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Lupardus, Karen Jacque

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ALABAMA INDIANS

University of Kansas

PH.D. 1982

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE ALABAMA INDIANS

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Submitted to the Department of Linguistics
and the Faculty of the Graduate School of
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of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:



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K.J.L.

August 1982

To my teachers

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Abbreviatory conventions

The following is a list of abbreviations and terms used in this work. Provided in parentheses are the morphemes associated specifically with each term. For some terms, there are none; for others there is a set of several. In these two cases, no morpheme will be indicated. Abbreviations are used without a period unless a word or another abbreviation immediately follows.

act	active	(-li)
agt	agent	
C	consonant	
caus	causative	(-ci)
cens	censurial	(-aaba)
conj	conjunction	
cont	continuative	(-ci)
contr.conj	contrastive conjunction	(-ton)
cred	credential	(-co(li))
dat	dative	
deriv	derivational affix	(-ka)
distr	distributive	(-ho/-oh)
du	dual	
dur	durational	(-aapi/-mpa)
emph	emphatic	(-o)
evid	evidential	(-moli)
foc	focus	
fut	future	(-lo(lo))
imp	imperative	(- ^h)
indef.fut	indefinite future	(-la)
indef.past	indefinite past	(-co)
indef.3pers	indefinite third person	(-aati/-aatim)
instr	instrumental	(ist-)
intent	intentional	(-ahi)
loc	locative	(-fa)
JRS	Swanton (1922-23)	
med.pass	mediopassive	(-ka)
narr.past	narrative past	(-toh(a)/-to)
neg	negative	(-o)
neg.aux	negative auxiliary	(-ki)
nom	nominative	(-k)
nom.foc	nominative focus	(-yok)
obl	oblique suffix	(-n)
obl.foc	oblique focus	(-yon)
oblig	obligational	(-alpiisa)

pat	patient	
perf	perfective	(-o/-bi)
pers	person	
pl	plural	
poss	possessive	
prox	proximate time	(-ti)
prox.habit	proximate habitual	(-coliti)
Q	interrogative suffix	(-~)
recip	reciprocal	(-itti)
refl	reflexive	(-ili)
rem.habit	remote habitual	(-colikha)
rem.past	remote past time	(-kha)
sg	singular	
sub.conj	subordinate conjunction	(-k)
temp.loc	temporal locative	(-fooka)
TNS	tense/aspect affix(es)	
top	topic	(-ya)
V	vowel	
v.conj	verb conjunction	(-t,-k)

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1 The Alabama Indians--a brief history

The origin of the name Alabama is obscure.¹ Sources that venture an etymology for the name usually attribute it to a corruption of a Choctaw expression meaning 'cleared thicket'.²

Written records of the Alabama begin with their encounter with De Soto in 1541 in an area which is today within northern Mississippi. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, they were recorded as occupying land along a river today identified as the Alabama River, a few miles north of Montgomery, Alabama. They remained in that area until after 1763, when France ceded the region to England. Having developed a close relation with the French, especially after the establishment of Fort Toulouse nearly fifty years earlier, many of the Alabama abandoned the area to the British. Some ultimately settled

¹A wide variety of spellings have been used for the name of these Indians, or have been interpreted as referring to them. Folsom-Dickerson (1965:11) lists Holbamo, Alabama, Alabamos, Ala Bamer, Alebanah, Alebamons, Alibamo, Alibamus, Alibanio, Alimanu, Atilaman, Ayabamos, Halbama, Limanu, Mamo anyadi, Mamo hanya, and Mamo hayandi. Wright (1951:29) notes that Alabama is sometimes spelled Alibamu.

²Folsom-Dickerson (1965:11) suggests that the name Alabama may come from Choctaw alba ayamule 'I open or clear the thicket'. Wright (1951:29) notes that it is said to be a corruption of Choctaw alba lmo 'thicket cleared', which in turn, she suggests, is a contraction of alba 'thicket' and almoh 'cleared'. She also observes that one of the earliest references to these Indians calls them Atilamas:

undoubtedly from the Choctaw att ilami 'they live separately (from us)', from the Choctaw atta 'to live' and ilaminko or ilabinko 'separately'. This meaning is in harmony with the main thread of Alabama tribal history to this day.

Martin (1977:xvii) does not mention a language source for the name but merely reports that it is derived from a combination of words meaning 'vegetable gatherers'.

among the Seminole in Florida, some among the Caddo in central Louisiana, some along with Koasati in southwestern Louisiana, and some eventually went on into east Texas. The Alabama who remained behind aligned themselves with the Creek Indians and subsequently shared their fate of forced relocation to Oklahoma.

As a linguistic group, the Alabama Indians who settled in eastern Texas fared the best. The other Alabamas were slowly absorbed into the language group of the dominant tribe. Swanton (JRS.2) reports that only a small number of Alabama in Oklahoma spoke their native language in 1910, the language having been supplanted by Creek.

The Alabama are reported to have been in present-day east Texas since the first decade of the nineteenth century. Unlike other Indians in Texas, they managed to coexist with the Texans of European origin and ultimately obtained an independent, state reservation in Polk County, Texas, approximately midway between Livingston and Woodville, about ninety miles northeast of Houston.

Although they have preserved their language, much of centuries of culture has disintegrated. Martin (1977:vii) reports that at the time the Alabama went into the "tourist business" in 1970, tribal members went to the Indians of Oklahoma for "a refresher course in the old ways of singing and dancing and dressing." Folsom-Dickerson (1965:29-34) writes that the songs and dances were maintained among the Koasati during a time when the Alabama had supposedly become reformed from such "pagan ways". Present-day speakers know few of the kinship terms and have even less understanding of the use of the terms. For most speakers the native counting system stops at ten and

is rarely used. Softball has replaced the traditional stickball games.

Today the language is spoken, with varying proficiency, by perhaps 200 to 400 bilingual Indians. Although in the mid-1970's many preschool children spoke Alabama, now a television is in nearly every home and, as a consequence, there is likely to be a rapid decrease in the number of new speakers. It is possible, however, that the loss of the language will be retarded by recognition of the value of maintaining a tribal language which enables the Indians to speak freely to one another in front of the outsiders who are forever present on the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation.

2 Alabama within the Muskogean languages

Swanton (JRS.3) comments about the Muskogean languages that "in studying any one of these ... a knowledge of any of the others is of considerable assistance."³ Swanton himself, though primarily interested in ethnology, collected a wide range of material from the entire Muskogean family of languages as well as from neighboring and more distantly related languages.⁴

The linguistic relationship of various Muskogean languages has been investigated by numerous interested persons since the late eighteenth century.⁵ According to Crawford (1975:27), in 1884, Albert S. Gatschet was the first to prove that Alabama and Koasati were Muskogean languages. He was also the first to separate the Muskogean languages into four branches, with Choctaw and Chickasaw in the western branch, and to note that Alabama is in some ways closer to Choctaw than to Creek. In the 1930's, Mary R. Haas conducted field work on numerous languages of the southeast and in 1941 published the first classification of the Muskogean languages based on demonstrated recurring sound correspondences. On the basis of her analysis, a

³Undoubtedly the advantages outweigh the disadvantages; however, apparently as a result of the influence of previous analysis of other Muskogean languages, occasionally Swanton was misled in his analysis. (See the discussion of periphrastic negation, section III.4.3.5.1.1.)

⁴Crawford 1975:25-71.

⁵Crawford (1975:26-28) traces the history of comparisons made between the Muskogean languages.

family tree of the languages can be constructed as in Figure 1.⁶

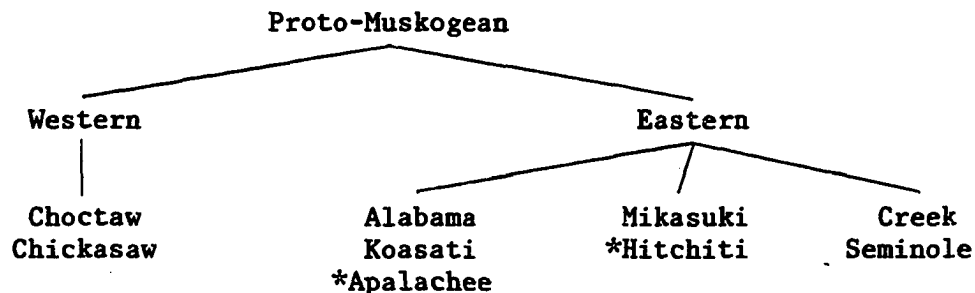


FIGURE 1: Family tree of Muskogean languages
(* = extinct language)

Haas (1941:46) reports that Alabama tends to share vocabulary with Choctaw while the closely related neighboring language, Koasati, shares vocabulary with Creek. Structurally, Alabama and Koasati are supposedly more similar to each other than to the other Muskogean languages.⁷ Swanton (JRS.2) reports:

⁶The Muskogean languages are divided into two major divisions on the basis of the reflexes of Proto-Muskogean s, š, ś, and θ. The reflexes in Choctaw for these are [š], [ś], [s], and [n], respectively. In Alabama, Creek, and Mikasuki, the reflexes are [s], [č], [ć], and [ʎ]. Records of earlier location of the tribes provides the geographic terms.

⁷Koasati affirmative verb inflection for person/number, as reported by Haas (1946), is closely related in form to that of Alabama; the inflection for negation, however, looks quite different (Smith-Stark 1978). Folsom-Dickerson (1965:95) reports that in his list of words in Alabama and Koasati, many words are identical, many contain only "minor differences", and many are completely different. He later adds (p.100) that approximately one fourth of all the words in his complete list of Alabama and Koasati terms are "equivalent translations in the two languages." One bilingual Alabama-Koasati speaker, born Alabama but married to a Coushatta (the political name of Koasati speakers), told me that Koasati was "more direct, shorter" while Alabama was "more roundabout". As I am less familiar with Koasati than with Choctaw or Creek, and because well ordered materials on Koasati are less numerous and less accessible, comparisons will occasionally be made here between Alabama and Choctaw or Creek but only rarely between Alabama and Koasati.

The only corrupting influence has been from the closely related Koasati, and a certain number of words and expressions have been exchanged by the two dialects in the course of time. The main Koasati settlement is, however, in Louisiana, some distance away. Only about a dozen Koasati were living with the Texas Alabama when I visited them last.

Apparently at least in part on the basis of information obtained from Claude Medford, Jr., who is part Choctaw and married to a Coushatta, Crawford (1975:30) concludes that "for some reason Koasati has become the more prestigious language." I myself found no evidence the Alabama language had become less prestigious.

Quite the contrary, the Alabama, most of whom reside on the reservation, are now in a politically more prestigious position than the Koasati, most of whom live off the reservation. If the Alabama language is losing ground to Koasati it is more likely because poverty is better for the preservation of a dying language than is affluence. Also to be considered is that in circumstances such as exist with Koasati and Alabama, if the speaker of one language is unsure of the correct form of an expression or the proper use of that expression, he is likely to excuse himself and dismiss the expression as belonging to the other language. The fact that certain features reported for Koasati also appear as variants in Alabama does not of itself indicate that Koasati is supplanting Alabama; the features may be dialect variants that have been in the language for considerable time.⁸

⁸See the discussion of first person plural pronouns in footnote 2, section III.1.1.

3 Previous linguistic studies of Alabama

Crawford (1975:29) reports that the first vocabulary of Alabama was collected by General Albert Pike around 1861. In 1885, Albert S. Gatschet collected a number of words, phrases, and sentences in Oklahoma. Swanton (JRS.2) had access to those vocabularies and noted that the Pike collection was "hastily recorded" and the Gatschet collection "very brief".

John R. Swanton collected materials on Alabama both from the Oklahoma Indians and those in Texas in 1910 and in subsequent years. According to Martin (1977:x,xii), Swanton was on the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation in Texas in 1911 and 1912 for "brief" visits at which time Charles Martin Thompson served as his translator. Although Swanton collected much linguistic material, most of it remains in field notes and slip files and almost none has been published.⁹

In the mid-1930's, Mary R. Haas and Morris Swadesh recorded a vocabulary of Alabama, some items of which Haas subsequently cited in published comparative studies.¹⁰

In the 1940's, W. E. S. Folsom-Dickerson (1965:vii) undertook an ethnological study of the Alabama Indians in Polk County, Texas. In the course of his investigation, he collected a list of words and phrases and made phonograph recordings of "the voices of four of the leading Indians, speaking in their own tongue" and of "a selected list of one hundred words which portray the essential phonetic and phonemic

⁹The materials of Swanton's consulted in this work are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

¹⁰Haas 1941, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1969.

differences" between Alabama and Koasati.¹¹

Material from Folsom-Dickerson was not used as a source for the study presented here; however, the vocabulary items which he published are incorporated into the glossary with reference to the source. The majority of these items are plant names.

Late in 1960, Earl Rand, then a student at the University of Texas, made two field trips to the Alabama-Coushatta reservation in order to collect four hours of tape recordings as data source for his

¹¹Folsom-Dickerson (1965:95-100) did not intend to present a linguistically sophisticated analysis of the language. The portion of his book devoted to language amounts to no more than six pages. He writes:

For the casual reader, phonetic markings have been omitted. The common English sound of the letters will approximate the original. In lengthy words the syllables have been divided to facilitate recognition.

He presents a brief phonetic key (pp. 97-8), the vowels and diphthongs given as follows.

i, short, as in it
a, short, as in about
o, short, as in note
i', long, as in marine or as ee in seen
a', long, as in ah, sustained
o', long, as in go sustained
ai, as i in pine
au, as ow in how
ei, as a in hay

The consonants he lists correspond to the phonemic consonants in the present study except that he transcribes [č] as ch and apparently identifies [ŋ] as phonemic, but then transcribes it with the same symbol as that used for [n].

m, as in English
n, as in English
n, as in sing, song

Folsom-Dickerson provides an interesting description of /l/. He writes:

Only one sound will puzzle the reader, the barred l... There is no corresponding sound in the English language. The nearest approach to the correct pronunciation of la-lo ['fish'] by English spelling is sla-slo with the a pronounced ah. If the tongue is not moved in pronouncing it thus, a reasonable spluttering facsimile will result.

M.A. thesis, which was completed in 1961. The thesis in turn was the source for an article on the phonology of the language, published seven years later. Rand's (1968) analysis differs in minor ways from that presented here, but the three basic vowels and fourteen consonants are the same as those given here. References to Rand's article are made here in the phonology section and in the lexicon.¹²

In 1971, Mary McCall, graduate student in anthropology at the University of Georgia, began an intensive study of Alabama with field work investigation on the reservation in 1972 and 1973. She read a paper on pronominals in 1972 but none of her work has been published.¹³

¹²The thesis, entitled The phonological hierarchy of Alabaman, a Muskogean language, was not consulted for this study. However, the published article, which was based on the thesis, was consulted and is illustrative of how much valid information about a sound system of a language can actually be obtained from a small corpus. At the same time, it is evidence of the importance of using great care in obtaining verification of the meaning and form of elicited words and expressions.

¹³Crawford 1975:29. In personal communication, Crawford informed me that for reasons of her own, McCall has been unable to complete the work which she began.

4 Sources for this study

The major sources for this grammar are the materials prepared by Swanton and my own field notes. Of the two sources, the most important for this work is the field notes. data. Of the Swanton materials, the most frequently used source is the unpublished grammatical description referred to as the Sketch. In parenthetical reference, it is identified as JRS followed by numbers referring to the page. Additional sources occasionally referred to are the files and the texts.

4.1 Materials of John R. Swanton

Swanton worked with the Alabama in Oklahoma and in Polk County, Texas in 1906-13. He accumulated a considerable amount of material but published very little on the language.¹⁴ Swanton's work on Alabama consists largely of unprocessed collections of field notes and files. Providing the bulk of this material are his field note transcription of folk tales (identified here as the texts), a slip file dictionary (identified here as the files), and a manuscript draft of a grammar (identified here as the Sketch). The Swanton source used most heavily in this study is the Sketch.

¹⁴The major published result of his work on Alabama is the English translation of native stories. Aside from that, only small collections of vocabulary items were published, and those mostly in connection with comparative studies, for example, Swanton 1928:91, 1924-5.

4.1.1 Swanton's Sketch

The Sketch consists of a short two-page introduction, followed by about fifteen pages of presentation and tabulation of what Swanton calls the phonetics, i.e. phonemes and phonetic variants of the language. All but the last dozen pages are then devoted to the presentation of various morphemes, mostly affixes. The arrangement is essentially that of a card file typed on 8 1/2 x 11 paper with many of the pages having fewer than half a dozen lines. Where Swanton is able to determine a consistent meaning or function of a morpheme, he sometimes writes that as a title at the top of the page; elsewhere, if he gives a title to the page, it is merely the form of the morpheme itself.

The procedure he follows is to give a short description of the occurrence of the morpheme, noting any variations in form that he has observed, along with speculations about the function, and in some instances the history, of the morpheme. He then follows this with an unordered list of examples, many apparently taken from context. In many instances, the forms he presents have been trimmed of significant portions and are thus not free forms, but they are nonetheless listed as examples alongside other forms which themselves are free forms or forms which exhibit inflectional affixes that could have been removed.

In the last few pages, he attempts a chart and description of the order of the elements within a word and within a sentence. As a summary statement before presentation of a short text (JRS.108), he

writes: "For the most part the Alabama construction may be described as loose and rambling." He ends his Sketch with a one-page text, "The hawk and the owl". This is the equivalent of story number thirty-eight of the "Alabama stories" (Swanton 1929:52).

Swanton's short grammatical sketch is clearly a working draft, and its shortcomings should be viewed in that light. Nonetheless, it is a remarkable document and contains a great many insights into the structure of the language.

Where statements and/or examples from Swanton's Sketch support, augment, or contrast with conclusions I have drawn based on my own field data, that information is included in this study, with references to the hand-numbered pages in the Sketch. The transcription of the examples has not been regularized but is that given by Swanton. For ease of reading, however, the examples are sometimes reordered or arranged in columns. Quotations of statements and observations by Swanton are as found in his Sketch with these exceptions: obvious spelling or typographical errors in the English prose are corrected, and Alabama forms cited within the discussion are underlined with glosses placed in single quotes.¹⁵

¹⁵ Swanton did not follow the convention of underlining non-English expressions and placing glosses in single quotes. This is done here not only to standardize the format, but because some discussions of Swanton's, in particular his presentation of the article auxiliaries, can be confusing without these additional conventional reading aids.

4.1.2 Swanton's texts

Swanton collected a large number of texts, in 1910 and in subsequent years, from various Alabama speakers.¹⁶ These texts, approximately 250 pages of rapidly penciled field transcription with interlinear English, are the source for "Alabama stories" (Swanton 1929), a collection of sixty-four narrations in English translation included in Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians, prepared by Swanton and published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1929 (pp. 118-165). Swanton included one of these stories as a sample of text at the end of this Sketch, but none of the stories was published in the native language form. A number were not even included in the published collection of English translations. The texts are in two sets, labeled "first set" and "second set" and are presently held at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D.C. Swanton extracted words and phrases from the texts for inclusion in his card files. He included page numbers in parentheses following each such entry. He identified file entries taken from the first set by placing a zero before the page number reference; entries from the second set

¹⁶There is some confusion about the source of his texts. Swanton (JRS.2) writes that he collected "a considerable body of texts...from the Texas Alabama, principally from an Indian named Charlie Adams, in the year 1910 and on several succeeding visits." According to the catalogue card of manuscript "4151 Alibamu", the speakers who provided the stories were Charlie Thompson, Celissy Henry, and Battist. Martin (1977:xii) reports that he corresponded with Swanton during 1937-41 and that: Swanton informed him that:

he had visited the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation in 1911 and 1912, but that his visits were so brief he had time to obtain stories from only three people--Celissy Henry, George Henry, and Charles Martin Thompson.

have no zero preceding the page number. By means of a lengthy and time-consuming procedure of comparison of Swanton's carefully prepared file entries with the hastily transcribed field notes, it has been possible to recover the original transcription of the Alabama stories, portions of which are included here.¹⁷

4.1.3 Swanton's files

Swanton created a card file dictionary, mostly typed but with handwritten additions and corrections. The dictionary is in two parts: an English-Alabama file and an Alabama-English file. The English-Alabama file, approximately 3000 cards, was apparently used as an index for his Alabama-English file. Most of the entries of the Alabama-English file, 2433 cards, have references to the source. Two sources are identified: (1) the page numbers of texts and (2) a linguistic informant, Harden Sylestine. On the first card of his Alabama-English file: Swanton wrote:

The material marked (H) was furnished by an Alabama Indian, Harden Sylestine, who translated in his own way. His translation is usually preserved lest a mistake be made in altering; the material is to be corrected later.

At a later time Swanton added:

¹⁷ It is hoped that within the next five years work on the full set of stories will be completed and the stories will be available for publication. A copy of the recovered stories has been sent to the Anthropological Archives with the request that they be made fully available after 1987.

This includes all of my Alabama material except 12pp. of text by native informants and a vocabulary which for the most part duplicates what has been given.¹⁸

The card file apparently provided the source for many of the examples cited in Swanton's Sketch, though he does not provide cross references from the Sketch to his files as he had from his files to the text.

4.1.4 Swanton's transcription

Examples traced from the Sketch to the files and from there to the text often show some changes in transcription. Swanton is not alone, however, in showing inconsistencies in transcription.¹⁹ Quite clearly, he had not standardized his transcription at the time that he wrote the Sketch. Consequently, most of his transcription exhibits phonetic variation.

¹⁸The twelve pages of text may be those in manuscript "4150 Alibama", a handwritten set of stories with interlinear English. The handwriting is not Swanton's. The transcription is uncertain and the translation is very free. Swanton (JRS.2) reports that some stories "were written down...by an Alabama named Harden Sylestine." The material in manuscript 4150 has been available to the author but has not been used as a source for this work.

¹⁹Inconsistencies in transcription have plagued everyone doing field work on a living language. For example, Haas (1941:42, 1946:326, 1947:36) shifted back and forth between /o/ and /u/ for representing the high back vowel in Muskogean languages; a careful reading of her transcription of Koasati (1944) reveals considerable inconsistency, particularly in vowel length; a comparison of the transcription of selected words appearing in various publications of hers likewise shows variation. Rand (1968) provides numerous examples of supposedly equivalent forms given different phonemic transcriptions. Folsom-Dickerson (1965) does the same.

Forms quoted from Swanton are not retranscribed in this study but appear in the form of the source quoted. As an aid to the reader, the following is a list of symbols which he used and, to the best of my understanding, their approximate equivalent in my system.

SWANTON LUPARDUS --- TRANSCRIPTION EQUIVALENTS

a	/a/, /aa/	Swanton was not consistent in transcription of vowel length.
ḁ	[ə], [ɛ] variants of /a/	Swanton (JRS.4) indicates that ḁ may be a rapidly pronounced /a/, /o/, or even /oo/.
b	/b/	
c	/s/	Swanton uses <u>c</u> to represent [ʃ] or [ʂ]
d	[d] variant of /t/	
e	[ɛ], [ɪ] variants of /i/	
f	/f/	
g	[g] variant of /k/	
h	/h/	
i	[i], [ɪ] variants of /i/	
i	/ii/	
dj	[j] variant of /c/, the alveopalatal affricate	
k	/k/	
l	/l/	
ł	/ł/	Where Swanton gives a barred l, the diagonal slash rather than the horizontal dash is used here.
m	/m/	
n	/n/	

SWANTON LUPARDUS --- TRANSCRIPTION EQUIVALENTS

ñ	[ŋ] variant of /m/ or /n/	
o	[o], [ʊ] variants of /o/	
o	/oo/	
p	/p/	
s	/s/	
t	/t/	
tc	/c/	Swanton occasionally writes <u>ch</u> instead of <u>tc</u> for what is here transcribed /c/.
u	[ʊ] variant of /o/	
u	/oo/	
w	/w/	
x	[x] variant of /h/	
y	/y/	
	/h/	

Swanton uses ' to indicate post-vocalic devoicing, accompanied at times by spirantization. He writes (JRS.5):

The vowel aspirates are one of the most characteristic features of Muskogean tongues. They are usually followed by a consonant... In most of the alphabets constructed for the Muskogean languages hitherto, these vowels have been represented by the pure vowel sound followed by h, and the result is satisfactory enough.

4.2 The data--field notes

Over a period of five years, beginning in the fall of 1972, field work was undertaken to collect data on the language. The data amount to sixteen reel-to-reel tapes, with accompanying rough field notes, carefully retranscribed onto over five hundred pages of annotated field notes which then became the primary source for this study.

There is considerable repetition, duplication, and overlap in the notes. This redundancy allows for greater reliability of forms, collected at the expense of a larger range of vocabulary.

The early studies were done in 1972 and 1973 with Sharon Poncho, at that time a student at Haskell Junior College. In the summer of 1973, a field trip to the reservation was undertaken, at which time data was provided by Nellie (Poncho) Williams, Matthew Bullock, and Dorothy Ragsdale.²⁰ In 1977, another trip to the reservation was undertaken, at which time the speakers were Matthew Bullock and Nellie Williams.

The data consist primarily of vocabulary lists, verb paradigms, and sentences. A number of texts and conversations were also collected. An effort was made to acquire as much duplication as necessary from the different speakers for the purpose of verification of forms. Most of the analysis made in this study is therefore based on several forms from different speakers. Where analysis is based on the occurrence of only one or two forms, it is so indicated.

²⁰ All the speakers lived on the reservation. Nellie Williams was in her mid-twenties, married to an Alabama. She is the sister of Sharon Poncho. Matthew Bullock was in his mid-fifties. A prominent member of the tribe, he has the distinction of having been the first man of the tribe to receive a college degree. Since the late 1930's (Martin 1977:xi), on numerous occasions he has served as an interpreter, mostly for visitors with ethnological interests. He also worked with Mary McCall and with Martin. He is married to a maternal aunt of the two younger speakers. His sister-in-law is Dorothy Ragsdale, who is a member of the prestigious Quilting Party, a group of older women of the reservation who preserve the traditions of the Indians and who are responsible for the supervision of such festive activities as the proper making of sofkee (/sofki/), a traditional corn beverage.

5 Transcription conventions

Except where noted, transcriptions used in this study are phonemic. Where morphemic analysis accompanies a transcribed utterance, the transcription will reflect the application of the phonological rules described below. Except where a square-bracketed, phonetic transcription is provided, the transcription does not generally include allophonic variants. All numbered examples are given a four-line analysis.

Line 1: surface form of the utterance
Line 2: underlying form, i.e. morphemic analysis
Line 3: gloss or identification of morphemes in line 2
Line 4: translation of line 1

The following description of the purpose, conventions, and limitations of these four-line analyses should be kept in mind.

Line 1: The surface form of the utterance is underlined. It reflects the application of phonological rules and exhibits the results of assimilation, epenthesis, deletion, and metathesis. The transcription of line 1 reflects specific allophonic and morphophonemic alternations:

- (1) Where VN in line 2 occurs phonetically as a nasalized vowel, \tilde{V} is given in line 1.
- (2) Where the sequence /oa/ or /oha/ in line 2 occurs phonetically as [ɔ:], /ɔɔ/ is indicated in line 1.
- (3) Where the sequence /ai/, /ay/, or /ahi/ in line 2 occurs phonetically as [e:], /ee/ is indicated in line 1; however, in a few instances /ee/ is also indicated in line 2.

(4) Where the sequence /ahm/ occurs phonetically as [æ:], /ææ/ is indicated in line 1. Words are separated by blank spaces.

Line 2: The morphemic analysis has blank spaces which correspond to blank spaces between words in line 1. Hyphens are used to separate morphemes. An equals sign '=' is used to indicate a specific type of morpheme boundary: that position within a stem where a pronominal affix is either infix or bound. In verbs, this boundary occurs between two portions of the stem or between the root and a classificatory suffix, -ka 'mediopassive' or -li 'active'.²¹

hofna
hofna
smell
smell

hocifnati
ho=ci=fna-ti
smell=2sg.agt=smell-prox
You smelled it.

limitka
limit=ka
swallow=med.pass.
swallow

limitiskati
limit=is=ka-ti
swallow=2sg.agt=med.pass-prox
You swallowed it.

kotaffi
kotaf=li
break=act
break

kotafciti
kotaf-ci-ti
break=2sg.agt-prox
You broke it.

The prothetic vowel is placed within parentheses even when it does not occur in the surface form.

ispati
is-(i)pa-ti
2sg.agt-eat-prox
You ate it.

²¹The special boundary '=' is given between a stem and -li 'active' even though -li is deleted when the verb is inflected for first person plural or the second persons. The /l/ of -li assimilates to a preceding /m/, /f/, or /l/.

In nouns, the boundary '=' indicates either (1) the position of placement of a patient pronominal affix or (2) that the noun is a bound form and does not occur without the prefixed dative pronominal. This is presented in greater detail in the presentation of the nonagentive pronominal affixes, section III.1.2.3.

afakci
a=fakci
at=skin(?)
skin

acifakci
a=ci=fakci
at=2sg.pat=skin(?)
your skin

imalokha
im=alokha
3sg.dat=brain
brain

amalokha
am=alokha
1sg.dat=brain
my brain

Line 3: The identification of morphemes has blank spaces which correspond to blank spaces in lines 2 and 3. Abbreviations are followed by a period only if the abbreviation is immediately followed by a word or another abbreviation. Where the identification of a morpheme is uncertain, a corresponding question-mark is placed between parentheses.

Line 4: The translation is not intended to be exact. Where it is placed within quotation marks, the speaker's own translation is being cited. This is done whenever the speaker's translation seems particularly revealing. Additional information is sometimes provided in parentheses following the translation.

6 Overview of Alabama grammar

This brief introduction presents significant phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of the language but without examples and without detailed explanation, both of which are to be found later in appropriate sections of this study.

Although the phonological inventory of the language is fairly small and not complex, with most syllables of CV or CVC structure, a number of morphologically conditioned phonological rules obscure the underlying form of the morphemes. Most prevalent of these is widespread vowel truncation. Most roots terminate in a vowel; all stems end in a vowel. Words can end in a very restricted number of consonants, which themselves are case-marking suffixes. There are two levels of grammatical pitch, high and nonhigh. However, it has been a tradition to mark high and falling pitch in the Muskogean languages and that tradition is continued here. Sentence intonation exhibits down drift. Grammatical processes include prefixing, infixing, suffixing, ablaut, and assignment of pitch. The moods, declarative, imperative, and interrogative, have distinct intonation contours and exhibit morphological differences in the inflection of the verb; they are not indicated by change in word order.

The basic word order is SOV, though the object can also be shifted to the front of the sentence. Either the subject or the object can be positioned after the verb, though the result gives "afterthought" intonation to the postposed subject or object. A complete sentence, in any mood, may often consist of no more than the inflected verb.

Since word order is quite free, case marking is important. There are two morphologically distinct cases: the nominative and the oblique. The description presented here assumes a hierarchy of cases in the descending order agent, patient, dative, and others. With active verbs, the fully specified noun phrase which functions as the agent is nominative while all other noun phrases are oblique. With stative verbs, which have no overt agent, the patient is nominative and all others are oblique. The distinction nominative/oblique has significance not only in case marking within simple sentences but also in coordination, subordination, complementation, and focus.

The verb is inflected for person, number, tense/aspect, negation, and mood. Verbs are of two types: active and stative. Active verbs may be transitive or intransitive. The case relationships of agent, patient, dative, and instrumental are indicated on the verb by affixes. There are both affirmative and negative agentive affixes, each of which has two sets of allomorphs. Thus there is a total of four sets of agentive pronominal affixes, which are clearly historically related. Agentive affixes may be prefixed, infixes, or suffixed, and verbs are classified according to the type and position of the agentive affix. A number of verbs, mostly expressions of position or motion, have suppletive stems for singular and plural subjects and a few have dual stems; some stems have derived plural forms. Inflected verbs may have distributive or collective affixes.

Pronouns have three persons: first, second, and third. The third person has zero representation in the agentive and patient, but has overt representation in the dative. First and second persons have

singular and plural pronominal forms; the distinction singular/plural is not made in the third person.

Nouns can inflect for plural, though normally the uninflected noun can serve for either singular or plural. Nouns inflect for possession, taking either inalienably possessed (patient) prefixes or alienably possessed (dative) prefixes according to noun classification, which is primarily semantically based. Nouns also inflect for case, nominative or oblique. Significant semantic categories for nouns are animate/inanimate, individual/collective, alienable/inalienable, and shape-position. The latter reflects human postures of standing, squatting, lying, and perhaps others.

Certain semantic categories have wide ranging significance in the description of the language. These categories are real/unreal and proximate/remote. The category real/unreal is significant for the discussion of tense and, perhaps, for the historical derivation of first person agentive pronominal affixes. The category proximate/remote is significant for the discussion of tense, deictic expressions, and syntactic categories including subordination, coordination, and cohesion devices such as the so-called switch-reference marking.

The syntactic categories nominative/oblique are necessary for the description of case, focus, coordination, subordination, and complementation.

CHAPTER II: PHONOLOGY

1 The phonemes of Alabama

<u>CONSONANTS:</u>	LABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOPALATAL	VELAR	LARYNGEAL
STOPS					
voiceless	p	t	c	k	
voiced	b				
FRICATIVES					
lateral		ʎ			
non-lateral	f		s		h
RESONANTS					
lateral		l			
nasal	m	n			
GLIDES					
			y	w	
<u>VOWELS:</u>					
		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	
		i		o	
		(ee)			
			a		

Table 1: Alabama phonemic inventory.
The vowel in parentheses is of questionable phonemic status (see below).

The phonemic inventory of Alabama is relatively small with only fourteen consonants and three contrastive vowel qualities. The vowels may be either long or short. Phonetically speaking, nasalized vowels occur, but they may be analyzed as sequences of vowel plus nasal consonant.¹

The system is asymmetric in having only one phonemically voiced obstruent, /b/; Haas (1947) derives this /b/ from a Proto-Muskogean labialized velar *k^w. Voicing is contrastive only for the bilabial stops.

1.1 The vowels²

As is to be expected in a three-vowel system, there is wide variation in the phonetic realization of the vowels. In general it may be said, however, that divergence from the quality indicated by the phonemic symbol is greatest for short vowels. Long and short

¹ In the following presentation of the phonemes and their allophones there are instances of phonemic overlap. For example, the phonetic form [ɛ] may be assigned to /i/ or /a/, because the [ɛ] allophones of these two phonemes are in complementary distribution.

/tiapli/	[tɛ'apli]	'to open'	[ɛ] < /i/
/cayyi/	[cɛɾyɪ]	'my foot'	[ɛ] < /a/

There are also instances of arbitrary assignment. For example, where no alternation occurs, [ŋ] is assigned to /n/ and [e:] is phonemicized as /ee/. (The phonemic status of /ee/ is discussed in section 1.1.4)

² Although the vowel system could be represented with the symbols /i/, /a/, and /u/, plus a phoneme of length, it was decided to use the symbol /o/ instead of /u/ and to indicate length by geminating vowel symbols. This was done because the typical phonetic form of the phonemic back rounded vowel in Alabama is nearer to [o] than [u]. The decision to write geminate vowels rather than vowel plus [:] was for orthographic simplicity and is in keeping with recommendations made by Pike (1947:221).

vowels contrast in all positions, though contrast in final position is limited to specific syntactic functions.³

1.1.1 Nasalization versus nasalized vowels⁴

An autonomous phonemic approach would require that nasalized vowels be postulated for Alabama; however, although there are surface level nasalized vowels, all such vowels alternate with vowel plus nasal consonant, with perhaps one exception. In the interrogative mood, the nasalized vowel that occurs in word-final position of an inflected verb does not alternate with vowel plus nasal, regardless of whether the verb is in sentence-final position or not. By contrast, the word-final -n 'oblique' alternates with nasalized vowels.

ifan ibitĩ
 ifa-n ibi-ti-~
 dog-obl kill-prox-Q
 Did he kill the dog?

ibitĩ ifa
 ibi-ti-~ ifa-n
 kill-prox-Q dog-obl
 Did he kill the dog?

³A final long vowel with falling pitch occurs in imperative constructions and statements of contrast, e.g. koplii 'It's a glass', kopli 'glass'. Rand (1968:99) claims that "only long vowels occur finally." Haas (1947:136) states that "Alabama nouns always end in short vowels." According to my own spectrographic analysis of one speaker's CVCV words (including nouns, verbs, and adjectives), where the medial vowel may be phonemically long or short, the final vowel had both a median and mean duration approximately midway between the corresponding median and mean durations of the short and long medial vowels. The mean of short medial vowels was 86 msec, 173 msec for long medial vowels, and 121 msec for final vowels. Rand also claims that "only short vowels occur in closed syllables." Long vowels are not common in closed syllables, but they do occur; nonetheless they tend to be phonetically shortened in that environment. The available minimal pair contrasts for length are not monomorphemic: yaskalo 'he will chew it', yaskaalo 'I will chew it', [yaskəl̩v] and [yaska:l̩v], respectively.

⁴Phonetically, vowels adjacent to a nasal consonant are at least partially nasalized. The nasalization of the vowel is more pronounced in VN sequences; in NV sequences the vowel is only partially nasalized.

An analysis of the interaction of word order and word-final consonant deletion, discussed in chapter three, suggests that vowel plus nasal at the end of an inflected verb is rarely if ever pronounced as anything other than \tilde{v} . At a superficial level, nasalized vowels contrast with non-nasalized vowels, but at the morphemic level there are no nasalized vowels, only corresponding sequences of vowel plus nasal consonant.

1.1.2 List of vowels and their allophones

/i/ high front vowel

[i], [i:] This is the most common allophone of long /ii/. It is an occasional allophone of short /i/, especially in open syllables, unless adjacent to a long vowel. It is the allophone of /i/ when followed by /yV/.

/tobiilaci/ [tvbi:ləči] 'burn'

/ipa/ [ipə] 'eat'

/niya/ [niyə] 'fat'

[ɪ] This is the most common allophone of short /i/. It occurs in closed syllables. It occurs in open syllables followed by a long vowel. It is not a variant of long /ii/.

/tobiilaci/ [tvbi:ləɕɪ] 'burn'

/imaabaci/ [ɪma:bəɕɪ] 'teach'

/cikiika/ [ɕɪki:kə] 'sit (pl)'

/ibi/ [ɪbɪ] 'kill'

/ikfi/ [ɪkfɪ] 'belly'

/iyyi/ [ɪyɪ] ~ [ɪyɪ] 'foot'

/imwaaka/ [ɛwa:kə] 'his cow'

/batapcici/ [bətəpɕɪɕɪ] 'Are you hitting?'

[ɪ] This is an allophone of /i/ word-initially before a consonant cluster beginning with /s/. It is also an occasional variant following /a/ across a morpheme boundary.

/iskani/ [ɪskənɪ] ~ [skənɪ] 'bug'

/caikfi/ [čɛɪkfi] ~ [čəkfi] 'my belly'

[e:] This is an occasional variant of long /ii/, especially before /-ka/.

/wiika/ [we:kə] ~ [wi:kə] '(sg) live somewhere'

[ɛ] This is an occasional allophone of short /i/, especially initially or finally. With a y-offglide, it is a common variant of short /i/ followed by /a/ within the same morpheme.

/ibisaani/ [ɛbɪsa:nɪ] 'nose'

/tiaplilo/ [tɛəplɪlv] 'He will open it'

/cisaamĩ/ [čisa:mẽ] 'How are you?'

/a/ low central vowel

[a], [a:] This is the common allophone of long /aa/. The [a] allophone of short /a/ is especially common in open syllables or in initial or final position.

/altobaaci/ [altvba:čɪ] 'pay'

/paani/ [pa:ni] 'creek, river'

/hasi/ [hasi] 'sun'

/wanha/ [wãha] 'hard'⁵

⁵ Spectrographic analysis shows the medial /a/ in /wãha/ to be of the same duration as the medial /a/ in /wakha/, though the combination of the vowel quality and nasalization make it sound more like a long /aa/ rather than a short /a/.

[a] This results from epenthesis, a vowel copy rule used to break certain consonant clusters, as in /mahli/ [mahəli] 'wind'.

[ə] This is the most common allophone of short /a/. It almost always occurs in closed syllables. It is not an allophone of long /aa/.

/ifa/ [ɪfə] ~ [ɪfa] 'dog'

/cassi/ [čəssi] 'corn'

/waakan/ [wa:kə] 'cow (object case)'

/banna/ [bənə] 'want'

[ɛ] This occasional allophone of /a/ occurs adjacent to /y/.

/poyatli/ [pʷɛtli] 'boil'

/cayyi/ [čɛɪyɪ] 'my foot'

[æ] This is an occasional allophone of /a/ or /aa/ when followed by the sequence /mi/.⁶

/saami/ [sæ̃mi] 'why?'

/o/ mid-high back vowel

[o] When lengthened, this is the most common allophone for long /oo/ and, when short, is a common variant for short /o/.

/oola/ [o:la] 'town'

/foosi/ [fo:si] 'bird'

/onostaaka/ [õnostaakə] 'Thursday'

/toklo/ [tokʌlʌ] 'two'

/ammo/ [ə̃mmo] 'mine'

⁶There are only a few instances of [æ] in the data. It appears to be the phonetic realization of /ah/ before /mi/.

[o] This results from epenthesis, a vowel copy rule used to break up certain consonant clusters.

/toklo/ [tokɔlo] - 'two'

/tohbi/ [tohɔbrɪ] 'fog'

[v] This common variant for short /o/ is less common for long /oo/.

/oopa/ [v:pe] 'owl'

/onolaci/ [ṽnvləčɪ] 'clouds'

/ano/ [ãnv] 'I, me'

[ə] This results from epenthesis or rapid pronunciation of a weak syllable.

/toklo/ [tokəlʊ] 'two'

1.1.3 Vowels in weak syllables

In general, the syllable preceding a heavy syllable is a weak syllable. A heavy syllable is one with a long vowel or one which is closed, that is, ends with a consonant. In a weak syllable, the vowel quality is often obscure, so much so that it is not always possible to determine what vowel phoneme should be assigned to that syllable. In the following examples, the vowel of the weak syllable is underlined.

/sobayli/	[svbaɪli] ~ [səbe:li] ~ [sɪbe:li]	'know'
/cokooli/	[čvko:li] ~ [čɪkv:li] ~ [čəko:li]	'sit'
/cikiili/	[čɪki:li] ~ [čəki:li]	'gather'
/cikiika/	[čɪki:kə] ~ [čəki:kə]	'sit, be set'
/ombitiili/	[ṽmbɪti:li] ~ [ṽvuti:li] ~ [ṽbeti:li]	'bury'
/talibooli/	[talɪbv:li] ~ [taləbv:li]	'build'
/solotka/	[svlʊtkə] ~ [sɪlʊtkə] ~ [səlʊtkə]	'skinny'
/wakayka/	[wəkarkə] ~ [wɪke:ʏə] ~ [wʊke:gə]	'fly'

The weakened syllable may be so much reduced as to disappear entirely.

/istopoyatli/ [stɔp^wɛtli] ~ [ɾstɔpɔyɛtli] 'fry, boil'

1.1.4 Diphthongs and [e:] and [ɔ:]

Diphthongs result when a vowel is followed by a glide in a closed syllable.⁷

/oyba/ [ɔɪbə] ~ [o^wɪbə] 'rain'

/okcawko/ [ɔkčəwko] ~ [ɔkčəako] 'watermelon'

/imokwayli/ [ɪmɔkwəɪli] ~ [ɪmɔkwe:li] 'fish'

Of importance here is the phonetic sequence [e:], which could be assigned to either /ii/ or /ay/. Wherever [e:] occurred but was not found to have a variant [ii] or [aɪ] in another context or as spoken by another speaker, the form is recorded here as /ee/. Such occurrences of /ee/ are presently not further analyzable. It may be that /ee/ is in the process of acquiring phonemic status, albeit only as a defective phoneme. It does not occur initially or finally.

The occurrence of the sequence [ɔɔ] is always attributable to /o/ plus a following /a/ or /ha/.⁸ Although at the surface the sequence

⁷With three vowels and two glides there are six logically possible pairs of VG. Only the sequences /ay/, /oy/, and /aw/ pose problems of analysis. The sequence /iy/ was reported previously in the discussion of variants of /i/ and does not result in a notably distinctive vowel quality. The other logically possible sequences, /ow/ and /iw/, were not encountered in closed syllables.

⁸Not all o(h)a sequences surface as [ɔ:]. The sequence o(h)a occurs under two morphological sequential conditions:

- (1) ho- 'distributive' followed by a morpheme with initial /a/, or
- (2) a morpheme with final /o/ followed by a second person plural agentive pronominal affix.

[ɔ:] contrasts with geminate long vowels, /aa/, /oo/, /ii/, and even /ee/, wherever speakers use [ɔ:] they also use the variants [o^ha], [ʊ^wə]; [o^ha] is used as an alternate where /h/ is present at the underlying level.

[čɔ:spatɪ] < /coaspati/ < /cohaspati/ 'You (pl) bought it.'

[ɔ:nvslɪ] < /ohanoslo/ 'They finish it.'

1.2 The consonants

Consonants occur word initially or medially between vowels. No native words pronounced in isolation end in a consonant. With the exception of the voiced bilabial stop /b/, voicing is redundant: obstruents, are inherently voiceless while resonants and glides are voiced.

1.2.1 Stops

All non-geminate voiceless stops tend to be lenis between voiced segments and may take on voicing, particularly before a resonant.

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

Instances of geminate /bb/ alternate with non-geminate /b/.

The consonant /b/ does not occur as the initial consonant in a consonant cluster.⁹

The o(h)a → [ɔ:] rule is optional for both conditions; however, under condition (1) if the verb root is suppletive the rule is more likely to apply, whereas if the verb root is the same for singular and plural stems, the rule is less likely to apply. Both older and younger speakers use [ɔ:], but it appears that older speakers are less likely to use it under condition (1).

⁹The tendency to lengthen intervocalic /b/ may be to strengthen the contrast with intervocalic /p/, which tends to be lenis between voiced segments. The only instance of [b] occurring initially in a consonant cluster is in the sequence [bl] from /pl/.

/baski/	[baskɪ]	'long'
/ibi/	[ɪbɪ]	'kill'
/ibisaani/	[ɛbɪsa:nɪ]	[ɛbbɪsa:nɪ] 'nose'

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop

/pici/	[pɪtʃɪ]	'mother'
/ayoppa/	[ayɔppə]	'smile'
/hapi/	[həpɪ]	'salt'

/p/ is commonly realized as [b] before /l/.

/batapli/	[bətəplɪ]	'hit'
/həʎapli/	[həʎəplɪ] ~ [həʎəblɪ]	'to kick'
/hipli/	[hɪblɪ]	'snow'

/t/ dental stop

/tali/	[talɪ]	'rock'
/tosbi/	[tosbɪ]	'dull'
/innati/	[ɪnnətɪ]	'teeth'
/itto/	[ɪttv]	'tree'

/t/ is commonly realized as [d] before /l/.

/batli/	[bədɪ] ~ [bətɪ]	'to whip'
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/c/ alveopalatal affricate, [č] = [tʃ]

This consonant does not occur as the initial member of a consonant cluster.

/caaha/	[ča:ha]	'tall'
/haci/	[həčɪ]	'tail'

Geminate /cc/ is uncommon.

/toccina/ [tʊtʃi:nə] 'three'

Swanton frequently transcribes [dj] for this consonant.

Voicing most commonly occurs following a long vowel.

/hiica/ [hi:ʒə] 'see'

/k/ velar stop

/kano/ [kano] 'good'

/kolbi/ [kolbɪ] 'basket'

/kolkokka/ [kʊlkʊkkə] 'thunder'

It is fronted when followed by /i/.

/cokiipa/ [ʃoki:pə] 'not buy'

[g] is a common allophone of /k/ intervocalically and before a voiced consonant.

/laki/ [lakɪ] 'arrow'

/bikno/ [brɪnʊ] 'front'

/ikba/ [ɪgbə] 'warm'

Intervocalically, especially following a long vowel, the spirant allophone [ɣ] may occur.

/akaaka/ [əkɑ:ɣə] 'chicken'

1.2.2 Fricatives

The four Alabama fricatives are redundantly voiceless.

/f/ labial fricative

This fricative may be either bilabial or labiodental. The labiodental pronunciation is more common among younger speakers.

/foosi/	[fo:sɪ] ~ [ʃo:sɪ]	'bird'
/ifa/	[ɪfə] ~ [ɪʃə]	'dog'
/tofka/	[tʌfkə] ~ [tʌʃkə]	'spit'
/coffi/	[čʌffɪ] ~ [čʌʃʃɪ]	'jump' ¹⁰

/l/ lateral fricative

This fricative is transcribed as hl by Swanton. The point of articulation varies among speakers with older speakers using a more dental articulation.

/laʎo/	[laʎo] ~ [θaθo]	'fish'
/iyaaʎi/	[iya:ʎɪ] ~ [iya:θɪ]	'own'
/tooʎka/	[to:ʎkə]	'run (pl)'
/piʎʎa/	[pɪʎʎə]	'boat'
/taʎʎa/	[təʎʎə] ~ [təθθə]	'next to' ¹¹

The allophone [θ] may be used for any occurrence of /l/; however, it is most common following /n/.

/anʎiya/	[ãθiyə]	'go (du)'
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/s/ alveopalatal fricative¹²

The point of articulation varies greatly either according to the surrounding vowels or as a result of free variation.

¹⁰This, and perhaps all other instances of geminate /f/ so far recorded, is the result of the assimilation of the /l/ of -li 'active'; coffi < cof + li.

¹¹Other examples of geminate /l/ can be the result of assimilation: staʎʎa < ist + aʎ + ya 'bring'.

¹²Although Choctaw and Chickasaw have two contrastive groove fricatives, /s/ and /š/, in the other Muskogean languages there is "only one such spirant ranging from [s] usual in Koasati, Hitchiti, Creek, and Seminole, to [š] usual in Mikasuki and Alabama" (Haas 1941:42).

Allophones range from alveolar [s], alveopalatal [š], through the retroflex [ʂ]. Occasionally speakers produce a low whistle when articulating /s/, particularly if the following vowel is /o/.

