Morphological Analysis of the Story, Ne'e Thiyoriwa Ne' Yah Nonwa Onen Teshatahsehs Ne Ohkwari'

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Introduction

There is a growing interest in the study of aboriginal languages. One aspect of study is the analysis of a language using various forms of text. Stories are an integral part of the cultural fabric of the Native peoples of Canada, and much can be learned about the linguistic structure of a language through such text analysis. Although the original structure of most stories was oral, there has been recently a great attempt to transfer these into written form, providing a more stable environment for linguistic analysis. There are many ways to analyze written text, but it is my intent to conduct a morphological analysis of the formal presentation of the story Ne'e Thiyoriwa Ne' Yah Nonwa onen Teshatahsehs Ne Ohkwari' (Why the Bear Lost Its Tail). This analysis will illustrate the morphological arrangement of written Mohawk.

In addition to the morphological analysis of Ne'e Thiyoriwa Ne' Yah Nonwa onen Teshatahsehs Ne Ohkwari', an English gloss, and an interlinear translation of the text will also be included for reference. The analysis will include a breakdown of the text into various morphological categories. Abbreviations of the categories will be used in the interlinear presentation. Explanations of these categories is also provided.

Due to the nature of this paper the major sources will include dictionaries and grammars of Mohawk. An example of this form of analysis, done by Karin Michelson, provides the format and general application of a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of written text as well as proper interlinear translation and English gloss forms.

Mohawk Story

Ne'e Thiyoriwa Ne' Yah Nonwa Onen Teshatahsehs Ne Ohkwari'

Enhskat onteratste' rentahsehshônne' ne Ohkwari', akwah ki' tsi onen nhentahsöten' ne Tsitsho. Tsi ki' wahi niyawan'ohn ne kenh iken, kohsera'kène' nek tsi wenhniseriyô, tahnon oni yorakhote. Tahonatontahkwenh kati kiken Ohkwari' tahnon Tsitsho ne tahyatawennyêsësa', nek tsi ihsi ki' na'kahyonhati nonkati thahsontonye's ne Tsitsho. Têhótawynye'onhayte' ne kiken, tehótkhathonnyontye'. Akwah kati thontayawenhtsi onen wahatahkhô' a'ren tktištihstohkware owisâke ki' wahi. Wârehre' ahatken'sera' ki' wahi ne kiken oh nahöten nen' ne'e nityotyerenh. Onen wahi etho noyâhare'. Tsi nikôn aktâ wahotkwitonhayte', etho nikôn senha wene tsi nahöten wahatahkhô'. Tahnon onen wâ'tokhahrayentane' ne kiken Nihthoyenha ne' etho thonîntswharratsherote, tahnon etho thentskwhawere ne thiken. Ne oni wahattoke' tsi ranîtsyaratôr. E thro' kî' wahi wâhôtshere, tahnon akwah ken' tsi nikôn wahentsyoko', etho wahentshâ'ren' kiken atahsâ're. Yonehrakwat na'a ne tsi nikôn onen niyawekon ahentâsyke, nikentsiyohse. Onen ki'wahi thiken akwah skennen'a etho yahoteyentontye' yah ki' wahi tehattoks kiken Nihthoyenha. Akwah onen wahakwên' yâ'thaenentshâtiron' enon sok tahatahserotakwâ'te' ne thiken, onen sok yohtsrâtate' ken' nonkati ya'tonsahawisîya'ke'. Etho kî' tehôhsterihenhayte' tohsa kî' wahi ahattoke' kiken ne ken' Nihthoyenha tsi wahotsyanenhsho. Onen kati wahi kenh iken Ohkwari' etho yáthytarâne'. Etho kî' ronhonhtontye's ne kiken etho yotsyontonnuyte'. Waberon' ne Ohkwari', Kâ' nee' nontahsawë' nisentsyaka'tatye'. Waberon' ne Tsitsho, Ihî' nonkati owisâke takewisakahrontate'. Etho se' ya'kanitâshënte' etho tontakewtako', onen sok tontakenittahsotshî', tahnon etho niyonsakentatshënte', Tkakontë, waheron', akatonkohte tewahksterihen'onyatâne'. Onen sok wahatonkohte' kenh iken, tehôhsterihenhayte' kî' wahi. Onen oni kiken Ohkwari' wahahskanetake' kiken tsi nihôtsyaka'tatye'. Onen kî' wahahkwisron' awâlwisakahrontate' nok kî' onen etho kî' niyôkâra' aáton' etho yahânitanhsîntë'. Etho kî' thiken etho yahhentatshënte', etho kî' wahi rënterône'. Akwah kî' ken' nahe etho rënterône'.
A long time ago the Bear used to have a long tail, as long as the Fox's tail is today. It so happened that it was a very nice day in the wintertime. The sun was shining. The Bear and the Fox had the urge to go for a walk, the Bear on one side and the Fox on the other side of the river. He went wandering along, looking here and there. All of a sudden he noticed a black spot far away out on the ice. He decided to go and see what was going on. So off he went. The closer he got, the more he could see. Finally, he could see that it was a young fellow sitting on a chair on the ice. He could see that the boy was fishing. There was a stick standing there and every time he caught a fish he would hang it on the stick. Now he smacked his lips thinking how good the fish would be, they were such nice fish. Now he went sneaking along very slowly so that the boy would not notice him. When he got close enough to reach the stick, he then quickly pulled out the stick, and quickly ran away across the ice. He hurried along since he didn't want the young fellow to notice that he had stolen his fish. It was then that he met up with the Bear. The Fox had the stick in his mouth with the fish hanging from it. The Bear said, "where did you get all of those fish?" Then Fox said, "Oh, I cut a hole in the ice, stuck my tail into it and a fish would bite on it. Then I pulled my tail out again. And then I would put my tail back in again to catch another fish." Then he said, 'I have to get out of here, I'm in a real hurry.' So then the Fox took off in a real hurry. Now the Bear also wanted some fish. Now this Bear put a lot of effort into digging a hole in the ice. When the hole was finally big enough he put his tail down into it, and there he sat. He was sitting there for quite a while before he decided to check. When he pulled his tail out of the water there were no fish attached, but he remembered the Fox telling him not to give up. He said that it sometimes takes a long time for them to bite. So he again put his tail back down into the water. Now the sun was very hot and it made the Bear sleepy. At that time the Bear fell asleep. When he woke up the sun was no longer shining. It was quite dark. He then remembered his tail sticking down into the hole, and he thought that there must be a lot of fish attached to it by now. When he went to stand up he was unable to pull his tail out. He then thought that he would have to use all his strength to pull out his tail. He adjusted his footing and then gave a jerk. There was so much pain! When he looked around behind him he didn't have a tail. When he looked at the ice he noticed that the water had frozen over while he was asleep waiting to catch some fish. There was his tail stuck in the ice. That, they say, is the reason that the Bear no longer has a tail. THAT'S HOW IT HAPPENED.
ki' na'kahyonhati nonkati thahstorontye's ihsi side  even therefore he on the other ne Tsitsho. the fox

