A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF OKLAHOMA CHEROKEE

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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 is establishing word order and grammatical relations.
I dedicate this grammar to the efforts of the Cherokee People to pass on their language to a new generation. I also dedicate this work to my wife Elizabeth for her unfailing support and encouragement during the writing of this grammar.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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.

My decision to become a linguist came later in my college career. I would like to acknowledge David Rood at the University of Colorado for first encouraging my interest in linguistics. Terrence Kaufman, Roberto Zavala, and John Justeson provided me with wonderful field work training during three summers in Mexico with the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of the Americas.

This dissertation has received important financial backing from the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Kansas supported my graduate career by providing a Foreign Language Areas Studies Fellowship as well as teaching opportunities. The Department of Linguistics also supported my studies through teaching opportunities and the Frances Ingemann Fellowship.

I am deeply indebted to the Cherokee speakers I worked with for more than three years. During the beginning of my work Benny Smith met with me for a few hours a week for over two years. I consider myself lucky to have had the opportunity to work with such master speakers as Rosa Carter, Marilyn Coehran, Anna Huckaby, Ed Jumper, Harry Oosahwee, and Dennis Sixkiller. (I owe a special thanks to Anna Huckaby for translating the dedication at the beginning of this work.) The field work done for this dissertation has been greatly facilitated by the Cultural Resource Center of the Cherokee Nation, in particular from the director, Gloria Sly. She allowed me the opportunity to get to know these speakers by inviting me to speak at numerous
training conferences and workshops. Countless informal discussions with Harry Oosahwee and Wyman Kirk at the Cherokee Degree Program Office helped me to appreciate the intricacies of Cherokee grammar. Many wonderful hours of road trip conversation with Akira and Kimiko Yamamoto, Lizette Peter, and Tracy Hirata-Edds gave me fresh ideas and insights. In addition to my committee members, I owe many thanks to the individuals who have proofread all or parts of this manuscript, including Elizabeth Montgomery-Anderson, Kelly Harper Berkson, and Christopher and Anita Mann. I received invaluable technical support in the form of a surprise laptop that was a gift from Shary and Dow Walker and Jan Montgomery. My friendships with Dave McKinney and Christen Burke were a great help during the dissertation writing process.

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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
aá rising tone (always long vowel)
aà lowfall tone (always long vowel)
áà falling tone (always long vowel)
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.
- `x` indicates that the rightmost long vowel of the complete word will have a highfall tone
- `xx` indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a lowfall tone
- `xx` indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a rising tone
- `xx` indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem is lengthened and has a high tone
- `x` indicates that the vowel of the prefix that attaches to the stem has a high tone

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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. 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. 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’ chilik 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, Otali 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 (b'r<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
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
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. 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. 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). 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). 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. 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). 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 ‘prepronoun prefix’ 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

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. A typical entry is seen below in (1).

1) **D$S\bar{V}$a\textsubscript{0}.\textsubscript{I}
   aàkhtoù\textsubscript{0}stì
   a-akahthoù\textsubscript{0}stì
   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 [kʰ]) 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 ʘWѲ úú thana. The stem, however is -а thana; 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
A page count of the initial-character entries reveals the breakdown shown in Figure 1.

![Figure 1: Initial Characters in the Cherokee-English Dictionary](image)

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/, /u/, 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 form verbs. Chapter 8 focuses on modifiers, a term that encompasses adjectival 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. 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.
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 warrants 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.

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.

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

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.

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 prepositional 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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   5.1. SYLLABLE ONSET
   5.2. SYLLABLE CODA

6. STRESS

7. SUMMARY

NOTES
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. 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. The orthography used in this work is similar to that used by Scancarelli (1987).

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. 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. 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 /ml/, which is always unaspirated, these consonants also come in aspirated and unaspirated pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOPS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>kʰw</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>ts/tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>tʰs</td>
<td>tʰʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL FRICATIVES</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL AFFRICATES</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>t̪l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>t̪ʰl</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIQUIDS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>n̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLIDES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPIRATED</strong></td>
<td>w̪</td>
<td>y̪</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
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<th>Glottal</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>khw</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>hl</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral Affricates</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>tl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>thl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Liquids</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>hn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td>hy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.\textsuperscript{8}

1) a. $[t]$ th 4\textsuperscript{p}S hatvũka ‘You did it.’
   \[t^h]\] th 4\textsuperscript{p}S hathvũka ‘You hung it up.’

b. $[t]$ th LČP tawóoli ‘mushroom’
   \[t^h]\] th WČJ thawóōti ‘hawk’

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

2) $[k]$ kh AW kóōla ‘winter’
   \[k^h]\] kh AW khoōla ‘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 ġČČČR waákweenvũsv ‘I went there.’
   /k^hw/ khw SČČČS kaakhweenvũska ‘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.
Typically a glottal stop will separate two vowels, as seen in (5).

5) a. KT joʔi ‘three’
   b. oʔoʔT skweehnʔi ‘fist’ (Feeling 1975a:153)
   c. DÝD aàkíʔa ‘He’s eating it.’

It should be noted that the syllabary does not represent glottal stops, so some near minimal pairs will be written in an identical manner. An example is in (6).

6) a. DL ata ‘wood’
   b. DL áʔta ‘young animal’

1.1.1.2. Fricatives

Fricatives are sounds produced by obstructing but not entirely stopping the airflow. Stops, fricatives, and affricates together form a larger class of sound known as obstruents. In Cherokee there are three fricatives distinguished by their place of articulation. The glottal fricative /h/ is produced by obstructing the airflow in the glottis, and the /s/ is produced by creating an obstruction between the tongue and the alveolar ridge behind the teeth. The third fricative, /hl/, is a lateral fricative and often sounds like a combination of /h/ and /l/.

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs at the beginning of syllables and in clusters with most consonants. The /h/ that occurs in clusters has been described in the literature as an ‘intrusive h.’ This sound is the source of complex phonological rules described later in this chapter. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is characterized by a faint [h] that precedes it. This [h] is not represented in the writing system as its presence is predictable. Under certain conditions described in Section 3.2 this initial [h] is replaced with a glottal stop that is realized as a lowfall tone. The two fricatives are contrasted in (7).
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 /ts/ and /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) \[ts]/[tʃ] \ j  
   \[t^hʃ\] \ 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 [ts] 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, tζalaki] jalaki ‘Cherokee’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>chaneéla</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>974</td>
<td>chinooska</td>
<td>‘coal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>chuhka</td>
<td>‘flea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>986</td>
<td>achúúja</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>983</td>
<td>kachínóósta</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>988</td>
<td>achvyya</td>
<td>‘male animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>tichvvsti</td>
<td>‘marriage’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the words listed above, /ch/ occurs as a result of /j/ coming into contact with /h/ and becoming aspirated. These 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. **GA∅∅.I**  
   chanesti  oøkatuuuli  
   ja-hnest-i ookii-atuuliha  
   2B-speak:DVN-NOM2  1B.PL.EX-want:PRC
   ‘We want for you to speak it.’
b. **LYOLTP**
   takintlecheéli
ta-kinii-atlej-eél-i
FUT-1B.DL-take.revenge:_CMP-APL:CMP-MOT
‘He will take revenge on us.’

c. **DlraSChrb**
   aâjiïskánñvñochiisi
   aji-skánñvñoiisi
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. /tl/ is a combination of the stop /t/ and the lateral liquid /l/; /thl/ is a combination of the stop /t/ with lateral fricative [ʃ].

12) [tl] tl
    [tʃ] thl (or [ʃ] hl for most Oklahoma speakers)

A sound change occurring in Oklahoma Cherokee has changed most /tʃ/ sounds to a /ʃ/. (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 [ʃ] 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 –alihkhothtita; 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 \[ \frac{1}{2} \]. This sound is written as <hl>.

13) a. **She**
   kaliikhothtíha
   ji-alihkhothtíha
   1A-shatter:PRC
   ‘I’m shattering it.’

   b. **She**
   aàhlkhothtíha [aàìkot\textsuperscript{b}tíha]
   a-alihkhothtíha
   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. **Y**
   kiihli  ‘dog’

   b. **Y**
   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/\textsuperscript{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 [h\textsuperscript{C}t] ~ [\textsuperscript{D}t] (written as <hn>) and [n] (written as <n>). The combination <hn> may sound like the devoiced [\textsuperscript{C}t] with
a whispering-like [h] in front of it or simply a devoiced [η]. This pronunciation difference depends on the speaker or how carefully it is articulated.

\[15\] [hη], [η]  hn  EΩ  kuvna  ‘He is alive.’
[n]  n  EΘ  kvn  ‘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 [γ] appears at the beginning of lexical items. There are only a few examples of this, some of which are listed in (16).

\[16\] a. αʔUΘ  hyahtheéna  ‘board’
b. αʔVΩ  hyahthóhli  ‘narrow’
c. ȘSΦ  hyêhkahli  ‘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  DFΩ  aaliíyo  [aaliíyo]  ‘sock’
[ɾ]  hl  DGΩ  aâhliilo  [ââhliilo]  ‘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 kaákáma ‘cucumber’
[n] n aàkanaáti ‘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) D ż ama ‘water’
D ż áama ‘salt’
O S ż uúkáma ‘soup’
D ż B amayýv ‘near the water’
D O T améekwóʔi ‘ocean’
E H tlaameeha ‘bat’
W A C thamaahli ‘tomato’
O S ḥ khamaama ‘elephant, butterfly’
L S taamáka ‘horsefly’
O S W H ookalaahoóma ‘Oklahoma’
C P meéli ‘Mary’
F H P kheémíli ‘camel’
S Y 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] \textit{\textsf{\textipa{W}}\textsf{\textipa{r}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{D}}} wii\textipa{j}i\textipa{\textsf{\textipa{a}}}\textipa{\textsf{\textipa{a}}}  ‘Ya’ll are inside here.’
[y] \textit{\textsf{\textipa{Y}}\textsf{\textipa{r}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{D}}} yi\textipa{j}i\textipa{\textipa{\textsf{\textipa{a}}}\textipa{\textsf{\textipa{a}}}  ‘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 \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{C}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{A}}}  ‘Say it!’
    b. /i/ i \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{C}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{A}}}  ‘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 \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{C}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{A}}}  ‘Lay it down (something long)!’
    /e/ e \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{C}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{H}}} \textit{\textsf{\textipa{A}}}  ‘You just went.’
    b. /i/ i \textit{\textsf{\textipa{Y}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{S}}} kii\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{K}}}  ‘blood’
    /e/ e \textit{\textsf{\textipa{F}}}\textit{\textsf{\textipa{S}}} k\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{E}}}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{E}}}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{E}}}  ‘I’m going’

The three back vowels /\textipa{U}/, /\textipa{O}/, and /\textipa{A}/ contrast by backness and rounding. A minimal pair for /\textipa{U}/ and /\textipa{O}/ is given in (23).
Near minimal pairs contrasting /a/ with /u/ and /a/ with /o/ are shown in (24) and (25).

(24) /a/  a DJəəJ  akiísti  ‘something to eat’
    /u/  o DJəəJ  uukiísti  ‘for him, her to eat it’

(25) /a/  a ʔAS  wiínéeka  ‘We are going there.’
    /o/  o ʔAA  wiínéeko  ‘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  IrTL  jiʔiíta  ‘I just had it in my hand’
    b. /u/  u  Ir0l  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 GfiβəAT  jayóosiiskkééʔi  ‘You were hungry.’
    b. /o/  o GfiβəAT  jayóosiiskkóʔi  ‘You are hungry (habitually)’
    c. /v/  v GfiβəAT  jayóosiiskyvýʔi  ‘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.
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. IG 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).
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 $\ddot{i}i$- (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 ($\exp$–$\ddot{v}v\ddot{t}i$) 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) 

\begin{verbatim}
[a] a Da \ aya \ ‘I’
[e] e RG\o \ eloohi \ ‘earth’
[i] i Ta \ iiya \ ‘pumpkin’
[o] o dF\l \ oohla \ ‘soap’
[u] u O\aI \ uusti \ ‘baby’
[\v] v IL\l \ vvtaali \ ‘pond’
\end{verbatim}

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. 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 \text{IrAC.} t' jikowthíha 'I am seeing it.'
   [i:] ii \text{IrAC.} t' jiiikowthíha '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 [I]. Examples are in (32).

32) a. \text{GHWY} a
   hijalakis [hɪjalakɪs]
   hi-ja-laki=s
   2A-Cherokee=Q
   ‘Are you Cherokee?’

   b. \text{GJOICR} a
   ja-natiínývsvs [janatiínývsvs]
   ja-natiínývsvs-vú?i=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. 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.
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 [ɔ] 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. Cherokee is a pitch accent language with two level tones, low and high, and four contour tones: rising, falling, lowfall and highfall. 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.

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
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
   \texttt{\textipa{{\textasciitilde}w\textipa{hi}U}} \quad \texttt{yansi} \quad ‘buffalo’

   b. Long vowel, low tone
   \texttt{\textipa{\textipa{y}C}} \quad \texttt{kiihli} \quad ‘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
   \texttt{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{h}}W\textipa{f}\textipa{i}A}} \quad \texttt{hihthayoooh\textipa{hi}ha} \quad ‘You are asking for something.’

   b. Long vowel, high tone
   \texttt{\textipa{E\Theta}} \quad \texttt{kv\textipa{v}na} \quad ‘turkey’
   \texttt{\textipa{AS}} \quad \texttt{kh\textipa{o}oka} \quad ‘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).
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) ỌP wiíli ‘Will’
     Ọ  khaáhwi ‘coffee’
     Ėr waáji ‘watch’
     ṢU jiísa ‘Jesus’
     ọS W  ,  o okalaahóma ‘Oklahoma’
     ĠP meéli ‘Mary’
     ṢHF k̡h̡éémíli ‘camel’
     Ṣ́ Y 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) ỌC  ānvwóóothi ‘medicine’
     Ṣ  jíískóókwo ‘robin’
     ṢGŚ 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. 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. 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) R'I éékwa ‘large, huge’
    DYΘ akíína ‘young’
    SFL kaakééta ‘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 -v̦̪̬̱na that is found at the end of the verb ‘to believe’ on the second line.

40) AIo.AT IrOZí̊o.AT
    kohúústi jikhanooheskóó?i
    kohúústi ji-ka-hnoohesk-ó?i
    something REL-3A-tell:INC-HAB\SUB
Another common tone change is used on verbs in the Incompletive 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. **ISSfiOcY**
   tikateëyóóhvski
   ti-ji-at-eëhyóóhvsk-i
   DST2-1A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘I’m a teacher.’

   b. **HJôLT**
   juunííkhausta?i
   ti-uunii-khausta?-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.
Another contour tone, the lowfall tone, starts as a low tone and drops lower. 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. $\emptyset$ svvya ‘rock’
b. $\ddot{R}$ svvki ‘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.

44) a. Lowfall: $\emptyset$ svvya ‘rock’
b. Falling: $\emptyset$ svvwòthì ‘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. ḡčbh
    híithliisiíha
    hi-ʃxthliisiíha
    2A-gather:PRC
    ‘You’re 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 <\(\ddot{x}\)> 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 \textit{uunii-}, 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. \textbf{Jh\textit{\textsc{c}}T\textit{\textsc{c}}}  
\textit{juunii\textsc{skwakahli}}  
\textit{ti-uunii\textsc{skwakahli}}  
\textsc{DST}2-3B.PL-striped  
‘striped, they are striped’ (Chapter 9.2:28)

b. \textbf{Dh\textit{\textsc{w}}}  
\textit{anii\textsc{tha}}  
\textit{anii-\(\ddot{x}\)tha}  
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 \textit{uunii-} 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. Q·ΩWΘ
   júúnathana
   ti-uunii-áthana
   DST2-3B.PL-big
   ‘big’

   b. Q·ΩWΘ
   úúúthana
   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
   èè 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).
As stated above, there are several different ways that linguists have chosen to represent these distinctions of length and tone. Some use superscript numbers for tone and a dot for short vowels, whereas others use accent marks and a doubling of the vowel to show long vowels. Holmes and Smith use a colon for vowel length and ignore tone altogether. The differences are compared in Tables 5 and 6. In each table the last row represents the system used in this grammar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5</th>
<th>“water”</th>
<th>“salt”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syllabary</td>
<td>D₃</td>
<td>D₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulte/Feeling</td>
<td>ā^{2}ma</td>
<td>a^{3}ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scancarelli</td>
<td>āma</td>
<td>Á:ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCLA</td>
<td>āma</td>
<td>ááma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmes/Smith</td>
<td>a-ma</td>
<td>a:-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery-Anderson</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>áama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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). 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. **ĐhMG** **OhAñ** **ié** **SC**
    wúúniiluhja uùniikooho seókwíli káʔnú
    wi-uunii-luhj-a uunii-kooh-éʔi seókwíli kaʔn-ŷvʔi
    TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV 3B.PL-see:CMP-NXP horse 3A-leave:CMP-DV
    ‘...when they arrived they saw the horse lying.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:354)

b. **GAc.I**
    jakoohwthí
    ji-a-koohwthí-fíha
    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. **IrYhSpA**  **Dð.I**
    jikintuuliiskó atlatíthla
    ji-kini-atuuliissk-óʔi atlatíthla
    REL-1B.DL-want:INC-HAB\SUB car
    ‘The car we want.’
b. \textbf{DhSBf} \textbf{FESKOx}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
aniikay\'vli & keekht\'e\'ej\'ohn\'y \\
anii-kay\'vli & keekii-vht\'e\'ej-\'ohn-\'v\'y\'i \\
3A.PL-elder & 3PL/1PL-depart.in.death:_CMP-TRM:_CMP-DVB \\
\end{tabular}

‘When the elders leave us…’ \textit{(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.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
52) \textbf{CPF} & \textbf{SLChAT} \\
meélíhnoo & túutaan\'vn\'eelv\'y\'i \\
meéli=hn= & tee-ii-uu-ataat-n\'vn\'eel-v\'y\'i \\
Mary=CN & DST-ITR-3B-RFL-give:_CMP-EXP \\
\end{tabular}

‘And Mary gave them right back to him.’ \textit{(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. **R[\text{e}][\text{s}][\text{k}][\text{h}][\text{v}][\text{s}][\text{i}]**
   eseskhsí
   ee-ski-hvsi
   CSI-2/1-give(solid):IMM(COM)
   ‘Pass me it.’

b. **Y[\text{w}][\text{o}][\text{e}]**    **D[\text{y}][\text{o}][\text{b}]**
   khilákwu  aåkihvsi
   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) **S M[\text{a}][\text{a}][\text{l}][\text{i}]**   kaluùysti   ‘bed bug’
   **S M[\text{a}][\text{a}][\text{l}]**    kaluysta   ‘axe’
   **D J[\text{a}][\text{a}][\text{l}]**  aàjyuysti   ‘light’

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

55) **S A[\text{I}][\text{a}][\text{a}][\text{a}][\text{s}]**   kaneesóòyka   ‘It’s hailing.’
   **J P[\text{a}][\text{b}][\text{l}]**    tiilstooysti   ‘scissors.’
   **V Y[\text{I}][\text{b}][\text{l}][\text{g}]**  toôkiniihvústóòyka   ‘We were sneezing.’

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

56) **L [\text{e}][\text{f}][\text{o}][\text{b}]**   tayiikvkvheëwsísí   ‘We will forget.’
   **S h[\text{b}][\text{b}][\text{r}][\text{a}]**   tuùniyiyeëwsívs   ‘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.  S P K S V D J O
kahljoóte toóytitla
kahljoóte toóyi titla
house outside+towards
‘around the outside of the house’

b.  D A S 0
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) Y W ē G h S
khalaw jaáhnik
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) Š O  khaáhwi ‘coffee’
R O U 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).
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) aataamooipiíli ‘automobile’ (Scancarelli 1987:24)
   bvýsi '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. ọl tlaameehe ‘bat’
   b. S ł%M kataahv ‘dirty’

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

63) a. F haattlv ‘where’
   b. ọS V S hikaąthoostíya ‘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 \( \hat{\text{h}} \) ha \( \hat{\text{Jhi}} \) ho \( \hat{\text{hu}} \).) The syllabary character \( \text{M} \) 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 \( \hat{\text{A}} \) 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. \( \text{O} \hat{\text{h}} \text{M} \text{C} \) usu\( \text{i} \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{h}} \text{j} \text{v} \) ‘they arrived’
   b. \( \text{D} \hat{\text{A}} \text{C} \) ake\( \text{A} \hat{\text{e}} \text{h} \text{y} \text{a} \) ‘woman’

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

**Table 7: Unaspirated and Aspirated Obstruents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaspirated Obstruents</th>
<th>Aspirated Obstruents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonetic Representation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Orthography in this grammar</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>&lt;t&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kw]</td>
<td>&lt;kw&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ts/tʃ]</td>
<td>&lt;j&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tl]</td>
<td>&lt;tl&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The phoneme /j/ is an unaspirated affricate. If it is aspirated it will be either [tʰs] or [tʰʃ], 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 [tʰs] as in (65b). The first word in (65a) also contains an example of the aspiration of a stop.

65) a. ОАЯЯ ∞  ИрэЙПЗй ЙйЕ
   кханеикис   чийялйнйхйтйскв
   ка-хнеййис   жй-ййл-йнйхйтйск-йййй
   3A-answer: IMM = Q  REL-2A.AN-MDL-speak: INC-EXP
   ‘Did he answer when you were speaking to him?’ (Feeling 1975a:139)

   b. ГПС
       тстлйвка
       жа-гтлйвка
       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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaspirated consonant:</th>
<th>Short vowel</th>
<th>Plosive or Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t, k, j, w, y, n, kw, l</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u, v</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /l/ and /k/ will be pronounced as [tʰ] and [kʰ] (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’

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. First Person Set B + Verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. vowel deletion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [k]+[h] = [kʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aâktlv̪va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aâkʰtl̪lv̪va]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [kʰ], 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
   Lô Lô
   thiẖvsi [tʰiẖvsi]
   ta-hi-hv̱vs-i
   FUT-2A-set.down:_CMP-MOT
   ‘You will set it down.’

In (67) the Set B second person prefix ja- (phonetically [tʃa] or [tsa], depending on the dialect) undergoes the deletion of its vowel and as a result becomes aspirated [tʃʰ] which is written as <ch>.
67) S V  O: I j C b  T O: W O h
kato úústi chvsi na uuthaánaʔni
[tʃʰvsi]
kato úústi ja-hvsi na uuthaánaʔni
what something 2B-give(solid):IMM that store.owner
‘What did the store owner give you?’ (Feeling:1975:158)

It is possible for a single word to undergo more than one vowel deletion operation. In (68a) the /h/ of the second person pronominal prefix attaches to the /w/ of the prepronominal prefix after the deletion of the intervening vowel; moreover, the verb stem itself undergoes a vowel deletion and a subsequent aspiration of the /k/. Neither of these deletions takes place in (68b) where the first person pronominal prefix doesn’t contain an /h/ and replaces the verb stem /h/ with a lowfall.

68) a. O S I
hwikhthi [wikʰtʰi]
wi-hi-kaḥthi
TRN-2A-head.to:PRC
‘You’re heading there.’

b. O Ir S W
wijikáatha
wi-ji-kaḥtha
TRN-1A-head.to:PRC
‘I’m heading there.’

Deletion does not trigger further metathesis and deletion operations. The /h/ of the second person pronominal in (69) devoices the glide through vowel deletion, but does not then cause the deletion of the vowel of the prefix ni- and a subsequent devoicing of the /w/.
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/.

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). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaspirated consonant</th>
<th>Short vowel</th>
<th>Sonorant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t, k, j, w, y, n, kw, l</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u, v</td>
<td>h, w, y, n, l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, the Completive verb stem ‘to cure’ is -hñvñwáàn-; 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 \([t^h], [t^h]s\). 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 \([t^h]\) (written as \(<ch>\)) when it attaches to a stem-initial voiceless sonorant. This change is demonstrated in (71c).

71) a. **DYoC.C**
   aàkñvñwáànv [aàkñvñwáànv]
   aki-hñvñwàèn-vñ?i
1B-cure: CMP-EXP
‘He cured me.’

   b. **DÌw.ÌD**
   aàtñelatí?a [aàtñelatí?a]
   a-ateñlatí?a
3A-join: PRC
   ‘He’s joining it.’ (Feeling 1975a:59)

   c. **GØj.C-T**
   chanaálvñjvñ?i [t¿ñanaálvñt¿vñ?i]
   ja-hnaálvñj-vñ?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 → OC.S uûhwáska ‘she’s buying it’
   3B-buy:PRC

   b. aki-hwáska → DYC.S 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 → ÖZVkhanoohéha ‘He’s telling it’
   3A-tell:PRC

   b. ji-hnoohéha → IRZVjiñoohéha ‘I’m telling it.’
   1A-tell:PRC

   c. hi-hnoohéha → ÖZVhinhoohéha ‘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. 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.S aàkhiwsaska ‘I’m buying it.’
   b. RY DÝÖRT svvki aàkhiwsvýì ‘I planted onions.’

In (75) vowel deletion causes the /j/ of the second person plural pronominal prefix iiwi- ‘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/.

75) **DS W** \( \text{Ir.} \). **B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ateéla jíííyv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

76) **I**. **V. **L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iitstóhta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[ \text{ateéla jí-hííy-vúí} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iiíí-vhtóht-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

money 1A-leave behind: CMP-EXP 2A.PL-use:DVN-NOM

‘I left money behind for your use.’

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/.

76) **J**. **W. **J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tvvtíithahí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta-a-atiíthah-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

FUT-3A-drink: CMP-MOT

‘He’ll drink it.’

In (77) the vowel of the prepronominal prefix ka- combines with the initial vowel of the Set B pronominal prefix to create /vv/.
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 –व्यः; in the second example, however, it is pronounced not with a rising tone but as a high long vowel.

78) a. डियुब्रट
   अख्तेय्यव्यः
   अख्तेय्यव्यः
   1ब-बेहोटः
   ‘I got hot.’

b. ओलार्ट
   उुत्लाकोंस्वः
   उु-त्लाकोः
   3ब-स्क्राचः
   ‘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 or 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. S\&ET
tuuh\'vky\'i
tee-uu-h\'vk-v\'i
DST-3B-tickle: CMP-EXP
‘He tickled him.’ (Feeling 1975a:70)

b. O\L\&H\|T
uuataatvhn\'l\'v\i uu\a\asa
uu-ataat-vvhn\'l-v\'i uu-v\vasa
3B-RFL-hit: CMP-EXP 3B-self
‘He hit himself.’ (Scancarelli 1987:86)

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.
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. **LCG@I@AT**
   taâhliilóostiiskóö?i
tee-a-ahliilóostiisk-ó?i
   DST-3A-draw:INC-HAB
   ‘He draws a picture of him.’ (Feeling 1975a:68)

b. **D@V@AT**
aâstóoskóö?i
a-stóosk-ó?i
3A-crush:INC-HAB
‘She crushes it.’ (Feeling 1975a:48)

c. **D@LO@AT**
aâstanvvhnýskóö?i
a-stanvvhnýsk-ó?i
3A-draw.line:INC-HAB
‘She draws a line.’ (Feeling 1975a:47)
d. **Léqat**
   taàtheëskó?i
   tee-a-theësk-ó?i
   DST-3A-iron:INC-HAB
   ‘He irons it.’ (Feeling 1975a:77)

High tone spread comes at the beginning of the word as well. In (82a) the long vowel of the pronominal prefix has a low tone, while in (82b) it is a long vowel with high tone. The Distributive prefix that appears on the second example has a special feature of causing a high tone to appear on the mora immediately following the full form of the prefix. This high tone then spreads to the adjacent mora, resulting in the long vowel with high tone.

82a. **Éqat**
   kvvy?lýv?iha
   kvv-ahlýv?iha
   1/2-tie.up:PRC
   ‘I’m tying you up.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:257)

82b. **SÉqat**
   teekvvy?lýv?iha
   tee-kvv-ahlýv?iha
   1/2-tie.up:PRC
   ‘I’m tying you up.’ (plural acts of tying) (Pulte and Feeling 1975:258)

2.6. **Shortened Highfall**

   The highfall appears on the rightmost long vowel, and it often appears in a shortened form due to the prevalence of final-vowel dropping in everyday speech. When this happens, the final long vowel is shortened and the highfall will sound like a slightly higher final tone; this tone is indicated by a double accent on the last vowel. Two examples are in (83). In (83a) the highfall is inserted on the Experienced Past suffix, indicating subordination to another clause; this suffix is subsequently
shortened. ‘River’ in (83b) is a noun that naturally occurs with a highfall, perhaps because it is a derivation.

83) a. **IrAi T**  
   jiikooʔvýʔi  kiihli  tasihwisk̂ū  
   jii-kooh-výʔi  kiihli  tee-a-asihwisk-ývýʔi  
   1A.AN-see:CMP  dog  DST-3A-bark:INC-EXP:SUB  
   ‘I saw the dog that was barking.’

b. **Og9B**  
   uùwéeyý  
   uùwéeyvýʔi  
   ‘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. **DC.ILQ-OCAT**
   aawatiihléhvskó?i
   aki-atiihléhvsk-ó?i
   1B-have.fever:INC-HAB
   ‘I go around with a fever.’

   b. **IRoAP**  **D&QILOIT**
   jiiskhóól  aawestáànvý?i
   ji-skhóóli  aki-estáàn-vý?i
   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. **KGLOF**:  **O@OP**:  **JSJQ**
   joojataanvýtthl  uunaalii  hiikaàthiíy
   ti-ooji-ataat-nvýthla  uunii-aalíí?i  hii-kaathiíya
   DST2-1A.PL.EX-RFL-brother  3B.PL-friend  2A.AN-wait.for:PRC
   ‘You are waiting for my brothers’ friend.’

   b. **&O V**:  **O@I**
   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. **OًAً\textsuperscript{A}**
   uu\textsuperscript{coohv}
uu-koo\textsuperscript{h-v\?i}
3B-see: CMP-EXP
   ‘He saw it’

   b. **OًAً\textsuperscript{A}**
   uu\textsuperscript{kooh\-é\?i}
3B-see: CMP-NXP
   ‘He saw it (I didn’t witness it)’

   c. **OًAًC.I\textsuperscript{A}**
   a\textsuperscript{kohwthi\textsuperscript{i}sko}
a-kow\textsuperscript{hthi\textsuperscript{isk}\-ó\?i}
3A-see: INC-HAB
   ‘He sees it’

   d. **OًE\textsuperscript{S}P**
   uu\textsuperscript{natuul\?i}
uunii-atuul\?iha
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
information. In (87) the Completive verb stem –kooh- is sufficiently distinct from the Present Continuous, Incompletive, Immediate, and Deverbal Noun stems (-koohwtha, -koohwthiísk-, -koohwtha, and -koohwthvvh-, respectively) that the stem itself makes the time frame clear.

87) *LYA*
   taàkiko
tee-aki-kooh-vv?i
DST-1B-sec:_CMP-EXP
‘I saw them.’

Often in casual speech the short vowels at the beginning of a verb stem delete before the third person plural, as seen below in (88). This deletion is optional and does not occur in careful speech. In this example the question word at the beginning is also shortened by dropping its first syllable. This dropping of the initial syllable is idiosyncratic seems to apply only to certain particles; i.e. words that have no prefixes.

88) *V 0ŋ?L*
to uûntvneelv
kato uunii-atvneel-vv?i
what 3B.PL-do:_CMP-EXP
‘What did they do?’

Sometimes the deletion of the final vowel can create a verb where most of word consists of the prefixes. In (89a) the root itself is only evident in the glide /w/. In (89b) the long vowel is shortened because it is no longer in an open syllable.

89) a. *SV hS O*
kato nikaw
kato ni-ka-wi
what PRT-3A-say/sound:IMM
‘What did he say?’
b. **SV Dhθ**
   kato naànìw  
   [naànìw]  
   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. **DsJa**
   hiikaàathiìy  
   hii-kahthiìya  
   2A.AN-wait:PRC  
   ‘You are waiting for him.’

b. **DsJa**
   hikhthiìya [hikʰtʰiìya]  
   hi-kahthiìya  
   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. 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. PRETTY
   uukóósita
   uu-akóósita
   3B-rotten
   'rotten'

   b.  payable
   uuukooska
   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 `ti- 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.
‘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

\[ DB.\\w\]

a-\[yv\]v\[h\]i\[h\]a
a-\[yv\]v\[h\]i\[h\]a
3A-enter:PRC
‘He’s entering.’

b. glottal grade

\[ Ir.BT\\w\]

ji\[yv\]v\[\w\]i\[h\]a
ji-\[yv\]v\[h\]i\[h\]a
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

híhúvvsóóli
hi-húvvsóóli
2A-nose
‘his nose’

b. glottal grade

jíjúvvsóóli
ji-húvvsóóli
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 + hnééka  IrÁS

North Carolina:  jiʔhnééka
Oklahoma:  jíihnééka
‘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. DSjá  aàkhthiiíya  ‘He’s waiting for it.’
   b. Irjá  jíkaàthiiíya  ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10: VOWEL DELETION FOR THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘TO WAIT’</th>
<th>DS Jw</th>
<th>Ir S Jw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/</td>
<td>aâkhthiîya</td>
<td>jikaʔtiïya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vowel Deletion</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>jikaâthiîya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant</td>
<td>aa kahthiîya</td>
<td>ji kahtiiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 11: VOWEL DELETION FOR THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘TO SPEAK, ANSWER’</th>
<th>OAS</th>
<th>IrAS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/</td>
<td>ka hnéeka</td>
<td>ji hnéeka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. h-metathesis</td>
<td>khanéeka</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>jiínëeka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ǳi- (appearing as ƙ- 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 ƙɪɪii-'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 [ɭ] because it is adjacent to the /s/. (This sound is not written as the expected /hl/ because it is entirely predictable).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12: VOWEL DELETION FOR 1ST DUAL AND SINGULAR CONJUGATION OF ‘TO DANCE’</th>
<th>TÔFÔD</th>
<th>SÔFÔD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>kaliissiǐʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. vowel deletion</td>
<td>iinalsikiʔa [iinalsikiʔa]</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. /h/ replaced by /ɭ/</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>kaliʔskiʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iinii ali[h]skiʔa</td>
<td>ji ali[h]skiʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ʃ/, /ch/, /hl/, and the lateral affricates /tl/, and /thl/. In (97) an alternating pair of laterals is shown.

97) a. D$44ED
aàteeählóhkwaʔa
a-ateeählóhkwaʔa
3A-learn:PRC
‘He’s 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. **S̱ṟe̱Ai̱o̱S**
   
   kajiiskóo?vska
   
   ji-ajiskóo?vska
   
   1A-lic:PRC
   
   ‘I’m lying.’

b. **Ḏṟe̱Ai̱o̱S**
   
   aàtskóo?vska
   
   a-ajiskóo?vska
   
   3A-lic:PRC
   
   ‘He’s lying.’

Because of recent sound changes most speakers of Oklahoma Cherokee pronounce /tl/ as [hl]. As a result, it is quite difficult to find alternations between /tl/ and /thl/. An example of a /hl/, /thl/ pair is listed in (99). In (99a) the intrusive-h occurs before the /thl/ affricate; the resulting vowel deletion aspirates the /t/, effectively creating a pair of /thl/ affricates that are pronounced as a single instance of /thl/. 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. \( \Theta \) DC
   na aàthli [aàtʰli]
   na a-ati\(h\)thli
   that 3A-run:PRC
   ‘He’s running.’

b. \( SJC \)
   kati\(h\)thli
   ji-ati\(h\)thli
   1A-run:PRC
   ‘I’m running.’

It is assumed that the underlying stem is -\( ati\)h\(h\)thli 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 /\( th\)/ 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.
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.
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. **JIS LICO**
   tikhlthlatiisk
   ti-ka-vehlatfiisk-i
   DST2-3A-put.out:fire:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘firefighter’

   b. **LEBSICO**
   tikkvyllatiiski
   ti-ji-vehlatfiisk-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. **DÔ.54**
   aâkhwiyíha [aâkwiyíha]
   a-ahkhwiyíha
   3A-pay:PRC
   ‘He’s paying it.’
This phenomenon of pre-aspiration creates a distinction between two types of aspirated stops: those that are underlingly 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.

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) \textbf{SFC} a\texttt{wa} \\
\begin{verbatim}
   tuùlchvýáásthane
   tee-uu-alchvýáásthan-é\texttt{fi}
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
   DST-3B-become.brave-NXP
\end{verbatim}
‘He became brave.’ (Chapter 9.2:7)

The /\texttt{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. \textbf{V\texttt{alc}} \\
\begin{verbatim}
   toostaththli
   tee-oostii-atihthli
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
   DST-1A.DL.EX-run:PRC
\end{verbatim}
‘We’re running.’

b. \textbf{S.JC} \\
\begin{verbatim}
   katiithli
   ji-atihthli
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
   1A-run:PRC
\end{verbatim}
‘I’m running.’

3.4. \textbf{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.\textsuperscript{32} This vowel would be the vowel of the pronominal prefix \texttt{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-\texttt{h}; as is often the case, this /\texttt{h}/ is not pronounced because there is no syllable it can go with.
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.
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) G W Y j a - l a - k i  ‘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 which simply represents the sound /s/. The Cherokee syllabary is in Table 13.

Table 13: Cherokee Syllabary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Γ</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ψ</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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 /kw/.
Thus the symbol could represent /kwa/ or /khwa/, the symbol 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 represents only /ka/ and represents only /kha/ (phonetically [kʰa]). The rest of the row does not make this distinction: could represent either /ke/ or /khe/ and could represent either /ki/ or /khi/ (phonetically [ke] /[kʰi] and [ki]/[kʰi], 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 /kal/. 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 /na/ from its voiceless counterpart /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 \( \text{G} \). This character has fallen out of usage in Oklahoma and this sound is now only represented with /na/.

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; /mi/, /mol/, and /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/.

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. 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.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 14: THIRD AND FIRST PERSON CONJUGATION OF ‘UNDERSTAND’</th>
<th>APS</th>
<th>APS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Glottal stop realized as lowfall before consonant</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>kooliika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vowel Deletion</td>
<td>kohlka</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. /h/ replaced by /ʔ/</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>kooliʔka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{koolohka 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 \( \text{食べる} \) 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 \( K \)- 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/ \( \text{立ち} \) and /thi/ \( \text{立ち} \), but only one symbol \( \text{i} \) representing /tol/ and /thol/. 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) \( \text{食べる} \)

\[ \text{thiwooni} \quad [\text{thiwooni}] \]
\[ \text{ta hi woonis i} \]
\[ \text{FUT-2A-speak:CMP-MOT} \]
\[ \text{‘You will speak.’} \]

The underlying form of the two initial syllables would be written as \( \text{立ち} /\text{たち}/ \), but the deletion of the vowel results in a single syllable \( \text{立ち} /\text{たち}/ \). 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 \( \text{V} \) can represent.

113) Sound combinations represented by \( \text{V} \)

- too
- to
- tó
- tóo
- toó
- tóò
- toó
- tóó
- tho
- thoo
- thó
- thóo
- thoó
- thoò
- thóò
- thóó
- toh
- toú
- tóú
- thoh
- thoú
- thóú

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/,
/hyl/, /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. Df-a keéhy a ‘woman’
b. DfZ aséehno ‘probably’

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

115) DØV ü.ID
    aahntóosatíʔa
    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 ǎ. Most consonants can follow this
consonant; some examples are given below in (116a-f).
Other combinations, such as /sl/, /stl/, and /sn/ appear to have a marginal presence in the language. A few examples are in (117).

There are no examples of the following consonant clusters as onsets in Cherokee: /sm/, /sj/, /sch/, /shl/, /sy/, /sw/, /sts/, or /s2/.

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).
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. **AÝhfrS**  
   kookiniikhehééëka  
   kookinii-hkhehééëka  
   3PL/1DL.EX-chase:PRC  
   ‘They are chasing us.’

   b. **DYfrS**  
   aâkkhehééëka  
   aki-hkhehééëka  
   1B-chase:PRC  
   ‘It is chasing me.’

   c. **FrfrS**  
   keetskhehééëka  
   keeja-hkhehééëka  
   3PL/2-chase:PRC  
   ‘They are chasing you.’

   d. **FrfrS**  
   hihkhehééëka  
   hi-hkhehééëka  
   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)  O'CO'Tâ
      uuhnthé?is
      uu-anvhth-é?i=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)  DâSâ
      a-s-ka-ya
      askay
      a-skaya
      3A-man

      O'fiâE
      u-yo-si-s-kv
      uu-yoosísískv
      uu-yoosísísk-vívi
      uu-yoosísísk-vívíi
      3B-be.hungry:INC-PAR

      hSL
      ni-ka-ta
      nikáát
      nikááta
      all

      O'RO'
      u-s-v-i
      uu-svhnv
      uu-svhvn-vívi
      3B-eat:CMP-EXP

      oâl
      o-s-ta
      óöst
      óóstá
      good

      DPâLBV'I
      a-li-s-ta-yy-to-ti
      álstaâhytoht
      álstaâhytohtí
      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.
Glottal stops can be in a coda position as demonstrated in (124).

124) a. lrm$s 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.
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. **sZa PV4** kanoohaliítóóha ‘He is hunting.’
    b. **sZa PV3** kanoohaliítóóhi ‘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) **DfiC** 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).
a. őpőS
   hnatvĕka
   ni-hi-atvĕka
   PRT-2A-do:IMM
   ‘You did it’

b. őpőS
   hnatvĕkă
   ni-hi-atvĕka
   PRT-2A-do:IMM(COM)
   ‘Do it!’

In this grammar a double accent is also used on vowels that are in a final position because the underlying final vowel has been dropped. In these cases the highfall (which underlyingly only appears on the rightmost long vowel; final vowels are short) will still be evident in a higher tone. An example is in (129); the line below the syllabary indicates how the phrase was actually pronounced, while the line below shows the full forms that appear in careful or emphatic speech. In this example the Deverbalizer is shortened, but its tone is still evident by a higher tone on the remaining vowel.

129) őpőLĂoţ-Ŭh
     tvvtahneskehiísáhni uuñoole úuyóosthanăv
     ta-ii-iitii-ahneskehiísáhn-i uuñoole uu-yó-o-sthan-.ipv2i
     FUT-ITR-1A.PL-build:COMP-MOT tornado 3B-break-CAU:COMP-DVB
     ‘We will build the house again after the tornado destroyed it.’

7. SUMMARY

Cherokee has a comparatively small inventory of sounds. Like many Native American languages, it does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants, but rather between unaspirated and aspirated consonants. The additional features of tone and length on vowels considerably expand the possible inventory of Cherokee sounds. Vowel length is represented by using two vowels for a long vowel
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.

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>.

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

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

Foley’s acoustic analysis supports this description of the two lateral affricates. He remarks that the difference between /tl/ and /t/ 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).

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.

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 [ʃ] 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 [ʃ] and a voiceless liquid [ɻ]. 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’ [ɻ] is a predictable pronunciation and is therefore not a phoneme.

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.
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).
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).

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).

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).

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

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.

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/.

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).

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  Øًلس  ‘He’s speaking, answering.’
   jiinéeka  یرًلس  ‘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)  **SAS**
    
    kahnéeeka
    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.
CHAPTER 3: DETAILED CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3: GENERAL STRUCTURE OF CHEROKEE

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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) **DYAČ-T**

    aàkikoohvy?i
    aki-kooh-vy?i
    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) О’єґ”).

na uu-aleesóóta kiihli aiki-kooh-vú?i

that 3B-skinny dog

‘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) О’єґ”).

na uu-aleesóóta kiihli jii-kooh-vú?i

that 3B-skinny dog

‘I saw that skinny dog.’
Animacy is thus crucial to distinguishing the subjects and objects of a Cherokee sentence. It is important to emphasize that when a verb is transitive (with a subject and an object), it will often indicate its participants solely through its prefixes; no other words are necessary to produce a grammatically complete sentence. When a noun phrase does appear, the interaction of animacy and the type of pronominal prefix on the verb will determine if this noun phrase is the subject or object of the verb.

When two noun phrases are present, animacy plays a role in distinguishing which is the subject and which is the object. If both are of equal animacy, then the Set A third person singular prefix a-/ka- or the Set B third person singular prefix uu- will appear. In (4a) the verb is in the Completive stem and the Set B prefix appears. For this speaker, the position of ‘wolf’ at the beginning of the clause indicates that it is the subject. Later in the story in (4b) ‘crawdad’ is the subject and ‘tail’ (of the wolf) is the object, yet the noun ‘crawdad’ comes after the verb while the noun ‘tail’ comes at the beginning of the clause. In this case, however, the two participants are clearly of differing animacy; even though the word order is changed, it is assumed that the most ‘natural’ situation holds; i.e. an animate being is the subject and the inanimate being is the object. The noun ‘tail’ occurs at the beginning of the clause because it is new information and therefore the most ‘newsworthy.’

