This dissertation has been
microfilmed exactly as received 68-6863

VOORHIS, Paul Hantsch, 1937-
KICKAPOO GRAMMAR.

Yale University, Ph.D., 1967
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© Copyright by
PAUL HANTSCH VOORHIS
1968

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

KICKAPOO GRAMMAR

by

Paul H. Voorhis

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of Yale University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

March 1967

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ABSTRACT

Kickapoo Grammar contains a description of the phonemics, morphophonemics, inflexion and syntax of the Kickapoo language, an American Indian Language of the Algonquian family. Texts and a vocabulary are included.

In as much as Kickapoo ethnography has yet to be investigated, a Kickapoo grammar should be an aid to anthropologists undertaking that work. Accordingly, the description is verbal rather than mathematical; experimental descriptive techniques are avoided, and a certain amount of redundancy is intentional.

Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox are dialects of one language. Although a grammatical sketch of Fox and numerous texts have been published, this dissertation includes the first vocabulary, the first description of intonation, and the first comprehensive syntax for any of these dialects.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to Ruth,

who heard vowel length better than I did.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter 1. PHONEMICS 9

PHONEMES

1.1 phonemes

PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTIONS, 1.2-1.6

CLUSTERS

1.2 vowel clusters

1.3 consonant clusters

TONES 10

1.4 occurrence with other phonemes

1.5 intonations 11

1.6 syllables

PHONES, 1.7-1.18 12

COMMON VOWELS

1.7 place of articulation

1.8 manner and duration of articulation in vowel clusters

1.9 nasalization 13

1.10 voicing

COMMON CONSONANTS 14

1.11 semivowels

1.12 stops

1.13 nasals 15

1.14 spirants

TONES 16

1.15 relative pitches

1.16 allophones

RARE PHONES 17

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1.17 rare phones

DRAWLING 18
1.18 drawling

Chapter 2. INTONATIONS 19

2.1 limited and unlimited intonations
2.2 introduction to the list of intonations

SENTENCE FINAL INTONATIONS 20

2.3 /´ᵛᵛ/ and /´ˋˆ/
2.4 /´ᵛᵛᵛ/ and /´ˋˋˆ/
2.5 /´ᵛᵛᵛᵛ/ and /´ˋˋˋˆ/ with words of less than four syllables
2.6 /´ˋ´ˆ´ᵛᵛᵛ/
2.7 /ᵛ/ 21

SENTENCE MEDIAL INTONATIONS

2.8 /´ˋ/
2.9 /´ˋ/ with words of less than three syllables 22
2.10 /´ˋ/ prevented by a sentence final intonation
2.11 frequency of /´ˋ/ in a sentence
2.12 /´ˋ/ with the first member of a compound 23
2.13 /´ˋˋˋ/
2.14 connective /´/ and /ˋ/
2.15 retention of connective /ˋ/ before omitted /h/ 24
2.16 connective /´/ and /ˋ/ as the sole sentence medial intonation
2.17 sentence final connective /´/ and /ˋ/
2.18 ambiguous /ˋ/

ADDITIONAL VARIANTS 25
2.19 additional variants

Chapter 3. SANDHI (MORPHOPHONEMICS) 26

3.1 morphophonemes

UNIVERSAL SANDHI, 3.2-3.5

3.2 universal sandhi

RETENTION OF SYLLABLE BOUNDARY

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.3 when a morphophoneme is omitted
3.4 adjacent to a monosyllabic cluster 27

OMISSION OF h BEFORE A SPIRANT

3.5 omission of h before a spirant

INTERNAL SANDHI, 3.6-3.17

3.6 internal sandhi

VOWELS 28

3.7 omission of a single holosyllabic vowel after a vowel
3.8 retention of a single holosyllabic vowel after a vowel
3.9 omission of one vowel in a word final monosyllabic cluster

OBSTRUENTS

3.10 before vowels and semivowels
3.11 before obstruents 29

SEMIVOWELS 30

3.12 w after o
3.13 w before o and j before i
3.14 we, We and je
3.15 ja 31
3.16 j after s and w
3.17 jea 32

EXTERNAL SANDHI, 3.18-3.58

3.18 external sandhi
3.19 base forms of words and compound members 33
3.20 syllable boundary and word boundary

SOME CONDITIONING ENVIRONMENTS

3.21 some conditioning environments
3.22 initial and final sectors 34
3.23 short words
3.24 brief words

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.25 h-words 35
3.26 styles

AUTOMATIC SHORTENING

3.27 automatic shortening

W and h IN DELIBERATE STYLE 36

3.28 W and h in deliberate style

OMISSION OF W IN COLLOQUIAL STYLE 37

3.29 omission of W in colloquial style
3.30 treatment of preceding monosyllabic clusters

OMISSION OF h IN COLLOQUIAL STYLE

3.31 omission of h in colloquial style
3.32 preconsonantal h
3.33 intervocalic h after an initial sector syllable
3.34 allophones of /h/ 38
3.35 retention of connective /ˋ/ before omitted h
3.36 intervocalic h before a sentence final syllable with /ˇ/
3.37 intervocalic h elsewhere after a final sector syllable
3.38 treatment of preceding monosyllabic clusters 39

STYLE MIXTURE

3.39 style mixture

SYLLABIC INCREASE 40

3.40 in short words
3.41 in brief words

ELISION 41

3.42 initial e, a, o
3.43 initial i
3.44 initial ii
3.45 initial consonants 42
3.46 initial W 43
3.47 failure of elision to take place 44

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TREATMENT OF INTONATIONS IN ELISION

3.48 base forms of intonations
3.49 sentence final intonations
3.50 sentence medial ´`
3.51 sentence medial ´```` 45
3.52 connective ` 46

PAUSE

3.53 sentence medial pause
3.54 absence of sentence final pause
3.55 automatic shortening
3.56 omission of h in colloquial style 47
3.57 syllabic increase
3.58 elision

ORDERED SANDHI RULES 48

3.59 ordered sandhi rules
3.60 universal sandhi
3.61 internal sandhi
3.62 external sandhi

MONOSYLLABIC AND DISYLLABIC CLUSTERS 49

3.63 additional limitations on the distributions of monosyllabic and disyllabic clusters
3.64 idiolectic variation

TREATMENT OF INTONATIONS WITH CERTAIN IRREGULAR STYLE VARIANTS 50

3.65 words with the initial syllable lacking in colloquial style
3.66 joohi 51

Chapter 4. INFLEXION 52

4.1 inflexion

CATEGORIES OF INFLEXION

4.2 categories of inflexion
4.3 person

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.4 number 53
4.5 gender
4.6 personal position
4.7 case
4.8 abbreviations for the members of the preceding categories
4.9 state 54
4.10 mode
4.11 tense 55
4.12 combinations of tenses and modes 56
4.13 voice 57

FORM CLASSES OF STEMS 58

4.14 form classes of stems

PERSONAL PREFIXES 59

4.15 personal prefixes

Chapter 5. NOUN INFLEXION 62

5.1 categories of inflexion

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: AFFIXES

5.2 word final affixes
5.3 distribution of word final affixes with stem form classes
5.4 thematic affixes 63
5.5 distribution of thematic affixes with stem form classes 65
5.6 -em
5.7 order of affixes to noun stems 66
5.8 distribution of word final affixes with thematic affixes
5.9 meanings of noun affixes 67

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: SANDHI 68

5.10 introduction
5.11 stem final t and Z before -i 69
5.12 stem final h and -e 70

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.13 stem final obstruents otherwise
5.14 -em and -enaan before suffixes 72
5.15 stem final h in colloquial style 73
5.16 stem final vowels
5.17 stem final vowels before series one and two suffixes
5.18 stem final vowels before series three suffixes and before -wa 74
5.19 jea 75
5.20 -wa before suffixes
5.21 stem final w 76
5.22 stem final w before series one suffixes
5.23 stem final w before series two suffixes
5.24 stem final w before series three suffixes 77
5.25 stem final w before -wa
5.26 stem final j 78
5.27 stem final j before -i
5.28 stem final j before -a
5.29 stem final j before a series two suffix 79
5.30 stem final j before a series three suffix and before -wa 80
5.31 short words 81
5.32 -ahi in colloquial style

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: IRREGULAR FORMS 82

5.33 irregular 1-2
5.34 iiW- Nad 83
5.35 Wiikiaap(j)- Nii, askihki- and askihkj- Nii, oskwaate(em)- Nii
5.36 iia- 84

INFLEXION OF AMBIGENERIC NOUN STEMS

5.37 word final affixes
5.38 distribution of word final affixes with stems
5.39 irregular locatives 86
5.40 h in colloquial style
5.41 short words 87

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.42 h-words
5.43 thematic affixes
5.44 ambigeneric noun stems in particles 88

Chapter 6. VERB INFLEXION 89

AFFIXES 6.1-6.78

6.1 categories of inflexion

STATE

6.2 state

VOICE

6.3 voice

TENSE 90

6.4 future
6.5 first actual 91
6.6 second actual
6.7 third actual

PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER AND MODE 92

6.8 person, number, gender, and mode
6.9 indicative 93
6.10 dubitative
6.11 conjunct modes 94
6.12 interrogative 95
6.13 potential
6.14 imperative 96
6.15 prohibitive
6.16 O before suffixes
6.17 t before i
6.18 -i before -n O
6.19 other sandhi changes

INDICATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS 97

6.20 Vai, Vti
6.21 Vii

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.22 Vta, Vta/i 98
6.23 first voice
6.24 second voice 99
6.25 third voice 100
6.26 fourth voice 102
6.27 fifth voice 103
6.28 sixth voice

DUBITATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS (INCLUDING THE DUBITATIVE SUFFIX -toke

6.29 vowels before -toke
6.30 Vai, Vti
6.31 Vta, Vta/i 104

CONJUNCT PERSONAL INFLEXIONS 105

6.32 Vai, Vti
6.33 Vii 107
6.34 Vta, Vta/i
6.35 first voice
6.36 second voice 108
6.37 third voice 109
6.38 fifth voice
6.39 sixth voice 111

INTERROGATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS 112

6.40 unrecorded forms
6.41 Vai, Vti
6.42 Vii 113
6.43 Vta, Vta/i
6.44 first voice
6.45 second voice 114
6.46 third voice
6.47 fifth voice
6.48 sixth voice 115

POTENTIAL PERSONAL INFLEXIONS 116

6.49 Vai, Vti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.50 Vii 117
6.51 Vta, Vta/i
6.52 first voice
6.53 second voice 118
6.54 third voice
6.55 fifth voice
6.56 sixth voice 120

IMPERATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.57 Vai, Vti
6.58 Vii 121
6.59 Vta, Vta/i
6.60 first voice
6.61 fifth voice

PROHIBITIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS 122

6.62 Vai, Vti
6.63 Vii
6.64 Vta, Vta/i
6.65 first voice
6.66 fifth voice 123

PARTICIPLES

6.67 participial suffixes

CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES WITH ANIMATE PARTICIPIAL SUFFIXES 124

6.68 Vai, Vti
6.69 Vta, Vta/i
6.70 with first and second persons in thematic position 125
6.71 with third persons in thematic position 127

CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES WITH INANIMATE PARTICIPIAL SUFFIXES 128

6.72 Vii
6.73 Vti, Vta/i
6.74 Vti 129
6.75 Vta/i 130

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.76 Vta, Vta/i

INTERROGATIVE PARTICIPLES

6.77 interrogative participles

SINGULAR AND PLURAL STEMS 131

6.78 singular and plural stems

SANDHI 132

6.79 sandhi

Vai, Vti, Vii: STEM FINAL MORPHOPHONEMES AND FOLLOWING SUFFIXES 133

6.80 stem final morphophonemes

6.81 suffixes which follow the stem

Vai, Vti, Vii: SANDHI CHANGES 134

6.82 introduction

6.83 suffix initial k pot. and proh. after vowels

6.84 suffix initial i, e after vowels

6.85 -t a3.1 conj. after vowels

6.86 other suffixes after single holosyllabic vowels

6.87 monosyllabic clusters in word final

6.88 monosyllabic clusters before retained vowels except in brief words

6.89 monosyllabic clusters before retained vowels in brief words

6.90 aa before -a, -aki 135

6.91 ee before -t in participles

6.92 -a and -i after ee

6.93 jea

6.94 other suffixes after monosyllabic clusters

6.95 -a, -i after consonants

6.96 -aki, -ani after consonants

6.97 -k a3.1 conj. after consonants

6.98 -aa after consonants

6.99 -kw, -kweehiki after consonants 136

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.100 am and other stem final consonants
6.101 am in word final
6.102 am before p or t
6.103 am before other obstruents
6.104 -a after am
6.105 suffix initial i, e after am
6.106 am before vowels and semivowels
6.107 other consonants in word final and before obstruents
6.108 other consonants before -k i3(3).1 137
6.109 -ini after other consonants
6.110 -ini after n in a Vii
6.111 other consonants before first and second person suffixes in the conjunct modes
6.112 examples

Vta, Vta/i: STEM FINAL MORPHOPHONEMES AND FOLLOWING SUFFIXES 146

6.113 stem final morphophonemes
6.114 following suffixes

Vta, Vta/i: SANDHI CHANGES

6.115 stem final N, Z
6.116 stem final spirants and nasals 147
6.117 aW plus suffix initial e 148
6.118 W, w in other stems plus suffix initial e
6.119 other suffixes after W, w

IRREGULAR FORMS 149

6.120 final hkaa, hkjaa, skaa, kaapaa in a Vai
6.121 final sin in a Vai 150
6.122 aa-, ihaa- Vai 151
6.123 zi-, i- Vai
6.124 iN-, zero Vta 152
6.125 the infix ee
6.126 ahkoo- Vta, Wiicai- Vta plus suffix initial e 153
6.127 other suffixes after ahkoo- Vta, Wiicai- Vta
6.128 ahkoo- Vta and automatic shortening 154

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 7. SYNTAX 155

FORM CLASSES

7.1 major form classes
7.2 relative words
7.3 subclasses of nouns 157
7.4 subclasses of verbs
7.5 subclasses of particles 158
7.6 other subclasses of nouns, verbs and particles 159

CONCORD

7.7 concord

PERSONAL SUBSTITUTES 160

7.8 substitutes for nouns
7.9 concordant combinations of different persons and numbers
7.10 verbs without substitutes 161
7.11 substitutes for verbs 162
7.12 implicit third persons

CONSTRUCTIONS

7.13 constructions

ATTRIBUTES TO NOUNS AND VERBS 163

7.14 noun plus coordinate noun
7.15 noun plus appositive noun 164
7.16 noun plus attributive noun 167
7.17 noun plus verb
7.18 noun plus possessive verb 169
7.19 two words with a substitute for the same antecedent 170
7.20 adjectives
7.21 verb plus attributive verb 171
7.22 locative supplement plus locative noun

RELATIVE WORDS 172

7.23 free relative verbs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7.24 antecedent plus relative verb 174
7.25 pronouns with word final i3
7.26 personal nouns 175
7.27 verbs
7.28 relative antecedent particles 176
7.29 locative nouns 179
7.30 adjectives 180
7.31 sentences to modal verbs: quotations and quotatives
7.32 sentences to causal verbs 182

PREDICATIONS

7.33 predications
7.34 independent verbs
7.35 predicate particles 183
7.37 pronouns with conjunctive verbs 184
7.38 independent conjunctive, conditional and interrogative verbs 186
7.39 nominal sentences 187
7.40 particles 188
7.41 double predications

ATTRIBUTES TO PREDICATIONS 189

7.42 adverb plus coordinate adverb
7.43 adverb plus predication
7.44 subordinate verb plus coordinate subordinate verb 192
7.45 subordinate verb plus predication
7.46 pronoun plus predication 195
7.47 locative noun plus predication

COMPOUNDING

7.48 stem plus stem
7.49 prewords 196

NEGATION 204

7.50 negation

PROXIMATE AND OBVIATIVE

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7 51 proximate and obviative

Chapter 8. TEXTS 206

Chapter 9. VOCABULARY 234

Chapter 10. ADDENDA 302

BIBLIOGRAPHY 305

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

INTRODUCTION

The Kickapoo language is probably native to fewer than 1,000 persons of American Indian ancestry, known to their neighbors and themselves as Kickapoos. The majority of the Kickapoo speakers live in one of two areas, (1) between the towns of Shawnee and Jones in the state of Oklahoma, U.S.A., and (2) in the village of Nacimiento in the state of Coahuila, Mexico. The Kickapoo language is the usual medium of communication among young and old alike in Nacimiento, where there are very few residents other than Kickapoos. The language is also in regular use in Oklahoma among many of the Kickapoos; at the same time, there are Kickapoo speakers who usually speak English, and there are persons, mostly under twenty years of age, who speak and understand only English, although their parents are able to speak Kickapoo. A few Kickapoo speakers live elsewhere. There are said to be a very few speakers among a number of Kickapoos living near Hiawatha, Kansas, and scattered individuals and families are reported elsewhere in the United States and Mexico.

The Kickapoo language is a member of the Central-Eastern subdivision of the Algonquian family of languages. The speech of the Kickapoos and that of the Sauks and Foxes are probably dialects of a single unnamed language; Kickapoo speakers universally testify to mutual intelligibility with the Sauks and Foxes as well as to a great similarity in the native culture of these three groups.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Kickapoo data presented here were gathered between October, 1964, and August, 1965. Two weeks were spent in Nacimiento; the rest of the time was spent in Oklahoma.

My main informant was Alice Abraham. Without her intelligence, patience, and skill as a teacher, this account would be much more defective, and without the friendship of her and her family my life and my wife's would be that much poorer.

James Wahpepah taught me my first words and sentences in Kickapoo. His insight into linguistic structure and his interest in this work would have made it both pleasurable and profitable to work with him further had not his many other duties intervened.

In addition, the following persons gave anything from a few words in the course of conversation to fairly extensive material: Elizabeth Treviño, Simon Treviño, James Howard Roubidoux, Kiikaiihkwa, Charley White, Mary Tecumze, Lucille Birdcreek, Lawrence Murdock, George and Emma Murdock, Thurman Wahpekeche's eldest son, and Jonas Johnson. This material, though sometimes brief, often contained vital forms for the clarification of some point of analysis.

I wish to express here my extreme gratitude to Alice Abraham, James Wahpepah, and the others listed above, as well as to the many other Kickapoo people who had no occasion to help me with the language but whose hospitality and friendship made working and living among them an unforgettable pleasure, and especially to Kiikaiihkwa, who took us into her home in Nacimiento.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I am deeply grateful to Yale University and to the American Council of Learned Societies for supporting my graduate studies and financing my investigation of the Kickapoo language.

Finally, I wish to thank the faculty of Yale University for my training in linguistics and especially Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury for the assistance of his knowledge and the application of his ear where my own were inadequate.

DESCRIPTIVE MODEL

There follows a list of elements referred to in the subsequent text which are common to all languages. This list, with the accompanying definitions, may serve to orient the reader to the descriptive model used here.

These statements are intended to present the most widely used and recognized definitions for the defined terms, because it has been the writer's intention to employ the most widely used and recognized model of linguistic description. It is felt that to describe a new language in a new or unfamiliar model places an undue burden both on the reader who seeks the facts of the language and on the reader who seeks to evaluate the model. Moreover, it is suggested, that if the data of a language are accurately presented, in any model, the interested reader can convert those data to the model of his choosing. That is, models of description differ in elegance or convenience only, although it is recognized that a model may lead a linguist to ignore certain data, as,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in prephonemic times, linguists often failed to describe phonetic distributions vital to phonemic analysis.

A sequence of phonemes with a meaning is a form. A form may or may not be composed of other forms. A form not composed of other forms is a morph. A form composed of other forms is a composite form.

A pattern by which two or more forms are put together to make another form is a construction. The forms which are put together are the immediate constituents of the construction, and the resulting form is the constitute or construct of the construction. The set of forms that can occur in the same position in a construction is a form class. The morphs in a construct are its ultimate constituents.

When the construct and one or more of the immediate constituents of a construction belong to the same form class, the construction is endocentric. An immediate constituent which belongs to the same form class as the construct is the center of the construction, and an immediate constituent of any other form class is an attribute. When the construct does not belong to the same form class as any of the immediate constituents of a construction, the construction is exocentric.

Semantically, there are two types of endocentric constructions without attributes, appositive constructions in which the immediate constituents denote the same individual or individuals, and coordinate constructions in which the immediate constituents denote different individuals.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"A substitute is a form which, under certain conventional circumstances, replaces any member of a given form class."* The form which is replaced is the antecedent of the substitute.

Forms with similar** meanings are homosemantic. Forms which occur only in the presence of different other morphs, or different phonemes in other morphs, are complementarily distributed. The set of morphs or phonemes in the presence of which one form in a set of homosemantic, complementarily distributed forms occurs, to the exclusion of the other forms in the set, is the conditioning environment of the form.

A set of homosemantic, complementarily distributed morphs is a morpheme. The morphs in a morpheme are its allomorphs.

All morphs are said to belong to a morpheme. If there are no other morphs homosemantic and in complementary distribution with a morph, then that morph is the unique allomorph of an invariant morpheme.

The set of different phonemic sequences in the allomorphs of a morpheme is a phonemic alternation. When many morphemes have the same phonemic alternations in the same conditioning environments, the alternations are regular alternations. Phonemic alternations peculiar to one or a few

---

*Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), p. 255, after Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p. 247.

**The exact nature of this similarity is not defined in the paper, but it includes membership in the same form class.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morphemes are irregular alternations. Allomorphs containing regular alternations are regular allomorphs, and allomorphs containing irregular alternations are irregular allomorphs.

It is convenient to describe the occurrence of regular allomorphs of morphemes as follows.

There is a set of morphophonemes with one morphophoneme (type one) corresponding to each phoneme and one morphophoneme or sequence of morphophonemes (type two) corresponding to each regular phonemic alternation.

There is a set of sandhi (or morphophonemic) rules which specify changes of the morphophonemes of type two into those of type one which correspond to the phonemes proper to the conditioning environments. The changes are called sandhi (or morphophonemic) changes.

Two sandhi rules are ordered when the application of one rule yields a sequence of morphophonemes subject to further change by the other rule.

A single base form is written for the set of regular allomorphs of each morpheme. The base form contains the morphophonemes corresponding to any sequence of phonemes common to all the allomorphs and the morphophonemes corresponding to the phonemic alternations of the allomorphs.

A separate base form is written for each irregular allomorph of a morpheme or for each set of irregular allomorphs which contain regular phonemic alternations.

At first, the base forms of morphemes comprise the ultimate constituents of any construct. The actually occurring

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morphs are derived from the base forms by the application of all pertinent sandhi rules.

A sentence is a form (1) containing a single utterance final intonation, with which the form ends, and (2) standing in utterance initial or after another sentence. An utterance final intonation is one which may occur in utterance final.

A free form is a form, not including an intonation, which may occur as a sentence, or any form homosemantic and in complementary distribution with such a form.

A word is a free form not composed of free forms.

SPECIAL USES OF ENGLISH PUNCTUATION MARKS AND TERMS

A phoneme or sequence of phonemes is enclosed in slashes, / /.

A morphophoneme or sequence of morphophonemes is underlined, __.

A translation (gloss) is enclosed in single quotation marks, ' '. Within these single quotation marks, alternate translations are separated by a comma, alternate parts of a translation are separated by a slash.

Kickapoo words are separated from one another by spaces. The spaces have no phonetic existence.

Inflexional prefixes are cited with a following hyphen, and inflexional suffixes are cited with a preceding hyphen. Stems are also cited with a following hyphen; since there are very few inflexional prefixes, this will not result in confusion. The hyphens have no phonetic existence.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The terms "before, after, follow, precede" are to be understood everywhere as "immediately before, immediately follow, etc." unless otherwise specified.

There are many glosses possible for most Kickapoo forms, both in and out of context. It has not seemed worth the trouble to insure the same gloss for the same form in all citations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. PHONEMICS

PHONEMES

1.1 The Kickapoo phonemes are listed below. For clarity they are divided into two groups, common phonemes, which occur in many morphs, and rare phonemes, which occur only in a very few morphs.

Common phonemes:

vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/;

consonants:

semivowels /j/ /w/;

obstruents:

stops /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/;

nasals /m/, /n/;

spirants /s/, /z/, /h/;

tones /^/, /´/, /`/, /ˇ/.

Rare phonemes:

vowel /r/;

consonants /f/, /l/, /d/.

PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTIONS

CLUSTERS

1.2 Vowel clusters are almost unlimited, e.g:

/waieai/ 'it's round',

/sé èéepinenèhkéenetamaani/ 'now when I began to think about it'.

1.3 Consonant clusters are the following:

/h/ followed by a stop or nasal, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nepakaanehke/ 'I'm gathering pecans',

/iihmiinenaani/ 'so that you give it to me';

/sk/, e.g:

/neskiisekooni/ 'my eyes',

and most of these clusters and most single obstruents followed by a semivowel, e.g:

/aakwi/ 'no, not',

/maaneetwi/ 'there's a lot of it',

/kepehtoeepwa/ 'you people said it wrong',

/weepenaanwi/ 'it's raining',

/necaakahweepena/ 'we used it up',

/nepaaskehkweamata/ 'I have a headache',

/niihaskwi/ 'I'll stay',

/niihpja/ 'I'll come',

/ohpenja/ 'potato',

/kekjaha/ 'your mother'.

/n/ is followed by a stop in two morphs, e.g:

/piinkeeheki/ 'in Binger, Okla.',

/wiinteki/ 'in Winters, Tex.'.

The consonant clusters with /h/ do not occur in utterance initial, nor does /sk/. In utterance final only vowels occur.

TONES

1.4 The tones occur simultaneously with vowels. The tones are written over the vowels with which they occur, but when successive vowels have the same tone, only the first

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

vowel is marked, e.g: /nékataeenemăa/ 'I want him.' is written for /nékátáéénémăă'.

1.5 A morph consists either wholly of vowels and consonants or wholly of tones. Morphs composed of tones are called intonations.

1.6 Any vowel or vowel cluster which can have only one tone, and whose tone may be different from the tone of the next preceding and next following vowel, is termed a syllable. Two vowels separated by a consonant or consonant cluster are always in different syllables, e.g: /ísìnô/ 'Tell me so.', /mísìnô/ 'Give it to me!'. So also are two adjacent unlike vowels, e.g: /wìizéniĕni/ 'Food.'. And a single vowel can have only one tone and so cannot belong to more than one syllable. But there occur otherwise identical clusters of two like vowels in which the vowels of one cluster may differ in tone, whereas the vowels of the other must both have the same tone, e.g: /aa/ in /némiinaăki/ 'I gave it to them.' and in /mínăapi/ 'It was given to him.'. The former will be called disyllabic clusters and the latter monosyllabic clusters. Any single vowel other than a member of a monosyllabic cluster will be called a single holosyllabic vowel.

There is never more than one monosyllabic cluster in a sequence of like vowels, so a cluster of three like vowels, for example, must have at least two syllables; however, it may have three syllables, e.g: /kénenòhtáàâ/ 'Did you hear him?'.

In forms written without intonations, disyllabic clusters have a tilde over the second member and monosyllabic clusters

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are unmarked, e.g: /nemiinaãki/, /miinaapi/, /kenenohtaãã/.

PHONES

COMMON VOWELS

1.7 /i/ is a high unrounded front vowel, [i], e.g:

/piitikeeno/ 'enter',

/inenia/ 'man'.

/e/ beside /e/ is a lower mid unrounded front vowel, [ɛ]; elsewhere it is freely raised, sometimes almost to lower high position, and somewhat centralized, [ɪ˅˃], e.g:

/kenataeenemene/ 'I want you',

/seeski/ 'merely'.

/a/ beside /a/ is a low unrounded back vowel, [ɑ]; elsewhere it is freely somewhat raised and centralized from low back position, [ʌ˅˃], e.g:

/aahkamjai/ 'it's clean'.

/o/ is usually a higher mid slightly rounded back vowel, [o], with less frequent free variants ranging from lower mid, [ɔ], to high, [u], e.g:

/noohko/ 'grandmother',

/penoa/ 'he went home'.

1.8 There is little or nothing of semivocalic glides between the members of vowel clusters. Clusters of like vowels are long, with a length of as many morae as there are vowels in the cluster, e.g: /inenia/ 'man' with [i], /miicia/ 'he ate it' with [i:] before /c/, /oiĩinaki/ 'horns' with [i::] before /n/.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In clusters consisting of a single low vowel followed by two like vowels, the low vowel is lengthened and the following like vowels shortened, so that the three mora value of the cluster is equally distributed between the two qualities, e.g: /nekataeenemaã/ 'I want him' with [ɑ·ɛ·], /neiiteemaãki/ 'I went with them' with [ɛ·i·].

Occasional murmur is heard between the first and second vowels in /ăaa/, e.g: /áakwi pòocízăaaci/ 'They didn't ride.'.

1.9 The vowels are usually oral, but occasional slightly nasalized variants freely occur, especially with /^/ before a pause, e.g: /mánìhî/ 'This?, Here!' with final [į̃].

1.10 The vowels are voiced except as follows.

A vowel with /ˇ/ before a pause is voiceless after a spirant, or a semivowel preceded by a stop or spirant, e.g:

/nìihkáanetĭke/ 'My friends.',

/níihtĭize/ 'My buddy.',

/níĭhpja/ 'I'll come.',

/nìiswáapitaki nĭiswi/ 'Twenty two.'.

A vowel with /ˇ/ before a pause is voiceless or murmured after other phonemes, e.g:

/níihkăane/ 'My friend.',

/óhpĕnja/ 'Potato.',

/ánietĕi/ 'It's hot weather.' (final /i/),

/nékìisíneehwăa/ 'I bought him.' (second /a/).

But in self-conscious speech all vowels may be voiced and it is only such a voiced vowel that occurs with /ˇ/ before a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pause after /h/ (3.28, 3.26), e.g:

/mèehcípahǒoha/ 'Automobile.'.

COMMON CONSONANTS

1.11 The semivowels are voiced except before a voiceless or murmured vowel, where they are voiceless or murmured respectively. The semivowels are identical with the high vowels in quality, but are of shorter duration.

/j/ is high unrounded front, [i̯], e.g:

/jooe/ 'formerly',

/ajeseẽ/ 'a long time ago',

/niihpja/ 'I'll come',

/ohpenja/ 'potato',

/ohpenjeeki/ 'potatoes'.

/w/ is higher mid slightly rounded back, [o̯], e.g:

/weeneeha/ 'who?',

/waazei/ 'it's daytime',

/niiswi/ 'two',

/noezenwi/ 'it's cold weather',

/niiswaapitaki/ 'twenty'.

1.12 The stops are usually voiceless and may be quite fortis; voiced variants occur freely but infrequently.

/p/ is bilabial, [p], e.g:

/pesia/ 'cat',

/paahkizenooni/ 'they're open',

/t/ is apico-alveolar, [t], e.g:

/teepi/ 'enough',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/tahkjaai/ 'it's cold'.

/c/ is palatalized apico-alveolar and affricate, [$t_j s_j$], e.g:

/ciipatapino/ 'sit down',

/caaki/ 'all'.

/k/ is dorso-velar, [k], before back vowels and /w/; before front vowels and /j/ it is palatalized dorso-prevelar with a palatal off-glide and, freely, also with a palatal on-glide, [$\underset{\frown}{k}_j$] or [$_j\underset{\frown}{k}_j$], e.g:

/kaateni/ 'cotton',

/kepahaateani/ 'they're closed',

/nezeekihekwi/ 'it scared me',

/tahkjaai/ 'it's cold'.

1.13 The nasals are voiced.

/m/ is bilabial, [m], e.g:

/moopia/ 'automobile'.

/n/ is apico-alveolar, [n], even before /k/, e.g:

/niiswi/ 'two',

/noezenwi/ 'it's cold weather',

/piinkeeheki/ 'in Binger, Okla.'.

1.14 The spirants are usually voiceless, with voiced variants for /s/ and /z/ occurring somewhat more frequently than voiced stops occur.

/s/ is a groove spirant, always apico-alveolar, [s], for some speakers, but with freely occurring backed variants, [ṣ], for other speakers, e.g:

/siisiipeehaki/ 'ducks',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/saaka/ 'nine'.

/z/ is a slip spirant, generally interdental, [θ̟], among Oklahoman speakers, and apico-alveolar, [θ], among Mexican speakers, e.g:

/zeezeezikenwi/ 'it's dangerous',

/zaakici/ 'outdoors'.

/h/ is a non-syllabic voiceless or murmured vowel, [h] or [ɦ], e.g:

/zeezahooni/ 'scaffold',

/mezanohikani/ 'paper'.

The distribution of these two allophones will be specified later (3.34).

After /h/, before a consonant other than /t/ or /n/, a short, lax spirant homoorganic with the following consonant freely occurs, e.g: /eehtoohkiici/ 'when he woke up' with [ht] and [hˣ̟k̟ʲ] or [hk̟ʲ].

TONES

1.15 The relative pitches of the tones are the following:

higher high /^/,

lower high /´/,

higher low /`/,

lower low /ˇ/.

1.16 Successive vowels with the same tone may be on the same pitch, that is, level in pitch, e.g:

/pjéetàoozóak awièehaki téetepizǎaheki/

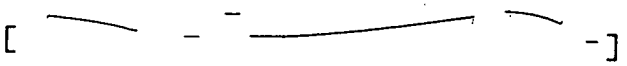
[‾ ‾ ‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾]

'Some people came riding in a wagon.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

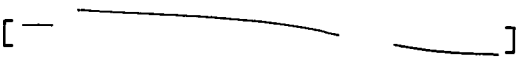
More frequently, but in free variation with level pitch, there is a gradually increasing rise in pitch toward a following higher tone and a gradually increasing fall in pitch toward a following lower tone, e.g:

/kékimez àwíè eesisaasiisáaakè/



'every way we hunted',

/ìizéniikaanek eehpjăaaci/



'when they came to a restaurant.'.

Freely varying with level or falling pitch, there may be a rise on the first two syllables after a lower tone or a pause, e.g:

on /zwípe/ in

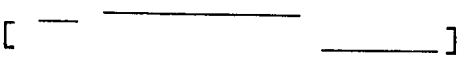
/nékotwàasíka èehtazwípepoonweaani/



'when I was six years old',

on /máanee/ in

/máaneetooni pakăanani/



'There are a lot of pecans.'.

RARE PHONES

1.17 /r/ is a lower mid central slightly retroflexed vowel [ɚ˕], lower and less retroflexed than the vowel in American English <u>church</u>, e.g:

/maicrrciaki/ 'they went to church'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/f/ is a labio-dental spirant, [f], e.g:

/fəliipiiha/ 'Felipe'.

/l/ is a voiced apico-alveolar lateral, [l], e.g:

/leeci/ 'milk'.

/d/ is a voiced apico-alveolar flap, [ɾ], e.g:

/adimaanaki/ 'Germans'.

DRAWLING

1.18 The vowels with a tone of a sentence final intonation, and the consonants adjacent to those vowels, are freely a little longer and tenser than the vowels and consonants elsewhere, e.g: /netenoe/ 'I said so' in /áwieì nétěnoe/ 'I said something.'.

Vowels with /^/ are longer than other vowels, e.g: /wìizénìnô/ 'Eat.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. INTONATIONS

2.1 Kickapoo intonations are of two kinds, limited and unlimited. A limited intonation consists of a certain number of tones, two, three or four, each of which tones occurs with a successive syllable, e.g: the last three syllables of /némàhkezéehăni/ 'My shoes.' have a limited intonation of three tones, /´ᵛᵛ/. An unlimited intonation consists of as many tones as there are syllables in the form with which it occurs, e.g: there is an unlimited intonation with /`/ before spirants and /´/ elsewhere, which occurs on the first three syllables of /némàhkezéehăni/ 'My shoes.' as well as on the first twelve syllables of /èehtákwaakiki eetok èéepikekjèehkímăazoki/ 'when it was autumn then when people began to go to school.'.

2.2 There follows a list of Kickapoo intonations together with some data on their meanings and constructions. Fuller analysis is needed for a more thorough description and for any further classification into morphemes.

In this list, unless otherwise stated, an intonation is limited.

In this list, unless otherwise stated, an intonation is word final; that is, the last tone of the intonation occurs with the last syllable of a word, and each preceding tone occurs with the next preceding syllable.

The intonations are divided into two groups, sentence final and sentence medial. The last tone of a sentence final

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intonation occurs with the last syllable of a sentence; the last tone of a sentence medial intonation does not so occur.

In examples, the exemplified intonations are underlined.

SENTENCE FINAL INTONATIONS

2.3 /´ˇˇ/ 'declarative' and /´`^/ 'interrogative, emphatic' generally occur in sentences containing only one word, e.g:

/néketemàékonăana/ 'He treated us cruelly.',

/áněmwa/ 'A dog.',

/òskíkìâ/ 'Is he new/young?',

/píitikèenô/ 'Enter!'.

2.4 /´ˇˇˇ/ 'declarative' and /´```^/ 'emphatic' generally occur in sentences containing more than one word, e.g:

/záakicìi nóki netàsíăcaao/ 'I cooked outdoors today.',

/káata nàkámòhkanî/ 'Don't sing!'.

2.5 /´ˇˇˇ/ and /´```^/ always occur on the last four syllables of a sentence. Therefore, if the last word in the sentence has less than four syllables, the intonation begins on the next to the last word, wherever the fourth from the last syllable of the sentence occurs, e.g:

/pìihcíi nàh nékiineewaapena nŏoza/ 'For a long while we stayed there around my father.',

/nétaapipakaanèhkéepenăa noki/ 'We gathered pecans for a while today.',

/mìisí kèkjahâ/ 'Give it to your mother!'.

2.6 /´`´^´ˇˇˇ/ 'interrogative' occurs in sentences containing more than one word. It seems to consist of three

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

parts /´`´/, sometimes replaced by /´`/, /^/, and /´ᵛᵛᵛ/, sometimes replaced by /ᵛᵛᵛ/, but the examples are too few to ascertain the full variety of the allomorphes and their distributions, e.g:

/mánì êesǐkita/ 'He who is of this sort?',

/mánìhí mênwǐkenwi/ 'Is this one good?',

/téonèkí kêtóǐikipwa/ 'Do you people live in Dale, Okla.?'.

2.7 /ᵛ/ 'declarative' occurs, unlimited, on all syllables of a word or sequence of words, though not on all the words of a sentence, e.g:

/ténaamì nétotamìékonaanak ǎpenoohaki/ 'My! the children hindered us.',

/àsícì néekaikòhkaíkaneki n èehpáanaciaan èehkahkizóaani sěe kehcin eehpjeehpaoonekoaaci/ 'Near the Sand bridge I went down and hid and now they came riding near.'.

A difference in the meanings or distributions of /´ᵛᵛᵛ/ and /ᵛ/ has not been detected. /ᵛ/ is of much less frequent occurrence than /´ᵛᵛᵛ/.

SENTENCE MEDIAL INTONATIONS

2.8 /´`/ occurs with one or more words in a sentence of more than one word, e.g:

/pàaséki népjěccapi/ 'I came on a bus.',

/kèzezéà némǐinaa/ 'I gave it to your older brother.',

/kìihmánopenà iizénǐeni/ 'We'll buy the food.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.9 When /´`/ occurs in construction with a word of less than three syllables, the intonation begins on the syllable following the initial syllable of the word. Therefore, a disyllabic word in construction with /´`/ has /´/ on its final syllable, while /`/ occurs on the initial syllable of the following word, and /´`/ in construction with a monosyllabic word occurs wholly on the first two syllables of the following word, e.g:

/téepi nèmánopena ìihmíicǐaake/ 'We had enough to buy what we'll eat.',

/áakwi nènóhtǎaki/ 'I didn't hear him.',

/íinì sée pàpjái èasíǎmeci/ 'And now he put us elsewhere.',

/kwí kèeh mjáanèenétamaanii ni pjǒoti/ 'I don't at all dislike peyote.'.

2.10 /´`/ cannot occur where a sentence final intonation must occur. Therefore, it cannot occur with a word before a sentence final word of less than four syllables, e.g:

/kémìisí nĕehkaki/ 'You gave it to me yesterday.'.

Nor can /´`/ occur, for instance, with a word of two syllables if a sentence final intonation begins on the first syllable of the following word, e.g:

/áakwi miinĕnaake/ 'We didn't give it to you.'.

2.11 Generally there is only one /´`/ in a sentence, e.g:

/nékotwàasíka èehtazwípepoonweaani nepjaapenà meíkòínaak ǒcii/ 'When I was six years old we came from Mexico.',

/nèzezéà népjeenekonaana nèhcíimèá tǎkwii/ 'My older

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

brother brought us along with my younger brother/ sister.'.

But sometimes there is more than one, e.g:

/áikàazoíkaanekì kiisíenaakì koosízěmaki/ 'You'll take your grandchildren to the movie theater.'.

2.12 Occasionally /ˊˋ/ occurs with the first member of a compound stem, e.g:

/sèeskí nekiisìpíitikanǎaki/ 'I just took them inside.'.

2.13 /ˊˋˋˋ/ 'unfortunately' occurs with one or more words in a sentence of more than one word, e.g:

/cìih nénòotaake néhcìime éetok èehnépǒohici/ 'To my surprise I heard that my younger brother had died.',

/pjéetàoozóak awièehaki téetepizǎaheki/ 'Unfortunately, some people came riding in a wagon.'.

2.14 /ˊ/ or /ˋ/ occur unlimited on all syllables that do not have a tone of one of the previously listed intonations. Such /ˊ/ or /ˋ/ will be called connective /ˊ/ or /ˋ/. Connective /ˋ/ occurs on syllables followed by spirants, and connective /ˊ/ occurs on all other syllables; e.g., the last three syllables of the following words all have sentence final /ˊˇˇ/, and the remaining syllables have connective /ˊ/ or /ˋ/ (underlined):

/nénakamopěna/ 'We sang.',

/nénemàzópěna/ 'We stood.',

/nétòskíkipěna/ 'We're young.',

/némèskozípěna/ 'We're red.',

/nèsáèzípěna/ 'We're hungry.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.15 When /h/ is omitted between vowels (3.35), connective /ˋ/ on the preceding vowel remains, e.g:

/nétotamìékonaanak ăpenoohaki/ 'The children hindered us.',

cf. /nétotamìhékonaanăki/ 'They hindered us.'.

2.16 Sentences of more than one word occur with no sentence medial intonations other than connective /ˊ/ and /ˋ/, even though none of the prohibitive environments previously described are present, e.g:

/máaneetooni pakăanani/ 'There were a lot of pecans.',

/áikàazoíkaaneki kìisíenaaki nòosízĕmaki/ 'You'll take my grandchildren to the movie theater.'.

2.17 Two sentences, a single word each, were recorded with connective /ˊ/ and /ˋ/ as their only intonation; in these sentences, therefore, connective /ˊ/ and /ˋ/ are sentence final. The sentences are /kíina/ 'And you?' in the utterance /némenwipemaatèzí nǐina kíina/ 'I'm well. And you?', and /kàazíikwèehóoni/ 'A towel!', 'Give me a towel!'.

2.18 Note that /ˋ/ before any consonant other than a spirant must belong to some intonation other than connective /ˊ/ and /ˋ/, but /ˋ/ before any other phoneme may be ambiguously connective /ˋ/ or in some other intonation, e.g: /áakwi mèhkámăaki/ 'I didn't find it for him.' may or may not have sentence medial /ˊˋ/ on /kwi meh/ whereas sentence medial /ˊˋ/ certainly occurs on /kwi ne/ in /áakwi nènóhtăaki/ 'I didn't hear him.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ADDITIONAL VARIANTS

2.19 Certain additional allomorphs and variations in the distribution of intonations occur in connection with external sandhi changes and will therefore be described along with external sandhi.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. SANDHI (MORPHOPHONEMICS)

3.1 There is one morphophoneme corresponding to each phoneme. In addition, the following morphophonemes correspond to certain phonemic alternations:

N, Z, W, ~, O.

~ indicates a disyllabic vowel cluster as previously described (1.6) and this symbol is retained even in the otherwise phonemic transcription of a form when intonations are not indicated.

A set of morphophonemes is often identified by a common phonetic feature of their phonemic counterparts, e.g: m and n may be referred to simply as nasals.

Following are the sandhi rules. In the examples, compound members are separated by an equal sign. The equal sign has no phonetic existence.

UNIVERSAL SANDHI

3.2 The rules of universal sandhi are applicable anywhere within an utterance. They are listed under the following headings:

retention of syllable boundary,

omission of h before a spirant.

RETENTION OF SYLLABLE BOUNDARY

3.3 When a morphophoneme is omitted between two like vowels, the two vowels remain in separate syllables, e.g:

kenenohtaWaaWa 'you heard him' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kénenòhtáàâ/ 'Did you hear him?',

mahkwaha 'bear' in

/máhkwǎa/ 'A bear.'.

3.4 A monosyllabic cluster and all preceding and following like vowels are in separate syllables (1.6), e.g:

iihpoocizaãaci 'that they will ride' in

/áakw iihpòocízǎaaci/ 'They won't ride.'.

OMISSION OF h BEFORE A SPIRANT

3.5 h is omitted before a spirant, whether they are in the same or adjacent words, e.g:

eehsekisiki 'when he lay down' in

/èesékisǐki/ 'When he lay down.',

cf. eesi = aiaani 'how I did' in

/èes = áiǎani/ 'How I did.';

nah soomahkiihiki 'a little dip in the ground there' in

/nà sóomàhkiíki/ 'a little dip in the ground there'.

INTERNAL SANDHI

3.6 In internal sandhi, morphophonemic changes are conditioned by adjacent forms within a word or compound member, or by the position of forms in a word or compound member. The internal sandhi rules are listed under the following headings:

vowels,

obstruents,

semivowels.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

VOWELS

3.7 A single holosyllabic vowel is omitted after a vowel if their juxtaposition is basic, that is, not due to the omission of an intervening morphophoneme, e.g:

api 'sit' after naakwee 'in front' in

/naakweepia/ 'he sat in front',

cf. /menwapino/ 'sit right';

cf. -Wa 'third person singular' after nezee- 'kill him' in

/nezeea/ 'he killed him'.

3.8 O is omitted everywhere, but a following single holosyllabic vowel is then retained after a vowel, e.g:

-Oani 'that you' in

/eenoeani/ 'how you said',

/mehkamani/ 'that you found it'.

3.9 One vowel in a monosyllabic cluster is omitted in word final, e.g:

kaskihtoo- 'be able to do' in

/nekaskihto/ 'I was able to do it',

/nekaskihtoopena/ 'we were able to do it',

cf. peno- 'go home' in

/niihpeno/ 'I'll go home',

/nepenopena/ 'we went home'.

OBSTRUENTS

3.10 Before i, t is replaced by c and N and Z are replaced by s, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iipit- 'tooth' in

/niipici/ 'my tooth',

miiN- 'give to' in

/miisi/ 'give it to him',

iineZ- 'hair' in

/niinesi/ 'my (single) hair'.

Before other vowels and before w, t remains, N is replaced by n, and Z is replaced by z, e.g:

iipit- 'tooth' in

/oiipitwaãni/ 'their teeth',

miiN- 'give to' in

/nemiinekwa/ 'he gave it to me',

iineZ- 'hair' in

/niinezani/ 'my hairs'.

Basic n and z remain before i, e.g:

/manoomini/ 'rice',

/ziipoi/ 'river'.

3.11 t, N and Z are replaced by h before a stop, e.g:

eecinoat- 'be easy' in

/eecinoahki/ 'that it's easy'.

cf. /eecinoatwi/ 'it's easy';

iN 'thus, so' in

/ihpenatoa/ 'he treated it so, he did so to it',

cf. /inoea/ 'he said so',

/isiteehea/ 'he thought so';

koZ- 'be afraid of' in

/kohtamwa/ 'he's afraid of it',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cf. /nekozekwa/ 'he's afraid of me'.

