

The Role of Adult Immersion in Kanién'kéha Revitalization

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by

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Abstract

In the face of colonial efforts to extinguish Indigenous language and culture, Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk people) have been working to revitalize Kanien'kéha (the Mohawk language) since the 1970s. However, Kanien'kéha continues to experience greater speaker loss than gain. Through a comprehensive vitality assessment, this dissertation examines the continued causes of Kanien'kéha decline and argues that adult second-language (L2) speakers play a crucial role in revitalization as they are essential for establishing critical speech domains, populating language revitalization structures, and restoring intergenerational language transmission.

Kanien'kehá:ka have created full-time adult immersion programs that are uniquely designed to create advanced young adult L2 speakers. This dissertation highlights adult immersion as the most effective and expedient pathway to create speakers, and argues that concentrated efforts to strengthen, expand, and perfect adult immersion are essential in advancing Kanien'kéha revitalization. The foundational components of an effective adult immersion program are described, as well as the challenges that these programs continue to face. As an applied contribution, this dissertation also provides a scope and sequenced curriculum organized into structurally-based units for the second-year of Kanien'kéha immersion programming, a period in program delivery that moves L2 speakers from intermediate to advanced speaking proficiency.

Overall, this work seeks to increase recognition and understanding of the importance of adult immersion programs for so that they can become more prominent and stable institutions in strategies to revitalize Indigenous languages.

Key words: Kanien'kéha, Mohawk, Indigenous language revitalization, adult immersion, language vitality, second-language acquisition, adult language learning

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Preamble

For Kanien'kehá:ka, making steps forward in language revitalization has been challenging to say the least – many individuals, families, and groups have worked persistently over the last forty-five years to thwart continued decline in language use and re-establish Kanien'kéha as a primary language in Kanien'kehá:ka communities. Most of this organized work started in the late 1970s. I began learning in the mid-2000s, gaining insight, guidance, and inspiration from past and present language practitioners, speakers, teachers, students, and promoters who paved the way for someone like me to become a speaker. I am in awe of those who, in the early days, worked so hard for the language and community. There were no financial incentives, no resources, and no support, not to mention the flagrant racism towards Indigenous people at that time. Despite the nearly overwhelming obstacles, these people regarded our language as a fundamental pillar of our identity, health and well-being, and critical to our survival as a distinct nation separate from Canada and the United States. They never thought of “language work” as a burden or a sacrifice – if anything they looked at it as “part of who they are”, “a medicine” and a responsibility to ensure our existence as a distinct people with distinct knowledge, and a distinct way of organizing socially, politically, and economically. That is the way it should be. Without these people, the work my generation is doing today to strengthen Kanien'kéha would be much more challenging, to say the least. But with that said, my overarching motivation is to continue their work. With this in mind, please note that my ideas in this dissertation are not intended to be in opposition to any of the previous or ongoing work in Kanien'kéha and Indigenous language revitalization and are intended to contribute to our collective effort to restore Kanien'kéha as a primary language in our communities and homes once again.

Glossing Abbreviations

>	transitive
1	first person
AGT	agent
CIS	cislocative
FAC	factual
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
JOIN	joiner vowel
M	masculine
N	neuter
NS	nominal suffix
PAT	patient
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PUNC	punctual
PURP	purposive
REP	repetitive
RFL	reflexive
RMT	remote past
SG	singular
SRFL	semi-reflexive
STAT	stative

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Part 1: Adult Immersion and Kanien'kéha Revitalization

Chapter 1: Introduction

Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk people) have been working to revitalize Kanien'kéha (Mohawk language) since the 1970s. This has been in response to its rapid decline, primarily caused by historical and present forms of colonization, similar to the experiences of most other Indigenous languages worldwide. Despite the sustained impacts of colonization, the resilience and resolve of Kanien'kehá:ka to revitalize the use of the language is strong, in fact stronger than ever. This is exemplified by the system of structures that have been established to prevent further language decline, and restore Kanien'kéha as a primary language of use in Kanien'kehá:ka communities. A part of that infrastructure is full-time adult immersion programs, hereafter termed “adult immersion”. Despite the challenges of teaching and learning a highly complex and typologically distinct language like Kanien'kéha, adult immersion has been successful in efficiently creating new adult L2 (second-language) speakers, even without core long-term funding and support and without a firm embrace from an institute of higher education. The purpose of this work is to highlight and contribute to adult immersion, thereby helping to demonstrate its critical importance in the pathway forward for Kanien'kéha revitalization.

This work begins by giving an overview of Kanien'kéha revitalization over the last forty-five years, concentrating on the challenges experienced in creating new Kanien'kéha speakers. I first conduct a Kanien'kéha vitality assessment, detailing the state or “health” of Kanien'kéha use and transmission in all Kanien'kéha communities. Through an analysis of this assessment, I point to a gap in adult acquisition due to the lack of focus on adults in the Kanien'kéha speech community and revitalization movement, as well as challenges experienced in teaching and learning a structurally complex polysynthetic language like Kanien'kéha so unfamiliar to English speakers. I argue that adults are an important demographic in language acquisition and

revitalization due to their role in strengthening and maintaining primary language use in critical speech domains, passing it onto children, and restoring intergenerational transmission. I focus on adult immersion programs as a means to address this gap in adult L2 acquisition, arguing that adult immersion, under certain conditions, is an effective and expedient pathway for producing highly proficient adult L2 speakers. I detail the development of adult immersion programs in Kanien'kehá:ka communities and describe, based on my experience as an adult immersion practitioner, the foundational components of an effective adult immersion program.

Furthermore, as an applied contribution to Kanien'kéha adult immersion, I build from well-established first-year programming and provide a scope and sequenced curriculum organized in structurally-based units for a second-year of Kanien'kéha adult immersion, a period in program delivery that moves L2 speakers from intermediate speaking proficiency to advanced speaking proficiency. The purpose of this is to aid adult immersion programs in creating advanced speakers, and, by extension, fostering the creation of a speech community, strengthening key domain and register usage, and increasing the likelihood of restoring intergenerational transmission.

I argue that concentrated efforts in strengthening, expanding and perfecting the delivery of adult immersion is critical in the path forward for Kanien'kehá:ka at this point in time in order to have the most significant impact on language revitalization. This does not mean that other structures and activities within the system of Kanien'kéha language revitalization are not also necessary. On the contrary, a robust language revitalization strategy is multipronged. However, given the current level of vitality of Kanien'kéha, adequate resources and efforts should be focused on adult immersion as it is the most expedient and efficient way to create a critical mass of speakers who populate other revitalization structures, which, by extension, works to establish the language as primary and increases the likelihood of restoring intergeneration transmission.

1.1 Goal of this Work

The goal of this work is to increase recognition and understanding of the importance of adult immersion in Kanien'kéha and other Indigenous language revitalization movements so that adult immersion programs can become more prominent and stable institutions in our communities. It is critical for adult immersion to have adequate internal and external community and government support to ensure their present and long-term establishment as community institutions within a greater system of revitalization structures. I also highlight the importance of adult immersion in the revitalization of Kanien'kéha and other Indigenous languages experiencing language use decline, emphasising that earnest attention paid to adult L2 acquisition is necessary in the revitalization of a language that has limited to no intergenerational transmission and where most speakers are within the grandparent generation and older. Finally, I contribute to filling the recognizable gaps in knowledge, both written and orally transmitted, in the fields related to language revitalization, adult Indigenous language learning, and adult Indigenous language immersion, seeing that “adult immersion” as a concept, model, or program structure, is far too often missing in discussions and analyses of best practices for adult L2 acquisition of Indigenous languages.

The goal of this research is strictly motivated by this problem: without stable pathways for adults to acquire *adequate*¹ speaking proficiency of Kanien'kéha within a *reasonable*² time, language revitalization will not progress. This is because Kanien'kéha, like most Indigenous languages in Canada and the United States, is still losing more speakers than it is gaining. If educational institutions are going to be effective at aiding in the creation of speakers, those working

¹ See section 3.3.2 for a discussion on adequate speaking proficiency levels and measuring oral proficiency.

² See section 3.3.6 for a discussion on required contact hours for acquiring different levels of proficiency in the target language.

in and running those institutions need to be proficient in the target language. Furthermore, one cannot depend solely on educational institutions, as the language needs to be reaffirmed outside the school, especially in the home, but also in other key community domains, requiring strong participation by the community, especially by parents and those shaping a new generation. For this reason, I focus on adult L2 acquisition through adult immersion as an investment in the creation of new L2 speakers, who will help create primary language use domains that will lead to new L1 (first-language) speaking children, and a stronger speech community.

1.2 My Background, Motivation and Experience

I first became interested in learning Kanien'kéha when I was a teenager by talking with and hearing speakers in my community, Wáhta. I was especially inspired by my bus driver in high school, Tommy, who was a L1 speaker. I could notice that he was happier when he used the language, always laughing, smiling and making jokes. I also noticed that when he spoke the language, he was somewhat of a different person. I realized I could never really know who that other person was because I did not speak the language. In many ways, longing to get to know the Kanien'kéha speaking Tommy, and, by extension, the past Kanien'kéha speaking community, is what propelled me to learn the language myself. And even though Tommy, and many other speakers in my community, passed away before I was able to speak with them in the language, I acknowledge them for showing me the joys of knowing and speaking the language, especially those who continued to speak it through hard times and immense pressure not to.

I was born and raised in Wáhta Mohawk Territory, the smallest of all the Kanien'kehá:ka territories. In Wáhta, I would hear people using Kanien'kéha, albeit mostly in the exchange of simple greetings - I rarely heard the language being used in authentic extended discourse. But, because this was so rare, I wondered why it was so rare. As a teenager, I wondered why most

people only exchanged simple pleasantries, like “hello” and “goodbye”, and why only the elders had fluency in it. Of course, I knew about our history and what had happened to us, resulting in people speaking English. But I wondered why we still chose one over the other, and why we did not just speak both. I wondered why most people were not learning it beyond novice levels. With all of this wondering, and with my desire to get to know Kanien'kéha speakers through their first language, I was impelled to learn.

It is now over fifteen years since then, and I have travelled to all Kanien'kehá:ka territories on a journey to become a speaker. I began as a student at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, an adult immersion program in Ohswé:ken, which gave me the ability to be on my own in the ‘real world’ of Kanien'kéha speaking. I have continued learning the language, effectively assimilating into the Kanien'kéha speech community, and becoming a Kanien'kéha instructor and revitalization practitioner. I have lived with L1 speakers, spent endless time visiting, taught the language in several settings, served as a consultant, created learning and teaching material, designed curriculum, translated texts, and documented the elders. Now, my entire life almost completely revolves around speaking Kanien'kéha and helping others to do the same. From an interest in learning it myself, like others, I have been pulled into the multidimensional work of language revitalization.

Through this experience, I have learned that the language is not valuable in a vacuum, but, rather, is valuable when it is used - when it is spoken. I have learned that this is the reason why the language has hung on through such tumultuous times. It has continued to be spoken not because of official recognition, rights, money, or high paying jobs, but because people have made a conscious choice to speak it no matter their situation. It is from these people that I learned the meaning of *akwé:kon ionkwaterihonte*. *Akwé:kon ionkwaterihonte* means that we have collective

responsibility, and implies that we, as humans, do not have a right to anything. This is probably because our teachings tell us that everything in the world, including humans, has a set of responsibilities in ensuring that all life continues. I like to extend this to the life of our language. This has encouraged me to look beyond just learning the language myself, and to think about what more I can do to contribute to its revitalization. As a result, I have come to realize that through years of work specifically in adult immersion, as a student, instructor, curriculum developer and program designer, that adult immersion needs greater recognition and support. If we want our children to speak the language, those who shape them (adults) need to speak it. Thus, I have produced this dissertation, which combines my years of experience as an adult immersion practitioner with a grounding in the most relevant literature, as a means to support Kanien'kéha adult immersion, and therefore contribute to the revitalization of Kanien'kéha.

1.3 Chapter Outlines

This work is organized into two parts. Part 1 is concerned with understanding Kanien'kéha vitality, how to increase that vitality, and how adults who study through adult immersion are critical in increasing the vitality. It contains four chapters. Chapter 1 introduces this work and describes its goal and motivation, followed by a description of my background, motivation, and experience in learning Kanien'kéha and in adult immersion teaching and development.

Chapter 2 is concerned with Kanien'kéha itself, focused on providing a detailed account and analysis of its vitality status at the time of writing. This chapter acts as a method of inquiry to justify and rationalize the argument in favour of expediting adult L2 acquisition through adult immersion. This is premised on the idea that language revitalization strategies, interventions and efforts are best employed when informed by a multidimensional understanding of the state of vitality or endangerment and primary causes of decline of the language at hand. It describes the

complex polysynthetic nature of Kanien'kéha, provides detail of dialect variation throughout communities, and gives an overview of the nature and situation of the communities that it is spoken in. It furthermore describes the primary causes of Kanien'kéha use decline, followed by an account of past and present efforts to revitalize Kanien'kéha, with focus on the most notable immersion programs and pathways to fluency. Finally, it provides a vitality assessment of Kanien'kéha using key evaluative factors, highlighting and analyzing the major difficulties in revitalization efforts, pointing to the general lack of focus on adult language acquisition and the challenges of learning complex polysynthetic languages as an L2 in adulthood, as critical areas of concern.

Chapter 3 describes and compares the different present and historical adult learning pathways for Indigenous languages generally, with emphasis on the Kanien'kehá:ka experience. Following this, it provides an overview of adult immersion as a specific program structure and pathway for developing adult L2 speaking proficiency. It details why building adult L2 speaking proficiency and an adult speech community is critical when the intergenerational transmission of the language has largely been broken and the remaining speakers are largely within the grandparent generation and older. Finally, it describes the most notable Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs that have been employed in each community since the 1980s, and explains the foundational components needed for creating an effective adult immersion program.

Chapter 4 concludes Part 1 with a discussion of the present and future challenges and opportunities facing adult immersion, giving suggestions for improvement that will contribute to its long-term stability and continued positive impact.

Part 2 provides a scope and sequenced curriculum, organized in structurally-based units, for a second year of Kanien'kéha adult immersion, a period in program delivery that seeks to move L2 speakers from intermediate to advanced speaking proficiency. This builds from an already

developed and well-established first-year curriculum used by certain Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs.

Chapter 2: Kanien'kéha and its Vitality

Determining the steps to revitalize a language—which strategies and interventions may prove to be most appropriate and effective at a given time—requires grounding in the properties of the language and the complex multidimensional situation of the language and its people. In this chapter I describe Kanien'kéha and its dialects, the Kanien'kehá:ka communities where it is spoken, the language environment in these communities, and the primary causes of Kanien'kéha use decline. I provide a detailed assessment of Kanien'kéha vitality and endangerment using key evaluative factors, highlighting the primary difficulties in revitalization efforts, pointing to a noticeable lack of focus on adult L2 language learning as a critical area of concern.

2.1 Kanien'kehá:ka Communities

Kanien'kéha is spoken in all Kanien'kehá:ka territories³, although the level of vitality differs greatly from one to the other. These territories include Ohswé:ken, Wáhta and Tyendinaga in Ontario, Kahnawà:ke and Kanehsatà:ke in Quebec, Ganienkeh and Kana'tsioharè:ke in New York State, and Ahkwesáhsne, straddling the borders of Ontario, Quebec, and New York State (See Figure 1: Haudenosaunee Communities in the 21st Century). The distribution of territories throughout multiple provinces in Canada and states in the United States, and the differences in location, demography, and experience of each community adds to the political and cultural complexity and therefore to the complexity of language revitalization.

³ Throughout this dissertation, the terms “territory” and “community” are used interchangeably when referring to Kanien'kehá:ka reserves/reservations or territories.

Figure 1*Haudenosaunee communities in the 21st century*

Note. Deer (2006). www.kahnawakelonghouse.com/images/content/Iroquois_map_2006.jpg

Although Kanien'kéha is still spoken in every Kanien'kehá:ka territory today, most of the population is monolingual, with English being the primary language used for all functions of life and society. Kanehsatà:ke, however, has a significant number of French and English bilinguals and Kahnawà:ke has some French and English bilinguals. The grandparent generation of communities in Quebec has some trilingual speakers of Kanien'kéha, English, and French.

Historically in Ohswé:ken multilingualism was common, with people speaking multiple Iroquoian languages alongside English. Although no L1 speakers of Kanien'kéha remain living in Ohswé:ken, those who were most recently alive, such as the late Ima Johnson or late Jake Thomas, had fluency in multiple Iroquoian languages.⁴ This was possible in Ohswé:ken as it has had all

⁴ Precolonial Indigenous communities had extensive multilingualism (Boas, 1940; Wyman et. al., 2013).

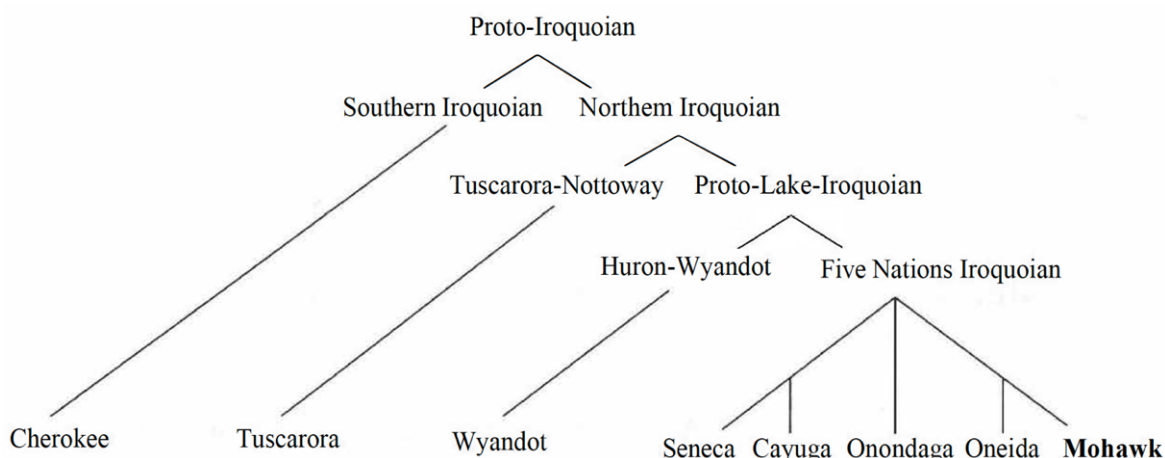
Rotinonhsión:ni (Haudenosaunee Confederacy⁵) nations living on the reserve since it was established in the 18th century. Even prior to the establishment of Rotinonhsión:ni reserve/reservation territories, multilingualism was the status quo and part of Rotinonhsión:ni culture.

2.2 Kanien'kéha

Kanien'kéha is part of the Iroquoian language family, as shown in Figure 2. The Iroquoian language family consists of two branches: Southern Iroquoian, represented solely by GWY/Tsalagi (Cherokee), and Northern Iroquoian, which includes Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), Onödowá'ga:' (Seneca), Onüda'gegá' (Onondaga), Onayote'a:ká: (Oneida), Gayogohó:nq' (Cayuga), and Skarù:rę' (Tuscarora), as the languages that continue to be spoken today, but also includes the now dormant Wendat (Huron), Nottoway, Susquehannock, Laurentian, Meherrin, Tionontati (Petun), Erie, Neutral, and Wenro (Mithun and DeCaire, 2023).

Figure 2

Iroquoian language family



Note. Mithun (2000).

⁵ Commonly known as the "Iroquois" or the "Six Nations Confederacy", Haudenosaunee is the endonym and more accepted word for "Iroquois" by Haudenosaunee themselves. Although "Iroquois" is largely an exonym, it is also sometimes used by Haudenosaunee, yet more commonly in the United States.

Kanien'kéha is within the “Five Nations” subbranch of Northern Iroquoian, which also includes Onödowá'ga:', Onqda'gegá', Onayote'a:ká:, and Gayogohó:nq', all of which are primarily spoken in Ontario, New York State, Quebec, and Wisconsin. These languages, as well as Skarù:rę', have strong political, geographic, and cultural connections, as they are languages used within the political entity of the Rotinonhsión:ni Confederacy. Kanien'kéha has the strongest vitality of all the Northern Iroquoian languages. Due to the structural and cultural similarities of Iroquoian languages, curriculum, resources, and revitalization strategies can be shared relatively easily across languages, something that is becoming a more common occurrence today. This is also why it is important to consider language vitality levels across the language family, as languages with weaker vitalities can look to languages with stronger vitality for support in revitalization work. More information on Kanien'kéha vitality and endangerment will be detailed later in this chapter and a more in-depth description of the Iroquoian language family, including Kanien'kéha, can be found in Mithun (1979, 1999, 2000) and Mithun and DeCaire (2023).

Kanien'kéha is much different typologically than English, French and other Indo-European languages. Most significantly, Kanien'kéha is often referred to as polysynthetic. As seen in (1), words can be made up of many morphemes, often requiring just one word for expressing what would require a sentence of multiple words in English and other languages that are classified towards the analytic end of the language typology spectrum.

(1) Kanien'kéha polysynthesis

taionkwa'nikonhratihéntho'

ta-ionkwa-'nikonhr-atihentho-'

FACT-1PL.PAT-mind-pull-PUNC

'it pulled our minds' = 'it interested us / caught our attention'

There are three kinds of words (or lexical classes) in Kanien'kéha and other Iroquoian languages according to morphological structure: particles, verbs, and nouns. Particles are

pervasive; they are uninflected words, usually with no internal structure, that are primarily used to modulate discourse (but they can occasionally serve other lexical and syntactic functions). Although they often occur on their own, they can also be compounded. Their basic use can be straightforward to learn in L2 acquisition when there is an equivalent in English. However, at more advanced levels of acquisition, when equivalents do not exist in English, their use becomes more difficult to acquire because their function and distribution in discourse is challenging to isolate. This is exemplified in (2); Tioròn:iote Dennis Stock, a L1 speaker from Wáhta Mohawk Territory, answers the question “What is your English name?” with ten words, nine of which are particles. Consequentially, advanced particle usage is arguably one of the most challenging aspects of Kanien'kéha to master in L2 acquisition.

(2) Kanien'kéha Particles⁶

<i>Dennis Stock</i>	<i>kwi'</i>	<i>nì:'i</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>akwáh</i>	<i>tokèn:'en</i>	<i>ionkhsenná:wi</i>
Dennis Stock	indeed	me	ne	very	truly	they>me-name-give-STAT
<i>né: ne</i>	<i>wahón:nise</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>ó:nen.</i>			
it is	long ago	indeed	now			

‘A long time ago now I was given the name Dennis Stock’

Morphological nouns, as seen in (3), have a relatively simple structure, consisting of a neuter pronominal prefix, a noun stem, and a noun suffix. Nouns can occur with possessive prefixes, as in (3b), or locative suffixes, as in (3c).

(3) Kanien'kéha Noun

- (a) *kaná:ta'*
ka-nat-a'
 N-town-NS
 ‘town’
- (b) *akená:ta'*
ake-nat-a'

⁶ From *Tewanónhstat ne Rotiksten'okòn:'a Raotiwén:na / Preserving the Voice of Our Language Keepers: Wáhta Mohawks Documentation Project* (Wáhta Mohawks, 2019).

1SG.POSS-town-NS
'my town'

- (c) kaná:takon
ka-na t-akon
N-town-inside
'in town'

Morphological nouns can also be incorporated into verbs, a characteristic of Iroquoian languages termed “noun incorporation”, where a noun stem is compounded with a verb root, deriving a new verb, as shown in (4). This means that learners of Kanien'kéha must learn both the stand-alone noun form and the noun stem to derive incorporated forms, as well as possessive and locative forms. Noun incorporation is used in creating words for significant concepts, often involving narrowed (lexicalized) meaning, idiomatic expressions, and new words. It also functions to manage the flow of information, such as backgrounding and focus (Mithun, 1984; Mithun, 1999; DeCaire et al., 2017).

(4) Kanien'kéha noun incorporation

ranenstaiénthos
ra-**nenst**-a-ientho-s
M.SG.AGT-**corn**-JOIN-plant-HAB
'he plants corn, he is a corn planter'

Verbs have a much more complex structure and can be made up of many different meaningful parts (morphemes); furthermore each of the morphemes can have several allomorphs, and this represents one of the major challenges of L2 acquisition by L1 English speakers. Much of this allomorphy can be seen in the curriculum shown in Part 2 of this dissertation. Verbs are templatic with each morpheme occurring in a specific location or linear position, generally following the pattern shown in Table 1, with bolded elements indicating those that are obligatory.

Table 1*Kanien'kéha verb complex*

Prepronominal prefix	Pronominal prefix	Reflexive	Noun stem	Verb root	Derivational suffixes	Aspect suffix	Postaspect suffix
cislocative coincident contrastive duplicative factual future negative optative partitive repetitive translocative	agent patient transitive	-an- -ar- -at(e)- -atat(e)-	-noun-	-verb-	ambulative benefactive causative distributive facilitative inchoative instrumental purposive ⁷ reversive	habitual punctual stative	continuative former past remote past progressive

A particularly salient feature of Kanien'kéha verb morphology is the sheer number of pronominal prefixes, as well as the number of distinctions, including three persons (first, second, and third), as well as inclusive versus exclusive, three numbers (singular, dual, and plural, and gender (masculine, feminine, feminine-zoic). There is also an indefinite (or non-specific), which has the same form as the feminine singular. Finally there are three paradigms of prefixes: agent (subjective), patient (objective), and transitive paradigms. Verbs must have a prefix referencing participants in situations described by the meaning of the verbs (Koenig & Michelson, 2013). There are a total of 58 pronominal prefixes in Kanien'kéha, with 328 allomorphs, averaging approximately 5 allomorphs per prefix.⁸ A speaker must master the use of each pronominal prefix, including their allomorphs, to communicate fully. This diversity is shown in Table 2, which displays all pronominal prefixes used for consonant-stem nouns and verbs. There are additional stem classes (not shown in Table 2): a-, i-, o-/on-, and e-/en-stems.

⁷ Also termed “andative” or “dislocative”.

⁸ Koenig and Michelson refer to this type of complexity as “paradigmatic complexity” (2013).

Table 2*Agent, patient, and transitive consonant-stem pronominal prefixes*

	<i>I</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>her/s.o./them</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>her/IT</i>	<i>you & I</i>	<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>you two</i>	<i>you all & I</i>	<i>they & I</i>	<i>you all</i>	<i>them (M)</i>	<i>them (F)</i>
<i>I</i>		kon	ri	khe	ke				keni			kwa	khe	
<i>you</i>	take		ehtshe	hshe	hse		takeni				takwa		hshe	
<i>he</i>	rake	ia	ro	hshako	ra	hshonkeni	ehtshiseni	hshonkwa	ehtshisewa	hshako				
<i>she/s.o./they</i>	ionke	iesa	ronwa	iontate	ie	konwa	ionkhi	ietshi	ionkhi	ietshi	ronwati	konwati		
<i>she/IT/it</i>	wake	sa	ro	iako	ka	io	ionkeni	seni	ionkwa	sewa	roti	ioti		
<i>you & I</i>			ehtshitene	iethi	teni								iethi	
<i>s.o. & I</i>		keni	hshakeni	iakhi	iakeni			kwa			kwa	iakhi		
<i>you two</i>	takeni		ehtshiseni	ietshi	seni		takwa			takwa		ietshi		
<i>they (2M)</i>	ionke	iesa	ronwa	hshakoti	hni		ionkhi	ietshi	ionkhi	ietshi	ronwati	konwati		
<i>they (2F)</i>	ionke	iesa	ronwa	hshakoti	keni		ionkhi	ietshi	ionkhi	ietshi	ronwati	konwati		
<i>you all & I</i>			ehtshitewa	iethi	tewa								iethi	
<i>they & I</i>		kwa	hshakwa	iakhi	iakwa			kwa			kwa	iakhi		
<i>you all</i>	takwa		ehtshisewa	ietshi	sewa		takwa			takwa		ietshi		
<i>they (M)</i>	ionke	iesa	ronwa	hshakoti	rati		ionkhi	ietshi	ionkhi	ietshi				
<i>they (F)</i>	ionke	iesa	ronwa	iakoti	koti		ionkhi	ietshi	ionkhi	ietshi				

In addition, there are eleven prepronominal prefixes and nine derivational suffixes used to modify verbs, as also shown in Table 1. These morphemes mark the direction, repetition and number of times an action occurs, the reversal or undoing of an action, motion towards or away from an action, if an action is happening for the benefit of a participant, when an action is prone to occur, when actions occur unexpectedly or quickly, the source of the information, and concepts that correspond to nouns, locations, and instruments (Koenig & Michelson, 2013; Mithun, 1993). Like pronominal prefixes, they also often have several allomorphic forms that a speaker must master.

The polysynthetic nature of Kanien'kéha and its distinctness from English is critical to consider as it has strong implications for L2 acquisition by L1 English speakers, namely the added challenges with reaching advanced levels of proficiency. Furthermore, this does not consider complexity at sentence and discourse levels nor cultural expectations of speech by the speech

community, where stylistic skill in a diversity of domains and registers often garners great attention and admiration. Mithun (1984) has also observed this:

Speakers of polysynthetic languages often comment on a characteristic that English speakers observe more rarely: consciousness of who speaks their languages especially well. This recognition is not for public presence, but rather for stylistic skill, which appears in conversation as well as in jokes, anecdotes, legends, and formal oratory. Admired speakers generally share a specific trait: they use a variety of morphologically complex words – particularly, incorporating constructions. (p. 879)

Kanien'kéha second-language acquisition by native English speakers requires unique attention in the creation and design of second-language learning curriculum and approaches to learning Kanien'kéha. More detail regarding this as it pertains to adult acquisition are discussed further in section 3.3.6.

2.2.1 Dialect Variation

Adding to the already discussed morphological complexity of Kanien'kéha, dialect differences also exist among Kanien'kehá:ka communities. There are three primary dialects, termed Western (Ohswé:ken and Tyendinaga), Central (Ahkwesáhsne and Kana'tsioharè:ke), and Eastern (Kahnawà:ke, Kanehsatà:ke, Ganienkeh and Wáhta), with Central and Eastern dialects sharing greater similarity to each other than Western to any other.⁹ Dialects of Kanien'kéha have primarily developed from the different historical experiences of each community since moving away from the Kanien'kehá:ka homelands in what is today central New York State. There is both lexical and phonological variation. Lexical variation occurs in many forms, although it is

⁹ The Kanien'kéha speech community generally finds these labels too simplistic and prefer to classify dialects according to the communities in which they are spoken. This is because, even though dialects have been placed into three major categories, there are some unique characteristics associated with each community.

especially apparent in neologisms. Firstly, where the same word is used throughout all communities, differences may exist in their meaning, as shown in (5a). Secondly, certain words may no longer be part of the lexicon in some communities, and thus will be unintelligible in those communities, as shown in (5b). Thirdly, commonly used words in one community may simply be different in others, as shown in (5c).

(5) Kanien'kéha lexical variation between dialects

(a) 'tree'

Kahnawà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne	ó:kwire' o-kwir-e' N-tree-NS 'tree'
Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga, Kanehsatà:ke, Wáhta	karón:ta' ka-ront-a' N-tree-NS 'tree'

(b) ohié:karon(t) - 'salmon'

Kahnawà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne, Kanehsatà:ke, Wáhta	unintelligible
Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga	commonly used

(c) 'computer'

Kahnawà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne	kawennaráhstha' ka-wenn-a-rahst-ha' N-word-JOIN-draw-HAB 'it draws words'
Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga	kawennáhrha' ka-wenn-a-r-ha' N-word-JOIN-put.inside-HAB 'it inserts words'
Kanehsatà:ke, Wáhta	waterihwateweièn:tons w-ate-rihw-a-teweien'ton-s

N-SRFL-matters-JOIN-store-HAB

'it stores matters'

Capturing the phonological differences between dialects is beyond the scope of this work, although two critical differences commonly noticed by speakers are the pronunciation of consonant “r” and the use of ky (orthographic ki in some dialects) versus ty (orthographic ti in some dialects). Consonant phoneme “r” is pronounced as /ɹ/ in Tyendinaga, /r/ and /l/ in Ohswé:ken, /r/ in Kahnawà:ke, Kanehsatà:ke, Wáhta, and /r/ and /l/ in Ahkwesáhsne.

It is important to note that differences, sometimes significant, also exist among communities sharing a dialect and within each community where smaller family dialects and idiolects exist. Furthermore, although a standardized orthography has been developed (Lazore, 1993)¹⁰, certain communities wish to have small orthographic differences, such as with the use of the letter y as opposed to the more common letter i to represent the palatal glide /j/. Table 3 outlines the primary orthographic differences by dialect and community.

Table 3

Kanien'kéha orthography differences by dialect and community

“Western” Tyendinaga / Ohswé:ken*	“Eastern” Kahnawà:ke / Kanehsatà:ke / Wáhta	“Central” Ahkwesáhsne
ty tyatá:tis <i>‘you and I speak’</i>	ti tiatá:tis <i>‘you and I speak’</i>	ki kiatá:tis <i>‘you and I speak’</i>
tsy tsyatá:tis <i>‘you two speak’</i>	ts tsatá:tis <i>‘you two speak’</i>	tsi tsiatá:tis <i>‘you two speak’</i>
ky kyatá:tis <i>‘they (2f) speak’</i>	ti tiatá:tis <i>‘they (2f) speak’</i>	ki kiatá:tis <i>‘they (2f) speak’</i>

¹⁰ See the *Mohawk Language Standardization Project* (Lazore, 1993) for complete details on the standardized Kanien'kéha orthography.

y niyà:tare 'they (2m) are in a picture'	i niìà:tare 'they (2m) are in a picture'	i niìà:tare 'they (2m) are in a picture'
--	--	--

Note. In Ohswé:ken, the immersion school Kawenní:io/Gaweniyo uses *i* to represent palatal glide /j/, but most other organizations in the community use *y*.

Overall, the dialect differences of each Kanien'kehá:ka community adds to the richness of the language while also adding to the complexity of language acquisition and revitalization.

2.3 Kanien'kéha Use Decline

Since the arrival of Europeans, Kanien'kehá:ka have faced overt strategies by colonial governments to subdue the language, culture, identity, and way of life. The focus of these strategies can almost always be linked to colonial interests in natural resource extraction and a colonial political economy that has sought to take control of Indigenous territories and suppress unique practices and knowledge systems, all while turning Indigenous people into marginalized labourers within the larger dominant society. This began prior to the founding of the United States and the confederation of Canada and has continued in different forms ever since. One example is during the American Revolutionary War, President George Washington¹¹ initiated the Clinton-Sullivan campaign in 1779 against Kanien'kehá:ka in their homelands of present-day New York State, causing Kanien'kehá:ka to flee into northern Rotinonhsión:ni territories and what is today Canada (Mann, 2008). A more recent example is the residential school¹² and day school systems, where Indigenous people were deceived and forced into sending their children.

Even if using the most charitable explanation, residential and boarding schools were developed in the 19th century merely with the intent to assimilate Indigenous children into

¹¹ In Kanien'kéha, the President of the United States is referred to as Ranatakárias "The Town Destroyer", because of this event.

¹² In the United States, the term "boarding school" is used instead of "residential school".

Canadian and American societies (Milloy, 1999). However, in reality, the intentions were much more nefarious. Children were taken from their families as early as the ages of 4 or 5, not returning to their homes until early adulthood, if at all - unfortunately many children died during their time at these schools or were so badly neglected and/or abused that they were left with significant mental and physical trauma, which still linger in generations today (TRC Canada, 2015). Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's original Prime Minister, as a representative of Canadian society, believed that residential schools were necessary for separating Indigenous children from their parents, whom he believed were savages, so that Indigenous forms of knowledge transmission could be severed, and the knowledge transmitted therefore eradicated. Macdonald, during debates of the House of Commons once stated:

When the school is on the reserve, the child lives with his parents who are savages; he is surrounded by savages, and though he may learn to read and write, his habits, training and mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write.
(Florence, 2021, p. 42)

Accounts documented by Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) state that students were abused physically, mentally, and sexually while attending these schools, and were especially abused for using their language or expressing anything reminiscent of their culture (TRC Canada, 2015). As detailed in the executive summary of the TRC's final report, the motivation of Canada and churches "was the belief that the colonizers were bringing civilization to savage people who could never civilize themselves" (2015, p. 50). Residential schools were created long before the Indian Act of 1876 forced Canadian education on all Indigenous children. They were operated through partnership between the Government of Canada and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, United, and Presbyterian churches. This partnership ended in 1969,

with the Government of Canada taking over their management, with the last residential school closing in 1996 (TRC Canada, 2015).

Although the number of residential schools declined in the mid-20th century in Canada, these sentiments carried on until recently with successive pieces of legislation including the White Paper of 1969, which sought to terminate “Indian Status”, the legal status of Indigenous people in Canada, and to terminate all existing agreements and treaties with the federal government. Furthermore, the “Sixties Scoop” occurred between the 1950s and 1980s in Canada. During this time, the child welfare system removed many Indigenous children from their homes on reserves and put them up for adoption either through coercion or under false pretenses—that they would be returned to the family. This dislocated Indigenous children from their families, culture, and language, with many ending up in urban centres far from their home communities.

These efforts, with residential and boarding schools being the most effective, have depleted the number of speakers of Indigenous languages, almost completely severed intergenerational transmission, and created negative attitudes among Indigenous people regarding the value of their languages, including other psychological impacts. In Canada, attendance at residential schools increased dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s (Titley, 2014; Milloy, 1999), which hindered intergenerational transmission of the language between the 1940s and 1960s. This is important in understanding language use decline, as most parents who had attended residential schools at this time could not transmit the language to the next generation because they lost their language completely or experienced a drastic reduction in their speaking proficiency. In addition, many of the residential school survivors who retained their language, grew up to have negative attitudes about their own native language and chose not to pass it on to their children. Many were concerned that if their children did not speak English as a primary language their employment future and

general quality of life would be negatively impacted, or they were often afraid their children would experience racism as they did. These impacts continue to be experienced by many Indigenous people in Canada and the United States today.

In the first half of the 20th century Kanien'kéha was used within and between all peer groups in almost all Kanien'kehá:ka territories throughout a diversity of domains, acting as the primary language for the transmission of knowledge. Vitality has especially been in a rapid state of decline since the 1940s, when it was last passed on to a new generation of speakers who used it as the primary language of their peer group. Although there was a small minority of families that continued to transmit the language intergenerationally between the 1940s and 1960s, the children growing up at that time were the last generation of L1 speakers who used the language exclusively as a peer group language. It was then that English became adopted as the primary language of use in homes, between generations, and throughout communities. In subsequent generations, the few children raised speaking the language at home adopted English as the peer group language even though they could speak the language fluently.

2.4 Assessing Language Vitality and Endangerment

An assessment of a language's degree of vitality or endangerment can be conducted in order to achieve a baseline understanding of the situation of a language so that a plan of action can be developed for its revitalization. I incorporate an assessment of Kanien'kéha vitality and endangerment as a method for directing Kanien'kéha revitalization efforts, which, I argue needs earnest attention toward establishing and strengthening pathways for adult acquisition.

Measuring language vitality for Kanien'kéha, and Indigenous languages in general, is challenging for the following reasons: 1) Providing an accurate measure depends on accurate estimates of speaker populations, as well as information about the proficiency of groups within

speaker populations, which are not always available or accurate; proficiency information for Indigenous languages is virtually nonexistent; 2) There is an archipelago of territories throughout Ontario, Quebec, and New York State where each community has varying degrees of vitality due to their different locations and associated historical, political, social, economic, cultural, and demographic experiences; and 3) The evaluative factors developed for the most commonly used vitality/endorsement assessment tools are not sufficient for understanding the nuances of a language currently undergoing revitalization. For these reasons, it is not always beneficial to give a single assessment for Kanien'kéha as a whole, as results inevitably will be skewed. However, it is helpful for communities to understand language vitality or endorsement in their individual communities relative to the whole nation. Therefore, I provide a vitality assessment for each individual Kanien'kéha community and reflect on what that means for Kanien'kéha as a whole.

2.4.1 Vitality and Endorsement Metrics

The most common metrics that have been developed and used for assessing a language's degree of vitality and endorsement include the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1991), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality and Endorsement (UNESCO, 2003), and the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons, 2016). These scales are discussed below, including a summary of each scale, how it is used and any limitations to consider.

2.4.1.1 Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

The GIDS, developed by Joshua Fishman (1991), is the seminal and most well-known framework for evaluating a language's degree of endorsement or "shift" and "disruption" as termed by Fishman. Those involved in Indigenous language revitalization planning quickly

become acquainted with GIDS as it continues to be used as the primary metric for language endangerment assessments of Indigenous and minority languages since its introduction in 1991 in his famed book *Reversing Language Shift*. GIDS is founded on the notion that a language shifts, loses vitality or becomes more endangered when it loses functions within a society, usually due to pressures from a more dominant, often colonial, language and culture (Fishman, 1991; Lewis & Simons, 2010). A language loses function within a society when social spaces where the language is used diminish and those within that society start to devalue its use in those spaces. These social spaces are equated with language use “domains”, originally described by Schmidt-Rohr and expanded upon by Fishman (Fishman, 1972).

Domains are areas of typical human activity associated with a particular language, usually indicated by a certain location, participants, and topics. Fishman (1972) defines a domain as a “Cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules” (p. 452). Therefore, people revitalize or “reverse language shift” (Fishman, 1991, 1990) by bringing those functions back and thwarting further shift by adding new functions that did not exist before (Lewis & Simons, 2010). The GIDS consists of a scale of “disruption” from 1 to 8, with Stage 1 signifying the least disruption, and subsequent stages signifying greater degrees of disruption. Fishman elaborates on each stage and provides recommendations for efforts to be made to assist languages in getting to Stage 1, or in other words, to reverse their shift and turn them from threatened languages to safe ones. This is why Indigenous language communities have made extensive use of GIDS, as they can determine which level of disruption their language is closest to and then follow

Fishman's corresponding recommendations for reversing that disruption. Table 4 is a summary of GIDS adapted by Lewis and Simons (2010).¹³

Table 4

Graded intergenerational disruption scale

Stage	Description
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

Note. Adapted by Lewis and Simons (2010) from Fishman (1991).

Since the development of GIDS as a foundational model, other metrics of assessing a language's degree of endangerment have been developed to address its limitations. One primary criticism is that, with the monstrous levels of language endangerment throughout the world

¹³ Fishman's original phrasing of his GIDS levels without adaptation is as follows, yet greater explanation of each stage and proposed actions for languages at each stage are as well provided by Fishman and not included here. See Fishman 1991 for this. **Stage 8:** Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and demographically unconcentrated adults. **Stage 7:** Most users of Xish are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age. **Stage 6:** The attainment of intergenerational informal orality and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement. **Stage 5:** Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacies. **Stage 4:** Xish in lower education that meets the requirement of compulsory education laws **Stage 3:** use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen. **Stage 2:** Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either **Stage 1:** Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence) (Fishman, 1991).

(Krauss, 1992; Roche, 2022; Simons & Lewis, 2013), languages have quite unique and differing levels of endangerment, and GIDS lacks a place for every possible status of a language. It has limited description at certain stages and has room for additional stages, as it places greater focus on languages at the “safe” end of the spectrum, whilst only describing two levels of endangerment - Stages 7 and 8. There are no stages, for example, for dormant or extinct languages nor a specific stage for languages where the only remaining speakers are in the grandparent generation yet have little to no opportunity to use it, which is the situation for many Indigenous languages. This can make it challenging to give an accurate description of the state of intergenerational transmission and state of language shift for languages that are on the threatened end of the spectrum (Lewis & Simons, 2010), which can misguide or challenge language revitalization interventions and planning strategies. For example, in a community such as Wáhta, there are speakers in the grandparent generation but they rarely, if ever, use the language among their peer group. This means that Wáhta has poorer vitality than communities where the language is primarily spoken by the grandparent generation, yet that generation continues to use the language with each other. Another salient criticism is that the GIDS assumes that all languages should strive to get to stage 1, yet for most languages, the likelihood of that being achieved is close to zero, nor should most minority language communities seek to get to that stage. Certain language communities, such as Kanien'kéha, are focused on getting to the nearest stage of safety that will ensure its continued survival, which is best aligned with stage 6.

2.4.1.2 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality and Endangerment

The second most common metric for assessing a language's degree of vitality or endangerment is the UNESCO Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality and Endangerment, developed in 2003 (UNESCO, 2003). It uses six categories to describe intergenerational

transmission status, with names for each category ranging from “Safe” to “Extinct”, as seen in Table 5.

Table 5

UNESCO intergenerational transmission metric

Degree of Endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	There are no speakers left

Note. UNESCO (2003).

A distinguishing feature of the UNESCO framework is that, although it has two categories fewer than Fishman’s numerical GIDS, it gives greater categorization and description for assessing languages on the endangered or disrupted end of the spectrum, which may be more useful to Indigenous language revitalization practitioners. This framework, however, is less detailed at the “Safe” end of the spectrum, which arguably is not of great concern to Indigenous language communities, but may be an issue for safe languages, such as French in Canada, whose community may wish to plan against assimilation into the more dominant language’s use. The UNESCO system uses a set of nine factors to determine which vitality category a language falls under. These include: 1) Intergenerational Language Transmission; 2) Absolute Number of Speakers; 3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population; 4) Trends in Existing Language Domains; 5) Response to New Domains and Media; and 6) Materials for Language Education and Literacy,

Two are used to evaluate language attitudes: 7) Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use; and 8) Community Members' Attitudes Toward Their Own Language. One is used to evaluate documentation efforts: 9) Amount and Quality of Documentation (UNESCO, 2003).

2.4.1.3 *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)*

The third most common metric for assessing a language's degree of vitality or endangerment is the EGIDS, developed by Lewis and Simons (2010) and used by the organization *Ethnologue*. The EGIDS attempts to combine GIDS, the UNESCO system and a previously used system developed by *Ethnologue* to make up for each scale's limitations and provide a more comprehensive means for understanding a language's degree of vitality or endangerment (Lewis & Simons, 2010; Gordon, 2005). It is therefore not a completely different system, but rather seeks to harmonize these existing metrics to create something all-encompassing while not disregarding the popularity or usefulness of previous metrics, especially Fishman's GIDS, which, as stated previously, is most commonly used by language revitalization practitioners. The EGIDS has a total of 13 levels that largely correspond with the GIDS, with additional levels represented by new numbers or sublevels represented by letters. Each level and sublevel are also given labels to identify the category. Furthermore, the EGIDS system uses five "key questions" about a language's use to determine which level a language is categorized.¹⁴ Table 6 shows the EGIDS and how it aligns with the GIDS and UNESCO systems (Lewis & Simons, 2010).

