

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF OKLAHOMA CHEROKEE

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ABSTRACT

The majority of Native American Languages are threatened with extinction within the next 100 years, a loss that will entail the destruction of the unique cultural identity of the peoples that speak them. This dissertation is a reference grammar of one such language, the Cherokee language of Oklahoma. Cherokee is the sole member of the southern branch of the Iroquoian language family. If current trends continue, it will cease to exist as a living language in two generations. Among the three federally-recognized tribes there is a strong commitment to language revitalization; furthermore, there is a large number of active speakers compared to other Native American languages. This current work aims to serve as a reference work for Cherokees interested in learning about the grammar of their language as well as for educators who are developing language materials. This dissertation also offers the academic community a comprehensive descriptive presentation of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language.

Cherokee has a relatively small inventory of sounds, and vowels are distinguished by length and tone. One of the goals of this work is to allow the reader a better understanding of complex phonological rules involving vowel deletion, metathesis, and aspiration by using contextualized examples of these phenomena throughout this work. To this end an emphasis is based on using stem forms rather than natural citation forms. The use of tone as a syntactic device for creating subordinate clauses is also stressed throughout this work.

The four parts of speech are verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Cherokee is a polysynthetic language and has complex verbal morphology. Verbs are complete utterances as they always carry pronominal prefixes indicating their subject and object. Prepronominal prefixes as well as clitics add considerably to the expressive range of the Cherokee verb. Nouns and adjectives, many of which are derived from verbs, often have these prefixes as well. All of the affixes and clitics are methodically described; throughout the grammar their usage is demonstrated by numerous everyday examples accompanied by an underlying morpheme breakdown and a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. This grammar also contains a description of the rich variety of valency-adjusting operations, including Causative, Applicative and Middle voice affixes.

This dissertation uses a Romanized writing system that marks tone and vowel length; all words and sentences are also written in the Cherokee Syllabary in order that the information can be useful to those already literate or those who wish to become literate in the traditional writing system. The inclusion of both systems reflects the need to serve the linguistic community as well as the Cherokee community, for whom use of the syllabary is a powerful cultural symbol.

This dissertation includes three texts in the final chapter. Two are traditional narratives involving a race between two animals; the third is a short historical narrative. Excerpts from these narratives, as well as examples from the New Testament and newspaper articles, are given throughout the grammar to underline the importance of the context in establishing word order and grammatical relations.

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the incredible knowledge and guidance of my advisor, Akira Yamamoto. He first introduced me to the Cherokee community and gave me the invaluable opportunity to get involved with Cherokee Nation teacher training workshops in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Once the grammar was underway he provided detailed proofreading of several drafts of the manuscript. The other members of my committee have supplied much useful feedback during the revision process, and I would like to thank Anita Herzfeld, Lizette Peter, Clif Pye, and Harold Torrence.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations are written in small caps, words are written in lower-case. Often a Cherokee word requires more than one English word to translate it; in these cases the English words are separated by a period. The following symbols are used to indicate the relationship of two elements that are treated as one:

+	compound
=	clitic
\	Indicates tone change on preceding element; reason for tone follows slash
-	prefix or suffix
:	stem form of preceding form

Example: **shoot:CMP** reads as ‘Completive stem of the verb ‘shoot’

The pronominal prefixes can appear in a number of ways. The person always comes first, followed by A, B or O. If another feature needs to be specified, it will be separated by a period. If no further features are specified it is assumed that the prefix is singular.

Example: **3A** reads as ‘Set A third person singular’

If the prefix is non-singular (i.e. dual or plural), it is assumed to be inclusive if no further features are added.

Example: **2A.PL** reads as ‘Set A second person plural inclusive’

2A.PL.EX reads as ‘Set A second person plural exclusive’

2A.PL.EX.AN reads as ‘Set A second person plural exclusive with animate third person object’

Tone in Cherokee is indicated using an acute accent, a grave accent, and a double acute accent. The lack of an accent indicates a default low tone except for the end of the word. The tone marking system, and its interaction with vowel length, is demonstrated below with the vowel /a/.

a	short vowel with low tone
aa	long vowel with low tone
á	short vowel with high tone
áa	long vowel with high tone
aacute	rising tone (always long vowel)
aaacute	lowfall tone (always long vowel)
aaacute	falling tone (always long vowel)

- áá highfall
 ǎ shortened highfall

Variations of the symbol <x> occasionally appears at the beginning of a stem. This symbol does not indicate a sound, but rather tone or vowel length that will surface when prefixes are added.

- xx indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened.
- ǎ indicates that the rightmost long vowel of the complete word will have a highfall tone
- xǎ indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a lowfall tone
- xá indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a rising tone
- ǎx indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a high tone
- á indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem has a high tone

CODE	NAME OF MORPHEME OR FEATURE	DISCUSSED IN	BASIC FORM(S)
A	Set A prefix	Chapter 4, Section 2	<i>n/a</i>
A.AN	Set A prefix with Animate object	Chapter 4, Section 2.4	<i>n/a</i>
ACC	Accidental derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.3	4 different forms corresponding to 4 verb stems
AFT	Absolute Future final suffix	Chapter 5, Section 4.4	-éesti
\AGT	Agentive tone	Chapter 7, Section 3.2.1	<i>n/a</i>
AMB	Ambulative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.5	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
AND	Andative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.6	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
ANP	Animate Plural object prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.7	kaa-

APL	Applicative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 2.1.1	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
=AQ	Alternative Question clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.2	=hv
ATB	Attributive derivational suffix	Chapter 8, Section 1.1.2.4	-hááʔi
B	Set B Prefix	Chapter 4, Section 3	<i>n/a</i>
CAU	Causative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 2.1.2	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
CIS	Cislocative prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.8	ti-/ta-
:CMP	Completive stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.3	<i>n/a</i>
=CN	Conjunction clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.11	=hno
=CQ	Conducive question clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.1	=ju
=CS	Concessive clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.12	=skinii
CSI	Cislocative Imperative Prepronominal Prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.13	ee:
CSM	Cislocative Motion	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.9	ta-
=CT	Contrastive clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.8	=hv
.DL	Dual person form of pronominal prefix	Chapter 4, Section 1	<i>n/a</i>
DPL	Duplicative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.1	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
DST	Distributive prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.6	tee-/ti-
=DT	Delimiter clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.6	=kwu
DVB	Deverbalizer	Chapter 7, Section 3.2.2, Chapter 8 Section 1.1.2.1	-vʋʋʋi
:DVN	Deverbal Noun stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.5	<i>n/a</i>

=EQ	Echo question clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.5	=ki
EX	Exclusive form of pronominal prefix	Chapter 4, Section 1	<i>n/a</i>
EXP	Experienced Past final suffix	Chapter 5, Section 4.2	-vʋʔi
=FC	Focus clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.9	=tvv
=F2	Focus 2 clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.10	=na
FIM	Future Imperative	Chapter 5, Section 4.5	-vvʔi
FUT	Future prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.10	ta-/ti-
HAB	Habitual final suffix	Chapter 5, Section 4.1	-óʔi
(I)	Basic form of verb is intransitive	Chapter 5, Section 2.1	<i>n/a</i>
:IMM	Immediate stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.3	<i>n/a</i>
:IMM(COM)	Command form of Immediate stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.3	<i>n/a</i>
:INC	Incompletive stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.2	<i>n/a</i>
INT	Adjective Intensifier	Chapter 8, Section 1.1.3	varies
.IP	Impersonal Set B prepronominal prefix	Chapter 4, Section 3.4	oo-
IRR	Irrealis prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.1	yi-
ITR	Iterative prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.11	ii-/vv-
LOC	Locative suffix	Chapter 7, Section 3.6.1	-ʔi
MDL	Middle Voice postpronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 2.2.3	-ataa-
\MOD	Modal tone change indicating obligation or ability	Chapter 2, Section 1.2.2	<i>n/a</i>
MOT	Motion suffix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.9	-i
NDV	Negative Deverbalizer	Chapter 8, Section 1.1.2.3	-ʋʋna

NEG	Negative adverb	Chapter 8, Section 2.1.3	thla
NEG.COM	Negative command adverb	Chapter 8, Section 2.1.3	thleesti
NGI	Negative Imperative prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.3	jii-
NGT	Negative Time prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.12	kaa-
NOM	Nominalizer suffix	Chapter 7, Section 3.2.1, 3.4	-i
NXP	Non-experienced Past final suffix	Chapter 5, Section 4.3	-é?i
O	Object Focus prepronominal prefixes	Chapter 4, Section 5.1	<i>n/a</i>
\OBJ	Tone change indicating object derivation	Chapter 2, Section 1.2.2	<i>n/a</i>
ORD	Ordinal number suffix	Chapter 8, Section 1.4	-iinéé?i
PCP	Participial suffix	Chapter 7, Section 3.5 Chapter 8 Section 1.1.2.2	-ta
.PL	Plural form of pronominal prefix	Chapter 4, Section 1	<i>n/a</i>
(PL)	Form of verb only used in the plural	Chapter 5, Section 2.1	<i>n/a</i>
=PO	Potential clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.7	=le
:PRC	Present Continuous stem of verb	Chapter 5, Section 3.1	<i>n/a</i>
PRI	Pre-incipient derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.8	4 different forms corresponding to 4 verb stems
PRO	Pronoun (first or second person)	Chapter 7, Section 5	aya/nihi
PRT	Partitive prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.5	ni-
=Q	Question clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.4	=s
REL	Relativizer prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.2	ji-
RFL	Reflexive postpronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.2.1	-ataat-

RPT	Repetitive derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.2	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
\SUB	Tone change indicating subordination	Chapter 2, Section 1.2.2	<i>n/a</i>
(T)	Basic form of verb is transitive	Chapter 5, Section 2.1	<i>n/a</i>
TAV	Time Adverbial suffix	Chapter 8, Section 2.1.1	-a
=TQ	Tag question clitic	Chapter 3, Section 4.3	=kha
TRM	Terminative derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.4	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
TRN	Translocative prepronominal prefix	Chapter 6, Section 1.1.4	wi-
VEN	Venitive derivational suffix	Chapter 6, Section 3.7	5 different forms corresponding to 5 verb stems
VOC	Vocative prepronominal prefix	Chapter 7, Section 2.2.4	ee-

In this work single quotes will be used in most cases. When double quotes are used, they will indicate a literal rendering of a Cherokee word or phrase. For example, on the last line of each example in this grammar a translation in single quotes will appear, indicating a translation offered by the speaker; in some case this will be followed by a second translation in double quotation marks (preceded by lit. 'literally') to express a more literal (but often less natural sounding) rendering.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Cherokee are one of the largest groups of American Indians in the United States. According to the 2000 USA Census there are 390,902 ethnic Cherokee. The Ethnologue states that there are approximately 22,500 speakers, including approximately 14,000 speakers on the Oklahoma rolls as well as 8,500 in North Carolina. This report also states that there are 130 monolinguals. Some children are still being raised speaking the language and the language is ‘vigorous’ in some Oklahoma communities (Ethnologue 2008). There are three federally recognized Cherokee tribes, two of which are located in Tahlequah, Oklahoma: the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians is located in the Qualla Boundary, North Carolina. In addition to these three federally recognized entities, there are at least twenty-seven Cherokee communities in eleven states, three of which are state recognized.

Of these various groups, the Cherokee Nation is by far largest Cherokee political unit and will be the focus of this historical and linguistic profile. The Cherokee Nation has recently undertaken a major effort to maintain their traditional language. In an Administration for Native Americans Report (Cherokee Nation 2003) the Nation posited three major goals for its language revitalization program:

- 1) Create language revitalization programs that ensure the survival of the Cherokee language through tribal communities.
- 2) Educate and certify language teachers to assure a qualified and knowledgeable workforce for program implementation.
- 3) Document the language and develop language instructional materials and curriculum.

This grammar is intended as a part of the third goal and has been produced with the support and encouragement of the Cultural Resource Center of the Cherokee Nation.

1. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEES AND THEIR LANGUAGE

The Cherokee language is a member of the large and relatively well-known Iroquoian family. Linguists believe that proto-Iroquoian was spoken around the Great Lakes and that approximately 3500 years ago this ancestral language split into the Northern and Southern Iroquoian branches.¹ The Southern Iroquoian branch migrated southeast and settled in the Appalachians; the language of this group eventually became Cherokee. The Northern branch, representing all of the Iroquoian languages but Cherokee, developed into communities speaking languages that are commonly known as Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Tuscarora.

The name 'Cherokee' is an English pronunciation of the eastern dialect pronunciation *jaragi*; this same name is pronounced *jalagi* in the Western dialect.² The English word 'Cherokee' is attested as early as 1708. There are several beliefs about the origin of the name *jalagi*, but it appears that the word itself is not a native Cherokee word. The first evidence of this word appears in 1557 in its Portuguese version as *chalaque*; it later appears in 1699 in its French version *cheraqui* (Mooney 1995:15-16). Mooney believes that the word might come from a Choctaw word *chilok* or *chiluk* 'cave' and gained usage through the Mobilian Trade Jargon. Evidence for this etymology is the fact that this kind of description is used for various other groups living in the area (Mooney 1900:16) Mankiller writes that some believe it to be a derivation from the Muskogee word *tciloki* or 'people of a different speech' or a derivation from the Choctaw word for 'cave people' *chiluk ki*, a reference to the abundance of caves where the Cherokees lived (Mankiller 1993:17). It has also been suggested that the name could signify 'ancient tobacco people' (from *jalu* 'tobacco' and *asgaawali* 'old, ancient') or something approximating 'red fire men' or 'children of the sun' (from *ajila*-fire) (Woodward 1963:21). There exists documentary evidence that in the 17th century the Cherokees referred to themselves as *Ani Kitu Hwagi*, or 'the people of *Kituhwa*' after an old settlement in the southern Alleghenies. Another attested self-designation is *Ani Yun-Wiya*, 'the Real or Principal people' (Woodward 1963:18).

The first European to come into contact with the Cherokees was Hernando de Soto in 1540. By the 18th century there were three recognized dialects of Cherokee. The Lower Dialect, also known as Underhill, is now extinct; it was originally spoken in northwestern South Carolina as well as adjacent communities in Georgia. The Eastern Dialect was originally spoken in western North Carolina and is now the dialect for the Qualla Boundary community in the same area. The third dialect, known as Overhill, OtaI or simply the Western Dialect, became what is now known as Oklahoma Cherokee (Mithun 1999:419). The Eastern or Lower dialect used a trilled [r] instead of [l]; this dialect's pronunciation of the name *jaragi* served as the basis for the English word 'Cherokee' (Mooney 1995:16).

The Cherokees have the oldest and best-known Native American writing system in the United States. An Alabama Cherokee named Sequoyah (**ᏍᏏᏉᏏ** *sikhwoya*, also known as George Gist or George Guess) invented the syllabary and first made it public in 1821. The brilliance of Sequoyah's achievement is well summarized by Mooney, who is quoted at length below.

Twelve years of his life are said to have been given to this great work. ...He set out to devise a symbol for each word of the language, and after several years of experiment, finding this an utterly hopeless task, he threw aside the thousands of characters which he had carved or scratched upon pieces of bark, and started anew to study the construction of the language itself. By attentive observation for another long period he finally discovered that the sounds in the words used by the Cherokee in their daily conversation and their public speeches could be analyzed and classified, and that the thousands of possible words were all formed from varying combinations of hardly more than a hundred distinct syllables. Having thoroughly tested his discovery until satisfied of its correctness, he next proceeded to formulate a symbol for each syllable. For this purpose he made use of a number of characters which he found in an old English spelling book, picking out capitals, lower-case, italics, and figures, and placing them right side up or upside down, without any idea of their sound or significance in English. Having thus utilized some thirty-five ready-made characters, to which must be added a dozen or more produced by modification of the originals, he designed from his own imagination as many more as were necessary to his purpose, making eighty-five in all.

The complete syllabary, as first elaborated, would have required some one hundred and fifteen characters, but after much hard study of the hissing sound in its various combinations, he hit upon the expedient of representing the sound by means of a distinct character-the exact equivalent of our letter s- whenever it formed the initial of a syllable (Mooney 1995:219).

The Cherokees rapidly adopted the new system, resulting in widespread literacy as well as the creation of the first Indian newspaper in the United States, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, which started publishing in 1828 (Mankiller 1993:82). In 1825 a Cherokee scholar, David Brown, had already used the new writing system to produce Cherokee translation from the original Greek of the New Testament (Cherokee Nation 2003:4). It has been estimated that literacy rates among the Cherokee in the early nineteenth century were as high as 90 percent. Writing became an important part of Cherokee culture; significantly, the more traditional the community, the higher the literacy rate tended to be (Silver and Miller 1997:198). This syllabary will be used throughout this work and will be fully explained in Chapter 2.

During the same decade that the syllabary was being adopted the tribe wrote a constitution in English and Cherokee based on the United States Constitution. In spite of these attempts to assimilate to Western standards of civilization, President Andrew Jackson was convinced that no Indians should occupy U.S. territory and pushed for the passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act. This law called for the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) to areas west of the Mississippi. Despite widespread opposition-the Supreme Court even ruled it unconstitutional-the president had his way. The state of Georgia had already enacted a series of stringent laws against the Cherokee Nation such as nullifying their legislation, confiscating their property and forbidding them from testifying in court. In 1835 federal authorities obtained the signatures of less than five hundred Cherokees – none of whom were elected tribal officials-on the infamous New Echota Treaty that agreed to Removal (Mankiller 1993:92).

The resulting Trail of Tears was one of the most infamous episodes in American history. As a result of this forced removal the unity of the Cherokee Nation

was destroyed. Several hundred Cherokee managed to hide in the mountains of North Carolina until they were able to settle on land there in 1849. Some Cherokee families had already moved to Arkansas in 1794 and became known as the Western Cherokees or Old Settlers (Conley 2007:169, 262). The Cherokees who finally arrived in Indian Territory consisted of the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party and, finally, the Ross Party. This last group, led by Chief John Ross, was the largest and had opposed Removal until the bitter end. At a national convention in the new capital of Tahlequah a constitution was written in order to unify the badly divided community (It is said that the name of the town itself comes from the Cherokee words *thali* 'two' and *-kwu* 'enough.' According to this story, only two elders showed up to sign the new constitution; this is the most commonly heard of several explanations for the name of the Cherokee capital.) The Cherokee remained unified despite serious infighting and attempts at division by the two smaller parties. The Treaty of 1846 settled these conflicts through a compromise whereby the Ross Party accepted the New Echota Treaty, and the Old Settlers and Treaty Party accepted the new constitution (Conley 2005:163).

The brief period of calm and prosperity that followed was shattered by the Civil War. Although Ross tried to remain neutral, many Cherokees in the Old Settler and Treaty Parties adopted a pro-Confederate stance. The Confederate presence was stronger, especially after the withdrawal of Union troops, and Ross reluctantly decided to sign a treaty with the Confederacy on October 7, 1861. Two Cherokee regiments were raised and fought in several battles, the most important of which was Pea Ridge in northwestern Arkansas. After the Southern defeat in this battle, Union forces were able to move in and occupy Tahlequah. Many Cherokees also rebelled against the Confederacy, starting a period of internecine tribal warfare. After the surrender of the rest of the Confederate forces in April 1865, the Cherokee general Stand Watie continued fighting until June and was the last Confederate general to lay down his arms (Strickland 1980:19).

After the Civil War the United States forced the Cherokees to sign a new treaty in which they gave up lands in Kansas and allowed Plains Indians tribes to be relocated on tribal land. In 1887 the passage of the Allotment Act—otherwise known as the Dawes Act—allowed for the breakup of tribal lands and apportioning lands to individual tribal members. This new attack on tribal integrity occurred as Oklahoma was being organized into a territory and being settled during the famous Oklahoma Land Runs (Mankiller 1993:135). In 1893 the federal governments opened the Cherokee Outlet-land that had been set aside for relocating other tribes-in the largest Land Run in American history, involving over one hundred thousand settlers. The Oklahoma tribes made a last attempt at autonomy by asking Congress to admit them as the state of Sequoyah. Congress rejected this request and joined the Oklahoma Territory with the Indian Territory, which was admitted to the Union as the State of Oklahoma in 1907. After the death of Chief W.C. Rogers in 1917 the Federal Government mandated that it would appoint all future Cherokee chiefs. For over half a century there were no democratically elected representatives and the government of the Cherokee Nation teetered on the brink of annihilation (Mankiller 1993:170-1). During this period the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians was formed and recognized by Congress in 1946 (Conley 2007:248).

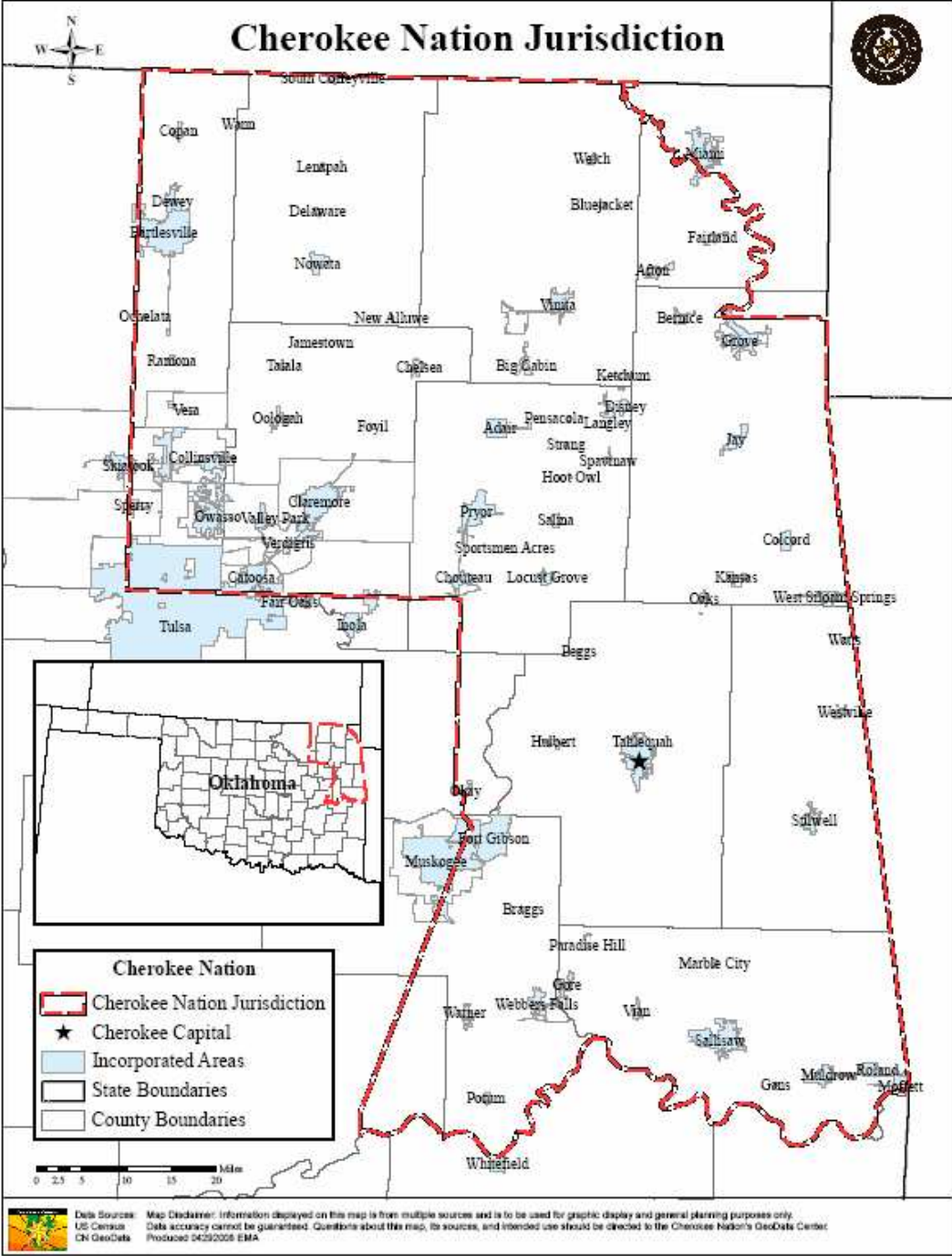
The Cherokee Nation would not regain tribal autonomy until the 1970s, a period of increased awareness of Native American issues. In 1975 the Cherokee Nation ratified a revised constitution, and in 1978 the Bureau of Indian Affairs authorized the creation of Oklahoma Indian Courts (Strickland 1980:76). In 1985 the Cherokee Nation gained widespread recognition with the election of Wilma Mankiller, the first woman in modern history to lead a major Native American tribe. During her ten years in office, the Cherokee Nation grew from 55,000 to 156,000 tribal citizens (CN2007).

Today the Cherokee Nation is the second largest Indian tribe in the United States with more than 240,000 tribal members (Conley 2007:56). Approximately 70,000 of these Cherokees reside in the 7,000 square mile area of the Cherokee

Nation. The territory of the Cherokee Nation is not a reservation, but a jurisdictional service area that consists of eight entire counties and parts of six more in northeastern Oklahoma. A map of the jurisdictional area is in Figure 1.

The Cherokee Nation is a large tribe both in terms of jurisdiction and membership and, for a Native American tribe, has a large number of speakers of its heritage language. It has been suggested that the Cherokee syllabary has played a role in the maintenance of the language. Richard Allen states that, 'It is our hypothesis that one of the principal means by which Cherokee as a language has survived both historically and contemporarily remains the strong association between the Cherokee language and its use in Cherokee spiritual life. It is clearly established that Cherokees use the syllabary to communicate with each other, to keep fastidious records and to retain "sacred" knowledge' (Allen 2003:8). The strong spiritual and material resources of the Cherokee Nation are now allowing the tribe to take unprecedented measures to teach the language to a new generation of speakers. These efforts towards language revitalization will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 1: Cherokee Nation Jurisdiction



2. CHEROKEE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

The recent trend toward political revival has gone hand-in-hand with a growing interest in the revitalization of Cherokee culture and language. A recent report on the state of the Cherokee language identifies several phases of language revival in the twentieth century (Cherokee Nation 2003). The first, or purism phase, was at the time of Oklahoma statehood when many Cherokees became concerned about an overabundance of English loanwords in the language. The reform phase in the sixties saw the first attempts to teach Cherokee in the classroom and to create pedagogical materials. In the 1990s the third phase of language revival was the standardization of the written language; during this time there was a growing awareness of the need to update the language's lexicon by the creation of new words. The Tribal Council passed laws in 1991 and 1995 establishing programs for the teaching and preservation of the language. Under the leadership of Principal Chief Mankiller the council passed the Cherokee Nation Language and Cultural Preservation act, which states:

It shall be the policy of Cherokee Nation to take the leadership to maintain and preserve the Cherokee language as a living language. Such efforts shall include but not be limited to:

- A. Efforts to involve tribal members to the greatest extent possible in instruction in Cherokee language.
- B. Establishment of a permanent Cherokee Language program within the Tribal Education Department subject to such funding limitations as may exist from year to year.
- C. Encourage the use of Cherokee language in both written and oral form to the fullest extent possible in public and business settings.
- D. Encourage creation and expansion of the number, kind, and amount of written materials in the Cherokee language and official encouragement for the development of materials on, by or through Cherokee Nation service programs (Cherokee Nation 2003)

In addition to new language policies this phase saw the creation of *See, Say, Write Method of Teaching the Cherokee Language*, the first Cherokee language curriculum. This curriculum was expanded and supplemented with audiotapes in 2000. In 1995 the tribal council also approved the creation of the Culture Resource

Center (CRC), a new agency that continues to play an important role in coordinating efforts to maintain the language and culture of the Nation (Cherokee Nation 2003:7). This agency provides translation services, hosts Summer Youth Language and Culture Camps, and supports a weekly Cherokee radio show. CRC efforts have led to Cherokee signage in several locations in downtown Tahlequah as well as around Cherokee schools and administrative buildings.

The latest phase of language revival is a program of unprecedented scope: to teach the Cherokee language to create a new generation of speakers. Language instruction had already begun in the late 1960s, but by the 1990s the number of speakers was still declining. The recognition of this disturbing trend has fueled a new commitment to reversing language shift. In 2002 the Cherokee Nation obtained funds from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) to survey the number of fluent Cherokee speakers remaining. The survey discovered that no one under 40 spoke the language fluently and that less than 11 percent of Cherokee Nation citizens within the 14-county Cherokee Nation jurisdictional region used the language at home. Most significantly, the survey highlighted the fact that children are no longer learning the language (Cherokee Nation 2003). On the other hand, the project revealed positive attitudes about the need to maintain the language. Although many in the parental generation still understand their heritage language, most either do not speak it or consider themselves ‘semi-speakers.’ According to the ‘Language Vitality and Endangerment’ categorizations of language endangerment used by UNESCO, Cherokee is in the ‘Severely Endangered’ category of languages spoken only by the grandparental generation and upward and by a minority of the total population (UNESCO 2003). Languages in this category will become extinct in three decades unless steps are taken to create a new generation of speakers.

As a result of these findings the Tribal Council began a 10-year language preservation program for the period of 2003-2012. This program developed a number of language preservation policies with a long-term goal that in fifty years 80 percent of all tribal members would be actively re-engaged in the language and culture of the

tribe (Cherokee Nation 2003). The Cherokee Nation is now taking significant steps to reversing language shift through systematic language planning. Of all these efforts the most innovative is the program to grow a new generation of fluent speakers from childhood on up in an early childhood immersion program. This undertaking began in 2001 with one preschool class and has since grown to include a Kindergarten class, a first grade class, and a second grade with plans for a third grade class in the fall of 2008. There are currently 45 students in the preschool through second grade immersion classrooms.

In addition to the immersion school, Cherokee language instruction is now being offered in a wide variety of contexts. Cherokee Nation employees are required to take 20 hours of language instruction every two years. Over 3,000 students enroll in online classes every year. Community classes have enrollment of approximately 500 students per year (Gloria Sly, personal communication 2007). In 2005, Northeastern State University (NSU), also located in Tahlequah, established a Cherokee teacher certification program. This unique Bachelor's in Education degree will help to create a new generation of Cherokee teachers for pre-school through 12th grade. These teachers will not only be fluent in the language, but will be trained in teaching theories and methodology as well. This degree program consists of 124 credit hours, 40 of which must be Cherokee major courses such as Conversational Cherokee, Methods for Classroom Immersion, Cherokee Cultural Heritage, and Cherokee Linguistics.³ The first graduates of this program are expected in 2009.

Cherokee language educators, planners, and students – both from the Cherokee Nation and the University community- also participate in the annual Oklahoma Native Language Association conference that takes place in Preston, Oklahoma. In addition, the Symposium of the American Indian (organized by Dr. Phyllis Fife, Director of the NSU Tribal Studies Program) takes place on the campus of Northeastern State University every spring and for the past several years has featured a day-long language revitalization workshop. A team of language and education specialists from the University of Kansas and University of Oklahoma

(OU) leads this workshop. This team has been involved with NSU, OU, the Cherokee Nation, and the Oklahoma Native Language Association in their efforts to develop a language program and to train immersion teachers.⁴ The present grammar is intended to be a useful contribution to these continuing efforts to maintain and pass on the Cherokee language.

3. PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC WORK ON CHEROKEE

Among linguists there is no debate concerning the status of Cherokee as the sole representative of the Southern branch of the Iroquoian family of languages. There are only a few articles, however, that discuss the historical relationship. Lounsbury (1961) established the time split of the depth using glottochronology, and Hickerson and Turner (1952) confirmed Lounsbury's grouping of the Iroquoian languages by applying tests of mutual intelligibility between the languages. A possible relationship of the Iroquoian family with Siouan is discussed in Chafe (1964).

The first descriptions of Cherokee are from the early 1800s and have not survived (Scancarelli 1987:15). Perhaps the most significant loss is a grammar and dictionary by Samuel Worcester, the missionary who helped create the modern version of the syllabary and whose friendship with the Cherokees led to the seminal Supreme Court Case *Worcester vs. Georgia* 1832. The earliest surviving descriptions of the Cherokee language are by John Pickering (1831) and Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1852) (both reprinted in Krueger 1993).⁵ A number of small sketches were published in the first half of the 20th century (Hinkle 1935, Bender and Harris 1946), the most extensive being a series of three articles that appeared in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Reyburn 1953-54). The most significant recent works on Cherokee consist of two dissertation grammars of North Carolina Cherokee (King 1975, Cook 1979), a dissertation on grammatical relations and verb agreement (Scancarelli 1987), a dissertation on phonological variation in Western Cherokee (Foley 1980), a collection of UCLA linguistic articles devoted to

Oklahoma Cherokee (Munro et al. 1996), and a Cherokee-English Dictionary that includes a grammatical sketch (Pulte and Feeling 1975).⁶ This last work is perhaps the most used among linguists and students. It was the result of collaboration between linguists William Pulte and Durbin Feeling; the latter is a native speaker and teacher of the language. In addition to these major works, there are two chapter-length grammatical sketches (Scancarelli 2005, Walker 1975) and a number of individual linguistic articles.⁷ Besides these linguistic resources, there are a number of ‘teach yourself’ learning materials of varying size and quality; the largest and most useful is Holmes and Smith’s ‘Beginning Cherokee’ (1977). There are no pedagogical works that approach the phonology and grammar of the language in a systematic or methodical way; they largely confine themselves to the presentation of vocabulary through drill and repetition. Grammatical structures are not, for the most part, explicitly explained. The Holmes and Smith book is an exception in that it attempts some overt explanation of structures and paradigms. However, this book is pedagogical in nature, and the main focus is on vocabulary presentation, drills and explanations of culture.

Among the linguistic works listed above there is variation as to how tone and vowel length are marked. Of the four dissertations, two do not mark tone at all; one of which is the description of Western Cherokee phonology (Foley 1980).⁸ A third dissertation only marks what it calls stress or high pitch (Cook 1979). Scancarelli’s dissertation on grammatical relations uses accents to mark tone; these diacritics correspond to the superscript numbers used by Pulte and Feeling. One of the most recent important contributions to Cherokee linguistics is a collection of UCLA papers (Munro 1996a). These papers use a practical orthography that is the basis for the Romanized orthography of the present grammar. In this collection laryngeal alternation is discussed by Munro, laryngeal metathesis and vowel deletion by Flemming, and tone and accent by Wright. The UCLA papers frequently reference an important study of Cherokee tone by Geoffrey Lindsey (1987); a discussion of Cherokee tone is also in a chapter of his dissertation (1985). Much remains to be

explored in the area of Cherokee pitch or tone; some authors suggest it is mostly predictable, while others claim it is unpredictable. In addition to Lindsey's work, important discussions of tone are in Haag (1997), Haag (1999), Haag (2001), and Johnson (2005). Although a comprehensive analysis is lacking, both the Pulte and Feeling orthography and the UCLA orthography are good working systems of marking tone and vowel length.

As far as morphology is concerned, there is general agreement on the template of the verbal complex and the terms used to denote the various positions. This template and terms such as 'prepronominal prefixes' are used to describe other Iroquoian languages. The groundwork for the modern study of Iroquoian languages was done by Chafe (1953) in his study of Oneida verb morphology. Most descriptive works on Cherokee begin their discussion of the verbal complex with the elements at the beginning of the verb, usually the pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefixes are well understood, and Scancarelli (1987) thoroughly describes the interaction of the pronominal system and animacy; animacy and agreement are also discussed in Dukes (1996). Haag discusses clitics (1997, 1999) and their interaction with tone (2001). Adjectives are discussed in Lindsey and Scancarelli (1985) and Holmes (1996), two past final suffixes in Pulte (1985), agentive nominalizations in Potter (1996), and classificatory verbs in King (1978) and Blankenship (1996). Pulte and Feeling (1977) and Scancarelli (1988) discuss changes in morphology that have occurred in the last two centuries.

Sociolinguistic issues and patterns of language use are in Arrington (1971) and Berdan et al. (1982). Studies of Cherokee as an endangered language are in Guyette (1975), Guyette (1981), Pulte (1979), and Brooks (1992). Berge (1998) addresses issues of language obsolescence and reacquisition. There is a growing body of literature on the recent efforts towards language maintenance. Studies of the immersion experience are in Peter (2003), Peter (2007), Oosahwee (2008), and Peter et al. (2008). Hirata-Edds et al. (2003) discusses training for the immersion teachers, and methods for assessing the success of these programs are explored in Hirata-Edds

et al. (2003) and Peter and Hirata-Edds (2006). Hirata-Edds (2007) is an important study of the influence of the immersion experience on the students' first language, English.

I will conclude this overview with a summary of the areas that have been neglected in the literature. As far as the phonetics and phonology are concerned, there has been some discussion of pitch/accent and tone, but there is no work accessible to non-linguists that clearly explain these phenomena. The UCLA papers have much useful research on laryngeal alternation, metathesis, and deletion; these topics are not at all addressed in the more pedagogically-oriented works.

In the area of morphology the verb has been studied the most, although there is not a clear and methodical exposition of the construction of a fully inflected Cherokee verb that allows the reader to generate new structures. The literature is consistent in the description of five verb stems, but the semantic details of these stems is an area that warrants further investigation. Although a relatively large amount of work has been done on the verb, there is little detailed discussion of the semantics and pragmatics of the tense/aspect/mood affixes. Furthermore, it is unclear how to derive, for example, nouns or adjectives from verbs and how productive these processes are. The use of postpositions needs further exploration; in particular there needs to be a better understanding of the possibilities for constructing postpositional phrases and the semantic nuances conveyed by such constructions.

The current literature also lacks many details regarding the syntax of the language. Beghelli notes that 'Cherokee syntax is largely unexplored territory' (1996:105). Pulte has two papers concerning gapping and the 'obligatory-optional principle' (1972, 1976). There has been very little work on important issues in discourse analysis, such as tracking arguments, focus and topicalization; some work that has been done in this area is in Singleton (1979), Scancarelli (1986), and Smythe (1998). To date there has been no study of valency-changing operations in Cherokee. The discourse function of what Pulte and Feeling describe as a passive voice ('Object Focus' prefixes' in the current work) is an area not well understood in Cherokee.

They briefly describe three different passive constructions, but there is no discussion of the motivations or contexts for using the different forms.

The most conspicuous lack in the literature is the absence of a comprehensive grammar of Cherokee. The grammatical descriptions that do exist are either partial or concentrate on theoretical issues. There is no single descriptive work with the appropriate format that offers the reader the tools and the method to create new Cherokee utterances. The pedagogical works that exist allow this possibility, but such works are neither systematic nor comprehensive in their approach.

4. GOALS AND FEATURES OF THIS GRAMMAR

This grammar is the first comprehensive treatment of Oklahoma Cherokee and is intended for teachers and students of the language as well as linguists. In particular I hope that the information gathered here will be the basis for pedagogical works on the language; moreover, this overview of the language should make it clear in what areas further linguistic research is warranted. I make no claim whatsoever to this work being the definitive work on Cherokee; it is my hope, rather, that this grammar will be part of a new generation of interest and research on the language.

This grammar is written within the framework of descriptive linguistics. I have tried as much as possible to limit technical words and, when I do use them, to carefully explain their meaning. Notes are given at the end of each chapter that provide more technical discussions as well as more detailed information on sources and terminology. While my interest has been in a synchronic analysis of Cherokee, I hope that the descriptions contained herein will aid those interested in doing work on the historical development of the language.

The focus of this work is on Oklahoma Cherokee as this is the community with whom I have had the privilege of working. This grammar is intended to describe the speech of a specific group of people living in a specific geographic area as well as to serve the language maintenance needs of those people. Having said that, my knowledge of Cherokee has been enhanced by the insights contained in descriptions

of North Carolina Cherokee, especially those of King (1975) and Cook (1979). More detailed analyses of specific areas of Cherokee grammar will necessarily involve studies of the past and current styles of speech found in North Carolina.

An immediately apparent feature of this grammar is the usage of the syllabary throughout. The Cherokee syllabary has been at various times deemed unsuitable for linguistic purposes. While the syllabary does not express some crucial distinctions, it does often provide information as to the underlying structures of words before the application of phonological changes. More importantly, the syllabary is the most famous and the most recognizable identifier of the Cherokee people, their culture, and their language. This grammar is intended primarily as a tool in the effort to maintain the Cherokee language and as such the syllabary will also be used whenever a natural citation form of a word is used. The syllabary will be used first, followed by a Romanized script that represents some of the sounds left out of the syllabary.⁹ A typical entry is seen below in (1).

- 1) **DSVᵒJ**
aàkhtoósti
a-akahthoósti
3A-look.at:PRC
'He's looking at it.'

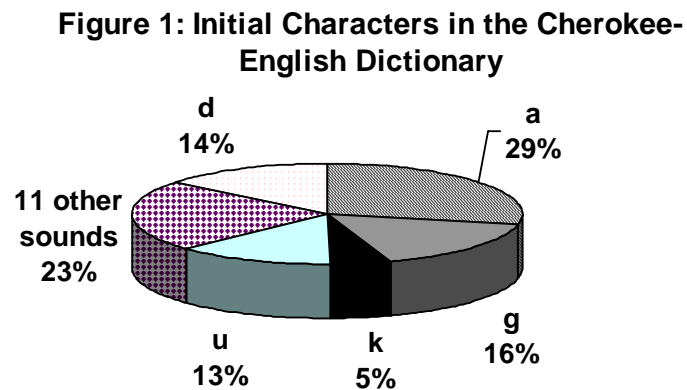
The syllabary characters, read separately, represent the sounds *a-ka-tho-s-ti*. The line immediately below the syllabary is the word as it is actually pronounced. The third line represents the individual elements of the word before they are combined. By comparing the second and third line it is clear that several changes have taken place when the units are combined and the word is pronounced. For example, the initial [a] of the vowel stem has been deleted upon contact with the *a-* prefix that is attached to it. This prefix indicates a third person singular 'he, she' is doing the action; the prefix itself comes from a set of prefixes that will be referred to as Set A. The initial *a-* prefix has been lengthened and an accent has been placed over the second vowel

(indicating a lowfall tone). Finally, the /h/ has combined with /k/ to produce an aspirated /kh/ (phonetically [k^h]) after the deletion of the vowel /a/. The fourth line provides the literal meaning of the individual parts and uses a set of abbreviations to indicate different grammatical units; for example, the abbreviation 3A- indicates that a prefix from among the Set A prefixes is being used to reference a third person singular that is performing the action. The colon after the verb indicates that the verb is appearing in its Present Continuous form (PRC). As will be seen in Chapter 5, most verbs appear in five forms in Cherokee.

All of these terms and processes will be discussed at length in the following chapters; what is important for the present discussion is to point out that the forms of the underlying units closely (but not exactly) resemble the pronunciation of the syllabary characters. This usage of the syllabary, in addition to making the grammar more culturally sensitive, often serves as a sort of interface between the actual pronunciation and the underlying form.

A feature of this grammar that distinguishes it from more pedagogical works is the usage of bare stem forms. All verbs, as well as many nouns and most adjectives, always appear with a person prefix. The natural citation form of such words is the third person form (and Present Continuous tense for verbs). For example, the citation form of ‘big’ is $\text{ᎠᎿᎠ$ *úúthana*. The stem, however is *-áthana*; this form is apparent when other prefixes are used. Words that are given in their stem form will be only written using the Romanized script as they often cannot be written in the syllabary; moreover, the use of the syllabary to write these never-occurring forms would doubtless look bizarre to a literate speaker. In such instances a dash will appear at the beginning and/or end of the stem to indicate an element is needed in that position to produce a natural form. The usage of natural forms, both in dictionaries and grammars, obscures the root of the word and makes it difficult to see many of the grammatical and phonological processes that come together to create a natural sounding Cherokee word. For example, the Feeling dictionary and Pulte and Feeling grammatical sketch list verbs (and relevant nouns and adjectives) with their third

person forms.¹⁰ A page count of the initial-character entries reveals the breakdown shown in Figure 1.



Almost a third of the words listed in this dictionary start with the character <a>. The reason why so many words appear to start with <a> is the fact that many of these are verbs that are listed in their third person form with the Set A third person singular prefix *a-*. This tendency for a preponderance of entries to be under a handful of characters creates what has been referred to as the ‘clumping problem’ that vexes lexicographers of languages that combine many elements into one word. A good general discussion of this issue is in Munro (2002), while discussions on creating a Cherokee dictionary are in Pulte and Feeling (2002) and Montgomery-Anderson (2008).

One of the main goals of this grammar is to show the stems of the word using the format exemplified above in (1). This format will help the language learner better understand the grammar and phonology. Moreover, from an intuitive standpoint, it would seem easier to learn vocabulary items if they don’t all appear to start with the sounds /a/, /k/, /t/, or /u/.

The grammar is organized as a traditional linguistic description, starting with phonology, followed by morphology and then syntax. An organizational feature that distinguishes it from other works is a separate section on pronominal prefixes that appears before the discussion of the lexical classes (verbs, adjectives, and nouns). These prefixes are typically discussed along with verbs, but since they appear on adjectives and nouns, I have decided to discuss them in a separate section. In like manner prepronominal prefixes, which appear mostly on verbs or words derived from verbs, are discussed in the second verb chapter.

The description of the language begins with an explanation of phonology and orthography in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 gives a general overview of word order, describes the different types of clauses, and gives examples of the use of the various clitics. This chapter also discusses the complex issue of word order and the many factors that affect it. Chapter 4 is dedicated to pronominal prefixes. These prefixes, among their other uses, indicate the subjects and objects of verbs; they also appear on many adjectives and nouns. Verbs are introduced in Chapter 5; the following chapter, 'Expanding the verb stem', discusses the rich array of prepronominal prefixes and derivational suffixes that can alter the meaning of the verb or signal a special function in the sentence. Chapter 7 discusses nouns, the majority of which are derived from verbs. Chapter 8 focuses on modifiers, a term that encompasses adjectivals and adverbials.

Another feature of the grammar is the marking of tones. Such marking is not used in older linguistic works on Cherokee and only began with Feeling's dictionary (1975). It is possible that many of the tones as well as vowel length are predictable.¹¹ However, the rules underlying this predictability are not well understood; even if there were a systematic description of these rules, they would be too abstract and complex for the purposes of this grammar. Nevertheless, it should be understood that pitch and length marking are not entirely phonemic. The orthography thus represents a midway point between phonetic marking and phonemic marking; it is intended to be as complete a description of the sounds and phonological changes of the language as

are needed in order to produce grammatically correct and phonologically accurate Cherokee sentences.

In keeping with the tradition of modern linguistic grammars this work includes several texts that are included in an appendix. Two of the texts are traditional stories involving a race between two animals; the third text is a historical sketch of a search party traveling up the Arkansas River. In addition to these texts there are numerous phrases and sentences throughout the grammar that are a product of the most recent efforts toward language maintenance, including excerpts from articles in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Most of the editions of this paper include several articles that are in both English and Cherokee. These translations are another service provided by the Cherokee Nation's Cultural Resource Center and are typically done by Mrs. Anna Huckaby, one of the consultants for this grammar. Excerpts from the Cherokee New Testament are also occasionally used, as this is the most widely available text written in the Cherokee syllabary. Several words and phrases from a Cherokee broadcasting of a Lady Indians Sequoyah High School basketball championship game are also included throughout the grammar. All examples are rewritten in the orthography described in Chapter 2; if the tone and vowel length is known from the source, it is represented according to how the authors represented it (this mainly applies to the examples taken from Feeling and Scancarelli). In other cases the example is checked with a consultant to accurately represent tone and vowel length.

This work owes much to previous linguistic descriptions of Cherokee, especially Pulte and Feeling (1975), Scancarelli (1987), and the UCLA papers (Munro1996a). Some of the pedagogical works have been useful for learning set phrases, in particular Holmes and Smith (1977). Prentice Robinson's audio tapes have provided many hours of listening in the car and further helped hone my ear to the particular sound and rhythms of the language. Geoffrey Lindsey's analyses of tone (1985, 1987) have been useful in determining what kind of Romanized script to use and how to mark tone. In addition to these sources, a large part of this analysis rests on elicitation with native speakers from Oklahoma. These sessions were recorded on

a digital recorder and entered in a Shoebox 5.0 database. I plan to continue to build on this electronic database after the completion of this dissertation, to have other individuals add their data to it as well, and to eventually establish a language archive. The speakers represented thus far in the database are Mr. Benny Smith, Mr. Ed Jumper, Mrs. Rosa Carter, Mrs. Anna Huckaby, Mr. Harry Oosahwee, Mr. Denis Sixkiller, and Mrs. Marylyn Cochran. Brief information about these individuals is included in the next section.

5. INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHEROKEE CONSULTANTS

Mr. Benny Smith has been one of the primary consultants for this grammar. I worked with him on an almost weekly basis from January 2005 until May 2007. He was born near Vian, Oklahoma, and he now lives in Lawrence, Kansas, where he raises horses. Mr. Smith travels frequently to Tahlequah and elsewhere about Oklahoma to give talks on Cherokee language, culture, and spirituality.

Mrs. Rosa M. Carter was born in 1947 in Gore, Ok. She is one of the three primary consultants of this grammar. She learned Cherokee at home and is bilingual in English and Cherokee. She started to become comfortable with English around third grade. She is currently a Cherokee Nation employee in curriculum and instruction as a translation specialist.

Mr. Marion 'Ed' Jumper was born in 1954 in Tahlequah, Ok. Along with Mrs. Carter and Mr. Smith, he is one of the three primary consultants for this grammar. Mr. Jumper learned Cherokee as his first language and started learning English around second grade. He is an ordained Baptist minister and frequently reads the New Testament in Cherokee. He also works as a translator and lecturer.

Mrs. Anna Huckaby was born in 1945 in Leech, Ok. Cherokee is her first language. Her time is split between the CRC and the *Cherokee Phoenix*. She translates the newspaper's articles into Cherokee in addition to helping with numerous other translation services. Mrs. Huckaby also interprets for schools and the

court system, traveling as far as Tulsa. Many examples of her translated articles appear in this grammar.

Mr. Harry Oosahwee was born in 1949 in Tahlequah, OK, and raised in Moneybean Hollow, east of Hulbert. His first language is Cherokee. Mr. Oosahwee is a Cherokee instructor at Northeastern State University and is the student coordinator for the Cherokee Education Degree program. In 2008 he received his Master's degree; his thesis was 'Language Immersion: An effective initiative for teaching the Cherokee language.'

Mr. Denis Sixkiller was born in 1953 near Jay, Oklahoma, in a small community called Piney where learned Cherokee at home as his first language. He works in the Communication Department of the Cherokee Nation and is the DJ for the weekly Cherokee language radio broadcast 'Cherokee Voices and Sounds.' His Cherokee broadcasts of the Lady Indians (from Sequoyah high school) basketball championship games have been consulted for this work.

Mrs. Marilyn Cochran was born in 1955 in Kansas, Oklahoma. She learned Cherokee from her parents as her first language. She is a CRC staff member and is a Cherokee language instructor. Mrs. Cochran has taught classes for Cherokee Nation employees as well as classes for people who work in clinics and who deal with patients more comfortable in Cherokee than English.

NOTES
CHAPTER 1

¹ Lounsbury used a Swadesh list of 200 words and found common retentions between 37 and 34 percent, which he used to estimate that a split between Cherokee and the other Iroquoian languages took place between 3,500 and 3,800 years ago (Lounsbury 1961:11). Lounsbury also notes that a number of isoglosses point to the possibility of a division between ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ Iroquoian languages. An isogloss is a geographic boundary separating two different usages of a lexical item (a well-known examples of an isogloss is the line that separates American English speakers who say ‘pop’ from those who say ‘soda.’) Lounsbury’s conclusion warrant quoting at length:

In the Iroquoian family a series of isoglosses can be drawn, largely but not entirely, coinciding in their location, which oppose the outer languages (Cherokee, Laurentian, Huron-Wyandot, and Tuscarora) against the inner or eastern languages (Five nations languages, but especially the easternmost ones). These indicate a dialect cleavage within the proto-Iroquoian speech community. It survives as a minor cleavage, in comparison to the quantitatively much greater cleavage which separates Cherokee from all else. Yet it must be at least as old. The lesser magnitude of this equally deep split must be ascribed to longer geographic proximity of the ancestral Laurentian, Huron-Wyandot, and Tuscarora groups to the ancestral Five nations groups and to continuing contact between them. The wider separation of the Cherokee, on the other hand, must be ascribed to a more complete, though not earlier, separation (1961:17).

These isoglosses Lounsbury that refers to are the terms for ‘paternal aunt’, ‘lake’ and the numbers ‘four’, ‘six’, and ‘seven.’ He also points out that all of the Iroquoian languages have some form of the *ka-* animate plural.

² The italicized Cherokee words in this section are written as they appear in the cited texts and are not in the orthography of this grammar.

³ This last course I designed and added to the curriculum; it will be taught for the first time in the fall of 2008.

⁴ This team has been led by Dr. Akira Yamamoto and includes Dr. Lizette Peter, Dr. Gloria Sly, Dr. Marcellino Berardo, Dr. Mary Linn, Dr. Tracy Hirata-Edds, and Dr. Kimiko Yamamoto. I have had the honor and privilege of working with this team since the spring of 2005.

⁵ Krueger points out the typical faults found in both of these nineteenth century grammars, mainly a strict adherence to Latin paradigms and an inaccurate representation of the sounds. Both grammars, however, do provide some useful paradigms as well as insights into how Cherokee has changed in the last hundred and fifty years. The sketch by von der Gabelentz is unlike modern treatments of the

language in that it begins with a discussion of nouns and adjectives. In a clear comparison to more familiar European languages, the author frequently points out what Cherokee is missing, such as case, gender, and articles. He does point out that there are very few true adjectives since the vast majority are derived from verbs. In the discussion of verbs he lists nine ‘conjugations’ which are a mix of different tenses and aspects as well as derivational affixes. Although his explanation avoids any variations or irregularities (he only uses the verb ‘to speak’ throughout the text) it does provide a simplified general overview of the possible verb stems and the prefixes that accompany them. The nine ‘conjugations’ are further subdivided into different tenses, all exhaustively demonstrated in all persons (albeit with the same verb).

John Pickering begins his sketch with a discussion of sounds and orthography, using a system that does not mark for tone but does mark for nasality. He describes stress as falling on the penultimate syllable. His discussion of ‘the parts of speech’ focuses on articles and nouns; there is also a section on ‘case’ that gives examples of six cases modeled on Latin. There is a lengthy section on pronouns, with examples for each person in a possessed-noun construction. The paper has a discussion of adjectives, but a description of verbs is notably absent.

⁶ Pulte and Feeling (1975), Scancarelli (1987), and articles from the 1996 UCLA papers will be cited frequently in this work. King (1975) describes the phonology, grammar and syntax of North Carolina Cherokee. He identifies and describes three types of words: nouns, verbs, and particles. His discussion of morphophonemics is useful but lacks examples to illustrate the complex rules he introduces. As in other works on Cherokee, this description examines the prepronominal prefixes before any discussion of the verb stem. King does not discuss stems per se, but rather lists in one chapter the possible aspect suffixes, followed by another chapter on the various modal suffixes. An interesting feature of this work is its analysis of aspect suffixes. He attempts to clarify their use by creating eleven classes that are further subdivided into subclasses and sub-subclasses. This classification scheme is the only attempt of its kind and is quite complex.

Cook (1979) has a strong emphasis on morphophonemic rules, but with few examples. As in King’s dissertation, Cook starts with discussion of pronominal and pre-pronominal prefixes, with aspect and stem formation near the end of the work. In the discussion of pronominal prefixes he introduces the terms subjective and objective, but does not make a distinction between which verbs take which prefix. He does, however, go into great detail on the morphophonemic rules that apply for the various prefix/stem combinations. He also uses the large number chart of prefixes and refers to these prefixes by their numbers. In the last chapter he discusses syntax, referring especially to Fillmore’s Case Grammar. During this discussion he does point out, intriguingly, that the terms ‘active’ and ‘stative’ that are used for Dakota also seem to apply to Cherokee. This work contains detailed analyses of phonological rules, but also without a lot of examples. The few examples that do occur are not

provided with a morpheme analysis alongside the gloss. I hope to make the important analyses made in these works more accessible by providing more examples of them.⁷ Scancarelli (2005) describes Oklahoma Cherokee through examples from a text titled ‘The Little People.’ The text consists of sixteen numbered sentences with a line by line gloss, morphological analysis as well as a free translation. After presenting this text the author describes the phonology and morphology exemplified therein. It provides helpful examples of complex phonological alternations, such as h-metathesis. The author has chosen not to describe tone due to ‘the absence of an analysis that would simplify the marking’ (2005:363), although she does present some useful insights into the pitch system. In addition to phonology she also discusses morphology with brief characterizations of stems, bases, and derivational and inflectional affixes. In her summary of the morphology she points out the dependency relationship that exists between aspect and person marker. She also includes a discussion of syntax and classificatory verbs, along with a brief review of the syllabary and its role in Cherokee literacy.

Walker (1975) contains an exposition of the problems arising from using the syllabary to represent Cherokee. He also discusses Cherokee literacy and publications in Cherokee. In his discussion of grammar he emphasizes the preeminent importance of verbs in the language and their usefulness in deriving other parts of speech such as nouns and adjectives. Interestingly, he uses the terms ‘active’ and ‘stative’ to refer to what more recent linguistic literature refers to as Set A and Set B pronominal markers. He has useful examples of various affixes, starting with the transitive portmanteau affixes. He includes with his sketch three texts; each is presented first in Cherokee, followed by a free translation, with a final section that translates and analyzes each word.

⁸ Foley (1980) is more of a theoretical work and is not as relevant for the purposes of this grammar. Foley applies the generative model to try to discover the abstract lexical forms that underlie that bewildering array of possible verb forms. This work makes frequent comparisons to the other members of the Iroquoian family to justify some of the underlying forms. One of the most useful portions of this work is the discussion on prefixation. The author analyzes all of the many prefixes, both simple and complex, and proposes various phonological rules that derive the numerous surface forms from the underlying forms. He supports many of the underlying forms with comparisons from other Iroquoian languages. He applies this same methodology to prepronominal prefixes with somewhat less success; in his attempt to introduce ‘regularity’ and ‘symmetry’ into the system he adds abstract features to his already abstract underlying forms. The final chapter of the dissertation is a study of the sociolinguistic variation that exists for the sounds [j], [kw], [thl], and [hl].

⁹ The font is SILmanuscript IPA93.

¹⁰ Pulte and Feeling (2002) discuss their decision to use the conjugated verb as the citation form in the dictionary. In defense of this format, they argue that this is the natural citation form for Cherokee speakers and that listing the bare form of the verb ‘...would have made use of the dictionary extremely difficult for persons without

training in linguistics' (2002:64). The authors point out the need to balance a user-friendly dictionary with a dictionary geared for linguists. They argue that a bare stem form, while more acceptable to linguists, would be confusing for the non-specialist; such forms could be included as an alphabetical list in the appendix. The present work will attempt to aid non-linguist learners of Cherokee to learn to recognize bare stems.

¹¹ Wright (1996) argues for a characterization of Cherokee as a language with lexically marked tone, as opposed to the view held by other linguists that tone is a pitch accent system.

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CHAPTER 2: CHEROKEE SOUNDS AND HOW TO WRITE THEM

1. INVENTORY OF SOUNDS

Cherokee has a relatively small inventory of sounds; most of the consonants are familiar to a speaker of English or other European languages. This size of the consonant inventory is typical of languages of the southeast. There are 6 vowels and 23 consonants.¹ The vowels do not contrast for nasality, but do distinguish length as well as six different tones. In comparison with other languages, Cherokee is unusual in its scarcity of sounds made with the lips: there are no sounds [b], [f], [v], and very few words with the sound /m/. Consonants contrast for aspiration, but not for voicing, length or glottalization.² The orthography used in this work is similar to that used by Scancarelli (1987).³

1.1 CONSONANTS

Cherokee consonants are shown in Table 1. The symbols used in this table are phonetic; the orthography that will be used in this grammar is shown in Table 2. Consonants are distinguished by place and manner of articulation. The table also divides consonants into obstruents and sonorants; this division is indicated by a thick black line two-thirds down. Obstruents are sounds where the airflow is totally obstructed (stops and affricates) or partially obstructed (fricatives). Sonorants are sounds produced with very little obstruction and include liquids, glides, and nasals.

Aspiration is an important and pervasive feature of the Cherokee sound system. Aspiration is a puff of air that immediately follows voiceless obstruents and is naturally and unconsciously done by English speakers in certain environments (e.g. the beginning of a syllable). This English aspiration occurs on the phonetic level; that is, it happens automatically in certain situations and therefore goes unperceived by speakers. A change in meaning never hinges on aspiration. An important difference between Cherokee and English is the status of voicing and aspiration. In English obstruents are in voiced/voiceless pairs: d/t, g/k, j/ch, etc. Whether or not an obstruent

is voiced is noticeable to speakers and creates differences in meaning. In Cherokee, on the other hand, none of the obstruents is voiced; unlike English, consonants come in unaspirated/aspirated pairs.⁴ A Cherokee speaker will notice aspiration or the lack thereof as this quality is linguistically significant.

Cherokee obstruents (the consonants above this line) are inherently voiceless; all of these obstruents, with the exception of /s/, /h/, and /ʔ/, have an aspirated counterpart.⁵ The consonants below the black line are sonorants. Sonorants are naturally voiced, but can be devoiced through aspiration. With the exception of the relatively rare sound /m/, which is always unaspirated, these consonants also come in aspirated and unaspirated pairs.

TABLE 1	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	k _w	t		k	ʔ
<i>ASPIRATED</i>	k ^h _w	t ^h		k ^h	
AFFRICATES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		ts/tʃ			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		t ^h s	t ^h ʃ		
FRICATIVES		s			h
LATERAL FRICATIVES		ɬ			
LATERAL AFFRICATES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		tl			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		tɬ (ɬ)			
LIQUIDS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		l			
NASALS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	m	n			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		n̥			
GLIDES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	w		y		
<i>ASPIRATED</i>	w̥		y̥		

Table 1 above shows the twenty-three distinct consonants of Cherokee using phonetic symbols. In this grammar these sounds will be written not with these symbols, but with a practical orthography found in Table 2.⁶

TABLE 2	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	kw	t		k	ʔ
<i>ASPIRATED</i>	khw	th		kh	
AFFRICATES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		j			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		ts	ch		
FRICATIVES		s			h
LATERAL FRICATIVES		hl			
LATERAL AFFRICATES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		tl			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		thl (hl)			
LIQUIDS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>		l			
NASALS					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	m	n			
<i>ASPIRATED</i>		hn			
GLIDES					
<i>UNASPIRATED</i>	w		y		
<i>ASPIRATED</i>	hw		hy		

Using a Romanized writing system for Cherokee creates some problems. An unaspirated /t/ is perceived by Cherokee speakers as closer to English <d> than <t>; at the same time, many speakers will point out that the Cherokee sound is not quite English <d>, or that it is somewhere between English <d> and <t>. This complication will be explored in the following description of Cherokee obstruents and how they are represented in this grammar's Romanized orthography.

1.1.1. Obstruents

Obstruents are sounds where the flow of air in the mouth is severely restricted or stopped. The three kinds of obstruents in Cherokee are stops, fricative, and affricates.

1.1.1.1. Stops

A stop is a sound where the airflow is blocked. The stops contrast in place of articulation and in aspiration. In some Romanized orthographies the contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops is treated as a voicing distinction.⁷ This treatment is probably due to an English-based perception of the sounds themselves; e.g. for a native English speaker an unaspirated /t/ sounds quite similar to English /d/. Certain phonological processes (explained later in this chapter) make it clear, however, that the contrast is based on aspiration. Moreover, if the contrast were based on voicing, then it would be expected that the voiceless fricative /s/ would have a voiced counterpart /z/, which it does not. The Romanized writing used in this work will follow the convention of representing unaspirated stops with the symbols representing voiceless stops English: i.e. <t> and <k>. Aspirated stops will use the same symbol followed by an <h>: i.e. <th> and <kh>.

It is important to point out, however, that <th> and <kh> could represent underlying voiceless aspirated stops or voiceless unaspirated stops that have, through a phonological processes described in Section 2.1, come into contact with /h/. The contrasts for the stops are shown below; the characters in brackets represent their phonetic value, while those following show how the sounds are represented in the Romanized script used in the current work. In (1) are examples of a minimal and near-minimal pair. Minimal pairs are pairs of words that are the same except for one sound (e.g. ‘you did it’ and ‘you hung it up’ in 1a below), and near-minimal pairs are those words that are very similar to each other except for a few differences (e.g. ‘mushroom’ and ‘hawk’ in pairs (1b)). These pairs help to establish the sounds under

investigation as separate phonemes. Phonemes are the sounds in a language that cause differences in meaning between words and that speakers perceive as significant.⁸

- 1) a. [t] t ʈʂʂ hatv̀̀ka ‘You did it.’
 [t^h] th ʈʂʂ hathv̀̀ka ‘You hung it up.’
- b. [t] t ʌʊʌ tawóoli ‘mushroom’
 [t^h] th ʌʊʌ thawóoti ‘hawk’

In (2) are examples of contrasting aspirated and unaspirated velar stops.

- 2) [k] k ʌʌ kóóla ‘winter’
 [k^h] kh ʌʌ khoóla ‘bone’

The labialized velar stops [kw] and [k^hw] are phonetically identical to clusters of velar stop and [w]. The labialized unaspirated [kw] and aspirated [k^hw] are distinguished by their interaction with processes of vowel deletion (see Section 2.2) and metathesis (see Section 2.3). The aspirated cluster is found much less frequently than its unaspirated counterpart and it is difficult to find examples of minimal or near-minimal pairs. Two examples are in (3).

- 3) /kw/ kw ʌʌʌʌ waàkweeńvsv ‘I went there.’
 /k^hw/ khw ʌʌʌʌ kaakhweenvvska ‘He’s wrapping it.’

In addition to the three pairs of stops shown above, there is a glottal stop represented by the character <ʔ>. This sound appears between vowels and less frequently between a vowel and a consonant. This sound contrasts with the glottal fricative /h/, as demonstrated in (4). These two sounds are referred to as ‘laryngeal sounds’, a term that will be explained in greater detail in Section 3.2 of this chapter.

7) [h]	h	ᎠᎹᎩᎠ	taàliíyóhiha	'He's putting on socks'
[s]	s	ᎠᎹᎩᎠ	taàliíyósiha	'He's changing socks'

The third fricative /hl/ is either a result of an /h/ coming into contact with an /l/ or it is an increasingly common pronunciation of the affricate /thl/. This pronunciation is discussed below.

1.1.1.3. Affricates

Affricates are sounds that combine the features of a stop and a fricative. In Cherokee there are five affricates that contrast in place of articulation and aspiration. As with the stops, the contrast between aspirated and unaspirated is often perceived as a voicing distinction and is therefore represented as such in the Romanized orthography. In (8) below the unaspirated form has two possible pronunciations, depending on the speaker. This grammar treats [tʂ]/[tʃ] as a single sound that has two slightly different pronunciations depending on the speaker and the dialect; both variants are written as <j>. Phonetically they are unaspirated voiceless affricates; because voiceless obstruents in English are typically aspirated, the lack of aspiration makes them sound similar to an English voiced affricate. For this reason this sound is written with a character that corresponds to a voiced affricate <j> in English. When either sound is aspirated the resulting sound is similar to the initial sound in English 'church' and is written the same way.

8) [tʂ]/[tʃ]	j
[tʰʃ]	ch

It is important to bear in mind that the unaspirated affricate written in the current orthography as <j> has two possible pronunciations, an alveolar [tʂ] or a palatal [tʃ]. (As mentioned above, to an English-speaker these sound like the voiced

[dz] for [j] , respectively.) These two pronunciations vary from speaker to speaker; the same speaker may use either pronunciation in free variation. An example is (9).

9) **GWY** [tsalaki, tʒalaki] jalaki 'Cherokee'

The aspirated counterpart of this sound is written as <ch>. This sound occurs rather infrequently.⁹ A few lexical items are listed in (10).

10) GAW	<u>ch</u> aneéla	'eight'
hZoS	<u>ch</u> inooska	'coal'
JS	<u>ch</u> uhka	'flea'
DJG	<u>ach</u> úúja	'boy'
ShZoL	<u>kach</u> inóósta	'straight'
DCo	<u>ach</u> vvyva	'male animal'
JCoJ	<u>tich</u> vysti	'marriage'

In addition to the words listed above, /ch/ occurs as a result of /j/ coming into contact with /h/ and becoming aspirated. This aspiration is the result of certain affixes (or combinations of affixes) attaching to a verb stem. In (11a) the aspirated *cha* sequence is a result of the /h/ of the verb coming in contact with the unaspirated consonant in the pronominal prefix *ja-*. (The adjacency of these sounds the result of metathesis, a phenomenon discussed in Section 2.3 of this chapter.) In (11b) and (11c) an aspirating feature on the Applicative (APL) suffix changes the /j/ to /ch/.

11) a. GAoJ	oSsP
<u>ch</u> anesti	oòk <u>at</u> uuli
<u>ja-h</u> nest-i	ookii- <u>at</u> uuliha
2B-speak:DVN-NOM2	1B.PL.EX-want:PRC
'We want for you to speak it.'	

b. **LYƏLVF**

takintlecheé*li*
 ta-kinii-atlej-eél-i
 FUT-1B.DL-take.revenge:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘He will take revenge on us.’

c. **DhəSəhB**

aàjiiskánv̀̀vchiiisi
 aji-skánv̀̀vj-iisi
 3O-commit.sin:CMP-APL:IMM
 ‘She fouled her.’ (Lady Indians Championship)

The two lateral affricates, as shown in (12) are also distinguished in this grammar’s orthography by the /h/ on the aspirated consonant. /tʎ/ is a combination of the stop /t/ and the lateral liquid /l/; /thl/ is a combination of the stop /t/ with lateral fricative [ʎ].¹⁰

12) [tʎ] tʎ
 [ʎ] thl (or[ʎ] hʎ for most Oklahoma speakers)

A sound change occurring in Oklahoma Cherokee has changed most /tʎ/ sounds to a /ʎ/. (See Section 4 for further discussion of this change and how it is reflected in the syllabary.) Because of this sound change there are two different types of [ʎ] sound: one sound is a cluster of /h/ and /l/, and the other is a weakened version of the aspirated lateral affricate /thl/. As with the labialized velars /kw/ and /khw/, their separate identity as distinctive sounds is established through their behavior relative to vowel deletion and metathesis. For example, in (13) the underlying form of the verb stem is *-alikhhothtita*; this stem is shown on the third line of the analysis. All verbs appear with a person prefix: a unit that attaches to the front that indicates who is involved with the action of the verb. Because of vowel deletion (described in Section 2.2) that occurs with the third person prefix, the /l/ and

/h/ are brought together; as a result, the conjugated verb in (13b) has [ɬ]. This sound is written as <hl>.

13) a. **SPʌʃɪ**
 kaliikhohthíha
 ji-alikhohthíha
 1A-shatter:PRC
 ‘I’m shattering it.’

b. **DPʌʃɪ**
 aahlkhohthíha [aàɬkot^htíha]
 a-alikhohthíha
 3A-shatter:PRC
 ‘She’s shattering it.’

In (14) is an example of a minimal pair that contrasts /hl/ and /thl/; the syllabary spelling is identical.

14) a. **YC** kiihli ‘dog’
 b. **YC** kiithli ‘strand of hair’

1.1.2. Sonorants

Sonorants are sounds that are inherently voiced and, unlike stops, fricatives, and affricates, are produced with little obstruction of the airflow. The liquid /l/, the nasals /n/ and /m/, and the glides /w/ and /y/ are all sonorants. The sonorants are ordinarily voiced, but, with the important exception of /m/, are devoiced when in contact with /h/.¹¹ As with other sounds it is difficult to find minimal pairs, but there are enough near minimal pairs to justify dividing aspirated and aspirated sonorants into different phonemes. The pair in (15) shows the contrast between [hṅ] ~ [ṅ] (written as <hn>) and [n] (written as <n>). The combination <hn> may sound like the devoiced [ṅ] with

a whispering-like [h] in front of it or simply a devoiced [ɲ̥]. This pronunciation difference depends on the speaker or how carefully it is articulated.

15) [h̥], [ɲ̥]	hn	EL	kvvhna	‘He is alive.’
[n]	n	Eθ	kívna	‘turkey’

In word-final position sonorants are often devoiced as well; they are not written with /h/ as this change is predictable.

The devoiced sonorants have a more restricted distribution than the aspirated obstruents. Whereas all of the aspirated obstruents appear word-initially (albeit infrequently), only the voiceless [ɣ̥] appears at the beginning of lexical items. There are only a few examples of this, some of which are listed in (16).

16) a.	θLθ	hyahtheéna	‘board’
b.	θVC	hyahthóóhli	‘narrow’
c.	βSP	hyehkahli	‘quilt’

1.1.2.1. Liquids

The only liquid in Cherokee is produced by allowing the air to flow in a relatively unobstructed fashion along both sides of the tongue. Compared to the other sonorants, the liquid /l/ changes significantly when it is in contact with /h/. In addition to being devoiced, the resulting sound is produced with a greater restriction of air and is therefore considered a fricative.¹² The lateral liquid /l/ is contrasted with the lateral fricative in (17).

17) [l]	l	DPɬ	aaliíyo	[aaliíyo]	‘sock’
[ɬ]	hl	DCG	aàhliilo	[aàɬiilo]	‘He’s measuring it.’

1.1.2.2. Nasals

In Cherokee there are two nasal sounds; they contrast by place of articulation. Two examples are shown in (18).

18) [m]	m	ᄎᄎᄎ	kaákáma	‘cucumber’
[n]	n	ᄎᄎᄎ	aàkanaát i	‘He is licking it.’

The bilabial nasal /m/ does not cluster with /h/; moreover, this sound is rare and occurs in only a small set of words. This sound never appears at the beginning of a native Cherokee word and only appears at the end of one word *kham* ‘now then, come then!’ In addition to the small set of native words, /m/ also appears more commonly as borrowed words and names from English. Some of these words are listed in (19).

19) ᄎᄎ	ama	‘water’
ᄎᄎ	áama	‘salt’
ᄎᄎᄎ	uúkáma	‘soup’
ᄎᄎᄎ	amayv́v	‘near the water’
ᄎᄎᄎᄎ	améekwóóʔi	‘ocean’
ᄎᄎᄎ	tlaameeha	‘bat’
ᄎᄎᄎ	thamaahli	‘tomato’
ᄎᄎᄎ	khamaama	‘elephant, butterfly’
ᄎᄎᄎ	taamáka	‘horsefly’
ᄎᄎᄎᄎ	ookalaahoóma	‘Oklahoma’
ᄎᄎ	meéli	‘Mary’
ᄎᄎᄎ	kheémíli	‘camel’
ᄎᄎ	maáki	‘Maggie’

1.1.2.3. Glides

Glides are similar to fricatives in that the air flows continuously through the mouth; unlike fricatives, the flow of the airflow is not very restricted. . The two glides

contrast in their place of articulation: in /w/ the airflow is slightly restricted by the limits, while for/y/ it is restricted near the roof of the mouth, or palate. A near minimal pair is shown in (20).

20) [w]	w	ᵂᵂᵂᵂ	wiᵂjiyaʔa	‘Ya’ll are inside here.’
[y]	y	ᵂᵂᵂᵂ	yijiyəʔa	‘I could be in there.’

1.2. VOWELS

There are five oral vowels and one nasal vowel. For the oral vowels the air flows out of the mouth, while for nasal vowels the air flows out of the nose. They are distinguished by how open the mouth is (height), how far back the tongue is (backness), if the lips are rounded or not. The distinctiveness of vowels is established by the existence of minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs. True minimal pairs, such as in (21), are hard to find in Cherokee as there is frequently a difference in length and tone as well.

21) a.	/a/ a	ᵂᵂ	hata	‘Say it!’
b.	/i/ i	ᵂᵂ	hita	‘Lay it down (something long)!’

The two front vowels /i/ and /e/ contrast by height as shown in the near-minimal pairs in (22).

22) a.	/i/ i	ᵂᵂ	hita	‘Lay it down (something long)!’
	/e/ e	ᵂᵂ	heéta	‘You just went.’
b.	/i/ i	ᵂᵂ	kiíka	‘blood’
	/e/ e	ᵂᵂ	kéeka	‘I’m going’

The three back vowels /u/, /o/, and /a/ contrast by backness and rounding. A minimal pair for /u/ and /o/ is given in (23).

- 23) /u/ u **ʊ** **ʊ** **β** **h** uuwoyééni 'his, her hand'
 /o/ o **ʊ** **ʊ** **β** **h** oowoyééni 'one's hand'

Near minimal pairs contrasting /a/ with /u/ and /a/ with /o/ are shown in (24) and (25).

- 24) /a/ a **D** **Y** **ʊ** **J** akiĩsti 'something to eat'
 /u/ u **ʊ** **Y** **ʊ** **J** uukiĩsti 'for him, her to eat it'

- 25) /a/ a **ʊ** **ʌ** **S** wiĩnéeka 'We are going there.'
 /o/ o **ʊ** **ʌ** **A** wiĩnéeko 'We go (habitually) there.'

The two high vowels /i/ and /u/ contrast by backness and rounding. A minimal pair is given in (26).

- 26) a. /i/ i **ɪ** **T** **L** jiʔiíta 'I just had it in my hand'
 b. /u/ u **ʊ** **ʊ** **L** jiʔuúta 'I just put (something long) into water.'

The three mid vowels contrast by backing and rounding. This contrast appears with the final suffixes that are used to indicate the time frame of verbs. In (27) below is an example of three conjugations of the verb 'to be hungry' that are distinguished by different mid vowels. (The first two examples are distinguished by the degree of certainty; the first is an event that the speaker did not witness, while the second she did. These distinctions are discussed in Chapter 5.)

- 27) a. /e/ e **ɛ** **ɛ** **ʊ** **T** jayóosiiskééʔi 'You were hungry.'
 b. /o/ o **ɛ** **ɛ** **ʊ** **A** jayóosiiskóoʔi 'You are hungry (habitually)'
 c. /v/ v **ɛ** **ɛ** **ʊ** **E** jayóosiiskv́ʔi 'You were hungry (I was there).'

The phonetic symbols for the vowels are shown in Table 3. The two shaded boxes represent vowels where the lips are rounded. The representation of the vowels used in this grammar is in Table 4.

TABLE 3

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	e	ẽ	o
LOW			a

TABLE 4

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	e	v	o
LOW			a

Two of the back vowels have lip-rounding, but less so than their English counterparts. All the vowels, with the exception of the mid-central vowel, are tense. The character <v> is used to represent a mid-central vowel. This vowel is nasalized, although it is often denasalized in fast speech. Word-final vowels are nasalized, but this is often not apparent as many of the final vowels are dropped in everyday speech. There are a few words whose final vowels seem to remain intact; in such cases the nasalization is clear. Two examples are in (28). Munro states that vowels also are nasalized after a nasal consonant (1996:48).

- 28) a. **CV** wato [watō] ‘Thank you’
 b. **FG** howa [howā] ‘OK’

Short vowels preceding /h/ are devoiced. Because these processes are automatic, the symbols representing devoicing and nasalization are not used in the Romanized script unless they warrant special attention. Both devoicing and word-final nasalization are exemplified in (29).

29) **JSVJ**

tikatóhti
 [tikatɔhtĩ]
 ‘curtains’

Vowels are found in initial, medial, and final position. The vowel /v/ occurs rarely word-initially in lexical items; it does appear word-initially in the Object Focus forms (see Chapter 4) and as a variant of the Iterative prepronominal prefix *ii-* (See Chapter 6). However, this vowel is frequently found at the end of words, especially in everyday spoken Cherokee, because of the high frequency of the Experienced Past suffix (EXP)–*vʋʋʋi* whose final vowel is so frequently deleted.

Even more infrequent word-initially is the vowel /o/; it only appears at the beginning of a small amount of lexical items, but it does appear at the beginning of all pronominal prefixes referring to exclusive persons. All vowels are found at the end of words, especially due to the habitual dropping of the final vowel in everyday speech. (30) is a list of words containing the six vowels in initial position.

30) [a]	a	Dᵂ	aya	‘I’
[e]	e	Rᵂ	eloohi	‘earth’
[i]	i	Tᵂ	iiya	‘pumpkin’
[o]	o	ᵂᵂ	oohla	‘soap’
[u]	u	ᵂᵂ	uusti	‘baby’
[v]	v	iᵂ	vvtaali	‘pond’

Some of the vowels are written twice to indicate they are pronounced twice as long. Vowel length will be discussed in the following section.

1.2.1. Length

Vowels are either long or short; a long vowel takes approximately twice as long to pronounce as its short counterpart.¹³ In the Romanized writing system in this work, length is represented by writing the vowel twice. There are very few minimal

pairs that are based solely on vowel length. One clear exception is with the pronominal prefixes where a long vowel can indicate an animate object. One such minimal pair is given below in (31), for more discussion of vowel length and animacy, see Chapter 4.

- 31) [i] i **ɪrAC.ɪʔ** jikowhthíha 'I am seeing it.'
 [i:] ii **ɪrAC.ɪʔ** jiikowhthíha 'I am seeing him/her.'

Short vowels often surface as lax vowels, especially in fast speech. A short /a/ is lax and is similar to a mid-central vowel [ə]. Short /u/ in particular, already not strongly rounded, can also approach the sound [ə]. Short /i/ often surfaces as [ɪ]. Examples are in (32).

- 32) a. **ʒG WY ɔ**
 hijalakis [hɪjalakɪs]
 hi-jalaki=s
 2A-Cherokee=Q
 'Are you Cherokee?'
- b. **GθJθR ɔ**
 janatiínv̀̀̀svs [jənətiínv̀̀̀svs]
 ja-natiínv̀̀̀s-v́́́i=s
 2B-sell:CMP-EXP=Q
 'Did you sell it?'

A few stems start with an abstract feature that lengthens the vowel of a prefix attached to it.¹⁴ This feature is represented by the symbol <xx>. Two examples of the effect of this feature on attached prefixes are in (33) below. In both cases the normally short vowel appears as a long vowel when attached to these stems.

33) a. **ᐃᐅᐅ**
 hiiyeéwa
 hi-xyeéwa
 2A-sew:IMM
 ‘You sewed it.’

b. **ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ**
 hiijalkíisko
 hi-xxjalkíisk-ó?i
 2A-rip:INC-HAB
 ‘You rip it.’

Scancarelli (1987:46) states that underlying long final vowels are rare. Such vowels cannot be deleted. They surface as short vowels with nasalization and often become devoiced at the end of the articulation. The presence of a clitic, however, will reveal the underlying length of the word-final vowel. A clitic is an element that is similar to a suffix in that it always attaches to the end of a word; it differs from a suffix in that it can attach to any part of speech (suffixes are indicated by a dash(-), clitics by an equal (=) sign). Clitics are discussed in Chapter 3.

There exist several different ways for vowel length to be represented orthographically. Many purely pedagogical works simply ignore the distinction; others (Scancarelli 1987, Holmes 1977) distinguish a long vowel with a colon. In the *Feeling dictionary* (1975) a short vowel is distinguished by a dot underneath it. In this work a simple doubling of the vowel is preferred to avoid unusual symbols within the word. This convention is used by Pamela Munro and her students in the *UCLA papers* (1996). These papers use a practical orthography with double vowels to indicate length and accents to indicate tone. Such a system treats vowel length in a straightforward manner: a short [u] is written as <u> and a long [u:] is written as <uu>. An advantage of this system is that it allows vowels with contour tone to be seen as two segments of the same vowel, but with each segment having its own tone. For example, the long vowel [o:] with a rising tone is written as <òó>; i.e. an [o] with

low tone followed by an [o] with high tone. The system of vowel –doubling to represent vowel length also makes it easier to understand the role of moras in different types of tone changes. A mora is a unit of syllabic weight; a long vowel is heavier than a short vowel. A long vowel consists of two moras (and is written with two vowels), while a short vowel consists of one mora (and is written with one vowel).

The alternative to writing two vowels is to use a special symbol to indicate if a given vowel is long or short. Pulte and Feeling (1975), for example, treat long vowels as the default form of the vowel and write them with a single character, whereas short vowels are treated as different and are indicated by a vowel with a dot under it. The disadvantage of this system is that it is both asymmetrical (short vowels are treated as the ‘unusual’ segment), but it also introduces another unfamiliar symbol into the system.

The vowel doubling system is that same as that in Munro (1996). It should be pointed out that converting from Munro’s system to the Pulte and Feeling system is straightforward, as both systems offer the same analysis of vowel length and tone.

1.2.2. Tone

In addition to length, vowels also carry tone.¹⁵ Cherokee is a pitch accent language with two level tones, low and high, and four contour tones: rising, falling, lowfall and highfall.¹⁶ The traditional Cherokee writing system does not reflect the suprasegmental features of length and tone. The representation of tone used in this paper is an adaptation of the system that Pamela Munro and her students used in the UCLA papers; the names for the tones come from these papers as well (Munro 1996:12). The chief difference between the system in this work and the UCLA work is that the latter marked every vowel with an accent. In this grammar it is assumed that the low tone is the default tone and is therefore left unmarked.¹⁷

A level tone is a tone that remains at a constant pitch. In Cherokee there are two level tones. These high and low tones can appear on all vowels, long or short. In

(34) the two examples of low tone do not receive any special marking as it is considered the most common or default tone.

34) a. Short vowel, low tone

ᵱᵂᵀ yansi 'buffalo'

b. Long vowel, low tone

ᵂᵀ kiihli 'dog'

An accent over a vowel indicates high tone on that vowel. In (35a) all the vowels are low tone except for the second to last vowel. The two examples in (35b) have long vowels with a high tone. If high tone vowel is a long vowel, only the first vowel will have the accent mark; the vowel that follows the unaccented vowel is assumed to also have a high tone.

35) a. Short vowel, high tone

ᵱᵂᵀ.ᵱᵂᵀ hihthayoohíha 'You are asking for something.'

b. Long vowel, high tone

Eᵀ kývna 'turkey'

Aᵂ khóoka 'crow'

The high and low tones are level tone- tones that stay at the same pitch throughout the pronunciation of the vowel. In addition to these two level tones Cherokee also has four contour tones. A contour tone is a tone that changes pitch. Two of these contour tones are analyzed as combinations of the two level tones. Because they are composed of two tones, these contour tones only occur on long vowels. A long vowel has a rising tone if the first vowel is low and the second vowel is high. Several examples of a rising tone are in (36).

36)	ʂL	kaáta	‘soil, land’
	fiθ	yoóna	‘bear’
	ʒr	waáji	‘watch’

In the examples above the first vowel is low (and therefore unmarked) and the second is high. Lindsey (1987:14) points out that English loan words have a rising tone where the stress in the English word falls; this phenomenon is exemplified in (37).

37)	θP	wiíli	‘Will’
	θθ	khaáhwi	‘coffee’
	ʒr	waáji	‘watch’
	riH	jiísa	‘Jesus’
	ðʂWfʂ	ookalaahoóma	‘Oklahoma’
	θP	meéli	‘Mary’
	rHP	kheémíli	‘camel’
	ʂy	maáki	‘Maggie’

The least common tone in Cherokee is the falling tone. This contour tone occurs on long vowels where the first vowel has a high tone and the second vowel a low tone. This tone is represented using an acute and a grave accent mark as shown in (38).

38)	θθJ	nvvwóòthi	‘medicine’
	riθAʂ	jiískóòkwo	‘robin’
	YGS	khiyúùka	‘chipmunk’

Both the rising and the falling tones are tones composed of individual level tones. In addition to these two tones, there are two more tones that start at the same level as the level tones but then rise or fall out of the range of the level tones. These two tones are the highfall and lowfall tones. The term ‘highfall’ comes from Munro (1996); other authors have referred to this tone as a superhigh (Lindsey 1985, 1987)), but Haag (2001:414) points out that ‘Tone 4 [highfall] is not so much an acoustic

superhigh as it is a highfall: Tone 4 always occurs with a following low, and is really the contour High-Low.¹⁸ The highfall tone is used mainly on adjectives as well as on adverbials and most nouns that are derived from verbs. It does not appear on verbs that are not subordinate to another element. Like the other contour tones, this tone is only found on underlying long vowels. In situations where there is no long vowel to bear this tone, it is usually pronounced as a high tone.¹⁹ Because this tone typically is towards the end of the word, and because in everyday speech the end of the word is dropped off, the highfall can appear at the end of the shortened word as a slightly higher final tone; this issue will be addressed in its own section below. The highfall tone is only found on the rightmost long vowel of the word. It is represented by an accent on both vowels. In (39) there are three adjectives with the highfall tone.

39) RT	<u>é</u> é <u>k</u> wa	‘large, huge’
DYΘ	ak <u>í</u> <u>í</u> na	‘young’
SP	kaak <u>é</u> <u>é</u> ta	‘heavy’

The highfall tone has an important role in Cherokee grammar that distinguishes it from the other tones. When a highfall appears on a verb it changes its role in the sentence. An example is in (40). In this example a backslash followed by the abbreviation SUB indicates that a tone change is indicating subordination of the verb ‘tell’ to the noun ‘man.’ The backslash appears after the specific part of the word where it appears; in this case it changes the normal high tone of the Habitual suffix (HAB) to a highfall tone. The highfall is always present on the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) suffix -ʋʋna that is found at the end of the verb ‘to believe’ on the second line.

40) AT ⊙ J	h ⊙ Z ⊙ AT
kohúústi	jikhanoohesk <u>ó</u> óʋi
kohúústi	ji-ka-hnoohesk-óʋi
something	REL-3A-tell:INC-HAB\SUB

DᵛSᵛ	ᵛV.ᵛGRᵛ	FᵛT
askaya	nuutoohiyuusᵛᵛna	keeso
a-skaya	ni-uu-ataa-oohiyuus-ᵛᵛna	kees-óʔi
3A-man	PRT-3B-MDL-believe-NDV	be:INC-HAB
‘The man who tells the story is sometimes unbelievable.’		

Another common tone change is used on verbs in the Incomplete stem; this tone change indicates that the verb been turned into a noun indicating a person or thing that performs the action of the verb. The tone change is indicated by the abbreviation AGT (‘Agentive’) after the backslash. Two examples are in (41). In (41a) the tone appears on the verb stem itself since this is where the rightmost long vowel of the word is located. In (41b) the rightmost long vowel is on the long vowel of the pronominal prefix

41) a. **JᵛSᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
tikateèyóóhvski
ti-ji-at-eèhyóóhvs-k-i
DST2-1A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
‘I’m a teacher.’

b. **JᵛhJᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
juunííkhustaʔi
ti-uunii-khustaʔ-i
DST2-3B.PL\AGT-support:INC-NOM
‘fans, supporters’ (Lady Indians Championship)

The tone change indicated by the backslash is in the majority of cases a highfall, but other tones do appear. It is possible that the other tones may influenced by the surrounding tones. This area of Cherokee phonology is incompletely understood at present and requires further investigation.

The abbreviations in (42) will be used after a backslash to indicate a tone change. These tone changes will be discussed in detail in the relevant sections.

42) Tone change abbreviations

\AGT	agentive derivation from Incompletive stem
\MOD	modal (ability or obligation)
\OBJ	object derivation from Deverbal Noun stem
\SUB	subordination

Another contour tone, the lowfall tone, starts as a low tone and drops lower.²⁰ Like all contour tones, this tone only occurs on long vowels. As exemplified in (43), it is indicated by a grave accent on the second vowel.

- 43) a. **ᵒᵒ** nv̀̀ya ‘rock’
 b. **Rᵓ** sv̀̀ki ‘onion’

Even though the grave accent is used to represent two different tones, in both cases it is only used on the second character on a long vowel and it is used to indicate the tone is lower than the preceding character in the long vowel. (44a) shows a lowfall, and (44b) is an example of the falling tone.²¹

- 44) a. Lowfall: **ᵒᵒ** nv̀̀ya ‘rock’
 b. Falling: **ᵒᵒᵓ** nvvwó̀̀thi ‘medicine’

If the vowel lengthening feature (discussed in the previous section on length) has a tone associated with it, then this tone will appear on the lengthened vowel of the pronominal prefix. In the citation form the tone is indicated on the symbol <xx> that indicates the vowel-lengthening feature; two examples are in (45).

- 45) a. **ᵓᵓᵓ**
 híiᵓthliisiíha
 hi-ᵓxthliisiíha
 2A-gather:PRC
 ‘You’re gathering it.’

- b. **oġrCB†**
 ooǰíithliisiíha
 ooǰii-ǰxthliisiíha
 1A.PL.EX-gather:PRC
 ‘We are gathering it.’

Another special symbol is associated with some adjectives that carry a highfall tone on whatever the rightmost long vowel of the word is. This tone specification is indicated by the symbol <ǰ> at the beginning of the adjective. An example is in (46). Adjectives will be discussed in Chapter 8. In the example below the highfall tone appears on the vowel of the pronominal prefix *uuníi-*, a vowel that normally has a low tone. A pronominal prefix indicates a person, in this case third person plural ‘they.’ These prefixes are the topic of Chapter 4.

- 46) a. **JhǰTSC**
 juuníiskwakahli
 ti-uunii-ǰskwakahli
 DST2-3B.PL-striped
 ‘striped, they are striped’ (Chapter 9.2:28)

- b. **DhW**
 aníítha
 anii-ǰtha
 3A.PL-young.woman
 ‘young women’

If the stem starts with a vowel then this vowel will carry the double accent; it should be kept in mind, however, that the highfall will appear on a vowel other than the vowel it is written on because it can’t appear on a short vowel. In (47a) the final vowel /ii/ of the pronominal prefix *uuníi-* deletes before the initial /a/ of the stem to which it attaches, while the highfall tone shifts to the rightmost long vowel of the

word; in this case the vowel /uu/ of the pronominal prefix. In (47b) it is the initial /a/ that deletes, but the highfall still shifts to the rightmost long vowel.

47) a. $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{W}\text{O}$

júúnathana
ti-uunii-áthana
DST2-3B.PL-big
'big'

b. $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{W}\text{O}$

úúthana
uu-áthana
3B-big
'big'

The eight possible length and tone combinations are represented in (48)

48) Cherokee vowels: length and tone

e short low
ee long low
é short high
ée long high
eé rising
éè falling
eè lowfall
éé highfall

All of the above combinations are written in the syllabary as **R**. The syllabary will be discussed at greater length in Section 4. A set of words that differ only in tone is given below in (49).

TABLE 6

	“winter”	“bone”
Syllabary	AW	AW
Pulte/Feeling	go ⁴ la	koo ²³ la
Scancarelli	ko ^ˀ :la	khö:la
UCLA	góola	kòóla
Holmes/Smith	go:-la	go:-la
Montgomery-Anderson	kóóla	khoóla

In Table 6 Scancarelli uses an <h> to indicate aspiration; in the other orthographies this aspiration is indicated with a corresponding voiceless character. This grammar will follow Scancarelli’s usage.

1.2.3. Final Vowels

The word-final vowel in a Cherokee word is typically unmarked for tone because it receives the final stress and predictably has a high tone that is slightly higher than a normal high tone. This slight rise above the level of the high tone is what Lindsey has analyzed as ‘upstep’ (1985:12).²² If the underlying final vowel has been dropped (as happens in casual speech), then the new final syllable will receive this final stress; the tone and nasality, however, will stay the same. Because of this difference it is necessary to use terms reflecting these two kinds of final vowels. The term ‘word-final vowel’ is used to refer to the vowels at the end of the full form of the word, whereas ‘final vowel’ simply indicates whatever vowel happens to be at the end of the shortened word. Several examples of this distinction are in (50). In the first example the first and third word appear in their full form and have the typical word-final high tone and stress. The final vowel in the second word is stressed, but its tone is that of its underlying vowel, in this case a high tone. The fourth word has a highfall tone that is shortened; this slightly higher tone is indicated by the double accent on a

single vowel. This shortened highfall is also indicated at the end of the shortened word in (50b).

