Part V Verb Forms

ASPECT SUFFIXES

So far we have not paid too much attention to separating stems from suffixes, but some important grammatical information is carried in suffixes. Most verb stems occur with one of four basic suffixes. The forms and meanings of these suffixes are quite varied. The grammatical names of the four suffixes are: serial (also called habitual), punctual, imperative, and perfective (also called stative).

Serial

Typical forms of the serial are: -he?, -ha?, -as, -s, -?se?, -hse? The -e- before the final glottal stop is epenthetic. Each verb stem selects one of these forms as its serial suffix. There is some patterning here, but it is probably easiest just to learn the selected form when you learn the verb stem.

There are two basic meanings of the serial. One is that the activity of the verb is habitual and ongoing. This is generally the meaning conveyed by the simple present tense in English. *I swim. He farms. She sings.* The other meaning of the serial is that the activity of the verb is happening at this time. This is generally the meaning conveyed by the present progressive tense in English. *I am swimming. He is farming. She is singing.* The first meaning is possible for all verbs that have a serial suffix. The second is possible for only some verbs. Which verbs they are is unfortunately not fully predictable from either the form or meaning of the verb stem.

Some of the verb stems you have already met have serial suffixes: -atuhkalyaks consists of the stem -atuhkalyak- and the serial -s -atekhu:níhe? consists of the stem -atekhuni- and the serial -he? -hnekílha? consists of the stem -hnekil- and the serial -ha? the -s at the end of kaw.naye:nás is a serial suffix the -he? at the end of ka.túhe? is a serial suffix the -hse? at the end of snú:wehse? is a serial suffix

-hkw- and -khw- a sound rule

There are some verb stems that end with -hkw- that select the -ha? serial suffix. The combination of hkw + ha? becomes -khwa? when words follow and -hkwa when silence follows.

kunolúkhwa?	I love you	kunolúhk <u>wa</u>
yehyatúkhwa ⁹	pen, pencil (one writes with it)	yehyatúhk <u>wa</u>

Punctual

The forms of the punctual suffix typically are: -?, $-\Lambda$?, or -ne?. The -ne? is used for stems that end in a glottal stop. The choice between the other two has to be learned separately for each verb stem. Notice that if a stem ends in a consonant, an epenthetic - e- must be inserted before the glottal stop suffix.

The meanings of the punctual are dependent on the prepronominal prefixes. Among those prefixes are three modal prefixes called:

aorist (also called factual) which has several forms, most typically wa?- or wafuture which is always Λindefinite which is typically a-.

One of these prefixes occurs whenever there is a punctual suffix and a punctual suffix occurs whenever there is one of the three modal prefixes. Prefix and suffix are linked. The aorist has several meanings but its most typical meaning is simple past tense. It can also signal a current definiteness as in *I hereby tell you* or *I promise that* ... different from the use of the English present tense with a habitual meaning. The future prefix signals future tense. The indefinite prefix is usually used in complex sentences (see page 97), often with a meaning of *should* or *would*.

Imperative

The most typical mark of the imperative aspect is the lack of a suffix although some stems ending in glottal stop use an -n. The meaning of the imperative is a command.

Perfective

The forms here are: no suffix, -?, -u, - Λ , -?u, and -nu with the first three being the most common. The choices among them have to be learned for each stem.

There are three basic meanings of the perfective and they all suggest states more than actions. One is a kind of state that is usually translated by an adjective in English - *tired, happy, old, good.* A second is a kind of state that results from a previous action. In English this corresponds to the perfect tense - *has eaten, has planted, has learned.* The focus is on the result of the past action rather than on the past action itself. The third meaning of the perfective is a current activity. Notice this was also one of the meanings of the serial aspect. Which of the three meanings is used is dependent on the particular verb stem and unfortunately the choice has to be learned for each one. But if the serial suffix of a particular verb stem has the meaning of current activity, then the perfective suffix will not.

Some of the verbs you have already met have had perfective suffixes. the -u on the end of shukwaya?tísu is perfective (he has made our bodies) the -? on the end of -atunháhele? is perfective (the -e- before it is epenthetic) the lack of suffix on the end of -anúhte signals the perfective the lack of suffix on the end of -yA signals the perfective One peculiarity of the perfective is that, except for a neuter subject, it does not tolerate subjective pronoun prefixes. That means even if a verb stem required subjective pronoun prefixes with all other aspect suffixes, they could not be used with the perfective aspect. Objective prefixes are substituted instead.