/sakba/	[səkβə] ~ [šəkβə]	'arm'
/sokca/	[svkčə] ~ [svkčə]	'packet'
/foosi/	[fo:si] ~ [fo:ši]	'bird'
/cissi/	[čissi]	'mouse'
/labosli/	[ləbosli]	'extinguish'

/h/ glottal fricative

/h/ is classified here as a fricative because of its alternation with the velar spirant [x], though phonologically it patterns as a glide.¹³

/hahi/	[hahi]	'walnuts'
/foho/	[fɔho]	'bee'
/yahka/	[yahkə]	'cry'
/alwahhilo/	[alwahhilo]	'We broke it.' ¹⁴

The allophone [x] occurs between /i/ and a consonant.

/nihta/	[nixtə]	'day'
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¹³/Vh/ tends to be realized as a geminate vowel before resonants, especially when the resonant belongs to another morpheme;

/mahli/	[mahli] ~ [maali]	'wind'
/alwahli/	[alwa:li]	'break' < <u>alwah</u> + <u>li</u> 'active'

but

/alwahci/	[alwahçi]	'you to break' < <u>alwah</u> + <u>ci</u> '2sg'
/alwahhili/	[alwahhili]	[alwaahili] 'we break' < + <u>hili</u> '1pl'

¹⁴This is one of few instances recorded of geminate /hh/. All of the instances which I recorded are similar occurrences of a morpheme-final /h/ followed by hili 'first person plural agent'.

1.2.3 Resonants

All resonants are voiced and occur initially, medially, and as geminates.

/l/ dental lateral As with /t/ and /ʎ/, the point of articulation varies with the speakers, younger speakers tending towards an alveolar pronunciation.

/laana/ [la:nə] 'yellow'

/cola/ [čvlə] 'fox'

/illi/ [ɪllɪ] 'die'

Before a consonant, especially after /o/, the /l/ tends to be velarized.

/takkolcoba/ [təkkul^wčvbə] 'apple'

/talwa/ [təlwə] 'sing'

/m/ bilabial nasal¹⁵

/moosɪ/ [mo:si] 'uncle'

/amaaka/ [əma:γə] 'go (pl)'

/homma/ [h[̃]ommə] 'red'

/m/ occurs as [ŋ] before /k/.

/falamka/ [fəlãŋkə] 'get someone up'

¹⁵ Under certain morphological conditions, labial closure is not made, leaving the presence of the nasal to be indicated solely on the preceding vowel.

/amwaaka/ [ãwa:kə] 'my cow'

/n/ dental nasal

/naani/ [na:nɪ] 'man'

/hinni/ [hɪnnɪ] 'road'

/bikno/ [bɪknɔ] 'front'

/n/ occurs as [ŋ] before /k/.

/cabanko/ [čəbɛŋkɔ] 'I don't want'

1.2.4 Glides

/w/ bilabial glide

/wilo/ [wilo] 'shoes'

/cowaala/ [čɔwa:lə] 'cypress'

/sawwa/ [səwə] 'raccoon'

/aswa/ [aswə] 'live somewhere (du)'

/w/ rarely occurs as initial member of a consonant cluster.

/okcawko/ [ɔkcaukɔ] 'watermelon'

/w/ occurs as an epenthetic offglide between /o/ and a following vowel.

/oyba/ [ɔɪbə] ~ [o^wɪbə] 'rain'

/koasa/ [kɔ^wasə] 'elbow'

/y/ palatal glide

/yahka/ [yəhkə] ~ [ya:kə] 'cry'

/niya/ [niyə] 'fat'

/y/ is transcribed as [ɪ] before another syllabic consonant.

/coyyi/ [čɔɪɪ] 'pine'

/imokwayli/ [ɪmɔkwe:lɪ] ~ [ɪmɔkwaɪlɪ] 'fish'

/oyba/ [ɔɪbə] 'rain'

1.3 Consonant clusters

All Alabama consonants other than /b/ and /c/, and perhaps /w/, occur as initial members in clusters of two consonants; all consonants can occur as the second member in such clusters. Most clusters begin consonant clusters; however, phonetically the sequence /sC/ occurs initially. Clusters do not occur in word-final position. Clusters of three consonants do not occur morpheme-internally; where they occur as the result of affixation or compounding they are simplified to two-consonant clusters.¹⁶

Table 2 lists all occurrences of consonant clusters found in my field notes, Rand 1968, and Swanton's Sketch (1922-23). The clusters noted are surface manifestations and not underlying forms, with the exception of /pl/, which is frequently [bl] phonetically. The cluster /nk/ is phonetically [ŋk] and may be from underlying /nk/ or /mk/.¹⁷

¹⁶For example, the word tiskhomma 'cardinal' [tiskvmmə] is apparently derived from the adjective homma 'red' and a morpheme related to the word tiskila 'jay, bluejay'. More commonly it is the medial consonant in a cluster which is lost, as when the instrumental prefix ist- is attached to a verb beginning with a consonant: iscoopa 'sell' < ist + coopa 'buy'. Borrowed words are not always affected by syllable-structure constraints: katska 'blue catfish' < kats 'cats' + -ka 'derivational affix'. (This last example is not a recent borrowing; it also appears in Swanton's file, card number 1032.)

¹⁷It should be apparent, from the gloss of the examples given for each cluster, which words are transparently not monomorphemic. Wherever possible, monomorphemic, or apparently monomorphemic, words are provided as examples. Conjugated verbs are included only when they provide the only known instances of the consonant cluster in question. The lexicon should be consulted for additional information about the words cited.

C1 \ C2	b	p	t	c	k	f	ʃ	s	h	l	m	n	w	y
b	(bb)													
p		pp	pt	pc	pk		pʃ		ph	pl				
t			tt	tc	tk				th	tl				
c				cc										
k	kb	kp	kt	kc	kk	kf	kʃ	ks	kh	kl	km	kn	kw	(ky)
f				fc	fk	ff			fh			fn		
ʃ		ʃp	ʃt	ʃc	ʃk		ʃʃ		ʃh					(ʃy)
s	sb	sp	st	sc	sk	sf	(sʃ)	ss	sh	sl	sm	sn	sw	(sy)
h	hb	hp	ht	hc	hk		(hʃ)		(hh)	hl				
l	lb	lp	lt	lc	lk	(lf)			lh	ll		ln	lw	(ly)
m	mb	mp							(mh)		mm			
n			nt	nc	nk		nʃ	ns	nh			nn		ny
w				(wc)	(wk)									(ww)
y	yb			yc	yk				yh	yl	(ym)			yy

Table 2: Two-consonant clusters (surface forms)

The following list illustrates the occurrence of the clusters given in Table 2. Clusters given in parentheses in the table are uncertain or occur only in sources not my own and are discussed in more detail in the notes accompanying the following list of examples.

/bb/ All instances of geminate /bb/ so far recorded are in free variation with /b/.

ibbisaani ~ ibisaani 'nose'

itabbatli ~ itabatli 'crawl'

/pp/	ayoppa	'smile' ¹⁸
/pt/	lipti	'catfish'
/pc/	batapcilo	'You will hit.'
/pk/	haɫapka	'kick'
/pɫ/	ipɫo	'squirrel'
/ph/	bataphiliti	'We hit it.'
/pl/	batapli	'hit'
/tt/	itto	'tree'
/tc/	batcilo	'You will whip.'
/tk/	hatka	'white'
/th/	patha	'flat'
/tl/	bitli	'dance'
/cc/	tocciina	'three'
/kb/	ikba	'hot'
/kp/	halakpa	'sharp'
/kt/	pakto	'mushroom'
/kc/	hakco	'ear'
/kk/	bokko	'hill'
/kf/	cokfi	'rabbit'
/kɫ/	okɫi	'mud, clay'
/ks/	haksobaaci	'loud'
/kh/	wakha	'back'

¹⁸/pp/ is perhaps underlying /kp/. /ayoppa/ 'smile' [əyɔppə] ~ [əyɔkpə] may be underlying ayokpa; /halakpa/ 'sharp' [hələkpa] ~ [hələppə]. Whether the age of the speaker affects the difference in usage of /pp/ and /kp/ was not determined.

/kl/	toklo	'two', ¹⁹
/km/	akmi	'ice'
/kn/	bikno	'front, ahead'
/kw/	imokwayli	'fish'
/ky/	ʔ ²⁰	

/fc/	hocifciti	'You named it.'
/fk/	tofka	'spit'
/ff/	coffa	'needle'
/fh/	kolofhiliti	'we cut'
/fn/	hofna	'smell'

/lp/	toɫpa	'knee'
/lt/	toɫtohka	'cough'
/lc/	onaɫciti	'you lent it'
/lk/	baɫka	'grapes'
/ll/	piɫla	'boat'
/lh/	citiɫhomma	'a kind of red berry'
/ly/	staɫliyalɔ	'We will send it.' ²¹

¹⁹In clusters of /kl/ and /hl/, an epenthetic vowel commonly occurs between the two members of the cluster. The epenthetic vowel is rapidly passed over and is usually devoiced. It is, however, voiced when the consonant preceding the /l/ takes on voicing. Thus, some of the variants of /toklo/ are [tʉklʉ], [tʉkʉlʉ], and [tʉgʉlʉ].

²⁰This cluster is reported by Swanton (JRS.10) but he gives no example and I was unable to find one in his Sketch.

²¹The /ly/ cluster occurs in rapid speech, [stɔlyalʉ] 'we will send it'. The only occurrences of /ly/ in the data are with the verbs /aɫla/ '(sg.) go' and its derivative /staɫla/ '(sg) send' (< ist 'instrumental' + aɫla 'go'). The verb stem itself seems to be derived from /aɫ-/ plus /(i)ya/ 'be here(?)'. (The verb (i)ya appears to have

/sb/	tosbi	'dull'
/sp/	naspakaali	'flower'
/st/	akostanici	'think'
/sc/	labosciti	'You turned it off.'
/sk/	baski	'long'
/sf/	isfalammi	'wake someone up'
/sʎ/	sʎafka	'match' ²²
/ss/	cissi	'mouse'
/sh/	noʎikishilo	'We scared it.'
/sl/	labosli	'extinguish'
/sm/	imosma	'you moisten for it' ²³

the underlying form -CV requiring an epenthetic vowel when occurring as a free form. It does not occur as a free form in the data.) The following derivations of 'we will send it' for careful speech and rapid speech contrast /ʎy/ where /y/ assimilates and where it does not.

The morphemes: staʎ- verb root
 -li- agent pronominal affix
 -ya- secondary verb root
 -lo- future tense

staʎ-li-ya-lo base form
staʎ-ʎi-ya-lo /l/ assimilation
[stəʎʎiyalv] 'We will send it' (careful speech)

staʎ-li-ya-lo base form
staʎ-l -ya-lo loss of weak syllable in rapid speech
staʎ- -ya-lo consonant cluster simplification
[stəʎyalv] 'We will send it' (rapid speech)
(/y/ assimilation is blocked because
of application of the consonant
cluster simplification rule)

²²The cluster /sʎ/ is reported by Rand (1968:103). In his article he provided two examples, the one cited here and /isʎo:potka:/ 'stop'. Swanton does not report the cluster.

²³The cluster /sm/ is reported by Swanton (JRS.11) but no example is given. Elsewhere in his Sketch, however, he provides the form cited here (JRS.28). Rand does not report the cluster.

/sn/	posno	'we'
/sw/	aswa	'stay (du)'
/sy/	syincaka	'window', ²⁴
/hb/	tohbi	'fog'
/hp/	cohpa	'buy'
/ht/	nihta	'day'
/hc/	tahci	'shoulder'
/hk/	yahka	'cry'
/hʎ/	tahʎipa	'hundred', ²⁵
/hh/	alwahhilo	'We broke it.', ²⁶
/hl/	mahli	'wind', ²⁷

²⁴The cluster /sy/ is reported by Rand (1968:103); he provides the one example cited here. Swanton also reports the cluster (JRS.11), but he provides no example of this cluster in his Sketch.

²⁵The form cited here is provided by Rand (1968:102), though he does not report the cluster /hʎ/. He also does not report the cluster /cc/, but rather /tc/; he provides the form /totcinna:/ In Rand's article the editor notes (p. 94),

In a couple of instances we add in square brackets a slightly different form to the one supplied by Rand, indicating in each case that the addition was by [Haas] in personal correspondence. For 'three' Haas supplied /toccina/ (Rand 1968:101), but she provided no alternant for /tahʎipa/ 'hundred' although elsewhere in one of her own publications (Haas 1941:76) she used the form /taʎʎiipa/ for 'hundred'.

²⁶The occurrence of geminate /hh/ may be restricted. See discussion under footnote 14.

²⁷The word /mahli/ was recorded to have three allophonic variants, [ma:lɪ], mahli, [mahalɪ], presented in order of increasing strength of the /h/. See discussion under footnote 13 and 19.

/lb/	ilbi	'hand'
/lp/	olposko	'buttocks'
/lt/	altobaaci	'pay'
/lc/	holcifa	'name'
/lk/	balka	'lie down (pl)'
/lf/	alfabi	'left arm', ²⁸
/lh/	balhilkati	'we lay down'
/ll/	illi	'die'
/ln/	ilnoociti	'we slept'
/lw/	talwa	'sing'
/ly/	ilyowa	'come and call', ²⁹
/mb/	imbolbo	'kidney'
/mp/	campoli	'sweet'
/mh/	lomhi	'hide', ³⁰
/mm/	homma	'red'
/nt/	banta	'gar fish'

²⁸This cluster /lf/ is reported by Rand (1968:103) and the form cited here is provided by him (p. 98). Swanton reports the cluster but does not provide an example; the form he reports for 'the left hand' is /afabi/ (JRS.81).

²⁹Swanton does not report the cluster /ly/ because he attempted to restrict cluster analysis to morpheme-internal clusters whereas /ilyowa/ 'come and call' (JRS.36) is clearly a compound of ila 'come' and yowa 'call out'. Rand does not report the cluster /ly/.

³⁰The form provided here is from Haas (1941:47); I have the form lommi (< lom + li 'active' with the /l/ assimilating). Instances I have of /Vmh/ result in [V̄:h]. In his files, Swanton lists lom'hi with the typed gloss 'to hide, hiding', but then apparently later by hand wrote the gloss 'go and hide him!' (file card 1183). Neither Rand nor Swanton report the cluster /mh/.

/nc/	haconcoba	'alligator'
/nk/	tanka	'dark, night' ³¹
/nɫ/	anliya	'go (du)'
/ns/	insokpa	'lungs'
/nh/	pinha	'far'
/nn/	hinni	'road'
/ny/	istinyooli	'tie'
/wc/	facala cawcakka	'speckled breast woodpecker' ³²
/wk/	okcawko	'watermelon'
/ww/	sawwa	'raccoon' ³³
/yb/	bayba	'heavy'
/yc/	sobaycilo	'You will know.'
/yk/	sobayko	'not known'
/yh/	sobayhiliti	'We knew it.'
/yl/	imokwayli	'fish'

³¹The underlying nasal here may be /m/. Phonetically, the form is [təŋkə]. There is a verb /tammi/ 'fall' from tam + li 'active'. It may well be that the word for 'night' is the corresponding derived form exhibiting the mediopassive -ka.

³²This /wc/ cluster and the next example of a /wk/ cluster are the only examples of a /w/ plus obstruent. Neither Rand nor Swanton report such clusters. It is possible, since in both cases the vowel preceding the /w/ is /a/, that these are /ao/ vowel clusters. Rand (1968:101) gives 'watermelon' as /okcaako/.

³³Both Haas (1941:50) and Swanton (file card number 1812) transcribe 'raccoon' as /sawa/, without geminate /ww/. The word 'sawa' also means 'small' (JRS.19). It is possible that the geminate /ww/ in the word for 'raccoon' is an innovation. Nonetheless, it should also be noted that Swanton considered geminates to be "difficult to determine" and consequently left them "out of consideration" in his Sketch (JRS.11).

/ym/ ?³⁴

/yy/ tayyi 'woman'

1.4 Pitch accent and intonation

The tonal accent systems of various Muskogean languages have been systematically investigated only recently, in many cases years after grammatical treatises were written.³⁵ In Alabama pitch appears not to be lexically significant but rather grammatically conditioned; however, a fuller and more detailed account than that which is presented here is still to be undertaken. What is needed is a thorough investigation of pitch both separate from and as a part of the intonation patterns of the language.

At the present stage of analysis, it does not appear to be necessary to mark any pitch other than high and low; however, low is contrastive only when immediately preceded by high pitch. The sequence of high followed by low usually, but not always, occurs on the same syllable, for which reason it is conveniently labeled falling

³⁴ Rand reports the cluster /ym/ but provides no example. Swanton does not list any consonant clusters beginning with a glide, but that is at least in part because he does not list /y/ or /w/ among the "clearly recognized" consonant sounds (JRS.3). It may well be that clusters with /y/ are as uncommon and restricted as those with /w/.

³⁵ Recent analyses of the tonal accent systems of Muskogean languages include Haas's (1977) 'Tonal accent in Creek' and Derrick's (1980) study of Mikasuki. Over a hundred years earlier, Buckner (1860) had published a grammar of Creek. Swanton's and Gatschet's grammatical sketches of Hitchiti, a language closely related to Mikasuki, preceded Derrick's work by over half a century. In spite of the fact that Choctaw has been best documented of the Muskogean languages, with several grammars and dictionaries written within the last century, Nicklas's account of the pitch accent system, as presented in his dissertation, has appeared only within the last decade.

pitch. In this study, phonemic transcription will include diacritics indicating high (ˊ) and falling (ˋ) pitch; where falling pitch occurs spread over two syllables, as in some negative imperative constructions, it is indicated by high on one syllable and low (ˋ) on the next.

1.4.1 Lexical pitch

Words in isolation usually are pronounced with the final syllable higher than the preceding ones, regardless of syllable structure and regardless of whether the word is a noun or verb, unless the word has inherent falling pitch.³⁶

coyyi	[čvɪyɪ]	'pinetree'
incaabi	[ɪnča:bɪ]	'intestines'
aataksi	[a:təksɪ]	'white potato'
bakco	[bəkčv]	'blackberries'
takkola	[təkkvələ]	'apple'
paani	[pa:ni]	'creek'
cooba	[čo:bə]	'big'
baski	[bəskɪ]	'long'
alwaali	[alwa:li]	'wash'
ipa	[ɪpə]	'eat'
balaaka	[bəla:yə]	'(sg) lie down'

³⁶High and falling pitch appear to be associated not with roots but with affixes. An exception may be words with inherent falling pitch, a small group of words mostly limited to numerals. Derrick (1980:191), working with Mikasuki, found that the three contrastive tones, high, low, and mid, were partially predictable in terms of word class and syllable structure. Thus, future analysis of pitch in Alabama may also reveal correspondences between word class, syllable structure, and pitch.

caffáaka [ceffa:kə] 'one' (falling pitch)
 toklo [tʊkɔlv] 'two'
 tocciina [tʊtci:nə] 'three' (falling pitch)
 ostáaka [vsta:ge] 'four' (falling pitch)
 hocíli [hociiθɪ] 'star' (falling pitch)

In words of more than two syllables, an initial syllable followed by a long-vowel syllable tends to be somewhat lower in pitch than the following syllable. However, unless falling pitch is present, it is not unusual for all syllables of a word to be pronounced at the same relative pitch with perhaps even a slight lowering on the final syllable.

abaali [əba:lɪ] 'high, up'
 lokooli [lʊko:li] '(pl) stand'

1.4.2 Grammatical pitch

A number of morphemes have an accompanying high pitch. These morphemes include mood suffixes, a negative affix, and the topic marker -yá.³⁷

1.4.2.1 Interrogative mood

Change in pitch, along with nasalization of the final vowel of an inflected verb, marks the interrogative construction. For some speakers, the nasalization is so slight that it is the pitch pattern

³⁷Other morphemes not as well understood may also have an associated high pitch. Such morphemes will be noted appropriately where they occur in discussion and examples.

alone that is the grammatically distinctive indication of the interrogative mood.³⁸

<u>catammo</u>	'I fell down'
<u>citammi</u>	'Did you fall down?'

1.4.2.2 Imperative mood

Pitch is also distinctive in marking the imperative mood: the final vowel of the inflected verb is long with a higher than usual or, more commonly, high-falling pitch. In the negative imperative, when the inflected verb is more than three syllables long, instead of falling pitch being on the final syllable, the penultimate syllable receives high pitch followed by a sharp drop in pitch on the final syllable.³⁹

<u>hossociî</u>	'Write!'
<u>cofcinnââ</u>	'Don't jump!'
<u>isiskânâ</u>	'Don't drink!'

³⁹As explained previously, final vowels are significantly longer than initial or medial short vowels; however, they are shorter than initial or medial long vowels. When falling pitch occurs on a word-final vowel, the vowel is frequently, though not always, phonetically lengthened. Throughout this study, where examples of the imperative have falling pitch on the final syllable, that final vowel is transcribed as a long vowel.

³⁸Rand (1968) seems to have worked with such a speaker. He records the distinctive pitch pattern, but not nasalization, in interrogative forms.

1.4.2.3 Declarative mood (affirmative)

In an affirmative declarative construction the verb-final tense affix usually receives a higher pitch than the immediately preceding syllables.

hiicalití 'I saw it.'

1.4.2.4 Negation

Negation is indicated by the presence of the negative particles kí ~ ík and/or o, and by the high pitch which accompanies the negative particles. The negative agentive pronominal affixes appear to be derived from a set of affirmative pronominals plus a negative kí.⁴⁰ The negative kí ~ ík is also used to derive antonyms. (The negative pronouns are underlined in the parenthetical analyses of the inflected verbs.)

cakíího	'short' < caaha 'tall'	
pakítho	'not flat' < patha 'flat'	
aféékkoti	'He didn't laugh.'	<afaa- <u>ík</u> -ka-o-ti
too ^l íkkoti	'They didn't run.'	<too ^l - <u>ík</u> -ka-o-ti
akhiícobi	'I didn't see it.'	< <u>ák</u> -hiica-o-bi

⁴⁰This negative kí ~ ík occurs in all the Muskogean languages. In Mikasuki it is part of the negative suffix -tik (Derrick 1980:405). In Seminole Creek it is part of the negative suffix -iko (Nathan 1977:119). In Choctaw it is found in the independent negative particle kiyoh as well as in combination with the 'passive' series pronominal affixes to indicate unreal conditions, including negation (Nicklas 1974:33,66,195).

1.4.2.5 Topicalization

The suffix -ya 'topic', like tense suffixes in the declarative mood, takes a somewhat higher pitch than preceding syllables of the noun phrase when the noun phrase occurs preverbally.

toknaawayá honampohcolo 'I have a lot of money'

bilkan tamkayá honaani 'Bill and Tom are men'

1.4.2.6 Predication with stative verbs

Although no phonemic pitch pattern is present in the uninflected form, stative verbs have an accompanying high pitch except when used attributively.

naaniyá cááhaci 'That man is tall.'

Both of the following sentences mean 'I bought the old horse' or 'I bought the horse which is old'; in the first, however, acooba 'old' is used as a nonfinite verb while in the second it is used adjectivally.

cicoba	acóobahson	coopaliti	} 'I bought the old horse.'
horse	old	I bought it	
cicoba	accobayá	coopaliti	

1.5 Down drift

The basic intonation pattern for sentences involves a gradual down drift with the occurrence of progressively lower peaks associated with verbs and various morphemes.⁴¹

⁴¹ This down drift phenomenon has been reported for other Muskogean languages by Nathan (1977:21) and Haas (1977:196).

Presented here are a number of examples of sentences with corresponding pitch pattern lines. The phonemic transcription is accompanied by diacritics for grammatically distinctive high and falling pitch. Such diacritics will be used throughout this work. The breaks in pitch pattern lines indicate positions of pause in natural speech.

oííhayok istíkkocolo maafaya

All those people don't live there.

bilkak talibóóleenomo paalimpo

Bill will build the table sometime.

paalimpon talibóóleenomo bilka

Bill will build the table sometime.

pahacááliciskayok ohiskaâba palimpafã

You already put the glasses on the table!

ompaliti mobilã asiilifóókon

I ate while he washed the car.

náksok ifan ibĩ

Who killed the dog?

soosi immoosí aki naaniyok iisabíknon maahaacááliyo

That is Suzie's uncle--the man who is standing in front of the house.

2 Syllables, morphemes, words, and canonical forms

2.1 Syllables

Syllable division of the utterances of the language involves recognition of two major categories of syllables: restricted and unrestricted. Unrestricted syllables can occur in all positions of a word: initial, medial, or final.⁴²

<u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Restricted</u>
V	VC
VV	VVC
CV	CVC
CVV	CVVC
	CCV
	CCVV
	VCC

Table 3: Alabama syllables.

Restricted syllables are of two types: those terminating in a consonant and those ending in a cluster. The consonant-final syllables are restricted in word-final position: the consonant must

⁴² Actually, there is one limitation on the structure of unrestricted syllables. The defective phoneme /ee/ occurs only in medial position. The interjection of agreement, ee 'yeah', is exceptional in this regard.

be /k/, /n/, /t/, or /s/. Elsewhere the syllable-final consonant cannot be /c/ unless the following syllable begins with /c/, and it cannot be /b/ unless the following syllable begins with /b/.⁴³

Syllable division occurs between unlike vowels and between consonants in a cluster, including geminate clusters. Syllables end in a consonant only if the syllable is followed by a consonant-initial syllable or by word-boundary.⁴⁴

Syllables beginning with a cluster are restricted in that the cluster must be /sC/. Such syllables commonly occur word-initially as the result of initial /i/ deletion.

[stilə] /stila/ 'bring' < ist 'instr' + ila 'be here'

The only known instances of clusters of three consonants, resulting from derivation or inflection, involve the instrumental prefix. In such instances the cluster /stC/ is simplified to /sC/; the syllable division then occurs between the /s/ and the /C/, unless the initial /i/ is deleted, in which case the syllable is /sCV/. Occasionally the syllable VCC occurs as a result of the deletion of a medial vowel.

⁴³This statement requires expansion to be compatible with the phonetic data. Although phonemic /b/ does not occur in syllable-final position, except perhaps in geminates, the allophone [b] of /p/ occurs when the following syllable begins with a resonant, recorded examples being clusters of [bl].

⁴⁴Only /k/, /n/, /t/, and /s/ occur word-finally.

[atsfele^hmmilo] /aat^hisfalammilo/ 'He will wake them'

[tisk^hv^hmmə] ~ [tisk^hv^hmmə] /tisk(h)omma/ 'cardinal'

< tiski- 'jay' + homma 'red'

Where the sequence VCC constitutes a syllable, one of the two consonants must be /s/.

2.2 Morphemes

Morphemes can be realized as segmental units, suprasegmental units, or a combination of both. The affirmative imperative suffix -^h, falling pitch assignment, is an example of a morpheme without segmental phonemes.

amaahoká^h 'You (pl), go!'

An example of a morpheme which has both segmental and suprasegmental components can be found in the negative pronominal affixes which always have an associated high pitch.

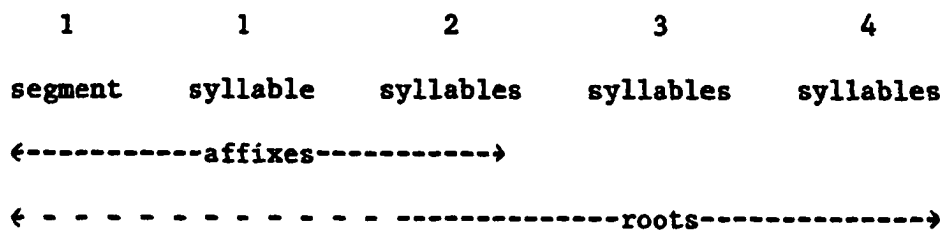
cokíípo 'He didn't buy it.' < cohpa 'buy'

Morphemes composed of segmental phonemes include both affixes and roots.

The identification of segmental morphemes is dependent upon the extent of the data available and the occurrence of recognizably related forms. Affixes, especially inflectional affixes, are most readily identified. An affix, unlike a root, may also be composed of

only one phoneme. Examples are -o 'negative', -m 'dative', -k 'nominative'. Only a few affixes larger than two syllables are known; however, they are probably not monomorphemic. Examples of such affixes are -āhosi 'nearly' and -alpiisa 'obligational'. By contrast, a root must contain at least one syllable. No monosyllabic noun roots are known. There are a few monosyllabic verb roots, but they invariably occur with either a pronominal prefix or prothetic i-.⁴⁵

The relative size of affixes and roots holds for other Muskogean languages as well. Derrick (1980:336) provides the following chart as a summary of the situation in Mikasuki, another eastern Muskogean language.



Canonical Forms of Roots and Affixes

For Mikasuki (from Derrick 1980)

⁴⁵Words such as ibi 'kill' and ipa 'eat' with prothetic i- correspond to Choctaw abi 'kill' and apa 'eat'. In both Alabama and Choctaw the -CV root occurs, without the prothetic vowel, with agentive pronominal prefixes. Other bound morphemes, such as -ka 'give', require a dative pronominal affix; thus the free form of 'give' is inka 'give to someone'. Although Choctaw has a root -a 'give' (Nicklas 1974:63), I have found no root in Alabama without a consonant.

She also notes that "most affixes are shorter than two syllables, and most roots are two or three syllables in length."⁴⁶ Nicklas (1974:22) notes that in Choctaw "most words have two or three syllables, not counting prefixes, but four syllables is also common" and "a number of common words have one syllable." This is in sharp contrast to Alabama, which has few monosyllabic words. Nicklas reports that the monosyllabic nouns of Choctaw are all of the structure CVC, with a long vowel.⁴⁷

⁴⁶In her analysis, roots are always consonant-final and have a "final vocalic suffix." She does not identify that vowel in her presentation of noun suffixes (pp. 357ff), but apparently uninflected nouns in Mikasuki always terminate in /i/. Regarding verbs, however, she notes (p. 369) that "every verbal root has associated with it one of two possible stem vowels: /-a-/ or /-i-/" which are suffixed to the root. Her use of terminology is inconsistent in that she seems to be including the vowel suffix in her root syllable count. She gives the following as examples to accompany the chart of canonical forms.

	<u>Affix</u>	<u>Root</u>
1 segment	/-h-/ 'second past tense infix	/-b-/ 'nose' (always occurs with posses. prefix
1 syllable	/-ho-/ 'plural'	/hàw/ 'okay' (interjection)
2 syllables	/pik č-/ 'intensifier'	/-o: m-/ 'do, make'
3 syllables	-----	/à šō: w-/ 'clump of cypress'
4 syllables	-----	/tā: tì yā: h-/ 'chicken'

Nathan (1977:37) reports for Seminole Creek that "most [noun] roots consist of two or three syllables" and that (p.74) "in general, verb roots are shorter than noun roots;" the shortest verb roots consist of a single consonant. She does not discuss the relative size of affixes, but presents none larger than two syllables.

⁴⁷The half dozen monosyllabic verbs which Nicklas lists (1974:62-3) include:

a 'to be a,' -a 'to give,' and a 'to say.'

All three of these can be derived from Proto-Muskogean *ka. The other monosyllabic verb roots exhibit a prothetic vowel, which in Choctaw is a, in contrast to the Alabama prothetic vowel i.

2.3 Words and canonical forms

A word is a sequence of phones which can occur as a free form.⁴⁸ It is further limited to a sequence which may take a syntactic suffix. There are two major word classes in the language: nouns and verbs. The two overlap, at least in the segmental forms of shared members. Other word classes are pronouns, demonstratives, conjunctions, locatives, and, perhaps, adverbials. The classes are distinguished by syntactic function.

Although the sequence of phonemes of a word cannot alone identify the word as a noun or a verb, certain sequences are more common for nouns than for verbs and vice versa. The most common type of noun root is CVCCV (approximately 30% occurrence), followed in frequency by CVCV roots (15%). The most common verb roots are CVCVC- (15%), CVCVV- (10%), and CVCCV (10%).

Analysis of 154 verb roots and 172 noun roots from the lexicon provides the figures given here. Verb roots were considered to be the full form of the verb minus instrumental and locative prefixes and any classificatory suffixes, -li 'active' and -ka 'mediopassive', present in the uninflected form. Noun roots were the full form of the noun minus recognizable prefixes. For ease of reading, in the following charts a lower case c is used, rather than an upper case C, to represent a consonant.

⁴⁸It is beyond the scope of this work to provide a theoretically air-tight definition of a word. It is noted, however, that speakers will often refer to a complete sentence as a word.

	<u>VB</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>VB</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>VB</u>	<u>N</u>
Vc	4	-	cVccVV	1	-	cVcVVcV	1	10
VVc	1	-	cVVccV	-	2	cVcVcVV	1	-
cV	5	-	cVcVc	24	-	cVccVcV	1	9
cVV	4	-	cVcVVc	2	-	cVVccVcV	-	1
cVc	17	-	cVccVc	3	-	cVcVccV	1	4
cVVc	3	-	VcVcV	1	1	cVccVccV	1	3
VcV	3	3	VVcVcV	-	1	cVccVVcV	-	4
VVcV	2	4	VcVVcV	3	2	cVcVcVc	1	-
VcVV	7	2	VcVcVV	2	-	VcVVcVcV	-	2
VVcVV	1	-	VccVcV	1	5	VcVcVVcV	-	3
VccV	4	7	VccVVcV	-	3	VcVcVccV	1	-
VccVV	3	-	VccVcVV	4	-	VcVccVcV	1	3
VcVc	3	-	VccVccV	-	3	VcVccVccV	-	1
VccVc	2	-	VccVVccV	1	-	VccVcVVcV	-	1
cVcV	6	24	VcVccV	2	6	cVcVcVVcV	1	-
cVVcV	8	13	VVcVccV	-	2	cVcVccVcV	-	2
cVcVV	14	-	cVcVcV	-	2	cVccVccVcV	-	1
cVccV	14	48	cVVcVcV	-	1			

Table 4: Canonical forms, frequency in nouns and verbs.

Swanton's list of canonical forms varies from mine. He lists 24 forms taken from 741 "stems and unanalyzable words" (JRS.9). He writes that:

In selecting these examples words evidently built up from simpler stems, doubtful combinations, and borrowed words are omitted, and in the process of doing so the number of longer combinations may have been reduced somewhat further than should have been the case.... The preponderance of CVCV combinations is due mainly to the great number of complete words of that type.... In the combinations listed, not more than two consonants occur together, and this happens in only seven out of the twenty-four combinations, and in a total of 126 cases.

The following list of forms is provided by Swanton. The figures under 'JRS' are his, the percentage calculations are mine. Two percentage columns are given, one a computation of percentage in Swanton's data, based on a reported 741 items, and the other a computation of percentage in my data, labeled 'KJL%', based on the total of 326 items serving as the source for the comparison of noun and verb stems given above.

	<u>JRS</u>	<u>JRS%</u>	<u>KJL%</u>		<u>JRS</u>	<u>JRS%</u>	<u>KJL%</u>
cVcV	221	30%	10%	cVVcV	9	1%	6%
cVc	126	17%	5%	VccVcV	9	1%	2%
cVccV	83	11%	19%	Vc	8	1%	1%
cV	59	8%	2%	VcVV	4	<1%	3%
cVcVcV	34	5%	-	VcVccV	4	<1%	3%
VcVcV	24	3%	-	cVcVV	3	<1%	5%
VccV	19	2%	3%	cVcVccV	3	<1%	2%
cVV	12	1%	1%	cVccVc	2	<1%	1%
VcVc	11	1%	1%	cVcVc	1	<1%	1%
cVccVcV	10	1%	3%	VcVVcV	1	<1%	2%

Table 5: Frequency of Canonical forms.

Occurrence of less than one percent is shown as '<1%'; non-occurrence of the form is shown by a dash. It should be noted, however, that Swanton reports only 24 sequence patterns compared to the 53 which I report. The difference results from different selection criteria. The two sets of data both reveal that the sequences CVCV and CVCCV are considerably more common than other root sequences.

CHAPTER III: MORPHOLOGY

1 Pronouns

Pronouns and pronominal affixes distinguish three persons, singular, and plural. The plural of the third person, however, is distinguished from the singular only by the addition of a separate morpheme, the distributive prefix ho-. In the other persons, the singular and the plural are represented by distinct morphemes, though historically each of the plural forms may have evolved from the fusion of the singular form and a nonsingular affix.¹

The language exhibits one set of independent pronouns, two sets of agentive pronominal affixes used on verbs, and two sets of nonagentive pronominal affixes used on both nouns and verbs. One set of nonagentive affixes can be categorized as a patient prefix on verbs and as an inalienable possessive pronominal prefix on nouns. The other set functions as the dative prefix on verbs and as an alienable possessive prefix on nouns. Additionally, there are two sets of negative agentive pronominal affixes, one set being a metathesized version of the other.

1.1 Independent pronouns

The independent pronouns are used primarily for disambiguation or for emphasis. They may occur with case-marking syntactic suffixes if the suffix is preceded either by -o 'emphasis' or by -aali 'alone' plus -o 'emphasis'.

¹Booker (1980:43-8) derives the plural pronominal forms from the singular and a Proto-Muskogean *ho- 'dual'.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
First person	ana	posna ~ kosna
Second person	isna	hasna
Third person	ibisna	(ho)ibisna

Table 1: Independent pronouns²

It is possible to further segment the independent pronouns into pronominal prefixes plus -na, but irregularities would then have to be accounted for.

- (1) The forms preceding /na/ or /sna/ in the independent pronouns cannot be uniquely aligned with any one pronominal affix set.
- (2) The third person ibi- does not occur in the pronominal affix series.
- (3) The sequence /sna/ occurs in all the forms except first person singular, though /s/ occurs in the pronominal affix forms of only the second persons.

In all but the first of the following examples, with one exception, the final vowel of the independent pronoun is deleted because the following morpheme is vowel-initial; the remaining portion of the pronoun is underlined for ease of recognition.

cincoopaliti <u>sna</u>	'I bought it for <u>you</u> .'
<u>hasnō</u> haacincoolpati	'We bought it for <u>you</u> (pl).'

²Swanton (JRS.91) reports both ana and ina for 'I' and isna and cisna for 'you'. He does not report the third person plural form, but notes that "the demonstrative aki is frequently used instead of ibisna...." The variant kosna may be evidence of the influence of Koasati or it may be that the Alabama language has po/ko dialects. Swanton does not report ko for Alabama. It may be that ko is more common among younger speakers: in one family the older speakers used po where the under-thirty speakers used ko. The speakers themselves claimed to have been unaware of this dialectal difference.

<u>kosnok</u> maastombakaalo	' <u>We</u> threw it at them out there.'
<u>anaalok</u> coopaliti ifa	' <u>I myself</u> bought the dog.'
<u>isnaalok</u> coispahco ifa	' <u>You yourself</u> bought the dog.'
daalik <u>ibisnaalok</u> coopati ifa	' <u>Dolly herself</u> bought the dog.'
<u>kosnaalok</u> coolpati ifa	' <u>We ourselves</u> bought the dog.'
<u>hasnaalok</u> coospahco ifa	' <u>You yourselves</u> bought the dog.'
<u>hoibisnaalok</u> hocoopati	' <u>They themselves</u> bought the dog.'

1.2 Pronominal affixes

The pronominal affixes are of two general types: agentive and non-agentive. Agentive affixes may be either affirmative or negative and are used on verbs. Non-agentive affixes are used on both nouns and verbs, but are labeled according to their function on verbs, indicating either patient or dative. The relative order of these affixes is discussed in section 1.2.4. Other affixes discussed within section 1.2 are aat-/aatim- 'indefinite third person' and the reflexive and reciprocal prefixes.

1.2.1 Agentive pronominal affixes

There are two sets of agentive pronominal affixes, each set identified here by the form used for the second person singular, is- or ci-.³ Note in Table 2 that within each agentive pronominal set, two first person singular forms occur. The conditioning is morphological rather than phonological: -aa in future constructions and -li in

³There is good reason to believe that the two sets are at least historically related. The c ~ s alternation is found elsewhere in the language, and metathesis is common not only in Alabama but in other Muskogean languages. Booker (1980:43) reconstructs *ci ~ ic for Proto-Muskogean second person.

nonfuture. The first person agentive affix is also distinctive in that it is always suffixed, never prefixed or infix, and always added to the full stem form of the verb. By contrast, the nonfirst person agentive affixes vary in placement and form, not according to tense but according to verb class.

	<u>is</u> -set (pref. or inf.)	<u>ci</u> -set (inf. or suf.)
First person singular	-aa, -li	-aa, -li
Second person singular	is-	-ci
Third person singular	-	-
First person plural	(h)il-	-(hi)li
Second person plural	has-	-haci
Third person plural	-	-

Table 2: Agentive pronominal affixes⁴

In the following examples, the agentive affixes are underlined; the third person plural is included with the distributive prefix underlined for the purpose of contrasting the third person singular and plural forms.

haalol <u>iti</u>	' <u>I</u> heard it.'
haala <u>aalo</u>	' <u>I</u> will hear it.'
<u>is</u> bo	' <u>You</u> killed it.'
<u>is</u> nooco	' <u>You</u> slept.'

⁴The affix for third person is zero; a dash is used to represent this in the table. The distributive prefix is not included in Table 2 though it normally occurs in the third person to distinguish the plural from the singular. Phonologically and positionally the distributive prefix does not pattern with the other nonfirst agentive pronominal affixes. The conditioning factors affecting the presence of /h/ or /hi/ in the first person plural, indicated in parentheses in Table 2, are not as yet fully understood.

<u>cois</u> po	' <u>You</u> bought it.'
h <u>oci</u> fno	' <u>You</u> named it.'
hopo <u>onci</u> lo	' <u>You</u> will cook it.'
nooco	'He slept.'
coopo	'He bought it.'
hopoono	'He cooked it.'
<u>ilha</u> aloti	' <u>We</u> heard it.'
co <u>il</u> pati	' <u>We</u> bought it.'
iltol <u>iin</u> olo	' <u>We</u> will work.'
hopo <u>ohili</u> ti	' <u>We</u> cooked it.'
<u>hoi</u> bo	' <u>They</u> killed it.'
<u>hoha</u> aloti	' <u>They</u> heard it.'
<u>hohoci</u> fnati	' <u>They</u> named it.'

1.2.2 Negative agentive pronominal affixes

Negative agentive pronominal affixes occur in negative constructions and derived antonyms. This set of affixes is most clearly related to the ci-set of the affirmative agentive affixes. The negative agentive affixes may be subdivided into two subsets, identified as the ák-set and the ká-set, according to the first person singular form. In the ák-set all of the affixes end in a consonant while in the ká-set they all end in a vowel.

The ká-set can be considered the set from which the ák-set is derived by the application of the following rules. As presented here, the rules involve only the form of the negative agentive affix itself, not the structure of the verb to which the affixes are attached. The class and phonological shape of the verb determine which of the two

sets of negative agentive affixes are used.

- (1) pitch placement shift with metathesis for monosyllabic affixes

$$+(V)CVC\acute{V}+ \rightarrow +(V)C\acute{V}CV+$$

$$+C\acute{V}+ \rightarrow +\acute{V}C+$$

- (2) final unaccented vowel deletion

$$+XV+ \rightarrow +X+$$

	<u>ci</u> -set (affirm.)	Negative affixes	
First person singular	-aa, -li	(t)ák,	ká
Second person singular	-ci	cík,	cikí
Third person singular	-	ík,	kí
First person plural	-(hi)li	kíl,	kilí
Second person plural	-(h)aci	hacík,	(h)acikí
Third person plural	-	ík,	kí

Table 3: Negative agentive affixes compared to one set of affirmative agentive affixes.

The characteristics which distinguish the negative agentive pronominal affixes from the affirmative are:

- (1) the presence of associated high pitch,
- (2) the presence of the negative -k-,⁵ and
- (3) the invariability of the first person singular affix: (a) it does not vary according to tense and (b) it takes the same position relative to the verb stem as the other persons of the negative affix series.

⁵The high pitch and the -k- are probably reflexes of the same morpheme reconstructible as *kí 'negative'.

Depending on the classification of the verb, which is generally predictable from the affirmative classification, the negative agentive ak-set affixes may be prefixed, infixes, or suffixed to the verb stem. The ka-set affixes, however, occur only in the infixes position. Examples and discussion are found in section III.4.3.5.

1.2.3 Nonagentive pronominal prefixes

Unlike the agentive pronominal affixes, the nonagentive pronominal prefixes are positionally stable and occur only as prefixes to the stem of the verb or noun. Furthermore, the nonagentive pronominal prefixes do not vary as much in form as the agentive affixes. There is one form for the patient/inalienable prefixes, and another form for the dative/alienable prefixes. The only variation occurs in the patient/inalienable prefixes which undergo metathesis when used with a restricted set of nouns.⁶

1.2.3.1 Patient pronominal prefixes

	Singular	Plural
First person	ca-	po- ~ ko-
Second person	ci-	haci-
Third person ⁷	-	-

Table 4: Patient pronominal prefixes.

⁶This metathesis of the patient pronominal prefix perhaps also occurs with verbs, but no example was recorded in the data.

With the exception of the first persons, patient prefixes are derivable from the ci-set of agentive pronominal affixes. The ci-set agentive affixes and the patient prefixes are in complementary distribution: although the ci-set agentive affixes are never prefixed to the verb stem, the patient pronominals occur only as prefixes.⁸

In the examples that follow, the patient prefix is underlined for reference only; no semantic emphasis is implied. The patient pronominal is prefixed to the inflected verb but may be preceded by nonpronominal prefixes such as the instrumental, locative, and distributive prefixes.

<u>ca</u> ishaalō	'Do you hear <u>me</u> ?'
<u>ci</u> lhiicati	'We saw <u>you</u> .'
ilhiicati	'We saw him/them.'
<u>po</u> hashiico	'You (pl) see <u>us</u> .'

⁷Swanton (JRS.24) reports i as the "sign of the third person objective." The absence of i as a distinctive third person singular objective prefix may indicate progressive weakening of word-initial i since the time of Swanton's work. On the other hand, it is possible that Swanton's i reveals an incompletely stated analysis; perhaps the i represents an underlying or hypothetical form, perhaps part of the dative third person im-. Swanton does not present examples of this third person singular objective i.

⁸With certain forms such as acooba 'to be old', the patient prefix appears to be infixes; however, what actually occurs is a sequence of two prefixes, the locative a-/ay- 'at' followed by the patient pronominal. Infixes agentive affixes, by contrast, have to their right a verb 'root' of only one syllable. Compare acicooba 'for you to be old' and hocifna 'for you to smell', where ci is the patient in the former and the agent in the latter.

<u>hacilhiico</u>	'We see <u>you</u> (pl).'
<u>cibatlaalo</u>	'I will whip <u>you</u> .'
<u>ishocafalammilolo</u>	'They will wake <u>me</u> .'
<u>maahociwiilo</u>	'They're expecting <u>you</u> .'

The patient pronominal prefix is used to mark noun possession. It is prefixed to the noun stem but may be preceded by the locative a-/ay- 'at'. (See section III.3.2.1.) The pronominal prefix undergoes metathesis with a small number of stems, such as oobi 'thigh', all beginning with /oo/.⁹ (See section III.2.2.1.) As a possessive prefix, the patient prefix is restricted to a small set of nouns: a number of body parts and a few kin terms.

<u>casakba</u>	'my arm'
<u>acifakci</u>	'your skin'
<u>icoobi</u>	'your thigh'
<u>ihacoobi</u>	'your (pl) thighs'
<u>cacokhiska</u>	'my beard' (< ocokhiska 'beard') ¹⁰

1.2.3.2 Dative prefixes

With the exception of the first person singular form, the dative prefixes are derived from the patient prefixes with the addition of -m. Although this /m/ may be readily segmented from the prefix, the convention used here is to retain it as part of the prefix and to label the prefix dative.

⁹The examples of metathesis are from McCall.

¹⁰Three nouns are known to exhibit the prefix oco-, which is apparently a body part prefix associated with the mouth. The initial /o/ of oco- is deleted when preceded by a patient pronominal prefix.

	Singular	Plural
First person	am-	pom-, kom-
Second person	cim-	hacim-
Third person	im-	(aatim-)

Table 5: Dative pronominal prefixes

<u>ambatciti</u>	'You whipped (him) for <u>me</u> .'
<u>amaasiilii</u>	'Wash (it) for <u>me</u> .'
<u>cimiltoonolihci</u>	'I work for <u>you</u> .'
<u>pomiltociino</u>	'You work for <u>us</u> .'
<u>hacimiltoonolihci</u>	'I work for <u>you (pl)</u> .'
<u>aatimiltoonolihci</u>	'I work for <u>them</u> .'
<u>hopõsopatllilolo</u>	'They will clean it for <u>us</u> .'

Unlike the patient prefix, the dative does not undergo metathesis. When used with nouns, the dative prefix has been identified as indicating alienable possession and the patient prefix inalienable possession.¹¹ However, nouns which occur with the

¹¹The classification alienable and inalienable is that given by McCall. Her list of affixes and noun subclasses, however, does not match mine. She reports the following two sets of affixes; the third person plural forms reported by her do not occur as noun prefixes in the data which I collected.

	Inalienable	Alienable
First person singular	ca-	am-
Second person singular	ci-	cim-
Third person singular	zero	im-
First person plural	po-	pom-
Second person plural	haci-	hacim-
Third person plural	ho-	hom-

(oh-/ __V, ho-/ __C) (oh-/ __V, hom-/ __C)
 In my data ho- occurs as a noun prefix only when the noun is used predicatively. Thus the example cited by McCall, ho wilo 'their

patient prefix can occur as free forms without the patient prefix, whereas, there are many nouns which occur only with a bound dative prefix.¹² On the other hand, as a possessive prefix occurring with nouns, the dative prefix is less restricted than the patient prefix and can be used to indicate the possession of more than a small number of body parts and kinsmen. Also, unlike the patient prefix, the dative does not undergo metathesis. (Examples and discussion are found in section III.2.2.)