50) a. **ᑭᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑭᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲ**
 wúúniiluhja uùniikoohe soókwíli káʔnʔ
 wi-uunii-luhj-a uunii-kooh-éʔi soókwíli ka-ʔn-ʔvʔi
 TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:CMPTAV 3B.PL-see:CMPTAV horse 3A-lie:CMPTAV
 ‘...when they arrived they saw the horse lying.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:354)

b. **ᑲᑲᑲ**
 jakoohwthí
 ji-a-koohwthííha
 REL-3A-see:PRC\SUB
 ‘who he sees’

As will be seen throughout this grammar, many words receive a highfall tone on the second to last syllable. If the last vowel of the word is dropped, as in the two examples in (50), the shortened highfall tone is heard as a slightly higher than normal high tone. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish the shortened high tone and the normal high tone; often the final vowel is devoiced and sounds like a whisper. In this grammar the distinction will be made, since these shortened highfalls are almost always indicating a verb that is subordinated to another verb. Two more examples of the double-accented final vowel are in (51).

51) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 jikintuuliiskó atlatíithla
 ji-kinii-atuuliisk-óʔi atlatíithla
 REL-1B.DL-want:INC-HAB\SUB car
 ‘The car we want.’

- b. **DhSBP** **FESKO**
 aniikayv́li keekhtéejóhnv́
 anii-kayv́li keekii-vhtéej-óhn-v́ʔi
 3A.PL-elder 3PL/1PL-depart.in.death:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB
 ‘When the elders leave us...’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

The attachment of clitics to the end of a word may alter the final tone and stress of the word. Clitics are like suffixes in that they cannot stand alone, while at the same time they are less tightly bound to the word than a suffix. Throughout this grammar the attachment of a prefix or a suffix to a base will be indicated by a dash (-), while the attachment of a clitic will be indicated by an equal sign (=). Because clitics are less attached to the word, their effect on the final vowel is less predictable than with suffixes. A suffix is considered part of the word, so the last suffix to attach to a word receives this final stress. For this reason the final vowel of a clitic (and clitics always came at the end of the word) will be assumed to be a short low tone unless otherwise marked. The final vowel of the word to which the clitic is attaching- normally unmarked- will be marked for tone. An example is in (52); this phenomenon will be discussed more in Chapter 3.

- 52) **OPZ** **SLOhAT**
 meélíhnoo túutaanv́neelv́ʔi
 meéli=hnoo tee-ii-uu-ataat-nv́neel-v́ʔi
 Mary=CN DST-ITR-3B-RFL-give:CMP-EXP
 ‘And Mary gave them right back to him.’ (Scancarelli 1987:88)

As will be seen in Chapter 5, the Immediate stem is one of the five forms of the verb; it expresses either a command or an event that took place in the immediate past. These two usages are distinguished by a higher tone on the final vowel, indicated by the accent; an example is in (53a). This higher final tone is indicated in the analysis line with the abbreviation (COM). The vowel on the immediate past form in (53b) is the normal high tone found on final vowels.

53) a. **RᵒEB**
 eeskhvsi
 ee-ski-hvsi
 CSI-2/1-give(solid):IMM(COM)
 ‘Pass me it.’

b. **YWᵒ DYᵒB**
 khilákwu aàkihvsi
 khila=kwu aki-hvsi
 just.now=DT 1B-give(solid):IMM
 ‘She (just) gave it to me’

The command use of the Immediate stem is indicated by the abbreviation (COM) in the morpheme analysis. The five different verb stems will be discussed in Chapter 5.

1.3. DIPHTHONGS

The most typical shape for a Cherokee syllable is consonant followed by vowel, or CV. A diphthong is a combination of a vowel and a glide. If the syllable has a glide /y/ or /w/ at the end a diphthong results. In (54) are listed some of the words containing the diphthong /uy/.

54) SMᵒᵒJ	kaluùysti	‘bed bug’
SMᵒᵒL	kaluysta	‘axe’
DJᵒᵒJ	aàjuuysti	‘light’

In (55) there are a few of the handful of words containing the /oy/ diphthong.

55) SΛᵒᵒS	kaneesóòyka	‘It’s hailing.’
JᵒᵒVβJ	tiilstooyti	‘scissors.’
VYhᵒᵒVβS	toòkiniihvístóòyka	‘We were sneezing.’

(56) contains examples of the /ew/ diphthong.

56) LᵒEFᵒB	tayiikvkvheewsi	‘We will forget.’
ShβᵒRᵒ	tuùniieewsvs	‘Did they sew them?’

In casual speech the dropping of a final vowel can result in a diphthong. In such cases the syllabary character representing the appropriate underlying syllable is used, as exemplified in (57).

- 57) a. **SPKS** **VʌJʌ**
 kahljoóte toóytitla
 kahljoóte toóyi titla
 house outside+towards
 ‘around the outside of the house’
- b. **DʌSʌ**
 askay
 askaya
 ‘man’

For some speakers a common diphthong in casual speech is created by the reduction of the clitic =kwu ‘only, just’ to =w, seen in (58).

- 58) **YWʌ** **GhS**
 khilaw jaàhnik
 khila=kwu ji-a-ahnika
 just.now=DT REL-3A-leave:IMM
 ‘Just now only he left.’

1.4. BORROWED SOUNDS

The sound [f] was borrowed and nativized in many early loanwords as /hw/, because this native sound has the features of voiceless, labial, and fricative. An example is (59)

- 59) **ʌʌ** khaáhwi ‘coffee’
RʌH eéhwísa ‘Ephesians’

In like manner [b] and [p] were borrowed and became a bilabial glide /w/ or the labialized velars /kw/ and /khw/; the Cherokee sounds are close to the target sounds by being labial. Two examples are listed in (60).

60) Dᵒᵗᵗh	askwááni	‘Mexican’ (from Spanish <i>español</i>)
Cᵗ	wahka	‘cow’ (from Spanish <i>vaca</i>)

There are several words with non-Cherokee sounds that have become part of the Cherokee lexicon. Examples of /b/ and /p/ are found in (61). Both examples also display the extremely common pattern of nativizing nouns through suffixation of *-i*.

61) aataamoo <i>pi</i> íli	‘automobile’ (Scancarelli 1987:24)
bv <i>́</i> si	‘bus’

2. PHONOLOGICAL RULES

Many phonological changes in Cherokee are triggered by the so-called ‘intrusive h.’ Other phonological processes occur when vowels combine or when final vowels are nasalized. In fast speech many words are reduced by deleting final vowels. These processes will be explained in the following section.

2.1. ASPIRATION

The glottal fricative /h/ triggers several changes in pronunciation. These changes depend on its position in the word. /h/ can appear between vowels as shown in (62).

62) a. ᵗᵒᵗ	tlaameehe	‘bat’
b. ᵗᵒᵗ	kataahv	‘dirty’

/h/ can also appear word-initially as seen in (63).

63) a. ᵗᵒ	haatl <i>v</i>	‘where’
b. ᵗᵒᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ	hiikaàthoóstíi <i>ya</i>	‘You’re looking at him.’

The glottal fricative /h/ can also occur before and after consonants. In (64a) the /h/ appears before a stop, in (64b) the /h/ appears before a glide. This /h/ is referred to in the literature on Cherokee as an ‘intrusive h.’ It is considered intrusive because it is usually not represented in the syllabary. (The ‘non-intrusive’ /h/ in the syllable onset position is fully represented in the syllabary as **Ꮔ** ha **Ꮖ** he **Ꮗ** hi **Ꮘ** ho **Ꮙ** hu **Ꮚ** hv) The syllabary character **M** represents the sound /lu/; in (64a) a speaker literate in the syllabary would know the pronunciation in this particular word is /luh/. The intrusive /h/ in this case is at the end of the syllable. In like manner in (64b) the symbol **Ꮝ** represents the sound /ya/ although in this context (i.e. as part of a speaker’s knowledge of the correct pronunciation of this particular word) it is pronounced as /hya/. In this second example the intrusive h is at the beginning of the syllable.

- 64) a. **ᏊᏁᏍᏏ** ù̀nillúhjv ‘they arrived’
 b. **ᏍᏁᏊ** akeéhya ‘woman’

If the consonant that /h/ appears after is an unaspirated stop, the combination of the two will result in a surface aspirated stop. These aspirated stops are represented as shown below in Table 7.

TABLE 7: UNASPIRATED AND ASPIRATED OBSTRUENTS

Unaspirated Obstruents		Aspirated Obstruents	
Phonetic Representation	Orthography in this grammar	Phonetic Representation	Orthography in this grammar
[t]	<t>	[t ^h]	<th>
[k]	<k>	[k ^h]	<kh>
[kw]	<kw>	[k ^h w̥]	<khw>
[ts/tʃ]	<j>	[t ^h s], [t ^h ʃ]	<ts>, <ch>
[tʎ]	<tʎ>	[tʎ ^h]	<thʎ>

The phoneme /j/ is an unaspirated affricate. If it is aspirated it will be either [t^hs] or [t^hʃ], depending on the environment; these phonemes are written as <ts> and <ch>, respectively. If it is followed by a vowel, the resulting aspirated affricate will be <ch>, as shown in (64a); if it is followed by another obstruent, the pronunciation for many speakers will be [t^hs] as in (65b). The first word in (65a) also contains an example of the aspiration of a stop.

65) a. $\text{ʔ}\mathbf{A}\mathbf{Y}\text{ʔ}$ $\mathbf{h}\text{ʔ}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{?}\mathbf{J}\text{ʔ}\mathbf{E}$
 khaneekis chiiyalinohehtiskv
 ka-hneeki=s ji-hii-ali-nohehtisk-vʔʔi
 3A-answer:IMM=Q REL-2A.AN-MDL-speak:INC-EXP
 ‘Did he answer when you were speaking to him?’ (Feeling 1975a:139)

b. $\mathbf{G}\mathbf{P}\mathbf{S}$
tstlʔvka
 ja-htlʔvka
 2B-be.sick:PRC
 ‘You’re sick’

2.2. VOWEL DELETION

In Cherokee there is an important phonological rule whereby a short vowel with low tone will be deleted in certain environments. This phenomenon has been described by King (1975:41-42) and (Cook 1979:7-8) and is the topic of articles by Flemming (1996) and Munro (1996). This rule is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Unaspirated consonant: t, k, j, w, y, n, kw, l	<u>Short vowel</u> a, e, i, o, u, v	h	Plosive or Vowel
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A plosive is a stop or affricate. If a plosive or a vowel is at the end of the sequence described above the vowel will delete. An immediate consequence of this vowel

deletion is the adjacency of the unaspirated consonant with the /h/; in this new environment the plosives /t/ and /k/ will be pronounced as [t^h] and [k^h] (represented orthographically as <th> and <kh>). In table 8 this process is exemplified with the verb ‘to be sick.’

Table 8: Vowel deletion for first person present conjugation of ‘to be sick’

	DYPS aàktlívka ‘I’m sick’ [aàk ^h t _l ívḳa]
3. [k]+[h] = [k ^h] <k> + <h> = <kh>	aàk ^h tlívka
2. vowel deletion	aàk ^h htlívka
1. First Person Set B + Verb	aàki + htlívka

The Set B first person prefix attaches to the stem, resulting in the combination *gihtl* shown in the box. The short vowel deletes in this environment, bringing the unaspirated stop and /h/ together, resulting in an aspirated stop [k^h], written in this grammar as <k>.

In the example in (66) the /h/ precedes a vowel; in this case, the Future prefix *ta-* and the pronominal prefix *hi-* fuse as a result of vowel deletion to form <thi>.

66) lta+ lhi = lthi
l h b
 thihívsi [t^hihívsi]
 ta-hi-hívsi
 FUT-2A-set.down: CMP-MOT
 ‘You will set it down.’

In (67) the Set B second person prefix *ja-* (phonetically [tʃa] or [tʃa], depending on the dialect) undergoes the deletion of its vowel and as a result becomes aspirated [tʃ^h] which is written as <ch>.

69) **h^hl^hl^ho**

nihweetas [ni^hw^heetas]
 ni-wi-hi-eeta=s
 PRT-CIS-2A-walk.around:IMM =Q
 ‘Do you already go?’

When /h/ is adjacent to /l/ the result is a lateral fricative [ɬ]. In (70a) the /h/ is removed through laryngeal alternation, a process that will be explored in Section 3.2. The /h/ at the end of the word is not affected because the vowel that precedes it bears a high tone. In (70b), however, the presence of the /h/ triggers vowel deletion, causing the /h/ to be adjacent to /l/.

70) a. **S^hPA^hŋ^hJ^h†**

kali^hikh^hoth^htí^hha
 ji-ali^hikh^hoth^htí^hha
 1A-shatter:PRC
 ‘I’m shattering it.’

b. **D^hPA^hŋ^hJ^h†**

a^hahl^hkh^hoth^htí^hha [a^hàɬk^hot^htí^hha]
 a-ali^hkh^hoth^htí^hha
 3A-shatter:PRC
 ‘She’s shattering it.’

2.3. METATHESIS

Another common rule also results in the adjacency of an obstruent and /h/ and the subsequent creation of an unaspirated stop. The most in-depth discussion of this phenomenon comes from Flemming (1996).²⁴ This metathesis rule also occurs in a similar environment to the vowel deletion rule. If the second consonant is a sonorant (w, y, n, or l), the h and the vowel switch places and there is no deletion; this process is known as metathesis. This switch occurs in the environment shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: H-METATHESIS

Unaspirated consonant t, k, j, w, y, n, kw, l	Short vowel a, e, i, o, u, v	h	Sonorant w, y, n, l
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For example, the Completive verb stem ‘to cure’ is *-h_nv_nwáà_n-*; the combination of the stem with the Set B first person prefix *aki-* results in *akhi-*. This example is shown in (71a); the surface form is the result of the *h* metathesizing across the vowel. The possible results of metathesis are [k^h], [t^h], or [tʃ^h, t^hs]. The *h*-metathesis most often results in the aspirated obstruent [k^h] (written as <kh>); an example of a less common result of metathesis, the aspirated [t^h] (written as <th>), is seen in (71b). A third possible outcome from metathesis is when the Set B second person prefix *ja-* surfaces as [tʃ^h] (written as <ch>) when it attaches to a stem-initial voiceless sonorant. This change is demonstrated in (71c).

71) a. **DYOCŎ**

aàkhinvwáànv [aàk^hinvwáànv]
 aki-h_nv_nwà_n-v_v?i
 1B-cure:CMP-EXP
 ‘He cured me.’

b. **DŁWJD**

aà^helatí?a [aà^helatí?a]
 a-ate^hlatí?a
 3A-join:PRC
 ‘He’s joining it.’ (Feeling 1975a:59)

c. **GŎŎCT**

chanaál_và_vj_v?i [tʃ^hanaál_và_vtʃ_v?i]
 ja-h_naál_và_vj_v?i
 2B-become.angry:CMP-EXP
 ‘You got angry’

The underlying stem of verbs that undergo metathesis and deletion is sometimes apparent in the third person form. This is shown in (71).

- 72) a. uu-hwáska → **ʉC.ʉS** uùhwáska ‘she’s buying it’
 3B-buy:PRC
- b. aki-hwáska → **DYC.ʉS** aàkhiwáska ‘I’m buying it’
 1B-buy:PRC

In other cases the second person form best displays the underlying form of the stem. This is demonstrated in (73); in (73a) the /h/ moves in front of the vowel /a/ and aspirates the obstruent, while in (73b) the /h/ is suppressed due to laryngeal alternation (explained more in Section 3.2). In (73c), however, the stem-initial /h/ is present; the h-metathesis doesn’t take place because the obstruent is already aspirated.

- 73) a. ka-hnoohéha → **ʉZʉʰ** khanoohéha ‘He’s telling it’
 3A-tell:PRC
- b. ji-hnoohéha → **hZʉʰ** jinoohéha ‘I’m telling it.’
 1A-tell:PRC
- c. hi-hnoohéha → **ʉZʉʰ** hihnoohéha ‘You’re telling it.’
 2A-tell:PRC

However, this rule is subject to variation among speakers. Some speakers have the vowel deletion rule but not the metathesis rule.²⁵ Two examples are given in (74); in both examples the stop in the prefix *aki-* remains unaspirated and /h/ is heard at the beginning of the verb stem.

- 74) a. **DYC.ʉS** aàkihwaska ‘I’m buying it.’
 b. **RY DYORT** sv̀ki aàkihwisv́ʔi ‘I planted onions.’

In (75) vowel deletion causes the /j/ of the second person plural pronominal prefix *iiji-* ‘you all’ to aspirate. (In this case the long vowel /ii/ at the end of the pronominal

prefix has already been deleted by a vowel-initial stem; the remaining vowel at the beginning of the stem is short and is in turn deleted by the vowel deletion rule) The adjacency of this aspirated affricate to an obstruent (in this case the /t/ of the verb stem) causes it to be pronounced as /ts/.

<p>75) D\$W Ir.əB ateéla jiʔiíyv</p> <p>ateéla ji-hiíy-vʔi money 1A-leave.behind:CMP-EXP ‘I left money behind for your use.’</p>	<p>ThVt iitstóhta [iits^htóhta] iijii-vhtóht-a 2A.PL-use:DVN-NOM²⁶</p>
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In the above example the final vowel of the verb stem does not delete despite being short and adjacent to /h/. In this case the high tone blocks the deletion.

2.4. VOWEL COMBINATIONS

When there are two /a/ vowels together they become a mid central /vv/. In (76) the /a/ of the future prepronominal prefix *ta-* combines with the Set A third person prefix *a-* to create /tvv/.

<p>76) ʔJW.ə tvvtiithahi ta-a-atiithah-i FUT-3A-drink:CMP-MOT ‘He’ll drink it.’</p>
--

In (77) the vowel of the prepronominal prefix *ka-* combines with the initial vowel of the Set B pronominal prefix to create /vv/

- 77) **WP** **ᵒᵒ** **ETJWᵒ**
 thali khalv kvvkwatiithahᵛ
 thali khalv kaa-aki-atiithah-ᵛᵛʔi
 two month NGT-1B-drink:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘I haven’t drunk in two months.’

Other vowels combine in idiosyncratic ways, depending on the prefix. These particular patterns will be discussed in Chapter 6.

2.5. HIGH TONE SPREAD

The two verbs in the examples in (78) both bear the same suffix *-ᵛᵛʔi*; in the second example, however, it is pronounced not with a rising tone but as a high long vowel.

- 78) a. **DYᵛBRT**
 akhtheeyvvsᵛᵛʔi
 aki-htheeyvvs-ᵛᵛʔi
 1B-be.hot:CMP-EXP
 ‘I got hot.’
- b. **ᵒᵒART**
 uùtlakoósᵛᵛʔi
 uu-tlakoós-ᵛᵛʔi
 3B-scratch:CMP-EXP
 ‘He scratched.’ (Scancarelli 1987:59)

Lindsey explains this alternation by positing that high tones at an underlying level are on short vowels. Under this analysis a long vowel with high tone is a high tone that has spread one mora to the right (1985:133-4). A mora is a unit of syllabic weight: a short vowel consists of one mora, while a long vowel consists of two moras. In (78b) the last mora of the verb stem is high and spreads to the first mora on the suffix that is unmarked for tone. In Lindsey’s analysis the low tone is the default that appears if no other factors come into play; in this case the spread of the high tone blocks a default

low tone from appearing. This analysis explains why the suffix in the example in (79a), below, has the typical rising tone even though it follows a high tone. It seems that a single-mora high tone is acceptable on the second-to-last vowel, perhaps because the word-final vowel is a high tone with a slight rise at the end; Wright, working from Lindsey's analysis, states that 'High tones are usually found in pairs except at the right edge of a word. (Wright 1996:12). In example (79a) the final vowel of the stem is long with high tone; the underlying high tone is therefore on the first mora (the first /v/) and spreads one mora to the right, surfacing as a long vowel with high tone. Because the tone has already spread one mora, it does not spread any more and the final suffix retains the low tone on its first mora. In the second example, (79b), the high tone on the end of the stem is on a short vowel (i.e. a single mora) and spreads to the right to the first mora of the suffix.

79) a. **SQ-ET**

tuh^hvkv^hv^h?i
 tee-uu-h^hvk-v^h?i
 DST-3B-tickle:CMP-EXP
 'He tickled him.' (Feeling 1975a:70)

b. **OL^hQT**

u^htaatvvh^hn^hl^hv^h?i
 uu-ataat-vvh^hn^hl^h-v^h?i
 3B-RFL-hit:CMP-EXP
 'He hit himself.' (Scancarelli 1987:86)

QCH

uwaása
 uu-v^hsa
 3B-self

This rule of high tone spread affects other suffixes as well. The underlying form of the Habitual (HAB) suffix below in (80) has a short vowel with high tone. In most cases when it is used in its full form it appears as a long vowel with high tone. The vowel of this particular suffix automatically lengthens unless there is a previous short vowel with high tone.

80) **DP̄P̄PAT**

àaliheélíikó?i
 a-aliheélíik-ó?i
 3A-be.happy:INC-HAB
 ‘He’s happy (habitually)’

This pattern is apparent throughout Feeling’s dictionary; the dictionary is helpful in seeing this pattern because all the verbs in the sub-entries are listed in their full form. Four examples from the dictionary are in (81). The first two examples show the more common patterns with the long vowel. In (81a) the preceding tone is low, while in (81b) the preceding tone is a high long vowel (i.e. two pairs of high tones). In (81c) the preceding high short tone suppresses the lengthening of the suffix’s vowel, while in (81d) the preceding rising tone (Low+High) results in a short vowel on the suffix.

81) a. **LCḠV̄J̄AT**

tàhliilóostiiskó?i
 tee-a-ahliilóostiisk-ó?i
 DST-3A-draw:INC-HAB
 ‘He draws a picture of him.’ (Feeling 1975a:68)

b. **D̄V̄AT**

àstóoskó?i
 a-stóosk-ó?i
 3A-crush:INC-HAB
 ‘She crushes it.’ (Feeling 1975a:48)

c. **D̄L̄C̄AT**

àstanvhnýskó?i
 a-stanvhnýsk-ó?i
 3A-draw.line:INC-HAB
 ‘She draws a line.’ (Feeling 1975a:47)

shortened. ‘River’ in (83b) is a noun that naturally occurs with a highfall, perhaps because it is a derivation.

83) a. ᵂᵂᵂᵂ	ᵂᵂ	ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ
jiikooʔvʔi	kiihli	tasihwisk ^ʔ
jii-kooh-vʔi	kiihli	tee-a-asihwisk- ^ʔ vʔi
1A.AN-see:CMP	dog	DST-3A-bark:INC-EXP\SUB
‘I saw the dog that was barking.’		

b. ᵂᵂᵂᵂ
uùwéey ^ʔ
uùwéey ^ʔ vʔi
‘river’

2.7. CHARACTERISTICS OF FAST SPEECH

In all of the Cherokee examples given in this grammar there are two accompanying lines of Romanized script. The line just below the syllabary is how the word or phrase was actually pronounced; the second line of Romanized script represents the underlying elements of the utterance. In the majority of cases the actual pronunciation leaves off the final vowel and sometimes will simplify a consonant cluster. These processes are further explained below.

2.7.1. Consonant Reduction

In fast speech /kw/ is often reduced to /w/. In (84) the pre-vocalic *akw-* form of the pronominal prefix *aki-* surfaces as *aw-* (The lengthened vowel with lowfall results from the pronominal laryngealization rule that applies when pronominal prefixes attach to verbs; this rule will be discussed in the following section.)

84) a. **DCJLQ** **QAT**
 aàwatiihléhínskóoʔi
 aki-atiihléhínsk-óʔi
 1B-have.fever:INC-HAB
 ‘I go around with a fever.’

b. **IrQAP** **DQQLQ**
 jiìskhóól aàwestáànvʔi
 ji-skhóóli aki-estáàn-vʔi
 1A-head 1B-hurt:CMP-EXP
 ‘My head was hurting.’

2.7.2. Final-vowel Dropping

Final vowels are often not pronounced except in careful speech or when giving the word as a citation form. In everyday spoken speech this deletion is so common as to be the norm. In the example sentence in (85a) both nouns and the verb lose their final vowel; in (85b) *kato* loses its initial syllable. (The Distributive prefix *ti-* (DST2) at the beginning of ‘brother’ changes to *j-* before most vowels; this important prefix and its different forms is discussed in Chapter 6.)

85) a. **KGLOE** **QOP** **QSTQ**
 joojataanvʔthl uunaalii hiikaàthiíy
 ti-oojii-ataat-nvʔthla uunii-aalííʔi hii-kahthiíya
 DST2-1A.PL.EX-RFL-brother 3B.PL-friend 2A.AN-wait.for:PRC
 ‘You are waiting for my brothers’ friend.’

b. **QOV** **QQJ**
 hin to úúst
 hina kato úústi
 this what something
 ‘What is this?’

With verbs the deletion of the final vowels still leaves the first part of the final suffix, so there is no ambiguity concerning the tense/aspect/mood of the verb. In (86) examples are given with the Experienced Past (86a), Non-experienced Past (86b), and Habitual (86c) final suffixes (these suffixes will be further explained and exemplified in Chapter 5). The sound /h/ is not pronounced in final position, so final-vowel dropping will often result of the elimination of this sound as well; this is exemplified in (85d).

- 86) a. **ʉAʉ**
 uùkoohv
 uu-kooh-vʉʉi
 3B-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘He saw it’
- b. **ʉAʉ**
 uùkoohe
 uu-kooh-éʉi
 3B-see:CMP-NXP
 ‘He saw it (I didn’t witness it)’
- c. **ʉACJʉA**
 aàkohwthiísko
 a-kowahthiísk-óʉi
 3A-see:INC-HAB
 ‘He sees it’
- d. **ʉʉSP**
 uùnatuuli
 uunii-atuuliha
 3B.PL-want:PRC
 ‘They want it.’

Less commonly the verb can be shortened even further as in (87) where the entire final suffix is dropped. The verb stem as well as the prefixes supply the necessary

b. **SV DhO**

kato naàniw

[naàniw]

kato ni-anii-wi

what PRT-3A.PL-say/sound:IMM

‘What did they say?’

There is some evidence that the longer the word, the more likely the last vowel will be dropped. The two forms in (90) were elicited at the same time and from the same speaker. The form that is longer (due to laryngeal alternation and thus no vowel deletion) deletes the final vowel. The shorter form (due to vowel deletion) does not drop the final vowel. Despite different pronunciations, they are written the same in the syllabary.

90) a. **ḐSḐ**

hiikaàthiíy

hii-kahthiíya

2A.AN-wait:PRC

‘You are waiting for him.’

b. **ḐSḐ**

hikhthiíya [hik^ht^hiíya]

hi-kahthiíya

2A-wait:PRC

‘You are waiting for it.’

3. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RULES

Morphophonological rules are phonological changes that are triggered by a particular combinations of stems and affixes. The resulting sound changes triggered by these combinations can further feed the phonological processes described in the previous section.

3.1. PRONOMINAL LARYNGEALIZATION

Pronominal prefixes that start with a vowel acquire a lowfall tone when they appear at the beginning of a main verb (a verb in an independent clause); if the vowel is short, it is lengthened to accommodate the tone.²⁸ This rule was first described by Lindsey (1985:136). Scancarelli (1987:64) states that this lowfall appears only if no other prefix comes before the pronominal prefix, but there is variation among speakers on this point. An example of pronominal laryngealization is in (91). In (91a) the third person prefix is a low-tone long vowel at the beginning of the adjective; in (91b) the same prefix at the beginning of a verb has a lowfall tone.

91) a. **ŌABL**
uukóósita
uu-akóósita
3B-rotten
'rotten'

b. **ŌAOS**
uùkooska
uu-akooska
3B-rot:PRC
'It is rotting'

If the verb appears in its Deverbal Noun stem, the pronominal laryngealization does not occur. In (92) the main verb 'want' has a lowfall on the prefix, while the subordinate verb does not (The Cislocative (CIS) prefix *t i-* appears as *j-* before most vowels; this prefix and its forms will be discussed in Chapter 6). The term 'main verb' refers to a verb in an independent clause.

92) ʊθsp	ʃhʔoʊj
ùnatuuli	juuniisóhwiisti
uunii-atuuliha	ti-uunii-sóhwiist-i
3B.PL-want:PRC	CIS-3B.PL-cross.over:DVN-NOM2
‘They want to cross over.’	

3.2. LARYNGEAL ALTERNATION

There are two laryngeal sounds in Cherokee: /ʔ/ and /h/. Stems that contain /h/ replace it with its laryngeal counterpart /ʔ/ when certain pronominal prefixes attach to the stem. The most thorough analysis of this phenomenon comes from Munro (1996:45-60); the term ‘laryngeal alternation’ from Lindsey’s discussion (1987:4). Scancarelli refers to the two resulting stems as the h-grade and the glottal grade (1987:55). This process is demonstrated in (93) for a verb stem and in (94) for a noun stem. In (93a) the affixation of the third person prefix does not change the stem; in (93b) however, the presence of the first person prefix causes the substitution of /ʔ/ for /h/.

- 93) a. h-grade
DB.ʃʔ
aàyvvhíha
a-yvvhíha
3A-enter:PRC
‘He’s entering.’
- b. glottal grade
lrBTʔ
jiyvʔíha
ji-yvvhíha
1A-enter:PRC
‘I’m entering.’

In Oklahoma Cherokee, the glottal stop is pronounced as a lowfall tone before a consonant as seen in (94).²⁹ This example also demonstrates that laryngeal alternation takes place with other parts of speech as well.

- 94) a. h-grade
ʔBɬɬ
 hi_hyvvsóóli
 hi-hyvvsóóli
 2A-nose
 ‘his nose’
- b. glottal grade
ɬBɬɬ
 ji_hyvvsóóli
 ji-hyvvsóóli
 1A-nose
 ‘my nose’

North Carolina Cherokee, unlike Oklahoma Cherokee, retains the glottal stop. In (95) the first person prefix *ji-* triggers the substitution of /h/ with /ʔ/ which, in Oklahoma Cherokee, is pronounced as a lowfall tone before consonants.

- 95) *ji + hnéeka* **ɬAS**
 North Carolina: *jiʔhnéeka*
 Oklahoma: *ji_hhnéeka*
 ‘I’m answering.’

The specific prefixes that trigger this alternation will be exemplified in Chapter 4. The interaction of laryngeal alternation with vowel deletion and metathesis can cause the first person and third person stems to appear quite different. For example, on the surface it appears that the verb ‘to wait for’ in (96) has two different stems.

- 96) a. **DSɬa** aàkhthiíya ‘He’s waiting for it.’
 b. **ɬSɬa** jikaàthiíya ‘I’m waiting for it.’

These surface differences are accounted for by laryngeal alternation for the first person prefix. This alternation removes the /h/ and the vowel deletion that would

otherwise occur does not take place. Table 10 demonstrates how these seemingly disparate surface forms both start with the same stem.

TABLE 10: VOWEL DELETION FOR THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘TO WAIT’	DSJ_α ‘He’s waiting for it.’	hSJ_α ‘I’m waiting for it.’
3. Glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant	NA	jikaàthiíya
2. Vowel Deletion	aàkhthiíya	NA
1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/	NA	jikaʔthiíya
	aa kahthiíya	ji kahtiíya

In like manner laryngeal alternation and metathesis can create what, on the surface, looks like a different pronominal prefix. In table 11 the third person *ka*-surfaces as /kha/ after the /h/ metathesizes across the short vowel. At the same time, the first person prefix appears in a slightly different form with lengthening and a lowfall. Again, these differences can be traced back to the effect of laryngeal alternation. If the /h/ is removed, it will no longer be available to trigger metathesis.

TABLE 11: VOWEL DELETION FOR THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘TO SPEAK, ANSWER’	ʔAS ‘he’s speaking’	hAS ‘I’m speaking’
3. glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant	NA	jiìnéeka
2. h-metathesis	khanéeka	NA
1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/	NA	jiʔnéeka
	ka hnéeka	ji hnéeka

The basic form of the alveolar fricative /s/ is characterized by a short [h] immediately preceding it. This intrusive-h is not represented in the orthography because it is always present and it triggers metathesis and deletion. Moreover, laryngeal

alternation can replace it with the glottal stop. In table 12 the first person Set A pronominal prefix *ji-* (appearing as *k-* before a vowel) triggers laryngeal alternation, thereby removing the intrusive-h. The glottal stop in this first person singular form surfaces as a lowfall tone.

The pronominal prefix *iini-* ‘we two’ does not trigger the alternation and the [h] is therefore available to trigger the vowel deletion. (Note that the [h] is written in phonetic brackets as it is not present in the orthography.) The underlying /l/ is now pronounced as the lateral fricative [ɬ] because it is adjacent to the /s/. (This sound is not written as the expected /hl/ because it is entirely predictable).

TABLE 12: VOWEL DELETION FOR 1ST DUAL AND SINGULAR CONJUGATION OF ‘TO DANCE’	TŲPŲYD ‘We two are dancing.’	SŲPŲYD ‘I am dancing.’
3. glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant	NA	kaliiskiiʔa
2. vowel deletion	iinalskiiʔa [iinaɬskiiʔa]	NA
1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/	NA	kaliʔskiiʔa
	iinii ali[h]skiiʔa	ji ali[h]skiiʔa

The effects of laryngeal alternation are most commonly seen with the velar stops /k/, /kh/ and /t/, /th/. Laryngeal alternation can also create a surface alternation between the labial velars /kw/, /khw/, the lateral /l/, the affricates /j/, /ch/, /hl/, and the lateral affricates /tl/, and /thl/. In (97) an alternating pair of laterals is shown.

- 97) a. **DŲŲTD**
 aàteehlohkwáʔa
 a-ateehhlohkwáʔa
 3A-learn:PRC
 ‘He’s learning it.’

- b. **ᏍᏍᏁᏓᏓ**
 kateèlohkwáʔa
 ji-ateehlohkwáʔa
 1A-learn:PRC
 ‘I’m learning it.’

The sound /j/ has two different pronunciations when aspirated. If there is a vowel or sonorant following it the aspirated affricate is pronounced /ch/; if there is an obstruent that follows the /j/ it is pronounced as /ts/. An example with the second pronunciation is in (98b); the [h] that is present with /s/ (but not written) causes vowel deletion and the aspirated /j/ is now adjacent to an obstruent (The /s/ of the stem is not heard when adjacent to /ts/). In (98a) the presence of the *ji-* causes laryngeal alternation, resulting in a lengthening of the vowel with a lowfall tone imposed.

- 98) a. **ᏍᏁᏓᏓᏁᏓᏓ**
 kajìiskóoʔvska
 ji-ajiskóoʔvska
 1A-lie:PRC
 ‘I’m lying.’

- b. **ᏓᏁᏓᏓᏁᏓᏓ**
 aàtskóoʔvska
 a-ajiskóoʔvska
 3A-lie:PRC
 ‘He’s lying.’

Because of recent sound changes most speakers of Oklahoma Cherokee pronounce /tʌ/ as [hl]. As a result, it is quite difficult to find alternations between /tʌ/ and /tʌh/. An example of a /hl/, /tʌh/ pair is listed in (99). In (99a) the intrusive-h occurs before the /tʌh/ affricate; the resulting vowel deletion aspirates the /t/, effectively creating a pair of /tʌh/ affricates that are pronounced as a single instance of /tʌh/. In (99b) the laryngeal alternation triggered by the prefix causes vowel lengthening with the

accompanying lowfall. The /thl/ in (99b) is pronounced as /hl/ for this Oklahoma speaker.

99) a. **Θ DC**
 na aàthli [aàt^hɬi]
 na a-atihthli
 that 3A-run:PRC
 ‘He’s running.’

b. **SJC**
 katiìhli
 ji-atihthli
 1A-run:PRC
 ‘I’m running.’

It is assumed that the underlying stem is *-atihthli* since the intrusive-h would not be evident before an already aspirated /hl/. Underlying /hl/ does not participate in laryngeal alternation, but /hl/ that is underlyingly /thl/ does.³⁰

If the vowel bears a high tone, laryngeal alternation results in a falling tone rather than a lowfall.³¹ Wright gives two forms of the same verb, repeated in (100), to illustrate this point. In (100a) the Set A first person singular triggers the alternation and resulting lowfall. In (100b), however, the presence of a Distributive (DST) prefix to indicate plural objects alters the tone pattern. A special feature of this prefix (which be explored at length in Chapter 6) is that in its full form it causes a high tone to appear on the mora immediately following it. As a result, the first mora of the long vowel of the prefix *jii-* receives a high tone, and the lowfall that would be a result of laryngeal alternation results in a falling tone.

100) a. **hZβD**
 j̥i̥nóoyeeʔa
 jii-hnóoyeeʔa
 1A.AN-fan:PRC
 ‘I’m fanning him.’ (Wright 1996:17)

b. **ʃhZβD**
 teej̥i̥nóoyeeʔa
 tee-jii-hnóoyeeʔa
 DST-1A.AN-fan:PRC
 ‘I’m fanning them.’ (Wright 1996:17)

3.3. PRE-ASPIRATION AND SECONDARY ASPIRATION

Aspirated stops that have not received their aspiration as part of metathesis or vowel deletion also have an inherent initial /h/ that will be referred to as a ‘pre-aspiration-h.’ Even though it is predictable, this /h/ will be written in order to keep the complex phonological operations a little more transparent. This pre-aspiration-h has already been seen above with ‘to wait for’ ‘to look at’, and ‘to run’; another example is presented in (101). In (101a) the /h/ does not surface; it cannot cause the preceding vowel to delete (because it is long) and a syllable cannot be pronounced with an initial cluster of /h/ and an aspirated stop. In (101b), however, the short vowel of the prefix is deleted and its voiceless stop is aspirated.

101) a. **ɔYAS R**
 oòkiikhoteésv
 ookii-hkhotées-vʔi
 1B.PL.EX-shovel:CMP-EXP
 ‘We shoveled it.’

b. **DYAS R**
 akhkhoteésv [ak^hk^hoteésv]
 aki-hkhotées-vʔi
 1B-shovel:CMP-EXP
 ‘I shoveled it.’

In (102a) the presence of the /h/ causes the expected vowel deletion of /v/ and subsequent aspiration of the consonant of the pronominal prefix. With a first person prefix, as seen in (102b), the root has a non-aspirated stop because of laryngeal alternation. Because the stop is no longer aspirated there is also no longer an /h/ preceding the stop.

- 102) a. **ᑭᓴᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 tikhthlatiisk
 ti-ka-vhthlatiisk-i
 DST2-3A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘firefighter’
- b. **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 tikṿtlatiiski
 ti-ji-vhthlatiisk-i
 DST2-1A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘I am a firefighter.’

In (103a), below, the pre-aspiration is suppressed because the pronominal prefix vowel has been lengthened and lowered and /h/ cannot be at the end of this syllable; at the same time, a syllable cannot start with a combination of /h/ and a non-continuant. As a result, the initial /h/ has nowhere to go and is not pronounced. In (103b) the labial velar /khw/ loses its aspiration due to laryngeal alternation; as a result, the pre-aspiration is absent as well. In (103c), however, the pronominal prefix neither triggers laryngeal alternation nor undergoes pronominal laryngealization; as a result, the pre-aspiration /h/ is audible.

- 103) a. **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 aàkhwiyíha [aàk^hwiyíha]
 a-ahkhwiyíha
 3A-pay:PRC
 ‘He’s paying it.’

b. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
 kakwiyíha
 ji-ahkhwiyíha
 1A-pay:PRC
 ‘I’m paying it.’

c. **ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
 hahkhwiyíha
 hi-ahkhwiyíha
 2A-pay:PRC
 ‘You’re paying it.’

This phenomenon of pre-aspiration creates a distinction between two types of aspirated stops: those that are underlyingly aspirated and those that have received aspiration as a result of metathesis or deletion. The latter sort of aspiration, or secondary aspiration, does not exhibit pre-aspiration. If it did, there would result a sort of ‘chain reaction’ of aspiration extending through the word. In (104), for example, the *ti-* prefix at the beginning of the word remains unaspirated, even though it is separated by only a short vowel from an aspirated plosive. There is no pre-aspiration /h/ to trigger vowel deletion. The lack of pre-aspiration is due to this plosive having itself been aspirated from a previous consonant.

104) **ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
 tikhthlatiisk
 ti-ka-vhthlatiisk-i
 DST2-3A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘firefighter’

Munro (1996:50) makes the interesting observation that the aspirated affricates do not exhibit this pre-aspiration. This observation does seem to hold for /ch/ and /ts/, as demonstrated in (105).

- 105) **SPC ʷWΛ**
 tuùlchv́yáàsthane
 tee-uu-alchv́yáàsthan-éʔi
 DST-3B-become.brave-NXP
 ‘He became brave.’ (Chapter 9.2:7)

The /thl/ affricate, though rare, does seem to have the pre-aspiration. In (106a) it triggers vowel deletion, while in (106b) it undergoes laryngeal alternation.

- 106) a. **V ʷLC**
 toostaththli
 tee-oostii-atihthli
 DST-1A.DL.EX-run:PRC
 ‘We’re running.’

- b. **S JC**
 katiìthli
 ji-atihthli
 1A-run:PRC
 ‘I’m running.’

3.4. RULE ORDERING

It is important to bear in mind that the rules described in this chapter occur in a particular order; often the environment that will trigger the application of a rule has been altered by the application of a previous rule. In the example in (107a), it is apparent that the deletion rule applies before the highfall placement, because a high tone blocks the deletion rule. If there is no long vowel for the highfall it will appear as a simple high tone on the rightmost short vowel.³² This vowel would be the vowel of the pronominal prefix *ja-*, but the deletion rule applies first and the high tone appears on the next available vowel. In (107b) the highfall placement occurs before the syllabification of the pre-aspiration-h; as is often the case, this /h/ is not pronounced because there is no syllable it can go with.

- 107) a. **GEʒəJ**
chkhvhisti
 ja-ǰhkhvhisti
 2B-cute
 ‘You are cute.’
- b. **əJEʒəJ**
 stííkhvhisti
 stii-ǰhkhvhisti
 2B.DL-cute
 ‘You two are cute.’

It has already been demonstrated that the laryngeal alternation rule applies before the deletion and metathesis rules, as this alternation will remove the /h/ that triggers these rules. A further example is in (108a). This verb starts with a short vowel followed by /h/; in (108b) the /a/ of the pronominal prefix deletes when attached to a vowel-initial stem. This deletion is followed by the h-triggered deletion of the remaining /v/ and the subsequent aspiration of the /k/ of the pronominal prefix. In the third example it appears that the proper environment for vowel deletion exists; the lack of this deletion must mean that this rule applies before the rule that deletes the vowels of the pronominal prefix when attached to a vowel-initial stem.

- 108) a. **ETPəS**
 kvʔihlvska
 ji-vihlvska
 1A-link:PRC
 ‘I am linking it.’ (Feeling 1975a:144)
- b. **YPəS**
kihlvska
ka-vihlvska
 3A-linking:PRC
 ‘He is linking it.’ (Feeling 1975a:144)

- c. ᏊᏃᏁᏍᏏ
 i̇i̇tvhithlʷska
 i̇i̇t̄ii-vhithlʷska
 1A.PL-linking:PRC
 ‘We are linking it.’

The order of the relevant rules is listed in (109).

- 109) Order of rules
1. Laryngeal Alternation
 2. metathesis/ h-deletion
 3. Pronominal vowel deletion
 4. Highfall placement
 5. Pronominal laryngealization
 6. H-syllabification

4. REPRESENTING SOUNDS IN THE SYLLABARY

A syllabary is distinct from an alphabet in that instead of representing sounds it represents syllables. For example, in (110) each of the syllables is represented by two symbols in English, but only one symbol in Cherokee:

- 110) ᏊᏍᏁᏍᏏ ja-la-ki ‘Cherokee’

To write this word with a Romanized script six symbols are necessary, but in the Cherokee script only three symbols are needed to represent the three syllables. Sequoyah developed the syllabary in the 19th century and the Cherokee people quickly achieved widespread literacy through its use. The history of the syllabary is in Walker and Sarbaugh (1993); the role of the syllabary in Cherokee literacy is discussed in White (1962), Monteith (1984), Walker (1984) and (1985), Bender (1996), (2002a) and (2007). A description of a native speaker learning the syllabary is in Scancarelli (1996), and the role of the syllabary in language education is in Bender (2002b). Issues involving spelling in the syllabary are in Chafe and Kilpatrick (1963). Discussions of the accuracy of the syllabary in representing Cherokee sounds are in Pulte (1976) and Scancarelli (1992).

The eighty-five characters of the syllabary reflect combinations of a consonant and a vowel, or just a vowel. As stated above, the only exception is the character Ꭰ which simply represents the sound /s/. The Cherokee syllabary is in Table 13.

Table 13: Cherokee Syllabary

	A	E	I	O	U	V
1. -	D	R	T	Ꭰ	Ꭱ	i
2. k/kh	Ꭲ Ꭳ	Ꭴ	Ꭵ	A	J	E
3. h/hn	Ꭶ	Ꭷ	Ꭸ	Ꭹ	Ꭺ	Ꭻ
4. l/hl	W	Ꭾ	Ꭿ	G	M	Ꮁ
5. m	Ꮃ	Ꮄ	H	Ꮅ	Ꮆ	
6. n/hn	Ꮇ Ꮈ *	Ꮉ	Ꮊ	Z	Ꮋ	Ꮌ
7. kw/khw	Ꮍ	Ꮎ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ
8. s Ꭰ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	R
9. t/th	Ꮏ W	Ꮏ Ꮏ	Ꮏ Ꮏ	V	S	Ꮏ
10. t1/th1 [hl]	Ꮏ Ꮏ	L	C	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	P
11. j/ch/ts	G	V	Ꮏ	K	J	C
12. w/hw	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ
13. y/hy	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	Ꮏ	G	B

For the most part, the syllabary table is a straightforward cross-referencing of a vowel and a consonant. There are a few complicating factors. The sound /s/ occurs in enough consonant clusters that it warrants its own symbol Ꭰ , as seen in row 8. It will be noticed that many of the rows cross-reference two different consonant sounds. For example, row seven indicates the unaspirated sound /kw/ or the aspirated sound

/khw/ (phonetically [k^hw]). Thus the symbol **ᄀ** could represent /kwa/ or /khwa/, the symbol **ᄁ** could represent /kwe/ or /khwe/, and so on. Some of the rows, however, contain split cells; these split cells indicate that a distinction is made for aspirated and unaspirated consonants. Thus in row 2 the symbol **ᄂ** represents only /ka/ and **ᄃ** represents only /kha/ (phonetically [k^ha]). The rest of the row does not make this distinction: **ᄄ** could represent either /ke/ or /khe/ and **ᄅ** could represent either /ki/ or /khi/ (phonetically [ke] / [k^he] and [ki] / [k^hi], respectively). Such asymmetries in the table indicate that Sequoyah felt that it was important to distinguish /ka/ and /kha/, whereas /ke/ and /khe/ did not merit distinct identities. The sound /ka/ is in fact one of the most common sounds in Cherokee as it represents a third person prefix; moreover, a large amount of verbs have a present tense ending of /ka/. Its aspirated counterpart /kha/ is a less frequent but still common sound due to the aspiration of /ka/ as a result of metathesis. The sonorants /y/, /l/, and /w/ have voiceless counterparts; none of these pairs are distinguished in the syllabary. The sonorant /n/ in row six is an exception in that it distinguishes **ᄆ** /na/ from its voiceless counterpart **ᄇ** /hna/; this is the only character that has an aspiration distinction for sonorants. The third cell indicates an unusual third distinction made for the sound /nah/. This character was written **ᄈ**³³. This character has fallen out of usage in Oklahoma and this sound is now only represented with **ᄆ** /na/.³⁴

A curious feature of the syllabary is the row representing the consonant /m/. As stated previously, there are only a handful of words in Cherokee that use this sound. The sounds /ma/ and /me/ appear in the majority of these words; **ᄉ** /mi/, **ᄊ** /mo/, and **ᄋ** /mu/ remain the most rarely seen of the syllabary characters. There are a number of names, most of which are of European origin, which have the /m/ sound. The only gap in the table is for the non-existent sound /mv/.³⁵

It has been noted that the Cherokee syllabary does not precisely describe the sounds of Cherokee; for example, in most cases it does not differentiate aspiration and it never shows vowel length or tone.³⁶ It should be pointed out, however, that the syllabary does serve several useful linguistic purposes. First of all, it often preserves

the final vowels that are deleted in everyday speech. In the sentence in (111) all six words have a deleted final vowel, but for five of the words the syllabary makes it clear what the dropped vowel is. The line immediately below the syllabary shows the basic pronunciation of the characters, treating the non-aspirated forms as the default.

111) D_αS_α	ʔ_hB_αE	h_SL
a-s-ka-ya	u-yo-si-s-kv	ni-ka-ta
askay	uùyoosíisk	nikáát
a-skaya	uu-yoosíisk-ʋʋʔi	nikááta
3A-man	3B-be.hungry:INC-PAR	all
ʔ_hRC_ʔ	ʔ_hα_L	DP_αLBV_J
u-sv-nv	o-s-ta	a-li-s-ta-yv-to-ti
uùsvhnv	óóst	álstaàhytoht
uu-svhn-ʋʋʔi	óósta	álstaàhytohti
3B-eat:CMP-EXP	good	food
‘The hungry man ate all the good food.’		

In many cases the syllabary preserves the underlying form of the word before phonological rules alter the pronunciation. In Table 14 both verbs are written the same in the syllabary; however, their pronunciation is quite distinct. In Step 1 the underlying /h/ triggers vowel deletion for the third person form. In the first person form the pronominal prefix has triggered the laryngeal alternation that replaces /h/ with /ʔ/. In the first person form the initial vowel of the stem is shortened because the syllable now ends in the consonant /hl/.

TABLE 14: THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘UNDERSTAND’	APS ‘She understands it.’	APS ‘I understand it.’
3. Glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant	NA	kooliika
2. Vowel Deletion	kolhka	NA
1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/	NA	kooliʔka
	ka oolihka	ji oolihka

It can also be seen from the above example that the syllabary does not represent the suprasegmental features of vowel length and tone. It does, at least in the above case, preserve the deleted vowel; it does not, however include the /h/ that triggers the vowel deletion. Except for the character ó that represents the consonant /s/, all syllabary characters represent either a vowel or a consonant-vowel combination. In some cases the syllabary spelling of the entire word is identical for the first and third person forms, even though the pronunciation can be quite different. This can be the case for verb stems (like the one seen above in table 14) that take the *ka*- third person prefix. Because many of these stems are vowel-initial, they also take a *k*- first person prefix. The reason for this convergence of forms is that there is no syllabary character to represent the syllable /kohl/.

In other circumstances the same syllabary character has different pronunciations depending on the context. Thus there are two separate symbols for /ti/ ᑭ and /thi/ ᑭ , but only one symbol ᑭ representing /to/ and /tho/. Because of these finer distinctions, the syllabary at times does not reflect the underlying form. For example, in (111) the Future prefix and Set A pronominal prefix are collapsed into a single syllable as the result of vowel deletion.

- 112) ᑭᑭᑭᑭ
thiwóonisi [t^hiwóonisi]
ta-hi-wóonis-i
 FUT-2A-speak:CMP-MOT
 ‘You will speak.’

The underlying form of the two initial syllables would be written as ᑭ.ᑭ /tahi/, but the deletion of the vowel results in a single syllable ᑭ /thi/. However, the syllabary does not distinguish aspiration for most consonants (as discussed above), nor does it ever represent the glottal stop. The intrusive /h/ that occurs in the final position of the syllable is never represented. Given the lack of these distinctions, a single syllabary

sound can represent a large array of sounds. In (112) is a list of the possible sounds that the single symbol **V** can represent.

113) Sound combinations represented by **V**

too
to
tó
tóo
toó
tóò
toò
tóó
tho
thoo
thó
thóo
thoó
thóò
thoò
thóo
toh
toʔ
tóh
tóʔ
thoh
thoʔ
thóh
thóʔ

5. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The typical syllable in Cherokee is a consonant followed by a vowel (CV). This grammar treats affricates (j, ch, ts, tl, thl) and labialized velars (kw, khw) as single units. The onset of a syllable is the initial sound or sounds, if any, that come

before the nucleus. The nucleus is the vowel, and the coda is the sound or sounds at the end of the syllable after the nucleus.

5.1 SYLLABLE ONSET

Given this basic syllable structure, most onset clusters fall into two categories. The first category is a cluster of /h/ and a sonorant. There are four such clusters: /hn/, /hy/, /hw/, and /hl/. (Often these combinations are simply a devoiced sonorant rather than a cluster). Such combinations may exist as part of lexical items or may come about through phonological operations. In (114) there are two examples of lexical items containing a syllable with a cluster of /h/ plus sonorant. (114a) shows a combination with a glide and (114b) shows a combination with the nasal /n/. (The other nasal /m/ does not pattern with the sonorants in that it does not allow this combination.)

- 114) a. **Dʁ̥** akeéhya ‘woman’
 b. **DʔZ** aséehno ‘probably’

The cluster is often a result of vowel deletion, as seen in (115).

- 115) **DØVHJD**
 aàhntóosatíʔa
 anii-ahtóosatíʔa
 3A.PL-hang.up:PRC
 ‘They’re hanging it (long) up.’ (Flemming 1996:30)

The second category of onset cluster is /s/ plus consonant. The alveolar fricative combines so frequently with other consonants that it is the only consonant that is represented with its own syllabary character **ᶑ**. Most consonants can follow this consonant; some examples are given below in (116a-f).

116)	a. st	ᵛᵛᵛ	stááya	‘hard’
	b. sth	Dᵛᵛ	asthi	‘string’
	c. sk	Dᵛᵛᵛ	askaya	‘man’
	d. skh	ᵛᵛᵛᵛ	taàskhooníha	‘he’s howling’
	e. skw	ᵛᵛᵛᵛ	skwíísti	‘a lot’
	f. skhw	DPᵛᵛᵛᵛ	aàlskhwati?a	‘it’s finishing’

Other combinations, such as /sl/, /stl/, and /sn/ appear to have a marginal presence in the language. A few examples are in (117).

117)	a. sl	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	taàsluuska	‘He’s splitting it.’
	b. stl	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	taàstlúùska	‘He’s splitting it.’
	c. sn	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	taàkinusvni	‘She gave me them.’

There are no examples of the following consonant clusters as onsets in Cherokee: /sm/, /sj/, /sch/, /shl/, /sy/, /sw/, /sts/, or /s?/.

There are other onset clusters, although these are much less common than clusters involving initial /h/ or initial /s/. The combination /ts/ plus obstruent can exist in a lexical item, of which a few examples are given in (118), or as a result of vowel deletion, as exemplified in (119).

118)	a.	ᵛᵛᵛᵛ	tskili	‘ghost’
	b.	ᵛᵛᵛᵛ	tskoóya	‘bug’
	c.	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	tskwíísti	‘a lot’

119)	a.	GPY	
			tstlívka [t ^h stlívka]
			ja-htlívka
			2B-be.sick:PRC
			‘You are sick.’

The combination of /h/ and an obstruent (other than /s/) at the beginning of a syllable does not occur. Thus the pre-aspiration /h/ is often not pronounced. Examples are in (120). In (120a) the /h/ is lost because a syllable cannot start with /hkh/ (nor can it end the preceding syllable, as will be seen in the section on codas below). In (120b) and (120c) the h/ aspirates the preceding consonant after vowel deletion. In (120d), however, the /h/ appears at the end of the preceding syllable.

120) a. **AʏhʔS**
 kookiniikheéhéèka
 kookinii-hkheéhéèka
 3PL/1DL.EX-chase:PRC
 ‘They are chasing us.’

b. **DʏʔS**
 aàkhkheéhéèka
 aki-hkheéhéèka
 1B-chase:PRC
 ‘It is chasing me.’

c. **FʋʔS**
 keetskheéhéèka
 keeja-hkheéhéèka
 3PL/2-chase:PRC
 ‘They are chasing you.’

d. **ʁʔS**
 hihkheéhéèka
 hi-hkheéhéèka
 2A-chase:PRC
 ‘You are chasing it.’

A syllable onset may consist of a glottal stop followed by a vowel, as seen in (121).

- 121) **ʉʉʉʉʉʉ**
 uuhn éʉi |s
 uu-anv h |-éʉi=s
 3B-know:PRF-NXP=Q
 ‘Did he know?’

5.2 SYLLABLE CODA

The most common syllable form is CV, and consonants do not generally end a syllable at an underlying level. Metathesis and deletion can create surface forms with CVC syllables. In casual speech many such combinations also occur due to the dropping of the final vowel. To illustrate this point example (111) is repeated below as (122); this sentence has four underlined examples of surface CVC consonants.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 122) Dʉʉʉʉʉʉ
a-s-ka-ya
<u>askay</u>
a-skaya
3A-man | ʉʉʉʉʉʉ
u-yo-si-s-kv
uùyoosíiskǎ
uu-yoosíisk-ǎʉʉi
3B-be.hungry:INC-PAR | hʉʉʉ
ni-ka-ta
nikáát
nikááta
all |
| ʉʉʉʉʉʉ
u-sv-i
uùsvhnv
uu-svhn-ǎʉʉi
3B-eat:CMP-EXP | ʉʉʉʉʉʉ
o-s-ta
<u>óóst</u>
óósta
good | Dʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉ
a-li-s-ta-yv-to-ti
álstaàhytoht
álstaàhytohti
food |
- ‘The hungry man ate all the good food.’

In (122) the dropping of the final vowel creates a diphthong ending in a sonorant (first example), a syllable ending in a cluster of obstruents (third example), and a syllable ending in an intrusive h and stop (fourth example).

Stops in a coda position as a result of vowel dropping are automatically aspirated. An example of this aspiration is seen in (123). Because this /h/ is predictable it is not written.

- 123) **OSMY**
 wikáʔluhk [wikáʔluhk^h]
 wi-ka-ʔluhki
 CIS-3A-arrive:IMM
 ‘He arrived there.’

Glottal stops can be in a coda position as demonstrated in (124).

- 124) a. **IrMS** jíʔluhka ‘I left.’
 b. **DL** áʔta ‘young animal’

As Flemming points out, syllables may end with a short vowel and /h/, but not with a long vowel and /h/ (1996:42). The pre-aspiration-h frequently is lost because it can appear neither at the end of a preceding syllable nor at the beginning of a following syllable (as seen in the discussion of onsets above.)

6. STRESS

The final vowel in Cherokee words is usually unmarked for tone. This vowel is stressed and generally has a high tone that is slightly higher than a normal high tone. Some words do have a higher tone on the final vowel if the full form of the word has a highfall on the next-to-last syllable and the final vowel is dropped. In such cases the final vowel is marked as the highfall is clearly distinguishable from the default high tone that normally occurs at the end of words. In (125) the first verb ‘to happen’ has the final stress on the vowel /v/ after the full form is dropped off; the second verb in the sentence, ‘to walk around’ has been converted into an adverbial phrase that indicates when the action of the main verb took place. This new role as an adverb is signaled by a Deverbalizer suffix that bears the highfall tone. The full form of this tone is dropped off, but the remaining vowel /v/ has a higher tone than that of the main verb of the sentence.

- 125) **SV OPOWA LA OTVA**
 kato uùlsthav taahnuukó wijeétóòlǎ
 kato uu-alisthan-vǎʔi taahnuuko-ʔi wi-ja-eétóòl-ǎʔi
 what 3B-happen:CMPEXP garfish-LOC TRN-2B-walk.around:CMPEXP
 ‘What happened when you went to Vian?’

The stress does not fall on the final vowel if there is a highfall tone elsewhere in the word. Perceptually the highfall tone sounds like the rising tone with stress. This stress feature on the highfall makes it the most easily distinguishable tone. Significantly, highfall is the tone with the highest functional load as it is the only tone that carries grammatical meaning. Main clause verbs never carry a highfall tone, but subordinate verbs and words derived from verbs almost always carry this tone. In (126a) is a typical verb; in (126b) the highfall helps to convey that the word is a deverbalized noun.

- 126) a. **SZPV** kanoohaliítóòha ‘He is hunting.’
 b. **SZPV** kanoohaliitóóhi ‘hunter’

The underlined syllables in the above examples receive the stress. If the highfall tone is on the end because of final vowel deletion, it will often be perceptually identical to a rising tone. This is demonstrated in (127).

- 127) **DFC** ayóóhl [ayóóhl] ‘child’

More examples of the highfall will be discussed in the chapters on nouns, verbs, and modifiers.

One of the situations where final vowels do have a tone specification is with Immediate stem commands, as discussed in the above section on final vowels. This higher tone is indicated by a double accent. The two usages of the Immediate and their corresponding tone differences are compared in (128).

and a single vowel for a short vowel. Cherokee also has six tones; the two basic tones are low and high. These tones can be used together on long vowels to create a falling tone or a rising tone. Two tones only appear as long vowels: a lowfall is a low tone that becomes even lower, while a highfall is a higher than normal tone that falls slightly at the end. The writing system for tones treats the low tone as the basic tone and indicates it with an accent. The word-final vowel is typically not marked with an accent as it is predictably a high tone with a slight rising at the end. In everyday Cherokee, however, the final vowel is often dropped; if the shortened vowel has a vowel at the end, this vowel will have its own tone. This new final vowel may be unmarked (for low), with an accent (for high) or with a double-accent to represent a shortened form of the highfall (which in many cases sounds is perceived as a high tone). These features are not indicated on the syllabary spelling of the word, although the syllabary can be useful for indicating the underlying forms of words before changes apply to them.

Cherokee has a number of morphophonological rules triggered by /h/ that cause vowels to delete or change places with a consonant; these changes, in turn, can cause consonants to aspirate. A distinction is thus established between consonants that are underlyingly aspirated, and those that aspirate as a result of these changes. These changes can be circumvented by certain pronominal prefixes that remove the /h/ that causes these changes. These pronominal prefixes, and numerous more examples of these changes, will be presented in Chapter 4.

NOTES
CHAPTER 2

¹ Scancarelli (1992:136) states that Cherokee has 13 consonants; she adopts the viewpoint of King (1975) and Cook (1979) that ‘aspirated sounds are treated phonologically as clusters of consonants with /h/...’ There are good reasons, however, for distinguishing consonants that are underlyingly aspirated and others that are aspirated as a result of contact with /h/ after metathesis and deletion have occurred. The phenomenon of secondary aspiration supports this view. This distinction seems to hold for the obstruents; the aspirated sonorants probably are all underlyingly clusters of a sonorant and /h/. It seems more user-friendly, however, to treat aspirated and unaspirated consonants as distinct. The syllabary does maintain, albeit inconsistently, a distinction between aspirated and unaspirated; moreover, works on Cherokee that have a non-linguistic audience in mind maintain this distinction. Feeling (1975) recognizes twenty consonants by maintaining the distinction for obstruents but not sonorants; moreover, /ts/ and the labialized stops /kw/ and /khw/ are not included as distinct sounds. Some linguistic works maintain a distinction for as well: Foley (1980:20) adopts Walker’s analysis (1975) of 19 consonants and 6 vowels; this inventory counts aspirated obstruents, /ts/ and the labialized stops /kw/ and /khw/ as distinct.

² Glottalization is a way of producing an obstruent with extra force by ejecting the air with the glottis rather than the lungs. The only language of the Southeast languages that has glottalization is Yuchi, although it is found in other Native American language families, including Athabaskan, Siouan, Mayan, and Salishan.

³ The representation of consonants and vowels is identical; the differences are in the representation of tone and length. Scancarelli uses accents on every vowel except for the last vowel, while this grammar treats low tones as the default tone and does not mark them. Another difference is her use of double accents to represent the lowfall and highfall tone. As far as vowel length is concerned, Scancarelli uses a colon to represent long vowels, while the current work simply doubles the vowel.

⁴ Foley (1980:101) points out that, ‘In looking at North American Indian languages in general, we note that the voicing/devoicing distinction has a relatively low frequency of phonemic function.’

⁵ Foley analyzes the difference between voiced and voiceless based on an acoustic study. He concludes that the distinction in Cherokee is between voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated and that voicing ‘is not a distinctive feature of the lexical matrix of Cherokee phonemes’ (Foley 1980: 128).

⁶ As discussed in Footnote 1, one could argue that the aspirated obstruents are also clusters and therefore not distinctive phonemes. It is striking that the aspirated consonants all occur significantly much less frequently than their unaspirated counterparts. This disproportionate frequency seems to support this analysis; i.e. a cluster would naturally occur less often than one of the sounds by itself. However in a grammar intended also for L2 learners such as the current work it is more useful to

portray them as contrasting sounds, particularly since the syllabary does treat them as contrastive some of the time.

⁷ At first glance it may appear more user-friendly to represent unaspirated stops as voiced stops, since most Cherokee (and English) speakers perceive them as such most of the time. Indeed, this is the approach taken in Cherokee dictionaries and grammars intended for a non-linguistic audience, especially Feeling (1975) and Holmes (1977). However, this representation will become confusing for explanations of metathesis and deletion and the resulting aspiration. Since non-linguistic works do not deal with these phonological issues in any methodical way, these difficulties do not become apparent. In many linguistic works on Cherokee (Scancarelli 1987, Cook 1979, King 1975) the unaspirated stops are represented as <t> and <k> and their aspirated counterparts as <th> and <kh>.

⁸ Munro observes that ‘Cherokee’s morphological complexity makes it hard to find even near-minimal pairs...’ (1996:49).

⁹ As discussed in footnote 6, this infrequency vis-à-vis the quite common /j/ is good evidence that it is an underlying a cluster.

¹⁰ Foley’s acoustic analysis supports this description of the two lateral affricates. He remarks that the difference between /thl/ and /tl/ is due to the second part of the affricate and that, ‘There is virtually no difference between the stop segments in terms of voicing lead or aspiration. These observations suggest that these sounds consist of a stop plus a lateral fricative in the first case [i.e. /thl/] and a stop plus a voiced lateral in the second [i.e. /tl/]’ (1980:124).

¹¹ Scancarelli points out (1987:360) that the degree of devoicing may vary. She says that when sonorants are next to [h], they are either sequences of [h] plus the weakly voiced sonorant, or they are simply voiceless sonorants.

¹² Foley makes some important observations regarding the aspirated version of this sound that support treating aspirated /l/ as a fricative: ‘Acoustic examination shows a brief period of devoicing (23 msc.) and noise; i.e. random stippling. (91 msc.) between the vowel and l segment, as in juhla ‘fox.’ The l segment itself is of a distinct acoustic structure, as compared to the voiced lateral l, as in thileni ‘your(S) ear.’ The “voiceless l” is not only longer (144msc. vs. 99msc) but also has considerable stridency in the higher formant regions, suggesting a lateral fricative in articulatory terms.’ Foley also points out that there is phonetically a devoiced [l̥] that occurs when the final vowel of a word is dropped and /l/, as the final consonant, is devoiced. The pronunciation of this final /l/ does not have the same restriction of airflow: Foley reports that this sound, ‘has virtually no stridency in the upper regions.’ He therefore discerns two different voiceless liquid pronunciations: a voiceless fricative [ɬ] and a voiceless liquid [l̥]. He states that, ‘in articulatory terms we refer to the former as “lateral fricative” and the latter as “voiceless lateral” ’(Foley 1980: 124-5). The ‘voiceless lateral’ [l̥] is a predictable pronunciation and is therefore not a phoneme.

¹³ Cook (1979:7) states that there are more than two degrees of phonetic length. The ‘extra-short’ /i/ is an epenthetic vowel that is inserted between pronominal prefixes

and consonant-initial verb stems. These extra-short vowels are allophones of the short vowel phonemes.

¹⁴ Scancarelli (1987:56) refers to this initial element as an ‘Empty V-slot’ and states that these stems ‘behave in some ways like vowel-initial stems and in other ways like consonant-initial stems.’ Scancarelli uses the character <V> in the citation form of these stems. I have avoided using this character since it closely resembles the vowel <v>. Cook (1979:17) refers to this feature as *long stems* or *:-stems*.

¹⁵ Foley (1980) thinks there is a correlation between tone and vowel length, but does not explore the issue in depth. He also argues that vowel length is not a phonemic feature, but rather a cluster of vowels.

¹⁶ Most work on Cherokee tone has been done by Geoffrey Lindsey; Wright 1996 and other authors of the UCLA papers have based many of their ideas on his analysis. Lindsey does not consider tone to be phonemic, but rather a surface manifestation of ‘underlying representations are marked quire sparsely with accents of very limited types.’ (Lindsey 1987:1) Lindsey establishes convincingly the rules that create these surface manifestations. I accept his lead and thus use the term ‘pitch accent language’ rather than ‘tone language.’ In a true tone language each syllable is marked for tone and there are minimal pairs based on tone. Despite the fact that tone in Cherokee has less than full phonemic status, I have chosen to represent it as an aide to correct pronunciation of the forms; moreover, using only the abstract underlying forms and expecting readers to apply the necessary phonological rules to produce the correct surface form would render this grammar less than user-friendly. Lindsey (1987:1) makes the interesting typological observation that, ‘Given Cherokee’s extreme morphological complexity, and the fact that morphological and tonal complexity tend towards complementary distribution in the worlds languages, it would be rather surprising to find that these six tones are lexically distinct and marked for each syllable.’ Lindsey refers to the six tones as ‘phonetic tones’ and uses the term ‘tone’ to refer to just low and high tone.

Wright (1996) also argues that many of the tones are predictable and are attributable to high tone spread. He also discusses the interaction of laryngealization and tone and how laryngealization can create lowfall tones as well as the high-falling tone. The author also proposes several rules to account for various tone patterns; for example, laryngeal delinking in which laryngeal features are blocked when vowels acquire high tone. In the last section the author presents evidence that accent (referred to as ‘atonic accent’ in the literature) exists independently of tone.

Descriptions of Cherokee as having six tones have only been around since the 70’s, beginning with work by Pulte and Feeling (1975). Bender and Harris (1946) had described Cherokee tone by saying it follows a predictable contour of low-middle-high. They also posited a phonemic juncture, or long period of silence (#), that indicates the preceding vowel is the end of the tone contour. In their work they used accents when an unpredictable tone interrupts this pattern. They also posit a juncture phoneme (-) which is related to certain morphemes over which the contour does not spread.

¹⁷ Grenoble and Whaley (2006:151) suggest that within the context of African tone languages the default tone can be left unmarked. For fluent and literate Cherokee speakers the syllabary is more than adequate for representing the language as tone carries a low functional load and the context will indicate the proper pronunciation. The Romanized script used in this grammar is intended for English speakers (Cherokee and non-Cherokee) learning Cherokee. It would be possible to create a textbook for second language learners of Cherokee where all the tones are left off except for the highfall. The highfall is the only tone with a significant functional load as it conveys grammatical information; moreover, it is the most easily perceived tone as it alters the stress of the word.

Kathleen Lance (1977) in an unpublished graduate paper from the University of Kansas makes an intriguing attempt to show that Cherokee is not a tone language, but rather a pitch accent system. The author critiques Pulte and Feeling's dictionary and grammatical sketch as over-marking tone; she claims that tones can be predicted by applying two rules. She does note that there are cases of non-predictable pitch accent, but that such cases occur only once per word and can be indicated using her simplified system of diacritics indicating low, mid and high pitch. Moreover, instead of Pulte and Feeling's four distinct pitches, she claims only three. As a result of her re-analysis the only pitches she marks are non-final high pitches and unpredictable low pitches. She applies this re-analysis to sample nouns of one, two and three syllables. In her conclusion she points out that her framework has only been applied to non-derived nouns and that further research is needed to support her claims for derived nouns as well as verbs.

Walker does not discuss tone except to state that he uses an apostrophe that 'before a colon, it indicates rising stress and pitch; after a colon, it indicates rising stress and pitch; both before and after a colon, it indicates continued high stress and pitch' (1975:198). This system of annotation is unique in that it combines pitch and stress as well as indicates a three-way distinction instead of the six tones described in more recent literature.

King 1975 does not describe tone, although he does mark long vowels while leaving short vowels unmarked (other authors, such as Feeling, do the opposite). In Cook 1979 vowel length is indicated, along with a 'high pitch', although it is unclear what pitch this is. Foley 1980 in his initial discussion of Cherokee phonemes alludes to tone but does not mark it in any of his examples. He adopts an orthographic system similar to Walker's.

In his acoustic phonetic study, Johnson finds that the 'the system is a hybrid of pitch accent and lexical tone.' He cites Michelson's 1988 work on the development of Iroquoian accent and suggest that 'Cherokee developed lexical tone from a system that at some earlier stage had pitch accent with some local segmentally-induced pitch perturbations.' In his view one of the differences in the speech between North Carolina and Oklahoma is that in Oklahoma Cherokee the phonetic environment that caused the pitch shape was deleted and the pitch shape itself 'was then reinterpreted as a distinctive lexical property' (2005:17-8).

¹⁸ Wright describes this tone as ‘characterized by a gradual rise in pitch that begins at a variable level and rises to a point above the normal high tone register and by a rise in amplitude’ (1996:21).

¹⁹ Lindsey claims that there are some Oklahoma speakers who produce a highfall on a short vowel but that ‘in most dialects this seems to be indistinguishable from (3) [high tone], since the short vowel cannot accommodate the full extent of the [+raised] and [+delayed] H’ (1985:128).

²⁰ Lindsey states that spectrographic analysis ‘reveals a descent into creaky voice.’ Because lowfall is laryngeal, it deletes the laryngeal sound [h] in the same syllable (1985:124).

²¹ In the system of superscript numbers representing tone lowfall is ‘21’ and falling is ‘32’.

²² Lindsey (1985:125) describes the final-vowel tone as the seventh surface tone. According to his analysis, this tone is a high tone that is associated with a boundary tone; this tone usually has an upstep to create a tone slightly higher than any high tone that may precede it in the word. Lindsey’s analysis of the final tone is distinct from that of Pulte and Feeling (1975). Lindsey notes that Feeling in his dictionary only marks highfall tone on penultimate syllables and that he misanalyzes highfalls that appear elsewhere as rising tones only. In this work I adopt Lindsey’s analysis.

²³ The preceding example has an ending /a/ and is from a different speakers. Some speakers will end the Present Continuous form of a given word with /a/, while other speakers will end the same word with /i/.

²⁴ Flemming explains that the purpose of this rule is to eliminate the aspirated (‘breathy’) sonorants; for this reason the initial element must be an obstruent: ‘Obviously, metathesis does not apply where the preceding consonant is a sonorant because it would result in a breathy sonorant, which is precisely the segment that metathesis applies to eliminate.’ (1996:34).

²⁵ The fact some speakers have the metathesis rule and others don’t is an argument in favor of a dictionary that listed verbs according to their stems rather than their natural citation forms. This distinction becomes more serious when we consider the subset of Set A verbs that take *ka-* in the third person rather than the expected *a-*. One such verb, ‘to speak’, appears in the Feeling dictionary under <k> because the initial third person *ka-* has, through metathesis, come into contact with [h], as seen in (1)

1) khanéeka	ʔ ^h AS	‘He’s speaking, answering.’
jiînéeka	h ^h AS	‘I’m speaking, answering.’

This variation has practical consequences for the dictionary as speakers without the metathesis rule will search for this verb under <g> rather than <k>. For some speakers the absence of this rule creates a different initial sound seen in (2).

2) **ᏍᏱᏍ**

kahnéeka

ka-hnéeka

3A-speak:PRC

‘He is speaking.’

²⁶ This speaker uses *a-* for the Nominalizer instead of the expected *i-*. This is probably a difference in dialect and warrants further investigation.

²⁷ These examples are suggested by Wright (1996:19); however, he appears to mistakenly translate them with a third person, so the dictionary examples have been used instead.

²⁸ Lindsey calls this Tonic Glottal Insertion because he posits a glottal stop that, in Oklahoma Cherokee, surfaces as a lowfall. Because the current grammar only deals with Oklahoma Cherokee this middle step has been eliminated. Thus for Lindsey this phonological change involves two rules; tonic glottal insertion followed by the Oklahoma specific glottal lowering. Without contesting this analysis I have combined the two rules into the single rule I call pronominal laryngealization. Scancarelli (1987:64) states that pronominal prefixes with an initial /i/ always have a lowfall, so this rule is irrelevant for these prefixes.

²⁹ Scancarelli (1987:63) uses the term Glottal Lowering that she cites from Lindsey (1985).

³⁰ Munro (1996:59) also suggests this analysis.

³¹ Wright refers to this deletion of the lowfall as ‘laryngeal delinking’ (1996:17). One might expect that the second mora would be filled in by a high tone, as a result of high tone spread from the high tone to the left. Perhaps the lowfall should not be seen as deleted, but rather lowering a high tone.

³² See footnote 17.

³³ Scancarelli (1992:150) cites Chafe and Kilpatrick (1962) who point out that many Cherokee speakers use the three characters for /na/, /hna/ and /nah/ in free variation. It is possible that /nah/ had its own symbol because it occurred frequently as a conversational interjection nah that indicated assent with what someone else has said (Chafe and Kilpatrick 1962).

³⁴ Anna Huckaby (personal communication) has said that the only time she has seen this character was from the writings of Cherokee Female Seminary students written over a hundred years ago.

³⁵ Several speakers have told me that the word for both elephant and butterfly kamama is actually a conflation of two originally distinct words, kamamv and kamama. They believe that this distinction has been lost because people use a spelling pronunciation.

³⁶ Silver and Miller (1997) count nineteen consonants and six vowels for Cherokee and state that a phonemically accurate syllabary should have 114 characters. In defense of the syllabary they do point out, however, that Sequoyah deliberately chose

to have fewer symbols by pairing up certain voiced/voiceless stop plus vowel combinations and using the same symbol for them. They further note that he did these with the less frequent contrasts and is similar to <th> in English doing double-duty for a voiced interdental fricative and its voiceless counterpart.

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CHAPTER 3: GENERAL STRUCTURE OF CHEROKEE

1. WORD ORDER

1.1. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS, ANIMACY, AND WORD ORDER

Many languages have what is referred to as a basic word order. English, for example is described as an SVO language: a subject followed by a verb and an object (e.g. ‘He reads the book’ or ‘I like Cherokee’). The idea of ‘basic’ word order is problematic in Cherokee. While there are word orders that are more common than others, it appears that, given the right context, most word orders are possible. This variability is the result of the way in which Cherokee indicates on the verb the participants (the subject and objects) involved in the verb. European languages to varying degrees have suffixes on the verb that indicate what the subject of the verb is, while objects are indicated by free-standing nouns or pronouns. Thus in those languages transitive verbs (verbs with subjects and objects) always require an independent word (the object) to complete the meaning. In Cherokee such free-standing words are not necessary as the verb supplies enough information to stand on its own as a complete sentence. Prefixes indicate the participants involved, while suffixes indicate the tense, aspect, and mood of the verb. The prefixes do not always indicate, however, exactly who the subject and the object of the sentence are. For example, in the English sentence ‘he saw me’ it is readily understood that the ‘he’ is the subject (the see-er) and ‘me’ is the object (the person being seen). The Cherokee equivalent of the simple sentence is ambiguous, as seen in (1).

1) **DYAQ-T**

aàkikoohvʔi

aki-kooh-vʔi

1B-see:CMP-EXP

‘He/she/it saw me.’ or ‘I saw it.’

In this example the stem (see:CMP) and suffix indicate that an event of seeing took place (The abbreviation CMP indicates that the verb is in a form referring to a completed event, and the Experienced Past suffix, or EXP, indicates a past event of which the speaker has direct knowledge). The prefix is a Set B first person singular prefix (1B) prefix ('I' 'me'). This prefix does not itself indicate if its referent is a subject or an object. Sentences do not typically exist in isolation, however, and the context in which the sentence finds itself will help to determine the meaning. Consider the example in (2).

2) ፀ ፀፂፃፃፃፃ	፶ፂ	ፀ፶፶ፂፃፃፃፃ
na uuleesóót	kiihl	aàkikoohvʔi
na uu-aleesóóta	kiihli	aki-kooH-vʔi
that 3B-skinny	dog	1B-see:CMP-EXP
'The skinny dog saw me.'		

In this sentence only one interpretation is possible, and the prefix on the verb only refers to the participant that is being seen; i.e. the object. This interpretation is no longer ambiguous because of the importance of animacy and the local person/non-local person distinction in Cherokee grammar. While *aki-* has multiple interpretations, other prefixes have clear meanings that are related to whether one of both of the participants is living. Thus to obtain the meaning 'I saw the skinny dog' the prefix *jii-* is required; this single prefix indicates that a first person singular participant is the subject ('I') and a third person animate ('him', 'her' or animate 'it') is the object. This sentence is presented in (3).

3) ፀ ፀፂፃፃፃፃ	፶ፂ	ፃ፶፶ፂፃፃፃፃ
na uuleesóót	kiihl	jiikoʔvʔi
na uu-aleesóóta	kiihli	jii-kooH-vʔi
that 3B-skinny	dog	1A.AN-see:CMP-EXP
'I saw that skinny dog.'		

- b. **ᑭᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 kaníitaʔtʰ wuùkoohe jíistvvna
 ka-níitaʔtʰvʰi wi-uu-koohe-éʰi jíistvvna
 3A-tail TRN-3B-saw:CMP-NXP crawdad
 ‘The crawdad saw the wolf’s tail.’ (Chapter 9:1:15)

Cherokee word order is highly variable and seems to be governed more by the specific context of the sentence in the larger discourse, a type of structuring known as a pragmatic word order. Scancarelli has applied Mithun’s concept of ‘newsworthiness’ to Cherokee and states that ‘the most newsworthy elements come earlier in the sentence’ (Scancarelli 1987:192-3). Elements are ‘newsworthy’ when they introduce important new information or topics or when they indicate a contrast with other elements in the sentence (Mithun 1987:325). Placing the newsworthy elements earlier is known as ‘foregrounding.’

In (5) the verb is preceded by two noun phrases, a primary object ‘finger’ and a secondary object ‘ear.’ The verb is marked for third person singular, with a Distributive (DST) prefix indicating that the primary object is plural. Both noun phrases are plural; in this case it is probably real-world knowledge that is making clear the relations; i.e. it is more common to stick fingers in ears than vice-versa, therefore ‘fingers’ is the primary object.. In (5b) the nominal phrase ‘him running over the first mountain’ appears first, followed by the main verb ‘he saw.’ The subject ‘rabbit’ appears at the very end of the sentence.

- 5) a. **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 teekáayesaʔtʰ tikaʔlééni tuusontéeʰi
 tee-ka-xyesaʔtʰvʰi ti-ka-ʔlééni tee-uu-sont-eʰi
 DST-3A-finger DST2-3A-ear DST-3B-put.in:CMP-NXP
 ‘He put his fingers into his ears’ (New Testament, Mark 7:33)

b. **DEᵛ** **KLᵛ** **ᵛJC ᵛ**
akᵛvyi jootalᵛ wathlíisᵛ
akᵛvyi ti-ootalᵛᵛᵛi wi-a-atihthlíis-éᵛi
first CIS-mountain TRN-3A-run:INC-NXP\SUB

ᵛAP **ᵛᵛS**
wuukoohe jiist
wi-uu-koooh-éᵛi jiistu
TRN-3B-see:INC-NXP rabbit
‘The rabbit saw him running over the first mountain.’ (Chapter 9.3:26)

Word order in Cherokee is thus extremely flexible because it is sensitive to contextual factors such as the relative newness, importance, definiteness, or animacy of the participants.² Throughout this grammar many examples will be presented that have been taken from larger discourses; the varying word order in any given example should be seen within the larger context from which it is taken. Three sample discourses are provided at the end of this grammar in Chapter 9; the reader is invited to refer to these texts to understand the context from which the sample sentences are taken. For example, in (5b) the citation indicates that the sentence is from the third text in Chapter 9 and is found on line 26.

A thorough understanding of the complex interplay of discourse features with word order and grammatical relations—not to mention the individual and dialectal variations—is a topic deserving of its own study. While this issue will be commented on in relevant sections, it is beyond the scope of the present work to offer a comprehensive and unified account of this complex phenomenon.

1.2. WORD ORDER WITHIN PHRASES

Word order within phrases, while still variable, is more fixed than in the sentence as a whole. For example, noun modifiers (i.e. adjectivals) such as determiners, quantifiers, and adjectives typically come before the nouns they modify, as seen in (6). In (6a) the determiner ‘that’ precedes the noun it specifies, while in (6b) the quantifier ‘a little’ modifies the following noun. In (6c) the underlined adjective precedes the noun. Determiners and numbers usually precede the adjectives; more

examples of the various ways in which a noun is modified will be discussed in Chapter 8.

- 6) a. **ᑕ Dᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **Dᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
na askaya aàjikoohwthi
na a-skaya aji-koohwthiha
that 3A-man 3O-see:PRC
‘The man is being seen.’
- b. **ᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
kaàyóóhli jalak jiwóoniisko
kaàyóóhli jalaki ji-wóoniisk-óʔi
a.little Cherokee 1A-speak:INC-HAB
‘I speak a little Cherokee.’
- c. **ᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
taàkinvsa uulskéét tikoohweeli
tee-aki-nvsa uu-aliskééta ti-koochweeli
DST-1B-give:IMM 3B-sacred DST-book
‘She gave me the sacred book.’

In (6c) the verb ‘to give’ has three participants: the subject ‘she’, the primary object ‘me’ (the recipient of the giving) and the secondary object ‘sacred book’ (the thing being given). Note that in this example the object ‘me’ is called a ‘primary object’ because it is referenced on the verb with the pronominal prefix. The terms ‘primary object’ and ‘secondary object’ will be explained at greater length in Chapter 6.

When a single noun appears as part of the verb phrase it usually comes before the verb. Three examples of a noun before a verb are in (7); the first two nouns are objects, while the noun in the third example is a place.

- 7) a. **ᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
kaata teekhálkhwatéeka
kaata tee-ka-hlkhwatéeka
dirt DST-3A-turn.over:PRC
‘He’s turning dirt over.’

b. **DLΛΛ** **ØZΛ**
aàtaneélv uùnoothla
aàtaneélv uunii-oothla
store 3B.PL-possess:PRC
‘They have a store.’

c. **TØE** **ΛGVRT**
ihlkʷ taàwatós-vʷʔi
ihlkʷʷʔi ta-aki-atós-vʷʔi
tree CIS-1B-fall:CMP-EXP
‘I fell from the tree.’

Objects also appear after their verb; an example is in (8). The noun phrase ‘this box’ is the object of the verb ‘to send.’ The verb ‘to send’ always has three participants associated with it: the sender, the thing being sent, and the destination to which it is sent. Its subject ‘I’ is indicated by the pronominal prefix *aki-* and its object by the noun phrase ‘this box’; the place (specifically the goal) of the sending is indicated by both the prepronominal prefix *wi-* and the question word ‘where.’ Question words such as ‘where’ appear at the beginning of the sentence. Many verbs bear prefixes before the pronominal prefixes to further specify information about the verb; these markers are called prepronominal prefixes. The verb ‘to send’ is in its Deverbal Noun form (:DVN) to indicate that the whole verb phrase “for me to send this box where” is the object of the main verb ‘to want.’

8) **†P** **CVJØJ** **GSP** **ØD ØΛHT**
haatlv wakitiìsti jatuuli hiʔa khaneèsáʔi
haatlv wi-aki-tiìst-i ja-atuulíha hiʔa khaneèsáʔi
where TRN-1B-send(long):DVN-NOM2 2B-want:PRC this box
‘Where do you want me to send this box?’ (Feeling 1975a:187)
lit. “Where for me to send (it), you want (it), this box?”

Within a postpositional phrase the postposition follows its noun phrase complement. This order is seen in (9); i.e. “the bat with”, rather than the English type, or ‘preposition’, that precedes its noun phrase complement (i.e. ‘with the bat.’).

1.3. ORDER OF PHRASES AND CLAUSES

Adverbials are words or phrases that modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs as well as clauses. Adverbials often precede what they are modifying; for example, in (9) the postpositional phrase ‘with a bat’ is acting adverbially (by stating how the action was carried out) and is placed before the verb.

9) **Aᵒᵒʰᵒᵒᵓ Eᵓ ᵒᵒᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ**
 koostvniisti kvhti uuskwalvniisti
 koostvniisti kvhti uu-skwalvniist-i
 bat with 3B-hit.on.head:DVN-NOM2

ᵓᵓ ᵒᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ
 kihli uñehlthánvʔi
 kihli uu-nehlthán-ʔvʔi
 dog 3B-try:CMP-EXP
 ‘He tried to hit the dog on the head with a bat.’ (Feeling 1975a:52)
 lit. “A bat with, for him to hit on the head a dog, he tried it.”

In the example in (9) the verb ‘to hit on the head’ appears in its Deverbal Noun stem form. Verbs typically have five different forms, or stems; the fifth stem, known as the Deverbal Noun stem, is often used when the verb and its associated participants are acting as a noun. As seen in the literal rendering of this sentence, the main verb ‘to try’ comes at the very end; the object of this verb is the entire preceding dependent clause “the bat with for him to hit on the head a dog.” This dependent clause is a nominal; that is, a phrase acting like a noun. In this case it is performing the role of object of the verb ‘to try.’

These Deverbal Noun forms will less commonly appear after the main verb of which they are the object; typically they precede the verb. In (10) is a complex example of verbs acting as objects to other verbs. The first word, the conjugated verb

‘to urge’ has three participants. The subject (the urger) is indicated by the pronominal prefix *uu-* (3B), while the primary object ‘the listeners’ (those who are being urged) is a noun (itself built on the Deverbal Noun form of the verb ‘to listen’). The secondary object (that which is being urged) is the nominalized action of ‘asking to be taught’; the verb ‘to ask’ itself has as an object another verb in the Deverbal Noun form (‘to be taught’). The third line of this sentence is a clause acting as an adverbial; i.e. it is modifying the entire preceding clause by placing a condition for its fulfillment.

10) ShW\$ŋ	ΘαΥ	ΘΘϯLαJ
tuùniilateélv	naski	uunathvtáàsti
tee-uu-niilat-eél-vʔi	naski	uunii-athvtáàst-i
DST-3B-urge:CMF-APL:CMF-EXP	that	3B.PL-listen:DVN-NOM

ΘαΥ	ΘhWϯαJ	JFϯϯJ
naski	uuniithayoosti	tikeekeehyohti
naski	uunii-thayoost-i	ti-keejii-eehyoht-i
that	3B.PL-ask:DVN-NOM2	DST2-3O.PL-teach:DVN-NOM2

Θ GΘSP	GWY	ΘΘ\$GTαJT
na yuunatuuli	jalaki	uunateehlohkwaastííʔi
na yi-uunii-atuuliha	jalaki	uunii-atehlokwest-ííʔi
that IRR-3B.PL-want:PRC	Cherokee	3B.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2

‘He encouraged the audience to ask for help if they want to learn the language.’
lit. ‘He urged them, those who listen, for them to do it, for them to ask for it, for them to be taught, if they want it, for them to learn Cherokee.’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

As stated at the beginning of this section, adverbials typically come before the word or clause they are modifying. In the example in (11) the first word is a verb functioning as a time adverbial to the main clause; the main clause ‘I was trying to work’ displays the typical order of Deverbal Noun object ‘to work’ followed by the main verb ‘I was trying it.’

11) **hαΥϯαLΛŋ**

ji-skiyoostaaneélv
ji-ski-yoo-staan-eél-vvʔi
REL-2/1-break-CAUS:CMPL:APL:CMPL-DVB

ᑭᑭᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ	ᑭᑭᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ
tiikilvwstáhnti	kahneehltiiskv
ti-aki-lvwstáhnt-i	ji-ahneehltiisk-vvʔi
DST2-1B-work:DVN-NOM2	1A-try:INC-EXP
‘ <u>When you interrupted</u> I was trying to work.’	
lit. “ <u>When you broke it for me</u> , for me to work, I was trying it.”	

2. CLAUSE TYPES

A minimal Cherokee clause consists of a subject and a predicate. The subject is what the clause is about, while the predicate is what is said about that subject. A predicate is typically a verb, but can also be a noun or an adjective. Verbs always express their subject through the use of markers that attach to the beginning of the verb; these markers are known as pronominal prefixes. Many nouns and adjective can also bear pronominal prefixes to express their subject. If a noun or adjective is unable to have a pronominal prefix, a separate noun may indicate the subject; in some cases a noun will be absent and the subject will be understood to be third person.

There are two general types of clauses. Independent clauses are able to stand on their own and are known as sentences, while a dependent clause cannot stand alone. A dependent clause can be nominal, adjectival, or adverbial. A nominal clause is a dependent clause that fills the role of a noun by acting as one of the participants (subject or object) of the main verb. An adjectival clause modifies a noun, and an adverbial clause modifies a verb, adjective, adverb, or clause.

Cherokee verbs are able to stand alone as grammatically complete clauses because the prefixes and suffixes they bear will indicate all the participants that are involved in the verb as well as information about tense, aspect, and mood. The verb phrase consists of at least a verb and may also contain nominals further specifying the

identity of its participants as well as adverbials providing more detailed information about the verb (such as time, place or manner).

If the sentence contains a third person subject and a third person object, the subject generally will precede the object.³ An example is in (12); the first underlined portion is the subject, while the second underlined portion is the object

12) DJG	OPB	JSJCTJ	SHT
<u>achúúja</u>	<u>uuliisi</u>	<u>juukhthinv́thti</u>	tuùyooséele
a-chúúja	uu-liisi	ti-uu-akhthinv́thti	tee-uu-yooséel-é?i
3A-boy	3B-grandmother	DST2-3B-glasses	DST-3B-lose:CMP-NXP
'The boy lost his grandmother's glasses.'			

If there are multiple nouns, typically the noun expressing place will go after the main object or after the verb. An example is in (13); the object 'water' precedes the verb, while the place-in this case 'clothes she is ironing' (the place where the water is sprinkled)-follows the verb. The verb 'to iron' is modifying 'clothes'; this subordination is indicated by a highfall tone on the Deverbal Noun (DVN) form of the verb. The subordination highfall tone is indicated by the abbreviation \SUB that appears after the translation of the verb.

13) D	LTG	JS	JT
<u>ama</u>	<u>taàkwayóo?vska</u>	<u>tiihnawo</u>	<u>juuthéésti</u>
ama	tee-a-kwayóo?vska	ti-a-ahnawo	ti-uu-theést-i
water	DST-3A-sprinkle:PRC	DST2-3A-clothes	DST2-3B-iron:DVN\SUB-NOM
'She is sprinkling water on the clothes she is going to iron.' (Feeling 1975a: 72)			

In addition to verbs and nouns, other adverbial elements such as adverbs, postpositional phrases, and subordinate clauses can appear in the sentence. These modifiers will be discussed in chapter 8.

Pronominal prefixes always appear on verbs, so a clause in Cherokee often may consist of a single conjugated verb. A larger clause might include noun phrases further specifying the subject and object of the verb, as well as adverbials further specifying how, when, where, or why the verb is carried out. An adjective or a noun

The following section describes the different types of clauses.

2.1. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

As stated above, independent clauses can stand alone. Coordination occurs when two independent clauses are joined together. In (15a) the two clauses are joined by the Conjunction (=CN) clitic ‘and.’ In Cherokee all verbs carry pronominal prefixes that refer to the participant(s) involved with the verb. The word order in the first clause in (15b) is the object ‘tail’, followed by the verb ‘to see’, while in the second clause the subject ‘crawdad’ is followed by the verb. The sentence in (15c) is a single clause; in this case it is preceded by a postpositional phrase indicating location.

- 15) a. **Dhᵛᵛᵛ** **Dhᵛ** **DhJGZ** **DhVᵛ**
 aniiskay aàníina aniichúújahno aàniitòona
 anii-skaya anii-na aniichúúja=hno anii-tòona
 3A.PL-man 3A.PL-sit(PL):PRC 3A.PL-boy=CN 3A.PL-stand(PL):PRC
 ‘The men are sitting and the boys are standing.’