A neuter pronoun prefix ka- can be used on some verbs with perfective suffixes to indicate that an action has been done without identifying who did it, as in *it's been planted, it's been washed,* or *it's been harvested.*

A summary of the meanings of the aspect suffixes:

serial	do/does is doing
punctual with aorist punctual with future punctual with indefinite	did, hereby do/does will do to do, should do, would do
imperative	do!
perfective	has done is doing is, has been done

To learn a new verb stem you need to know the following:

- 1. the type of pronoun prefixes required (subjective, objective, or transitive)
- 2. the beginning sound of the stem (vowel stems, consonant stems)
- 3. the four aspect suffixes (serial, punctual, imperative, perfective)

4. which aspect suffix means current activity (serial or perfective)

5. the meaning and form of the verb stem

The material in 1, 3, and 4 is not predictable once you know 5, so it must be learned for each stem. It is the kind of material that a good dictionary should provide. From this base literally thousands of words can be built by the rules in these lessons.

Some examples: eat stem: -atekhuni-(a-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes (serial expresses current activity) serial suffix: -he? punctual suffix: -? imperative suffix: none perfective suffix: none samples: vutekhu níhe? she's eating serial wahatekhuⁿí he ate aorist and punctual lotekhu ní he has eaten perfective satekhu ní eat! imperative future and punctual ∧katekhu ní I'll eat

look for words stem: -wʌnisak- (c-stem) subjective pronoun prefixes serial suffix: -s (serial expresses current activity) punctual suffix: -? imperative suffix: none perfective suffix: -u samples: kwʌni·sáks I look for words serial

I TOON TOT WOTUD	Seriar
she looked for words	aorist and punctual
look for words!	imperative
he has looked for words	perfective
he is looking for words	serial
	look for words! he has looked for words

she will read

he read

read!

future and punctual

aorist and punctual

imperative

subjective pronoun prefixes read stem: -wʌnahnot-(c-stem) serial: -ha? punctual: imperative: none perfective: -? (perfective expresses current activity) samples: wakwná note? I am reading perfective law∧nahnótha? he reads serial

∧yew∧nahno[.]tk

sw∧ná•not

wahaw^nahno.tv

pui imj per	ial: - ha? nctual: -? perative: none	stem) subjective pronour	n prefixes; requires te - prefix ty)
	teyakolihwáhkwa	she's singing	perfective
	tehalihwákhwa?	he sings	serial
	t∧klí wahkwe?	I will sing	future and punctual
	t∧ slí∙wahkw	sing!	imperative
	wa?thalí·wahkwe?	he sang	aorist and punctual

(Notice that prefixes before the pronouns fuse together in particular ways: $te - + h = t_{A-}$ and te - + wa(?) = wa?t. More on this on page 72)

subjective pronoun prefixes; requires prefix nido stem: -atyel-(a-stem) (serial expresses current activity) serial: -ha? punctual: _? imperative: none perfective: -**u** samples: náhte? nihsatyélha? what are you doing? serial náhte? nahátyele? what did he do? aorist and punctual náhte? niwakatye·lú what have I done? perfective náhte? n_yútyele? future and punctual what will she do?

NOUN INCORPORATION

Many complex verb stems contain both a noun root and a verb root. We have already met some such stems:

kw∧ni∙sáks	I look for words contains -wn- word and -isak- look for
kaw∧naye∙nás	tape recorder contains -wn-word and -yena- catch
ka ⁹ slehtowa [.] nA	big car contains -?sleht- car and -owa:nk big
lohwístay∧	he's got money contains -hwist- money and -yA- possess

This process of combining noun roots and verb roots is called noun incorporation and it is a common way words are formed in Oneida. Some verb roots require an incorporated noun. Verb roots such as $-0^{7}t_{\Lambda-}$, $-0wa \cdot n_{\Lambda}$, and the counting verbs -at and -ake do not exist without some noun to combine with. Other verb roots typically have an incorporated noun but can be used without one. The root $-y_{\Lambda-}$ is an example. It usually incorporates a noun, but it can be used without one:

náhte?	' lo: <u>yk:</u>				what does he have?
sa y í.	kл				do you have it?
wáki	(isolation	form	of	wákya)	I've got it

There are other verb roots that do not permit incorporated nouns. The stems -nú·wehse? *like* and -noluhkw- *love* do not combine with nouns. There are two stems that mean *eat*. One of them -k- usually incorporates the particular food involved and the other one -atekhuni- never does (because it really means *to eat a meal* and already contains an incorporated general noun for food -khw-).