1.2.3.3 aat-, aatim- 'third person indefinite'

Aatim- commonly occurs with the meaning third person plural though it is not strictly plural. It is possibly a prefixed form of ati 'person' and can mean one or an indefinite number of people. Analysis of usage suggests that the distinction between im- and aatim- is not one of singular and plural. Instead, im- refers to the current referent and aatim- refers to some other referent. The im-/aatim- dichotomy may thus be characterized as either given/new, definite/indefinite, or possibly proximate/obviative.

imonaa/hiliti

'We lent it to him/them.'

aatimonaa/hiliti

'We lent it to them, somebody else.'

shoes', has the equivalent in my data howilo 'they are shoes'.

McCall furthermore suggests that all body parts receive the inalienable prefixes; however, I obtained approximately a dozen such terms that take instead the alienable prefixes. Her suggestion that with kinship terms the inalienable prefixes are used only for certain female relatives also is not supported by my data.

¹²This has also been reported for Choctaw (Nicklas 1974:46)

The prefix aat rather than aatim is used with verbs taking a patient pronominal affix; however, aat- does not occur in the same position as the patient pronominals.¹³

maawiihilo	'We are expecting them.'
<u>aat</u> maawiikilkobi	'We aren't expecting <u>anyone</u> .'
maaciwiikilkobi	'We aren't expecting <u>you</u> .'

1.2.4 Relative order of pronominal affixes

When both the nonagentive and the agentive pronominals are prefixed to the verb, the agentive is closer to the verb stem.

1. caishiico
ca-is-hiica-o
1sg.pat.-2sg.agt-see-perf
You see me.

¹³There are more problems with aat-/aatim-. Whereas it is reasonable to relate the prefix to ati 'person', from which aatosi 'baby' is derived, it is possible that the prefix aatim- is constructed of at least three morphemes. Taking im- '3sg.dat.' as monomorphemic, these are:

aa-t-im locative (?) + nominalizer (?) + 3sg.dat.
(See sections III.3.2.1 for locative a-, IV.1.3 for t- 'nominalizer'.)
The last of the following three examples shows the absence of /t/ before the reduced instrumental prefix ist-.

aatimiltoonlihci 'I work for them.'
stintinooli 'his rolling thing' (<ist+im+tinooli)
aastintinooli 'their rolling thing (<aa(t)+ist+im-tinooli)

This contrasts with the next example.

atsfalammilo
aati-ist-falam=li-lo
person-instr-wake=act-fut
He will wake them up.

Although clusters of three consonants commonly exhibit loss of the medial consonant, omission of vowels in normal, rapid speech not uncommonly results in clusters such as this -tsf-. The discontinuity of aatim- in examples such as 'their rolling thing' makes it appear that the -im- is the third person singular dative prefix to which aa or aat is prefixed. This aat ~ aa prefix may be a locative prefix. Thus the analysis of aatim- as related to ati 'person' may be folk etymology.

poishiico 'You see us.'

hacilhiico 'We see you (pl).'

The distributive prefix, used to distinguish third person plural from third person singular, precedes the nonagentive prefix.

2. ishocifalamlolo
ist-ho-ci-falam=li-lolo
instr-distr-2sg.pat-wake=act-fut
They will wake you up.

3. hopomonaliti
ho-pom-onaa=li-ti
distr-1pl.dat-lend=act-prox
They lent it to us.

Speakers resist producing constructions using both the patient and the dative affixes with the same verb stem. An unspecified patient is assumed to be third person. An unspecified dative is assumed from context. Thus it is possible to say 'He hit me' or 'He hit (someone) for you' but not *'He hit me for you'.¹⁴

4. cibatlaalo
ci-bat=li-aa-lo
2sg.pat-whip=act-lsg.agt-fut
I'll whip you.

5. imbatliliti
im-bat=li-li-ti
3sg.dat-whip=act-lsg.agt-prox
I whipped (you) for him. (patient from context)

6. cabatliti
ca-bat=li-ti
lsg.pat-whip=act-prox
He whipped me (for you). (dative from context)

With verbs such as 'buy' and 'sell', which imply three semantic arguments, the dative is coreferential with the indirect object. The

¹⁴ Attempts to elicit such constructions result in speakers either saying that the sentence cannot be said or in their producing constructions which later they cannot translate.

order of the fully specified nouns is

agent - indirect object - direct object - verb.

7. bilkak taamkã waakã stincoopo
bil-ka-k taam-ka-n waaka-n ist-im-coopa-o
Bill-deriv-nom Tom-deriv-obl cow-obl instr-3sg.dat-buy-perf
Bill sold the cow to Tom.

The precise semantic function of the dative is perhaps more ambiguous with some verbs than with others. Thus, another speaker produced the following sentence and said that it could mean 'Bill bought it for Tom' or 'Bill bought it from Tom'.

8. bilkak incoopati taamka
bik-ka-k im-coopa-ti taam-ka-(n)
Bill-deriv-nom 3sg.dat-buy-prox Tom-deriv-obl
Bill bought (it) for Tom./Bill bought (it) from Tom.

It may be that the number of arguments permissible in a simple sentence is greatly restricted. The addition of the instrumental prefix permits another argument to be added to the underlying structure of the sentence.

A few examples in the data suggest that verbs derived with the instrumental prefix can even exhibit two dative prefixes, one indicating a benefactive relationship.

9. bilkak soozĩ waakã stimincoopaho
bil-ka-k soozĩ-n im-waaka-n ist-im-im-coopa-ahi-o
Bill-deriv-nom Suzie-obl 3sg.dat(poss)-cow-obl
instr-3sg.dat-3sg.dat-buy-intent-perf
Bill will sell Suzie's cow for her.

1.2.5 ili- 'reflexive'

Further investigation exploring the relationship of coreferentiality and derivation is likely to produce results of interest to syntacticians concerned with lexical decomposition.

An action in which the actor is also the recipient of the action is indicated by the reflexive prefix ili-. The reflexive prefix is preceded by the distributive for third person plural forms.

10. ililibatlo
ili-libat=li-o
refl-burn=act-perf
She burned herself.
11. oililibatlo
ho-ili-libat=li-o
distr-refl-burn=act-perf
They burned themselves.
12. ililibathilo
ili-libat-hili-o
refl-burn-1pl.agt-perf
We burned ourselves.
13. ilihoopaciskō
ili-hoopa-ci-is-ka-o~
refl-hurt-caus-2sg.agt-med.pass-perf-Q
Did you hurt yourself?
14. beebik ilihoopaco
beebi-k ili-hoopa-ci-o
baby-nom refl-hurt-caus-perf
The baby hurt herself.
15. calibatko
ca-libat-ka-o
1sg.pat-burn-med.pass-perf
I burned myself. (stative; not reflexive)

Example 15 is included here for contrast. Although the speaker provided the form given here for 'I burned myself' it is actually

closer in meaning to the English statement 'I got burned.' No reflexive is used; the first person singular patient pronoun indicates the recipient of the action, and the verb is stative.

In his Sketch, Swanton (JRS.29) identified the reflexive prefix as il-, ili- or, ila-. The /a/ in Swanton's ila- is more correctly interpreted as part of the following verb, either as part of the root itself (example 16, below) or as a locative prefix on the verb (example 17).

16.JRS. ila sile'tcok
ili-aasii=li-co-k
refl-wash=act-cred-nom
They two were bathing themselves.

17.JRS. ilapa maletchok
ili-a-pa-maali-co-k
refl-at-on-throw-cred-nom
He threw it down on himself.

Both of Swanton's examples appear to be subordinate clauses; Swanton provides only one example of what he identifies as the il- form of the prefix, and that is illasapka 'absorb' ("to taste itself"), from lasapka 'taste.' Presumably it is either folk etymology or his own analysis of 'absorb' as meaning 'taste itself' which causes him to interpret the word as having il- 'reflexive.' Other verbs which begin with a consonant take ili- so the reflexive form of 'taste' should be *ililasapka rather than illasapka. In Choctaw the reflexive prefix is also ili- (Nicklas 1974:31).

1.2.6 itti- 'reciprocal'

The reciprocal prefix is itti-. Only a few examples are available. Nicklas (1974:31) reports the Choctaw equivalent to be itti-. Swanton (JRS.30), who does not record the geminate /tt/, reports that iti- occurs for the patient and itim- for the dative. Among his examples, he gives itibi 'fighting each other' and itinkana ikan 'it divided or moved apart'. Haas (1949:123) gives ittibi 'fight'. Outside of verb morphology, my data include ittacakhi 'sibling' (<itti + -cakhi 'follow') and ittasi 'both' (given by one speaker as /itaasa/).

1.3 ho- 'distributive'

There is no third person plural agentive pronominal affix. Number distinction in third person is indicated by a distinctive plural verb stem or by the presence of the distributive ho.

Haas (1946:327) uses the label 'distributive' and Swanton (JRS.26) the label 'subjective plural sign'. Both note that the prefix appears as /ho/ before consonants and /oh/ before vowels. In the data which I collected, however, it is not uncommon for /ho/ to occur also before vowels, separated from them sometimes by a glottal stop or, more frequently, by an epenthetic /w/ offglide. Swanton also notes that ho precedes "all other" pronominal prefixes.

The distributive is not a pronominal affix and unlike the reciprocal and the reflexive, it is not restricted to the positions of the patient prefix. The distributive occurs on both finite and nonfinite verbs where it commonly precedes the verb root and any derivational prefixes such as ist- 'instrumental' and the locative prefixes. In imperative constructions, however, it is prefixed not to the verb stem but to the classificatory suffix, if there is one, or to the auxiliary of the periphrastic conjugation.

The first example here shows that the prothetic i, which occurs in certain basic conjugation class verbs such as ibi 'kill', ipa 'eat', and ila 'come', and which is deleted when preceded by an agentive pronoun, is not deleted when preceded by the distributive.

18. hoipalo
ho-(i)pa-lo
distr-eat-fut
They will eat (it).

The distributive precedes patient and dative prefixes.

19. hocibatlilolo
ho-ci-bat=li-lolo
distr-2sg.pat-hit=act-fut
They will hit you.

20. ohāsolotlilolo
ho-am-solot=li-lolo
distr-1sg.pat-dry=act-fut
They will dry it for me.

The distributive also precedes the reflexive ili-.

21. hoilisolotlilo
ho-ili-solot=li-lo
distr-refl-dry-act-fut
They will dry themselves.

Swanton (JRS.26) provides an example of ho preceding itti 'reciprocal'. The transcription and translation are Swanton's; the analysis is mine. Although he translates the example as a sentence, it is only a subordinate clause.

- 22.JRS. ohitintaba tkok
ho-iti-im-tabat-ka-o-k
distr-refl-dat-crawl-med.pass-emph-nom
They carried it on each side.

Although the distributive prefix precedes all pronominal affixes, it follows other verb prefixes.

23. ishofalamilolo
ist-ho-falam=li-lolo
instr-distr-wake=act-fut
They will wake him up.
24. maahopowiilo
maa-ho-po-wii=li-o
there-distr-lpl.pat-hunt=act-perf
They are looking for us.

The distributive may also occur, redundantly, on nonsingular suppletive stems.

25. poskohaya iisa ta//a hobalaasko
poskoha-ya iisa ta//a-n ho-balaas=ka-o
children-top house beside-obl distr-lie(du)-med.pass-perf
The children are sleeping at the side of the house.

The distributive precedes nouns only when the nouns are used predicatively.

26. lindan sookaya hotayyi
linda-n soo-ka-ya ho-tayyi
Linda-obl Sue-deriv-top distr-woman
Linda and Sue are women.

1.4 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

Table 6 briefly outlines the form and function of a number of these pronouns. In the left column is the base form, an independent word (with the possible exception of sah). In the column designated inflected is the form of the word as it appears in a sentence. The emphatic -o is used with all these pronouns except for the two used to refer to cause.¹⁵

FORM		FUNCTION	
BASE	INFLECTED		
<u>naasi</u>	<u>naasok</u>	what (NOM)	(thing)
	<u>naason</u>	what (OBL)	(thing)
<u>naksi</u>	<u>naksok</u>	who	(person)
	<u>nakson</u>	whom/where	(person/place)
	<u>naksifon</u>	where	(place)
<u>saami</u> (< <u>sah</u> ?)	<u>saamin</u>	why	(reason, cause)
	<u>saamifookon</u>	when	(time)
	<u>sat</u>	why/what	(cause/thing)

Table 6: Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

¹⁵ Swanton's (JRS.91) description of the "interrogatives, relatives, and indefinites" is short but cursory, imprecise, and without examples. However, it captures the essential characteristic usage of a small set of words.

The equivalent for English 'who' is naksi (or noksi), which is also used at times for 'which, where, anywhere' and even 'any.' It seems to be primarily an indefinite related to nas, nasi 'thing, something, anything.'

In addition to the above there is a stem sa' which occurs in combination with mi' and other stems very frequently, and [which] may be translated in a number of different ways: 'how, what for, why, when, sort, kind, in what way, any, some'.

Elsewhere (JRS.89) Swanton has the following few words about the "use

Despite numerous papers purporting to establish the existence of relative clauses in various Muskogean languages, relative pronouns do not exist in Alabama.¹⁶ Although speakers readily provided sentences translated with English relative clause constructions, the Alabama forms themselves did not contain relative clauses or morphemes that could be classified as relative pronouns.¹⁷

As indicated in Table 6, both naasi 'what' and naksi 'who' can be used in the nominative and oblique case. The first five examples illustrate this for naasi. (Examples 30 and 31 furthermore illustrate variable word-order.)

27. naások
 naasi-o-k
 what-emph-nom
 What (is it)?
28. naások cahoyapliciya...
 naasi-o-k ca-hoyaplici-ya
 what-emph-nom lsg.pat-tire-top
 What makes me tired (is...)
29. naáson coispā
 naasi-o-n co=is=pa-~
 what-emph-obl buy=2sg.agt=buy-Q
 Did you buy anything?

 of foka".

This word, meaning 'then, that, those, about that (time), about' etc. is employed constantly immediately after verb complexes with the force usually of 'when'. The reader is directed to the section on -fooka 'temporal locative'.

¹⁶Nicklas (personal communication) has told me that he has come to the same conclusion about relative clauses in Choctaw. The absence of true relative clauses in Choctaw has been confirmed by Cearley (1977).

¹⁷For Alabama constructions translated with relative clauses, the reader is directed to examples in the section on syntactic suffixes, especially -yá 'topic'.

30. merik nááson coopã
 meri-k naasi-o-n coopa-~
 Mary-nom what-emph-obl buy-Q
 What did Mary buy?
31. nááson ibihcõ taamka
 naasi-o-n ibi-co-~ taam-ka-(k)
 what-emph-obl kill-evid-Q Tom-deriv-(nom)
 What did Tom kill?

In the next two examples, naksi 'who, whom' is first in the nominative (as an agent) and then in the oblique (as a patient).

32. náksok coopahcõ
 naksi-o-k coopa-co-~
 who-emph-nom buy-evid-Q
 Who bought it?
33. nákson ibihcõ taamka
 naksi-o-n ibi-co-~ taam-ka-(k)
 who-emph-obl kill-evid-Q Tom-deriv-(nom)
 Who(m) did Tom kill?

As will be noted from the chart, nakson means either 'whom' or 'where', (compare 33 and 34), depending on which verb it occurs with and sometimes whether or not the verb has a dative prefix. In this regard, sentences 32, 34, and 35 are worth comparing. Used with the verb coopa 'to buy' the oblique form nakson means 'where' (presumably buying people is uncommon); when coopa receives the dative prefix, nakson is reinterpreted as an indirect object (example 35). Compare also 36 and 37: used with the verb wiika 'dwell' the oblique form nakson means 'where' unless the verb receives the dative prefix.

34. nákson coopahcõ meri
 naksi-o-n coopa-co-~ meri-(k)
 where-emph-obl buy-evid-Q Mary-(nom)
 Where did Mary buy it?

35. merik náksón incoopahcō
 meri-k naksi-o-n im-coopa-co-~
 Mary-nom who-emph-obl 3sg.dat-buy-evid-Q
 Who did Mary buy it for?
36. náksón wiiskahcī
 naksi-o-n wii=is=ka-ci-~
 where-emph-obl dwell=2sg.agt=dwell-cont-Q
 Where do you live?
37. náksón īwiiskahcī
 naksi-o-n im-wii=is=ka-ci-~
 who-emph-obl 3sg.dat-dwell-cont
 Who do you live with?

The next pair of examples illustrates the usage of naksifon for 'where,' contrasted with that of naksón 'whom'.

38. náksón ibihcō taamka
 naksi-o-n ibi-co-~ taam-ka-(k)
 who-emph-obl kill-evid-Q Tom-deriv-(nom)
 Who(m) did Tom kill?
39. naksifon ibihcō
 naksi-fa-o-n ibi-co-~
 where-loc-emph-obl kill-evid-Q
 Where did he (Tom) kill (him)? (direct object not expressed)

Apparently with the verb ibi 'kill' naksón cannot function as locative without the locative suffix -fa whereas with the verbs coopa 'buy' and wiika 'dwell,' naksón is interpreted as locative unless the verb carries a dative pronoun.

The next examples illustrate the usage of saami 'why' and saamifookon 'when' ('what time'). In providing glosses for the morphemes, I have glossed saami as 'what' when it occurs with the temporal locative -fooka (glossed here simply as 'time') and as 'why' when it occurs without the temporal locative. The gloss 'why' was chosen because of its unitary character; however, the colloquial English 'what for' is a better translation.

40. cisaamĩ
 ci-saami-~
 2sg.pat-why-Q
 What's wrong? (How are you?)
41. saamin coopahcõ meri
 saami-n coopa-co-~ meri-(k)
 why-obl buy-evid-Q Mary-(nom)
 Why did Mary buy (it)?
42. saamifookon coopahcõ meri
 saami-fooka-o-n coopa-co-~ meri-(k)
 what-time-emph-obl buy-aux-evid-Q Mary-(nom)
 When did Mary buy (it)?
43. saamin iltociinohcĩ
 saami-n ilto=ci=hno-ci-~
 why-obl work=2sg.agt=work-cont-Q
 Why do you work?
44. saamifookon iltociinola
 saami-fooka-o-n ilto=ci=hno-la
 what-time-emph-obl work=2sg.agt=work-indef.fut
 When do you work? (When will you work?)

The following six examples are indirect questions. Before considering them it should be remembered that Alabama has no true passive and thus 'died' is often used as equivalent to 'was killed.'

45. sobeeciĩ nakson illitoyon ifa
 sobay-ci-~ naksi-o-n illi-to-yon ifa-(k)
 know-2sg.agt-Q where-emph-obl die-(?)-obl.foc dog-(nom)
 Do you know where the dog was killed?
46. sobeeciĩ saamifookon ifak illitoyon
 sobay-ci-~ saami-fooka-o-n ifa-k illi-to-yon
 know-2sg.agt-Q what-time-emph-obl dog-nom die-(?)-obl.foc
 Do you know when the dog was killed?
47. sat sobeeciĩ ifak illitoyon
 sat sobay-ci-~ ifa-k illi-to-yon
 why know-2sg.agt-Q dog-nom die-(?)-obl.foc
 Do you know why the dog was killed?
48. sat sobeeciĩ taamkak ibitoyon
 sat sobay-ci-~ taam-ka-k ibi-to-yon
 why know-2sg.agt-Q Tom-deriv-nom kill-(?)-obl.foc
 Do you know why Tom killed (it)?

49. nakson sobeeci taamak ibitoyon
 naksi-o-n sobay-ci-~ taam-ka-k ibi-to-yon
 where-emph-obl know-2sg.agt-Q Tom-deriv-nom kill-(?)-obl.foc
 Do you know where Tom killed (it)?
50. sobeeci naksok ifa ibitoyon
 sobay-ci-~ naksi-o-k ifa-(n) ibi-to-yon
 know-2sg.agt-Q who-emph-nom dog-(obl) kill-(?)-obl.foc
 Do you know who killed the dog?

The speaker claimed that sentence 48 would also be used for 'Do you know what Tom killed?' If that is so, it appears that neither saami 'why' nor naasi 'what' are used in indirect questions: instead both are replaced by sat 'why/what'.

Swanton (JRS.91) identified a stem sa⁴ which he wrote meant "how, what for, why, when, sort, kind, in what way, any, some". In his files (1766-73) he usually transcribes it as sah, but never without a following suffix: the variation in suffixes apparently effects a change in meaning. The morpheme sah itself has the basic meaning 'make' or 'do'. It does not appear to be used as a finite verb, but is instead restricted to word-formation processes.

In my own data there are a number of examples of sah. In the next example, it is best translated as 'something-to-be-done'. Note the /ka/ of sahka suggests that it is stative. The form amiksobi was translated by the speaker as 'I don't have it' (from isi 'receive, get').

51. naasi sahka amiksobi
 naasi sah-ka am-ik-(i)si-o-bi
 thing do-med.pass 1sg.dat-neg.3sg.agt-get-neg-perf
 I don't have anything to do.

1.5 Demonstratives

Swanton (JRS.91) provides the following brief analysis of demonstrative pronouns.

These are ya 'this', ka 'that', and ma 'that distant or indefinite thing'. In the Alabama dialect ka appears as an independent element usually with a prefixed a, and in the forms aka, ako, aki has wide use, particularly as a substitute for ibisna, the independent pronoun of the third person singular.

About demonstrative prefixes Swanton (JRS.30) writes:

Demonstratives are occasionally employed as prefixes, in which case they are treated like objective pronominal prefixes. The commonest case of the kind is the use of ma as indirect object of the verb ka 'to say', as ma'ńkan 'when he said that', the quotation usually preceding. We also find ma continually used before mih 'to be like' as in the connective ma'mosin 'and then', but ka'mosin and ya'mosin are possible forms and so are ka'min and ya'min 'that way' and ka'moso and ya'moso 'that is all'.

Although Swanton lists three demonstrative pronouns, ya, ka, and ma, the data which I have acquired suggest that there are only two independent demonstrative pronouns, ya 'this' and aki 'that'.¹⁸ At the same time, however, there appear to be related locative prefixes yaa-, kaa-, and maa-, as well as verbal suffixes, -presumably of the form -ya, -ka, and perhaps -ma, used with a cooccurring emphatic suffix. Thus it may be that there is a three-way demonstrative system in Alabama though not necessarily functioning fully in all uses of the demonstratives.

¹⁸ Although Swanton (JRS.91) claims that there are three demonstrative pronouns he gives no examples; the only pronoun that he refers to specifically as an independent pronoun is aki. (See the first of the two quotes of Swanton's given above.) No independent demonstrative pronoun occurs in the brief text he provided.

Generally the demonstrative precedes the noun though it may also follow the noun, as the examples illustrate. When two nouns marked for nominative or oblique, in either order, precede the verb, the demonstrative tends to precede the first noun and to follow the second. If the emphatic -o is present, it is always on the demonstrative, rather than on the noun, regardless of the position of the demonstrative. As in all the Muskogean languages, the rightmost constituent in a noun phrase receives the case marking. Thus, if a demonstrative follows a noun, it receives the case marking; otherwise, the noun receives it.

52. yo naanik caahaci
 ya-o naani-k caaha-ci
 this-emph man-nom tall-cont
This man is tall. (speaker's emphasis)

53. aki naanik caahaci
 aki naani-k caaha-ci
 that man-nom tall-cont
 That man is tall.

54. ifayon naanik ibo
 ifa-yon naani-k ibi-o
 dog-obl.foc man-nom kill-perf
 A/the man killed this dog.

55. naanik ifa akon ibo
 naani-k ifa aki-o-n ibi-o
 man-nom dog that-emph-obl kill-perf
 A/the man killed that dog.

56. aki ifan naani akok ibo
 aki ifa-n naani aki-o-k ibi-o
 that dog-obl man that-emph-nom kill-perf
That man killed that dog.

1.5.1 Demonstratives as independent pronouns

The data provide a few examples of demonstratives used as independent pronouns, as the following short selection illustrates.

57. aki hayok oyaa / ici waakã
aki-ha-yok ho-iyaa / i-ci waaka-n
that-pl-nom.foc distr-own-cont cow-obl
They own a cow.
58. yo naanik caahaaci maamin akok caakííhoci
ya-o naani-k caahaa-ci maamin aki-o-k caa=kíí=haa-o-ci
this-emph man-nom tall-cont but that-emph-nom
tall=neg.3sg.agt=tall-emph-cont
This man is tall but that one's short.

Note that the examples are both of aki 'that'. When used independently it always receives the emphatic suffix.¹⁹

1.5.2 Demonstratives as locative pronouns

With the vowel lengthened, ya 'this' and ma 'that' frequently occur with the locative suffix -fa to form yaafa 'here' and maafa 'there', which may then be topicalized. Sometimes the vowel is not lengthened, particularly if the form is not topicalized.

59. oihayok iistíkkocolo maafayá
oiha-yok iis-t-ík-ki-o-coli-o maafa-yá
all-nom.foc live(pl)-v.conj-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-cred-perf
there-top
All those people don't live there.
60. yafa naanik cááhaci
yafa naani-k caaha-ci
there man-nom tall-cont
Yonder man is tall. (The man there is tall.)

¹⁹ Traditionally -o has been identified as an emphatic suffix. Alternatively, it could be glossed 'definite'; however, both labels are problematic. See the discussion in section IV.2.

2 Nouns

Nouns are distinguished from other word classes not by phonological shape but by the affixes with which they occur and by syntactic function.²⁰ Nouns have at least two syllables and cannot terminate in a consonant.

2.1 Noun inflection

Nouns inflect for plural, for possession, and for case. Nouns are classified according to whether they inflect for possession with the patient pronominal prefixes or with the dative. Among the nouns which take the dative, there are some which are bound and which cannot occur as free forms without the dative prefix.

2.1.1 Inflection for case, -k, -n

This is presented in more detail in the chapter on syntactic suffixes in Chapter IV. Briefly, however, there are two fundamental cases for which a noun can inflect: nominative and oblique. The nominative is marked by -k, the oblique by -n. The noun in the nominative is the agent of an active verb or the patient of a stative verb. The oblique -n marks the other cases.

In the following example with an active verb, the agent, 'man', takes the nominative -k and the patient, 'dog', takes the oblique -n.

²⁰ A more thorough analysis of pitch may, however, reveal differences in the suprasegmental patterns of nouns and verbs.

61. naanik ifan ibiti
 naani-k ifa-n ibi-ti
 man-nom dog-obl kill-prox
 The man killed the dog.

A noun in the locative takes -fa 'locative' plus the oblique -n.

62. oolafan a/kiyobi
 oola-fa-n a/ki=ya-o-bi
 town-loc-obl go(sg)=neg.3sg.agt=go-neg-perf
 He didn't go to town.

2.1.2 Inflection for locative -fa

-Fa 'locative' occurs with nouns to indicate that the noun serves a locative function. A noun with -fa is normally followed by -n 'oblique'. When a demonstrative takes -fa it is usually topicalized with -yá 'topic' and thus does not occur with -n 'oblique'.

In sentence 63, ayolimpa 'table' takes the nominative -k and in sentence 64 it takes -n 'oblique'. In sentence 65, it is the location of the nominative 'apple' and thus takes -fa 'locative' followed by -n 'oblique'.

63. ayolimpak innááhobi
 ayolimpa-k im-naaho-bi
 table-nom 3sg.dat-have-perf
 He has a table.
64. bilkak ayolimpan taliboolo
 bil-ka-k ayolimpa-n taliboo=li-o
 Bill-deriv-nom table-obl build=act-perf
 Bill built the table.
65. takkolcobak ayolimpafã paanááhobi
 takkolcoba-k ayolimpa-fa-n paa-naaho-bi
 apple-nom table-loc-obl on-have-perf
 There is an apple on the table./There are some apples...

2.1.3 Inflection for plural, -há

Although nouns are frequently not inflected for plural, -há 'plural' can be added.

ati	'person'	atihá	'people'
ifa	'dog'	amifahá	'my dogs'
sakba	'arm'	casakbahá	'my arms'
acokba	'bottle'	amacokbahá	'my bottles'

This suffix was also noted by Swanton (JRS.93), who additionally observed that "when a noun is followed by an adjective, this suffix is frequently appended to the latter, as taiye immani'ta 'a young woman', taiye immani'taha 'young people'."

2.2 Noun classification by possessive prefixes

Nouns are classified according to whether they take the patient or dative possessive prefixes. Most take the dative. The classification is lexical rather than phonological. Nouns with patient prefixes are limited to body-part terms and a few kinship terms. Some nouns are bound forms that require a dative prefix. These nouns are also body-part terms, kinship terms, and nouns derived from verbs with the addition of ist- 'instrumental'. Although the root of the derived nouns may occur as a free form as a verb, the derived nouns themselves are bound.²¹

²¹In this manner they can be distinguished from derived nouns which may occur as free forms without the dative prefix. The order of components of the derived bound dative forms is ist=im=root (instrumental + dative + verb root). Adequate examples are lacking, but it appears that nouns derived by means of the instrumental prefix without the bound dative take instead a possessive pronominal affix prefixed to the instrumental.

amistilpa 'my thing to eat with'
caisbakko 'my head' (? < ist + verb root?)

2.2.1 Nouns that take patient prefixes

Nouns that take patient prefixes are restricted to body-part terms and a few kinship terms. An initial /i/ is deleted following a patient prefix except in careful speech. Three examples in the data exhibit initial /a/. The initial /a/ is a prefix which precedes the patient prefix; in position and form it is similar to the locative prefix discussed in sections III.3.2.1 and III.1.2.3.3.

66. acisikci
a=ci=sikci < a=sikci
at(?)=2sg.pat=muscle
your muscle

The data contain fewer than half a dozen nouns with initial /o/ which take patient prefixes. For some, the initial /o/ is part of oco-, a body-part prefix associated with terms for the mouth or the area near the mouth. Where the initial /o/ is part of this prefix it is deleted when following a patient prefix.

67. cicolaksi
ci-(o)co-laksi
2sg.pat-mouth-tongue
your tongue

The remaining two examples of initial /o/ effect metathesis of the patient prefix.

68. acoobi
ca-oobi
1sg.pat-thigh
my thigh
69. acolposko
ca-olposko
1sg.pat-buttocks
my buttocks

In the data which I collected, the following nouns exhibit patient prefixes.

Kin terms²²

(i)fooni	'male ego's sister'
ittacakki	'sibling of same sex'
halki	'wife'
ipokoosi	'child's son'

Body parts²³

cofkani	'bone'
conoska	'heart'
tahci	'shoulder'
sakba	'arm'
hakco	'ear'
hissi	'hair'
wakha	'back'
nakci	'ribs'
nokbi	'throat'

²²Further discussion of the pronominal affixes and kinship terms is found in Lupardus 1978.

²³Compounds are not listed but can be found in the glossary under the head nouns listed here.

apakha (a=pakha)	'shoulder'
afakci (a=fakci)	'skin'
asikci (a=sikci)	'muscle'
ocokhalbi	'mouth'
ocokhiska	'beard'
ocolaksi	'tongue'
oobi	'thigh'
olposko	'buttocks'
itti <i>li</i>	'eye'
ilbi	'hand'
iyyi	'foot'
ittabi	'leg', ²⁴
ikfi	'belly'
isbakko	'head', ²⁵
iciksa	'neck'
ibisaani	'nose'
ibacasaaka	'joint', ²⁶

²⁴This word and the preceding three have additional compounds listed in the lexicon. The word ittabi 'leg' may be a derived noun related to a similarly derived (i)tabatli 'to crawl' (< bat=li 'hit repeatedly').

²⁵This word is perhaps derived with the instrumental ist- and related to the verb bakaali 'to throw'.

²⁶This word and the preceding one may exhibit some sort of ibi- or iba- prefix. (See section 3.2.5 iba- 'with'.) The medial short vowels are of uncertain quality.

2.2.2 Nouns that take dative prefixes

Any noun which does not take a patient prefix may receive a dative prefix to express possession.²⁷ Unlike the patient prefixes, dative prefixes are not restricted to body parts or kinship terms; however, within those two semantic categories there are a number of nouns which take bound dative prefixes. The bound dative prefixed terms occurring in the data are listed here.

²⁷ It may be that some nouns can take either the dative or the patient prefix, perhaps with some accompanying shift in meaning. Although the data which I collected provide no examples of this, and the examples provided by McCall were not accepted by the speakers with whom I worked, the occurrence of such pairs in a related language, Choctaw, suggests the likelihood of there being nouns which would take either pronominal prefix. In reference to Alabama, McCall (1972:1-2) writes that:

When used in reference to females, the words ittacakki' 'sibling' and poko'si 'grandchild' are prefixed by...[patient prefixes]; but when used in reference to males, these words are prefixed by...[dative prefixes], the set used for alienable possession.

The speakers with whom I worked would not accept dative prefixes with these terms: they insisted the patient prefixes were correctly used by both male and female speakers, e.g. cattacakki 'my sibling (of the same sex as I)'. In reference to Choctaw, Nicklas (1974:38) provides examples of the contrastive use of patient and dative prefixes on adjectives: siachokma 'I am good (a good person)' [patient] and amachokma 'I am fine' [dative]. He does not remark (page 48) on differences of meaning of the prefixes when they are used as possessive prefixes on nouns. He writes only that "A few words...alternate between the...[patient] and dative prefixes." The nouns which he provides as examples are limited to kinship terms and body parts, more specifically, organs and substances (aunt, grandmother, wife, tongue, heart, bone, blood, skin, liver, and lung).

Kin terms

It appears that the only bound dative kin terms are derived terms.²⁸

innaani	'her husband' (< naani 'man')
intayyi	'his wife' (< tayyi 'woman')
imapatayyi	'his/her granddaughter'
	'his/her maternal uncle's daughter'

Body parts

The body parts which take dative prefixes appear to fall into the category of organs and substances, as opposed to limbs and rigid forms, though some body parts with such physical characteristics instead take patient prefixes. In the data which I collected, approximately two thirds of the body-part terms which take the dative prefix are bound.

imalokha	'brain'
impisi	'breast'
imbolbo	'kidney'
intakba	'stomach'
incaabi	'intestines'
incokbi	'navel'
incoswa	'sinew'

²⁸ Knowledge of the kin terms and system of usage is somewhat limited among present-day speakers. Evidence from Choctaw (Nicklas 1972:47-8) suggests that bound dative kin terms are typically derived or restructured kin terms.

inloopi	'liver', ²⁹
innati	'teeth'
insokpa	'lungs'

2.3 Derivation of nouns

Nouns are derived both from other nouns and from verbs by means of compounding and derivation. Although some of the derivational processes are readily apparent, most rules are not generally applicable and are lexically rather restricted. Many of the derivational morphemes which affect both nouns and verbs are presented in section III.3.

The derivational affixes presented here are the diminutive -osi and the affix -ka which occurs on many borrowed words.

2.3.1 -osi 'diminutive'

Diminutives are derived with -osi 'diminutive'. When the noun stem terminates in /a/, the initial /o/ of the suffix is lost. When the noun stem terminates in anything else, the /o/ of -osi remains and any final vowel of the noun stem is deleted.

taata	'father'	taatasi	'paternal uncle'
			(lit: little father)
ifa	'dog'	ifasi	'puppy'
kati	'cat' (borrowed)	katosi	'cat, kitten'
itto	'tree, wood'	ittosi	'twig'

²⁹The Koasati equivalents for 'sinew' and 'liver' are coswa and loopi, respectively. In Koasati, however, they take patient prefixes.

2.3.2 -ka 'derivational affix' for borrowed words

Not all borrowed words are recognized as such by speakers.³⁰

Words which are recognizably borrowed, however, usually appear with -ka when in a syntactic construction. If the borrowed word is monosyllabic or terminates in a consonant, it always occurs with -ka in the context of a sentence.

bil	'Bill' (borrowed name as term of address)
bilka coopati	'Bill bought it.'
bilkan ilhiicati	'We saw Bill.'
karinkan sooziyá hotayyi	'Karen and Suzie are women.'
lindan sookayá hotayyi	'Linda and Sue are women.'
teeboyá ammo	'That's my table.'

2.3.3 Compounds

Alabama nominals are often compounds, many transparently so, while others are generally not further reducible by the native speaker. Included in this section are examples ranging from forms which are clearly one word to forms which are variously treated as a phrase or collapsed into one word. The most common compounds are noun-adjective or noun-locative. The root noun is sometimes shortened.

³⁰ For example, waaka 'cow' is ultimately from the Spanish vaca; the final syllable of the word is not the derivational suffix -ka. One speaker, however, when told the word used by the Spanish suggested that the Spanish had borrowed the term from the Alabama. Kati 'cat' and kafi 'coffee' likewise fit the phonology of the language so well that they are not specially marked as foreign words.

ocabaski	'pecan'	(< oca 'nut' + baski 'long')
fohobaski	'wasp'	(< foho 'bee' + baski 'long')
paanicoba	'river'	(< paani 'creek' + coba 'big')
coksilaana	'pumpkin'	(< coksi 'melon' + laana 'yellow')
takkolcoba	'apple'	(< takkola 'peach' + coba 'big')
tiskhomma	'cardinal'	(< tiskila 'jay' + homma 'red')
akhatka	'sycamore'	(< ak- (?) + hatka 'white')
isbakkobikno	'forehead'	(< isbakko 'head' + bikno 'front')
ittopatha	'hoe'	(< itto 'wood' + patha 'flat')
sokhatka	'possum'	(< sokha 'pig' + hatka 'white')

Some compounds are noun-noun.

ittobihi	'bow'	(< itto 'wood' + bihi 'gun')
itto okci	'sap'	(< itto 'wood' + okci 'juice')
coksitayyi	'kind of squash'	(< coksi 'melon' + tayyi 'woman')

In compounds of this sort, the second noun often has the dative (possessive) prefix.

tobihi inlaki	'arrow'	(< ittobihi 'bow' + im-laki 'its arrow')
waakimpisi	'(cow's) milk'	(< waaka 'cow' + im-pisi 'its milk')
waakimpisi niya	'butter'	(< waakimpisi 'cow's milk' + niya 'fat')

Compounds may also be of the type noun + verb; usually, but not always, the verb stem includes -ka mediopassive, and sometimes it includes the instrumental.

hocii/iwaalika	'falling star'	(< hocii/i 'star' + waalika 'run')
hasissobayka	'clock'	(< hasi 'sun' + ist-sobayka 'instr-known')
hasikanatli	'hour'	(< hasi 'sun' + kanatli 'move')
holisso innaalika	'book'	(< holisso 'book' + im-naalika 'dat-spoken')

3 Nouns and verbs: instrumental and locative prefixes

3.1 ist- 'instrumental'

This prefix is commonly identified throughout the Muskogean languages as 'instrumental'. It is derived historically from isi 'take' and -t 'verb conjunction'.³¹ Swanton (JRS.37), however, suggests that such an analysis is also valid on the synchronic level.

This is sometimes called the instrumental prefix and is translated 'with', or 'by means of', but while it is prefixed to the names of many instruments, as employed with verb stems it more often preserves the sense of 'he took it and', 'she took it and'.

The instrumental is a fairly common verb prefix. It is also used to derive nouns from verbs, generally statives. When it is accompanied by a dative pronominal prefix, -ist precedes the pronominal.³² The distributive, if present, follows the instrumental.

The instrumental prefix undergoes the expected phonological changes: the initial /i/ is often omitted and the /t/ is deleted before a following consonant, thereby simplifying the cluster.³³

³¹Swanton (JRS.37) and Booker (1980:241). Booker reconstructs *-t as a 'subject, same subject' marker.

³²An exception may be aatim- which is used for third person plural dative. However, this is probably not a true exception because aat-/aatim-, like the distributive, is not actually a member of the pronominal affixes. There is some variation in the order of the instrumental and the distributive. Younger speakers frequently place the distributive before the instrumental.

³³Swanton (JRS.37), however, claims that the /t/ is present before some consonants, apparently /l/ and /ʎ/. He provides two such forms: istliwapka 'plow, with which to pulverize earth' and istʎihkutci 'a razor, to shave with'. The data provide no examples to contradict Swanton's assertion, but it is likely that the sequence is not pronounced differently from any other /sl/ or /sʎ/ cluster.

The instrumental prefix often occurs with a following dative pronominal prefix, though Swanton (JRS.37) provides only one example for illustration: istimahitca 'agent, to overseer (sic) for him with'. My field notes provide a number of examples

70. kænka stintiapkot maatāhokā
 kæn-ka ist-im-tiap-ka-o-t maa-t-am-ho-ka-[^]
 can-deriv instr-3sg.dat-open-med.pass-emph-v.conj
 there-v.conj-lsg.dat-distr-give-imp
 You (pl), give me something to open this can with!
71. stihacaaka
 ist-im-hacaa-ka
 instr-3sg.dat-stand(sg)-med.pass
 stand (table leg)

The dative pronoun is coreferential with the possessor of the noun.

72. stinyeelka
 ist-im-yeelka
 instr-3sg.dat-cried
 tears
73. stanyeelka
 ist-am-yeelka
 instr-lsg.dat-cried
 my tears
74. stohinyeelka
 ist-ho-im-yeelka
 instr-distr-3sg.dat-cried
 their tears

The next examples are presented to show how the use of the instrumental changes the meaning of the construction. Example 77 is of interest because it shows that the dative/possessive pronominal (a)atim- is split apart: part occurs before the instrumental prefix and part after it. The pronoun seems to be comprised of ati 'man, person' plus im-, the third person dative; however, such a division would suggest *aatistim- rather than aastim-. Unfortunately the data provide few examples of this. The first example here does not contain

ist- but is given for comparison with the next two.

75. paacokookan maatakāa
paa-cokoo-ka-n maa-t-am-ka-[^]
on-sit-med.pass-obl there-v.conj-lsg.dat-give-imp
Give me the chair!
76. ssimpaacokookan maatakāa (ssiim < scim < iscim < ist-cim)
ist-cim-paa-cokoo-ka-n maa-t-am-ka-[^]
instr-2sg.dat-on-sit-med.pass-obl
there-v.conj-lsg.dat-give-imp
Give me your seat! (on a couch; in a theater)
77. aastimpaacokookan maatakāa
aa(t?)-ist-im-paa-cokoo-ka-n maa-t-am-ka-[^]
person(?)-instr-3sg.dat-on-sit-med.pass-obl
there-v.conj-lsg.dat-give-imp
Give me somebody's seat!
78. aastintinooli(há)
aa(t?)-ist-im-tinooli-(há)
person(?)-instr-3sg.dat-roll-(pl)
their rolling thing(s) (e.g. ball, tire, etc.)

The sequence iscim- from ist plus cim '2sg.dative' does not always become ssim- as it does in example 76; sometimes the /c/ is not assimilated, as in the next example.

79. scinyeelka
ist-cim-yeelka
instr-2sg.dat-cried
your tears

When the construction does not function as a noun the dative object pronoun does not refer to a possessor.

80. stambakaahci
ist-am-bakaa-ci-~
instr-lsg.dat-throw-2sg.agt-Q
Did you throw it to me?
81. isnok aastimbakaali
isna-o-k aa(t?)-ist-im-bakaa=li-[^]
2sg.pron-emph-nom person(?)-instr-3sg.dat-throw=act-imp
Throw it to them!

82. ayompon aasihaciyok saacinkaanoci
 ayompa-o-n aasii-haci-yok ist-hacim-kaano-ci-~
 dish-emph-obl wash-2pl.agt-nom.foc
 instr-2pl.dat-good-cont-Q
 Do you (pl) like to wash the dishes?
83. ayompon ohaasiiliyok stohinkaanoci
 ayompa-o-n ho-aasii=li-yok ist-ho-im-kaano-ci
 dish-emph-obl distr-wash=act-nom.foc
 instr-distr-3dat-good-cont
 They like to wash the dishes.

Patient pronominal affixes can also occur following the instrumental prefix. The next examples are from a different speaker.³⁴

84. issafalamcilo
 ist-ca-falam-ci-lo
 instr-1sg.pat-wake-2sg.agt-fut
 You will get me up.
85. issifalammaalo
 ist-ci-falam=li-aa-lo
 instr-2sg.pat-wake=act-1sg.agt-fut
 I'll get you up.
86. atsfalammaalo
 at-ist-falam=li-aa-lo
 person-instr-wake=act-1sg.agt-fut
 I'll get them up.
87. illifalammaalo³⁵
 ili-falam=li-aa-lo
 refl-wake=act-1sg.agt-fut
 I'll get myself up.

The instrumental prefix is also used seemingly without any object pronouns; however, it should be noted that the third person patient pronominal has zero representation. Most of the examples Swanton

³⁴ The fact that aat- 'indefinite third person' in example 86 precedes the instrumental is evidence that it is not a pronominal affix but is rather a derived form.

³⁵ The status of the /l/ in the reflexive morpheme is not clear. Phonetically it sometimes occurs as a geminate.

(JRS.37) provides are of this type.

istasihli	'to take and wash, to wash with'
istaʔatcek	'they 2 went with them or took them and went'
iswasatkatoh	'they two were gone with it'
iswiha	'to haul with'
istontebekatoha	'they took them and came'
istnaho	'to do something with, the right hand'
istoʔopotlilahok	'he crossed the water with him,' or 'he took him and crossed the water'
ishotci	'to pound with'

In summary, ist- 'instrumental' is frequently used in the derivation of verbs. The following is a list of forms from my data:

scoopa	'sell'	(< ist + coopa 'buy')
staʔʔa	'send'	(< ist + aʔʔa 'go')
stila	'bring'	(< ist + ila 'come')
istisi	'take (in a container)'	(< ist + isi 'hold')
stonti	'bring'	(< ist + onti 'come')
snokbila	'choke'	(< ist + nokbi 'throat' + ?)

The instrumental is also used in noun formation, usually from stative or derived stative verbs.³⁶

88. stilpot maatāhokāa
ist-ilpa-o-t maa-t-am-ho-ka-[^]
instr-eaten-emph-v.conj there-v.conj-lsg.dat-distr-give-imp
Give me something to eat with!
89. castokislibatkon maatāhokāa
castoki-ist-libat-ka-o-n maa-t-am-ho-ka-[^]
beans-instr-cook=med.pass-emph-obl
there-v.conj-lsg.dat-distr-give-imp
Give me something to cook the beans with!
90. stittapaska
ist-itto-a-pas-ka
instr-stick-at-brush-med.pass
a broom

³⁶ Some of the examples here are not given complete morphemic analysis but are simply glossed with the past participle. These are forms that exhibit the so-called "passive infix". See sections 4.1 and 4.2.2.1.

91. stafinapka
 ist-a-finap-ka
 instr-at-pry-med.pass
 a key
92. stofilka
 ist-tofilka
 instr-coughed
 spittle
93. hasi issobaika
 hasi ist-sobay-ka
 sun instr-know-med.pass
 clock

The procedure of deriving nouns from verbs by means of ist- 'instrumental' and im- 'dative' appears to be productive, though undoubtedly there are numerous constructions that have acquired a fixed meaning. The forms available in the data which I collected exhibit mostly verb stems which take -li 'active' and -ka 'mediopassive' classificatory suffixes. Where the instrumental is prefixed to other verb stems, the stems are derived stative constructions.

istinhacaaka	'stand, support' (< hacaali 'sg. stand')
istin(paa)cokooka	'seat' (< cokooli 'sg. sit')
istinyeelka	'tears' (< yahka 'cry')
istintinooli	'rolling thing' (< tinooli 'roll')
istinciyahka	'walker' (< ciyahli 'sg. walk')
istintiapli	'opener' (< tiapli 'open')
istintiapka	'opener' (< tiapli 'open')
istinyooli	'laces' (? = istinyooli 'tie')

3.2 Locative prefixes

There are a number of prefixes in Alabama which may be broadly categorized as locative.³⁷ Generally they are prefixed to the root of nouns and verbs. The relative order of the prefixes has not been completely determined; however, examples occur showing that (1) the instrumental precedes the locative, and (2) the locative precedes nonagentive pronominal affixes.

According to Swanton (JRS.31), the locative prefixes are "few in number and do not constitute a very homogeneous group." He identifies the six locative prefixes presented here.

Booker (1980) considered only five of these in her reconstruction of Proto-Muskogean locative prefixes. She draws a distinction (page 244) between "static location (locative prefixes) and directional motion (prefixed verbs)." She introduces the topic of locative prefixes with the following summary (page 221).

All the Muskogean languages contain prefixes which specify the static location of a referent. The situation may be the result of a previous directional motion, or it may indicate the starting point of such an action. The prefixes themselves, however, refer to an object at rest.

Booker used Swanton's Sketch as a source for Alabama forms. She provides discussion and cognates for most of the prefixes Swanton mentioned and suggests that pa, which does not occur as a locative prefix in the other languages, may be related to the Choctaw demonstrative particle pa 'this'.

³⁷The most productive locative prefix in Alabama appears to be maa-/maat- 'over there'. It is possibly related to the demonstrative maa and is discussed in the section on demonstratives.

The locative prefixes are discussed here in the order in which Swanton presented them.

3.2.1 a-/ay/ 'at'

The gloss provided for this form is just one of several possibilities and was chosen because it is the least specific. This is the first locative prefix introduced by Swanton (JRS.31), who provided the following explanation of its form and function.

A- is the most generalized of all these [locative prefixes]. It indicates a connection of some sort or other between the verb and another object or other objects, and must be variously translated in English by 'at, in, on, to, from', etc. When followed by the vowels a or o it takes the form ai or ay.

Booker (1980:235) introduces this locative prefix following the presentation of other locative prefixes, whose positional reference is more specific. In reference to Proto-Muskogean she writes:

When the location cannot be referred to specifically by using one of the [other] affixes..., e.g. *on 'on', then the unspecified locative cross-reference marker *a is employed. It is translated with various English prepositions: 'at', 'around', 'to', 'against', 'in', etc. In some languages, an epenthetic y is inserted before a vowel.