¹⁴ These key questions include: 1) What is the current identity function of the language? 2) What is the level of official use? 3) Are all parents transmitting the language to their children? 4) What is the literacy status? 5) What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers? (Lewis & Simons, 2010). See Lewis and Simons (2010) for more details regarding these questions and their use.

Table 6*Expanded graded intergenerational disruption scale*

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Note. Lewis and Simons (2010).

2.4.1.4 Kanien'kéha Vitality and Endangerment

It is challenging to determine which metric is best suited for measuring Kanien'kéha vitality and endangerment. This is because, as discussed previously, each metric has its own set of shortcomings and, as a result, a completely accurate and rigorously-detailed description is not possible. Even used in conjunction, the GIDS, UNESCO, and EGIDS lack accuracy namely because they were designed to measure a language's degree of endangerment, attrition, loss or disruption (from healthy to unhealthy), rather than revitalization (from unhealthy to healthy), and therefore lack an ability to measure languages in nuanced situations. This means that these metrics lack consideration for languages that have experienced language use decline or disruption but have since been on a path of revitalization. As a result, certain areas of measure are almost completely absent, such as the role and number of L2 speakers, including their levels of proficiency and their likelihood of using the language within their peer groups, as well as the role of small pockets of a community working to create primary language use domains and peer group usage within a larger community that does not speak the language. To best evaluate Kanien'kéha vitality, I have integrated the aforementioned metrics, incorporating the evaluative factors and questions that they use to determine a language's degree of endangerment (see footnotes 13 and 14 for more detail), while being mindful that Kanien'kehá:ka have been working to reverse the shift of Kanien'kéha since the late 1970s. I furthermore keep in mind that the Kanien'kéha situation is complex and diverse, and thus no single factor can be used alone to give an accurate assessment. For example, although one criterion may rank high, another criterion may rank quite low and need urgent attention. Also, a certain criterion may have more value in contributing to vitality over others, such as intergenerational transmission, argued by Fishman (1991) as being the most important criterion in a language's survival. I have adapted this into table form, evaluating each Kanien'kehá:ka

community, as shown in Table 7. Following this table, I provide a description and reasoning for each factor evaluation.

Table 7*Evaluating Kanien'kéha vitality in Kanien'kehá:ka territories 2021*

Language Vitality Evaluative Factors			Ahkwesáhsne	Kahnawà:ke	Kanehsatà:ke	Ohswé:ken	Tyendinaga	Wáhta	Total
Vitality Metric Rating	GIDS		8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	UNESCO		Severely Endangered	Severely Endangered	Severely Endangered	Critically Endangered	Critically Endangered	Critically Endangered	Severely Endangered
	EGIDS		8a Moribund	8a Moribund	8a Moribund	8b Nearly Extinct	8b Nearly Extinct	8b Nearly Extinct	8a Moribund
Speakers on Territory¹	L1 Speakers (advanced proficiency or higher)		350	150	60	0	0	2	562
	L2 Speakers (advanced proficiency or higher)		10	40	5	15	6	1	77
Proportion of Speakers	On territory		12,896 (2.8%)	7,950 (2.4%)	1,371 (4.7%)	5,535 (0.3%)	2,176 (0.3%)	157 (1.9%)	30,058 (2.1%)
	All membership		18,725 (1.9%)	10,905 (1.7%)	2,503 (2.6%)	11,259 (0.1%)	9,599 (0.06%)	796 (0.4%)	53,787 (1.2%)
Intergenerational Transmission	L1 Speaking Families		9	4	1	0	0	0	14
	L1 Children of L2 Parents		5	11	3	5	2	0	26
Domain Usage and Functions	Identity function beyond emblematic and symbolic function		Yes	Yes	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited
	Community function beyond emblematic and symbolic function		Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	No ²	No ²	Limited
	Used to transmit essential bodies of knowledge		Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Limited
Government Attitudes & Policy	Federal	Protection by law	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
		Committed long-term funding	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Band /Tribe	Committed long-term funding	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
		Language Law/Policy	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Some
		Official band/tribal council resolution to support language revitalization efforts	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Some
Community Attitudes	Most support language maintenance		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Most actively promote language use		Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Language Vitality Evaluative Factors		Ahkwesáhsne	Kahnawà:ke	Kanehsatà:ke	Ohswé:ken	Tyendinaga	Wáhta	Total
	Most actively oppose use of dominant language (English and/or French)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Literacy and Education Materials	Established orthography	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Orthographic standardization	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Written form supported by community	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Modernization (literature, materials, lexicon development)	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited
	Adequate dictionaries, lexicons, and learning grammars	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	No	Limited
	Adequate documentation	Limited	Limited	No	No	No	No	Limited
	Adequate body of literature	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	No	Limited
	Available media (videos, recordings, etc.)	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited
Maintenance & Revitalization Infrastructure	Established language revitalization body	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Most communities
	Ongoing revitalization planning process in place	Yes	Yes	No	Infant stage	Yes	Infant stage	Some communities
	Immersion program for toddlers and/or children ³	Yes (N-6)	Yes (N-6)	Yes (K-6)	Yes (K-6)	Yes (N-4)	No	Yes
	Immersion program for adults	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
	Non-immersion classes for children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Limited	Yes
	Non-immersion classes for adults	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Limited	Yes
	Program support for families	Limited	Limited	No	No	No	No	No
	Adequate visibility and community mobilization efforts	Fair	Fair	No	No	No	No	Limited

Note. ¹Speaker population data is approximated and is from personal communication with language experts in each community. Some census data is available from Statistics Canada yet is not reliable for the aforementioned reasons. ²Domain usage exists in ceremonies but does not transcend symbolic function (namely memorized cultural speeches and statements).³ N = Nursery, K = Kindergarten.

2.4.2 Intergenerational Transmission

The territories with the strongest intergenerational transmission status are Ahkwesáhsne, Kahnawà:ke, and Kanehsatà:ke (GIDS = 8, UNESCO = *Severely Endangered*, EGIDS = *8a Moribund*). This means that, generally speaking, the majority of speakers in these communities are within the grandparent generation or older and are the most recent peer group to have used the language as a primary language and had never had an unbroken chain of intergenerational transmission before them. However, these communities can simultaneously be categorized at a higher vitality level because there is a small population of L2 speakers using the language within their limited peer group, with some of them raising L1 speaking children by using the language as a primary language in the home and in preschool and elementary immersion domains. Kahnawà:ke has generated the highest population of L2 speakers who are using the language within their peer group and raising new L1 children. Because of this, Kahnawà:ke has the highest vitality of all communities.

Those with the weakest intergenerational transmission status are Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga, and Wáhta (GIDS = 8, UNESCO = *Critically Endangered*, EGIDS = *8b Nearly Extinct*). Tyendinaga and Ohswé:ken have no remaining L1 speakers but can also be categorized with higher vitalities because they too have a growing number of L2 speakers in the parent generation using the language among their peer group, with some of them attempting to raise L1 speaking children by using the language as a primary language in the home and in preschool and elementary immersion domains. Wáhta has very limited L2 acquisition at advanced levels and the remaining L1 speakers are in the grandparent generation or older with limited to no opportunity to use the language among themselves. With this in mind, Kanien'kéha is not likely to survive in territories

with the weakest vitality without rapid and widescale interventions and support from territories with stronger vitalities.

Kanien'kéha as a whole is measured to be at level 8 using the GIDS, *Severely Endangered* using the UNESCO system, and level 8a *Moribund* using the EGIDS. However, the situation is much more nuanced as processes to reverse language shift have already been working for some time to re-establish and strengthen intergenerational transmission and, as a result, higher degrees of vitality exist in small pockets of certain communities. To account for this, a sub-category of 7 (7b) added to the EGIDS would make the metric more robust. This would account for situations characterized as: "some of the child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among their peer group and some are transmitting it to their children."

2.4.3 Number and Proportion of Speakers on Territory

Data concerning speaker populations for Kanien'kéha has been gathered from personal communication with leading language revitalization practitioners in each Kanien'kehá:ka territory. I have not relied on federal census data¹⁵ because it is largely inaccurate. This is for two primary reasons: 1) Not all Kanien'kehá:ka territories/communities participated in the most recent census; and 2) People were considered a "speaker" if they reported being a mother tongue speaker, defined as "first learned at home and still understands" or if they reported as being able to "speak well enough to conduct a conversation", without consideration of current proficiency level (Statistics Canada, 2023). Even though individuals are asked if they "speak well enough to conduct a conversation", individuals often differ in their understanding of what it means to speak, understand, or conduct a conversation in a language (Krauss, 1998; Yang et al., 2017). For

¹⁵ See: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/98-200-X/2021012/98-200-X2021012-eng.cfm#tbl03n> for Canada federal census data on Kanien'kéha and other indigenous languages.

example, when given a survey, individuals who know a handful of words or key phrases may declare that they are “speakers” and believe they are able to engage in basic conversations, even if they are not. Furthermore, individuals’ attitudes towards the language and culture may sway how they declare their level of proficiency. For example, in a survey, individuals may declare that they have a higher proficiency to emphasize belonging to an ethnolinguistic group (i.e., Kanien’kehá:ka). This is likely to happen in Kanien’kéha estimates, as language is understood to be integral to identity and those who identify with being Kanien’kehá:ka may claim fluency in Kanien’kéha even when they are at the novice level (Krauss, 1998; Yang et al., 2017; Grenoble, 2013). Individuals may also purposely declare to have lower proficiency to understate their belonging to a particular ethnolinguistic group (Krauss, 1998; Yang et al., 2017; Grenoble, 2013), however, even though this was commonly experienced by Indigenous people as they have historically been victim to marginalization, prejudice, and racism, it is less likely to happen today in Kanien’kehá:ka communities. Furthermore, although L1 “mother tongue” speakers still exist, this does not consider that those speakers may no longer have a high degree of speaking proficiency. Many L1 speakers lost much or all of their proficiency by leaving their community for extended periods of time, or from attending residential or day schools. It is therefore more accurate to consider these individuals as no longer proficient, “silent” mother tongue speakers or “semi-speakers” (Dorian, 1977) even if they can still understand. With this in mind, I have only counted an individual as a “speaker” when they have an approximated speaking proficiency¹⁶ level

¹⁶ “Proficiency is the ability to use language in real world situations in a spontaneous interaction in a nonrehearsed context and in a manner acceptable and appropriate to native speakers of the language. Proficiency demonstrates what a language user is able to do regardless of where, when or how the language was acquired” (ACTFL, 2012).

of “advanced”¹⁷ or higher, as defined by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) proficiency guidelines (2012).

I estimate there to be a total of 639 speakers of Kanien'kéha at the “advanced” level of speaking proficiency or higher, equaling approximately 2.1% of the total population that live in Kanien'kehá:ka territories (reserves/reservations/communities). The majority of these speakers are L1 speakers who are among the grandparent generation or older (born approximately between 1920 and 1950), however soon a majority of the speakers will be L2 speakers. Those teaching the language or attempting to use it completely in the home and in the community are almost all L2 with varying degrees of speaking proficiency. Communities with the highest number of L2 speakers are those that have established infrastructure for producing L2 speakers, namely adult immersion programs. These communities also consequentially have the highest number of new L1 speakers being raised by L2 parents. There are few speakers living outside of Kanien'kehá:ka communities.

Of course, it is important not to leave out speakers at the “intermediate”¹⁸ level of speaking proficiency, as this can also be used as a vitality indicator, even though such speakers may not be able to use the language exclusively in their everyday lives. If including speakers at this level, the number would increase substantially, as there are easily over 1000 intermediate speakers

¹⁷ “Speakers at the Advanced level engage in conversation in a clearly participatory manner in order to communicate information on autobiographical topics, as well as topics of community, national, or international interest. The topics are handled concretely by means of narration and description in the major time frames of past, present, and future. These speakers can also deal with a social situation with an unexpected complication. The language of Advanced-level speakers is abundant, the oral paragraph being the measure of Advanced-level length and discourse. Advanced-level speakers have sufficient control of basic structures and generic vocabulary to be understood by native speakers of the language, including those unaccustomed to non-native speech” (ACTFL, 2012).

¹⁸ “Speakers at the Intermediate level are distinguished primarily by their ability to create with the language when talking about familiar topics related to their daily life. They are able to recombine learned material in order to express personal meaning. Intermediate-level speakers can ask simple questions and can handle a straightforward survival situation. They produce sentence-level language, ranging from discrete sentences to strings of sentences, typically in present time. Intermediate-level speakers are understood by interlocutors who are accustomed to dealing with non-native learners of the language” (ACTFL, 2012).

throughout Kanien'kéha territories. Kahnawà:ke and Ahkwesáhsne alone likely have 500 intermediate speakers each, and Ohswé:ken has approximately 75, indicating that revitalization infrastructure in these communities has been quite successful at producing speakers of this level of proficiency. In communities with significant intermediate speakers, there is great opportunity to increase their proficiency to advanced levels.

2.4.4 Domain Usage and Functions

There are few domains where Kanien'kéha is of primary use as there are major challenges in ensuring Kanien'kéha becomes used as the primary language of peer groups, between peer groups, and in the home. It is also difficult to reclaim or strengthen domains throughout the community when only pockets of the community speak the language. The strongest domains are educational institutions, namely elementary immersion, preschool language nests, and adult immersion, followed by ceremonial events and festivals, followed by a few individual families, followed by limited media outlets such as radio. Social media and communication technologies are commonly used by some adults and young adults who use Kanien'kéha daily within their limited peer groups. The communities that have established these domains most strongly are Kahnawà:ke, Ahkwesáhsne, Ohswé:ken, and Kanehsatà:ke, with Kahnawà:ke leading in this area.

Children attending elementary immersion are often only acquiring a novice to intermediate level of proficiency and experience challenges in increasing and maintaining such proficiency, as the language is rarely reinforced within most homes of such children. Many parents who send their children to immersion schools or language nests struggle to speak the language at a high enough level to use it as a primary language at home. There are also few additional established domains outside of the classroom for children to hear and use the language and little to no opportunity for immersion education in intermediate and secondary school. It is common for children who have

gone through elementary immersion to seek more learning opportunities after high school to increase their proficiency, with many attending adult immersion after high school, despite having been in immersion for many years prior.

Some children may acquire higher levels of proficiency if they have the language reinforced in their homes or are homeschooled by parents who have been dedicated and focused on developing their own speaking proficiency. Use in the home by a handful of L2 parents raising bilingual L1 children is one of the greatest demonstrated successes of Kanien'kéha revitalization. These parents have usually spent significant amounts of time homeschooling their children. The emergence of these new L1 speakers has given much hope for Kanien'kéha revitalization as it has moved Kanien'kéha revitalization to its second generation and provided the opportunity for expanded growth. However, many of these children struggle to use the language as a primary language within a peer group if their friends and extended family do not speak the language. These children may even reject the language and default to English as they want to conform socially and use the dominant language.

Even adults who successfully complete an immersion program by reaching advanced level proficiency will struggle to reclaim domains within the community or home. If their families and friends are not speakers, their job does not require use of the language, their hobbies are facilitated in English, community spaces do not operate in the language, then the majority of their time will be spent using English. Fluent adults have to work hard to create opportunities to use the language.

2.4.5 Government Attitudes and Policy

At the Canadian federal level there have been significant developments over the last ten years that have potential for positive impact on Indigenous languages. In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada investigated the effects of the residential school system and

released a report detailing ninety-four calls to action for reconciliation, with four of them directly concerning Indigenous languages (TRC Canada, 2015). Largely in response to Call #14¹⁹, Canada passed its Indigenous Languages Act, Bill C-91 in 2019. The bill “recognizes Indigenous language rights as Aboriginal rights...protected under the Constitution”, and seeks to establish measures to provide “adequate, sustainable and long-term funding for the reclamation, revitalization, maintenance and strengthening of Indigenous languages, noting the “critical state” of Indigenous languages in Canada (Bill C-91, 2019). Although it recognizes Indigenous language rights, the bill denies Indigenous languages national official language status and thus important rights accorded French and its speakers, such as to publicly funded compulsory education provided totally in the minority official language (Bill C-91, 2019). The 2019 federal budget allocated \$333.7 million over five years to “support the reclamation, revitalization, maintenance, and strengthening of Indigenous languages and the implementation of the Act” (Government of Canada, 2021). This is likely to have positive impact on Kanien'kéha revitalization so long as funding dollars flow to the most effective mechanisms for creating speakers and such funding dollars remain consistent over the long-term.

At the Kanien'kehá:ka community level, most band/tribal governments are supportive, in spirit, of language use promotion and revitalization, yet not all communities have official language laws or policies nor official resolutions to support language revitalization efforts. Most noteworthy is the Kahnawà:ke Language Law²⁰ which stated purpose is “To revive and restore the

¹⁹ Call to action #14 states: “We call upon the federal government to enact an Aboriginal Languages Act that incorporates the following principles: i. Aboriginal languages are a fundamental and valued element of Canadian culture and society, and there is an urgency to preserve them. ii. Aboriginal language rights are reinforced by the Treaties. iii. The federal government has a responsibility to provide sufficient funds for Aboriginal-language revitalization and preservation. iv. The preservation, revitalization, and strengthening of Aboriginal languages and cultures are best managed by Aboriginal people and communities. v. Funding for Aboriginal language initiatives must reflect the diversity of Aboriginal languages” (TRC, 2015).

²⁰ For the full Kahnawà:ke Language Law see <http://www.kahnawake.com/council/docs/LanguageLaw.pdf>

Kanien'kéha language as the primary language of communication, education, ceremony, government and business within the Mohawk Territory of Kahnawà:ke" (Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 2007). The law further outlines that the people of Kahnawà:ke have the right to free expression in Kanien'kéha, and that governments, public institutions, business and commerce, police, and individual community members have a "moral and ethical obligation to protect, promote, use and encourage the use of Kanien'kéha" (Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 2007).

The Tyendinaga Mohawk Council in Tyendinaga has also recently passed an official resolution, *Resolution #2021/22-056*, which stated purpose is "affirming Kanyen'kéha (Mohawk) as the official language of the Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory and the original Mohawk Tract as a whole" and that the Tyendinaga Mohawk Council "will prioritize the development and implementation of initiatives that will work to incorporate Kanyen'kéha into all aspects of everyday life" (Tyendinaga Mohawk Council, 2021). Along with this, the council has passed a resolution that establishes "a multi-year 4-million-dollar commitment for programming and assistance for members towards learning and engaging with Kanyen'kéha" (Tyendinaga Mohawk Council, 2021). Furthermore, the Tyendinaga Mohawk Council states "the Tyendinaga Mohawk Council believes that we are at a crucial time in our history, one where we must all embrace the responsibility we have to one another, to our ancestors, to our children and grandchildren to keep our language alive. By strengthening our community through language engagement and learning, we are supporting and promoting a healthy, vibrant future for us as Kanyen'kehá:ka" (2021).

Having official Kanien'kéha laws, policies, or resolutions of support sends a strong message to Kanien'kehá:ka about the importance of the language, garnering important morale around the language and its use, a necessary element in language revitalization. It also helps to commit and hold local governing authorities, such as band councils, accountable in continuing to

support language revitalization endeavours in communities. The existence of a law does not, however, necessarily result in the establishment and support of the structures required for language revitalization.

2.4.6 Community Attitudes

Most Kanien'kehá:ka would say they are highly supportive of Kanien'kéha revitalization and recognize a strong connection between language and identity. There are also strong pockets within most communities who understand that the primary use of Kanien'kéha in their everyday lives is critical to their identity, health and wellbeing. Furthermore, in most communities, much of the population values the language as a marker or emblem of their identity, often using the language in symbolic ways. However, only a fraction of Kanien'kehá:ka are engaged and involved directly in revitalization efforts, and even fewer are focused on acquiring advanced or higher proficiency to be able to use it within the Kanien'kéha speech community. There are numerous barriers to becoming a speaker, so even those who believe strongly that language is important may never become speakers.

Unfortunately, sometimes those within Kanien'kehá:ka communities unknowingly work against language revitalization efforts. There are still many from the older generation who, due to their own traumatic childhoods and experiences of racism, reject the use of the language and actively discourage the younger generation from learning it. In addition, there are those who believe that people involved in language work should do it for little to no compensation. This is because they believe it is a responsibility, even if it is not one they are taking on themselves. There are many language teachers working for very low wages with no benefits or job security while those who do not speak the language but serve on committees or boards receive ample compensation and job security. It is my belief that language practitioners, including teachers

should at least be compensated fairly for the amount of dedication that goes into revitalizing the language. A shift in community attitudes that highly values and respects language practitioners needs to occur, if we truly value our language.

Another community attitude that impedes language revitalization is that there is a separation between “language people” and the rest of the community. Many believe that it is solely the responsibility of the people who speak the language to do the work to revitalize it. They do not see themselves in also having a responsibility. This means an inordinate amount of burden is placed on a few speakers to revitalize the language for the community, when it needs to be a true community effort.

2.4.7 Literacy and Education Materials

The written form of Kanien'kéha dates to initial contact with Dutch explorers in the 16th century who were the first to write down the language (Gehring et al., 2013). Later, Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century began learning the language and translating the bible for missionary use. The orthography since evolved from Jesuit usage and French orthography and became formally standardized in 1993 by a representation of Kanien'kéha speakers from each community (Lazore, 1993). There is substantial documentation of written correspondence within and between Kanien'kehá:ka communities, including between Kanien'kehá:ka political leaders, such as Joseph Tyendinaga Brant and John Deserontyon, and colonial governments, such as Britain, Canada, and the United States. Other historical documents include council meeting notes, transcriptions of laws and culturally important stories, and Christian text translations. Written materials are continuing to be developed today, especially grammars, dictionaries, curriculum, stories, and translations of English documents. A substantial body of literature is far from being established but use of the written language is growing among certain peer groups on social media

platforms and in text messaging. Most language learners have indicated that literacy (reading and writing) in the language is necessary, or at least critically important, in advancing speaking proficiency (Green, 2017). Therefore, generally speaking, Kanien'kehá:ka support literacy in Kanien'kéha and its use in written form.

Documentation of the language is generally limited throughout all communities although there has been a recent push to increase documentation for use in present and future revitalization work. There is both video and audio documentation of all dialects, yet a significant proportion of this is in audio form, much of which has been collected through live radio programming, namely the “All Kanien'kéha Talk Show”²¹ initiated by K103 Radio and the Kanien'kéha Onkwawén:na Raotitiohkwa Cultural Centre in Kahnawà:ke. Most other documentation has been completed by immersions schools and language and cultural centres. Noteworthy documentation projects include the *Ratiwennókwás* project²², conducted by Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na, and the *Tewanónhstat ne Rotiksten'okòn:'a Raotiwén:na* conducted by Wáhta Mohawks (Wáhta Mohawks, 2019).

2.4.8 Maintenance and Revitalization Efforts and Infrastructure

Prior to the late 1970s, Kanien'kéha was not taught or promoted in any formal education setting in Kanien'kehá:ka communities. Opportunities to learn Kanien'kéha as a first or second language were limited outside of individual households or families that spoke it. Kanien'kéha education, especially immersion education, began in Kahnawà:ke as a response to Bill 101²³, the Charter of the French Language, enacted by the province of Quebec government in 1977 (Hoover

²¹ All episodes are available on www.soundcloud.ca free of charge.

²² See <https://tto-kenhteke.org/ratiwennokwas/> for more information on the Ratiwennókwás project and to explore its entire documentation catalogue.

²³ See Jacobs (1998) for more detail on Bill 101.

& Kanien'kehá:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Centre, 1992). This bill restricted education and services to the French language in the province of Quebec (Hoover & Kanien'kehá:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Centre, 1992), driving the people of Kahnawà:ke to ensure that education of their children in both elementary and high school remained under their control. This, as well as from inspiration from French immersion schools established elsewhere in Canada, led to the creation of the Kahnawà:ke Kanien'kéha elementary school immersion program in 1979, the first of its kind in the country.²⁴

Kanien'kehá:ka communities have now since established significant revitalization infrastructure. This infrastructure has been in large part driven by language and culture revitalization organizations, hubs, authorities, and schools, such as the Kahnawà:ke Education Centre and the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na' Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Centre (KOR) in Kahnawà:ke, Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na in Tyendinaga, the Kanehsatà:ke Language and Cultural Centre and the Kanehsatà:ke Education Centre in Kanehsatà:ke, the Kanien'kéha Language and Resource Centre and Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton in Ahkwesáhsne, and the Six Nations Language Commission in Ohswe:ken. Of the infrastructure that has been established, of particular significance are language nests, modelled after those created in New Zealand by the Māori, different immersion and culture-based immersion models at the elementary level, adult immersion programs, and programs and classes offered by post-secondary institutions²⁵. Not all of this programming is housed under the aforementioned entities, with some existing independently.

²⁴ Providing a complete historical chronology of all Kanien'kéha revitalization efforts is beyond the scope of this work. For more detailed information, one may consult Jacobs (1998) or Stacey (2016), although these focus almost solely on the community of Kahnawà:ke. A thorough historical chronology of all Kanien'kéha revitalization work as it pertains to all communities is in large part missing from the literature.

²⁵ Such non-immersion programs and classes include the Six Nations Polytechnic Bachelor of Arts in Ogwehoweh Languages, Mohawk Language Stream, the Certificate in Mohawk Language and Culture offered in partnership between Queens University and Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na, classes at post-secondary institutions such as the University of Toronto, the Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University), and the University of Waterloo, and online classes such as the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa online program.

Immersion education predominantly exists at preschool (language nest), and elementary levels, and has not yet extended to intermediate and high school, although, adult immersion programs that generally target young adults after high school are being offered in all Kanien'kehá:ka communities except for Wáhta²⁶. For these reasons, Kanien'kehá:ka have been leaders in Indigenous language immersion education. The most notable immersion programs in Kanien'kehá:ka territories are detailed in Table 8.

Table 8

Notable immersion programs in Kanien'kehá:ka territories

Territory	Program Name	Type	Description
Ahkwesáhsne	Ahkwesáhsne Freedom School	Elementary Immersion	A culture-based elementary immersion program starting from pre-kindergarten to grade 8. English language is incorporated in grades 7 and 8. Students attend English language school upon graduation.
	Ahkwesáhsne Language Nest	Language Nest	Preschool immersion language nest. Intended for parents and children 3 years old and under. Housed under the Ahkwesáhsne Freedom School.
	Skahwatsí:ra	Elementary Immersion	Public elementary immersion offering 100% immersion from pre-kindergarten to grade 4. The school focusses on language learning and comprehension through a culture-based program, while incorporating Ontario Ministry of Education outcomes.
	Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton Ahkwesáhsne Cultural Restoration Program	Adult Immersion	First offered as a four-year culture and language apprenticeship program. Was intended that apprentices learn the language and use it while engaging within a chosen field of knowledge. ²⁷ This program has now shifted to two-year full-time adult immersion focused on developing advanced oral proficiency. Started in 2014.
Kahnawà:ke	Karonhianónhnha Tsi Ionterihwaienstákhwa	Elementary Immersion	100% immersion from kindergarten to grade 6. The school does not follow Quebec Ministry of Education curriculum standards and standardized testing. Curriculum is developed by the Kahnawà:ke Education Centre (KEC). Students attend English medium school in or outside of the community, or French medium school outside of the community upon graduation.

²⁶ Wáhta does however offer non-immersion classes for adults.

²⁷ See Alfred (2014) for more information on the original language and cultural apprentice program.

Territory	Program Name	Type	Description
	Karihwanó:ron	Nursery / Elementary Immersion	Private nursery and kindergarten to grade 6 immersion. Curriculum is developed internally and borrowed from KEC.
	Iakwahwatsiratátie	Language Nest	Preschool immersion language nest. Intended for parents and children 3 years old and under.
	Ratiwennahní:rats	Adult Immersion	Two-year full-time adult immersion program focused on culture-based and structural-grammatical language learning. Started in 2002.
Kanehsatà:ke	Rotiwennakéhte Tsi Ionterihwaienstáhhwa'	Nursery / Elementary Immersion	Nursery to kindergarten immersion. English is incorporated in grades 1-6 with French taught as a second language.
	Ratiwennhá:wi Adult Immersion	Adult Immersion	Three-year full-time adult immersion program. Created as part of a "succession plan" to create a new generation of teachers, translators, and curriculum developers. Started in 2016.
Ohswe:ken	Kawenní:io/Gaweniyo	Private Elementary Immersion	A private Gayogohó:nq' and Kanien'kéha elementary and secondary language immersion school. The school offers 100% immersion from kindergarten to grade 6, 50% immersion in grades 6 and 7, and 25% immersion in high school.
	Everlasting Tree School	Private Elementary Immersion	Kindergarten to grade 6 immersion combining culture-based education with Waldorf education.
	Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa	Adult Immersion	Two-year full-time adult immersion program that focuses on language acquisition using the "root-word" method and a "simple to complex" structural-grammatical approach.
Tyendinaga	Totáhne	Language Nest	Preschool language nest intended for children 3 years old and under.
	Kawenna'ón:we	Elementary Immersion	Kindergarten to grade 4 primary immersion.
	Shatiwennakará:tats	Adult Immersion	Two-year adult immersion program. Began as a one-year diploma program in partnership with Brock University. Developed into a two-year diploma program that could be applied to an Indigenous Studies degree in partnership with Trent University. This program is no longer in operation, although a new full-time program targeting advanced language learners is planned for delivery in fall of 2022 and the two-year adult immersion program is planned to begin again in September 2023.

Many of the early elementary immersion programs were first taught by L1 speakers, although today L2 speakers of varying proficiency levels make up most teachers and

administrators. Many programs have focused on culture-based education (Demmert, 2011) immersion and have developed their own curriculum and pedagogical approaches that are specific to Rotinonhsión:ni cultural foundations. These programs have yet to be extended into middle and high school.

Since Kanien'kéha elementary immersion schools were developed in the 1970s, they have struggled at developing high proficiency among graduates and have generally exhibited difficulty in returning the language to the home and peer groups. This has largely been due to the design and focus of Kanien'kéha immersion programming, which borrowed core pedagogical (duplicating curriculum) and administrative (second language immersion) ideas from French immersion programming intended for anglophone Canadians.

As noticed by Richards and Burnaby (2008) concerning Kanien'kéha and described by Edwards (2009) and Ignace (1998) concerning Indigenous and minority language groups generally, Kanien'kéha elementary schools have furthermore been held back by the contradiction between expressed values and the actual choices of parents and teachers. Parents often highly value their children learning the language and put them in an immersion program, but do not learn the language themselves and therefore demonstrate limited effort to actually use the language as a primary language of communication within the home, beyond basic utterances. However, it is not the sole responsibility of the school to revitalize the language and it is not the responsibility of the children either.

Struggles with immersion programming are also due to low proficiency levels among immersion teachers and administrators and a lack of highly proficient parents affirming language use in the home for their children outside of the school. We can point to these as a core challenge for Kanien'kéha immersion models and a reason why the maintenance and re-establishment of

intergenerational transmission has been challenging. This demonstrates that immersion for both children and adults, while it can be effective, should be developed thoughtfully and tailored to the specific situation to maximize language acquisition and maintain the desired language as the dominant means of communication throughout critical domains (Wilson 2009).

Kanien'kéha immersion schools, however, have been highly successful in increasing cultural knowledge within Kanien'kehá:ka territories, strengthening community attitudes regarding the importance of Kanien'kéha to identity, and developing intermediate levels of spoken and written proficiency. While this is positive and contributes to improved Kanien'kéha vitality, there is limited evidence indicating that these programs have given graduates the capacity to use the language as a primary language of their peer groups and to later create immersion environments in the home and other diverse domains. In certain immersion schools, Kanien'kéha has become the language of the school, yet it is rarely used outside of the classroom by students and teachers, as is it seldomly reinforced within other community domains, especially in the home. As also observed by Messing (2009) concerning Indigenous efforts generally, Indigenous teachers and school administrators themselves can often undermine their own teaching and school goals by not speaking the language fluently, raising their own children in the colonial language, and by conducting most other life activities in the colonial language, which is common in Kanien'kehá:ka communities.

2.5 Analysis of Vitality Assessment

Although there are variances in language vitality among different Kanien'kehá:ka communities due in particular to their different social, political, and economic experiences, all communities share the same challenge, to varying degrees. Each community is challenged by the break in intergenerational transmission that took place between the 1940s and 1960s, as the parent

generation have not had the speaking proficiency required to foster primary domain usage in the home, and pass the language down to a new generation.

In his theory of Reversing Language Shift (RLS), Joshua Fishman (1991) states that efforts ought to be directed to where they are most effective, avoiding wasting time and resources on later stages that would be much more challenging and distracting for minority languages that have experienced extensive language shift. According to Fishman (1990) the RLS process:

...has two virtues: (a) the virtue of more parsimoniously and forcefully directing attention to crucial issues or 'first things first', and (b) the virtue of constantly directing attention to the absolutely crucial question of the link to intergenerational continuity. The first virtue is a significant one, because RLS, like all minority-based efforts, is more likely than not to be characterised by a serious shortage of resources. Accordingly, it is important to focus the meagre resources that are available in as judicious a way as possible. The second virtue constitutes a reminder that RLS must not be carried away by the most fashionable technologies or the most glamorous institutions that are so very much 'in the public eye'. When all is said and done, any and all seriously intended RLS efforts must still stand the acid test of fostering demonstrable transmissibility across the intergenerational link. (p. 18)

This holds true for Kanien'kéha, which, like other Indigenous communities in North America, has experienced language loss so great that it has not been realistic or even possible for a radical shift from use of English in every aspect of modern society. When a language has a level of vitality or endangerment like that of Kanien'kéha, Fishman suggests focusing on language use in the home. He proposes compulsory state education, and especially post-secondary education, at much later stages in the process.

With this in mind, there are indeed several elements necessary to consider and target in a comprehensive language revitalization strategy, such as documentation, language learning resource development (grammars, dictionaries), vocabulary creation for use in contemporary times, establishing law and policy, and increasing the number of language use domains, among others (Hinton, 2011b). However, considering the focus of attention on childbearing-aged adults emphasized by Fishman (1991) and the current situation and vitality of Kanien'kéha, adults continue to be the key demographic in Kanien'kéha revitalization today.

Wilson et. al. (2022) stress the absence of highly proficient adults as one of the biggest challenges faced by Indigenous communities developing and employing Indigenous language immersion and medium education with the goal of revitalization:

With the decreasing vitality of most Indigenous languages across Canada and the U.S., finding ways to build adequate proficiency in these languages among community adults who have limited or no proficiency in their Indigenous language is a major challenge. Producing adequate proficiency is necessary for fostering domains of use and re-establishing intergenerational transmission in the home and community. This is extremely difficult within a reasonable time as current speakers, who are mostly first-language (L1) speakers, are being lost at a faster rate than new speakers are being created. (p. 358)

Without adults who can acquire high proficiency in the language, no one can effectively create an immersion environment in the school or the home, maintain daily peer group use, and therefore pass the language on to a new generation of speakers. Wilson and Kamanā (2009) also discuss young adults as being a part of a key demographic, especially as it related to the Hawaiian situation:

The key demographic in reversing language shift is young people ages 12 to 30. For this demographic to ensure the survival of their language they must learn their ancestral language fluently, maintain fluency by daily peer-group use, pass the language on to their own children, protect and educate those children in strong Indigenous language-medium schools, join with Indigenous language-speaking peers to expand use of the language into higher socioeconomic domains, and then live to see grandchildren repeat and strengthen the cycle. (pp. 374-375)

Since language revitalization efforts began in Kanien'kehá:ka communities, children were the primary focus of revitalization, with limited consideration for the role of adults in restoring intergenerational transmission. Even though elementary immersion schools have existed for over forty years, and, in the beginning, most teachers were L1 speakers, most graduates of those schools did not become highly proficient speakers. This is largely because the language learned in schools was seldomly reinforced by anyone or any other institution outside of the school. Children have rarely received the required quality and quantity of linguistic input from their teachers and, more importantly, their immediate family. O'Grady (2018) has commented on this challenge specifically concerning having qualified fluent speaking teachers:

A near-universal challenge for language revitalization programs is the shortage of qualified fluent teachers. Because, by definition, endangered languages lack younger native speakers and because elder speakers are often not willing or able to undertake the rigors of daily classroom teaching, the job often falls to instructors who are themselves second-language learners. (p. 330)

Hinton (2011) has also recognized this as a phenomenon in Indigenous languages revitalization generally throughout the United States and Canada:

The difficulty with the immersion school movement is the 'Missing Generation' – the paucity of teachers and potential teachers, and parents as well, who can think and speak in the language. The Language Nest movement was founded with the goal of having the grandparent generation, the last generation to grow up as native speakers, being the people caring for the children. But once the children reach school age, professional teachers are needed. Even in the Language Nests, younger adults are often important for many of the functions. In most of the immersion schools, many if not all of the professional teachers are second language learners. Thus, an adult language program is an essential part of teacher training and preparation. The larger language groups have good college programs that can help develop fluency in adults. (p. 313)

The outcomes are such that children rarely develop beyond rudimentary understanding and struggle to produce or initiate the necessary language required to communicate fully. Fishman (1999) supports this notion:

Mother tongues are self-sustaining, and a new generation does not wait until it goes to school to get its mother tongue. It usually gets its mother tongue at home in the community, in the neighborhood, among the loved ones — the ones shaping the identity of the child (p. 78)

Rather than concentrating on creating families that have the oral proficiency necessary to speak the language and to pass it on to a new generation, elementary schools have largely been relegated to fixing the problem, essentially putting the burden on the children to revitalize the language. This is a "hands-off" approach, as parents can enroll their children in immersion schools with hopes that their children may become speakers with limited effort on the parents' part to reinforce language use at home. This practice is common in anglophone Canada, where many anglophone

parents send their children to French immersion school with the desire for their children to become bilingual despite the parents not speaking French (Swain, 1997; Mukan, et al., 2017). Wilson and Kamanā (2011) have recognized this as well, stating that:

“...Canadian French immersion is not language revitalization but rather improved proficiency for majority language (English speaking) children in a minority official language (French). Nevertheless, once Canadian French immersion was initiated, it inspired Indigenous communities to establish their own immersion programs...”. (p. 38)

These actions are well-intentioned, as we generally expect that if children acquire a language at a young age that they would be much more likely to continue to speak it as a primary language in adulthood. Nonetheless, it is a misguided and unsustainable pursuit to put the sole burden on children to revitalize the language if the adults around them do not speak well or at all, especially within the home and peer group. This requires us to understand and highlight the difference between “immersion education”, made famous by Canadian French immersion, intended for improving speaking proficiency of a minority language, and “medium education”, which seeks to create a community of speakers whom identify themselves through primary use of the target language, wherein all subject matter in all grades is taught through the target language and all the administrative functions of the school are as well conducted through the target language. A significant challenge to revitalization of Indigenous languages through “immersion education” is that, due to their implicit goal of improving speaking proficiency of a minority language, it is likely that the Indigenous language will be framed as subordinate to the majority language. Wilson and Kamanā (2011) explain this:

Indigenous immersion that follows too closely models designed for foreign language immersion also faces the danger of framing the Indigenous language as subordinate. Such auxiliary-oriented framing includes the diminished use of the IL as students mature and progress through grades, and restriction of IL use to the classroom and school, rather than expanding it to the public arena. (p. 41)

Past immersion efforts were far from wasteful, however, as they contributed to securing linguistic sovereignty and garnering positive morale around language revitalization, two outcomes that have propelled certain communities further in language revitalization. As suggested by Wilson (2009), minority language communities experiencing extreme language shift must develop a strategy for securing linguistic sovereignty, and that a logical place for doing so is in schools. Wilson (2009, 2017) points to the Hawaiian example, where, contrary to what was proposed by Fishman, focus was initially placed on developing pre-school and elementary immersion. Those propelling this were L2 speakers who were learning, in part, through college courses and were continuing to develop their proficiency to keep up with the growing children. A similar approach for Kanien'kéha revitalization has worked to strengthen Kanien'kehá:ka control over how they wish to educate their own people in the face of continued pressure by colonial governments (namely Quebec and Canada) to adopt dominant models of education. It has, as a result, increased pride and community cohesion around language revitalization, leading to stronger attitudes in support of language and culture revitalization, especially for certain communities like Kahnawà:ke and Ahkwesáhsne. Focusing primarily on elementary schooling, however, has arguably not yet provided the same positive results experienced by the Hawaiian and Māori, as Kanien'kéha proficiency levels have not increased sufficiently to have a greater speaker gain than loss.

Kanien'kehá:ka communities with the greatest or increasing vitality are those communities that have strong L2 speakers who are passing the language on to their children. These communities, although somewhat counterintuitively, have lasting language initiatives targeted at creating proficiency among adults, with specific focus on young adults and parents to be, and simultaneous pre-kindergarten and elementary school immersion or medium education programming for their children. Communities that have focused solely or primarily on immersion for children have struggled at rapidly increasing their language vitality, as teachers, and, more importantly, parents of children, have generally not been proficient enough for creating full immersion environments. Even with a shift from a Canadian French immersion model to a more Kanien'kéha-medium model, which would likely alleviate some of the challenges expressed previously regarding Kanien'kéha elementary programs, we will likely not see the same positive outcomes experienced in places like Hawai'i and New Zealand without engaged adults acquiring high speaking proficiency.

Leanne Hinton (2001) observes that "most communities only begin to attempt to revitalize their language when no one speaks it anymore except the oldest generation" (p. 14). Kanien'kehá:ka did not begin organizing around the issue until after the last generation of L1 speakers already had grown children. This means that when much of the language revitalization work began and infrastructure was being developed, the majority of those in the parent generation, those of childbearing age (approximately 17-35 years of age), were not speakers, as they were not raised in the language by their L1 speaking parents. These people of the parent-aged generation, now being called by some as the "missing" or "middle generation" (Hinton, 2011; Jenni et al., 2017; Olthuis et al., 2013), were predominantly left out of the effort, although not deliberately, and, up until more recently, were rarely considered for their importance in community language

revitalization. This has also been noted by McIvor (2015) speaking of Indigenous communities generally in Canada, stating:

Adult learners are an underused resource for the uphill, urgent battle against Indigenous language loss in Canada. The lack of adult-focused language learning research and literature in the field of Indigenous language revitalization indicates the oversight of adult learners as powerful potential contributors. (p. 47)

One of the primary reasons why adults have been left out of the effort is the common belief in the “critical period hypothesis” (Lenneberg, 1967; Singleton, 2005; Long, 2013), that there is an ideal time, being the first few years of life²⁸, for the brain to acquire a language if presented with adequate exposure. Because of this, we have come to expect that if children acquire a language at a young age, during the supposed “critical period”, that they would be much more likely to continue to speak it as a primary language in adulthood. There is growing consensus, however, in the literature that this is only the case if exposure to the language at an early age is sustained overtime at a high enough quality (DeKeyser, 2012; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). Ortega (2019) explains this:

...new research shows that, across diverse contexts and timings, the best predictor of bilingual outcomes is experience with each language. Once quality and/or quantity of input have been included in studies and pitted against age, it has become clear that experience of language trumps starting age. (p. 25)

Therefore, without such sustained exposure to quality language, children will not maintain or increase their proficiency. This, coupled with the fact that adults can benefit significantly from explicit language learning, means that, under the right conditions (enough quality and quantity of

²⁸ There is much debate over the estimated time and length of the critical period, ranging between 2 and 13 years of age (Loewen & Reinders, 2017).

input), adults can not only learn the language more rapidly than children (DeKeyser, 2012), but that adult acquisition is necessary before L1 speaking children can be created. This is further espoused by Genesee (2011):

... in the case of parents who speak a minority language at home, support depends on parents' understanding counterintuitive findings that their children will attain the same levels of competence in the majority language and in academic domains as students in non-immersion programs despite the fact that their children's initial schooling will take place in a minority language... parents themselves must learn and use the language at home and in the community; otherwise, the language is just another thing that is taught and used at school by their children. (p. 273-274)

Despite many well-intentioned efforts and significant gains since the 1970s in language revitalization, the reality is that Kanien'kéha is overall still experiencing a greater rate of speaker loss than new speaker creation. The greatest challenge for Kanien'kéha revitalization has been developing and maintaining the means for creating the necessary L2 proficiency so that such speakers can more easily assimilate into the Kanien'kéha speech community and have the linguistic capacity to mend the intergenerational link. We notice that communities with the highest number of L2 speakers are those that have established infrastructure for producing L2 speakers, namely adult immersion programs. These communities also have the highest number of new L1 speakers being raised by L2 parents. This means that communities should require young adults to attain adequate proficiency in Kanien'kéha to become effective language practitioners, such as teachers, curriculum developers, and administrators, and create immersion environments in critical domains, such as the home and elsewhere. Therefore, the most logical and most effective endeavour in the Kanien'kéha language revitalization movement today is to continue to push

forward on creating a critical mass of young adult speakers through full-time adult immersion programming, currently the most effective model in Kanien'kehá:ka communities for creating advanced L2 speakers. Kanien'kéha adult immersion is described in the following chapter, including its historical development in Kanien'kehá:ka communities, its experienced contribution to increasing Kanien'kéha vitality and key components of a successful immersion program.

Chapter 3: Adult Immersion in Kanien'kéha Revitalization

As established in Chapter 2, there is a need to strengthen pathways for adults to become highly proficient in Kanien'kéha as expediently as possible so that they can re-establish critical community domains in the language and repair the intergenerational link. Although there is a long history of adult immersion, most resources and opportunities for adults have been tailored to beginner and novice levels of proficiency development (e.g. night classes). Adult immersion for Kanien'kéha has been chronically overlooked, and underfunded, as a means to rapidly reverse language use decline. In general, adult language learning has not been a primary focus in language revitalization work (McIvor, 2015; Gordon, 2009). This is represented in the academic literature as well, as formal studies and accounts of adult learning pathways and their efficacy for Indigenous languages is relatively limited.²⁹ To date, most of the time and resources have been spent on developing elementary immersion or language nests - opportunities for children. Of course this historical lack of focus on adults is understandable because culturally we value future generations or “ratiksa'okòn:'a tahatikonhsontóntie” (the coming faces of children), and believe that if children acquire the language at a young age, they will maintain it into their adulthood. Yet, as established (in section 2.4.8 Maintenance and Revitalization Efforts and Infrastructure), we now understand why putting the burden of revitalization on children is futile without resilient pathways for adults to become highly proficient in the language.

In this chapter I describe common pathways for adult language learning, highlight past and current adult immersion programs, and outline the key components of an adult immersion program.

²⁹ Literature pertaining to adult Kanien'kéha acquisition is limited to Maracle and Richards (2002), Richards and Maracle (2002), Maracle (2002), Richards and Burnaby (2008), Green (2018), and Green and Maracle (2018).

In this chapter I argue why adult immersion programming is crucial in the path forward to revitalize Kanien'kéha.