Learning which verbs incorporate nouns and which don't is another part of learning the language somewhat like learning in English that you can say *this saddens me* but not *this happies me*.

The verb -isak- is one that typically has an incorporated noun. For example:

la?slehti·sáks	he looks for cars
yenuhsi [.] sáks	she looks for houses
khwisti sáks	I look for money

lakhwi·sáks	he looks for food
yut∧na ⁹ tsli∙sáks	she looks for groceries
yenuhkwatsli sáks	she looks for medicine
lanaskwi·sáks	he looks for animals
sl∧ni∙sáks	you look for songs

Notice that these are all subjective pronoun prefixes because that is what the verb root -isak- requires, but one is an a-stem and the others are c-stems because that depends on the beginning sound of the incorporated noun (-at na?tsl- groceries). Notice also that if a noun root has an extender, then that extender is used when the noun is incorprated.

The verb -isak- does occur without an incorporated noun but it becomes an e-stem verb -ehsak-.

kéhsaks	I'm looking for it
náhte? séhsaks	what are you looking for?
náhte? léhsaks	what is he looking for?
náhte? yakéhsaks	what is she looking for?
náhte? lanéhsaks	what are they looking for?

Only noun stems can be incorporated, not whole words. To say he looks for big cars one would say he looks for cars, big cars: la?slehti.sáks ka?slehtowa.nk

An incorporated noun is generally not specific as to number. La?slehti sáks means he is car-looking and he may be looking for one or many cars.

There is not always a choice to use noun incorporation, but when there is, should you incorporate or not? For example, is there a difference between kanáskwa? loyA and lonáskway Λ for *he has an animal* or between kanáskwa? léhsaks and lanaskwisáks for *he is looking for an animal*? It might be helpful here to think of noun incorporation not as a syntactic choice but as a vocabulary choice. If you were to say in English *she values the state of being wise* or *she values wiseness*, people might think you are covering for lacking (or forgetting) the word *wisdom* in your vocabulary. Similary in Oneida using incorporation is often the sign of a more developed vocabulary.

Noun incorporation does, however, have an imortant classificatory function. It can remind speakers of the categories in the Oneida worldview. A dog is a kind of animal so if yu can't incorporate the word for dog (because é lhal is not a noun stem, it is a whole word noun), you can incorporate a noun that classifies dog. Thus:

lanaskwi·sáks é·lhal he's looking for a dog (he's animal-looking for a dog) yeya?ti·sáks laksótha she's looking for my grandfather (she's person-looking for my grandfather kekhwi·sáks wá·yat I'm looking for pie (I'm food-looking for pie)

VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

English uses auxiliary (helping) verbs and infinitives to express many common meanings such as necessity, possibility, obligation, desire, and ability. Oneida has neither but is still able to express the same meanings by other ways.

Necessity

The expression **nok** Awa tú means *it has to be.* Literally it is made up of the particle **nok** which means *only* and Awa tú which means *it will become* or *it will be possible.* Nok Awa tú followed by a verb with the future tense (and therefore with the punctual aspect as well) is one way to express necessity:

nok Awa tú Akatekhu ni	I have to eat (it has to be that I will eat)
nok Awa tú AswAnahno tá	you must read
nok ∧wa tú ∧hanaskwi sáke	he has to look for animals
nok ∧wa tú ∧hsatekhu ni	you've got to eat
nok Awa tú tAyelí wahkwe	she has to sing
1 /1 / 1 10	and the in Anna the heat much have the heat the in the

Another verb that can be used for necessity is **teyotuhutsyóhu** (**teyotuhwʌtsyóhu** is an alternative pronunciation).