4) a. c.ő ťaIśIă
wahya uñneenuhlane
wahya uu-neenuhlan-é?i
wolf 3B-challenge:CMP-NXP

Irőp’ő Jovyăč. it
jístvvnna juuhnthohkiányastíí?i
jístvvnna ti-uunii-ahthohkiinyàst-íí?i
crawdad DST2-3B.PL-race:INF-NOM2
‘The wolf challenged the crawdad to race him.’ (Chapter 9.1:5)
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. ści?n?y ści?h ści?nst
   teekáayesátv tika?lééni tuusontée?i
   DST-3A-finger DST2-3A-ear DST-3B-put.in: CMP-NXP
   ‘He put his fingers into his ears’ (New Testament, Mark 7:33)
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. 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. \( \theta \) D\( \alpha \)S\( \omega \) DrAC.J
   na askaya a\( \dot{\text{a}} \)jikoohwthi
   na a-skaya aji-koohwthiha
   that 3A-man 3O-see:PRC
   ‘The man is being seen.’

   b. SiC GWY h\( \text{H} \)\( \alpha \)A
      ka\( \dot{\text{a}} \)y\( \ddot{\text{o}} \)hl jalak jiw\( \text{o} \)oniisko
      ka\( \dot{\text{a}} \)y\( \ddot{\text{o}} \)hl jalaki ji-w\( \text{o} \)oniisk-\( \ddot{\text{o}} \)i
      a.little Cherokee 1A-speak:INC-HAB
      ‘I speak a little Cherokee.’

   c. L\( \text{Y} \)O\( \text{H} \) OP\( \alpha \)F.L IA\( \text{w} \)P
      ta\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)kinvvsa uulske\( \ddot{\text{e}} \)t tikoohweeli
      tee-aki-nvvsa uu-alisk\( \ddot{\text{e}} \)ta ti-koohwheeli
      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. SL SOP\( \text{E} \)S
       kaata teekh\( \dot{\text{a}} \)hlkhwat\( \text{\'{e}} \)eka
       kaata tee-ka-hlkhwat\( \text{\'{e}} \)eka
       dirt DST-3A-turn.over:PRC
       ‘He’s turning dirt over.’
b. **DIA**

O:ZI:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aátaneélv</th>
<th>uùnoothla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aátaneélv</td>
<td>uunii-oothla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

store 3B.PL-possess:PRC

‘They have a store.’

c. **TPE**

L:VRT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ihlkv</th>
<th>taawatósrvv?i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ihlkv?i</td>
<td>ta-aki-atós-vv?i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) **AP**

C.Y.I.@I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GSF</th>
<th>2D</th>
<th>0AUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haatlvi wakitiisti</td>
<td>jatuuli</td>
<td>hi?a khaneësá?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haatlvi wi-aki-tiist-i</td>
<td>ja-atuulíha</td>
<td>hi?a khaneësá?i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Adverbial El O terh-final-T
koostvniisti kvhti uuskwalvniisti
koostvniisti kvhti uu-skwalvniist-i
bat with 3B-hit.on.head:DVN-NOM2

YC O-AFVOT
kiihli uu-nehlthán-vv?i
kiihli uu-nehlthán-vv?i
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.

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.’
"When you interrupted I was trying to work."

lit. “When you broke it for me, 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. An example is in (12); the first underlined portion is the subject, while the second underlined portion is the object.

12) DJG  OPR  JMOJI  SHTE
   achuíja uuliisi juukhthinúthti tuúyoosëele
   a-chuíja uu-liisi ti-uu-akthinpúthti tee-uu-yooseel-éi
3A-boy 3B-grandmother DST-2B-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) DJR  LTHIS  JIC  FLJ
   ama taakwayoo?vska tiihnawo juuthëësti
   ama tee-a-kwayo?vska ti-a-ahnawo ti-uu-theëësti
   water DST-3A-sprinkle:PRC DST-2A-clothes DST-2B-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
can also form a non-verbal clause. A verbal clause is exemplified in (14a) and a non-verbal clause is exemplified in (14b). A clause can be a complete and independent sentence, as in (14a) and (14b), or it can be inside of a larger clause. In (14c) the clause in brackets is subordinated to the main clause; the entire bracketed clause is itself the object participant of the verb in the main clause. In this case the act of buying the car is the object of the verb ‘to want.’ In (14d) the dependent clause is acting as an adjectival by providing more information about the car. In two examples the underlined portion represents the object of the verb ‘to want,’ while the bracketed portion indicates a dependent clause.

14) a. **DJay**

   atlatííthla
   aki-atuulíha
   car
   1B-want:PRC
   ‘I want a car.’

   DDISP

   akwatuuli

b. **DJay**

   aaynúúli
   na atlatííthla
   a-aaynúúli
   na atlatííthla
   3A-fast
   that car
   ‘That car is fast.’

c. **DISP**

   aåwatuulíi [atlatííthla jahwáhísti]
   aki-atuulíha atlatííthla ja-hwáhísti
   car
   1B-want:PRC
   2B-buy:DVN-NOM2
   ‘I want [you to buy a car].’

d. **DJay**

   atlatííthla [jawatuulíiha] chawáská
   atlatííthla ji-aki-atuulíiha ja-hwáská
   car
   REL-1B-want:PRC\SUB
   2B-buy:PRC
   ‘You are buying the car [that I want].’
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.

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15) a.  
   DhǟS̄aw  Dhθ  DhJGZ  DhVθ  
   aniiskay  aáníina  aniichúújahno  aáñiiítóona  
   anii-skaya  anii-na  aniichúúja=hno  anii-tóona  
   ‘The men are sitting and the boys are standing.’

b.  
   Shḻš’  missão  
   kaníita?tv  wuúkooh  
   kana-níta?tvý?i  wi-uu-kooh-é?i  
   3A-tail  TRN-3B-saw:_CMP-NXP

   G̱rŏPŎθ  ŎḻZ  ŎV̆T  
   jíístvvna  uhnahno  wuúthosée?i  
   jíístvvnna  uhna=hno  wi-uu-athos-é?i  
   crawdad  there=CN  TRN-3B-latch.onto:_CMP-NXP  
   ‘The crawdad saw the wolf’s tail and latched onto it.’ (Chapter 9.1:15-16)

c.  
   ØḆβ̱  θΩ  Ø̆ḻẔ  Ø̆S̆θ̆ŎC̆ăS̆  
   óooisí naʔv  uûwoóhla  uûkaanawooska  
   óooisí 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. **D§ DCCŒF**  **SP¢SC**
   ama *atlitliiskš*  kaliistuutli
   ama a-atlitliisk-atég?i  ji-ali-stuutli
   water 3A-boil:INC-DVB  1A-MDL-splash:IMM
   ‘I splashed boiling water on myself.’

   b. **OΦSP@**  **GWY ČhČh@I**
   uunatuulis  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. **D\textsuperscript{J}W\textsuperscript{4} D\textsuperscript{\alpha} 0\textsuperscript{PC}**

\[\text{atíítháha} \quad \text{ama} \quad \text{uútlývýv} \]
\[\text{a-atiitháh-a} \quad \text{ama} \quad \text{uu-hlývýj-výʔi} \]
\[3\text{A-drink:} \text{CMP\textsuperscript{SUB-TAV} water} \quad 3\text{B-be.sick:} \text{CMP-EXP} \]
\[\text{‘He became sick after drinking the water.’} \]
\[\text{lit. ‘Having drunk the water, he became sick.’} \]

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) \[\text{D\textsuperscript{S}P\textsuperscript{S}θ} \quad [\text{aS.I DP\textsuperscript{ST}\textsuperscript{EL}}] \]

\[\text{akhthývkáánâ} \quad [\text{stuúti alstuʔiiský̥}] \]
\[\text{aki-ahthvýkáán-a} \quad \text{stuúti a-ali-stuʔiisk-ý̥ʔi} \]
\[1\text{B-hear:} \text{IMM\textsuperscript{SUB-TAV} door} \quad 3\text{A-MDL-open:} \text{INC-DVB} \]

\[\text{D\textsuperscript{J}θ\textsuperscript{P}} \quad \text{R\textsuperscript{V}L} \quad 0\textsuperscript{MG} \]

\[\text{aâkwahnthv} \quad \text{ee\textsuperscript{oot}ta} \quad \text{uúůłúhjů} \]
\[\text{aki-ahnth-ý̥ʔi} \quad \text{ee\textsuperscript{oot}ta} \quad \text{uu-ůłůhj-ý̥ʔi} \]
\[1\text{B-know:} \text{CMP-EXP} \quad \text{VOC-father} \quad 3\text{B-arrive:} \text{CMP-DVB} \]
\[\text{‘When I heard [the door open] I knew my father had come home.’} \]
\[\text{lit. ‘Having heard [the opening door], I knew it, that my father arrived.’} \]

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 (\textit{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 (\textit{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. \textbf{\textit{D\textcircled{\textit{o}}S\textcircled{\textit{a}}}} \textit{lrFZ\textcircled{\textit{i}}.J\textcircled{\textit{a}}ET}
   na askaya jiiliinohahtiisk\textit{v}
   na a-skaya jii-ali-hnohehtiisk-v\text{\textcyrillic{y}}\textit{i}
   that 3A-man 1A,AN-MDL-tell:INC-EXP
   ‘I was talking to the man.’

b. \textbf{\textit{D\textcircled{\textit{o}}S\textcircled{\textit{a}}}} \textit{DhS}
   askaya a\text{\textcyrillic{h}}nika
   a-skaya a-a\text{\textcyrillic{h}}nika
   3A-man 3A-leave:IMM
   ‘The man left.’

c. \textbf{\textit{D\textcircled{\textit{o}}S\textcircled{\textit{a}}}} \textit{lrFZ\textcircled{\textit{i}}.J\textcircled{\textit{a}}ET} \textit{DhS}
   na askaya jii-\textcyrillic{i}i-inohahtiisk\textit{v}" a\text{\textcyrillic{h}}nika
   na a-skaya ji-\textcyrillic{i}i-ali-hnohehtiisk-v\text{\textcyrillic{y}}\textit{i} a-a\text{\textcyrillic{h}}nika
   that 3A-man REL-1A,AN-MDL-tell:INC-EXP\textit{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).\textsuperscript{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.
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.\(^5\)
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) \[ \text{achúú}ja \quad \text{uúweehlúhký} \quad \text{akhthvkaanv} \]
\[ \text{a-chúú}ja \quad \text{uu-eelhúhk-vý?i} \quad \text{aki-ahthvkaan-vý?i} \]
\[ 3A\text{-boy} \quad 3B\text{-scream:INC-EXP}\text{SUB} \quad 1B\text{-hear:CMP-EXP} \]

‘I heard the boy screaming.’

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) \[ \text{hila yikohíít taåhliiliitooho} \]
\[ \text{hila yi-kohííta tee-ahliiliitooh-ó?i} \]
\[ \text{how IRR-long DST-3A-take.time:INC-HAB} \]
\[ \text{kahljoóte anekstíí?i} \]
\[ \text{kahljoóte a-anekst-íí?i} \]
\[ \text{house 3A-build:DVN-NOM2} \]

‘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. **IqºST**       **DCS Vø@J**
   jiiskáá?i            awakhthóósti
   ji-skáá?i            aki-akahthóóst-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. **Oºll@S**       **EU.AJ**
   uu-nuulvhuska        wuutiínvvti
   uu-nuulvhuska        wi-uu-atiínvvt-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. **OºÒpºawAZ**       **JQV¥å@J**
   uùntvnavstanéhnóo     juuhnhokkìiyáåstì
   uuñii-atvnavstan-é?i=hnóò ti-uuñii-athokhìiyáåst-i
   3B.PL-prepare: CMP-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. **DTsp**          **Gh¥æ@J**
   aàkwatuuli             jaahnìkìisti
   aki-atuuliha           jaahnìkìisti-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 tì-form (DST2) that is typical for nouns and adjective, but not main clause verbs.

24) a. **IGYëY**       **SAC$PD**
   tijalaki              teekooheélì?a
   ti-jalaki             tee-jì-ooheélì?a
   DST2-Cherokee        DST-1A-write:PRC
   ‘I am writing Cherokee.’
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. **DC.SP**

| aawatuuli | kvvkoohwthyhtii | 1/2-see:DVN-NOM2 |
| aki-atuulih | kvv-kooohwhtyhtii | 1B-want:PRC |

‘I want to see you.’

b. **SGASP’T**

| tuuyuukhtuutvii | chanesti | ookatuuli |
| tuuyuukhtuutvii | jahnesti | ookii-atuulih |

‘We want for you to speak the truth.’

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

26) a. **DhC.I**

| áanehlti | uülstehlti |
| aa-áxnehltih | uu-ali-stehlti |

‘He’s trying to help.’
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. DC Ow  O’MC T
   aàwahntha  uulúhjý?i
   aki-anvþtha  uu-lúhj-vý?i
   1B-know:PRC  3B-return:CMD-EXP-SUB
   ‘I know that he returned.’

b. hSI  hst  S P R P A
   niikáát  niisikiyatvveélý  kalii?éélíko
   all  PRT-2/1.PL-do:CMD-APL:CMD-EXP-SUB  1A-be.appreciative:INC-HAB
   ‘I appreciate everything you have done for us.’

c. SâSWAT  0 B  TS
   tuünukhthane  na  vý
   tee-uunii-ukahthan-é?i  na  iiyvý?i  iika
   DST-3B.PL-decide:CMD-NM  that  when  day
   1041i  1041i
   výskina  yuuntvzhnti
   výskina  yj-uunii-atvzhnt-i
   that.way  IRR-3B.PL-do:CMD-NM
   ‘They decided on what day they would do this.’ (Chapter 9.3:7-8)
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. S C L I D  K W h  C L W O T
   kanvvtatíʔa  joólani  uuyóosthanvýʔi
   ji-anvhtatíʔa  joólani  uu-yóo-sthan-výʔi
   1A-remember:PRC  window  3B-break-CAUS:CMP-EXP\SUB
   ‘I remember him breaking the window.’

b. D C O W  Y h A h h E T
   aàwahntha  kinii-koonhniyookvýʔi
   aki-anvththa  kinii-koohniyyyyook-výʔi
   1B-know:PRC  1B.DL-be.late:COMP-EXP\SUB
   ‘I know that we were late.’

c. O C L  F C L  A "I"  P C
   uuhnthe  kvvwthlóóhist  keehvý
   uu-anvhth-éʔi  kaa-uu-athlóóhist-1  keeh-výʔi
   3B-know:COMP-NXP  NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM  be:COMP-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.  

\[ \text{hilayv chulkoje }\text{hokskv} \]
\[ \text{hilayv ja-sulikoj-é?i }\text{hi-okisk-vý?i} \]
\[ \text{when 2B-quit:CMP-NXP } 2A\text{-smoke:INC-EXP\textbackslash SUB} \]

‘When did you quit smoking?’ (Feeling 1975a:56)
lit. “When did you quit it, your smoking?”

b.  

\[ \text{oökii-skwát-vý?i }\text{oojáheskeeský} \text{kahljoóté?i} \]
\[ \text{1B.PL-EX-finish-EXP } 1A\text{.PL-EX-build:INC-EXP\textbackslash SUB} \text{house} \]

‘We finished building the house.’
lit. “We finished it, our building the house.”

c.  

\[ \text{nvýw uunaleený }\text{ahnthookhiyaský} \]
\[ \text{nvýkwu uunii-aleenýh-a }\text{anii-ahthookhiyask-vý?i} \]
\[ \text{now 3B.PL-start:CMP\textbackslash SUB-TAV } 3A\text{.PL-race:INC-EXP\textbackslash SUB} \]

‘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 (\textbackslash 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. \(SDh\beta\,FT\) \(DPZ\,J\) \(G\,ZBP\,U\)
aáníyyeek\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)í ahlnoohéhti yuunooh\(\text{-}\)y\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)í\(\text{-}\)la
anii\(-\)yee\(-\)k\(-\)v\(-\)í a\(-\)ali\(-\)nooh\(-\)héht\(-\)i y\(-\)uu\(-\)nooh\(-\)y\(-\)v\(-\)í\(\text{-}\)ls\(-\)a
3A,pl\(-\)wake:CMP\(-\)EXP 3A\(-\)MDL\(-\)tell:DVN\(-\)NOM IRR\(-\)3B\(-\)make\(-\)noise:CMPSUB\(-\)TAV
‘They were waking up when the phone rang.’

b. \(GW\) \(S\,Ch\,\alpha\,\alpha\,j\) \(A\,\alpha\,l\) \(DGF\,V\,I\)
jalaki kawoon\(\text{-}\)í\(\text{-}\)histi kohí\(\text{-}\)ta ahl\(\text{-}\)lii\(\text{-}\)liit\(\text{-}\)ó\(\text{-}\)ôho
jalaki kawoon\(\text{-}\)í\(\text{-}\)histi kohí\(\text{-}\)ta a\(-\)ahl\(\text{-}\)lii\(\text{-}\)liit\(\text{-}\)ôh\(-\)ô?i
Cherokee language long/time 3A\(-\)take\(-\)time:INC\(-\)HAB

\(OC\,U\,j\) \(DL\) \(\Delta\,G\,P\,B\,V\,W\)
uuwaas\(\text{-}\)svahi ah\(\text{-}\)ná yi\(-\)já\(\text{-}\)th\(\text{-}\)vs\(-\)í\(\text{-}\)t\(\text{-}\)ó\(\text{-}\)ôla
uuwaas\(\text{-}\)sv\(\text{-}\)hi ah\(\text{-}\)ná yi\(-\)ja\(-\)th\(\text{-}\)vs\(-\)í\(\text{-}\)t\(\text{-}\)ôl\(-\)a
unless here IRR\(-\)2A\(-\)grow\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)CMP\(-\)AMB:CMP\(-\)SUB\(-\)TAV
‘Learning to speak Cherokee takes a lot of time unless you grow up around it.’

c. \(LY\,\alpha\,\alpha\,S\,d\) \(\,OP\,C\,L\,;\,j\) \(\,DC\,P\,\alpha\,Y\,R\)
taak\(\text{-}\)liy\(\text{-}\)wéek\(\text{-}\)k\(\text{-}\)at\(\text{-}\)vv uuhl\(\text{-}\)j\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)tá\(\text{-}\)w\(\text{-}\)a\(\text{-}\)t\(\text{-}\)i a\(\text{-}\)w\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)w\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)k\(\text{-}\)i\(\text{-}\)s’\(\text{-}\)v
see\(-\)a\(-\)ki\(-\)y\(\text{-}\)wéek\(-\)a\(-\)t\(-\)\(\text{-}\)vv uuhl\(\text{-}\)j\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)tá\(\text{-}\)w\(\text{-}\)a\(\text{-}\)t\(\text{-}\)i a\(\text{-}\)k\(-\)i\(-\)al\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)\(\text{-}\)ski\(-\)s\(-\)v?i
DST\(-\)1B\(-\)be\(-\)tired:PRC\(\text{=}\)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. \(IB\,\alpha\,\alpha\,\alpha\,\Theta\) \(\,DP\,\alpha\,L\,B\,\alpha\,\alpha\,S\)
nuuyóosi\(\text{-}\)isk\(\text{-}\)k\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)n\(\text{-}\)a a\(\text{-}\)ál\(\text{-}\)st\(\text{-}\)á\(\text{-}\)á\(\text{-}\)y\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)h\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)k\(\text{-}\)sk
ni\(-\)uu\(-\)yó\(\text{-}\)o\(\text{-}\)si\(\text{-}\)isk\(-\)v\(\text{-}\)n\(\text{-}\)a a\(-\)\(\text{-}\)a\(\text{-}\)l\(\text{-}\)i\(\text{-}\)st\(\text{-}\)á\(\text{-}\)á\(\text{-}\)y\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)h\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)h\(\text{-}\)v\(\text{-}\)sk
PRT\(-\)3B\(-\)hungry:INC\(-\)NDV 3A\(-\)MDL\(-\)fix\(-\)a\(-\)meal:PRC
‘He’s eating while he’s not hungry.’
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 OJG LMs It
   vv naâhiyu takalûhjî
   vv naâhiyu ta-ka-lûhj-i
   yes then FUT-3A-arrive:CMP-MOT
   ‘Yes, at that time he will arrive.’

b. ETlOOG
   khv iitaleénâwu
   khv iitii-aleéna=kwu
   hey 1A.PL-start:IMM(COM)=DT
   ‘Hey, let’s start!’

c. IW ÕJO Lc. SPK S OhMCT
   núúla nuuntiinývtakwu kalhjoóte wiinii?luhjvv?i
   núúla ni-uu-natinýta=kwu kalhjoóte wi-iinii-?luhj-vv?i
   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’
 f’ thla ‘no’
 h ni ‘look!’ (Feeling 1975a:157)
 d fi osiyo ‘hello’
 D fi ayo ‘ouch!’ (Feeling 1975a:86)
 W V wato ‘thanks’
 q W núúla ‘hurry!’ (Feeling 1975a:148)
 ø kham ‘enough, now, come on’
 Θ na ‘here!’ (Feeling 1975a:146)
 fi yóo term of disbelief mostly used by women
 b si ‘wait!’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:342)
 i o yy vskiki ‘isn’t it so? is that a fact?’ (Walker 1975:227)
 a yy ski ‘thank you’ (North Carolina)
 ¦ ha? 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 = 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. U C a
 kiihli kiihlis hiihwase
 kiihli=s hii-hwas-é?i
dog=Q 2A.AN-buy:COMP-NOM
‘Did you buy the dog?’
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. \(\langle 3D\rangle\)  
\(\langle h\rangle\) akwu tvv  
\(\langle h\rangle a=kwu=tvv\)  
\(\langle t\rangle=FC\)  
‘Just this.’

b. \(\langle 3B\rangle\)  
\(\langle v\rangle\) takalstan  
\(\langle k\rangle=kwu=hno\)  
\(\langle w\rangle xv\rangle=FC\)  
‘Now what is going to happen?’

c. \(\langle 3O\rangle\)  
\(\langle d\rangle\) ajikhehiítóléle  
\(\langle i\rangle=CN\)  
‘…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) \( \text{DY} \text{DLQ} \text{LS} \)
- 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 Conducive Question (CQ) = \( j u \)

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

37) a. \( \text{w} \text{P YJ} \)
  - skwohlkíju
  - ski-ohlki=ju
  2/1-understand:PRC=CQ
  ‘Do you understand me?’
b. **C.GB.J** **ÀÇP.J**  
waloósíju thiihwahthvýhi  
waloósí=ju ta-hii-hwahthvýh-i  
frog=CQ FUT-2A.AN-find:COMP-MOT  
‘Are you going to find the frog?’

c. **S.ACAC.IJ**  
kaahiikoohwahthíju na kiihli  
kaa-hii-koohwahthiha=ju na kiihli  
ANP-2A.AN-see:PRC=CQ that dog  
‘Do you see those dogs?’

d. **V.OJ**  
thoôhííju  
thoôhíí=ju  
quiet=CQ  
‘Are you at ease?’/‘Are you well?’

The last example is the question that typically follows the standard greeting osíyo  
‘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. **fi.ASF**  
yóoneekákhẹ ale jalaki kawóonisko  
yóoneeka=khe ale jalaki ka-wónisk-ó?i  
English=AQ or Cherokee 3A-speak:INC-HAB  
‘Does he speak English or Cherokee?’
b. ᵇ𝑨𝑨𝒚ผลกระท�          ṭ忉 #:клₕ     ᵇئة
khaneèkis           chiyaliïnohehtiiskį       hläkhe
ka-hneèki=芨 ji-hii-ali-hnohehtiisk-γύʔi     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)

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

39) a. ᵇ𝑨تحقق  ṭルー          ᵇルー          ṭ電子信箱
káąkokhe tiitaanawγ wijeetaasti nijvhnéeleʔ?
káąko=khe tiitaanawγʔi wi-ja-eetaast-i ni-ja-vhnéeel-γʔi
who=AQ store  TRN-2B-walk.around:DVN-NOM2  PRT-2B-cause:CMP-NXP
‘Who made you go to the store?’

b. ᵇ 웠          ṭルー          ᵇ 쿠          ᵇ 뵁
hilákhe iițkhita na nvvγa
hila=khe iițkhita na nvvγa
how=AQ big that rock
‘How big is that rock?’

c. ᵇ𝑨              ᵇên          ᵇên          ᵇ電子信箱
káąko uųkòṭi asamatííya nihi eja-to=khe
káąko uųkòṭi 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) =š(κο)

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 =šκο, but this form is rarely seen in
Oklahoma Cherokee. Five examples are in (40).
40) a. Do P.I@ GC J@I GSP
ahyatlvitis chawahisti jatuuli
ahyatlviti=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. 1.@@ Bp A
thlas hyeëliiskó?
thla=s yi-hi-eëliisk-ó?i
NEG=Q IRR-2A-think:INC-HAB
‘Don’t you think so?’

c. 5JVE.@@ 5V@LAI
teehi-tookvís teejeestaaneehó?
tee-hi-tookvý?i=s tee-ja-eestaaneeh-ó?i
DST-2A-teeth=Q DST-2B-hurt: INC-HAB
‘Do your teeth hurt?’

d. @Ah.@@ 0V.L@I
skhoniíyiís wijeetaásti
skhoniíyií=s wi-ja-eetaást-i
overseas=Q TRN-2B-be.somewhere:DVN-NOM2

I@LAI Dhhi@Y Ir@IT
nuúlsthane aniiyóski chiyá?ý?i
ni-uu-alisthan-é?i aniiyóska ji-hi-yá?-ý?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. RGAPBS @
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) YCÔ
   kiihlí=kha
   kiihlì=kha
   dog=TQ
   ‘It’s a dog, isn’t it?’

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

42) VÔ
   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) DaS w 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** 4JάF
   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).  

45) a. **YWqo**  **DYø-b**
   khilákwu aàkhvsi
   khila=kwu aki-hvsi
   just.now=DT 1B-give(solid):IMM
   ‘She (just) gave it to me.’

   b. **K(J)  ** **Oho**
   jókwu naàniiʔo
   joʔi=kwu ni-anii-óʔi
   three=DT PRT-3A.PL-HAB
   ‘There are usually only three of them.’

   c. **E  TiľOq**
   khv iitaleénáwu
   khv iitii-aleéna=kwu
   hey 1A.INC-start:IMM(COM)=DT
   ‘Hey, let’s start!’
d. **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)

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. **APlE**

kohlköowu  koolifyéèskuy?i
ka-oliik-ó?i=kwu  ka-ooliifyéèsk-vuy?i
3A-understand:** **INC-HAB=DT** 3A-read:** **INC-DVB**

‘He (usually) understands what he reads.’

b. **DL€**

áhnawu  keétóhéstí
áñna=kwu  ji-eétóh-éestí
here=**DT** 1A-walk.around:** **INC-AFT**

‘I’m going to stay here/ I’ll be walking around here.’

c. **hAjq$**

niikoóhíilvwu  aàskiitska na? akeehyuúja
niikoóhíilvuy?i=kwu  a-askiitska na? a-keehyuúja
always=**DT** 3A-dream:** **PRC** that 3A-girl

‘He’s always dreaming of that girl.’
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. Z\~\> 
noókwúle
now=PO
‘then, and then, at that time’

b.  
\text{KL\~\>}
\text{\~\>}
\text{\~\> MG}
sóʔ
sóʔi
another
\text{CIS}=\text{mountain}=\text{PO}
\text{IRR-TRN-3B-arrive}=\text{CMP}\text{SUB-TAV}
‘When he got to another mountain…’

c. U\~\> H\~\>  
\text{\~\> th}
saámi=le
\text{IRR-3A-go}=\text{IMM}
‘Maybe Sam will go.’ (Walker 1975:219)
d. **JFT^o**  
   juulííʔíle  yik  
   ti-uu-aliíʔi=le  yi-ki  
   DST2-3B-friend=PO  IRR-be:IMM  
   ‘… or friends’ (Chapter 9.3:30)

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 kato^hv ‘why’ in (46c).

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

b. **DYBIPO**  
   aâkiyvvhlv^hv  
   aki-hyvvl-v^zi=hv  
   1B-enter:PRC=CT  
   ‘But I came in.’

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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). 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. **DBr**  **JS hyZYY**  
   ayv\-tvv yiteeji\-nooki  
   ayv=tvv yi-tee-ji-hnooki  
   l\-PRO=FC IRR-DST-1A-sing:IMM  
   ‘I’m going to sing it.’

   b. **Zr\-P**  **Ir L\-W**  
   no\-zkwutvv jitasuüla  
   no\-zkwu=tvv ji-tee-a-asuül-a  
   now=FC REL-DST-3A-wash.hands:IMM-IMM  
   ‘He just washed his hands.’

   c. **Zr Zl\-P**  
   hvvhnözötítvv  
   hi-vvhnóżoti=tvv  
   2A-alive=FC  
   ‘You’re alive!’

   d. **GYMC \-P**  
   jakilúhjvütvv  
   ji-aki-lúhj-vv\-i=tvv  
   REL-1B-pick.up:COMP-EXP=FC  
   ‘I did come.’
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. őőlé k. ño
óósta nihíína
óósta nihi=na
good  2PRO=F2
‘Fine, how about you?’

b. ñóñú ñú őőj
náana kato úúst
na=na kato úústi
that=F2 what something
‘What are those?’
Those are rabbits.

You girls got home after the sun went down.

This clitic is sometimes pronounced as =nv; two examples are in (52).
4.11. CONJUNCTION (CN) = (heé)hnóo

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). 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 =hnóo and =hno are more common than the full form =heéhnóo; these shortened forms are used in the examples below. In careful speech the form =hnóo appears.

(53)a.  spiritually    spiritually    spiritually
wuulúj’hno          kalvñnat          tikeèsv
wi-uu-wlúj-vv?i=hno kalvñnatí ti-keèsv-vv?i
TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB=CN on.top.of CIS-be:INC-EXP

C.  whoop
wahya  uùthohise
wahya  uu-athohis-é?i
wolf  3B-whoop:CMP-NXP

‘When the wolf got to the top of the hill he whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)
b. \textbf{\textit{Ir}}\textbf{\textit{θ}ΩZ} \textbf{\textit{YW}Ω\textit{B}}
\begin{align*}
\text{jíjistvvnahno} & \quad \text{khillawiyv} \\
\text{jíjistvven} & = \text{hno} \quad \text{khillawiyv} \\
crawdad & = \text{CN} \quad \text{at.that.moment}
\end{align*}

\textbf{\textit{SFC}}\textbf{\textit{Ω}α\textit{WA}} \quad \textbf{\textit{ΩΘVY}ω\textit{a}IT}
\begin{align*}
\text{tuùlchvvyasthane} & \quad \text{uuhnthohkiýáastíí?i} \\
tee-uu-achhvyasthan-é?i & \quad \text{uunii-athhokhiýáast-íí?i}
\end{align*}
\text{DST-3B-become.brave-NXP} \quad 3B.PL:-race:DVN-NOM2
\text{‘The crawdad at that moment got brave enough to race (the wolf).’}
\text{(Chapter 9.1:6-7)}

b. \textbf{\textit{JD}} \quad \textbf{\textit{D}FGG} \quad \textbf{\textit{DJGZ}}
\begin{align*}
\text{hi?a akeehyúúja} & \quad \text{achúújahno} \\
\text{hi?a a-keehyúúja} & \quad \text{a-chúúja=hno} \\
\text{this 3A-girl} & \quad 3A-boy=\text{CN}
\end{align*}

\textbf{\textit{ΩΘPAJ}} \quad \textbf{\textit{ΩΘSPJ}}
\begin{align*}
\text{uunaliikhti} & \quad \text{uùnátuulíha} \\
\text{uunii-aliikht-i} & \quad \text{uunii-atuulíha} \\
3B.PL:-go.together:DVN-NOM2 & \quad 3B.PL:-want:PRC
\end{align*}
\text{‘This boy and girl want to go together.’ (Feeling 1975a:45)}

d. \textbf{\textit{ΩΩW}Ω\textit{WY}} \quad \textbf{\textit{JΩBPZ}}
\begin{align*}
\text{withaláásuuláki} & \quad \text{tiíhiyvhvlv=hno} \\
\text{wi-ti-hi-aláásuuláki} & \quad \text{ti-ii-hyvhvl-ví?i=hno} \\
\text{TRN-DST2-2A:-remove.shoes:IMM} & \quad \text{CIS-ITR-2A:-enter:COMP-EXP}=\text{CN}
\end{align*}
\text{‘Take your shoes off and then come back in again.’}

This clitic also appears as \textit{=hnv}; three examples are in (54). In the second example it is on the question word ‘what’; together with the prepronoun prefix \textit{ji-} it expresses a ‘why’ question. In the third example it appears on the demonstrative ‘that’ towards the end of the sentence.
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. \(\text{Ir} \text{w} \text{L} \text{J} \text{4}^4 \text{L} \text{Z} \text{A} \text{ \&} \text{Ir} \text{i} \text{i} \text{S} \text{ } \text{YO} \text{ } \text{L} \text{a} \text{b} \)  
   jiiyata?yíha  hlaheéhnóó yijiyyooliika  
   jii-ata?yíha  hla=heéhnóó yí-jii-ooolika  
   I.A.AN-deny:PRC  NEG=CN  IRR-1.A.AN-recognize:PRC  
   ‘I am denying him because I don’t know him.’ (Feeling 1975a:3)

b. \(\text{Jo} \text{MC} \text{Z} \text{ } \text{SC} \text{O} \text{P} \text{?} \)  
   ti?úuluhjýhnóó  tuúhwahthvvhe  
   ti-ii-uu-luhj-ý?i=hnóó  tee-uu-hwahthvvh-é?i  
   CIS-ITR-3B-arrive:COMP-DVB=CN  DST-3B-find:COMP-NXP  

\(\text{W} \text{PA} \)  
   thaliine  aànihliina?éé?i  
   thali-iinéé?i  anii-hliina?-é?i  
   two-ORD  3A.PL-sleep(PL):INC-NXP\&SUB
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. ḣ P ṣ Yh SC. ṣ A DST-3B-INT
haathlv=skinii tuuhwasko juusuulo
haathlv=skinii tee-uu-hwask-ó?i ti-uu-asuulo
where=CS DST-3B-be:INC-HAB DST-3B-pants
‘I wonder where he buys his pants.’ (Feeling 1975a:180)

b. ḣ S b ẓ Yh F ẓ SCZǐWA DST-3B-INT
taksi=skinii keh-vv?i=hnoo tee-uu-ali-hnoehthan-é?i
turtle=CS be:COMP-EXP=CN DST-3B-MDL-talk:COMP-NXP
‘But the turtle talked to them.’ (Chapter 9.3:9)

c. ḍ L v J ḍ S Q ṣ ḍ ḍ
uutleèchéhti uûtuulvvhv
uu-atleèj-éht-i uu-atuulvvh-vv?i
3B-take.revenge:COMP-APL:DVN-NOM2 3B-want:COMP

Dṭ Yh ʃ i ṣ Y ṣ ᵃ ṣ T DST-3B-INT
asëeskinii hla vski yinuutvneelé?i
however=CS NEG that IRR-PRT-3B-do:COMP-NXP
‘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 \( jí \)-

prefix.

1) a. \( l_r S \L \omega \) \( jíkaàthiíya \) ‘I’m waiting for it.’
   b. \( l_r S \L \omega T \) \( jíkaataaháá?i \) ‘I am dirty.’
   c. \( l_r \omega \L F \) \( jiískhóóli \) ‘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 \( iijii \)- 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 -\( kahtííya \).¹

2) a. \( Æ S \L \omega \) \( hikhthiíya \) ‘You are waiting for it.’
   b. \( Æ S \L \omega \) \( stiiḵhthiíya \) ‘You two are waiting for it.’
   c. \( T_i S \L \omega \) \( iijiiḵhthiíya \) ‘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 \( \text{PRC} \) 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. **ImUP.ID**  
   jiisalti?a  
   ji-salti?a  
   1A-lift:PRC  
   ‘I am lifting it.’

   b. **θ⊥K**  
   **Dh†a**  
   **DhUP.ID**  
   na? jo? anii-keehy aâniisalti  
   na? jo?i anii-keehya anii-salti?a  
   that three 3A.PL-woman 3A.PL-lift:PRC  
   ‘Those three women are lifting it.’

   c. **θ**  
   **DhWF**  
   **Dh©S**  
   **DhUP.ID**  
   nvniitha?l anii-skaya aâniisalti?a  
   na? anii-tha?li anii-skaya anii-salti?a  
   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 -kahthiïya 'to wait for' undergoes vowel deletion and appears as -khhthïya. The noun indicating 'a Muskogee person' is -kuûsa 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. **oêS†a**  
   **oûstiiikhthiiïya**  
   ‘We two (not you) are waiting for it.’

   b. **ThS†a**  
   **iiniikhthïïya**  
   ‘You and I are waiting for it.’

   c. **ôrS†a**  
   **oûjiikhthïïya**  
   ‘We all (but not you) are waiting for it.’

   d. **TIS†a**  
   **iitiikhthïïya**  
   ‘We all are waiting for it.’
5) a. ñiíl[U] oostii kuusa ‘We two (not you) are Muskogee.’
b. Th[U] iinii kuusa ‘You and I are Muskogee.’
c. ñrií[U] ooji kuusa ‘We all (but not you) are Muskogee.’
d. Tií[U] iiti kuusa ‘We all are Muskogee.’

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. Sz[BS] kanooyvëka ‘He/she/it it is being buried.’
b. DhZ[BS] aâniïnooyvëka ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON REFERENCE</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>you and I</td>
<td>You, he/she/they and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td>[blackened]</td>
<td>he/she and I</td>
<td>they and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>you two</td>
<td>You all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ⁵ji- appears on an adjective and a noun, respectively.

7) a. ⁵xZBS jinoöyvêka ‘I am sinking.’
    b. ⁵xS.Jô jiɪkaâthiîya ‘I am waiting for it.’

8) a. ⁵xU.S.Jî jiïsamâáti ‘I am smart’
    b. ⁵xG.WY jiijalaki ‘I am Cherokee.’

The Combined pronominal prefixes by definition reference two grammatical persons. An example is in (9a) where the prefix ⁵kvv- 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. ⁵E.S.Jô kvvkaâthiîya ‘I am waiting for you.’
    b. ⁵E.VL 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) ⁵DkS.Jô aâjikaâthiîya ‘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) **ThǐØ˚˚ S**
   iiniiyêwska
   iinii-xxyêwska
   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. **Ø BC**
   hiixyêéwa
   hi-xxyêéwa
   2A-sew:IMM
   ‘You sewed it.’

   b. **IrBØ˚˚ S**
   jiiiyêwska
   ji-xxyêwska
   1A-sew:PRC
   ‘I am sewing it.’

   c. **S Ø˚˚ S**
   kaayâwska
   ka-xxyêwska
   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) \texttt{\textsc{BORT}}

\begin{itemize}
\item uwuayewsvy?i
\item uu-\texttt{xxyews-vy?i}
\end{itemize}

3B-sew:cmp-exp

‘He sewed it.’

2. \textsc{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>ji-/k-(^4)</td>
<td>iinii-</td>
<td>iiitii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td>oostii-</td>
<td>oojii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>stii-</td>
<td>iiijii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>a-, ka-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.  
\textbf{JIF}: 
\begin{itemize}
  \item hiitiikeéna
  \item hi-xxtiikeéna
\end{itemize}
2A-heel
‘your heel’

b.  
\textbf{LESHŁE}: 
\begin{itemize}
  \item takwatehlokhwaásti
  \item ti-aki-atelohkwaást-i
\end{itemize}
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. \(\text{K}a\,\text{o}\,\text{J}oost\,\text{thlatiisk-i} \)  
    \(\text{ti-oostii-vthlatiisk-i}\)  
    DST2-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC\AGT\NOM  
    ‘He and I are firefighters.’

b. \(\text{O}oost\,\text{ijalak}\)  
   \(\text{oostii-jalaki}\)  
   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 \(\text{a}\)-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 \(\text{ka}\)-, and they will always have this prefix, regardless of animacy; adjectives are discussed in Chapter 7.

16) a. \(\text{S}i\,\text{B}h\)  
    \(\text{hi-kayvyl}\)  
    \(\text{hi-kayvyl}\)  
    2A-old  
    ‘You’re old.’
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.
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. **SCh**
   kawóoniha
   ka-wóoniha
   3A-talk:PRC
   ‘He’s talking.’

   b. **DJD**
   aâtiʔa
   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. When it appears before a vowel-initial stem the *ka-* prefix loses its vowel and becomes *k*.-

19) a. **EUs**
   kvvnoosáska
   ka-vvnoosáska
   3A-sweep:PRC
   ‘He is sweeping it.’

   b. **AlUS**
   koothiska
   ka-oothiska
   3A-swell:PRC
   ‘It’s swelling.’
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. **S P L**
   
   kakééta
   ka-kééta
   3A-heavy
   ‘It’s heavy.’

b. **J P I**
   
   kuuthlývti
   ka-uuthlývt-i
   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.

21) a. **P P**
   
   khéli
   ka-éhli
   3A-member
   ‘member, he’s a member’
b. **[TL]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>saasa</th>
<th>teekéehla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saasa</td>
<td>te-ka-eehla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>DST-3A-feed:PRC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He’s feeding the geese.’

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

22) a. **[TL]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kakééta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-kééta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A-heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘It’s heavy.’

b. **[TL]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aniikééta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani-ki-eéta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A.PL-heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 *-áá?i* ‘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/.
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.
c. **JVəPəY**
   tiitooheeliíski
   ti-iiiti-oohweelii-sk-i
   DST2-1A.PL-write:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘We are writers.’

d. **JØPSF**
   yaånààlkali
   oójuutaléesko
   yi-a-nààlkaliha
   oooji-uutaléesk-ó?i
   IRR-3A-lightening:PRC
   1A.PL.EX-unplug:INC-HAB
   ‘When it’s lightening we unplug it.’

e. **JSWY**
   tiituuthakí
   tikihoohweloòt
   ti-iiiti-uuthaki
   ti-ka-oohweelóòt-i
   DST2-1A.PL-pick.up:IMM(COM)
   DST2-3A-write:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   ‘Let’s pick up those pencils!’

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

25) a. **JøaØPÅG**
   oóstvkhkilo
   hyehkahl
   oostii-vkhilóo?a
   hyehkahli
   1A.DL.EX-wash(flexible):PRC
   quilt
   ‘He and I are washing the quilt.’

b. **SLfiCJ**
   kátayoosti oojééhi
   kátayoosti oojii-eeh-i
   Marble City
   1A.PL.EX-live:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘We are all from Marble City.’
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. ST
   káaʔi
   ji-áaʔi
   1A-walk:PRC
   ‘I’m walking.’

b. AY@<S
   kookiiska
   ji-ookiska
   1A-smoke:PRC
   ‘I’m smoking it.’

c. IrC<h télé
   jiwóniha
   ji-wóniha
   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. **DIWəA**
   aâtiithasko
   a-atiithask-óʔi
   3A-drink:INC-HAB
   ‘He drinks it.’

   b. **DIWəA**
   hâtiithasko
   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. 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. **RVI**
   éetooho
   a-éetooh-óʔi
   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-aA**
   kúuhlvsko
   ji-úuhlvsk-óʔi
   1A-cover:INC-HAB
   ‘I cover it.’

b. **JP-áA**
   kúuhlvsko
   ka-úuhlvsk-óʔi
   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. **$\text{Ir}^e\text{D}$**  
tejîlêe?a  
te-ji-lêe?a  
DST-1A-take.out:PRC  
‘I’m taking them out.’

b. **$\text{Ir}^e\text{D}$**  
têejîlêe?a  
te-ijîi-lêe?a  
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Reference</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>jii/-jiiy-</td>
<td>eenii-</td>
<td>eetii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td>oostii-</td>
<td>oojii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>hii/-hiiy-</td>
<td>eestii-</td>
<td>eejii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>a-, ka-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. **TGB’aA**
   
iijahyvthéesko
   
iijii-ahyvthéesk-ó?i
   
2A.PL.-kick:INC-HAB
   
‘You all kick it.’

b. **RGB’aA**
   
eèjaâyvthéesko
   
eejii-ahyvthéesk-ó?i
   
2A.PL.-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)

**DStaiisS**

ëetuu?istiiska

eetii-uuhistiiska

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. **$B'L\text{\textbar}A**
   kaåyvthéesko
   ji-aayvthésk-ó?i
   1A-kick:INC-HAB
   ‘I kick it.’

   b. **Ir\textbar'Bl\textbar\textbar A**
   jiyyaåyvthéesko
   ji-aayvthésk-ó?i
   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) $V\textbar L\textbar A$
   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) $G\textbar V\textbar L\textbar A$
   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. ỆGPYọA
   hiijalkiisko
   hi-xxjalkiisk-ọʔi
   2A-rip:INC-HAB
   ‘You rip it.’

   b. ẸwoGS9q
   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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON REFERENCE</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>aki-/akw-</td>
<td>kinii-</td>
<td>iikii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ookinii-</td>
<td>ookii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EX)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>ja-</td>
<td>stii-</td>
<td>iijii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>uu-, uw-</td>
<td></td>
<td>uunii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 –nii-. 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. ** DYịq**
   akiyeelv
   aki-yelvvi
   1B-body
   ‘my body’

   b. ** DYịθ**
   aki?leéna
   aki-2lééna
   1B-deaf
   ‘I’m deaf.’

   c. ** DYịb**
   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. **TS SV**
   iikakhthoósta
   iikii-akahthoósta
   1B.PL.-look.at:PRC
   ‘She’s looking at us.’

b. **SI SWA**
   tuùnukhthane
   tee-uunii-ukahthan-é?i
   DST-3B.PL.-decide:_CMP-NXP
   ‘They decided.’ (Chapter 9.3:7)

c. **LB GCOW**
   tlas i yuùnahnth
   tla+si yi-uunii-anvhtha
   NEG+still IRR-3B.PL.-know:PRC
   ‘They still don’t know.’

d. **SL ER**
   tuùnuutaléesv
   tee-uunii-uutalées-vý?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. **Ducks**
   aâkhiwahvvhiíto
   aki-hwahvvíítoha
   1B-visit:PRC
   ‘He is visiting me.’

   b. **Dwalt**
   akweéhna?i
   aki-eéhna?i
   1B-rich
   ‘I am rich’

   c. **Dwba**
   akwoóyééni
   aki-oóyééni
   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. 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. **DrMyna**
   uúweeluukiiskv
   uu-eeluukiisk-víí?i
   3B-worry:INC-EXP
   ‘He was worried.’
b. ČCβh
uwooyééni
uu-ooyééni
3B-hand
‘her hand’

c. ČGR
uuwuhiilóo?e
uu-uuhiilóo-é?i
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. ČZUũ
uùwaanoosahe
uu-vvnoosah-é?i
3B-sweep:_CMP-NXP
‘He swept it.’

b. ČZHãA
stvvnoosasko
stii-vvnoosask-ó?i
2A_DL-sweep:INC-HAB
‘You two were sweeping it.’

c. DEZU抛弃
aàkwvnoosahv
aki-vvnoosah-vv?i
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. ꦠó ꦠó
   uwakhééwi
   uu-vkhééwi
   3B-deaf.dumb
   ‘He is deaf and dumb.’

   b. ꦠó ꦠó
   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) ꦠó ꦠó ꦠó ꦠó
   uu-hwthan-vv?i
   uu-vhthan-vv?i
   3B-use:_CMP-EXP
   ‘He used it.’ (Scancarelli 1987:60)\(^\text{10}\)

If \textit{uu}- appears before a stem that begins with /a/, the /a/ deletes. An example is given
in (45).