Swanton (JRS.31) further notes that "not unnaturally many nouns result from the use of this prefix." He lists the following examples.³⁸

abalahlilka	'bed'	<bala	'to lie down'
abaliktco	'pillow'	<bala	'to lie down'
abitka	'a dancing place'	<bitka	'to dance'
ahipli	'the frigid zone'	<hipli	'snow'
aiasilika	'a washtub'	<asilika	'to wash'
aiobi	'where there is a hole'	<obi	'a hole'
aioti	'to make fire at'	<oti	'fire'

³⁸-----
The source is given following the prefixed form and gloss. Two of the prefixed forms additionally exhibit -fa 'locative'.

akulka	'a place where timbers are cut'	<kulka	'to cut'
alakpa	'to stick to'	<lakpa	'to stick'
aliska	'anvil'	<liska	'to beat'
alokokafa	'to meet at'	<lokoka	'to stand'
alukba	'the torrid zone'	<lukba	'hot'
aluska	'to tell a lie about someone'	<luska	'to lie'
alutca	'to blacken from, at or to'	<lutca	'black'
aʎihkatcifa	'a barber shop'	<ʎihkatci	'to cut the hair'
apanka	'to twist on'	<panka	'to twist'
apaspo	'to make bread on'	<paspa	'bread'
apofka	'to blow upon'	<pofka	'to blow'
asobi	'to stoop down at or from'	<sobi	'to stoop down'
asofi	'to pour at'	<sofi	'to pour'
atcopa	'a place to buy'	<tcopa	'to buy'
atoka	'a ball-ground'	<toka	'to play ball'

My data provide some, but not many, examples of this prefix. One such set is provided by the words for Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, words based on the numbers 'two', 'three', and 'five'.³⁹

atokla	'Tuesday'	< toklo	'two'
atocciîna	'Wednesday'	< tocciîna	'three'
ataʎlâapi	'Friday'	< taʎlâapi	'five'

Additionally, the word for 'table' is derived from the verb 'eat'.

94. ayolimpa
ay-olimpa
on-dined
table

Acooba 'old' is derived from the stative verb coba 'big'.⁴⁰ As can be seen in the next examples, the patient prefix comes between the locative a- and the root. These three examples are only partially analyzed here but are analyzed more fully in the discussion of comparative construction.

³⁹ Swanton (JRS.95) gives the first two as the ordinals 'second' and 'third'. He gives 'fifth' as istaʎapi.

⁴⁰ The significance of vowel-lengthening is not yet understood, but is perhaps a reflex of the Proto-Muskogean lengthened grade.

95. acacóobayok cimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-yok ---
 at=1sg.pat=big-nom.foc ---
 I am older than you are.
96. acicóobayok ammacyo
 a=ci=cooba-yok ---
 at=2sg.pat=big-nom.foc ---
 You are older than I am.
97. hoacóobayok hocimmayo
 ho-a=cooba-yok ---
 distr-at=big-nom.foc ---
 They are older than you are.

As is apparent, the gloss of a- as 'at' or 'on' or some other preposition is not wholly satisfactory. Words derived with a- are semantically related to the root but not in an easily generalized manner.

The next example illustrates the use of acakki 'follow, go with' (for some speakers it is acakhi). The data provide no example of the root alone, without a- 'at'; however, example 98, with a- separated from the verb root by a patient pronoun, suggests that the verb contains a- 'at'-

98. acicakkaalolo
 a=ci=cakki-aa-lolo
 at=2sg.pat=follow-1sg.agt-fut
 I will follow you./I will go with you.

This last example shows that the instrumental ist- precedes the locative a- 'at'.

99. stafinapka
 ist-a-finapka
 instr-at-pried
 key

Undoubtedly the data contain many more instances of a-; however, considerable lexical analysis must be undertaken in order to correctly identify forms with the locative a- from the many a-initial forms.

Indications of the presence of this locative a- are: (1) the occurrence of the root form without initial /a/, or (2) the occurrence of nonagentive pronouns between a- and the root.

3.2.2 pa- 'on'

Unlike a-, the locative pa- can be readily identified by its form and invariant meaning, 'on' or 'onto'. Swanton provides only four examples of this prefix in his Sketch, but the data I collected contain many examples similar to Swanton's. Booker (1980:224) speculates that the Alabama locative pa- is related to the Choctaw demonstrative particle pa.

The data provide examples of pa- in both verbs and deverbal nouns. The first example given here includes pa- both as part of a verb meaning 'sit on top of something' and as part of the locative postposition paana 'on top of'.

100. iisa paanan pacokoolo
iisa paana-n pa-cokoo=li-o
house on-obl on-sit(sg)=act-perf
He is sitting on top of the house.

In the next example, pa- is prefixed both to stative and (intransitive) active verbs.

101. hapik payolimpafan panaâbi
hapi-k pa-ay-olimpa-fa-n pa-naaho-bi
salt-nom on-at-dined-loc-obl on-have-perf
There is salt on the table.

The next two examples are by another speaker who does not use pa- 'on' in the word for 'table'. Both statements refer to a state rather than an action.⁴¹

⁴¹It should be further noted that this speaker uses a long vowel for pa- 'on'. The absence of -fa 'locative' may be because of its redundancy in the utterance; see section III.2.1.2.

102. (is)holissok ayolimpan paabalaako
 (ist)-holisso-k ayolimpa-n paa-balaa=ka-o
 (instr)-written-nom table-obl on-lie=med.pass-perf
 The pencil is lying on the table.
103. waakimpisi paasofko ayolimpā
 waakimpisi-(k) paa-sof=ka-o ayolimpa-n
 milk-(nom) on-spill=med.pass-perf table-obl
 Milk has been spilled on the table.

3.2.3 on- 'upon'

Booker (1980:223-4) reconstructs a prefix *on- 'on top of' for Proto-Muskogean. She notes that Alabama does not retain this prefix as part of the productive verb morphology but uses instead pa-. Swanton (JRS.33) provides the following analysis and examples

This prefix ... has the sense of 'on' or 'upon', but rather with the connotation of contact without so certainly implying position over another object. It is plainly derived from the stem onoia (or anoia) 'to mount, to climb' unless this is itself compounded of the prefix under consideration and aya or some other stem. Examples are not numerous but the following may be given:

onokbahtoha	'he put her in there and concealed her'
onabatāplitcitoha	'he hit upon it'
ontokolo	'seven'
onostaka	'four times'
onakopehlit	'they piled around'

The words given as 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday', 'Thursday', and 'Friday' in my data are identified by Swanton (JRS.95) as the ordinal forms of the numbers 'two', 'three', 'four', and 'five'.⁴²

⁴²Swanton's ordinal form for 'five' is not actually ataIlaapi but is instead istaIapi. Swanton lists ordinal numbers higher than four as beginning with is-, presumably from the instrumental ist-.

atokla	'Tuesday'	< toklo	'two'
atocciîna	'Wednesday'	< tocciîna	'three'
onostâaka	'Thursday'	< ostâaka	'four'
ata//âapi	'Friday'	< ta//âapi	'five'

What is interesting in this set is that the base forms which begin with a consonant show a derived form with a- while the base form which begins with a vowel shows a derived form with on-.

3.2.4 ita- 'down'

According to Swanton (JRS.33), ita- means 'down, down on, upon the ground'. His suggestion that the form may have originated as a combination of the reciprocal prefix and the locative prefix a, is not supported by his examples of a-, which show not a- but ay- before roots beginning with a vowel. By contrast, the examples he gives for ita-, listed below, exhibit no epenthetic glide in his transcription when they occur with vowel-initial roots.

itaipa	'to eat from the ground'	< ipa	'to eat'
itamatce	'he threw it down'	< matce	'he threw'
itaofa	'to sew to the ground'	< ofa	'to sew'
itaola	'to make a noise from the ground'	< ola	'to hoot, crow, or make a similar noise'
itaomo	'to moisten something down on the ground'	< omo	'to moisten'
itaotci	'to draw water from the ground'	< otci	'to draw water'
itaoti	'to make fire on the ground'	< oti	'to make fire'

Among the data which I collected are two examples of ita-. The second one given here is clearly an example of ita- used in the derivation of a verb.

104. poskohá itabalaasko
 poskohá ita-balaas-ka-o
 children down-lie(du)=med.pass-perf
 The children are lying down (on the ground).

105. itabatlaalo
 ita-bat=li-aa-lo
 down-beat=act-1sg.agt-fut
 I will crawl. (literally 'beat on the ground')

3.2.5 iba- 'with'

According to Swanton (JRS.33-34), this prefix means "'with, along with, accompanying'...particularly in the case of human beings." It does not occur in my own data, but Swanton provides the following examples.

ibabitli	'to dance with someone'	< bitli	'to dance'
ibainto no	'to work with him'	< to'no	'to work'
ibaofa	'to help sew'	< ofa	'to sew'
ibaotci	'to draw water at the same time or place or together'		
	< otci	'to draw water'	
ibaoti	'two persons making fire together'		
	< oti	'to make fire'	
ibaopo	something with a head or handle on it'		
	< opo	'being a handle'	
ibanutci	'to sleep with'	< nutci	'to sleep'
ibawaḱaili	'to help one support something up in the air'		
	< waḱaili	'to be up in the air'	

3.2.6 o- 'in/into water'

Booker (1980:226-7) claims that this prefix is a reflex of Proto-Muskogean *oka 'water'. Swanton (JRS.34-35) provides examples of both ok- and o-, alternating with oi- or oy- before the vowels /a/ and /o/. He suggests that the prefix means 'in, into, down into water' and is derived from the word oki 'water' or that, conversely, the word for 'water' contains this prefix. Among his examples are the following.

oiasalekan	'it came out of the water'	
	< asalekan	'it came out'
oyayaṭ	'going round and round in water'	
	< ayat	'going round'
ohoyibit	'they killed in the water'	
	< hoyibit	'they killed'
ohohabusḱan	'they dived into the water'	

	< hohabuskan	'they dived'		
oyelit	'to drown		< ilit	'to die'
oisi	'to take out of the water		< isi	'to take'
omatce	'he threw it into the water'			
	< matce	'he threw it'		
osō'fhətcok	'you throw into it'			
	< so fhətcok	'you (pl) throw'		
otəmit	'having fallen into the water'			
	< tamit	'having fallen'		
owe'letcumitoha	'he was hunting in water always'			
	< we letcumitoha	'he was hunting always'		

Among my own data are the following forms which may exhibit this prefix.⁴³

okcakho	'green'
okcawko	'watermelon'
okci	'sap'
oki	'water'
oki otalaaka	'lake, "water sitting there"'
ok/i	'mud, clay'
okwaala	'frog, toad'
okwani	'a kind of oak'

3.2.7 nok- 'emotive' incorporated body part

Within his presentation of 'locative prefixes', Swanton (JRS.35) includes nok-, "an incipient nominal prefix". He notes that it is the first syllable in the Alabama word for 'throat' and remarks that the prefix appears to be "connected in the native mind with emotional

⁴³ My data exhibit a few words that do not appear to be related to the word for 'water' even though they begin with /ok/.

okbaali	'close, shut'
okcopi	'string beads'
okhica	'door' (? < hiica 'see')

Another prefix o-, but of uncertain meaning and without obvious reference to water, appears in at least two verbs in my data: ompa 'dine' and onti 'come'. These two verbs take infixed ci-set pronominals following /o/.

states." He provides the following examples.

nukhumi	'mad'
nokʎiki	'scared'
noksoka	'to be sorry for'
noktcilufis konno	'fateful'
noktcoba	'humble'

Booker (1980:212) identifies nok as an incorporated body part and, as originally suggested by Haas (1941), presents several other body parts that appear in the derivation of verbs. However, of the forms that Booker presents, nok is the only one that functions in verb derivation in Alabama; other evidence of incorporated body parts is found in nouns.

4 Verbs

4.1 Active versus stative

There are two types of verbs: active and stative. Active verbs inflect for person with agentive pronominal affixes. Stative verbs inflect for person with patient pronominal prefixes.

4.2 Verb stem derivation

The verb stem is the uninflected form of the verb. Most verbs have only one verb stem, but some verbs have more than one. Usually in such cases one verb stem is singular and the other is plural. There are a few instances of separate dual stems.

The verb stem may be a verb root, not analyzable further, or it may include a second root and/or one or more derivational affixes. For a number of compound verbs, it is not clear whether the construction is to be analyzed as a prefix plus root, root plus suffix, or two quasi independent roots. In many instances, the rightmost morpheme of a compound verb stem is itself a verb or a remnant of an earlier verb or auxiliary.

Within Muskogean languages, one set of stem-forming affixes is of particular interest: the classificatory suffixes, -li 'active', -ka 'mediopassive', and -ci 'causative'.⁴⁴ The majority of verbs in the language are derived with either -li or -ka. Many verb roots occur both with -li and with -ka; the form with -li is the active verb stem

⁴⁴Haas (1946:327) introduces the term 'classifying suffix'. Nicklas (1974:51) uses the reflexes of the Proto-Muskogean classificatory suffixes *li, *ka, and *ci as the distinguishing features of his three verb bases, active, passive, and causative.

and the form with -ka is the corresponding stative stem. There are, however, also many active verbs which terminate in /ka/. These verbs inflect with the agentive pronominal affixes and do not have a corresponding stem with -li.

Verb stems can be derived with a number of derivational affixes. Section III.3 presents the instrumental and locative prefixes which occur on both nouns and verbs. Section III.4.3.3.1 presents the affixes which occur, in some verbs, in the third person plural stem.

It has also been claimed that Alabama exhibits internal stem modification for aspect (JRS.43). Although stem gradation is a significant grammatical process in other Muskogean languages such as Choctaw and Creek, its occurrence in present-day Alabama appears to be limited to fossilized or restructured forms and to those verbs which show alternation of long and short vowels.

4.2.1 The classificatory suffixes

-Li, -ka, and -ci were labeled classifying suffixes by Haas (1946:330), who noted that the presence or absence of these in Proto-Muskogean verb stems could be used as a basis for the determination of verb classes. Recently, Becker (1980:209) concluded that:

At the earliest reconstructible stage of Muskogean, verbs could be conjugated directly or with three auxiliaries: *ka 'mediopassive', *li 'active', and *ci 'causative'. The mediopassive and active were mutually exclusive, but the causative could co-occur with either one of the other two.

Swanton identified ka and li, respectively, as "the neuter and volitional signs" and ci as "the causative suffix". Both internal reconstruction of Alabama and comparative analysis suggest that

Proto-Muskogean inflected auxiliaries and that ka and li, and perhaps also ci, functioned as auxiliaries in the protolanguage.

4.2.1.1 -li 'active'

Many Alabama verb stems may be analyzed as root plus -li. Unlike the other classificatory suffixes, -li does not co-occur with first person plural and second person agentive pronominal affixes.⁴⁵

The presence of -li on many verbs is obscured because the /l/ of this morpheme assimilates completely to all preceding continuant consonants (not glides) except /s/.⁴⁶ Also, a number of verbs which appear to have a vowel suffix rather than -li reveal the suffix -li in the plural imperative, though not elsewhere.

4.2.1.2 -ka 'mediopassive'

Verb stems which exhibit -li 'active' may be made stative by the substitution of -ka 'mediopassive' for -li. The verb then inflects with patient pronominal, rather than agentive pronominal, affixes. There are, however, many verbs which inflect with agentive pronominal affixes and -ka.

⁴⁵This was noted by Swanton who wrote that "the consonant is dropped from li when preceded by these pronominal signs, the vowel alone remaining." Perhaps Swanton reached this conclusion by analogy with -ka, which is preceded by nonfirst person singular agentive affixes. However, -ka is preceded by is-set agentive affixes whereas ci-set affixes are used with verbs which take -li. Thus, even if Swanton's analysis is taken as correct, it may be noted that the agentive affixes are ci, hili, and haci, all of which terminate in /i/. Since no instance of /i/ + /i/ is known to result in long /ii/, the presence of a following /i/, the claimed remainder of -li, is not directly observable. See section III.4.5.3 and the discussion of plural imperative for other evidence of the presence of -li.

⁴⁶The same is also true for Choctaw.

Traditionally this -ka has been identified with the mediopassive. Throughout this work it will be glossed as mediopassive except in those few instances where an alternative gloss is clearly warranted.⁴⁷ Where -ka 'mediopassive' occurs but the verb inflects with agentive pronominal affixes, the mediopassive functions as a detransitivizing suffix.

4.2.1.3 -ci 'causative'

This suffix is identified as causative by Swanton (JRS.55), labeled as a classifying suffix with causative meaning by Haas (1946), and argued to be a causative auxiliary by Booker (1980:194-5, 198-200).

Booker (page 199) notes that "the evidence to support the auxiliary status of *či is not conclusive," but on the basis of evidence from Koasati, Choctaw, and Tunica she presents a reasonable case for the reconstruction of a causative auxiliary *či.

Unlike -li and -ka, -ci is stable in Alabama. However, Haas (1946:328) presents the following paradigm for Koasati showing that -ci is separated from the verb root by agentive pronominal affixes. The presentation here is my own, though the transcription of the form is hers. She reports that buklici means 'to thresh, as for example rice'. Predictably, -li 'active' is deleted in first person plural and second persons.

⁴⁷Booker (1980:184) claims, in a footnote, to be able to reconstruct three Proto-Muksogean roots of the form *ka. She gives the roots the glosses 'definite', 'say', and 'mediopassive'. Nicklas (1974:62) also reconstructs three such roots but assigns them the glosses 'passive or intransitive', 'say', and 'give'.

1sg	buklicili	buk + li (active) + ci (causative) + li (1sg.agt)
2sg	bukcici	buk + ci (2sg.agt) + ci (causative)
3sg	buklici	buk + li (active) + ci (causative)
1pl	bukhilici	buk + hili (1pl.agt) + ci (causative)
2pl	bukhacici	buk + haci (2pl.agt) + ci (causative)
3pl	hubuklici	hu (distr) + buk + li (active) + ci (causative)

According to Haas, -ci is preceded by the subject pronouns only when -ci follows -li 'active'. No examples similar to this one of Haas's are in my data. Instead the full verb stem with -lici takes suffixed pronominal affixes as indicated in section III.4.3.2.1.3. However, Swanton (JRS.53) recorded the following partial paradigm of the verb 'saw'. The transcription is Swanton's; the analysis is mine. Swanton does not mark tense here.

1sg	so'litcile	soh + li (active) + ci (causative) + li (1sg.agt)
2sg	so'tcitce	soh + ci (2sg.agt) + ci (causative)
3sg	so'litce	soh + li (active) + ci (causative)
1du	so'hilitce	soh + hili (1pl.agt) + ci (causative)
2du	so'hatcitce	soh + haci (2pl.agt) + ci (causative)

Whether this older conjugation is still productive is not at the moment known. It is possible that it has been supplanted by another pattern.⁴⁸ Booker (1980:199) suggests that the conjugation patterns with the causative -ci attached directly to the verb root "represent a recent development in Koasati."

It is my opinion that -ci is not a classificatory suffix in the same sense that -li and -ka are. Instead, -ci should be analyzed as a verb suffix which may also occur on auxiliaries, including the historical auxiliaries, -li and -ka. -Ci is discussed here in the

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The partial paradigm that Swanton provides is with the dual rather than the plural. It is possible that the order and occurrence of the morphemes may have been affected by the inflection for dual rather than plural. Swanton does not provide equivalent plural forms for this verb. More detailed discussion of this affix, plus examples, are in section III.4.3.2.1.3, auxiliary conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIIB).

context of the discussion of classificatory suffixes only because in the literature it is commonly identified as such. Like the other two classificatory suffixes, it is useful for the classification of verbs, but its function is not parallel to that of the other two.

4.2.2 Infixation

Although the present state of knowledge regarding tense, aspect, and modality in the Muskogean languages is rudimentary, Booker (1980:281,2) has provided a number of significant conclusions:

One of the salient characteristics of the Muskogean languages is the presence of a number of internal stem modifications which convey various aspectual nuances of meaning. A comparison of these changes in the modern languages supports the reconstruction of four stem gradations. Vowel lengthening and nasal infixation marked the incompletive/continuative aspect; an infixed h signaled the perfective aspect, and a y infix, the intensive.

Choctaw and Creek, representing western and eastern branches of the Muskogean languages, were the main sources for Booker's reconstruction of internal stem ablaut. By contrast, Alabama has retained very little if any of the system of internal stem modification attributed to the parent language. Although Swanton (JRS.43-46), who was familiar with both Choctaw and Creek claimed that Alabama had this, I have been unable to confirm the existence of stem ablaut in the present-day language.⁴⁹ The following presentation of verb infixes is thus primarily a review of Swanton's analysis.

⁴⁹The older infixes may occur in fossilized form in some of the verbs. Also, the alternation of long and short vowels in some verbs, such as the CVVCV verbs in the basic conjugation subclass (Haas's class I), may be remnants of an earlier, more productive system. See section III.4.3.2.1.1.

4.2.2.1 -l- 'passive infix'

Swanton (JRS.43) writes that "one of the commonest ways of indicating passivity is by the use of an infix l or il." Among his examples he includes the following. He does not include examples in context. From the gloss that he gives a number of his forms, it appears that the derived 'passive' form is often more nominal than verbal.

ibi	to kill	ilbi	is killed
apitaṭ	put in	ḷpitaṭ	got in
noci	sleep	ilnoci	asleep
ka	to say	ilka	what was said
omo	to moisten	olmo	moistened
otci	to draw water	oltci	water already drawn
papa	to carry on the back	palpa	carried on the back
apisa	to measure	alpisa	measured
tcopa	to buy	tculpa	sale, price
iska	to drink	isilka	what is drunk
hofna	to smell	holifna	what is smelled
hokfa	to wear	holikfa	what is worn

4.2.2.2 -h- 'intensive infix'

Swanton (JRS.45) identifies what he calls the intensive infix as being:

...in the same position as the passive infix, but being in most cases a mere aspiration of the preceding vowel... If we consider it a distinct element, we must represent it by h.

Swanton further notes that, unlike the passive, the intensive is never found prefixed to a stem. He observes that "sometimes it indicates a greater quantity of substance; sometimes more time, or repetition." He provides the following examples but does not provide examples in context.

halo	to hear	hahlo	to hear anything easily
hitca	to see	hihtca	to see plainly
ipa	to eat	ihpa	to eat regularly
nota	low	nohta	way below
ofa	to sew	ohfa	to sew more
oiba	rain	oihba	raining most of the time
ola	town	ohla	become a large city
omo	to moisten	ohma	to mix something still more with water
otci	to draw water	ohtci	to draw water more
oti	to make a fire	ohti	to make a fire from time to time, to make a fire more
soli	to carry	sohli	always carrying
tcoba	big	tcuhba	grown up, adult
tcofi	to jump	tcuhfi	to jump more
tcopa	to buy	tcuhpa	to buy more
kaiya	full	kahya	to overeat
lana	yellow	lahna	becoming more yellow
aloba	to fir around	alohpa	to patch all over
lutca	black	luhtca	top black
nani	male	nahni	a hero, a brave man
imo	to pick	ihmo	picking regularly
isi	to get	ihsi	to get regularly
ila	to come	ihla	to come regularly

Although I attempted to do so, I was unable to elicit intensive forms exhibiting an infix /h/. However, /h/ presents a number of problems in analysis. VhCV clusters are commonly realized as VVCV. Thus the vowel length and pitch pattern variation in verbs such as noci ~ nooci 'sleep' may reflect aspectual differences as yet undetermined.

4.2.2.3 -n- 'continuous action'

Regarding the status of infix nasalization, Swanton (JRS.46) writes:

Just as the intensity or regularity of an action [is] denoted by aspirating the first vowel, its continuous character is indicated in Choctaw by converting it into a nasal. In Alabama, however, only a few traces of such nasalization are found, the feature being supplanted by, or developed into, a syllable na or the consonant n.

Swanton provides no example of the "few traces" of internal nasalization but instead goes on to note that "the syllable na seems, indeed, to be the stem of an independent verb, although sometimes it is combined with another verb mih, 'to be like'." As examples, Swanton provides onamin 'always' and the following, for which I am unable to provide analysis beyond that which I have indicated in parentheses.

ontitok ona't	it kept coming on, it came, it kept on (onti 'come')
ohatca'kimō'nak	they followed continually (ho 'distr' + acakhi 'follow')
iklontok onamo	he has not come yet
aʎinatcit	they two going on
aʎintohon	while they were going

Continuatives which I was able to document did not involve the features described by Swanton. In the forms which I collected, continuous aspect is indicated either by -ci 'continuative' (section III.4.4.4) or by -aapi/-mpa 'durative' (section III.4.4.9).

4.3 Verb inflection for person and number

This chapter presents the classification of verbs as determined by the inflection of the verbs for person and number. A full understanding of this inflection, however, also requires specification of the position of the tense/aspect suffix. Therefore the discussion and examples will include fully conjugated verbs inflecting for person, number, and tense/aspect. Such verbs are not only the core of Alabama sentences but are themselves syntactically complete sentences.

The presentation here involves only active verbs, which inflect for three persons, singular, plural and, in some cases, dual. For

active verbs, inflection for person involves agentive pronominal affixes which may occur as prefixes, infixes, or suffixes to the verb stem. By contrast, stative verbs are inflected with patient pronominal prefixes rather than agentive affixes.⁵⁰

A distinction here is made between verb stems and verb roots. A verb stem is a free form; it is equivalent to the uninflected verb.⁵¹ That is, a verb stem is the form which occurs in third person affirmative conjugation, singular or plural, if one removes the distributive prefix and the tense/aspect suffix. A root is a portion of a verb stem. Specifically, it is the portion remaining when recognizable affixes have been removed. Generally, these affixes are the distributive prefix and the classificatory suffixes -li 'active' and -ka 'mediopassive'. In some instances, a verb stem consists of two portions between which a pronominal affix may intervene. In such cases, each portion is termed a root, though historically one may have been a prefix or the other may have been a suffix or auxiliary.

4.3.1 Affirmative verb conjugation

Among extant Muskogean languages, Alabama, along with Koasati, is notable for its great variety of conjugation patterns. To explain this, numerous Muskogeanists, Booker (1980), Haas (1946,1969), Lupardus (1973), Nicklas (1974), have suggested that the

⁵⁰Variation in third person conjugation only occurs in the plural and even then the variation is in the formation of the stem, not in the inflection.

⁵¹Certain verbs take -s/-ci 'plural' and numerous verbs have a distinct plural form. These are considered stems, though they are less frequently encountered as a free form.

Proto-Muskogean system included conjugation of auxiliaries. The other eastern subgroups of Muskogean exhibit auxiliary conjugation in fossilized form whereas the western languages, Choctaw and Chickasaw, have retained the Proto-Muskogean pattern of main verb conjugation. Alabama and Koasati have kept more of the Proto-Muskogean conjugation patterns.

The Alabama and Koasati systems differ in some details, but, in general, their systems of verb inflection are quite similar: Haas's (1946:327) observation about Koasati, namely that verbs may inflect for person by means of prefixation, infixation, or suffixation, also holds for Alabama. For the purpose of comparative analysis, Haas (1946) classified the active verbs of Koasati into three main paradigmatic classes on the basis of their inflection for person. The three main classes consisted of a total of six subclasses. In Muskogean linguistics her system may be considered traditional.

Although the classification system presented here is similar to Haas's, the ordering and labeling of the classes is different. However, for purposes of cross reference, each class or subclass is further identified by its equivalent label in Haas's system. In the system used here the verbs are classified into two major groups according to the set of agentive pronominal affixes used in affirmative constructions. The label chosen for the two classes is taken from the form of the second person singular agentive pronominal affix. The two major classes are then subclassified according to the position of the agentive pronominal affix.

4.3.1.1 Person/number distinctions

Active verbs inflect for first, second, and third persons, singular and plural. A significant characteristic of active verb conjugation is that the conjugation of first person singular and third person singular is entirely uniform and predictable while inflection for first person plural and the second persons depends on the class of the verb. First person singular order is STEM-AGENT-TNS and third person singular is STEM-TNS. ('TNS' is used here to indicate a tense/aspect affix.) There is no agentive pronominal affix for the third person. In the third person, the plural is distinguished from the singular either by the use of ho- 'distributive' before the verb stem or by change of the verb stem, that is, either suppletion or use of -s/-ci 'plural'.

<u>VERB CLASS</u>	<u>CONJUGATION PATTERN (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)</u>			
<u>is-set VERBS</u>				
Basic conjugation (I)			AGENT	-VERB STEM-TNS
Infix conjugation (IIIA)	ROOT	-	AGENT	- ROOT -TNS
Auxiliary conjugation (IIIB)	STEM	-	AGENT	- <u>ka</u> -TNS
Periphrastic conjugation	STEM	- <u>t</u> -	AGENT	- <u>ka</u> -TNS
<u>ci-set VERBS</u>				
Infix conjugation (IIC)	ROOT	-	AGENT	- ROOT -TNS
Deleted-auxiliary conjugation (IIA)	ROOT	-	AGENT	- TNS

Table 7: Active verb conjugation patterns

(Haas's classification labels are given in parentheses.)

4.3.1.1.1 First person singular agentive pronominal suffix

The first person singular agentive pronominal suffix differs from the other agentive pronominal affixes in two ways: (1) positionally it is invariant, always occurring suffixed to the verb stem, and (2) it varies in form not according to verb class but according to tense usage, -aa for the future and -li for the nonfuture tenses.

4.3.1.1.2 Nonfirst person singular agentive pronominal affixes

The pronominal affixes indicating first person plural and the second persons (singular and plural) take different forms and positions according to the verb with which they occur. In general, however, they can be classified as belonging to either of two sets. As a classificatory convention, these sets may be identified by the form of the second person singular actor pronoun, i.e., the is-set and the ci-set. In the two tables that follow, portions in parentheses do not occur uniformly with all the verbs which may take pronominal affixes of that given set; details of these portions will be given later as appropriate for each verb class.⁵²

	<u>is-set</u>	<u>ci-set</u>
1st plural	(h)il	(hi)li
2nd singular	is	ci
2nd plural	(h)as	(h)aci

Table 8: Nonfirst person singular agentive pronominal affixes

⁵²It should be noted that these irregular portions of the pronominal affixes are /h/ and, where the affix has two syllables, /hi/. As has been mentioned in the section on phonology, /h/ is not stable at morpheme boundaries.

For convenience, henceforth the terms 'is-set' and 'ci-set' will be used to indicate two complete sets of agentive pronominal affixes, as given in the next table. It should be noted, however, that there is no difference between the two sets in the inflection for first person singular and for the third persons.

	<u>is-set affixes</u>		<u>ci-set affixes</u>	
	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
First person	-li/-aa	(h)il	-li/-aa	(hi)li
Second person	is	(h)as	ci	(h)aci
Third person	-	-	-	-

Table 9: Agentive pronominal affix sets

4.3.2 Affirmative conjugation classes

Active verbs may be classified according to whether they take pronominal affixes of the is-set or ci-set. Furthermore, verbs can be subclassified according to the position of the agentive pronominal affixes and the loss or acquisition of a verb stem auxiliary.

In the following discussion and presentation of the two conjugation classes and their subclasses, a conjugation pattern will be given only for the first person plural and the second persons since the conjugation of the other persons is uniform across the classes and may be given as follows (where -li/-aa represents the choice of an

appropriate first person singular agentive suffix).

1sg		STEM + <u>-li/-aa</u> + TNS
3sg		STEM + TNS
3pl	<u>ho</u> +	STEM + TNS ⁵³

Table 10: Conjugation patterns unaffected by verb classification

In the presentation of conjugation patterns and examples, morpheme boundaries are indicated by means of the symbols '=' and '-'. The boundary '=' indicates that the two units linked by '=', sometimes with an intervening agentive affix, are bound roots together constituting a single verb stem. The boundary '-' is set between a verb stem or verb root and noninflexed inflectional morphemes. 'TNS' is an abbreviation for 'tense/aspect affix'. Haas's class and subclass labels are provided in parentheses.

4.3.2.1 is-set conjugation classes

The verbs conjugated with is-set pronominal affixes are considered first because the is-set affixes are the only ones used with a complete, unseparated verb stem.

4.3.2.1.1 Basic conjugation subclass (I)

This is the simplest form of conjugation and the class that has the smallest membership.⁵⁴ Structurally, verb stems are of two types: (i)CV stems and CVVCV stems. The (i)CV stems exhibit the prothetic vowel discussed in the section on phonology. These stems

⁵³Where there is a distinct plural verb stem, the distributive prefix is often not used.

⁵⁴Semantically, the verbs themselves are certainly very basic.

function as roots for a number of infix class verbs. The CVVCV verbs appear with a CVCV stem when functioning as nonfinite verbs or when conjugated by periphrastic conjugation.⁵⁵ In the uninflected form and when inflected with prefixed agentive pronominals, the verb stem is CVVCV.⁵⁵

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

AGENT + STEM + TNS

(The prothetic vowel and agent prefix are mutually exclusive.)

Verbs in the data

haalo	'hear'
hiica	'see'
ibi	'kill'
ila	'come, be here'
ipa	'eat (something)'
nooci	'sleep'

⁵⁵Booker (1980:108-9) reconstructs four internal changes, ablaut grades, for Proto-Muskogean verbs. Among them is vowel lengthening which "survives in Creek as an incomplete marker and in certain Choctaw constructions which appear to be syntactically determined." The verbs which Nicklas (1974:74) provides as Choctaw examples of the lengthened grade are cognate with Alabama basic conjugation verbs. Swanton (JRS.46), who was familiar with both Choctaw and Creek, recorded examples of vowel lengthening which he interpreted as indicating some kind of intensive.

This appears most prominently in words beginning with the vowel i or containing i. It is used to indicate a considerable continuation of the action and seems to be psychological in character.

ipa	'to eat'	iipa	'to eat on'
pita	'a reward'	piita	'a fine reward'
imo	'to pick'	iimo	'still picking'
isa	'to stay or dwell'	iisati	'usually an inhabitant'
ila	'to arrive coming'	iila	'seen coming from a distance'
atciba	'hard, difficult'	atciiba	'bad often'

In a few cases it seems as though the vowel o were used similarly.

ahoba	'equal, same height'	ahooba	'fill to the top'
sobi	'to stoop down'	soobi	'to stoop down too often'

The verbs listed by Swanton are of the stem forms (i)CV and (a)CVCV. Examples of this lengthening in context are not provided in his Sketch.

Sample paradigms

1sg	ipalo	I eat it.	(<ipa-li-o)
2sg	ispo	You eat it.	(<is-(i)pa-o)
3sg	ipo	He eats it.	(<ipa-o)
1pl	ilpo	We eat it.	(<il-(i)pa-o)
2pl	haspo	You (pl) eat it.	(<has-(i)pa-o)
3pl	hoipo	They eat it.	(<ho-ipa-o)

The prothetic vowel is indicated in parentheses. It does not appear when the stem is preceded by an agentive prefix, but it does appear when preceded by the distributive prefix ho-.

1sg	haalolo	I hear it.	(<haalo-li-o)
2sg	ishaalobi	You hear it.	(<is-haalo-o)
3sg	haalobi	He hears it.	(<haalo-o)
1pl	ilhaalobi	We hear it.	(<il-haalo-o)
2pl	hashaalobi	You (pl) hear it.	(<has-haalo-o)
3pl	hohaalobi	They hear it.	(<ho-haalo-o)

4.3.2.1.2 Infixed conjugation subclass (IIIA)

In this form of conjugation the verb stem is complex and consists of either (1) a root plus -ka 'mediopassive' or (2) a sequence of two roots.⁵⁶ Most members of this subclass are of the form root + ka; of these many have distinct, but usually related, plural stems which also have the form root + ka.

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

ROOT₁ agent = ROOT₂ + TNS

Verbs in the data

The equals mark indicates where the agentive pronominal affix is inserted.

⁵⁶These roots may perhaps be further analyzable, at least historically, as prefix + root or root + auxiliary.

⁵⁷At least two of the verbs in this subclass are derived from basic conjugation verbs, ila 'come' and ibi 'kill'. The verb for 'buy' is shown with a root =hpa. The /h/ is not commonly heard: the verb is usually pronounced [ʔoopə]. The division co=hpa is made

Stems without -ka⁵⁷

co=hpa	buy
ist-co=hpa	sell
ist=(i)la	bring here (3pl: istilaci)
maat=(i)bi	hunt

Stems with -ka (nonsuppletive stems)

afaa=ka	laugh
ha/ap=ka	kick
hap=ka	bathe
innaa/i=ka	read; speak to someone
limit=ka	swallow
loos=ka	tell a lie
man=ka	say
papi/=ka	put something on something
tof=ka	spit
toltoh=ka	cough
wikay=ka	fly
yah=ka	cry
yas=ka	chew

Stems with -ka (suppletive stems: sg/pl)

amaa=ka	(pl) go (sg: a/=ya, <u>ci</u> -set verb)
asali=ka / aska(a)=ka	go outside
balaa=ka / bal=ka	lie down
cikii=ka	(pl) sit (sg: cokoo=li, <u>ci</u> -set verb)
cokkaa=ka / cokkalii=ka	go inside
falam=ka / falko=ka	get up
itabalaaka	lie down on ground (see balaa=ka)
ononkalika / ononka(a)=ka	climb
paabalaakaa	lie on something (see balaa=ka)
stamaa=ka	(pl) take along (sg: sta/=ya, <u>ci</u> -set)
waalii=ka / to/=ka	run

Irregular stem

isko	drink (stem for 1sg, 3sg, 3pl)
is=ka	drink (stem for 1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

rather than coh=pa, or even coo=pa, because of forms such as coispati 'you bought it' and cokiipati 'he didn't buy it'. The function of the /h/ is not known but it is perhaps the remnant of the sudden action infixed h. (See Swanton's -h- 'intensive infix' in section III.4.2.2.2.)

Sample paradigms

1sg	coopaalo	I will buy it.	(<co=hpa-aa-lo)
2sg	coispalo	You will buy it.	(<co=is=hpa-lo)
3sg	coopalo	He will buy it.	(<co=hpa-lo)
1pl	coilpalo	We will buy it.	(<co=il=hpa-lo)
2pl	cohaspalo	You (pl) will buy it.	(<co=has=hpa-lo)
3pl	hocoopalo	They will buy it.	(<ho-co=hpa-lo)

Because the tense affix is -lo 'future', the first person singular agentive is -aa rather than -li. The paradigm for scoopa 'sell' is similar except for the third person plural, shown here contrasted with third person singular.

3sg	(i)scoopalo	He will sell it.	(<ist-co=hpa-lo)
3pl	(i)shoopalo	They will sell it.	(<ist-ho-co=hpa-lo)

The verb stem in the next paradigm is derived from a basic conjugation class verb and includes -ci 'plural' which occurs in the third person plural. This paradigm also illustrates two orders for the instrumental and distributive affixes.⁵⁸

1sg	(i)stilaalo	I will bring it.	(<ist=(i)la-aa-lo)
2sg	(i)stislalo	You will bring it.	(<ist=is=(i)la-lo)
3sg	(i)stilalo	He will bring it.	(<ist=(i)la-lo)
1pl	(i)stillalo	We will bring it.	(<ist=il=(i)la-lo)
2pl	(i)stalo	You (pl) will bring it.	(<ist=as=(i)la-lo)
3pl	hoistilacilo	They will bring it.	(<ho-ist=(i)la-ci-lo) ⁵⁹
	(i)stoilaacilo	they will bring it.	(<ist=ho=(i)la-ci-lo)

In the next two examples, -ka appears in the uninflected form of the verb. The first paradigm is of a verb which has the same stem in both the singular and the plural. The second is of a verb that has

⁵⁸With this verb, speakers were not consistent in their placement of the distributive prefix. It is not known why this is the case, though it may be significant that it was the youngest speaker who gave the order distributive + instrumental. The most common order is instrumental + distributive.

⁵⁹See section III.4.3.3.1 for a discussion of the lengthening of the vowel preceding -ci 'plural'.

suppletive singular/plural stems, though in this case clearly one is derived from the other, at least historically.⁶⁰

1sg	limitkaalo	I will swallow it.	(<limit=ka-aa-lo)
2sg	limitiskalo	You will swallow it.	(<limit=is=ka-lo)
3sg	limitkalo	He will swallow it.	(<limit=ka-lo)
1pl	limitilkalo	We will swallow it.	(<limit=il=ka-lo)
2pl	limitaskalo	You (pl) will swallow it.	(<limit=as=ka-lo)
3pl	holimitkalo	They will swallow it.	(<ho-limit=ka-lo)
1sg	balaakaalo	I will lie down.	(<balaa=ka-aa-lo)
2sg	baleeskalo	You will lie down.	(<balaa=is=ka-lo)
3sg	balaakalo	He will lie down.	(<balaa=ka-lo)
1pl	balhilkalo	We will lie down.	(<bal=hil=ka-lo)
2pl	balhaskalo	You (pl) will lie down.	(<bal=has=ka-lo)
3pl	hobalkalo	They will lie down.	(<ho-bal=ka-lo)

The final example of infixated conjugation class verbs is of the irregular verb isko 'drink'.

1sg	iskoliti	I drank it.	(<isko-li-ti)
2sg	isiskati	You drank it.	(<is=is=ka-ti)
3sg	iskoti	He drank it.	(<isko-ti)
1pl	isilkati	We drank it.	(<is=il=ka-ti)
2pl	isaskati	You (pl) drank it.	(<is=as=ka-ti)
3pl	hoiskoti	They drank it.	(<ho-isko-ti)

4.3.2.1.3 Auxiliary conjugation subclass (IIIB)

This class is labeled as such because -ka, which follows nonfirst person singular agentive pronominal affixes, does not occur in the uninflected form. The uninflected form of most, but not all, of the verbs in this class includes suffix -ci 'causative'. This suffix is stable; that is, when the verb is inflected, the suffix -ci is not

⁶⁰The reason for the /h/ in the first and second person plural forms in the paradigm of balaaka 'lie down' is not clear though it is probably related to the presence of the preceding resonant which may have caused an underlying /h/ to be pronounced; the absence of /h/ in the corresponding persons in the previous paradigm of limitka is probably the result of the preceding stop. Why only has and not *hil occurs in basic conjugation in word-initial positions is, in view of this, puzzling.

deleted or separated from the verb root.

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

STEM + AGENT + ka + TNS

Verbs in the data

aksobaaci	make noise
altobaaci	pay
asalici	turn something lose
hoopaci	hurt someone or something
imaabaci	teach
ma/atlici	scare
maatacakhi	follow, go after
naka/aaci	lose something (for some speakers, pl: wasaa=li)
tobiilaci	burn something

Sample paradigms

1sg	asalicaalo	I will let it go out.	(<asalici-aa-lo)
2sg	asaliciskalo	You will let it go out.	(<asalici-is-ka-lo)
3sg	asalicilo	He will let it go out.	(<asalici-lo)
1pl	asalicilkalo	We will let it go out.	(<asalici-il-ka-lo)
2pl	asalicaskalo	You (pl) will let it go out.	(<asalici-as-ka-lo)
3pl	hoasalicilo	They will let it go out.	(<ho-asalici-lo)
1sg	maatacakhaalo	I will follow.	(<maatacakhi-aa-lo)
2sg	maatacakhiskalo	You will follow.	(<maatacakhi-is-ka-lo)
3sg	maatacakhilo	He will follow.	(<maatacakhi-lo)
1pl	maatacakhilkalo	We will follow.	(<maatacakhi-il-ka-lo)
2pl	maatacakhaskalo	You (pl) will follow.	(<maatacakhi-as-ka-lo)
3pl	homaatacakhilo	They will follow.	(<ho-maatacakhi-lo)

4.3.2.1.4 Periphrastic conjugation (not identified by Haas)

This is the most general form of conjugation in that any verb, regardless of its conjugation class, may be conjugated periphrastically. It may be that the usage of periphrastic conjugation has, or originally had, semantic significance as contrasted with the corresponding conjugation pattern. However, certain verbs, such as hotina 'count', given in the sample paradigms, occur only in periphrastic conjugation.

In form, periphrastic conjugation is the same as auxiliary conjugation (Haas's class IIIB) except that the verb stem preceding the agentive pronominal affix has the suffix -t 'verb conjunction'.⁶¹ There are some irregularities, however, within this conjugation subclass. For example, certain verbs lose the stem-final vowel in the conjugation process: the vowel occurs only in the persons that do not inflect with the -t, i.e., the first person singular and the third persons. One such verb is isa 'be somewhere', which apparently is not a member of any other subclass though its form suggests membership in the basic conjugation class (Haas's class I).

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

STEM + t + AGENT + ka + TNS

Sample paradigms

1sg	hotinaalo	I will count.	(<hotina-aa-lo)
2sg	hotinatiskalo	You will count.	(<hotina-t-is-ka-lo)
3sg	hotinalo	He will count.	(<hotina-lo)
1pl	hotinatilkalo	We will count.	(<hotina-t-il-ka-lo)
2pl	hotinataskalo	You (pl) will count.	(<hotina-t-as-ka-lo)
3pl	hohotinalo	They will count.	(<ho-hotina-lo)
1pl	istilkalo	We will be (somewhere).	(<is-t-il-ka-lo)
2pl	istaskalo	You (pl) will be (somewhere).	(<is-t-as-ka-lo)
3pl	hoisalo	They will be (somewhere).	(<ho-isa-lo)

4.3.2.2 ci-set conjugation classes

The ci-set conjugation classes are secondary to the is-set classes in that the is-set subclasses include both the most simple conjugation class and the most extensive one, the basic and the

⁶¹Periphrastic conjugation and auxiliary conjugation are only superficially similar. The -t- which appears in periphrastic conjugation is, at least historically, a syntactic suffix which indicates conjunction of verbs having the same subject.

periphrastic conjugation classes, respectively. Although there are only two ci-set subclasses while there are four is-set subclasses, the ci-set agentive affixes are more extensive than the is-set affixes in that the negative agentive pronominal affixes are derived from the ci-set, not from the is-set.⁶²

The ci-set affixes each have two alternants in the plural: li or hili 'first person plural' and aci or haci 'second person plural'. The alternants li and aci are used for the infixed conjugation subclass (IIC) and the forms hili and haci are used for the deleted auxiliary subclass (IIA).

4.3.2.2.1 Infixed conjugation subclass (IIC)

This subclass is small in size; it is certainly the smaller of the two ci-set subclasses. The verb stems are analyzed here as containing two roots, though historically they probably consisted of a root with one or more prefixes.

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

ROOT₁ = AGENT = ROOT₂ + TNS

Verbs in the data

a/=ya	(sg) go (pl: amaa=ka, <u>is</u> -set conjugation)
at=ta	(sg) live somewhere, stay (pl: isa, periphrastic conjugation)
ho=fna	smell something

⁶²Booker (1980:43-4) states that is 'second person singular' is the result of the metathesis of *ci. The form *ci was reconstructed for second person singular on the basis of comparative analysis. The fact that the negative pronominal affixes are based on ci rather than is is internal support for taking ci as primary.

ho=sso	write
hoti=hna	count
ilto=hno	work
(i)sta =ya	(sg) take along, take with, transport (pl: stamaa=ka, <u>is</u> -set conjugation)
ist-o=nti	bring (3pl: stontici)
o=mpa	dine, eat
tal=wa	(sg) sing (plural unverified)

Sample paradigms⁶³

1sg	hofnaalo	I will smell it.	(<ho=fna-aa-lo)
2sg	hocifnalo	You will smell it.	(<ho=ci=fna-lo)
3sg	hofnalo	He will smell it.	(<ho=fna-lo)
1pl	holifnalo	We will smell it.	(<ho=li=fna-lo)
2pl	h cifnaalo	You (pl) will smell it.	(<ho=aci=fna-lo)
3pl	hohfnalo	They will smell it.	(<ho-ho=fna-lo)
1sg	sta aalo	I will send it.	(<ist-a =ya-aa-lo)
2sg	sta ciyalo	You will send it.	(<ist-a =ci=ya-lo)
3sg	sta alo	He will send it.	(<ist-a =ya-lo)
1pl	sta iyalo	We will send it.	(<ist-a =li=ya-lo)
2pl	sta aciyalo	You (pl) will send it.	(<ist-a =aci=ya-lo)
3pl	hosta acilo	They will send it.	(<ho-sta =ya=ci=lo)
1sg	iltoonaalo	I will work.	(<ilto=hno-aa-lo)
2sg	iltociinolo	You will work.	(<ilto=ci=hno-lo)
3sg	iltoonolo	He will work.	(<ilto=hno-lo)
1pl	iltoliinolo	We will work.	(<ilto=li=hno-lo)
2pl	ilt ciinolo	You (pl) will work.	(<ilto=aci=hno-lo)
3pl	hoiltoonolo	They will work	(<ho-ilto=hno-lo)

⁶³The third person plural conjugation of sta||a 'send' exhibits ho- 'distributive' before ist- 'instrumental'; the variation of the order of these two morphemes has been noted previously. Also the conjugation exhibits -ci 'plural'. Although the stem *iya does not occur independently in Alabama, at least not in the data which I collected nor in the files compiled by Swanton, it does occur in Choctaw with the meaning of 'go' (Nicklas 1974:67). This is particularly interesting because the form of iya suggests that in Alabama it should belong to the basic conjugation class, which is the source of roots for infixed class verbs. Verbs of the form iCV in the basic conjugation class exhibit a prothetic vowel /i/ which corresponds to the Choctaw prothetic vowel /a/. The verb iya 'go' in Choctaw, however, does not exhibit an expected prothetic /a/. Nathan (1977:81) reports the singular of 'go' to be a:yit. Whether one of the forms cited here is a metathesized version of the other, at least historically, is not presently known. However, a verb such as this one is interesting in that it may help to shed light on why the prothetic vowels in Choctaw and Alabama are different.

4.3.2.2.2 Deleted-auxiliary conjugation subclass (IIA)

This class is labeled as such because the final syllable of the verb stem is deleted when the verb is inflected for first person plural and second persons. Where the verb stem does not terminate in -li 'active', the final vowel of the stem is deleted when the verb is inflected for first person plural and second persons.⁶⁴

This is the subclass in which an agentive pronominal affix occurs adjacent to the tense affix. In all other subclasses, either the verb stem, a verb root, or an auxiliary occurs between the agentive pronominal and the tense affix. There is good reason to believe, however, that the apparent absence of -li- is the result of attrition. Swanton (JR.53) speculates that "the consonant is dropped from -li when preceded by [the agentive pronominal affixes], the vowel alone remaining."⁶⁵ The fact is that the pronominal affixes of the ci-set all end in i. Because adjacent vowels across morpheme boundaries usually coalesce, the presence of an -i allomorph of -li 'active' is unapparent.