- b. **ᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛ**
 kaníitaʔtv wuùkoohe
 ka-níitaʔtvʔi wi-uu-kooh-éʔi
 3A-tail TRN-3B-saw:CMF-NXP

- ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 jíistvvna uhnáhno wuùthoséeʔi
 jíistvvna uhna=hno wi-uu-athos-éʔi
 crawdad there=CN TRN-3B-latch.onto:CMF-NXP
 ‘The crawdad saw the wolf’s tail and latched onto it.’ (Chapter 9.1:15-16)

- c. **ᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 óosi naʔv uùwoóhla uùkaanawooska
 óosi naʔv uu-oóhla uu-kaanawooska
 stove near 3B-sit:PRC 3B-get.warm:PRC
 ‘He’s sitting by the stove warming himself.’ (Feeling 1975a:167)
 lit. ‘Near the stove he’s sitting. He’s warming himself.’

2.2. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

As seen from the examples in (15), clauses can be placed together without subordination, although it is common for one of the clauses to take an adverbial role and modify the other. This adverbial role is indicated by affixes (the Relativizer prefix *ji-* is especially common), the addition of a highfall tone, or both. Dependent clauses can also act as a subject or object of a verb; this type of clause, known as a nominal clause, will be further exemplified in this section. Finally, a type of dependent clause known as a relative clause can modify a noun.

In (16a) the underlined verb is modifying one of the participants (in this case the object ‘water’) of the main verb phrase. In (16b) the underlined clause is acting as the object of the main verb. In (16c) the underlined dependent clause is acting as an adverbial by adding a condition for the main clause. In each of these examples subordination is indicated by a highfall tone; in the first example, the Deverbalizer suffix (DVB) bears this tone, while in the second example it appears on the Nominalizer suffix (NOM2) that indicates a verb acting as an object to another verb. In (16c) a special suffix known as a Time Adverbial (TAV) indicates a verb that has been turned into an adverbial; in this case the suffix does not inherently have a highfall tone, so the tone is placed on the rightmost long vowel.

16) a. **Dʒ** **DCCαE** **ʃPαSC**
 ama atlitliiskʷ kaliistuuṭli
 ama a-atlitliisk-ʷʷʔi ji-ali-stuuṭli
 water 3A-boil:INC-DVB 1A-MDL-splash:IMM
 ‘I splashed boiling water on myself.’

b. **ʔθʃPα** **GWY ʔhʉh.ɔαJ**
 uùnatuulis jalaki uuniiwooniihisti
 uunii-atuuliha=s jalaki uunii-wooniihist-i
 3B.PL-want:PRC=Q Cherokee 3B.PL-speak:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Do they want to speak Cherokee?’

- c. **DJW** **D** **PC**
atíítháha ama uùtlívvjv
a-atiitháh-a ama uu-htlívvj-vvʔi
3A-drink:CMPSUB-TAV water 3B-be.sick:CMPEXP
‘He became sick after drinking the water.’
lit. “Having drunk the water, he became sick.”

There can be several dependent clauses inside one another. In (17) the bracketed clause ‘the opening door’ is an object of the verb ‘to hear.’ The larger underlined clause of which it is a part is itself an adverbial clause that is modifying the independent clause ‘I knew my father had come home.’ In this clause, the object of the verb ‘know’ is the dependent clause ‘my father had come home.’ This subordinate relationship is indicated by the Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix on the dependent clause’s verb.

- 17) **DS** **SE** [**CS** **DP** **STE**]
akhthv́káàna [stuùti alstuʔiiskv́]
aki-ahthv́káàna-a stuùti a-ali-stuʔiisk-vvʔi
1B-hear:IMMSUB-TAV door 3A-MDL-open:INCDVB

DT **R** **MC**
aàkwahnthv eetoota uùlúhjv́
aki-ahnth-vvʔi ee-toota uu-lúhj-vvʔi
1B-know:CMPEXP VOC-father 3B-arrive:CMPDVB
‘When I heard [the door open] I knew my father had come home.’
lit. “Having heard [the opening door], I knew it, that my father arrived.”

The three types of dependent clauses are further explained in the following three sections.

2.2.1 Adjectival Clauses

An adjectival clause is a clause that gives more information about a noun and is thus subordinated to it. One of the basic subordination strategies in Cherokee is to use the Relativizer prepronominal prefix (REL) *ji-* and a highfall tone on the

rightmost long vowel indicating subordination (\SUB). For example, (18a) and (18b) are independent clauses; in (18c) the clause in (18a) is put in a subordinate relationship to the subject of the clause in (18b) by modifying it. The highfall appears on the Experienced Past (EXP) suffix on the verb ‘to talk to.’ Usually the full form of this suffix is not pronounced, but the highfall is still apparent in that this word ends with a higher than normal tone at the end, indicated by a double accent over the last vowel.

18) a. **Θ DαSα** **hPZPJαET**
na askaya jiiliinohehtiiskv
na a-skaya jii-ali-hnohehtiisk-vʹʹi
that 3A-man 1A.AN-MDL-tell:INC-EXP
‘I was talking to the man.’

b. **DαSα** **DhS**
askaya aahnika
a-skaya a-aahnika
3A-man 3A-leave:IMM
‘The man left.’

c. **Θ DαSα** **hPZPJαET** **DhS**
na askaya jiiliinohehtiiskv aahnika
na a-skaya ji-jii-ali-hnohehtiisk-vʹʹi a-aahnika
that 3A-man REL-1A.AN-MDL-tell:INC-EXP\SUB 3A-leave:IMM
‘The man that I was talking to left.’

A clause can be subordinated to a noun that is the subject (as in 18c) or the object (19a) of an independent clause. If the main clause verb takes three participants, the relative clause can modify the third participant; this is demonstrated in (19a).⁴ In (19a) the subordinating highfall tone falls on the Experienced Past suffix (as the rightmost long vowel of the word), while in (19b) it is on the Habitual suffix.

19) a. **DLE** **lr̩YΛO** **lr̩T̩OŠ**
 ahnawo jiskihnéhnǎ jitheeska
 a-hnawo ji-ski-hneehn-ǎǎʔi ji-theeska
 3A-shirt REL-2/1-give(flexible):CMP-EXP\SUB 1A-iron:PRC
 ‘I am ironing the shirt that you gave me.’

b. **lr̩YΘSP̩A** **DPJC**
jikintuuliiskó altííthla
 ji-kinii-atuuliisk-óʔi altííthla
 REL-1B.DL-want:CMP-HAB\SUB car

ŠGW **YG** **OCT**
 káayuùl khilo uùhwase
 káayuùla khilo uu-hwas-éʔi
 already someone 3B-buy:CMP-NXP
 ‘The car we want has already been bought.’
 lit. ‘The car that we want, someone already bought it.’

In (20) both examples have a relative clause with the verb ‘to paint’ modifying the noun ‘boy.’ In the first example the subordination is expressed by the Relativizer and the insertion of the highfall tone on the verb in the subordinate clause. In the second example the Deverbal Noun already has a highfall tone to express obligation; in this instance the ‘to be’ copula appears bearing the Relativizer. Because this word has no long vowel, the expected highfall appears as a short high tone.⁵

20) a. **ʔP** **Θ** **DJG** **lr̩ʔʔOB** **DʔB**
 haatlǎ naʔ achúúja jitvvsúúhwisi aàsoóyǎʔ
 haatlǎ naʔ a-chúúja ji-ta-a-suúhwis-i aàsoóyǎʔʔi
 where that 3A-boy REL-FUT-3A-paint:CMP\SUB-MOT fence
 ‘Where’s that boy who will paint the fence?’

b. **ʔP** **Θ** **DJG** **lr̩ʔʔOB** **lr̩Y** **DʔB**
 haatlǎ naʔ achúúja uusúúhwisti jíki aàsoóyǎʔ
 haatlǎ naʔ a-chúúja uu-suúhwíst-i ji-ki aàsoóyǎʔʔi
 where that 3A-boy 3B-paint:DVN\MOD-NOM REL\SUB-be:IMM fence
 ‘Where’s that boy who has to paint the fence?’

2.2.2. Nominal Clauses

A Nominal clause is a clause that functions as a noun by acting as a subject or object. When the clause is acting as the object of a verb, it has the same structure as an adjectival clause, but without the Relativizer *ji-*. In (21) the underlined portion is the object of the verb ‘to hear.’

21) DJG	ØØØE	DYØSO
<u>achúúja</u>	<u>uùweehlúhkʷ</u>	akhthvkaanv
a-chúúja	uu-eehlúhk-vʷʔi	aki-ahthvkaan-vʷʔi
3A-boy	3B-scream:INC-EXP\SUB	1B-hear:CMP-EXP
‘I heard <u>the boy screaming.</u> ’		

A nominal clause can also serve as the subject of the verb, as seen in (22). The underlined clause ‘build a house’ is the subject of the intransitive verb ‘to take time.’

22) ØW	ʔAØL	LCVFE
<u>hila yikohíít</u>	<u>taàhliiliitooho</u>	
hila yi-kohííta	tee-ahliiliitooh-óʔi	
how	IRR-long	DST-3A-take.time:INC-HAB
SPKS	DASØJT	
<u>kahljoóte</u>	<u>anekstííʔi</u>	
kahljoóte	a-anekst-ííʔi	
house	3A-build:DVN-NOM2	
‘How long does it take to build a house?’		

The nominal clause verb can be a conjugated verb (that is, a verb capable of expressing tense and aspect) or a Deverbal Noun. These two possibilities are explored in the next section.

2.2.2.1. Deverbal Noun Nominal Clauses

The verb in a nominal clause frequently appears in its Deverbal Noun stem. In (23a), (23b), and (23c) both verbs have the same subject, while in (23d), the main verb and nominal clause verb have distinct subjects.

- 23) a. **h_oST** **DC_oSV_oJ**
 jiiskáàʔi awakhthoósti
 ji-skáàʔi aki-akahthoóst-i
 1B-afraid:PRC 1B-look.at:DVN-NOM2
 ‘I’m afraid to look at it.’ lit. “I fear it, for me to look at it.”
- b. **ʔ_oʔ_oʔ_o_oS** **ʔ_oJ_oJ**
 uùnuulívvhvska wuutiínv̀t̃ti
 uu-nuulívvhvska wi-uu-atiínv̀t̃-i
 3B-fail.to:PRC TRN-3B-throw:DVN-NOM2
 ‘She can’t throw it in.’ (Lady Indians Basketball Championship)
 Lit. “S/he fails it, for her to throw it in.”
- c. **ʔ_oʔ_oʔ_oʔ_oW_oΛZ** **J_oʔ_oV_oY_o_oJ**
 uùntívvnasthanéhnóo juuhnthohkiíyáàsti
 uunii-atívvnasthan-éʔi=hnóo ti-uunii-ahthokhiíyáàst-i
 3B.PL-prepare:CMF-NXP=CN DST2-3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 ‘They got ready to race.’ (Chapter 9.1)
 Lit. “They’re preparing it, for them to race.”
- d. **D_oT_oS_oF** **G_oh_oY_o_oJ**
 aàkwatuuli jaahnikiisti
 aki-atuuliha ja-aahnikiist-i
 1B-want:PRC 2B-leave:DVN-NOM2
 ‘I want you to leave.’ lit. “I want it, for you to leave.”

It is important to note that verbs that Set A prefixes do not appear on a Deverbal Noun nominal clause. In (24a) the verb ‘to write’ has the Set A prefix, but in (24b) it has a Set B prefix. The Distributive prefix is in the *ti*-form (DST2) that is typical for nouns and adjective, but not main clause verbs.

- 24) a. **J_oG_oW_oY** **S_oA_oʔ_oF_oD**
 tijalaki teekoohweélíʔa
 ti-jalaki tee-ji-oohweélíʔa
 DST2-Cherokee DST-1A-write:PRC
 ‘I am writing Cherokee.’

b.	JG WY	JCŪGJ	SSGTD
	tijalaki	<u>tiiwoohweélóòhti</u>	teekáteèlkwáʔa
	ti-jalaki	ti-aki-ooohweélóòht-i	tee-ji-ateehlkwáʔa
	DST2-Cherokee	DST2-1B-write:DVN-NOM2	DST-1A-learn:PRC
	‘I am learning <u>to write Cherokee.</u> ’		

Several verbs, when they have a nominal clause as an object, will always cause the nominal clause verb to appear in the Deverbal Noun stem. In (25) are two examples of nominal clauses acting as objects of the verb ‘to want’; in (25a) the nominal clause has the same subject as the main verb, while in (25b) they are different. In both examples the nominal clause verb is in the Deverbal Noun form.

25) a.	DCSP	EACŪJT	
	aàwatuuli	<u>kvvkoohwthvhtííʔi</u>	
	aki-atuuliha	kvv-koohwthvht-ííʔi	
	1B-want:PRC	1/2-see:DVN-NOM2	
	‘I want <u>to see you.</u> ’		
b.	SGASŪT	GAŪJ	ŪSSP
	<u>tuùyuukhtúutvʔi</u>	chanesti	oòkatuuli
	tuuyyuukhtúutvʔi	ja-hnest-i	ookii-atuuliha
	truth	2B-speak:DVN-NOM2	1B.PL.EX-want:PRC
	‘We want <u>for you to speak the truth.</u> ’		

Other verbs like ‘to want’ are exemplified in (26).

26) a.	DhCJ	ŪLŪSŪJ
	áanehlti	<u>uùlstehlti</u>
	aa-ǰxnehltíha	uu-ali-stehlt-i
	3A-try:PRC	3B-MDL-help:DVN-NOM2
	‘He’s trying <u>to help.</u> ’	

- b. VCɔW ɔWƏ ɔθKJ DhSJa
toowaleel úútan uunajóòti aànikhthiíya
toowaleela uu-átana uunii-ajóòt-i anii-kahtííya
car 3B-big 3B.PL-ride:DVN-NOM2 3A.PL-wait:PRC
‘They are waiting to ride the bus.’
- c. SɔSWAT Ə B TS
tuùnukhthane na yv iik
tee-uunii-ukahthan-é?i na iiyív?i iika
DST-3B.PL-decide:CMP-NXP that when day
- iɔYƏ GθɔɔJ
v̀skina yuuntv̀hnti
v̀skina yi-uunii-atv̀hnt-i
that.way IRR-3B.PL-do:DVN-NOM2
‘They decided on what day they would do this.’ (Chapter 9.3:7-8)

2.2.2.2. Finite Nominal Clauses

Some nominal clause verbs appear in a conjugated form, but with a highfall indicating subordination. Three examples are in (27). In (27c) the predicate is an adjective, so the highfall indicating subordination falls on the copula ‘to be’ at the end of the sentence.

- 27) a. DCɔW ɔMCT
aàwahntha uulúhjív?i
aki-anvhtha uu-lúhj-v?i
1B-know:PRC 3B-return:CMP-EXP\SUB
‘I know that he returned.’
- b. hSL hɔYɔɔʔAʔ SʔRPA
niikáát niiskiiyatívneél’v kalii?eélíiko
niikááta ni-iiskii-atívneél-v?i ji-alii?eélíik-ó?i
all PRT-2/1.PL-do:CMP-APL:CMP-EXP\SUB 1A-be.appreciative:INC-HAB
‘I appreciate everything you have done for us.’

- c. **hSŁ** **ŌŌŮ**
 níkáátatvv uùnahnthē
 níkááata=tvv uunii-anvthth-é?i
 all=FC 3B.PL-know:CMP-NXP

hŌS	ŌŌL	DCV	FR
<u>jiist</u>	<u>óóst</u>	<u>athlíitó</u>	<u>keès'v</u>
jiistu	óósta	a-atithlíitoóh-i	keès-v'v?i
rabbit	good	3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM	be:INC-EXP\SUB
‘They all knew <u>that the rabbit was a good runner.</u> ’ (Chapter 9.3:2-3)			

As seen in the above examples, verbs such as ‘know’, ‘appreciate’, ‘remember’, ‘think’ (generally known as cognition verbs) commonly take conjugated verb (i.e. verbs that express tense and aspect) nominal clauses as their objects. Three more examples are in (28). In (28c) the nominal clause verb is in the Deverbal Noun form to express ability; in this instance the copula ‘to be’ appears to carry the highfall tone of subordination.

- 28) a. **SŌLJD** **KWh** **ŌhŌWŌT**
 kanvñtatí?a joólani uuyóosthanv'v?i
 ji-anvhtatí?a joólani uu-yóo-sthan-v'v?i
 1A-remember:PRC window 3B-break-CAUS:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘I remember him breaking the window.’

- b. **DCŌW** **YhAhfET**
 aàwahntha kinii koohniiyookv'v?i
 aki-anvththa kinii-koohniiyook-v'v?i
 1B-know:PRC 1B.DL-be.late:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘I know that we were late.’

- c. **ŌŌŮ** **ECŮŌJ** **FR**
 uuhnthe kvvwthlóóhist keeh'v
 uu-anvthth-é?i kaa-uu-athlóóhist-i keeh-v'v?i
 3B-know:CMP-NXP NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM be:CMP-EXP
 ‘He knew that he could beat him.’ (Chapter 9.3:5)

In the examples above the verbs are in dependent clauses, but they still verbs take suffixes expressing tense, aspect, and mood. In other words, the time frame for the main verb and the subordinate verb can be different.

Unlike the Deverbal Noun clauses, the finite nominal clauses are still able to take Set A pronominal prefixes. Three examples are in (29).

- 29) a. **ᐃᑃᑲ ᑕᑭᐱᑲ ᑭᑲᑲᑲ**
 hilayv chulkoje hokskv̄
 hilayv ja-sulikoj-éʔi hi-okisk-vv̄ʔi
 when 2B-quit:CMP-NXP 2A-smoke:INC-EXP\SUB
 ‘When did you quit smoking?’ (Feeling 1975a:56)
 lit. “When did you quit it, your smoking?”
- b. **ᐃᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᐃᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 oðkiiskwátv oojáhneskeeskv̄ kahljoótéʔi
 ookii-skwát-vv̄ʔi oojii-áhneskeesk-vv̄ʔi kahljoótéʔi
 1B.PL.EX-finish-EXP 1A.PL.EX-build:INC-EXP\SUB house
 ‘We finished building the house.’
 lit. “We finished it, our building the house.”
- c. **ᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 nv̄vw̄ uunaleenv̄ ahnthookhiyaskv̄
 nv̄vkwu uunii-aleenv̄h-a anii-ahnthookhiyask-vv̄ʔi
 now 3B.PL-start:CMP\SUB-TAV 3A.PL-race:INC-EXP\SUB
 ‘That’s when they started racing.’ (Chapter 9.3:27)

2.2.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses that modify a verb or an entire clause and indicate when, why, or how an action occurs. This process will be explored in Chapter 8; several examples are below in (30). In each example a highfall tone indicating subordination (\SUB) is inserted on the rightmost long vowel. In (30a) the clause ‘when the phone rang’ is expressing the time when ‘waking up’ took place. In (30b) the phrase ‘unless you grow up around here’ acts adverbially by positing a

condition for the entire preceding clause. In (30c) the adverbial clause tells the reason for the main verb occurring.

- 30) a. **ADHβFT** **DPZPJ** **GZBPE**
 aàniiyeeekvʔi ahlnoohéhti yuunoohyʔvlsa
 anii-yeeek-vʔi a-ali-hnoohéht-i yi-uu-noohyʔvls-a
 3A.PL-wake:CMP-EXP 3A-MDL-tell:DVN-NOM IRR-3B-make.noise:CMP\SUB-TAV
 ‘They were waking up when the phone rang.’
- b. **GW** **ᏍᏍᏁᏁᏁ** **AᏁ** **DCPVE**
 jalaki kawooniíhisti kohííta ahliliíitóòho
 jalaki kawooniíhisti kohííta a-ahliliíitóòh-óʔi
 Cherokee language long/time 3A-take.time:INC-HAB
- ᏁᏁᏁ** **DU** **ᏁᏁᏁᏁᏁ**
 uuwaasvahi ahná yijáthvsiítóóla
 uuwaasvhi ahná yi-ja-thvs-iítóòl-a
 unless here IRR-2A-grow(I):CMP-AMB:CMP\SUB-TAV
 ‘Learning to speak Cherokee takes a lot of time unless you grow up around it.’
- c. **LYᏁᏁᏁ** **ᏁᏁᏁᏁᏁ** **DCPᏁᏁᏁ**
 taakiyawéekátv uuhlǰvʔtawati aàwalskíisʔ
 tee-aki-yawéeka=tvv uuhlǰvʔtawati aki-alskíis-ʔvʔi
 DST-1B-be.tired:PRC=FC all.night 1B-dance:CMP-DVB
 ‘I’m tired because I danced all night.’

A Partitive prefix and Negative Deverbalizer suffix are used together if the adverbial has a negative or privative sense. Again, such uses are often translated into English with an adjective. Two examples are in (31)

- 31) a. **ᏁᏁᏁᏁᏁ** **DPᏁᏁᏁᏁᏁ**
 nuuyóosiiskvʔna aàlstáàyvvhvsk
 ni-uu-yóosiisk-ʔvʔna a-ali-stáàyvvhvska
 PRT-3B-hungry:INC-NDV 3A-MDL-fix.a.meal:PRC
 ‘He’s eating while he’s not hungry.’

- b. **Dh̄əʂə ʔəb̄ʂ̄ʂə** **əʂp̄w̄jot**
askaya nuutlasithvʔeeh̄v̄na wituùhlthatiin̄v̄ʔi
a-skaya ni-uu-atlasithvʔeeh̄-v̄na wi-tee-uu-alihthatiin-v̄ʔi
3A-man PRT-3B-doubt:INC-NDV TRN-DST-3B-jump:CMP-EXP
‘Without a care in the world the man jumped.’

3. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are particles; i.e. words that do not inflect. Interjections are either used alone or in juxtaposition to a clause. Three examples are in (32).

- 32) a. **i əʂ** **l̄sm̄h̄**
vv naàhiyu takalúh̄ji
vv naàhiyu ta-ka-lúh̄j-i
yes then FUT-3A-arrive:CMP-MOT
‘Yes, at that time he will arrive.’
- b. **E TL̄əʂ**
khv īitaleénāwu
khv iitii-aleéna=kwu
hey 1A.PL-start:IMM(COM)=DT
‘Hey, let’s start!’
- c. **ʔw̄ ʔəjot̄lə** **ʂp̄k̄ʂ** **əhm̄ct**
núúla nuuntiin̄v̄takwu kalhjoóte wiiniiʔluhjv̄ʔi
núúla ni-uu-natin̄v̄ta=kwu kalhjoóte wi-iinii-ʔluhj-v̄ʔi
hurry PRT-3B-sell-PCP=DT house TRN-1A.DL-arrive:CMP-FIM
‘Hurry! Let’s get there before he sells the house.’ (Feeling 1975a:104)

Most interjections express emotions about a situation, but some serve to confirm or deny a sentence or to question it. Several interjections (e.g. ‘yes’ and ‘no’) are the only examples of words in Cherokee that are monosyllabic. A short list of some sample interjections is in (33).

33) i	vv	‘yes’
ɫ	thla	‘no’
h	ni	‘look!’ (Feeling 1975a:157)
ɔɫɪ	osiyo	‘hello’
Dɪ	ayo	‘ouch!’ (Feeling 1975a:86)
WV	wato	‘thanks’
ɬW	núúla	‘hurry!’ (Feeling 1975a:148)
ɔ	kham	‘enough, now, come on’
θ	na	‘here!’ (Feeling 1975a:146)
ɪ	yóo	term of disbelief mostly used by women
ɪ	si	‘wait!’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:342)
ioɪɪ	vskiki	‘isn’t it so? is that a fact?’ (Walker 1975:227)
oɪ	ski	‘thank you’ (North Carolina)
ɬ	haʔ	term of disgust mostly used by women (Walker 1975:214)

4. CLITICS

Clitics are small units that attach to the end of another word. They are distinct from suffixes in that they can attach to any part of speech, but are like suffixes in that they are always attached to another word. Some clitics are like adverbials by modifying the element they attach to; other clitics have a pragmatic function of questioning or emphasizing the word they are attached to. In many cases their exact meaning is difficult to translate. To maintain the distinction between clitic and suffix a dash (-) is used with suffixes and an equal sign (=) with clitics. The most common clitic is the =s that is used to ask yes/no questions. In (34a) is an example of this clitic attaching to a noun; further examples involve an adjective (34b), a verb (34c), and an adverb (34d).

34) a.	ɪCɔ	ɬCɬ
	kiihlis	hihwase
	kiihli=s	hii-hwas-éʔi
	dog=Q	2A.AN-buy:CMP-NXP
		‘Did you buy the dog?’

- b. **ᠣᠳᠬᠢ᠋ᠰᠤᠴᠢ** **ᠠᠬᠤᠠᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ**
 uukhayóótas akwáhnawo
 uu-khayoo-ta=s aki-áhnawo
 3B-dry-PCP=Q 1B-shirt
 ‘Is my shirt dry?’
- b. **ᠴᠢᠶᠤᠭᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨᠠᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ**
 chayuuukhwatiiskos
 ja-ahyuukhwatiisk-óʔi=s
 2B-have.toothache:INC-HAB=Q
 ‘Do you have a toothache?’
- d. **ᠰᠤᠨᠠᠶᠢᠭᠠᠯᠢᠬᠤᠵᠢ** **ᠲᠠᠬᠠᠯᠤᠬᠢ**
 sunáales takáluhji
 sunáale=s ta-ka-luhj-i
 tomorrow=Q FUT-3A-arrive:CMP-MOT
 ‘Tomorrow he will arrive?’

It is possible for more than one clitic to appear. Three examples are in (35); the third example is a rare instance of three appearing at once.

- 35) a. **ᠬᠢᠶᠠᠬᠤᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ**
 hiʔakwútvv
 hiʔa=kwu=tvv
 this=DT=FC
 ‘Just this.’
- b. **ᠲᠠᠭᠤᠨᠠᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ** **ᠲᠠᠬᠠᠯᠠᠰᠤᠨᠠᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ** **ᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ**
 toowáhn takalstan nvúwi
 kato=kwu=hno ta-ka-alistan-i nvúwi
 what=DT=CN FUT-3A-happen:CMP-MOT now
 ‘Now what is going to happen?’
- c. **ᠤᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ** **ᠠᠵᠢᠬᠡᠬᠡᠶᠢᠲᠤᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ** **ᠵᠢᠶᠢᠰᠤᠲᠠᠨᠠᠸᠠᠨᠠᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭ**
 uhnavvhno ajikhehiítóòle jíistvvn
 uhna=kwu=tvv=hno aji-khehvs-iítóòl-éʔi jíistvvnna
 there=DT=FC=CN 3O-chase:CMP-AMB:CMP-NXP crawdad
 ‘...and right then he started chasing him.’ (Chapter 9.1:37)

The appearance of a clitic interacts with the final tone of the word to which it attaches. This phenomenon is not entirely understood at present and has been the object of ongoing investigation by Marcia Haag (1999, 2001). The individual clitics are explained and exemplified in the following sections. The most common pattern seems to be for the final stress and tone to fall on the final vowel of the word to which the clitic attaches; to indicate the place of this tone and stress an accent is placed at the end of the word (which is usually unaccented). An example is below in (36). The final vowel for the verb ‘to feel’ would normally be unmarked as its stress and tone are predictable; as stated in the previous chapter, the final vowel of the full form of the word is stressed and with a high tone. With the addition of the clitic the accent is added to indicate that the new ending does not receive the normal final stress and tone.

36) DfY	DLLO'LO'	LS
asééki	akwatanhtátvv	hlééka
a-sééki	aki-atanhta=tvv	hlééka
3A-peculiar	1B-feel:PRC=FC	a.while
‘I felt peculiar for awhile.’ (Feeling 1975a:49)		

4.1 CONDUCTIVE QUESTION (CQ) =ju

This common clitic is used to ask questions to which a ‘yes’ answer is expected. The term comes from Lindsey (1985:40-1).⁶ Four examples are in (37).

37) a. QW'PYJ
skwohłkíju
ski-ohlki=ju
2/1-understand:PRC=CQ
‘Do you understand me?’

b. **ᑕᑖᑖᑦ** **ᑲᑕᑦᑲᑦ**
waloósi₁ju thiihwa₁thv₁hi
waloósi=ju ta-hii-hwa₁thv₁h-i
frog=CQ FUT-2A.AN-find:CM₁-MOT
‘Are you going to find the frog?’

c. **ᑎᑦᑲᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎ** **ᑲᑎᑎᑎ**
kaahiikoohwa₁thi₁ju na kiihli
kaa-hii-koohwa₁thiha=ju na kiihli
ANP-2A.AN-see:PRC=CQ that dog
‘Do you see those dogs?’

d. **ᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
thoðhi₁ju
thoðhi₁=ju
quiet=CQ
‘Are you at ease?’/‘Are you well?’

The last example is the question that typically follows the standard greeting *osiyo* ‘hello.’

4.2 ALTERNATIVE QUESTION (AQ) =*khe*

The clitic =*khe* presents a choice between two alternatives. The name for this clitic comes from Lindsey (1985:40-1). In the second example the Question clitic =*s* appears on the verb and the Alternative Question clitic appears on the negative particle *hla*. Two examples are in (38).

38) a. **ᑎᑎᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎ** **ᑕᑎᑎ** **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
yóoneekákhe ale jalaki kawóonisko
yóoneeka=*khe* ale jalaki ka-wóonisk-ó?i
English=AQ or Cherokee 3A-speak:INC-HAB
‘Does he speak English or Cherokee?’

- b. **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ**
 khaneèkis chiyaliìnohehtiiskʷ hlákhe
 ka-hneèki=s ji-hii-ali-hnohehtiisk-ʷʷʷi hla=khe
 3A-answer:PRC=Q REL-2A.AN-converse:INC-DVB NEG=AQ
 ‘Did he answer when you were speaking to him, or not?’ (Feeling 1975a:139)

=*khe* also appears on interrogatives to either emphasize the question, as in (39a), or to alter the question itself (39b).

- 39) a. **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ**
 káàkokhe tiitaanawʷ wijeetaàsti nijv́hneeléʷ
 káàko=khe tiitaanawʷʷʷi wi-ja-eetaàst-i ni-ja-v́hneel-éʷi
 who=AQ store TRN-2B-walk.around:DVN-NOM2 PRT-2B-cause:CMP-NXP
 ‘Who made you go to the store?’

- b. **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ**
 hilákhe iíkhita na nv̀ya
 hila=khe iíkhita na nv̀ya
 how=AQ big that rock
 ‘How big is that rock?’

- c. **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ** **ᑕᑎᑎᑦᑕᑖ**
 káako uùkóòti asamatíiya nihi ejatokhe
 káako uùkóòti a-samááti-iiya nihi eja-to=khe
 who more 3A-smart-INT 2PRO 2O-sibling=AQ
 ‘Who is smarter, you or your sister?’ (Feeling 1975a:46)

4.3 INFORMATION QUESTION (Q) =S(ko)

This clitic appears on the word that is being questioned; a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer is the expected response to a sentence containing this clitic. This clitic is the most common clitic in Cherokee. Its full form is =*s*ko, but this form is rarely seen in Oklahoma Cherokee. Five examples are in (40).

- 40) a. **DᵒPᵒJᵒ GCᵒᵓᵒJᵒ GSP**
 ahyatlvtis chawahisti jatuuli
 ahyatlvti=s ja-hwahist-i ja-atuuliha
 necktie=Q 2B-buy:DVN-NOM2 2B-want:PRC
 ‘Do you want to buy a necktie?’ (Feeling 1975a:27)
- b. **Lᵒᵒ ᵓPᵒᵒA**
 thlas hyeèlíìskó?
 thla=s yi-hi-eèlíìsk-ó?i
 NEG=Q IRR-2A-think:INC-HAB
 ‘Don’t you think so?’
- c. **ᵓᵓVEᵒᵒ ᵓVᵒᵒLᵒᵒ**
 teeheetookʷs teejeestaaneehó?
 tee-hi-tookʷʷ?i=s tee-ja-eestaaneeh-ó?i
 DST-2A-teeth=Q DST-2B-hurt:INC-HAB
 ‘Do your teeth hurt?’
- d. **ᵒᵒAhᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒVᵒᵒJᵒᵒJᵒ**
 skhoniíyis wijeetaàsti
 skhoniíyi=s wi-ja-eetaàst-i
 overseas=Q TRN-2B-be.somewhere:DVN-NOM2
- ᵒᵒPᵒᵒLᵒᵒ DhᵒᵒᵒYᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒiᵒᵒT**
 nuùlsthane aniiyóski chiyáʷʷʷ?i
 ni-uu-alisthan-é?i aniiyóski ji-hi-yáʷʷʷ?i
 PRT-3B-happen:CMP-NXP military REL-2A-be.in:PERF-DVB
 ‘Did you have to go overseas when you were in the service?’
 lit. ‘Your being overseas, did it happen when you were in the military?’
 (Feeling 1975a:153)
- e. **RGAPᵓᵓᵒᵒ**
 ejakooliyéekas
 eja-kooliy-éeka=s
 2O-examine:CMP-AND:PRC=Q
 ‘Are you going to be examined?’

4.4 TAG QUESTION (TQ) =*kha*

This less-common clitic is only discussed by Lindsey (1985: 142). He gives only one example of its use, shown below in (41).

- 41) **Y C 0**
kiihlí=kha
kiihli=kha
dog=TQ
'It's a dog, isn't it?'

It appears in frozen form on the common question tag in (42).

- 42) **V 0**
tookha
kato=kha
what =TQ
'..., didn't it?'

King (1975:96) states that this suffix 'is only employed when the speaker asks for an affirmative answer. Thus *howa* 'okay' becomes *howaka* [howakha] 'isn't that right?' So *tsatulihaka* [jatuulihakha] would imply 'you (sg.) do want it, don't you?'

4.5 ECHO QUESTION (EQ) =*ki*

This clitic is also only discussed by Lindsey (1985: 142-3); he uses the term 'echo question.' He gives only one example of its use, shown in (43).

- 43) **D 0 S 0 Y**
askayaki
a-skaya=ki
3A-man=EQ
'(did you say) a man?'

Feeling does not discuss this clitic, but an example of its use in his dictionary is in (44).

- 44) **SVY** **†Jɔɔɪ**
 katoki hatiiske
 kato=ki hi-atiisk-éʔi
 what=EQ 2A-say:INC-NXP
 ‘What were you saying?’

4.6 DELIMITER (DT) =(s)kwu

This clitic often has the meaning of ‘only’ or ‘just.’ It is extremely common and often has an emphatic meaning. This clitic also appears as =skwu. Five examples are below in (45); the last has the =skwu form. This term comes from Haag (2001:417).⁷

- 45) a. **YWɔ** **DYɔɪ**
 khilákwu aàkihvsi
 khila=kwu aki-hvsi
 just.now=DT 1B-give(solid):IMM
 ‘She (just) gave it to me.’
- b. **Kɔ** **θhɔ**
 jókwu naàniifɔ
 joʔí=kwu ni-anii-óʔi
 three=DT PRT-3A.PL-HAB
 ‘There are usually only three of them.’
- c. **E** **TLɔθɔ**
 khv iitàleénáwu
 khv iitii-aleéna=kwu
 hey 1A.INC-start:IMM(COM)=DT
 ‘Hey, let’s start!’

- d. **ᑯᑦᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ**
 winuuluhj-vv-nakwu uukthahv-vsti uutuuulvvh-vv?i
 wi-ni-uu-luhj-vv-na=kwu uu-akahthahv-vst-i uu-atuuulvvh-vv?i
 TRN-PRT-3B-arrive:CMP-NDV=DT 3B-turn.back:DVN-NOM2 3B-want:CMP-EXP
 'He wanted to turn back before he got there.' (Feeling 1975a: 35)
- e. **ᑯᑦ** **ᑳᑯ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ**
 uuhnna áam'ó wuùniiluhje uuhnnavsk
 uuhnna áama-hi wi-uunii-luhj-é?i
 uuhnna=nv=skwu
 there salt-LOC TRN-3B.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP there=F2=DT
 'There at "Salt" [Salina] they arrived at that place there.' (Chapter 9.2:30)

This clitic is commonly reduced to =*wu*, as in (46a,b,c), or =*wv*, as in (46d), and is even shortened to =*w*, as in (46e).

- 46) a. **ᑯᑦᑭᑭᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ**
 kohlk'óowu kooliíyéèsk-vv?i
 ka-olihk-ó?i=kwu ka-ooliíyéèsk-vv?i
 3A-understand:INC-HAB=DT 3A-read:INC-DVB
 'He (usually) understands what he reads.'
- b. **ᑯᑦ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 áhnawu keétóhéesti
 áhna=kwu ji-eétóh-éesti
 here=DT 1A-walk.around:INC-AFT
 'I'm going to stay here/ I'll be walking around here.'
- c. **ᑯᑦᑭᑭᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑯᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑳᑯᑦᑭᑦ**
 niikoóhíil-vwu aàskiitska na? akeehyúúja
 niikoóhíil-vv?i=kwu a-askiitska na? a-keehyúúja
 always=DT 3A-dream:PRC that 3A-girl
 'He's always dreaming of that girl.'

d. **ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ** **DᑖHᑖ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 skwohltaasí awvvsawv tiikinookiisti
 ski-ohltaasi aki-vvsa=kwu ti-aki-nookiist-i
 2/1-permit:IMM(COM) 1B-self=DT DST2-1B-sing:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Allow me to sing by myself.’

e. **ᑕᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 oòkinaalíi?aw jiikoòwahth
 ookinii-aalíi?a=kwu jii-koòwahtha
 1B.DL.EX-friend= DT 1A.AN-see:IMM
 ‘I only saw a friend.’

4.7. POTENTIAL (PO) =le

This clitic is not frequent and it is difficult to determine its exact function. Haag states that it indicates doubt and calls it a ‘Potential marker’ (Haag 2001:418). Five examples are in (47); in the first example it appears on the word ‘now’ to create a word that appears frequently in stories. In (47e) the clitic attaches to the negation word *thla*; the speaker gives the same meaning when the clitic is left off.

47) a. **Zᑕᑕᑲᑲ**
 noókwúle
 noókwu=le
 now=PO
 ‘then, and then, at that time’

b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 só? jootale yiwúúluhj
 só?i ti-ootalv?i=le yi-wi-uu-luhj-a
 another CIS=mountain=PO IRR-TRN-3B-arrive:CMP\SUB-TAV
 ‘When he got to another mountain...’

c. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 saámíle yeena
 saámi=le yi-a-eena
 Sam=PO IRR-3A-go:IMM
 ‘Maybe Sam will go.’ (Walker 1975:219)

d. **JPTɔ̃** **ɔ̃Y**
 juulííʔíle yik
 ti-uu-aliíʔi=le yi-ki
 DST2-3B-friend=PO IRR-be:IMM
 ‘... or friends’ (Chapter 9.3:30)

e. **ɛɔ̃** **hSɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃**
 thlale nikatávneeli
 thla=le ni-ka-atávneel-i
 NEG=PO PRT-3A-do:CMP-MOT
 ‘I’m not going to do it.’

4.8. CONTRASTIVE (CT) =hv

The term for this clitic comes from Haag (2001: 417) and is often translated as ‘but.’ Feeling states that it occurs only after the full form of question clitic =*sko*, as seen in (48), but an example without this question clitic is seen in (45b). The Contrastive clitic appears lexicalized on *kato* ‘what’ to form the question word *katohv* ‘why’ in (46c).

48) a. **Sɔ̃hɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃**
 kawóoniháskoðhv
 ka-wóoniha=sko=hv
 3A-speak:PRC=Q=CT
 ‘But is he speaking?’ (Feeling 1975a:294)

b. **DYBPɔ̃**
 aàkiyvvhlvv́hv
 aki-hyvvh-l-vv́ʔi=hv
 1B-enter:PRC=CT
 ‘But I came in.’

- c. **SVQ JGSWQ †**
 katoðhv tiìjakhthahvvsé?
 kato=hv ti-iiyii-akahthahvvs-é?i
 why=CT CIS-2A.PL-turn.back:CMP-NXP
 ‘Why did you turn back?’

4.9. FOCUS (FC) =tvv

This common clitic is used to emphasize a part of speech, usually at the beginning of a clause. This term comes from Haag (2001:416).⁸ This clitic is often not translated. Several examples are below in (49); in all of these examples the clitic appears at the end of the first word in the phrase.

- 49) a. **DBØ ÆSkrZY**
 ayvtvv yiteejí?nooki
 ayv=tvv yi-tee-ji-hnooki
 1PRO=FC IRR-DST-1A-sing:IMM
 ‘I’m going to sing it.’
- b. **ZØØ krLØW**
 noókwútvv jitasuúla
 noókwu=tvv ji-tee-a-asuúl-a
 now=FC REL-DST-3A-wash.hands:IMM-IMM
 ‘He just washed his hands.’
- c. **Ø-ZIØ**
 hvvhnóótítvv
 hi-vvhnóóti=tvv
 2A-alive=FC
 ‘You’re alive!’
- d. **GYMCØ**
 jakilúhjvvtvv
 ji-aki-lúhj-vv?i=tvv
 REL-1B-pick.up:CMP-EXP=FC
 ‘I did come.’

- e. **ḲḲ** **ATḲJ** **ḂhSḲS**
 thlátv kohúús yinikatvḅk
 thla=tvv kohúústi yi-ni-ji-atvḅka
 not=FC something IRR-PRT-1A-do:IMM
 ‘I won’t do anything.’
- f. **ḲḲ** **ḂLFSḲBRF**
 thlátv yitakeekakhwiyyvḅéeli
 thla=tvv yi-ta-keekii-akhwiyyv-eél-i
 NEG=FC IRR-FUT-3.PL/1.PL-pay:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘They will not pay us.’

4.10. FOCUS2 (F2) =na

This clitic also indicates a kind of emphasis on the word to which it attaches. The difference in meaning from =tvv (FC) is unclear, but it appears less frequently than that clitic. The term ‘Focus’ is from Haag (2001: 418); Pulte and Feeling (1975:294) translate this clitic as ‘and what if?’. Its most common occurrence is in the standard response to the question *toohííju* ‘How are you?’ The response is in (50a). This same word is in (50c), but in a declarative sentence; in this instance it seems to be adding emphasis.

- 50) a. **ḲḲL** **h.ḂḲ**
 óóstá nihíina
 óóstá nihi=na
 good 2PRO=F2
 ‘Fine, how about you?’
- b. **ḲḲ** **SḂ** **ḲḲJ**
 náana kato úúst
 na=na kato úústi
 that=F2 what something
 ‘What are those?’

Dhr⊙S
 aniijiistu
 anii-jiistu
 3A.PL-rabbit
 ‘Those are rabbits.’

c. **h**⊙⊙ ⊙**JFGG** ⊙**L**
 nihína stiikeehyúúj nvvta
 nihi=na stii-keehyúúja nvvta
 2PRO=F2 2A.DL-girl sun, moon

JSFC **YW** **T**⊙**JMV**
 wuùteeliijv khila iistiilúhje
 wi-uu-teeliij-vv?i khila ii-stii-lúhj-é?i
 TRN-3B-disappear:CMP-DVB later ITR-2A.DL-arrive:CMP-NXP
 ‘You girls got home after the sun went down.’

In the (50c) the normally short vowel of the demonstrative ‘that’ is lengthened when the clitic attaches to it.⁹ This clitic can be used with the other Focus clitic, as demonstrated in (51).

51) **h**T⊙⊙ **D**S **W** **h**S **C** **Λ**⊙
 hi?itvvna ateéla jitéejvvneélv
 hi?i=tvv=na ateéla ji-tee-iijvv-hneél-vv?i
 this=FC=F2 money REL-DST-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-EXP
 ‘This is the money I gave you all.’

This clitic is sometimes pronounced as =nv; two examples are in (52).

52) a. **h**⊙⊙ **G**⊙**Λ****FT**
 nihíinv jayanúúliju
 nihi=nv ja-yanúúli=ju
 2PRO=F2 2B-fast=CQ
 ‘Are you fast?’

b.	ʕLCʕ	ʕʕʕVR	SʕAʔ
	uùhnanv	skwistosʕ	tuùniikoohe
	uùhna=nv	skwíísti-sʕʕʕi	tee-uunii-kooh-éʕi
	there=F2	a.lot-INT	DST-3B.PL-see:CMP-NXP
	‘There they saw a whole lot of them.’ (Chapter 9.2:20)		

4.11. CONJUNCTION (CN) = (heé)hnoó

This clitic serves to link two words together and is often translated as ‘and’; another important function is to announce the topic of the sentence. King describes this as ‘declarative’ and says that, ‘In the speech of some Qualla residents, the clitic -*hno* is frequently used to indicate the beginning of a new sentence or to designate that the sentence is declarative in nature rather than an imperative or interrogative’ (1975:96).

The term for this clitic comes from Haag (2001:418).¹⁰ Several examples are below in (53). In the first two examples the clitic is used to announce a new sentence by attaching to the first element of that sentence. In (53c) and (53d) the clitic translates as ‘and.’ The forms =hnoó and =hno are more common than the full form =heéhnoó; these shortened forms are used in the examples below. In careful speech the form =hnoó appears.

53) a.	ʕMCZ	ʕʕʕJ	JFR
	wuulúhjʕhno	kalʕʕnat	tikeèsv
	wi-uu-ʕlúhj-ʕʕʕi=hno	kalʕʕnati	ti-keèsv-ʕʕʕi
	TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB=CN	on.top.of	CIS-be:INC-EXP
	Cʕ	ʕVʕʕ	
	wahya	uùthohise	
	wahya	uu-athohis-éʕi	
	wolf	3B-whoop:CMP-NXP	
	‘When the wolf got to the top of the hill he whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)		

- b. **kr̥oʔθZ** **ɣwɔB**
 jíistvvnahno khilawiyv
 jíistvvnahno=CN khilawiyv
 crowdad=CN at.that.moment

SPC ɔ̃ɔ̃wɔ tuùlchvvyasthane tee-uu-alchvvyasthan-éʔi DST-3B-become.brave-NXP 'The crowdad at that moment got brave enough to race (the wolf).' (Chapter 9.1:6-7)	oʔvɣ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɪT uuhnthohkiíyáàstííʔi uunii-ahthokhiíyáàst-ííʔi 3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2 3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
---	--

- b. **ʁD** **DʔGG** **DJGZ**
 hiʔa akeehyúúja achúújahno
 hiʔa a-keehyúúja a-chúúja=hno
 this 3A-girl 3A-boy=CN

oʔPAJ uunaliikhti uunii-aliikht-i 3B.PL-go.together:DVN-NOM2 'This boy and girl want to go together.' (Feeling 1975a:45)	oʔSP† uùnatuulíha uunii-atuulíha 3B.PL-want:PRC
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- d. **oʔwʔwɣ** **JʁBPZ**
 withaláàsuuláki tiihiyvvhlv́=hno
 wi-ti-hi-aláasuuláki ti-ii-hi-yvvhl-v́ʔi=hno
 TRN-DST2-2A-remove.shoes:IMM CIS-ITR-2A-enter:CMP- EXP =CN
 'Take your shoes off and then come back in again.'

This clitic also appears as =*hnv*; three examples are in (54). In the second example it is on the question word 'what'; together with the prepronominal prefix *ji-* it expresses a 'why' question. In the third example it appears on the demonstrative 'that' towards the end of the sentence.

- 54) a. **Ɔ̣̣̣** **DJG** **Ɔ̣̣̣** **DṢ̣̣** **LỴ̣̣**
uustíí ajúúj kaneèsa aàkhthoósti taksíhnv
uu-astííʔi a-júúja kaneèsaʔi a-akahthoósti taksi=hnv
3B-little 3A-boy box 3A-look.at:PRC turtle=CN
‘The little boy is looking at the box, turtle also...’
- b. **Ṣ̣̣** **ḥ̣̣**
katohnv jiìkiitoólíìjv
kato=hnv ji-iikii-toólíìj-vʔi
what=CN REL-1B.PL-pity:CMP-EXP
‘Why did she forgive us?’
- c. **Ɔ̣̣̣** **ḥ̣̣** **Ɔ̣̣̣** **LỴ̣̣**
uuniihnooheéhle jiist nahn taks
uunii-hnooheéhl-éʔi jiistu na=hnv taksi
3B.PL-talk:CMP-NXP rabbit the=CN turtle
‘The turtle and the rabbit talked about it.’ (Chapter 9.3:4)

This clitic for some speakers serves the important function of establishing a reason for an event occurring. In these instances it is translated as ‘because.’ Two examples are in (55).

- 55) a. **ḥ̣̣** **Ɔ̣̣̣** **ḥ̣̣**
jiiyataʔyíha hlaheéhnóo yijiiyooliika
jii-ataʔyíha hla=heéhnóo yi-jii-oolihka
1A.AN-deny:PRC NEG=CN IRR-1A.AN-recognize:PRC
‘I am denying him because I don’t know him.’ (Feeling 1975a:3)
- b. **J̣̣̣** **SC̣̣̣**
tiʔúuluhjʋ́hnóo tuùhwahthvve
ti-ii-uu-luhj-ʋ́ʔi=hnóo tee-uu-hwahthvvh-éʔi
CIS-ITR-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB=CN DST-3B-find:CMP-NXP
- Ẉ̣̣** **Dḥ̣̣**
thaliine aànihlinaʔééʔi
thali-iinééʔi anii-hlinaʔ-éʔi
two-ORD 3A.PL-sleep(PL):INC-NXP\SUB

JhSVPβZ	JSFJG	F4T
tiiniikhthóólihyeéhnóo	tikakeetiiyu	keesée?i
ti-anii-kahthóóliyi=heéhnóo	ti-ka-kééta-iiyu	kees-é?i
DST2-3A.PL-eye=CN	DST2-3A-heavy-INT	be:INC-NXP

‘And when he came back he found them asleep again, for their eyes were heavy.’ (New Testament, Matthew 26:43)

4.12. CONCESSIVE (CS) =*skinii*

This clitic is typically translated as ‘but’; when attached to a question word it often expresses the idea ‘I wonder....’ Three examples are in (56).

- 56) a. **†PαYh** **SGαA** **J8G**
 haathlvskinii tuùhwasko juusuulo
 haathlv=skinii tee-uu-hwask-ó?i ti-uu-asuulo
 where=CS DST-3B-be:INC-HAB DST2-3B-pants
 ‘I wonder where he buys his pants.’ (Feeling 1975a:180)
- b. **LSBαYh** **FQZ** **SCZPWΛ**
 taksiskin keèh’v’no tuùhlinohethane
 taksi=skinii keèh-v’v’?i=hnóo tee-uu-ali-hnohehthan-é?i
 turtle=CS be:CMPEXP=CN DST-3B-MDL-talk:CMPEXP
 ‘But the turtle talked to them.’ (Chapter 9.3:9)
- c. **OLVJ** **OSQ0**
 uutleèchéhti uùtuulvvhv
 uu-atleèj-éht-i uu-atuulvvh-v’v’?i
 3B-take.revenge:CMPEXP-APL:DVN-NOM2 3B-want:CMPEXP
- D†αYh** **£** **iαY** **β48ΛδT**
 aséeskinii hla vski yinuut’v’neel’é?i
 asée=skinii hla vski yi-ni-uu-at’v’neel-é?i
 however=CS NEG that IRR-PRT-3B-do:CMPEXP
 ‘He wanted to take revenge against him but he didn’t do it.’
 (Feeling 1975a:12)

5. SUMMARY

Cherokee is a polysynthetic language; i.e. a language that expresses much of the grammar through complex words composed of many parts. Because the words convey so much information, the word order of sentences is relatively free. Complex syntactic operations are also achieved by altering the make-up of the word. For example, complex sentences with subordinated clauses are achieved in Cherokee through the addition of prepronominal prefixes, final suffixes, and tone changes.

Predicates in Cherokee can be nouns, verbs, or adjectives. The highfall tone is common on nouns and adjectives, but it only appears on verbs to indicate its clause is subordinate to a main clause. Subordinate clauses can be nominals and stand in for verb participants such as subjects and objects; they can also act adverbially by modifying a verb or clause.

The basic Cherokee sentence is enriched through numerous interjections and clitics. Clitics are not always translatable and serve a variety of functions, including emphasizing, questioning, and coordinating. The role of clitics is clearer within the context of extended discourse. The three texts presented at the end of this grammar have numerous examples of their uses.

Cherokee has four parts of speech: verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs; all verbs always bear a pronominal prefix, and many adjectives and nouns do as well. Pronominal prefixes are the topic of the next chapter, followed by chapters focusing on these four parts of speech.

NOTES

CHAPTER 3

¹ Scancarelli warns that ‘It must be borne in mind that sentences with two transitive verbs and two NP arguments[participants], especially sentences in which the two arguments are animate and equally ranked on the animacy hierarchy, are extremely rare in Cherokee...’ (1987:192). For this reason it is important to base studies of word order involving naturally-elicited texts. The appendix of this grammar contains two ‘race’ narratives, each involving a pair of animals. These texts present a wide variety of word orders, depending on which animal is being foregrounded or backgrounded; these different pragmatic roles are often signaled by the attachment of clitics. The complex phenomenon of word order in Cherokee is a topic deserving of its own independent study.

² Dukes (1996) explores the interaction of this pronominal agreement with the Cherokee Animacy Hierarchy proposed by Scancarelli and argues that a lexically based analysis that takes into consideration semantic and pragmatic factors is more appropriate for Cherokee than a purely syntactic approach. He supports this claim through a discussion of ditransitive verbs, using a framework from both Relational Grammar and Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar.

³ King (1975:111) observes that North Carolina Cherokee word order is relatively free except for cases where both subject and object are third person and the same number. He claims that in such situations the subject must precede the object.

⁴ King points out that ‘standing alone in a subordinate clause the participle often translates to English as an adjective’ (1975:117). Scancarelli (1987:325) refers to these constructions as ‘event nominals.’

⁵ In Feeling (1975) this copula with a Relativizer consistently has a long vowel with a highfall tone. I have not heard this form from any of the speakers I have worked with.

⁶ Haag (2001:418) calls this the ‘rhetorical question’ clitic.

⁷ Holmes discusses King’s use of the term ‘continuative’ for this suffix and suggests it appears as ‘-quah’ in the name of the town Tahlequah (1996:563).

⁸ Feeling calls this Affirmative (1975:89).

⁹ Haag (1999:35) states that, ‘the definite demonstrative *na* is not a prosodically adequate word, having only one mora...In this case, the vowel is lengthened...’

¹⁰ Walker translates this as ‘and, but so, and then.’ (1975:227)

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CHAPTER 4: PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

1. OVERVIEW

In Cherokee all verbs must have a prefix that indicates who or what is involved in the action of the verb. If the verb is intransitive, this suffix will refer to one participant- the subject. If the verb is transitive, the prefix will refer to two participants-a subject and an object. Some adjectives and nouns also have these prefixes. A prefix on an adjective refers to an entity that has the quality indicated by the adjective. A noun with a pronominal prefix will either indicate an entity equivalent to that noun (e.g. ‘You are a man’, in which ‘man’ equals ‘you’) or who possesses the noun (e.g. ‘your head’). In the first case the prefix has a referential meaning; in the second it has a possessive meaning. These terms will be discussed in greater depth in the following sections.

These prefixes are referred to as pronominal prefixes. There are three grammatical persons, referred to as first person (the speaker/s), second person (the person/s being spoken to) and third person (the person/s being spoken about). When attached to a verb, these prefixes may also indicate if the participant being referenced is the subject or object of that verb. Intransitive verbs have only a subject, while transitive verbs have a subject and an object. If a verb has both a subject and an object, the subject is the participant that is more actively involved in causing the event described by the verb; the object, on the other hand, is the participant that is being more affected by the event described by the verb.

In (1a) the pronominal prefix *ji-* indicates that the speaker is performing the action. The same prefix is attached to an adjective in (1b) and indicates that the adjective indicates a quality of the speaker. In (1c) the prefix denotes that the speaker is the possessor of the noun. In this last example the inherent [h] of the initial /s/ of

the stem is replaced by the lowfall; this Laryngeal Alternation is triggered by the *ji*-prefix.

- 1) a. **lrSJa** jikaàthiíya ‘I’m waiting for it.’
 b. **lrSLTT** jikaataaháá?i ‘I am dirty.’
 c. **lrAaP** jiiskhóóli ‘my head’

In addition to person, the pronominal prefixes have a three-way number distinction of singular, dual, and plural. The dual form indicates that there are exactly two people involved in the action. These distinctions are exemplified in (2); in (2) the prefix *hi*- indicates only the person being addressed is involved in the action. In (2b) the prefix *stii*- indicates that there are two people (‘you two’) involved in the action. The prefix *ijjii*- in (2a) indicates that there are three or more (‘you all’). Examples of these three meanings are in (2) with the Present Continuous verb stem *-kahtiíya*.¹

- 2) a. **hSJa** hikhthiíya ‘You are waiting for it.’
 b. **AaJSJa** stiikhthiíya ‘You two are waiting for it.’
 c. **ThrSJa** ijjiikhthiíya ‘You all are waiting for it.’

This dual number distinction only holds in first and second person; there is no special prefix that expresses the idea ‘they two’ In (3) the first example is a first person singular and the second is a third person plural. In the third example, the context clearly identifies two men; the verb, however, is in the same form as the third person plural. In the last two examples the words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ also have a pronominal prefix; they belong to a small class of mostly human nouns that always bear this prefix. (The abbreviation PRC immediately after the verb indicates that the verb appears in its Present Continuous stem form. These terms will be discussed in Chapter 5.)

3) a. **hUFJD**
 jiisaltiʔa
 ji-saltiʔa
 1A-lift:PRC
 ‘I am lifting it.’

b. **Θ K Dhʔω DhUFJ**
 naʔ joʔ aniikeehy aaniisalti
 naʔ joʔi anii-keehya anii-saltiʔa
 that three 3A.PL-woman 3A.PL-lift:PRC
 ‘Those three women are lifting it.’

c. **Θ DhWF DhωS DhUFJD**
 nvniithaʔl aniiskaya aaniisaltiʔa
 naʔ anii-thaʔli anii-skaya anii-saltiʔa
 that 3A.PL-two 3A.PL-man 3A.PL-lift:PRC
 ‘Those two men are lifting it.’

In addition to person and number, there is a third distinction known as inclusive/exclusive. An exclusive prefix indicates that the person being addressed is specifically excluded from the action. An inclusive prefix, on the other hand, includes the addressee in the action. Thus the English words ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘our’ have four equivalents in Cherokee. These four meanings are exemplified in (4) for verbs and in (5) for nouns. None of the four prefixes triggers laryngeal alternation; as a result, the verb root *-kahthiíya* ‘to wait for’ undergoes vowel deletion and appears as *-khthiíya*. The noun indicating ‘a Muskogee person’ is *-kuúsa* and always has the pronominal prefix. It should be noted that the pronominal prefixes on the verb forms have Pronominal Laryngealization, while the prefixes on the noun do not.²

4) a. **ωJSJω** oèstiikhthiíya ‘We two (not you) are waiting for it.’
 b. **ThSJω** iiniikhthiíya ‘You and I are waiting for it.’
 c. **ωhSJω** oèjiiikhthiíya ‘We all (but not you) are waiting for it.’
 d. **TJSJω** iìtiikhthiíya ‘We all are waiting for it.’

- 5) a. óóJJÉ oostiikuúsa ‘We two (not you) are Muskogee.’
 b. ThJÉ iniikuúsa ‘You and I are Muskogee.’
 c. ólrJÉ oojiikuúsa ‘We all (but not you) are Muskogee.’
 d. TJJÉ itiikuúsa ‘We all are Muskogee.’³

The Cherokee pronominal prefixes do not have a gender distinction; depending on the context, the third person singular is ‘he’, ‘she’, or ‘it.’ As demonstrated in (6) neither singular nor plural indicates the gender of the persons involved.

- 6) a. SZBS kanoóyǎ̀ka ‘He/ she/it it is being buried.’
 b. DhZBS aàniinoóyǎ̀ka ‘They are being buried.’

Table 1 captures the distinctions that have been described above. The blackened area indicates a logical impossibility, and the dash indicates a form that is possible but does not exist.

Table 1: PERSON REFERENCE

	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	I	you and I	You, he/she/they and I
First Person Exclusive (EX)		he/she and I	they and I
Second Person	you	you two	You all
Third person	he/she	-	They

There are four sets of pronominal prefixes: Set A, Set B, Combined, and Object Focus. (The abbreviations DL, PL, and EX are used to refer to the dual, plural, and exclusive forms, respectively; lacking these abbreviations, a pronominal prefix is assumed to be singular or inclusive, depending on the context.) The first two sets minimally reference one grammatical person (a subject) and maximally reference two grammatical persons (a subject and an object). In (7a) the pronominal prefix indicates the speaker, but in (7b) the same prefix indicates that the speaker is doing the action

to a third person object ('it'). In (8) the first person Set A pronominal prefix *ji-* appears on an adjective and a noun, respectively.

- 7) a. **lrZBS** jinoóyǎ̀ka 'I am sinking.'
 b. **lrSJa** jikaàthiíya 'I am waiting for it.'
- 8) a. **lrUJ** ji?samááti 'I am smart'
 b. **lrGWY** jijalaki 'I am Cherokee.'

The Combined pronominal prefixes by definition reference two grammatical persons. An example is in (9a) where the prefix *kvv-* expresses two grammatical persons: a first person singular subject ('I') and a second person singular object ('you'). In (9b) the same prefix is used on a noun.

- 9) a. **ESJa** kvvkaàthiíya 'I am waiting for you.'
 b. **EVl** kvvtoota 'I am your father.'

The fourth set is named Object Focus because it refers to only one grammatical person where two persons would normally appear (i.e. a transitive verb). Because the only grammatical person referenced is the object, this set of prefixes creates a result similar to an English passive and is often translated using that construction. The Object Focus prefixes focus on the object; an example is in (10). In this example the verb 'to wait for' typically has two grammatical persons, the person waiting and the person or thing waited for. The Object Focus prefix makes it possible to mention for whom the waiting is being performed without needing to mention who specifically is waiting.

- 10) **DrSJa** aàjikaàthiíya 'He's being waited for.'

An examination of the four sets of prefixes reveals that Cherokee categorizes grammatical persons in two ways: local and non-local. The term 'local person' refers to those who are involved in the conversation; i.e. the speaker/s (first person 'I') and

the person/s being spoken to (second person ‘you’). Sets A and B can be used to reference a single grammatical person (the subject) as well as the combination of a local person with a non-local person/s (the person/s spoken about, or third person). These four sets will be explained in the following sections.

A few stems have an initial feature that causes the lengthening of the vowel of a preceding pronominal prefix. This feature is not apparent in the dual and plural forms, as all of these prefixes end in a long vowel. For example, in (11) the full form of the pronominal prefix occurs.

- 11) **ThβOoS**
 i̇niiyewska
 iinii-xyewska
 1A.DL-sew:PRC
 ‘We are sewing it.’

In the singular person forms of the verb, however, it becomes apparent that some initial element is present. The three singular person forms are all lengthened in (12).

- 12) a. **ʒβC**
 hi̇iyeéwa
 hi-xyeéwa
 2A-sew:IMM
 ‘You sewed it.’
- b. **IrβOoS**
 jiiyewska
 ji-xyewska
 1A-sew:PRC
 ‘I am sewing it.’
- c. **SβOoS**
 kaayewska
 ka-xyewska
 3A-sew:PRC
 ‘He is sewing it.’

The combination of this vowel-lengthening feature with the third person singular Set B prefix *uu*-results in *uwaa*-. An example is in (13). Pronominal laryngealization lengthens the vowel with a lowfall tone when it attaches to verbs.

13) **OCβORT**

uùwaayewsvʋʔi

uu-xyews-vʋʔi

3B-sew:CMP-EXP

‘He sewed it.’

2. SET A

2.1. BASIC PARADIGM

The Set A pronominal prefixes are shown below in Table 2. The dual form for the third person is empty because there is no prefix that indicates ‘they two.’ If these prefixes are attached to a verb, they either indicate a subject or a combination of a subject and a third person inanimate object. If the third person object is animate, most of the prefixes will have a slightly different form. These forms are discussed in section 2.4.

Table 2: SET A PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	ji-/k ⁴	inii-	itii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		oostii-	oojii-
Second Person	hi-	stii-	ijii-
Third person	a-, ka-	-	anii-

Several patterns are apparent from the chart. First of all, the dual and plural forms are longer (polysyllabic instead of monosyllabic) than their singular counterparts. This suggests that the dual and plural forms are complex; i.e. that they are composed of parts that indicate dual, plural, exclusive, or inclusive. Even though

this may have been the case, these forms are no longer distinguishable and the prefixes are treated as a single unit. It is clear, however, that the initial element *oo-* does indicate exclusiveness and the *ii-* element indicates inclusiveness. These patterns are also apparent with the other sets of prefixes as well. In the morpheme glossing, inclusive will be treated as the basic form while exclusive will be indicated with the abbreviation EX.

The first person singular form has a predictable alternation between two forms: *ji-/k-*. This alternation will be discussed in Section 2.3. The third person singular form has an unpredictable variation between two forms: *a-/ka-*. This phenomenon will be further explained in section 2.2.

Both Set A and Set B prefixes attach to verbs, nouns and adjectives.⁵ While there are some semantic and morphosyntactic generalizations to be made about which verbs take Set A, the selection of Set A by adjectives and nouns is mostly unpredictable. Both prefixes appear on a small set of nouns indicating body parts as well as on derived nouns (see Chapter 7). In (14a) there is an example of a possessed body part, while (14b) is an example of a non-agentive derived noun. (If this were an agentive noun, the prefix would be understood as ‘I am NOUN’ rather than ‘my NOUN’, these differences will be explained in Chapter 7.)

14) a. **ʒɪfθ**

hiitiikeéna

hi-xxtiikeéna

2A-heel

‘your heel’

b. **lɪsʉtɔɪ**

takwatehlohkwaàsti

ti-aki-atehlohkwaàst-i

DST2-1B-learn:DVN-NOM2

‘my school’

On. body parts and clothing the prefixes indicate a possessive relationship. On derived nouns and root human nouns, however, the pronominal prefix is referential; that is, it refers to a person or object that is equated with the noun itself. Two examples are in (15); the first is a noun derived from a verb, and the second is a non-derived human noun. Both of these types of nouns will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 7.

15) a. **K^oʔʔʔJ^oY**
 joostvthlatiisk-i
 ti-oostii-vthlatiisk-i
 DST2-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘He and I are firefighters.’

b. **ʔ^oʔJG^oW^oY**
 oostiijalak
 oostii-jalaki
 1A.DL.EX-Cherokee
 ‘He and I are Cherokee.’

The Set A prefixes may appear on adjectives to indicate agreement with what the adjective is modifying. Two examples are in (16a) and (16b). They do not appear for Set A *a-* adjectives that modify a third person inanimate object; in (16c) the adjective does not bear the prefix. There are, however, adjectives that take third person *ka-*, and they will always have this prefix, regardless of animacy; adjectives are discussed in Chapter 7.

16) a. **ʔ^oS^oB^oP**
 hikayvvl
 hi-kayvvoli
 2A-old
 ‘You’re old.’

b. **lrSBP**
 jikayvól
 ji-kayvólí
 1A-old
 ‘I’m old.’

b. **SLT**
 kaataahááʔi
 kaataa-hááʔi
 dirt-ATB
 ‘dirty, it is dirty’

When Set A prefixes appear on verbs they either refer to the subject of an intransitive verb or, for a transitive verb, the combination of a subject with an inanimate third person object. In (17a) the prefix is on a transitive verb, and the interpretation is that there is a third person subject and a third person object. Taken out of context, this sentence could mean ‘he/she/ it saw the rabbit’ or ‘the rabbit saw him/her/ it.’ The story from which this sentence is taken makes it clear who is the subject and who is the object. In (17b) the verb is intransitive and the prefix can only refer to the subject.

17) a. **ʒAP** **lrōS**
 wuùkoohe jiist
 wi-uu-koooh-éʔi jiistu
 TRN-3B-see:INC-NXP rabbit
 ‘The rabbit saw him.’ (Chapter 9.3:26)

b. **ʒOʔrL** **θi**
 wuúnv̀̀̀̀jiithle naʔv
 wi-uu-nvjiithl-éʔi naʔv
 TRN-3B-fall.headfirst:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB near
 ‘He fell head first near it.’ (Chapter 9.3:44)

2.2 THIRD PERSON *ka-*

The Set A third person is either *a-* or *ka-*. These two third person forms are exemplified in (18).

18) a. **S^oh^t**
kawóoniha
ka-wóoniha
3A-talk:PRC
'He's talking.'

b. **DJD**
aàtiʔa
a-tiʔa
3A-say:PRC
'He's saying it.'

While not entirely predictable, the appearance of third person *ka-* instead of *a-* has certain general characteristics. One generalization can be made about its use: *ka-* appears on all Set A stems that have an initial /o/, /u/, or /v/. In (19) three verbs are listed with these initial vowels.⁶ When it appears before a vowel-initial stem the *ka-* prefix loses its vowel and becomes *k-*.

19) a. **EZH^oS**
kvvnoosáska
ka-vvnoosáska
3A-sweep:PRC
'He is sweeping it.'

b. **AJ^oS**
koothiska
ka-oothiska
3A-swell:PRC
'It's swelling.'

- c. **JJ**
 kuuthi
 ka-uuthiha
 3A-snow:PRC
 ‘It’s snowing’

Examples of this prefix on an adjective and a noun, respectively, are shown in (20). In the examples in (19), above, the prefix *ka-* is shortened to *k-* before the initial vowel. This deletion of the prefix vowel occurs with the other pronominal prefixes as well and will be further explained in the following section.

- 20) a. **SKL**
 kakééta
 ka-kééta
 3A-heavy
 ‘It’s heavy.’

- b. **JPJ**
 kuuthlívti
 ka-uuthlívti
 3A-cover:DVN-NOM
 ‘lid’

The shortened prefix *k-* also appears before stems that begin with /a/ and /e/ as well, but such stems may also appear with *a-*. Two examples are in (21); in the first example metathesis results in the /k/ of the prefix undergoing aspiration.⁷

- 21) a. **FP**
 khéli
 ka-éhli
 3A-member
 ‘member, he’s a member’

- b. **UU SFC**
 saasa teekéehla
 saasa tee-ka-eehla
 goose DST-3A-feed:PRC
 ‘He’s feeding the geese.’

The *ka-/a-* alternation only exists in the third person singular; in the plural form only *anii-* appears. A comparison of the singular and plural forms is seen on (22).

- 22) a. **SFL**
 kakééta
 ka-kééta
 3A-heavy
 ‘It’s heavy.’

- b. **DhFL**
 aniikééta
 anii-kééta
 3A.PL-heavy
 ‘They are heavy.’

2.3 SET A PREFIXES WITH VOWEL-INITIAL STEMS

Some stems begin with a vowel. Set A prefixes drop their final vowel when they attach to a vowel-initial stem. In (23a) is an example of this deletion of the prefix vowel of the second person singular *hi-* before the a-initial stem *-áaʔi* ‘to walk.’ This same vowel also deletes before the initial /v/ of the stem in (23b). In (23c) the prefix *ka-* appears as *k-* before /e/.

- 23) a. **ʔT**
háaʔi
hi-áaʔi
2A-walk:PRC
‘You’re walking.’
- b. **ʔZUʔY**
hvvnoosaskí
hi-vvnoosaski
2A-sweep:IMM(COM)
‘Sweep it!’
- c. **FʔʔʔY**
kééhluhvski
ka-eehluhvsk-i
3A-shout:INC\AGT-NOM
‘cheerleader’ (Sequoyah Lady Indians Basketball Championship)

Another example is in (24) with the first person plural. In these examples the prefix precedes /a/, /e/, /o/, /u/, and /v/, respectively. In (24c), both the Distributive (DST2) prefix and the pronominal prefix drop their vowels before a following vowel. In (24e), the last example, a consonant-initial stem is shown.

- 24) a. **TʔT**
iìtáaʔi
iitii-áaʔi
1A.PL-walk:PRC
‘We all are walking.’
- b. **TʂʔʔʔS**
iìteehluuhv́ska
iitii-eehluuhv́ska
1A.PL-scream:PRC
‘We are screaming.’

c. **JVØPØY**

tiìtoohweelííski
ti-iitii-oohweeliisk-i
DST2-1A.PL-write:INC\AGT-NOM
'We are writers.'

d. **ᄃᄆᄆᄆ**

yaànáalkali
yi-a-náalkaliha
IRR-3A-lightening:PRC
'When it's lightening we unplug it.'

ᄆᄆᄆᄆA

oòjuutaléesko
oojii-uutaléesk-ó?i
1A.PL.EX-unplug:INC-HAB

e. **JSWY**

tiìtuuthakí
ti-iitii-uuthaki
DST2-1A.PL-pick.up:IMM(COM)
'Let's pick up those pencils!'

JAØGJ

tikoohweéloòt
ti-ka-oohweéloòt-i
DST2-3A-write:DVN\OBJ-NOM

This vowel deletion rule holds for all of the dual and plural forms. Examples of these are in (25).

25) a. **ᄆᄆᄆYᄆ**

oòstvhkhilo
oostii-vkhilóo?a
1A.DL.EX-wash(flexible):PRC
'He and I are washing the quilt.'

ᄆᄆC

hyèkhahl
hyèkhahli
quilt

b. **ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ ᄆᄆᄆ**

kátayoosti oojééhi
kátayoosti oojii-eeh-i
Marble City 1A.PL.EX-live:INC\AGT-NOM
'We are all from Marble City.'

- c. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
 teestóòkhskas
 tee-stii-ookiska=s
 DST-2A.DL-smoke:PRC=Q
 ‘Are you two smoking?’

For the first person singular, however, the prefix *ji-* becomes *k-* before a vowel. In (26) two examples show this change; the third example shows the first person singular before a consonant.

- 26) a. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦ**
 káaʔi
 ji-áaʔi
 1A-walk:PRC
 ‘I’m walking.’
- b. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦ**
 kookiìska
 ji-ookiska
 1A-smoke:PRC
 ‘I’m smoking it.’
- c. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦ**
 jiwóoniha
 ji-wóoniha
 1A-talk:PRC
 ‘I’m talking’

As shown in the previous section, the third person form *ka-* appears if the stem begins with the vowels /o/, /u/, or /v/. If the stem begins with /a/ or /e/, the third person prefix can be either *ka-* or *a-*. When the third person *a-* does attach to a vowel-initial stem the vowel of the stem is deleted. This vowel deletion is seen in (27a); it is necessary to use different prefixes on the verb stem, as in (27b), to determine if the stem is a-initial.

27) a. **DJW_o⊙A**
 aàtiithasko
 a-atiithask-óʔi
 3A-drink:INC-HAB
 ‘He drinks it.’

b. **DJW_o⊙A**
 hatiithasko
 hi-atiithask-óʔi
 2A-drink:INC-HAB
 ‘You drink it.’

This vowel deletion is blocked if the stem has a high tone. In (27a) above the short vowel of the stem is dropped, and the third person prefix undergoes the expected pronominal laryngealization.⁸ In (28), below, the high tone on the initial vowel deletes the prefix.

28) **DT**
 áaʔi
 a-áaʔi
 3A-walk:PRC
 ‘She is walking.’

As seen above, a few stems begin with /e/; these stems also cause the deletion of the third person singular Set A prefix *a-*. Two examples are shown in (29).

29) a. **RS**
 éeka
 a-éeka
 3A-go:PRC
 ‘She’s going.’

- b. **RVE**
 éetooho
 a-éetooh-ó?i
 3A-walk.around:INC-HAB
 ‘She is there.’

If a verb is /a/-initial and takes third person *k*-, it is possible for the first and third person forms to be identical because the first person form will also appear as *k*- (as it does before all vowels). An example is shown in (30).

- 30) a. **JP_oA**
 kúuhlvsko
 ji-úuhlvsk-ó?i
 1A-cover:INC-HAB
 ‘I cover it.’

- b. **JP_oA**
 kúuhlvsko
 ka-úuhlvsk-ó?i
 3A-cover:INC-HAB
 ‘He covers it.’

In practice such identical forms rarely occur due to laryngeal alternation and the resultant phonological changes.

As will be seen with other sets of prefixes, Set A prefixes interact with not only the stem but also with prepronominal prefixes that precede them. These interactions will be explored at length in Chapter 6. Two examples are given in (31). In (31a) the Distributive prepronominal prefix raises the tone of the first person singular. In the second example the Distributive prefix causes the deletion of the initial long vowel of the second person plural prefix; at the same time, however, the prepronominal prefix receives a high tone. It should be noted that while these tone

changes cause these two verbs to be pronounced differently, their syllabary spelling remains identical.

31) a. **S Ir^oD**

teejíléeʔa
tee-ji-léeʔa
DST-1A-take.out:PRC
‘I’m taking them out.’

b. **S Ir^oD**

téejiléeʔa
tee-ii-ji-léeʔa
DST-2A.PL-take.out:PRC
‘You all are taking them out.’

2.4 PREFIXES WITH ANIMATE THIRD PERSON OBJECTS

The prefixes that have been discussed thus far can refer to an inanimate third person object if the verb they attach to is transitive. If the object is third person and animate, however, a special set of prefixes is used. These prefixes are similar in form to the Set A prefixes that have already been discussed, but they appear on any verb that references a combination of a subject and a third person animate object. The forms are displayed in Table 3. The forms that differ from their Set A counterparts are shown in the bold areas.

TABLE 3: SET A PRONOMINAL PREFIXES WITH ANIMATE THIRD PERSON OBJECTS

PERSON REFERENCE	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	jii-/jiy-	eenii-	eetii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		oostii-	oojii-
Second Person	hii-/hiy-	eestii-	eejii-
Third person	a-, ka-	-	anii-

Two forms of the same verb that differ only in object animacy (AN) are in (32). In (32a) the /h/ is still present, while in (32b) the animate object prefix triggers laryngeal alternation. The vowel deletion and metathesis rules are triggered before this deletion of the prefix vowel; as a result there is no vowel deletion and aspiration in (32a).

- 32) a. **TGBʌA**
 iɪjahyvthéesko
 iɪjii-ahyvthéesk-óʔi
 2A.PL-kick:INC-HAB
 ‘You all kick it.’
- b. **RGBʌA**
 eèjaàvvhthéesko
 eejii-ahyvthéesk-óʔi
 2A.PL.AN-kick:INC-HAB
 ‘You all kick him.’

As seen above, the animate-object forms also trigger laryngeal alternation; as a result, the verb in (32b) has a lowfall long vowel /aà/ rather than the short vowel followed by an /hy/ cluster. Another example is in (33)

- 33) **DSTʌJʌS**
 eètuʔistiiska
 eetii-uhistiiska
 1A.PL.AN-accuse:PRC
 ‘We are accusing him.’

Vowel-initial stems with a first person subject and animate third person object will have rather different prefixes. In (34a) the initial /a/ of the stem causes the first person prefix (*ji-* before consonants) to appear as *k-*, as discussed in the previous section. In (34b) the animate-object counterpart of this prefix is *jiiy-*. (*jii-* before

consonants). It should be noted that the Set A first person singular always triggers laryngeal alternation as does its animate object counterpart.

34) a. **SBʌA**

kaàyvvhthésko
ji-ahyvvhthésk-óʔi
1A-kick:INC-HAB
'I kick it.'

b. **IrʌBʌA**

jiiyaàyvvhthésko
jii-ahyvvhthésk-óʔi
1A.AN-kick:INC-HAB
'I kick him.'

Because this animate/inanimate distinction occurs mostly with verbs, it will be further exemplified in Chapter 5. Besides verbs, these animate object Set A prefixes do occur on the kinship terms. They appear when the third person is the 'possessor' in the relationship. An example is in (35).

35) **ʌVʌA**

hiitootas
hii-toota=s
2A.AN-father=Q
'Are you his father?' lit. "Are you father to him?"

If the corresponding Set B prefix appears on this same noun, it will still refer to two people, but with a different meaning as seen in (36).

36) **GVʌA**

jatootas
ja-toota=s
2B-father=Q
'Is he your father?' lit. "Is he father to you?"

In (35) the animate form of the prefix is needed; if the vowel were short, indicating an inanimate object, the question would be ungrammatical. The use of animate object prefixes with kinship terms will be explained at greater length in Chapter 7.

When the vowel-lengthening feature appears before the Set A animate prefixes it surfaces as the vowel /a/. In (37a) the vowel lengthening feature lengthens the vowel of the prefix, while in (37b) the vowel /a/ appears and the pronominal prefix appears in its typical form before a vowel.

37) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 hiijalkíisko
 hi-xxjalkíisk-óʔi
 2A-rip:INC-HAB
 ‘You rip it.’

b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 thiiyaajaakalv
 ti-hii-xxjaakal-vvʔi
 DST2-2A.AN-scratch:CMP-FIM
 ‘Scratch him!’

3. SET B

3.1. BASIC PARADIGM

The Set B prefixes, like the Set A prefixes, distinguish inclusive/exclusive as well as dual number. These prefixes are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4: SET B PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

PERSON REFERENCE	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	aki-/akw-	kinii-	iikii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		ookinii-	ookii-
Second Person	ja-	stii-	iiyii-
Third person	uu-, uw-	-	uunii-

Several patterns emerge from this table. Like the Set A prefixes, the Set B prefixes indicate exclusivity with an initial *oo-*. Also similar to Set A is the composition of the third person plural prefix; for both sets this prefix is the singular form plus a pluralizing element *-ni i-*. The Set B second person prefixes for the dual and plural are identical to the Set A prefixes.

The Set B first and third person singular forms both have a predictable alternation between two forms. These alternations will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. As with the Set A prefixes, Set B prefixes attach to verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Examples of each are given in (38). In the third example, pronominal laryngealization causes a lowfall tone to appear on the prefix when it is attached to the verb.

- 38) a. **DYβŋ**
 akiyeelʋ
 aki-yeelʋʋʔi
 1B-body
 ‘my body’
- b. **DYʔθ**
 akiʔlééna
 aki-ʔlééna
 1B-deaf
 ‘I’m deaf.’
- c. **DYɦɓ**
 aàkiyoósi
 aki-yoósiha
 1B-be.hungry:PRC
 ‘I’m hungry.’

While there are some contexts that require either Set A or Set B prefixes, often the choice is entirely unpredictable. For this reason in this grammar the terms ‘Set A verb’, ‘Set B adjective’ and so forth will be used to indicate the proper prefix.

3.2 SET B PREFIXES WITH VOWEL-INITIAL STEMS

As with the Set A prefixes, Set B prefixes drop their final vowels when they attach to stems that begin with a vowel. Four examples are below in (39).

39) a. **TSSV_oL**

iìkakhthoósta
iìkii-akahthoósta
1B.PL-look.at:PRC
'She's looking at us.'

b. **S_iSW_iΛ**

tuùnukhthane
tee-uunii-ukahthan-é?i
DST-3B.PL-decide:CMP-NXP
'They decided.' (Chapter 9.3:7)

c. **EB G_oΘ_oW**

tlasi yuùnahnth
tla+si yi-uunii-anvhtha
NEG+still IRR-3B.PL-know:PRC
'They still don't know.'

d. **S_iLR**

tuùnuutaléesv
tee-uunii-uutalées-v?i
DST-3B.PL-release:CMP-EXP
'They unplugged it.'

There are two exceptions to this pattern. The first person singular appears as *aki-* before consonants and as *akw-* before vowels. This predictable alternation is shown in (40). In (40a) the stem begins with a consonant; the /k/ of the prefix is aspirated as a result of metathesis. In (40b) and (40c) the stems begin with /e/ and /o/,

respectively. In the second and third examples the *akw-* prefix appears without the pronominal laryngealization that appears on verbs.

40) a. **DYŋŋV**
 aàkhiwahtvvhíto
 aki-hwahtvvhítoha
 1B-visit:PRC
 ‘He is visiting me.’

b. **DŋLT**
 akweéhnaʔi
 aki-eéhnaʔi
 1B-rich
 ‘I am rich’

c. **DVʔh**
 akwoðyééni
 aki-oðyééni
 1B-hand
 ‘my hand’

The second exception is with the third person singular prefix. In the third person singular the form *uw-* appears before the vowels /e/, /o/, and /u/. The vowel in this prefix is short, but undergoes pronominal laryngealization when attached to a verb.⁹ In (41) there are examples of the third person Set B prefix before /e/, /o/ and /u/, respectively. In (41a) and (41c) the prefix attaches to a verb and the pronominal laryngealization rule applies.

41) a. **ŋŋMYŋE**
 uùweeluukiiskv
 uu-eeluukiisk-vʔi
 3B-worry:INC-EXP
 ‘He was worried.’

- b. **ʊʊβh**
 uwoðyééni
 uu-oðyééni
 3B-hand
 ‘her hand’
- c. **ʊʊʒGR**
 uùwuhiilóoʔe
 uu-uuhiilóoʔ-éʔi
 3B-wash:CMP-NXP
 ‘He washed it.’

The combination of a stem-initial /v/ with the prefix uu- results in uwa-, as shown in (42a). It is clear that this stem begins with the vowel /v/ when other prefixes attach to it, as seen in (42b) and (42c).

- 42) a. **ʊʊZUʔ**
 uùwaanoosahe
 uu-vvnoosah-éʔi
 3B-sweep:CMP-NXP
 ‘He swept it.’
- b. **ʊʊʒZUʔA**
 stvvnoosasko
 stii-vvnoosask-óʔi
 2A.DL-sweep:INC-HAB
 ‘You two were sweeping it.’
- c. **D&ZUʔ**
 aàkwvnoosahv
 aki-vvnoosah-vʔi
 1B-sweep:CMP-EXP
 ‘I swept it.’

Two examples with an adjective are in (43). In (43a) the prefix does not undergo pronominal laryngealization; this form of the prefix can be compared with the form that appears on the verb in (42a).

43) a. **ŌŬŦŌ**
 uwakhééwi
 uu-vkhééwi
 3B-deaf.dumb
 ‘He is deaf and dumb.’

b. **DŬŦŌ**
 akwvkhééwi
 aki-vkhééwi
 1B-deaf.dumb
 ‘I am deaf and dumb.’

The /w/ of the special form of the Set B third person singular can be aspirated due to vowel deletion, as demonstrated in (44). In this example the pre-aspirated /h/ triggers the deletion and the subsequent aspiration of the /w/

44) **ŌŬWŌŦ**
 uùhwthanvʔi
 uu-vhthan-ʔvʔi
 3B-use:CM-EXP
 ‘He used it.’ (Scancarelli 1987:60)¹⁰

If *uu-* appears before a stem that begins with /a/, the /a/ deletes. An example is given in (45).

45) a. **ŌŦŦ**
 uùtuulíha
 uu-atuulíha
 3B-want:PRC
 ‘He wants it.’

- b. **SCZPWΛ**
 tuùhlinohethane
 tee-uu-ali-hnohethan-éʔi
 DST-3B-MDL-talk:CMP-NXP
 ‘He talked to them.’ (Chapter 9.3:9)

The Set B prefixes appear on the Completive stem when that stem indicates past tense. In (46a) the Set A *a-* prefix is used on the Present Continuous stem of the verb; in (46b) the Completive stem (CMP) of the same verb triggers the Set B prefix *uu-*. In (46a) the stem vowel has been deleted, because it is a short vowel and pronominal laryngealization applies, by definition, to the pronominal prefixes and not the stem. (It should be noted that none of the prefixes in these examples triggers laryngeal alternation, so all of the conjugation forms undergo vowel deletion and aspiration.)

- 46) a. **DSVᵒL**
 aàkhtoósta
 a-akahtoósta
 3A-look.at:PRC
 ‘He is looking at it.’
- b. **ᵒSVᵒWCᵒ**
 uùkhtoóstanv
 uu-akahtoóstan-vʔi
 3B-look.at:CMP-EXP
 ‘He looked at it.’
- c. **DTSVᵒWCᵒ**
 aàkwakhtoóstanv
 aki-akahtoóstan-vʔi
 1B-look.at:CMP-CMP
 ‘I looked at it.’

- d. **ʏƏS V ǝ W ʕ**
 kinakhtoóstanv
 kinii-akahtoóstan-vʋʔi
 1B.DL-look.at:CMP-EXP
 ‘We looked at it.’

Most Set B verbs are intransitive, but a few are transitive. In these cases the Set B prefix indicates the combination of a subject and a third person inanimate object. If the object is animate, however, then the set of Set A animate prefixes are used. Two examples are shown in (47). In the second example the first person singular causes laryngeal alternation, resulting in the initial /h/ of the stem being replaced by a lowfall.

- 47) a. **DY ʕ ʔ**
 aàkiihyoha
 aki-xxhyoh-a
 1B-look.for:CMP-CMP
 ‘I’m looking for it.’

- b. **ʕ ʕ ʔ**
 jiìyoha
 jii-xxhyoha
 1A.AN-look.for:PRC
 ‘I’m looking for her.’

Provided that there is no animate object, all verbs (Set A as well as Set B) use the Set B prefixes when the verb is in a Completive stem to indicate a past event. This alternation will be discussed in the next chapter; an example is in (48). In (48a) the verb is a Set A verb and is in the Incompletive stem. In (48b), however, the verb is in the Completive stem and the Set B prefix appears.

48) a. **†M †hP†** **D5**
 seélu téeniilti amo
 seélu tee-iinii-ltiʔa ama-ʔi
 corn DST-1A.DL-put.in.water:PRC water-LOC
 ‘We are putting the corn in the water.’

b. **D5ʒ VYWʂ** **†M**
 amóóhi toòkiilatv seélu
 ama-ʔi tee-ookii-lat-vʔi seélu
 water-LOC DST-1B.PL.EX-put.in.water:COMP-EXP corn
 ‘We put the corn in the water.’

3.3 NON-LOCAL PLURAL SUBJECTS AND LOCAL OBJECTS

As stated in this chapter’s introduction, the pronominal prefix system treats local and non-local persons rather differently. A further difference between the two is seen when there are third person plural subjects acting on local person objects. In (49) the animate subject ‘child’ is marked with the Set A third person plural; the verb has a prefix indicating that the subject is third person plural, but the object is a local person ‘you.’

49) **VC †h6P** **hʔGβʔaJ†**
 tohnv tiiniiyóóhl jikeejayeetstíha
 katohnv ti-anii-yóóhli ji-keaja-yeetstíha
 why DST2-3A.PL-child REL-3PL/2-laugh:PRC
 ‘Why were those kids laughing at you?’

This paradigm does not present a completely new set of prefixes (as with the Combined prefixes for combinations of local subjects and objects), but rather the Set B prefixes with an initial element *kée-* added (with some phonological adjustments).

These forms are presented below in Table 5.

TABLE 5: THIRD PERSON PLURAL SUBJECT AND LOCAL OBJECT

OBJECT PERSON REFERENCE	SINGULAR	DUAL (DL)	PLURAL (PL)
First Person Inclusive	kvvki-/kvvkw-	keekinii-	keekii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		kookinii-	kookii-
Second Person	keeja-	keestii-	keejii-

Four examples are in (50).

- 50) a. **DhFG^αW** **FYhSJa**
 aniikehyúústa keekiniikhthiíya
 anii-kehyúústa keekinii-kahthiíya
 3A.PL-girl 3PL/2DL-wait.for:PRC
 ‘The girls are waiting for us’
- b. **FGCZ^α** **DhJG**
 keejahlinoohehtvs aniichúúja
 keeja-ahlinooheht-vʹʔi=s anii-chúúja
 3PL/2 –talk.to:CMP-EXP=Q 3A.PL-boy
 ‘Did those boys talk to you?’
- c. **CS** **ʃLFS^αBRF**
 thlatvv yitakeekakhwiyyvʹeéli
 thla=tvv yi-ta-keekii-akhwiyyv-eél-i
 NEG=CT IRR-FUT-3PL/1PL-pay:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘They will not pay us.’
- d. **SV L A^αP** **ʃLYh^α**
 kato hla koohweél yitakeekiniinvs
 kato hla koohweéli yi-ta-keekinii-n-vʹʔi=s
 what NEG paper IRR-CIS-3PL/1DL-send:CMP=Q
 ‘Why didn’t they send us a letter? (you and I)’

Two examples are in (51) for exclusive dual and plural forms.

51) a. **SV Ľ AŲP ɃLAʏhCə**
 kato hla koohweél yitakoðkiniinvs
 kato hla koohweéli yi-ta-kookinii-n-vʋʔi=s
 what no paper IRR-CIS-3PL/1DL.EX-send:CMP=Q
 ‘Why didn’t they send us a letter? (him and I)’

b. **hAʔ AYŲPŲəAT**
 nikoólʋ koðkinvvhewskóoʔi
 nikoólʋ kookinii-vvhewsk-óʔi
 always 3PL/1DL.EX-forget:INC-HAB
 ‘They always forget us (not you).’

The combination of *kəe-* and *aki-* creates the first person singular object form *kvvki-* (and its alternation before a vowel of *kvvkw-*). These forms are displayed in the examples in (52). In (52c) the initial /h/ of the vowel metathesizes and causes the aspiration of the consonant of the pronominal prefix.

52) a. **EYAŲ**
 kvvkikoohv
 kvvki-kooh-vʋʔi
 3PL/1-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘They saw me.’

b. **JEŲhŲəY**
 tikvvkweehyóóhvsk
 ti-kvvki-eehyóóhvsk-i
 DST2-3PL/1-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘My teachers don’t like me.’

Ľ hEʏʔVʔ
 hla yikv̀kilvvkwt
 hla yi-kv̀ki-lvvkwoti
 NEG IRR-3PL/1-like:PRC

c. **SEYBYD**
 teekv̀khiyʋ́vkiʔa
 tee-kvvki-hyʋ́vkiʔa
 DST-3PL/1-tickle:PRC
 ‘They’re tickling me.’

54) a. **KSA**
 jootéeko
 ti-oo-téek-óʔi
 DST2-3B.IP-throw:INC-HAB
 ‘trash, that which you throw away’

b.	ᏊᏎᏍ	ᏈᏍᏅ	ᏁᏍᏆ
	yitaatvvk	owas	yootuuli
	yi-tee-a-ataat-vvka	oo-vvsa	yi-oo-atuuliha
	IRR-DST-3A-RFL-hit:IMM	3.IP-self	IRR-3.IP-want:PRC
	‘You can hit yourself if you want to.’ ¹¹		

3.5 INVERSE USE OF THE SET B PREFIX

As is seen throughout this chapter, prefixes on Cherokee verbs do not always indicate the subject. The prefix *ja-*, as exemplified in (55a), can indicate second person as the object or the subject; this is an example of a pattern in the language of always indicating local persons involved in the verb. The addition of the noun ‘thief’ in (55b) makes it clear that the Set B prefix is referring to an object. As discussed previously, a special form of the Set A prefix *hii-* indicates a second person subject and third person animate object. An example of this form is in (55c).

55) a. **GJOʷOʷ**
 jatiínv̀thanv
 ja-atiínv̀than-vʋʔi
 2B-run.over:CMP:EXP
 ‘You ran over it.’ ‘It ran over you.’

b.	ᏍᏏᏁᏏᏁᏏ	GJOʷOʷ
	kanooskííski	jatiínv̀thanv
	ka-nooskiisk-i	ja-atiínv̀than-vʋʔi
	3A-steal:INC\AGT-NOM	2B-run.over:CMP-EXP
	‘The thief ran you over.’	

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>c. ᏍᏏᏗᏃᏗ
 kanooskííski
 ka-nooskiisk-i
 3A-steal:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘You ran over the thief.’</p> | <p>ᏃᏗᏃᏗᏃᏗ
 hiiytiínv̀thanv
 hii-atiínv̀than-v́ʔi
 2A.AN-run.over:CMP-EXP</p> |
|---|---|

When both subject and object are third person, the relative animacy of the participants helps to distinguish subject from object. A verb that normally would take a Set A prefix *a-* or *ka-* can take a Set B prefix *uu-* to indicate that the subject is the not the subject expected given the specific discourse factors of the narrative. Scancarelli (1987:162) refers to this use of the Set B prefix as Inverse marking. The concept ‘inverse’ presupposes a hierarchy among participants, with some participants being more subject-like than others. Scancarelli calls this an ‘animacy hierarchy’ with a ranking seen in (56).