teyotuhutsyóhu ^katekhu ní

I have to eat (it is necessary I will eat)

Possibility

One way to express possibility is to use the above construction for necessity without the particle **nok**. English translations include: *may*, *might*, *it is possible that..., can* (but not in the sense of ability), or *it is permitted that...*

∧wa tú ∧katekhu n <u>i</u>	I might eat (it is possible that I will eat)
∧wa tú ∧yew∧nahno t <u></u> á	she may read
∧wa∙tú ∧hahwisti∙sák <u>e</u>	he might look for money
∧wa∙tú t∧slí∙wahk <u>we</u>	you can sing

Impossibility

The negative form of Λ wa tú is yah thau tú but the following verb tends to have the indefinite preix rather than the future.

yah thau [.] tú akatekhu [.] n <u>í</u>	I may not eat
yah thau tú ayew∧nahno t <u></u> á	she is not allowed to sing
yah thau tú ahahwisti sáks	he can't look for money
yah thau tú taslí wahk <u>we</u>	you may not sing

Ability

The verb stem -**kweni**- is used in the future tense along with another verb to express ability (usually physical ability). The root -**kweni**- takes subjective pronoun prefixes and its punctual suffix is -?, which becomes a long falling tone through the accent rules.

۸skwe·ní· k۸ ۸snuhkwatsli·sák <u>e</u>	can you look for medicine?
vyekwe [.] ní [.] tvyelí [.] wahk <u>we</u>	she can sing
∧kkwe·ní· ∧katekhu·n <u>i</u>	I can eat
лhakwe [.] ní [.] kл nлhátyeh <u>le</u>	can he do it?

The negative form is as follows:

yah ka thaskwe [.] ní [.] asnuhkwatsli [.] sák <u>e</u>	can't you look for medicine?
yah thayekwe [.] ní [.] t∧yelí [.] wahk <u>we</u>	she cant sing
yah thakkwe∙ní∙ ∧katekhu∙n <u>i</u>	I carit eat
yah ka thahakwe ní nahátyehle	can't he do it?

There is another word for ability and that is -la?nha?-. It is used in the perfective aspect (the suffix is -u) and therefore has objective pronoun prefixes. The verb following it has an indefinite tense prefix. The meaning of the two verbs is slightly different. The root -la?nha?- suggests an ability based on some learning or instruction while -kweni- is more a physical ability.

٨kkwe [.] ní [.] t٨klí [.] wahk <u>we</u>	I can sing (my mouth works)
wakla ⁹ nhá [.] u taklí wahk <u>we</u>	I can sing (I know how)
yakola?nhá·u k∧ ayenuhkwatsli·sák <u>e</u>	can she look for medicine?
lola?nhá∙u ahaw∧nahno•t <u>⊀</u>	he can read
sala?nhá∙u k∧ nahsátyeh <u>le</u>	do you know how to do it?

Negative Commands

Oneida has a handy particle $ták_{\Lambda}$ that means *don't*. It can be used by itself or with a verb in the future tense. Notice that, unlike positive commands, the negative commands do not use the imperative aspect suffix. Both types of commands do use pronoun prefixes.

satekhu [.] n <u>i</u>	eat!
táka ahsatekhu [.] n <u>i</u>	don't eat!
tákn tnslí wahk <u>we</u>	don't sing!
táka nahsátyeh <u>le</u>	don't do it!

Obligation

One way to express mild obligation is to use the indefinite tense.

ahatekhu∙n<u>i</u> tayelí∙wahk<u>we</u> akw∧nahno•t<u>k</u> he should eat, he ought to eat she should sing I ought to read

NON-ACTION VERBS

There are quite a few verbs that do not have the expected set of four aspect suffixes. Many of these follow a different pattern. They are verbs that are either translated into English as adjectives such as *lucky* or *cold* or they are verbs that typically express a state rather than an action, e.g. *remember, know, hold*. They generally have no serial suffix but they do have a present or habitual meaning in a form with either no suffix or just a glottal stop. There is no punctual suffix but a past tense is formed by adding either a serial past (if the present form ends in -e?) or a perfective past (if the present form ends any other way). The serial past used is -(a)hkwe (the -a- is used if the final -e- is epenthetic). The perfective past used is -infé (or sometimes -''ne).

