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Shawnee grammar

Andrews, Kenneth Ralph, Ph.D.

University of South Carolina, 1994

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Ann Arbor, MI 48106

SHAWNEE GRAMMAR

by

Kenneth Ralph Andrews

Bachelor of Arts
University of North Carolina, 1971

Master of Arts
University of Illinois, 1973

Master of Public Administration
University of North Carolina, 1981

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the

Program in Linguistics


University of South Carolina

1994


Major Professor


Committee Member


Committee Member


Chairman, Examining Committee


Dean of the Graduate School

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Abstract

Shawnee Grammar

Kenneth Ralph Andrews

This work is a descriptive grammar of Shawnee in the Bloomfieldian tradition, based primarily on a reelicited and corrected version of "Autobiography of a Woman" (Voegelin 1953). The main topics are phonology, grammatical categories, word derivation, and inflectional morphology. Data from Kickapoo, Fox, Plains Cree, Menominee, and Ojibwa are used for comparative purposes.

Chapter 1 The Shawnee Language gives an overview of the language and its relationship to other Algonquian languages, its principal linguistic features, the current status of the language and its speakers, and extant materials.

Chapter 2 Phonology provides the phonemic inventory, phonological rules, and morphophonological rules. Additional topics are diachronic consonant alternations and initial change.

Chapter 3 Grammatical Categories examines gender, number, direction, and obviation as the main grammatical categories of Shawnee that are reflected in the nominal and verbal systems.

Chapter 4 Word Formation applies the descriptive scheme of Algonquian stem derivation (Goddard 1990) to Shawnee. Stem compounding of Initials, Medials, and Finals

is the principal word formation process for nouns and verbs. Noun roots and stems, noun formatives, diminutivization, dependent/possessed nouns, deverbal nouns, and pre-nouns are the main topics in noun derivation. A separate category of adjective does not exist. Instead, either verb derivational and inflectional affixes are added to nouns to serve that purpose, or modifiers are inflected verbs. Topics in verb derivation include category changing processes, instrumental and transitivizing affixes, preverbs, directional particles, and verb finals. Invariant particles are categorized as adverbs, postpositions, or interjections based on their meaning, function, and distribution.

Chapter 5 Noun and Pronoun Inflection provides the composition of the nominal stem and the principal inflectional categories of the noun (gender, number, and obviation). The section on pronouns examines personal and reflexive pronouns, demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

Chapter 6 Verb Inflection also provides the composition of the verb stem and the distribution and grammatical function of affixes.

Chapter 7 Major Findings concludes with the significant contributions of this study.

Bruce L. Pearson, Associate Professor
Dissertation Director

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List of Abbreviations

AI	Animate Intransitive
AO	Animate Object
CAUSE	Causative
CV	Connective Vowel
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Direct
FUT	Future
IC	Initial Change
II	Inanimate Intransitive
IMPER	Imperative
IN	Inanimate
INDEF	Indefinite
INV	Inverse
IO	Inanimate Object
LA	Link Auxiliary
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominalizer
OBV	Obviative
p	Plural
PASS	Passive
PERCEP	Perception
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PSEUDOTRANS	Pseudotransitive
REDUP	Reduplication

REL	Relativizer
s	Singular
SEQ	Sequential Reduplication
SUB	Subordinate
T/P	Time/Place
TA	Transitive Animate
TI	Transitive Inanimate
TRANS	Transitivizer
Vai	Animate Intransitive Verb
Vii	Inanimate Intransitive Verb
Vta	Transitive Animate Verb
Vti	Transitive Inanimate Verb

CHAPTER 1
THE SHAWNEE LANGUAGE

1.0. Introduction to the Algonquian Language Family

Contemporary classifications of the Algonquian language family contain a number of different views on the status of Shawnee and its degree of affinity to its linguistic neighbors. Ruhlen (1987:366) divides the Algonquian language family into two main branches: Blackfoot and Algonquian Proper (including Cheyenne, Arapaho, Cree, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Fox, Illinois, and Shawnee). Within Algonquian Proper, the Eastern branch¹ is mostly dead.

Goddard 1978 has a different view of the Algonquian language family. In his schema, the three branches are Plains Algonquian, Central Algonquian, and Eastern Algonquian. These branches are similar, but not identical to, Ruhlen's. Goddard puts Cheyenne and Arapaho into the same group as Blackfoot, namely "Plains" Algonquian. Goddard's "Central" group is comprised of Cree, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Fox, Miami-Illinois, and Shawnee. However, "Plains" and "Central" are merely geographic terms, not linguistic subfamilies that underwent common innovations after a break from Proto-Algonquian (Goddard

1978:583).² All of the languages of Central Algonquian are independent branches descending from Proto-Algonquian (Goddard 1978:585), whose "shared developments ... reflect aboriginal contiguity rather than a common genetic source" (Goddard 1978:586).³ For example, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Shawnee have certain lexical, phonological, and cultural similarities that may have resulted from contact in aboriginal times when the Shawnee were living in the vicinity of the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (Goddard 1978:586). Other cases of similar linguistic innovations in Central Algonquian are the result of "parallel independent developments" (Goddard 1978:586).

Earlier classifications of Bloomfield (1946:440) and Michelson 1912 identify a Central-Eastern group in which Delaware and Powhatan are members of the Central type. Although these groupings are no longer considered valid (Goddard 1978:586-87), there were repeated attempts to put Shawnee in the Fox group. For example, Michelson 1912 places Shawnee somewhere between Eastern Algonquian and Fox, but "nearest to Fox" (cited in Crawford 1975:7). Later, Bloomfield 1925 places Shawnee in the Sauk group of Central Algonquian, along with Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo (Crawford 1975:8). In a study on the mutual intelligibility of Shawnee, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, and Sauk-and-Fox (SF), Pierce (1952:208) states,

... Shawnee, Kickapoo, and SF are members of a closely related group of speech communities,

while Ojibwa is not a member of this group. Kickapoo and SF are very closely related, 79% mutual intelligibility, while Shawnee is a divergent member of this group, only 02% to 06% mutual intelligibility.⁴

Based on phonological evidence, Miller (1959:21) puts Shawnee in the Sauk group.

More recent classifications do not see any special relationship between Shawnee and the Fox group. By 1946 Bloomfield had changed his earlier views and separated Shawnee from Fox. Despite their other differences, Ruhlen 1987 and Goddard 1978 agree that Shawnee does not have a special relationship to Fox, and that view is the prevailing contemporary analysis.

In conclusion, Shawnee is a member of Central Algonquian, which is a geographic label, not a genetic subfamily. It is a direct descendant of Proto-Algonquian, which may have existed around 2500 to 3000 years ago in the area between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario (Goddard 1978:586). Any common linguistic features that it shares with other Algonquian languages are likely to be the result of aboriginal contact or parallel independent innovation. Earlier opinions that it is a member of the Fox group are largely discredited.

1.1. Linguistic Profile of Shawnee

Shawnee has 19 basic phonemes: 6 vowels and 13 consonants. Vowel and consonant length can be phonemic,

although examples of these contrasts are difficult to find. Short /i/ and /e/ tend to be pronounced [ɪ] and [ɛ]. Word stress is fixed on the final syllable.

Shawnee is an agglutinating language with a fair degree of allomorphic variation. Nouns are divided into animate and inanimate genders. Nouns derive new stems for the diminutive and for possession, and they inflect for number and vocative. A discourse marker distinguishes one third-person actor not in focus (= "obviative") when two third-persons are under discussion.

Tense, aspect, and motion particles (and sometimes negation) are verbal affixes. There is no tense distinction between present and past, but there are several sorts of future (the near future, for example). Duration of action is indicated by partial reduplication of the verb root. Adverbials indicating motion ('towards') incorporate into the verb stem. Other adverbials ('today', 'now') are usually independent words.

Pronominal affixes on the verb crossreference the referential subject and object nouns. In transitive verbs, different derivational affixes signal whether the stem takes an animate or inanimate object. While many overt inflectional markers that crossreference the object have been lost, some have been retained in certain paradigms. Freestanding personal pronouns can be used (mostly for emphasis).

Because there is a person hierarchy in speaker-

addressee interactions (2 > 1 > 3) (and the location of these pronominal prefixes relative to each other is invariable), verbal suffixes are used to indicate the direction of the action. For example, an inverse marker indicates that a third-person is acting on a first-person, but the first-person marker remains fixed on the left edge of the verb stem (the normal "subject" position) and the third-person marker continues to occupy what would otherwise be the "object" slot.⁵ While inverse suffixes in the Algonquian languages are often analyzed as passive markers, others disagree (Andrews 1989b, Dahlstrom 1991). A true passive construction has been identified in Shawnee. An indefinite actor affix is also found that is not present in all Algonquian languages.

Determiners and demonstratives usually precede the noun they modify. They must agree in animacy and number with their head noun (Norcross 1993:68). Locatives are postpositions. Word order is relatively free, although a VS order is predominant.

1.2. Shawnee

Three Shawnee groups are now found in Oklahoma: the Eastern Shawnee, the Loyal (or Cherokee) Shawnee living among the Cherokee in the northern counties, and the Absentee Shawnee who live in Pottawatomie and Cleveland Counties in and around the town of Shawnee and east of Norman (Crawford 1975:13). The Absentee Shawnee themselves

are divided between those who live in Shawnee and those who live in the community of Little Axe. This split is partly urban versus rural, but another split within the tribe revolves around the use of peyote in religious and ceremonial celebrations. The more urban, non-peyote using group is somewhat more receptive toward outsiders, but it contains more semi-speakers. The more rural, traditional, peyote-using group living around Little Axe retains a better command of language and traditional culture, but it is less receptive to outsiders inquiring into its customs and language.

1.2.1. Number of Speakers

Chafe 1962 (Crawford 1975:13) estimated that there were 300 to 400 speakers of the language, all over twenty years of age, which means that the youngest remaining speakers are now in their fifties. There may be as few as 250 middle-aged and elderly speakers (Pearson 1991:7). The language is used among them mostly for native religious and ceremonial occasions. In the summers of 1992 and 1993, it was reported that some of the older speakers use the language among themselves for ordinary, daily communication, but they were unwilling to be observed in daily conversation. One speaker stated that the remaining speakers "would rather die with what they know" of the language and native customs rather than reveal their knowledge to strangers. That same summer, the Absentee

Shawnee tribal government was discussing taking a census of speakers to determine who they were and their degree of command of the language.

1.2.2. Extant Materials

The two major bibliographies of the Algonquian languages are Pilling 1891 (summarized in Crawford 1975:13-14) and Booker 1991. They catalog most of the extant work on the Shawnee language.

Existing materials fall into five broad categories: (1) vocabulary items (from 1615 to date), (2) texts (1715 to 1954, 1992-93), (3) grammatical sketches (1816, 1992), (4) ethnographic materials on the Shawnee people (1860s to 1981), which may contain some language data, and (5) linguistic analyses (1935 to 1981, 1992 to date).

Vocabulary

The bibliography on Shawnee vocabulary is extensive, but the actual number of words collected in any one of the cited works is few: isolated words and phrases, numerals, word lists of several Native American languages for comparative (or occasionally classificatory) purposes, color terms, place names, and short dictionaries. Sometimes these vocabularies were published many years after they were originally collected.

17th and 18th Century Vocabularies

Shawnee words for 'father', 'heaven', 'earth', and 'bread' were first printed in a book by Joanna Chamberlains in Amsterdam in 1615 and reprinted in 1824 in a book promoting the "general improvement" of the Indian tribes (Booker 1991:50). Conrad Weiser published numerals in several Indian languages, including Shawnee, in Gentleman's Magazine in London in 1756 (Crawford 1975:13, Booker 1991:215). James Parsons also published numerals in 1767 (Booker 1991:149). Major Ebenezer Denny's four page vocabulary collected in 1776, but not published until 1860, is one of the earliest (Crawford 1975:13, Booker 1991:40). In 1788 Thomas Ridout, a prisoner of the Shawnee, recorded 225 words and phrases. That same year, General Richard Butler recorded a vocabulary (Crawford 1975:13), as did Jonathan Edwards (Booker 1991:48). In 1793 General William Preston recorded vocabularies of several Native American languages, including Shawnee (Crawford 1975:13). A brief Shawnee vocabulary from travels between 1748 to 1846 was published by John Long in 1904 (Booker 1991:121).

19th Century Vocabularies

Johann Cristoph Adelung made an early attempt to classify several Native American languages in 1816 (Booker 1991:1). In 1819 John Johnston, Indian agent in Ohio, collected about 170 items that were published in 1820 (Crawford 1975:13, Booker 1991:104).⁵ In 1824-25

Trowbridge collected a list of words with the help of The Prophet and other Shawnee (Chrisley 1992:2; reprinted in 1939, cited in Booker 1991:204). James Edwin collected the Shawnee numerals 1-10 in 1830 (published in 1883) (Booker 1991:103). In 1836 Albert Gallatin made the first large scale attempt at classification of Native American languages, and he published vocabularies of several languages in 1848 (Booker 1991:59). A twenty-page article by J. Howse [House] from 1844⁷ included Shawnee data (Booker 1991:98). Robert Latham published an extensive comparative vocabulary of sixteen Native American languages in 1845 (Booker 1991:116). John Johnston (mentioned above) published a Shawnee vocabulary and list of river names in Shawnee in 1849 (Booker 1991:105). In 1852 Richard W. Cummings, U.S. agent in Indian Territory, collected a vocabulary, later published by Schoolcraft (Crawford 1975:14, citing Schoolcraft; and, Booker 1991:36). In 1854 Electra F. Jones published some Shawnee words (Booker 1991:105). In 1855 Lieutenant A. W. Whipple published a vocabulary of around 250 words (Crawford 1975:14, citing Whipple 1855). In 1856 Whipple (with Thomas Ewbank and William W. Turner) published five pages of Shawnee words (Booker 1991:217). In the same year Robert Gordon Latham published vocabularies of several languages, including Shawnee items (Booker 1991:116), as did William Allen (Booker 1991:3). In 1860 S. S. Haldeman published Shawnee numbers from 1 to 10 (Booker 1991:87). In 1860 Emanuel

Domenech published around twenty-two pages of comparative vocabularies (Booker 1991:43). The most extensive collection devoted exclusively to Shawnee was General Albert Pike's 1861 vocabulary of around 1500 words (Crawford 1975:14). Robert Gordon Latham published one page of Shawnee vocabulary and comparative vocabularies in 1862 (Booker 1991:116). In 1866 George Gibbs published 200 Shawnee words (Crawford 1975:13). In 1879 John Campbell published comparative Algonquian vocabularies (Booker 1991:25), while Albert S. Gatschet collected a Shawnee vocabulary at Vinita in Indian territory (Crawford 1975:14), apparently of color terms (Booker 1991:60). In 1887 John Heckewelder gathered comparative vocabularies (Booker 1991:92), and in 1888 Elijah M. Haines published Shawnee numerals and other vocabulary (Booker 1991:84). A few scattered words in Shawnee are found in Featherman's 1885-1889 three volume work (Booker 1991:52). Five pages of Shawnee vocabulary gathered in 1890 were later published in 1977 (Booker 1991:48).

20th Century Vocabularies

In 1912 Truman Michelson published two pages of Shawnee vocabulary gathered between 1906-1907, and he also divided the Algonquian languages into four subdivisions (Booker 1991:130). Twelve Shawnee words can be found in Joab Spencer's 1908 work (Booker 1991:185). In 1934 William Albert Galloway reprinted four earlier Shawnee

vocabularies (Booker 1991:59). Between 1938-40, C.F. Voegelin published Shawnee Stems and the Jacob P. Dunn Miami Dictionary, an extensive list of Shawnee stems and phrasal material (Crawford 1975:13, Booker 1991:208), but these lists are not organized on lexicographic principles. Voegelin and Hymes's 1953 article contains Shawnee vocabulary examples (Booker 1991:209). A Shawnee-English, English-Shawnee dictionary is in progress (Pearson 1991), and Ronald L. Chrisley has privately published an introduction to the Shawnee language which consists of a grammatical sketch, paradigmatic information, and an English-Shawnee vocabulary based on Denny, Ridout, Long, Johnston, Trowbridge, Schoolcraft, and a U.S. government report from 1854 (Chrisley 1992:2-3).

Texts

The impetus behind the majority of extant texts was the translation of religious materials into Shawnee, principally the Lord's Prayer, hymns, the gospels, and other scriptural passages. The first translation of the Lord's Prayer was by Rev. Le Jau in 1715 (but Trumball disagreed that the language was Shawnee) (Crawford 1975:13). An unattributed translation of the Lord's Prayer is cited from 1789 (Booker 1991:121), and Adelung translated the Lord's Prayer into Shawnee in 1816 (Booker 1991:1). Apparently there were a series of translations of the gospels and hymns in the 1830s and 1840s (Crawford

1975:13, citing Pilling 1891). Translations of the Lord's Prayer are also cited from 1857 by Samuel G. Drake (Booker 1991:45), 1860 by S. S. Haldeman (Booker 1991:87), and 1872 by J. Hammond Trumbull (Booker 1991:204). In 1929 Thomas W. Alford, a native speaker of Shawnee, translated the King James' version of the Four Gospels into Shawnee, but one of my informants who is familiar with the translation says that it is not good Shawnee. In 1938 Eric M. North edited scriptural translations from numerous Native American languages, including Shawnee (Booker 1991:144).

Extant non-religious writings are even fewer in number. The Shawnee published a newspaper, šiwinowe kešibwi 'Shawnee Sun', in their own language between 1835-39 and 1841-44. (Crawford 1975:13 cites the dates as 1835-42.) Only one copy from November 1841 survives (Booker 1991:129). In 1880 Gatschet obtained Shawnee sentences and texts, and in 1885 he obtained additional Shawnee material near Seneca, Missouri. These unpublished materials are located in the Bureau of American Ethnology (Crawford 1975:14). In the 1950s C. F. Voegelin gathered extensive Shawnee materials: "Autobiography of a Woman" (1953; re-recorded in 1953 with the assistance of Robinet and Hickerson) is Mary Williams's narration of her early life. Voegelin, Yergerlehner, and Robinet published a partial version of "Shawnee Laws" in 1953, and John D. Nichols of the University of Manitoba is working on a scholarly edition of the full text in both Shawnee and English

(Nichols, personal communication). Other extensive unpublished materials of Voegelin are located at the American Philosophical Society's headquarters in Philadelphia (Nichols; Norcross, personal communications). In the summers of 1992 and 1993, "Autobiography of a Woman" was reelicited with the assistance of Mary Williams's sister Jeanette Bayliss (Andrews 1993).

Grammatical Sketches

Virtually nothing has been written on the grammar of Shawnee. Johann Cristoph Adelung prepared a grammatical treatment of Shawnee in 1816 (Booker 1991:1). Rev. Johnston Lykins, Baptist missionary to the Shawnee, published a primer of the language (no date given, Crawford 1975:13).⁹ Chrisley 1992 has gathered some grammatical information, mostly paradigms, in the beginning section of his English-Shawnee dictionary. Voegelin's unpublished manuscript grammar is located at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (Nichols, personal communication).

Ethnographic Materials

Ethnographic research on the Shawnee tribe focuses on political organization, etymologies, gods and myths, songs and dances, and history and culture. Most of these works do not contain much, if any, Shawnee language data. However, isolated words may be included.

Work on the tribe's political organization includes

tribal divisions, clan names, kinship terms, and sometimes their etymologies. Morgan 1859-62 [published 1959], 1871 addresses clan names and Shawnee kin terms (Booker 1991:138). Gatschet 1881 describes four tribal divisions and the etymologies of those clan names (Booker 1991:63). Voegelin 1935 replaces clan names with six group names (Booker 1991:209). Hockett 1957, 1964 discusses Native American kin terms with Shawnee examples (Booker 1991:95).

The etymologies of names, place names, and the term Shawnee are also available. Gatschet 1895 discusses the etymology of Tecumseh's name (Booker 1991:64), while Gatschet 1899 points out the resemblance between the Shawnee term for 'man' and for 'genuine' (Booker 1991:63). Johnson 1972 (Booker 1991:104) suggests that the origin of the Suwanee River is Spanish, not Shawnee. Between 1974 and 1987, three articles appeared on the origin of the word Shawnee as a native term meaning 'southerner' (Pearson 1974, 1976, 1987, cited in Booker 1991:150). Schutz 1975 analyzes early place names (Booker 1991:172).

Spirit names, gods, and myths are found in Morgan 1859-62, Voegelin 1944, and Schutz 1975 (Booker 1991:138, 209, 172, respectively). Songs and dances are recorded in Morgan 1859-62, Speck 1911 [published 1987], and Nettl 1956 (Booker 1991:138, 180, 142, respectively). Historical and cultural treatments are Clark 1973, Callender 1978, and Howard 1981 (Booker 1991:31, 24, 99, respectively).

Linguistic analyses

Synchronic linguistic analyses, dating from the mid-1930s to date, fall into the broad categories of phonology, grammatical paradigms, word formation, and syntax.⁹

Work on phonology examines phonemes (Voegelin 1935), long consonants (Swadesh 1937, cited in Booker 1991:191), and acoustical phonetics (Hickerson 1958-59, cited in Booker 1991:95). Inflectional paradigms of various sorts are examined in Voegelin 1936, Goddard 1967, Parks 1975, and Proulx 1984. Derivational morphology includes Algonquian word formation processes (Jones 1904, Mahr 1961), Shawnee stems (Voegelin 1938-40, Whorf 1940), noun compounding (Goddard 1990), and noun incorporation (Voegelin 1976, Norcross 1993). Boling 1981 treats certain aspects of Shawnee syntax.

Summary

The kinds of extant material on the Shawnee people and their language are a reflection of contact with encroaching European and American cultures. The earliest records were gathered by outsiders for religious or military purposes. Apparently Western missionaries developed a writing system for Shawnee, although its exact origin and whether it is a syllabary or an alphabet are unknown. The Shawnee developed their own newspaper and a translation of the Four Gospels. The 1929 translation of the Four Gospels seems to mark the end of the monolingual community. Since then, no

native writings or major translations into Shawnee have appeared. In fact, the entire literate tradition, even knowledge of the earlier writing system, has been lost. Voegelin's work spanning the 1930s and 1950s was the heyday of contact between certain individuals in the Shawnee community and outside linguists who were allowed to record the language. Voegelin's "Autobiography of a Woman" (1953) and "Shawnee Laws" (1953) mark the end of the elicitation and recording of naturalistic texts. After Boling's 1981 dissertation (based partly on Voegelin's materials) and Voegelin's death, the Shawnee essentially closed their doors to outside linguistic research. Between 1981 and 1993, only one major new work appeared on the Shawnee language (Norcross 1993), and only a few speakers of the language are now willing to work with non-Shawnee.

Salvage work is in progress -- the reelicitation and correction of "Autobiography of a Woman" in the summers of 1992 and 1993 (Andrews), the creation of a dictionary (Pearson, University of South Carolina), the creation of language materials by middle-aged semi-speakers to teach the successor generation (Akira Yamamoto, University of Kansas), and the editing of Voegelin's materials at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (Norcross, Nichols) and their reverification with native speakers (Norcross).

1.3. Methodology and Data

In eliciting "Autobiography of a Woman" in 1953, Voegelin was mostly interested in the relationship between speech pauses, phrases, and translation. His multi-stage translation was intended to be a method that would discover the meaning of a text without a literal word for word translation, and without presuming that one could (or had to) identify word or sentence in advance of the analysis:

The 'word', as usually treated in anthropological linguistics, is a possible length for a translation span, but begs the question by being a unit which later analysis will reveal instead of being a unit which can serve as a point of departure for later analysis; the same can be said for the 'sentence' and the like.

(Voegelin 1953:2)

Voegelin writes whole phrases together as one unit, and he reproduces false starts, repetitions, stray sounds, phonetic vowel lengthening, hesitation words, and mispronunciations. His method of multi-stage translation was intended to discover words and sentences, but it does not. His approach failed to gather more than a few adherents within his own circle, and it is no longer used.

In the summers of 1992 and 1993, I worked with Jeanette Bayliss, one of Mary Williams's sisters, to relicit the 13 episodes of "Autobiography of a Woman" (Voegelin 1953). Prior to arriving in Oklahoma, I had prepared a preliminary interlinear analysis, including possible sentence breaks and an initial morphological

analysis of each word. I read each episode aloud to Mrs. Bayliss, and we divided it into grammatical sentences. Once the sentence divisions were clear, I read each sentence aloud to her again, and she repeated it back twice. The second repetition was a consistency check. Mrs. Bayliss also translated each Shawnee sentence, and we corrected a number of misunderstandings and errors that Voegelin had made in his original translation. I returned to parts of the text that I did not understand until Mrs. Bayliss's explanations and comments made sense. I asked her to translate sentences or words from Shawnee to English (or English to Shawnee) in order to clarify the text. This back and forth process continued in the summer of 1993.

"Autobiography" is now divided into three hundred sentences, largely on the basis of Mrs. Bayliss's grammatical intuitions. Vocabulary and phrases from eleven native speakers from 1968, 1988, and 1992 have been made available to me (Bruce Pearson, unpublished field notes). The data for this dissertation are mostly based on the reelicited "Autobiography of a Woman", Pearson's unpublished field notes, and existing linguistic analyses.

1.4. Focus of This Study

The objective of this dissertation is to produce a comprehensive descriptive grammar of Shawnee. Recent descriptive grammars such as Plains Cree: A Grammatical Study (Wolfart 1973), Blackfoot Grammar (Franz 1991),

Koasati Grammar (Kimball 1991), and A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988) will serve as models.

In the following chapters I will refer to textual examples from the reelicited "Autobiography of a Woman" as T (for Text) and episode (1, 2, 3, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).

The thirteen episodes confirm some of the information on groups, political and social divisions, and culture discussed in Callender 1978. Historically, the Shawnee tribe has consisted of divisions (čalaka and Əawikila in charge of political affairs, pekowi responsible for tribal ritual, kišpoko for war, and mekoče for medicine and health) (Callender 1978:623-24). Later, geographic dispersal grouped these divisions into the Eastern (mekoče), Loyal/Cherokee (mekoče and čalaka), and Absentee Shawnee (kišpoko, pekowi, and Əawikila). In precontact days, the tribal chief was selected from either the pekowi or Əawikila divisions, whose sacred packs were greater than the other divisions (Callender 1978:624). The grandfather of Mary Williams and Jeanette Bayliss, who came from the kišpoko division, was the chief of the Shawnee in the town. "Autobiography" also confirms Callender's discussion of a vision quest for prepubescent children, including fasting on the part of young girls (1978:626). The Bread Dance is particularly important in Shawnee ritual: the role of games and songs, the committee of twelve women who supervise the cooking while the men dance, and the speaker (again the

grandfather of Mary Williams and Jeanette Bayliss) who delivers a prayer to the Creator all figure prominently in "Autobiography" (Callender 1978:627, 628-29).

Notes

1. Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Eastern Abenaki, Western Abenaki, Loup A, Loup B, Massachusetts, Narragansett, Mohegan, Quiripi, Unquachog, Mahican, Munsee, Unami, Nanticoke, Powhatan, Carolina.
2. " ... only Eastern Algonquian is a genetic unit that underwent a period of separate development as a whole after splitting off from the Proto-Algonquian parent language ... " (Goddard 1987:583).
3. Goddard (1987:585-86) says that Ojibwa and Potawatomi share many identical phonological and grammatical developments since Proto-Algonquian, and therefore may be more closely related to each other than the rest of the members of Central Algonquian.
4. Likewise, Jones (1904:369) believes that Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are closely related and mutually easy to acquire, while Menomini is more divergent, and Shawnee and Sauk-and-Fox even more so.
5. Even if the overt inflectional marker that denotes the second participant has been lost, the direction marker signals that there is an implied second participant.
6. Booker (1991:104) notes that Galloway 1934 "corrects" these items to "modern" Shawnee in Old Chillicothe, Shawnee and Pioneer History, Conflicts and Romances in the Northwest Territory.
7. Dahlstrom (1991:59) provides this date in a footnote remarking that Howse was the one to coin the term inverse.
8. Crawford (1975:80) says, "Pilling 1891 reproduced the Shawnee alphabet used by Lykins, with the English equivalents". Some Shawnee speakers in the summer of 1992 remembered using an "alphabet" to write Shawnee when they were young. Their recollections seemed to refer to a syllabary, not an alphabet. One speaker claimed that her brother had a record of the entire writing system, but we never obtained it from him. Lykins may have been using that original writing system.
9. Algonquian historical reconstructions are cited in Booker 1991.

CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

2.0. Phonemic Inventory

Shawnee has six vowels and thirteen consonants, as shown in the following chart.

		Vowels			
	High	i i:		o	
	Low	e		a a:	
		Consonants			
Stops	p	t	č	k k:	?
Fricatives		θ	š		
Liquids		l			
Nasals	m	n			
Semivowels	w		y		

2.1. Phonemic Issues

2.1.1. Vowel Length

Vowel length alternations in other Algonquian languages are sometimes phonemic and sometimes phonetic. For example, Blackfoot vowel length can be contrastive (Franz 1991:2). In Plains Cree, certain vowel length

variations depend on whether the form in question is non-initial (and long) or medial (and short), as in ko:n- ko:na 'snow' vs. -a:kon- in na:taha:kone:w 'he fetches snow' (Wolfart 1973:64). In Menominee, vowel length is affected by word stress placement and whether the following syllable has a lengthened vowel (Andrews 1989a).

In (1) and (2), a near minimal pair has been found for Shawnee /i/ and /ii/. In (3) and (4), a minimal pair has been found for Shawnee /a/ and /aa/.

- (1) ho-wiiši'-ta 'he was in charge' (of the Shawnee)
3 -head -TI
- (2) wi'ši 'dog' (Chrisley 1992:48)
- (3) čaaki yaama 'all this' (T3a)
- (4) čaki 'small' (Chrisley 1992:8)

No quantitative contrasts have yet been found for /o/ or /e/.

In conclusion, vowel quantity is contrastive in Shawnee, although Voegelin 1935 believes otherwise. However, most vowel length alternations in "Autobiography" are phonetic and perhaps conditioned by following segments. More research is needed to clarify the nature of these alternations in Shawnee.

2.1.2. Short Vowels

In the speech of my informant, /i/ tended to be realized as [ɪ], as in Blackfoot (Franz 1991:1).

Likewise, Shawnee /e/ tended to be pronounced [ɛ], as in Kickapoo (Voorhis 1974:2). In (5), my informant pronounced the /e/ in pemi as [ɛ]:, although elsewhere pemi was [pɛmi].

- (5) pemi-kwako-memek-wi
 by -fast -run -3sAI
 'He ran by fast.' (T6a)

2.1.3. Consonant Length

/k/ and /kk/ contrast in the following verbal affixes.

- (6) ye -kkil-a -ki
 SUB-hide-DIR-3sAO
 'when (I) hide him'
- (7) ye -kkil-a -kki
 SUB-hide-DIR-3pAO
 'when (I) hide them' (Voegelin 1936:401)

These affixes are object markers in the Transitive Animate Subordinate Mode. (The subject is understood.)

Voegelin 1935 also points out that /šš/ and /ʔʔ/ can be doubled. He does not present any minimal pairs for them. Their status as phonemes cannot be confirmed at this time. Furthermore, in his view, two additional unreleased allophones /T-/ and /K-/ are found only in combination with their released counterparts /T-t/ or /T-č/ and /K-k/:

- (8) /nooT-či-ke/ 'I arrive'
 (9) /nooT-ta/ 'I arrive by it'
 (10) /nθwi-Kkato/ 'three years' (Voegelin 1935:29).

The phonetic and phonological status of Voegelin's

unreleased /T-/ and /K-/ is also unresolved. In the examples above with /T-t/ and /T-č/, the presumed unreleased kind is coming in combination with a similar sound at morpheme boundary. These combinations may represent a phonetic lengthening in that environment.

2.1.4. The Status of [h] and [ʔ]

[h] and [ʔ] are allophones of one phoneme. They are in complementary distribution: [h] appears at the beginning of a syllable, while [ʔ] appears in syllable final position. Furthermore, [h] and [ʔ] are phonetically comparable laryngeals (Voegelin 1935:31).

2.2. Phonological Rules

(Rule 1)

∅ ---> [h]/#_____V

A word may not begin with a vowel. Instead, an on-glide [h] is added (also found in Menominee, c.f. Bloomfield 1962:3).^{2,3}

There are two variants of the particle -oči 'from'. It can attach to nouns to form postpositional phrases, or it can also be a preverb. When it attaches to a noun, it is -ooči, while it is hoči- as a preverb.⁴

- (11) hina-oči (> hinooči)
 that-from
 'from there' (T3a)

- (12) naamin-ooči
Norman-from
'from Norman' (T1)
- (13) oklahooma niila hoči-lenawe
Oklahoma 1 from-live
'I'm from Oklahoma.'⁵ (T1)

The usual person prefix for third person is ho-. The root -i- 'say' surfaces in third person as h-i-wa, with the addition of [h].

A negative particle -aali- is often part of the verb stem. At the beginning of a word, however, -aali- surfaces as [h]-aali-. These two possibilities are shown in (14) and (15).

- (14) ni-[t]aali-waakw-am-a (> nitaaliwaakoma)
1 -NEG -know -TA-DIR
'I (did) not know (him).' (T3a)⁶
- (15) haali hamamoo-ki⁷
NEG wake -3p
'They (did) not wake up.' (T6a)

Sometimes instead of surfacing with a [h] on-glide, [w] appears, particularly in compounds:

- (16) talawaatii- w -ileni
gambling -[w]-man
'gambling man' (T1)
- (17) tekošiyee- w -aatowee-ya
white.man-[w]-speak -1sSUB
'I speak English' (T11)
- (18) hočēepkii- w -ileni
medicine -[w]-man
'medicine man' (T6a)
- (19) mekiio-ii-w -wi (> mekiioiiw-i) meleny-aapo
goat -LA-[w]-II milk -fluid⁸
'goat milk' (T2, T7)

This /w/ may not be a phonological insertion at all. Goddard (1990:454, examples 16 and 17, and footnotes 19 and 20) discusses the lengthening of a vowel in the Ojibwa initial stem accompanied by the appearance of a /-w/ extension: " ... nipi- (nipi 'water') ---> initial nipi:w-: nipi:wa:kkosi 'he is dripping wet'. The Shawnee examples (16)-(18) are initials. In (19), the same extension occurs on mekii-θa 'goat' (-θa 'animate being'). Therefore, these forms are really tekošiveew-aatowee, talawaatiiw-ileni, hočeeppkiw-ileni and mekiiθiww-i with a morphological, not phonological, explanation for the alternation.

In -i- 'say, speak', nišiči (< ni-i-ši-či) 'he said so to me' (T6a), the usual morphophonological alternation ni-[t]i- (when ni- precedes a stem beginning with a vowel) does not take place. isi- in Kickapoo is a preverb that means 'thus, so, like that' (Voorhis 1977:46). Shawnee has several versions of a -ši- MANNER particle that cliticizes onto adjacent nouns or pronouns (or incorporates into the verb stem itself). As a preverb, this particle blocks the ni-[t]- morphophonological alternation. However, ni-ii-ta-maa-ekw-pi 'INDEFINITE ACTOR told me (about it)' becomes ni-[w]-iitamaakoopi (T3a).⁹ Similarly, the stem -i(ša)ko- 'try, intend' becomes nišako- (T6a) in first person singular (not *ni-[t]išako-).

Noun stems beginning with /i/ form the possessed nouns niilani 'my tongue' and wiilani 'his tongue'

(Chrisley 1992:13).

(Rule 2)

/y/ insertion: \emptyset ---> y/V(:)_____V(:)

In Plains Cree, /y/ insertion occurs between long vowels as in ki:sika:- 'be day', -a:pan- 'be dawn': ki:sika:ya:pan 'it is day-break' (Wolfart 1973:35, 81). In Shawnee, V(:)-y-V(:) is realized when one of the vowels is long.

The reduplication template CVV- typically takes the consonant beginning the stem and follows it with /a:/ to indicate repeated action. For stems beginning with a vowel, the vowel itself is reduplicated, and a /y/ glide is inserted between the reduplicated morpheme and the stem.