56) CHEROKEE ANIMACY HIERARCHY (Scancarelli 1987:126)

first and second person > third person > third person non-human animate > third person inanimate

If a speaker’s particular conceptualization of Cherokee follows the above hierarchy, then there is a preference for assuming a human participant is the subject when there are two third person participants. For example, in (57a) there are two nouns present. The noun ‘woman’ is higher than ‘horse’ on the hierarchy and, therefore, assumed to be the subject. Because this is a Set A verb in the Present Continuous stem, the third person pronominal prefix *a-* is expected to appear. The Set B prefix *uunii-* in (57b) indicates that the assumption of the human as the subject and the non-human as the object is reversed. For this speaker the animate plural object form *kaa-* is the preferred form instead of *tee-* for third person humans as objects; the combination of *kaa-* and *uunii-* creates the form *kvvwa-*.

57) a. **Dhʔa** **ʔʔʔ** **lθBʔD**
 aniikééhya sookwil taànahyvthéeʔa
 anii-kééhya sookwili tee-anii-ahyvthéeʔa
 3A-woman horse DST-3A.PL-kick:PRC
 ‘The women are kicking the horses.’ (Scancarelli 1987:128)

b. **ʔʔʔ** **ECθBʔD** **Dhʔa**
 sookwil kvvwanahyvthéeʔa aniikééhya
 sookwili kaa-uunii-ahyvthéeʔa anii-kééhya
 horse ANP-3B.PL-kick:PRC 3A-woman
 ‘The horses are kicking the women.’ (Scancarelli 1987:129)

Pulte and Feeling (1975:301) have a different interpretation of this phenomenon, which they refer to as the ‘second passive’; the ‘first passive’ is their term for what is in this grammar called the Object Focus prefixes. For example, they use an English passive in their translations for the sentence in (58). The verb ‘to see’ is a Set A verb in the Present Continuous stem and therefore typically takes a Set A prefix *a-* for third person subjects with third person objects. Pulte and Feeling (1975:353) consider Cherokee to have a basic word order of Subject-Object-Verb (SOV); the use of the Set B prefix *uu-* seems to indicate a reordering of what they consider a basic word order and a subsequent focus on the object; hence their use of the English passive. In Scancarelli’s examples in (57) the word order is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO).

58) **DθSθ** **θACJʔ** **YC**
 askaya uùkohwthíha kiihli
 a-skaya u-kohwthíha kiihli
 3A-man 3B-see:PRC dog
 ‘A man is being seen by a dog.’ (Feeling 1975a:301)

It seems that the interpretation by Pulte and Feeling of this special use of *uu-* is markedly different from that of Scancarelli (1987). Scancarelli’s characterization of a

word order determined by pragmatic factors undermines claims of ‘basic’ word orders. A thorough study of the use of the inverse, therefore, requires a comprehensive discourse analysis of a large number of Cherokee texts. In other words, it is difficult to properly understand what is actually going on in example (58) without seeing this sentence within the larger context of a discourse and how the factor of ‘newsworthiness’ described in Chapter 3 influences both the word order and interpretation. While such an analysis is beyond the scope of the present work, the reader should bear in mind the important role of contextual factors in determining the identity of subjects and objects of verbs.

4. COMBINED

4.1. BASIC PARADIGM

A fourth set of prefixes reference two local persons. This set is used on transitive verbs, kinship terms, and some transitive verbs that have been turned into nouns. Four examples are in (59); the first two are with the Present Continuous stem of the verb, and the second two are with the Completive stem. Most of these prefixes trigger laryngeal alternation for most speakers.

59) a. **ESJα**
 kvvkaàthiíya
 kvv-kahthiíya
 1/2-wait.for:PRC
 ‘I’m waiting for you.’

b. **αYSJα**
 skikaàthiíya
 ski-kahthiíya
 2/1-wait.for:PRC
 ‘You’re waiting for me.’

- c. **Tᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ**
iistvvkaàthiíya
iistvv-kahthiíya
1/2-wait.for:PRC
‘She and I waited for you.’
‘She and I waited for you two.’
‘I waited for you two.’

An example of a Combined prefix on a kinship term is in (60). Note that the kinship relationship involves two grammatical persons, just as the transitive verbs do.

- 60) **h.ᵃ ᵃᵃᵃ ᵃᵃᵃᵃ**
nihi hichúúja skweéji
nihi hi-chúúja ski-eéji
2PRO 2A-boy 2/1-child
‘You, boy, are my son.’

Some of these prefixes have elements similar to prefixes for just one person, but they have become fused together and must be treated as a unit. It is apparent that these prefixes were originally formed from the Set B prefixes. They are called Combined person prefixes (or ‘portmanteau’ prefixes in linguistic terminology) and are listed in Table 6. The column on the left represents the combination of subject and object; while the top row indicates number. Because these prefixes are combinations of first and second person, there is no inclusive/exclusive distinction (that is, all of the first person readings are logically exclusive).

TABLE 6: COMBINED PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	Both subject and object are Singular	The subject and/or the object is Dual (but neither is plural)	The subject and/or the object is Plural
2nd Person Subject/ 1st Person Object	ski-/skw-	iiskinii-/ iiskin-	iiskii-/iiskiiy-
1st Person Subject/ 2nd Person Object	kvv-/kvvy-	iistvv-/ iistvvy-	iijvv-/iijvvy-

The two possible combinations are first person as the subject and second person as the object or second person as the subject and first person the object. As with the other prefixes, the Combined prefixes have singular, dual, and plural forms. The two factors of number and person combine to create six Combined person prefixes. The two prefixes exemplified above in (59a) and (59b) each have only one possible interpretation: thus *ski-* in (59b) always means second person singular is the subject and first person singular is the object. In (61) the conjugated Cherokee verb has three possible English translations. This prefix also triggers laryngeal alternation.

- 61) $\text{st}\nu\text{v}\text{ka}\text{\`a}\text{thi}\text{iya}$
 stvv-ka^hthiíya
 1/2.DL-wait.for:PRC
 ‘I am waiting for you two.’
 ‘We two are waiting for you two.’
 ‘We two are waiting for you.’

The plural combined form in (62) has five possible meanings. As in the previous example, this prefix triggers laryngeal alternation.

- 62) $\text{i}\text{i}\text{j}\text{v}\text{v}\text{ka}\text{\`a}\text{thi}\text{iya}$
 iijvv-ka^hthiíya
 1/2.PL-wait.for:PRC
 ‘I am waiting for you all.’
 ‘We two are waiting for you all.’
 ‘We all are waiting for you.’
 ‘We all are waiting for you two.’
 ‘We all are waiting for you all.’

What remains constant in the meaning are the two persons-first and second person- and the relationship between them-first person acting on second person. The number specification, however, can apply to either or both persons.

The Combined prefixes are found mainly on verbs, but they do appear on kinship terms that reference two local persons. (63a) is an example with a verb, and (63b) is an example with the noun ‘mother.’ On kinship nouns one of the referents is the person to whom the noun refers; the other ‘object’ referent is the ‘possessor’ of the relationship.

63) a. **EAC.J†**
 kvvkohwthíha
 kvv-kohwthíha
 1/2-see:PRC
 ‘I see you.’

b. **EJ**
 kvvj i
 kvv- j i
 1/2-mother
 ‘I am your mother’

The uses of the combined prefixes on verbs and nouns will be discussed in greater detail in their respective chapters.

4.2. COMBINED PREFIXES WITH VOWEL-INITIAL STEMS

As with Set A and Set B, the Combine Pronominal prefixes have different forms before vowels. These forms are similar to the Set A animate prefixes in that /y/ is inserted before vowel-initial stems. This epenthetic /y/ is exemplified in (64a) and (64b). The 2nd person singular subject/1st person singular object prefix (abbreviated as 2/1), has a form similar to the Set B prefix *aki*; in (64c) there is an example of the *skw-* form. The high tone in (64c) appears because the question clitic has been added at the end.

64) a. **Eḥḥḥ**

kvvyooliika
 kvv-oolihka
 1/2-understand:PRC
 ‘I understand you.’

b. **TḥYḥḥḥḥ**

iiskiiyooliikas
 iiskii-oolihka=s
 2/1.PL-understand:PRC=Q
 ‘Do y’all recognize me?’

c. **ḥVḥḥḥ**

skwohkiju
 ski-olihki=ju
 2/1-understand:PRC=CQ
 ‘Do you understand me?’

The plural prefix for 2nd person subject/1st person plural combination (abbreviated as 2/1.PL), has an /ii/ that only appears when there are no prepronominal prefixes. An example is in (65). Prepronominal Prefixes will be explored in Chapter 6.

65) **TḥYḥḥW**

iiskiiisteéla
 iiskii-steéla
 2/1.PL-help:IMM(COM)
 ‘Help us!’

In (66) the presence of a Distributive prefix has suppressed this initial /ii/. This element receives the pronominal laryngealization characteristic of verbs.

66) **Lḥḥḥḥ**

tastvvyeyoh	Gḥḥ jalaki
ta-stvv-ehyoh-i	jalaki
FUT-1/2.DL-teach:CMPT-MOT	Cherokee
‘I will teach both of you Cherokee.’	

5. OBJECT FOCUS PREFIXES

5.1. BASIC PARADIGM

These prefixes typically appear on verbs, but there are a few kinship nouns that use this set (Scancarelli 1987:302) as well as a small number of adjectives. Some sources refer to them as the passive prefixes (Pulte and Feeling 1975: 300); Scancarelli refers to them as the ‘unspecified subject’ prefixes (1987:81). They are often translated into English with a passive or an indefinite ‘someone’ as a subject. The Object Focus prefixes are presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7: OBJECT FOCUS PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	vvki-/vkw-	eekinii-	eekii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		ookinii-	oojii-
Second Person	eeja-	eestii-	eejii-
Third person	aji-/ak-	-	keejii-/keek-

The prefixes appear to be based on the Set B prefixes often with an additional initial vowel element. This *ee-* appears on all the inclusive local forms and seems to have merged with the initial vowel of *aki-* to create *vvki-*. This element is probably related to the *ee-* that appears on the Set A animate set of prefixes and seems to indicate the presence of an animate third person. The exception to this pattern is the third person singular form *aji-*; the plural form is a combination of the singular form and a prepronominal prefix *kee-*.

These prefixes appear on verbs to indicate an emphasis on the object; at the same time, they sometimes indicate that the subject is unknown or unimportant. Verbs with these prefixes are translated into English with the passive, as in (67a) and (67e), with the indefinite pronoun ‘someone’ (67b), or with the indefinite ‘they’, as in (67c) and (67d). The sentence in (67b) was elicited with the phrase ‘He got burned’; the speaker retranslated the Cherokee with the indefinite pronoun ‘somebody.’

- 67) a. **L W.əG* Gˢ FkZ4P.ə**
 hla lahiiyu yuutu keejinooselihi
 hla lahiiyu yuutu keejii-nooselihi?a
 NEG never truth 2O.PL-tell:PRC
 ‘Ya’ll have never been told the truth’
- b. **DhɛʔʔCʔ**
 aàjiléhtvvnv
 aji-léhtvvn-vʔi
 3O-burn:CMP-EXP
 ‘Somebody burnt him.’
- c. **iYACJ+**
 v̀kikohwthíha
 vvki-kohwthíha
 1O-see:PRC
 ‘They (whoever) are seeing me’
- d. **DhDLJ**
 aàjiʔatati
 aji-ʔatati
 3O-bury:PRC
 ‘They’re burying him.’
- e. **FkCW**
 keejiihwahtha
 keejii-hwahtha
 3O.PL-find:IMM
 ‘They have been found.’

The Object Focus prefixes also frequently appear when both subject and object are third person and animate. Two examples are in (68); this phenomenon probably relates to larger factors in the discourse that are currently not well understood.

68) a. **Dhɔ́ɔ́**

aàjikweenuúki
aji-kweenuúki
3O-pinch:IMM
‘He pinched him.’

b. **Dʂɔ́ɔ́**

aàkanuukihlǎha
aji-anuukihlǎha
3O-hug:PRC
‘She is hugging him.’

These prefixes are only added to transitive verbs and certain kinship terms. An example of an Object Focus prefix on ‘brother’ is in (69); this usage on relationship terms will be discussed in Chapter 7.

69) **ɛ** **ɔ́yɔ́ɔ́** **ʂɔ́** **iɔ́v**
thla ookiniithlóóyi yik vkitó
thla ookinii-thlóóyi yi-ka vki-to
NEG 1B.DL.EX-same IRR-be:PRC 1O-sibling (opposite.gender)
‘My brother is different from me.’

As with the other prefixes, the rule of pronominal laryngealization applies to the Object Focus prefix. Because this prefix almost always appears on verbs, it will be further explained in Chapter 5. For the less common uses of this prefix on nouns and adjectives, refer to Chapters 7 and 8.

5.2 OBJECT FOCUS PREFIXES WITH VOWEL-INITIAL STEMS

The Object Focus prefixes follow the same pattern as the Set B prefixes when attached to a vowel-initial stem. Three examples are in (70). The last vowel of the prefix deletes, except for the first person singular which has the form *vkw-* before

vowels, as seen in (70a). The third person prefix *aji*-appears as *ak*- before a vowel (70b); this prefix also triggers laryngeal alternation, as seen in (70c).

70) a. **iVFC**

v̀kwoohljv
vki-oohlj-vvʔi
3O-recognize:CMP-EXP
'They recognized me.'

b. **DAPC**

àkwoohljv
aji-òlij-vvʔi
3O-recognize:CMP-EXP
'They recognized him, somebody recognized him.'

c. **DJT@J@E**

àkuʔistiiskv
aji-uhistiisk-vvʔi
3O-accuse:CMP-EXP
'They accused him.'

As stated above, the Object Focus prefix often appears to be similar to an English passive. Its function is often to foreground or background participants; especially when there are two participants of equal animacy. (It will be noted that most occurrences of this prefix set in this grammar are third person). This is a phenomenon that needs careful study; the texts at the end of this grammar contain contextualized usages of these prefixes. The sentence in (71) contains two examples of the third person Object Focus prefix. A careful study of an extended narrative where the participants are clearly or equal animacy (such as players in a sporting event) would help to expand our understanding of how the language keeps track of subjects and objects

71) Dh SO h b	LO h h h h	DAB
aàjiiskánv̄chiisi	taàstayoohihv̄	aàkoòsi
aji-skánv̄j-iisi	tee-a-stayoohih-v̄ʔi	aji-oòsi
3O-commit.sin:CMF-APL:IMM	DST-3A-shoot:INC-DVB	3O-tell:IMM
‘They told her she fouled while (the other) was shooting.’ (Lady Indians Championship)		

6. PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

Pronominal prefixes as well as stems undergo the phonological changes described in Chapter 2. These changes, however, have a particular importance for the pronominal prefixes as these elements typically start a word. If the pronominal prefixes are altered it can have consequences for where the word itself is listed in a dictionary. These issues will be explored in the following section.

6.1. LARYNGEAL ALTERNATION

As described in Chapter 2, laryngeal alternation occurs when certain pronominal prefixes cause an /h/ in the stem to be replaced with a glottal stop. This laryngeal alternation seems to exist across all dialects for all speakers. The specific person prefixes which trigger the alternation, however, do vary.¹² In the literature lists of the prefixes that trigger the alternation are found in Cook (1979:21-23) and Scancarelli (1987:71, 101-102). If we compare Cook’s list (which describes North Carolina Cherokee) of prefixes with those found in Scancarelli (1987), we see that there is very little variation. This comparison is in Table 9.

Table 9: Pronominal Prefixes that trigger laryngeal alternation

		Scancarelli (1987:71)	Cook (1979:22-24, 26)
<u>Set A</u>			
ji-	1A	Yes	Yes
<u>Animate object</u>			
jii-	1/3.AN	Yes	Yes
hii-	2/3.AN	Yes	Yes
eenii-	1DL.AN	Yes	Yes
eetii-	1PL.AN	Yes	Yes
keeti-	1PL.ANP	Yes	Yes
oostii-	1DL.EX.AN	Yes	No
oojii-	1PL.EX.AN	Yes	No
eestii-	1PL.AN	Yes	<i>n/a</i>
eejii-	1PL.AN	Yes	<i>n/a</i>
<u>Combined</u>			
kvv-	1/2	Yes	Yes
stvv-	1/2.DL ¹	Yes	Yes
iļjvv-	1/2.PL	Yes	Yes
ski-	2/1	No	No
iiskinii-	2/1.DL	Yes	Yes
<u>Object Focus</u>			
aji-	3O	Yes	Yes
keeki-	3O.PL	Yes	Yes
eekini-	1O.DL	Yes	Yes
eeki-	1O.PL	Yes	Yes
eestii-	2O.DL	Yes	Yes
eeji-	2O.PL	Yes	Yes

The only Set A prefix that triggers the alternation is the first person singular *ji-* (and its form *k-* that appears before a vowel). No Set B prefixes trigger it. Laryngeal alternation does occur with the Set A prefixes that indicate an animate third person object, as well as the Combined prefixes.

Often laryngeal alternation affects the stem, but if the alternation is at the beginning of the stem the pronominal prefix can be lengthened to accommodate the lowfall (all tones that rise or fall can only occur on long vowels; see Chapter 2). In (72a) the stem starts with [s]; the fricative [s] usually has an [h] in front of it that is not written. Laryngeal alternation removes this /h/ and replaces it with the lowfall tone (with accompanying lengthening of the vowel to accommodate the tone). In (72b) the second person prefix does not trigger this alternation and remains a short vowel.

72) a. **ᵐᵒᵗᵗᵗ**
 jiᵐskwati
 ji-skwatiʔa
 1A-finish:PRC
 ‘I finish it.’

b. **ᵐᵒᵗᵗᵗ**
 hiskwati
 hi-skwatiʔa
 2A-finish:PRC
 ‘You finish it.’

In Oklahoma Cherokee all of the Set A animate object prefixes trigger the alternation. In (73a) the inanimate object prefix does not trigger the alternation, while its animate counterpart (73b) does.

73) a. **ᵒᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ**
 jakoohés
 ja-koooh-éʔi=s
 2B-see:CMP-NXP=Q
 ‘Did you see it?’

- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 hiikooʔés
 hii-kooh-éʔi=s
 2A.AN-see:CMP-NXP=Q
 ‘Did you see her?’

Laryngeal alternation also interacts with metathesis and deletion operations. The effect of these changes on pronominal prefixes will be further explained in the final two sections of this chapter

6.2. METATHESIS

Metathesis and deletion can both affect pronominal prefixes. The third person Set A prefix *ka-* will change to *kha-* if the stem to which it attaches has /h/ at the beginning or immediately after a short vowel. This phonological change is particularly relevant as the third person form of the verb is the citation form. Verbs listed under <k> in the Feeling dictionary are all examples of this process. In (74a) one such verb is shown in the third person; its first person counterpart –without the metathesis because of laryngeal alternation- is shown in (74b).

- 74) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
khanoohéha
 ka-hnoohéha
 3A-tell:PRC
 ‘He’s telling it.’

- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 jiinoohéha
 ji-hnoohéha
 1A-tell:PRC
 ‘I’m telling it.’

The singular forms are more susceptible to metathesis because most of them end in short vowels. The example in (75a) shows metathesis with the Combined prefix *ski-*, and (75b) shows the same process with the second person Set B prefix *ja-*.

75) a. **LᵒJ IrᵒYCᵒḂ**
 thlesti jiiskhinvvhí
 thlesti jii-ski-hnvvhi
 NEG.COM NGI-2/1-call:IMM(COM)
 ‘Don’t call me.’

b. **SA GᵒḂᵒWᵒ**
 kaak chanaálývsthane
 kaako ja-hnaálývsthan-é?i
 who 2B-make.angry:CMP-NXP
 ‘Who made you mad?’^{I3}

Laryngeal alternation can create a contrast for different conjugated forms of Set A verbs that would otherwise sound identical. Recall that some Set A verbs take *ka-* in the third person; if these same verbs are vowel-initial, there is the possibility of the first and third person being pronounced alike, as in (76) below.

76) a. **SVᵒS**
 katóska
 ka-atóska
 3A-fall:PRC
 ‘It is falling.’

b. **SVᵒS**
 katóska
 ji-atóska
 1A-fall:PRC
 ‘I am falling.’

Because of laryngeal alternation and the related phonological rules of metathesis and vowel deletion, there are actually very few instances of such identical-sounding pairs. In (77a) the presence of an underlying /h/ triggers vowel deletion, while in (77b) the pronominal prefix *ji-* (appearing as *k-* before a vowel) triggers laryngeal alternation, thereby removing the /h/ and the environment for vowel deletion to occur. Significantly, the syllabary preserves the underlying form for both conjugations. A detailed description of the phonological processes involved in these two examples was presented in Table 14 in Chapter 3.

77) a. **APS**

kohlka

ka-oliḥka

3A-understand:PRC

‘He understands it.’

b. **APS**

koliika

ji-oliḥka

1A-understand:PRC

‘I understand it.’

With the Set B prefixes there is never the possibility for such pairs, because the prefixes have distinct pronunciations in all environments.

6.3. DELETION

Laryngeal alternation can also affect vowel deletion processes which can, in turn, change the pronunciation of the pronominal prefix itself. As with metathesis, this deletion can cause important changes to the third-person citation form. In (78) is a comparison of a first and third person forms. Note that the stem begins with a vowel, so there are two different deletions: first, the stem-initial vowel deletes, then the presence of the /h/ on the stem cause the prefix vowel to delete.

78) a. **EJ_oA**
kh*t*íisko
ka-v*h*tíisk-óʔi
 3A-use:INC-HAB
 ‘He uses it.’

b. **EJ_oA**
 kv*v*tíisko
 j*i*-v*h*tíisk-óʔi
 1A-use:INC-HAB
 ‘I use it.’

As with metathesis, deletion typically happens with the singular forms. In (79a) the Set B form undergoes deletion of its short vowel and aspiration of its consonant as a result of the /h/ (which is unwritten) present before the /s/. In (79b) the second person Object Focus prefix *eja-* is also aspirated after deletion of its vowel brings the consonant adjacent to /h/.

79) a. **DY_oJ_oE**
akhsthis*k*ʔ
aki-sthis*k*ʔvʔi
 1B-hair
 ‘my hair’

b. **SVO** **βJ_oW_o**
 katohv ye*ch*lastanvʔi
 katohv yi-eja-*h*lastan-vʔi
 why IRR-2O-invite:CMP-EXP
 ‘Why were you not invited?’

The /h/ in the second person Set A pronominal prefix will frequently cause the vowel before it to delete if a prepronominal prefix is present. In (80), below) the /h/ causes the deletion of an intervening vowel and the subsequent aspiration of the *ji-* prepronominal prefix. (These prefixes will be discussed in Chapter 6).

80) a. **SV GØYT**
 kato chanakiifi
 kato ji-hi-anakiifi
 why REL-2A-leave:PRC
 ‘Why are you leaving?’

b. **hSWαLB**
chiikaàtháàstaasi
ji-hii-kahtháàstan-si
 REL-2A.AN-wink:CMF-APL:IMM
 ‘You winked at her.’

As seen in (81a), the complexities that metathesis and deletion cause can also affect where nouns and adjectives are listed in dictionaries. For example, in Feeling 1975 the word ‘nose’ is listed under <k> as in (50).

81) ka²yv²so⁴li [khayvvsóóli] **ØBtP** ‘his nose’

The possession paradigm for this noun makes it clear that its root is *-hyvvsóóli*, as shown in (82). The /h/ is present in the second person form.

82) **hBtP** jiìyvvsóóli ‘my nose’
ʌBtP hihyvvsóóli ‘your nose’
ØBtP khayvvsóóli ‘his nose’

Cowen (1995: 165) lists this same noun under <g> as *gaysoli*, along with the appropriate syllabary spelling **SBtP**. As seen before, this different pronunciation (and spelling) indicates the absence of the metathesis rule. Further complicating matters, some speakers use the Set B prefixes for the same noun, shown in (83).

83) **DYBtP** aàkihyvvsóóli ‘my nose’
GBtP jahyvvsóóli ‘your nose’
ØBtP uuhyvvsóóli ‘his nose’

For all three possible pronunciations, the underlying root is *-hyvvsóóli*.

7. SUMMARY

Pronominal prefixes appear on three of the four parts of speech; that is, on verbs, nouns, and adjectives. To a large degree the appearance of different prefixes is determined by an important distinction between local and non-local persons. ‘Local person’ refers to 1st and 2nd person, while ‘non-local’ refers to third person. Animacy of the object also plays a role in pronominal selection.

There are two sets of pronominal prefixes, Set A and Set B, with overlapping functions. Both sets may reference an intransitive subject as well as the combination of a subject and third person object. Knowledge of a word in Cherokee includes knowledge of which set that words takes. The Set A prefixes have a slightly different forms when referencing an animate object; the Set B prefixes do not make this distinction. The difference between Set and Set B prefixes is neutralized most usages of the Completive and Deverbal noun stems; where only Set B appears in these contexts.

Besides Set A and Set B, there is a Combined set that is used to reference combinations of local subject and local object. Special forms also appear to reference combinations of a third person plural subject with a local person object. Finally, a set of Object Focus prefixes serves to highlight the object of a transitive verb while backgrounding the subject.

As will be explored in Chapters 7 and 8, many nouns and adjectives take pronominal prefixes. The appearance of a prefix on nouns and adjectives will be determined by the specific word as well as the context in which it appears. All verbs in all contexts take pronominal prefixes. The use of pronominal prefixes on verbs will be further explored in the following chapter.

NOTES
CHAPTER 4

¹ None of these pronominal prefixes triggers laryngeal alternation, so the verb stem in all of them appears with the aspirated velar stop /kh/ as a result of vowel deletion.

² Scancarelli (1987:67) treats all pronominal prefixes that begin with /ii/ as already having a lowfall. I have not found this to be the case with some speakers, so the examples here indicate a speaker who applies Pronominal Laryngealization to pronominals without the lowfall.

³ These four examples come from the same speaker. The long form on the last item ‘all of us’ probably helps emphasize the inclusiveness of the sentence.

⁴ In several works on Cherokee (Pulte and Feeling 1975, Scancarelli 1987) the vowel /i/ in the first and second person singular is considered epenthetic and not underlying. From this perspective all the other prefixes do have an underlying /i/. There are two facts that support the claim of epenthetic as opposed to underlying /i/. First of all, as Cook (1979:7) points out, the vowels of the first and second singular forms are extra-short. The contrast between short and extra short is phonetic with no minimal pairs based on a contrast of the two. Moreover, such vowels are always epenthetic. The second fact that supports the claim of an epenthetic vowel is the rule of pronominal laryngealization. This phonological rule inserts a glottal stop that (in Oklahoma Cherokee) is manifested as a superlow after the initial vowel of a pronominal prefix attaching to a verb. This phenomenon is described more in Chapter 2. In the current work it is more convenient to treat the form with the vowel as the underlying form rather than inserting an epenthetic morpheme in every morpheme analysis that has a first or second person marker.

⁵ Other terms for the Set A and Set B prefixes include ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ respectively. Cook uses the term and references its usage in studies of the other Iroquoian languages (1979:14). King cites Walker in using the terms ‘active’ for Set A and ‘stative’ for Set B (1975:50). Because the descriptive claims made by such labels are problematic, this work will refer to these sets with the more neutral labels, Set A and Set B, used by Feeling and Pulte, Munro, and Scancarelli.

⁶ Cook states that the *ka-* prefix appears before stems that begin with /w/, /l/, /n/, and /hl/ (1979:16)

⁷ Metathesis should be blocked by a high tone, so the metathesis must occur on the combination of verb and prefix; the high tone is then added as the conjugated verb is nominalized.

⁸ It is clear that the stem vowel deletes because the lowfall tone occurs.

⁹ Scancarelli (1987:58) lists the different allomorphs of the Set B third person singular and shows the subsequent lengthening and laryngealization of the shortened form.

¹⁰ It is unclear why in this example there is a long vowel with high tone of the final suffix; Feeling (1975: 143) list the same for this verb.

¹¹ Scancarelli (1987:108) has a different form of this sentence that is shown in (1). Her example is not marked for tone.

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CHAPTER 5: THE MINIMAL VERB

1. PREDICATES

A Cherokee clause consists of a subject and its predicate. A predicate is the rest of the clause; i.e. what is being said about the subject. Frequently the clause consists of a single word: the subject is indicated by the pronominal prefix, and the predicate by the stem to which this prefix attaches. Verbs, nouns, and adjectives can be predicates. A verbal clause is composed of a verb and any nominals (subject and/or objects) or adverbials associated with the verb. A non-verbal clause has an adjective or a noun as its predicate. A verbal clause is exemplified in (1a); in (1b) the predicate is a noun, and in (1c) it is an adjective. In all three examples the subject is a third person and is expressed through the pronominal prefixes prefixed to the predicate; (1b) also has a noun phrase ‘that man’ that expresses the subject in addition to the pronominal prefix.

1) a. **ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ**

uùlvv́khwti
uu-lv́kwohti
3B-like:PRC
‘He likes it.’

b. **ᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ**

na askaya
na a-skaya
that 3A-man

ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ

tiitoonííski
ti-a-atooniisk-i
DST2-3A-conjure:INC\AGT-NOM

‘That man is a conjurer.’

c. **ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ**

nikoóhíilǎ
nikoóhíilǎv́ʔi
always

ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ

akahlííyi
3A-eager

ᵐᵐ

keeso
be:INC-HAB

ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ

uutaastehltííʔi
uu-ataat-stehlt-ííʔi
3B-RFL-help:DVN-NOM2

‘He’s always eager to help.’ (Feeling 1975a:14)

2. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES ON VERBS

2.1. OVERVIEW

Cherokee verbs are the most important part of speech and are used to derive many nouns and adjectives. Verbs are always accompanied by a pronominal prefix. They are distinguished from adjectives and nouns by different suffixes and tone patterns. In (2a) and (2b) the adjective and the noun take the Set B third person pronominal prefix but are incapable of inflecting for tense, aspect, and mood. In (2c), however, the verb appears in the Completive stem and has a final suffix indicating a completed action in the past.

2) a. **ʊβʌʌT**
uuyeelvvhááʔi
uu-yeelvvhááʔi
3B-naked
'naked', 'He's naked.'

b. **ʊʌʌ**
uuhnawo
uu-ahnawo
3B-shirt
'his shirt'

c. **ʌʌʌʌ**
tuùhnawéese
tee-uu-ahnawées-éʔi
DST-3B-undress(I):CMP-NXP
'He undressed.'

In everyday speech the final suffix is often reduced (but still minimally present) by the dropping of final vowel. A verb stem is the base to which the affixes (i.e. pronominal prefixes and final suffixes) attach. The stem can itself have more than one

part, being itself derived from more basic elements. The core meaning that cannot be further broken down is the root.

Verb stems themselves may begin with any consonant (including a glottal stop) or vowel except for /i/. A few examples of consonant initial stems are in (3). In this grammar the citation form will be the Present Continuous stem without the pronominal prefix.¹

- | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| 3) -kiʔa | ‘to eat something solid’ |
| -kooliíyéʔa | ‘to read, examine something’ |
| -híha | ‘to kill something’ |
| -hwaska | ‘to buy something’ |
| -yóosiha | ‘to be hungry’ |
| -ʔluhka | ‘to arrive’ |

The first four verbs in the list above are transitive, while the last two are intransitive. Verbs that do not take objects are intransitive verbs, while those that always take objects are transitive. A complete dictionary of Cherokee would need to specify for each verb if it is transitive or intransitive. In this grammar (T) ‘transitive’ or (I) ‘intransitive’ after the translation of the verb will be used when transitivity is not clear. For example, the verb ‘to grow’ can be used either transitively or intransitively in English; in Cherokee there are two separate verbs to indicate these two usages. The base form is intransitive, as seen in (4a), while the transitive form is created by adding a Causative suffix.

- 4) a. **VGʔʌʂ**
 toòjathvska
 tee-oojii-atvska
 DST-1A.PL.EX-grow(I):PRC
 ‘We are growing.’

- b. ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠ
 oòjathvhistiia
 oojii-athvhi-stiia
 1A.PL.EX-grow(I)-CAU:PRC
 ‘We are growing it.’

The Causative suffix makes the verb transitive by adding a ‘causer’ participant to the verb. In other cases the base form will be transitive and a prefix will be added to make the verb intransitive. Whether a verb is transitive or intransitive is an important feature to keep in mind; the processes to alter a verb’s transitivity (or rather, its valency) will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Verb stems also begin with any vowel with the exception of /i/. These vowels can be either long or short and bear different tones (except for the highfall that only appears on nouns and adjectives and some subordinate verbs). Some examples of verbs with initial vowels are listed in (5).

- 5) -atloohyíha ‘to cry’
 -atuuliha ‘to want something’
 -éeka ‘to go’
 -eelíʔa ‘to think’
 -oohla ‘to sit, remain’
 -oohiyuha ‘to believe’
 -uuthéeka ‘to pick up’
 -uuthi ‘to snow’
 -vvhwsta ‘to seem’
 -vvhníha ‘to hit’

The stem is the most important part of the verb; it is the base to which the other prefixes are added. A Cherokee verb has at minimum two parts: the pronominal prefix and the verb stem. An example of a minimal verb is in (6).

- 6) **DSPT**
 aàkáaliha
 a-káaliha
 3A-sunny:PRC
 ‘It is sunny.’

It is possible to analyze the above minimal verb as having three parts by dividing the stem into the root itself and what has been referred to in the linguistic literature as the ‘aspect suffix’ that indicates the specific stem form. For this work I will treat the root and the aspect suffix as a single unit and will refer to them in the morpheme analysis line using the convention established in Munro (1996a) and seen in (6); i.e. the verb meaning itself, followed by a colon and an abbreviation indicating which of the five stems forms the verb is appearing in. Earlier works, most notably King (1975) and Cook (1979), have taken apart the root and the aspect suffixes. The different classes of aspect suffixes and their exceptions are so complex that it is simpler to present all verbs as appearing in five different forms, or stems.

All off the information needed to correctly conjugate a verb is exemplified for the Set A verb ‘to help’ in (7).² The information presented in this example is how the verb could look in a dictionary entry. Given these five base forms, one can apply the rules of this grammar and correctly produce all the possible forms of the verb.

- 7) -steelíha (A) ‘to help’
 -steeliísk-/ -steéla/ -steelvvh-/ -stehlti

The above ‘dictionary entry’ has five stems; these stems are listed with their names in (8).

- 8) The five stems of -steelíha (A) ‘to help’
1. Present Continuous Stem: -steelíha
 2. Incompletive: -steeliísk-
 3. Immediate: -steéla
 4. Completive: -steelvvh-
 5. Deverbal Noun: -stehlt-

This grammar uses the above described order to keep the Set A stems and Set B stems in distinct groups; i.e. - if the verb is a Set A verb, the first three stems will take Set A, and the remaining two stems (stems 4 and 5) will take Set B. For example, the third person forms for the verb ‘to help’ are as displayed in (9). Note that stems 2, 3, and 5 can take other final suffixes.

- 9) The five stems of -steelíha (A) ‘to help’: Third person conjugation
1. Present Continuous Stem: aàsteelíha ‘He is helping.’
 2. Incompletive: aàsteeliískvʔi ‘He was helping.’
 3. Immediate: aàsteéla ‘He helped (just now).’
 4. Completive: uùsteelvvhvʔi ‘He helped.’
 5. Deverbal Noun: uùstehlti ‘for him to help’

Whether the verb takes Set A or Set B prefixes is unpredictable and thus listed after the verb. Some verbs will require more information, as shown in a hypothetical dictionary entry in (10).

- 10) -hnookíiʔa (A: *ka-*/DST) ‘to sing’
 -hnookíisk-/ hnóoki /hnookíis-/hnookiìst-

The verb ‘to sing’, in addition to being a Set A verb, is lexically specified as taking the *ka-* prefix in the third person as well as having a Distributive (DST) prepronominal prefix *tee-* in most usages. (These prefixes will be discussed in Chapter 6.) Note that in the citation form the syllabary will not be used; because the

final suffixes have been left off, the final stem syllable often does not conform to a syllabary character. Because ‘to sing’ has an initial /h/, metathesis and subsequent aspiration of the consonant in *ka-* will occur. The five third-person conjugations of ‘to sing’ are in (11). All five stems have the Distributive prefix; Deverbal Noun stems have a special form *ti-* (DST2), exemplified in (11e).

11) a. **ᠰᠣᠵᠢᠳ**

teekhánookíiʔa
tee-ka-hnookíiʔa
DST-3A-sing:PRC
‘He is singing.’

b. **ᠰᠣᠵᠢᠳᠡᠲ**

teekhánookíiskvʔi
tee-ka-hnookíisk-vʔi
DST-3A-sing:INC-EXP
‘He was singing.’

c. **ᠰᠣᠵᠢ**

teekhanóoki
tee-ka-hnóoki
DST-3A-sing:IMM
‘He sang (just now).’

d. **ᠰᠵᠢᠷᠲ**

tuùhnookíisvʔi
tee-uu-hnookíis-vʔi
DST-3B-sing:CMP-EXP
‘He sang.’

e. **ᠵᠵᠢᠳᠢ**

juùhnookiìsti
ti-uu-hnookiìst-i
DST2-3B-sing:DVN-NOM2
‘He likes to sing.’

ᠣᠯᠪᠠᠵᠢ

uùlvʔkhwti
uu-lvʔkwohti
3B-like:PRC

In addition to the pronominal prefixes, three of the five verb stems carry a final suffix. These will be discussed later in this chapter. The Deverbal Noun takes two different final suffixes, and the Incompletive and Completive take several different suffixes. For example, the Experienced Past is used on both stems to indicate that the speaker has personal knowledge of a past event. When combined with the stem there is a complete picture of the tense/aspect/mood framework. (12) has two examples of the Experienced Past (EXP) suffix.

- 12) a. **ʉʉhBT**
 uùwóoniisvʉʉi
 uu-wóoniis-vʉʉi
 3B-speak:CMP-EXP
 ‘He spoke.’
- b. **ʃʉhǎET**
 kawóoniiskvʉʉi
 ka-wóoniisk-vʉʉi
 3A-speak:INC-EXP
 ‘He was speaking.’

In (12a), the combination of a Completive stem and an Experienced Past final suffix is translated in English as a simple past; in (12b) the combination of an Incompletive stem (indicating an incomplete action) and the Experienced Past suffix is expressed in English with a past progressive. The final suffixes will be further explained in Section 4 of this chapter.

As discussed in Chapter 2, when these pronominal prefixes are used with main verbs, Pronominal Laryngealization applies: the vowel is lengthened and a lowfall appears. This difference in the pronominal prefixes is seen in (13). In (13a), the prefix attaches to an adjective and the pronominal prefix appears in its underlying form. In (13b), the attachment of the prefix to a verb triggers the Pronominal Laryngealization. There is no difference in vowel length for the third person Set B prefix as it is already long. In (13c) the prefix is shown attached to a noun; in (13d) it

is attached to a verb and has the lowfall. The difference between these prefixes in each pair is the lowfall.

13) a. **DYβŋT**

akiyeelvvhááʔi
 aki-yeelvvhááʔi
 1B-naked
 ‘I am naked.’

b. **DYŋB†**

aàkiyóosiha
 aki-yóosiha
 1B-be.hungry:PRC
 ‘I am hungry.’

c. **ŌLŌ**

uuhnawo
 uu-hnawo
 3B-shirt
 ‘his shirt’

d. **ŌŋC**

uùhnúùwa
 uu-ahnúùwa
 3B-wear.shirt:PRC
 ‘He is wearing a shirt.’

The interaction of a pronominal prefix with surrounding vowels can significantly reduce the form of a pronominal prefix. In (14) the two-syllable second person dual *iɪnii-* is reduced to the single sound /n/; the initial long vowel is suppressed by the vowel of the Distributive prepronominal prefix, and the second vowel is suppressed by the vowel that follows it. A second example with the second person plural is provided in (14b); in this case *iɪjii-* is reduced to the sound /j/.

14) a. **ᑕᑖᑦᑎᑖᑕᑦ**
 téenatlooska
 tee-iîinii-atlooska
 DST-1A.DL-get.together:PRC
 ‘We are getting together.’

b. **ᑕᑖᑦᑎᑖᑕᑦ**
 téejalsteelvvhv
 tee-iîjii-ali-steelvvh-vvʔi
 DST-2A.PL-MDL-help(T):CMP-EXP
 ‘Y’all helped each other.’

A few verb stems are only used with plural subjects. This feature is indicated by (PL) after the translation of the verb. Two examples of inherently plural verbs are in the sentence in (15).

15) Dhᑖᑕᑦᑎᑖᑕᑦ	Dhᑖ	Dhᑕᑖᑕᑕ	Dhᑕᑕᑕ
aniiskay	aàníina	aniichúújahno	aàniitóòna
anii-skaya	anii-na	anii-chúúja=hno	anii-tóòna
3A.PL-man	3A.PL-sit(PL):PRC	3A.PL-boy=CN	3A.PL-stand(PL):PRC
‘The men are sitting and the boys are standing.’			

2.2. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES ON INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs are verbs that have a subject but no object. A few intransitive verbs are listed in (16). Typical intransitive verbs express the idea of emotional state, position, motion, or body functions.

16) Sample Intransitive Verbs

-khwalaakiíʔa	‘to snore’
-atloohyíha	‘to cry’
-ahnawééʔa	‘to undress’
-hlvvska	‘to be sleepy’
-ʔluhka	‘to arrive’

-noohiíli	‘to fly’
-hnaálúùka	‘to become angry’
-tóòka	‘to stand’

The majority of intransitive verbs take Set A prefixes. Scancarelli (1987:316, 318) states that of the approximately 260 or so intransitive verbs in the Feeling dictionary, about a third of them are Set B verbs. It is possible to observe general semantic tendencies among those verbs that select Set A prefixes and those that take Set B. Scancarelli observes that the majority of intransitive verbs that take the B pronominal prefixes denote a state, a position, or a body function.

Many of the Set B verbs indicate a state that the participant is in or an emotion that the participant is experiencing. An example of a Set B intransitive is in (17), and a sample list of Set B intransitives expressing states is in (18).

17) **DYPS**

aàkhtlívka
 aki-htlívka
 1B-be.sick:PRC
 ‘I’m sick.’

18) Sample Intransitive Set B verbs with stative meaning

-atiihlehka	‘to be hot’
-hnaála	‘to be angry’
-atanéekooyúha	‘to be wrinkled’
-atiiskáhla	‘to be in hiding’
-yóosiha	‘to be hungry’
-atoolihka	‘to feel sorry, remorseful, prayerful’
-hnaálvha	‘to be angry’
-yvwéeka	‘to be tired’

Verbs with the meaning ‘to get into a state of ’ also tend to use Set B. Some examples are given in (19).

19) Intransitive Set B verbs with a ‘change of state’ meaning (Feeling 1975a)

-atanilóoska	‘to get sick’
-atíwska	‘to heal, recover’
-aluutestíiha	‘to get dizzy’
-hnaálv̀ka	‘to get angry’
-tl̀vstiína	‘to become sick’
-hyvstéestiha	‘to get drunk’
-kaanawooska	‘to get warm’

There are some intransitive verbs that are semantically incompatible with first and second person and are only used in the third person. These verbs unpredictably select Set A or B Two examples are given in (20).

20) Intransitive verbs with only third person reference

- a. **ØGYW**
ùlòòkila
uu-lòòkila
3B-cloudy:PRC
‘It is cloudy.’
- b. **DSF†**
aàkáaliha
a-káaliha
3A-sunny:PRC
‘It is sunny.’

Intransitive verbs where the sole participant undergoes or suffers the action rather than initiating it typically take Set B. Several of these verbs could have meanings where the participant is doing the action on purpose; e.g. actions such as ‘scream’ or ‘cough’ could be performed voluntarily or involuntarily. The fact that they are lexically specified for taking Set B could be an indication that their default meaning is an involuntary action. Several sample verbs are listed in (21).

21) Intransitive Set B Verbs indicating typically involuntary action

-looteesti	'to trip'
-eestáaneeha	'to ache'
-hawoosthvvnv́ha	'to faint'
-hnáàsvvhíhi	'to slip, slide'
-eeluhka	'to scream'
-haloóstíîha	'to yawn'

There is a tendency for verbs expressing a position or getting into a position to select Set B. A conjugated verb is presented in (22); some example verbs are in (23).

22) **WPHITS**

thahlniikwaʔv̀kǎ
ti-hi-alihniikwaʔv̀ka
DST2-2A-kneel:IMM(COM)
'Kneel!'

23) Intransitive Set B verbs with meaning of 'assuming a position' meaning

-alstvvtla	'to sit down'
-khila	'to perch on, sit on'
-jóoska	'to lean, tilt'

There are a handful of Set B intransitive verbs that refer to willful actions rather than states. The only two I have found are listed in (24).

24) -lv́wístaàneha	'to work'
-atléeka	'to take revenge' (Feeling 1975a:161)

2.3. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs are verbs that have a subject and an object. One of these participants, the subject, is generally more in control of the action while the object is generally undergoing the action. Pronominal prefix selection for transitives is complex, but it helps to keep in mind the distinction between local and non-local persons that was introduced in the previous chapter. Local persons are first and second person (the speaker and the person being spoken to), while non-local is third person (the person being spoken about). The possible combinations of local/non-local and subject/object are expressed using Set A and Set B prefixes as well as a third set called Combined Prefixes. A fourth set, called Object Focus prefixes, are used when the subject is unknown or put in the background.

2.3.1. Local Person Subjects and Third Person Objects

In the Present Continuous, Incomplete, and Immediate stems, if the subject is a local person and the object a third person, a Set A prefix will almost always be used. The Set A prefixes introduced in Chapter 4 are presented again in table 1.

TABLE 1: SET A PREFIXES WITH LOCAL/NON-LOCAL DISTINCTIONS

		Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
LOCAL	First Person Inclusive	ji-/k-	iinii-	iitii-
	First Person Exclusive (EX)		oostii-	oojii-
	Second Person	hi-	stii-	ijjii-
NON-LOCAL	Third person	a-, ka-	-	anii-

Three examples of verbs with these prefixes are in (25). The vowel-initial verb stem is *-olihka*; the first person singular prefix triggers laryngeal alternation and therefore does not undergo vowel deletion.

25) a. **APS**

kooliika
 ji-oolihka
 1A-understand(T):PRC
 ‘I understand it.’

- b. **ǎǎVPS** oòstohlka ‘We two (excluding you) understand it.’
 c. **ǎǎKPS** oòjohlka ‘We three or more (excluding you) understand it.’

There are a few transitive verbs that use Set B verbs to refer to combinations of local person subjects with third person objects. For these verbs there is a difference in the kind of participants involved. Many transitive verbs involve a subject that is performing the action and an object that has the action done to it. It is noteworthy that many of the Set B verbs that are transitive do not have an active subject that is performing the action (known as an agent), but rather an experiencer or perceiver and the object as the thing being experienced or perceived. A conjugated example of one such Set B transitive verb is in (26). Some Set B transitive verbs are listed in (27)

26) **DYǎVǎL**

akilvǎkhwtha
 aki-lvǎkhwtha
 1B-like(T):PRC
 ‘I like it.’

27) Transitive Set B verbs

-ahntha	‘to feel, know’
-aníʔwa	‘to wear something’
-thateeki	‘to crave’
-skwaanakoóska	‘to be curious about’
-hthvǎkáàsta	‘to listen to’
-hwsǎvka	‘to smell’
-oohiyúha	‘to believe’

There are a few transitive verbs with agentive subjects (i.e. subjects that are willfully controlling the action) that do use Set B prefixes to refer to a local person subjects and a third person object. An example is in (28), and (29) lists these verbs.

28) **hC.əS**

chawaska

ja-hwaska

2B-buy:PRC

‘You are buying it.’ ‘He, she, it is buying you.’

29) Transitive Verbs that select for Set B prefixes

-níiʔa ‘to hold in one’s hand’

-yooska ‘to release’

-hwiska ‘to buy’

-atéeka ‘to throw’

-hyoha ‘to look for something non-living’

-kaseesti ‘to watch for somebody’

Conjugations with such verbs are potentially ambiguous as to who the subject is and who the object is. It should be noted, however, that one of the meanings is much more common in an everyday setting. In (30) for example, ‘I buy it’ is a normal everyday occurrence, whereas ‘He/she/it buys me’ is an unusual situation that would already be explained elsewhere in the discourse.

30) **DYC.əS**

aàkhiwaska

aki-hwaska

1B-buy:PRC

‘I buy it.’ ‘He/she/it buys me.’

Many of the transitive verbs listed above in (29) typically have an inanimate third person as an object, so there is little chance of confusion as to who the subject is and who the object is for these verbs.

It is important to keep in mind that Set A/ Set B distinction is neutralized in the Completive and Deverbal Noun stems; in these stems all verbs take Set B. An example is in (31).

- 31) **DYAQ-T**
 aàkikoohvʔi
 aki-kooh-vvʔi
 1B-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘I saw it.’, ‘He/she/it saw me.’

Transitive verbs with a third person animate object, however, will use their special Set A animate object forms even with these stems, as shown in (32).

- 32) a. **YC** ʔ **ʔC** †
 kiihlis hiihwase
 kiihli=s hii-hwas-éʔi
 dog=Q 2A.AN-buy:CMP-NXP
 ‘Did you buy the dog?’
- b. **SPKS** **GC** † ʔ
 kahljoóte jahwasées
 kahljoóte ja-hwas-éʔi=s
 house 2B-buy:CMP-NXP= Q
 ‘Did you buy the house?’

The exclusive forms don’t have special animate forms, so verbs with this prefixes will not distinguish animate and inanimate. An animacy distinction can be seen in the Completive stem, however. For example, in (33a) the Set B prefix is used because the verb is in the Completive stem, but in (33b) the Set A prefix appears.

- 33) a. **VSAQ-ʔLC**
 toòkakoohvstanv
 tee-ookii-akoohv-stan-vʔi
 DST-1B.PL.EX-burn(I)-CAU:CMP-EXP
 ‘We burned them (things).’

- b. **VGAO ǂLO**
 toòjakoohvstanv
 tee-oojii-akoohv-stan-vvʔi
 DST-1A.PL.EX-burn(I)-CAU:CMP-EXP
 ‘We burned them (people).’

As stated earlier, the choice of Set A or Set B pronominal prefix is unpredictable and should be considered part of the speaker’s knowledge of that verb; i.e. the choice of pronominal prefix is simply learned with each verb. As discussed in the previous section, transitive verbs typically use the Set A prefixes, but there are a few transitive verbs that are specified as taking Set B prefixes. Verbs that may use the Set A prefixes in the Present Continuous, Incompletive, and Immediate stems are called Set A verbs. It is important to note, however, that Set B prefixes are used for all verbs with their Completive and some Deverbal Noun stems, as shown in (34a) and (34c). In (34b) and (34d) the Set A animate prefix appears, and in (34d) and (34e) the Present Continuous stem and the Incompletive stem, respectively, select the Set A prefix.

- 34) a. **DYOSǂT**
 aàkinvkalvvhvʔi
 aki-nvvkalvvh-vvʔi
 1B-clean:CMP-EXP
 ‘I cleaned it.’

- b. **ǂOSǂT**
 jiiinvkalvvhvʔi
 jii-nvvkalvvh-vvʔi
 1A.AN-clean:CMP-EXP
 ‘I cleaned him.’

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| c. DYOSǂJ | DTSǂ |
| akinvkahlti | aàkwatuuli |
| aki-nvvkahlt-i | aki-atuuliha |
| 1B-clean:DVN-NOM2 | 1B-want:PRC |
| ‘I want to clean it.’ | |

d. **ᵐᵒ˥ᵑᵑᵑ**
 jinvvkalíha
 ji-nvvkalíha
 1A-clean:PRC
 ‘I am cleaning it.’

e. **ᵐᵒ˥ᵑᵑᵑᵐᵒᵐᵒ**
 jinvvkaliisko
 ji-nvvkaliisk-óʔi
 1A-clean:INC-HAB
 ‘I clean it.’

The interaction of stem and pronominal prefixes will be discussed in greater depth in the individual sections on stems. To briefly summarize the terminology thus far, Set A verbs are verbs that, in the Present Continuous, Incompletive or Immediate stems, take Set A prefixes. The Set B verbs always take the Set B prefixes. The sole exception to this is the small set of transitive Set B verbs that will take the Set A animate forms if there is an animate object.

From the preceding discussion it is apparent that Cherokee treats local and non-local person in different ways. The Set A prefixes can reference the subject of an intransitive verb or the combination of a local person (first or second person) subject and a non-local (third person) object of a transitive verb. Both are shown in (35).

35) a. **ᵐᵒᵑᵑ**
 jiyéeka
 ji-yéeka
 1A-wake:PRC
 ‘I am waking up.’

b. **ᵐᵒ˥ᵑᵑᵑᵑ**
 jinvvkalíʔa
 ji-nvvkalíʔa
 1A-clean:PRC
 ‘I am cleaning it.’

With both the Set A and Set B prefixes the unexpressed third person object is considered to be singular and inanimate. If the object is plural and inanimate, a prenominal prefix *təe-* is added to the verbal complex. As their name suggests, prenominal prefixes come before the pronominal prefixes and add additional information such as location and negation. These prefixes will be the subject of the first section of Chapter 6. For the current discussion of the minimal verb, it is only necessary to discuss the most common prenominal prefix *təe-*; this prefix is known as the Distributive and one of its functions is to indicate plurality of objects. In (36) is an example of a verb, both with and without this prefix. The vowel of the Distributive causes the deletion of the pronominal prefix vowel in (36b). A Set B verb is shown in (36c).

- 36) a. **TrOoS**
 iɪjiihwiska
 ijii-hwiska
 2A.PL.plant:PRC
 ‘Y’all are planting it.’
- b. **ŠrOoS**
 téejiihwiska
 tee-iɪjii-hwiska
 DST-2B.PL-plant:PRC
 ‘Y’all are planting them.’
- c. **ŠGŠŠ**
 teejatéeka
 tee-ja-atéeka
 DST-2B-throw:PRC
 ‘You are throwing them.’

In other environments it is the vowel of the prenominal prefix that deletes. Examples of the deletion of the vowel before a stem-initial /a/, /o/, and /u/ are shown in (37).

- 37) a. **LJW@AT**
 taàtiithaskóoʔi
 tee-a-atiithask-óʔi
 DST-3A-drink:INC-HAB
 ‘She drinks them.’
- b. **V@JACJ@AT**
 toðstiikoohwthiískóoʔi
 tee-oostii-koohwthiísk-óʔi
 DST-1A.DL.EX-see:INC-HAB
 ‘We two (not including you) see them’
- c. **S@LPT@**
 tuùskwáàlsohnv
 tee-uu-skwáàls-ohn-vʔi
 DST-3B-break(T):CMP-TRM:EXP
 ‘He broke them.’

Note that the presence of the full form *tee-* prefix triggers a high tone on the following syllable. An example is in (38).

- 38) **SS@SS**
 teekánatéeka
 tee-ka-natéeka
 DST-3A-sell:PRC
 ‘She is selling them.’

If the object is third person animate, then six of the ten person prefixes change slightly. These forms have been discussed in the previous chapter and are repeated below in Table 2. If the third person object is animate and plural, one of two prenominal prefixes is used to express plurality. These prefixes are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 1.1.6 and 1.1.7.

TABLE 2: SET A WITH ANIMATE SINGULAR THIRD PERSON OBJECT

PERSON REFERENCE	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	jii-/jiy-	eenii-	eetii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		oostii-	oojii-
Second Person	hii-/hiy-	eestii-	eejii-
Third person	a-, ka-	-	anii-

Several differences from the Set A prefixes are apparent. The first and second singular forms display a lengthened vowel; in (39) the inanimate and animate object forms are contrasted.³

39) a. **ᵏᵏᵏᵏᵏᵏ**
 jinúutheeyóha
ji-núutheeyóha
 1A-twist:PRC
 ‘I am twisting it.’ (Feeling 1975a:112)

b. **ᵏᵏᵏᵏᵏᵏ**
 jiinúutheeyóha
jii-núutheeyóha
 1A.AN-twist:PRC
 ‘I am twisting him.’ (Feeling 1975a:112)

In the case of a vowel-initial stem, a /y/ is inserted. As a result of these changes the first person singular subject with an animate object can appear quite distinct from its inanimate object counterpart. In (40a) the first person prefix appears in its vowel initial form *k-*. In (40b) the prefix is similar to the form before consonants; the only difference is in the vowel length .

40) a. **S^ooD**
 kawóoʔa
 ji-awóoʔa
 1A-bathe(T):PRC
 ‘I am bathing it.’

a. **Ir^ooD**
 jiiyawóoʔa
 jii-awóoʔa
 1A.AN-bathe(T):PRC
 ‘I am bathing him/her.’

The exclusive forms do not change, but the inclusive plural forms are preceded by *ee-*. These prefixes lose their final vowel before a vowel-initial stem, as demonstrated below in (41a). The third person form, as seen in (41c), does not have a distinctive form for animate objects.

41) a. **R^ooL^ooD**
 eèstawóoʔa
 eestii-awóoʔa
 2A.DL.AN-bathe(T):PRC
 ‘You two are bathing him/her.’

b. **S^oG^o ɔ̃Ir^oS^oʔ**
 kaloowe õjiiiteelv
 kaloowe oojii-teel-vʔi
 gun 1A.PL.EX-give(long):CMP-EXP
 ‘We gave him a gun.’

c. **DA^oʔD**
 aàkooliíyéʔa
 a-kooliíyéʔa
 3A-examine:PRC
 ‘He, she is examining him/her it/’

Many of the animate forms also trigger the laryngeal alternation described in Chapter 2. In (42a) the animate form does not trigger the alternation, while the animate does trigger it in (42b). The second example has a long vowel with a lowfall in place of the short vowel and /h/. While pronounced differently, the syllabary spelling is identical.

42) a. **ᠬᠴᠢᠬᠠ**
 hiḥwahthíha
 hi-hwahthíha
 2A-find:PRC
 ‘You are finding it.’

b. **ᠬᠴᠢᠬᠠ**
 hiìwahthíha
 hii-hwahthíha
 2A.AN-find:PRC
 ‘You are finding her.’

In (43a) the laryngeal alternation does not occur, while in (43b) it is triggered by the first person prefix (appearing in its vowel initial form k-). In both of these examples the verb stem is vowel-initial.

43) a. **ᠲᠢᠷᠪᠲᠤᠠ**
 iìjahyvthéesko
 iijii-ahyvthéesk-óʔi
 2A.PL-kick:INC-HAB
 ‘You all kick it.’

b. **ᠰᠪᠲᠤᠠ**
 kaàyvthéesko
 ji-ahyvthéesk-óʔi
 1A-kick:INC-HAB
 ‘I kick it.’

Both the first person prefix for animate as well as inanimate objects triggers the alternation; an example is given in (44).

44) a. **SOULD**
 kanv̥tatiʔa
 ji-anvhtatiʔa
 1A-remember:PRC
 ‘I am remembering it.’

b. **hʌOULD**
 jiiyanv̥tatiʔa
 jii-anvhtatiʔa
 1A.AN-remember:PRC
 ‘I am remembering him.’

It should be noted that transitive verbs can distinguish between an animate and inanimate object only if there is a local person subject. In (45a) the subject is a local person ‘you’ and the object is third person inanimate ‘it’, whereas in (45b) the object is the animate ‘him’ and takes the special Set A animate object form. In (45c) both subject and object are third person and there is no animacy distinction for the object. Note that the second person animate prefix in (45b) triggers laryngeal alternation, so there is no vowel deletion.

45) a. **FPA**
 hoohlko
 hi-oolihk-óʔi
 2A-understand:INC-HAB
 ‘You understand it.’

b. **ʁFPA**
 hiiyooliiko
 hii-oolihk-óʔi
 2A.AN-understand:INC-HAB
 ‘You understand him.’

- c. **APA**
 koohlko
 ka-oolihk-ó?i
 3A-understand:INC-HAB
 ‘He understands him/her/it.’

If the third person object is both animate and plural, these special Set A animate prefixes are used in conjunction with a prepronominal prefix. For some speakers this prepronominal prefix is *kaa-* (ANP); for other speakers the Distributive prefix *tee-* is used. These prefixes are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 1.1.6 and 1.1.7. An example with the Animate Plural is in (46).

- 46) **STFO-OS**
 teekéehyoóhvska
 tee-kaa-a-eehyoóhvska
 DST- ANP-3A-teach:PRC
 ‘He’s teaching them.’

2.3.2. Third Person Plural Subjects and Local Person Objects

All transitive verbs use Set B prefixes to reference a combination of a non-local (third person) singular subject and a local object. In (47a) a first person is acting on a third person and the Set A prefix is used, while in (47b) a third person is acting on a first person, thereby triggering the Set B prefix.

- 47) a. **hAC.J†**
 jikohwthíha
 ji-kohwthíha
 1A-see:PRC
 ‘I see it.’

- b. **DYAC.II**
 aàkikohwthíha
 aki-kohwthíha
 1B-see:PRC
 ‘She sees me.’

If the subject is plural third person and the object a local person a special set of prefixes is used based on the Set B prefixes. The prefixes were introduced in the previous chapter and are shown again in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: PLURAL SUBJECT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
First Person Object	kvvki-/kvvkw-	kookinii-	kookii-
Second Person Object	keerja-	keestii-	keejii-
First and Second Person Object		keekinii-	keekii-

A few examples of verbs with the plural subject pronominal prefixes are furnished in (48). In these examples the verb ‘to help’ is shown in its Present Continuous, Incompletive, Immediate, Completive, and Deverbal Noun stems, respectively. Vowel deletion triggered by the inherent /h/ of the /s/ suppresses the final short vowel of the prefix in (48a) and (48b).

- 48) a. **FG@SP@**
 keetsteelihas
 keerja-steeliha=s
 3.PL/2 -help:PRC=Q
 ‘Are they helping you?’

- b. **L NEY@SP@A**
 thla yikvvksteeliisko
 thla yi-kvvki-steeliisk-ó?i
 NEG IRR-3.PL/1-help:INC-HAB
 ‘They don’t help me.’

- c. **AY@SW**
 koòkiisteéla
 kookii-steéla
 3.PL/2.DL.EX -help:IMM
 ‘They just helped us.’
- d. **LFY@SQ.9**
 takeekiisteelvóhi
 ta-keekii-steelvóh-i
 FUT-3.PL/1.PL-help:CMP-MOT
 ‘They will help us.’
- e. **EY@SPJ** **DCSP**
 kvvkstehlti aàwatuuli
 kvvki-stehlt-i aki-atuuliha
 3.PL/1-help:DVN-NOM2 1B-help:PRC
 ‘I want them to help me.’

2.3.3. Local Person Subjects and Local Person Objects

This discussion of Set A and Set B prefixes has dealt with verbs with either intransitive verbs or verbs combining a local participant with a non-local participant.. Transitive verbs also use Combined prefixes to refer to combinations of subject and object where both are local persons. These prefixes, first presented in Chapter 3, are shown again in Table 4. Three examples of their use are in (49).

TABLE 4: COMBINED PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
First Person Subject/ Second Person Object	kvv-/kvvy-	stvv-/ stvvy-	iijvv-/ iijvvy-
Second Person Subject/ First Person Object	ski-/skw-	skinii-/ skin-	iiskii-/ iiskiyy-

These prefixes are used on all stems. In (49a) the Combined person prefix *kvv-* indicates that a first person is the subject and a second person is the object and is used on a Present Continuous stem; in (49b) the same prefix appears on the Completive stem, and in (49c) it attaches to the Deverbal Noun stem.

49) a. **EACJ†**

kvvkoohwthíha
 kvv-koohwthíha
 1/2-see:PRC
 ‘I am seeing you.’

b. **EAQ-T**

kvvkoohvʔi
 kvv-kooh-vʔi
 1/2-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘I saw you.’

c. **DISP**

aàwatuuli
 aki-atuuliha
 1B-see:PRC
 ‘I want to see you’

EACʔJ

kvvkoohwthvhti
 kvv-koohwthvht-i
 1/2-see:DVN-NOM2

These same verb stems are shown in (50) with a Combined prefix indicating a second person subject acting on a first person object.

50) a. **oYACJ†**

skikoohwthíha
 ski-koohwthíha
 2/1-see:PRC
 ‘You see me.’

b. **ᵐSAᵐT**

skikoohvʔi
 ski-kooh-vʔi
 2/1-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘You saw me.’

c. **DESP**

aàwatuuli
 aki-atuuliha
 1B-see:PRC
 ‘I want you to see me.’

ᵐYAGᵐJ

skikoohwthʔhti
 ski-koohwthʔht-i
 2/1-see:DVN-NOM2

2.3.4. Object Focus (O)

A special set of person prefixes appears on normally transitive verbs to indicate that the subject is put in the background or is unknown or unimportant. The prefixes are shown in Table 6. To indicate that there is an Object Focus, the abbreviation (O) appears in place of the abbreviation indicating Set A or Set B. Three examples are in (51).

51) a. **ᵐ BEVPᵐWO**

thla yv̀kwatoohlstanv
 thla yi-vki-atoohlstan-vʔi
 NEG IRR-1O-loan:CMP-EXP
 ‘It wasn’t loaned to me.’

b. **ᵐIrᵐSᵐC**

keejiiiskahljv
 keejii-skahlj-vʔi
 3O.PL -bite:CMP-EXP
 ‘They had been bitten.’

c. **RGAPᵐSᵐᵐ**

eèjakooliyéekas
 eeja-kooliy-éeka=s
 2O-examine:CMP-AND:PRC=Q
 ‘Are you going to be examined?’

TABLE 6: OBJECT FOCUS PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
First Person	vvki-/vkw-	ookinii-	ookii-
Second Person	eeja-	eestii-	eejii-
First and Second Person		eekinii-	eekii-
Third person	aji-/ak-	-	keejii-/keek-

2.3.5. Summary of Transitive Verb Prefixes

Because there are so many possible pronominal prefixes that can appear on transitive verbs, it is useful to review the prefixes that are used with transitive verbs. In (52)-(57) there are examples of different person prefixes on the transitive verb – *akahthoósta* ‘to look at, gawk at.’ Like most transitive verbs, this verb uses Set A prefixes. Note the laryngeal alternation and subsequent lack of vowel deletion in (53a).

52) –*akahthoósta* with Set A Pronominal Prefixes

- a. $\text{ʔSV}\omega\text{L}$
 hakhthoósta
 hi-akahthoósta
 2A-look.at:PRC
 ‘You’re looking at it.’
- b. $\omega\text{LSV}\omega\text{L}$ stakhthoósta ‘You two are looking at it.’
- c. $\text{TGSV}\omega\text{L}$ iijakhthoósta ‘Y’all are looking at it.’

53) –*akahthoósta* with Set A animate Pronominal Prefixes

- a. $\text{ʔ}\omega\text{SV}\omega\text{L}$
 hiiyakaàthoósta
 hii-akahthoósta
 2A.AN-look.at:PRC
 ‘You’re looking at her.’

57) –*akahthoósta* with Object Focus Pronominal Prefixes

- a. **RGŠVǎL**
 eèjakhthoósta
 eja-akahthoósta
 2O-look.at:PRC
 ‘You’re being looked at’
- b. **RǎLSǎL** eèstakhthoósta ‘You two are being looked at.’
- c. **RGŠVǎL** eèjakhthoósta ‘Y’all are being looked at.’

3. VERB STEMS

Cherokee uses different stems to express different grammatical information about the tense, aspect, and mood in which the verb is taking place. ‘Tense’ refers to the time frame relative to the moment of speaking and indicates if an action is happening in the past, present, or future. ‘Aspect’ refers to the manner in which the action is performed; e.g. if it is completed or in progress. ‘Mood’ indicates the speaker’s attitudes towards the event described by the verb; this concept includes ability and obligation as well as the degree of certainty a speaker has of an event. The three concepts of tense, aspect, and mood are connected in Cherokee and there is no single element that expresses only one of these concepts. For example, the Present Continuous Stem indicates an action that is taking place or a state that is existence at the moment the speaker is describing it.⁴ This stem contains both tense and aspect information: the tense is Present, and the aspect is Continuous. The Incompletive Stem indicates that the action, whether it be past, present, or future time, is a habitual activity (when used with the Habitual suffix) or, when used with the either of the past suffixes or the Absolute Future suffix, is ongoing and not completed.⁵ The Immediate Stem either indicates an action that took place in the immediate past or is used to give a command. The Set A verbs use Set A prefixes for these three stems. In the last two stems the Set A prefixes are not used unless they are the special forms referencing an animate object. The Completive stem is used for actions that take place in the past as well as the future. The Deverbal Noun Stem is used to indicate ability or obligation, it

also serves as the base for forming many derived nouns.⁶ Verbs in nominal clauses often appear in their Deverbal Noun form.

These stems consist of the root, or verb itself, plus a suffix that adds aspectual meaning. Most verbs have five stems. An example of the verb ‘to arrive’ is shown in (58). Note that the first three example sentences have Set A prefixes; the last two are in the Completive and Deverbal Noun and have Set B prefixes.

58) The five stems of -ʔluhka ‘to arrive’

a. -ʔluhka Present Continuous Stem

ThMS

iîni iʔluhka

iîni i-ʔluhka

1A.DL-arrive:PRC

‘You and I are arriving.’

b. -ʔluhk- Incompletive Stem

ThMAT

iîni iʔluhkóoʔi

iîni i-ʔluhk-óʔi

1A.DL-arrive:INC-HAB

‘You and I arrive.’

c. -ʔluhki Immediate Stem

ThMY

iîni iluhki

iîni i-ʔluhki

1A.DL-arrive:IMM

‘You and I (just) arrived.’

d. -ʔluhj- Completive Stem

YhMC

kiniiʔluhjvʔi

kinii-ʔluhj-vʔi

1B.DL-arrive:CMP-EXP

‘You and I arrived.’

- e. -ʔluhist- Deverbal Noun Stem
ʔhM.ʔʔJ
 kiniiʔluhisti
 kinii-ʔluhist-i
 1B.DL-arrive:DVN-NOM2
 ‘For you and I to arrive.’

These five stems contain information that relates to tense as well as aspect. While tense refers to when the action was done, aspect focuses on the completion of the action. The stem is therefore a combination of the root itself (the meaning) and other elements that give a stem its particular shape. In this work the verb stem is treated as a single unit, partly because it is often problematic to separate the root and the aspect suffix. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the only extensive analysis of verb stems into roots and aspect suffixes is in King (1975:71-9) and Cook (1979:97-119). In both cases they organize the verbs into numerous classes and subclasses based on the final segment of the root and the five aspect suffixes that accompany it. For example, King has eleven classes. The third class is itself composed of 3 subclasses; the first of these is further divided into 3 further subclasses. In total there are 28 possible combinations. Given this complexity, it seems simpler to present each verb as appearing in five different forms, that is, a citation form (the Present Continuous stem minus the pronominal prefix) and the four other stems.

3.1 PRESENT CONTINUOUS (PRC)

The Present Continuous stem indicates an action or state is happening at the time of speaking. These stems end in an *-a* or *-i* that is typically dropped in everyday speech.⁷ The Present Continuous and Immediate stems are the two stems that do not take final suffixes. Three examples of the Present Continuous stem are given in (61); the first two verbs are activities, while the third is a state.

59) Examples of Present Continuous Stems

- a. **RJSJα**
eètikhthíya
eetii-kahthíya
1A.PL.AN-wait.for:PRC
'We're waiting for her.'
- b. **†JC**
hathli
hi-atihthli
2A-run:PRC
'You are running.'
- c. **ØBδ**
uùhyvvtla
uu-hyvvtla
3B-be.cold:PRC
'It's cold.'

In this grammar the Present Continuous stem is treated as the citation form of the verb.

3.2 INCOMPLETEIVE (INC)

The Incompleteive stem indicates that the action is not completed. It is the second aspect stem listed in the five verb stems and is shown in its bare form; that is, a final suffix still needs to be added to this stem to make a complete verb. Unlike the Present Continuous stem, the Incompleteive has four different final suffixes that can attach to it. In (60a) the Habitual (HAB) prefix and the Incompleteive stem together denote an ongoing activity that could include the past, present, and future. The Experienced Past (EXP) prefix together with the Incompleteive in (60b) indicates an ongoing activity in the past of which the speaker has personal knowledge; the example in (60c) has the same tense and aspect frame as (60b), but the Non-experienced Past (NXP) suffix indicates that the speaker has not directly witnessed the

event and is stating what has been reported by others. In (60d) the Absolute Future suffix (AFT) denotes an activity that will be ongoing in the future through the volition of the participant.

60) Incompletive stem of ‘to speak’ with different final suffixes

a. **DhᵛhᵛAT**

aàniiwóoniiskóoʔi

anii-wóoniisk-óʔi

3A.PL-talk:INC-HAB

‘They talk (maybe not right now, but typically, habitually).’

b. **DhᵛhᵛET**

aàniiwóoniiskvʔi

anii-wóoniisk-vʔi

3A.PL-talk:INC-EXP

‘They were talking (I saw them).’

c. **DhᵛhᵛFT**

aàniiwóoniiskéeʔi

anii-wóoniisk-éʔi

3A.PL-talk:INC-NXP

‘They were talking (somebody told me).’

d. **DhᵛhᵛFᵛJ**

aàniiwóoniiskéesti

anii-wóoniisk-éesti

3A.PL-talk:INC-AFT

‘They will be talking.’

3.3 IMMEDIATE (IMM)

The Immediate Stem presents an action that took place in the immediate past; it can also be used as a command to express an action that should be done in the immediate future. When used with the Irrealis prenominal prefix, it expresses an action that will take place in the very near future. Scancarelli observes that these stems ‘present telic events (events with endpoints) as wholes’ (2005:366).⁸ Four

examples of the immediate past use are in (61a) through (61d). As these examples show, Immediate stems unpredictably end in either an *-a* or *-i*.

61) a. **hfiʃ**

jiiyooliika

jii-oolihka

1A.AN-greet:IMM

'I (just now) greeted him.'

b. **ywɔgʷɔj ɔɔgʷθ**

kilawayúúst oòjaleéna

kilawayúústi oojii-aleéna

moment.ago 1A.PL.EX-start(T):IMM

'We just started.'

c. **ʃv dhʷʃ**

kato aàntv̄vka

kato anii-atv̄vka

what 3A.PL-do:IMM

'What did they do?'

d. **ʃpθ**

kahlv̄vna

ka-hlv̄vna

3A-sleep:IMM

'He just went to sleep.'

The Immediate is also used to form commands. As pointed out by Cook (1979:92), the command form has a higher tone on the final vowel than the immediate past form. This higher tone is represented by a double accent over the final vowel (COM). These two different pronunciations are contrasted in the three pairs in (62) through (64).

62) a. **ʃa dʷʃ**

kaako aàhv̄vka

kaako a-hv̄vka

who 3A-set.down:IMM

'Who set it down?'

- b. **ᐃᐅᓂ**
 hihv̀kǎ́
 hi-hv̀ka
 2A-set.down:IMM(COM)
 ‘Set it down!’
- 63) a. **ᐅᓂᓂ**
 hnativka
 ni-hi-atvka
 PRT-2A-do:IMM
 ‘You just did it’
- c. **ᐅᓂᓂ**
 hnativkǎ́
 ni-hi-atv̀ka
 PRT-2A-do:IMM(COM)
 ‘Do it!’
- 64) a. **ᐃᓂᓂᓂ**
 jiìkhootéki
 ji-hkhootéki
 1A-shovel:IMM
 ‘I just shoveled.’
- b. **ᐃᓂᓂᓂ**
 jiìkhootékí
 ji-hkhootéki
 1A-shovel:IMM(COM)
 ‘Let me shovel.’

The Immediate is also used to refer to events that will take place in the immediate future. For this meaning it is used with the Irrealis prepronominal prefix *yi-*. Two examples are in (65).

- 65) a. **ᏃᏐᏃᏍ** **DJD**
yinaatvvk aàti
yi-ni-a-atvka a-atiʔa
IRR-PRT-3A-do:IMM 3A-say:PRC
‘He will do it he says.’
- b. **ᏃᏍᏗᏗᏍ** **ᏃᏍᏙᏙᏗ**
yituuyawéej yikánv̄vkikwu
yi-tee-uu-yawéej-a yi-ka-nv̄vki=kwu
IRR-DST-3B-be.tired:CMP\SUB-TAV IRR-3A-fall:IMM=DT
‘When he gets tired, he’ll just fall.’ (Chapter 9.3:56)

The Immediate is the third stem listed in the five stems of the verb. It is one of the two verb stems that do not take a final suffix; the other stem is the Present Continuous. Frequently the Immediate stem will look like a shortened form of the Present Continuous stem, as in (66b), or will differ from that stem only in tone and the final vowel, as in (66a) and (66c).

66) Comparison of Present Continuous and Immediate Stems

- a. **ᏍᏙᏙᏗ** kawòniíha ‘He (just) talked.’
ᏍᏙᏙᏗ kawóniha ‘He is talking.’
- b. **DJW** atiítha ‘He drank it (just now/just a moment ago).’
DJWᏗᏍ atiitháska ‘He is drinking it.’
- c. **ᏍᏙᏙ** kanv̄vki ‘He fell (just now/just a moment ago).’
ᏍᏙᏍ kanv̄vka ‘He is falling.’

Verbs without built-in endpoints (i.e. non-telic verbs) do not have Immediate stem forms. (67) is a list of some of these verbs.

67) Verbs lacking an Immediate stem (Feeling 1975a)

- hyeha ‘to hold in one’s hand’
-áaʔi ‘to walk’
-kahthaha ‘to know how’

-sʋ̀ska	‘to smell (intrans)’
-nvhka	‘to be lying down’
-eeha	‘to live’
-atáʔa	‘to be hanging’

The Immediate stem takes two distinct forms of the Distributive (DST) prefix. If a past or future meaning is intended, the form *tɛɛ-* is used (68a), while the form *ti-* (DST2) is used when the Immediate has a command meaning (68b).

68) a. YWɔ	ʂAʔS
khilawu	teehíkooliíya
khila=kwu	tee-hi-kooliíya
just.now=DT	DST-2A-examine:IMM
‘You just examined them.’	

b. JAPɔ
thikooliíyǎ
ti-hi-kooliíya
DST2-2A-examine:IMM(COM)
‘Examine them!’

The *ti-* form of the Distributive appears on all Deverbal Nouns, adjectives, and most derived nouns. Because its appearance is based on the grammatical context, it is distinguished from the *tɛɛ-* prefix by the abbreviation DST2.

3.4 COMPLETIVE (CMP)

The fourth stem, the Completive Stem, indicates a completed action. Like the Incompletive, it can be used with at three different suffixes: Experienced Past *-vʋʔi*, Non-experienced Past *-éʔi*, and Absolute Future *-éestʔi*.⁹ In (69a) it appears with the Experienced Past (EXP) final suffix *-vʋʔi* to express that the action is

completed and that the action took place in the past. Its use with the Non-experienced Past (NXP) suffix, as in (69b), indicates the same time and aspect frame, but with the added information that the speaker obtained this information from some other party. Finally, in (69c) the Absolute Future (AFT) suffix expresses the notion that the action will be completed at some time in the future.

69) The Completive stem of *-wóoniha* with three final suffixes

a. **ʘhʘhRT**

ù̀niiwóonisv́ʔi

uunii-wóonis-v́ʔi

3B.PL-talk:CMP-EXP

‘They talked.’

b. **ʘhʘhʔT**

ù̀niiwóonisééʔi

uunii-wóonis-ééʔi

3B.PL-talk:CMP-NXP

‘They talked (somebody told me).’

c. **ʘhʘhʔǃJ**

ù̀niiwóoniséésti

uunii-wóonis-éésti

3B.PL-talk:CMP-AFT

‘They will have talked.’

It is important to remember that what is a Set A prefix in other stems becomes a Set B prefix in the Completive. For example, the verb *-ahlíkíʔa* ‘to have a nightmare’ is an intransitive Set A verb; its designation as Set A means that it takes the Set A prefix in the Present Continuous, Incompletive and Immediate, but the Set B in the Completive stem and some Deverbal Noun stems. These five forms are compared in (70).

70) Five stems of *-ahlíkíʔa* ‘to have a nightmare’

- a. **†CYD**
 hahlíkíʔa
 hi-ahlíkíʔa
 2A-have.nightmare:PRC
 ‘You are having a nightmare.’
- b. **†CYǂAT**
 hahlíkíiskóoʔi
 hi-ahlíkíisk-óʔi
 2A-have.nightmare:INC-HAB
 ‘You have a nightmare.’
- c. **†CY**
 hahlíki
 hi-ahlíki
 2A-have.nightmare:IMM
 ‘You (just) had a nightmare’
- d. **GCYRT**
 jahlíkíisvóʔi
 ja-athlíkíis-vóʔi
 2B-have.nightmare:CMP-EXP
 ‘You had a nightmare.’
- e. **GCYǂJ** **ǂ** **ǂTSP**
 jahlíkiìsti thla yakwatuuli
 ja-ahlíkiìst-i thla yi-aki-atuuli
 2B-have.nightmare:DVN-NOM2 NEG IRR-1B-want:PRC
 ‘I don’t want for you to have a nightmare.’

The Set A inanimate object prefixes never appear on the Completive stem when it is expressing past tense. The other sets of prefixes-Set A animate object prefixes, Combined prefixes, and Object Focus prefixes-can appear.

In addition to the four final suffixes describe above there are various suffixes that convert the verb into an adverb that modifies another verb. For example, the Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix in (71a) indicates an activity ‘learning’ that modifies the

main verb ‘growing up.’ In (71) a Temporal Adverbializer (TAV) suffix *-a* and a highfall tone indicating subordination (SUB) appear on the Completive stem. This construction serves as an adverbial by establishing a time frame for the main clause to which it is attached. These constructions will be explored in Chapter 8.

71) a. **Dᵂ** **DTᵂR** **DTᵂGTiT**
 aya aàkwathvsv akwateehlokwaʔvʔi
 aya aki-athvs-vʔi aki-ateehlokwaʔ-vʔi
 1PRO 1B-grow(I):PRF-EXP 1B-learn(T):INC-DVB
 ‘I grew up learning it.’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

b. **DᵂW** **ᵂAᵂ** **Sᵂ.ᵂ** **Dᵂ. ᵂYRT**
 ateél uukóoha katóóhi aahv uùkisvʔi
 ateéla uu-kooh-a katóóhi aahv uu-kis-vʔi
 money 3A-see:CMP\SUB-TAV on.the.ground there 3B-pick.up:CMP-EXP
 ‘When he saw money on the ground, he picked it up.’ (Feeling 1975a:16)

If the meaning is a present or future ‘whenever/if’, the Irrealis prepronominal prefix *yi-* is attached to the beginning of the verb. This construction will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

The Completive stem is also used as a base for a future construction. This construction uses the prepronominal Future prefix *ta-* and the Motion suffix *-i*. This way of forming the future will be discussed in Chapter 6. An example is below in (72).

72) **LYhᵂP**
 takiniihyali
 ta-kinii-hyal-i
 FUT-1B.DL-search.for:CMP-MOT
 ‘You and I will search for it.’

In addition to these constructions, the Completive stem also acts as a base for most of the derivational suffixes. These constructions will be discussed in Chapter 6.

3.5 DEVERBAL NOUN (DVN)

Like the Completive, the Deverbal Noun Stem usually uses Set B prefixes on normally Set A verbs. This stem does not express tense, but rather serves as a base for various functions. Two important functions are to express the obligation to do something or the ability to do something. A pair exemplifying these usages is in (73); the stems are almost identical in form, but the construction expressing obligation has a highfall tone (MOD) on the rightmost long vowel. The suffix for the obligation construction is the Nominalizer (NOM) *-i*, while the ability construction has the Nominalizer (NOM2) - *i(-íí?i)*. Both constructions have the same syllabary spelling.

- 73) a. **óósta** **tiikhinookiìsti**
 óósta ti-aki-hnookiìst-i
 good DST2-1B-sing:DVN-NOM2
 ‘I sing well’, ‘My ability to sing is good.’

- c. **óósta** **tiikhinookíísti**
 óósta ti-aki-hnookiìst-i
 good DST2-1B-sing:DVN\MOD-NOM
 ‘I must sing well.’

Because the short form of NOM2 is usually used, the two usages will often appear identical. Even though it is written the same as the verb in (74a), there is a difference in tone on the verb itself in (74b).

74) a. **ᵀᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ** **ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ**
 juuhnookiîsti uùlvókhwti
 ti-uu-hnookiîst-i uu-lvókwohti
 DST2-3B-sing:DVN-NOM2 3B-like:PRC
 ‘He likes to sing.’

b. **ᵀᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ**
 juuhnookíísti
 ti-uu-hnookiîst-i
 DST2-3B-sing:DVN\MOD-NOM
 ‘He has to sing.’

Two more examples of the contrasting tone are in (75); in the first example the Deverbal Noun is the object of a main verb (which is typically in its short form, as it is here), while in the second example the obligation use inserts a highfall on the rightmost long vowel.

75) a. **ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ** **ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ**
 aàwatuuli akhineejiílóòsti
 aki-atuuliha aki-hneej-iílóòst-i
 1B-want:PRC 1B-speak:CMP-RPT:DVN-NOM2
 ‘I want to speak over and over.’

b. **ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ**
 akhineejiílóósti
 aki-hneej-iílóòst-i
 1B-speak:CMP-RPT:DVN\MOD-NOM
 ‘I have to speak over and over.’ (Cook 1975:142)

The Modal highfall tone (MOD) that occurs on the Deverbal Noun expressing obligation, seen above in (75b), must appear on the rightmost long vowel. For a few verbs this requirement will put the tone on the pronominal prefix, an example of which is in (76a). For comparison the nominal clause use of this same verb stem is given in (76b).

76) a. **᠋ᠣᠲᠦ᠋᠋ᠠᠯᠢᠰᠲᠠᠬᠦᠲᠢ**

úunalstayhti
 uunii-ali-stayht-i
 3B.PL\MOD-MDL-fix.a.meal:DVN-NOM
 ‘They have to eat.’

b. **᠋ᠣᠲᠦ᠋᠋ᠠᠯᠢᠰᠲᠠᠬᠦᠲᠢ**

uunalstayhti
 uunii-ali-stayht-i
 3B.PL-MDL-fix.a.meal:DVN-NOM2

᠋ᠣᠲᠦ᠋᠋ᠰᠦ᠋᠋
 uùntuuli
 uunii-atuuliha
 3B.PL-want:PRC
 ‘They want to eat.’

When used with the Negative Time prepronominal prefix *kaa-* (NGT), this same construction with the highfall tone (MOD) indicates ‘can VERB.’ In (77) this construction appears twice; each time it combines with *uu-* to form *kvvwa-*. This prefix is discussed in Chapter 6.

77) **᠋ᠰᠵᠠᠳᠦ**

tuùhnooseele
 tee-uu-hnooseel-éʔi
 DST-3B-tell:CMP-EXP

᠋ᠬᠡᠴᠦ᠋᠋ᠠ

nikvwwatvvhnt
 ni-kaa-uu-atvvhnt-i
 PRT-NGT-3B-do:DVN\MOD-NOM

᠋ᠪᠡ

keèhʋ
 keèh-ʋʋʔi
 be:CMP-EXP\SUB

᠋ᠬᠡᠴᠦ᠋᠋ᠠᠲᠠᠲᠠᠲᠠᠬᠡᠯᠠᠭᠠᠰᠲᠠᠬᠡᠲᠢ

kvvwataathlóohist
 kaa-uu-ataat-athloohist-i
 NGT-3B-RFL-beat.in.race:DVN\MOD-NOM

᠋ᠪᠡ

keèhʋ
 keèhʋʋʔi
 be:CMP-EXP

‘He told them what he could do for him to be able to beat him.’
 (Chapter 9.3:11-13)

As seen above, the Deverbal Noun stem allows the verb to serve as the subject or object of another verb. This use is further exemplified below in (78) and will be explained in greater depth in Chapter 7.

- 78) a. **ʊ̃STʊ̃J** **ʊ̃SP** **ʊ̃ΛHT**
 ũstuʔiisti ũtuuli khaneèsáʔi
 uu-stuʔiist-i uu-atuuliha khaneèsáʔi
 3B-open:DVN-NOM2 3B-want:PRC box
 ‘He wants to open the box.’ lit. “He wants to do it, for him to open the box.”
- b. **DYʊ̃ʔlʊ̃ʊ̃A** **GWY** **DYʊ̃hʊ̃ʊ̃J**
 aàkinv́lv́hvsko jalak akiwooniíhísti
 aki-nv́lv́hvsk-óʔi jalaki aki-wooniíhíst-i
 1B-fail:INC-HAB Cherokee 1B-speak:DVN-NOM2
 ‘I can’t speak Cherokee.’ lit. “I fail at it, for me to speak Cherokee.”

The Deverbal Noun can also be used by itself with the meaning of ‘for somebody.’ An example is in (79).

- 79) a. **ʔTʊ̃** **KYʊ̃J**
 hiʔina jooksti
 hiʔa=na ja-ookist-i
 this=F2 2B-smoke:DVN-NOM
 ‘This is for you to smoke.’

The Deverbal Noun serves as a base for turning the verb into a noun. This process will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4. FINAL SUFFIXES

Three of the five verb stems have final suffixes.¹⁰ These suffixes, in combination with the stems, provide information about the time of the action (tense) as well as if the action is completed or not (aspect). The Incomplete and Complete stems have a number of final suffixes that they can take and are therefore listed in their bare form.

4.1. HABITUAL (HAB) -óʔi

The Habitual suffix indicates a repeated action. It attaches to the Incomplete Stem; these two elements combine to convey an ongoing action that occurs habitually. The final vowel of the suffix frequently is dropped in casual speech. Two examples are in (80).

80) a. **DŠʋTɔ̃A**

aàtehlkwaasko
 a-atehlokwaask-óʔi
 3A-learn:INC-HAB
 ‘He learns.’

b. **ŠʋET**

teehlkʋʋʔi
 tee-hlkʋʋʔi
 DST-tree
 ‘I look at the trees.’

LTŠVɔ̃VT

taàwakhthoostóʔi
 tee-aki-akahthoost-óʔi
 DST-1B-look.at:INC-HAB

The combination of the Incomplete and Habitual can also express a general statement; an example is in (81).

81) **DLCV**

atanhto
 a-atanhto
 3A-heart

Gʋʋɔ̃Wθ

yuulééhwithana
 yi-uu-aleehwithan-a
 IRR-3B-stop(1):CMP\SUB-TAV

DɛTɔ̃A

ayoohuusko
 a-yoohuusko-óʔi
 3A-die(human):INC-HAB

Bθ

yvvw
 yvvwi
 human

‘When the heart stops, a person dies.’ (Feeling 1975a:5)

Note that English verbs conveying states have an ambiguous time frame. This is not the case in Cherokee, as seen in (82). In this example this state is occurring only in the moment of speaking. The English translation is vaguer; it could refer to a present state as well as a habitual state.

- 82) **DPʔPʂ**
 aàliheélíìka
 a-aliheélíìka
 3A-be.happy:PRC
 ‘He’s happy.’

4.2 EXPERIENCED PAST (EXP)-vʔʔi

The Experienced Past indicates the speaker has first-hand knowledge of an event that took place in the past.¹¹ It attaches to the Completive and Incompletive stems, as shown in (83).

- 83) a. **EZHʉET**
 kvvnoosaskvʔʔi
 ji-vvnoosask-vʔʔi
 1A-sweep:INC-EXP
 ‘I was sweeping.’
- b. **ESʉLʉLOT**
 kvvkaàthvvtáastanvʔʔi
 kvv-kahthvvtáastan-vʔʔi
 1/2-listen:CMP-EXP
 ‘I listened to you.’

Depending on the phonological environment, the tone may vary. The most typical is for a rising tone (83) with a high tone appearing less frequently; two examples are in (84). This difference is due to high tone spread, a phenomenon that is discussed in

Chapter 2. In both cases the high tone at the end of the stem spreads to the right and onto the final suffix.

- 84) a. **LTŠ ɦOT**
 taàkwateehyoóhnńvʔi
 tee-aki-ataa-eehyoóhn-vńʔi
 DST-1B-MDL-teach(T):CMP-EXP
 ‘I taught.’
- b. **DLP ʌʌʌʌOT**
 aàkwalstvvhlúnńvʔi
 aki-alistvvhlún-vńʔi
 1B-sit.down:CMP-EXP
 ‘I sat down.’

This tonal difference is frequently neutralized in the spoken language as the final vowel is usually dropped.

4.3 NON-EXPERIENCED PAST (NXP) -éʔi

The Non-experienced Past suffix indicates an action in the past that the speaker has not witnessed, either because he or she was physically absent or the event has not actually taken place.¹² In (85a) is an example of the Experienced Past; the first person prefix and the lack of negation (the event actually did take place) require this suffix. The verb in (85b), however, could take either suffix; in this case the use of the Non-experienced past is an indication that the speaker was told about the event by someone else.

- 85) a. **DʌʌGi**
 aàkwuuhiilóoʔv
 aki-uuhiilóoʔ-vńʔi
 1B-wash(T):CMP-EXP
 ‘I washed it.’

- b. **ʔʔ.ʔGR**
 ùwuwuhiilóʔe
 uu-uhiilóʔ-éʔi
 3B-wash(T):CMP-NXP
 ‘He washed it.’

This suffix displays the same tone pattern as the Habitual: it is underlyingly a short high tone, but if there is not a preceding high tone, it automatically lengthens. It will also lengthen if there is a preceding high tone, provided that it is two moras long. Two examples of the suffix with the short vowel are in (86); in the first example it is preceded by a rising tone (a two-mora vowel, with a high tone on the second mora), while in the second example it is preceded by a short high vowel (a single mora).

- 86) a. **ʔLAʔT**
 ùtlakoóséʔi
 uu-atlakoós-éʔi
 3B-scratch:CMP-EXP
 ‘He scratched it.’

- b. **ʂV ʔʌJ C hʔT**
 kato úústi jvvhníléʔi
 kato úústi ja-vvhníl-éʔi
 what something 2B-hit:CMP-NXP
 ‘What did you hit?’

As with the suffixes *-vʔʔi* and *-óʔi*, the last vowel is often dropped in everyday speech and the long/short difference is not heard.

As shown in (87), the Non-experienced Past suffix attaches to both the Completive and Incompletive stems.

87) Non-experienced Past suffix on Completive and Incompletive stems

- a. **DhβT**
 àniiyéekééʔi
 anii-yéek-éʔi
 3A.PL-wake(I):INC-NXP
 ‘They were waking up.’

- b. **ʔhβGT**
 ùniiyéejééʔi
 uunii-yéej-éʔi
 3B.PL-wake(I):CMP-NXP
 ‘They woke up.’

Because this final suffix implies that the speaker was not present for the event described, it is frequently used to ask a question about a past event. As with the Experienced Past, in spoken Cherokee it is more common to hear only the initial vowel of the suffix. An example is in (88).

- 88) **ʔWG GMF**
 hilayu jáʔluhke
 hilayu ja-ʔluhk-éʔi
 when 2B-arrive:CMP-NXP
 ‘When did you arrive?’

Clitics can attach to the shortened version of the suffix. Clitics are short particles that can attach to the end of a word; unlike suffixes, they can attach to any part of speech, be it a noun, verb, or adjective. These elements are presented in detail in Chapter 3. In (89) the question clitic appears immediately after the shortened form of the Non-experienced Past.

- 89) **ʔYhS:Jβʔ**
 skiniikaàthiíyes
 skinii-kahthiíy-éʔi=s
 2/1.DL-wait:CMP-NXP=Q
 ‘Did you wait for us two?’

Because this suffix refers to non-experienced events, it is also used if the verb is negated, as in (90a), or with contrary-to-fact situations, as in (90b).

- 90) a. **ᑭ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 thla yaàkwohljéeʔi
 thla yi-aki-olihj-éʔi
 NEG IRR-1B-understand:CMP-NXP
 ‘I didn’t understand’

- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 tiiwatívvti yikéese kahljoóte yakhiwaase
 ti-aki-atívvti yi-kees-éʔi kahljoóte yi-aki-hwaas-éʔi
 DST2-1B-rich IRR-be:INC-NXP house IRR-1B-buy:CMP-EXP
 ‘If I had been rich I would’ve bought a house.’