3.1 Adult Learning Pathways

Since the late 1970s, when the Kanien'kéha revitalization movement was taking shape, opportunities for adult language learning³⁰ began to develop. These have predominantly included self-directed learning and group language classes, as well as some short-term immersion camps. Adult immersion has since developed largely in response to the general inadequacy of the aforementioned pathways in developing proficiency beyond novice levels. The different adult language learning pathways that have been utilized in Kanien'kéha communities are described in more detail as follows.

3.1.1 Self-Directed Learning

Before classes or immersion were developed, self-directed learning was the only pathway to becoming a speaker in adulthood, as the language was not explicitly taught in Kanien'kehá:ka communities or in nearby institutions. This required individuals to seek out language learning opportunities if they were not fortunate to have a speaker in their immediate or extended family. Learners would need to consistently visit L1 speakers in their homes or even take part in preschool and elementary immersion classes intended for children. They would also have to overcome the greater socio-economic and cultural barriers in learning the language because learning the language was far less common and supported than it is today. There were no bursaries or compensation for learning. People who chose to learn through self-directed learning were highly

³⁰ See McIvor (2015) for detailed descriptions of the most dominant adult language teaching and learning pathways for indigenous languages generally, with focus on western Canada.

passionate about the language and made a full-time commitment. It is no surprise that only a few individuals have succeeded through self-directed learning of Kanien'kéha and those that have state that due to a lack of sustained input and limited language learning resources, it can take from ten to twenty years to become a highly proficient speaker (Green, 2017). Self-directed learning is not an efficient way to become a speaker, even more so nowadays when there are significantly fewer L1 speakers to consult with than there were in the past.

3.1.2 Master Apprentice Programs

Self-directed learning in certain cases has been like the Master Apprentice (MAP) model³¹, a one-on-one (one apprentice and one master, usually a L1), immersion program developed by the Advocates for California Language Survival along with the Breath of Life Institute (Hinton et al., 2018; Hinton, 2013, 1997). The FPCC (2012) defines the MAP model as:

...a method of learning a language where a fluent speaker of the language (a master) teaches a language learner (an apprentice) through language immersion....The goal of the program is to have apprentices increase their fluency in speaking and understanding their language. While reading and writing are valuable skills, an apprentice must be able to speak and understand to become fluent. This is the focus of the Master-Apprentice Program. (p. 3)

MAP has received considerable praise for increasing speaker proficiency because it increases input time and opportunity for output with a sympathetic speaker. Because of this, much of the literature on adult Indigenous language learning is fixed on the MAP model (Hinton, 1997, 2013, 2008; Hinton, et al., 2018, 2022; FPCC, 2012; McIvor, 2015). There is, however, limited research that documents specific accomplishments of MAP, such as how proficient students become, how long

³¹ See FPCC (2012) and Hinton (1997, 2013) for more information on the Master Apprentice model.

it takes to become proficient, the extent of proficiency attrition over time, how many speakers have been created over time, and their role in fostering the creation of stronger speech communities. MAP is especially well known and seemingly more suitable for languages with small populations and few remaining speakers, like those in California and British Columbia (Hinton, 1997; FPCC, 2012).

MAP has not been formally initiated in Kanien'kehá:ka communities, although it has been used by some programs and individuals seeking to achieve higher levels of proficiency. MAP seems to be much more useful with L2 learners already at higher levels of proficiency rather than those with little to no language ability. This is because, like with self-directed learning, it takes a long time for a beginner to reach advanced levels, especially without any structured curriculum. L1s are rarely versed in grammar and therefore struggle to expedite the learning process by using structural patterns. However, it is much more useful for advanced level L2s to spend quality time with an L1 to expand vocabulary, fine-tune prosody to native like speech, learn colloquialisms, and speak at higher levels of abstraction.

3.1.3 Group Classes

Group classes for Kanien'kéha have generally been offered by cultural centres, band/tribal administrations, friendship centres, local and nearby tertiary institutions such as technical institutes and Universities or by motivated individuals unaffiliated with any organization. Classes are only offered at beginner and novice levels, and rarely, if ever, are intended for intermediate speakers let alone advanced speakers, nor are they embedded within a pathway to higher proficiency or in partnership with local Indigenous community organizations. When offered in Kanien'kehá:ka communities, they often occur weekly and are generally between eight to sixteen weeks in duration and typically one to three hours per week. Also sometimes called “night classes”, they usually take

place at night to accommodate employed adults, although some classes offered by band/tribal administrations take place for staff during working hours. They have also been offered in an online format³² to accommodate adults that live far from Kanien'kehá:ka communities or adults that cannot take regularly scheduled group classes.

Classes offered by tertiary institutions are often contained within undergraduate degree programs, such as Indigenous/Native Studies, usually ranging from two to four one-semester courses or two full-year courses.³³ A half year course would be 12 weeks in length, for three hours per week, totalling 36 hours of instruction. A full year course would be 24 weeks in length, for three hours per week, totalling 72 hours of instruction for the year. The role of courses at tertiary institutions is not for developing proficiency but rather for meeting general education or second-language study requirements of degree programs, which, at present, does little to advance Kanien'kéha revitalization beyond learning at rudimentary levels.

For Kanien'kéha and Indigenous languages generally, even though classes offered by tertiary institutions do little to aid in revitalization, a properly planned and developed revitalization program, located in a local Indigenous community, could be built to produce highly proficient students in the target language and become an integral part of the language revitalization movement (Wilson, 2018). There are programs that are attempting to get closer to this, such as the Bachelor of Arts in Ogwehoweh Languages offered by Six Nations Polytechnic in Ohswé:ken³⁴,

³² A particularly notable online program open to people of all ages and backgrounds is offered by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. For more information see <https://onkwawenna.info/online-course/>.

³³ Tertiary institutions that offer classes include University of Toronto, Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University), Trent University, University of Waterloo, Brock University, McGill University, and Concordia University.

³⁴ The Bachelor of Arts in Ogwehoweh Languages offered by Six Nations Polytechnic is the first bachelor's degree in Canada focused on learning an indigenous language that is also accredited by an indigenous institution. This can have far reaching implications regarding the role academic institutions can play in creating speakers of indigenous languages. One of the goals of the degree is for students to "Reach up to an intermediate-low speaking proficiency" (2022), as defined by the ACTFL oral proficiency scale (2012). For more information see <https://snpolytechnic.com/program/honours-bachelor-arts-ogwehoweh-languages>.

and the Certificate in Mohawk Language and Culture offered in partnership between Queens University and Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na³⁵, which seek to develop proficiency beyond mere novice levels.

Overall, regardless of the entity offering them, group classes do not create speakers, nor are they designed to do so (Wilson, 2018; McIvor, 2015; Maracle & Richards, 2002; Hinton, 2001). This is predominantly because classes do not provide the necessary input for acquiring speaking proficiency beyond novice levels (Wilson, 2018), as most only provide approximately three contact hours per week, and language learned is rarely affirmed outside of class. Furthermore, classes generally have depended on language teaching methods developed for Indo-European languages, such as French, often borrowing grammar resources, and translating content, methods, and assessments with limited regard for linguistic or cultural differences. Beginner-level curriculum for instance often depends on noun and common phrase memorization, an over-dependence on the written word, and little consideration for the unique structure of Kanien'kéha, with limited priority given to speaking the language. These methods are rarely suitable for stimulating comprehension and acquisition of Kanien'kéha. Group classes can be useful in a comprehensive strategy to revitalize a language by providing a starting point for language study, all while introducing learners to the language learning community and building morale around language revitalization (Hinton, 2001; McIvor, 2015). Group classes should not be relied upon as the sole mechanism to revitalize a language as the impact would be minimal.

3.1.4 Language Camps

Language camps have also been initiated throughout Kanien'kehá:ka communities (Maracle, 2002; Freeman et al., 1995) and are even more common in other Indigenous

³⁵ See [://www.queensu.ca/artsci/mohawk](http://www.queensu.ca/artsci/mohawk) for more information.

communities throughout Canada and the United States (Alexie et al., 2019; McIvor, 2015; FPHLCC, 2020; Neganegijig & Breunig, 2007; Daniels-Fiss, 2008; McCarty, 2003). For Kanien'kéha, they have especially been used in the community of Kana'tsioharè:ke³⁶ (Maracle, 2002). Language camps generally have targeted novice and beginner speakers with limited knowledge of the language. They often range from one to three weeks in duration, usually taking place in summer months, and almost always seek to create a group immersion environment, motivated by the understanding that immersion is more effective. They are usually intended for adults, but include children as well.

What often distinguishes language camps from group classes is that they seek to create an intensive immersion environment while teaching the language through cultural, land-based, and hands-on activities. What distinguishes language camps from MAP is that they are taught or facilitated in group format and are much shorter in duration.

Although they may expediate acquisition through full-time immersion, language camps, like group classes, do not move acquisition beyond novice levels because they do not provide the necessary quantity of input. Furthermore, language learners participating in language camps, usually beginner and novice speakers, often quickly become overwhelmed by the challenges of learning the complex nature of the Indigenous language, while L1 teachers often experience frustration due to the challenges of creating an immersion environment, with both groups often reverting to the dominant (English) language (Wilson et al., 2022). This means that although immersion is more effective than non-immersion (Fortune & Tedick, 2008; Tedick et al., 2011; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; King, 2001; Hinton, 2011; Wilson & Kawai'ae'a, 2007), language camps are not long enough for learners to reach high levels of proficiency. Overall, they are equally

³⁶ See: <http://www.mohawkcommunity.com/languageimmersion.html> for more information.

as effective, or as ineffective, as group classes. Language camps can be useful for providing an introduction to the language and stimulating interest in language but should not be confused with true adult immersion programming that takes place over several years.

3.1.5 Adult Immersion Programs

Adult immersion is another pathway for adult Kanien'kéha learning, which has received considerably less attention in language revitalization and second-language acquisition (SLA) literature. Kanien'kehá:ka have become especially well known for Indigenous language adult immersion programs, being the first to create and implement such programs within North America.

Adult immersion programs are full-time schools that seek to “create speakers”, or , in other words, develop high oral proficiency among students. This means that language acquisition is the primary focus, with culture being learned through the pervasive school structure and curriculum. They should not be confused with immersion camps, which take place over a short period of time, nor with Master Apprentice programs, which are usually a one-on-one interaction. True immersion programs have significantly more quality and quantity of language input compared to other methods.

Adult immersion programs create an immersion environment by teaching the language completely through the language, almost always in a structured group classroom environment. Programs are two and three school years in length with students attending full-time, approximately 30 hours per week, for 8 months per year, totaling approximately 1,000 hours of contact instruction per year, or 2,000 to 3,000 hours by program completion. This program length and number of contact hours is based on the goal of getting speakers to an advanced level of speaking proficiency, as defined by the ACTFL proficiency guidelines. Teachers and teaching assistants are advanced speakers (most often L2 speakers) with considerable metalinguistic awareness, many being

graduates of the programs themselves. L1 speakers, if available, are often auxiliary teachers, advisors and mentors, employed full- or part-time to model authentic speech and aid in curriculum development. In a single cohort or class, there are at least two full-time teachers and ten to twenty students.

Since the late 1990s Kanien'kehá:ka have been experimenting with adult immersion, making improvements along the way. Today, most Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs have been producing highly proficient L2 speakers within two school years, inspiring other Indigenous people across Canada and the United States to initiate similar programs³⁷. These new speakers later assimilate into and thereby strengthen the Kanien'kéha speech community, often by becoming immersion teachers, revitalization practitioners, and parents raising new L1 speakers, among other roles. Since the late 1990s Kanien'kehá:ka have created six adult immersion programs in different Kanien'kehá:ka communities, of which there are currently four in operation. These programs will be described in more detail in the forthcoming section.

3.2 Kanien'kéha Adult Immersion

With the continued decreasing vitality of Kanien'kéha, finding ways to build adequate proficiency in Kanien'kéha has been a major challenge. As established earlier, whilst much of the revitalization work and infrastructure has had positive impacts on Kanien'kéha revitalization, preventing future extinction of the language hinges largely on producing adequate proficiency among the adult population within a reasonable time, given that current speakers are being lost at

³⁷ These programs include, but are not limited to, the Seneca Deadiwēnōhsnye's Gējóhgwa' and Honōta:ōnih Hēnōdeyēsdahgwa' adult immersion programs in New York, the DINLP Language Proficiency Diploma and Certificate programs at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, the Syilx Language House in Penticton, British Columbia, the Chikasha Academy adult immersion program in Oklahoma, the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice program in Oklahoma, the Lakota Woiwahoye Gluotkunzapi Hunkake and Lakolya Waoniya Project adult immersion programs in South Dakota, the Lingít Dān K'e Kwānjē Ghākenīdān adult immersion program in Yukon, and the Mi'kmaq adult immersion program in Quebec.

a faster rate than new speakers are being created. This is necessary for fostering critical speech domains, strengthening the Kanien'kéha speech community, and re-establishing intergenerational transmission.

We have established that the most common pathways for adult language learning (self-directed learning, MAP, group classes and language camps) have been largely inadequate for ensuring that adults reach high levels of proficiency within a reasonable time, because they do not provide the required contact hours to achieve advanced levels of proficiency, they are not integrated into a strategy to achieve advanced levels of proficiency, and they do little to foster the development of a speech community. This has spurred the development of adult immersion programs, which have sought to address and overcome the challenges experienced by these more common pathways³⁸.

Adult immersion programs have grown primarily from grassroots initiatives by concerned individuals or from language and cultural centers in representative communities. Today, although they largely do not work in partnership or under a consortium that oversees, governs, or informs their programming in Kanien'kehá:ka communities as a whole, their design, and approaches to teaching and curriculum, are in many ways similar. Thus, adult immersion can be defined as a unique pathway or institutional framework for creating L2 speakers of Indigenous languages. I define adult immersion by having four primary qualities, including: 1) full-time³⁹ immersion; 2) one to three school years in length or long enough to achieve advanced speaking proficiency in the

³⁸ Research completed by Green (2017), demonstrates the efficacy of adult immersion, specifically in Ohswé:ken. Green compared self-rated proficiency estimates of students who have taken part in a number of program structures in and near Ohswé:ken, including master apprenticeships, tertiary programs, and elementary immersion programs, finding that adult immersion is the most efficient way to create a critical mass of speakers in Ohswé:ken. See Green (2017) for more information.

³⁹ More accurately, approximately 99% full-time immersion, accounting for certain communications with students that require English, such as in one-on-one “check in” meetings that require their full understanding or explaining of program design and delivery at the start of the year.

target language; 3) delivered in a classroom or other contrived setting; and 4) enrolling adult students, usually between the ages of 17 and 40. Individual adult immersion programs that are currently in operation are detailed in Table 9.

Table 9*Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs*

Program	Overview
Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa Ohswé:ken, ON	Years of Operation: 1998-Present Program Length: 2 school years (18 months) Students Per Cohort (Approx.): 10-15 Simultaneous Cohorts: Yes Total Graduates to Date: 200 Description: Began as a one-year program delivered in a house and has since expanded to two years, offering two simultaneously running cohorts. The programs mission is to “To speak the Mohawk language of Ohsweken the way our grandparents used to.” The goal is for students to reach “intermediate-low” speaking proficiency by the end of the first year, and “advanced-low” speaking proficiency by the end of the second year, both as defined by the ACFTL oral proficiency scale. The program focusses on language acquisition using the “root-word method” ⁴⁰ , a simple to complex structural-grammatical approach. Also offers a limited version of the program online and, when funding is available, a third-year program.
Ratiwennahní:rats Kanien'kéha Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Cultural Centre (KOR) Kahnawà:ke, QC	Years of Operation: 2002-Present Program Length: 2 school years (18 months) Students Per Cohort (Approx.): 10-20 Simultaneous Cohorts: Yes Total Graduates to Date: 179 Description: Offered by the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center ⁴¹ . Began as a one-year program and has since expanded to two years, offering two simultaneously running cohorts. Seeks to foster “...the advancement of spoken language proficiency, empowering community to participate and contribute to the maintenance and vitality of Onkwehonwehnéha”. The goal of the program is for students to increase their spoken proficiency by three sub-levels, as defined by the ACFTL oral proficiency scale, each year, as students begin the program with different levels of spoken proficiency. Uses a combination of communicative and structural approaches, integrating hands-on and cultural-based activities. The program was first taught by L1 and L2 speakers, and is now taught by L2 speakers, with L1 speakers acting as parti-time, auxiliary teachers.

⁴⁰ See Green and Maracle (2018) for more information on the “root-word method”.

⁴¹ See <https://www.korkahnawake.org/> for more information.

Program	Overview
Shatiwennakarátats, Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na (TTO) Tyendinaga, ON	Years of Operation: 2004-2016 Program Length: 2 school years (18 months) Students Per Cohort (Approx.): 10-15 Simultaneous Cohorts: No Total Graduates to Date: 83 Description: Offered by the Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na Language and Cultural Center ⁴² . The program began as a one-year certificate program partnered with Brock University yet became a two-year diploma program in 2006 partnered with Trent University and First Nations Technical Institute ⁴³ . In 2011, it became a non-accredited community-based program with no external partners. The program has largely been taught by L2 speakers. Since 2016, the program has not been offered, mainly due to a lack of qualified instructors. A new full-time program targeting advanced language learners is planned for delivery in fall of 2022 and the two-year adult immersion program is planned to begin again in September 2023.
Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton Akwesáhsne Cultural Restoration Program (ACR) Akwesáhsne, NY	Years of Operation: 2014-Present Program Length: 2 school years (18 months) Students Per Cohort (Approx.): 10-15 Simultaneous Cohorts: No Total Graduates to Date: 12 ⁴⁴ Description: Offered by the Akwesáhsne Cultural Restoration Program. First offered as a four-year culture and language apprenticeship program with the intention that apprentices learn the language and use it while engaging within a chosen field of knowledge. The program was an experiment in creating four main master-apprentice streams of learning, including 1) fishing and river use; 2) horticulture, traditional foods and basket making; 3) medicine plants and healing; and 4) hunting and trapping. Apprentices were required to spend 50% of their time in formal Kanien'kéha language classes and 50% of their time spent with a master of a particular field of knowledge. ⁴⁵ The program has now shifted to a two-year full-time adult immersion program focused on developing advanced oral proficiency. The goal is for students to reach “intermediate-low” speaking proficiency by the end of the first year, and “advanced-low” speaking proficiency by the end of the second year. Since 2019, the program has largely been taught by L2 speakers, with L1 speakers acting as auxiliary teachers.

⁴² See <https://tto-kenhteke.org/> for more information.

⁴³ See <https://fnti.net/> for more information.

⁴⁴ Since 2019 when the program shifted to the standard adult immersion model.

⁴⁵ See Alfred (2014) for more information on the original language and cultural apprentice program.

Program	Overview
Ratiwennenhá:wi Mohawk Language Custodian Association Kanehsatà:ke, QC	Years of Operation: 2016-Present Program Length: 3 school years (27 months) Students Per Cohort (Approx.): 10-15 Simultaneous Cohorts: Yes Total Graduates to Date: 5 Description: Initiated as part of a “succession plan” to create a new generation of teachers, translators, and curriculum developers. First started as a two-year program and has since become a three-year program. Currently runs as a partnership between the Mohawk Language Custodian Association (MLCA) and the Kanehsatà:ke Health Center (KHC) in Kanehsatà:ke and McGill University. Students, if they choose to enroll in the teacher education portion, will graduate with a certificate in Education for First Nations and Inuit, Specialization Language and Culture, certifying them to teach Kanien’kéha in elementary and high school. The program has primarily been taught by L1 speakers although now is taught by one L1 and two previous L2 graduates.

Kanien’kéha adult immersion began as one-year (6-10 month) full-time immersion.⁴⁶ Kahnawà:ke experimented first with a ten-month full-time initiative in 1985 that sought to train teachers to fill elementary immersion teacher positions, as an overdependence on L1 speakers for such positions was becoming strenuous (Jacobs & Cross, 2001). Many years later, in 1996, Wáhta offered a six-month program inviting participants from any Kanien’kehá:ka territory, with the intent that graduates would go on to acquire teacher certification. For both initial programs, L1 speakers were hired to develop the curriculum and instruct. Both programs only lasted for one cohort with certain graduates going on to pursue teacher training, and others seeking to increase their proficiency through self-directed learning. Even though these programs only lasted one cohort, it is important to note how trail breaking they were. They were the first of their kind to acknowledge that more intense immersion time in the language was necessary to develop individual speaker proficiency and to create speaking peer-groups necessary to strengthen the

⁴⁶ Providing a full historical account of the development of each Kanien’kehá:ka adult immersion program is beyond the scope of this work. For some detail on the initial developments of adult immersion between 1985 and 2002 see Maracle (2002) and Richards and Burnaby (2008). Other than this dissertation, there have been limited accounts of the development and evolution of adult immersion since 2002.

Kanien'kéha speech community. It was from these programs that inspiration came to further develop adult immersion in other communities, leading to what they are today.

Two students from the Wáhta adult immersion program, for example, went back to their home community of Ohswé:ken and, in 1998, developed Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, what is now the longest running adult immersion program in Kanien'kehá:ka territories today. Four years later, Ratiwennahní:rats was initiated by the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Centre in Kahnawà:ke. In 2004, Shatiwennakará:tats was initiated under the Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na Language and Cultural Centre in Tyendinaga. These three programs began as one school-year, full-time programs, approximating 1000 hours of contact instruction, yet they all evolved into two school-year programs of approximately 2000 hours of instruction. This shows that initiatives put in place to “create speakers” have been increasing contact hours over time to achieve higher levels of proficiency, aligning their goals more accurately with the required time necessary to reach such goals.

For adult immersion programs, it was noticed that one year of instruction was not adequate for graduating students with the level of proficiency they were seeking. Although the initial years of program delivery did not integrate proficiency assessments upon graduation, one year of instruction was graduating students with proficiency levels approximating novice-high to intermediate-low, as defined by the ACTFL proficiency guidelines (ACTFL, 2012). Programs had to advocate for and locate greater resources (funding) to implement two-year programs, increasing contact instruction up to approximately 2000 hours, to provide the necessary input for students to reach proficiency high enough to use the language as a primary language within their everyday lives.

The two other programs that have since been initiated, Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton in Ahkwesáhsne in 2014 and Ratiwennenhá:wi in Kanehsatà:ke in 2016, learned from previous adult immersion programs that two school years of instruction was required if they wished students to reach a high enough level of proficiency to replace the loss of L1 speakers and have a chance at restoring intergenerational transmission by raising new L1 children of their own. Ratiwennenhá:wi has since established a three-year program partnered with McGill University that will graduate students with a certificate in “Education for First Nations and Inuit, Specialization Language and Culture”, certifying them to teach Kanien’kéha in elementary and high school. Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa has also similarly partnered with nearby McMaster University, offering students the opportunity to incorporate their studies at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa as part of a certificate in “Indigenous Language Revitalization” that can be used towards acquiring a bachelor’s degree.

Along with the length of program delivery, the institutional framework and instructional approach in adult immersion programs has also evolved. While adult immersion has always maintained a group class format, earlier adult immersion programs largely organized curriculum thematically while placing primary focus on methods of instruction grounded in a “communicative approach” (Spada, 2006; Richards & Maracle, 2002) with lessons taught more informally through functional use of language in daily experiences, such as roleplays, reporting and story-telling.

Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and Ratiwennahní:rats programs integrated structural approaches, whereby the unique structure of Kanien’kéha serves as a template for creating scaffolded curriculum based on “simple to complex” grammatical features. This has come to be termed by some as the “root-word method” (Green & Maracle, 2018) approach to teaching polysynthetic Iroquoian languages. Today, adult immersion programs commonly combine both communicative and structural approaches, as each are understood to have their own advantages

and shortcomings. More on approaches to teaching Kanien'kéha in adult immersion programs is detailed in subsection 3.3.6.2.

Although the successes experienced by adult immersion are largely due to their institutional framework and instructional approach, and, as a result, the production of adult L2 speakers, what is especially noteworthy is their role in filling a gap in the overall system of structures of Kanien'kéha language revitalization. Kanien'kéha adult immersion has now existed interdependently with other language revitalization structures, such as elementary immersion programs, working to re-create and strengthen a community defined primarily by the use of Kanien'kéha. This is akin to what is stated by Wilson and Kawai'ae' (2007):

The life of a language exists in the system of structures, not in the instruction of content. Second language teaching of an Indigenous language must be connected to language revitalization structures and systems if they are to do more than simply give Indigenous students a slight glimpse of their ancestral tongues... Structures create identity and the interaction of human beings as part of a social group. (pp. 38-39)

This means that adult immersion has not only worked as a mechanism for producing individual speakers but has been adding to and reinforcing a system of structures that fortify Kanien'kehá:ka identity through primary use of the language within social groups. In fact, almost all other structures that exist in the Kanien'kéha revitalization system currently depend on adult immersion programs to produce speakers to work in and run such structures. Almost all (approximately 90%) of current instructors, for example, in all Kanien'kehá:ka elementary immersion programs in all communities are graduates of an adult immersion program, in effect making adult immersion programs “feeder programs” for other structures. Wilson and Kamanā (2011) recognize this as a necessary aspect of the system of revitalization structures:

A stable source of skilled Indigenous language-speaking (L1 or L2) teachers who are highly motivated to use the Indigenous language with their own children and peer groups is central to a school-based Indigenous language revitalization effort. (p. 51)

I must stress explicitly that the success and stability of structures in the Kanien'kéha revitalization system hinges significantly on adult immersion programs. This points directly to the need for proper long-term funding and support of adult immersion programs.

In the following section, informed by years of work as an instructor, curriculum developer and program designer of adult immersion in three of the current adult immersion programs in operation (Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, Ratiwennahní:rats, and Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton), as well as from being a long-time L2 Kanien'kéha learner that attended adult immersion in earlier years, I detail the foundational components of an effective adult immersion program.

3.3 Foundational Components of an Adult Immersion Program

Fundamentally, adult immersion programs are made up of administrators, instructors, students, and a location for teaching and learning. The most basic adult immersion program can simply consist of just one or two teachers who also act as administrators, students, and a room that can be used as a classroom. This circumstance is, however, much less than ideal. To be a well-functioning institution that achieves its goals, it requires more than just the bare minimum.

The foundational components of an adult immersion are described below and summarized in Table 10. Each of these components are based on learning from over 20 years of immersion programming. I, personally, have been consulted for, or taught at, three immersion programs, and this combined experience has informed my recommendations for effective programming. Communities that wish to create or strengthen their own adult immersion programs must understand that although the following helps to provide a template, they must also consider this

list is not exhaustive and they will have unique circumstances when designing and implementing their own adult immersion program.

Table 10

Foundational components of an adult immersion program

Why?	<i>Clearly defined mission</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create highly proficient Kanien'kéha speakers • Create a critical mass of highly proficient speakers to assimilate into and strengthen the Kanien'kéha speech community
What?	<i>Concrete, achievable goals</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To graduate students at the Advanced-Low level of proficiency after 2 years or 2000 hours of instruction
Who?	<i>Target group</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adults (ideally before they have had children or not long after) • Live in and/or work in the community • Those likely to succeed in the program (assessed through admissions requirements)
	<i>Support personnel</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Program director • Administrative assistant • Financial coordinator • Curriculum worker • Board of directors
	<i>Instructors</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly proficient L2s with metalinguistic awareness (at least 2 per class) • L1 as auxiliary instructor/advisor to demonstrate authentic speech (at least 1 full- or part-time)
How?	<i>Quality & quantity input</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 hours per week from September - June for a minimum of two consecutive years (approximately 2000 hours) • Structural & communicative instructional approach • Qualified instructors • Access to advanced level speech
	<i>Assessments & evaluation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formative assessments after each unit, throughout the year • Summative assessments at the end of year 1 and year 2
Where?	<i>Location and environment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centrally located within the community where the speech community exists or is sought to be developed • Complete immersion setting • Physical space that encourages relationship building

3.3.1 Mission

Many well-intentioned language revitalization initiatives ended at just that, mere initiatives. What often prevented them from becoming strongly rooted and effective community programs was the absence of a clearly defined purpose or mission, along with explicit goals that could be achieved within the programs scope. When a mission and goals are clearly defined, the program can be designed around achieving those goals, and therefore remain steadfast in achieving the mission. Far too often programs do not have a well-crafted mission and have loosely defined or unrealistic goals. In other words, they have no idea where they are going, or any roadmap to get there.

This often requires “ideological clarification” (Fishman, 1991; Kroskrity, 2009, 2016; Roche, 2019), in the sense that program designers must confront their own assumptions and attitudes concerning Indigenous adult language teaching and learning, such as understanding the depth and effort that is required to acquire an Indigenous language, as a first step in realizing a concrete mission and set of goals.

When decisions are being made that impact the program, such as creating a partnership with an external organization, the program can use their mission, often in the form of a mission statement, to help ensure any resulting changes remain aligned with the mission, reducing the risk of making compromises that will render the program ineffective in achieving its goals and thus contributing to its mission. Outside bodies may be important but they should not be the ones who determine the mission and goals of the program, and the program must not become enticed by the outside force (Fishman, 2006).

Is the mission of the program to teach about the language? Is it to certify new teachers of the language? Is it for students to learn the language? Notice that not one of these missions make

mention of the creation of speakers or the creation of a speech community defined by primary use of the language within the adult peer group - this should be the primary purpose of an adult immersion program and it should be stated explicitly. By extension, the adult immersion program should seek to create speakers who, despite growing up in an English-speaking home and society, identify by primary use of the Indigenous language which they will use to speak with their peer groups and their current or future children. When discussing adult or tertiary Indigenous language programs, Wilson (2019) highlights this with regards to spreading use:

Simply teaching about language revitalization, providing linguistic skills for learning a language, or even teaching a language to a high level of proficiency does not result in intergenerational language revitalization. To seriously affect language revitalization, tertiary programs must directly address use in one or more communities. There are basically two approaches to spreading use. One approach involves movement of the entire Indigenous community to higher levels of use...The other involves establishing, and then expanding, protected family-based core groups of proficient speakers...Successful tertiary programs work to effectuate both approaches. (p. 86)

The mission of the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa program is “To speak the Mohawk language of Ohsweken the way our grandparents used to” (Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa, 2022). Without jargon, this mission is clear in showing to the community that the program seeks to recreate new speakers of the Ohswé:ken dialect of Kanien’kéha. Better yet would be to have a purpose that aligns with a larger community organized language revitalization strategy that has identified adult immersion as one mechanism among many in a multidimensional strategy, or system of structures, to revitalize a language.

The Kanehsatà:ke Education Center in Kanehsatà:ke also, for example, in 2015 conducted a community language assessment and determined that the community requires a “succession plan” or a means for adults to “become fluent and be the next generation of teachers, translators, curriculum developers” (Mohawk Language Custodian Association, 2019). This is also a clear mission, stating that adults need to become proficient speakers in order to fill critical speech domain gaps in the community, as L1 speakers in Kanehsatà:ke are being lost at an incredible rate.

The mission must also be understood and embraced by the student demographic, as the attitudes of the students play a strong role in language revitalization as a whole. Students that embrace “the cause”, rather than simply enrolling to learn the language for themselves will prove to be more helpful in creating a more effective learning environment, as well as be more fruitful in the community’s pursuit of language revitalization. This is one key aspect that differentiates Indigenous adult language programs from non-native heritage language programs as Indigenous adult language programs are not just for personal development and enrichment, but for the benefit of entire communities and the survival of a language and its unique culture and traditions. Students that understand the mission and feel that they are playing a role in achieving the mission will strengthen the work of the program.

Furthermore, it must be noted that Kanien’kéha adult immersion programs are principally concerned with language acquisition. Culture and traditional knowledge are not directly targeted as learning outcomes but are rather taught through the pervasive school structure and through meaningful and relevant curriculum content. It is understood that language acquisition creates a necessary foundation for cultural knowledge acquisition in the sense that, as stated Fishman (1994):

... most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. (p. 72)

It is through language acquisition that other aspects of culture are expressed. Cultural principles, values, goals, and aspirations are often manifested simply by teaching and learning the language. It is from the language that foundations of culture are learned, thus by teaching the language explicitly many aspects of the culture will be learned implicitly.

3.3.2 Goals

When a mission is clearly defined, goals for achieving the mission must then be determined. Simply having a mission or clarifying an ideology is not enough - action must take place, and goals act as a road map for such action. This is where specificity matters. When a program has a mission to “create speakers” and to build a community of speakers, the program must understand what it means for someone to be a “speaker”, what level of speaking proficiency they wish students to acquire by the programs end, and therefore know what tools are available to measure speaking proficiency.

As important as it is for adult immersion programs to have clearly outlined goals for achieving their mission, they must determine how much effort, time and resources are required for achieving proficiency goals. This means that the goals must be aligned within an appropriate scope and be supported by necessary resources. Far too often programs are prone to fail by setting unachievable goals, not because they are actually unachievable, but because they are not aligned with the necessary time and resources for achieving them. This must be executed carefully because false expectations can lead to perceived failure, causing programs to feel a greater sense of

frustration associated with yet another setback in language revitalization, or prematurely begin to believe that adult immersion is ineffective. Many Indigenous languages are in such an endangered state that they cannot afford to take any more interpreted setbacks (Fishman, 2006).

An unrealistic goal would be expecting to create advanced level speakers in less than 2000 hours of instruction and with limited funding to pay the teachers at equality. Therefore, the goals of the program should be realistic given the available resources. If only limited resources are available, such as enough funding to teach for one year, then the goals should align with the time and funding constraints. In a two-year program designed to create speakers, the goal should be: “to achieve advanced level proficiency by the end of the two year program”. This goal is measurable and can be further used to assess and evaluate program efficacy year after year.

3.3.2.1 Proficiency Targets

In order to meet program goals of attaining a certain level of proficiency, it is necessary to have a tool with which to measure it. There are several guidelines and frameworks that have been created to describe and measure language proficiency. Of these, the most popular and relevant are the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB)⁴⁷, the Interagency Language Roundtable Language Skill Level Descriptions (ILR)⁴⁸, and the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines in North America, and the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)⁴⁹ in Europe. Generally speaking, each of these guidelines and frameworks are a means for both describing and measuring the functional communicative ability of individuals in a language in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading. They are often intended to be used for assessment for academic and workplace settings but can also be used for instructional purposes in describing the performance

⁴⁷ For more information see <http://www.language.ca/resources/expertise/on-clb/>.

⁴⁸ For more information see <https://www.govtilr.org/Skills/ILRscale2.htm>.

⁴⁹ For more information see <https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions>.

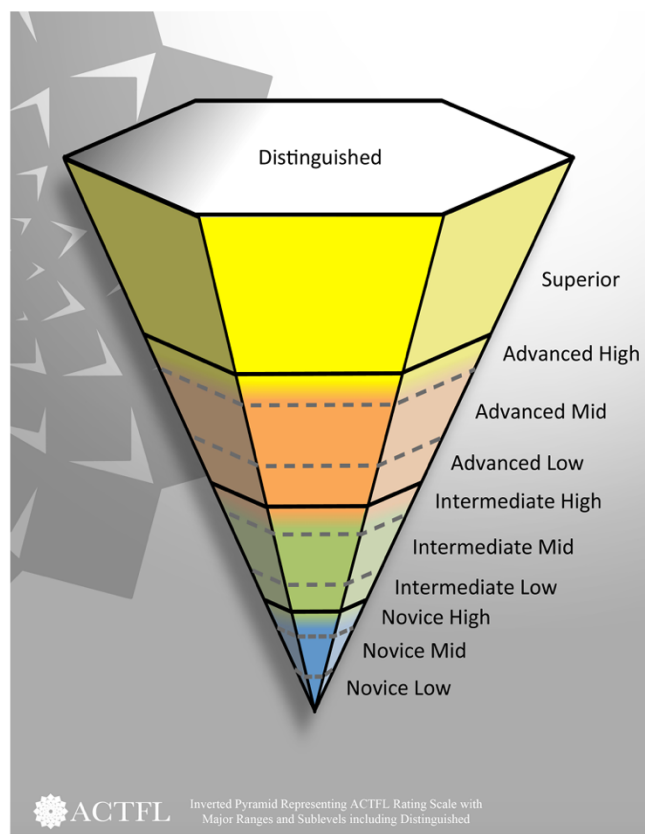
of students and programs. Almost all Kanien'kehá:ka adult immersion programs have adopted the ACFTL proficiency guidelines in setting goals for their programs. The ACTFL proficiency guidelines are used as an instrument for testing and measuring an individual's functional language ability (ACTFL, 2012).⁵⁰

Overall, the ACTFL guidelines describe five levels of proficiency, including Distinguished, Superior, Advanced, Intermediate, and Novice, with the major levels (Advanced, Intermediate, and Novice) having high, medium, and low sublevels, all of which are represented in an inverted pyramid, shown in Figure 3.⁵¹ Levels of proficiency are portrayed in ranges, forming a hierarchy, where learners progress from lower to higher levels of proficiency (ACTFL, 2020). The inverted pyramid structure demonstrates that the length of time required for acquiring each subsequent sub-level will increase. This means that for any given target language the time required to achieve, for example, novice-high proficiency (three sublevels) will be less than the time required to move from novice-high to intermediate-high (another three sublevels).⁵²

⁵⁰ How the ACTFL proficiency guidelines are used in student and program assessment is detailed in section 3.3.4.

⁵¹ For a full description of the five levels of proficiency including sublevels see ACTFL (2012).

⁵² The time required for reaching different levels of oral proficiency of Kanien'kéha by native English speakers is detailed in section 3.3.1.2.

Figure 3*ACTFL guidelines inverted pyramid**Note.* ACTFL (2012).

The ACTFL proficiency guidelines describe “what individuals can do in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and non-rehearsed context” in foreign⁵³ languages (ACTFL, 2012). Although they are used to describe speaking, writing, listening, and reading, for adult immersion programs, especially in the first year, emphasis should be placed on speaking proficiency as the goal is to create speakers rather than readers and writers. This does not mean reading and writing are not important. On the contrary, it is important that L2s be able to read, write and spell proficiently in the language as many go on to teach, work on language documentation projects, create language materials, and engage through texting and social

⁵³ Kanien'kéha, as well as all languages indigenous to North America, are of course not “foreign” to the territories in which they are spoken. In this case, “foreign” refers to any language other than English, French or Spanish.

media communications. Most language learners have also indicated that literacy (reading and writing) is critically important in advancing speaking proficiency (Green, 2017). However, if the goal is to create speakers, the primary goal should be concentrated on developing speaking proficiency, ensuring constant opportunity for output. This is because programs that do not put the development of speaking proficiency at the forefront have, unsurprisingly, struggled to create highly proficient speakers.


In terms of proficiency, the goal of an adult immersion program should be for students to be able to functionally use the language as a primary language within their everyday lives. This is most aligned with the “Advanced” level of speaking proficiency. Characteristics of this level include being able to speak in paragraphs of interconnected discourse (text type), and narrate and describe in major time frames (past, present, and future) dealing effectively with an unanticipated complication (tasks and functions) in most informal and some formal settings (context/content), all while being understood without difficulty by speakers unaccustomed to dealing with non-native speakers (ACTFL, 2020). Speakers with this level of proficiency can function completely in the target language, beyond symbolic function, within common professions (such as immersion teachers in K-12, nurses, social workers, and police officers). As shown in Figure 4, ACTFL has corresponded the required level of proficiency for working in common areas of employment (ACTFL, 2015). ACTFL does not, however, explicitly describe the required level that adults must acquire to effectively create full immersion environments in the home to raise native-speaking children of the target language, as the guidelines were not developed with language revitalization in mind. However, after many years in the language revitalization field, it is recommended that Advanced-Low be used as the benchmark for creating an immersion environment in the home.

Figure 4*ACTFL oral proficiency levels in the workplace*


ORAL PROFICIENCY LEVELS IN THE WORKPLACE

ACTFL Level	ILR	Language Functions	Corresponding Professions/Positions*	Examples of Who Is Likely to Function at This Level
Distinguished	5 4	Ability to tailor language to specific audience, persuade, negotiate. Deal with nuance and subtlety.	Foreign Service: Diplomat, Contract Negotiator, International Specialist, Intelligence Specialist	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Highly articulate, professionally specialized native speakersLanguage learners with extended (17 years) and current professional and/or educational experience in the target culture
Superior	3	Discuss topics extensively, support opinions, hypothesize. Deal with linguistically unfamiliar situations.	University Language Professor, Financial Services Marketing Consultant, Foreign Area Officer, Lawyer, Judge, Court Interpreter	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Well-educated native speakersEducated language learners with extended professional and/or educational experience in the target language environment
Advanced High	2+	Narrate and describe in past, present, and future. Deal effectively with an unanticipated complication.	Physician, Human Resources Communications Consultant, Financial Services Senior Consultant, Quality Assurance Specialist, Marketing Manager, Financial Advisor, Broker, Military Linguist, Translation Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Language learners with graduate degrees in language or a related area and extended educational experience in target environment
Advanced Mid			Banking and Investment Services Customer Service Representative, Fraud Specialist, Account Executive, Medical Interpreter, Patient Advocate, Court Stenographer, Court Interpreter, Human Resources Benefits Specialist, Technical Service Agent, Collections Representative, Estimating Coordinator	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Heritage speakers, informal learners, non-academic learners who have significant contact with languageUndergraduate majors with year-long study in the target language culture
Advanced Low	2		K-12 Language Teacher, Nurse, Social Worker, Claims Processor, Police Officer, Maintenance Administrator, Billing Clerk, Legal Secretary, Legal Receptionist, 911 Dispatcher, Consumer Products Customer Services Representative, Retail Services Personnel	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Undergraduate language majors
Intermediate High	1+	Create with language, initiate, maintain, and bring to a close simple conversations by asking and responding to simple questions.	Fire Fighter, Utilities Installer, Auto Inspector, Aviation Personnel, Missionary, Tour Guide	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Language learners following 6-8 year sequences of study (e.g., AP) or 4-6 semester college sequences
Intermediate Mid			Cashier, Sales Clerk (highly predictable contexts), Receptionist	
Intermediate Low	1			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Language learners following 4-year high school sequence or 2-semester college sequenceLanguage learners following an immersion language program in Grades K-6
Novice High	0+	Communicate minimally with formulaic and rote utterances, lists, and phrases.		<ul style="list-style-type: none">Language learners following content-based language program in Grades K-6
Novice Mid	0			<ul style="list-style-type: none">Language learners following 2 years of high school language study
Novice Low				

*The levels of proficiency associated with each of the positions above are minimal levels of oral proficiency based on task analyses. The minimal levels were determined by subject matter experts from companies and agencies who use ACTFL proficiency tests.

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Note. ACTFL (2015)

The goals of Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton are for students to reach the “Intermediate-low” level of speaking proficiency by the end of the first year, and to reach the Advanced-low level of speaking proficiency by the end of the second year, regardless of what level of speaking proficiency students had when they began the program. This means that for students with limited to no speaking proficiency, the goal is to increase their proficiency levels by four sublevels in the first year and three sublevels in the second year.

3.3.3 Target Group

In order to have the biggest impact for language revitalization, the ideal student body for the program is young adults between the ages of 16-30 who do not yet have children. This is

because they are more likely to succeed in the program due to less external responsibility such as children and careers, but also because they will reach Advanced level fluency before they have children and are therefore more likely to pass on the language to the next generation. However, this does not mean anyone who does not fit within those parameters should be explicitly excluded. Each program should set their own criteria. I recommend that students be selected based on 1) likelihood to succeed in the program (i.e., meet program expectations and achieve program goals); and 2) likelihood to contribute to and assimilate into the speech community after graduating.

Concerning the first criteria, it must be understood that student selection is unique in Indigenous communities, as additional barriers and challenges exist for Indigenous students, often rooted in past and present systemic socio-economic inequality and trauma associated with colonization and marginalization. Such added barriers should be considered when creating and administering admissions criteria, all while seeking to maintain integrity in admission standards. Multiple options are available to help predict the likelihood of student success in an adult immersion program. Of these, an individual's language learning aptitude should not be considered as indication of success in the program. Rather, focus should be placed on attempting to isolate students that are prepared to take on the challenging responsibility of being a full-time student in such an intensive learning environment, i.e., be able to attend class full-time, be punctual, and complete necessary program requirements. To aid in this, an entry test, as just one example, can be administered to students, requiring them to prepare for and pass to be granted entry into the program. A good example of this is the entry test used by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, which requires students to memorize commonly used pronominal prefixes, and pass an oral translation

test with a perfect score.⁵⁴ This type of entry test aims to reduce attrition, on the assumption that students who prepare for and pass the test will be more likely to complete the program.

In regards to the second criteria, assessing a student's likelihood of contributing to and assimilating into the speech community and thereby helping in the revitalization effort, is more challenging to measure. This is simply because it is merely impossible to predict the future choices and opportunities of students that complete the program. Students with seemingly lesser interest in contributing to "the cause" near the beginning of the program, for example, may develop an intense interest in doing so later on. However, a program can also consider requiring students to complete an admissions interview or a written statement of interest and intent, which help determine student suitability to the program. This is an established practice of the Ratiwennahní:rats program. Further eligibility or preference criteria can also be considered, such as age (i.e., younger adults), location of residence and employment (i.e., students who live and work in or near the community), and community membership status, among others. These additional preference criteria can furthermore be used to narrow student selection if more students apply than can be accepted. Because the adult immersion program is intended to contribute to the language revitalization system in the community, the program should avoid, to the extent possible, selecting students that are not likely to be a part of the cause within the community.

3.3.4 Support Personnel

Administratively, the program should consist of a lead administrator or program coordinator, an administrative assistant, a finance coordinator, and a board of directors. The responsibility of the program coordinator is to oversee the organization and implementation of the program. This consists of several duties such as drafting student handbooks and program policy,

⁵⁴ See <https://onkwawenna.info/programs/admissions/> for more information.

but most importantly in ensuring that resources and support are maintained and secured for present and future programming. This includes sourcing and securing internal and external funding and community support. Language communities with more fortunate circumstances may not need to focus as intensely on securing funding if they are able to locate a consistent, long-term stream of financial support. Unfortunately, however, most Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs, irrespective of their proven effectiveness, are still challenged in securing this type of secure, long-term funding.

The administrative assistant aids the program coordinator in daily tasks such as answering phones and e-mails, addressing general inquiries, monitoring student attendance, organizing and preparing student materials, and managing the office. The finance coordinator manages financial matters such as administering pay, stipends, allocating funding dollars and would potentially assist the program coordinator in obtaining and securing funding. The program coordinator should also report to an appointed board of directors who oversee program effectiveness, progress, and program policies. The board of directors may also be designated to deal with certain internal matters, for example, in overseeing and upholding program policy and rules such as student disciplinary matters, as well as overseeing student selection and admission standards.

Having a strong administrative body is necessary to ensure that the program can remain stable, but also to ensure that teachers remain focused on the responsibility of teaching and curriculum improvements, not being distracted by administrative matters, which will render them less effective in their teaching.

