Oneida

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AGT	agent
AOR	aorist prefix
CIS	cislocative prefix
COIN	coincident prefix
CONT	contrastive prefix
DAT	dative derivational suffix
DISL	dislocative derivational suffix
DIST	distributive derivational suffix
DU	dualic prefix
DUAL	dual number
FI	feminine/indefinite gender
FUT	future prefix
FZ	feminine zoic gender
IMP	imperative suffix
INC	inchoative derivational suffix
IND	indefinite prefix
INST	instrumental derivational suffix
ITER	iterative prefix
M	masculine gender
N	neuter gender
NEG	negative prefix
PAR	partitive prefix
PAST	past suffix
PAT	patient
PL	plural number
PNC	punctual suffix
PRO	pronominal prefix
PROG	progressive suffix
PT	particle
REFL	reflexive
SER	serial suffix
SG	singular number
STAT	stative suffix
SUF	noun suffix
TR	translocative prefix
UN	undoer derivational suffix

Oneida forms are given in the phonemic writing described in the phonology section. Forms with hyphens immediately before and/or after them are bound forms rather than words. Glosses are in single quotation marks. Morpheme analysis is given by separating the morphemes by hyphens and regularlizing their phonemic form. A second line of analysis provides for each of the separated morphemes an identification with either one of the above abbreviations or by an English gloss. Hyphens are used with the glosses to indicate where several English words correspond to a single Oneida morpheme.

Preface

This work is based on access to text collections and twenty five years of fieldwork among the Oneidas of Wisconsin. The main text collection was gathered in the late 1930's by Oneida speakers as part of a project led by Floyd Lounsbury and funded through the Works Progress Administration of the US federal government. Those speakers included: Andrew Beechtree, Dennison Hill, LaFront King, Guy Elm, Ida Blackhawk, John A. Skenandore, Lewis Webster, Oscar Archiquette, Stadler King, Tillie Baird, David Skenandore, Walter Skenandore, and Alex Metoxen.

The fieldwork was done in the same community in cooperation with a series of language preservation projects of the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin. The Oneida speakers in this work included: Dorothy Tallakson, Melinda Doxtator, Lawrence John, Melissa Cornelius, Amos Christjohn, Maria Hinton, Mary Jourdan, Flora Skenandore, Mary Danforth, Loretta Webster, Rebecca Ninham, Lloyd Schuyler, Mamie Ryan, Priscilla Manders, Bob Brown, Ruth Baird, Absolom Cooper, Sarah Skenandore, Cynthia Farmer, Leona Smith, Vera House, Lydia Denny, and Hudson Doxtator.

1. Introduction

1.1 Setting - Oneida is a language in the Iroquoian family of North America. It is most closely related to Mohawk within the northern branch of the Iroquoian family. It is the traditional language of the Oneida people, one of the tribes of the Iroquoian Confederacy and the League of Five (later six) Nations. The homeland of the Oneida people is in central New York state, but currently the territory of the Oneidas is split among three reservations: in New York, Wisconsin, and Ontario. There are also communities of Oneidas on other reservations and in several cities of the northeast. Of the many thousands of Oneida people a very small percentage, perhaps not more than a few hundred, know the language and none of them are monolingual in it. Those who know the language live mainly in two speech communities in Wisconsin and Ontario. Most of these speakers are elderly. This state of endangerment of the language is a concern for the Oneidas and there are language preservation projects at all three reservations.

The language is spoken when speakers gather socially and as part of ceremonies of the longhouse tradition. The language does not have a long tradition of literacy. In the previous centuries occasional letters or Bibles (or in one case a diary) were written in an orthography used by closely related Mohawk. Just prior to World War II, an academically constructed, phoneme based orthography was introduced to the Oneidas of Wisconsin, principally for a hymnal and a manuscript story collection. Beginning in the 1970's a modification of this orthography was used by the language preservation projects. It is currently used in language instruction and in academic research, but there are only a few speakers who now use it regularly.

1.2 Prior Work - Many features of the grammar of Oneida are shared with the related Iroquoian languages, especially Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora, so that general descriptions of the Iroquoian family (Chafe 1976, Lounsbury 1978, Mithun 1979, 1999) are useful as are descriptions of the related languages themselves (see especially Chafe 1996). For specific features of Oneida, Lounsbury (1953) on the verb morphology is the starting point. A number of texts have been published. Abbott (1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b), Abbott et al (1980), Boas (1909), Hinton (1996), and Lounsbury (1953) are drawn from the Oneida community in Wisconsin while Michelson (1981) is from the community in Ontario. One dictionary based on the Wisconsin community (Abbott et al 1996) is available while Anton (1982) and Michelson (forthcoming) are based on the Ontario community. The current grammatical description is based on the Wisconsin variety.

1.3 Noteworthy Features - The language has several noteworthy features. In the sound system one of the prominent features is the small inventory of phonemes. The language has no labials and voicing is not truly distinctive. There is a phonological process that affects many words and is triggered by whether other words follow in a sentence. Among other things this process typically involves whispering the final syllable.

The morphology is complex, both in how morphemes combine and in morphophonemic alternations. From a small set of noun and verb roots there are many derivational possibilities, including noun incorporation, that create a large number of stems

on which, particularly for verbs, numerous inflectional prefixes and suffixes can be added. Thus, verbs in Oneida frequently correspond to whole clauses in other languages.

There are three parts of speech - nouns, verbs, and particles - and the verbs clearly dominate the language. Syntax is problematic for several reasons: because word order is fairly free and seems to follow informational demands more than syntactic ones, because there are many paratactic constructions, and because the concept of a sentence is somewhat indeterminate (run on sentences are common in both oratory and conversation).

Among the semantic distinctions the existence of two feminine genders, the resources and demands for spatial orientation, and the hierarchical structure of the nouns are dominant features.

2. Phonology

2.1 Phoneme Inventory - There are six vowel phonemes. Four are oral vowels:

- /i/ a high front unrounded vowel
- /e/ a mid front unrounded vowel
- /a/ a low central unrounded vowel
- /o/ a high back weakly rounded vowel

There are two nasal vowels:

- /ʌ/ a mid central to back unrounded vowel
- /u/ a high back weakly rounded vowel

Each of the vowels may occur in any of five varieties: short, lengthened, accented, simultaneously lengthened and accented, and whispered.

There are four resonant consonants:

- /l/ alveolar lateral
- /w/ high back glide
- /y/ high front glide
- /n/ alveolar nasal

The resonants are generally voiced but shade to voiceless beside laryngeals and word final position.

There are two oral stops.

- /t/ an alveolar stop
- /k/ a velar stop

The stops occur in both voiced and voiceless varieties. The voiced variety occurs before any of the vowels or resonant consonants. The voiceless variety occurs elsewhere. This analysis views the voicing of the stops as noncontrastive but other analyses have differed. In such other analyses both a /t/ and a /d/ phoneme are posited to account for contrasts such as between

do ni·k	'how much'
to ni·k	'that much'

This current analysis represents the same words as:

to ni·k	'how much'
tho ni·k	'that much'

The issue is whether the aspiration or the voicing is the more prominent feature of the contrast. Partly this may be a matter of language background. Those with a background in French tend to perceive the aspiration as more prominent while those with a background in English tend to perceive the voicing as more prominent. Making the aspiration a separate phoneme has the advantage of simplifying morphemic segmentation when, for example, a morpheme ending in a stop is prefixed to a morpheme beginning with an /h/.

There is a single oral fricative:

/s/	alveolar fricative

The same discussion about voicing and aspiration with the stops also applies to the fricative except that there is more variability among speakers. For most speakers an /s/ between two vowels is strongly voiced; an /s/ following or preceding /h/ is voiceless; and elsewhere there is an intermediate amount of voicing. Before /y/ the alveolar fricative becomes a palatal fricative.

There are two laryngeal phonemes.

/ʔ/	glottal stop
/h/	glottal fricative

There is also a palatal affricate but it is understood as a cluster of phonemes:

/tsy/	(before vowels)	voiced palatal affricate
/tsi/	(before consonants)	voiced palatal affricate
/tshy/	(before vowels)	voiceless palatal affricate
/tshi/	(before consonants)	voiceless palatal affricate

There are some restrictions on the clustering of Oneida phonemes. Sequences of two vowels but not more than two vowels occur. Consonant clusters of up to five consonants are found. The glottal stop occurs only after vowels, never after consonants. Geminate consonants only occur with /t/ or /k/. /h/ occurs before or after consonants but not both at the same time. Word initial clusters are more restricted than word medial clusters. No clusters with /h/ occur in word initial position except /sh/, /th/, and /kh/. There are no resonant initial clusters in word initial position except /ny/. Clusters beginning with /k/, /t/, or /s/ may begin words except for /tl/ and /tt/.

2.2 Accent Patterns - There are five accentual patterns for Oneida words. In these vowel length is indicated by a raised dot after the vowel and the accented syllable is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel in that accented syllable.

2.2.1 Straight accent. One vowel carries heightened loudness and pitch. This is indicated with an acute accent over that vowel - /á/.

2.2.2 Long tone. One vowel is extra long. This is indicated with both a raised dot for the length and an acute accent over the vowel - /á·/.

2.2.3 Accent shift. One vowel is lengthened and the following vowel has heightened loudness and pitch. The lengthened vowel has a following raised dot and the next vowel has the acute accent - /a·tá/.

2.2.4 Accent shift and long tone. One vowel is lengthened and the following vowel is both lengthened and has heightened loudness and pitch. On both vowels the lengthening is indicated by a following raised dot and there is an acute accent on the second of the

vowels - /a·tá·/.

2.2.5 Final length. The last oral vowel in the word is lengthened but without change in pitch. This is indicated by a raised dot after the lengthened vowel - /a·/. In this case there is typically an additional final syllable that has been either dropped of whispered due to a phonological process described later.

These five accent patterns are the generally predictable results of several phonological processes (see section 2.3.2).

2.3.1 Epenthesis - It is not uncommon in constructing Oneida words for combinations of morphemes to create clusters of consonants (the end of one morpheme joined to the beginning of another) that violate the phonotactics of the language. In such cases an epenthetic vowel is inserted. The epenthetic vowel is typically /e/ and there are four morpheme boundaries in which it may occur:

between a verb stem and an aspectual morpheme (or between a noun root and a nominal suffix) that is a glottal stop;

between a reflexive morpheme and a verb stem;

between a pronominal prefix and a verb stem (or between a possessive prefix and a noun stem); and

between a pre-pronominal prefix and a pronominal prefix.

There are two additional epenthetic processes. In the derivation of verb stems the separation of an incorporated noun and a verb is often marked by the vowel /a/ that belongs to neither morpheme. It is called a stem joiner. In short words that do not have enough syllables for the accent placement rule to work, an additional syllable is created at the front of the word with a prothetic /i/. Finally there is an epenthesis that is part of the whispering process described in section 2.3.3.

2.3.2 Accent Morphophonemics - Accent placement as a phonological process applies to words after the morphemes have been selected, arranged, and any needed epenthesis has applied. The general rule is to count back two syllable (two vowels) from the end of the word and in so doing skip any stem joiners or epenthetic vowels before the aspect suffix (or the nominal suffix for a noun). The accent remains there unless one of three special environments obtains.

If the accented vowel immediately precedes a glottal stop, then the glottal stop is deleted and the vowel is lengthened.

If the accented vowel immediate precedes an /h/ followed by a resonant consonant (/l/, /w/, /y/, or /n/), then the /h/ is deleted and the vowel is lengthened.

If the accented vowel immediate precedes a single consonant (not a cluster) other than /h/, then the vowel is lengthened and the accent shifts to the following vowel.

2.3.3 Whispering - Many Oneida words have two different pronunciations depending on where they occur in a sentence. Sentence final forms (or words spoken in isolation or as citation forms) often undergo a process that includes the whispering, indicated here by underlining, of the final syllable. Words spoken with other words immediately after them do not undergo this process. The exact process depends on the phonological shape of the word.

The most generic form of the rule applies to words ending in a vowel or a vowel plus glottal stop. These final syllables are whispered, including any /h/ that may occur before the vowel.

kanúhsote? 'house' sentence medial form
kanúhsote 'house' sentence final form

If the final syllable begins with a resonant and ends with a glottal stop, then an /h/ is inserted before the resonant and the whole final syllable is whispered.

kana·kále? 'stick' sentence medial form
kana·káhle 'stick' sentence final form

If the word ends in a consonant plus a resonant plus a vowel, then an epenthetic vowel (/e/ if the resonant is /l/ or /n/; /o/ if the resonant is /w/; and /i/ if the resonant is /y/) is inserted after the consonant and the rest of the word is whispered.

kanákle? 'it dwells' sentence medial form
kanákehle 'it dwells' sentence final form
tsítwe 'let's go' sentence medial form
tsítowe 'let's go' sentence final form
sátyʌ 'sit!' sentence medial form
sáti 'sit!' sentence final form

If the next to last syllable contains a long accented vowel, then the length is converted to an /h/ and the final syllable is whispered.

nikaya?tó·tʌ 'kind of body' sentence medial form
nikaya?tóhtʌ 'kind of body' sentence final form

This whispering process is somewhat fragile in the current state of the language. For many speakers it is a quite unconscious and automatic process. Speakers when confronted with the two pronunciations will select their preferred form (typically the form with whispering) and report that they have heard other people use the other form, even though it occurs in their own unguarded speech. There is also variation among speakers. Some follow the rules as above and others use the process very sparingly so that the whispered forms hardly ever appear. There are also many reanalyses of individual words so that, for example, an epenthetic vowel in the whispered form will be reanalyzed as a part of the verb stem, or the whispered form will be generalized as the only form of the word. For example, the epenthetic vowel in *kanákehle* has been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem for some speakers so that for them *kanákehle* is the sentence final form and *kanákele?* is the sentence medial form. Nearly all speakers have reanalyzed the progressive suffix *-atye-* into *-ati*. Certain apparent exceptions to the accent placement rule can be understood in light of such reanalyses from the whispering rules. Notice how the accent on *sáti* 'sit!' appears to violate the accent shift rule, but the accent shift is blocked by the original double consonant form *sátyʌ* 'sit! More complete discussions of phonological processes are in Lounsbury (1946) and Michelson (1988).

3.0 Verb Morphology - The verb morphology is best understood as a sequence of four components.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Verb Stems	Aspect Suffixes

All verbs have a component for the verb stem, which itself may be quite simple (some verb stems are a single phoneme) or quite complex with many morphemes and layers of derivation. Suffixed to the verb stem is an aspectual component with inflections and some derivational possibilities. Prefixed immediately to the front of the verb stem is an obligatory component of pronominal prefixes. Within this component are coded agent, patient, gender, number and person. The fourth component is a set of eleven morphemes,
up to five of which may occur in a single word. This component is prefixed before the pronominal component. These are thus sometimes called the pre-pronominal prefixes. Each of these components has rules for internal structure, rules for morphophonemic alternations at morpheme boundaries (and rules for alternations due to accent placement), and rules for cooccurrence restrictions with what may exist in the other components of the word. Each of these is considered in turn.