4.4 ABSOLUTE FUTURE (AFT) -éesti

This suffix indicates an action that will be performed.¹³ It attaches to Completive and Incompletive stems to indicate a future action. Three examples are in (91). In the second example the Absolute Future attaches to a Completive stem; this usage of the Completive allows the Set A prefixes to be used for Set A verbs.

- 91) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 uñniiyóosiskéesti
 uunii-yóosisk-éesti
 3B.PL-be.hungry:INC-AFT
 ‘They will be hungry’
- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 iijakhthoóstéesti
 iijii-akahthoóst-éesti
 2A.PL-look.at:INC-AFT
 ‘Look at me!’

- c. **TGZ** **TSPʌFʌJ**
 iyúuhnóo iikatuuliiskéést
 iyúuhnóo iikii-atuuliisk-éesti
 if 3B.PL-want:IMP-AFT\SUB

TSPʌCVJ **ɔh** **hʌʌT**
 iikalsintohti ooni jitvvná
 iikii-alisintoht-i ooni ji-ta-anii-áaʔ-i
 1B.PL-save:DVN-NOM2 behind REL-FUT-3A.PL-walk:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘...if we will want to save it [the Cherokee language] for future generations.’
 (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

This suffix is also used for forming commands for verbs which are semantically incapable of forming an Immediate stem; i.e. verbs whose meaning does not include an endpoint. Two examples are in (92).

- 92) a. **GʌLʌSʌJ**
 tsthvtastéesti
 ja-hthvtast-éesti
 2B-listen:INC-AFT
 ‘Listen!’

- b. **LʌJW.ʌʌ** **hʌECZLʌJ**
 hleestilahíya jiiskvvhlnohléesti
 hleestilahíya jii-skvv-hlnohl-éesti
 never NGI-2/1.PL-talk:CMP-AFT
 ‘Never talk to us again.’

Another way of forming the future in Cherokee is with a prenominal prefix and Motion suffix. This second construction will be explained in Chapter 6.

4.5 FUTURE IMPERATIVE (FIM) -vvʔi

This suffix attaches to the Completive stem and expresses a command for an action that will occur further in the future than with the Immediate command or Absolute Future suffix command. Scancarelli refers to this as the ‘gentle imperative’

(2005:369); Cook calls it a ‘mild imperative’(Cook 1979:128). Three examples are in (93).

93) a. **TʔVʔT**

iihéetóòlvvʔi
 ii-hi-eétóòl-vvʔi
 ITR-2A-walk.around-FIM
 ‘You come again.’

b. **VθLAθT**

toonataakoohvvʔi
 tee-ii-iinii-ataat-kooh-vvʔi
 DST-ITR-FUT-1A.DL-RFL-see:CMP-FIM
 ‘Let’s see each other again!’

c. **ʂRθL**

ʔVʔ

WʔA

TʔVʔT

suusvʔhita heétóòlv thaʔliine iiheétóòlvvʔi
 suusvʔhita hi-eétóòl-vvʔi thaʔli-iinééʔi ii-hi-eétóòl-ʔvʔi
 night 2A-walk.around:CMP-FIM two-ORD ITR-2A-walk.around:CMP-DVB
 ‘Stay overnight the next time you come’ (Feeling 1975a:155)

This suffix is distinct from the Experienced Past suffix in that it always has a long low tone; moreover, this suffix almost always appears in its full form.

5. CLASSIFICATORY VERBS

The classificatory verbs have distinctive forms depending on what type of object they occur with. These types of verbs are found in various Native American languages, especially in languages from the Athabaskan family. One of the Athabaskan languages, Western Apache, distinguishes thirteen different categories of objects (Mithun 1999:106). Cherokee has five categories of classificatory verbs. The five categories are solid, liquid, living, long, and flexible; these terms are from Pulte and Feeling (1975:303). The five categories, with example objects, are exemplified in (94) with the verb ‘to have.’

94) The five 'to have' verbs

- a. **ƆGŋ** **Dɛŋ**
 kaloðkwe aàkwv́ya
 kaloðkwe aki-v́ya
 gun 1B-have(long):PRC
 'I have a gun'
- b. **ƆŋP** **DYŋ**
 soókwíli aàkikháha
 soókwíli aki-kháha
 horse 1B-have(living):PRC
 'I have a horse.'
- c. **ŌSƆ** **DYΛ**
 uúkáma aàkinéha
 uúkáma aki-néha
 soup 1B-have(liquid):PRC
 'I have soup.'
- d. **DŋG** **DYØ**
 aàsuulo aàkináʔa
 aàsuulo aki-náʔa
 pants 1B-have(flexible):PRC
 'I have pants.'
- e. **ŌPƆ** **DY**
 khalseéji aàkiha
 khalseéji aki-ha
 candy 1B-have(solid):PRC
 'I have candy.'

The solid category is also the default category; if an object doesn't fit anywhere else, it goes in this category.¹⁴ For example, as seen in (95), a question where the speaker

There are now about 40 sets of classificatory verbs in Cherokee. Many of them have to do with handling, manipulating or carrying something. Because the exact element that specifies the object features is generally no longer distinguishable, the verbs must be simply learned as separate vocabulary items.

6. EXISTENCE AND LOCATION VERBS

As in many languages, the verb ‘to be’ is irregular. Often it is not needed at all in simple phrases that equate a person or thing with a property or characteristic. Such a meaning is conveyed by attaching the appropriate pronominal prefix to an adjective or noun. (97) has three examples of this type of construction with nouns, and (98) has two examples with adjectives. In (98a) the stem begins with a vowel, causing the deletion of the final long vowel of the pronominal prefix *iiki-*. Adjectives usually have a highfall tone on the rightmost long vowel; in this case, the only vowel available is the initial vowel of the pronominal prefix.

97) Equational phrases with nouns

a. **ᎠᎵᎠᎵ**

hijalaki

hi-jalaki

2A-Cherokee

‘You are Cherokee.’

b. **ᎠᎵᎠᎵ**

jikáʔnakhthi

ji-káʔnakhthi

1A-doctor

‘I am a doctor.’

c. **ᎠᎵᎠᎵ**

thaliine

thalii-ińéeʔi

two-ORD

‘Mose is my cousin’

ᎠᎵᎠᎵ

oostatthlahnńvthl

oostii-ataat-thlahnńvthla

1A.DL.EX-RFL-brother

ᎠᎵᎠᎵ

moosi

moosi

Mose

98) Equational phrases with adjectives

a. **TʂWθ**
 íkathana
 iikii-áthana
 1B.PL-big
 ‘All of us are big.’

b.	ɪʂGʷ	Dθ	DɪʂK.ʂɪ
	jikayúúl	ale	awaljóóhita
	ji-kayúúla	ale	aki-aljóóhita
	1A-old	and	1B-fat
	‘I am old and fat.’		

Many expressions that in English consist of the verb ‘to be’ and an adjective are simply verbs in Cherokee. Adjectives and other modifiers will be investigated in greater detail in Chapter 8.

The above examples are verbless clauses; that is, the predicate is an adjective or a noun. Because verbs are the only part of speech that can fully indicate tense and aspect, verbless sentences are assumed to refer to a present time frame. In order to indicate other tense and aspect information it is necessary to use a ‘to be’ verb to carry this information. In (99) the first example refers to the default present, while in the second example the copula ‘to be’ appears to express a past state.

99) a.	θáɪ	óosta	‘good’, ‘It is good.’
b.	θáɪ ʂRT	óosta keèsvíʔi	‘It was good.’

The root of the verb ‘to be’ is *-k-*; it is only used in the third person. It is the only verb that appears without a pronominal prefix (It is possible that the /k/ that always appears is a frozen third person *ka-*). All of its stems and final suffixes are listed in (100).

100) The forms of ‘to be’	
PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-ka
INCOMPLETIVE	-keès-
IMMEDIATE	-ki
COMPLETIVE	-keèh-

In (101) are two examples of different final suffixes with the Future suffix, and in (102) are two examples with the Experienced Past suffix.

101) a.	ᄋᄋᄋ ᄋᄋᄋᄋ	óosta	keèséesti	‘It will be good.’
b.	DJG ᄋᄋᄋᄋ	achúúja	keèséesti	‘It will be a boy.’
102) a.	ᄋᄋᄋ ᄋᄋᄋ	óosta	keèsvʔi	‘It was good.’
b.	DJG ᄋᄋᄋ	achúúja	keèsvʔi	‘It was a boy.’

There is no Deverbal Noun stem of ‘to be.’ What is often translated as an infinitive ‘to be’ is the Deverbal Noun stem of the verb ‘to become.’ An example of this verb is in (103)

103)	ᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋ	ᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋ	ᄋᄋᄋᄋ
	sohnelinééʔis	yijalstohti	jatuuliha
	sohnela-iinééʔi=s	yi-ja-alistoht-i	ja-atuuliha
	nine-ORD=Q	IRR-2B-become:DVN-NOM2	2B-want:PRC
	‘Do you want to be the ninth?’ (Feeling 1975a:154)		

Because verbless sentences are understood as being present tense, the Present Continuous form of ‘to be’ is not necessary in many sentences. It is frequently used, however, to make statements more emphatic. An example is in (104). In such sentences the speaker indicates that the *íika* is not necessary. The time frame for this sentence is basically present habitual, but speakers who literally translate the

copula ‘to be ‘ seem to have in mind a Present Continuous Meaning, often translating it as ‘it is that way.’

- 104) **oosi TS** **jalaki** **kahnesti**
 oosi ii-ka jalaki ka-hnest-i
 good ITR-be:PRC Cherokee 3A-speak:DVN-NOM2
 ‘It’s good to speak Cherokee.’

The Present Continuous and Immediate stems never appear without a prenominal prefix. Usually this prefix is the Iterative (ITR) prenominal prefix *-ii*, but sometimes this Present Continuous form will appear with the Relativizer (REL) prenominal prefix *ji-*. In the example in (105) Durbin Feeling translates it with the verb ‘to mean.’

- 105) **ookalahoóma** **jiki** **kiíkáke** **askaya**
 ookalahoóma ji-ki kiíkáke a-skaya
 Oklahoma REL-be:IMM red 3A-man
- atiha** **aniijahta** **uuniiwóoníihisti**
 atiha anii-jahta uunii-wóoníihist-i
 3A-say:PRC 3A.PL-Choctaw 3B.PL-speak:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘Oklahoma means “red man” in the Choctaw language.’ (Feeling 1975a:150)

The Iterative prefix also appears on the copula when it has the Habitual suffix. An example is in (106). This prefix will be discussed in Chapter 6.

- 106) **skwíísta** **iikeeso** **yootaàthli** **taahnúukóó?i**
 skwíísta ii-kees-ó?i yootaàthli taahnúuka-?i
 lot ITR-be:INC-HAB mistletoe garfish-LOC
 ‘There’s lots of mistletoe in Vian [place of gar].’

Besides the *ii-* and *ji-*, the Irrealis *yi-* and the Partitive *ni-* appear. In (107) are three examples of the Irrealis. In (107a) and (107b) the verb appears in order to carry the negation on what would otherwise be a verbless sentence. In (107c) and (107d) the negation appears on the Non-experienced Past.

- 107) a. **ḥ** ḥóḥḥ ḥḥ
 hla óósta yiki
 hla óósta yi-ki
 NEG good IRR-be:IMM
 ‘He isn’t good’
- b. **ḥ** **ḠWY** **ḥḠhḥḠ** **ḥḥ**
 hla jalaki kawoònííski yiki
 hla jalaki ka-woòníísk-i yi-ki
 NEG Cherokee 3A-speak:INC\AGT-NOM IRR-be:IMM
 ‘I’m not a Cherokee speaker.’
- c. **DḥḥḠ** **ḥ** **DḠWY** **ḥḥḥḥ**
 askay thla ajalaki yikeeséé?i
 a-skaya thla a-jalaki yi-kees-é?i
 3A-man NEG 3A-Cherokee IRR-be:INC-NXP
 ‘The man was not Cherokee’

The example in (108) has three different usages of ‘to be’ with three different pronominal prefixes.

- 108) **ḥḥḥ** **ḥḥ** **Ḡ** **ḠḠḠ** **ḥḥ** **ḠḠḠ**
 hi?ina jika nváhna thlaski yiika nvvyóóhi
 hi?ina ji-ka nváhna thlaski yi-ii-ka nvvya-hi
 this=F2 REL-be:PRC road not.as IRR-ITR-be:PRC rocky-LOC
- ḠḠ** **ḠZ** **Ḡ** ḥḥ **ḥḥḠḠḠ**
wiki siihno na oohni jiîteetoohv?i
 wi-ki siihno na oohni ji-iîtii-eetoohv?i
 TRN-be:IMM than that behind REL-1A.PL-walk.around:CMP-EXP
 ‘This road is less rocky than the one we were on before.’

As demonstrated in the previous examples, an important use of the irregular ‘to be’ verb is to bear tense, aspect and negation when this information cannot be carried on the main part of the sentence. In the first line in (109a) the verb is in the Deverbal Noun form to express an obligation to perform the action; this verb is unable to appear in the Incompletive stem and with the Habitual suffix that would indicate that this is something the speaker does frequently. In the second line ‘to be’ appears again to bear the negative meaning. The verb in this case is the object of the main verb ‘to tell’ and is in a Deverbal Noun stem; i.e. “for me to speak”; it is followed by the copula bearing the Partitive prefix *ni-* and the Negative Deverbalizer suffix *-v́vna*. In (109b) the Deverbal noun stem of ‘to whoop’ is indicating obligation; in this instance the copula appears indicating that the obligation to whoop occurred in the past.

- 109) a. **D&E** **DTLZ4J** **FF** **hAS**
akwv́vsa aàkwaataanosééti keèso yoneeka
aki-v́vsa aki-ataat-noseet-i keès-ó?i yoneeka
1B-self 1B-RFL-tell\MOD:DVN-NOM be:INC-HAB English
- DYChJ&J** **hFR&** **DJ&E** **5B**
akiwooniihisti nikeèsv́vna aàkiiskv mosi
aki-woonihist-i ni-keès-v́vna a-akiisk-v́?i mosi
1B-speak:DVN -NOM2 PRT-be:INC-NDV 3A-say:INC-EXP Mose
‘‘I have to tell myself not to speak English,’’ said Mose.’
- b. **DE5Z** **JMC**
akvvyíihno wuulúhjǔ
a-kvvyíí?i=hnóo wi-uu-?lúhjǔv́?i
3A-first=CN TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB
- S&hJD** **000P&** **0V&J** **FRT**
kalvvnti?a wikhanahlthǔ uuthohíísti keèsv́v?i
kalvvnti?a wi-khanahlthǔv́?i uu-athohííst-i keès-v́?i
on.top TRN-hill 3B-whoop:DVN\MOD-NOM be:INC-EX
‘The first one arriving at the top of the hill was to whoop.’ (Chapter 9.1:11-12)

Many location expressions that in English use the verb ‘to be’ take a verb with a more specific meaning in Cherokee. In (110a) the cat ‘sits’ on the table, while in (110b) the book ‘lies’ on the table. In (110c) and (110d) the object is the same, but the difference is in elevation.

- 110) a. **ᏍᏗᏃᏩ** **ᎠᎵᎠ** **ᎠᎵ**
kaaskilṽ uùwoohla weésa
kaaskil-ṽi uu-oohla weésa
table-LOC 3B-be.sitting:PRC cat
‘The cat is on the table’
- b. **ᏪᎠᎵᎠ** **ᏍᏗᏃᏩ** **ᏍᏍᎠ**
tikoohweela kaaskilṽ teekána
ti-kooohweela kaaskil-ṽi tee-ka-na
DST2-paper table-LOC DST-3A-be.lying:PRC
‘The book is on the table’
- c. **ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠ** **ᎠᎵ** **ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠ**
skwaàhlésti aàha aayeéstaṽ
skwaàhlésti a-ha aayeéstaṽ
ball 3A-be.on.ground:PRC carpet
‘The ball is on the carpet.’ (Koops 2008b:2)
- d. **ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠ** **ᎠᎵᎠ** **ᏍᏗᏃᏩ**
skwaàhlésti aàhlaha kaaskilṽ
skwaàhlésti a-hlaha kaaskilṽ
ball 3A-be.elevated:PRC on.the.table
‘The ball is on the carpet.’ (Koops 2008b:2)

General location (‘there’ phrases in English) is often expressed using the verb ‘to walk around.’ An example is in (111).

- 111) **ꞖP DAV**
 haatlʋ aàneèto
 haatlʋ anii-eètóoh-óʔi
 where 3A.PL-walk.around:INC-HAB
 ‘Where are they?’

There verb *-yaʔa* has a ‘to be’ meaning inside of a location. An example is in (112).

- 112) **V OAI OOI DAT**
 to úúst khanvsulʋ aàyáʔi
 kato úústi khanvsulʋʋʔi a-yáʔi
 what thing room 3A-be.in:PRC
 ‘What room is he in?’

7. SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the minimal parts necessary for forming a verb in Cherokee. The first section reviewed the use of pronominal prefixes on verbs and discussed how Set A prefixes and Set B prefixes can both reference either a subject or the combination of a subject and inanimate singular third person object. Other combinations were also discussed, including combinations of third person subject, both singular and plural, with local objects. In the second section the five verb stems were reviewed; the third section catalogued the final suffixes that appear on the three of the five Stems. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the verb ‘to be’ and classificatory verbs. As seen in some of the examples, many verbs require additional prefixes in front of the pronominal prefixes. Moreover, there are ways of adding to or changing the meaning of the verb stem itself. These expanded verb constructions will be the focus of the next chapter.

NOTES

CHAPTER 5

¹ The selection of the Present stem as the citation form is perhaps arbitrary, but there is a well-established tradition of using this form. For example, the Feeling dictionary lists verbs according to their third person Present form with pronominal (and sometimes prepronominal) prefixes. The importance difference here is that the pronominal prefix has been removed.

² Feeling lists his verbs using the fully conjugated third person Present Continuous, followed by five sub-entries. The first subentry is also the Present Continuous, but with a first person prefix. The following four entries correspond to the present grammar's Completive, Incompletive, Immediate, and Deverbal Noun. I have changed the citation order in this grammar because it makes more sense to list together the three stems that can take Set A prefixes. Feeling lists the first person form as a subentry because this form seems unpredictable. Taking into account the laryngeal alternation, deletion, and metathesis rules, -as well as an accurate representation of the stem itself - the form of these verbs become entirely predictable.

³ For some speakers the inanimate form is used for indefinite inanimate objects. Cook reports this for North Carolina Cherokee (1979:15)

⁴ All other works on Cherokee refer to this as the 'present.' This term is too general as other stems (i.e. the Incompletive) also can convey activity in a present time frame. The term 'Present Continuous' is more apt than 'Present Progressive' as the term 'progressive' applies to only dynamic actions and not states; the term used in this grammar covers both dynamic and stative events. This use of the term is from Comrie (1976:35).

⁵ Other works refer to the Incompletive stem as the 'imperfective' and the Completive stem as the 'perfective.' These same works emphasize the concept of completion or lack thereof inherent in these stems. For example, Cook (1979:94) describes how 'The imperfective stem views the action of the verb as an ongoing (uncompleted) process. ... The perfective stem views the action of the verb as a completed process or achieved state.' King (1975:72) states that 'imperfective' stems 'convey that the action of the verb is an on-going process' while 'perfective' verbs 'convey the notion that the action of the verb is a completed process....Completed action can be viewed in either the past or future tense.' While the usage of tense and aspect labels varies greatly across languages, there have been attempts to render these terms more universally applicable. Bernard Comrie's definitions are the most widely cited; his classic definition of 'perfective' is where 'the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled up into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action of the entry' (Comrie 1976:3). It is apparent that from the cited descriptions of Cherokee that there is an emphasis on the idea of completion. Scancarrelli, who uses the terms 'perfective' and 'imperfective', notes that 'The Perfective stems in Cherokee are probably historical perfects, rather than

perfectives...many stative verbs in Cherokee show “perfective” morphology, but the category of perfective, if taken to refer to a telic event viewed as a single whole, is incompatible with stativity’ (Scancarelli 1987:313).

⁶ In all other works on Cherokee this stem is referred to as the ‘infinitive.’ The basic meaning of ‘infinitive’ refers to tenses that are not bound by person or tense; because the Cherokee stem always has a person prefix this term is inappropriate. The Deverbal Noun stem often translates as an English infinitive when it is the complement of a verb that has the same subject. Scancarelli states that, ‘The term *infinitive* is something of a misnomer, since there are no non-finite verbs in Cherokee, but Cherokee infinitives serve as complements parallel to English infinitives in some constructions. Cherokee infinitives also express necessity or ability, and are the basis of deverbal nouns including locatives, instrumentals, and action nominals. The whole class is used to express potential in a general sense’ (Scancarelli 2005:366).

⁷ All other works on Cherokee treat the final vowel of these two stems as final suffixes. Because the final vowel of the present form is unpredictable, it seems better to treat this vowel as part of the lexical item itself.

⁸ Scancarelli (1987:314) as well as Cook (1979:95) refer to this stem as the ‘punctual.’ King calls it the ‘imperative’ and states that it conveys ‘an immediate point in time, either future or past. (King 1975:72). Scancarelli speculates that these stems ‘are probably historical perfectives. Punctuals view telic events as single wholes, and stative verbs generally do not have punctual stems’ (Scancarelli 1987:314).

⁹ Pulte and Feeling list two instances where the Completive stem has a Habitual suffix attached to it. These two examples are listed in (1). Both have other features as well; the example in (1a) is negative, while the example in (1b) has a Partitive prepronominal prefix and a highfall tone. Pulte and Feeling have an example identical to that in (1a) except that it has the expected Incompletive stem; this sentence they translate as ‘He doesn’t speak habitually’ (1975:291).

3) a. **ŋ GʷhʰT**

hla yuúwó̀̀niisóóʔi

hla yi-uu-wó̀̀oniis-óʔi

NEG IRR-3B-speak:CMP-HAB

‘He never speaks.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:291)

b. **ʔ GʷhʰT**

nuúwó̀̀niisóóʔi

ni-uu-wó̀̀onis-óʔi

PRT-3B-talk:CMP-HAB\SUB

‘He had already spoken.’ (prior to some other event)

(Pulte and Feeling 1975:291)

¹⁰ The final suffixes are often referred to as modal suffixes, although their description as conveyers of mood is not entirely accurate. I will refer to them as final suffixes, a term also used by Pulte and Feeling (1975) and Scancarelli (1987).

¹¹ King (1975:82) calls this the ‘definitive.’ Cook refers to it as the ‘assertive’ (1979:128) and Scancarelli uses his term (1987:xi). Pulte and Feeling (1975:290) call this the ‘past’ suffix, but Pulte (1985:543-44) later suggests the terms ‘Experienced’ and ‘Non-experienced’ to refer to *-vʋʋʋi* and *-éʋi*, respectively. He points out that the non-experienced past refers to all past actions or states not perceived by one of the senses.

¹² King (1975:83) calls this the quotative and states that it ‘is used to report events of which the speaker has no personal knowledge. It serves to indicate that the information was given to the speaker by a third party.’ See the preceding footnote for why the term ‘Non-experienced past’ is the preferred term.

¹³ King (1975:82) calls this the ‘intensive’; Pulte and Feeling refer to it as the ‘future.’ Scancarelli uses the term ‘expectational’ and states that it ‘is used to express future tense and certain imperatives’ (2005:369). King states that ‘this suffix is used to express an intention either as affirmative or negative statement...’ (King 1975:83). He refers to the commands formed from this suffix as ‘emphatic imperatives.’

¹⁴ King does not use the above label ‘solid’, but rather describes this category as ‘an all-inclusive category which encompasses items which do not fit in any of the other classes’ (1975:97).

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CHAPTER 6: BUILDING ON THE STEM

1. ADDING TO THE STEM

There are three main ways to add to the basic configuration of the verbal complex presented in the previous chapter. The first is to add prepronominal prefixes to the beginning of the verbal complex that specify such features as plural objects, location, and negation, among others. Second, the verb stem itself can be altered in such a way that the kinds of subjects or objects that are involved with the action of the verb are re-arranged. Third, derivational suffixes can be added to the verb stem itself to alter its meaning. Most of the discussion in this chapter pertains to verbs. Some nouns and adjectives, however, also bear some of the affixes derived in this chapter; if the noun or adjective is derived from a verb, then it must bear the same affixes as the verb from which it derives.

1.1. PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

In Cherokee there are prefixes that can occur before the pronominal prefix to convey more specific ideas about the activity of the verb. Each prefix has a number of variant forms depending on what comes before or after it, and some prefixes cause tone changes in the verb. For example, the Distributive prefix *tee-* expresses a plurality of objects or actions and can add a high tone to the following segment, as seen in (1).

- 1) **ᏍᏗᏂᏃᏅ**
teehíkoohwthíha
tee-hi-koowahthíha
DST-2A-see:PRC
'You see them.'

These prefixes occur mainly on verbs, but a few occur on other parts of speech in certain situations that will be explained in the relevant sections. There are twelve

different prepronominal prefixes that can occur. Sometimes several will occur at the same time, but it is rare to find more than two prepronominal prefixes per verb.

Several of the prepronominal prefixes have two different basic forms depending on what kind of stem is present. The form that occurs less often includes the number '2' in its abbreviation. For example, the form of the Distributive prefix that occurs most commonly is *tēē-*; this form has the abbreviation DST. An alternate form *tī-* occurs with the Deverbal Noun stem, derived nouns and adjectives, and the command form of the Immediate; this form has the abbreviation DST2. Both of these basic forms further undergo various predictable phonological changes according to their environment. These basic forms and their phonological variants will be discussed individually with each prefix.

The order of the prefixes varies slightly depending on the speaker, but there are general tendencies that remain constant. For example, *yī-* and *jī-* always appear in the first position and cannot co-occur. Their usage is demonstrated in (2). In the first two examples *yī-* and *jī-* appear before the Distributive prepronominal prefix (the negative *yī-* triggers the *tī-* form of the Distributive (DST2); this change will be discussed in the sections on these individual prefixes). In the first two examples both prefixes are shown to precede the Distributive prepronominal prefix. The third example demonstrates the incompatibility of Irrealis *yī-* and Relativizer *jī-*; in this case the Irrealis replaces the Relativizer. (2d) demonstrates that the Irrealis precedes the Iterative. Several of the prefixes undergo further changes when combined with other prefixes; these changes will be discussed in the discussions of the individual prefixes. In (2e) *jī-* comes before *wī-* and *wī-* comes before *tēē-*; the combination of *jī-* and *wī-* produces *ju-*, while the vowel of the Distributive prefix is deleted before another vowel.

2) First Position Prepronominal Prefixes

- a. **Ḳ ḶḶḶ ḶḶ** **DṢ W**
 thla yitiijv̀v̀neélé? ateéla
 thla yi-ti-iijv̀v̀-*hneél-é?i* ateéla
 NEG IRR-DST2-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-NXP money
 ‘I didn’t give you all the money.’
- b. **ḶḶḶḶ** **DṢ W** **ḶḶḶḶḶ**
 hi?itvna ateéla jitéejv̀v̀neélv
 hi?i=tvv=na ateéla ji-tee-iijv̀v̀-*hneél-v́?i*
 this=FC=F12 money REL-DST-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-EXP
 ‘This is the money I gave you all.’
- c. **ḶḶḶ** **DṢ W** **Ḳ ḶḶḶ ḶḶ**
 hi?ítv ateéla hla yitiijv̀v̀neélé?
 hi?a=tvv ateéla hla yi-ti-iijii-*v̀v̀neél-é?i*
 here=FC money NEG IRR-DST2-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-NXP
 ‘This is the money that I didn’t give you all.’
- d. **Ḳ ḶḶḶḶ**
 hla yii?uulúhje
 hla yi-ii-uu-lúhj-*é?i*
 NEG IRR-ITR-3B-arrive:CMP-NXP
 ‘He didn’t come back.’
- e. **ḶḶḶḶ** **ḶḶḶḶḶ**
 khalítv jutoòkiihmv
 khali=tvv ji-wi-tee-ookii-hn-*v́?i*
 just.now=FC REL-TRN-DST-1B.PL.EX-send:CMP-EXP
 ‘We already sent them.’

In (3) are several examples indicating the ordering of the other prefixes. In (3a) the Translocative *wi-* precedes the Distributive. In (3b) the Future *ta-* appears before

the Iterative *ii-*, and in the third example the Cislocative *ti-* precedes the Iterative.

(3d) demonstrates that the Translocative *wi-* precedes the Partitive *ni-*.

- 3) a. **ᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭ**
 thlasi witoòkiihnv yiki
 thlasi wi-tee-ookii-hn-vʔi yi-ki
 not.yet TRN-DST-1B.PL.EX-send:CMP-EXP IRR-be:IMM
 ‘We haven’t sent them yet.’
- b. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 tvvtahneskehiísáhni uunoole uùyóosthanʔ
ta-ii-iitii-ahneskehiísáhn-i uunoole uu-yóo-sthan-ʔvʔi
 FUT-ITR-1A.PL-build:CMP-MOT tornado 3B-break(I)-CAU:CMP-DVB
 ‘We will build the house again after the tornado destroyed it.’
- c. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 withaláàsuuláki tiihiyvvhlvʔ=hno
wi-ti-hi-aláasuuláki ti-ii-hi-yvvh-lvʔi=hno
 TRN-DST2-2A-remove.shoes:IMM CIS-ITR-2A-enter:CMP-EXP=CN
 ‘Take your shoes off and then come back in again.’
- d. **ᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 kato winijaweese
 kato wi-ni-ja-wees-éʔi
 what TRN-PRT-2B-say/sound:CMP-NXP
 ‘What did you say? (talking to someone on the telephone)’

As seen in the above examples, the prepronominal prefixes interact in various ways with the pronominal prefixes that follow them. In (4a) the Cislocative *ti-* suppresses the vowel of the pronominal prefix, but at the same time it undergoes a lengthening of its vowel. In the second example the *wi-* prefix prevents the expected glottal lowering of the pronominal prefix. In the third example the long vowel of the Distributive prefix is lost before another vowel.

4) a. **JhWʰoʷ**
 tiiniithaleeska
 ti-anii-thaleeska
 CIS-3A.PL-dig:PRC
 ‘They are digging it in front of us’

b. **ChWʰoʷ**
 waniithaleeska
 wi-anii-thaleeska
 TRN-3A.PL-dig:PRC
 ‘They are digging it (out of sight).’

c. **oʷlacjʰ**
 witakoohwthíha
 wi-tee-a-koohwthíha
 TRN-DST-1A-see:PRC
 ‘He sees them.’

Certain combinations of prepronominal prefixes with pronominal prefixes are indistinguishable when written in the syllabary. These combinations can be distinguished in their pronunciation, however. For example, in (5b) the combination of the Irrealis (IRR) *yí-* and the pronominal prefix *íjii-* results in the loss of the vowel of the pronominal prefix vowel. The vowel is long and has a distinct pronunciation from that of (5a).

5) a. **ʷGSPʰ**
 yíjatuulííha
 yi-ja-atuulííha
 IRR-2B-want:PRC\SUB
 ‘If you want it.’

- b. **ʌGSPɿ**
 yi̇jatuulíiha
 yi-i̇jiii-atuulíiha
 IRR-2B.PL-want:PRC\SUB
 ‘If you all want it.’

The final prepronominal position is for *kaa-* and *ee-*; only the pronominal prefixes can come after these two prefixes. In (6) the Negative Time prefix appears after the after the Irrealis in the second clause.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 6) ʌSYʌSPʌEEʌ | hɿtʌJ |
| naaksteeliískv́na | nikeeséést |
| ni-aki-steeliísk-v́na | ni-kees-éesti |
| PRT-1B-help:INC-NDV | PRT-be:INC:AFT\SUB |
| ɿ | ʌShʌTTJ |
| hla yeelí | yikáàjiiskwati |
| hla yi-eelíkwu | yi-kaa-ji-skwati |
| NEG IRR-able | IRR-NGT-1A-finish:IMM |
| ‘Without him helping me I won't be able to finish.’ | |

Some of the prefixes change the tone of the stem to which they attach, as already shown with the Distributive prefix. These tone changes will be discussed below with the prefix in question; an example is in (7). In this instance the Iterative (ITR) appears as a high tone on the following pronominal prefix.

- 7) **ʌʌJWʌT**
 úunatiithahv́?i
 ii-uunii-atiithah-v́?i
 ITR-3B.PL-drink:COMP-EXP
 ‘They drank it again.’

From the discussion below of the prefixes it will be seen that they have a wide range of functions and meanings. Four of the prefixes (*wi-*, *ti-*, *ni-*, *ee-*) can indicate

position or movement relative to the speaker. Other prefixes have more grammatical functions and indicate futurity, negation, or subordination (*ta-*, *yi-*, *ji-*, *ke-*, respectively). Moreover, some verbs have lexicalized prepronominal prefixes; in other words, they always appear with these prefixes. The most common lexicalized prefix is Distributive *tee-*, but there are only a few examples of lexicalization of *ni-* and *wi-*.

The prepronominal prefixes are discussed below in order of their appearance on the verbal complex.

1.1.1. Irrealis (IRR) *yi-*

The Irrealis prefix indicates that an action has not occurred.¹ One of the most important functions of this prefix is negation. When performing this function it is always accompanied by the negation particle **ŀ** *thla* (Or in its common Oklahoma pronunciation *hla*.) This particle typically comes immediately before the verb bearing the *yi-* prefix. In (8a) *yi-* appears in a negative function before a consonant; in (8b) and (8c) the Irrealis appears as *yu-* before the Translocative *wi-*.

- 8) a. **ŀ** **ᄀAPS**
 thla yikooliika
 thla yi-ji-oolihka
 NEG IRR-1A-understand:PRC
 ‘I don’t understand it.’
- b. **ŀ** **ᄀTOW**
 thla yawahnth
 thla yi-aki-anvhtha
 NEG IRR-1B-know:PRC
 ‘I don’t know.’

c. **ŁZ** **ᏅᏁᏍᏗᏪᏪ** **ᏂᏚᏃᏍᏗ**
 hlahno juulvhwstaanehti yuwuulúhje
 hla=hno ti-uu-lvvhistaneht-i yi-wi-uu-lúhj-é?i
 NEG=CN DST2-3B-work:DVN-NOM2 IRR-TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-NXP
 ‘He did not show up for work...’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* November 2006)

d. **Ł** **ᏗᏚᏂᏪᏪ** **ᏈᏚᏂᏪᏪ**
 thla yateelohooske nantvneéhv
 thla yi-a-ateelohoosk-é?i ni-anii-atvneéh-vv?i
 NEG IRR-3A-find.out:INC:NXP PRT-3A.PL-do:INC-DVB
 ‘He didn’t find out what they were doing.’ (Chapter 9.3:48)

The negative adverb **Ł** *thla* does not have to immediately precede the *yi-* ; an example is (9).

9) **Ł** **ᏄᏁᏍᏗ** **ᏗᏚᏂᏪᏪ**
 hla óóst yakiyeelv
 hla óósta yi-aki-yeelvva
 NEG good IRR-1B-feel:PRC
 ‘I don’t feel good about that.’

When this prefix is used without *thla* it creates a conditional meaning that can be translated as ‘if’ or ‘when (ever)’ as seen in (10). For these adverbial constructions a highfall tone appears on the rightmost long vowel (indicated by \SUB) to indicate that the verb is modifying the main part of the sentence. The same meaning can be obtained with the Completive stem (10b); this usage requires the Temporal Adverbializer (TAV) suffix. Another example of the Completive stem and Temporal Adverbializer is in (10c).

10) a. **ᏚᏂᏪᏪ** **ᏅᏁᏍᏗ** **ᏚᏂᏪᏪ** **ᏄᏁᏍᏗ**
 kahljoóte yiwijiyv káátu aàkiwsv̀vko
 kahljoóte yi-wi-ji-yvva káátu aki-wsv̀v-ó?i
 house IRR-TRN-1A-enter:IMM\SUB bread 1A-smell:INC-HAB
 ‘Every time I enter the house I smell bread.’
 /If I enter the house I smell bread.’

- b. **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑳᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
yakiwóoníís aàkihnaálv̀̀ko
yi-aki-wóoniis-a aki-hnaálv̀̀k-ó?i
IRR-1B-talk:CMP\SUB-TAV 1B-get.angry:INC-HAB
‘Whenever he talks to me I get angry.’
- c. **ᑳᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ**
aàtaahyáàskeesko yuuyééja
a-ataa-hyáàskeesk-ó?i yi-uu-yéej-a
3A-MDL-stretch:INC-HAB IRR-3B-wake:CMP\SUB-TAV
‘He stretches when he wakes up.’

yi- attached to the Immediate stem also creates a meaning of possibility that can be glossed with ‘can’, typically for something that can take place in the near future.² Two examples are in (11).

- 11) a. **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ**
hvleekwu yijaleéna
hvleekwu yi-ijii-aleéna
immediately IRR-2A.PL-start:IMM
‘Immediately you can all start.’
- b. **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ**
kahlkwoókíhnóo teekhánahlth́ yitéenalkoóna
kahlkwoóki=hnóo tee-khanahlth́v́?i yi-tee-iinii-alkoóna
seven=CN DST-hill IRR- DST-1A.DL-arrive.first:IMM
‘We will see who gets to the seven hills first.’ (Chapter 9.1:8)

In (12) the prefix indicates a hypothetical situation.

- 12) **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ** **ᑯᑦᑯᑦᑲᑦ**
jaáni íika uutahlanííkit
jaáni íi-ka uu-atahlanííkita
John ITR-be:PRC 3B-strong

βPᵒ	ᶱᵒP	ᶯJWY
yeeliíw	soókwíl	yikuuthaki
yi-eeliíkwu	soókwíli	yi-ka-uuthaki
IRR-can	horse	IRR-3A-pick.up:IMM
‘John is so strong he can pick up a horse.’		

Contrary-to-fact statements are always subordinate to a main verb and therefore insert a highfall tone on the rightmost long vowel; this tone is indicated after the backslash by the abbreviation SUB. Two examples from Cook are in (13).

- 13) a. **ᶯSᵒD**
yikatawóóʔa
yi-ji-ataa-awóoa
IRR-1A-MDL-bathe:PRC\SUB
‘I would be swimming.’ (Cook 1979:58-60)
- b. **ᵒTLᵒRT**
yakwatawoʔééʔi
yi-aki-ataa-awoʔ-éʔi
IRR-1B-MDL-swim:CMP-NXP\SUB
‘I would have swum.’ (Cook 1979:58-60)

When used in conjunction with a negated clause the *yi*-prefixed verb indicates a condition that would come to pass or would have come to pass if another condition were or had been fulfilled. In (14a) the state of ‘being rich’ is marked as an unreal state by the copula ‘to be’ verb prefixed by the Irrealis; a subordinating tone (SUB) is added to the copula. (Because the copula has no long vowel it surfaces as a short high tone) The status of the hypothetical state is often further specified by the ‘to be’ copula. This is demonstrated in (14b) and indicates that the contrary-to-fact situation is in the past; in this case the special highfall tone appears on the final suffix of the copula.

- 14) a. **DΩLT** **ᏩY** **SPKS** **ᏩYᑕᏩS**
akweéhnaʔi yíki kahljoóte yaàkihwáska
aki-eéhnaʔi yi-ki kahljoóte yi-aki-hwáska
1B-rich IRR-be:IMM\SUB house IRR-1B-buy:PRC
‘If I were rich I’d buy a house.’
- b. **Ꮹᑕᑕ** **ᏩFᑕ** **SPKS** **ᏩYᑕᑕ**
tiiwatvvti yiikéesé kahljoóte yakhiwaaséʔ
ti-aki-atvvti yi-ii-kees-éʔi kahljoóte yi-aki-hwaas-éʔi
DST2-1B-rich IRR-ITR-be:INC-NXP\SUB house IRR-1B-buy:CMP-NXP
‘If I had been rich I would’ve bought a house.’
- c. **Ꮹᑕᑕᑕ**
yiiʔuulúhjééʔi
yi-ii-uu-lúhj-éʔi
IRR-ITR-3B-arrive:CMP-NXP\SUB
‘If he came...’

The Irrealis is sometimes used to form questions.³ Two examples are in (15). The Irrealis in this sort of usage does not trigger a highfall tone.

- 15) a. **Ꮹᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **Dᑕᑕᑕ** **Ꮹᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
yijatuulas ateélatihti tijalvvhwístaanehiti
yi-ja-atuula=s ateéla+ti-a-ht-i ti-ja-lvhwístaaneh-i
IRR-2A-want:IMM=Q money + DST2-3A-keep:DVN-NOM2 DST2-2B-work:DVN-NOM2
‘Would you like to work in a bank? (Feeling 1975a:9)
- b. **Ꮹᑕᑕᑕᑕ** **ᑕᑕᑕ** **Ꮹᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**
yijatuulas jalaki tiijateehlohkwaasti
yi-iiijii-atuula=s jalaki ti-iiijii-ateehlohkwaast-i
IRR-2B.PL-want:IMM=Q Cherokee DST2-2A.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2
‘Would y’all like to learn Cherokee?’

For some speakers *yi*-attached to the Immediate stem is equivalent to the future construction using *ta*- and the Completive stem. Three examples comparing these

- b. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦ ᑭᑦᑲᑦ**
 hiski noðjiiʔéesti
 hiski ni-oojii-éesti
 five PRT-1A.PL.EX-AFT
 ‘There will be five of us.’

1.1.2 Relativizer (REL) *ji-*

This prefix also occupies the first position of the verbal complex and is not compatible with the Irrealis *yi-* prefix. Although one of its main uses is to indicate that a verb is part of an adjectival clause, it has several other important uses and the label ‘Relativizer’ is not a perfect description for it.⁴ One of its most frequent uses is to indicate a definite timeframe in which the verb took place; in this usage the clause is not subordinate to another clause. Often a verb with this prefix will be accompanied by an adverb expressing a specific time (18a); if the context makes it clear that a specific time is being referenced an adverb is not necessary, as seen in (18b). In both examples the final suffix is the Experienced Past; the Non-Experienced Past final suffix is incompatible with this prefix. In (18c) the prefix attaches to an Immediate stem and undergoes aspiration after vowel deletion occurs.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 18) a. R | ᑭᑦᑲᑦ | ᑭᑦᑲᑦ |
| svv | jikeesʔ | jituuniihnookíisv |
| svv | ji-kees-ʔʔi | ji-tee-uunii-hnookíis-ʔʔi |
| yesterday | REL-be:CMP-DVB | REL-DST-3B.PL-sing:CMP-EXP |
| ‘Yesterday they sang it.’ | | |

- b. **ᑭᑦᑲᑦ**
 jaàwajoothanvʔi
 ji-aki-ajoothan-vʔi
 REL-1B-ride:CMP-EXP
 ‘I rode it.’

c. **YWC** **hMS**
 khilakwu chi?luuka
 khila=kwu ji-hi-?luuka
 just.now=DT REL-2A-climb:IMM
 ‘You climbed it just a moment ago.’

d. **JMC** **ŋ**
 juùlúhjuvvtv
 ji-uu-lúhjuv?i=tvv
 REL-3B-arrive:CMP-EXP =FC
 ‘He came back.’

Sometimes speakers will use *ji-* without any specific past reference. In such situations the pronominal prefix may be emphasizing the fact that the event took place in the past. Two examples are in (19); in (19b) the prefix appears and prevents the Pronominal Laryngealization.

19) a. **DS** **P†**
 aàkáaliha
 a-káaliha
 3A-sunny:PRC
 ‘It is sunny.’

b. **GSP** **ŋET**
 jakáaliiskv?i
 ji-a-káaliisk-v?i
 REL-3A-sunny:INC- EXP
 ‘It was sunny.’

The main function of this prefix is creating adjectival clauses; i.e. subordinate clauses that modify a noun. Two examples are given below in (20). In each example a highfall tone indicating subordination to the noun is inserted on the rightmost long

1.1.3 Negative Imperative (NGI) *jii-*

This prefix appears with negative commands. Four examples are in (22). In the third example the presence of this prefix changes the following Distributive (DST) prefix from *tee-* to *too-*.

- 22) a. **L_oJ** **W_ʒω** **h_oECZL_oJ**
 hleesti lahíya jiiskvvhlnohléesti
 hleesti lahíya jii-skvv-ali-hnohl-éesti
 NEG.COM ever NGI-2/1.PL-MDL-talk:INC-AFT
 ‘Never talk to us again.’
- b. **L_oJ** **h_oSSB**
 hleesti jiiwiikateesí
 hleesti jii-wi-iikii-ateesi
 NEG.COM NGI-TRN-1B.PL-throw:IMM(COM)
 ‘Let’s not throw it away!’
- c. **L_oJ** **h_oV†L_oBWh**
 thleesti jiitooataaleehythaní
 thleesti jii-ti-hi-ataat-leeyvhthani
 NEG.COM NGI-DST2-2A-burn:IMM(COM)
 ‘Don’t burn yourself!’
- d. **L_oJ** **h_oS_oSS_oʒ** **θ** **S_oG_oω**
 hleesti jiikaahiitéelv naʔ kaloòkwe
 hleesti jii-kaa-hii-téel-vvʔi naʔ kaloòkwe
 NEG.COM NGI-PL.AN-2A.AN-give(long):CMP-FIM that gun
 ‘Don’t give them that gun!’

This prefix is distinguished from Relativizer *ji-* by vowel length. In (23a) the long vowel of the Negative Imperative prevents vowel deletion, while in (23b) the short vowel of the Relativizer prefix is deleted with the subsequent aspiration of the /j/.

23) a. **L^oJ** **lr^oP^o**
 hlesti jiihíhlvńí
 hlesti jii-hi-hlvńi
 NEG.COM NGI-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)
 ‘Don’t go to sleep!’

b. **SV** **lrP^o**
 kato chihlvńa
 kato ji-hi-hlvńa
 what REL-2A-sleep:IMM
 ‘Why did you go to sleep?’

The *jii-* prefix is also used in place of the Iterative *ii-* prefix for commands. Two examples are in (24). This prefix raises the tone of the following vowel; in (24a) the vowel of the Partitive prefix is lengthened as well. Because the word *hleesti* is not present, these commands would not be interpreted as negative commands

24) a. **L^o** **lrh^o**
 siíkwu jiiiniíhiwí
 siíkwu jii-ni-hi-wi
 again NGI-PRT-2A-say:IMM(COM)
 ‘Say it again!’⁵

b. **lr^oJW**
 jiihátiiithá
 jii-hi-atiitha
 NGI-2A-drink:IMM(COM)
 ‘Drink it again!’

1.1.4 Translocative (TRN) wi-

This prefix indicates a motion way from the deictic center where the speaker is as well as an action that is taking place at a distance from the speaker.⁶ Oftentimes it can be glossed into English as ‘there.’ Six examples are in (25).

- 25) a. **ŪWŃR** **ĊB†** **EGW**
 uùthaleesŵ waàyvńha saloóla
 uùthaleesŵŵi wi-a-yvńha saloóla
 hole TRN-3A-enter:IMM squirrel
 ‘A squirrel just entered his hole.’
- b. **ĊĊŠŠ**
 waàwatéeka
 wi-aki-atéeka
 TRN-1B-throw:PRC
 ‘I’m throwing it there.’
- c. **ŠV** **ŪPŵŪ** **LĪA** **ŪVŵĪ**
 kato uùlsthav tahnuukó wijeétóòlŵ
 kato uu-alisthan-vŵi tahnuuko-ŵi wi-ja-eétóòl-vŵi
 what 3B-happen:CMP-EXP garfish-LOC TRN-2B-walk.around:CMP-DVB
 ‘What happened when you went to Vian?’
- d. **†P** **ŪŠΛW** **Ū†Y**
 haatlv wikaneéla uuhloki
 haatlv wi-ka-neéla uu-hloki
 where TRN-3A-reside:PRC 3B-aunt
 ‘Where does her aunt live?’ (Feeling 1975a:166)
- e. **ŪPŪ**
 hwitlvńá
 wi-hi-tlvńa
 TRN-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)
 ‘Go to sleep!’
- f. **ŪŠPŠ**
 wikahlvńka
 wi-ka-hlvńka
 TRN-3A-put.in.container:IMM
 ‘She made it in.’ (Lady Indians Championship)

As seen above, the prefix *wi-* indicates the position is facing away from the speaker or that there is motion away from the speaker. Two more examples are in (26); (26a) demonstrates that the Translocative prefix comes before the Distributive.

26) a. **OLACJ†**
 witaàkoohwthíha
 wi-tee-a-koohwthíha
 TRN-DST-3A-see:PRC
 ‘He sees them (his back turned towards me).’

b. **OLrAPw**
 wiìjiiikooliíyǎ
 wi-iijiii-kooliíya
 TRN-2A.PL-examine:IMM(COM)
 ‘You guys go and examine this.’

A few verbs always take this prefix. The verb used for the sun setting requires this prepronominal prefix, as seen in (27).

27) h.θθ	w.JFGG	OL
nihina	stiikeehyúúj	nvvta
nihina=na	stii-keehyúúja	nvvta
2PRO=F2	2A.DL-girl	sun/moon

JSFC	yw	TwJMV
wuuteeliiǰǰ	khila	iistiilúhje
wi-uu-teeliiǰ-ǰǰǰǰi	khila	iistii-lúhj-éǰi
TRN-3B-sun.disappear:CMP-DVB	while.ago	2A.DL-arrive:CMP-NXP
‘You girls got home after the sun went down.’		

Verbs involving ‘sending’ require this prefix as they always assume a place at some distance from the deictic center, the speaker. The full form of the Translocative adds a

high tone to the following pronominal prefix. Because the pronominal prefix in (28) is a long vowel, this results in a falling tone.

- 28) **ŋP** **ŋhCʰAɬ**
 meéli wijíìnv̀neha
 meéli wi-jii-nvhn-heha
 Mary TRN-1A.AN-send:CMPL:PRC
 ‘I’m sending it to Mary.’

Either the Translocative or the Relativizer can be used on past tense verbs of motion, creating a slightly different emphasis. Compare the two examples in (29).

- 29) a. **LPT** **GʷVɬ**
 talik waàweétóòlv
 talikwa w-aki-eétóòl-vʋʔi
 Tahlequah TRN-1B-walk.around:CMPEXP
 ‘I was in Tahlequah (I just went there).’

- b. **LPT** **GʷVɬ**
 talik jaàweétóòlv
 talikwa ji-aki-eétóòl-vʋʔi
 Tahlequah REL-1B-walk.around:CMPEXP
 ‘I was in Tahlequah (longer ago/ as a matter of fact).’

Another important use of this prefix is for non-second person imperatives. As seen in (30a) and (30c), these kinds of imperatives are translated into English with the word ‘let.’

- 30) a. **ŋJPθ**
 wiìtithlv́ná
 wi-iitii-thlv́na
 TRN-1A.PL-sleep:IMM(COM)
 ‘Let’s go to sleep!’

33) **CZ@LBT**

wanoostayvʋʋi
 wi-anii-oostay-vʋʋi
 TRN-3A.PL-sharp-DVB
 ‘They are the sharpest.’

1.1.5 Partitive (PRT) ni-/ii-

This prefix has several different functions that seem to elude an easy generalization.⁷ One of the most common functions is to refer to a completed action and is often translated as ‘already.’ Two examples are in (34); these involve the verb ‘to do.’ While not a mandatory prefix for this verb, this prefix occurs more often than not on this verb when referring to a past event.

34) a. **SV** **ʋ@J** **SGW** **hGʋʋʋ** **AʋS**
 kato úúst káâyula nijatvʋneelv khohika
 kato úústi káâyula ni-ja-atvneel-vʋʋi khohika
 what something already PRT-2B-do:CMP-EXP today
 ‘What have you already done today?’

b. **ó@L** **ʋʋS**
 óósta hnatvʋka
 óósta ni-hi-atvʋka
 good PRT-2A-do:IMM
 ‘You did well.’

In (35a) the Partitive is used to refer to a specific period of time that is still continuing into the present; it also appears on the noun ‘year.’ In (35b) the period of time finished in the past and the verb does not take the prefix, as it indicates a completed action. The noun ‘year’ in this second sentence appears with the Distributive.

35) a. **ᎠᎵᎦ ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ZhAG** **JᎠ**
 hiski nateethiy noðjiineélo kuusó
 hiski ni-ateethiya ni-oojii-neél-óʔi kuusa-ʔi
 five PRT-year PRT-1B.PL.EX-reside:INC-HAB Creek-LOC
 ‘We have been living in Muskogee for 5 years.’

b. **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ**
 skoóhi juuteethiyv́ta uuhweltíitoolv kaáthíiyó
 skoóhi ti-uu-ateethiyv́ta uu-ehltíitool-vv́ʔi kaáthíiyóóʔi
 ten DST2-3B-year 3B-take.part:CMP-EXP stompground
 ‘He took part in the stomp dance activities for 10 years’

The Partitive also indicates an event that almost or nearly took place. To convey this meaning the prefix is used in conjunction with the word *hale/ale*. An example is in (36).

36) **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ**
 haléekwu nitakwvvkewsko tiistuʔíisti
 hale=kwu ni-tee-aki-vvkewsk-óʔi ti-a-stuʔíist-i
 almost=DT PRT-DST-1B-forget:INC-HAB DST2-1A-open:DVN\OBJ-NOM

ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ**
 yitiikwahnikiíisa tiítaneéla
 yi-ti-aki-ahnikiis-a ti-iitii-aneéla
 IRR-DST2-1B-leave:CMP\SUB-TAV CIS-1A.PL-reside:PRC
 ‘I almost forget to bring my keys every time I leave the house.’

Pulte and Feeling report that the Partitive also indicates ‘that the person spoken of is in a lateral position to the speaker’ (1975:245). One of their examples is in (37).

37) **B** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦ** **ᎠᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦᎵᎦ**
 yv́v nichv̀vká kxanalvsti
 yv́vʔi ni-ja-hv̀vka kxanalvsti
 aside PRT-2B-put.down:IMM(COM) anger
 ‘Put anger aside.’ (Feeling 1975a:139)

This prefix has been lexicalized to several commonly occurring verbs: it always occurs with ‘to happen’ (38a), ‘to become’ (38b), ‘to say, make a sound’ (38c,d), ‘to seem’ (38e) and ‘to fix’ (38f). This use of *ni-* does not have any clear purpose; in fact, it seems to have no meaning whatsoever. However, if it is left out, the verb sounds incorrect and /or unrecognizable.

38) a. **hSPǽJǽA**

nikahlstiisko
 ni-ka-alistiisk-ó?i
 PRT-3A-happen:INC-HAB
 ‘It happens.’

b. **SθSJ ǽPǽWθT**

ká?nakhthi nuùlsthánv?i
 ká?nakhthi ni-uu-alisthan-v?i
 doctor PRT-3B-become:CMP-EXP
 ‘He became a doctor.’

c. **CS hSθT**

wahka nikawée?i
 wahka ni-ka-wée?i
 cow PRT-3A-sound/say:PRC
 ‘The cow is mooing.’

e. **θǽ hECǽJ**

nv?ya nikvvwsta
 nv?ya ni-ka-vvwsta
 rock PRT-3A-seem:PRC

DθV

aàhiito
 a-hiitoha
 3A-carry:PRC

‘It seems like he’s carrying the rock around.’

f. **θǽL ǽCǽGθT**

óósta nuuwaneélóhn?í
 óósta ni-uu-vvneél-ohn-v?i
 good PRT-3B-make:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB again

ǽθ

siikwu

θhǽWθ

uùyóosthanv
 uu-yóo-sthan-v?i
 3B-break(I)-CAU:CMP-EXP

‘After fixing it, he broke it again.’

This prefix is used in conjunction with the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) suffix – *ńńna* to create a ‘without’ meaning; this construction typically translates into English as ‘without doing VERB’ or ‘not having done VERB.’ Three examples are in (39); in the third example the Partitive prefix and Negative Deverbalizer suffix attach to the copula verb ‘to be’ that follows the main verb.

39) a. **hSŸǎſPǎEǾ** **hPǎǎJ** **ńSkrǎTJ**
 níkáaksteeliískńńna níkeeséest yíkǎǎjiiiskwati
 ni-kaa-aki-steeliísk-ńńna ni-kees-éesti yi-kaa-ji-skwati
 PRT-NGT-1B-help:INC-NDV PRT-be:INC:AFT IRR-NGT-1A-finish:IMM
 ‘Without him helping me I won’t be able to finish.’

b. **ńńǎǎEǾ** **DPǎǎLBǎǎS**
 nuuyóosiiskńńna aǎlstǎǎyvvhvsk
 ni-uu-yóosiisk-ńńna a-ali-stǎǎyvvhvska
 PRT-3B-hungry:INC-NDV 3A-MDL-fix.a.meal:PRC
 ‘He’s eating while he’s not hungry.’

c. **ńSkrǎǎJ** **hPRǾ** **ńŸ**
 tíkaaajiiyóosti níkeesńńna yíki
 ti-kaa-jii-yóost-i ni-kees-ńńna yi-ki
 DST2-NGT-1A.AN-shoot:DVN-NOM2 PRT-be:INC-NPDV IRR\SUB-be:PRC

ńD **ǎǎ** **ǎ** **ńńSkrǎJ**
 híǎa wǎya hla yitíkǎǎjiiitvhti
 híǎa wǎya hla yi-ti-kaa-jii-tvht-i
 this wolf NEG IRR-DST2-NGT-1A.AN-rid:CMP-MOT
 ‘If I can’t shoot these wolves I can’t get rid of them.’

As will be seen in the Chapter 8, the idea of ‘before’ as an event that may or may not occur is expressed with a combination of the Partitive and the Negative Deverbalizer. An example is in (40). The main verb in this example, ‘take off’, is a verb that always takes the Partitive; the Partitive appears on the second verb, indicating that ‘diving’ occurs after.

- 40) **ᑕᑕᑭᑭ** **ᑕᑭ** **ᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 hńvnhtákí waáji si amaáyi winijateethińvna
 ni-hi-́vnhtáki waáji si amaáyi wi-ni-ja-ateethin-́vna
 PRT-2A-take.off:IMM(COM) watch still into.water TRN-PRT-2B-dive:CMP-NDV
 ‘Take your watch off before you dive into the water.’ (Feeling 1975a:147)

The Partitive often appears with the Negative Time (NGT) suffix to indicate something hasn’t happened in a certain amount of time. An example is in (41).

- 41) **ᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑕᑕᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 thal yuuthliloót uwaás niikvwalstáàyhńv?i
 thali yuuthliloóta uu-v́sa ni-kaa-aki-ali-stáàyhn-́v?i
 two hour 3B-self PRT-NGT-1B-MDL-feed:CMP-DVB
 ‘It’s been two hours since I ate.’

The Partitive *ni-* also appears on adjectives for ‘how’ questions when the degree to which a quality exists is questioned. Two examples are in (42).

- 42) a. **ᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 hila nikoóstaàya hi?a hayelsta
 hila ni-koóstaàya hi?a hayelsta
 how PRT-sharp this knife
 ‘How sharp is this knife?’
- b. **ᑭᑭ** **ᑕᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑕᑕ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 hila nayanúúla na? soókwili
 hila ni-a-yanúúla na? soókwili
 how PRT-3A-fast that horse
 ‘How fast is that horse?’

To express the idea of ‘every time’ the Partitive is used instead of the Irrealis *yi-* if an action referred to is what actually did happen. These two usages are contrasted in (43).

43) a. **ʦSʰR** **SMA**
 nakaahnaniisʰ káʔluhko
 ni-a-kaahnaniis-ʰʰʰi ka-ʔluhk-óʰi
 PRT-3A-rain: CMP-DPL: CMP-EXP\SUB 3A-arrive: INC-HAB
 ‘Every time it rained, he arrived.’

b. **GʰSʰh** **SMA**
 yuúkáàhnawu káʔluhko
 yi-uu-kaahnana=kwu ka-ʔluhk-óʰi
 IRR-3B-rain: CMP-TAV=DT 3A-arrive: INC-HAB
 ‘Every time it rains, he arrives.’

The Partitive also appears with numbers as in the following constructions. In both of these examples in (44) the final suffix attaches directly to the number.

44) a. **DʒʉY ZhrʉJ**
 hiski noðjiiʰéesti
 hiski ni-oojii-éesti
 five PRT-1B.PL-AFT
 ‘There will be five of us.’

b. **Kʉ** **ʉhʉ**
 jókwu naàniʰʉ
 jóʰi=kwu ni-anii-óʰi
 three=DT PRT-3A.PL-HAB
 ‘There are usually only three of them.’

An unusual usage of the Partitive prefix is its appearance before the Cislocative *ta-* on Deverbal Noun forms. An example is in (45). In the first example the Distributive appears between these two other prenominal prefixes; it appears here as *too-* because it is before the Cislocative prefix.

- 45) **AŦP** koohweelis **hVlhrŦŦJ** nitootajinawiíti **ŦCŦŦ†** téejvkvkse
 koohweeli=s ni-tee-ta-iiiii-nawiít-i tee-iiiii-vkvkse-é?i
 paper=Q PRT-DST-CIS-2B.PL-bring:DVN-NOM2 DST-2B.PL-forget:CMP-NXP
 ‘Did y’ all forget to bring the paper?’

The Partitive prefix has the unexpected allomorph *ii-* (PRT2) that is used on Deverbal Noun stems and derived forms. Before a vowel a /y/ is inserted. Two examples are in (46).

- 46) a. **TGŦŦJ** iijatvvhnti **GŦCWŦT** jaanehlthané?is
 ii-ja-atvvhnt-i ja-xxnehlthan-é?i=s
 PRT2-2B-do:DVN-NOM2 2B-try:CMP-NXP=Q
 ‘Did you try to do it?’
- c. **JŦŦŦŦY** tiiteehyoóhvski **TGŦŦVJ** iyulstohti **DŦŦŦ** aàteehlkhwa
 ti-a-at-eehyoóhvsk-i ii-uu-alstoht-i a-ateehlohkhwa?
 DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM PRT2-3B-beome:DVN-NOM2 3A-learn:PRC
 ‘He is studying to become a teacher.’

The Partitive is found in frozen form on many nouns with a temporal or quantitative meaning. Some of these words are listed in (47).⁸ The examples in (47a-h) bear the *ii-* form and are probably derived from verbs, many of whose original meaning has been lost.

- 47) a. **TJŦJBL** ijuuteethiývta ‘years (number of)’ (Feeling 1975a:132)
 b. **TŦWŦŦWŦT** iyathahwoðsthanv?i ‘minute’
 c. **TGCGL** iyuhliilóóta ‘hour’ (Feeling 1975a:133)
 d. **TGCAJ** iyuwáákhti ‘time(s)’
 e. **TGŦVLTŦŦJ** iyuunatoótakwaàsti ‘week’
 g. **ŦŦL** níkááta ‘all’
 h. **hAŦŦT** níkohilv?i ‘always’

1.1.6 Distributive (DST) *tee-/ti-*

The two basic meanings of this prefix are to indicate the existence of plural objects or the distribution and/or multiplication of an action. In the example in (48) the *tee-* form (DST) on the verb indicates that the action of the verb has plural objects, while the *ti-* form (DST2) on the noun indicates that the object is plural.

- 48) **ᵀᵀᵀ** **ᵀᵀᵀᵀ**
 tiihnawo tuùkhayootv
 ti-a-hnawo tee-uu-khayoot-vʋʋi
 DST2-3A-clothing DST-3B-dry:CMP-EXP
 ‘He was drying the clothes.’

The Distributive prepronominal prefix appears more than any other prepronominal prefix; moreover, it has the greatest number of different forms. The two basic forms are *tee-* and *ti-*, but each of these two forms has variants according to the sounds it appears adjacent to. Both forms are seen in (49).

- 49) **ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ** **ᵀᵀᵀ** **ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ**
 tuùskwáàlsohnv níkáát tikvvnoosásti
 tee-uu-skwáàls-ohn-vʋʋi níkááta ti-ka-vvnoosást-i
 DST-3B-break:CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP all DST2-3A-sweep:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘He completely broke all the brooms.’

The basic form *tee-* appears on verbs before consonants, as seen in (50a). In this example the full form of the prefix causes a high tone to appear on the following vowel. In (50b) the vowel of the Distributive prefix is dropped before another vowel.

- 50) a. **ᠰᠢᠬᠢᠰᠤᠭᠤᠯᠡᠭᠡᠬᠢᠰ**
 teehásuuleéhas
 tee-hi-asuuleéha=s
 DST-2A-wash.hands:PRC=Q
 ‘Are you washing your hands?’
- b. **Z᠘᠙᠙** **ᠬᠢᠯᠢᠰᠤᠯᠠ**
 noókwútvv jitasuúla
 noókwu=tvv ji-tee-a-asuúla
 now=FC REL-DST-3A-wash.hands:IMM
 ‘He just washed his hands.’
- c. **ᠰᠤᠨᠠᠰᠤᠯᠡ**
 tuúnasuúle
 tee-uunii-asuúl-é?i
 DST-3B.PL-wash.hands:CMP-NXP
 ‘They washed their hands.’

The vowel /i/ deletes when it follows a Distributive, while the Distributive prefix receives a high tone. Two examples are in (51).

- 51) a. **ᠬᠠᠭᠢ** **ᠰᠤᠨᠠᠰᠤᠯᠡᠭᠡᠰᠠ**
 nikoólv téenasuúléesko
 nikoólv tee-iinii-asuúléesk-ó?i
 always DST-1A.DL- wash.hands:INC-HAB
 ‘You and I always wash our hands.’
- b. **Dᠰᠠᠭᠤᠯᠠᠰ** **ᠰᠢᠬᠢᠰ**
 ateélas téejiihla
 ateéla=s tee-iiijii-hla
 money=Q DST-2A.PL-have:PRC
 ‘Do you all have some money (in your pocket)?’

The *ti-* form of this prefix (DST2) appears on nouns, adjectives, Immediate commands, verbs with the Irrealis prefix and the Deverbal Noun. The sentence in (52a) contains both forms; the *tee-* form appears on the verb, and the *ti-* form is on

the noun. The noun ‘eye glasses’ is always plural. In (52b) the presence of the Irrealis prefix triggers the *ti-* form on the verb.

- 52) a. **JGSJOJI** **SGJS**
 tijakhthinóvthtis teejatuuka
 ti-ja-akhthinóvthti=s tee-ja-atuuka
 DST2-2B-eye.glasses=Q DST-2B-throw:IMM
 ‘Did you throw your glasses away?’

- b. **EZ** **OLN** **JGQOLAF**
 thlahnóo stááyi yitijalvhwstaàneeho
 thla=hnóo stááyi yi-ti-ja-lvhwstaàneeh-ó?i
 not=CN hard IRR-DST2-2B.PL-work:INC-HAB
 ‘You all don't work very hard.’

Like *tee-*, this *ti-* form will change according to adjacent sounds. In (53a) it causes the prepronominal prefix to delete; as a result of this deletion the vowel of the prefix is lengthened, giving it the form *tii-*. The vowel of the Distributive prefix *ti-* deletes before /i/, as seen in (53b). When the DST2 form *ti-* appears before the vowels /e/, /o/ or /u/ it becomes *j-*, as seen in (53c) through (53e).

- 53) a. **J&PJT**
 tiisuhlti
 ti-a-asuhlt-i
 DST2-3A-wash.hands:DVN-NOM2
 ‘sink’
- b. **hSL** **JG&W**
 nikááta tiìjasuùlá
 nikááta ti-iijii-asuùla
 all DST2-2A.PL-wash.hands:IMM(COM)
 ‘Everybody wash your hands!’

- c. **VØLAØT**
 toonataakoohvvʔi
 tee-ii-iinii-ataat-kooh-vvʔi
 DST-ITR-FUT-1A.DL-RFL-see:CMP-FIM
 ‘Let’s see each other again!’
- d. **VJWØRT**
 tootiithalesvʔi
 tee-ti-a-athales-vʔi
 DST-CIS-3A-make.hole:CMP-DVB
 ‘where the holes are’

When the DST2 form *ti-* appears with the second person singular Set A pronominal prefix *hi-*, the expected vowel deletion and aspiration occurs, resulting in the two syllables *ti-* and *hi-* appearing as the single syllable **J**/thi/ (55a). In (55b) the pronominal prefix has its vowel deleted before a vowel-initial stem; as a result, the syllable is /tho/. In the first example the syllabary distinguishes the aspirated sequence, while in the second example the character **V** could be either /to/ or /tho/.

- 55) a. **JZFh**
thihnookééni
ti-hi-hnookééni
 DST2-2A-arm
 ‘your arms’
- d. **VØWD**
 thoohweelaʔá
ti-hi-oohweelaʔa
 DST2-2A-write: IMM(COM)
 ‘Write them!’

In addition to the two basic uses already described, some verbs always have the Distributive prefix.⁹ While there are some patterns to which verbs take *tee-*, it is unpredictable and must simply be learned as part of the verb. One pattern is for *tee-* to appear with verbs that have to do with ongoing or repeated activities. For example, the verbs in (56) all carry the Distributive. An example sentence is in (57).

- 56) -eehyoóyvska 'to teach'
 -asehíha 'to count'
 -alihthatéeka 'to jump'
 -yawéeka 'to be tired'
 -hnokíiʔa 'to sing'

- 57) **ᑕᑦᑭᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ**
 teeskíkweenukiʔa
 tee-ski-kweenukiʔa
 DST-2/1-pinch:PRC
 'You're pinching me.'

Many intransitive verbs take *tee-* if the subject is non-singular. Two examples are in (58).

- 58) a. **ᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ**
 toòkiyóosiha
 tee-ookii-yóosiha
 DST-1B.PL.EX-be.hungry:PRC
 'We are hungry.'

- b. **ᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ**
 toonatasteelvhvʔi
 tee-ii-iinii-ataat-stelvh-vvʔi
 DST-ITR-1A.DL-RFL-help:CMP-FIM
 'Let's help each other again!'

c. LJhVʔ	lɬɬ	DʌV
taàthihniítóòhe	taahnaw	aneetóó
tee-a-ahthihn-iítóòh-éʔi	taahnawa	anii-eetoooh-i
DST-3A-lead:INC-AMB:INC-NXP	war	3A.PL-walk.around:INC\AGT-NOM
‘He was leading a war party (lit. “war-goers”)’ (Chapter 9.2:6)		

1.1.8. Cislocative (CIS) *ti-/ta-*

This prefix indicates a motion or an action that is facing or approaching the speaker. This prefix can be contrasted with the Translocative (TRN) prefix *wi-*, which indicates a motion way from the deictic center.¹⁰ The *ti-* itself undergoes the same changes as the *ti-* Distributive (DST2), appearing with a long vowel before a deleted /a/ and as *j-* before the vowels /e/, /o/, and /u/. In (62a) it appears on the copula ‘to be.’ In (62b) the vowel of the prefix is lengthened to indicate a deleted *a-* pronominal prefix, and in (62c) and (62d) the *j-* form is shown. In (62a) the deictic center is ‘the top of the hill,’ while in (62b) the prefix indicates the action taking place is view of the speaker.

62) a. JFR	ɬw	ʔVʔʔ
tikeèsʋ	wahya	uùthohise
ti-keès-ʋʋʔi	wahya	uu-athohis-éʔi
CIS-be:INC- DVB	wolf	3B-whoop:CMP-NXP
‘When he was there, he whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)		

b. JʂW	JʎD
ateel	tiikíʔa
ateela	ti-a-kíʔ-a
money	CIS-3A-pick.up:PRC
‘Over that way someone is picking up money.’	

c. **JMC^o**

juùlúhjvvtvv
 ti-uu-lúhj-vvʔi=tvv
 CIS-3B-arrive:COMP-EXP=FC
 ‘He came back.’

d. **ðhZ**

oohnihno
 oohni=hnóo
 behind=CN

ðL^q

ootalv̆
 ootalv̆ʔi
 mountain

θ

na
 na
 that

J^oO

juuleenv̆
 ti-uu-aleen-vvʔi
 CIS-3B-start:COMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘...the last mountain where he started.’ (Chapter 9.3:51)

Despite phonological similarities, the Cislocative prefix is distinct from the Distributive prefix. (63) demonstrates that both prefixes can occur on the same verb. When they do, the Distributive prefix appears as *too-*. In this example the *too-* also inserts a high tone on the following Cislocative prefix; because this latter prefix is lengthened, it is realized as a falling tone.

63) **VJ^oA^oS**

tootíiskooska
 tee-ti-a-askooska
 DST-CIS-3A-dig:PRC
 ‘He is digging over there.’

Pulte and Feeling (1975:253) describe a special form of the Cislocative that appears on verbs ending in the Experienced Past *-vvʔi*.¹¹ This form of the Cislocative has the abbreviation CIS2; an example is in (64a). This form becomes *tay-* before vowels other than /a/ or /i/, as seen in the first example. In (64b) the combination of *ta-* and the vowel /a/ creates *tvv-*.

- 64) a. **ɔYθPT** **hLGʷʷ** **AθP** **hAPβD**
 oòkinalííʔi nitayuunúvnǘ koohweél jikooliíyéʔa
 ookinii-alííʔi ni-ta-uu-núvn-úvʔi koohweéli ji-kooliíyéʔa
 1B.DL.EX-friend PRT-CIS2-3B-send:CMP-DVB paper 1A-read:PRC
 ‘I am reading a letter from a friend.’

- b. **TθE** **ʷYGR**
 ihlkv tvvkiloosvʔi
 ihlkv ta-aki-alooos-vʔi
 tree CIS2-1B-fall:CMP-EXP
 ‘I fell from the tree.’

1.1.9. Cislocative Motion (CSM) ta-

The Cislocative Motion prefix is used specifically on verbs of motion when the action is approaching the speaker. The basic form is exemplified in (65a), while (65b) shows the inserted /y/ that appears before all vowels except /i/ and /a/. In (65c) the vowel /i/ is deleted, but the vowel of the *ta-* is lengthened and lowered. The combination of *ta-* with a following vowel /a/ results in the form *tvv-*, as exemplified in (65d).

- 65) a. **LYθLθBZʔP**
 takinatansiinoohéeli
 ta-kinii-atansiinoo-heéli
 CSM-1B.PL-crawl:CMP-APL:PRC
 ‘He’s crawling to us.’

- b. **ɔh** **hLαT**
 ohni jitayááʔi
 ohni ji-ta-a-aaʔi
 behind REL-CSM-walk:PRC\SUB
 ‘The one that’s coming after me.’ (New Testament, Mathew 3:11)

- c. **LYMVP**
 taàkiiluhcheéli
 ta-iikii-luhj-eél-i
 CSM-1B.PL-arrive:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘He will come up to us.’

- d. **ŎYMP**
 tvvkiiluhcheéli
 ta-aki-luhj-eél-i
 CSM-1B.PL-arrive:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘He will come up to me.’

Pulte and Feeling (1975:251) note that this prefix takes the form *ti-* (CSM2) with the Habitual, Non-Experienced past and Intentional suffix. Two examples are in (66); in the second example the following /a/ is deleted, causing the vowel of the prenominal prefix to be lengthened.

- 66) a. **SVQ JGSWQ 4**
 katoðhv tiìjakhthahvse
 katoðhv ti-iiijii-akahthahvvs-é?i
 why CIS2-2A.PL-turn.back:CMP-NXP
 ‘Why did you turn back?’

- b. **JLØbhFT**
 tiitánsiiniisó?i
 ti-a-atánasiiniis-ó?i
 CSM2-3A-crawl:INC-HAB
 ‘He habitually crawls (in the direction of the speaker)’
 (Pulte and feeling 1975:251)

1.1.10 Future (FUT) ta-

Future *ta-* attaches to a Completive stem with a final Motion (MOT) suffix *i-*

.¹² In (67) there are three examples of this construction. In (67b) vowel deletion of the prefix is triggered by the second person pronominal prefix that follows the Future

prefix. The *ta-* Future indicates an event will happen in the near future and is sometimes translated with ‘going to.’¹³

- 67) a. **ᑭᓂᑲ**
takawóoniisi
ta-ka-wóoniis-i
FUT-3A-talk:CMP-MOT
‘She is going to talk.’
- b. **ᑲᑲ ᑭᑲᑲ**
nihi thihwahtvvh
nihi ta-hi-hwahtvvh-i
2.PRO FUT-2A-find:CMP-MOT
‘You will find it.’
- c. **ᑭᑲᑲᑲ**
takv̀thaniisáhn
ta-ji-vhthan-iisáhn-i
FUT-1A-use:PRF-DPL:PRF-MOT
‘I’m going to use it again.’

It is important to note that, unlike the past tense use of the Completive stem, Set A prefixes can appear when the Completive is used to create a future meaning.¹⁴ The Future prepronominal prefix undergoes some phonological changes that have not been seen on the previously discussed prefixes. The combination of /a/ and /a/ produces /vv/; thus the Future prefix will combine with the third person Set A prefix *a-* to produce /tvv/. Two examples are in (68); in the second example the pronominal prefix undergoes metathesis and aspiration.

- 68) a. **ᑲᑲᑲ**
tvvhyvhthéesi
ta-a-ahyvthées-i
FUT-3A-kick:CMP-MOT
‘He will kick it.’

- b. **ꞗ ꞗꞗ ꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗ**
 hla svvk yitvvkhiwasi
 hla svvki yi-ta-aki-hwas-i
 NEG onion IRR-FUT-1B-plant:CMP-MOT
 ‘I’m not going to plant onions.’

These phonological changes help to differentiate the Future from the Cislocative prefix from which it probably evolved. The Cislocative form *ta-* does not change to *tVV-* before /a/, but instead deletes the following /a/.

In the last example above the presence of the Future causes the Distributive *tee-* to change to *too-*. When *ta-* combines with /i/, the /i/ deletes, as seen in (69), but the vowel of the prefix is lengthened and lowered.

- 69) **ꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗ**
 taàtiisaltaani
 ta-iitii-saltaan-i
 FUT-1A.PL-lift:CMP-MOT
 ‘We will lift it.’

When *ta-* combines with any other vowel, a /y/ is inserted as shown in (70).

- 70) a. **ꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗ**
 tayuùhyali
 ta-uu-hyal-i
 FUT-3B-look.for:CMP-MOT
 ‘He will look for it.’

- b. **ꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗꞗ**
 tayoðkvvkhewsi
 ta-ookii-akhews-i
 FUT-1O.PL.EX-forget:CMP-MOT
 ‘We will be forgotten.’

The Future, Cislocative and Cislocative motion prefixes have similarities in form and meaning and historically were a single prefix. They have developed clear enough distinctions in form and usage to justify their description as three separate prefixes.¹⁵

This future construction overlaps in some areas with the Absolute Future, but the two constructions have distinct uses. Because *-éesti* is a final suffix, it can only refer to a time that is later than the present moment, hence the term ‘absolute.’ The Absolute Future is able to attach to either a Completive or Incompletive stem and is therefore capable of expressing aspectual nuances. However, to express a future idea in the past the Future prefix and Motion suffix must be used. In (71) the Motion suffix is itself followed by a final suffix; in this case /s/ appears as part of the Motion suffix.

71) **VUkGATR**

tootajiloónéʔisv
tee-ta-ji-loónéʔ-is-vʔi
DST-FUT-1A-oil:CMP:MOT-EXP
‘I was going to oil it.’ (Feeling 1975a:101)

The Future prenominal prefix is one of two ways to reference a future time frame; the other way is the Absolute Future (AFT) final suffix discussed in Chapter 5. Another example of the Absolute Future suffix is in (72).

72) **DhCJʔoJ**

aànihwathiihéesti
anii-hwathiih-éesti
3A.PL-find:CMP-AFT
‘They will find it.’ (Scancarelli 2005:369)

1.1.11. Iterative (ITR) ii-/vv-

This prefix indicates that an action has been repeated.¹⁶ It has two different forms depending on what kind of stem or final suffix is present, although which stems or final suffixes take which form is subject to variation. Cook (1979: 82) reports for North Carolina Cherokee that this prefix displays a lot of dialectal variation. Feeling and Pulte state (1975:254) that with Deverbal Noun stems, non-motion Present Continuous, and Experienced Past suffix -vʋʋʋi the form vv- (ITR2) is used. An example with the Experienced Past suffix is in (73).

73) iGʋhRT

vvjawoðniísvʋʋi

vv-ja-woðniís-vʋʋi

ITR2-2B-speak: CMP-EXP

‘You spoke again.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:254)

Other speakers don’t make this distinction for the Present Continuous, as seen from the example in (74).

74) TʃΛʋʋʋ

iikáàneskéeha

ii-ji-ahneskéeha

ITR-1A-build: PRC

‘I’m building it again.’

Three more examples of this prefix are in (75). As seen in the second example, some speakers use an initial /h/ with this prefix.

75) a. TʃΛʋʋ

iiháneehlta

ii-hi-aneehlta

ITR-2A-try: IMM(COM)

‘Try it again!’

b. **ḐEYACJ**

hiikvviikohwthi
 hii-kvviikohwthiha
 ITR-3.PL/1-see:PRC
 ‘They’re seeing me again.’

- c. **SGW** **TQOAS** **OUAPδ** **TtUPSS**
 káayuul iihvvnvkóoka uusanuulííʔo iihasaltívka
 káayuula ii-hi-vnvnvkóoka uusanuulííʔo ii-hi-asaltívka
 already ITR-2A-appear:IMM fast ITR-2A-lift:IMM
 ‘You already appeared again, you have lifted yourself up very fast.’¹⁷

This prefix is less common than the other prefixes; moreover, it has some unusual variants depending on the context in which it appears. Three examples are in (76). In (76a) the prefix inserts a glottal stop before a vowel. For some speakers, however, the Iterative merely appears as a high tone on the vowel before the Set B third person prefix, as shown in (76b) and (76c). In (76d) the combination of the Distributive and the Iterative results in *too-*.

76) a. **L** **ḐOCHt**

hla yiiʔuuwoonise
 hla yi-ii-uu-woonis-éʔi
 NEG IRR-ITR-3B-speak:CMP-NXP
 ‘He didn’t speak again.’

b. **APZ** **SLCHt**

meélíhno túutaanívneelvʔi
 meéli=hnoo tee-ii-uu-ataat-nívneel-vʔi
 Mary=CN DST-ITR-3B-RFL-give:CMP-EXP
 ‘And Mary gave them right back to him.’ (Scancarelli 1987:88)

c. **Θ^o JhRT** **CSV** **Ah IrS**
naa=nv juuyoohuus^ʔ jvvtu^hto khoohi jik
na=nv ti-uu-yoohuus-^ʔʔi ti-ii-ti-uu-ataa-óo^ʔa khoohi ji-ka
that=F2 CIS-3B-die:CMP-DVB DST2-ITR-DST-3B-MDL-name:PRC today REL-be:PRC
‘To this day its name is “where one died”.’ (Chapter 9.3:10)

Pulte and Feeling report (1975:254) that the form *-vv-* appears before the Negative Time prefix *kaa-*; an example they give is in (78).

78) **iSG^hRT**

vvkáajawo^hniís^ʔʔi
vv-kaa-ja-wo^hniís-^ʔʔi
ITR2-NGT-2B-speak:CMP-EXP\SUB
‘...since you have spoken again.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:254)

A pronominal prefix always appears on the Present Continuous form of the copula verb ‘to be’; this prefix is usually the iterative. A example is in (79a). It can appear on other forms of the verb as well; (79b) is an example on the Incompletive stem.

79) a. **o^hST** **TS** **GWY** **SG^hahJ**
uwootúúha iíka jalaki kawoonííhisti
uu-ootúúha ii-ka jalaki ka-woonííhist-i
3B-beautiful ITR-be:PRC Cherokee 3A-speak:DVN\OBJ-NOM
‘Cherokee is a beautiful language.’

b. **J^hSTL** **TF^hahJ** **KWh** **S^hahSOT**
tiistu^ʔííta iikeeséésti tijoóla^ʔni teehistuunv^ʔi
ti-a-stu^ʔii-ta ii-kees-éesti ti-joóla^ʔni tee-hi-stuun-vv^ʔi
DST2-3A-open-PCP ITR-be:INC-AFT\SUB DST2-window DST-2A-open:CMP-FIM
‘If the windows happen to be open, close them.’ (Feeling 1975a:135)

This prefix appears on a verb in conjunction with the question word to ask a ‘why’ question; two examples are in (80).

80) a. **SVQ iOhY**
 katoðhv v̀nahniki
 katoðhv ii-anii-ahniki
 why ITR-3A.PL-leave:IMM
 ‘Why did they leave?’

b. **SVQ GWY TʔSʔED**
 katoðhv jalak iihateehlkwa
 katoðhv jalaki ii-hi-ateehlkwa
 why Cherokee ITR-2A-learn:PRC
 ‘Why are you learning Cherokee?’

For some speakers the Iterative is not used on the Immediate stem and is replaced by the Relativizer (REL). In (81), for example, the Relativizer forms a why-question with the Immediate stem.

81) **SVQ JSʔWQΘ**
 katoðhv jiikakaàthahv́na
 katoðhv jii-ji-akahthahv́na
 why REL-1A-turn.back:IMM
 ‘Why did I turn back?’

1.1.12. Negative Time (NGT) kaa-

The basic meaning of this prefix is used as a negative to indicate something hasn’t happened for a certain period of time.¹⁸ This prefix is the least common of all the prepronominal prefixes. Two examples are in (82). For some speakers it occurs in conjunction with the Partitive, as in the second example. As is seen in both examples, this ‘since’ usage puts the verb in a subordinate relationship to another verb and a corresponding highfall (indicated by \SUB) appears on the rightmost long vowel.

82) a. **SYhAQ-T**

kaakiniikoohv'vi
 kaa-kinii-koooh-v'vi
 NGT-1B.DL-see:CMP-EXP\SUB
 'since you and I saw it.' (Pulte and Feeling 1975:255)

- b. **AJY hFR hS hAi HCl**
 kohíiki jikeèsv nikaajiiiko?v saami
 kohíiki ji-keèsv-v'vi ni-kaa-jii-koh-v'vi saami
 long.time REL-be:INC-EXP PRT-NGT-1A.AN-see:CMP-EXP\SUB Sam
 'It's a long time since I've seen Sam.' (Walker 1975:218)

This prefix has a variety of different forms depending on the context in which it appears. Two examples are in (83). In (83a) it becomes *kvv-* when followed by /a/. Pulte and Feeling (1975:255) point out that the form *kvvwa-* results from a combination of the Set B third person prefix *uu-* with *kaa-*; an example is in (83b).

- 83) a. **L JOPV LPT**
 thla yiwikeétó talik
 thla yi-wi-ji-eétó?a talikwa
 NEG IRR-TRN-1A-walk.around:PRC Tahlequah

EYθJOL SPKS
 kvvkintiinv't kahljoóte
 kaa-aki-natiinv'ta kahljoóte
 NGT-1B-sell-PCP house
 'I haven't returned to Tahlequah since my house was sold.'

- b. **θLPA FT hθq EθVθT**
 suutaliiné só?i jikha?lv kvvweetoolv'vi
 suutali-iinéé?i só?i ji-kha?lv'vi kaa-uu-eetool-v'vi
 six-ORD other REL-month NGT-3B-walk.around:CMP-EXP\SUB
 'He hasn't been here since the sixth of last month.'
 (Pulte and Feeling 1975:255)

In (84) is an example of the form *kaay-* that appears before vowels other than /a/ or /u/.

84) **OSGYP**

wikaayòkiihyoohlǘ
 wi-kaa-ookii-hyoohl-ǘǘʔi
 TRN-NGT-1B.PL.EX-bring:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘Since we all brought it.’ (Scancarelli 2005:367)

If *kaa-* is used in conjunction with Irrealis *yi-* the result can be a more emphatic negative as seen in (85).¹⁹ In both examples this combination occurs on the last word in the sentence; the second example is the *kvvwa-* form that occurs before /u/.

85) a. **ΘΥαSPαE**

naksteeliiskǘ
 ni-aki-steeliisk-ǘǘna
 PRT-1B-help:INC-NDV

hF4αJ

nikeeséest
 ni-kees-éesti
 PRT-be:INC-AFT

£ βA

thla yeelv
 thla yeelv
 NEG IRR-able

AShαTJ

yikaájiiskwáti
 yi-kaa-ji-skwátiʔa
 IRR-NGT-1A-finish:PRC
 ‘Without him helping me I won't be able to finish.’

b. **JPCααJ**

juulichvǘyaàsti
 ti-uu-alichvǘyaàsti
 DST2-3B-brave

ASh

yikeèsé
 yi-keès-ééʔi
 IRR-be:INC-NXP\SUB

£ DECPJ4T

hla yikvvwahlthíiséʔ
 hla yi-kaa-uu-alihthíis-éʔi
 NEG IRR-NGT-3B-run:CMP-NXP
 ‘If he were brave he wouldn't have run away.’ (Feeling 1975a:137)

kaa- also appears with verbs in the in Deverbal Noun stem and Set B prefixes to indicate one's ability to perform an action. As demonstrated in (86), this usage require a highfall tone (MOD).

- 86) a. **SKWGI** **NY** **ʔNYWE**
 kaajooohwéeloti yíki háʔthvvkíiskʷ
kaa-ja-oohweélot-i yi-ki hi-ahthvvkíisk-ʷʔi
 NGT-2B-write:DVN\MOD-NOM IRR\SUB-be:IMM 2A-hear:INC-DVB
- WSGT** **GWY** **GWHJAJT**
 hyateehlohkwa jalaki jawooniihistííʔi
 yi-hi-ateehlohkwa jalaki ja-wooniihist-ííʔi
 IRR-2A-learn:PRC Cherokee 2B-hear:DVN-NOM2
 'If you can write down what you hear, you can learn the language.'
 (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

- b. **ECULWJ** **NY** **WLG**
 kvvwantawóostí yíki hyatawoója
kaa-uunii-atawoost-i yi-ki yi-hi-ataa-awóoja
 NGT-3B.PL-swim:DVN\MOD-NOM IRR\SUB-be IRR-2A-MDL-swim:IMM
 'If they can swim, so can you!'

As seen above, the ability is indicated by the Negative Time prefix attached to a Deverbal Noun stem; this stem undergoes a Modal (MOD) tone change indicating ability. An example is in (87a). By way of contrast the same sentence is shown in (87b) without the prenominal prefix, resulting in a meaning indicating obligation.

- 87) a. **Ĉ** **AΓWJ** **SGWJAJ** **NY**
 hla kohúústi kaayuuntv̄hnti yiki
 hla kohúústi kaa-yi-uunii-atv̄hnt-i yi-ki
 NEG something NGT-IRR-3B.PL-do:DVN\MOD-NOM IRR-be:PRC
 'They can't do anything.' (Lady Indians Championship)

b.	ᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱ
	hla	kohúústi	yuuntv̄hnti	yiki
	hla	kohúústi	yi-uunii-atv̄hnt-i	yi-ki
	NEG	something	IRR-3B.PL-do:DVN\MOD-NOM	IRR-be:PRC
		‘They shouldn’t do anything.’		

Pulte and Feeling (1975:255), as well as Cook (1979:83) and King (1975:69), describe a special form *kee-* that is used with second person, but some speakers, as seen above in (87b), prefer *kaa-*. An example with *kee-* is in (88).

88) **ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ**
 keejakoohv̄v̄ʔi
 kee-ja-kooh-v̄v̄ʔi
 NGT-2B-see:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘Since you saw it.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:255)

Cook (1979:75, 84) describes an unusual form of the third person Object Focus prefix that appears when preceded by the Negative Temporalizer prefix. This prefix *aji-* (*ak-* before vowels) becomes *ejj-* (*ek-* before vowels); furthermore, /y/ is inserted between the *kaa-* and the Object Focus prefix. An example of this less-commonly seen combination is in (89) below. In this instance the prefix appears on an agentive noun.

89) **ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ**
 nikayejiniiyíisk
 ni-kaa-ajj-niyyiisk-i
 PRT-NGT-3O-catch:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘...until he caught him.’ (Chapter 9.1:38)

1.1.13. Cislocative Imperative (CSI) ee-

This prefix is similar to the Cislocative Motion prefix in that it indicates movement toward the speaker, but it is only used with imperatives. Its most common occurrence is in the command in (90a); two other examples are given with it.

90) a. **R ʌ B †**

eehiyvvhá
 ee-hi-yvvhá
 CSI-2A-enter:IMM(COM)
 ‘Come in!’

b. **R ʌ Y ʌ S W**

eeskiisteèlǎ
 ee-ski-steèla
 CSI-2/1-help:IMM(COM)
 ‘Come and help us (you’re over there).’

c. **R ʌ Y h ʌ L T S †**

eeskiniistáakwatuùkǎ
 ee-skinii-stáakwatuùka
 CSI-2/1.DL-follow:IMM(COM)
 ‘You two photographers follow me!’

J ʌ L L C G ʌ J ʌ Y

tiistataatliiloòstííski
 ti-iistii-ataatliilóostiisk-i
 DST2-2A.DL-photograph:INC\AGT-NOM

The Cislocative Imperative is incompatible with the Distributive. If the Distributive is present, the Cislocative (CIS) replaces it. In (91a), for example, the Cislocative Imperative appears when a single object is indicated, while in (91b) the presence of a plural object causes the Cislocative *ti-* to appear. In this example the Distributive assumes the form *tʌʌ-* before the Cislocative.

- 91) a. **R_oEB**
 eskhvsi'
 ee-ski-hvsi
 CSI-2/1-give.to:IMM(COM)
 'Pass me it.'
- b. **VJ_oEB**
 tootiskhvsi'
 tee-ti-ski-hvsi
 DST-CIS-2/1-give.to:IMM(COM)
 'Pass me them'

1.2. POSTPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

1.2.1 Reflexive (RFL) *ataat-/ataa-/at-*

The reflexive prefix *ataat-* is one of two prefixes that can appear between the pronominal prefix and the verb stem.²⁰ It is only used on transitive verbs and indicates that the subject that is performing the action is the same as the object that is being affected by the action. As with other prefixes, the environment in which the reflexive appears can alter its form. The full form *ataat-* appears before stems that begin with a vowel other than /a/. Before /a/ the reflexive appears as *at-*, while before consonants its form is *ataa-*. In (91) are three examples of the full form of the prefix. In (91b) the verb begins with a vowel-lengthening feature that triggers the form *ataa-*; the long vowel of the prefix also has a highfall tone to indicate obligation. In (92a) and (92c) the reflexive pronoun *-v'vsa* appears to reinforce the idea of reflexivity.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| 92) a. DLVPS | OCH |
| aàtaatohlka | uwaása |
| a-ataat-olihka | uu-v'vsa |
| 3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC | 3B-self |
| 'He knows, recognizes himself.' | |

- b. **TBL†** **ŌLŌLJŌVJ**
 iyvtaha uutááhnntatistohti
 iyvtaha uu-ataat-xxnvhtati-stoht-i
 sometimes 3B-RFL-remember(I)\MOD-CAU:DVN-NOM
 ‘He sometimes has to remind himself.’
- c. **DLSŌŌJ†** **ŌGH**
 aàtaatuuhiístíha uwaása
 a-ataat-uuhiístíha uu-vúsa
 3A-RFL-accuse:PRC 3B-self
 ‘He is accusing himself.’

The shortened form *at-* appears before the vowel /a/. Two examples are in (92); the first example is commonly heard as a way to say ‘goodbye.’

- 93) a. **GLS†ŌSŌJ**
 jataksestéesti
 ja-ataat-akasest-éesti
 2B-RFL-be.careful:CMP-AFT
 ‘Take care of yourself!’
- b. **SLSVŌJ**
 téetatakhthoósti
 tee-iitii-ataat-akahthoósti
 DST-1A.PL-look.at:PRC
 ‘We’re looking at each other.’

In (94) are two examples with the *ataa-* form that attaches to consonant initial stems.