- (20) ni-[t]aay-a
1 -REDUP -go
'I went (repeatedly)' (T9)
- (21) ho-[t]aay-aačimo-[t]aw-aa -li
3 -REDUP -talk -TA -DIR-3sOBV
'he talked (to him) (repeatedly)' (T6a)
- (22) ni-[t]aay-a'kawee'-[t]aw-aa -li
1 -REDUP -listen -TA -DIR-3sOBV
'I listened (to him) (repeatedly)' (T6a)
- (23) ni-[t]aay-e -ekw-a (> nitaayekwa)¹⁰
1 -REDUP -tell-INV-DIR
'(he) told me (repeatedly)' (T5, T9)

/y/ glide insertion also occurs in two suppletive verb stems for 'eat'. miiči- takes an object, while wi'θeni- does not.

(24) ha'-miiči- y -aake
SUB-eat -[y]-1pSUB
'when we ate' [+OBJECT] (T9)

(25) wi'θeni- y -aake
eat -[y]-1pSUB
'we ate' [-OBJECT] (T9)

(Rule 3)

C# -----> ∅

A consonant is deleted at the end of a word. In (26), a noun ends in a consonant when a locative suffix follows, but in (27), the consonant is deleted at word end.

(26) wiikiwaap-eki
house -LOC
'in the house' (T8)

(27) wiikiwa ho-štaa -ekw-a -li kapenalee-li
house 3 -build-INV-DIR-3sOBV governor -3sOBV
'The governor (obviative) built (him) a house.' (T3)
(ho-štaa-ekw-a-li > ho-štaa-koo-li)

Likewise, ha'pašin-eeθa 'twigs' (ha'pašin- 'stick', -eeθ DIMINUTIVE, -a INANIMATE.PL) (T4) has a final consonant, but ha'paši elicited in isolation does not.

(Rule 4)

V:# -----> V#

A long vowel is shortened at the end of a word. This phonological rule is exemplified by forms such as ni-čeenina ~ ni-čeeninaa-ki 'my sibling(s)' and čiipa ~ čiipaa-ki 'ghost(s)' (Voegelin 1936:397). In fact, Rule 3 first deletes the final consonant of wiikiwaap 'house',

then Rule 4 shortens the long vowel.

2.3. Morphophonological Rules

(MP Rule 1)

$\emptyset \rightarrow t/V\text{-}_____\text{-}V$

[t] is inserted between two vowels at morpheme boundary.

Rule 1 of the phonology (a word may not begin with a vowel) and Rule 1 of the morphophonology can create the impression that /h/ ~ /t/ (c.f., Chrisley 1992:12). For example, -eečini(i) 'Indian agent' appears as hina heečini 'that Indian agent' (T3a), and as ho-[t]leečinii-ma-waa-li 'he was their Indian agent' (T3a) (-ma- POSSESSED, -waa- third person prefix pluralizer, -li 3sOBV). In fact, the [t] of ho-[t]- fills the open slot that would otherwise have to be filled with [h].

Prefixes indicating first person (ni-), second person (ki-), and third person (ho-) take the form CV- before a noun or a verb beginning in a consonant: ni-maači-l-ooθi 'I was born' (T1) and ni-kya 'my mother' (T1). When the stem begins with a vowel, ni-[t]-, ki-[t]-, and ho-[t]- are used instead: ni-[t]e-ekw-a '(he) told me' (inverse) and ni-[t]aa 'I go'. However, a complication exists in the interaction of the first/second person affixes and the future particle -e'-: ki-e'-nee-w-a 'you-FUTURE-see-TA-DIR' 'you see (him)' becomes ke'-nee-w-a (T6) (via Morphophonemic Rule 2 below), not *kite'neewa.

The time/place subordinating particle he(e)- also has a he(e)- ~ he(e)-[t]- alternation: he'-maači-l-ooθi-ya 'when I was little' versus hee-[t]aay-a-aake (> heetaayaake) 'where we used to live' (T1).¹¹

Finally, the particle -ma(a)-, a place marker that refers to objects in the immediate vicinity, inserts [t] before stems beginning with a vowel.

(28) ho-maa -ma -[t]aatotamow-aa -li
 3 -REDUP-here-talk (TA) -DIR-3sOBV
 'he talked (to him) there (repeatedly).' (T2)

(Reduplication here is formed from the place marker, not the verb stem.)

(MP Rule 2)

$V_1-V_2 \text{ -----} \rightarrow V_1$ ¹²

A short vowel preceding another short vowel at a morpheme boundary is deleted.^{13, 14}

(29) hina + -ene (> hinene)
 that -Xtimes
 'at that time period, then' (T3a)¹⁵

(30) melo'kami-eki (> melo'kameki)
 spring -LOC
 'in spring' (T7)

(31) ni-[t]e-ekw-a (> ni-[t]ekw-a)¹⁶
 1 -say -INV-DIR
 '(he) tells/told me' (T3)

(32) wišiki-a'povee-we (> wišika'povee-we)
 strong-dream -NOM
 'vision, strong dream' (T6)

(33) ni-o' -θa (> no'θa)¹⁷
1 -father-PERSON
'my father' (T1)

(MP Rule 3)¹⁶

V:-V -----> V:¹⁹

When a long vowel and a short vowel come together at a morpheme boundary, the short vowel is deleted.²⁰

(34) ho-štaa -ekw-a -li (> ho-štaa-koo-li)
3 -build-INV-DIR-3sOBV
'he built (him)' (a house) (T3)

(35) kaa -ki -noot-en -aa-maa-ekw-a
REDUP-PERF-hear-by.hand-TI-TA -INV-DIR
'(he) signed by hand (to me) (repeatedly)' (T11)
(> kaakinootenaamaakwa)

(36) ni-šaa -šiik-taa-ekw-pi -hi
1 -REDUP-take-TI -INV-3pINDEF-3pOBV
'they took them (ribbons) (repeatedly)' (T11)
(> nišaašiiktaakooipi)

(MP Rule 4)

Cw-a-C -----> CoC²¹

A /w-a/ sequence between two consonants becomes /o/. In the following examples, /o/ sometimes surfaces as [oo], sometimes as [o]. Lengthened vowels are found preceding certain morphosyntactic categories (here 3sOBV). (In Chapter 6 Verb Inflection, vowel lengthening is also found in some verb paradigms preceding 3sOBV, 3p, and Indefinite affixes.)²²

(37) ho-[t]e-ekw-a -li (> hotekooli)
3 -call-INV-DIR-3sOBV
'he called (her)' (T3a)

- (38) wii -ša -w'h -ekw-a -li (> wiišaw'hekooli)
 INTEND-FUT-loan-INV-DIR-3sOBV
 '(he) will loan (him)' (T6a)
- (39) ho-kiišŋe-ekw-a -li (> hokiišŋekooli)
 3 -anger -INV-DIR-3sOBV
 'he angered (him)' (T6a)
- (40) ni-waakw-at-a (> niwaakota)
 1 -know -TI-TI
 'I knew (it)' (T6)
- (41) ni-niišwi-kiša'ŋwa-wi (> niniišwikiša'ŋowi)
 1 -two -month -AI
 'I was two months old' (T2)
- (42) ha'ko'kwa-eki (> ha'ko'ko-ki)
 pot -LOC
 'in a pot' (T3a)
- (43) weepikwa-li (> weepikwali)
 'spider'-3sOBV (T6a)

In each instance but (43) in "Autobiography", /Cw-a-C/
 becomes /C-ooli/.²³ Why (43) is unaffected is not
 clear.²⁴

2.4. Consonant Alternations

A number of consonant alternations are found before
 /i/ and /e/. For the most part, these alternations appear
 to be the synchronic reflexes of diachronic phonological
 rules.²⁵

/ti/ -----> /či/

nipitali 'my teeth' alternates with nipiči 'my tooth'
 (Chrisley 1992:12). This alternation also takes place in
 the stem -waniit- 'play'.

- (44) pa-waniit-eθi -lo²⁶
 go-play -alone-3sIMPERATIVE
 'go play' (T3)
- (45) waniit-i-l -oo -we (> waniičiloowe)
 play -?-TRANS-PSEUDOTRANS-NOM
 'toy'

/θ/ ~ /š/²⁷

m'θ- 'big' becomes mši, while -θi- exists within words (Chrisley 1992:12). No example of -θi- 'big' within words is cited, but mθa-škwaw-i 'reed' (lit., 'big stalk') (Chrisley 1992:63) has the original mθ- root.

/l/ ~ /š/

An /l/ ~ /š/ alternation takes place in holakeelali 'boats' and holakeeši 'boat' (Chrisley 1992:12). (In Chapter 6, /l/ ---> /š/ in the environment before certain grammatical endings.)

/θ/ ~ /t/

/θ/ and /t/ alternate in holaaθo 'he boils' and holaate 'it boils' (Chrisley 1992:12).

2.5. Initial Change

A morphophonological alternation called Initial Change is used in Subordinate [= Conjunct] clauses to mark subordination. In Shawnee, -ye- is the IC prefix. In Plains Cree, one use of the Changed Conjunct is found in time expressions.

... subjunctive clauses [in the Conjunct Order] are often used for expressing the time of day ... But note that besides, say, wa:pahki 'in the morning; tomorrow' we also find the changed conjunct form e:-wa:pahk with largely the same meaning ... Expressions of season often show the iterative ... ,e.g., ... niyi:piniyikih 'in summer-time'; ... pe:poniyikih 'in winter-time, every winter' (Wolfart 1973:46).

Initial change and the suffix /ih/ are the morphological characteristics of these modes in Plains Cree. Shawnee lacks an accompanying suffix.

In (46)-(48) below, "Autobiography" has a number of time expressions that have initial change and endings that may be verb inflections of the Subordinate Order.²⁸ /-e-/ and /-a-/ may be markers of Mode. (49)-(57) are dependent clauses.

- (46) peeleko ye-haap-a -ki (> heyaapaki)
 one IC-day -TA-3s
 'one day' (T2)
- (47) ye-waap-a -ki (> wayaapaki)
 IC-day -TA-3s
 'one day' (T3)
- (48) ye-kaa -kiiš-e -ki (> kaakkye'šiiiki)
 IC-REDUP-day -AI-3p
 'they spent (time) (repeatedly)' (T9)
- (49) ye-nahiika ye-piyaa-ya (> nahiyaka ye'piyaaya)
 IC-there IC-come -1sSUB
 'when I came there' (T6)
- (50) ye-haa-či (> ye'haači)
 IC-say-3SUB
 'when he spoke' (T8)
- (51) ye-l -aačimo-či (> ye'laačimoči)
 IC-ACTION-talk -3SUB
 'when he talked' (T8)

- (52) ye-čaaki ni'ki hilenii-ki ye-maa -[t]a'kwe
 IC-all those man -PL IC-here-side
 'all those men (sat) on one side' (T10)
 (> čaaya'ki ni'ki hilenii-ki maayeta'kwe)
- (53) ye-haato-ta-ma (> yehaatotama)
 IC-say -TI-TA
 '(I) say (about it)' (T11)
- (54) ye-haačimo -waa-či (> yehaačimowaači)
 IC-talk (TA)-3p -3
 'when they talked' (T6a)
- (55) ye-neešwi (> neeyiišwi)
 IC-two
 'both' (T6a)
- (56) ye-wa -[t]aakwe (> waye'taakwe)
 IC-far-side
 'on the inside' (T6a)
- (57) ye-hamamoo-či (> yehamamooči)
 IC-wake.up-3SUB
 'when he woke up' (T6a)

While the -ye- particle often precedes the subordinate verb, it can also appear on adjectives, time particles, and pronouns, and sometimes on multiple words in the same clause. It is unexplained at this time why it is sometimes a prefix and sometimes an infix.

Notes

1. The translation of -wiiši- here is problematical. Voegelin's translation is 'head'. However, Jeanette Bayliss insists that it is the same morpheme that is generally spelled wiši- meaning 'strong', as in wiši-yane 'if you are strong' (T6), wišiki-tehee-ya 'I was determined' (lit., 'strong thought') (T5), and wišiki-a'powee-we (> wišika'poweewe) 'vision' (lit., 'strong dream' + NOMINALIZATION) (T6).
2. Bloomfield (1962:3) notes a similar phenomenon in Menominee. "Initial vowels have often an on-glide resembling h. This on-glide appears especially in interjectional words ... and at the beginning of very short utterances ... The on-glide is commonest before long vowels, especially if the glottal stop follows ... We view this frequent but unstable on-glide as non-phonemic and accordingly distinct from the phoneme h, which does not occur in word initial".
3. In rerecording the texts, however, I have transcribed e-ši-tehe (T3a), i'kweewaa (T6) ~ ii'kwe-hi (T9) ~ i'kweeki (T9), eleni (should be -ileni) (T6a), and ihhweye'kwi (T11). These transcriptions are undoubtedly mistakes in recording.
4. It is as if there is an open slot which is either filled by a vowel that spreads or by an on-glide: -[]oci.
5. About the similar particle in Plains Cree, Wolfart (1973:77) says, "o:, ohci 'from there, therefore; originally' is based on a relative root ... and thus usually has an antecedent. o: and ohci differ tactically: ... o: functions as a preverb while ohci is freely used as a particle ...".
6. -aali- ~ -[t]aali- is a morphophonological alternation discussed in the next section.
7. It is not entirely clear whether this phrase is one word or two. The recording of the second [h] in hamamooki implies two words. If it were one word, we might expect *haalamamooki (Morphophonological Rule 2), but that form is not attested.
8. LA is Link Auxiliary, identified in Chapter 4 as a morpheme that creates a verb form that modifies the next word. (Where English has adjectives, Shawnee has verb forms.)

9. Voegelin (1938-40:414) lists "wii- (plus transitivizing -ta, -n-) NAMING, NOTIFYING. niwiita, niwiina 'I named it, him'; howiitamawaali 'he notified him' (named it for him) ... ". wii- appears to have a semantic relationship to -i-, -ii- 'say': hiwa 'he said', hiiki 'they said' (Pearson 1991:26). Even Voegelin's inclusion of -ta- as a "transitivizer" points to such a relationship: 'say' (intransitive + transitivizer) > 'tell' (transitive). His translations of -wiita- ~ -wiitama- in "Autobiography" are all 'tell'.
10. (23) is also realized as nitaayokwa (T5, T8). The root -e- 'tell' is the same as in ni-[t]e-ekw-a '(he) told me', yet the expected reduplication would create an unattested *niteeyekwa. It is unclear which form should be the correct reduplication and what its phonological derivation is.
11. Recorded as he'-[t]laay-aake in T3.
12. An identical rule exists in Plains Cree: $V_1-V_2 \text{ ---} \rightarrow V_1$ (Wolfart 1973:79).
13. In šaponeeki 'by the window' (T3a), I segmented the word as šapone-eki, but I did not elicit the word for 'window' in isolation. Therefore, the segmentation may be šapon-eeki with a phonetically lengthened vowel. Otherwise, this expression does not conform to the stated phonological rule.
14. mooni wii-ša-ataam-aa-li 'he tried to borrow money (from him)' (T6a) is realized wiišaataamaali, with no phonological adjustment. The short vowel preceding a short vowel at a morpheme boundary is unaffected (contrary to Morphophonological Rule 2).
15. However, hineene is found in T6.
16. In one instance in "Autobiography", nitekwa is recorded as niteekwa (T7).
17. Kinship terms are always used with a possessive prefix, including -o'-θa 'father', -o'kom'-θa 'grandmother', and -oošθe'-θa 'grandchild'. *ho'θa (to mean simply 'father') is impossible.
18. In Fox, $V(:)-V(:)$ the vowel preceding another at morpheme boundary is deleted, regardless of length (Jones 1904:380-81) (= Shawnee Morphophonological Rules 2-3).
19. This rule is identical to one found in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:79).

20. In three instances in "Autobiography", a short vowel comes in contact with another short vowel, yet instead of syncope of the first vowel, the first vowel appears to lengthen: ni-kilakka-ekw-a > ni-kilakkaa-kw-a (T6), ni-[t]laay-ameška-ekw-a > ni-[t]laay-ameškaa-kw-a (T8), and ho-paa-pa'-w-ii-ta-ma-ekw-a-hi > ho-paa-pa'-w-ii-ta-maa-ko-hi (T9). These anomalies are likely due to the misrecording of vowel length, which in each instance should be long in the first place.

21. In Plains Cree, Cw-iC, Cw-eC ---> CoC (Wolfart 1973:80). In one instance, Jeanette Bayliss corrected pemi-kwako-memekwi (T6a) to pemi-kwakwi-memekwi, indicating that Mary Williams at least had a rule Cw-iC ---> CoC.

22. The underlying representation for another group of words showing a consonant + /oo/ on the surface is unclear: noolečheena (< ? ni-oolečhee-n-a 'I-roll-by.hand-TI') (T6a) and noowešilepwa (< ? ni-oowešilepwa 'I [am] happy') (T3). The reduplicated form ni-waa-wešilepwa 'I was happy (repeatedly)' (T11) indicates that /w/ begins the stem.

23. In T6a, ho-te-lii-l-aw-aa-li 'he did (it) (in a sequence)' (no phonological adjustments), -l- ACTION and -aw- TA derive a verb stem for 'do, act'. (-lii- is a reduplication that indicates sequential action.) However, in ho-te-lii-l-aw-ta-waa-li 'he did (it) (in a sequence)' (i.e., used a hand puppet made from a handkerchief to imitate a spider), CVw-C becomes hoteliilotawaali (T6a).

24. In the patterns Cw-pi and Cw-ki (which originate when an inverse marker is followed by indefinite -pi or by third person plural -ki), it is arguable whether there is an -ə- DIRECT marker to trigger the phonological rule. Nevertheless, ni-[t]e-ekw-pi 'INDEFINITE-ACTOR told me' (T6) becomes nitekoopī, and ni-waap-am-ekw-ki 'they looked at me' (T11) becomes niwaapamekooki.

25. Miller (1959:17) discusses Shawnee reflexes of Proto-Central Algonquian (PCA). "PCA *t ~ *č and *θ ~ *š before *i and *y. *č is limited to this environment; *š is not thus limited, but is found most often in this environment. This alternation is reflected in Shawnee by t ~ č and l ~ š, but only when found before PCA *i and *y, as in *nexkaači, *nexkaatali my leg-s > nkaači, nkaatali" (punctuation as in the original).

26. Voegelin (1938-40:67) identifies -θi as 'alone' in ye'-pa'-nekot-θee-θi-ya 'when I go there alone' (-pa' - 'thither', nekot- 'one', -θee- 'go'). However, Mrs. Bayliss did not recognize it as a morpheme in pa-waniit-eθi-lo 'go play' (? 'by yourself', 'alone').

27. $\theta-(i,i:,y) \rightarrow s(i,i:,y)$ and $t-(i,i:,y) \rightarrow c(i,i:,y)$ in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:79).

28. In addition to time of day expressions, several seasonal expressions are found in "Autobiography" that also may be conjugated verbs in the Subordinate Order: he'-pepoo-ki 'when it was winter' (T5), he'-melo'kam(i)-eθi-ki 'when it was early spring' (T9) (-eθi- DIMINUTIVE, (i) elides), he'ši-melo'kam-e-ki 'when it was spring' (T9).

CHAPTER 3
GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

3.0. Overview

Parts of speech in the Algonquian languages show a basic division between inflecting forms (noun, verbs, and pronouns) and non-inflecting, invariant forms (traditionally called particles). Directional particles (piyeči 'towards') incorporate into the verb itself. Although particles are invariant in form, they have different distributions and meanings that correspond to adverbs ((hi)noki 'now', waapaki 'today', lakokwe 'so, certainly', mata 'not'¹), postpositions (heta'koθaki wayeeči 'towards the east') (T5), and interjections (če 'so!').

The principal grammatical categories in the Algonquian languages are gender, number, and person indicated by affixes on nouns and verbs and by different forms for pronouns. Nouns can also be marked for possession (ho-taaktelii-m-waa-li 'he was their doctor' (T6a)), (-ma- POSSESSED, -waa- third person prefix pluralizer, -li 3sOBV), the locative, the diminutive, and the vocative.

Obviation² is a discourse-based distinction between two third-person, grammatically-animate participants.³

The third-person who is the focus of the discussion is the unmarked choice in the proximate. The proximate represents the point of view of the character who is the focus of the speaker's empathy (Dahlstrom 1991:91). The third-person who is less central to the discussion is obviative and marked by affixes on the verb and the noun. Obviation is not case marking (i.e., it does not mark grammatical relations).

Nouns are divided into animate and inanimate genders. While grammatical gender in the Algonquian languages has a semantic origin, grammatical gender is not always predictable from natural gender (Anderson 1992:158).

Nouns inflect for number (singular or plural). Person involves first, second, and third participants. In the first person plural, there is a further distinction between 1p Exclusive ('he and I', excluding the addressee) and 2+1 Inclusive ('you and I', including the addressee).

Verbs are intransitive and transitive. Intransitive verbs can have an animate subject (Animate Intransitive or AI) or an inanimate one (Inanimate Intransitive or II). Transitive verbs have distinct derivational affixes to specify whether the goal is (1) animate (Transitive Animate or TA affix) or (2) inanimate (Transitive Inanimate or TI).

- (1) ni-waakw-am-a (> niwaakoma)
1 -know -TA-DIR
'I know (him)'

- (2) ni-waakw-at-a (> niwaakota)
 1 -know -TI-TI
 'I know (it)' (Pearson 1991:19)

Bloomfield (1946:450-51) identifies a number of other Algonquian verb subtypes.⁴ One, the Pseudotransitive, is found in Shawnee.

... intr. verbs formed mostly with the suffixes -too, -htoo and taking implied objects: F[ox] wiikiyaapyeeni ašihitoowa "he builds houses" (Bloomfield 1946:451)

- (3) ho-wiiši-'too -ni⁵
 3 -head -PSEUDOTRANS-COMMUNITY
 'He was head' (of the Shawnee in the town). (T8)
- (4) ni-tekwe-'too -na
 1 -shame-PSEUDOTRANS-IO
 'I was ashamed of it' (the way I was dressed). (T11)
- (5) ho-kki -l -aa -waa-li
 3 -hide-TRANS-DIR-3p -3sOBV
 'They hide (him).' (Voegelin 1936:396)
- (6) ki-kki -too -naa-wa
 2 -hide-PSEUDOTRANS-IO -2p
 'You (pl.) hide it/them.' (Voegelin 1936:396)⁶
- (7) ho-paa -piye-too -naa-wa
 3 -REDUP-come-PSEUDOTRANS-IO -3p
 'They brought (us) (an inanimate object to eat, repeatedly).' (T9)

In (5) the root -kki- 'hide' affixes an -l- transitivizing affix to derive a TA verb stem with an implied animate singular object. In (6) the Pseudotransitive affix -too- derives a transitive inanimate stem. In (7) the normally intransitive root piye(e)- 'come' adds the -too suffix to derive a transitive inanimate stem 'bring'.⁷ In the case of (6) and (7), an overt, number-indifferent inanimate

object marker is also present in the verb stem.

3.1. Gender

The basic gender distinction is between animate actors and inanimate objects.

Nouns are in two gender classes, inanimate and animate; the latter includes all persons, animals, spirits, and large trees, and some other objects, such as tobacco, maize, apple, raspberry (but not strawberry), calf of leg (but not thigh), stomach, spittle, feather, bird's tail, horn, kettle, pipe for smoking, snowshoe. (Bloomfield 1946:449-50; punctuation as in the original)^{8,9}

Although natural gender and grammatical gender may coincide, grammatical gender is any arbitrary classification of nouns into categories. Grammatical gender in Shawnee is more accurately signalled by the phonology, not the semantics: nouns ending in /-a/ are animate, while nouns ending in /-i/ are inanimate (Chrisley 1992:9).¹⁰ Even this phonological criterion is not absolute.¹¹ Modification by a demonstrative (hina 'that' for animate and hini for inanimate) and pluralization are conclusive tests. Mismatches between the phonology and grammatical gender will be addressed in the chapter on Word Formation.

Temporary shifts of gender from inanimate to animate (but not from animate to inanimate) are attested in other Algonquian languages. Referring to Potawatomi, Hockett (1965:62) says,

The genders of Algonquian are not balanced: the animate gender is, as it were, absorptive. If an inanimate noun stands in apposition with a local pronoun, or if that named by the noun takes on the power of speaking or of being addressed (as in a story), or in any other way is assigned powers usually associated with people, animals, and spirits, it tends to become animate in that context and to be so treated syntactically, sometimes even inflectionally ... On the other hand, an animate noun ... remains syntactically and inflectionally animate even when used, in some transferred sense, of what might be taken to be an inanimate entity. Thus there are routes for a shift of gender from inanimate to animate, but not the opposite. (punctuation as in the original)

These temporary shifts of gender in Plains Cree are marked by crossreferencing affixes on the verb. The form of the noun itself is unaffected (Wolfart 1973:22). There are no attested gender shifts in "Autobiography".

Another type of gender shift is class-cleavage in which some noun stems can either be animate or inanimate. In such a case, however, the animate and inanimate words usually have different meanings, as in Plains Cree mistikw- 'tree' vs. inan. 'stick' (Wolfart 1973:22-23). In Shawnee, m'tekwi 'tree' is inanimate, while m'tekwa 'stave or stick of wood' is animate (Chrisley 1992:32). ni-leč-i 'my finger' is inanimate, while ni-leč-a 'my hand' is animate (Chrisley 1992:43, 48). There are no examples of class-cleavage in "Autobiography".

Abstract nouns formed from verbs are typically inanimate, as in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:23).

Abstract nouns are freely formed from animate intransitive verbs by the suffix -win-, e.g. a:cimo- AI 'tell a story': a:cimo:win 'story' ... (Wolfart 1973:69)

The corresponding affix in Shawnee is -we(n)-. (/n/ reappears in the plural.) The formation process for these abstract nouns will be discussed in Chapter 4 Word Formation.

Wolfart (1973:20-21) believes that the dimension of animacy is being neutralized in animate obviative singular nouns and in inanimate plural nouns. In the singular, Shawnee animate nouns end in /-a/, and the obviative singular morpheme is /-li/. Shawnee inanimate nouns are usually pluralized with stem + /-ali/. In other words, animate obviative singular [wiškilo'θali] (< wiškilo'θa-li 'bird') and inanimate plural [niipitali] (< niipit-ali 'my teeth') look alike on the surface, and animate and inanimate genders are indistinguishable in form.

3.2. Number

Shawnee nouns can be singular or plural. Inflectional affixes in the verb stem that crossreference objects are often omitted if inanimate objects are involved. Even if an inflectional affix for the inanimate object is present, it usually does not distinguish number. For example, in the TI paradigm, when there is a second or third person plural subject, object markers are present in the verb stem, but they are number-indifferent. Overt object

markers are omitted for most other subjects. In the TA Inverse (Animate < Inanimate), the inanimate participants are not crossreferenced morphologically. In the AI, TI, and TA Imperative, inanimate object affixes are also omitted.

3.3. Person

The choice of person affix may depend on the relative position of Agent and Object on the Animacy Hierarchy (Dixon 1979:85-6):

In the speaker's view of the world ... he will be the quintessential agent. Radiating out from this egocentric focus, the next most likely agent will surely be the addressee; then specific '3rd person' humans referred to by demonstratives; then known humans referred to by proper names; then other humans (described just through common nouns); then higher animals such as dogs, and so on down the scale of animacy until inanimate participants are reached.

... the speaker will think in terms of his doing things to other people to a much greater extent than of having things done to him; he will think of people doing something to animals or things much more often than the reverse, and so on.

Thus, the animacy hierarchy in Dixon's schema extends from first person pronoun, second person pronoun, third person pronoun, proper nouns, human common nouns, animate common nouns, and inanimate common nouns (Dixon 1979:85). Dixon is proposing that the affixes in the verb will reflect whether an animate agent is acting on someone or something lower on the animacy scale, or whether he is being acted

upon by someone or something lower on the scale.

The animacy hierarchy in the Algonquian languages differs somewhat from the general theory proposed by Dixon: Addressee > Speaker > Indefinite 3rd Person > 3rd Person > Obviative¹² > Inanimates. According to Hockett 1965, paradigms involving 'you and I' and 'I and you' are neither direct nor inverse. These paradigms, called Local, will be examined in Chapter 6 Verb Inflection.

3.4. Direction

The animacy hierarchy has morphosyntactic consequences for the Shawnee verb. Special affixes called theme markers indicate whether the Agent is higher or lower than the Object on the animacy hierarchy. Since the Shawnee animacy hierarchy is essentially 2 > 1 > 3 (and 2 and 1 are not involved in direction), a 2 or 1 (subject) acting on a 3 (object) will be a direct interaction. The direct theme marker /-aa-/ is used to indicate that the subject (referenced by the person prefix) is affecting someone lower on the animacy scale. (Shawnee has lost most of the overt inflectional markers in the verb stem for objects.)

If the opposite situation occurs (3 is subject, and 1 or 2 is object), a participant lower on the animacy hierarchy is affecting a participant higher on the scale. The inverse theme marker /-ekw-/ is used to indicate this reversal along the hierarchy. Prefix and suffix inflectional markers do not change position. Instead, the

inverse marker shows the reversal of action: the third person (often implied, i.e., without morphological marking in the verb stem) is the Agent, and the second or first person prefix is the Object.

There has been a continuing controversy over the nature of the direct and inverse theme markers. The majority view in Native American linguistics has been that they reflect the direction of action of Agent and Object along the animacy hierarchy. The principal argument in favor of the direction of action assumption runs as follows:

For any possible configuration of persons the order of elements within the verb is rigidly fixed, and the direction of the action is signaled by the theme affix ... The possibilities for focusing attention on a particular noun must be explained in terms of placement of the noun within the sentence rather than treatment of the noun's index within the verb. (Pearson 1972:80)

On the other hand, Voegelin, Bloomfield 1962, Jolley 1982, and others maintain that the inverse marker indicates passivization.

Dahlstrom 1991 examines this controversy over whether the inverse is a syntactically transitive and active construction or a derived passive in Plains Cree. In part, her objective is to motivate a level of grammatical relations separate from thematic roles (agent and patient) and discourse (proximate and obviative).

When a transitive verb has two third person arguments, either a direct form or an inverse form may be used. The direct form is by far the more frequent, and may be considered the unmarked choice. It signals that the subject of the verb is proximate, and thus more central, while the object is obviative, or more peripheral. The use of the inverse verb, on the other hand, indicates that the subject of the verb is obviative, and the object is proximate. In other words, the more central third person is here not the subject of the verb. (Dahlstrom 1991:59)

Dahlstrom uses valence and a test for subjecthood (or objecthood¹³) to support her analysis.

(i) Valence

Both direct and inverse constructions have two objects, while passives have only one. In direct and inverse, arguments are realized via lexical NPs. In the absence of lexical NPs, pronominal inflection on direct or inverse forms function as the pronominal arguments and must refer to a specific, identifiable referent. On the other hand, in the passive (which suppresses the agent role), pronominal inflection can refer only to a non-specific agent, while the other non-agent arguments can be filled by lexical NPs (Dahlstrom 1991:62-63, 65).

In (8) both arguments are realized by lexical NPs in direct form. In (9) both arguments are realized by lexical NPs in inverse form. In (10) the agent is suppressed in passive form, and a reading of a non-specific referent is the only possibility. (11), a passive form with a specific lexical referent, is ungrammatical.

- (8) aya:hciyiniwah nisto e:h=nipaha:t ¹⁴
 Blackfoot three kill 3-obv/conj [direct]
 awa na:pe:sis
 this boy
 'this boy had killed three Blackfoot'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:62, example (2), quoting
 Bloomfield 1934, p.98)
- (9) osa:m e:=sa:kihikot
 too much love obv-3/conj [inverse]
 ohta:wiyah aw o:skini:kiw
his father obv this young man
 'for his father too much cherished this young
 man' (Dahlstrom 1991:63, from Bloomfield 1934, p.
 58)
- (10) awi:na e:=sa:kihiht?
 who love pass/3/conj
 'who is loved?'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:65, example 12)
- (11) *awi:na e:=sa:kihiht oma:ma:wa?
 who love pass/3/conj his mother obv
 'who is loved by his mother?'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:65, example 13)

Dahlstrom (1991:66) concludes that both direct and inverse verbs are transitive and subcategorized for a subject and an object.

In (12) the Shawnee word for 'build' in the inverse takes two arguments, providing evidence that Shawnee inverse verbs are syntactically transitive.

(12) wiikiwa ho-štaa -ekw-a -li (> hoštakooli)
house 3 -build-INV-DIR-3SOBV

kapenalee-li.

governor -OBV

'The governor built (him) a house.' (T3)

However, a test for subjecthood is needed to forestall a claim that inverse is a transitive passive "where the patient is subject and the agent is object" (Dahlstrom 1991:66).

(ii) Tests for Subjecthood/Objecthood

A test called copying to object is used to prove that the agent argument in both direct and inverse forms, and the patient argument of the passive, is the subject. Certain verbs ('know') having both Transitive Inanimate and Transitive Animate forms take complement clauses that have subjects and finite verbs. In the TA, the object inflection on the matrix verb must be coreferential to the subject of the complement (Dahlstrom 1991:70).¹⁵

The copying to object test can be applied to objecthood as well: " ... the object of the matrix verb ... must be coreferential to the lower verb's subject" (Dahlstrom 1991:75).

(13) nikiske:yima:w George
know TA 1-3 [direct]
e:=sa:kiha:t okosisa
love 3-obv/conj [direct] his son obv
'I know George loves his sons'
(Dahlstrom 1991:72, example 32)

- (14) *nikiskeyimima:wa George
 know TA 1-obv [direct]
 e:=sa:kiha:t okosisa
 love 3-obv/conj his son obv
 'I know George loves his sons'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:73, example 33)
- (15) nikiske:yimima:wa George
 know TA 1-obv [direct]
 e:=sa:kihikot okosisa
 love obv-3/conj [inverse] his son obv
 'I know that his sons love George'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:73, example 34)
- (16) *nikiske:yima:w George
 know TA 1-3 [direct]
 e:=sa:kihikot okosisa
 love obv-3/conj [inverse] his son obv
 'I know that his sons love George'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:73, example 35)
- (17) nikiske:yima:wak e:=ki: -se:kihihcik
 know TA 1-3p [direct] perf-scare pass/3p/conj
 'I know they were scared'
 (Dahlstrom 1991:74, example 36)
- (18) namoya kiske:yimik o:hta:wiya
 not know obv-3 [inverse] his father obv
 e:=sipwe:hte:t
 leave 3/conj
 'His father [obv] did not know that he [prox] had
 gone off' (Dahlstrom 1991:75, example 38, citing
 Bloomfield 1934, p. 92)

This discussion can be summarized in the following chart. Subscripts indicate coreferentiality between the pronominal marking on the matrix verb and the subject of the complement clause, and discourse markers on matrix verb objects and complement clause subjects. Matrix verbs for (19)-(23) are Transitive Animate Direct, while (24) is TA Inverse.

	<u>Matrix Verb</u>	<u>Complement Clause</u>		
	<u>Object Inflection</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Object</u>
(19)	proximate ₁	proximate ₁	dir-obv	obv
(20)	*obviative ₂	proximate ₂	dir-obv	obv
(21)	obviative ₃	obviative ₃	inv-obv	prox
(22)	*proximate ₄	obviative ₄	inv-obv	prox
(23)	proximate ₅	proximate ₅	passive	∅
(24)	proximate ₆	proximate ₆	dir	∅

In (19) and (20) only the subject of the complement clause can be coreferential to the object of the matrix verb. In (21)-(22), where the verb of the lower clause is in the inverse, "the obviative experiencer argument ... is the subject of the inverse verb, while the proximate goal argument is the object" (Dahlstrom 1991:73). (23) is like (19) -- the object of the matrix verb is coreferential to the subject of the complement clause in passive form. In (24), the matrix verb (in the inverse) has inflection indicating that an obviative subject is acting on a proximate object. The lower clause's subject marking

matches it. "This argues for the proximate argument being the object, and consequently, for the inverse verb being active" (Dahlstrom 1991:76).