3.1 Pre-pronominal Prefixes - The naming of individual morphemes here generally follows Lounsbury (1953). Some of these are problematic. Since many of the morphemes have a range of meanings and functions, a single name often falls short of adequately describing that range. As a consequence there are quite a few proposals for alternative names in the Iroquoian literature. An attempt is made here to identify those alternatives, especially if the alternative has gained greater currency.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Verb Stems	Aspect Suffixes

3.1.1 Base Forms The morphemes of the first component (the pre-pronominal prefixes) are:

base form	abbreviation	grammatical label
-ʌ-	FUT	future
wa?-	AOR	aorist (factual)
-a-	IND	indefinite (potential or optative)
-t-	CIS	cislocative
-ye-	TR	translocative
-s-	ITER	iterative (repetitive)
-te-	DU	dualic
ni-	PAR	partitive
tshi-	COIN	coincident
thi-	CONT	contrastive
te?-	NEG	negative

The future, aorist, and indefinite prefixes coordinate with a particular suffix on verb stems. This suffix, the punctual, never occurs without one of the three prefixes and the three prefixes never occur without the punctual suffix. These three prefixes as a group are sometimes called tense prefixes and sometimes modal or epistemic prefixes. Each has a variety of functions.

When more than one of any of the prepronominal prefixes are used, they occur in the following order:

partitive coincident contrastive negative	translocative	aorist	dualic	future indefinite aorist	iterative cislocative	aorist indefinite

The aorist and indefinite have multiple positions because, depending on what other prefixes they occur with, they may be discontinuous or have allomorphs in alternative positions. The following restrictions on multiple prefixes occur:

The partitive, coincident, contrastive, and negative are mutually exclusive because of their position.

The translocative and cislocative are mutually exclusive semantically.

The aorist, future, and indefinite are mutually exclusive both by position and by meaning.

The iterative and cislocative are mutually exclusive by position. When both are needed semantically, the dualic substitutes for the iterative.

The negative and contrastive are mutually exclusive semantically.

These restrictions reduce what could have been over a thousand combinations of morphemes down to 163.

3.1.2 The following chart of prepronominal prefixes shows the basic forms of those 163 combinations.

	prefix(es) alone	with the future	with the aorist	with the indefinite
alone		ʌ	waʔ	a
iterative (ITER)	s	ʌs	sa	usa
cislocative (CIS)	t	ʌt	ta	uta
dualic (DU)	te	tʌ	waʔt	taa
translocative (TR)	ye	yʌ	yaʔ	yaa
partitive (PAR)	ni	nʌ	naʔ	naa
coincident (COIN)	tshi	tshʌ	tshaʔ	tshaa
contrastive (CONT)	thi	thʌ	thaʔ	thaa
negative (NEG)	teʔ			
DU + ITER	tes	tʌs	tusa	tuusa
DU + CIS	tet	tʌt	tuta	tuuta
DU + TR	yaʔte	yaʔtʌ	yaʔt	yaʔtaa
DU + PAR	naʔte	naʔtʌ	naʔt	naʔtaa
DU + COIN	tshaʔte	tshaʔtʌ	tshaʔte	tshaʔtaa
DU + CONT	thaʔte	thaʔtʌ	thaʔt	thaʔtaa
PAR + ITER	nis	nʌs	nusa	nuusa
PAR + CIS	nit	nʌt	nuta	nuuta
PAR + TR	nye	nyʌ	nyaʔ	nyaa
CIS + ITER	tes	tʌs	tusa	tuusa
CIS + COIN	tshit	tshʌt	tshuta	tshuuta
CIS + CONT	thit	thʌt	thuta	thuuta
CIS + NEG	teʔt			
TR + ITER	yes	yʌs	yusa	yuusa
TR + COIN	tshye	tshyʌ	tshyaʔ	tshyaa
TR + CONT	thye	thyʌ	thyaʔ	thyaa
ITER + COIN	tshis	tshʌs	tshusa	tshuusa
ITER + CONT	this	thʌs	thusa	thuusa
ITER + NEG	teʔs			
DU + TR + ITER	yaʔtes	yaʔtʌs	yaʔtusa	yaʔtuusa
PAR + DU + ITER	naʔtes	naʔtʌs	naʔtusa	naʔtuusa
PAR + DU + CIS	naʔtet	naʔtʌt	naʔtuta	naʔtuuta
PAR + TR + ITER	nyes	nyʌs	nyusa	nyuusa
PAR + TR + DU	nyaʔte	nyaʔtʌ	nyaʔtaʔ	nyaʔtaa

	prefix(es) alone	with the future	with the aorist	with the indefinite
COIN + DU + ITER	tsha?tes	tsha?tʌs	tsha?tusa	tsha?tuusa
COIN + DU + CIS	tsha?tet	tsha?tʌt	tsha?tuta	tsha?tuuta
COIN + TR + ITER	tshyes	tshyʌs	tshyusa	tshyuusa
COIN + TR + DU	tshya?te	tshya?tʌ	tshya?t	tshya?taa
CONT + DU + ITER	tha?tes	tha?tʌs	tha?tusa	tha?tuusa
CONT + DU + CIS	tha?tet	tha?tʌt	tha?tuta	tha?tuuta
CONT + TR + ITER	thyes	thyʌs	thyusa	thyuusa
CONT + TR + DU	thya?te	thya?tʌ	thya?t	thya?taa
PAR + TR + DU + ITER	ya?tes	ya?tʌs	ya?tusa	ya?tuusa
COIN + TR + DU + ITER	tshya?tes	tshya?tʌs	tshya?tusa	tshya?tuusa
CONT + TR + DU + ITER	thya?tes	thya?tʌs	thya?tusa	thya?tuusa

3.1.3 Morphophonemics - In addition to the basic forms of these prefix clusters given in the chart there are alternates conditioned by the following pronominal component. The alternates are created by the following rules.

Epenthesis – When combining prepronominal and pronominal prefixes creates a consonant cluster not allowed in Oneida, an epenthetic /e/ is inserted between the two components. In addition when a consonant cluster includes prepronominal and pronominal prefixes and at least one consonant of a verb stem, then even if the cluster is otherwise allowed in the language, an epenthetic /e/ is still inserted between the prepronominal and pronominal components.

Glottal loss – If the basic form of a prepronominal component ends in glottal stop and the following pronominal component begins with either /h/ or /s/, then the glottal stop is deleted.

Affricate – If the basic form of a prepronominal component ends in /s/ and the following pronominal component begins with /y/, then the /sy/ combination becomes /tsy/.

Second Person – When certain second person pronominal prefixes are used, they condition the following changes in the prepronominal prefixes: those that end in /a/ change the /a/ to /e/; those that end in /t/ change that /t/ to /ti/; and those that end in /s/ change the /s/ to /tsi/. There is some variation among speakers as to exactly which second person pronominal prefixes condition these changes, but the best generalization seems to be all the intransitive prefixes except the subjective singular.

Portmanteau – When the boundary between the prepronominal and pronominal prefixes contains the sequence /awa/ or /a?wa/ or /wa?wa/, then that entire sequence is replaced by /u/.

Accent – The normal rules of accent placement and laryngeal loss and prothesis will modify the prepronominal prefixes just as they would any other parts of an Oneida word. There is one additional change that occurs when the accent falls on the translocative prefix

-yo- (or its combination with future *-yʌ-* or aorist *-ya-* or with other prefixes positioned in front of the translocative). In such cases the accented vowel doubles creating *-yehé-* (or *-yʌhʌ́-* with the future or *-yahá-* with the aorist).

3.1.4 Prefix Meanings - The prepronominal prefixes have a variety of functions, sometimes more than a single label can suggest.

3.1.4.1 The future prefix *-ʌ-* is used to indicate predictions and future time. It is also used in timeless conditional statements and often in verbs subordinated to other verbs.

ʌhanóhale?	tákʌ ʌsnóhale?
ʌ-ha-nohale-?	takʌ ʌ-s-nohale-?
FUT PRO wash PNC	don't FUT PRO wash PNC
'he will wash it'	'don't wash it'
ʌhatsʌ·lí·	nok ʌwa·tú ʌhanóhale?
ʌ-ha-tsʌli-?	nok ʌ-w-atu-? ʌ-ha-nohale-?
FUT PRO find PNC	only FUT PRO possible PNC FUT PRO wash PNC
'he will find it'	'he has to wash it'

3.1.4.2 The aorist prefix *wa?-* is frequently called the factual in the literature on Iroquoian linguistics. It is used for factual events as opposed to predicted, desired, or potential events. For many instances this equates with past time,

wahanóhale?	wahatsʌ·lí·
wa-ha-nohale-?	wa-ha-tsʌli-?
AOR PRO wash PNC	AOR PRO find PNC
'he washed it'	'he found it'

but with some verbs, particularly verbs of motion, the factual event can be currently in progress.

wá·lehte?	wahatekhunyá·na
wa-hl-eht-e?	wa-ha-atekhuny-hn-a?
AOR PRO go PNC	AOR PRO eat DISL PNC
'he is going'	'he is going to eat'

With verbs of motion the aorist also assumes the function of the translocative in indicating direction away from the speaker. In this usage it contrasts with the cislocative.

wahatákhe?	tahatákhe?
wa-ha-takhe-?	t-a-ha-takhe-?
AOR PRO run PNC	CIS AOR PRO run PNC
'he is running away'	'he is running towards'

3.1.4.3 The indefinite prefix *-a-* is used for potential events. It is frequently used in subordination to other verbs of desire, obligation, possibility, or necessity. By itself it adds

a sense of mild obligation ('should') to the verb. It contrasts with the future and the aorist.

a-ha-nohale-ʔ	a-ha-tsʌli-ʔ
IND PRO wash PNC	IND PRO find PNC
'he should (or might) wash it'	'he should find it'

i·kélheʔ ahanóhaleʔ
k-elhe-ʔ a-ha-nohale-ʔ
PRO want PNC IND PRO wash PNC
'I want him to wash it'

teyotuhutsyóhu ahanóhaleʔ
te-yo-atuhutsyoh-u a-ha-nohale-ʔ
DU PRO need STAT IND PRO wash PNC
'it needs to be that he should wash it,' 'he needs to wash it'

3.1.4.4 The translocative prefix *-ye-* is generally spatial. It can indicate direction away from the speaker (or focus of attention)

yehatawyá·thaʔ	yehatʌnyéthaʔ
ye-ha-atawyaʔt-haʔ	ye-ha-atʌnyeht-haʔ
TR PRO enter SER	TR PRO send SER
'he goes in'	'he sends it (away)'

yeháhas
ye-ha-ha(w)-s
TR PRO carry SER
'he takes it along'

or it can indicate distant location.

yekanúhsoteʔ
ye-ka-nuhs-ot-eʔ
TR PRO house stand STAT
'a house standing far away'

The translocative is also required by certain verb stems where, since it is required, it may be understood as part of the lexical item with the verb stem.

yehá·leks	yehahtsyáthaʔ
ye-ha-hlek-s	ye-ha-ahtsyat-haʔ
TR PRO push SER	TR PRO point SER
'he pushes'	'he points'

If the verb stem contains an instrumental derivational suffix, then the translocative adds a meaning of suddenness to the action of the verb.

yehatitahkwáthaʔ
ye-ha-atitaʔ-hkwat-haʔ
TR PRO get out INST SER
'he jumps right out'

3.1.4.5 The **cislocative** prefix *t-* is also basically spatial, but it has developed a wider range of uses. With verbs of motion it signals direction toward the speaker (or focus of attention).

thatawyá·thaʔ	thatʌnyéthaʔ
t-ha-atawyaʔt-haʔ	t-ha-atʌnyeht-haʔ
CIS PRO enter SER	CIS PRO send SER
'he comes in'	'he sends it (this way)'

With most other verbs it indicates specific location.

tkanúhsoteʔ
t-ka-nuhs-ot-eʔ
CIS PRO house stand STAT
'there is a house standing'

The 'coming towards' meaning of the cislocative has expanded to a 'coming towards' in time as well as in space and therefore has a future sense (this occurs only with the punctual suffix and the aorist prefix).

tayotholáti
t-a-yo-thol-ati
CIS AOR PRO cold PROG
'cold is coming'

The meaning has also expanded into a 'becoming more so' sense that expresses a comparative and superlative (with the particle *ne*) degree of many stative verbs.

yeksaʔti·yó	tyeksaʔti·yó
ye-ksaʔt-iyo	t-ye-ksaʔt-iyo
PRO child good	CIS PRO child good
'she is a good child'	'she is a better child'

ne tyeksaʔti·yó	ne tkeksaʔtáksʌ
ne t-ye-ksaʔt-iyo	ne t-k-ksaʔt-aksʌ
PT CIS PRO child good	PT CIS PRO child bad
'she is the best child'	'I am the worst child'

In addition there are some verb stems that simply require the cislocative as part of a lexical item.

tahatahsawʌʔ
t-a-ha-atahsawʌ-ʔ
CIS AOR PRO start PNC
'he started'

Finally the same specialized use of the translocative with instrumentals to mean 'suddenly' is achieved by the use of the cislocative with instrumental verbs.

taho?shalótshi
t-a-ho-a?shal-otshi-?
CIS AOR PRO knife pull-out PNC
'he jerked the knife out'

3.1.4.6 The dualic prefix *-te-* has the basic meaning of two.

tekahwístake	tekanáskwake
te-ka-hwist-ake	te-ka-naskw-ake
DU PRO money count	DU PRO animal count
'two dollars'	'two animals'

It is often used (redundantly) when the pronominal prefix is in the dual number,

tehniyáhse?
te-hni-yahs-e?
DU PRO couple STAT
'two of them'

but many verbs require the dualic prefix no matter what the pronominal prefixes may be. Many of these are actions involving either the arms or legs, which naturally come in sets of two (run, jump, travel, swing, wave, pinch), but many others seem to have little to do with the idea of two (yell, comb hair, smash, clean up, sweat). In these cases the dualic prefix seems to add no special meaning and can be considered part of the lexical item with the verb stem. The dualic also assumes the function of the iterative prefix when one wants to express the meanings of both the iterative and the cislocative prefixes (toward again, or back toward). In form the cislocative and iterative are mutually exclusive.