3.3.5 Instructors

Each cohort of students, usually ranging from ten to twenty students, should be taught by two full-time instructors. This means that if there are two simultaneously running cohorts (a first-

year class and a second-year class), there should be a total of four teachers. Ideally speaking, there should also be a full-time L1 speaker present as an auxiliary teacher and mentor, acting as an advisor while modeling authentic speech and aiding in curriculum development.

3.3.6 Quality and Quantity Input

3.3.6.1 Contact Hours

Generally, when it comes to adult acquisition of Indigenous languages, there is a lack of understanding regarding the amount of time actually needed for adults to reach an adequate level of speaking proficiency. For adult immersion programs, what stands out as being especially important is providing the necessary contact time of language instruction, something that has been unachievable in other programs, such as in tertiary programs, community classes, and even master-apprentice programs.

Wilson and Kamanā (2011) have indicated this regarding their experience with the Hawaiian language: “Success in developing high-level proficiency and skill in an Indigenous language is directly proportionate to its level of use and supportive framing in the school” (p. 51). Similarly, Carroll (1967) states that “the attainment of skill in a foreign language is a function of the amount of time spent in its study” (p. 137). Specific to adult Indigenous language learning in western Canada, McIvor (2015) has also noted that:

Learners typically need thousands of hours of exposure to a new language in order to reach the point of high functioning. Programs and instruction must have sufficient quality (real examples of communication, e.g., use of full sentences), duration (enough hours per week, per month, per year), and intensity (avoiding long gaps between learning and practicing) to allow learners to gain this necessary experience. Time is

often touted as the number one challenge for adult language learners, yet ironically sufficient time spent is the primary factor in successful language learning. (p. 41)

Students therefore must be exposed to the adequate quantity (hours) of quality input (high proficiency teachers and effective instructional approach) within a reasonable time (including limited gaps in programming deployment) to reach the level of functional proficiency required to use the language as a primary language within their everyday lives. This is aligned best with “Advanced-low” or higher using the ACTFL oral proficiency guidelines.

Language Testing International (LTI), based on research conducted by ACTFL and the Foreign Services Institute in the United States, estimates the number of hours required to reach differing levels of oral proficiency in foreign languages by native English speakers, shown in Table 11 (2022).

Table 11

Expected levels of performance by language difficulty

Language Difficulty	Hours of Training (Average Aptitude)	ACTFL Level
Group I Languages <i>Afrikaans, Danish, Dutch, French, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish, Swahili, Swedish, etc.</i>	240	Intermediate Mid
	480	Advanced Low
	720	Advanced High
Group II Languages <i>Bulgarian, Dari, Farsi, German, Greek, Hindi, Indonesian, Malay, Urdu, etc.</i>	480	Intermediate Mid/High
	720	Advanced Low/Mid
	1320	Advanced High/Superior
Group III Languages <i>Czech, Finnish, Hebrew, Hungarian, Nepali, Filipino, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Sinhala, Thai, Turkish, Vietnamese, etc.</i>	480	Intermediate Low/Mid
	720	Advanced Low
	1320	Advanced High
Group IV Languages <i>Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.</i>	480	Intermediate Low
	720	Intermediate Mid/High
	1320	Advanced Low

Note. Adapted from LTI (2022).

The table indicates levels of expected performance for foreign languages learners who are of “average aptitude”⁵⁵ that complete full-time/immersion, proficiency-based language programs (ILR, 2022). They have placed languages into four categories ranging in difficulty based on their typological and cultural differences from English. Indigenous languages, such as Kanien'kéha, are not included in these categories, but because of their extreme structural and cultural differences from English and often exceptionally intricate phonologies and grammars, as well as the few resources available for their learning and the limited opportunity for their use in natural settings, they likely fall within a category higher than category IV.

In Table 12, I estimate the time to reach differing levels of proficiency in Kanien'kéha and other Iroquoian languages by native English speakers in a proposed category V.

Table 12

Expected levels of performance for acquiring Iroquoian languages

Language Difficulty	Hours of Training (Average Aptitude)	ACTFL Level
Group V Languages Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), Onödowá'ga' (Seneca), On̄da'gegá' (Onondaga), On̄lyote'a:ká: (Oneida), Gayogohó:nq' (Cayuga), Skarù:rę' (Tuscarora)	1000	Intermediate Low
	1500	Intermediate Mid
	2000	Intermediate High/Advanced Low
	3000	Advanced Mid/High
	5000	Superior

⁵⁵ The original LTI table also includes estimated levels of performance by language learners that are considered to have “minimal aptitude” and “superior aptitude” (LTI, 2022). With this in mind, “average aptitude” can be understood as the average amount of time for a student to reach proficiency, taking into account other factors beyond aptitude that may also have an impact, such as prior linguistic experience and language learning, pedagogical approach, quality of input and teaching, access to language resources, opportunity to use the language in natural settings outside of the classroom, mental health and well-being, and socio-economic situation.

This aligns with the results of over twenty years of experience of the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and Ratiwennahní:rats programs. These programs have determined that it requires at least two school years, equal to approximately 35 weeks or 2000 hours of instruction, for L1 English speakers with limited to no previous knowledge of Kanien'kéha to reach an advanced level of proficiency. This is provided that the learning process is a contrived, full immersion, scaffolded, simple to complex structure with few lengthy gaps in programming deployment. It is important to note that this is without “travel abroad” opportunities that many tertiary foreign language programs depend on for students to be exposed to the required hours of language use, as this is not available for Kanien'kéha and other Indigenous languages. Overall, adult immersion programs should structure their programs in a way that allows for at least 1000 contact hours per year for two years to best ensure students have the opportunity to reach an advanced level of oral proficiency. Additional years in immersion or MAP would be beneficial to take students to an even higher level of proficiency.

3.3.6.2 Instructional Approach

An instructional approach is a theoretical view of how a language can be learned, containing principles and direction for the practical application of teaching methods. It gives rise to teaching methods, which are specific activities and techniques to be employed in the classroom. In many ways teaching methods are reflective of a particular view or approach to teaching. Here a general overview of the ideal instructional approach of Kanien'kéha in an adult immersion setting is given, rather than an exhaustive explanation of method. This is for two primary reasons. Firstly, teaching and learning approaches and methods of Iroquoian languages have largely been detailed by others (Green, 2018; Green & Maracle, 2018), and secondly, despite the demonstrated successes of certain methods, I hope to dissuade practitioners from focusing on “one magical method” (Kumaravadivelu, 2016, p. 164). I hope to encourage instructors and program directors

to re-evaluate their assumptions regarding language teaching and learning of their Indigenous language as well as to adopt a mentality of “reflective practice” (Schön, 1983) whereby instructors experiment with different methods within their unique program circumstances to achieve better results.

The instructional approach in Kanien’kéha adult immersion should largely be a combination of structural approaches (Ellis, 1993; Genc, 2018), which has in some Kanien’kéha teaching circles come to be known as the “root-word method”, with communicative language teaching approaches (CLT) (Spada, 2006). For Kanien’kehá:ka employing adult immersion currently, this has largely been determined through years of trial and error and independent linguistic investigation, yet it is also supported by current SLA literature which largely points to this type of combination, where “focus on form”, a structural approach, is combined strategically with a meaning-based CLT approach, as most effective for adult L2 acquisition (Spada, 2011; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). This blending of approaches is necessary for expediting adult student acquisition of the complex nature of a polysynthetic language like Kanien’kéha (the role of a structural approach), all while ensuring acquisition of meaningful, accurate language, that is both prosodically and pragmatically authentic (the role of a CLT approach).

Structural approaches are generally concerned with noticing, focusing on, and mastering grammatical forms, rules, and structures. They are grounded in the notion that language is a complex of grammatical rules or structures, which are to be learned in a set order. Wilkins (1976) describes a structural approach as “one in which the different parts of the language are taught separately and step-by-step so that acquisition is a process of gradual accumulation of the parts until the whole of the language has been built up” (p. 2). A structural approach should serve an important role in informing the scope and sequencing of the Kanien’kéha adult immersion syllabus

and curriculum, whereby they are designed according to the grammatical features of Kanien'kéha, arranged in a simple to complex fashion according to the structure of Kanien'kéha, rather than according to the structure of English, French, or other Indo-European language.

One can appreciate the great utility of “focusing on form” (Lightbown & Spada, 2013) in this way for Kanien'kéha and Indigenous languages in general, where attention is brought to the internal structure of noun and verb morphology (i.e., the grammar), allowing adults to recognize patterns of allomorphy, thereby simplifying and expediting acquisition. Cullen (2008) describes this as a “liberating force” in adult language acquisition, stating that it “...generally enables us to communicate with a degree of precision not available to the learner with only a minimal command of the system” (p. 221). Cullen (2008) further states that “without any grammar, the learner is forced to rely exclusively on lexis and the immediate context, combined with gestures, intonation and other prosodic and non-verbal features, to communicate his/her intended meaning” (p. 222).

For this to be manifested within teaching methods, however, instructors and curriculum developers must not only have high proficiency in the target language, but also have a certain level of metalinguistic cognition to recognize and understand the range of basic structural complexities that exist within the polysynthetic nature of Kanien'kéha. This is also why L2 instructors have largely proven most effective in adult immersion, as they naturally develop a certain degree of metalinguistic knowledge simply from the act of acquiring the language themselves - something that is much rarer in L1 speakers. It also explains why L1 speakers are best suited to being auxiliary teachers, advisors and mentors in the classroom, employed full- or part-time, to model authentic speech, correct errors, and aid in curriculum development - all tasks that are more aligned with a CLT approach.

This does not mean, however, that instructors need to be formally trained linguists, but instead just require the following two criteria: 1) recognize morpheme boundaries and know the difference between morphologically simple versus morphologically complex words; and 2) know that not everything that seems simple in English is easy to describe in Kanien'kéha. Regarding the first criteria, this means, for example, that short words are not necessarily structurally simple, nor does it mean that long words are necessarily complex. This is shown in example (6), where *téntke'*, a two-syllable word, contains six morphemes, and *ionkwanonnawen'towá:nen*, an eight-syllable word, contains just three morphemes.

(6) a) A short yet morphologically complex word

téntke'
 t-en-t-k-e'
 REP-FUT-CIS-1SG.AGT-go-PUNC
 'I will come back'

b) A long yet morphologically simple word

ionkwanonnawen'towá:nen
 ionkwa-nonnawen't-owanen
 1PL.PAT-pipe-large
 'We have a large pipe'

In this case, there is a significant risk that the untrained teacher or learner will assume that shorter words are easier to acquire, even though the opposite may in fact be true. Furthermore, the word with greater morpheme density is not just more challenging to acquire because of the quantity of morphemes in this single utterance, but because there is extensive allomorphy of each morpheme, their use being dictated by their respective environments. This means that *téntke'*, albeit quite simple to pronounce, actually has several hundred possible morpheme combinations that a student must master in order to communicate fully and effectively, indicating why a structural approach to verb (and noun) acquisition is integral to Kanien'kéha acquisition.

The second criteria that is important for instructors to know is that words, sentences or phrases that seem simple in English may have a Kanien'kéha equivalent with high morphological complexity. A sentence such as 'I went shopping', for example, may seem relatively simple in English and therefore worth learning in early stages, however, such an utterance is quite complex in Kanien'kéha, containing six different morphemes, as seen in (7).

- (7) *wakatkehrontakohòn:ne*
 wak-at-kehront-ako-hon-hne
 1SG.PAT-SRFL-peddle-REV-STAT.PERF-RMT
 'I went shopping'

With this in mind, it is important for the syllabus to begin with language that has relatively simple internal structure or perhaps even with words that have no inflection at all, such as particles, as long as they can be used to create meaningful and "compelling" (Krashen et al., 2017) utterances. For Kanien'kéha, this is possible, as shown in (8).

- (8) Simple particle utterances
 Wá:ri: Raónha.
him
 Só:se: Ónhka ne raónha?
Who is he?
 Wá:ri: Sewátis ne raónha.
He is JOHN
 Só:se: Raónha ken ne Sewátis?
HE is John?
 Wá:ri: Iah. Iah raónha té:ken ne Sewátis.
No. HE is not John.
 Só:se: Tóka' iah raónha té:ken ne Sewátis, ónhka ne Sewátis?
If HE isn't John, who is John?

Over time, simple verbs and nouns can be introduced to create more complex utterances, as shown in (9).

- (9) Adding simple verbs to increase utterance complexity
 Só:se: Satierièn:tare ken ónhka ne raónha?
Do you know who he is?
 Wá:ri: Hen. Wakaterièn:tare ónhka ne raónha.

Yes. I know who he is.

Beyond the verbal complex, a simple to complex syllabus can also be created by restricting tense, aspect, mood, and verb and noun inflection. For Kanien'kéha, utterances can be restricted, for example, to the "present tense" or "stative aspect" in early stages of learning, allowing students to focus more on acquiring basic verb and noun structure, which all include a pronominal prefix, a root, and a suffix. When building understanding of this simple structure, students develop a better "sense" of the language and are therefore less likely to perceive every new form as a separate word (Richards & Maracle, 2002).

Students come to understand early that, for example, pronominal prefixes, which indicate person, gender, number, and relationship (agent, patient, transitive), are required in any utterance that includes nouns or verbs, and therefore how integral learning pronominal prefixes is in furthering acquisition. Students furthermore come to understand that learning affixes and their patterns of allomorphy is an important tool for expediting vocabulary expansion.

Such restricted utterances can grow into significant discourse, as shown in an English equivalent in (10), which represents what students can be expected to say after approximately one year of adult immersion.

(10) Discourse restricted by tense and aspect

My name is Ryan DeCaire. I am from Wáhta Mohawk Territory, I am Mohawk, and I am 35 years old. My parents are Maria and the late Raymond DeCaire. My mother is still alive, but my father is passed away. They were not married. My mother was a housekeeper, and my father was a cranberry farmer. My mother is not a Mohawk speaker, and neither was my father. My mother is still living in the same house today. I have four siblings, three older brothers and one older sister. Two of them are still alive and two are passed away. I am now grown up and I am teaching Mohawk language. I really like my job and I am very happy.

At first years' end, students can be expected to speak relatively comfortably on diverse topics all day long in the language, albeit still restricted in many areas. Complexity is then furthered by

introducing different tense, aspect, verbal and noun inflections, and particles, transforming such discourse, as shown in an English equivalent in (11), which represents something that students can be expected to say after approximately two years of adult immersion.

(11) Discourse with fewer tense and aspect restrictions

My name is Ryan. I was born in Wáhta Mohawk Territory 35 years ago. My mother is Maria H., and my father was the late Raymond D. My father died in a car accident when I was only three years old and, as a result, my mother had to raise me on her own. I didn't start learning Kanien'kéha until I turned 21 years old even though I was raised on the reserve. It seems like yesterday, but 14 years have already passed since then. I thought I would have been able to learn it all in just 2 years, but now I realize I will always be learning new things. I am excited to keep on learning and to eventually pass the language on to my future children so that it will be easier for them to speak the language and so that we can work together to strengthen the use of the language within our community. I never would have thought I would be this happy to do the work that I am doing.

As shown in (10) and (11) students can progress from being able to talk about how things “are” to being able to describe actions or events in all major aspects and tenses with all their complexities.

Students effectively can progress from using one simple verb to building complexity over time by adding different verb and noun affixes tailored to their specific situation. (12) shows how this complexity is built using different affixes with one verb example, *to buy something*:

(12) Building verbal complexity

enhahní:non'	<i>he will buy it</i>
enhatenhní:non'	<i>he will sell it</i>
ienhahní:non'	<i>he will buy it there</i>
enshahní:non'	<i>he will buy it again</i>
ienshahní:non'	<i>he will buy it there again</i>
enhahninónnion'	<i>he will buy many things</i>
enshahninónnion'	<i>he will buy many things again</i>
ienshahninónnion'	<i>he will buy many things again there</i>
enhatsi'tsahní:non'	<i>he will buy flowers</i>
enhshakohní:non'se'	<i>he will buy it for her</i>
enhshakotsi'tsahní:non'se'	<i>he will buy flowers for her</i>
ienhshakotsi'tsahní:non'se'	<i>he will buy flowers for her there</i>
ensehshakotsi'tsahní:non'se'	<i>he will buy flowers for her again</i>
iensehshakotsi'tsahní:non'se'	<i>he will buy flowers for her there again</i>

ensehshakotsi'tsahninon'sè:ra' *he will go buy flowers for her again*
 tentehshakotsi'tsahninon'sè:ra' *he will come back to buy flowers for her*

This approach, as stated previously, has become known in certain circles as the “root-word method”, for teaching and learning polysynthetic languages - an approach that breaks down whole words into their meaningful parts (morphemes) and teaches students the morphophonological patterns for creating new words on their own.

The premise of the “root-word method” approach is that it is more efficient to learn patterns for word creation than learning individual words without “noticing” (Ellis, 2009) their internal structure. Students develop the capacity to create with the language rather than exhausting themselves in a pursuit to memorize a virtually infinite number of words, which polysynthetic languages like Kanien'kéha, arguably have. Green and Maracle (2018) also describe the “root-word method” as a:

...method of organizing (1) the documentation, classification, and categorization of the lexicon, syntax, and morphology of a polysynthetic language, syntax, and morphology of a polysynthetic language documentation, classification, and categorization of the lexicon, syntax, and morphology of a polysynthetic language; and (2) the teaching and learning of polysynthetic languages wherein learners acquire the morphology and syntax of the target language in a predictable order. Learners increase their ability to independently produce and generate words and sentences exponentially by learning morphological and syntactic patterns instead of memorizing hundreds of thousands of solitary words and word combinations. Learners acquire fluency quickly and are able to communicate effectively across all domains. (p.146)

With this approach, students build meta-linguistic awareness progressively over the length of the program. How this ordering of simple to complex structural features in the language is actually

organized in a curriculum for the second-year of a Kanien'kéha adult immersion program is displayed in Section 2 of this dissertation.

Yet, the use of “root-word method” or structural based approaches does not necessarily result in an ability to speak the language well. For adults to benefit from such explicit grammatical instruction (DeKeyser, 2012), it must also be strategically delivered within a communicative environment, thus combining it with a CLT approach. This is because research (Cook, 2016; Larsen-Freeman & Tedick, 2016; Lightbown & Spada, 2013), as well as years of trial and error delivering adult immersion, shows that exclusive use of structurally grounded methods, such as memorizing grammar rules through oral drills, chart creation, and pattern practice, or the exclusive use of CLT grounded methods, such as roleplays, reporting and storying telling, is ineffective for L2 acquisition.

CLT places focus on meaning and communicative competence (Hymes, 1972) rather than linguistic or grammatical competence, delivered by engaging students through relevant and compelling communicative activities and tasks. It recognizes that being a “speaker” of a language is made up of much more than having the knowledge of grammar, but also the knowledge of how a language is actually used (functional and pragmatic language use), which requires learners to also develop comprehension skills, communicative ability, vocabulary knowledge, and communicative confidence (Spada, 2011; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). When delivered in this communicative environment, while giving opportunity to “strategically focus on form” (Benson, *in press*), adult L2 acquisition is optimized (Spada, 2011).

3.3.7 Assessments and Evaluation

A working adult immersion program must have mechanisms in place to assess student performance, and by extension, evaluate program efficacy. Student assessments must be informed

by the goals of the program, as well as the length of time required to achieve such goals⁵⁶. If students are reaching the goals set out by the program, it is reasonable to assume that the program is performing well. As adult immersion programs are intended to “create speakers”, the goal of the program should be for students to reach the lowest speaking proficiency level described in the ACTFL oral proficiency guidelines whereby the student is able to functionally use the language as a primary language within their everyday lives. Therefore, assessments must be used to measure or indicate student progress in achieving spoken proficiency. For a well-functioning program, assessment of students should occur at two different levels - during study (formative assessments), and upon exit (summative assessments). These assessments serve different roles in contributing to the efficacy of the overall program.

3.3.7.1 Formative Assessment

In an adult immersion program, formative assessments should be conducted throughout the year to determine ongoing student and program performance. They also give the program time to conduct “check-ins” with individual students, where students can voice their challenges and concerns related to their time in the program. There are several different ways to design and conduct such formative assessments. They need not be an exhaustive means of measuring student proficiency, as that should be the role of year-end summative assessments, but rather serve as an indicator of how well students are progressing through the planned scope and sequencing of the program, allowing teachers to make changes or interventions to increase student and program success.

An example of a well-established formative assessment in adult immersion is that used by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, where students are given a cumulative oral translation test upon

⁵⁶ See section 3.3.2 for more detail on program goals and required contact hours.

completion of each program unit, of which there are twelve throughout the first year. The test is split into two halves, with the first half requiring students to translate Kanien'kéha utterances into English, thereby measuring their oral comprehension, and the second half requiring students to translate English utterances into Kanien'kéha, thereby measuring their oral accuracy in output. It is expected that students achieve a better score on the first half of the test, as they should have greater comprehension skill than speaking ability. If students are unable to pass a certain unit, they must re-attempt the test until they pass. If a student is unable to pass all unit tests by the end of their associated semester, students will be dismissed from the program, but be deemed eligible to return to the program in a future cohort. This encourages students to stay on top of their studying or make changes to their studying habits and strategies. It also helps to promote continued progress through the sequencing of the program. Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton adult immersion in Ahkwesáhsne is also currently experimenting with similar oral translation tests, but incorporating greater opportunity for natural conversation, rather than strict one-to-one translation.

To date, it has been challenging to formalize exactly what types of formative assessments are best practice as there are benefits and drawbacks. I encourage program directors and instructors to continually review their practices for best results.

3.3.7.2 Summative Assessment

In an adult immersion program, summative assessments should be used to measure student spoken proficiency (i.e., what they can do) in the language, rather than just a sum total of formative assessments. In effect, summative assessments should be the major indicator of student success and program efficacy. In a program that is two school years in length, such summative assessments should be conducted at the end of each year. Doing so more than this would be unproductive as it is time intensive for the evaluator and a significant period of time needs to pass in order to see a change in proficiency.

The assessment should be completed using a formal ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), a one-on-one interview that rates student proficiency performance according to the ACTFL proficiency guidelines. To conduct an OPI, teachers and/or program staff must receive OPI tester training for English directly from ACTFL, although external testers can be hired as long as they have such training and the necessary level of spoken proficiency in the language.⁵⁷

Presently, almost all Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs use the OPI as a summative assessment. As mentioned previously, the goals of the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton programs are for students to reach the “Intermediate-low” level of speaking proficiency by the end of the first year, and the “Advanced-low” level of speaking proficiency by the end of the second year, regardless of what level of speaking proficiency students had when they began the program. This means that for a student that begins the program with limited to zero spoken proficiency, the goal is to increase their level by four sublevels in the first year and three sublevels in the second year.⁵⁸ All adult immersion programs in general should strive for similar targets. The program should consider dropping students from the program that do not meet the “Intermediate-low” target of the first-year and be given the opportunity to repeat the first year. Finally, programs should keep a strong record of OPI assessment ratings to be used in comparative analyses between cohorts, and to use to garner internal and external community funding and support.

3.3.8 Program Policies

3.3.8.1 Classroom Rules and Student Conduct

A student handbook, which includes a code of conduct, and an attendance and late policy, should be developed to describe the responsibilities of students in contributing to a successful and

⁵⁷ See <https://www.actfl.org/assessment-research-and-development/tester-rater-certifications/opi-tester-certification> for information on ACTFL OPI tester training and certification.

⁵⁸ See section 3.3.2.1 for more information on the ACTFL proficiency guidelines.

respectful learning environment, as well as to describe disciplinary measures for students that are not consistency upholding such responsibilities (i.e. being unpunctual or absent). It is recommended that students sign such a handbook to remind them of their commitment to the success of the program.

Students should be discouraged and perhaps even penalized for using English within the walls of the classroom, even during 'breaks'. If the students wish to conduct personal business or phone calls in English, they should leave the room and do so in privacy. This encourages students to maintain the classroom/school as a language domain and build relationships with teachers and other students exclusively in the language. There is a likelihood that students will default to English if this rule is not explicitly stated and upheld.

Programs should also be designed in a way that highly discourages absence beyond what is necessary due to illness and bereavement. This is especially important not only because significant time away from the classroom will negatively impact the progress of the absent student, but because it will also negatively impact the rest of the class, as the absent student will likely hold back the progress of the class that has been in regular attendance. Well-designed entry requirements, discussed previously, will also help ensure that students with the capacity to attend class full-time, be punctual, and complete necessary program requirements are selected for the program.

3.3.8.2 Student Stipends/Pay

Students are employed as full-time students, being present for at least thirty hours per week. This means that students must be compensated for their time as it would be near impossible for them to hold additional full-time jobs outside of school hours, especially for students with dependants. Students are therefore more like employees rather than conventional students that pay tuition. The program administration must determine the most appropriate remuneration for

students, ideally not lower than minimum-wage. Students being paid for attendance is a distinguishing feature of adult immersion programs.

3.3.9 Location and Environment

All adult immersion programs should be housed within a space that accommodates at least one or two classrooms (two classrooms for two simultaneously running cohorts), office space for administrators and instructors, and a communal space for natural language use, such as a common area or kitchen. Having a kitchen and dining table where all students are required to eat together creates a space where natural communication can take place. During official class time, the teaching methods and activities can begin to feel contrived, unnatural, and impersonal, but sitting down for a meal together every day encourages relationship building. The importance of this space should not be dismissed. Students can talk about the things they are most interested in, share about their daily lives, and will ultimately discover what vocabulary and grammar they lack. They will be forced to use the language to participate in a conversation, and not just rely on memorized words or phrases. Finally, the physical space of the school and classroom should be optimized to include pictures, posters, and signage in the language that encourages students to learn and reinforce vocabulary.

Ideally, the immersion space would include a complimentary program for children such as a language nest. They would have a separate space and classroom, with their own facilitators. This would help foster intergenerational transmission and reclaiming the home as a domain for using the language. It would also be highly beneficial for those, especially women, who cannot attend immersion full-time or end up dropping out because they lack childcare.

Although it seems self-evident, it should be explicitly stated that the school is a domain of complete immersion. The spaces in which the adult immersion program is housed should not only

be seen as a place for teaching and learning the language, but also as a domain within the community where the target language is the sole language of use. For many Indigenous communities, such a domain may no longer exist, or be limited to ceremonial events, which renders this especially important. Establishing the language as the medium of interaction among students is critical, as it provides greater time in the language while also working to promote the language as the primary language of use within their peer group outside of the classroom. This will only further solidify the school as a domain within the community that people can trust that exclusive use of the language will be used.

The instructors, therefore, should be using the language as their sole language of interaction among themselves and with students both in and outside of the program, and although it may not be possible at initial stages of development for certain language communities, administration of the program, such as in conducting meetings, should also be conducted through the language, meaning that people in administrative positions should also have proficiency in the language. This sets a strong example to students and the community, working to create a culture whereby students, administration, and instructors identify with each other by exclusive use of the language. It also works to create a clear division between English use domains and Indigenous language use domains, discouraging use of English within the structural confines of the program and also with associated people outside of the program's premises, requiring less of a need to create and enforce rules against English language use.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

4.1 Challenges and Opportunities for Adult Immersion

As successful as adult immersion programs are proving to be in creating highly proficient L2 speakers of Kanien'kéha and thereby contributing to the Kanien'kéha revitalization effort, this is not without challenges, limitations, and areas for improvement. Most of the challenges and limitations, when considered thoroughly, are noticeably not faults of the adult immersion concept, but rather more linked to the vitality situation of the language and the inadequacies of their underpinning support systems. These challenges often simultaneously present certain opportunities, both of which are explored below.

4.1.1 Funding and Support

As discussed previously, adult immersion is acting as the primary mechanism for populating all other structures and interventions that make up the Kanien'kéha revitalization system. Yet, securing adequate, long-term, and stable funding sources is still their greatest challenge. Adult immersion programs struggle with securing funding support largely for the systemic reason that they exist outside of conventional education and language learning pathways where funding is already established and developed. They exist outside of these conventional pathways because students are neither conventional students attending post-secondary classes 10 to 20 hours a week, nor are they full-time employees. Because of this, there are few established funding pathways that will provide adequate funding for long-term stability and continued development of adult immersion programs. Furthermore, many in control of potential funding sources often lack an understanding of the value and efficacy of adult immersion programs to language revitalization, with funding dollars going to less effective language revitalization

initiatives. What this means is that most adult immersion programs are operating with budgets below what is needed to create and maintain their foundational components as well as operate at optimal levels.

Adult immersion programs, in fact, often run on such low budgets that administrators and teachers need to take on multiple positions simultaneously (i.e., teachers simultaneously working to administrate programs, locate program funding, provide support to challenged students, engage community stakeholders, do required outreach, and research and plan for future programing, to name just a few jobs), while also agreeing to do so at pitifully low salaries. Adding to this, some full-time immersion teachers seek additional employment outside of regular work hours to accommodate for such low wages. Unfortunately, there is a pervasive negative attitude in Indigenous communities regarding language revitalization - that one should accept a lower standard of living or “make sacrifices” in service of “the cause”. The people who shame immersion teachers for advocating for fair pay are certainly not the ones who are making the sacrifice themselves, and usually are not speakers of the language.

Even though almost all teachers of Kanien’kéha adult immersion programs are some of the most proficient L2 speakers in their respective communities, with many of them also having bachelors, masters, or teaching degrees, most teachers are being asked to make a choice between working at the immersion program or seeking employment elsewhere with a more appropriate living wage along with additional employment benefits, such as in outside tertiary institutions. This is referred to as “poaching”, or “brain drain”, whereby the most valuable language revitalization practitioners and teachers with high proficiency are hired by outside institutions to do work that contributes much less to language revitalization. For adult immersion programs to be more successful, giving staff the necessary time and resources to strengthen the program and

engage in professional development, and to be taken more seriously, accessing a steady stream of funding dollars to pay teachers and administrators for their worth is critical. Something more closely aligned with the remuneration and employment packages of professors in related fields (i.e., Indigenous studies, linguistics, education) in nearby tertiary institutions would be a more appropriate target for adult immersion teachers and administrators.

The lack of adequate funding support for the student body is equally as burdensome on the adult immersion program. Because it is required that students attend full-time, they must be compensated for their time in order to survive. Without compensation, most students have to seek employment outside of class hours, which is hardly doable, especially for students with dependents (especially women) or greater economic insecurity. In addition, students are expected to study outside of school hours so they reinforce their language in the real world, but they cannot do so if they are working in the evenings and weekends.

All current adult immersion programs are compensating students, although usually below minimum wage standards. If programs were able to compensate students more substantially, students would have a greater capacity to focus on the needs and requirements of the program (i.e., learning the language), rather than exhausting much of such energy towards ensuring survival. Funding provided by Band and Tribal governments to those enrolled in university or college courses is not awarded to those who attend adult immersion programs. Students are also not eligible for education loan programs such as the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP), in Ontario.

Adult immersion programs have attempted to address funding challenges by considering working with and/or within nearby tertiary institutions to attach their programs to already established post-secondary funding pathways. Essentially, if adult immersion programs could be

housed within an accredited tertiary institution, much of what is required to run a program (salaries and administration costs) could be the responsibility of the tertiary institution and greater financial resources could be more available to students. This would provide greater program stability, as long as the program is able to maintain a certain autonomy over program operations and design while not being pressured to compromise on what makes it effective in order to satisfy the needs of the tertiary institution. Far too often, when programs explore partnerships with tertiary institutions, this possible reality is a discouraging factor. Tertiary institutions, and especially programs within such institutions that are seeking to aid in Indigenous language revitalization (such as Indigenous studies, linguistics, and teacher education) should be exploring ways by which they can partner with adult immersion programs to address this challenge, thereby having a more meaningful impact on Indigenous language revitalization. Adult immersion programs and tertiary institutions can mutually benefit, as adult immersion programs could be strong research sites or lab schools - informing both practical and theoretical aspects of adult Indigenous language acquisition, an area of research that is highly underdeveloped within the literature. This may require political changes within the institution, but also externally, such as the ministries of education in Ontario and Quebec, to allow for such partnerships to be more easily established. To create greater financial stability, Kanien'kéha adult immersion programs should also consider exploring working in partnership with one another, such as in establishing an adult immersion consortium, as well as working with other established community institutions, such as language nests and elementary immersion schools. An adult immersion consortium would bring together every Kanien'kéha adult immersion program to share knowledge and experience to create greater program stability and efficacy in creating speakers. Part of such work would be in raising awareness about the importance and efficacy of adult immersion, as well as in garnering internal

community and external support - doing so as an incorporated body may prove to be more successful than with programs working on their own. Furthermore, programs can consider working together with language nests and elementary immersion programs in their respective communities. Rather than competing for already limited funding dollars, working together can help establish and strengthen the Kanien'kéha revitalization system, especially when bodies are mutually reinforcing, with language nests providing adult immersion students with childcare, and elementary schools being a source or future employment for adult immersion graduates.

4.1.2 Speaking Authenticity and Attrition

One of the most legitimate criticisms, concerns, and limitations of adult immersion programs today is that of authenticity⁵⁹, especially related to instructional approach and student performance. It is quite often believed that graduates of adult immersion graduates speak a “corrupted” version of Kanien'kéha, lacking adequate proficiency, influenced by the English language and colonial worldview. This is similar to what is noticed by Wong (1999) regarding Hawaiian: “It is often the case that new speakers' utterances are generated by a desire to express English thoughts, thoughts that Hawaiian native speakers might never have had reason to express” (p. 95).

Generally, what is being referred to in the Kanien'kéha situation is linguistic form, grammar, prosody, pronunciation, pragmatic use, and cultural relevance and expression of traditional values. Examples of this include the overuse of calques, challenges in using correct idiomatic expressions and figures of speech, limited knowledge of correct pragmatics (such as

⁵⁹ A discussion of “authenticity” as it relates to language and culture revitalization is quite established in sub-fields of linguistics, namely sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, language variation and change, linguistic anthropology, and other fields such as anthropology, cultural studies, and Indigenous studies (Hinton & Ahlers, 1999; Wong; 1999; Dorian, 1994; O'Rourke et al., 2015; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

polite language and intercultural awareness), inaccurate or inappropriate use of noun-incorporation, and morpheme combinations that sound “robotic” or “out of place.” In certain cases, utterances are formed correctly by following grammatical rules, but deviate from what would be authentically spoken by L1 speakers. Additionally, students are prone to prosodic and pronunciation errors, such as in the production of proper tone, glottal stops, aspiration, and cadence. Largely this is caused by an overdependence on structural approaches to teaching and learning (i.e., root-word method), and due to the influence of English and the lack of exposure to authentic L1 speech inside and outside of the program.

What this means is that although adult immersion is creating new speakers with relatively high oral proficiency, they lack proficiency compared to L1 speakers. If the goal of an adult immersion program was for students to graduate with L1-like proficiency, this would be an indication of an inability to reach such goal; however, this is not the case. Adult immersion programs currently do not have the goal of creating new L2 speakers with L1-like proficiency, but rather have the goal of getting them to a proficiency level where they are able to use it as primary language within their everyday lives. Upon the completion of an adult immersion program, it is expected that learners continue in their journey to become even better speakers, getting closer to near-native proficiency while also using and creating language that is relevant to them. This would be accomplished by spending more time with L1 speakers and sharing in their journey with other language learners, thus creating a new authentic experience. Support for students after graduation is needed for them to continue to become more firmly integrated into the speech community after graduation and more likely to maintain and increase proficiency.

Programs can address these challenges by: 1) increasing exposure to authentic L1 speech used within a multiplicity of domains and registers either in person or in documented form inside

and outside of the classroom; 2) better integrating methods grounded in a communicative approach which mimic more authentic language use tasks and functions; 3) increasing program contact time to more than 2000 hours; and 4) helping future graduates secure consistent language exposure and opportunity for use, such as through MAP, after graduation.

Certain adult immersion programs are currently attempting to address these challenges through these means. Deserving special recognition is the *Ratiwennókwaw Project*⁶⁰ conducted by Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na - a “documentation for revitalization” project, which has been documenting authentic L1 speech to be used in the development of curriculum suitable for any level of Kanien'kéha learner. Of special interest of the project is advanced level language, targeting adult immersion students and graduates experiencing the aforementioned proficiency challenges.

Concerning the issue of authenticity, it must finally be mentioned that even with improved L2 proficiency to something nearing closer to what we expect from authentic L1 language, it is misguided to believe that language change could, or should, be thwarted all together. Far too often those with more conservative attitudes regarding the authenticity of L2 language use and quality fail to recognize that even current L1 language would be different from their ancestors a few hundred years prior. They also fail to recognize that what may be called “pure” language or language “untouched” by English was also shaped by interactions with other languages prior to European arrival. The language has been changing, and one factor that has changed it is people becoming new speakers of it, but this does not mean we one should abandon the language entirely because of such change.

⁶⁰ See <https://tto-kenhteke.org/ratiwennokwas/> for more information on the Ratiwennókwaw project and to explore its entire documentation catalogue.

Due to the constant nature of change of human languages and cultures, and arguably anything in the natural environment, such purist attitudes are problematic. With this in mind, the design and implementation of language revitalization strategies, ought to be looked at as a balancing act between being grounded in the past and being innovative and transformative (DeCaire, et. al., 2021). This is closer to a process of “authentication” described by Bucholtz and Hall (2004), rather than being in the state of definitive authenticity or purity. In effect, this gives us permission to not only accept change, as we always have, even prior to European arrival, but to understand it as something positive that, when balanced with a grounding in retrospection, is necessary for the survival of Kanien'kéha. Dorian (1994) reminds us of this: “Purity need not be a requirement for persistence, and compromise need not be the death knell, for small languages any more than for larger ones” (p. 492).

4.1.3 Student Challenges

Because study in an adult immersion program is so intense, it is important that students receive the necessary support in order to have fewer distractions away from meeting requirements and demands of the program. Contrary to common belief, arguably the biggest barrier to students in completing adult immersion program requirements and, by extension, becoming speakers, is not that they are past the supposed “critical period” (Singleton, 2005; Long, 2013) for language learning, but rather because Indigenous students are disproportionately disadvantaged. Because of this disadvantage, students are more likely to be distracted, rendering them unable to take advantage of the quality and quantity of instructional input afforded to them. This means that although there is large agreement in the literature that age of first exposure is a strong predictor of acquisition (Cook, 2016), the quality and quantity of input and exposure is likely a stronger predictor than age (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Therefore, creating a learning environment where

students have fewer distractions, and therefore greater mental clarity, focus, and motivation, thereby increasing quality and quality of input and exposure, is key to student success.

This is a tricky task for adult immersion programs because Indigenous students are more likely to experience socio-economic inequality and psychological challenges associated with present and historical trauma and marginalization due to colonization (RCAP, 1996). Servicing an Indigenous population therefore, inherently, requires special attention paid toward the mental health and socio-economic well-being of students to better ensure their success in the program. Unfortunately, this is even more challenging if adult immersion programs are underfunded, which most are, as teachers and administrators are often already spread thin, and unable to address all pressures and obstacles experienced by students. Under-resourced programs are exploring innovative ways to address these student challenges, such as in strengthening the student selection process (i.e., choosing students that better understand program requirements and are more prepared for program demands), as well as advocating for greater funding to increase student stipends, and make available greater professional support to address mental health challenges.

4.2 Closing Thoughts

What happens if one generation stops transmitting a language to the next? You end up in the situation of Kanien'kéha, where despite withstanding hundreds of years of colonization, including land theft, genocide, war, and starvation, only 2.1% of our community members now speak the language at Advanced levels. This happened because the theft of our children, who are now grandparents and great-grandparents, and forced placement in residential schools almost completely severed intergenerational transmission. The last generation, born between the 1940s and 1960s, were therefore not raised in Kanien'kéha. We have been working ever since to restore it. Our immersion programs are woefully underfunded, our immersion teachers often have limited

job security, no benefits and meagre salaries where it is not uncommon to have to work second jobs to survive. Despite all the roadblocks, Kanien'kehá:ka are resilient. We know the path forward is to restore intergenerational transmission if we want our language and unique culture to survive.

Intergenerational transmission is important to consider because it is a key indicator, if not the most important indicator, of a “healthy” language. Without it, and without any measures to mend it, it is just a matter of time for the language to completely fall out of use by everyone, where it will become just a distant memory. We do not intend to let that happen. Language revitalization is much more difficult once the link is broken and it gets even harder the more generations removed the language becomes, as the community sinks deeper and deeper into the use of the dominant colonizing language, with the functions of their societies and the transfer of their unique knowledge further detaching from the Indigenous language.

Indigenous people have been trying to fix this problem for some time now whilst trying to overcome the many barriers. They have been creating community language revitalization plans, elementary immersion programs for children, community night classes, university courses, dictionaries, teaching grammars, apps, and much more, all while doing their best to be grounded in their own pedagogies, epistemologies, and worldviews, as well as evolving research in socio and applied linguistics, namely as they relate to language acquisition, language teaching pedagogies, language revitalization, and knowledge transmission.

Kanien'kehá:ka have significant experience with this, as they have been engaged in an ongoing Kanien'kéha revitalization movement since the late 1970s. But, even when considering this and the accomplishments and victories that much of the work has produced during this time, now over forty-five years, it has been rare to see the creation of speakers, child or adult, first-language or second-language, who can use the language as a primary language in their everyday

lives. People need to speak a language for revitalization occur, and most programs, strategies, and interventions in Kanien'kehá:ka communities have been challenged at creating speakers who have the oral proficiency needed to restore intergenerational transmission and recreate a self-sustaining speech community.

Rarely have speakers been produced and even more rarely have the ingredients needed for a speech community been created. This is likely due to assumptions about what is required for individuals to become proficient speakers, leading to overestimations in expected outcomes, but also limited forethought regarding the goals and purpose of any intervention, with many interventions not being grounded in any explicit goal at all, let alone the goals of creating proficiency and mending intergenerational transmission. Additionally, there has been minimal consideration for the fact that language revitalization, being dependent on the decisions of people and the communities that they make up, requires a change in society. Although a change in the “outside” society, i.e., non-native Canadian and American society, is helpful, a change in Indigenous societies is especially important, as the status quo in Kanien'kehá:ka communities over the past forty-five years has struggled to meaningfully reverse the language decline. Up until more recently, community strategic plans, for example, rarely have included language revitalization as a key and necessary pillar among other important matters in Kanien'kehá:ka communities.

Without a mechanism for producing proficient L2 speakers of Kanien'kéha, we would likely witness the complete loss of the language within the next few generations. Luckily, for Kanien'kehá:ka, this is now much less likely due to the creation and implementation of adult immersion programs. Even though these programs indeed have certain shortcomings that can be improved upon, they are the driving force behind the creation of highly proficient new speakers. These speakers are strengthening the system of revitalization structures in Kanien'kehá:ka

communities, bringing the language back into the home and using it primarily within and between peer groups and throughout a diversity of other domains in community. This is something that has not been done since our grandparents were born, giving us tremendous hope for the revitalization of Kanien'kéha and Indigenous languages generally.

Language comes from the people - nowhere else. Not from books, lexicons, or apps. Language, in its full form, cannot exist without people and their dynamic and evolving societies. Thus, people are at the center of language revitalization. For a language to be revitalized, people need to speak it, and in order for that to happen we must provide the necessary support to enable people to do so.

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Part 2: Second-Year Kanien'kéha Adult Immersion **Curriculum**

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Overview

This curriculum was developed as an applied contribution to Kanien'kéha adult immersion programming. It builds from the already established first-year programming created by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa adult immersion in Ohswé:ken, currently being used by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and Á:se Tsitewá:ton in Ahkwesáhsne⁶¹. Together, with Part 1 of this dissertation, it is hoped that the reader will develop an understanding of the theoretical importance of adult immersion as it relates to language revitalization, as well as see a tangible example of how a structurally grounded, simple to complex, curriculum can be created for polysynthetic languages like Kanien'kéha.

This curriculum is organized into structurally-based units (grounded in a structural approach, in some circles referred to as the “root-word method”⁶²) for a second-year of Kanien'kéha adult immersion, a period in program delivery that seeks to move students from intermediate speaking proficiency to advanced speaking proficiency, as measured using the ACTFL (2012) oral proficiency guidelines. This curriculum is not intended to be used as a self-study text to learn Kanien'kéha by oneself. Instead, it is to be used as a scope and sequence guide to direct a second-year Kanien'kéha adult immersion program. It does not contain the plethora of methods or teaching guidelines and instructions, grounded in both structural and communicative approaches, that are used in delivering content in the classroom, such as oral and written

⁶¹ For more information on these programs see Part 1, section 3.2 of this dissertation

⁶² For more information on instructional approaches for Kanien'kéha adult immersion see Part 1, section 3.3.6.2 of this dissertation.

explanations, dialogues, games, drills, exercises and flashcards among many others⁶³, nor does it include formative and summative assessments⁶⁴.

It is expected that instruction will be delivered through Kanien'kéha by two full-time instructors, along with an L1 auxiliary speaker (if available), five days per week from September until June (a conventional school year), amounting to approximately 1,000 hours (totaling approximately 2,000 hours over two school years). Although the program is principally designed to target oral proficiency, written materials are expected to be used, and reading and writing skills are also expected to be concentrated upon. Content is intended to be taught in eight sequential units of roughly three to five weeks each in duration.

Goal

The goal of this curriculum is to build from an already established first-year program, developed by Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. The first-year program curriculum concentrates on, or restricts learning to, “present tense” discourse, thereby limiting descriptions of how things (animate and inanimate) are, were (used to be), could be, and will be. In the second-year, students will progress from this foundation to being able to describe actions or events in all major aspects and tenses with all their complexities while holding extended conversations of interconnected discourse beyond symbolic function with unsympathetic fluent speakers, in general terms, on almost any subject. It is expected that students will have the necessary understanding of Kanien'kéha structures, as well as adequate opportunity for output, to feel comfortable in

⁶³ For a detailed listing and description of the plethora of methods that can be used in delivering curriculum of this nature see Green (2018).

⁶⁴ For more information on adult immersion assessments see Part 1, section 3.3.7 of this dissertation.

producing accurate output in most situations, thereby serving as a strong foundation in future learning in natural and authentic language use environments.

Upon completion of the program following this sequencing, it is expected that students will be able to make complex descriptions of events regarding repetition (Unit 1), direction (Unit 2), going and coming (Unit 3), intention and movement to accomplish actions (Unit 4), benefiting others (Unit 5), reversals (Unit 6), multiple actions (Unit 7), and being prone to complete an action (Unit 8), among other less salient linguistic features, such as particles and particle phrases, to be covered throughout the year. Students will be able to paraphrase what they are saying and elicit the meaning of words they do not understand through conversation completely in Kanien'kéha. They will speak and understand Kanien'kéha at a normal speaking pace, learning vocabulary, expressions, and spelling and grammar common to all dialects.