A nasal is omitted before a stop*, e.g:

waapam- 'look at' in

/newaapataapena/ 'we looked at it',

cf. /newaapamaapena/ 'we looked at him';

oskiken- 'be new' in

/oskikeki/ 'that it's new',

cf. /oskikenwi/ 'it's new'.

h remains before a stop, e.g:

maaneeh- 'have much/many' in

/maaneehtoa/ 'he has a lot of it',

cf. /nemaaneehaãki/ 'I have a lot of them'.

SEMIVOWELS

3.12 w is omitted after o, e.g:

wiis- 'head' in

/oiisi/ 'his head',

cf. /newiisi/ 'my head'.

3.13 w is omitted before o, e.g:

menw 'good, well, right, correctly' in

/menoea/ 'he said it well/right',

cf. /menwikia/ 'he's good', /inoea/ 'he said so'.

j is omitted before i, e.g:

azenj- 'stone' in

/azeni/ 'stone'.

3.14 Preconsonantal we and We are replaced by o, e.g:

*There are two exceptions (1.3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mahkahkw- 'box' and ne- -enaan 'our' in

/nemahkahkonaani/ 'our box',

cf. /mahkahkwi/ 'box',

/nemaatezenaani/ 'our knife',

/maatezi/ 'knife';

nahaakwataW- 'set the table for' and -et 'someone' in

/eehnahaakwataoci/ 'when someone set the table for him',

cf. /miineci/ 'that someone gave it to him'.

we is retained when word final, e.g:

/nehkanikiisekwe/ 'all day long'.

Preconsonantal je is replaced by i, e.g:

kj- 'mother' and ne- -enaan 'our' in

/nekinaana/ 'our mother',

cf. /nekja/ 'my mother';

taj- 'animate possession' and ne- -enaan 'our' in

/netainaana/ 'our animate possession',

cf. /netaja/ 'my animate possession'.

je is retained when word final, e.g:

/nesoopje/ 'I'm slightly drunk'.

3.15 Preconsonantal a is replaced by ee after j, e.g:

ohpenj- 'potato' and -aki 'third person plural' in

/ohpenjeeki/ 'potatoes',

cf. /anikwaki/ 'squirrels'.

In word final a remains after j, e.g:

/ohpenja/ 'potato'.

3.16 j is omitted after s or w, e.g:

jaa 'be' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/mesaai/ 'it's big',

cf. /mesekinwa/ 'he's big',

/meskwaai/ 'it's red',

cf. /meskozia/ 'he's red',

/tahkjaai/ 'it's cold',

cf. /netahkikaate/ 'my feet are cold'.

The replacement of a by ee is prior to the omission of j after s, e.g:

kahkaiisj- 'weed' in

/kahkaiiseeki/ 'weeds',

/kahkaiisa/ 'weed'.

3.17 Interconsonantal jea is replaced by jaã, e.g:

kiaskweepjee- 'be drunk' in

/kiaskweepjaãni/ 'that you are drunk',

/kiaskweepjaãki/ 'they're drunk';

cf. /nekiaskweepjeepena/ 'we're drunk',

/kiaskweepjea/ 'he's drunk',

/kiaskweepjeaani/ 'that I'm drunk',

/kiaskweepjeẽekwe/ 'that you people are drunk'.

In all the recorded examples jea is replacing jeea by automatic shortening (3.27).

EXTERNAL SANDHI

3.18 In external sandhi, morphophonemic changes are conditioned by forms adjacent to a word or compound member or by the position of a word in a sentence. The external sandhi rules are listed under the following headings:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

automatic shortening,

W and h in deliberate style,

omission of W in colloquial style,

omission of h in colloquial style,

style mixture,

syllabic increase,

elision,

treatment of intonations in elision,

pause.

3.19 Subsequent to the application of internal sandhi rules and prior to the application of external sandhi rules, a word or compound member is represented by a base form with a final vowel and a single initial consonant, an initial obstruent other than h followed by a semivowel, or an initial vowel, e.g:

caaki 'all',	tasi= 'there',
kwiezeeha 'boy',	mjaasi= 'badly',
inenia 'man',	isi= 'thus'.

3.20 Two adjacent like vowels in different words are in different syllables, e.g: /íìnî íǎa/ '"All right," he said.'. Surely so also are two adjacent like vowels in different members of a compound word, but there are no recorded examples except where an intervening morphophoneme has been omitted.

SOME CONDITIONING ENVIRONMENTS

3.21 Several environments which frequently condition different allomorphs will be identified immediately. These are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

final sectors, initial sectors, short words, brief words, h-words, and the styles.

3.22 The syllables which have the tones of the sentence final intonation comprise the final sector of a sentence, with this exception, that only the last three or four syllables (the exact number is uncertain) with unlimited /ˇ/ are final sector. All other syllables comprise the initial sector of the sentence.

3.23 A short word is a word whose base form contains only two syllables, each of which consists of a single vowel, e.g:

seẽ 'now, already',	mahkwa 'bear',
isi 'tell him so', 'thus',	kekja 'your mother',
mani 'this one',	nepja 'I came',
nepi 'water'.	

All words with this basic shape are short words except koho 'emphatic'.

3.24 A brief word is a word whose base form contains only two or three syllables, of which the last consists of a single vowel and the next to the last of a monosyllabic cluster, e.g:

jooe 'formerly',	niina 'I, me',
pjeea 'he came',	niihpja 'I'll come',
aakwi 'not, no'.	

The first syllable of a trisyllabic brief word consists of a single vowel, e.g:

ineea 'he told him so',	mezooni 'boat',
nezeea 'he killed him',	sekaakwa 'all black skunk',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tahkjaai 'it's cold', nepjeeto 'I brought it',
aniipi 'elm tree', nesoopje 'I'm slightly drunk',
okjeeni 'his mother'.

3.25 All particles and locative nouns that end basically in a single vowel preceded by h are h-words, e.g:

meekweehe 'perhaps, probably',
aapehe 'repeatedly',
taanahi 'where?'.

One personal noun, weeneehi 'what?', is also an h-word. Particles, locative nouns, and personal nouns will be identified later.

Brief h-words occur, e.g: joohi 'here'. The only h-word of short shape is koho.

3.26 Some morphemes have one allomorph or set of allomorphs in self-conscious speech and another allomorph or set of allomorphs in unself-conscious speech. Self-conscious speech will here be called deliberate style and unself-conscious speech will be called colloquial style. Some deliberate allomorphs are considered archaic and elegant by Kickapoo speakers, and these allomorphs are designated archaic.

Abbreviations are D for deliberate style and C for colloquial style.

AUTOMATIC SHORTENING

3.27 One vowel in a monosyllabic cluster is omitted before a vowel except when the vowel is sentence final, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ihkweea 'woman' in

/ìhkwéà némǐinekwa/ 'The woman gave it to me.',

/míinea hkwěea/ 'The woman gave it to him.'.

Rarely, morphs were recorded with monosyllabic clusters retained before vowels in other positions (5.36, 6.128).

W AND h IN DELIBERATE STYLE

3.28 In deliberate style W is replaced by w and h is retained, e.g:

netenaaWa 'I told him so' in

/nétenăawa/ 'I told him so.',

neWiiteemekooki 'they went with me' in

/néwiiteemekŏoki/ 'They went with me.',

nezezeeha 'my older brother' in

/nèzézěeha/ 'My older brother.',

kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/kèzezéehà némǐinekwa/ 'Your older brother gave it to me.'.

The replacement of W by w is archaic.

OMISSION OF W IN COLLOQUIAL STYLE

3.29 In colloquial style W is omitted, e.g:

neWiiteemekooki 'they went with me' in

/néiiteemekŏoki/ 'They went with me.'.

3.30 One vowel in a monosyllabic cluster is omitted when a following W is omitted before a vowel, except in the next to the last syllable of a brief word, e.g:

konepaaciheeWa 'he pestered him' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kónepaacihěa/ and /kónepaacihěewa/ 'He pestered him.',

netenaaWa 'I told him so' in

/nétenăa/ and /nétenăawa/ 'I told him so.',

nezeeWa 'he killed him' in

/nèzéěa/ 'He killed him.',

cf. iheeWa 'he went there' in

/ìhéěwa/ 'He went there.'.

The retained monosyllabic clusters, those in brief words, are subject to automatic shortening, e.g:

nezeeWa 'he killed him' in

/nèzéà nénĭani/ 'He killed a man.'.

OMISSION OF h IN COLLOQUIAL STYLE

3.31 h is retained or omitted in colloquial style as follows.

3.32 Preconsonantal h is retained, e.g:

meehcipahooheki 'in an automobile' in

/mèehcípàoékì pjéecăpia/ 'He came in an automobile.'.

3.33 Intervocalic h, including intervocalic h resulting from the omission of W, is freely omitted or retained when it follows an initial sector syllable, e.g:

kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/kèzezéà némĭinaa/ 'I gave it to your older brother.',

kemesoohaki 'your grandfathers' in

/kémèsoákì némiinăaki/ 'I gave it to your grandfathers.',

eehinaki 'when I told him so' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/n èínăki/ 'Then I told him so.',

eehWiici = piitikeaani 'when I went along indoors' in

/n èíici = piitikeaanì ní pjootĭkaani/ 'Then I went along into that peyote tent.'.

3.34 Phonetically, when it is retained at all after an initial sector syllable in colloquial style, /h/ varies freely between the full voiceless vowel characteristic of all other environments, and a weak murmur.

3.35 As mentioned before (2.15), a syllable followed by h retains connective /ˋ/ even when the h is omitted in colloquial style, e.g: in /kémèsoákì/, /èínăki/ and /èíici =/ above.

3.36 Intervocalic h is omitted before a sentence final syllable with /ˇ/, e.g:

sooniaahi 'money' in

/sóoniăai/ 'Money.',

omezootaanahi 'his parents' in

/ómèzóotaanăi/ 'His parents.',

kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/némiinaà kézĕzeea/ 'I gave it to your older brother.'.

3.37 Elsewhere after a final sector syllable, intervocalic h is retained, e.g:

sooniaahi 'money' in

/sóoniàahî/ 'Money?',

ineniahi 'men' in

/íneniàhî/ 'Men?',

kemesoohaki 'your grandfathers' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kémèsóohǎki/ 'Your grandfathers.',

ozezeehani 'his older brother' in

/míineà ozézěehani/ 'He gave it to his older brother.',

inahinaaha 'at such a time' in

/njéipepoonweàa ní nahǐnaaa/ 'He was four years old at that time.'.

Rarely, h was recorded omitted also after a final sector syllable other than before sentence final /ˇ/, but informants reject such forms and correct them on repetition, e.g:

/éǎpici/ 'where he sat' corrected to /éehǎpici/.

3.38 A monosyllabic cluster is subject to automatic shortening when a following h is omitted, e.g:

kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/kèzezéà némǐinaa/ and /némiinaà kézězeea/ 'I gave it to your older brother.'.

One vowel in a monosyllabic cluster is also freely omitted when h is retained after an initial sector syllable in colloquial style, e.g:

eehapiaani 'where I sat' in

/kápootwee nàh pjéemikatw èhápǐaani/ 'Later it arrived there where I sat.'.

STYLE MIXTURE

3.39 Long stretches of deliberate speech were not recorded. In utterances of more than a few morphs, deliberate retentions of h and replacements of W occur together with colloquial omissions, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Waapake 'tomorrow' and WiiheeWa 'he will go there' in
/áapak òotéenek Ɨiheewa/ 'He's going to town tomorrow.',
meekweehe 'probably, perhaps' and meehikoohinaaki 'in Mexico' in
/kèeh méekwèehé mèíkòínaak Ɨiheewa/ 'Or maybe he'll go to Mexico.'.

SYLLABIC INCREASE

3.40 In sentence final, the final vowel of a short word is doubled and h is inserted between the two vowels, e.g:

mahkwa 'bear' replaced by mahkwaha in
/máhkwàhâ/ 'A bear?',
kekja 'your mother' replaced by kekjaha in
/mìisí kèkjahâ/ 'Give it to your mother.'.

h resulting from syllabic increase of a short word is subject to omission in colloquial style, e.g:

mahkwa 'bear' in
/máhkwăa/ 'A bear.',
nekja 'my mother' in
/òskíkia nĕkjaa/ 'My mother is young.'.

3.41 In sentence final, the monosyllabic cluster which is the next to the last syllable of a brief word becomes disyllabic, e.g:

mezooni 'boat' replaced by mezoõni in
/mèzóŏni/ 'A boat.',
cf. nemezooni 'my boat' in
/némezŏoni/ 'My boat.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ELISION

3.42 The final vowel of a word or compound member may be omitted before initial e, a or o of the following form, e.g:

menwiteeheaki 'they are glad' in

/ménwitèéak èehnéewiămeci/ 'They're glad to see us.',

joohi 'here' in

/jóoh ăia/ 'He's here.',

kehci= 'big' in

/kèhc=áněmwa/ 'A big dog.',

kehcine 'near' in

/kèhcí=màskjéekwii nàhí kèhcín ahtěei/ 'There is a big lake near there.',

aakwi 'no, not' in

/áakw oskǐkeki/ 'It's not new.',

Wiiteemea 'he went with him' in

/íiteeme òzézěehahi/ 'He went with his older brothers.'.

3.43 Initial i of a word or compound member may be omitted after the final vowel of the preceding form, e.g:

inenia 'man' in

/íina něnia/ 'That man.'.

3.44 Word initial ii, other than ii replacing Wii in colloquial style, may be omitted after a vowel, and the vowel is then doubled forming a monosyllabic cluster, e.g:

netaapi=pakaanehkeepena 'we gathered pecans for a while' and iinoki 'today' in

/nétaapi=pakaanèhkéepenăa noki/ 'We gathered pecans for a while today.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Before the last syllable of a sentence, this monosyllabic cluster becomes disyllabic (cf. 3.41), e.g:

Wiihpai=paneskamaani 'so that I don't miss it' and iini 'that one' in

/ìihpái=panèskámaanǐi ni/ 'so that I don't miss that.',

o 'emphatic' and iina 'that one, him' in

/áakwi ǒo na/ 'That's not him.'.

In one example a word final vowel is omitted before iini 'that one', namely:

naakeemeehe 'after a while' in

/naakeemeeh iini/ 'after a while, that one'.

3.45 The final vowel of an h-word may be omitted before a consonant, e.g:

taanahi 'where?' in

/táanàh kétǎi/ 'Where are you?',

joohi 'here' in

/jóoh nětai/ 'I'm here.',

weeneehi 'what?' in

/wéenèeh néeměki/ 'What did he see?',

meekweehe 'probably, perhaps' in

/méekwèeh kwíenà ní nàínà iihpéekwǎhkii/ 'Maybe the ground will be dry then in time.'.

When the final vowel of an h-word is omitted before a consonant, the preceding h is not subject to omission in colloquial style.

When the final vowel of an h-word is omitted before a spirant, the preceding h is also omitted (3.5), e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iinahi 'there' in

/éetokèe na sóomàhkiíki/ 'then a little dip in the ground there'.

Final vowels of other words and of the first members of compounds are retained before consonants, e.g:

kehci= 'big' in

/kèhcí=kwiezěea/ 'A big boy.',

nahi= 'know how to' in

/nénàhí=naapaatotǎazo/ 'I know how to read.',

aakwi 'not, no' in

/áakwi kèhkéenětaki/ 'He doesn't know it.',

kehcine 'near' in

/kèhcínè nétǎnemi/ 'I went off a little ways.',

mana 'this one' in

/mána nèpehcíěnaa/ 'I took this one by mistake.',

weeneeha 'who?' in

/wéenèá piitikǎata/ 'Who entered?',

aWieehi 'something' in

/áwieì nétěnoe/ 'I said something.',

kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/kèzezéà némĭinaa/ 'I gave it to your older brother.'.

3.46 Elision may or may not take place when word or compound member initial W is omitted in colloquial style, e.g:

netasi=Wacaaho 'I cooked there' in

/záakicìi nóki netàsí=ǎcaao/ 'I cooked outdoors today.',

kekjeehtenaami Waapatano 'my! Look at it' in

/kékjèehténaam àapátanò naínà iihpákisĭnaani/ 'My!

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Look where I'll land then.'.

3.47 Elsewhere, too, elision often fails to take place, e.g:

iihmiinaci 'so that you give it to him' in
/áakw iihmìináci aǐaani/ 'I don't want you to give it to him.',
miinea 'he gave it to him' in
/míineà ozézěehani/ 'He gave it to his older brother.'.

TREATMENT OF INTONATIONS IN ELISION

3.48 As mentioned before, the intonations and their distributions are described in Chapter Two with the exception of those allomorphs and distributions which occur in conjunction with external sandhi changes. The latter are conveniently described by a set of sandhi rules specifying changes in the former, that is, the intonations and their distributions described in Chapter Two have identical base forms which are construed with the base forms of words prior to elision and subsequent to syllabic increase.

3.49 When an elided vowel has a non-final tone of a sentence final intonation, the tone occurs on the syllable preceding the omitted vowel, and each preceding tone of the intonation occurs on each preceding syllable, e.g:

iinoki 'today' with ´ˇˇˇ in
/nétaapi=pakaanèhkéepenǎa noki/ 'We gathered pecans for a while today.'.

3.50 When an elided vowel has a tone of sentence medial

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

◌́◌̀, the tone occurs on the syllable following the omitted vowel; if the tone is ◌́, ◌̀ occurs on the second syllable after the omitted vowel, e.g:

oskikeniani 'they're new' in

/òskíkenian òmahkézěehani/ 'His shoes are new.',

cf. /òskíkenianì ómàhkézěehani/ 'His shoes are new.';

Weepenaake 'if it rains' in

/éepenaak àakwíi ne iihăaani/ 'If it rains, I won't go there.',

cf. /éepenaakè áakwii ne iihăaani/ 'If it rains, I won't go there.';

maaneehea 'he has much/many of him/them' in

/máanèehé ònénŏzoohi/ 'He has many cows.',

cf. /máanèehéà mézĭikwa/ 'He has a lot of corn.';

seẽ iini 'now that' in

/séee nì mékocì sípehkŏtei/ 'It is just now night.',

cf. seẽ teepi 'now enough' in

/sée tèepí nekìisímaaazŏpena/ 'We have saved enough now.';

kaata 'don't' in

/káat ootèenéki hàahkanî/ 'Don't go to town.',

cf. /káata òotéeneki hàahkanî/ 'Don't go to town.',

/káata nàkámòhkanî/ 'Don't sing.'.

3.51 When a vowel with the final tone of sentence medial ◌́◌̀◌̀◌̀ is elided, both the elided vowel and its tone are omitted, e.g:

néhcìimeeha 'unfortunately my younger brother' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/cìih nénòotaake néhcìime éetok èehnépǒohici/ 'To my surprise I heard that my younger brother had died.'.

When an elided vowel has a non-final tone of ´``, the tone occurs on the syllable preceding the omitted vowel, and each preceding tone of the intonation occurs on each preceding syllable, e.g:

inenia 'man' in

/nóià nékoti nènia peehtáaatàa náh pǐitike/ 'One man unfortunately came out, the one who built the fire there inside.'.

3.52 Connective ˋ remains before a spirant when a preceding vowel is elided, e.g:

aakwi 'not, no' and ise 'merely' in

/áakwì sé mǐisiki/ 'It just wasn't given to me.'.

PAUSE

3.53 The following exceptions to the rules of external sandhi result from the occurrence of a pause in sentence medial.

Elision does not take place if a pause intervenes between a word final and a word initial vowel, e.g:

/òskíkenianì ómàhkézěehani/ 'His shoes are new.'.

Connective /´/ may precede a pause before a spirant, e.g:

/ìámwea sìisípěaníi/ 'he'll eat the duck',

3.54 The following exceptions to the rules of external sandhi result from the absence of a pause between sentences.

3.55 One vowel in a monosyllabic cluster is omitted be-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fore a sentence final vowel not followed by pause, e.g:

neWacaaho 'I cooked' in

/tákwàáanì néwăcao pèsékìzíiwiăazi/ 'I cooked hominy and deer meat.'.

3.56 In colloquial style, h may be omitted anywhere in the final sector of a sentence not followed by a pause, e.g:

apwihihkeeko 'don't you people wait for me' in

/káata nìin ápwìihkeekô n èínăki/ '"Don't wait for me," I told them then.',

koho 'emphatic' in

/ái kìihnáatenaapenà koô n èíăake/ '"Well, we'll stop and get it," we said then.'.

3.57 Syllabic increase does not occur in a short word not followed by a pause, e.g:

kekja 'your mother' in

/kìápwìháapwă kekja nétenăa/ '"You people wait for your mother," I told him.'

3.58 A sentence final vowel not followed by a pause, or a sentence initial vowel not preceded by a pause, may be elided; both the elided vowel and its tone are omitted unless the elided vowel is sentence initial ii, e.g:

èehéenikiteehĕeci 'when he laughed' in

/n èéenikiteehĕec áakwi ŏo na/ 'Then he laughed. "That's not him."',

íăha 'He said so.' in

/pjáànô ăa/ 'He said, "Come here."'.

When sentence initial ii is elided, its tone occurs on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

preceding vowel, the one replaced by a monosyllabic cluster, e.g:

kìihmáaapatooněnepwa 'I'll show it to you' and íini 'that one' in

/èehnéenemàzóci kìihmáaapątooněnepwáa n èehíǎani/ '"I'll show you where he was standing," I said then.'.

ORDERED SANDHI RULES

3.59 Ordered sandhi rules, implicit in the preceding statements, are here summarized.

3.60 Retention of syllable boundary is concomitant with every rule in which a morphophoneme is omitted between vowels.

Omission of h before a spirant is not ordered with respect to any rule when h and the spirant occur in the same word. Otherwise this rule is subsequent to the elision of the final vowel of an h-word before a consonant.

3.61 Omission of a vowel after a vowel in the same word is prior to the omission of O, which is prior to other internal sandhi rules.

The replacement of a by ee after j is prior to the omission of j after s.

The replacement of jea by jaã is subsequent to automatic shortening. The other rules of internal sandhi are prior to the rules of external sandhi.

3.62 Syllabic increase in short words is prior to the omission of h is colloquial style. Omission of h and W in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

colloquial style is prior to automatic shortening.

Syllabic increase is prior to elision. Omission of W in colloquial style may occur either prior or subsequent to elision.

MONOSYLLABIC AND DISYLLABIC CLUSTERS

3.63 Additional limitations on the distributions of monosyllabic and disyllabic clusters are implicit in the foregoing sandhi rules, but are briefly listed here for clarity.

A basic word final vowel is preceded by syllable boundary (3.9), e.g:

kemiinaã 'you gave it to him' in

/kémiinàâ/ 'Did you give it to him?'.

Monosyllabic clusters precede sentence final vowels, but otherwise they occur only before consonants (3.27), e.g:

nemiinaã 'I gave it to him' and kezezeeha 'your older brother' in

/némiinaà kézězeea/, /kèzezéà némǐinaa/ 'I gave it to your older brother.',

saapwahkiihi 'street' in

/sáapwahkǐii/ 'A street.',

saapwahkiiheki 'on the street' in

/íina nènéewaà sáapwàhkiék èehkíǒzeeci/ 'I saw him walking around on the street.'.

3.64 There is some idiolectic variation in monosyllabic and disyllabic clusters. In inflexions and other forms which occur frequently with distinguishing intonations, speakers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are in agreement about the number of syllables in clusters. But in a less common morph, a cluster which is apt to occur often in an intonational environment where the number of syllables is concealed, may be treated differently by different speakers, e.g: one speaker used /èehnáàhkwéekì/ 'when it was noon' and another speaker used /èehnaahkwéekì/, cf. /náahkwěi/ 'It's noon.'. The latter speaker also said /níihmǎamwaa/ 'I'll eat him' where analysis indicates */nìihmáǎmwaa/.

TREATMENT OF INTONATIONS WITH CERTAIN IRREGULAR STYLE VARIANTS

3.65 A number of words have a colloquial variant which lacks the initial syllable, and any preceding consonant, of the deliberate variant, e.g:

aakwi D, kwi C 'no, not',

iini D, ni C 'that one',

pakici D, kici C 'my!',

nekotwaasika D, kotwaasika C 'six'.

When the colloquial variant of one of these words consists of one or two syllables and occurs in construction with sentence medial ´`, the ´ of ´` occurs on the first syllable of the word, contrary to (2.9) and ` occurs on the next following syllable, that is, the loss of the initial syllable in colloquial style is subsequent to the construction with ´`, e.g:

kici 'my!' in

/kícìi ní netenaapamaà/ 'my! It looked like him to me',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kwi 'no, not' in

/kwí òo n iihnaípàahpíhtămani/ 'You shouldn't make fun of it.',

ni 'that one' in

/n éesàíaani/ 'that's how I did' (cf. 3.50).

3.66 So also joohi 'here' in construction with sentence medial ´` takes ´ on joo and ` on the next following syllable, but for joohi no deliberate variant with a further initial syllable was recorded, e.g:

/jóoh nètáǐpena/ 'We're here.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. INFLEXION

4.1 Kickapoo words are inflected or uninflected. An inflected word consists of a stem and an inflexion. An inflexion may contain one or more morphs called inflexional affixes.

Affixes which precede stems are called prefixes; those which follow stems are called suffixes. In addition to the prefixes and suffixes, there is an infix, ee, which replaces a single preconsonantal vowel when it is the first syllable of a stem. When the replaced vowel is o, the infix ee is preceded by w after a consonant and by W in word initial. A stem with a vowel cluster or prevocalic vowel for its first syllable cannot take the infix.

CATEGORIES OF INFLEXION

4.2 The morphemes of Kickapoo inflexions can be assigned to the following categories:

person,
number,
gender,
personal position,
case,
state,
mode,
tense,
voice.

The members of each category are listed in the following paragraphs. Some members are glossed, but the meanings of all members of inflexional categories will be made clearer later.

4.3 There are five persons, namely:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first 'speaker',

second 'addressee',

third proximate 'first mentioned or more important item other than the speaker or addressee',

third obviative 'second mentioned or less important item other than the speaker or addressee',

indefinite 'someone, somebody'.

4.4 Two numbers, singular 'one' and plural 'more than one' are distinguished, at least sometimes, in all persons except the indefinite. In the first person plural, exclusive 'speaker and another or others excluding the addressee' and inclusive 'speaker and another or others including the addressee' are distinguished.

4.5 Two genders, animate and inanimate, are distinguished in the third persons.

4.6 A stem can be inflected for person in two positions, namely, thematic or word final. A stem is inflected for person only in word final position or in both positions, but not only in thematic position.

4.7 In the category of case, the locative case is mutually exclusive with the word final persons. Number and gender are not distinguished in the locative.

4.8 A set of abbreviations will be convenient for the members of the preceding categories, namely:

1	first person singular,
11	first person plural exclusive,
12	first person plural inclusive,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2	second person singular,
22	second person plural,
a3.1	animate third person proximate singular,
a33.1	animate third person proximate plural,
a3.2	animate third person obviative singular,
a33.2	animate third person obviative plural,
i3.1	inanimate third person proximate singular,
i33.1	inanimate third person proximate plural,
i3.2	inanimate third person obviative singular
i33.2	inanimate third person obviative plural
0	indefinite person
L	locative case.

When singular and plural are not distinguished or are treated alike, 1(1), 12, 2(2) and 3(3) are written for first person or first person exclusive, first person plural inclusive, second person and third person respectively.

.1 and .2 are omitted from third person abbreviations when proximate and obviative are not distinguished.

a and i are omitted from third person abbreviations when animate and inanimate are not distinguished.

Persons in thematic position are followed by a hyphen, those in word final position preceded by the hyphen, whenever both are present with a stem, e.g: 12-a3.1 indicates first person plural inclusive in thematic position with animate third person proximate singular in word final position.

4.9 There are two states, namely, verbal and participial.

4.10 There are ten modes in the verbal state, namely:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indicative, iterative,
dubitative, interrogative,
conjunctive, potential,
conditional, imperative,
irrealis, prohibitive.

There are two modes in the participial state, namely, conjunct and interrogative.

4.11 There are four tenses, namely:

future,
first actual,
second actual,
third actual.

Tenses are not distinguished in all modes and where they are, different actuals are not always distinguished.

The future seems to denote a situation not yet commenced at the time of speaking or context; it generally translates English future tenses, e.g: 'he will do/was going to do' or English presents with future reference, e.g: 'I'm going tomorrow'.

The actuals seem to denote a situation already commenced prior to the time of speaking or context; they generally translate present tenses with present reference and English past tenses, e.g: 'he does/is doing/does do/did/was doing/did do/has done/had done'.

When different actuals are distinguished, the second seems to denote a situation not yet terminated at the time of speaking or context, and the third seems to denote a situa-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tion terminated prior to the time of speaking or context, while the first seems to cover the full range of actual meaning in syntactic constructions different from those in which the second and third occur. How the meaning of the first differs from the meanings of the second and third in the same positions in the same constructions is unclear.

When different actuals are not distinguished, the single actual of a mode is formally first in the verbal state and third in the participial state.

4.12 The modes are listed below with the recorded tense distinctions, glossed with the English verb "do", with the actor "he" in all but the imperative and prohibitive. The Kickapoo future is glossed 'will do', the actuals 'did', except for the third actual, glossed 'had done' in modes where different actuals are distinguished. Occasional other glosses for the Kickapoo tenses contain other English tenses.

As abbreviations, the first three or four letters of the modes will be used followed by f. for the future and the numerals 1, 2 or 3 for the first, second, and third actuals respectively; or, where different actuals are not distinguished, zero, that is, absence of f., may indicate the actual.

Verbal modes:

ind.	f.	'he will do',
	1	'he did',
dub.	f.	'he will probably do',
	1	'he probably did',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conj. f. 'that he will do, so that/in order that he does',
1 'that he did',
2 'that he did, when he did',
3 'when he had done, after he did',
cond. 'if he does, when he will do',
irr. 'if he had done',
iter. f. 'whenever he will do',
1 'that he ever did',
2 'whenever he did',
3 'whenever he had done',
int. f. 'probably/whether he will do',
1 'probably he did',
2 'probably/whether he did',
3 'probably/whether he had done',
pot. 'he would do/would have done',
imp. 'do!',
pro. 'don't do!';

participial modes:

conj. f. 'he who will do',
3 'he who did',
int. f. 'whoever will do',
3 'whoever did'.

4.13 There are six voices, namely:

first 'animate third person object',
second 'animate third person obviative object',
third 'third person actor',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fourth 'indefinite person actor',

fifth 'first person singular or first person plural exclusive object',

sixth 'second person or first person plural inclusive object'.

FORM CLASSES OF STEMS

4.14 A stem belongs to one of the following form classes:

noun stems:

animate independent (Nai),

inanimate independent (Nii),

animate dependent (Nad),

inanimate dependent (Nid),

ambigeneric (Na/i);

verb stems:

animate intransitive (Vai),

inanimate intransitive (Vii),

transitive animate (Vta),

transitive inanimate (Vti),

transitive ambigeneric (Vta/i).

An abbreviation for each form class is enclosed in parentheses.

In many of these form classes the stems belong to one or another of the following sub-classes:

ambinumeric,

singular,

plural.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ambinumeric stems are a large majority in all form classes.

PERSONAL PREFIXES

4.15 A set of personal prefixes occur with both noun and verb stems, namely:

n- 'first person',

k- 'second person',

o- 'third person'.

Before certain stems et, t or e follow these prefixes and o- is omitted, so that there are the following four series of forms.

	persons		
	first	second	third
series one	net-	ket-	ot-
series two	ne-	ke-	o-
series three	n-	k-	o-
series four	n-	k-	zero

The forms of series one occur before vowels, except for those vowels which require the forms of series three or four, e.g:

/netapenoohema/ 'my child',

cf. /apenooha/ 'child';

/ketoiiki/ 'you live there',

cf. /oiikia/ 'he lives there';

/otasikazoonahi/ 'his socks/stockings',

cf. /asikazoona/ 'sock, stocking';

/netooteenenaani/ 'our town',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cf. /ooteeni/ 'town'.

Preconsonantal i is replaced by e after the series one forms, e.g:

/netehkweema/ 'my (man's) sister',

cf. /ihkweea/ 'woman';

/ketesiteehe/ 'you think so',

cf. /isiteehea/ 'he thinks so'.

Preconsonantal o of a noun stem is replaced by oo after the series one forms but preconsonantal o of a verb stem is retained, e.g:

/otoonenozomwaãhi/ 'their cows',

cf. /onenozwa/ 'cow';

/netocikwaazopena/ 'we sewed',

cf. /ocikwaazoa/ 'he sewed'.

The forms of series two occur before consonants, e.g:

/nekoohkoosema/ 'my pig',

/kekoohkoosemwaã/ 'you people's pig',

/okoohkoosemani/ 'his pig',

cf. /koohkoosa/ 'pig'.

The forms of series three occur before initial i of dependent noun stems, e.g:

/niipici/ 'my tooth',

/niiwa/ 'my wife',

/kiiwa/ 'your wife',

/oiipitwaãni/ 'their teeth'.

The forms of series four occur before initial o of dependent noun stems, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nooza/ 'my father',

/kooza/ 'your father',

/oozani/ 'his father'.

When stem initial W is omitted in colloquial style, either series one forms or series two forms may occur before a, e.g:

/newaapeskiihtaapena/, /netaapeskiihtaapena/,

/neaapeskiihtaapena/ 'we're dressed in white'.

Only series two forms were recorded before i and e with a preceding stem initial W omitted, e.g:

/newiisaacipena/, /neiisaacipena/ 'we're cold'.

/neweepinaapaatotaazo/, /neẽepinaapaatotaazo/ 'I began to read'.

Note that basic prevocalic i occurs in stem initial only in dependent and ambigeneric noun stems, while basic stem initial We occurs only in the morpheme Weep 'begin'.

The forms n-, k- and o- will be written in subsequent pages to indicate the presence of a personal prefix in an inflexion.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. NOUN INFLEXION

5.1 The affixes which occur in construction with noun stems belong to the categories of person, number, gender, and case. Affixes occur in both personal positions.

A noun stem plus an inflexion is a noun. Each inflexion yields a noun of a different form class.

N will be used as an abbreviation for "noun". The abbreviations for the members of the categories of inflexion will be used for the corresponding form classes of nouns.

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: AFFIXES

5.2 Animate and inanimate noun stems always occur with a word final personal affix or with the locative affix, namely:

-a a3.1,	-aki a33.1,
-ani a3.2,	-ahi a33.2,
-i i3,	-ani i33,
-e 2,	-etike 22,
-eki L.	

5.3 The animate third person suffixes and the second person suffixes occur only with animate stems, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/koohkoosa/ Na3.1 'pig'

/koohkoosaki/ Na33.1 'pigs',

/koohkoosani/ Na3.2 'pig'*

/koohkoosahi/ Na33.2 'pigs'*;

*The distinction between proximate and obviative is regularly unexpressed in idiomatic English.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iihkaan- Nad 'friend' in

/niihkaana/ N1-a3.1 'my friend',

/niihkaane/ N1-2 'my friend' (addressing him),

/niihkaanetike/ N1-22 'my friends' (addressing them).

The inanimate suffixes occur only with inanimate stems, e.g:

ooteen- Nii 'town' in

/ooteeni/ Ni3 'town', /ooteenani/ Ni33 'towns'.

The locative suffix occurs with stems of either gender, e.g:

paas- Nai 'bus' in

/paasa/ Na3.1 'bus', /paaseki/ NL 'on a bus';

ooteen- Nii 'town' in

/ooteeni/ Ni3 'town', /ooteeneki/ NL 'in town'.

Singular stems do not take plural suffixes, e.g:

manoomin- singular Nii 'rice' in

/manoomini/ Ni3 'rice'.

Plural stems do not take singular suffixes, e.g:

mezootaan- plural Nad 'parents' in

/kemezootaanaki/ N2-a33.1 'your parents'.

Ambinumeric stems occur with the suffixes of both numbers, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/koohkoosa/ Na3.1 'pig',

/koohkoosaki/ Na33.1 'pigs'.

5.4 Animate and inanimate noun stems occur with thematic personal affixes which include the three personal prefixes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and the following suffixes:

-enaan,

-wa.

These occur in the following combinations:

n- 1,

k- 2,

o- a3,

n-enaan 11,

k-enaan 12,

k-wa 22,

o-wa a33,

e.g:

niicaap- Nai 'doll', zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/nezezeeha/ N1-a3.1 'my older brother'

/neniicaapaki/ N1-a33.1 'my dolls',

/kezezeeha/ N2-a3.1 'your older brother',

/ozezeehani/ Na3-a3.2 'his/her older brother',

/nezezeehenaanaki/ N11-a33.1 'our older brothers'*,

/keniicaapenaanaki/ N12-a33.1 'our dolls'*,

/kezezeehwaã/ N22-a3.1 'you people's older brother',

/ozezeehwaãni/ Na33-a3.2 'their older brother';

maatez- Nii 'knife', hkian- Nid 'nose' in

/nemaatezi/ N1-i3 'my knife',

/nehkiani/ N1-i3 'my nose',

/kemaatezi/ N2-i3 'your knife',

---

*The distinction between exclusive and inclusive is regularly unexpressed in idiomatic English.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/omaatezi/ Na3-i3 'his/her knife',

/nemaatezenaani/ N11-i3 'our knife'*,

/kehkianenaanani/ N12-i33 'our noses'*,

/kemaatezwai/ N22-i3 'you people's knife',

/omaatezwai/ Na33-i3 'their knife'.

5.5 Dependent noun stems always occur with a thematic personal affix, e.g: zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' and hkian- Nid 'nose' in the preceding examples.

Independent stems occur both with and without thematic personal affixes, e.g:

niicaap- Nai 'doll' in

/niicaapa/ Na3.1 'doll',

/neniicaapaki/ N1-a33.1 'my dolls';

maatez- Nii 'knife' in

/maatezi/ Ni3 'knife',

/nemaatezi/ N1-i3 'my knife'.

5.6 Most animate independent stems and many inanimate independent stems take a suffix -em immediately after the stem whenever the stem has a thematic personal affix, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/koohkoosa/ Na3.1 'pig',

/nekoohkoosema/ N1-a3.1 'my pig',

/nekoohkoosemenaanaki/ N11-a33.1 'our pigs',

cf. niicaap- Nai 'doll' in

/niicaapa/ Na3.1 'doll',

---

* The distinction between exclusive and inclusive is regularly unexpressed in idiomatic English.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/neniicaapaki/ N1-a33.1 'my dolls',

/keniicaapenaanaki/ N12-a33.1 'our dolls';

sooniaah- Nii 'money' in

/sooniaahi/ Ni3 'money',

/nesooniaahemenaani/ N11-i3 'our money',

cf. maatezi- Nii 'knife' in

/maatezi/ Ni3 'knife',

/nemaatezenaani/ N11-i3 'our knife'.

5.7 The order of affixes to noun stems is as follows:

(1) personal prefixes,

(2) stem,

(3) -em,

(4) thematic personal suffixes, -enaan or -wa,

(5) word final personal suffixes or the locative suffix.

e.g.

/nekoohkoosemenaanaki/ N11-a33.1 'our pigs' containing n-, koohkoos-, -em, -enaan and -aki.

5.8 The same word final suffixes, including the locative suffix, occur with a noun stem whether or not it has a thematic personal affix, with two exceptions.

An animate noun stem with o- cannot have a word final proximate suffix; it can only have a word final obviative suffix, or, presumably, the locative suffix, e.g:

meehcipahooh- Nai 'automobile' in

/meehcipahooha/ Na3.1 'automobile',

/meehcipahoohaki/ Na33.1 'automobiles',

/meehcipahoohani/ Na3.2 'automobile',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nemeehcipahoohema/ N1-a3.1 'my automobile',

/nemeehcipahoohemaki/ N1-a33.1 'my automobiles',

/nemeehcipahoohemani/ N1-a3.2 'my automobile',

/omeehcipahoohemani/ Na3-a3.2 'his/her automobile',

cf. mahkezeeh- N'i 'shoe' in

/mahkezeehi/ Ni3 'shoe',

/mahkezeehani/ Ni33 'shoes',

/nemahkezeehi/ N1-i3 'my shoe',

/nemahkezeehani/ N1-i33 'my shoes',

/omahkezeehi/ Na3-i3 'his/her shoe',

/omahkezeehani/ Na3-i33 'his/her shoes'.

The word final second person suffixes regularly occur with no thematic personal affixes other than the first person singular*, e.g:

ineni- Nai 'man' in

/inenia/ Na3.1 'man',

/inenie/ N2 'man, Mister';

iihkaan- Nad 'friend' in

/niihkaana/ N1-a3.1 'my friend',

/niihkaane/ N1-2 'my friend'.

5.9 In terms of English translation, the word final personal suffixes indicate the person, number, and gender of the stem, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

*The only recorded exception is /koohko/, irregular N2-2 of oohkomez- Nad 'grandmother' which was used by a woman in an attempt to elicit /noohko/ N1-2 'my grandmother' from her twenty-one month old granddaughter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/koohkoosa/ Na3.1 'pig',

/koohkoosaki/ Na33.1 'pigs',

/koohkoosani/ Na3.2 'pig',

/koohkoosahi/ Na33.2 'pigs';

ooteen- Ni1 'town' in

/ooteeni/ Ni3 'town',

/ooteenani/ Ni33 'towns'.

The thematic personal affixes indicate the person, number, and gender of a possessor of the stem, namely:

n- 1 'my',

k- 2 'your (singular)',

o- a3 'his, her',

n-enaan 11 'our (his, her or their and my)',

k-enaan 12 'our (your and my)',

k-wa 22 'your (plural), you people's',

o-wa a33 'their'.

A stem with a word final second person suffix denotes the addressee, e.g:

ineni- Nai 'man' in

/képìihcií nĕnie/ 'Thank you, Mister.', literally 'You pleased me, man.',

cf. /ínenià néněaa/ 'I saw a man.'.

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: SANDHI

5.10 The allomorphs of the personal prefixes and allomorphs conditioned by them have been described in Chapter four. So also, noun stems condition phonemic alternations in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the inflexional suffixes, and the inflexional suffixes condition phonemic alternations in noun stems.

A set of suffixes which usually manifest or condition the same phonemic alternations is a series. There are four such series, namely:

series one, suffixes consisting of a single vowel, namely, -a, -i, -e;

series two, suffixes other than -a with initial a, namely, -aki, -ani, -ahi;

series three, suffixes other than -e with initial e, namely, -etike, -eki, -enaan, -em;

series four, the suffix -wa.

5.11 The regular replacements of t and Z occur before -i; elsewhere t remains and Z is replaced by z (3.10), e.g:

hkaat- Nid 'foot' in

/nehkaaci/ N1-i3,

/nehkaatani/ N1-i33,

/nehkaateki/ N1-L,

/nehkaatenaanani/ N11-i33;

iineZ- Nid 'hair' in

/niinesi/ N1-i3 /niinezani/ N1-i33.

In a few stems, t is retained before -i, e.g:

mokonoot- Nii 'McLoud, Okla.' in

/mokonooti/ Ni3 'McLoud, Okla.',

pjoot- Nii 'peyote' in

/pjooti/ Ni3 'peyote',

tomaat- Nii 'tomato' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/tomaati/ Ni3 'tomato'.

No examples of noun stem final N were recorded.

5.12 The suffix -e does not follow stem final h. Instead, the h is omitted along with one vowel in a preceding monosyllabic cluster (3.9), e.g:

asamaakaah- Nai 'soldier' in

/asamaakaaha/ Na3.1, /asamaaka/ N2;

mesooh- Nad 'grandfather' in

/nemesooha/ N1-a3.1, /nemeso/ N1-2.

5.13 Occurrence of the suffixes after stem final obstruents conditions no other alternations, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/koohkoosa/ Na3.1,

/koohkoosaki/ Na33.1,

/nekoohkoosema/ N1-a3.1;

iihkaan- Nad 'friend' in

/niihkaana/ N1-a3.1,

/niihkaane/ N1-2,

/niihkaanetike/ N1-22;

niicaap- Nai 'doll' in

/niicaapa/ Na3.1,

/neniicaapaki/ N1-a33.1,

/keniicaapenaanaki/ N12-a33.1;

ooz- Nad 'father' in

/kooza/ N2-a3.1,

/oozani/ Na3-a3.2,

/noozeki/ N1-L,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/oozwaãni/ Na33-a3.2;

ooteen- Nai 'town' in

/ooteeni/ Ni3,

/ooteenani/ Ni33,

/ooteeneki/ NL,

/netooteenenaani/ N11-i3;

maatez- Nii 'knife' in

/maatezi/ Ni3,

/kemaatezwaãni/ N22-i33;

meehcipahooh- Nai 'automobile' in

/meehcipahooha/ Na3.1,

/meehcipahoohaki/ Na33.1,

/meehcipahooheki/ NL,

/nemeehcipahoohema/ N1-a3.1;

asamaakaah- Nai 'soldier' in

/asamaakaahetike/ N22;

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/nezezeeha/ N1-a3.1,

/kezezeehaki/ N2-a33.1,

/ozezeehahi/ Na3-a33.2,

/nezezeehenaanaki/ N11-a33.1,

/kezezeehwaã/ N22-a3.1;

mahkezeeh- Nii 'shoe' in

/mahkezeehi/ Ni3,

/mahkezeehani/ Ni33;

saapwahkiih- Nii 'street' in

/saapwahkiihi/ Ni3,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/saapwahkiiheki/ NL;

sooniaah- Nii 'money' in

/sooniaahi/ Ni3,

/nesooniaahemenaani/ N11-i3;

hkoneeh- Nid 'blanket' in

/nehkoneehi/ N1-i3,

/nehkoneehenaanani/ N11-i33,

/ohkoneehwai/ Na33-i3.

5.14 Occurrence of suffixes after -em and -enaan conditions no alternations, e.g:

-em with

meehcipahooh- Nai 'automobile' in

/kemeehcipahoohema/ N2-a3.1,

/nemeehcipahoohemaki/ N1-a33.1,

/omeehcipahoohemani/ Na3-a3.2,

/nemeehcipahoohemenaanaki/ N11-a33.1;

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/kekoohkoosemwaã/ N22-a3.1;

Wiiskopaapo- Nii 'soda pop' in

/neiiskopaapoomi/ N1-i3;

apasj- Nii 'pole' in

/netapasiimani/ N1-i33,

/otapasiimwai/ Na33-i3;

sooniaah- Nii 'money' in

/nesooniaahemenaani/ N11-i3;

-enaan with

meehcipahooh- Nai 'automobile' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kemeehcipahoohemenaana/ N12-a3.1;

niicaap- Nai 'doll' in

/keniicaapenaanaki/ N12-a33.1;

mahkahkw- Nii 'box' in

/nemahkahkonaani/ N11-i3,

/nemahkahkonaanani/ N11-i33;

moopi- Nai 'automobile' in

/nemoopiimenaaneki/ N11-L.

5.15 Stem final h is subject to the regular changes in colloquial style (3.33-3.38), e.g:

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/kézězeea/, /kèzezéà/ N2-a3.1,

/nèzezeehénăanaki/ D, /nèzezeénăanaki/ C N11-a33.1;

mesooh- Nad 'grandfather' in

/kémèsóohăki/, /kémèsoákì/ N2-a33.1;

saapwahkiih- Nii 'street' in

/sáapwăhkiii/ Ni3, /sáapwàhkíihăni/ Ni33.

5.16 Most noun stem final vowels are single holosyllabic, e.g: hci- Nad 'arm' in /nehcia/ N1-a3.1. A few stems were recorded with final monosyllabic ee, e.g: ihkwee- Nai 'woman' in /ihkweea/ Na3.1.