3.4.1. Direct Theme Markers

According to the animacy hierarchy, 2,1 > 3 interactions (i.e., a second or first person Agent is affecting a third person Patient) should be direct interactions marked by /-aa-/. 3 > 2,1 interactions should be inverse relationships marked by /-ekw-/. The next sections will examine the various person combinations to demonstrate that the animacy hierarchy correctly predicts the morphosyntax of the Shawnee verb. All examples are from "Autobiography".

1s > 3s

(25) we kateški ni-kilakka-w -a hina taakteli.
then just 1 -laugh -TA-DIR that doctor
'Then I just made that doctor laugh.' (T6)

3.4.2. Inverse Theme Markers

Inverse markers are used extensively in "Autobiography". Since those narrative episodes are the record of the interactions of Mary Williams as a young girl and her grandfather, there are many examples of 3s > 1s. Most of the other existing possibilities are found in the narrative.

Indefinite Third Person > 1s

- (26) ni-šaa -šiik-taa-ekw-pi -hi ye'ki
1 -REDUP-take-TI -INV-INDEF-OBV.PL used.to
(> nišaašiiktaakoopihi)
- ni-[t]akeepičikan-a ni'ki škoolii-θa -ki¹⁶
1 -ribbon -PL those school -PERSON-PL
'Those students used to take my ribbons
(repeatedly).' (T11)

There are a number of indefinite actor constructions affecting the first person speaker in "Autobiography". This example is particularly interesting because it uses indefinite marker -pi even when škooliiθaki 'students' is available as a referential noun. Furthermore, obviative plural -hi crossreferencing škooliiθaki is attached to the indefinite marker.

3s > 1s

- (27) ni-kilakka-ekw-a (> nikilakkaakwa)
1 -laugh -INV-DIR
'(He) made me laugh.' (T6a)
- (28) ni-[t]aali-nepee-š -h -ekw-a
1 -NEG -sleep-at.rest-CAUSE-INV-DIR
'(He) could not make me fall asleep.' (T6a)

3 pl > 1s

- (29) teko'šiya-ki ni-waap-am-a -ekw-ki (> niwaapamekooki)
white.man-PL 1 -look-TA-DIR-INV-3p
'White men looked at me.' (T11)
- (30) ni-l'ški-am-ekw-ki (> nil'škimekooki)
1 -scold-TA-INV-3p
'They (white men) scolded me.' (T11)

3 sq > 2 sq

- (31) wiyee -θa ki-e' -kitema-kweele-am-ekw-a
someone-PERSON 2 -FUT-sorrow-feel -TA-INV-DIR
'Someone will feel sorry (for) you.' (T6)
(> ke'kitemakweelemekwa)

3 sq > 3 sq (obviative)

- (32) ho-nepee-š -h -aa -li
3 -sleep-at.rest-CAUSE-DIR-3sOBV
'He made (him) fall asleep.' (T6a)

3 sq > 3 pl (obviative)

- (33) ho-paa -pa'-[w]ii-ta-ma-ekw-a -hi
3 -REDUP-go -say -TI-TA-INV-DIR-OBV.PL
(> wiitamaakohi)

ni-me'šoom' -θa
1 -grandfather-PERSON
'My grandfather went (to) tell them (something)
(repeatedly).'

3.5. Obviation

Under certain syntactic conditions obviation is obligatory. When a noun is possessed by a third person, the possessed noun must be obviative (Dahlstrom 1991:96).

- (34) šaawanwa-ki ho-taaktelii-m -waa-li
Shawnee -PL 1 -doctor -POSS-3p -3sOBV
'He was the doctor of the Shawnee.' (T6a)

/ho- ... -waa-/ indicates a third person plural possessor.

/-ma-/ is the affix creating a possessed noun. Obviation marks the possessed noun (taaktelii 'doctor').

In clauses with more than two third person

participants, one argument at least must be marked obviative (Dahlstrom 1991:93). Direct and inverse is governed by which argument is proximate and which is obviative. " ... [I]f the subject is proximate and the object obviative, then the verb is direct. An inverse form is required if the subject is obviative and the object proximate" (Dahlstrom 1991:93).

(35) and (36) below are a good example of the grammatical interaction of obviation and inverse. The narrative begins with (35) in which grandfather is the grammatical subject [+AGENT] in discourse-focus [+PROXIMATE]. In (36), grandfather remains in discourse-focus [+PROXIMATE], but he is now the grammatical object [+OBJECT]. To align grammatical relations properly in (36), the inverse marker /-ekw-/ is used in the verb stem to signal that the governor is affecting grandfather. (The prefix /ho-/ on ho-štakooli refers to grandfather.)

(35) he'-meči -naat-aw'ky-aa-či hina
 SUB-COMPLETED-much-land -TA-3SUB that

 ni-me'šoom' -θa
 1 -grandfather-PERSON
 'Afterwards my grandfather received land.' (T3)

(36) wiikiwa ho-štaa -ekw-a -li (> hoštakooli)
 house 3 -build-INV-DIR-3sOBV

 kapenalee-li
 governor -3sOBV
 'The governor built (him) a house.' (T3)

Since the person who is building the house (the governor) is disjoint from the person for whom the house is

being built (grandfather), this disjunction must be marked by placing one participant in the obviative (= "out of focus"). Since grandfather is the focus of this span of the narrative, the governor is assigned obviative marking. Grammatically, kapenal-ee (-ee- < -ile < -ileni 'person') is the subject who is not in discourse-focus (marked by /-li/ 3sOBVIATIVE), demonstrating that grammatical relations and obviation are independent categories.

Similar interactions of inverse and obviation are found in T6a.

Third person animate beings participate in obviation in Shawnee, including grammatically animate nouns that are semantically inanimate.

- (37) we ni-čiš -h -ekw-a hina weepikwa
 then 1 -fear-CAUSE-INV-DIR that spider
 'Then that spider scared me.' (T6a)
- (38) ho-waap-am-aa -li kiša'θwa-li (> kiša'θooli)
 3-look -TA-DIR-3sOBV sun -3sOBV
 'He looked at the sun.' (T6a)
- (39) ho-te -lii-l -aw-aa -li ... weepikwa-li
 3 -T/P-SEQ-ACTION-TA-DIR-3sOBV spider -3sOBV
 'He imitated a spider' (i.e., by a hand puppet
 made from a handkerchief) (T6a)
 (lit., he did a spider over and over in sequence.)
- (40) koonā-li ni-paa -pkite-'h -w -a
 snow -3sOBV 1 -REDUP-hit -INSTR-TA-DIR
 'I hit (him) with snow (repeatedly)'. (T6a)
- (41) ... ho-štōo-či ni-o' -θa (> no'θa)¹⁷
 3 -fix -3SUB 1 -father-PERSON
- heekaateewa-li
 paper -3sOBV
 '(when) my father made out the paper.' (T11)

In one case, the stem itself is altered to indicate obviation. hanikwa is the citation form for 'squirrel' (Voegelin 1938-40:441). hani(i)khwi is the obviative (T9, T10).

In "Autobiography", obviation is used solely at the sentence level to distinguish which third person is not in focus from the one that is. Even in successive sentences dealing with the same subject matter, there are no examples of a switch from obviative to proximate for the same noun. Therefore, the properties of obviation in discourse will remain unaddressed in this study.

Notes

1. mata 'not' usually precedes the word it negates. In the original transcription of "Autobiography", mata is shown as a phonologically independent word slightly more times than it is shown as a clitic on the next word.
2. Wolfart 1973 explores obviation mostly from the standpoint of its grammatical contrasts of one third-person to another third-person within a local span. Dahlstrom (1991:91-119) investigates obviation in terms of more extended discourse.
3. According to Hockett 1965, Potawatomi obviatives are always indefinite in number (i.e., they never form plurals), and inanimates can be proximate or obviative. These statements are not true for Shawnee. Animate singular obviative ending is -li, plural -hi. Inanimates do not participate in obviation (see Parks 1975:136).
4. The other subtypes identified in Bloomfield 1946 are not attested (or inconclusively attested) in Shawnee at this time. These subtypes are (1) intransitive verbs with implied objects, (2) double object verbs with special morphological marking for the second object, and (3) TI verbs with no identifiable object.
Some intransitive verbs have implied goals. Menomini menuah 'he drinks (it)' "in general makes sense only with a pseudo-object: neepeew menuah "he drinks some water," and M[enomini] netooweematem "I have a friend" is freely used also with a pseudo-object: čaan netooweematem "I have John as a friend" (Bloomfield 1946:450-51).
"Some tr.an. verbs (double-goal verbs) imply a second goal in addition to the one for which they are inflected: M[enomini] soopomah enæsenamaaq "hand me the sugar", where the verb is inflected for "thou--me," but its structure implies a second goal, here soopomah "sugar" (Bloomfield 1946:451).
One double-object verb -miil- 'give' is used numerous times in "Autobiography":

ni-miil-ekw-a
1- give-INV-DIR
'(He) gave me' (a box full of toys). (T3)

noo-wešilepwa he'-miil-i -či
1 -happy T/P-give->1-3
'I was so happy when he gave (it) (to me).' (T3)

(-i- in he'miil-i-či is a direction marker for an implied first person object, not a pronominal affix.) -l- in -miil- is part of the verb root itself, not the

transitivizing suffix -l-. In an intransitive use, miil-i-we 'he does the presenting' (Voegelin 1938-40:366), /l/ is part of the verb root itself, not a morphological marker within the verb for a second object.

" ... [S]ome tr.inan. verbs refer to no identifiable object, but have merely a formal goal: M[enomini] noqnonam "he swims"; also M[enomini] nemaamiiqtéhkooskanan "I go bare-legged," with the formal goal in plural inflection".

Shawnee ni-šaa-šėskal'Ńit-e 'I was barefooted (repeatedly)' (T4) is inflected for a Transitive Inanimate singular verb (-e), but no overt object is present.

5. -ni in ho-wiiši-'too-ni is the Shawnee analog of the Fox morpheme -na:- that means 'inhabited region or community' (Jones 1904:410).

6. Also referred to in Norcross (1993:57 and 58). Neither Voegelin nor Norcross analyzes the morphemes as I do, however. -l- is a transitivizing affix: piyee-wa 'he comes' (T11), paa-piye-ki 'they come (repeatedly)' (T8, T9). Adding -l- shifts the meaning to 'bring': ho-paa-pive-l-aa-wa-hi (T9). -kkil- and -kkitoo- should be reanalyzed as -kki-l- and -kki-too-, which in turn means that there is a single root for 'hide', namely -kki-.

7. Voegelin (1938-40:93) glosses -too as 'direct'.

8. Likewise, Plains Cree animate nouns include humans, animals, spirits, trees, some body parts, animal hides and products, certain plants, tobacco and tobacco products, some natural objects (sun, moon, snow), and some articles of personal or household use (frying pan, ladle, snowshoe) (Wolfart 1973:22).

9. Shawnee nouns (Norcross 1993:67-68) and Potawatomi nouns (Anderson 1992:158) denoting body parts are almost always inanimate.

10. Likewise in Fox, -a signifies animate, and -i signifies inanimate (Jones 1904:385).

11. pekwata 'stomach' appears to be animate, yet it takes hini 'that', an inanimate demonstrative (Norcross 1993:68). This syntagmatic test is a conclusive indicator of gender. Another conclusive test is the pluralization paradigm that the noun fits into. However, syntagmatic and paradigmatic tests are circular -- to know them means to know the gender of the noun in the first place. Chrisley (1992:28) cites the word for 'abdomen, belly, or stomach' as pe'kwataawi, more obviously marked as inanimate by its ending -i.

12. Hockett 1965 lists two types of obviative, Nearer Obviative > Further Obviative. Wolfart (1973:20) maintains that such a distinction may well have existed diachronically in the Algonquian languages, but it no longer operates in contemporary Plains Cree. There is no evidence in "Autobiography" of a Further Obviative in Shawnee.

13. Dahlstrom (1991:76-88) uses floated quantifiers as a second test for objecthood in Plains Cree, omitted here.

14. Dahlstrom uses italics (realized here as underlining) to identify the morphosyntactic categories and their translations that she is focusing on.

15. According to Dahlstrom (1991:70-71), the semantic difference between the use of TA and TI in this Plains Cree syntactic construction is not clear. They appear to revolve around the source of the knowledge (evidentials): 'I know that he wants to leave'. By using the TA form of 'know', the speaker has inferred from the referent's appearance or actions that he wishes to leave. Using the TI form of 'know' is neutral as to the source of knowledge.

16. ni-šaa-šik-taa-ekw-pi-hi is ambiguous. Even my informant could not tell for certain whether it was intended to mean 'they repeatedly took' [my ribbons] or nišaa-šik-taa-ekw-pi-hi 'they tried to take' (Mrs. Bayliss's alternative translation). In the context of the narrative, a repeated event in the past/present is more sensible than 'try'.

17. Mrs. Bayliss says that -štoo- 'fix' is the same verb that would be used in 'he fixed the chair'. Its use in this sentence appears to be a metaphorical extension to mean 'make out, discern' what was written on the note that Mary Williams brought home from school.

CHAPTER 4
WORD FORMATION

4.0. Stem Derivation in the Algonquian Languages

Goddard 1990 presents a descriptive scheme for the analysis of Algonquian stems, which may consist of from one to three constituents. Each stem must consist of an Initial. Initial + Final is possible, as is Initial + Medial + Final. Initials and Finals may be derived from noun or verb stems or components, while Medials may only be derived from noun stems or components (Goddard 1990:452). Constituents do not have to be single morphemes.

The following examples from Fox are taken from Goddard 1990. (Page numbers are in parentheses. Inflectional endings are omitted.)

<u>Primary Stem Derivation</u>				
	<u>Initial</u>	-(Medial)	-Final	
{	noun	noun	noun	
}	verb	∅	verb	
(1)	mkw-			'bear' (451)
(2)	wa:pešk-		-esi-	'he is white' (451)
(3)	ki:šk-	-ikwe:-	-(e)šw-	'he cuts off his head' (452)
(4)	mahkw-		-ay-	'bearskin' (452)
(5)	mi:hk-em-	-ehkwe:w-		'he is courting' (456)

In (2) wa:pešk- 'white' + -esi AI '(anim.) be' yields 'he is white'. In (3) ki:šk- 'severed' + -ikwe:- 'neck' +

-(e)šw- TA 'cut' yields 'he cuts off his head'. (4) illustrates the derivation of initials from noun stems, but Goddard does not view (1) mkw- and (4) mahkw- as a change in form. (5) is an initial derived from a verb stem: mi:hk-em- TA 'court (anim.)' yields a derived initial stem mi:hkem- which in turn yields mi:hkem- + -ehkwe:w- 'woman' mi:hkemehkwe:w-e:- (-e:- AI) 'he is courting' (still omitting inflectional endings). Considerable allomorphy can occur in derived noun and verb initials that originates from a number of diachronic and synchronic sources.

Goddard departs from Bloomfield in a number of ways. Bloomfield "posit[s] no initial for dependent stems" (Goddard 1990:450). Bloomfield would have viewed examples like (4) as

... secondary derivatives of the nouns that appear as their initials, an analysis that requires the postulation of both primary and secondary functions for a number of semantically quite concrete finals. (Goddard 1990:452)

Goddard classifies mahkwayi 'bearskin' as a primary stem because -ay- 'skin' is a concrete (i.e., physical) object.

Primary Stem Derivation from Components

Stems can be derived from components or combinations of components. The derived Kickapoo initial askipak- 'green' originates from initial ask- 'raw, fresh' + medial -ipak- 'leaf'. askipak- then is input to askipak-imahkeθen-e:- 'he is wearing green shoes' (-imahkeθen-

'shoe', -e:- AI) (Goddard 1990:462). Nominal medials and finals may be derived from noun stems (in which case they are generally identical in form), and verbal medials and finals can be derived from verb stems of the same valence category (Goddard 1990:462-463).

Secondary Stem Derivation

Secondary stems have the form Stem + Final or Theme + Final. Theme here refers to direction markers like /-aa-/ Transitive Animate Direct, etc.

Secondary finals are semantically abstract; while they may have a minimal nuance of added meaning (such as, diminutive), most of them merely change the category of the stem (such as, noun to verb or the reverse; intransitive to transitive or the reverse). Secondary finals often have an idiosyncratic relationship to the stems they are added to and may exhibit considerable allomorphy ... (Goddard 1990:471).

A good example of secondary stem derivation as defined by Goddard is hina koon-a 'that snow'. koon-a is an animate noun modified by hina 'that'. In (6) koon- is inflected as an Inanimate Intransitive verb.

- (6) wi'koči mši-koon-i ... koon-i θaakiči
 much big-snow-3sII snow-3sII outside
 '(There had been a) very big snow (storm) ... it
 was snowing outside.' (T6a)

4.1. Nominals

Nouns are divided into two gender classes (animate or inanimate). Nouns include non-derived words, deverbal

nouns referring to objects, abstractions, and persons, and verb phrases serving as substantives. Other nouns have an etymological relationship to a verb stem, although the derivational processes are less apparent. Numerous formatives are typically found as parts of nominals (e.g., -θa- 'person or other animate being', -apo 'liquid', -kaan- 'place, esp. enclosure' in 'room', 'house', and -kan- 'instrument').

Nouns are also either Absolute (i.e., without affixes indicating that the noun belongs to someone) or Dependent, the latter term referring to kinship terms or body parts that are obligatorily accompanied by affixes indicating the possessed status of the noun ('my father', 'their faces'). Other nouns (called Possessed) can add an affix (-m-) to a noun stem to derive a new stem indicating possession ('his overcoat', 'their doctor'). A diminutive affix can also derive new noun stems.¹

To the extent that the category Adjective exists in Shawnee, it is usually realized by the addition of a Prenoun. Sometimes these prenouns have meanings and functions that are very much like adjectives in an Indo-European language (mši-škooli-kaan-iki 'in the big schoolhouse' (T11)). Other prenouns are modifying elements often having noun-like meanings themselves (hoote'-wikaan 'wood house' = 'cabin' (T1)). Other adjectives are nouns plus a verbal formative -wi- denoting "entrance into a state or of becoming a part of a condition" (Jones

1904:401). (-wi- is also homophonous with Animate Intransitive and Inanimate Intransitive verb endings.) In (7), even when they are independent words, adjectives are inflected as verbs.

- (7) ho'kaaw-i tekwakhwikan-eki waniičiloowen-a
 full -II box -LOC toy -PL
 ni-miil-ekw-a
 1 -give-INV-DIR
 '(He) gave me a box full of toys.' (T3)
 (lit., 'it was full in the box toys he gave me')

4.1.1. Non-derived Nouns²

The basic facts regarding the division of nouns into two animacy classes have already been mentioned. Typically nouns ending in /-a/ are animate, and those ending in /-i/ are inanimate, but mismatches occur between the phonology and the animacy of the noun:

<u>Animate</u>		<u>Inanimate</u>	
m'kw-a	'bear'	θiip-i	'stream'
hilen-i	'man'	hoteewe(n)	'town'
ha'ko'kw-a	'pot'	hapikamite(ew)	'soup' ³
m'tekw-a	'stick'	m'tekw-i	'tree'
teko'šiy-a	'white person'	wiikiwaa(p)	'house'

The usual approach to discussing words in Algonquian studies is to refer to a stem (or root) plus an ending. Therefore, m'kw- is the root for 'bear' (plus animate ending -a), and so forth. Evidence will be provided in

Chapter 5 Noun and Pronoun Inflection that hapikamite(ew) 'soup' is actually the underlying form of the word: in the singular, final /-w/ is dropped and then /-ee-/ is shortened at word end. The grammatical gender of ha'ko'kw-a 'pot, vessel' is [+ANIMATE], and is so signalled by its phonology. hilen-i 'man' is also grammatically [+ANIMATE], but the phonology would indicate otherwise. m'tekw-a 'stick' ~ m'tekw-i 'tree' and ni-leč-a 'my hand' ~ ni-leč-i 'my finger' were cited in Chapter 3 as examples of class-cleavage, in which the same stem can take either an animate or an inanimate ending, but the two lexemes then have different meanings. teko'šiy-a 'white person' (originally the designation for an 'Englishman') is likely derived from m'tekw-i 'tree'. Miami meehtikoošia and Kickapoo ame'takoošiiha mean 'dugout canoe person, Frenchman' (Chrisley 1992:42). Shawnee even has a pejorative term tooto 'Frog' for 'Frenchman' derived from m'tekwi 'tree' (Chrisley 1992:45).

The facts of Shawnee word formation are so complex that it is extremely difficult to find items that are underived. Even the list presented in this section has debatable examples. hilen-i 'man', lenawe 'Indian', ho-[t]elenawee-m-hi 'his family' (possessed and obviative plural) (T8), and the final -ile 'man' (perhaps even -lee- ~ -ee- ~ -e- 'person') are related etymologically, if not morphologically derived.⁴ Furthermore, in Fox, Jones 1904⁵ views -otawen 'town' as a non-derived nominal

formative, as in Shawnee hoteewen-iki 'in the town' (T1). In fact, it appears to be [h]-otee-we(n)-, an abstract nominalization from an otherwise unattested verb stem.

4.1.2. Noun Formatives

Common noun formation morphemes include designations for persons, creatures, numerals, vegetation, fruits and vegetables, liquids, human communities and activities, dimensions, and instruments. Goddard 1990 views these morphemes as concrete formatives.

-θa 'Person' or 'Animate Noun'

-θa is a common noun ending indicating 'person' or an 'animate noun' (Voegelin 1938-40:141, 88).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8) | pašitoo-θa | 'old man' (T6a) |
| (9) | čitoo-θa | 'old man' (baby talk) (T6a) |
| (10) | wiyee-θa ⁶ | 'someone' (T6) |
| (11) | mEEKii-θa | 'goat' (T2) |
| (12) | škoolii-θa-ki | 'students' (T11) |
| (13) | kookwee-nee-θa ⁷ | 'stranger' (T3a) |

-θa- Diminutive

-θa is ambiguous between a meaning of 'person, animate noun' and -θa- indicating diminutive.

- (14) he -škwe -θa -eθii -wi-ya (> heškwē'θeeθiiwiya)⁸
 TIME-woman-DIM-be (AI)-LA-1sSUB⁹
 'when I was a small girl' (T4)

- (15) škilaweθii-θa¹⁰
 male -DIM
 'little boy' (T10)
- (16) paapooθ-škilawe'θii-θa¹¹
 foamy -male -DIM
 'Creator's grandson' (Voegelin 1938-40:89-90)
- (17) petθaki -lee -θa
 troublesome-person-DIM
 'pest, nuisance' (Voegelin 1938-40:71)

-(')θi 'Creature, Flying Creature'

Voegelin (1938-40:100) cites -'θi as a "formative" with no further elaboration in an obscure entry for pee-piyem-škw-ale'θi 'snail' (-piyem- 'turning movement', -škw- 'skin', -w-ale-'θi 'back pack occurs'). Chrisley 1992 provides the following examples of -(')θi as variously 'creature' or 'flying creature':

- (18) hoθaškw-aalowe-'θi
 muskrat-tail -CREATURE
 'opossum' (Chrisley 1992:56)
- (19) kakaani-kate-'θi
 long -leg -CREATURE
 'wasp' (Chrisley 1992:75)
- (20) kwakwa -θi
 fast,active-CREATURE
 'woodpecker' (Chrisley 1992:75)
- (21) kwaškwā -θi
 bouncing-CREATURE
 'woodpecker' (Chrisley 1992:77)

-a'kwi(') 'Vegetation, Flora, Wood, Solid'

Whorf (1940:167) identifies -a'kwi' ~ -a'kwi- as '(mass of) vegetation, flora, wood'. Goddard (1990:453,

footnote 13) also identifies -a:hkw- as a medial meaning 'wood, solid'. As a final, -a'kwi(') is found in tetep-a'kwi ~ tetep-a'tekwi 'grapevine', literally 'rolling vine' (Voegelin 1938-40:138), and in šoošooni-ekihow-a'kw'i¹² 'basket-MEDIAL-vine' (T10).¹³ tekw-akh-wikan 'box' (T3) derives from (m)tekw- 'tree', the medial -a:hkw- 'wood, solid', and the final -ka(a)n 'enclosed place'. ho'kwaaw-i 'full' (plus a 3sII verb ending = 'it was full') (T3), maa-[t]a'kwe '(on) this side' (T10), ha'ko'kwa 'pot, vessel' (T3a), and ta-[t]akwaa-ki 'clearing' (T10) also may be related to the final for 'wood, solid'. (ta- 'place' + -ki 3p form inflected verbs that serve as substantives: 'the place where they X', discussed below.)

-aapitaki 'Tens'

The formative -aapitaki 'tens', 'Xty' (Voorhis 1977:47) is "used after stems for 2, 3, 4, 5 to form 20, 30, 40, 50, respectively" (Voegelin 1938-40:102). ni-nyeew-aapitaki-kite-n'θwi '1-4-10s-plus-3' 'I am 43' (T1) and nyaalanw-aapitaki '5-10s' '50' (T6a) are found in "Autobiography".

-(a)apo 'Consumable Liquid'

-(a)apo is used in words referring to liquids that humans consume.

(22) taamin-aapo 'corn whisky' (Pearson 1991:16)

- (23) m'θaloom-aapo 'wine' (lit., 'grape liquid')
(Pearson 1991:23)
- (24) meleny-aapo¹⁴ 'milk' (T2)
- (25) lokhaan-aapo 'flour water' (T2)

-atee- 'Width'

In Kickapoo, -atee- refers to 'width' (Voorhis 1983:81). It is not conclusively attested in "Autobiography" or Voegelin (1938-40). It may be part of laateetakwa 'yard, clearing' (laa- prenoun 'mid', -atee- 'width', -a'kwi 'vegetation, wood') (T6a).

-ee- 'Person'

In petθaki-lee-θa 'pest, nuisance' and in an obsolete form naa-nookači-lee 'last eater', Voegelin (1938-40:71, 379) identifies -lee- as a formative indicating 'person'. Several variations in "Autobiography" indicate 'person'. For example, kapenalii 'governor' is an English borrowing (Bruce Pearson, personal communication) that has been reshaped to fit Shawnee morphology as kapenal-ee-li (T3).¹⁵ The latter form is in obviative, restricted to grammatically animate words. Also suggestive of -ee- 'person' is ho-čeečki-ileni 'medicine man' (? < čiipa 'ghost', -ki ANIMATE.PL).

niišw-i 'two' becomes neešwi 'both'. However, neešwi does not refer solely to animate beings. mekiiθiiw-wi (> mekiiθiiw-i) meleny-aapo ... lokhaan-aapo neešwi 'both goat

milk and flour water' (T2) are not grammatically animate. However, grandfather and grandmother neeyiišwi (< ye-neešwi) 'both' (T6a) could not wake up.

There is an alternation between talaakwa ~ telaakwa 'none',¹⁶ the first referring to grammatically inanimate objects ('thing', 'water'), the second referring to a grammatically animate being ('spider'):¹⁷

(26) payeekwa talaakwa wiye'ki maataši yooma wiyehi.
but none used.to.be here this thing
'But there used to be nothing here' or
'But none of these things used to be here.' (T6a)

(27) ... talaakwa nepi ...
none water
'(there was) no water' (T6a)

(28) we telaakwa hina weepikwa payeekwa.
now none that spider but
'But then (there was) none (of) the spider.' (T6a).

Instead of viewing -lee- or -ee- (or even -e-) as a morpheme indicating 'person', it is more likely that each is an allomorph of -ile- found in ya'kaw-ile 'powerful man' (T6a). -ile- itself is a reduction of -ileni 'man'. The remaining examples of -ee- as an infix in neešwi, ho-čeeepki-ileni, and te-laakwa may be lexicalized examples of -ee- as a designation for 'person'.

-kaan- 'Enclosed Place'

Fox -ga:n- is a "collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures ... " (Jones 1904:410). Its Shawnee cognate is found in mši-škoolii-kaan-iki 'in the

big schoolhouse' (T11), kiti-ka 'field', kiti-kaan-a 'fields' (c.f., ni-kiti-ke 'I plant', -ke 'activity indicator') (Chrisley 1992:43), and hoote'-wikaan-a 'cabins' (lit., 'log or wood houses') (T1). The final -wika 'house' is found in holake'k-wika 'bark house' or 'lodge'. (Note that holake'kwi 'bark' (Chrisley 1992:30) itself has the final -(a)kwi 'wood'.) The relationship of -wika(an)- to -wiiya 'room' is unknown: špemekii-wiiya is 'staircase' (T3). špemeki 'upward' is an invariant directional particle.

-kam- 'Indefinite Space, Body of Water'

In Fox, -kam- refers to "indefinite space as applied to such terms as sweep, range, latitude, expanse" (Jones 1904:392), as in ketcikami:wi 'it is the sea, it is the great expanse'. (-kam- in Fox is also used in 'he crosses an open space' and 'he makes a short cut across'.) Shawnee -kam- is found in kči-kam-i 'ocean, sea' (lit., 'big water') and in tki-kam-i 'spring (of water)' (Chrisley 1992:31, 68). tki- is unidentified, but it resembles Ojibwa takka:kami 'cold liquid' (Denny & Mailhot 1976:96). melo'kami 'spring' [+SEASON] (T7) looks like melo'-kam-i. -kam- is also an Ojibwa morpheme referring to 'natural bodies of water'. Ojibwa words for seasons are in fact referring to the condition of lakes at various times of the year (Denny and Mailhot 1976).

-kan- 'Instrument'

Plains Cree has an instrumental formative -kan- in objects such as 'ladle, mind, tea-kettle':

The suffix -kan- forms mainly nouns which denote instruments; it is used primarily with transitive inanimate stems or with animate intransitive stems which are syntactically transitive ... ; it is often preceded by connective /i/. -kan- consists of the suffix -n- ... added to the animate intransitive suffix -ke:- 'action or general goal' ... The final -n is used to form nouns denoting action, instrument, product, etc. from animate intransitive verbs. (Wolfart 1973:69)

In Fox, -ka- (or -ga-) "helps to express activity, occupation, exercise industry ... [E]verywhere is distinguished the idea of doing, performing" as in kepihikawa 'he is making a fence' (Jones 1904:399). Also in Fox, tciman 'canoe' (tcim- 'movement in water', -an denoting abstraction), "both together referring to the object used for going through water" (Jones 1904:386-7) is analogous to the Plains Cree morphemes. Fox -gan- 'instrumentality' (apparently derived from the same process as Plains Cree -ke:- plus -n-) appears in the words 'lid', 'fence', and 'cork' (Jones 1904:410).

Shawnee has an analogous formative in a number of Instrumental nouns. The same connective /i/ shows up, plus -ka. Although no plural forms are cited, it is likely that the morpheme is -i-ka(n)- (C# ---> Ø). ((29)-(36) are from Chrisley 1992. The page numbers are in parentheses.)

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Related Verb</u>
(29) čič-h-ika	'spear'	čič'θ- 'pierce' (68)
(30) kiθi-n-ika	'soap'	ni-kiθi-n -a ¹⁸ 1 -wash-by.hand-TI 'I wash (it)' (67)
(31) kip-h-ika	'lock'	ni-kip -h -a 1 -lock-INSTR-TI 'I lock (it)' (66)
(32) kišk-h-ika	'sword'	ni-kišk-h -a 1 -cut -INSTR-TI 'I chopped (it)' (36)
(33) nakwa-ka	'trap'	nakwe-wa trap -3s 'he traps' (78)
(34) pašip-h-ika	'dagger'	ni-pašip-h -w -a 1 -stab -INSTR-TA-DIR 'I stab (him)' (38)
(35) θaθika-č-ika	'frying pan'	ni-θaθika-ta 1 -fry -TI 'I fry (it)' (45)
(36) poota-č-ika	'pipe stem'	poota- 'blow' (60)
(37) waapa-č-ika	'X-ray machine'	ni-waap-am-a 1 -look-TA-DIR 'I look (at him)' (Voegelin 1938-40:412)

The process for deriving an instrumental noun in Shawnee is to take the verb stem, add a morpheme that "introduce[s] a causal relation and render[s] verbs transitive" (Jones 1904:403), and add the Shawnee -i-ka(n)- 'instrument' formative.

For example, ni-kiθi-n-a 'I wash it' (Chrisley 1992:67) means more exactly 'I wash it by hand', where -n- is the instrumental affix 'by hand'. Likewise, ni-kip-h-a

'I lock (it)' (Chrisley 1992:66) has -h- 'by instrument'. θaθika-č-ika 'frying pan', poota-č-ika 'pipe stem', and waapa-č-ika 'X-ray machine' have an unidentified instrumental -č- formative.¹⁹ nakwa-ka 'trap' does not have an instrumental morpheme to transitivize the verb stem.

An additional form is kiik-en-ika-θa 'prisoner' (Chrisley 1992:62; partially my morpheme decomposition). ni-kiik-en-a 'I imprison (him)' has the morpheme -(e)n- 'by hand'. Therefore, this verbal form would mean more properly 'I hold/seize/grasp (him) by hand'. The instrumental affix -ik(a)- (ni-kiik-en-ika- 'prison') and -θa 'person, animate being' affix derive the word 'prisoner'.

-miiši 'Tree'

-miiši 'tree' is found in θiin-o-miiši 'maple (tree)' (c.f., θiin- 'extract liquid') and škipi-miiši 'hickory (tree)' (c.f., škipiyeva 'it has sap') (Chrisley 1992:54 and 49, respectively). pa'kwaani-miišiw-aapo 'sassafras tea' (Voegelin 1938-40:77) has both -miišiw- 'tree' and -aapo 'liquid'.

-min- 'Fruit, Grain, Berry'

-min- "a collective for 'fruit, grain, berry'" in Fox (Jones 1904:409) is also found in Shawnee with the same meaning. taami(a)- 'corn' (Pearson 1991:31), ho-tehi-min-

a²⁰ 'strawberry' (lit., -tehi- 'heartlike', -min- 'fruit', -a +ANIMATE) (Voegelin 1938-40:141), mši-min-a 'apple' (lit., 'big fruit', Chrisley 1992:28), and miin-a 'blackberry' (Chrisley 1992:31) all contain this formative. pekwi-mi 'cranberry' (lit., 'ashes, dust' 'berry') (Chrisley 1992:38) also has an allomorph related to -min-.

-ni 'Inhabited Region or Community'

-ni is the Shawnee cognate of Fox -na:- that "refers in a general way to place and is used to denote an inhabited region or community" (Jones 1904:410); c.f., Fox ca:wano:ina:we 'Shawnee village'. Shawnee ho-wiiši-'too-ni 'he was head' (of that Shawnee town) (T8) was cited in Chapter 3 as an example of both -'too- Pseudotransitive and -ni 'inhabited region or community'.

4.1.3. Dependent/Possessed Nouns

Relationship terms must include an obligatory person prefix. Note also that these forms end with -θa 'person, animate being' formative.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| (38) ni-o'-θa | 'my father' (T1) |
| (39) ni-me'šoom'-θa ²¹ | 'my grandfather' (T1) |
| (40) ni-o'kom'-θa | 'my grandmother' (T3a) |
| (41) ni-ši'-θa | 'my uncle' (T3a) |
| (42) ni-oošθe'-θa | 'my grandchild' (T3a) |
| (43) ni-taane'-θa | 'my daughter' |

In (44) -θoo- 'face' is in unpossessed form, while in (45) its possessed form is θ-iikwe.

(44) waa -m'kate'-θoo -ki²²
REDUP-black -face-3p
'They had blackened faces (repeatedly)'. (T9)

(45) mata škanoki ki-ta -ha -θoo -iikwe ... ²³
not soon 2 -NEG-wrinkled-face-POSSESSED
'You will not get a wrinkled face soon ... ' (T5)
(> ki-ta-ha-θ-iikwe)

-m- Possessed Marker

The -m- formative is found several times in "Autobiography". Note that in (47) and (48), obviation is obligatory in a third person possessor-possessed noun relationship. The possessed noun is obviative.

(46) hini ho-kooti-m -i
that 3 -coat -POSS-3sII
'It was that coat of his' (that was burning). (T6a)

(47) ho-[t]elenawee-m -hi (< -ilen- 'man, human')
3 -family -POSS-3pOBV
'his family' (T8)

(48) ho-[t]eečinii-ma -waa-li
3 -agent -POSS-3p -3sOBV
'He was their Indian agent.' (T3a)

4.1.4. Deverbal Nouns Referring to Objects

A number of nouns in "Autobiography" are based on verb stems.