Notes on Scope, Sequencing, and Formatting

The sequencing of the units in this curriculum is informed by the complexity of verbal and noun structures in Kanien'kéha⁶⁵ as well as by the relevance of meaning and likelihood of use. This means that although the units are organized mostly according to the internal complexity of words, starting with prefix allomorphy and later focusing on descriptive suffix allomorphy, more complex utterances at times may appear earlier than expected, as they may be so common in speech that it requires earlier familiarization. Each unit also contains verb inflection charts, which provide all of the necessary inflection examples for the targeted morpheme features, to be used by students as reference in their learning process.

⁶⁵ For more information on Kanien'kéha complexity and what it means for Kanien'kéha L2 acquisition see Part 1, section 3.3.6.2 of this dissertation.

Pronominal prefix categories (i.e., agent, patient, and transitive) as well as the specific unit targeted morpheme feature, including all of their associated allomorphs, are colour coded (agent = red, patient = blue, transitive = purple, and targeted morpheme feature = green and underlined) to better assist students in recognizing morpheme boundaries. The content in each unit is explained in plain language, rather than linguistic jargon, to better increase student understanding and reduce distraction. Finally, it is expected that students will be provided with a print version of each unit, although it is at the instructors discretion in determining if students will receive them before, during, or after delivery of each unit.

Unit 1: Repetitive

Repetitive Description

The repetitive is frequently used for actions that happen again. When used this way, the particle “á:re” can follow.

wa'ke^hnhó:ton' - *I closed the door*

sa^gke^hnhó:ton' (á:re) - *I closed the door again*

The repetitive is also used for actions that return to a previous, usual state, even if the action occurs only once. Under these circumstances, it is sometimes equivalent to the English prefix “re-”.

sa^gkehià:ra'ne' - *I remembered*

son^gke'nikónhrhen - *I forgot*

tonsa^gkaterahkihwáhsi' - *I took my socks off*

Furthermore, the repetitive is used for the count of one when counting objects. This is likely the origin of the repetitive.

ska^hhwísta - *One dollar, peso, yen*

It can also be used, similarly, in naming conventions. Maybe you or someone you know has a name that begins with an s- or ts-.

Ska^hnéhtati - *Albany, Schenectady*

When negated in habitual and stative aspects, the repetitive conveys the meaning of *not anymore*.

iah tes^gkonnò:we's - *I don't like you anymore*

iah tet^gsoio'te - *It doesn't work anymore*

There are some verbs that always require the repetitive. Used without the repetitive, these verbs will either mean something different or be grammatically incorrect.

sa^gkahtén:ti' - *I went (left for) home*

sa^gkátewahte' - *I missed it (target, shot, mark)*

Repetitive Forms

There are several repetitive forms. Like other prenominal prefixes, the form is determined by the pronoun that it is attached to.

Aspect	<u>Repetitive</u> Form	Pronoun Beginning	Example
Habitual, Stative, Stative Perfect	<u>s</u> <u>se</u>	k	<u>s</u> katkáhthos
		r(h)	<u>s</u> hatkáhthos
		hr	<u>s</u> hrehia:ra's
		hs	<u>se</u> hsatkáhthos
		w	<u>se</u> watkáhthos
		htsh	<u>se</u> htshatkáhthos
Factual	<u>ts</u> <u>ts</u>	i	<u>ts</u> ontkáhthos
		t	<u>ts</u> itewatkáhthos
		s	<u>ts</u> isewatkáhthos
		ti	<u>ts</u> itiatkáhthos
		k	<u>sa</u> katkáhtho'
		r(h)	<u>sa</u> hatkáhtho'
Optative	<u>aonsa</u> <u>aonse</u>	hr	<u>sa</u> hrehia:ra'ne'
		hs	<u>sa</u> hsatkáhtho'
		w	<u>son</u> tkáhtho'
		htsh	<u>sa</u> htshatkáhtho'
		i	<u>sa</u> iontkáhtho'
		t	<u>set</u> ewatkáhtho'
Optative	<u>aonsa</u> <u>aonse</u>	s	<u>se</u> sewatkáhtho'
		ti	<u>set</u> iatkáhtho'
		k	<u>aonsa</u> katkáhtho'
		r(h)	<u>aonsa</u> hatkáhtho'
		hr	<u>aonsa</u> hrehia:ra'ne'
		ti	<u>aonsa</u> tiatkáhtho'
Optative	<u>aonsa</u> <u>aonse</u>	hs	<u>aonsa</u> hsatkáhtho'
		w	<u>aonsa</u> ontkáhtho'
		htsh	<u>aonsa</u> htshatkáhtho'
		i	<u>aonsa</u> iontkáhtho'
		t	<u>aonse</u> tewatkáhtho'
		s	<u>aonse</u> sewatkáhtho'
Optative	<u>aonse</u>	ti	<u>aonse</u> tiatkáhtho'

Aspect	<u>Repetitive</u> Form	Pronoun Beginning	Example
Future	<u>ens</u> <u>ense</u>	k	<u>ens</u> katkáhtho'
		r(h)	<u>ens</u> hatkáhtho'
		hr	<u>ens</u> hrehíá:ra'ne
		ti (ki)	<u>ens</u> tiatkáhtho'
		hs	<u>ense</u> hsatkáhtho'
		w	<u>ense</u> watkáhtho'
		htsh	<u>ense</u> htshatkáhtho'
	<u>ents</u>	i	<u>ents</u> ontkáhtho'
	<u>entsi</u>	t	<u>entsi</u> tewatkáhtho'
		s	<u>entsi</u> sewatkáhtho'
Command	<u>s</u> <u>se</u>	k	<u>s</u> katkáhtho
		r(h)	<u>s</u> hatkáhtho
		hr	<u>s</u> hrehíá:ra'n
		ti (ki)	<u>s</u> tiatkáhtho
		w	<u>se</u> watkáhtho
	<u>sa</u>	hs	<u>sa</u> satkáhtho'
		s	<u>sa</u> sewatkáhtho
		ts	<u>sa</u> tsatkáhtho
	<u>ts</u>	htsh	<u>sa</u> htshatkáhtho
		i	<u>ts</u> ontkáhtho
	<u>tsi</u>	t	<u>tsi</u> tewatkáhtho

Duplicative + Repetitive

The repetitive is placed between the duplicative and the pronoun.

Order: Duplicative – Repetitive – Pronoun.

Aspect	Duplicative		Duplicative + <u>Repetitive</u>	
Habitual	te k atohtáhrhos	<i>I tidy up</i>	te s <u>k</u> atohtáhrhos	<i>I tidy up again</i>
Factual	wa't k atohtáhrho'	<i>I tidied up</i>	ton s <u>a</u> k atohtáhrho'	<i>I tidied up again</i>
Optative	ta k atohtáhrho'	<i>I should tidy up</i>	ta o <u>n</u> s <u>a</u> k atohtáhrho'	<i>I should tidy up again</i>
Future	ten k atohtáhrho'	<i>I will tidy up</i>	ten s <u>k</u> atohtáhrho'	<i>I will tidy up again</i>
Stative Perfect	te w <u>a</u> katoh tá hrhon	<i>I have tidied up</i>	te s <u>e</u> w <u>a</u> katoh tá hrhon	<i>I have tidied up again</i>
Command	tes a tohtáhrho	<i>Tidy up!</i>	ton s <u>a</u> s atohtáhrho	<i>Tidy up again!</i>

Repetitive Verb List

The order of the verb conjugations below is as follows: Habitual, Punctual, Stative Perfect, Command, Stative Present (i.e. I am that way, I am doing it).

Verb	Kanien'kéha	Tiohrhèn:sha
arrive home <u>s</u> - + E stem	-- <u>sà</u> :kewe' <u>sewá</u> :ko --	-- I arrived home I have arrived home --
cancel s.t. <u>s</u> - + C stem	<u>s</u> kerihwaríhsions <u>sá</u> kerihwaríhsi' <u>sewá</u> kerihwaríhsion <u>sá</u> serihwaríhsi	I cancel s.t. I canceled s.t. I have canceled s.t. Cancel it!
clean, tidy up te- + <u>s</u> - + A stem	te <u>s</u> katohtáhrhos te <u>onsá</u> katohtáhrho' te <u>sewá</u> katohtáhrhon te <u>onsá</u> satohtáhrho	I clean, tidy up again I cleaned, tidied up again I've cleaned, tidied up again Clean, tidy up again!
forget <u>s</u> - + C stem	<u>sewá</u> ke'nikónhrhen's <u>son</u> ke'nikónhrhen' <u>sewá</u> ke'nikónhrhèn:'en <u>sá</u> sa'nikónhrhen	I forget I forgot I have forgotten Forget!
leave for home <u>s</u> - + A stem	<u>s</u> kahténtie's <u>sá</u> kahtén:ti' <u>sewá</u> kahténtion <u>sá</u> sahtén:ti	I leave for home I left for home I have left for home Leave for home!
make s.t. <u>s</u> - + O stem	<u>s</u> kón:nis <u>sá</u> kón:ni' <u>sewá</u> kón:ni <u>sá</u> són:ni <u>sewá</u> kón:ni, <u>s</u> kón:ni	I make s.t. again I made s.t. again I have made s.t. again Make it again! I am making s.t. again

Verb	Kanien'kéha	Tiohrhèn:sha
miss (a target, shot, mark) <u>s</u> - + A stem	<u>s</u> katewáhtha' <u>sak</u> átewahte' <u>sew</u> akatewáhton <u>sas</u> átewaht	I miss the target I missed the target I have missed the target Miss the target!
open s.t. (a door) <u>s</u> - + C stem	<u>s</u> kehnhotónkwas <u>sake</u> hnhotón:ko' <u>sew</u> akehnhotónkwen <u>sase</u> hnhotón:ko	I open a door again I opened a door again I have opened a door again Open the door again!
recover, get well <u>s</u> - + C stem	<u>s</u> tiehwén:ta's <u>satie</u> hwén:ta'ne' <u>sew</u> atiehwéntà:'on <u>sats</u> ehwén:ta'n	I recover, get well I recovered, got well I've recovered, gotten well Recover, get well!
remember <u>s</u> - E stem	<u>s</u> kehià:ra's <u>sake</u> hià:ra'ne' <u>sew</u> akehià:ra'ne' <u>sase</u> hià:ra'n <u>skè</u> :iahe'	I remember (habitually) I remembered I have remembered Remember it! I remember, am remembering
repair s.t. <u>s</u> - + C stem	<u>s</u> ekkwatákwas <u>sak</u> kwatá:ko' <u>sew</u> akkwatákwen <u>sas</u> kwatá:ko	I repair s.t. I repaired s.t. I have repaired s.t. Repair it!
repeat oneself te- + <u>s</u> - + A stem	te <u>s</u> kathna'néta's te <u>onsa</u> kathna'néta' te <u>sew</u> kathna'néten te <u>onsa</u> sathna'néta'	I repeat myself I repeated myself I have repeated myself Repeat yourself!
turn back, retrace ones steps <u>s</u> - + A stem	<u>s</u> káhktons / <u>s</u> káhkets <u>sak</u> áhkete' <u>sew</u> akáhkton <u>sas</u> áhket	I turn back I turned back I have turned back Turn back!

Repetitive Example Charts

Remember, to (S- + E-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<u>s</u> kehià:ra'n	<u>s</u> kehià:ra's	<u>sew</u> akehiahrà:'on
<i>you</i>	<u>sa</u> hsehià:ra'n	<u>se</u> hsehià:ra's	<u>tsi</u> sehiahrà:'on
<i>he</i>	<u>sh</u> rehià:ra'n	<u>sh</u> rehià:ra's	<u>shaw</u> ehiahrà:'on
<i>she</i>	<u>tsa</u> kehià:ra'n	<u>tsa</u> kehià:ra's	<u>tsakaw</u> ehiahrà:'on
<i>it</i>	<u>sew</u> ehià:ra'n	<u>sew</u> ehià:ra's	<u>tsaw</u> ehiahrà:'on
<i>you & I</i>	<u>tsi</u> tenehià:ra'n	<u>tsi</u> tenehià:ra's	<u>tson</u> kenehiahrà:'on
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>tsa</u> kenehià:ra'n	<u>tsa</u> kenehià:ra's	<u>tson</u> kenehiahrà:'on
<i>you two</i>	<u>sa</u> senehià:ra'n	<u>tsi</u> senehià:ra's	<u>tsi</u> senehiahrà:'on
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>sh</u> nehià:ra'n	<u>sh</u> nehià:ra's	<u>shon</u> ehiahrà:'on
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>s</u> kenehià:ra'n	<u>s</u> kenehià:ra's	<u>tsone</u> hiahrà:'on
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>tsi</u> tewehià:ra'n	<u>tsi</u> tewehià:ra's	<u>tson</u> kwehiahrà:'on
<i>they & I</i>	<u>tsa</u> kwehià:ra'n	<u>tsa</u> kwehià:ra's	<u>tson</u> kwehiahrà:'on
<i>you all</i>	<u>sa</u> sewehià:ra'n	<u>tsi</u> sewehià:ra's	<u>tsi</u> sewehiahrà:'on
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>shon</u> nehià:ra'n	<u>shon</u> nehià:ra's	<u>shon</u> ehiahrà:'on
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>s</u> konnehià:ra'n	<u>s</u> konnehià:ra's	<u>tsone</u> hiahrà:'on
	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<u>sa</u> kehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> kehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> kehià:ra'ne'
<i>you</i>	<u>sa</u> hsehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> hsehià:ra'ne'	<u>ense</u> hsehià:ra'ne'
<i>he</i>	<u>sa</u> hrehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> hrehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> hrehià:ra'ne'
<i>she</i>	<u>sa</u> iakehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> iakehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsa</u> kehià:ra'ne'
<i>it</i>	<u>son</u> wehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonson</u> wehià:ra'ne'	<u>ensew</u> ehià:ra'ne'
<i>you & I</i>	<u>se</u> tenehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonset</u> tenehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsi</u> tenehià:ra'ne'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>sa</u> iakenehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> iakenehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsa</u> kenehià:ra'ne'
<i>you two</i>	<u>se</u> senehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonse</u> senehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsi</u> senehià:ra'ne'
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>sa</u> hnehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> hnehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> hnehià:ra'ne'
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>sa</u> kenehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> kenehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> kenehià:ra'ne'
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>se</u> tewehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonset</u> tewehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsi</u> tewehià:ra'ne'
<i>they & I</i>	<u>sa</u> iakwehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> iakwehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsa</u> kwehià:ra'ne'
<i>you all</i>	<u>se</u> sewehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonse</u> sewehià:ra'ne'	<u>entsi</u> sewehià:ra'ne'
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>sa</u> honnehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> honnehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> honnehià:ra'ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>sa</u> konnehià:ra'ne'	<u>aonsa</u> konnehià:ra'ne'	<u>ens</u> konnehià:ra'ne'

Look, to (S- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<u>s</u> katkáhtho	<u>s</u> katkáhthos	<u>sew</u> atkáhthon
<i>you</i>	<u>sa</u> h ^h satkáhtho	<u>se</u> h ^h satkáhthos	<u>tsi</u> s ^h atkáhthon
<i>he</i>	<u>sh</u> atkáhtho	<u>sh</u> atkáhthos	<u>sho</u> tkáhthon
<i>she</i>	<u>tsi</u> ontkáhtho	<u>ts</u> ontkáhthos	<u>tsa</u> ko ^h tkáhthon
<i>it</i>	<u>sew</u> atkáhtho	<u>sew</u> atkáhthos	<u>ts</u> otkáhthon
<i>you & I</i>	<u>tsi</u> tiatkáhtho	<u>tsi</u> tiatkáhthos	<u>ts</u> onti ^h atkáhthon
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>tsa</u> tiatkáhtho	<u>tsa</u> tiatkáhthos	<u>ts</u> onti ^h atkáhthon
<i>you two</i>	<u>sa</u> tsatkáhtho	<u>tsi</u> tsatkáhthos	<u>tsi</u> s ^h atkáhthon
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>shi</u> atkáhtho	<u>shi</u> atkáhthos	<u>sh</u> on ^h atkáhthon
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>sti</u> atkáhtho	<u>sti</u> atkáhthos	<u>ts</u> on ^h atkáhthon
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>tsi</u> tewatkáhtho	<u>tsi</u> tewatkáhthos	<u>ts</u> onkw ^h atkáhthon
<i>they & I</i>	<u>tsa</u> kwatkáhtho	<u>tsa</u> kwatkáhthos	<u>ts</u> onkw ^h atkáhthon
<i>you all</i>	<u>sa</u> sewatkáhtho	<u>tsi</u> sewatkáhthos	<u>tsi</u> sewatkáhthon
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>sh</u> ontkáhtho	<u>sh</u> ontkáhthos	<u>sh</u> on ^h atkáhthon
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>s</u> kontkáhtho	<u>s</u> kontkáhthos	<u>ts</u> on ^h atkáhthon

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<u>sa</u> katkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> katkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> katkáhtho'
<i>you</i>	<u>sa</u> h ^h satkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> h ^h satkáhtho'	<u>ensa</u> h ^h atkáhtho'
<i>he</i>	<u>sa</u> h ^h atkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> h ^h atkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> h ^h atkáhtho'
<i>she</i>	<u>sa</u> i ^h ontkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> i ^h ontkáhtho'	<u>ents</u> ontkáhtho'
<i>it</i>	<u>s</u> ontkáhtho'	<u>aons</u> ontkáhtho'	<u>ensew</u> atkáhtho'
<i>you & I</i>	<u>se</u> tiatkáhtho'	<u>aonseti</u> atkáhtho'	<u>entsi</u> tiatkáhtho'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>sai</u> tiatkáhtho'	<u>aonsai</u> tiatkáhtho'	<u>entsi</u> tiatkáhtho'
<i>you two</i>	<u>se</u> tsatkáhtho'	<u>aonset</u> s ^h atkáhtho'	<u>ensa</u> tsatkáhtho'
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>sa</u> hiatkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> hiatkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> hiatkáhtho'
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>sa</u> tiatkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> tiatkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> tiatkáhtho'
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>se</u> tewatkáhtho'	<u>aonsetew</u> atkáhtho'	<u>entsi</u> tewatkáhtho'
<i>they & I</i>	<u>sai</u> akwatkáhtho'	<u>aonsai</u> akwatkáhtho'	<u>entsa</u> kwatkáhtho'
<i>you all</i>	<u>se</u> sewatkáhtho'	<u>aonse</u> sewatkáhtho'	<u>entsi</u> sewatkáhtho'
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>sa</u> hontkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> hontkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> hontkáhtho'
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>sa</u> kontkáhtho'	<u>aonsa</u> kontkáhtho'	<u>ens</u> kontkáhtho'

Forget, to (S- + C-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<u>se</u> wake'nikónhrhen	<u>se</u> wake'nikónhrhen's	<u>se</u> wake'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>you</i>	<u>sasa</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsi</u> sa'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsi</u> sa'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>he</i>	<u>sho</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>sho</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>sho</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>she</i>	<u>tsako</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsako</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsako</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>it</i>	<u>tso</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tso</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tso</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>you & I</i>	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>you two</i>	<u>saseni</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsi</u> seni'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsi</u> seni'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>they & I</i>	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>you all</i>	<u>sasewa</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsi</u> sewa'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsi</u> sewa'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>shoti</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen's	<u>tsoti</u> 'nikónhrhèn:'en

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<u>sonke</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sewake'nikónhrhen'	<u>ense</u> wake'nikónhrhen'
<i>you</i>	<u>sesa</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sesa'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsi</u> sa'nikónhrhen'
<i>he</i>	<u>saho</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> saho'nikónhrhen'	<u>ensho</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>she</i>	<u>saiako</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> saiako'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsako</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>it</i>	<u>sai</u> o'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sai'o'nikónhrhen'	<u>entso</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>you & I</i>	<u>sai</u> onkeni'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sai'onkeni'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>sai</u> onkeni'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sai'onkeni'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsonkeni</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>you two</i>	<u>seseni</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> seseni'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsi</u> seni'nikónhrhen'
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>sahoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sahoti'nikónhrhen'	<u>enshoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>saioti</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> saioti'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>sai</u> onkwa'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sai'onkwa'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>they & I</i>	<u>sai</u> onkwa'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sai'onkwa'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsonkwa</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>you all</i>	<u>sasewa</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sasewa'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsi</u> sewa'nikónhrhen'
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>sahoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> sahoti'nikónhrhen'	<u>enshoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>saioti</u> 'nikónhrhen'	<u>aon</u> saioti'nikónhrhen'	<u>entsoti</u> 'nikónhrhen'

Clean up, to (Te- + S- + A-**Stem**)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	te <u>s</u> katohtáhrho	te <u>s</u> katohtáhrhos	te <u>sew</u> akatohtáhrhon
<i>you</i>	ton <u>sah</u> satohtáhrho	te <u>se</u> hsatohtáhrhos	te <u>tsi</u> satohtáhrhon
<i>he</i>	te <u>sh</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>sh</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>sho</u> tohtáhrhon
<i>she</i>	te <u>tson</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>tson</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsako</u> tohtáhrhon
<i>it</i>	te <u>sew</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>sew</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsoto</u> tohtáhrhon
<i>you & I</i>	te <u>tsi</u> tatohtáhrho	te <u>tsi</u> tatohtáhrhos	te <u>tsonti</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>s.o. & I</i>	te <u>tsati</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>tsati</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsonti</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>you two</i>	ton <u>sats</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>tsits</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsits</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>two (M)</i>	te <u>shi</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>shi</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>shon</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>two (F)</i>	te <u>sti</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>sti</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tson</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>you all & I</i>	te <u>tsi</u> tewatohtáhrho	te <u>tsi</u> tewatohtáhrhos	te <u>tsonkw</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>they & I</i>	te <u>tsakw</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>tsakw</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsonkw</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>you all</i>	ton <u>sasew</u> atohtáhrho	te <u>tsisew</u> atohtáhrhos	te <u>tsisew</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>they (M)</i>	te <u>shon</u> tohtáhrho	te <u>shon</u> tohtáhrhos	te <u>shon</u> atohtáhrhon
<i>they (F)</i>	te <u>s</u> kontohtáhrho	te <u>s</u> kontohtáhrhos	te <u>tson</u> atohtáhrhon

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	ton <u>sak</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sak</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>s</u> katohtáhrho'
<i>you</i>	ton <u>sahs</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sahs</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>sehs</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>he</i>	ton <u>sah</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sah</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>sh</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>she</i>	ton <u>sai</u> ontohtáhrho'	taon <u>sai</u> ontohtáhrho'	ten <u>tson</u> tohtáhrho'
<i>it</i>	ton <u>saw</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>saw</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>sew</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>you & I</i>	ton <u>seti</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>seti</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsiti</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	ton <u>saiati</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>saiati</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsati</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>you two</i>	ton <u>sets</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sets</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsits</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>two (M)</i>	ton <u>sahi</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sahi</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>shi</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>two (F)</i>	ton <u>sati</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>sati</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>sti</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>you all & I</i>	ton <u>setew</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>setew</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsitew</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>they & I</i>	ton <u>saiakw</u> atohtáhrho'	taon <u>saiakw</u> atohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsakw</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>you all</i>	ton <u>se</u> sewatohtáhrho'	taon <u>se</u> sewatohtáhrho'	ten <u>tsisew</u> atohtáhrho'
<i>they (M)</i>	ton <u>sahon</u> tohtáhrho'	taon <u>sahon</u> tohtáhrho'	ten <u>shon</u> tohtáhrho'
<i>they (F)</i>	ton <u>sak</u> ontohtáhrho'	taon <u>sak</u> ontohtáhrho'	ten <u>s</u> kontohtáhrho'

Unit 2: Directionals

Motion Verbs

	<u>Translocative</u> + Verb	<u>Cislocative</u> + Verb
When used with verbs that require motion, the translocative (<u>i</u> -) indicates direction <i>away</i> from the speaker or particular reference point, usually meaning “that way”, and the cislocative (<u>t</u> -) indicates direction <i>towards</i> the speaker or particular reference point, usually meaning “this way”.	<u>ie</u> kataweià:tha' <i>I go inside</i>	<u>t</u> kataweià:tha' <i>I come inside</i>
	<u>ia</u> 'katáweia'te' <i>I went inside</i>	<u>ta</u> 'katáweia'te' <i>I came inside</i>
	<u>iew</u> akataweià:ton <i>I have gone inside</i>	<u>tew</u> akataweià:ton <i>I have come inside</i>

Non-Motion Verbs

With verbs that do not require motion, the translocative and cislocative indicate location. The translocative will indicate a remote location “there” for something that is more temporary, short-term, or for an action that happens just after arriving there.

The cislocative will also indicate “there” but for something that is more permanent, long-term, or for an action that happens a while after arriving there.

Verb	<u>Translocative</u>	<u>Cislocative</u>
<u>ro</u> ió'te <i>He is working</i>	<u>ie</u> hoió'te <i>He is working there</i>	<u>t</u> hoió'te <i>He is working there</i>
w <u>ah</u> ató:rate' <i>He hunted</i>	<u>ia</u> ható:rate' <i>He hunted there</i>	<u>ta</u> ható:rate' <i>He hunted there</i>

In some cases a change of meaning results when the translocative or cislocative is used.

Verb	<u>Translocative</u>	<u>Cislocative</u>
wahó:ti' <i>He lost it</i>	iahó:ti' <i>He threw it that Way / away</i>	tahó:ti' <i>He threw it this way / He sprinkled it on top</i>

There are certain verbs that always require the translocative or cislocative and therefore are never used without them. These verbs do not necessary require or imply motion.

<u>Translocative</u>	<u>Cislocative</u>
ia'tewakerihwaién:ta'se' <i>I decided</i>	ta'katáhsawen' <i>I started, began</i>
ia'ttié:ri'ne' <i>I into fit it</i>	tatié:rite' <i>I got it correct, right</i>
ia'kahtsá:ton' <i>I pointed at it</i>	takéhtahkwe' <i>I believed it</i>

Superlative (“The Most”)

The cislocative can also be used with verbs, often with adjectival verbs (like English adjectives), to indicate a superlative degree, which is equivalent to “the most” (e.g. “the most expensive”), or the suffix “-est” (e.g. “the cheapest”) in English. The cislocative must also be paired with “né: aonhà:'a” for this meaning.

Verb	<u>Cislocative</u> + Verb
kanó:ron <i>It is expensive</i>	né: aonhà:'a tkanó:ron <i>It is the most expensive</i>
watié:sen <i>It is cheap, easy</i>	né: aonhà:'a tewatié:sen <i>It is the cheapest, easiest</i>
kenòn:we's <i>I like it</i>	né: aonhà:'a tkenòn:we's <i>I like it the most</i>
iakotshà:ni <i>She is smart</i>	né: aonhà:'a tiakotshà:ni <i>She is the smartest</i>

Using Translocative and Cislocative with Non-Motion Verbs

Some verbs do not require a translocative or cislocative, however adding it will change the meaning of the verb. See examples in the chart below for how the meaning will slightly change when the translocative or cislocative are used.

Verb	Translocative	Cislocative
wa'katá:wen'	ia'katá:wen' <i>I swam that way / I swam there</i>	ta'katá:wen' <i>I swam this way / I swam there after I was there awhile</i>
wa'hsatkátho'	ia'hsatkátho' <i>You looked that way / You looked at s.t. there</i>	ta'hsatkátho' <i>You looked this way / You looked at s.t. there after you were there awhile</i>
en'kekhón:ni'	ien'kekhón:ni' <i>I will cook there</i>	enta'kekhón:ni' <i>I will cook there after I have been there awhile</i>
ak'hní:non'	ia'ak'hní:non' <i>I should buy it there</i>	enta'ak'hní:non' <i>I should buy it there after I have been there awhile</i>
ten'kenónniahkwe'	ia'ten'kenónniahkwe' <i>I will dance that way / I will dance there</i>	tenta'kenónniahkwe' <i>I will dance this way / I will dance there after I have been there a while</i>
tae'sewatská:hon'	ia'tae'sewatská:hon' <i>You all should eat there</i>	taenta'sewatská:hon' <i>You all should eat there after you all have been there awhile</i>

Translocative

	<u>Translocative</u> Form	Pronoun Beginning	Example
Habitual, Stative, Stative Perfect	<u>ie</u>	all pronouns	<u>iek</u> atáweia:tha'
Factual	<u>ia'</u>	k	<u>ia'</u> kátáweia'te'
		i	<u>ia'</u> ontáweia'te'
		ti (ki)	<u>ia'</u> tíatáweia'te'
	<u>ia</u>	h	<u>iah</u> sátáweia'te'
		r(h)	<u>iah</u> hátáweia'te'
	<u>iah</u>	w	<u>iah</u> ontáweia'te'
	<u>iahe</u>	t	<u>iahe</u> tewatáweia'te'
		s	<u>iahe</u> sewatáweia'te'
		ti	<u>iahe</u> tíatáweia'te'
Optative	<u>ia</u>	k	<u>iak</u> kátáweia'te'
		h	<u>iah</u> sátáweia'te'
		r (h)	<u>iah</u> hátáweia'te'
		i	<u>ia</u> iontáweia'te'
		w	<u>ia</u> ontáweia'te'
	<u>iae</u>	t	<u>iae</u> tewatáweia'te'
		s	<u>iae</u> sewatáweia'te'
		ti	<u>iae</u> tíatáweia'te'
Future	<u>ien</u>	all pronouns	<u>ien</u> kátáweia'te'

Translocative + Repetitive

The translocative comes before the repetitive. When used this way, the meaning is often equivalent to “back”, as in “to go *back* inside”.

Aspect	<u>Translocative</u>		<u>Translocative</u> + Repetitive	
Habitual	<u>ie</u> kataweià:tha'	<i>I go inside</i>	<u>ies</u> kataweià:tha'	<i>I go back inside</i>
Factual	<u>ia'</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I went inside</i>	<u>ionsa</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I went back inside</i>
Optative	<u>ia</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I should go inside</i>	<u>iaonsa</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I should go back inside</i>
Future	<u>ien</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I will go inside</i>	<u>iens</u> katáweia'te'	<i>I will go back inside</i>
Stative Perfect	<u>iewa</u> kataweià:ton	<i>I have gone inside</i>	<u>iesewa</u> kataweià:ton	<i>I have gone back inside</i>
Command	<u>ia'</u> satáweia't	<i>Go inside!</i>	<u>ionsa</u> satáweia't	<i>Go back inside!</i>

Translocative + Duplicative

The translocative form ia'- precedes every duplicative form.

Aspect	Duplicative		<u>Translocative</u> + Duplicative	
Habitual	tekaráhtats	<i>I run</i>	<u>ia'</u> tekaráhtats	<i>I run towards there</i>
Factual	wa'tkaráhtate'	<i>I ran</i>	<u>ia'</u> tkaráhtate'	<i>I ran towards there</i>
Stative Perfect	tewakarahtá:ton	<i>I have run</i>	<u>ia'</u> tewakarahtá:ton	<i>I have run towards there</i>

Translocative + Duplicative + Repetitive

The translocative can also occur with both the duplicative and the repetitive. The translocative form *ia'* - always precedes the duplicative.

Aspect	Duplicative + Repetitive	<u>Translocative</u> + Duplicative + Repetitive
Habitual	teskaráhtats <i>I run again</i>	<i>ia'</i> teskaráhtats <i>I run there again</i>
Factual	tonsakaráhtate' <i>I did run again</i>	<i>ia'</i> tonsakaráhtate' <i>I ran there again</i>
Stative Perfect	tesewakarahtá:ton <i>I have run again</i>	<i>ia'</i> tesewakarahtá:ton <i>I have run there again</i>

Negating the Translocative

The translocative is negated by adding “iah th-” to the translocative.

Aspect	Positive		Negative	
Habitual	<i>iek</i> atáweia:tha' <i>I go inside</i>		iah th <i>iek</i> atáweia:tha' <i>I don't go inside</i>	
Factual	<i>ia'</i> katáweia'te' <i>I went inside</i>		iah th <i>iewak</i> atáweia:ton <i>I didn't go inside</i>	
Optative	<i>iak</i> atáweia'te' <i>I would go inside</i>		iah th <i>iak</i> atáweia'te' <i>I wouldn't go inside</i>	
Future	<i>ienk</i> atáweia'te' <i>I will go inside</i>		iah th <i>ienk</i> atáweia'te' <i>I will not go inside</i>	
Stative Perfect	<i>iewak</i> atáweia:ton <i>I have gone inside</i>		iah th <i>iewak</i> atáweia:ton <i>I haven't gone inside</i>	
Command	<i>ia'</i> satáweia't <i>Go inside!</i>		tóhsa <i>ia'</i> satáweia't <i>Don't go inside!</i>	

Cislocative

	<u>Cislocative</u> Form	Pronoun Beginning	Example
Habitual, Stative, Stative Perfect	<u>t</u>	k	<u>t</u> kataweià:tha'
		r(h)	<u>t</u> hataweià:tha'
		hr	<u>t</u> hréhtha'
		ti (ki)	<u>t</u> tiataweià:tha'
	<u>t</u>	i	<u>t</u> iontaweià:tha'
	<u>te</u>	hs	<u>te</u> hsataweià:tha'
		w	<u>te</u> wataweià:tha'
		htshe	<u>te</u> htsherá:wis
	<u>ti</u>	t	<u>ti</u> tewataweià:tha'
		s	<u>ti</u> sewataweià:tha'
		ti	<u>ti</u> kiataweià:tha'
Factual	<u>ta</u>	k	<u>ta</u> kataweia'te'
		h	<u>ta</u> hsataweia'te'
		r(h)	<u>ta</u> hataweia'te'
		i	<u>ta</u> iontáweia'te'
		w	<u>t</u> ontáweia'te'
		htshe	<u>tá</u> htsherahse'
	<u>te</u>	t	<u>te</u> tewatáweia'te'
		s	<u>te</u> sewatáweia'te't
Optative	<u>aonta</u>	k	<u>aonta</u> kataweia'te'
		h	<u>aonta</u> hsataweia'te'
		r(h)	<u>aonta</u> hataweia'te'
		i	<u>aonta</u> iontáweia'te'
		w	<u>aont</u> ontáweia'te'
		htshe	<u>aontá</u> htsherahse'
	<u>aonte</u>	t	<u>aonte</u> tewatáweia'te'
		s	<u>aonte</u> sewatáweia'te'

Future	<u>ent</u>	k	<u>ent</u> katáweia'te'
		r(h)	<u>ent</u> hatáweia'te'
		hr	<u>é</u> nthre'
		ti (ki)	<u>ent</u> tiatáweia'te'
		i	<u>ent</u> iontáweia'te'
	<u>ente</u>	hs	<u>ente</u> hsatáweia'te'
		w	<u>ente</u> watáweia'te'
		htshe	<u>ent</u> éhtsherahse'
	<u>enti</u>	t	<u>enti</u> tewatáweia'te'
		s	<u>enti</u> sewatáweia'te'

Cislocative + Repetitive

The cislocative comes after the repetitive. When used this way, the meaning is often equivalent to “back”, as in “to come *back* inside”.

Aspect	<u>Cislocative</u>	Repetitive + <u>Cislocative</u>
Habitual	<u>t</u> kataweia:tha' <i>I come inside</i>	tet <u>t</u> kataweia:tha' <i>I come back inside</i>
Factual	<u>ta</u> katáweia'te' <i>I came inside</i>	tont <u>ta</u> katáweia'te' <i>I came back inside</i>
Optative	<u>aonta</u> katáweia'te' <i>I should come inside</i>	taont <u>a</u> katáweia'te' <i>I should come back inside</i>
Future	<u>ent</u> katáweia'te' <i>I will come inside</i>	tent <u>ent</u> katáweia'te' <i>I will come back inside</i>
Stative Perfect	<u>tew</u> akataweia:ton <i>I have come inside</i>	tet <u>tew</u> akataweia:ton <i>I have come back inside</i>

Duplicative + Cislocative

The cislocative comes after the duplicative.

Aspect	Duplicative		Duplicative + <u>Cislocative</u>	
Habitual	tekaráhtats	<i>I run</i>	tetkaráhtats	<i>I run towards here</i>
Factual	wa'tkaráhtate'	<i>I did run</i>	tontakaráhtate'	<i>I ran towards here</i>
Stative Perfect	tewakarahtá:ton	<i>I have run</i>	tetewakarahtá:ton	<i>I have run towards here</i>

Negating the Cislocative

The cislocative is negated by adding “iah te-” and “iah th-”.

Aspect	Positive		Negative	
Habitual	tkataweià:tha'	<i>I come inside</i>	Iah tettkataweià:tha'	<i>I don't come inside</i>
Factual	tkatáweia'te'	<i>I went inside</i>	Iah tetewakataweià:ton	<i>I did not come inside</i>
Optative	aontakatáweia'te'	<i>I should come inside</i>	Iah thaontakatáweia'te'	<i>I won't come inside</i>
Future	entkatáweia'te'	<i>I will come inside</i>	Iah thaontakatáweia'te'	<i>I won't come inside</i>
Stative Perfect	tewakataweià:ton	<i>I have come inside</i>	Iah tetewakataweià:ton	<i>I have not come inside</i>
Command	tasatáweia't!	<i>Come inside!</i>	tóhsa tasatáweia't!	<i>Don't come inside!</i>

Translocative & Cislocative Owenna'shòn:'a

Below is a list of common verbs that use the translocative and/or the cislocative. Note that not all verbs can use both and that some verbs require them. Additionally, some verbs have a version without them, which is indicated below the English entry.

Verb conjugation order: Habitual, Punctual, Stative Perfect, Command, Stative Present

Verb		<u>Translocative</u>		<u>Cislocative</u>
add kerò:roks <i>I gather s.t.</i>	--	--	You add it You added it You have added it Add it!	tehsèrò:roks tahsèrò:roke' tisàrò:ron tasèrò:rok
appear, show up	I appear there I appeared I have appeared Appear!	iewakke'tóthta' iahonkkè:'tóhte' iewakke'tóhton ia'sakè:toht	You appear here You appeared You have appeared Appear!	tisake'tóthta' tesakè:tohte' tisake'tóhton tasakè:toht
arrive wà:kewe' <i>I arrived here</i>	I arrived there I have arrived	iahà:kewe' iewá:ko	--	--
ascend, climb up, go up	I go up I went up I have gone up Go up! I'm going up	iekeráthens ia'keráthen' iewakeráthen ia'seráthen onkerathenhátie	You come up You came up You have come up Come up! You are coming up	tehsèráthens tahsèráthen' tisaráthen tasèráthen tesarathenhátie
attack s.o.	I attack her I attacked her I have attacked her Attack her!	iekheiatia'tóntie's ia'kheiatia'tón:ti' iekheiatia'tóntion ia'sheiatia'tón:ti	You attack me You attacked me You have attacked me Attack me!	tehskwatia'tóntie's tahskwatia'tón:ti' tehskwatia'tóntion taskwatia'tón:ti
believe	--	--	You believe it You belived it You have believed it Believe it!	tehsèhtákhwa' tahsèhtahkwe' tisèhtáhkwen tasèhtákhw
blame s.o.	--	--	You blame her You blamed her You have blamed her Blame her!	tehsèrá:wis tahshé:rahse' tehsèrá:wi tahsé:rahs
bring / take s.t.	I take it I took it I have taken it Take it!	iekhas iahà:khawe' iewákha iahá:sha	You bring it You brought it You have brought it Bring it!	téshas tahshawe' tisáha tásha

Verb		<u>Translocative</u>		<u>Cislocative</u>
bring / take s.t. inside	I take it in I took it in I have taken it in Take it in!	<u>ie</u> tiòn:tha' <u>ia</u> hà:tion'te' <u>ie</u> watiòn:ton <u>ia</u> hà:tson't	You bring it in You brought it in You have brought it in Bring it inside!	<u>te</u> hsiòn:tha' <u>ta</u> hsion'te' <u>ti</u> saìon:ton <u>tà</u> tson't
bump into s.t.	--	--	You bump into it You bumped into it You have bumped into it Bump into it!	<u>te</u> hso'kà:tha' <u>ta</u> hsò:ka'te' <u>ti</u> so'kà:ton <u>ta</u> sò:ka't
call (phone)	I phone there I phoned there I've phoned there Phone there!	<u>ie</u> katewennáta's <u>ia</u> 'katewennáta' <u>ie</u> wakatewennáten <u>ia</u> 'satewennáta	You phone here You phoned here You have phoned here Phone here!	<u>te</u> hsatewennáta's <u>ta</u> hsatewennáta' <u>ti</u> satewennáten <u>ta</u> satewennáta
catch (a ball)	--	--	You catch it You caught it You have caught it Catch it!	<u>te</u> tsié:na's <u>ta</u> hsié:na' <u>ti</u> saiená:'on <u>tà</u> tsé:na
continue through	I continue through I continued I've continued Continue through!	<u>ie</u> kkontákhkwa' <u>ia</u> 'kkón:tahkwe' <u>ie</u> wakkontákhkwen <u>ia</u> 'skón:tahkw	--	--
control s.t., be in charge of s.t.	--	--	You control it You controlled it You have controlled it Control it!	<u>te</u> hsanónhtons <u>ta</u> hsanónhton' <u>te</u> wakanónhton <u>tà</u> sanónhton
count s.t.	--	--	You count You counted You have counted Count!	<u>te</u> hsahsé:tas <u>ta</u> hsáhsete' <u>ti</u> sahsé:ton <u>tà</u> sáhset
defend s.o. <i>kéhnhe's</i> <i>I forbid</i>	--	--	You defend her You defended her You have defended her Defend it! It is defended	<u>te</u> hshéhnhe's <u>ta</u> hshéhnhe' <u>te</u> hshéhnhe:'on <u>ta</u> hshéhnhe <u>t</u> kahnhe:'on
descend	I go down I went down I have gone down Go down! I am going down	<u>ie</u> kathsnénhtha' <u>ia</u> 'káthsnenhte' <u>ie</u> wakathsnénhton <u>ia</u> 'sáthsnenht <u>onkw</u> athsnenhtonhátié	You come down You came down You have come down Come down! You are coming down	<u>te</u> hsathsnénhtha' <u>ta</u> hsáthsnenhte' <u>ti</u> sathsnénhton <u>tà</u> sáthsnenht <u>te</u> sathsnenhtonhátié
do ones best, persevere <i>kateweièn:tons</i> <i>I put s.t. away</i>	--	--	You do your best You did your best You've done your best Do your best!	<u>te</u> hsateweièn:tons <u>ta</u> hsateweièn:ton' <u>ti</u> sateweièn:ton <u>tà</u> sateweièn:ton

Verb		Translocative	Cislocative
enough, have, get	--	--	You have enough <i>tisaierihse</i> You had enough <i>tesaié:rihse'</i> You have had enough <i>tisaierihse</i>
enter	I go inside	<i>iekataweia:tha'</i>	You come inside <i>tehsataweia:tha'</i>
	I went inside	<i>ia'katáweia'te'</i>	You came inside <i>tahsatáweia'te'</i>
	I have gone inside	<i>iewakataweia:ton</i>	You have come inside <i>tisataweia:ton</i>
	Go inside!	<i>ia'satáweia't</i>	Come inside! <i>tasatáweia't</i>
exit	I go out	<i>ietia:ken's</i>	You come out <i>tehsia:ken's</i>
	I went out	<i>ia'tia:ken'ne'</i>	You came out <i>tahsia:ken'ne'</i>
	I have gone out	<i>iewatiakèn:'en</i>	You have come out <i>tisaiakèn:'en</i>
	Go out!	<i>ia'tsá:ken'n</i>	Come out! <i>tatsá:ken'n</i>
	I am out	<i>watiakèn:'en</i>	
face towards	I face there	<i>ietie:ra'ts</i>	You face here <i>tehsie:ra'ts</i>
	I faced there	<i>ia'tie:ra'te</i>	You faced here <i>tahsie:ra'te</i>
	I have faced there	<i>iewatiera:ton</i>	You have faced here <i>tisaiera:ton</i>
	Face towards there!	<i>ia'tsé:ra't</i>	Face towards here! <i>tatsé:ra't</i>
fall (off, from a height)	I fall (that way)	<i>ietia:ten's</i>	You fall (this way) <i>tehsia:ten's</i>
	I fell	<i>ia'tia:ten'ne'</i>	You fell <i>tahsia:ten'ne'</i>
	I have fallen	<i>iewatia'tèn:'en</i>	You have fallen <i>tisaiatèn:'en</i>
	Fall!	<i>ia'tsà:ten'n</i>	Fall! <i>tatsà:ten'n</i>
fit, to	It fit me	<i>ia'ttié:ri'ne'</i>	
	It has fit me	<i>ia'tewatieri:'on</i>	--
	I fit it	<i>ia'tetié:ri</i>	--
get s.t right, correct	--	--	You get it right <i>tehsie:rits</i> You got it right <i>tahsie:rite'</i> You've gotten it right <i>tisaiéri:ton</i> Get it right! <i>tatsé:rit</i> It is right, correct <i>tkaie:ri</i>
hand s.t. to s.o. <i>kheia:wis</i> <i>I give it to s.o.</i>	--	--	You hand it to her <i>tehsheia:wis</i> You handed it to her <i>tahshé:ion'</i> You've handed it to her <i>tehsheia:wi</i> Hand it to her! <i>tashé:ion</i>
hang it on/from s.t.	I hang it on it	<i>iekeniióntha'</i>	
	I hung it on it	<i>ia'keniión:ten'</i>	
	I have hung it on it	<i>iewakení:ionte</i>	--
	Hang it from it	<i>ia'seniión:ten</i>	--
hang s.t.	I hang it up	<i>iekháhrha'</i>	
	I hung it up	<i>ia'khá:ren'</i>	
	I have hung it up	<i>iewákhare</i>	--
	Hang it up!	<i>ia'shá:ren</i>	--

Verb		Translocative	Cislocative
hem s.t. kkwáthos <i>I visit</i>	--	--	I hem it I hemmed it I have hemmed it Hem it! tekkwáthos takkwátho' tewakkwáthon taskwátho
look inside	I look inside there I looked inside I have looked inside Look inside there!	iekatke'tótha' ia'katke'tó:ten' iewakatkè:tote ia'satke'tó:ten	You look inside here You looked inside You have looked inside Look inside here! tehsatke'tótha' tahsatke'tó:ten' tisatkè:tote tasatke'tó:ten
old, get wakién:ta's <i>I acquire s.t.</i>	--	--	You get old You got old You've gotten old You are old tisaién:ta's tesaién:ta'ne' tisaiéntà:'on tisá:ien/tisá:ion
outside, let s.t. (animate)	I let it out (that way) I did let it out I have let it out Let it out!	ietia'tíneken's ia'tia'tínekenhwe' ietia'tíneken:'en ia'tsa'tínekenhw	You let it out (this way) You did let it out You have let it out Let it out! tehsia'tíneken's tahsia'tínekenhwe' tehsia'tíneken:'en tatsa'tínekenhw
pass s.t.	I pass it (there) I passed it I have passed it Pass it!	iekohétstha' ia'kóhetste' iewakohétston ia'sóhetst	You pass it (here) You passed it You have passed it Pass it! tehsóhetstha' tahsóhetste' tisóhetston tasóhetst
pay, a bill katá:tis <i>I speak</i>	I pay I paid I have paid Pay!	iekatá:tis ia'katá:ti' iewakatá:ti ia'satá:ti	--
point at s.t.	I point at it I pointed at it I have pointed at it Point at it!	iekahtsá:tons ia'kahtsá:ton' iewakahtsá:ton ia'sahtsá:ton	--
pour, spill s.t.	I pour it (that way) I poured it I have poured it Pour it!	iekáwerons ia'káweron' iewakáweron ia'sáweron	You pour it (this way) You poured it You have poured it Pour it! tehsáwerons tahsáweron' tesáweron tasáweron
provide s.t. katká:was <i>I quit, leave s.t. behind</i>	--	--	You provide it You provided it You've provided it Provide it! tehsahtká:was tahsahtká'we' tisahtká:wen tasátka'wh
pull s.t.	--	--	You pull it You pulled it You have pulled it Pull it! tehsatihénthos tahsatihéntho' tisatihénthon tasatihéntho!