(4) Tehotawenrye'onhatye' ne kiken, He wandered along tehotkahthonnyontye'. he looked here and there

(5) Akwah kati thontayawenhtsi onen All of a sudden he noticed now wahatkahtho' a'eren tkatsihstohkware owisâke he saw far away it has a black spot on ki' wahl. the ice

(6) Wârehre' ahatken'sera' ki' wahi ne kiken He decided he would see really oh nahôten nen' ne'e nityotyerenh. this what definitely is it goes on

(7) Onen wahl etho niyahahare'. now so he goes

(8) Tsi nikon akta wahotkwitonhayte', etho two (inanimate) close he became so nikon senha wene tsi nahôten wahatkahtho'. two more it is clear that what he could see

(9) Tahnon onen wa'thokahrayentane' ne kiken ne' Finally now he could see this young fellow Nithoyenha etho thonitskwahratsherote, tahnon so he on a chair finally etho thentskwaherene thiken. then he sits this one

(10) Ne onî wahattoke' . tsi ranitsyatorats. And he could see that he was fishing

(11) Etho ki' wahl wahatsmserote, tahnon akwah So then standing upon finally ken's tsi nikon wahentsyoko', etho there the two + his fish he caught so wahentsihâren' kiken atahserâke. hang this he would on the stick

(12) Yonehrukwat na'a ne tsi nikon onen It is amazing the number that
na'tehorires he had hanging

(13) Onen tohske wa'thatskanhonthon' tsi onhte Now on lips he licked that perhapse niyawekon ahentsyake' nikentsiyohes. he think the fish nice looking fish

(14) Onen ki'wahi thiken akwah skennen'a etho Now that very slowly so yahoteyen'tontye' yah ki' wahi tehattokas kiken he went sneaking no he see this Nithoyenha. young fellow

(15) Akwah onen wahakweni' Quite now he got ya'thaenentshatironnten', onen sok he stole now then ahatahserotakwahte' ne thiken, onen sok he pulled he stick that now then yohsroratyê' ken' nonkati ya'tonsahawisiya'ke'. quickly along there toward he ran across the ice

(16) Etho ki' tehohsterhenhayte' tohsa ki' wahi So he hurried along in mouth ahattoke' kiken ne ken' Nithoyenha tsi he noticed this young fellow that wahotsyanenhsko'. his fish were stolen