45) a. ꦠó ꦠó ꦠó
   uu-tuulíha
   uu-atuulíha
   3B-want:PRC
   ‘He wants it.’
b. **SCZÆWA**
   tuùhlinohehtane
   tee-uu-ali-hnohehtan-é?i
   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. **DSVÆL**
   aàkhtoósta
   a-akahtoósta
   3A-look.at:PRC
   ‘He is looking at it.’

   b. **0SVÆWO**
   uùkhtoóstanv
   uu-akahtoóstan-vvé?i
   3B-look.at:CMP-EXP
   ‘He looked at it.’

   c. **DLSVÆWO**
   aàkwakhtoóstanv
   aki-akahtoóstan-vvé?i
   1B-look.at:CMP-CMP
   ‘I 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. **Dyfi**
   
   aàkiihyoha
   aki-xxhyoh-a
   1B-look.for:_CMP-CMP
   ‘I’m looking for it.’

   b. **Irfi**
   
   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.  ṭM ṣhp.i  D5
    seélu téeniilti  amo
    seélu tee-iini-i-ltiʔa  ama-ʔi
    corn  DST-1A.DL-put.in.water:PRC  water-LOC
    ‘We are putting the corn in the water.’

    b.  D5.ʔ  Vywə  ṭM
    amóóhi  toòkiilatv  seélu
    ama-ʔi  tee-ookii-lat-výʔi  seélu
    water-LOC  DST-1B.PL.EX-put.in.water:_CMP-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*  ḟhif  lrfg bła.št qa
    tohnv  tiiniiyóohl  ji-keejayeestšíha
    katothnv  ti-anii-yóohl  ji-keejayeestšíha
    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 *kee*- added (with some phonological adjustments). These forms are presented below in Table 5.
**TABLE 5: THIRD PERSON PLURAL SUBJECT AND LOCAL OBJECT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT PERSON REFERENCE</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL (DL)</th>
<th>PLURAL (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>kvvki-/kvvk-</td>
<td>keekinii-</td>
<td>keekii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kookinii-</td>
<td>kookii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>keeja-</td>
<td>keestii-</td>
<td>keejii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four examples are in (50).

50) a. **DʰFH̪GɑW**

   aniikehyúústa keekiniikkthiýa
   anii-kehyúústa keekinii-kahthiýa
   3A.PL-girl 3PL/2DL-wait.for:PRC
   ‘The girls are waiting for us’

b. **ফ্যাস্টোরা**

   keejahlinoophehtvs aniichúúja
   keeja-ahlinoopheht-vý?i=s anii-chúúja
   3PL/2-talk.to:COMP-EXP=Q 3A.PL-boy
   ‘Did those boys talk to you?’

c. **ফ্যাস্টোরা**

   thlatvv yitakeekakhwiyvveélí
   thla=tvv yi-ta-keekii-akhwiyvveél-i
   NEG=CT IRR-FUT-3PL/1PL-pay:COMP-APL:COMP-MOT
   ‘They will not pay us.’

d. **স্যাম অ্যাশ**

   kato hla koohweél yitakeekiniinvs
   kato hla koohweéli yi-ta-keekinii-n-vý?i=s
   what NEG paper IRR-CIS-3PL/1DL-send:COMP=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 SEG AYP HAYHOO**
   kato hla kooheel yitakoökiniinvs
   kato hla kooheéli yi-ta-kookinii-n-vy?i=s
   what no paper **IRR-CIS-3PL/1DL.EX-send:CMPI=Q**
   ‘Why didn’t they send us a letter? (him and I)’

   b. **HAQ AYOHOHAT**
   nikoólv koökinyvkhwsköö2i
   nikoólv kookinii-vvkhwsk-ó2i
   always **3PL/1DL.EX-forget:INC-HAB**
   ‘They always forget us (not you).’

   The combination of *kee-* and *aki-* creates the first person singular object form
   *kvvki-* (and its alternation before a vowel of *kvkw*). 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. **EYAG**
   kvvkikoohv
   kvvki-koo-h-vy?i
   **3PL/1-see:CMPI-EXP**
   ‘They saw me.’

   b. **JEWIGO CAY**
   tikvvkweehyóöhvsk
   ti-kvvki-eehyóöhvsk-i
   **DST2-3PL/1-teach:INC\AGTNOM**
   hla yikvvkiliyvkwt
   hla iy-kvkk-lyvkwotí
   ‘My teachers don’t like me.’

   c. **SEVBYD**
   teekvvkhíiyvkvki?a
   teekvvki-hítvkvki?a
   **DST-3PL/1-tickle:PRC**
   ‘They’re tickling me.’
These forms mainly occur with verbs and will be further explored in Chapter 5.

### 3.4 Impersonal (IP) oo-

In addition to the Set B prefix uu-, there is a less common prefix that has an impersonal meaning of ‘one’ (sometimes translated as generic ‘you’ in English). This form can only appear in a context where a Set B prefix could appear. Three examples are in (53); in all three ‘one’ has the meaning of an indefinite ‘someone’ or anyone.’

53) a. ḥAALS ṭoPA
nikohiilv ootlvko
nikohiilv oo-htlvk-óʔi
always 3.IP-sick:INC-HAB
‘You’re always sick.’

b. fISP ṭoβI@I
yootuuli oo yeetsti
yi-oo-atuuliha oo yeetst-i
‘If you want to laugh.’ (based on Scancarelli 1987:85)

c. DIL ṭoCF@I
ahíta owakheewisti
a-ahíta oo-vkheewist-i
3A-easy 3.IP-forget:DVN-NOM2
‘It’s easy (for anyone) to forget that.’

In (53c) the impersonal oo- appears as ow- before a stem-initial /v/, following the pattern of its Set B third person singular counterpart.

This form can appear on nouns as well. Two examples are in (54). In (54b) it appears on the pronoun ‘self’ as well as on the Set B verb ‘to want.’
54) a. **KSA**
   jootéeko
   ti-oo-téek-óʔi
   DST2-3B.IP-throw:INC-HAB
   'trash, that which you throw away'

   b. **LIPOS**  **oC U**  **ISf**
   yitaatvvk  owas  yootuuli
   yi-tee-a-ataat-vvka  oo-vvsa  yi-oo-atuuliha
   'You can hit yourself if you want to.'

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. **GIC\WOC**
   jatiínv̊čthanv
   ja-atiínv̊čthan-vvʔi
   2B-run.over:COMP:EXP
   'You ran over it.' 'It ran over you.'

   b. **SZAY\WY**  **GIC\WOC**
   kanooskiíski  jatiínv̊čthanv
   ka-nooskiisk-i  ja-atiínv̊čthan-vvʔi
   3A-steal:INC\AGT-NOM  2B-run.over:COMP:EXP
   'The thief ran you over.'
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 ə- 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 ə- is expected to appear. The Set B prefix uu'ii- 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 tøø- for third person humans as objects; the combination of kaa- and uu'ii- creates the form kvvwa-.
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).

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. \textit{ES\textordmasculine}}

\begin{verbatim}
kvvka\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine th\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine a/y
kvv-kahth\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine
1/2-wait.for:PRC
‘I’m waiting for you.’
\end{verbatim}

b. \textit{YS\textordmasculine}}

\begin{verbatim}
shika\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine th\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine
ski-kahth\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine\textordmasculine
2/1-wait.for:PRC
‘You’re waiting for me.’
\end{verbatim}
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) h₁₂ hjG h₁₂Ir
   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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both subject and object are Singular</th>
<th>The subject and/or the object is Dual (but neither is plural)</th>
<th>The subject and/or the object is Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Person Subject/ 1st Person Object</strong></td>
<td>ski-/skw-</td>
<td>iiskinii-/iiskinin-</td>
<td>iiskii-/iiskiyy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Person Subject/ 2nd Person Object</strong></td>
<td>kvv-/kvvy-</td>
<td>iistvv-/iistvvy-</td>
<td>iijvv-/iijvvy-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) $\textit{ski}$

\begin{verbatim}
stv$k\textit{aath}i\textit{iya} 
stvv\textit{ka}\textit{th}i\textit{iya}  
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.’
\end{verbatim}

The plural combined form in (62) has five possible meanings. As in the previous example, this prefix triggers laryngeal alternation.

62) $\textit{sku}$

\begin{verbatim}
ii$jv$k\textit{aath}i\textit{iya}  
ii$jjv\textit{ka}\textit{th}i\textit{iya}  
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.’
\end{verbatim}

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:TI**
   kvvkohwthíha
   kvv-kohwthíha
   1/2-see:PRC
   ‘I see you.’

   b. **EJ**
   kvvji
   kvv-ji
   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 *akż*; 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.
The plural prefix for 2\textsuperscript{nd} person subject/1\textsuperscript{st} 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.

In (66) the presence of a Distributive prefix has suppressed this initial /ii/. This element receives the pronominal laryngealization characteristic of verbs.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>vvki-/vvkw-</td>
<td>eekinii-</td>
<td>eekii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td>ookinii-</td>
<td>oojii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>eeja-</td>
<td>eestii-</td>
<td>eejii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>aji-/ak-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>keejii-/keek-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.’
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.
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.

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. **i*V+FC**
   vòkwoohljv
   vki-oohlj-vv?i
   3o-recognize: CMP-EXP
   ‘They recognized me.’

    b. **DAPC**
    aàkoohljv
    aji-oòlij-vv?i
    3o-recognize: CMP-EXP
    ‘They recognized him, somebody recognized him.’

    c. **DITC.I0E**
    aàku?istiiskv
    aji-uhistiisk-vv?i
    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.
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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate object</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>1A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jii-</td>
<td>1/3.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii-</td>
<td>2/3.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eenii-</td>
<td>1DL.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eetii-</td>
<td>1PL.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeti-</td>
<td>1PL.ANP</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oostii-</td>
<td>1DL.EX.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooojii-</td>
<td>1PL.EX.AN</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eestii-</td>
<td>1PL.AN</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeji-</td>
<td>1PL.AN</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kvv-</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stvv-</td>
<td>1/2.DL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iljvv-</td>
<td>1/2.PL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ski-</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiiskinii-</td>
<td>2/1.DL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object Focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aji-</td>
<td>3O</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeji-</td>
<td>3O.PL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eekini-</td>
<td>1O.DL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeki-</td>
<td>1O.PL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eestii-</td>
<td>2O.DL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeji-</td>
<td>2O.PL</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  העלעבי

jiiskwati
ji-skwatiʔa
1A-finish:PRC
‘I finish it.’

b  העלעבי

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.  גאʔא

jakoohês
ja-kooh-ʔi=s
2B-see:CMP-NXP=Q
‘Did you see it?’
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.  Djepñi

    khanoohéha
    ka-hnoohéha
    3A-tell:PRC
    ‘He’s telling it.’

b. Irñi

    jiñoohéha
    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. **Lɔɔ.1 Irɔɔ.Yɔ.ɔj**
   thlesti jii-ski-hnvvi’
   thlesti jii-ski-hnvvhi
   NEG,COM NGI-2/1-call:IMM(COM)
   ‘Don’t call me.’

b. **S A GọqɔWA**
   kaak chanaálvsthane
   kaako ja-hnaálvsthan-éʔi
   who 2B-make.angry:_CMP-NXP
   ‘Who made you mad?’

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. **SVɔɔS**
   katóska
   ka-atóska
   3A-fall:PRC
   ‘It is falling.’

b. **SVɔɔS**
   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-oliňka
   3A-understand:PRC
   ‘He understands it.’

   b. **APS**
   
   koliňka
   ji-oliňka
   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.
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/.

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 chanakii?i
   kato ji-hi-anakii?i
   why REL-2A-leave:PRC
   ‘Why are you leaving?’

b. **IrSw<lb**
   chiikaâthââstaâsi
   ji-hii-kahthââstan-si
   REL-2A.AN-wink:MPR-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) ka^2-yv^2-so^4li [khayvsôöli] ØBøF ‘his nose’

The possession paradigm for this noun makes it clear that its root is -hyvvsóöli, as shown in (82). The /h/ is present in the second person form.

82) **IrBøF** ji^3yvvsóöli ‘my nose’
    ØBøF híhyvvsóöli ‘your nose’
    ØBøF khayvvsóöli ‘his nose’

Cowen (1995: 165) lists this same noun under <g> as gaysoli, along with the appropriate syllabary spelling **SBøF**. 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) **DSBøF** aàkihyvvsóöli ‘my nose’
    GBøF jahyvvsóöli ‘your nose’
    ØBøF uuhyvvsóöli ‘his nose’

For all three possible pronunciations, the underlying root is -hyvvsóöli.
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.
1) **DI>**

owaasa ataatvsti yootuuli?a
oo-vvsa a-ataa-tvst-i yi-oo-atuuli?a

‘You can hit yourself if you want to’

12 The Feeling dictionary makes no mention of this issue and the user is left with the impression that some verbs have a special stem for the first person form only; in the introduction to the dictionary, the author specifically addresses the use of a sub-entry for the first person form: ‘The first sub-entry which is included in verb entries is the first person singular form. This form is necessary because it is impossible to predict the pronoun prefix used in first person singular verb forms with the third person singular forms.’ (Feeling 1975a:xv). The phonological rule of laryngeal alternation, metathesis and deletion do make these forms predictable. The dictionary user unaware of alternations for other forms will create incorrect forms by using the non-alternating third person form.

13 A consultant without the metathesis rule offered the example in (2).

2) **SA**

kaak jahnaálývsthane
kaako ja-hnaálývsthana-é?i
who 2B-make.angry:_CMP-NXP

‘Who made you mad?’
CHAPTER 5: DETAILED CONTENTS

CHAPTER 5: THE MINIMAL VERB

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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. ő? g? Y
   uùlvýkhwi
   uu-lvýkwointi
   3b-like:PRC
   ‘He likes it.’

   b. 0 DòS w
      na askaya tiitoonííski
      na a-skaya ti-a-atooniisk-i
      that 3A-man DST2-3A-conjure:INC\AGT-NOM
      ‘That man is a conjurer.’

   c. hA.34
      nikoóhíílv akahlííyi keeso uutaastehtíí?i
      nikoóhíílví?i a-kahlííyi kees-ó?i uu-ataat-stehlt-íí?i
      always 3A-eager be:INC-HAB 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. O'B411 T
   uu-yeelvvháá?i
   uu-yeelvvháá?i
   3B-naked
   ‘naked’, ‘He’s naked.’

   b. O'L'C
      uuahnawo
      uu-ahnawo
      3B-shirt
      ‘his shirt’

   c. Lroken
      tuùhnawéese
      tee-uu-ahnawées-é?i
      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’
   -kooliʔyéʔa ‘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. VGopheres
   tolığıthvsvka
tee-ooji-atvsvka
DST-1A.PL.EX-grow(I):PRC
‘We are growing.’
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) -atloohíya ‘to cry’
   -atuulíha ‘to want something’
   -éêka ‘to go’
   -eelíʔa ‘to think’
   -oohla ‘to sit, remain’
   -oohiyuha ‘to believe’
   -uuthéekà ‘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).
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 of the information needed to correctly conjugate a verb is exemplified for the Set A verb ‘to help’ in (7). 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/-steélá/-steelvvh/-stehlti

The above ‘dictionary entry’ has five stems; these stems are listed with their names in (8).
8) The five stems of -stelíha (A) 'to help'

1. Present Continuous Stem: -stelíha
2. Incompletive: -steliisk-
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 -stelíha (A) 'to help': Third person conjugation

1. Present Continuous Stem: aástelíha 'He is helping.'
2. Incompletive: aásteliískkvýi 'He was helping.'
3. Immediate: aástelela 'He helped (just now).'
4. Completive: uústeelvvhvýi 'He helped.'
5. Deverbal Noun: uústehlti '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) -hnookíi¿a (A: ka-/DST) ‘to sing’
    -hnookíisk- /hnooki/ /hnookíis/-/hnookíist-

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. S $\bar{Z}YD$
   
   teekhánookíʔa
   tee-ka-hnookíʔa
   DST-3A-sing:PRC
   ‘He is singing.’

   b. S $\bar{Z}Y$ $\bar{Z}$ Y $\bar{Z}$ $\bar{Z}$ ET
   
   teekháhnookíiskvýʔi
   tee-ka-hnookíisk-výʔi
   DST-3A-sing:INC-EXP
   ‘He was singing.’

   c. S $\bar{Z}Y$
   
   teekhanóoki
   tee-ka-hnóoki
   DST-3A-sing:IMM
   ‘He sang (just now).’

   d. SZYRT
   
   tuūhnookíisvýʔi
   tee-uu-hnookíis-výʔi
   DST-3B-sing:CMP-EXP
   ‘He sang.’

   e. JZ $\bar{Y}$$\bar{A}$ I
   
   juūhnookiisti
   ti-uu-hnookiisti
   DST2-3B-sing:DVN-NOM2
   ‘He likes to sing.’

   O $\bar{Y}$ $\bar{Y}$ $\bar{A}$ $\bar{A}$ $\bar{A}$ $\bar{A}$ I
   
   uûlvýkhwti
   uu-lyvkwohti
   ‘He likes to sing.’

   3B-like:PRC

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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 Compleative 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. O\textcircled{C}h\textcircled{B}T
   uu\textcircled{w}\textcircled{o}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{i}i\textcircled{s}v\textcircled{v}\textcircled{i}\i
   uu-w\textcircled{o}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{i}i\textcircled{s}-v\textcircled{v}\textcircled{f}\textcircled{i}
   3B-speak: CMP-EXP
   ‘He spoke.’

   b. S\textcircled{C}h\textcircled{a}E\textcircled{T}
   kaw\textcircled{o}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{i}iskv\textcircled{v}\textcircled{i}
   ka-w\textcircled{o}\textcircled{n}\textcircled{i}isk-v\textcircled{v}\textcircled{i}
   3A-speak: INC-EXP
   ‘He was speaking.’

In (12a), the combination of a Compleative stem and an Experienced Past final suffix is translated in English as a simple past; in (12b) the combination of an Incompleative 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. **DY₃4I₄T**
   akiyeelvvháá?i
   aki-yeelvvháá?i
   1B-naked
   ‘I am naked.’

   b. **DY₃6I₄**
   aàkiyóosiha
   aki-yóosiha
   1B-be.hungry:PRC
   ‘I am hungry.’

   c. **0'L₃C₃**
   uuhnawo
   uu-hnawo
   3B-shirt
   ‘his shirt’

   d. **0'L₃C₃**
   uùhnùùwa
   uu-ahnùùwa
   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 iînii- 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 iîjii- is reduced to the sound /j/.

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14) a. **SG**
   téenatlooska
tee-iinii-atlooska
DST-1A.DL-get.together:PRC
‘We are getting together.’

b. **SGF**
   tééjalsteelvvhv
tee-lijii-ali-steelvvh-výʔi
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) **DhSa**
   anii-skay
   anii-skaya
   3A.PL-man

**DhΘ**
   aáníina
   anii-na
   3A.PL-sit(PL):PRC

**DhJGZ**
   aniichúújahnō
   anii-chúúja=hno
   3A.PL-boy=CN

**DhVΘ**
   aণiiitódōna
   aṇii-tóōna
   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
   -khwalaakiiʔa ‘to snore’
   -atloohyíha ‘to cry’
   -ahnawéʔa ‘to undress’
   -hlvvska ‘to be sleepy’
   -ʔluhka ‘to arrive’
-noohiíli  'to fly'
-hnaálúũka  'to become angry'
-tóóka  '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) **Dŷps**
aakhtlvka
aki-htlvka
I.B-be.sick:PRC
‘I’m sick.’

18) Sample Intransitive Set B verbs with stative meaning

-atiilihka  ‘to be hot’
-hnaála  ‘to be angry’
-atanéekoooyúha  ‘to be wrinkled’
-atiiskáhla  ‘to be in hiding’
-yóosiha  ‘to be hungry’
-atoolihka  ‘to feel sorry, remorseful, prayerful’
-hnaálvha  ‘to be angry’
-yvvéeeka  ‘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’
- hnaálvýka ‘to get angry’
- tlístíína ‘to become sick’
- hyvstéestiiha ‘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. $0CYW$
   uu-lóokila
   uu-lóokila
   3B-cloudy:PRC
   ‘It is cloudy.’

b. $DSP4$
   aakáaliha
   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’
- hawoosthvvnvýha  ‘to faint’
- hnáásvvhihi  ‘to slip, slide’
- eeluhka  ‘to scream’
- halóóstíiha  ‘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) WPhETS
   thahlniikwa?výkã
   ti-hi-alihniiikwa?výka
   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) lvvístaañeha  ‘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, Incompletive, 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>ji-/k-</td>
<td>iini-</td>
<td>iiti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive (EX)</td>
<td>oojii-</td>
<td>oostii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>stii-</td>
<td>iiiji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-LOCAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>a-, ka-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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) akilvýkhwtha
    aki-lvýkhwtha
    ‘I like it.’

27) Transitive Set B verbs
    -ahnttha ‘to feel, know’
    -aní?wa ‘to wear something’
    -thateeki ‘to crave’
    -skwaanakoóska ‘to be curious about’
    -hthvvkââsta ‘to listen to’
    -hwsývka ‘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) **Irc oš**
   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
   -nii?a  ‘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) **Dyl oš**
   aâkhiwaska
   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) **DYAC**
   aâkikoohvý?i
   aki-kooh-vvýi
   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^-** **OC**
   kiihlis  hiihwase
   kiihlis=s  hii-hwas-é?i
   dog=q  2A.AN-buy:_CMP-NXP
   ‘Did you buy the dog?’

   b. **SFKS** **GC**
   kahljoóte  jahwaséés
   kahljoóte  ja-hwas-é?i=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. **VSA^-** **LO**
   toòkakoohvstanv
   tee-ookii-akoohv-stan-vý?i
   DST-1B.PL.EX-burn(1)-CAU:_CMP-EXP
   ‘We burned them (things).’
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. **DYOSIUT**
   aâkinvvkalvvhvý?i
   aki-nvvkalvvh-vý?i
   1B-clean:_CMP-EXP
   ‘I cleaned it.’

   b. **IROSIUT**
   jii-nvvkalvvhvý?i
   jii-nvvkalvvh-vý?i
   1A.AN-clean:_CMP-EXP
   ‘I cleaned him.’

   c. **DYOSIJI**
   aâkinvvkahlti
   aki-nvvkahlt-i
   1B-clean:DVN-NOM2
   ‘I want to clean it.’

   **DIJSF**
   aâkwatuuli
   aki-atuuliliha
   1B-want:PRC
d. \textbf{IrO$^*$S Ph}$
   \begin{align*}
   jin\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{ha} \\
   ji\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{ha} \\
   1A\text{-}clean:\text{PRC}
   \end{align*}
   'I am cleaning it.'

e. \textbf{IrO$^*$S Ph AO}$
   \begin{align*}
   jin\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{iisk\text{-}}\text{o} \\
   ji\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{iis}k\text{-}\text{o}i \\
   1A\text{-}clean:\text{INC-HAB}
   \end{align*}
   '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. \textbf{IrO$^*$S}$
   \begin{align*}
   ji\text{-}y\text{é}e\text{ka} \\
   ji\text{-}y\text{é}e\text{ka} \\
   1A\text{-}wake:\text{PRC}
   \end{align*}
   'I am waking up.'

b. \textbf{IrO$^*$S PD}$
   \begin{align*}
   jin\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{i}\text{a} \\
   ji\text{-}nv\text{v}kali\text{i}\text{a} \\
   1A\text{-}clean:\text{PRC}
   \end{align*}
   'I am cleaning it.'

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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 prepronominal prefix *tee-* is added to the verbal complex. As their name suggests, prepronominal 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 prepronominal prefix *tee-*: 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. **Thṛoɔs**  
   iijiihwiska  
   iijii-hwiska  
   2A.PL.plant:PRC  
   ‘Y’all are planting it.’

   b. **Ṣḥṛoɔs**  
   téeejiihwiska  
   tee-iijii-hwiska  
   DST-2B.PL-plant:PRC  
   ‘Y’all are planting them.’

   c. **SG̣ṢṢ**  
   teejatéeka  
   tee-ja-atéeka  
   DST-2B-throw:PRC  
   ‘You are throwing them.’

In other environments it is the vowel of the prepronominal prefix that deletes. Examples of the deletion of the vowel before a stem-initial */a/, */o/, and */u/* are shown in (37).
37) a. \textbf{LIW@AT}
\begin{itemize}
  \item taâtiithaskóoo?i
  \item teee-aatiithask-ó?i
\end{itemize}
DST-3A-drink:INC-HAB
‘She drinks them.’

b. \textbf{V@IAC.I@AT}
\begin{itemize}
  \item toòstiikoohwthíískóoo?i
  \item teee-oostii-koohwthíísk-ó?i
\end{itemize}
DST-1A.DL.EX-see:INC-HAB
‘We two (not including you) see them’

c. \textbf{SO@ŁP+O+}
\begin{itemize}
  \item tuùskwàålsohnvv
  \item teee-uu-skwàålss-ohn-vv?i
\end{itemize}
DST-3B-break(T):CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP
‘He broke them.’

Note that the presence of the full form \textit{tee}- prefix triggers a high tone on the following syllable. An example is in (38).

38) \textbf{SSØSS}
\begin{itemize}
  \item teekánatéeka
  \item teee-ka-natéeka
\end{itemize}
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 prepronominal prefixes is used to express plurality. These prefixes are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 1.1.6 and 1.1.7.
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.  

39) a. \texttt{jiinúutheeyóha}  
   ji-núutheeyóha  
   1A-twist:PRC  
   ‘I am twisting it.’ (Feeling 1975a:112)  

b. \texttt{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 \textit{k}-. In (40b) the prefix is similar to the form before consonants; the only difference is in the vowel length.
40) a. **S COD**
   kawóóʔa
   ji-awóóʔa
   I-A-bathe(T):PRC
   ‘I am bathing it.’

   a. **IrCOD**
      jiiyawóʔa
      jii-awóʔa
      I.A-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 ÓLCD**
   eèstawóʔa
   eestii-awóʔa
   2A.DL.AN-bathe(T):PRC
   ‘You two are bathing him/her.’

   b. **SGO ** òIrSHI
      kalooew oójiiiteelv
      kalooew oojii-teel-výʔi
      gun  I.A.PL.EX-give(long):CMP-EXP
      ‘We gave him a gun.’

   c. **DAPBD**
      aàkooliiyéʔa
      a-kooliiyéʔa
      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. รขเณ้ท ฮัฟ
   ฮิวทำธีห่า
   ฮิ-ฮัวธีห่า
   2A-find:PRC
   ‘You are finding it.’

   b. รขเณ้ท ฮัฟ
   ฮิวทำธีห่า
   ฮิ-ฮัวธีห่า
   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. นั้นบ้าท ลอิ้น
   อิวทำธีะยฉือ
   อิวิ-อิวทำธีะยฉือ-
   2A.PL-kick:INC-HAB
   ‘You all kick it.’

   b. นั้นบ้าท ลอิ้น
   อิวทำธีะยฉือ
   อิวิ-อิวทำธีะยฉือ-
   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. **SC**O.I.D
   kanvavití?a
   ji-anvhatí?a
   1A-remember:PRC
   ‘I am remembering it.’

   b. **IR**O.I.D
   jiiyanvvití?a
   jii-anvhatí?a
   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. **IPA**
   hoohlko
   hi-ooolihk-ó?i
   2A-understand:INC-HAB
   ‘You understand it.’

   b. **JIIPA**
   hiiyoolijko
   hii-ooolihk-ó?i
   2A.AN-understand:INC-HAB
   ‘You understand him.’
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c. **APA**
   
   koohlko
   ka-oolihk-óʔi
   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) **SECTION**
   
   teékéehyoóhýská
   tee-kaa-a-eehyoóhýská
   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. **IrAC.H**
   
   jikohwthíha
   ji-kohwthíha
   1A-see:PRC
   ‘I see it.’
b. **DYAC.t**
aākikohwthíha
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person Object</strong></td>
<td>kvvkki-/kkvkw-</td>
<td>kookinii-</td>
<td>kookii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Person Object</strong></td>
<td>keeja-</td>
<td>keestii-</td>
<td>keejii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First and Second Person Object</strong></td>
<td>keekinii-</td>
<td>keekii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. **G̱SPLA**
keitsteelihas
keeja-steelila=s
3.PL/2 -help:PRC=Q
‘Are they helping you?’

b. **EYSPqA**
thla yikvvksteeliliisko
thla yi-kvkvki-steeliiik-ó?i
NEG IRRI-3.PL/1-help:INC-HAB
‘They don’t help me.’
c. **AYqSW**  
koõkiisteéla  
kookii-steéla  
3.PL/2.DL.EX-help:IMM  
‘They just helped us.’

d. **LFFqS4,0**  
takeekiisteelvýhi  
ta-keekii-steelvýh-i  
FUT-3.PL/1.PL-help:COMP-MOT  
‘They will help us.’

e. **ESqSPI**   **DCqSP**  
kvvkstehlti aàwatuu1i  
kvvki-stehlt-i aki-atuu1iha  
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- | iiijv/-iijjvvy- |
| Second Person Subject/First Person Object | ski/-skw- | skinii/-skin- | iiskii/-iiskiiy- |
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 Compleitive stem, and in (49c) it attaches to the Deverbal Noun stem.

49) a. **EAC.IH**
   
   kvvkoohwthíha
   kvv-koohwthíha
   1/2-see:PRC
   ‘I am seeing you.’

   b. **EAC.T**
   
   kvvkoohvý?i
   kvv-kooh-vý?i
   1/2-see:CMD-EXP
   ‘I saw you.’

   c. **DISP**

   aáwatuuli
   kvvkoohwthýhti
   aki-atuuliha
   kvv-koohwthýht-i
   1B-see:PRC 1/2-see:DVN-NOM2
   ‘I want to see you’

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. **YAC.IH**

   skikoohwthíha
   ski-koohwthíha
   2/1-see:PRC
   ‘You see me.’
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. $\text{F} \quad \text{BitVPoWO}$
   thla yvvkwatoohlstanv
   thla yi-vki-atoohlstan-vvvi
   NEG IRR-1O-loan:_CMP-_EXP
   ‘It wasn’t loaned to me.’

b. $\text{frS\text{\text{-}IC}}$
   keejiiskahljv
   keeji-skahlj-vvvi
   3O.PL-bite:_CMP-_EXP
   ‘They had been bitten.’

c. $\text{RGAPBJS\text{-}\text{\texttimes}}$
   eëjakooliyéekas
   eeja-kooliy-éeka=s
   2O-examine:_CMP-_AND:PRC=Q
   ‘Are you going to be examined?’
TABLE 6: OBJECT FOCUS PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>vvki-/vkw-</td>
<td>ookinii-</td>
<td>ookii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>eeja-</td>
<td>eestii-</td>
<td>eejii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First and Second Person</td>
<td>eekinii-</td>
<td>eekii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>aji-/ak-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>keejii-/keek-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 – *akahthoóst* "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) *akahthoóst* with Set A Pronominal Prefixes

a. A S V @L
   hahxthoóst
   hi-akahthoóst
   2A-look.at:PRC
   ‘You’re looking at it.’

b. @L S V @L
   stahthoóst
   ‘You two are looking at it.’

c. T G S V @L
   iijakhthoóst
   ‘Y’all are looking at it.’

53) *akahthoóst* with Set A animate Pronominal Prefixes

a. $w S V @L
   hiixakadjangoóst
   hii-akahthoóst
   2A.AN-look.at:PRC
   ‘You’re looking at her.’
b. **TGSVoo** eèjakhthoósta ‘You two are looking at her.’
c. **TGSVoo** eèjakhthoósta ‘Y’all are looking at her.’

54) –akahthoósta with Set B Pronominal Prefixes

a. **GSVoo**
   ja-akahthoósta
   ja-akahthoósta
   2B-look.at:PRC
   ‘She’s looking at you.’

b. **LSVoo** stakhthoósta ‘She’s looking at you two.’
c. **TGSVoo** iijakhthoósta ‘She’s looking at y’all.’

55) –akahthoósta with Plural third person subject/local object Pronominal Prefixes

a. **FGSVoo**
   keejahthoósta
   keejii-akahthoósta
   3.PL/2-look.at:PRC
   ‘They’re looking at you.’

b. **FGSVoo** keestakhthoósta ‘They’re looking at you two.’
c. **FGSVoo** keejakhthoósta ‘They’re looking at y’all.’

56) –akahthoósta with Combined Pronominal Prefixes

a. **LSVoo**
   skwakhthoósta
   ski-akahthoósta
   2/1-look.at:PRC
   ‘You are looking at me.’

b. **SLSVoo** kvvyakaâthoósta ‘I’m looking at you.’
c. **SLSVoo** stvvyakaâthoósta ‘I am looking at you two.’
   ‘We two are looking at you two.’
   ‘We two are looking at you.’
57) –akahthoóstə with Object Focus Pronominal Prefixes

a. **RGS Vəł**
   eëjakkhoósta
   eja-akahthoósta
   2O-look.at:PRC
   ‘You’re being looked at’

b. **R əLS Vəł**
   eëstakhkoósta
   ‘You two are being looked at.’

c. **RGS Vəł**
   eëjakkhoósta
   ‘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. 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
      iĩiniʔluhka
      iĩini-ʔluhka
      1A_DL-arrive:PRC
      ‘You and I are arriving.’

   b. -ʔluhk- Incompletive Stem
      ThMAT
      iĩiniʔluhkóoʔi
      iĩini-ʔluhk-óʔi
      1A_DL-arrive:INC-HAB
      ‘You and I arrive.’

   c. -ʔluhki Immediate Stem
      ThMY
      iĩiniiluhki
      iĩini-ʔluhki
      1A_DL-arrive:IMM
      ‘You and I (just) arrived.’

   d. -ʔluhj- Completive Stem
      UmMC
      kiniiʔluhjvýʔi
      kinii-ʔluhj-výʔi
      1B_DL-arrive:COMP-EXP
      ‘You and I arrived.’
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 give 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 sub-classes. 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. 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.
Examples of Present Continuous Stems

a. **Present Continuous**
   
   eètikhthiéya
   eëtii-kahthiíya
   1A.PL.AN-wait.for:PRC
   ‘We’re waiting for her.’

b. **Incompletive (INC)**
   
   hathli
   hi-atihthli
   2A-run:PRC
   ‘You are running.’

c. **Non-experienced Past (NXP)**
   
   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 INCOMPLETIVE (INC)

The Incompletive 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 Incompletive has four different final suffixes that can attach to it. In (60a) the Habitual (HAB) prefix and the Incompletive stem together denote an ongoing activity that could include the past, present, and future. The Experienced Past (EXP) prefix together with the Incompletive 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. DHhajC AT
   aàniiwóoniiskóo?i
   anii-wóoniisk-ó?i
   3A.PL-talk:INC-HAB
   ‘They talk (maybe not right now, but typically, habitually).’

b. DHhajC ET
   aàniiwóoniiskvý?i
   anii-wóoniisk-vý?i
   3A.PL-talk:INC-EXP
   ‘They were talking (I saw them).’

c. DHhajC FT
   aàniiwóoniiskée?i
   anii-wóoniisk-é?i
   3A.PL-talk:INC-NXP
   ‘They were talking (somebody told me).’

d. DHhajC Fd-L
   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 prepronominal 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). 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.  
jiyiooliika
jii-oolihka
1A.AN-greet:IMM
‘I (just now) greeted him.’

b.  
kipayúíst oójaleéna
kiliayúísti oojii-aleéna
moment.ago 1A.PL.EX-start(T):IMM
‘We just started.’

c.  
kato ańtvvka
kato anii-atvcka
what 3A.PL-do:IMM
‘What did they do?’

d.  
kahlvña
ka-hlvña
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.  
kaako ańhväka
kaako a-hväka
who 3A-set.down:IMM
‘Who set it down?’
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).
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. \textit{SČhì} kawóoni\textit{ha} \textit{He (just) talked.}'
      \textit{SČhì} kawóoniha \textit{He is talking.}'
   b. \textit{DjW} atiítha \textit{He drank it (just now/just a moment ago).}'
      \textit{DjWáoS} atiítháska \textit{He is drinking it.}'
   c. \textit{SoY} kan\textit{v}v\textit{k}i \textit{He fell (just now/just a moment ago).}'
      \textit{SoS} kan\textit{v}v\textit{k}a \textit{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)
   -\textit{hyëha} \textit{to hold in one’s hand}'
   -\textit{áaʔi} \textit{to walk}'
   -\textit{kaalthaha} \textit{to know how}'

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The Immediate stem takes two distinct forms of the Distributive (DST) prefix. If a past or future meaning is intended, the form tee- is used (68a), while the form ti- (DST2) is used when the Immediate has a command meaning (68b).

68) a. **YW**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khilawu} & \quad \text{teehíkoolííya} \\
\text{khila}=\text{kwu} & \quad \text{tee-hi-koolííya} \\
\text{just.now}=\text{DT} & \quad \text{DST-2A-examine:IMM}\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{‘You just examined them.’}\]

b. **JAPS**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thikoolííyá} & \\
\text{ti-hi-koolííya} & \\
\text{DST2-2A-examine:IMM(COM)} & \end{align*}
\]

\[\text{‘Examine them!’}\]

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 tee- 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 –vý?i, Non-experienced Past –é?i, and Absolute Future –éest?i. In (69a) it appears with the Experienced Past (EXP) final suffix –vý?i 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 -wóniha with three final suffixes

a. óhọhRT
   uùniiwónonisvý?i
   uunii-wónonis-vý?i
   3B.PL-talk:_CMP-EXP
   ‘They talked.’

b. óhọ̄T
   uùniiwónoniséé?i
   uunii-wónonis-é?i
   3B.PL-talk:_CMP-NXP
   ‘They talked (somebody told me).’

c. óhọ̄̄̄̄̄J
   uùniiwónoniséestì
   uunii-wónonis-éestì
   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 -ahlikí?a ‘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).
50) Five stems of -ahlikíʔa ‘to have a nightmare’

a. **4CYD**
   hahlikíʔa
   hi-ahlikíʔa
   2A-have.nightmare:PRC
   ‘You are having a nightmare.’

b. **4CY@AT**
   hahlikíiskóoʔi
   hi-ahlikíisk-óʔi
   2A-have.nightmare:INC-HAB
   ‘You have a nightmare.’

c. **4CY**
   hahliki
   hi-ahliki
   2A-have.nightmare:IMM
   ‘You (just) had a nightmare’

d. **GCUYRT**
   jahlikíisvvíʔi
   ja-athlikíis-vvíʔi
   2B-have.nightmare:CMP-EXP
   ‘You had a nightmare.’

e. **GCU@@.I**    ʃ   I: ʃISP
   jahlikíisti         thla yakwatuli
   ja-ahlikíist-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 Adverbalizer (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 D.IJ.PR D.IS.GI.T
aya aàkwathvsv akwateehlokwá?vý?i
aya aki-athvs-vý?i aki-ateehlokwá?vý?i
1PRO 1B-grow(I):PRF-EXP 1B-learn(T):INC-DVB
‘I grew up learning it.’ (Cherokee Phoenix May 2006)

b. DSW 0’AI S.V.J DÚ 0’YRT
ateél uuKóóha katóóhi aahv uuKisvý?i
ateéla uu-kooh-a katóóhi aahv uu-kis-vý?i
money 3A-see:CMPSUB-TAV on.the.ground there 3B-pick.up:CMPS-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 prepronominial 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 prepronominial Future prefix t’- and the Motion suffix –i. This way of forming the future will be discussed in Chapter 6. An example is below in (72).

72) Lyháf
 takiinihiyali
 ta-kinii-hyal-i
FUT-1.B.DL-search.for:CMPS-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(-ííʔí). Both constructions have the same syllabary spelling.

73) a. oósta tiikhinookiísti
    oósta ti-aki-hnookiíst-i
    good DST2-1B-sing:DVN-NOM2
    ‘I sing well’, ‘My ability to sing is good.’

    c. óósta tiikhinookíísti
    óósta ti-aki-hnookííst-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).
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. \textbf{DCSP} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{DYAl\textgreek{g}\textgreek{G}\textgreek{a}I}
\begin{align*}
\text{aàwatulili} & \quad \text{akhineejíílóòsti} \\
\text{aki-atuuliha} & \quad \text{aki-hneej-íílóòst-i} \\
\text{1B-want:PRC} & \quad \text{1B-speak:COMP-RPT:DVN-NOM2}
\end{align*}
‘I want to speak over and over.’

b. \textbf{DYAl\textgreek{g}\textgreek{G}\textgreek{a}I}
\begin{align*}
\text{akhineejíílóòsti} & \\
\text{aki-hneej-íílóòst-i} & \\
\text{1B-speak:COMP-RPT:DVN\ MOD-NOM} & \quad \text{‘I have to speak over and over.’ (Cook 1975:142)}
\end{align*}

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. **θ̱θλαlβ.ι** 
úúnalstayhti 
uunii-al-stahyti-ı 
3B.PL\MOD-MDL-fix.a.meal:DVN-NOM
‘They have to eat.’

b. **θ̱θλαlβ.ι** **θ̱θσp** 
uunalstahyti uůntuuli 
uunii-al-stahyt-i uunii-atuuliha 
3B.PL-MDL-fix.a.meal:DVN-NOM2 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 *kvwa-*. This prefix is discussed in Chapter 6.

77) **sz+tē** **hEçP.ι** **Fw-**
tuůhnooseele nikvwwatvýhnt keěhů 
tee-uu-hnooseel-éʔi ni-kaa-uu-atvvhnt-i keěh-ŷvʔi 
DST-3B-tell:_CMP-EXP PRT-NGT-3B-do:DVN\MOD-NOM be:_CMP-EXP\SUB

**Eçl.4.ο.ι** **Fw-**
kvwwataathlóþhist keěhů 
kaa-uu-ataat-athloohist-i keěhůvʔi 
NGT-3B-RFL-beat.in.race:DVN\MOD-NOM 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. \( \text{OOGSTGA} \) \( \text{OSP} \) \( \text{OAUT} \)
uůstuʔiisti uůtuuli khaneësáʔi
uu-stuʔiist-i uu-atuulıha khaneësáʔi
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. \( \text{DYOI\-\-} \) \( \text{GWY} \) \( \text{DYCh\-\-} \)
aàkinvylv hvsko jalak akiwooniíhísti
aki-nvylv hvsk-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. \( \text{JTO} \) \( \text{KYG} \)
híʔina jooksti
híʔa=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. 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 Incompletive and Completive 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 Incompletive 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. **DSHLΩA**
   aâtehlokwaasko
   a-atehlokwaask-óʔi
   3A-learn:INC-HAB
   ‘He learns.’

   b. **SPVT**
   teehlkvýʔi   taâwakhtoostóoʔi
   teelhlkvýʔi   teee-aki-akahtoost-óʔi
   DST-tree      DST-1B-look.at:INC-HAB
   ‘I look at the trees.’

The combination of the Incompletive and Habitual can also express a general statement; an example is in (81).

81) **DV**
   atanhto   yuulééhwísthana    ayoohuusko   yvvw
   a-atanhto yi-uualééhwísthan-a a-yoohuusk-óʔi   yvvwi
   ‘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) **D貔P**
   aàliheélíika
   a-aliheélíika
   3A-be.happy:PRC
   ‘He’s happy.’

4.2 **EXPERIENCED PAST (exp)-ýʔ?-i**

The Experienced Past indicates the speaker has first-hand knowledge of an event that took place in the past. It attaches to the Completive and Incompletive stems, as shown in (83).

83) a. **EZÚGELT**
   kvvnoosaskvýʔi
   ji-vvnoosask-ýʔi
   1A-sweep:INC-EXP
   ‘I was sweeping.’

   b. **EPSŁELCOT**
   kvvkaàthtvvtáastanvýʔi
   kvv-kahthvvtáastan-výʔi
   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. LI56OT
   taàkwateehyoòhñúvìi
   têe-aki-ataa-eehyoóhñ-výìi
   DST-1B-MDL-teach(T):CMP-EXP
   ‘I taught.’

   b. DLEPOPT
   aàkwalstvvhlùnúvìi
   aki-alistvvhlùn-výìi
   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) -éòì

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. D(éòì)Gi
   aàkwuuhiilóòv
   aki-uuhiilóò-výìi
   1B-wash(T):CMP-EXP
   ‘I washed it.’
b. ɔŋj GR
    uuwuuhiiilóöe?
    uu-uhiiilóö-ëi?
    3B-wash(T):CMP-NXP
    ‘He washed it.’

This suffix displays the same tone pattern as the Habitual: it is underlingly a
short high tone, but if there is not a preceding high tone, it automatically lengthens. It
will also lengthen is 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. ɔl ATK
    uutlakoóséi?
    uu-atlakoós-ëi?
    3B-scratch:CMP-EXP
    ‘He scratched it.’

b. S V ɔ'o.l  C hëT
    kato úústi jvvhníléi?
    kato úústi ja-vvhníl-ëi?
    what something 2B-hit:CMP-NXP
    ‘What did you hit?’

As with the suffixes -vői and -ói, 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
Compleative and Incompletive stems.
87) Non-experienced Past suffix on Completive and Incompletive stems

a. **DhβPT**
   - aäniiyéékée2i
   - anii-yéék-é2i
   - ‘They were waking up.’

b. **OʰβGT**
   - uùniiyééjée2i
   - uunii-yééj-é2i
   - ‘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) **DW**  **GMF**
   - hilayu jáʔluhke
   - hilayu ja-ʔluhk-é2i
   - 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) **YaHsIβcil**
   - skiniikaáthiíyes
   - skinii-kahthíý-é2i=s
   - 2/1.DL-wait:CMP-NXP=Q
   - ‘Did you wait for us two?’

