

TABLE: PREPRONOMIAL PREFIXES – MEANINGS, USES, NAMES

Section reviewed and approved by JW, should not be changed.

Order	Morpheme	Names	Uses
[1]	/ y(i ²)- /	Irrealis. Conditional. Negative.	Makes a verb “Unreal.” Indicates a verb action is not actually happening. Used for hypothetical (if, should, would, could) statements, as well as negative statements.
	/ j(i ²)- /	Specifier. Relativizer. Person, Thing, and Past Time Specifier.	Simple terms: it means “the one that.” It connects a verb to an already-established, already-known idea. In academic terms, it marks “relative clauses.” It operates similarly to the italicized words in each of these examples: “The man <i>who</i> was speaking.” “I saw it <i>when</i> I got there.” “The thing <i>that</i> I wanted.”
[2]	/ w(i ²)- /	Translocative. Away from Speaker. Distant Place Specifier.	Indicates a verb action with a motion away from the speaker, or that an action described <i>will</i> take place somewhere away from the speaker (particularly when used in commands, where the commanded action is expected to take place somewhere “away”). Also used to specify that an action happened “there,” where “there” is a distant place that has already been established in the conversation.
[3]	/ n(i ²)- /	Summative. In All. Generalizer.	Indicates a verb action is described <i>in sum</i> , in a generalizing, summarizing way. Has a “nominalizing” (noun-making) quality, so when attached to a verb it suggests that the verb action is being described in a nominal, “noun-like” way—that the action <i>in sum</i> , as a <i>singular thing</i> , is being described by the verb. The prefix has a “summarizing” function, meaning the quality or character of an action is described “in all.” As a result, the prefix can be understood as inherently “singular.” Can be used on plural words, however, when describing a single shared, unifying characteristic or action that exists among the plural actors or nouns. The /ni ² / Prefix, and its counterpart /i ²² (y)x ³³ /, are usually the most difficult Prefixes for the average student to learn and understand.

TABLE: PREPRONOMIAL PREFIXES – MEANINGS, USES, DIFFERENT NAMES (Cont.)

Order	Morpheme	Names	Uses
[3]	/i ²² (y)x ³³ - / [†]	Particularizer. Qualifier. Characterizer.	<p>Meaning/use on verbs is generally difficult to articulate in English. Rarely seen on verbs.[‡] More commonly seen with nouns, adjectives, and particle-based helping words.</p> <p>Can be thought of as the opposite of the Summative /ni²/, often the best way to describe this Prefix is by way of comparison to /ni²/:</p> <p>Where /ni²/ Summarizes, totalizes, this Prefix Particularizes: this Prefix is used to denote that a single <i>particular</i> quality or category of something is being described—one quality among many is being singled out—without generalizing the overall character of the thing. At the same time, the Prefix explicitly acknowledges the existence of a <i>broader range of qualities or categories</i> that co-exist along side the quality or category that is being singled out. If /ni²/ can be understood as “in all, in total,” this Prefix could be understood as “one kind <i>among many kinds</i>.”</p> <p>Where /ni²/ Nominalizes (makes “noun-like”), this Prefix “Characterizes” (makes “adjective-like”).</p> <p>Where /ni²/ is Summative and therefore singular, this Prefix is Plural because it inherently acknowledges a thing or action <i>has</i> a plurality of qualities or characteristics, even when used to single out one quality among them for discussion.</p> <p>The /i²²(y)x³³/ Prefix, and its counterpart /ni²/, are usually the most difficult Prefixes for the average student to learn and understand.</p>

[†] This prefix was not included in Durbin’s CED as a Prepronomial (“Initial”) Prefix. This is probably because the Prefix is mostly seen on nouns, adjectives, and particle-based helping words. However, in verbs that carry a “frozen” /ni²/ Prefix, this morpheme is seen replacing /ni²/ on Unreal Stems (particularly the INF form)—so it must be considered a Prepronomial (verb) Prefix at least in those circumstances. As such, in the order of Prepronomial Prefixes, it’s in the same [3] “slot” as /ni²/.

[‡] Arguably, one could say it is *never* used “on verbs”—the suffix *causes* derivation (i.e., shift from one part of speech to another, especially from a verb to a noun). So, even if the prefix appears on a Verb Root, the resulting word is arguably no longer a “verb” itself, at least in the sense that it is no longer describing a Real Action.