⁶⁴In word-final position long and short vowels do not contrast. It is interesting to note, however, that in the inventory of verb stems terminating in -li, if the root ends in a vowel, the vowel is long. As mentioned before, Alabama does not exhibit the extensive use of stem modification common in Choctaw and Creek: the lengthened grade reported for Choctaw and Creek is not so apparent, if present at all, in Alabama. (However, see section 4.3.2.1.1)

⁶⁵Supporting Swanton's speculation is Haas's (1969:55) analysis showing -li 'active' preserved in Creek as y.

Conjugation pattern (1pl, 2sg, 2pl)

ROOT + AGENT + TNS

Verbs in the data

Stems with -li 'active'

acaa=li	agree, be agreeable (see imacaa=li)
acih=li	plant, sow
acitii=li	tie (as a string)
akofoo=li	cover, spread something over
alwaa=li	break, destroy, tear to pieces
anoo=li	finish (for some speakers, anos=li is plural or 3pl stem)
asii=li	wash
bakaa=li	throw something (see isbakaa=li)
batap=li	hit, strike
batat=li	(variant of batap=li)
bat=li	whip, strike repeatedly
bit=li	dance
cayaa=li	walk
cikii=li	put things up, gather
ciyaa=li	(variant of cayaa=li)
cof=li	jump
cokoo=li	(sg) sit, live somewhere (pl: cikka)
fat=li	tell, tell a story
fee=li	finish (3pl: faya=li)
hacaa=li	(sg) stand up (pl: lokoo=li)
imacaa=li	agree with someone, answer, accept; borrow
imokway=li	fish, drop into water
imokwee=li	(variant of imokway=li)
imonaa]=li	loan, borrow
isfalam=li	wake someone, help someone get up (<ist 'instr.' + falam)
itabat=li	crawl
iya]=li	own
kalaf=li	scratch
kanat=li	move
koo=li	cut
kotaf=li	break (as a bone, leg, pencil)
labos=li	extinguish, turn off (lights, etc.)
libat=li	burn, brown, bake
lokoo=li	(pl) stand (sg: hacaa=li)
lom=li	hide
ɽapee=li	cover
ɽikee=li	dampen
maɽat=li	be afraid, fear something
maa-wih=li	look for, expect
nokɽikis=li	scare
okbaa=li	shut
ombitii=li	bury something
pii=li	take some, grab a number of something

potoo=li	touch
poyat=li	boil
saf=li	dig
sibee=li	(variant of sobay=li)
sitof=li	untie
sobay=li	know
solot=li	dry
sopat=li	clean
tabbat=li	(variant of itabat=li)
taliboo=li	build, make
tiap=li	open
wih=li	hunt, look for
wasaa=li	(pl) lose (sg: nakaɬaaci)

In the above verbs, the /l/ of -li 'active' assimilates to all preceding continuant consonants (not glides) except s; thus the affected verbs are coffi, imonaaɬli, isfalammi, kalaffi, koloffi, lommi, saffi, and sitoffi, but not anosli, imokwayli, labosli, nokɬikisli, nor sobayli. The /h/ at the end of the root usually is not heard in the uninflected form. In this list, the uninflected forms which are known to have an underlying root-final /h/ are aciili, maawiili, and wiili.⁶⁷

Stems without -li

These verbs have a vowel suffix which is deleted consistently in the same environment in which -li would be deleted; however, -li appears in the plural command, as in hopooholii 'you (pl) cook it!', even though it does not appear in the declarative. It is not clear whether the root-final consonant is geminate.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Root-final long vowels are suspicious and future research may show that more of them are on the underlying level vowel plus /h/.

⁶⁸The root-final consonant is shown to be a single consonant, though pronunciation of the stem, especially the verbs isi- 'get' and onofa- 'sew', often exhibits a geminate consonant.

im-is=i	take away
is=i	receive, get
ist-is=i	receive, get
hocif=a	name
hopoon=i	cook
om=i	be
onof=a	sew, mend

Sample paradigms

1sg	aciilaalo	I will plant it.	(<acih=li-aa-lo)
2sg	aciicilo	You will plant it.	(<acih-ci-lo)
3sg	aciililo	He will plant it.	(<acih=li-lo)
1pl	aciihililo	We will plant it.	(<acih-hili-lo)
2pl	aciihacilo	You (pl) will plant it.	(<acih-haci-lo)
3pl	hoaciililo	They will plant it.	(<ho-acih=li-lo)
1sg	saffaalo	I will dig.	(<saf=li-aa-lo)
2sg	safcilo	You will dig.	(<saf-ci-lo)
3sg	saffilo	He will dig.	(<saf=li-lo)
1pl	safhililo	We will dig.	(<saf-hili-lo)
2pl	safhacilo	You (pl) will dig.	(<saf-haci-lo)
3pl	hosaffilo	They will dig.	(<ho-saf=li-lo)
1sg	hocifaalo	I will name it.	(<hocif=a-aa-lo)
2sg	hocifcilo	You will name it.	(<hocif-ci-lo)
3sg	hocifalo	He will name it.	(<hocif=a-lo)
1pl	hocifhililo	We will name it.	(<hocif-hili-lo)
2pl	hocifhacilo	You (pl) will name it.	(<hocif-haci-lo)
3pl	hohocifalo	They will name it.	(<ho-hocif=a-lo)

4.3.2.3 Summary of affirmative conjugation classes

Verbs are classified according to whether they take the is- or ci- second person singular agentive pronominal affix. The criterion for subclassification is provided by the position of the agentive pronominal affix in relation to the verb stem. The basic conjugation pattern, which uses the is- set of agentive pronominal affixes, is the following:

AGENT + VERB STEM + TENSE/ASPECT

All other conjugation patterns are derived from the basic conjugation pattern. Derived conjugation patterns historically involved the conjugation of auxiliaries, several of which must be

analyzed synchronically as part of the verb stem. Moreover, some verbs are suppletive in the plural. Inflection for first person singular and the third persons is uniform for all verbs regardless of class, though for some verbs third person plural inflection involves the addition of -s/-ci 'plural'.

4.3.3 Suppletive verbs and plural verb stems

Some verbs are suppletive for number or require special affixes for the third person plural forms. Verbs containing special third person plural affixes are considered first.

4.3.3.1 Third person plural affixes

Although the usual manner of distinguishing the plural from the singular form of the third person is by the prefixation of ho- 'distributive', some verbs have an additional affix in the third person plural. This affix has two allomorphs: -ci suffixed to stems and -s suffixed to roots.

The two verbs which require -s 'plural', use -li 'active' or -ka 'mediopassive' to form the verb stem. Thus -s gives the appearance of being an infix. The verbs are anos=li < anoo=li 'finish' and balaas=ka < balaa=ka 'lie'. The verb anoo=li is used by all speakers as a singular verb stem. Some speakers use it as a plural verb stem.

1sg	anooliliti	I finished it.	(<anoo=li-li-ti)
2sg	anociti	You finished it.	(<anoo-ci-ti)
3sg	anooliti	He finished it.	(<anoo=li-ti)
1pl	anoohiliti	We finished it.	(<anoo-hili-ti)
2pl	anoohaciti	You (pl) finished it.	(<anoo-haci-ti)
3pl	hoanooliti	They finished it.	(<ho-anoo=li-ti)

Of two speakers who used the form anos=li, one used it only for the third person plural while the other used it as a plural verb stem for

all persons. For these speakers, the forms not cited are the same as those given above.

3pl	(ho)anosliti	They finished it.	(<(ho-)anos=li-ti)
1pl	anoshiliti	We finished it.	(<anos-hili-ti)
2pl	anoshaciti	You (pl) finished it.	(<anos-haci-ti)
3pl	nosliti	They finished it.	(<ho-anos=li-ti)

All speakers consulted used balaa=ka for the singular and bal=ka for the plural. The speaker who provided anos=li as a third person plural form provided balaas=ka for dual forms. The other speakers used only the singular and plural forms given here.⁶⁹

1sg	balaakaliti	I lay down.	(<balaas=ka-li-ti)
2sg	balaahiskati	You lay down.	(<balaas=is=ka-ti)
3sg	balaakati	He lay down.	(<balaas=ka-ti)
1du	balaasilkati	We (2) lay down.	(<balaas=il=ka-ti)
2du	balaasaskati	You (2) lay down.	(<balaas=as=ka-ti)
3du	(ho)balaaskati	They (2) lay down.	(<(ho-)balaas=ka-ti)
1pl	balhilkati	We (all) lay down.	(<bal=hil=ka-ti)
2pl	balhaskati	You (pl) lay down.	(<bal=has=ka-ti)
3pl	hobalkati	They (all) lay down.	(<ho-bal=ka-ti)

The matter of dual forms will be considered again after the phenomenon of suppletive verb forms has been discussed. The occurrence of /h/ in the second person singular form above may indicate an underlying /h/.

Unlike the -s allomorph, which was suffixed to the verb root and then followed by -li or -ka, the allomorph -ci 'plural' is verb-stem final. The five verbs exhibiting -ci 'plural' are taken from both is-set verb classes (ila and istila) and the ci-set classes.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Most occurrences of second person singular conjugation of balaa=ka resulted in the surface form [bøleeskø].

⁷⁰ Speakers usually lengthen the /a/ before -ci in the stems ila, istila and isa. The lengthening accompanies only -ci 'plural' and does not appear to contrast with an unlengthened vowel.

<u>Plural stem</u>	<u>Third person plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ila	ilaci	be somewhere, arrive
istila	istilaci	bring here
stonti	istontici	bring
isa	isaci	live somewhere
onof(f)a	onof(f)aci	sew, mend

Finally, at least two verbs, feeli 'finish' and cokooi 'sit', exhibit a distinct third person plural verb stem without -s / -ci. The change from ee to aya in the following paradigm of feeli 'finish' is problematic.⁷¹

1sg	feelilo	I finished.	(<fee=li-li-o)
2sg	feeco	You finished.	(<fee-ci-o)
3sg	feelo	He finished.	(<fee=li-o)
1pl	feehilo	We finished.	(<fee-hili-o)
2pl	feehaco	You (pl) finished.	(<fee-haci-o)
3pl	fayalo	They finished.	(?<fay-a=li-o)

The singular verb stem cokooli 'sit' is a verb of the deleted-auxiliary subclass (Haas's class II). The plural forms exhibit alternants: the verb stems cik=ka and cikaa=ka are conjugated as infixed verbs of the is-set (Haas's class IIIA), and periphrastic conjugation is used for the stem cikiika. Speakers vary in their selection of a plural stem; the three recorded plural stems are cik=ka, cikaa=ka, and cikiika. The first two are conjugated as infixed verbs of the is-set (Haas's class IIIA); the third alternant

⁷¹The surface form [ee] is frequently an allophonic variant of the sequence /ay/ before a consonant. Thus, it is possible that the underlying root is fay- with perhaps a root suffix -a occurring in the third person plural. The problem is that none of the speakers pronounced the root syllable as [aɪ], not even the speakers who usually pronounced the /ay/ in imokwayli 'fish' as [aɪ].

is conjugated periphrastically. All speakers, however, consistently use the stem cikiika for third person plural. The speakers associate the verb with the ci-set deleted-auxiliary verb (Haas's class II) cikii=li 'put up, gather', and perhaps it has become contaminated by that verb or by others to which it is related or associated.

4.3.3.2 Suppletive verb stems

There are several verbs which are suppletive for number. The division is usually singular/plural, but a distinct dual stem often characterizes verbs of position or motion. My data include eleven suppletive verbs. The singular and plural verb stems are either morphologically related or unrelated, and the conjugation classes for those stems are either the same or different. This is illustrated in Table 11. The identification 'same conjugation class' is a broad category indicating the use of the same set of agentive pronominal affixes.

	<u>Related stems</u>	<u>Unrelated stems</u>
Same conjugation class	5	2
Different conjugation class	1	3

Table 11: Categories of singular/plural number suppletion with the number of verbs found in each category.

Related stems in the same class

The verbs already discussed which have -s or -ci 'plural' are not listed here. The following verbs, which belong to the is-set infixed conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIIA), have related stems which belong to the same conjugation class.

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
asali=ka	aska=ka	go out
cokkali=ka	cokka=ka	go inside
ononkali=ka	ononka=ka	climb
balaa=ka	bal=ka	lie down
falam=ka	falko=ka	get up

Although there are obvious similarities between the singular and plural forms given above, the relationship between the two is not sufficiently consistent for the formulation of derivational rules.

Related stems in different classes

There is one example in this category, the singular stem belonging to the ci-set deleted auxiliary conjugation subclass and the plural stem to the is-set subclass. As mentioned previously, three variant plural stems occur in the data, the first two listed below belonging to the infix conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIIA) and the last being perhaps restricted to periphrastic conjugation. With regard to the relatedness of the stem alternants, it should be pointed out that the vowel /o/ in the first syllable of the singular stem has weak stress and may be rounded as a result of the influence of the long /oo/ which occurs in the following syllable.

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
cokoo=li	{ cik=ka cikaa=ka cikiika }	sit

Unrelated stems in the same class

There are only two examples in this category, the first from the ci-set deleted auxiliary conjugation subclass (Haas's class II) and the other from the is-set infix conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIIA).

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
hacaa=li	lokoo=li	be standing
waali=ka	toɬ=ka	run

Unrelated stems in different classes

Among the three verbs given below, the first two additionally have a dual stem. For these two verbs the singular stem belongs to the ci-set infixed conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIC); the plural stems belong, respectively, to the is-set periphrastic conjugation and infixed conjugation subclasses (Haas's class IIIA).⁷² The third example provides a singular stem of the is-set auxiliary conjugation subclass (Haas's class IIIB) and a plural stem of the ci-set deleted auxiliary conjugation subclass (Haas's class II).⁷³

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>DUAL</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
at=ta	aswa	is=a	be somewhere
aɬ=ya	anɬ=ya	amaa=ka	go somewhere
nakaɬaaci		wasaa=li	lose something

4.3.3.3 Dual forms

Few dual forms can be elicited from the speakers. This aspect of the language cannot, therefore, be investigated in any detail. The forms provided by my speakers have already been presented in the preceding section on special plural affixes and suppletive verbs; however, for convenience, they are listed again here.

⁷²The class of the dual has not been determined.

⁷³For the younger speakers, nakaɬaaci is used for both singular and plural.

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>DUAL</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
aɫ=ya	anɫ=ya	amaa=ka	go somewhere
at=ta	aswa	is=a	be somewhere, live somewhere
balaa=ka	balaas=ka	bal=ka	lie down

Derived forms of the above verbs, such as itabalaaka 'lie down on the ground', paabalaaka 'lie down on', and istaɫɫa 'take, transport', may also exhibit the dual distinction, though this has been verified only for istaɫɫa.

4.3.4 aski 'collective'

The affix aski 'collective' does not indicate plurality but conveys the connotation of 'several people all together, as a group'.⁷⁴ The affix appears to be restricted to cooccurrence with first person plural.

106. istillaskiti
ist=il=(i)la-aski-ti
bring=1pl.agt=bring-coll-prox
We (all) brought it here.

⁷⁴-----
The collective affix is not recognized as such by Swanton (JRS.25), who instead merely lists examples of its occurrence along with other examples of what he identifies as "a suffix -s which has a very general sense of plurality" (JRS.25). It is apparent from Swanton's unorganized list of examples that he did not distinguish between the third person plural verb root affix -s, the second person plural (h)as, and the collective aski. Futher on in his Sketch, in a discussion of imperatives, Swanton (JRS.72) introduces more examples of what is here analyzed as the affix aski. He apparently misinterprets the ki in aski sequences as an indicator of the imperative and goes on to note that some utterances "probably contain the same suffix although they are translated as if simple indicatives." Of the nearly two dozen examples of Swanton's which exhibit the aski affix, only six are given an imperative gloss; all of his examples are of the first person plural with more than half glossed with the phrases 'we all' or 'us all', the others being without the added modifier 'all'.

Aski 'collective' can be distinguished from the sequence aska (< as 'second person plural' plus -ka 'mediopassive') primarily by the cooccurrence with first person plural and secondarily by the presence of the vowel /i/.

107. loohilasko
 lom-hili-aski-o
 conceal-1pl.agt-coll-perf
 We (all) hid it.

A distinctive characteristic of aski 'collective' is that it occurs between -o 'negative' and the tense/aspect suffix and as a result the initial /a/ of the affix aski is replaced by /o/.⁷⁵

108. too/kílkoskiti
 tooʔ=kíl=ka-o-aski-ti
 run(pl)=neg.1pl.agt=med.pass-neg-coll-prox
 We all didn't run.

109. hokilífnoskiti
 ho=kilí=fna-o-aski-ti
 smell=neg.1pl=smell-neg-coll-prox
 We all didn't smell it.

The initial /a/ of aski- is deleted not only when preceded by -o 'negative' but also when preceded by the final /o/ of a verb stem. For the sake of comparison, the first example is without the affix aski-.

110. iltoliinoci
 ilto=li=hno-ci
 work=1pl.agt=work-prox
 We are working.

⁷⁵This is in contrast to the general rule for vowel clusters across morpheme boundary. Generally, it is the second vowel which takes precedence.

111. iltoliinoskici
 ilto=li=hno-aski-ci
 work=1pl.agt=work-coll-prox
 We are working (as a group).
112. iltokilíínoskiti
 ilto=kilí=hno-o-aski-ti
 work=neg.1pl.agt=work-neg-coll-prox
 We all didn't work.

4.3.5 Negative verb conjugation

In general, there are two identifying characteristics of negative conjugation: (1) the presence of a negative agentive affix and (2) the presence of -ki 'negative auxiliary' and/or the particle -o 'negative'. The following examples show third person constructions for hiica 'see', first in the affirmative and then in two forms of the negative. The last example is periphrastic negation.

113. hiico
 hiica-o
 see-perf
 He sees.
114. ikhíícobi
 ik-hiica-o-bi
 neg.3sg.agt-see-neg-perf
 He doesn't see.

115. hiicatíkkobi
hiica-t-ík-ki-o-bi
see-v.conj-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
He doesn't see.

In the following respects, negative conjugation and affirmative conjugation are similar:

- (1) there are two sets of agentive pronominal affixes,
- (2) depending on the verb class, the pronominal affixes may be prefixed, infixes, or suffixed to the verb, and
- (3) any verb may be conjugated periphrastically.

However, they differ in the following respects:

- (1) the correspondence between negative conjugation classes and the affirmative is not one to one,⁷⁶
- (2) an overt third person agentive pronominal exists in the negative conjugation, but not in the affirmative, and
- (3) in the negative the first person singular does not alternate according to tense; moreover, the position of the negative first person agentive is the same, for any given verb, as that of the other negative agentive affixes.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Negation with infixes cikí-set negative pronominals is used for infixes verbs of both the is-set and ci-set affirmative conjugation classes, but some is-set infixes verbs negate with infixes cík-set affixes rather than cikí-set affixes.

⁷⁷ If the -aa/-li alternation in the affirmative, corresponding to future/nonfuture, is characterized as unreal/real, then the nonalternation in the negative is readily explainable: it is aa 'first person singular, unreal condition' which is used in the derivation of the negative first person singular affix. The position of the affirmative and negative first person singular contrast: in the affirmative the first person is always suffixed to the full verb stem while in the negative it may be prefixed, infixes, or suffixed as with the other negative agentive affixes.

As with the presentation of affirmative conjugation, the presentation of negative conjugation patterns is according to two categories of classification: (1) the type of negative agentive affixes and (2) the position of the affixes. Thus, first to be considered here are the negative agentive affixes which, as is seen in Table 12, are similar to their affirmative equivalents but with the addition of /k/.

In Table 12, the agentive affixes are grouped under set designations based on the form of the second person singular. Irregularities in the negative agentive affixes, in parentheses, are discussed where appropriate in the detailed treatment of the negation classes.

	<u>is</u> -set	<u>ci</u> -set	<u>cik</u> -set	<u>ciki</u> -set
1sg	-aa/-li	-aa/-li	(t)ák	ká
2sg	is	ci	cík	cikí
3sg	-	-	(í)k	kí
1pl	(h)il	(hi)li	kíl (ílk)	kilí
2pl	(h)as	(h)aci	hacík	hacikí
3pl	-	-	(í)k	kí

Table 12: Comparison of affirmative and negative agentive affixes

The position of the negative agentive affix, relative to the stem or root of the verb, is the same as for the corresponding affirmative conjugation. Like with the affirmative, the affixes occur as prefixes, infixes, and suffixes and the patterns shown in Table 13 are arranged accordingly.

The classification of verbs is based on the affirmative conjugation pattern.⁷⁸

POSITION	VERB CLASS	AFFIRMATIVE PATTERN	NEGATIVE PATTERN
PREF.	basic conj.(I)	is-STEM -TNS	<u>ik</u> -STEM - <u>o</u> -TNS
INFIX.	ci set inf.(IIC)	ROOT1-ci-ROOT2-TNS	ROOT1- <u>ki</u> -ROOT2- <u>o</u> -TNS
	is set inf.(IIIA)	ROOT1-is-ROOT2-TNS	ROOT1- <u>ki</u> -ROOT2- <u>o</u> -TNS
	is set inf.(IIIA)	ROOT1-is-ROOT2-TNS	ROOT1- <u>ik</u> -ROOT2- <u>o</u> -TNS
SUFF.	aux. conj.(IIIB)	STEM -is- ka -TNS	STEM - <u>ik</u> - <u>ki</u> - <u>o</u> -TNS
	del.aux.conj.(IIA)	ROOT -ci -TNS	ROOT - <u>k</u> - <u>ki</u> - <u>o</u> -TNS
	periphrastic	STEM-t-is- ka -TNS	STEM-t- <u>is</u> - <u>ki</u> - <u>o</u> -TNS

Table 13: Comparison of affirmative and negative conjugation patterns

Table 14 is a schematic presentation of the correspondence of the affirmative and negative conjugation classes.⁷⁹ As mentioned previously, in negation a verb takes pronominal affixes in the same position as it would in the affirmative conjugation. With the exception of the is-set infixed conjugation verbs, the negative form of a verb is determined by which affirmative class it belongs to. For the is-set class of verbs there are two negative conjugation classes, one using cik-set affixes and the other ciki-set affixes; an is-set class verb must belong to one or the other of these two negative classes. The table should be read across: ci-set infixed conjugation verbs take ciki-set negative infixed agentive affixes, the negated form of is-set infixed conjugation verbs may involve either cik-set or ciki-set negative agentive affixes, the negation of the other is-set conjugation verbs involves only cik-set negative affixes, and so on.

⁷⁸In Table 13, affirmative agentive affixes are shown as second person singular, negative agentive affixes as third person.

⁷⁹For simplification of terminology, verbs will be categorized by their membership in affirmative conjugation classes.

<u>AGENT AFFIXES</u>		<u>POSITION</u>		
<u>AFFIRM.</u>	<u>NEG.</u>	<u>PREFIXED</u>	<u>INFIXED</u>	<u>SUFFIXED</u>
is	<u>cík</u>	basic conj.	infixes conj.	auxiliary conj.
is	<u>cikí</u>		infixes conj.	
ci	<u>cík</u>			deleted-auxiliary conj.
ci	<u>cikí</u>		infixes conj.	

Table 14: Comparison of affirmative and negative classes on the basis of type and position of agentive affixes

As in the case of affirmative conjugation, the following presentation, discussion, and examples of negative conjugation are organized according to agentive affix sets, beginning here with the cik-set. Incomplete paradigms indicate that the data obtained were inconsistent, or that the speaker switched to a periphrastic negation pattern, which was a frequent occurrence. Furthermore, a number of the paradigms exhibit mixed tenses.⁸⁰ For convenience of identification, negative affixes are underlined within the parenthetical division of morphemes.⁸¹

⁸⁰The purpose of the paradigms is to illustrate the position of the negative agentive affixes and therefore pronominally appropriate forms of other tenses are included in order to complete a paradigm.

⁸¹The morpheme -o 'perfective' has an allomorph -bi following /o/ of any origin. In the parenthetical morpheme divisions in this section, the morpheme 'perfective' will be represented by -bi where it occurs as such. Constructions with -o/-bi 'perfective' are translated by speakers with both present and past tense in English.

4.3.5.1 cík-set negation

4.3.5.1.1 Periphrastic negation

VERB - T - NEG.AGENT - ki - o - TNS

This conjugation pattern, the most general form of negation, differs from the affirmative periphrastic conjugation only in that (1) cík-set negative agentive affixes are used rather than is-set positive ones, and (2) -o 'negative' follows the auxiliary.

The precise form of the auxiliary, however is problematic. Nonetheless, in the analysis of inflected verbs presented throughout this study, as a convention, wherever an auxiliary /-kV/ is not part of the uninflected verb but is introduced in the conjugation of the verb, it is analyzed as -ka 'mediopassive' in the affirmative and as -ki 'negative auxiliary' in the negative.⁸²

Periphrastic negation is frequently used by speakers as an alternative form of negation: they often use periphrastic negation instead of forms following the same negation pattern as that of other persons in a paradigm. Periphrastic negation can also be used to

⁸² Haas (1969:57) considers the "simplest synchronic" interpretation of the -ka to be that it is part of the "amalgamated" affixes ilka '1sg', -iska '2sg', aska '2pl'. She considers the -ka in those affixes to have been an auxiliary in the pre-Proto-Muskogean period. Haas does not analyze negative constructions. According to Booker (1980:191), "many reflexes of *ka ['mediopassive']...appear to have no lexical meaning whatsoever." On the basis of comparative analysis, Booker (1980:264-5) reconstructs a negative auxiliary *ki but in the reconstruction of Proto-Muskogean negative sentences uses it only in periphrastic conjugation patterns. In the data obtained for Alabama, the /-kV/ auxiliary is always immediately followed by -o 'negative' and, as a consequence, the vowel of the auxiliary is never pronounced. It is at the recommendation of Robert Rankin that I introduce the convention of analyzing the auxiliary /-kV/ as -ki 'negative auxiliary' for suffixed class negation (see Table 14) even though to my knowledge there is no internal synchronic evidence supporting the choice of -ki over -ka.

regate a conjugated verb. In the following four examples, the first is infixed negation and the others are periphrastic negation. the last one is periphrastic negation of a verb conjugated with affirmative periphrastic conjugation.

- 1pl acihkílkoti We didn't plant it. (<acih=kíl-ki-o-ti)
 1pl aciilitkílkoti We didn't plant it. (<acih=li-t-kíl-ki-o-ti)⁸³
 2sg aciilitcíkkoti You didn't plant it. (<acih=li-t-cík-ki-o-ti)
 2sg aciilitiskatíkkoti You didn't plant it. (<acih=li-t-is-ka-t-ík-ki-o-ti)

These different methods of negation clearly reflect differences in the scope of negation. A precise formulation of the appropriate contexts for these negative constructions is not yet available for any of the Muskogean languages.⁸⁴

⁸³The first example is the expected cik-set negation of a deleted-auxiliary class verb. The second and third of these four forms are structurally equivalent instances of periphrastic negation of an uninflected verb:

verb=active-v.conj-neg.agent-neg.aux-neg-tense
 The fourth example illustrates periphrastic negation of an inflected verb.

verb=active-v.conj-agent-aux-v.conj-neg.agent-neg.aux-tns
 The affirmative agentive pronominal is in this particular example second person singular while the negative agentive pronominal is third person. It is probable that the construction has the sense of 'It is not the case that you planted it'.

⁸⁴Attempts to obtain a more clear picture of negation by means of a comparative approach have proved useful. Booker (1980:253-66) expanded upon my own earlier investigation (Lupardus 1977b) and explicitly introduced the interpretation of distinctions in "scope of negation". Although Swanton (JRS.42) did not state so, he himself was probably influenced by his knowledge of Creek negation when he wrote:

The negative form tiko should perhaps be considered as an independent verb; or rather, the first syllable is probably the verb stem, the second syllable being identical with the negative suffix. However, it would seem as if the syllable ti is not dependent on -ko for its negative quality. He gives no example nor further discussion to support his final statement.

4.3.5.1.2 Prefix position

NEG AGENT - STEM - o - TNS⁸⁵

This type of negation is the negative equivalent of the affirmative basic conjugation.⁸⁶ The difference between periphrastic negation and the expected prefixed negation of basic conjugation verbs may reflect not only differences in the scope of negation but also the distinction between voluntary and involuntary action.⁸⁷

1sg	akhíícobi	I didn't see it.	(<ak-hiica- <u>o</u> -bi)
3pl	ohiknóócobi	They aren't sleeping.	(<ho-ik-nooci- <u>o</u> -bi)
1sg	ákbo <i>b</i> i	I didn't kill it.	(<ak-(i)bi- <u>o</u> -bi)

4.3.5.1.3 Infix position

ROOT - NEG.AGENT - ROOT₂ - o - TNS

All verbs negated with cik-set infixed negative agentive pronominals belong to the is-set infixed affirmative conjugation class. This negation pattern is used for two types of those verbs:

⁸⁵The accent shifts from the negative pronominal to the long vowel in CVVCV stems.

⁸⁶Unfortunately, the data provide only a few examples and no complete paradigms. Speakers commonly use periphrastic negation for basic conjugation class verbs.

⁸⁷Nicklas (1974:196) reports a similar division of negation constructions in Choctaw. According to him, the prefixed type of negation is "used when something is wilfully not done" while the other type is used when someone is merely unable to do something. He remarks that "apparently this distinction can exist only where the verbal denotes a wilful act." He thus implies that not all verbs can exhibit prefixed negative pronominals. The verbs which he uses for examples are cognate with Alabama basic conjugation verbs (Haas's class I).

ones with stem-final -ka 'mediopassive' and ones without -ka.⁸⁸

1sg	istákloti	I didn't bring it.	(<ist= <u>ák</u> =(i)la- <u>o</u> -ti)
2sg	iscíkloti	You didn't bring it.	(<ist= <u>cík</u> =(i)la- <u>o</u> -ti)
3sg	istíkloti	He didn't bring it.	(<ist= <u>ík</u> =(i)la- <u>o</u> -ti)
1pl	iskílloti	We didn't bring it.	(<ist= <u>kil</u> =(i)la- <u>o</u> -ti)
2pl	ishacíkloti	You (pl) didn't bring it.	(<ist= <u>hacík</u> =(i)la- <u>o</u> -ti)
3pl	oistíklaacoti	They didn't bring it.	(<ho-ist= <u>ík</u> =(i)la-ci- <u>o</u> -ti) ⁸⁹
	istokláácoti	They didn't bring it.	(<ist=ho- <u>ík</u> =(i)la-ci- <u>o</u> -ti)

1sg	afaákkoti	~ afaahákkoti	
		I didn't laugh. ⁹⁰	(<afaa= <u>ák</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
2sg	afaacíkkoti	You didn't laugh.	(<afaa= <u>cík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
3sg	afeékkoti	He didn't laugh.	(<afaa= <u>ík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
1pl	afaakílkoti	We didn't laugh.	(<afaa= <u>kil</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
2pl	afaahacíkkoti	You (pl) didn't laugh.	(<afaa= <u>hacík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
3pl	ohafeékkoti	They didn't laugh.	(<ho-afaa= <u>ík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)

1sg	yaákkobi ⁹¹	I didn't cry.	(<yah= <u>ák</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
2sg	yahcíkkobi	You didn't cry.	(<yah= <u>cík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
3sg	yéékkobi	He didn't cry.	(<yah= <u>ík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
1pl	yaakílkobi	We didn't cry.	(<yah= <u>kil</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
2pl	yaahacíkkobi	You (pl) didn't cry.	(<yah= <u>hacík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
3pl	hoyéékkobi	They didn't cry.	(<ho-yah= <u>ík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -bi)

1sg	weeliakkoti ⁹²	I didn't run.	(<weeli= <u>ák</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
2sg	weelicíkkoti	You didn't run.	(<weeli= <u>cík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
3sg	weelihíkkoti	He didn't run.	(<weeli= <u>ík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
1pl	tooʔkílkoti	We didn't run.	(<tooʔ= <u>kil</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
2pl	tooʔhacíkkoti	You (pl) didn't run.	(<tooʔ= <u>hacík</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)
3pl	tooʔíkkoti	They didn't run.	(<tooʔ= <u>kil</u> =ka- <u>o</u> -ti)

⁸⁸For lack of evidence that the stem-final -ka is replaced by -ki 'negative auxiliary' in negative conjugation, and to be consistent with the treatment of infixed verbs without -ka, the -kV sequence in the negative is analyzed as -ka 'mediopassive'.

⁸⁹The verb istila 'bring' is derived from the basic conjugation verb (i)la 'be here'. Like its basic conjugation source, istila takes -ci 'plural' for third person plural forms. The vowel preceding -ci 'plural' is accented in the negative; some speakers additionally lengthen it.

⁹⁰The negative agentive ák 'first person singular' often occurs as hák and usually coalesces with a preceding aa or ah sequence; note, however, that in the paradigm of weelika 'run (sg)' the li remains distinct.

⁹¹This form was also heard as [yááhkobi].

⁹²The reason for the intrusive /h/ in the third person singular in this and the next paradigm is not known.

The next paradigm presents one of a few instances of what may be an ílk allomorph of kíl 'negative first person plural'. The resultant medial /k/ is deleted by consonant cluster simplification rule. The conditions for the use of ílk rather than kíl are not understood.

1sg	wikeehákkobi	I'm not flying.	(<wikee= <u>á</u> k=ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
2sg	-	-	-
3sg	wikeehíkkobi	He isn't flying.	(<wikee= <u>í</u> k=ka- <u>o</u> -bi)
1pl	wikéélkobi	We aren't flying.	(?<wikee= <u>í</u> lk(?)=ka- <u>o</u> -bi)

4.3.5.1.4 Suffix position

STEM - <u>í</u> k	} - <u>ki</u> - <u>o</u> - TNS
ROOT - 'k	

This type of negation has been noted for two classes of affirmative conjugation verbs: is-set auxiliary conjugation verbs and ci-set deleted-auxiliary verbs.

Negation of auxiliary conjugation verbs

Negation of is-set auxiliary conjugation verbs is parallel in form to auxiliary conjugation.⁹³ The form of the negative agentive affixes is given in Table 15.

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>
First person	á k	kíl
Second person	cík	hacík
Third person	ík	ík

Table 15: Negative agentive affixes for auxiliary conjugation verbs

⁹³-----
 The same indeterminacy exists here as in periphrastic negation: the vowel of the auxiliary is not known. The convention here is to assign it to -ki 'negative auxiliary' rather than to -ka 'mediopassive' because the meaning of the constructions is negative.

Negation of deleted-auxiliary conjugation verbs

As in the affirmative conjugation of these verbs, the auxiliary -li 'active' is deleted in the negative. The sequential order of the morphemes for the negation of ci-set deleted-auxiliary verbs (Haas's class IIA) is the same as that for is-set auxiliary verbs (Haas's class IIIB) except that the negative agentive affix is attached to the verb root rather than to the verb stem.

Deleted aux. conj. (1sg, 2sg, 2pl): VERB ROOT- AGENT - TNS⁹⁴

Neg. conj. (<aux. conj., all pers.): VERB STEM-NEG.AGENT-ki-o-TNS

Neg. conj. (<del. aux., all pers.): VERB ROOT-NEG.AGENT-ki-o-TNS

The form of the negative agentive affixes for the first person singular and the third persons in the negation of deleted-auxiliary verbs is different from that in the negation of auxiliary conjugation verbs.

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>
First person	ták	kíl
Second person	cík	hacík
Third person	´k	´k

Table 16: Negative agentive affixes⁹⁵
for deleted-auxiliary conjugation verbs

⁹⁴ Deleted-auxiliary conjugation is the only affirmative conjugation in which an agentive affix occurs immediately preceding the tense/aspect suffix.

⁹⁵ The high pitch occurs on the final syllable of the verb root. The basis for analyzing the third person negative as ´k rather than ík comes from comparing negation paradigms of verbs such as yahka 'cry' and afaaka 'laugh', which exhibit infixed ík for third person. The sequence /a(h)i/ is often realized phonetically as [ee], yet no such [ee] or even [ai] appears in the third person in the negative conjugation of deleted-auxiliary class verbs. In contrast to this,

1sg	okbaatákkobi	I didn't close it.	(<okbah-ták-ki-obi)
2sg	okbaacíkkobi	You didn't close it.	(<okbah-cík-ki-o-bi)
3sg	okbáhkobi	He didn't close it.	(<okbah-'k-ki-o-bi)
1pl	okbaakílkobi	We didn't close it.	(<okbah-kíl-ki-o-bi)
2pl	okbaahacíkkobi	You (pl) didn't close it.	(<okbah-hacík-ki-o-bi)
3pl	hookbáhkobi	They didn't close it.	(<ho-okbah-'k-ki-o-bi)
1sg	anootákkobi	I didn't finish it.	(<anoo-ták-ki-o-bi)
2sg	anoocíkkobi	You didn't finish it.	(<anoo-cík-ki-o-bi)
3sg	anóókkobi	He didn't finish it.	(<anoo-'k-ki-o-bi)
1pl	anookílkobi	We didn't finish it.	(<anoo-kíl-ki-o-bi)
2pl	-	-	-
3pl	oanóókobi	They didn't finish it.	(<ho-anoo-'k-ki-o-bi)
1sg.	fattákkobi	I'm not telling.	(<fat-ták-ki-o-bi)
2sg.	fatcíkkobi	You're not telling.	(<fat-cík-ki-o-bi)
3sg	fátkobi	He's not telling.	(<fat-'k-ki-o-bi)
1pl	fatkílkobi	We're not telling.	(<fat-kíl-ki-o-bi)
2pl	-	-	-
3pl	hofátkobi	They're not telling.	(<ho-fat-'k-ki-o-bi)
1sg	bittákkobi	I didn't dance.	(<bit-ták-ki-o-bi)
2sg	-	-	-
3sg	bítkobi	He didn't dance.	(<bit-'k-ki-o-bi)
1pl	bitkílkobi	We didn't dance.	(<bit-kíl-ki-o-bi)

4.3.5.2 cikí-set negation

Cikí-set affixes occur only in infixed position.⁹⁶ For the most part, the verbs belong to the ci-set infixed conjugation subclass, though the data also provide instances of coopa 'buy', an is-set

 [ee] does occur in the negation of infixed class verbs which exhibit a root terminating in /aa/ or /ah/.

The /t/ that appears in the first person may be historically related to the /t/ of periphrastic conjugation. In this negative conjugation pattern, however, it occurs only in the first person singular. The existence of verbs such as anooli 'finish', which exhibit no /oo/ ~ /oh/ alternation in the root, demonstrates the absence of /t/ in the negative conjugation of nonfirst person singular forms.

⁹⁶Most of the verbs exhibiting infixed agentive affixes in both the affirmative and negative appear to be historically derived from basic conjugation class verbs (Haas's class I). The examples given here include oompa 'dine' (oo=mpa) from (i)pa 'eat', istonti 'bring' (ist-o=nti) from onti 'come', ista//a 'take along' and a//a 'go' from (i)ya 'go'. The verb istila 'bring' from (i)la 'be here' conjugates in the negative with infixed cikí-set agentives.

infixed conjugation verb conjugated in the negative with cikí-set affixes.⁹⁷

1sg	ookámpobi	I don't eat it.	(<oo= <u>ká</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
2sg	oocikímpobi	You don't eat it.	(<oo= <u>cikí</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
3sg	ookímpobi	He doesn't eat it.	(<oo= <u>kí</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
1pl	oolikímpobi	We don't eat it.	(<oo= <u>likí</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
2pl	oocikímpobi	You (pl) don't eat it.	(<oo= <u>acikí</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
3pl	ohookímpobi	They don't eat it.	(<ho-oo= <u>kí</u> =mpa- <u>o</u> -bi)
1sg	istokántobi	I didn't bring it.	(<ist- <u>o</u> = <u>ká</u> =nti- <u>o</u> -bi)
2sg	istocikíntobi	You didn't bring it.	(<ist- <u>o</u> = <u>cikí</u> =nti- <u>o</u> -bi)
3sg	istokíntobi	He didn't bring it.	(<ist- <u>o</u> = <u>kí</u> =nti- <u>o</u> -bi)
1pl	istolikíntobi	We didn't bring it.	(<ist- <u>o</u> = <u>likí</u> =nti- <u>o</u> -bi)
2pl	istoacikíntobi	You (pl) didn't bring it.	(<ist- <u>o</u> = <u>acikí</u> =nti- <u>o</u> -bi) ⁹⁸
3pl	oistiklácobi	They didn't bring it.	(<ho-ist- <u>ík</u> =(i)la-ci- <u>o</u> -bi)
1sg	hossocitákkobi	I don't write.	(periphrastic negation)
2sg	hocikíssobi	You don't write.	(<ho= <u>cikí</u> =sso- <u>o</u> -bi)
3sg	hokíssobi	He doesn't write.	(<ho= <u>kí</u> =sso- <u>o</u> -bi)
1pl	holikíssobi	We don't write.	(<ho= <u>likí</u> =sso- <u>o</u> -bi)
2pl	hoacikíssoti	You (pl) didn't write.	(<ho= <u>acikí</u> =sso- <u>o</u> -ti) ⁹⁹
3pl	hohokíssoti	They didn't write.	(<ho-ho= <u>kí</u> =sso- <u>o</u> -ti)
1sg	hokáfnobi	I don't smell it.	(<ho= <u>ká</u> =fna- <u>o</u> -bi)
2sg	hocikífnolo	You will not smell it.	(<ho= <u>cikí</u> =fna- <u>o</u> -lo)
3sg	hokífnolo	He will not smell it.	(<ho= <u>kí</u> =fna- <u>o</u> -lo)
1pl	hokilífnoti	We didn't smell it.	(<ho= <u>kilí</u> =fna- <u>o</u> -ti)
2pl	-	-	-
3pl	hohokífnoti	They didn't smell it.	(<ho-ho= <u>kí</u> =fna- <u>o</u> -ti)
1sg	iltokáánoti	I didn't work.	(<ilto= <u>ká</u> =hno- <u>o</u> -ti)
3Sg	ałkíyobi	He didn't go.	(<ał= <u>kí</u> =ya- <u>o</u> -bi)

⁹⁷ A full paradigm of the cikí-set conjugation was not obtained for coopa 'buy' (<co=hpa); second person forms were provided only in the negative periphrastic conjugation.

⁹⁸ Here the speaker introduced another verb, istila 'bring', for the third person plural form. The verb istila conjugates with cik-set negative agentive affixes and exhibits -ci 'plural' as a stem-final third person plural suffix.

⁹⁹ The presence of -o 'negative' here is determined on the basis of analogy.

4.3.5.3 Derivation of antonyms

A number of stative verbs have as their semantic opposites words that are merely negative constructions. Two types of negation of adjectives have been observed for these verbs: infix negation and periphrastic negation.¹⁰⁰

kánko	'bad'	(<kan= <u>k</u> =o-o)	from kano 'good'
cakíího	'short'	(<ca= <u>kí</u> =hha-o)	from caaha 'tall'. ¹⁰¹
pakítho	'not flat'	(<pa= <u>kí</u> -tha-o)	from patha 'flat'
palítko	'slow'	(<pal- <u>ík</u> -ki-o)	from palki 'fast'

Other stative verbs commonly occur in periphrastic negation.

niyatítko	'not fat'	(<niya-t- <u>ík</u> - <u>ki</u> -o)	from niya 'fat'
baybatítkobi	'it's not heavy'	(<bayba-t- <u>ík</u> - <u>ki</u> -o-bi)	from bayba 'heavy'
solotkatítkobi	'it's not skinny'	(<solotka-t- <u>ík</u> - <u>ki</u> -o-bi)	from solotka 'skinny'

¹⁰⁰Swanton (JRS.41) presents adjectives such as *ikillo* 'not dead' exhibiting a prefixed negative agentive; however, stative verbs which are not derived from active verbs take only infix or suffixed third person agentive pronominal affixes. The 'subject' of the stative verb is referenced by a patient prefix on the verb.

¹⁰¹The initial /h/ of the cluster in the parenthetic analysis is used here as a diacritic for length. The problem of long vowel alternating with /Vh/ has not been resolved. (See the discussion in section 4.2.2.)

4.3.5.4 Negation without -o 'negative'

The preceding analyses of negation all involved the presence of a negative agentive pronominal (prefixed, infix, or suffixed), and a suffixed -o 'negative'. There are, however, a few constructions which exhibit only the negative agentive pronominal affix, without the other indicators of negation.¹⁰²

Among the data which I collected, all examples of negative constructions without -o 'negative' indicate a future condition, with or without the tense/aspect -lo 'future'. However, the unstressed position of the syllable before -lo 'future', in conjunction with the following /o/ vowel of -lo, can result in some indeterminacy of vowel quality. Therefore, crucial examples are those with -ahi 'intentional' or ti 'proximate time'.

3pl balhíkka^ho They're not going to lie down (<bal=ík=ka-ahi-o)
3pl balkatíkka^ho They're not going to lie down (balka-t-ík-ki-ahi-o)

The /o/ in these examples is -o 'perfective' as determined by its position after the aspect suffix -ahi 'intentional'. The next example is from a ci-set infix affirmative class verb (Haas's class IIIA); the tense/aspect suffix is -lo 'future'.

¹⁰²Swanton (JRS.41) also reports negative forms without -o, though he does not give his examples in context.

Negation is indicated by means of a prefix ik or ki. When this is employed the verb is usually followed by a suffix or auxiliary o. With all secondary stems this prefix loses the i and becomes firmly united to o but this appears not to be absolutely necessary.

By "secondary stems" he apparently means stems that precede the agentive affix (JRS.23). Among his examples are

tcokipa	'not to purchase'
iksati	'it is not this country'
ikhitca	'not seen'
hokipa	'not sick'

1sg	sta takiyalo	I'm not going ahead	(irregular) ¹⁰³
2sg	sta cikiyalo	You're not going ahead	(ist-a = <u>ci</u> ki=(i)ya-lo)
3sg	sta kiyalo	He's not going ahead.	(<ist-a = <u>ki</u> =(i)ya-lo)
1pl	sta kiliyalo	We're not going ahead.	(<ist-a = <u>kili</u> =(i)ya-lo)

4.4 Inflection for tense and aspect

The distinction between tense and aspect is not easily made. In reconstructing Proto-Muskogean, Booker (1980:154-5) concluded that the proto-language did not mark tense; instead, "aspectual and modal indicators provided the necessary temporal meaning." The category labeled TNS here in schematic presentations of verb conjugation and order of morphemes is to be understood as a combination of tense and aspect.

The tense/aspect affixes presented in this section are divided into two sets: the first, given in Table 17, include the affixes identified by Swanton (JRS.66-69) as "temporal and modal suffixes." The second set, given in Table 18, include those which tend to be more on the scale towards aspect than towards tense. The division, however, is not rigid. For example, -ci 'continuous' and -o/-bi 'perfective', given in Table 17, are clearly more aspectual than temporal although they are most commonly used for expressions appropriate to the present. In contrast, -ahi 'intentional', presented in Table 18, even though it is given a label that connotes aspect more than tense, certainly is more on the scale towards tense than is, for example, -aapi/-mpa 'durational'.

¹⁰³The morphemic analysis of this form is uncertain. The first person singular negative agentive ták suggests deleted auxiliary conjugation, ist-a|=ták=(i)ya-lo, but that makes the status of *(i)ya 'go' problematic. The other persons follow an expected infix class conjugation pattern.

Each of the tense/aspect affixes in Table 17 occurs on finite verbs; certain aspect affixes occur also on nonfinite verb forms. Because of the considerable amount of homophony in the language, especially among suffixes on verbs, the analysis of affixes on nonfinite verbs is problematic. Wherever possible, examples of both finite and nonfinite verbs are given with each of the affixes.

<u>Time category</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Future	{ -lo	(definite) future
	{ -la	indefinite future
Present	{ -ci	continuous
	{ -o/-bi	perfect
Past	{ -ti	proximate time
	{ -kha	remote time
	{ -to(ha)	narrative past

Table 17: Simplified analysis of tense/aspect affixes.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴In previous studies of mine (Lupardus 1973, 1974a, 19781, 1980), 'perfective' was identified as 'present completive' and the future tenses were not distinguished according to definiteness.

<u>Affix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
-ahi	intentional
-aapi/-mpa	durational
-co(li)	credential
-colikha	remote habitual ('used to do')
-coti	proximate habitual ('used to doing')
-moli	evidential
-alpiisa	obligational
- <u>a</u> aba	censurial

Table 18: Aspect affixes

Table 17 presents a simplified analysis of tense/aspect affixes, useful as a ready reference. The affixes are grouped in a manner more appropriate for the semantic categories of the younger speakers than for those of the older speakers. For younger speakers, the broad time categories, future, present, and past, are more appropriate than they are for older speakers for whom the categories most likely are perfect/imperfect, nuclear/proximate/remote, and unreal/real. These categories overlap in a complex manner.

The unreal/real category is reflected in the usage of -aa/-li 'first person singular': -aa is used with -lo 'future' and -la 'indefinite future', and -li with nonfuture. Furthermore, negative pronominal affixes are derived from -aa 'first person (unreal)' rather than from -li 'first person (real)'.

The categories perfect/imperfect are realized by -o 'perfective' versus its absence in present conditions. For example, ipalici means 'I am eating (at this moment, action in progress)' while ipalo means 'I have just eaten (at this moment, action completed)'. The perfect/imperfect dichotomy is probably also reflected in the morphological distinction definite/indefinite. (See the discussion in section IV.2.2, focus and emphasis.)

The distinction nuclear/proximate/remote occurs not only in the usage of these tense/aspect affixes but also in the use of demonstratives. The term 'nuclear' refers to the locus of the deictic expression, the speaker himself. Thus nuclear is in reference to the immediate vicinity of the speaker, both temporally and spatially. As a time reference, nuclear is unmarked or marked only with -o/-bi 'perfective' or -ci 'continuous'. The term 'proximate' refers to that which is near the speaker, but not in the immediate vicinity. As a time reference, proximate is indicated by the use of -ti 'proximate time' for both the future and the past. Most commonly, however, -ti is used for 'recent past'. The distinction 'remote time' is perhaps significant only for the past. For future time reference, the feature volitional/nonvolitional or certain/uncertain may be more significant than deictic reference.