5.17 Series one and two suffixes are preceded by O, that is, their initial vowels are not subject to omission after a stem final vowel (3.8), e.g:

ineni- Nai 'man' in

/inenia/ Na3.1, /inenie/ N2;

moopi- Nai 'automobile' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/moopia/ Na3.1, /moopiaki/ Na33.1;

poohkama- Nai 'peach' in

/poohkamaã Na3.1, /poohkamaãni/ Na3.2;

aamo- Nai 'bee' in

/aamoa/ Na3.1, /aamoaki/ Na33.1;

hci- Nad 'arm' in

/nehcia/ N1-a3.1, /nehciaki/ N1-a33.1;

ziipo- Nii 'river' in

/ziipoi/ Ni3, /ziipoani/ Ni33;

Wiiskopaapo- Nii 'soda pop' in

/iiskopaapoi/ Ni3;

oskote- Nii 'fire' in

/oskotei/ Ni3;

iinani- Nid 'tongue' in

/niinaniĩ/ N1-i3.

Stem final ee is subject to automatic shortening (3.27), e.g:

ihkwee- Nai 'woman' in

/ìhkwéěa/, /ìhkwéà/ Na3.1,

/ihkweaki/ Na33.1.

5.18 Before a series three suffix and before -wa, a stem final single holosyllabic vowel is lengthened to a monosyllabic cluster, and stem final ee is unchanged; suffix initial e is omitted (3.7), e.g:

ineni- Nai 'man' in

/ineniitike/ N22;

moopi- Nai 'automobile' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/moopiiki/ NL, /nemoopiima/ N1-a3.1;

poohkama- Nai 'peach' in

/nepoohkamaama/ N1-a3.1;

aamo- Nai 'bee' in

/netaamoomaki/ N1-a33.1;

hci- Nad 'arm' in

/kehciinaanaki/ N12-a33.1, /ohciiwaãhi/ Na33-a33.2;

ziipo- Nii 'river' in

/ziipooki/ NL;

Wiiskopaapo- Nii 'soda pop' in

/neiiskopaapoomi/ N1-i3;

oskote- Nii 'fire' in

/oskoteeki/ NL;

iinani- Nid 'tongue' in

/niinaniinaanani/ N11-i33;

ihkwee- Nai 'woman' in

/netehkweema/ N1-a3.1 'my sister' (man speaking).

5.19 The regular replacement of jea takes place with mjee- Nii 'road' and a following series two suffix (3.17) e.g:

/mjeei/ Ni3, /mjaãni/ Ni33,

/mjeeki/ NL, /nemjeemi/ N1-i3.

5.20 Occurrence of suffixes after -wa conditions the same alternations as their occurrence after a stem final vowel, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/kekoohkoosemwaã/ N22-a3.1,

/kekoohkoosemwaãki/ N22-a33.1,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/okoohkoosemwaãni/ Na33-a3.2,

/okoohkoosemwaãhi/ Na33-a33.2;

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/kezezeehwaã/ N22-a3.1,

/ozezeehwaãni/ Na33-a3.2,

/ozezeehwaãhi/ Na33-a33.2;

moopi- Nai 'automobile' in

/kemoopiimwaãki/, /kemoopiiwaãki/ N22-a33.1,

/kemoopiimwaaki/, /kemoopiiwaaki/ N22-L;

apasj- Nii 'pole' in

/otapasiimwai/ Na33-i3, /otapasiimwaãni/ Na33-i33;

hkoneeh- Nid 'blanket' in

/ohkoneehwai/ Na33-i3, /ohkoneehwaãni/ Na33-i33.

5.21 Noun stem final w is preceded by obstruents.

5.22 Occurrence of series one suffixes after stem final w conditions no alternations, e.g:

onenozw- Nai 'cow' in

/onenozwa/ Na3.1,

sekaakw- Nai 'all black skunk' in

/sekaakwa/ Na3.1,

mehtekw- Nii 'tree' in

/mehtekwi/ Ni3,

skiisekw- Nid 'eye' in

/keskiisekwi/ N2-i3.

5.23 Stem final w and initial a of a series two suffix are replaced by oo with all inanimate stems and with many animate stems; with other animate stems wa remains unchanged,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

e.g:

onenozw- Nai 'cow' in

/onenozooki/ Na33.1,

sekaakw- Nai 'all black skunk' in

/sekaakwaki/ Na33.1,

mehtekw- Nii 'tree' in

/mehtekooni/ Ni33,

skiisekw- Nid 'eye' in

/keskiisekooni/ N2-i33.

5.24 Stem final w and initial e of a series three suffix are replaced by o (3.14), e.g:

onenozw- Nai 'cow' in

/otoonenozomwaãni/ Na33-a3.2;

ahkohkw- Nai 'bucket, kettle, drum' in

/ahkohkwa/ Na3.1,

/ahkohkoki/ NL,

/netahkohkonaana/ N11-a3.1;

mahkahkw- Nii 'box' in

/mahkahkwi/ Ni3,

/nemahkahkwi/ N1-i3,

/mahkahkoki/ NL,

/nemahkahkonaanani/ N11-i33.

5.25 Stem final w is replaced by o before -wa, and the w of -wa is omitted (3.12), e.g:

ahkohkw- Nai 'bucket, kettle, drum' in

/ketahkohkoaã/ N22-a3.1, /otahkohkoaãhi/ Na33-a33.2;

mahkahkw- Nii 'box' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kemahkahkoai/ N22-i3, /kemahkahkoaãni/ N22-i33.

5.26 Noun stem final j is preceded by an obstruent or a.

5.27 Stem final j is omitted before -i (3.13), e.g:

azenj- Nii 'stone' in

/azeni/ Ni3,

maakwaj- Nii 'hat' in

/maakwai/ Ni3,

htaakaj- Nid 'ear' in

/nehtaakai/ Nl-i3,

apasj- Nii 'pole' in

/apasi/ Ni3.

5.28 Occurrence of -a after stem final postconsonantal j conditions no alternations; j is omitted after s (3.16), e.g:

ohpenj- Nai 'potato' in

/ohpenja/ Na3.1,

kj- Nad 'mother' in

/nekja/ Nl-a3.1,

tenj- Nad 'shoulder' in

/netenja/ Nl-a3.1,

kahkaiisj- Nai 'weed' in

/kahkaiisa/ Na3.1,

skasj- Nad 'finger/toe nail, claw' in

/neskasa/ Nl-a3.1.

Stem final j after a is optionally omitted before -a, e.g:

apahkwaj- Nai 'cattail reed' in

/apahkwaja/, /apahkwaã/ Na3.1,

taj- Nad 'possession' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/netaja/ N1-a3.1,

nookeenaj- Nad 'shadow, spirit' in

/kenookeenaã/ N2-a3.1.

Omission of j is probably colloquial and its retention deliberate.

5.29 Initial a of a series two suffix is replaced by ee after stem final j (3.15), and the stem final j is omitted after s (3.16) and a, e.g:

ohpenj- Nai 'potato' in

/ohpenjeeki/ Na33.1,

kj- Nad 'mother' in

/okjeeni/ Na3-a3.2

tenj- Nad 'shoulder' in

/otenjeeni/ Na3-a3.2,

azenj- Nii 'stone' in

/azenjeeni/ Ni33,

apahkwaj- Nai 'cattail reed' in

/apahkwaeeki/ Na33.1

taj- Nad 'possession' in

/otaeeni/ Na3-a3.2,

nookeenaj- Nad 'shadow, spirit' in

/onookeenaeeni/ Na3-a3.2,

maakwaj- Nii 'hat' in

/maakwaeeni/ Ni33,

htaakaj- Nid 'ear' in

/nehtaakaeeni/ N1-i33,

kahkaiisj- Nai 'weed' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kahkaiiseeki/ Na33.1,

skasj- Nad 'finger/toe nail, claw' in

/neskaseeki/ N1-a33.1,

apasj- Nii 'pole' in

/apaseeni/ Ni33.

5.30 With some stems, stem final j and initial e of a series three suffix are replaced by i (3.14), and stem final j is replaced by i before -wa, e.g:

kj- Nad 'mother' in

/kekinaana/ N12-a3.1,

/kekiwaã/ N22-a3.1,

/okiwaãni/ Na33-a3.2;

taj- Nad 'possession' in

/netainaana/ N11-a3.1,

/ketaiwaã/ N22-a3.1,

/otaiwaãhi/ Na33-a33.2;

azenj- Nii 'stone' in

/otazenimwai/ Na33-i3;

maakwaj- Nii 'hat' in

/nemaakwainaanani/ N11-i33.

With other stems, postconsonantal stem final j is replaced by ii, and stem final aj is replaced by aa before a series three suffix and before -wa, and the initial e of the series three suffix is omitted (3.7), e.g:

tenj- Nad 'shoulder' in

/neteniinaana/ N11-a3.1, /keteniiwaãki/ N22-a33.1;

apahkwaj- Nai 'cattail reed' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/netapahkwaama/ N1-a3.1;

htaakaj- Nid 'ear' in

/nehtaakaanaani/ N11-i3, /ohtaakaawaãni/ Na33-i33;

skasj- Nad 'finger/toe nail, claw' in

/neskasiinaanaki/ N11-a33.1,

/keskasiiwaãki/ N22-a33.1;

apasj- Nii 'pole' in

/netapasiimani/ N1-i33.

5.31 Syllabic increase in short words affects the series one suffixes (3.40), e.g:

mahkw- Nai 'bear' in

/máhkwàhâ/, /máhkwăa/ Na3.1,

cf. /mahkwaki/ Na33.1;

nepj- Nii 'water' in

/népi/, /nèpihî/, /népĭi/ Ni3;

kj- Nad 'mother' in

/nékja/, /nékjăa/ N1-a3.1,

kèkjahâ/ N2-a3.1.

5.32 h in -ahi is subject to omission in colloquial style (3.33-3.28), e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' in

/kóohkŏosahi/, /kóohkŏosai/ Na33.2,

/kòohkoosémwăahi/, /kòohkoosémwăai/ Na33-a33.2;

sizeeh- Nad 'mother's brother' in

/òsizéehăhi/, /òsizéehăi/ Na3-a33.2;

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/òzezeehwáăhi/, /òzezeehwáăi/ Na33-a33.2;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sekaakw- Nai 'all black skunk' in

/sékaakwǎhi/, /sékǎakwai/ Na33.2;

onenozw- Nai 'cow' in

/ònénǒzoohi/, /ónenǒzooi/ Na33.2.

INFLEXION OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUN STEMS: IRREGULAR FORMS

5.33 Irregular allomorphs are conditioned in certain animate dependent stems and in the 1-2 inflexion when they occur in construction, namely:

kj- Nad 'mother' in

/neeke/ N1-2, cf. /nekja/ N1-a3.1,

kiih- Nad 'mother's sister' in

/nekiihe/ N1-2, cf. /nekiiha/ N1-a3.1,

oohkomez- Nad 'grandmother' in

/noohko/ N1-2, cf. /noohkomeza/ N1- a3.1,

taanez- Nad 'daughter' in

/taanese/ N1-2, cf. /netaaneza/ N1-a3.1,

kwiz- Nad 'son' in

/nekwise/ N1-2, cf. /nekwiza/ N1-a3.1,

hciimeeh- Nad 'younger brother/sister' in

/ciime/ N1-2, cf. /nehciimeeha/ N1-a3.1.

Regular allomorphs also occur with some of these, e.g:

oohkomez- in /noohkomeze/,

taanez- in /netaaneze/.

In addition, the following regular forms were recorded with animate dependent stems:

ooz- Nad 'father, father's brother' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nooze/ N1-2, cf. /nooza/ N1-a3.1,

mesooh- Nad 'grandfather' in

/nemeso/ N1-2, cf. /nemesooha/ N1-a3.1,

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother' in

/nezeze/ N1-2, cf. /nezezeeha/ N1-a3.1,

mizeeh- Nad 'older sister' in

/nemize/ N1-2, cf. /nemizeeha/ N1- a3.1,

sizeeh- Nad 'mother's brother' in

/nesize/ N1-2, cf. /nesizeeha/ N1-a3.1,

zekwiz- Nad 'father's sister' in

/nezekwize/ N1-2, cf. /nezekwiza/ N1-a3.1,

semiih- Nad 'niece' in

/nesemi/ N1-2, cf. /nesemiiha/ N1-a3.1,

iihkaan- Nad 'friend' in

/niihkaane/ N1-2, cf. /niihkaana/ N1-a3.1,

iihtiiz- Nad 'buddy, chum' in

/niihtiize/ N1-2, cf. /oiihtiizani/ Na3-a3.2.

5.34 The following forms were recorded with a stem iiW- Nad 'wife':

/niiwa/ N1-a3.1,

/niiwe/ N1-2,

/kiiwa/ N1-a3.1,

/oiani/ Na3- a3.2

5.35 /iikiaapjeeni/ Ni33 'houses' and /iikiaapeki/ NL 'in the house' imply complementarily distributed stems Wiikiaapj- and Wiikiaap- Nii, but -eki was not recorded elsewhere after stem final j; also recorded: /iikiaapi/ Ni3 'house'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/askihkiĩ/ Ni3 'soil, land' and /askihkjeeni/ Ni33 'lands' imply complementarily distributed stems <u>askihki-</u> and <u>askihkj-</u> Nii.

/oskwaateemi/ Ni3 'door' and /oskwaateeki/ NL 'in the doorway' imply complementarily distributed stems <u>oskwaateem-</u> and <u>oskwaate-</u> Nii.

5.36 Contrary to (3.27), <u>ii</u> was recorded retained before a vowel in <u>iia-</u> Nid 'self' in deliberate style; in colloquial style <u>ia-</u> was recorded, e.g:

/niiai/ D, /niai/ C Nl-i3 'myself'.

INFLEXION OF AMBIGENERIC NOUN STEMS

5.37 Ambigeneric noun stems always occur with a word final personal suffix or with a locative suffix. There are three sets of these suffixes, namely:

	set 1	set 2	set 3
a3.1	<u>-a</u>	<u>-a</u>	<u>-aaka</u>, <u>-a</u>
a33.1	<u>-aki</u>	<u>-iki</u>	<u>-eeke</u>
a3.2	<u>-ani</u>	<u>-ini</u>	<u>-eene</u>
a33.2	<u>-ahi</u>	<u>-ihi</u>	<u>-eehe</u>
i3	<u>-i</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-e</u>
i33	<u>-ani</u>	<u>-ini</u>	<u>-eene</u>
L	irregular	<u>-ahi</u>	irregular.

5.38 A list of the ambigeneric stems follows with the required set of suffixes indicated in parentheses after each stem:

<u>aWieeh-</u> (1) 'someone, something', e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/awieeha/ Na3.1,

/awieehaki/ Na33.1,

/áĭeei/ Ni3;

iin- D, n- C (2) 'that one recently mentioned or present (with proximity to speaker unspecified)', e.g:

/iina/, /na/ Na3.1, /iiniki/ Na33.1,

/iini/, /ni/ Ni3, /iinini/ Ni33,

/iinahi/, /nahi/ NL;

iin- (3) with a3.1 -aaka 'that one far from the speaker', e.g:

/iinaaka/ Na3.1,

/iineeke/ Na33.1,

/iineehe/ Na33.2,

/iine/ Ni3;

iiniO- (3) with a3.1 -a 'that one known to the addressee but not recently mentioned or present, e.g:

/iinia/ Na3.1, /iinieeke/ Na33.1,

/iinie/ Ni3, /iinieene/ Ni33;

kotak- (1) 'the other one, another one', e.g:

/kotaka/ Na3.1, /kotakaki/ Na33.1,

/kotaki/ Ni3, /kotakani/ Ni33;

maaO- (3) with a3.1 -aaka 'that one far from the speaker though nearer than iin- (3)', e.g:

/maãaka/ Na3.1, /maeeke/ Na33.1,

/maae/ Ni3, /maeene/ Ni33;

man-, maah- (1) 'this one near the speaker' with man- before monosyllabic, and maah- before disyllabic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suffixes, e.g:

/mana/ Na3.1, /maahaki/ Na33.1,

/mani/ Ni3, /maahani/ Na3.2, Ni33;

taan- (2) 'which one?, where?', e.g:

/taana/ Na3.1, /taaniki/ Na33.1,

/taani/ Ni3, /taanini/ Ni33,

/taanahi/ NL;

weeneeh- (1) 'who?, what?', e.g:

/weeneeha/ Na3.1,

/weeneehi/ Ni3,

/weeneehani/ Na3.2.

5.39 Irregular locatives are:

stem	locative	stem	locative
aWieeh-	nekotahi	iin- (3)	maahi
iiniO-	iinaahi	kotak-	papjaai
maaO-	moohi	man-, maah-	joohi
weeneeh-	none		

5.40 h is subject to omission in colloquial style (3.33-3.38), e.g:

aWieeh- in

/áwieì/, /áwiěei/ Ni3;

maah- in

/màákì/ Na33.1;

weeneeh- in

/wéenèáki/ Na33.1

/wéeněei/ Ni3;

iinahi in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/íinàí/ NL.

5.41 mana Na3.1 and mani Ni3 (stem man-) are short words (3.40), e.g:

/mánǎa/, /mánàhâ/ Na3.1,

/mánìhî/ Ni3.

5.42 weeneehi and the locatives other than papjaai are h-words (3.45), e.g:

weeneehi in

/wéenèeh máaakà éesǐhtooci/ 'What's that one doing?',

iinahi in

/íinàh táněkea/ 'He's dancing there.',

taanahi in

/táanàh kétǎa/ 'Where are you going?',

joohi in

/jóoh ńětai/ 'I'm here.'.

5.43 The stem iin- occurs with a set of inflexions which resemble the thematic personal affixes of animate and inanimate nouns but which indicate word final persons. The nouns containing these morphemes are:

niina N1 'I, me',

kiina N2 'you',

wiina Na3 'he, him, she, her',

niinaana N11 'we, us',

kiinaana N12 'we, us',

kiinwaã N22 'you people',

wiinwaã Na33 'they, them'.

niina, niinaana and kiinaana are the only recorded word

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

final first person nouns.

Ambigeneric stems do not take thematic personal inflexion.

5.44 Ambigeneric noun stems also occur in the following particles:

iinoki D, noki C 'now, today, nowadays',

taanaakwa 'when?',

taanahka 'where to?'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. VERB INFLEXION

AFFIXES

6.1 Affixes belonging to the categories of person, number, gender, state, mode, and tense occur in construction with all classes of verb stems. In addition, voice affixes occur with transitive animate and transitive ambigeneric stems, and personal positions are distinguished in the participial state.

STATE

6.2 A verb stem plus a verbal inflexion is a verb. A verb stem plus a participial inflexion is a participle. Participial inflexions are all inflexions containing a participial suffix (6.67). All other inflexions with verb stems are verbal.

Each person, number, and gender yields a verb or participle of a different form class, as do some of the other categories of inflexion or their members.

V will be used as an abbreviation for "verb". The abbreviations for the persons, numbers, and genders will be used for the corresponding form classes of verbs.

VOICE

6.3 The voices are indicated by the following suffixes after the stem:

-aa, -ee, -iee, zero: first,

-emaa, -em: second,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-ekw: third,

-ekoo: fourth,

-i: fifth,

-eN: sixth.

Various persons and modes are the conditioning environments for the irregular allomorphs of the voice suffixes.

Not all voices occur in all modes, e.g: the fourth voice occurs only in the indicative mode and perhaps in the dubitative mode, while the imperative and prohibitive modes were recorded only with the first and fifth voices.

In terms of English translation, the voices specify the person of the actor or of the object of a verb. When the object is specified, any other person present in the inflexion is the actor; likewise, when the actor is specified, any other person present in the inflexion is the object. In some inflexions, further affixes of the same person as the specified actor or object indicate its number and/or gender. With only third persons present in an inflexion, the first voice indicates proximate actor with obviative object, and the third voice indicates obviative or inanimate actor with proximate object.

In abbreviations, the actor is written before the object with an and sign, &, between the two.

A third person object, here translated 'it', is implicit with transitive inanimate and transitive ambigeneric stems.

TENSE

6.4 The future tense is indicated by the prefix Wiih-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which yields niih- and kiih- respectively with n- and k-, e.g:

/niihwiiteemaãki/ 'I'll go with them',

/kiihnakamoopetoke/ 'you'll probably sing',

/iihpjaãaci/ 'that they'll come',

/iihmiimiaanini/ 'whenever I'll dance',

/iihnesianaatezikweeni/ 'he'll probably be awful',

/wiihajoaani/ 'that which I'll use'.

6.5 The first actual has no tense affix, e.g:

/neiiteemaãki/ 'I went with them',

/kekiisizenjeepetoke/ 'you must have finished eating'.

/penoaani/ 'that I went home',

/pjaãaci/ 'that they came',

/iizeniaakini/ 'that we ever ate',

/nesianaatezikweeni/ 'he must be awful'.

6.6 The second actual is indicated by the prefix eeh-, e.g:

/eehkatainaahkweeki/ 'when it was almost noon',

/eehniimiaanini/ 'whenever I danced',

/eehahteenikweeni/ 'wherever it is'.

6.7 The third actual is indicated by the infix ee where possible (4.1), otherwise by no tense affix, e.g:

/keetainaahkweeki/ 'when it had become almost noon',

cf. /eehkatainaahkweeki/ 'when it was almost noon';

/kiisezonici/ 'after he was through being cooked',

cf. /eehkiisezonici/ 'when he was through being cooked';

probably /pjeetookini/ 'whenever it had been brought',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cf. /pjeetoa/ 'he brought it';

/eenoeaneeni/ 'however you said, whether you said so',

cf. /inoea/ 'he said so';

/eejoaani/ 'that which I used',

cf. /wiihajoaani/ 'that which I'll use';

/eeskikita/, /weeskikita/ 'he who is young',

cf. /oskikia/ 'he's young',

/kweehtaka/ 'he who fears it',

cf. /kohtamwa/ 'he fears it',

/meeskozita/ 'a red one',

cf. /meskozia/ 'he's red'.

PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, AND MODE

6.8 Person, number, and gender are indicated by personal affixes. The different modes are indicated by modal suffixes and by different personal affixes. Specific modal suffixes are not present in all forms; the same person, gender, and number in two different modes may be distinguished only by the different shape of the personal affixes.

In the following pages the personal affixes characteristic of the different modes are listed, and any modal suffixes are specified. The combinations of one or more personal affixes with each other and with the voice suffixes are then listed under the form classes with which they occur. These combinations will be called personal inflexions.

In glosses, 'he, him' are used for a3; 'she, her' and sometimes 'it' are equally possible translations. Inclusive

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and exclusive, proximate and obviative, and gender in the plural are not distinguished in glosses.

6.9 Person, number, and gender in the indicative mode are indicated by the personal prefixes n- and k- and by the following twelve personal suffixes:

-pena, -enaan 11, 12,

-pwa, -waaW 22,

-a a3, -aki a33,

-ani a3.2, -ahi a33.2,

-i i3, -ani i33,

-pi 0,

-ini obviative.

-ini, -enaan and -waaW occur only before other suffixes, namely:

-ini before -ani a3.2, -ahi, -i, or -ani i33;

-enaan and -waaW before -a, -aki, -i or -ani i33.

n- and k- occur with all suffixes except -ani a3.2, -ahi and -ini, as well as with no suffix.

There is no indicative modal suffix.

6.10 Person, number, and gender in the dubitative mode are indicated by the personal prefixes n- and k-, and by a set of personal suffixes which resemble those of the indicative with the addition of a dubitative suffix -toke.

The dubitative is archaic. In colloquial style it is replaced by meekweehe 'perhaps, probably' with the indicative, or by the interrogative. All recorded examples of the dubitative are listed under the dubitative personal inflexions

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(6.30, 6.31).

6.11 The conjunct modes are the conjunctive, conditional, iterative, and irrealis. Person, number, and gender in all these modes are indicated by the same personal inflexions containing the following personal suffixes:

-aan, -ak 1,

-an, -at 2,

-aak, -aket, -ame 11,

-akw 12,

-eekw 22,

-t, -k a3(3),

-aa a33.1,

-k i3(3),

-ek, -et, -n 0,

-ini obviative;

portmanteaus:

-ako0 22 and 1,

-aakw 22 and 3(3) or 0.

Four of these suffixes occur only before others, namely:

-aa before -t,

-ini before -t or -k i3(3),

-ame before -t, -k i3(3), -ini or -ek, and -ame with -ek is always preceded by -n.

The conjunct modes are distinguished by the following suffixes which follow the personal inflexions, e.g:

conjunctive: -e after -aak, -akw, -eekw, -ako0 and -aakw; -i after other suffixes,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conditional: -e,

iterative: -ini,

irrealis: -eha.

6.12 Person, number, and gender in the interrogative mode are indicated by the same personal suffixes and sequences of personal suffixes as in the conjunct modes, followed by -een, with the following exceptions:

-kw replaces -t and -k 3(3) before -een,

-kweehiki replaces the sequence -aa followed by -t followed by -een.

-een is followed by -i in the verbal state.

6.13 Person, number, and gender in the potential mode are indicated by the following personal suffixes:

-kaaha 1,

-kapa 2,

-kaakeha 11,

-kakoha 12,

-keekoha 22,

-za 3(3)

-eneeha 0;

portmanteaus:

-akoza 3(3), 0 and 12,

-oaza 3(3), 0 and 22.

The 11, 12, and 22 suffixes consist of corresponding suffixes of the conjunct mode preceded by k and followed by eha (3.14).

In addition, -aa, -ini, -ame, and -n occur, as in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conjunct modes, before the following:

-aa before -za,

-ini before -za,

-ame before -za, -ini or -eneeha, and -ame with -eneeha is always preceded by -n.

6.14 The imperative mode has the following personal suffixes:

-taane D, -tae C 12,

-no 2,

-ko 22,

-naake 2(2) & 11,

-i 2 & a3(3).

There is no imperative modal suffix.

6.15 The prohibitive mode has the personal suffixes -an, -aak, -akw, and -eekw of the conjunct modes preceded by k and followed by a vowel, o after -eekw (3.13), and i or e, distributed like the allomorphs of the conjunctive mode suffix (6.11), after the other personal suffixes.

6.16 Suffix initial holosyllabic a and the vowel of a suffix consisting of a single vowel are not subject to omission after a vowel, that is, they are preceded by O. Suffix initial holosyllabic i or e in the remaining suffixes are subject to omission after a vowel (3.7, 3.8).

6.17 t is replaced by c before i (3.10).

6.18 The fifth voice suffix -i is lengthened to -ii before -n O.

6.19 Other sandhi changes are discussed, and the above

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

changes are exemplified, in the following paragraphs.

INDICATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.20 Vai, Vti.

n- 1 'I', n-pena 11 'we',

k-pena 12 'we',

k- 2 'you', k-pwa 22 'you people',

-a a3.1 'he', -aki a33.1 'they',

-iniani a3.2 'he', -iniahi a33.2 'they',

-pi 0 'someone',

e.g:

Wiizeni- Vai 'eat'

/newiizeni/ V1 'I ate', /newiizenipena/ V11,

/kiihwiizenipena/ V12 'we'll eat',

/kewiizenipwa/ V22,

/wiizenia/ Va3.1, /wiizeniaki/ Va33.1,

/iizeniniani/ Va3.2, /wiizeniniahi/ Va33.2,

/iihwiizenipi/ V0;

miici- Vti 'eat' in

/nemiici/ V1 'I ate it', /nemiicipena/ V11,

/kiihmiici/ V2 'you'll eat it',

/kemiicipwa/ V22,

/miicia/ Va3.1, /miiciaki/ Va33.1;

mehkam- Vti 'find' in

/nemehka/ V1 'I found it',

/mehkaminiani/ Va3.2.

6.21 Vii.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-i i3.1 'it', -ani i33.1 'they',

-iniĩ i3.2 'it', -iniani i33.2 'they'.

e.g:

kesitee- Vii 'be hot' in

/kesitei/ Vi3.1 'it's hot', /kesiteani/ Vi33.1,

/kesiteeniĩ/ Vi3.2, /kesiteeniani/ Vi33.2.

6.22 Vta, Vta/i.

Some inflexions which probably occur were not recorded. Such forms are sometimes inferred and written with a preceding asterisk.

6.23 First voice.

The voice suffix is -ee with a third person actor, otherwise -aa; both are followed by W before -a, and -aa is followed by W before -aki (3.28-3.30).

n-aã C, n-aawa D 1 & a3 'I - him',

n-aãki C, n-aawaki D 1 & a33 'I - them',

k-aã C, *k-aawa D 2 & a3 'you - him',

*k-aãki C, *k-aawaki D 2 & a33 'you - them',

n-aapena 11 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

k-aapena 12 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

k-aapwa 22 & a3(3) 'you people - him/them',

-ea, -eea (3.30) C, -eewa D a3.1 & a3(3),2 'he - him/them',

-eaki a33.1 & a3(3).2 'they - him/them',

-aapi 0 & a3(3) 'someone - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nemiinaã/ V1 & a3 'I gave it to him',

/nemiinaãki/ V1 & a33,

/kemiinaã/ V2 & a3,

/nemiinaapena/ V11 & a3(3),

/kemiinaapena/ V12 & a3(3),

/kemiinaapwa/ V22 & a3(3),

/miinea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2,

/miineaki/ Va33.1 & a3(3).2,

/miinaapi/ V0 & a3(3);

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/neiiteemaã/ V1 & a3 'I went with him',

/neiiteemaãki/ V1 & a33,

/newiiteemaapena/ V11 & a3(3),

/iiteemea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2;

kehkeenem- Vta 'know' in

/nekehkeenemaã/, /nekehkeenemaawa/ V1 & a3 'I know him',

/nekehkeenemaãki/, /nekehkeenemaawaki/ V1 & a33;

otamih- Vta 'busy' in

/ketotamihaã/ V2 & a3 'you busied him',

/otamiheewa/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2;

nez- Vta 'kill' in

/nèzéěa/, /nèzéà/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 'he killed him/them'.

6.24 Second voice.

-emaa is probably followed by W before -a and -aki. In the indicative mode the second voice is archaic, being replaced by the first voice in colloquial style.

n-emaã 1 & a3.2 'I - him',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

n-emaãki 1 & a33.2 'I - them',

*k-emaã 2 & a3.2 'you - him',

*k-emaãki 2 & a33.2 'you - them',

n-emaapena 11 & a3(3).2 'we - him/them',

*k-emaapena 12 & a3(3).2 'we - him/them',

*k-emaapwa 22 & a3(3).2 'you people - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/nemiinemaã/ V1 & a3.2 'I gave it to him',

/nemiinemaãki/ V1 & a33.2,

/nemiinemaapena/ V11 & a3(3).2.

6.25 Third voice.

The w of -ekw and a following word medial a are replaced by oo. The w of -ekw and a following e are replaced by o. The w of -ekw is replaced by o before -waaW, and the initial w of -waaW is omitted (5.22-5.25).

n-ekwa a3 & 1 'he - me',

n-ekooki a33 & 1 'they - me',

n-ekwi i3 & 1 'it - me',

n-ekooni i33 & 1 'they - me',

k-ekwa a3 & 2 'he - you',

k-ekooki a33 & 2 'they - you',

k-ekwi i3 & 2 'it - you',

k-ekooni i33 & 2 'they - you',

n-ekonaana a3 & 11 'he - us',

n-ekonaanaki a33 & 11 'they - us',

n-ekonaani i3 & 11 'it - us',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

n-ekonaanani i33 & 11 'they - us',

k-ekonaana a3 & 12 'he - us',

*k-ekonaanaki a33 & 12 'they - us',

*k-ekonaani i3 & 12 'it - us',

*k-ekonaanani i33 & 12 'they - us',

k-ekoaã C, k-ekoaawa D a3 & 22 'he - you people',

k-ekoaãki C, *k-ekoaawaki D a33 & 22 'they - you people',

*k-ekoai C, k-ekoaawi D i3 & 22 'it - you people',

*k-ekoaãni C, *k-ekoaawani D i33 & 22 'they - you people',

-ekwa a3(3).2, i3(3) & a3.1 'he/it/they - him',

*-ekooki a3(3).2, i3(3) & a33.1 'he/it/they - them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/nemiinekwa/ Va3 & 1 'he gave it to me',

/nemiinekooki/ Va33 & 1,

/kemiinekwa/ Va3 & 2,

/nemiinekonaana/ Va3 & 11,

/nemiinekonaanaki/ Va33 & 11,

/kemiinekoaã/, /kemiinekoaawa/ Va3 & 22,

/kemiinekoaãki/ Va33 & 22,

/miinekwa/ Va3(3).2 & a3.1;

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/neiiteemekwa/ Va3 & 1 'he went with me',

/neiiteemekooki/ Va33 & 1,

/neiiteemekonaanaki/ Va33 & 11,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/iiteemekwa/ Va3(3).2 & a3.1;

Waapam- Vta 'look at' in

/newaapamekwa/ Va3 & 1 'he looked at me',

/kewaapamekonaana/ Va3 & 12;

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/nezeekihekwa/ Va3 & 1 'he scared me',

/nezeekihekooki/ Va33 & 1,

/nezeekihekwi/ Vi3 & 1,

/nezeekihekooni/ Vi33 & 1,

/kezeekihekooki/ Va33 & 2,

/kezeekihekwi/ Vi3 & 2,

/kezeekihekooni/ Vi33 & 2,

/nezeekihekonaani/ Vi3 & 11,

/nezeekihekonaanani/ Vi33 & 11,

/kezeekihekoaawi/ Vi3 & 22,

/zeekihekwa/ Va3(3).2, i3(3) & a3.1.

6.26 Fourth voice.

n-ekoopi O & 1 'someone- me',

k-ekoopi O & 2 'someone - you',

n-ekoopena O & 11 'someone - us',

*k-ekoopena O & 12 'someone - us',

k-ekoopwa O & 22 'someone - you people',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/nemiinekoopi/ VO & 1 'it was given to me',

/kemiinekoopi/ VO & 2,

/nemiinekoopena/ VO & 11,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kemiinekoopwa/ V0 & 22.

6.27 Fifth voice.

k-i 2 & 1 'you - me',

k-ipena 2(2) & 11 'you/you people - us',

k-ipwa 22 & 1 'you people - me',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/kemiisi/ V2 & 1 'you gave it to me',

/kemiisipena/ V2(2) & 11,

/kemiisipwa/ V22 & 1;

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/kiihwiiteemipena/ V2(2) & 11 'you'll go with us'.

6.28 Sixth voice.

-eN is followed by e (3.10).

k-ene 1 & 2 'I - you',

k-enepena 11 & 2(2) 'we - you/you people',

k-enepwa 1 & 22 'I - you people',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/kemiinene/ V1 & 2 'I gave it to you',

/kemiinenepena/ V11 & 2(2),

/kemiinenepwa/ V1 & 22;

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/kiihwiiteemene/ V1 & 2 'I'll go with you'.

DUBITATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS (INCLUDING THE DUBITATIVE SUFFIX -toke)

6.29 A single holosyllabic vowel is lengthened to a mono-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

syllabic cluster before -toke and before -petoke, but not in -petoke itself.

6.30 Vai, Vti.

n-petoke 1 'I',

k-petoke 2 'you',

n-penaatoke 11 'we',

-toke a3.1 'he',

-tokeehiki a33.1 'they',

-iniitoke a3.2 'he',

e.g:

nakamo- Vai 'sing' in

/niihnakamoopetoke/ V1 'I'll probably sing',

/kiihnakamoopetoke/ V2,

/niihnakamopenaatoke/ V11;

kiisizenjee- Vai 'finish eating' in

/kekiisizenjeepetoke/ V2 'you probably finished eating';

mano- Vti 'buy' in

/manootoke/ Va3.1 'he probably bought it',

/manoniitoke/ Va3.2;

kiisiizeni- Vai 'finish eating' in

/kiisiizeniitokeehiki/ Va33.1 'they probably finished eating'.

6.31 Vta, Vta/i.

First voice.

The voice suffix is -ee or -aa as in the indicative mode.

n-aapetoke 1 & a3 'I - him',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

k-aapetoke 2 & a3 'you - him',

n-aapenaatoke 11 & a3 'we - him',

k-aapwaatoke 22 & a3 'you people - him',

-eetoke a3.1 & a3(3).2 'he - him/them',

-eetokeehiki a33.1 & a3(3).2 'they - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/nemiinaapetoke/ V1 & a3 'I probably gave it to him',

/kemiinaapetoke/ V2 & a3,

/nemiinaapenaatoke/ V11 & a3,

/kemiinaapwaatoke/ V22 & a3,

/miineetoke/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2,

/miineetokeehiki/ Va33.1 & a3(3).2.

CONJUNCT PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.32 Vai, Vti.

-aan 1 'I'

-an 2 'you',

-aak 11 'we',

-akw 12 'we',

-eekw 22 'you people',

-t, -k a3.1 'he'

-aat a33.1 'they'

-init a3(3).2 'he, they',

-ek 0 'someone',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peno- Vai 'go home' in

/penoaani/ V1 'that I went home',

/iihpenoani/ V2 'that you'll go home',

/iihpenoaake/ V11,

/iihpenoci/ Va3.1,

/iihpenoaaci/ Va33.1;

mehkam- Vti 'find' in

/mehkamaani/ V1 'that I found it',

/mehkamakwe/ V12,

/mehkameekwe/ V22,

/mehkaki/ Va3.1,

/mehkaminici/ Va3(3).2;

waakaakenam- Vti 'bend by hand (of wood)' in

/eehwaakaakenameki/ V0 'when it was bent';

(conditional verbs)

peno- Vai 'go home' in

/penoaane/ V1 'if I go home';

kiisiki- Vai 'finish growing' in

/kiisikiane/ V2 'when you grow up';

ihaa- Vai 'go there' in

/ihaeekwe/ V22 'if you people go there';

kiisajoo- Vti 'finish using' in

/kiisajoote/ Va3.1 'when he is through using it',

/kiisajoaate/ Va33.1;

(iterative verbs)

niimi- Vai 'dance' in

/iihniimiaanini/ V1 'whenever I will dance',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wiizeni- Vai 'eat' in

/iizeniaakini/ V11 'that we ever ate',

miici- Vti 'eat' in

/eehmiicikini/ VO 'whenever it was eaten';

(irrealis verbs)

pjaa- Vai 'come' in

/pjaãneha/ V2 'if you had come',

/pjaãakeha/ V11,

/pjaeekoha/ V22,

/pjaateha/ Va3.1.

6.33 Vii.

-k i3(3).1 'it, they',

-inik i3(3).2 'it, they',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

kesitee- Vii 'be hot' in

/kesiteeki/ Vi3(3).1 'that it is/they are hot',

/kesiteeniki/ Vi3(3).2;

(conditional verbs)

Weepenaan- Vii 'rain' in

/eepenaake/ Vi3(3).1 'if it rains';

(irrealis verbs)

Weepenaan- Vii 'rain' in

/eepenaakeha/ Vi3(3).1 'if it had rained'.

6.34 Vta, Vta/i.

6.35 First voice.

The voice suffix is -aa with a third person actor (3.27),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

otherwise zero.

-ak 1 & a3(3) 'I - him/ them',

-at 2 & a3(3) 'you - him/them',

-aket 11 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

-akw 12 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

-eekw 22 & a3(3) 'you people - him/them',

-aat a3.1 & a3(3).2 'he - him/them',

-aãat a33.1 & a3(3).2 'they - him/them',

-et 0 & a3(3) 'someone - him/them',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinaki/ V1 & a3(3) 'that I gave it to him/them',

/miinaci/ V2 & a3(3),

/miinakeci/ V11 & a3(3),

/miinakwe/ V12 & a3(3),

/miineekwe/ V22 & a3(3),

/miinaaci/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2,

/miinaãaci/ Va33.1 & a3(3).2,

/miineci/ V0 & a3(3);

kehkeenem- Vta 'know' in

/kehkeenemaki/ V1 & a3(3) 'that I know him/them',

/kehkeenemaci/ V2 & a3(3),

/kehkeenemaaci/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2.

6.36 Second voice.

The first voice forms are also used with obviative objects, e.g: /áakwi mìinákeci ǒozani/ and /áakwi mìinémakeci

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ǒozani/ 'We didn't give it to his father.'.

-emak 1 & a3(3).2 'I - him/them',

-emat 2 & a3(3).2 'you - him/them',

-emaket 11 & a3(3).2 'we - him/them',

*-emakw 12 & a3(3).2 'we - him/them',

*-emeekw 22 & a3(3).2 'you people - him/them',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinemaki/ V1 & a3(3).2 'that I gave it to him/them',

/miinemakeci/ V11 & a3(3).2;

(participles)

(6.70).

6.37 Third voice.

The final w of -ekw is replaced by o.

-ekot a3(3).2 & a3.1 'he/they - him',

-ekoaat a3(3).2 & a33.1 'he/they - them',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinekoci/ Va3(3).2 & a3.1 'that he/they gave it to him',

/miinekoaaci/ Va3(3).2 & a33.1.

Probably the same personal inflexions serve for i3(3) & a3(3).1 (cf. 6.25).

6.38 Fifth voice.

-ian 2 & 1 'you - me',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-iaak 2(2) & 11 'you/you people - us',

-ieekw 22 & 1 'you people - me',

-it a3.1 & 1 'he - me',

-iaat a33.1 & 1 'they - me',

-init a3(3).2 & 1 'he/they - me',

-ik i3(3), 0 & 1 'it/they/someone - me',

-iamet a3(3).1 & 11 'he/they - us',

-iamenit a3(3).2 & 11 'he/they - us',

-iamek i3(3) & 11 'it/they - us',

-iinamek 0 & 11 'someone - us',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisiani/ V2 & 1 'that you gave it to me.',

/miisiaake/ V2(2) & 11,

/miisieekwe/ V22 & 1,

/miisici/ Va3.1 & 1,

/miisiaaci/ Va33.1 & 1,

/miisinici/ Va3(3).2 & 1,

/miisiki/ Vi3(3), 0 & 1

/miisiameci/ Va3(3).1 & 11,

/miisiamenici/ Va3(3).2 & 11,

/miisiinameki/ V0 & 11;

kehkeenem- Vta 'know' in

/kehkeenemici/ Va3.1 & 1 'that he knows me',

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/zeekihiki/ Vi3(3), 0 & 1 'that it/they scared me, that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I was scared',

/zeekihiameki/ Vi3(3) & 11.

6.39 Sixth voice.

-enaan 1 & 2 'I - you',

-enaak 11 & 2(2) 'we - you/you people',

-enako 1 & 22 'I - you people',

-enakw 3(3), 0 & 12 'he/it/they/someone - us',

-ehk 3(3) & 2 'he it they - you' (3.11),

-enek 0 & 2 'someone - you',

-enaakw 3(3), 0 & 22 'he/it/they/someone - you people',

e.g:

(conjunctive verbs)

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/iihmiinenaani/ V1 & 2 'that I'll give it to you',

/miinenaake/ V11 & 2(2) 'that we gave it to you/you people',

/miinenakoe/ V1 & 22,

/miinenakwe/ V3(3), 0 & 12,

/miinehki/ V3(3) & 2,

/miineneki/ V0 & 2,

/miinenaakwe/ V3(3), 0 & 22;

kehkeenem- Vta 'know' in

/kehkeenemehki/ V3(3) & 2 'that he/it/they know you';

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/zeekihehki/ V3(3) & 2 'that he/it/they scared you',

/zeekihenaakwe/ V3(3), 0 & 22;

(iterative verbs)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

miiN- Vta/i 'give' in

/miinehkini/ Va3(3) & 2.

INTERROGATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.40 A few unrecorded forms are written with a preceding asterisk on the basis of the structure of the interrogative personal suffixes previously described (6.12).

6.41 Vai, Vti.

-aaneen 1 'I',

-aneen 2 'you',

-aakeen 11 'we',

*-akween 12 'we',

-eekween 22 'you people',

-kween a3.1 'he',

-kweehiki a33.1 'they',

-inikween a3(3).2 'he, they',

e.g:

weeneskaahi- Vai 'be naughty' in

/weeneskaahiaaneeni/ V1 'I was probably naughty, I must have been naughty',

/weeneskaahiaakeeni/ V11,

/weeneskaahieekweeni/ V22;

nesianaatezi- Vai 'be awful' in

/nesianaatezikweeni/ Va3.1 'he must be awful',

/nesianaatezikweehiki/ Va33.1,

/nesianaatezinikweeni/ Va3(3).2;

ahtoo- Vti 'put there, have' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/ahtookweeni/ Va3.1 'he probably put it there/had it';

inoee- Vai 'say so' in

/eenoeaneeni/ V2 'however you said'.

6.42 Vii.

-kween i3(3).1 'it, they',

-inikween i3(3).2 'it, they',

e.g:

nesiahki- Vii 'be an awful place' in

/nesiahkikweeni/ Vi3(3).1 'it's probably an awful place, they're probably awful places',

ahtee- Vii 'be there' in

/eehahteenikweeni/ Vi3(3).2 'wherever it is/they are'.

6.43 Vta, Vta/i.

The combination of personal suffixes with voice suffixes in the interrogative mode occasionally differs from that in the conjunct modes.

6.44 First voice.

The first voice suffix -aa occurs in all forms (3.27).

-aãkeen 1 & a3(3) 'I - him/them.',

-aãteen 2 & a3(3) 'you - him/them',

-aãketeen 11 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

-aãkween 12 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

-aeekween 22 & a3(3) 'you people - him/them',

-aakween a3.1 & a3(3).2 'he - him/them',

*-aakweehiki a33.1 & a3(3).2 'they - him/them',

-aateen 0 & a3(3) 'someone - him/them',

e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

isimiiN- Vta/i 'give to so' in

/eesimiinaãkeeni/ V1 & a3(3) 'however I gave it to him/them',

/eesimiinaãteeni/ V2 & a3(3),

/eesimiinaãketeeni/ V11 & a3(3).

/eesimiinaãkweeni/ V12 & a3(3),

/eesimiinaeekweeni/ V22 & a3(3),

/eesimiinaakweeni/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2,

/eesimiinaateeni/ V0 & a3(3).

6.45 Second voice.

The voice suffix is -emaa. First voice forms are also used with obviative objects.

-emaãkeen 1 & a3(3).2 'I - him/them'

e.g:

isimiiN- Vta/i 'give to so' in

/eesimiinemaãkeeni/ V1 & a3(3).2 'however I gave it to him/them'.

6.46 Third voice.

The final w of -ekw is replaced by o.

-ekokween a3(3).2 & a3.1 'he/they - him',

-ekokweehiki a3(3).2 & a33.1 'he/they - them',

e.g:

isimiiN- Vta/i 'give to so' in

/eesimiinekokweeni/ Va3(3).2 & a3.1 'however he/they gave it to him',

/eesimiinekokweehiki/ Va3(3).2 & a33.1.

6.47 Fifth voice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-i is lengthened to -ii before -ekeen 0.

-ianeen 2 & 1 'you - me',

-iaakeen 2(2) & 11 'you/you people - us',

-ieekween 22 & 1 'you people - me',

-ikween a3.1 & 1 'he - me',

-ikweehiki a33.1 & 1 'they - me',

-inikween a3(3).2 & 1 'he/they - me',

-iikeen 0 & 1 'someone - me',

-iamekween a3(3).1 & 11 'he/they - us',

*-iamenikween a3(3).2 & 11 'he/they - us',

-iinamekeen 0 & 11 'someone - us',

e.g:

isimiiN- Vta/i 'give to so' in

/eesimiisianeeni/ V2 & 1 'however you gave it to me',

/eesimiisiaakeeni/ V2(2) & 11,

/eesimiisieekweeni/ V22 & 1,

/eesimiisikweeni/ Va3.1 & 1,

/eesimiisikweehiki/ Va33.1 & 1,

/eesimiisinikweeni/ Va3(3).2 & 1,

/eesimiisikeeni/ V0 & 1,

/eesimiisiamekweeni/ Va3(3).1 & 11,

/eesimiisiinamekeeni/ V0 & 11.