(49) tetep-θe-ki 'wagon' (T8)

(50) šitoo-θwii-ki 'stove' (T6a)

Fox tetep- is an initial stem "conveying the notion of movement in a circle" (Jones 1904:386). tetep- 'rolling' was encountered above in the Shawnee word for 'grapevine'. In (51) tetep-θe-ki 'wagon' is listed among the objects that the government gives grandfather.

(51) teetep-θe-ki no'ki mšeewe-hi pi'šakaan-a
roll -go-3p and horse -3pOBV rope -INAN.PL
'a wagon, horses, and a harness' (T8)

On the theory that Shawnee requires grammatically conjoined words to be the same part of speech, tetep-θe-ki should be a noun. -θe- (usually θee-) is an invariant particle that refers to 'going', as in paam'-θee 'wander' (lit., 'around going') (T6a), pem-θee '(they) passed by' (lit., 'by going'), and lo'-θe '(he) went out' (lit., 'out going') (T6a). -ki is in fact the inflection for an AI third person plural verb.

šitoo-θwii-ki 'stove' is the verb stem šitoo-²⁴ 'bake', a medial affix of unknown meaning, and -ki 3pAI verb inflection. The verb type does not seem relevant. In (52) šitoo- 'bake' is a Transitive Inanimate (or Pseudotransitive) stem, while in (53) wi'θeni- is AI.

(52) ... ho-šitoo-waa-či takhwaan-a ...
3 -bake -3p -3SUB bread -INAN.PL
'... they baked bread' (lit., 'breads') (T9)

(53) ta' -wi'θeni -ki -iki
PLACE-eat (AI)-3pAI-LOC
'on the table' (T8)

The next set of nominalizations are verb phrases. They too are built on the particle ta(')- that is used as a Time and/or Place marker following the person prefix in the verb stem.²⁵

- (54) ta -pkale-ki
 PLACE-burn -3p
 'fireplace' (T10)
- (55) ta -menyeele-ki
 PLACE-dance -3p
 'dancing place' (T9)
- (56) hini ta' -tepowee-ki
 that PLACE-counsel-3p
 'that counseling place' (T9)
- (57) ta' -le'θeeloo-ki-kaan-iki
 PLACE-cook -3p-room-LOC
 'in the kitchen' (T6a)
- (58) hini ta' -noošaa-ši -či²⁶
 that PLACE-rear -thus-3SUB
 'at that place where he thus reared (me)' (T3)

(56) is modified by a demonstrative, a diagnostic for nominals. (57) has -kaan- 'enclosed space' and a locative ending, both reserved for nominals. However, (58) has a modifying demonstrative, but the phrase is clearly not a nominalization. Instead, ta'- PLACE is the nominal formative modified by hini 'that', followed by an inflected verb in the Subordinate Order.

4.1.5. Deverbal Nouns Referring to Abstractions

-we(n)- is the nominal formative indicating that an abstract noun has been derived from a verb. wi'θeni 'he eats' forms wi'θeniwe 'food', and menwa 'he drinks'

forms menowe 'a drink' (Chrisley 1992:17). Examples from "Autobiography" include the following.²⁷

- (59) pa-škoolii-we
 go-school -NOM
 'school going' (T2)
- (60) peki -kaloo-l -etii -we
 troublesome-talk -DIR-RECIPROCAL (AI)-NOM
 'exhortations' (T2)
- (61) wišiki-a'povee-we (> wišika'poveewe)
 strong-dream -NOM
 'vision' (T6)
- (62) pθii -wen-[i]-hi
 neck.encircled-NOM-CV -DIM
 'little handkerchief' (T6a)

In (59) škoolii- is an English borrowing. pa- is another invariant directional particle that indicates 'going'. Although preverbs do not inflect as verbs, they can still form abstract deverbal nominalizations.

Voegelin (1938-40:81) identifies ni-peki-kaloo-l-a as 'I advise him, talk instructions, preach to him' (-peki- 'troublesome, fussy' + -kaloo- TA 'speaking'). paa-peki-kala-wi 'he makes a speech (repeatedly)' (T10) is the Animate Intransitive stem (c.f., kalawi- 'talking (person talking)' (Whorf 1940:168)). -(e)tii- also implies that grandfather and his son are exchanging these remarks, not that they are merely being directed from grandfather to son.

(61) wišiki-a'povee-we 'vision, strong dream' is based on the Animate Intransitive stem -a'pove(e)- 'dream' (c.f., ni-[t]a'povee-pe 'we are dreaming', ni-[t]a'pove-h-a 'I

made (him) dream'). The Transitive Animate stem -a'powaa- is found in ni-[t]a'powaa-l-a 'I dream (of him)' (Voegelin 1938-40:428).

(62) pθii-we 'handkerchief' (< pθi 'neck encircled', Voegelin 1938-40:90) appears repeatedly as pθii-wen-i-hi 'little handkerchief' (-hi INANIMATE DIMINUTIVE) (T6a). It is not an abstract noun, but a physical object. (/i/ here is a connective vowel.) Nevertheless, it originates from this same formation process.

4.1.6. Deverbal Nouns Referring to Persons

Shawnee forms nouns referring to persons ('one who Xs') by the reduplication of the verbal stem (Caa- or Cee-) and the addition of -ta RELATIVIZATION at the end.

Examples from "Autobiography" include the following.

(63) kaa -ka -th -o -wee-ta
 REDUP-cut-by.fist-AI-NOM-REL
 'barber' (T1)

(64) maa -menyeel-či -kee -ta
 REDUP-dance -BEING-ACT.IND-REL
 'dance leader' (T1)

(65) wee -waakw-a -ta (> weewaakota)
 REDUP-know -TA-REL
 'one who knows' (many things) (T7)

(66) nee -niikaani-ekaa -ta (> neeniikaanekaata)
 REDUP-ahead -dancing (AI)-REL

meta'θwi-kite-niišwi²⁸
 ten -and -two
 '(the) leader (of the) twelve' (T9)

(67) naa -nataw' -či -kee -ta
 REDUP-doctoring-BEING-ACT.IND-REL
 'doctor' (T6a)

(68) paa -pamoškwa-či -kee -ta
REDUP-witching -BEING-ACT.IND-REL
'witch doctor' (T6a)

(63) kaa-ka-th-o-wee-ta 'barber' is formed from the root -ka- 'jab, cut', used in (69).

(69) ni-kaa -ka šal'kiki ye'-ki
1- REDUP-cut ground IC -COMPLETIVE

ha'pašin-eeθ -a ...
stick -IN.DIM-PL
'Twigs on the ground jabbed me ... (repeatedly)' (T4)

-th- is an instrumental affix meaning 'by fist', -o- is perhaps the same AI final found in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:73), -wee- the abstract nominalizer, and -ta relativizer. Therefore, kaa-ka-th-o-wee-ta literally means 'one who (does) fist-cutting'.

(64), (67), and (68) all have an unidentified instrumental particle -či- (translated by my informant as 'being' or 'action of being') and -kee- 'activity indicator'. (66) has the verb final -ekaa- Vai 'dancing' (although the translation of the word or the context does not indicate that the leader of the twelve women who bake the ceremonial bread dances a dance).

4.1.7. Etymologically-Related Nouns and Verbs

A smaller group of nouns has an etymological relationship to what was originally a verb stem. The morpheme breaks are my approximation to the morphs that underlie both the nominal and the related verb. Most of

the residual morphs and the derivational processes are unknown at this time. (Examples are from Chrisley 1992.)

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Related Verb</u>
(70) čoom-at-i	'paddle'	čoom-e-wa 'he paddles' (59)
(71) nep-oow-a	'grave'	nep-wa 'he died' (38)
(72) niwičima	'husband'	ni-wiit-i-ma (> niwiičima) 'I accompany him' (50)
(73) noš-e-šk-a-ta	'doe'	noš-e 'she gives birth' (40)
(74) pšekθi-wa	'deerskin'	pšekθi 'deer' (39)
(75) tawete	'chimney'	tawawi 'it is open' (36)
(76) waap-am-o-wa	'mirror'	waap- 'look' (54)

Shawnee -at- in (70) čoom-at-i 'paddle' may be the cognate of Fox -o:tc-, -o:t- (Jones 1904:407):

latency and ... something used for a purpose.
The -o:- ... denot[es] the notion of passive conveyance: teso:tci:i 'trap' (tes- 'entrap'), acamo:tci:i 'bait' (acam- 'give to eat').

Related to (71) nepoow-a 'grave' is nepoowe 'death' (Chrisley 1992:39) (< nep-o-we(n)).

(72) niwičima 'husband' looks like a verb that has been lexicalized as a noun. Shawnee -wiit-, a preverb that means 'in the company of', is the cognate of Fox wi:- 'accompaniment, association, companionship' (Jones 1904:390). -ikee- is the Shawnee cognate of the Vai stem in Kickapoo meaning 'build a house, pitch a tent' (Voorhis 1977:51).

(77) wiit -ikee -ma-ki (> wiič-ikee-ma-ki)
in.company-house (AI)-TA-3s
'(I) lived with him' (T5)

(78) ni-paa -pa'-wiit -θee-ma
1 -REDUP-go -in.company-go -TA
'I always went about with him' (T8)²⁹

(76) waap-am-o-wa 'looking glass, mirror' also looks like a verb that has been lexicalized as a noun. In Fox, wabamo:n 'mirror' is literally 'something to look at' (Jones 1904:411). Shawnee waap-am-o-wa may mean 'he looks at himself', originating from a type of middle reflexive verb attested in Plains Cree:

a:cimo:win 'story, text' shows the suffix -win used to derive nouns from verbs; the underlying verb a:cimo- 'he tells (of himself)' is a middle reflexive derived from the transitive animate stem a:cim- 'tell of him,' which in turn consist [sic] of a root at- and a transitive animate final -m- 'by speech'. (Wolfart 1973:65)

Therefore, waap-am- > waapam- > waapamo- creates a middle reflexive 'he looks at himself' (TA -am-).

4.1.8. Prenouns

In Kickapoo, adjectival roots preceding a nominal stem include morphemes for 'small', 'muddy', 'green', 'good, right', 'two', 'new, young', 'broken', 'dry', 'coarse', and 'in sharp pain' (Voorhis 1977:45). In Shawnee, a partial list is presented in Table 1.³⁰ (A translation of the examples and a commentary follow below.)

TABLE 1

SHAWNEE PRENOUNS

	<u>Prenoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Example</u>
(79)	kki-	'old'	kki-lenawe (T6a)
(80)	mayaan-	'young'	mayaan-ileni
(81)	ya'kaw-	'powerful'	ya'kaw-ile (T6a)
(82)	mayakii-	'new, strange'	mayaki-i'kwee-wa
(83)	m'si-	'big'	mši-weepikwa (T6a)
(84)	wišiki-	'strong'	wišiki-a'powe-we (T6)
(85)	ha-	'wrinkled'	-ha-θ-iikwe (T5)
(86)	paaši(i')-	'seeming'	paaši-m'hweew-a (T6a)
(87)	hoote'-	'wooden'	hoote'-wikaan-a (T1)
(88)	wiik-	'good tasting'	wiik-pwa
(89)	kola'-	'early'	kola'-waapaki (T4)
(90)	kweš-	'late'	kweš-tepe'ki (T6a)
(91)	ne'-	'entire'	ne'-kiiškwe (T6)
(92)	weno'kii-	'next'	weno'kii-lakwa (T6)
(93)	laa- ~ laawi-	'mid'	laa-šaawanwa (T1) laawi-pelaawi-kiiša'θwa
(94)	melo'-	?	melo'-kam-i (T7)
(95)	naat-	'many'	-naat-aw'ky- (T3)
(96)	meči-	'many'	meči-wiyehi (T7) meči-hanikhwi (T9)
(97)	čaaki-	'all'	čaaki-ilenii-ki čaaki-wiyehi
(98)	pa'θi-	'half'	pa'θi-šaawanwa (T6a)
(99)	meθ-	'whole'	meθ-a'kwa

(100)	niišw-	'two'	niišw-akw-a (> niišoko)
(101)	piiw-	'few'	piiw-aanaak-e
(102)	šeškal'-	'bare'	šeškal'-θit-e (T4)
(103)	po'k(i)-	'broken'	po'ki-θit-e
(104)	ka'š-	'rough'	ka'š-aap-e

To claim that a morpheme is a prenoun implies that the item following it is a nominal. For the most part, the preceding list clearly consists of prenoun + nominal, but a few cases are debatable. The translations for the cited examples and the grammatical category of the modified lexemes follow.

In (79) 'old Indian', lenawe was discussed earlier as a likely abstract nominalization from a verb root meaning 'alive'. In (80) mayaan-ileni 'young man', -ileni is the nominal for 'man, person' (Pearson 1991:27). In (81) 'powerful man, superman', -ileni is reduced to the final -ile 'powerful man, superman'. (82) mayaki-i'kwee-wa 'strange woman', 'new woman' (Pearson 1991:27), (83) m'ši- 'big' in mši-weepikwa 'big spider' (T6a), (84) wišiki- 'strong' in wišiki-a'powe-we 'strong dream [+NOMINALIZER]', 'vision' (T6), and (85) ha- 'wrinkled' in -ha-θ-iikwe (< -ha-θoo-iikwe 'wrinkled face' [+POSSESSED] (T5)) are uncontroversial examples of preouns.

(86) illustrates a prenoun that occurs relatively frequently in "Autobiography": paaši-m'hweew-a 'seeming' or 'like' a wolf. ('Bear-like', 'woman-like' are also

found in the narrative.) (87) hoote'-wikaan-a 'wood houses, log cabins' is related to the root m'tekw- 'tree'. In fact, hoote'k- appears in Voegelin's original transcription.

(88) -wiik- in wiikpwa is ambiguous. Voegelin (1938-40:416) identifies it as 'good tasting', and he cites niwiikpwa as 'I like to eat (him)' (presumably, ni-wiikp-w-a, -w- TA, -a DIRECT). One informant in the summer of 1992 said ni-wiikp-w-a meekii-θa (T7) was 'I like (to eat) goat', in which -wiikp- is the verb stem. However, another informant in the summer of 1992 identified -wiik-pwa as 'good tasting meat', an instance of prenoun plus nominal. wiik-an-wi 'flavor', 'sweetness', 'it is flavorful', 'it tastes good' (Chrisley 1992:44, 70) is an inflected verb form.³¹

(89) through (92) (and perhaps (94)) illustrate prenouns referring to time expressions. In (89) 'early morning', waap- is a root meaning 'white light, morning' (Voegelin 1938-40:411) followed by -a-, which resembles the "time medial" -at- in Ojibwa, -a:- in Cree (Denny and Mailhot 1976:93), and the previously encountered -ki verbal ending.³² (90) kweš- 'late' in kweš-tepe'ki is translated 'it was late at night' (T6a), but no overt morpheme is present to render the notion of an Inanimate Intransitive verb 'it was'. However, in he'-tepe'ki-ki 'when it was night' (T9), 3s Subordinate inflection is present. There -kweš-tepe'ki- is a nominal compound that is an input to a

verb formation. (91) ne- ~ ne'ka- 'entire time span' is found in ne'-kiiškwe 'all day', ne'ka-pepooni (< pepoon-i 'it is winter') 'all winter', and ne'ka-pela (< pelaw-i 'it is summer') 'all summer' (Voegelin 1938-40:378; morpheme divisions are mine). (92) weno'kii-laakwa 'next time' may in fact may originate from the time particle we 'now' and the conjunction no'ki 'and'. no'ki-laakwa (T6a) is also translated as 'next time'.

(93) laa-, translated as 'among' or 'into', and its variant laawi-, translated as 'middle', are pre-nouns, not prepositions: laawi-pelaawi-kiiša'əwa 'mid-summer-month' or 'July' (T1), laa-šaawanwa 'among the Shawnee' (lit., 'mid-Shawnee') (T1), and laa-piikwa haa-ya 'mid-wilderness go-1sSUB' 'I went (into) the wilderness' (T6).

(95) through (101) are pre-nouns referring to quantity expressions. The complete sentence for the example in (95) is the following.

(95) he'-me'či -nataw'ky -aa-či
 SUB-COMPLETED-receive.land-TA-3SUB

hina ni-me'šoom' -əa
 that 1 -grandfather-PERSON
 'Afterwards my grandfather received allotments.'
 (T3, T8)

My informant translated -nataw'ky- as '(to) receive land', but she did not recognize any further morphological divisions in that form itself. However, in Kickapoo otahky- is cited as a possessed form for 'his land' (Voorhis 1977:44). Kickapoo has the same

morphophonological alternation o-[t]- before vowels as in Shawnee ho-[t]-. Pearson (1991:28) identifies naat- as a prenoun meaning 'many' in naat-kwee-ki 'many women'. Therefore, -nataw'ky- is likely -naat-aw'ky- 'much land' (+ verb endings).³³ (96) meči- 'many' is found in meči-wiyehi 'many things' (T7) and in meči-hanikhwi 'many squirrels' (T9). (hanikhwi is obviative plural.) However, meči is a floating quantifier in hanikhwi meči (T10), appearing after the noun it modifies.

In (97) čaaki- is a prenoun meaning "group numbering all, quantity ... " (Voegelin 1938-40:145). It modifies a plural noun in čaaki-ileni-ki 'all men', while čaaki-wiyehi is 'everything', a singular form. (98) pa'θi- 'half' is used in pa'θi-šaawanwa '(he was) half-Shawnee' (T6a). (99) meθ- 'whole' is found in meθ-a'kwa, 'unsplit (lit., 'whole') wood' (Voegelin 1938-40:36). (100) niišoko originates from niišw-akw-a, consisting of the prenoun niišw- 'two' and a final suffix -akw- 'day' (plus phonological adjustments discussed in Chapter 2).

(101) through (104) each contains a Prenoun + Noun compound that is input to a Animate Intransitive verb formation. (101) piiw-aanaak- 'few' + 'feathers' becomes 'he has few feathers' (Voegelin 1938-40:97). (102) šeškal'-θit- 'barefoot' consists of the bound morpheme -šeškal'- that occurs only with -θit- 'foot, toe'.³⁴ (103) po'k(y)- 'mashed, broken, cracked' (Voegelin 1938-40:83) forms po'ki-θit- 'mashed foot', then po'ki-θit-e 'he

has a mashed foot'. Likewise, (104) ka'š- 'rough surface' (Voegelin 1938-40:300) forms ka'š-aap- 'rough, unshaven face', then the verb ka'š-aap-e 'he has a rough, unshaven face'.

4.2. "Adjectives"

4.2.1. "Adjective" Formation from Nouns

Jones (1904:400-1) identifies Fox -(w)i- as a "link auxiliary" that has two related functions. -i- in -hi-, -wi- adds emphasis in ki:wa:tca:hiwi 'the place is so lonely'. -i- can also mean "entrance into a state or ... becoming a part of a condition" as in maneto:wiwa "'he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself'". In other words, it is attached to nouns to indicate 'becoming an X'.

Chrisley (1992:17) calls the same formative in Shawnee a morpheme that changes a noun into an adjective:

Other adjectives are derived from a noun by adding the suffix ... wi, forming an adjective stating something is like a noun, or has the nature of something. A word like maneto-wi-mina 'pea' suggests it has snake-like tendrils (maneto 'snake'; ... wi ..., mina 'fruit').³⁵

The suffix -wi is ambiguously a "link auxiliary", an Animate Intransitive marker (... lenawee-wi ni-me'šoom-θa 'my grandfather lived' (just two more days) (T6a)), and an Inanimate Intransitive marker (... maa-m'šī-kipook-at-wi³⁶ 'it was frosty (repeatedly)' (T4)). Examples of -wi

as a Link Auxiliary (LA) follow.

- (105) mekiiθiiw-wi meleny-aapo (> mekiiθii-wi)
goat -LA milk -liquid
'goat milk' (T2, T7)
- (106) ... manetoo -wi -ya
... supernatural.power-LA -I
... 'I am powerful' (T6a)
- (107) ni-lenawee-wi-noošaa-l -ekw-pi
l -Indian -LA-rear -DIR-INV-INDEF
'I was raised in the Indian ways.' (T4)
(> noošaalekoopii)
- (108) nθaθayaaki lenawee-wi laašamamo³⁷
pure Indian -LA feel
'I felt clean (or pure) to be an Indian.' (T7)

In (105) mekii-θa 'goat' (-θa 'animate being') has the /V:w-/ extension found in Ojibwa initial stems (Goddard 1990:454, examples 16 and 17, and footnotes 19 and 20) that was discussed in Chapter 2. In (106) manetoo is 'supernatural power'. It can also mean 'snake'. The verbal inflection on (106) indicates that forms in -wi- Link Auxiliary are inflected verbs.

4.2.2. "Adjectives" as Inflected Verbs

Predicate adjectives are inflected as verbs in Shawnee, taking a verb final (see Section 4.3.5.) and either Animate Intransitive or Inanimate Intransitive verb inflectional endings.

- (109) hilohow- 'exact' (AI) (T6a)³⁸
- (110) ho'kwaaw-i 'it is full' (T3)
- (111) hoθaaw-a 'they are yellow' (II) (Pearson 1991:25)

(112) howe-	'good'	(AI) (T6a)
(113) kišiθ-wa	'he is hot'	(AI) (Pearson 1991:26)
(114) kišit-e	'it is hot'	(II) (Pearson 1991:26)
(115) kkatw-i	'it is old'	(II) (Pearson 1991:26)
(116) laapaat-	'industrious'	(AI) (Pearson 1991:27) ³⁹
(117) m'škoo-	'bloody'	(II) (Pearson 1991:27)
(118) noolee-	'quiet'	(II) (Pearson 1991:29)
(119) wiipek-	'grey'	(II) (Pearson 1991:32)

For example, (112) howe- 'good' adds -eši, an AI verb ending, to the stem to derive an AI verb in (120).

(120) howe-eši taakteli hina (> howeši)
good-AI doctor 3
'He was a good doctor.' (T6a)

4.3. Verbs

Verbs are either intransitive or transitive.

Pronominal suffixes specify whether the intransitive verb has an animate subject (Animate Intransitive, or AI) or an inanimate one (Inanimate Intransitive, or II). A transitive verb may have an animate object (Transitive Animate, or TA) or an inanimate one (Transitive Inanimate, or TI).

Using examples from Fox, Goddard (1967:66) presents the template for verb stems in the Algonquian languages.

	(prefix)-root-(medial)-final-endings				
TA	ne	-wa:p-	-am	-a:wa	'I see him'
TI	ke	-wa:p-	-at	-a	'you (sg.) see it'
AI	∅	-sanak-	-esi	-wa	'he is difficult'
II	∅	-sanak-	-at	-wi	'it is difficult'

In the Transitive pair, the inflectional endings are object markers, while in the Intransitive pair the inflectional endings are subject markers.

4.3.1. Category Changing in Verb Stems

Suffixes are available to change one type of verb into another. The following pairs of AI and TA verb stems will serve as examples of this process. (Unless otherwise noted, cited phrases are also from the corresponding page in Voegelin 1938-40.)

	<u>AI</u>	<u>TA</u>	
(121) 'come'	-piyee-	-piyee-	(Voegelin 98)
(122) 'look'	-waapa-ke-	-waapa-	(Voegelin 412)
(123) 'call'	-wi'ko-ke	-wi'ko-	(Voegelin 417)
(124) 'dream'	-a'powee-	-a'powa(a)-	(Voegelin 428)
(125) 'eat'	-wi'θeni-	-miiči-	(Voegelin 355)
(126) 'sleep'	-nepee-	-nepaa-	(Voegelin 374)
(127) 'dance'	-menyeel-	-menyeel-	(Voegelin 370)

(121) provides the best evidence of a distinct change in meaning from AI -piyee- 'come' to TA -piyee- 'bring'. The latter is accomplished by the addition of -too-, a Pseudotransitive marker that indicates implied objects

(Bloomfield 1946:451), discussed previously in Chapter 3. No overt direct object marker appears in ni-piyee-to 'I bring (it)', but a plural direct object marker -naa- is present in paa-piye-too-naa-wa 'they brought us (things to eat) (repeatedly)' (T9).

(122) ni-waapa-ke⁴⁰ 'I look on' has the AI final -ke 'activity indicator' that is discussed more completely in Section 4.3.5.1. Animate Intransitive Finals. waapa-ke-aa-l-a (> waapa-k-aa-l-a) 'I look (at him)' adds the TA marker -aa-, an -l- transitivizer, and an -a Direct marker.

(123) wi'ko-ke 'he calls' becomes ni-wi'ko-ma 'I call (him)' or ni-wi'ko-ta 'I call (it)' (-ma TA, -ta TI derivational affixes).

(124) ni-[t]a'powee-pe '1-dream-1p' 'we are dreaming' alters the stem from -a'powee- to -a'powaa- (< -a'powe(e) + -aa- TA marker). ni-[t]a'powaa-l-a 'I dream (of him)' adds a transitivizing suffix -l- and a Direct marker -a. ni-[t]a'powaa-ta 'I dream (of it)' adds the morpheme -ta that Voegelin identifies as a 'transitivizer' (= TI affix).

(125) is an example of complete suppletion of the two verb stems. AI -wi'θeni- forms maatee-wi'θeni-yane 'if you are hungry' (lit., 'if you feel like eating') (T6) and mata ki-ta'-wi'θeni 'not 2-CONCORDANT.NEGATIVE-eat' 'you do not eat' (T6). ho-miiči-naa-wa 'they ate it all' (Voegelin 1938-40:355) is used when something is consumed (indicated by the -naa- number-indifferent direct object marker). The

corresponding stems are found in related Algonquian languages: in Fox, wi:seni- AI (Goddard 1990:478) and in Kickapoo, -iθenie- Vai (= (w)iiθeni- Vai) (Voorhis 1977:51).

(126) nepee-wa 'he is sleeping' can transitivize as ni-nepee-ma 'I slept (with him)'. An instrumental affix -h- creates a causative ni-nepee-š-h-a 'I made (him) fall asleep'. (-š- is unidentified, but it may be related to the -š- of -šin- ~ -šim- 'at rest, reclining, lying down'.)

Similarly, (127) ni-menyeele AI 'I am dancing' can become TA ni-menyeel-oo-ma 'I danced (with him)'. (-oo- is unexplained, but it is likely the -oo- ~ -too- Pseudotransitive particle.) ni-menyeel-'h-a 'I made (him) dance' also has an instrumental affix.

Instrumental and transitivizing affixes are discussed in greater detail in the following two sections.

4.3.2. Instrumental and Transitivizing Affixes

The most productive formatives are instrumental and transitivizing suffixes. The latter regularly occur in correlative pairs for animate and inanimate object ... An instrumental suffix is always followed by a transitivizing suffix but a transitive suffix is not necessarily preceded by an instrumental suffix. (Voegelin 1936:392)

Therefore, a refinement of Goddard's template for the Algonquian languages would add slots for instrumental and transitivizing affixes, as follows: stem-(instrumental affix)-transitivizing affix-object affix. The instrumental

affix is not obligatory, but if it is present, it determines the type of transitivizing affix that can follow it (therefore, the numbering scheme presented below), or by the last stem in the theme (Voegelin 1936:393).

Instrumental affixes are as follows.

<u>Instrumental Suffix</u>	<u>Precedes transitive type</u>
pw 'by mouth'	5
n 'by hand'	6
(h)θ 'by heat'	7
hh 'by mechanical instrument'	7
l 'by projectile'	8
(h)t 'by vocal noise'	8
šk 'by feet in locomotion'	8
hšk 'by feet as agent'	8
lhk 'by legs'	8
hk 'by body'	8

Transitivizing affixes are⁴¹

<u>Transitive Type</u>	<u>TA</u>	<u>TI</u>
1	hh	hto
2	l	to
3	l	ta
4	m	ta
5	Zero	ta
6	Zero	a
7	w	a
8	aw	a (Voegelin 1936:392)

In other Algonquian languages, -m- is cited as the 'animate object marker', but "[i]ts causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive: ... he looks at him ... he hits him" (Jones 1904:405). Without otherwise indicating morpheme boundaries, Wolfart (1973:63, 65) cites wa:p- 'light, see', wa:piw 'he sees', wa:pam- TA 'see him', and finally wa:pame:w 'he sees him'.

Similar problems of segmentation of morpheme boundaries and meanings are found in Plains Cree.

The abstract finals TA, TI -t-; TA -staw-, TI -st-; TA -totaw-, TI -tot- are used to derive transitive verbs from animate intransitive stems. If the derivational suffixes add a further meaning to the resulting stem, it is yet to be discovered. (Wolfart 1973:74)

As examples, Wolfart cites kito- 'call': TA kitote:w, TI kitotam 'he talks to him, it' (1973:74). Likewise in Shawnee, 'talk' is usually -aačimo-, but sometimes -aačimo-ta- (T8, T6a) with an imperceptible difference in meaning.

4.3.2.1. Instrumental Affixes in "Autobiography"

Instrumental affixes in "Autobiography" can refer to literal instruments, such as 'breaking the ice' with an unidentified object whose existence is inferred solely by the instrumental affix, or 'hitting grandfather with snow balls' in which the instrumental affix itself is part of the verb stem, and koona 'snow' is the referential

instrument. Metaphorical extensions have resulted ('grandfather made me go to school') in which no literal instrument is present or inferred. The morpheme -čiš- 'to be afraid' plus the -h- instrumental affix shifts it to 'scare'. The instrumental meaning is so weakened in the last examples that -h- is little more than a transitivity affix.

'h Instrumental Affix

- (128) pok-'h paa -pok -h -ooθo
 REDUP-break-INSTR-PASSIVE
 '(the ice) was always broken' (T5)
- (129) pkite-'h koona-li ni-paa -pkite-'h -w -a
 snow -3sOBV 1 -REDUP-hit -INSTR-TA-DIR
 'I kept hitting him with snow' (T6a)
- (130) pa-škool-'h ni-pa-škool -'h -ekw-a
 1 -go-school-CAUSE-INV-DIR
 '(He) made me go to school.' (T3a)
- (131) čiš-'h ni-čiš -h -ekw-a
 1 -fear-CAUSE-INV-DIR
 '(He) scared me.' (T6)
- (132) holel-'h ni-paa -pa'-holel-'h -ekw-pi
 1 -REDUP-go -swim -TRANS-INV-INDEF
 'I would be bathed' (T5)
- (133) men-'h ni-maa -men -h -ekw-a (T2)
 1 -REDUP-drink-TRANS-INV-DIR
 '(he) (gave) me (milk) (to) drink
 (repeatedly)' (T2)
- (134) nataw-'h wii -ša -nataw'-h -aa -li
 INTEND-FUTURE-doctor-TRANS-DIR-3sOBV
 '(he) will not doctor (him)' (T6a)

-n- 'By Hand' Affix

- (135) katee-n katee-n -i -či ... ⁴²
rear -by.hand->1-3SUB
'... he reared (me)' (T2)
- (136) tawe-n ho-tawe-n -a
3 -open-by.hand-TI
'he opened (the door) by hand' (T6a)
- (137) -oolečhee-n ni-oolečhee-n -a⁴³
1- roll -by.hand-TI
'I rolled (it) by hand' (into balls)
('it' = koonā 'snow' [+ANIM]) (T6a)
- (138) pkalee-n mši-pkalee-n -am-wa⁴⁴
big-fire -by.hand-? -3sAI
'he built a big fire' (T6a)
(-pkalee- is a verb.)
- (139) en-hamo ha' -tee-n -hamo -w -a
TIME-T/P-by.hand-extinguish-TA-TI
'when (I tried) to put out (his burning
clothes for him)' (T6a)

(139) positions -n- before the verb stem, not after. The subordinate clause may affect its location, but why is unknown.

Etymologically, -n- 'by hand' may be part of ho-n'θ-aa-li 'he killed (him) [+3sOBV]' (T6a). Chrisley (1992:85) also suggests that the first five Shawnee numbers include -n- 'by hand', implying a five-based system.

-th- 'By Fist' Affix

- (140) naa -th -aape nepi
go.after-by.fist-3pSUB water
'We fetched water.' (T6a)

kaa-ka-th-o-wee-ta 'barber' ('one who does fist cutting') was cited earlier in (63). naa- 'to go after'

(plus an -l- transitivizer) appears in ni-piiči-naa-l-ekw-a
'(he) came in to get me' (T2).

-šk- 'By Feet in Motion' Affix

In Kickapoo, -eska(w)- Vta, -eskam- Vti means to 'use the foot/body on him/it, step on/kick him/it' (Voorhis 77:54). A form cited earlier was ni-šaa-šeškal'-θit-e 'I was always barefooted' (T4) in an Animate Intransitive verbal construction.

-ešk- 'By Bodily Movement' Affix

Again in Kickapoo, -aaskaa- Vai, Vii means 'jump, lunge, fall, plunge (of a vehicle, move, run)' (Voorhis 1977:49). Both examples contain an underlying -ešk- morpheme.

(141) ni-[t]aay-amešk-aa-ekw-a (> nitaayameškaakwa)
1 -REDUP -chase-TA-INV-DIR
'(He) would always chase me away.' (T8)

(142) ho-n'šk -aa
3 -jump.up-AI
'He jumped up.' (T6a)

-im- 'By Voice' Affix

There is suggestive, but conflicting, evidence from Plains Cree and from Kickapoo on the status of lak-im-ooθo 'count-?-PASSIVE' in a phrase that means 'July 2, 1909 was counted' (T1).⁴⁵ Plains Cree points to its status as an object marker, while Kickapoo points to an instrumental

affix 'by voice'.

In Plains Cree, there is " ... the stem akim- TA 'count him' (which consists of the root ak- and the transitive animate final -m-) ... " (Wolfart 1973:64). However, in Kickapoo, Voorhis (1977:55) identifies "-im- Vta, -itam- Vti, -otam- Vti" and "-aacim- Vta -aatotam- Vti 'speak/talk/tell about him/it (by voice)'" , and "-akim- Vta, -akitam- Vti 'count him/it (by voice)'" . In a section to be developed later, there are a series of verbs that start with l- ~ la- ~ l', indicating 'action'. lakim- in Shawnee may then be etymologically i-ak-im 'the action of counting by voice', that is, 'counting'.

-či- 'Being'

At one point, my informant identified -č- as 'being'. This particle, again of unknown nature and purpose, appears in a number of Shawnee words. In fact, -čikee- 'leader' (Pearson 1991:16) may be -či-kee (-či- 'being', -kee- 'activity indicator'):

- (143) maa -menyeel-či -kee -ta
REDUP-dance -BEING-ACT.IND-REL
'dance leader' (T1)
- (144) naa -nataw'-či -kee -ta
REDUP-doctor-BEING-ACT.IND-REL
'doctor' (T6a)
- (145) paa -pemoškwa-či -kee -ta
REDUP-witching -BEING-ACT.IND-REL
'witch doctor' (T6a).

Also repeated from an earlier section are nouns referring

to instruments that have an unidentified -č- particle.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------------|---|
| (146) | θaθika-č-ika | 'frying
pan' | ni-θaθika-ta
1 -fry -TI
'I fry (it)' (45) |
| (147) | poota-č-ika | 'pipe
stem' | poota- 'blow' (60) |
| (148) | waapa-č-ika | 'X-ray
machine' | ni-waap-am-a
1 -look-TA-DIR
'I look (at him)'
(Voegelin 1938-40:412) |

4.3.2.2. Verb Stems

-aačimo- 'talk' is illustrative of the complexities of verb stem derivation in Shawnee. Its etymological and derivational history is suggested by the Middle Reflexive in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:65) and the derivational processes in Kickapoo (Voorhis 1977:55):

at-	Root
ati-	AI stem (> ači-)
ači-m	TA 'tell of him'
ačim-o	Middle Reflexive 'tell of himself'
ačimo-ta	TI (?) (T8)
at-o-ta-m-o-w-	TA (?) (T2)

In (149) -la- ACTION + -hoota- 'by mouth' INSTRUMENTAL form the verb 'howl'. In (150)-(151) -la- forms new action verbs. In (152)-(153) -l- frequently appears before verbs of 'speaking' or 'saying'.⁴⁶

- (149) hee-la -hoota -ki
SUB-ACTION-by.mouth-3sSUB
'when he howled' (like a wolf) (T6a)
- (150) ho-te -l -'šee -kii -na
3 -T/P-ACTION-cloth-turn-IO
'He unfolded it' (the little handkerchief). (T6a)
(-kii- < ni-kiiwe 'I turned' (T11))
- (151) ho-laa -θ -a hini kaaθwi
3-ACTION-by.heat-TI that coffee
'She was boiling coffee.' (T3a)
- (152) ni-te -la -aatowe (> nitelaatowe)
1 -T/P-ACTION-speak
'I could speak' (T11)
- (153) ye'-la -aačimo-či (> ye'laačimoči)
IC -ACTION-say -3SUB
'when he spoke' (T8)

-aačim- 'Talk' Derivations

-aačim- is part of several other words ('insult' and 'interpret'), but my informant was not otherwise able to identify -waap- and -laap- as meaningful parts.