A future tense is formed by adding the future prefix Λ - and a suffix that is either -(a)ke? (if the present form ends in -e) or -hake? (otherwise).

An indefinite tense is formed exactly like the future except with the indefinite tense prefix instead of the future prefix.

An imperative is constructed from the future by taking off the Λ - prefix from the front and the -e? suffix from the end.

Here are some examples:

lonúhte? lonúhtehkwe	he knows he knew
∧hanúhteke?	he will know
ahanúhteke?	for him to know
ké·yale?	I remember
kehyá·lahkwe?	I remembered
٨kehyá·lake?	I'll remember
sehyá·lak	remember!
1 /	1 1 •,
yako ya	she has it
yakoya hné	she has it she had it
yakoy [,] hné [.]	she had it
yakoya hné Ayakoya táke?	she had it she will have it
yakoyA·hné· AyakoyA·táke? sayA·ták	she had it she will have it have it!
yakoyA·hné· AyakoyA·táke? sayA·ták tehoto·té·	she had it she will have it have it! he is quiet

wakatla?swi [.] yó	I'm lucky
wakatla?swiyo [.] hné [.]	I was lucky
∧wakatla?swiyóhake?	I will be lucky
satla ⁹ swiyóhak	be lucky!

When the -?se? plural is added to certain adjectives, then the corresponding serial past form is -?skwe and the suffix for the future is -hseke? as in this example:

ka?slehti·yó·se?	good cars
ka ⁹ slehti [.] yó [.] skwe	the cars were good
۸ka?slehtiyóhseke?	the cars will be good

PAST TIME

Languages typically have multiple ways of expressing the past. Oneida has at least four verb forms. If you ask a native speaker to translate a generic past statement, the answer could be any one of the four, but there are differences among them. Two of the four we have already met: one is formed by putting an aorist prefix and a punctual suffix on a verb, and the other is formed by putting the perfective suffix on a verb stem. A third way to express the past is an extension of the serial suffix. The forms correspond to the regular serial suffix forms:

serial serial	past serial suffix
-S	-skwe?
-as	-askwe?
-he?	-hahkwe?
-ha?	-hahkwe?
-se [?]	-skwe?
-hse?	-skwe ⁹
-?se?	-?skwe?

All the e's before glottal stops are epenthetic. What makes this serial past different from the others is the sense that the action has been habitual in the past. The easiest way to capture that in English is with *used to*.

law^ni sákskwe?	he used to look for words
náhte? nihsatyélhahkwe?	what did you used to do? / what were you doing?
yew^nahnóthahkwe?	she used to read
katekhuníhahkwe?	I used to eat / I was eating

There is also a past perfective that is formed by adding -hné to a perfective suffix ending in a vowel. This is an unusual form that violates the accent rules and is only possible with certain verbs. Its meaning is that the state represented by the perfective suffix continued in the past. The simplest English translation is either *used to* or *had done*.

teyakolihwahkw∧ hné	she used to sing, she had sung
shukwahloli·hné	he used to tell us, he had told us

The past perfective is also the usual way to indicate the past of an adjectival verb.

ka?slehti: <u>yó</u>	good car
ka ⁹ slehtiyo [.] hné [.]	the car used to be good
kanuhsowa•n <u>k</u>	big house
kanuhsowan∧∙hné	the house used to be big
ot nihaya ⁹ tó∙t∧	how does he look?
ot nihaya ⁹ to ⁹ tA [.] hné	how did he used to look?

FUTURE TIME

English has multiple ways of expressing future time. Besides the simple future tense I will sing there is also a special expression going to as in I'm going to sing or you can use the present tense with a future adverb as in I sing tomorrow night. Oneida has a simple future tense using the future prefix with the punctual suffix (see p. 49), but it also has a suffix, called the dislocative, with a meaning very close to the English going to. Going to can mean either movement (to be on one's way) or intention (where informal English uses gonna). When the dislocative is used, a new set of aspect endings is used in place of the verb's regular aspect endings. With the dislocative the aspect endings are always: -e? for the serial when it means present time (this serial is called the purposive by many liguists) and -ehse? when it means habitual aspect; -a? for the punctual; -a for the imperative; and -u for perfective. There are several forms of the dislocative itself and when combined with the aspect endings, they fall into the following four sets:

serial (now)	-he?	-hsle?	-·ne?	-•hné•
serial (usual	ly)	-hehse?	-hslehse?	- nehse?
punctual	-ha?	-hsa?	-•na?	-•hná•
imperative	-ha	-hsa	-•na	-hná
perfective	-hu	-hsu	u	-hnú