3.1.4.7 The iterative prefix *-s-*, like the English prefix re-, signals repetition or returning.

sekyʌtahlúnyuhe?
s-k-yʌt-hl-unyu-he?
ITER PRO wood set-on DIST SER
'I am putting on more wood'

saketsʌ·lí·	wa?ketsʌ·lí·
s-a-k-tsʌli-?	wa?-k-tsʌli-?
ITER AOR PRO find PNC	AOR PRO find PNC
'I found it' (something I had lost)	'I found it' (something new)

sahahtʌ·tí·	wahahtʌ·tí·
s-a-ha-ahtʌti-?	wa-ha-ahtʌti-?
ITER AOR PRO leave PNC	AOR PRO leave PNC
'he returned home'	'he left home'

With a special verb root *-at-* the iterative is a numbering prefix meaning one.

skahwístat	skanáskwat
s-ka-hwist-at	s-ka-naskw-at
ITER PRO money one	ITER PRO animal one
'one dollar'	'one animal'

shayá·tat	tsyukwé·tat
s-ha-ya?t-at	s-y-ukwe?t-at
ITER PRO body one	ITER PRO person one
'one man'	'one person'

The iterative is also used in many personal and natural history names where it means something like the one who.

ska?nyúhsa?
s-ka-?nyuhs-a?
ITER PRO nose SUF
'the one with the nose,' 'moose'

3.1.4.8 The partitive prefix *ni-* has a variety of functions that depend on the use of particles with the verb. The particles are often interrogative, spatial, manner, or type expressions. With the right counting verb root *-ake-* the partitive means plural (three or more) and contrasts with the dualic and iterative.

nikahwístake	nikanáskwake
ni-ka-hwist-ake	ni-ka-naskw-ake
PAR PRO money count	PAR PRP animal count
'several (more than two) dollars'	'several animals'

oh niwahsohkó·tʌ	tsi? nu nikutinákle?
oh ni-w-ahsohkw-o?tʌ	tsi? nu ni-kuti-nakle?
PT PAR PRO color kind-of	PT PT PAR PRO inhabit
'what color is it'	'where they live'

By itself the partitive has an attention getting function, suggesting something unusual.

ni·yót	nisya?tó·tʌ
ni-yo-oht	ni-s-ya?t-o?tʌ
PAR PRO appear	PAR PRO body kind-of
'how it appears'	'how you look!'

3.1.4.9 The coincident prefix *tshi-* represents a sameness in either time (at the same time, when) or manner (the same way).

tshikeksá
tshi-k-ksa?
COIN PRO child
'when (at the same time as) I was a child'

tshya?tehayélha?
tshy-te-ha-yel-ha?
COIN DU PRO do SER
'he does the same thing'

3.1.4.10 The contrastive prefix *th-* represents difference. It is also used as a general negative when the regular negative prefix is unavailable.

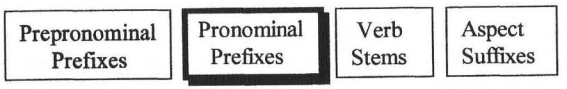
yah thahanóhale?
yah th-a-ha-nohale-?
PT CONT AOR PRO wash PNC
'he won't wash it'

3.1.4.11 The negative prefix *te?-* negates the verb. It only occurs alone or with the cislocative or iterative.

yah tehonóhale?
yah te?-ho-nohale-?
PT NEG PRO wash STAT
'he did not wash it'

In any other combination the contrastive prefix substitutes for the negative.

3.1.5 Constraints - There are co-occurrence restrictions between the prefixes and the other components of an Oneida verb. The future, aorist, and indefinite prefixes only occur with the punctual aspect suffix (in fact one of the three must occur whenever the punctual aspect suffix is used). The negative does not occur with the punctual aspect suffix (the contrastive substitutes). Certain counting verbs require one of the counting prefixes (iterative, dualic, partitive). The particular verb stem and the aspect suffix determine whether the locative prefixes (cislocative and translocative) indicate location or direction. Verb stems that contain a reflexive use the dualic prefix to indicate a reciprocal action (they do the action to each other). Verb stems that contain an instrumental suffix use the locative prefixes to indicate a suddenness of the action. The partitive prefix often occurs with a number of different particles before the verb. There are also many verb stems that require one or more prefixes to make an idiomatic meaning. For these the lexical item is really the combination of the verb stem and the required prefix(es).



3.2 Pronominal Prefixes - The pronominal component contains a rich set of prefixes that distinguish four genders, three numbers, three persons (plus an exclusive/inclusive distinction), and two semantic (or thematic) roles, typically an agent/patient distinction. If all of these distinctions were everywhere exploited, there would be nearly two thousand prefixes in this component. In fact there are only 58, because many distinctions are partially collapsed. For

example, gender is not distinguished in first and second person, dual and plural are not distinguished for third person patients, and with first person agents operating on second person patients a plural prefix does not distinguish whether it is the agent(s) or the patient(s) that are plural.

3.2.1 Description - The numbers are singular, dual, and plural. The persons are first, second, and third. The genders are masculine, neuter, and two feminine genders. The two feminine genders make a number of distinctions including: age, size, formal vs familiar, human vs animal, indefiniteness, and perhaps daintiness. For the most part one feminine gender, called feminine-indefinite, is used for most human females and to mark an indefinite person while the other, called feminine-zoic, is used for animals, and, since it mostly conflates with the neuter gender, for objects. It is the feminine-zoic that in certain circumstances is used for females who are large, either elderly or very young, or have a special relationship with the speaker.

Transitivity is a problematic property in Oneida. Most analyses have identified three sets of prefixes: a transitive set that marks properties of the agent and the patient, a set called subjective that marks agents, and a set called objective that marks patients. The problem is that the subjective and objective sets are in fact subsets of the transitive set. In other words an intransitive verb with a first person agent is formally indistinguishable from a transitive verb with a first person agent and a third person neuter patient. An intransitive verb with a first person patient is formally indistinguishable from a transitive verb with 'it' as agent and 'me' as patient. However, there are many verb stems that occur only with the subjective or objective (sub)set of pronominal prefixes instead of the full set of transitive pronominal prefixes.

3.2.2 Constraints - There are a few co-occurrence restrictions between the pronominal prefixes and the other components of an Oneida verb. In general the verb stem itself determines whether subjective, objective, or transitive pronominal prefixes are used. Dative and causative derivational suffixes are used to make intransitive verbs capable of taking transitive pronominal prefixes. The stative suffix is incompatible with subjective pronominal prefixes, so that a verb that may require subjective pronominals in all other aspects will occur with objective pronominals when the stative suffix is used. Verbs with a full reflexive morpheme are incompatible with transitive pronominal prefixes. Certain verbs only occur with dual or plural pronominal prefixes (several of these have transitive English glosses such as *-atla?-* 'meet with', *-atʌlo-* 'be friends with', and *-ala?se-* 'be cousin to').

3.2.3 The base forms of the 58 pronominal prefixes are given in the following charts. Since the base forms are heavily dependent on the beginning phoneme of the verb stem, the charts are organized by stem classes. In interpreting the charts, a general rule applies - whenever the pronominal prefix ends in a vowel and the verb stem begins in a vowel, the vowel of the verb stem is dropped. Rows distinguish agents and columns distinguish patients.

a-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all
I				kuy	ky	
we two (- you)						
we all (- you)				kwa		
we two (+ you)						
we all (+ you)						
you	skw	sky	skwa			
you two						
you all						
it/she	wak	yuky	yukwa	sa	tsy	swa
he	lakw	shuky	shukwa	hya	hetsy	hetswa
she	yukw	yukhiy		yesa	yetshiy	
they two (fem)						
they all (fem)						
they two						
they all						

a-stems

	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I	k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)	yaky		shaky	yakhiy		
we all (- you)	yakwa		shakwa			
we two (+ you)	ty		hethy	yethiy		
we all (+ you)	twa		hethwa			
you	hs		hets	shey		
you two	tsy		hetsy	yetshiy		
you all	swa		hetswa			
it/she	w	yo	lo	yako	yon	lon
he	la			shako		
she	yu	kuwa	luwa	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)	ky			yakon		
they all (fem)	ku					
they two	hy			shakon		
they all	lu					

c-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all
I				ku	ky	
we two (- you)						
we all (- you)				kwa		
we two (+ you)						
we all (+ you)						
you	sk	skni	skwa			
you two						
you all						
it/she	wak	yukni	yukwa	sa	sni	swa
he	lakw	shukni	shukwa	hya	hetsni	hetswa
she	yuk	yukhi		yesa	yetshi	
they two (fem)						
they all (fem)						
they two						
they all						

c-stems

	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I	k		hi	khe		
we two (- you)	yakni		shakni	yakhi		
we all (- you)	yakwa		shakwa			
we two (+ you)	tni		hethy	yethi		
we all (+ you)	twa		hethwa			
you	hs		hets	she		
you two	sni		hetsni	yetshi		
you all	swa		hetswa			
it/she	ka	yo	lo	yako	yoti	loti
he	la			shako		
she	ye	kuwa	luwa	yutat	kuwati	luwati
they two (fem)	kni			yakoti		
they all (fem)	kuti					
they two	hni			shakoti		
they all	lati					

i-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all
I				ku	kn	
we two (- you)						
we all (- you)				yakwʌ		
we two (+ you)						
we all (+ you)						
you	sk	skn	skwʌ			
you two						
you all						
it/she	wak	yukn	yukwʌ	sʌ	sn	swʌ
he	lak	shukn	shukwʌ	hyʌ	hetsn	hetswʌ
she	yuk	yukhi		yesʌ	yetshi	
they two (fem)						
they all (fem)						
they two						
they all						

i-stems

	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I	k		hi	khe		
we two (- you)	yakn		shakn	yakhi		
we all (- you)	yakwʌ		shakwʌ			
we two (+ you)	tn		hethn	yethi		
we all (+ you)	twʌ		hethwʌ			
you	hs		hets	she		
you two	sn		hetsn	yetshi		
you all	swʌ		hetswʌ			
it/she	kʌ	yo	lo	yako	yoti	loti
he	lʌ			shako		
she	ye	kuwʌ	luwʌ	yutat	kuwati	luwati
they two (fem)	kn			yakoti		
they all (fem)	kuti					
they two	hn			shakoti		
they all	lati					

o/u-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all
I				kuy	kn	
we two (- you)						
we all (- you)					ky	
we two (+ you)						
we all (+ you)						
you	sk	skn	sky			
you two						
you all						
it/she	wak	yukn	yuky	sa	sn	tsy
he	lak	shukn	shuky	hyay	hetsn	hetsy
she	yuk	yukhiy		yesay	yetshiy	
they two (fem)						
they all (fem)						
they two						
they all						

o/u-stems

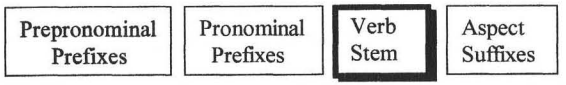
	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I	k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)	yakn		shakn	yakhiy		
we all (- you)	yaky		shaky			
we two (+ you)	tn		hethn	yethiy		
we all (+ you)	ty		hethy			
you	hs		hets	shey		
you two	esn		hetsn	yetshiy		
you all	etsy		hetsy			
it/she	y	yao	lao	yakao	yon	lon
he	hl			shakao		
she	yak	kuway	luway	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)	kn			yakon		
they all (fem)	kun					
they two	hn			shakon		
they all	lʌn					

e/ʌ-stems

	me	us two	us all	you	you two	you all
I				kuy	kn	
we two (- you)						
we all (- you)				kw		
we two (+ you)						
we all (+ you)						
you	skw	skn	skw			
you two						
you all						
it/she	wak	yukn	yukw	sa	sn	sw
he	lakw	shukn	shukw	hyay	hetsn	hetsw
she	yukw	yukhiy		yesa	yetshiy	
they two (fem)						
they all (fem)						
they two						
they all						

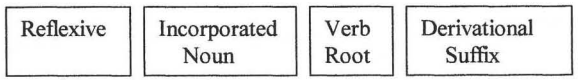
e/ʌ-stems

	it	it/her	him	her	them (fem)	them
I	k		hiy	khey		
we two (- you)	yakn		shakn	yakhiy		
we all (- you)	yakw		shakw			
we two (+ you)	tn		hethn	yethiy		
we all (+ you)	tw		hethw			
you	hs		hets	shey		
you two	sn		hetsn	yetshiy		
you all	sw		hetsw			
it/she	w	yaw	law	yakaw	yon	lon
he	le			shako		
she	yak	kuw	luw	yutat	kuwʌn	luwʌn
they two (fem)	kn			yakon		
they all (fem)	kun					
they two	hn			shakon		
they all	lʌn					



3.3 Verb Stem - The third component of the Oneida verb contains the verb stem. Verb stems may be single morphemes (verb roots) or more complex derived forms built on a verb root sometimes through many layers of derivation. A verb stem can be analyzed as containing four components where the third component is required and the others are available for derivational options.

Verb Stem Components



3.3.1 Reflexive - The first component, reflexive, may contain either a semi-reflexive or a full reflexive. The basic form of the semi-reflexive is *-at-* although there are less common forms: *-atʌ-* is used before some forms beginning with /n/ or /ʔ/; *-ate-* is used elsewhere when epenthesis is needed to avoid an impossible consonant cluster; *-an-* is used before many forms beginning with /i/; and *-al-* is used before a very few forms beginning with /a/. The meaning of the semi-reflexive depends on the verb (the third component of the verb stem). For some verbs the semi-reflexive creates an unpredictable semantic specialization or shift.

khni·núhe?	katʌhni·núhe?
k-hninu-he?	k-atʌ-hninu-he?
PRO buy SER	PRO REFL buy SER
'I buy'	'I sell'
teyuwʌ́lyehe?	teyutawʌ́lyehe?
te-yu-awʌlye-he?	te-yu-at-awʌlye-he?
DU PRO stir SER	DU PRO REFL stir SER
'she stirs'	'she travels'
lakhu·níhe?	latekhu·níhe?
la-khw-uni-he?	la-ate-khw-uni-he?
PRO food make SER	PRO REFL food make SER
'he is cooking'	'he is eating'
wahakwe·ní·	wahatkwe·ní·
wa-ha-kweni-ʔ	wa-ha-at-kweni-ʔ
AOR PRO be-able PNC	AOR PRO REFL be able PNC
'he was able'	'he won'

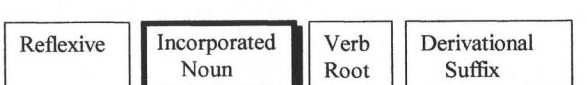
lu·níhe?	watu·níhe?
l-uni-he?	w-at-uni-he?
PRO make SER	PRO REFL make SER
'he is making it'	'it is growing'

For many verbs, however, the semi-reflexive adds a middle voice meaning the verb's action is done for or to the agent or something closely associated with the agent.

lakétskwas	latkétskwas
la-ketskw-as	la-at-ketskw-as
PRO lift SER	PRO REFL lift SER
'he is lifting it, raising it'	'he is getting up'
-yʌ-	-atyʌ-
'place, set'	'sit'
lahsiʔtóhalehe?	lalahsiʔtóhalehe?
la-ahsiʔt-ohale-he?	la-al-ahsiʔt-ohale-he?
PRO foot wash SER	PRO REFL foot wash SER
'he is washing feet'	'he is washing his feet'

The full reflexive, whose form is consistently *-atat-*, is used when agent and patient are the same, or when the action is reciprocal. This particular form is more inflectional than derivational and might be better analyzed as part of the pronominal prefix component.

lahle·nás	latathle·nás
la-hlen-as	la-atat-hlen-as
PRO cut SER	PRO REFL cut SER
'he is cutting it'	'he is cutting himself'



3.3.2 Noun Incorporation - The second component is for noun incorporation. In this slot may occur noun roots (single noun morphemes), nominalized verb stems (verb stems with a nominalization suffix), or empty roots (semantically empty morphemes required by certain verbs when no specific noun is incorporated).