6.48 Sixth voice.

-eN is followed by o, lengthened to oo before -ekeen 0.

-enoaaneen 1 & 2 'I - you',

-enoaakeen 11 & 2(2) 'we - you/you people',

-enakoeen (error for *-enoakoeen?) 1 & 22 'I - you

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people',

-enoakween a3(3), 0 & 12 'he/they/someone - us',

-enokween a3(3) & 2 'he/they - you',

-enookeen 0 & 2 'someone - you',

-enoaakween a3(3), 0 & 22 'he/they/someone - you people',

e.g:

isimiiN- Vta/i 'give to so' in

/eesimiinenoaaneeni/ V1 & 2 'however I gave it to you',

/eesimiinenoaakeeni/ V11 & 2(2),

/eesimiinenoakweeni/ Va3(3), 0 & 12,

/eesimiinenokweeni/ Va3(3) & 2,

/eesimiinenookeeni/ V0 & 2,

/eesimiinenoaakweeni/ Va3(3), 0 & 22;

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/eehmiinenakoeeni/ V1 & 22.

POTENTIAL PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.49 Vai, Vti.

-kaaha 1 'I',

-kapa 2 'you',

-kaakeha 11 'we',

-kakoha 12 'we',

-keekoha 22 'you people',

-za a3.1 'he',

-aaza a33.1 'they',

-iniza a3(3).2 'he, they',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-eneeha O 'someone',

e.g:

kaskihtoo- Vti 'be able to do/make' in

/kaskihtoohkaaha/ V1 'I would have been able to do it',

/kaskihtoohkapa/ V2,

/kaskihtoohkaakeha/ V11,

/kaskihtoohkakoha/ V12,

/kaskihtoohkeekoha/ V22,

/kaskihtooza/ Va3.1,

/kaskihtoaaza/ Va33.1,

/kaskihtooniza/ Va3(3).2;

niimi- Vai 'dance' in

/niimiaaza/ Va33.1 'they would dance',

/niimineeha/ VO.

6.50 Vii.

-za i3(3).1 'it, they',

-iniza i3(3).2 'it they',

e.g:

eecinoat- Vii 'be easy/cheap' in

/eecinoateza/ Vi3(3).1 'it/they would be easy/cheap',

/eccinoateniza/ Vi3(3).2.

6.51 Vta, Vta/i.

6.52 First voice.

The voice suffix is -aa with a third person actor, zero with indefinite actor, and iee otherwise.

-ieekaaha 1 & a3(3) 'I - him/them',

-ieekapa 2 & a3(3) 'you - him/them',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-ieekaakeha 11 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

*-ieekakoha 12 & a3(3) 'we - him/them',

*-ieekeekoha 22 & a3(3) 'you people - him/them',

-aaza a3.1 & a3(3).2 'he - him/them',

-aãaza a33.1 & a3(3).2 'they - him/them',

-eneeha 0 & a3(3) 'someone - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisieekaaha/ V1 & a3(3) 'I would have given it to him/them',

/miisieekapa/ V2 & a3(3),

/miisieekaakeha/ V11 & a3(3),

/miinaaza/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2,

/miinaãaza/ Va33.1 & a3(3).2,

/miineneeha/ V0 & a3(3).

6.53 The second voice was not recorded in the potential mode.

6.54 Third voice.

The final w of -ekw is replaced by o.

-ekoza a3(3).2 & a3.1 'he/they - him',

-ekoaaza a3(3).2 & a33.1 'he/they - them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinekoza/ Va3(3).2 & a3.1 'he/they would give it to him',

/miinekoaaza/ Va3(3).2 & a33.1.

6.55 Fifth voice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Personal suffix initial k is preceded by h.

-ihkapa 2 & 1 'you - me',

-ihkaakeha 2(2) & 11 'you/you people - us',

-ihkeekoha 22 & 1 'you people - me',

-iza a3.1, i3(3) & 1 'he/it/they - me',

-iaaza a33.1 & 1 'they - me',

-iniza a3(3).2 & 1 'he/they - me',

-ineeha 0 & 1 'someone - me',

-iameza a3(3).1, i3(3) & 11 'he/it/they - us',

-iameniza a3(3).2 & 11 'he/they - us',

-iinameneeha 0 & 11 'someone - us',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisihkapa/ V2 & 1 'you would have given it to me',

/miisihkaakeha/ V2(2) & 11,

/miisihkeekoha/ V22 & 1,

/miisiza/ Va3.1, i3(3) & 1,

/miisiaaza/ Va33.1 & 1,

/miisiniza/ Va3(3).2 & 1,

/miisineeha/ V0 & 1,

/miisiameza/ Va3(3).1, i3(3) & 11,

/miisiameniza/ Va3(3).2 & 11,

/miisiinameneeha/ V0 & 11;

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/zeekihiza/ Va3.1, i3(3) & 1 'he/it/they would scare me',

/zeekihiameza/ Va3(3).1, i3(3) & 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.56 Sixth voice.

Personal suffix initial k is preceded by a, and -za is preceded by e.

-enakaaha 1 & 2(2) 'I - you/you people',

-enakaakeha 11 & 2(2) 'we - you/you people',

-enakoza 3(3), 0 & 12 'he/it/they/someone - us',

-eneza 3(3) & 2 'he/it/they - you',

-eneneeha 0 & 2 'someone - you',

-enoaza 3(3), 0 & 22 'he/it/they/someone - you people', e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinenakaaha/ V1 & 2(2) 'I would have given it to you/you people',

/miinenakaakeha/ V11 & 2(2),

/miinenakoza/ V3(3), 0 & 12,

/miineneza/ V3(3) & 2,

/miineneeha/ V0 & 2,

/miinenoaza/ V3(3), 0 & 22;

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/zeekihenakoza/ V3(3), 0 & 12 'he/it/they would scare us, we would be scared',

/zeekiheneza/ V3(3) & 2,

/zeekihenoaza/ V3(3), 0 & 22.

IMPERATIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.57 Vai, Vti.

-taane D, -tae C 12 'let's',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-no 2 'you',

-ko 22 'you people',

e.g:

piitikee- Vai 'go/come indoors' in

/piitikeetaane/ V12 'let's go in',

/piitikeeno/ V2,

/piitikeeko/ V22;

maikiozee- Vai 'go wander/travel around' in

/maikiozeetae/ V12 'let's go wander around';

kepaham- Vti 'close' in

/kepahano/ V2 'close it'.

6.58 Intransitive inanimate verb stems do not occur in the imperative mode.

6.59 Vta, Vta/i.

6.60 First voice.

The voice suffix is -aa with 12 actor, and zero with 2(2) actor. -ko is preceded by eh.

-aataane 12 & a3(3) 'let's - him/them',

-i 2 & a3(3) 'you - him/them',

-ehko 22 & a3(3) 'you people - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisi/ V2 & a3(3) 'give it to him/them',

/miinehko/ V22 & a3(3);

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/iiteemaataane/ V12 & a3(3) 'let's go with him/them'.

6.61 Fifth voice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-ino 2 & 1 'you - me',

-iko 22 & 1 'you people - me',

-inaake 2(2) & 11 'you/you people - us',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisino/ V2 & 1 'give it to me',

/miisinaake/ V2(2) & 11;

ozemih- Vta 'help' in

/ozemihiko/ V22 & 1 'help me'.

PROHIBITIVE PERSONAL INFLEXIONS

6.62 Vai, Vti.

-kakwe 12 'let's not',

-kani 2 'don't you',

-keeko 22 'don't you people',

e.g:

nakamo- Vai 'sing' in

/nakamohkakwe/ V12 'let's not sing',

/nakamohkani/ V2,

/nakamohkeeko/ V22.

6.63 Intransitive inanimate verb stems do not occur in the prohibitive mode.

6.64 Vta, Vta/i.

6.65 First voice.

The voice suffix is -iee.

-ieekakwe 12 & a3(3) 'let's not - him/them',

-ieekani 2 & a3(3) 'don't you - him/them',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-ieekeeko 22 & a3(3) 'don't you people - him/them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisieekakwe/ V12 & a3(3) 'let's not give it to him/them',

/miisieekani/ V2 & a3(3),

/miisieekeeko/ V22 & a3(3).

6.66 Fifth voice.

The voice suffix is -i followed by h (cf. 6.55).

-ihkani 2 & 1 'don't you - me',

-ihkeeko 22 & 1 'don't you people - me',

-ihkaake 2(2) & 11 'don't you/you people - us',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miisihkani/ V2 & 1 'don't give it to me',

/miisihkeeko/ V22 & 1,

/miisihkaake/ V2(2) & 11.

PARTICIPLES

6.67 The participles are nouns. Word final person, number, and gender of participles are indicated by the participial suffixes, namely:

-a a3.1,	-iki a33.1,
-ini a3.2,	-ihi a33.2,
-i, -e i3,	-ini i33.

These suffixes follow the conjunct personal inflexions, yielding conjunct participles, and they follow the interroga-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tive personal inflexions yielding interrogative participles. Each suffix occurs with the personal inflexions of the same person, number, and gender with the exception that -iki occurs with a3 personal inflexions rather than a33.

The thematic person of a participle is any person referred to in the personal inflexion other than the word final person specified by the participial suffix.

Combinations of personal inflexions and participial suffixes are listed below. Occasional unrecorded forms are preceded by an asterisk.

CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES WITH ANIMATE PARTICIPIAL SUFFIXES

6.68 Vai, Vti.

-ta, -ka a3.1 'he who',

-ciki, *-kiki a33.1 'those who',

-inicini a3.2 'he who',

*-inicihi a33.2 'those who',

e.g:

meskozi- Vai 'be red' in

/meeskozita/ Na3.1 'he who is red, a red one',

/meeskoziciki/ Na33.1;

tepaham- Vti 'pay, pay for' in

/iihtepahaka/ Na3.1 'he who will pay it/pay for it';

keehteeziihi- Vai 'be aging' in

/keehteeziihinicini/ Na3.2 'he who is aging'.

6.69 Vta, Vta/i.

These participles occur in pairs with identical persons in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

both positions, but with opposite reference to actor and object due to voice difference, e.g:

/miinaka/ N1-a3.1 'he to whom I gave it' (first voice),

/miisita/ N1-a3.1 'he who gave it to me' (fifth voice).

This difference can be depicted in abbreviation by writing the abbreviation for the personal inflexion (6.3) to the left of the hyphen, e.g:

/miinaka/ N1 & a3(3)-a3.1 (cf. 6.35),

/miisita/ Na3.1 & 1-a3.1 (cf. 6.38).

Such an abbreviation differs from the usual representation of the thematic and word final persons (4.8) only in that the word final person appears on both sides of the hyphen; the thematic person remains on the left only. These abbreviations reflect the actual structure of the participles, e.g: /miinaka/ contains -ak 1 & a3(3) followed by -a a3.1.

6.70 Participles with first and second persons in thematic position:

(first and second voices)

-aka 1 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he whom I',

-akiki 1 & a3(3)-a33.1 'those whom I',

-emakini 1 & a3(3).2-a3.2 'he whom I',

-emakihi 1 & a3(3).2-a33.2 'those whom I',

-ata 2 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he whom you',

-emacini 2 & a3(3).2-a3.2 'he whom you',

-aketa 11 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he whom we',

-akeciki 11 & a3(3)-a33.1 'those whom we',

-emakecini 11 & a3(3).2-a3.2 'he whom we',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-eekwa 22 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he whom you people',

-eekwiki 22 & a3(3)-a33.1 'those whom you people';

(fifth and sixth voices)

-ita a3.1 & 1-a3.1 'he who me',

-iciki a3.1 & 1-a33.1 'those who me',

-ehka 3(3) & 2-a3.1 'he who you',

e.g:

miiN- Va/i 'give to' in

/miinaka/ N1 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he to whom I gave it, the one I gave it to',

/miinakiki/ N1 & a3(3)-a33.1,

/miinemakini/ N1 & a3(3).2-a3.2,

/miinemakihi/ N1 & a3(3).2-a33.2,

/miinemakecini/ N11 & a3(3).2-a3.2,

/miineekwa/ N22 &a3(3)-a3.1,

/miineekwiki/ N22 &a3(3)-a33.1,

/miisita/ Na3.1 & 1-a3.1,

/miisiciki/ Na3.1 & 1-a33.1;

Wiicai- Vta 'marry' in

/wiicaiata/ N2 & a3(3)-a3.1 'he whom you married, your spouse',

/iicaiomacini/ N2 & a3(3).2-a3.2,

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/iihwiiteemaketa/ N11 & a3(3)-a3.1 'the one we'll go with';

miihkeceiinotaW- Vta 'work for' in

/miihkeceiinotaãkeciki/ N11 & a3(3)-a33.1 'those whom

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

we worked for';

moosw- Vta 'cut the hair of' in

/moosohka/ N3(3) & 2-a3.1 'the one who cut your hair'.

Apparently -ini a3.2 and -ihi a33.2 do not occur with first voice personal inflexions with first or second thematic persons.

6.71 Participles with third persons in thematic position:

(first voice)

-aata a3.1 & a3(3).2-a3.1 'he who him/them',

-aaciki a3.1 & a3(3).2-a33.1 'those who him/them',

-aacini a3.1 & a3(3).2-a3.2 'he whom he',

*-aacihi a3.1 & a3(3).2-a33.2 'those whom he',

-aãacini a33.1 & a3(3).2-a3.2 'he whom they',

-aãacihi a33.1 & a3(3).2-a33.2 'those whom they';

(third voice)

-ekota a3(3).2 & a3.1-a3.1 'he whom he/they',

*-ekociki a3(3).2 &a3.1-a33.1 'those whom he/they',

-ekocini a3(3).2 &a3.1-a3.2 'he who him',

-ekocihi a3(3).2 & a3.1-a33.2 'those who him',

*-ekoaacini a3(3).2 &a33.1-a3.2 'he who them',

-ekoaacihi a3(3).2 & a33.1-a33.2 'those who them',

e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinaata/ Na3.1 & a3(3).2-a3.1 'the one who gave it to him',

/miinaaciki/ Na3.1 & a3(3).2-a33.1,

/miinaacini/ Na3.1 & a3(3).2-a3.2,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/miinaãacini/ Na33.1 & a3(3).2-a3.2,

/miinekota/ Na3(3).2 & a3.1-a3.1,

/miinekocini/ Na3(3).2 & a3.1-a3.2,

/miinekocihi/ Na3(3).2 &a3.1-a33.2,

/miinekoaacihi/ Na3(3).2-a33.1-a33.2;

Wiicai- Vta 'marry' in

/wiicaiaãacihi/ Na33.1 & a3(3).2-a33.2 'those whom they married, their spouses'.

CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES WITH INANIMATE PARTICIPIAL SUFFIXES

6.72 Vii.

-i and -ini occur with both proximate and obviative personal inflexions:

-ki i3.1 'that which',

-kini i33.1 'those which',

-iniki i3.2 'that which',

*-inikini i33.2 'those which',

e.g:

mesaa- Vii 'be big' in

/meesaaki/ Ni3.1 'that which is big, a big one',

waieaa- Vii 'be round' in

/waieaakini/ Ni33.1 'those which are round, round ones',

kiisajootee- Vii 'finish being used' in

/kiisojooteeniki/ Ni3.2 'that which was used, a used one'.

6.73 -i and -e i3 and -ini i33 occur with any conjunct personal inflexion with a transitive inanimate or transitive

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ambigeneric stem. The word final suffixes refer to the implied object. Other persons expressed in the inflexion are thematic. These participial suffixes are the only inflexional affixes which transitive inanimate stems do not share with animate intransitive stems, and which transitive ambigeneric stems do not share with transitive animate stems.

-i and -e have the same distribution as the conjunctive mode suffixes of the same shape (6.11).

The following were recorded.

6.74 Vti.

-ani 2-i3 'that which you',

-aake 11-i3 'that which we',

-aakini 11-i33 'those which we',

-akwe 12-i3 'that which we',

-eekwe 22-i3 'that which you people',

-ci, -ki a3.1-i3 'that which he',

-eki 0-i3 'that which someone',

-ekini 0-i33 'those which someone',

e.g:

miici- Vti 'eat' in

/miiciani/ N2-i3 'that which you ate, what you ate',

/iihmiiciaake/ N11-i3 'that which we'll eat, what we'll eat',

/iihmiiciakwe/ N12-i3,

/miicieekwe/ N22-i3,

/miicici/ Na3.1-i3;

neem- Vti 'see' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/neemeki/ Na3.1-i3 'that which he saw, what he saw';

ajoo- Vti 'use' in

/eejoaakini/ Nii-i33 'those which we used, things we used',

/eejookini/ NO-i33;

meemeno- Vti 'keep drinking' in

/meemenoki/ NO-i3 'that which someone keeps drinking'.

6.75 Vta/i.

-aki 1 & a3(3)-i3 'that which I to him/them',

-akini 1 & a3(3)-i33 'those which I to him/them',

-eekwe 22 & a3(3)-i3 'that which you people to him/them',

-aaci a3.1 & a3(3).2-i3 'that which he to him/them', e.g:

miiN- Vta/i 'give to' in

/miinaki/ N1 & a3(3)-i3 'that which I gave to him/them'

/miinakini/ N1 & a3(3)-i33,

/miineekwe/ N22 & a3(3)-i3,

/miinaaci/ Na3.1 & a3(3).2-i3.

6.76 Vta, Vta/i.

-i and -e i3 and -ini i33 are expected with the personal inflexions with inanimate actor, but no such forms were recorded.

INTERROGATIVE PARTICIPLES

6.77 Only -kweena a3.1 was recorded, e.g:

aahpaee- Vai 'dream' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/aahpaeekweena/ Na3.1 'whoever dreamt'.

Presumably, there is an interrogative participle with singular word final suffix corresponding to each conjunct participle with singular word final suffix. Informants refuse to form interrogative participles with plural word final suffixes.

SINGULAR AND PLURAL STEMS

6.78 Singular and plural intransitive stems occur only with singular or only with plural personal inflexions respectively, e.g:

anietee- singular Vii 'be hot weather' in
/anietei/ Vi3.1 ind. 'it's hot weather',
nezi- plural Vai 'be three' in
/neziaki/ Va33.1 ind. 'there are three of them'.

Singular or plural transitive stems occur only with personal inflexions denoting a singular object, or only with personal inflexions denoting a plural object respectively, e.g:

nekotih- singular Vta 'have one' in
/nenekotihaã/ V1 & a3 ind. 'I have one of them',
nezwih- plural Vta 'have three' in
/nenezwihaãki/ V1 & a33 ind. 'I have three of them'.

In exception to the above, plural stems probably also occur with a3.1 in personal inflexions with the participial suffix -iki a33.1 (6.67), but no examples were recorded.

Singular and plural stems occur with personal inflexions

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in which number is not indicated. In such inflexions, a singular or plural actor is implicit, respectively, with singular and plural intransitive stems, and a singular or plural object is implicit, respectively, with singular and plural transitive stems, e.g:

anietee- singular Vii 'be hot weather' in
/eehanieteeki/ Vi3.1 conj. 2 'when it's hot weather',
niiswih- plural Vta 'have two' in
/niiswihea/ Va3.1 & a33.2 ind. 'he has two of them',
nekotihtoo- singular Vti 'have one' in
/nekotihtoa/ Va3.1 ind. 'he has one of them'.

Ambinumeric stems occur with personal affixes of both numbers, as in the examples in the other sections of this chapter.

SANDHI

6.79 The allomorphs of the personal prefixes and allomorphs conditioned by them have been described in Chapter Four. Within verb inflexions, the allomorphs of suffixes conditioned by other suffixes have been specified in the preceding sections of this chapter, or are apparent in the lists of personal inflexions. In the following sections, phonemic alternations conditioned in verb stems by inflexional suffixes, and phonemic alternations conditioned in inflexional suffixes by verb stems, are discussed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vai, Vti, Vii: STEM FINAL MORPHOPHONEMES AND FOLLOWING SUFFIXES

6.80 These stems end in the following morphophonemes:

a single holosyllabic vowel i or o,

a monosyllabic cluster ii, oo, ee, or aa,

a nasal m or n,

a stop p or t.

Inanimate intransitive stems were not recorded with final oo, m or p. In stems of the other form classes, stem final p was recorded in only one morpheme, nep- Vai 'die'.

6.81 The following suffixes follow animate intransitive and transitive inanimate stems:

-ini in all but the imperative and prohibitive;

zero, -pena, -pwa, -a, -aki, -pi in the indicative mode;

-aan, -an, -aak, -akw, -eekw, -ek in the conjunct and interrogative modes;

-aa in the conjunct and potential modes;

-t, -k in the conjunct modes;

-kw, -kweehiki in the interrogative mode;

-kaaha, -kapa, -kaakeha, -kakoha, -keekoha, -za, -eneeha in the potential mode;

-taane, -tae, -no, -ko in the imperative mode;

-kakwe, -kani, -keeko in the prohibitive mode.

The following suffixes follow inanimate intransitive stems:

-ini in all modes;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-i, -ani in the indicative mode;

-k in the conjunct modes;

-kw in the interrogative mode;

-za in the potential mode.

The dubitative is not included in the lists above. All recorded examples have been given previously (6.30, 6.31).

Vai, Vti, Vii: SANDHI CHANGES

6.82 For greater clarity, examples are arranged according to stem final, mode, and person (the latter two in the order given in 4.8 and 4.10), and are listed apart from the statements of sandhi changes.

6.83 After a stem final vowel, h precedes initial k of a suffix in the potential or prohibitive modes (cf. 6.55, 6.66).

6.84 Initial holosyllabic i or e in a suffix not consisting of a single vowel is omitted after a stem final vowel (6.16).

6.85 In the conjunct modes, -t, not -k, indicates a3.1 after stem final vowels.

6.86 Occurrence of the remaining suffixes after a stem final single holosyllabic vowel conditions no alternations.

6.87 One vowel in a stem final monosyllabic cluster is omitted in word final (3.9).

6.88 One vowel in a stem final monosyllabic cluster is omitted before a retained vowel with the following exception.

6.89 Before the suffixes -a and -i a stem final monosyl-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

labic cluster remains, subject to automatic shortening (3.27), in a brief word, that is, in a monosyllabic stem or in a disyllabic stem whose first syllable is a single vowel, so also in the same stems when they have the future prefix Wiih- or when they are the final members of compounds.

6.90 Stem final aa is replaced by ee in the indicative mode with the suffixes -a or -aki (cf. 6.23). ee is then subject to the changes described in (6.88, 6.89). Stems with final aa were not recorded before -iniani or -iniahi.

6.91 Stem final ee is replaced by aa before -t, or its replacement -c, in participles. Stems with final ee were not recorded before -inicini or -inicihi.

6.92 -a and -i are preceded by W after stem final ee (cf. 6.23), whether basic or replacing aa. When W is omitted, the preceding ee is subject to the changes described in (6.88, 6.89).

6.93 Stem final jee, replaced by je (6.88), is then replaced by ja before -aki, -an, and -akw (3.17).

6.94 Occurrence of the remaining suffixes after stem final monosyllabic clusters conditions no alternations.

6.95 -a and -i are preceded by w after a stem final consonant.

6.96 Initial a of -aki and -ani is replaced by oo after a stem final consonant.

6.97 In the conjunct modes, -k, not -t, indicates a3.1 after a stem final consonant.

6.98 o precedes -aa after a stem final consonant.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.99 oo precedes -kw and -kweehiki after a stem final consonant.

6.100 Before the remaining suffixes, animate intransitive and transitive inanimate stems with final am with holosyllabic a are treated differently from stems with other final consonants.

In the following statements (6.101-6.111) "stem final am" is an abbreviation for "stem final am with holosyllabic a in a Vai or Vti", and "stem final consonant" is an abbreviation for "stem final consonant in a Vai, Vti, or Vii other than m after holosyllabic a in a Vai or Vti".

6.101 m of stem final am is omitted in word final.

6.102 Stem final am is replaced by aa before p or t in a suffix.

6.103 m of stem final am is omitted before other obstruents (3.11), but no examples were recorded before potential, imperative, or prohibitive suffixes with initial k.

6.104 Optionally, w does not precede -a after stem final am. This variation may be stylistic; the details are unclear.

6.105 Suffix initial i and e are retained after stem final am.

6.106 Stem final am remains unchanged before vowels and semivowels.

6.107 e follows the stem final consonant of a Vai or Vti in word final and before an obstruent, including before -k a3.1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.108 Stem final n is omitted, and stem final t is replaced by h before -k i3(3).1 (3.11), but e follows stem final t before -za i3(3).1.

6.109 e replaces initial i of -ini after a stem final consonant of a Vai or Vti and after stem final t of a Vii.

6.110 Stem final n of a Vii plus -ini is replaced by ni.

6.111 e follows stem final t, and optionally stem final m, but not, apparently, stem final n (or am), before the first and second person suffixes in the conjunct modes; there are no examples with these suffixes in the interrogative mode.

6.112 Examples:

Wiizeni- Vai 'eat', ai- Vai 'be there', isipemaatezi- Vai 'live/ fare so', niimi- Vai 'dance', weeneskaahi- Vai 'be naughty', nesianaatezi- Vai 'be awful', waiiceenwi- Vai 'keep joining', meskozi- Vai 'be red', keehteeziihi- Vai 'be aging' in

/newiizeni/ V1 ind.

/newiizenipena/ V11 ind.

/wiizenia/ Va3.1 ind.

/wiizeniaki/ Va33.1 ind.

/iizeniniani/ Va3.2 ind.

/aiaani/ V1 conj. 1

/eesipemaateziani/ V2 conj. 3

/eesipemaatezieekwe/ V22 conj. 3

/eesipemaatezici/ Va3.1 conj. 3

/eesipemaateziaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/niimiki/ VO conj. 1

/weeneskaahiaaneeni/ V1 int. 1

/nesianaatezikweeni/ Va3.1 int. 1

/nesianaatezikweehiki/ Va33.1 int. 1

/niimineeha/ VO pot.

/wiizenitaane/ V12 imp.

/wiizenino/ V2 imp.

/wiizeniko/ V22 imp.

/waiiceenwihkani/ V2 pro.

/meeskozita/ Na3.1

/meeskoziciki/ Na33.1

/keehteeziihinicini/ Na3.2

onaakwi- Vii 'be evening', nesiahki- Vii 'be an awful place, be awful land' in

/onaakwiĩ/ Vi3.1 ind.

/onaakwiki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 1

/nesiahkikweeni/ Vi3(3).1 int. 1

peno- Vai 'go home', nakamo- Vai 'sing', aikaazo- Vai 'be pictured', meemeno- Vti 'keep drinking' in

/niihpeno/ V1 ind. f.

/nepenopena/ V11 ind.

/penoa/ Va3.1 ind.

/iihnakamoaki/ Va33.1 ind. f.

/aikaazoniani/ Va3.2 ind.

/penoaani/ V1 conj. 1

/iihpenoani/ V2 conj. f.

/iihpenoci/ Va3.1 conj. f.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/iihpenoaaci/ Va33.1 conj. f.

/eehaikaazonici/ Va3(3).2 conj. 2

/nakamono/ V2 imp.

/nakamohkani/ V2 pro.

/meemenoki/ NO-i3

mehpo- Vii 'snow' in

/mehpoi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/eehmehpoki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 2

kecii- Vai 'go out', miihkeceii- Vai 'work', nesinoii- Vai 'go outdoors alone', maamiihkeceii- Vai 'keep working', miihketii- Vai 'play cards', pazekwii- Vai 'get up', noii- Vai 'go outdoors' in

/nekeci/ V1 ind.

/nekeciipena/ V11 ind.

/miihkeceia/ Va3.1 ind.

/kéciǐa/ Va3.1 ind.

/nèsínoǐia/ Va3.1 ind.

/keciaki/ Va33.1 ind.

/keciaani/ V1 conj. 1

/eehmaamiihkeceiiki/ V0 conj. 2

/miihketiitaane/ V12 imp.

/pazekwiino/ V2 imp.

/noiiko/ V22 imp.

/noiihkeeko/ V22 pro.

kaskihtoo- Vti 'be able to do/make', majoo- Vai 'cry', poonimajoo- Vai 'stop crying', ajoo- Vti 'use', ahtoo- Vti 'put there, have' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nekaskihto/ V1 ind.

/nekaskihtoopena/ V11 inc.

/kaskihtoa/ Va3.1 ind.

/májoǒa/, /májoà/ Va3.1 ind.

/póonimajǒoa/ Va3.1 ind.

/kaskihtoaani/ V1 conj. 1

/iihajooci/ Va3.1 conj. f.

/eehajoaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 2

/ahtookweeni/ Va3.1 int. 1

/kaskihtoohkaaha/ V1 pot.

/kaskihtooza/ Va3.1 pot.

/poonimajoono/ V2 imp.

/eejookini/ NO-i33

inoee- Vai 'say so', aapipakaanehkee- Vai 'gather pecans for a while', kiozee- Vai 'wander around', Weepozee- Vai 'leave, start out', Wiicaikee- Vai 'marry', maanee- Vai 'be much/many', aahpaee- Vai 'dream', piitikee- Vai 'go indoors' in

/netenoe/ V1 ind.

/netaapipakaanehkeepena/ V11 ind.

/inoea/ Va3.1 ind.

/inoeewa/ Va3.1 ind.

/inoeaki/ Va33.1 ind.

/kiozeeniahi/ Va33.2 ind.

/inoeaani/ V1 conj. 1

/eenoeani/ V2 conj. 3

/eehkiozeeci/ Va3.1 conj. 2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/eehweepozeaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 2

/eenoeaneeni/ V2 int. 3

/wiicaikeekweeni/ Va3.1 int. 1

/maaneekweehiki/ Va33.1 int. 1

/aahpaeenikweeni/ Va3(3).2 int. 1

/piitikeetaane/ V12 imp.

/piitikeeno/ V2 imp.

/piitikeeko/ V22 imp.

/piitikaata/ Na3.1

/aapipakaanehkaaciki/ Na33.1

kesitee- Vii 'be hot', kepahaatee- Vii 'be closed', ahtee- Vii 'be there' in

/kesitei/ Vi3.1 ind.

/kepahaateewi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/àhtéěi/, /àhtéi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/kesiteani/ Vi33.1 ind.

/kesiteeniĩ/ Vi3.2 ind.

/kesiteeki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 1

/kesiteeniki/ Vi3(3).2 conj. 1

/eehahteenikweeni/ Vi3(3).2 int. 2

kieepjee- Vai 'go around drunk', kiaskweepjee- Vai 'be drunk' in

/nekieepje/ V1 ind.

/nekiaskwepjeepena/ V11 ind.

/kiaskweepjea/ Va3.1 ind.

/kiaskweepjaãki/ Va33.1 ind.

/kiaskweepjeaani/ V1 conj. 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kiaskweepjaãni/ V2 conj. 1

/kiaskweepjeẽekwe/ V22 conj. 1

/kiaskweepjeeci/ Va3.1 conj. 1

/kiaskweepjeaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 1

/kiaskweepjaata/ Na3.1

kiipizaa- Vai 'fall', nepaa- Vai 'sleep', kaskipoocizaa- Vai 'be able to get into a vehicle', poocizaa- Vai 'get into a vehicle', tanekaa- Vai 'dance there', ihaa- Vai 'go there' in

/nekiipiza/ V1 ind.

/nenepaapena/ V11 ind.

/kiipizea/ Va3.1 ind.

/népeěa/ Va3.1 ind.

/kiipizeaki/ Va33.1 ind.

/kaskipoocizaãani/ V1 conj. 1

/kaskipoocizaãni/ V2 conj. 1

/iihpoocizaeekwe/ V22 conj. f.

/iihpoocizaaci/ Va3.1 conj. f.

/iihpoocizaãaci/ Va33.1 conj. f.

/eehtanekaanici/ Va3(3).2 conj. 2

/nepaano/ V2 imp.

/ihaahkani/ V2 pro.

kiiskehkaa- Vii 'break apart', meskwaa- Vii 'be red' in

/kiiskehkai/ Vi3.1 ind.

/mèskwáǎi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/kiiskehkaãni/ Vi33.1 ind.

/kiiskehkaaniĩ/ Vi3.2 ind.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kiiskehkaaki/ Vi3(3).2 conj. 1

pjaa- Vai 'come, arrive', akikwaapjaa- Vai 'have a cold' in

/niihpja/ V1 ind. f.

/netakikwaapjaapena/ V11 ind.

/akikwaapjea/ Va3.1 ind.

/pjéěa/ Va3.1 ind.

/pjeewa/ Va3.1 ind.

/íihpjěea/ Va3.1 ind. f.

/akikwaapjaãki/ Va33.1 ind.

/iihpjaãani/ V1 conj. f.

/iihpjaãni/ V2 conj. f.

/pjaeekwe/ V22 conj. 1

/iihpjaaci/ Va3.1 conj. f.

/iihpjaãaci/ Va33.1 conj. f.

/eehpjaanici/ Va3(3).2 conj. f.

/pjaakweeni/ Va3.1 int. 1

/pjaano/ V2 imp.

/eekikwaapjaata/ Na3.1

/eekikwaapjaaciki/ Na33.1

askipakjaa- Vii 'be green', tahkjaa- Vii 'be cold' in

/askipakjai/ Vi3.1 ind.

/tàhkjáăi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/askipakjaãni/ Vi33.1 ind.

/askipakjaaniĩ/ Vi3.2 ind.

/askipakjaaki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 1

/askipakjaaniki/ Vi3(3).2 conj. 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mehkam- Vti 'find', menweenetam- Vti 'like', waakaakenam- Vti 'bend something wooden by hand', kiisinatotam- Vti 'finish asking for', kepaham- Vti 'close', tepaham- Vti 'pay, pay for' in

/nemehka/ V1 ind.

/nemehkaapena/ V11 ind.

/kemehkaapwa/ V22 ind.

/mehkamwa/ Va3.1 ind.

/menweenetama/ Va3.1 ind.

/mehkamooki/ Va33.1 ind.

/mehkaminiani/ Va3.2 ind.

/mehkamaani/ V1 conj. 1

/mehkamani/ V2 conj. 1

/mehkameekwe/ V22 conj. 1

/mehkaki/ Va3.1 conj. 1

/mehkamoaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 1

/mehkaminici/ Va3(3).2 conj. 1

/eehwaakaakenameki/ V0 conj. 2

/kiisinatotamookweehiki/ Va33.1 int. 1

/mehkaza/ Va3.1 pot.

/mehkaataane/ V12 imp.

/kepahano/ V2 imp.

/iihtepahaka/ Na3.1

kozekwan- Vai 'be heavy', katokwaam- Vai 'be sleepy', aapom- Vai 'be there for a while', naat- Vti 'fetch', neem- Vti 'see', nesiikesoekwaam- Vai 'sleep extremely hard', mesekin- Vai 'be big' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nekozekwane/ V1 ind.

/nekozekwanepena/ V11 ind.

/kozekwanwa/ Va3.1 ind.

/kozekwanooki/ Va33.1 ind.

/katokwaameniani/ Va3.2 ind.

/kozekwanaani/ V1 conj. 1

/aapomaani/, /aapomeaani/ V1 conj. 1

/naateaani/ V1 conj. 1

/naateẽekwe/ V22 conj. 1

/neemoaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 1

/eehnesiikesoekwaamenici/ Va3(3).2 conj. 2

/naatetaane/ V12 imp.

/meesekineka/ Na3.1

/neemeki/ Na3.1-i3

oskiken- Vii 'be new', Weepenaan- Vii 'rain' in

/oskikenwi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/oskikenooni/ Vi33.1 ind.

/oskikenĩ/ Vi3.2 ind.

/oskikeki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 1

/oskikeniki/ Vi3(3).2 conj. 1

/eeheepenaanookweeni/ Vi3(3).1 int. 2

maaneet- Vii 'be much/many', eecinoat- Vii 'be easy/cheap' in

/maaneetwi/ Vi3.1 ind.

/maaneetooni/ Vi33.1 ind.

/maaneeteniani/ Vi33.2 ind.

/eecinoahki/ Vi3(3).1 conj. 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/maaneetookweeni/ Vi3(3).1 int. 1

/eecinoateza/ Vi3(3).1 pot.

Vta, Vta/i: STEM FINAL MORPHOPHONEMES AND FOLLOWING SUFFIXES

6.113 These stems may end in h, m, n, N, Z, w, or W. W occurs after vowels, and w occurs after consonants and probably also after a in stems of one syllable, since such stems were not recorded with w lacking in colloquial style.

6.114 The only suffixes which follow a Vta or Vta/i are the voice suffixes (6.3) and the personal suffixes which occur after the first voice suffix zero. These personal suffixes are:

-ak, -at, -aket, -akw, -eekw, -et in the conjunct modes;

-eneeha in the potential mode,

-i, -ehko in the imperative mode.

Vta, Vta/i: SANDHI CHANGES

6.115 Stem final N and Z are replaced by s before i, by n and z respectively before other vowels (3.10), e.g:

tapaaN- Vta 'love' in

/netapaanaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,

/tapaanea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,

/ketapaasi/ V2 & 1 ind.,

/ketapaanene/ V1 & 2 ind.;

aZ- Vta 'put there' in

/netazaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/azeea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,

/netazekonaana/ Va3 & 11 ind.,

/eehasiameci/ Va3(3) & 11 conj. 2.

6.116 Occurrence of suffixes after spirants and nasals conditions no other alternations, e.g:

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with' in

/neiiteemaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,

/iiteemea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,

/neiiteemekwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/kiihwiiteemipena/ V2(2) & 11 ind. f.;

kehkeenem- Vta 'know' in

/kehkeenemehki/ Va3(3) & 2 conj. 1,

/kehkeenemaki/ V1 & a3(3) conj. 1;

zeekih- Vta 'scare' in

/nezeekihaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,

/nezeekihekwi/ Vi3 & 1 ind.,

/zeekihiki/ Vi3(3), 0 & 1 conj. 1,

/zeekihehki/ V3(3) & 2 conj. 1;

maaneeh- Vta 'have much/many' in

/maaneehea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.;

caaken- Vta 'gather all' in

/necaakenaãki/ V1 & a33 ind.,

/caakenea/ Va3.1 & a33.2 ind.,

/caakenakeci/ V11 & a3(3) conj. 3;

pemen- Vta 'keep' in

/nepemenekwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.;

tasipemen- Vta 'keep there' in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/eehtasipemenici/ Va3.1 & 1 conj. 2.

6.117 Stem final aW plus initial e of -ekw is replaced by aa; stem final aW plus initial e of -eN is replaced by oo, e.g:

nenohtaW- Vta 'hear' in

/nenenohtaakwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/nenohtoonaani/ V1 & 2 conj. 1.

Stem final W after a plus initial e of -et is replaced by o (3.14), e.g:

nahaakwataW- Vta/i 'set the table for' in

/nahaakwataoci/ VO & a3(3) conj. 1.

Stem final aW was not recorded before preconsonantal e in other suffixes.

6.118 In other stems, W or w plus a following preconsonantal e is replaced by o (3.14), and one vowel in a preceding monosyllabic cluster is omitted (3.27), e.g:

moosw- Vta 'cut the hair of' in

/nemoosokwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/kiihmoosone/ V1 & 2 ind. f.;

neeW- Vta 'see' in

/neneokwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/keneone/ V1 & 2 ind.;

aw- Vta 'use' in

/netaokwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/kiihaone/ V1 & 2 ind. f.

6.119 Occurrence of the remaining suffixes after stem final W or w conditions no alternations, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nenohtaW- Vta 'hear' in
/nenenohtaãã/ V1 & a3 ind.,
/nenohtaea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,
/nenohtawaaaci/ Va33.1 & a3(3).2 conj. 1;
miihkeceiinotaW- Vta 'work for' in
/nemiihkeceiinotawaawa/ V1 & a3 ind.;
mehkaW- Vta 'find' in
/kemehkai/ V2 & 1 ind.;
moosw- Vta 'cut the hair of' in
/nemooswaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,
/mooswea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,
/kiihmooswi/ V2 & 1 ind. f.;
neeW- Vta 'see' in
/neneewaã/, /neneaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,
/neewea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,
/keneewi/, /keneei/ V2 & 1 ind.;
aw- Vta 'use' in
/netawaã/ V1 & a3 ind.

IRREGULAR FORMS

6.120 Animate intransitive stems with final hkaa, hkjaa, skaa, and kaapaa retain stem final aa in the indicative mode with the suffixes -a and -aki (cf. 6.90). This retained aa subject to the changes in (6.88, 6.89), e.g:

moozehkaa- Vai 'have a toothache' in
/moozeehkaã/ Va3.1 ind.,
/moozeehkaãki/ Va33.1 ind.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cf. /nemoozeehkaapena/ V11 ind.;

kehkjaa- Vai 'be old' in

/kehkjaaã/ Va3.1 ind.,

/kehkjaãki/ Va33.1 ind.,

cf. /nekehkjaapena/ V11 ind.;

tasozaamaaskaa- Vai 'move vigorously there' in

/tasozaamaaskaã/ Va3.1 ind.,

/tasozaamaaskaãki/ Va33.1 ind.,

cf. /netasozaamaaskaapena/ V11 ind.;

askikaapaa- Vai 'be tired of standing' in

/askikaapaã/ Va3.1 ind.,

/askikaapaãki/ Va33.1 ind.,

cf. /netaskikaapaapena/ V11 ind.

6.121 In animate intransitive stems with final sin, stem final n is omitted before -k (cf. 6.107, 6.108) and stem final n plus -ini is replaced by ni (cf. 6.109, 6.110), e.g:

kehcisin- Vai 'be tired' in

/kehcisiki/ Va3.1 conj. 1,

cf. /nekehcisine/ V1 ind.,

/nekehcisinepena/ V11 ind.,

/kehcisinwa/ Va3.1 ind.,

/kehcisinooki/ Va33.1 ind.,

/kehcisinaani/ V1 conj. 1,

/kehcisinoaaci/ Va33.1 conj. 1;

zaazaakikaasin- Vai 'lie with one's legs sticking out' in

/zaazaakikaasinici/ Va3(3).2 conj. 1, 3,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cf. /zaazaakikaasinwa/ Va3.1 ind.

6.122 aa- and ihaa- Vai 'go there' are complementarily distributed: aa- follows prefixes, and ihaa- occurs elsewhere, e.g:

/neta/, /netaha/ V1 ind. (3.40),

/niiha/ V1 ind. f.,

/netaapena/ V11 ind.,

/niihaapena/ V11 ind. f.,

/íhěea/ Va3.1 ind. (6.89),

/iiheewa/ Va3.1 ind. f.,

/iheaki/ Va33.1 ind.,

/ihaãani/ V1 conj. 1,

/eehaãani/ V1 conj. 2,

/ihaãni/ V2 conj. 1,

/eehaãkwe/ V12 conj. 2,

/ihaano/ V2 imp.,

/ihaahkani/ V2 pro.

6.123 zi- and i- Vai 'say so' are complementarily distributed: zi- follows the personal prefixes, and i- occurs elsewhere including after Wiih- and eeh-, e.g:

/nezihi/ V1 ind. (3.40),

/kezihi/ V2 ind. (3.40),

/kiihi/ V2 ind. f.,

/kezipwa/ V22 ind.,

/iaha/ Va3.1 ind. (3.40),

/iaki/ Va33.1 ind.,

/eehiaani/ V1 conj. 2,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/eehici/ Va3.1 conj. 2.

6.124 iN- and zero Vta 'say so to' are complementarily distributed: iN- occurs in the first and fifth voices, and zero occurs in the third, fourth, and sixth voices, in all recorded forms; the third and sixth voices were not recorded without personal prefixes, e.g:

/netenaã/, /netenaawa/ V1 & a3 ind.,

/ineewa/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.,

/eehinaki/ V1 & a3(3) conj. 2,

/isihi/ V2 & a3(3) imp. (3.40),

/eehisiameci/ Va3(3).1 & 11 conj. 2,

/isino/ V2 & 1 imp.,

/netekwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/netekoopi/ V0 & 1 ind.,

/ketekwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/ketene/ V1 & 2 ind.

6.125 pjaa- Vai 'come to that place, arrive' and aa-, ihaa- Vai 'go there' take the infix ee yielding pjeaa- and eejaa- respectively, e.g:

/pjeaata/ Na3.1,

/eejaata/ Na3.1.

Verb stems beginning with the morpheme taN 'there, at that place' have the third actual ee prefixed instead of infixed, e.g:

tanaaskaa- Vii 'move/be in motion there' in

/eetanaaskaakini/ Ni33.1,

cf. /tanaaskai/ Vi3.1 ind.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tanekaa- Vai 'dance there' in

/eehtanekaaci/ Va3.1 conj. 2.

Stems beginning with taZ 'so much/many' may be subject to the same rule, but no examples were recorded.

6.126 Two transitive animate stems are written with a basic final vowel, namely, ahkoo- 'follow' and Wiicai- 'marry'.

Initial e of -ekw and -eN is omitted after these stems, e.g:

ahkoo- in

/netahkookwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/ketahkoone/ V1 & 2 ind.;

Wiicai- in

/newiicaikwa/ Va3 & 1 ind.,

/kewiicaine/ V1 & 2.

Initial e of -em is replaced by o after Wiicai-, e.g:

/iicaiomacini/ N2 & a3(3).2-a3.2.

6.127 Occurrence of other suffixes after ahkoo- and Wiicai- conditions no changes in the recorded examples, e.g:

ahkoo- in

/netahkooaã/ V1 & a3 ind.,

/netahkooaapena/ V11 & a3(3) ind.,

/ahkooea/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 ind.;

pjeecahkoo- 'come following, come behind' in

/kepjeecahkooi/ V2 & 1 ind.,

/pjeecahkooaaci/ Va3.1 & a3(3).2 conj. 1;

Wiicai- in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kewiicaiaã/ V2 & a3 ind.,

/wiicaiata/ N2 & a3(3)-a3.1.

6.128 In ahkoo-, contrary to (3.27), oo is retained before vowels. That this is oo and not oõ is evident from the intonations in the following:

/pétekì képjeecăhkooi/ 'You came behind me.',

/áakwi pjèecáhkŏoaaci/ 'He's not coming behind him.',

/nétahkŏokwa/ 'He followed me.',

/sèeskí tèepínà isáhkŏonaani/ 'I just followed a little way behind you.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. SYNTAX*

FORM CLASSES

7.1 The major form classes are nouns, verbs, and particles. Nouns and verbs have been identified previously (5.1, 6.2, 6.67). All other words are particles. Particles do not contain inflexional affixes.

7.2 A word, of whatever other form class, is either relative or non-relative. A relative word belongs to one of the following subclasses:

temporal relatives,	durational relatives,
extentive relatives,	modal relatives,
allative relatives,	causal relatives,
ablative relatives,	locative relatives,
quantitative relatives.	

Temporal relatives are two particles, inahinaaha and inaaha, both 'at such a time'.

Durational relatives include the particle nehkiihi 'for so long' and all verbs and nouns containing the morpheme ahkw 'for so long'.

Extentive relatives include the particle nehkiihi (phonemically identical with the above) 'so far, to such an extent' and all verbs and nouns containing the morpheme ahpiiht 'so far, 'to such an extent'.

Modal relatives are all words containing the morpheme iN

*Examples, in this chapter, which are transcribed phonemically have been subjected to the same normalizations as the texts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'thus, so, such', including verbs, nouns, and the particle isi 'thus, so'. In addition, verbs or participles containing the following morphemes are modal relatives:

i-, zi- Vai 'say so', iN-, zero Vta 'say so to'
i 'say so'.

Allative relatives are all words containing the morpheme iN 'to that place', including verbs and nouns but no recorded particle. In addition, verbs or participles containing the following morphemes are sometimes or always allative relatives:

ihaa-, aa- Vai 'go to that place',
pja 'come to that place, arrive',

and probably others.