- 94) a. **D&H** **DTLZ†J** **††**
 akwvúsa akwataahnóosehti keeso
 aki-vúsa aki-ataat-hnóoseht-i kees-ó?i
 1B-self 1B-RFL-tell:DVN\MOD-NOM be:INC-HAB

An important function of the postpronominal Reflexive prefix is to indicate an unspecified object. Transitive verbs (and nouns derived from them) ordinarily specify an object. Examples are in (96); in (96a) the verb is transitive and is translated into English with an object ‘it.’ As a derived noun in (96b) with this transitive verb as its base in there is no mention of what the ‘catcher’ catches and the Unspecified Object Reflexive *ataat-* appears.²¹ Moreover, the derived Agentive noun has the Distributive prefix to indicate that this is an ongoing or repeated activity.

96) a. **ᏍᎩᎠᎩᎠ**

káʔniiyiísko
ka-ʔniiyiísk-óʔi
3A-catch:INC-HAB
‘He catches it.’

b. **ᏊᎩᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠ**

tiitaaniíyíiski
ti-a-ataat-niíyiisk-i
DST2-3A-RFL-catch:INC\AGT-NOM
‘policeman’

This pattern of derivation is extremely productive in Cherokee. Frequently many of the agentive nouns have specialized meanings. The two examples in (97) are Cherokee names for Christian denominations.

97) a. **ᏊᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠ**

tiinataastúútliski
ti-anii-ataat-stuutlisk-i
DST2-3A.PL-RFL-sprinkle:INC\AGT-NOM
‘Methodists’ lit. “sprinklers”

b. **ᐃᕐᑎᑦᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ**

juunalvvtééhi

ti-uunii-alvvtteeh-i

DST2-3B.PL-convulse:INC\AGT-NOM

‘members of the Holiness denomination’ lit. “convulsers”

If the Agentive noun is part of a compound that mentions the object, the Reflexive is no longer possible, as seen in (98).

98) **ᐃᕐᑎᑦᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ** **ᐃᕐᑎᑦᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ**

ajiíla anééhlohi

ajiíla anii-eehloh-i

fire 3A.PL-feed:INC\AGT-NOM

‘Catholics’ lit. “fire-feeders”

1.2.2 Middle Voice (MDL) *ataa-/ali-/at-*

The Middle Voice prefix has some similarities in form and meaning to the Reflexive and probably developed out of it.²² This prefix appears the same as the Reflexive before consonants (other than /h/) and before the vowel /a/; the other forms are distinct. The term ‘Middle’ alludes to the fact that verbs in the Middle Voice are midway between an active meaning and a passive meaning. This prefix indicates that the action of the verb is affecting the person or thing that is the subject of that verb. An example of the resulting change in meaning is seen below in (99). The addition of the Middle Voice prefix makes the verb intransitive and expresses the idea that the bathing is happening to the subject.

99) a. **ᐃᕐᑎᑦᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ**

hiyawóʔa

hi-awóʔa

2A.AN-bathe:PRC

‘You’re bathing him, her.’

- b. **ᎠᎩᎠᎩ**
 hatawóʔa
 hi-ataa-awóʔa
 2A-MDL-bathe:PRC
 ‘You’re bathing, swimming’

While similar in form to the Reflexive, the Middle Voice prefixes are not exactly the same. The Middle prefix will be discussed at length in the section on valency-decreasing affixes.

2. VALENCY-CHANGING AFFIXES

In Cherokee most verbs are intransitive or transitive; a few verbs can be ditransitive. Intransitive verbs involve some kind of participant that functions as a subject. The subject of an intransitive verb is the participant that is performing the action denoted by the verb. Transitive verbs have a subject participant and an object participant; i.e. the object is what is being affected by the action, while the subject is who or what is causing the action. The number of participants involved determines the degree of ‘valency’: the intransitive verb has a valency of 1, while the transitive verb has a valency of 2. In Cherokee it is possible to change a verb’s valency through the use of derivational suffixes or a special set of pronominal prefixes. In (100a) the verb is intransitive; i.e. the only participant involved in the act of drying is the clothes. In (100b) a formerly intransitive verb has gained one more participant (‘you’ is now the causer of the drying) through the addition of a Causative derivational suffix and now has a valency of 2.

- 100) a. **ᎠᎩᎠᎩ** **ᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠᎩ**
 tiihnawo taàkhayoóska
 ti-a-ahnawo tee-a-khayoóska
 DST2-3A-clothes DST-3A-dry:PRC
 ‘The clothes are drying.’

As we have seen above, valency-changing operations increase or decrease the valency of a verb; for example, a transitive verb can be turned into an intransitive verb and vice-versa. If a verb that is already transitive has yet another participant added to it (a primary object) it becomes a ditransitive verb. In (102) a series of valency changes are applied to the same verb. In (102a) the verb is intransitive with only one participant; in (102b) a Causative suffix has added a person causing the action, creating a transitive verb. In (102c) the Middle Voice prefix has removed the object, creating an intransitive verb again. In this third example the Middle Voice prefix is indistinguishable from the reflexive form; the verb in this case has an intransitive Middle Voice meaning of being simultaneously the causer and the undergoer of the noise-making.

- 102) a. **ᵀᵂᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵀᵂᵂᵂ**
 uuhalvvni uùnnoohyýka
 uuhalvvni uu-noohyýka
 bell 3B-sound:PRC
 ‘The bell is sounding.’
- b. **ᵀᵂᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ**
 uuhalvvni hinoohyvvhlistiiha
 uuhalvvni hi-noohyvvli-stiiha
 bell 2A-sound-CAU:PRC
 ‘You are ringing the bell.’
- c. **ᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ**
 soókwíli aàtaanoohyvvhlistiiha
 soókwíli a-ataa-noohyvvhli-stiiha
 horse 3A-MDL-sound-CAU:PRC
 ‘The horse is making noise.’

It should be noted that although (102a) and (102c) are both intransitive, they have different semantic features. In (102a) the subject is an inanimate object and is itself

not controlling or causing the noise to exist but merely undergoing it; in (102c), on the other hand, the intransitive subject is purposefully causing noise. If (102a) is ‘sounding’, then (102b) could be translated as ‘causing to sound’ and (102c) again as ‘sounding.’ In other words, the verb in (102c) is built on an intransitive verb (Valency:1) that has been transitivized (Valency:2) and then turned again into an intransitive. The difference between the basic intransitive in (102a) and the Middle voice intransitive in (102c) seems to be one of animacy. The Middle Voice often involves a single participant that is midway between being a doer and an undergoer. In the sentence ‘the bell is sounding’, the bell is inanimate and, even though it is the grammatical subject, is merely undergoing the action; that is, the bell itself has not decided to start or stop ringing. The sentence ‘the horse is making noise’ is a different matter. The horse is seen as undergoing the action in the sense that the horse’s own body is producing the sound; at the same time, the horse, as a sentient being, is deciding to start and stop the action. These different operations and their meanings will be explored in the following section.

There are a few pairs of intransitive/transitive verbs that are very similar in form a meaning but each has a different valency. Such pairs are no longer related by any derivational process; it is possible, however, that such a process existed in the past but has since fallen out of use in the language. An example is in (103). In (103a) the verb is transitive, while in (103b) a very similar verb has an intransitive meaning. In the second example the Completive stem of the verb takes a Deverbalizer suffix and appears as an adjective.

- 103) a. **ᵛᵛ SJSʔBT**
 nv̀ya tùtiikaléeyv́ʔi
 nvvyá tee-uu-atiikaléey-v́ʔi
 rock DST-3B-scatter.something.:CMP- EXP
 ‘He scattered the rocks.’

b. ႗႗႗႗႗႗	႗႗
juùtiikaleéyóòjǵ	nv̀̀ya
ti-uu-atiikaleéyóòj-ǵǵʔi	nv̀̀ya
DST2-3B-scatter:CMP-DVB	rock
‘scattered rocks’	

2.1. VALENCY-INCREASING AFFIXES

There are two valency-increasing suffixes in Cherokee: the Applicative and the Causative. Both are formed by adding a derivational suffix to the verb.

2.1.1. Applicative (APL)

The Applicative suffix is generally attached to verbs to indicate the presence of an additional object affected by the verb.²³ In (104a) the verb is in its basic intransitive form, while in (104b) the Applicative suffix indicates that the action is being directed at a participant. The addition of the Applicative suffix creates a transitive verb that can now take a Combined Person prefix.

- 104) a. **႗႗႗႗႗႗႗႗**
hakhtháàstiiha
hi-akahtháàstiiha
2A-wink:PRC
‘You are winking.’
- b. **႗႗႗႗႗႗႗႗႗**
skwakhtáàstaneéha
ski-akahtáàstan-eéha
2/1-wink:CMP-APL:PRC
‘You are winking at me.’

As demonstrated in the example above, the Applicative attaches to the Completive aspect stem. The Applicative has the following aspect forms shown in Table 1; an example of each is in (105). The Immediate form of this suffixes causes the preceding

/n/ of the Completive stem to delete, as seen in (105c). This example is a command form (COM) of the Immediate stem.

Table 1: The five aspect suffixes of the Applicative

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-eéha
INCOMPLETE	-eéh-
IMMEDIATE	-si/-eéli
COMPLETIVE	-eél-
DEVERBAL NOUN	-eht-

Examples of these five aspect suffixes are in (105).

- 105) a. **ᎠᏍᏍᏈᎠᏬᎠᏴ**
hiikaàtháàstaàneéha
hii-kahtháàstan-eéha
2A.AN-wink:CMF-APL:PRC
‘You are winking at her.’
- c. **ᎠᏍᏍᏈᎠᏬᎠᏴᏱ**
hiikaàtháàstaàneéhó?
hii-kahtháàstanà-eéh-ó?i
2A.AN-wink:CMF-APL:INC-HAB
‘You wink at her.’
- d. **ᎠᏍᏍᏈᎠᏬ**
hiikaàtháàstaàsí
hii-kahtháàstaàn-si
2A.AN-wink:CMF-APL:IMM(COM)
‘Wink at her!’
- e. **ᎠᏍᏍᏈᎠᏬᎠᏴ**
hiikaàthasthaàneélv
hii-kahthasthaàn-eél-v?i
2A.AN-wink:CMF-APL:CMF-EXP
‘You winked at her.’

- f. **GSP**⊕ **ḐSW**⊕**LΛJ**
 jatuulis hiikaàtháàstanehti
 ja-atuuliha=s hii-kahtháàstan-eh*t*-i
 2B-want:PRC=Q 2A.AN-wink:CMP-APL:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Do you want to wink at her?’

The Immediate has two forms, a command form seen above in (105c), and a form used to indicate an action that just took place, seen below in (106).

- 106) **LYMVP**
 taàkiiluhcheéli
 ta-iikii-luhj-eéli
 CSM-1B.PL-arrive:CMP-APL:IMM
 ‘He came up to us.’

As seen in the example above, the Applicative suffixes have a special aspirating feature when they attach to a stem ending in /j/. Another example is in (107).

- 107) **LY**⊕**LVP**
 takintlecheéli
 ta-kinii-atlej-eél-i
 FUT-1B.DL-take.revenge:CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
 ‘He will take revenge on us.’

The Applicative suffixes have a tone pattern similar to the Experienced Past suffix in that the second mora of the long vowel has a high tone, while the first mora of the vowel is unspecified for tone. (For more examples of this with the Experienced Past, see Chapter 5.) Because the first mora is unspecified, it will usually be pronounced as a default low tone, as seen in the previous examples in this section. If the preceding tone is high, however, that tone will spread rightward onto this vowel. An example is in (108).

- 108) **DYC 49**
 aàkhiwáséelv
 aki-hwás-eél-vvʔi
 1B-buy: CMP-APL: CMP-EXP
 ‘She bought me it.’

If the Applicative verb has two objects (a ditransitive verb), any Combined prefixes that appear on the verb refer to the Applicative object; i.e. the primary object. In (109a) the noun ‘truth’ is not explicitly referenced on the verb. In (109b) the Combined prefix refers to the subject ‘you’ and the primary object ‘me’; the plural secondary object (that which is peeled) is indicated only by the Distributive suffix. The new object that the Applicative verb takes is referred to as the primary object, while the other object is known as the secondary object; ‘primary’ refers to the fact that this object can be referenced on the verb through the pronominal prefixes.²⁴ In (109c) the sentence is a rare example of three noun phrases specifying the three participants involved in the verb. The word order in this example is Subject-Secondary Object-Verb-Primary Object. Factors such as real-world knowledge and animacy (a human is more likely to give a dog rather than vice versa) as well as plural marking (‘child’ is marked as plural and therefore can’t be the subject, as the pronominal prefix indicates a third person singular subject).

- 109) a. **SGAʔ** **OGkZ4P**
 tuùyuukhtv witajiînooseéli
 tuùyuukhtv wi-ta-jii-hnoos-eél-i
 truth TRN-FUT-1A.AN-tell: CMP-APL: CMP-MOT
 ‘I’m going to tell him the truth.’

- b. **40** **JAYAE4B**
 nuún tiskineekvlívsí
 nuúna ti-ski-neekvlív-si
 potato DST2-2/1-peel: CMP-APL: IMM(COM)
 ‘Peel those potatoes for me!’

c. **RJ YC §SØΛD JhfiC**
 eéti kiihli teekaakháàneeʔa tiiniiyóóthli
 eéti kiihli tee-ka-aakháàneeʔa ti-anii-yóóthli
 Ed dog DST-3A-give(living):PRC DST2-3A.PL-child
 ‘Edward is giving the dog to the children.’ (Dukes 1996:90)

d. **§αYBαLΛIT**
 teeskhiyvstaneelvʔi
 tee-ski-hyvstan-eel-vvʔi
 DST-2/1-pick.up:CMF-APL:CMF-FIM
 ‘Pick it up for me.’

Dukes (1996:90) observes that an Applicative cannot be formed with a local person as the secondary object. He notes that when trying to elicit the form ‘Bob is calling you for me’, the speaker offers the form in (110) without the Applicative and without the secondary object.

110) baáb **ØGαhD**
 baáb wichayaníiʔa
 baáb wi-ja-yaníiʔa
 Bob TRN-2B-call:PRC
 ‘Bob is calling you.’ (Dukes 1996:90)

As stated above, the Applicative prefix attaches to transitive as well as intransitive verbs. When the Applicative is used with a transitive verb, the second object can refer to different kinds of roles depending on the meaning of the verb that is used. The most common use of the Applicative is to refer to an addressee, as seen in (111a). Another common use of the Applicative is to refer to someone who is receiving something as in (111b).

111) a. **SA SGZY4F**
 káàko teejáhnookíiseého
 káàko tee-ja-hnookíis-eéh-ó?i
 who DST-2B-sing:CMP-APL:INC-HAB
 ‘Who sings it to you?’

b. **OSHJAJ** **ELLAJ**
 wikaajiitiineélv skwahlesti
 wi-kaa-jii-tiin-eél-v?i skwahlesti
 TRN-ANP-1.AN-throw:CMP-APL:CMP-EXP ball
 ‘I threw them the ball.’

Most verbs that naturally have a recipient are inherently Applicative. ‘Giving’ verbs have an Applicative suffix that is a part of the verb itself; i.e. the root cannot be separated from the suffix and is meaningless without it. Two examples of giving verbs were presented at the beginning of this section; another example is below in (112). The underlined portion is the same as Immediate form of the Applicative.

112) **YW@ DY@B**
 khilákwu aàkiihvsi
 khila=kwu aki-xxhvsi
 just=DT 1B-give:IMM
 ‘She just gave it to me.’

The Applicative is also used to reference actions that are done for the benefit of someone else.²⁵ Two examples are in (113). In the first example the short high tone on the verb spreads to the Applicative suffix.

113) a. **DY@LB@S** **DY@4J** **DT D@L@**
 akstayv́hvsk aàkhiwáséelv aje awahnawo
 aki-stayv́hvsk aki-hwás-eél-v?i aje aki-ahnawo
 1B-wife 1B-buy:CMP-APL:CMP-EXP new 1B-shirt
 ‘My wife bought me a new shirt.’

- b. **SV ʔəʔl ʔyɕeɬʔ**
 kato úústi skíithliísáànééhe
 kato úústi ski-ǰxthliísáàn-eéh-éʔi
 what thing 2/1-gather:CMF-APL:INC-NXP
 ‘What were you gathering for me?’

A malefactive meaning is also possible where the Applicative indicates an action that is done to the detriment of someone else. Three examples are in (114).

- 114) a. **ʔyɕhɕvʔ**
 oðkiniiyóðcheélv
 ookinii-yóðj-eél-vvʔi
 1B.DL.EX-break:CMF-APL:CMF-EXP
 ‘It broke down on us.’
- b. **Dhəʔsɕhɕ**
 aàjiiskánv̀̀vchiisi
 aji-skánv̀̀vj-iisi
 3O-commit.sin:CMF-APL:IMM
 ‘She fouled her.’ (Lady Indians Championship)
- c. **SV ʔpəwɬəʔ Gh**
 kato ùlsthaneéle jaji
 kato uu-alisthan-eél-éʔi ja-ji
 what 3B-happen:CMF-APL:CMF-NXP 2B-mother
 ‘What happened to your mother?’

2.1.2. Causative (CAU)

The Causative suffix raises the valency of a verb by adding a subject participant that is causing the action. The first example in the pair in (115) is intransitive, while the second example has the Causative suffix and is transitive.

115) a. **ᵏᵍ ᵑᵗᵇᵛ**
 jiíyu ùnoóỳv̀je
 jiíyu uu-noóỳv̀j-éʔi
 boat 3B-sink(I):CMP-NXP
 ‘The boat sank.’

b. **ᵏᵍ ᵗᵗᵇᵑᵗ**
 jiíyu ìttiinoóỳv̀sta
 jiíyu ìttii-noóỳv̀sta
 boat 1A.PL-sink(I)-CAU:IMM
 ‘We sank the boat.’

As with the Applicative, the Causative has five different forms for each of the five verb stems. These forms are listed in Table 2; an example sentence with each form is in (116).

Table 2: The five aspect suffixes of the Causative²⁶

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-stiiha/-htiiha
INCOMPLETIVE	-stiisk-/-htiisk-
COMPLETIVE	-stan-/ -htan-
IMMEDIATE	-sta/-hta
DEVERBAL NOUN	-stoht-/-htoht-

The Causative is different from the other derivational suffixes in that it attaches directly to the root. These five forms of the Causative are exemplified below in (115)





116) a. **ᵀᵛᵇᵑᵗᵑᵗ**
 akhiyvstéestiiha
 aki-hyvstée-stiiha
 1B-get.drunk-CAU:PRC
 ‘He’s getting me drunk.’

- b. **DQδJαJαA**
 ahyvvtlatiistiisko
 a-hyvvtlatii-stiisk-ó?i
 3A-get.cold-CAU:INC-HAB
 'It makes it cold'
- c. **QΛαLWJαLO**
 uùneestaltiistanv
 uùneestaltii-stan-v'v?i
 3B-freeze(I)-CAU:CMO- EXP
 'He froze it.'
- d. **VSAQαWO**
 toòkakoohvstanv
 tee-ookii-oohv-stan-v'v?i
 DST-1B.PL.EX-burn(I)-CAU:CMO- EXP
 'We burned them.'
- e. **L QhαVJ hSSP**
 thla uuyoostohti yookatuuli
 thla uu-yoo-stoht-i yi-ookii-atuuliha
 NEG 3B-break(I)-CAU:DVN-NOM2 IRR-1B.PL.EX-want:PRC
 'We don't want him to break it.'


The Deverbal Noun form of the causative is *-stoht-* ; the lack of vowel deletion is unexpected. Flemming has also noted this and speculated that this is perhaps a 'lexical exception' to this general phonological rule (1996:43).

The basic forms of the Causative suffixes have an initial /s/. If the suffix attaches to a root ending in a sonorant (i.e. a vowel or /w/, /y/, /n/ or /l/), as in the example above, then this is the form that appears. If the suffixes attaches to a root ending in an obstruent (/t/, /k/, /t/, /j/ or /s/), then the /s/ of the suffix will be replaced by an /h/. This process is seen in (116). The intransitive form is in (117a), while the Causative

suffix has been added in (117b). In the second example, when the Causative *-hta* is added, the result is the lateral fricative /hl/.

- 117) a. **DPC**  **D** 
aàliitlis ama
a-aliitliha=s ama
3A-boil(I):PRC=Q water
‘Is the water boiling?’
- b. **†PCL**  **D** 
haliithltas ama
hi-aliitl-sta=s ama
2A-boil(I)-CAU:IMM=Q water
‘Did you boil the water?’

The Causative is only added to verbs where the original intransitive subject undergoes the action. Thus intransitive verbs such as ‘run’ or ‘jump’ cannot be causativized, as the intransitive subjects for these verbs are in control of the action and actively performing it. To express the idea of causing something to happen, these verbs must be used with another verb that express the idea of ‘to cause’ or ‘to make.’ Two examples are in (118).

- 118) a. **JPhTC** **J** **hBhb**
juhlنيكوانڤتي hنييڤڤنييسي
ti-uu-ali-hنيكوانڤتي-i ni-hii-ڤڤنييسي
DST2-3A-MDL-kneel(I):DVN-NOM2 PRT-2A.AN-cause:IMM
‘Make your child kneel.’
- b. **JShQ**  **Y** **OZQGI**
tiiteehyóhvski uunooheélohti
ti-a-at-eehyóhvsk-i uunii-ooheéloht-i
DST2-3A-RFL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM 3B.PL-write:DVN-NOM2

hSEΛ	JΘSʔTαY
niteekʔvvhne	tiintééhlkwaski
ni-tee-ka-ʔvvhneéha	ti-anii-ateehlkwask-i
PRT-DST-3A-make:PRC	DST2-3A.PL-learn:INC\AGT-NOM
‘The teacher is making her students write.’	

In (119a) is an example of the intransitive verb ‘to get drunk.’ In (119b) the Causative suffix (added to the Completive stem of the verb) creates the meaning ‘He causes him/her to get drunk’; this derivation is then turned into a noun. A Causative base of the verb is extremely productive for forming nouns in Cherokee.

- 119) a. **ʔBαSD**
uùhyvstéeʔa
uu-hyvstéeʔa
3B-get.drunk:PRC
‘He is getting drunk.’
- b. **DLBαSαJαY**
ataahyvstestííski
a-ataat-hyvste-stiisk-i
3A-RFL-get.drunk-CAU:INC\AGT-NOM
‘things that get you drunk’

The Causative is a derivational suffix and as such the derived words can acquire specialized meanings. An example is in (120); the Causative form is shown after the verb from which it derives.

- 120) a. **ʔhVPS**
oòjiiitooliika
oojii-tooliika
1A.PL.EX-pity:PRC
‘We feel sorry for him.’

- b. **oòjataatoolistiiha**
 oòjataatoolistiiha
 oojii-ataat-tooli-stiiha
 1A.PL.EX-RFL-pity-CAU:PRC
 ‘We are praying.’

2.2. VALENCY-DECREASING AFFIXES

Cherokee has three types of prefixes that can reduce the valency of a transitive verb. A special Unspecified Object use of the Reflexive prefix indicates that the object of the normally transitive verb is unspecified, while the Middle prefix indicates that the action is somehow affecting the subject of the intransitive verb (the subject is, in a sense, also the object of the verb). Object Focus prefixes usually result in the agent of the verb being omitted. These three operations are discussed in the section below.

2.2.1 Object Focus (O)

The Object Focus pronominal prefixes can be considered a valency-reducing operation in that when they appear the subject is often de-emphasized or absent. These prefixes only attach to transitive verbs. In (121a) the transitive verb ‘see’ refers to a subject ‘John’ and a first person singular object; in (121b) the verb only conveys information about the object.

- 121) a. **Gh DYAC.J†**
 jaáni aàkikohwthíiha
 jaáni aki-kohwthíiha
 John 1B-see:PRC
 ‘John sees me.’

- b. **iYAC.J†**
 v̀kikohwthíiha
 vki-kohwthíiha
 1O-see:PRC
 ‘I feel like I’m being seen.’

123) **DH9Z** **TGCYJ** **DSSP6E**
 saawúhnóo iyúwáákht aàkatuuliískv
 saakwu=hnóo iyúwáákhti aji-atuuliísk-vʔi
 one=CN time 3O-want:INC-EXP

Dhβ6J **h66ʔ6** **66**
 ajiiyeèsti jíistvvna wahya
 aji-xxhyeèst-i jíistvvna wahya
 3O eat(living):DVN-NOM2 crawdad wolf
 ‘One time wolf wanted to eat the crawdad.’ (Chapter 9.1:3-4)

In the sentence immediately following, shown in (124), the order is Subject-Verb-Object and the Set B prefix appears.

124) **D66** **66666**
 wahya uùneenuhlane
 wahya uu-neenuhlan-éʔi
 wolf 3B-challenge:CMP-NXP

h66ʔ6 **J6VY66JT**
 jíistvvna juuhnthohkiíyáàstííʔi
 jíistvvna ti-uunii-ahthohkiíyáàst-ííʔi
 crawdad DST2-3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 ‘The wolf challenged the crawdad to race him.’ (Chapter 9.1:5)

2.2.2. Unspecified Object Reflexive

The Object Focus prefixes described above allow the speaker to not mention what is causing the action of the normally transitive verb. In like fashion the Reflexive prefix allows the speaker not to mention the object of a normally transitive verb. In (125a) the transitive verb ‘to help’ has a subject and an object, whereas in (125b) there is no mention of an object and the Reflexive appears. In (125c) the object is a non-specific ‘so-and-so.’

- 125) a. **DIᵛ DᵛSPL**
akeéhya aàsteeliíta
akeéhya a-steeliíta
woman 3A-help:PRC
‘He’s helping the woman.’
- b. **DAPJ ᵛLᵛSPJ**
aànehlti uutaastehlti
a-anehlti?a uu-ataat-stehlt-i
3A-try:PRC 3A-RFL-help:DVN-NOM2
‘He’s trying to help (so and so).’
- c. **ᵛPᵛPJ SGLBᵛ4ᵛJ**
uulskééti téejataayelvvséesti
uu-alskééti tee-iiiii-ataat-yelvvs-éesti
3B-sacred DST-2A.PL-RFL-regard:INC-AFT
‘Regard others in a sacred way.’

In (126a) the verb ‘visit’ has an object; in (126b) it is intransitivized and no longer able to mention an object. In the English translation no object is mentioned; sometimes it is translated as ‘someone.’

- 126) a. **DIᵛᵛV**
aàkwahthvvhíto
aki-ahthvvhítoha
1B-visit:PRC
‘He is visiting me.’
- b. **ᵛLCᵛᵛVᵛ**
hataahwahthvvhítoòha
hi-ataat-hwahthvvhítoòha
2A-RFL-visit:PRC
‘You are visiting.’

In (127a) the object is not mentioned, probably because the person who will be voted for is unknown or because the emphasis is on the act of voting itself. The sentence in (127b) is translated with a transitive verb in English, but the unknown identity of the object triggers the Reflexive.

- 127) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 iikatasuyestííʔi
 iikii-ataat-asuyest-ííʔi
 1B.PL-RFL-choose:INC-NOM2
 ‘We are getting ready to vote.’
- ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 iitatvvnvsti
 iitii-atvvnvstiha
 1A.PL-prepare:PRC
- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 hataatohlka
 hi-ataat-oolihka
 2A-RFL-recognize:PRC
 ‘You recognize somebody.’

This Reflexive prefix is often used on nominalized forms of transitive verbs that normally have an animate object. In (128a) there is a specific object in mind, while in (125b) there is no object mentioned.

- 128) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 tiikhtiíléék-i
 ti-a-kahtiíléék-i
 DST2-3A-attack:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘attacker (of one thing)’
- b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 tiitakhtiíléék-i
 ti-a-ataat-kahtiíléék-i
 DST2-3A-RFL-attack:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘attacker’

The Reflexive use of the *ataat-* prefix can be compared to the Object Focus pronominal prefix. In (129) the first instance of the verb ‘to bite’ is focusing on who

was bitten and uses an Object Focus prefix to deemphasize the backgrounded biter. In the second instance of the verb, the unspecified object Reflexive prefix focuses on the biter and deemphasizes what is being bitten. The Object Focus on the biter in the second instance is reflected in the speakers' translation.

- 129) **DfZ** **DhᵛᵛS W** **DfCF**
 aaséehno aàjiiskal ayótlíke
 aaséehno aji-skala ayótlíke
 however 3O-bite:IMM little.one

ᵛWhJf **ᵛGb** **DhᵛᵛS W**
 uuthaníitike walóos aàtaaskal
 uu-athaníitike walóosi a-ataat-skala
 bigger frog 3A-RFL-bite:IMM
 '...however the small frog is bitten; the bigger frog did the biting.'

Later on in the same story, shown in (130), *ataat-* is used on the verb 'to tell' because who is being told is not mentioned, although within the story the identity of his companions is known. The Unspecified Object Reflexive is therefore not only used when there is no specific object; in larger narratives it serves to put in the background an object that has already been mentioned. Another example is in (130b); in this example the identity is established in the first clause and backgrounded in the second.

- 130) a. **ᵛᵛ** **LYb** **DhᵛᵛJfT** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 nvvnv taks aàtaanohiise nuutóvneeló
 nvvnv taksi a-ataat-nohiis-é?i ni-uu-atóvneel-óv?i
 now turtle 3A-RFL-tell:COM-NXP PRT-3B-do:COM-EXP
 'Now the turtle is telling what happened.'

- b. **Gh** **SOᵛᵛ** **ᵛf** **Dhᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 jaán tuúnóvneele meéli aniijilóvski
 jaáni tee-uu-nóvneel-é?i meéli anii-jilóvski
 John DST-3B-give:COM-NXP Mary 3A.PL-flower

ᑕᑭᑭ	ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
meélihno	túutaanívneelvʔi
meéli=hno	tee-ii-uu-ataat-nívneel-vʔi
Mary=CN	DST-ITR-RFL-3B-give:COM-EXP
'John gave Mary some flowers, and Mary gave them right back to him.'	
(Scancarelli 1987:88)	

In the two examples in (131) the agentive derivations all bear the Reflexive prefix as they do not specify the object involved.

131) a. **ᑭᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
ataajívyski
a-ataat-jívysk-i
3A-RFL-sting:INC\AGT-NOM
'stinger' (Feeling 1975a:4)

b. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
tiitaatívnihi
ti-a-ataat-ívnihi
DST2-3A-RFL-hit:INC\AGT-NOM
'hitter'

In (132) is the name of a large lake outside Tahlequah; this name does not have the Unspecified Object Reflexive prefix because the number 'ten' specifies the object.

132)	ᑭᑭᑭ	ᑭᑭᑭ	ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
	úútana	vvtali	skohitííhi
	uu-átana	vvtali	skohi+ti-a-h-i
	3B-big	pond	ten+DST2-3A-kill:INC\AGT-NOM
	'Lake Tenkiller'		

2.2.3. Middle Voice (MDL) ataa-/ali-/at-

The Cherokee Middle Voice prefix creates a verb with a single participant that has properties of both the subject and an object.²⁸ Two examples of this construction are in (133); in each example the Middle prefix attaches to a transitive verb.

- 133) a. **ᏍᏆᏗᎠᎵᏍᏗᎠ**
kaliistooyeéha
ji-ali-stooyeéha
1A-MDL-trim:PRC
'I am shaving, cutting my hair.'
- b. **ᏃᎠᏗᎠᎵᏍᏗᎠ**
aàtooluhwathiíha
a-ataa-ooluhwathiíha
3A-MDL-develop(T):PRC
'It's in the development stages, it's coming about.'

In the previous section on valency-increasing operations the Causative was shown to add a participant that causes the action. One of the functions of the Middle Voice prefix is to remove the cause of the action. For example, in (134a) the verb 'to split something' appears in its basic transitive form; to express the intransitive idea of something splitting by itself, the Middle Voice prefix is added in (134b).

- 134) a. **ᏃᏗᎠᎵᏍᏗᎠ**
taàstluyska
tee-a-stluska
DST-3A-split:PRC
'He is splitting it.'
- b. **ᏃᏗᎠᎵᏍᏗᎠ**
taàlstluska
tee-a-ali-stluska
DST-3A-MDL-split:PRC
'It is splitting.'

A comparison of the Reflexive, Unspecified Object Reflexive, and Middle prefixes is in (135). The first example is the simple transitive form of the verb. Sometimes the addition of the Middle prefix can alter the meaning; as seen in (135c).

- 135) a. **APS**
 kohlka
 ka-olihka
 3A-know,recognize:PRC
 ‘He knows, recognizes him.’
- b. **DLVPS** **OCU**
 aàtaatohlka uwaása
 a-ataat-olihka u-vvása
 3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC 3B-self
 ‘He knows, recognizes himself.’
- c. **DLVPS**
 aàtaatohlka
 a-ataat-olihka
 3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC
 ‘He recognizes somebody.’
- c. **LVPS**
 taàtohlka
 tee-a-ataa-olihka
 DST-3A-MDL-know,recognize:PRC
 ‘It fits, it is compatible.’

In (136) below the Middle prefix indicates that the food preparation is no longer done for the benefit of someone else, but rather for the benefit of the subject. In this case the detransitivized word has a more specific meaning of ‘to eat.’

- 136) a. **OCULBOCS**
 hiistáàyvvhvska
 hii-stáàyvvhvska
 2A.AN-fix.a.meal:PRC
 ‘You are fixing him a meal.’

- b. **ʔP̣OLḄỌ OṢ**
 halstáàyvvhvska
 hi-ali-stáàyvvhvska
 2A-MDL-fix.a.meal:PRC
 ‘You are eating.’

In (137) the same derived adjective has a slightly different meaning with the Middle prefix. In the first example the adjective describes a person and implies an object; i.e. the thing or things not believed in. In (135b) the adjective refers to a quality of the thing itself.

- 137) a. **ʔỤŋGṚỌ**
 nuwoohiyuusvna
 ni-uu-oohiyuus-vna
 PRT-3B-believe-NDV
 ‘faithless, doesn’t believe in things’

- b. **ʔṾŋGṚỌ**
 nuutoohiyuusvna
 ni-uu-ataa-oohiyuus-vna
 PRT-3B-MDL-believe-NDV
 ‘not real, unbelievable’

The Middle prefix has forms that are distinct from the Reflexive; it appears as *-at-* before all vowels (138a), *-ali-* before the consonant /h/ (138b), and, like the Reflexive, *-ataa-* before all other consonants (138c).

- 138) a. **DSḶʔḌ**
 aàtuutaléeʔa
 a-ataa-uutaléeʔa
 3A-MDL-unhitch(T):PRC
 ‘It is unhitching.’

b. **DØPHEŦPŦ**
 aànalsakwaleelíha
 anii-ali-sakwaleelíha
 3A.PL-MDL-roll(T):PRC
 ‘They are rolling.’

c. **DLGSŦBØS**
 aàtaajakalvyska
 a-ataa-jakalvyska
 3A-MDL-rip(T):PRC
 ‘It is ripping.’

The example in (138a) express an action that happens spontaneously; if there is an agent that is performing this action, the Reflexive is used. As seen in (139) there is a difference in form before vowels other than /a/.

139) **DSLŦD**
 aàtaatuutaléeʔa
 a-ataat-uutaléeʔa
 3A-RFL-unhitch(T):PRC
 ‘It is unhitching itself.’

The Middle prefix appears on some verbs to indicate a reciprocal action. In (140a) this meaning appears, while in (140b) the verb is seen in its transitive form. In (140c) the Reflexive appears and has the same meaning as (140a).²⁹

140) a. **SGPØSŦQ**
 téejalsteelvvhv
 tee-iijii-ali-steelvvh-vʔi
 DST-2A.PL-MDL-help:COMP-EXP
 ‘Y’all helped each other.’

- b. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 tééjiisteelvvhv
 tee-iiiii-steelvvh-vvʔi
 DST-2A.PL-help:CMP- EXP
 ‘Y’all helped them.’
- c. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 téejataasteelvvhv
 tee-iiiii-ataat-steelvvh-vvʔi
 DST-2A.PL-RFL-help:CMP- EXP
 ‘Y’all helped each other.’

Another example of this type of Middle is ‘to gather’; the transitive and intransitive forms are contrasted in (141).

- 141) a. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 téetíihliisíha
 tee-iitii-xxhliisíha
 DST-1A.PL-gather(T):PRC
 ‘We are gathering them up.’
- b. **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 téetataáhliisíha
 tee-iitii-ataa-xxhliisíha
 DST-1A.PL-MDL-gather(T):PRC
 ‘We are gathering together.’

In a few idiosyncratic cases a Middle prefix is like an unspecified object prefixes in that it simply creates an intransitive verb. For example, in (142a) the usual word for ‘teacher’ is shown; this form has the Middle Voice prefix in its *-at-* form before the vowels. (the Reflexive form before the vowel /e/ is *ataat*). If the sentence indicates the object more specifically this prefix will not appear. In (142b) the first person singular Set B is now the object of the teaching and the prefix is absent.

142) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 tiiteehyóóhvski
 ti-a-at-eehyóóhvsk-i
 DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘teacher’

b. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 tiikweehyóóhvski
 ti-aki-eehyóóhvsk-i
 DST2-1B-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘my teacher’

Many verbs have a frozen Middle prefix that cannot be removed. These verbs are found throughout the lexicon.³⁰ A sample list of these is in (143).

143) -alvvteehíha	‘to faint’
-alistuhvska	‘to bud’
-atóòkhtíha (Set B, tee-)	‘to stagger’ (Feeling 1975a:87)
-ateehv́ska	‘to be born’
-atanasiíni	‘to crawl’
-atiikháha	‘to urinate’
-alihiha	‘to fight’
-alihyv́sánaàwstíha	‘to snort’ (Feeling 1975a:22)

The verb ‘to happen, occur, become’ appears to consist entirely of a Causative suffix and the Middle prefix, suggesting that the Causative prefix was originally a root that over time became a suffix. Two examples of this verb are presented in (144); in the second example the Applicative suffix appears as well.

144) a. **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ** **ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ**
 kaljóóhit nuùlsthaanv
 ka-aljóóhita ni-uu-alsthaan-vv́?i
 3A-fat PRT-3B-happen:CMP-EXP
 ‘He became fat.’

- b. **SV GP@WB**
 kato jalsthaasi
 kato ja-alisthaan-si
 what 2B-happen:CMP-APL:IMM
 ‘What happened to you?’

Some adjectives or nouns that are derived from verbs will have a Middle prefix. The presence of the Middle prefix triggers a Set B prefix on the adjective.³¹ In all three examples in (145) the initial vowel of the form *ali* is deleted by the pronominal prefix, while the final vowel is deleted by vowel deletion triggered by the /h/ that is inherently present with /s/.

- 145) a. **OP@STL** uullstu?ííta ‘open’
D@STD aàstú?i?a ‘He’s opening it.’
 b. **OP@TFL** uullskwalita ‘broken’
D@TFL@S aàskwáalska ‘He’s breaking it.’
 c. **OP@OL** uullsuúhwita ‘colored, painted’
D@OL aàsuúhwíska ‘He’s painting it.’

Some noun and adjectives of unknown origin appear to have a frozen Middle Voice prefix; this prefix suggests their origins as verbs. A few sample adjectives are listed below in (146); in all these examples the initial /a/ of the stem (the Middle Voice prefix, perhaps) has been deleted by the pronominal prefix.

- 146) **OP@L** uleesóóta ‘skinny’
DWhYL alahnííkita ‘strong’
OP@FL uullskééta ‘important, sacred’
OLMW uutalaluúla ‘not finished’

The Middle and the Reflexive have similar yet distinct meanings. Both create an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by removing an outside object. In the case of the reflexive, as seen in (147a), the subject is conceived of as performing the action

on itself; in (147b) the action is conceived of as more an undergoer of the action, or the action is conceived of as happening spontaneously. These examples also have different forms.

- 147) a. **DLVP_oS**
aàtaatoohlvvska
a-ataat-oohlvvska
3A-RFL-make:PRC
'It's regenerating itself (e.g. a lizard).'
- b. **DVP_oS**
aàtoohlvvska
a-ataa-oohlvvska
3A-MDL-make:PRC
'It's making itself (e.g. cream).'

The Reflexive and Middle prefixes have closely related meanings; in fact, the Middle probably developed out of the Reflexive. The distinction lies in how the event is packaged. In a Reflexive sentence the subject and the object are the same entity, but are presented as distinct, whereas the Middle is intransitive and has more closely identified the two.³²

3. EXPANDING THE STEM

The third way of altering the meaning of a verb is by expanding the verb stem itself by adding derivational suffixes that alter the meaning of the verb, thereby creating a new verb.³³ Except for the Causative derivation, these suffixes are attached to the Completive stem of the verb. In (148) is an example of the basic form of the intransitive verb 'to break' in its Completive stem; in (148b) the same verb has the Causative suffix (in its Completive form) indicating that the verb is now transitive. In

(148c) a Terminative suffix (also in its Completive form) appears indicating that the activity was done thoroughly or to completion.

- 148) a. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 uùyóojv
 uu-yóoj-vʋʋi
 3B-break(I):CMP-EXP
 ‘It broke.’
- b. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 uùyóosthanv
 uu-yóo-sthan-vʋʋi
 3B-break(I)-CAU:CMP-EXP
 ‘He broke it.’
- c. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 uùyóosthanohnv
 uu-yóo-sthan-ohn-vʋʋi
 3B-break(I)-CAU:CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP
 ‘He broke it all to pieces.’

The derivational suffixes are described below.

3.1. DUPLICATIVE (DPL)

This suffix indicates that an action is being repeated.³⁴ Cook (1979:142) says it indicates ‘that the action of the verb is repeated for emphasis or in an improved manner.’ The five forms of this suffix are in Table 3; an example of each form is in (149). In two examples (149b) and (149c) the Iterative prepronominal prefix seems to reinforce the repetition of the event.

The Duplicative is frozen on certain verbs; i.e. these verbs never appear without it. An example is ‘to gather’ in (150). In this example the frozen derivational suffix is underlined.

- 150) **ᑭᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ**
 kato úústi híithliísíiske
 kato úústi hi-íxthliísíisk-é?i
 what thing 2A-gather(T):INC-NXP
 ‘What were you gathering?’

3.2. REPETITIVE (RPT)

This suffix indicates an action is repeated numerous times.³⁵ It is often translated as ‘repeatedly’ or ‘over and over.’ Table 4 shows the five forms, each of which is exemplified in (151)

Table 4: The five aspect suffixes of the Repetitive

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-iíló?a
INCOMPLETE	-iílóòsk-
IMMEDIATE	-iiloója
COMPLETIVE	-iíló-
DEVERBAL NOUN	-iílóòst-

- 151) a. **ᑭ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ** **ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ**
 jo? yuuwáákhthi aàjiinoseel-iíló?a
 jo?i yuuwáákhthi aji-hnoseel-iíló?a
 three time 3O-tell:CMP-RPT:PRC
 ‘He’s being told three times.’

- ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ**
 uuwáakhuyáàsthaniílóòskv?i
 uu-íxkhuyáàsthan-iílóòsk-v?i
 3B-burp:CMP-RPT:INC-EXP
 ‘He was hiccoughing, burping repeatedly.’

- 152) a. **JΩ Jh6.9 BL†**
 kuhkwe juunííhyóhi yvvtahá
 kuhkwe ti-uunii-hyóh-i yvvtaháá?i
 quail DST2-3B.PL\AGT-look.for:INC-NOM sometimes
- ŌŌH LŌL6ŌVJŌAT**
 uunv́sa taànataayoostóhtískóo?i
 uunii-v́sa tee-aànii-ataat-yoos-tóhtísk-ó?i
 3B.PL-self DST-3A.PL-RFL-shoot:CMP-ACC:INC-HAB
 ‘Quail hunters sometimes accidentally shoot one another.’
 (Feeling 1975a:124)

- b. **YW© ThT©TG©VJ†**
 khilakwu iiniiskwaloostóhta
 khila=kwu iinii-skwaloos-tóhta
 just.now=DT 1A.DL-bump.into:CMP-ACC:IMM
 ‘We just accidentally bumped into it.’

- c. **EβhVWC**
 kvvyéetstóhthanv
 kvv-yéets-tóhthan-v́?i
 1/2-wake:CMP-ACC:CMP-EXP
 ‘I accidentally woke you up.’

- d. **GGŠVJ L hYΘSŋQ**
 jaajakahltohti thla yoòkinatuulvvhv
 ja-xxjakahl-toht-i thla yi-ookinii-atuulvvh-v́?i
 2B-rip:CMP-ACC:DVN-NOM2 NEG IRR-1B.DL.EX-want:CMP-EXP
 ‘We didn’t want you to rip it.’

3.4. TERMINATIVE (TRM)

The Terminative indicates that the action has been or will be definitively completed. The forms of this derivational suffix are listed in Table 6 with an example of each following.

3.5. AMBULATIVE (AMB)

The ambulative expresses the idea of repeated movement with the action of the verb and is usually translated into English as ‘To go around VERB-ing..’³⁷ The five aspect forms are in Table 7. Many verbs derived with this suffix have unpredictable meanings; for example, in (154a) this suffix expresses the idea of pain all over the body. In (154c) this suffix indicates a purpose, while in (154d) it appears on the verb ‘to happen’ which is then turned into a noun meaning ‘events that happened.’ The example in (154e) could also be translated as ‘go around acting up’, although the ambulatory sense was not included in the speaker’s translation.

Table 7: The five aspect suffixes of the Ambulative

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-iítóòha
INCOMPLETE	-iítóòh-
IMMEDIATE	-iíta
COMPLETIVE	-iítóòl-
DEVERBAL NOUN	-iitast-

Examples of these five aspect forms are in (152).

- 154) a. **hE** **000LAPV†** **DJ†**
 niikhv uùweehistáàneeliítóòha aàtiha
 niikhvʔi uu-eehistáàneel-iítóòha a-atiha
 everywhere 3B-ache:CMP-AMB:PRC 3A-say:PRC
 ‘She says she hurts all over.’ (Feeling 1975a:147)
- b. **LJhVʔ** **LUC** **DΛV**
 taàtihniitóohe tahnawa aneetó
 tee-a-atihniitóoh-ééʔi tahnawa anii-eetóoh-i
 DST-3A-lead:INC-AMB:INC-NXP war 3A.PL-walk:INC \AGT-NOM
 ‘He was leading the war party.’ (Chapter 9.2:6)

- c. **Vᵒᵒᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ**
toòstasuuleehiíta
tee-oostii-asuuleeh-iíta
DST-1A.DL.EX-wash.hands:PNF-AMB:IMM
‘We went to wash our hands.’
- d. **ᵒᶜ** **ᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ** **SZᵗᵗ**
uuyó nuulsthaniítóòlᵗ tuùnooseéle
uu-yóóʔi ni-uu-alisthan-iítóòl-ᵗᵗʔi tee-uu-nooseél-éeʔi
3B-bad PRT-3B-happen:CMP-AMB:CMP-DVB DST-3B-tell:CMP-NXP
‘Evil things he told them.’
- e. **Fᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ** **ᵗᵗ ᵒᵗᵗᵗᵗ**
keestatᵗᵗneelvvhniitastííʔi thla yuunatuuliha
kee-stii-atᵗᵗneelvvhn-iitast-ííʔi thla yi-uunii-atuuliha
NGT-2B.DL-act.up:DVN-NOM2 NEG IRR-3B.PL-want:PRC
‘They don’t want you to act up.’

An example of the Ambulative attaching to a Causative base is in (155).

- 155) **Dᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ**
aàtatéesthaniítóòha
a-atatée-sthan-iítóòha
3A-bounce(I)-CAU:CMP-AMB:PRC
‘She’s dribbling it.’
lit. “She’s going around causing it to bounce.” (Lady Indians Championship)

As with the other derivational suffixes, there are certain verbs that have a frozen form of this suffix and do not occur without it. One such verb is ‘to take time’, as seen in (154).³⁸

- 156) a. **ᵗᵗ** **ᵗᵗᵗᵗ** **ᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ**
hila yikohíit taàhliiliítóòho
hila yi-kohíita tee-a-ahliiliítóòh-óʔi
how IRR-long DST-3A-take.time:INC-HAB

SPKS DΛE@JT
kahljoóte anekstííʔi
kahljoóte a-ahnekst-ííʔi
house 3A-build:DVN-NOM2
‘How long does it take to build a house?’

3.6. ANDATIVE (AND)

The two main purposes of this derivational suffix are to indicate an action is performed at intervals or that the subject is going somewhere to perform an action.³⁹ It is etymologically related to the verb of motion ‘to go.’ The five forms of the suffixes are in Table 8 with corresponding examples in (157).

Table 8: The five aspect suffixes of the Andative

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-éeka
INCOMPLETIVE	-éek-
IMMEDIATE	-éena
IMMEDIATE COMMAND	-úuka
COMPLETIVE	-vvs-
DEVERBAL NOUN	-vst-

157) a. **RGAPBS@**
eèjakooliyéekas
eja-kooliy-éeka=s
2O-examine:CMP-AND:PRC=Q
‘Are you going to go to be examined?’

b. **AS@ †L@RA**
kookas hatawooʔéekóʔ
kooka=s hi-ataa-wooʔ-éek-óʔi
summer=Q 2A-MDL-bathe:CMP-AND:INC-HAB
‘Do you go swimming in the summer?’

c. **TOPOLBIS**

iinalstayhnúuká

iinii-ali-stayhn-úuka

1A.DL-MDL-fix.a.meal:CMP-AND:IMM(COM)

‘Let’s go eat!’

d. **ðYOPOLBOR**

oòkinalstayvhnúvsv

ookinii-ali-stayvhnúvs-vv’i

1B.DL.EX-MDL-fix.a.meal:CMP-AND:IMM

‘We went to eat’

e. **GOCOLJOL**

jasuúhnúvstis

ja-suúhn-úvst-i=s

2B-fish:CMP-AND:DVN-NOM2=Q

‘Do you want to go fishing?’

GSP

jatuuli

ja-atuuliha

2B-want:PRC

There are two different forms for the Immediate. In (158a) the form is for a command, while in (158b) for the immediate past time frame.

158) a. **βJOLSIPO**

yeètiisteelvvhéena

yi-eètii-steelvvh-éena

IRR-1A.PL.AN-help:CMP-AND:IMM

‘We went to help.’

b. **TLPOLSITS**

iitalsteelvvhúuka

iitii-ali-steelvvh-úuka

1A.PL-MDL-help:CMP-AND:IMM(COM)

‘Let’s all go help!’

3.7. VENITIVE (VEN)

The Venitive suffix adds the idea of ‘in order to’ to its verb.⁴⁰ Feeling translates this as ‘to come to do something’ (Feeling 1975a:287). The five forms of this suffix are presented in Table 9; examples of each form are presented in (159). The example in (159a) bears the causative suffix as well.

Table 9: The five aspect suffixes of the Venitive

PRESENT CONTINUOUS	-íika
INCOMPLETIVE	-iíhíh-
IMMEDIATE	-iika
COMPLETIVE	-íihl-
DEVERBAL NOUN	-ist-

159) a. **ɪfɔWhS**

jiyóosthaníika
 ji-yóo-sthan-íika
 1A-break(I)-CAU:CMF-VEN:PRC
 ‘I came to destroy it.’

b. **ɪyɔSvɔWhθɪ**

keekinakhthoósthaniíhího
 keekinii-akahthoósthan-iíhíh-ó?i
 3PL/1DL-look.at:CMF-VEN:INC-HAB
 ‘They come to see us.’

c. **ɪɔJJS**

jistiitíík
 ji-stii-t-iika
 REL-2A.DL-lay.down (long):CMF-VEN:IMM\SUB
 ‘Where you two came and laid it.’ (Scancarelli 2005:355)⁴¹

d. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 uùnaskoósíihlv
 uunii-askoós-íihl-vvʔi
 3B.PL-dig:CMP-VEN:CMP-EXP
 ‘They came to dig.’

e. D\$W	DEUᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	LYᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ
ateéla	awatatlohísti	taàkilvʔhwstaane
ateéla	aki-atatloh-íst-i	tee-aki-lvʔhwstaaneha
money	1B-earn:CMP-VEN:DVN-NOM2	DST-1B-work:PRC
	‘I’m working to earn the money.’	

3.8. PRE-INCIPIENT (PRI)

This derivational suffix is attached to the Completive stem and indicates that an action is just about to take place. There are only four forms of this suffix; they are listed in Table 10, followed by an example of each. The Immediate use of this suffix indicates that the action is understood as immediately about to happen.⁴² This suffix is unusual in that it bears the highfall tone typical of deverbilized adverbs, nouns, and adjectives. The Present Continuous and Immediate have a similar translation, but speakers indicate that the action is more imminent for verbs in the Immediate stem.

Table 10: The four aspect suffixes of the Pre-incipient

PRESENT	CONTINUOUS	-ííti
INCOMPLETE		-iitíisk-
IMMEDIATE		-iitééna
COMPLETIVE		-iitíis-

160) a. **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 uùwóoniisííti
 uu-wóoniis-ííti
 3B-speak:CMP-PRI:PRC
 ‘He is about to speak.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:289)

- b. **ŌhUWlhJŌET**
 uùniisalaátáàniitíiskv
 uunii-salaátáàn-iitíisk-vvʔi
 3B.PL-lift:CMP-PRI:INC-EXP
 ‘They were about to lift it.’
- c. **ŌAbSŌ**
 uukoosiitééna
 uu-koos-iitééna
 3B-rot:CMP-PRI:IMM
 ‘It’s about to rot, it’s destined to rot.’
- d. **VŌŌSŌŌWhJRT**
 toòkáaskaléesthaniitíisv
 tee-ookii-áaskaléesthan-iitíis-vvʔi
 DST-1B.PL.EX-realease:CMP-PRI:CMP-EXP
 ‘We were about to let go of it.’

3.9. NON-PRODUCTIVE DERIVATION

A few derivational suffixes are no longer freely used on most verbs. Because these patterns of derivation are limited and idiosyncratic, they must simply be listed in a dictionary of the language. An example of non-productive derivation is seen in (161) below. Scancarelli identifies this as the ‘multiplicative’; King calls it the ‘multiple action’ suffix and states that only a few verbs take it (1975:90). This suffix does not appear in Pulte and Feeling or in Cook. An example from Scancarelli is in (161a); the verb from which it derives is presented in (161b). The derivational element is added to the Completive stem of the verb.

- 161) a. **TʔSGFRŌ**
 ihateelohoosvvhnv
 yi-hi-ateelohoosvvhn-vvʔi
 IRR-2A-find.out(multiple):CMP-EXP
 ‘If you should see or hear things...’ (Scancarelli 2005:355)

- b. **ŌŠGIRT**
 uùteeloohoosvʔi
 uu-ateeloohoos-vʔi
 3B-find.out:CMP-EXP
 ‘He found it out.’ (Feeling 1975a:9)

Pulte and Feeling give a few examples of *-ki-*, a suffix they call the ‘reversive’ that ‘reverses the basic meaning of the word’ (1975:282). An example is in (162a), followed by its basic form.

- 162) a. **EŌŠ**
 kv̀ska
 ji-v̀ska
 1A-weave:PRC
 ‘I’m weaving it.’

- b. **EYD**
 kvvkíiʔa
 ji-vv-kíiʔa
 1A-unweave-REVERSIVE:PRC
 ‘I’m unweaving it.’

4. SUMMARY

Cherokee verbs have two main resources for expanding verb stems: prepronominal prefixes and derivational suffixes. Prepronominal prefixes come in a fixed order before the verb; any given verb can have as many three of these prefixes. Many verbs never occur without a certain prefix. While having a basic form and meaning, all of the prefixes have different forms that occur in different environments as well as idiosyncratic usages and meanings.

This chapter has dealt with valency-changing prepronominal affixes in its own section as these changes affect the sentence as a whole by changing the number of

participants involved with the verb. Verb-valency is increased by the use of either the Causative or Applicative suffixes; the Causative generally attaches to intransitive verbs, while the Applicative usually attaches to transitive verbs. Valency-reduction takes place by removing a subject (using a Object Focus prefix) or by removing the object (using the Indirect Object Reflexive prefix). Another way of reducing verb valency is by using the Middle Voice prefix to indicate that the subject of the verb is also undergoing the action of the verb. Despite similarities in form and function, the Middle prefix distinct from the Reflexive. The Middle typically changes the semantics of the verb itself by indicating an action that happens spontaneously rather than by an active subject that initiates the action.

The final section of this chapter has dealt with derivational suffixes. These suffixes attach to the Completive stem of the verb and alter its meaning. Most of the suffixes have five forms, one for each verb stem. As with prepronominal prefixes, multiple derivational suffixes can attach to a verb, although it is unusual to see more than two. Both prefixes and suffixes create rich and complex possibilities for verbs; King estimates that ‘each regular verb stem can have over 21,000 possible forms’ (1975:34).

NOTES

CHAPTER 6

¹ In the literature on Cherokee this prefix has been called the counterfactual, the conditional and the negative. I will use the term ‘Irrealis’ to encompass all of these functions. King uses the term ‘conditional or negative’ (1975:61)

² King also says this prepronominal prefix can appear on an imperative stem to create a ‘tenseless stem’; Cook (1979:60) notes that *yi-* in combination with the punctual/imperative stem forms the adposes of a conditional sentence.

³ It is possible to use other constructions without *yi-*. In (1) both examples have the adverb *elikwu* that indicates an open-ended possibility.

1) a. **RPᵒᵒ GWY ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭ**
 eliwus jalaki tee-hátee-hlohk heelíʔa
 elikwu=s jalaki tee-hi-ateehlohka hi-eelíʔa
 possible=Q Cherokee DST-2A-learn:PRC 2A-think:PRC
 ‘Do you think you can learn Cherokee?’

b. **RPᵒᵒ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ GWY ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 eliwus chateehlohk jalaki jawooniihisti
 elikwu=s ti-hi-ateehlohka jalaki ja-wooniihist-i
 possible=Q DST2-2A-learn:PRC Cherokee 2B-speak:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Can you learn to speak Cherokee?’

⁴ Cook refers to this prefix as the ‘positive’ (1979:55), while King uses the term ‘empirical’ and states that ‘this prefix asserts that the verb should be taken as a matter of fact’ (1975:61). Pulte and Feeling use the term ‘relative’ (1975:242). King says that this prefix is used with the past events to indicate that the information has been reliably reported (1975:61).

⁵ The Relativizer does not lengthen the following vowel; an example with the same verb stem is in (2).

2) **ᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 kato úúst jayelv́s-éʔ jihniwi
 kato úústi ja-yelv́s-éʔi ji-ni-hi-iwi
 what thing 2B-mean:CMP-NXP REL-PRT-2A-say:IMM
 ‘What did you mean when you said that?’

⁶ Cook (1979:55) and King (1975:62) both use the label ‘translocative.’

⁷ Both Cook and King refer to this as the Partitive (1979:55, 1975:62). Cook describes the functions as indicating ‘spatial or temporal parallelism of path or

events’ and indicates that the name ‘partitive’ is used for its cognate in the northern Iroquoian languages (1979:64). Walker (1975:204) translates *ni-* as ‘still, yet, not yet.’ Foley calls this the ‘previative’ (1980:36).

⁸ A unit of time that does not follow this pattern is *khaʔlʔvʔi* ‘month.’

⁹ There appear to be contexts in which the Distributive prefix can be left off; for example, to emphasize the action of singing a single song. The mandatory use of prenominal prefixes varies from speaker to speaker. Feeling lists the verb ‘to iron’ with a Distributive (**ᑭᑭᑭ** *taàtheéska* ‘He’s ironing it.’) However, this verb is attested without the prefix as in (3).

- 3) **Dᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭ**
 ahnawo jiskinéehn jiìtheeska
 a-ahnawo ji-ski-néehn-ʔvʔi ji-htheeska
 3A-shirt REL-2/1-give:CMP-DVB 1A-iron:PRC
 ‘I am ironing the shirt you gave me.’

¹⁰ Koops (2008a) explores the idea that there is also a contrast in visibility between the Translocative and the Cislocative. Two of his examples are in (4).

- 4) a. **ᑭᑭᑭ**
 wátawo
 wi-a-at-awóoʔa
 TRN-3A-MDL-bathe(T):PRC
 ‘S/he’s swimming (e.g. down at the creek, not here).’ (Koops 2008a:2)
- b. **ᑭᑭᑭ**
 tiitawo
 ti-a-at-awóoʔa
 CIS-3A-MDL-bathe(T):PRC
 ‘S/he’s swimming (e.g. over there, in sight, e.g. pointing).’ (Koops 2008a:2)

Koops also states that the translocative assumes ‘a prior change of location to the current location’, whereas the Cislocative merely assumes that the referent has been seen at the location (2008a). Two of his examples are in (5).

- 5) a. **ᑭᑭᑭ** **ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ**
 thulsí waàkwathvsv
 thulsa-ʔi wi-aki-athvs-vʔi
 Tulsa-LOC TRN-1B-grow(I):CMP-EXP
 ‘I grew up in Tulsa (was born here, then moved there).’ (Koops 2008a:3)

b.	SWB	JLOR
	thulsí	tiikwathvsv
	thulsa-ʔi	ti-aki-athvs-vʔʔi
	Tulsa-LOC	CIS-1B-grow(I):CMP-EXP
	'I grew up in Tulsa (and was born there).' (Koops 2008a:3)	

¹¹ Cook (1979:72) states that this change occurs for North Carolina Cherokee with verbs with the Experienced Past final suffix and agentive nouns as well as verbs in the Immediate and Deverbal Noun stems.

¹² Several authors have identified verbs of motion as taking *-i* rather than *-a* in the Present Continuous and have thus labeled it as a 'motion' suffix. (Cook 127). However, many non-motion verbs in the Present Continuous take this ending ('to look at', 'to like', 'to name just a few examples) and some verbs of motion don't take this ending (the most obvious example being the verb 'to go'). While historically this suffix may have denoted motion, I have chosen to treat the final vowel as part of the Present Continuous stem itself since its appearance as /a/ or /i/ is unpredictable. Cook notes that the future construction is formed from the Cislocative and what he calls the Motion suffix: 'The *ta-* future can thus be analyzed as an idiom literally as "I am coming to..." parallel to English "I am going to..."' (Cook 1979:127). In its use in this future construction I have retained the term 'motion' for the *-i* suffix. Pulte and Feeling call this suffix the 'future.'

¹³ Like its common English translation, this construction comes from a construction indicating actual physical movement. Unlike English, the process of grammaticalization has not yet separated it enough from its original semantic origin. Thus while it is fine to say in English 'I'm going to sit here', this construction in Cherokee sounds decidedly awkward. The preferred way to convey this idea would be using the Intentional suffix.

¹⁴ Some speakers do not allow the future *ta-* to co-occur with the prepronominal prefixes *yi-*, *wi-*, or *ni-*, but other speakers find such constructions acceptable. Walker (1975:205) points out that *ta-* seems to indicate a near-future action that has a degree of certainty as to its occurrence; this meaning seems to make it semantically incompatible with these other prepronominal prefixes.

¹⁵ Pulte and Feeling (1975:254) state that these three prefixes are mutually exclusive but suggest that 'further study may indicate that [they]...should be analyzed as a single prefix. Such an analysis would require fairly detailed rules to provide the correct form of the prefix in the various contexts...'

¹⁶ Cook (1979:57) and King (1975:67) refer to this as the 'iterative.'

¹⁷ The speaker states that this sentence is from a morning prayer to the sun.

¹⁸ King (1975:68) refers to this prefix as the 'negative' and states that it conveys an idea of absolute negation or a negation of some duration; he translates these as 'hasn't done something since' This prefix also has some unusual usages for some

speakers that merit further exploration. For example, In (6a) *kaa-* serves to emphasize the individual times of teaching, while in (6b) the period of time is treated as an indivisible whole.

- 6) a. **WPᵒAᵒ** **ᵒSᵒᵒ** **hJESᵒᵒAT**
 thalskohi nateethiy nitikvvtteehyoóhvskóoʔi
 thali+skohi ni-ateethiia ni-ti-kaa-a-at-ehyohvsk-oʔi
 two+ten PRT-year PRT-DST2-NGT-3A-MDL-teach:INC-HAB
 ‘She has been teaching for twenty years.’ (Feeling 1975a:16)
- b. **WPᵒAᵒ** **ᵒSᵒᵒ** **hJESᵒᵒAT**
 thalskohi nateethiy nitateehyoóhvskóoʔi
 thalskohi nateethiia ni-tee-a-at-ehyohvsk-óʔi
 two+ten PRT-year PRT-DST-3A-DTR-teach:INC-HAB
 ‘She has been teaching for twenty years.’

¹⁹ King describes how it is possible to form ‘decisively negative verbs’ by using three Prepronominal prefixes together: *yi-* followed by the Iterative *ii-*, then *kaa-*. (1975:62)

²⁰ The only other possible postpronominal prefix would be the plural element *-nii-*. This prefix is always preceded by a Set A or Set B third person prefix, so it is simpler to consider it part of those prefixes. Instead of treating *-nii-* as a separate unit, this work treats *anii-* and *uunii-* as single units rather than a pronominal prefix followed by a plural prefix.

²¹ Potter refers to the Indirect Object Reflexive as the ‘animate covert argument’ (1996:117).

²² Most of this discussion of the Middle prefix is inspired by Kemmer (1993). The term ‘Middle’ in describing Cherokee is used for the first time in this work, but its use is not unprecedented in Iroquoian linguistics. For Tuscarora, Mithun (1976:68) states that ‘verb stems may contain a reflexive marker (*-at-*) preceding the verb root.’ Besides reflexive and reciprocal constructions, ‘The reflexive morpheme also appears in middle voice predications, where one’s action involves oneself as experiencer.’ For Mohawk, Bonvillain (1994:87, 95), in addition to describing reflexive *-atat-*, discusses a ‘semi-reflexive’ *at-* that ‘indicates a kind of middle voice.’ She describes this morpheme as coding subject-affectedness, constructions where an agent is assumed but not mentioned, and spontaneous events. She also describes how some verbs ‘require *at-* as part of a frozen verb base.’

²³ King calls this suffix the ‘benefactive’ (King 1975:89); Cook (1979:139) calls it the ‘dative’, and Pulte and Feeling (1975:286) refer to it as the ‘dative-benefactive.’ The

term ‘applicative’ is more general in that it encompasses any semantic role that is being brought into the core participant structure of the verb.

²⁴ The term ‘primary object’ and ‘secondary object’ are Matthew Dryer’s terms (1986). In a primary object language the notional roles ‘direct object of monotransitive clause’ and ‘indirect role of ditransitive clause’ are treated the same, while the notional role of ‘ditransitive direct object’ is treated differently. The indirect roles in Cherokee—the beneficiary, recipient, and so forth—are indicated on the verb, while the notional object is only referred to on the verb if it is plural and is hence ‘secondary.’ Since the indirect roles are almost always animate, this is another instance of an animacy preference in the language.

²⁵ There is also evidence for possessor-raising. The example in (7a) is from Walker. Speakers liked this example but I do not have examples of similar spontaneous utterances involving this verb.

7) a.	ᵐᵒᵐ	ᵐᵓᵓᵓ	ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ	ᵓᵓᵓᵓ
	jiistu	utoohiyu	jalvkwataneéha	amakeʔi
	jiistu	utoohiyu	ja-lvkwatan-eéha	amakeʔi
	rabbit	really	2B-like:CMP-APL:PRC	hominy
	‘Rabbit sure likes your hominy.’ (Walker 1975:226)			

b.	ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ	ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ
	jiniitatʔhnóo	tskhilawtiise
	ji-niitaʔtʔʔʔʔi=hnóo	ji-ski-hkhilawtiis-éʔi
	1A-tail=CN	REL-2/1-ride.on:INC-NXP
	‘You were hanging onto my tail.’ (Chapter 9.1)	

²⁶ King states that this suffix has more allomorphs than any other morpheme in Cherokee and that it is a root for the verbs ‘to use’ and ‘to happen’ (King 1975:88). This later verb is also composed of the Middle prefix.

²⁷ Often de-emphasis of the subject can be conveyed by other means. One common way is to use the pronominal prefix for ‘they’, even though there is no particular group of individuals referred to. In (8) the speaker uses an English passive with the indefinite ‘they’ to translate the Object focus sentence.

8)	ᵓᵓᵓ	ᵓᵓᵓ	ᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓᵓ
	ateél	taàkihʔ	tuùniinooskíise
	ateéla	tee-aki-h-ʔʔʔʔi	tee-uunii-nooskíis-éʔi
	money	DST-1B-have:CMP-EXP\SUB	DST-3B.PL-steal:CMP-NXP
	‘My money got stolen.’		

Scancarelli observes that the unspecified object construction is distinct from *khilo*. (1987:84). *khilo* is used ‘when the identity of the subject is unknown but relevant in context’; e.g. the identity of ‘someone’ will be revealed or will be important.

²⁸ King states that, ‘Semantically it appears that in many, but by no means all, instances *at(a)*- reflects the action of the verb back to the subject and *al(i)* conveys more frequently the notion that the subject is carrying out the action through his own resources’ (1979:58).

²⁹ King (1979:58) states that the *ataa*- and *al*- are in complimentary distribution and cannot be used interchangeably, but these examples seem to indicate the contrary.

³⁰ Kemmer refers to these frozen Middles as ‘deponents’ and states that their existence is a universal feature of languages with middle voice markers: ‘...verbs in certain MM [middle-marker] classes tend to have unmarked counterparts. The word “tend” is largely due to a single class of exceptions to this generalization. These exceptions are noticeable because they are quite widespread, in fact, I would venture to suggest, universal in middle-marking languages’ (1993:22).

³¹ An interesting pair is in (9). These examples are from the same speaker. At present it is unknown what causes the appearance of the Middle prefix on the second example.

9) a. **SFL**

kakééta

ka-kééta

3A-weigh

‘He, she, it is heavy.’

b. **OLFL**

uutakééta

uu-ataa-kééta

3B-MDL-weigh

‘He, she, it is heavy.’

³² Kemmer points out that the Reflexive in many languages is quite similar in form or sometimes identical to the Reflexive. In her discussion she states that the Middle conceives of the subject and object as being relatively less ‘distinguishable’ (and thereby less transitive) than the Reflexive. This ‘relative distinguishability of participants refers to ‘...the degree to which a single physico-mental entity is conceptually distinguished into separate participants, whether body vs. mind, or agent vs. unexpectedly contrasting patient. The fact that the reflexive form appears when the speaker desires to indicate greater conceptual separability of facets of a single referent than the middle would express, suggests that the reflexive marker in general has the function of designating events in which the initiator and endpoint participants

are to some extent distinct. ... The middle marker, on the other hand, has the basic function of indicating that the two semantic roles of Initiator and Endpoint refer to a single holistic entity' (Kemmer 1993:66).

³³ There are a few examples of verbal compounds in Cherokee, but their scarcity indicates that it is an unproductive process.

³⁴ King calls this suffix the 'reiterative' (King 1975:90) and says it indicates an action that had been previously begun.

³⁵ King calls this suffix the 'repetitive' (King 1975:90).

³⁶ An exception to the pattern described above is the common verb 'to happen.' This verb is composed of the Middle Voice prefix *ali-* and the Causative suffix (probably originally a root from which the suffix evolved). To create the meaning 'to accidentally happen, to happen to be' the suffix attaches directly to a base *-alis-*, as shown in (10),

10) ᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	ER	ᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ
uulstuuᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	keesv	nuulstóhthánᵱ
uu-ali-stuuᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	kees-vᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	ni-uu-alistóhthán-vᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ
3B-MDL-open-PCP	be:INC-EXP	PRT-3B-happen.accidentally-DVB

Dᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	Dhᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ
aàkhthvukaanv	aniiwooniiskᵱ
aki-hthvukaan-vᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	anii-wooniisk-vᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ
1B-hear:CMP-EXP	3A.PL-speak:INC-DVB
'Because it accidentally happened to be open I heard the conversation.'	

³⁷ King calls this suffix the ambulative (King 1975:88).

³⁸ The Ambulative in some cases seems to remove a seemingly frozen derivational suffix. In (12) the Completive stem of 'to chase' seems to have a frozen Andative on it (perhaps 'go after someone'), but when the Ambulative is added this part of the stem is removed.

11) ᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	Dhᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	ᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ
uhnawtvhno	ajikhehiítóðle	jíistvvn
uhna=kwu=tvv=hnóo	aji-khehvs-iítóðl-éᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱᵱ	jíistvvnna
there=DT=FC=CN	3O-chase:CMP-AMB:CMP-NXP	crawdad
'...and right then he started chasing him.' (Chapter 9.1)		

³⁹ King calls this suffix the andative (King 1975:91).

⁴⁰ Scancarelli (2005:373) refers to this as the 'proximate purposive.' She states that Cook first used the term 'purposive; she adds the modifier 'proximate' to distinguish

it from what she calls the ‘distant purposive’, which is referred to in this grammar as the Venitive.

⁴¹ This example is from a story about the little people; in the story some humans have come and placed their house across the path they use.

⁴² The term ‘pre-incipient’ is from Pulte and Feeling (1975:289). They describe *-ena* and *-i t i* as variant forms of the Present Continuous; I list them under the Immediate because of its formal and semantic similarity to the typical appearance of that stem.

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CHAPTER 7: THE NOUN

1. DEFINITION AND SHAPE OF NOUNS

The four major parts of speech in Cherokee are nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. Nouns are distinguished from these other three classes by several criteria. First of all, nouns have several possible functions in a sentence that cannot be filled by verbs or adjectives. Two of the most important functions are as the subject or object of a sentence, exemplified in (1).

- 1) a. **DYᵛJ DAᵛS**
 akiísti aàkooska
 akiísti a-kooska
 food 3A-rot:PRC
 ‘The food is turning rotten.’
- b. **KW IrᵛᵛT**
 joola jijiineélvʔi
 joola ji-jii-hneél-vʔi
 tobacco REL-1A.AN-give.to.someone:CMP-EXP
 ‘I gave him tobacco.’

As discussed in Chapter 6, some verbs can have two objects. In (2a) the first noun ‘cake’ refers to the object baked, while the noun after the verb ‘son’ refers to the beneficiary of the baking. In (2b) there are two nouns; the first noun ‘man’ is the recipient, and the second noun ‘dog(s)’ is the object of the action, or what is being given.

- 2) a. **SS** **ᵛSᵛᵛL** **ᵛCSᵛ**
káatu uukanáásta uùwáatuuhnv
 káatu uu-kanáásta uu-áatuuhn-vʔi
 bread 3B-sweet 3B-bake:CMP-EXP

ᵂᵂᵂᵂ	DJG	ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ
<u>uweéji</u>	<u>achúúja</u>	uuteethiyiískvʔi
uu-eéji	a-chúúja	uu-ateethiyiískvʔi
3B-son	3A-boy	3B-birthday

‘She baked a cake for her son's birthday.’ (Feeling 1975a:94)

b. **Dᵂᵂᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵂᵂ**

<u>askaya</u>	teejiiyaàkhàane	<u>kiihli</u>
a-skaya	tee-jii-aàkhàaneha	kiihli
3A-man	DST-1A.AN-give(living):PRC	dog

‘I’m giving the man dogs.’ (Scancarelli 1987:69)

In (3) the noun ‘Tahlequah’ is the location where the event described in the sentence occurs.

3) **Dᵂᵂᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵂᵂ**

<u>talíkwa</u>	waàwetoov	thlééka
talíkwa	wi-aki-etool-vʔi	thlééka
Tahlequah	TRN-1B-walk.around:CMP-EXP	while

‘I was walking around Tahlequah a short while.’

In (4) the noun ‘Cherokee’ is part of a postpositional phrase that includes ‘with’; the adverbial and adjectival functions of these phrases are discussed in Chapter 8.

4) **ᵂᵂ** **Dᵂ** **ᵂᵂᵂᵂ** **ᵂᵂ**

kato	at	<u>jalaki kʔhhti</u>
kato	a-atiha	jalaki kʔhhti
what	3A-say:PRC	Cherokee with

‘How does one say it in Cherokee?’

Nouns can also be used to directly call the attention of someone. Two examples of this vocative use are in (5). Both are inflected for second person; (5a) is singular and (5b) is dual.

5) a. **WSḥQᵛY**

thateeyóóhvski
ti-hi-at-eeyoóhvsk-i
DST2-2A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
'Teacher!'

b. **JᵛJḥC** **ᵛJᵛPAT** **ᵛLCᵛT**
tistiiyóóhli stiisuúlkóʔí stahlihv́vʔi
ti-stii-yóóhli stii-suúlkóʔi stii-ahlih-v́vʔi
DST2-2A.DL-child 2A.DL-quit:IMM(COM) 2A.DL-fight:INC-DVB
'You two kids stop fighting!'

c. **ḥTPᵛ** **Jᵛᵛ**
hikwalisi thikhewi
hi-kwalisi ti-hi-khewi
2A-pharisee DST2-2A-blind
'Blind Pharisee!' (New Testament, Matthew 23:26)

Nouns can also serve as predicates in clauses where the subject is equated with the predicate. In Cherokee the copula 'to be' is not necessary in these types of clauses. For example, in (6a), the noun 'sibling' is the subject, or what the clause is about, while the noun 'doctor' is the predicate equated with this subject. Similarly, in (6b) *talíkwa* is the subject; the predicate identifies it as 'the capital of the Cherokee Nation.'

6) a. **ᵛhV** **DSᵛSᵛJ**
uuniito akaʔnakth
uunii-to a-kaʔnakthi
3B.PL-sibling 3A-doctor
'Their sister is a doctor.'

- b. **WPE GWY DBC OVPR**
 talíkwa jalaki ayééhli uutoohlvsv́
 talíkwa jalaki ayééhli uutoohlvsv́ʔi
 Tahlequah Cherokee center place
 ‘Tahlequah is the capital of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.’
 (Feeling 1975a:73)

As seen in Chapter 5, only verbs are inflected for tense and aspect. If the equational clause refers to the past or future a ‘to be’ copula is needed to bear the final suffixes that indicate tense and aspect. This distinction is exemplified in (7).

- 7) a. **DLO DSΘSJ**
 aátawi akaʔnakhthi
 aátawi a-kaʔnakhthi
 Adam 3A-doctor
 ‘Adam is a doctor.’
- b. **DLO DSΘSJ FRT**
 aátawi akaʔnakthi keèsvv́ʔi
 aátawi a-kaʔnakthi keèsvv́ʔi
 Adam 3A-doctor be:INC-EXP
 ‘Adam was a doctor.’
- c. **DLO DSΘSJ FRT**
 aátawi akaʔnakthi keèséesti
 aátawi a-kaʔnakthi keès-éesti
 Adam 3A-doctor be:INC-AFT
 ‘Adam will be a doctor.’

In addition to this inability to indicate tense and aspect, most nouns have several other features that distinguish them from verbs. Verbs with pronominal prefixes undergo the rule of Pronominal Laryngealization; that is, they insert a lowfall tone on the third person singular and plural forms. In (8a), for example, the

pronominal prefix is lengthened and has the lowfall; the prefix on the noun ‘swimmer’ in (8b), however, remains short.

8) a. **DL̥̥AT**
 aàtawóoskóoʔi
 a-ataa-awóosk-óʔi
 3A-MDL-swim:INC-HAB
 ‘She swims.’

b. **DL̥̥AY**
 atawóoski
 a-ataa-awóosk-i
 3A-MDL-swim:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘She’s a swimmer.’

The *tee-* form of the Distributive prefix generally only appears on verbs; the majority of nouns (and all adjectives) use the form *ti-* (DST2). When *ti-* appears before a short /a/ the /a/ will delete. A trace of the deleted vowel remains, however, in the lengthened form *tii-*. An example of this is (9); in (9a) the singular form of the noun appears with the *a-* pronominal prefix, while in (9b) only the lengthened-vowel noun variant of the Distributive appears.

9) a. **DJW̥̥J**
 atiithasti
 a-atiithast-i
 3A-drink:DVN-NOM
 ‘a drink’

b. **JJW̥̥J**
 tiitiithasti
 ti-a-atiithast-i
 DST2-3A-drink:DVN-NOM
 ‘drinks’

Before the vowel /i/ the prefix vowel deletes as shown in (10).

- 10) **JZY** **Ų**
ti̇ti̇hnooki̇íski
ti-i̇ti̇hnooki̇ísk-i
DST2-1A.PL-sing:INC\AGT-NOM
'We are singers.'

When *ti-* appears before other vowels besides /a/ and /i/, it appears as *j-*. Again, this is a pattern that doesn't appear on verbs; the sole exceptions are the command forms of the Immediate and when adjacent to certain prenominal prefixes. In (11) four examples of this *j-* variant are demonstrated for the four vowels /e/, /o/, /u/, and /v/, respectively.

- 11) a. **VΛHQ** **Ų**
jeeneèyóóhvski
ti-ee~~n~~ii-eehyóóhvsk-i
DST2-1A.PL.AN -teach:INC\AGT-NOM
'We're his, her teachers.'
- b. **K** **ŲLLQT**
joostataalvʔi
ti-oostii-ataa-lvʔi
DST2-1A.DL.EX-RFL-sister
'She and I are sisters.'
- c. **JhR** **ŲJ**
juuniisvvti
ti-uunii-svvt-i
DST2-3B.PL-go.to.bed:DVN-NOM2
'hotel'

d. **C TCG @W O T**

jvkwahliiloòsthanvʔi
 ti-vki-ahliiloòsthan-vʔi
 DST2-1O-photograph: CMP-DVB
 ‘my picture, my pictures’

The *ti-* form of the Distributive undergoes aspiration when adjacent to the second person *hi-*, as seen in (12). In this example the /h/ and the /t/ are adjacent due to vowel deletion.

12) **T B G @ Y**

thiyeèyóóhvski
 ti-hii-eehyóóhvsk-i
 DST2-2A.AN-teach: INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘You’re his teacher.’

Most root nouns cannot be inflected for possession, and generally only derived nouns can be inflected for number and person. The number of root nouns that are not derived from other words is rather small; the majority of nouns are verbs that have been made into nouns.

The root nouns typically are common animals, relationship terms, and basic cultural items. Many of these roots are two syllables. A representative list is in (13). This list does not include the nouns for people or relationship terms; these nouns are always inflected and will be discussed in their own section.

13) Non-derived, two syllable nouns

Dl	ata	‘wood’
Dʃ	ama	‘water’
Dʃ	áama	‘salt’
Df	ali	‘sweat’
Dh	aʔni	‘strawberry’
lYb	takhsi	‘turtle’

ʁʁʂ	tlaayka	‘blue jay’
VB	toosi	‘mosquito’
Jʃ	tili	‘skunk’
ʁC	kiihli	‘dog’
ʁʂ	kiíka	‘blood’
AT	koʔi	‘grease’
Jʁ	kuhkwe	‘quail’
JJ	kuuku	‘bottle’
Kʃ	jooli	‘tobacco’
Zh	nohji	‘pine’
ʁʃ	oohla	‘soap’
ʁʁ	saasa	‘goose’
ʃM	seélu	‘corn’
Jʈ	thina	‘head lice’
ʁʁ	weésa	‘cat’
hʈ	yoóna	‘bear’

There are also many root nouns that have three syllables. A sample list of these nouns is provided in (14).

14) Non-derived, three syllable nouns

Jʁʁʈ	jíistvvna	‘crowdad’
DʂW	ateéla	‘money’
DAL	akoóta	‘prairie’
DGJ	ajáʔti	‘fish’
WWS	thaláatu	‘tree frog’
Dhʈ	ajina	‘cedar’
Dʃʈ	ahawi	‘deer’
ʃʂʂ	taamáka	‘horsefly’ (Feeling 1975a:74)
ʃʃʃ	tawóoli	‘mushroom’
RGʈ	eloohi	‘earth’
ʃʃKʂ	kahljoóte	‘house’
ʃʈZ	kanvvno	‘road’
ʁWʁ	kithaaya	‘cherry’

TØL	iinata	‘snake’
ɪWʂ	jithaáka	‘chicken’
YGS	khiyúùka	‘chipmunk’ (Feeling 1975a:144)
WMG	thaluúja	‘basket’
ØSʂ	uukama	‘soup’
ʒ.ʒ.ʒ	wahayi	‘wolf’

All root nouns are underlyingly at least two syllables long and end in a vowel; this vowel is often /a/ or /i/, with a minority ending in other vowels. Most of these root nouns, except for people, clothing, and body parts, do not normally inflect for person or number and cannot be directly possessed.

Derived nouns are generally verbs that have been turned into nouns, although it is possible to use adjectives as nouns as well as to derive nouns from other nouns. Some examples of derived nouns are in (15). The first word is the derived noun, and the word below it is the third person conjugated form of the verb from which it derives. Derived nouns always have a Set A or B pronominal prefix and may even have the Distributive prepronominal prefix *tee-*. (15a) and (16a) are the names of objects involved in the action of the verb and are derived from the Deverbal Noun stem of the verb. (17a) is a noun indicating a person who performs an action and is based on the Incompletive stem of the verb. In (17d) the noun is an object that is a result of the action of the verb and is based on the Completive stem.

15) a. **DYØJ**
 akiísti
 a-kiíst-i
 3A-eat:DVN-NOM
 ‘food’

b. **DYD**
 aàkiʔa
 a-kiʔa
 3A-eat:PRC
 ‘He eats it.’

- 16) a. **DLCʼɓJ**
 atahnthehti
 a-at-ahntheht-i
 3A-know:DVN-NOM
 ‘thought, mind’
- b. **Dlθɓɓ**
 aàtahnthéha
 a-atahnthéha
 3A-know:PRC
 ‘He is thinking.’
- 17) a. **JʂɕɕɔY**
 tiiteéhlohkwaàski
 ti-a-ateéhlohkwaàsk-i
 DST2-3A-learn:INC-NOM
 ‘student’
- b. **DʂɕɕɔAT**
 aàteéhlohkwáàskóʔi
 a-ateéhlohkwáàsk-óʔi
 3A-learn:INC-HAB
 ‘She learns it.’
- 18) a. **DɔCwɔT**
 ahnéhlthanvʔi
 a-ahnéhlthan-vʔi
 3A-translate:CMP-DVB
 ‘translation’
- b. **ɔɔCwɔT**
 uùhnéhlthanvʔi
 uu-ahnéhlthan-vʔi
 3B-translate:CMP-EXP
 ‘She translated it.’

Because deverbal nouns contain a pronominal prefix and a final suffix they will be at a minimum three syllables long. The process for deriving nouns will be discussed in the derivation section of this chapter.

As with verbs, nouns typically lose their last vowel in everyday speech. A few examples are listed in (19). Note that the syllabary spelling will preserve this final vowel

- 19) a. **D\$W** ateéla → ateél ‘money’
 b. **D\$** ama → am ‘water’
 c. **YC** kiihli → kiihl ‘dog’

If the final syllable starts with /h/ the entire syllable typically is dropped. An example is in (20).

- 20) **Dh** akééhya → ake ‘girl’

2. ROOT NOUN PRONOMINAL INFLECTION

Many nouns have a pronominal prefix as well as a Distributive prepronominal prefix. Pronominal prefixes can be referential or non-referential. A referential pronominal prefix straightforwardly indicates the person as well as the number of the noun. A non-referential pronominal prefix indicates something that has some relationship with the noun (e.g. a possessor of the noun), but does not indicate the person and number of the noun itself. In (21a) the first person Set A pronominal prefix indicates that the person and number of the noun is first person singular. In this example the pronominal prefix is part of an agentive derivation; i.e. a derivation that refers to the person or thing that performs the action of the verb. An example of a noun derived from a Set B verb is in (21b).

- 21) a. **h** **h** **h** **h**
 jiwoonííski
 ji-wooníísk-i
 1A-speak:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘I’m a speaker.’

25) a. **IrɔS**
 jiistu
 ‘rabbit, rabbits’

b. **DɔSɔ**
 askaya
 a-skaya
 3A-man
 ‘man’

In certain special contexts, it is possible for these non-inflected nouns to receive inflection in order to emphasize person or number. For example, in (26) the normally uninflected nouns bear the third person plural prefix.

26) a. **θθ SV ɔɔJ DhIrɔS**
 naana kato úúst aniijiistu
 na=na kato úústi anii-jiistu
 that=F2 what something 3A.PL-rabbit
 ‘What are those? Those are rabbits.’

b. **DhCŠB θ LYB ɔθYW**
 aaniwalóosi na taksi ùnkhi?la
 aanii-walóosi na taksi uunii-ahkhi?la
 3A.PL-frog that turtle 3B.PL-be.sitting:PRC
 ‘The frogs are sitting on the turtle.’

c. **JθWθ DhɪʔP**
 júúnathana aniisoókwíli
 ti-uunii-áthana anii-soókwíli
 DST2-3B.PL-big 3B.PL-horse
 ‘The horses are big.’

In (27a) the plurality of the dogs is emphasized with the pronominal prefix; the more typical way of saying this is in (27b)

27) a. **Θ DhYC DΛαW.θ**
 na aniikiihli anééythahi
 na anii-kiihli anii-ééythahi
 that 3A.PL-dog 3A.PL-wild
 ‘wild dogs.’

b. **YC DΛW.θ**
 kiihli anééythahi
 kiihli anii-ééythahi
 dog 3A.PL-wild
 ‘wild dogs’

Many of the non-human root nouns are common animals. A list of these nouns is in (28).

28) **LYB** taksi ‘turtle(s)’
ϕNθ tlaaykha ‘blue jay(s)’
Vb toosi ‘mosquito(s)’
Jp tili ‘skunk(s)’
YC kiihli ‘dog(s)’
DGJ ajáʔti ‘fish’
D†θ ahawi ‘deer’
Jαθθ jíistvvna ‘crawdada(s)’
LQA taahnúuko ‘gar (s)’
EH saasa ‘goose, geese’
TθL iinata ‘snake(s)’
hWš jithaáka ‘chicken(s)’
WWS thaláatu ‘tree frog(s)’
Jω kuhkwe ‘quail(s)’
ωH weésa ‘cat(s)’
fiθ yoóna ‘bear(s)’
G.θN wahayi ‘wolf(s)’

Important trees and plants are also commonly root nouns. A list of these nouns is in (29)

29) KP	jooli	‘tobacco’
Zh	nohji	‘pine(s)’
YW	kitaaya	‘cherry(s)’
Dh	ajina	‘cedar(s)’
†M	seélu	‘corn’
∅G	khalooweéti	‘locust tree(s)’
Dh	aʔni	‘strawberry(s)’
LC	tawóoli	‘mushroom(s)’ (Feeling 1975a:77)

Many root nouns are concrete items that are important in everyday life. A sample list of these is in (30).

30) S	kansta	‘stick(s)’
∅Z	kanvnoowa	‘pipe(s)’
J	kuule	‘acorn(s)’
KWh	joólani	‘window(s)’
AW	khoóla	‘bone(s)’
Z	nokwsi	‘star(s)’
∅L	nvvta	‘sun, moon’
∅Z	nvvnoóhi	‘road(s)’
∅	nv̀ya	‘rock(s)’
∅B	óosi	‘stove(s)’
RVh	svvtooni	‘barrel(s)’ (Feeling 1975a:155)
TL	vvtali	‘pond(s)’
DhW	ajiíla	‘fire(s)’
D	asthi	‘string(s)’
D	ama	‘water’
RG	eloohi	‘earth’
SPK	kahljoóte	‘house(s)’
∅S	steeyíta	‘rope(s)’ (Feeling 1975a:151)
∅Z	kanvno	‘road(s)’

WMG	thaluúja	‘basket(s)’
ʋSʋ	uukama	‘soup’
Dʋ	áama	‘salt’
DL	ata	‘wood’
DP	ali	‘sweat’
D\$W	ateéla	‘money’
DAL	akoóta	‘prairie’
YS	kiíka	‘blood’
AT	koʔi	‘grease’
JJ	kuuku	‘bottle(s)’
ǝL	oohla	‘soap’

Non-human root nouns indicate possession by attaching a possessive prefix to the noun *-ajeelííʔi* (typically shortened to *-ajeeli*) This pattern is exemplified in (31).

31) YC DTVʋ	kiihli akwajeeli	‘my dog’
YC GVP	kiihli jajeeli	‘your dog’

Nouns borrowed from other languages act like root nouns: they have no plural and do not normally carry a pronominal prefix. A few examples of these words are in (32); the first is from Nahuatl, the second English, and the third Spanish.

- 32) a. **WʋC** thamaahli ‘tomato, tomatoes’
 b. **Ch** waáji ‘watch, watches’
 c. **CS** wahka ‘cow, cows’

2.2. ROOT NOUNS WITH PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

2.2.1. Human root nouns

Human root nouns are not derived from another word and always have a Set A prefix. The citation form of these nouns includes the third person Set A prefix. For example, the root for man is *-skaya*, but a Cherokee speaker will always give the

word for ‘man’ with its default third person Set A prefix; i.e. *askaya*. Most speakers would not recognize the root by itself. The three singular forms are shown in (33).

- 33) a. **Irɔʂɔ** jiskaya ‘I’m a man.’
 b. **ʂɔʂɔ** hiskaya ‘You’re a man’
 c. **Dɔʂɔ** askaya ‘man’, ‘He’s a man.’

Many human root nouns refer to people according to general categories of gender, age, and ethnicity. A list of the gender and age-related terms is in (34). On all these forms the third person Set A pronominal prefix is a short vowel since Pronominal Laryngealization does not apply to nouns.

- 34) **Dɔʂɔ** askaya ‘man’
Dɪɔ akeéhya ‘woman’
Dθθ awíína ‘young man’
DW áátha ‘young woman’
DWɥG athanúúja ‘teenage girl’
DθɥG awiinúúja ‘teenage boy’
DɪG achúúja ‘boy’
DɪGG akeehyúúja ‘girl’
DʂGɪɪ akayúúlike ‘old woman’

Human nouns also refer to people according to their ethnic or national group. A list of these is in (35).

- 35) **DBθɔ** ayvwiiya ‘Indian’
DG WY ajalaki ‘Cherokee person’
DG J ajahti ‘Choctaw person’
DɪɪB akhwsaasi ‘Osage person’
Dɪɪʂɪ ajiikasa ‘Chickasaw person’
Dɪɪɪɪɪ aseminoli ‘Seminole person’
DJɪ akuúsi ‘Creek person’

DUG ɣʎ	asaawanuúki	‘Shawnee person’
DGʎr	ayuuji	‘Euchee person’
Dθʎr	anaji	‘Natchez person’
Dʁʎr	atvji	‘German person’
Dʉʎh	askwááni	‘Mexican person’
Dʂʎr	akalvvji	‘French person’

Three examples of human nouns in the third person plural are given in (36). In the first example the high tone of **DW** *átha* ‘young woman’ is lexically specified as being on the rightmost long vowel, so when the noun is pluralized it shifts to the right end of the third person plural prefix. This high tone is indicated by the double accent on the symbol <x>.

- 36) a. **DθW**
 aníítha
 anii-ǰ́tha
 3A.PL-young.woman
 ‘young women’
- b. **Dhʎʉ** aniikeéhya ‘women’
- c. **Dhʉʂʉ** aniiskaya ‘men’

Many of these human root nouns can also be used as nouns referring to languages; in such cases the Set A prefix can be left off (37), although some speakers leave it on.

- 37) **ʁʉhʉAʉ** **JB**
 hiwóoniiskos kuúsi
 hi-wóoniisk-óʔi=s kuúsi
 2A-speak:INC-HAB=Q
 ‘Do you speak Creek?’

As shown in (38), pronominal prefixes can also be used on nouns to address people.

- 38) **TᵛJG** **RᵛJB†**
 iistiijúúja eestiývva
 iistii-júúja ee-stii-yvva
 2A.DL-boy CSI-2A.DL-enter:IMM
 ‘You two boys come inside.’

This pattern of directly attaching Set A prefixes to nouns indicating group names is a productive process and is used with loan words in the language. In (39) is a sample of two borrowed names in their singular and plural forms from the Cherokee New Testament. The singular forms lack the prefix, but they carry it in the plural.

- 39) a. **ᵛPB** kwaálsi ‘Pharisee’
 DhᵛPB aniikwaálsi ‘Pharisees’
 b. **ᵛB** juúsi ‘Jew’
 DhᵛB aniijuúsi ‘Jews’

The nouns listed above refer to people according to basic categories of age, gender, or ethnic group. All of these nouns appear to be root nouns; i.e. they are not derived from another word. The majority of nouns that refer to people refer to more specific categories such as occupation, position, or some other characteristic. Such nouns are almost always derived nouns, usually derived from a verb. In the example in (40), the noun ‘teacher’ comes from the verb ‘to teach’; this verb is lexically specified as taking a Distributive pronominal prefix. This prefix appears as *tē-* on most verbs, but on nouns appears as *tí-* (DST2). This prefix must also appear on the derived noun.