- (154) ni-waapalaačim-ekw-a
1 -insult -INV-DIR
'(He) insulted me.' (T3a)
- (155) ho-laapaačimo'-[t]aw-aa -li
3 -interpret -TA -DIR-3sOBV
'He interpreted (for him).' (T3a)
- (156) lee -laapaačimo-ta
REDUP-interpret-REL
'interpreter' (T3a)

-θaa 'go'

Voegelin (1938-40:93) identifies -θaa as 'inanimate goal occurrence of going' as contrasted to -θee, the presumed 'animate' counterpart. The two variants are found

in two adjoining sentences referring to the same individual: lo'-θee '(he) went out' (T6a) and he'-me'či-lo'-θaa-či 'after he went out' (T6a). Both refer to the exit of the witch doctor from the house of grandfather and grandmother after he cast his spell on them, causing grandfather's death. In (157) it is possible to maintain that there is an inanimate goal (i.e., the table) associated with the movement. In (158) -θaa is used several times in reference to an animate noun running into a house [-ANIMATE], although 'house' is not literally named. These examples do not show a clear distinction in use between -θaa and -θee.

(157) ni-paa -pa'-lamita' -θa nilaakwaši'⁷
 1 -REDUP-go -underneath-go that.time

piit-θaa ta' -wi'θeni-ki-iki
 in -go PLACE-eat -3p-LOC
 'Those times I would always go underneath the table.' (T8)

(158) he'-piit-θaa-či paaši -m'kwa hee-ši
 SUB-in -go -3SUB seeming-wolf SUB-MANNER

naakoθi-či he'-piyeči-piit-θaa-či
 appear -3SUB SUB-toward-in -go -3SUB
 'When he went inside, he looked like a wolf in the way he appeared when he went inside towards (us).' (T6a)

-a'kawe(e)- 'Listen'

-a'kawe(e)- 'listen' has two forms. The first is AI -a'kawe-'šee when no object is present (T8). The function of -'šee as a particle related to 'hearing' is discussed in Section 4.3.5.1. Animate Intransitive Verb Finals.

The second form is TA -a'kawe(e)-'ta- 'listen to' when an object is present (T8, T6a).

-aatee- 'Feel'

In Kickapoo, -aateθi- Vai means 'feel' (Voorhis 1983:85). A Shawnee cognate appears in maatee-wi'θeni-yane 'if you are hungry' (lit., 'if you want (to) eat') in T6.

-aatee- 'To be X in Color'

This morpheme and its meaning are taken from Voorhis (1977:46). It is suggestive of maatee-eθi (> maateeθi) 'evening-AI' 'it was evening' found in "Autobiography" and mkateew- 'black' (Pearson 1991:15).

-aapi- 'Look'

Kickapoo -aapi- Vai 'look' (Voorhis 1977:49) has a Shawnee cognate in ni-te-lii-laapi '1-T/P-SEQUENCE-look' 'I looked' (T3). The sentence literally means 'I looked there in sequence'. (As a little girl, Mary Williams looks from room to room in the new house that the governor has built for her grandfather.) l-aapi is again suggestive of l- 'ACTION' derived verb forms ('the action of sight').

-api 'Sit'

-api is used in combination with -lemat-api (T6a). Voegelin thinks that -lemat- is a directional particle meaning 'down', as in 'sit down', which is his translation

on occasion. My informant did not recognize it as a complex form, maintaining that it is a unit that means 'sit'.⁴⁸ However, in Fox, -nemat- is 'set (inan.) upright' and -api- is AI '(anim.) sits' (Goddard 1990:456). Many other positional particles (many unidentified as to their exact meaning) are found in "Autobiography". (See the entry below for -šin- 'lie'.) lemat- is the likely Shawnee cognate of Fox -nemat- 'upright'.

Suggestive of an -api derivation are (ni)-niišaapi '(I) stood' (T3) (? < ni-niiš-api) and ni-maa-mawaapi-pe 'we always danced' (T7) (? < -maw-aapi), although these meanings diverge considerably from 'sitting'.

-eele 'Thinking'

-eele- 'occurrence of thought' (Voegelin 1938-40:70) is mostly found in verbs pertaining to mental states.

(159) ki-e' -kitema-kweele-m -ekw-a
2 -FUT-sorrow-feel -TA-INV-DIR
'(He) will feel sorry (for) you.' (T6)

(160) ni-šaleele-m -ekw-a
1 -permit -TA-INV-DIR
'(he) did not permit me' (to dance) (T7)

(161) tee -tepeelee -m -aa -ki
REDUP-instruct-TA-DIR-3p
'(he) always instructed them' (T8)

(162) mata ni-waa -weleele -taa-[w]e
not 1 -REDUP-satisfy -TI -AI
'I was not always satisfied (with it).'
'I did not like (it).' (being teased by the
other students for wearing Indian clothes) (T11)

(163) mata ni-te -makwøeele-ta
not 1 -T/P-attention-TI

'I did not pay attention' (to what my grandfather and his friends talked about) (T6a)

-hamamo(o)- 'Wake Up' Stem

ni-[t]amamo 'I was awake' (T6a) and similar constructions are found several times in the text.

-ho'tatte- 'Have, Obtain'

(164) ki-e -ho'tatte-n -e (> keho'tattene)
2 -FUT-have -OBJ-AI
'you will have it' (a strong dream) (T6)

-ikee 'Build a House'

-ikee- Vai 'build a house, pitch a tent' in Kickapoo (Voorhis 1977:50-51) was discussed as part of (77) wiit-ikee-ma-ki (> wiičiikeemaki) '(I) lived with him' (T5). It may be part of meθ-hiikee 'everywhere' (T9): meθ- 'as a whole, uninterrupted' (Voegelin 1938-40:36) is found in meθ-a'kwa 'unsplit wood' (lit., 'whole wood'). -ikee is also found in combination with piit-ike 'inside' (lit., 'in-house'). In piit-ike ha'ko'kwa-eki, piitike and -eki seem to redundantly repeat 'in': grandmother is boiling coffee 'in a pot'. However, the phrase really means 'inside the house (grandmother was boiling coffee) in a pot'.

Other examples of -ikee 'house' are found in (165)-(167).

- (165) hotaana piit-ike hini wiikiwaap-eki ni-niipa-wi
back in -house that house -LOC 1 -stand-AI
'I stood inside (the house) in the back of the
house.' (T3a)
- (166) wiikinaakwi hiini škwaate piit -ike
though that door inside-house
'though the door was locked on the inside (of) the
house' (the witch doctor still opened it enough to
get in) (T6a)
- (167) ni-naa -noot -ike
1 -REDUP-?alone-house
'I always stayed home alone.' (T8)

-i-šakoči- 'Try'

-i-(ša)-koči 'try' is used several times in
"Autobiography". In Plains Cree, kot- is the stem for
'try' (Wolfart 1973:83). The cognate form in Fox is cited
as -i-na:kosi- AI 'seem, appear' (Goddard 1990:460) (<
-na:gu- 'look, appearance, resemblance', Jones 1904:392).

- (168) he' -me'či -tepašaw -i
TIME-COMPLETED-satisfactory-3sII
- [w]ii-ta-ma he' -ko -či
say -TI-TA TIME-try-3SUB
'After it was satisfactorily explained what he
seemed to tell her.' (T3a)

(Grandmother believes that the Indian agent, who offered to
give her a kaaθe-pati 'coffee pot', called her haθe'pati
'raccoon'.) The omission of -ša-, which appears elsewhere
in the text, is unexplained. (There is also no [t]
insertion: ni-išakoči > nišakoči.)

-iθo- 'To Have an X Name'

In Kickapoo, -iθo- Vai is identified as 'have an X name' (Voorhis 1977:48). A similar construction exists in Shawnee, but such an analysis in Shawnee is incorrect (and probably so for Kickapoo). (169) is a passive construction. -ooθoo-, found numerous times in other verbs not related to 'naming', suppresses the agent argument.

(169) nekoti-piiwe'š*i* š*i*'θo ni-kya
one -feather named 1 -mother
'My mother was named One Feather.' (T1)

The derivation of š*i*'-θo itself is obscure.⁴⁹ (< ? š*i*-i-θo 'thus-say-PASSIVE' 'thus was named' is a possibility.)

-kala- TI ~ -kaloo- TA 'Talk'

-kala- in paa-piki-kala-wi 'he always makes a speech' (T10) alternates with -kaloo-l (-l- transitivizer) in ni-kaloo-l-ekw-a '(he) talked to me' (T6).

-kate- 'Rear'

In Kickapoo, keten- Vta, ketenam- Vti means 'move/put/take him/it out by using the hand on him/it' (Voorhis 1977:52). Its Shawnee cognate is katee-n-i-č*i* 'rear-by.hand->1-3sSUB' '(that's the way) he reared (me)' (T2). The semantic difference between katee- and noošaa-, also translated as 'rear, nurse', is unclear. Both stems are used in reference to grandfather rearing the young Mary

Williams. (Note also that nošeškata 'doe' < noš-e 'she gives birth, has offspring or nurses' (Chrisley 1992:40) is also etymologically related to nošaa-.)

-kiiš- 'Complete'

In Fox ki:c(i)- is an initial stem that "expresses the completion, fulfillment, of an act" (Jones 1904:391). In Plains Cree kis- 'complete' is found both as a verb stem (ki:sihew 'he completes him') and as a particle, ki:si ~ ki: 'completely' (Wolfart 1973:65). This verb stem also figures in a derived word for 'cook':

TA -isw- /esw/, TI -is- /es/ 'by heat': Root ki:s- 'complete': TA ki:siswew, TI kisisam 'he completes him, it by heat, i.e., he cooks him, it done.' (Wolfart 1973:73)

This stem exists in Shawnee kiiš-θ-e, kiiš 'warm, hot' (Voegelin 1938-40:301), as in ho-kiiš-θ-e-ekw-a-li (> hokiišθekooli) '(he) made him angry' (T6a). -θ- means 'by heat' (Pearson 1991:24). he'-ki-kiiše-l-o-waa-či 'when they have finished cooking' (-ki- completive particle, -l- transitivizer, -o- AI, -waa- 3p, -či 3SUB) (T9), kiiškwe 'day', kiišeki⁵⁰ 'day', and kiša'θwa 'sun' are all based on this formative. The particle ye'ki 'deceased' in hina ye'ki ni-me'šoom-θa 'my late grandfather' (T2) is formed from ye- INITIAL.CHANGE + -ki 'complete'.

-lepwa 'Emotional, Wide-Awake, Clever ~

-lepwa'ka 'Sober, Conscious, Old Enough to Remember, Aware'

These stems and their definitions are from Voegelin (1938-40:345). He cites ni-lepwaa-pe 'we are clever', mači-lepwa 'he feels bad', howeši-lepwa 'he is glad'.⁵¹ His only comment on the otherwise unexplained -ka- is "a doubtful non-initial element". It is likely the AI final -ke 'activity indicator', plus TI -a.

(170) ni-ta -lee -lepwa'-k -a
1 -T/P-REDUP-aware -ACT.IND-TI
'I was becoming aware there.' (T3)

(171) lee -lepwa'-k -aa-ta wiyee-θa
REDUP-aware -ACT.IND-TA-REL person-PERSON
'someone who is aware (or intelligent)' (T7)

-mamaa- 'Pray'

(172) wiila ho-mamaa-too -m -a -hi
he 3 -pray -PSEUDO.TRANS-TA-DIR-3pOBV
'He prayed for them' (the people). (T8)

(173) he -[t]aa-či paa -piye-ki
SUB-live -3SUB REDUP-come-3p
'They (the people) always come where he lives.' (T8)

In a significant misunderstanding, Voegelin 1953 translates wiila (h)omamaatomahi hetaačiipaapihi as 'he prayed to them, the spirits'. He believes that hetaačiipaapihi means 'spirits' (in the obviative), but čačalakwa is 'spirit'. Instead, two sentences (172 and 173) are present here. The Pseudotransitive construction indicates that the people are benefitting from the action

of praying, not directing it to 'spirits'.

n'haa ~ na'hwaa ~ naw'hiwee 'Visit'

The recorded forms for 'visit' differ considerably, related to their AI and TA uses. The AI root is -n'h- in (174) and (175), and -naw'h- in (176). The TA root in (177) is -na'h-.

(174) waa'š*ı* paa-n'h -aa-ya
before go -visit-AI-1sSUB
'before I left' (T6)

(175) n'h -aa-yane
visit-AI-2sSUB
'if you go' (T6)

(176) he'-pa'-naw'h-iwee-č*ı*⁵²
SUB-go -visit-? -3SUB
'when he visited' (T6a)

(177) ho-paa-na'h -w -aa -li
3 -go -visit-TA-DIR-3sOBV
'He went to visit (him).' (T6a)

naki- 'Stop'

Fox naq(i)- is an initial stem that indicates "change from an activity to rest" (Jones 1904:390). In Shawnee, naki- 'stop' combines with two secondary stems. In naki-pakθ-e 'stop-action.of.moving-3sAI' 'he stopped moving' (T6a), grandfather has been seriously injured in a fire. Finally, his body is motionless. In ta'-naki-kaa-ya 'the place I stopped (before)' (T9), Mary Williams resumes her narrative where she left off earlier. -ka- is identified, but undefined, in motion verbs (Voegelin 1938-40:329). It

is likely -ke 'general body movement' (Voegelin 1938-40:67), -a TI.

-naw- 'See', -nenaw- 'Recognize'

The difference between the two stems is -ne- 'recognizing, seeing, appearing' (Voegelin 1938-40:385). In Fox, -ane- is a secondary stem that refers to 'mental operation': kekanemawa 'he knows, understands him', pananemawa 'he makes fun of him' (Jones 1904:392).

noot- 'Hear' ~ nootaw- 'Understand'

(178) we'-piyeči -noot-aw-aa -li
? -towards-hear-TA-DIR-3sOBV
'(he) would hear (him) coming' (Voegelin 1938-40:99)
(my morpheme analysis)

Shawnee -aw- is the same derivational affix found in Plains Cree: "Transitive animate finals often differ from their transitive inanimate pendants by the addition of -aw- ... Root nito- 'seek': TA nitohtawe:w 'he tries to hear him', TI nitohtam 'he tries to hear it'" (Wolfart 1973:74). Both forms are found in the same sentence in "Autobiography":

(179) mata ni-ta'-noot-aw-a
not 1 -NEG-hear-TA-DIR

kšake mata ni-noot-aa-ke
reason not 1 -hear-AI-ACT.IND
'I did not understand anyone because I did not listen.' (T11)

-tehe- 'Think'

In Kickapoo, -iteehee- is 'thought' (Voorhis 1983:82). Shawnee -tehe means 'thinking, thoughtful feeling' (Voegelin 1938-40:142, 92), and it is found in ni-[t]leši-tehe 'I think' (-eši- 'thus, so') (T3a), wišiki-tehee-ya 'I was determined' (wišiki- 'strong') (T5), ni-mekin'-tehe-ya 'I was thoughtful' (T7) (mekin- 'choice', Voegelin 1938-40:358), and ni-meni-tehe 'I was happy' (T7) (men- 'fun, lively', Voegelin 1938-40:369).

4.3.3. Preverbs

A number of modifying particles precede verb stems in "Autobiography". Often they are identical to pre-nouns. wišiki- 'strong' (or 'long' in referring to life) is found in ki-e'-wišiki-a'pow-a (> ke'wišika'powa) (-a TI) 'you will have a vision, strong dream' (T6). It is also found in the corresponding -we(n) abstract nominalization.

-θak- ? 'Action in Progress'

In Kickapoo, -etee- Vii means 'be X (of heat)'' (Voorhis 1977:46). In (T6a), grandfather's coat is 'burning' (θak-tee), but a short time later his clothes are 'burned up' (čaaka-tetee). ([t] in tetee is a morphophonological alternation.) The meaning of -θak- is unknown, other than its apparent reference to 'action in progress'.

čaaka- 'Destroying All'

čaaka- is identified as 'destroying all' in Voegelin (1938-40:145). (This preverb may be a variant of the prenoun -čaaki- 'all'.)

mši- 'Big'

mši- 'big' precedes the verb -pkalee- 'fire' in (138) mši-pkalee-n-am-wa 'he built a big fire by hand' (T6a). (škote is the noun for 'fire'.)

kči- 'By Great Personal Effort'

kči- 'great' (c.f., kči-kam-i 'ocean, sea', lit., 'great water') has an "attenuated" meaning of "by great personal effort" (Voegelin 1938-40:293) as a preverb. kči- preverb is found in the following sentence.

(180) ni-kaa -kči -naa -th -aape nepi
1 -REDUP-great.effort-go.after-by.fist-1p water
'We had to keep fetching water.' (T6a)⁵³

nši- ~ ši- MANNER

Kickapoo isi- is a preverb that means 'thus, so, like that' (Voorhis 1977:46). Boling (1981:14) identifies -nši- 'manner, kind, or way' as a prefix that occurs between the person prefix and the verb stem, as in ∅-nši-wi'θen-i 'he ate in there (as in a bowl)'. A better translation might be 'he ate that way' or 'he ate thus'.

-ši- (not -nši-) is found in "Autobiography" on

numerous occasions, and Voegelin generally translates the passages in which it appears as 'the way' one did something. It can also fall between the verb stem and inflectional endings (noošaa-ši-ci 'the way he reared (me)'). It is often found as a clitic attached to a noun or pronoun (forming a phonological unit in the speech of my informant) followed by the verb. It can also precede or follow nouns as 'type' or 'kind':

- (181) ni-[t]jaali-waakw-am-a ši -wiyee -θa
 1 -NEG -know -TA-DIR TYPE-person-ANIM
 'I did not know what kind of person he was.'
 (> nitaaliwaakoma) (T3a, T6a)

In čeeče-ši 'a certain kind of equalness' (Voegelin 1938-40:143), it follows the noun it modifies.

Additional examples of the use of (-)ši- follow.

- (182) hinii-š*i* kate-n -i -č*i* ...
 that -thus rear-by.hand->1-3SUB
 'That's the way he raised (me).' (T2)
- (183) wa'-š*i* talawaati-l -e -č*i*
 SUB-MANNER gamble -DIR-AI-3SUB
 'the way he used to gamble' (T2)
- (184) mata ni-noot-aw-aa -ki wiyehi ši -i -waa-č*i*
 not 1 -hear-TA-DIR-3p thing(s) thus-say-3p -3SUB
 'I did not understand anything they said.' (T11)
- (185) h -i -š*i* -č*i*
 [h]-say-thus-3SUB
 'he told (me) so', 'he said so (to me)'
- (186) hini ta' -noošaa-š*i* -č*i*
 that place-rear -thus-3SUB
 'in that place where he raised (me)' (T3)
- (187) yee-š*i* noošaa-š*i* -č*i*
 SUB-MANNER rear -thus-3
 'the way he thus raised (me)' (T7)

- (188) howe ni-[t]e-ši -[w]e
 good 1 -say-thus-AI
 'I said okay.' (T6)
- (189) howe-ši kaloo-l -aa -li
 good-MANNER talk -TRANS-DIR-3sOBV
 '(She) talked (to him) nicely.' (T3a)

The variability in the position of -ši- in Shawnee is problematic. In (182) it cliticizes phonologically onto the pronoun hini, not the following verb. In (183) it also forms a unit with the subordinator -wa'. In (184) it precedes, and is attached to, the verb stem. In (185)-(188) it follows the verb stem. In (188) howe is 'okay', a form of howe- 'good' without inflectional suffixes. In (189) howe-ši functions as a manner adverb 'nicely, in a good way'.

ni-[t]leši-tehe 'I think' contains -eši- as a preverb meaning 'so', 'thus' (Chrisley 1992:71, Voegelin 1938-40:141). -(e)ši- has been lexicalized into this construction, literally meaning 'I think thus' or 'I so think'. Voegelin (1938-40:141) comments, "The non-initial, -tehe, usually follows a vague demonstrative stem (-teš or -teši ...) ... ši-tehe forms a synthetic unit in most instances of composition ...".

tka- 'From Afar' ⁵⁴

- (190) ni-tkawaap -am-aa -ki
 1 -wait.for-TA-DIR-3p
 'I waited for them.' (T11)

Etymologically, tkawaap-am- TA 'wait for' may derive

from tka- 'from a distance' + waap- 'see'.

weep- INCEPTIVE

In Fox, wapi- 'begin' is found in wapi-pipyat-usa (piya- 'movement hither', -usa 'walk') 'he begins to approach on the walk' (Jones 1904:386). In Kickapoo, -oθee- Vai 'go, walk, travel' is part of (w)eepoθee Vai 'begin to go = leave, depart' (Voorhis 1977:51). The cognate verb in Shawnee is weep-θee (weep- INCEPTIVE, -θee 'go'). he'-weep-ii-ki 'SUB-INCEPTIVE-cold-3sSUB' 'when it began to turn cold' (T4) is another example.

4.3.4. Directional Particles

Directional notions in Shawnee are invariant particles incorporated into the verbal stem.

- | | | |
|-----------|----------|--|
| -kaawači- | 'around' | pa'-kaa -kaawači-pto
go -REDUP-around -run
'he went running around' (T6a) |
| -kwako- | 'fast' | piyeči -kwako-memek-wi
towards-fast -run -3sAI
'It (the spider) came running fast in
this direction.' (T6a) |
| | | pemi-kwako-memek-wi
by -fast -run -3sAI
'He ran by fast.' (T6a) |
| | | kči -kwako-memek-wi
great-fast -run -3sAI
'He ran very fast.' (T6a) |
| -lamita- | 'under' | ni-paa -pa'-lamita'-θa ...
1 -REDUP-go -under -go
'I always went underneath' (the
table) (T8) |

-lemat-	'upright'	... lemat -apii-ki upright-sit -3p ... 'they sit (upright)' (T10)
-lo-	'out'	... lo'-θaa-či out-go -3SUB '(after) he went out ... ' (T6a)
-pa-	'going'	... pa-halawii-ki go-hunt -3p ... 'they went hunting' (T9)
-paam-	'around'	... paam' -θee hina čitoo -θa ... around-go that old.man-PERSON 'the old man wandered' (there) (T6a)
-pakiči-	'against'	ho-pakiči -akaa -etii -m -aa -li 3 -against-argue-RECIP(AI)-TA-DIR-3sOBV 'He (grandfather) argued (with him) (the Indian agent).' (T3a) (> hopakiči 'kaatiimaali)
-pakiči-	'go home'	ni-pakiči -pto ⁵⁵ 1 -homeward-ran 'I ran home' (T6) ... ni-piyeči-pakiči ... 1 -toward-homeward 'I went toward home' (T6)
-pemi-	'by'	he'-pem'-θee-waa-či ... SUB-by -go -3p -3SUB 'when they passed by' (T11)
-piit-	'inside'	... piit -θaa inside-go '(I) went inside' (T8) ho-piiči-tawe-n -a 3 -in -push-by.hand-TI 'he pushed it (the door) in by hand' (T6a)
-piyeči-	'towards'	ni-piyeči-nee-w -a ... 1 -toward-see-TA-DIR 'I saw (him) coming' (T6)
-šaaipot-	'through'	ni-šaaipot -i- nee-m -e 1 -through-CV-see-TI-TI 'I see through' (it, e.g., a telescope) (Pearson 1991:30) (> nišaaipočineeme)

-wiit-	'in	ni-paa	-pa'-wiit	-θee-ma
	company	1	-REDUP-go	-in.company.of-go -AO
	of'		'I always went with him.'	(T8)

Goddard (1990:478-480) would probably view these directional particles as additional examples of preverbs. According to him, preverbs in the Algonquian languages form compound verb stems. Phonologically the preverb is independent, but it forms a unit with the verb stem for the purposes of inflection.

Whether or not a preverb is used in a particular stem is morphologically determined. Essentially, if an appropriate final exists, the initial combines with it to form a primary stem; if an appropriate final does not exist, the initial forms a preverb which is used to form a compound stem. (Goddard 1990:478)

In Fox, meno- AI 'he drinks' has no corresponding final. wi:seni- AI 'he eats' does have a corresponding derived final -isenye:-. Since no final is available for meno-, it must combine with a preverb to form a compound stem (ki:šimenowa 'he has finished drinking'), but the initial ki:š- can combine directly with -isenye:- to form a primary stem ki:šisenye:wa 'he has finished eating'.

Based on Jones 1904, Goddard also discusses a strict ordering when more than one preverb derived from an initial (for example, Shawnee piyee- 'come', piyeči 'towards') is found in the same stem with another preverb derived from an initial. Presumably, he is referring to the ordering in Shawnee piyeči-kwako-memek-wi 'he came running towards (me)

fast' and kči-kwako-memek-wi 'he came running very fast'. -piyeči- and kči- both precede -kwako-. Goddard's evidence is not just linear order, but "preverb bumping" in which Fox pemi- AI 'along' + -ose:- AI 'walk' (---> pemose:-) and we:p- 'begin' + -ose:- (---> we:pose:-) becomes pemi-we:pose:-wa 'he starts walking (along)' (Goddard 1990:479).

These issues cannot be conclusively addressed in Shawnee until the appropriate evidence can be obtained.

4.3.5. Verb Finals

4.3.5.1. Animate Intransitive (AI) Finals

-eθi 'He is' (AI)

-eθi in Kickapoo is an affix that creates Animate Intransitive verbs from nouns: 'to be an X' (Voorhis 1977:45). Shawnee has the same affix.

(191) ni-taa -tekwe-eθi
 1 -REDUP-shame-AI
 'I was always embarrassed' (because I wore Indian dress) (T11).⁵⁶

-etii- RECIPROCAL

In Kickapoo, -etii- Vai means 'be Xs to one another' (Voorhis 1977:48). peki-kaloo-l-etii-we 'exhortation' (lit., 'troublesome talk') (T2) has already been discussed as an example of an abstract nominalization of an AI verb. In (193), note the derivation from -akaa- TA to -akaaetii-

(> -akaatii) AI to -akaatiima- TA.

(192) paa -pa'-miil-etii -ki takhwaan-a
REDUP-go -give-RECIP-3p bread -PL
'They went around giving each other bread.' (T10)

(193) ho-pakiči -akaa -etii -m -aa -li⁵⁷
3 -against-argue-RECIP (AI)-TA-DIR-3sOBV
'He argued back and forth (with him).' (T3a)
(> hopakiči'kaatiimaali)

-ekaa- 'Dancing'

In Kickapoo, -ekaa- Vai is 'dance' (Voorhis 1977:44).
In Fox, -ega is the "movement of one in the dance" (Jones
1904:394). Shawnee has the equivalent derivational affix.

(194) ha' -ši takhwaan-ek -aa-ki hini
TIME-MANNER bread -dancing-AI-3p that
'That is the way they performed the bread dance.'
(T9)

(195) nee -niikaani-ek -aa-ta (> neeniikaanekaata)
REDUP-lead -dancing-AI-REL
'leader' (T9)

-ekaa- in (195), referring to the leader of the twelve
women who bake the ceremonial bread, is unexplained (unless
she too has a dance to do, but the texts do not indicate
such).

-ke ~ -ka 'Activity Indicator'

Voegelin (1938-40:67) identifies -ke as 'occurrence of
bodily movement' in pa'-kaakašaaap-ke 'he goes crawfish
hunting' (pa'- 'thither', -kaakašaaap- 'crawfish'). (Its
connection to the instrumental affix -hk- 'by body'

(Voegelin 1936:392) is unknown.) -ke ~ -ka is also identified as 'activity indicator' (Chrisley 1992:43) or "the animate intransitive suffix -ke:- 'action or general goal'" (Wolfart 1973:69).

Bloomfield (1946:465) remarks,

An. intr. verbs of action on indefinite inanimate objects are derived from tr. inan. stems by means of -kee. Thus, paaškesikee- ... is derived from ... *paaškesamwa "he shoots it" ... However, the tr. inan. stems whose tr. an. pendant has -aw ... take -aakee: ... *noontaakeewa "he hears something": F[ox] nootaakeewa, O[jibwa] noontaakee, from ... *noontamwa "he hears it" ... (punctuation as in the original)

-kaan- 'instrument' nominal affix originates from -ke:- AI + -n suffix.

(196) ni-kiti -ke
1 -plant-ACT.IND
'I plant' (Chrisley 1992:43)

(197) ni-waapa-ke
1 -look -ACT.IND
'I look on' (Voegelin 1938-40:412)

(198) ni-ta -lee -lepwa'-k -a
1 -T/P-REDUP-aware -ACT.IND-TI
'I was becoming aware there.' (T3)

(199) lee -lepwa'-k- -aa-ta wiyee -θa
REDUP-aware -ACT.IND-TA-REL someone-PERSON
'someone who is aware (or intelligent)' (T7)

(200) ta' -naki-k- -aa-ya
PLACE-stop-ACT.IND-TI-1sSUB
'the place I stopped (before)' (T9)

he'-kišθe-ko-či 'when he was mad (at him)' (T6a) contains a particle -ko- that my informant translated as 'self' (as if this phrase means 'he was mad at himself', but it does

not). -ko- here may be another variant of -ke ~ -ka
'activity indicator'.

-pakθ- 'Action of Moving'

-pakθ- 'action of moving' is found in naki-pakθ-e 'he
stopped moving' (naki- 'stop') (T6a).

-'see 'Sense Perception, Hearing, Ear'

-a'kawe-šee 'listen' is the AI stem (T8). Voegelin
(1938-40:150) defines -'še as 'sense perception, hearing,
ear'. Note that in Fox,

-ca- carries the vague notion of something thin,
as of a sheet, film, blade. It is an association
with this spatial sense that makes it a term
applied to the ear ... -c-, -cw-, -sw-
[instrumental affix] signifies an act done with
something sharp ... The association of the two
ideas of something sharp and something thin and
film-like affords an explanation why c refers not
only to the ear but also to the notion of the ear
as an instrument; usually, however, in an
intransitive sense: pesecawa 'he listens' ...
(Jones 1904:393,404-405).

-šin- 'At Rest, Reclining, Lying Down'

In Fox tetep- is an initial stem "conveying the notion
of movement in a circle" (Jones 1904:386). In
"Autobiography" it appears only with a secondary stem
-šin-. For example, ni-tetep-šin-e means 'I am rolling'.
In Fox -cin- (anim.) is "coming to a state of rest" (Jones
1904:386) or " ... the change from motion to rest. The
length of the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea

of reclining, lying down ... " (Jones 1904:397). The pause may be temporary (indicating 'walk, step') or momentary (indicating 'alights', as in 'the bird lights') (Jones 1904:397). In Plains Cree -sin- is 'lie, rest' (Wolfart 1973:68):

-s- 'lie, fall' ... which commonly combines with the animate intransitive and transitive animate abstract finals -n- and -m- to form the complex finals -sin- and -sim-; (note the insertion of connective /i/). (Wolfart 1973:69)⁵⁸

A number of other positional markers are found in combination with -šin-. kip-šin-wa 'he lies in the path' (Voegelin 1938-40:289). (kip- is not defined.) In šek-šin-wa 'he sat down'⁵⁹ (T6a) or 'he lay down', šek- is suggestive of 'stretched out'. ni-kaw-šin-e 'I am cold' (T6a) misses the significance of the phrase, namely 'I am cold lying (here)'.

In (201) the meaning and function of -š- are not conclusively identified. However, based on Wolfart's suggestion above on the origin of Plains Cree -sin- ~ -sim-, it is likely that -š- is the Shawnee cognate in this verb form.

(201) ho-nepee-š -h -aa -li
 3 -sleep-at.rest-CAUSE-DIR-3sOBV
 'He made (him) fall asleep.' (T6a)

4.3.5.2. Inanimate Intransitive (II) Finals

-at- 'Non-spatial States'

Voegelin (1938-40:81) identifies -atwi as 'it' in pepekič-kw-atwi 'dark-cloud-it' 'it is clouding up black'. In another entry on the same page he identifies -at- as 'way of being'. -at- is also identified as 'be' in Kickapoo pesikwaahkwat- Vii 'be straight (of wood or of something wooden' (Voorhis 1983:78), and as the II 'general non-spatial stative' in Ojibwa (Denny & Mailhot 1976:91).

Therefore, maa-m'šiči-ki-pook-at-wi 'REDUP-big-dew/frost-STATE-II' 'it was always very frosty' (T4) has this same stative final. Voegelin's example is better analyzed as pepekič-kw-at-wi.

-en- ~ -an- 'Perceptual Qualities'

Voegelin (1938-40:84) also identifies -enwi as 'it' in po'k-at-enwi 'breaking-way.of.being-it' 'it burst, e.g., from freezing'.

In Ojibwa, ' ... final -an- is used in verbs for perceptual qualities (si:w-an 'it is sour') ... ' (Denny & Mailhot 1976:91). Ojibwa -an- is realized in Shawnee as -en- or -an-.

(202) pake'θiiθ-en -wi hini pθiiwen -i -hi⁶⁰
thin -PERCEP-II that handkerchief-CV-DIM
'That little handkerchief was transparently
thin.' (T6a)

wi'θak-an-wi 'it is bitter' (Chrisley 1992:31) and wiik-an-wi 'sweet', 'it is flavorful' (Chrisley 1992:44) also contain this formative. Voegelin's example po'k-at-en-wi 'it burst' contains both the stative -at- and the perceptual -en- finals.

4.4. Adverbs

The grammatical category of adverb in Shawnee consists of invariant forms serving as clause adverbials and modifiers. Manner expressions can be derived by attaching -ši to a variety of stem types.

An extensive list of adverbs is available from "Autobiography" and Chrisley 1992. A number of recurring strings are found there, including nii- 'ago', ma(a)- 'time and place particle' (ma as an independent lexeme means 'immediate vicinity', 'here'), we- meaning unknown ('now' as an independent lexeme), -oko- 'day' (originating from -akw- in the pattern /Cw-akw-a#/ and changed by phonological rules), -nakike 'hence' (Chrisley 1992:45) found in compounds with -akw-, -ene 'X number of times' (Chrisley 1992:85) or 'time period', -laakwa 'time' (also, 'place'), and -čiine of unknown meaning (as an independent lexeme it is a conjunction 'and'). Potential morpheme breaks have been supplied, even though some of the strings created in the process were unidentified by my informant. (An additional trap is illustrated by əpaayo, translated by Voegelin as 'apparently', which implies that the word is

an adverb in Shawnee. In fact, it literally means 'so it was', a verb form.) Alternate spellings and translations are shown.