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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. 

\[
\text{thla yaàkwohljéé?i} \\
\text{thla yi-aki-olihj-é?i} \\
\text{NEG IRR-1B-understand:_CMP-NXP} \\
\text{‘I didn’t understand’}
\]

b. 

\[
\text{tiiwatývti yikéese kahljoóte yakhwaase} \\
\text{ti-aki-atývti yi-kees-é?i kahljoóte yi-aki-hwaas-é?i} \\
\text{DST2-1B-rich IRR-be:INC-NXP house IRR-1B-buy:_CMP-EXP} \\
\text{‘If I had been rich I would’ve bought a house.’}
\]

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. 

\[
\text{uúníiyóosiskééesti} \\
\text{uunii-yóosisk-éesti} \\
\text{3B.PL.-be.hungry:INC-AFT} \\
\text{‘They will be hungry’}
\]

b. 

\[
\text{iijakhthoóstééesti} \\
\text{iijii-akahthoóst-éesti} \\
\text{2A.PL.-look.at:INC-AFT} \\
\text{‘Look at me!’}
\]
c. **TS** **SP**₄**F**₄**I**

iyúuhńóo  iikatuuliiskéést
iyúuhńóo  iikii-atuuliisk-éesti
if  3B.PL-want:IMP-AFT\SUB

**TS** **PL**₀**V**₀**I**  \[\phi h\]  \[\Theta T\]

iikalsintohti  ooni  jítvvńá
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. **Ç** **PL**₄**S**₄**I**

tsthvtastéesti
ja-hthvtast-éesti
2B-listen:INC-AFT
‘Listen!’

b. **L** **IJ**₄**W**₄**I**  \[\Theta ECZL**I**

hleestilahíya  jiiskvvhlnohléesti
hleestilahíya  ji-iskvv-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 prepronominal prefix and Motion suffix. This second construction will be explained in Chapter 6.

### 4.5 Future Imperative (FIM) -\[\nu\v\pi\]

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’
Cook calls it a ‘mild imperative’ (Cook 1979:128). Three examples are in (93).

93) a. Tıvah T
   iiheëtôólvv?i
   ii-hi-eëtôól-vv?i
   ITR-2A-walk.around-FIM
   ‘You come again.’

b. Tıwaaw T
   toonataakoohv?i
   tee-i-iiinii-ataat-kooh-vv?i
   DST-ITR-FUT-1A.DL-RFL-see:CMP-FIM
   ‘Let’s see each other again!’

c. Tıshiy T
   suusvûhita heëtôölv
   tha?liine iiheëtôólvv?i
   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.’
The five ‘to have’ verbs

a. SSG D¿¿
   kalooòkwe aàkwvvyâ
   kalooòkwe aki-vvya
   gun 1B-have(long):PRC
   ‘I have a gun’

b. ðmp Dvôl
   sóókwíli aàkkhâha
   sóókwíli aki-khâha
   horse 1B-have(living):PRC
   ‘I have a horse.’

c. ðsì Dvâm
   uúkâma aàkinéha
   uúkâma aki-néha
   soup 1B-have(liquid):PRC
   ‘I have soup.’

d. ðçg Dvâd
   aàsuulo aàkiná?a
   aàsuulo aki-ná?a
   pants 1B-have(flexible):PRC
   ‘I have pants.’

e. ðf Hf Dvâ
   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. For example, as seen in (95), a question where the speaker...
does not know the physical properties of the object would use the solid-specification verb.

95) $\text{SV} \circ \text{IL} \circ I$

\begin{align*}
\text{kato} & \quad \text{úústi} \quad \text{uúha} \\
\text{kato} & \quad \text{úústi} \quad \text{uu-ha} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{that} \quad 3\text{B-have(solid):PRC} \\
\text{‘What does he have?’}
\end{align*}

From the above example it will be noted that the verbs usually do not have a distinct separable element that indicates the features of the object. In other words, the process that produced these words stopped being a productive process a long time ago and there is consequently a set number of classificatory verbs. As noted by Blankenship (1996), there are certain patterns still apparent. For example, by comparing the set below in (95) with the previous set in (96) it will become apparent that an element – \text{kha-} seems to indicate animate objects and an element –\text{neh-} indicates liquid objects.

96) The Classificatory Verbs (with stems) of ‘to give to somebody’ (Feeling 1975a)

\begin{align*}
\text{to give (long)} & \quad \text{-téeha/-téeh/-tëisi/-tëel/-tëht-} \\
\text{to give (living)} & \quad \text{-akhaaneha/-akhaaneeh/-akhaàsi/-akhaaneel/-akhaanéht-} \\
\text{to give (liquid)} & \quad \text{-neehneha/-nehneéh/-neehvvsí/-neehneél/-neehnéht-} \\
\text{to give (flexible)} & \quad \text{-nûvneha/-nûvneeh/-nvvsí/-nvvneel/-nvvthéht-} \\
\text{to give (solid)} & \quad \text{-hneha/-hneéh/-hvssí/-hneéél/-hnéht-}
\end{align*}
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 iliki-. 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. ʼO\G\ W\Y
   hijalaki
   hi-jalaki
   2A-Cherokee
   ‘You are Cherokee.’

b. ʼR\S\ Ń\J
   jikáʔnakhthi
   ji-káʔnakhthi
   1A-doctor
   ‘I am a doctor.’

c. ʼW\F\A
   thalii-ne oostatthlahnývthl
   thalii-iňééʔi oostii-ataat-thlahnývthla
   two-ORD 1A.DL.EX-RFL-brother
   ‘Mose is my cousin’
98) Equational phrases with adjectives

a.  **TSWØ**
   ííkathana
   iíkii-áthana
   1B.PL-big
   ‘All of us are big.’

b.  **IrSGW**  **De’**  **DMPKØL**
   jikayúl  ale  awaljóóhita
   ji-kayúla  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.  **óóL**  óósta  ‘good’, ‘It is good.’
   b.  **óóL**  **FRT**  óósta  keèsvvìi  ‘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 kar-). All of its stems and final suffixes are listed in (100).
The forms of ‘to be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-keês-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-keêh-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ọọl Fọọl óoṣta keèséesti ‘It will be good.’
     b. DIG Fọọl achúuja keèséesti ‘It will be a boy.’

102) a. ọọl FRT óoṣta keësv?i ‘It was good.’
     b. DIG FRT achúuja keësv?i ‘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) ṭapat oọpọvọjọ GSP4
    sohnelinéé?is yijalstohti jatuuliha
    sohnela-iinéé?i=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 ịlkọ 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) ọb Tș Gwý Sāāj
ooşi iíka jalaki kahnesti
ooşi 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 prepronominal prefix. Usually this prefix is the Iterative (ITR) prepronominal prefix –ii, but sometimes this Present Continuous form will appear with the Relativizer (REL) prepronominal prefix jī-. In the example in (105) Durbin Feeling translates it with the verb ‘to mean.’

105) ọSWI- Irý Yst DčSō
ookalahóoma jiki kifikáke askaya
ookalahóoma ji-ki kifikáke a-skaya
Oklahoma REL-be:IMM red 3A-man

dālh DhgL ÒhCh.jàāj
atiha aniijahta uuniiwóoníhisti
a-atiha anii-jahta uunii-wóoníhist-i
3A-say:PRC 3A.PL-Choctaw 3B.PL-speak:DVNOBJ-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) oivities Třh ćlc Lčat
skwiísta iikeso yootaàthli taahnúukó?i
skwiísta ii-kees-ő?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. l. ool **yi**
   hla óósta yiki
   hla óósta yi-ki
   NEG  good  IRR-be:IMM
   ‘He isn’t good’

   b. l. GwY ScHåY **yi**
   hla jalaki kawoônííski yiki
   hla jalaki ka-woôníísk-i yi-ki
   NEG Cherokee 3A-speak:INC\AGT-NOM  IRR-be:IMM
   ‘I’m not a Cherokee speaker.’

   c. DaS au l. DGwY HfT
   askay thla ajalaki yikeesée?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) aTÓ lRs Cōl LåY Hs Cōhå
   hi?ina jika nv’yhna thlaski yïka
   hi?ina ji-ka nv’yhna thlaski yi-ii-ka
   this=f2 REL-be:PRC road not.as IRR-ITR-be:PRC rocky-LOC

   ØY Hz Œ ph lShvÇT
   wiki siihno na oohni jiiteetoohv’y?i
   wi-ki siihno na oohni ji-iitii-eetoohv’y?i
   TRN-be:IMM than 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 –víná.

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. DEU DILZ-i-1  H- S
    akwvýsa aàkwaataanoséétí keèso yoneeka
    aki-výsa aki-ataat-noseet-i keès-ó?i yoneeka
    1B-self 1B-RFL-tell:MOD:DVN-NOM be:INC-HAB English

    Deyhåja1  hFro  Djae  5b
    akiwoonihiisti ni keèsvíná aàkiiiskv mosi
    aki-woonihiisti-i ni-keès-víná a-akiisk-vý?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. DE 5Z  YMC
    akvvyííhno wuulúhjý
    a-kvvyíí?=hnó wi-uu-2lúhjvý?i
    3A-first=CN TRN-3B-arrive:CMP-DVB

    S’1hID  900P7  0Vjae  FRT
    kalvnti2a wikhanahlthý uuthohíísti keèsvý?i
    kalvnti2a wí-khanahlthý?i uu-athohíísti-i keès-vý?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. $\text{kaaskil}^\text{v}$ $\text{uu}^\text{oohla}$ $\text{we}^\text{eesa}$
$\text{kaaskil}^\text{-}2i$ $\text{uu-oohla}$ $\text{we}^\text{eesa}$
$\text{table-}\text{LOC}$ $\text{3B-be.sitting:}^\text{PRC}$ $\text{cat}$
‘The cat is on the table’

b. $\text{tikoohweela}$ $\text{kaaskil}^\text{v}$ $\text{teek}^\text{ana}$
$\text{ti-koohweela}$ $\text{kaaskil}^\text{-}2i$ $\text{tee-ka-na}$
$\text{DST2-}\text{paper}$ $\text{table-LOC}$ $\text{DST-3A-be.lying:}^\text{PRC}$
‘The book is on the table’

c. $\text{skwaahle}^\text{sti}$ $\text{a}^\text{aha}$ $\text{aayeesta}^\text{v}$
$\text{skwaahle}^\text{sti}$ $\text{a-ha}$ $\text{aayeesta}^\text{v}$
$\text{ball}$ $\text{3A-be.on.ground:}^\text{PRC}$ $\text{carpet}$
‘The ball is on the carpet.’ (Koops 2008b:2)

d. $\text{skwaahle}^\text{sti}$ $\text{a}^\text{ahlaha}$ $\text{kaaskil}^\text{v}$
$\text{skwaahle}^\text{sti}$ $\text{a-hlaha}$ $\text{kaaskil}^\text{v}$
$\text{ball}$ $\text{3A-be.elevated:}^\text{PRC}$ $\text{on.the.table}$
‘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) ṕ P ḏافية

haatlv aàneêto
haatlv anii-eëtôoh-ôí

where 3A.PL-walk.around:INC-HAB
‘Where are they?’

There verb -ya?á has a ‘to be’ meaning inside of a location. An example is in (112).

112) V O’àl I ƉOëgil ḏȟ T
to úúist khanvsulv aàyá?í
kato úústi khanvsulvý?í a-yá?í
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.
Chapter 5

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.

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.

For some speakers the inanimate form is used for indefinite inanimate objects. Cook reports this for North Carolina Cherokee (1979:15).

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 that ‘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).

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. Scancarelli, 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

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
prepronominial 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. โป 4חף

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hla yuúwóôniisóòi</th>
<th>hla yi-uu-wóoniis-óòi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG   IRR-3B-speak:CMP-HAB</td>
<td>'He never speaks.' (Pulte and Feeling 1975:291)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. โป 4חף

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nuúwóôniisóòi</th>
<th>ni-uu-wóoniis-óòi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRT-3B-talk:CMD-HAB\SUB</td>
<td>'He had already spoken.' (prior to some other event)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pulte and Feeling 1975:291)
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).

King (1975:82) calls this the ‘definitive.’ Cook refers to it as the ‘assertive’ (1979:128) and Scancarelli uses his term (1987:xii). 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 -v̚źi and -ēʔi, respectively. He points out that the non-experienced past refers to all past actions or states not perceived by one of the senses.

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.

King (1975:82) calls this the ‘intentive’; 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.’

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).
CHAPTER 6: DETAILED CONTENTS

CHAPTER 6: BUILDING ON THE STEM

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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 form 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) S:JAC:14
   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 \textit{tee}-; this form has the abbreviation DST. An alternate form \textit{ti}- 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, \textit{yi}- and \textit{ji}- always appear in the first position and cannot co-occur. Their usage is demonstrated in (2). In the first two examples \textit{yi}- and \textit{ji}- appear before the Distributive prepronominal prefix (the negative \textit{yi}- triggers the \textit{ti}- 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 \textit{yi}- and Relativizer \textit{ji}-; 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) \textit{ji}- comes before \textit{wi}- and \textit{wi}- comes before \textit{tee}-; the combination of \textit{ji}- and \textit{wi}- produces \textit{ju}-, while the vowel of the Distributive prefix is deleted before another vowel.
2) First Position Prepronominal Prefixes

a. \( \text{I: } \text{5JCA} \text{5} \quad \text{DS W} \)

\( \text{thla yitiijv} \text{v} \text{neel} \text{e} \text{?} \quad \text{ateela} \)
\( \text{thla y} \text{ti-} \text{iijv} \text{v-hneel}\text{-} \text{?} \text{i} \quad \text{ateela} \)

NEG IRR-DST2-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-NXP money

‘I didn’t give you all the money.’

b. \( \text{I: } \text{5JCA} \text{5} \quad \text{DS W} \quad \text{IrSCA} \text{5} \)

\( \text{hi?itvna} \quad \text{ateela} \quad \text{ji} \text{t} \text{ee} \text{jv} \text{v} \text{neel} \text{lv} \)
\( \text{hi?i=tvv} \text{=} \text{na} \quad \text{ateela} \quad \text{ji-} \text{tee-} \text{iijv} \text{v-hneel} \text{-} \text{v} \text{?} \text{i} \)
\( \text{this=FC=FI2} \quad \text{money} \quad \text{REL-DST-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-EXP} \)

‘This is the money I gave you all.’

c. \( \text{I: } \text{5JCA} \text{5} \quad \text{DS W} \quad \text{I: } \text{5JCA} \text{5} \)

\( \text{hi?ittv} \text{v} \quad \text{ateela} \quad \text{hla yitiij} \text{v} \text{neel} \text{e} \text{?} \)
\( \text{hi?a=tvv} \quad \text{ateela} \quad \text{hla yi-ti-iijii} \text{-} \text{v} \text{neel} \text{-} \text{?} \text{i} \)
\( \text{here=FC} \quad \text{money} \quad \text{NEG IRR-DST2-1/2.PL-give(solid):CMP-NXP} \)

‘This is the money that I didn’t give you all.’

d. \( \text{I: } \text{5OMV} \)

\( \text{hla y} \text{i}\text{i} \text{uuluhje} \)
\( \text{hla yi-i} \text{-} \text{uu-lu} \text{hj} \text{-} \text{?} \text{i} \)

NEG IRR-ITR-3B-arrive:CMP-NXP

‘He didn’t come back.’

e. \( \text{I: } \text{5PO} \text{5} \quad \text{JYOC} \text{5} \)

\( \text{khalit} \text{tvv} \quad \text{jutookiihnv} \)
\( \text{khal} \text{=} \text{tvv} \quad \text{ji-wi-} \text{tee-} \text{o} \text{kii} \text{-} \text{hn} \text{-} \text{v} \text{?} \text{i} \)
\( \text{just.now=} \text{FC} \quad \text{REL-TRN-DST-1B.PL-EX-send:} \text{CMP-EXP} \)

‘We already sent them.’

In (3) are several examples indicating the ordering of the other prefixes. In (3a) the Translocative \( w_i \)- precedes the Distributive. In (3b) the Future \( t_a \)- appears before
the Iterative \textit{ii}-, and in the third example the Cislocative \textit{ti}- precedes the Iterative. (3d) demonstrates that the Translocative \textit{wi}- precedes the Partitive \textit{ni}-.

3) a. \textbf{\textit{f}b\textit{\textcircled{O}v\textcircled{Y}c}} \textit{\textcircled{Y}}
thlasi wito\textcircled{O}kiih\textcircled{N} viki
thlasi \textit{wi-\textcircled{O}kii-hn-v\textcircled{Y}i} yi-\textcircled{K}i
not, yet TRN-DST-1B.PL.EX-send: CMP-EXP IRR-be: IMM
\textit{\textquoteleft We haven\textquoteleft t sent them yet.\textquoteright}

b. \textbf{\textit{bp\textcircled{A}p\textcircled{H}uh}} \textit{\textcircled{O}z\textcircled{E}} \textit{\textcircled{O}h\textcircled{\textcircled{W}c}}
tvvtahneskehi\textcircled{I}s\textcircled{A}hni uunoole u\textcircled{U}y\textcircled{O}osthan\textcircled{N} v
\textit{ta-\textcircled{I}i-tiitii-ahn\textcircled{E}hi-s\textcircled{A}hn-\textcircled{I} uunoole uu-y\textcircled{O}-stan-\textcircled{V}i}
FUT-ITR-1A.PL-build: CMP-MOT tornado 3B-break(1)-CAU: CMP-DVB
\textit{\textquoteleft We will build the house again after the tornado destroyed it.\textquoteright}

c. \textbf{\textit{\textcircled{O}W\textcircled{W}e\textcircled{W}y}} \textit{\textcircled{I}b\textcircled{P}Z}
withalá\textcircled{A}s\textcircled{U}uláki tiihiyvvh\textcircled{L}v\textcircled{V} = hno
\textit{wi-\textcircled{I}i-alá\textcircled{A}suuláki ti-\textcircled{I}i-\textcircled{Y}vvh\textcircled{L}v\textcircled{V}i = hno}
TRN-DST-2A-rem\textcircled{O}ve.sho\textcircled{E}s: IMM CIS-ITR-2A-enter: CMP- EXP = CN
\textit{\textquoteleft Take your shoes off and then come back in again.\textquoteright}

d. \textbf{\textit{S\textcircled{V}h\textcircled{G}\textcircled{E}}} \textit{\textcircled{E}}
kato winijaw\textcircled{E}se
\textit{kato wi-ni-ja-\textcircled{E}se-\textcircled{I}}
what TRN-PRT-2B-say/sound: CMP-NXP
\textit{\textquoteleft What did you say? (talking to someone on the telephone)\textquoteright}

As seen in the above examples, the prepronominal prefixes interact in various ways with the pronominal prefixes that follow them. In (4a) the Cislocative \textit{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 \textit{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.
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) *yi*- and the pronominal prefix *ii*- 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. *GSpj*
   *yi*ja-atuulííha
   IRR-2B-want:PRC\SUB
   ‘If you want it.’
b. ỌGSP4

yijatuulííha
yi-ii-ji-atuulííha
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) OŚY@SPoOEθ
naaksteelíískvyn
ni-aki-steeliísk-vyn
PRT-1B-help:INC-NDV

httaol
nikeséest
ni-kees-éesti
PRT-be:INC:AFT\SUB

f BPL
hlayeelí
yikáajiíkswati
hlyi-eelííkwy
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) O@JW@T
únatiithahvýi
ii-uunii-atiithah-úvi
ITR-3B.PL-drink:EMP-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-, kee-, respectively). Moreover, some verbs have lexical prepronominal prefixes; in other words, they always appear with these prefixes. The most common lexicalized prefix is Distribution 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. One of the most important functions of this prefix is negation. When performing this function it is always accompanied by the negation particle 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. **ŋARȘ**
   thla yikooliika
   thla yi-ji-oolihka
   NEG   IRR-1A-understand:PRC
   ‘I don’t understand it.’

b. **ŋOR\TOW**
   thla yawahnth
   thla yi-aki-anvhtha
   NEG   IRR-1B-know:PRC
   ‘I don’t know.’
c.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EZ</th>
<th>JOOOLAI</th>
<th>GOMT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hlahno</td>
<td>juulvhwstaanehti</td>
<td>yuwalúhje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hla=hno</td>
<td>ti-uu-lvhwstaanehti</td>
<td>yi-wi-uu-lúhj-é?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG=CN</td>
<td>DST2-3B-work:DVN-NOM2</td>
<td>IRR-TRN-3B-arrive:_CMP-NXP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He did not show up for work…’ (*Cherokee Phoenix* November 2006)

The negative adverb  thla  does not have to immediately precede the yi- ; an example is (9).

9)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EZ</th>
<th>ÖOL</th>
<th>ÖYP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hla</td>
<td>óost</td>
<td>yakiyeelv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hla</td>
<td>óosta</td>
<td>yi-aki-yeelvyha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>IRR-1B-feel:PRC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 Adverbalizer (TAV) suffix. Another example of the Completive stem and Temporal Adverbalizer is in (10c).

10) a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPKS</th>
<th>ÒHB</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>DYORA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahljoóte</td>
<td>yiwiyiýv</td>
<td>káátu</td>
<td>aâkiwsyýko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahljoóte</td>
<td>yi-wi-ji-yývha</td>
<td>káátu</td>
<td>aki-wsyýk-ó?i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Every time I enter the house I smell bread.’

/If I enter the house I smell bread.’
b. құқұмұніс қаққаналыв’қо
   yakiwóoníís aákühnaálvévko
   yi-aki-wóoniis-a aki-hnaálý’vk-óʔi
   IRR-1B-talk:CMPSUB-TAV 1B-get.angry:INC-HAB
   ‘Whenever he talks to me I get angry.’

c. дұқұғға A ғғғ
   қатăахăаăăскееско ыууыеęя
   a-ataа-хăăăскеесқ-óʔi yi-uу-yéej-a
   3A-MDL-stretch:INC-HAB IRR-3B-wake:CMPSUB-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. құқұмұніс қаққаналыв’қо
   huleekwu yiijæleéna
   huleekwu yi-iïjii-aleéna
   immediately IRR-2A.PL-start:IMM
   ‘Immediately you can all start.’

b. құқұмұніс қаққаналыв’қо
   kahlkwoókíhnóo teekhánahľth’v yiïenalkkoóna
   kahlkwoókì=hnóo teel-khanahľthľ”vì yi-tee-iïnii-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) ж өліхүл
   jañí ííka uuutahanííkit
   jañí ííka uu-atahanííkit
   John ITR-be:PRC 3B-strong
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. %S,LCD
   yikatawóóʔa
   yi-ji-ataa-awóoa
   IRR-1A-MDL-bathe:PRC\SUB
   ‘I would be swimming.’ (Cook 1979:58-60)

   b. ʔILC\RT
   yakwatawoʔéʔi
   yi-aki-ataa-awo2-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.
b. 1B-rich IMM-be:IMM\SUB house IRR-1B-buy:PRC

‘If I were rich I’d buy a house.’

b. 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. DST2-1B-rich IRR-ITR-be:INC-NXP\SUB house IRR-1B-buy:CMP-NXP

‘If he came…’

The Irrealis is sometimes used to form questions. Two examples are in (15). The Irrealis in this sort of usage does not trigger a highfall tone.

b. 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.’

15) a. $\text{yijatuulas}$ ateélataihti tijalvýchístaanehti $\text{yi-ja-atuula=s}$ ateélataiht $\text{ti-ja-lvýchístaanehti}$ 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. $\text{yijatuulas}$ jalaki tiijateehlokwaasti $\text{yi-iijii-atuula=s}$ jalaki $\text{ti-iijii-ateehlokwaast-i}$ IRR-2B.PL-want:IMM=Q Cherokee DST2-2A.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2

‘Would y’all like to learn Cherokee?’

For some speakers $\text{yi}$-attached to the Immediate stem is equivalent to the future construction using $\text{ta}$- and the Completive stem. Three examples comparing these
uses are in (16); the third example has three instances of the Irrealis; the third instance is subordinate to the Irrealis-marked verb preceding it.

16) a. ṢEy ṣSw
   yikeekiiisteéla
   yi-keekii-steéla
   IRR-3.PL/1.PL-help:IMM
   ‘They will help us.’

   b. ṢEy ṣSt
      takeekiiisteelelvi
      ta-keekii-steelvýh-i
      FUT-3.PL/1.PL-help:CMP-MOT
      ‘They will help us.’

c. ṢEp@ApLb  Dēṣ  Ṣggj@J
   yikvvliskohltáás  akvýy  wijá?lohisti
   yi-kvv-liskohltáásí  akvýyi  wi-ja-?lohist-i
   IRR-1/2-permit:IMM  first  TRN-2B-pass:DVN-NOM2

   BC  Dā  KT  ṢyMW  ḫh  Ḫs
   siin  ay  jo  yakiluul  oohni  yikáá
   siinv  aya  jo/i  yi-aki-luula  oohni  yi-ji-áá/i
   still  I  three  IRR-1B-need:IMM  behind  IRR-1A-walk:IMM-SUB
   ‘I will let you get there first; I will still need three, since I will be behind you.’
   (Chapter 9.3:20-21)

In (17a) is an example of construction formed with yi- to indicate a number of second person individuals. If the first person is indicated, the Partitive is used as in (17b). More examples of the Partitive will be provided in the corresponding section.

17) b. ṢLp  ṢIrd
   suútáí  yijii?a
   suútáli  yi-iijii-?a
   six  IRR-2A.PL-be.there:PRC
   ‘There are six of you.’
b. **b. [bhsf Zhrəj]**

\[\text{hiski noöjii-éesti} \]
\[\text{hiski ni-oøjii-éesti} \]
\[\text{five PRT-1A.PL.EX-AFT} \]
‘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 *yj*- 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 a Immediate stem and undergoes aspiration after vowel deletion occurs.

18) a. **R**

\[\text{svv jikeesv} \]
\[\text{svv ji-kees-vy?i} \]
\[\text{yesterday REL-be:CMP-DVB} \]
‘Yesterday they sang it.’

b. **GčKwo’T**

\[\text{jaawajoothanvý?i} \]
\[\text{ji-aki-ajoohan-vý?i} \]
\[\text{REL-1B-ride:_CMP-EXP} \]
‘I rode it.’
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. D S P †
   aãkáaliha
   a-káaliha
   3A-sunny:PRC
   ‘It is sunny.’

   b. G S P ⊗ ET
   jakáaliiskvúʔi
   ji-a-káaliisk-vúʔi
   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
vowel of the subordinated verb, indicated by \texttt{\SUB} after the element to which it attaches.

20) a. \texttt{\IR{\Y}{hS}F\oA} \texttt{\DA{I}\oI}  \\
    \texttt{jikintuu\ilskõ} atlatí\ithla  \\
    \texttt{ji-kinii-atuulissk-\òi} atlatí\ithla  \\
    \texttt{\REL-1B.DL-want:INC-HAB\SUB} car  \\
    \texttt{\SG\oW \ \YG \ \OC \ \Cf}  \\
    káayuúl khilo uu\hwas-é\òi  \\
    káayuúla khilo uu-hwas-é\òi  \\
    already someone 3B-buy:PERF-NXP  \\
    ‘The car we want has already been bought.’

b. \texttt{\DA{O}} \texttt{\IR{\Y}{V}AC} \texttt{\IR{\L}{\o}S}  \\
    ahnawo jiskinéehnú jiitheeska  \\
    a-hnawo ji-skí-néehn-vý\òi ji-htheeska  \\
    3A-shirt REL-2/1-give:COMP-EXP\SUB 1A-iron:PRC  \\
    ‘I am ironing the shirt you gave me.’

One way of expressing a ‘why’ question is by starting a sentence with the question word \textit{kato} and prefixing \texttt{ji-} to the verb. Unlike adjectival clauses, these constructions do not have the highfall tone. Two examples are in (21).

21) a. \texttt{\SV \ \GYJI\oA}  \\
    kato chatloohí\ha  \\
    kato ji-hi-atloohí\ha  \\
    why REL-2A-cry:PRC  \\
    ‘Why are you crying?’

b. \texttt{\SVOC} \texttt{\IR{\Y}{V}FC}  \\
    kato=hnv jíikii-toóli\l\i jv  \\
    kato=hnv ji-ikii-toóli\l\i-vý\òi  \\
    what=CN REL-1B.PL-pity:COMP-EXP  \\
    ‘Why did she forgive us?’
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. LəəI Wəər əəECZLəəI
    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. LəəI əəSSbb
    hleesti jiiwiikateesí
    hleesti jii-wi-iikii-ateesi
    NEG.COM NGI-TRN-1B.PL-throw:IMM(COM)
    ‘Let’s not throw it away!’

c. LəəI əəV4 əəBWh
    thleesti jiitoohataaleehythaní
    thleesti jii-ti-hi-ataat-leeyvthani
    NEG.COM NGI-DST2-2A-burn:IMM(COM)
    ‘Don’t burn yourself!’

d. LəəI əəSəəə Θ SəəU
    hleesti jiikaahkaníelev naʔ kaloəkwe
    hleesti ji-kaa-hii-téel-vvʔi naʔ kaloəkwe
    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/.

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23) a. **L arab**  
   **Irθ θ**  
   hleesti jiįįhi-hlvėni  
   hleesti jiį-hi-hlvėni  
   NEG.COM NGI-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)  
   ‘Don’t go to sleep!’

   b. **SV Irθ θ**  
   kato chihlvėna  
   kato ji-hi-hlvėna  
   what REL-2A-sleep:IMM  
   ‘Why did you go to sleep?’

The *jiį*- 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 arab**  
   **Irθ θ**  
   siįkwu jiiniįhiwi  
   siįkwu jii-ni-hi-wi  
   again NGI-PRT-2A-say:IMM(COM)  
   ‘Say it again!’

   b. **Irθ ßvw**  
   jiihátiitha  
   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. Oftentimes it can be glossed into English as ‘there.’ Six examples are in (25).
25) a. O'WèR C.Bì ÚGW
uùthaleesv̍ waâyv̍ha saloóla
uùthaleesv̍i wi-a-yv̍ha saloóla
hole TRN-3A-enter:IMM squirrel
'A squirrel just entered his hole.'

b. C.S.S
waâwatéeka
wi-aki-atéeka
TRN-1B-throw:PRC
'I’m throwing it there.'

c. S.V O'PèWO L.A ÓTVíō
kato uùlsthān̄v̍ tahnuuḳ̄w̍ wijeétóolt̄v̍
kato uu-alisthan-v̍i tahnuuko-ʔi wi-ja-eétoół-ʔv̍ʔi
what 3B-happen:CMP-EXP garfish-LOC 3B-throw:PRC
TRN-2B-walk.around:CMP-DVB
‘What happened when you went to Vian?’

d. ʌP ʌSAW O'LY
haatlv̍ wikaneēla uuhloki
haatlv̍ wi-ka-neéla uu-hloki
where TRN-3A-reside:PRC 3B-aunt
‘Where does her aunt live?’ (Feeling 1975a:166)

e. ÒPÒ
hwìlìvnā
wi-hi-tlvnā
TRN-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)
‘Go to sleep!’

f. ÒSPS
wikahlv̍v̍ka
wi-ka-hlv̍v̍ka
TRN-3A-put.in.container:IMM
‘She made it in.’ (Lady Indians Championship)
As seen above, the prefix \( \text{wi} \) - 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. \( \text{O} \text{IAC} \text{A} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wita} \text{akoohwthiha} \\
\text{wi-tee-a-koohwthiha} \\
\text{TRN-DST-3A-see:PRC}
\end{array}
\]
‘He sees them (his back turned towards me).’

b. \( \text{O} \text{I} \text{RAP} \text{e} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wiljiikooliiy} \text{a} \\
\text{wi-iiji} \text{i-kooli} \text{iya}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{TRN-2A.PL-examine:IMM(COM)} \\
\text{‘You guys go and examine this.’}
\end{array}
\]

A few verbs always take this prefix. The verb used for the sun setting requires this prepronominial prefix, as seen in (27).

27) \( \text{h} \text{J} \text{O} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nihina stiikeehyúj} \\
\text{nihi=na sti-keehyúja} \\
\text{2PRO=F2 2A.DL-girl}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nvvta} \\
\text{nvvta} \\
\text{sun/moon}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wuuteeliiji} \text{v} \\
\text{wi-uu-teelii} \text{-vÝ?i}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{khila} \\
\text{khila}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{TRN-3B-sun.disappear:CMP-DVB} \\
\text{TRN-3B-sun.disappear:CMP-DVB while.ago}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{khila} \\
\text{iistii-lúhj-é?i}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{TRN-3B-sun.disappear:CMP-DVB while.ago} \\
\text{TRN-3B-sun.disappear:CMP-DVB while.ago 2A.DL-arrive:CMP-NXP}
\end{array}
\]

‘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) \textbf{IP} \textit{lír-}

\begin{itemize}
  \item meéli \textit{wijíînvůneha}
  \item meéli \textit{wi-jiin-vůn-heha}
\end{itemize}

Mary TRN-1A,AN-send:_CMP-APL: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. \textbf{LFTE} \textit{gëñ\textsc{t}a\textsc{v}a}

\begin{itemize}
  \item talik waâweétô Política
  \item talikwa w-aki-eétôl-vô?i
\end{itemize}

Tahlequah TRN-1B-walk.around:_CMP-EXP
‘I was in Tahlequah (I just went there).’

b. \textbf{LFTE} \textit{gëñ\textsc{t}a\textsc{v}a}

\begin{itemize}
  \item talik jaâweétô Política
  \item talikwa ji-aki-eétôl-vô?i
\end{itemize}

Tahlequah REL-1B-walk.around:_CMP-EXP
‘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. \textbf{IP} \textit{lír-}

\begin{itemize}
  \item wiitithlvůnā
  \item wi-iitii-thlvůnā
\end{itemize}

TRN-1A,PL-sleep:IMM(COM)
‘Let’s go to sleep!’
This prefix also serves the function of indicating an event that takes place previous to another event. Two examples are in (31).

\[31\] a. **θhAD**

\[DIC\-W\-PT\]

\begin{align*}
\text{wijiikóó?a} & \quad \text{aâkwahnthatvý?i} \\
\text{wi-jii-kooh-a} & \quad \text{aki-ahnthat-vý?i}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{TRN-1A.AN-see:CMP\-SUB-TAV} & \quad \text{1B-think:CMP-EXP}
\end{align*}

‘As soon as I saw him I thought of it.’

\[b. \text{Iw IθJoLo} \quad SPKS \quad \text{OhMCT}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{núúla nuuntiinýtakwu} & \quad \text{kalhjoöte wiinii?1uhjvývi} \\
\text{núúla ni-uu-natinýtaka} & \quad \text{kalhjoöte wi-iinii?1uhj-vvývi}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{hurry} & \quad \text{PRT-3B-sell=PCP=DT} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{TRN-1A.DL-arrive:CMP-FIM}
\end{align*}

‘Hurry! Let’s get there before he sells the house.’ (Feeling 1975a:104)

The combination of the Translocative *wi-* and the Iterative creates the combination *wvv*; an example is in (32).

\[32\] **R Pu CS**

\begin{align*}
\text{eliikwu} & \quad \text{tiitaanáný} \\
\text{eliikwu} & \quad \text{ti-ataanáný?i}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{possible=Q} & \quad \text{CIS-store} \\
\text{IRR-TRN-ITR-2A-go:IMM}
\end{align*}

‘Can you go to the store again?’ (Cherokee Reader Lesson 80)

As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the Translocative also appears on adjectives to create a superlative meaning as in (33).
1.1.5 Partitive (PRT) ni-/ii-

This prefix has several different functions that seem to elude an easy generalization. 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. S V C\o\l SI SGW hG\o\l A\o S
   kato úúst káäylula nijatvynelv kohiika
   kato úústi káäylula ni-ja-atvneel-vý?i kohiika
   what something already PRT-2B-do:cmp-exp today
   ‘What have you already done today?’

   b. õ\o\l  Õ\o\l S
   óósta hnatvýka
   óósta ni-hi-atvýka
   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.
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) iččo haleekwu nitatekkwewsko tiistuʔíisti
hale=kwu ni-teek-akvewsk-ʔi ti-a-stuʔíisti
almost=hale PRT-DST-1B-forget:INC-HAB DST2-1A-open:DVN\OBJ-NOM

yitäiikwahnikísá tiitaneélá
yí-ti-aki-ahnikiis-á ti-iitii-anéélá
‘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) ṣhi+h yůyú nichvěká khanalvstí
yůyúʔi ni-jahvěka khanalvstí
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. **hSФc.IcA**
   nikahlstiisko
   ni-ka-alistiisk-ó?i
   PRT-3A-happen:INC-HAB
   ‘It happens.’

   b. **S ÑS.J ÒP.WOT**
   ká?nakthi nuùlsthanvý?i
   ká?nakthi ni-uu-alisthan-vý?i
   doctor    PRT-3B-become:CMP-EXP
   ‘He became a doctor.’

   c. **hS @(T**
   wahka nikawéé?i
   wahka ni-ka-wéé?i
   cow    PRT-3A-sound/say:PRC
   ‘The cow is mooing.’

   d. **o( hE.Cc.I D.ØV**
   nvýya nikvvwsta   aâhiito
   nvýya ni-ka-vvwsta   a-hiitoha
   rock    PRT-3A-seem:PRC    3A-carry:PRC
   ‘It seems like he’s carrying the rock around.’

   e. **øC@L ÒC.AG@T b(ø øfi.WOT**
   óósta nuuwaneélóhný   siikwu   uùyóoosthanv
   óósta ni-uu-vmneél-ohn-vý?i siikwu   uu-ýóo-sthan-vý?i
   good    PRT-3B-make:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB again    3B-break(1)-CAU:CMP-EXP
   ‘After fixing it, he broke it again.’
This prefix is used in conjunction with the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) suffix – *výna* 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. **hS YëS pòE**  
   nikáaksteeliískvéna  
   ni-kaa-aki-steeliísk-véna  
   PRT-NGT-1B-help:INC-NDV  
   ‘Without him helping me I won’t be able to finish.’

b. **DpøLBëpais**  
   nuuyóosiiskvéna  
   ni-uu-yóosiisk-véna  
   PRT-3B-hungry:INC-NDV  
   He’s eating while he’s not hungry.’

c. **hShøEtI**  
   tikaa-jii-yóstí  
   ni-kees-véna  
   DST2-NGT-1A.AN-shoot:DVN-NOM2  
   ‘If I can’t shoot these wolves I can’t get rid of them.’

As will be seen in 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.
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)  

thali yuuthliloót uu-váśa ni-kaa-aki-alí-stáá-yhn-výʔi

‘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.  

hila ni-koóstaáya hiʔa hayelsta

hila ni-koóstaáya hiʔa hayelsta

how PRT-sharp this knife

‘How sharp is this knife?’

b.  

hila nayanúúlá naʔ soókwili

hila ni-a-yanúúlá naʔ 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).
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.

44a. **Dʒəhə Y Zhrə.J**

hiski noɔjii-éesti
hiski ni-oɔjii-éesti
five PRT-1B.PL-AFT
‘There will be five of us.’

b. **Kɔ Thɔd**

jókwu naàniiʔo
jóʔi=kwu ni-ani-óʔi
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 逡-on Deverbal Noun forms. An example is in (45). In the first example the Distributive appears between these two other prepronominal prefixes; it appears here as too- because it is before the Cislocative prefix.
The Partitive prefix has the unexpected allomorph \textit{ii}-(\textsc{prt}2) that is used on Deverbal Noun stems and derived forms. Before a vowel a /\textit{y}/ is inserted. Two examples are in (46).

46) a. \textsc{tg\textpi\textsc{C}}\textsc{j} \textsc{G\textacutep\textsc{w}}\textsc{At}  
\text{iiatvvhnti} \quad \text{jaanhltané?is}  
\text{\textsc{prt}2-2\textsc{B}-do:DVN-NOM2} \quad 2\textsc{B}-\text{try:cmp-NXP}=Q  
‘Did you try to do it?’

c. \textsc{ji\textsc{C}}\textsc{i} \textsc{tg\textsc{p}}\textsc{\textsc{v}}\textsc{j} \textsc{DS\cdot\textsc{JL}}  
\text{tiiteehyóóhvsk\textsc{i}} \quad \text{iyulstoht\textsc{i}} \quad \text{âæteehlk\textsc{h}\textsc{h}wa}  
\text{\textsc{dst}2-3\textsc{A}-MDL-teach:inc\\textsc{agt}-NOM} \quad \text{\textsc{prt}2-3\textsc{B}-become:DVN-NOM2} \quad 3\textsc{A}-\text{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). The examples in (47a-h) bear the \textit{ii}-form and are probably derived from verbs, many of whose original meaning has been lost.

47) a. \textsc{ts\textsc{j}}\textsc{i}\textsc{bl}  \text{ijuuteethiý\textsc{y}ta} \quad \text{‘years (number of)’} (Feeling 1975a:132)
 b. \textsc{tw\textsc{C}}\textsc{\textsc{w}}\textsc{\textsc{C}w\textsc{t}}  \text{iyathahwoøstan\textsc{y}i} \quad \text{‘minute’}
 c. \textsc{tg\textsc{C}}\textsc{\textsc{C}}\textsc{\textsc{G}}\textsc{L}  \text{iyuuhliil\textsc{ó}ta} \quad \text{‘hour’} \quad (Feeling 1975a:133)
 d. \textsc{tg\textsc{a}}\textsc{\textsc{i}}\textsc{\textsc{C}a}  \text{iyuwáákhti} \quad \text{‘time(s)’}
 e. \textsc{tg\textsc{\textsc{w}}\textsc{\textsc{L}}\textsc{\textsc{L}}\textsc{\textsc{i}}\textsc{\textsc{L}}\textsc{\textsc{i}}}  \text{iyuunato\textsc{ó}takwaâsti} \quad \text{‘week’}
 f. \textsc{\textsc{O}}\textsc{i}\textsc{\textsc{s}}\textsc{L}  \text{nikááta} \quad \text{‘all’}
 g. \textsc{ha\textsc{\textsc{a}}}\textsc{\textsc{j}}\textsc{\textsc{t}}  \text{nikohil\textsc{y}i} \quad \text{‘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)\text{tuu/ch36:0133+6003} tiihnawo /gc /tuukhayootv
\text{tuu/ch36:0133+6003} ti-a-hnawo /teeuu-khayoot-vý?i
DST2-3A-clothing DST-3B-dry:_CMP-EXP
'He was drying the clothes.'

The Distributive prepronounal prefix appears more than any other prepronounal 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)\text{tuu/ch36:0133+6003} tuùskwáàlsohnv /nikáát tikvñoosásti
\text{tuu/ch36:0133+6003} tee-uu-skwáàls-ohn-vý?i nikááta ti-ka-vñoosásti-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.  
\[
\text{teehásuuleéhas}  \\
\text{tee-hi-asuuleéha=s}  \\
\text{DST-2A-wash.hands:PRC=Q}  \\
\text{‘Are you washing your hands?’}
\]

b.  
\[
\text{noókwútvv} \rightarrow \text{jitasuúla}  \\
\text{noókwu=tvv} \rightarrow \text{ji-tee-a-asuúla}  \\
\text{now=FC} \rightarrow \text{REL-DST-3A-wash.hands:IMM}  \\
\text{‘He just washed his hands.’}
\]

c.  
\[
\text{tuùnasuúle}  \\
\text{tee-uunii-asuúl-é?i}  \\
\text{DST-3B.PL-wash.hands:CMP-NXP}  \\
\text{‘They washed their hands.’}
\]

The vowel /i/ deletes when it follows a Distributive, while the Distributive prefix receives a high tone. Two examples are in (51).

51) a.  
\[
\text{nikoólv} \rightarrow \text{téenasuuléesko}  \\
\text{nikoólv} \rightarrow \text{tee-iinii-asuuléesk-ó?i}  \\
\text{always} \rightarrow \text{DST-1A.DL-wash.hands:INC-HAB}  \\
\text{‘You and I always wash our hands.’}
\]

b.  
\[
\text{ateélas} \rightarrow \text{téejiihla}  \\
\text{ateéla=s} \rightarrow \text{tee-iijii-hla}  \\
\text{money=Q} \rightarrow \text{DST-2A.PL-have:PRC}  \\
\text{‘Do you all have some money (in your pocket)?’}
\]

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. $IG'SI0\cdot II$                      $SGJS$
     $ti\cdot ja\cdot akh\cdot thin\cdot y\cdot vt\cdot ti\cdot s$       $tee\cdot ja\cdot at\cdot uu\cdot ka$
     $ti\cdot ja\cdot akh\cdot thin\cdot y\cdot vt\cdot ti\cdot s Q$   $tee\cdot ja\cdot at\cdot uu\cdot ka$
     DST-2B-eye.glasses=Q    DST-2B-throw:IMM
     ‘Did you throw your glasses away?’

b. $IZ$                          $\alpha L A$                      $5IG\cdot 10\cdot \alpha L A F$
     $th\cdot la\cdot h\cdot n\cdot o\cdot o$ $st\cdot \alpha\cdot y\cdot i$ $y\cdot it\cdot ja\cdot lw\cdot st\cdot \alpha\cdot n\cdot ee\cdot h$ $-\alpha\cdot i$
     $th\cdot la\cdot h\cdot n\cdot o\cdot o$ $st\cdot \alpha\cdot y\cdot i$ $y\cdot it\cdot ja\cdot lw\cdot st\cdot \alpha\cdot n\cdot ee\cdot h$ $-\alpha\cdot i$
     not=CN hard IRR-DST2-2B.PL-work:INC-HAB
     ‘You all don’t work very hard.’

Like $tee\cdot$, this $ti$- form will change according to adjacent sounds. In (53a) it causes the preproninal prefix to delete; as a result of this deletion the vowel of the prefix is lengthened, giving it the form $tii\cdot$. The vowel of the Distributive prefix $ti$- deletes before /l/, as seen in (53b). When the DST form $ti$- appears before the vowels /el/, /ol/ or /ul/ it becomes $j\cdot$, as seen in (53c) through (53e).