Causal relatives are all words containing the morpheme ot 'therefore, for that reason', including verbs, nouns, and the particle oci 'therefore, for that reason'.

Ablative relatives are all words containing the morpheme ot 'thence, from that place', including verbs, nouns, and the particle oci 'thence, from that place'.

Locative relatives are all words containing the morpheme taN 'there, at that place', including verbs and nouns but no particles. In addition, verbs or participles containing the following morphemes or stems are sometimes or always locative relatives:

ai- Vai, om 'be there',
ap, ah 'sit, sit there, be there',
isin, izen 'lie, lie there',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nem, ikaapaa 'stand, stand there',

nepaa- Vai 'sleep, sleep there',

oiiki- Vai 'live/dwell there',

and probably others.

Quantitative relatives are all words containing the morpheme taZ 'so much/many', including verbs, nouns, and the particle tazwi 'so much/many'.

7.3 Subclasses of nouns include personal nouns and locative nouns intersecting with substantives, pronouns and participles. Although substantives and pronouns are either personal or locative, participles are only personal.

Personal nouns are those with word final inflexion for person. Locative nouns are those with inflexion for the locative case. Participles have been identified previously (6.67). Pronouns are those nouns whose stems are ambigeneric. Substantives are those nouns whose stems are animate or inanimate.

Relative substantives are uncommon, but they do occur, e.g:

isiwiikizenjaakani 'such delicious food' in

caaki isiwiikizenjaakani 'every kind of delicious food'.

Pronouns are only non-relative.

7.4 Subclasses of verbs include possessive verbs and all other verbs. A possessive verb is one whose stem is a Vai derived from a noun stem by means of the personal prefix o- and the suffix -i; noun stems which take the suffix -em with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thematic personal affixes take -em also before -i in the stems of possessive verbs, e.g:

pasitooh- Nai 'old man' in
kiopasitoohemi- Vai 'have an old man around',
sooniaah- Nii 'money' in
osooniaahemi- Vai 'have money',
taj- Nad 'possession of animate gender' in
otai- Vai 'have a possession of animate gender',
ooz- Nad 'father' in
oozi- Vai 'have a father'.

7.5 Subclasses of particles include adverbs, adjectives, relative antecedent particles, locative supplements, and predicate particles.

Adverbs are independent or enclitic. The majority of particles are adverbs and the majority of adverbs are independent. The relative particles inahinaaha, inaaha, nehkiihi, isi, oci 'therefore, for that reason' and tazwi are adverbs.

Adjectives include numerals and some other words denoting quantities, e.g:

nekoti 'one',
niiswi 'two',
nezwi 'three',
njeei 'four',
njaananwi 'five',
nekotwaasika D, kotwaasika C 'six',
noohika 'seven',
neswaasika 'eight',
saaka 'nine',
metaazwi 'ten',
niiswaapitaki 'twenty',
nekotwaahkwe 'one hundred',
niiswaahkwe 'two hundred',
caaki 'all',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

maane 'much, many', tekaai 'a little'.

Relative antecedent particles seem to be distributed in a set of subclasses paralleling the subclasses of relative words, namely, durational antecedents, modal antecedents, etc. Many of these particles occur also in other subclasses, e.g: nekotwaasika adjective and quantititive antecedent 'six', ise independent adverb 'merely', and modal antecedent 'falsely'.

The following locative supplements were recorded:

ahpemeki 'above, over',

akwici, akwitapahkwe 'upon, on top of',

asici 'near', asitapahkwe 'against',

manoci 'beside', naamaahkwe 'under',

ohkwaai 'full', piitoonaaki 'inside'.

The following predicate particles were recorded:

aakwi 'not, no', aita 'would not',

kaata 'don't',

kiihpene 'if only; as soon as; probably',

tai 'I wish that'.

7.6 Further details on subclasses of nouns, verbs, and particles will be given later.

CONCORD

7.7 Two affixes or sequences of affixes in different words are concordant with each other when they specify (1) the same person in the same number and gender, or (2) the locative case, or (3) different persons or numbers in certain

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

combinations (7.9).

PERSONAL SUBSTITUTES

7.8 With the exception noted below (7.10, 7.11), first, second, or third persons in the inflexion of a verb, or in the thematic position in the inflexion of a noun, are substitutes. The antecedent, when expressed, is a noun. The substitutes are concordant with the word final suffix of their antecedent.

So, for example, -a a3.1, in noiia Va3.1 'he went/came outdoors' and in ia Va3.1 'he said so', is a substitute for inenia peehtaãata Na3.1 'the man who built the fire' in

/nóià nékoti nènia peehtáaatàa náh pǐitike kàsí ketèsáǐpwà íǎa/ 'One man came out, the man who built the fire there inside. "What's the matter with you people?" he said.'.

(Each substantive meaning is represented by a single substantive stem, either animate or inanimate, e.g: in anemwa 'dog', nekja 'my mother', kiisezwa 'sun, moon', mehtekwi 'tree', keskiisekwi 'your eye', nepi 'water'. On the other hand, most verb meanings are represented by a pair of stems, one a Vai and the other a Vii, or one a Vta and the other a Vti, e.g: in mesekinwa 'he's big', mesaai 'it's big', pjeea 'he came', pjeemikatwi 'it came', nenohtaea 'he heard him', nenohtamwa 'he heard it', amweea 'he ate him', miicia 'he ate it'.)

7.9 The following concordant combinations of different

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

persons and numbers were recorded:

11 in substitution for a noun with word final a3, probably also with word final a33, meaning: 'the third person and I' e.g: niiswikehkatwe eehkwipoonikiiiicihetiaake wiicaiaka 'that my husband and I have ceased living together for two years';

33 in substitution for a noun with word final 3, meaning: 'the third person singular and those with him/her/it', e.g: netaaneza eehoiikiaaci 'where my daughter and her family live'.

7.10 Among the inanimate intransitive verb stems are a group of singular stems, denoting weather conditions and divisions of time, with which the third person is not a substitute; it never has an antecedent, e.g: in

waazei 'it's daytime',
pehkotei 'it's nighttime',
waapanwi 'it's morning/dawn',
naahkwei 'it's noon',
onaakwiiˇ 'it's evening',
pakisimoi 'it's sundown',
menwikiisekahke 'if it will be good weather',
nekwaanahkwatwi 'it's cloudy weather',
mesinootenwi 'the wind is blowing, it's windy',
weepenaanwi 'it's raining',
eehmehpoki 'when it snowed',
anietei 'it's hot weather',
noezenwi 'it's cold weather'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7.11 In one construction (7.21), the antecedent of an inanimate third person singular is a verb.

7.12 The implicit third person of verbs with transitive inanimate and transitive ambigeneric stems (6.3) is treated in syntax no differently from persons formally indicated by inflexional affixes, e.g: in ahtoo- Vti 'put there, have' in

/táanii niè mezánohǐkani àhtoohpóoneki nětahto/

'Where's that paper? I put it on the table.'.

With many transitive inanimate stems the implicit third person is always inanimate, e.g: ahtoo- Vti 'put there, have'. With other transitive inanimate* stems the gender of the implicit third person is apparently indifferently animate or inanimate, e.g: ataee- Vti 'sell'. The gender of the implicit third person with transitive ambigeneric stems is also indifferent.

CONSTRUCTIONS

7.13 Kickapoo syntactic constructions are listed below. The following information is given for each construction:

(1) the form class of each immediate constituent, separated by "plus", with each immediate constituent assigned a number in parentheses for further reference;

(2) the type of construction, endo. for endocentric or exo. for exocentric;

*No evidence was recorded that these two types of transitive inanimate stems differ in inflexion, even in participles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(3) the center of an endocentric construction, along with the semantic subtype of a non-attributive construction, or the form class of the construct of an exocentric construction;

(4) any immediate constituents which contain concordant affixes, together with the position of the concordant affixes, whether word final or thematic, in nouns.

ATTRIBUTES TO NOUNS AND VERBS

7.14 Noun (1) plus noun (2), endo., center: (1) and (2), coordinate, concord: (1) word final with (2) word final, e.g:

takwahaani pesekiziiwiaazi 'hominy and deer meat',

maaniza mehtozeenenia 'a white man and an Indian',

neteeheki newiiseki 'in my heart and in my head'.

When the immediate constituents are personal nouns, (2) forms a separate sentence, e.g:

/tákwàháanì néwăcaao pèsékìzíiwiăazi/ 'I cooked hominy and deer meat.',

/máanĭza mèhtozéenenĭa/ 'A white man and an Indian.'.

When the immediate constituents are locative nouns, they can occur in the same sentence, e.g:

/jóoh màn eehwéenèskaahíaani netèehéki newĭiseki/ 'Here I am wicked in my heart and in my head.'.

When the immediate constituents are personal nouns, the construct of this construction is treated syntactically as a noun, having the same person and gender in word final posi-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tion as the immediate constituents have, but with plural number, e.g:

/nékotenwi pi oìihkáanetǐaki máanǐza mèhtozéenenǐa òskínaěehaki/ 'Once, it is said, there were (two) friends, a white man and an Indian, (both) young men.'.

7.15 Noun (1) plus noun (2), endo., center: (1) and (2), appositive, concord: (1) word final with (2) word final, e.g:

(personal noun plus personal noun)

(substantive plus substantive)

mehtozeeneniaki pasitoohaki 'old Indian men';

(participle plus substantive)

meenwikita meehcipahooha 'a good automobile',

naanahaakwatoota ihkweea 'the woman who sets tables',

niimiciki eeskikiihaki 'dancing young people',

eeskikeki ohkaaci 'a new tire';

(pronoun plus substantive)

iina ihkweea 'that woman',

mana niihtiiza 'this buddy of mine',

kotaki eeskikiihaki 'other young people';

(participle plus participle)

waieaakini eejookini 'the round things which people used';

(pronoun plus participle)

iina wiicaiaka 'that one whom I married, that wife/husband of mine',

iini iiskopaki 'that sweet thing',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mani meemenoki 'this stuff people keep drinking',

awieehi kiisajooteeniki 'something used/second-hand';

(pronoun plus pronoun)

mani kotaki 'this other thing';

(locative noun plus locative noun)

(pronoun plus substantive)

iinahi pekoki 'in those ashes, there in the ashes'.

The preferred word order seems to be pronoun before participle before substantive, but other orders occur, especially in longer sequences, e.g:

substantive before participle in

opiizehkaahi waapaateeniki 'his light colored shirt',

pronoun before substantive before participle in

iina ihkweea kiĩiteemaka 'the woman whom I was with',

substantive before pronoun before participle in

papakiajaahi awieehi waapeskjaaki 'some white piece of cloth'.

The immediate constituents are usually included in the same sentence though frequently separated from one another by other words, e.g:

/cìihí pì mehtozéeneniakii nàh tasiizéniaki pàsítŏohaki/ 'Surprisingly, some old Indian men were eating there, it is said.',

/kwí nòohkí kàskótaiaakè méenwikita mèehcípăhooa/ 'We were not able to have a good car again.',

/kótakak èíiki netawanaaki èeskíkĭihaki/ 'I also took some other young people.',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/kòh áakwi màná nìihtiizá ìihnátaeenemaacii nieenè siisíipĕehani/ 'Wow! This buddy of mine won't want that duck.',

/máikìisínèehámook àwíeehì kiisájootĕeniki/ 'And they went to buy something used.',

/nékataìzáakicĭha nétenaaa nà hkwéà kíiitĕemaka/ '"I have to go to the bathroom," I told that woman whom I was with.'.

Sometimes, some of the immediate constituents of this construction form a separate sentence, apparently in afterthought; even a single word in such a sentence has sentence final ˊ˅˅˅, cf. (2.4), e.g:

/cìihí p òiihkáanani nàh tasíkeekèzáapămekwa níni mèhtozéenenĭani/ 'And there was his friend peeping at him, his friend that Indian!',

/kékjèehkímàazóaki màaháki mèzánòhíkaneki peepjèehcíi nàhí ìihmehtozéeneniaatoeeci noohk ăapee kíiwaanaatoèehkáanŏciki/ 'These people are going to school and they will have to speak Indian on paper again repeatedly, these who go around pretending to be unable to speak.',

/máanĭza mèhtozéenenĭa òskínaĕehaki/ 'A white man and an Indian, young men.'.

When one immediate constituent is a locative substantive, the other may be a pronoun with word final third person, probably of the same gender as the stem of the substantive, but only inanimate singular examples were recorded, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iini pjootikaaneki, iinahi pjootikaaneki 'in that peyote tent'.

7.16 Personal noun (1) plus noun with a thematic affix (2), endo., center: (2), concord: (1) word final with (2) thematic, e.g:

((2) substantive)

iina mehtozeenenia osaezieni 'that Indian's hunger',

maãaka kwiezeeha oozani 'that boy's father';

((2) participle)

iiniki iihmiiciaaci mehtozeeneniaki 'what those Indians will eat',

miinaata oozani 'the one who gave it to his father'.

The preferred word order seems to be (1) before (2) when (2) is a substantive, and (2) before (1) when (2) is a participle. An exception, with (2) a substantive, is ohpehkwaneki awieeha 'on someone's back'.

In terms of English translation, when (2) is a substantive, (1) is the possessor of (2); when (2) is a participle, (1) is the actor or object of (2) in accordance with the reference of the thematic person of (2) (6.69, 6.73).

7.17 Personal noun (1) plus verb (2), endo., center: (2), concord: (1) word final with (2), e.g:

(Vai)

iinieeke eeskikiihaki maikiinaihieaki 'those young people went around visiting',

iheaki maanizaki 'white men went there',

netaaneza eehoiikiaaci 'where my daughter and her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family live',

eehici iina maaniza 'when that white man said so',

pjeetapeneaki aapipakaanehkaaciki 'those who have been gathering pecans arrived hungry',

neenemazoa awieeha 'someone kept standing there',

niina nepiitike 'I myself went inside';

(Vii)

kehcimaskjeekwi ahteei 'there is a big lake there',

maaneetooni pakaanani 'there were a lot of pecans',

eehnemateeki ocihki 'where a stump stood',

maaneetwi iihmiiciani 'what you were going to eat was a lot, there was a lot for you to eat'.

A verb with a transitive stem takes an attributive noun in concord with any one person of the verb, or attributive nouns each in concord with a different person of the verb, e.g:

(Vta, Vta/i)

oiihkaanani tasikeekezaapamekwa 'his friend peeped at him there',

netotamihekonaanaki apenoohaki 'the children busied us',

eehisici iina ihkweea kiĩiteemaka 'when that woman whom I was with said so to me',

niina niihmaamwaã 'I myself will eat him',

nemiinaã kezezeeha, kezezeeha nemiinaã 'I gave it to your older brother',

eehinaki iina ihkweea kiĩiteemaka 'when I said so to that woman whom I was with',

niina nemetaakweenemekooki 'they are thrilled about me',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eehnazaãaci iinini 'when they roasted him',
iina mehtozeenenia iinini eehketenaaci siisiipeehani 'when that Indian took out that duck',
mana neewea ciisesani 'this one saw Jesus';
(Vti)
kiihocinenehkeeneta kemehtozeeneniĩeni 'therefore you will think about your life',
pahkweesikani netaneza 'I cooked bread there',
iihcaakahweaake ohkaatani 'that we will use up the tires',
menoeni eehiicimenoaani 'when I drank liquor with people',
nemanopena iihmiiciaake 'we bought we'll eat',
kiisimanoaake kotaki 'when we had bought another',
iinini eehajoaaci 'when they used those things',
awieeha ahtookweeni papakiajaahi 'someone must have put a piece of cloth there'.

The a3.1 conjunct personal inflexion of a verb whose stem is a Vai is freely used in place of the a33.1 conjunct personal inflexion, e.g:

eenoeeci keehkjaahaki, eenoeaaci keehkjaahaki 'as the old people said'.

Word order in this construction is wholly free.

7.18 Personal noun (1) plus possessive verb (2), endo., center: (2), concord: (1) word final gender with the gender of the noun stem from which (2) is derived, e.g:

kaskotaiaake meenwikita meehcipahooha 'that we were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

able to have a new car'.

In terms of English translation (1) is appositive to the noun stem contained in (2).

7.19 Of two or more words, each containing a substitute for the same antecedent, no single one is formally distinguished as the center to which the antecedent is attributive, e.g:

eehaahpaeeci iina maaniza pjeewa 'the white man dreamt that he (the white man) came there',

kotakaki wiihpoocizaaaci aiaki 'others wanted to ride',

ahteei awieeha opiizehkaahi eehahtooci 'there was someone's shirt where he (the owner of the shirt) had put it'.

7.20 Adjectives are treated as nouns. The word final person, number, and gender of an adjective is specified by its substitutes and in the word final position of any noun in the appositive construction with it, e.g:

caaki ooteenani 'all the towns',

maane mani meemenoki 'a lot of this stuff that people drink',

eehonemaineaaci caaki 'when they all prayed',

nesiitazwi nemeno 'I drank a lot of it'.

nekoti 'one' requires singular substitutes and word final suffixes in appositives; all other numerals generally require plural substitutes and word final suffixes in appositives, e.g:

nekoti ihkweea 'one woman',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kotakaki njeei 'four others',

but pjooti niiswi 'two (pieces of) peyote'.

In the appositive construction, the preferred word order seems to be adjective before other nouns, but exceptions occur, e.g:

ihkweea nekoti 'one woman'.

7.21 Conjunctive verb (1) plus verb (2), endo., center: (2), concord: i3, formal or implicit, in (2) in substitution for (1).

(1) was recorded in the future and second and third actual tenses, e.g:

eenooskizenwi iiheenihenikiteeheaani 'it's easy for me to keep laughing',

aapatano iihpakisinaani 'look where I'll land',

menwikenwi eehpjaani 'it was good when/that you came',

menweenetama eehmehpoki 'he likes it when it snows',

eeheepinenehkeenetamaani eehketemaakeziaani 'when I began to think about my being miserable',

eehneenemazoci kiihmaãapatoonenepwa 'I'll show you people where he stood',

eesiketemaakeziaani nenehkotamooki 'they mentioned how miserable I was'.

7.22 Locative supplement (1) plus locative noun (2), endo., center: (2), e.g:

asici iinahi pjootikaaneki 'near that peyote tent',

ohpehkwaneki asitapahkwe 'against his back',

mesikwaapahikaneki ohkwaai 'a big cup full',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iinahi manoci 'beside that'.

RELATIVE WORDS

7.23 Conjunctive and interrogative relative verbs occur without antecedents (7.24). A relative verb without an antecedent will here be termed a free relative verb.

The meaning of a free relative verb differs from that of other conjunctive and interrogative verbs (4.12). Free conjunctives in the actual, for instance, may be translated as follows, using the English "do" with the actor "he" as examples:

durational verb 'as long as he did, since he did, while he did',

extentive verb 'as far as he did, the extent to which he did',

modal verb 'how/as he did, the way/manner in which he did',

allative verb 'the place to which he did',

causal verb 'why he did, the reason that he did',

ablative verb 'the place from which he did',

locative verb 'where he did, the place where he did'.

And free interrogatives in the actual may be translated as follows, e.g:

modal verb 'however he did, in whatever manner he did', etc.

No free relative quantitative verb was recorded.

Different actuals are not distinguished in free relative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

verbs. Most locative verbs seem to be formally second actual, while free relative verbs of other subclasses seem to be formally third actual, e.g:

eehkwimaikekjeehkimaazoaani 'while I went to school' in /èehkwímaikekjèehkímàazóaanì áakwii nàh áiaani eetoke nèsizeeh eehpjáacì meehíkòohinaak ǒcii/ 'While I was going to school I was not there at the same time that my uncle came from Mexico.',

eehpiiciwiizeniteeheeci 'the extent to which he wants to eat' in /èehpiihcíwìizénitèehéec ìsíteehĕaane/ 'I wish I wanted to eat to the extent that he does.',

eenaateziaake 'how we felt' in /némamaatotamaakoopenà éenaatèzíaak ìihménwipemaatèzíăake/ 'They prayed for how we felt and that we would feel well.',

eenoeaneeni 'however you said' in /áakwi nènohtóonaan eenoeăneeni/ 'I didn't hear/understand what you said.',

eecipooniwaiiceenwiaani 'the reason that I stopped joining' in /ní càah éecìpóoniwaiiceenwĭaani/ 'So that's why I stopped joining.',

eehtasimenwihpenasiki 'where I was well treated' in /èehtasímenwìhpénàsíkì némaacitàsíkèhcímo ìiháĭaani/ 'I was most insistent on being where I was well treated.',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eehneenemazoci 'where he stood' in

/èehnéenemàzóci kìihmáaapatooněnepwa/ 'I'll go show you where he stood.',

eejaãaci 'where they went' in

/náh ìihnépaaacii ni eejǎaaci/ 'They were going to sleep then there where they went.'.

An example of a future free relative verb is iihpakisinaani 'where I'll land' in

/kòh máni ò pánèskámaanè kékjèehténaam àapátanò nahínàah iihpákisǐnaani/ 'Wow! If I miss this, my! Look where I'll land then.'.

7.24 Antecedent (1) plus relative word (2), exo., construct: a non-relative word of the same form class as (2).

Relative words, except for the free relative verbs, occur in this construction.

The antecedents belong to many form classes. The following were recorded.

7.25 Pronouns with word final i3 occur as antecedents to relative words of all subclasses, e.g:

iini inahinaaha, iini inaaha 'at that time',

taani inahinaaha 'at what time?',

mani nehkiihi 'for this long, this far, to this extent',

taani nehkiihi 'for how long?, how far?, to what extent?',

mani isi 'in this way/manner',

kotaki isi 'in another way/manner',

mani oci 'away from here',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

weeneehi oci 'for what reason?, why?',

iini tazwi 'that much',

iini iihahkwaacimoaani 'that I will tell my experience for that long',

iini neẽepinaatezi 'I began to feel that way',

mani eehisikonepeskaãani 'when I turned around this way/in this manner',

mani eesikita 'he who is like this/of this sort'.

7.26 A noun of the subclass personal names occurs with a3.1 as antecedent to isizo- Vai 'be so named', e.g:

pjeecizeehkwa isizoa 'her name is Pjeecizeehkwa'.

The substantive pjooti Ni3 'peyote' appears to be antecedent to the causal relative in

/ní màah mán eehpìihcímenwikeki pjootì éeciininaatezĭani/ 'That there is how good this peyote is, that therefore/on account of it you feel that way.'.

7.27 Conjunctive verbs in the second or third actual (the latter were recorded only in free relative verbs) occur as antecedents to relative words of various subclasses, e.g:

to inahinaaha in

eehkatainepoohici inahinaaha 'at the time that he was dying',

to a modal word in

caaki eenaatoeakwe iheaki 'they went to every way that we speak/to all our languages',

to a causal word in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eehaahkwamataki oci 'because he's sick'.

A conditional verb appears to be the antecedent of inahinaaha in

/kòh máni ò pánèskámaanè kékjèehténaam àapátanò nahínàah iihpákisĭnaani/ 'Wow! If I miss this, My! Look where I'll land then.'.

7.28 The relative antecedent particles of each subclass occur as antecedents to relative words of the corresponding subclass.

Recorded temporal and durational antecedents contain the form kehkatwe 'years', with which the temporal words have the translation 'ago', e.g:

njaananwikehkatwe inahinaaha 'five years ago',

njeikehkatwe eehkwinepoohici 'that he has been dead for four years'.

Recorded extentive antecedents are teepi 'enough, quite' and aaWazi 'more, to a greater extent', e.g:

teepi netahpiihtezo 'I was quite intoxicated',

teepi eehahpiihteziaani 'when I was old enough',

aãzi netahpiihtezi 'I'm older'.

teepi 'enough, quite' and aaWazi 'more, better, instead' were also recorded as independent adverbs, and aaWazi was also recorded antecedent to modal words, e.g:

teepi nekiisimaãazopena 'we saved enough',

aãzi netenekine, aãzi nemesekine 'I'm bigger'.

aawazi asitakaame netaapomepena 'instead we were along the border for a while'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are numerous modal and allative antecedents, e.g:

kasi 'what?' in

kasi kezipwa 'what did you people say?'

kasi isaiaki 'what did they do?', 'what's the matter with them?',

kasi ihpenatoa 'what did he do to it?', 'how did he treat it?';

peteki 'back' in

peteki inenikaea 'he waved him back',

peteki ihaatac 'let's go back';

ise 'falsely' in

ise ketenaapi 'you're seeing things',

ise inoea 'he lied'.

ise 'merely' is an independent adverb, e.g:

ise nekiozeepena 'we merely travelled around'.

Sentences consisting solely of a relative word and antecedent kasi take sentence final ´ˇˇ, or, presumably, ´ˆˆ, rather than ´ˇˇˇ or ´ˆˆˆ (2.3), e.g:

/kàsi síkěnwi/ 'Of what sort is it?', 'What is it like?',

/kàsi síkìisékătwi/ 'How's the weather?',

/kàsí ketesǐzo/ 'What's your name?',

cf. /ái kàsí ketenàahpaê/ 'Well, what did you dream?'.

The only recorded causal or ablative antecedent is ahkoi 'last, in back, behind' which also occurs as an independent adverb, e.g:

ahkoi ocisinwa 'he lay in back/behind',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ahkoi niihpja 'I'll come last/behind',

maacahkoi mesiiminaki 'last of all (were) apples'.

Locative antecedents are all also allative and ablative antecedents, e.g:

penooci iheewa 'he went far',

meehikoohinaaki iiheewa 'he'll go to Mexoci',

meehikoohinaaki eecikiciki 'those who are from Mexico',

zaakici netasiacaaho 'I cooked outdoors',

piitike eepita 'he who sat indoors',

penooci oiikia 'he lives far away',

kehcine oiikia 'he lives near by'.

taZ occurs in verb stems and in particles with forms which also occur with the following morphemes in the same construction:

nekot 'one', niis 'two',

nez 'three', njeeO 'four',

njaanan 'five', metaaz 'ten',

kez 'how much/many?',

e.g:

tazwipepoonwee- Vai 'be so many years old',

njeipepoonwee- Vai 'be four years old',

kezwipepoonwee- Vai 'be how many years old',

tazoomehkwe 'so many dollars',

nekotoomehkwe 'one dollar',

metaazoomehkwe 'ten dollars'.

The numerals other than nekoti 'one', niiswi 'two', nezwi 'three', njeei 'four', njaananwi 'five', and metaazwi 'ten'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are quantitative antecedents, e.g:

nekotwaasika eehtazwipepoonweaani 'when I was six years old',

cf. njeipepoonwea 'he's four years old',

kezwipepoonwea 'how old is he?';

nekotwaasika tazoomehkwe 'six dollars'.

Quantitative antecedents are also adjectives, e.g:

nekotwaasika koohkoosaki 'six pigs',

cf. nekoti ihkweea 'one woman'.

7.29 Locative nouns occur as antecedents to locative, allative, and ablative relatives, e.g:

aikaazoohikaaneki kiihisienaãki 'you'll take them to the movie theater',

aazeehcikaneki eehinaapici 'when he looked toward the window',

mesiikiaapeki pjeewa 'he came to a big house',

jooteki netaapena 'we went to Utah',

iinahi eehpjaãake 'when we arrived there',

mahkahkoki oci 'from the box',

teoneki ketoiikipwa 'you people live in Dale, Okla.',

zaakikaasimeaki pekoki 'they laid him in the ashes with his legs sticking out',

iinahi eehtaatasiihkeceiaake 'when we kept working there',

iinahi ahtookweeni 'he must have put it there'.

Free relative locative verbs are treated as locative nouns, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eehoiikiaake eehtaatasiihkeceiaake 'when we kept working where we live',

iinahi eehpjaãake eehoiikiaaci jooteki 'when we arrived there in Utah where they live',

iinahi pjeemikatwi eehapiaani 'it arrived there where I sat'.

7.30 Adjectives were recorded antecedent to an extentive relative in the following:

njaananwaapitaki noohika netahpiihtezi 'I'm fifty seven years old'.

Adjectives occur antecedent to modal words, e.g:

maane isi 'in many ways',

caaki isiwiikizenjaakani 'every sort of delicious food'.

7.31 Verbs with the following stems generally take one or more sentences as antecedent:

i-, zi- Vai 'say so',

iN-, zero Vta 'say so to',

itam- Vti 'say so to',

itii- Vai 'say so to one another',

isiteehee- Vai 'think so',

and perhaps ineenem- Vta 'think so about' and unrecorded *ineenetam- Vti 'think so about', e.g:

/máamajà níihpjăapena íăki/ '"We'll come early," they said.',

/máa zăakici èehnéenemàzóci kìihmáaapatooněnepwáa n èehíăani/ '"Outdoors there. I'll show you people where he stood," I said then.',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nóòhkî nétekŏopi/ '"Again?" I was asked.',

/kàsí ketesǎíi n èehisícìi na hkwéà kíiitěemaka/ '"What's the matter with you?" that woman whom I was with asked me then.',

/sèeskí koh kàahpiihî n èehítiǎaci/ '"Just coffee," they said then to one another.',

/mèsínootěnwi kétèsítèehê/ 'Do you think it's windy?',

/áì sée nìihíicìmenô n eehisítèehéǎani/ '"Well, now I'll drink it along with them," I thought then.'.

The antecedent usually precedes the sentence containing the relative verb, but sometimes a part of the antecedent follows, e.g:

/nékìisínaacìhíe kǐai ítǎmwa kwí càah éetòké menwimainacihǐani/ '"I sought your help," he said to it. "But you didn't help me well then."'.

Constituents of the sentence containing the relative verb are frequently included in the initial part of the antecedent, e.g:

/íinah èehpjáaakè kiisónaakwìlizéniaakè kiihíitèemî pǐitikée n èehísǐci/ 'When we arrived there, after we finished eating supper, "Come inside with me," she said to me then.'.

Occasionally the antecedent and the relative word are in the same sentence, e.g:

/wéenèehíi n èehínecìi níki maanǐzaki/ '"What?" those white men were asked then.',

/íini pèehcámeaani cìisesá èehisíteehěaani/ 'That's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

what I mistook when I thought (it was) Jesus.',

/kwí ò iihnátaeenemec èehíneenemaac èehmehtozéeneniĭnici óiihkăanani/ '"He won't be wanted," he thought of his friend, since he was an Indian.'.

The relative verbs in this construction will be called quotatives and their antecedents will be called quotations.

7.32 Sentences are antecedents to a causal verb in the following:

/káakika kìihpjâ èehmícikinì káakika kìihâ kìihócinenèhkéenetà kémèhtozéeneniĭeni/ 'Always come. Whenever it is eaten always go there. You will think about your life on account of it.'.

PREDICATIONS

7.33 A predication is a form whose presence in a sentence yields a favorite sentence type.

7.34 A verb in the indicative, dubitative, potential, or imperative modes is a predication, e.g:

(indicative verb)

/kìihwíiteemipènâ/ 'Will you go with us?',

/nétekŏoki/ 'They said so to me.',

/pàhkweesíkan èehkáacìihéki netăneza/ 'I cooked bread in the dutch oven.',

/sé càah kíàkí àskípakjăani/ 'But they are still green.',

/nìiháwanekookìi níki maanìzaki pénŏaane/ 'Those white people will take me when I go home.';

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(dubitative verb)

/nìihnákamoopetǒke/ 'I'll probably sing.',

(potential verb)

/pjáaanehà néewiěekaaa/ 'If I had come, I would have seen him.';

(imperative verb)

/íiteemìnô/ 'Come with me.',

/péteki hǎatae/ 'Let's go back.',

/mìisí kèkjahâ/ 'Give it to your mother.',

/wìizénìnô/, /wìizénìkô/ 'Eat.'

(These last two are the usual familiar but courteous invitations to a meal, equivalent to 'Won't you stay for dinner/ eat with us?' as well as to the announcement 'Dinner is ready.'.)

The indicative future often expresses a mild or polite command, e.g:

/kìihíitèemî pǐitike/ 'Will you come inside with me?, Please come inside with me.'.

These four modes will be called the independent modes, and a verb in one of them will be called an independent verb. The remaining six modes will be called the subordinate modes, and a verb in one of them will be called a subordinate verb.

7.35 Predicate particle (1) plus verb (2), exo., construct: predication.

Each predicate particle requires (2) in certain modes and tenses, namely:

<u>aakwi</u>: conjunctive future or first actual,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aita: potential,

kaata: prohibitive,

kiihpene, tai: conditional,

e.g:

/áakwi màaneehtóaakè sóonǐaai/ 'We didn't have much money.',

/áakwi kàskípiitikanenaan ìihasáměnaani/ 'I couldn't take you inside to give you something to eat.',

/kw áàac iihnátaeeněmaaci/ 'He won't ever want him.',

/áità káskǐhtooza/ 'He wouldn't be able to do it',

/káata noìihkeekô/ 'Don't go outdoors.',

/kìihpénè éenikiteehěaane/ 'I'm liable to laugh.',

/ámwakè tái mesǐimina/ 'I wish I had an apple to eat.', 'I'd like to eat an apple.'.

aakwi also occurs with a noun as (2), e.g:

/áakwi ǒo na/ 'Not him.', 'It's not him.'.

7.37 Pronoun with word final i3(1) plus conjunctive verb in the future or second or third actual (2), exo., construct: predication. Recorded as (1) are the following:

iini 'that',

mani 'this' but infrequently,

taani 'which' but only with a free relative modal verb as (2),

e.g:

(iini)

/ní s èíiki niina ìihmánǒaani/ 'Then* I'll just buy

*'then' in the sense of 'and then, next', more literally: 'that's when'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

one too.',

/ní pi sìisíipèeháni nekot èehnézăaaci/ 'Then*, it is said, they killed one duck.',

/mánii n èehisíaapatamaan ăhkiki/ 'Then* I looked down at it in this manner.',

/séee ni meekwèeh njéikèhkátw èehkwínepŏohici/ 'And* now he has been dead for about four years.',

/ní càah éecìpóoniwaiiceenwĭaani/ 'So that's why I stopped joining.';

(mani)

/jóoh màn eehwéenèskaahíaani netèehéki newĭiseki/ 'Now** I'm wicked here in my heart and head.',

(taani)

/táan èesípemaatèzíăni/ 'How are you?', literally: 'Which way are you living?',

/táan eenoĕeki/ 'How does one say it?'.

Sentences containing only two words, immediate constituents of this construction, take sentence final ˊvv rather than ˊvvv (2.3), e.g:

/n èehéepòzéăake/ 'Then we left.',

/káata nìin ápwihìhkeekô n èehínăki/ '"Don't wait for me," I told them then.',

and the examples with taani above.

(1) is occasionally repeated, e.g:

---

*'then' in the sense of 'another, next', more literally: that's when'.

**literally: 'this is when'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/ní nòohkíi nàhí ni penan èehtáatàsiihkéceĭaake/ 'Then again we stopped to work there.'.

When (2) is a free relative locative verb, (1) may be a locative pronoun, e.g:

/íinàh éehăpici/ 'There he sat.'.

7.38 Sentences lacking the previously described predications were infrequently recorded with a verb in the conjunctive, conditional, or interrogative mode. Such a verb will be termed an independent conjunctive, conditional, or interrogative verb.

A difference in meaning or environment between the independent conjunctive and the indicative is not apparent; second actuals, third actuals in relative verbs, and verbs ambiguously first or third actual (6.5, 6.7) were recorded, e.g:

/sèeskí kèeh eeháahpăeeci/ 'He was merely dreaming.',

/sée càah táatàkí katai nìiswíkèhkátwe èehkwípoonikiiicìhétiaakee na wiicaiaka ŏoe/ 'But now for almost two years that former husband of mine and I have ceased living together.',

/sèeskí càahí zàazáakikàasínici nŏohki/ 'So he just lay with his legs sticking out again.'.

The following are all recorded examples of the independent conditional:

/áawazì méekwèeh káakiimìihkéceĭaane/ 'Perhaps I had better work around.',

/sée mèekweeh pénòakwê/ 'Suppose we go home now.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The independent interrogative has the same meaning as the dubitative; first and second actuals were recorded, e.g:

/áwieehà nah ahtóokweeni papakiăjaai/ 'Someone probably put a piece of cloth there.',

/kápootweee nah èehkiisínatotamookwèehíkìi níki n ìihmíiciaacì mehtozéenenĭaki/ 'Later on those Indians must have ordered what they were going to eat.'.

7.39 In a sentence lacking a verb, a noun may be a predication; such a sentence will be called a nominal sentence, e.g:

/áněmwa/ 'A dog.', 'It's a dog.',

/nétaaněza/ 'My daughter.', 'It's my daughter.',

/mámaatomooni ŏ pii/ 'A religion, it is said.', 'It's a religion, it is said.'.

/sèeskí koh kàahpiihî/ 'Just coffee.', 'It's just coffee.',

/táăna/ 'Which one?', 'Which one is it?', 'Where is he?',

/máè kohô/ 'That one.', 'It's that one.', 'There it is.',

/mánii nà sé měkoci/ 'This thing there is worthless.',

/mánì êesĭkita/ 'Is it one/he who is of this sort/like this?'.

<u>iini</u> with sentence final <u>ˊˋˆ</u> or <u>ˊˋˋˆ</u> often translates 'All right.', literally: 'That's it.'.

The appositive construction (7.15) with a pronoun as one of its immediate constituents occurs frequently, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/cìisesá ǒo na/ 'That's Jesus.',

/táanii niè mezánohǐkani/ 'Where is that paper?'.

weeneeh- Na/i 'who?, what?' occurs only in nominal sentences, e.g:

/wéenèeháǎ na/ 'Who is that?', 'What is that (item of animate gender)?',

/wéenèehíǏ ni/ 'What is that (item of inanimate gender)?',

/wéenèeh kóonoci nòohkí neetaeenetǎmani/ 'What more do you want again?',

/wéenèehá piitikǎata/ 'Who came/went indoors?',

/wéenèeháa nin omèehcípàhóohěmani/ 'Whose automobile is that?'.

A sentence containing only two words, one of whose stems is weeneeh- takes sentence final ´vv rather than ´vvv (cf. 2.3, 7.37) as in the examples above.

7.40 Other sentences consist solely of particles, e.g:

/áǎkwi/ 'No',

/kwí sěee/ 'Now no.',

/éehěe/ 'Yes.',

/kéehtènâ/ 'Really?',

/nóòhkî/ 'Again?'.

7.41 Occasionally more than one predication is included in a single sentence, e.g:

/nóota càah népjeecipenòpena iisaazíaa no pàsítòohá kiiiteemǎketa/ 'But we came home too soon; that old man that we were going around with was impatient.',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/n íinà hkwéa kiiiteemakà nah néenemàzóci eepeenikitĕehea/ 'Then that woman that I was with was standing there (and) she began to laugh.'.

Often two juxtaposed sentences require 'and' between them in English translation, e.g:

/nókii nieek èeskíkìiháki maikiinaìhíĕaki máikìisínèehámook àwíeehì kiisájootĕeniki/ 'Today those young people went around visiting. And they went to buy something used.'.

ATTRIBUTES TO PREDICATIONS

7.42 Adverb (1) plus adverb (2), endo., center: (1) and (2), coordinate, e.g:

pakici kiaki taataki 'my! still somewhat' in /kícì kíaki taatakì nékiikèsáatăatezi/ 'My! I still felt somewhat friendly.',

nehkanitepehkwe caahi 'so all night long' in /nèhkánitepèhkwé càahíi nàh nétapìhápĭi ni/ 'So all night long I sat there then.',

caahi noohki 'but again' in /kwí càah nóohkì péteki hăaake/ 'But we didn't go back again.'.

7.43 Adverb (1) plus predication (2), endo., center: (2), e.g:

(independent verb as (2))

/éenikitèehéa sĕeski/ 'He just laughed.',

/sé eetòké nemòosihtóo ni pjŏoti/ 'Now at the same time

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I felt (the effects of) that peyote.',

/kìihkesóaaskà kohô/ 'Jump hard.',

/áapakè noohkí nìihmáipakaanehkěepena/ 'Tomorrow we'll go gather pecans again.',

/méekwèeh kwíenà ní nàhínàah iihpéekwăhkii/ 'Perhaps the ground will be dry then in time.';

(predicate particle plus verb as (2))

/kwí càah éetòké menwimainacihĭani/ 'But you didn't help me well then.';

(pronoun plus conjunctive verb as (2))

/n éiikì sé èehéepinenèhkéenetamaan èehkétemaakezĭaani/ 'And now I also began to think about my being miserable.';

(nominal sentences)

/sèeskí mèhtaahkwí netăaneza/ 'Just my daughter only.',

/wéenèeh kóonoci nòohkí neetaeenetămani/ 'What more do you want again?'.

Independent adverbs occur in sentence initial, medial, and final, e.g:

<u>iinoki</u> 'today' in

/nókii nieek èeskíkìiháki maikiinaìhíĕaki/ 'Today those young people went around visiting.',

/záakicìi nóki netàsíăcaao/ 'I cooked outdoors today.',

/óo netaapipakaanèhkéepenàa noki/ 'Oh, we gathered pecans for a while today.'.

Enclitic adverbs occur in sentence medial and final, but not in sentence initial in a sentence of more than one word,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

e.g:

aapehe 'repeatedly' in

/n áapèhée n ìiskópak eehmǐiciki/ 'Then that sweet stuff was eaten repeatedly.',

/áakwi cìih áapèh méhkămaake/ 'Surprisingly we repeatedly failed to find it.',

/íak ăapee/ 'They said so repeatedly.'.

An enclitic may be the only word in a sentence, e.g: /nóòhkî/ 'Again?'.

The following are tentatively listed as enclitic, either from their repeated failure to occur in sentence initial, or an informant's testimony:

aapehe 'repeatedly', caahi 'but; so then',

jeepani, eepani 'ever, at any time;,

jooe, ooe 'in the past, formerly',

keehe emphatic, koho emphatic

mekoci emphatic, naapi 'how about?',

noohki 'again', o contradiction marker.

keehe 'or' is an independent adverb, e.g:

/kèeh méekwèeh iihpákaaněhkea/ 'Or maybe he's gathering pecans.',

/kwíezèehâ kèeh ískwěezeea/ 'Is it a boy or a girl?',

cf. /sèeskí kèeh eeháahpăeeci/ 'He was merely dreaming.'.

koho 'wow!', an exclamation of surprise, is an independent adverb, e.g:

/kòh áakwi màná nìihtiizá ìihnátaeenemaacii nieenè

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

siisíipĕehani/ 'Wow! This buddy of mine won't want that duck.',

cf. /kìihménwipemaatezì kohô/ 'You'll be well!'.

ipi 'it is said', formally and semantically the VO ind. of zi-, i- Vai 'say so', is treated as an enclitic adverb, e.g:

/ní pi sìisíipèeháni nekot èehnézăaaci/ 'Then, it is said, they killed one duck.'.

meekweehe 'perhaps, probably' was frequently recorded with future verbs with actual meaning, e.g:

/n èehéepòzéăake méekweehè niisókone nìihánemĭipena/ 'Then we left. We travelled about two days.',

cf. /áapakè méekwèeh niihkíinaìhíĕepena/ 'Tomorrow maybe we'll visit around.'.

meekweehe was also recorded with actual verbs, e.g:

/méekweehè nezwáapitaki tàzwímaine netăapena/ 'We went about thirty miles.'.

The preferred word order seems to be adverb before predication with enclitic adverbs following the first word in the sentence, but there are numerous exceptions, as in the examples above.

7.44 Subordinate verb (1) plus subordinate verb (2), endo., center: (1) and (2), coordinate, e.g:

eenaakwiki eehpjaãaci 'when it was evening when they came'.

7.45 Subordinate verb (1) plus predication (2), endo., center: (2).

All subordinate modes except the prohibitive and all

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tenses except the first actual were recorded in (1), e.g:

(conjunctive verb as (1))

(independent verb as (2))

/ménwitèeheéak èehnéewiămeci/ 'They were glad when they saw us.',

/mán eiikì németàazehtáaak èehnáanakamŏaaci/ 'I also enjoyed hearing them when they sang.',

/náakeemeeh nòohkí kìisínaanakamoaaci nemetàazáapamăaki/ 'After a while again, when they had finished singing, I enjoyed watching them.',

/éenaakwikì sé èehpjáaacì pjéetoak ĕeskikek ohkaaci/ 'When they came in the evening they brought a new tire.',

/népekòhkéenemekookì pakicì iihisiizénĭaani/ 'They looked after me so that I would eat plenty.',

(predicate particle plus verb as (2))

/kw eehòskínàhpjáaakè áatamezĭaake/ 'When we first came there we weren't efficient.',

/áakwi kàskípiitikanenaan ìihasáměnaani/ 'I couldn't take you inside to give you food.';

(pronoun plus conjunctive verb as (2))

/ínah èehpjáaakè kiisónaakwiìizéniaakè kiihíitèemî pĭitikée n èehísĭci/ 'When we arrived there, after we had eaten supper, "Come inside with me," she said to me then.',

/ní càah éehtàsíkwajàhkwítèehéaan ìihpóoniwaiiceenwĭaani/ 'So that's where I decided

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to stop joining.';

(conditional verb as (1))

/nìihâwanekookìi níki maanìzaki pénǒaane/ 'Those white people will take me when I go home.',

/kàskihtóaanè káata wàíiceenwìhkanî/ 'If you can manage it, don't join.';

(iterative verb as (1))

/èehmíicikinì káakika kìihâ/ 'Whenever it is eaten, always go there.',

/pjéetookinìi ní pjootaapoi neiicimeno pěepekwa/ 'Whenever that peyote tea had been brought, I felt compelled to drink it with them.'.

Irrealis verbs as (1) were recorded only with potential verbs as (2), e.g:

/pjáaanehà néewiěekaaa/ 'If I had come, I would have seen him.'.

The only recorded interrogative verbs attributive to a predication are free relative modal verbs, e.g:

/áakwi nènohtóonaan eenoeǎneeni/ 'I don't hear/understand what you said.'.

ai- Vai, generally 'be there', translates 'want to' with conjunctive future verbs, e.g:

/ìihpénoaani nětai/ 'I want to go home.',

/áakw ìihmíinaci aǐaani/ 'I don't want you to give it to him.',

cf. /píitik ǎia/ 'He's indoors.'.

The conjunctive seems to be used for the lacking partici-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ples with word final second persons, and probably also first persons, e.g:

/jòoh ḳépjăapwa èehmáanizĭeekwe/ 'You white people came here.'.

7.46 Pronoun with word final i3 (1) plus predication (2), endo., center: (2).

Recorded as (1) are iini and mani as in (7.37), and no difference in meaning between these two constructions has been detected; this construction is of much rarer occurrence than that in (7.37), e.g:

/nèhkánitepèhkwé càahíi nàh nétapìhápĭi ni/ 'So all night long I sat there then.',

/níi nì nahínàah néĭihpoke/ 'Then I ate with them that time.',

/mán eiikì németàazehtáaak èehnáanakamŏaaci/ 'And I also enjoyed hearing them when they sang.'.

7.47 Locative noun (1) plus predication (2), endo., center: 2.

In this construction locative nouns occur in sentences containing no locative, allative, or ablative relative. The construction is uncommon, e.g:

/n èehmáamìihkéceiaakèe nah némìihkémaapenà mesímĭnaki/ 'Then we kept working there; we picked apples.',

cf. /ní nòohkíi nàhí ni penan èehtáatàsiihkéceĭaake/ 'Then again we stopped to work there.'.

COMPOUNDING

7.48 Compounding belongs properly to the discussion of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

derivation, but it is included here, since other types of derivation are not described in this paper.

Stem (1) plus stem (2), endo., center: (2). The construct of this construction is called a compound stem, and the immediate constituents are compound members. (1) has the suffix -Oi.

Compound stems whose members are both noun stems are of frequent occurrence, e.g:

koohkoos- Nai 'pig' and wiaaz- Nii 'meat' in /koohkoosiwiaazi/ Ni3 'pig meat, pork',

mehtozeeneni- Nai 'Indian' and pasitooh- Nai 'old man' in /mehtozeeneniĩpasitooha/ Na3.1 'old Indian man'.

