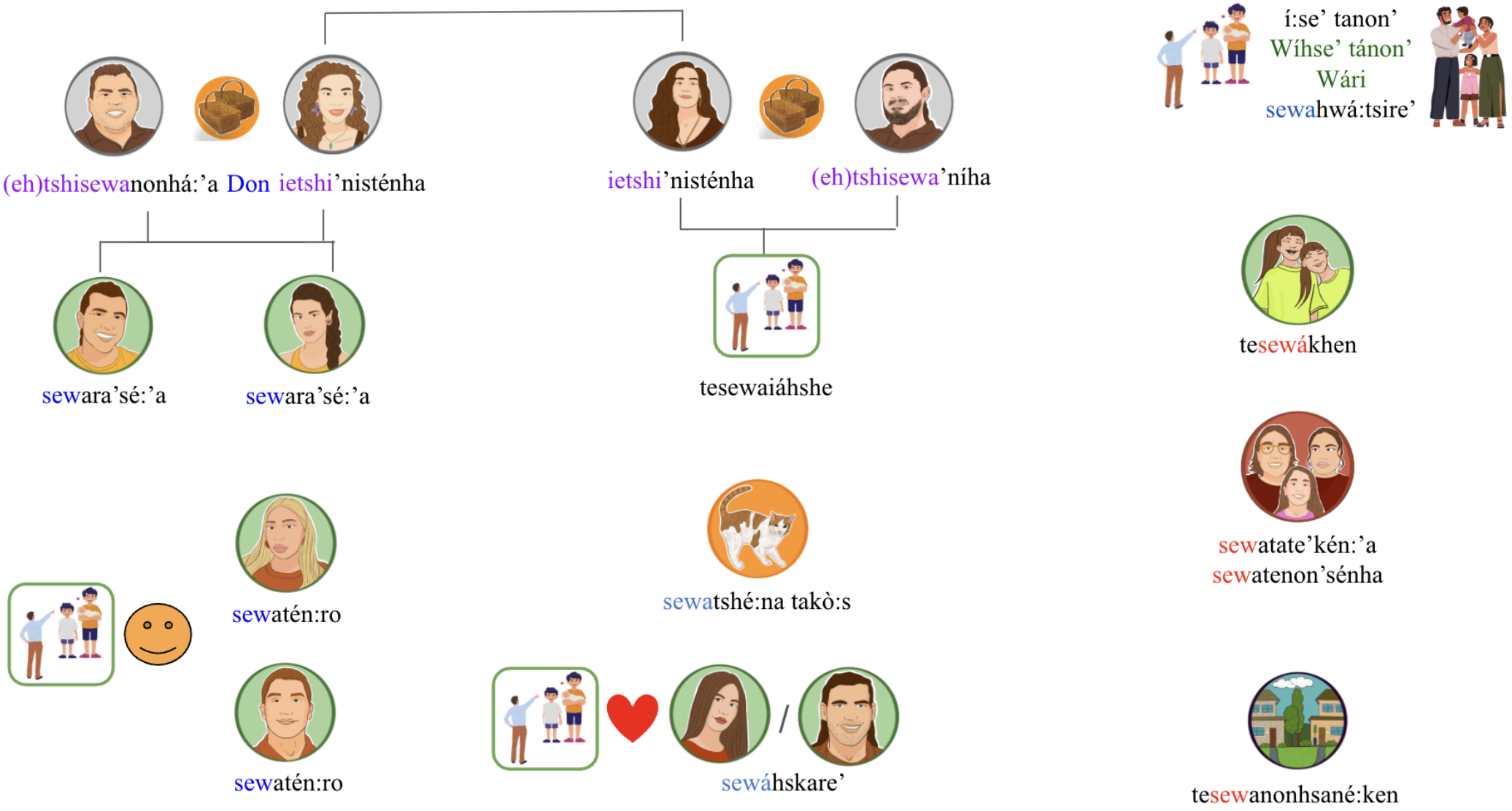


Figure 74. Í:se' tánon' Wíshe tánon' Wári sewahwá:tsire' (reciprocal family members - appendix)