Noun roots are single noun morphemes. Some common examples are *-nʌst-* 'corn'; *-wil-* 'offspring'; *-lut-* 'log'; *-nuhs-* 'building'; and *-khw-* 'food'. Many noun roots have an incorporated form that differs from their unincorporated form. Typically, the incorporated form has a suffixed consonant or consonant cluster that adds no meaning. Which noun roots require this addition is not predictable on either semantic or phonological conditions. For some nouns the suffixation has the form of the instrumental suffix (*-ʔt-, -t-, -ht-, -hkw-*) as

in *-ukwe?t-* 'person'; *-lyo?t-* 'animal'; *-shest-* 'syrup'; and *-ahtahkw-* 'shoe'. For others it is very much like the suffix used to nominalize verbs (*-sl-, -tsl-, -hsl-*) as in *-atokwatsl-* 'spoon'; *-nuhkwa?tsl-* 'medicine'; *-tsi?tʌtsl-* 'bird'; and *-ahtahnawʌtsl-* 'ball'. The choices among these alternates are not governed by strict rules but there are some generalizations: *-?t-* tends to occur after vowels, particularly /e/; *-t-* tends to occur after /s/; *-sl-* tends to occur after /t/ and /k/; and *-hsl-* tends to occur after /ʌ/.

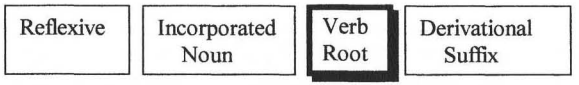
Nominalized verb stems can also be incorporated as nouns. Verbs are nominalized by the suffixation of a nominalizer morpheme which has many forms: *-sl-, -asl-, -hsl-, -ahsl-, -tsl-, -atsl-, -?tsl-, -a?tsl-, -ksl-, -aksl-, -a?ksl-, -?sl-, and -?t-*. The choice among these forms is dependent on the verb being nominalized but is not strictly predictable (the best generalizations are that *-hsl-* occurs after vowels and forms with /t/ tend to occur after glottal stops). Some examples are:

-atliyohsl-	'fighting' from –atliyo- 'fight'
-atʌlo?sl-	'friend' from –atʌlo- 'be friends'
-yo?tʌhsl-	'job' from –yo?te- 'work'
-hyatuhsl-	'paper', 'book' from –hyatu- 'write'

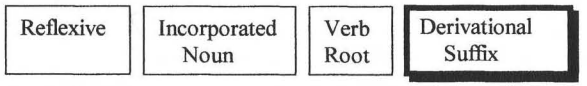
There is also variation among speakers.

The third possibility for the noun incorporation slot is an empty morpheme, usually a syllable or less. Some verbs require that the noun incorporation slot be filled and when a more specific noun root or nominalized verb is not used, an empty morpheme fills the slot. The choice among many alternatives depends on the incorporating verb stem. Some examples are: *-?sk-* in *-?sko-* 'put in water'; *-?sk-* in *-?skut-* 'fry'; *-?lh-* in *-?lholok-* 'cover'; *-?lh-* in *-?lhenyʌ?-* 'collapse'; *-n-* in *-nohale-* 'wash'; and *-hny-* in *-hnyot-* 'set up'.

The meaning shift that the noun incorporation adds to the verb often is to specify a type of patient role but it is not always a predictable shift and is probably best viewed as a process of lexical derivation. The presence or absence of an incorporated noun is controlled by the verb (the third component of the verb stem) where some verbs require noun incorporation, some verbs never allow it, and some provide a choice of incorporation or not.



3.3.3 Verb Root - The third component of the verb stem is the required slot for the verb root, although some derived verb stems are possible in this slot. Verb roots can be single phonemes such as *-e-* 'go' or *-k-* 'eat' or more lengthy forms such as *-nuhwelatu-* 'thank'.



3.3.4 Derivational Suffixes - The fourth component may contain one or more of several derivational suffixes. Individually they are:

3.3.4.1 Distributive – The possible forms are *-hslu-, -hu-, -nyu-*, and *-u-*. The meaning distributes the action of the verb in time (several times) or place (here and there) or it pluralizes the patient, especially an incorporated noun. Compare the following:

-atahahokʌhslu-	'branching roads'	-atahahokʌ-	'fork in the road'
-atketskwanyu-	'get up often'	-atketskw-	'get up'
-kalatunyu-	'tell stories'	-kalatu-	'tell a story'
-nohalenyu-	'wash many objects'	-nohale-	'wash'
-ksahlunyu-	'set dishes out'	-ksahl-	'set out a dish'
-nuhsotu-	'houses standing'	-nuhsot-	'house standing'
-ya?khu-	'cut up'	-ya?k-	'cut'

3.3.4.2 Inchoative – The basic form is *-?-* after vowels and *-a?* after consonants. It is added to verb forms that are inherently stative, especially positional verbs, to form non-stative verbs.

-ata?-	'get in'	-at-	'be in'
-yʌta?-	'get'	-yʌ(t)-	'set', 'place', 'have'
-kstʌ?-	'become old'	-kstʌ-	'be old'
-naklʌ?-	'become plentiful'	-nakle-	'be plentiful'
-ta?-	'stand up', 'stop'	-t-	'be standing'

3.3.4.3 Instrumental – This derivational suffix is made up of several alternative forms and several meanings that overlap sufficiently to frustrate attempts to identify separate morphemes. The basic forms of the instrumental are *-ht-, -?t-, -st-, -t-*, and *-hkw-*. The choice among them is dependent on the verb. For some few verbs more than one alternative is possible and there is some variation among speakers. Granting many exceptions, there are the following generalizations: *-t-* tends to occur after /k/; all the others occur after vowels; *-st-* also occurs after /t/; after consonants all of the basic forms occur with an inserted vowel (usually /a/); some verbs ending in /ʌ/ have the /ʌ/ replaced by /a/ before one of the basic forms. The meaning of the instrumental suffix is to add an instrumental role to the verb but both stems and individual words often undergo some semantic specialization.

-hulohaleht-	yehnekihlá·tha?
-hul-ohale-ht-	ye-hnekihl-?t-ha?
gun clean INST	PRO drink INST SER
'wash a gun with it'	'drink with it,' 'dipper'
teyutatesnyétha?	tekatásta?
te-yu-atate-snye-ht-ha?	te-ka-t-st-ha?
DU PRO REFL care-for INST SER	DU PRO stand INST SER
'care for one with it,' 'hospital'	'come to a stop with it,' 'station'
-ahkwʌnyunya?t-	-lihwahnilatst-
-ahkwʌny-uny-?t-	-lihw-hnilat-st-
clothes make INST	issue strengthen INST
'make clothes with it'	'strengthen an issue with it,' 'approve'

anisnuhsohlokta?	atnutékta?
ani-snuhs-ohlok-t-ha?	at-nutek-t-ha?
REFL hand cover INST SER	REFL cover INST SER
'cover hand with it,' 'ring'	'cover'
yutahsehtákhwa?	-na?tuhkw-
yu-at-ahseht-ahkw-ha?	-na?tu-hkw-
PRO REFL hide INST SER	call INST
'one hides with it,' 'hiding place'	'one calls with it,' 'name'
atekhwahlákhwa?	tyunhéhkwʌ
ate-khw-hl-ahkw-ha?	ty-unhe-hkw-ʌ
REFL food set-on INST SER	PRO live INST STAT
'one puts food on it,' 'table'	'we are alive with it,' 'our livelihood'

The *-ahkw-* form is sometimes suffixed to any of the other basic forms to create a double form. The meaning is that the action of the verb is done with some tool or in some special place. Verbs with the double form tend to be used only with the serial suffix (more rarely the stative suffix) as nouns for specific tools or locations.

yewatawʌstakhwa?	teyutkʌnye?tákhwa?
ye-w-at-awʌ-stahkw-ha?	te-yu-at-kʌnye-?tahkw-ha?
TR PRO REFL be-in-water-INST-SER	DU PRO REFL compete INST SER
'swimming place'	'one competes with it,' 'fairgrounds'
kahʌtiyostakhwa?	yewistohtákhwa?
ka-hʌt-iyo-stahkw-ha?	ye-wisto-htahkw-ha?
PRO field good INST SER	PRO chill INST SER
'it makes the field good,' 'fertilizer'	'one chills with it,' 'refrigerator'
yoshe?lhatkʌ?tákhwa?	
yo-she?lh-atkʌ-?tahkw-ha?	
PRO dough spoil INST SER	
'one spoils (ferments) with it,' 'yeast'	

All the instrumental forms are also used to creative causative verbs where the meaning is more to make something happen rather than to use something to perform an action.

-ata?klahkw-	'cause to float'	from -?kl-	'be floating'
-aksa?t-	'spoil'	from -aksʌ-	'bad'
-atekhahsyaht-	'divide', separate'	from -khahsy-	'divide'
-atahuhsiyost-	'listen'	from –huhsiyo-	'good ears'
-a?sʌht-	'drop'	from –a?sʌ-	'fall'
-lihowanaht-	'honor'	from -lihowanʌ-	'big issue'
-na?nawʌht-	'moisten'	from –na?nawʌ-	'be wet'

3.3.4.4 Dative – There are four sets of dative suffixes *-?se-/-?s-, -ni-/-?s-, -?seni-/-?s-,* and *-ʌni-/-ʌ-* and in each case the first alternate in the set occurs with serial and stative aspect suffixes (the fourth component of an Oneida verb) and the second occurs with the punctual aspect suffix. The choice among the sets is controlled by the verb, although some verbs occur with more than one choice without contrasting meaning. The function of the dative is to allow a pronominal prefix to refer to a patient (for an otherwise intransitive verb) or a beneficiary (where the patient is an incorporated noun).

-hyatuseni-	'write to'	from -hyatu-	'write'
-kalatuni-	'tell a story to'	from -kalatu-	'tell a story'
-khunyʌni-	'cook for'	from -khuni-	'cook'
-lihunyʌni-	'teach'	from -lihuni-	'create a custom'
-yʌtakalenyʌni-	'haul wood for'	from -yʌtakaleni-	'haul wood'
-atlʌnayʌha?s-	'pray for'	from -atlʌnayʌ-	'pray'
-li?wanutu?s-	'ask a question of'	from -li?wanut-	'ask a question'

3.3.4.5 Undoer – There is a derivational suffix that essentially reverses the action of some verbs. Its forms are *-hsy-* or *-hkw-* or *-kw-*. The choice among the three forms is dependent on the verb it is suffixed to. *-Hsy-* is also a regular verb root used when nouns for articles of clothing are incorporated with it. *-Kw-* tends to be used with positional verbs to mean to get out of a particular position.

-atslunyahsy-	'get undressed'	from -atsluni-	'get dressed'
-yestahsy-	'separate'	from -yest-	'mix'
-?lholoksy-	'uncover'	from -?lholok-	'cover'
-atitahkw-	'get out of'	from -atita?-	'get in'
-a?shalitahkw-	'take a knife out'	from -a?shalita?-	'put a knife in'
-yʌthokw-	'harvest'	from -yʌtho-	'plant'
-lutokw-	'get log from water'	from -luto-	'put logs in water'
-khwahlakw-	'remove food'	from -khwahl-	'put food out'

3.3.4.6 Dislocative – The forms of this morpheme are: *-h-*, which tends to be used after the single consonants /t/ or /k/; *-?n-/-hn-/-hsl-*, which tend to be used after vowels, the choice depending on the verb; and *-a?n-/-ahn-*, which tend to be used after other consonants or clusters. A few verbs are known to occur with more than one of these alternatives. The /l/ in *-hsl-* typically occurs only with the serial suffixes. The meaning of the dislocative adds motion (going to) to the action of the verb.

-atolath-	'go hunting'	from -atolat-	'hunt'
-itsyako?n-	'go fishing'	from -itsyakw-	'fish'
-atʌhninu?n-	'go selling'	from -atʌhninu-	'sell'
-atawʌhs-	'go swimming'	from -atawʌ-	'swim', 'bathe'
-atawʌlyehsl-	'go travelling'	from -atawʌlye-	'travel'

Any of these derivational suffixes can occur alone with a verb root, but it is also

possible for combinations to occur. When combinations occur the undoer, inchoative, and causative uses of the instrumental occur immediately after a verb root and the dislocative must occur immediately before the aspect component, but the others are free to occur in many arrangements. These arrangements may be best understood as nested constituents so that a verb root and a single derivational suffix form a complex verb that then adds another single derivational suffix to form a new complex verb that then adds another suffix and so on.

3.3.5 Verb Classes - There are many ways to classify the many verb stems of Oneida but the following six ways may be the most important.

3.3.5.1 Verb stems may be classified by their beginning phoneme. The beginning phoneme determines many of the alternations in the forms of the pronominal prefixes. The largest class consists of the verb stems beginning with /a/, called a-stems, followed by i-stems, o- and u-stems (o- and u-stems pattern with the same alternations), and e- and ʌ-stems (e- and ʌ-stems pattern with the same alternations). Stems beginning with consonants, called c-stems, form another large category. For some alternations there is the occasional need to refer specifically to y-stems or h-stems, but for the most part c-stems operate the same.

3.3.5.2 Stems can also be classified by limitations they place on the pronominal prefixes that are possible. Most dynamic verb stems require subjective prefixes (except when the stative suffix is added), while others require objective prefixes (e.g. *-keʔtoht-* 'appear,' *-yoʔte-* 'work,' *-nuhwaktʌ(ni)-* 'be sick,' *-nuhyanik-* 'be stingy'), while still others allow (or require) transitive prefixes. In addition there are stems that take impersonal prefixes (e.g. intransitives such as *-lihʌ-* 'boil' or *-hli-* 'break') and stems that take only nonsingular prefixes (e.g. *-atʌlo-* 'be friends', *-aʔwʌtaʔ-* 'die off', *-alaʔse-* 'be cousins').