One compound stem was recorded both of whose members are verb stems, e.g:

onaakwi- Vii 'be evening' and Wiizeni- Vai 'eat' in /kiisonaakwiĩizeniaake/ V11 conj. 3 'when we had finished eating supper'.

7.49 In addition, there is a set of morphemes which do not occur as stems, but do occur with -Oi as the prior members of compound stems. These latter forms are called prewords. Subclasses of prewords are preverbs, which occur in verb stems, prenouns which occur in noun stems, and preparticles which occur in particles.

The recorded prewords are listed below with v., n., and p. indicating preverbs, prenouns, and preparticles respectively:

aahpeci v. 'continually'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aanwi v. 'unable to'

aapi v. 'for a while'

ahkwi v. 'for so long'

ahpiihci v. 'so far, to such an extent'

anemi v. 'along, on the way'

apjeeni v. 'slowly'

caaki v. 'all'

caki n. 'small, little'

cei v. 'the same'

iici n. 'fellow'

isi v.n. 'thus, so, such; to that place'

kaaci v. 'more, to a greater extent, further'

kaski v. 'able to'

katai v. 'almost'

kehci v. 'much', n. 'big, large'

kekeni v. 'fast, quickly, swiftly'

kiĩ v. 'around aimlessly'

kiisi v. 'finish'

koci v. 'try to'

kokwi v. 'suddenly'

maaci v.n.p. 'most, to the greatest extent'

maci n. 'bad, defective, mean'

mahkatei v. 'black'

mai v. 'go and'

mecimi v. 'constantly'

mehci v. 'out, off, down'

memeesi n. 'huge'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

menwi v. 'good, well; right, correctly'

mesi n. 'huge'

mjaasi v. 'badly'

naaci v. 'stop and'

nahi v. 'know how to'

nai v. 'in the middle'

nanai v. 'in vain'

natai v. 'seek to'

nesi v. 'alone, by oneself'

nesiĭ v.p. 'extremely'

noi v. 'into the outdoors'

noohki v. 'again'

nootei v. 'insufficiently'

oci v. 'thence, from that place; therefore for that reason'

oski v.n. 'first, original, originally'

otami v. 'busy at'

ozaami v. 'too, too much'

pai v. 'fail to, not'

pakwaci n. 'wild'

pehci v. 'wrongly, in error'

piici v. 'into an interior'

pjeeci v. 'come and, in this direction'

pooni v. 'cease'

takwi v. 'also'

tasi v.n. 'there, at that place'

Waapeski v. 'white'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

weeni n. 'pretty, handsome; good'

Weepi v. 'begin to'

Wiici v. 'along with another or others'

Wiiki v. 'deliciously'

e.g:

/eehaahpecipaahtaaskaaci/ 'when he was continually broken',

/aanwipoonieenikiteehea/ 'he couldn't stop laughing',

/aapipakaanehkaaciki/ 'those who gathered pecans for a while',

/eehkwinepoohici/ 'that he has been dead for so long, as long as he has been dead',

/eehpiihcimenwikeki/ 'the extent to which it is good',

/netanemiwaãacaahopena/ 'we kept cooking on the way',

/netapjeeninaapaatotaazo/ 'I read slowly',

/iihcaakipanaatetwi/ 'it will all be lost',

/cakanemooha/ 'little dog',

/neceinekinepena/ 'we're the same size',

/niicikananaaciihahi/ 'my fellow Caddoes',

/eehisiaapatamaani/ 'when I looked at it so',

/isiwiikizenjaakani/ 'such delicious food',

/nekaacaahkwamazehkaakwi/ 'it made me sicker',

/nekaskikota/ 'I was able to swallow it',

/eehkatainepoohici/ 'when he was almost dead, when he was dying',

/nekehciizenipena/ 'we ate a lot',

/kehcimaskjeekwi/ 'a big lake',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/nekekeninaapaatotaazo/ 'I read fast',

/niihkiĩnaihieepena/ 'we'll visit around',

/kiisimiiciaake/ 'when we had finished eating it',

/kociniimia/ 'he tried to dance',

/eehkokwikanaici/ 'when he suddenly spoke',

/nemaacitasikehcimo/ 'I was most stubborn there',

/nemaacinezezeeha/ 'my oldest brother',

/maacimenehta/ 'first of all',

/maciskweezeeha/ 'bad girl',

/mahkateiketakezia/ 'he has black spots',

/niihmaipakaanehkeepena/ 'we'll go gather pecans',

/nemeciminaapaatotaazo/ 'I read constantly',

/mehcazeea/ 'he put him out/off/down',

/memeesiseswaahani/ 'huge plates',

/menwimainacihiani/ 'that you helped me well/right',

/nemenwinaapaatota/ 'I read it well/right',

/mesikwaapahikaneki/ 'in a huge cup',

/nemjaasiwacaaho/ 'I cooked badly',

/naaciaapakeaake/ 'that we stopped to watch',

/nenahiwacaaho/ 'I know how to cook',

/naipepoonwi/ 'it's mid-winter',

/nenanaiwacaaho/ 'I cooked in vain, I cooked for nothing',

/nenataiwacaaho/ 'I sought to cook',

/kenesipiitike/ 'you went indoors alone',

/nesiĩmenwahkii/ 'it's an extremely nice place',

/nesiĩtazwi/ 'very much/many',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/noikaatenamwa/ 'he pushed it (into the) outdoors',

/nenoohkinaapaatotaazo/ 'I'm reading again',

/nenooteinaapaatotaazo/ 'I didn't read enough',

/kiihocinenehkeeneta/ 'therefore you will think about it',

/ketocipja/ 'you came from there',

/eehoskiinahpjaãake/ 'when we first arrived there',

/netoskinetaaneza/ 'my first daughter',

/niihotaminahaapahkweepena/ 'we'll be busy thatching',

/ketozaamikozekwane/ 'you are too heavy',

/iihpaipanaatehki/ 'so that it won't be lost',

/pakwacohpenjeeki/ 'wild potatoes',

/nepehcinapaatota/ 'I read it wrong',

/nepiicikaacizahaã/ 'I pushed him inside',

/nepjeecanemehkaakooki/ 'they came and shook hands with me',

/nepjeecipenopena/ 'we came home',

/iihpooneenihenikiteeheeci/ 'so that he will stop laughing',

/eehtakwimenoaani/ 'when I drank it too',

/tasikeekezaapamekwa/ 'he peeped at him there',

/akaameeheki tasimeehikooha/ 'Spaniard', literally: 'a Mexican across the water',

/waapeskiketakezia/ 'he has white spots',

/weenimeehcipahooha/ 'pretty/good automobile',

/eeheepimajoaani/ 'when I began to cry',

/niihiicimeno/ 'I'll drink it with him/them',

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wiikikesitei/ 'it's deliciously hot'.

caki occurs only in nouns with the diminutive morpheme, h, e.g:

/cakanemooha/ 'little dog'.

iici yields a dependent noun stem, e.g:

/niicikananaaciihahi/ 'my fellow Caddoes'.

kiisi often indicates that the situation denoted by the verb stem with which it occurs terminated prior to the time of speaking or context, and can be translated by the English simple past tense, e.g:

/nékìisínaacìhíe kǐai/ 'I sought help from you.'.

mesi evidently occurs in nouns with singular word final suffixes or with the locative suffix, memeesi in nouns with plural word final suffixes, e.g:

/mesiikiaapi/ 'a huge house',

/mesiikiaapeki/ 'in a huge house',

/memeesanemooki/ 'huge dogs'.

In some contexts nahi seems to translate 'should, ought', e.g:

/kwí òo n iihnahípàahpíhtămani/ 'You shouldn't ridicule it.'.

pai occurs only in subordinate verbs, e.g:

/eehpaãhtoaake/ 'when we didn't have it, when we didn't put it there',

/paiweepenaake/ 'if it doesn't rain'.

A preword is occasionally the antecedent of a relative final member of a compound, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ihpenaN- Vta 'treat so, do so to' in

/nemenwihpenanekoopena/ 'we were treated well'.

cei was recorded only as a relative antecedent, e.g:

/neceitazwipepoonweepena/ 'we're the same age',

/neceinekinepena/ 'we're the same size'.

Preverbs, like other verb stem initial morphemes, may be reduplicated with the meaning 'keep...-ing, habitually, repeatedly, plural'. In all recorded examples, the reduplication consists of a prefix composed of a consonant identical with the initial consonant of the preverb followed by aa, e.g:

kiĩ 'around aimlessly' in

/kaakiĩmiihkeceiaane/ 'if I keep working around'.

Some prewords are also particles, e.g:

/aahpeci eehmenoaani/ 'when I drank it continually',

/eehonemaineaaci caaki/ 'when they all prayed',

/mani sihi/ 'In this manner.',

/noohki kiihpja/ 'you'll come again'.

Occasionally words were recorded between a preverb and the final compound member, e.g:

maane 'much, many' in

/niihkocimaanekiisenaapena/ 'we'll try to gather a lot',

iinahi 'there' in

/eehoskiinahpjaãake/ 'when we first came there'.

When a dependent noun stem and a prenoun are members of a compound, the prenoun precedes the personal prefix; n- or k-, but not o-, are repeated in word initial, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/netoskinetaaneza/ 'my first daughter',

/kemaacikezezeehani/ 'your oldest brother',

/maacozezeehwaãni/ 'their oldest brother'.

No stem was recorded as the prior member in a compound with a dependent noun stem as center, nor was any dependent noun stem recorded as prior member of a compound.

NEGATION

7.50 For clarity, the various modes are here noted with their semantically corresponding negatives:

(affirmative)	(negative)
indicative	aakwi with the conjunctive (7.35)
dubitative	unknown
potential	aita with the potential (7.35)
imperative	kaata with the prohibitive (7.35).

A subordinate mode apparently has a corresponding negative consisting of the same mode with the preverb pai (7.49).

PROXIMATE AND OBVIATIVE

7.51 Of two third persons in a sentence, or, sometimes, in a sequence of sentences, one is proximate and the other obviative. Generally, the first mentioned is proximate and the second mentioned is obviative, but a third person is necessarily obviative if it occurs in word final position in a noun with a third person also in thematic position; otherwise, there is a tendency for animals to be obviative in a context with humans and for inanimate third persons to be obviative in context with animate third persons, e.g:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

/mána kòh néewea ciisěsani/ 'This one saw Jesus.',

/cìihí p òiihkáanani nàh tasíkeekèzáapămekwa/ 'Surprisingly, it is said, his friend peeped at him there.',

/òskíkenian òmahkézěehani/ 'His shoes are new.',

/kòh áakwi mànà nìihtiizá ìihnátaeenemaacii nieenè siisíipěehani/ 'Wow! This buddy of mine won't want that duck.',

/zákipŏkwa/ 'He (an animal) bit him (a person).',

/kíakì pí pèhkóteàahíni èehtóohkĭaaci/ 'It is said that it was still somewhat dark when they awoke.',

/nàh éehăpici ténaamì cáakì síwiikìzénjaakanii nàh eeháhtěeniki/ 'There he sat. My! Every kind of delicious food was there.'.

In exception to the above, the obviative is often neglected; that is, different individuals in the same sentence are denoted by third person proximates, especially when those individuals are nowhere represented together in the inflexion of a single word, e.g:

/éenaakwikì sé èehpjáaacì pjéetoak ěeskikek ohkaaci/ 'When they came in the evening they brought a new tire.'.

In a sentence with three animate third persons, two were obviative, e.g:

/èehnesíikèsóekwaamenici pjeetaapakii na mèhtozéeneniaa nin èehkétanaacì siisíipěehani/ 'Toward morning when he (the white man) was sleeping extremely soundly that Indian took out that duck.'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8. TEXTS

The texts are transcribed phonemically, written as heard with the following normalizations.

Other than before a sentence final syllable with /ˇ/ before a pause, /h/ is written where it was omitted before a vowel, and any preceding monosyllabic cluster, automatically shortened, is restored.

Connective /ˊ/ is replaced by /ˋ/ before a pause before a spirant.

A pause is assumed at each sentence boundary other than that between a quotation and a following sentence containing the quotative to which it is antecedent.

Further normalizations are suggested by the seemingly random occurrence of elision and sentence medial /ˊˋ/, but such normalizations have not been undertaken lest some significant distinction or some conditioned distribution be concealed.

The numerals within the texts are intended only as a guide to the translations; they have no phonetic or semantic significance.

In the English translations, parentheses enclose words not in the Kickapoo but added to the English for greater clarity or fluency; brackets enclose a literal rendering of the Kickapoo which is superfluous in the English.

Texts 1 through 8 are conversational anecdotes or personal experiences with the exception of 5, a hypothetical

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conversation, and 6, an explanation of the investigating linguist's work extracted from a conversation. In the first sentence in text 2, the informant repeated a question asked by the investigator.

Texts 9 and 10 are jokes. The oft repeated ipi 'it is said' was omitted in the translation from all but the first sentence of each text in order to achieve more fluent English.

1

1. záakicìi nóki netàsíăcaao 2. tákwàháanì néwăcaao pèsékìzíiwiăazi 3. pàhkweesíkan èehkáacìihéki netăneza 4. ténaamì nékèhciizénĭpena 5. pjéetapeneakì áapipakaanehkăaciki 6. áapakè méekwèeh niihkíinaìhíĕepena

1. I cooked outdoors today.. 2. I cooked hominy and deer meat. 3. I cooked bread in the dutch oven. 4. My! We ate a lot.. 5. Those who had been gathering pecans arrived hungry. 6. Tomorrow perhaps we'll visit around.

2

1. táanàhka héà néenaĭhtoa 2. píinkèehéki kiakì kíikaatenĭhkea 3. kèeh méekwèeh iihpákaaněhkea. 4. máaneeteniani pì pákăanani 5. áanicike nàhínàah íihpjăakweeni 6. kèeh méekwèehé mèehíkòohínaak ĭiheewa

1. Where did Neenaihtoa go? 2. He's still picking cotton in Binger. 3. Or maybe he's gathering pecans. 4. There are a lot of pecans, it is said. 5. I don't know when he'll come.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. Or maybe he'll go to Mexico.

3

1. kìihwíiteemipènâ nétekǒoki 2. áikàazoohíkaanekì kiihisíenaakì koosízěmaki 3. sèeskí nekiisìpíitikanăaki 4. káata noìihkeekô nétenaăki 5. kìihápwìháapwă kekja nétenăa kìisíkaapăahkwa 6. káata nìin ápwihìhkeekô n èehínăki 7. nìiháwanekookìi níki maanìzaki pénŏaane

1. "Are you going with us?" they asked me. 2. "(Then) take your grandchildren to the movie theater." 3. I just took them inside. 4. "Don't go outdoors," I told them. 5. "Wait for your mother," I told Kiisikaapaahkwa. 6. "Don't wait for me," I told her/them then. 7. "Those white people will take me [when I go] home."

4

1. óo netaapipakaanèhkéepenăa noki 2. ténaamì nétotamìhékonaanak ăpenoohaki 3. máaneetooni pakăanani 4. sé càah kíàkí àskípakjăani 5. téepi càahí nèkaskihtóopena nekotwàasíka tazŏomehkwe 6. téepi nèmánopena ìihmíicĭaake 7. áapakè noohkí nìihmáipakaanehkĕepena 8. ménwikiisĕkahke 9. páiweepenăake 10. nìihnáahpŏpena 11. nìihkócimaanekìisénăapena 12. áanemiikìisékahkè niihótaminàhápahkwĕepena ápàhkwáikăani 13. méekwèeh kwíenà ní nàhínàah iihpéekwăhkii ìihpéekwaakĭi 14. óo neenaìhtoa népanaacihăapena 15. méekwèeh iihmesénăazoa 16. nókii nieek èeskíkìiháki maikiinaìhíĕaki 17. máikìisínèehámook àwíeehì

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kiisájootěeniki 18. máamajà níihpjǎapena íǎki

1. Oh, we've been gathering pecans today. 2. My! The children hindered us. 3. There were a lot of pecans. 4. But they're still green. 5. We managed to earn enough, though--six dollars. 6. We had enough to buy what we'll eat. 7. Tomorrow we'll go gather pecans again. 8. If it's good weather. 9. If it doesn't rain. 10. We'll take a lunch. 11. We'll try to gather a lot. 12. On Sunday we'll be busy roofing the winter house. 13. Perhaps the ground will be dry then in time. And it (the winter house) will be dry. 14. Oh, we lost Neenaihtoa. 15. He was probably arrested. 16. Today those young people went around visiting. 17. And they went to buy something used. 18. "We'll come early," they said.

5

A1. táanii niè mezánohǐkani 2. àhtoohpóoneki nětahto
B3. nékìisótàahpénǎ oo

A1. "Where is that paper? 2. I put it on the table." B3. "I took it away."

6

1. cáaki p èehínaatoeekì ihéaki maanǐzaki 2. máah eìikí niicikananaacǐihai òzáakiinǎaki 3. cáak eenaatoeakwè pí neenekoti hěaki 4. ìihpáipenaatehk èenáatŏeeki íǎa 5. éenoeec àjesée kèehkjaaháki tweè nékotwaak ìihínaatŏeep íǎki 6. kápootwe ìihcáakinèehtáimaanìzáatoe àpénoohǎa noki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. séee nì mehtóoc èehpákitamakw eenaatoĕakwe
8. ìihcáakipanaatętwi íak ăapee 9. áăkwi áaatokè iihpémèhkáamikatwì sé càahíi nòkí kekjèehkímàazóaki màaháki mèzánòhíkaneki peepjèehcíi nàhí ìihmehtozéeneniaatoeeci noohk ăapee kíiwaanaatoèehkáanŏciki

1. White people have gone to every language, it is said. 2. There also to my fellow* Caddoes and where the Sauks live. 3. One went to each of our languages, it is said. 4. "So that the language won't be lost," he said. 5. As the old people said long ago, "Later only one language will be spoken," they said. 6. "Later each child will speak only English nowadays. 7. Now it seems we are throwing away our language. 8. It will all be lost," they said repeatedly. 9. No. It will go on forever, but now these people are going to school and they will have to speak Indian on paper there again repeatedly, these who go around pretending to be unable to speak.

7

1. óo nekotenwì jóoteki netăapena óo meekweeh njàanánwikèhkátwe nàhínăaa 2. máikiimìihkéceiipènâ** nétena ìicáĭaka 3. íìnî íăa 4. sée nèsáakweenemopenà jó èehtáatàsiihkéceĭaake èehóiikiăake 5. máikiìsóoniàahehkéetàê

*A joking reference to the fact that the speaker has many Caddo friends.

**Apparently an error, a blend of /kiihmaikiimiihkeceiipena/ and /maikiimiihkeceiitaane/ or /-tae/.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

n èehíăake 6. nétotaipenà meehcípăhooa 7. nécaakienaakì nétapenoohĕmaki 8. kótakak èíiki netawanaaki èeskíkĭihaki 9. n èehéepòzéăake 10. áakwi màaneehtóaakè sóonĭaai 11. méekweehè niisókone nìihánemĭipena 12. nétanemiwaaacàahópena nanaac èehánemĭaake ìihpáimaanecaakìzáaak èehwiizénĭaake 13. nékiopàsítòohémipenà nékŏti páapìisíkĭia 14. ná nekiàhpéenemŏpena 15. íinah èehpjáaake netàanez eehóiikĭaaci jóotĕki 16. ménwitèehéak èehnéewiămeci 17. óo n èehmáamìihkéceiaakèe nah némìihkémaapenà mesíimĭnaki 18. máacimenehtà ceeriihaki nemiihkemaapena 19. caakenakecii ni amèhkómĭnaki pòohkámaàki máacàhkói mèsíimĭnaki 20. ténaamì ménwaiaki mìihkéceiinotaakĕciki 21. nóota càah népjeecipenòpena iisaazíaa na pàsítòohá kiiiteemăketa 22. táatakì óe neeepinàhiihkéceĭipena 23. kw eehòskíinàhpjáaakè áatamezĭaake 24. séiina nemetaacaahĭpena 25. nèsíimenwàhkíii nàh eehkáakiozĕaake 26. kèhcímàskjéekwii nàhí kèhcín ahtĕei. 27. máaneetoonì péepaketeekini mèzóonani nàhí eetanaaskăakini 28. kápootweee nahì áawacikàaheeh ó netotaĭpena 29. nétòhkwáakwapìhcíke căai 30. n èehpjéecipenoăake 31. óo paapjèehpahóonekoaakè méekwèeh niiswaahkwé tàzwímain eehpjăaake 32. népakikanàzíkeepĕna 33. kw ahtòáakè kótak ìihájoaake nòohki séee n ìihcáakàhwéaak ohkăatani 34. ái kìihnáatenaapenà kohô n èehíăake 35. kwí màaneehtóaakè sóonĭaai 36. n èehéepipàhóonekoăake 37. cáak ootèenáni nenakezĭpena 38. kìihmánopenà kohô n èehícì páapiisĭkita 39. áakwi cìih áapèh méhkămaake 40. péepjeehcì mékoci nepjaapenaa nàhí eerisŏoneki 41. ní nòohkíi nàhí ni penan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

èehtáatàsiihkéceĭaake 42. nékaatenìhkéepěna 43. kápootweee nahì kótenw àanémiikìisékàhkí tena èeskihtaaháni nekatŏhpeta nétena ìicáĭaka 44. áii nì máikiòzéetàê n èehíăake 45. méekweehè nezwáapitaki tàzwímaine netăapena 46. n éehpàkíkanàzíkeăake 47. séee n èehpáàhtóaakè iihaswíkanèehcíkĕaake 48. kwí ò meehí kìisímanoaake kĕehta kotaki 49. nèhkánikìisékwe càahíi nàhí mjeekì nénemàzohcíkĕepena 50. nèsíanietĕi 51. kápootwee nahì éenaakwikì sé èehpjáaacì pjéetoak ĕeskikek ohkaaci 52. ní càah mékocìi n eeháaakee n ootĕeneki 53. seee ni mekoci si pehkŏtei 54. sèeskí càahíi nàh nétaapìizénĭpena 55. ìsé jòé nekiòzéepenà eehménwikiisĕkahki 56. twéehè péteki hăatae n èehíăake 57. áii nii naah kòták ooteen èehnáaciaapakĕaake 58. pákic òzáamàhkíii nàhíi ni ooteenekì éehpjăake 59. májaì tasozáamàaskáakii nàh níimiciki èeskíkìiháki naìsáapwăhkiie 60. pénanì n eehwáapakĕaake 61. nì séè eehpénoaakee nàh wiihkehkesíaakè wáapakì ní s èíiki niina ìihmánŏaani íaki cìih mézìi níki netèeskíkìihémakii nini waieăakini éejookin eehnĭimiki 62. májaì caahíi nì kókweecìsáiakii nin èehájŏaaci 63. pìihcíi nàh nétàsíkaakaatenìhkéepenà kápootweè eehkátaikwìisímisĭihiki 64. sée mèekweeh pénòakwê n èehisíamecii na pasĭtooa 65. sée tèepí nekìisímaaazŏpena 66. sée n ìihpjéecipenoaake cìih wéaskì kótakakì njéi wìihpóocìzáaac aĭaki 67. kèehténaamì nétaniàsihcíkĕepena 68. séiinàa níkì kápei pjeecitepàhámooki pĕmii íin ìihwiizéniăake 69. kwí nèsóoniàahémenaan ajŏaake 70. téepi càah népìihcihékonăanaki 71. íini petekì háeekwe jooteki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eepani kìiháwasìpenâ íaki cǐii 72. íini mekoci kòh iihcáakitepàhámeekwè iihájooci mana mèehcípǎhooháa n èehínǎki 73. kwí càah nóohkì péteki hǎaake 74. áawazì asítakaame netaapomĕpena mèehíkoohǐnaaki 75. nétawanaapenàa níki mèhtozéeneniaki mèehíkòohínaak eecikǐciki 76. ténaamì óe nekaakiòzéepenà mezí èehótaiaake mèehcípǎhooa 77. sé càah kápòotwée nenooteeskǎapena 78. kwí nòohkí kàskótaiaakè méenwikita mèehcípǎhooa 79. íin èehkwípoonòzéaakè eehkáakiozĕaake 80. èehaahpécipàahtaaskáaci netaǐnaana 81. áakwi kàskánòohkjéemŏaake 82. sèeskíi n èehóiikiaak èehtáatàsiihkéceiaak àkwámenwipĕnae 83. mèz éiikì móonàskahézŏaake 84. sée càah táatàkí katai nìiswíkèhkátwe èehkwípoonikiiicìhétiaakee na wiicaiaka ŏoe èehaahkwámataki ŏcii 85. íini càahíi ni ìihahkwáacimŏaani

1. Oh, once we went to Utah, oh, about five years ago. 2. "let's go work around," I said to my husband. 3. "All right," he said. 4. At that time we used not to want to keep working where we lived. 5. "Let's go around earning money," we said then. 6. We had a car. 7. I took all my children. 8. I also took some other young people. 9. Then we left. 10. We didn't have much money. 11. We travelled for about two days. 12. We kept cooking along the way while we travelled so that we wouldn't spend much when we ate. 13. We had one old man around, Paapiisikita. 14. We depended on him. 15. Then we arrived there where my daughter and her family live in Utah. 16. They were glad when they saw us. 17. Oh,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

then we kept working there; we picked apples. 18. First of all we picked cherries. 19. After we had gathered all of them, then pears, peaches, and last of all, apples. 20. My! The people we worked for were nice. 21. But we came home too soon; that old man whom we were going around with was impatient. 22. We were beginning to know how to work somewhat at that time. 23. When we first came there we weren't efficient. 24. We had fun, though. 25. It was an extremely nice place there when we kept travelling around. 26. There's a big lake there near by. 27. There were a lot of motor boats running there. 28. Later on, we had a little pickup truck. 29. And we had a full load of people. 30. Then we were coming home. 31. Oh, we kept driving in this direction and we came about two hundred miles. 32. And we had a blow-out. 33. We didn't have another one to use again, and now we were going to use up the tires. 34. "Well, we'll stop and get one," we said then. 35. We didn't have much money. 36. Then we began to drive. 37. We stopped in all the towns. 38. "We'll buy it," Paapiisikita said then. 39. We repeatedly failed to find one, to our surprise. 40. We had to come there to Arizona. 41. Then again we stopped to work there. 42. We picked cotton. 43. Later on, once, on Sunday, "My! I want to eat some watermelons," I told my husband. 44. "Well, then let's go travel around," we said then. 45. We went about thirty miles. 46. Then we had a blow-out. 47. And now we didn't have a tire to change. 48. We hadn't yet bought another [previously]. 49. So all day long we parked there in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the road. 50. It was extremely hot. 51. Later on, when it was evening, when they came then they brought a new tire. 52. So we went immediately then to that town. 53. It was already just then night. 54. So we just ate there for a while. 55. We merely used to travel around when it was good weather. 56. Later, "let's go back," we said then. 57. Well, then we stopped to watch what was happening there in another town. 58. My! It was terrific there in that town when we arrived. 59. How those dancing young people were moving there in the middle of the street! 60. We stopped to watch then. 61. And then, when we went home, there where we were going to stay, on the next day, "Then I'm just going to buy them too," said all those young people of mine, to my surprise, "Those round things that people use when they dance."* 62. And how they experimented when they used them! 63. We kept picking cotton there for a long time, and later it was almost Christmas. 64. "Now let's go home maybe," that old man said to us then. 65. We had already saved enough. 66. And now we were going to come home, and to our surprise, inconveniently, four others wanted to ride. 67. My! We were extremely loaded. 68. However, they paid for the gas all the way here, and (they paid) when we were going to eat. 69. We didn't use our money. 70. So they pleased us enough. 71. "If you people ever go back there to Utah, you take us," they said, to our surprise. 72. "Immediately, if you people pay for everything

*Hula hoops.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this car will use," I told them then. 73. But we didn't go back again. 74. Instead, we've been along the river in Mexico. 75. We took those Indians who are from Mexico. 76. My! We used to keep travelling around everywhere when we had a car. 77. But later we were unable. 78. We weren't able to have a good car again. 79. That's how long we have ceased travelling, travelling and travelling around. 80. Our (car) continues to be broken down. 81. And we can't have it fixed. 82. Then we just kept working where we live every summer. 83. Also we hoed everywhere. 84. But now, for [somewhat] almost two years that former husband of mine and I have ceased living together because he's sick. 85. And so I'm going to tell it* to that point.

8

1. óo nìiháatotà máni nekotenwi èesáiaani pjoot èehiihpókĕaani 2. kwí kèeh mjáanèenétamaanii ni pjŏoti 3. mámaatomooni ŏ pii 4. sé càah áakwì kíaki waiiceenwĭaani 5. nékotenwi càah ájèsée nekotì hkwéà séee ni meekwèeh njéikèhkátw èehkwínepŏohici 6. pjéecìzeehkwa sízŏa 7. íiteemìnô nìihmáimiici pjòotî kìihíihpŏkée n èehísĭci 8. kwí càah náhkŏmaki néwiiteemăa 9. íinah èehpjáaakè kiisónaakwiìizéniaakè kiihíitèemî pĭitikée n èehísĭci 10. n èehícipiitikeaanì ní pjootĭkaani 11. ní èehwáapamak èesáĭaaci 12. kápootweee nahì tétepèsítoaki pjootăapoi 13.

*That is, tell the preceding account over again in English translation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kápootwee nàh pjéemikatw èehápĭaani 14. áì sée nìihíicìmenô n èehisítèehéăani 15. néciikenamaakŏopi 16. nì séè mesíkwaapàhíkanek òhkwáăi 17. tékaì késĭtei 18. nèsíitàzwí caah nĕmeno 19. náakeemeeh nòohkí kìisínaanakamoaacì németàazáapamăaki 20. mán eiikì németàazehtáaak èehnáanakamŏaaci 21. kápootwee cìih nóohkì kiisáapòozáapi eeskĭkeki 22. kápootwee nòohkí pjeemĭkatwi 23. nì séè niiswíkwaapàhíkan èehíicimenŏaani 24. nóòhkî nétekŏopi 25. ní pjootì piihtái èehasámiki nĭiswi 26. níi n eehtàkwímenŏaani 27. ákaacisè nékaskĭkota 28. sée èetókè sé màah keeh níin èesíteehĕaani 29. mán aapèhée noki menoen èehíicimenoaanì táatakì sée teepitàzw eehcáakatamaanì n éehkèsáatezĭaani 30. n éiikì sé èehéepinenèhkéenetamaan èehkétemaakezĭaani 31. ní càah kápòotwée cìih néeepinăatezi 32. cìih táatàkí neeepiketemaakăatezi 33. éiiki pakic èenooskizénw ìihéenìhénikiteehĕaani 34. kápootweee nahì nékataìzáakicĭha nétenaaa nà hkwéà kíiitĕemaka 35. éenà záakicìháatàanê 36. n èeháacimoci pĕnaní n èehpóoninaakĕeki 37. ní èehnóiăake téepinahĭnaaa 38. kìisizáakicìháakè náakwàanô n èehísĭci 39. n èehkónepèskáaan èetókèe na sóomàhkiihíki tekaì pákicì sóomahkĭihii 40. níi nah mànóci eetokè ínahì móotaahkwè asícii ni pjootikaanek èehnémateeki ŏcihki 41. áwieehà nah ahtóokweeni papakiăjaai méekwèeh áwieehì wáapĕskjaaki 42. n èehkónepèskáăani 43. sé eetòké nemòosihtóo ni pjŏoti 44. mèhtóocì sée teepi netahpĭihtezo 45. mán èehisíkonepèskáaani cìihí neenemàzó awĭeea 46. kàsí ketesăíi n èehisícìi na hkwéà kíiitĕemaka 47. máaaka càah

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ciisesá newaapămekwáa n èehínăki 48. táăna 49. ínăakáa n èehínăki 50. kícìi ní netenaapamaà jéetokè kéeh ŏcihki 51. n èehéenikiteehĕeci áakwi ŏo na 52. kwí sĕee cìisesá ŏo náa n èehínăki 53. sé kòh kétènaapî 54. ní màah mán eehpìihcímenwikeki pjootì éeciininaatezĭani n éehĭci 55. éena naakwaanò seê n èehísĭci 56. ínii ni sòomahkiihíkì sé èehéepòzéaanì asícii nàh pjóotikaanekì sóomahkĭihii 57. mánii n èehisíaapatamaan ăhkiki 58. kékjèehténaami cìihí anemaanăkatwi 59. kékjèehténaamì pénooc aneminaanakatwĭi ni 60. kòh máni ŏo 61. kìihpéne piitaaskăaane 62. zèezeezáhkĭi n èehínăki 63. kwí kòhô íăa 64. éepeenìhénikiteehĕa áanwipoonieenikiteehĕa 65. kìihkesóaaskà kohô n èehísĭci 66. kòh máni ò pánèskámaanè kékjèehténaam àapátanò nahínàah iihpákisĭnaaníi n èehínăki 67. éenikitèehé àapé sĕee kwí kòhô 68. ténaamii ni pèték èehisíkìihkíkaapăaani 69. kékjèehténaami n èehkesóàaskáaanì jéetokè iihpáipanèskámaanĭi ni 70. cìih keehténaam òhpehkwánek awieehà népakìsínee nàh asítăpahkwe píitik eepit awĭeea 71. kékjèehténaamii ni nahì eehkípìzáaanì sée èehpjáacii na hkwĕea 72. kàsí ketesăi íăa 73. kòh íini ò nétaasŏaaskáa n èehínăki 74. máaaka eiikì ciisesá kewaapamekŏnaanáa n èehínakìi ní jeetok ŏcihki 75. kékjèehténaami n èehéenìhénikitĕeheeci 76. íini èehpazékwiaan ăskaci 77. nóià nékoti nènia peehtáaatàa náh pĭitike 78. kàsí ketèsáĭpwa íăa 79. mána kòh néewea ciisĕsaníi n èehisíeecii na hkwĕea 80. kéehtènâ n èehísĭci 81. mánì êesĭkitáa n èehisícìi n eeháapatòosíc àíkàazoòháni cìisesán èeháikaazŏnici 82. éehĕe máăakáa n èehínăki 83. ténaamii n

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eehèeníkeenemǐaaci 84. n èehpíitikeăake 85. nétaanwipoonieenìhénikitèehéepěna 86. n éesàíaanii ni menoen èehménoaani kapootwe aapèh eehiihpókĕaani 87. nékèsáatĕzi kìihpénè éenikiteehĕaane 88. èeháanwipooneenikitèeheecii na hkwéa kiiiteemakà pénanii ni èehótamèehínăməki 89. mámaatotaapì némamaatotamaakoopenà éenaatèzíaak ìihménwipemaatèzíăake 90. nèhkánitepèhkwé càahíi nàh nétapìhápǐi ni 91. pjéetookinìi ní pjootaapoi neiicimeno pĕepekwa 92. ní càah áahpècí taatakì máan èehménoaani mani meemenokì ní càah áapèh éenaatezǐaani íinŏki máan èehcáakatamaanii nieeni pjŏoti 93. ní mèhténòoh eehwiihpókĕaani 94. ní èehwáapakì kékìséeepa kìisímiiciaake iiskŏpaki nép eehkìisíměnoki 95. n áapèhée n ìiskópak eehmǐiciki 96. twée nàahí mèz áwièeháki nepjeecanemèhkáakonăanaki 97. níina pàkíci nemetaakweeneměkooki 98. népjeecanemèhkáakŏoki 99. táan èesípemaatèzíăni nétekook ăapee 100. óo nemenwăatezi nétenaăki 101. óo menwikenwì eehpjáani tepĕhkoki nétekook ăapee 102. kícì kíaki taatakì nékiikèsáatăatezi 103. kàsí ketèsái tepĕhkokíi n èehísicǐi na nékoti nĕnia 104. n íinà hkwéa kiiiteemakà nah néenemàzóci eepeenikitĕehea ní měkoci 105. kàsi sáǐ íăa 106. cìisesánì koh néewea tepĕhkokíi n èehínaacìi ná hkwĕea 107. kéehtènâ n èehísǐci 108. éehĕe nétenăa 109. táanăhi 110. máa zăakici 111. èehnéenemàzóci kìihmáapatooněnepwáa n èehíăani 112. kíakì táataki nekieenikaatèzípěna 113. n èehnóiăake 114. máè kohô n èehínăki 115. cìihíi nàhíi ni àhtéi ŏcihki 116. cìihíi nàhí

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

àhtéi jeetok àwíèeh óplizehkaahíi nàh eehahtóocì wáapaatĕeniki 117. íini pèehcámeaani clisesá èehisíteehĕaani 118. séiina nòohkí kĭihpjáa n èehisíaaci nòohkí klihpjéeciiceenomĭpena íăki 119. ní kapootwee nòohk éehpjèezehkáakii nàahíi nekiimjaanaatĕzi 120. néweeepăi 121. ní klihmáinaataĭhóo n èehisícì ciih noohkíi na hkwĕea 122. káakikà nékiiiteemaa jŏoe 123. n èehwíiteemăki 124. n èehíicinaatalhóaani nŏohki 125. nìisénwi càah jéetoke nelihpókee ni pjŏoti 126. níi nì nahínàah néĭihpoke 127. kékjèehténaamì némeemeemĕnate 128. ní kò sée meekwèeh iihcáakàahkámìhíki èesíweenèskáahĭaaníi n èehínakìi na hkwéa kiiitĕemaka 129. cìih ténàam éenikitĕehea 130. kwí òo n iihnahípàahpíhtămani nétĕkwa 131. áakwi paahpíhtămaani 132. sé ò nétaacimò wéeenètwî kézĭpwa 133. jóoh màn eehwéenèskaahíaani netèehéki newĭiseki 134. n íihcàakaahkámĭhiki kétĕne óo n èehínăki 135. éenikitèehéa sĕeski 136. náakeemèeh íinì sé èehtasímamaatotamaik lihménwaatèzíaani lihneezéaani èesíketemaakèzíaani nenèhkótămooki 137. cìihíi nì sée niina eiik èehmjaasíteehĕaani 138. cìih néketemaakeeneta nĭai 139. cìihíi nì sée awièeh eehisímikì seeski sée n èehéepimajŏaani 140. cìih nénenèhkóta niina eiiki kèehténa èesíketemaakezĭaani èesínekotìihíăani sèeskí mèhtaahkwí netăaneza 141. májai càahí nenoozŏkooki 142. nétàsámekooki nòohkí tekai pjooti n èehótamăaani 143. íin èehónemaineaacì caaki iihnánàháatèzíaan lihnánàhítèehéăani 144. klisímamaatotamaiaacì kiisímiiciaake liskópaki n èehnáanoikaĭaaci 145. jóo sèesékisĭnenóo n èehisíăaci 146. táataki ò nétaahkwămata 147.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nékaacàahkwámàzehkáakwìi ní pjǒoti 148. nèsáhkǒzi 149. kéetainàahkwéekì n eehpjáacì nékoti hkwěea 150. kìihmáìizénǐ pii 151. ménehtà pí kìihíitǎakwapi nétěkwa 152. néiitaakwapi cǎai 153. kícìi ní nàhínàahá meekwèeh niiháateenetǎakozi 154. kèeh méekwèeh keehténa nìihmáinaciněkooki 155. népekòhkéenemekookì pákicì iihisiizénǐaani 156. óo menwitèehéǎki 157. káakika kìihpjâ èehmíicikinì káakika kìihâ kìihménwipemaatezì kohô 158. kìihócinenèhkéenetà kémèhtozéeneniǐeni nétekǒopi 159. sé càahí nekìisíneaa nòoz eehkátainepòohíci nàhínàaháa ni pjoot èehótaahpěnaki 160. mámaatotǎmwa 161. nékìisínaacìhíe kǐai ítǎmwa 162. kwí càah éetòké menwimainacihǐani 163. ìsé càah mékòcí mani pjǒoti 164. kàskihtóanè káata wàíiceenwìhkanî n èehísǐci 165. ní càah éecìpóoniwaiiceenwǐaani 166. áàzí mani kotak eeneenetaakòzíakwè kíihǐsiza nétěkwa 167. mánii nà sé měkoci nétěkwa 168. wíina kèhcíne iin eesǐmici 169. ní càah éehtàsíkwajàhkwítèehéaan ìihpóoniwaiiceenwǐaani

1. Oh, I'll tell about this way I did once when I ate peyote with some people. 2. I don't at all dislike peyote. 3. It is said (that) it's a religion/religious rite. 4. But I still haven't joined up (with the Native American Church). 5. But once long ago one woman--she has been dead now for about four years. 6. Pjeecizeehkwa was her name. 7. "Come with me. I'm going to eat peyote. You'll eat it with us," she told me then. 8. I didn't give my consent to her. I (just) went with her. 9. When we arrived there, after we had

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eaten supper, "Come inside with me," she said to me then. 10. Then I went along into that peyote tent. 11. Then I watched [them] how they did. 12. Later on they passed peyote tea around. 13. Later it came to where I sat. 14. "Well, now I'll drink it along with them," I thought then. 15. It was held out to me. 16. And a big cup full already. 17. It was a little hot. 18. I drank a lot of it though. 19. After a while again, when they had finished singing, I enjoyed watching them. 20. Also I enjoyed hearing them when they sang. 21. Later, to my surprise, some new (peyote tea) was brewed again. 22. Later it came (to me) again. 23. And now I drank two cups of it with them. 24. "More?" I was asked. 25. Then, in addition, I was given two (pieces of) peyote to eat. 26. And I drank some along with it. 27. I could hardly swallow it. 28. Now then, right there is just what I thought. 29. Nowadays, when I have repeatedly drunk this drink* with people, when I have already consumed quite a lot, then I feel friendly. 30. And then also I begin to think about my being miserable. 31. So later, to my surprise, I began to feel that way. 32. To my surprise, I began to feel somewhat miserable. 33. Also, my! It was easy for me to keep laughing. 34. Later on, "I have to go to the bathroom," I told that woman whom I was with. 35. "All right, let's go to the bathroom." 36. Then she told (them to) wait a moment and they stopped singing. 37. Then we went outside. A short

---

*liquor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distance away. 38. "Go on ahead," she told me then after we had gone to the bathroom. 39. And when I turned around then a little dip in the ground there--my! There was a little dip in the ground. 40. And beside that, at the same time, there, in that direction, near that peyote tent stood a stump. 41. Someone must have put a piece of cloth there, probably something white. 42. Then I turned around. 43. Now, at the same time I felt (the effects of) that peyote. 44. Apparently I was now quite intoxicated. 45. When I turned around this way, to my surprise someone was standing there. 46. "What's the matter with you?" that woman whom I was with asked me then. 47. "Why, there's Jesus looking at me," I told her then. 48. "Where?" 49. "There he is," I told her then. 50. My! It looked like him to me, and all the while it was a stump. 51. Then she laughed. "That's not him." 52. "Now, no! That is (too) Jesus," I told her then. 53. "You're seeing things. 54. That there is the extent to which this peyote is good, that on account of it you feel that way," she said then. 55. "All right, go (on) ahead now," she said to me then. 56. Then that little dip in the ground when I started to go now--near that peyote tent was a little dip in the ground. 57. Then I looked way down at it like this.* 58. My! To my surprise it was deep. 59. My it went far down. 60. "Wow! This thing. 61. I'm liable to fall in. 62. It's dangerous," I told her then. 63. "Not at all," she

*accompanied by a demonstration

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

said. 64. She began to laugh. She couldn't stop laughing. 65. "Jump hard," she told me then. 66. "Wow! If I miss this [with my feet], my! Look at where I'll land then," I told her then. 67. She laughed repeatedly now, "Not at all." 68. My! Then I stood back. 69. My! Then I jumped hard so that I wouldn't miss that thing then. 70. And, my! to my surprise I landed against someone's back there, someone sitting inside. 71. My! when I fell there, now that woman came then. 72. "What's the matter with you?" she said. 73. "Wow! I jumped over that," I told her then. 74. "And there's Jesus looking at us too," I told her then, and at the same time it was a stump. 75. My! She kept laughing then. 76. Then I got up finally. 77. One man came outdoors, the one who made the fire there inside. 78. "What's the matter with you people?" he said. 79. "This one saw Jesus," that woman said then. 80. "Really?" he asked me then. 81. "[One who is] like this?" he asked me then and then he showed me a picture where Jesus was pictured. 82. "Yes. That's him," I told him then. 83. My! They laughed at me then. 84. Then we went indoors. 85. We couldn't stop laughing. 86. That's how I did when I drank that drink, later when I drank repeatedly with people. 87. I was friendly and I was liable to laugh. 88. When that woman that I was with couldn't stop laughing they paused then and had us smoke. 89. They prayed, they prayed [for us] for how we felt, and that we would feel well. 90. So all night long I sat there then. 91. Whenever that peyote tea had been brought, I felt compelled to drink

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it with them. 92. So, when I have continually drunk quite a lot of that stuff people drink, that's how I felt repeatedly now when I consumed a lot of that peyote. 93. That's the only time I ate it with people. 94. Then, on the next day, early in the morning we ate something sweet. And water was drunk. 95. Then that something sweet is always eaten. 96. Later on, everyone came and greeted us. 97. My! They were thrilled with me. 98. They came and greeted me. 99. "How are you?" they asked me repeatedly. 100. "Oh, I feel well," I told them. 101. "Oh, it's good that you came last night," they told me repeatedly. 102. My! I was still feeling somewhat friendly [around]. 103. "What was the matter with you last night?" [that] one man said to me then. 104. Then that woman whom I was with was standing there and she began to laugh. Immediately. 105. "What's the matter?" he said. 106. "She saw Jesus last night," that woman told him then. 107. "Really?" he asked me then. 108. "Yes," I told him. 109. "Where?" 110. "There, outdoors. 111. I'll go show you people where he stood," I said then. 112. We still felt somewhat silly [around]. 113. Then we went outdoors. 114. "There it is," I told him/them then. 115. To my surprise, that stump was there. 116. At the same time, to my surprise, someone's light colored shirt was there where he put it. 117. That's what I mistook when I thought (it was) Jesus. 118. "But you'll come again," they said to me then again, "Come and join us," they said. 119. Then, later on again, I happened to feel bad. 120. I was having fevers. 121.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"You're going to go be doctored," that woman told me then again, to my surprise. 122. I always used to go around with her. 123. Then I went with her. 124. Then I was doctored again with people. 125. So I ate that peyote with them twice then. 126. (For) I ate it with them at that time. 127. My! I kept vomiting. 128. "And now I will probably be all cleansed (of) the way that I'm wicked," I told that woman then whom I was with. 129. My! To my surprise she laughed. 130. "You shouldn't make fun of it," she told me. 131. "I'm not making fun of it. 132. I'm just telling my experience, you people said it's good. 133. Now I'm wicked here in my heart and in my head. 134. And I'm going to be all cleansed, I'm telling you," I told her then. 135. She merely laughed. 136. And now after a while they prayed there for me to feel well, for me to recover, and they mentioned how I was poor. 137. And now to my surprise I felt sad too. 138. To my surprise I felt sorry for myself. 139. And now to my surprise, when something was said to me, I just began to cry. 140. To my surprise, I myself also mentioned how I really was poor and how I was alone. (There was) just my daughter only. 141. My! So then they fumigated me. 142. They gave me a little peyote to eat again and then I smoked. 143. Then they all prayed for me to feel better physically and mentally. 144. After they had prayed for me and after we had eaten sweet stuff, then they went outdoors. 145. "Keep lying here," they told me then. 146 I had been somewhat sick. 147. That peyote made me sicker. 148. I was exhausted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

149. Then, when it was almost noon, one woman came. 150. "You're to go eat, they say. 151. You're to sit in front with them, they say," she told me. 152. So I sat with them. 153. My! I must have been respected at that time. 154. Or perhaps really they were helping me. 155. They watched out for me to eat plenty. 156. Oh, they were glad. 157. "Always come. Whenever it is eaten always go there and you'll be well. 158. You'll think about your life on account of it," I was told. 159. But I saw my father when he was dying, when he picked up that peyote then. 160. He prayed. 161. "I sought help from you," he told it. 162. "But you didn't help me well then. 163. So this peyote is worthless. 164. If you can do it, don't join up," he told me then. 165. So that's why I stopped joining. 166. "Instead follow this other thing as we were intended (to do)," he told me. 167. "This thing there is worthless," he told me. 168. That's what he himself told me in person. 169. So that's where I decided to stop joining.