The first set tends to be used with verb stems that end in consonants and all the others with stems ending with vowels. Some verbs add an -a- just before the dislocative. This means if you know the verb stem, you can't necessarily predict which dislocative (if any) is used, but you can make some reasonable guesses.

The meanings of the dislocative are usually translatable by some form of *go to* or *going to*. More specifically:

dislocative and serial means going to _____ or gonna____. This expresses intention.

dislocative with a special serial suffix ending in -se? means *habitually goes to* ______ or *habitually going to* ______. This expresses movement.

dislocative and punctual with the aorist prefix means going (elsewhere) to

dislocative and punctual with the future prefix means will go to

dislocative and imperative means go ____!

dislocative and perfective means gone to _____ or gone ____ing

a special dislocative ending added to the perfective (-hnu·né·) means gone to ______ and come back.

Some examples:

ome	examples:	
	-atolat- ver latoláthe? latoláthehse? wahatolátha? satolátha lotoláthu ^hato'láte?	b stem meaning hunt he's gonna hunt, he intends to hunt (serial - intention) he's always going hunting (serial - movement) he is going (away) to hunt (punctual) go hunt! (imperative) he's gone hunting (perfective) he will hunt (without the dislocative)

-yntho- verb stem meaning pla	ant
yey^thóhsle?	she's gonna plant, she intends to plant
yey^thóhslehse?	she's always goes planting
wa?(y)ey∧thóhsa?	she's going (away) to plant
tsy∧thóhsa	go plant!
yakoy∧thóhsu	she's gone to plant
yakoy∧thohsuhnu né•	she's gone to plant and come back
yey∧thóhsles	she goes planting
٨yeyʎtho?	she will plant (without the dislocative)

-atekhuni- a verb stem meaning	eat
katekhunyá ne?	I'm gonna eat, I intend to eat
katekhunyá nehse?	I always go to eat
wa ⁹ katekhunyá [.] na ⁹	I'm going (away) to eat
satekhunyá·na	go eat!
wakatekhunyá•nu	I've gone to eat
Akatekhu .ní.	I will eat (without the dislocative)

-atolishA- a verb stem meaning r	est
latolish ⁽ .ne ⁹	he's gonna rest, he intends to rest
wahatolishk [.] na?	he's going (away) to rest
satolish∕∙na	go rest!
lotolish k ·nu	he's gone to rest
lotolish^hnu [.] né [.]	he's gone and come back from a rest
latolish ⁽ .nes	he's habitually going to rest
۸hatolísh۸	he will rest (without the dislocative)

CONVERSATIONAL VOCABULARY

Telling time to niyohwistá·e úskah niyohwistá·e oye·lí minit yotukóhtu tékni niyohwistá·e wisk minit tsi? niyo·lé· áhsʌ niyohwistá·e átyʌ ni·káhle astéhtsi kwahsuté·ke ahsút<u>hʌ</u> the·t<u>ʎ</u> ʌyólhʌ<u>ne</u>

Commands

tasatá(w)yaht ka•tsi sátih sátkwit ká tho sé sek háo satekhu ní ányo, ányo tehsaslíh satnúhtuht atsyók oskana?shú ták∧ satk*\lat* ísi vasa tí téhsek thi ká skó na kas thi ká ni vót tutahsátlatst wahs ki? wah satla⁹swiyóhak se?nikú·lalak

what time is it? one o'clock ten minutes after two o'clock five minutes until three o'clock noon time morning night time midnight yesterday tomorrow come in! come here! sit down! move over! stay here! come and eat! hurry, hurry! hurry up! wait! in a little while slow down! don't! stop it! throw it away! pick it up! go get it! hand me that! look! do it again! go on! have good luck! be careful!

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