53) a. $\& P I T$
     $ti\cdot is\cdot u\cdot hl\cdot t\cdot i$
     $ti\cdot a\cdot asuh\cdot lt\cdot i$
     DST2-3A-wash.hands:DVN-NOM2
     ‘sink’

b. $hS L$                      $IG\cdot C W$
     $nik\cdot \alpha\cdot ta$ $ti\cdot jas\cdot uu\cdot la$
     $nik\cdot \alpha\cdot ta$ $ti\cdot ii\cdot ji\cdot asu\cdot ula$
     all DST2-2A.PL-wash.hands:IMM(COM)
     ‘Everybody wash your hands!’
c.  **Yosp**
   jeëneehyóhti  kinatuuli
   ti-leeni-eehyóht-i  kinii-atuulih
   DST2-1A.DL-AN-teach:DNV-NOM2  IB.DL-want:PRC
   ‘You and I want to teach him.’

d.  **Yosp**
   joësteehyóhti  oökinaatuuli
   ti-oostii-eehyóht-i  ookinii-atuulih
   DST2-1A.DL.EX-teach:DNV-NOM2  IB.DL.EX-want:PRC
   ‘We want to teach him.’

d.  **Osp**
   juusuhlhti  uuütuuli
   ti-uu-asuhlt-i  uu-atuulih
   DST2-3B-wash.hands:DNV-NOM2  3B-want:PRC
   ‘She wants to wash her hands.’

A special form *too-* appears before the Future prefix *ta-* , the Iterative *ii-* , and the Cislocative *ti-* . An example of each is in (54). In the first example the Irrealis causes a high tone to appear on the mora immediately following the prefix; because the vowel is long, this tone is realized as a falling tone.

54) a.  **Ovgat**
   yiskhinoseelées  yitolójanesé
   yi-ski-hnoseel-é?i=s  yi-tee-ii-ja-nees-é?i
   IRR-2/1-tell:CNM-NXP=Q  IRR-DST-ITR-2A-take:CNM-NXP\SUB
   ‘Would you have told me if you had taken them?’

b.  **Vlgvp**
   nikáátas  tootájasuuli
   nikáátas=s  tee-ta-iijii-asuul-i
   all=Q  DST-FUT-2A.PL-wash.hands:CNM-MOT
   ‘Are you all going to wash your hands?’
c. **VΩLAΩ-T**
   toeōtaakooohvv?i
tee-ii-iini-ataat-kool-vv?i
DST-ITR-FUT-1A.DL-RFL-see:CMP-FIM
   ‘Let’s see each other again!’

d. **VJWEΩRT**
   tooθiiθalesv?i
tee-thi-athales-vv?i
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 */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. **JZTH**
   thihookééni
ti-hi-hookééni
DST2-2A-arm
   ‘your arms’

d. **VΩ@WD**
   thoohweelaʔa
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. 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) -eehyoóyóská ‘to teach’
   -asehíha ‘to count’
   -alihthatéeka ‘to jump’
   -yawééeka ‘to be tired’
   -hnokíi?a ‘to sing’

57) sānYwāNd
   teeskikweenuki?a
   tee-ski-kweenuki?a
   DST-2/1-pinchn:PRC
   ‘You’re pinching me.’

Many intransitive verbs take *tee- if the subject is non-singular. Two examples are in (58).

58) a. VYYiBt
   toókiyóosiha
   tee-okii-yóosiha
   DST-1B.PL.EX-be.hungry:PRC
   ‘We are hungry.’

b. VOLSqgt
   toonatasteelvhvvi
   tee-ii-iinii-ataat-stelvh-vvi
   DST-ITR-1A.DL.RFL-help:CMP-FIM
   ‘Let’s help each other again!’
Sometimes the addition of a Distributive prefix will create a different word with a slightly different meaning. Two pairs of words differentiated by ti- are in (59) and (60).

(59) a. **DS.IO** akhthiya ‘guard’
   b. **IS.IO** tiikhthiya ‘waiter, pastor’

(60) a. **DLC.Y** atawóóski ‘swimmer’
   b. **ILC.Y** tiitawóóski ‘Baptist’

1.1.7. Animate Plural (ANP) kaa-

For some speakers the prepronominal prefix *kaa*- is used to reference third person plural animate objects; for other speakers the Distributive prefix *tee*- is used. The prefix *kaa*- is the older prefix, but in Oklahoma Cherokee it is becoming more common to use the Distributive prefix to refer to both animate and inanimate plural objects. These changes are discussed in depth in Scancarelli 1988. Many speakers use *kaa*- and *tee*- interchangeably for animate plural objects. Two examples with the plural animate *kaa*- are shown below in (61). In (61c) the *tee*- appears to reference the plural animate object.

(61) a. **S.JAC.IJ**
   kaahiikooohwahtíju na kiihli
   kaa-hii-kooohwahtíha=ju na kiihli
   ANP-2.A见:PRC=CQ
   ‘Do you see those dogs?’

   b. **S IrO vs**
   kaajiiiyatooliika
   kaa-jii-atooliika
   ANP-1.A见:pity:PRC
   ‘I pity them.’
c. **LhVf**

\[
\text{taâthihniítóöhe} \quad \text{taahna} \quad \text{aneetóö} \\
\text{tee-a-ahthihnh-iítóöh-éòi} \quad \text{taahna} \quad \text{a-ni-eetooh-i} \\
\text{DST-3A-lead:INC-AMB:INC-NXP} \quad \text{war} \quad \text{3A.PL-walk.around:INC\AGT-NOM}
\]

‘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.\(^\text{10}\) 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 /æ/, /ə/, and /ɒ/. 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**

\[
\text{tiكeês} \quad \text{wahya} \quad \text{uùthohise} \\
\text{ti-keès-} \text{v} \text{ý} \text{?i} \quad \text{wahya} \quad \text{uu-athohiš} \text{éòi} \\
\text{CIS-be:INC-DVB} \quad \text{wolf} \quad \text{3B-whoop:CMP-NXP}
\]

‘When he was there, he whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)

b. **Jsw Jyd**

\[
\text{ateel} \quad \text{tiikí} ? \text{a} \\
\text{ateela} \quad \text{ti-a-kí} ? \text{-a} \\
\text{money} \quad \text{CIS-3A-pick.up:PRC}
\]

‘Over that way someone is picking up money.’
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.

Pulte and Feeling (1975:253) describe a special form of the Cislocative that appears on verbs ending in the Experienced Past –vý?i.¹¹ This form of the Cislocative has the abbreviation CIS; an example is in (64a). This form becomes tāy- before vowels other than /a/ or /i/, as seen in the first example. In (64b) the combination of tā- and the vowel /a/ creates tvv-. 

63) V.J@A@S

| tootíiskooska |
| DST-CIS-3A-dig:PRC |
| ‘He is digging over there.’ |

| V.J@A@S |
| tootíiskooska |
| DST-CIS-3A-dig:PRC |
| ‘He is digging over there.’ |
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. LYOLOBZIF
   takinatansiionoheéli
   ta-kinii-atansiiino-heéli
   CSM-1B.PL-crawl:_CMP-APL:PRC
   ‘He’s crawling to us.’

b. Øh IRAT
   ohni jitateáá?i
   ohni ji-ta-a-aa?i
   behind REL-CSM-walk:PRC\SUB
   ‘The one that’s coming after me.’ (New Testament, Mathew 3:11)
c. **LYMVP**
   
   taàkii<ulueheéli
   ta-iikii-luhj-eél-i
   CSM-1B.PL-arrive:_CMP-APL:_CMP-MOT
   ‘He will come up to us.’

   d. **RYMVP**
   
   tvvkiluhcheéli
   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 prepronominal prefix to be lengthened.

66) 
   a. **SVDF** **JGSL**
   
   katoóhv tiijakthahvándose
   katoóhv ti-iijji-akahthahvándose-éi
   why CIS2-2A.PL-turn.back:_CMP-NXP
   ‘Why did you turn back?’

   b. **ILOBF**
   
   tiitánsiiniisóó?i
   ti-a-atánsiiniisóó?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 Compleitive stem with a final Motion (MOT) suffix \( i - \)

   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.’

67) a. **lSChl**
   takawóoniisi
   ta-ka-wóoniis-i
   FUT-3A-talk:CMP-MOT
   ‘She is going to talk.’

   b. **hJo lcPJo**
   nihi thíhwahtvvhi
   nihi ta-hí-hwahtvvhi-i
   2.PRO FUT-2A-find:CMP-MOT
   ‘You will find it.’

   c. **lEWhUhl**
   takvívthaniisáhni
   ta-ji-vhthan-íisáhn-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. 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. **PBlb**
   tvvhyvhthèesi
   ta-a-ahyvhthèes-i
   FUT-3A-kick:CMP-MOT
   ‘He will kick it.’
b. \( \text{I} \text{R} \text{Y} \text{I} \text{R} \text{Y} \text{C} \text{B} \)  
\text{hla ssvk yitvvkhawiwas}  
\text{hla ssvki yi-ta-aki-hwas-i}  
\text{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 \( \text{ta-} \) does not change to \( \text{tvv-} \) before /\text{a}/, but instead deletes the following /\text{a}/.

In the last example above the presence of the Future causes the Distributive \( \text{tee-} \) to change to \( \text{too-} \). When \( \text{ta-} \) combines with /\text{i}/, the /\text{i}/ deletes, as seen in (69), but the vowel of the prefix is lengthened and lowered.

69) \( \text{L}\text{I}\text{U}\text{W}\text{L}\text{h} \)  
\text{taàtiisaltaani}  
\text{ta-iitii-saltaan-i}  
\text{FUT-1A.PL-lift:_CMP-MOT}  
‘We will lift it.’

When \( \text{ta-} \) combines with any other vowel, a /\text{y}/ is inserted as shown in (70).

70) a. \( \text{L}\text{G}\text{w}\text{P} \)  
\text{tayuùhyali}  
\text{ta-uu-hyal-i}  
\text{FUT-3B-look.for:_CMP-MOT}  
‘He will look for it.’

b. \( \text{L}\text{G}\text{E}\text{F}\text{O}\text{h} \)  
\text{tayoôkvvkhwesi}  
\text{ta-oookii-akhews-i}  
\text{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. The future construction overlaps in some areas with the Absolute Future, but the two constructions have distinct uses. Because –ésti 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) \( V L r G A T R \)

    tootajiloóné?isv
    tee-ta-ji-loóné?-is-vý?i
    DST-FUT-1A-oil:CMP:MOT-EXP
    ‘I was going to oil it.’ (Feeling 1975a:101)

The Future prepronominal 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) \( D h c . J t \alpha . j \)

    aàniihwathiihéeesti
    aníi-hwathiíh-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.\textsuperscript{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 -výʔí the form vv- (ITR2) is used. An example with the Experienced Past suffix is in (73).

73) $\textit{iGChRT}$
\begin{align*}
&\text{vvjawoøniísvvýʔi} \\
&\text{vv-ja-woøniís-vvýʔi} \\
&\text{ITR2-2b-speak:_CMP-EXP} \\
&\text{‘You spoke again.’} \quad \text{(Pulte and Feeling 1975: 254)}
\end{align*}

Other speakers don’t make this distinction for the Present Continuous, as seen from the example in (74).

74) $\textit{TSA\Theta\Phi}$
\begin{align*}
&\text{iikáñeskéeha} \\
&\text{ii-ji-ahneskéeha} \\
&\text{ITR-1A-build:PRC} \\
&\text{‘I’m building it again.’}
\end{align*}

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. $\textit{T\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda}$
\begin{align*}
&\text{iiháneehltá} \\
&\text{ii-hi-aneehlta} \\
&\text{ITR-2A-try:IMM(COM)} \\
&\text{‘Try it again!’}
\end{align*}
b.  

\[\text{hii-kvkkii-kohwthiha} \]

ITR-3.PL/1-see:PRC

‘They’re seeing me again.’

c.  

\[\text{káayuul ii-hi-vnvvkóoka uusnuulíío iihasaltvýka} \]

\[\text{káayuula ii-hi-vnvvkóoka uusnuulíío ii-hi-asaltvýka} \]


‘You already appeared again, you have lifted yourself up very fast.’

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.  

\[\text{hla yiíuuumoonise} \]

\[\text{hla yi-ii-uu-woonis-é?i} \]

NEG IRR-ITR-3B-speak:CMP-NXP

‘He didn’t speak again.’

b.  

\[\text{meélihno túutaanývneelvý?'i} \]

\[\text{meéli=hnoo tee-ii-uu-ataat-nývneel-vý?'i} \]

Mary=CN DST-ITR-3B-RFL-give:CMP-EXP

‘And Mary gave them right back to him.’ (Scancarelli 1987:88)
c. छोटे  में जी  SC:

ti?úuluhjúhnoo  tuúhwahthvvhe
ti-ii-uu-luhj-íí=hnoo  tee-uu-hwahthvvh-é?i
CIS-ITR-3B-arrive:CMP-EXP=CN  DST-3B-find:CMP-NXP

WfA  DhPòRT
thaliine  aànihlina?éé?i
thali-ii-néé?i  aniì-hlina?-é?i
two-ORD  3A.PL-sleep(PL):INC-NXP\SUB
‘And when he came back he found them asleep again’
(New Testament, Matthew 26:43)

d. छोटे  व्रिच्छेत

nvvkwaìe  toojìiwakhtha
nvvkwaìe  tee-ii-jìi-wakhtha
again  DST–ITR-1A.AN-find:IMM
‘I found them again.’

If a vowel precedes this prefix, it becomes -vv-. Three examples are in (77).

77) a.  चाँ और  और  ों और  और  और  और

katoóhv  uujeéwáásti  uunvýti  nvyhiíy觐nisi
katoóhv  uu-ajeéwáást-i  uunvýti  ni-ii-hií-yvnisi
why  3B-spill:DVN-NOM2  milk  PRT-ITR-2A.AN-make:IMM
‘Why did you make him spill his milk?’

b.  चाँ बेत्स्प  द्यस्पटी  ज्योती

thla  yvvkwatuuli  akhthvkooti  tikahnoonkíísti
thla  yi-ii-aki-atuulìa  aki-htvhkoot-i  ti-ka-hnookííst-i
NEG  IRR-ITR-1B-want:PRC  1B-hear:DVN-NOM2  DST2-3A-sing:DVN\OBJ-NOM
‘I never want to hear that song again.’
c.  \( \Theta \circ JhRT \quad GSV \quad A0 \quad IrS \)
\( \text{naa= nv juuyoohuusv} \quad jyvtuo \quad koho hi jik \)
\( \text{na=nv ti-uu-yoohuus-vv?i ti-ii-ii-uu-ataa-oo?a khoohi ji-ka} \)
that=\( r2 \text{ CIS-3B-die:} \text{CMP-DVB} \quad \text{DST2-ITR-DST-3B-MDL-name:} \text{PRC} \text{ today REL-be:} \text{PRC} \)
‘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) \( iSGChRT \)
\( \text{vvkáajawooniís-vv?i} \)
\( \text{vv-kaa-ja-wooniís-vv?i} \)
\( \text{ITR2-NGT-2B-speak:} \text{CMP-EXP-SUB} \)
‘…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. \( OCST \quad TS \quad GWY \quad SCHJcJI \)
\( \text{uwootúúha iíka \quad jalaki \quad kawoonííhisti} \)
\( \text{uu-oootúúha iíka \quad jalaki \quad ka-woonííhist-i} \)
\( \text{3B-beautiful ITR-be:} \text{PRC} \quad \text{Cherokee 3A-speak:} \text{DVN\NOM} \)
‘Cherokee is a beautiful language.’

b. \( JGSTL \quad TFFIJI \quad KWh \quad SJcSOT \)
\( \text{tiistu?íita \quad iikeséésti tijoóla?ni teehistuunvv?i} \)
\( \text{ti-a-stu?ii-ta ii-kees-éésti tijoóla?ni tee-hi-stuun-vv?i} \)
\( \text{DST2-3A-open-PCP ITR-be:} \text{INC-AFT\SUB} \quad \text{DST2-window DST2-2A-open:} \text{CMP-FIM} \)
‘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).
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) $SV \& IS SW\&0$

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{katoöhv} & \quad \text{jiikakaàthahhvýna} \\
\text{katoöhv} & \quad \text{jii-ji-akahtahhvýna} \\
\text{why} & \quad \text{REL-1A-turn.back:IMM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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. 3 YhAcT  
kaakiniikoohvá?i
kaa-kinii-kooh-á?i
NGT-1B.DL-sec:COMP-EXP-SUB
'since you and I saw it.' (Pulte and Feeling 1975:255)

b. A Q Y  hR Fr  hS Ir Ai  U C I 
kohíiki jikeèsv  nikaajiikoá?y  saami
kohíiki ji-keèss-vá?i  ni-kaar-ji-hei-kooh-á?i  saami
long.time REL-be:INC-EXP  PRT-NGT-1A.AN-sec:COMP-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.  T  Õ H F V  L P T  
thla yiwiikeétó  talik
thla yi-wi-ji-eêtóa  talikwa
NEG  IRR-TRN-1A-walk.around:PRC  Tahlequah

EYQJOL  SPKS
kvykintiinávít  kahljoóte
kaa-aki-natiinnáv-ta  kahljoóte
NGT-1B-sell-PCP  house
'I haven’t returned to Tahlequah since my house was sold.'

b. 3 LPA  õT  hR Ol  E õh V IT  
suutaliiné  só?i jikhaálvá?y  kvvyweetoolvá?i
six-ORD  other  REL-month NGT-3B-walk.around:COMP-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) \textbf{Os\textscript{b}Y\textscript{f}P}

\begin{verbatim}
 wikaayoòkiihyoohl\texttt{\textasciitilde}vi
 wi-kaa-okii-hyoohl-\texttt{\textasciitilde}\texttt{\textasciitilde}i
 TRN-NGT-1B.PL.EX-bring:_CMP-EXP\texttt{\textasciitilde}SUB
 ‘Since we all brought it.’ (Scancarelli 2005:367)
\end{verbatim}

If kaay- is used in conjunction with Irrealis yi- the result can be a more emphatic negative as seen in (85). 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. \textbf{Os\textscript{a}P\textscript{q}E}

\begin{verbatim}
 naksteeliisk\texttt{\textasciitilde}v
 ni-aiki-steeliisk-\texttt{\textasciitilde}\texttt{\textasciitilde}vna
 PRT-1B-help:INC-NDV
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
 thla yeelv yika\texttt{\textasciitilde}jiiskwáti
 thla yeelv \texttt{\textasciitilde}vi-kaa-ji-skwáti?a
 NEG IRR-able IRR-NGT-1A-finish:PRC
 ‘Without him helping me I won’t be able to finish.’
\end{verbatim}

b. \textbf{JFC\textscript{q}g\textscript{a}J}

\begin{verbatim}
 juulichvýya\texttt{\textasciitilde}sti yikeès\texttt{\textasciitilde}e
 ti-uu-\texttt{\textasciitilde}a\texttt{\textasciitilde}lichvýya\texttt{\textasciitilde}sti yi-keès-\texttt{\textasciitilde}é?i
 DST2-3B-brave IRR-be:INC-NXP\texttt{\textasciitilde}SUB
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
 hla yikv\texttt{\textasciitilde}vwahlthiis\texttt{\textasciitilde}é?
 hla \texttt{\textasciitilde}vi-kaa-uu-\texttt{\textasciitilde}ali\texttt{\textasciitilde}thiis-\texttt{\textasciitilde}é?i
 NEG IRR-NGT-3B-run:_CMP-NXP
 ‘If he were brave he wouldn’t have run away.’ (Feeling 1975a:137)
\end{verbatim}
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**  
kaajoohweéloti yi-ki há?thvkvískúi  
kaa-ja-oohweélot-i yi-ki hi-ahthvkvísk-vú?i  
NGT-2B-write:DVN\MOD-NOM IRR\SUB-be:IMM 2Ahear:INC-DVB

**SCT**  
hyateehlohkwa jalaki jawooniihistii?i  
yi-hi-ateehlohkwa jalaki ja-wooniihist-ii?i  
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. **ECOLCI**  
kvvwantawóósti yi-ki hyatawóója  
kaa-uunii-atawoost-i yi-ki yi-hi-ataa-awóója  
NGT-3B.PL-swim:DVN\MOD-NOM IRR\SUB-be IRR-2A-IMM:MDL-swim

‘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 prepronominal prefix, resulting in a meaning indicating obligation.

87) a. **ICAI**  
hla kohúústi kaayuuntvfhnti yi-ki  
hla kohúústi kaa-yi-uunii-avvnhnt-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. **kee**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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] **FGAT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keejakoohv?i</td>
<td>Since you saw it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kee-ja-kooh-v?i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *eji-* (*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] **BS Bh IY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikayejiniiyisk</td>
<td>...until he caught him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-kaa-aji-niiyiisk-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. RAJIV
    ee-hi-yvvhā
    ee-hi-yvvhā
    CSI-2A-enter:IMM(COM)
    ‘Come in!’

        b. Røyçw
    eeskiiisteelā
    ee-ski-steelā
    CSI-2/1-help:IMM(COM)
    ‘Come and help us (you’re over there).’

        c. Røyhaless          Jollcgqkoy
    eeskiniistáakwatuükā  tiistataatliiloöstíiski
    ee-skinii-stáakwatuuka  tiiistii-ataatliilóostiisk-i
    CSI-2/1.DL-follow:IMM(COM)  DST2-2A.DL-photograph:INC\AGT-NOM
    ‘You two photographers follow me!’

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 too- before the Cislocative.
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 -vásə appears to reinforce the idea of reflexivity.

91) a. **RoEbb**
eskhvsi
e-e-ski-hvsi
CSI-2/1-give.to:IMM(COM)
‘Pass me it.’

b. **VJøEb**
tootiskhvisi
tee-ti-ski-hvisi
DST-CIS-2/1-give.to:IMM(COM)
‘Pass me them’

92) a. **DOLPS**  **OÇU**
aataatohlka  uwaása
a-ataat-olihka  uu-vásə
3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC  3B-self
‘He knows, recognizes himself.’
b. **TBLJ**  **0L0LJ@NJ**  
iyvtaha  uutáahnntatistothi  
iyvtaha  uu-saat-xxnvhtat-stoht-i  
sometimes  3B-RFL-remember(1)|MOD-CAU:DVN-NOM  
‘He sometimes has to remind himself.’

c. **DISJ@H**  **0CJ**  
aataaaatuuhiístíha  uwaása  
a-ataat-uuhiístíha  uu-vyśa  
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. **GJS t@S@J**  
jataksestéesti  
ja-saat-akasest-éesti  
2B-RFL-be.careful:_CMP-AFT  
‘Take care of yourself!’

b. **SISN@J**  
téetaakhthoísti  
tee-iitii-saat-akahthoísti  
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. **D6U**  **D1I1T@J**  **F†**  
akvvväsa  akwataahnoósehti  keeso  
aki-vyśa  aki-saat-hnoóseht-i  kees-o?i  
1B-self  1B-RFL-tell:DVN\MOD-NOM  be:INC-HAB
b. **D.LEA.C.H**
   aàkwataakohwthíha
   aki-ataat-kohwthíha
   1B-RFL-see:PRC
   ‘I see myself.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:296)

The above examples all have a singular subject; when the subject is plural, a Distributive prefix is mandatory. This is demonstrated in (95). In (95c) the construction can be interpreted both reciprocally as well as reflexively, but the assumption is that the reflexive interpretation refers to a repeated action. If the Distributive prefix is not used, the interpretation would be a single act of tying up performed reflexively, with no reciprocal meaning possible.

95) a. **D.LS.V@WO**
   aàwataakhthoósthánv
   aki-ataat-akahthoósthán-vý?i
   1B-RFL-look.at:CMP-EXP
   ‘I looked at myself.’

b. **V.YO.LS.V@WO**
   toókintaakhthoósthánv
   toe-okinii-ataat-akahthoósthán-vý?i
   DST-1B.DL.EX-RFL-look.at:CMP-EXP
   ‘We looked at each other.’

c. **LHTPT**
   taàntaahlvý?íha
   tee-aniì-ataat-hlvý?íha
   DST-3A.PL-RFL-tie.up:PRC
   ‘They’re tying each other up, they’re tying themselves up.’
   (Scancarelli 1987:67)
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. Moreover, the derived Agentive noun has the Distributive prefix to indicate that this is an ongoing or repeated activity.

96) a. $Sh\text{A}$
    \begin{itemize}
    \item káʔniyiíisko
    \item kaʔniyiísk-ʔi
    \end{itemize}
    3A-catch:INC-HAB
    ‘He catches it.’

b. $Jh\text{A}$
    \begin{itemize}
    \item tiitaaniíyíiski
    \item ti-a-ataat-ńiíyiisk-i
    \end{itemize}
    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. $J\text{olSC}$
    \begin{itemize}
    \item tiinataastúútlisti
    \item ti-anii-ataat-stuutlisti
    \end{itemize}
    DST2-3A.PL-RFL-sprinkle:INC\AGT-NOM
    ‘Methodists’ lit. “sprinklers”
b. **Joisj**
   juunalvvtééhi
ti-uunii-alvvteeh-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) **DkW** Dh1.0
   ajiíla anéehlohi
   ajiíla anii-eehlohi
   fire 3A.PL-feed:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘Catholics’ lit. “fire-feeders”

1.2.2 **Middle Voice** (MDL) *ataa/-ali/-lat-

The Middle Voice prefix has some similarities in form and meaning to the Reflexive and probably developed out of it. 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. **8aw©D**
   hiiyawó?a
   hii-awó?a
   2A.AN-bathe:PRC
   ‘You’re bathing him, her.’
b. **LaO\D**

hatawó`a
hi-ataa-awó`a
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. **lOi**

| tiihnawo | taàkhayoóska |
| ti-a-ahnawo | tee-a-khayoóska |
| DST2-3A-clothes | DST-3A-dry:PRC |
‘The clothes are drying.’
A few verbs are inherently ditransitive with a subject participant, primary object participant, and a secondary object participant and have a valency of 3. Most verbs that involve ‘giving’ are inherently ditransitive as they involve a giver (the subject), the person to whom the thing is being given (the primary object), and the thing being given (the secondary object). Three examples are in (101). In (101b) the prefix jii- refers to the giver and a third person animate primary object; the secondary object ‘dog’ is referred to by the Distributive prefix. (If this were singular ‘dog’, this secondary object would not be referred to on the verb at all). In (101c) the Distributive prefix on ‘to tell’ indicates the primary object ‘the people being told.’

101) a. skhvsi
    ski-hvsi
    2/1-give:IMM(COM)
    ‘Give it to me.’

d. skhvsi
    askaya teejiyaakhâane kihli
    a-skaya tee-jii-aâkhâânehâ kihli
    3A-man DST-1A.AN-give(living):PRC dog
    ‘I’m giving the man dogs.’ (Scancarelli 1987:69)

c. nuustv
    tuuwuukhtv
    tuùhnooseele
    nuustv?i tee-uu-uukhth-vý?i tee-uu-hnooseel-é?i
    way.it.is DST-3B-plan:_CMP-DVB DST-3B-tell:_CMP-EXP
    ‘He told them about his plans.’ (Chapter 9.3:11)
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. ūhalvvni ūnoohyvka
   bell 3B-sound:PRC
   ‘The bell is sounding.’

   b. ūhalvvni hinoohvvhlistiiha
      uuhalvvni hi-noohyvli-stiiha
      bell 2A-sound-CAU:PRC
      ‘You are ringing the bell.’

   c. soókwíli aataanoohyvvhlistiiha
      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. **C**\(\omega\) **S.IStS**\(\delta\) **BT**
   
   \(\text{nvv}^y\text{a tu}^\text{u}^\text{t}^\text{u}^\text{i}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{y}^\text{v}^\text{v}?\text{i}\)
   
   \(\text{n}^\text{vy}^\text{m}^\text{y}^\text{a t}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{u}^\text{u}^\text{u}^\text{a}^\text{i}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{y}^\text{v}^\text{v}^\text{v}?\text{i}\)
   
   rock\(\text{DST-3B-scatter.something:}\text{CMP-}\text{EXP}\)

‘He scattered the 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. **NAME**
   hakhtháástiíha
   hi-akahtáástiíha
   2A-wink:PRC
   ‘You are winking.’

b. **NAME**
   skwakhtáástaneéha
   ski-akahtáåstan-eéha
   2/1-wink:CMAPL: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...
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-(éhha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>-(éh-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-(si/-éli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-(él-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-(eht-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these five aspect suffixes are in (105).

105) a. əSWaLAM
    hiikaátháástaáneéha
    hii-kahtháástan-eéha
    2A.AN-wink:_CMP-APL:PRC
    ‘You are winking at her.’

c. əSWaLAM Cf
    hiikaátháástaáneéhó?
    hii-kahtháástaná-eéh-ó?i
    2A.AN-wink:_CMP-APL:INC-HAB
    ‘You wink at her.’

d. əSWaLB
    hiikaátháástaásí
    hii-kahtháástaán-si
    2A.AN-wink:_CMP-APL:IMM(COM)
    ‘Wink at her!’

e. əSWaLAQ
    hiikaáthagáasthaáneélv
    hii-kahthasthaán-eél-výí
    2A.AN-wink:_CMP-APL:_CMP-EXP
    ‘You winked 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) **lym**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taâkiiluhcheéli</td>
<td>He came up to us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-iikii-luhj-eéli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) **lyot**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>takintlecheéli</td>
<td>He will take revenge on us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-kinii-atlej-eél-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
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. 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-word 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. **SGAfp** **OGIrZfp**
    tuùyuukhtv witajiinooseéli
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. **JAYAFB**
    nuún tiskineekvlývsí
    nuúna ti-ski-neekvlýv-sí
    potato DST2-2/1-peel:_CMP-APL:IMM(COM)
    ‘Peel those potatoes for me!’
c. **R.L ** **YC** **SSAD** **JhFC**
eéti kiihli teekaakháàneeʔa tiiniiyóóthli
eéti kiihli tee-ka-aakháàneeʔa ti-anii-yóóthli
Ed dog DST-3A-give(living):PRC DST2-3A.PLóóthli
‘Edward is giving the dog to the children.’ (Dukes 1996:90)

d. **sYBALAT**
teeskhiyvstaneelvvi
 tee-ski-hyvvstan-eel-vvi
DST-2/1-pick.up:CMP-APL:CMP-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 GoHd**
  baáb wichayaníiʔa
  baáb wi-ja-yaníʔa
  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).
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.

The Applicative is also used to reference actions that are done for the benefit of someone else. Two examples are in (113). In the first example the short high tone on the verb spreads to the Applicative suffix.
b. **SV ōkājį ąyčulį**
   kato úústi skíithliísáâneéhe
   kato úústi ski-xxthliísáán-eéh-éʔi
   what thing 2/1-gather:_CMP-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. **óথhíyąl**
   oòkiiiiyóócheélv
   ookiíi-yyój-eél-vvéʔi
   1B.DL.EX-break:_CMP-APL:CMP-EXP
   ‘It broke down on us.’

b. **DLraόSOčlrb**
   aàjiiskánvıvchiisi
   aji-skánvıvj-iisi
   3O-commit.sin:_CMP-APL:IMM
   ‘She fouled her.’ (Lady Indians Championship)

c. **SV ōfōwąče glı**
   kato uuulsthanéele jaji
   kato uu-alisthan-eél-éʔi ja-jí
   what 3B-happen:_CMP-APL:CMP-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.
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 Causative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous</td>
<td>-stiiha/-htiiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-stii/-htii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleative</td>
<td>-stan/-htan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-sta/-hta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-stoht/-htoht-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

115) a. **IrG 0:ZBV**

jiíyu uùnoöyỳvje
jiíyu uu-noöyỳvj-é?i
boat 3B-sink(I):CMP-NXP

‘The boat sank.’

b. **IrG T:IZBøI**

jiíyu iitiinoöyỳvsta
jiíyu iiti-noöyỳ-sta
boat 1A.PL-sink(I)-CAU:IMM

‘We sank the boat.’

116) a. **DYBøsøI**

akhiyvstéestiiha
aki-hyvstée-stiiha
1B-get.drunk-CAU:PRC

‘He’s getting me drunk.’
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/, /tʃ/, /ʃ/ 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.  
\[ \text{DPC} \]  
\[ \text{aàliitlis} \]  
\[ \text{ama} \]  
\[ \text{a-aliitliha=s} \]  
\[ \text{ama} \]  
\[ \text{3A-boil(1):PRC=Q} \]  
\[ \text{water} \]  
\[ \text{‘Is the water boiling?’} \]

b.  
\[ \text{4PC} \]  
\[ \text{haliithltas} \]  
\[ \text{ama} \]  
\[ \text{hi-aliitl-sta=s} \]  
\[ \text{ama} \]  
\[ \text{2A-boil(1)-CAU:IIMM=Q} \]  
\[ \text{water} \]  
\[ \text{‘Did you boil the water?’} \]

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 causitized, 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.  
\[ \text{JphTC.I} \]  
\[ \text{juhlniikwanývti} \]  
\[ \text{nihiyvniisi} \]  
\[ \text{ti-uu-ali-hniikwanývt-i} \]  
\[ \text{ni-hii-vniisi} \]  
\[ \text{DST2-3A-MDL-kneel(1):DVN-NOM2} \]  
\[ \text{PRT-2A.AN-cause:IMM} \]  
\[ \text{‘Make your child kneel.’} \]

b.  
\[ \text{JSiW} \]  
\[ \text{tiiteehyóóhvski} \]  
\[ \text{uunoohweélohti} \]  
\[ \text{ti-a-at-eehyóóhvsk-i} \]  
\[ \text{uunii-oohweéloht-i} \]  
\[ \text{DST2-3A-RFL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM} \]  
\[ \text{3B.PL-write:DVN-NOM2} \]
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. **ÖBøSD**
       uùhyvstée2a
       uu-hyvstée2a
       3B-get.drunk:PRC
       'He is getting drunk.'

       b. **DLBøSøLøY**
           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. **ÕfVPS**
       oøjiitooliika
       oojii-tooliika
       1A.PL.EX-pity:PRC
       'We feel sorry for him.'
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 (Ø)

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. ọh DYACI
   jaáni aàkikohwthíiha
   jaáni aki-kohwthíiha
   John   1B-see:PRC
   ‘John sees me.’

b. iYAC.H
   výkikohwthíiha
   vki-kohwthíiha
   1O-see:PRC
   ‘I feel like I’m being seen.’
Verbs using the Object Focus prefixes are often translated into English with the passive voice or with the subject translated with ‘someone’ or an unspecified ‘they.’ Several examples are in (122). In the first and second examples the English passive is used in the translation; in the third example a generic ‘they’ appears in the translation.

122) a. **D(LP)PC**  **SAI**  **DSW**  **G(Â)LI**
   aâkwataathvttvñhvñ tuukooti ateéla jvkinêhti
   aki-ataa-athvttvñhvñ-ôm?i tee-uukooti ateéla ti-vki-nêht-i
   1B-RFL-ask:COMP-EXP DST-more money DST2-IO-give:DVN-NOM2
   ‘I asked to be given more money.’

   b. **ÂLP(PC)â**  **RG(ôSP.I**
   hatathvttvñhas  etsstehlî
   hi-ataat-athvttvñhas=s  eja-stehlt-íí?i
   2A-RFL-ask:IMM=Q  2O-help:DVN-NOM2
   ‘Did you ask to be helped?’

   c. **DJT(Â)JE**
   aâku?iiístíiskv
   aji-uhiístíisk-ôm?i
   3O-accuse:INC-EXP

   **SG(Ô)AE**  **LI(ôG.E**
   kaloonvheéskv  takhwanyooskv
   ka-loonvheésk-ôm?i  tee-a-khwanyooskv-ôm?i
   3A-cheat:INC-DVB  DST-3A-play.cards:INC-DVB
   ‘They accused him of cheating at cards.’

The Object Focus prefixes also have a discourse function of merely putting in the background the subject; that is, the identity of the subject is known but is deemphasized. This is an area that warrants further examination through the careful study of lengthy discourses. An example is in (123). Both participants are known; in fact, the subject is explicitly mentioned. The two noun phrases appear at the very end; the subject ‘wolf’ is in the final position.
123) **DU Dup Z** **TGC YI** **DS Sp E**
saawúhnóo iyúwáákht aàkatuuliískv
saakwu=hnóo iyúwáákhtí aji-atuuliísk-vó?i
one=CN time 3O-want:INC-EXP

**D lh b a J** **I r o p θ** **I wi**
ajiiyeèsti jíístvvna wahya
aji-xxhyeèst-i jíístvvna 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) **D C w** **CA L A**
wahya uu-neenuhlance
wahya uu-neenuhlan-é?i
wolf 3B-challenge:CMP-NXP

**I r o p θ** **JO V Y a o S I T**
jíístvvna juuhnthohkiýáastíí?i
crawdad DST-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. **DIP. DØSPL**
akeéhya aâsteeliíta
akeéhya a-steeeliíta
woman 3A-help:PRC
‘He’s helping the woman.’

b. **DAP. OLA@SPL**
aânehlti uutaastehlti
a-anehltiʔa uu-ataat-stehlt-i
3A-try:PRC 3A-RFL-help:DVN-NOM2
‘He’s trying to help (so and so).’

c. **OPLAP. SGLN@SPL**
uulskééti téejataayelvíśéestí
uu-alskééti tee-iliji-ataat-yelvíś-éestí
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. **DIP.ØN**
aâkwahthvvhiiíto
aki-ahthvvhiiítoha
1B-visit:PRC
‘He is visiting me.’

b. **AOLAP.ØN**
hataahwahthvvhiiítóøha
hi-ataat-hwahthvvhiiítóøha
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. **TLPOCAJ**
    iaikatasuyestíí?i  iitatvvnýsti
    iaikii-ataat-asuyest-íí?i iitii-atvvnýstiha
    1B.PL.-RFL-choose:INC-NOM2  1A.PL.-prepare:PRC
    ‘We are getting ready to vote.’

    b. **LVPS**
    hataatohlka
    hi-ataat-ooliha
    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. **LSJEY**
    tiikhtiíléék-i
    ti-a-kahtiíléék-i
    DST2-3A-attack:INC\AGT-NOM
    ‘attacker (of one thing)’

    b. **LSJEY**
    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 de-emphasize the backgrounded biter. In the second instance of the verb, the unspecified object Reflexive prefix focuses on the biter and de-emphasizes what is being bitten. The Object Focus on the biter in the second instance is reflected in the speakers’ translation.

129) **D4Z** **DiR3SW** **D4Ch**

aaséehno aäjiiskal ayótlike
aaséehno aji-skala ayótlike
however 30-bite:IMM little one

**CWh.IF** **LCB** **DiR3SW**
uu-thaníitike 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) **C0** **LYb** **DiZ.4T** **IP4AT**
nvvnv taks aàtaanohiise nuutívneelv
nvvnv taksi a-ataat-nohiis-é?i ni-uu-atívneel-ýv?i
now turtle 3A-RFL-tell:_CMP-NXP PRT-3B-do:_CMP-EXP
‘Now the turtle is telling what happened.’

b. **Gh** **S0Aê** **Df** **Dhr4aY**
jaán tuúnívneele meéli anii-jilývski
jaáni tee-uu-nívneel-é?i meéli anii-jilývski
John DST-3B-give:COM-NXP Mary 3A.PL-flower
In the two examples in (131) the agentive derivations all bear the Reflexive prefix as they do not specify the object involved.

131) a. **DLC**  **šą þ**
- ataaj)v+yyski
- a-ataat-jv+yysk-i
- 3A-RFL-sting:INC\AGT-NOM
- ‘stinger’ (Feeling 1975a:4)

b. **Ił h.Ł**
- tiitaatvynihi
- ti-a-ataat-vynihi
- 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) **CVH**  **ỳk**  **AIJ.JJ**
- úútana  vvtali  skohitíhi
- 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. Two examples of this construction are in (133); in each example the Middle prefix attaches to a transitive verb.

133) a. SFXβV β4
    kaliistooyeéha
    ji-ali-stooyeéha
    1A-MDL-trim:PRC
    ‘I am shaving, cutting my hair.’

    b. DVMCtH4
    aáttooluhwathiíha
    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. LζΩωιS
    taástluyska
    tee-a-stluska
    DST-3A-split:PRC
    ‘He is splitting it.’

    b. LFΩωιS
    taálstluska
    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**
      aâtaatohlka
      a-ataat-olihka
      3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC 3B-self
      ‘He knows, recognizes himself.’

   c. **DLVPS**
      aâtaatohlka
      a-ataat-olihka
      3A-RFL-know,recognize:PRC
      ‘He recognizes somebody.’

   c. **LVPS**
      taâtohlka
      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. **dBé 0S**
   hiistáàyvvhvyska
   hiis-stáàyvvhvyska
   2A.AN-fix.a.meal:PRC
   ‘You are fixing him a meal.’
b. ə pholbə cəs
   halstáyvvhýska
   hi-ali-stáyvvhýska
   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. ə wəjgrə
    nuwoohiyuusvýna
    ni-uu-ooohiyuuus-výna
    PRT-3B-believe-NDV
    ‘faithless, doesn’t believe in things’

    b. ə vəjgrə
    nuutoohiyuusvýna
    ni-uu-ataa-ooohiyuuus-výna
    PRT-3B-MDL-believe-NDV
    ‘not real, unbelievable’

The Middle prefix has forms that are distinct from the Reflexive; it appears as -ət- before all vowels (138a), -ali- before the consonant /h/ (138b), and, like the Reflexive, -ataa- before all other consonants (138c).

138) a. əsle’d
    aátuutalééʔa
    a-ataa-uutalééʔa
    3A-MDL-un hitch(T):PRC
    ‘It is unhitching.’
b. **DOPULIPI**
   aânalsakwaleelíha
   anii-ali-sakwaleelíha
   3A.PL-MDL-roll(T):PRC
   ‘They are rolling.’

c. **DLOSAKAS**
   aâtaajakalvyska
   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) **DSLÉD**
   aâtaatuutalée?a
   a-ataat-uutalée?a
   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. **SGPASYQ**
   tééjalsteelvvhv
   tee-iji-ii-ali-steelvvh-ý?i
   DST-2A.PL-MDL-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. **SJCB**
   téetíhliisíha
tee-iitii-xxhliisíha
DST-1A.PL-gather(T):PRC
‘We are gathering them up.’

b. **SJICB**
téetáahliisíha
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.
Many verbs have a frozen Middle prefix that cannot be removed. These verbs are found throughout the lexicon. A sample list of these is in (143).

143) -alvvteehíha       ‘to faint’
     -alistuhvska        ‘to bud’
     -atóökhtíha (Set B, tee-) ‘to stagger’ (Feeling 1975a:87)
     -ateeëyska          ‘to be born’
     -atanasiíni         ‘to crawl’
     -atiikháha          ‘to urinate’
     -alihiha            ‘to fight’
     -alihyvysánaàwstíha ‘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. **SFKJL**
     kaljóóhit    nuúlstaanv
     ka-aljóóhita ni-uu-alsthaan-vy?i
     3A-fat       PRT-3B-happen:CMP-EXP
     ‘He became fat.’
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. 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. OpaSTL uulstuʔíita ‘open’
   DplaSTD aástúʔiʔa ‘He’s opening it.’
   b. OpaTPL uulskwalita ‘broken’
   DpaTpaS aáskwáalska ‘He’s breaking it.’
   c. OpeQOL uulsuúhwita ‘colored, painted’
   DpeQOL aásúúhwíska ‘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) OpeTL ulesosoʔta ‘skinny’
    DWhyl alahníikita ‘strong’
    OpaTPL uulskééta ‘important, sacred’
    OLMW uutaaluula ‘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. **D**<sub>L</sub>V<sub>P</sub><sub>∅</sub><sub>S</sub>
a-ataatoohlvvska
a-ataat-oohlvvska
3A-RFL-make:PRC
‘It’s regenerating itself (e.g. a lizard).’

b. **D**<sub>V</sub>P<sub>∅</sub><sub>S</sub>
a-atoohlvvska
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.  

### 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.  

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 Terminiative suffix (also in its Completive form) appears indicating that the activity was done thoroughly or to completion.

148) a. OfiC
    uu-yóojv
    uu-yóoj-vý?i
    3B-break(I):CMP-EXP
    ‘It broke.’

b. Ofi@WC
    uu-yóosthanv
    uu-yóo-sthan-vý?i
    3B-break(I)-CAU:CMP-EXP
    ‘He broke it.’

c. Ofi@WZO
    uu-yóosthanohnv
    uu-yóo-sthan-ohn-vý?i
    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. 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.
Table 3: The five aspect suffixes of the duplicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-iísíh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-iísíisk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-iísíisk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-iísa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-iisáhn-, -isil-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal noun</td>
<td>-iísóht-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

149) a. **FUGTy**
kvëkiilóö?iísí  
ji-vhkiilóö?-iísíha  
1A-wash:COMP-DPL:PRC  
‘I’m washing it again.’

b. **TJţiLiCbA**
iihi-stayoohliliisiisko  
ii-hi-stayoohl-iísíishk-ó?i  
ITR-2A-shoot:COMP-DPL:INC-HAB  
‘You re-shoot it.’

c. **C4PAPU**
nvwhatvvnneeliísa  
ni-ii-hi-atvvnneel-iísa  
PRT-ITR-2A-do:COMP-DPL:IMM  
‘You just re-did it.’

d. **SBţ Vaughan**
tuùhvývstóöhiisahnv  
te-uu-hvývstóö-hiisahn-vv?i  
DST-3B-sneeze:COMP-DPL:COMP-EXP  
‘He sneezed over and over.’

e. **TGţAply**  **CApI**
iyuutvvnneélíísohti  
ií-uu-atvvnneél-iísoht-i  
PRT-2-3B-do:COMP-DPL:DVN\MOD-NOM  
3B-find(liquid):DVN-NOM2  
‘He has to do it over again to find it (something liquid).’
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.

\[150\] S V Q\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}.I .JCB\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}
\begin{align*}
\text{kato úústi } & \text{hiíthliíísíiske} \\
\text{kato úústi } & \text{hi-þxthliíísísk-é?i} \\
\text{what thing } & \text{2A-gather(T):INC-NXP} \\
\text{‘What were you gathering?’}
\end{align*}

### 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Continuous</th>
<th>iÍló?a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-iÍlóòsk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-iÍlóója</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-iÍló-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-iÍlóòst-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[151\] a. K Q\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}.I DIrZfPGD
\begin{align*}
\text{jò? yuuwàákhthi } & \text{aàjiínoneel-iÍló?a} \\
\text{jò?i yuuwàákhthi } & \text{aji-hnoseel-iÍló?a} \\
\text{three time } & \text{3O-tell:CMP-RPT:PRC} \\
\text{‘He’s being told three times.’}
\end{align*}

\[\text{ QCJ\text{\textregistered}thG\text{\textregistered}ET}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{uuwáakhuyáásthaníÍlóòskvý?i} \\
\text{uu-þxkhuyáásthan-iÍlóòsk-vý?i} \\
\text{3B-burp:CMP-RPT:INC-EXP} \\
\text{‘He was hiccoughing, burping repeatedly.’}
\end{align*}
3. ACCIDENTAL (ACC)

This suffix adds the meaning ‘to do something accidentally.’ It appears to be a composite of the sequence to- and the Causative. The five forms of this suffix are in Table 5; an example of each form is in (152). Because this suffix has a Causative meaning, it is used in place of a Causative. For example the transitive verb ‘to wake up’ is derived from the intransitive verb ‘to wake up.’ In (152d) it is seen that the transitive verb ‘to accidentally wake somebody up’ derives directly from the intransitive verb. Unlike the Causative, however, the Accidental attaches to the Completive stem and not the root. There is no Present Continuous form of this suffix.