TABLE 2
SHAWNEE ADVERBS

<u>Adverb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
θapaayo	'apparently' (lit., 'so it was') (T3a)
θepi	'altogether' (T6)
hiye'ki	'always' (T2, T4)
hine	'at that time' (T6a)
hin-eene	'at that time' (T3a)
hinoki	'also' (T6)
(hi)noki	'now'
hinoki-mehi	'just now' or 'a short time ago' (lit., 'merely' now, Chrisley 1992:58)
hoθaami	'too' (T6a)
holako	'yesterday' (Chrisley 1992:78) (< hol-akw-a)
hoowe	'now' (T3)
howe	'okay' (T6)
howeči	'since the time' (T2)
howe-čiine	'then' (T3a)
ihhweye'kwi	'right away' (T11)
kaa-kik-a ⁶¹	'always' (T3)
kala	'like that', 'thus' (T9)
kamooči	'suddenly', 'unexpectedly', 'perhaps'

	(T6)
kateški	'just' (T3a)
keelo-čiine	'later' (Voegelin 'occasionally') (T3a)
kileki	'together' (T6a)
kite	'plus' (used in numbers)
laakw-θ-oko	'a few days' (Chrisley 1992:45) (< laakw-θ-akw-a, <u>-θa-</u> diminutive)
laakwa hin-eene	'at the time' (T6)
lakokwe ⁶²	'certainly, so' (T3)
ma(a)	TIME/PLACE (T6a)
maa-laakwa-hi	'near', 'close by' (T6a)
maataši	'here' (T3)
mata	'not' (T3a)
meθ-hiikee	'everywhere' (T9)
mooči	'even' (T8)
nθ-oko-nakike	'future day (lit., 3 days hence)' (Chrisley 1992:45) (< nθ-akw-a-nakike; <u>nθwi-</u> 'three')
na'θaapi	'even' (T7)
nahiika	'up there' (T11)
nanimii	'almost' (T11)
neew-iški ⁶³	'first time' (T11)
nii-niiš-oko	'day before yesterday' (Chrisley 1992:39) (< nii-niišw-akw-a)
niikaani	'in the future' (T6) (c.f. 'ahead, in lead' ... 'he is ahead' and 'he went

	ahead' ... (Voegelin 1938-40:379))
niiš-oko	'two days' (< niišw-akw-a) (T6)
niiš-oko-nakike	'day after tomorrow (two days hence)' (Chrisley 1992:39) (< niišw-akw-a-nakike)
ni-laakwa-ši	'all that time' (T8)
nitaši	'there' (T3a)
niteewahi	'anyway' (T6a)
nyeew-ene	'four times' (T5)
p'eša ~ peš'a ⁶⁴	'oh, yes' (T6, T9)
paalohi	'finally' (T11)
paalohi	'short time later' (T6a)
paa-petaa-laakwa	'once in a while' (T6)
paayaakila	'someplace else' (T11)
palečaki	'by and by', 'presently' (Chrisley 1992:35)
peeeko(o)	'once' (T6)
peeeko laakwa	'one time' (T6a)
pehi	'only' (T6a)
pela'či	'(at) first' (T5)
pelowi	'far off, far away' (Chrisley 1992:42)
pemi	'always' (T3a)
peteki	'back' (T6)
piitike	'inside' (specifically, inside a house) (T3a)
pooθi	'far away' (T6a)

škanoki	'soon' (T5)
tθ-ene he'-	'every time' (T6a)
tθ-ene waapaki	'every day' (T2)
teepi	'enough' (T6a)
waapake	'tomorrow (c.f., waap-an-wi 'it is morning')' (Chrisley 1992:56)
wayeeči	'towards' (T5)
we	'now' (T3a)
weč'iine	'then' (T5)
weči	'direction' (< hoči) (Chrisley 1992:44)
weči-pepoo-ki	'north' (<u>weči-</u> 'direction')
we-čiine	'then' (T3a)
wee	'now' (T4)
we-maat-e	'next' (T6a)
we-ne-ene ⁶⁵	'at that time' (T6)
wi'koči	'very' (lit., 'much') (T5)
yaška(a)	'still' (T6a)

nii- 'ago'

nii-niišw-akw-a (> nii-niišoko) 'day before yesterday' literally means 'two days ago' (Chrisley 1992:39). ni- in ni-laakwa-ši 'all that time' (T8) may be the same morpheme.

ma(a)- TIME/PLACE MARKER

ma can stand outside the verb. When it does, it is a locational pointer:

(203) nyeew-ene ma ho-te -lii-la[t]-e -na
four -times here 3 -T/P-SEQ-do -TI-OBJ
'He did it (a spider) here four times in a row.'
(T6a)⁶⁶

maataši 'here' as an independent adverb has a meaning close to ma 'place' marker. The other examples with maa- have non-compositional meanings. maa-laakwa-hi 'near', 'close by' consists of maa- 'place', -laakwa- 'time or place', and -hi DIMINUTIVE (Chrisley 1992:57) (found on nouns). we-maat-e 'next' (T6a) is another opaque form.

we 'now'

we is found repeatedly in "Autobiography". Voegelin consistently translates it as 'well', as if it were equivalent to the English pause word. It means 'now'. Its meaning in combination with the forms above is opaque.

-akw- > -oko 'day' and -nakike 'hence'

In laakw-θ-akw-a (> laakwθoko) 'a few days', the diminutive -θ- on laakwa- 'time' renders the notion of 'a few'. nθ-akw-nakike 'future day' (nθwi 'three', -nakike 'hence') (Chrisley 1992:45) literally means 'three days from now'.

-ene 'X number of times' or 'time period'

-ene is a particle that is used to specify the number of times an action takes place in a specified period (Chrisley 1992:85) or the duration of an event. For example, nyeew-ene is literally 'four number of times' or 'four times', while laakwa hin-eene means 'at that time' (T6). hin-eene 'at that time' (< hina 'that') (T3a) and hine 'at that time' (T6a) are variant forms. tθ-ene 'every' has an unidentified time formative tθ-. -ene also attaches to verbs, also specifying a period of time: katemoy-ene 'puberty' (T7) (< katemo- 'grow, mature' (Voegelin 1938-40:291)).

-laakwa- 'time, place'

paa-petaa-laakwa 'once in a while' (T6) has the form of a reduplication, but my informant could not decompose it into meaningful parts. -petaa- was unknown to her.

-čiine

howe-čiine and we-čiine are both translated as 'then'. Their relation to keelo-čiine 'later' and the meaning of the formatives in the compounds (if they are compositional in their construction) are also unknown at this time.

4.5. Postpositions

Locatives in Shawnee are realized by postpositions

following the noun (except for the last example):

- (204) naamin-ooči 'from Norman' (T1)
(205) hoteewen-iki 'in town' (T1)
(206) tekwahwikan-eki 'in a box' (T3)
(207) heta'koθaki wayeeči 'toward the east' (T5)
(208) pakači šitoo-θwii-ki 'by the stove' (T6a).

4.6. Interjections

The interjections če 'oh', hala' 'so', and keela 'well' are found in "Autobiography".

- (209) če mata hini weepikwa.
Oh not that spider
'Oh, that is not a spider.' (T6a)
- (210) hala' mata ki-pa-škoolii-wi
So not 2 -go-school -AI
'So, you did not go to school.' (T11)
- (211) mata keela wi'koči hina ni-čiš -h -ekw-a
not well much 3 1 -fear-CAUSE-INV-DIR
'Well, (he) did not scare me much.' (T3a)

Notes

1. Dependent/Possessed and diminutive are often viewed as inflectional, not derivational, processes. However, in discussing the appearance of the identical -m- formative in Potawatomi, Anderson (1992:161) says, "We can say that this is introduced by a derivational rule within the Potawatomi lexicon ... This rule affects the phonological and morphological properties of an item, without altering its semantics. It creates, in effect, a dependent stem corresponding to a non-dependent one ... As a derivational rule, [his example] has the function of creating new lexical stems ... As is true for derivational relations in general, the existence of a stem derived by means of [his example] for any particular Noun is a lexical idiosyncrasy" (emphasis added). He footnotes an example in which the addition of the -m- formative shifts the meaning of the derived stem (often a diagnostic for derivational processes).
2. The grammatical category of plural will be addressed in the next chapter.
3. In the summer of 1992, Pauline Wahpepah identified hapikamite as 'pumpkin', but she did not know it as 'soup' (Bruce Pearson, field notes).
4. Mahr (1961:5) discusses the Algonquian view that 'life' was 'to breathe'. He cites Delaware le|een 'breathing, being alive' and Voegelin's Shawnee cognate (-lee- 'breathing, breath, soul') in support. Bloomfield (1946:462) says that the Algonquian root elen- means 'ordinary, plain'.
5. Except for length, I omit the diacritics used in Jones 1904.
6. Voegelin (1938-40:425, 147) lists wiyee- as the stem for 'generic thing, person'. wiyehi is 'something', but dividing the word into wiye-hi would make it appear to be an obviative plural or diminutive. In "Autobiography" it is an invariant form that is either singular or plural.
7. Literally, 'strange-appearing-person'. The grammatical status of kookwe 'unknown' is uncertain. Voegelin (1938-40:296) calls it a "particle; combines with formatives and other particles". In kookwe laakwaši 'unknown time, forever, eternity', he records it as if it were an independent "adjective". The nee- of kookwe-nee-θa 'stranger' is 'recognizing, seeing, appearing' (Voegelin 1938-40:385), and it is a verbal affix (c.f., ho-nee-w-aali '3-see-TA-DIR-3sOBV' 'he sees (him)').

8. -eθi(i)- 'to be an X' is discussed under Section 4.3.5.1. Animate Intransitive Finals.
9. LA is Link Auxiliary, an affix that forms modifiers from nouns. It is discussed under Section 4.2.1. "Adjective" Formation from Nouns.
10. Note the discrepancy between the analysis of -škwē-θa-eθii- 'small girl' and škilawēθii-θa 'little boy'. The -eθii- affix does not seem to be present in the latter word. Besides, the relative position of the affixes for diminutive and for Animate Intransitive would be reversed in these two words.
11. The Creator is a sky goddess named Cloud, presumably the connection to a grandson named Foamy.
12. The string -ekihow- labelled MEDIAL is an unknown element extracted after decomposing the beginning and the ending of this word. (It may partially pertain to the -ek- of 'dancing'.) The entire word refers to a type of basket, but it is not found in Voegelin (1938-40:318) under the entry for šošooni 'basket'.
13. -a'kwii' may also be related to laawakwiik 'south' (laawi- 'mid' + -akwiik), i.e., ? 'among the flora'.
14. Chrisley (1992:55) cites meleny-aapo as 'breast' plus 'fluid'.
15. Mrs. Bayliss translated kapenalii as 'government', and kapanalee as 'governor', perhaps indicating a sort of back-formation making the original borrowing (kapenalii) into the abstraction and using the -ee Shawnee formation to mark the individual.
16. Voegelin translates talaakwa wiye'ki maataši yooma wiyehi as '... this thing used to be here at that place' (T6a), translating talaakwa as 'at that place'. However, his translation is incorrect. Although talaakwa has the form ta-laakwa (laakwa 'time, place'), it must instead be ta-, a negation particle plus -laakwa 'time, place'. Thus ta-laakwa is a negative pronoun 'none'. Voegelin translates ... telaakwa hina weepikwa ... as '... that spider disappeared out of sight ...' (T6a), but telaakwa is not a verb.
17. Mrs. Bayliss was quite adamant that talaakwa and telaakwa were different.
18. This verb stem is potentially ni-kiθi-na, TI 'I wash (inanimate) them'.

19. At one point, Mrs. Bayliss translated a stray -č- as 'being', but I do not know if that translation is applicable in these two lexical items.
20. Voegelin decomposes this word as ho-tehi-mi-na, glossing -mi- as 'fruit'. I think his morphological breakdown is incorrect.
21. Chrisley (1992:47, 57) notes that 'grandfather' comes from the word m'šooma 'name group', 'totem'.
22. Note that the reduplication is waa-, not maa-, as expected.
23. -ta- NEG may be the concordant negative particle that accompanies mata 'not'. However, -ta- can also refer to DISTANT FUTURE. Given the context of the sentence, the meaning of -ta- is indeterminate.
24. šitoo- appears to be another Pseudotransitive verb stem (< ši-, -[t]oo).
25. Boling (1980:13) comments, "... -te'- is an abstract morpheme meaning something like 'located in space and time' and 'associated with another event or object' ... The particular translation depends on the verb class that it is in conjunction with." He presents examples of -te'- TIME/SPACE or ASSOCIATED, but he never discusses the dependency of the meaning of the particle and its verb class. Boling (1980:16) also claims that -ta'- is a concordant negative that must be preceded by mata 'not' (i.e., mata PERSON PREFIX-ta' ...), but out of thirty such potential combinations in "Autobiography", the meaning of the sentence indicates a potential concordant negative in only three instances, two additional instances are uncertain (as to negation versus a TIME/SPACE or ASSOCIATED usage), and the remainder do not have -ta'- appearing when mata does.
26. Mrs. Bayliss translated the -ši- in -ši-či# verb endings as 'me'. It may be a coalescence of -ši-, a manner particle discussed extensively later in the chapter, and -i-, a direction marker that indicates that a first person is being acted on. Although translated as 'me' for the sake of convenience, -i- direction marker should not be confused with a pronominal affix.
27. Both lenawe(e) 'person' and tepowee-we 'council' have the form of an abstract verbal nominalization. lenawe(e) is perhaps from a root meaning 'alive, living' (Chrisley 1992:28). The verb tepowe 'it is true' (Chrisley 1992:73) may underlie tepoowe 'law' (Voegelin 1938-40:78), tepowe 'counselling' (Voegelin 1938-40:136), tepowee 'truth'

(Voegelin 1938-40:136) (but then tepowee-we would be an abstract nominalization formed from an abstract nominalization).

28. In another misunderstanding, Voegelin translates this phrase as 'the twelve leaders' (baked the ceremonial bread).

29. Voegelin (1938-40:89) lists wiič-i as 'group of others'. He translates -wiitθee- as 'go with' or 'accompany' in "Autobiography". Both are -wiit-, plus phonological adjustments.

30. ka'k- 'dry, rough' (Voegelin 1938-40:295) appears to be a prenoun, partially based on its English translation. However, it is a verb in Shawnee. ni-ka'k-i-l-a is 'I dry (him)'. ka'k- plus -'h- 'instrumental' (> ka'kh-) results in a specialized meaning of 'scrape, shave' (Voegelin 1938-40:295). Therefore, kakh-oo-we 'razor' is an abstract nominalization of a verb, not an original noun. In ka'kalaamo-yane 'if you are thirsty' (T6), -yane is a conditional verb ending. However, ka'kalaamo- 'thirsty' has the form ka'k-alaamo-, resembling -laašamamo-. laašamamo-ya 'I feel' (T7) is a verb form. ka'k-alaamo 'thirsty' is a Verb-Verb compound.

31. -an- as a final that denotes perceptual qualities is discussed in Section 4.3.5.2. Inanimate Intransitive Finals.

32. The difference in meaning between waap-a-ni 'day' (T3a) and waap-a-ki 'day' (T2, T4, T5, T6, T11) is not known at this time. In Kickapoo, -aapan- Vi is identified as 'be dawn/morning' (Voorhis 1977:49).

33. Another possible decomposition of -nataw'ky- is -na-[t]aw'ky- in which -naa- is the verb root meaning 'going after to take away' (Voegelin 1938-40:383) as in ni-piiči-naa-l-ekw-a '1-in-fetch-TRANS-INVERSE-DIR' '(he) came in to get me' (T2) and naa-th-aape nepi 'go.after-by.fist-1p water' 'we fetched water' (T6a). However, -na-[t]aw'ky- would then shift the meaning of the verb root from 'going after to take away' to 'receive'.

34. Mrs. Bayliss said that -šeškal'- could not combine with any other body part to mean 'bare' as in 'barebottomed'. -šeškal'- contains the formative -šk- 'by feet in locomotion' (Voegelin 1938-40:94), perhaps accounting for its unique pairing with 'foot, toe'.

35. One might also analyze this example as maneto-wi-min-a, in which the final -a is the animate marker.

36. maa-m'š̥i-kipook-at-wi 'REDUPLICATION-big-dew/frost-II-II' 'it was always frosty'. The morpheme divisions are uncertain: the morpheme ? -kipook- partially resembles the morpheme for pepoo- 'winter' and the particle pepooki 'north, northerly direction' (Pearson 1991:30). Therefore, maa-m'š̥i-ki-pook-at-wi is a possibility in which -ki- is the preverb indicating completion. Another possibility is maa-m'š̥i-ki-poo-kii-at-wi in which the morpheme -kii- 'turn' is present. -at- is discussed in Section 4.3.5.2. Inanimate Intransitive Finals.

37. laašamamo lacks the personal pronoun affix -ya used later in this episode on the same verb.

38. hilohoweši lawi-kiišeki is translated by Voegelin as '(and) it was exactly mid-day', implying that hilohoweši is an adverb 'exactly'. It is more likely that what is being said is hilohow- 'exact', -eši AI 'it be', lawi-kiišeki 'mid-day, noon'. Therefore, it means more properly 'it was the exact middle of the day', and thus a predicate adjective, not an adverb. Mrs. Bayliss translated the sentence as 'it became noon', implying that hilohoweši is a verb 'become'. However, except for -eši, hilohoweši does not have the form of a verb.

39. In ho-laapaat-eθi neki pweθii-θa 'the woman is industrious' (Pearson 1991:27), -eθi is the same formative as Kickapoo -eθi AI formative (Voorhis 1977:45), not a part of the stem itself.

40. An alternative form waapa-či-ke 'he looks on' adds an otherwise unexplained -či-. Mrs. Bayliss translated this particle as 'action of being' on a number of occasions.

41. Boling (1981:9-11) presents a series of examples that he believes uses the various transitivizing affixes listed in this section. However, I disagree with his morphological analysis. His data (with my morphological analysis) are presented below. Translations may also be slightly altered, mostly for the sake of space.

ho-pe'še-n -aa -li
 3 -touch-hand-DIR-3sOBV
 'he touches (the other's) hand' (Boling 1981:9)

ni-θaki -pw -a
 1 -seize-teeth-DIR
 'I bit (him)' (Boling 1981:11)

ni-θaki-po -ta
 1-seize-teeth-TI
 'I bit (it)' (Boling 1981:11)

ni-patš^h-am-a
1 -kiss -TA-DIR
'I kiss (him)' (Boling 1981:17)

ni-pkite -h -a
1 -strike-by instrument-TI
'I hit (it)' (Boling 1981:18)

ni-pkite -'h -w -a
1 -strike-by instrument-TA-DIR
'I hit (him)' (Boling 1981:18)

ni-pkite -h -am-aw-a
1 -strike-by instrument-TA-TA-DIR
'I hit his (object(s))'
'I hit it for him' (Boling 1981:18)

42. -katee- 'rear' is discussed in Section 4.3.2.2. Verb Stems.

43. This verb appears to have a TI derivational affix, even though grammatically animate koona 'snow' is the object.

44. The morphology of mši-pkalee-n-am-wa is particularly difficult to unravel. It is cited in "Autobiography" and in Voegelin (1938-40:332). pkale is 'it blazes', pkalee-ša-we 'he has a fire' (-ša- is unidentified; -we is 3sAI). In mši-pkalee-n-am-wa, -am- is unidentified. (Elsewhere, it forms a TA stem, but -wa is a 3sAI ending, as in nep-wa 'he died'. Inflectional endings from the AI set would not be added to a TA stem.) -am- here may be a derivational affix that means 'start', but that speculation is unconfirmed at this time.

45. The entire sentence literally means 'July 2 it is counted 10 hundred plus 9 hundred plus 9 one figures out when I was born' or in English word order, 'One figures out (that) it was July 2, 1903 at the time I was born.'

46. Further unexplained is its non-appearance in ye-haatotama (T11).

47. -paa-pa- is a reduplication of a directional preverb that indicates 'going from point X to point Y'. It can also be translated as English 'he went and did such and such'.

48. In Delaware, -lematapi- '(to) sit down' is also a unitary form (Bruce Pearson, personal communication).

49. Chrisley (1992:35) comments on šičo, " ... ši 'be or have animate status' ". However, I think that he is confusing it with final -ši. In Fox, -si "implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective used with the verb be: mo:wesiw 'he is untidy'" (Jones 1904:398).

50. At one point I asked Mrs. Bayliss the difference in meaning between the various words for 'day'. She responded that kiišeki was 'the past tense of day'.

51. The part of speech of lepwa is unclear. In ni-lepwaape 'we are clever' it inflects like a verb. In howeši- or mači-lepwa it is preceded by pre-nouns.

52. Of possible relevance is Bloomfield's (1946:465) comment, "An. intr. verbs of action on indefinite animate objects are derived from tr. an. verbs by means of -iwee: ... *niimyiheewa "he makes him dance": F[ox] niimiheewa ... *niimyihiweewa "he makes people dance": F[ox] niimihiweewa ... ". However, in he'-pa'-naw'hiwee-či 'when he visited' (T6a) there is no "indefinite animate object" indicated in the sentence.

Voegelin (1938-40:67) believes that naw'h-i-wee is a nominalization in the following sentence.

ni-[t]aapi-pa'-naw'hiwee-pe
 1 -return -go -visit -lp
 'we visit there and then come back'

naw'hiwee (< naw'h-i-wee) is identified as "occ[urrence] of visiting", where -wee is presumably the abstract nominalizer.

The string -'hiwee- is also found in ni-šaa-škool'hiweema 'school teacher'. Its connection to the string -'hiwee- in he'-pa'-naw'hiwee-či 'when he visited' (T6a) is unknown.

53. kči- is also found in the following garbled passage.

ni-kaa -kči ha'-ši
 1 -REDUP-great.effort SUB-MANNER

 kaa -ki -noot-en -a -maa-ekw-a
 REDUP-COMPLETION-hear-by.hand-TI-TA -INV-DIR
 'He had to make signs by hand to me.' (T11)
 (> kaakinootenamaakwa)

(The school teacher must use hand signals to communicate with the monolingual Mary Williams.) The first ni-kaa-kči is a false start, and kaa-ki-noot- is a misrecording of ni-kaa-kči-noot-. It is likely that the entire passage should read ha'ši ni-kaa-kči-noot-en-a-maa-ekw-a.

54. This entry must be reverified. I have recorded tka- as a particle meaning 'from afar' in my notes, but I cannot find the source. It is not found in that meaning in Voegelin 1938-40.
55. pakiči 'home(ward)' can form an abstract nominalization pakiči-we, a euphemism for 'death' (Chrisley 1992:39).
56. Time phrases like maatee-(e)θi 'it is evening' take AI endings.
57. Grandfather and the Indian agent are arguing back and forth over sending Mary to school. Grandfather wants her to be reared in the traditional ways.
58. Mrs. Bayliss corrected all of Mary Williams's forms in -šim- to -šin-.
59. Voegelin's translation.
60. Voegelin translates this sentence as shown ('transparently'), although he does not seem to recognize the significance of the -en- as a particle that refers to perceptual states.
61. kaa-kik-a 'always' has the form of a reduplication, but -kik- is unidentified, unless it is related to kašekiki 'that day' (? < kaa-še-kik-i) in T3a.
62. lakokwe in lakokwe noo-weši-lepwa ... 'certainly 1-happy-emotion' ... 'I was certainly happy' (or 'I was so happy') (when grandfather gave me a box of toys) (T3) and ni-te-lii-laapi lakokwe ... '1-T/P-SEQUENCE-look certainly' 'I certainly looked around' (indicating 'looking from room to room in sequence') (T3) resembles the "particle" kookwe 'unknown' (Voegelin 1938-40:296). Perhaps the etymological connection is 'know' or 'certain'.
63. -iski- 'constantly, habitually' in Plains Cree is a secondary suffix in no:tiskwe:we:skiw 'he is a woman chaser' (Wolfart 1973:68). It is not known whether this particle is the same as in the cited Shawnee form; the meanings do not match.
64. The usual word for 'yes' is ha'ha' (Chrisley 1992:78). p'eša and peš'a 'oh, yes' (cited as alternative spellings in "Autobiography") imply that peš- may be an emphatic added to it.
65. we-ne-ene 'at that time' may contain the particle ne- ~ ne'ka- 'entire time span' cited earlier as a prenoun.

66. Mary Williams is recounting her memory of an old witch-doctor whom she believes used his powers to kill her grandfather. He visits her one day, and he shapes his handkerchief in the form of a spider, scaring her. The sentence means that he did it over and over again in sequence.

CHAPTER 5
NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

5.1. Noun Inflection

5.1.1. Nominal Affixes

The Shawnee noun has the following form:

Prefix-Stem-_____1_____2_____3_____4

Prefix: Person Affixes

Suffix 1: Diminutive

Suffix 2: Possessed /em/

Suffix 3: Prefix Pluralizers

Suffix 4: Vocative OR Locative OR Gender/Number/Obviation

While diminutive and possessed /em/ were discussed in Chapter 4 as likely derivational (not inflectional) processes, some additional remarks will be made about them in order to provide an overview of noun structure. Each affix will be discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1.1. Person Prefixes

The person prefix (ni-, ki-, and ho-) indicates possession by first, second, or third person, respectively. An indefinite possessor me- is attested in some Algonquian

languages, but it has been lost in others.¹ Any noun can be possessed. In addition, dependent nouns are obligatorily possessed. Dependent nouns include kinship terms (Shawnee ni-me'šoom-θa 'my grandfather'), body parts (Fox keteehi 'thy heart'), and a few intimate possessions (Fox netahkohkwa 'my kettle') (Bloomfield 1946:452).

5.1.1.2. Diminutive

Parks (1975:141) views -e:θ- as the abstract representation of the diminutive affix.² It is followed by the usual affixes for gender and number. He derives all diminutives from -e:θ, including -hi, -e:θ-a, and -e:θ-ali (> -ale:θa) in howa:wale:θa 'little eggs' (Parks 1975:138). Parks (1975:142) remarks,

Still another variant of -e:θ is -ale:θ (undoubtedly a compounded form of -ali + e:θ). This variant occurs after inanimate stems which end in a vowel or are monosyllabic and precedes the plural morpheme. Examples are: ...
/-'ka:t-/ 'leg' /ho + 'ka:t + e:θ + ali/ --->
ho'ka:tale:θa 'small legs'. (punctuation as in the original)

His example /ho + 'ka:t + e:θ + ali/ is transformed into /ho + 'ka:t + ali + e:θ + a/. However, -ali no longer indicates plurality, so an additional plural marker is added (Parks 1975:142). In this instance, Parks must claim pluralization, then diminutivization, and then pluralization (again). However, in θiipowe'θali 'creeks' (< θiipiww 'stream' + e'θ + ali) diminutivization precedes

pluralization. Other inanimate diminutive plurals end in -e:θ-a.

A less abstract approach would view -(e)θ- ~ -(e)h- ~ -eeθ- as allomorphs, not phonological alternations derived from a single underlying form. Including the morphemes for gender and number, Shawnee diminutive affixes are as follows:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Animate	-(e)θ-a	-(e)θ-aki
Inanimate	-(e)h-i	-eeθ -a(li)

In the plural, animate and inanimate diminutive affixes differ mostly in vowel quantity (-(e)θ- ~ -eeθ-).

The following examples of diminutivization come from "Autobiography".

- (1) he -škwē -θ -a -eθii-wi-ya
T/P-woman-DIM-AN.SG-AI -AI-1sSUB
'when I was a girl' (T4)
(> he-škwē'-θ-eeθii-wi-ya)
- (2) škilaw'θii-θ -a -ki
boy -DIM-AN.SG-PL
'boys' (T10)
- (3) pθiiwen -i -h -i
handkerchief-CV-DIM-INAN.SG
'(the) little handkerchief' (T6a)
- (4) ha'pašin-eeθ-a
stick -DIM-INAN.PL
'twigs' (T4)

5.1.1.3. Possessed /em/

Suffix 2 /-em/ is added to other nouns to indicate

possession. In Plains Cree, nouns that do not take this affix include certain dependent stems³ and abstract nouns in -we(n) formed from verbs. "Other than that, the distribution of /em/ cannot even be tentatively be indicated ... " (Wolfart 1973:28). Lexical idiosyncrasy is often an indication of derivational, not inflectional, processes (Anderson 1992:161).

5.1.1.4. Person Pluralizers

Suffix 3 pluralizes the person prefix. -naa pluralizes first person (inclusive or exclusive), and -waa pluralizes second or third person. Table 3 (adapted from Voegelin 1936:397 and Pearson 1991:11) shows the possessive paradigm for animate nouns. In place of ROOT, one can substitute -čeeninaa- 'sibling' (-vocative), -kwihθa- 'son' (+possessed), or čiipaa- 'ghost' (-possessed) (Voegelin 1936:397) in the appropriate paradigmatic slots.

The final layer is the addition of affixes to pluralize the noun itself (not its possessor) OR to indicate obviation. Affixes for gender, number, and obviation are discussed later.

Table 4 Inanimate Nouns is adapted from Voegelin (1936:397-8) with my morpheme breaks. Several questions remain unanswered about these paradigms. tθani-w-ali 'beds' appears to have a phonologically-inserted [w] between the vowel of the noun and the vowel of the plural marker. Instead, tθaniw- is the stem whose final consonant

is lost at word end in the singular (Bruce Pearson, personal communication). For first person plural (exclusive or inclusive), there is an unexplained alternation between /i/ and /e/ (ni-tθani 'my bed' ~ ni-tθane-na 'our beds', and likewise in the other two inanimate noun types). An unexpected /a/ alternation also takes place in ho-mahkiθa 'his shoe', instead of -mahkiθe- recorded elsewhere. An animate plural is found in ni-mahkiθen-aki 'my shoes', although other speakers use the inanimate plural ni-mahkiθen-ali (Bruce Pearson, personal communication). Voegelin does not record a plural ending for the three inanimate noun types for first, second, and third person possessed plural (as if ni-mahkiθene-na means 'our shoe' or 'our shoes'), although he indicates that there are plurals for unpossessed tθaniw-ali 'beds' and mahkiθen-aki 'shoes'. (An irregular plural is recorded for hahpaš-e 'sticks'.) The expected, but unattested, plural ni-mahkiθene-naa-ki 'our shoes', and so forth, may be the result of incomplete recording (Bruce Pearson, personal communication).

TABLE 3

POSSESSIVE PARADIGM: ANIMATE NOUNS

Possessor	Singular Noun	Plural Noun
1s	ni- + ROOT	ni- + ROOT + ki
2s	ki- + ROOT	ki- + ROOT + ki
3s	ho- + ROOT	ho- + ROOT + ki
4s	ho- + ROOT + li	ho- + ROOT + waa + li
1p (EXCL)	ni- + ROOT + na	ni- + ROOT + naa + ki
2+1 (INCL)	ki- + ROOT + na	ki- + ROOT + naa + ki
2p	ki- + ROOT + wa	ki- + ROOT + waa + ki
4p	ho- + ROOT + hi	ho- + ROOT + waa + hi

TABLE 4

POSSESSIVE PARADIGM: INANIMATE NOUNS

-tθani(w)- 'bed'

Possessor	Singular Noun	Plural Noun
1s	ni- + tθani	ni- + tθaniw+ali
2s	ki- + tθani	ki- + tθaniw+ali
3s	ho- + tθani	ho- + tθaniw+ali
1p (EXCL)	ni- + tθane+na	ni- + tθane+na
2+1 (INCL)	ki- + tθane+na	ki- + tθane+na
2p	ki- + tθani+wa	ki- + tθani+wa
3p	ho- + tθani+wa	ho- + tθani+wa
LOCATIVE	tθan+eki	[unattested]
DIMINUTIVE	tθan+ehi	tθan+eeθ+ali

-mahkiθe(n)- 'shoe'

(- /em/ POSSESSED)

Possessor	Singular Noun	Plural Noun
1s	ni- + mahkiθe	ni- + mahkiθen +aki
2s	ki- + mahkiθe	ki- + mahkiθen +aki
3s	ho- + mahkiθa	ho- + mahkiθen +aki
1p (EXCL)	ni- + mahkiθene+na	ni- + mahkiθene+na
2+1 (INCL)	ki- + mahkiθene+na	ki- + mahkiθene+na
2p	ki- + mahkiθen +wa	ki- + mahkiθen +wa
3p	ho- + mahkiθen +wa	ho- + mahkiθen +wa
LOCATIVE	mahkiθen+eki	[unattested]
DIMINUTIVE	mahkiθen+ehi	mahkiθen+eeθ+a

-hahpaši- 'stick'

(+ /em/ POSSESSED)

Possessor	Singular Noun	Plural Noun
1s	ni- + tahpaši+m+i	ni- + tahpaši+m+a
2s	ki- + tahpaši+m+i	ki- + tahpaši+m+a
3s	ho- + tahpaši+m+i	ho- + tahpaši+m+a
1p (EXCL)	ni- + tahpaši+m-e+na	ni- + tahpaši+m-e+na
2+1 (INCL)	ki- + tahpaši+m-e+na	ki- + tahpaši+m-e+na
2p	ki- + tahpaši+m- +wa	ki- + tahpaši+m- +wa
3p	ho- + tahpaši+m- +wa	ho- + tahpaši+m- +wa
LOCATIVE	hahpaši+iki	[unattested]
DIMINUTIVE	hahpaši+hi	hahpaš+eeθ+a

5.1.1.5. Vocative

In Plains Cree, nouns that take the vocative suffix are mostly kinship terms, although vocative is used with a few nouns of intimate possession (Wolfart 1973:32).⁴

According to Parks (1975:138) and Voegelin (1936:397), only Shawnee kinship terms can take the vocative suffix. Furthermore, kinship terms are dependent (i.e., they are obligatorily possessed and must have a person prefix), although the possessed /em/ suffix cannot cooccur with it.⁵

(5) ni-kwi'-θa -ehi 'oh my son'
1 -son -PERSON-VOC.SG (Chrisley 1992:16)
(> nikwi'θehi)

(6) ni-o' -θa -eti 'oh my fathers'
1 -father-PERSON-VOC.PL (Chrisley 1992:16)
(> no'θeti)

5.1.1.6. Locative

In Plains Cree, the locative affix -ihk can be used with grammatically inanimate nouns (or grammatically animate nouns that are semantically inanimate). Nouns marked with locative do not mark plural or obviative (Dahlstrom 1991:12).

Parks (1975:138) claims that Shawnee -eki ~ -iki 'in' can be used with either gender. He cites ka:koki 'on the groundhog' as a grammatically animate noun that takes the locative affix.⁶ There are no examples of -eki ~ -iki cooccurring with plural or obviative affixes in Parks 1975,

Voegelin 1936, or "Autobiography". This locative affix cliticizes onto the preceding noun, and thus it appears to be a case ending.

- (7) tekwhwikan-eki
box -in
'in a box' (T3)
- (8) mši-wikiwaap-eki
big-house -in
'in a big house' (T3)
- (9) tθene melo'kami-eki (> melo'kameki)
every spring -in
'every spring' (T7)
- (10) he'ši melo'kami-eki (> melo'kameki)
'when it was (in) spring' (T9)
- (11) hoteewen-eki
town -in
'in the town' (T8)
- (12) šaapone-eki
window -in
'by the window' (T3a)
- (13) ha'ko'kwa-eki (> ha'ko'koki)
pot -in
'in a pot' (T3a)

Section 4.5. Postpositions identifies a number of other locatives in "Autobiography", realized mostly as postpositions, including naamin-ooči 'from Norman' (T1) and heta'koθaki wayeeči 'toward the east' (T5). Further investigation is likely to identify more locative postpositions.

5.1.1.7. Gender, Number, and Obviation

Parks (1975:136)⁷ summarizes the Shawnee affixes for

animacy, obviation, and plurality in the following chart:

		<u>Animate</u>	<u>Inanimate</u>
Proximate	Singular	-a	-i
	Plural	-aki	-ali (-a)
Obviative	Singular	-ali	
	Plural	-hi	

Animate

(14) /mkw-/ 'bear' (Parks 1975:137)

(15) /hokima:-/ 'chief' (Parks 1975:137)

(14) works out quite well in Parks's framework: mkwa, mkwaki, mkwali, mkwhi. (15) presents a problem in vowel length alternation: hokima: + -a, etc.---> hokima, hokima:ki, hokima:li, hokimahi. The underlying long vowel in hokima: (to which is added the -a of animate proximate singular nouns) nevertheless results in hokima, presumably through the iterative application of vowel length shortening at word end discussed in Chapter 2. However, there is no apparent reason for the inconsistent treatment of vowel length in hokima: + -aki, -ali ---> hokima:ki, hokima:li and hokima: + -hi ---> hokimahi. Parks (1975:154) must adjust the vowel length by phonological rule preceding certain morphological endings.