3.3.5.3 Verb stems can also be classified by whether they treat some of the prepronominal prefixes as inflectional options or as lexical requirements. The most inflectional of the prepronominal prefixes (future, aorist, indefinite, negative) are not used as lexical requirements, but the others are, with stems requiring the dualic being most common, followed by the cislocative, iterative, partitive, translocative, coincident, contrastive. For a few verb stems a combination of prefixes is required.

tahatáhsawʌʔ
t-a-ha-atahsawʌ-ʔ
CIS AOR PRO begin PNC
'he began'

tashakonúhtuhseʔ
t-a-shako-nuhtu-hs-eʔ
CIS AOR PRO force DAT PNC
'he forced her'

thatilútha?
t-ha-atilut-ha?
CIS PRO stretch SER
'he pulls'

watilútha?
w-atilut-ha?
PRO stretch SER
'it stretches'

sahahtʌ·tí·
s-a-ha-ahtʌti-ʔ
ITER AOR PRO leave PNC
'he went home'

wahahtʌ·tí·
waʔ-ha-ahtʌti-ʔ
AOR PRO leave PNC
'he set out'

sashakoté·wahteʔ
s-a-shako-ateʔwaht-eʔ
ITER AOR PRO miss PNC
'he missed her'

yahahkwata·sé·
y-a-ha-ahkwatase-ʔ
TR AOR PRO go-around PNC
'he went around to the other side'

wahahkwata·sé·
waʔ-ha-ahkwatase-ʔ
AOR PRO go-around PNC
'he went around it'

waʔthahkwata·sé·
waʔ-t-ha-ahkwatase-ʔ
AOR DU PRO go-around PNC
'he went all the way around and back'

waho·tí·
waʔ-ho-ati-ʔ
AOR PRO throw PNC
'he lost it'

yaho·tí·
y-a-ho-ati-ʔ
TR AOR PRO throw PNC
'he threw it (away from here)'

taho·tí·
t-a-ho-ati-ʔ
CIS AOR PRO throw PNC
'he threw it toward'

tshyaʔtehayélhaʔ
tshy-te-ha-yel-haʔ
CONT DU PRO do SER
'he does the same thing'

-hlek- (trans)
yehá·leks
ye-ha-hlek-s
TR PRO push SER
'he pushes it'

tehoteʔtúhkwaleʔ
te-ho-ateʔtuhkwal-ʔ
DU PRO sweat STAT
'he is sweating'

nihatyélhaʔ
ni-ha-at-yel-haʔ
PAR PRO REFL do SER
'he is doing'

kaʔ nyahátsyel
kaʔ n-ye-s-yel-
PT PAR TR PRO do IMP
'touch it!'

3.3.5.4 Classifying verb stems by noun-incorporability is another possibility. Some verb stems require an incorporated noun, even a semantically empty one for the most general meaning, e.g. *-ot-* 'stand', *-ohale-* 'wash', *-ut-* 'protrude from', *-enyʌʔ-* 'fall'. Other verb stems never

allow incorporation, e.g. *-anuhte-* 'know does not incorporate while *-yʌtel-* 'know' does. Still others have suppletive forms for when there is no incorporated noun, e.g. *-ehsak-/-isak-* 'look for', *-us-/-es-* 'be long'. There are also many verbs that offer speakers a choice between use with an incorporated noun (verbal derivation) and with an unincorporated noun (syntactic construction). One pattern in all this is that short verbs (single syllables or less) are very likely to incorporate nouns.

3.3.5.5 Just as verbs have tendencies toward (or against) noun incorporation, they have tendencies toward (or against) derivational suffixes and, though the boundaries may not be tight, it may be useful to classify verbs by their affinities for derivational suffixes. The verb root *-ohale-* 'wash', for example, quite freely incorporates nouns and derivational suffixes:

-(n)ohale-
'wash,' 'clean'

onohalehta?
o-n-ohale-ht-a?
PRO (empty) wash INST SUF
'soap'

-(n)ohalenyu-
-n-ohale-nyu
(empty) wash DIST
'wash clothes'

kanohalényuhe?
ka-n-ohale-nyu-he?
PRO (empty) wash DIST SER
'washing machine'

-atnohale-
-at-n-ohale-
REFL (empty) wash
'wash self'

-ksohale-
-ks-ohale-
'wash a dish'

-ksohalenyu-
-ks-ohale-enyu-
'wash dishes'

-ya?tohale-
-ya?t-ohale-
body wash
'bathe one'

-atya?tohale-
-at-ya?t-ohale-
REFL body wash
'bathe self'

yutya?tohale?tákhwa?
yu-at-ya?t-ohale-?t-hkw-ha?
PRO REFL body wash INST INST SER
'bathtub'

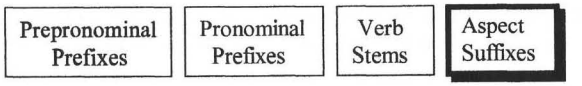
yeksohalé·tha?
ye-ks-ohale-?t-ha?
PRO dish wash INST SER
'dish rag'

yeksohale?tákhwa?
ye-ks-ohale-?t-hkw-ha?
PRO dish wash INST INST SER
'something used for washing dishes'

yeksohale?tanyúkhwa?
ye-ks-ohale-?t-nyu-hkw-ha?
PRO dish wash INST DIST INST SER
'dishpan'

ʌkheksohalényuhse?
ʌ-khe-ks-ohale-nyu-hs-?
FUT PRO dish wash DIST DAT PNC
'I·ll wash dishes for her'

3.3.5.6 Finally it is useful to classify verbs by their aspectual requirements. Here there are three major classes - dynamic, stative, and motion verbs - with several subclasses. A large number of stems that are actions or processes fall into the dynamic class. They occur with four basic aspectual suffixes (described in the section 3.4.1) and extensions of them. Stative verbs, in contrast, do not occur with the range of aspectual suffixes that the dynamic stems do. Stative verbs fall into a couple of subclasses depending on which of the aspectual suffixes they do occur with. There are, however, several derivational suffixes that can convert stative stems into dynamic ones, such as an inchoative and the causative morpheme(s). The third class, the motion verbs, resembles the dynamic class in that motion verbs occur with the same aspectual suffixes but several of them have quite different functions. There is also one additional form that motion verbs have that the dynamic verbs do not. There are three important subclasses of motion verbs: those stems that are inherently motion verbs; those that have been derived from other verbs by adding what has been called a purposive or dislocative ('going to') morpheme; and those that have been derived from other verbs by adding a progressive ('going along') morpheme.



3.4 Aspect Suffixes - The final component of an Oneida verb is for a set of suffixes that are in part aspectual. As in many languages aspectual distinctions are sometimes inherent in lexical items or stems, are sometimes represented in affixes, and are frequently combined with notions of tense and modality. This is true of Oneida and it presents a terminological problem. Lounsbury (1953) used a set of labels still used by some for the basic suffixes and their extensions. These labels reflected his analysis of their functions. Later researchers of Oneida and related Iroquoian languages discovered more variation in the functions of these suffixes and with developments in theories of aspect have proposed several alternative labels for the same suffixes. Depending on what they are attached to, most of these suffixes have multiple functions and a linguist's labels might reflect a function considered more basic, more frequent, or a historical source. Whatever labels are used, it is important here to distinguish forms and functions.

3.4.1 Dynamic verbs

3.4.1.1 A large class of verb stems that are inherently dynamic rather than stative inflect for four suffixes: serial (also called iterative, habitual, or imperfective), punctual (also called perfective), imperative, and stative (also called perfective or descriptive). The serial suffix represents seriated action, either a characteristic action done a series of times (hence the name habitual) or an ongoing current action. These functions are primarily imperfective in aspect.

The punctual suffix occurs only with one of three prepronominal prefixes (future, aorist, indefinite) and typically represents a noncontinuous action. Since there is no focus on internal temporal texture in these actions, they are perfective in aspect.

The imperative aspect represents commands, which can occur in all three persons in Oneida.

The stative suffix represents states: inherent states, experiential states, resultant states, negative actions (or better, the lack of an action), and current ongoing actions. Notice that both the serial and the stative can represent current ongoing actions, but not with the same verb stem. Determining which verb stems will express ongoing current action with the serial and which with the stative is not entirely straightforward. Chafe (1980) has proposed that the semantic feature of consequentiality works well in the related language Seneca and it works reasonably well, but not completely for Oneida. In consequential verbs the action leads to some change of consequence and for such verbs the stative suffix expresses a resultant state while the serial expresses the ongoing current action (as well, ambiguously, as a habitual action), and in nonconsequential verbs the stative suffix expresses an ongoing current action while the serial expresses the habitual action. But there are exceptions. One important characteristic of the stative suffix is the effect it has on the pronominal component. The stative suffix is incompatible with subjective pronominal prefixes so that verbs which normally require subjective pronominal prefixes in their other aspects switch their allegiance to the objective pronominals with this particular suffix. The one exception is that the neuter subjective pronominal (*ka-/w-*) is used with the stative suffix to form an impersonal construction.

lahya·túhe?	wahahya·tú·
la-hyatu-he?	wa?-ha-hyatu-?
PRO write SER	AOR PRO write PNC
he writes	he wrote

sya·tu̲ write!

lohya·tú	kahya·tú
lo-hyatu-	ka-hyatu-
PAT-PRO write STAT	AGT-PRO write STAT
'he has written'	'it is written'

Transitive pronominals undergo no switch with the stative suffix.

3.4.1.2 Suffix Forms - The forms of the four suffixes depend on the verb stem. Possible serial endings are: *-he?, -ha?, -s, -as, -hse?,* and *-?se?.* Forms of the punctual are: *-?, -ʌ?,* and *-ne?.* Forms of the imperative are zero, except for stems ending in a glottal stop which add *-n-*. Forms for the stative are: *-?, -u, -ʌ, -?u, -nu,* and zero. There are patterns among these choices. Lounsbury (1953) set up 14 categories of verb stems to be able to predict the aspect choices on the basis of the ending sounds of the verb stem, but there are exceptions and some variation among speakers.

3.4.1.3 Tenses - The serial, punctual, and stative suffixes can all inflect for past and future tense. The past tenses are: *-kwe?* for the serial suffix (exceptionally the *-he?* serial suffix becomes *-hahkwe?* with this attachment) and *-hne* for the stative suffix. The serial past creates a meaning of a habitual past action ('was doing', or 'used to do') and the stative past creates a meaning of a past state ('was doing' or 'had done'). With the punctual suffix, past is represented with the aorist prepronominal prefix. The meaning is simple past ('did') and with dynamic verbs this can be considered a perfective aspect in the sense that the action is not viewed as having any internal temporal structure.

For the future tenses the future prepronominal prefix is used. With the punctual suffix the meaning is a predication ('will do'). A morpheme, sometimes called the continuative (Lounsbury, 1953) or the modalizer, *-ke?* is attached to the serial suffix, creating a future continuative meaning ('will be doing') and *-hake?* is attached to the stative suffix, creating a future continuative state meaning ('will be done', or 'will have been doing'). In all of these cases the future prefix can be replaced by the indefinite prefix to create a mildly obligatory meaning ('should do', 'should be doing', 'should be done').

3.4.1.4 Progressive - The stative suffix also inflects for a progressive suffix that represents ongoing action and usually motion ('go along doing'). As motion verbs, verbs with the progressive suffix can reinflect for another set of suffixes [see section 3.4.3.1]. The progressive suffix can also attach to some locational verbs where the meaning is not motion as much as extension along some space. The forms of this suffix are *-tye, -atye,* or *-hatye* depending on the verb stem.

lato·láts
la-atolat-s
PRO hunt SER
'he is hunting', 'he hunts', 'he is a hunter'

lato·látskwe	wahato·láte?
la-atolat-s-kwe	wa?-ha-atolat-?
PRO hunt SER PAST	AOR PRO hunt PNC
'he used to hunt'	'he hunted'

ʌhato·láte?	ahato·láte?
ʌ-ha-atolat-?	a-ha-atolat-?
FUT PRO hunt PNC	IND PRO hunt PNC
'he will hunt'	'for him to hunt', 'he should hunt'

sato·lát
s-atolat-
PRO hunt IMP
'hunt!'

lotola·tú
lo-atolat-u
PRO hunt STAT
'he has hunted'

lotolatú·ne
lo-atolat-u-hne
PRO hunt STAT PAST
'he had hunted'

lotolatuhátye
lo-atolat-u-hatye
PRO hunt STAT PROG
'he is going along hunting'

3.4.2 Stative Verbs - The above patterns are typical of many dynamic or action verbs, but there are other patterns as well. Many verbs expressing a descriptive, perceptual, or experiential meaning can be considered stative. The basic form of these verbs has no obvious suffix. It would be easy to identify these forms as stative suffixes since a zero suffix is one of the allomorphs of the stative suffix except that some of these verbs occur with subjective pronominal prefixes, something that elsewhere is incompatible with the stative suffix. These basically stative verbs do not occur with a serial suffix. They can, however, be inflected for tense. For the past tense some take the suffix normally found with serial suffixes, *-kwe*, and some take the suffix normally found with stative suffixes, *-hne*. To express a future meaning a punctual suffix is needed since the future prepronominal prefix is only compatible with a punctual suffix. Stative verbs have several ways of creating such punctual forms. Some essentially derive action verbs by adding an inchoative or causative suffix to the verb stem and then inflecting that verb with any of the four regular aspect suffixes of dynamic verbs. Others, especially those verb stems ending in /e/, use the *-ke?* suffix used by dynamic verbs to create a habitual future meaning. Others, especially descriptive or adjectival verbs, use the *-hake?* suffix. Still others use an alternative derivation suffix, most typically *-at*.

satla?swi·yó
s-atla?sw-iyo
PRO luck good
'you are lucky'

satla?swiyo·hné·
s-atla?sw-iyo-hne
PRO luck good PAST
'you were lucky'

ʌsatla?swiyóhake?
ʌ-s-atla?sw-iyo-hake?
FUT PRO luck good PNC
'you will be lucky'

satla?swiyóhak
s-atla?sw-iyo-hak
PRO luck good IMP
'good luck!'

satla?swiyohátye
s-atla?sw-iyo-hatye
PRO luck good PROG
'you are having good luck'

sé·yale?
s-ehyal-e?
PRO remember STAT
'you remember'

sehyá·lehkwe?
s-ehyal-e?-hkwe?
PRO remember STAT PAST
'you remembered'

ʌhsehyá·leke?
ʌ-hs-ehyal-eke?
FUT PRO remember PNC
'you will remember'

sehyá·lek
s-ehyal-ek
PRO remember IMP
'remember!'

sathu·té
s-athute
PRO hear STAT
'you hear'

sathutéhkwe
s-athute-hkwe
PRO hear PAST
'you heard'

ʌsathu·téke?
ʌ-s-athute-ke?
FUT PRO hear PNC
'you will hear'

sathu·ték
s-athute-k
PRO hear IMP
'listen!'