Verb		<u>Translocative</u>		<u>Cislocative</u>
push s.t.	I push it I pushed it I have pushed it Push it!	<u>ie</u> khreks <u>ia</u> hà:khreke' <u>ie</u> wákhre <u>ia</u> hà:shrek	--	--
put s.t. down	I put it down (there) I did put it down I have put it down Put it down!	<u>ie</u> tiens <u>ia</u> hà:tien' <u>ie</u> wátien <u>ia</u> hà:tse	--	--
put s.t. up on s.t.	I put it up (there) I did put it up I have put it up Put it up!	<u>ie</u> khéhrha' <u>ia</u> hà:khren' <u>ie</u> wákhre <u>ia</u> hà:shren	--	--
send s.t.	I send it there I sent it there I have sent it there Send it there!	<u>ie</u> katenniéhtha' <u>ia</u> 'katénniehte' <u>ie</u> wakatenniéhthon <u>ia</u> 'saténnieht	You send it here You sent it here You have sent it here Send it here!	<u>te</u> hsatenniéhtha' <u>ta</u> hsaténniehte' <u>ti</u> satenniéhthon <u>ta</u> saténnieht
start	--	--	You start You started You have started Start!	<u>te</u> hsatahsáwha' <u>ta</u> hsatáhsawen' <u>ti</u> satáhsawe <u>ta</u> satáhsawen
startled, get	--	--	You get startled You got startled You have gotten startled Get startled! It is startling	<u>te</u> hsatón'neks <u>ta</u> hsatón'neke' <u>ti</u> satón'ne <u>ta</u> satón'nek <u>ti</u> otón'nekt
step on s.t.	I step on it there I stepped on it I have stepped on it Step on it!	<u>ie</u> kerá:ta's <u>ia</u> 'kerá:ta'ne' <u>ie</u> wakeratà:'on <u>ia</u> 'será:ta'n	You step on it here You stepped on it You have stepped on it Step on it!	<u>te</u> hserá:ta's <u>ta</u> hserá:ta'ne' <u>ti</u> saratà:'on <u>ta</u> será:ta'n
straight, go	I go straight I went straight I have gone straight Go straight!	<u>ie</u> kattakwarihsia:tha' <u>ia</u> 'kattakwarihsia'te' <u>ie</u> wakattakwarihsia:ton <u>ia</u> 'sattakwarihsia't	--	--
subtract <u>kerá</u> kwas <i>I chose s.t.</i>	--	--	You subtract it You subtracted it You have subtracted it Subtract it!	<u>te</u> hserákwas <u>ta</u> hserá:ko' <u>ti</u> sarákwas <u>ta</u> será:ko
sun sets	The sun sets The sun set The sun has set Let the sun set!	<u>ia</u> 'tewatshénthos <u>ia</u> 'tewatshéntho' <u>ia</u> 'teiotshénthon <u>ia</u> 'tewatshéntho	--	--

Verb		<u>Translocative</u>		<u>Cislocative</u>
swallow s.t.	I swallow it I swallowed it I have swallowed it Swallow it!	<u>ie</u> kahnehkwá:nons <u>ia'</u> kahnéhkwané' <u>iew</u> akahnehkwá:non <u>ia'</u> sahnéhkwan	--	--
throw s.t. <u>wak</u> akie's <i>I lose s.t.</i>	I throw it there I threw it I have thrown it Throw it!	<u>iew</u> akátie's <u>ia</u> honkwá:ti' <u>iew</u> akátion <u>ia'</u> sá:ti!	You throw it here You threw it here You have thrown it here Throw it here!	<u>ti</u> sátie's <u>tes</u> á:ti' <u>ti</u> sátion <u>tas</u> á:ti
throw s.t. at s.t.	I throw it at it (that way) I threw it at it I have thrown it at it Throw it at it there!	<u>ia'</u> tekóia'ks <u>ia'</u> tkóia'ke' <u>ia'</u> tewakóien <u>ia'</u> tesóia'k	You throw it at it (this way) You threw it at it You have thrown it at it Throw it at it here!	<u>te</u> tkóia'ks <u>tonta</u> kóia'ke' <u>tetew</u> akóien <u>tonta</u> sóia'k
touch s.t. (inanimate)	I touch it I touched it I have touched it Touch it!	<u>ie</u> tié:nas <u>ia'</u> tié:na' <u>iew</u> atiená:'on <u>ia'</u> tsé:na!	--	--
trip	--	--	You trip You tripped You have tripped Trip!	<u>ti</u> sahsi:tiá'ks <u>tes</u> sahsi:tiá'ke' <u>ti</u> sahsi'tiá:kon <u>tas</u> sahsi:tiá'k
turn (vehicle)	I turn I turned I have turned Turn!	<u>ie</u> kkarenhrákwas <u>ia'</u> kkarenhrá:ko' <u>iew</u> akkarenhrákwen <u>ia'</u> skarenhrá:ko	--	--
vomit, throw up <u>kat</u> stí:kons <i>I throw up</i>	--	--	You throw up (this way) You threw up You have thrown up Throw up!	<u>ti</u> katstí:kons <u>ta</u> kátstike' <u>te</u> wakatstí:kon <u>tas</u> átstik
write to s.o. <u>khi</u> á:tons <i>I write</i>	I write to her I wrote to her I have wrote to her Write to her!	<u>ie</u> khehiatón:nis <u>ia'</u> khehiá:ton'se' <u>ie</u> khehiatón:ni <u>ia'</u> shehiá:ton's	You write to me You wrote to me You have wrote to me Write to me!	<u>te</u> hsekhiatón:nis <u>ta</u> hsekhiá:ton'se' <u>te</u> hsekhiatón:ni <u>tas</u> ekhiá:ton's

Translocative Example Charts

Go Outside (I- + C-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<i>ie</i> tiá:ken'n	<i>ie</i> tiá:ken's	<i>iew</i> atiakèn:'en
<i>you</i>	<i>ia</i> 'tsá:ken'n	<i>ieh</i> siá:ken's	<i>ies</i> aiakèn:'en
<i>he</i>	<i>ieh</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>ieh</i> aiá:ken's	<i>ieho</i> iakèn:'en
<i>she</i>	<i>ieie</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ieie</i> iá:ken's	<i>ieia</i> koiakèn:'en
<i>it</i>	<i>iek</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>iek</i> aiá:ken's	<i>ieio</i> iakèn:'en
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ieten</i> iiá:ken'n	<i>ieten</i> iiá:ken's	<i>ieion</i> keniiakèn:'en
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ieia</i> keniiá:ken'n	<i>ieia</i> keniiá:ken's	<i>ieion</i> keniiakèn:'en
<i>you two</i>	<i>ia</i> 'seniiá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> eniiá:ken's	<i>ies</i> eniiakèn:'en
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>iehn</i> iiá:ken'n	<i>iehn</i> iiá:ken's	<i>ieho</i> tiakèn:'en
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ieken</i> iiá:ken'n	<i>ieken</i> iiá:ken's	<i>ieio</i> tiakèn:'en
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ietew</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>ietew</i> aiá:ken's	<i>ieion</i> kwaiakèn:'en
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ieia</i> kwaiá:ken'n	<i>ieia</i> kwaiá:ken's	<i>ieion</i> kwaiakèn:'en
<i>you all</i>	<i>ia</i> 'sewaiá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> ewaiá:ken's	<i>ies</i> ewaiakèn:'en
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ieha</i> tiá:ken'n	<i>ieha</i> tiá:ken's	<i>ieho</i> tiakèn:'en
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>iek</i> ontiiá:ken'n	<i>iek</i> ontiiá:ken's	<i>ieio</i> tiakèn:'en

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<i>ia</i> 'tiá:ken'ne'	<i>ia</i> tiá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>you</i>	<i>iah</i> siá:ken'ne'	<i>iah</i> siá:ken'ne'	<i>ienh</i> siá:ken'ne'
<i>he</i>	<i>iah</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>iah</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienh</i> aiá:ken'ne'
<i>she</i>	<i>iae</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iae</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ienie</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>it</i>	<i>ia</i> 'kaiá:ken'ne'	<i>ia</i> kaiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienk</i> aiá:ken'ne'
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ieten</i> iiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaeten</i> iiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienten</i> iiá:ken'ne'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ia</i> 'akeniiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaia</i> keniiá:ken'ne'	<i>ieni</i> akeniiá:ken'ne'
<i>you two</i>	<i>ies</i> eniiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaes</i> eniiá:ken'ne'	<i>iens</i> eniiá:ken'ne'
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>iahn</i> iiá:ken'ne'	<i>iahn</i> iiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienh</i> niá:ken'ne'
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ia</i> 'keniiá:ken'ne'	<i>ia</i> keniiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienk</i> eniiá:ken'ne'
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ietew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaetew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>ientew</i> aiá:ken'ne'
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ia</i> 'akwaiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaia</i> kwaiá:ken'ne'	<i>ieni</i> akwaiá:ken'ne'
<i>you all</i>	<i>ies</i> ewaiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaes</i> ewaiá:ken'ne'	<i>iens</i> ewaiá:ken'ne'
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>iah</i> atiá:ken'ne'	<i>iah</i> atiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienh</i> atiá:ken'ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ia</i> 'kontiiá:ken'ne'	<i>ia</i> kontiiá:ken'ne'	<i>ienk</i> ontiiá:ken'ne'

Go Back Outside (I- + S- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<i>ies</i> tiá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> tiá:ken's	<i>iesew</i> atiakèn:'en
<i>you</i>	<i>ionsa</i> t <i>sa</i> á:ken'n	<i>iese</i> h <i>si</i> á:ken's	<i>ietsi</i> saiakèn:'en
<i>he</i>	<i>ies</i> h <i>ai</i> á:ken'n	<i>ies</i> h <i>ai</i> á:ken's	<i>ies</i> h <i>oi</i> akèn:'en
<i>she</i>	<i>iet</i> s <i>ei</i> á:ken'n	<i>iet</i> s <i>ei</i> á:ken's	<i>ietsa</i> ko <i>i</i> akèn:'en
<i>it</i>	<i>ies</i> k <i>ai</i> á:ken'n	<i>ies</i> k <i>ai</i> á:ken's	<i>iet</i> s <i>oi</i> akèn:'en
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ietsi</i> t <i>en</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ietsi</i> t <i>en</i> iá:ken's	<i>iet</i> sonk <i>en</i> iakèn:'en
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ietsa</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ietsa</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken's	<i>iet</i> sonk <i>en</i> iakèn:'en
<i>you two</i>	<i>ionsa</i> s <i>en</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ietsi</i> s <i>en</i> iá:ken's	<i>ietsi</i> s <i>en</i> iakèn:'en
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ies</i> h <i>ni</i> á:ken'n	<i>ies</i> h <i>ni</i> á:ken's	<i>ies</i> h <i>ot</i> iakèn:'en
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ies</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken's	<i>iet</i> s <i>ot</i> iakèn:'en
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ietsi</i> t <i>ew</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>ietsi</i> t <i>ewaiá:ken's</i>	<i>iet</i> sionk <i>w</i> aiakèn:'en
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ietsa</i> k <i>w</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>ietsa</i> k <i>waiá:ken's</i>	<i>iet</i> sionk <i>w</i> aiakèn:'en
<i>you all</i>	<i>ionsa</i> s <i>ew</i> aiá:ken'n	<i>ietsi</i> s <i>ewaiá:ken's</i>	<i>ietsi</i> s <i>ewaiakèn:'en</i>
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ies</i> h <i>at</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> h <i>at</i> iá:ken's	<i>ies</i> h <i>ot</i> iakèn:'en
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ies</i> k <i>ont</i> iá:ken'n	<i>ies</i> k <i>ont</i> iá:ken's	<i>iet</i> s <i>ot</i> iakèn:'en

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<i>ionsa</i> tiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> tiá:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> stiá:ken'ne'
<i>you</i>	<i>ionsa</i> h <i>si</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> h <i>si</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> seh <i>si</i> á:ken'ne'
<i>he</i>	<i>ionsa</i> h <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> h <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sh <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'
<i>she</i>	<i>ionsa</i> i <i>ei</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> i <i>ei</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> s <i>ei</i> á:ken'ne'
<i>it</i>	<i>ionsa</i> k <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> k <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sk <i>ai</i> á:ken'ne'
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ion</i> se <i>ten</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaon</i> se <i>ten</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> si <i>ten</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ionsa</i> iak <i>en</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> iak <i>en</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> sa <i>ken</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>you two</i>	<i>ion</i> se <i>sen</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaon</i> se <i>sen</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> si <i>sen</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ionsa</i> h <i>ni</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> h <i>ni</i> á:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sh <i>ni</i> á:ken'ne'
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ionsa</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> k <i>en</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sk <i>en</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ion</i> se <i>tew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaon</i> se <i>tew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> si <i>tew</i> aiá:ken'ne'
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ionsa</i> iak <i>w</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> iak <i>w</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> sa <i>k</i> waiá:ken'ne'
<i>you all</i>	<i>ion</i> se <i>sew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>iaon</i> se <i>sew</i> aiá:ken'ne'	<i>ient</i> si <i>sew</i> aiá:ken'ne'
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ionsa</i> h <i>at</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> h <i>at</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sh <i>at</i> iá:ken'ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ionsa</i> k <i>ont</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>iaonsa</i> k <i>ont</i> iá:ken'ne'	<i>ien</i> sk <i>ont</i> iá:ken'ne'

Run There (I- + Te- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> k aráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> k aráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> w akaráhtá:ton
<i>you</i>	<i>ia'te</i> h saráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> h saráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> s aráhtá:ton
<i>he</i>	<i>ia'te</i> h aráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> h aráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> h aráhtá:ton
<i>she</i>	<i>ia'te</i> i onaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> i onaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i akaráhtá:ton
<i>it</i>	<i>ia'te</i> w aráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> w aráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i onaráhtá:ton
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> t iaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> t iaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i ontiaráhtá:ton
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> i atíaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> i atíaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i ontiaráhtá:ton
<i>you two</i>	<i>ia'te</i> t saráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> t saráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> t saráhtá:ton
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ia'te</i> h iaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> h iaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> h onaráhtá:ton
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ia'te</i> t iaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> t iaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i onaráhtá:ton
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> tew aráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> tew aráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i onkwaráhtá:ton
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> i akwaráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> i akwaráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i onkwaráhtá:ton
<i>you all</i>	<i>ia'te</i> sew aráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> sew aráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> sew aráhtá:ton
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ia'te</i> h onráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> h onráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> h onaráhtá:ton
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ia'te</i> k onráhtat	<i>ia'te</i> k onráhtats	<i>ia'te</i> i onaráhtá:ton

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<i>ia't</i> k aráhtate'	<i>ia't</i> k aráhtate'	<i>ia'ten</i> k aráhtate'
<i>you</i>	<i>ia'te</i> h saráhtate'	<i>ia't</i> h saráhtate'	<i>ia'ten</i> h saráhtate'
<i>he</i>	<i>ia't</i> h aráhtate'	<i>ia't</i> h aráhtate'	<i>ia'ten</i> h aráhtate'
<i>she</i>	<i>ia't</i> i onaráhtate'	<i>ia't</i> i onaráhtate'	<i>ia'ten</i> i onaráhtate'
<i>it</i>	<i>ia'tewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tawaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'ten</i> w aráhtate'
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ia'te</i> t iaráhtate'	<i>ia'tae</i> t iaráhtate'	<i>ia'tenttiaráhtate'</i>
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ia't</i> i atíaráhtate'	<i>ia'tatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'teniatíaráhtate'</i>
<i>you two</i>	<i>ia'te</i> t saráhtate'	<i>ia'tae</i> t saráhtate'	<i>ia'tenttsaráhtate'</i>
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ia't</i> h iaráhtate'	<i>ia'thíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'ten</i> h iaráhtate'
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ia'ttíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenttiaráhtate'</i>
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ia'tetewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tae</i> tew aráhtate'	<i>ia'tentewaráhtate'</i>
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ia'tiakwaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taiakwaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'teniakwaráhtate'</i>
<i>you all</i>	<i>ia'tesewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tae</i> sew aráhtate'	<i>ia'tensewaráhtate'</i>
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ia'thonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tahonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'ten</i> h onráhtate'
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ia'tkonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'takonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'ten</i> k onráhtate'

Run Back There (I- + Te- + S- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<i>ia'teskaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'teskaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tesewakarahtá:ton</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>ia'tonsahsaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tesehsaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsisarahtá:ton</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>ia'tesharáhtat</i>	<i>ia'tesharáhtats</i>	<i>ia'teshotohtáhrhon</i>
<i>she</i>	<i>ia'tetsonaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsonaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsakotohtáhrhon</i>
<i>it</i>	<i>ia'tesewaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tesewaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsotohtáhrhon</i>
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ia'tetsitíaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsitíaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsontíarahtá:ton</i>
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ia'tetsatíaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsatíaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsontíarahtá:ton</i>
<i>you two</i>	<i>ia'tonsatsaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsitsaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsitsarahtá:ton</i>
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ia'teshíaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'teshíaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'teshonarahtá:ton</i>
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ia'testíaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'testíaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsonarahtá:ton</i>
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ia'tetsitewaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsitewaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsonkwarahtá:ton</i>
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ia'tetsakwaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsakwaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsonkwarahtá:ton</i>
<i>you all</i>	<i>ia'tonsasewaráhtat</i>	<i>ia'tetsisewaráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsisewarahtá:ton</i>
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ia'teshonráhtat</i>	<i>ia'teshonráhtats</i>	<i>ia'teshonarahtá:ton</i>
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ia'teskonráhtat</i>	<i>ia'teskonráhtats</i>	<i>ia'tetsonarahtá:ton</i>

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<i>ia'tonsakaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsakaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenskaráhtate'</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>ia'tonsahsaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsahsaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tensehsaráhtate'</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>ia'tonsaharáhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsaharáhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tesharáhtate'</i>
<i>she</i>	<i>ia'tonsaionaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsaionaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsonaráhtate'</i>
<i>it</i>	<i>ia'tonsawaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsawaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tensewaráhtate'</i>
<i>you & I</i>	<i>ia'tonsetíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsetíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsitíaráhtate'</i>
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<i>ia'tonsaiatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsaiatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsatíaráhtate'</i>
<i>you two</i>	<i>ia'tonsetsaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsetsaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsitsaráhtate'</i>
<i>two (M)</i>	<i>ia'tonsahíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsahíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenshíaráhtate'</i>
<i>two (F)</i>	<i>ia'tonsatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsatíaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenstíaráhtate'</i>
<i>you all & I</i>	<i>ia'tonsetewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsetewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsitewaráhtate'</i>
<i>they & I</i>	<i>ia'tonsaiakwaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsaiakwaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsakwaráhtate'</i>
<i>you all</i>	<i>ia'tonsesewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsesewaráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tentsisewaráhtate'</i>
<i>they (M)</i>	<i>ia'tonsahonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsahonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenshonráhtate'</i>
<i>they (F)</i>	<i>ia'tonsakonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'taonsakonráhtate'</i>	<i>ia'tenskonráhtate'</i>

Cislocative Example Charts

Come Inside (T- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	<u>t</u> katáweia't	<u>t</u> kataweia:tha'	<u>te</u> wakataweia:ton
<i>you</i>	<u>ta</u> satáweia't	<u>te</u> hsataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> sataweia:ton
<i>he</i>	<u>th</u> atáweia't	<u>th</u> ataweia:tha'	<u>th</u> otaweia:ton
<i>she</i>	<u>ti</u> onáweia't	<u>ti</u> onataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> akotaweia:ton
<i>it</i>	<u>te</u> watáweia't	<u>te</u> wataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> otaweia:ton
<i>you & I</i>	<u>ti</u> tiatáweia't	<u>ti</u> tiataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> ontiataweia:ton
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>ti</u> iatatáweia't	<u>ti</u> iatataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> ontiataweia:ton
<i>you two</i>	<u>ta</u> tsatáweia't	<u>ti</u> tsataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> tsataweia:ton
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>th</u> iatáweia't	<u>th</u> iataweia:tha'	<u>th</u> onataweia:ton
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>ti</u> iatáweia't	<u>ti</u> iataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> onataweia:ton
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>ti</u> tewatáweia't	<u>ti</u> tewataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> onkwataweia:ton
<i>they & I</i>	<u>ti</u> akwatáweia't	<u>ti</u> akwataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> onkwataweia:ton
<i>you all</i>	<u>ta</u> sewatáweia't	<u>ti</u> sewataweia:tha'	<u>ti</u> sewataweia:ton
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>th</u> ontáweia't	<u>th</u> ontaweia:tha'	<u>th</u> onataweia:ton
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>k</u> ontáweia't	<u>k</u> ontaweia:tha'	<u>k</u> ionataweia:ton

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	<u>ta</u> katáweia'te'	<u>aonta</u> katáweia'te'	<u>ent</u> katáweia'te'
<i>you</i>	<u>ta</u> hsatáweia'te'	<u>aonta</u> hsatáweia'te'	<u>ente</u> hsatáweia'te'
<i>he</i>	<u>ta</u> hatáweia'te'	<u>aonta</u> hatáweia'te'	<u>ent</u> hatáweia'te'
<i>she</i>	<u>ta</u> ionatáweia'te'	<u>aonta</u> ionatáweia'te'	<u>ent</u> ionatáweia'te'
<i>it</i>	<u>to</u> ntáweia'te'	<u>aonto</u> ntáweia'te'	<u>ente</u> watáweia'te'
<i>you & I</i>	<u>te</u> tiatáweia'te'	<u>aonteti</u> iatáweia'te'	<u>enti</u> tiatáweia'te'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	<u>ta</u> iatiatáweia'te'	<u>aonta</u> iatiatáweia'te'	<u>enti</u> iatiatáweia'te'
<i>you two</i>	<u>te</u> tsatáweia'te'	<u>aontets</u> atáweia'te'	<u>enti</u> tsatáweia'te'
<i>two (M)</i>	<u>ta</u> hiatáweia'te'	<u>aontahi</u> iatáweia'te'	<u>ent</u> hiatáweia'te'
<i>two (F)</i>	<u>ta</u> tiatáweia'te'	<u>aontati</u> iatáweia'te'	<u>enti</u> tiatáweia'te'
<i>you all & I</i>	<u>te</u> tewatáweia'te'	<u>aontetew</u> atáweia'te'	<u>entitew</u> atáweia'te'
<i>they & I</i>	<u>ta</u> iakwatáweia'te'	<u>aontaiakw</u> atáweia'te'	<u>entiakw</u> atáweia'te'
<i>you all</i>	<u>te</u> sewatáweia'te'	<u>aontesew</u> atáweia'te'	<u>entisew</u> atáweia'te'
<i>they (M)</i>	<u>ta</u> hontáweia'te'	<u>aontahont</u> atáweia'te'	<u>enthont</u> atáweia'te'
<i>they (F)</i>	<u>ta</u> kontáweia'te'	<u>aontakont</u> atáweia'te'	<u>ent</u> kontáweia'te'

Come Back Inside (S- + T- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	te <u>k</u> ataweia't	te <u>k</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>tew</u> akataweia:ton
<i>you</i>	te <u>onta</u> sataweia't	te <u>tehs</u> sataweia:tha'	te <u>ti</u> sataweia:ton
<i>he</i>	te <u>h</u> ataweia't	te <u>h</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>tho</u> taweia:ton
<i>she</i>	te <u>tion</u> taweia't	te <u>tion</u> taweia:tha'	te <u>tiak</u> otaweia:ton
<i>it</i>	te <u>te</u> wataweia't	te <u>te</u> wataweia:tha'	te <u>tiot</u> taweia:ton
<i>you & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> iataweia't	te <u>ti</u> iataweia:tha'	te <u>tionti</u> ataweia:ton
<i>s.o. & I</i>	te <u>tiati</u> ataweia't	te <u>tiati</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>tionti</u> ataweia:ton
<i>you two</i>	te <u>onta</u> tsataweia't	te <u>ti</u> tsataweia:tha'	te <u>ti</u> tsataweia:ton
<i>two (M)</i>	te <u>hi</u> ataweia't	te <u>hi</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>thon</u> ataweia:ton
<i>two (F)</i>	te <u>ti</u> ataweia't	te <u>ti</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>tion</u> ataweia:ton
<i>you all & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> tewataweia't	te <u>ti</u> tewataweia:tha'	te <u>tionkw</u> ataweia:ton
<i>they & I</i>	te <u>tiakw</u> ataweia't	te <u>tiakw</u> ataweia:tha'	te <u>tionkw</u> ataweia:ton
<i>you all</i>	te <u>onta</u> sewataweia't	te <u>ti</u> sewataweia:tha'	te <u>ti</u> sewataweia:ton
<i>they (M)</i>	te <u>thon</u> taweia't	te <u>thon</u> taweia:tha'	te <u>thon</u> ataweia:ton
<i>they (F)</i>	te <u>k</u> ontaweia't	te <u>k</u> ontaweia:tha'	te <u>tion</u> ataweia:ton

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	te <u>onta</u> katáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> katáweia'te'	te <u>ent</u> katáweia'te'
<i>you</i>	te <u>onta</u> hsatáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> hsatáweia'te'	te <u>ente</u> hsatáweia'te'
<i>he</i>	te <u>onta</u> hatáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> hatáweia'te'	te <u>enth</u> atáweia'te'
<i>she</i>	te <u>onta</u> iontáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> iontáweia'te'	te <u>ention</u> táweia'te'
<i>it</i>	te <u>ont</u> ontáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> ontáweia'te'	te <u>entew</u> atáweia'te'
<i>you & I</i>	te <u>ont</u> etiatáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> etiatáweia'te'	te <u>enti</u> tiatáweia'te'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	te <u>onta</u> iatiatáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> iatiatáweia'te'	te <u>entiat</u> iatáweia'te'
<i>you two</i>	te <u>ont</u> etsatáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> etsatáweia'te'	te <u>enti</u> tsatáweia'te'
<i>two (M)</i>	te <u>onta</u> hiatáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> hiatáweia'te'	te <u>enth</u> iatáweia'te'
<i>two (F)</i>	te <u>onta</u> tiatáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> tiatáweia'te'	te <u>entti</u> atáweia'te'
<i>you all & I</i>	te <u>ont</u> etewatáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> etewatáweia'te'	te <u>enti</u> tewatáweia'te'
<i>they & I</i>	te <u>ont</u> aiakwatáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> aiakwatáweia'te'	te <u>entiakw</u> atáweia'te'
<i>you all</i>	te <u>ont</u> esewatáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> esewatáweia'te'	te <u>enti</u> sewatáweia'te'
<i>they (M)</i>	te <u>onta</u> hontáweia'te'	ta <u>onta</u> hontáweia'te'	te <u>enthon</u> táweia'te'
<i>they (F)</i>	te <u>ont</u> akontáweia'te'	ta <u>ont</u> akontáweia'te'	te <u>entk</u> ontáweia'te'

Run Here / Run Back Here (Te- + T- + A-Stem)

	COMMAND	HABITUAL	STATIVE PERFECT
<i>I</i>	te <u>k</u> aráhtat	te <u>k</u> aráhtats	te <u>tew</u> akarahrá:ton
<i>you</i>	te <u>nta</u> saráhtat	te <u>te</u> hsaráhtats	te <u>ti</u> sarahrá:ton
<i>he</i>	te <u>h</u> aráhtat	te <u>h</u> aráhtats	te <u>th</u> orahrá:ton
<i>she</i>	te <u>tion</u> aráhtat	te <u>tion</u> aráhtats	te <u>ti</u> akorahrá:ton
<i>it</i>	te <u>tew</u> aráhtat	te <u>tew</u> aráhtats	te <u>ti</u> orahrá:ton
<i>you & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> iaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> iaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> tiarahrá:ton
<i>s.o. & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> iatiaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> iatiaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> tiarahrá:ton
<i>you two</i>	te <u>nta</u> tsaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> tsaráhtats	te <u>ti</u> tsarahrá:ton
<i>two (M)</i>	te <u>h</u> iaráhtat	te <u>h</u> iaráhtats	te <u>th</u> onarahrá:ton
<i>two (F)</i>	te <u>ti</u> iaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> iaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> arahrá:ton
<i>you all & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> tewaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> tewaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> kwarahrá:ton
<i>they & I</i>	te <u>ti</u> akwaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> akwaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> kwarahrá:ton
<i>you all</i>	te <u>nta</u> sewaráhtat	te <u>ti</u> sewaráhtats	te <u>ti</u> sewarahrá:ton
<i>they (M)</i>	te <u>th</u> onaráhtat	te <u>th</u> onaráhtats	te <u>th</u> onarahrá:ton
<i>they (F)</i>	te <u>k</u> onaráhtat	te <u>k</u> onaráhtats	te <u>tion</u> arahrá:ton

	FACTUAL	OPTATIVE	FUTURE
<i>I</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>k</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>k</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nt</u> <u>k</u> aráhtate'
<i>you</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>h</u> saráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>h</u> saráhtate'	te <u>nte</u> <u>h</u> saráhtate'
<i>he</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>h</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>h</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nth</u> aráhtate'
<i>she</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>tion</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>tion</u> aráhtate'	te <u>ntion</u> aráhtate'
<i>it</i>	te <u>nt</u> <u>on</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>ont</u> <u>on</u> aráhtate'	te <u>ntew</u> aráhtate'
<i>you & I</i>	te <u>nte</u> <u>ti</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>ont</u> <u>te</u> iaráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> tiaráhtate'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>ti</u> iaráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>ti</u> iaráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> tiaráhtate'
<i>you two</i>	te <u>nte</u> <u>ts</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>ont</u> <u>ts</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> tsaráhtate'
<i>two (M)</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>h</u> iaráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>h</u> iaráhtate'	te <u>nth</u> iaráhtate'
<i>two (F)</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>ti</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>ti</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> tiaráhtate'
<i>you all & I</i>	te <u>nte</u> <u>tew</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>ont</u> <u>tew</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> tewaráhtate'
<i>they & I</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>ti</u> akwaráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>ti</u> akwaráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> akwaráhtate'
<i>you all</i>	te <u>nte</u> <u>sew</u> aráhtate'	ta <u>ont</u> <u>sew</u> aráhtate'	te <u>nti</u> sewaráhtate'
<i>they (M)</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>h</u> onaráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>h</u> onaráhtate'	te <u>nth</u> onaráhtate'
<i>they (F)</i>	te <u>nta</u> <u>k</u> onaráhtate'	ta <u>onta</u> <u>k</u> onaráhtate'	te <u>nt</u> <u>k</u> onaráhtate'

Unit 3: Going & Coming

Going and Coming Description

To convey the meanings of going (there) and coming (here), the cislocative and translocative are used with the verb *-e*. This is related to the verb *-e's* (to be about a place), such as in “*kenh i:ke's*” (I am here).

Translocative

tho *ién:ke'*
I will go there

Cislocative

kenh *entke'*
I will come here

Unlike regular verbs, the factual aspect is used to convey the present meaning (i.e., *I'm doing it right now*).

Cislocative

kenh *tà:re'*
He is coming here

Cislocative

niá:wen tsi *táhse'*
Thanks for coming

To convey the present meaning (i.e., *I'm doing it right now*) for going somewhere, the translocative *I-* is not used. It is possible that this is another form of the translocative.

tho *wà:ke'*
I am going there

Also unlike regular verbs, the present / factual can be negated because of its present meaning.

Positive

tho *wà:re'*
He is going there

Negative

iah tho *thà:re'*
He is not going there

kenh *tà:re'*
He is coming here

iah kenh tho *ontà:re'*
He is not coming here

Although the factual can be used to convey the meaning “*went there*” or “*came here*”, in many instances speakers use the remote past, which implies that one is no longer in the location that they went or came to.

Factual

tho *niahà:ke*
I went there

Remote Past

tho *iewakenòn:ne*
I went there
(but no longer there)

Going Verb Charts

Going There

	Command <i>go there!</i>	Habitual <i>go/goes there</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has gone there</i>	Remote Past <i>had gone there</i>
<i>I</i>		tho iek éhtha'	tho iew waké:non	tho iew wakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	tho iahá:se	tho iehs éhtha'	tho ies é:non	tho ies enòn:ne
<i>he</i>		tho iehr éhtha'	tho ieh awé:non	tho ieh awenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		tho ieién htha'	tho ieiakaw é:non	tho ieiakaw enòn:ne
<i>it</i>		tho iew wéhtha'	tho ieia wé:non	tho ieia wenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		tho ieten éhtha'	tho ieionken é:non	tho ieionken enòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		tho ieia kenéhtha'	tho ieionken é:non	tho ieionken enòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	tho iahá:sene	tho iesen éhtha'	tho iesen é:non	tho iesen enòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		tho iehn éhtha'	tho iehon é:non	tho ieon enòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		tho ieken éhtha'	tho ieion é:non	tho ieion enòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		tho ietew éhtha'	tho ieionkw é:non	tho ieionkw enòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		tho ieiakw éhtha'	tho ieionkw é:non	tho ieionkw enòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	tho iahá:sewe	tho iesew éhtha'	tho iesew é:non	tho iesew enòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		tho iehon éhtha'	tho iehon é:non	tho iehon enòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		tho iekonn éhtha'	tho ieion é:non	tho ieion enòn:ne
	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is going there</i>	Factual <i>did go there</i>	Optative <i>would go there</i>	Future <i>will go there</i>
<i>I</i>	tho wà:ke'	tho niahà:ke'	tho ia:ke'	tho ién:ke'
<i>you</i>	tho wà:hse'	tho niahà:hse'	tho ia:hse'	tho ién:hse'
<i>he</i>	tho wà:re'	tho niahà:re'	tho ia:re'	tho ién:re'
<i>she</i>	tho wà:'en'	tho niahà:'en'	tho ia:ien'	tho ién:ien'
<i>it</i>	tho wà:he'	tho niahà:he'	tho ia:we'	tho ién:we'
<i>you & I</i>	tho wétene'	tho niahétene'	tho iaétene'	tho ién:tene'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	tho wa'ákene'	tho nia'ákene'	tho iaiakene'	tho ieniákene'
<i>you two</i>	tho wésene'	tho niahésene'	tho iaésene'	tho ién:sene'
<i>two (M)</i>	tho wà:ne'	tho niahà:ne'	tho ia:ne'	tho ién:ne'
<i>two (F)</i>	tho wà:kene'	tho niahà:kene'	tho iakene'	tho ién:kene'
<i>you all & I</i>	tho wétewe'	tho niahétewe'	tho iaétewe'	tho ién:tewe'
<i>they & I</i>	tho wa'ákwe'	tho nia'ákwe'	tho iaiakwe'	tho ieniákwe'
<i>you all</i>	tho wésewe'	tho niahésewe'	tho iaésewe'	tho ién:sewe'
<i>they (M)</i>	tho wa'hón:ne'	tho niahón:ne'	tho iahón:ne'	tho ienhón:ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	tho wa'kón:ne'	tho nia'kón:ne'	tho iakón:ne'	tho ienkón:ne'

Not Going There

	Command <i>don't go there!</i>	Habitual <i>do/does not go there</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has not gone there</i>	Remote Past <i>had not gone there</i>
<i>I</i>		iah tho thi ie ké h tha'	iah tho thi ie waké:non	iah tho thi ie wakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	tóhsa tho ia há:se	iah tho thi ie hsé h tha'	iah tho thi ie sé:non	iah tho thi ie senòn:ne
<i>he</i>		iah tho thi ie hré h tha'	iah tho thi ie hawé:non	iah tho thi ie hawenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		iah tho thi ie ién h tha'	iah tho thi ie iakawé:non	iah tho thi ie iakawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		iah tho thi ie wé h tha'	iah tho thi ie iawé:non	iah tho thi ie iawenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		iah tho thi ie tené h tha'	iah tho thi ie ionké:non	iah tho thi ie ionkenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		iah tho thi ie iakené h tha'	iah tho thi ie ionké:non	iah tho thi ie ionkenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	tóhsa tho ia há:sene	iah tho thi ie sené h tha'	Iah tho thi ie sené:non	iah tho thi ie senenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		iah tho thi ie hné h tha'	iah tho thi ie honé:non	iah tho thi ie honenòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		iah tho thi ie kené h tha'	iah tho thi ie ioné:non	iah tho thi ie ionenòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		iah tho thi ie tewé h tha'	iah tho thi ie ionkwé:non	iah tho thi ie ionkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		iah tho thi ie iakwé h tha'	iah tho thi ie ionkwé:non	iah tho thi ie ionkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	tóhsa tho ia há:sewe	iah tho thi ie sewé h tha'	iah tho thi ie sewé:non	iah tho thi ie sewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		iah tho thi ie honné h tha'	iah tho thi ie honé:non	iah tho thi ie honenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		iah tho thi ie konné h tha'	iah tho thi ie ioné:non	iah tho thi ie ionenòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is not going there</i>	Factual <i>didn't go back there</i>	Optative <i>wouldn't / won't go there</i>	Future <i>will not go there</i>
<i>I</i>	iah tho thà:ke'		iah tho thi ia :ke'	
<i>you</i>	iah tho thá:hse'		iah tho thi ia hse'	
<i>he</i>	iah tho thà:re'		iah tho thi ia :re'	
<i>she</i>	iah tho thà:'en'		iah tho thi ia :jen'	
<i>it</i>	iah tho thá:he'		iah tho thi ia :we'	
<i>you & I</i>	iah tho thé:tene'		iah tho thi ia é:tene'	
<i>s.o. & I</i>	iah tho tha'ákene'		iah tho thi ia í:ákene'	
<i>you two</i>	iah tho thé:sene'	--	iah tho thi ia é:sene'	--
<i>two (M)</i>	iah tho thà:ne'		iah tho thi ia :ne'	
<i>two (F)</i>	iah tho thà:kene'		iah tho thi ia ákene'	
<i>you all & I</i>	iah tho thé:tewe'		iah tho thi ia é:tewe'	
<i>they & I</i>	iah tho tha'ákwe'		iah tho thi ia í:ákwe'	
<i>you all</i>	iah tho thé:sewe'		iah tho thi ia é:sewe'	
<i>they (M)</i>	iah tho tha:hón:ne'		iah tho thi ia hón:ne'	
<i>they (F)</i>	iah tho tha'kón:ne'		iah tho thi ia kón:ne'	

Going Back There

	Command <i>go back there!</i>	Habitual <i>go/goes back there</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has gone back there</i>	Remote Past <i>had gone back there</i>
<i>I</i>		tho <i>ies</i> kehtha'	tho <i>iesewaké</i> :non	tho <i>iesewakenòn</i> :ne
<i>you</i>	tho <i>ionsá:se</i>	tho <i>iesehséh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsisé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsisenòn</i> :ne
<i>he</i>		tho <i>ieshréh</i> tha'	tho <i>ieshawé</i> :non	tho <i>ieshawenòn</i> :ne
<i>she</i>		tho <i>ietsénh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsakawé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsakawenòn</i> :ne
<i>it</i>		tho <i>iesewéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsawé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsawenòn</i> :ne
<i>you & I</i>		tho <i>ietsitenéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsonkené</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonkenenòn</i> :ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		tho <i>ietsakenéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsonkené</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonkenenòn</i> :ne
<i>you two</i>	tho <i>ionsásene</i>	tho <i>ietsisenéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsisené</i> :non	tho <i>ietsisenenòn</i> :ne
<i>two (M)</i>		tho <i>ieshnéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ieshoné</i> :non	tho <i>ieshonenòn</i> :ne
<i>two (F)</i>		tho <i>ieskenéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsoné</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonenòn</i> :ne
<i>you all & I</i>		tho <i>ietsitewéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsonkwé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonkwenòn</i> :ne
<i>they & I</i>		tho <i>ietsakwéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsonkwé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonkwenòn</i> :ne
<i>you all</i>	tho <i>ionsásewe</i>	tho <i>ietsisewéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsisewé</i> :non	tho <i>ietsisewenòn</i> :ne
<i>they (M)</i>		tho <i>ieshonnéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ieshoné</i> :non	tho <i>ieshonenòn</i> :ne
<i>they (F)</i>		tho <i>ieskonnéh</i> tha'	tho <i>ietsoné</i> :non	tho <i>ietsonenòn</i> :ne
	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is going back there</i>	Factual <i>went back there</i>	Optative <i>would go back there</i>	Future <i>will go back there</i>
<i>I</i>	tho <i>sá:ke'</i>	tho <i>ionsá:ke'</i>	tho <i>iaonsá:ke'</i>	tho <i>iénske'</i>
<i>you</i>	tho <i>sáhse'</i>	tho <i>ionsáhse'</i>	tho <i>iaonsáhse'</i>	tho <i>iénséhse'</i>
<i>he</i>	tho <i>sà:re'</i>	tho <i>ionsà:re'</i>	tho <i>iaonsà:re'</i>	tho <i>iénsahre'</i>
<i>she</i>	tho <i>sá:ien'</i>	tho <i>ionsá:ien'</i>	tho <i>iaonsá:ien'</i>	tho <i>iéntsen'</i>
<i>it</i>	tho <i>sáhe'</i>	tho <i>ionsáhe'</i>	tho <i>iaonsáhe'</i>	tho <i>iénsewe'</i>
<i>you & I</i>	tho <i>sétene'</i>	tho <i>ionsétene'</i>	tho <i>iaonsétene'</i>	tho <i>ientsítene'</i>
<i>s.o. & I</i>	tho <i>saiákene'</i>	tho <i>ionsaiákene'</i>	tho <i>iaonsaiákene'</i>	tho <i>ientsákene'</i>
<i>you two</i>	tho <i>sésene'</i>	tho <i>ionsésene'</i>	tho <i>iaonsésene'</i>	tho <i>ientsísene'</i>
<i>two (M)</i>	tho <i>sà:ne'</i>	tho <i>ionsà:ne'</i>	tho <i>iaonsà:ne'</i>	tho <i>iénsahne'</i>
<i>two (F)</i>	tho <i>sákene'</i>	tho <i>ionsákene'</i>	tho <i>iaonsákene'</i>	tho <i>iénskene'</i>
<i>you all & I</i>	tho <i>sétewe'</i>	tho <i>ionsétewe'</i>	tho <i>iaonsétewe'</i>	tho <i>ientsítewe'</i>
<i>they & I</i>	tho <i>saiákwe'</i>	tho <i>ionsaiákwe'</i>	tho <i>iaonsaiákwe'</i>	tho <i>ientsákwe'</i>
<i>you all</i>	tho <i>sésewe'</i>	tho <i>ionsésewe'</i>	tho <i>iaonsésewe'</i>	tho <i>ientsísewe'</i>
<i>they (M)</i>	tho <i>sahón:ne'</i>	tho <i>ionsahón:ne'</i>	tho <i>iaonsahón:ne'</i>	tho <i>ienshón:ne'</i>
<i>they (F)</i>	tho <i>sakón:ne'</i>	tho <i>ionsakón:ne'</i>	tho <i>iaonsakón:ne'</i>	tho <i>ienstkón:ne'</i>

Not Going Back There

	Command <i>don't go back there</i>	Habitual <i>don't/doesn't go back there</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has not gone back there</i>	Remote Past <i>had not gone back there</i>
<i>I</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> kehtha'	iah tho th <i>ies</i> ewaké:non	iah tho th <i>ies</i> ewakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	tóhsa tho <i>ionsá:se</i>	iah tho th <i>ies</i> ehséhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isenòn:ne
<i>he</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> hréhtha'	iah tho th <i>ies</i> hawé:non	iah tho th <i>ies</i> hawenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		iah tho th <i>iets</i> énhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> akawé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> akawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> ewéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> awé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> awenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		iah tho th <i>iets</i> itenéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkené:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkenenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		iah tho th <i>iets</i> akenéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkené:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkenenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	tóhsa tho <i>ionsásene</i>	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isenéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isené:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isenenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> hnéhtha'	iah tho th <i>ies</i> honé:non	iah tho th <i>ies</i> honenòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> kenéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> oné:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onenòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		iah tho th <i>iets</i> itewéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkwé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		iah tho th <i>iets</i> akwéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkwé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	tóhsa tho <i>ionsásewe</i>	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isewéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isewé:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> isewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> honnéhtha'	iah tho th <i>ies</i> honé:non	iah tho th <i>ies</i> honenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		iah tho th <i>ies</i> konnéhtha'	iah tho th <i>iets</i> oné:non	iah tho th <i>iets</i> onenòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is not going back there</i>	Factual <i>didn't go back there</i>	Optative <i>wouldn't / won't go back there</i>	Future <i>won't go back there</i>
<i>I</i>	iah tho thonsá:ke'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsá:ke'	
<i>you</i>	iah tho thonsáhse'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsáhse'	
<i>he</i>	iah tho thonsà:re'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsà:re'	
<i>she</i>	iah tho thonsá:ien'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsá:ien'	
<i>it</i>	iah tho thonsáhe'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsáhe'	
<i>you & I</i>	iah tho thonsétene'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsétene'	
<i>s.o. & I</i>	iah tho thonsaiákene'	--	iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsaiákene'	--
<i>you two</i>	iah tho thonsésene'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsésene'	
<i>two (M)</i>	iah tho thonsà:ne'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsà:ne'	
<i>two (F)</i>	iah tho thonsákene'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsákene'	
<i>you all & I</i>	iah tho thonsétewe'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsétewe'	
<i>they & I</i>	iah tho thonsaiákwe'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsaiákwe'	
<i>you all</i>	iah tho thonsésewe'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsésewe'	
<i>they (M)</i>	iah tho thonsahón:ne'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsahón:ne'	
<i>they (F)</i>	iah tho thonsakón:ne'		iah tho th <i>ia</i> onsakón:ne'	