Inanimate

(16) /miye:w-/ 'road' (Parks 1975:137)

(17) /hote:wen-/ 'town' (Parks 1975:137)

(18) /-'ski:sekw-/ 'eye' (Parks 1975:137)

(19) /msiskya-/ 'leaf' (Parks 1975:138)

/miye:w + ali/ yields a regular miye:wali 'roads'. However, the -a PL variant is required in two cases. The first is phonological: "inanimate stems which end with an n, a consonant plus w, or the sequence ya ... " (Parks 1975:137; punctuation as in the original). To adhere to a maximally uniform underlying representation for inanimate plurals, Parks first derives an -ali plural (e.g., /hote:wen + ali/ ---> hote:wena 'towns'). /-li/ is simply dropped for the output form. The dependent stem /-ski:sekw- + -ali/ yields ski:seko.⁸ Chapter 2 Phonology demonstrates that a /Cw-a-C/ sequence usually results in /CoC/ (although there are exceptions). The /Cw-/ and /Co#/ alternation may have arisen as a result of a final consonant (say, /-li/) that itself was subsequently lost (as Parks assumes), although direct evidence is lacking.

According to Parks (1975:138), the second case that leads to the selection of the -a PL variant is "syntactically conditioned" by the diminutive affix and possessed stems: the diminutive affix -e:θ- (/tika:n + e:θ + ali/ ---> /tika:ne:θali/ ---> tika:neθa 'fields') and possessed themes (/ni + ola:kan + em + ali/ ---> /no:la:kanemali/ ---> no:la:kanema 'my dishes').

The /-ya-/ stem in msiskya- 'leaf' is hypothetical, never actually appearing on the surface. Parks creates

this abstraction to handle "an alternation between e: and \emptyset in final postconsonantal position ... in some dozen nouns" (1975:148).⁹

(20)	ho-skas-a	'nail (of animal)'	(148)
(21)	ho-skas-e:ki	'nails'	(149)
(22)	hane:p-i	'elm'	(148)
(23)	hane:pi-hi	'little elm'	(148)
(24)	hane:pi-y-e	'elms'	(149)
(25)	hane:pi-y-e:θ-a	'little elms'	(149)
(26)	hane:pi-y-eki	'on the elm'	(149)

Later, to continue to maintain a maximally uniform underlying representation, Parks (1975:141) derives the dependent noun -ola:kan- 'dish, plate' + -i Inanimate Singular ---> ho:la:ka '(his) dish, plate' (although other inanimate singular nouns end in /-ni/). To handle inanimate noun stems ending in a vowel, Parks (1975:146) must add a section for phonological [w] insertion (/ki:mi:we: + ali/ ---> ki:mi:we:wali 'gifts').¹⁰ Other phonological adjustments are presented later in the article (nasal deletion, nasal insertion, etc.).

In Parks's abstract approach, underlying forms are posited and manipulated in ad-hoc ways to result in the observed surface form. ho-skas-a ~ ho-skas-e:ki 'nail(s) (of animal)' appears to be an irregular animate noun (not inanimate). Likewise, hane:pi-y-e 'elms' is an irregular inanimate noun forming a plural in -e.¹¹ The other forms

in hane:pi- 'elm' are merely stem plus ending, once one accepts -hi as the inanimate singular diminutive affix not derived from -e:θ.

5.1.1.8. Number

By reanalyzing the list of plurals for animate nouns in Chrisley (1992:86), the following patterns are found:

Animate Noun Pluralization

- (i) Cv:# ---> Cv- + -aki
Cv# ---> C- + -aki, etc.

(27) hokima-a hokima-aki 'chief(s)'

(28) wiškilo'θ-a wiškilo'θ-aki 'bird(s)'

Removing the final vowel (i.e., the animacy marker) from the noun establishes the nominal stem. Parks's approach could be saved by positing hokima- as the stem created through the shortening of a long vowel at word end. Such an approach accounts for vowel length alternations without recourse to arbitrary phonological rules that shorten the vowel in the environment preceding certain morphological endings: hokima- + -ali (> hokima:li), hokima- + -aki (> hokima:ki), and hokima- + hi (> hokimahi).

- (ii) -n# ---> ∅ (sg.); -n-aki (pl.)

(29) hašika hašikan-aki 'bass (fish)'

(30) ho'kwaka ho'kwakan-aki 'pipe(s)'

Two animate forms cited by Chrisley lose final /-n#/ in the singular: hašika 'bass' in the singular, but hašikanaki in the plural. Likewise, ho'kwaka 'pipe' in the singular is ho'kwakanaki in the plural. Phonological Rule 3 (consonants are deleted at the end of a word) accounts for this variation in the singular.

(iii) Cw-# + -aki -----> Cwo+ki ~ Cwaki

(31) ha'ko'kw-	ha'ko'kooki	'pot(s)'
(32) wi'θakw-	wi'θakkooki	'bottle(s)' ¹²
(33) m'θoθw-	m'θoθooki	'cow(s)'
(34) hame'kw-	hame'kwaki	'beaver(s)'
(35) hanikw-	hanikwaki	'squirrel(s)'
	ni-[t]anikwa-m-a	'my squirrel'
	(> nitanikoma)	

The first three examples conform to Morphophonological Rule 4 (/Cw-a-C/ ---> /CoC/). However, hame'kwa 'beaver' (Chrisley 1992:30) and hanikwa 'squirrel' are unaffected, but ni-[t]anikwa-m-a 'my squirrel' (possessed form) becomes nitanikoma (Chrisley 1992:68) as expected.

(iv) we# -----> w-iiki

(36) škipwawe	škipwawiiki	'weed(s)'
škipwawi		

škipwawe (Chrisley 1992:86) may be an error in recording. Elsewhere the singular is written škipwawi (Chrisley 1992:76). This noun has an inanimate singular in /-i/, but it appears to have an animate plural in /-aki/.¹³

(v) ča# -----> č-eeki
 ya# -----> y-eeki
 wa# -----> w-eeki

(37) ni-leč-a ni-leč-eeki 'my hand(s)'
 (38) ha'θay-a ha'θay-eeki 'skin(s)'
 (39) m'šew-a m'šew-eeki 'horse(s)'

ni-leč-i, an inanimate noun meaning 'my finger', forms a regular inanimate plural in ni-leč-ali (Chrisley 1992:43).

(vi) -wa# ---> Ø-ki

A small number of words ending in /-wa/ lose it before forming a plural: hikwee-wa 'woman', hikwee-Ø-ki 'women'. Chrisley (1992:86) claims that hileni 'man' was originally hileniwa in the singular, but /-wa/ was lost. Likewise, hokimaawa 'chief' was reshaped as hokima.

Inanimate Noun Pluralization

The principal suffix to form a plural for an inanimate noun is /-ali/. Again by reworking the lists in Chrisley

(1992:87-88), the following rules can be generated:

(vii) C-# + ali

(40)	niipiči	niipit-ali	'tooth, teeth'
(41)	m'tekwa	m'tekwaap-ali	'gun(s)' (< <u>m'tekwa</u> 'stick')
(42)	wiikiwa	wiikiwaap-ali	'house(s)'
(43)	taami	taamin-ali	'corn(s)'
		taamiw-ali	
(44)	θiipowe'θ-i	θiipowe'θ-ali	'creeks'
(45)	maaneθ-i	maaneθ-ali	'knives'
(46)	howaaw-i	howaaw-ali	'eggs'
(47)	miyeew-i	miyeew-ali	'roads'
(48)	ho-kan-i	ho'kan-ali	'his bones'

Inanimate nouns ending in a consonant add /-ali/ to the stem. niipiči (< niipit-i) 'tooth' and niipit-ali 'teeth' illustrate a consonant alternation that was discussed in Section 2.4. Consonant Alternations. Other singulars like m'tekwaap- 'gun' and wiikiwaap- 'house' illustrate two earlier phonological rules (delete word final consonant and shorten word final long vowel). The underlyingly long vowels and the final consonant are present in the plural when another suffix follows. taami- 'corn' forms two plurals by Rule 1 above, depending on the consonant that is considered to end the singular stem.¹⁴

Some inanimate nouns that appear to end in a vowel in

the singular often have plurals in /V(:)wali/. It is likely that these nouns end in /-w#/ , which is lost at the end of the word. Then, the long vowels preceding /-w#/ are shortened after the final consonant is deleted.

(49) mateta(w)	matetawali	'legging(s)'
(50) hotoni(w)	hotoniwali	'his mouth(s)'
(51) ̩iipi(iw)	̩iippiwali	'river(s)'
(52) wiyaw̩i(iw)	wiyaw̩iwali	'meat(s)'
(54) hapikamite(ew)	hapikamiteewali	'soup(s)'
(54) holakeeši(w)	holakeešiwali ¹⁵	'boat(s),
	~ holakeelali	canoe(s)'

By Rule 4 of the Morphophonology, the pattern /Cw-a-C/ results in /CoC/. Variants of this rule operate in inanimate noun pluralization in (viii), (ix), and (x).

(viii) Cwi# + ali -----> Cooli

(55) halwi halooli 'bullet'

(ix) kwi(w)# + ali -----> kow-ali

(56) waapikwi(w) waapikowali 'pumpkin(s)'

(57) waašaalakwi(w) waašaalakowali 'hole(s)'

(58) pekwi(w) pekowali 'ash(es)'

Although diachronic evidence is again lacking, this group of inanimate nouns probably ends in /-w#/ in the singular. The addition of the plural affix -ali provides

the phonological environment for the change of the first /CwV-/ sequence to /Cwo-/ (/waapikwiw- + -ali/ ---> /waapikow-ali/).

(x) kwi# (sg) -----> ko# (irregular pl)

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| (59) | n'škišekwi | n'škišeko | 'my eye(s)' |
| (60) | m'tekwi | m'teko | 'tree(s)' |
| (61) | hote'kwi | hote'ko | 'log(s)' |
| (62) | m'kopelekwi | m'kopeleko | 'metal(s)' |

This small group of inanimate nouns forms an irregular plural (/kwi#/ ---> /ko#/). The morphological environment triggering this pluralization pattern has been lost.

(xi) n# ---> ∅ (sg); n + a -----> na (pl)¹⁶

- | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------|-------------------------|
| (63) | hotewe | hotewen-a | 'town(s)' |
| (64) | ma'kiθe | ma'kiθen-a | 'shoe(s)' ¹⁷ |
| (65) | wakahowe | wakahowen-a | 'fort(s)' |

Inanimate nouns ending in /-n#/ in the singular lose it by phonological reduction (c.f., hoteewe 'town' vs. hoteewen-iki 'in the town') (T1). The underlying consonant reappears with the addition of the -a PL marker.

(xii) n-i (sg) ---> n-a (pl)

- | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|----------|
| (66) | pakani | pakana | 'nut(s)' |
|------|--------|--------|----------|

An isolated plural type is found in pakani ~ pakana.

5.2. Pronoun Inflection

5.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Although pronominal affixes are typically attached to the verb stem to indicate subject and object, independent words can also be used (Pearson 1991:10), mostly for emphasis.

- (67) ... wiila ho-wiiši-ta ni-me'šoom -θa
he 3 -head -TI 1 -grandfather-PERSON
'My grandfather was the one in charge (of it)'
(the Shawnee community) (T9).

Another pronominal set indicates reflexivization ('I myself').¹⁸ Chrisley (1992:24) provides the forms for the first, second, and third person singular, but the full paradigm is not presented.¹⁹ The Shawnee stem for the independent pronouns is -i:la- and -i:ya- for reflexives.

TABLE 5

SHAWNEE PRONOUNS

	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Reflexive</u>
1	niila	niiya
2	kiila	kiiya
3	wiila	wiiya
1p (EXCL)	niilape	[unattested]
2+1 (INCL)	kiilape	[unattested]
2p	kiilawaw	[unattested]
3p	wiilawaw	[unattested]

5.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns²⁰

		<u>Animate</u>	<u>Inanimate</u>
Proximate	Singular	yaama	yooma
	Plural	yo'koma	yo'loma
Obviative	Singular	[unattested]	
	Plural	[unattested]	

(Chrisley 1992:26)

		<u>Animate</u>	<u>Inanimate</u>
Proximate	Singular	hina	hini
	Plural	ni'ki	nili
Obviative	Singular	nili	
	Plural	nihi	

(Chrisley 1992:26, Boling 1981:5)

yaama 'this' in (68) and (69) refers to someone in front of the speaker. In fact, the repetition of yaama in (68) emphasizes the location of the referent in the immediate presence of the speaker. (71) is a plural demonstrative, although its referent two sentences earlier is singular pθiiwen-i-hi 'the little handkerchief'.

(68) yaama kookwe -nee -θa -yaama
 this strange-appearing-PERSON-this
 'this stranger (the one right in front of me)'
 (T3a)

(69) mata yaama ha' -pa-škoolii-wi
 not this TIME-go-school -AI

 ni-oošθe' -θa
 I -grandchild-PERSON
 'This grandchild of mine does not go to school.'
 (T3a)

- (70) yooma nyeew-ene
 these four -TIME.PERIOD
 'these four times' (T6)
- (71) ni-e' -pootaa-ta yooma
 1 -FUT-blow -TI these
 'I will blow on this.' (T6a)

hina functions as a demonstrative 'that'²¹ in hina ni-ši'-θa 'that 1-uncle-PERSON' 'my uncle' (T3a), as a place adverb in hin-ooči 'from there' (lit., 'from that') (T3a), and as a third-person singular pronoun in the following examples from "Autobiography":

- (72) hina ha'θepati ni-[t]e -ši -naa -pe
 3 raccoon 1 -call-thus-IN.OBJ-1p
 'We called him (the Indian agent) raccoon.' (T3a)
- (73) we ha'θepati ši -θo hina
 now raccoon name-PASSIVE 3
 'Then he (the Indian agent) was named raccoon.'
 (T3a)²²
- (74) howe-ši taakteli hina
 good-AI doctor 3
 'He was a good doctor.' (T6a)

hini fulfills the same functions for inanimate nouns. As a demonstrative modifier, hini is found in hini kaaθwi 'that coffee' (T3a). Locational and third-person singular pronominal uses are found in (75) and (76) below. In (75) hini refers to ta'-mawaškaa-ki 'council place', an inanimate deverbal noun found several sentences earlier.

- (75) na'θaapi ni-[t]aay-a hini
 even 1 -REDUP-go that
 'I would even go there' (T9)
- (76) ... hini h -i -ši -či howe
 that [h]-say-thus-3 now

'(when) he said that (to me)' (T6)

ni'ki 'those' is used only as a demonstrative in ni'ki hilenii-ki 'those man-PL' (T9 and T10) and ni'ki škoolii-θa-ki 'those school-PERSON-PL' 'those students' (T11).

nili is ambiguous between a meaning of animate obviative singular in nili heečini-li 'that Indian agent' (T3a) and inanimate plural in nili ho-piitenikan-a 'those 3-clothing-PL' 'his clothing' (T6a).

One use of nih is found in "Autobiography":

(77) nih mee -m'šeele -li -či
those REDUP-assemble-3sOBV-3SUB
'those assembled' (T10).

5.2.3. Indefinite Pronouns

<u>Animate</u>	<u>Inanimate</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kotaka	kotaki	'the other'
wiyeeθa	wiyehi	'someone, something'
matawiyeeθa	matawiyehi	'no one, nothing'
		(Chrisley 1992:26)
nana	[unattested]	'one, person' (T3a)

kotaka ~ kotaki²³ 'the other' is not found in "Autobiography". nana 'one, person' is found once, while the other indefinite pronouns are used frequently:

(78) hina nana ho-laapaačimo-ta-[w]aa-li ...
that one 3 -interpret -TI-DIR -3sOBV
'That one (my uncle) interpreted (for him) (my grandfather)' (T3a)

- (79) wiyee-θa ki-e' -nee-w -a ...
 thing-PERSON 2 -FUT-see-TA-DIR
 'you will see someone' (T6)
- (80) ki-e' -[w]ii-ta moole -wiyehi²⁴ ...
 2 -FUT-tell -TI future-thing(s)
 'I will tell you something' (T6)
- (81) mata-wiyee-θa ni-nee-w -a ne' -kiiškwe
 NEG -thing-PERSON 1 -see-TA-DIR entire-day
 'I did not see anyone all day.' (T6)
- (82) mata-wiyehi ni-[t]e-ya
 NEG -thing(s) 1 -say-1
 'I did not say anything.' (T6)
- (83) čaaki-wiyehi
 all -thing(s)
 'everything' (T8)

5.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

neθawe	'who' ²⁵
nehiwe	'what'
taniwe	'which, where'
taniwe wiyehi	'which thing'
taniwelaakwa	'when'
ke'θwi	'how many'

(Chrisley 1992:26)

In (84) the interrogative pronoun nikite 'what' does not correspond to the expected form, nehiwe 'what'. ((85)-(90) are from Pearson, field notes, with the informant's initials and date of collection.)

- (84) nikite ši -lawi ni-[t]e-ekw-a
 what MANNER-do 1 -say-INV-DIR
 'What is the matter with you?', (he) said to me.' (T6a)

- (85) neeθawe:-ki
 who -2
 'Who are you?' (HR, 1988)
- (86) naaθawe [næθawe] ha -pkale-n -am²⁶
 who QUESTION-fire -hand-?
 'Who started the fire?' (HR, 1988)
- (87) nehiwe men -waa
 what drink-3
 'What is he drinking?' (HR, 1988)
- (88) nawhi-[t]ee-yo
 what -say -2
 'What did you say?' (LW, 1992)
- (89) tani hee-wa
 where go -3
 'Where did he go?' (JB, 1988)
- (90) nawhi ki-pa-ha²⁷
 where 2 -go
 'Where are you going?' (LW, 1992)

Variability in pronunciation is apparent in these examples, even from the same speaker (85, 86). One speaker uses nawhi as both 'what' and 'where'.

Notes

1. Menomini has this indefinite person possessor affix, while Ojibwa has lost it (Bloomfield 1946:452). The status in Shawnee is unknown at this time.
2. The inanimate diminutive plural affix is -eeθ-, but the recorded vowels (-θ- ~ -e- ~ -ee-) in the other grammatical categories show considerable variation.
3. Wolfart (1973:28) provides examples of dependent forms with /-em/ in Plains Cree nito:te:m 'my kinsman' and nisi:m 'my younger sibling'. That formative is omitted in niste:s 'my older sibling'.
4. The facts surrounding the formation and the use of the vocative in Plains Cree are even more complicated. Some terms (of questionable kinship status) form vocatives: nikwe:me:s 'my friend, namesake' [apocope of ending], nito:te:m 'my fellow tribesman' and nito:kima:m 'oh my king' [vocative identical to proximate singular], and a:tayo:hkan 'spirit guardian' (Wolfart 1973:32).
5. Since the diminutive and prefix pluralizers are not attested with the Shawnee vocative, and since the vocative suffix is only attached to kinship nouns, the vocative suffix appears to be in suffix position 2, immediately after the stem (Pearson, personal notes). However, it is reasonable to believe that a form like 'oh our little mothers!' (in which prefix-stem-1-3-4 are filled, and 2 is obligatorily empty) could exist, although more research is needed to confirm this hypothesis.
6. Parks does not provide the gender affix for 'hedgehog', only its stem. In light of the restrictions on the use of the locative in Plains Cree, the uncertainty of Parks's data, and the lack of animate nouns used with the locative affix in "Autobiography", it remains an open issue whether animate nouns in Shawnee can take the locative.
7. Parks records /s/, not /š/, and /c/, not /č/. His forms are quoted as in the original.
8. Parks (1975:137) does not show a person prefix on this dependent stem.
9. This section omits Parks's abstract underlying forms and ordered rules. Morpheme breaks are partially mine. All examples are from Parks 1975. Page numbers are shown in parentheses.

10. Evidence provided in Chapter 2 Phonology and later in this chapter points to final /-w#/ as another final consonant that is deleted at word end (-C# ----> Ø). /p/ in wiikiwa ~ wiikiwaap-ali 'house(s)' is not a phonological insertion, and neither is /-w/ in ki:mi:we ~ ki:mi:we:w-ali 'gift(s)'.¹
11. Glide formation V(:)-y-V(:) was discussed in Chapter 2 Phonology, although here the glide is inserted in the absence of a preceding or following lengthened vowel.
12. Chrisley 1992 has a number of entries in his dictionary regarding wi'θak-akkwa 'bottle' (wi'θak- 'bitter', -akkwa 'container'), literally 'whiskey container' (32, 76). wi'θak-an-wi means 'it is bitter' (31) (-an- PERCEPTION, presented in Chapter 4). wi'θaki-nepi is 'whiskey' (76) (lit., 'bitter water'), while wi'θak-aapo is 'rum' (76) (lit., 'bitter-liquid').
13. /škipwawi(i) + aki/ ----> škipwawiiki 'weed(s)' results from the regular application of MP Rule 3 (V:-V ----> V:).
14. taamiw-ali 'corns' looks like a reanalysis of taami- (> taamiw-) by analogy to other noun stems in /-w#/.
15. Chrisley (1992:32) spells this form holakeešwaali.
16. This pluralization rule is identical to Pluralization Rule 2 for animate nouns, which also end in /-n#/ in the singular.
17. Note that Chrisley 1992 identifies ma'kiθen-a as 'shoes' rather than ma'kiθen-aki (Voegelin) or ma'kiθen-ali (Pearson) cited earlier in the chapter.
18. In Plains Cree, Wolfart (1973:38) calls reflexives the "affirmative" type.
19. It seems reasonable to believe that the remainder of the reflexive set replaces /-l-/ with /-y-/, but that supposition cannot be confirmed at this time. Note also that in Plains Cree the /-iya-/ forms make up the independent pronouns, not the reflexive set (which instead is formed by /-i:sta-/) (Wolfart 1973:38).
20. A demonstrative pronoun for 'that yonder' is expected, but not attested. Wolfart (1973:33) says concerning awa, ana, naha 'this, that, that yonder' in Plains Cree, "They seem to be ordered in such a way that awa is "nearest" to a point of reference and naha "farthest away" from it ... The relation among the demonstratives does not seem to correlate ... with proximity to speaker, addressee, or neither ... Informant responses indicate that awa refers to someone in

reach, ana to someone not in reach, and naha to someone quite far away. There is strong evidence that naha is almost always accompanied by pointing, both actually and figuratively".

21. Since Shawnee does not have a determiner, hina and hini serve that function as well.

22. The Indian agent offers grandmother a kaaθepati 'coffee pot', but she believes that he called her ha'θepati 'raccoon'. Voegelin translates these sentences to say that the Shawnee family calls the coffee pot "raccoon". Mrs. Bayliss says that the sentence means that the Indian agent is being called "raccoon". Grammatically, hina (animate singular) can only be referring to the agent, not to the inanimate kaaθepati. However, note the use of an inanimate object marker in (72). If Mrs. Bayliss's translation is correct, the inanimate object marker must refer to (inanimate?) ha'θepati 'raccoon' in the same sentence.

23. Plains Cree kotak 'another, a second one' forms a locative kotakihk 'in another place, elsewhere' (Wolfart 1973:37). The Shawnee equivalent is unattested.

24. Voegelin (1938-40:366-7) cites mool- as 'awareness of danger, of future happening': mool-eθi 'he is observant' (-eθi AI); mool-eθii-we 'alarm, news' (-we NOMINALIZER).

25. neθawe ~ neeθawe appears to be derived from nee- 'see' (as in kookwe-nee-θa 'strange-appearing-PERSON' 'stranger') and -θa- PERSON, ANIMATE BEING formative.

26. The morphology of mš̄i-pkałe-en-am(-wa) 'he built a big fire' was discussed in Chapter 4, footnote 44.

27. ki-pa (or perhaps ki-paa, although long vowels at word end are typically shortened) is expected.

CHAPTER 6
VERB INFLECTION

6.0. Introduction

Shawnee verbs are divided into classes depending on the gender of their subjects or objects (i.e., animate or inanimate) and their transitivity (i.e., transitive or intransitive). A four-way classification into Animate Intransitive (AI), Inanimate Intransitive (II), Transitive Animate (TA), and Transitive Inanimate (TI) results. Intransitive verbs use suffixes to indicate subjects. Transitive verbs derive different stems to signal whether the verb takes an animate object (TA) or inanimate one (TI). In addition to having different stems, some transitive paradigms may have an overt inflectional marker for the object, while in other paradigms the object is implied and object inflection is lacking. In the indicative, TA and TI verbs usually use prefixes to crossreference the subject, while overt object marking is realized by suffixes. In non-indicative moods, all verbs omit prefixes, and subject/object combinations are complex bundles of suffixes. The Algonquian verb is traditionally divided into Orders (essentially clause types, such as INDEPENDENT or DEPENDENT). Each Order may have several Modes

(approximately MOOD, such as INDICATIVE or SUBJUNCTIVE).¹

This chapter provides an overview of the Shawnee verb stem, Shawnee Orders and Modes, and an analysis of verb inflection. Paradigm tables, reworked from Voegelin 1936, are provided in reference. A table of inflectional suffixes by position, Order, and transitivity/gender type is also provided at the end of the chapter.

6.1. Shawnee Verb Stem Composition

The Shawnee verb has the following form:

Pre₁-Pre₂-Pre₃-Stem-_____1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6

Prefix 1: Person Affixes

Prefix 2: Tense, Concordant Negation, Aspect

Prefix 3: Directional Particles

Suffix 1: Primary Theme Markers

Suffix 2: Secondary Theme Markers OR II Patients

Suffix 3: Prefix Pluralizers

Suffix 4: Obviation

Suffix 5: Person Markers

Suffix 6: Animate Plural Affix

6.1.1. Verb Prefixes²

Person prefixes crossreference the syntactic subject (ni- 1s, ki- 2s, ho- 3s). However, verbal prefixes are optional for some persons in some paradigms, and obligatorily empty in others.

Immediately following the person prefix is a slot for tense or aspect: four different morphemes are available to mark future (-e'-, -ša-, -i'-).³ -halee- is a 'near future'.

- (1) ni-[t]alemi-wi'θeni
 1 -NEAR.FUT-eat
 'I am beginning to eat' (Chrisley 1992:20)
- (2) halee -pepekič-a
 NEAR.FUT-dark -3pII
 'It began to turn dark' (T6)

Aspect indicates repeated action over time (/Caa-/) or sequential action (/Cii-/). This reduplication takes its initial consonant from the Directional Particle in Prefix 3 (if it is filled), or from the initial consonant of the verb stem itself. The particle -te'-, a marker of time and place, and -ta'-, a concordant negative accompanying mata 'not', can also fall into the Prefix 2 slot (Boling 1981:13).⁴ Directional prefixes were discussed at length in Chapter 4.

6.1.2. Verb Suffixes

Suffix 1 and 2 are the two slots for direction. Since Inverse /-ekw-/₁ is followed by Direct /-aa-/₂, two slots must be provided. In the Transitive Animate Inverse (Animate < Animate), /-i(i)/₂ occupies the Suffix 2 position.⁵ In the Transitive Inanimate paradigm, /-na(a)-/₂ inanimate object marker falls into Suffix 2 position after the direction marker. The affixes of Inanimate Intransitive

verbs belong here also.

Suffix 3 pluralizes the person marked by the Person Prefix 1. (A few plural suffixes do not have prefixes.) In the Subordinate and Participial Orders (which lack prefixes), sometimes the Position 3 suffix pluralizes the person represented by the following suffix.

Suffix 4 is the position for obviation markers for TA Direct and AI Subordinate verbs.

Suffix 5 is the position for person markers in the Subordinate, Imperative, and Participial Orders.

Suffix 6 marks animate plurals in the AI, TA, TA Inverse Independent, TA Participial, and TA Inverse Participial paradigms.

Verb affixes are described more extensively in the next section.

6.1.2.1. Suffixes 1 and 2: Theme Markers

		<u>Suffix 1</u>	<u>Suffix 2</u>
II		∅	
AI		∅	
TI		-e	
TA	Direct	[empty]	-aa
	2 > 1	-i	
	1 > 2	-ele	
	Inverse (A < A)	-ekw	-ii
	Inverse (A < I)	-eko	
	Passive	-ooθo	

KEY:

2>1 and 1>2 are the Local ('you and me') Subparadigm.
A<A means Animate Actor is affecting Animate Patient.
A<I means Inanimate Actor is affecting Animate Patient.

Theme markers are not used in the II or the AI. Since theme markers refer to the direction of action between more than one participant, and only one participant is found in the Inanimate Intransitive, the II morphemes $/-i/_{/3}$ and $/-a/_{/3}$ are number markers, not direction markers. Likewise, in the AI, the single participant is the subject, so no directionality is involved.

In the Local subparadigm only one participant is overtly marked. The second participant is not marked morphologically.

$/-i(i)/_{/2}$ in the TA Inverse (A < A) links an animate third person singular subject with a number-indifferent animate third person object only (3 < 3s) or an animate third person plural subject with an animate third-person plural object only (3p < 3p).

The theme markers in the Independent indicative are used in other Orders as well. $/-a(a)-/_{/2}$ is used in the TA Subordinate Mode (for all persons other than 2+1 and 2p) and in the TA Participial (3 > 3 only), and in the TA Inverse Participial (A < A) (for all persons other than 2+1 and 2p). $/-i-/_{/1}$ 2 > 1 is used in all paradigms of the TA Imperative (but whose understood, unmarked object is either first person singular or number-indifferent third person).⁶

/-i-/₁ 2 > 1 is used in the TA Subordinate subparadigm (3 > 1), the TA Subordinate Local subparadigm (2 > 1), and the TA Participial Mode (3 > 1). /-ele-/₁ ~ /-el-/₁ ~ /-eh-/₁ ~ /-e-/₁ 1 > 2 is used in the TA Imperative (2p > 3)⁷, the TA Subordinate (3 > 2s, 2+1, 2p), the TA Subordinate Local (1 > 2), and the TA Participial (3 > 2s, 2+1, 2p). The original notion of /-i-/₁ > 1, /-ele-/₁ > 2, and /-aa-/₂ > 3 is largely maintained throughout.

/-ekw-/₁ ~ /-eko/₁ are used in all other Orders to indicate inverse directionality, except in the TA Inverse Participial, where it is not used.

6.1.2.2. Suffix 2: Direct Objects and Inanimate Intransitive (II) Patients

/-naa-/₂ marks an inanimate object in the Transitive Inanimate and Transitive Animate Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) paradigms. In the TI, objects are not marked systematically. If the subject is first or second person singular, /-naa-/₂ refers to a plural object. If the subject is second person plural or third person plural, the object marker is ambiguous as to number. For all other subject/object combinations, the object is not morphologically marked in the verb stem.

In the TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate), the inanimate plural participant may be optionally marked by /-naa-/₂.

For the Inanimate Intransitive paradigm, /-i/₂ marks a third person inanimate singular patient, and /-a/₂ marks a

third person inanimate plural patient.

6.1.2.3. Suffix 3: Prefix Pluralizers

In (3), the suffix in Position 3 pluralizes the person prefix.

- (3) ki-nee-m -e₁ -naa₂-wa₃
2 -see-TI-DIR-OBJ-2p
'you (pl) see it/them'

Prefix pluralizers are almost completely restricted to the Independent Order. In the Independent Order, only /-pi/₃ does not have a prefix. The subordinate/participial affixes /-ki/₃ and /-yame/₃ fall in Position 3, also without prefixes. (Most subordinate/participial affixes fall in Position 5, and they have no prefixes.)

TABLE 6

SUFFIX 3: PREFIX PLURALIZERS

	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Subordinate/Participial</u>
1p	-(e)na(a) ~ -(e)pe(n)	-ki ~ -yame
2+1	-(e)na(a) ~ -(e)pe(n)	[empty]
2p	-wa(a) ~ -pwa	-wa(a)
3p	-wa(a)	-wa(a)
3pINDEF	-pi	[nonexistent]

The chart above shows that affixes have multiple meanings. Closer investigation will reveal that overlapping person affixes either do not cooccur in the same paradigm

or, when they do, each marks a distinct subject/object/number combination.

/-(e)pe(n)/₃ pluralizes the first person (exclusive or inclusive) in the Independent Order in the AI, TI, TA Direct, TA Local, and TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate). The grammatical function of /-(e)pe(n)/₃ is subject, except in the TA Local (2 > 1p) where first person exclusive is the object, and in the TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) where first person (exclusive or inclusive) is the object.

/-(e)na(a)/₃ pluralizes the first person (exclusive or inclusive) elsewhere in the TA Inverse (Animate on Animate), where 1p and 2+1 are also the grammatical objects.

/-wa(a)/₃ pluralizes non-first persons (i.e., second and third persons) in the Independent Order (TI, TA Direct, and TA Inverse (Animate on Animate and Inanimate on Animate)), the Subordinate Order (AI, TI, TA, TA Inverse), and the Participial Order (TA and TA Inverse). The grammatical function is most often, but not exclusively, that of subject.

/-pwa/₃ pluralizes the second person only in the Independent Order (AI, TA Local, and TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate)).⁸ In the AI and the TA Local (2p > 1s), /-pwa/₃ is the subject. In the TA Local (1s > 2p) and TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate), it is the object.

/-pi/₃ marks third person indefinite plural in the AI and TA Inverse (Animate on Animate) in the Independent Order. It is always a subject.

/-ki-/₃ is a first person exclusive plural affix found in the TA Subordinate and TA Inverse Participial paradigms. In those paradigms, it is always the subject. It is used in conjunction with a number-indifferent third person object.

/-yame/₃ is a first person exclusive plural in the TA Subordinate and TA Participial paradigms. It always refers to an object.

6.1.2.4. Suffix 4: Obviation

/-li/₄ obviative singular ending is used in the AI, TA Direct, TA Inverse (Animate on Animate), AI Subordinate, and TI Subordinate paradigms. It refers to a grammatical subject, except in the TA Direct.

/-hi/₄ obviative plural ending does not exactly parallel its singular counterpart. It is used in the AI, TA Direct, and TA Inverse (Animate on Animate). It also refers to a subject, except in the TA Direct. However, it is not found in the Subordinate Order.

6.1.2.5. Suffix 5: Person Markers

Person markers in Position 5 are used exclusively in the Subordinate and Participial Orders, which lack prefixes entirely. Table 7 pertains to affixes in those Orders, while Table 8 refers to Suffix 5 markers in the Imperative Order.

TABLE 7

SUFFIX 5: SUBORDINATE AND PARTICIPIAL PERSON MARKERS⁹

	<u>Subordinate</u>	<u>Participial</u>
1s	-(y)a	[empty]
2s	-(y)ani	[empty]
3s	-ki ~ -či	-ka ~ -ta ~ -či
1p	-(y)aake ~ -(y)akwe	[empty]
2+1	-(y)akwe	-(y)akwe
2p	-(y)akwe ~ -(y)eekwe	-(y)akwe
3p	-kki ~ -či	-kki ~ -či

The affixes in the Subordinate column are used throughout the Subordinate Order (AI, TI, and TA).

/-(y)a/s and /-(y)ani/s are used to mark a subject in these paradigms. In the TA Subordinate, /-(y)a/s is used only if there is a 2s object. /-(y)ani/s is used only if there is a 1s object.

/-(y)aake/s marks a 1p subject in the AI and TI Subordinate paradigms. In the TA Subordinate, it is only used in relation to a number-indifferent second person. In this {1p,2} set, the theme sign indicates whether /-(y)aake/s is the subject or object.

/-(y)akwe/s and /-(y)eekwe/s have a complex, and partially overlapping, distribution. /-(y)akwe/s refers to a first person plural (exclusive or inclusive) in the Subordinate (AI, TI, and TA) and in the Participial (TA and TA Inverse). It refers to a second person plural in the TA

Subordinate and in the TA Participial. /-(y)eekwe/s also refers to second person plural in the Subordinate (AI, TI, TA, TA Local) and in the Participial (TA Inverse) paradigms. However, /-(y)akwe/s generally refers to a 1p, 2+1, or 2p object, while /-(y)eekwe/s always refers to a 2p subject.

Third person affixes in the Subordinate and the Participial Orders have the most complex distribution of all. /-ka/s, /-ki/s, and /-ta/s are all third person singulars, and they may be found in the same paradigms. However, each is used only in particular person/number combinations (e.g., in the TA Participial paradigm, /-ka/s pairs with second person singular, while /-ta/s pairs with number-indifferent first and third persons). /-či/s is a number-indifferent third person. /-kki/s is a third person plural marker used in the TA Subordinate, TA Participial, and TA Inverse Participial paradigms. In their overlapping paradigms, /-či/s is number-indifferent, while /-kki/s is plural.