3.4.3 Motion Verbs - Verbs of motion present a special case for the way they use aspectual suffixes. Verbs of motion include a group of verbs that are lexically motion verbs and these typically end in /e/. There are also some derived motion verbs.

3.4.3.1 Suffix Forms - One way of deriving a motion verb is by suffixing the progressive morpheme, which ends in /e/, onto a verb with the stative suffix. Another way of deriving a motion verb is by adding the derivational suffix called the dislocative (*-h-, -hn-, -hs(l)-*). For such verbs there are five, rather than four, basic suffix options. The serial form adds *-hse?* (*-ehse?* for the verbs with the dislocative suffix); the punctual form adds *-ʔ-* (*-aʔ-* for the dislocatives); the imperative form has zero marking; the stative form adds *-nu-* (*-u-* for the dislocatives); and a fifth form is left bare (*-e-* added to the dislocatives). For the dislocative verbs this fifth form signifies current intention and for the other motion verbs it signifies simple current action.

3.4.3.2 Meanings - The serial form for verbs of motion has its typical meaning of habitual or current action but there is no implied direction. The punctual form does imply direction. With the aorist prefix the typically meaning of past tense changes to direction away in current time. Adding the cislocative as well changes the direction toward the focus, typically the speaker. The future prefix also occurs with directional meaning but in future time. The

imperative form has its typically command meaning. The stative suffix represents a resultant state and is locational rather than directional ('is gone').

-e-	'go'
í·le	'he is walking'
í·lehse?	'he is walking around', 'he is there' serial
í·leskwe?	'he was there' serial past
wá·le	'he is going', 'he's on his way' punctual
Á·le	'he will go' punctual
lawe·nú	'he has gone' stative
lawenu·hné·	'he has gone (and come back)', 'he had gone' stative past
lawenuhátye	'he is going along' progressive
-atolath-	'go hunt' from -atolat- 'hunt'
latoláthe?	'he intends to hunt'
latoláthehse?	'he goes hunting' serial
latoláthahkwe?	'he used to go hunting' serial past
wahatolátha?	'he is going hunting (he is on his way)' punctual
ʌhatolátha?	'he will go hunting' punctual
lotoláthu	'he's gone hunting (he is now away)' stative
lotolathu·hné·	'he will be going to hunt' stative past
ahotolathúhake?	'he should have gone hunting' stative punctual
-yo?tʌhs(l)-	'go to work' from -yo?t(ʌ)- 'work'
wakyo?tʌ́hsle	'I'm going to work (I intend to work)'
wakyo?tʌ́hslehse?	'I go to work' serial
wakyo?tʌ́hslehkwe?	'I used to go to work' serial past
ukyo?tʌ́hsa?	'I'm going to work (I'm on my way)' punctual
ʌwakyo?tʌ́hsa?	'I'll go to work' punctual
sayo?tʌ́hs	'go to work!' imperative
wakyo?tʌ́hsu	'I've gone to work (I'm away)' stative
wakyo?tʌhsu·hné·	'I went to work (and I'm now back)' stative past
ʌwakyo?tʌ́hsleke?	'I'll be going to work' stative punctual
aukyo?tʌhsúhake?	'I should have gone to work' stative punctual

4 Noun morphology

4.1 Noun types

Nouns in Oneida fall into four categories, based on their forms.

4.1.1 Single Morpheme - The first category consists of a small number of nouns that have no internal structure. They are single morphemes. Many are animal names. *á·nuk* 'onion', *é·lhal* 'dog', *u·ták* 'pail', *ʌ́tyʌ* 'south'

4.1.2 Root Nouns - Many nouns fall into a second category that typically has three components: a noun prefix (*ka-*, *o-*, or zero); a noun root; and a noun suffix (usually *-a?* or *-e?* but sometimes idiosyncratic forms). The prefix itself seems to add very little meaning beyond simply identifying a noun. Most typically the meaning of the noun as a whole is the same as the meaning of the noun root. There are a few exceptions where the noun has a more specialized meaning than that of the noun root. The zero form of the prefix is common with noun roots beginning with /a/, but the choice between *ka-* and *o-* has little significance. There is a tendency for nouns referring to manmade objects to take the *ka-* prefix while those referring to natural object take the *o-*, but it is only a tendency. Similarly the suffix seems to add little meaning beyond identifying the noun as a noun, and the choice among the various forms is not semantically patterned. Some noun roots have a distinctive suffix used when the root is incorporated into more complex constructions (see section 3.3.2) but these suffixes are not used in the simple noun forms.

o·nʌ́ste?	'corn' form the noun root -nʌst-
ohsʌ·ná·	'name' from the noun root -hsʌn-
ohwísta?	'money' from the noun root -hwist-
oka·lá·	'story' from the noun root -kal-
ohne·ká	'alcohol' from the noun root -hnek- 'liquid'
káhule?	'gun' from the noun root -hul-
ka·lúte?	'log' from the noun root -lut-
kanáskwa?	'animal', 'pet' from the noun root -naskw-
áhta	'shoe' from the noun root -ahta- (distinctive suffix -hkw-)
ahtá·nawʌ	'ball' from the noun root -ahtahnawʌ- (distinctive suffix -?tsl-)
atókwat	'spoon' from the noun root -atokwat- (distinctive suffix -sl-)

A special subclass within this category of nouns contains the nouns referring to people. These are different because they can take the pronominal prefixes usually found on verbs. Examples are:

latwa?kánha?	'he's an Indian' from atwa?kánha '(non-Iroquoian) Indian'
lu·kwé	'he's a person' from ukwe 'person'
la?slu·ní·	'he's a white man' from o?slu·ní· 'white person'
yeksá	'child' or 'girl'
laksá	'boy'

4.1.3 Deverbal Nouns - A third category of nouns is formed by adding a nominalizer suffix to verb stems. The forms of this suffix are: *-(a)sl-*, which is generally used after consonants; *-(a)hsl-*, which is generally used after vowels; *-tsl-*, which is often used after a glottal stop; *-a(ʔ)tsl-*; and *-ksl-*, which is infrequent. A regular noun suffix, most commonly *-aʔ*, or less commonly *-iʔ* or something else, is then added to complete the word. Examples are:

atliyohslaʔ	'war', 'fighting'	from -atliyo- 'fight'
kahyatúhsliʔ	'paper', 'book'	from -hyatu- 'write'
ahlukhá·tslaʔ	'language'	from -ahluk- 'speak a language'
wehyahláksla?	'remembrance'	from -ehyahl- remember'
atehʌ́hslaʔ	'shame'	from -atehʌ- 'be ashamed'

4.1.4 Syntactic Nouns - A fourth and very large category of nouns is formed by constructing a verb, typically with an indefinite pronominal prefix and serial suffix, and then simply using that verb syntactically as a noun. Action verbs can be turned into actors or objects by this process.

yekhu·níheʔ	'cook' ('she cooks')
lataʔswátha?	'fireman' ('he puts out fires')
shakonawilahslu·níheʔ	'dentist' ('he dresses up their teeth')
shukwayaʔtísu	'the creator' ('he has made our bodies')
shakoye·nás	'policeman' ('he catches them')
kawʌnaye·ás	'tape recorder' ('it catches words')
kanohalényuheʔ	'washing machine' ('it washes many things')

Many nouns for tools are formed from verbs with instrumental suffixes in the same way.

yehwistayʌtákhwaʔ	'bank' ('one places money there')
yeksohaleʔtákhwaʔ	'dish rag' ('one cleans dishes with it')
yeʔnikhúkhwaʔ	'needle' ('one sews with it')
yutekaʔtákhwaʔ	'matches' ('one lights fires with it')
yutenhotukwátha?	'key' ('one opens doors with it')
yutatlihunyʌní·thaʔ	'school' ('one creates customs for them with it')

The whole kinship vocabulary consists of verb roots that carry the meaning of the kin relationship along with pronominal prefixes that specify which people are in that relationship.

kheyʌ́haʔ	'my daughter' ('I am parent to her')
laksótha?	'my grandfather' ('he is grandfather to me')
yukyalá·seʔ	'my cousin' ('we are cousins')

4.2 Possessive Prefixes - There is a set of possessive prefixes that occurs with the kind of nouns built directly from noun roots. These prefixes are similar to, but not the same as, the objective pronominal prefixes used on verbs. They replace the noun prefixes (*o-*, *ka-*, and

zero). The prefixes are listed in the following chart. When the prefix ends in a vowel and the following stem begins in a vowel, the stem vowel drops.

Possessive Prefixes

	a-stems	c-stems	o/u-stems	i-stems
my	akwa-	ak-	ak-	ak-
your (singular)	sa-	sa-	s-	s-
your (dual)	tsya-	sni-	sn-	sn-
your (plural)	swa-	swa-	tsy-	swʌ-
his	lao-	lao-	lao-	lao-
her, its	ao-	ao-	ao-	ao-
her	ako-	ako-	akao-	ako-
our (dual)	yukya-	yukni-	yukn-	yukn-
our (plural)	yukwa-	yukwa-	yuky-	yukwʌ-
their	laona-	laoti-	laon-	laot-
their (feminine)	aona-	aoti-	aon-	aot-

4.3 Noun Suffixes - There is also a set of noun suffixes with specialized meanings. These are added to the kind of nouns built from noun roots. Among them are the following.

4.3.1 Locative suffixes: *-ke/ -hne* The -ke variant is found after a glottal stop which means it is the typical choice after a regular noun suffix *-aʔ* and the *-hne* is found elsewhere.

kaʔslehtá·ke	'on the car' from -ʔsleht- 'vehicle'
onutá·ke	'on the hill' from -nut- 'hill'
kanatá·ke	'in town' from -nat- 'settlement'
ukwehuwé·ne	'in Oneida' from -ukwehuwe- Oneida, real person
kolahkowánhne	'Canada' from kolahkowan Indian agent
koskósne	'in a pigpen' from koskos 'pig'

This is sometimes called the external locative and means 'on'. It is nearly obligatory with nouns for body parts.

kenyalá·ke	'my neck' from -nyal-
snʌtshá·ke	'your arm' from -nʌtsh-
yenutsí·ne	'her head' from -nutsi(st)-

The suffix *-aku* is sometimes called the internal locative. It attaches directly to the noun root and replaces the regular noun suffix. It means in as in the following:

kaʔsléhtaku	'in the car' from -ʔsleht-
kálhaku	'in the woods' from -lh-
kaná·tsyaku	'in the bucket' from -naʔtsy-

The suffix *-oku* also attaches directly to a noun root and it means under.

kaʔslehto·kú	'under the car' from -ʔsleht-

kanuhso·kú	'under the house' from -nuhs-
kaluto·kú	'under the log' from -lut-

The suffix *-akta* attaches directly to a noun root and means 'near' or 'close'. It has extended forms *-aktuti/ -aktati* which mean along side of.

ka?slehtákta	'near the car' from -?sleht-
kanuhsákta	'near the house' from -nuhs-
kawhyuhaktúti	'along the river' from -whyuh-

4.3.2 Plural suffixes: *-shuha* This form attaches to a noun after the regular noun suffix. It pluralizes the noun whether a pronominal prefix does or not.

ahta?shúha	'shoes' from -ahta-
latiksa?shúha	'children' from -ksa?-
onu?uhsla?shúha	'squashes' from -nu?uhsl-

The suffix *-shu* is a variant that attaches to forms other than the regular noun suffix.

swala?séshu	'your cousins' from -ala?se-
latiyanéshu	'chiefs' from -yan(es)-

It attaches to locatives to mean *-késhu* 'along' or *-akúshu* 'through'.

kalhakúshu	'through the woods' from -lh-
ohaha?késhu	'along the road' from -hah-
kahʌtakúshu	'through the field' from -hʌt-

It attaches to counting words to mean each or a piece.

skahwistátsu	'one dollar each' from -hwist-
oyelíshu	'ten a piece'

Another pluralizer suffix *-hoku/-hokúha/-o·kú* is used with particular noun roots.

onuhkwa?tho·kúha	'medicines' from -nuhkwa?t-
lotihsotho·kú	'elders' from -hsot-

The suffix *-?se* is a plural used primarily with stative verbs but also with some single nouns.

ka?slehtiyó·se	'good cars' from -?sleht- and -iyo-
waknʌstiyó·se	'I have some good corn' from -nʌst- and -iyo-
latikwa·nʌ́·se	'leaders' from -kwanʌ-

It combines with the verb root to be small (which always requires the particle *ka?* and the partitive prefix) as *-a?sa* to mean many small items.

ka? nikʌtsyá·sa	'small fish' from -itsy-
ka? niyohahá·sa	'small paths' from -hah-
ka? nikaksá·sa	'small dishes' from -ks-

4.3.3 Population suffixes: *-(h)a·ká* The /h/ is dropped after a glottal stop. This suffix means

'the people of' and most often attaches to nouns with a locative suffix although it is also used with names and a few other forms.

kanyʌ?keha·ká·	'Mohawk people' ('those from the flint place' -nyʌ?-)
onuta?keha·ká·	'Onondagas' ('those from on the hill' -nut-)
onʌyote?a·ká·	'Oneidas' ('those of the standing stone' -nʌyot-)

The suffix *-hlo·lú* is used mostly after locatives and typically involves a semantic specialization.

lahʌta?kehlo·lú	'farmer' ('he of the field' -hʌt-)
latiluhya?kehlo·lú	'sky people' ('they of the blue' -luhy-)
oneshuhlo·lú	'the devil' (dweller of the pit' -neshu-)

4.3.4 Customary suffix: *-kéha?; -kha; -hnéha?*

o?sluni?kéha	'ways of the white people' -?sluni-, 'English language'
ukwehuwehnéha	'ways of the real people' -ukwehuwe-, 'Oneida language'
kwa?ahsute?kékha	'ways of the night' -ahsut-

4.3.5 Augment suffix: *-kó* The general meaning of this suffix is 'large', but it almost always involves some semantic specialization. It attaches to noun roots:

á·nuk	'onion'	a?nukkó	'leeks'
oli·té	'dove'	olite?kó	'pigeon'

It also attaches to locatives,

kalhaku 'in the woods' kalhakuhkó 'deep in the woods'

or to time expressions.

kwa?ahsuté·ke 'at night' kwa?ahsute?kehkó 'late at night'

The same suffix can be used on verbs in the serial aspect that are used as nouns.

lato·láts 'he hunts', 'hunter' latolatskó 'mighty hunter'