9

1. nékotenwi pi maanìzáki ajèsé èehkíòzéaacì iizéniikaanek eehpjǎaaci 2. cìihí pì mehtozéeneniakii nàh tasiizéniaki pàsítǒohaki 3. wíàazí pi tanatǎmooki 4. áii nii nikì máanìzákii nàh eehpjéecinàhehkwéepici manocǐimeee 5. n èehwáaapamaǎaci 6. éetokè pí maanìzáatoeecii niki mèhtozéenenǐaki 7. níi nah èehpjáanici naanàháakwatootà ihkwéa nah ěehpjaaci 8. wéenèehíi n èehínecìi níki maanǐzaki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9. óo sèeskí koh kàahpiihî n èehítiăaci 10. kápootweee nah èehkiisínatotamookwèehíkìi níkii n ìihmíiciaacì mehtozéenenĭaki 11. kápootweee nah èehpjéetooc ìizénĭeni óo memèesiseswaahánĭ pii 12. cìihí pì nésìitazwí wiàazíi nàh eeháakwatĕenii kékimez àwíèeh iihmíicĭaaci 13. óo waăa ní p èehícii na nekoti măaniza 14. kékjèehténaamì tái niinaa na maanìzá èeh níinaa na mèhtozéenenià osáèzíeni àhtóăane èehpiihcíwìizénitèehéec ìsíteehĕaane ía pii na măaniza 15. ní p eehpòozíaapamaacii na mèhtozéeneniipasĭtooa 16. kóŏh* èehínăaci 17. éiiki ŏo 18. jòoh képjăapwa èehmáanizĭeekwe 19. kécaakimamaipen askĭhkii 20. kékimez àwíèeh eesisaasiisáaakè kécaakimamaĭpena íneă pii 21. níi nokì sée mani nèsáèzíen èehnátaeenetamaĭani 22. wéenèeh kóonoci nòohkí neetaeenetămanífi ni p eehĭnaaci 23. pòozí ciipèzíaki pii nikì máanìzáki eetoke pii na maanìzáatoeeci mèhtozéenĕnia

1. Once, it is said, some white men, long ago when travelling around, came to a restaurant. 2. To their surprise, some old Indian men were eating there. 3. They were eating meat. 4. Well, then those white men sat down there to one side. 5. Then they kept looking at them. 6. At the same time those Indians spoke English. 7. Then there came--the waitress came there. 8. "What?" those white men were asked then. 9. "Oh, just coffee," they said to each other then. 10. Later on those Indians must have ordered what they were going to eat. 11. Later on she brought the food. Oh, huge plates. 12.

---

*form?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Surprisingly there was a lot of meat heaped up there and everything for them to eat. 13. "Oh, bah!" [that] one white man said then. 14. "My! I wish I had that white man's--rather, that Indian's hunger. I wish I wanted to eat to the extent he does," that white man said. 15. Then that old Indian man looked at him hard. 16. "Wow!" he said to him. 17. "(This) too. 18. You came here, you white men. 19. You took all the land from us. 20. You took every way that we hunted from us," he told him. 21. "And now today you want this hunger of mine. 22. What more do you want again?" he asked him then. 23. Those white men were very surprised then when that Indian spoke English.

10

1. nékotenwi pi oìihkáanetǐaki máanǐza mèhtozéenenǐa òskínaěehaki èesíisăaaci wéen èehmémèezéhkěeci 2. mm nah ìihnépaaacii ni eejăaaci 3. kápootwee pi sàézǐaki 4. twée p àsénoìhtóak ìihmícǐaaci 5. ni pi siisiipeehani nekot èehnézăaaci 6. n èehpehtáeăaci 7. íin èehnazáaacǐi nini 8. píitenaaacì íinàahí òskóteekì mahkátei eehájoaac èehkiisézwăaaci 9. ní kìisezónicì séee ni èehpéhkŏteeki èehkiisézŏnici 10. sèeskí pì záakikàasímeaki pěkoki 11. ténaami pi iikezwěaki 12. áii ni p eehǐci íina măaniza 13. íneà píi nini mèhtozéenenǐani 14. áiaanie kìihisímenwàahpáeepena pehkŏteeke 15. máacimenwàahpáeekweena màahán ìihámweà siisíipěehaníi n èehínaacì pí mèhtozéenenǐani 16. íìnî èehícì mehtozéenĕnia 17. n èehnahisínoăaci 18. òo

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sée pi pèehkí mekocì eehnesíikèsóekwaamenici pjeetaapakii na mèhtozéeneniaa nin èehkétenaacì siisíipěehani 19. n èehámwăaci 20. sèeskíi ni pèték okàhkwánanii nàh eehpíitěnaki píitenakii nah pěkoki 21. sèeskí càahí zàazáakikàasínici nŏohki 22. ná pi màanizá tanàahpáěesinwa 23. èehaahpáeecì píi na maanìzá mèsíikiaapekì pí pjěewa 24. náh ìpí pjeetapenè ohô 25. cìihí pì píitikèenô náăpi. 26. kíci pi kìihwízènî náăpi 27. ínàh eehnaháakwataoc àhtóohpŏoneki ínàh éehăpici 28. ténaamì cáakì síwiikìzénjaakanii nàh eeháhtěeniki 29. ní p aazèehcíkanek èehínăapici 30. cìihí p òiihkáanani nàh tasíkeekèzáapămekwa níni mèhtozéenenĭani 31. óo aakw ìihkaskásămaki 32. kwí ò iihnátaeenemec èehíneenemaac èehmehtozéeneniĭnici óiihkăanani 33. íini èehánemikieenicĭ pii 34. péteki pi nenikăea 35. íini wiina èehkiisíkèhcízěnici 36. ní meekwee sèé waapak eehtŏohkiici 37. sèeskí kèeh eeháahpăeeci 38. kíakì pí pèhkóteàahíni èehtóohkĭaaci 39. ái kàsí ketenàahpaê ní p eehìnécii na măaniza 40. kíina naap èehínaacì mehtozéenenĭani 41. ménehtà koh kíina kiihăacimóo n èehíneci măaniza 42. háo ìinî n éehĭci 43. óo cìih cáah kètánèhánemĭipena 44. kápootwe ìikíaapì kéneeměpena èehaazénikăateeki 45. íini n eehăaani 46. pétekì képjeecăhkooi 47. téepinàah kétenăhkooi 48. cìih níinà népĭitike 49. kékjèehténaamì nesíitàzénw ìizénĭeni àhtóohpŏoneki 50. n éehtàsiizéniăani 51. kéwaapamen àazeehcíkanekì seesk eehkéekèzáapamĭani 52. áakwi kàskípiitikanenaan ìihasáměnaani 53. kápootweè kéneonè eehánemikieani pěteki 54. óŏo íìnî èehícìi ná mèhtozéeneni

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

àasíhkè kiihéacimòhenê 55. níina càah éenàahpáeaanì ciih kétànehánemǐipena 56. kétaneminăakwa 57. kèehténàa ní mèsíikiaapi keneemĕpena 58. nàah caah kétănemi 59. sèeskíi ni tèepínàah eehisáhkŏonaani 60. kénèsípiitĭke 61. n èehkéekèzáapamenaanii nàh aazeehcíkăneki 62. óo maaneetw ìihmíicĭani 63. kòh áakwi màná nìihtiizá ìihnátaeenemaacii nieenè siisíipĕehani 64. máanèehtóà íihmĭicici 65. kw áàac iihnátaeenĕmaaci 66. níina càah níihmăamwaa n èehisítèehéăani 67. ní man èehcáakămaki p éehìcíi nini sìisíipĕehani 68. ái ketanìhtô èehínaacìi ná măaniza

1. Once, it is said, there were (two) friends, a white man and an Indian, young men, and they were hunting or fishing. 2. Oh, they were going to sleep then there where they had gone. 3. Later they were hungry. 4. Later they had nothing to eat. 5. Then they killed one duck. 6. Then they built a fire. 7. Then they roasted it. 8. They put it there in the fire and they used the coals when they cooked it. 9. Then, when it was cooked, it was already night then when it was cooked. 10. They just laid it in the ashes with the feet sticking out. 11. My! They cooked it well. 12. "Well," that white man said then. 13. He said it to that Indian. 14. "We'll have various kinds of good dreams tonight. 15. Whoever has the best dream will eat this duck," he said to the Indian then. 16. "All right," said the Indian. 17. Then they went to bed. 18. Oh, toward morning when the other man was now sleeping especially soundly, that Indian took out

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that duck. 19. Then he ate it. 20. He just put its legs back there in those ashes. 21. So it lay with just the feet sticking out again. 22. And that white man lay there dreaming. 23. That white man came to a big house when he dreamt. 24. He came there hungry. 25. "Come in," he was told to his surprise. 26. And my! He was told, "Please eat." 27. A table was set for him there and there he sat. 28. My! Every kind of delicious food was there. 29. Then he looked toward the window. 30. To his surprise, his friend, that Indian, kept peeping at him there. 31. "Oh, I won't be able to give him something to eat. 32. "He won't be wanted," he thought of his friend since he was an Indian. 33. Then he (the Indian) turned away. 34. He (the white man) waved him back. 35. Then he himself finished eating a large amount. 36. And now when it was about morning he awoke. 37. He had merely been dreaming. 38. It was still twilight when they awoke. 39. "Well, what did you dream?" the white man was asked then. 40. "What about you?" he asked the Indian. 41. "You tell (it) first," the white man was told then. 42. "Very well, all right," he said then. 43. "Oh, so you and I were walking along, to my surprise. 44. Later we saw a house lit up. 45. Then I went up to it. 46. You came following behind. 47. You were following at a short distance. 48. To my surprise, I went inside. 49. My! there was a lot of food on the table. 50. Then I ate there. 51. I looked at you when you kept peeping at me through the window. 52. I couldn't take you inside to give you something to eat. 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Later I saw you turn back." 54. "Oh, all right," said the Indian, "It's my turn to tell you. 55. So as I dreamt, to my surprise you and I were walking along. 56. You were going along in front. 57. We really saw that big house. 58. So you went on up to it. 59. And I was just a short distance behind you. 60. You went in alone. 61. Then I kept peeping at you through that window. 62. Oh, there was a lot for you to eat. 63. 'Wow! This buddy of mine won't want that duck. 64. He has a lot to eat. 65. He won't even want it. 66. So I'll eat it myself,' I thought then. 67. Then I ate up that duck," he said. 68. "Well, you win," the white man told him.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9. VOCABULARY

This is a list of stems and particles. Each Kickapoo citation is morphophonemically transcribed, but with all sandhi changes performed which are conditioned within it by its constituent morphs. The underline which marks morphophonemic transcription elsewhere is omitted in this chapter. Third person objects, "him", "it" or "them" are included in the glosses of transitive verb stems. The alphabetic order is a c d e h i j k l m n o p r s t w z. N, W and Z are treated as n, w and z respectively in the alphabetic order.

In double quotation marks, " ", are enclosed English terms in popular use among the Kickapoos for items peculiar to Kickapoo culture.

a

aãaci 'even'

aãatoke see ajaatoke

aacihaacimo- Vai 'keep telling one's personal experience'

aacim- Vta 'speak/talk/tell about him'

aacimo- Vai 'tell one's personal experience'

aacimoh- Vta 'tell one's personal experience to him'

aacipanakici 'various'

aahcahkwiaaha 'more and more'

aahcikateaa- Vii 'be narrow'

aahcikateeki- Vai 'be narrow'

aahcikenoohi- Vai 'be little/small'

aahcikjaahen- Vii 'be little/small'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aahiim- Nii 'thing'

aahkaapiih- Nii forked pole in the frame of a wickiup

aahkamaanakesee- Vai 'have clear ears'

aahkamaanakikomee- Vai 'have a clear nose'

aahkamaanakiikwee- Vai 'have clear eyes'

aahkamaapitee- Vai 'have clean teeth'

aahkamezi- Vai 'be clean'

aahkamih- Vta 'clean him'

aahkamihtoo- Vti 'clean it'

aahkamiihtaa- Vai 'put on/wear clean clothes'

aahkamikaatee- Vai 'have clean feet'

aahkamikomee- Vai 'have a clean nose'

aahkaminecee- Vai 'have clean hands'

aahkamitepee- Vai 'have a clean head'

aahkamjaa- Vii 'be clean'

aahkwee- Vai 'be angry'

aahkwamatam- Vai 'be sick'

aahkwamazehkaW- Vta 'make him sick'

aahkwim- Vta 'scold him'

aahkwiteehee- Vai 'be angry'

aahpaee- Vai 'dream'

aahpaeesin- Vai 'lie dreaming'

aahpeci 'continually'

aahteeskaW- Vta 'stamp out a fire in/on him'

aakwapi- Vai 'rest'

aakwatee- Vii 'be heaped up'

aakwi D, kwi C 'not, no'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aamii- Vai 'move, change ones residence'

aamo- Nai 'bee'

aanehkaaN- Vta 'dig him up'

aanehkaatoo- Vti 'dig it up'

aanehkee- Vai 'dig'

aanehkwikaapaa- Vai 'stand next'

aanehkwizen- Vii 'be next'

aanemiheikaan- Nii 'church'

aanemiikiisekat- Vii 'be Sunday'

aaneta 'some, a few'

aanom- Vta 'give him a refusal'

aapehe 'repeatedly'

aapehtai 'half'

aapihkw- Nai 'louse'

aapikon- Nii 'pumpkin'

aapjaah- Nii 'bead'

aapom- Vai 'be there for a while'

aasihke 'in turn'

aasoaaskaa- Vti 'jump over it/him'

aatamezi- Vai 'be efficient'

aateenem- Vta 'respect him'

aateenetam- Vti 'respect it'

aateenetaakozi- Vai 'be respected'

aatezoohkaakan- Nii 'story'

aatezoohkaatoo- Vti 'tell a story about it'

aatezoohkaW- Vta 'tell a story to him'

aatezoohkee- Vai 'tell a story'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aatotam- Vti 'speak/talk/tell about it'

aawacikaah- Nai 'pick-up truck'

aawacikaaheeh- Nai 'little pick-up truck'

aawacikan- Nai 'truck'

aawaN- Vta 'haul him'

aawatoo- Vti 'haul it'

aaWazi 'more, to a greater extent; better, rather, preferably; instead'

aazeehcikan- Nii 'window'

aazenikaatee- Vii 'be lit up'

aazenikaazo- Vai 'be lit up'

aazenikan- Nii 'lamp'

aazenikee- Vai 'put a light on'

acihkwi- Vai 'be pregnant'

adimaan- Nai 'German person'

aeenem- Vta 'think that it's he'

aeenetam- Vti 'think that that's it'

ahkaãapam- Vta 'watch him'

ahkaãapamo- Vai 'watch, be watchful'

ahkiki 'far down'

ahkj- Nii 'the world/earth'

ahkohkw- Nai 'bucket, pail; kettle; drum' 33.1: -ooki

ahkoi 'last, in back, behind'

ahkoi ocikaapaa- Vai 'stand last/in back/behind'

ahkoi ocisin- Vai 'lie last/in back/behind'

ahkoi ocizen- Vii 'be last/in back/behind'

ahkoi otapi- Vai 'sit last/in back/behind'

ahkoo- Vta 'go behind/follow him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ahkwamee- Vai 'be careful, watch out'

ahpapiin- Nii 'chair'

ahpeenemo- Vti 'depend/rely-count on it/him'

ahpemeki 'up, up above' with NL: 'above, over'

ahpemeeheki 'up above'

ahpiihtezi- Vai 'be so old'

ahpiihtezo- Vai 'be so heated; be so intoxicated'

ahtezotam- Vai 'cough'

ahtee- Vii 'be/sit there'

ahtoo- Vti 'have it; put/set it there'

ahtoohpoon- Nii 'table'

ai 'well', Russian 'nu'

ai- Vai 'be there'; with conj. f.: 'want'

aiaanie 'various'

aihai- Vai 'keep being there'

aiihkwi- Vai 'be tired'

aikaacikan- Vti 'pen, pencil; camera'

aikaazo- Vai 'be pictured, be photographed'

aikaazooh- Nai 'picture'

aikaazoohikaan- Nii 'movie theater'

aikaazoohimahkahkw- Nii 'television set'

aikan- Vii 'be a shady place'

aikazoon- Nii 'arbor', "shade"

aikee- Vai 'write, draw a picture'

aikwaamezi- Vai 'strive, struggle'

aineehka 'unwittingly, unknowingly'

ajaatoke, aãatoke 'forever'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ajaapami- Vai 'return, go back'

ajahajaci 'various'

ajeseẽ 'a long while ago'

ajoo- Vti 'use it'

ajootee- Vii 'be used, be in use'

akaacise 'hardly, barely'

akaameeheki 'across the water'

akaasiihi- Vai 'be a little, be few'

akaaswih- Vta 'have a little/few of him'

akaaswihtoo- Vti 'have a little/few of it'

akaaswiihi 'a little, few'

akahke 'hereafter'

akahki 'afterwards'

akikwaapjaa- Vai 'have a cold'

akim- Vta 'count them'

akitaazo- Vai 'count'

akitam- Vti 'count them'

akwamenwipenae 'every summer'

akwici with NL 'upon, on top of'

akwitapahkwe with NL 'upon, on top of'

amehkomin- Nai 'pear'

amw- Vta 'eat him'

anaahkan- Nii 'straw mat'

anaahtasi- Vai 'be several'

anaahtazwi 'several'

anaakw- Nai 'star' 33.1: -waki

aneciimin- Nii 'pea'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

anehanemii- Vai 'keep going/travelling along'

anehanemipahooneko- Vai 'keep driving along' (in a vehicle)

anemaanakat- Vii 'be a deep hole/cavity'

anemehkaW- Vta 'greet him'

anemihaa- Vai 'go by such a route'

anemii- Vai 'go/travel along'

anemiimikat- Vii 'go/travel along'

anemipahooneko- Vai 'drive along' (in a vehicle)

anemooh- Nai 'little dog, puppy'

anemooheeh- Nai 'little puppy'

anemw- Nai 'dog' 33.1: -ooki

anemwi- Vai 'be a dog'

anen- Vai 'be rotten'

anet- Vii 'be rotten'

aniakitee- Vii 'be expensive'

aniasihcikee- Vai 'have an excessive load'

anietee- Vii 'be warm/hot weather'

anihanipahooneko- Vai 'keep driving excessively' (in a vehicle)

anihaniozee- Vai 'keep walking/travelling excessively'

anih- Vta 'win over him, beat him' (in a contest/game)

anihtoo- Vai 'win a contest or game'

aniipj- Nii 'elm tree'

anika 'thither, moving in that direction'

anika oci 'over that way'

anikw- Nai 'squirrel' 33.1: -waki

anohanoohkjeemo- Vti 'keep having it/him done/repaired'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

anoohkjeemo- Vti 'have it/him done/repaired'

anookaaki- Vii 'be muddy'

anookahki- Vii 'be muddy ground, be a muddy place'

anookanw- Nii 'mud'

anookezi- Vai 'be muddy'

anookikaatee- Vai 'have muddy feet'

anookjaa- Vii 'be muddy'

apaazetee- Vii 'be sunny weather'

apahkwaazoon- Nii 'roofing, covering for a house'

apahkwaikaan- Nii 'winter wickiup', "winter house"

apahkwaj- Nai 'cattail reed', plural: 'cattail reed mat'

apahkwee- Vti 'roof/thatch a house', "top"

apasj- Nii 'pole'

apasiihkee- Vai 'gather poles'

apenooh- Nai 'child'

apenooheeh- Nai 'baby'

apenoohi- Vai 'be a child'

api- Vai 'sit there, sit'

apihapi- Vai 'keep sitting there, keep sitting'

apjeenetoneemo- Vai 'speak/talk slowly'

apjeenezi- Vai 'be slow'

apjeenipahooneko- Vai 'drive slowly' (in a vehicle)

apjeenoee- Vai 'say it slowly'

apjeenozee- Vai 'walk/go slowly'

apwih- Vta 'wait for him'

asamaakaah- Nai 'soldier'; in playing cards: 'jack'

asamaakaahi- Vai 'be a soldier'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

asam- Vta, Vta/i 'give him something to eat, feed him, give it to him to eat'

asenoih- Vta 'have none of him, lack/be out of him'

asenoihtoo- Vti 'have none of it, lack/be out of it'

asici with NL 'near'

asiciimeehe 'near by'

asikazoon- Nai 'sock, stocking'

asitakaame 'near the water'

asitapahkwe with NL 'against'

askaanakiikwee- Vai 'have tired eyes'

askaci 'late'

askaciimeehe 'later on'

askahkjeesin- Vai 'be tired of lying around'

askapi- Vai 'be tired of sitting'

askihki- Nii 'soil, ground, earth, dirt; land'

askihkjaanakiikwee- Vai 'have dirt in one's eyes'

askikaapaa- Vai 'be tired of standing'

askipakaazo- Vai 'be green'

askipakeceaa- Vii 'have a green body'

askipakecee- Vai 'have a green body'

askipakezi- Vai 'be green'

askipakimahkezenee- Vai 'put on/wear green shoes'

askipakipiizehkaee- Vai 'put on/wear a greet shirt/blouse'

askipakjaa- Vii 'be green'

askisin- Vai 'be tired of lying/reclining'

askwii- Vai 'remain behind'

aswikaneehcikee- Vai 'change a tire'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ataahi 'hither, moving in this direction'

ataahi oci 'over this way'

ataam- Vta/i 'sell it to him'

ataee- Vti 'sell it/him'

ataeeneniikaan- Nii 'store'

aw- Vta 'use him'

awan- Vii 'be foggy weather'

awaN- Vta 'carry/convey him'

awataahkee- Vti 'throw/send it/him'

awatoo- Vti 'carry/convey it'

awih- Vta/i 'lend/rent it to him'

awihiee- Vti 'lend/rent it/him out'

aZ- Vta 'put/set him there'

azaj- Nai 'skin, hide'

azapaapj- Nai 'rope'

azapimoteeh- Nii 'sack, bag'

azeniih- Nii 'little stone, piece of gravel'

azenimjee- Nii 'paved road'

azenj- Nii 'stone, rock'

c

caahi 'but; so then'

caakaãki 'all'

caakahwee- Vti 'use it/him up'

caakam- Vta 'eat him up'

caakatam- Vti 'eat/drink it up'

caaken- Vta 'gather all of him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

caaki 'all'

caakieN- Vta 'carry/convey all of him'

caakietoo- Vti 'carry/convey all of it'

caakinee- Vai 'be all dead'

caakizaa- Vti 'use it/him up'

caakizenjee- Vai 'eat everything'

cahkwiihi- Vai 'be short'

cakikwiezeeh- Nai 'unnamed baby boy'

cakiskw- Nai 'unnamed baby girl'

ceeriih- Nai 'cherry'

ceiiswi 'both'

ciihi 'surprisingly'

ciikatetiih- Nai 'scorpion'

ciikenamaW- Vta/i 'hold it out to him'

ciiketooh- Nai 'coffee pot'

ciikwan- Nid 'knee'

ciinaeem- Vta 'be related to him'

ciinisken- Vta 'squeeze him'

ciiniskenam- Vti 'squeeze it'

ciinooh- Nai 'Chinese person'

ciinw- Nid 'navel'

ciipaj- Nai 'corpse'

ciipatapi- Vai 'sit down'

ciipehkohkwee- Vai 'hold an "evening feast"'

ciipezi- Vai 'be surprised/startled'

ciises- Nai 'Jesus'

ciiskee- Vai 'break wind'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coon- Nii 'Jones, Okla.'

e

eecinoaapataani- Vii 'look easy'

eecinoakitee- Vii 'be cheap'

eecinoat- Vii 'be easy; be cheap'

eecinoiken- Vii 'be easy'

eeh precedes the correction of an error

eehee 'yes'

eehkaaciih- Nai 'dutch oven'

eemehkwaan- Nii 'spoon'

eemehtekoosiih- Nai 'French person'

eena 'all right'

eenihenikehtaW- Vta 'keep laughing at hearing him/at the sound of him'

eenihenikiteehee- Vai 'keep laughing'

eenikaapam- Vta 'laugh at seeing him/at how he looks'

eenikaatezi- Vai 'feel silly'

eenikeenem- Vta 'laugh at him'

eenikeenetam- Vti 'laugh at it'

eenikehtaW- Vta 'laugh at hearing him/at the sound of him'

eenikiikwee- Vai 'smile'

eenikiteehee- Vai 'laugh'

eenikw- Nai 'ant' 33.1: -waki

eenooskizen- Vii 'be easy'

eepani see jeepani

eerisoon- Nii 'Arizona'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

eeskihtaah- Nii 'watermelon'

eeskikiih- Nai 'young person, adolescent, teen-ager'

eeskikiiheeh- Nai 'little adolescent'

eeskoteiih- Nai 'railroad train'

eeskoteiihimjee- Nii 'railroad'

eetoke see jeetoke

eezepan- Nai 'raccoon'

eezepanimisj- Nii 'dogwood tree'

eiiki 'also, too'

h

haakan- Nad 'son-in-law'

haao 'all right'

hci- Nad 'arm'

hciimeeh- Nad 'younger brother/sister'

heon- Nii 'Harrah, Okla.'

hkan- Nid 'bone'

hkaat- Nid 'foot'; of a vehicle: 'tire'

hkaahk- Nid 'chest' (body part)

hkian- Nid 'nose'

hkon- Nid 'liver'

hkoneeh- Nid 'blanket'

hkweekan- Nid 'neck'

hoo 'hello'

hpehkwan- Nid 'back'

htaakaj- Nid 'ear'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

i

i- Vai 'say so'

ia- see iia-

ihaa- Vai 'go to that place'

anika ihaa- Vai 'go away, get away'

ihkwee- Nai 'woman'; with thematic affixes: 'man's sister'; in playing cards: 'queen'; N2: 'ma'am'

ihkweeheeh- Nai 'young woman'

ihkweehi- Vai 'be a young woman'

ihkwei- Vai 'be a woman'

ihpenaN- Vta 'do so to him/with him, treat him so'

ihpenatoo- Vti 'do so to it/with it, treat it so'

iia- D, ia- C, Nid 'self' (niaanaani 'ourselves')

iihkaan- Nad 'friend'

iihtiiz- Nad 'buddy, chum'

iinama 'wow!'

iinani- Nid 'tongue'

iineZ- Nid 'hair'

iip- Nid 'arrow'

iipit- Nid 'tooth'

iiW- Nad 'wife' (archaic or impolite)

iN- Vta 'say so to him, tell him so'

inaacim- Vta 'say so about him'

inaacimo- Vai 'tell so'

inaaha 'at such a time'

inaahpaee- Vai 'dream so, have such a dream'

inaanakat- Vii 'be so deep a hole/cavity'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inaapam- Vta 'think he looks so'

inaapi- Vai 'look toward that place'

ise inaapi- Vai 'have halucinations'

inaatee- Vii 'be so colored'

inaatezi- Vai 'feel so'

inaatoee- Vai 'speak so, speak such a language'

inaazo- Vai 'be so colored'

inaeem- Vta 'be so related to him'

inahinaaha 'at such a time'

inahkoo- Vta 'follow so'

inakimo- Vai 'cost so much, be priced at so much'

inakitee- Vii 'cost so much, be priced at so much'

ineenem- Vta 'think so about him'

ineenetaakozi- Vai 'be so intended'

inekaa- Vai 'dance so'

inekin- Vai 'be so big/large'

ineni- Nai 'man, male person'; with thematic affixes:

'woman's brother'; in playing cards: 'king'; N2 'sir'

ineniĭ- Vai 'be a man'

inenikaW- Vta 'signal/motion/wave so to him'

inoee- Vai 'say so'

ise inoee- Vai 'lie, tell a lie'

inozee- Vai 'walk/travel so'

isai- Vai 'do so'

kasi isai- Vai 'what's the matter with?'

ise D, se C, 'merely'; with iN 'falsely'

ise caahi 'but, however'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

iseiina D, seiina C, 'but, however'

isi 'thus, so'

isiee- Vai 'say so to people'

isieN- Vta 'carry/convey him to that place'

isikaapaa- Vai 'stand so'

isiken- Vii 'be so, be like'

isiki- Vai 'be so, be like'

isikiisekat- Vii 'be such weather'

isim- Vta 'say so to him'

isiteehee- Vai 'think so; wish so'

isizaa- Vai 'fly to that place'

isizo- Vai 'be so named'

iskweezeeh- Nai 'girl'

iskweezeeheeh- Nai 'little girl'

iskweezeehi- Vai 'be a girl'

itam- Vti 'say so to it, tell it so'

itii- Vai 'say so to one another'

j

jeepani, eepani 'ever, at any time'

jeetoke, eetoke 'then, at the same time'

jooe, ooe 'formerly'

jootaahkwe 'in this direction'

joot- Nii 'Utah'

k

kaahkiteehee- Vai 'be thirsty'

kaahpiihaatee- Vii 'be coffee colored, be brown'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kaahpiihaazo- Vai 'be coffee colored, be brown'

kaahpiih- Nii 'coffee'

kaakaatenihkee- Vai 'keep picking cotton'

kaakiaatezi- Vai 'keep being lonesome'

kaakiahkamikezi- Vai 'keep playing around'

kaakika 'always'

kaakiozee- Vai 'keep walking/travelling/wandering around'

kaanooh- Nii 'diamond' in playing cards

kaata 'don't'

kaaten- Vta 'push him by hand'

kaatenam- Vti 'push it by hand'

kaatenihkee- Vai 'pick cotton'

kaatenj- Nii 'cotton'

kaaziiham- Vti 'wipe it'

kaaziihw- Vta 'wipe him'

kaaziikweehoon- Nii 'face towel, napkin'

kaaziineceehoon- Nii 'hand towel, napkin'

kaeeciihe 'a short while ago'

kahkaiisj- Nai 'weed'

kahkiN- Vta 'hide him'

kahkitoo- Vti 'hide it'

kahkizo- Vai 'hide oneself'

kahkwan- Nid 'leg'

kakanai- Vai 'keep speaking/talking'

kakanoonetii- Vai 'keep speaking/talking to one another'

kakanoonetiim- Vta 'keep speaking/talking to him'

kanai- Vai 'speak, talk'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kananaaciih- Nai 'Caddo Indian'

kananaaciinaaki 'where the Caddo Indians live'

kapei 'all the way'

kaponees- Nai 'Japanese person'

kapootweẽ, tweẽ 'later'

kapootweẽ iinahi 'later on'

kasi 'what?' with iN

kasi sai 'why?, what's the matter?'

kaskihtoo- Vti 'be able/manage to make/do it'; of money: 'be able/manage to earn it'

kaskiihkam- Vti 'be able to do/handle/deal with it'

kataeenem- Vta 'want him'

kataeenetam- Vti 'want it'

katai 'almost'

katainee- Vai 'be dying, be almost dead'

kataisaa- Vai 'have to urinate'

katohpetam- Vti 'want to eat it, crave it'

katohpw- Vta 'want to eat him, crave him'

katokwaam- Vai 'be sleepy'

kecii- Vai 'go out'

keehe 'or'; emphatic

keehkjaah- Nai 'old person'

keehpakeehimisj- Nii 'hickory tree'

keehta 'before, previously'

keehteaa- Vii 'be old'

keehteeziihi- Vai 'be aging'

keehteimahkezenee- Vai 'put on/wear old shoes'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

keehtena 'really, truly'

keehtenaami see kekjeehtenaami

keeketo- Vai 'keep lowing/mooing/howling/chirping'

keekezaapam- Vta 'keep peeking/peeping/peering at him'

keekinaW- Vta 'catch him in the act'

keekjeehkweehikaan- Nii 'school'

keemooteeh- Nai 'thief'

keemooteehi- Vai 'be a thief'

keenisis- Nii 'Kansas'

keenitiih- Nii 'candy'

keetahteeh- Nii 'fried bread'

keezwi 'how much/many?'

kehcikami- Nii 'sea, ocean'

kehcimo- Vai 'be stubborn, be insistent'

kehcine 'near by; in person'

kehcineekaiih- Nii 'South Canadian River'

kehcipeno- Vai 'run'

kehcisin- Vai 'be tired'

kehkaham- Vti 'specify/indicate it'

kehkahw- Vta 'specify/indicate him'

kehkatw- Nii 'year'

kehkeenem- Vta 'know him'

kehkeenetaakozi- Vai 'be known'

kehkeenetam- Vti 'know it'

kehkesi- Vai 'stay and live there'

kehkjaa- Vai 'be old'

kehpakezi- Vai 'be thick; be irresponsible'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kehpakitepee- Vai 'have a thick head'

kehpakjaa- Vii 'be thick'

kehtenaan- Vii 'rain hard, pour'

kehtikaan- Nii 'garden'

kekenezi- Vai 'hurry, be quick'

kekenii- Vai 'hurry, go quickly'

kekenipahooneko- Vai 'drive fast' (in a vehicle)

kekimezi 'every'

kekiseẽepa 'in the morning'

kekjeehkim- Vta 'teach him'

kekjeehkimaazo- Vai 'attend school'

kekjeehtenaami, keehtenaami, tenaami, tena 'my!'

kemootem- Vta/i 'steal it from him'

kemoot- Vti 'steal it'

kenoaa- Vii 'be long'

kenoocee- Vai 'have a long body'

kenoozi- Vai 'be long'

kepahaatee- Vii 'be closed up'

kepahaazo- Vai 'be closed up; be in jail'

kepaham- Vti 'close/shut it'

kepahootiikaan- Nii 'jail'

kepaten- Vii 'freeze, be frozen' (of water)

kepoceenikan- Nii 'sandwich'

kesaataatezi- Vai 'feel friendly'

kesaatezi- Vai 'be friendly'

kesihkaapjeehikan- Nii 'fork' (eating utensil)

kesihkahw- Vta 'stab/stick him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kesihkipahoonekò- Vai 'drive hard' (in a vehicle)

kesihkozee- Vai 'walk hard'

kesiipen- Vta 'scratch him'

kesiipeno- Vai 'scratch oneself'

kesiipezi- Vai 'be itchy'

kesiipikomeeno- Vai 'scratch one's nose'

kesiipipehkwaneen- Vta 'scratch his back'

kesiipipehkwaneeno- Vai 'scratch one's back'

kesiipitepee- Vai 'have an itchy head'

kesitee- Vii 'be hot'

kesiteikaatee- Vai 'have warm feet'

kesoaaskąa- Vai 'jump hard'

kesoaazen- Vii 'blow hard' (of the wind), 'be very windy weather'

kesoekwaam- Vai 'sleep soundly'

ketaakan- Nii 'centerpost in a wickiup'

ketakezi- Vai 'have spots'

ketazamaW- Vta/i 'fry it for him'

ketazam- Vti 'fry it'

ketazikaW- Vta 'fry things for him'

ketazw- Vta 'fry him'

ketemaakaatezi- Vai 'feel miserable/pitiful'

ketemaakeenem- Vta 'feel sorry for him, pity him'

ketemaakeenetam- Vti 'feel sorry for it, pity it'

ketemaakezi- Vai 'be miserable/pitiful; be poor in property'

ketemaakiteehee- Vai 'be miserable/pitiful'

ketemah- Vta 'be cruel/mean to him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

keten- Vta 'put/take him out/off/away; doff him'

ketenam- Vti 'put/take it out/off/away; doff it'

keto- Vai 'low, moo, howl, chirp'

kezaapam- Vta 'peck/peep/peer at him'

keziikwaa- Vai 'wash one's face'

keziinecaa- Vai 'wash one's hands'

kezookimo- Vai 'cost how much?'

kezwihtoo- Vti 'have how much/many of it/them?'

kezwipepoonwee- Vai 'be how many years old?'

kiaaciteehee- Vai 'feel lonesome'

kiaapjeesin- Vai 'lie, recline'

kiaasi- Nai 'airplane'

kiaataatezi- Vai 'feel lonesome'

kiaatezi- Vai 'be lonesome'

kiaci- Vai 'go around cold'

kiahkamikezi- Vai 'play around'

kiaki 'still' (temporal)

kiaskweepjee- Vai 'be drunk'

kiatezi- Vai 'remain/stay there'

kiatoneeham- Vti 'look for it, seek it'

kiatoneehw- Vta 'look for him, seek him'

kici see pakici

kiee- Vai 'turn away'

kiĩcimee- Vai 'swim around'

kiih- Nad 'mother's sister'

kiihkapi- Vai 'move away' (of sitting)

kiihkeskaa- Vii 'spring apart'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kiihkii- Vai 'move on, continue on one's way'

kiihkiihkeskaa- Vii 'keep springing apart'

kiihkikaapaa- Vai 'move away' (of standing), 'stand away'

kiihkisin- Vai 'move away' (of lying)

kiihpene 'if only; as soon as; probably'

kiihpocee- Vai 'be full/satisfied with food'

kiĩihkeceii- Vai 'work around'

kiikaapw- Nai 'Kickapoo Indian'

kiikaapwaatoee- Vai 'speak/talk the Kickapoo language'

kiikeeno- Vai 'hold a rite/"feast"'

kiikezi- Vai 'be industrious'

kiĩneeW- Vta 'stay around him'

kiinezi- Vai 'be sharp'

kiinjaa- Vai 'be sharp'

kiipaaskaa- Vii 'fall over'

kiipahooneko- Vai 'drive around' (in a vehicle)

kiipizaa- Vai 'fall'

kiisaapoozam- Vti 'finish brewing it'

kiisaskesw- Vta 'finish cutting his hair'

kiiseii- Vai 'finish'

kiisekw- Nii 'sky'

kiisenam- Vti 'finish gathering it'

kiisetee- Vii 'finish being cooked'

kiisezikee- Vai 'finish cooking'

kiisezo- Vai 'finish being cooked'

kiisezw- Nai 'sun, moon; month; clock, watch'

kiisezw- Vta 'finish cooking him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kiisih- Vta 'finish making/doing him'

kiisihiee- Vai 'make things'; conjunct participle: 'God'

kiisihtaW- Vta/i 'finish making/doing it for him'

kiisikaapaahkw- Nai female personal name

kiisikee- Vai 'finish building a house'

kiisiki- Vai 'be grown up'

kiisimaãazo- Vai 'finish saving up'

kiisimaazo- Vai 'be promised'

kiisim- Vta 'promise him'

kiisinaahkwee- Vii 'be afternoon'

kiisineeham- Vti 'finish buying it'

kiisineehamaW- Vta/i 'finish buying it for him'

kiisineehw- Vta 'finish buying him'

kiisizenjee- Vai 'finish eating'

kiisizetaW- Vta/i 'place it ready/handy for him'

kiisizetoo- Vti 'place it ready/handy'

kiiskaham- Vti 'chop off part of it'

kiiskahkesw- Vta 'cut his hair'

kiiskehkaa- Vii 'break in two'

kiiskenam- Vti 'break off part of it'

kiiskesam- Vti 'cut off part of it'

kiiskesw- Vta 'cut off part of him'

kiiskezw- Vta 'burn off part of him'

kiiskiiskehkaa- Vii 'keep breaking in two'

kiiskooh- Nai 'member of the kiiskooha moiety, "Democrat"'

kiitaneko- Vai 'play'

kiizaaci 'unfortunately'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kiizaaciteehee- Vai 'be sorry/disappointed'

kiizaatezi- Vai 'have trouble, be unfortunate'

kioon- Nii 'heart' in playing cards

kiootee- Vai 'crawl around'

kiozee- Vai 'walk/travel/wander around'

kj- Nad 'mother'

kjaam- Vta 'be jealous of him'

kjaee- Vai 'be jealous'

koceii- Vai 'try'

kocim- Vta 'ask him, question him'

koho emphatic; 'wow!'

kohkahikan- Nii 'bridge'

kohtam- Vti 'fear it, be afraid of it'

kokweecisai- Vai 'experiment'

konepaacih- Vta 'pester, tease'

konepaaciken- Vii 'be annoying/bothersome'

konepeskaa- Vai 'turn around'

koohkoos- Nai 'pig'

kooken- Vta 'wash him'

kookenam- Vti 'wash it'

kookenikaW- Vta 'do washing for him'

kookenikee- Vai 'do washing'

kookikaano- Vai 'wash one's feet'

koonoci 'more, in addition'

kooteeh- Nid 'dress; skirt'

kotam- Vti 'swallow it'

kotenwi see nekotenwi

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kotikase- see neekotikase-

kotoomehkwe see nekotoomehkwe

kotwaasika see nekotwaasika

koZ- Vta 'fear him, be afraid of him'

kozekwan- Vai 'be heavy'

kozekwan- Vii 'be heavy'

kwaakookenikaW- Vta 'keep doing washing for him'

kwaakookeenikee- Vai 'keep doing washing'

kwaapahikan- Nii 'cup'

kwajahkwiteehee- Vai 'decide'

kweehtaani 'certainly, surely'

kwi see aakwi

kwiena 'in time; just now, just then'

kwiezeeh- Nai 'boy'

kwiezeeheeh- Nai 'little boy'

kwiezeehi- Vai 'be a boy'

kwiisimisiihi- Vii 'be Christmas'

kwiiten- Vta 'raise him up'

kwiitenam- Vti 'raise it up'

kwiz- Nad 'son'

l

leec- Nii 'milk'

m

maakwaj- Nii 'hat'

maamaja 'early'

maamajoo- Vai 'keep crying'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

maamiici- Vti 'keep eating it'

maamiihkeceii- Vai 'keep working'

maamiihketii- Vai 'keep playing cards'

maanam- Vta 'arrive before him, beat him to a place'

maane 'much, many'

maanee- Vai 'be much/many'

maaneeh- Vta 'have much/many of him'

maaneehtoo- Vti 'have much/many of it'

maaneet- Vii 'be much/many'

maaniz- Nai 'white American', "white man"

maanizaatoee- Vai 'speak/talk English'

maanizeeh- Nai 'young white American'

maanizi- Vai 'be a white American'

maanizikaan- Nii 'white American house'

maanizizo- Vai 'have an English name'

maaskooh- Nai 'Seminole Indian'

maaten- Vta 'gather/collect him'

maatenam- Vti 'gather/collect it'

maatez- Nii 'knife'

macimanetooh- Nai 'devil'

macipj- Nii 'grass'

mahkahkohw- Vta 'box/can him'

mahkahkooh- Nii 'can'

mahkahkw- Nii 'box, trunk'

mahkateaa- Vii 'be black'

mahkateaatee- Vii 'be black'

mahkateeh- Nai 'Negro'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mahkateehinaaki 'where the Negroes live, in the Negro town of Nacimiento, Coah.'

mahkateeneni- Nai 'Negro'

mahkateezi- Vai 'be black'

mahkate- Nii 'coal from a fire, ember'

mahkezeeh- Nii 'shoe'

mahkw- Nai 'bear'

mahkwaaci 'still, unmoving'

mahkwaamo- Nai 'bumble bee'

maicrrci- Vai 'go to church'

maiicaanemihaa- Vai 'go to church'

maim- Vta 'cry for him'

mainacih- Vta 'help him'

majaai 'my!'