The imperative markers for AI and TI themes (for all TI theme markers except those ending in /-a/) and TI themes (ending in /-a/) are as follows:

TABLE 8

SUFFIX 5: PERSON MARKERS IN THE IMPERATIVE ORDER

	<u>AI/TI [- /-a/]</u>	<u>TI [+ /-a/]</u>
2s	/-lo/s	/-no/s
2p	/-ko/s	/-moko/s

Two additional suffixes related to these imperative markers have been identified. /-ako/_s is used in the TA Local Subordinate as the 2p object marker of a 1s subject. It is obviously related to /-ko/_s, but /-ko/_s is a 2p subject affix in the Imperative Order. /-naake/_s is used as a 2p object marker in the TA Imperative (kkiš-i-naake 'hide us!', with a number-indifferent second person subject). It too is obviously related morphologically to /-(y)aake/_s, 1p subject in the AI and TI Subordinate Modes. It is unknown why subject affixes from the Subordinate Order are used to mark objects in the Imperative Order.

6.1.2.6. Suffix 6: Animate Plural Affix

/-(i)ki/₆ is a third person animate plural marker found in the Independent Order (AI, TA Direct, TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)) and in the Participial Order (TA and TA Inverse). It marks a subject, except in the TA Direct Independent and the TA Inverse Participial.

6.2. Verb Orders and Modes

Bloomfield (1946:453-9) describes the Orders and Modes of the Algonquian language family. The Independent Order makes statements of fact in the Indicative Mode. Otherwise, the various languages differ significantly as to the other Modes in the Independent Order. Preterit, negative, emphatic preterit, dubitative ('probably'), interrogative, and emphatic present are attested. The Imperative Order

involves a second person actor only and has only one Mode. The Prohibitive Order involves second persons only in two Modes, and a full set of inflected forms are available in the third Mode. This Order is used for negative commands, statements of undesired occurrence, and hypothetical occurrence. The Conjunct Order is used in subordinate clauses and in participles. It has an Indicative Mode for ordinary subordinate clauses, while a Changed Mode (signalled by initial change) is used in when-clauses of single past occurrence and in relative clauses involving non-subordinate statements of hearsay. An Interrogative Order is used in subordinate clauses of question or probability.

Shawnee has the Independent, the Imperative, the Subordinate (= Conjunct), and the Participial Orders (Voegelin 1936). The Independent and the Imperative Orders are used in independent clauses. The Imperative Order involves an understood second person affecting first or third persons. The evidence in "Autobiography" is inconclusive whether Shawnee has a special Prohibitive Order to mark negative (including delayed) commands:¹⁰

- (4) teki ki-e' -memekw-i
 NEG 2 -FUT-run -IMPER
 'You mustn't run' (T6)
- (5) teki kooš -i -ma
 NEG run.from-IMPER-AO
 'You mustn't run away from him' (T6)

- (6) teke wi'θen-i kola'-waapaki
 NEG eat -IMPER early-morning
 'You mustn't eat early in the morning' (T6)

The Subordinate Order is used in dependent clauses, particularly when-clauses. Shawnee has initial change that marks a Changed Conjunct in other Algonquian languages.¹¹ Shawnee does not have an Interrogative Order. Voegelin's Participial Order is made up of deverbal nominalizations, and it is not mentioned by other Algonquianists as a verbal Order.

Compared to Bloomfield's description of Algonquian, Shawnee verb paradigms lack the same range of forms and uses. In particular, multiple Modes are not found within the same Order.

6.2.1. Independent Mode

6.2.1.1. Inanimate Intransitive (II)

- | | | | |
|----|-------|-----------|------------------|
| 3s | /-i/₂ | škwaaw-i | 'it is red' |
| 3p | /-a/₂ | kinwaaw-a | 'those are long' |
- (Voegelin 1936:400)

The third singular Inanimate Intransitive suffix matches the /-i/ of inanimate singular nouns, while the third plural suffix matches the /-a/ of inanimate plural nouns (Voegelin 1936:394).

6.2.1.2. Animate Intransitive (AI)

-hkawehšee- 'to listen'¹²

1s	ni-	ni-tkawehše
2s	ki-	ki-tkawehše
3s	∅-	∅ -hkawehše
3sOBV	∅-li ₄	∅ -tkawehšee-li ₄
1p	ni...pe ₃	ni-tkawehšee-pe ₃
2+1	ki...pe ₃	ki-tkawehšee-pe ₃
2p	ki...pwa ₃	ki-tkawehšee-pwa ₃
3p	∅...ki ₆	∅ -tkawehšee-ki ₆
3pOBV	∅...hi ₄	∅ -tkawehše -hi ₄
INDEF	∅...pi ₃	∅ -tkawehšee-pi ₃

(Voegelin 1936:396, Paradigm C)

There are no third person prefixes in this paradigm. Person pluralizers are first person (exclusive or inclusive) /-pe/₃, second person /-pwa/₃, third person /-ki/₆, and third-person indefinite plural /-pi/₃. /-li/₄ or /-hi/₄ marks an obviative singular or plural subject, respectively.

6.2.1.3. Transitive Inanimate (TI)

-nee-m- > 'to see [+INANIMATE OBJECT]'

	3sOBJECT	3pOBJECT
1s	ni...e ₁	ni...e ₁ -na ₂
2s	ki...e ₁	ki...e ₁ -na ₂
3s	(ho).e ₁	[SG = PL]
1p	ni...e ₁ -pe ₃	[SG = PL]

2+1	ki...e ₁ -pe ₃	[SG = PL]
2p	ki...e ₁ --naa ₂ -wa ₃	[SG = PL]
3p	∅....e ₁ -naa ₂ -wa ₃	[SG = PL]

(Pearson 1991:12; Voegelin 1936:396, Paradigm B)

Person prefixes are optional for third person singular and obligatorily empty for third person plural. When the subject is 1s or 2s, /-naa/₂ marks a plural object. When the subject is 2p or 3p, /-naa/₂ is either a singular or plural object. Overt object marking is not found elsewhere.

Person pluralizers are first person (inclusive or exclusive) /-pe/₃, and second and third person /-wa(a)/₃.

6.2.1.4. TA Direct

Some Algonquian languages have an overt inflectional marker for the object. (7) Plains Cree can be contrasted to (8) Shawnee.

(7) ni-wa:p-am-a: -w
 1 -see -TA-DIR-3s
 'I see him' (Wolfart 1973:51)

(8) ni-waap-am-a
 1 -see -TA-DIR
 'I looked (at him)' (T3a, T6a)

For both languages, -wa:p- is the root for 'see', while -am- is the derivational affix that creates a TA stem (> TA wa:pam-). In both languages, the first inflectional affix signals direction of action. However, Plains Cree TA retains an overt inflectional marker for the object that has

been lost in Shawnee.

These examples are used for two reasons. First, they demonstrate conclusively that /-a(a)-/₂ in Shawnee is a direction marker, not an object marker. Second, they motivate the notion of implied objects that are not morphologically marked in certain Shawnee paradigms. An example of implied vs. overt object markers is found in the TA Direct Paradigm. When the object is singular, no object marker is used. When the object is plural, an overt marker /-ki/₆ is used. Pearson (unpublished notes) adds this /-ki/₆ object marker when the subject is first person plural (exclusive or inclusive). Voegelin 1936 omits it.

	-kkil- 'to hide [+ANIMATE OBJECT]'	
	-neew- 'to see [+ANIMATE OBJECT]'	
	3s OBJECT	3p OBJECT
1s	ni...a₂	ni...aa₂-ki₆
2s	ki...a₂	ki...aa₂-ki₆
3s > OBV	ho...aa₂-li₄	ho... a₂-hi₄
1p	ni...aa₂-pe₃	ni...aa₂-pe(n₃-iki₆)
2+1	ki...aa₂-pe₃	ki...aa₂-pe(n₃-iki₆)
2p	ki...aa₂-wa₃	ki...aa₂-waa₃ - ki₆
3p > OBV	ho...aa₂-waa₃-li₄	ho...aa₂-wa₃ - hi₄
	(Voegelin 1936:396, Paradigm A)	

6.2.1.4.1. TA Local

A special set of inflectional affixes is used for

second and first person interactions. 2 > 1 and 1 > 2 together are referred to as the Local subparadigm. The marker of 2 > 1 is /-i/, a second person acting on a first person. The consensus among Algonquianists is that this morpheme marks direction, not the object itself, which is left unmarked (Bloomfield 1946:455, Wolfart 1973:55, Goddard 1967:67).

Goddard (1967:67) and Bloomfield (1946:455) cite */-eθe(ne)/ or -eθene (respectively) as the Algonquian 1 > 2 theme sign, although Wolfart (1973:55) calls the apparent Plains Cree cognate /et/ ~ /eti/ an "inverse" marker. The Shawnee 1 > 2 theme marker is /-ele/.

-kkil- 'to hide, conceal'

2 > 1

	1s	1p
2s	ki...i ₁	ki...i ₁ -pe ₃
2p	ki...i ₁ -pwa ₃	ki...i ₁ -pe ₃

1 > 2¹³

	2s	2p
1s	ki...ele ₁	ki...ele ₁ -pwa ₃
1p	ki...ele ₁ -pe ₃	ki...ele ₁ -pe ₃

Phonological Adjustment: 1 ---> š/___i¹⁴

(Voegelin 1936:399, Paradigm G)

As in the AI, person pluralizers are /-pe/₃ for first

person exclusive and /-pwa/₃ for second person. 'You (singular or plural) hide us' and 'We hide you (singular or plural)' are identical, except for the theme sign (/ki ... i-pe/ vs. /ki ... ele-pe/). Thus, /-pe/ pluralizes first person, and the number of the second person actor is neutralized.¹⁵ Likewise, 'you (plural) hide me' and 'I hide you (plural)' are identical, except for the theme sign (/ki ... i-pwa/ and /ki ... ele-pwa/).

6.2.1.4.2. TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)

-kkil- 'to hide animate object'

	3s		3p	
1s<3s	ni...ekw ₁ -a ₂	1s<3p	ni...ekw ₁ -ki ₆	
2s<3s	ki...ekw ₁ -a ₂	2s<3p	ki...ekw ₁ -ki ₆	
3<3s	ho...ekw ₁ -i ₂	3s<3p	ho...ekw ₁ -ii ₂	-ki ₆
3s<3sOBV	ho...ekw ₁ -li ₄	3s<3pOBV	ho...ekw ₁	-hi ₄
1p<3s	ni...ekw ₁ -na ₃	1p<3p	ni...ekw ₁ -naa ₃	-ki ₆
2+1<3s	ki...ekw ₁ -na ₃	2+1<3p	ki...ekw ₁ -naa ₃	-ki ₆
2p<3s	ki...ekw ₁ -wa ₃	2p<3p	ki...ekw ₁ -waa ₃	-ki ₆
3p<3sOBV	ho...ekw ₁ -waa ₃ -li ₄	3p<3pOBV	ho...ekw ₁ -wa ₃	-hi ₄

INDEF

1s	ni...ekw ₁ -pi ₃
2s	ki...ekw ₁ -pi ₃

Morphosyntactic and Phonological Adjustments:

w ---> oo/___ {3p, INDEFINITE, 3sOBVIATIVE}

w ---> o/___ C (elsewhere)

(Voegelin 1936:399, Paradigm F)

The TA Direct has no singular object marker. TA Inverse is its mirror image: there is no overt singular subject marker. /-na(a)/₃ pluralizes the first person (exclusive and inclusive) prefix. /-wa(a)/₃ pluralizes the second person and third person prefixes. /-ki/₆ pluralizes the third person. /-i(i)/₂ in third person non-obviative appears only in this paradigm and needs further examination.

6.2.1.4.3. TA Inverse (Inanimate Actor on Animate)

	3s		3p
1s	ni...eko ₁	1p	ni...eko ₁ -pe ₃
		2+1	ki...eko ₁ -pe ₃
2s	ki...eko ₁	2p	ki...eko ₁ -pwa ₃
3s	ho...eko ₁	3p	ho...eko ₁

(Voegelin 1936:399, Paradigm F)

TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) theme marker /-eko/₁ is an allomorph of the /-ekw/₁ inverse marker. The number of the third person animate actor is neutralized. The usual practice is not to mark the inanimate participant at all.

Two alternative forms are cited in which the plural inanimate subject is marked by /-naa-/₂, and the plural

second or third person animate object is marked by /-wa/₃
(not 2p /-pwa/₃):

	3p
2p	ki...eko ₁ -naa ₂ -wā ₃
3p	ho...eko ₁ -naa ₂ -wa ₃

6.2.1.4.4. Passive

A passive morpheme /-ooθo/ is used to suppress the agent argument and advance the logical object to grammatical subject.¹⁶

- (9) ni-m'kaw-a
1 -find -DIR
'I found (him)' (Voegelin 1935:26)
- (10) mkaw-ooθo
find-PASS
'(he) is found' (Voegelin 1935:26)
- (11) ni-takškaw-a (-šk- 'by action of foot')
1 -kick -DIR
'I kicked (him)' (Voegelin 1935:30)
- (12) takšk-ooθo
kick -PASS
'(he) is kicked' (Voegelin 1935:29)

/-ooθi/ is used with first and second singular subjects:

- (13) (he')-maači -l -ooθi-ya¹⁷
TIME -small.bodied-DIR-PASS-1sSUB
'(when) I was born; (when) I was little' (T1, T2, T7)
- (14) hooθaami ki-maači -l -ooθi
too.much 2 -small.bodied-DIR-PASS
'You are too little' (to dance) (T7)

6.2.2. Imperative Order

The Imperative Order has subparadigms for AI/TI Imperative, TA Direct, and TA Local. The object and its number are implied, except in the instance of 2p > 1p where an overt plural object marker appears. The following table shows the imperative marker (= theme marker?) and the second person subject affixes for the three types.

	<u>AI/TI</u>	<u>TA Direct</u>	<u>TA Local</u>
2s	∅-lo ~ ∅-no	i -∅	i-lo
2p	∅-ko ~ ∅-moko	eh-ko	i-ko
			i-naake (2p > 1p)

The 2s imperative marker is /-lo/_s, except for TI stems ending in /-a/, where /-no/_s is used instead. The singular subject itself is unmarked in the 2s TA Direct. The 2p imperative marker is /-ko/_s, except for TI stems ending in /-a/, where /-moko/_s is used. The only remaining difference among the three kinds is their imperative/theme marker. Verbs having an animate object have an /-i/ marker that corresponds to the /-i/ of the TA Local 2 > 1 Independent Order. Verbs having no object (or an inanimate one) lack an imperative/theme marker. (If /-eh-/₁ above is diachronically related to /-ele/₁ in the TA Local 1 > 2, its meaning no longer is.)

6.2.2.1. AI or TI Imperative

2s	kkitoo-lo ₅	'hide it, them!'
2p	kkitoo-ko ₅	'hide it, them!'
2s	mkaweeleta-no ₅	'remember it, them!'
2p	mkaweeleta-moko ₅	'remember it, them!'

(Voegelin 1936:399, Paradigmas Ha and Hb)

6.2.2.2. TA Imperative

2s	kkil-i ₁	'hide him, them!'
2p	kkil-eh ₁ -ko ₅	'hide him, them!'

6.2.2.3. TA Local Imperative

2s > 1s		
2s	kkil-i ₁ -lo ₅	'hide me!'
2p	kkil-i ₁ -ko ₅	'hide me!'

2 > 1p		
2	kkil-i ₁ -naake ₅	'hide us!'

(Voegelin 1936:399, Paradigm G)

6.2.3. Subordinate Mode

6.2.3.1. AI or TI Theme Subordinate Mode

AI Theme		TI Theme
ye'-penhš <i>i</i> (n)-		ke-kkitoo-
'to fall off'		'what PERSON AFFIX concealed' ¹⁸
1s	-a ₅	-a ₅
2s	-ani ₅	-ani ₅
3s	-ki ₅	-č <i>i</i> ₅
3OBV	-li ₄ -č <i>i</i> ₅	-li ₄ -č <i>i</i> ₅
1p	-aake ₅	-aake ₅
2+1	-akwe ₅	-akwe ₅
2p	-eekwe ₅	-eekwe ₅
3p	-waa ₃ -č <i>i</i> ₅	-waa ₃ -č <i>i</i> ₅

Phonological Adjustments: n# ---> ø/___C

ø ---> y/V-___-V

(Voegelin 1936:400-1, Paradigm K)

Subjects are marked by suffixes. Except for the phonological adjustments noted immediately above, the two types are identical, except in the third person singular. /-ki/₅ marks 3sAI Subordinate, and /-č*i*/₅ marks third person (here singular). Third singular obviative /-lič*i*/ consists of /-li-/₄, the usual obviative singular morpheme, followed by /-č*i*/₅. /-waa-/₃ pluralizes the third person subject marked by /-č*i*/₅.

6.2.3.2. TA Subordinate Mode

ye-kkil- 'when PERSON hides animate object(s)'

	3s OBJ	3p OBJ
1s	-a ₂ -ki ₅	-a ₂ -kki ₅
2s	-a ₂ -či ₅	[SG = PL]
3s	-aa ₂ -či ₅	[SG = PL]
1p	-a ₂ -ki ₃ -či ₅	[SG = PL]
2+1	-akwe ₅	[SG = PL]
2p	-eekwe ₅	[SG = PL]
3p	-aa ₂ -waa ₃ -či ₅	[SG = PL]

(Voegelin 1936:401, Paradigm L)

The TA theme marker /-aa-/₂ ~ /-a-/₂ is used in this Subordinate paradigm (Voegelin 1936:401; Pearson, unpublished notes). Subject and object patterns are very complicated. In brief, singular subjects are left unmarked, plural subjects are marked, and objects are marked (except for 2+1, 2p, and 3p subjects).

	<u>Subject Marker</u>	<u>Object Marker</u>
1s	∅	-ki [+SG], -kki [+PL]
2s	∅	-či
3s	∅	-či
1p	-ki	-či
2+1	-akwe	∅
2p	-eekwe	∅
3p	-waa-či	∅

ye-kkil- 'when he, they hide(s) you or me'

First and Second Persons as Object

	SG OBJ		PL OBJ
3s > 1s	-i ₁ -či _s	3 > 1p	-i ₁ -yame ₃ -či _s
3 > 2s	-eh ₁ -ki _s	3 > 2+1	-el ₁ -akwe _s
		3 > 2p	-el ₁ -wa ₃ -akwe _s

(Voegelin 1936:400, Paradigm L)

In the TA Subordinate subparadigm that relates a third person subject to a first or second person object, /-i/₁ (> 1) and /-el/₁ ~ /-eh/₁ (> 2) indicate directionality. In the following chart, the subject/object columns are reversed to capture the correct directionality. In brief, singular objects are left unmarked, and plural objects are marked. Only in a 3 > 1p relationship are both subject and object marked.

	<u>Object Marker</u>	<u>Subject Marker</u>
3s > 1s	∅	-či
3 > 2s	∅	-ki
3 > 1p	-yame	-či
3 > 2+1	-akwe	∅
3 > 2p	-wa-akwe	∅

6.2.3.2.1. 'You and Me' Subparadigm

ye-kkil- 'when 2 hides 1'

2 > 1

	1s	1p
2s	-i ₁ -yani _s	-i ₁ -yaake _s
2p	-i ₁ -yeekwe _s	-i ₁ -yaake _s

(Voegelin 1936:401, Paradigm L)

This subparadigm consists of the expected 2 > 1 theme marker /-i/, followed by the same affix markers found in the AI Subordinate: /-ani/ 2sAI Subordinate, /-eekwe/ 2pAI Subordinate, and /-aake/ 1pAI Subordinate. (Note that in the singular, the affixes mark the second person subjects, and the theme marker implies that the first person is the object. In the plural, the affixes mark the 1p object, and the number of the implied second person subject is neutralized.)

1 > 2

	2s	2p
1s	-el ₁ -a _s	-el ₁ -ako _s
1p	-el ₁ -aake _s	-el ₁ -aake _s

(Voegelin 1936:401, Paradigm L)

This subparadigm is constructed by means of the TA Local 1 > 2 theme marker /-ele/₁ and AI Subordinate person affixes. Only the subject argument is marked: /-a/_s is

1sAI Subordinate, and /-aake/₅ is 1pAI Subordinate. 1s > 2p /-ako/₅ is not recorded in any of the other paradigms.

6.2.3.2.2. TA Inverse Subordinate Mode¹⁹

ye-kkil-ekw₁-č*i*₅ 'when he, they hide him' (OBV)
ye-kkil-ekw₁-waa₃-č*i*₅ 'when he, they hide them' (OBV)
ye-kkil-ekw₁-ič*i*₅ 'when he, they hide him, them'
(OBV)

Phonological Adjustment: w ---> o/___C

(Voegelin 1936:399)

The expected inverse marker /-ekw/₁ is used in this paradigm. Third person subject is marked by /-(i)č*i*/₅. /-waa/₃ marks a third person plural object.

6.2.4. Participial Mode

Voegelin's Participial Mode is not mentioned in other descriptions of Mode in the Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Wolfart 1973). In fact, the Shawnee Participial Mode derives deverbal nominalizations. One type of deverbal nominalization was described in Section 4.1.6. Deverbal Nouns Referring to Persons. That reduplication takes the initial consonant of the verb stem (/Caa-/) and adds /-ta/ at the end to derive a noun that means 'One who Xs' (one who does the action of the verb). kaa-ka-th-o-wee-ta 'barber' (lit., 'one who does cutting by fist') and other examples are found in "Autobiography". The relationship of the type

described in Section 4.1.6. to the Participial Mode is not known at this time.

6.2.4.1. TA Participial Mode

The TA Participial Mode has two subparadigms. The first subparadigm indicates a third person singular subject ('one who'), and the second subparadigm has a third person plural subject ('ones who').

ke-kkil- 'one, ones who hide(s) animate object'

	SG SUBJ		PL SUBJ
3s > 1s	-i ₁ -ta ₅	3p > 1s	-i ₁ -č ₅ -ki ₆
3s > 2s	-eh ₁ -ka ₅	3p > 2s	-e ₁ -kki ₅
3s > 3s	-aa ₂ -ta ₅	3p > 3s	-aa ₂ -č ₅ -ki ₆
3s > 1p	-i ₁ -yame ₃ -ta ₅	3p > 1p	-i ₁ -yame ₃ -č ₅ -ki ₆
3s > 2+1	-el ₁ -akwe ₅	3p > 2+1	[SG = PL]
3s > 2p	-el ₁ -wa ₃ -akwe ₅	3p > 2p	[SG = PL]
3s > 3p	-aa ₂ -ta ₅	3p > 3p	-aa ₂ -č ₅ -ki ₆

(Voegelin 1936:401, Paradigm M)

The following table clarifies which affix is serving what grammatical function:

	Dir	Obj	Subj	Dir	Obj	Subj
			('one who')			('ones who')
1s	i	∅	-ta	i	∅	-č-ki
2s	eh	∅	-ka	e	∅	-kki
3s	aa	∅	-ta	aa	∅	-č-ki
1p	i	-yame	-ta	i	-yame	-č-ki
2+1	el	-akwe	∅		[SG = PL]	
2p	el	--wa-akwe	∅		[SG = PL]	
3p	aa	∅	-ta	aa	∅	-č-ki

KEY:
Dir = Direction
Subj = Subject
Obj = Object

TA direction markers indicate implied objects, namely /-i-/₁ (> 1 object), /-el-/₁ ~ /-eh-/₁ (> 2 object), and /-aa-/₂ (> 3 object).

In the singular set, /-ta/₅ 'one who' is the singular subject marker except when there is a second person singular object. /-ka/₅ 'one who' is the singular subject marker when there is a second person singular object. In the plural set, /-č-ki/₆ 'ones who' is the plural subject marker except when there is a second person singular object. /-kki/₅ 'ones who' marks the plural subject when 2s is the object. There are no subject markers when 2+1 or 2p is the object.

Neither singular nor 3p objects are overtly represented

in either the 'one who' or the 'ones who' set. /-yame-/₃ is the 1p object marker, while /-akwe-/₅ is the 2+1 object marker. /-wa(a)-/₃ pluralizes the 2p object marker /-akwe-/₅.

6.2.4.2. TA Inverse Participial Mode (Animate on Animate)

Voegelin (1936:399) provides an example of what he calls TA Inverse Participial Mode, shown below:

ke-kkil-ekw₁-ki 'one(s) who are hidden by him, them'

(No phonological adjustment is indicated.) The /-ekw-/₁ inverse marker is part of this construction. However, later in Paradigm N, "participial mode of transitive animate verbal theme with the implied animate object of the verbal theme functioning as a psychological subject ... " (Voegelin 1936:402), no inverse marker is present. In fact, the paradigm has an /-aa-/₂ direct marker.

ke-kkil- 'one(s) that animate subject hide(s)'²⁰

3s < 1s	-a ₂ -ka ₅	3p < 1s	-a ₂ -kki ₅
3s < 2s	-a ₂ -ta ₅	3p < 2s	-a ₂ -č ₅ -ki ₆
3s < 3s	-aa ₂ -č ₅ i ₅	3p < 3s	[SG = PL]
3s < 1p	-a ₂ -ki ₃ -ta ₅	3p < 1p	-a ₂ -ki ₃ -č ₅ -ki ₆
3s < 2+1	-akwe ₅	3p < 2+1	[SG = PL]
3s < 2p	-eekwe ₅	3p < 2p	[SG = PL]
3s < 3p	-aa ₂ -waa ₃ -č ₅ i ₅	3p < 3p	[SG = PL]

(Voegelin 1936:402, Paradigm N)

	<u>One who</u>			<u>Ones who</u>		
	Dir	Subj	Obj	Dir	Subj	Obj
1s	a	∅	-ka	a	∅	-kki
2s	a	∅	-ta	a	∅	-č-ki
3s	aa	∅	-či	[SG = PL]		
1p	a	-ki-	-ta	a	-ki-	-č-ki
2+1	∅	-akwe	∅	[SG = PL]		
2p	∅	-eekwe	∅	[SG = PL]		
3p	aa	-waa-či	∅	[SG = PL]		

The rows (1s, 2s, 3s ...) are the labels for the subjects in the second column. Singular subjects are not represented at all, but plural subjects are. The plural subject markers are /-ki/₃ 1p, /-akwe/_s 2+1, /-eekwe/_s 2p, and /-waa₃-či_s/ 3p.

In the 'one who' set, the third person singular object markers are paired with particular subject markers: /-ka/_s is paired with a 1s subject, /-ta/_s with 2s and 1p subjects, and /-či/_s with 3s subjects. When 2+1, 2p, and 3p are subjects, their objects are understood.

In the 'ones who' set, the third person plural object markers are also paired with particular subject markers: /-kki/_s is a third person plural object paired with a 1s subject, and /-č_s-ki_s/ together represent a third person plural object paired with a 2s or 1p subject.

TABLE 9

VERB AFFIXES BY POSITION AND GENDER/TRANSITIVITY TYPE

Position 2 Affixes

/-na(a)/ Inanimate Object marker

TI

TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) (shown as
alternative form)

/-i/ Inanimate Patient marker

3s II

/-a/ Inanimate Patient marker

3p II

Position 3 Affixes

/-(e)na(a)/ 1p and 2+1 prefix pluralizer

TA Inverse

/-(e)pe(n)/ 1p, 2+1, and 2p prefix pluralizer

AI 1p, 2p

TI 1p, 2p

TA 1p, 2+1

TA Local 1p

TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) 1p, 2+1

/-pwa/ 2p

AI

TA Local

TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate)

/-wa(a)/ Non-first person pluralizer

TI 2p, 3p

TA Direct 2p, 3p

TA Inverse (Animate on Animate) 2p, 3p

TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate) 2p, 3p

AI, TI Subordinate 3p

TA Subordinate 2p, 3p

TA Inverse Subordinate 3p

TA Participial 2p

TA Inverse Participial 3p

/-yame/ 1p pluralizer

TA Subordinate 1p

TA Participial 1p

/-pi/ 3p Indefinite

AI Indefinite

TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)

Position 4 Affixes

/-ki/ 1p pluralizer

TA Subordinate

TA Inverse Participial

/-li/ Obviative Singular

AI

TA Direct

TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)

AI, TI Subordinate

/-hi/ Obviative Plural

AI

TA Direct (Animate on Animate)

TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)

Position 5 Affixes

/-(y)a/ 1s

AI, TI, TA Subordinate

/-(y)ani/ 2s

AI, TI, TA Subordinate

/-(y)aake/ 1p

AI, TI, TA Subordinate

/-naake/ 1p

TA Imperative

/-(y)akwe/ 1p, 2+1, 2p

AI, TI Subordinate 1p, 2+1

TA Subordinate 2+1, 2p

TA Participial 2+1, 2p

TA Inverse Participial 2+1

/-(y)eekwe/ 2p

AI, TI, TA Subordinate

TA Local Subordinate

TA Inverse Participial

/-kki/ 3p

TA Subordinate

TA Participial

TA Inverse Participial

/-lo/ 2s

AI, TI 2s Imperative

TA Local Imperative

/-ko/ 2p

AI, TI 2p Imperative

TA Imperative

TA Local Imperative

/-no/ 2s

TI 2s Imperative

/-moko/ 2p

TI 2p Imperative

/-ako/ 2p

TA Subordinate Local

Position 5

/-ka/ 3s

TA Participial

TA Inverse Participial

/-ki/ 3s

AI Subordinate

TA Subordinate

/-ta/ 3s

TA Participial

TA Inverse Participial

/-či/ 3

AI Subordinate

TI Subordinate

TA Subordinate
TA Inverse Subordinate
TA Participial
TA Inverse Participial

Position 6 Affix

/-(i)ki/ 3p Animate
AI Independent
TA
TA Inverse (Animate on Animate)
TA Participial
TA Inverse Participial

Notes

1. Bloomfield 1946 uses the terms Order and Mode without defining them. Wolfart 1973 says that in Plains Cree the Independent and the Imperative Orders are used in whole sentences and that the Conjunct (= Subordinate) is used in dependent clauses.
2. Boling (1981:13-14) provides a different schema for the verb prefixes. We agree on Prefix 1, personal prefixes, and largely on Prefix 2, at least on Tense and Concordant Negative (-te'-, -i'-, -ša-, -e'-, and -ta'-). At that point, we diverge. Prefix 3 in his schema is -nši-, the manner preverb discussed extensively in Chapter 4. (He also says that -te'- and -nši- can be followed by -pwa- IRREALIS, although he does not explicitly say what prefix position it occupies. The next affix position on his chart after -nši- is (Aspectual) Reduplication.) In "Autobiography", tense or concordant negative or aspectual reduplication never cooccur, and each immediately follows the person prefix. Therefore, it seems likely that these three kinds of morpheme occupy the same prefix position.
3. Boling (1981:13-15) provides examples of -ša- and -e'-, remarking that the latter is a "colorless future". Voegelin (1938-40:137) defines -e'- as "future necessity"; in "Autobiography", he translates it as 'must'. Boling does not give examples of the use of -i-. These definitions and examples of usage are not adequate to draw a distinction among these three morphemes.
4. Chapter 4, Footnote 25 examines Boling's discussion on -te'- and -ta'-.
5. Pearson (personal papers) hypothesizes that /-i(i)/ is a nonce use of /-i/ in the Suffix 1 position. However, the only /-i/ direction marker in Suffix 1 position is 2 > 1 in the TA Local Subparadigm. The /-i/ of II is not a direction marker, but a 3s subject marker.
6. An overt marker is used in the TA Imperative Order for a first person plural object. It is discussed in that section.
7. The correspondence between the /-eh-/₁ allomorph in the TA Imperative and its usage elsewhere may be accidental. The relationship 1 > 2 does not hold in the TA Imperative.
8. The only place where /-wa(a)/₃ and /-pwa/₃ are found together with potentially competing meanings is in the TA Inverse (Inanimate on Animate). The discussion concerning example (3) shows that if /-wa/₃ pluralizes the second

person, it does so only if the /-naa/₂ object marker is also used. /-pwa/₃ 2p occurs only if the object marker is omitted.

9. Pearson (unpublished notes) views the Position 5 affixes as beginning with /-y/ that is deleted following a consonant. Chapter 2 Phonology shows that there is evidence elsewhere in Shawnee (and in other Algonquian languages) that the glide is inserted between vowels.

10. On the surface, these negative imperatives appear to have the 2 > 1 TA Local theme marker used in TA Imperatives. However, only example (5) is a TA verb, and it means 2s > 3s. (4) and (6) are Animate Intransitive verbs. (6) is the suppletive verb stem for 'eat' used when there is no object.

11. Section 2.5. Initial Change provides examples from "Autobiography" that in likelihood are the Changed Conjunct in Shawnee.

12. AI -hkawehšee- 'to listen' ends in -e, and therefore has a close resemblance to the TI -e that functions as a direction marker. In the case of AI -hkawehšee- 'to listen', -šee is a derivational affix meaning 'sense perception, hearing, ear' (Voegelin 1938-40:150). AI ni-me.yeele 'I'm dancing' (Voegelin 1938-40:370) also ends in -e. It is not known at this time whether these correspondences between the AI and TI paradigms are meaningful or accidental.

13. Voegelin (1936:396) records ni-kkil-elepe as 'we ex --- you'. ni- as the prefix here is simply impossible. In the local paradigm, ki- always takes precedence over ni- (2 > 1 hierarchy) whether it is subject or object.

14. This particular phonological adjustment occurs throughout this chapter, but it is only marked here.

15. See Wolfart (1973:55) for an identical neutralization of number in Plains Cree.

16. Voegelin uses these examples in a discussion of syllabification in Shawnee, not the morphology of passivization, although it is clear that he recognizes the function of the passive morpheme in his translations.

17. Voegelin (1938-40:354) cites maači- as 'small bodied'. In example (10), it is clearly a conjugated verb in the passive. In (11), its grammatical status is not clear.

18. Voegelin translates this paradigm as 'the thing which is concealed by PERSON AFFIX'.

19. Voegelin's passive translations have been changed to active. While I say later in this section that the third person subject is marked by /-(i)č̣i/₅ and that the third person plural object is marked by /-waa/₃, it should be noted that in other paradigms /-waa₃-č̣i₅/ forms a unit that sometimes denotes a plural subject and sometimes a plural object.

20. Voegelin's passive translation 'one(s) hidden by animate object' has been changed to active 'one(s) that animate subject hides'.

CHAPTER 7
MAJOR FINDINGS

Prior to the preparation of this dissertation, our knowledge of Shawnee was primarily limited to the lexical information in Shawnee Stems and the Jacob P. Dunn Miami Dictionary (Voegelin 1938-40). However, the organization of that dictionary does not make the information in it easily accessible to linguists. In its original published form, "Autobiography of a Woman" (Voegelin 1953) is not usable as a primary source. The reelicitation and correction of "Autobiography" made text available as the input to this preliminary grammar.

In Chapter 2 Phonology, it was shown that vowel and consonant length is contrastive. Although they differ in specifics, Shawnee phonological and morphophonological rules resemble those found in other Algonquian languages.

The main contribution of this study is the extension of the stem compounding approach of Goddard 1990 to Shawnee word formation. While Voegelin 1938-40 identifies a number of Shawnee noun formatives, many more have now been identified, largely by matching partial strings in "Autobiography" to formatives in other Algonquian languages. Deverbal noun formation is a productive process in Shawnee.

An extensive set of pre-nouns and their usages has been identified. New instrumental affixes in the verb have been identified, and it was shown how attenuated meanings arise (for example, from the literal presence of a tool to the use of the affix as a causative). Again, while a number of Shawnee verb stems, preverbs, directional particles, and verb finals were already known, additional ones have been identified by comparing strings in "Autobiography" to morphemes in other Algonquian languages. Rather than putting invariant particles into one grammatical category as most Algonquianists do, I have divided particles into Adverb, Postposition, and Interjection, based on their different distributions, meanings, and functions in the sentence. Many new adverbs have been identified, and an initial attempt was made to identify the morphemes that may underlie them. Furthermore, extensive examples of usage are now available for all the preceding types of morphemes.

In Inflection, the main finding was the composition of the noun and the verb stems and the distribution of morphemes within them. A new look at noun pluralization uncovered many patterns that were not previously known (or analyzed) in that fashion. The grammatical functions of the subject/object morphemes in the verb paradigms affect their distribution.

Throughout, I have had to acknowledge gaps in the data. This work should serve as the basis for the continuing investigation of the Shawnee language.

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