Table 5: The four aspect suffixes of the Accidental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOMPLETIVE</td>
<td>-tóhtísk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMMEDIATE</td>
<td>-tóhta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLETIVE</td>
<td>-tóhtan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVERBAL NOUN</td>
<td>-tóht-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.
Table 6: The five aspect suffixes of the Terminative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-ohvška</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>-ohvšk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-ohna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>-ohn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-ohvst-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

153) a. jísteýóólohvška
   ji-steéyóól-ohvška
1A-braid: CMP-TRM: PRC
   ‘I’m about to finish braiding it.’

b. óósta aástóó?ohvškó? kanvji yuuwoohlvýchna
   óósta a-stóó?-ohvšk-ó?i kanvji yi-uu-oohlvvhn-a
   ‘He pounds it out good when he makes kanuchi.’

c. kawóoniisóhna
   ka-wóoniis-óhna
3A-SPEAK: CMP-TRM: IMM
   ‘He just finished speaking.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:285)

d. nikááta tvvnikíisisohni
   nikááta ta-aanikíisisohni
   all FUT-3A-leave: CMP-TRM: CMP-MOT
   ‘It will be all gone.’ (Cherokee Phoenix May 2006)

e. aase iljíískwatohvští
   aase iljii-skwat-ohvst-i
   must 2A.PL\MOD-finish: CMP-TRM: DVN-NOM
   ‘You all have to finish it.’
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.’ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Continuous</th>
<th>-iítóòha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOMPLETIVE</td>
<td>-iítóòh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMMEDIATE</td>
<td>-iíta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLETIVE</td>
<td>-iítóòl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVERBAL NOUN</td>
<td>-iiitast-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these five aspect forms are in (152).

154)  a. **HE** OULAPVA  **DI**
       niikhv uuweehistâaneeliítóòha aâtiih
       niikhvú2i uu-eehistâaneel-iítóòha a-ättiiha
       everywhere 3b-ache:cmp-amb:prc 3a-ättiiha
       ‘She says she hurts all over.’ (Feeling 1975a:147)

       b. **LIhVI**  **LIE**  **DAV**
       taâtihiitóohe tahnawa aneeto
       tee-a-atihn-iítóoh-ée2i tahnawa anii-etztóóh-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. **Ṽač̃ẽl**
   toòstasuulehiíta
tee-oostii-asuuleeh-iíta
DST-1A.DL.EX-wash.hands:PNF-AMB:IMM
‘We went to wash our hands.’

d. **D̆ĭk**  **ĂwWhv̆4**  **SZ̆tĕ**
uuyō nuulsthaníítóóły tuùnooseéle
3B-bad PRT-3B-happen:COMP-AMB:COMP-DVB DST-3B-tell:COMP-NXP
‘Evil things he told them.’

e. **FÃl̃P̃AH̃l̃ÃIT**  **l̃G̃ÕS̃P̃I**
   keestatívneelvvhniitastíí?i thla yuunatuuliha
   kee-stii-atívneelvvhn-iiitast-íí?i thla yi-uunii-atuuliha
NGT-2B.DL-act.up:DVN-NOM2 NEG IR-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) **Dl̃s̃əl̃h̃ṽ4**
   aátatéesthaníítóóha
   a-atátée-sthan-iítóóha
3A-bounce(I)-CAU:COMP-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. **D̃w**  **D̃al̃l**  **L̃CP̃ṽI**
   hila yikohíít taàhlíiliítóóho
   hila yi-kohííta tee-a-ahliiliítóóh-ó?i
   how IRR-long DST-3A-take.time:INC-HAB
**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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-éeka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-éeka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>-éek-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-éena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Command</td>
<td>-úuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>-vvs-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-vst-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

157) a. **RGAPGS**

<eq>
eèjakooliyéekas
</eq>

<eq>
eja-kooliy-éeka=s
</eq>

20-examine: CMP-AND: PRC=Q

‘Are you going to go to be examined?’

b. **AS**

<eq>
kookas hatawoo2éekó2
</eq>

<eq>
kooka=s hi-ataa-woo2-éek-ó?i
</eq>

summer=Q 2A-ML-bathe: CMP-AND: INC-HAB

‘Do you go swimming in the summer?’

386
c. **TOP** aç**v** _LH3_3
   iínalstayhnúukā
   iínii-ali-stayhn-úuka
   1A.DL-MDL-fix.a.meal: CMP-AND: IMM(COM)
   ‘Let’s go eat!’

d. **qøØp aç** _LBCΩR_
   oökinalstayvhnúvsv
   ookinii-ali-stayvhnvvs-vúʔi
   1B.DL.EX-MDL-fix.a.meal: CMP-AND: IMM
   ‘We went to eat’

e. **GëCøJøLø**
   jasuúhnvstis  jatuuli
   ja-suúhn-vst-i=s  ja-atuulihhas
   ‘Do you want to go fishing?’

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. **çiøSø4yø**
   yeëtiisteelelyvheēna
   yi-eëti-steelvyh-ēena
   IRR-1A.PL-AN-help: CMP-AND: IMM
   ‘We went to help.’

b. **TLp aç** _SH3_8
   iiitalsteelvyhúuka
   iiitii-ali-steelvyh-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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Continuous</th>
<th>-íika</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-ííhíh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-íika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-íihl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deverbal Noun</td>
<td>-ist-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

159) a. Ḣfǐi@WhS

jiyóostaníika
ji-yóo-sthan-íika
1A-break(I)-CAU:CMP-VEN:PRC
‘I came to destroy it.’

b. F YΘS V@Wh.Øl

keekinakhtóosthanííhího
keekinii-akahthóosthan-ííhíh-óʔi
3pl/1Dl-look.at:CMP-VEN:INC-HAB
‘They come to see us.’

c. Ḣri@J.IS

jistitiíík
ji-stii-t-íika
‘Where you two came and laid it.’ (Scancarelli 2005:355)
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d.  ə'θa:əbə
   uùnaskoósíihlv
   uunii-askoós-íihl-vvəi
3B.PL-dig:_CMP-VEN:_CMP-EXP
   ‘They came to dig.’

e.  D3W    D:I:llə:əI        L Ya:əI:la
   ateéla awatatlohísti  taákilvvhwstaane
   ateéla aki-atatloh-íst-i  tee-aki-lvvhwstaaneha
   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. This suffix is
unusual in that it bears the highfall tone typical of deverbalized 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** |                 |
|                | ̊iitíísk-        |
| **IMMEDIATE**  | ̊iiitééna       |
| **COMPLETE**   | ̊iitíís-        |

160) a.  ə'θwβəl
   uùwóoniisiííti
   uu-wóoniis-ííti
3B-speak:_CMP-PRI:PRC
   ‘He is about to speak.’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:289)
b. Ọhụwụhọet
   uünisalaátáàniitíiskv
   uuunii-salaátáàn-iitíisk-výʔi
   3B.PL-lift:_CMP-PRI:INC-EXP
   ‘They were about to lift it.’

c. ỌAlsθ
   uukoosiiitééna
   uu-koos-iitééna
   3B-rot:_CMP-PRI:IMM
   ‘It’s about to rot, it’s destined to rot.’

d. VsọsọWh.IRT
   tòkáàskaléésthaniitíisv
   tee-oókii-áaskaléésthan-iitíis-výʔi
   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. T4 SGR×
   ihiateluhoosvvhnv
   yi-hi-ateeluhoosvvhn-výʔi
   IRR-2A-find.out(multiple):CMP-EXP
   ‘If you should see or hear things…’ (Scancarelii 2005:355)
b. **ogírt**
   uu-ateelohoos-výʔi
   uu-ateelohoos-výʔi
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. **ego**
   kvvška
   ji-vvška
   1A-weave:PRC
   ‘I’m weaving it.’

   b. **eyd**
   kvvkiʔa
   ji-vv-kíʔa
   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).
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).

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.

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. פיק- גוו  סאט-ת. eliwus jalaki teeháteehlohk heelí?a
    elikwu=s jalaki tee-hi-ateehlohka hi-eelí?a
    possible=Q Cherokee DST-2A-learn:PRC 2A-think:PRC
    ‘Do you think you can learn Cherokee?’

    b. פיק- גוו  גוו  גוו  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?’

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).

The Relativizer does not lengthen the following vowel; an example with the same verb stem is in (2).

2)  ס  ע. גוו  גוו  ה. kato úúst jayelvysé? jihniwi
    kato úústi ja-yelvys-é?i ji-ni-hi-iwi
    ‘What did you mean when you said that?’

Cook (1979:55) and King (1975:62) both use the label ‘translocative.’

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 $nî$- as ‘still, yet, not yet.’ Foley calls this the ‘previative’ (1980:36).

8 A unit of time that does not follow this pattern is $kha?lînîka$ ‘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 prepronominal prefixes varies from speaker to speaker. Feeling lists the verb ‘to iron’ with a Distributive ($flôs$ taåtåska ‘He’s ironing it.’) However, this verb is attested without the prefix as in (3).

3) **DOO** $IraðaYAC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-ahnawo jiskinêehn$v$</th>
<th>jiïtheeska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3A-shirt REL-2/I-give:CMD</td>
<td>1A-iron:PRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I am ironing the shirt you gave me.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. **C.ILO**

| wåtåwo |
| wi-a-at-awóo2a |
| TRN-3A-MDL-bathe(T):PRC |
| ‘S/he’s swimming (e.g. down at the creek, not here).’ (Koops 2008a:2) |

b. **J.ILC**

| tiïtåwo |
| ti-a-at-awóo2a |
| 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. **SWB C.ILP**

| thulsî waakkâwàshsvv |
| thulså-?i wi-aki-athvs-vý?i |
| Tulsa-LOC TRN-1B-grow(i):CMD-EXP |
| ‘I grew up in Tulsa (was born here, then moved there).’ (Koops 2008a:3) |

---

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).
b. **SWb**  **jiIpiR**
   thulsî  tiikwathsv
   thulsa-ʔi  ti-aki-athvsv-vironments
   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 prepronominial prefixes yî-, wî-, or nî-, 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 prepronominial 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. W\(\text{θs}\)\(\text{i}\) \(\text{h}\).I.Es.f\(\text{ɪ}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{AT}\)
   thalskohi \(\text{nateethiiya}\) \(\text{nitikvvteehyoóhýskóò?i}\)
   thali+skohi ni-ateethiiya ni-ti-kaa-a-at-ehyohvsk-o?i
   two+ten PRT-year PRT-DST2-NGT-3A-MDL-teach:INC-HAB
   ‘She has been teaching for twenty years.’ (Feeling 1975a:16)

b. W\(\text{θs}\)\(\text{i}\) \(\text{h}\).I.Es.f\(\text{ɪ}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{AT}\)
   thalskohi \(\text{nateethiiya}\) \(\text{nitateehyoóhýskóò?i}\)
   thalskohi ni-ateethiiya ni-tee-a-at-ehyohvsk-ó?i
   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.
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.’
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.

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 he Object focus sentence.

7) a. \text{Ir\text{c}S} \quad \text{OV\text{z}G} \quad \text{Gl\text{t}h\text{t}} \quad \text{D\text{t}T}
   \begin{align*}
   &jiistu \quad utoohiyu \quad jalvkwatane\text{é}ha \quad amake\text{?}i \\
   &jiistu \quad utoohiyu \quad ja-lvkwanat-\text{é}ha \quad amake\text{?}i \\
   &rabbit \quad really \quad 2B-\text{like}:\text{CMP}-\text{APL}:\text{PRC} \quad hominy
   \end{align*}
   ‘Rabbit sure likes your hominy.’ (Walker 1975:226)

b. \text{Ir\text{h}l\text{p}Z} \quad \text{Ir\text{c}YW\text{C}I \uparrow}
   \begin{align*}
   &jiniitatv\text{hn\text{o}} \quad tskhilawtiise \\
   &ji-niita2tv\text{?}i=hn\text{o} \quad ji-ski-hkhilawtiis-\text{é}i \\
   &1A\text{-tail}=\text{CN} \quad \text{REL}-2/1:\text{ride.on}:\text{INC}-\text{NXP}
   \end{align*}
   ‘You were hanging onto my tail.’ (Chapter 9.1)

8) \text{DS\text{W}Y} \quad \text{LY\text{z}c} \quad \text{ShZ\text{c}Y \uparrow}
   \begin{align*}
   &ate\text{e}\text{é}l \quad ta\text{à}kh\text{í} \quad tu\text{ù}niinooskíise \\
   &ate\text{é}\text{é}la \quad tee-aki-h-\text{\text{v}\text{?}i} \quad tee-uunii-nooskíis-\text{é}i \\
   &money \quad \text{DST}-1\text{B}-\text{have}:\text{CMP}-\text{EXP\text{SUB}} \quad \text{DST}-3\text{B}.\text{PL}-\text{steal}:\text{CMP}-\text{NXP}
   \end{align*}
   ‘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. 
   \[ \text{3A-weigh} \]
   \[ \text{kakééta} \]
   \[ \text{ka-kééta} \]
   ‘He, she, it is heavy.’

   b. 
   \[ \text{3B-MDL-weigh} \]
   \[ \text{uu-ataa-kééta} \]
   ‘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) that 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

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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).

There are a few examples of verbal compounds in Cherokee, but their scarcity indicates that it is an unproductive process.

King calls this suffix the ‘reiterative’ (King 1975:90) and says it indicates an action that had been previously begun.

King calls this suffix the ‘repetitive’ (King 1975:90).

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) **OFcSTL**

\[\text{uhlstuu}i\text{íita}\]

\[\text{kuésv}\]

\[\text{nuulstóhثانů}\]

\[\text{uu} \text{ali-stuu}i\text{ii-ta}\]

\[\text{kuésv-ý}i\]

\[\text{ni-uu-alistóhثان-ý}i\]

3B-MDL-open-PCP

be:INC-EXP

PRT-3B-happen.accidentally-DVB

**DYP*C O**

\[\text{akihthvkaanv}\]

\[\text{aniwiooky}\]

1B-hear:COMP-EXP

3A.PL-speak:INC-DVB

‘Because it accidentally happened to be open I heard the conversation.’

King calls this suffix the ambulative (King 1975:88).

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) **OTC.PZ**

\[\text{uhnw}t\text{v} \text{hno}\]

\[\text{ajikhehiítóôle}\]

\[\text{jíístv} \text{vn}\]

\[\text{uhnaw} \text{tv} \text{hno}= \text{dt}=\text{fc}=\text{cn}\]

\[\text{aji-khëhvs-iítóól-é}i\]

\[\text{jíístv} \text{vna}\]

\[\text{3o-chase:cmp-amb:cmp-nxp}\]

\[\text{crawdad}\]

‘…and right then he started chasing him.’ (Chapter 9.1)

King calls this suffix the andative (King 1975:91).

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 ti 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. Djàcì Dàcìs
   akiísti aâkooska
   akiísti a-kooska
   food  3A-rot:PRC
   ‘The food is turning rotten.’

   b. Kw IrÁt
   joola jiíneélvìi
   joola ji-jií-hneél-výìi
   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 Ošóíl Ocsì
   káatu uu-kanáásta uu-áatuuhnv
   káatu uu-kanáásta uu-áatuuhnv-výìi
   bread  3B-sweet  3B-bake:_CMP-EXP

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‘She baked a cake for her son's birthday.’ (Feeling 1975a:94)

‘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.

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.

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.
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) tali’kwa is the subject; the predicate identifies it as ‘the capital of the Cherokee Nation.’
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  DSOsI
   aátawi akaʔnakhthi
   aátawi a-kaʔnakhthi
   Adam  3A-doctor
   ‘Adam is a doctor.’

   b. DLo  DSOsI  FRT
   aátawi akaʔnakthi  keēsvv?i
   aátawi a-kaʔnakthi  keēs-vv?i
   Adam  3A-doctor  be:INC-EXP
   ‘Adam was a doctor.’

   c. DLo  DSOsI  FRT
   aátawi akaʔnakthi  keēséesti
   aátawi a-kaʔnakthi  keēs-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 inset 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. **DIQ@AT**
   aàtawóoskóoʔi
   a-ataa-awóosk-óʔi
   3A-MDL-swim:INC-HAB
   ‘She swims.’

   b. **DIQ@Y**
   atawóóski
   a-ataa-awóosk-i
   3A-MDL-swim:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘She’s a swimmer.’

The *teē*- form of the Distributive prefix generally only appears on verbs; the majority of nouns (and all adjectives) use the form *tē- (DST2). When *tē-* appears before a short /a/ the /a/ will delete. A trace of the deleted vowel remains, however, in the lengthened form *tēi-. 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. **DIW@I**
   atiithasti
   a-atiithast-i
   3A-drink:DVN-NOM
   ‘a drink’

   b. **DIW@I**
   tiitiithasti
   ti-a-atiithast-i
   DST2-3A-drink:DVN-NOM
   ‘drinks’
Before the vowel /i/ the prefix vowel deletes as shown in (10).

10) **J.J.Z.YοY**
   
   tiitiihnookiíiski
   ti-iiiti-hnookiíisk-i
   DST2-1A.PL-sing:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘We are singers.’

When *ti*- appears before other vowels besides /a/ and /i/, it appears as *ji*- 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 pronominal prefixes. In (11) four examples of this *ji*- variant are demonstrated for the four vowels /e/, /o/, /u/, and /v/, respectively.

11) a. **WÀbì.o.οY**
   
   jeeneèyóòhvskì
   ti-eenii-eëhyóòhvsk-i
   DST2-1A.PL.AN-teach:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘We’re his, her teachers.’

b. **KÌllàt**
   
   joostataalvý?ì
   ti-oostii-ataa-lvý?ì
   DST2-1A.DL.EX-RFL-sister
   ‘She and I are sisters.’

c. **JhRαJ**
   
   juuniisvvsti
   ti-uunii-svvst-i
   DST2-3B.PL-go.to.bed:DVN-NOM2
   ‘hotel’
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) 
\[ \text{thi} \text{i} \text{e} \text{e} \text{y} \text{ó} \text{o} \text{hv} \text{s} \text{k} \text{i} \] 
\[ \text{ti} \text{-hii-eehyoóhvsk-i} \] 
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dη</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>‘wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dη</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dη</td>
<td>áama</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dη</td>
<td>ali</td>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dη</td>
<td>aʔni</td>
<td>‘strawberry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lηb</td>
<td>takhsí</td>
<td>‘turtle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

- jíístvvna ‘crawdad’
- ateéla ‘money’
- akoóta ‘prairie’
- ajá?ti ‘fish’
- thaláatu ‘tree frog’
- ajina ‘cedar’
- ahawi ‘deer’
- taamáka ‘horsefly’ (Feeling 1975a:74)
- tawóoli ‘mushroom’
- eloohi ‘earth’
- kahljoóte ‘house’
- kanvno ‘road’
- kithaaya ‘cherry’
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 $\text{tee}$. (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.

15a. \textbf{DYO.I}
    akiísti
    a-kiíst-i
    3A-eat:DVN-NOM
    ‘food’

b. \textbf{DYD}
    aàkiʔa
    a-kiʔa
    3A-eat:PRC
    ‘He eats 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. $W{\text{ate\={e}la}} \rightarrow \text{ateel} \quad \text{‘money’}
b. $\text{ama} \rightarrow \text{am} \quad \text{‘water’}
c. $C{\text{kiihli}} \rightarrow \text{kiihl} \quad \text{‘dog’}

If the final syllable starts with /h/ the entire syllable typically is dropped. An example is in (20).

20) $\text{ak\={e\=e}hya} \rightarrow \text{ake} \quad \text{‘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. $\text{jiwooni\={i}ski}$
   ji-wooni\={i}sk-i
   1A-speak:INC\=AGT-NOM
   ‘I’m a speaker.’
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In (22) below the derived noun ‘school’ indicates a location. The pronominal prefix is first person plural, but the noun itself (‘school’) is third person. The prefix translates into English as a possessor (‘our school’), but the literal meaning is ‘place where we learn.’

22) K$S$J$L$a,i$a

jookateehlkwastiíss

ti-ookii-ateehlkwast-íi?i=s
dst2-1b.pl.ex-learn:dnv-nom2=q

‘Are you coming to our school?’

Noun inflection in Cherokee is complex and depends on several factors, including whether the noun is human or animate, and whether it is a root noun or a derived noun. These factors will be considered in the following section.

2.1. Root nouns without pronominal prefixes

2.1.1. Non-human root nouns

Many non-human root nouns do not normally inflect for person or number. Nouns that refer to people, body parts, or clothing do inflect and will be discussed in a later section. There are special instances where the uninflected nouns do indeed take inflection. Labeling them as ‘uninflected’ is justified, however, because such is their usual state; moreover, the true inflected nouns are always marked for person and number.

Root nouns in Cherokee are less complex than the verbs; many remain unchanged most of the time. For example, to indicate plurality, non-human root nouns do not change from their singular counterpart. The verb will indicate if the
noun is singular or plural. (23a) is an example of the noun *kiihli* referring to a single dog. In (23b) the noun remains the same; only the *kaa-* prepronominal prefix on the verb indicates that the object is plural.

23) a. **JAC.JJ**
   hiikoohwahthíju
   hii-koozhwahthi=ju
   2A.AN-see:PRC=CQ
   ‘Do you see that dog?’

   **YC**
   na? kiihli
   that dog

   b. **JAC.JJ**
   kaahiikoohwahthíju
   kaa-hii-koozhwahthi=ju
   ANP-2A.AN-see:PRC=CQ
   ‘Do you see those dogs?’

   **YC**
   na? kiihli
   that dog

Another example is in (24). In this example the speaker pluralizes the animate object with Distributive *tee-*

24) a. **HU EE**
   saasa kéehla
   saasa ka-éehla
   goose 3A-feed:PRC
   ‘He's feeding the goose.’

   b. **HU SFF**
   saasa teekéehla
   saasa tee-ka-éehla
   goose DST-3A-feed:PRC
   ‘He’s feeding the geese.’

Non-human root nouns normally have no inflection and in this way are distinct from human nouns. Human nouns, as will be seen, always have a pronominal prefix. Compare the two examples in (25).
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.  \[\text{\textbf{θθ} \textbf{ςς} \textbf{οο} \textbf{ιι} \textbf{δδ} \textbf{ρρ} \textbf{σσ}}\]
\[\text{naana kato úúst} \quad \text{aniijiistu}\]
\[\text{na=na kato úústí} \quad \text{anii-jiistu}\]
\[\text{that=f2 what something} \quad 3\text{A.PL-rabbit}\]
‘What are those? Those are rabbits.’

b.  \[\text{\textbf{δδ} \textbf{κκ} \textbf{ςς} \textbf{θθ} \textbf{λλ} \textbf{όό} \textbf{ςς}}\]
\[\text{aanii-walóosi na taksi uünkhì?la}\]
\[\text{aanii-walóosi na taksi uunii-ahkhi?la}\]
\[3\text{A.PL-frog that turtle} \quad 3\text{B.PL-be.sitting:PRC}\]
‘The frogs are sitting on the turtle.’

c.  \[\text{\textbf{ζζ} \textbf{ωω} \textbf{θθ} \textbf{δδ} \textbf{θθ} \textbf{οο} \textbf{φφ}}\]
\[\text{júúnathana} \quad \text{aniisoókwíli}\]
\[\text{ti-uunii-áthana} \quad \text{ani-soókwíli}\]
\[\text{DST2-3B.PL-big} \quad 3\text{B.PL-horse}\]
‘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)
Many of the non-human root nouns are common animals. A list of these nouns is in (28).

(28) Lyb taksi ‘turtle(s)’
    ḥjō tlaaykha ‘blue jay(s)’
    vb toosi ‘mosquito(s)’
    jf tili ‘skunk(s)’
    yc kiihli ‘dog(s)’
    DGj ajāʔti ‘fish’
    Dl θ ahawi ‘deer’
    Jqopj jīstvvna ‘crawdad(s)’
    tA taahnúuko ‘gar(s)’
    UU saasa ‘goose, geese’
    TΩl iinata ‘snake(s)’
    JW jithaάka ‘chicken(s)’
    WWS thaláatu ‘tree frog(s)’
    Jw kuhkwe ‘quail(s)’
    W H wéesa ‘cat(s)’
    fθ yoόna ‘bear(s)’
    C.θ wahayi ‘wolf(s)’
Important trees and plants are also commonly root nouns. A list of these nouns is in (29).

29) Kp jooli ‘tobacco’
    Zk nohji ‘pine(s)’
    ΥWώ kitaaya ‘cherry(s)’
    Dkə θ ajina ‘cedar(s)’
    ɬM seélu ‘corn’
    ɬOΩG khalooweéti ‘locust tree(s)’
    Dh aʔni ‘strawberry(s)’
    ɬɬP 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 Ω L kansta ‘stick(s)’
    S OCZ kavnvoowa ‘pipe(s)’
    Jc kuule ‘acorn(s)’
    KWh joólani ‘window(s)’
    AW khoóla ‘bone(s)’
    ZlB nokwsi ‘star(s)’
    C L nvvta ‘sun, moon’
    C Zə nvvnoóhi ‘road(s)’
    C ɬv nvvya ‘rock(s)’
    ɬ ɬb óosi ‘stove(s)’
    RVh svvtooni ‘barrel(s)’ (Feeling 1975a:155)
    TLp vvtali ‘pond(s)’
    DkW ajiíla ‘fire(s)’
    Dğa asthi ‘string(s)’
    Dɬ ama ‘water’
    RGə eloohi ‘earth’
    S ɬP kahljoóte ‘house(s)’
    ɷSΩl steeyíta ‘rope(s)’ (Feeling 1975a:151)
    S ΩZ kavnvno ‘road(s)’
Non-human root nouns indicate possession by attaching a possessive prefix to the noun -ajeeli (typically shortened to -ajeeli). This pattern is exemplified in (31).

\[
\begin{align*}
31) & \text{ YC DLP } \text{kiihli akwajeeli } \text{‘my dog’} \\
& \text{ YC GVF } \text{kiihli jajeeli } \text{‘your dog’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
32) \text{a. } & \text{ WMG thamaahli } \text{‘tomato, tomatoes’} \\
& \text{b. } \text{CS waáji } \text{‘watch, watches’} \\
& \text{c. } \text{CS wahka } \text{‘cow, cows’}
\end{align*}
\]

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. \( \text{I} \hat{a} \text{S} \hat{o} \) jiskaya ‘I’m a man.’
b. \( \text{G} \hat{a} \text{S} \hat{o} \) hiskaya ‘You’re a man’
c. \( \text{D} \hat{a} \text{S} \hat{o} \) 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) \( \text{D} \hat{a} \text{S} \hat{o} \) askaya ‘man’
    \( \text{DF} \hat{o} \) akeéhya ‘woman’
    \( \text{D} \hat{a} \theta \) awína ‘young man’
    \( \text{DW} \hat{a} \) áátha ‘young woman’
    \( \text{DW} \hat{a} \text{G} \) athanúúja ‘teenage girl’
    \( \text{D} \hat{a} \text{G} \) awiinúúja ‘teenage boy’
    \( \text{DJ} \) achúúja ‘boy’
    \( \text{DG} \hat{a} \text{G} \) akeehyúúja ‘girl’
    \( \text{DS} \hat{a} \text{P} \) akayúúlike ‘old woman’

Human nouns also refer to people according to their ethnic or national group. A list of
these is in (35).

35) \( \text{DB} \hat{a} \text{O} \) ayywwiíya ‘Indian’
    \( \text{DG} \hat{W} \) ajalaki ‘Cherokee person’
    \( \text{DG} \hat{J} \) ajahti ‘Choctaw person’
    \( \text{DI} \hat{U} \) akhwsaasi ‘Osage person’
    \( \text{Di} \hat{S} \) ajiikasa ‘Chickasaw person’
    \( \text{DI} \hat{Z} \) aseminoli ‘Seminole person’
    \( \text{DJ} \hat{b} \) akuúsí ‘Creek person’

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Three examples of human nouns in the third person plural are given in (36). In the first example the high tone of \( \text{DW} \ \tilde{a} \text{tha} \) ‘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. \( \text{DW} \)
   aníí\-\tilde{a}\text{tha}  
aníi-\tilde{x}\text{tha}  
3A.PL-young\-woman  
‘young women’

   b. \( \text{Dh} \tilde{a} \)
   aniikeé\-\tilde{h}ya  
‘women’

   c. \( \text{Dh} \tilde{a} \text{S} \)
   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) \( \text{Jh} \tilde{a} \text{A} \)
   hiwóoniiskos  
hi-wóoniisk-\-2i=s  
2A-speak:INC-HAB=Q  
‘Do you speak Creek?’

As shown in (38), pronominal prefixes can also be used on nouns to address people.
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. Ṡṭ ᶗ b. Ṡṭ ᶗ
   Dh Ṡṭ b. aniikwålisi 'Pharisees'
   juúsi '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 tee- on most verbs, but on nouns appears as ti- (DST2). This prefix must also appear on the derived noun.

40) Ṣ ṣ ᶗ ᵅ ṣ ᶗ
   tiiteehyóóhvski '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. D迦男  ahhvya  ‘male animal’ (Feeling 1975a:1)
     D迦男  aniichvya  ‘male animals’ (Feeling 1975a:1)
 b. D迦  a?ta  ‘young animal’
     D迦  ani?ta  ‘young animals’
 c. D迦ì  akiiína  ‘young animal’
     D迦ì  aniikíína  ‘young animals’
 d. D迦ì  akiiisi  ‘female animal’ (Feeling 1975a:17)
     D迦ì  aniikíísi  ‘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. जा स ओ  hiskaya  ‘You are a man’  but not: ‘your man’
     जा ह  hi?lééni  ‘your ear’  but not: ‘you are an ear’
     जा हॉ  hahnawo  ‘your 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\'y\'bh**
   akwoyééni
   aki-oxyééni
   1B-hand
   ‘my hand’

   b. **Ir\'C\'A**
   jiihnko
   ji-x\'hnko
   1A-tongue
   ‘my tongue’

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
- **\'leéni** ‘ear’ (ka-)
- **hyvvsóóli** ‘nose’ (ka-)
- **xyxesa\'t\'v\'¿i** ‘finger’ (ka-)
- **hntóhk\'¿i** ‘tooth’ (ka-)
- **nvwóó¿i** ‘shoulder’ (ka-)
- **nýskééni** ‘leg’ (ka-)
- **theèskééni** ‘his backbone’ (ka-)
- **\'akalo** ‘thigh’ (ka-)
- **aakwali** ‘butt’ (ka-)
-xxtikééna  ‘his heel’ (ka-)
-kvtekééna  ‘forehead’
-hóóli  ‘mouth’
-yelvíli  ‘body’
-ʔkwali  ‘cheek’
-hnkóóʔi  ‘tongue’ (ka-)
-hnookééni  ‘arm’ (ka-)
-yeesaʔtvvʔi  ‘finger’ (ka-)
-hntóhkvvʔi  ‘tooth’ (ka-)
-nvvwóʔi  ‘shoulder’ (ka-)
-nvvskééni  ‘leg’ (ka-)
-hyvjééni  ‘throat’
-khaskééni  ‘hip’
-kahthóóli  ‘eye’
-skhóóli  ‘head’

45) Set B Body Parts
-oöyééni  ‘hand’
-asuhkahlvvʔi  ‘fingernail’
-neekalvvʔi  ‘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) ñi- variant that appears on nouns. Two examples with ‘leg’ are in (46).
46) a. `Jojiwaf
  tikanvskééni
ti-ka-nvskééni
dst2-3a-leg
‘his legs’

b. `Jhajokaf
  tiiniinvskééni
ti-anii-nvskééni
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 Incompletive stem and are distinguished by their -vý?i 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 Incompletive object derivation pattern that will be discussed in the section on derived nouns in Section 3.2.2. Several plural forms of Incompletive 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. `Jkas4t
  tuùhanéeka?lvy?i
tee-uu-aanéeka?lvy?i
dst-3b-lip
‘her lips’

b. `Jâve
  teehítooký?i
tee-hi-tooký?i
dst-2a-tooth
‘your teeth’
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) ṢΩΜIr uunulaji ‘her rib’ ṢΩΜIr 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) DS Vp akthóoli ‘his eye’ DS W akthha ‘eye’
    SCOAT kaāhnkóóʔi ‘her tongue’ SHS kaāhnka ‘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) ṢΩhS AT uuneekalýʔi ‘his skin’ SHS kaneeka ‘skin’
    DoAF askhóoli ‘her head’ Oškha ‘head’

Some Set B body parts can use the impersonal oo- when unpossessed. This alternation is seen in (51).
A few body-related terms are not inherently possessed; in other words, in their citation form they have no pronominal prefix. Two of these are listed in (52).

\[52) \text{kiika} \quad \text{‘blood’} \]
\[\text{AW} \quad \text{khoola} \quad \text{‘bone’} \]

It is possible for these items to enter a possessive relationship in certain contexts. The following example is from the New Testament; not only is ‘blood’ possessed, but so is the normally uninflected word ‘meat, flesh.’

\[53) \text{aki-wiiya} \quad \text{akiiski} \quad \text{ale} \quad \text{akiikiiv} \quad \text{atiiithaski} \]
\[\text{aki-hawiiya} \quad \text{a-kiisk-i} \quad \text{ale} \quad \text{aki-kiikv} \quad \text{a-atiithaski} \]

1B-flesh 3A-eat:INC\AGT-NOM and 1B-blood 3A-drink:INC\AGT-NOM
‘one who eats my flesh and drinks my blood…’ (New Testament, John 6:54)

2.2.3. Clothing

Basic clothing terms are not inherently possessed, but when they are in a possession relationship they bear a pronominal prefix. They also display the same pluralization pattern typical for pluralizing nouns; i.e. they add the \(t\text{-}\) variant of the Distributive prefix. Several examples are in (54) with ‘shirt.’ In (54b) the vowel of the prefix is lengthened after it causes the deletion of the adjoining pronominal prefix vowel. In (54c) the \(t\text{-}\) prefix appears in its expected \(j\text{-}\) form before vowels other than /a/.
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’
- atleësito  ‘apron’
- alskwewethuwo  ‘hat’
- aliyeësuulo  ‘glove’
- alaàsuúlo  ‘shoe’
- ataslosti  ‘belt’
- alyeësuústhawo  ‘ring’
- aasalééni  ‘coat’ (ka-)

54) a. D\text{W}  D\text{Y}L\text{C}
aje akwahnawo
aje aki-ahnawo
new 1B-shirt
‘my new shirt’

b. J\text{L}L\text{C}
tiiwahnawo
ti-aki-hnawo
DST2-1B-shirt
‘my clothes’

c. G\text{h}  J\text{L}C
jaáni juuhnawo
jaáni ti-uu-ahnawo
John DST2-3B-shirt
‘John’s clothes’
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. **KSU’Z**
   jookaàsano
ti-oökii-aàsano
DST2-1B.PL.EX-dress
‘our dresses’

b. **IGPBO’G**
tija lýeesuulo
ti-ja-alyeesuulo
DST2-2B-glove
‘your gloves’

c. **JPOCOSCV**
juunalskweethuwo
ti-unii-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. **JCSICJ**
tiiwakhthinývti
ti-aki-akahthinývti
DST2-1B-glasses
‘my glasses’
b. **J38j3C.YJ**
   tijakhthinývti
   ti-ja-akahthinývti
   DST2-2B-glasses
   your glasses’

c. **J38j3C.YJ**
   juukhthinývti
   ti-uu-akahthinývti
   DST2-3B-glasses
   ‘his glasses’

d. **J38j3C.YJ**
   tiikhthinývti
   ti-a-akahthinývti
   DST2-3A-glasses
   ‘glasses’

A few clothing terms take the unpredictable third person *ka*-.. An example is ‘coat’, shown below it its non-possessed in (58a) and possessed forms in (58b) and (58c).

58) a. **$\text{U}^\text{e}\text{h}**
   kaasalééni
   ka-aasalééni
   3A-coat
   ‘coat’

b. **$\text{D.A}^\text{e}\text{h}**
   akwaasalééni
   aki-aasalééni
   1B-coat
   ‘my 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.  In Ir
    jii ji
    jii-ji
    1A.AN- mother
    ‘I am his mother.’

b.  O Ir
    hii ji
    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.  D Y Ir
    aki ji
    aki-ji
    1B-mother
    ‘She is my mother.’, ‘my mother’
b. *Gl* ja ji ‘She is your mother’, i.e. ‘your mother’
c. *Gl* uu ji ‘She is her mother.’ i.e. ‘her mother’
d. *Gl* uu ni ji ‘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. *Gl* ja ji
    ski ji
    ski-ji
    2/1-mother
    ‘You are my mother.’

    b. *Gl* uu ji
    kvv toota
    kvv-toota
    1/2-father
    ‘I am your father.’

A list of some more basic relationship terms is given in (62)

62) Relationship terms
    - toota father
    - ji mother
    - ataathiina?a offspring
    - tuuta grandfather (maternal)
    - líisi grandmother (maternal), grandchild
    - niísi grandparent (paternal)
    - tuji uncle
    - thloki aunt
    - to sibling of the opposite gender
    - nýthla brother (reciprocal term only)
    - luuki sister of a woman
    - alií?i friend

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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).

63a. $RVl$ 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) $hAn$ $J$ $S$ $C$ $SSBOCA$ $Rlr$

nikoóhíilv tiihyehkahli teekáayewsko eeji
nikoóhíilvýi ti-a-hyehkahli tee-ka-şxyawsk-ōi ee-ji
always DST-2A-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. ő\(\text{YOPT}\)
    ookinalíí?i
    ookinii-alíí?i
    1B.DL.EX-friend
    ‘my friend’ lit. “He and I are friends.”

    b. ő\(\text{OPT}\)
    stalíí?i  ‘your friend’ lit. “He and you are friends.”

    c. ő\(\text{OPT}\)
    uunalíí?i  ‘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 \(\text{ti}\–\) variant of the Distributive. In (66a) \(\text{ti}\) - appears as \(\text{j}\) - before a vowel.

66) a. ő\(\text{P}\)
    juulí
    ti-uualíí?i
    DST2-3B-friend
    ‘his friends’ (Chapter 9.3:10)

    b. ő\(\text{GP}\)
    tijalíí?i
    ti-ja-alíí?i
    DST2-2B-friend
    ‘your friends’

    c. ő\(\text{TP}\)
    tiikwalíí?i
    ti-aki-alíí?i
    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 (\(\text{RFL}\)) postpronominal prefix \(-\text{ataat}-\) is
used; a Distributive prepronominial prefix often appears as well for some speakers. In (67a) the Distributive prefix appears as j- before the vowel /o/.

67) a. ʃəlloʃ:  
joostataanvýthl  
ti-oostii-ataat-nýthla  
DST2-1A.DL.EX-RFL-brother.of.man  
‘my brother’ lit. “He and I are brothers to each other.”

b. ʃhloʃ:  
tiintaanvýthl  
ti-anii-ataat-nýthla  
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) ʃhOʃ  
uuhnvvhli  
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 -tʃ 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 -tʃ 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. **JadjalAT**
   tistataalvý?i
   ti-stii-ataat-lvý?i
   DST2-2B.DL-RFL-sister(of woman)
   ‘your sister (of a woman)’

   c. **Jadadlof**
   tistataanýthla
   ti-stii-ataat-nýthla
   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. **JadjalAT**
   tistataalvý?i
   ti-stii-ataat-lvý?i
   DST2-2B.DL-RFL-sister(of woman)
   ‘I saw your sister (of a woman) there.’
Cherokee does not have specific terms for ‘niece’ and ‘nephew.’ These relationships are expressed by referring to the aunt or uncle.

71) a. $ \Theta \quad D h W f \quad D h J G \quad S l S r$

naʔ aniithaʔli aniichúúja kaajiituuji
naʔ anii-thaʔli anii-chúúja kaa-ji-tuuji
that 3A.PL-two 3A.PL-boy ANP-IA.AN-uncle
‘I am uncle to those two boys.’ (i.e. ‘Those two boys are my nephews.’)

b. 4 P \quad D C l S l r i T

haatlv awataatuujiiʔvýʔi
haatlv aki-ataat-tuujiʔvýʔi
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. D C l S l r D

awataatuujiiʔa
aki-ataat-tuujiʔa
1B-RFL-uncle
‘I am an uncle.’
b. **DC Live**
   awataahlokiiyvý?i
   aki-ataat-hlokiiyvý?i
   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. **DoJr**
   akweéji
   aki-eéji
   1B-child
   ‘my child’

b. **O礁Ir**
   uweéji
   uu-eéji
   3B-child
   ‘his child’

c. **IoIr**
   tiikweéji
   ti-aki-eéji
   DST2-1B-child
   ‘my children’

d. **JaIr**
   juuneeéji
   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) DAI₅T      HE     OTHOLCEA
    anéehnaʔi  nikhį́  uun tantalisane
    anii-éehnaʔi nikhį́vʔi  uunii-at-įxhlišan-éʔi
3A.PL-animal everywhere  3B.PL-ML- gather(T):CMP-NXP
‘All the animals came together.’ (Chapter 9.3:15)

A list of some of these nouns is given in (75). 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.

75) a. O'SGAL uukhsoʔjanééta ‘goat’
    O'OOSGAL uunakhsoʔjanééta ‘goats’

b. O'SŒJ uuksúuti ‘diamondback rattler’ (Feeling 1975a:172)
    O'OOSŒJ uunaksúuthi ‘diamondback rattlers’ (Feeling 1975a:172)

c. O'KOJ uujoonathi ‘rattlesnake’
    O'OOKOJ uuniijoonathi ‘rattlesnakes’

d. O'YW uukhtha ‘seed’
    O'hW uuniikhta ‘seeds’

e. O'IRW uujiya ‘worm’
    O'hIRW uuniijiiya ‘worms’

f. DAW akoola ‘perch’
    DhAW aniikoola ‘perches’

g. DGJ ajáʔti ‘fish’
    DhGJ aniijaʔti ‘fish (pl)’

h. O'ZS uunohka ‘bass’
    O'hZS uuniinohka ‘bass (pl)’

i. Dh@EHFT ajiskvnikaʔéʔi ‘carp’ (Chapter 9.2:25)
    Dhin@EHFT aniijiskvnikaʔéʔi ‘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. There are also some non-animate nouns that appear to be old derivations that pluralize with the Distributive tı-; 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 verb stems. Three of the five verb stems are available for derivation as nouns: the Incompletive, the Completive, 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) –ı appears on the Incompletive and the Deverbal Noun stems, while the Nominalizer (Nom2) –ı (or its long form –ЃЃї) 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) – щı 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 Incompletive 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.

76) ḏativo
   juuntaawóski
   ti-uunii-ataat-woosk-ı
   DST2-3B.PL-RFL-wash:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘I’m a Baptist church member’
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. Dàvwaìłę
   anéeluhvskí
   anii-eeluhvsk-i
   3A.pl-shout:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘cheerleaders’ (Lady Indians Championship)

   b. Dàvwaìlà
   aànëeluhvskóoi
   anii-eeluhvsk-óí
   3A.pl-shout:INC-HAB
   ‘They shout.’

78) a. Dàvwaìlà
   athohkíiyáaski
   a-ahthohkiíyáàsk-i
   3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘runner’

   b. Dàvwaìlà
   aàthohkiíyáàsko
   a-ahthohkiíyáàsk-óí
   3A-run:INC-HAB
   ‘He runs.’