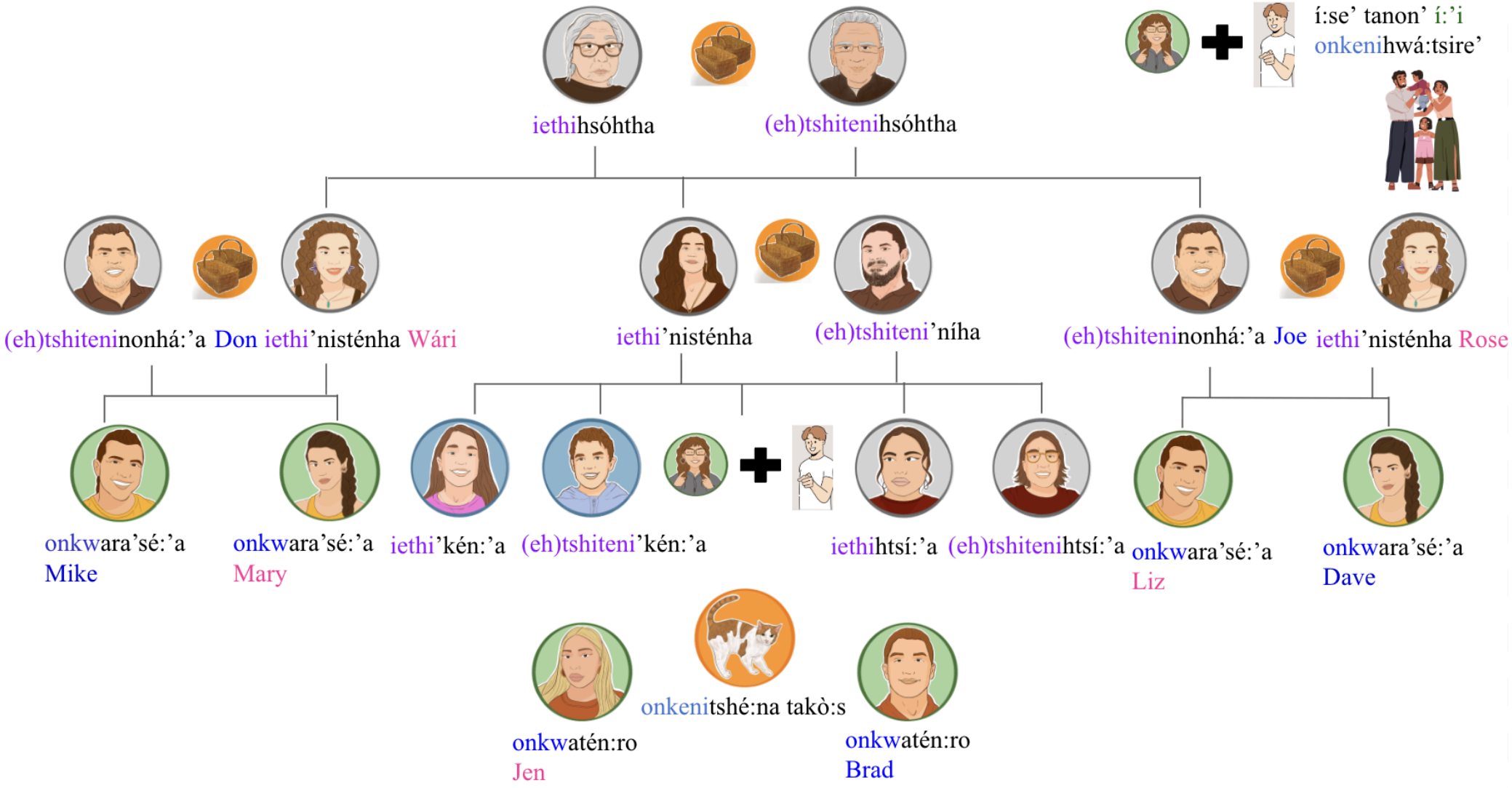


Figure 75. Í:se' tánon' í'i onkenihwá:tsire' (appendix)