4.4.1 -lo 'definite future'

The most commonly used future is -lo, though speakers often use a

¹⁰⁵Swanton (JRS.70) identifies -lo as 'proximate future time' and writes that "future time not too far ahead of the speaker's period is indicated by a suffix -lo." However, the only other future that Swanton identifies is the "volitional future" equivalent to what is here analyzed as -ahi 'intentional'.

reduplicated -lolo.¹⁰⁵ The form -lolo does not occur in interrogative constructions, but all speakers provided both -lo and -lolo constructions for declarative future statements. It may be that -lolo is more emphatic or that it indicates greater certainty of occurrence. It is possible that -lo 'future' is derived from -la 'indefinite future' plus -o 'perfective' or -o 'emphasis'.¹⁰⁶ The gloss for -lo is given here simply as 'future'.

116. cibatlaalo
 ci-bat=li=aa-lo
 2sg.pat-hit=act-1sg.agt-fut
 I will hit you (tomorrow).
117. bilkak ipalō
 bil-k:k ipa-lo-~
 Bill-deriv-nom-eat-fut-Q
 Will Bill eat it?
118. ipaalolo
 ipa-aa-lolo
 eat-1sg.agt-fut
 I will eat the apple... (speaker's emphasis)

4.4.2 -la 'indefinite future'

The data provide relatively few examples of the indefinite future and Swanton does not mention it at all. One speaker regularly

¹⁰⁶Booker reconstructs *o as a focus element. In specific reference to Alabama, she writes:

The Alabama future tense elements -la and -lo are interesting in that they are both reflexes of PM la. The latter suffix may be segmentable into -la-o, the future suffix plus the PM particle o. It has already been proposed that the Alabama present completive -o is the direct result of the reinterpretation of the PM focus element as tense marker. The same o may have been reanalyzed as part of the future suffix. Rather than there being two temporal indicators in Alabama, the difference between -lo and -la (at least historically) is one of focus: -lo (i.e. -la-o) occurs in sentences where the focus is on the predicate, -la in sentences lacking such focus.

See the discussion in IV.2.2, focus and emphasis.

translated 'I will...' with -lo and 'I'm going to...' with -la. Another speaker equated forms with -la with English expressions 'have to', 'should', or 'want to'.

119. askeelkala
 askaa=il=ka-la
 exit=lpl.agt=exit-indef.fut
 We are going to go outside.
120. ompaala
 ompa-aa-la
 dine-lsg.agt-indef.fut
 I have to eat./I want to eat.
121. ompala
 ompa-la
 dine-indef.fut
 He should eat.
122. hoaasilila
 ho-aasii=li-la
 distr-wash=act-indef.fut
 They have to wash it.

4.4.3 -o 'perfective'¹⁰⁷

The examples given here contrast -o 'perfective' and -ci 'continuous'.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>123. <u>cibataplilo</u>
 ci-batap=li-li-o
 2sg.pat-hit=act-lsg.agt-perf
 I (have) just now hit you.</p> | <p>124. <u>cibataplilici</u>
 ci-batap=li-li-ci
 2sg.pat-hit=act-lsg.agt-cont
 I'm hitting you.</p> |
|--|---|

Previously -o was identified as a tense marker because it contrasted with other affixes identified as tense affixes: -lo 'future' and -ti 'recent past'; however, it has been reanalyzed here

¹⁰⁷This is the affix identified in my previous studies as 'present completive'. The choice of label reflected the common occurrence of two affixes used for the present, -o 'completive' and -ci 'continuous', previously labeled 'present continuous'. Verb forms with -ci convey the sense of action in progress while those with -o indicate that the action, if any, is complete though the effect is current.

as perfective aspect because:

- (1) -o participates in the derivation of -lo 'definite future' from -la 'indefinite future', and
- (2) forms with -o are translated by speakers variously as present and past tense.

4.4.4 -ci 'continuous'

This is another example of an affix that appears clearly to indicate aspect rather than tense. Nonetheless, when used in verb-final position or immediately preceding a mood suffix, it refers only to the present. Swanton (JRS.78) does not identify -ci as a tense but rather as a derivational affix:

Verbal nouns and adjectives are sometimes formed by means of a suffix -htci or -tci. The significance of this seems to be much like that of the English infinitive -ing. It is easily confused with the causative ending -tci, but the distinction comes out clearly where the two are used with the same verb.

Swanton then presents the following examples, in the order given here.

ahitcatcihtci	watchfulness
pailahchi	approaching
ito tunuhkatci	a rolling log
hulpa failitcihtci	medicamental
hupahtcihtci	blood-heat
hosotcihtci	writing
ibihtci	killing
ehan kulufkahchi	land surveying
illusihci	deadly
eussassihchi	roomy
konnotcihtci	careful
kasakasiyalihci	coolly
akostinitcihtci	knowable
lannahtcihtci	brownish
ʔunkutcihtci	ironing
innahohtci	having
nukhomohkatcihtci	hot-brained
nukubatcihtci	making peace
okcihtci	juicy
olatcihtci	ringing

ipahtci	eating
ictimpilatcihtci	preventing
tcamalitcihtci	continually ringing
tobatcihtci	making
tocpahtci	to be quick
tucpahtcitci	to cause to be quick

Swanton (JRS.78) makes the observation that "in the last of these examples, we have the causative suffix following the infinitive." Apparently he assumed that the description and English gloss would suffice, for Swanton gave neither further discussion nor examples to illustrate the syntactic function of forms ending in -htci.

The data which I collected provide numerous examples of -ci 'continuous', some of which are presented here and elsewhere within this study.

125. ipalici
ipa-li-ci
eat-1sg.agt-cont
I am eating (something).
126. cacaahaaci
ca-caahaa-ci
1sg.pat-tall-cont
I am tall.
127. haʔapkiłkoci
haʔap-kił-ki-o-ci
kick-neg.1pl.agt-neg.aux-neg-cont
We aren't kicking it.

4.4.5 -ti 'proximate time'

Swanton (JRS.66) determined that this affix indicated 'recent past time'. Most commonly, it refers to past events or conditions; however, occasionally it is used in constructions that refer to future events.

In his grammatical sketch of the Hitchiti language, Swanton (1921-22:33) notes that -ti indicates recent past but that at times it

appears to indicate the immediate future as well. In his grammatical treatise of Alabama, however, Swanton does not identify -ti as having this dual nature. Nonetheless, in the context of discussing another particle, Swanton presents an example of -ti used in a future sense:

aʔahimbate 'He will go (next week)'.

In my data also, there are examples of -ti used in constructions with -ahi 'intentional' which refer to the future.

My field data suggest, however, that in its common function as an indicator of past events and conditions, -ti is not restricted to limited time periods. That is, when qualified as in example 130, it can refer to a time in the distant past.

128. ipaliti
ipa-li-ti
eat-1sg.agt-prox
I ate it.

129. cibatapliliti
ci-batap=li-li-ti
2sg.pat-hit=act-1sg.agt-prox
I hit you (this morning).

130. oocakon haʔapkaliti
oocako-n haʔap=ka-li-ti
long ago-obl kick=give-1sg.agt-prox
I kicked (the dog) a long time ago.

4.4.6 -kha 'remote past'

This is equivalent to Swanton's 'intermediate past time'. Just as -ti is used most commonly in reference to the past, it may be that -kha is also used in reference primarily to the past. -Kha is not used as extensively as -ti, however, and no examples are known in which it refers to any time other than the past.

131. taʔlakha
 taʔla-kha
 weave-rem.past
 He wove (2 or 3 years ago).
132. haʔapkalikha
 haʔap=ka-li-kha
 kick=give-1sg.agt-rem.past
 I kicked the dog (at a previous time).

4.4.7 -to(há) 'narrative past'

Swanton (JRS.68) writes that "the most common suffix used to mark past time is -toh, which appears repeatedly in the myths and legends." The form -toha indeed occurs frequently in Swanton's texts, but only rarely in the data which I collected. It is likely that the form is used most in narrative context. One example which I have from my data was provided for 'scar' and translated as shown because there was "no word for scar".

133. kolofkatohá
 kolof=ka-tohá
 cut=med.pass-narr.past
 It has already been cut.

It is likely that this sequence -toha is related to the Choctaw past tense morpheme tok and, perhaps, to other Alabama sequences of to(o) which are as yet insufficiently understood.

4.4.8 -ahi 'intentional'

Although translation suggests the meaning of an immediate future, the verb takes the nonfuture -li 'first person singular' with this aspect affix.

134. takkolcoban ispaahí
 takkolcoba-n is-(i)pa-ahi-~
 apple-obl 2sg.agt-eat-intent-Q
 Are you going to eat this apple?

135. ipatákkahin bilkak ipacot maamilolo
ipa-t-ák-ki-ahi-n bil-ka-k ipa-co-t maa-mi-lolo
eat-v.conj-neg.lsg.agt-neg.aux-intent-obl Bill-deriv-nom
eat-cred-v.conj there-be-fut
I am not going to eat this apple, but Bill might.
136. bilkak ipahĩ takkolcobā
bil-ka-k ipa-ahi-~ takkolcoba-n
Bill-deriv-nom eat-intent-Q apple-obl
Is Bill going to eat this apple?

When -ahi is followed by -o 'perfective', the pitch normally falls on the final syllable of the resultant /-aho/. However, particularly with -li 'first person singular', there is a tendency in rapid casual speech to lose the /h/ and get instead a diphthong [av] with the /ho/ portion of /-aho/ present sometimes as a barely audible [w] offglide. This occurs most often in utterance-final position.

137. cibataplilaho himaakayaalon
ci-batap=li-li-ahi-o himaaka-yaali-o-n
2sg.pat-hit=act-lsg.agt-intent-perf moment-here-emph-obl
I am going to hit you right now.
138. cibataplilāo
ci-batap=li-li-ahi-o
2sg.pat-hit=act-lsg.agt-intent-perf
I am going to hit you.
139. himaakayaalon mahákkaho¹⁰⁸
himaaka-yaali-o-n man=ák=ka-ahi-o
moment-here-emph-obl say=neg.lsg.agt=say-intent-perf
I'm not going to say that right now.

As the next example illustrates, -ahi may also be followed by another aspect affix, -mpa 'durative'.

¹⁰⁸ The base form of manka 'say' is problematic. The nasal consonant appears only when followed by a consonant. When an agentive pronominal affix with an initial vowel is infixed in the stem, the vowels of the root and the agentive affix coalesce and are nasalized. The nasalization, however, is sometimes rather slight.

140. akok mankahimpo
 aki-o-k manka-ahi-mpi-o
 that-emph-nom say-intent-dur-perf
 He is going to say that.

4.4.9 -aapi/-mpa 'durative'

Although -aapi and -mpa are probably related, in Swanton's Sketch they are treated separately. Swanton did not remark on the fact that both share the consonant /p/ and he failed to note that they occur in complementary distribution. The Sketch provides some discussion and several examples for -pi (analyzed here as -aapi) but provides very few examples and no analysis of -mpa, which is not singled out as a separate morpheme.

Swanton (JRS.64) discussed -pi in a section which he labeled 'continued action':

The suffix -pi indicates that the action continued for some time. It is sometimes translated 'for a while', 'about', 'for a long time'. When several persons are in question it seems to have a plural connotation.

The examples he gives are without context, but as can be determined by the final consonant, all of them (except, perhaps, the fifth and sixth ones) are of nonfinite verbs. His examples are given here as he presents them, without alteration, though I have placed them in list form and have provided a few notes in parentheses. It should be noted that in Swanton's examples, -pi is preceded by /a/.

ohimaḥalapin	they asked him for some for a while
ḥkilapin	they did not like it
iṣṭapin	he stayed for a while
aṭakakapok	he hung in the air for a while
aiapia	one who has been traveling about (<u>-ia</u> suffix is Swanton's "noun-forming suffix")
ayahpi	he lay down for a while (balaaka-la(?)-pi-o-k)
subis-ḥanapin	he wanted to know for a long time (sobay-s-banna-pi-n)

batistobapok they whipped him much for a while
 (bat-ist-toba-pi-o-k)
 ihi' fatlapin they told them

In contrast to Swanton's few examples of -mpa but several of -pi, the data which I collected provided many examples of -mpa but few of -pi. The examples of -pi are in the context '(Someone) started to wash the car but didn't finish/hasn't finished'. Swanton's analysis of -pi is, therefore, appropriate here in the sense of 'someone was washing (for a time) the car'. In the segmentation given here, the sequence -aapi is treated as monomorphemic. It occurs on the nonfinite verb.

141. mobilā aasiilista // alaapok anootákkobi
 mobila-n aasii=li-ist-a // a-li-aapi-o-k anoo-ták-ki-o-bi
 car-obl wash=act-ist-go-lsg.agt-emph-v.conj
 finish-neg.lsg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 I started to wash the car but didn't finish.

142. mobilā aasiilista // laapok anóókkobi
 mobila-n aasii=li-ist-a // a-aapi-o-k anoo-k-ki-o-bi
 car-obl wash=act-instr-go(sg)-dur-emph-v.conj
 finish-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-be-neg-perf
 We started to wash the car but we haven't finished.

In contrast to the preceding examples of -pi on nonfinite verbs, the following examples show -mpa on finite verbs. Swanton introduces these two utterances as examples of the "supplementary suffixes", -ola and -olimpa, which he does not gloss. (Lines 1 and 4, transcription and gloss, are Swanton's; the analysis in lines 2 and 3 is mine.)

143.JRS. a // atoholimpate
 a // a-toh-oli-mpa-ti
 go-narr.past(?)-(?)-dur-prox
 He went a very long time ago.

144.JRS. a // atoholimpakha
 a // a-toh-oli-mpa-kha
 go-narr.past(?)-(?)-dur-rem.past
 He went a hundred years ago.

The only other examples he provides are the following, which he refers to as being "unusual forms", though he does not state why they are unusual. It may be that the /b/ in the forms is more properly /p/, in which case the forms may be analyzed as a//a 'go' plus -ahi 'intentional' plus -mpa 'durative' plus the tense/aspect suffixes -o 'perfective' or -ti 'proximate'.

a/ahimbo	He will go today
a/ahimbate	He will go (next week)

All of the examples of -mpa in the data which I collected also show -mpa affixed to the finite verb. In a number of instances -mpa is preceded by -ahi.¹⁰⁹

145. akok mankahimpo
 aki-o-k manka-ahi-mpa-o
 that-emph-nom say-intent-dur-perf
 He is going to say that.
146. mahikkahimpo
 man=ik=ka-ahi-mpa-o
 say=neg.3sg.agt=say-intent-dur-perf
 He is not going to say that.
147. ifak illimpo
 ifa-k illi-mpa-o
 dog-nom die-dur-perf
 The dog was killed.
148. taamka oompæmpo
 taam-ka-(k) oompa-ahi-mpa-o
 Tom-deriv-(nom) dine-intent-dur-perf
 Tom wants to eat.
149. olimpæmpo
 oo=li=mpa-ahi-mpa-o
 dine=1pl.agt=dine-intent-dur-perf
 We want to eat.

In the preceding two examples translated with the verb 'want', it is -ahi that provides the notion of intention. This is more evident

¹⁰⁹-----
 One speaker regularly contracts /ahimpa/ to [æmpə].

when the tense/aspect affix is -ti.

150. merik mobilā aasiilampati
meri-k mobilā-n aasii=li-ahi-mpa-ti
Mary-nom car-obl wash=act-intent-dur-prox
Mary is planning to wash the car. (She hasn't started yet.)

The final set of examples is a set of questions and two appropriate answers, the only examples I obtained of -mpa used with the first person singular pronominal affix. The speaker uses this form to convey the modal notion 'should'.

151. coispampā
co=is=pa-ahi-mpa-~
buy=2sg.agt=buy-intent-dur-Q
Should you buy it?

4.4.10 -co(li) 'credential'

The form -coli is glossed as 'credential' meaning something which is believed or expected to be true. (See -moli 'evidential'.) Swanton (JRS.65) noted that -co frequently "appears after adjectives employed verbally". He gives the following two examples. (The transcription and translation are Swanton's; the analysis is mine.)

- 152.JRS. nita tcobatcok
nita coba-co-k
bear big-(?)-nom
It was a big bear.
- 153.JRS. halokpatcun
halokpa-co-n
sharp-(?)-obl
sharp, "sharp for a long period"

The examples given by Swanton are of nonfinite verbs. The following examples from the data which I collected suggest that -coli rather than -co is used when the adjectival verbs are finite.

154. ifa baybahcolo
 ifa-(k) bayba-coli-o
 dog-nom heavy-cred-perf
 The dog is heavy.
155. ayolimpak pōlawacolo
 ayolimpa-k pom-lawa-coli-o
 table-nom 1pl.dat-many-cred-perf
 We have a lot of tables.
156. paalimpaya kanohcolo
 paalimpa-ya kano-coli-o
 table-top good-cred-perf
 This is a good table.

The form -coli is also commonly used with active verbs and transitive verbs, nonfinite as well as finite.

157. mok ompacoliya sobaylilo
 mok ompa-coli-ya sobay=li-li-o
 also dine-cred-top know=act-1sg.agt-perf
 Also he is eating, I know.
158. yaalon wiikalicolo
 yaali-o-n wiika-li-coli-o
 here-emph-obl dwell(1sg)-1sg.agt-cred-perf
 I live here.
159. yaalin iistilkacolo
 yaali-n iis-t-il-ka-coli-o
 here-obl dwell(pl)-v.conj-1pl.agt-med.pass-cred-perf
 We live here. ("abiding here...still living here")

The next example is the only example in the data of the sequence coli + mpa. The addition of -colimpa indicates that the speaker was not in a position to know the experiential condition of the other person but could merely surmise it. The form could thus be well translated 'She seems to be cold'.

160. inkasotkahcolimpo
 im-kasotka-coli-mpa-o
 3sg.dat-cold-cred-dur-perf
 She is cold.

It should be mentioned, however, that the sequence /co/ is quite common in the language and is not always readily assigned a meaning.

Swanton (JRS.65) analyzes it as a durative:

When the action or state expressed by the verb is to be represented as continued for a considerable period, longer than that indicated by -pi, a suffix -tco is inserted. It often appears after adjectives employed verbally.

istcotoha	he stayed for a long time
isa	to stay
ḷakon tobatciticok	they made arrows for a long time
toba	to make
ayokpatcomat	he continued to be glad
ayokpa	glad
matibiticok	he hunted about continually
ibi	to kill
imabosletcoka	she roasted it completely
abos	to roast
hoponitcotoha	they stayed cooking their food
hoponi	to cook
ḷatcatcotoha	she stood or stayed all the time
ḷatca	to stand or stay
ohafaletcosin	they laughed at him for a long time
halokpatcun	sharp, "sharp for a long period"
halok	to sharpen

His examples are not incompatible with the identification of -co as 'credential', that is, indicating that the speaker believes, expects, or assumes the condition or event to be true.

In his files, on card 2007, Swanton has written, "-tco, continually, always, all the time, habitually." The sense of 'habitual' comes to the fore when -co is used with -kha 'remote past' or -ti 'proximate time', used in reference to the past.

4.4.10.1 -coti (< co + ti) 'proximate habitual'

As mentioned previously, although -ti often indicates 'recent past', in many constructions it has the sense 'nonpresent' or 'proximate time'. The suffix -coti imparts the meaning 'to be used to

doing'. That is, the example below means 'He is accustomed to weaving; he does it all the time (though not necessarily at the present moment)'.

161. taʎlacoti
taʎla-co-ti
weave-cred-prox
He is used to weaving.
162. yaaliya wiihákkocoti
yaali-ya wiih-ák-ki-o-co-ti
here-top dwell(sg)-neg.1sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-cred-prox
I do not live here.

4.4.10.2 -colikha (< coli + kha) 'remote habitual'

In presenting examples of the temporal suffix -kha, Swanton (JRS.67) gave the example fattlelitcolika 'I used to tell'. He made no mention of the sequence -colikha as such, but the data which I collected consistently indicate that the sequence is appropriately translated 'used to do'. The following are examples of this usage.

163. ipalicolikha
ipa-li-coli-kha
eat-1sg.agt-cred-rem.past
I used to eat it.
164. ilpacolikha
il-(i)pa-coli-kha
1pl.agt-eat-cred-rem.past
We used to eat it.
165. ohipacolikha
ho-ipa-coli-kha
distr-eat-cred-rem.past
We used to eat it.
166. taʎlacolikha
taʎla-coli-kha
weave-cred-rem.past
He used to weave. ("Doesn't do it anymore.")

There are, however, numerous instances of -co appearing along with other particles not yet fully understood.

4.4.10.3 -toocolo (< toh (?) + coli + o) 'past perfect'

The sequence -toocolo is an example of of an incompletely understood series of morphemes. The sequences -colikha and -coti exhibit -co, an aspect affix from Table 18 followed by a tense/aspect affix from Table 17. However, this sequence suggests that -toh 'narrative past', also from Table 17, precedes -co. Clearly, the sequence -toocolo indicates a condition or event which was established in the past.

167. ompalitoocolo
ompa-li-too-coli-o
dine-1sg.agt-narr.past(?) -cred-perf
I already ate.
168. ompatoocolo
ompa-too-coli-o
dine-narr.past(?) -cred-perf
He has already eaten.
169. bilkak naaninaʔikatoocolo (< naani + inaʔika-)
bil-ka-k naani-n inaʔika-too-coli-o
Bill-deriv-nom man-obl speak-narr.past(?) -cred-perf
Bill already spoke to the man.

4.4.10.4 Other sequences of -co(li)

There are other sequences of -co which have an identifiable meaning but which are not readily segmentable. One such sequence is -coton, which can be translated with the conjunction 'but'. It clearly indicates a past change in condition; however, the syllable /ton/ is not known for certain.

170. ceessik hobaskicoton kooliliti
ca-hissi-k ho-baski-co-ton koo=li-li-ti
1sg.pat-hair-nom distr-long-cred-contr.conj cut=act-1sg.agt-prox
My hair was long but I cut it.

171. iisak hommacoton minton naatilkati¹¹⁰
 iisa-k homma-co-ton minton naatilka-ti
 house-nom red-cred-contr.conj another colored-prox
 The house was red but it was painted.
172. ceessik laanacoton minton naholiti
 ca-hissi-k laana-co-ton minton na(a)-ho-li-ti
 lsg.pat-hair-nom yellow-cred-contr.conj another
 color-distr-lsg.agt(?)-prox
 My hair was blond but I dyed it.

The next pair of examples are interesting because the sentences were claimed to be the same but actually reveal differences of perception or certainty of perception. The first could be translated, 'The berries which were green seem to be red (now)' and the second, 'The berries which seemed to be green are (actually) red'.

173. bakcok okcakkoton hommacolo
 bakco-k okcakko-ton homma-coli-o
 berry-nom green-contr.conj red-cred-perf
 The berries have turned from green to red.
174. bakcok okcakkocoton hommamolo
 bakco-k okcakko-co-ton homma-moli-o
 berry-nom green-cred-contr.conj red-evid-perf
 The berries have turned from green to red.

4.4.11 -moli/-iimoli 'evidential'

The data provide sufficient examples of this sequence to warrant analysis of its function even though Swanton did not mention it in his Sketch.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ The verb for this and the next example are related and are simply glossed as 'colored' and 'color'; however, they appear to be related to the verb naaho 'have' used in predications of existence and location.

¹¹¹ Although Swanton does not list the interjection moliyá along with other interjections (JRS.100), he does include it in his files where it is given the gloss 'well!' (JRS file card 1364 from story seventeen).

In the data which I collected, the sequence -moli is used as a suffix to modify color terms, as the next two examples illustrate.

175. hommamoliya
homna-moli-ya
red-evid-top (?)
dark red

176. holaanamolo
ho-laana-moli-o
distr-yellow-evid-perf
They (the berries) are dark yellow.

-Moli is also used to modify other stative verbs. The three utterances baybo, baybacolo, and baybamolo all mean 'it is heavy'; however, the first is a simple statement, the second is a statement based on expectation and belief that it is heavy, while the third is based on experience.

177. ayolimpa baybamolo
ayolimpa bayba-moli-o
table heavy-evid-perf
The table is heavy.

178. okik kanokat naahoton oklimolo
oki-k kano-ka-t naaho-ton okli-moli-o
water-nom good-med.pass-v.conj have-contr.conj mud-evid-perf
It was clear water but (now) it is muddy.

179. aksobatiskamolo
aksoba-t-is-ka-moli-o
noise-v.conj-2sg.agt-med.pass-evid-perf
You are making (too much) noise! (You are noisy!)

The preceding examples have been of -moli on stative verbs. The sequence -iimolo occurs with active verbs.¹¹² The following examples of -iimolo are provided without additional discussion.

¹¹²The affix -moli is probably a reflex of Proto-Muskogean *ama, reconstructed by Booker (1980:134) as an 'evidential' aspect marker. Her reconstruction is based on forms from Creek and Choctaw only. It is interesting to note that a number of aC- sequences in Choctaw (e.g. apa 'eat') correspond to iC- sequences in Alabama (e.g. ipa 'eat').

180. takkolcoba ipat anooliliimolo
 takkolcoba-n ipa-t anoo=li-li-iimoli-o
 apple-obl eat-v.conj finish=act-1sg.agt-evid-perf
 I just finished eating the apple.
181. takkocoba ipat anoohiliimolo
 takkolcoba-n ipa-t anoo-hili-iimoli-o
 apple-obl eat-v.conj finish-2pl.agt-evid-perf
 You (pl) just finished eating the apples.
182. balaakalaiimolo
 balaaka-li-ahi-iimoli-o
 lie(sg)-1sg.agt-intent-evid-perf
 I am ready to go to bed...starting to lie down.

4.4.12 -alpiisa 'obligational'

Swanton does not discuss this sequence in his Sketch, though he has a number of examples of it in his files, where alpisa is given such meanings as 'correct', 'finish', 'measurement', 'exact' (file number 1710). He gives one example similar to those presented here from my data:

ibitca'lpeco 'would (be pleased) to kill it'.

Most of the examples suggest the form calpiisa rather than alpiisa; however, it is likely that the /c/ is from a preceding -ci, although the function of the syllable -cV is not yet known.

183. ipalicalpiisolo
 ipa-li-ci-alpiisa-oli-o
 eat-1sg.agt-cont(?)-oblig-be-perf
 I should eat it. (informant's emphasis)
184. ipatilkacalpiisolo
 ipa-t-il-ka-ci-alpiisa-oli-o
 eat-v.conj-1pl.agt-med.pass-cont(?)-obli-be-perf
 We should eat it.
185. sobeliliyeespahcalpiisolo
 sobay=li-li-ya is-(i)pa-ci-alpiisa-oli-o
 know=act-1sg.agt-top 2sg.agt-eat-(?)-oblig-be-perf
 I think you should eat it.

186. isnoceelpiisasõ
 is-noci-alpiisa-so-~
 2sg.agt-sleep-oblig-(?)-Q
 Are you able to sleep?

4.4.13 -âaba 'censurial'

A number of utterances in the data contain the sequence âaba or âba and are mostly statements of complaint, annoyance, or surprise. Swanton (JRS.73) discusses and gives examples of a suffix -ba. He writes that "a suffix -ba often appears after a verb, very frequently verbs in the imperative form, used in an exclamatory sense and so on." For examples, he gives the following.

haloba	hark! listen!
hitcatokaba	look down here!
oshitcahoba'	go and see!
ikbaba	let him come over
ilaba	let's see you come back or down.
ilmoba	let's try to pick!
isaba	I know that he got it.
iisiba	hold it! or, you better hold it!
inkaba	give it to him!
anoba	let me do it!
icpaba	I know you did eat it.
ilpaba	let us try to eat!
tcufhilaskeba	let us try to jump!
tałwaskiba	let us all sing!
tałwaba	try to sing some!
wağaihilgaskeba	let us try to fly!

Swanton (JRS.73) also notes, regarding this affix, that "with verbs in the negative form this changes to -be or -bi, as: iksobe 'there is nothing at all', kobi 'no! do not! don't!', mokobe 'no indeed! by no means! not that by any means!', akhêtcube 'I can't see at all'. It may be that Swanton did not recognize -bi as an allomorph of -o 'perfective' used in negative constructions. Alternatively, it may be that at the time Swanton acquired his data, -bi was not an allomorph of -o but instead occurred only in emphatic

negative utterances. Extensive investigation of Swanton's texts must be done if an answer to this question is to be found.

The following are examples from the data which I collected. In examples 188 and 189, the sequence /aaba/ was produced with a high-pitched 'creaky' voice, falling pitch, and hesitation or glottal stop in the penultimate syllable [-aʔabə]. The length variation, -âaba/-âba is as yet unexplained.

187. wikeeskââbã
 wikay=is=ka-âaba-~
 fly=2sg.agt=med.pass-cens-Q
 Ah! You are flying?!
188. šermankak ayompon aasiikkobaanolaâba
 šerman-ka-k ayompo-n aasii-ík-ki-o-baanoli-âaba
 Sherman-deriv-nom dish-obl wash-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-ever-cens
 Sherman never washes the dishes!
189. akiyá ifak toklot innááhomon kateyok toklot innááhaba
 aki-ya ifa-k toklo-t im-naaho-mon
 kate-yok toklo-t im-naaho-âba
 that-top dog-nom two-v.conj 3sg.dat-have-conj
 cat-nom.foc two-v.conj 3sg.dat-have-cens
 He has two cats and two dogs!
190. kopliyá pahacaaciskayok ohiskââba palimpafã
 kopli-ya pa-hacaa-ci-is-ka-yok ho-is-ka-âaba palimpa-fa-n
 tumbler-top on-stand(sg)-cause-2sg.agt-med.pass-foc.nom
 distr-2sg.agt-give(?)-cens table-loc-obl
 You already put the glass on the table!
191. mobilan anoocíkkomâbã
 mobila-n anoo-cík-ki-o-omi-âba-~
 car-obl finish -neg.2sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-be-cens-Q
 You didn't finish (washing) the car?
192. yahcíkkãbã
 yah=cík=ki-âba-~
 cry=neg.2sg.agt=neg.aux-cens
 You aren't crying?!

4.5 Inflection for mood

In Alabama the final element in the suffixal order is the one indicating the mood of the utterance. Three moods are considered

here: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The mood suffixes combine a segmental suffix, which in two cases has zero segmental representation, and an intonation pattern. There may be restrictions on the cooccurrence of the tense suffixes and the mood suffixes, but this has not been investigated for the imperative.

4.5.1 Declarative

In Alabama, declarative sentences are the unmarked constructions: there is no mood affix. Booker (1980:170) reconstructs *s as a Proto-Muskogean indicative suffix and notes that "the [terminal] -s which occurs in Koasati, Hitchiti-Mikasuki, and Creek has been morphologically identified as an indicative marker." She convincingly argues that the Choctaw "predicative -h" morphologically corresponds to the eastern s indicative suffix (and explains its appearance as h rather than s). In contrast, Alabama exhibits no indicative suffix.¹¹³

4.5.2 Interrogative

Questions can be divided into two types: (1) yes/no questions and (2) content questions. The content questions are given in the presentation of indefinite and interrogative pronouns (section III.1.4). The forms considered in this section are the yes/no questions.

Interrogative constructions do not exhibit alteration of word order, instead only the verbal complex is affected: (1) the final

¹¹³ Although Haas (1944) reports differences in the indicative paradigms of men and women Koasati speakers, no such differences have been found in Alabama.

vowel is nasalized, and (2) a distinctly interrogative intonation is imposed. Often the nasalization is scarcely observable and it is the intonation alone which in the conveyor of the interrogative mood.¹¹⁴

The interrogative intonation consists of a drop followed by a slight rise, all on the final syllable, accompanied sometimes by a notably higher pitch on the penultimate syllable.

The following examples are matched sets: questions elicited as appropriate for the following statements to be taken as responses.

193. ispalō

is-(i)pa-lo-~
2sg.agt-eat-fut-Q
Will you eat it?

194. ákpolo

ák-(i)pa-o-lo
neg.lsg.agt-eat-neg-fut
I will not eat it.

195. ispā

is-(i)pa-~
2sg.agt-eat-Q
Have you eaten it?

196. ákpobi

ák-(i)pa-o-bi
neg.lsg.agt-eat-neg-perf
I don't eat it./I haven't eaten it.

197. ipalo

ipa-li-o
eat-lsg.agt-perf
I eat it./I have eaten it. (affirmative answer)

¹¹⁴Nicklas (1974:143) claims that there are Choctaw questions without final nasalization and that these are statements used as questions. His analysis of Choctaw yes/no questions involves three interrogative suffixes: -a, -o, and -n.

198. ákpoci
 ák-(i)pa-o-ci
 neg.lsg.agt-eat-neg-cont
 I am not eating it.
199. ispacō
 is-(i)pa-co~
 2sg.agt-eat-cred-Q
 Did you eat it?
200. ákpoti
 ák-(i)pa-o-ti
 neg.lsg.agt-eat-neg-prox
 I didn't eat it.
201. ipalicolikha
 ipa-li-colikha
 eat-lsg.agt-rem.habitual
 I used to eat it. (answer to 199)

Inflection for the interrogative mood restricts the occurrence of those affixes identified here as tense affixes. This is summarized in Table 19.

<u>Tense/aspect</u>	<u>Declarative</u>	<u>Interrogative</u>
Future	-lo	-lo + ~
Present	cont. -ci	-ci + ~
	perf. -o/-bi	+ ~
Past	Prox. -ti	-co + ~
	Remote -kha	

Table 19: Cooccurrence of tense/aspect and mood suffixes

-Co 'credential' functions as an indefinite past in interrogative constructions. The proximate/remote distinction which functions in the declarative is neutralized in the interrogative. -o/-bi differs

from the other tense/aspect affixes indicated in Table 19 in that the corresponding interrogative form has no tense/aspect affix at all.

4.5.3 Imperative

There are two types of imperatives: affirmative and negative. The affirmative imperative is identified in the singular by intonation and in the plural by intonation and the placement of the distributive ho- between the verb root and the classificatory suffix -li 'active' or -ka 'mediopassive'. Affirmative imperative does not inflect for person. The negative imperative is identified by the verbal suffix -nnâ with accompanying intonation. Negative imperative inflects for person as well as for number. In this discussion, the affirmative imperative forms, which are morphologically simpler, are presented first, the negative imperative next, and Swanton's analysis last.

4.5.3.1 Affirmative imperative

The affirmative imperative is the uninflected form of the verb, with appropriate pronominal prefixes indicating the indirect object, if there is one. The intonation pattern lengthens the final syllable and gives it falling pitch.

202. ciyaali^h
ciyaa=li^h
walk=act-imp
Walk!

203. amaasiilii
 am-aasii=li-[^]
 lsg.dat-wash=act-imp
 Wash it for me.
204. āhopoonii
 am-hopoon=li-[^]
 lsg.dat-cook=act-imp
 Cook it for me.
205. aatihopoonii
 aatim-hopoon=li-[^]
 indef.3pers-cook=act-imp
 Cook it for them.
206. talkosan maatākāa
 talkosa-n maat-am-ka-[^]
 knife-obl there-lsg.dat-give-imp
 Give me the knife.
207. hossocii
 hosso-ci-[^]
 write-caus-imp
 Write!
208. amiltoonoo
 am-iltoono-[^]
 lsg.dat-work-imp
 Work for me!

The inclusion of the distributive indicates plurality; however, I was not able to obtain an unequivocal statement from any of the speakers regarding the exact nature of the affirmative imperative plurality. For example, amaasiholii was said to mean 'You (pl) wash it for me' and 'You (pl) wash them for me' and even 'You (sg) wash them (individually, not collectively) for me'. Most commonly the imperative with the included distributive was elicited by asking for an imperative addressed to a group of individuals, and that is the way in which the examples here are glossed.

209. ciyaaholiî
 ciyaa=ho=li-[^]
 walk=distr=act-imp
 You (pl) walk!
210. amaasiholiî
 am-aasii=ho=li-[^]
 lsg.dat-wash=distr=act-imp
 You (pl) wash it for me.
211. hopooholiî
 hopoon=ho=li-[^]
 cook=distr=act-imp
 You (pl), cook it.
212. pōhopooholiî
 pom-hopoon=ho=li-[^]
 lpl.dat-cook=distr=act-imp
 You (pl), cook it for us.
213. talkosan maatakāâ
 talkosa-n maat-am-ho-ka-[^]
 knife-obl there-lsg.dat-distr-give-imp
 Give us the knife.
214. acan amaahokāâ
 aca-n amaa=ho=ka-[^]
 outside-obl go(pl)=distr=med.pass-imp
 Go outside.

It is the presence of -li in the plural imperative that suggests that verbs such as hopooni 'cook' and omi 'be' have a suffix -li rather than -i. The shortening of /li/ to /i/ in the affirmative, however, is not simply related to the preceding nasal but must be morphologically conditioned. Other deleted-auxiliary class verbs (Haas's class IIA) with -li show assimilation of the /l/ to the preceding nasal: falammi 'get up' (< falam + li).

From the data which I have collected it appears that periphrastic conjugation must be used in order to form a plural imperative of those verbs which do not occur with -li or -ka in the uninflected form. This is illustrated by the following examples.

215. hossociî
 hosso-ci-[^]
 write-cause-imp
 Write!
216. hossotokáâ
 hosso-t-ho-ka-[^]
 write-v.conj-distr-med.pass-imp
 You (pl), write! (periphrastic negation)
217. amiltoonóô
 am-iltoono-[^]
 1sg.dat-work-imp
 Work for me! (singular addressee)
218. iltoonotokáâ
 iltoono-t-ho-ka-[^]
 work-v.conj-distr-med.pass-imp
 You (pl), work! (periphrastic negation)
219. põhaalóô
 ponhaalo-[^]
 listen-imp
 Listen! (singular addressee)
220. impõhaalotokáâ
 im-ponhaalo-t-ho-ka-[^]
 3sg.dat-listen-v.conj-distr-med.pass-imp
 You (pl), listen to him. (periphrastic negation)

4.5.3.2 Negative imperative

Although the affirmative imperative contains no affix to indicate that the subject of the verb form is the second person, the negative imperative includes a second person affix in addition to the negative imperative suffix -nnâ. The form of the second person affix, either is- or ci-, is for the most part determined by the conjugation class of the verb, though as in declarative negation, for infixed class verbs (Haas's classes IIC and IIIA), the second person affix cannot be predicted from the class of the verb.

In the negative, the intonation associated with the imperative, falling pitch on the last syllable, is affected by the length of the

utterance. If the verb form, with its affixes, is longer than three syllables, the final syllable does not have a falling pitch; instead, the syllable preceding the -nnâ suffix is high and the -nnâ suffix may be high or low pitch, with the final /a/ not noticeably lengthened.

221. coffi
 cof-li-[^]
 jump-act-imp
 Jump!
222. cofcinnâ
 cof-ci-nnâ
 jump-2sg.agt-neg.imp
 Jump!
223. hayon omi
 hayo-n om=li-[^]
 inside-obl be-act-imp (cf. oholi 'You (pl), go inside!')
 Go inside.
224. hayoya oncinnâ
 hayo-ya om-ci-nnâ
 inside-topic be-2sg.agt-neg.imp
 Don't go inside.
225. hossoci
 hosso-ci-[^]
 write-caus-imp
 Write!
226. hocissónâ
 ho=ci=sso-nnâ
 write=2sg.agt=write-neg.imp
 Don't write. ("modern dialect")
227. hossotiskánâ
 hosso-t-is-ka-nnâ
 write-v.conj-2sg.agt-med.pass-neg.imp
 Don't write. ("old Alabama dialect")¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵The distinction of "modern dialect" and "old Alabama dialect" was provided by the speaker who volunteered it as an explanation for there being two ways to produce the same sentence. He claimed that the sentences were equivalent.

228. hossotaskánnà
 hosso-t-as-ka-nnâ
 write-v.conj-2pl.agt-med.pass-neg.imp
 You (pl), don't write!
229. talkosan maatākâ
 talkosa-n maat-am-ka-[^]
 knife-obl there-1sg.dat-med.pass-imp
 Give me the knife.
230. talkosan maatihaskánnà
 talkosa-n maat-im-has-ka-nnâ
 knife-obl there-3sg.dat-2pl.agt-med.pass-neg.imp
 You (pl), don't give him the knife!
231. ostiaplî okhicâ
 ost-tiap=li-[^]okhica-n
 (?)-open-act-imp door-obl
 Open the door!
232. stiapcinnà
 st-tiap-ci-nnâ
 (?)-open-2sg.agt-neg.imp
 Don't open (the door).
233. isiskánnà
 is=is=ka-nnâ
 drink=2sg.agt=drink-neg.imp
 Don't drink!

4.6 fóóka- 'temporal locative'

Perhaps related to the locative -fa is the temporal locative -fóóka, which may be translated as 'while,' or 'when,' or 'at the time that',' or 'at the time of.' It should be noted that the locative -fa occurs with nouns whereas the temporal locative -fóóka occurs with verbs. Fóóka also occurs with saami to produce the interrogative pronoun saamifóókon 'when?', as seen in section 1.4.

234. iltoonaalolo cikoocifóókon
 iltoono-aa-lolo cikoo-ci-fooka-o-n
 work-1sg.agt-fut sit-2sg.agt-temp.loc-emph-obl
 I'll be working while you're sitting.

235. naanik illiti cokoolifóókon
 naani-k illi-ti cokoo=li-fooka-o-n
 man-nom die-prox sit=act-temp.loc-emp-obl
 The man died when he sat down.
236. akaakan ipat feelilifóókok ifakon ibiliti
 akaaka-n ipa-t fee=li-li-fooka-o-k ifa-aki-o-n ibi-li-ti
 chicken-obl eat-v.conj finish=act-lsg.agt-temp.loc-emph-nom
 dog-that-emp-obl kill-lsg.ag-rec.past
 When I got through eating the chicken I killed the dog.
 (Having finished eating the chicken, I killed the dog.)

CHAPTER IV: SYNTAX

1 Syntactic suffixes

The syntactic suffixes, -t, -k, -n, have already been noted for their exceptional phonological status: they are the only consonants permitted word-finally. Swanton (JRS.89) labels these the "connective suffixes" and observes that:

The connective suffixes play a great part in Alabama, as indeed in all of the Muskogean tongues. There are three of these suffixes, -k, -n, and -t. These connective suffixes are used after nouns, verbs, adjectives, and, apparently, other parts of speech.

In Choctaw, these are the suffixes which Nicklas (1974:199) labels "article expressions". Nicklas's statement regarding them is certainly equally appropriate for the Alabama connective suffixes:

The most difficult topic of Choctaw grammar is the structure and use of article expressions. We can bring only a little order into what appears to the field worker to be utter chaos.

Unfortunately, however, Nicklas's analysis of Choctaw brings even less order to Alabama because although the segmental forms, -t, -k, and -n, are the same for the two languages, only -n exhibits a similar correlation of form and function within a clause: it marks the oblique, i.e. non-subject, case.

Swanton's presentation is also of little help. Although he correctly observes that "the connective -n, with nouns,...covers indirect as well as direct relations," his description of the syntactic suffixes, especially used with verbs, is unclear, inadequate, and confusing.

In order to understand the function of the syntactic suffixes in Alabama, it is necessary to recognize two distinct levels in the relationship of nouns (arguments) to verbs: the surface case relationship and the semantic pronominal agreement relationship.¹ Thus it is possible for a noun to bear the nominative case marking but be the semantic patient of the verb. In other words, the syntactic suffixes mark the surface structure relationships somewhat independently of the semantic relationships.

This mixed system, in which nouns and noun phrases are marked for nominative/oblique cases and pronominal affixes indicate agent/patient roles, is typical of all Muskogean languages. It could be characterized as a split-ergative or split-stative system.

1.1 -k 'nominative' and -n 'oblique'

The first usage of -k and -n to be considered is their case-marking function as suffixes to nouns. Independent pronouns, like nouns, also take case marking suffixes. (See section 6.1.) Within a simple sentence involving one verb and one or two nouns, the

¹This independence may, however, be disappearing. The use of the topic suffix -ya for either -k 'nominative' or -n 'oblique' allows the speaker to avoid commitment in those instances where the two sets of criteria appear to be in conflict. Nicklas (1974:162-5) reports sentences with two subjects in Choctaw. He states that they are derived from sentences in which the possessor noun, which was in the oblique case, is raised to the level of subject and then takes the nominative suffix. The possessed noun, which had been in the nominative, retains its nominative suffix. The occurrence of two subjects is disambiguated by a set word order, possessor followed by possessed, and the presence of the dative prefix, moved from the possessed noun to the verb stem. In the example given here from Nicklas (page 163), I have altered the transcription and underlined the case suffixes: -t 'nominative' and -n 'oblique'.

hattak ma-n im-ofi-t kaniyatok
 man that-obl his-dog-nom fled
 That man's dog ran off.

hattak ma-t ofi-t in-kaniyatok
 man that-nom dog-nom his-fled
 That man's dog ran off.

function of -k and -n is straightforward: -k marks the grammatical subject, i.e., the agent of active verbs and the patient of stative verbs, while -n marks the patient of active verbs. More specifically, with active verbs -n marks any nonagentive noun; with stative verbs, which by definition have no agent, -n marks any nonpatient noun.²

1. bilkak waakan coopo
 bil-ka-k waaka-n coopa-o
 Bill-deriv-nom cow-obl buy-perf
 Bill bought a cow.

bilkak coopo Bill bought it.

waakan coopo He bought a cow.

2. aki naanik cááhaaci
 aki naani-k caahaa-ci
 that man-nom tall-cont
 That man is tall.

3. cacááhaaci
 ca-caahaa-ci
 1sg.pat-tall-cont
 I am tall.

Some constructions require the additional use of -ya and/or -t.

1.2 -yá 'topic'

For predicate noun constructions, neither -k nor -n is used as a case-marking suffix.³ Instead -yá 'topic' marks the nonpredicative noun or noun phrase.⁴

²The first set of examples illustrates these basic functions of the two suffixes. The example cacááhaaci is included even though it is without fully specified nouns, in order to illustrate the fact that with a stative verb, the subject is coreferential with the patient pronominal affixes. The third person affirmative agentive pronominal affix and the third person patient affix are both zero.

³In the second example here, -n appears not as a case marker, but as a noun conjunction. See section IV.6.1 noun conjunction.

⁴At least two features of -yá support its analysis as 'topic': (1) it is attached to a noun or noun phrase independently of the grammatical function of the NP, and (2) it serves as the scope marker in negative sentences. (Choon-Kyu Oh, personal communication)

4. bilkayá naani
bil-ka-yá naani
Bill-deriv-top man
Bill is a man.
5. lindan sookayá hotayyi
linda-n soo-ka-yá ho-tayyi
Linda-conj Sue-deriv-top distr-woman
Linda and Sue are women.

In simple sentences, -yá can also be used to replace either the nominative -k or the oblique -n. The result is the topicalization of the noun which bears -yá.⁵

Topicalization thus results in the neutralization of the morphological nominative/oblique distinction.

6. ayompoyá aasiilaalo < ayompon aasiilaalo
ayompo-yá aasii=li-aa-lo
dish-top wash=act-1sg.agt-fut
I am going to wash the dishes.
7. talkosayá maatíkâ < talkosan maatíkâ
talkosa-ya maat-im=ka-
knife-top there-3sg.dat=give-imp
Give him the knife!
8. talkosaya maatiskánnâ
talkosa-ya maat-im=is=ka-nná
knife-top there-3sg.dat=2sg.agt=give-neg-imp
Don't give him the knife!

Noun phrases with post-nominal derived adjectives terminate in -yá 'topic'.

⁵This topicalization is optional in context-free affirmative sentences though undoubtedly discourse rules make it obligatory in certain contexts. By contrast, in negative constructions, speakers use -yá to the exclusion of the case-marking -k and -n. The contrast of case-marked noun versus topicalized noun involves the distinctions new/given and definite/indefinite.

- beebi noci-ya am-mi-o
9. beebi nociya ammo < beebik noocici
 baby sleep-top lsg.dat-be-perf
 The sleeping baby is mine.
10. aki ifa solotkaya katin amipati
 aki ifa solot=ka-ya kati-n am-ipa-ti
 [that dog skinny=med.pass]-top cat-obl lsg.dat-eat-prox
 That skinny dog ate my cat.

1.3 -t 'verb conjunction'

The syntactic suffix -t has a number of seemingly distinct but actually related functions.⁶ -T appears only at the end of an uninflected verb which is followed by yet another verb, usually the finite verb.⁷ The next examples illustrate these varied uses of -t.

11. cokoolit oompalici
 cokoo=li-t ompa-li-ci
 sit=act-v.conj dine-lsg.agt-cont
 I am sitting and eating.
12. ceessik hobaskit locaaci
 ca-hissi-k ho-baski-t loca-ci
 lsg.pat-hair-nom distr-long-v.conj black-cont
 My hair is long and black.

⁶The recognition of these multiple functions can cause the investigator to overlook the essential unity of function. Nathan (1977:44, 61, 86-7) identifies three functions for -t: (1) a participle or nominalizer a:t, (2) a 'subject case' marker, and (3) a verbalizer.

Booker (1980:182) reconstructs *t both as a subject marker on nouns and as a 'same subject' marker of conjoined clauses with cross-referenced subjects. By contrast, in Lupardus 1980, I proposed the reconstruction for verb conjunction and showed that there is insufficient basis for assuming that Proto-Muskogean marked retention of subject.

⁷Where both the nonfinite and the finite verb are in the deleted-auxiliary conjugation class (Haas's class IIA), which exhibits -li 'active' as part of the verb stem, the classificatory suffix -li may be optionally deleted on the nonfinite verb. The length of the verb root may affect the applicability of this optional deletion rule. My data do not reveal the deletion of -li when the verb root has fewer than two syllables.