Unit 3: Going & Coming

Coming Verb Charts

Coming Here

	Command <i>come here!</i>	Habitual <i>come/comes here</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has come here</i>	Remote Past <i>had come here</i>	
<i>I</i>		kenh t ké <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ewaké:non	kenh t ewakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	kenh ká:ts / nontá:se	ken t ehsé <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t isé:non	kenh t isenòn:ne
<i>he</i>		kenh t hré <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t hawé:non	kenh t hawenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		kenh t ién <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t iakawé:non	kenh t iakawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		kenh t ewé <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t iawé:non	kenh t iawenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		kenh t itené <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ionkené:non	kenh t ionkenenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		kenh t iakené <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ionkené:non	kenh t ionkenenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	kenh kásene / kenh nontásene	kenh t isené <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t isené:non	kenh t isenenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		kenh t hné <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t honé:non	kenh t honenòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		kenh t kené <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ioné:non	kenh t ionenòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		kenh t itewé <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ionkwé:non	kenh t ionkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		kenh t iakwé <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ionkwé:non	kenh t ionkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	kenh kásewe / kenh nontásewe	kenh t isewé <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t isewé:non	kenh t isewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		kenh t honné <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t honé:non	kenh t honenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		kenh t konné <th>h</th> tha'	h	kenh t ioné:non	kenh t ionenòn:ne

Present / Factual

Optative

Future

...am/are/is coming here

would come here

will come here

<i>I</i>	kenh t á:ke'	kenh a ontá:ke'	kenh é ntke'
<i>you</i>	kenh t á:hse'	kenh a ontá:hse'	kenh é nté:hse'
<i>he</i>	kenh t à:re'	kenh a ontà:re'	kenh é nthre'
<i>she</i>	kenh t á:ien'	kenh a ontá:ien'	kenh é ntien'
<i>it</i>	kenh t á:we'	kenh a ontá:we'	kenh é ntewe'
<i>you & I</i>	kenh t étene'	kenh a ontétene'	kenh é ntítene'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	kenh t aiákene'	kenh a ontaiákene'	kenh é ntiákene'
<i>you two</i>	kenh t ésene'	kenh a ontésene'	kenh é ntísene'
<i>two (M)</i>	kenh t à:ne'	kenh a ontà:ne'	kenh é nthne'
<i>two (F)</i>	kenh t ákene'	kenh a ontákene'	kenh é ntkene'
<i>you all & I</i>	kenh t étewe'	kenh a ontétewe'	kenh é ntítewe'
<i>they & I</i>	kenh t aiákwe'	kenh a ontaiákwe'	kenh é ntiákwe'
<i>you all</i>	kenh t ésewe'	kenh a ontésewe'	kenh é ntísewe'
<i>they (M)</i>	kenh t ahón:ne'	kenh a ontahón:ne'	kenh é nthón:ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	kenh t akón:ne'	kenh a ontakón:ne'	kenh é ntkón:ne'

Not Coming Here

	Command <i>don't come here!</i>	Habitual <i>don't/doesn't come here</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has not come here</i>	Remote Past <i>had not come here</i>
<i>I</i>		iah kenh tet ^k é ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ^e waké:non	iah kenh tet ^e wakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	tóhsa kenh nontá:se	iah ken tet ^{ch} sé ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ sé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ senòn:ne
<i>he</i>		iah kenh tet ^h ré ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ^h awé:non	iah kenh tet ^h awenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		iah kenh tet ⁱ én ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ akawé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ akawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		iah kenh tet ^e wé ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ awé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ awenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		iah kenh tet ⁱ tené ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkené:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkenenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		iah kenh tet ⁱ akené ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkené:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkenenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	tóhsa kenh nontá:sene	iah kenh tet ⁱ isené ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ isené:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ isenenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		iah kenh tet ^h né ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ^h oné:non	iah kenh tet ^h onénòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		iah kenh tet ^k ené ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ oné:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionénòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		iah kenh tet ⁱ tewé ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkwé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		iah kenh tet ⁱ akwé ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkwé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	tóhsa kenh nontá:sewe	iah kenh tet ⁱ isewé ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ isewé:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ isewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		iah kenh tet ^h oné ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ^h oné:non	iah kenh tet ^h onenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		iah kenh tet ^k oné ^h tha'	iah kenh tet ⁱ oné:non	iah kenh tet ⁱ ionénòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is not coming here</i>	Optative <i>wouldn't/won't come here</i>	Future <i>will not come here</i>
<i>I</i>	iah kenh thontá:ke'	iah kenh thaontá:ke'	
<i>you</i>	iah kenh thontá:hse'	iah kenh thaontá:hse'	
<i>he</i>	iah kenh thontá:re'	iah kenh thaontá:re'	
<i>she</i>	iah kenh thontá:ien'	iah kenh thaontá:ien'	
<i>it</i>	iah kenh thontá:we'	iah kenh thaontá:we'	
<i>you & I</i>	iah kenh thonté:tene'	iah kenh thaonté:tene'	
<i>s.o. & I</i>	iah kenh thontaiákene'	iah kenh thaontaiákene'	
<i>you two</i>	iah kenh thonté:sene'	iah kenh thaonté:sene'	--
<i>two (M)</i>	iah kenh thontá:ne'	iah kenh thaontá:ne'	
<i>two (F)</i>	iah kenh thontá:kene'	iah kenh thaontá:kene'	
<i>you all & I</i>	iah kenh thonté:tewe'	iah kenh thaonté:tewe'	
<i>they & I</i>	iah kenh thontaiákwe'	iah kenh thaontaiákwe'	
<i>you all</i>	iah kenh thonté:sewe'	iah kenh thaonté:sewe'	
<i>they (M)</i>	iah kenh thontahón:ne'	iah kenh thaontahón:ne'	
<i>they (F)</i>	iah kenh thontakón:ne'	iah kenh thaontakón:ne'	

Coming Back Here

	Command <i>come back here!</i>	Habitual <i>come/comes back here</i>	Stative Perfect <i>have/has come back here</i>	Remote Past <i>had come back here</i>
<i>I</i>		kenh tet ^k é ^h tha'	kenh tet ^e waké:non	kenh tet ^e wakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	kenh tontá:se	ken tet ^e hsé ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ sé:non	kenh tet ⁱ senòn:ne
<i>he</i>		kenh tet ^h r ^h é ^h tha'	kenh tet ^h awé:non	kenh tet ^h awenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		kenh tet ⁱ én ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ akawé:non	kenh tet ⁱ akawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		kenh tet ^e wé ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ awé:non	kenh tet ⁱ awenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		kenh tet ⁱ tené ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ ionké:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionkenenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		kenh tet ⁱ akené ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ ionké:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionkenenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	kenh tontásene	kenh tet ⁱ sené ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ sené:non	kenh tet ⁱ senenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		kenh tet ^h n ^h é ^h tha'	kenh tet ^h oné:non	kenh tet ^h onenòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		kenh tet ^k en ^h é ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ oné:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionenòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		kenh tet ⁱ tewé ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ ionkwé:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		kenh tet ⁱ akwé ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ ionkwé:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	kenh tontásewe	kenh tet ⁱ sewé ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ sewé:non	kenh tet ⁱ sewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		kenh tet ^h onné ^h tha'	kenh tet ^h oné:non	kenh tet ^h onenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		kenh tet ^k onné ^h tha'	kenh tet ⁱ oné:non	kenh tet ⁱ ionenòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is coming back here</i>	Optative <i>would come back here</i>	Future <i>will come back here</i>
<i>I</i>	kenh tontá:ke'	kenh taontá:ke'	kenh tént ^k ke'
<i>you</i>	kenh tontá:hse'	kenh taontá:hse'	kenh tént ^e hse'
<i>he</i>	kenh tontà:re'	kenh taontà:re'	kenh tént ^h re'
<i>she</i>	kenh tontá:ien'	kenh taontá:ien'	kenh tént ⁱ ien'
<i>it</i>	kenh tontá:we'	kenh taontá:we'	kenh tént ^e we'
<i>you & I</i>	kenh tontétene'	kenh taontétene'	kenh tént ⁱ tene'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	kenh tontaiákene'	kenh taontaiákene'	kenh tént ⁱ ákene'
<i>you two</i>	kenh tontésene'	kenh taontésene'	kenh tént ⁱ sene'
<i>two (M)</i>	kenh tontà:ne'	kenh taontà:ne'	kenh tént ^h ne'
<i>two (F)</i>	kenh tontákene'	kenh taontákene'	kenh tént ^k kene'
<i>you all & I</i>	kenh tontétewe'	kenh taontétewe'	kenh tént ⁱ tewe'
<i>they & I</i>	kenh tontaiákwe'	kenh taontaiákwe'	kenh tént ⁱ ákwe'
<i>you all</i>	kenh tontésewe'	kenh taontésewe'	kenh tént ⁱ sewe'
<i>they (M)</i>	kenh tontahón:ne'	kenh taontahón:ne'	kenh tént ^h ón:ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	kenh tontakón:ne'	kenh taontakón:ne'	kenh tént ^k kón:ne'

	Command	Habitual	Stative Perfect	Remote Past
	<i>don't come back here</i>	<i>don't/doesn't come back here</i>	<i>have/has not come back here</i>	<i>had not come back here</i>
<i>I</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>k</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>ew</i> aké:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>ew</i> akenòn:ne
<i>you</i>	tóhsa kenh <i>tontá:se</i>	iah ken tha'tet <i>chs</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>is</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>is</i> enòn:ne
<i>he</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>hr</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>haw</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>haw</i> enòn:ne
<i>she</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>ién</i> htha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>iakaw</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>iakaw</i> enòn:ne
<i>it</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>ew</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tiaw</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tiaw</i> enòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>iten</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionken</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionken</i> enòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>iaken</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionken</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionken</i> enòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	tóhsa kenh <i>tontásene</i>	iah kenh tha'tet <i>isen</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>isen</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>isen</i> enòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>hn</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>thon</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>thon</i> enòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>ken</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tion</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tion</i> enòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>etew</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionkw</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionkw</i> enòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>iakw</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionkw</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tionkw</i> enòn:ne
<i>you all</i>	tóhsa kenh <i>tontásewe</i>	iah kenh tha'tet <i>etisew</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>etisew</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>etisew</i> enòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>thonn</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>thon</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>thon</i> enòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		iah kenh tha'tet <i>konn</i> éhtha'	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tion</i> é:non	iah kenh tha'tet <i>tion</i> enòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is not coming back here</i>	Optative <i>wouldn't/won't come back here</i>	Future <i>will not come back here</i>
<i>I</i>	iah kenh tha'tontá:ke'	iah kenh tha'taontá:ke'	
<i>you</i>	iah kenh tha'tontáhse'	iah kenh tha'taontáhse'	
<i>he</i>	iah kenh tha'tontà:re'	iah kenh tha'taontà:re'	
<i>she</i>	iah kenh tha'tontá:ien'	iah kenh tha'taontá:ien'	
<i>it</i>	iah kenh tha'tontá:we'	iah kenh tha'taontá:we'	
<i>you & I</i>	iah kenh tha'tontétene'	iah kenh tha'taontétene'	
<i>s.o. & I</i>	iah kenh tha'tontaiákene'	iah kenh tha'taontaiákene'	
<i>you two</i>	iah kenh tha'tontésene'	iah kenh tha'taontésene'	--
<i>two (M)</i>	iah kenh tha'tontà:ne'	iah kenh tha'taontà:ne'	
<i>two (F)</i>	iah kenh tha'tontákene'	iah kenh tha'taontákene'	
<i>you all &</i>	iah kenh tha'tontétewe'	iah kenh tha'taontétewe'	
<i>they & I</i>	iah kenh tha'tontaiákwe'	iah kenh tha'taontaiákwe'	
<i>you all</i>	iah kenh tha'tontésewe'	iah kenh tha'taontésewe'	
<i>they (M)</i>	iah kenh tha'tontahón:ne'	iah kenh tha'taontahón:ne'	
<i>they (F)</i>	iah kenh tha'tontakón:ne'	iah kenh tha'taontakón:ne'	

Coming From There to Here

	Command <i>come back here!</i>	Habitual	Stative Perfect <i>have/has come from</i>	Remote Past <i>had come from</i>
<i>I</i>		tho ni ^{te} kehtha'	tho ni ^{te} waké:non	tho ni ^{te} wakenòn:ne
<i>you</i>		tho ni ^{te} hséhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} sé:non	tho ni ^{ti} senòn:ne
<i>he</i>		tho ni th réhtha'	tho ni th awé:non	tho ni th awenòn:ne
<i>she</i>		tho ni ^{ti} énhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} akawé:non	tho ni ^{ti} akawenòn:ne
<i>it</i>		tho ni ^{te} wéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} awé:non	tho ni ^{ti} awenòn:ne
<i>you & I</i>		tho ni ^{ti} tenéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} ionkené:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionkenenòn:ne
<i>s.o. & I</i>		tho ni ^{ti} akenéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} ionkené:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionkenenòn:ne
<i>you two</i>	--	tho ni ^{ti} senéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} isené:non	tho ni ^{ti} isenenòn:ne
<i>two (M)</i>		tho ni th nhéhtha'	tho ni th oné:non	tho ni th onenòn:ne
<i>two (F)</i>		tho ni ^{te} kenéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} oné:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionenòn:ne
<i>you all & I</i>		tho ni ^{ti} tewéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} ionkwé:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionkwenòn:ne
<i>they & I</i>		tho ni ^{ti} akwéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} ionkwé:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionkwenòn:ne
<i>you all</i>		tho ni ^{ti} sewéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} isewé:non	tho ni ^{ti} isewenòn:ne
<i>they (M)</i>		tho ni th onéhtha'	tho ni th oné:non	tho ni th onenòn:ne
<i>they (F)</i>		tho ni ^{te} konnéhtha'	tho ni ^{ti} oné:non	tho ni ^{ti} ionenòn:ne

	Present / Factual <i>am/are/is coming back from</i>	Optative <i>would come back from</i>	Future <i>will come back from</i>
<i>I</i>	tho nontá:ke'	tho naontá:ke'	tho néntke'
<i>you</i>	tho nontáhse'	tho naontáhse'	tho nentéhse'
<i>he</i>	tho nontá:re'	tho naontá:re'	tho nénthre'
<i>she</i>	tho nontá:ien'	tho naontá:ien'	tho néntien'
<i>it</i>	tho nontá:we'	tho naontá:we'	tho néntewe'
<i>you & I</i>	tho nontétene'	tho naontétene'	tho nentítene'
<i>s.o. & I</i>	tho nontaiákene'	tho naontaiákene'	tho nentíákene'
<i>you two</i>	tho nontésene'	tho naontésene'	tho nentísene'
<i>two (M)</i>	tho nontà:ne'	tho naontà:ne'	tho nénthne'
<i>two (F)</i>	tho nontákene'	tho naontákene'	tho néntkene'
<i>you all & I</i>	tho nontétewe'	tho naontétewe'	tho nentítewe'
<i>they & I</i>	tho nontaiákwe'	tho naontaiákwe'	tho nentíákwe'
<i>you all</i>	tho nontésewe'	tho naontésewe'	tho nentísewe'
<i>they (M)</i>	tho nontahón:ne'	tho naontahón:ne'	tho nenthón:ne'
<i>they (F)</i>	tho nontakón:ne'	tho naontakón:ne'	tho nentkón:ne'

Unit 4: Purposive

Purposive Description

	Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>
The purposive is used for actions that involve movement to a different location, often conveying the meaning of “to go” in performing an action.	te k ato'tsinéhtha' <i>I skate</i>	te k ato'tsinehta: <u>ne's</u> <i>I go skating</i>
	k atkèn:se's <i>I examine it</i>	k atken'sè: <u>re's</u> <i>I go examine it</i>
The “intentional” aspect is created with the purposive followed by <i>e'</i> . This conveys the meaning of intent or, more commonly in English, when an action is “going to” or “about to” happen. When used this way, there is no movement to a different location. Do not confuse this with being “on the way” to complete an action.	te k ato'tsinéhtha' <i>I skate</i>	te k ato'tsinehta: <u>ne'</u> <i>I am about to skate</i>
	i okén:nore's <i>It rains</i>	i okennoré <u>hsere'</u> <i>It is about to rain</i>
To convey the meaning of being “on the way” or in motion to complete an action, the factual is used with the ending <i>e'</i> . This can be confusing to some because, in English, “going to” can be used for both something that is about to happen and for when one is on the way to do something.	wa't k ato'tsí:nehte' <i>I skated</i>	wa't k ato'tsinehta: <u>ne'</u> <i>I am on my way to skate</i>
	o ntió'ten' <i>I worked</i>	o ntio'tén <u>hsere'</u> <i>I am on my way to work</i>
The purposive can also be used simultaneously with the cislocative to convey the meaning of “to come” in performing an action.	r atorát <u>he's</u> <i>He goes to hunt</i>	t hatorát <u>he's</u> <i>He comes to hunt</i>
	r oio'tén <u>hsere's</u> <i>He goes to work</i>	t hoio'tén <u>hsere's</u> <i>He comes to work</i>

Purposive Forms

The purposive has six forms. Certain forms are more common than others. Like most descriptive suffixes, the form is determined by what the base verb ends with. Keep in mind that although this creates general patterns, there are also exceptions that do not follow these patterns.

	<u>-H-</u>	<u>-HR-</u>	<u>-HN-</u>	<u>-HNH-</u>	<u>-HSER-</u>	<u>-SER-</u>
Habitual	he's	hre's	hne's	hnhe's	hsere's	'sere's
Punctual	ha'	hra'	hna'	hnha'	hsera'	'sera'
Stative Perfect	hon	hron	hnon	hnhon	hseron'	'seron'
Remote Past	hòn:ne	hròn:ne	hnòn:ne	hnhòn:ne	hseròn:ne	'seròn:ne
Present	he'	hre'	hne'	hnhe'	hsere'	'sere'

It is important to remember that it does not always make sense to use the purposive with all aspects. For example, although it would make sense to say “it is going to rain”, it does not make sense to say “it will go rain”. This means that certain verbs will only be suitable for certain aspects when using the purposive.

The order of the verb conjugations in the table below is as follows: Habitual, Punctual, Stative Perfect, Remote Past, Present, Intentional.

Form	Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
<u>-h-</u>	kató:rats <i>I hunt</i>	katorát <u>he's</u> wa'katorát <u>ha'</u> wakatorát <u>hon</u> wakatorat <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'katorát <u>he'</u> katorát <u>he'</u>	I go hunt I went hunting I have gone hunting I had gone hunting I am on my way to hunt I am about to hunt
<u>-hr-</u>	khní:nons <i>I buy it</i>	khninòn: <u>re's</u> wa'khninòn: <u>ra'</u> wakhninòn: <u>ron</u> wakhninon <u>hròn:ne</u> wa'khninòn: <u>re'</u> khninòn: <u>re'</u>	I go buy it I went to buy it I have gone to buy it I had gone to buy it I am on my way to buy it I am about to buy it

Form	Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
-<u>hn</u>-	te k atskà:hons <i>I dine</i>	te k atska'hòn: <u>ne's</u> wa't k atska'hòn: <u>na'</u> te w akatska'hòn: <u>non</u> te w akatska'hon <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa't k atska'hòn: <u>ne'</u> te k atska'hòn: <u>ne'</u>	I go dine I went to dine I have gone to dine I had gone to dine I am on my way to dine I am about to dine
-<u>hnh</u>-	k éta's <i>I put it in</i>	k eta'à: <u>nhe's</u> wa' k eta'à: <u>nha'</u> w aketa'à: <u>nhon</u> w aketa'a <u>hnhòn:ne</u> wa' k eta'à: <u>nhe'</u> k eta'à: <u>nhe'</u>	I go put it in I went to put it in I have gone to put it in I had gone to put it in I am on my way to put it in I am about to put it in
-<u>hser</u>-	w atió'tens <i>I work</i>	w atio'tén <u>hsere's</u> o ntio'tén <u>hsera'</u> w atio'tén <u>hseron</u> w atio'tén <u>hseròn:ne</u> o ntio'tén <u>hsere'</u> w atio'tén <u>hsere'</u>	I go work I went to work I have gone to work I had gone to work I am on my way to work I am about to work
-'<u>ser</u>-	w atién:ta's <i>I acquire it</i>	w atientà: <u>sere'</u>	I am about to acquire it

Purposive Form Patterns

Form	Verb		Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	
<u>-h-</u> Verbs ending in -ts, -ks, kwas, hsions, and ie's.	karón:tats	<i>I shoot it</i>	karontat <u>he'</u>	<i>I am about to shoot it</i>
	í:keks	<i>I eat s.t.</i>	kék <u>he'</u>	<i>I am about to eat it</i>
	kerákwas	<i>I choose it</i>	kerakó <u>he'</u>	<i>I am about to choose it</i>
	keríhsions	<i>I take it apart</i>	kerihsión <u>he'</u>	<i>I am about to take it apart</i>
	tekténie's	<i>I change it</i>	tektenión <u>he'</u>	<i>I am about to change it</i>
<u>-hr-</u> Certain verbs ending in -on and benefactive 'se.	khní:nons	<i>I buy it</i>	khninòn: <u>re'</u>	<i>I am about to buy it</i>
	katkèn:se's	<i>I check, inspect, test, taste it</i>	katken'sè: <u>re'</u>	<i>I am about to check, inspect, test, taste it</i>
<u>-hn-</u> Verbs ending in causative (-ht, - 't, -st, -hst), instrumental (- khwa'), -i, -ot, and certain verbs ending in -on and -en.	kátstha'	<i>I use, wear it</i>	katstà: <u>ne'</u>	<i>I am about to use it</i>
	tekékhwa'	<i>I pick it up</i>	tekehkwà: <u>ne'</u>	<i>I am about to pick it up</i>
	khiá:tons	<i>I write</i>	khiatòn: <u>ne'</u>	<i>I am about to write</i>
	kón:nis	<i>I make it</i>	konnià: <u>ne'</u>	<i>I am about to make it</i>
	khniótha'	<i>I erect, stand it up</i>	khniotà: <u>ne'</u>	<i>I am about to erect it</i>
<u>-hnh-</u> Verbs ending with -a's.	katkennísa's	<i>I have a meeting</i>	katkennisa'à: <u>nhe'</u>	<i>I am about to have a meeting</i>

Form		Verb		Verb + <u>Purposive</u>
<u>-hser-</u> Certain verbs endings -'s and - s.	watió'tens	<i>I work</i>	watio'tén <u>hsere'</u>	<i>I am about to work</i>
	wakátie's	<i>I lose it</i>	wakatié <u>hsere'</u>	<i>I am about to lose it</i>
<u>-'ser-</u> Verbs ending in inchoative -'s.	watién:ta's	<i>I aquire it</i>	watientà: <u>sere'</u>	<i>I am about to aquire it</i>

Purposive Owenna'shòn:'a

The order of the verb conjugations in the table below is as follows: Habitual, Punctual, Stative Perfect, Remote Past, Present, Intentional.

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
acquire s.t. <i>watién:ta's</i>	<i>watién:ta:sere'</i>	I am about to acquire it
ball, play <i>tekathénno'ks</i>	<i>tekathénno'ókhe's</i> <i>wa'tkathénno'ókha'</i> <i>tewakathénno'ókhon</i> <i>tewakathénno'ókhnò:ne</i> <i>wa'tkathénno'ókhe'</i> <i>tekathénno'ókhe'</i>	I go play ball I went to play ball I have gone to play ball I had gone to play ball I am on my way to play ball I am about to play ball
bet money <i>tekhwístaiens</i>	<i>tekhwístaiénhne's</i> <i>wa'tekhwístaiénhna'</i> <i>tewakhwístaiénhnón</i> <i>tewakhwístaiénhnò:ne</i> <i>wa'tekhwístaiénhne'</i> <i>tekhwístaiénhne'</i>	I go bet money I went to bet money I have gone to bet money I had gone to bet money I am on my way to bet money I am about to bet money
buy s.t. <i>khni:nons</i>	<i>khninòn:re's</i> <i>wa'khninòn:ra'</i> <i>wakhninòn:ron</i> <i>wakhninòn:hnò:ne</i> <i>wa'khninòn:re'</i> <i>khninòn:re'</i>	I go buy it I went to buy it I have gone to buy it I had gone to buy it I am on my way to buy it I am about to buy it
cook <i>kekhnò:nis</i>	<i>kekhnò:nià:ne's</i> <i>wa'kekhnò:nià:na'</i> <i>wakekhnò:nià:nón</i> <i>wakekhnò:nià:hnò:ne</i> <i>wa'kekhnò:nià:ne'</i> <i>kekhnò:nià:ne'</i>	I go cook I went to cook I have gone to cook I had gone to cook I am on my way to cook I am about to cook
dance <i>tekenonniákhwa'</i>	<i>tekenonniákhwà:ne's</i> <i>wa'tkenonniákhwà:na'</i> <i>tewakenonniákhwà:nón</i> <i>tewakenonniákhwà:hnò:ne</i> <i>wa'tkenonniákhwà:ne'</i> <i>tekenonniákhwà:ne'</i>	I go dancing I went to dance I have gone dancing I had gone to dancing I am on my way to dance I am about to dance

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
defecate <i>kani'taiens</i>	kani'taién <u>hne's</u> wa'kani'taién <u>hna'</u> wakani'taién <u>hnon</u> wakani'taién <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'kani'taién <u>hne'</u> kani'taién <u>hne'</u>	I go defecate I went to defecate I have gone to defecate I had gone to defecate I am about to defecate I am on my way to defecate
dine <i>tekatskà:hons</i>	tekatska'hòn: <u>ne's</u> wa'tkatska'hòn: <u>na'</u> tewakatska'hòn: <u>non</u> tewakatska'hòn: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'tkatska'hòn: <u>ne'</u> tekatska'hòn: <u>ne'</u>	I go dine I went to dine I have gone to dine I had gone to dine I am on my way to dine I am about to dine
do s.t.ni <i>nikakiehrha'</i>	nikatierà: <u>ne's</u> na'katierà: <u>na'</u> niwakatierà: <u>non</u> niwakatierà: <u>hnòn:ne</u> na'katierà: <u>ne'</u> nikatierà: <u>ne'</u>	I go do s.t. I went to do s.t. I have gone to do s.t. I had gone to do s.t. I am on my way to do s.t. I am about to do s.t.
drink <i>khnekihrha'</i>	khnekihrà: <u>ne's</u> wa'khnekihrà: <u>na'</u> wakhnekihrà: <u>non</u> wakhnekihrà: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'khnekihrà: <u>ne'</u> khnekihrà: <u>ne'</u>	I go drink I went to drink I have gone to drink I had gone to drink I am on my way to drink I am about to drink
drop s.o. off <i>khé'terons</i>	khé'teròn: <u>ne's</u> wa'khé'terón: <u>hna'</u> khé'terón: <u>hnon</u> khé'terón: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'khé'teròn: <u>ne'</u> khé'teròn: <u>ne'</u>	I go drop her off I went to drop her off I have gone to drop her off I had gone to drop her off I'm on my way to drop her off I am about to drop her off
eat s.t. <i>í:keks</i>	kékhe's wa'kékha' wakék <hon< h=""> wakek<hòn:ne< h=""> wa'kékhe' kékhe'</hòn:ne<></hon<>	I go eat it I went to eat it I have gone to eat it I had gone to eat it I am on my way to eat it I am about to eat it

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
examine, check, test, taste s.t. <i>katkèn:se's</i>	<i>katken'sè:re's</i> <i>wa'katken'sè:ra'</i> <i>wakatken'sè:ron</i> <i>wakatken'sè:hròn:ne</i> <i>wa'katken'sè:re'</i> <i>katken'sè:re'</i>	I go examine it I went to examine it I have gone to examine it I had gone to examine it I am on my way to examine it I am about to examine it
fish <i>kahrhio'kawí:nes</i>	<i>kahrhio'kawinéhsere's</i> <i>wa'kahrhio'kawinéhsera'</i> <i>wakahrhio'kawinéhseron</i> <i>wakahrhio'kawinéhseròn:ne</i> <i>wa'kahrhio'kawinéhsere'</i> <i>kahrhio'kawinéhsere'</i>	I go fishing I went fishing I have gone fishing I had gone fishing I am on my way fish I am about to fish
get in a vehicle <i>katíta's</i>	<i>katita'à:nhe's</i> <i>wa'katita'à:nha'</i> <i>wakatita'à:nhon</i> <i>wakatita'à:nhnòn:ne</i> <i>wa'katita'à:nhe'</i> <i>katita'à:nhe'</i>	I go get in I went get in I have gone get in I had gone get in I am on my way to get in I am about to get in
get, pick s.t. <i>ikkwas</i>	<i>kkóhe's</i> <i>wa'kkóha'</i> <i>wakkóhon</i> <i>wakko'hòn:ne</i> <i>wa'kkóhe'</i> <i>kkóhe'</i>	I go get it I went to get it I have gone to get it I had gone to get it I am on my way to get it I am about to get it
harvest s.t. <i>tienthókwas</i>	<i>tienthokóhe's</i> <i>wa'tienthokóha'</i> <i>watienthokóhon</i> <i>watienthoko'hòn:ne</i> <i>wa'tienthokóhe'</i> <i>tienthokóhe'</i>	I go harvest it I went to harvest it I have gone to harvest it I had gone to harvest it I am on my way to harvest it I am about to harvest it
hunt <i>kató:rats</i>	<i>katoráthe's</i> <i>wa'katorát'ha'</i> <i>wakatorát'hon</i> <i>wakatorath'hòn:ne</i> <i>wa'katorát'he'</i> <i>katorát'he'</i>	I go hunt I went hunting I have gone hunting I had gone hunting I am on my way to hunt I am going to hunt

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
leave for home <i>skah'téntie's</i>	-- -- -- -- sa ka htenti ón <u>he'</u> --	-- - -- -- I am on my way home --
listen to s.t. <i>katahónhsatats</i>	ka tahonhsatát <u>he's</u> wa' ka tahonhsatát <u>ha'</u> wa katahonhsatát <u>hon</u> wa katahonhsatát <u>hòn:ne</u> wa' ka tahonhsatát <u>he'</u> ka tahonhsatát <u>he'</u>	I go listen I went to listen I have gone to listen I had gone to listen I am on my way to listen I am about to listen
make s.t. <i>kón:nis</i>	kon nià: <u>ne's</u> wa' kon nià: <u>na'</u> wa konnià: <u>non</u> wa konnià: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa' kon nià: <u>ne'</u> kon nià: <u>ne'</u>	I go cook I went to cook I have gone to cook I had gone to cook I am on my way to cook I am about to cook
meeting, have a <i>katkennisa's</i>	ka tkennisa':à: <u>ne's</u> wa' ka tkennisa':à: <u>na'</u> wa katkennisa':à: <u>non</u> wa katkennisa':à: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa' ka tkennisa':à: <u>ne'</u> ka tkennisa':à: <u>ne'</u>	I go to a meeting I went to a meeting I have gone to a meeting I had gone to a meeting I am on my way to a meeting I am about to go to a meeting
pay for s.t. <i>kkária'ks</i>	kk arià:k <u>he's</u> wa' kk arià:k <u>ha'</u> wa kkarià:k <u>hon</u> wa kkaria'k <u>hòn:ne</u> wa' kk arià:k <u>he'</u> kk arià:k <u>he'</u>	I go pay I went to pay I have gone to pay I had gone to pay I am on my way to pay I am about to pay
pick s.t. up (off ground) <i>tekéhkhwa'</i>	te ké hkwà: <u>ne's</u> wa't ké hkwà: <u>na'</u> te wá kehkwà: <u>non</u> te wá kehkwà: <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa't ké hkwà: <u>ne'</u> te ké hkwà: <u>ne'</u>	I go pay I went to pay I have gone to pay I had gone to pay I am on my way to pay I am about to pay

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
plant s.t. <i>tiénthos</i>	tienthó <u>hsere's</u> wa'tienthó <u>hsera'</u> watienthó <u>hseron</u> watienthó <u>hseròn:ne</u> wa'tienthó <u>hsere'</u> tienthó <u>hsere'</u>	I go plant I went to plant I have gone to plant I had gone to plant I am on my way to plant I am about to plant
play lacrosse, hockey <i>tekattsihkwà: 'eks</i>	tekattsihkwa'ék <u>he's</u> wa'tkattsihkwa'ék <u>ha'</u> tewakattsihkwa'ék <u>hon</u> tewakattsihkwa'ek <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'tkattsihkwa'ék <u>he'</u> tekattsihkwa'ék <u>he'</u>	I go play lacrosse I went to play lacrosse I have gone to play lacrosse I had gone to play lacrosse I am on my way to play lacrosse I am about to play lacrosse
pray, go to church <i>katerén:naiens</i>	katerennaién <u>hne's</u> wa'katerennaién <u>hna'</u> wakaterennaién <u>hnon</u> wakaterennaién <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'katerennaién <u>hne'</u> katerennaién <u>hne'</u>	I go to church I went to church I have gone to church I had gone to church I am on my way to church I am about to pray
put s.t. down, deliver <i>ítiens</i>	tién <u>hne's</u> wa'tién <u>hna'</u> watién <u>hnon</u> watien <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'tién <u>hne'</u> tién <u>hne'</u>	I go put it down I went to put it down I have gone to put it down I had gone to put it down I am on my way to put it down I am about to put it down
put s.t. in s.t. <i>kéta's</i>	keta'à: <u>nhe's</u> wa'ketà: <u>nha'</u> waketa'à: <u>nhon</u> waketa'a <u>hnhòn:ne</u> wa'keta'à: <u>nhe'</u> keta'à: <u>nhe'</u>	I go put it in I went to put it in I have gone to put it in I had gone to put it in I am on my way to put it in I am about to put it in
search for s.t. <i>kéhsaks</i>	kesák <u>he's</u> wa'kesák <u>ha'</u> wakesák <u>hon</u> wakesák <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'kesák <u>he'</u> kesák <u>he'</u>	I go search for it I went to search for it I have gone to search for it I had gone to search for it I'm on my way to search for it I am about to search for it

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
shoot <i>karón:tats</i>	karontát <u>he's</u> wa'karontát <u>ha'</u> wakarontát <u>hon</u> wakarontat <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'karontát <u>he'</u> karontát <u>he'</u>	I go shoot I went to shoot I have gone to shoot I had gone to shoot I am on my way to shoot I am about to shoot
shop <i>katkehrontákwas</i>	katkehrontakó <u>he's</u> wa'katkehrontakó <u>ha'</u> wakatkehrontakó <u>hon</u> wakatkehrontako <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'katkehrontakó <u>he'</u> katkehrontakó <u>he'</u>	I go shopping I went shopping I have gone shopping I had gone shopping I am on my way to shop I am about to shop
sing, play an instrument <i>katerennótha'</i>	katerennotà: <u>ne's</u> wa'katerennotà: <u>na'</u> wakaterennotà: <u>non</u> wakaterennota <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'katerennotà: <u>ne'</u> katerennotà: <u>ne'</u>	I go singing I went singing I have gone singing I had gone singing I am on my way to sing I am about to sing
skate <i>tekato'tsinéhtha'</i>	tekato'tsinehtà: <u>ne's</u> wa'tkato'tsinehtà: <u>na'</u> tewakato'tsinehtà: <u>non</u> tewakato'tsinehta <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'tkato'tsinehtà: <u>ne'</u> tekato'tsinehtà: <u>ne'</u>	I go skating I went skating I have gone skating I had gone skating I am on my way to skate I am about to skate
sleep over <i>kanòn:wets</i>	kanonhwét <u>he's</u> wa'kanonhwét <u>ha'</u> wakanonhwét <u>hon</u> wakanonhweth <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'kanonhwét <u>he'</u> kanonhwét <u>he'</u>	I go sleep over I went to sleep over I have gone to sleep over I had gone to sleep over I am on my way to sleep over I am about to sleep over
sleep, go to bed <i>wakí:ta's</i>	wakità:w <u>he's</u> onkità:w <u>ha'</u> wakità:w <u>hon</u> -- onkità:w <u>he'</u> wakità:w <u>he'</u>	I go to bed I went to bed I have gone to bed -- I am on my way to bed I am about to sleep

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
smoke <i>katshókwas</i>	katshokó <u>he's</u> wa'katshokó <u>ha'</u> wakatshokó <u>hon</u> wakatshoko <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'katshokó <u>he'</u> katshokó <u>he'</u>	I go for a smoke I went for a smoke I have gone for a smoke I had gone for a smoke I am on my way to smoke I am about to smoke
study, practice <i>kateweiénstha'</i>	kateweienstà: <u>ne's</u> wa'kateweienstà: <u>na'</u> wakateweienstà: <u>non</u> wakateweiensta <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'kateweienstà: <u>ne'</u> kateweienstà: <u>ne'</u>	I go study I went to study I have gone to study I had gone to study I am on my way to study I am about to study
swim <i>katá:wens</i>	katawén <u>he's</u> wa'katawén <u>ha'</u> wakatawén <u>hon</u> wakatawen <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'katawén <u>he'</u> katawén <u>he'</u>	I go swim I went to swim I have gone to swim I had gone to swim I am on my way to swim I am about to swim
teach <i>kherihonnién:nis</i>	kherihonniennì: <u>re's</u> wa'kherihonniennì: <u>ra'</u> kherihonniennì: <u>ron</u> kherihonniennì <u>hròn:ne</u> wa'kherihonniennì: <u>re'</u> kherihonniennì: <u>re'</u>	I go teach I went to teach I have gone to teach I had gone to teach I am on my way to teach I am about to teach
tell s.o. s.t. <i>khehró:ris</i>	khehrorià: <u>ne's</u> wa'khehrorià: <u>na'</u> khehrorià: <u>non</u> khehroria <u>hnòn:ne</u> wa'khehrorià: <u>ne'</u> khehrorià: <u>ne'</u>	I go tell her I went to tell her I have gone to tell her I had gone to tell her I am on my way to tell her I am about to tell her
urinate, pee <i>kanistiá:kes</i>	kanistiaké <u>he's</u> wa'kanistiaké <u>ha'</u> wakanistiaké <u>hon</u> wakanistiake <u>hòn:ne</u> wa'kanistiaké <u>he'</u> kanistiaké <u>he'</u>	I go urinate I went to urinate I have gone to urinate I had gone to urinate I am on my way to urinate I am about to urinate
use, wear s.t. <i>katstha'</i>	katstà: <u>ne'</u>	I am about to use it

Verb	Verb + <u>Purposive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
visit s.o. <i>khenatahrená:wis</i>	khenatahren'sè: <u>re's</u> wa'khenatahren'sè: <u>ra'</u> khenatahren'sè: <u>ron</u> khenatahren'sè: <u>hròn:ne</u> wa'khenatahren'sè: <u>re'</u> khenatahren'sè: <u>re'</u>	I go visit her I went to visit her I have gone to visit her I had gone to visit her I am on my way to visit her I am about to visit her
work <i>watió'tens</i>	watio'tén <u>hsere's</u> ontio'tén <u>hsera'</u> watio'tén <u>hseron</u> watio'tén <u>hsòn:ne</u> ontio'tén <u>hsere'</u> watio'tén <u>hsere'</u>	I go work I went to work I have gone to work I had gone to work I am on my way to work I am about to work

Unit 5: Benefactive

Benefactive Description

	Verb	Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>
The benefactive is used for actions that are done for someones “benefit”, most often conveying the meaning of “for”, “to”, “at”, or “on” someone or something.	khní:nons <i>I buy it</i>	konhñinòn:se's <i>I buy it for you</i>
	katerennótha' <i>I sing</i>	koniaterennotá:nis <i>I sing to you</i>
Most often the <u>transitive</u> prefixes are used with the benefactive, as they refer to both the person doing the action and the person affected by the action.	wakena'khwèn:'en <i>I am angry</i>	konna'khwà:se <i>I am angry at you</i>
	ke'nikonhrhà:tha' <i>I cheat</i>	kon'nikonhrha'tén:nis <i>I cheat on you</i>
<u>Objective</u> prefixes, however, can also be used with the benefactive.	iókste <i>It is heavy</i>	wakekstè:se <i>It is heavy for me</i>
	wentó:re <i>It is challenging</i>	wakentorà:se <i>It is challenging for me</i>
<u>Subjective</u> prefixes are used more rarely with the benefactive, yet when they are, they are often partnered with the full reflexive to convey the meaning of doing something “for”, “to”, “at”, or “on” oneself.	khtháhrha' <i>I speak</i>	kataththarà:nis <i>I speak to myself</i>
	kerihwanóntha' <i>I ask</i>	kataterihwanontón:nis <i>I ask myself</i>
You will notice that sometimes the semi-reflexive is used simultaneously with the benefactive. This can alter the meaning significantly.	wa'kkária'ke' <i>I paid</i>	onkwatkária'khse' <i>I got paid</i>
	nà:tiere' <i>I did s.t. to s.t.</i>	tonkwatié:ra'se' <i>I got offended</i>

Benefactive Forms

The benefactive has ten form patterns. Certain forms are more common than others, and some forms look very similar to each other. Like most descriptive suffixes, the form can often be determined by what the base verb ends with.

	<u>-enni-</u>	<u>-enni-</u>	<u>-(a)ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-s-</u>	<u>-hs-</u>	<u>-i-</u>	<u>-wi-</u>	<u>-awi-</u>	<u>-en-</u>
Habitual	ennis	ennis	(a)nis	nis	'se's	hse's	is	wis	awis	ens
Punctual	en'	hse'	hahse'	'se'	'se'	hse'	hse'	hse'	on'	en'
Stative Perfect	enni	enni	(a)ni	ni	'se	hse	i	wi	awi	ani

Although there are general patterns, there are many exceptions with the benefactive, and therefore it can be quite unpredictable. You will also notice that for many verbs the causative (-ht-, -'t-, -st-, -hst-) or the instrumental (-hkw-) is added before the benefactive.

The order of the verb conjugations in the table below is as follows: Habitual, Punctual, Stative Perfect.