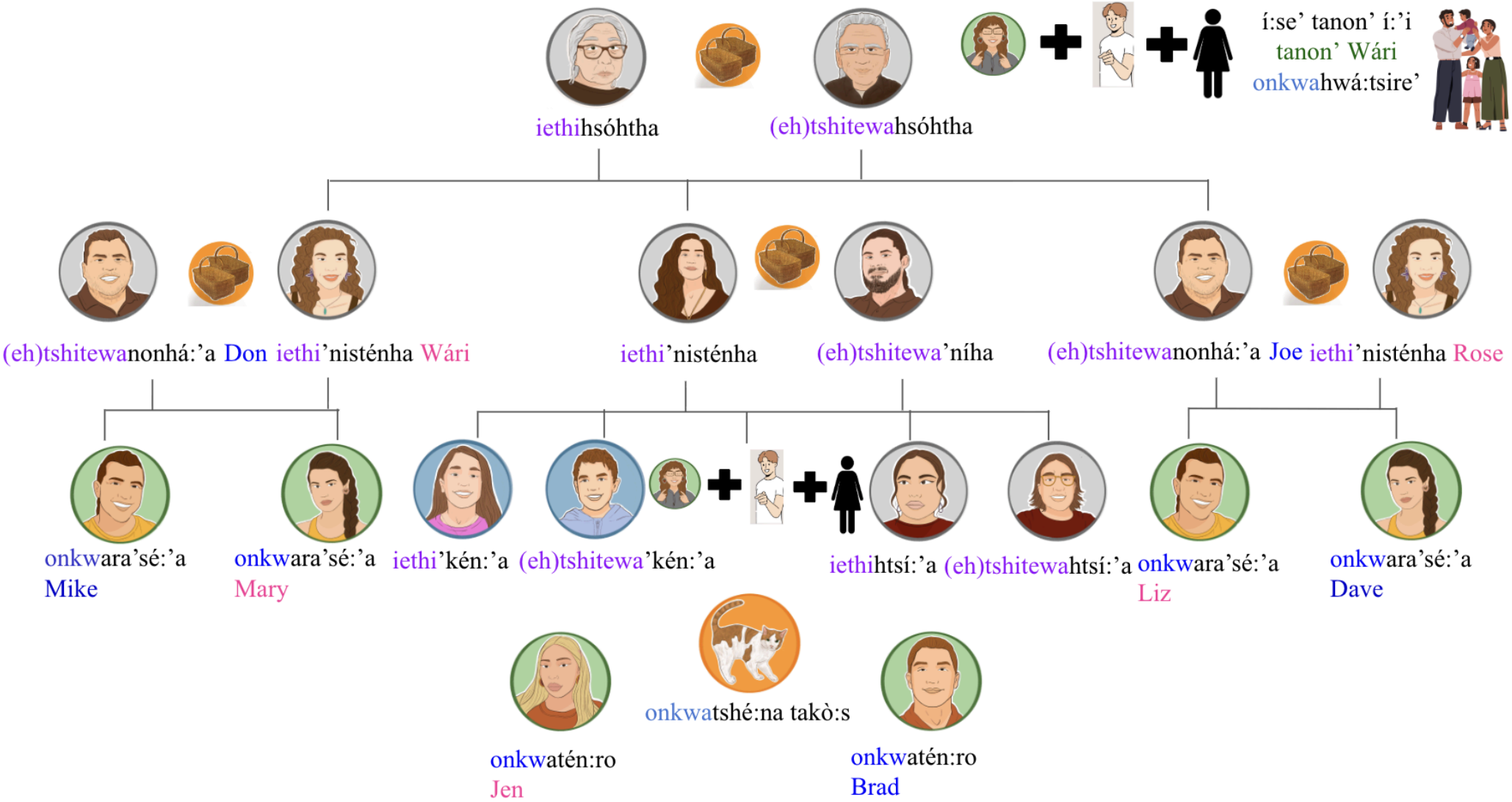


Figure 76. Í:se' tánon' í'i tánon Wári onkwahwá:tsire' (appendix)