13. bilkak ayolimpan taliboo(li)t anooliti
 bil-ka-k ayolimpa-n taliboo=li-t anoo=li-ti
 Bill-deriv-nom table-obl build=act-v.conj
 finish=act-prox
 Bill finished building the table.
14. ifaya innatik ostaakat innááhobi
 ifa-ya innati-k ostaaka-t im-naaho-bi
 dog-top teeth-nom four-v.conj dat-have-perf
 The dog has four teeth.

In the next two examples, a phrase preceding the finite verb is contrasted with a clause preceding the finite verb. The phrase terminates in the required -yá 'topic' suffix. The clause-final -t indicates that the subject of the verb toklo 'two' is the same as that of the following verb.

15. ifa tokloyá acan aswo
 ifa toklo-yá aca-n aswa-o
 dog two-top outside-obl stay(du)-perf
 There are two dogs outside.
16. ifak toklot acan aswo
 ifa-k toklo-t aca-n aswa-o
 dog-nom two-v.conj outside-obl stay(du)-perf
 There are two dogs outside.

The preceding example can be compared to the next one in which the clause-final -n indicates that the subjects of the two verbs, toklo 'two' and hiica 'see', are different.

17. ifak toklon hiico
 ifa-k toklo-n hiica-o
 dog-nom two-obl see-perf
 He sees two dogs.

The syntactic suffixes and -yá 'topic' occur in other constructions which involve the addition of -o 'emphasis'.

⁸ Chafe (1976:28) proposes a list of "packaging phenomena" relevant to the syntactic analysis of nouns. He suggests that the

1.4 Summary of -t, -k, -n, and -ya'

A componential analysis of the function of the syntactic suffixes and -ya, as investigated up to this point, is given in Table 11.⁸

As can be seen from the table, the functions nominative and oblique are not distinguished when a noun or phrase is topicalized. Also, whereas -n occurs on both nouns and verbs, -k is restricted to nouns and -t to verbs. Both -t and -n can be affixed to uninflected verbs; the distinction provided is one of same subject and different subject, respectively. Although it is not directly stated in the chart, -ya can also be affixed to uninflected verbs if the verbs are the final morpheme of a derived noun phrase.

 following possibilities should be taken into consideration:

- (a) a noun may be either given or new;
- (b) it may be a focus of contrast;
- (c) it may be definite or indefinite;
- (d) it may be the subject of its sentence;
- (e) it may be the topic of its sentence.

He considers the term emphasis to be an unnecessary alternative label for concepts included in the above list.

Nicklas (1974:97-9, 200-1) presents an intricate analysis of the Choctaw articles involving the three-way distinction of + definite, +focus, and + emphasis. A careful reading of his presentation of the most common dialect system, however, reveals that the categories focus and emphasis are mutually exclusive and that the forms used to signal either focus or emphasis are always /o/, which is absent in the other forms. Based on his data, I have constructed the following table for the Choctaw articles; I have retranscribed his forms.

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Definite</u>	<u>Focus</u>	<u>Emphasis</u>
at	+	±	-	-
an	-	+	-	-
ato	+	+	-	+
ano	-	+	-	+
akoš	+	+	+	-
akon	-	+	+	-
oš	+	-	±	-
on	-	-	+	-

	(Aff. stem)	Given	New	(Affixed stem)
Nominative	verb ⁹	-yá	-k	noun
			-t	verb (uninfl., same subj.)
Oblique	noun		-n	noun
				verb (uninfl., diff. subj.)

Table 11: Componential analysis of -t, -k, -n, and -ya for the features given/new and nominative/oblique, with affixed stems indicated.

Conspicuously absent from the chart is the category inflected verb. The finite verb, of course, is not inflected for case; however, subordinated verbs, inflected for person and number, are.¹⁰ The addition of the morpheme -o 'emphasis' to the list of the four suffixes, -t, -k, -n, and -yá, expands the range of forms exhibiting any of these suffixes. However, the complexities introduced become too burdensome for simplification in tabular form. Examples and discussion are presented below in the context of emphasis and focus.

⁹-Yá attaches to a verb which is in final position in a derived noun phase. In such instances the verb is uninflected.

¹⁰Subordinate verbs do not appear to inflect for tense, though because of the considerable number of homophonous forms in Alabama, coupled with extensive vowel truncation, there is always room for doubt. The temporal placement of conditions and events appropriate to the subordinate verb is indicated by deixis.

2 Focus and emphasis

The categories focus and emphasis are not mutually exclusive. Focus is morphologically no more than the emphasis and case marking of topicalized forms. Thus the only new morpheme introduced in this section is the emphatic particle -o.¹¹

The precise function of -o versus its absence is not yet entirely understood. Böcker (1980:256) reconstructs *o 'focus, emphasis'. Nicklas (1974:200-1) identifies -o as an emphatic particle, but -o is also part of the focus particle that he proposes. He notes that the emphatic forms may be either definite or indefinite, apparently ambiguously so. Swanton (JRS.49-50) suggests that

o ... conveys the idea that the condition of the object has endured for some time or will endure for some time; it connotes state preeminently.

He equates the presence of -o with an indefinite article in English.¹² It appears to me, however, that -o is more appropriately associated with the English definite article. In Alabama the particle -o does indeed impart a degree of emphasis but it is not necessarily to any greater degree than that of definiteness.

¹¹The emphatic particle -o may be related, at least historically, to at least two other morphemes: the negative -o and the tense/aspect -o 'perfective'. Investigation into such intriguing matters is beyond the scope of the present endeavor; however, the phonological similarity of the forms ought to be mentioned.

¹²Swanton's analysis is rambling and confusing. He recognizes two article auxiliaries, a and o, but it is not clear from his presentation how and when they are used. He twice states that these article auxiliaries are "one of the most fundamental features of the Muskogean languages" but he himself clearly did not understand their function well enough to articulate it.

One interesting characteristic of -o 'emphasis' is the manner in which it combines with the syntactic suffixes and -yá, presented previously and outlined in Table 11. -o is always followed by a case marking suffix, -k or -n, and it may be preceded by -yá 'topic', which then loses its final /a/.¹³ The resultant -yok and -yon sequences are identified here as 'nominative focus' and 'oblique focus', respectively.

The first examples given here illustrate the order emphasis plus nominative on a noun and on a verb inflected for person.

18. aatinaanok cicoban ibiti
 aati-naani-o-k cicoba-n ibi-ti
 person-man-emph-nom horse-obl kill-prox
 The man killed the horse.
19. illok iltoliinolo
 il-(i)la-o-k ilto=li=hno-lo
 1pl.agt-come-emph-nom work=1pl.agt=work-fut
 We'll come here and work.

The next two examples illustrate emphasis on demonstratives within a simple sentence.

20. naanik ifa akon ibo
 naani-k ifa aki-o-n ibi-o
 man-nom dog that-emph-obl kill-perf
 The man killed that dog.
21. aki ifan naani akok ibo
 aki ifa-n naani aki-o-k ibi-o
 that dog-obl man that-emph-nom kill-perf
 That man killed that dog.

Apparently there is a restriction such that within a simple sentence only one noun may be emphasized. Emphasis on two nouns occurs in compound or complex constructions such as the following.

¹³ -o is not immediately followed by -k or -n when it occurs on the demonstrative in the sequence demonstrative plus noun.
 yo naanik -(< yá + o naani + k) 'this man'

22. yo naanik caahaaci maamin akok caakííhoci
 ya-o naani-k caaha -ci maamin aki-o-k caa=kíí=ha -o-ci
 that-emph man-nom tall-cont but
 that-emph-nom tall=neg.3sg.agt=tall-neg-cont
 This man is tall but that one is short.

Emphasis is also found in negated predications of identity where it occurs on the negated predicate.

23. bilkan tamkayá hotatkokoci
 bil-ka-n tam-ka-yá ho-tatka-o-ki-o-ci
 Bill-deriv-obl Tom-deriv-top
 distr-whiteman-emph-neg.aux-neg-cont
 Bill and Tom aren't whitemen.

Emphasis can occur on a nonfinite verb which is inflected for person. Unlike -t on uninflected verbs, -ok on inflected verbs appears not to have the sense of simultaneity.

24. ilalok iltoonaalo
 (i)la-li-o-k iltohno-aa-lo
 come-1sg.agt-emph-nom work-1sg.agt-fut
 I'll come here and work.
25. illok iltoliinolo
 il-(i)la-o-k ilto=li=hno-lo
 1pl.agt-come-emph-nom work=1pl.agt=work-fut
 We will come here and work.
26. akaakan ipat feelilifóókok ifakon ibiti
 akaaka-n ipa-t fee=li-li-fooka-o-k ifa-aki-o-n ibi-ti
 chicken-obl eat-v.conj finish=act-1sg.agt-temp.loc-emph-nom
 dog-that-emph-obl kill-prox
 After I finished eating the chicken I killed that dog.

Focus is recognized here as the emphasis and case marking of topicalized forms. The first two pairs of examples contrast topicalized sentences and focused topicalization. Both of the first sentences are translated 'that man put an apple on the table'. Topicalization of the noun phrase of the first sentence makes it more equivalent to the English sentence 'that is the man who put the apple on the table'. The second sentence involves greater emphasis on the

noun phrase 'that man'. In the second pair the additional emphasis is placed on the oblique noun phrase 'the skinny horse'.

27. aki naaniyá papiŋkati paalimpafā takkolcobā
 aki naani-ya papiŋka-ti paalimpa-fa-n takkolcoba-n
 that man-top put-prox table-loc-obl apple-obl
 That man put an apple on the table.
28. aki naaniyok takkolcoban papiŋkati paalimpafā
 aki naani-yok takkolcoba-n papiŋka-ti paalimpa-fa-n
 that man-nom.foc apple-obl put-prox table-loc-obl
 That man put an apple on the table.
29. cicoba solotkayá coopaliti
 cicoba solotka-ya coopa-li-ti
 horse skinny-top buy-1sg.agt-prox
 I bought the skinny horse.
30. cicoba solotkayon coopaliti
 cicoba solotka-yon coopa-li-ti
 horse skinny-obl.foc buy-1sg.agt-prox
 I bought the skinny horse.

Nouns or other words marked morphologically for the plural by the suffix -ha can be emphasized only if they are topicalized.

31. akiháyok oyaaŋici waakā
 aki-há-yok ho-iyaaŋi-ci waaka-n
 that-pl-nom.foc distr-own-cont cow-obl
 They own a cow.
32. soosik waaka oíhayon iyaaŋici
 soosi-k waaka oíha-yon iyaaŋi-ci
 Suzie-nom cow all-obl.foc own-cont
 Suzie owns all of the cows. (speaker's emphasis)

Certain types of constructions require topicalization. The ones observed in the data which I collected are: (1) clause complements and (2) comparison constructions.

33. daalik ayampon aasiiliyok stinkaanoci
 daali-k ayampon-n aasii=li-yok ist-im-kaano-ci
 Dolly-nom dish-obl wash=act-nom.foc
 instr-3sg.dat-good-cont
 Dolly likes to wash the dishes.

34. ayampon aasihiliyok skonkaanoci
 ayampo-n aasii-hili-yok ist-kom-kaano-ci
 dish-obl wash-lpl.agt-nom.foc instr-lpl.dat-good-cont
 We like to wash the dishes.
35. merik cimbankati mobilan aasiiceeyon
 meri-k cim-manka-ti mobila-n aasii-ci-ahi-yon
 Mary-nom 2sg.dat-say-prox car-obl wash-2sg.agt-intent-obl.foc
 Mary told you to wash the car.

This next pair of comparative constructions illustrates a shift in focus from the nominative to the oblique referent.

36. acacoobayok hacitoklon hacimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-yok haci-toklo-n hacimmi-aya-li-o
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom.foc 2pl.pat-two-obl yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am older than you two. (focus: 'I')
37. acacoobak hacitokloyon hacimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-k haci-toklo-yon hacimmi-aya-li-o
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom 2pl.pat-two-obl.foc yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am older than you two. (focus: 'you two')

3 Simple sentences

3.1 Predication of identity

The basic manner of predicating identity does not require a verb and consists of little more than the utterance of the nominal forms, as the following examples illustrate.

38. talkosa
talkosa
knife
This is a knife.
39. talkosan kopli
talkosa-n kopli
knife-conj glass
This is a knife and that's a glass.¹⁴
40. bilkayá naani
bil-ka-yá naani
Bill-deriv-top man
Bill is a man.
41. lindan sookayá hotayyi
linda-n soo-ka-yá ho-tayyi
Linda-conj Sue-deriv-top distr-woman
Linda and Sue are women.
42. holcifayá daali
holcifa-yá daali
name-top Dolly
Her name is Dolly.
43. holcifayá gaikan daali
holcifa-yá gai-ka-n daali
name-top Guy-deriv-conj Dolly
Their names are Guy and Dolly.

In affirmative constructions, such as the preceding ones, predication of identity in its simplest form is merely naming, as in the first

¹⁴ Although the translations of sentences predicating identity may contain demonstratives, the constructions themselves can be without such demonstratives.

example. When two items are to be identified, -n 'noun conjunction' occurs as a suffix on the first noun.¹⁵ The predicate noun inflects for plural.¹⁶

In contrast to the affirmative constructions, the negative ones are inflected for tense, as the following examples illustrate.

44. bilkan tamkayá hotatkokoci
bil-ka-n tam-ka-ya ho-tatka-o-ki-o-ci
Bill-deriv-conj Tom-deriv-top
distr-whiteman-emph-neg.aux-neg-cont
Bill and Tom aren't whitemen.

45. talkosokoci kopli
talkosa-o-ki-o-ci kopli
knife-emph-neg.aux-neg-cont glass
It's not a knife, it's a glass.

46. talkosokobi kopli
talkosa-o-ki-o-bi kopli
knife-emph-neg.aux-neg-perf glass
It's not a knife, it's a glass.

3.2 Predication of attributes

In the following series of examples, even though it may have the nominative case -k, the fully inflected noun is semantically the patient of the verb. This is not overtly marked in the third person because the third person patient pronominal affix is zero. The first example given, therefore, is instead first person.

¹⁵ See the discussion of -n 'noun conjunction' in section IV.6.1.

¹⁶ Nouns are unspecified for number, but may take the plural suffix -há except when used predicatively, in which case they take the distribute ho-.

47. cacaahaaci
ca-caahaa-ci
1sg.pat-tall-cont
I'm tall.
48. aki tayyiyá caahaaci
aki tayyi-yá caahaa-ci
that woman-top tall-cont
That woman is tall.
49. paalimpayá caahaaci
paalimpa-yá caahaa-ci
table-top tall-cont
This table is tall.
50. cíwaakayá locahci
cim-waaka-yá loca-ci
2sg.dat-cow-top black-cont
Your cow is black.
51. āwaakahayá locahci
am-waaka-ha-yá loca-ci
1sg.dat-cow-pl-top black-cont
My cows are black.
52. āwaaka oiihayá holocahci
am-waaka oiiha-yá ho-locaci
1sg.dat-cow all-top distr-black-cont
All my cows are black.
53. ittosik baskihci
ittosi-k baski-ci
stick-nom long-cont
The stick is long.
54. ittosik alwaakahci
ittosi-k alwaa=ka-ci
stick-nom break=med.pass-cont
The stick is broken.
55. cassik acihkati
cassi-k acih=ka-ti
corn-nom sow=med.pass-prox
The corn was planted.

The next examples are paired affirmative and negative sentences.

56. casolotkaci
ca-solotka-ci
1sg.pat-skinny-cont
I'm skinny.

57. cisolotkatíkkobi
 ci-solotka-t-ík-ki-o-bi
 2sg.pat-skinny-v.conj-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 You're not skinny.
58. cacaamoci
 ca-caamo-ci
 1sg.pat-lazy-cont
 I'm lazy.
59. cacaamotíkkobi
 ca-caamo-t-ík-ki-o-bi
 1sg.pat-lazy-v.conj-neg.3sg-neg.aux-neg-perf
 I'm not lazy.
60. caponnahci
 ca-ponna-ci
 1sg.pat-smart-cont
 I'm smart.
61. capokíínnohci
 ca-po=kíí=nnoh-ci
 1sg.pat-smart=neg.3sg.agt=smart-cont
 I'm not smart.

Verbs describing experiential, or perhaps temporary, qualities take dative pronominal prefixes coreferential to the experiencer. Inanimate objects do not have a coreferential dative pronominal.

62. kasotka
 kasotka
 cold
 It's cold. (a bottle of cola)
63. ikasotkacolimpo
 im-kasotka-coli-mpa-o
 3sg.dat-cold-cred-dur-perf
 She's cold.

In the next examples the verb describes experiential or temporary attributes yet the verb receives patient pronominal affixes. Additionally, in contrast to the preceding examples, these are not stative constructions: the verb takes -li 'active'. Thus the first example can also be 'He angers me'. The form 'You angered me' would be calapalaaciti.

64. calapalaalici
 ca-ilapalaa=li-ci
 lsg.pat-angry=act-cont
 I'm angry. (It angers me.)
65. cama/atlo
 ca-ma/at=li-o
 lsg.pat-scare=act-perf
 I'm scared. (It scares me.)
66. aksobaacin incama/atlo
 aksobaaci-n im-ca-ma/at=li-o
 noise-obl 3sg.dat-lsg.pat-scare=act-perf
 I'm frightened of the noise.
 (It scares me through noise.)
67. aksobaacik cama/atlico
 aksobaaci-k ca-ma/at=li=ci-o
 noise-nom lsg.pat-scare=act-caus-perf
 The noise scared me.
 (The noise caused me to be scared.)

4 Existence, location, and possession

This section presents Alabama sentences which predicate either the existence, location, or possession of an entity. Existential, locative, and possessive sentences are grouped here together because structurally they are related. This relationship has been noted in other languages by various linguists (Bach, 1967; Clark, 1970; Lyons, 1967, 1968).

Lyons and Clark each point out that both existential and locative sentences may be considered types of locatives; the existential sentences take indefinite subjects. Furthermore, the possessive constructions in a language may show a similar division between those in which the possessed entity is definite and those in which it is indefinite.¹⁷ Clark suggests that where there is a "grammatical (word order) distinction" in possessive constructions between those in which the possessed is indefinite and those in which it is definite, the possessed-indefinite constructions will resemble existential constructions and the possessed-definite constructions will resemble locative constructions.

In Alabama, the possessed-indefinite constructions are indeed structurally related to the existential constructions. The possessed-definite constructions are distinctly different from the possessed-indefinite, and they are similar to the locative constructions only in definiteness.

¹⁷In English such a division is represented by the sentences The book is John's (possessed-definite) and John has a book (possessed-indefinite).

Throughout this section the term subject will be used to refer to the patient noun whose existence or location is predicated. With intransitive verbs, the patient noun receives the nominative case suffix.

4.1 Existential/locative constructions

In Alabama the distinction between existential and locative sentences is not one of word order. The only difference, where a distinction is made, is in the suffix on the noun. Locative sentences exhibit topicalization of the subject (which is coreferential with the patient of the intransitive verb). Sentences with -k 'nominative' may be interpreted as either existential or locative, depending on context.

Predications of existence are generally predications of either the location or of some particular feature such as the quantity of the entity. The following are existential statements which are not locative, except in a temporal sense.

68. ifak tokloci
ifa-k toklo-ci
dog-nom two-cont
There are two dogs.
69. cicoba nampoci
cicoba-(k) nampo-ci-~
horse-(nom) many-cont-Q
How many horses are there?

The remaining examples in this section include reference to a location and are thus potentially locative rather than strictly existential. Although, as indicated by the gloss of each example, most of the sentences were given as equivalent to English existential statements,

those which have a definite subject will be further identified by the word locative in parentheses following the gloss.

In the Alabama predication of location or existence, the verb usually provides some indication of the known position or perceived inherent qualities of the entity. Among the significant perceived qualities are animacy, shape, and number. Nouns which qualify as animate include animals, humans, and certain human possessions such as knives. Inanimate nouns are considered as either mass nouns or nouns whose referents are categorized as having a particular shape.

The existence of animate nouns is often predicated by usage of a group of verbs, suppletive for number, which have the meaning 'to dwell'. The locative verb-prefix paa- means 'on'. -Fa specifies the function of the noun as locative; it is not used after inherently locative expressions such as haayo 'inside'.

70. talkosayá paalimpafan ampaawihko
talkosa-yá paalimpa-fa-n am-paa-wihka-o
knife-top table-loc-obl 1sg.dat-on-dwell(sg)-perf
My knife is on the table. (locative)
71. talkosayá paalimpafan ampaa aswo
talkosa-yá paalimpa-fa-n am-paa-aswa-o
knife-top table-loc-obl
1sg.dat-on-dwell(du)-perf
My knives are on the table. (locative)
72. ifak toklot acan aswo
ifa-k toklo-t aca-n aswa-o
dog-nom two-v.conj outside-obl dwell(du)-perf
There are two dogs outside.
73. ifa tokloyá acan aswo
ifa toklo-yá aca-n aswa-o
dog two-top outside-obl dwell(du)-perf
There are two dogs outside. (locative)

Inanimate nouns with an inherent shape occur with verbs which categorize the positions that humans may assume: standing, sitting, lying, etc.¹⁸ That is, tall things tend to stand, round things to sit, etc. Animate nouns may also be so specified. These positional verbs are also suppletive for number, as the following examples illustrate.

74. koplik ayolimpafan paahacaalo
 kopli-k ayolimpa-fa-n paa-hacaa=li-o
 tumbler-nom table-loc-obl on-stand(sg)=act-perf
 There is a glass on the table.
75. takkolcobak ayolimpafan paacokoolo
 takkolcoba-k ayolimpa-fa-n paa-cokoo=li-o
 apple-nom table-loc-obl on-sit(sg)=act-perf
 There is an apple on the table.
76. isholissok ayolimpafan paabalaako
 isholisso-k ayolimpa-fa-n paa-balaaka-o
 pencil-nom table-loc-obl on-lie(sg)-perf
 There is a pencil on the table.
77. paalimpa tokloya haayon lokoolo
 paalimpa toklo-ya haayo-n lokoo=li-o
 table two-top inside-obl stand(du)=act-perf
 There are two tables inside. (locative)

Nouns denoting liquids and quantities occur with verbs which are not suppletive in number, verbs such as aaIka 'be contained in'.¹⁹

¹⁸ Among Muskogean languages, positional verbs and verbs of motion are often suppletive for number. The data provide a small set, but undoubtedly the set is larger. Nicklas (1974:58-9), for example, includes among the posture verbs dwel, sit, set, stand, lie, hang, all of which are suppletive. The suppletive motion verbs he lists are: go, fly, exit, detour.

¹⁹ Because there is no unitary word in English expressing this concept, the gloss for aaIka in the following examples is simply 'contained'.

78. koplifan okik amaa/ko
 kopli-fa-n oki-k am-aa/ka-o
 tumbler-loc-obl water-obl 1sg.dat-contained-perf
 There is water in my glass.
79. toknawok sokcafan amaa/ko
 toknawa-o-k sokca-fa-n am-aa/ka-o
 money-emph-nom pocket-loc-obl 1sg.dat-contained-perf
 There is money in my pocket.
80. waakimpisik bakitkafan aa/ko
 waakimpisi-k bakit-ka-fa-n aa/ka-o
 milk-nom bucket-deriv-loc-obl contained-perf
 There is milk in the bucket.

In the preceding examples the dative prefix on the verb in combination with the lack of topicalization indicate that it is the oblique noun which refers to the possessed entity. The next example, by contrast, illustrates that the dative prefix refers back to the nominative when it is topicalized.

81. talkosayá paalimpafan ampaawihko
 talkosa-yá paalimpa-fa-n am-paa-wihka-o
 knife-top table-loc-obl 1sg.dat-on-dwell(sg)-perf
 My knife is on the table. (locative)

Another verb can be used to predicate the location of inanimate entities, and that is the verb naaho, which has the basic meaning 'have, hold'; it makes no reference to position.²⁰ The first example here indicates the expected or known position of the subject 'table'.

²⁰The verb naaho has been glossed 'have', though that is clearly less than satisfactory because the subject of naaho is always the possessed entity, not the possessor. The word 'have' is used in the examples in a nonpossessive sense similar to that in the English sentence, 'the box has apples next to it'. In the English equivalent, however, 'apples' is not nominative whereas in Alabama it is. Even when naaho is used to predicate possession, it is the possessed entity which is in the nominative.

82. paalimpa tokloyá haayon lokoolo
 paalimpa toklo-yá haayo-n lokoo=li-o
 table two-top inside-obl stand(du)=act-perf
 There are two tables inside. (locative)

83. paalimpa tokloyá haayon nááhobi
 paalimpa toklo-yá haayo-n naaho-bi
 table two-top inside-obl have-perf
 There are two tables inside. (locative)

With liquid or pourable things, the verb naaho is used when the containing entity is not expressed; the verb aa/ka is used when it is expressed. Thus the next statement is used when there is an unspecified quantity of salt on the table. The salt is in an unidentified container, however, otherwise the verb 'to be spilled' would probably have been used.

84. hapik paalimpafan nááhobi
 hapi-k paalimpa-fa-n naaho-bi
 salt-nom table-loc-obl have-perf
 There is salt on the table.

One apple on a table usually results in reference to its shape.

85. takkolcobak paacokoolo
 takkolcoba-k paa-cokoo=li-o
 apple-nom on-sit(sg)=act-perf
 There is an apple (on the table).

A cluster or group or quantity of apples is likely to be indicated by the expression naaho.

86. takkolcobak ayolimpafã paanaáhobi
 takkolcoba-k ayolimpa-fa-n paa-naáho-bi
 apple-nom table-loc-obl on-have-perf
 Several apples are on the table.

Also when the quantity of apples is entirely unspecified or unknown, naaho is used, as in the next example, which is a question.

87. takkolcoba-k ta/la bakskafan nááhõ
 takkolcoba-k ta/la-n baks-ka-fa-n naaho-~
 apple-nom beside-obl box-deriv-loc-obl have-Q
 Is the apple next to the box?

4.2 Possessive constructions

In the preceding section a division was made between locative statements and existential statements on the basis of the definiteness of the subject: locative sentences are topicalized. In all other respects locative and existential sentences were the same.

In possessive sentences the possessed is the subject and the possessor is in the dative. These sentences may also be divided into those with a topicalized subject and those without topicalization. However, the two types of possessive sentences are not otherwise structurally similar.

In the following discussion the possessed-indefinite constructions will be presented and analyzed first, to be followed by the presentation of the possessed definite constructions.

4.2.1 Possessed-indefinite

When the subject of the possessive construction is indefinite, that is, when the possessed entity is not specified for definiteness, the construction is the same as the existential constructions with, however, the following changes.

- (1) positional verbs, including aa]ka, are excluded from usage, as are the verbs meaning 'dwell', and
- (2) The verb, either quantifier or naaho, takes a dative pronominal affix coreferential with the possessor.²¹

²¹The discussion here concerns the predication of the possession of indefinite entities. A sentence such as the one given in this footnote, exhibits the correct verb and dative prefix, but has an unexpected topicalized nominative.

cicobayá ãlawacolo
cicoba-yá am-lawa-coli-o
horse-top 1sg.dat-many-cred-perf
I have a lot of horses.

It may be that this is not an example of predication of possession but of quantity.

Among existential sentences, location is indicated by the presence of a dative pronominal prefix on either a positional verb or on aa/ka 'contained'. It is precisely these verbs which are excluded from predications of possession.

As with the existential constructions, a quantifier may function as the verb. The difference between the existential and the possessive construction lies in the restriction on the use of verbs and the presence of a dative prefix on the finite verb. That is, a quantifier with a dative prefix predicates possession.

88. ayolimpak pōlawacolo
ayolimpa-k pom-lawa-coli-o
table-nom 1pl.dat-many-cred-perf
We have a lot of tables.

89. cicobak cīlawacoli
cicoba-k cim-lawa-coli-~
horse-nom 2sg.dat-many-cred-Q
Do you have many horses?

When the verb naaho takes dative pronominal affixes, it predicates possession, not existence/location.

The following utterance predicates the existence of the subject 'salt'; the possessive pronoun is prefixed to the noun which serves as the location rather than to the verb.

90. hapik naahobi calbifan
hapi-k naaho-bi ca-ilbi-fa-n
salt-nom have-perf 1sg.pat-hand-loc-obl
There is salt in my hand.

91. koplifan okik amaa/ko
kopli-fa-n oki-k am-aa/ka-o
tumbler-loc-obl water-nom 1sg.dat-contained-perf
There is water in my glass.

The following utterance predicates the existence of the subject 'salt'; the possessive pronoun is prefixed to the noun which serves as the location rather than to the verb.

90. hapik naahobi calbifan
hapi-k naaho-bi ca-ilbi-fa-n
salt-nom have-perf lsg.pat-hand-loc-obl
There is salt in my hand.
91. koplifan okik amaa]ko
kopli-fa-n oki-k am-aa]ka-o
tumbler-loc-obl water-nom lsg.dat-contained-perf
There is water in my glass.
92. ayolimpak innááhobi
ayolimpa-k im-naaho-bi
table-nom 3sg.dat-have-perf
He has a table.

In statements of possession or existence/location using the verb naaho, the possessed object is in the nominative case, with the possessor or the location in the oblique case. The following sentences illustrating the use of naaho in statements of possession, involve subjects which have been quantified.

93. ifak ostakat ponnááhobi
ifa-k ostaka-t pom-naaho-bi
dog-nom four-v.conj 1pl.dat-have-perf
We have four dogs.
94. ifak ostakat cinnááhobi
ifa-k ostaka-t cim-naaho-bi
dog-nom four-v.conj 2sg.dat-have-perf
You have four dogs.
95. iisak ostakat ponnááhobi
iisa-k ostaka-t pom-naaho-bi
house-nom four-v.conj 1pl.dat-have-perf
We have four houses.
96. poskoha nampot innááhõ
poskoha-(k) nampo-t im-naaho-
children-(nom) many-v.conj 3sg.dat-have-Q
How many children does he have?

4.2.2 Possessed-definite

As with locative expressions, when the subject of predication of possession is definite it receives -yá 'topic'. However, whereas the locative and existential constructions, with definite and indefinite subjects, respectively, shared otherwise similar constructions and used the same verbs, the possessed-definite and possessed-indefinite constructions are not similar and do not even share the same verbs. The possessed-indefinite constructions are closely related to the existential-locative constructions and use a subset of verbs available for predication of existence or location. The possessed-definite constructions, however, are unique. The predicate is merely a possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun itself, however, is analyzable as a dative pronominal affix on mi 'be, belong'.

97. ifayá ammo
ifa-yá am-mi-o
dog-top 1sg.dat-belong-perf
The dog is mine. (The dog belongs to me.)

98. ifahayá kommo
ifa-ha-yá kom-mi-o
dog-pl-top 1pl.dat-belong-perf
The dogs are ours.

99. ya bokkayá cimmo
ya bok-ka-yá cim-mi-o
this book-deriv-top 2sg.dat-belong-perf
This book is yours.

100. ifa locayá ammo
ifa loca-yá am-mi-o
dog black-top 1sg.dat-belong-perf
The black dog is mine.

²¹The comparative constructions analyzed here are for the most part limited to data provided by one speaker: mostly statements about the comparative height and age of human subjects and whether one person eats or drinks more than another. For this reason it should be understood that the analysis presented here is limited and may undergo

5 Comparative constructions²²

The principal verb used in forming comparative constructions of the type analyzed here is a verb of motion: aya 'walk, go about' or onoɪ- 'arrive at'. Among the data are both affirmative and negative statements using aya but only negative statements using onoɪ-. Swanton does not treat comparative constructions in his Sketch, but in his stories and files he presents some equivalent constructions, using aya, which he translates as 'beat someone' in the sense of 'win'.²³

<u>itimayesbanatoh</u>	[they] wanted to wager against each other
<u>tcimaya latolo</u>	I will beat you
<u>(a)matciya bokolo</u>	you will not beat me

The subject of a sentence, the noun with the -k 'nominative' case marking, is coreferential with a patient pronominal prefix on a stative verb and with an agentive prefix on an active verb. The standard of comparison, the noun with -n 'oblique' case marking, has a coreferential possessive pronoun preceding the main verb.²⁴

²²The comparative constructions analyzed here are for the most part limited to data provided by one speaker: mostly statements about the comparative height and age of human subjects and whether one person eats or drinks more than another. For this reason it should be understood that the analysis presented here is limited and may undergo revision later with the incorporation of inanimate subjects and transitive verbs. Nonetheless, the analysis is compatible with forms found in Swanton's materials.

²³The source for these examples from Swanton are his files, file card 308, and his texts, first set, page 92, story 50. The first example is also in his Sketch (JRS.56).

²⁴Possessive pronouns may be further analyzed as a dative pronominal prefix followed by a stem -mi 'be, belong'. Within this section, however, they are simply glossed as unitary forms such as ammi 'mine,' cimmi 'yours,' etc. The morphemic translation of the verbs is also simplified here. The /a/ that is separated from the stem of acooba 'old' and aya 'go' is the locative prefix a- 'at'. It is here analyzed as part of the stem for the sake of presenting a more unified picture of the structure of comparative expressions.

101. merik acóóbayok liikan immayaci
 meri-k acooba-yok lii-ka-n immi-aya-ci
 Mary-nom old-nom.foc Lee-deriv-obl his-go-cont
 Mary is older than Lee is.
102. liikak cááhaayok merin immayaci
 lii-ka-k caahaa-yok meri-n immi-aya-ci
 Lee-deriv-nom tall-nom.foc Mary-obl hers-go-cont
 Lee is taller than Mary.
103. bilkak acóóbayok soosin immayo
 bil-ka-k acooba-yok soosi-n immi-aya-o
 Bill-deriv-nom old-nom.foc Suzie-obl hers-go-perf
 Bill is older than Suzie is.

In the preceding three examples, since the fully specified nouns are third person, the stative verb does not exhibit a patient pronominal affix. The next two examples illustrate the pronominal inflection of the stative verb, caahaa 'be tall'.

104. cacááhaayok cimmayalo
 ca-caahaa-yok cimmi-aya-li-o
 1sg.pat-tall-nom.foc yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am taller than you.
105. cááhaayok ammayo
 caahaa-yok ammi-aya-o
 tall-nom.foc mine-go-perf
 He is taller than I am.

The next examples show that the main verb aya 'go' takes infixed pronominal agentive affixes of the ci-set.

106. acacóóbayok cimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-yok cimmi-aya-li-o
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom.foc yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am older than you are.
107. acicóóbayok ammaciyo
 a=ci=cooba-yok ammi-a=ci=ya-o
 old=2sg.pat=old-nom.foc mine-go=2sg.agt-go-perf
 You are older than I am.

108. akocóobayok immailiyo
 a=ko=cooba-yok immi-a=ili=ya-o
 old=1pl.pat=old-nom.foc his-go=1pl.agt=go-perf
 We are older than he is.

The next examples contrast third person singular with third person plural. When the subject is third person plural, the distributive ho- is affixed to both verbs.

109. acóobayok cimmayo
 acooba-yok cimmi-aya-o
 old-nom.foc yours-go-perf
 He is older than you.

110. hoacóobayok hocimmayo
 ho-acooba-yok ho-cimmi-aya-o
 distr-old-nom.foc distr-yours-go-perf
 They are older than you.

111. acicóobayok aatimmaciyo
 a=ci=cooba-yok aatimmi-a=ci=ya-o
 old=2sg.pat=old-nom.foc theirs-go=2sg.agt=go-perf
 You are older than they are.

The next series of examples illustrates the negative conjugation of the main verb.

112. acacóobayok cimmayatákkobi
 a=ca=cooba-yok cimmi-aya-t-ák-ki-o-bi
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom.foc
 yours-go-v.conj-neg.1sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 I am not older than you.

113. kocáahaayok immayatkílkobi
 ko-caahaa-yok immi-aya-t-kíl-ki-o-bi
 1pl.pat-tall-nom.foc
 his-go-v.conj-neg.1pl.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 We are not taller than he is.

Although the majority of negative comparative sentences in the data are examples of periphrastic negation, when the subject of comparison was third person it was not uncommon to find infixed negation.

114. acóóbayok ammayatíkkobi
 acooba-yok ammi-aya-t-ík-ki-o-bi
 old-nom.foc mine-go-v.conj-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 He is not older than I am. (periphrastic negation)
115. acóóbayok cimmakííyobi
 acooba-yok cimmi-a=kíí=ya-o-bi
 old-nom.foc yours-go=neg.3sg.agt=go-neg-perf
 He is not older than you are. (infix negation)
116. hoacóóbayok hokommayatíkkobi
 ho-acooba-yok ho-kommi-aya-t-ík-ki-o-bi
 distr-old-nom.foc
 distr-ours-go-v.conj-neg.3pl.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 They are not older than we are. (periphrastic negation)
117. hoacóóbayok hokommakííyobi
 ho-acooba-yok ho-kommi-a=kíí=ya-o-bi
 distr-old-nom.foc distr-ours-go=neg.3pl.agt=go-neg-perf
 They are not older than we are. (infix negation)

When giving negative constructions, the speaker also provided sentences in which the stative verb was given active verb inflection. The next two pairs of examples illustrate this; the speaker did not acknowledge any difference in meaning.

118. cicááhaayok immayatcíkkobi
 ci-caahaa-yok immi-aya-t-cík-ki-o-bi
 2sg.pat-tall-nom.foc
 his-go-v.conj-neg.1sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 You are not taller than he is. (caahaa as a stative verb)
119. caahaatiskayok immayatcíkkobi
 caahaa-t-is-ka-yok immi-aya-t-cík-ki-o-bi
 tall-v.conj-2sg.agt-med.pass-nom.foc
 his-go-v.conj-neg.2sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 You are not taller than he is. (caahaa as an active verb)
120. cacááhaayok cimmayalo
 ca-caahaa-yok cimmi-aya-li-o
 1sg.pat-tall-nom.foc yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am taller than you are. (caahaa as a stative verb)

121. caahaaliyok cimmayatakkobi
 caahaa-li-yok cimmi-aya-t-ak-ki-o-bi
 tall-1sg.agt-nom.foc
 yours-go-v.conj-neg.1sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 I am not taller than you are. (caahaa as an active verb)

When the standard of comparison is qualified, the qualifying verb takes the case-marking suffix -n 'oblique'. Furthermore, the focus can then optionally shift from the subject of comparison to the standard of comparison, that is, from the subject to the object.

122. acoobayok hacitoklon hacimmayo
 acooba-yok haci-toklo-n hacimmi-aya-o
 old-nom.foc 2pl.pat-two-obl yours-go-perf
 He is older than you two. (Focus: he)
123. acoobak hacitokloyon hacimmayo
 acooba-k haci-toklo-yon hacimmi-aya-o
 old-nom 2pl.pat-two-obl.foc yours-go-perf
 He is older than you two. (Focus: you two)
124. acacoobayok hacitoklon hacimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-yok haci-toklo-n hacimmi-aya-li-o
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom.foc 2pl.pat-two-obl
 yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am older than you two. (Focus: I)
125. acacoobak hacitokloyon hacimmayalo
 a=ca=cooba-k haci-toklo-yon hacimmi-aya-li-o
 old=1sg.pat=old-nom 2pl.pat-two-obl.foc
 yours-go-1sg.agt-perf
 I am older than you two. (Focus: you two)

The next four sentences provide examples of comparative constructions involving intransitive verbs rather than stative expressions of quality. The first example is of periphrastic conjugation. The last two are interesting because they reveal two alternative infixed agentive pronominal affixes for third person plural.

- o=haci=mpa-yok immi-aya-t-as-ka-o
126. oocimpayok immayatasko
dine=2pl.agt=dine-nom.foc
his-go-v.conj-2pl.agt-med.pass-perf
You (pl) eat more than he does.
127. šermankak iskoyok ammayaci
serman-ka-k isko-yok ammi-aya-ci
Sherman-deriv-nom drink-nom.foc mine-go-coat
Sherman is drinking more than I am.
128. ompaliyok cimmayalici
ompa-li-yok cimmi-aya-li-ci
dine-lsg.agt-nom.foc yours-go-lsg.agt-cont
I am eating more than you are.
129. olimpayok aatimmaliyaci
o=li=mpa-yok aatimmi-a=li=ya-ci
dine=lpl.agt=dine-nom.foc theirs-go=lpl.agt=go-cont
We are eating more than they are.
130. akocóobayok immailiyo
a=ko=cooba-yok immi-a=ili=ya-o
old=lpl.pat=old-nom.foc his-go=lpl.agt=go-perf
We are older than he is.

Constructions using onoɿ- 'arrive at' as the principal verb were obtained only for negative statements. Constructions using onoɿ- differ from those using aya in that the principal verb is not preceded by a dative possessive pronoun.²⁵ In contrast to aya, onoɿ- appears to take patient pronominal prefixes.

131. cacááhaayok aatonoɿtákkobi
ca-caahaa-yok aati-onoɿ-t-ák-ki-o-bi
lsg.pat-tall-nom.foc
3indef.pat-arrive-v.conj-neg.lsg.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
I am not taller than they are.

²⁵-----
The speaker seemed somewhat uncertain in the production of onoɿ- constructions and there are inconsistencies in the data among those forms; the only forms which were consistent were those in which the standard of comparison was third person. Those are the only forms presented here.

132. kocááhaayok onokílkobi
 ko-caahaa-yok onokí-t-kí-l-ki-o-bi
 1pl.pat-tall-nom.foc
 arrive-v.conj-neg.1pl.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 We are not taller than he is.
133. kocááhaayok immayatkílkobi
 ko-caahaa-yok immi-aya-t-kí-l-ki-o-bi
 1pl.pat-tall-nom.foc
 his-go-v.conj-neg.1pl.agt-neg.aux-neg-perf
 We are not taller than he is.

In constructions using aya, the standard of comparison is coreferential with a possessive pronoun preceding the principal verb. When the principal verb is onokí-, apparently the standard of comparison is coreferential instead with the patient prefix. Although the two preceding examples were given the gloss 'We are not taller than he is', the example with onokí- is perhaps closer in meaning to the English sentence, 'We are not as tall as he is'.

6 Conjunction

The phenomenon of conjunction in Alabama is no simple matter to describe and further research in this area is definitely needed. The expression of conjunction involves the use of the syntactic suffixes -n, -k, and -t. Because these suffixes serve several functions in Alabama, the description of conjunction is thereby considerably complicated.

Coordinate conjunction may at its simplest involve no more than the juxtaposing of two sentences.

134. takkolcoba ipalici isnok takkolan ispaci
takkolcoba-n ipa-li-ci isna-o-k takkola-n is-(i)pa-ci
apple-obl eat-1sg.agt-cont 2sg.pron-emph-nom
peach-obl 2sg.agt-eat-cont
I am eating apples (and) you are eating peaches.

Alternatively there are means of explicitly marking conjunction in Alabama. First to be investigated here is simple noun conjunction and then two types of verb conjunction, subordinate and coordinate, to be followed finally by clausal conjunction.

6.1 -n 'noun conjunction'

The easiest type of conjunction to describe is the conjunction of nouns. Simply put, they are conjoined by the suffix -n on the first noun with the restriction that no more than two nouns may be conjoined. ²⁵ The following sentences serve as examples.

135. isnon anok takkolan ilpaci
isna-o-n ana-o-k takkola-n il-(i)pa-ci
2sg.pron-emph-conj 1sg.pron-emph-nom peach-obl 1pl.agt-eat-cont
You and I are eating peaches.

²⁵The dual function of -n to mark 'oblique' and also 'noun conjunction' is evident in Creek also, though Nathan (1977:63-4) mistakenly identifies -n as an example of the intrusion of English and writes, "Speakers occasionally insert the English conjunction 'and,'

136. talkosan kopli
talkosa-n kopli
knife-conj glass
This is a knife and that is a glass.
137. lindan sookayá hotayyi
linda-n soo-ka-yá ho-tayyi
Linda-conj Sue-deriv-top distr-woman
Linda and Sue are women.
138. ifan katiyá ammo
ifa-n kati-yá am-mi-o
dog-conj cat-top lsg.dat-belong-perf
The dog and cat are mine.
139. ifan katiyá hoiskoci²⁶
ifa-n kati-yá ho-isko-ci
dog-conj cat-top distr-drink-cont
The dog and cat are drinking.

The statement 'the dog and the cat and the horse are drinking' is possible in English but in Alabama it must be 'the dog and cat, also the horse, are drinking'.

140. ifan katiyá maamok cicobayá hoiskoci
ifa-n kati-yá maamok cicoba-yá ho-isko-ci
dog-conj cat-top there-also horse-top distr-drink-cont
The dog and the cat and the horse are drinking.

however, in sentences that are otherwise entirely Seminole." She goes on to note that "generally, all the nouns in a compound phrase receive case marking." But the only example she gives has the conjoined nouns functioning as the patient of an active verb. (I have altered her transcription.)

amposa:n amposin incokopleycanta:y
grandfather grandmother I am going to visit
I am going to visit my grandfather and grandmother.

Nicklas (1974:256-7) reports a free form micha (no gloss provided) which occurs between two conjoined nouns. In Choctaw there is no restriction on the number of nouns which can be conjoined.

²⁶It may be remarked that this sentence looks as if it could be interpreted, albeit rather imaginatively, as 'the cats are drinking the dogs'. By a strictly segmental analysis, ifa could be interpreted as the direct object of the sequence katiyá hoiskoci. However, suprasegmentally the two sentences are distinctive.

ifan katiyá hoiskoci (n = conjunction)

ifan katiya hoiskoci (n = oblique)

6.2 -t/-k 'verb conjunction'

Two conjunctive suffixes occur on nonfinite verbs, -t and -k. They are mutually exclusive in that -t occurs on uninflected verbs and -k occurs on verbs inflected for person. Additionally, usage of -t involves restrictions on word order that do not occur with -k. The use of -t can be equated with subordination and -k with coordination; however, the significant difference is that -t is used when the subjects of the nonfinite and the finite verb are necessarily coreferential. Thus -t is used for phrasal conjunction while -k is for clausal conjunction. However, since clausal conjunction often involves other morphemes as well, it is treated separately in section 6.3.

6.2.1 -t 'verb conjunction' (subordinate)

When verbs having the same subject are conjoined, the nonfinal verb receives -t.²⁷

141. ceessik hobaskit locaci
ca-hissi-k ho-baski-t loca-ci
1sg.pat-hair-nom distr-long-v.conj long-cont
My hair is long and black.

142. tayyiyá caahaat cobaci
tayyi-yá caahaa-t coba-ci
woman-top tall-v.conj big-cont
The woman is tall and big.

²⁷ Examples of verb conjunction in this section have been given a number of different types of English glosses. In general, it appears to me that in statements involving stative constructions, excluding the derived mediopassive statives, the translation using coordinate conjunction is often more appropriate. For constructions with active verbs and verbs with -ka 'mediopassive', participial translations are often better. In the first example, the distributive prefix is attached to the first of the conjoined verbs. Later an example of conjoined active verbs shows the distributive on the second verb.

143. bilkak ayolimpan taliboolit anooliti
 bil-ka-k ayolimpa-n taliboo=li-t anoo=li-ti
 Bill-deriv-nom table-obl build=act-v.conj finish=act-prox
 Bill finished building the table.

In the last example both verbs, talibooli 'build' and anooli 'finish,' bear the active suffix -li. Alternatively, the first conjoined verb may occur without that suffix, as the next example illustrates.²⁸

144. bilkak ayolimpan taliboot anooliti
 bil-ka-k ayolimpa-n taliboo-t anoo=li-ti
 Bill-deriv-nom table-obl build-v.conj finish=act-prox
 Bill finished building the table.

As the next example illustrates, in the stative construction it appears that -ka 'mediopassive' remains on both verbs, though further research may reveal a corresponding optional deletion of the mediopassive suffix on the first verb.

145. ayolimpak talibookat anooko
 ayolimpa-k taliboo=ka-t anoo=ka-o
 table-nom build=med.pass-v.conj finish=med.pass-perf
 The table is finished being built.

In all the preceding examples the subject was third person singular, for which the agentive pronominal affix is zero. The remaining examples illustrate that the verb acquiring -t 'verb conjunction' is not inflected for person. Most of these constructions, it should be noted, are given subordinate, participial translations.

146. ompat feecō
 ompa-t fee-ci-o-~
 dine-v.conj finish-2sg.agt-perf-Q
 Did you finish eating?

²⁸Such optional deletion of the suffix has also been reported for Choctaw by Nicklas (1974:258).

147. ipat feelilo
ipa-t fee=li-li-perf
eat-v.conj finish=act-lsg.agt-perf
I finished eating (it).
148. merik soopasifan cayaalit a//ati
meri-k scoopasi-fa-n cayaa=li-t a//a-ti
Mary-nom store-loc-obl walk=act-v.conj go(sg)-prox
Mary walked to the store. (Mary went walking to the store.)
149. cayaalit ameelkati skoolkafan
cayaa=li-t amaa=il=ka-ti skool-ka-fa-n
walk=act-v.conj go(pl)=lpl.agt=go-prox school-deriv-loc-obl
We (you and I) walked to school.
150. piilit stamaahokâ
pii=li-t ist-amaa=ho=ka-[^]
take=act-v.conj instr-go(pl)=distr=go-imp
You (pl) take it! (Each grab one and go with it!)
151. ompat iskclici
ompa-t isko-li-ci
dine-v.conj drink-lsg.agt-cont
I am eating and drinking.
152. cokoolit ompalici
cokoo=li-t ompa-li-ci
sit(sg)=act-v.conj dine-lsg.agt-cont
I am sitting here eating.
153. cikiikat ohompahci
cikii=ka-t ho-ompa-ci
sit(pl)=med.pass-v.conj distr-dine-cont
They are sitting here eating.

6.2.2 -k 'verb conjunction' (coordinate)

The preceding section provided a number of examples of conjunction involving the use of -t 'verb conjunction' on a nonfinite verb. In all such sentences, the nonfinite verb with -t was always immediately followed by the fully inflected finite verb. Moreover, just as there is a restriction on the number of nouns which can be conjoined using n, apparently the same restriction holds for the number which can be conjoined by -t.