Form	Verb	Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
<u>enni</u> <u>en'</u> <u>enni</u>	k hní:nons <i>I buy it</i>	kon hninòn: <u>se's</u> wa' kon hní:non' <u>se'</u> kon hninòn: <u>se</u>	I buy it for you I bought it for you I have bought it for you
<u>ennis</u> <u>ahse'</u> <u>enni</u>	k eráhkwas <i>I choose it</i>	kon rakw <u>én:nis</u> wa' kon rakw <u>áhse'</u> kon rakw <u>én:nis</u>	I choose it for you I chose it for you I have chosen it for you
<u>(a)nis</u> <u>hahse'</u> <u>(a)ni</u>	k wennahnótha' <i>I read</i>	kon wennahnótá: <u>nis</u> wa' kon wennahnót <u>hahse'</u> kon wennahnótá: <u>ni</u>	I read for you I did read for you I have read for you
<u>nis</u> <u>'se'</u> <u>ni</u>	k hiá:tons <i>I write</i>	kon hiatón: <u>nis</u> wa' kon hiá:ton <u>hse'</u> kon hiatón: <u>ni</u>	I write it for you I wrote it for you I have written it for you

Form	Verb	Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
<u>'se's</u> <u>'se'</u> <u>'se</u>	k enóhares <i>I wash it</i>	konnoharè: <u>se's</u> wa'konnohare' <u>se'</u> konnoharè: <u>se</u>	I wash it for you I washed it for you I have washed it for you
<u>hse's</u> <u>hse'</u> <u>hse</u>	w atió'tens <i>I work</i>	konio'tén <u>hse's</u> wa'konio'ten <u>hse'</u> konio'tén <u>hse</u>	I work for you I worked for you I have worked for you
<u>is</u> <u>hse'</u> <u>i</u>	k kária'ks <i>I pay</i>	konkarià:k <u>hse's</u> wa'konkkária' <u>khse'</u> konkarià:k <u>hse</u>	I pay for you I paid for you I have paid for you
<u>wis</u> <u>hse'</u> <u>wi</u>	t iénthos <i>I plant</i>	konienthó: <u>wis</u> wa'konientho' <u>se'</u> konienthó: <u>wis</u>	I plant it for you I planted it for you I have planted it for you
<u>awis</u> <u>on'</u> <u>awi</u>	<i>Give s.t. to s.o.</i>	koniá: <u>wis</u> wa'kón: <u>ion'</u> koniá: <u>wis</u>	I give it to you I gave it to you I have given it to you
<u>ens</u> <u>en'</u> <u>ani</u>	i ononhwákte <i>It hurts</i>	wakeononhwákt <u>ens</u> onkenonhwákt <u>en'</u> wakeononhwákt <u>ani</u> : 'on wakeononhwákt <u>ani</u>	I get sick I got sick I have gotten sick I am sick

Benefactive Owenna'shòn:'a

	Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>
angry, become	wakenà:khwen's onkenà:khwen' wakena'khwèn:'en	angry, become at s.o	khena'khwà:se's wa'khenà:khwa'se' khena'khwà:se
answer	tekerihwa'serákwas wa'tkerihwa'será:ko' tewakerihwa'serákwen	answer s.o.	tekherihwa'serakwén:nis wa'tekherihwa'serákwahse' tekherihwa'serakwén:ni
		get rewarded	tewakaterihwa'serakwén:nis wa'tewakaterihwa'serákwahse' tewakaterihwa'serakwén:ni
annoyed		annoyed at s.t.	wakatahkontá:nis onkwatahkónthahse wakatahkontá:ni
ask	kerihwanón:tons wa'kerihwanón:ton' wakerihwanón:ton	ask s.o.	kherihwanontón:nis wa'kherihwanón:tonhse' kherihwanontón:ni
bad, make s.t.	ki'taksà:tha' wa'ki'taksà'te' waki'taksà:ton	make s.t. bad for s.o.	khe'taksa'tén:nis wa'khe'taksà:ten' khe'taksa'tén:ni
beg, plead, ask strongly	kerihwa'nékha' wa'kerihwà:neke' wakerihwa'né:ken	plead to s.o.	kherihwa'nekén:nis wa'kherihwa'né:ken' kherihwa'nekén:ni
born, become	kenákerats wa'kenákerate' wakenakerá:ton	give birth to s.o.	khenakerá:tis wa'khenákeratshe' khenakerá:tí
braid s.t.	keratsken'tón:nis wa'keratsken'tón:ni' wakeratsken'tón:nis	braid s.t. for s.o.	kheratsken'tonnién:nis wa'kheratsken'tónnién' kheratsken'tonnién:ni

Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	
brighten s.t.	te k hswathè:tha' wa'te k hswáthe'te' te w akhswathè:ton	brighten s.t. for s.o.	te k hswathe'tén:nis wa'te k hswathè:ten' te k hswathe'tén:ni
bring s.t., take s.t., carry	ié k has <u>ia</u> hà: k hawe' iewá k hen té k has tá k hawe' te w á k hen	bring s.t. for s.o.	ie k hawihtén:nis ia k hawihten' ie k hawihtén:ni bring s.t to s.o. te k hawihtén:nis ta k hawihten' te k hawihtén:ni
burn tobacco	tien'kónthos wa'tien'kóntho' <u>wa</u> tien'kónthon	burn tobacco for s.o.	<u>k</u> heien'konthó:wis wa' <u>k</u> heien'kóntho <hu>se' <u>k</u>heien'konthó:<u>wi</u></hu>
buy s.t.	k hní:nons wa' k hní:non' <u>w</u> akhní:non	buy s.t. for s.o.	<u>k</u> hehninòn: <u>se's</u> wa' <u>k</u> hehní:non' <u>se'</u> <u>k</u> hehninòn: <u>se</u>
call (telephone)	ie k atewennáta's ia' k atewennáta' iewá k atewennáten tíon k atewennáta's taíon k atewennáta' tiá k otewennáten	call s.o. on telephone	ie k heiatewennata'én:nis ia' <u>k</u> heiatewennáta' <u>ahse'</u> ie k heiatewennata'én:ni tíon k atewennata'én:nis taíon k atewennáta' <u>ahse'</u> tíon k atewennata'én:ni
change s.t.	te k ténie's wa'te k té:ni' te w akténion	change s.t. for s.o.	te k hetenién:nis wa'te k heténien' te k hetenién:ni change ones mind tese w akaterihwatenién:nis tonson k waterihwaténien' tese w akaterihwatenién:nis

Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	
cheat	ke'nikonhrhà:tha' wa'ke'nikónrha'te' wake'nikonrhà:ton	cheat on s.o., cheat s.o.	khe'nikonrha'tén:nis wa'khe'nikonrhà:ten' khe'nikonrha'tén:ni
choose	kerákwas wa'kerá:ko' wakerákwen	choose s.t. for s.o.	kherakwén:nis wa'kherákwahse' kherakwén:ni
close s.t.	kehnhó:tons wa'kehnhó:ton' wakehnhó:ton	close s.t. for s.o.	khehnhotòn:se's wa'khehnhó:ton'se' khehnhotòn:se
control s.t.	tkanónhtons takanónhton' tewakanónhton	control s.o., rape s.o.	tekheianonhtón:nis takheianónhton'se' tekheianonhtón:ni
cook	kekhón:nis wa'kekhón:ni' wakekhón:ni	cook for s.o.	khekhonnién:nis wa'khekhónnién' khekhonnién:ni
difficult, become	kentó:re	difficult for s.o.	wakentorà:se's onkentó:ra'se' wakentorà:se
disappears, it	wáhton's ónhton'ne' iohtòn:'on	disappear on s.o.	wakahtón:nis onkwáhton'se' wakahtón:ni
do s.t. to s.t.	nitiéhrha' nà:tiere' niwatiè:ren	do s.t. to s.o.	nikheierà:se's na'kheié:ra'se' nikheierà:se
		offended, get	tewakatierà:se's tonkwatié:ra'se' tewakatierà:se

Verb		Verb + Benefactive	
drop s.t. (intention)	ka'sénhtha' wa'kà:senhte' waka'sénhton	drop s.t. (unintention)	waka'sèn:se's onkwà:sen'se' wakà:sen'se'
easy, become	wakatié:sen	become easy for s.o.	wakatiesénhse's onkwatié:senhse' wakatiesénhse
escape	ke'niá:ken's wa'ke'niá:ken'ne' wake'niakèn:'en	escape from s.o.	khe'niakèn:se's wa'khe'niá:ken'se' khe'niakèn:se
explain s.t.	tekerihwathè:tha' wa'tkerihwáthe'te' tewakerihwathè:ton	explain s.t. to s.o.	tekherihwathe'tén:nis wa'tekherihwathè:ten' tekherihwathe'tén:ni
find s.t.	ketshénrie's wa'ketshén:ri' waketshénrion	find s.t. for s.o.	khetshenrià:se's wa'khetshénria'se' khetshenrià:se
fix s.t.	kkwatakwas wa'kkwatá:ko' wakkwatákwen	fix s.t. for s.o.	khekwatakwen:nis wa'khekwatakwahse' khekwatakwen:ni
forget s.t./s.o.	sewake'nikónhrhen's sonke'nikónhrhen' sewake'nikonhrhèn:'en sekheia'ta'nikónhrhen's sakheia'ta'nikónhrhen' sekheia'ta'nikonhrhèn:'en	“forgive” s.o.	khe'nikonhrhèn:se's wa'khe'nikónhrhen'se' khe'nikonhrhèn:se
give s.t. to s.o.		give s.t. to s.o. to keep	kheia:wis wa'khé:ion' kheia:wi

Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	
		give s.t. to s.o. temporarily, hand s.t. to s.o.	te <u>kheia</u> : <u>wis</u> ta <u>khé</u> : <u>ion</u> ' te <u>kheia</u> : <u>wi</u>
good, make s.t.	<u>t</u> ianerénhstha' wa' <u>t</u> íanerenhste' <u>wat</u> ianerénhston	make s.t. good for s.o.	<u>kheia</u> nerahst <u>én</u> : <u>nis</u> wa' <u>kheia</u> neráhst <u>en</u> ' <u>kheia</u> nerahst <u>én</u> : <u>ni</u>
hang s.t.	<u>khá</u> rrha' wa' <u>khá</u> :ren' <u>wá</u> khare	hang s.t. for s.o., give s.o. a gift	<u>khe</u> har <u>á</u> : <u>nis</u> wa' <u>khe</u> háhr <u>hahse</u> ' <u>khe</u> har <u>á</u> : <u>ni</u>
happy, become	<u>kat</u> shennón:nis wa' <u>kat</u> shennón:ni' <u>wak</u> atshennonni:'on	happy for s.o.	<u>kheia</u> tshennonnià: <u>se</u> 's wa' <u>kheia</u> tshennónnià: <u>se</u> ' <u>kheia</u> tshennonnià: <u>se</u>
happy, it makes one	<u>wak</u> atshennonnià:tha' <u>onkw</u> atshennónnià'te' <u>wak</u> atshennonnià:ton	make s.o. happy	<u>kheia</u> tshennonnià't <u>én</u> : <u>nis</u> wa' <u>kheia</u> tshennonnià: <u>ten</u> ' <u>kheia</u> tshennonnià't <u>én</u> : <u>ni</u>
harvest s.t.	<u>t</u> ienthókwas wa' <u>t</u> ientó:ko' <u>wat</u> ienthókwen	harvest s.t. for s.o.	<u>kheia</u> enthokw <u>én</u> : <u>nis</u> wa' <u>kheia</u> enthókw <u>ahse</u> ' <u>kheia</u> enthokw <u>én</u> : <u>ni</u>
heat s.t. up	<u>ka</u> 'tarihá:tha' wa' <u>ka</u> 'tarihá'te' <u>waka</u> 'tarihá:ton	heat s.t. up for s.o.	<u>kheia</u> 'tarihá't <u>én</u> : <u>nis</u> wa' <u>kheia</u> 'tarihá: <u>ten</u> ' <u>kheia</u> 'tarihá't <u>én</u> : <u>ni</u>
heavy	<u>ió</u> kste	heavy for s.o.	<u>wake</u> kstè: <u>se</u> 's <u>onké</u> kste' <u>se</u> ' <u>wake</u> kstè: <u>se</u>
help s.o.	--	help s.o.	<u>kheia</u> nawà: <u>se</u> 's wa' <u>kheia</u> :nawa' <u>se</u> ' <u>kheia</u> nawà: <u>se</u>

Verb		Verb + Benefactive	
help s.o.	--	help s.o. with an issue	kherihwawà:se's wa'kheri:wawa'se' kherihwawà:se
hunt	kató:rats wa'kató:rate' wakatorá:ton	hunt for s.o.	kheiatorá:tis wa'kheiató:rat'she' kheiatorá:ti
insert, wedge s.t. in between s.t.	kò:roks wa'kò:roke' wakò:ron	put it in between for s.o.	kheiohró:kis wa'kheio:rok'hse' kheiohró:ki
jealous, become	katen'kéhwhas wa'katen'kéhwha' wakaten'kéhwhen	jealous of s.o., become	kheiaten'kehwhén:nis wa'kheiaten'kéhwh'en' kheiaten'kehwhén:ni
knit s.t.	keriserón:nis wa'keriserón:ni' wakeriserón:ni	knit s.t. for s.o.	kheriseronnién:nis wa'kheriserónnien' kheriseronnién:ni
lie, tell a	kanowénhtha' wa'kanó:wenhte' wakanowénhton	lie to s.o.	kheianowenhtén:nis wa'kheianowénhten' kheianowenhtén:ni
lift s.t.	khará:tats wa'khará:tate' wakharatá:ton	lift s.t. for s.o.	kheharatá:tis wa'khehará:tats'she' kheharatá:ti
make s.t.	kón:nis wa'kón:ni' wakón:ni	make s.o. do s.t., make s.t. for s.o.	kheionnién:nis wa'kheiónnien' kheionnién:ni
organise s.t., make an appointment	kerihwahserón:nis wa'kerihwahserón:ni' wakerihwahserón:ni	organise s.t. for s.o.	kherihwahseronnién:nis wa'kherihwahserónnien' kherihwahseronnién:ni

Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	
pay	kkária'ks wa'kkária'ke' wakkaria:kön	pay s.o.	khekaria:kis wa'khekaria'khse' khekaria:ki
		get paid	wakatkaria:kis onkwatkaria'khse' wakatkaria:ki
pick s.t. up	tekékhwa' wà:tkéhkwe' tewakéhkwen	pick s.t. up for s.o.	tekhekwén:nis wa'tekhékwahse' tekhekwén:ni
pray	katerén:naiens wa'katerén:naien' wakaterén:naien	pray for s.o.	kheiaternnaién:nis wa'kheiaternnaién:hahse' kheiaternnaién:ni
put s.t. down	ítiens wà:tien' wátien	put s.t. down for s.o., put s.t. aside for s.o., save s.t. for s.o.	kheién:nis wa'kheién:hahse' kheién:ni
put s.t. in s.t.	kéta's wa'kéta' wakéten	put s.t. in s.t. for s.o.	kheieta'á:nis wa'kheieta'hse' kheieta'á:ni
put s.t. up on s.t.	khérrha' wà:khren' wákhre	put s.t. up on s.t. for s.o.	kheherá:nis wa'khehéhrhahse' kheherá:ni
		serve food to s.o.	khekhwaherá:nis wa'khekhwahéhrhahse' khekhwaherá:ni
		serve a drink to s.o.	khehnekaherá:nis wa'khehnekahéhrhahse' khehnekaherá:ni

	Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>
provide s.t.	tkatkà:was takátka'we' tewakatkà:wen	provide to s.o.	tekheiatka'wén:nis takheiatkà:wén' tekheiatka'wén:ni
read	kewennahnótha' wa'kewennahnó:ten' wakewennà:note	read to s.o.	khewennahnotá:nis wa'khewennahnót <hahse'< h=""> khewennahnotá:ni</hahse'<>
remember s.t.	skehià:ra's sakehià:ra'ne' sewakehiahra':on	remind s.o.	sekheiehiahrahkwén:nis sakheiehiahráhkwén' sekheiehiahrahkwén:ni
run away, escape	katè:kwas wa'katè:ko' wakatè:kwen	run away from s.o.	kheiate'kwén:nis wa'kheiatè:kwahse' kheiate'kwén:ni
scared, become	wákhteron's ónkhteron'ne' wákhteròn:'on	scare s.o.	khehteronhkwén:nis wa'khehterónhkwén' khehteronhkwén:ni
search, look for s.t.	ké:saks / kéhsaks wa'ké:sake' wakesá:kon	look for s.t. for s.o.	kheiesá:kis wa'kheié:sakhse' kheiesá:ki
see s.t.	ík kens wà:kken' wákken / ík kens	examine, test, check out s.t.	katkèn:se's wa'kátken'se' wakatkèn:se
		examine, test, check out s.o.	kheiatkèn:se's wa'kheiatken'se' kheiatkèn:se
send s.t.	iekatenníéhtha' ia'katénniehte' iewakatenníéhton	send s.t. to s.o.	iekheiatenniehtén:nis ia'kheiatenníéhten' iekheiatenniehtén:ni

	Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>
sew s.t.	ke'níkhons wa'ke'níkhon' wake'níkhon	sew s.t. for s.o.	khe'níkhòn:se's wa'khe'níkhon'se' khe'níkhòn:se
show s.t., charge	kenà:tons wa'kenà:ton' wakenà:ton	show s.t. to s.o.	khe'na'tón:nis wa'khe'na'tón:hahse' khe'na'tón:ni
sing	katerennótha' wa'katerennó:ten' wakaterén:note	sing to s.o.	khe'aterennotá:nis wa'khe'aterennót'hahse' khe'aterennotá:ni
speak	katá:tis wa'katá:ti' wakata:ti	speak for s.o.	khe'atakià:se's wa'khe'atákia'se' khe'atakià:se
sweep	konhé:was wa'kónhewe' wakonhé:wen	sweep for s.o.	khe'ionhewà:se's wa'khe'ionhé:wa'se' khe'ionhewà:se
talk	khtháhrha' wa'khthá:ren' wákhthare	talk to s.o.	khe'hthará:nis wa'khe'htháhr'hahse' khe'hthará:ni
tell a story	kká:ratons wa'kká:raton' wakká:raton	tell s.o. a story	khe'karatón:nis wa'khe'karatón:hahse' khe'karatón:ni
understand	wake'nikonhraién:ta's onke'nikonhraién:ta'ne' wake'nikonhraiéntà:'on	make s.o. understand, explain to s.o.	khe'nikonhraiéntahstén:nis wa'khe'nikonhraiéntáhsten' khe'nikonhraiéntahstén:ni
visit	kenatà:res wa'kenatà:ra' wakenatahré:nen	visit s.o.	khe'natahrenáwis wa'khe'natahré:na'se' khe'natahrená:wi

Verb		Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>	
want, need	--	want s.t	tewakatonhontsó: <u>nis</u> wa'tewakatonhóntso <u>hse'</u> tewakatonhontsó: <u>ni</u>
		want s.o	tekheiatonhontsó: <u>nis</u> wa'tekheiatonhóntso <u>hse'</u> tekheiatonhontsó: <u>ni</u>
wait, expect	katehrhá:rats wakatehrhá:rate' wakatehrhá:ton	promise s.o.	khehrharatst <u>én:nis</u> wa'khehrharátst <u>en'</u> khehrharatst <u>én:ni</u>
wait for s.o.	kheiatehrhá:rats wa'kheiatehrhá:rate' kheiatehrhá:ton		
wash, clean s.t.	kenóhares wa'kenóhare' wakenóhare	wash s.t. for s.o.	khenoharè: <u>se's</u> wa'khenóhare' <u>se'</u> khenoharè: <u>se</u>
wish, hope	kahská:neks wa'kahská:neke' wakahskanékon	wish s.t. for s.o.	kheiahskané: <u>kis</u> wa'kheiahská:nek <u>hse'</u> kheiahskané: <u>ki</u>
		tempt s.o.	kheiahskanekt <u>én:nis</u> wa'kheiahská:nekt <u>en</u> kheiahskanekt <u>én:ni</u>
work	watió'tens ontió'ten' watio'tèn:'en	work for s.o.	kheio'tén <u>hse's</u> wa'kheio'tén <u>hse'</u> kheio'tén <u>hse</u>
write s.t.	khiá:tons wa'khiá:ton' wakhiá:ton	write s.t. for s.o.	khehiatón: <u>nis</u> wa'khehiá:ton' <u>se'</u> khehiatón: <u>ni</u>

Verb	Verb + <u>Benefactive</u>
write to s.o.	iekhehiatón: <u>nis</u> ia'khehiá:ton' <u>se'</u> iekhehiatón: <u>ni</u>

Unit 6: Reversive

Reversive Description

	Verb	Verb + <u>Reversive</u>
The reversive is used to reverse or undo a previous action. It also can convey the opposite meaning of the base action. It is sometimes equivalent to the English prefixes “un-”, “dis-”, and “de-” when they are used for reversing or undoing an action.	khwe'nón:nis <i>I fold s.t.</i>	khwe'nonniáhsions <i>I unfold s.t.</i>
	kehnhó:tons <i>I close the door</i>	kehnhotónkwas <i>I open the door</i>
	khiá:tons <i>I write (it)</i>	khiatónkwas <i>I erase (it)</i>
In some cases, the reversive is used to mean finishing an activity.	kátstha' <i>I use s.t.</i>	katstáhsions <i>I finish using s.t., I use it up</i>
	katerihwaiénstha' <i>I study</i>	katerihwaiénstakwas <i>I finish studying, I “get out of school”</i>
The reversive cannot be used with all verbs. This is because not all actions can be undone or because it is not said that way in Kanien'kéha.	Eh nà:tiere <i>I did that</i>	Eh na' kierá:ke' I undid that

Certain verbs in English can be undone or reversed but they cannot in Kanien'kéha. For example, in English people say things like “unlearn”, but that is not said in Kanien'kéha. Also, do not confuse the reversive with English prefixes “un-”, “dis-” and “de-” when they are used to mean “not”. For example, in English we will say “I am unsatisfied” or “I dislike it” to mean “I am not satisfied” or “I do not like it”. The reversive is therefore not used for negation.

Reversive Forms

The reversion has two forms. Below you will find an example of each form in the Habitual, Punctual, and Stative Perfect aspects.

	<u>-kw-</u>	<u>-hsion-</u>
Habitual	kwas	hsions
Punctual	ko'	hsion'
Stative Perfect	kwen	hsion

Verb	Form	Verb + <u>Reversive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
kiénthos <i>I plant s.t.</i>	-kwas	tienthókwas	I harvest it
	-ko'	wa'tienthó:ko'	I harvested it
	-kwen	watienthókwen	I have harvested it
ke'rhó:roks <i>I cover s.t.</i>	-hsions	ke'rhórókhsions	I uncover it
	-hsion'	wa'ke'rhórókhsi'	I uncovered it
	-hsion	wake'rhórókhsion	I have uncovered it

Reversive Form Patterns

Form		Verb		Verb + <u>Reversive</u>
-KW-				
	ktsihkótha'	<i>I button it up</i>	ktsihkotá <u>kwas</u>	<i>I unbutton it</i>
Verbs ending in -tha', -a's, -hrha', -os, -ons, and some ending with the causative (-ht-, -t-, -st-, -hst-).	katíta's	<i>I get in a vessel</i>	katitáh <u>kwas</u>	<i>I get out of a vessel</i>
	khéhrha'	<i>I put it on top</i>	khra <u>kwas</u>	<i>I take it off</i>
	tiénthos	<i>I plant it</i>	tienthó <u>kwas</u>	<i>I harvest it</i>
	khiá:tons	<i>I write it</i>	khiatón <u>kwas</u>	<i>I erase it</i>
-HSION-				
	ke'rhó:roks	<i>I cover it</i>	ke'rhorók <u>hsions</u>	<i>I uncover it</i>
Verbs ending in -ks, ts, -is, -ens, -as and some ending with the causative (-ht-, -t-, -st-, -hst-)	khwe'nón:nis	<i>I fold it</i>	khwe'nonniá <u>hsions</u>	<i>I unfold it</i>
	katá:wens	<i>I swim</i>	katawén <u>hsions</u>	<i>I finish swimming</i>
	te <u>ké</u> khas	<i>I attach it</i>	te <u>ke</u> khá <u>hsions</u>	<i>I unattach it</i>
	kátstha'	<i>I use, wear it</i>	katstá <u>hsions</u>	<i>I finish using it</i>

Reversive Owenna'shòn:'a

Form: -kwas, -ko', -kwen

	Verb		Verb + Reversive
attach s.t., turn s.t on	kóntha' wa'kón:ten' wá:konte	<u>un</u> attach s.t., turn s.t off	kontákwás wa'kontá:ko' wakontákwén
button it up, put a button on	ktsihkótha' wa'ktsihkó:ten' waktsíhkote	<u>un</u> button, take a button off	ktsihkotákwás wa'ktsihkotá:ko' waktsihkotákwén
close s.t. (a door)	kehnhó:tons wa'kehnhó:ton' wakehnhó:ton	open s.t. (a door)	kehnhotónkwás wa'kehnhotón:ko' wakehnhotónkwén
get in (a vehicle)	katíta's wa'katíta' wakatíten	get out of a vehicle	katitákwás wa'katitá:ko' wakatitákwén
hang s.t. from s.t., suspend s.t.	keniiontha' wa'keniion:ten' wakení:ionte	<u>un</u> hang s.t. from s.t.	keniiontákwás wa'keniiontá:ko' wakeniiontákwén
hang s.t. up	kháhrha' khá:ren' wákhare	<u>un</u> hang s.t., take s.t. down	kharákwás wa'khará:ko' wakharákwén
hide oneself	katahséhtha' wa'katáhsehte' wakatahséhton	<u>un</u> hide, come out from hiding	katahsehtákwás wa'katahsehtá:ko' wakatahsehtákwén
lock s.t.	keniiontháhrhos wa'keniiontháhrho' wakeniiontháhrhon	<u>un</u> lock s.t.	keniiontharákwás wa'keniionthará:ko' wakeniiontharákwén
plant s.t.	tiénthos wa'tiéntho' watíénthon	harvest s.t.	tienthókwás wa'tientó:ko' watienthókwén

	Verb		Verb + Reversive
put s.t. in ones mouth	katehnhónta's wa'katehnhónta' wakatehnhónten	take s.t. out of ones mouth	katehnhontákwás wa'katehnhontá:ko' wakatehnhontákwén
put s.t. in s.t.	kéta's wa'kéta' wakéten	take s.t. out of s.t.	ktáhkwás wa'ktáhko' waktáhkwén
put s.t. in water	í:kos wà:kohwe' wakóhon	take s.t. out of water	kókwás wa'kó:ko' wakókwén
put s.t. up on s.t.	khéhrha' wà:khren' wákhere	take s.t. down from	khrákwás wa'khrá:ko' wakhrákwén
sew, stitch s.t.	ke'níkhons wa'ke'níkhon' wake'níkhon	<u>un</u> sew, <u>un</u> stitch s.t.	ke'nikhónkwás wa'ke'nikhón:ko' wake'nikhónkwén
sit	kanitskótha' wa'kanitskó:ten' wakanítskote	get up from sitting	kanitskotákwás wa'kanitskotá:ko' wakanitskotákwén
stand s.t. up	khniótha' wa'khnió:ten' wákhniote	knock s.t. down	khniotákwás wa'khniotá:ko' wakhniotákwén
study	katerihwaiénhstha' wa'kateri:waiénhste' wakaterihweiénhston	<u>finish</u> studying, get out of school	katerihwaiénhstákwás wa'katerihwaiénhstá:ko' wakaterihwaiénhstákwén
tie a knot	teksihekwaróntha' wa'teksihekwarón:ten' tewaktsihkwá:ronte	<u>un</u> tie a knot	teksihekwarontákwás wa'teksihekwarontá:ko' tewaktsihkwarontákwén
write s.t.	khiá:tons wa'khiá:ton' wakhiá:ton	erase s.t.	khiatónkwás wa'khiatón:ko' wakhiatónkwén

Form: -hsions, -hsi', -hsion

	Verb		Verb + Reversive
add s.t. into s.t.	iet <i>ti</i> éhstha' iahà: <i>ti</i> ehste' iew <i>ti</i> ehstón	sort s.t. out	<i>ti</i> ehstá <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>ti</i> ehstá <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ti</i> ehstá <i>hsion</i>
braid s.t.	<i>ke</i> ratsken'tón:nis wa' <i>ke</i> ratsken'tón:ni' w <i>ke</i> ratsken'tón:nis	<u>un</u> braid s.t.	<i>ke</i> ratsken'tonniá <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>ke</i> ratsken'tonniá <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ke</i> ratsken'tonniá <i>hsion</i>
close ones eyes	tekaterò:n:weks wa'tkaterò:n:weke' tew <i>ka</i> teron'wé:kon	open ones eyes	tekateron'wék <i>hsions</i> wa'tkateron'wék <i>hsi'</i> tew <i>ka</i> teron'wék <i>hsion</i>
close ones mouth	<i>ka</i> tskweks wa' <i>ka</i> tskweke' w <i>ka</i> tskweke	open ones mouth	<i>ka</i> tskwék <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>ka</i> tskwék <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ka</i> tskwék <i>hsion</i>
cover s.t.	<i>ke</i> 'rhó:roks wa' <i>ke</i> 'rhó:roke' w <i>ke</i> 'rhó:ron	<u>un</u> cover s.t.	<i>ke</i> 'rhorók <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>ke</i> 'rhorók <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ke</i> 'rhorók <i>hsion</i>
dressed, get	<i>ka</i> tsheronniánions wa' <i>ka</i> tsheronniánion' w <i>ka</i> tsheronniánion	<u>un</u> dressed, get	<i>ka</i> tsheronniá <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>ka</i> tsheronniá <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ka</i> tsheronniá <i>hsion</i>
fold s.t.	<i>kh</i> we'nón:nis wa' <i>kh</i> we'nón:ni' w <i>kh</i> we'nón:ni	<u>un</u> fold s.t.	<i>kh</i> we'nonniá <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>kh</i> we'nonniá <i>hsi'</i> w <i>kh</i> we'nonniá <i>hsion</i>
hire s.o.	<i>khé</i> hnha's wa' <i>khé</i> hnha'ne' <i>khé</i> hnha:'on	fire s.o.	<i>khé</i> hnhá <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>khé</i> hnhá <i>hsi'</i> <i>khé</i> hnhá <i>hsion</i>
insert s.t., put s.t. in between or under something	<i>kò</i> :roks wa' <i>kò</i> :roke' w <i>ka</i> kò:ron	pull s.t. out	<i>kó</i> hth <i>hsions</i> wa' <i>kó</i> hth <i>hsi'</i> w <i>ka</i> kóhth <i>hsion</i>
join s.t. with s.t.	tekékhás wa'tkékha tew <i>ka</i> ékhen	<u>un</u> join s.t.	tekekhá <i>hsions</i> wa'tkekha <i>hsi'</i> tew <i>ka</i> kekha <i>hsion</i>

Verb		Verb + Reversive	
make s.t.	kón:nis wa'kón:ni' wakón:ni	<u>finish</u> making s.t.	konniáhhsion wa'konniáhhsi' wakonniáhhsion
married, get	wakéniaks onkéniake' wakeniákon	break up, get divorced	teiatiatekháhsions wa'tiatiatekháhsi' teiontiatekháhsion
put a lid on s.t.	kenón:teks wa'kenón:teke' wakenonté:kon	take a lid off of s.t.	kenontékhsions wa'kenontékhsi' wakenontékhsion
stick, fasten, glue s.t. to s.t.	kera'nentáktha' wa'kera'nén:takte' wakera'nentákon	<u>unstick</u> s.t.	kera'nentáhsions wa'kera'nentáhsi' wakera'nentáhsion
swim	katá:wens wa'katá:wen' wakatá:wen	<u>finish</u> swimming, get out of the water	katawénhsions wa'katawénhsi' wakatawénhsion
put s.t. together, place side by side	tékeriks wà:kerike' tewakerí:kon	take s.t. apart, off	keríhsions wa'keríhsi' wakeríhsion
tie s.t. up	tékhnerenks wa'tékhnerenke' tewákhneren	<u>untie</u> s.t.	tekhnérénhsions wa'tekhnérénhsi' tewakhnerénhsion
use, wear s.t.	kátstha' wà:katste' wakátston	<u>finish</u> using s.t.	katstáhsions wa'katstáhsi' wakatstáhsion
wrap s.t.	tekhwawèn:'eks wa'tekhwawèn:'eke' tewakhwawèn:'e	<u>unwrap</u> s.t.	tekhwawen'ékhsions wa'tekhwawen'ékhsi' tewakhwawen'ékhsion

Putting On / Taking Clothing Off of Oneself

To take off an item or piece of clothing, use the reversive with the verb. Almost all verbs contain a semi-reflexive when one is doing it to themselves.

	Put On Oneself	Take Off Oneself
belt <i>a-stem</i>	katia'táhnhaks wa' k aia'táhnhake' wakatia'táhnhen	katia'tahhnhá <u>hsions</u> wa' k atia'tanhá <u>hsi'</u> wakatia'tahnhá <u>hsion</u>
bracelet <i>a-stem</i>	katenentshánnhaks wa' k atenentshánnhake' wakatenentshánnhen	katenentshahnnhá <u>hsions</u> wa' k atenentshahnnhá <u>hsi'</u> wakatenentshahnnhá <u>hsion</u>
glasses <i>a-stem</i>	te k atkahránnhaks wa't k atkahránnhake' te w akatkahránnhen	te k atkahránnhá <u>hsions</u> wa't k atkahránnhá <u>hsi'</u> te w akatkahránnhá <u>hsion</u>
hat <i>a-stem</i>	kanonhwaró:roks wa' k anonhwaró:roke' wakanonhwaró:ron	kanonhwarorók <u>hsions</u> wa' k anonhwarorók <u>hsi'</u> wakanonhwarorók <u>hsion</u>
mitt(s) <i>a-stem</i>	te k ata'niá:nawenks wa't k ata'niá:nawenke' te w akata'niá:nawen	te k ata'nianawénk <u>hsions</u> wa't k ata'nianawénk <u>hsi'</u> te w akata'nianawénk <u>hsion</u>
pants <i>a-stem</i>	tekatháhsterenks wa't k atháhsterenke' te w akatháhsteren	tekathahsterén <u>hsions</u> wa't k athahsterén <u>hsi'</u> te w akathahsterén <u>hsion</u>
ring <i>a-stem</i>	kanihsnonhsawi:tha' wa' k anihsnónhsawi'te' wakanihsnonhsawi:ton	kanihsnonhsawi'tá <u>hsions</u> wa' k anihsnonhsawi'tá <u>hsi'</u> wakanihsnonhsawi'tá <u>hsion</u>
shirt, dress <i>a-stem</i>	katia'tawi:tha' wa' k atià:tawi'te' wakatia'tawi:ton	katia'tawi'tá <u>hsions</u> wa' k atia'tawi'tá <u>hsi'</u> wakatia'tawi'tá <u>hsion</u>
shoe(s) <i>a-stem</i>	karáhtas wa' k aráhta' wakaráhten	karahtá <u>hsions</u> wa' k arahtá <u>hsi'</u> wakahtá <u>hsion</u>
sock(s) <i>a-stem</i>	te k ateráhkis wa't k ateráhkihwe' te w akaterahkíhen	te k aterahkihwa <u>hsions</u> wa't k aterahkihwa <u>hsi'</u> te w akaterahkihwa <u>hsion</u>

Putting On / Taking Clothing Off of Someone Else

The chart below demonstrates how to say put on/take an item off others. For example, if you are dressing or undressing someone. To do so, you use **transitive** pronouns and (in most cases) remove the semi-reflexive (-ate, -an, -ar).

	Put On Someone	Take Off of Someone
belt <i>c-stem</i>	kheia'tánnhaks wa'kheia'tánnhake' kheia'tánnhen	kheia'tánnháhsions wa'kheia'tánnháhsi' kheia'tánnháhsion
bracelet <i>c-stem</i>	khenentshánnhaks wa'khenentshánnhake' khenentshánnhen	khenentsshánnháhsions wa'khenentsshánnháhsi' khenentsshánnháhsion
glasses <i>c-stem</i>	tekhekahránnhaks wa'tekhekahránnhake' tekhekahránnhen	tekhekahrahnháhsions wa'tekhekahrahnháhsi' tekhekahrahnháhsion
hat <i>a-stem</i>	kheianonhwaró:roks wa'kheianonhwaró:roke' kheianonhwaró:ron	kheianonhwarorókhsions wa'kheianonhwarorókhsi' kheianonhwarorókhsion
mitt(s) <i>a-stem</i>	tekheia'niá:nawenks wa'tekheia'niá:nawenke' tekheia'niá:nawen	tekheia'nianawénkhsions wa'tekheia'nianawénkhsi' tekheia'nianawénkhsion
pants <i>c-stem</i>	tekkeháhsterenks wa'tekkeháhsterenke' tekkeháhsteren	tekkehahsterénhsions wa'tekkehahsterénhsi' tekkehahsterénhsion
ring <i>i-stem</i>	khehsnonhsawì:tha' wa'khehsnonhsawì:te' khehsnonhsawì:ton	khehsnonhsawì:táhsions wa'khehsnonhsawì:táhsi' khehsnonhsawì:táhsion
shirt, dress <i>c-stem</i>	kheia'tawì:tha' wa'kheia:tawì:te' kheia'tawì:ton	kheia'tawì:táhsions wa'kheia'tawì:táhsi' kheia'tawì:táhsion
shoe(s) <i>a-stem</i>	tekheiahtas wa'tekheiahta' tekheiahten	kheiahtáhsions wa'kheiahtáhsi' kheiahtáhsion
sock(s) <i>c-stem</i>	tekheráhkis wa'tekheráhkihwe' tekherahkíhen	tekherahkihwáhsions wa'tekherahkihwáhsi' tekherahkihwáhsion

Unit 7: Distributive

Distributive Description

	Verb	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
The distributive is used for actions that occur many times, a lot, often, in many places, or are performed by many people. The context of the utterance and the particular word will determine what meaning it will convey.	tewakí'tson'ks <i>I sneeze</i>	tewakí'tson'ká <u>nions</u> <i>I sneeze many times, over and over</i>
	katstí:kons <i>I puke</i>	katstiká <u>nions</u> <i>I puke all over, I puke many times</i>
In certain cases, the distributive will alter the meaning, as in the following examples.	kenóhares <i>I wash s.t.</i>	kenoharén <u>nions</u> <i>I wash clothes</i>
	kanonhtónnions <i>I think</i>	kanonhtonnión <u>kwas</u> <i>I think about</i>
	kahténtie's <i>I leave, depart, walk</i>	kahtentión <u>kwas</u> <i>I walk about, around</i>

The distributive cannot be used with all verbs. This is because it does not always make sense for certain actions to occur many times, a lot, often or in many places. Therefore, although it is important to attempt using words that you have yet to hear, exercise caution until you are sure it is a word that is actually said.

Distributive Forms

The distributive has ten forms. Certain forms are more common than others. Like most descriptive suffixes, the form is determined by what the base verb ends with. Although this creates general patterns, there are also exceptions that do not follow these general patterns.

	<u>-nion-</u>	<u>-hon-</u>	<u>-onnion-</u>	<u>-hseron-</u>	<u>-haton-</u>	<u>-rion-</u>	<u>-hshon-</u>	<u>-nionkw-</u>	<u>-onkw-</u>	<u>-kw-</u>
Habitual	nions	hons	onnions	hserons	hatons	rions	hshons	nionkwas	onkwas	kwas
Punctual	nion'	hon'	onnion'	hseron'	haton'	rion'	hshon'	nionko'	onko'	ko'
Stative Perfect	nion	hon	onnion	hseron	haton	rion	hshon	nionkwen	onkwen	kwen

Verb	Form	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
kón:nis <i>I make s.t.</i>	-(a)nions	konniánions	I make many things
	-(a)nion'	wa' konniánion'	I made many things
	-(a)nion	wakonniánion	I have made many things
ítia'ks <i>I cut s.t. off</i>	-hons	tià:kons	I cut many things off
	-hon'	wa' tià:khon'	I cut many things off
	-hon	watià:khon	I have cut many things off
khéhrha <i>I put s.t. up on s.t.</i>	-onnions	khrónnions	I put up many things
	-onnion'	wa' khrónnion'	I (did) put up many things
	-onnion	wakhrónnion	I have put up many things
tiénthos <i>I plant s.t.</i>	-hserons	tienthóhserons	I plant many things
	-hseron'	wa' tienthóhseron'	I planted many things
	-hseron	watienthóhseron	I have planted many things
katshókwas <i>I smoke s.t.</i>	-hatons	katshokohá:tons	I chain smoke
	-haton'	wa' katshokohá:ton'	I chain smoked
	-haton	wakatshokohá:ton	I have chain smoked

Verb	Form	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>	Tiohrhèn:sha
tekhna'nétas <i>I copy s.t.</i>	-rions -rion' -rion	tekhna'netá <u>rions</u> wa'tekhna'netá <u>rion'</u> te <u>wakhna'</u> netá <u>rion</u>	I copy many things I copied many things I have copied many things
khésheres <i>I follow her</i>	-hshons -hshon' -hshon	khehseré <u>hshons</u> wa'khehseré <u>hshon'</u> khehseré <u>hshon</u>	I follow her around I followed her around I have followed her around
ktáhkwas <i>I take s.t. out of s.t.</i>	-niónkwas -nión:ko' -niónkwen	ktahkwa <u>niónkwas</u> wa'ktahkwa <u>nión:ko'</u> wa <u>kkáhtkwa</u> <u>niónkwen</u>	I take many things out I took many things out I have taken many things out
tekténie's <i>I change s.t.</i>	-onkwas -onko' -onkwen	tekteni <u>ónkwas</u> wa'tekteni <u>ón:ko'</u> te <u>wakteni</u> <u>ónkwen</u>	I change many things I changed many things I have changed many things
kanonhtónnions <i>I think of s.t.</i>	-kwas -ko' -kwen	kanonhtonni <u>ónkwas</u> wa'kanonhtonni <u>ón:ko'</u> wa <u>kanonhtonni</u> <u>ónkwen</u>	I think, am thinking about it I thought about it I have thought about it

Distributive Form Patterns

		Verb	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
-(a)nion-	tekhrihtha'	<i>I break it</i>	tekhrihtá <u>nions</u>
Verbs ending in causative (-ht-, -'t-, -st-, -hst-), instrumental (-kw-), and -ons, -nis, -was, and -ris.	tekéhkhwa'	<i>I pick it up</i>	tekehkwá <u>nions</u>
	khiá:tons	<i>I write</i>	khiatón <u>nions</u>
	kón:nis	<i>I make s.t</i>	konnián <u>nions</u>
-hon-	karón:tats	<i>I shoot s.t.</i>	karontát <u>hons</u>
Verbs ending in -ts, -ks, and -awis.	kerò:roks	<i>I gather, collect s.t.</i>	kerohrók <u>hons</u>
-oninion-	khéhrha'	<i>I set s.t. up on s.t.</i>	khrón <u>nions</u>
Verbs endings with -hrha' and -tha'.	khniótha'	<i>I erect, stand s.t up</i>	khniotón <u>nions</u>
-hseron-	tiénthos	<i>I plant s.t.</i>	tienthó <u>hserons</u>
Verbs ending with -os.			
-haton-	kenénhskwas	<i>I steal s.t.</i>	kenenhsko <u>há:tons</u>
Verbs ending in -kwas. ⁶⁶			
-rion-	tekhna'nétas	<i>I duplicate s.t.</i>	tekhna'netá <u>rians</u>
Verbs endings -tas.			

⁶⁶ Some verbs ending in -kwas take the form -niónkwas.

-hshon-

khésheres

*I follow her*khehseréhshons

Verbs endings in -es.

-nionkw-

ktáhkwas

*I take s.t. out of s.t.*ktahkwaniónkwasVerbs ending in -
kwas.⁶⁷**-onkw-**

tekténie's

*I change s.t.*tekteniónkwas

Verbs ending in -ie's.

-kw-

kanonhtónnions

*I think of s.t.*kanonhtonniónkwas

Verbs ending in -ion.

⁶⁷ Some verbs ending in -kwas take the form -haton.

Distributive Owenna'shòn:'a

Tiohrhèn:sha	Kanien'kéha	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
add s.t. on to s.t.	kahsontéhrha' wa'k ^h ahsónteren' wa ^k ahsóntere	kahsonter ^{ónn} ions
bark (dog)	kahní:has wa'kà:niie' iohní:hen	kahnihá ⁿ ions
bite of food, take a	katekhwákwas wa'k ^h atekhwá:ko' wa ^k atekhwákwen	katekhwa ^{nión} kwas "I chew"
break s.t.	te ^k hríhtha' wa'té ^k hrihte' te ^w akhríhton	te ^k hrihtá ⁿ ions
buy s.t.	khní:nons wa'k ^h hní:non' wa ^k khní:non	khninón ⁿ ions
change s.t.	te ^k ténie's wa'te ^k té:ni' te ^w akténion	te ^k teni ^{ón} kwas
coat, spread s.t. on s.t.	kéhrhos wa'k ^h éhrho' wa ^k éhrhon	kehrhó ^h serons
copy, duplicate, repeat, multiply s.t.	te ^k hna'nétas wa'te ^k hna'néta' te ^w akhna'néten	te ^k hna'netá ^r ions
cough	kahshà:kha' wa'k ^h áhsha'ke' wa ^k ahshà:ken	kahsha'ká ⁿ ions
fart	kani'ténie's wa'k ^h kani'té:ni' wa ^k kani'ténion	kani'teni ^{ón} kwas

Tiohrhèn:sha	Kanien'kéha	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
finish, complete s.t.	íkhsa's wà:khsa' wákhsón	íkhsa'á <u>nions</u>
fold, wrap s.t. up	khwe'nón:nis wa'khwe'nón:ni' wakhwe'nón:ni	khwe'nonniá <u>nions</u>
hit, strike s.t. with s.t.	khwà:'eks wa'khwà:'eke' wakhwà:'e	khwa'ék <u>hons</u>
join s.t. with s.t.	tekékhas wa'tkékha' tewakékhen	tekekha <u>nions</u>
leave, walk, depart	kahténtie's wa'kahtén:ti' wakahténtion	kahtentió <u>kw</u> as "I walk around, about or a distance"
lick s.t.	kká:nonts wa'kká:nonte' wakkánón:ton	kkanónt <u>hons</u>
look at s.t.	katkáhthos wa'katkáhtho' wakkatkáhthon	katkahthó <u>hserons</u>
make s.t.	kón:nis wa'kón:ni' wakón:ni	konniá <u>nions</u>
move oneself around	katorià:nerons wa'katorià:neron' wakatorià:neron	katoriahnerón <u>kw</u> as
plant	tiénthos wa'tiéntho' watiénthon	tienthó <u>hserons</u>

Tiohrhèn:sha	Kanien'kéha	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
rip, tear s.t.	kerátsons wa'kerátson' wakerátson	keratsiónkwas
rub s.t.	keránie's wa'keránie' wakeránie	keránions
search, look for s.t.	ké:saks / kéhsaks wa'ké:sake' wakesá:kon	kesákions
sew	ke'níkhons wa'ke'níkhon' wake'níkhon	ke'nikhónions
shake s.t.	ká:waks wa'ká:wake wakawá:kon	kawákions
sneeze	tewakí'tson'ks wa'tewakí'tson'ke' tewakí'tsòn:kon	tewaki'tson'kánions
sweep	konhé:was wa'kónhewe' wakonhé:wen	konhewánions
tell a story	kká:rations wa'kká:raton' wakká:raton	kkaratónions
think of s.t.	kanonhtónnions wa'kanonhtónnionhwe' wakanonhtonniónhon kanonhtónnion	kanonhtaniónkwas "I think"/ "I am thinking about something"
vomit, throw up	katstí:kons wa'kátstike' wakatstí:kon	katstikánions

Tiohrhèn:sha	Kanien'kéha	Verb + <u>Distributive</u>
wash s.t.	kenóhares wa'kenóhare' wakenóhare	kenoharé <u>nions</u> "I wash clothes", "I wash many things"
wipe s.t. off	keraké:was wa'kerá:kewe' wakeraké:wen	kerakewá <u>nions</u>

Unit 8: Facilitative

Facilitative Description

	Verb	Verb + <u>Facilitative</u>
The facilitative is used when someone or something is prone to complete an action or does an action often, a lot, easily, or frequently.	wakenà:khwen's	wakena'khwèn: <u>tskon</u>
	<i>I get mad</i>	<i>I get mad easily</i>
	watíó'tens	watíó'tén <u>htskon</u>
	<i>I work</i>	<i>I'm a workaholic</i>

Facilitative Forms

There are two forms of the facilitative. There is a general pattern for which form to use, however, it is still very unpredictable. The facilitative is attached either to the end of verb roots or the stative ending. When using the facilitative, objective prefixes and the stative aspect (i.e., *I am that way*) are used.

Stative		<u>-'tskon</u>		<u>-htskon</u>
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Facilitative Owenna'shòn:'a

Verb		With <u>Facilitative</u>	
wakenà:khwen's	I get mad	wakena'khwèn:tskon	I get mad easily
sewake'nikónhrhen's	I forget	sewake'nikonhrhèn:tskon	I'm forgetful
katshennón:nis	I get happy	wakatshennonnià:tskon	I'm easily happy
kate'nikonhró:ris	I have fun	wakate'nikonhrorià:tskon	I have fun easily
wakaterihonkóhtanis	I get fed up	wakaterihonkohtani:tskon	I easily get fed up
tekatennonhwerá:tons	I give thanks	tewakatenonhweratón:htskon	I'm prone to being grateful
kerihwakà:tats	I complain	wakerihwaka'tèn:tskon	I'm prone to complaining
khakenhrón:nis	I belittle s.o.	wakatkenhronnià:tskon	I'm prone to belittling people
watió'tens	I work	watio'tén:htskon	I'm a workaholic
tekhwishenhé:ions	I get tired	tewakhwishenheion:tskon	I'm prone to getting tired
wakatié:sen	I am easy, generous	wakatiesen'òn:tskon	I'm prone to being easy, I give freely
wakí:ta's	I sleep	wakità:tskon	I fall asleep easily
kentón:nis	I get lonely	wakentonnià:tskon	I'm prone to feeling lonely
katonhkária'ks	I get hungry	wakatonhkarià:tskon	I'm prone to getting hungry
wakenonhwáktanis	I get sick	wakenonhwaktani:tskon	I'm prone to getting sick
wakeserénhtara's	I get sleepy	wakeserenhtarà:tskon	I'm prone to getting sleepy

Verb		With <u>Facilitative</u>	
wakhswà:tanis	I get annoyed	wakhswa'tani:tskon	I get annoyed easily
wakátie's	I lose s.t.	wakatiòn:tskon	I lose things easily
katiesáhtha'	I waste s.t.	wakatiesà:tskon	I'm prone to wasting
kentóhrha' / kentó:re	I am lazy, difficult	wakentorà:tskon	I'm prone to being lazy
tia'tié:nen's	I fall (from standing)	watia'tienénhtskon	I'm prone to falling
skatewáhtha'	I miss s.t. (target)	sewakatewahtà:tskon	I'm prone to miss the target
wakhné:kata's	I get drunk	wakhnekata:tskon	I get drunk easily
khé:tenhre	I pity s.o.	wakatennitenhráhtskon	I'm charitable, prone to pity others
ketshénres	I find s.t.	waketshenriè:tskon	I'm good at finding things
katerien'tatshénries	I find, come up with an idea	wakaterien'tatshenriè:tskon	I come up with ideas easily
wakaten'kéhwhas	I get jealous	wakaten'kehwhèn:tskon	I'm prone to being jealous
kerihwanéra'aks	I sin, swear	wakerihwanera'áktskon	I'm prone to swearing
tkatón'neks	I get startled	tewakaton'néktskon	I'm easily startled, anxious