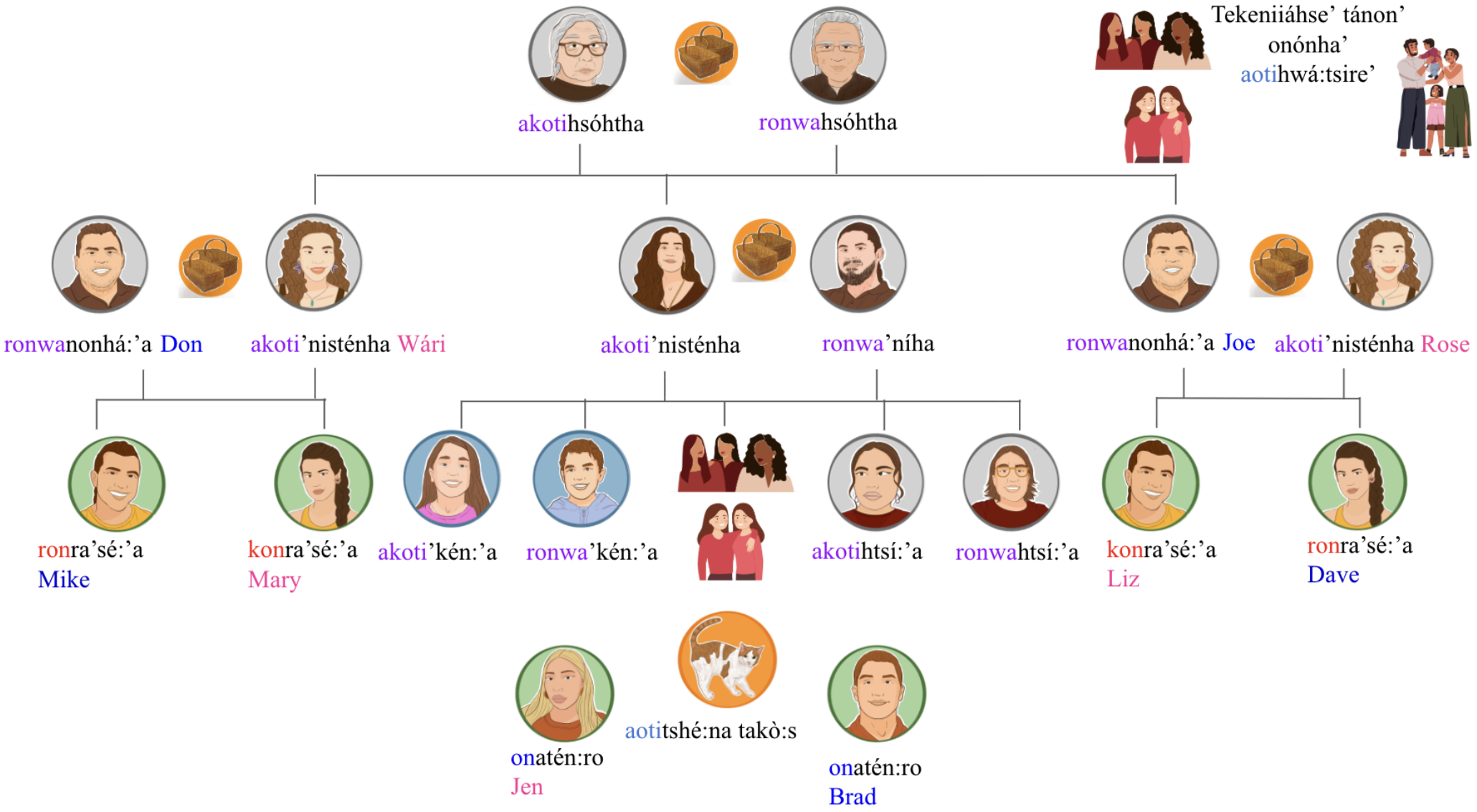


Figure 77. Tekeniiáhse' tánon' onónha aotihwá:tsire' (appendix)