4.3.6 Decessive suffix: *-kʌ́* With personal names, kinship terms, and other words for people this suffix means that the individual has passed on. With objects it means either former possession or that the object is no longer usable.

yukwahsothoku?kʌ́	'our ancestors'
yukwahsotho·kú	'our elders'
ake?slehtkʌ́	'my former car'
aké·sleht	'my car'
yukwanuhsa?kʌ́	'our former house'
yukwanúhsa?	'our house'

4.3.7 Characterizer suffix: *-ha?* This suffix attaches to locative suffixes, noun roots after the regular noun suffix, and serial verbs used as nouns. After the noun suffix *-a?* the characterizer suffix is lost entirely and it existence is only known through the accent shift. The meaning is usually a semantic specialization.

olú·ya	'blue'	oluhyá	'denim'
otsí·nkwal	'yellow'	otsi?nkwálha?	'goldfinch'
kalhaku	'in the woods'	kalhakúha	'hawk'

4.3.8 Native suffix: *-(h)u·wé* The /h/ is dropped after a glottal stop. This attaches to single morpheme nouns or noun roots after the regular noun suffix to add a semantic specialization meaning original or native.

ahta?u·wé	'native shoe' or 'moccasin'
kitkithu·wé	'native chicken' or 'prairie chicken'
ukwehu·wé	'native person' or 'Oneida'
oyu?kwau·wé	'native tobacco'

Combinations of the above noun suffixes are also possible. With a few exceptions the combinations follow the ordering constraints of:

native	locative	plural characterizer population	augment decessive

kalhakúha?	'hawk' ('the one of in the woods' -lh-)
kalhakuha?kó	'big hawk'
lotikwʌna?ta?shukʌ́	'ancient people' from -kwʌna?t- 'elders'

4.3.9 Adjectives - In Oneida adjectives are really verb roots many of which incorporate the noun they are describing. Such "adjectives" can inflect with the verb morphology for tense and aspect. Many of these adjectival verb roots can also be used with an incorporated noun but without an aspect suffix. In such cases an objective pronominal prefix refers to the possessor of the incorporated noun; subjective pronominal prefixes are used when the pronominal and the incorporated noun refer to the same individual; or a neuter pronominal prefix is used when no possessor is mentioned. These neuter prefixes, however, are the type attached to nouns (*o-* or *ka-* or zero) rather than those attached to verbs (*yo-* or *ka-* or *w-*).

kanaskwi·yó	'a good animal' from -iyo- 'good'
waknaskwi·yó	'I have a good animal'
laksa?ti·yó	'he is a good child'
kanaskwáksʌ	'a bad animal' from -aksʌ- 'bad'
o?sléhtase	'a new car' from -ase- 'new'
wake?sléhtase	'I have a new car'
onuhsaka·yú	'an old house' from -akayu- 'old'

4.4 Noun Categories - Much of the noun vocabulary fits within fairly neatly bounded semantic categories and there are some patterns worth noting.

4.4.1 Natural history items – For some plants and animals there are simple noun roots:

ohkwa·lí 'bear' oná·kʌt 'ground hog'

For many others the noun derives from a verbal description:

skʌhnáksʌ 'fox' ('it has bad skin')
tewahúhtes 'hound dog' ('it has long ears')
latsi?núhtaks 'monkey' ('it eats lice')

In most of these cases, however, the verbal morphology is at least partially eclipsed:

kohsa·tʌ́s 'horse'
otsistokwalúnyu 'woodpecker'

There are a small number of animal names that are formed from an atypical reduplicative pattern:

koskos 'pig'
klikli 'blue jay'
slikslik 'cricket'
kitkit 'chicken'

Nouns referring to land forms are either incorporated into a positional verb:

wéhkwayʌ 'pond (lying)'
yohwé·note? 'island (standing)'

or have a locative suffix:

oska·wáku '(in the) brush'
kanyatalá·ke '(on the) lake').

4.4.2 Kinship terms tend to be verbs specifying the relationship. They require transitive (or in some cases plural) pronominal prefixes but they often drop the initial /y/ or /w/ of the prefix.

aksótha?	'she is grandparent to me', 'my grandmother'
laksótha?	'he is grandparent to me', 'my grandfather'
aknulhá	'she is mother to me', 'my mother'
laknulhá	'he is mother to me', 'my uncle' (mother's brother)
kheyʌ́ha?	'I am parent to her', 'my daughter'
iyʌ́ha?	'I am parent to him', 'my son'
yukyalá·se?	'we two are cousins', 'my cousin'
tsyalá·se?	'you two are cousins', 'your cousin'

4.4.3 Body parts are noun roots that usually require a locative suffix and a subjective pronominal prefix for the possessor. An objective pronominal prefix is seen as counter to the inalienable possession of body parts.

knutsí·ne	'my head' from –nutsi-
kkahlá·ke	'my eye' from –kahl-
ke?nyú·ke	'my nose' from -?nyuhs-

kahuhtá·ke	'my ear' from -ahuht-
knikwʌʔté·ne	'my stomach' from –nikwʌʔt-
kesnú·ke	'my hand' from –snuhs-
aknuhkwísne	'my hair' from –nuhkwis-

4.4.4 Nouns for human beings tend to be either single noun roots, most of which have subjective pronominal prefixes, or action verbs in a habitual aspect.

lu·kwé	'he's a person'	yu·kwé	'she's a person'
laʔslu·ní·	'he's a white person'	yukwehu·wé·	'she's Oneida'
lokwʌná·taʔ	'he's an elder'	yeksá	'she's a child'
lakhu·níheʔ	'he's a cook'	yúhsos	'she's a painter'
lato·láts	'he's a hunter'	yewʌnahnótha?	'she's a reader'

4.4.5 Color terms are simple noun roots that may incorporate in a few specialized verbs. Color terms themselves are usually followed by a classifier expression niwahsohkó·tʌ 'that kind of color'.

otsí·nkwal	'yellow'
olú·ya	'blue'
onikwʌ́htala	'red'
awʌ·lá	'green'
oʔswʌ́·taʔ	'black'
owískla?	'white'
teyonikwʌhtalá·kalas	'dark red'

4.4.6 Number terms are usually single morphemes. Counting is based on 10 and makes use of a special morpheme *yawʌ·lé* for '-teen' and a verb *-ahsʌ-* for multiples of ten.

úskah	'one'	úskah yawʌ·lé	'eleven'
tékni	'two'	tékni yawʌ·lé	'twelve'
áhsʌ	'three'	áhsʌ yawʌ·lé	'thirteen'
kayé	'four'		
wisk	'five'	wisk niwáhsʌ	'fifty'
yá·yahk	'six'	yá·yahk niwáhsʌ	'sixty'
tsya·ták	'seven'	tsya·ták niwáhsʌ	'seventy'
téklu?	'eight'		
wá·tluʔ	'nine'	wá·tluʔ niwáhsʌ wisk	'ninety five'
oye·lí	'ten'		

4.4.7 For tools a small number are built from noun roots, but most are descriptions built from the verb morphology with the instrumental suffix.

u·ták	'pail'
kaná·tsi?	'bucket'
yehnekataliha?tákhwa?	'tea kettle' ('one heats water with it')
yehyatúkhwa?	'writing tool' ('one writes with it')
ye?nikhúkhwa?	'needle' ('one sews with it')

yuteskawyá·kta?	'brush scythe' ('one cuts brush with it')
anitskwahlákhwa?	'chair' ('one sits with it')

4.4.8 Abstractions tend to be verbs with a nominalizer suffix.

kanolukhwá·tsla?	'love' from –noluhkw- 'love'
atehʌ́sla?	'shame' from –atehʌ- 'be ashamed'
atlʌnayʌtá·sla?	'religion' from –atlʌnayʌ- 'pray'
atunhétsla?	'spirit' from –unhe- 'live'
kana?khwʌ́hsla?	'anger' from –na?khwʌ- 'be angry'
okstʌ́hsla?	'old age' from –kstʌ- 'be old'

In all of these categories the presumption is that simple noun roots are culturally older and descriptive expressions built on the verb morphology are later introductions into the language. The process of creating these descriptions continues in the language to this day.

5 Pronouns

Most of the pronoun work of Oneida is done with the pronominal prefixes in the verb and to a lesser extent the possessive prefixes on nouns, but there are some independent pronouns that are used for particular emphasis or contrast. These are used unmarked for number:

first person: ni, niʔí, i
second person: ni·sé, niʔi·sé, i·sé
third person: ne

In addition there are interrogative, indefinite, demonstrative, and emphatic self pronouns, but many of these by both their form and function might better be called particles.

uhkaʔ náhteʔ	'who'
uhkaʔ ok	'someone'
kaʔi·kʌ́	'this'
thi·kʌ́	'that'
akaulhá	'myself'

6. Particles

6.1 Definitions - Particles might be defined as all those words in the language that do not have any internal complexity (single morphemes), or they might be defined in functional terms as all those words that function as neither nouns nor verbs. In practical terms both definitions are too restrictive. A wider sense of the term would include several kinds of expressions. All the single morpheme words not used as nouns are particles:

tho 'there', 'then'; tsiʔ 'as', 'that'; she·kú 'still'; ostúha 'little bit'

Particles also include some frozen verb forms that have developed special senses. The verb forms in these are either partially decayed or quite transparent:

niyo·lé 'a distance'; ni·yót 'how it appears'; ʌyólhʌneʔ 'tomorrow'; swatye·lʌ́ 'sometimes'; tyótkut 'always'

Some combinations of particles have melded and have an idiomatic meaning:

nok 'only' from ne ok; okhale? 'and' from ok ale?; okhna? 'and then' from ok na?

Other combinations of particles may not have melded but have developed semantic specializations:

onʌ́ kwi 'now then'; kwah i·kʌ́ 'very'; nok tsi? 'but'; ok ne?n 'or'; ki? wah 'indeed'

Still other combinations can contain quite a few particles. These are often used to introduce sentences or clauses:

onʌ́ ki? ale? wi 'immediately'; kwah kʌs kati? wi 'usually'; tho né o·nʌ́ 'and then'

Several particles are exceptions to the accent placement and accent shift rules of the phonology and longer combinations of particles have their own idiosyncratic accent patterns.

6.2 Functions - Functionally particles, in the widest sense, can be grouped as interrogative, time, place, emphasis, negation, degree, conjunctions, subordinators, and evidentials. Some selected examples are:

6.2.1 Interrogative particles:
náhte? 'what'; úhka? náhte? 'who'; kátsa? nu 'where'; kátsa? ka·yʌ́· 'which one'; kánhke 'when'; náhte? aolí·wa? 'why'; to ni·kú 'how many things'; to niha·tí 'how many people'; ot 'how'

6.2.2 Time particles:
o·nʌ́/nʌ 'now', 'then'; oksa 'right away'; atsínok 'after a while'; atsyok 'later'; ehnok 'a little while ago'; (n)úwa? 'now'; the·tʌ́ 'yesterday'; ʌyólhʌne? 'tomorrow'; astéhtsi 'morning'; kwashu·té 'last night'; tyotukóhtu 'after'; ka? náhe? 'in a little while'; elhúwa 'just now'; tsi? niyo·lé 'until'; kanyó onʌ́ 'whenever'; onʌ́ se? 'already'

6.2.3 Place particles:
kʌ́·tho 'here'; tho 'there'; a?e nukwá 'over there'; ísi? nukwá 'over there'; é·nike 'up'; ehtá·ke 'down'; ohʌ·tú 'in front'; ohná·kʌ 'behind'; ákta 'nearby'; átste 'outside'

6.2.4 Emphasis particles:
to·kʌ́ske 'truly'; ki? wáhe? 'indeed'; na? ne· úni? 'even'

6.2.5 Negative particles:
yah te- 'not'; tákʌ 'don't'; áhsu 'not yet'; yah kánike 'nowhere'; yah úhka? 'no one'; yah nuwʌ·tú 'never'

6.2.6 Degree particles:
ostúha 'little bit'; kwah i·kʌ́ 'a lot', 'very'; e·só 'a lot'; só·tsi? 'too much'; nʌ thóha? 'almost'; swatye·lʌ́ 'sometimes'; ya?táute 'always'; kʌs 'typically'; tyótkut 'always'; katokʌ́u 'really'; tsiléhkwa 'almost'; áti 'no matter'

6.2.7 Conjunctions:
okhale? 'and'; ok ne?n 'or'; nok tsi? 'but'; ne· tsi? 'because'; kanyó 'when'; tsi? niyo·lé 'until'; okhna? 'and then'; tho ne onʌ́ 'then'; tsi? náhe? 'since'

6.2.8 Subordinating particles:
né·; ne?n; tsi?; tsi? ka·yʌ́· 'that which'; tsi? náhte? 'whatever'; tsi? ni·yót tsi? 'the way that'

6.2.9 Evidential particles:
yakʌ? 'it is said'; khelé 'it seems'; a?nyó 'it seems'; wé·ne 'it seems'; ta·t nu?u 'maybe'; ta·t núwa 'maybe'

6.2.10 Particles are used for both syntactic and discourse functions and some particles are required by particular verb or noun constructions so that they are almost part of the morphology of those words:

ka? nika?slehtá 'a little car'
ka? nyahá·tsyel 'touch it'
yah tewakanúhte 'I don't know'

7. Syntax

7.1 Predication - Although a single Oneida verb has within it both the predication and (pro)nomination to stand as a complete sentence, an Oneida sentence almost always contains more words. Some simple commands constitute most of the exceptions. Particles often form constituents with verbs, most occurring before the verb but a few, e.g. the interrogative *kʌ* and several emphatic constructions such as *ki? wáhe* and *nʌ? ne*, occurring after it. Verbless sentences exist where nouns are used with particles (mostly *ne*) supplying the formal predication.

7.2 Parataxis - There are particles that clearly mark subordination, but there are many constructions that are paratactic rather than hypotactic.