TABLE: PREPRONOMIAL PREFIXES – MEANINGS, USES, DIFFERENT NAMES (Cont.)

Order	Morpheme	Names	Uses
[4]	/ d(e ³³)- /	Real Distributive. Real Pluralizer. Plural Object.	Denotes either (1) the non-Pronominal Person is plural (usually this means the verb's <i>object</i> is plural, but not always); or (2) the Real action denoted by the verb is being performed multiple separate times (either because it's being done repetitively or because the action is being performed separately by each individual included within a Dual, Plural, or Nonsingular Pronominal Person).
	/ d(i ²²)- /	Unreal Distributive. Unreal Pluralizer.	Used for Unreal Actions but otherwise identical in use to Real Distributive. Also used to Pluralize adjectives and nouns (i.e., non-verbs).
	/ ga ² (y) /	Animate Distributive, Plural Animate Object	Used for Real Actions to denote plural Animate Objects. Some speakers use it, others do not—instead using the Real Distributive /d(e ³³)/ without regard to Object Animacy.
[5]	/ da ² (y)- /	Real Towards. Future. Motion towards. Cislocative.	Used to describe a real action with a motion towards the speaker. Also used on CMP Stems to construct the Completive Future Tense. [†]
	/ di ² (?)- /	Unreal Towards. Distant Position.	Used for Unreal Actions—otherwise it is largely the same as the Real Towards, with one distinction. The Real Towards is more evocative of actual (i.e., “Real”) motion, whereas the Unreal form is more evocative of something that is distant in space from the speaker, but unmoving. JW says the sound means “from” moreso than “towards,” to his ear.
[6]	/ v ²² (?)- /	Again.	Denotes that an action is being done “again,” as in “one more time.”

[†] **Note:** The “Motion Towards” and “Future” uses are not separate in the mind of a Cherokee speaker—the “towards” and “future” meaning are one and the same, because the future is always moving towards us. Perhaps it could be said that the Future as a concept is primarily defined by this sense of motion *towards*. This conflation of time with movement through space is a recurring feature of the Cherokee language and way of thinking. Space and time are intimately interwoven in Cherokee thought (and in reality itself, to be fair—because of course: *it takes time to span distance*).

TABLE: PREPRONOMIAL PREFIXES – MEANINGS, USES, DIFFERENT NAMES (Cont.)

Order	Morpheme	Names	Uses
[7]	/ ga ²² (y)- /	Since. “Can,” “Known To”	<p>Denotes that the action is “known” to have occurred in the past—the speaker is “familiar” with the action having happened before, and that therefore, the action “can” happen again. So, it also commonly denotes ability—“can” statements—particularly when used on Immediate Stems. It’s got a lot in common with the English phrase “known to” in a sentence like “Jimmy has been <i>known to</i> hold his breath for two whole minutes”—i.e., Jimmy <i>can</i> hold his breath for two whole minutes.</p> <p>It is often translated as “since” in English, because it shares <i>some</i> overlap in usage. “<i>Since</i> I know he’s done it before, I know he <i>can</i> do it” (i.e., the “because” or “explanation” use of the word “since”). In English, “since” is also used as a timeframe word, to describe a span of time between a past event and the present—“I haven’t heard from him since then.” JW says: Traditionally, this Prefix <i>did not</i> carry this “timeframe” meaning in Cherokee. However, over time, many Cherokee speakers have begun to use the Prefix in a way that basically mirrors English uses of “since,” including the timeframe meaning.</p>
	/ e ²² (?)- /	Distant Imperative. “Come here and do it.”	Denotes a command to someone far away—and specifically, a command to “come over here and do it.” In other words, this Prefix is basically the opposite of / wi ² / -- it commands a distant listener to come towards the speaker and do the action, as opposed to commanding a present listener to go away and do the action.

TABLE: ORDER OF PREPRONOMIAL PREFIXES

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
Conditional, Specifizer	Away	Summative, Particularizer	Distributives	Towards Real / Unreal	Again	Since, Distant Imp.
y(i ²) j(i ²)	w(i ²)	n(i ²) i ²² (y)x ³³	d(e ³³) d(i ²²) ga ² (y)	da ² (y) di ² (?)	v ²² (?)	ga ²² (y) e ²² (?)