- 40) **ᵛSᵛQᵛY**
 tiiteehyóóhvski
 ti-a-at-eehyoohvsk-i
 DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘teacher’ / ‘he’s a teacher.’

These derived human nouns and how to form them will be discussed in the section on derived nouns.

There is a small set of non-human terms that refer to animals that also take this type of inflection. Some of these are listed in (41).

41) a.	DC ω	achvvyá	‘male animal’ (Feeling 1975a:1)
	DhC ω	aniichvvyá	‘male animals’ (Feeling 1975a:1)
b.	DL	ápta	‘young animal’
	Dhl	anííta	‘young animals’
c.	DY θ	akíína	‘young animal’
	DhY θ	aniikíína	‘young animals’
d.	DY B	akiísi	‘female animal’ (Feeling 1975a:17)
	DhY B	aniikiísi	‘female animals’ (Feeling 1975a:17)

These terms could simply be exceptions, or they could actually be derived words with roots that no longer exist in the language; as a result, they appear as root words as well. These irregular nouns will be discussed in Section 2.2.5.

2.2.2. Body Parts

Body parts, clothing, and relationship terms are the only other non-derived nouns that regularly carry pronominal prefixes. Unlike human root nouns, body parts and clothing use the pronominal prefixes to indicate possession and not reference. A comparison of these three classes in (42) demonstrates that only the human nouns have referential meaning; the other three have a possessive meaning.

42) a.	D ω S ω	<u>h</u> iskaya	‘ <u>You</u> are a man’	but not: ‘your man’
b.	D θ h	<u>h</u> i?lééni	‘ <u>your</u> ear’	but not: ‘you are an ear’
c.	D L ω	<u>h</u> ahnawo	‘ <u>your</u> shirt’	but not: ‘you are a shirt’

All body parts can have a pronominal prefix to indicate possession; some body parts display inalienable possession in that they must always be possessed. Other body parts have slightly different possessed and non-possessed forms.

Inalienable body parts are understood to always have someone to whom the part belongs, indicated by either a Set A or Set B prefix. For example, in (43) the first noun bears a Set B prefix, while in the second example the Set A prefix occurs.

43) a. **D[∞]βh**
 akwoyééni
 aki-oyééni
 1B-hand
 ‘my hand’

b. **h^oA**
 jiìhnko
 ji-x̀hnko
 1A-tongue
 ‘my tongue’¹

Some body parts take Set A prefixes and others take Set B prefixes. As with verbs, this choice is unpredictable and is simply learned as part of the information about the noun. A list of the more common body parts is in (44) for Set A and (45) for Set B. They are presented in their stem form. Additional information is presented in parentheses; for example, some nouns take third person *ka-* or typically appear with a Distributive prefix.

44) Set A Body Parts

-ɸlééni	‘ear’ (ka-)
-hyvvsóóli	‘nose’ (ka-)
-xyesaɸt́v́ɸi	‘finger’ (ka-)
-hntóhḱv́ɸi	‘tooth’ (ka-)
-nvwóóɸi	‘shoulder’ (ka-)
-nv̀skééni	‘leg’ (ka-)
-theèskééni	‘his backbone’ (ka-)
-áakalo	‘thigh’ (ka-)
-aakwali	‘butt’ (ka-)

-xxtikééna	‘his heel’ (ka-)
-kvtekééna	‘forehead’
-hóóli	‘mouth’
-yelvíli	‘body’
-ʔkwali	‘cheek’
-hnkóóʔi	‘tongue’ (ka-)
-hnookééni	‘arm’ (ka-)
-yeesaʔtívʔi	‘finger’ (ka-)
-hntóhkívʔi	‘tooth’ (ka-)
-nvvwóóʔi	‘shoulder’ (ka-)
-nvèskééni	‘leg’ (ka-)
-hyvjééni	‘throat’
-khaskééni	‘hip’
-kahthóóli	‘eye’
-skhóóli	‘head’

45) Set B Body Parts

-oòyééni	‘hand’
-asuhkahlívʔi	‘fingernail’
-neekalívʔi	‘skin’
-ahanéekalv	‘lips’ (tee-)
-akháthv	‘face’
-alahsthéena	‘foot’
-ataahnto	‘heart’
-atiiyvvti	‘navel’
-yuukhálv	‘chin’
-sthikv	‘hair’
-kiihli	‘hair (animal hair)’
-eéla	‘liver’
-aksééni	‘butt’

All countable body terms can be inflected for plurality. For most of the body parts this prefix is the expected Distributive (DST2) *ti*- variant that appears on nouns. Two examples with ‘leg’ are in (46).

- 46) a. **JSOʷFh**
 tikanv̀̀skééni
 ti-ka-nv̀̀skééni
 DST2-3A-leg
 ‘his legs’
- b. **JhOʷFh**
 tiiniinv̀̀skééni
 ti-anii-nv̀̀skééni
 DST2-3A.PL-leg
 ‘their legs’

Many of the body part terms have a slightly different pluralization pattern. These body parts are an object derivation of the Incomplete stem and are distinguished by their *-v̀̀v̀ʔi* suffix. This derivation is unusual in that the plural prefix is the verbal *tee-* rather than the *ti-* is used on nouns; this is an Incomplete object derivation pattern that will be discussed in the section on derived nouns in Section 3.2.2. Several plural forms of Incomplete object derivations for body parts are listed in (47). In (47a) and (47d) the Distributive appears as *t-* before a vowel; if the *ti-* form were used, it would appear as *j-* before a vowel.

- 47) a. **SʔASʔT**
 tù̀hanéekaʔl̀̀v̀̀ʔi
 tee-uu-aanéekaʔl̀̀v̀̀ʔi
 DST-3B-lip
 ‘her lips’
- b. **SʔVE**
 teehítokv̀̀ʔi
 tee-hi-tokv̀̀ʔi
 DST-2A-tooth
 ‘your teeth’

- c. **SOPT**
 tuùhwítl'v'íi
 tee-uu-hwítl'v'íi
 DST-3B-wrist
 'his wrists'

All body parts, with the exception of blood, bones, and internal organs, have pronominal prefixes. Some body parts have alternate forms to show that they are not possessed. There are a few general patterns, but no way to predict which term will use which pattern. If the body part in question is not possessed this prefix has no semantic value and is merely part of the shape of the word. The distinction between possessed and non-possessed is therefore indicated in one of three ways. One way is for a Set A body part to have a Set B prefix when not possessed or vice versa. This pattern is exemplified in (48).

- 48) **ØΘMh** uunulaji 'her rib' **SΘMh** kanulaji 'rib'

A second pattern is for the pronominal prefixes to remain the same but with a slight change in the shape of the word itself. A few examples of this pattern are in (49).

- 49) **DSVP** akthóoli 'his eye' **DSW** akhtha 'eye'
SØAT kaàhnkóó'íi 'her tongue' **SØS** kaàhnka 'tongue'

A third pattern involves both a change in the shape of the word as well as a different prefix. This pattern is demonstrated in (50).

- 50) **ØhS'IT** uuneekal'v'íi 'his skin' **S'hS** kaneeka 'skin'
DØAP askhóoli 'her head' **ØØØ** uskha 'head'

Some Set B body parts can use the impersonal oo- when unpossessed. This alternation is seen in (51).

54) a. **DV DYLƏ**
 aje akwahnawo
 aje aki-ahnawo
 new 1B-shirt
 ‘my new shirt’

b. **JLƏ**
 tiwahnawo
 ti-aki-hnawo
 DST2-1B-shirt
 ‘my clothes’

c. **Gh JLƏ**
 jaáni juuhnawo
 jaáni ti-uu-ahnawo
 John DST2-3B-shirt
 ‘John’s clothes’

Unlike body part terms, individual clothing terms only use Set B prefixes to indicate possession. A sample set of the more common terms in their basic forms is in (55).

55) Clothing terms

-ahnawo	‘shirt’
-ahyvthli	‘tie’
-asuulo	‘pants’
-asano	‘dress’
-aliyo	‘sock’
-atleèsito	‘apron’
-alskweèthuwo	‘hat’
-aliyeèsuulo	‘glove’
-alaàsuúlo	‘shoe’
-atatlosti	‘belt’
-alyeèsuústhawo	‘ring’
-aasalééni	‘coat’ (ka-)

A few examples of the possessed forms are in (56). In (56a) the initial vowel of the stem deletes before the third person prefix, a common process that has already been seen with verbs. In (56c) the noun has a third person plural prefix and the Distributive prefix appears.

- 56) a. **KŠUZ**
 jookaàsano
 ti-ookii-aàsano
 DST2-1B.PL.EX-dress
 ‘our dresses’
- b. **JGPβŋG**
 tijalyeesuulo
 ti-ja-alyeesuulo
 DST2-2B-glove
 ‘your gloves’
- c. **JOPαΩSŊ**
 juunalskweethuwo
 ti-uunii-alskweethuwo
 DST2-3B.PL-hat
 ‘their hats’

For items that are considered inherently plural the Distributive always appears. In (57) are three possessed examples with ‘glasses.’ The fourth example is not possessed but has a dummy third person prefix that appears as a lengthened vowel on the Distributive.

- 57) a. **JGŠJOJ**
 tiiwakhthinóvti
 ti-aki-akahthinóvti
 DST2-1B-glasses
 ‘my glasses’

- b. **JGSJŌJ**
 tijakhthinóvti
 ti-ja-akahthinóvti
 DST2-2B-glasses
 'your glasses'
- c. **JŠJŌJ**
 juukhthinóvti
 ti-uu-akahthinóvti
 DST2-3B-glasses
 'his glasses'
- d. **JŠJŌJ**
 tiikhthinóvti
 ti-a-akahthinóvti
 DST2-3A-glasses
 'glasses'

A few clothing terms take the unpredictable third person *ka-*. An example is 'coat', shown below in its non-possessed in (58a) and possessed forms in (58b) and (58c).

- 58) a. **ŠUHh**
 kaasaléeni
 ka-aasaléeni
 3A-coat
 'coat'
- b. **DUHh**
 akwaasaléeni
 aki-aasaléeni
 1B-coat
 'my coat'

- c. **SUʰh**
 uusalééni
 uu-aasalééni
 3B-coat
 ‘his or her coat’

2.2.4. Relationship nouns

Relationship terms refer to humans and typically denote a family member, but can also refer to non-family members such as friends and neighbors. Such terms display inalienable possession; that is, they always refer to whose ‘relation’ the person is. Because a relationship implies two or more people, pronominal prefixes on relationship terms will in most cases reference two or more people. If the person referred to by the relationship term is a local person and the possessor is third person, then Set A animate prefixes are used. This pattern is exemplified in (59) for *-ji* ‘mother.’

- 59) a. **lr**
 jiiji
 jii-ji
 1A.AN- mother
 ‘I am his mother.’

- b. **ʁr**
 hiiji
 hii-ji
 2A.AN- mother
 ‘You are his mother.’

If the person referred to is third person, then Set B prefixes are used, as seen in (60).

- 60) a. **DYr**
 akiji
 aki-ji
 1B-mother
 ‘She is my mother.’, ‘my mother’

- b. **Ghr** jaji ‘She is your mother’, i.e. ‘your mother’
 c. **Ohr** uuji ‘She is her mother.’ i.e. ‘her mother’
 d. **Ohr** uuniiji ‘She is their mother.’ i.e. ‘their mother’

Relationship-type possession always refers to two or more people, even if one is the default third person. If both persons are local the Combined prefixes are used, as seen in (61).

- 61) a. **oYhr**
 ski ji
 ski-ji
 2/1-mother
 ‘You are my mother.’

- b. **EVl**
 kvvtoota
 kvv-toota
 1/2-father
 ‘I am your father.’

A list of some more basic relationship terms is given in (62)

- 62) Relationship terms²
- | | |
|---------------|---|
| -toota | father |
| -ji | mother |
| -ataathiínáʔa | offspring |
| -tuuta | grandfather (maternal) |
| -líisi | grandmother (maternal), grandchild ³ |
| -niísi | grandparent (paternal) |
| -tuji | uncle |
| -thloki | aunt |
| -to | sibling of the opposite gender |
| -n'vthla | brother (reciprocal term only) |
| -luuki | sister of a woman |
| -alííʔi | friend |

-alííkhti	boyfriend, girlfriend
-hyééhi	husband
-taliiʔi	wife
-eéji akeehúuja	daughter
-eéji achúuja	son

Some of these relationship terms have a special vocative *ee-* pronominal prefix that is used to directly address someone. Examples of this prefix are in (63).

- 63) a. **RVL** eetoota ‘father!’
 b. **Rlr** eeji ‘mother!’

In modern Cherokee this prefix is replacing the first person Set B pronominal prefix *aki-* and can now be used to talk about the person and not just to address him or her. For example, the phrase ‘my mother’ occurs four times in the Feeling dictionary; in all four usages the direct addressee form is used, even though it is clear from the context that ‘my mother’ is not being spoken to. One example from the dictionary is in (64).

- 64) **hAʔʔ** **JʒSʒ** **ʒʒʒʒʒʒ** **Rlr**
 nikoóhíilv tiihyehkahli teekáayewsko eeji
 nikoóhíilvʔi ti-a-hyehkahli tee-ka-xyawsk-óʔi ee-ji
 always DST2-3A-quilt DST-3A-sew:INC-HAB VOC-mother
 ‘My mother is always sewing quilts.’ (Feeling 1975a:131)

There are some other terms that indicate a relationship other than biological relationship that also follow the relationship pattern of possession. The word *alííʔi* ‘friend’ always uses a dual or plural pronominal prefix because the relationship is considered reciprocal; moreover, as seen in (65), this pronominal prefix is always Set B.

- 65) a. **ɔYθPT**
ookinalííʔi
ookinii-alííʔi
1B.DL.EX-friend
‘my friend’ lit. “He and I are friends.”
- b. **ɔLPT** stalííʔi ‘your friend’ lit. “He and you are friends.”
c. **ɔθPT** uunalííʔi ‘his friend’ lit. “They are friends.”

It is possible to use a singular form of friend if the plurality is implied for one part but not the other, as in (66). In these examples plurality is expressed by the *ti-* variant of the Distributive. In (66a) *ti-* appears as *j-* before a vowel.

- 66) a. **JF**
juulí
ti-uu-alííʔi
DST2-3B-friend
‘his friends’ (Chapter 9.3:10)
- b. **JGPT**
tijalííʔi
ti-ja-alííʔi
DST2-2B-friend
‘your friends’
- c. **JLPT**
tiikwalííʔi
ti-aki-alííʔi
DST2-1B-friend
‘my friends’

Terms for siblings are similar to this pattern but with an added layer of complexity. The term for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ both have special reciprocal forms. If both siblings are local persons, the Reflexive (RFL) postpronominal prefix *-ataat-* is

used; a Distributive prenominal prefix often appears as well for some speakers. In (67a) the Distributive prefix appears as *j*- before the vowel /o/.

67) a. **KoLLoE**
 joostataanvthl
 ti-oostii-ataat-nvthla
 DST2-1A.DL.EX-RFL-brother.of.man
 ‘my brother’ lit. “He and I are brothers to each other.”

b. **JhLoE**
 tiintaanvthl
 ti-anii-ataat-nvthla
 DST2-3A.PL-RFL-brother.of.man
 ‘his brother’ lit. “They are brothers to each other.”

In the third person the reciprocal form is interchangeable with a form similar to that described in the beginning of this section for ‘mother’ and ‘father.’ Compare (67b), above, with its non-reciprocal counterpart in (68), below. Besides lacking both the Distributive and the Reflexive prefixes, it also does not have the highfall tone.

68) **oC**
 uuhnvhli
 uu-hnvvhli
 3B-brother
 ‘his brother’

These sibling terms change depending on the gender of the person who is considered the possessor. Instead of a two-way system, as in English ‘brother’ and ‘sister’, Cherokee has a three way distinction. The term *-to* indicates a sibling of the opposite gender (68a), while ‘brother of a man’ (69b) and ‘sister of a woman’ (69c) have distinct terms. The more generic term *-to* treats the relationship asymmetrically (lit. “she is sibling-of-opposite-gender to me”) and there is neither a

Reflexive prefix nor a Distributive prefix. The special reciprocal terms, on the other hand, have both of these affixes.

69) a. **GV**

jato

ja-to

2B-sibling.of.opposite.gender

‘Your sister (of a man).’, ‘Your brother (of a woman).’

b. **JɔLLɔT**

tistataalvʋʋi

ti-stii-ataat-lvʋʋi

DST2-2B.DL-RFL-sister(of woman)

‘your sister (of a woman)’

c. **JɔLLɔE**

tistataanvʋʋthla

ti-stii-ataat-nvʋʋthla

DST2-2B.DL-RFL-brother(of man)

‘your brother’ (of a man)

These special reciprocal terms, despite the dual pronominal prefix and the Distributive prepronominal prefix, are still treated as singular nouns. In (70a), below, the lack of a prepronominal prefix on the verb makes it clear that the speaker only sees one brother. In (70b) a plural form appears; the speaker in this case indicated that the Distributive could appear on the noun without a change in meaning.

70) a. **JɔLLɔT**

tistataalvʋʋi

ti-stii-ataat-lvʋʋi

DST2-2B.DL-RFL-sister(of woman)

‘I saw your sister (of a woman) there.’

ɔhAiT

wijiikoʋvʋʋi

wi-jii-koh-vʋʋi

TRN-1A.AN-see:CMPEXP

- b. **TGLŃT** **ŠhAiT**
 iijataalvʔi teejiikoʔvʔi
 iijiii-ataat-lvʔi tee-jii-koh-vʔi
 2B.PL-RFL-sister(of woman) DST-1A.AN-see:CMP-EXP
 ‘I saw your sisters.’

Cherokee does not have specific terms for ‘niece’ and ‘nephew.’ These relationships are expressed by referring to the aunt or uncle.

- 71) a. **Θ** **DhWʔ** **DhJG** **ŠhŠh**
 naʔ aniithaʔli aniichúja kaajiituuji
 naʔ anii-thaʔli anii-chúja kaa-ji-tuuji
 that 3A.PL-two 3A.PL-boy ANP-1A.AN-uncle
 ‘I am uncle to those two boys.’ (i.e. ‘Those two boys are my nephews.’)

- b. **ʔP** **DGLŠhIT**
 haatlv awataatuujiiʔvʔi
 haatlv aki-ataat-tuujiiʔvʔi
 where DST-3B-RFL-uncle
 ‘Where is my niece, nephew?’ lit. ‘Where is the one to whom I am an uncle?’

If the second party in the relationship (treated as the object) is not mentioned, the Unspecified Object Reflexive prefix (RFL) appears. This prefix typically only appears on verbs; the only exception is this special usage on relationship terms. Two examples are in (72). The word for ‘uncle’ is different from the above word due to dialect difference.

- 72) a. **DGLŠhD**
 awataatuujiiʔa
 aki-ataat-tuujiiʔa
 1B-RFL-uncle
 ‘I am an uncle.’

- b. **DCLYBT**
 awataahlokiiyǎǎʔi
 aki-ataat-hlokiiyǎǎʔi
 1B-RFL-aunt
 ‘I am an aunt.’

Scancarelli observes that the possession pattern for ‘child’ is irregular (1987:302). A first or second person possessing a third person takes the Set B prefix as in (73a), but if both possessor and child are third person singular, the third person plural is used as seen in (73b).

- 73) a. **DOLr**
 akweéji
 aki-eéji
 1B-child
 ‘my child’

- b. **OLr**
 uweéji
 uu-eéji
 3B-child
 ‘his child’

- c. **JOLr**
 tiikweéji
 ti-aki-eéji
 DST2-1B-child
 ‘my children’

- d. **JALr**
 juuneéji
 ti-uunii-eéji
 DST2-3B.PL-child
 ‘their children’

2.2.5. Irregular root nouns

There are a few non-human nouns that do not appear to be derived but that do take referential marking. An example with the noun ‘animal’ is in (74).

74) DΛLT	hE	∅ΘLCHEΛ
anéehnaʔi	nikhǘ	uuntahlisane
anii-éehnaʔi	nikhǘʔi	uunii-at-ǘxhlisan-éʔi
3A.PL-animal	everywhere	3B.PL-MDL-gather(T):CMP-NXP
‘All the animals came together.’ (Chapter 9.3:15)		

A list of some of these nouns is given in (75).⁴ They are shown with their plural form to show that the initial /a/ or /u/ is indeed a Set A prefix. Many fish names fall into this category.⁵

75) a.	∅SʔGΛL	uukhsoðjanééta	‘goat’
	∅ΘSʔGΛL	uunakhsoðjanééta	‘goats’
b.	∅SʔJ	uuksúuti	‘diamondback rattler’ (Feeling 1975a:172)
	∅ΘSʔJ	uunaksúuthi	‘diamondback rattlers’ (Feeling 1975a:172)
c.	∅KΘJ	uujoonathi	‘rattlesnake’
	∅ΘKΘJ	uuniijoonathi	‘rattlesnakes’
c.	∅YW	uukhtha	‘seed’
	∅hW	uuniikhtha	‘seeds’
d.	∅hrǘ	uujiiya	‘worm’
	∅hrǘ	uuniijiiya	‘worms’
e.	∅ZSΘ	uunoðtééna	‘sheep’
	∅hZSΘ	uuniinoðtééna	‘sheep’
f.	DAW	akoola	‘perch’
	DhAW	aniikoola	‘perches’
g.	DGJ	ajaʔti	‘fish’
	DhGJ	aniijaʔti	‘fish (pl)’
h.	∅ZS	uunohka	‘bass’
	∅hZS	uuniinohka	‘bass (pl)’
i.	DhrǘEhʔT	ajiskvnikééʔi	‘carp’ (Chapter 9.2:25)
	DhrǘEhʔT	aniijiskvnikééʔi	‘carp (pl)’

Because there are so few of these nouns it seems likely that they are old derivations that have become shortened and/or the root from which they originally derived has fallen out of use. As a result they appear as root words; for the purposes of this grammar they are simply exceptions that must be learned.⁶ There are also some non-animate nouns that appear to be old derivations that pluralize with the Distributive *ti-*; these nouns are discussed in Section 3.6.3.

3. NOUN DERIVATION

3.1. OVERVIEW OF NOUN DERIVATION AND INFLECTION

Cherokee forms the majority of its nouns from verbs stems. Three of the five verb stems are available for derivation as nouns: the Incomplete, the Complete, and the Deverbal Noun. These deverbal nouns bear the same pronominal as well as prepronominal prefixes as their verbal predecessors. There are three nominalizing suffixes that combine with different stems to derive noun. The Nominalizer (NOM) *-i* appears on the Incomplete and the Deverbal Noun stems, while the Nominalizer (NOM2) *-i* (or its long form *-ííʔi*) appears only on the Deverbal Noun. The NOM2 form is distinguished from the NOM form only in that it has the option of appearing in a full or emphatic form; this form will be discussed below. The Deverbalizer (DBV) *-vʔi* appears on all three stems. The example below contains two of these suffixes. In (76) the first word is an agentive noun derived from the Incomplete stem of its verbal counterpart; part of this derivational process is a highfall tone added to the stem, indicated by a backslash and the abbreviation AGT. The second word is a location noun derived from a Deverbal Noun stem.⁷

76) ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ juuntaawóóski ti-uunii-ataat-woosk-i DST2-3B.PL-RFL-wash:INC\AGT-NOM 'I'm a Baptist church member'	ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ juuniilaàwisti juuniilaàwisti church	ᵀᵀ kéʔli ji-éhli 1A-member
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Agentive nouns are derived nouns that reference person and number like the verbs from which they are derived. Four examples of agentive nouns and their verbal counterparts are in (77) through (80).

77) a. **DΛʔQαY**
 anééhluhvski
 anii-eehluhvsk-i
 3A.PL-shout:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘cheerleaders’ (Lady Indians Championship)

b. **DΛʔQαAT**
 aàneehluhvskóoi
 anii-eehluhvsk-óʔi
 3A.PL-shout:INC-HAB
 ‘They shout.’

78) a. **DVYααY**
 athohkíiyaaski
 a-ahthohkiíyáàsk-i
 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘runner’

b. **DVYααA**
 aàthohkiíyáàsko
 a-ahthohkiíyáàsk-óʔi
 3A-run:INC-HAB
 ‘He runs.’

79) a. **ILCαY**
 tiitaawóóski
 ti-a-ataat-wóósk-i
 DST2-3A-RFL-bathe:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘Baptist’

- b. **DLŃŃAT**
 kawóoskóŃi
 ka-awóosk-Ńi
 3A-wash:INC-HAB
 ‘She baptizes.’
- 80) a. **JŃŃŃhŃ**
 juulv́hwístaanééhi
 ti-uu-lv́hwístaaneeh-i
 DST2-3B-work:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘worker’
- b. **SŃŃŃhŃ**
 tuulv́hwístaaneeho
 tee-uu-lv́hwístaaneeh-Ńi
 DST-3B-work:INC-HAB
 ‘He works.’

Almost all non-agentive derived nouns also bear Set A or Set B prefixes, but unlike agentives these prefixes are typically a default third person. Most derived nouns are capable of expressing plurality. Derived nouns may have a different tone pattern from the verb from which they derive; in the majority of cases this is a highfall tone. The Deverbalizer (DVB) and Nominalizer (NOM2) suffixes already have this tone, while in other cases a tone is added to the rightmost long vowel as part of the derivation process. In (81) is an example of a verb derived with the Nominalizer (NOM2) suffix in its singular and plural forms.

- 81) a. **DLŃŃŃT**
 ataawòstííŃi
 a-ataa-awòst-ííŃi
 3A-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
 ‘swimming pool’

- b. **ᑕᑭᑦᑎᑭᑦ**
 tiitawoðstííʔi
 ti-a-ataa-awoðst-ííʔi
 DST2-3A-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
 ‘swimming pools’

In (82) and (83) the Nominalizer (NOM2) suffix *-i* does not itself carry a highfall, so a highfall is inserted on the rightmost long vowel. This different tone pattern is indicated by a backslash and an abbreviation after the gloss of the part of the word to which it attaches. In most situations- and it is the case here-the tone change is on the stem. The abbreviation \OBJ indicates that this tone change is creating an object derivation. The examples in (82 and (83) are given with their plural form.

- 82) a. **ᑕᑭᑦᑎᑭᑦ**
 kanvkwaloósti
 ka-nvkwaloost-i
 3A-hammer:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘hammer’

- b. **ᑕᑭᑦᑎᑭᑦ**
 tikanvkwaloósti
 ti-ka-nvkwaloóst-i
 DST2-3A-hammer:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘hammers’

- 83) a. **ᑕᑭᑦᑎᑭᑦ**
 atííthasti
 a-atiithast-i
 3A-drink:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘something to drink’

- b. **ᑕᑕᑎᑎᑎ**
 tiitííthasti
 ti-a-atiithast-i
 DST2-3A-drink:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘drinks’

Non-agentive derived nouns typically refer to the object that is used for performing an activity or an object that is the result of the activity. These derivations contain a default third person pronominal prefix. It is clear from pluralizing such derivations that this pronominal prefix does not refer to the object itself; if it did, the pronominal prefix would also pluralize. In (84) are (85) there are two examples of such verbs with their plural counterparts. The pronominal prefix is more apparent in the *ka-* verbs, because the *a-* pronominal prefix is deleted by the Distributive prefix. As seen in (84b), there is still evidence of the pronominal prefix as the vowel of the Distributive prefix is lengthened.

- 84) a. **ᑕᑕᑎᑎᑎ**
 kaakaweésti
 ka-xxkaweést-i
 3A-paddle:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘paddle, oar’

- b. **ᑕᑕᑎᑎᑎ** tikaakaweésti ‘paddles, oars’

- 85) a. **ᑕᑕᑎᑎᑎ**
 ataahnehti
 a-ataa-hhneht-i
 3A-RFL-give:DVN\OBJ-NOM
 ‘gift’

- b. **ᑕᑕᑎᑎᑎ** tiitaáhnehti ‘gifts’

Many nouns are derived from verbs that always bear the Distributive prefix. These nouns cannot be pluralized: the pronominal prefix is set at singular, and the Distributive prefix is already on the noun. Two examples of such nouns are in (86). In the second example the noun form of the Distributive prefix (DST2) appears as /j/ before the vowel /u/.

- 86) a. **JLCCᵒWᵒT**
 tiitaahliiloòsthanvʋʋi
 ti-a-ataa-ahliiloòsthan-vʋʋi
 DST2-3A-MDL-photograph:CMP-DVB
 ‘picture, pictures’
- b. **JᵒSᵗᵗᵒJ**
 juuntehlokwaàsti
 ti-uunii-ateelohkwaàst-i
 DST2-3B.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2
 ‘school, schools’

Many derived nouns can take pronominal prefixes other than the third person to create a possessive meaning. For example, (87a) is the usual way of forming ‘swimming pool.’ To indicate ‘my swimming pool’, the pronominal prefix is the first person Set B prefix *aki-* (*akw-* before a noun) as shown in (87b). Another example is in (87c) with a proper noun as the possessor.

- 87) a. **DᵒLᵒᵒJT**
 uuntaawoòstííʋi
 uunii-ataa-woòst-ííʋi
 3B.PL-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
 ‘swimming pool, bathtub’

- b. **DLU@JT**
 akwataawoðstííʔi
 aki-ataa-woðst-ííʔi
 1B-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
 ‘my swimming pool’
- c. **Gh OLU@JT**
 jaáni uutaawoðstííʔi
 jaáni uu-ataa-woðst-ííʔi
 John 3B-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
 ‘John’s swimming pool’

Pronominal prefixes on these nouns often do not indicate possession, however. The word for ‘hotel’ has the literal meaning ‘place for them to go to bed.’ The owner of the motel is not necessarily a person who sleeps at the hotel; in (88) a verb indicating possession makes the relationship clear.

- 88) a. **DVLE** **JhR@J**
 aàkwoohla juuniisvvti
 aki-oohla ti-uunii-svvt-i
 1B-own:PRC DST2-3B.PL-go.to.bed:DVN-NOM2
 ‘hotel’
- b. **KPʔ@** **JOP@LBJ**
 joohlvas juunalstayhti
 ja-oohlvas=s ti-uunii-ali-stayht-i
 2B-own:PRC=Q DST2-3B.PL-MDL-feed:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Do you own a restaurant?’

Pronominal prefixes are typically Set A or Set B, but depending on the context Combined prefixes and Object Focus prefixes will appear as well. In (89a) the noun is a derived location noun, while in (89b) the noun is from a Completive stem. Both take an Object Focus prefix.

89) a. **FhAPβJT**

keejikooliíyèètííʔi
keej-i-kooliíyèèt-ííʔi
3O.PL-examine:DVN-NOM2
'clinic' lit. "place where they are examined"

b. **VGCGᵂWOT**

jejahliiloðsthanvʔi
ti-eja-ahliiloðsthan-vʔi
DST2-2O-photograph:CMP-DVB
'your picture, your pictures'

3.2. NOUNS FORMED FROM THE INCOMPLETIVE STEM (INC)

3.2.1. Agentive Derivation of Incompletive with Nominalizer (NOM) -i

This derivation is extremely common in Cherokee and creates a noun referring to the person or thing performing the action described by the verb.⁸ These nominalizations are formed from verbs by adding the *-i* suffix (NOM) to the Incompletive stem. An example is in (90). Agentive nouns typically have a different tone pattern from the stem from which they derive; this 'agentive tone' is indicated by a backslash after the stem and the abbreviation AGT.

90) a. **DSᵂTᵂAT**

aàteehlohkwáaskóʔi
a-ateehlohkwáask-óʔi
3A-learn:INC-HAB
'She learns it.'

b. **JSᵂTᵂY**

tiiteehlohkwaàski
ti-a-ateehlohkwáask-i
DST2-3A-learn:INC\AGT-NOM
'student'

In the above example the Distributive prefix *ti-* (DST2) is used in the noun form to indicate that this is a repeated or ongoing action; i.e. multiple instances of learning. This pattern of adding the Distributive to the noun form is not entirely predictable but occurs frequently.

Frequently the derivation adds a highfall tone to the rightmost long vowel. A short list of agentives and their verbal counterparts is in (91). Several of these nouns are inanimate objects and the interpretation is ‘something that VERBS.’

91) a. **DW_oSP_oY**
 alaàskalííski
 a-alaàskalíísk-i
 3A-play.ball:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘ball-player’

b. **DW_oSP_oAT**
 aàlaaskaliískóóʔi
 a-alaaskaliísk-óʔi
 3A-play.ball:INC-HAB
 ‘She’s playing ball.’

92) a. **D_oðJ_oJ_oY**
 ahyvvtlatiistííski
 a-hyvvtlatii-stíísk-i
 3A-get.cold-CAU:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘refrigerator, air conditioner’

b. **DBðJ_oJ_oA**
 ahyvvtlatiistiisko
 a-hyvvtlatií-stíísk-óʔi
 3A-get.cold-CAU:INC-HAB
 ‘It makes it cold’

- 93) a. **DBLTCᵒY**
 ahyvvtakwaloòski
 a-hyvvtakwalóòsk-i
 3A-thunder:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘thunder’
- b. **DBLTCᵒAT**
 ahyvvtakwaloòsko
 a-hyvvtakwalóòsk-ó?i
 3A-thunder:INC -HAB
 ‘It thunders.’
- 94) a. **JLSJᵒY**
 tiitakhtiiléék-i
 ti-a-ataat-kahtiiléèk-i
 DST2-3A-RFL-attack:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘attacker’
- b. **LSJA**
 taàktiíléèko
 tee-a-kahtiíléèk-ó?i
 DST-3A-attack:INC-HAB
 ‘He attacks.’
- 95) a. **DLVFᵒJᵒY**
 ataathoolstííski
 a-ataat-thool-stíísk-i
 3A-RFL-borrow-CAU:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘lender’
- b. **DLVFᵒJᵒAT**
 aàtaathoolstííska
 a-ataat-thool-stíísk-ó?i
 3A-RFL-borrow-CAU:INC-HAB
 ‘He lends.’

In the last two examples above the postpronominal prefix *-ataat-* appears on the noun form. This prefix appears on agentives that are derived from transitive verbs.

Because the noun derivation frequently refers to an entity that does the action without reference to the object, this prefix acts as a generic unspecified object. For example, in (96a) the word for ‘medicine man’ is shown; it comes from the transitive verb ‘to heal’ and ordinarily has an object. Because no object is mentioned, this form has the Unspecified Object Reflexive *-ataat-*. If the derivation indicates the object more specifically this prefix will not appear. In (96c) the first person plural Set B is the object of the healing and the *-ataat-* prefix is absent.

96) a. **ᑕᑭᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ**

tiitaahnvwíiski
 ti-a-ataat-hnvwíisk-i
 DST2-3A-RFL-cure:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘medicine man’

b. **ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ**

khanvwíiskóoʔi
 ka-hnvwíisk-óʔi
 3A -cure:INC-NOM
 ‘He cures him.’

c. **ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ**

jookiihnvwíiski
 ti-ookii-hnvwíisk-i
 DST2-1B.PL.EX -cure:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘our healer, our medicine man’ lit. “One who cures us.”

Note that for agentive nouns the rule of Pronominal Laryngealization does not apply.⁹ In the examples given above the third person form *a-* remains short with a low tone, while its verbal counterpart appears lengthened and with a lowfall as *aà-*.

In the following example in (97) three agentive nominalizations are illustrated. The first form of ‘teacher’ is singular and the second is plural. The third

nominalization comes from the verb ‘to become’ and has the meaning ‘they who will become’, referring to future teachers.

<p>97) ᑕᑖᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ tiiteeyóóhvski ti-a-ataa-eeyoóhvsk-i DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM</p>	<p>ᑎᑎᑦ naski naski that.one</p>
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<p>ᑕᑖᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ tiinateeyóóhvski ti-anii-ataa-eeyoóhvsk-i DST2-3A.PL-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM</p>	<p>ᑎᑎᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ yanalstíiski yi-anii-alstiisk-i IRR-3A.PL-become:INC\AGT-NOM</p>
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‘Language instructor for the Education degree program.’¹⁰
lit. “One who teaches those who are becoming teachers.”

Two more examples of agentive nouns are in (98). In the first example the tone change is on the stem, while in the second example it occurs on a derivational suffix (the Applicative) that attaches to the stem.

98) a. **ᑎᑎᑦ**
uutlééki
uu-atleek-i
3B-throw:INC\AGT-NOM
‘pitcher lit. “one who throws”

b. **ᑕᑖᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ**
tikawooniihisééhi
ti-ka-wooniihis-eéh-i
DST2-3A-speak:CMP-APL:INC\AGT-NOM
‘(Radio show) announcer.’

Unlike other derived nouns, the prefixes on the agentive nouns may be referential; i.e. the pronominal prefix indicates the person and number of the noun itself. An example of this is seen in (99).

- 99) **KGS†TαY** **VSS†αJ** **JACP**
 joojateehlkwaàski toòkakhsesti tikoohweeli
 ti-oojii-ateehlohkwáask-i tee-ookii-akasesti ti-ka-oohweeli
 DST2-1A.PL.EX-learn:INC\AGT-NOM DST-1B.PL.EX-watch:PRC DST2-3A-paper
 ‘We students are studying.’ lit. “We learners, we are watching them, the papers.”

Some verbs are specified as always having a prepronominal Distributive prefix. Agentive nouns derived from such verbs will bear this prepronominal prefix as well, but its form will be *ti-* instead of the *tée-* form that appears on most verb forms. Four examples of agentive nouns with this Distributive prefix are in (100) through (103); the nouns are listed with their verbal antecedents. These examples demonstrate the changes that the Distributive *ti-* undergoes in various environments. In the first case the *ti-* form is lengthened to *tii-* when it comes in contact with the pronominal prefix *a-* (which is subsequently deleted). In the second example the *ti-* appears before the vowel /i/. In the third example the pronominal prefix is the first person dual exclusive *oostí-*, which causes the *ti-* to appear as *j-*. In (103a) vowel deletion brings the *ti-* together with the pronominal prefix *hi-* (shortened to *h-* before the /v/ that starts the verb stem) to form the single syllable *thv-* in the nominalized form.

- 100) a. **JS†JαY**
 tikhthlatiìsk
 ti-ka-vhthlatíìsk-i
 DST2-3A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘firefighter’

- b. **ʂʂɬɬɔAT**
 teekhthlatíìskóʔi
 tee-ka-vhthlatíìsk-óʔi
 DST-3A-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
 ‘He puts out fires.’
- 101) a. **ʂhɬɬɔY**
 tiihntlatiìski
 ti-iinii-vhthlatíìsk-i
 DST2-1A.DL-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘You and I are firefighters.’
- b. **ʂhɬɬɔAT**
 teehtntlatíìskóʔi
 tee-iinii-vhthlatíìsk-óʔi
 DST-1A.DL-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
 ‘You and I put out fires.’
- 102) a. **ʂɔʂɬɬɔY**
 joostvhthlatiìski
 ti-oostii-vhthlatíìsk-i
 DST2-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘He and I are firefighters.’
- b. **ʂɔʂɬɬɔAT**
 toðstvhthlatíìskóʔi
 tee-oostii-vhthlatíìsk-óʔi
 DST-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
 ‘He and I put out fires.’
- 103) a. **ʂɬɬɔY**
 thvthlatiìski
 ti-hi-vhthlatíìsk-i
 DST2-2A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘You are a firefighter.’

- 105) a. **J̣əwəf̣əəỵ**
tiskweehyóóhvski
ti-ski-eehyoohvsk-i
DST2-2/1-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
‘You are my teacher.’
- b. **DỵəLḄəəỵ**
akstaayv́hvski
aki-staayv́hvsk-i
1B-feed:INC\AGT-NOM
‘my wife’ lit. “She is cook for me.”
- c. **YC** **Jhḥəəỵ**
kiihli tiiniiʔniiyííski
kiihli ti-anii-ʔniiyiisk-i
dog DST2-3A.PL-catch:INC\AGT-NOM
‘dog catchers’

3.2.2. Derivation of Incompletive with Deverbalizer (DVB) -v́ʔi

The Incompletive stem and the Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix create a noun that refers to an abstract or concrete noun. The Deverbalizer suffix is similar to the Assertive suffix but with a highfall tone. Two examples with their verbal counterparts are in (106) and (107).

- 106) a. **Dḷəḥə**
aàtaaleeníha
a-ataa-aleeníha
3A-MDL-begin:PRC
‘It is beginning.’
- b. **DḷəḥəəET**
ataleeniiskv́ʔi
a-ataa-aleeniisk-v́ʔi
3A-MDL-begin:INC-DVB
‘beginning’

107) a. **DL_oAT**
 aàtléeskóoʔi
 a-atléesk-óʔi
 3A-turn.off:INC-HAB
 ‘He turns off the road’ (Feeling 1975a:12)

b. **DL_oET**
 aàtléeskívʔi
 a-atléesk-ívʔi
 3A-turn.off:INC-DVB
 ‘turn-off’ (Feeling 1975a:12)

Words resulting from this process have the characteristics of both nouns and verbs. The Pronominal Laryngealization applies to them as if they were verbs; moreover, their plural is formed with *tee-* rather than the *ti-*variant that is usually used on derived nouns. Two example of this pluralization pattern are in (108).

108) a. **LL_oET**
 taàtléeskívʔi
 tee-a-atléesk-ívʔi
 DST-3A-turn.off:INC-DVB
 ‘turn-offs’ (Feeling 1975a:12)

b. **S_oET**
 tuuwuukhthʔ
 tee-uu-uukhth-ívʔi
 DST-3B-plan:COMP-DVB
 ‘his plans.’ (Chapter 9.3:11)

From a syntactic standpoint the above word is noun-like in that it can be in a typical noun role. In (109) below the derivation ‘turn-off’ is acting as an object.

3.3. NOUNS FORMED FROM THE COMPLETIVE STEM (CMP)

To create a noun that is the result of an action the Completive is used as a stem with the Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix -*ńńʔi*. In (112a) the noun has the meaning ‘one who has completely grown up’; the plural form of this noun is presented in (112b). The verb from which this noun derives is in (112c). The nominalized form emphasizes that the act of growing has been completed by adding the Terminative (TRM) derivational affix to the verb stem. These prefixes are discussed in Chapter 6.

- 112) a. **ʉʉʔCʉT**
 uuthvsohnńńʔi
 uu-athvs-ohn-ńńʔi
 3B-grow(I):CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB
 ‘old man’
- b. **ʃʉʉʔCʉT**
 juunthvsohnńńʔi
 ti-uunii-athvs-ohn-ńńʔi
 DST2-3B.PL-grow(I):CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB
 ‘old men’
- c. **DʉʉRT**
 uùthvsvńʔi
 uu-athvs-vńʔi
 3B-grow(I):CMP-EXP
 ‘He grew.’

Although this construction looks similar to the Incompletive object construction, it follows the more typical noun derivation pattern of pluralizing with *ti-* (DST2). In (112b) this prefix is before a vowel and appears as *j-*. As is typical with noun derivations, the pronominal prefix does not undergo Pronominal Laryngealization and remains short. By way of contrast, in (113) the Incompletive object derivation has the *tee-* plural and does undergo the Pronominal Laryngealization.

- 113) **LWʕRT**
 taàthaleesʕʕʕi
 tee-a-thalees-ʕʕʕi
 DST-3A-make.hole:INC-DVB
 ‘holes (that which has been drilled)’

A few examples of this derivation are provided in (114). As is common with any derivational process, the new word can have an unpredictable meaning; this new meaning is often more specific than the literal meaning of the derivation. For example, in (114b) the word for butter is simply ‘that which is made’, and in (114c) the word for ‘my home’ is ‘where I have gone.’

- 114) a. **JLCCʕWʕT**
 tiitaahliiloðsthanʕʕʕi
 ti-a-ataat-ahliiloðsthan-ʕʕʕi
 DST2-3A-RFL-photograph:CMP-DVB
 ‘picture’
- b. **APʕT**
 koohlvvnʕʕʕi
 ka-ooohlvvn-ʕʕʕi
 3A-make:CMP-DVB
 ‘butter’
- c. **JʕʕR**
 tiikwéenvvsʕʕ
 ti-aki-eenvvs-ʕʕʕi
 CIS-1B-go:CMP-DVB
 ‘my home’

3.4. NOUNS FORMED FROM THE DEVERBAL NOUN STEM (DVN)

The Deverbal Noun serves as the base for nouns indicating location and ability, as well as nouns referring to objects that are related to a noun. For example, this stem of the verb ‘to play’ can derive two play-related objects, as seen in (115). As is typical for nominalizations, the *ti-* form of the Distributive also appears on verbs in

their Deverbal Noun stem. In the second example the difference in meaning can be attributed to a Causative derivational suffix on the verb stem.

- 115) a. **DΛPJI**
aneéhlti
a-neéhlt-i
3A-play:DVN-NOM
'doll'
- b. **JΛPVJ**
tiinéehltohti
ti-a-neéhl-toht-i
DST2-3A-play-DVN:CAU-NOM
'toy'

Deverbal Noun stems can take two different final suffixes. The different kinds of nouns derived from the Deverbal Noun stem will be explored below.

3.4.1. Deverbal Noun Stem with Nominalizer (NOM) -i

This derivation creates the meaning 'for VERBing' or 'that which is VERBED.' Many of these derivations have a high or highfall tone to indicate their derivational status and typically use Set A prefixes. In (116) is an example of this derivation along with the Present Continuous stem form of the verb from which it derives.

- 116) a. **JtəJT**
tiisésti
ti-a-asést-i
DST2-3A-count:DVN\OBJ-NOM
'numbers'
- b. **LtəT**
taàsehíha
tee-a-sehíha
DST-3A-count:PRC
'He's counting them.'

This construction is very productive in Cherokee for forming nouns. A few more examples are in (117). As expected of nouns, these derivations pluralize with the *ti-* (DST2) Distributive. This is exemplified in (117c).

- 117) a. **ᵐᵒᵑᵑᵐᵒᵑ**
tikhanookíísti
ti-ka-hnookiist-i
DST2-3A-sing:DVN\OBJ-NOM
‘song, songbook’
- b. **ᵐᵒᵑᵑᵐᵒᵑ**
ataatoólíísti
a-ataatoólííst-i
3A-pray:DVN-NOM
‘prayer’
- c. **ᵐᵒᵑᵑᵐᵒᵑ**
tiikweénúùkiisti
ti-a-kweénúùkiist-i
DST2-3A-pinch:DVN-NOM
‘guitar’

Many of these derivations are created from verb stems that contain a Causative (CAU) derivational suffix. Many of these derivations have a highfall tone on the rightmost long vowel. The Causative suffix has been discussed in Chapter 6; a few examples are shown in (118).

- 118) a. **ᵐᵒᵑᵑᵐᵒᵑ**
tiihnawóóstoht
ti-a-ahnawoos-toht-i
DST2-3A-cover\OBJ-CAU:DVN-NOM
‘bed covers’ lit. “that to cover with”

- b. **DLCʼᵛJ**
 atahnthehti
 a-atahnth-əht-i
 3A-know-CAU:DVN-NOM
 ‘mind, feeling’
- c. **JʰUTʰPʰVJ**
 tiilsakwaleéhlítóhti
 ti-a-ali-sakwaleéhlítóht-i
 DST2-3A-MDL-roll-CAU:DVN-NOM
 ‘wheelbarrow’

If the verb from which the noun is derived is transitive, it is possible for the object of the transitive verb to be part of the noun. An example of this type of compound is in (119); compounds are discussed in greater detail in Section 4.

- 119) a. **Dʰ DʰθGVJ**
 ama akaanahwtóhti
 ama a-kaanaw-htóht-i
 water 3A-get.hot-CAU:DVN-NOM
 ‘kettle’

This Nominalizer is also used for borrowing nouns from other languages; two examples are in (120).

- 120) aataamooipiíli ‘automobile’ (Scancarelli 1987:24)
 bv́vsi ‘Bus’

3.4.2. Deverbal Noun Stem with Nominalizer (NOM2) - i(-ííʔi)

The combination of the Set B prefix and the Nominalizer -i (NOM2) can create a noun that refers to one’s ability to perform the action of the verb. An example is in (121).

- 121) **óósta tichanookiisti**
 óósta ti-ja-hnookiist-i
 good DST2-2B-sing:DVN-NOM2
 ‘your singing is good’

The combination of a Set B prefix and a Nominalizer suffix can also indicate the location where an activity occurs. These forms will typically be in third person; speakers will use either singular or plural without a change in meaning. Six examples of this extremely productive pattern are in (122). Many of these derivations bear an Unspecified Object Reflexive prefix to show that the verb from which the noun is derived had no specific object. The NOM2 Nominalizer is usually indistinguishable from the NOM Nominalizer; the former suffix, however, is able to appear in a full or emphatic form. It should be noted that this full form is much less frequent than the shortened form; of the eight examples below, only the last example has it.

- 122) a. **juunataaniísóhti**
 ti-uunii-ataa-niísóht-i
 DST2-3B.PL-RFL-bury:DVN-NOM2
 ‘cemetery’ lit. “where they bury people”

- b. **juuniikhwanayostííʔi**
 ti-uunii-khwanayost-ííʔi
 DST2-3B.PL-play.cards:DVN-NOM2
 ‘casino’ lit. “where they play cards”

- c. **juuniilaàwisti**
 ti-uunii-laàwist-i
 DST2-3B.PL-have.church:DVN-NOM2
 ‘church’

- d. **JΘJWαJ**
 juunatiithasti
 ti-uunii-atiithast-i
 DST2-3B.PL-drink:DVN- NOM2
 ‘bar’
- e. **DPZPJ**
 ahlnoohéhti
 a-ali-hnoohéht-i
 3A-MDL-tell:DVN-NOM2
 ‘phone’
- f. **JΘL.ḂPLαJ**
 juuntahi?liítáàsti
 ti-uunii-ataat-hi?liítáàst-i
 DST2-3B.PL-RFL-try:DVN-NOM2
 ‘courthouse’

For many location nouns there is the possibility of using the singular or plural form of the pronominal prefix. In (123) the two examples were given by two different speakers; both have the meaning ‘bank.’

- 123) a. **D\$WJJ**
 ateélatiiti
 ateéla+ti-a-ht-i
 money+DST2-3A-keep:DVN-NOM2
 ‘bank’
- b. **D\$WJhJ**
 ateélajuuniiti
 ateéla+ti-uunii-ht-i
 money+DST2-3B.PL-keep:DVN-NOM2
 ‘bank’

Location nouns derived from a Deverbal Noun sometimes take a default third person plural to create the meaning ‘place where they VERB.’ In (124a) the usual way of saying ‘school’ is shown; i.e. ‘place where they learn.’ To create a more specific

reference it is possible to change the pronominal prefix. In (124b) the literal meaning is ‘place where I learn.’ These more specific meanings typically translate into English with a possessive. (124c) demonstrates that the noun remains as a default third person singular regardless of the person marking being singular or plural.

- 124) a. **JΘSʋTɔJ**
 juuntehlohkwaàsti
 ti-uunii-ateelohkwaàst-i
 DST2-3B.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2
 ‘school’
- b. **LTSʋTɔJ**
 takwatehlohkwaàsti
 ti-aki-ateelohkwaàst-i
 DST2-1B-learn:DVN-NOM2
 ‘my school’
- c. **òYŋʋJ KSSʋTɔJ**
 oòkiilvókwti jookateehlkwaàsti
 ookii-lvókwti ti-ookii-ateehlohkwaàst-i
 1B.PL.EX-like:PRC DST2-1B.PL.EX-learn:DVN-NOM2
 ‘We like our school.’

One of the most frequent uses of the Deverbal Noun is to create a nominal clause that is a subject or object of a main verb. This construction also takes the Set B prefix and the Nominalizer *-i(-ííʔi)* (NOM2). Three examples are presented in (125).

- 125) a. **FSCZPVT** **0ΘSP**
 keekahlnoohehtóhti uùnatuuli
 keekii-ali-hnoohehtóht-i uunii-atuuliha
 3.PL/2.PL-MDL-tell:DVN-NOM2 3B.PL-want:PRC
 ‘They want to talk to us.’

both the pronominal prefix as well as the Distributive *ti-*. In (129) the root adjective is *-astííʔi* ‘little’ and in (130) the root adjective is *-yóóhli* ‘small.’

- 129) a. **ʔᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** uustííʔi ‘baby’ (from ‘small’)
 b. **ʔᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** juunstííʔi ‘babies’
- 130) a. **DᶜC** ayóóhli ‘child’ (from ‘little’)
 b. **ʔhᵛᵛᵛᵛ** tiiniiyóóhli ‘children’

3.6.2. Nouns derived from other nouns

A few suffixes change the meaning of the noun. Place names are often derived from a common noun; this process of derivation adds a suffix that consists of a vowel with a highfall tone followed by *-ʔi*.¹¹ This Locative (LOC) suffix indicates location, creating a meaning ‘place of NOUN.’ An example of a noun and its derived location counterpart is in (131).

- 131) a. **AT**
 koʔi
 ‘grease, oil’
- b. **ATT**
 koʔííʔi
 koʔi-ʔi
 grease-LOC
 ‘Greasy’ (town in northeastern Oklahoma)

The vowel that has the highfall tone is usually the same vowel that ends the original word. Four examples with words ending in /i/, /u/, and /o/ are in (132). The first two are towns in northeastern Oklahoma.

- 132) a. **ᵐᵃA** tahnúuko ‘gar’
ᵐᵃAT tahnúukóóʔi ‘Vian’
- b. **ᵐᵃ** kuùku ‘bottle’
ᵐᵃT kuùkúúʔi ‘Bartlesville’
- c. **Dhᵐᵃᵐᵃ** aniiskwaani ‘Mexicans’
DhᵐᵃᵐᵃT aniiskwaanííʔi ‘Mexico’

If the word ends in /a/, however, the process is unpredictable and the highfall vowel will be /o/ or /v/. Because it is unpredictable a dictionary of Cherokee would list these forms with the original word. Two examples are in (133).

- 133) a. **Dᵐᵃᵐᵃ** tlaàyhka ‘bluejay’
ᵐᵃᵐᵃT tlaàyhkʷʷʔi ‘Jay (a town in Oklahoma)’
- b. **Dᵐᵃ** akuúsa ‘Creek person’
ᵐᵃT kuusóóʔi ‘Muskogee (a town in Oklahoma)’

This suffix *-hi* is a less-common variant of the Locative and is also used to indicate a location. This suffix is probably no longer productive, but it occurs on some high-frequency words. Three examples are in (134). The second example could be literally translated as ‘place of rocks’; it most often occurs as an adjective.

- 134) a. **Gᵐᵃᵐᵃ** **DBC**
jalakííhi ayéehli
jalaki-hi ayéehli
Cherokee-LOC center
‘Cherokee Nation’ lit. “center of where the Cherokees are”
- b. **ᵐᵃᵐᵃ**
nv̀yóóhi
nv̀ya-hi
rock-LOC
‘rocky’

- c. **ʊB.ə**
 áamóóhi
 áama-hi
 salt-LOC
 ‘Salina’

The Locative suffix is also used to create words with an adjectival or adverbial meaning. This usage will be discussed in Chapter 8; the example in (135) can be used as an adjective or as a noun.

- 135) **lʊS.ə**
 hlawoòtúúhi
 hlawootu-hi
 mud-LOC
 ‘muddy (ground), in the mud’ (Feeling 1975a:130)

The suffix *-yááʔi* is used to indicate ‘pure’ or ‘real.’ In the example in (136) the first noun with the *-yááʔi* suffix is a root noun; the last noun meaning ‘inhabitant’ is itself a derived agentive noun. The highfall tone that is normally on the agentive noun is no longer present as no word can have more than one highfall tone; moreover, this tone is always found on the rightmost long vowel of a word.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 136) | DhBʊəT | DʂβC | Dʌ.əT |
| | aniiyvwwiiyááʔi | amáyéehli | aneéhiyááʔi |
| | anii-yvwwii-yááʔi | ama+ayééhli | anii-ééh-i-yááʔi |
| | 3A.PL-person-real | water+center | 3A.PL-reside:INC\AGT-NOM-real |
| | ‘Indians are Indigenous to America.’ (Feeling 1975a:90) | | |

3.6.3. Nouns derived from unknown sources

A few nouns in Cherokee appear to be derived in that they take the prepronominal prefix *ti-* to indicate plurality; at the same time, the original roots of

these words are unknown (A few irregular nouns with pronominal prefixes indicating plurality were listed in Section 3.5). The ability to pluralize is an unpredictable feature of a noun that must be listed with it in the dictionary. Eight examples are given in (137). With the exception of ‘tree’, all of these examples seem to have a Set A or Set B prefix. Many body parts fall into this category; the Incompletive object derivation exemplified in (137c) is especially common for this class of nouns.

137)	a.	DʌPʋ	atheeliíto	‘plate’ (Feeling 1975a:59)
		JʌPʋ	tiitheeliíto	‘plates’
	b.	ʋYLC	uukiítáhli	‘feather’ (Feeling 1975a:164)
		JYLC	juukiítáhli	‘feathers’
	c.	ʋʋPT	uùhwítlǎʋʋi	‘his, her wrist’
		SʋPT	tuùhwítlǎʋʋi	‘his, her wrists’
	d.	ʋET	tluhkǎʋʋi	‘tree’
		SʋET	teetluhkǎʋʋi	‘trees’
	e.	DʋʋV	akhwsto	‘pillow’ (Feeling 1975a:37)
		JʋʋV	tiikhwsto	‘pillows’
	f.	ʋʋW	uweela	‘liver’ (Feeling 1975a:184)
		JʋʋW	juweela	‘livers’
	g.	ʋʋHT	khaneèsáʋi	‘box’
		JʋʋHT	tikhaneèsáʋi	‘boxes’
	h.	SʋYG	kaaskilo	‘chair, table’ (Feeling 1975a:115)
		JʋʋYG	tikaaskilo	‘chairs, tables’

It is possible that the over time many such nouns lose the ability to pluralize as their status as derived words is forgotten.¹² Pulte and Feeling address this ‘morphological simplification’ in their study of the nineteenth century grammars. They point out that Pickering in his 1831 grammar lists several nouns with plural *ti-* that, in their modern form, cannot take this prefix (1977:275). This ability to pluralize is subject to individual or dialectal variation. For example, one of the forms that Pulte and Feeling consider unable to pluralize in modern Cherokee is ‘knife’; Holmes and Smith, however, list a *ti-* plural form of this noun (1977:108). It is possible that this ability

to pluralize is based upon the individual speaker's perception of the noun as being derived or not. For example, Feeling does not list any plural for **BY** *yvvki* 'fork, nail, needle'; he also does not refer the reader to a related verb from which this noun could be derived (1975:189). This noun, therefore, is a root noun for Feeling and, not surprisingly, has no plural form. Holmes and Smith, however, indicate that the literal meaning of 'fork' is "sticks-in", suggesting that they perceive this noun to be derived from some verb 'to stick into.' They list the plural form of this noun as **JBY** *tiyvvki* (1977:108).¹³

4. COMPOUND NOUNS

Compound nouns are nouns composed of two or more words. There are many different kinds of compounds. One kind is a blend, where the two roots have fused somewhat and are no longer pronounced or written as separate words. These compounds are indicated with the plus sign (+) between the parts being joined. Four examples are in (138). Most adjectives have a highfall tone; they lose this tone in a blended compounds, because any highfall in a word (and there can be a maximum of one) must be on the rightmost long vowel.

138) a. **D^hβC**
 amáyéehli
 ama+ayééhli
 water+center
 'America'

b. **A^hθ**
 koólééhi
 kóóla+a-eéh-i
 winter+3A-reside:INC\AGT-NOM
 'pneumonia' lit. "it lives in winter" (Feeling 1975a:122)

140) VLCŌE JSŪTŌJ	JSŪŌŌY
toótáwaaškʷ tiiteehlkwasti	tiiteehyóóhvski
tootawaàškʷ ti-a-ateehlkwast-i	ti-a-ataa-eeyoohvsk-i
Sunday DST2-3A-learn:DVN-NOM2	DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
‘Sunday school teacher’	

Compounds are often descriptive phrases. Some of these phrasal compounds look like a typical sequence of an adjective and a noun. These phrases are identifiable as compounds because their meaning is more specific than can be understood from the individual words.¹⁵ Several examples are in (141).

- 141) a. **ŌŪ JŪŌJ**
 nv́ta tiisesti
 nv́ta ti-a-asesti
 sun/moon DST2-3A-count:INC-NOM
 ‘Calendar’ lit. “for counting sun, moons”
- b. **SŪ DhV**
 tuuya aniijě
 tuuya anii-ijééʔi
 bean 3A.PL-green
 ‘green beans’
- c. **ŌZŌ SŌŪŪŪT**
 nvvnoóhi tuunatloóhíl’
 nvvnoóhi tee-uunii-atloóhíl-v’ʔi
 road DST-3B.PL-cry:CMP-EXP\SUB
 ‘Trail of Tears’ lit. “road where they cried”
- d. **ŌC ĞJŌŪ** **DŪVT**
 utli watiin’v́ta ahiitóóʔi
 utli wi-a-atiin’v́-ta a-hiitooʔ-i
 away TRN-3A-throw.away-PCP 3A-carry:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘garbage man’ lit. “carrier of that which is thrown away”

- e. **JAŌP** **JOhV**
tikohweéli tikhaniitó
ti-kohweéli ti-ka-hniitóóhi
DST2-paper DST2-3A-carry:INC\AGT-NOM
‘mailman’ lit. “carrier of papers”
- f. **ŌŌBB** **JhŌŌŌY**
uuhnǎvsiiyǎ tiiniíthlahǎski
uuhnǎvsiiyǎǎ?i tee-anii-thlahǎsk-i
cornerstone DST-3A.PL\AGT-set:INC-NOM
‘Freemasons’
- g. **ŌChYŬ** **DJWŌJ**
uuhlinííkit atiithasti
uu-ahlinííkita a-atiithasti
3B-strong 3A-drink:DVN
‘whisky’
- h. **HŌ** **STJ**
saakwu káakwathi
saakwu káakwathi
one wheel
‘wheelbarrow’
- i. **ŌŌŬŬŌJ** **DŌŬŌŌ**
uuntahlohisti aàstanvvhnǎ
uunii-atahlohist-i a-stanvvhn-ǎǎ?i
3B.PL-beat.in.a.race:DVN-NOM2 3A-draw:CMP-DVB
‘The winning line’ (Chapter 9.3:41)
- j. **ŌYŌ** **ŌYǎVJ**
skiin uukhilǎvttoht
skiina uu-khilǎvttoht-i
devil 3B-ride.on:DVN-NOM2
‘walking stick [type of insect]’ lit. “devil’s mount”

5. PRONOUNS

Pronouns replace more specific nouns. They can serve in the same roles as nouns, but cannot be modified by an adjective or a demonstrative.

5.1. DEFINITE PRONOUNS

There are only two definite personal pronouns in Cherokee. Their default meaning is singular, but in the proper context they can also refer to plural persons. They are listed in (142).

- 142) a. **Dβ, Dα** ahyv, ahya ‘I, me, my’
 b. **h.ə** nihi ‘you, your’

These pronouns are typically used for emphasis. An example of this is in (143).

- 143) a. **DB** **FŠ**
 ahyv kéeka
 ahyv ji-éeka
 1PRO 1A-go:PRC
 ‘I am going (even if nobody else is).’
- b. **h.əC** **GαʌPʃ**
 nihinv jayanúúliju
 nihi=nv ja-yanúúli=ju
 2PRO=F2 2B-fast=CQ
 ‘Are you fast?’

These pronouns are also used as single-word utterances. Three examples are in (144). The English has three different translations for the Cherokee word.

- 144) a. **ŠA** **OʋP** **əD** **ʏC** **Dα**
 káako uujeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
 káako uu-jeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
 who 3B-possession this dog 1PRO
 ‘Whose dog is this? Mine.’

b. **SA** **OP_αSCT** **AD** **YC** **D_α**
káako uùlskahlje hiʔa kiihli aya
káako uu-ali-skahlj-éʔi hiʔa kiihli aya
who 3B-MDL-bite:CMP-NXP this dog 1PRO
‘Who did the dog bite? Me’

c. **SA** **OPS** **D_α**
káako uùtlívká aya
káako uu-htlívká aya
who 3B-be.sick:PRC 1PRO
‘Who is sick? I am.’

As evidenced from the examples above, these pronouns differ from their English counterparts in that they only specify person; the specific context makes it clear if refers to the subject, the object, or a possessor. Each of these three roles is exemplified in (145).

145) a. **D_α** **αYSV_αS_αJ**
aya skikaàthoóstéesti
aya ski-kahthoóst-éesti
1PRO 2/1-look.at:INC-AFT
‘Look at me!!’

b. **D_αβC** **J_αOR** **DB**
amáyéehli tiikweenvvsʔ ayv
ama+ayéehli ti-aki-eenvvs-ʔʔi ayv
water+center DST2-1B-go:CMP-DVB 1PRO
‘My home is the United States.’ (Feeling 1975a:44)

c. **QZY_αL** **QZY** **D_α** **lrβhCT**
khanookíísta khanooki ay jiiyeeyoonʔi
khanookíísta ka-hnookiʔa aya jii-eeyoon-ʔʔi
song 3A-sing:PRC 1PRO 1A.AN-teach:CMP-EXP
‘He’s singing the song I taught him.’

The first and second person pronouns are usually understood as singular, but in the proper context it can be used to refer to dual or plural persons. Two examples are in (146). In the example in (146a) the clitic *hno* ‘and’ is attached to the first person pronoun.

- 146) a. **K ʃGh F†**
 joʔ yijjani keèse
 joʔi yi-ijji-aniʔa keès-éʔi
 three IRR-2A.PL-exist.there:PRC be:INC-NXP
- DαZ δαJWPα hFRT**
 ayahno oostiithaʔliwu jikeèsvʔi
 aya=hno oostii-thaʔli=kwu ji-keès-vʔi
 1PRO=CN 1A.DL.EX-two=DT REL-be:INC-EXP
 ‘There were three of you and only two of us.’
- b. **Dα TYhTJαJ OEOG†**
 aya iikiiyoohúúhist uùkvvwiíyúse
 aya iikii-yoohúúhist-i uùkvvwiíyúse
 1PRO 1B.PL-die:DVN\MOD-NOM instead
- BZ hH SGAL**
 siihno jiísa kaloneéeta
 siihno jiísa ka-looneé-ta
 than Jesus 3A-anoint-PCP
 ‘It should have been our death instead of Jesus Christ.’

5.2. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Indefinite pronouns are used to refer to a person, place, or thing when a more specific identity is unknown or irrelevant. The pronoun *khilo* is used when the identity of human subject or object is unknown. The verb conjugation treats this indefinite pronoun as third person singular. In (147) *khilo* refers to a subject; the second example translates as ‘nobody’ when the negative particle *thla* is placed before it.

- 147) a. **YG** **OC †**
 khilo uùhwase
 khilo uu-hwas-é?i
 someone 3B-buy:CMP-NXP
 ‘Someone has bought it’
- b. **Ľ** **YG** **G YGR**
 thla khilo yuhkiilo?e
 tla khilo yi-uu-hkiilo?-é?i
 NEG someone IRR-3B-wash:CMP-NXP
 ‘Nobody washed it.’

In the example in (148) this same indefinite pronoun refers to an object.

- 148) **Ľ** **YG** **ḂhAC.††**
 thla khilo yijiikoòwahtha
 thla khilo yi-jii-kohwahtha
 NEG someone IRR-1A.AN-see:IMM
 ‘I didn’t see anybody’

In the example in (149) *khilo* refers to the possessor of another noun.

- 149) **ḂLḂ** **YG** **OCḂ** **OCḂWOT**
 nuútale khilo uusuulo uùsuuláàn-v?i
 ni-uútale khilo uu-asuulo uu-áasuuláàn-v?i
 PRT-different someone 3B-pants 3B-wear.pants:CMP-EXP
 ‘He put on someone else’s pants.’ (Feeling 1975a:55)

If the unknown subject or object is inanimate, the indefinite pronoun *kohúústi* or *kóósti* is used. The latter is a shortened form of the former; the two are used interchangeably by speakers. As with *khilo*, the verb treats this pronoun as a third person singular, thereby triggering the appearance of the Set A or Set B pronominal prefixes. In (150a) and (150b) are examples of this indefinite pronoun as an object; in (150c) it is functioning as the subject.

- 150) a. **YĒ AFĀJ LĀAh†**
 kiihla kohúúst taskhooníha
 kiihla kohúústi tee-a-skhooníha
 dog something DST-3A-howl:PRC
 ‘The dog is howling at something.’
- b. **AFĀJ ǾhǾǾJ ǾǾSP**
 kohúúst uùnihwisuuti untuuli
 kohúústi uunii-hwisuut-i unii-atuuliha
 something 3B.PL-plant:DVN-NOM2 3B.PL-want:PRC
 ‘They want to plant something.’
- c. **Ē YG AĀJ GCV D†h**
 thla khilo kóóst yuuhntho ahani
 thla khilo kóósti yii-uu-anvhth-Ǿ?i ahani
 NEG somebody something IRR-3B-know:INC-HAB here
 ‘No one here ever knows anything’

5.3. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The two interrogative pronouns *kaako/kooko* and *kato* are used to question the subjects and objects of the sentence. The pronoun *kooko* is used to question animate subjects and objects. An example of each usage is in (151).

- 151) a. **AA ǾACW JSSǾ**
 kóoko hiikoðwahth tikaatúuhv
 kóoko hii-koðwahtha ti-kaatúuhvǾ?i
 who 2A.AN-see:IMM CIS-town
 ‘Who did you see in town?’
- b. **AA GSJB**
 kóoko jakhthiíye
 kóoko ja-kahthiíy-é?i
 who 2B-wait:INC-NXP
 ‘Who was waiting on you?’

used for an identity question for an animate but nonhuman subject or object. In (154) are three examples of these forms.

- 154) a. **SV** **QYQJ** **DQT** **QJHT**
kato skinúúst aàyá?i khaneèsá?i
kato skinúústi a-yá?i khaneèsá?i
what something.living 3A-be.inside:PRC box
‘What kind of (living) thing is in the box?’
- b. **SV** **QJ** **SGVT**
kato úústi teejatoo?i
kato úústi tee-ja-ataa-oo?i
what something DST-2B-MDL-name:PRC
‘What is your name?’
- c. **V** **QJ** **LVE**
to úústi taàjeéhla
kato úústi taàjeéhla
what something better
‘Which is better?’

6. MODIFYING THE NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase is minimally a noun, but it can expand to include other elements that modify it such as adjectives, determiners, and postpositional phrases. In (155) the first noun phrase consists of an adjective *-ééthi* ‘old’ and a noun *juuniiloosv?i* ‘ways.’ The second noun phrase is the determiner *na* ‘that, the’ followed by ‘stompground dance religion’; the two words preceding the noun translated as ‘religion’ (literally “that which they have allegiance to”) act as modifiers to that noun. The third noun phrase is an adjective *kalv?kwti* ‘sacred’ and a noun *ajiíla* ‘fire.’

155) DᵛᵃḂZ aàkwoohiyúhno aki-oohiyúha=hno 1B-believe:PRC=CN	ᵃᵃᵃ uuwééthi uu-ééthi 3B-old	ᵃḂḂᵃ juuniiloosv́vi ti-uunii-loos-v́vi DST2-3B-pass:CMP-DVB	
DᵛᵃḂ aàkwohiyu aki-oohiyúha 1B-believe:PRC	ᵃ ᵃḂḂ na kaáthíiyo na kaáthíiyo that stompground	Dᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ analskiiskv́ anii-aliskiisk-v́vi 3A.PL-dance:CMP-DVB	
Sᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ tuunanehltohtv́ tee-uunii-anehltoht-v́vi DST-3B.PL-have.allegiance.to:CMP-DVB	Dᵃ ale ale and	Sᵃᵃᵃᵃ kalv́kwti kalv́kwti sacred	DḂᵃ ajiíla ajiíla fire

'I believe in old ways. I believe in traditional stomp dance religion and the traditional sacred fire.' (*Cherokee Phoenix* February 2005)

The different ways of modifying the noun phrase are explained in Chapter 8.

7. SUMMARY

The number of original nouns in Cherokee is quite small when one takes into consideration the fact that most words acting as nouns are derived from some other part of speech, usually verbs. In order to understand the complex pattern of inflection for the Cherokee noun it is essential to keep in mind the distinction between root and derived nouns. Root nouns are the original nouns, underived from any other part of speech. There are two kinds of root nouns: human and non-human. Human nouns always have pronominal prefixes indicating number and person; a special subset of relationship terms takes prefixes referring to at least two people involved in the relationship. There are two groups of non-human root nouns that can inflect. Body parts and clothing terms can inflect for plurality and usually indicate who possesses them; in fact, many of these terms must always indicate a possessor.

Derived nouns have the pronominal prefixes and prepronominal prefixes that their verbal counterparts bear. They are distinguished from verbs by different tone patterns and, in most cases, the *tí*- (DST2) form of the Distributive. Derived nouns are formed from three of the five stems, the Incompletive, the Completive, and the Deverbal Noun, and can have a number of meanings, including a person or thing that is doing an action, a location where the action is taking place, or an object that is involved with the action or the result of the action. Many of these derivations involve adding a Deverbalizer suffix *-vʋʔi* (DVB). Deverbalizer suffixes play a key role in Cherokee grammar; they also convert verbs into adverbs that can modify other verbs in the sentence. These adverbials, and modifiers in general, will be the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

CHAPTER 7

¹ The body part ‘tongue’ is often written with the syllabary character **ᵐ** /nv/, but to my knowledge there is no form of this word that shows what, if any, the underlying vowel is. If there is no underlying vowel, there is often a common conventional spelling that has a ‘dummy’ vowel. Spellings do differ, however. In (1) is the same noun as spelled in the New Testament with **Z** /no/ instead of **ᵐ** /nv/.

1) Dᵐ	SZA	ᵐRhᵐT
ale	kahnko	uᵐsvvnílé?i
ale	ka-hnko	uu-asvvní-l-é?i
and	3A-tongue	3B-touch: CMP-NXP
‘...and he touched his tongue.’ (New Testament, Mark 7:33)		

² Holmes and Smith state that, ‘The Cherokee language used to contain a larger variety of relationship terms, such as special words for grandparents, aunts and uncles on the mother’s or father’s side, and for older or younger brothers. These have dropped out of use’ (1977:160).

³ Holmes and Smith suggest that this word means something like ‘skipped generation to him or her’ (1977:182).

⁴ The four generic animal terms could also be listed here, but I have chosen to list them with the human nouns. It seems unlikely that the generic animal terms are derived, given their semantic uniformity. The nouns in this section, however, don’t seem to have much in common (worm, sheep, rattler, etc.).

⁵ Wyman Kirk has commented (p.c) that fish aren’t particularly important or salient in Cherokee culture.

⁶ There are some non-human nouns that start with an /a/ or /ka/ that is merely part of the word itself. This is shown by the fact that there is no plural form of the noun. A list of non-human root nouns that appear with an initial /a/ or /ka/ is in (2). The fact that these forms are also used for the plural demonstrates that this initial sound is not a pronominal prefix, but a part of the word itself

2) DᵐW	ajiíla	‘fire, fires’
Dᵐᵐ	ajina	‘cedar, cedars’
Dh	á?ni	‘strawberry, strawberries’
DᵐJ	asthi	‘string, strings’
SᵐZC	kanvvnoowa	‘pipe, pipes’
ShᵐL	kansta	‘stick, sticks’

An example showing one of these words used as a plural is in (3).

-
- 3) **lrʔəJ Dh DθʔəəJəA əJWəP**
 thskwíísti áʔni aànahthvhistiískóʔi stiilaweeli
 thskwíísti áʔni anii-ahthv-histiísk-óʔi stiilaweeli
 a.lot strawberry 3A.PL-grow-CAU:INC-HAB Stilwell
 ‘They grow a lot of strawberries in Stilwell.’ (Feeling 1975a:45)

⁷ The word for ‘member’ appears to be an agentive noun that is derived from an Incomplete stem. The original verb, however, is no longer used. There are three clues that this is a derived agentive; 1) it has a pronominal prefix, 2) it ends in an *-i* that is typically used for nominalizing, 3) the high tone is probably the remnant of a highfall tone; in fact Feeling list this noun with a highfall tone.

⁸ As Scancarelli points out (1987:293) these derivations do not always warrant the term ‘agentive’ as is frequently used in the literature since they can refer to inanimate objects. Potter (1996) discusses this construction and demonstrates that it is indeed a noun and not a verb.

⁹ Typically these human nouns start with a short /a/ when referring to third person, but there are a few stems that have an initial long /a/. In such circumstances the third person form will start with a long vowel. An example is (4).

- 4) **DVhəY**
 aatoónííski
 a-aatoónííski
 3A-sorcerer
 ‘sorcerer, he’s a sorcerer’

¹⁰ Another speaker preferred the first verb in the above sentence without the Unspecified Object Reflexive, as in (5) below.

- 5) **JrəəəY**
 tikeeyóóhvski
 ti-kaa-a-eeyoohvsk-i
 DST2-ANP-3A-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘teacher (of them)’

¹¹ Other sources treat this suffix as an inflectional suffix. It seems to be a derivational suffix because it creates a word with the new meaning ‘place of NOUN.’ Place names stand alone and typically are not further inflected or derived. Thus *talíkwa* ‘Tahlequah’ can be the subject, object, or location of the verb.

¹² It seems that there is a tendency over time for the third person pronominal prefix to drop as the word’s derivational ancestry becomes obscured. For example, **DʔPʋ**

atheeliító ‘plate’ has a pronominal prefix for Feeling but not for Holmes and Smith who list it as **ᵐᵖᵛ** *telido*. They do, however, list a plural *t i*- form for this noun.

¹³ Likewise **ᵐᵍᵞᵑ** *uuloðkíli* ‘cloud’ has only a singular form for Feeling (1975:174), while Holmes and Smith list a plural form (1977:109). Holmes and Smith observe that ‘In general, words forming plurals with –ni- [i.e. the pronominal prefixes *-anii* or *-uunii*] are thought of as potent, capable of independent movement. Words forming their plurals with di- are thought of as a passive, incapable of independent movement’ (1977:109).

¹⁴ Potter notes a constraint on this kind of compound: if the verb is ditransitive, the noun can only refer to the secondary object (1996:120).

¹⁵ English has many examples of this phenomenon. For example, a ‘washing machine’ is not for washing just anything (e.g. dishes), but is specifically for clothes. In like fashion a blackbird is not any bird that is black, but a specific kind of bird.

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CHAPTER 8:MODIFIERS

The four main parts of speech in Cherokee are verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Adjectives are descriptive words that are able to modify a noun as part of a noun phrase or as the predicate of a clause. Adverbs are words that modify the other three parts of speech (verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs) as well as entire clauses and sentences. Unlike the other three parts of speech, adverbs are never found as predicates and are always modifying another word or phrase.

This chapter will introduce and discuss the features and functions of adjectives as a part of speech. Numbers and determiners are similar to adjectives in that they help to modify the noun; they are distinct from adjectives in their inflectional patterns. In addition to these different types of words, phrase level means of modifying the noun will be examined as well. All of these means of modifying the noun are included in the larger class of adjectivals.

The second section of this chapter discusses adverbs, the fourth part of speech in Cherokee. Adverbs are single words that modify a verb, adjective, another adverb, or an entire clause. The discussion of adverbs is part of a larger section on adverbials. An adverbial is any word or phrase that has an adverb-like function; it can be a single word (an adverb), a prepositional phrase, or a dependent clause.

1. ADJECTIVALS

1.1. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are descriptive words. As a predicate, the adjective bears the main meaning of the clause by describing the subject of the clause. an attributive adjective describes a noun as part of a noun phrase.¹ Most adjectives act like verbs in that they appear with prefixes that reference person and number; unlike verbs, they never

indicate tense. Attributive adjectives generally come immediately before the noun they are modifying. Two examples are in (1). In both cases the attributive adjectives (as well as other parts of the sentence) are shortened.

- 1) a. **SPK.ʒL** **DFGG**
 kahljóóhit akeehyúúj
 ka-ahljóóhita a-keehyúúja
 3A-fat 3A-girl
 ‘fat girl’
- b. **Θ** **ʉΛJhL** **ʉH** **JA@Lʌ** **SG.ʉʃSP**
 na uuneékújita weésa tikoóstay tuùwáayasuhkahlǎ
 na uu-neékújita weésa ti-ka-oóstayi tee-uu-áayasuhkahlǎvʔi
 that 3B-mean cat DST2-sharp DST-3B-claw
 ‘That mean cat has sharp claws’ lit. “That mean cat, his claws are sharp.”

Adjectives can also appear as the predicate of a sentence in which a statement is made about the subject of the clause. An example is in (2)/

- 2) **ʉʉʒL** **ʉh@LʒʃT**
 uwóóthita uùtskwalvvthǎvʔi
 uu-oothi-ta uu-tskwalvvthǎvʔi
 3B-swell(I):PCP 3B-ankle
 ‘His ankle is swollen.’ (Feeling 1975a:185)

Like many nouns and all verbs, adjectives can take Set A or B pronominal prefixes. Adjectives in Cherokee can be distinguished from verbs and nouns by their lack of tense and aspect inflection as well as their role in the sentence. An important difference between verbs and adjectives is the tone pattern. Verbs only have a highfall tone in subordinate constructions or when appearing as adverbials; almost all adjectives, on the other hand, bear a highfall tone. This feature suggests that most adjectives are derived from some other part of speech. A few adjectives are listed in (3); for each adjective it is necessary to state if it is a Set A adjective or Set B

adjective. These adjectives are listed with a dash indicating they need a prefix; most adjectives must appear with a pronominal prefix.

- 3) -ahyathééna ‘wide’ (Set A)
 -kééta ‘heavy’ (Set A:ka-)
 -yóóʔi ‘bad’ (Set B)
 -ootúúhi ‘pretty’ (Set B)

The morphology of adjectives is distinct from that of verbs. All verbs have final suffixes to express tense, aspect, and mood; adjectives must use an auxiliary verb to indicate these concepts. In (4a) the verb appears in one of five possible stems and is inflected with a final suffix to specify the tense; the adjective in (4b) has neither of these features and needs the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ to express the time frame. It should also be pointed out that whereas both concepts are expressed by an adjective in English, only one is an adjective in Cherokee. There are fewer adjectives in Cherokee than in English, as many of the concepts are expressed using verbs.

- 4) a. **DPʔPET**
 aàliiheélíìk-vʔi
 a-aliiheélíìk-vʔi
 3A-be.happy:INC-EXP
 ‘He was happy.’
- b. **ʃPKʂL** **hʔR**
 kalijóóhit jikeesv
 ka-alijóóhita ji-kees-vʔi
 3A-fat REL-be:INC-EXP
 ‘He was fat.’

Adjectives pattern with most nouns in that they use the *ti*- form of the Distributive prefix (DST2), while verbs (with a few exceptions) use the *tee*- form. (5) contrasts these forms of this prefix.

- 5) a. **S^oŪŪP^hŪ**
 tuùskwáàlsohnv
 tee-uu-skwáàls-ohn-vvʔi
 DST-3B-break(long):CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP
 ‘He broke them.’
- b. **J^hP^oŪŪP^hL** **h^hP^hR**
 juulskwáàlita jikeesv
 ti-uu-ali-skwáàl-ta ji-kees-vvʔi
 DST2-3B-MDL-break(long)-PCP REL-be:CMP-EXP
 ‘They were broken.’

Differences in form and function also distinguish adjectives from nouns. Derived nouns typically carry a highfall tone, while many root nouns do not. Almost all adjectives, however, do bear this highfall tone. In terms of function, most adjectives take pronominal prefixes, whereas for nouns there is a class of root nouns that does not. Moreover, there are differences in the plural inflection patterns that will be explored in the section below on number inflection.

Adjectives are similar in many ways to adverbs and they are often used in similar contexts. Adverbs, however, do not inflect, while most adjectives inflect for person and number. Adverbs are discussed at the end of this chapter.

All adjectives are at least two syllables long. The majority of them carry a highfall tone; if this tone is present, it will always be on the rightmost long vowel. For several adjectives this rule causes the pronominal prefix to carry the highfall tone. This highfall tone is indicated as two accents over the first vowel of the adjective. An example is in (6a) and (6b) for the adjectives *-áthana* ‘big’ and *-átskwiti* ‘crooked.’ In (6c) the adjective is not vowel-initial so the symbol <ǎ> indicates the presence of this highfall. For all the examples the double accent indicates a moveable tone that is placed on the rightmost long vowel.

- 6) a. **ŌΘWΘ**
 úúnathana
 uunii-áthana
 3B.PL-big
 ‘big, they are big’
- b. **ŌΘlrʔJ**
 úúnatskwiti
 uunii-átskwiti
 3B.PL-crooked
 ‘crooked, they are crooked’
- c. **oJJEʔoJ**
 stííkhvhisti
 stii-ǰkhvhisti
 2B.DL-cute
 ‘cute, you two are cute’

1.1.1. Inflection of Adjectives

1.1.1.1. Person Inflection

All adjectives are lexically specified as taking Set A or Set B pronominal prefixes. In (7a) the adjective takes the first person singular Set A prefix, while in (7b) the adjectives takes the first person singular Set B prefix. The adjective in these examples is derived from the noun ‘dirt’ by using the Attributive (ATB) -hááʔi.

- 7) a. **lrʔLʔT**
 jikaataahááʔi
 ji-kaataa-hááʔi
 1A-dirt-ATB
 ‘I am dirty.’
- b. **DYBʔ**
 akhiyóvtla
 aki-hyóvtla
 1B-cold
 ‘I am cold.’

The pronominal prefixes have been discussed in Chapter 4; the Set A and Set B prefixes are repeated below in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1: SET A PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	ji-/k-	iinii-	iitii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		oostii-	oojii-
Second Person	hi-	stii-	ijjii-
Third person	a-, ka-	-	anii-

TABLE 2: SET B PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

PERSON REFERENCE	Singular	Dual (DL)	Plural (PL)
First Person Inclusive	aki-/akw-	kinii-	ikiii-
First Person Exclusive (EX)		ookinii-	ookii-
Second Person	ja-	stii-	ijjii-
Third person	uu-, uw-	-	uunii-

As with verbs and nouns, it is unpredictable which adjectives will use which set. These two kinds of adjectives are distinguished by the labels ‘Set A adjective’ and ‘Set B adjective.’ The Set A adjectives can be further classified into those that take *a-* in the third person and those that take *ka-*. The third person *a-* only appears if what is being referred to is animate, as demonstrated by the examples in (8).

- 8) a. **SUT**
 kaataahááʔi
 kaataa-hááʔi
 dirt-ATB
 ‘dirty, it is dirty’

- b. **DSLT**
 akaataahááʔi
 a-kaataa-hááʔi
 3A-dirt-ATB
 ‘He is dirty.’
- c. **TSLT**
 tikaataahááʔi
 ti-kaataa-hááʔi
 DST2-dirt-ATB
 ‘They (inanimate) are dirty.’
- d. **DhSLT**
 aniikaataahááʔi
 anii-kaataa-hááʔi
 3A.PL-dirt-ATB
 ‘They (animate) are dirty.’

As shown in (9), Set A adjectives that begin with a vowel delete the Set A third person singular prefix *a-*. Even though it is not pronounced, an underlying *a-* is postulated for this adjective; evidence for this assumption is the fact that the plural form does take a prefix, as seen in (9b). The inanimate form has no plural pronominal prefix, as shown in (9c); in this case plurality is indicated by a Distributive prefix.

- 9) b. **ǾǾL**
 óósta
 a-óósta
 3A-good
 ‘good, he/she is good’
- b. **DZǾL**
 anóósta
 anii-óósta
 3A.PL-good
 ‘They are good (animate).’

- b. **K^oŪL**
 jóóstá
 ti-óóstá
 DST2-good
 ‘They are good (inanimate).’

As demonstrated in (10), Set A *ka-* adjectives always carry a prefix regardless of animacy.

- 10) **SFL**
 kakééta
 ka-kééta
 3A-heavy
 ‘He, she, it is heavy.’

Set B adjectives take Set B pronominal prefixes regardless of animacy, as seen in (11).

- 11) **ŪBδ**
 uuhyvvtla
 uu-hyvvtla
 3B-cold
 ‘cold’, ‘He, she, it is cold.’

Notice that Set A adjectives distinguish animacy (he/she vs. it) whereas Set B adjectives treat them all the same; i.e. all Set B adjectives take pronominal prefixes.

Some adjectives begin with a vowel, although this isn’t always as apparent for Set B adjectives because the third person citation form of the adjective will carry the default third person prefix *uu-*. For example, the adjective ‘deaf and dumb’ in (12a) begins with a third person prefix; to find out the initial sound of the word it is necessary to attach a first person prefix, as in (12b). In this case the initial /v/ sound triggers the *uw-* form of the third person Set B prefix.

12) a. **ŪĶŦŪ**

uwakhééwi
 uu-vkhééwi
 3B-deaf/dumb
 ‘He is deaf and dumb.’

b. **DĒŦŪ**

akwvkhééwi
 aki-vkhééwi
 1B-deaf/dumb
 ‘I am deaf and dumb.’

A sample list of Set A and Set B adjectives is in (13) and (14), respectively. A few of these adjectives are marked with a dash, indicating that they always will have a pronominal prefix. Adjectives that always require prefixes are inherently animate adjectives (e.g. ‘smart’) and Set A *ka-* adjectives.

13) Set A adjectives

sakhoóníkéeʔi	‘blue
eehlawéeʔi	‘quiet’
kiíkákéeʔi	‘red’
éékwa	‘huge, large’
-samááti	‘smart’
-khééwi	‘blind’
-alijóóhita (ka-)	‘fat’
-chinóósta (ka-)	‘straight’
-vvjahlánv́hi (ka-)	‘fried’

The Set B forms are preceded by a dash, an indication that the natural form of the word must have a pronominal prefix.

14) Set B adjectives

-áthana	‘big, large’
-vkhééwi	‘deaf and dumb’

-eéhnaʔi	‘rich’
-nekuújita	‘mean’
-ééthi	‘old (object)’
-hyvvtla	‘cold’
-astííʔi	‘little’
-skanóóli	‘slow’ (Chapter 9.3:6)
-waàsívhi	‘numb’ (Feeling 1975a:182)
-khayóóta	‘dry’
-aleesóóta	‘skinny’
-alskééta	‘important, sacred’
-thlóoyi	‘same’ (Chapter 9.3:46,55)
-alstuʔííta	‘open’
-alsuúhwita	‘colored’
-nééka	‘white’

Besides being specified as taking a Set A or Set B prefix, some adjectives always appear with a prepronominal prefix. This feature is unpredictable and a comprehensive dictionary of the language would have to list this information in the entry for that adjective. For example, the Distributive prefix always appears on the different forms of the adjective ‘spotted’, as seen in (15).

- 15) a. **Jh@TSC**
 juuníískwakahli
 ti-uunii-ǰskwakahli
 DST2-3B.PL-spotted
 ‘striped, they are striped’ (Chapter 9.2:28)

- b. **J@TSC**
 júúskwakahli
 ti-uu-ǰskwakahli
 DST2-3B-stripped
 ‘striped, it is striped’ (Chapter 9.2:26)

Some adjectives are inherently plural because they refer to inherently plural nouns; for example, the adjective in (16a) refers to two eyes. Adjectives derived from verbs that always bear a Distributive (or any other prenominal prefix) will also bear that prefix, as seen in (16b)

16) a. **ᐃᐢᐢᐅ**

tijipkhééwi
 ti-ji-hkhééwi
 DST2-1A-blind
 ‘I’m blind.’

- b. **ᐃᐅ** **ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ** **ᐢᐅ** **ᐢᐅᐅ**
 nookw juuyvwéechon’ keese jiist
 nookwu ti-uu-yvwéej-ohn-ý’ý’i kees-é’i jiistu
 now DST2-3B-be.tired:CMF-TRM:CMF-DVB be:INC-NXP rabbit
 ‘The rabbit was wore out.’ (Chapter 9.3:37)

1.1.1.2. Number Inflection

Adjectives, unlike nouns, always indicate plurality. Adjectives modifying plural local persons take the appropriate Set A or Set B prefixes. The rules governing third person are more complex. Adjectives referencing animate beings express plurality with pronominal prefixes, whereas adjectives referencing inanimate objects take the Distributive (DST2) *ti-*. In (17a) the Set A adjective ‘black’ has the plural pronominal prefix because it references animate ‘horses’; in (17b), however, the Set B adjective ‘thin’ has a default third person singular prefix, but it does not indicate plurality for the inanimate noun it is modifying.

- 17) a. **ᐃᐢᐅᐅᐅ** **ᐢᐅᐅ** **ᐃᐅᐅ**
 aniikv’hnáké soókwíl taàniinv’k
 anii-kv’hnákéé’i soókwíli tee-anii-nv’ki
 3A.PL-black horse DST-3A.PL-fall:IMM
 ‘The black horses fell.’

- b. **JHʔ** **JLʔʌVJ** **SLʔʌJ**
 juusáke tiihnawóostohti tuuhnawóosti
 ti-uu-sáke ti-a-ahnawóostohti tee-uu-ahnawóosti
 DST2-3B-thin DST2-3A-cover DST-3B-cover:PRC
 ‘He has on thin covers’ (Feeling 1975a:178)

Two examples with the Set A adjective ‘good’ are in (18). If the adjective modifying an inanimate noun begins with /o/ or /u/, the *j-* form of the Distributive appears as seen in (18b).

- 18) a. **DZʌL** **ʔʔʔ**
 anóóst soókwíli
 anii-óóstá soókwíli
 3A.PL-good horse
 ‘good horses’
- b. **KʌL** **JSPKS**
 jóóst tikahljoóte
 ti-óóstá ti-kahljoóte
 DST2-good DST2-house
 ‘good houses’

All nouns uses pronominal prefixes to reference humans, whereas adjectives use pronominal prefixes that refer to all animate plurals, human or non-human. In (19a) both the adjectives and the noun bear the prefix *anii-*, while in (19b) the noun ‘chicken’ remains uninflected. In (19c) the non-human root noun is uninflected for number, but the adjective bears the Distributive prefix *ti-* indicating reference to an inanimate noun.

- 19) a. **ʈ** **DhJG** **DhʂL**
 na aniichúúja aniikaataaha
 na anii-chúúja anii-kaataa-hááʔi
 that 3A.PL-boy 3A.PL-dirt-ATB
 ‘Those are dirty boys.’

- b. **Θ hWS DhSLɬ**
 na jitaáka aniikaataaha
 na jitaáka anii-kaataa-hááʔi
 that chicken 3A.PL-dirt-ATB
 ‘Those are dirty chickens.’
- c. **Θ JJ JSɬɬ**
 na kuùk tikaataaha
 na kuùku ti-kaataa-hááʔi
 that bottle DST2-dirt-ATB
 ‘Those are dirty bottles.’

Referencing an animate being causes many adjectives to be double-marked for plurality; that is, the pronominal prefix appears in addition to the *ti-* variant of the Distributive prefix (DST2). In (20a) the adjective modifying the inanimate noun ‘house’ receives only the Distributive prefix; in (20b) the adjective modifying the animate noun ‘horse’ has both a plural pronominal prefix and the Distributive prenominal prefix.

- 20) a. **JWΘ SPKS**
 júúthan kahljoóte
 ti-uu-áthana kahljoóte
 DST2-3B-big house
 ‘The houses are big.’
- b. **JWΘ Dhɬʔɬ**
 júúnathana aniisoókwíli
 ti-uunii-áthana anii-soókwíli
 DST2-3B.PL-big 3A.PL-horse
 ‘The horses are big.’