(17) Onen kati wahi kenh iken Ohkwari' etho Now so then indeed bear so ya'thyaterane'. he met up with

(18) Etho ki' ronhonhtontye's ne kiken etho So he have from this so yotsyonntontonytive'. from it the fish hang

(19) Wahenron' ne Ohkwari', Ka' ne'e nontahsawê' he said the bear where nisentsyaka'tatye'. did you get those fish from

(20) Wahenron' ne Tsitsho, Ihsi nonkati owisâke He said the fox oh toward on the ice
takewisakahrontate'.
make a hole in it

(21) Etho se’ ya’kanitahsenhte’ etho
So indeed into it put your tail so
tahontekwako’, onen sok tontakenitahsothsi’,
the fish can bite and then you pull your tail out
tahnon etho
finally then
niyonsakenitahsenhte’, Tkakonte, wahrenron’.
they would bite the fish he said
akatonkohte tewakhsterihen’onhatye’. I must leave I am in a big hurry

(22) Onen sok wahatonkohte’ kenh iken,
Now then he left indeed
tehohsterihenhatye ‘ki’ wahi.
he hurried really

(23) Onen oni kiken Ohkwari’ wahahskaneke’
kiken
And then this bear he wanted

tsi nihotsyaka’tatye’.
he get some fish

(24) Onen ki’ wahahkwihsron’ ahawisakahrontate’
Now he put a lot of effort he mad a hole in the ice
nok ki’ onen etho ki’ niyokâra’ aonton’ etho
and then it has a hole in it then
yahanimitahsinhte’.
he put his tail in it

(25) Etho ki’ thiken etho yahenmitahsenhte’.
Then that he put his tail in it

etho ki’ wahi rtonron’.
and there he sat

(26) Akwah ki’ ken’ nahe etho rtonron’ ne onen
Quite a while already he decided
wre’ aonsahatken’se.
he would look

(27) Tahanimtahsoko’ ki’ wahi, Nek yah ki’ kaneks
He pulled his tail then and no water

ne Kentsyonk.
the fish

(28) Onen sahrehyàrane’ tsi wahrenron’ ne Tsitsho
Now he remembered that he said the fox don’t
tohsa ahononhtonehe’.
he give up

(29) Waheron’ ne’ sewatyerens ken’ nikariwehs
He said sometimes this business
onen aontakonkakhwako’.
now they bite

(30) Onen ki’ are wahi etho yonsahanitahsenhte’
Now then he put his tail
thiken.
back in

(31) Etho ki’ wahi niyorahkwa’tarhen, kiken
So then the sun was hot this
wahoserenhtarawe’ ne Ohkwari’.
made him sleepy the bear

(32) Ethône wahotahwe’.
At that time he fell asleep

(33) Ne tsi onen sahayene’, yah nonwa onen
When he woke up no longer the sun
tetsyorakhote, onen ne’e yo’kara’onh.
shone now it was dark

(34) Onen sahrehyàrane’ tsi shekon ki’ etho
Now he remembered that still his tail was in
rentahsoren, wahrenron’,
he thought

(35) Onen onhte ki’ eso etho yonatekhwakwenh
Now perhapase a lot then they would be attached
Kentsyonk.
fish

(36) Onen ki’ tonsahatane’, nek yah ki’ thaonton’
Now then he went to stand and no he could not
taontahanitahsothsi’.
pull he could not pull his tail out

(37) Onen ki’ wàrehre’ ne’ ki’ tkakonte n’akwah tsi
Now then he thought

niha’shatste ’enratste’ enshanitahsothsi’.
his strength all pull his tail out

(38) Onen ki’ wahi akwah wahateyen’tonni’ ki’ wahi
Now then his footing
McGeragle: Morphological Analysis of the Story

Morphological Analysis

Orthography

The following is a list of the orthography with respect to the phonemic representations

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>low, back, unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>mid, front, unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>high, front, unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>mid, back, rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>low, central, unrounded, nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>high, back, rounded, nasal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suprasegmentals

c    falling tone

Consonants

Obstruents

k    voiced, velar, plosive

Sonorants

n    alveolar, nasal
r    alveolar, (lateral) approximant
w    voiced, labial, approximant
y    palatal, approximant

Aspirates And Glottals

h    unvoiced aspirate
     unvoiced, glottal, plosive

Consonant Clusters

hw    voiced, labial, approximant + unvoiced aspirate
kh    unvoiced, velar, plosive
khw   unvoiced, velar, plosive + voiced, labial, approximant
kw    voiced, velar, plosive + voiced, labial, approximant
ky    voiced, velar, plosive + voiced, palatal, approximant
ny    alveolar, nasal + voiced, palatal, approximant
ry    alveolar, (lateral) approximant + voiced, palatal, approximant
sh    alveolar, fricative + unvoiced aspirate
sy    unvoiced, postalveolar, fricative
th    unvoiced, dental alveolar, plosive + unvoiced aspirate
tsy   voiced, retroflexive, fricative
tshy  unvoiced, palatal, fricative
ty   voiced, dental alveolar, plosive + voiced, palatal, approx.
wh    unvoiced, labiodental, fricative