79) a. Dàvwaìlà
   tiitaawóóskí
   ti-a-ataat-wóósk-i
   DST2-3A-RFL-bathe:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘Baptist’
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. **DLCatJ**
   ataawoöstííʔi
   a-ataa-awoöst-ítíʔi
   3A-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
   ‘swimming pool’
b. \ jm\b\bj\b\bj
   tiitawoöstí?i
   ti-a-ataa-wooöst-íí?i
   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. \ sco\b\bj\b\bj
   kanvkvkalóosti
   ka-nvkkwalooost-i
   3A-hammer:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   'hammer'

b. \ isco\b\bj\b\bj
   tikankanvkkvalóosti
   ti-ka-nvkvvaloöst-i
   DST2-3A-hammer:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   'hammers'

83) a. \ djw\b\bj\b\bj
   atííthasti
   a-atiithast-i
   3A-drink:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   'something to drink'
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. S S O¡l¡
   kaakaweésti
   ka-xxkaweést-i
   3A-paddle:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   'paddle, oar'

   b. JIIS S O¡l¡ tikaakaweésti 'paddles, oars'

85) a. DlA I
   ataahnehti
   a-ataa-hhneht-i
   3A-RFL-give:DVN\OBJ-NOM
   'gift'

   b. JI S A I 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. **JLGOAWOT**
   tiitaahliiloösthanv\v\i
   ti-a-ataa-ahliiloösthan-v\v\i
   DST2-3A-MDL-photograph:CMP-DVB
   ‘picture, pictures’

   b. **JOSTIJI**
   juunehlkwaásti
   ti-uunii-ateelohkwaást-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. **DOLC\C\IT**
   uuntaawoöstíí\i
   uunii-ataa-woöst-íí\i
   3B.PL-MDL-wash:DVN-NOM2
   ‘swimming pool, bathtub’
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. **Dv^E: H^R.e.**
   aâkwoohla juuniissvst
   aki-oohla ti-uunii-svst
   1B-own:PRC DST2-3B.PL-go.to:DVN-NOM2
   ‘hotel’

   b. **Kp^f^o. J^P^o^l^b.**
   joohlvhas juunalstayhti
   ja-oohlvha=s ti-uunii-ali-stayht
   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.
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. 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. \textbf{D}je\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}E\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}}\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}}\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}}\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}}\textbf{\textit{\textipa{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet} \textcolor{green}{\textbullet} \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet}}}}
   aâteehlohwáaskóo²i
   a-ateehlohwáask-ó²i
   3A-learn:INC-HAB
   ‘She learns it.’

b. \textbf{I}teehlohwáaski
   ti-a-ateehlohwáask-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. **DWS\@SP\@Y**
   aalâskalííski
   a-alâskalíísk-i
   3A-play.ball:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘ball-player’

   b. **DWS\@SP\@AT**
   aâlaaskalíískóö?i
   a-alâaskalíísk-ó?i
   3A-play.ball:INC-HAB
   ‘She’s playing ball.’

92) a. **D\@SI\@IL\@Y**
   ahyvvvtlatiistííski
   a-hyvvvtlatii-stíisk-i
   3A-get.cold-CAU:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘refrigerator, air conditioner’

   b. **DB\@IS\@I\@A**
   ahyvvvtliistiiisko
   a-hyvvvtlií-stíisk-ó?i
   3A-get.cold-CAU:INC-HAB
   ‘It makes it cold’
93) a. **DBL.1G@Y**
   ahyvvtakwaloèskí
   a-hyvvtakwalóèsk-i
   3A-thunder:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘thunder’

   b. **DBL.1G@AT**
   ahyvvtakwaloèsko
   a-hyvvtakwalóèsk-òi
   3A-thunder:INC-HAB
   ‘It thunders.’

94) a. **JLS.1EY**
   tiitakhiiléék-i
   ti-a-ataat-kahtiiiléék-i
   DST2-3A-RFL-attack:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘attacker’

   b. **JLS.1E**
   taakhíilééko
   tee-a-kahtiiiléék-òi
   DST-3A-attack:INC-HAB
   ‘He attacks.’

95) a. **DLVp@I@Y**
   ataathoolstíiskí
   a-ataat-thool-stíisk-i
   3A-RFL-borrow-CAU:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘lender’

   b. **DLVp@I@AT**
   aataathoolstíisko
   a-ataat-thool-stíisk-òi
   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. <DocumentText>

b. <DocumentText>
c. <DocumentText>

Note that for agentive nouns the rule of Pronominal Laryngealization does not apply. 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 aâ-. 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.

97) **J̱a̱ w̱ a̱ Y**

 tiiteeyóóhvski  naski
 ti-a-ataa-eeyóóhvsk-i  naski
 DST2-3A-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM  that.one

**J̱a̱ w̱ a̱ Y**

 tiinatateeyóóhvski  yanalstiíiski
 ti-anii-ataa-eeyóóhvsk-i  yi-anii-alstiisk-i
 DST2-3A.PL-MDL-teach:INC\AGT-NOM  IRR-3A.PL-become:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘Language instructor for the Education degree program.’

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. **O̱ Ḻ Y**

 uutilééki
 uu-atleek-i
 3B-throw:INC\AGT-NOM
 ‘pitcher lit. “one who throws”

b. **J̱ Cẖ a̱ ṯ .j**

 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) \text{KGS} \text{I} \text{La} \text{Y} \quad \text{VSS} \text{I} \text{t} \text{I} \text{I} \quad \text{JAC} \text{P}

\text{joojateehlkwaaski} \quad \text{to\text{"okakhsesti} \quad \text{tikoohweeli}

\text{ti-oojii-ateehlokhwaask-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 \text{ti}- instead of the \text{tee}- 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 \text{ti}- undergoes in various environments. In the first case the \text{ti}- form is lengthened to \text{tii}- when it comes in contact with the pronominal prefix \text{a}- (which is subsequently deleted). In the second example the \text{ti}- appears before the vowel /i/. In the third example the pronominal prefix is the first person dual exclusive \text{oosti}-, which causes the \text{ti}- to appear as \text{j}-.

In (103a) vowel deletion brings the \text{ti}- together with the pronominal prefix \text{hi}- (shortened to \text{h}- before the /v/ that starts the verb stem) to form the single syllable \text{thv}- in the nominalized form.

(100) a. \text{ISLI} \text{GY}

\text{tikhthlatiisk}

\text{ti-ka-vthhlatifisk-i}

DST2-3A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM

‘firefighter’

453
b. **SSLAGAT**
  teekhthlatíiskóo?i
  tee-ka-vhthlatíisk-ó?i
  DST-3A-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
  ‘He puts out fires.’

101) a. **JhLIóY**
  tiihntlatiiiski
  ti-iinii-vhthlatíisk-i
  DST2-1A.DL-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
  ‘You and I are firefighters.’

b. **SSLAGAT**
  teehntlatíiskóo?i
  tee-iinii-vhthlatíisk-ó?i
  DST-1A.DL-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
  ‘You and I put out fires.’

102) a. **Koppálóy**
  joostvhthlatiiiski
  ti-oostii-vhthlatíisk-i
  DST2-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
  ‘He and I are firefighters.’

b. **VoppálóY**
  toöstvhthlatíiskóo?i
  tee-oostii-vhthlatíisk-ó?i
  DST-1A.DL.EX-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
  ‘He and I put out fires.’

103) a. **PLóY**
  thvthlatiiiski
  ti-hi-vhthlatíisk-i
  DST2-2A-put.out.fire:INC\AGT-NOM
  ‘You are a firefighter.’
b. ścięłoćat
  tee-hvthlatíiskóòi
  tee-hvthlatíisk-óòi
  DST-2A-put.out.fire:INC-HAB
  ‘You put out fires.’

In all of the above examples the Distributive prefixes do not indicate plurality of the subject; rather the pronominal prefixes themselves indicate whether the subject is singular or plural. In (104) the pronominal prefix a- indicates a single policeman, while the plural form anii- indicates two or more policemen. In both cases tí- probably indicates the act of catching is performed multiple times and/or distributed over multiple objects.

104) a. ściłaay
  tiitaaniiyííski
  ti-a-ataat-niiyiisk-i
  DST2-3A-RFL-catch:INC\AGT-NOM
  ‘policeman’

b. ściłłay
  tiinataaniiyííski
  ti-anii-ataat-niiyiisk-i
  DST2-3A.PL-RFL-catch:INC\AGT-NOM
  ‘policemen’

Agentive nouns that are derived from transitive verbs can refer to the subject as well as the object. Three examples are in (105). The first example is with a combined person prefix and translates into an English possessive expression. In (105b) a Set B prefix indicates that a third person is the subject (the ‘agent’) and a local person is the object. (105c) is a compound based on the same verb used to form policeman in the previous examples. Because an object is included, the Unspecified Object Reflexive is not present.
3.2.2. Derivation of Incompletive with Deverbalizer (DVB) -véʔi

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. \textit{\textbf{Drh\textsuperscript{3}}} \\
a\textit{ataaleeníha} \\
a-ataa-aleeníha \\
3A-MDL-begin:PRC \\
‘It is beginning.’

b. \textit{\textbf{Drh\textsuperscript{3}\textit{ET}}} \\
ataleeniiskvéʔi \\
a-ataa-aleeniisk-véʔi \\
3A-MDL-begin:INC-DVB \\
‘beginning’
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. **DL.export**
   taatlëeskýv?i
tee-a-atlëesk-ýv?i
   DST-3A-turn.off:INC-DVB
   ‘turn-offs’  (Feeling 1975a:12)

   b. **S Leopard**
   tuuwuukhtv
   tee-uu-uukht-ýv?i
   DST-3B-plan: CMP-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.
In (10) ‘blooming’ is acting like a noun and, together with ‘cotton’, serves as the object for the main verb ‘to like.’

A sample list of these derivations and their verbs of origin is in (111). The example in (111b) ‘hunger’ has the impersonal o- prefix in place of the usual Set B prefix.

This process of derivation appears to be no longer fully productive in Cherokee, and many of these types of nouns have stems that are no longer recognizable verbs in the language.
3.3. **Nouns formed from the Compleitive Stem (cmp)**

To create a noun that is the result of an action the Compleitive is used as a stem with the Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix -vý²i. 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. ὨฐvοT
   uuthvsohnvý²i
   uu-athlon-vý²i
   3B-grow(I):CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB
   ‘old man’

b. ἖ฐvοT
   juunthvsohnvý²i
   ti-uuuni-athlon-vý²i
   DST2-3B.PL-grow(I):CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB
   ‘old men’

c. ὨฐvT
   uûthvsvý²i
   uu-athlon-vý²i
   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 τι- (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 τεε- plural and does undergo the Pronominal Laryngealization.
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.’

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 refeeing 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 tî- 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. **DAP.J**
    aneéhlti
    a-neéhlt-i
    3A-play:DVN-NOM
    ‘doll’

b. **JAP.V.J**
   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. **JHJ.JT**
    tiiséstí
    ti-a-asést-i
    DST2-3A-count:DVN\OBJ-NOM
    ‘numbers’

b. **J[.J.4**
   taâsehíha
   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 \textit{ti}- (DST2) Distributive. This is exemplified in (117c).

117) a. \textbf{\textit{f}6\textit{h}i\textit{1}y\textit{4}4\textit{I}1} \\
\text{} tikhanookii\textit{\textbar}t\textit{i}\text{-}ka-h\textit{m}ookii\textit{\textbar}st\textit{i}\text{-}i \\
DST2-3A-sing:DVN\textbar OBJ-NOM \\
'song, songbook'

b. \textbf{\textit{d}l\textit{h}v\textit{p}4\textit{J}4\textit{I}1} \\
\text{} ataatoolii\textit{\textbar}t\textit{i} \\
a-ataatoooli\textit{\textbar}st\textit{i}\text{-}i \\
3A-pray:DVN-NOM \\
'prayer'

c. \textbf{\textit{f}6\textit{a}y\textit{h}o\textit{4}4\textit{I}1} \\
\text{} tiikween\textit{\textbar}nu\textit{\textbar}ki\textit{\textbar}i\textit{\textbar}sti \\
ti-a-kween\textit{\textbar}nu\textit{\textbar}ki\textit{\textbar}ist\textit{\textbar}i \\
DST2-3A-pin\textit{\textbar}ch: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. \textbf{\textit{t}4\textit{i}h\textit{n}4\textit{u}4\textit{h}o\textit{4}4\textit{v}4\textit{J}1} \\
\text{} tiihan\textit{\textbar}w\textit{\textbar}ho\textit{st\textbar}oth \textit{t\textbar}i-a-ahnawoos-to\textit{\textbar}ht\textit{\textbar}i \\
DST2-3A-cover\textbar OBJ-CAU:DVN-NOM \\
'bed covers’ lit. “that to cover with”
b. **DLOLI**
   atahnthehti
   a-atahnth-eht-i
   3A-know-CAU:DVN-NOM
   ‘mind, feeling’

c. **JFUPUFI**
   tiilsakwaleéhlítohti
   ti-a-ali-sakwaleéhlítoht-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. **DŚ DSӨCVI**
    ama aakaanahwtóhti
    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) aataamoopiillé ‘automobile’ (Scancarelli 1987:24)
    bvýsi '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).
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. **Jólhtí**
   juunataaniísóhtí
   ti-uunii-ataa-nísóhtí
   DST2-3B.PL-RFL-bury:DVN-NOM2
   ‘cemetery’ lit. “where they bury people”

   b. **Jhótíciít**
   juuniiikhwanayostíí?i
   ti-uunii-khwanayost-íí?i
   DST2-3B.PL-play.cards:DVN-NOM2
   ‘casino’ lit. “where they play cards”

   c. **JhWóciít**
   juuniilaàwistí
   ti-uunii-laàwistí
   DST2-3B.PL-have.church:DVN-NOM2
   ‘church’
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. **DS WJi**
   
   ateélatiiti
   
   ateélalatiiti
   
   ateélalatiiti
   
   money+DST2-3A-keep:DVN-NOM2
   
   ‘bank’

b. **DS WJi**
   
   ateélajuuniitti
   
   ateélalajiuniitti
   
   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. **joshto:lo**
   juuntehlohwkwaasti
   ti-uunii-ateelohkwast-i
   DST2-3B.PL-learn:DVN-NOM2
   ‘school’

   b. **leshto:lo**
   takwatehlohwkwaasti
   ti-aki-ateelohkwast-i
   DST2-1B-learn:DVN-NOM2
   ‘my school’

   c. **oyiyole:lo**
   oökiiylvkwhti jokateehlwkwaasti
   ookii-lvkwhti ti-okkii-ateelohkwast-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. **fczv:lo**
   keekahlooohehtóhti
   keekii-ali-hnoohehtóht-i
   3.PL/2.PL-MDL-tell:DVN-NOM2
   ‘They want to talk to us.’

   b. **osp**
   uunatuuli
   uunii-atuuliha
   3B.PL-want:PRC
b. 4Ijisas 1GQ@1AL1
hatahiites  tijalvwódstaânti
hi-atahiitê=s  ti-ja-lvwódstaânt-i
2A-willing:PRC=Q DST2-2B-work:DVN-NOM2
‘Are you willing to work?’

c. 0E0G.U  OChU  ShWSg
 uu-kvwiuyuhi  uu-wóoníís-a  tuùniilâteélv
 uu-kvwiuyuhi  uu-wóoníís-a  tee-uu-niilâteél-vzyć
3B-chief  3B-speak:CMP\SUB-TAV DST-3B-urge:CMP-APL:CMP-EXP

B0  J0Pâ9IT
yyvwi  juunalstehltíí?i
yyvwi  ti-uunii-ali-stehlt-íí?i
people DST2-3B.PL-MDL-help:DVN-NOM2
‘When the chief spoke, he urged the people to work together.’
(Feeling 1975a:109)

Nouns indicating location typically take a third person singular in Set A or a third person plural in Set B, often accompanied by a difference in meaning. The addition of the Distributive prefix sometimes for some speakers further changes the meaning. Three examples are in (126).

126) a. DJW@gIT
 atiitahstíí?i
 a-atiitahst-íí?i
3A-drink:DVN-NOM2
‘drinking fountain’

b. O@JW@gIT
 uunatiitahstíí?i
 uunii-atiitahst-íí?i
3B.PL-drink:DVN-NOM2
‘drinking place (for animals)’
3.5. Nouns formed from the root with participle (PCP) –ta

The –ta Participle suffix is a productive suffix for creating new adjectives and will be discussed with the modifiers in Chapter 8. A number of nouns appear to have a frozen –ta; i.e. their original root is unknown or the process by which they have been derived from their root is unknown. A few of these nouns are shown in (127).

127)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JILOL</td>
<td>juutáahnawaiita ‘cross’ (Feeling 1975a:80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖZYL</td>
<td>khanookíta ‘song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖZłL</td>
<td>khanooheéta ‘news, gospel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAW</td>
<td>kiinúútha ‘quarter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SämL</td>
<td>kayaluúta ‘stamp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidence for the status of these words as derived comes from the fact that they pluralize with the Distributive (DST2) ti- used for derived nouns.

128)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCL</td>
<td>káahlita ‘arrow’ (Feeling 1975a:95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSCL</td>
<td>tikáahlita ‘arrows’ (Feeling 1975a:95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖOLSRl</td>
<td>uuunataateësýúta ‘chain’ (Feeling 1975a:175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOLSRl</td>
<td>juunataateësýúta ‘chains’ (Feeling 1975a:175)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Nouns derived from other parts of speech

3.6.1. Nouns derived from adjectives

In Cherokee adjectives can be used as nouns. Nouns referring to people that are derived from adjectives receive double plural marking; i.e. they are pluralized by
both the pronominal prefix as well as the Distributive tī-. In (129) the root adjective is –astí?i ‘little’ and in (130) the root adjective is -yóõli ‘small.’

129) a. Øɑɑ.ɑΤ uustí?i ‘baby’ (from ‘small’)
    b. Ɂθɑɑ.ɑΤ juunstí?i ‘babies’

130) a. Ɂɑɑ.ɡ ayóõli ‘child’ (from ‘little’)
    b. Ɂhɑɑ.ɡ tiiniiyóõli ‘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 –tī.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
    koʔíʔi
    koʔi-ti
    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.
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. DônëS tlaàyhka ‘bluejay’
    ñëET tlaàyhvých’i ‘Jay (a town in Oklahoma)’

b. DJU akuúsa ‘Creek person’
    JëT kuusóó’i ‘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. GWY,ô DBC
    jalakííhi ayéehli
    jalaki-hi ayéehli
    Cherokee-LOC center
    ‘Cherokee Nation’ lit. “center of where the Cherokees are”

b. òB,o
    nvvyóóhi
    nvvyah-i
    rock-LOC
    ‘rocky’
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) ḥlaوية

hlawōtúhi
hlawootu-hi
mud-LOC
‘muddy (ground), in the mud’ (Feeling 1975a:130)

The suffix –yaháʔi is used to indicate ‘pure’ or ‘real.’ In the example in (136) the first noun with the –yaháʔi 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) DhiBòoʔiT

aniyvwiyiáʔi amáyéehli aneéhiyáʔi
ani-yyvwi iyáʔi ama+ayéehli anii-ééh-i-yáʔi
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. \(DL\text{V}V\) atheeliito ‘plate’ (Feeling 1975a:59)
\(JL\text{V}V\) tiitheeliito ‘plates’
b. \(\text{O\text-YLC}\) uuukiitahli ‘feather’ (Feeling 1975a:164)
\(\text{\text-YLC}\) juukiitahli ‘feathers’
c. \(\text{O\text-\textOPT}\) uuhwitl\text{v}\text{?i} ‘his, her wrist’
\(\text{\textOPT}\) tuuhwitl\text{v}\text{?i} ‘his, her wrists’
d. \(\text{\textSET}\) tluhk\text{v}\text{?i} ‘tree’
\(\text{\textSET}\) teetluhk\text{v}\text{?i} ‘trees’
e. \(\text{\textDO\text-\textV}\) akhwsto ‘pillow’ (Feeling 1975a:37)
\(\text{\textDO\text-\textV}\) tiikhwsto ‘pillows’
f. \(\text{\textO\text-W\text-W}\) uwewela ‘liver’ (Feeling 1975a:184)
\(\text{\textO\text-W\text-W}\) juweela ‘livers’
g. \(\text{\textO\text-A\textUT}\) khanee\text{sa}\text{?i} ‘box’
\(\text{\textO\text-A\textUT}\) tikhanee\text{sa}\text{?i} ‘boxes’
h. \(\text{\textS\text-A\textYG}\) kaaskilo ‘chair, table’ (Feeling 1975a:115)
\(\text{\textS\text-A\textYG}\) 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.\(^1\) 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 \text{t\text-i}- 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 \text{t\text-i}- 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 IBY tiyvvi (1977:108).

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. Dʒə BC
   amáyéehli
   ama+ayééhli
   water+center
   ‘America’

b. Aé J
   koólééhi
   kóóla+a-eéh-i
   winter+3A-reside:INC\AGT-NOM
   ‘pneumonia’ lit. “it lives in winter” (Feeling 1975a:122)
A typical compound in Cherokee consists of a phrase with two or more independent words. When taken together, these words have a meaning that is more specific than would be surmised from their individual parts. These compounds can be further grouped according to their individual elements. One of the most common is a nominalized verb phrase; i.e. a nominalized verb and a noun that is the object of the verb.¹⁴ Two examples are in (139).

139) a. \textbf{JhPY} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{JSJω}
\begin{align*}
\text{juniitlvēki} & \quad \text{tiikhthiía} \\
\text{ti-úuníi-hlēv-k-i} & \quad \text{ti-a-kahthiía} \\
\text{DS2T-3B.PL-be.sick:INC-NOM} & \quad \text{DST2-3A-wait:PRC}
\end{align*}

‘nurse’

b. \textbf{OWΘ} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ILA} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{OAωIΘ}
\begin{align*}
\text{úúíthana vvtali} & \quad \text{skohitíhi} \\
\text{uu-áíthana vvtali} & \quad \text{skohi+ti-a-h-i} \\
\text{3B-big pond} & \quad \text{ten+DST2\textsuperscript{AGT}-3A-kill:INC-NOM}
\end{align*}

‘Lake Tenkiller’

Compounds can have more than two parts; an example is in (140).

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¹⁴ The number 14 seems to be a typographical error or a placeholder for a footnote reference.
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. Several examples are in (141).

141) a. **O\L \?\h\O\J**
nv\ta tiisesti
nv\ta ti-a-asesti
sun/moon DST2-3A-count:INC-NOM
‘Calendar’ lit. “for counting sun, moons”

b. **S\W \D\h\V**
tuuy\ aniij\’\eh
tuuy\ anii-ij\’\eh\’i
bean 3A.PL-green
‘green beans’

c. **O\Z\j \S\o\l\S\j\l**
nv\no\hi tuunatlo\h\il\’\eh
nv\no\hi tee-uunii-atlo\h\il-v\’\eh\’i
road DST-3B.PL-cry:CMP-EXP\’\SUB
‘Trail of Tears’ lit. “road where they cried”

d. **O\C \C\j\o\l \D\j\l\T**
utli watiin\’\vt\’\eh
utli wi-a-atiin\’\vt\’\eh\’ta
away TRN-3A-throw.away-PCP 3A-carry:INC\’\AGT-NOM
‘garbage man’ lit. “carrier of that which is thrown away”
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. झ, झी ahv, ahya ‘I, me, my’
   b. झ nihi ‘you, your’

These pronouns are typically used for emphasis. An example of this is in (143).

143) a. झी स ahv kéeka ahv ji-éeka
1PRO 1A-go:PRC
‘I am going (even if nobody else is).’

b. झ च़ ट नग भ ज नी क नं ग ज स य क नव ज नी=न v 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. स अ ज द य च झी झी uujeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
káako ujeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
‘Whose dog is this? Mine.’

b. स अ ज द य च झी झी uujeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
káako ujeeli hiʔa kiihli aya
‘Whose dog is this? Mine.’
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. Dwa âYSVâSâI
     aya skikaðhoðstëesti
     aya ski-kahthooístëesti
     1PRO 2/1-look.at:INC-AFT
     ‘Look at me!!’

b. DâBâC JâOCR DB
     amâyëehli tiikweenvsviy ayv
     ama+ayëehli ti-aki-envvsv-ûyi ayv
     water+center DST2-1B-go:COMP-DVB 1PRO
     ‘My home is the United States.’ (Feeling 1975a:44)

c. ÕZYâL ÕZY Dâ I âfiOT
     khanookíísta khanooki ay jiïyëeyoonûyi
     khanookíísta ka-knoookiâ aya jii-eeyoon-ûyi
     song 3A-sing:PRC 1PRO 1A.AN-teach:COMP-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 ḃGh  ḳفاعل
        joʔ yiijani kèse
        joʔi yi-iiji-aniʔa kès-éʔi
        three  IRR-2A.PL-exist. there: PRC- be: INC-NXP
        D hatch  ḖMB (fr)    ṢFRT
        ayahno oostiithaʔliwu jikèsvýʔi
        aya=hno oostii-thaʔli=kwu ji-kès-výʔi
        1PRO=CN 1A.DL.EX-TWO=D T REL- be: INC- EXP
        ‘There were three of you and only two of us.’

        b. ḫ hatch  ṢΥ6  ḏeG  ḫeG
        aya ikiiyooohúúhist uûkvvwiíyúse
        aya ikii-yooohúúhist-i uûkvvwiíyúse
        1PRO 1B.PL-die: DVN\MOD-NOM instead
        b hatch  ḪU  ṢGAL
        siihno jiíṣa kaloonééta
        siihno jiíṣa kaloonééta
        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 OČ †
khilo uu−hwase
khilo uu−hwas−é?i
someone 3B−buy:_CMP−NXP
‘Someone has bought it’

b. Š ŶG GÝGR
thla khilo yuhkiilo?e
thla 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) Š ŶG ŠIRAC.I†
thla khilo yijiiko−wahtha
thla khilo yi−jii−kohwahta
NEG someone IRR−1A.AN−sec:IMM
‘I didn’t see anybody’

In the example in (149) khilo refers to the possessor of another noun.

149) ŠLE ŶG O̱Č G O̱Č ŠVO T
nuútale khilo uusuulo uusuuláänvý?i
ni−nuútale khilo uu−asuulo uu−áasuuláän−vý?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.
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 JACW ISSLG
kóoko hiikoowahth tikaatuuhv
kóoko hi-koowahtha ti-kaatúuhv?i
who 2A.NAN-see:IMM CIS-town
‘Who did you see in town?’

b. AA G5EB
kóoko jakhthiiye
kóoko ja-kahthiý-é?i
who 2B-wait:INC-NXP
‘Who was waiting on you?’
kaako or kooko is used, depending on the dialect. An example of the latter is in (152).

152) S A  A C P A L A I  G S P
kaako  hiiwahthvvhiiítáásti  jatuuli
kaako  hii-hwahthvvhiiítáást-i  ja-atuuliha
who  2A.AN-visit:DVN-NOM2  2B-want:PRC
‘Who do you want to visit?’ (Feeling 1975a:27)

The pronoun kato is used to question inanimate subjects and objects; it is also used when the animacy of the subject or object questioned is unknown. Three examples are in (153); in the third example the pronoun is shortened to to.

153) a. S V  A  A C I
katos  hikoohwthi
kato=s hi-koohwthiha
what=Q  2A-see:PRC
‘What do you see?’

b. S V  0 C E I
kato  uuwáakhthi
kato uu-wáakhthi
what  3B-mean:PRC
‘What does it mean?’

c. S V  D P A
a aátvvne
kato a-atvvneha
what  3A-do:PRC
‘What is he doing?’

If the question focuses on the identity of the subject or object the interrogative pronoun appears with úústi. This combination is sometimes translated by speakers as ‘What is it that...’ or ‘What kind of...’ The construction kato skinúústi is
used for an identity question for an animate but nonhuman subject or object. In (154) are three examples of these forms.

154) a. $\text{SV} \: \text{C} \: \text{J} \: \text{DwT} \: \text{CkAut}$
   kato skinúúst   aàyáʔi   khaneêsáʔi
   kato skinúústi a-ýáʔi   khaneêsáʔi
   what something.living   3A-be.inside:PRC box
   ‘What kind of (living) thing is in the box?’

b. $\text{SV} \: \text{C} \: \text{J} \: \text{SGVT}$
   kato úústi   teejatooʔi
   kato úústi   tee-ja-ataa-oʔi
   what something   DST-2B-MDL-name:PRC
   ‘What is your name?’

c. $\text{V} \: \text{C} \: \text{J} \: \text{LVt}$
   to   úústi   taâjeéhla
   kato úústi   taâjeéhla
   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 juuniiloosvýʔi ‘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 kalvýkwiṭi ‘sacred’ and a noun 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 \textit{t}i- (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 \textit{–ıyɨ́ʔi} (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 C*/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 C*/nv*/.

1) Dë S ZA O'Rhë'T
   ale kahnko uuşvvnilé?i
   ale ka-hnko uu-asvvnil-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) DřW ajiíla ‘fire, fires’
   DřH ajina ‘cedar, cedars’
   Dh á?ni ‘strawberry, strawberries’
   DąčI asthi ‘string, strings’
   S O'ZC kanvnoowa ‘pipe, pipes’
   S hąčl kansta ‘stick, sticks’

An example showing one of these words used as a plural is in (3).
3) ³lfám ³Dh ³حو ³Aında ³W¿f

thskwiístí á?ni ə̃ná̃lahthvhistíískó?i stiilawéeeli
thskwiístí á?ni anii-á̃hthv-histiísk-ó?i stiilawéeeli
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
Incompletive 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 lists 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 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) ³DVhô¿¹

aatoőńííski
3A-sorcererer
‘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) ³Ifô¿¹

tikeeyóóhvkí
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 tańíkwa
‘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, ³DUf\v
athëeliíto ‘plate’ has a pronominal prefix for Feeling but not for Holmes and Smith who list it as ᵃᵗʰᵇⁿ ‘telido’. They do, however, list a plural ᵃᵗⁱ- form for this noun.

Likewise ᵒⁿᵍᵃᵖ ṛuño⁻kíli ‘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).

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).

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.
CHAPTER 8: DETAILED CONTENTS

CHAPTER 8: MODIFIERS

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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. 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. **SPK̷I**  **DFGG**
   kahljóóhit  akeehyúúj
   ka-ahljóóhita  a-keehyúúja
   3A-fat   3A-girl
   ‘fat girl’

   b. **θ  O demean  òU  JAK̷I. H  Sc̷e̷S̷P**
   na uuneékůjita  weësa  tikoóstay
   tuuáayasuhkahłį
   na uu-neékůjita  weësa  ti-ka-oóstayi  tee-uu-áayasuhkahłįv?i
   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. A example is in (2)/

2) **O demean  Ocoháta̱p̷I**
   uwóóthita  uútškwálvthvŋvį
   uu-oothi-ta  uu-tškwálvthvŋvį
   3B-swell(t):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) -ahyathéána ‘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. **DFIPET**
   aàliiheélíík-výʔi
   a-aaliiheélíík-výʔi
   3A-be.happy:INC-EXP
   ‘He was happy.’

   b. **SFKJL**
   **IRFR**
   kalijójóhit jikeesv
   ka-alijójóhita ji-kees-výʔi
   3A-fat REL-be:INC-EXP
   ‘He was fat.’

Adjectives pattern with most nouns in that they use the ʰti- form of the Distributive prefix (DST2), while verbs (with a few exceptions) use the ʰte- form. (5) contrasts these forms of this prefix.
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 -əthona ‘big’ and -ätskwiti ‘crooked.’ In (6c) the adjective is not vowel-initial so the symbol <x> 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. Øθωθ
úúnathana
uunii-áthana
3B.PL-big
‘big, they are big’

b. Øθľfťj
úúnatskwiti
uunii-átskwiti
3B.PL-crooked
‘crooked, they are crooked’

c. ɛlɛjœj
stííkhvhisti
stii-ákhvhisti
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) -háá?i.

7) a. lɛlɛjɛj
jikaataaháá?i
ji-kaataa-háá?i
1A-dirt-ATB
‘I am dirty.’

b. ³jɛb³
akhiyv́vtla
aki-hyv́vtla
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON REFERENCE</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>ji-/k-</td>
<td>iinii-</td>
<td>iitii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive</td>
<td>oostii-</td>
<td>oojii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>stii-</td>
<td>iijii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>a-, ka-</td>
<td></td>
<td>anii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: SET B PRONOMINAL PREFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON REFERENCE</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (DL)</th>
<th>Plural (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>aki-/akw-</td>
<td>kinii-</td>
<td>iikii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive</td>
<td>ookinii-</td>
<td>ookii-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>ja-</td>
<td>stii-</td>
<td>iijii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>uu-, uw-</td>
<td></td>
<td>uunii-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. **SLT**
   kaataaháá?i
dirt-ATB
   ‘dirty, it is dirty’
b. **DS L4 T**  
   akaataaháá?i  
   a-kaataa-háá?i  
   3A-dirt-ATB  
   ‘He is dirty.’

c. **TS L4 T**  
   tikaataaháá?i  
   ti-kaataa-háá?i  
   DST2-dirt-ATB  
   ‘They (inanimate) are dirty.’

d. **DhS L4 T**  
   aniikaataaháá?i  
   anii-kaataa-háá?i  
   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. **DZL**  
   óóosta  
   a-óóosta  
   3A-good  
   ‘good, he/she is good’

b. **DZL**  
   anóóosta  
   anii-óóosta  
   3A.PL-good  
   ‘They are good (animate).’
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b. **Kööl**
   
jóósta
   ti-óósta
   **DST**-good
   ‘They are good (inanimate).’

As demonstrated in (10), Set A *ka-* adjectives always carry a prefix regardless of animacy.

10) **SPl**
   
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) **ØBø**
   
uuhyvítla
   uu-hyvítla
   **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. **OCE**

uwakhééwi
uu-vkhééwi
3B-deaf/dumb
‘He is deaf and dumb.’

b. **DE**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sakhoóníkéé?i</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeohlééwi</td>
<td>‘quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiíkákéé?i</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éékwa</td>
<td>‘huge, large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-samááti</td>
<td>‘smart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khééwi</td>
<td>‘blind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-alijóóhita</td>
<td>(ka-) ‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chinóósta</td>
<td>(ka-) ‘straight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vvjahlánvúhi</td>
<td>(ka-) ‘fried’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ááthana</td>
<td>‘big, large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vkhééwi</td>
<td>‘deaf and dumb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. \textbf{Ju\textsuperscript{h} TSC}  
\begin{align*}
\text{jun\textsuperscript{i}i} & \text{skwakahl}i \\
ti- & \text{uunii-} \text{skwakahl}i \\
\text{DST2-3B.PL} & \text{-spotted} \\
\text{‘striped, they are striped’} & \text{(Chapter 9.2:28)}
\end{align*}

b. \textbf{Ju\textsuperscript{h} TSC}  
\begin{align*}
\text{j\textsuperscript{u}u} & \text{skwakahl}i \\
ti- & \text{uu-} \text{skwakahl}i \\
\text{DST2-3B} & \text{-striped} \\
\text{‘striped, it is striped’} & \text{(Chapter 9.2:26)}
\end{align*}
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 prepronominal prefix) will also bear that prefix, as seen in (16b)

16) a. Jhrθ
   ti jiʔkhééwi
   ti-ji-hkhééwi
   DST2-1A-blind
   ‘I’m blind.’

   b. Zıt
   nookw juuuywéechon̓y keese jiist
   nookwu ti-uu-yvwéej-ohn-ʔvʔi kees-ʔi jiistu
   now DST2-3B-be.tired:CMP-TRM:CMP-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. DhFI
   aniikv’yhnáké soókwíl taàniiinv̓x̣
   aniikv’yhnákiéʔi soókwíli tee-anii-nv̓x̣i
   3A.PL-black horse DST-3A.PL-fall:IMM
   ‘The black horses fell.’
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. **DZ.₆₆₆**
   anóóst   soókwíli
   anii-óósta  soókwíli
   3A.PL-good  horse
   ‘good horses’

   b. **K₆₆**
   jóríst   tikahljoóte
   ti-óósta  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 *tī-* indicating reference to an inanimate noun.

19) a. **Θ**  **Dh₄G**  **Dh₆L**
   na  aniichúúja  aniikaataaha
   na  anii-chúúja  anii-kaataa-hááʔi
   that  3A.PL-boy  3A.PL-dirt-ATB
   ‘Those are dirty boys.’
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 (DST). 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 prepronominal prefix.

20) a. ** JWΘ**  **SFKS**  
    júúthan  kahljoóte  
    ti-uu-áetha  kahljoóte  
    DST2-3B-big  house  
    ‘The houses are big.’

b. **JOWΘ**  **DH4F**  
    júúnathana  aniisoókwíli  
    ti-unií-áethana  aniísoókwíli  
    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. $\text{JhO} \, \text{KcJ} \quad \text{R} \quad \text{RSW}$

$\text{juunínjoosti} \quad \text{na?} \quad \text{svýchth}$

$\text{ti-} \text{uunii-} \tilde{xnjoosti} \quad \text{na?} \quad \text{svýchthaa}$

DST2-3B.PL-sour that apple

‘Those apples are sour.’

b. $\text{I} \quad \text{Dhol}$

nuúna aniiinvvhiíta

nuúna anii-nvvhiíta

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) $\text{DqJ} \quad \text{Vyb} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{OAb}l$

ajaʔti tookiihyv uunakósíta

ajaʔti tee-okkii-hy-výʔi 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) ʔī- 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.
1.1.2. Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives are derived using three derivational suffixes: the Deverbalizer suffix –\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\), the Participial suffix –\(t\) (\(\text{PCP}\)), and the Negative Deverbalizer suffix –\(\text{v}^{\text{NDV}}\). 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 (\(\text{DVB}\)) –\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\)

Many verbs form adjectives by attaching the Deverbalizer –\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\) 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 –\(\text{v}^{\text{NDV}}\) is used in a typical past tense verbal construction.

24) a. \(\text{O}^{\text{f}}\text{i}^{\text{TRT}}\)
   uu-yooohus\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\)
   uu-yooohus-\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\)
   3B-die:CMP-DVB
   ‘dead’

   b. \(\text{O}^{\text{f}}\text{i}^{\text{TRT}}\)
   uu-yooohus\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\)
   uu-yooohus-\(\text{v}^{\text{DVB}}\)
   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. **Cw** SISɛBT
   nvyya tuūtiikaléeyvýʔi
   nvyya tee-uu-atiikaléey-výʔi
   rock DST-3B-scatter:_CMP-EXP
   ‘He scattered the rocks.’

b. JISɛhG
   jūtiikaleéyójį
   ti-uu-atiikaléeyójį-výʔi
   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. 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. **Ofi Lcido**
   uukhayóótas akwáhnawo
   uu-khayó-ta=s aki-áhnawo
   3B-dry-PCP=Q 1B-shirt
   ‘Is my shirt dry?’

b. **DlccdO** DØfi AS
   akwáhnawo aàkhayooska
   aki-áhnawo a-khayooska
   1B-shirt 3A-dry:PRC
   ‘My shirt is drying.’
27) a.  

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
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<th>Language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SrZ-results</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kachinóóst</td>
<td></td>
<td>kanvvhnývy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-aachinoosta</td>
<td></td>
<td>kahnvnnývyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A-straight</td>
<td></td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I took the straight road.’

b.  

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SrZ-results</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oôkiichinoohisthanv</td>
<td></td>
<td>oôkii-aachinoohisthan-výi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 teé-form that appears on verbs. In the example, ti- becomes j- before the vowel /u/.

28)  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SrZ-results</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>askay suúltaltíhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>juutóó?it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-skaya suúltali+ti-a-hi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ti uu-ataa-óó?i-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A-man six+DST2-3A-kill\AGT-NOM</td>
<td></td>
<td>DST2-3B-MDL-name-PCP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘A man named Sixkiller’
1.1.2.3. Adjectives formed with Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) -\(\text{-vñá}\)

Some adjectives are formed with the \(\text{nì-}\) Partitive prepronominal prefix (PRT) in combination with the Negative Deverbalizer \(\text{-vñá}\) (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. \(\text{TÇøGRØ}\)
   nuwoohiyuus-vñá
   ni-uu-oohiyus-vñá
   PRT-3B-believe-NDV
   ‘faithless, doesn’t believe in things’

   b. \(\text{IPCØ}\text{ FR OR}\)
   nuhlyvhn-vñá keësv uusv
   ni-uu-hlvhn-vñá keës-vý?i uusvý?i
   PRT-3B-sleep:CMP-NDV be:INC-EXP night
   ‘sleepless night’

   c. \(\text{ΘØFIPPEØ JhfiC}\)
   nanaliiheélíík-vñá tiiniiyóóthli
   ni-anii-aliiheélíík-vñá 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) -\(\text{-háá?i}\)

Not all adjectives are derived from verbs. Another common suffix forming adjectives is with the Attributive suffix \(\text{-háá?i}.\) 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. LǝJ alihihā jahnawo
thleesti ski-nvéneélv
Neg.COM 2/t-give(flexible):CMP FIM
alii-há?i ja-ahnawo

‘Don’t give me your sweaty shirt!’

b. OjSa ku/khoostuuhā koohweel ti-i-thlvvt
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) Dl4T
    ataháá?i ‘woody’
    khoostuuhá?i ‘dusty’
    noyuuhá?i ‘sandy’
    kaataahá?i ‘dirty’
    amayihá?i ‘watery’
    kikahá?i ‘bloody’
    alihá?i ‘sweaty’
    ohlahá?i ‘soapy’
    hlawoðhuuhá?i ‘muddy’
    ko?iháá?i ‘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: -kéé?i, -i?ya and -kha that intensify the quality of an adjective.

An example of each is in (32).

32) a. Sauj kalvéláti ‘high’
    Saujik kalvéláti kékéé?i ‘higher’
Another intensifier is -svýʔi 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. ꝥ方式进行ံုး svútvv 
staayosvútvv 
uùthohiise 

b. ꝥ方式进行ံုး svútvv 
staayosvútvv 
uùthohiise 

Adjectives can also be intensified by using the adverbs uutli or uukó̄ti 'more.' Three examples are below in (34).

(34) a. ꝥ方式进行ံုး ꝥ方式进行ံုး uutli uukháyatá 'more dry'

b. ꝥ方式进行ံုး ꝥ方式进行ံုး uukó̄ti úúthána 'bigger'(Feeling 1975a:148)

c. ꝥ方式进行ံုး ꝥ方式进行ံုး uutli uuwó̄chtli '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. \(O^\text{W}^\Theta\) úúthana ‘big’
   \(\text{DVB}^\text{W}\text{C}^\text{T}\) wúúthanvý?i ‘biggest’
   b. \(O^\text{A}^\text{I}\) úúkoti ‘more’
   \(\text{DVB}^\text{A}^\text{P}\text{T}\) wuukootvý?i ‘most’
   c. \(\text{S}^\text{I}^\Theta\text{I}^\text{EB}\) kalvýnati ‘high’
   \(\text{DVB}^\text{S}^\text{I}^\text{I}^\Theta^\text{I}^\text{EB}\) wakalvntiiyývý?i ‘the very highest one’
   d. \(\text{A}^\text{L}^\text{L}^\text{I}\) koostaáyi ‘sharp’
   \(\text{DVB}^\text{A}^\text{L}^\text{L}^\text{I}^\text{BT}\) wikoostayývý?i ‘sharpest’
   e. \(O^\text{O}^\Theta\text{I}\) ustíí ‘small’
   \(\text{DVB}^\text{O}^\text{O}^\Theta^\text{I}^\text{ET}\) wúústíikhývý?i ‘smallest’ (Pulte and Feeling 1975:337)

Two examples of superlatives in sentences are in (36).

36) a. \(\text{DVB}^\text{A}^\text{P}\text{T}\) wuukootvý?i ateéla aákhiла 
   \(\text{TRN}^\text{D}^\text{V}^\text{W}^\text{B}^\text{Y}\) aítéla aákhiла ‘I have the most money.’
   b. \(\text{DVB}^\text{L}^\text{C}\) kato úúst aahnawo wakatahiyývý?i
   \(\text{TRN}^\text{C}^\text{S}^\text{L}^\text{I}^\text{EB}\) 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).
For comparisons between two nouns the word siíhno ‘than’ appears after the adjective. Two examples are in (38).

b. **TS R._UNUSED** **CA** **CAI** **WO**
iika ééhi nvvtá uukóóti úúthana
iika a-ééh-i nvvtá uukóóti uu-úthana
day 3A-live:INC\AGT-NOM sun/moon more 3B-big

siíhnv svvnoóyi ééhi nvvtá keesv'éi
siíhnv svvnoóyi a-ééh-i nvvtá kees-v'éi
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 kayóóhlikéé?i appears. Both of these adverbs are exemplified in (39).

a. **SI** **SI** **SI**
    kayóóhliwú kaátuulííta
    kayóóhli=kwu ka-aátuulííta
    little=DT 3A-wet
    ‘It’s a little wet.’
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. Zwë sAP C SCR ò L¥b
   nokw wuukohe wathliisv na taks
   nookwu wi-uu-koh-éʔi wi-a-atithliis-vvʔi na taksi
   now TRN-3B-sec:_CMP-NXP TRN-3A-run:_CMP-EXP\SUB that turtle
   ‘He saw the turtle running.’ (Chapter 9.3:42)

b. DhC_gb ò L¥b CØYW
   aniwalóosi na taksi uûnhkiʔla
   ani-\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).
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. ToShow  KY@I
  hi?ina  jóóksti
  hi?a=na  ja-okist-i
  this=f2    2B-smoke:DVN\OBJ-NOM
  ‘This is for you to smoke.’

  b.  Show  SV  C@I    DhIraS
  náana  kato úústi  aniijiistu
  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 hilvúskyi ‘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.
There are several quantifiers, however, that do take pronominal prefixes. These quantifiers are listed in (44); an example of an inflected quantifier is in (45).

44) Inflecting Quantifiers
-koöti  much, a lot of
-jaáthi  a lot
-tskwiísta  a lot, many

45) T.kúwól
iitiitskwíísta
iitiit-tskwíísta
1.A.PL-lot
‘There are a lot of us.’

The quantifiers that can take person prefixes typically don’t appear with third person plural agreement. Such prefixes do appear, however, in a predicate sentence, as shown in (46).
46) Dhrọal
aniitskwista
aniit-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. òô E.JEt DT OT CT
    skwiísti kvv-tíiskv?i aaséehno uuyóójv?i
    skwiísti ji-vhtiísk-v?i aaséehno uu-yóoj-v?i
    lot 1A-use:INC-EXP however 3B-break:CMP-EXP
    ‘I used it a lot however it broke.’

b. ļrọ Et DS P RO Et AJ TS
    tskwiísti aákaaska tlv eenvísti khoohi iika
    tskwiísti a-kaaska tlv a-eenvíst-i khoohi iika
    much 3A-rain:PRC somewhere 3A-go:DVN-NOM2 while.ago day
    ‘It’s raining too much to go somewhere today.’ (Feling 1975a:15)

Quantifiers also act as pronouns as seen in (48).