majoo- Vai 'cry'

makateaa- Vii 'be wide'

makateeki- Vai 'be wide'

makeceaa- Vii 'have a wide body'

makecee- Vai 'have a wide body'

makikee- Vai 'have a big house'

makwahki- Vii 'be hilly/mountainous land'; conjunct participle: 'hill, mountain'

makwahoko- Vai 'be swollen'

makwinecee- Vai 'have a swollen hand'

mam- Vta 'buy him'

mamaatomoon- Nii 'religious rite'

mamaatotam- Vai 'pray'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mamaatotamaW- Vta 'pray on his behalf'

mamahkeeh- Nai 'toad'

mamahkeeheeh- Nai 'little toad'

mamaW- Vta/i 'take it from him'

maneto- Nai 'snake'

manetoozeeh- Nai 'insect, worm'

mano- Vti 'buy it'

manoci with NL 'beside'

manociimeehe 'to the side'

manoomin- Nai 'Menominee Indian'

manoomin- Nii 'rice'

maseskiineniih- Nai 'medical doctor'

maskjeekw- Nii 'lake'

maskociiz- Nai 'bean'

mazaaci 'finally, at last'

mecemooh- Nai 'old woman'

meehcipahooh- Nai 'automobile'

meehi 'yet'

meehikooh- Nai 'Spanish Mexican'

akaameeheki tasimeehikooh- Nai 'Spaniard'

meehikoohaatoee- Vai 'speak/talk Spanish'

meehikoohinaaki 'in Mexico'

meekweehe 'probably, perhaps'; with numerals: 'about'

meemaatomooh- Nai 'preacher'

meemeekwa 'soon'

meemeemenat- Vai 'keep vomiting'

meemehkoozi- Vti 'keep obtaining it/him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meemeki- Vai 'keep barking'

meemenat- Vai 'vomit'

meemeno- Vti 'keep drinking it'

meemetaazehtaW- Vta 'keep enjoying hearing him'

meeseneehi- Vai 'be lazy'

meesipahteeh- Nii 'raisin'

mehci 'down, down below'

mehcihaa- Vai 'get out of a vehicle'

mehcikaano- Vai 'bare one's feet'

mehcikaatee- Vai 'be barefoot'

mehkam- Vti 'find it'

mehkamaW- Vta/i 'find it for him'

mehkaW- 'find him'

mehkoneen- Nii 'blanket'

mehkoozi- Vti 'obtain it/him'

mehkopenekw- Nii 'piece of iron'

mehkopenekwaacimoh- Vta 'telephone him'

mehkopenekwaacimoon- Nii 'telephone'

mehkwinaeem- Vta 'remind him'

mehkwiteehee- Vai 'remember'

mehpo- Vii 'snow'

mehtaahkwi 'only, alone'

mehtaaki 'on the ground/floor'

mehteeh- Nai 'bow' (weapon)

mahtekomisj- Nii 'oak tree'

mehtekwaahkihki- Nii 'woods, forest'

mehtekw- Nii 'tree'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mehtenoohi- 'only'

mehtooci 'apparently'

mehtozeeneni- Nai 'Indian'

mehtozeeneniaatoee- Vai 'speak/talk Indian'

mehtozeeneniî- Vai 'be an Indian'

mehtozeeneniîen- Nii 'life'

meki- Vai 'bark'

mekoci emphatic

iini mekoci D, ni mekoci C, 'immediately, right now'

ise mekoci D, se mekoci C 'useless, worthless'

mekooteen- Nii 'dress; skirt'

memeez- Nai 'fish'

memeezehkee- Vai 'fish'

menaam- Vta 'smell him'

menaatam- Vti 'smell it'

menah- Vta 'give him a drink'

meneciih- Nai 'glove'

menehta 'at first, first, beforehand, in front'

meno- Vti 'drink it'

menoee- Vai 'say it right/well'

menoen- Nii 'drink, beverage'

menoohkamii- Vii 'be spring'

menwaahpaee- Vai 'have a good dream'

menwaapataani- Vai 'be good-looking, be pleasing to look at'

menwaapataani- Vii 'be good-looking, be pleasing to look at'

menwaaskaa- Vai 'move/function right/well'

menwaatezi- Vai 'feel good/well/right'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

menwaatoee- Vai 'speak right/well'

menwahki- Vii 'be a nice place, be good ground'

menwai- Vai 'be good/kind/nice'

menwakitee- Vii 'be priced well'

menwapi- Vai 'sit right/well'

menweenetam- Vti 'like it'

menwiihkeceii- Vai 'work well/right'

menwiken- Vii 'be good/right'

menwiki- Vai 'be good/right/not defective'

menwikiisekat- Vii 'be good weather'

menwisim- Vta 'lay him right/well'

menwisin- Vai 'lie right/well'

menwiteehee- Vai 'be glad'

menwizee- Vii 'be arranged well/right'

menwizen- Vii 'be situated/located well/right'

menwizetoo- Vti 'place it right/well'

meose 'maybe, perhaps'

mesaa- Vii 'be big/large'

mesekin- Vai 'be big/large'

mesen- Vta 'catch/seize him; arrest him'

mesenaazo- Vai 'be caught/seized; be arrested'

mesenam- Vti 'catch, seize it'

mesenikan- Nii 'recording machine'

mesihkeeh- Nai 'snapping turtle'

mesiimin- Nai 'apple'

mesinooten- Vii 'blow' (of the wind), be windy weather'

meskoc- Nai 'chigger; bedbug'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meskocee- Vai 'have a red body'

meskozi- Vai 'be red'

meskw- Nii 'blood'

meskwaa- Vii 'be red'

meskwaapehkw- Nai 'penny'

meskwahkiih- Nai 'Fox Indian'

meskwiceepihk- Nii 'raddish'

meso- Vai 'shoot oneself'

mesooh- Nad 'grandfather'

mesotam- Vti 'shoot it'

mesw- Vta 'shoot him'

mesweeh- Nai 'rabbit'

metaacaahi- Vai 'have fun, enjoy oneself'

metaakweenem- Vta 'be thrilled/delighted with him'

metaakwiteehee- Vai 'be thrilled/delighted'

metaazaapam- Vta 'like to see him, enjoy seeing him'

metaazaapatam- Vti 'like to see it, enjoy seeing it'

metaazehtaW- Vta 'like to hear him, enjoy hearing him'

metaazoomehkwe 'ten dollars'

metaazwi 'ten'

metaazwih- Vta 'have ten of him'

metaazwipepoonwee- Vai 'be ten years old'

mezanohikan- Nii 'paper; book'

mezanohikanimoteeh- Nii 'paper sack/bag'

mezeeh- Nii 'piece of wood'

mezi 'every'

meziha- Nid 'body'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mezihkw- Nai 'ice; hail'

meziikohkee- Vai 'pick corn'

meziikw- Nai 'corn, maize' 33.1: -waki

mezoon- Nii 'boat'

mezootaan- Nad 'parents'

miici- Vti 'eat it'

miihkeceii- Vai 'work'

miihkeceiinotam- Vti 'work for it, work to get it'

miihkeceiinotaW- Vta 'work for him, be employed by him'

miihkem- Vta 'pick/pluck him'

miihketii- Vai 'play cards'

miihkozi- Vai 'be capable'

miikaatii- Vai 'fight one another'

miikon- Nai 'feather'

miin- Nai 'blueberry'

miiN- Vta/i 'give it to him'

miinaeenem- Vta 'notice him'

miinaeenetam- Vti 'notice it'

miinehkaan- Nii 'seed'

miinehkee- Vai 'pick blueberries'

miisiikwaah- Nai 'buffalo'

miitwi- Nai 'cottonwood tree'

mizeeh- Nad 'older sister'

mjaahkozee- Vai 'be crippled'

mjaahpenaN- Vta 'treat him badly'

mjaanaaskaa- Vai 'move/function badly'

mjaanaatezi- Vai 'feel unwell'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mjaanaatoee- Vai 'speak badly'

mjaanezi- Vai 'be bad'

mjaanootee- Vai 'menstruate'

mjaanooteekaan- Nii 'menstrual lodge'

mjaasiteehee- Vai 'feel sad'

mjaasizee- Vii 'be badly arranged'; of a blade: 'be dull'

mjaasizen- Vii 'be spoiled/soured/ill placed'

mjee- Nii 'road'

mm 'oh'

mokonoot- Nii 'McLoud, Okla.' Ni3: mokonooti

moonaskahezo- Vai 'hoe'

moopi- Nai 'automobile'

moosih- Vta 'feel/sense him'

moosihtoo- Vti 'feel/sense it'

mooskis- Nii 'Muzquiz, Coah.'

mooso- Vai 'get a hair cut'

moosw- Vta 'cut his hair'

mootaahkwe 'in that direction'

moozeehkaa- Vai 'have a toothache'

mweec- Nii 'dung'

mweeciĩ- Vai 'have dung on oneself'

mweeciikaatee- Vai 'have dung on one's feet, step in dung'

n

naacihiee- Vti 'seek his/its help'

naahkwee-, naãhkwee- Vii 'be noon'

naahpo- Vai 'take a lunch'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

naahpoen- Nii 'lunch, food taken to be eaten away from home'

naakeemeehe 'after a while'

naakwaa- Vai 'go first/in front/ahead'

naakweekaapaa- Vai 'stand first/in front/ahead'

naakweepi- Vai 'sit first/in front/ahead'

naakweesin- Vai 'lie first/in front/ahead'

naakweezen- Vii 'be first/in front/ahead'

naakweih- Vta 'precede him, go before him'

naamaahkwe with NL 'under'

naaN- Vta 'fetch him'

naanaaN- Vta 'keep fetching him'

naanaat- Vti 'keep fetching it'

naanaat- Vai 'yawn'

naanaatoom- Vta 'keep fetching him on one's back'

naanahaakwatoo- Vai 'keep setting tables'; conjunct participle: 'waiter, waitress'

naanakamo- Vai 'keep singing'

naaniimi- Vai 'keep dancing'

naaniiswi 'two for each'

naanoikai- Vai 'keep going outdoors in a group'

naanoohika 'seven for each'

naapaatotaazo- Vai 'read'

naapaatotam- Vti 'read it'

naapeem- Nad 'husband' (archaic or impolite)

naapi 'how about?'

naat- Vti 'fetch it'

naataih- Vta 'treat/doctor him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

naataiho- Vai 'be treated/doctored'

naatainoon- Nii 'medicine'

naaten- Vta 'stop and get him'

naatenam- Vti 'stop and get it'

naatoom- Vta 'fetch him on one's back'

naazehkaW- Vta 'invite him'

naazw- Vta 'outrun him'

nahaakwataW- Vta 'set the table for him'

nahaakwatoo- Vai 'set the table'

nahaatezi- Vai 'feel secure'

nahapahkwee- Vti 'roof/thatch a house', "top"

nahehkweepi- Vai 'know how to sit by oneself, sit apart from others'

nahekaa- Vai 'know how to dance'

naheskam- Vti 'put it on, don it, wear it'

nahezikee- Vai 'know how to cook'

nahicimee- Vai 'know how to swim'

nahiihkam- Vti 'know how to do/handle/deal with it'

nahiihkaW- Vta 'know how to do/handle/deal with him'

nahiihkeceii- Vai 'know how to work'

nahikaapaih- Vta 'stand him up, place him standing'

nahikaapaihtoo- Vti 'stand it up, place it standing'

nahinaakee- Vai 'know how to sing'

nahisin- Vai 'go to bed'

nahiteehee- Vai 'recover from sadness'

nahkom- Vta 'give one's consent to him'

nahootee- Vai 'know how to crawl'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nahpeN- Vta 'be his step-parent'

naih- Vta 'visit him'

naihiee- Vai 'visit'

naisaapwahkiihe 'in the middle of the street'

nakamo- Vai 'sing'

nakatam- Vti 'leave/abandon it'

nakehka 'for a short while'

nakesj- Nid 'entrails'

nakezi- Vai 'come to a stop, cease moving'

nanaaci 'while, at the same time'

nanahaatezi- Vai 'keep feeling secure'

nanahiteehee- Vai 'keep recovering from sadness'

nanaozee- Vai 'go in vain'

nasimjeetooh- D, simjeetooh- C, Nii 'Nacimiento, Coah.' (the Kickapoo town)

nataãapam- Vta 'look for him, seek him'

nataãapatam- Vti 'look for it, seek it'

nataeenem- Vta 'want him'

nataeenetam- Vti 'want it'

nataeenetamaW- Vta/i 'want it from him'

natocikee- Vai 'ask for things'

natom- Vta 'ask for him; call/summon him'

natonamaW- Vta 'look for lice in his hair'

natoneeham- Vti 'look for it, seek it'

natoneehamaW- Vta/i 'look for it/seek it for him'

natoneehw- Vta 'look for him, seek him'

natotam- Vti 'ask for it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

naZ- Vta 'roast him'

neehkaki 'yesterday'

anika oci neehkaki 'on the day before yesterday'

neehtai 'only'

neekaj- Nii 'sand'

neekaiih- Nii 'North Canadian river'

neekotikase- D, kotikase- C, Nai 'horse'

neemaW- Vta/i 'see it for him'

neem- Vti 'see it'

neemo- Vai 'breathe'

neenaihto- Nai male personal name

neenekoti 'one for each'

neenemazo- Vai 'keep standing, keep standing there'

neenezapi- Vai 'keep staying home'

neepehe 'I mean; oh yes' marks a correction or assents to a correction

neeW- Vta 'see him'

neezee- Vai 'recover from illness, get well'

neezeeh- Vta 'heal/cure him'

nehk- Nid 'hand'

nehkanikiisekwe 'all day long'

nehkanitepehkwe 'all night long'

nehkii- Vai 'disappear in the distance, move beyond the range of sight'

nehkiihi 'for so long, so far, to such an extent'

nehkizaa- Vai 'disappear, duck out of sight'

nekotenwi D, kotenwi C, 'once'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nekoti 'one'

nekoti- Vai 'be one'

nekotih- Vta 'have one of him'

nekotihtoo- Vti 'have one of it'

nekotiihi- Vai 'be alone'

nekotipepoonwee- Vai 'be one year old'

nekotokone 'for one day'

nekotookimo- Vai 'cost one dollar'

nekotookitee- Vii 'cost one dollar'

nekotoomehkwe D, kotoomehkwe C, 'one dollar'

nekotwaahkwe 'one hundred'

nekotwaãki 'one'

nekotwaapahee- Vai 'give birth once'

nekotwaasika D, kotwaasika C, 'six'

nekw- Nid 'wing; arm-pit'

nekwaah- Nad 'nephew'

nekwaanahkwat- Vii 'be cloudy weather'; conjunct participle: 'cloud'

nematee- Vii 'stand, stand there'

nemazo- Vai 'stand, stand there'

nemazohcikee- Vai 'park, park there'

nenam- Vti 'recognize it'

nenaW- Vta 'recognize him'

nenehkeenem- Vta 'think about him'

nenehkeenetam- Vti 'think about it'

nenehkiteehee- Vai 'think, ponder'

nenehkotam- Vti 'mention it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nenekaci- Vai 'shiver'

nenemehki- Nai 'thunder bird'

nenemehkiĩ- Vii 'thunder'

nenohtam- Vti 'hear it'

nenohtaW- Vta 'hear him; understand him'

nenosee- Vai 'hear; understand'

nep- Vai 'be dead'

nepaa- Vai 'sleep, sleep there'

nepaakan- Nii 'bed'

nepeew- Vta 'spend the night with him'

nepeisee- Vai 'be a moonlit night'

nepiskezi- Vai 'be wet'

nepiskjaa- Vii 'be wet'

nepj- Nii 'water'

nepoohi- Vai 'be dead'

nepoohkee- Vai 'have a death in the family/tribe'

nesiahki- Vii 'be an awful/a terrible place, be awful/
terrible ground'

nesianaaci 'awfully, terribly'

nesianaaciken- Vii 'be awful/terrible'

nesianaaciki- Vai 'be awful/terrible'

nesianaatezi- Vai 'be awful/terrible'

nesihka 'alone'

nesikee- Vai 'live alone, live in one's own home'

nesiitasi- Vai 'be much/many'

nesiitazen- Vii 'be much/many'

nesiitazwi 'much, many'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

neswaasika 'eight'

neZ- Vta 'kill him'

nezaãah- Nii 'forked pole'

nezapi- Vai 'stay home'

nezi- Vai 'be three'

nezoomehkwe 'three dollars'

nezwaãki 'three'

nezwaapitaki 'thirty'

nezwi 'three'

nezwih- Vta 'have three of him'

niicaanez- Nad 'child, son, daughter'

niicaap- Nai 'doll'

niimi- Vai 'dance'

niipen- Vii 'be late summer'

niisen- Vii 'be two'

niisenwi 'twice'

niisi- Vai 'be two'

niisokone 'for two days'

niisookitee- Vii 'cost two dollars'

niisoomehkwe 'two dollars'

niiswaahkwe 'two hundred'

niiswaãki 'two'

niiswaapahee- Vai 'give birth twice'

niiswaapitaki 'twenty'

niiswi 'two'

niiswih- Vta 'have two of him'

niiswikehkatwe 'for two years'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

niiswikwaapahikane 'two cupfuls'

niiswipepoonwee- Vai 'be two years old'

nioomehkwe 'four dollars'

njaananokone 'for five days'

njaananoomehkwe 'five dollars'

njaananwaãki 'five'

njaananwaapitaki 'fifty'

njaananwi 'five'

njaananwihtoo- Vti 'have five of it'

njaananwikehkatwe 'for five years'

njaananwipepoonwee- Vai 'be five years old'

njeaãki 'four'

njeei 'four'

njei- Vai 'be four'

njeihtoo- Vti 'have four of it'

njeikehkatwe 'for four years'

njeipepoonwee- Vai 'be four years old'

noezen- Vii 'be cold weather'

noietoo- Vti 'carry/convey it outdoors'

noii- Vai 'go outdoors'

noikai- Vai 'go outdoors in a group'

noohika 'seven'

noohkezo- Vai 'become hot easily'

noohki 'again'

noohkoee- Vai 'repeat, say it again'

nookeenaj- Nad 'spirit; shadow'

noom- Vta 'carry him on one's back'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

noon- Vai 'nurse, suck'

noonaakan- Nii 'breast'

noonaakanaapo- Nii 'milk'

noosee- Vai 'give birth'

nooskeziihi- Vai 'be weak, have weak muscles'

noota 'too soon'

nootaakee- Vai 'hear about an event'

nooteehtee- Vii 'be insufficiently cooked'

nooteeskaa- Vai 'be unable'

nooteezam- Vti 'cook it insufficiently'

noozam- Vti 'fumigate it'

noozw- Vta 'fumigate him'

o

o, in sentence final: oho, marks a contradiction to what has been stated or implied or to what is expected

oaan- Nii 'egg'

oceepihk(j)- Nii 'root'

oci 'thence, from that place; therefore, for that reason'

ocihk(j)- Nii 'stump'

ociki- Vai 'be from there'

ocikwaazo- Vai 'sew'

ocim- Vta 'forbid him, refuse him one's permission'

ocipwe- Nai 'Chippewa/Ojibwa Indian'

ohkaniihi- Vai 'be frail'

ohkatee- Vii 'be burned'

ohkazam- Vti 'burn it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ohkazo- Vai 'be burned'

ohkazw- Vta 'burn him'

ohkonema- Nii 'liver'

ohkwaai with NL 'full'

ohkwaakwapihcikee- Vai 'have a full load of people/animals'

ohkwaisim- Vta 'fill him'

ohkwaisin- Vai 'be full'

ohkwaizen- Vii 'be full'

ohkwaizetaazo- Vai 'be filled'

ohkwaizetaW- Vta/i 'fill it for him'

ohkwaizetoo- Vti 'fill it'

ohpenj- Nai 'potato'

oiĩ- Vai 'have a wife'

oiihkaanetii- Vai 'be friends to one another'

oiiki- Vai 'live/dwell there'

oiisema- Nii 'head'

oiipema- Nii 'arrow'

oiizoonih- Vta 'give him a name'

oki- Vai 'have one's mother living'

okima- Nai 'chief, king, head-man, judge'

okimai- Vai 'be chief/king/a head-man/a judge'

okimaikaan- Nii 'court house'

okonohom- Nii 'Oklahoma'

okoon- Nai 'snow'

okooteehi- Vai 'have a dress/skirt'

okwizaakoom- Vta 'have him as a son'

okwizema- Nai 'son'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

omahkezeehi- Vai 'have shoes'

omiimi- Nai 'pidgeon'

onaakan- Nii 'dish, bowl'

onaakwi- Vii 'be evening'

onaapoozam- Vti 'brew it'

onaazam- Vti 'boil it'

onaazw- Vta 'boil him'

onakeehkw- Nii 'bark' (of a tree)

onakwi- Vai 'be fat'

onaskesw- Vta 'cut his hair'

onehkaW- Vta 'be used to him'

onehkaeenem- Vta 'be used to him'

onehkema- Nii 'hand'

onemainee- Nai 'pray'

onenozw- Nai 'cow, bull, ox'

onesam- Vti 'cut it'

onesw- Vta 'cut him'

oniicaanezi- Vai 'have a child/children'

onizaa- Vai 'fly'

oo 'oh'

ooce- Nai 'fly'

ooe see jooe

oohkomez- Nad 'grandmother'

oosizem- Nad 'grandchild'

ooteen- Nii 'town'

ooteenikaan- Nii 'summer wickiup', "summer house"

ooz- Nad 'father, father's brother'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

oozaakoom- Vta 'have him as a father'

oozema- Nai 'father, father's brother'

oozi- Vai 'have one's father/father's brother living'

opaatezi- Vai 'feel happy'

opasitoohemi- Vai 'have an old man'

opezi- Vai 'be happy'

opiteehee- Vai 'be happy'

osehkiitaakan- Nii 'clothing'

osihtoo- Vti 'make it'

osikee- Vai 'build a house'

oskasj- Nai 'member of the oskasa moiety', "Republican"

oskiisekoma- Nii 'eye'

oskiken- Vii 'be new'

oskiki- Vai 'be new/young'

oskikootaee- Vai 'put on/wear a new skirt/dress'

oskimahkezenee- Vai 'put on/wear new shoes'

oskinaeeh- Nai 'young man'

oskiniiki- Vai 'be newborn'

oskipiizoonee- Vai 'put on/wear new trousers'

oskizaaken- Vii 'be newly sprouted'

oskizaaki- Vai 'be newly sprouted'

oskote- Nii 'fire'

oskoteaapj- Nii 'electricity, electric wire'

oskwaateem- Nii 'door, gate'

osooniaahemi- Vai 'have money'

otaahkwe 'in such a direction'

otaahpen- Vta 'pick him up, take him away'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

otaahpenam- Vti 'pick it up, take it away'

otaanezema- Nai 'daughter'

otahki- Vai 'have land'

otai- Vai 'have a possession of animate gender'

otaima- Nai 'possession of animate gender'

otamaa- Vai 'smoke tobacco'

otamaakan- Nai 'cigarette'

otameeh- Vta 'give him a smoke'

otamezi- Vai 'be busy'

otamih- Vta 'busy him; hinder him'

otecaahkw- Nai 'goose'

oteemin- Nii 'strawberry'

otenam- Vti 'take it from there'

otoee- Vai 'refuse'

otoohtopakw- Nii 'leaf'

ozaãa- Vii 'be yellow'

ozaaki- Nai 'Sauk Indian'

ozaakiaatoee- Vai 'speak the Sauk language'

ozaakiinaaki 'where the Sauk Indians live'

ozaamaaskaa- Vai 'move vigorously/violently'

ozaamahkiĩ- Vii 'be an awesome place, be awesome ground'

ozaamecee- Vai 'be too full of food'

ozaezi- Vai 'be yellow'

ozaiceepihk- Nii 'carrot'

ozemih- Vta 'help him'

p

paahkaah- Nai 'Ponca Indian'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paahkenam- Vti 'open it'

paahkenamaW- Vta/i 'open it for him'

paahkizen- Vii 'be open'

paahpihtam- Vti 'make fun of it, ridicule it'

paahtaajaa-, paahtaãa- Vii 'be broken'

paahtaaskaa- Vai 'be broken/immobile'

paahtaazi- Vai 'be broken'

paanacii- Vai 'go down, descend'

paaniih- Nai 'Pawnee Indian'

paapiisikiih- Nai diminutive of paapiisikit-

paapiisikit- Nai male personal name

paapjaa- Vai 'keep arriving, keep coming to that place'

paapjeehpahooneko- Vai 'keep driving this way/hither' (in a vehicle)

paapjeetoo- Vti 'keep bringing it'

paas- Nai 'bus'

paaskehkweamatam- Vai 'have a headache'

paaskezi- Vai 'be cracked'

paaskezikan- Nii 'gun'

paaskih- Vta 'crack him'

paaskihtoo- Vti 'crack it'

paaskjaa- Vii 'be cracked'

paazaham- Vti 'split it'

paazahw- Vta 'split him'

paazi 'fifty cents'

pahkee- Vai 'turn off to the side'

pahkim- Vta 'permit/allow/let him, give him one's permission'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pahkoee- Vai 'consent'

pahkweesikan- Nii 'bread; flour'

paizeeze 'five cents, nickel'

pakaan- Nii 'pecan'

pakaanaahkw- Nii 'pecan tree'

pakaanehkee- Vai 'gather pecans'

pakahaahkwaah- Nai 'chicken'

pakam- Vta 'hit/strike him'

pakici D, kici C, 'my!'

pakikanazikee- Vai 'have a blown out tire, have a blow-out'

pakiN- Vta 'throw him away'

pakisimo- Vii 'be sunset/sundown'

pakisin- Vai 'land there'

pakitam- Vti 'throw it away'

pakwacohpenj- Nai 'artichoke'

panaacih- Vta 'lose him'

panaacihtoo- Vti 'loose it'

panaatet- Vii 'be lost'

panaatezi- Vai 'be lost'

panehkaamjee- Vai 'be brave'

paneskam- Vti 'miss it with one's feet'

papaamipaho- Vai 'keep running along'

papaamipahooneko- Vai 'keep driving along' (in a vehicle)

papakeehen- Vii 'be thin' (not thick)

papakeehi- Vai 'be thin' (not thick)

papaketee- Vii 'make a popping noise'

papakezo- Vai 'make a popping noise'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

papakiajaah- Nii 'piece of cloth'

papakjeeh- Nii 'axe'

papiinezoee- Vai 'lie, tell a lie'

pasitooh- Nai 'old man'; in playing cards: 'king'

pasitoohi- Vai 'be an old man'

pazekwii- Vai 'get up'

pazikaatee- Vai 'have warm feet'

pazikan- Nai 'board'

peehki 'especially'

peehki- Vai conjunct participle only 'Pottawatomie Indian'

peehkwiikwaah- Nai 'Oriental person'

peekiteehi- Vai 'be stupid'

peekoham- Vti 'dry it'

peekohw- Vta 'dry him'

peekozi- Vai 'be dry'

peekwaa- Vii 'be dry'

peekwaaki- Vii 'be dry'

peekwahki- Vii 'be a dry place, be dry ground'

peemenaahkweeh- Nai 'servant'

peemenaahkweehi- Vai 'be a servant'

peepaketeeh- Nii 'motor'

peepekwa 'necessarily, compulsively'

peepemozee- Vai 'keep walking/travelling along/past'

peepjeehci 'necessarily, unavoidably'

peeskoneiih- Nii 'flower'

pehcai- Vai 'do wrong, make a mistake'

pehcamee- Vti 'mistake it/him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pehcieN- Vta 'carry/convey him by mistake'

pehcietoo- Vti 'carry/convey it by mistake'

pehkoteaahi- Vii 'be twilight/dusk/predawn'

pehkotee- Vii 'be night time'; conjunct participle: 'night, night time'

pehkoteeke 'tonight'

pehkwahki- Vii 'be a bushy place, be bushy land'

pehkwaa- Vii 'be round'

pehtaee- Vai 'build a fire'

pehtehtaW- Vta 'hear him wrong'

pehtesee- Vai 'hear wrong'

pehteskaW- Vta 'step on him/kick him by mistake'

pehtoee- Vai 'say it wrong'

pekesee- Vii 'smoke, emit smoke'

pekohkeenem- Vta 'look after his welfare'

pekw- Nii 'ashes; dust'

pem- Nii 'fat; grease; gas; gasoline'

pemaatezi- Vai 'live, be alive'

pemataeeneniĩkaan- Nii 'gas station'

pemeenem- Vta 'take care of him'

pemeenetam- Vti 'take care of it'

pemehkaa- Vai 'go along/past'

pemehkaamikat- Vii 'go along/past'

pemen- Vta 'keep him'

pemenam- Vti 'keep it'

pemicimee- Vai 'swim along/past'

pemipaho- Vai 'run along/past'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pemizaa- Vai 'fly along/past'

pemotam- Vti 'shoot at it'

pemozee- Vai 'walk/travel along/past'

pemw- Vta 'shoot at him'

penahaahkwaa- Vai 'comb one's hair'

penahaahkwaW- Vta 'comb his hair'

penai- Vii 'be early summer'

penani 'pausing for a while, wait a moment'

peno- Vai 'go home'

penooci 'far away'

pepehkahan- Vii 'float'

pepehkahoko- Vai 'float'

pepehkeehen- Vii 'be light of weight'

pepehkeehi- Vai 'be light of weight, be free of obligations'

pepoon- Vii 'be winter'

pesekaacehki- Vai 'be cute'

pesekizi- Nai 'deer'

pesekwaahi- Vai 'be separated/divorced'

pesi- Nai 'cat'

pesikozi- Vai 'be straight'

pesikwaahkozi- Vai 'be a straight solid'

pesikwaahkwat- Vii 'be a straight solid'

pesikwaa- Vii 'be straight'

pesikwizen- Vii 'lie straight'

peskipaatee- Vii 'be blue'

peskipaazo- Vai 'be blue'

peskipan- Vii 'be sour tasting'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peskonaW- Vta 'shoot at him and miss'

peteki 'back; in back, behind'

petekiteehee- Vai 'change one's mind'

piihci 'for a long while'

piihcih- Vta 'please him'

piihtai 'in addition'

piihtezi- Vai 'be pleased'

piik- Nii 'spade' in playing cards

piinkeeh- Nii 'Binger, Okla.'

piitaaskaa- Vai 'go/fall in'

piiten- Vta 'put/take him in'

piitikaN- Vta 'put/take him indoors'

piitikatoo- Vti 'put/take it indoors'

piitike 'indoors'

piitikee- Vai 'go/come indoors', Vti 'enter a building'

piitoonaki with NL 'inside'

piizehkaah- Nii 'shirt, blouse'

piizoon- Nii 'pair of trousers/pants'

pjaa- Vai 'come to that place, arrive'

pjaãahen- Vii 'be little/small'

pjeecapi- Vai 'come/arrive in a vehicle'

pjeecihaa- Vai 'come that way/by that route'

pjeecizeehkw- Nai female personal name

pjeehpahooneko- Vai 'drive this way/hither' (in a vehicle)

pjeemaahkwat- Vii 'be a crooket solid'

pjeemezi- Vai 'be crooked'

pjeemikat- Vii 'come to that place, arrive'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pjeemiki- Vai 'be crooked'

pjeemiskwii- Vai 'turn, make a turn'

pjeemjaa- Vii 'be crooked'

pjeeN- Vta 'bring him'

pjees- 'give it here, hand it over'

pjeetaahkee- Vti 'throw it this way/hither'

pjeetaapan- Vii 'be toward morning'

pjeetaci- Vai 'arrive cold'

pjeetapenee- Vai 'arrive hungry'

pjeetatoneehw- Vta 'come and look for/seek him'

pjeetaW- Vta/i 'bring it to him'

pjeeten- Vta 'hand him over'

pjeetenamaW- Vta/i 'hand it to him'

pjeetoo- Vti 'bring it'

pjeezehkaa- Vii 'be the time to/for'

pjoot- Nii 'peyote' Ni3: pjooti

pjootaapo- Nii 'peyote tea'

pjootikaan- Nii 'tepee where peyote rites are held', "peyote tent"

poocizaa- Vai 'ride'

poohkama- Nai 'peach, plum'

poohkamaahkee- Vai 'gather peaches/plums'

poohkeseehw- Vta 'pierce his ears'

poonahkamikezi- Vai 'cease playing'

poonenaan- Vii 'stop raining'

poonetoneemo- Vai 'cease speaking/talking'

poonicimee- Vai 'cease swimming'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pooniihkam- Vti 'stop doing/handling/dealing with it'

pooninaakee- Vai 'cease singing'

poonizenjee- Vai 'cease eating'

poonozee- Vai 'cease walking/travelling'

poozepjee- Vai 'be very drunk'

poozi 'very, very much'

pwaam- Nid 'thigh'

s

saaka 'nine'

saakaapitaki 'ninety'

saakweenemo- Vai 'not want to'

saaniih- Nii 'Shawnee, Okla.'

saano- Nai 'Shawnee Indian'

saanoonaaki 'where the Shawnee Indians live'

saapwahkiih- Nii 'street'

saasaakwatam- Vti 'chew it'

saasiisaa- Vai 'keep hunting'

saasooskozikaakee- Vai 'keep doing ironing/pressing for people'

saasooskozikee- Vai 'keep doing ironing/pressing'

saezi- Vai 'be hungry'

saezien- Nii 'hunger'

saezih- Vta 'make him hungry'

sahkozi- Vai 'be weak/exhausted'

sahkwiteehee- Vai 'be sad'

sasooskwaa- Vii 'be slippery'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sasooskwahki- Vii 'be a slippery place, be slippery ground'

se see ise

seẽ 'now, already, at this/that time'

seepae 'this morning'

seesekisin- Vai 'keep lying/reclining, keep lying/reclining there'

seeski 'merely'

seeskizen- Vii 'be empty'

seeswaah- Nii 'plate'

sehk- Nid 'belly'

seiina see iseiina

sekaakw- Nai 'all black skunk'

seki- Vai 'urinate'

sekisin- Vai 'lie, recline, lie/recline there'

sekwaahkw- Nai 'cedar tree'

semiih- Nad 'niece'

siihkaaki- Vii 'be damp'

siihkahki- Vii 'be a damp place, be damp ground'

siihkezi- Vai 'be damp'

siihkjaa- Vii 'be damp'

siikan- Nid 'hip'

siikeenem- Vta 'hate him'

siipiki- Vai 'be active'

siisaa- Vai 'hunt'

siisiipeeh- Nai 'duck'

siisiipeehehkee- Vai 'hunt ducks'

sikaanooh- Nai 'cigarette'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

simjeetooh- see nasimjeetooh-

sizeeh- Nad 'mother's brother'

skasj- Nad 'nail' (of a finger or toe), claw'

skiisekw- Nid 'eye'

soomahki- Vii 'be a dip in the ground'

soomahkiihi- Vii 'be a little dip in the ground'

sooniaah- Nii 'money'

sooniaahehkee- Vai 'earn money'

soopjee- Vai 'be slightly drunk'

soopjeezikee- Vai 'dry things'

sooskozikee- Vai 'do ironing/pressing'

sooskozikaakee- Vai 'do ironing/pressing for people'

sosoomiken- Vii 'be slim/slender'

sosoomiki- Vai 'be slim/slender'

swaamin- Nii 'grape'

swaaminaatee- Vii 'be grape-colored, be purple'

t

taahtaakw- Nai 'black and white skunk'

taanez- Nad 'daughter'

taataki 'somewhat, slightly'

taatasiihkeceii- Vai 'keep working there'

tahkaazen- Vii 'be a cold wind blowing'

tahkepj- Nii 'well'

tahkikaatee- Vai 'have cold feet'

tahkjaa- Vii 'be cold'

tai 'I wish that'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

taj- Nad 'possession of animate gender'

takwaaki- Vii 'be autumn/fall'

takwahaan- Nii 'hominy'

takwi 'also, along with another or others'

tanaacim- Vta 'speak/talk/tell about him there'

tanaahpaee- Vai 'dream there'

tanaahpaeesin- Vai 'lie there dreaming'

tanaanehkee- Vai 'dig there'

tanaapam- Vta 'look at him there'

tanaaskaa- Vai 'move/be in motion there'

tanaaskaa- Vii 'move/be in motion there'

tanaatotam- Vti 'speak/talk/tell about it there'

tanaikee- Vai 'write there'

tanakitaazo- Vai 'count there'

tanam- Vta 'eat him there'

tanapwih- Vta 'wait for him there'

tanaskeso- Vai 'get a haircut there'

tanatam- Vti 'eat/drink it there'

taneez- Nii 'club' in playing cards

tanehpo- Vii 'snow there'

tanekaa- Vai 'dance there'

tanenaan- Vii 'rain there'

tanetoneemo- Vai 'speak/talk there'

tanezam- Vti 'cook it there'

tapaaN- Vta 'love/cherish him'

tapaatam- Vti 'love/cherish it'

tapataãa- Vii 'be smooth'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tapataãhki- Vii 'be a smooth place, be smooth ground'

tasi- Vai 'be so much/many'

tasiihkeceii- Vai 'work there'

tasinaakee- Vai 'sing there'

tasizenjee- Vai 'eat there'

tazen- Vii 'be so much/many'

tazokone 'for so many days'

tazoomehkwe 'so many dollars'

tazwaãki 'so many'

tazwi 'so much/many'

tazwih- Vta 'have so much/many of him'

tazwihtoo- Vti 'have so much/many of it'

tazwimaine 'so many miles'

tazwipepoonwee- Vai 'be so many years old'

teeh- Nid 'heart'

teehtehpezi- Vai 'be smart/intelligent'

teenizeeze 'ten cents, dime'

teepi 'enough; quite'

teepinaaha 'a short distance away'

teepinahinaaha 'a short distance away'

teepitasi- Vai 'be much/many'

teepitazwi 'much, many'

teepwee- Vai 'tell the truth'

teetepaham- Vti 'keep paying/paying for it'

teetepeskaazooh- Nai 'bicycle'

teetepizaah- Nii 'wagon'

tehkinaakan- Nii 'cradle board'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tekaai 'a little'

tena, tenaami see kekjeehtenaami

tenj- Nad 'shoulder'

teon- Nii 'Dale, Okla.'

tepaham- Vti 'pay/pay for it'

tepahw- Vta 'pay/pay for him'

tepeenem- Vta 'own/possess him'

tepeenetam- Vti 'own/possess him'

tepehki 'at night'

tepehkiih- Nai 'moon'

tepehkoki 'last night'

tepinaaha 'straight'

tetepaahkonam- Vti 'roll it (something wooden) up'

tetepen- Vta 'roll him up'

tetepenam- Vti 'roll it up'

tetepesitoo- Vti 'pass it around'

tetepizee- Vii 'turn, revolve'

tomaat- Nii 'tomato' Ni3: tomaati

toohkii- Vai 'wake up, be awake'

toon- Nid 'mouth'

tooteem- Nad 'brother, sister'

tooto- Nai 'bullfrog'

tweẽ see kapootweẽ

w, W

waaã 'bah!'

waãacaah- Vta, Vta/i 'keep cooking for him, keep cooking it

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for him'

waãacaaho- Vai, Vti 'keep cooking, keep cooking it/him'

waãapakee- Vai 'keep watching an event'

waãapam- Vta 'keep looking at him'

waakaahkwat- Vii 'be a bent solid'

waakaakenam- Vti 'bend it'

waakaakenikee- Vai 'bend things'

waakenam- Vti 'bend it'

waakezi- Vai 'be bent'

waakjaa- Vii 'be bent'

waanaatoee- Vai 'be unable to speak/talk'

waanaatoeehkaano- Vai 'pretend to be unable to speak/talk'

waanekaa- Vai 'be unable to dance'

waanekeehkaano- Vai 'pretend to be unable to dance'

Waanicike 'I don't know'

Waanicikeehi- Vai 'be uncertain'

Waapaatee- Vii 'be light colored'

Waapakee- Vai 'watch an event'

Waapam- Vta 'look at him'

Waapamooniniikwaakan- Nii pl. 'eyeglasses'

Waapanahkiih- Nai 'Delaware Indian'

Waapan- Vii 'be dawn, be morning; be tomorrow, be the next day,'

Waapaki 'on the next day'

Waapake 'tomorrow'

anika oci Waapake 'on the day after tomorrow'

Waapatam- Vti 'look at it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

WaapatooN- Vta/i 'show it to him'

Waapeskeceaa- Vii 'have a white body'

Waapeskecee- Vai 'have a white body'

Waapeskezi- Vai 'be white'

Waapeskiihtaa- Vai 'put on/wear white clothes'

Waapeskjaa- Vii 'be white'

waazee- Vii 'be daytime'; conjunct participle: 'day, daytime'

waazeikiisezw- Nai 'sun'

Wacaah- Vta, Vta/i 'cook for him, cook it for him'

Wacaahiee- Vai 'cook for people'

Wacaaho- Vai, Vti 'cook, cook it/him'

wai 'what?, huh?'

waieaa- Vii 'be round'

waiezi- Vai 'be round'

waiiceenwi- Vai 'keep joining up'

waiizeni- Vai 'keep eating'

waniihkee- Vai 'forget'

wanim- Vta 'deceive/fool him'

wasaah- Nai 'Sioux Indian'

wasaas- Nai 'Osage Indian'

weaski 'inconveniently'

weẽenet- Vii 'be beautiful/good/fine'

weẽepai- Vai 'have fevers'

weẽepizo- Vai 'swing'

weẽepizoon- Nii 'swing'

weena 'or'

weeneskaah- Nai 'bad/naughty person'; in playing cards:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'joker'

weeneskaahi- Vai 'be bad/naughty'

Weepaahkee- Vti 'throw it/him'

Weepenaan- Vii 'rain'

Weepezi- Vai 'be crazy/insane'

Weepipaho- Vai 'start running'

Weepipahooneko- Vai 'start driving' (in a vehicle)

Weepozee- Vai 'start out, leave, go away'

wiaaz Nii 'meat'

wiakaanakesee- Vai 'have clogged ears'

wiakitepee- Vai 'have a dirty head'

wiakjaa- Vii 'be dirty'

wien- Vta 'wrap him up'

wienam- Vti 'wrap it up'

Wiicai- Vta 'marry/be married to him'; conjunct participles in the first and second voices: 'husband, wife' (polite)

Wiicaikee- Vai 'marry, be married'

Wiicaitii- Vai 'marry/be married to one another'

Wiiceenom- Vta 'join him'

Wiiceenwi- Vai 'join up'

Wiicih- Vta 'live with him'

Wiicihetii- Vai 'live together'

Wiicihiee- Vai 'live with another/others'

Wiihpom- Vta 'eat with him'

Wiihpokee- Vti 'eat it/him with another/others'

wiĩin- Nad 'horn, braid'

Wiikan- Vii 'be delicious'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wiiken- Vai 'be delicious'

Wiikezikee- Vai 'cook deliciously'

Wiikezw- Vta 'cook him deliciously'

Wiikiaapj- Nii 'house'

Wiikizenjaakan- Nii 'delicious food'

Wiikizenjee- Vai 'eat delicious food'

wiinaapitee- Vai 'have dirty teeth'

wiinikaatee- Vai 'have dirty feet'

wiiniken- Vii 'be dirty'

wiiniki- Vai 'be dirty'

wiinikomee- Vai 'have a dirty nose'

wiininecee- Vai 'have dirty hands'

wiininiikwee- Vai 'have dirty eyes'

wiinitepee- Vai 'have a dirty head'

wiint- Nii 'Winters, Tex.'

Wiisaãci- Vai 'be cold'

Wiisaazi- Vai 'be impatient'

Wiisazo- Vai 'sweat; be hot'

wiis- Nid 'head'

Wiisikezi- Vai 'be strong'

Wiiskenooh- Nai 'bird'

Wiiskopaapo- Nii 'soda pop'

Wiiskopahaakan- Nii 'salt'

Wiiskopahaatee- Vii 'be salty'

Wiiskopamatam- Vai 'have a dull pain, have an ache'

Wiiskopan- Vii 'be sweet'

Wiiskopanoohi- Vii 'be a little sweet'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wiiskopihpenj- Nai 'sweet potato'

wiiskwan- Nid 'elbow'

Wiiskweẽekat- Vii 'be noisy'

Wiiskweẽekezi- Vai 'be noisy'

Wiiskweẽekezikee- Vai 'cook noisily'

Wiitaakwapi- Vai 'sit with another/others'

Wiitapim- Vta 'sit with him'

Wiiteem- Vta 'go with him, be with him'

Wiizakamatam- Vai 'have a sharp pain'

Wiizakan- Vii 'be hot tasting'

Wiizakatahw- Vta 'hurt him'

Wiizakatam- Vai 'have a pain'

Wiizakihpetam- Vti 'find it bitter tasting'

Wiizeni- Vai 'eat'

Wiizenien- Nii 'food'

Wiizeniĩkaan- Nii 'restaurant'

Wiizeniĩteehee- Vai 'want to eat'

z

zaakici 'outdoors'

zaakicihaa- Vai 'go to the toilet'

zaakiciheikaan- Nii 'bathroom, restroom'

zaakikaasim- Vta 'place him lying with his feet sticking out'

zaakikaasin- Vai 'lie with one's feet sticking out'

zaazaakikaasin- Vai 'keep lying with one's feet sticking out'

zaken- Vta 'hold him'

zakenam- Vti 'hold it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

zakipotam- Vti 'bite it'

zakipw- Vta 'bite him'

zanaezamaW- Vta/i 'fry it for him'

zanaezikaW- Vta 'fry things for him'

zanaezikee- Vai 'fry things'

zanakat- Vii 'be difficult'

zanakihtoo- Vai 'have difficulties'

zanakizen- Vii 'be in a difficult position/location'

zazakan- Vii 'be a thicket'

zeekaahpaee- Vai 'have a scary dream'

zeekih- Vta 'scare/frighten him'

zeezahoon- Nii 'raised platform in a wickiup or arbor', "scaffold"

zeezeezahki- Vii 'be a dangerous place, be dangerous ground'

zeezeeziken- Vii 'be dangerous'

zeezeeziki- Vai 'be dangerous'

zekwi- Vai 'spit'

zekwiz- Nad 'father's sister'

zezeeh- Nad 'older brother'

zezeeheeh- Nad 'little older brother'

ziikaten- Vii 'freeze, be frozen'

ziikenam- Vti 'pour it'

ziikenamaW- Vta/i 'pour it for him'

ziimeeh- Nad 'younger brother/sister'

ziinecaah- Nai 'pear'

ziipo- Nii 'river'

ziizen- Vta 'pinch him'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ziizepaahkw- Nii 'sugar'

zoaano- Nid 'tail'

zookih- Vta 'tie him'

zookihtoo- Vti 'tie it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

10. ADDENDA

Additional Kickapoo language data, gathered in Oklahoma between October and December, 1966, under the sponsorship of the Smithsonian Institution, have exposed the following error in the phonemic transcription of forms in the preceding chapters. Postconsonantal /ie/, /ia/, and /io/ are written as /ie/, /ia/, and /io/ respectively in some forms, and as /jee/, /jaa/, and /joo/ respectively in other forms, when intonations are included. When intonations are not included, they are also written as /jeẽ/, /jaã/, and /joõ/ respectively in some forms.

These different ways of writing /ie/, /ia/, and /io/ reflect three different morphophonemic origins for each of these sequences, and the error reflects the omission of the following sandhi rule: i replaces postconsonantal j plus a following vowel when that vowel is followed by an identical vowel. The tone of the replaced vowel occurs on the i, e.g:

/èehpíǎni/ 'When you came.' replacing èehpjáǎni,

cf. /èehápiǎni/ 'Where you sat.',

/èehpíǎake/ 'When we came.' replacing èehpjáǎake,

cf. /èehápiǎake/ 'Where we sat.',

/òhpéníeni/ 'A potato.' replacing òhpénjěeni,

cf. /némanò wiizéníeni/ 'I bought the food.'.

This rule is applicable after the application of all other sandhi rules.

It has an exception: in sentence final, postconsonantal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

j and a following cluster of two identical vowels remain unchanged, e.g:

/nékjăa/ 'My mother.',

cf. /òskíkĭa/ 'He's young/new.'.

Note that when a disyllabic cluster of identical vowels follows j, the resulting sequence of i plus a single vowel is also disyllabic, as are basic ie, ia, and io, but when a monosyllabic cluster of identical vowels follows j, the resulting sequence of i plus a single vowel is monosyllabic, e.g:

eehpjaãni 'when you came' with ´ˇˇ in

/èehpíăni/ 'When you came.',

cf. eehapiani 'where you sat' with ´ˇˇ in

/èehápiăni/ 'Where you sat.';

okjeeni 'his mother' replaced by okjeẽni (3.41) with ´ˇˇ in

/ókiĕni/ 'His mother.',

ohpenjeeni 'potato' with ´ˇˇ in

/òhpéniĭeni/ 'A potato.',

cf. Wiizenieni 'food' with ´ˇˇ in

/wìizéniĕni/ 'Food.';

cf. also poohkamaãki 'peaches' and pookamaaki 'in a peach' with ´ˇˇ in

/pòohkámaăki/ 'Peaches.',

/pòohkámăaki/ 'In a peach.'.

The statement (1.6) that two adjacent unlike vowels are always in separate syllables is therefore erroneous. Mono-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

syllabic clusters of two unlike vowels occur when the first vowel of the cluster is /i/. And the term "monosyllabic cluster" in the preceding chapters refers only to monosyllabic clusters of identical vowels, including ee, aa, and oo after j.

Where intonations are indicated, phonemic transcriptions in the preceding chapters can be corrected by replacing post-consonantal /jee/, /jaa/, and /joo/ with /ie/, /ia/, and /io/ in accordance with the sandhi rule above. So also where intonations are not indicated in phonemic transcriptions, but the monosyllabic clusters resulting from jee, jaa, and joo should then be distinguished from the disyllabic clusters resulting from jeẽ, jaã, joõ, ie, ia, and io (cf. 3.1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baraga, R. R. Bishop. A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Parts 1 and 2. Montreal: Beauchemin and Valois, 1878, 1880.

Bloomfield, Leonard. "Notes on the Fox Language," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 3 (1925), pp. 219-232, vol. 4 (1927), pp. 181-219.

_____. "Algonquian," Linguistic Structures of Native America. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, vol. 6 (1946), pp. 85-129.

_____. Eastern Ojibwa. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956.

_____. The Menomini Language. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Geary, J. A. "The Subjunctive in Fox," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 12 (1946), pp. 198-203.

_____. "The Changed Conjunct Verb (without -ni) in Fox," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 11 (1945), pp. 169-181.

Hockett, Charles F. "Potawatomi Syntax," Language, vol. 15 (1939), pp. 225-248.

_____. "Potawatomi I, II, III, IV," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 14 (1948), pp. 1-10, 63-73, 139-149, 213-225.

_____. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. "What Algonquian is Really Like," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 32 (1966), pp. 59-73.

Jones, William. "Algonquian (Fox)," Handbook of American Indian Languages. Revised by Truman Michelson. Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 40, part 1 (1911), pp. 735-873.

_____. Kickapoo Tales. Edited by Truman Michelson. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. 9 (1915).

_____. Ethnography of the Fox Indians. Edited by Margaret Welpley Fisher. Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 125 (1939).

Laurent, Joseph. New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues. Quebec: Leger Brousseau, 1884.

Masta, Henry Lorne. Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar and Place Names. Victoriaville, P.Q.: La Voix des Bois Francs, 1932.

Michelson, Truman. Papers in Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 40 (1919).

Ritzenthaler, Robert E., and Frederick A. Peterson. The Mexican Kickapoo Indians. Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in Anthropology, no. 2 (1956).

Rogers, Jean H. "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada Bulletins, Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 194 (1964), pp. 94-154.

Voeglin, Charles F. "Delaware Texts," International Journal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of American Linguistics, vol. 11 (1945), pp. 105-119.

_____. "Delaware, An Eastern Algonquian Language," Linguistic Structures of Native America. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, vol. 6 (1946), pp. 130-157.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.