Wahaya·kʌ́·ne?	sahakó·na?	ne?n	kahyu·kwíle	
wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?	s-a-ha-ko-hn-a?	ne?n	ka-hyukwil-e?	
AOR PRO go-out PNC	ITER AOR PRO fetch DISL PNC	PT	PRO arrow SUF	
'he went out'	'he went after it'		'the arrow'	

Nʌ kwi wá·le	yehatawyátha?	latkʌ?sé·na	
Nʌ kwi wa-hl-e-?	ye-ha-atawyaht-ha?	la-atkʌ?se-hn-a?	
PT PT AOR PRO go PNC	TR PRO enter SER	PRO investigate DISL	
'then he went'	'he enters'	'he investigates'	

Tahatáhsawʌ? é·nike ya?thlóya?ake?
t-a-ha-atahsawʌ-? e?nike y-a?-t-hl-oya?ak-e?
CIS AOR PRO start PNC PT TR AOR DU PRO throw PNC
'he started' 'up high' 'he threw it'

7.3 Sentencehood - In fact the general paratactic feel of Oneida syntax sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish separate sentences. There is not a strong intuition for the notion of a sentence boundary felt with much agreement among native speakers. Chafe (1994) has argued for the related language Seneca that intonation units, each contributing a single new piece of information, are much more important building blocks than the sentence. The word order constraints that one typically associates with the syntax of sentences are strongest within these intonation units. An intonation unit is typically built around a noun or a verb. Those built around nouns can put the noun at the beginning

wáhta ne ka?i·kʌ
maple it is this
'this is a maple'

or after some predicating particles.

ne né· ka?i·kʌ́ wáhta
'what this is is a maple'

Intonation units built around verbs may put the verb in the first position, but more typically put it after some orienting particles. If the reference of a pronominal prefix is not clear from the context, then it often comes after (although it may come before) the verb with a subordinating particle *ne* or *ne?n* or *né·n*

wahaya·kʌ́hne
wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
AOR PRO go-out PNC
'he went out'

wahaya·kʌ́ne? kʌ
wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne? kʌ
AOR PRO go-out PNC PT
'did he go out?'

nʌ kwi tho wahaya·kʌ́hne
nʌ kwi tho wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
PT PT PT AOR PRO go-out PNC
'then there he went out'

nʌ kwi tho wahaya·kʌ́·ne? ne?n laksótha
nʌ kwi tho wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne? ne?n lak-hsot-ha?
PT PT PT AOR PRO go-out PNC PT PRO grandparent SER
'then there he went out, that is, my grandfather'

nʌ kwi ne?n laksótha? tho wahaya·kʌ́hne
nʌ kwi ne?n lak-hsot-ha? tho wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
PT PT PT PRO grandparent SER PT AOR PRO go-out PNC
'then my grandfather went out'

7.4. Relative Clauses - Relative clauses, free or dependent, constitute their own intonation unit and are often introduced by *tsi? náhte?* 'whatever' or *tsi? ka·yʌ́·* 'that which':

ka?i·kʌ́ kutílyo? tsi? ka·yʌ́· yone·ká·se onu?uhsla?kó
PT kuti-lyo-? tsi? ka-yʌ-? yon-eka-?se? o-nu?uhsl-a?-kó
PT PRO animal SUF PT PRO lie STAT PRO like SER PRO squash SUF big
'these animals that like pumpkins'

tho wahaya·kʌ́·ne? tsi? ka·yʌ́· kanatá·ke nithawe·nu
tho wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne? tsi? ka-yʌ-? ka-nat-a?ke ni-t-haw-e-nu
PT AOR PRO go-out PNC PRO town at PAR CIS PRO go STAT
'there he went out, the one who had come from in town'

nʌ kwi wahatiná·tu tsi? nu ya?tehutlásta
nʌ kwi wa-hati-na?tu-? tsi? nu ye-te-hu-atlast-ha?
PT PT AOR PRO name PNC PT PT TR DU PRO meet SER
'they named a place they'd use to meet'

7.5 Sentential Arguments - Verbs may take complements or sentential arguments in several ways, depending on the particular verb:

wahʌ́·lu? wahaya·kʌ́hne
wa-ha-ihlu-? wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
AOR PRO say PNC AOR PRO go-out PNC
'he said he went out' (paratactically)

i·kélhe? ahaya·kʌ́hne
k-elhe-? a-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
PRO want IND PRO go out PNC
'I want him to go out' (with the indefinite prefix)

nok ʌwa·tú ʌhaya·kʌ́hne
nok ʌ-w-atu-? ʌ-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
PT FUT PRO be-possible PNC FUT PRO go-out PNC
'He has to go out' (with the future prefix)

wakáttoke? tsi? wahaya·kʌ́hne
wa-k-at-tok-e? tsi? wa-ha-yakʌ?-ne?
AOR PRO REFL realize PNC PT AOR PRO go-out PNC
'I realized that he went out' (with a subordinating particle).

7.6 Adverbial Clauses - Adverbial clauses are introduced hypotactically or by characteristic particles, particle clusters, special verbs, or in a few cases simply with prepronominal prefixes. Clauses of time are often introduced by particle clusters such as *kanyó onʌ́* 'when' or *tsi? niyo·lé* 'until'. Correlative clauses introduced by *onʌ́ - onʌ́* are often interpreted as 'when' - 'then'. The coincident prefix can also be interpreted as a subordinating 'when'. Clauses of place are typically introduced with the particle cluster *tsi? nu* or by the use of the cislocative or translocative prefixes. Clauses of manner are often introduced by the particle cluster *tsi? ni·yót tsi?* 'the way that'. Clauses of cause are typically introduced by *ne tsi?* 'because' or *ne aolí·wa? tsi?* 'the reason that'. Conditional clauses are introduced by *kanyó* 'when' or 'if' or by *ta·t núwa?* 'if'. Comparison clauses most often contain the particle *sʌ́ha?* 'more'. Degree clauses usually contain *só·tsi?* 'too much'. Result clauses are often introduced by a form of the verb *-kweni-* 'be able' such as *akakwe·ní·* 'it can be' or 'so that'.

8. Functionalist View - The following is a brief look at some highlights of Oneida grammar from a functionalist perspective. The idea is to demonstrate the range of linguistic resources the language has for certain standard functions.

8.1 Time - Resources for expressing past time include: the aorist prefix except with motion verbs (3.1.4.2), two past suffixes - serial past and stative past (3.4.1.3), the stative suffix when used to express resultant states, the verb root *-unis-* for passage of time, the decessive suffix (4.3.6) on nouns, and a variety of temporal particles (6.2.2).

Resources for expressing present time include: serial suffix of some verbs, stative suffix for some verbs (3.4.1.1), progressive suffix (3.4.1.4), aorist prefix with motion verbs (3.4.3.2), and several particles (6.2.2).

Resources for expressing future time include: future prefix (3.1.4.1), cislocative prefix with a progressive suffix (3.1.4.5), and the dislocative suffix with the aorist, serial, or future morphemes (3.3.4.6).

8.2 Space - Oneida is rich in resources for expressing space. For location there are the translocative (3.1.4.4) and cislocative prefixes (3.1.4.5), positional verbs (8.11), motion verbs with serial suffixes (3.4.3.2), the progressive suffix (3.4.1.4), a variety of particles (6.2.3), and locative suffixes on nouns (4.3.1). For direction there are also the translocative, cislocative (and sometimes the iterative) prefixes, motion verbs with the aorist prefix, the dislocative suffix (3.3.4.6), and particles.

8.3 Number - Distinctions of number, singular, dual, and plural, are expressed by: noun suffixes, counting verbs *-at* and *-ake*, the iterative (3.1.4.7), dualic (3.1.4.6), and partitive (3.1.4.8) prefixes, many of the pronominal prefixes (3.2.1), the distributive suffix (3.3.4.1), number pronouns made from verb forms without a verb stem (*niháti, ni·kú, nikúti*), the stative plural *-?se?* (4.3.2), quantifier particles such as *akweku* 'all' and *tóhka* 'several', and a variety of other particles. Within the verb morphology there are also resources to express several kinds of iteration: the serial suffix (3.4.1.1), the iterative prefix (3.1.4.7), the distributive suffix (3.3.4.1), and the progressive suffix (3.4.1.4).

8.4 Semantic Roles - Semantic, or thematic, roles are not expressed by syntax nor, except for possessives and locatives, in the noun morphology. Instead they are coded in the pronominal prefixes (3.2.1) of the verb where a maximum of two roles can be distinguished. The pronominal prefixes typically encode agent and/or patient, but, depending on the verb stem, one or the other of these may be replaced by instrumental, beneficiary, possessive, theme, or experiencer roles. Derivational suffixes (3.3.4) on verb stems create the potential for many of these replacement roles, but there are some basic verb stems as well, such as *-atst-* 'use' for expressing instruments and *-yʌ-* 'lie', 'own' for expressing possession. The pronominal prefixes may coordinate semantically with nouns, if there are any, in the sentence, but this coordination is not typically marked on the nouns. The particle *ne?n* is often used to indicate that a noun coordinates with the pronominal prefix in the verb, but the role is not indicated.

The possessive is one semantic role for which there are additional resources beyond the pronominal prefixes within verbs. Beyond several specific verb stems (such as *-yʌ-* 'lie', 'own' and *-ka?te-* 'have a lot of') most of the adjectival verb stems (4.3.9) and several of the positional verb stems (8.11) allow the pronominal prefixes to express a patient role. There is also a set of pronominal prefixes for nouns (4.2) and these express possessors. The stem *-awʌ-* 'belong to' also takes the noun pronominal prefixes to express possessors. Possession of inalienable nouns (many of the body parts) is expressed by the same pronominal prefixes used to express agents in verbs.

lo·yʌ́·	'he has it'	lohwistaká·te	'he has a lot of money'
kanúhsa?	'a house'	kanúhsote?	'a house standing'
aknúhsa?	'my house'	waknúhsote?	'my house', 'a house stands for me'
i akwa·wʌ́	'it is mine'	né· lao·wʌ́	'it is his'

The locative role is not coded by pronominal prefixes in the verb as much as by a number of specifically locational verbs, by noun suffixes (4.3.1), and by particles (6.2.3).

8.5 Gender - Gender is distinguished not by lexical items but by pronominal prefixes (3.2.1). So the word for woman is not expressed by a stem for woman but by a stem for person with a feminine pronominal prefix. Since the pronominal prefixes encode number, transitivity, and person along with gender, the four genders (masculine, neuter, and two feminines) are not distinguished in every case - only in the third person. The possessive prefixes that occur with nouns also distinguish genders.

8.6 Aspect - The resources for expressing aspect are either the inherent aspect of particular verb stems or the aspectual suffixes (3.4) that are obligatory on verbs. A variety of particles and a few other parts of the verbal morphology supplement these resources. Perfective aspect in the sense of no internal temporal texture is expressed through the punctual suffix. Imperfective aspect is expressed in a number of ways. A progressive or on going action can be expressed, depending on the verb stem by: the serial suffix, the stative suffix, or the progressive suffix. A habitual, that is a repeated or customary, action is expressed by the serial suffix. An inchoative (becoming) aspect is marked by a derivational inchoative suffix

(3.3.4.2). An iterative (repetitive) aspect may be marked by the serial suffix or by a distributive suffix (3.3.4.1) or by certain particles, but not by the iterative prefix, which marks only a single repetition, not a series. There is no affix that specifically indicates inceptive (beginning) aspect, but a particular verb stem *-atahsawʌ-* 'begin' is used instead.

The kinds of meanings expressed by the English perfect tense, which may be aspectual, such as resultative ('is done'), recent past ('has just done'), persistent ('has done for a long time') are generally expressed in Oneida by the stative suffix. The experiential perfect ('have you ever') may be expressed in Oneida by either the stative or the punctual suffixes.

There are several resources for expressing a prospective ('to be about to do') aspect. An impersonal use of the verb *-elhe-* 'want', the dislocative suffix (3.3.4.6), and a combination of cislocative prefix and punctual suffix on a verb of motion are all ways to expressing impending action.

i·wélhe? ayokʌno·lú
w-elhe-? a-yo-kʌnol-u
PRO want SER IND PRO rain PNC
'it wants to rain', 'it's going to rain'

latoláthe
la-atolat-h-e
PRO hunt DISL
'he intends to hunt', 'he is about to hunt'

tayotholáti
t-a-yo-thol-ati
CIS AOR PRO cold PROG
'cold is coming', 'it is about to be cold'

8.7 Modality - Epistemic and deontic modalities are variously marked by syntactic constructions, particles, specific lexical items, and prefixes on verbs. Necessity can be expressed by *nok ʌwa·tú* 'it can only be' or by *yah tháu tsi?*. Possibility can be expressed by *ʌwa·tú* 'it will become', forms of *-kweni-* 'be able' such as *akakwe·ní·* 'it can be', or particle combinations such as *ta·t núwa?* 'perhaps'. Obligation can be expressed by the verb *-atuhutsyoh-* 'supposed to', or more mildly, by the indefinite tense prefix *ahato·láte?* 'he should hunt'. Desire is typically expressed with the verb *-elhe-* 'want'. Epistemic meanings are expressed by the three tense prefixes - aorist for the most definite, future for sure predictions, and indefinite for the least sure - and by particles (6.2.9).

8.8 Negation - Negation is expressed by a small number of particles (6.2.5) and by two complementary prefixes on the verb, the contrastive (3.1.4.10) and the negative (3.1.4.11).

8.9 Clausal Relations - In multi-verb sentences the potential semantic relationships among the verbs (e.g. purpose, result, condition, complementation) is often not expressed explicitly.

Parataxis is the norm. There are, however, some other resources. Purpose can be expressed by the dislocative suffix (3.3.4.6). Result can be expressed with forms of the verb *-kweni-* 'to be able' or the particle *tákʌ* 'lest', 'so as not' for negative clauses. Condition can be expressed by particles such as *kanyó onʌ́* 'if', 'when', or *ta·t* 'if', 'perhaps'.

Complementation can be expressed by the indefinite tense (3.1.4.3) or future tense (3.1.4.1) prefixes, or by particles. Verbs or clauses that function to fill argument roles to other verbs are often introduced by subordinating particles *tsi?* or *ne* or relative clause particles clusters *tsi? ka·yʌ́·* 'the one(s) that' and *tsi? náhte?* 'what'.

8.10 Interrogatives - For yes-no questions the main resource is the postpositive particle *kʌ*, always the second word in the sentence. A questioning intonation pattern is also used for short sentences. For wh-questions there is a set of interrogative particles (6.2.1). Syntactic variation is not a resource for interrogatives.

8.11 Taxonomy and classification - There is a good deal of structure to the lexical relations in Oneida, particularly among the nouns. A set of positional verbs classifies nouns according to their most natural orientation e.g. *-ot-* 'standing', *-yʌ-* 'lying', *-ut-* 'protruding', or *-ihal-* 'hanging'. Noun incorporation, particularly with the verb root *-o?tʌ-* 'kind of', expresses many instances of hyponomy.

olú·ya? niwahsohkó·tʌ atyá·tawiht
o-luhy-a? ni-w-ahsohkw-o?tʌ
PRO blue SUF PAR PRO color kind-of
'a blue (kind of color) jacket'

atwa?kánha nihaya?tó·tʌ
atwa?kánha ni-ha-ya?t-o?tʌ
Indian PAR PRO body kind-of
'(a non-Iroquoian) Indian (kind of person)'

lá·yaks sá·yes
la-ahy-k-s sá·yes
PRO fruit ear SER blackberries
'he's (fruit-)eating blackberries'

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