Morphological Abbreviations

The following is a list of the abbreviations that are used in the morphological analysis of the text. A brief explanation of their functions will follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjectival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td>non-definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The verb is the essential element of the Mohawk sentence. Attached to the verb are the pronominal and prepronominal prefixes (temporal and spatial markers), verbal, and aspectual suffixes. In addition incorporated nominal elements (noun incorporation) are also found. Nominals may also appear with both prefix and suffix features, occurring in singular and plural forms. In order to express a location of an object, when there is no verb involved a joiner morpheme is placed between the noun and the locative suffix. In the sample text there are a few examples illustrating their function and their morphological position.

The pronominal prefix categories that are listed above distinguish 'person (first, second, and third), gender (masculine, feminine, and neutral), and number (singular (unmarked), plural). These are attached to the nouns and verbs indicating the possessor(s) of the noun and the actor(s) of the verb. There are three groups of prefixes: objective, subjective and transitive. The objective and subjective are broken down into five different sets of prefixes whereas the transitive is only broken into two different sets. All three groups are attached to nouns and verbs depending upon the initial letter of the word. The five sets in the objective and subjective categories are A-stem, I-stem, E/EN-stem, O/ON-stem and C-stem (where C stands for consonant). The transitive group's categories are A-stem and C-stem. Morphologically these forms are all related, but sometimes appear to differ significantly.

The sample text illustrates the three modes of the verb—specifically the aorist, future and the non-definite. Similar to pronouns the mode of the verb also exists in the form of a prefix. For all three modes there are two separate forms. That is, much like the pronominal prefixes, they are related morphologically. The two modal prefix categories are A-stem and C-stem. Due to morphological rules there are some transformations that occur when prefixes are attached. The ones that are found in this text will be listed in appendix 1.

Another morphological prefix is the partitive prefix. This indicates the action of leave taking or motion away from something. It always occurs in the form of 'ni-' and attaches to the verb. The dualic category, found in the form 'te-', expresses the fact that more than one person is doing the action.

There are two forms of affixes: prefixes, discussed above, and suffixes. The suffix categories found in this text are generally attached to either the noun or the verb. The locative category attaches to both the noun and the verb indicating the location of an object or the location in which an action is taking place. Locatives are not always found in the form of a suffix, they sometimes occur as free morphemes. As a free morpheme a locative usually occurs in combination with other particles to express a slightly different meaning for the combination.

There are two other suffix forms found related only to the nouns, these are the adjectival and the stem-joiner. The adjectival suffixes modify the noun, much like the adjectives in English. The stem-joiner is found between the noun and the locative. It usually occurs in the form of 'hser(a)-', and is used generally when a noun's location is being described, and the noun is not incorporated into the verb.

As it was mentioned before the verb also takes on its own categories of suffixes. These suffixes can be grouped under aspects of a verb. There are three that have been represented in this text: completive, progressive and intensifier. The completive aspect indicates that the action of the verb has been completed and now exists in the past. The progressive aspect indicates an action in progress. And finally the intensifier aspect indicates the action is being carried out with greater intensity - in English the word 'very' can be glossed to this morpheme.

The remainder of the words are particles. There are three main forms of particles; temporal, spatial and adverbial. Other particles that are represented in the text are conjunctions, adjectives and negatives. The negative form occurs in two parts: a particle (yah) and a prefix (te-) which attaches to the verb.

The following text is a good representation
the morphological arrangement that is typical of written Mohawk. It has been divided into its constituent parts to illustrate the aforementioned explanation of morphological categories.

APPENDIX

PHONOLOGICAL RULES

(1) when a and i occur adjecently they become en
   \( a + i \rightarrow en \)

(2) r becomes h following a morpheme boundary and a vowel
   \( r \rightarrow h / V + _ \)

(3) wa and wa become on
   \( wa + wa \rightarrow on \)

(4) vowel with a falling tone followed by an obstruent becomes vowel plus a glottal stop followed by an obstruent

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
V & V' \\
\hline
s & 's \\
k & 'k \\
\end{array}
\]

(5) e is antepenultimate

\( 0 \rightarrow e / \_\# \)

References Cited


Unknown. 1987. *Ne' Thiyoriwa Ne' Yah Nonwa Onen Teshatahsehs Ne Ohkwari'*. 

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