Double-marking plurality for adjectives is a phenomenon that varies according to the speaker. Some adjectives seem to require the double marking, while for others it is optional. Moreover, what is considered animate is also not always straightforward. For example, fruits and vegetables pattern with animate nouns in that adjectives that modify them bear the plural pronominal prefix. This phenomenon is demonstrated in

(21); the adjective in the first sentence always bears the Distributive prefix, so in this case it has nothing to do with plurality. In the second example the adjective receives a plural pronominal prefix but not a Distributive.

21) a. **JhθKθJ** **θ RSW**
 juuníínjoosti naʔ sv́khth
 ti-uunii-ǰnjoosti naʔ sv́khtha
 DST2-3B.PL-sour that apple
 ‘Those apples are sour.’

b. **ǰθ DhθJL**
 nuúna aniinvhííta
 nuúna anii-nvvhííta
 potato 3A.PL-long
 ‘sweet potatoes’

The adjective ‘rotting, rotten’ treats the noun it refers to as animate, so it always appears with a pronominal prefix. An example is in (22). The Distributive that appears on the verb (the *tee-* form) makes it clear that the object of this sentence is more than one fish that is being consumed.

22) **DGJ VYB** **θθABL**
 ajaʔti toðkiihyv uunakóósita
 ajaʔti tee-ookii-hy-vʔi uunii-akoos-ta
 fish DST-1B.PL.EX-eat(flexible):CMP- EXP 3B.PL-rot-PCP
 ‘We ate the rotten fish.’

To summarize plural inflection, verbs mark all plural subjects with pronominal prefixes. Adjectives only inflect for number using pronominal prefixes if they modify animate nouns; if not, then the Distributive (DST2) *ti-* is used. In (23) the noun is a human noun, so not only does the verb take the *anii-* plural pronominal prefix, but so does the adjective and the noun itself.

23) DhSlt	JhC	lθAGQ oS
aniikaataaha	tiiniiyóóhl	taànáàneeloóhvska
anii-kaataa-hááʔi	ti-anii-yóóhli	tee-anii-áàneeloóhvska
3A.PL-dirty-ATB	DST2-3A.PL-children	DST-3A.PL-play:PRC
‘The dirty children are playing.’		

1.1.2. Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives are derived using three derivational suffixes: the Deverbalizer suffix *-vʋʔi* (DVB), the Participial suffix *-ta* (PCP), and the Negative Deverbalizer suffix *-vʋna* (NDV). The new words created by these derivational suffixes also frequently appear as nouns, the only difference being their use in the sentence.

1.1.2.1. Adjectives formed with Deverbalizer (DVB) *-vʋʔi*

Many verbs form adjectives by attaching the Deverbalizer *-vʋʔi* to the Completive stem. An example is in (24); in (24a) the deverbalized adjective is shown, and in (24b) the Completive stem of the verb with the Experienced past suffix *-vʋʔi* is used in a typical past tense verbal construction.

24) a. **oʃTRT**

uuyoohuusvʋʔi
uu-yoohuus-vʋʔi
3B-die: CMP-DVB
‘dead’

b. **oʃTRT**

uùyoohuusvʋʔi
uu-yoohuus-vʋʔi
3B-die: CMP-EXP
‘He died.’

Another example of this construction is in (25). In the verbal construction in (25a) the word order Object-Verb is seen. In (25b) the derived adjective now precedes the noun it modifies; moreover, the Distributive form *ti-* (DST2) typical of adjectives appears.

25) a. **ʕᵛᵛ SJSᵛBT**
 nv̀vya tùtiikaléeyv̀ʔi
 nv̀vya tee-uu-atiikaléey-v̀ʔi
 rock DST-3B-scatter: CMP-EXP
 ‘He scattered the rocks.’

b. JJSᵛᵛᵛC	ʕᵛᵛ
jùtiikaléeyóòjᵛ	nv̀vya
ti-uu-atiikaléeyóòj-v̀ʔi	nv̀vya
DST2-3B-scatter: CMP-DVB	rock
‘scattered rocks’	

1.1.2.2. Adjectives formed with Participial (PCP) -ta

Like nouns, the majority of adjectives appear to be derived from verbs. There is a large group of adjectives that end in Participial *-ta*.² Two examples are in (26) and (27); the first example in each pair has a participial adjective, while the second contains the related verb. The Participial suffix causes a highfall tone to appear on the rightmost long vowel of the word.

26) a. **ʕᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ DTLᵛᵛ**
 uukhayóótas akwáhnawo
 uu-khayóó-ta=s aki-áhnawo
 3B-dry-PCP=Q 1B-shirt
 ‘Is my shirt dry?’

b. **DTLᵛᵛ DᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛS**
 akwáhnawo aàkhayooska
 aki-áhnawo a-khayooska
 1B-shirt 3A-dry:PRC
 ‘My shirt is drying.’

27) a. **SkrZɔL** **Sɔɔ** **DYʒβR**
 kachinóóst kanvvhǔv aksuuyéesv
 ka-aachinoosta kahnvvnǔvʔi aki-asuuyées-vʔi
 3A-straight road 1B-choose:CMP-EXP
 ‘I took the straight road.’

b. **ɔYkrZ.ɔɔWɔ**
 oðkiichinoohisthanv
 ookii-aachinoohisthan-vʔi
 1B.PL.EX-straighten(T):CMP-EXP
 ‘We straightened it.’

Like derived nouns, derived adjectives bear any prepronominal prefixes that their verbal predecessors have. In (28) the adjective takes the Distributive prefix that the original verb ‘to be called’ always bears; being an adjective, it takes the *ti*- form (DST2) instead of the *tɛɛ*- form that appears on verbs. In the example, *ti*- becomes *j*- before the vowel /u/.

28) **DɔSɔ ʒLɪJ.ɔ** **JVTU**
 askay suútaltííhi juutóóʔit
 a-skaya suútali+ti-a-h-i ti-uu-ataa-óóʔi-ta
 3A-man six+DST2-3A-kill\AGT-NOM DST2-3B-MDL-name-PCP
 ‘A man named Sixkiller’

1.1.2.3. Adjectives formed with Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) -*ńńna*

Some adjectives are formed with the *ni*- Partitive prenominal prefix (PRT) in combination with the Negative Deverbalizer –*ńńna* (NDV). The Completive stem is used for this construction. This construction indicates a negation or a lack of what is described by the original verb. Three examples are shown in (29).

29) a. **ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ**

nuwoohiyuusńńna
 ni-uu-oohiyuus-ńńna
 PRT-3B-believe-NDV
 ‘faithless, doesn’t believe in things’

b. **ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ**

nuhlvvhńńna	ŋŋ keèsv	ŋŋ uusń
ni-uu-hlvvhn-ńńna	keèsv-ńńŋi	uusńńŋi
PRT-3B-sleep:OMP-NDV	be:INC-EXP	night
‘sleepless night’		

c. **ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ**

nanaliiheélíikńńna	ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ tiiniiyóóthli
ni-anii-aliiheélíik-ńńna	ti-anii-yóóthli
PRT-3A.PL-be.happy:INC-NDV	DST2-3A.PL-child
‘The unhappy children’	

1.1.2.4. Adjectives formed with Attributive (ATB) –*hááŋi*

Not all adjectives are derived from verbs. Another common suffix forming adjectives is with the Attributive suffix –*hááŋi*.³ These adjectives are mostly formed from uncountable nouns (e.g. ‘dirt’, ‘blood’) and all take Set A prefixes. Two examples are in (30).

- 30) a. **LᵛJ** **ᵛYᵛᵛ** **DPᵛ** **GLᵛ**
 thleesti skinᵛvneélv aliihá jahnawo
 thleesti ski-nᵛvneél-vvᵛi alii-hááᵛi ja-ahnawo
 NEG.COM 2/1-give(flexible):CMP-FIM sweat-ATB 2B-shirt
 ‘Don’t give me your sweaty shirt!’
- b. **ᵛᵛSᵛᵛ** **AᵛSᵛ** **Aᵛᵛ** **JPJT**
 uᵛnvkálvvhv khostuuhá koohweel tiithlvᵛᵛti
 uu-nvkálvvh-vᵛᵛi khostuu-hááᵛi koohweeli ti-a-thlvᵛᵛt-i
 3B-clean:CMP-EXP dust-ATB book DST2-3A-put.on:DVN-NOM
 ‘He cleaned the dusty bookshelf.’

A sample list of these adjectives is in (31).

- 31) **DLᵛT** atahááᵛi ‘woody’
AᵛSᵛT khoᵛstuhááᵛi ‘dusty’
ZGᵛT noyuhááᵛi ‘sandy’
SᵛᵛT kaataahááᵛi ‘dirty’
DᵛᵛᵛT amayihááᵛi ‘watery’
YSᵛT kakahááᵛi ‘bloody’
DPᵛT alihááᵛi ‘sweaty’
ᵛᵛᵛT ohlahááᵛi ‘soapy’
ᵛᵛSᵛT hlawoᵛthuuhááᵛi ‘muddy’
ATᵛT koᵛihááᵛi ‘greasy, oily’

1.1.3. Comparatives and Superlatives

Non-derived adjectives can take several different suffixes to express that the quality indicated exists in a greater degree. Pulte and Feeling (1975:336-7) identify three suffixes: *-kééᵛi*, *-iiya* and *-kha* that intensify the quality of an adjective.

An example of each is in (32).

- 32) a. **SᵛWJ** kalvᵛlátᵛi ‘high’
SᵛWJT kalvᵛlátᵛikééᵛi ‘higher’

- b. **DHʁJ** asamááti ‘smart’
DHʁJw aàsamatiíya ‘smarter’
- c. **ʔwJ** uustíí ‘small’
ʔwJw uustíikha ‘smaller’ Pulte and Feeling (1975:337)

Another intensifier is *-sʋʋʔi* is shown in (33). Although these Intensifiers have different forms, they appear to have the same meanings; in other words, which adjective takes which suffix is dependent on the shape of the adjective, but in many cases it is simply idiosyncratic. For this reason, these various Intensifier suffixes will all take the abbreviation INT. A comprehensive dictionary of Cherokee would need to list these forms for each adjective.

- 33) a. **wLGRʔ** **ʔV.ʔt** **Cw**
staayosʋʋtvv uùthohiise wahya
stááyí=sʋʋʔi=tvv uu-athohis-éʔi wahya
hard=INT=FC 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP wolf
‘The wolf whooped real loud.’ (Chapter 9.1:24)
- b. **ʔLʔ w** **DGL** **wʔwVR**
uùhnaanvskwu ajaʔt skwiistosʋ
uùhna=na=skwu ajaʔti skwíísti-sʋʋʔi
there=F2=DT fish a.lot-INT
‘There also was a whole lot of fish.’ (Chapter 9.2:24)

Adjectives can also be intensified by using the adverbs *uutli* or *uukóòti* ‘more.’ Three examples are below in (34).

- 34) a. **ʔC ʔwGL** uutli uukhayóóta ‘more dry’
b. **ʔAJ ʔWθ** uukóòti úúthana ‘bigger’(Feeling 1975a:148)
c. **ʔC ʔwPJ** uutli uuwóóhlti ‘more funny’

One of the most common ways to form the superlative is with the Translocative prefix (TRN) *wi-* in conjunction with the Deverbalizer (DVB) that takes the place of the final vowel of the adjective. (35) shows several examples of this construction.

- 35) a. **ØWØ** úúthana ‘big’
ØWØT wuúthanv́v́ʔi ‘biggest’
 b. **ØAJ** úúkoti ‘more’
ØAØT wuukootv́v́ʔi ‘most’
 c. **ØʔØJ** kalv́v́nati ‘high’
ØØʔØJBT wakalvvn̄t̄iiyv́v́ʔi ‘the very highest one’
 d. **AØL̄** koòstaáyí ‘sharp’
ØAØL̄BT wikoostayv́v́ʔi ‘sharpest’
 e. **ØØJ** ustíí ‘small’
ØØJET wuústííkhv́v́ʔi ‘smallest’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:337)

Two examples of superlatives in sentences are in (36).

- 36) a. **ØAØT** **D\$W** **DYC**
 wuukootv́v́ʔi ateéla aàkihla
 wi-uukooti-v́v́ʔi ateéla aki-hla
 TRN-most-DVB money 1B-have:PRC
 ‘I have the most money.’
- b. **ØV ØØJ** **DLC** **ØØL̄JBT**
 kato úúst ahnawo wakatahiiv́v́ʔi
 kato úústi a-ahnawo wi-a-katu-hááʔi-iiya-v́v́ʔi
 what something 3A-shirt TRN-3A-dirt-ATB-INT-DVB
 ‘Which shirt is the dirtiest?’

Adjectives formed with the Participial suffix *-ta* take the pronominal prefix but not the suffix, as demonstrated in (37).

37) **ʉH ʉSɪ ʉhɪvʉL DGWY DʉʌpʉY**
 wes stuuti wijiilvʉkwóòta ajalaki atvvneélííski
 wes stuuti wi-jii-lvʉkwóò-ta a-jalaki a-atvvneéliísk-i
 Wes Studi TRN-1A.AN-like-PCP 3A-Cherokee 3A-act:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘Wes Studi is my favorite Cherokee actor.’

For comparisons between two nouns the word *siíhnv/siíhnno* ‘than’ appears after the adjective. Two examples are in (38).

38) a. **ʉTʉ DLʉ ʉC ʉʉhʉL ʉZ ʉ JʉC**
 hiʉina ahnawo uutli uukhayóóta siíhno na tiisuulo
 hiʉa=na a-ahnawo uutli uu-khayoo-ta siíhno na ti-a-asuulo
 that=F2 3A-shirt more 3B-dry-PCP than that DST2-3A-pants
 ‘This shirt is drier than those pants.’

b. **Tʉ Rʉ ʉL ʉʌɪ ʉWʉ**
 iika ééhi nvvta uukóòti úúthana
 iika a-ééh-i nvvta uukóòti uu-áthana
 day 3A-live:INC\AGT-NOM sun/moon more 3B-big

ʉC RZʉ Rʉ ʉL ʉRT
 siíhnv svvnoóyi ééhi nvvta keesvʉʉi
 siíhnv svvnoóyi a-ééh-i nvvta kees-vʉʉi
 than at.night 3A-live:INC\AGT-NOM sun/moon be:INC-EXP
 ‘The sun is bigger than the moon.’ (Feeling 1975a:148)

To indicate that a quality exists in a smaller amount, the adverb *kayóóhli* appears before the adjective. If an implicit comparison is being made, the form *kayóóhlikéeʉi* appears. Both of these adverbs are exemplified in (39).

39) a. **ʉhCʉ ʉSʉL**
 kayóóhliwu kaàtuulííta
 kayóóhli=kwu ka-aàtuulííta
 little=DT 3A-wet
 ‘It’s a little wet.’

- b. **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 kayoóhlikééwu sahkhoóníke
 kayoóhlikééʔi=kwu sahkhoóníke
 less=DT blue
 ‘It’s less blue.’

1.2. DETERMINERS

Determiners are words that come before the noun and any of its adjectives and help to specify the identity and number of the noun. Determiners are like adjectives in that they modify nouns; they are distinct from adjectives in that they do not take pronominal prefixes. Determiners are always part of a noun phrase and do not serve as predicates.

Two examples are in (40). The demonstrative *naʔ* can be translated as ‘that/those’ or simply ‘the.’

- 40) a. **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 nokw wuukoohé wathliisv̄ na taks
 nookwu wi-uu-kooh-éʔi wi-a-atithliis-vv̄ʔi na taksi
 now TRN-3B-see:CMP-NXP TRN-3A-run:CMP-EXP\SUB that turtle
 ‘He saw the turtle running.’ (Chapter 9.3:42)

- b. **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ** **ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ**
 aniiwalóosi na taksi uùnkhiʔla
 anii-walóosi na taksi uunii-ahkhiʔla
 3A.PL-frog that turtle 3B.PL-seat:PRC
 ‘The frogs are sitting on the turtle.’

Equally common is the demonstrative *hiʔa*; it can modify singular or plural nouns. This demonstrative is typically translated as ‘this’ An example is in (41).

41) JSkɔJ	hʔRθ	ɔY
tikajiiyóostí	nikeesv́na	yiki
ti-ka-jii-yóost-i	ni-kees-v́na	yi-ki
DST2-NGT-1A.AN-shoot:DVN\SUB-NOM	PRT-be:INC-NDV	IRR-be:PRC

ɔD	ɕɔ	ɕ	ɔJSkɔL
hiʔa	wahya	hla	yitikajiihvhta
hiʔa	wahya	hla	yi-ti-ka-jii-hthvhta
this	wolf	NEG	IRR-DST2-NGT-1A.AN-rid:IMM
'If I can't shoot these wolves I can't get rid of them.'			

Both of these demonstratives can be used as pronouns, often with the clitic =*na* attached. An example of each is in (42). On the second example the clitic attaches to the determiner and causes it to lengthen.

42) a. ɔTθ	KYɔJ
hiʔina	jóóksti
hiʔa= <i>na</i>	ja-ookist-i
this=F2	2B-smoke:DVN\OBJ-NOM
'This is for you to smoke.'	

b. θθ	ɕV	ɔɔJ	DhɔS
nána	kato	úúst	aniijiistu
nana	kato	úústi	anii-jiistu
that=F2	what	something	3A.PL-rabbit
'What are those? Those are rabbits.'			

1.3. QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers serve as adjectivals by specifying the amount or quantity of a noun. There are two classes of quantifiers; those that take inflection and those that do not. The sentence in (42a) has quantifier *hiiłv́ski* 'several' that is uninflected; it is modifying a third person plural noun. In (43b) the quantifier is modifying a dual second person, yet remains uninflected.

46) **Dhḥṛṭṭḥ**

aniitskwista
 anii-tskwista

3A.PL-lot

‘There are a lot of them.’

Many of these quantifiers also act adverbially by modifying verbs. Two examples are in (47).

- 47) a. **ḥṛṭṭḥ** **EJḥET** **DḥZ** **ṬḥCT**
 skwiísti kvṇṭtiískvʔi aaséehno uùyóojvʔi
 skwiísti ji-vhtiísk-vʔi aaséehno uu-yóoj-vʔi
 lot 1A-use:INC-EXP however 3B-break:CMP-EXP
 ‘I used it a lot however it broke.’

- b. **ḥṛṭṭḥ** **DṣḥS** **P** **RCḥJ** **Aḥ** **ṬS**
 tskwiísti aàkaaska tlv eenvṇsti khoohi iíka
 tskwiísti a-kaaska tlv a-eenvṇst-i khoohi iíka
 much 3A-rain:PRC somewhere 3A-go:DVN-NOM2 while.ago day
 ‘It’s raining too much to go somewhere today.’ (Feeling 1975a:15)

Quantifiers also act as pronouns as seen in (48).

- 48) **ṬS** **ṬḥḥSZP** **ḥḥ** **ṬḥṬḥṬḥVJT**
 iíkáata uuniiskanóóli keèso uunatvvnvʔistóhtííʔi
 iíkáata uunii-skanóóli keès-óʔi uunii-atvvnvʔistóht-ííʔi
 some 3B.PL-slow be:INC-HAB 3B.PL-prepare:DVN-NOM2
 ‘Some people are slow to get ready.’ (Feeling 1975: 179)

1.4. NUMERALS

Numerals, or number words, are similar to determiners in that they precede any adjectives; they are similar to adjectives in that they can inflect when modifying nouns referring to humans. This inflection is seen in (49a). Pronominal prefixes on number words, however, are optional. For example, the examples in (49b and (49c) are from the same speaker.

- 49) a. **DhKT DhjG DhZYD**
 aniijoʔi aniijúuja aàniinookíiʔa
 anii-joʔi anii-júuja anii-nookíiʔa
 3A.PL-three 3A.PL-boy 3A.PL-sing:PRC
 ‘The three boys are singing.’
- b. **Θ K DΘƆω OʰhʰƆLOʰ**
 naʔ joʔ aniikeéyh ùniisaltaanv
 naʔ joʔi anii-keéhya uunii-saltaan-vʔʔi
 that three 3A.PL-woman 3B.PL-lift:CMPEXP
 ‘Those three women lifted it.’
- c. **Θ DhWƆ DhωSω OʰhʰƆLOʰ**
 naʔ aniithaʔl aniiskay ùniisaltaanv
 naʔ anii-thaʔli anii-skaya uunii-saltaan-vʔʔi
 that 3A.PL-three 3A.PL-man 3B.PL-lift:CMPEXP
 ‘Those two men lifted it.’

Unlike adjectives, number words do not indicate plurality for inanimate objects, as seen in (50).

- 50) **ʁωY ΘSʔω ZhΛG Jʔ**
 hiski nateethiy noðjiineélo kuusó
 hiski ni-ateethiya ni-oojii-neél-óʔi kuusa-ʔi
 five PRT-year PRT-1B.PL.EX-reside:INC-HAB Creek-LOC
 ‘We have been living in Muskogee for 5 years.’

Number words are able to stand alone and act as nouns. An example is in (51).

- 51) **K ʁGh Ɔʔ**
 joʔ yijani keèse
 joʔi yi-iiijii-aníiʔa keès-éʔi
 three IRR-2A.PL-be.there:PRC be:INC-NXP
- DωZ δωJWƆω ƆʔRT**
 ayahno oostiithaʔliwu jikeèsvʔʔi
 aya=hno oostii-thaʔli=kwu ji-keès-vʔʔi
 1PRO=CN 1A.DL.EX-two=DT REL-be:INC-EXP
 ‘There were three of you and only two of us.’

The cardinal numerals 1-10 are listed below in (52)

52) HC	saàkwu	‘one’
WP	thá?li	‘two’
KT	jo?i	‘three’
CY	nvhki	‘four’
HCY	hiski	‘five’
SLP	suútáli	‘six’
SPVY	kahlkwoóki	‘seven’
GLW	chaneéla	‘eight’
FLW	sohneéla	‘nine’
CAH	skoóhi	‘ten’

The numbers 11-19 are a shortened or altered form of the numerals 1-9 with an additional element *-tu* or *-ka?tu* added. The number word ‘eleven’ suggests that the original element meaning ‘one’ was *saa-* and the rest of the word the Delimiter clitic *=kwu* ‘only’; the original meaning of ‘one’ was probably ‘only one.’ Some of the other number words also undergo changes; these patterns are unpredictable, however, and these numerals should be treated as distinct words rather than derivations of the lower numbers. The numbers 11-19 are listed in (53).

53) HS	satu	‘eleven’
WPS	tha?ltu	‘twelve’
KSS	jo?ka?tu	‘thirteen’
hSS	nika?tu	‘fourteen’
HCYSS	sika?tu	‘fifteen’
LWS	talatu	‘sixteen’
SPTS	kahlkawtu	‘seventeen’
LWS	nelatu	‘eighteen’
FLWS	sohnelatu	‘nineteen’

The number word ‘twenty’ **WPCH** *tha?liskohi* is a compound of the number words ‘two’ and ‘ten.’ The number words above twenty consist of the base ten

numeral followed by the single number, as seen in (54). In (55) the base numerals up to one hundred are listed (Pulte and Feeling 1975:228-229).

54) **WPA** **HT** thaʔlskohi saàkwúú twenty one

55) **K** **A** joʔskohi 'thirty'
OY **A** nvkskohi 'forty'
A **Y** **A** hikskohi 'fifty'
ʃLP **A** sutalskohi 'sixty'
SPT **A** kahlkwaskohi 'seventy'
LP **A** nelskohi 'eighty'
ʃLP **A** sohnelskohi 'ninety'
A **A** **H** **T** skohitskwa 'one hundred'

Ordinal numbers from 2nd-10th are formed with the Ordinal suffix (ORD) *-iinééʔi*.

The ordinal number 'first' is irregular and is formed from an unrelated stem. The first five numerals in their ordinal form are found in the sentence in (56).

56) Z Z	WPA	ʃhMG	
noówúhn	thaʔliine	wuunííʔlúhj	
noówu=hno	thaʔli-iinééʔi	wi-uunii-ʔlúhj-a	
now=CN	two-ORD	TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV	
O H	O ʃ A	D ʃ A	
uutlóoy	nvnvtóvneele	aleskwu	
uu-tlóoyi	ni-ii-uunii-atóvneel-éʔi	aleskwu	
3B-same	PRT-ITR-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP	and	
KTA	OYA	A OYA	ʃLP
joʔiine	nvhkiine	hiskiine	suútaliine
joʔi-iinééʔi	nvhki-iinééʔi	hiski-iinééʔi	suútali-iinééʔi
three-ORD	four-ORD	five-ORD	six-ORD

'And when they got to the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth hills they did the same thing.' (Chapter 9.1:20-22)

Ordinal numbers from 11-19 are formed with the suffix *-siinééʔi*. Four examples of ordinal numbers are listed in (57).

57) ʉSBʌT	sátuùsiinééʔi	‘eleventh’
WʉSBʌT	tháltuùsiinééʔi	‘twelfth’
KDSBʌT	joʔátuùsiinééʔi	‘thirteenth’
hʉSBʌT	niikátuùsiinééʔi	‘fourteenth’

In (58) is an example of numbers used to indicate dates. The day of the month uses an ordinal number, while the cardinal numbers are used to indicate the year.

58) ʉihʔʉJ	ʉAʉhʉ	Tʉh
naʔvńíkeesti	skoóhítskwu	iiyáni
naʔvńíkeesti	skoóhítskwu	iiyáni
near	hundred	how.many
DhGWY	DhGJ	DhrʉH
aniijalaki	aniijáti	aniijiikasa
anii-jalaki	anii-játi	anii-jiikasa
3A.PL-Cherokee	3A.PL-Choctaw	3A.PL-Chickasaw
DhbʉZʔ	Dʉ	DhJH
aniisiminoli	ale	aniikúúsa
anii-siminoli	ale	anii-kúúsa
3A.PL-Seminole	and	3A.PL-Muskogee
Dʌʉʉ	Sʉʔʔ	ʉʉJ
aneehiia	tuùnatloose	uuwééthi
anii-eehiia	tee-uunii-atloos-éʔi	uu-ééthi
3A.PL-indigenous	DST-3B.PL-meet: CMP-NXP	3B-old
JʉʔʉʉJ	JʉAT	
juunatloohisti	juúskóʔi	
ti-uunii-atloohist-i	juúska-ʔi	
DST2-3B.PL-meet: DVN-NOM2	oak-LOC	

ᏅᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐ
tluhkǎvʔi	khawooni	khaʔlv
tluhkǎvʔi	khawooni	khaʔlvʔi
tree	April	past.month

ᏅᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐ
thalsko	suútáliine	thaʔli
thali+skoóhi	suútáli-iinééʔi	thaʔli
two+ten	six-ORD	two

ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ
iyákayǎvli	suútáli	uuteethiiyvʔsatiisv
iyákayǎvli	suútáli	uuteethiiyvʔsatiisǎvʔi
thousand	six	year.of

ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ
aànantatiiskéʔ	skoohítskwa
anii-ahntatiisk-éʔi	skoohítskwa
3A.PL-remember:INC-NXP	hundred

ᏅᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ
naàteéthíiya	uuniiloohisthanǎ
ni-aàteéthíiya	uunii-loohisthan-ǎvʔi
PRT-year	3B.PL-pass:CMP-DVB

ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ
sóhneélaàtu	iiskoohítskwi
sóhneélaàtu	ii-skoohítskwi
nineteen	ITR-hundred

ᏅᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ	ᏅᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ
suútáli	tikhanowtvʔvsti	uuniiloòhistanǎvʔi
suútáli	tikhanowtvʔvsti	uunii-loòhistan-ǎvʔi
six	law	3B.PL-pass:CMP-EXP

‘Nearly 100 Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole and Muscogee Creek citizens met at the historic Council Oak tree April 26, 2006, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Act of 1906.’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* June 2006)

Numbers can have an adverbial function as well. In (59) below, the ordinal form of ‘second’ conveys the meaning ‘again’ or ‘repeatedly.’

59) WPA	OGSS
thaʔlíine	wijatuùkǎ
thaʔli-íinééʔi	wi-ja-atuùka
two-ORD	TRN-2B-throw:IMM(COM)
‘Throw it again.’	

1.5. ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES

A clause may serve an adjectival function by modifying a noun; such clauses are called adjectival clauses.⁴ Verbs that appear in adjectival clauses take the Relativizer (REL) prepronominal prefix with the highfall tone added to the rightmost long vowel; this tone indicates that the verb is subordinate to the noun and is modifying it. In (60) this tone appears on the Habitual final suffix of the verb ‘to tell.’ The final syllable of adjectival clause verbs is typically left off, as it is in this example, and the highfall tone appears in a shortened form on the vowel. This highfall tone of subordination is indicated by the abbreviation \SUB. In (60b) this tone appears on the Experienced Past suffix.

60) a.	AFOJ	hOZPQA	
	<u>kohúústi</u>	jikhanooheskó	
	kohúústi	ji-ka-hnoohesk-óʔi	
	something	REL-3A-tell:INC-HAB\SUB	
	DSa	AVJGRθ	FTT
	askaya	nuutoohiyuusv́na	keesóoʔi
	a-skaya	ni-uu-ataa-oohiyuus-v́na	kees-óʔi
	3B-man	PRT-3B-MDL-believe-NDV	be:INC-HAB
		‘The man <u>who tells the story</u> is unbelievable.’	

- b. **DᵃSᵃ** **hᵃPZᵃJᵃE** **DhS**
askaya jiijiyaliinohehtiiskv aahnika
a-skaya ji-jii-ali-hnohehtiisk-vv?i a-ahnika
3A-man REL-1A.AN-MDL-talk.with:INC-EXP\SUB 3A-leave:IMM
‘The man that I was talking to left.’

In (61) there are two examples of this Relative clause highfall tone appearing on the Present Continuous stem of the verb.

- 61) a. **ᵃSᵃᵃᵃ ᵃ** **DVYᵃᵃY** **hSᵃhᵃ**
uukaánawas na athohkíiyaàski jikawóonííha
uu-kaánawa=s na a-athohkíiyaàsk-i ji-ka-wóoniha
3B-Democrat=Q that 3A-race:INC\AGT-NOM REL-3A-talk:PRC\SUB
‘Is the candidate who is speaking a Democrat?’ (Feeling 1975a:164)

- b. **ᵃYZ** **hJᵃh** **ᵃᵃH**
naaskihno jiitiiwooní uuwáása
naaski=hno ji-iitii-woonííha uu-áása
that.one=CN REL-1A.PL-speak:PRC\SUB 3B-only

ᵃᵃJᵃ **ᵃ hSᵃSᵃᵃᵃᵃ**
wiitvvthíiya na jitéetateeyóóhvsk
wi-iitii-vvthíiya na ji-tee-iitii-ateeyóóhvaska
TRN-1A.PL-remain:IMM that REL-DST-1A.PL-teach:PRC\SUB

Dᵃh SᵃWJ **JᵃSᵃᵃᵃJᵃ**
ahani kalívlati juunateehlokwestíí?i
ahani kalívlati ti-uunii-ateehlokwest-íí?i
here high DST2-3B.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2
‘The only dialect we may have eventually
is the one being taught here at NSU.’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

If the relative clause consists of a predicate adjective or a predicate noun, the ‘to be’ copula appears with the Relativizer prenominal prefix *ji-* to indicate subordination. In this case the highfall tone indicating subordination appears on the prenominal prefix of this auxiliary verb. Two examples are in (62).

- 62) a. **Θ DαSα O'WΘ hY** **δYΘPT**
 na askaya úúthana jíki oòkinaalíí?i
 na a-skaya uu-áthana ji-ki ookinii-aalíí?i
 that 3A-man 3B-big REL\SUB-be:PRC 1B.DL.EX-friend
 'The man who is big is my friend.' (Pulte and Feeling)
- b. **Θ DFGVQαY O'θFL hFR**
 na ahljatóóhvski uuleesóóta jikeesv?i
 na a-alihjatoohvsk-i uu-aleesóóta ji-kees-v?i
 that 3A-preach:INC\AGT-NOM 3B-skinny REL-be:INC-EXP
 'That preacher used to be really skinny.'

1.6. NOUN PHRASES AS ADJECTIVALS

A noun phrase sometimes has an adjectival role by modifying another noun phrase. Three examples are in (63); in (63a) the noun phrase 'John' is giving more information about 'son.' In (63b) the noun phrase 'brother' is modifying the main noun phrase 'friend.'

- 63) a. **Gh O'θhr O'WGP**
jaáni uweéji uùthayoohl v
 jaáni uu-eéji uu-athayoohl-v?i
 John 3B-offspring 3B-ask:CMP-EXP
 'John's son asked for it.'
- b. **KGLQ'E O'θPA θSTα**
joojataanv?thl uunaaliikóó hiikaàthiíy
 ti-oojii-ataat-nv?thla uunii-aaliikóó?i hii-kahthiíya
 DST2-1A.PL.EX-RFL-brother 3B.PL-friend 2A.AN-wait:PRC
 'You are waiting for my brother's friend.'

In (64) the adjectival noun phrase consists of the possession word *-ajeéli* with a Set B pronominal prefix that indicates the possessor.

- 64) a. **Gh OVP OAJ**
jaáni uujeéli uusti
 jaáni uu-ajeéli uusti
 John 3B-possession baby
 ‘John’s baby.’
- b. **ƆP DVP**
 soókwíl akwajeéli
 soókwíli aki-ajeéli
 horse 1B-possession
 ‘My horse.’ (Feeling 1975a:17)
- c. **BVHT OOVPT**
 sikwoóyó uunajeéli
 sikwoóya-ʔi uunii-ajeéli
 Sequoyah-LOC 3B.PL-possession
 ‘It (i.e. the ball) belongs to the Sequoyah team.’ (Lady Indians Championship)
- d. **ƆP DVP OGr**
 haatlǝ awajeele uuwaáji
 haatlǝ aki-ajeele uuwaáji
 where 1B-belong watch
 ‘Where is my watch?’

1.7 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES AS ADJECTIVALS

Postpositional phrases can be used adjectivally to indicate spatial or temporal information about the noun. A postpositional phrase consists of at least one noun and a postposition. The postpositional phrase generally precedes the noun it modifies. Two examples are below in (65).

- 65) a. **ISGLAJ TEJJE SOO OORAJ TY**
tiiteehlkwasti ikvýtítla kanvvhnv uunasvísti iiki
 ti-a-ateehlkwast-i ikvýyi+títla kanvvhnv uu-nasvísti ii-ki
 DST2-3A-learn:DVN-NOM2 front+toward road 3B-slick ITR-be:IMM
 ‘The road in front of the school is slick.’

b.	DLΛΛ	ᵐᵐᵐ	ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ	ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ
	aàtaneelv	<u>uùwéeyv</u>	naʔvńíkeesti	uùyoojiitéena
	aàtaneelv	uùwéeyvńi	naʔvńíkeesti	uu-yooj-iitéena
	house	river	near	3B-break:CMP-PNC
	'A house by the river is about to collapse.'			

Postpositional phrases that modify verbs will be discussed in the section below on adverbials.

2. ADVERBIALS

Adverbials are modifiers of verbs, adjectives, other adverbials, and clauses. The category of adverbial includes adverbs, postpositional phrases acting as adverbials, and clauses acting as adverbials. Some examples are in (66). The combination of the noun and the postposition create a postpositional phrase that modifies either a verb or a noun (the adjectival use of the postpositional phrase is discussed in the previous section of this chapter). For example, in (66a) the postposition *naʔv* follows the noun 'bed'; together these two words form a postpositional phrase 'near the bed' that indicates where the action of the verb 'to walk around' takes place. In (66b) the same *naʔv* appears as an adverb and directly modifies the verb. The third type of modifier is an adverbial clause—a clause that acts as an adverb by modifying a verb, adjective, another adverb, or a clause. (66a) also contains an adverbial clause 'while they're near the bed' that modifies the main clause 'they hear something.' Another example of an adverbial clause is in (66c); in this example the Partitive prepronominal (PRT) prefix *ni-* and the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) suffix *-ńna* together create the meaning 'without.' In (66d) the time adverbial in Cherokee is syntactically a subordinate clause as indicated in the literal translation.

- 66) a. **ShC** **θi** **DΛVQ** **ATΩJ** **ΛΘY**
kaniithl naʔv aàneétóòhʔ koohúúst taànthvvi
kaniithli naʔv anii-eétóòh-ʔʔʔi koohúústi tee-anii-thvviíʔa
bed near 3A.PL-walk.around:INC-DVB something DST-3A.PL-hear:PRC
‘They’re hearing something while they’re near the bed.’
- b. **θi** **OVθ†** **krΩθ**
naʔv uùthoohiise jíistvvna
naʔv uu-athohis-éʔi jíistvvna
near 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP crawdad
.’right beside him the crawdad whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:19)
- c. **ʃACWQθ** **YC** **ʒBL** **ʃPKʃ**
nukóhwthaanʔvna kiihla wuuyvʔhle kahljoótéʔi
ni-uu-kóhwthaan-ʔvna kiihla wi-uu-yvʔhl-éʔi kahljoótéʔi
PRT-3B-see:CMP-NDV dog TRN-3B-enter:CMP-NXP house
‘Without seeing the dog he entered the house.’
- d. **AθE** **krFR** **DΛʔ** **Ca** **Dθ** **krΩθ**
khoohikv jikeèsʔ aàneèhe wahya ale jíistvvna
khoohikv ji-keès-ʔʔʔi anii-eèh-éʔi wahya ale jíistvvna
long.ago REL-be:CMP-EXP\DVB 3A.PL-live:CMP-NXP wolf and crawdad
‘A long time ago lived a wolf and a crawdad.’
lit. “When it was a long time ago, they lived, wolf and crawdad.”
(Chapter 9.1:2)

These three types of modifiers- adverbs, postpositional phrases, and adverbial clauses- will be explored in the three sections that follow.

2.1. ADVERBS

The beginning of this chapter discussed adjectives, or words that modify nouns. Adverbs modify the other three parts of speech; that is, verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs.⁵ In (67a) an underived adjective is shown. In the example in (67b) the adverb ‘without being hungry’ is derived from the verb ‘to be hungry.’ This adverb is derived using the Partitive prefix and the Negative Deverbalizer.

- b. **ŁOS.ə**
 hlawoòtúúhi
 hlawootu-hi
 mud-LOC
 ‘in the mud’ (Feeling 1975a:130)
- c. **OV.ə**
 nvvtóóhi
 nvvta-hi
 moon, sun-LOC
 ‘on the moon, sun’
- d. **Dʒ.ə**
 amóóhi
 ama-hi
 water-LOC
 ‘in the water’
- e. **S_oYGT**
 kaaskilǎǎʔi
 kaaskilo-ʔi
 table-LOC
 ‘on the table’

2.1.1. Adverbs modifying verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs

When modifying verbs adverbs can refer to the manner in which an action is done, the location in which the action takes place, or the time in which the action takes place. In (69a) the adverb *eelati* indicates the direction of the verb. In (69b) *toótáwaata* is an adverb of time and in (69c) *ahani* is an adverb of place. An example of an adverb of manner *siíkwu* is in (69d); this example also contains the adverb of time *svvhi*. As seen in these examples, adverbs typically precede the word they are modifying.

- 69) a. **hG RW hSP@J**
 jiíyu eela nikalsthi
 jiíyu eelati ni-ka-alisthi
 boat down PRT-3A-become:PRC
 ‘The boat is sinking, going down in the water.’
- b. **VLC L DYΘIC**
 toótáwaat aàkinaálv̀jv
 toótáwaata aki-naálv̀j-v́?i
 all.day 1B-angry:CMP-EXP
 ‘I was angry all day.’
- c. **L YG D@J GΘV Dth**
 thla khilo kóóst yuuhnto ahani
 thla khilo kóósti yi-uu-ahnt-ó?i ahani
 NEG someone something IRR-3B-know:INC-HAB here
 ‘No one here ever knows anything.’
- d. **R@ DS@S@ B@**
 svvhi akhthv̀kaanv siíkwu
 svvhi aki-ahthv̀kaan-v́?i siíkwu
 yesterday 1B-hear:CMP-EXP again
- JS@hBR A@ TS**
 tikaáooniisíisv kofi iika
 ti-ka-áooniis-íis-v́?i kofi iika
 FUT2-3A-speak:CMP-MOT-EXP this day
 ‘I heard yesterday that he was supposed to speak again today.’
 (Feeling 1975a:61)

Adverbs can also modify adjectives as well as other adverbs. In (70a) the degree adverb *uulosv̀sti* modifies an adjective, and in (70b) the adverb *tooyu* modifies another adverb *stááya* that is indicating the manner in which a verb is performed.

- 70) a. **Θ SLJ OGRΩJ SL+T SΩJT**
 na kaatathi uulosvsti kaataaháá?i katvvtíí?i
 na kaatathi uulosvsti kaataa-háá?i ka-atvvt-íí?i
 that flag too dirt-ATB 3A-hang(flexible):DVN-NOM2
 ‘That flag is too dirty to hang up.’

- b. **VG ΩLΩ TrΩh†**
tooyu stáaya iìjiiwóoniha
 tooyu stáaya iìjii-wóoniha
 very hard 2A.PL-talk:PRC
 ‘You all are talking very loudly.’

2.1.2. Adverbs modifying clauses

A few adverbs modify an entire clause. Three examples of these are listed below in (71). In (71a) the adverb *ééliisti* says something about the degree of probability of the entire following sentence. In all three examples the modifier is at the beginning of the phrase.

- 71) a. **RPΩJ ΩY GAS ΩJGCT**
ééliisti hilvski yuúkòte yitichawasée?i
 ééliisti hilvski yi-uúkòte yi-ti-ja-hwas-é?i
 seems few IRR-more IRR-DST2-2B-buy:CMP-NXP
 ‘It seems like you should’ve bought a few more.’

- b. **D†Ω JYΩJBJ JLPV**
asées tikinvvtííyeti tiitheliito
 asée=s ti-kinii-vvtiíyéèt-i ti-atheliito
 must=Q DST2-1B.DL-wash:DVN\MOD-NOM DST2-dish
 ‘Do we have to wash dishes?’

- c. **VGZ ΩY ΩΘΩΛδ**
toyúhnóo ski nuuntvneelee
 tohiyu=hnoo naski ni-uunii-atvneeel-é?i
 really=CN this PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP
 ‘Really they did this.’ (Chapter 9.1:13)

2.1.3. Negative adverbs

A small set of words modify a verb, adjective, or adverb by negating them. The most common negative adverb is **łthla** ‘not.’ When this adverb is used, the Irrealis prepronominal prefix *yi-* appears on the verb being negated, as seen in (72a).⁶

- 72) a. **ł** **łłłłłłłłłł**
thla yakwaahntha
 thla yi-aki-anvhtha
 NEG IRR-1B-know:PRC
 ‘I don’t know.’
- c. **łł** **łłłł** **łłłłłłłłłłłłłł**
thlahno stááyi yitiìjiiilvhwstaàneeho
 thlahno stááyi yi-ti-iìjii-lvhwstaàneeh-óo?i
 NEG=CN hard IRR-DST-2B.PL-work:INC-HAB
 ‘You all don’t work very hard.’

The negative adverb *thleesti* creates negative commands; this adverb also appears with the *jii-* prefix on the verb. Two examples are in (73).

- 73) a. **łłł** **łł** **łłłłł**
hleesti uhna jiihihlvñí
 hleesti uhna jii-hi-hlvñi
 NEG.COM there NGI-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)
 ‘Don’t go to sleep there!’
- b. **łłł** **łłłłłłł**
hleesti jiiskinvńí
 hleesti jii-ski-nvńi
 NEG.COM NGI-2/1-call:IMM(COM)
 ‘Don’t call me!’

2.1.4. Interrogative adverbs

Information questions are formed by placing the appropriate question word at the beginning of the sentence. Examples with ‘where’ and ‘when’ are below in (74).

- 74) a. **ʔP** **OSJ**
haatlv hwikhthi
 haatl v wi-hi-kathi
 where TRN-2A-head.to:PRC
 ‘Where are you headed?’
- b. **ʔWB** **ʔPAV** **ʔSəE**
hiláàyʔ chulkoje hokskʔ
 hiláàyʔvʔi ja-sulkoj-éʔi hi-okisk-ʔvʔi
 when 2B-quit:CMP-NXP 2A-smoke:INC-DVB
 ‘When did you quit smoking?’ (Feeling 1975a:56)

There are several ways to ask a ‘why’ question in Cherokee. One way is to use the question word *katoðhv* at the beginning of the sentence with the Iterative (ITR) prenominal prefix attached to the verb. Two examples are in (75).

- 75) a. **SVQ** **ʔVCəJ** **ʔCJ** **ʔəBhb**
 katoðhv ujeéwáàsti uunvʔti nvvhiiyʔvnisi
 katoðhv uu-ajeéwáàst-i uunvʔti ni-ii-hii-ʔvnisi
 why 3B-spill:DVN-NOM2 milk PRT-ITR-2A.AN-make:IMM
 ‘Why did you make him spill his milk?’
- b. **SVQ** **VGfə** **əSʔL**
 katoðhv tojáyohi steeyíta
 katoðhv tee-ii-ja-xyohi steeyíta
 why DST-ITR-2B-release:IMM rope
 ‘Why did you let go of the rope?’ (Feeling 1975a:151)

A second way is with the question word *kato* and the Relativizer prenominal (REL) prefix *ji-* attached to the verb. Two examples are given in (76); in (76a) is the basic form, whereas in (76b) this prenominal prefix is aspirated through contact with the /h/ in the pronominal prefix.

76) a. **SV JPBH**
 kato juùliíyéètiha
 kato ji-uu-liíyéètiha
 why REL-3B-moan:PRC
 ‘Why is he moaning?’ (Feeling 1975a:173)

b. **SV GH**
 kato chatloohíha
 kato ji-hi-atloohíha
 why REL-2A-cry:PRC
 ‘Why are you crying?’

A third way uses the word *kat oòkhe* with the Relativizer. An example is in (77).

77) **SVF hGPO**
 katoòkhe jìjahlvvnv
 katoòkhe ji-ja-hlvvn-vʔi
 why REL-2B-sleep:CMPEXP
 ‘Why did you go to sleep?’

Interrogative adverbs can also question the degree of intensity of an adjective or another adverb. An example of each is in (78).

78) a. **HW hAOL** **HD HBPOL**
 hila nikoóstaàya hiʔa hayelsta
 hila ni-ka-oóstaàya hiʔa hayelsta
 how PRT-3A-sharp this knife
 ‘How sharp is this knife?’

b. **HW HAW** **hHAG** **JH**
 hila naakoohiíl niìjiineélo kuusó
 hila ni-aakoohiíla ni-iìjii-neél-óʔi kuusa-ʔi
 how PRT-long PRT-2A.PL-reside:INC-HAB Muskogee-LOC
 ‘How long have you been living in Muskogee?’

2.1.5 Conjunctive adverbs

A small set of adverbs that connect clauses are referred to as Conjunctive adverbs. These adverbs modify an entire clause, often by linking it to another clause. In (79) the conjunctive adverb *aséehno* 'but/however' links the first clause to the clause 'the wolf found out' and contrasts it with the previous clause.

79) ᵏᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ	ᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ	<u>DᵃZ</u>
jiìyanuúlitvv	uùtaatoseéle	<u>aséehno</u>
ji-hyanuúli=tvv	uu-ataat-oseél-é?i	aséehno
1A-fast =FC	3B-RFL-tell: CMP-NXP	however
ᵃᵃ	ᵃᵃ	ᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ
wahya	naawu	uùtelhoose
wahya	naakwu	uu-atelhoos-é?i
wolf	then	3B-find.out: CMP-NXP
“I am fast”, he told the wolf; but the wolf found out.’ (Chapter 9.1:29)		

A more complex example is below in (80). The adverbial clause is introduced with the conjunctive adverb ‘if.’

80) ᵃᵃᵃᵃ	ᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ	ᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ
jalaki	aniiyvviya	uuniiwoonííhisti
jalaki	anii-yvvi-ya	uunii-woonííhist-i
Cherokee	3A.PL-people-real	3B.PL-speak: DVN\MOD-NOM
Dᵃ	ᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ	
ale	uunataááhnthehti	
ale	uunii-ataa-ahntheht-i	
and	3B.PL-MDL-think: DVN\MOD-NOM	
ᵃᵃᵃᵃ	<u>TGZ</u>	<u>Tᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃᵃ</u>
nikoohiilᵃ	<u>iyúuhno</u>	iikatuuliiskéést
nikoihiilᵃᵃ?i	iyúuhno	iikii-atuuliisk-éésti
always	if	1B.PL-want: INC-AFT\SUB

ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
iikalsinthohti	oohni jitvvnááʔi
iikii-alisinthoht-i	oohni ji-ta-anii-áaʔi
1B.PL-save:DVN-NOM2	behind REL-CSM-3A.PL-walk:PRC\SUB

‘Cherokee people must think and speak Cherokee more often if the language is to be saved for future generations.’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

Some adverbs relate a clause to another clause with a conjunctive adverb that establishes a cause or reason. An example of the adverb *vskini yúústi* ‘that’s why’ is in (81a). In (81b), by contrast, no adverb is used and the subordination relation ‘because’ is expressed through the highfall tone on the copula towards the end of the sentence

81) a. ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
kaniitatááhnóo	kathoskéʔi	jíistvvn
ka-niitaʔtááʔi=hnóo	ka-atosk-éʔi	jíistvna
3A-tail=CN	3A-latch.onto:IMP-NXP	crawdad

ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
<u>vskin yúúst</u>	iijuulahaw
vskini yúústi	iijuulaha=kwu
that	reason both=DT

ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
waniiluhke	teekhanahlthááʔi
wi-anii-luhk-éʔi	tee-khanahlthááʔi
TRN-3A.PL-arrive:IMP-NXP	DST-hill

‘The crawdad was latching onto his tail, that’s why they got to the hills together.’
(Chapter 9.1:31-32)

b. ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	ᑕᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
uuhnthe	kvvwthlóohist	keehá
uu-anvth-éʔi	ka-uu-athloohist-i	keeh-áʔi
3B-know:IMP-NXP	NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM	be:IMP-EXP

Θ **LSB** **ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ** **FQ** **DECVD**
na taks uuskanóól keehv athlíitó
na taksi uu-skanóóli keeh-ívvi a-atithlíitoóh-i
that turtle 3B-slow be:CMP-EXP\SUB 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM
‘He knew that he could beat him, because the turtle was a slow runner.’
(Chapter 9:3:5-6)

The second half of the sentence in (81) is an adverbial clause: it establishes a reason for the preceding main clause. Adverbial clauses are the topic of the next section.

2.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses that act as adverbs. In (82a) the adverbial clause expresses a reason for the main clause ‘he’s standing over there.’ In (82b) the subordinate clause ‘when they’re frying bread’ modifies the main verb ‘to like’ by describing a time frame for the verb.

82) a. **DB** **SVS** **DLᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ** **GCHE**
áayv katook aàtaaskaahívvi yuwaníís
áayv ka-tooka a-ataat-skaah-ívvi yuwaníísá
there 3A-stand:PRC 3A-RFL-afraid:CMP-DVB reason.why
‘He’s standing over there because he’s afraid.’

b. **SS** **LhRᑭᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ**
káatu taniisvvnthvskívvi
káatu tee-anii-svvnthvsk-ívvi
bread DST-3A.PL-fry:INC-DVB

DYVJ **ShSVᑎVJT**
aàkilvkvwti kaajikaàthostohtíívi
aki-lvvkwohti kaa-jii-kahthostoht-íívi
1B-like:PRC ANP-1A.AN-watch:DVN-NOM2
‘I like to watch them when they’re frying bread.’

2.2.1. Adverbial Clauses with Incompletive and Completive Stems

One of the most frequent uses of adverbial clauses is to establish a time frame for the main clause. Time adverbial clauses modify the clause to which they are

attached and frequently are placed before the main verb of that clause. In both examples in (83) the adverbial clause is describing an action that takes place before the action of the main verb; the Deverbalizer suffix (DVB) indicates that the verb to which it attaches is now acting adverbially.

- 83) a. **ŌŪhŪŌT** _____ **ŠGW** _____ **YW GYMC**
uuwóoniisohnvʔi káayuul khil waàkiʔlúhjv
 uu-wóoniis-ohn-vʔi káayuula khila wi-aki-ʔlúhj-vʔi
 3B-speak:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB already just TRN-1B-arrive-CMP-EXP
 ‘When he had completed talking only then did I arrive.’
- b. **K** **GCAJ** **DhZtʔ** _____ **B** **LhŌLhP**
jo yuwáákhti ajiinoseelʔ si tajiistayoohlv
 joʔi yuwáákhti aji-hnoseel-vʔi si ti-aji-stayoohl-vʔi
 three time 3O-tell:CMP-DVB still CIS-3O-shoot:CMP-CMP
 ‘He was told three times before they shot at him.’

These types of adverbial clause can be translated in English with ‘after’, ‘when’, ‘until’ or ‘having done VERB.’ Four more examples are below in (84).

- 84) a. **ŌJWŌ** _____ **Dh** _____ **ŌPC**
uutiítháhʔ ama uùtlvʔjv
 uu-atiítháh-vʔi ama uu-tlvʔj-vʔi
 3B-drink:CMP-DVB water 3B-sick:CMP-EXP
 ‘He became sick after drinking the water.’
- b. **ŠMGZ** _____ **ŠʔŌJ** _____ **JFR**
wúluhjahnoó kalvʔnat tikeèsv
 wi-uu-ʔluhj-a=hnóo kalvʔnati ti-keès-vʔi
 TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV=CN on.top.of CIS-be:INC-EXP
- GŌ** _____ **ŌV.ʔt**
 wahya uùthohise
 wahya uu-athohis-éʔi
 wolf 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP
 ‘When he got to the top of the hill, the wolf whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)

The Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix $-v'v'ʔi$ attaches to either the Completive or Incompletive stem. When it attaches to the Incompletive stem its meaning is closest to ‘while.’ Two examples are in (88). When attached to the Completive, it indicates an action that occurred at a specific time, as in (88c), or the reason why an act occurs, as in (88d).

88) a. **ʘʘɪɪ** **Dɪɔɪɪɪɪ** **ʂCB**
 uuhyvvsóól aàjikwenuukíise kahliihy'v
 uuhyvvsóóli aji-kwenuukíis-éʔi ka-hliihy-v'v'ʔi
 3B-nose 3O-scratch:CMP-NXP 3A-sleep:CMP-DVB
 ‘His nose got scratched while he slept.’

b. **ɪɪɪɪɪɪ** **DYɪɪ**
takilv'hwstaaneeh'v aàkithlvvhnv
 tee-aki-lv'hwstaaneeh-v'v'ʔi aki-thlvvhn-v'v'ʔi
 DST-1B-work:INC-DVB 1B-sleep:CMP-EXP
 ‘I fell asleep while working.’

c. **ɪɪɪɪɪɪ**
jiskiyostaaneel'v
 ji-ski-yos-staan-eel-v'v'ʔi
 REL-2/1-break-CAUS:CMP-APL:CMP-DVB

ɪɪɪɪɪɪ **ʂɪɪɪɪ**
 tiikil'wstáhnti kahneehltiiskv
 ti-aki-l'wstáhnt-i ji-ahneehltiisk-v'v'ʔi
 DST2-1B-work:DVN-NOM2 1A-try:INC-EXP
 ‘When you interrupted I was trying to work.’

d. **ʘɪɪɪɪ** **ʂʂɪɪɪ**
uùtaakeey'vvs'v teekáhnookíisko
 uu-ataat-keey'vvs-v'v'ʔi tee-ka-hnookíisk-óʔi
 3B-RFL-stingy.with:CMP-DVB DST-3A-sing:INC-HAB
 ‘He sings because he’s in love.’

b. **Dŏh** **DJG** **hḥGʷLŏ**
akweeji achúúja jiiiyuúthéèsohnʷ
aki-eeji a-chúúja ji-jii-uúthéès-ohn-ʷʷʷi
1B-offspring 3A-boy REL-1A.AN-pick.up:CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP\SUB

JLŏ **KYΛŏR**
tiitaananʷ joòkineenʷvs
ti-ataananʷʷʷi ti-ookinii-eeenʷvs-ʷʷʷi
CIS-store CIS-1A.AN-pick.up:CMP-EXP
‘After I picked up my son, we went to the store.’

In most of the above clauses the main verb occurs in the past. If the main verb is in the present, future, or is a command, the adverbial clause will have an element of uncertainty to it; i.e. the ‘when’ could be more accurately translated as ‘whenever’ or ‘every time’ or even ‘if.’ This kind of adverbial clause will typically carry an Irrealis (IRR) *yí-* prepronominal prefix in conjunction with the Time Adverbial suffix (TAV) and the highfall tone of subordination (SUB) appearing on the rightmost long vowel. This construction can be used on an Incompletive stem and take a Set A prefix (if it is a Set A verb), as seen in (91a) and (91b). If the Completive stem is used, as in (91c), then the Set B prefix appears; in this example ‘to wake up’ is a Set A verb, but appears with the Set B prefix.

91) a. **ʃPKʃ** **ʃŏhBʃ** **ʃS** **DYŏRA**
kahljoóte yiwijiyʷhá káátu aàkiwsʷvko
kahljoóte yi-wi-ji-yvʷh-a káátu aki-wsʷvŋk-óʷi
house IRR-TRN-1A-enter:IMM\SUB-TAV bread 1B-smell:INC-HAB
‘Every time I enter the house I smell bread.’
‘If I enter the house I smell bread.’

b. **hAʃ** **ʃMA** **hḥPŏLBŏŏS**
nikoolv káʃluhkóʷ yoòjalstáàyʷvʷhvska
nikoolv ka-ʃluhk-óʷi yi-oojii-ali-stáàyʷvʷhvska
always 3A-arrive:INC-HAB IRR-1A.PL.EX-MDL-fix.a.meal:INC\SUB-TAV
‘He’s always coming over when we’re eating.’

c. H00 ᄎᄎᄎ G W Y ᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ
 sanaale yijayééja jalaki hataanvtheskéesti
 sanaale yi-ja-yéej-a jalaki hi-ataanvtheskéesti
 morning IRR-2B-wake(I):CMP\SUB-TAV Cherokee 2A-think:INC-AFT
 ‘In the morning when you wake up, think Cherokee!’
 (*Cherokee Phoenix* May 2006)

d. KLᄎ ᄎᄎᄎᄎ ᄎᄎᄎ
 jootalᄎ yiwúúluᄎj jiist
 ti-ootalᄎᄎᄎᄎi yi-wi-uu-luhj-a jiistu
 CIS-mountain IRR-TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV rabbit
 ‘Whenever the rabbit got to the mountain...’ (Chapter 9.1:31)

Both of the above time adverbials carry an element of uncertainty. They indicate events that do or will occur, but it is unclear when exactly they will occur.

This uncertainty is carried one step further by expressing an event that is contrary to reality. In (92a) both events are not real and are marked with the Irrealis, while the subordinate clause has the highfall tone. The time frame in this case is the present; in (92b) the unrealized event is in a past time frame. In these examples the pronominal laryngealization does not occur because *yi-* is present.

92) a. G W Y ᄎᄎᄎᄎ ᄎᄎᄎᄎ
 jalaki hyatééhᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ yijahntha
 jalaki yi-hi-ateehᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ-a yi-ja-anvᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ
 Cherokee IRR-2A-learn:CMP\SUB-TAV IRR-2B-know:PRC
 ‘If you were learning Cherokee you would know.’

b. ᄎᄎᄎᄎ Dᄎᄎ ᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ ᄎᄎᄎᄎᄎ
 yákihé ateél kahljoóte yákihwasé?
 yi-aki-h-éᄎᄎᄎᄎ ateéla kahljoóte yi-aki-hwas-éᄎᄎᄎᄎ
 IRR-1B-have:CMP-NXP\SUB money house IRR-1B-buy:CMP-NXP
 ‘I would’ve bought a house if I had the money.’

Table 1 below summarizes the different ways of forming time adverbials in Cherokee.

of the four parts of speech in Cherokee and have complex patterns of inflection for person and number. Unlike nouns, all adjectives indicate plurality; the mechanism to indicate plurality is either a Distributive prefix or a plural pronominal prefix, and in some cases both are used. Whereas noun inflection is to a certain extent determined by human vs. non-human, the adjectives inflection is determined by the animacy of the noun that is being modified. Like nouns and verbs, adjectives are also able to stand alone as a predicate.

The second kind of modification involves adverbials, elements that modify verbs, adjectives, and adverbs as well as entire clauses. Adverbials that are a single word are adverbs, the fourth major class of words in Cherokee. Phrases can be turned into adverbial phrases that modify another verb or an entire clause. The third type of adverbial is the postpositional phrase; this phrase can be used to modify a verb.

NOTES
CHAPTER 8

¹ Some linguists don't recognize the existence of such a class for Cherokee. King (1975:40) refers to adjectives as particles, and Cook (1979:125) describes them as 'uninflected verbs.' Lindsey and Scancarelli claim that Cherokee has a large class of true adjectives that can be divided into a small class of words with adjectival roots and a larger class that is derived (1985:208). They claim that Cherokee does have a separate part of speech 'adjective' that can be distinguished from verbs, nouns, and particles according to its morphological behavior. According to their findings, although Cherokee does have a small closed class of adjectival roots, most adjectives are derived from verbs or nouns.

² Lindsey and Scancarelli note that there are many adjectives that appear with what looks like a derivational ending but yet have no clear source (1985:212). Some -ta verbs that are not derived include the following in (1).

- 1) a. -kanvvhííta 'long'
 b. -kééta 'heavy'
 c. óósta 'good'

³ Feeling refers to this suffix as the 'Partitive' but does not elaborate on this term.

⁴ This type of clause is often referred to as a 'relative clause.'

⁵ Many adverbs are adjectives that are simply used adverbially. In (2a) 'bad' is used as an adjective and agrees with the subject. This pattern contrasts with (2b) where bad carries a dummy third person prefix (as A Set B modifier), but it does not agree with the plural subject.

- 2) a. **Θ LOP OɦɦT**
 na tawooli uuniiyóóʔi
 na tawooli uunii-yóóʔi
 that mushroom 3B.PL-bad
 'Those mushrooms are bad.'
- b. **Θɦ DΘLC'Łʔʔ**
 uuyo aànatahnthehéeha
 uu-yóóʔi anii-ataa-ahnth--héeha
 3B-bad 3A.PL-MDL-know:CMPL:APL:PRC
 'They feel bad for him.'

⁶ In the first example the Irrealis blocks the expected pronominal laryngealization. In the second example the underlying form of the prefix already contains a lowfall.

⁷ In this example the postposition actually appears before the noun like a 'preposition' in English. Because the normal position is after the noun, the term 'postposition' is still appropriate for this class.

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CHAPTER 9: TEXTS

Excerpts from the following texts are found throughout this grammar, either as individual words, phrases, or complete sentences. The individual lines are numbered to help the reader find phrases.

1. THE WOLF AND THE CRAWDAD

This story is from Mr. Marion ‘Ed’ Jumper. It has a rich variety of clitics as well as some interesting uses of the Object Focus (o) prefixes. These types of ‘race’ stories (and there seem to be a lot of them) provide a useful context for studying the interaction of animacy and word order as they usually contain two animals presumably equal in animacy. Singleton (1979) alludes to a similar story in his brief study of the structure of Cherokee narratives.

1) **ᑕᓐ ᑃᓃ ᑎᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ**
 wahya ale jíistvvna
 wahya ale jíistvvna
 wolf and crawdad

2) **ᑕᓐᑎᓐ ᑎᓐᑎᓐ ᑃᓐᑎᓐ ᑕᓐ ᑃᓐ ᑎᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ**
 khoohikv jikeèš’ ààneèhe wahya ale jíistvvna
 khoohikv ji-keès-’v’?i anii-eèh-é?i wahya ale jíistvvna
 long.ago REL-be:CMF-EXP\SUB 3A.PL-live:CMF-NXP wolf and crawdad
 ‘A long time ago lived a wolf and a crawdad’

3) **ᑎᓐᑎᓐ ᑎᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ ᑃᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ**
 saawúhnóo iyúwáákht aàkatuuliískv
 saakwu=hnóo iyúwáákhti aji-atuuliísk-v’?i
 one=CN time 3O-want:INC-EXP
 One time wolf wanted

4) **ᑎᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ ᑎᓐᑎᓐᑎᓐ ᑕᓐ**
 ajiiyeèsti jíistvvna wahya
 aji-xxhyeèst-i jíistvvna wahya
 3O-eat(living):DVN-NOM2 crawdad wolf
 to eat the crawdad.

5) **ᑕᓐ ᑭᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑭᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑭᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ**
 wahya uùneenuhlane jíistvvna juuhnthohkiíyáàstííʔi
 wahya uu-neenuhlan-éʔi jíistvvna ti-uunii-ahthohkiíyáàst-ííʔi
 wolf 3B-challenge:CMP-NXP crawdad DST2-3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 The wolf challenged the crawdad to race him.

6) **ᑭᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑭᓐᓐᓐ**
 jíistvvnáhnóo khilawiyǎ
 jíistvvna=hnóo khilawiyǎʔi
 crawdad=CN at.that.moment
 The crawdad at that moment

7) **ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑭᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ**
 tuùlchvvyáàsthane uuhnthohkiíyáàstííʔi
 tee-uu-alchvvyáàsthan-éʔi uunii-ahthohkiíyáàst-ííʔi
 DST-3B-become.brave:CMP-NXP 3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 got brave enough to race the wolf.

8) **ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ**
 kahlkwoókíhnóo teekhánahlthǎ yitéenalkoóna
 kahlkwoókí=hnóo tee-khanahlthǎʔi yi-tee-iinii-alkoóna
 seven=CN DST-hill IRR- DST-1A.DL-arrive.first:IMM
 We will see who gets to the seven hills first,

9) **ᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑕᓐ**
 uùtvvhne wahya
 uu-atvvhne-éʔi wahya
 3B-say:CMP-NXP wolf
 said the wolf

10) **ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᑭᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ**
 uùntǎvnasthanéhnóo juuhnthohkiíyáàsti
 uunii-atǎvnasthan-éʔi=hnóo ti-uunii-ahthohkiíyáàst-i
 3B.PL-prepare:CMP-NXP=CN DST2-3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 They got ready to race

11) **ᓐᓐᓐᓐ** **ᓐᓐᓐᓐ**
 akvvyííhno wuulúhjǎ
 a-kvvyííʔi=hnóo wi-uu-ʔlúhjǎʔi
 3A-first=CN TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB
 the first one arriving

12) **SʁhJD** **ʁʁʁPʁ** **ʁVʁʁJ** **FRT**
kalvvntiʔa wikhanahlthʔ uuthohíísti keèsvʔi
kalvvntiʔa wi-khanahlthʔvʔi uu-athohiist-i keès-vʔi
on.top TRN-hill 3B-whoop:DVN\MOD-NOM be:INC-EXP
at the top of the hill was to whoop.

13) **VGZ** **ʁY** **ʁʁʁʁʁ**
toyúhnóo ski nuùntʔvneelee
tohiyu=hńoo naski ni-uunii-atʔvneel-éʔi
really=CN this PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP
Really they did this.

14) **DEʁʁ** **ʁPʁʁʁ** **ʁʁ**
akvvytvv wuùtlvvstane wahya
a-kvvyííʔi=tvv wi-uu-atlvvstan-éʔi wahya
3A-first=FC TRN-3B-take.off.:CMP-NXP wolf
The wolf took off first.

15) **Sʁʁʁ** **ʁAʁ** **ʁʁʁʁʁ**
kaníitaʔtʔ wuùkoohe jíistvvna
ka-níitaʔtʔvʔi wi-uu-kooh-éʔi jíistvvna
3A-tail TRN-3B-saw:CMP-NXP crawdad
The crawdad saw the wolf's tail

16) **ʁʁZ** **ʁVʁT**
uhnáhnóo wuùthoséeʔi
uhna=hnóo wi-uu-athos-éʔi
there=CN TRN-3B-latch.onto:CMP-NXP
and latched onto it.

17) **ʁMGZ** **SʁʁJ** **JʁR**
wúluhjahńoo kalvʔnat tikeèsv
wi-uu-ʔluhj-a=hnóo kalvʔnati ti-keès-vʔi
TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV=CN on.top.of CIS-be:INC-EXP
When he got to the top of the hill

18) **ʁʁ** **ʁVʁʁ**
wahya uùthohise
wahya uu-athohis-éʔi
wolf 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP
the wolf whooped

19) **iθθʀᵛᵛ** **θi** **ᵛVᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 vnawtvvskwu naʔv uùthoohiise jíistvvna
 vnawtvv=skwu naʔv uu-athohis-éʔi jíistvvna
 right.then=DT near 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP crawdad
 and right then right beside him the crawdad whooped.

20) **ZᵛZ** **Wʔᵛ** **ᵛhMG**
 noówúhn thaʔliině wuuníílúhj
 noókku=hnóo thaʔl-iinééʔi wi-uunii-ʔlúhj-a
 now=CN two-ORD TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV
 When they arrived at the second

21) **ᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **Dᵛᵛᵛ**
 uutlóoy nvntúvneelee aleskwu
 uu-tlóoyi ni-ii-uunii-atúvneel-éʔi ale=skwu
 3B-same PRT-ITR-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP and=DT
 they did the same and also

22) **Kᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ**
 joʔiině nvhkiině hiskiině suútaliině
 joʔi-iinééʔi nvhki-iinééʔi hiski-iinééʔi suútali-iinééʔi
 three-ORD four-ORD six-ORD seven-ORD
 at the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth

23) **EhZ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛhMG**
 khvúhnhnóo kahlkwoókiině wuuníílúhjv
 khvúhni=hnóo kahlkwoóki-iinééʔi wi-uunii-ʔlúhj-vʔi
 until=CN seven-ORD TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:CMP-EXP
 until they got to the seventh one,

24) **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛVᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛ**
 staayosvútvv uùthoohiise wahya
 stááyí=svúʔi=tvv uu-athohis-éʔi wahya
 hard=INT=FC 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP wolf
 the wolf whooped real loud.

25) **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **ᵛVᵛᵛ**
 jíistvvnáhnóo naskwu khilakwuyv uùthoohiise
 jíistvvna=hnóo na=skwu khilakwuyv uu-thohiis-éʔi
 crawdad=CN that=DT right.away 3B-whoop:CMP-NXP
 The crawdad also whooped right away,

26) **DfZ Cw SVE**
 aséehno wahya katokhv
 aséehno wahya katokhv
 but wolf why
 but the wolf said how come

27) **Rf9 hGfW TjW**
 eeliw nitsanuúla iíjúula
 eelikwu ni-ji-hi-anuúla iíjúula
 possible PRT-REL-2A-fast both
 If you're so fast how did we both

28) **rhMY Dfh 00POT**
 tiiníílúhk áhan khanahlthv'íi
 ti-iinii-?lúhki áhani khanahlthv'íi
 CIS-1A.DL\SUB-arrive:IMM here hill
 get to the hill at the same time?

29) **kr00Z kr01P0 0LV40**
 jíistvvnáhnóo jiiyenúúlitvv uùtaatoseéle
 jíistvvná=hnóo ji-xxyaanúúli=tvv uu-ataat-oseél-é?i
 crawdad=CN 1A-fast =FC 3B-RFL-tell:CMP-NXP
 "I am fast", he told the wolf;

30) **DfZ Cw 0w 0\$Wf4**
 aséehno wahya naàwu uùtelhoose
 aséehno wahya na=kwu uu-atelhoos-é?i
 however wolf that=DT 3B-find.out:CMP-NXP
 but the wolf found out

31) **\$hL0Z \$V0F kr000 i0Yh G0J**
 kaniitatv'vhnóo kathoske jíistvvn vskin yúúst
 ka-niita?tv'v?i=hnóo ka-tosk-é?i jíistvvn vskini yúústi
 3A-tail=CN 3A-latch.onto:INC-NXP crawdad that reason
 That he was latching onto his tail, that's why

32) **TJWᄡ** **ChMP** **ᄋᄡPᄋT**
iíjúulahaw waniiluhke teekhanahlthvʔi
iíjúula-ha=kwu wi-anii-luhk-éʔi tee-khanahlthvʔi
both-only =DT TRN-3A.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP DST-hill
they got to the hills together.

33) **CᄡZ** **ᄡᄋWᄋᄋ** **ᄡᄋZ**
wahyáhnóo uùtelhoose naàwúhnóo
wahya=hnóo uu-atelhoos-éʔi na=kwu=hnóo
wolf=CN 3B-notice:CMP-NXP that=DT=CN
The wolf noticed and then

34) **ᄋᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄡᄋᄋ ᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄋᄋᄋ**
taàkakahnane jíistvvna tooyútvv hiloonuuh
tee-aji-akahnan-éʔi jíistvvna toohiyu=tvv hi-loonuuh-éʔi
DST-3O-look.at:CMP-NXP crawdad really=FC 2A-cheat:CMP-NXP
looked at the crawdad and said “You’re truly cheating.”

35) **ᄋᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄡᄋᄋᄋᄋ**
jiniitatvʔhnóo tskhilawtiise
ji-niitaʔtvʔi=hnóo ji-ski-hkhilawtiis-éʔi
1A-tail=CN REL-2/1-ride.on:INC-NXP
“You were hanging onto my tail,”

36) **ᄋᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄡᄋᄋᄋ**
aàkooseéle jíistvvna
aji-ooseél-éʔi jíistvvna
3O-tell:CMP-NXP crawdad
he said to the crawdad

37) **ᄋᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋᄋ** **ᄋᄡᄋᄋᄋ**
uhnawtvhno ajikhehiítóòle jíistvvn
uhna=kwu=tvv=hnóo aji-khehvs-iítóòl-éʔi jíistvvna
there=DT=FC=CN 3O-chase:CMP-AMB:CMP-NXP crawdad
and right then he started chasing him

38) **hSβrhḡḡ** **ḡLZ** **GrhBZ**
 nikayejiniiyíisk uhnáhnóo wajiniiyvvhnoo
 ni-ka-aji-niiyíisk-i uhna=hnóo wi-aji-niiyvvh-a=hnóo
 PRT-NGT-3O-catch:INC\AGT-NOM there=CN TRN-3O-catch:CMP\SUB-TAV=CN
 Until he caught him. And when he caught him

39) **Grḡḡ** **iḡYḡZ** **hSD**
 waàjiyaʔohne vḡskiwuhnóo nikaáʔa
 wi-aji-yaʔ-ohn-éʔi vḡski=kwu=hnóo nikaáʔa
 TRN-3O-eat:CMP-TRM-NXP that=DT=CN end
 he ate him up. And that's the end

2. THE SEARCH PARTY

The following story is told by Mr. Benny Smith; it involves a Search party traveling along the Arkansas River and giving names to several locations. This narrative shows an interesting alternation between the transitive verb ‘to name’ and its Middle counterpart ‘to be named, to be called.’ There are also several examples of the Locative prefix that is used on nouns to indicate a place characterized by that noun.

1) **JḡSḡLZPḡVḡ**
 juunakthenoliítóòle
 ji-uunii-akahthenol-iítóòl-éʔi
 REL-3B.PL-observe:CMP-AMB:CMP-NXP
 The Search Party “when they were looking around”

2) **MḡB** **lrḡR** **ḡB** **RḡSḡh** **ḡḡSḡḡ**
 luhiyv jikeesv thlasi eskáá uunateehnv
 luhiyv ji-kees-vʔi thlasi eskááhni uunii-ateehn-vʔi
 long.ago REL-be:CMP-EXP not yet in.this.vicinity 3B.PL-be.born:CMP-EXP
 A long time ago no one yet lived in this area

3) **ḡhMC** **lrḡḡ**
 uuniiʔlúhjv jikeese
 uunii-ʔlúhj-vʔi ji-kees-éʔi
 3B.PL-arrive:CMP-EXP REL-be:CMP-EXP
 They arrived

18) **ŌΘ** **ŌΩB** **᠋᠋** **᠋᠋A**
uùhna uùweeyǎ nuule taahnúukó
uùhna uùweeyǎǎ?i nokwu=le taahnúuko=?i
There stream then=PO gar-LOC
And then there is a stream at Vian,

19) **᠋᠋** **ŌΩB** **ŌhMV**
titl uùweeyǎ uuniiluhjé
tíitla uùweeyǎǎ?i uunii-luhj-éé?i
towards river 3B.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP\SUB
when they arrived at the river.

20) **ŌLO** **᠋᠋VR** **SŌA?**
uùhnanv skwistosǎ tuùniikoohe
uùhna=nv skwíísti-sǎǎ?i tee-uunii-koohe-é?i
there=F2 a.lot-INT DST-3B.PL-see:CMP-NXP
There they saw a whole lot of

21) **DGJ** **᠋᠋** **TG᠋᠋**
aja?t taahnúuk iyuust
aja?ti taahnúuko iyuusti
fish gar like
fish like gar.

22) **Ō᠋YZG᠋᠋** **hSV** **᠋᠋A**
uuskinoyuust jituuto tahnukó
uuskinoyuusti ji-tee-uu-atóo?a tahnuko-?i
that's.why REL-DST-3B-be.called:PRC gar-LOC
That's why it's called 'Gar' [Vian].

23) **᠋᠋** **Dh᠋Eh᠋᠋** **ŌΩB** **ŌhMV**
nule ajiskvnikeestǎ uùweeyǎ uùniiluhje
nokwu=le ajiskvnikeestǎǎ?i uùweeyǎǎ?i uunii-?luhj-é?i
now=PO Gore stream 3B.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP
And then at Gore they arrived at the river

24) **ŌLO᠋᠋** **DGL** **᠋᠋VR**
uùhnaanvskwu aja?t skwiistosǎ
uùhna=na=skwu aja?ti skwíísti-sǎǎ?i
there=F2=DT fish a.lot-INT
There also was a whole lot of fish.

25) **Dhkr̥EhF** **ShAʔ**
 aniijiskvniké tuùniikoohe
 anii-jiskvnikééʔi tee-uunii-koohe-éʔi
 3A.PL-carp DST-3B.PL-see:CMP-NXP
 They saw carp

ʔ̥̄YZḠ̣J **kr̥SV** **Dhkr̥EF̣̄ʔ̄**
 uskinoyúúst jituùtóo ajiskvnikeestʔ̄
 uskinoyúústi ji-tee-uu-atóoʔa ajiskvnikee-stvʔ̄ʔ̄i
 that's.why REL-DST-3B-be.called:PRC carp-?
 That's why it's called Gore

26) **ʔ̄** **J̄T̄SC** **kr̥SV**
 nuule júúskwakahli jituutóo
 nookwu=le ti-uu-ʔ̄skwakahli ji-tee-uu-atóoʔa
 now=PO DST2-3B-striped REL-DST-3B-be.called:PRC
 and then at what is called "Striped" [Forth Gibson]

27) **ʔ̄hMT̄** **DAJ** **Ḡ̣J** **F4** **ʔ̄LŌ**
 uùniifluhje akóóti yúúst keese uùhnáanv
 uunii-fluhj-éʔi akóóti yúústi kees-éʔi uùhna=nv
 3B.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP prairie like be:CMP-NXP there=F2
 they arrived, it was like a prairie there

28) **DhDʔ̄** **J̄h̄T̄SC** **ʔ̄ʔ̄VR** **ShAʔ̄**
 aniiʔahaw juuníískwakahli skwiistosv tuùniikoohe
 anii-ahawi ti-uunii-ʔ̄skwahli skwíísti-sʔ̄ʔ̄i tee-uunii-koohe-éʔi
 3A.PL-deer DST2-3B.PL-striped a.lot-INT DST-3B.PL-see:CMP-NXP
 There they saw a whole lot of striped deer.

29) **ʔ̄̄YŌ** **J̄T̄SC** **kr̥SVD**
 uskinv júúskwakahli jituùtóoʔa
 uskinv ti-uu-ʔ̄skwahli ji-tee-uu-at-óoʔa
 that DST2-3B-striped REL-DST-3B-MDL-name(T):PRC
 That's why it's called "Striped" [Fort Gibson]

30) **ʔ̄** **Dʔ̄** **ʔ̄hMT̄** **ʔ̄LŌ̄̄**
 uùhna áamóó wuùniiluhje uùhnanvsk
 uùhna áama-hi wi-uunii-luhj-éʔi uùhna=nv=skwu
 there salt-LOC TRN-3B.PL-arrive:CMP-NXP there=F2=DT
 There at "Salt" [Salina] they arrived at that place there

31) Dʒ ʉʉVR	EʉR	SʉʉT
áam skwiistosʋ́	khvnakeesv	kalkeéye
áama skwíístosʋ́ʋʉi	khvnakeesv	ka-ali-keéy-éʉi
salt a.lot-INT	in.the.open	3A-MDL-scatter(T):CMP-NXP
a whole lot of salt	was scattered about	

32) ʉʉʉʉʉʉ	Dʒ	ʉʉVR
uunaskiyúúst	áamó	jituùtóoʉe
uunaskinoyúústi	áama-hi	ji-tee-uu-atóoʉ-éʉi
that's.why	salt-LOC	REL-DST-3B-MDL-name(T):CMP-NXP
There that's why it's called "Salt" [Salina]		

3. THE TURTLE AND THE RABBIT

The following narrative was told by Mrs. Rosa M. Carter; a shorter and somewhat different North Carolina version is also in Speck (1926:111). This text has a rich variety of adverbials; of particular note is the use of Irrealis *yi-* to express subordinate 'if' as well as the 'when(ever)' time adverbial. This prepronominal prefix also is used in this story for main negation, conditional, and future meanings. There are several Deverbal Noun stems with the Negative Time prefix *ka-* and Modal tone indicating ability. Unlike the other race narrative in this chapter, there are no instances of the Object Focus prefixes, despite the fact that the story centers on two animals of seemingly equal animacy. The less-commonly seen Completive form of the 'to be' copula also appears several times.

1) ʉʉʉʉʉʉ	ʉʉʉ	ʉʉʉ	ʉʉʉ
nuulsthaniítóòlv	taks	tuukhiyv	jiist
ni-uu-alisthan-iítóòl-ʋʉi	taksi	tee-uu-khiyv-ʋʉi	jiistu
PRT-3B-happen:CMP-AMB:CMP-EXP	turtle	DST-3B-beat.in.a.race:CMP-EXP	rabbit
How the turtle beat the rabbit.			

2) ʉʉʉʉ	ʉʉʉʉ
nikáátatvv	uùnahnthé
nikááata=tvv	uunii-anvhth-éʉi
all=FC	3B.PL-know:CMP-NXP
They all knew that	

3) **kr̥s** **óst** **DCV.ə** **FR**
 jiist óost athlíitó keès'v̥
 jiistu óosta a-atithlíitoóh-i keès-v̥v̥ʔi
 rabbit good 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM be:INC-EXP\SUB
 the rabbit was a good runner.

4) **ʉθvyəəj** **ʉhZʔL** **kr̥s** **θʉ** **l̥əb**
 uunthokiíyáàsti uuniihnooheéhle jiist nahn taks
 uunii-athokiíyáàst-i uunii-hnooheéhl-éʔi jiistu na=hnvtaksi
 3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2 3B.PL-talk:CMP-NXP rabbit the=CN turtle
 The turtle and the rabbit talked about a race.

5) **ʉʉʔ** **ECʉəəj** **FR**
 uuhnthe kvvwlhóohist keeh'v̥
 uu-anvth-éʔi ka-uu-athlóohist-i keeh-v̥v̥ʔi
 3B-know:CMP-NXP NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM be:CMP-EXP
 He knew that he could beat him,

6) **θ** **lsb** **ʉəszp** **FR** **DECV.ə**
 na taks uuskanóól keeh'v̥ athlíitó
 na taksi uu-skanóóli keeh-v̥v̥ʔi a-atithlíitoóh-i
 that turtle 3B-slow be:CMP-EXP 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM
 because the turtle was a slow runner.

7) **Sʉswat** **θ** **B** **TS**
 tuùnukhthane na yv iik
 tee-uunii-ukahthan-éʔi na iiyv̥ʔi iika
 DST-3B.PL-decide:CMP-NXP that when day
 They decided on what day

8) **iəyθ** **Gθʉəj**
 v̥skina yuuntv̥hnti
 v̥skina yi-uunii-atv̥hnt-i
 that.way IRR-3B.PL-do:DVN-NOM2
 they would do this.

9) **lsbəyh** **FR** **Z** **SCZʔwə**
 taksiskin keèh'v̥hno tuùhlinohethane
 taksi=skini keèh-v̥v̥ʔi=hnóo tee-uu-ali-hnohethan-éʔi
 turtle=CS be:CMP-EXP=CN DST-3B-MDL-talk:CMP-NXP
 But the turtle talked to

10) **JP** **ZW** **BLA** **DhA**
 juulí noowle sitaaneelǎ aniiné
 ti-uu-alííʔi nookwu=le sitaaneelǎʔi anii-neéla
 DST2-3B-friend now=PO family 3A.PL-live:PRC\SUB
 his friends and family members that lived together

11) **Q** **SE** **SZt**
 nuustǎ tuuwuukhthǎ tuùhnooseele
 nuustǎʔi tee-uu-uukhth-ǎʔi tee-uu-hnooseel-éʔi
 way.it.is DST-3B-plan:CMP-DVB DST-3B-tell:CMP-EXP
 He told them about his plans

12) **hECJ** **F**
 nikvwwatǎvhnt keèhǎ
 ni-ka-uu-atvvhnt-i keèh-ǎʔi
 PRT-NGT-3B-do:DVN\MOD-NOM be:CMP-EXP
 and what he could do

13) **ECJ** **F**
 kvwwataathlóohist keèhǎ
 ka-uu-ataat-atloohist-i keèhǎʔi
 NGT-3B-RFL-beat.in.race:DVN\MOD-NOM be:CMP-EXP
 for him to be able to beat him.

14) **Z** **Q** **TS**
 noow uùskwalvhihle iik
 nookwu uu-skwalvhihl-eʔi iika
 now 3B-come.time:CMP-NXP day
 The day came and

15) **DA** **hE** **Q**
 anéehnaʔi nikhǎ uuntahlisane
 anii-éehnaʔi nikhǎʔi uunii-at-ǎxhlisan-éʔi
 3A.PL-animal everywhere 3B.PL-MDL-gather(T):CMP-NXP
 all the animals came together

16) **Q** **D**
 uunakhthostohti ahnthokiíyáàsti
 uunii-akahthostoht-i anii-ahnthokiíyáàst-i
 3B.PL-watch:DVN-NOM2 3A.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
 to watch the race.

24) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 na nuùntvvneele
 na ni-uunii-atvvneel-é?i
 that PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP
 they did it.

25) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 uùhniikiise taksi
 uu-ahniikiis-é?i taksi
 3B-leave:CMP-NXP turtle
 The turtle left.

26) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 akvvyi jootalv wathlíisé wuùkoohe jiist
 akvvyi ti-ootalv?i wi-a-atihthlíis-é?i wi-uu-koohe-é?i jiistu
 first CIS-mountain TRN-3A-run:INC-NXP\SUB TRN-3B-see:INC-NXP rabbit
 The rabbit saw him running over the first mountain.

27) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 nvvw uunaleenv ahnthookhiyaskv
 nvvkwu uunii-aleenv?h-a anii-ahthookhiyask-vv?i
 now 3B.PL-start:CMP\SUB-TAV 3A.PL-race:INC-EXP\SUB
 that's when they started racing

28) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 nuustv uùnihnooheehlv takshnóo
 nuustv?i uunii-hnooheehl-vv?i taksi=hnóo
 way.it.is 3B.PL-tell:CMP-EXP turtle=CN
 They told how the turtles

29) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 nakw nantvvneehv saakwuha
 na=kwu ni-anii=atvvneeh=vv?i saakwu-ha
 that=DT PRT-3A.PL-tell:INC-EXP\SUB one-all
 did it one at a time

30) **ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ ᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎᑎ**
 siitanelv anée uhna juulíí?íle yik
 siitanelv?i anii-neéla uhna ti-uu-alií?i=le yi-ki
 family 3A.PL-live:PRC\SUB there DST2-3B-friend=PO IRR-be:IMM
 as a family that lives there or friends

31) **KLĀ** **ᄃᄃMG** **ᄃᄃS**
jootal'v yiwúúluhj jiist
ti-ootal'v'vi yi-wi-uu-luhj-a jiistu
CIS-mountain IRR-TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV rabbit
Whenever the rabbit got to the mountain

32) **ᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
uhna wakothiske taks wikhanaluusk'v
uhna wi-a-kothisk-é'vi taksi wi-ka-hnaluusk-ú'vi
there TRN-3A-saw:INC-NXP turtle TRN-3A-ascend:INC-EXP\SUB
there he saw the turtle going up

33) **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
wuùtéeliik'v yuustiiha
wi-uu-atéeliik-v'vi yuustiiha
TRN-3B-go.out.of sight:INC-EXP\SUB every.time
and down every time

34) **ᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃMG**
só'v jootale yiwúúluhj
só'vi ti-ootal'v'vi=le yi-wi-uu-luhj-a
another CIS=mountain=PO IRR-TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV
When he got to another mountain

35) **ᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃ**
v'vski naànt'vneehe vvskiiyv oohni joòtal'v
v'vski ni-anii-at'vneeh-é'vi vvskiiyv oohni ti-oòtal'v'vi
That PRT-3A.PL-do:IMP-NXP that.far behind CIS-mountain
that's how they were doing it. He was that far at the last mountain

36) **ᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
khil waathliis'v
khila wi-a-atihthliis-ú'vi
Just.now TRN-3A-run:IMP-DVB
When he was running

37) **ᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃ** **ᄃᄃᄃᄃ**
nookw juuyvwéechon'v keese jiist
nookwu ti-uu-yvwéej-ohn-ú'vi kees-é'vi jiistu
now DST2-3B-be.tired:CMP-TRM-DVB be:INC-NXP rabbit
the rabbit was wore out.

38) **Zᵛ** **ᵛMG** **ᵛLMR**
nookw wúúluhj wuuhnaluusᵛ
nookwu wi-uu-luhj-a wi-uu-hnaluus-vᵛʔi
now TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV TRN-3B-ascend:CMP-DVB
When he got there on the top

39) **ᵛH** **KLᵛ** **ᵛAP**
oohni jootalᵛ wuùkoohe
oohni ti-ootalvᵛʔi wi-uu-koooh-éʔi
behind CIS-mountain TRN-3B-see:CMP-NXP
of the last mountain that's when he saw.

40) **Zᵛ** **ᵛ** **LYᵛ** **SYᵛᵛE** **ᵛSGᵛE**
nookwu na taks tuùkhiíyáàskᵛ wikalooskᵛ
nookwu na taksi tee-uu-khiíyáàsk-vᵛʔi wi-ka-loosk-vᵛʔi
Now that turtle DST-3B-win:INC-EXP\SUB TRN-3A-pass:INC-DVB
the turtle running ahead of him, crossing

41) **ᵛᵛLᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** **DᵛLᵛᵛ**
uuntahlohisti aàstanvvhᵛᵛ
uunii-atahlohist-i a-stanvvhᵛᵛ-vᵛʔi
3B.PL-beat.in.a.race:DVN-NOM2 3A-draw:CMP-DVB
The winning line.

42) **Zᵛ** **ᵛAP** **ᵛSCR** **ᵛ LYᵛ**
nokw wuukoohe wathliisᵛ na taks
nookwu wi-uu-koooh-éʔi wi-a-atithliis-vᵛʔi na taksi
now TRN-3B-see:CMP-NXP TRN-3A-run:CMP-EXP\SUB that turtle
He saw the turtle running

43) **ᵛᵛSCᵛ** **ᵛᵛᵛKCᵛ** **ᵛᵛZ**
jiistuhnv juuyawéechonᵛ keehhno
jiistu=hnv ti-uu-yawéej-ohn-vᵛʔi keeh-éʔi=hno
rabbit=CN DST2-3B-be.tired:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB be:CMP-NXP=CN
and the rabbi was worn out.

44) **ᵛᵛᵛL** **ᵛi**
wuúnvᵛᵛjiithle naʔv
wi-uu-nvjiithl-éʔi naʔv
TRN-3B-fall.headfirst:CMP-NXP near
He fell headfirst near it.

45) **Ḳ ḠḲḲ** **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲ** **ḲḲḲḲḲ**
 thla yuuhnthe jiistu keehe nuunt'vneél'v
 thla yi-uu-nvth-é?i jiistu keeh-é?i ni-uunii-at'vneél-v'v?i
 NEG IRR-3B-know:INC-NXP rabbit be:CMP-NXP PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-EXP\SUB
 The rabbit didn't know what they had done

46) **DḲ** **ḲḲ** **ḲḲḲḲḲ** **ḲḲ**
 asée nikáát uuniithlooyíiha keese
 asée nikááta uunii-thlóóyi-ha kees-é?i
 however all 3B.PL-same-all be:INC-NXP
 However they all looked the same

47) **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲ** **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲḲḲḲ** **DḲḲḲ**
 taks juulí noole sitaneel'v aniinée
 taksi ti-uu-alíí?i nookwule sitaneel'v'v?i anii-neéla
 turtle DST2-3B-friend now=PO family 3A.PL-live:PRC\SUB
 The turtle's friends and family where they're all living

48) **Ḳ** **ḲḲḲḲḲḲḲ** **ḲḲḲḲḲ**
 thla yateelohoske nant'vneéh'v
 thla yi-a-ateelohosk-é?i ni-anii-at'vneéh-v'v?i
 NEG IRR-3A-find.out:INC:NXP PRT-3A.PL-do:INC-DVB
 He didn't find out what they were doing

49) **Ḳ** **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲḲ** **Ḳ** **ḲḲḲ**
 na taks saakwuha na katúus
 na taksi saakwu-ha na katúusi
 that turtle one-all that top
 The turtles one at a time the top

50) **ḲḲḲḲḲ** **ḲḲ** **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲ**
 ootal'vle yik eètoohé nahn
 ootal'v'v?i=le yi-ki a-eètooh-é?i na-hnv
 mountain=PO IRR-be:IMM 3A-walk.around:INC-NXP that=CN
 or mountain were there and

51) **ḲḲḲ** **ḲḲḲ** **Ḳ** **ḲḲḲ**
 oohnihno ootal'v na juuleen'v
 oohni=hnóo ootal'v'v?i na ti-uu-aleen-v'v?i
 back=CN mountain that CIS-3B-start:CMP-EXP\SUB
 the last mountain where he started.

52) **LYB F† GSP A∞J YG**
 taks keese yuutuulí kóóst khilo
 taksi kees-é?i yi-uu-atuulíiha kóósti khilo
 turtle be:INC-NXP IRR-3B-want:PRC\SUB something someone
 as for the turtle, if someone wants

53) **∅∅J ∅P∞LHV∅**
 uuthvti nuulsthaniitoolv̄
 uu-ahthvt-i ni-uu-alisthan-iítóòl-vv̄?i
 3B-ask :DVN-NOM2 PRT-3B-happen:CMP-AMB:CMP-EXP\SUB
 to ask him about what happened

54) **∅∅rP ∅ Ir∞J J∞∅K∅ F†**
 wuúnv̄vjíihla na jiist juuyawéechonv̄ keese
 wi-uu-nv̄vjiihl-a na jiistu ti-uu-yawéej-ohn-vv̄?i kees-é?i
 TRN-3B-fall:CMP\SUB-TAV that rabbit DST2-3B-be.tired:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB be:INC-NXP
 when the rabbit fell, he was exhausted

55) **∅∅∅∞ Ir∅∅∅∅ A∅YB IrY**
 uuthlóoyikw jinatv̄vneehó khohiyv̄ jík
 uu-thlóoyi=kwu ji-ni-a-atv̄vneeh-ó?i khohiyv̄?i ji-ki
 3B-same=DT REL-PRT-3A-do:INC-HAB\SUB today REL-be:IMM\SUB
 just like he does nowadays;

56) **∅S∞∅G ∅S∅Y∞**
 yituuyawééj yikánv̄vkikwu
 yi-tee-uu-yawéej-a yi-ka-nv̄vki=kwu
 IRR-DST-3B-be.tired:CMP-TAV IRR-3A-fall:IMM=DT
 when he gets tired, he'll just fall.

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