48) TS 0hSZF FT 0OCTaVIT
    iiKalata uuniisskanóli keëso uunatvvnviistóhtíí?i
    iiKalata uuniis-skanóli keës-ó?i uuniissatvvnviistóhtíí?i
    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.
Unlike adjectives, number words do not indicate plurality for inanimate objects, as seen in (50).

Number words are able to stand alone and act as nouns. An example is in (51).
The cardinal numerals 1-10 are listed below in (52)

\[
\begin{align*}
52) &\text{saâkwu} & \text{‘one’} \\
&\text{thá?li} & \text{‘two’} \\
&\text{jo?i} & \text{‘three’} \\
&\text{nvhki} & \text{‘four’} \\
&\text{hiski} & \text{‘five’} \\
&\text{suútáli} & \text{‘six’} \\
&\text{kahlkwoóki} & \text{‘seven’} \\
&\text{chanéela} & \text{‘eight’} \\
&\text{sohneéla} & \text{‘nine’} \\
&\text{skoóhi} & \text{‘ten’}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
53) &\text{satu} & \text{‘eleven’} \\
&\text{tha?ltu} & \text{‘twelve’} \\
&\text{jo?ka?tu} & \text{‘thirteen’} \\
&\text{nika?tu} & \text{‘fourteen’} \\
&\text{sika?tu} & \text{‘fifteen’} \\
&\text{talatu} & \text{‘sixteen’} \\
&\text{kahlkawtu} & \text{‘seventeen’} \\
&\text{nelatu} & \text{‘eighteen’} \\
&\text{sohnelatu} & \text{‘nineteen’}
\end{align*}
\]

The number word ‘twenty’ \text{thá?lskohi} 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) $wp@A\theta$ U\tau $tha？lskohi saàkwú́ twenty one

55) $K\circ A\theta$ jo？sko hi 'thirty'
$CY\circ A\theta$ nvsko hi 'forty'
$JY\circ A\theta$ hiksko hi 'fifty'
$LPL\circ A\theta$ sutalsko hi 'sixty'
$SP.L\circ A\theta$ kahlkwasko hi 'seventy'
$AP\circ A\theta$ nelsko hi 'eighty'
$\Delta AP\circ A\theta$ sohnelsko hi 'ninety'
$\circ A\theta It$ skohitskwa 'one hundred'

Ordinal numbers from 2nd-10th are formed with the Ordinal suffix (ORD) $iinéé？i$.

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) $Z\sigma Z$ $WFA$ $J\alpha MG$

noòwúhn $tha？liine$ wuuníí？lúhj
noòwu=hn $tha？li-iinéé？i$ wi-uunii？lúhj-a
now=CN $two-ORD$ TRN-3B.PL\SUB-arrive:_CMP-TAV

$O\sigma Ly$ $\circ \Theta \sigma A\sigma$ $De\sigma \alpha$
uu×tlóöy ni-ii-uunii-atvívneel-é？i aleskwu
uu×tlóöyi uu-uu×ti×uunii-atvívneel-é？i aleskwu
3B-same $PRT-ITR-3B.PL-do:_CMP-NXP$ and

$KTA$ $CYA$ $\dot{J}CYA$ $LPLA$

jo？liine $nvhkiine$ hiskiine $suútaliiine$
jo？li-iinéé？i $nvhki-iinéé？i$ hiski-iinéé？i $suútalii-iinéé？i$
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) USBAT  sátuůsiinééʔi  ‘eleventh’
    WPSBAT  tháltuůsiinééʔi  ‘twelfth’
    KDSBAT  joʔátuůsiinééʔi  ‘thirteenth’
    hSSBAT  niikátuůsiinééʔi  ‘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) ôihay  âAhrw  Tâh
    naʔvníkeesti  skoóhítskwu  iiyáni
    naʔvníkeesti  skoóhítskwu  iiyáni
    near  hundred  how many

DhGWY  DhJ  DhIrS U
    aniijalaki  aniijáti  aniijiikasa
    anii-jalaki  anii-játi  anii-jiikasa
    3A.PL-Cherokee  3A.PL-Choctaw  3A.PL-Chickasaw

DhBAZP  DhJ  Dâh
    aniiisiminoli  ale  anii-kúusa
    anii-siminoli  ale  anii-kúusa
    3A.PL-Seminole  and  3A.PL-Muskogee

DAJo  SÔït  Ôəï
    aneehiiya  tuùnatloose  uuwééthi
    anii-ehiiya  tee-uunii-atloos-éʔi  uu-ééthi
    3A.PL-indigenous  DST-3B.PL-meet:_CMP-NXP  3B-old

DÔhJ  JôAT
    juunatloohisti  juúskóóʔi
    ti-uunii-atloohist-i  juúska-ʔi
    DST2-3B.PL-meet:DVN-NOM2  oak-LOC
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) \[ W \mathsf{PA} \quad \mathbf{O} \mathsf{GS} \mathsf{S} \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{thaʔlíine} & \text{wijatuʔká} \\
\text{thaʔli-iinéʔi} & \text{wi-ja-atuʔka} \\
\text{two-ORD} & \text{TRN-2B-throw:IMM(COM)}
\end{array}
\]

‘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 \( \backslash \text{SUB} \). In (60b) this tone appears on the Experienced Past suffix.

60) a. \[ \text{Af} \mathsf{c} \mathsf{J} \quad \text{IrOZ} \mathsf{c} \mathsf{c} \mathsf{A} \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kohúústi jikhanooheskő & \text{DS} \mathsf{c} \mathsf{A} \mathsf{N} \mathsf{J} \mathsf{GR} \mathsf{O} \\
kohúústi ji-ka-hnoohesk-óʔi & \text{a-skaya nuutoohiyusvýna keeso} \\
something & \text{askaya ni-uu-ataa-oohiyus-výna kees-óʔi} \\
\text{REL-3A-tell:INC-HAB\backslash SUB} & \text{3B-man PRT-3B-MDL-believe-NDV be:INC-HAB}
\end{array}
\]

‘The man who tells the story is unbelievable.’
b. **D̄-S̄u**  |  **Ir-ha-PZǐ-l̄i-E**  |  **DhS**
askaya      |  ji-jii-ali-inohehtii-skзу      | a-hnik̕a
a-skaya     |  ji-jii-ali-hnohehtii-sk-́v̄p̄i | 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. **O-S̄O-C̄O**  |  **θ D̄V̄Ȳa-[a]-Y**  |  **Ir-S̄Ch̄**
     uu-kaänawas na a-thohtiiyaaski    |  jikawóoníhält̄a
     uu-kaänawa=s na a-thohtiiyaask-i  |  ji-ka-wóoníhält̄a
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. **θ̄-ȲZ**  |  **Ir-J̄Ch̄**  |  **O-C̄U**
na-askihno ji-iti-wooníhält̄a    |  uuwaásaa
na-aski=hn̄o ji-iti-wooníhält̄a  |  uu-áásaa
that.one=CN  |  REL-1A.PL-speak:PRC\SUB  |  3B-only

**θ̄P̄-J̄w**  |  **θ Ir-S̄L̄S̄i-C̄aS̄**
wi-itvthíinya     |  na ji-teetateeyóóhvsk
wi-iiti-vvthíinya  |  na ji-tee-iiti-ateeyóóhvṣka
TRN-1A.PL-remain:IMM |  that REL-DEST-1A.PL-teach:PRC\SUB

**D̄h S̄W̄J̄I**  |  **J̄O-S̄C̄Ēc̄-IT**
ahani kalv̄lāti  |  juunateehlokwastíí́ʔi
ahani kalv̄lāti  |  ti-uunii-atee-hlok-wast-íí‌ʔi
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 prepronominial prefix ji- to indicate
subordination. In this case the highfall tone indicating subordination appears on the
prepronominial prefix of this auxiliary verb. Two examples are in (62).
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. \( \Theta \text{G}^{\circ} \text{W}^{\circ} \text{P} \) \( \text{O}^{\circ} \text{W}^{\circ} \) \( \text{I}^{\circ} \text{Y} \) \( \text{O}^{\circ} \text{Y}^{\circ} \text{W}^{\circ} \) \( \text{I}^{\circ} \text{Y}^{\circ} \text{P} \)
   jaání uweéji uúthayooohlv
   jaání uu-eéji uu-athayool-vú?i
   John 3B-offspring 3B-ask:CMP-EXP
   ‘John’s son asked for it.’

b. \( \text{KGLG}^{\circ} \text{F}^{\circ} \text{L}^{\circ} \) \( \text{O}^{\circ} \text{S}^{\circ} \text{A}^{\circ} \) \( \text{O}^{\circ} \text{W}^{\circ} \text{F}^{\circ} \text{P} \)
   jojitaanvéthl uunaaliikóó hiikaàthiiý
   ti-oójii-ataat-núvþhla uunii-aaliikóó?i hii-kahthíiý
   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 –ajééli with a Set B pronominal prefix that indicates the possessor.
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. \text{hs} \circ \text{vp} \circ \text{aj} \\
\text{jaání uujeéli uusti} \\
\text{jaání uu-ajeéli uusti} \\
John 3B-possession baby \\
‘John’s baby.’

b. \text{tf} \circ \text{lp} \\
\text{soókwíl akwajeéli} \\
\text{soókwílí aki-ajeéli} \\
horse 1B-possession \\
‘My horse.’ (Feeling 1975a:17)

c. \text{bv} \circ \text{ti} \circ \text{vp} \\
\text{sikwoóyó} \text{uunajeéli} \\
\text{sikwoóya-?i uunii-ajeéli} \\
Sequoyah-LOC 3B.pl-possession \\
‘It (i.e. the ball) belongs to the Sequoyah team.’ (Lady Indians Championship)

d. \text{tap} \circ \text{lp} \circ \text{ir} \\
\text{haatlv awajeele uuwaáji} \\
\text{haatlv 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. \text{is gi aj} \text{te jil soc or aj ty} \\
tiiteehlkwasti ikvýityítila kanvynv uunasiýesty iiki \\
ti-a-ateeheklwast-i ikvýyi-títila kanvynv uu-nasýestí ií-ki \\
DST2-3A-learn:DVN-NOM2 front+toward road 3B-slick ITR-be:IMM \\
‘The road in front of the school is slick.’
b. Díaqdéep [uk] ṭóni [uk] ṭóqfiqtá [uk] ṭóqfiqetá
   aatsaneelv uwiwemeyv naávníkeesti uuuyoojiitíena
   aatsaneelv uwiwemeyávi naávníkeesti uu-yooji-iiíteena
   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 naáv 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 naáv 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 -ńán together create the meaning ‘without.’ In (66d) the time adverbial in Cherokee is syntactically a subordinate clause as indicated in the literal translation.
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. 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.
67) a. **DE'Y**  
    **DE'Y**  
    **DE'Y**  
    **DE'Y**  
    akvvytvy  
    akvvyí?i=tvv  
    wi-uu-atlvvstan-é?i  
    first=FC  
    wuútlvystane  
    wi-u-u-atlvvstan-é?i  
    TRN-3B-take.off.:CMP-NXP  
    wahya  
    wahya  
    wolf  
    ‘The wolf took off first.’ (Chapter 9.1:14)

b. **FÔßÉÔ**  
    **FÔßÉÔ**  
    **FÔßÉÔ**  
    **FÔßÉÔ**  
    nuuyóosiiskývna  
    ni-uu-yóosiisk-výna  
    3B-be.hungry:INC-NDV  
    3A-MLD-fix.a.meal:PRC  
    aalstáávvhvsk  
    a-ali-stáávvhvska  
    PRT-3B  
    na?  
    3A-woman  
    akeey  
    a-keeeyha  
    ‘He’s eating while he’s not hungry the food the woman prepared to eat.’

Adverbs of location are often derived from nouns using the Locative (**LOC**) suffix described in Chapter 7. This suffix consists of a vowel with a highfall tone followed by –/ý/ or the less-common variant -hý. This vowel is usually the same vowel as the final vowel of the word, as seen in (68a) and (68b). If the final vowel is /a/, however, there is an unpredictable variation between /o/ and /v/, as seen in (68c) and (68d). There are cases where a word that ends in a vowel besides /a/ takes /v/; these changes probably reflect an older and no-longer productive derivational process; an example is in (68e).

68) a. **ôBT**  
    **ôBT**  
    **ôBT**  
    **ôBT**  
    óosíí?i  
    óosi-?i  
    stove-LOC  
    ‘into the stove’
b. **VuS.Ø**
  hlawoøtúúhi
  hlawootu-hi
  mud-LOC
  ‘in the mud’ (Feeling 1975a:130)

c. **OVV.Ø**
  nvvtóóhi
  nvvt-a-hi
  moon, sun-LOC
  ‘on the moon, sun’

d. **DÔ.Ø**
  amóóhi
  ama-hi
  water-LOC
  ‘in the water’

e. **SØYGT**
  kaaskilvývi
  kaaskilo-Øi
  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.
Adverbs can also modify adjectives as well as other adverbs. In (70a) the degree adverb *uulosvůsti* modifies an adjective, and in (70b) the adverb *tooyu* modifies another adverb *stááya* that is indicating the manner in which a verb is performed.
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 ééliistí 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. RPeI JAI Y GAS AjGC AT
ééliistí hilvskí yuúkõóte yitichawase?i
eééliistí hilvskí yi-uúkõóte yi-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. DTo ÑoIY IJBI IJPeV
asées tikinvtiíyetí tiitheliito
asée=s ti-kinii-vvtiíyéét-i ti-atheliito
must=Q DST2-1B.DL-wash:DVNMOD NOM DST2-dish
‘Do we have to wash dishes?’

c. VGiZ ÛY I ÓPAf
toyúhnóo ski nuúntývneele
thoiiy=hnóo naski ni-uunii-atývneel-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 ʾthla ‘not.’ When this adverb is used, the Irrealis prepronominal prefix yi- appears on the verb being negated, as seen in (72a).⁶

72) a. ʾthla yakwaahntha
    thla yi-aki-anvhtha
    NEG  IRR-1B-know:PRC
    ‘I don’t know.’

b. thlahno stááyi yitiijiilvhwstaånneeho
   thlahno stááyi yi-ti-iiji-li-vhwstaånneeh-ó?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. hleesti uhna jiihihlvñí
    hleesti uhna jii-hi-hlvñí
    NEG.COM there  NGI-2A-sleep:IMM(COM)
    ‘Don’t go to sleep there!’

b. hleesti jiiskinvñí
    hleesti jii-ski-nvñhi
    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. ᱥᱟᱟᱤ ᱡᱟᱲᱟ haatlv hwikhthi
    haatlv wi-hi-kathi
    where   TRN-2A-head.to:PRC
    ‘Where are you headed?’

   b. ᱡᱟᱲᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱲᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ hila/ch64:0133+6002a/ch36:0133+6003yv
      hilááyvį ja-sulkoj-éʔi  hi-okisk-výʔi
      when  2B-quit:INC-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 katoôhv at the beginning of the sentence with the Iterative (ITR) prepronominal prefix attached to the verb. Two examples are in (75).

75) a. ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ katoôhv uujeéwáásti  uunvýti nvvhiiyvñisi
    katoôhv uu-ajeéwáást-i  uunvýti ni-ii-hii-vnisi
    why  3B-spill:DVN-NOM2  milk  PRT-ITR-2A.AN-make:IMM
    ‘Why did you make him spill his milk?’

   b. ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ ᱡᱟᱟᱟ katoôhv tojáyohi  steeyíta
    katoôhv 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 prepronominal (REL) prefix ji- attached to the verb. Two examples are given in (76); in (76a) is the basic form, whereas in (76b) this prepronominal prefix is aspirated through contact with the /h/ in the pronominal prefix.

533
76) a.  **SV**  JPB.A
    kato juùliiyéetiha
    kato ji-uu-liiyéetiha
    why REL-3B-moan:PRC
    ‘Why is he moaning?’ (Feeling 1975a:173)

   b.  **SV**  G4.4A
    kato chatloohíha
    kato ji-hi-atloohíha
    why REL-2A-cry:PRC
    ‘Why are you crying?’

A third way uses the word *katoðkhe* with the Relativizer. An example is in (77).

77) **SV**  I4GPO
    katoðkhe jijahlvvnv
    katoðkhe ji-ja-hlvvn-vv?i
    why REL-2B-sleep:_CMP-EXP
    ‘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.  **W**  hAl0.w  **D**  4 B.P.C.L
    hila niakoostaàya  hi?a hayelsta
    hila ni-ka-oostaàya  hi?a hayelsta
    how PRT-3A-sharp  this knife
    ‘How sharp is this knife?’

   b.  **W**  O4A.w  **L**  I4G  **J**
    hila naakoohíl  niijiineélo  kuusö
    hila ni-aakoohíla  ni-iijii-neél-ó?i  kuusa-?i
    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.

> “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.’

> “Always if I want:INC-AFT\SUB

---

**79)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cherokee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jii-yeeuwitv</td>
<td><em>I am fast</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji-hyanuuli-tv</td>
<td><em>he</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A-fast =FC</td>
<td><em>said:</em> CMP-NXP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aséehno</strong></td>
<td>3B-RFL-tell:CMP-NXP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**80)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cherokee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jìalaki aniiyvvwiya</td>
<td><em>people-real 3B.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jìalaki anii-yvvwi-ya</td>
<td><em>speak:</em> DVN\MOD-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee 3A.PL</td>
<td>3B.PL-speak:DVN\MOD-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>if</strong></td>
<td>3B-find.out:CMP-NXP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale uunatatáahnthehti</td>
<td>3B.PL-MDL-think:DVN\MOD-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale uunii-ataa-ahntheht-i</td>
<td>3B.PL-MDL-think:DVN\MOD-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and 3B.PL</td>
<td><strong>if</strong> 1B.PL-want:INC-AFT\SUB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>if</strong></td>
<td><strong>if</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

535
Some adverbs relate a clause to another clause with a conjunctive adverb that establishes a cause or reason. An example of the adverb *vskiní 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.

(81a) **Shlrá’Z S Vó‘r Lrá’r’ô’ô**

kaniitatv́ýhnóo kathoské?i jíístvvn
ka-niita?tv́ý?i=hnóo ka-atosk-é?i jíístvvnà
3A-tail=CN 3A-latch.onto:IMP-NXP crawdad

**iáYh GáJ TjW4ó**

vskiní yúústi iijuulahaw
vskiní yúústi iijuulahà=kwú
that reason both=DT

(81b) **ChMf S ŠóPó’ô’ô**

waníiluhke teekhanahlthv́ý?i
wi-anii-luhk-é?i tee-khanahlthv́ý?i
TRN-3A.PL-arrive:COMP-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. **O’ó’L EčnáJ Fó**

uuhnthe kvvwwthlóóhist keeh́́
uu-anvhth-é?i ka-uu-athloohist-i keeh-v́ý?i
3B-know:COMP-NXP NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM be:COMP-EXP
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 S VS DL@S CT GCH U
áayv katook aàtaaskaahý?i yuwaníís
áayv ka-tooka a-ataat-skaah-ý?i yuwaníísa
there 3A-stand:PRC 3A-RFL-afraid:CMP-DVB reason.why
‘He’s standing over there because he’s afraid.’

b. SS lhr@p@ET
káatu taniisvvnthvský?i
káatu tee-anii-svvnthvsk-ý?i
bread DST-3A.PL-fry:INC-DVB

DVI\'I S lS V@V AT
aàkilvvkwhti kaajiikaàthhostohtií?i
aki-lvvkwhti kaa-jii-kahthostoht-íí?i
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 Incomplete and Completable 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. ỌỌhọCT  SGW  YW  ÑMCI
     uuwóoniisohnv?i  káayuul  khil waàkiflúhjv
     uu-wóoniis-ohn-v?i  káayuula  khila wi-aki-?lúhj-vý?i
     3B-speak:CMP-TRM:CMP-DVB already just  TRN-1B-arrive-CMP-EXP
     ‘When he had completed talking only then did I arrive.’

     b. ỌỌhọCT  SGW  YW  ÑMCI
     jọ  yuwáákhti  ajiinoseelv?i  si  tajiístayoolhv
     jọ?i  yuwáákhti  aji-hnooseelv-vý?i  si  ti-aji-stayoolv-vý?i
     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. ỌjW嬾  Dğa  ỌjPC
     uuufítháhý  ama  uùlývvyjv
     uu-atífháh-vý?i  ama  uu-tílyv-vý?i
     3B-drink:CMP-DVB water 3B-sick:CMP-EXP
     ‘He became sick after drinking the water.’

     b. ỌMGZ  ỌsOJ  ỌFR
     wúúluhjahñóo  kalvynat  tikeësv
     wi-uu-?lujh-a=hnóo  kalvynati  ti-keës-vý?i
     TRN-3B\SUB-arrive:CMP-TAV=CN on.top.of CIS-be:INC-EXP

     ỌjW嬾
     wahya  uuðthohise
     wahya  uu-atohis-é?i
     wolf  3B-whoop:CMP-NXP
     ‘When he got to the top of the hill, the wolf whooped.’ (Chapter 9.1:17-18)
An adverbial clause expressing the idea of ‘before’ as an event that may or may not occur uses the Partitive prepronominal prefix. Two examples are in (85); the example in (85b) has the same meaning as in (83b) above but is expressed with the Negative Deverbalizer rather than the Deverbalizer.

85) a. winuulu.hj:vynakwu uu.uthahvvsti u:tuulu.wwvhyv?i
    wi-ni-uu-uhj-vynakwu uu-aka.thahvyst-i uu-atuulwvh-vynakwu
    TRN-PRT-3B-arrive:CMD-NOM-3 3B-turn.back:CMD-DECL 3B-want:CMD-EXP
    ‘He wanted to turn back before he got there.’ (Feeling1975:35)

b. jo yi:uwaakhti a:jii:ni:nooelv si ni:tuuni:stayaohlvynakhu
    jo:i yuwaakhti aji:hnoseel-vynakwu si ni-tee-uu:ni:stayaohlvynakhu
    jo?i yuwaakhti aji:hnoseel-vynakwu si ni-tee-uu:ni:stayaohlvynakwu
    three time 3O-tell:CMD-DECL still PRT-DST-3B-PL-shoot:CMD-DECL
    ‘He was told three times before they shot at him.’

In the example below in (86) the dependent clause ‘When/after the elders leave us’ receives the Deverbalizer suffix; this dependent clause is followed by a second
dependent clause using the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) –\( \text{v\text{y}n\text{a}} \) to express ‘without anybody knowing our language.’

86) Dh\text{SBf} F\text{ESKo}
\begin{align*}
\text{aniikayv\text{ly}i keekhtéejonh\text{v}} & \quad \text{Dće} \\
\text{aniikayv\text{ly}i keejii-vhtéej-ohn-\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{ale}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
3\text{A.PL}-\text{elder} & \quad 3\text{O.PL}-\text{depart.in.death:}\text{CMP-TRM:}\text{CMP-DVB} & \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{YG} & \quad \text{AL} & \quad \text{GWY} & \quad \text{SchJ\text{a}I} \\
\text{khilo} & \quad \text{núútale} & \quad \text{jalaki} & \quad \text{ka-wooniíhísti}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{some} & \quad \text{PRT-3B-different} & \quad \text{Cherokee} & \quad 3\text{A-speak-DVN-NOM2}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{OSW\text{c}\text{X}} & \quad \text{F\text{t\text{a}J}} & \quad \text{hS\text{L}} & \quad \text{PH\text{y\text{h}}} \\
\text{nakhtahhá\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{keeséísti} & \quad \text{nikááta tVvhnikíísohni} & \quad \text{PRT-3A-know.how:}\text{CMP-NDV be:}\text{INC-AFT}\text{SUB all FUT-3A-leave:}\text{CMP-TRM:}\text{CMP-MOT}
\end{align*}

‘When the elders leave us and no one else knows the language, it will be gone.’

\text{(Cherokee Phoenix May 2006)}

Wyman Kirk (personal communication) has found a pattern of using the adverb \text{si} and the Negative Deverbalizer (NDV) construction (which is always used with the Partitive \text{ni-}) to create the meaning ‘before.’ Two of his examples are in (87).

87a. b \text{O\text{T\text{c}\text{X}}\text{X}} \quad \text{hA\text{J}\text{T}} \quad \text{O\text{r\text{t}J\text{a}J}} \quad \text{S\text{P\text{a}AT}}
\begin{align*}
\text{si winuusuhn\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{nikohil\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} \quad \text{utskwiíísti} & \quad \text{kahlvvs\text{ko}o\text{?i}} & \quad \text{si wi-ni-uu-suhn-\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{nikohil\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{utskwiíísti} & \quad \text{kahlvvs\text{ko}o\text{?i}} \\
\text{still} & \quad \text{TRN-PRT-3B-fish:}\text{CMP-NDV always} & \quad 3\text{B-lot} & \quad 3\text{A-sleep:}\text{CMP}
\end{align*}

‘Before he goes fishing he always sleeps a lot.’

87b. b \text{O\text{t\text{c}\text{X}}\text{c}\text{I\text{X}}} \quad \text{Sh\text{OTE}V} \quad \text{Sh\text{c\text{s}W}}
\begin{align*}
\text{si nakwatawoo\text{?v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{teejinaátokh\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{teejínvvk\text{ala}} & \quad \text{si ni-aki-at\text{a}a-awoo\text{?v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{tee-ji-nahtokh\text{v\text{y}n\text{a}}} & \quad \text{tee-ji-nvvk\text{ala}} \\
\text{still} & \quad \text{PRT-1B-MDL-bathe:}\text{CMP-NDV DST-1A-tooth} & \quad \text{DST-1A-brush:IMM}
\end{align*}

‘I brushed my teeth \text{before I bathed.’}
The Deverbalizer (DVB) suffix –vēʔi 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. 𐰉𐰆𐑂 旅途 𢿛 IDS  SCB
    uuhyvvsǒol aʔjikwenuukíise kahliihyū
    uuhyvvsǒoli aji-kwenuukíis-ेʔi ka-hliihy-vēʔi
3B-nose 3O-scratch:COMP-NXP 3A-sleep:COMP-DVB
‘His nose got scratched while he slept.’

b. 𐰆𐰍 Radeon  DYPO
    takilvȟhwstaaneehy aʔkithlvhvnv
    tee-aki-lvȟhwstaaneeh-vēʔi aki-thľṽhn-vēʔi
DST-1B-work:COMP-DVB 1B-sleep:COMP-EXP
‘I fell asleep while working.’

c. 𢿛 IDS  jisikyostaaneelv
    ji-ski-yos-staan-eel-vēʔi
REL-2/1-break-CAUS:COMP-APL:COMP-DVB

88) d. 𐰉𐰆𐑂 𢿛 IDS  SSYA
    uuʔaakeeyvvs�� teekáhnookiisko
    uu-ataat-keeeyvvs-vēʔi teek-a-hnookíisk-ʔi
3B-RFL-stingy.with:COMP-DVB DST-3A-sing:COMP-HAB
‘He sings because he’s in love.’
To express a succession of events, the event that happens first acts as an adverbial. This construction uses the Completive stem with a Time Adverbial (TAV) suffix –a. This type of adverbial clause is usually translated into English with the preposition ‘after.’ For this construction a subordinating highfall tone appears on the rightmost long vowel of the verb. Two examples are in (89).

89) a. C IrhBZ
   waˈjiniiyˈvðno
   wi-aji-niiyvvh-a=hno
   TRN-3O-catch:CMP\SUB-TAV=CN
   ‘And when he caught him he ate him.’ or ‘Having caught him, he ate him.’

   C IrwˈɔjA
   waˈjiyyaaʔohnéʔ
   wi-aji-yaaʔ-ohn-éʔi
   TRN-3O-eat:TRM:CMP-NXP

b. CEl OCbZl JSJ
   suuketˈa uuwoohlˈvðhnohna
tikaˈæhti
   wi-uu-hlan-ˈvði
   TRN-3B-make:CMP\SUB-TRM:CMP-TAV TRN-3B-put.in:_CMP-EXP
   ‘After she made the dough, she put it in the oven.’ (Feeling 1975a:154)

In the second example above a Terminative derivational suffix (TRM) appears on the subordinate clause. Wyman Kirk (personal communication) has noted the tendency of this suffix to appear in subordinate ‘after’ clauses. Two of his examples are in (90).

90) a. YC IrhβGCo
    kiihli jiˈjiyiˈeeloˈlóhný
    dog REL-1A.AN-feed:_CMP-TRM:CMP-EXP\SUB

    GIrβYR
    tiˈikweenvvs̍ ñ
    jaˈakwahniikisv
    CIS-1B-go:_CMP-DVB REL-1B-leave:_CMP-EXP
    ‘After I fed the dog, I left home.’
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) yi- 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. **SPKS** **50kr**  **SS**  **DYORA**
    kahljoôte yiwiijiyvýha  káátu aâkiwsvýko
    kahljoôte yi-wi-ji-yvýh-a  káátu aki-wsývk-ó?i
    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. **HAg**  **SMA**  **6GPaLBG@S**
    nikoolv ká?luhkó?  yoójalstáâyvýhvská
    nikoolv ka-?luhk-ó?i  yi-ojjii-ali-stáâyvýhvsk-a
    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. **Ye**

\[ \text{morning} \quad \text{IRR-2B-wake(I):CMP\$SUB-TAV} \quad \text{Cherokee} \quad 2A\text{-think:INC-AFT} \]

‘In the morning when you wake up, think Cherokee!’

(Cherokee Phoenix May 2006)

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.

Table 1 below summarizes the different ways of forming time adverbials in Cherokee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSE</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>FINAL SUFFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Establish time frame of main verb  
’when he Xed,’ | Completive | -výʔi (DVB) |
| Establish Event previous to main verb  
’after having Xed,’ | Completive (typically with Terminative -ohn) | -a (TAV) |
| Establish event in progress when main verb occurs  
’while Xing,’ | Incompletive | -výʔi (DVB) |
| Establish condition that occurs in present or future for main verb to occur  
’whenever’ | 1. Prepronominal prefix yi- (IRR) +Completive  
2. Prepronominal prefix yi- (IRR) +Incompletive | -a (TAV) |

### 2.2.2. Adverbial Clauses with Deverbal Noun Stem

An adverbial clause can be formed with a Deverbal Noun stem to create the meaning ‘in order to.’ In these constructions the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the clause it is modifying. Two examples are in (93).

93) a. **DSW DCJ JAI LYG ALA**

ateélə awatatlohísti taàkilvýhwstaane
ateélə aki-atatlohišt-i tee-aki-lvýhwstaaneheha
money 1B-earn:DVN-NOM2 DST-1B-work:PRC
‘I’m working to earn money.’

b. **ΘΩYZ TGAI TS VΥI0 angrily**

naàskíhno iyúústi iika toòkiilvýhwístaàneeheho
naàski=hno iyúústi ii-ka tee-okii-lvýhwístaàneehe-h?i
that=CN reason ITR-be:PRC DST-1B.PL.EX-work:INC-HAB

**EZI TGF@V IT**

kvvhnóóta iiyuulstohtiíʔi
ka-vvhnóóta ii-u-alistoht-ííʔi
3A-alive PRT2-3B-become:DVN-NOM2
‘That’s why we struggle to keep it alive.’ *(Cherokee Phoenix February 2005)*
In the second example the verb ‘to become, to happen, to occur’ serves as the adverb. This verb always appears with the Partitive (PRT) prepronominal prefix.

2.3. **Postpositional Phrases as Adverbials**

The third type of adverbial is the Postpositional phrases. The use of these phrases as noun modifiers, or adjectivals, has already been discussed in that section. These phrases are also able to modify verbs. For example, in (94a) the postposition ‘with’ creates the underlined postpositional phrase ‘with an axe.’ This phrase performs an adverbial function by adding more information about the way in which the action ‘split’ is performed. In (94b) the postposition ‘on top of’ forms with the noun ‘hill’ a postpositional phrase indicating where the event occurs.⁷

94) a. **SMOCF L.E. L@M@S DL**

| kaluysta k'yhti taasluuska ata |
| kaluysta k'yhti tee-a-slusska ata |
| axe with DST-3A-split:PRC wood |

‘He is splitting wood with an axe.’

b. **SD.IN P@C@P P@V@J@F**

| kalvnti?a wikhahnlhvy uuakhiiisti kee'svvy?i |
| kalvnti?a wikhahnlhvy?i uu-athohiist-i kee's-vvy?i |
| on.top TRN-hill 3B-whoop:DVN\MOD-NOM be:INC-EXP |

‘…at the top of the hill he was to whoop.’ (Chapter 9.1:14)

3. **SUMMARY**

This discussion of Cherokee modifiers has focused on two general ways of modifying a part of speech or a clause. The first is to modify a noun through an adjectival. This group includes adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, and numerals. There are also two clause-level constructions, the relative clause and the postpositional phrase, that can expand the Cherokee noun phrase. Adjectives are one
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. O híóチ
   na tawooli uuniiyóó?i
   na tawooli uunii-yóó?i
   that mushroom 3B.PL-bad
   ‘Those mushrooms are bad.’

   b. O fiít
   uu-yóó?i anii-ataa-ahnth--hééha
   3B-bad 3A.PL-MDL-know:_CMP-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.
CHAPTER 9: DETAILED CONTENTS

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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) \( \text{wahya ale jììstvvna} \)
   \( \text{wahya ale jììstvvna} \)
   \( \text{wolf and crawdad} \)

2) \( \text{khoohikv ji-keès-úú?i anii-eèh-ê?i wahya ale jììstvvna} \)
   \( \text{khoohikv ji-keès-úú?i anii-eèh-ê?i wahya ale jììstvvna} \)
   \( \text{long.ago REL-be:CMP-EXP} \)
   \( \text{3A,PL-live:CMP-NXP wolf and crawdad} \)
   \( \text{‘A long time ago lived a wolf and a crawdad’} \)

3) \( \text{saawùhnòò iyùwáákht aàkatuuìíískv} \)
   \( \text{saakwu=hnòò iyùwáákhtí aji-atuulíísk-vùú?i} \)
   \( \text{one=CN time 3O-want:INC-EXP} \)
   \( \text{One time wolf wanted} \)

4) \( \text{aji-qìëeìstí jììstvvna wahya} \)
   \( \text{aji-xxhyeëëst-i jììstvvna wahya} \)
   \( \text{3O-eat(living):DVN-NOM2} \)
   \( \text{to eat the crawdad.} \)
The wolf challenged the crawdad to race him.

The crawdad at that moment got brave enough to race the wolf.

We will see who gets to the seven hills first,
at the top of the hill was to whoop.

Really they did this.

The wolf took off first.

The crawdad saw the wolf’s tail

and latched onto it.

When he got to the top of the hill

the wolf whooped
and right then right beside him the crawdad whooped.

When they arrived at the second

they did the same and also

at the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth

until they got to the seventh one,
aséehno wahya katokhv
but the wolf why
but the wolf said how come

If you’re so fast how did we both

crawdad=CN 3A-fast =FC
that reason
That he was latching onto his tail, that’s why
both-only = DT TRN-3A.PL.-arrive: CMP-NXP DST-hill
got to the hills together.

The wolf noticed and then

looked at the crawdad and said “You’re truly cheating.”
Until he caught him. And when he caught him

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) JENZTVE
juunakthenoliiítóôle
ji-uunii-akashthenol-iítóól-é?i
REL-3B.PL-observe:COMP-AMB:COMP-NXP
The Search Party “when they were looking around”

2) MJUB LRB lB RCHSH O'OSO
luhiyv jikeesv thlasi eskáá uúnateehnv
luhiyv ji-kées-vý?i thlasi eskááhni uunii-ateeën-vý?i
long.ago REL-be:COMP-EXP not yet in.this.vicinity 3B.PL-be.born:COMP-EXP
A long time ago no one yet lived in this area

3) O'HMCG LRF
uunii?lúhjv jikeese
uunii-2lúhj-vý?i ji-kées-é?i
3B.PL-arrive:COMP-EXP REL-be:COMP-EXP
They arrived
Few already a few of them walked around, looked around.

Ugelawada was Sequoyah’s brother.

They followed and stopped along the Arkansas.

Several who were there walked around.

To this day its name is “where one died”
They walked around there, they saw someone had died. That’s why “place where one died”

And then they went in the direction of Sallisaw. They walked around there it was very thickety

When they arrived it was very thickety like a long flat plain of thickets

That’s why they called it Sallisaw

They walked around there, they saw someone had died. That’s why “place where one died”

And then they went in the direction of Sallisaw. They walked around there it was very thickety like a long flat plain of thickets

That’s why they called it Sallisaw
And then there is a stream at Vian.

Then there is a stream at Vian, when they arrived at the river.

There they saw a whole lot of fish.

That’s why it’s called ‘Gar’ [Vian].

And then at Gore they arrived at the river.

There also was a whole lot of fish.
They saw carp

They saw carp

That’s why it’s called Gore

and then at what is called “Striped” [Forth Gibson]

There they saw a whole lot of striped deer.

There at “Salt” [Salina] they arrived at that place there
31) áāam skwiístosvá
áāama skwiístosvá:i
salt a.lot-INT
a whole lot of salt

32) uunaskiyúúúšt
uunaskinoystúúústí
that’s.why

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) nuulsthaníítóólív
ni-uu-alísthánníítóól-vv?í

How the turtle beat the rabbit.

2) nikáátatvv
nikááta=tvv
all=FC

They all knew that
3) \textbf{IrāS} \textit{ōlaL} \textbf{DCV.ō} \textbf{FR}

jiist óōst athlīitō keēśv
jiistu óōsta a-atithlīitoōh-i keēś-vvii
rabbit good 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM be:INC-EXP\SUB

The rabbit was a good runner.

4) \textit{OθVY}\textit{aL} \textbf{O\textit{hZ}\textit{L}} \textbf{IrāS} \textit{θC} \textbf{lā\textit{b}}

uunthokiīyāāsti uunii-hnooheēhle jiist nahn taks
uunii-athokiīyāāst-i uunii-hnooheēhl-ē?i jiistu na-hnvtaaksi
3B.PL-race:DVN-NOM2 3B.PL-talk:CMP-NXP rabbit the=CN turtle

The turtle and the rabbit talked about a race.

5) \textit{O\textit{C}\textit{L}} \textbf{E\textit{C}L\textit{aI}} \textbf{FC}

uuhnthe kvvwthlōōhist keēhv
uu-anvthē-ē?i ka-uu-athlōōhist-i keeh-vvii
3B-know:CMP-NXP NGT-3B-beat:DVN\MOD-NOM be:CMP-EXP

He knew that he could beat him,

6) \textbf{Θ} \textbf{LSb} \textbf{O\textit{aS}\textit{ZP}} \textit{FŚ} \textbf{DCV.ō}

na taks uuskanōól keēhv athlīitō
na taksi uu-skanōōli keēh-vvii a-atithlīitoōh-i
that turtle 3B-slow be:COMP-EXP 3A-run:INC\AGT-NOM

because the turtle was a slow runner.

7) \textbf{S\textit{A}\textit{SW}AT} \textit{Θ} \textbf{B} \textbf{TŚ}

tuūnukhtane na yv iik

tee-uunii-ukahthan-ē?i na iiyvvi iika

DST-3B.PL-decide:CMP-NXP that when day

They decided on what day

8) \textit{i\textit{aYθ}} \textbf{G\textit{θPO}\textit{aI}}

vỳskina yuuntvỳhnti
vỳskina yi-uunii-atvỳhnt-i

that.way IRR-3B.PL-do:DVN-NOM2

they would do this.

9) \textbf{LSb}\textit{āYh} \textit{FŚ Z} \textbf{SCZ\textit{WA}}

taksiskin keēh-vvho tuūhlinohehtane

taksi=skini keēh-vvii=hnōo tee-uu-ali-hnoohehtan-ē?i

turtle=CS be:COMP-EXP=CN

DST-3B-MDL-talk:CMP-NXP

But the turtle talked to

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10) JF  ŹĈ  bLAɁ  DhA
juuli  noowle  sitaaneelv  aniiíné
ti-uu-alííʔi nookwu=le  sitaaneelvʔi  anii-neéla
dST2-3B-friend now=PO  family  3A.PL-live:PRC\SUB
his friends and family members that lived together

11)  l̪  S̐E̐p̩  S̐Z̑t̑e
nuustv  tuuwuukhtʔv  tuuhnooseele
nuustvʔi  tee-uu-uukhtʔvʔi  tee-uu-hnooseel-éʔi
way.it.is  DST-3B-plan:CMP-DVB  DST-3B-tell:CMP-EXP
He told them about his plans

12) hECɁɁ.Ɂ  F̨
nikvvwatvʔhnt  keéhv
ni-ka-uu-atvʔhnt-i  keéh-ʔvʔi
PRT-NGT-3B-do:DVN\MOD-NOM  be:CMP-EXP
and what he could do

13) ECɁɁ.Ɂ  F̨
kvvwaatlahóhist  keéhv
ka-uu-ataat-atloohist-i  keéh-ʔvʔi
NGT-3B-RFL-beat.in.race:DVN\MOD-NOM  be:CMP-EXP
for him to be able to beat him.

14) ŹĈ  O̐εE̐t̑L̐  Ṭ
noow  uuškwalvhlle  iik
nookwu  uu-škwalvhlle-ʔi  iika
now  3B-come.time:CMP-NXP  day
The day came and

15) DAT  hE  ɁO̐l̑C̿hA
ánée|hnaʔi  nikhv  uuntahlisane
ánii-éehnaʔi  nikhvʔi  uuńii-at-šxhlisan-éʔi
3A.PL-animal  everywhere  3B.PL-MDL-gather(T):CMP-NXP
all the animals came together

16)  O̐O̐ςv̑o̐V̑.Ɂ  D̑O̐V̑y̑o̐.Ɂ
uunakhthostohti  ahhnθkkiyáasti
uunii-akahhhostohtʔi  anii-ahθhkiyáasti
3B.PL-watch:DVN-NOM2  3A.PL-race:DVN-NOM2
to watch the race.
17) PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP | taks tuuhnooseelv
nuunttvneele anii-so?i taksi tee-uu-hnooseel-vy?i
ni-uunii-atvneel-é?i anii-so?i taksi tee-uu-hnooseel-vy?i
The others did what the turtle told them

18) PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP | DST-3B-plan:EXP\SUB
nuustv\vhihnuuuhkhtanv
nuustv\vi=hnöo tee-uu-uu-khtan-vy?i
way.it.is=CN DST-3B-plan:EXP\SUB
what they had planned

19) PRT-3B.PL-other turtle | DST-3B-plan:EXP\SUB
nvw akvyi katuuus
nvvkwu akvyyi katuuusi
now first top
“The first mountain top

20) IRV-1/2-permit:IMM | TRN-2B-pass:DVN-NOM
yikvvliskohltäaas akvyy wi já-lohisti
yi-kvv-liskohltäaasi akvyyi wi-ja-lohist-i
“I will let you get there first

21) RIR-1A-walk:IMM\SUB | IRV-1B-back:IMM
siin ay jo yakiluul oohni yikáá
siinv aya jo?i yi-aki-luula oohni yi-jí-áa?i
I will still need three, since I will be behind you.”

22) RIR-1/2-permit:IMM | IMR-1B-back:IMM
uutvve jiist
uu-atvve-é?i jiistu
rabbit the rabbit said.

23) PRT-3B.PL-do:CMP-NXP | 3B.PL-say:CN
vvskin nuustv uuniihnooheehlv
vvskini nuustv?i uunii-hnooheehl-vy?i
What they had talked about,
24) Θ ږ angrily
na nuùntv Negative
nu ni-uunii-atv Negative
vneel-éʔi
that PRT-3B.PL:do:_CMP-NXP
they did it.

25) ʰhYɬ ɭs b
uʊ̀nììikìis Negative
se taksi
uu-ahnììikìis-éʔi Negative
taksi
3B:leave:_CMP-NXP turtle
The turtle left.

26) ʰE. ɬlI t C.I C t ə f h Ċ ɭs
akvýyi jootalv Positive
wathlíisé Positive
wuûkkohe Positive
jiist
akvýyi ti-oortalvI Negative
wi-a-atihthlíis-éʔi Negative
wi-uu-kooh-éʔi Negative
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) ʰw ɡI a əE
nvv Positive
uunaleenv Positive
ahnthookhiyaskv Positive
nvýkwu uunii-aleenvéh-a Positive
anii-ahnthookhiyask-výʔi Negative
now 3B.PL-start:CMP\SUB-TAV 3A.PL-race:INC-EXP\SUB
that’s when they started racing

28) ʔk b ʰZɬP
nuustv Positive
uʊ̀nìihnooheehlv takshnóo
nuustvI Negative
uuunii-hnooheeł-výʔi Negative
taksi=hnóo
way.it.is 3B.PL-tell:CMP-EXP
turtle=CN
They told how the turtles

29) ʔw ɡI a ɭs
nakw nantv Positive
vveehv Positive
saakwuha
na=kwu ni-anii=atv Positive
vveehI Negative
saakwu-ha
that=DT PRT-3A.PL-tell:INC-EXP\SUB
one-all
did it one at a time

30) ʒlæŋ D A ɭ ɭ ʃt ɭ ʒy
siitanelv Positive
anée Positive
uhna Positive
juulíi?íle Positive
yik
siitanelvI Negative
anii-neela Positive
uhna Positive
ti-uu-aliíʔi=le Negative
yi-ki
family 3A.PL-live:PRC\SUB
as a family that lives there or friends

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Whenever the rabbit got to the mountain.

there he saw the turtle going up

and down every time.

When he got to another mountain

He was that far at the last mountain.
When he got there on the top

of the last mountain that’s when he saw.

The turtle running ahead of him, crossing

The winning line.

and the rabbit was worn out.
The rabbit didn't know what they had done.

However they all looked the same.

The turtle's friends and family where they're all living.

The turtles one at a time the top

The last mountain where he started.
taksi kees-é?i yi-uu-atuulííha kóosti khilo

as for the turtle, if someone wants

turtle be:INC-NXP IRR-3B-want:PRC\SUB something someone

when the rabbit fell, he was exhausted

just like he does nowadays;

when he gets tired, he’ll just fall.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