In contrast to the rigid word order restriction when verbs are conjoined with -t, when verbs are conjoined with -k, as in example 154, apparently greater freedom of word order is permitted. One speaker provided four variant word orders for the same sentence, as illustrated by the next example.

154. a. takkolcoban ipahcok lokolo
 b. ipahcok lokolo takkolcoban
 c. lokolo takkolcoban ipahcok
 d. lokolo ipahcok takkolcoban
 takkolcoba-n ipa-co-k lokoo=li-o
 apple-obl eat-evid-nom stand(pl)=act-perf
 They are standing here eating apples.

The data provide a number of examples of verbs conjoined with -k. Again, in contrast to verbs with -t, verbs with -k are inflected for person, though not for tense.

155. takkolcoban ipalicok cokoolili
 takkolcoba-n ipa-li-co-k cokoo=li-li-o
 apple-obl eat-lsg.agt-evid-v.conj sit=act-lsg.agt-perf
 I am sitting here eating an apple.

The sentences involve a verb of motion, the completion of which action is prior to the action of the finite verb: sentences such as 'I will come here and work' or 'We will go there and tell it'. The data provide examples of two verbs of motion, ila 'come' and aIla 'go', used with a variety of action verbs, iltohno 'work', fatli 'tell', cohpa 'buy', imaabaci 'teach', hotina 'count'.²⁹

156. ilaliok iltoonaalo
 ila-li-o-k iltohno-aa-lo
 come-lsg.agt-emph-v.conj work-lsg.agt-perf
 I will come here and work.

²⁹The verb (i)la, which receives -ci 'plural' in the third person plural, loses its initial vowel when prefixed by an agentive pronominal affix. Also, the verb aIla (<aI=(i)ya) is suppletive, the plural stem being amaa=ka.

157. illok iltoliinolo
 il-(i)la-o-k ilto=li=hno-lo
 1sg.agt-come-emph-v.conj work=1pl.agt=work-fut
 We will come here and work.
158. ilacok hoiltoonolo
 ila-ci-o-k ho-iltohno-lo
 come-pl-emph-v.conj distr-work-fut
 They will come here and work.
159. amaakok hofatlilo
 amaa=ka-o-k ho-fat=li-lo
 go=med.pass-emph-v.conj distr-tell=act-fut
 They will go and tell it.

Points to be noted are that (1) the agent of both the finite verb and the verb with -k is the same, (2) the verb with -k is inflected for person, and (3) the emphatic -o precedes -k.

6.3 Clausal conjunction

Swanton did not separate the coordinate and subordinate functions of the conjunctive elements. Although he made statements suggesting that he had by function categorized various 'independent connectives' and 'connective suffixes' his statements in this area are contradictory, as are his examples and files and texts.

Swanton (JRS.89) suggested that a post-verbal -k "carries the meaning of the English conjunction 'and'" and that a post-verbal -n "carries the force of English 'when' or 'while,' the thought being supposed to be completed by something following." Swanton writes:

This is brought out very clearly in the independent conjunctions ma'mosok and ma'mosin, which end in the connectives -k and -n respectively. Although both are used to introduce new sentences, the former marks much more complete breaks than the latter which conveys the idea that the previous thought or action is still pending and is an efficient element in what follows.

Elsewhere (JRS.99), Swanton glosses both ma mosok and ma mosin as meaning 'then', or 'and then'.

As "independent connectives" Swanton (JRS.99) provides the following forms, listed below, with the corresponding meanings. He notes that "the principal independent connectives seem to have originated in verb complexes based upon the stem mi 'it is like, it is of that sort'."

then, and then: ma'mosok, ma mosin, motohok, motohon

then: ma'mok, motomon, motoyon

but: ma'min, ma'mon

Swanton (JRS.99) adds, "ma'toma and ma'mima 'if' are formed on the same stem but are given the subordinating function by the suffix -ma."

Examples from my data suggest that mon and mok function as suffixes indicating contemporaneous activity. The following examples illustrate that the suffix -mon can be translated as either 'and' or 'while'. More importantly, however, the examples show that -mon is used when there are two verbs, each with a different subject. The conjunctive -mon may be glossed as 'also'; however, it appears to be composed of three morphemes: (1) the verb mi 'be, belong', (2) the emphatic particle -o, and the case-marking syntactic suffix -n. It should be noted that the verb to which -mon is affixed is not inflected for tense but is inflected for person.

160. isnok takkolcoban ispamon takkolan ipaalo
 isna-o-k takkolcoba-n is-(i)pa-mi-o-n takkola-n ipa-aa-lo
 2sg.agt-emph-nom apple-obl 2sg.agt-eat-be-emph-obl
 peach-obl eat-1sg.agt-fut
 You eat apples and I (will) eat peaches.
161. iltociinomon ompalo
 ilto=ci=hno-mi-o-n ompa-li-o
 work=2sg.agt=work-be-emph-obl dine-1sg.agt-fut
 While you work, I eat.
162. ompaalo iltociinomon
 ompa-aa-lo ilto=ci=hno-mi-o-n
 dine-1sg.agt-fut work=2sg.agt=work-be-emph-obl
 I will eat while you work.
163. ifaya ompamon cicobayá iskoci
 ifa-ya ompa-mi-o-n cicoba-yá isko-ci
 dog-top dine-be-emph-obl horse-top drink-cont
 The dog is eating and the horse is drinking.

In the next example there is only one verb, and the 'independent connective' maamok is used.³⁰

164. ifan katiyá maamok cicobayá hoiskoci
 ifa-n kati-yá maa-mi-o-k cicoba-yá ho-isko-ci
 dog-conj cat-top there-be-emph-nom horse-top
 distr-drink-cont
 The dog, cat, and horse are drinking.

The form mok appears also to occur independently, as the following example shows.³¹

³⁰ As mentioned previously, there is a limitation on the number of nouns conjoined by -n. The form given here as maamok seems to be the one Swanton gave as ma'mok and identified as meaning 'then'.

³¹ When asked the difference between mok hompanicoliyá sobaylilo and hompanicoliyá sobaylilo (which the speaker had said were the same and meant merely 'I know he's eating'), another speaker responded, "hompanicoliyá sobaylilo means... 'I know he or she is playing.' With these two words added in front of it, it means 'I know also he is playing'... I mean, 'he's also playing'--could be adding another person to it." It is noteworthy that the speaker seemed to refer to mok as "two words".

165. mok ompacoliyá sobaylilo
 mi-o-k ompa-coli-ya sobay=li-li-o
 be-emph-nom dine-cred-top know=act-lsg.agt-perf
 He too is eating I know.

The data also provide a number of sentences with -ton 'contrastive conjunction'. The distinction seems to be one of time reference: the verb to which the conjunctive -ton is affixed refers to a state, condition, or action which has occurred prior to that of the fully inflected verb. The data provided no examples of a suffix tok.³²

166. ceessik hobaskicoton kooliliti
 ca-hissi-k ho-baski-co-ton koo=li-li-ti
 lsg.pat-hair-nom distr-long-cred-contr.conj
 cut=act-lsg.agt-prox
 My hair was long but I cut it.
167. okik kanokat nááhoton ok/imolo
 oki-k kano-ka-t naaho-ton ok/i-moli-o
 water-nom good.med.pass-v.conj have-contr.conj
 muddy-evid-perf
 It was clear water; (now) it's kind of muddy.
168. a. bakcok okcakkokat nááhoton hommaamolo
 b. bakcok okcakkot nááhoton hommaamolo
 bakco-k okcakko-(ka)-t naaho-ton hommaa-moli-o
 berry-nom green-(med.pass)-v.conj have-contr.conj
 red-evid-perf
 The berries have turned from green to red.

The clausal conjunction 'because' is stã, though it is not clear whether the /s/ belongs to the conjunctive itself or whether it is part of the preceding verb. It is suffixed to a verb which does not take a tense suffix. The following examples illustrate the use of this conjunctive suffix. The underlying form is given as stã because the data provide no instances of -stan; in fact the nasalization is not always clearly evident.

³²It may be worth remarking that the suffix tok is the regular past tense morpheme in Choctaw.

169. taamkak hopasta ifa ibiti
 taam-ka-k hopa-stā ifa-n ibi-ti
 Tom-deriv-nom sick-because dog-obl kill-prox
 Tom killed the dog because he (Tom) was sick.
170. sermankak ifan coopati daalik bannastā
 serman-ka-k ifa-n coopa-ti daali-k banna-stā
 Sherman-deriv-nom dog-obl buy-prox Dolly-nom want-because
 Sherman bought the dog because Dolly wanted (him to buy) it.
171. sermankak ifan coopati poskoháok ifan hobannastā
 serman-ka-k ifa-n coopa-ti poskoha-yok ifa-n ho-banna-stā
 Sherman-deriv-nom dog-obl buy-prox children-nom.foc
 dog-obl distr-want-because
 Sherman bought the dog because the children wanted it (the dog).
172. paalimpok kankoci stihacaakak alwaakastā
 paalimpa-o-k kan-ki-o-ci ist-im-hacaa-ka-k alwaa-ka-stā
 table-emph-nom good-neg.aux-neg-cont
 instr-dat-stand(sg)-med.pass-v.conj
 break-med.pass-because
 The table's no good cause the leg is broken.

SAMPLE TEXTS

Two texts are provided here. They were selected for their contrastive characteristics: they differ in both style and source. The first text is a dialogue from my own field notes. The speaker provided both parts of the dialogue, which has a number of interrogative forms and appropriate responses. This dialogue also has a number of particles the exact function of which is uncertain. The second text is from Swanton's texts. The English translation is published as Alabama story number fifty in Swanton 1929. The translation given here is my own and differs somewhat from the published story. (The published version is reproduced following the analysis for the purpose of comparison.) The Alabama text of the story was reconstructed from Swanton's rough field notes in the manner described in section I.4.1.2. This text contrasts with the dialogue in a number of points: it is in the narrative style, makes repeated usage of the narrative past, has many instances of syntactic suffixes used as reference indexes, and has fewer particles of uncertain function.

Each text is presented in two parts: the first part is an unbroken presentation of the Alabama utterances with interlinear English translation. The Alabama forms are underlined and identified by subscript numerals following chunks of text. The second part is the analysis and is a detailed description of the chunks of text identified by subscript numbers. In the analysis portion, the Alabama

forms are given morphemic analysis equivalent to line two of the numbered examples in the preceding grammar. (See section I.5.) Each morpheme is then glossed in the manner equivalent to that of line three in the numbered examples. Accompanying the morpheme identification and gloss of each subscript-numbered chunk of text is a brief discussion of the significant features of that portion of the text.

SAMPLE TEXT: Dialogue between SP (Sharon Poncho) and F (friend)

- F: cikáánǝ₁ How are you?
- SP: cakáánobi₂ isná₃ Fine, and you?
- F: anok cakáánobi₄ I'm fine.
- SP: naksacaapí₅ What have you been doing?
- F: nasókkoci₆ isná₃ Nothing special, and you?
- SP: olafan ayalaapo₇ I've been to town.
- F: náason coispã₈ Did you buy anything?
- SP: éé₉ holikfan coopalaapo₁₀ I've been buying clothes.
- F: ciholikfa inkok cimaatosimǝ₁₁ Yours or your baby's?
- SP: ittaasan₁₂ holikfak toklon coopalo lokbastimmon₁₃
Both. I bought two outfits for warm weather.
- F: hokáánosí₁₄ Are they pretty?
- SP: koloksaci₁₅ They're colorful.
- F: cihicaláo₁₆ Can I see them?
- SP: iisafan acacakhíi moton hokfalok cicaacalo₁₇ Come home with me
and then (if you do) I'll wear them for you.
- F: naasisahka amíksobi moliyá acicakhaalo₁₈ There's nothing (else)
for me to do, so I will come with you.
- SP: kanobíi₁₉ aatosin ishiicalo iholikfahapan hokfaamon₂₀
Good! You'll see the baby wearing his new clothes.
holikfa okcakkocon incoopaliti₂₁ I bought him blue outfits.
incobacotomoolin kaasok aatosiyok nihtooyan cobat allasta₂₂
They are rather large because every day the baby gets bigger.
iholikfak yookíicon tiifkalaatomon₂₃
The clothes soon might be too tight.

yes

phoneme /ee/ which does not occur between consonants.

10. holikfa-n coopa-l₁-aapi-o The noun holikfa is derived from the
clothes-obl verb hokfa 'wear' with the so-called
 buy-lsg.agt-dur-perf passive infix.
11. ci-holikfa im-ki-o-k The negative inki plus o is also used
2sg.pat-clothes in Choctaw for disjunction. The noun
 3sg.dat-neg.aux-neg-nom holikfa 'clothes' takes the patient
 cim-aati-osi-mi-o when inflecting for possession while
 2sg.dat-person-dim-be-emph aatosi 'baby' takes the dative. The patient and
 dative prefixes, when used with nouns, can be
 identified as indicating inalienable and alienable
 relationships, respectively.
12. ittaasa-n This is perhaps from itti- 'reciprocal'. For some
both-obl speakers the word 'both' is ittasi; the vowel
 quality of the short vowel is somewhat indeterminate.
 The function of vowel lengthening has not been fully
 determined for this Muskogean language.
13. holikfa-k toklo-n coopa-li-o lokba-ist(?)-immon
clothes-nom two-obl buy-lsg.agt-perf hot-instr(?)-(?)
- The nominative-marked NP of the stative toklo 'two'
 is holikfa; the clause holikfak toklo is the object
 of the active verb coopa 'buy'. The derivation of
 lokbastimmon 'for warm weather' is unclear; the form
 was also pronounced without a geminate /mm/.
14. ho-kano-si- Occasional occurrences of -si are not yet
distr-good-(?)-Q understood; the question can also be asked
 without -si.
15. koloksa-ci The speaker suggested that koloksa is a borrowed
colorful-cont

term from 'color', but that leaves the /ksa/ ending unexplained.

16. ci-hica-li-ahi-o This was translated 'Can I see
2sg.pat-see-lsg.agt-intent-perf them?' but morphological analysis
suggests that it is 'Can I see you (wear them)?'
with the clothing merely implied. More specifically,
rather than a question, it is a statement 'I want
to see them' with -ahi 'intentional' aspect.

17. iisa-fa-n a=ca=cakhi- moton hokfa-li-o-k ci-caaci-aa-lo
house-loc-obl at=lsg.pat=follow-imp conjunction
wear-lsg.agt-emph-sub.conj 2sg.pat-show-lsg.agt-fut
The particle moton is usually translated 'and then'
and occurs in discourse. It appears to accompany a
change of state or condition.

18. nasi-sahka am-ik-sa(h)-o-bi moliyá a=ci=cakhi-aa-lo
thing-done lsg.dat-neg.3sg.agt-do-emph-perf conjunction
at=2sg.pat=follow-lsg.agt-fut
The form sahka 'done' is derived with -ka
'mediopassive'. The form moliya is used both as an
interjection meaning 'well' or 'so' and as a
conjunction 'therefore'.

19. kano-bi-^ Although this is translated 'Good!' because the root
good-perf-imp is kana '!', the meaning appears to be something
like 'So be it!'

20. aatosi-n is-hiica-lo im-holikfa-hapa-n hokfa-mon
baby-obl 2sg.agt-see-fut 3sg.dat-clothes-new-obl wear-when
The particle mon is usually translated 'when' and
suggests contemporaneous events or conditions when
on an uninflected verb.

21. holikfa okcakko-co-n im-coopa-li-ti
clothes green-cred-obl 3sg.dat-buy-1sg.agt-prox

Structurally, this should be parallel to sentence 13 and holikfa should have the nominative -k case ending. The -co 'credential' aspect indicates that the clothes are 'sort of' green. The dative prefix on 'buy' indicates 'for him'.

22. im-coba-cotomooli-n kaasi-o-k aatosi-yok
3sg.dat-big-(?)-obl (?)-emph-nom baby-nom.foc

nihta-ooya-n coba-t a//a-sta
day-(?)-obl big-v.conj arrive-because

The morphemic division of cotomooli is fairly clear, but the function of the combination is less so; the result is the modal 'it might seem to be'. The form kaasi appears to be a pronoun derived from the locative/demonstrative kaa 'that (indefinite)' plus -si (undertain particle; see sentence 14). The sequence ooyan is not understood at all. The particle -sta 'because' terminates the clause of causation.

23. im-hoikfa-k yoo=kí=con ti//ifka-la(?)-tomon
3sg.dat-clothes-nom (?)=neg.3sg.agt=(?) tight-(?)-(?)

The form yookícon appears clearly to be an infixed negative verb form meaning 'not now' (i.e. 'soon'), perhaps related to yaalin 'now'. The sequence tomon is probably related to the sequence tomoolin in the preceding sentence. The particle -la is not understood in this context.

24. bayba-mo-co- si-o Again, the function of -si is not
heavy-evid-cred-(?)-perf known. Here, bayba 'heavy' appears
to be followed by the evidential -mo and then
the credential -co. A suitable translation could be
'Does he seem to be (getting) really heavy?'
25. ee Same as utterance 9.
yes
26. bayba-mo-co-ti The affirmative answer to question 24.
heavy-evid-cred-prox
27. kaasi-o-k ita-bat=li-t anooka-cootonomon
(?) -emph-nom down-strike=act-v.conj finished-(?)
(See also sentence 22.) The initial form kaasi
appears to be a pronoun functioning as some sort
of discourse connective. The active verb 'crawl' is
derived from 'strike repeatedly' and the locative
prefix ita- 'down, on the ground'. The sentence
appears to be incomplete. The verb anooka is the
stative form of anooli 'finish'. The sequence
cootonomon appears to be related to cotomoolin in
sentence 22.
28. moliyá Swanton lists this is an interjection meaning 'well!'
well!
29. hiica-li-ahi-o This is structurally equivalent to
see-1sg.agt-intent-perf sentence 16 but here the patient is not
overt because the patient pronoun for
third person singular is zero.
30. iisa-fa-n anli-fiîna-ma ík-noci-o-mi-ahi-t-ík-ki-o-mi-o
house-loc-obl go(du)-just-when
neg.3sg.agt-sleep-neg-be-int-
v.conj-neg.3sg.agt-neg.aux-neg-be-perf

The particle fîna appears to be adverbial in function and means 'only, barely' etc. The following long and complex construction begins with the regular negation of the basic conjugation verb uoci 'sleep' apparently followed by a periphrastic negation of mi 'be' with the intentional aspect affix -ahi. That whole form in turn is followed by the verb mi 'be' with what appears to be the perfective aspect affix.

31. moli-t-ík-ki-o-mi-o
evid(?) -v. conj-neg. 3sg. agt-neg. aux-neg-be-perf

The initial form moli glossed as 'evidential' is presumably related to the expression moliyá in 28. The particle moli itself seems to be derived from mi 'be' plus an aspectual suffix -oli of yet uncertain meaning and function.

SAMPLE TEXT: Swanton's story 50, the Crane and the Hummingbird Race
(transcription and translation by Lupardus)

wahkan IikonIon ittimayeesbannatoha₁

The crane and hummingbird wanted to bet with each other.

"cimmayaalatolo" IakonIakok mankan₂

"It seems I will beat you," the hummingbird said, and (new subject)

wahkakok "ammacyaabokolo" katoha₃

the crane responded "You're not going to beat me!"

mahmimok₄

And then (same subject)

"sancohatkaci maatalahkafayon ostokoohililolo" katoha₅

"You and I will go stand yonder where there's white sand," he said.

mahmosin₆

"ina" katoha₇

And then (different subject)

"It's OK to me," he responded.

mahmosin₈

And then (different subject)

ittiilahot coffitomaaIi IikonIakok wakaikat nakaaI'a₉

Coming together, even as they jumped off, that there hummingbird flew off and disappeared and (different subject)

wahkakaalok wakaikat obaalima atakaakatoha₁₀

that there crane alone flying behind just hung in there.

tankacooton nihtoton aIlatok anaItoha₁₁

Night and day he went on and on.

sancohatkafakon osthacaatoha₁₂

Where there was white sand, he stood.

istobaalon IikonIakok wakaikat oIatoha₁₃

Coming behind, that hummingbird, flying, arrived there.

"cimmayalo" wahkakok katoha₁₄

"I have beaten you," the crane said.

"immayasbannayok"₁₅

"So he wants to beat him!" (the crane sang)

hayoya' hīya hayuya' hīya hikāmōca hikamōlapītcai' i wawa

(Song, indeterminate meaning; Swanton's transcription)

Analysis of the Crane and the Hummingbird Race

1. wahka-n ḷikonḷi-o-n itti-immi-aya-is(?)-banna-toha
crane-conj hummingbird-emph-obl
recip-3pers.pron-go-(?)-want-narr.past

This is the expected comparison construction. The function of the /ees/ before banna 'want' is not clear.

2. cimmi-aya-latolo ḷikonḷi-aki-o-k manka-n
yours-go-(?) hummingbird-that-emph-nom say-obl (diff.subj.)

The sequence cimmayaalatolo appears to be periphrastic conjugation of a comparison construction. It is not clear whether the long /aa/ is the first person agentive affix for future reference or not.

3. wahka-ka-o-k ammi-a=ci=ya-bokolo(?) ka-toha
crane-that-emph-nom mine-go=2sg.pat=go-(?) say-narr.past

The function of bokolo in the comparison construction ammacyabokolo is not understood. The finite verb in comparison constructions is a=ya 'go', a stative verb which takes infixed patient pronominal affixes correferential with the noun in the nominative case.

4. mahmimo-k This connective appears to be derived from mah
and then-nom plus mi 'be' plus the emphatic -o. The form mah is perhaps related to the demonstrative maa 'that (distant)'.

5. sanco-hatka-ci maat-alahka-fa-yon ost-ʔokoo-hili-lolo katoha
 sand-white-cont(?) there-near-loc-obl.foc
 there-stand-1pl.agt-fut say-narr.past

The two locative prefixes maat/maa and ost both mean 'there' but the former appears to refer to direction away from the source and the latter appears to be connected with the meaning 'arrive'.

6. mahmosi-n
 and then-obl (diff.subj.)

7. ina ka-toha
 1sg.pron say-narr.past

The expression of agreement here seems to be merely the spoken independent pronoun ina 'I'.

8. mahmosi-n
 and then-obl (diff.subj.)

9. itti-ila-ahi-o-t coffi-tomaaʔi
 recip-come-intent-emph-v.conj jump-just then

ʔikonʔi-aki-o-k wakaika-t nakaʔa
 hummingbird-that-emph-nom flew-v.conj disappear

The finite verb nakaʔa 'disappear' is without a tense or aspect suffix.

10. wahka-ka-aʔi-o-k wakaika-t obaali-ma atakaaka-toha
 crane-that-alone-emph-nom fly-v.conj behind-while hang-narr.past

11. tanka-co-ton nihta-o(?) -ton aʔʔa-to-k anaʔ-toha
 dark-cred-conj day-emph(?) -conj go-narr.past-nom (same subj.)
 continue to go-narr.past

The conjunction -ton is used when there is a change of condition or state; in English the past perfect might be used: he had gone on and on, day and night.

12. sanco-hatka-fa-ka-o-n ost-hacaa-toha
 sand-white-loc-there-emph-nom there-stand(sg)-narr.past

13. ist-obaali-o-n ʔikonʔi-aki-o-k wakaika-t oʔa-toha
 instr-behind-emph-obl hummingbird-that-emph-nom fly-v.conj
 arrive-narr.past

14. cimmi-aya-li-o wahka-aki-o-k ka-toha
your-go-lsg.agt-perf crane-that-emph-nom say-narr.past

15. immi-aya-s(?)-banna-yok
his-go-(?)-want-nom.foc

This is an incomplete sentence; it is the subordinate clause only.

The /s/ is as yet unidentified (see sentence 1).

According to Swanton, the song is in Creek, but he was unable to identify the forms.

Published version

Crane and Humming Bird were wagering things against each other. Hummingbird said, "I can beat you in a race," but Crane answered, "You can not beat me." So he said, "Let us meet on a certain sandy beach." "All right," the other answered.

They jumped up at the same moment and Humming Bird flew out of sight. Crane flew along slowly behind him. He went all night and all day without stopping and stood upon a white sandy beach. Afterwards Humming Bird came flying to the spot. "I have beaten you," said Crane. Crane sang, "He wants to beat him. Hayoya' hīya hayuya' hī'ya hikāmō'ca hikamō'lapī'tcai'i wə wa."

GLOSSARY

This glossary serves as a supplement to the preceding grammar. In many instances, however, incomplete knowledge of the usage of various vocabulary items prevents their being given the full specification needed for a proper dictionary of the language. For example, as indicated in the grammar, verbs should be specified for conjugation class membership, and nouns should be specified for possessive inflection. Where my field data provide such information, it is included in this glossary; omissions indicate unavailability or uncertainty.

The basic form of entries is as indicated below. Sources other than my field notes are indicated by initials: Folsom-Dickerson 1965 (FD), Haas 1941, 1946, 1947, 1949 (MRH), and Rand 1961 (ER).

item (grammatical information) gloss; var: uuu, vvv;
compounds: www, xxx; see: yyy, zzz (gram. info); (ER
word 'gloss')

Grammatical information

- VERBS: (1) If identified as stative, see III.4.1.
- (2) If restricted in number, the stem is identified as singular, dual, or plural and/or the use of -ci 'plural' for third person plural is indicated; see III.4.3.3.
- (3) Where known, verbs are identified as belonging to is-set or ci-set conjugation classes; where identified as taking periphrastic conjugation, is-set conjugation is implied

and not stated. The conjugation classes are abbreviated as follows:

is-set basic (see basic conjugation subclass III.4.3.2.1.1)

is-set inf (see infixed conjugation subclass III.4.3.2.1.2)

is-set aux (see auxiliary conjugation subclass III.4.3.2.1.3)

ci-set inf (see infixed conjugation subclass III.4.3.2.2.1)

ci-set del.aux (see deleted-auxiliary conjugation subclass III.4.3.2.2.2)

NOUNS: For kinship and body-part terms, the appropriate first person singular possessive pronoun (ca- or am-) is provided, if known. (See III.2.2.)

ADJECTIVES: Some items are given an adjectival gloss. Generally such items are specified as stative; where no such grammatical information is provided, none was obtained or the usage of the vocabulary item is uncertain.

PARTICLES: Various items are identified as locatives, pronouns, etc. (See the appropriate sections of the grammar for further information.)

Sources

MRH Items are transcribed in the form provided in the published sources. Generally speaking, items from Haas are included only when they differ somewhat from the form which I was able to obtain.

ER Items are provided as transcribed in Rand 1961. However, it should be mentioned here that not all items provided by Rand are included here. A careful reading of Rand's article reveals numerous inconsistencies, suggesting that without independent verification, Rand's data should be considered unreliable. Some of the errors may be the result of typesetting (e.g. 'full' is given both as alotka and as slotka, on different pages) and others suggest faulty field-work practices.

FD Items are partially retranscribed on the following basis: ch is retranscribed as c, u as o. Folsom-Dickerson transcribes with spaces between syllables; I have taken the liberty to eliminate many such spaces, retaining them only where I believe them to be appropriate or to separate vowels that belong to different syllables. Folsom-Dickerson does not indicate nasalized vowels: a number of /i/-initial forms in compounds are quite probably nasalized-vowel allomorphs of im- 'third person dative', but I have not introduced any changes to those forms. In his book, he provides considerable information regarding the identification of plants and their usage. The listing provided here is thus much abbreviated and should not be used as a replacement for his more complete set of entries. Many of the plants which he lists are not given Alabama names; only their usage and English name are provided. In some instances a plant is identified by more than one Alabama name and in many other instances, one Alabama name is used for more than one kind of plant. He distinguishes two groups of plants, non-medicinal plants and medicinal plants,

identified in the glossary here as 'plants' and 'med.plants', respectively. Finally, it should be noted that Folsom-Dickerson supplemented his own data with that obtained from Swanton's Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy. Folsom-Dickerson includes Swanton's name in parentheses after some items and, where he did so, Swanton's initials likewise appear within parentheses in the entries here attributed to Folsom-Dickerson.

Abbreviations used in the glossary

ER	Source: Rand 1968.
FD	Source: Folsom-Dickerson 1965.
MRH	Source: Haas 1941, 1946, 1947, or 1949. (All other data are from my field notes.)
is-set	The verb takes is-set agentive affixes.
ci-set	The verb takes ci-set agentive affixes.
basic	The verb takes prefixed agentive affixes.
inf	The verb takes infix agentive affixes.
aux	The verb inflects with -ka 'mediopassive'.
del.aux	The verb stem loses its final syllable, usually -li or a vowel, when inflected for person and tense.
<u>ca-</u>	The noun takes patient pronominal affixes when inflected for possession.
<u>am-</u>	The noun takes dative pronominal affixes when inflected for possession.
var:	variant forms

Quotes are used for glosses only within parentheses, but not following the label 'plant' or 'med.plant'.)

a-	(locative prefix, a- before cons., ay- before vowels) at, to, etc.
abaali	high, sky, up; var: abayli (<ER 'up')
abooli	woods, thick;
acakhi	see: acakki
acakki	(a=cakki) follow, go with; var: acakhi
acaali	be agreeable
aca-	(locative, with -n 'obl') outside
acanaswa	(dual) be outside; see: atta
acihka	(stative) be planted, sown; see: aciili
aciili	(aci=li, ci-set del.aux) plant, sow
acitiili	(aciti=li, ci-set del.aux) tie
acokba	(am-) bottle
acooaba	(stative, a=cooba) be old; see: coba
afakci	(ca-, a=fakci) skin; var: aafakci
aha	potato, sweet potato.
ahisihatka	(FD med.plant: ginseng)
ahissi laksa	(FD med.plant: everlasting flower, rabbit tobacco (JS))
ahkomoci	(FD med.plant: sugar maple)
ahlano	(FD med.plant: red oak (JS))
akaaka	chicken
akaakacoski	egg
akfakci	see: afakci
akhatka	sycamore (FD plant: sycamore)
aki	(demonstrative, often used for third person definite) that, he they
akmi	ice
ako	(aki + emph. particle)
akofiika	lid
akofooli	(akofo=li, ci-set del.aux) cover, spread over
akomaali	cantelope
akostanici	think; (ER akostinni:ci 'remember'; MRH kustini 'sober')
aksobaaci	(is-set aux) make noise; a noise, sound
alahka	some; part of a group
alfabi	see: afabi
alikci	doctor, nurse
aalipatka	pot for cooking
-aalo	(emphatic suffix on pronoun; example: anaalo 'I myself') alone
alotka	full, crowded;
-alpiisa	(aspect.affix, obligational)
altobaaci	(is-set aux) pay
alwaali	(alwa=li ci-set del.aux) break, tear to pieces, destroy;
a//lahatle	(FD med.plant: cross vine, 'runs up a tree')
aa//ka l	(stative) be in something, contained
a//a	(singular, 2du for some speakers; a//=ya ci-set inf) go; see: an//iya (du), amaaka (pl)
a//i	(a//=li ci-set del.aux) put something in something
amaaki	(ama=ka is-set inf) pl. stem, go; see: a//a (sg); var: amaka

ana	(pronoun) first person singular, I, me
anaalo	(pronoun, emphatic form) I myself; see: ana, -aalo
anna ^{li}	(ER 'marry') see: onaa ^{li}
an ^{li} ya	(dual) go; see: a ^{li} la (sg)
anooli	
	(ano=li, ci-set del.aux) finish
anosli	(plural or 3pers.plural, anos=li, ci-set del.aux) finish; see: anooli
apafalala	(FD plant: blue morning glory)
apakha	(FD 'shoulder')
apala	lights
apali	turn on lights
apatili	(FD plant: a kind of azalea)
apeelasi	small
asalici	(is-set aux) let something go, turn loose, release
asaliika	(singular, asali=ka is-set inf) exit, go outside (plural: askaka)
aasiili	(aasi=li ci-set del.aux) wash something, not bathe; var: aasili
aasikci	(ca-, aa=sikci) muscle
asikcikosoma	(FD med.plant: Virginia snakeroot)
askaaka	(plural, aska=ka is-set inf) exit; var: askaka; see: asalika (sg)
aswa	(dual) live somewhere; see: atta (sg)
atta	(singular, at=ta ci-set) live somewhere, be, stay, dwell; see: aswa (du), isa (pl)
aataksi	potato, white potato
ata ^{li} aapi	Friday; see: ta ^{li} aapi
attanahka	around
ati-	(pron.prefix) they, them; 3person indef. (MRH ati 'they, them') var: aati-
ati	(FD 'berry')
atipacoba	(FD 'elephant')
atipa coba incabei	(FD med.plant: rattan, 'elephant guts')
atiswasaya	(FD plant: rattle box)
atlebatle	(FD plant: spurge nettle)
atocciina	Wednesday; see: tocciina
atokla	Tuesday; see: toklo
aatosi	baby, children
ay-	(locative prefix) see: a-
ayahinnabe	(FD plant: iron wood)
ayakka	near, close; var: ayakha
ayampo	dishes (from ipa 'eat')
ayolimpa	table (from ipa 'eat')
ayoppa	smile (MRH, ER ayokpa 'happy'); var: ayokpa
baiyacoba	(FD plant: cow oak)
baiyo	(FD plant: white oak)
baka ali	(FD med.plant: cotton)
bakaali	(baka=li, ci-set del.aux) throw something
bakco	berries, blackberries (MRH 'briar, blackberry')
bakiiboci	(neg. form of bayba 'heavy') light in weight
baksa	(FD med.plant: lynn, rope tree)
bakto	(FD plant: Indian pipe)

balaaka	(singular, bala=ka is-set inf) lie down; see: balaaska (du), balka (pl)
halaaska	(dual, balaas=ka is-set inf) lie down; see: balaaka (sg)
balka	(plural, bal=ka is-set inf) lie down; see: balaaka (sg)
baʎa ipihci okcako	(FD med.plant: rattan)
banna	(stative) want
banta	gar fish
basahaci	(FD plant: elder)
basayyaci	elderberry flower
baski	(stative) be long, long
bata aʎole	(FD med.plant: cross vine)
batapli	(batap=li ci-set del.aux) hit, strike; var: batatli, batabli
batli	(bat=li ci-set del.aux) whip, strike repeatedly
baya	oak, kind with acorns
bayba	heavy; var: beeba
bihala	(FD med.plant: red mulberry)
bihe asikci	(FD med.plant: red mulberry)
bihi	gun
bihiloca	(FD plant: black fig (inedible))
bikno	front, before
bilakhomma	red perch
biʎka	(FD med.plant: persimmon)
biʎko	persimmon
bitli	(bit-li ci-set del.aux) dance
bokcocako	(FD plant: stretch berry)
bokko	hill; compound: bokkocaaha 'high hill'
bolotka	(stative) be round, round
caffaaka	one (ER cafaaka)
caafi	axe
caaha	(stative) be tall, tall
cakkaali	nine; var: cakaali; (MRH cakka'li)
cakiihoci	(neg. form of caaha 'tall') short
caalo	fish, bass
caamo	(stative) be lazy, lazy
campolapici	sugarcane; see: campoli, pici
campoli	sweet
cassi	corn
cassicikiika	autumn
castoki	beans
cayaali	(caya=li ci-set del.aux) walk; var: cayali, ciyali, cayyali
cicoba	horse; see: ico, coba
ciifkafo	sassafras (MRH cih-kafo)
cihkafo	(FD med.plant: sassafras)
cikka	(plural, cik=ka is-set inf) sit; see: cokooli (sg)
cikaaka	(plural, is-set inf) sit; see: cokooli (sg)
cikfititi	(FD med.plant: black gum)
cikiika	(plural, peri. or is-set inf) sit; see: cokooli (sg)
cikiili	(ciki=li, ci-set del.aux) put things up, gather
cilili	something carried on the back; see: hacicilili

ci\ihomma (FD plant: red haw)
 cinokti\ai ile (FD med.plant: mountain mint)
 cinto snake; compound: cinto\alo
 cintokaca\le (FD med.plant: button snakeroot)
 cisa (FD plant: post oak)
 cisa iloca (FD plant: black jack)
 cissi mouse
 citi\ihomma red berries (? bittersweet)
 ciyaali walk; see: cayali; (MRH ciyahli 'one to walk')
 coba big; var: cooba
 coffa needle
 coffi (cof=li, ci-set del.aux) jump; (stative) bumpy, not smooth, irregular
 cokkaaka (plural, cokka=ka is-set inf) go inside, enter; see: cokkaliiika (sg)
 cokkaliiika (singular, cokkalii=ka is-set inf) go inside, enter; cokkaaka (pl)
 cokfi rabbit
 cokko (FD med.plant: muscadine)
 cokooli (singular, coko=li ci-set del.aux) sit, sit down, live somewhere; various forms for plural: cikka, cikaaka, cikiika
 coksi squash
 coksilaana pumpkin; see: coksi, laana
 coksiniipa mole on skin; var: coksaniipa
 cola fox
 conoskacoba (FD plant: possum haw)
 coopa (co=pa, co=hpa, is-set inf) buy
 coskani (ER 'duck'; MRH co:skani)
 cooto frog, toad
 cowahala (FD med.plant: cedar)
 cowaala cypress (MRH cowahla 'cypress')
 cowaata goat
 coyyi pinetree
 cuyei (FD med.plant: pine (JS))
 cuyei hoba (FD plant: loblolly pine)
 cuyei nanni (FD plant: long leaf pine)
 cuyei taiyei (FD plant: short leaf pine)
 -fa (locative suffix)
 falaaci (ER 'wing')
 falanka (singular, falam=ka irreg. is-set inf) get up, arise; falkoka (pl)
 falkoka (plural, falko=ka) get up; see: falamka (sg) fatli (fat=li, ci-set del.aux) tell, tell a story
 faayali (3pers.plural) finish; see: feeli
 feeli (fee=li) finish; irreg. 3pers.plural form, see: faayali
 fikka dig
 fiskacala (FD med.plant: a grass similar to but smaller than bear grass)
 fito (FD 'turkey')
 fito imilpa (FD med.plant: twin berry)
 fitu (FD 'tiger')

fitu itabei	(FD med.plant: tiger leg)
foho	bee; var: hoho; compound: fohobaski 'wasp'
-fooka	(temporal locative suffix)
fooni	(am-) male's sister
-fosi	(ER, MRH 'grandfather')
foosi	bird
hacaali	(singular, haca=li ci-set del.aux) stand, stand up;
	lokooli (pl)
haci	tail
haciciliili	scorpion
hacifakto	(FD med.plant: chinquapin)
haconcoba	alligator
hahe	(FD plant: black walnut)
haahi	walnut.
haiyuna	(FD med.plant: buckeye)
haka imba/ka	(FD med.plant: French mulberry)
hakco	(ca-) ear
hakcomma	tobacco
haksobaaci	loud
halakpa	sharp, stick; var: halappa
halki	wife
haalo	(is-set basic) hear
halopatikko	smooth
ha/apka	(ha/ap=ka, is-set inf) kick
ha/apli	shiny
hannaali	six
hancokfala	fly
hapi	salt
haapka	(haap=ka, is-set inf) bathe
haponcoko	(FD med.plant: Carolina night shade)
hasacoba	(FD plant: bear grass)
hasahalapo	(FD plant: goat weed)
hasahalokpa	(FD plant: coffee weed)
hasi	(FD med.plant: ragweed)
hasi	(FD med.plant: yaupon)
hasi	(FD plant: grass used for baskets)
hasi	sun, moon; compounds: hasi otammoosi 'sundown', hasi kanatli 'hour', hasi issobayka 'clock', haasi caffaaaka 'month', hasi nihta 'moon', hasotammosi 'sundown'; (FD hasi apala stabatilka 'lantern')
hassi	grass
hasihalokpa	(FD plant: sand bur grass)
hasihomaci	(FD plant: sage grass)
hasihomi	(FD med.plant: bitter weed, yellow top, sneeze weed)
hasihomi	(FD plant: smart weed)
hassikba	fire
hasi/opotli	(FD plant: carpet grass)
hasiwanha	(FD plant: crabgrass)
hasmalmo	(FD plant: cottonwood)
hasna	(pronoun) second person dual or plural
hasnaalo	(emphatic form) you (pl) yourselves; see: hasna, -aalo
hassokmeeli	lightening
hastaali	bright

hasyo intalali (FD plant: dewberry)
 hatasipa (FD med.plant: goldenrod (JS))
 hatasipa (FD plant: iron weed)
 hatka white
 hatokwaasi dragonfly
 hayya/i peanuts
 hayo (locative with -n 'obl') inside; var: haayo hayooki
 (MRH 'deep')
 hayoppaaci happy
 hiica (is-set basic) see; var: hica
 himaakayaalon (oblique form) right now
 hinni road; var: hini
 hisi (FD med.plant: tick clover, vetch, bastard feverfew)
 hissi (ca-) hair
 histo (ER ashes)
 hipli snow; var: hibli
 hoba (FD cut, castrated)
 hocca shoot
 hocifa (hocif=a, ci-set del.aux) name something
 hocii/i star; compound: hacii/i waalika 'falling star, running
 star'
 hofna (ho=fna, ci-set inf) smell something
 hoho bee; see: foho; compound: hoho incampoli 'honey'
 hoibisnaalo (emphatic form) they themselves; see: ho-, ibisna,
 -aalo
 holba (ER 'picture')
 holcifa a name
 holikfa clothes
 holisso book, pencil; compound: holisso innaa/iika 'a paper,
 book, something to read'
 holisso (periphrastic) write; see: hosso
 holitta fence
 halappa barbed wire
 holutke (FD med.plant: yellow jasmine)
 homa pepper; var: hooma (ER 'bitter')
 homma red
 homi red hot
 hompani (hompan=i, ci-set del.aux) play
 hopa hurt, sick; var: hoopa
 hoopaci cause to hurt
 hopaaki far
 hoponi (hopon=i, ci-set del.aux) cook; var: hopooni
 hosso (ho=sso, ci-set inf) write; see: holisso
 hossoci (ho=ssoci, sing. stem ci-set inf; plural periphrastic
 conj.) write
 hotiina (hoti=na, ci-set inf) count
 hoyapli (stative) be tired
 iba- (locative prefix) with, accompanying
 ibi (is-set basic with prothetic vowel) kill
 ibisaani nose; var: ibbisaani
 ibisna (pronoun) third person singular
 ibisnaalo (emphatic form) he himself, she herself; see: isna,
 -aalo

ibitaala	face
ico	deer
ico imbolbo	(FD plant: paw paw)
ico incastok	(FD med.plant: coral bean, cardinal spear, deer peas)
ico intakasowa	(FD med.plant: wild plum)
icokkalbi	mouth
icokisko	(FD med.plant: kind of moss, 'whiskers')
icolaksi	tongue
icolape	(FD med.plant: everlasting flower, rabbit tobacco)
icosanafe	(FD med.plant: yaupon)
ifa	dog
ihaani	earth, land
ikba	hot; see also: lokba
ikbaci	warm
ikfi	belly
ikfi hopa ahissi	(FD med.plant: catalpa, elephant ear)
ila	(is-set basic with prothetic vowel, -ci 'plural' in 3pl) be somewhere, arrive somewhere
illapalaalici	cause to be angry
ilbaksa	(ca-) fingernail
ilbi	(ca-) hand, arm; compounds: ilbi ikki 'thumb, mother of finger', ilbi konii/a 'upper arm', ilbi kowaasa 'elbow'
ili-	(reflexive prefix) to one's self
illi	die
illila	(stative) be hungry; var: illiila
ilokfa	(ER 'clothes')
iltoono	(ilto=no, ci-set inf) work
i/ani	(FD plant: switch cane)
imaabaci	(is-set aux) teach
imacaali	(imaca=li, ci-set del.aux) agree with someone, accept, answer
imalokha	(with bound dative prefix) brain
immaloosi	like someone
imaltobaaci	(is-set aux) pay
imapi'la	(MRH 'help')
imayokpa	like someone
imbolbo	(with bound dative prefix) kidney
imis	(im=is=i, ci-set del.aux) take something away
imokwayli	(imokway=li, ci-set del.aux) fish; var: imokweeli
imona/ii	(imona/=li, ci-set del.aux) borrow
impisi	(with bound dative prefix) breast; see: pisi; (ER impici)
inna/ika	talk, say something, read something, speak to someone; (ER naa/ika)
innani	(with bound dative prefix) husband; see: naani
innani ikso intato	(FD plant: upland willow oak)
innanikso intato	(FD plant: shin oak)
innati	(with bound dative prefix) teeth; var: innaati; (ER naati)
incaabi	(with bound dative prefix) intestines
incabei	(FD 'guts')
incokbi	(with bound dative prefix) navel

incoswa	(with bound dative prefix) sinew inhaylanikofka (ER 'underwear')
innita	alive
inka	give
inlopi	(with bound dative prefix) liver
inlakfi	(with bound dative prefix) female's brother
innoci	to be numb; example: calbik annoco 'my hand is numb'
insokpa	(with bound dative prefix) lungs
intakba	(with bound dative prefix) stomach
ipa	(is-set basic with prothetic vowel) eat
iplo	squirrel
ippokoosi	grandchildren
iisa	house
isa	(plural stem, is=a, periphrastic of nonthird person, with deletion of -a) be somewhere, live somewhere; see: atta (sg)
isbakaali	(isbakaa=li, ci-set del.aux) throw something
isbakko	(ca-) head; compounds: isbakko bikno 'forehead, isbakkobali, isbakko obaali 'back of head', isbakko paana 'top of head'
isfalammi	(isfalam=li, ci-set del.aux) awake, awaken someone, get someone up, help someone get up
ishoma	(FD plant: cherry laurel, wild peach)
isi	(is=i, ci-set del.aux) take, get, catch, hold; var: issi
isilka	drink, any kind of drink
isiposka	breath
isiposkatilka	something you breathe with
isistonti	(isisto=nti, ci-set inf) take and bring; see: istonti
iskani	bug, fly
isko	(is=ko irreg. is-set infix) drink
isloopitka	(ER 'stop')
isna	(pronoun) second person singular
isnaalo	(emphatic form) you yourself; see: ibisna, -aalo
iscoopa	(ist-co=pa, is-set inf) sell; see: coopa
istila	(ist=(i)la, derived verb, with -ci 'plural' in 3pl) bring here; see: ila
istinka	(ist=inka) take, transport; see: inka
istissi	(ist=is=i) take in a container; see: isi
isnokbila	(stative, ist-nokbila) choke; see: nokbi
istonti	(ist-o=nti, ci-set inf) bring; see: onti
ita-	(locative prefix) down, on the ground
itabalaaka	(ita-balaaka) lie down on ground; see: ita-, balaaka
itabatli	(ita-bat=li, ci-set del.aux) crawl
ittabi	(ca-) leg; compound: ittabi konii)a 'calf'
ittacakhi	(ca-) man's brother, woman's sister; var: ittacakki
itta/i	(ca-) eye, eyes
itaasa	both; var: ittasi
itti-	(reciprocal prefix) each other
itishalokpa	(FD med.plant: Christmas holly)
itto	tree, wood; compounds: ittobaana 'woods, all wooded', ittobihi 'bow', itto hissi fakopli 'spring', itto okci 'rosin, sap', itto patha 'hoe'

ito okcako (FD plant: holly)
 ito okowisa (FD med.plant: black willow)
 itobitima (FD plant: possum haw)
 itocakosi (FD plant: wild peach)
 itocalikco (FD plant: wild cherry)
 itohisikosoma (FD med.plant: sweet bay (JS))
 itokasahatka (FD med.plant: prickly ash)
 itokomo (FD plant: water elm)
 itolana (FD plant: osage orange)
 itoni aci (FD med.plant: wax myrtle)
 itosankuci (FD plant: iron wood)
 itotasikaya (FD med.plant: catalpa, elephant ear)
 itowacina (FD plant: China tree)
 itowanha (FD plant: live oak)
 iyaaʔi own something
 iyyi (ca-) foot; compounds: iyyi poksi 'ankle', iyyi
 swaatali 'toes'; var: iyi
 kalaffi (kalaf=li, ci-set del.aux) scratch; see also: koloffi
 kanatli (kanat=li, ci-set del.aux) move; var: kannatli
 kanatlicic (is-set aux) cause to move
 kano (stative) good
 kanta (FD plant: southern smilax)
 kapko (FD plant: hackberry)
 kasaha (FD med.plant: magnolia)
 kasaatka cold, winter; see also: kasotka
 kaskaha sour
 kasʔahahatka (FD med.plant: white magnolia)
 kasotka (stative; dative prefix for temporary or experiential
 condition) cold
 kasʔahahatka (FD med.plant: white magnolia)
 kata imilpa (FD plant: holly)
 katskimilpa (FD med.plant: yaupon, 'catfish eats it' (JS))
 kayaci full
 koasa (am-) elbow; var: kowasa, kowaasa
 kobli (borrowed term) glass, tumbler, goblet; var: kopli
 kolbi basket
 kolkokka thunder
 kooli cut
 koloffi (kolof=li, ci-set del.aux) cut; see also: kalaffi
 kolofla (stative) be cut
 kono skunk
 kopli see: kobli
 koosi (am-) aunt
 kosapa (FD med.plant: water black gum)
 kosiba (FD plant: poke weed)
 kosna (pronoun) second person dual or plural; var: posna
 kosnaalo (emphatic form) we ourselves; see: kosna, -aalo
 kotaffi (kotaf=li, ci-set del.aux) break, snap
 kotafka (stative) be broken
 kowa lion
 kowaci bobcat
 kowacosi wildcat
 kowaike (FD 'quail')

kowaike incastoki	(FD plant: butterfly pea)
kowi	panther
labosli	(labos=li, ci-set del.aux); turn off, extinguish
lahka	(ER 'rat')
laana	yellow
lapaali	stick to something latka (ER 'footprint')
lawa	many
libatli	(libat=li, ci-set del.aux) cook, burn, bake
lilaaha	an orange
limitka	(limit=ka, is-set inf) swallow something
lipti	catfish
loca	(stative) black; var: looca
lokba	(stative) hot; compounds: lokbah caffaaaka 'year', lokbaaha 'summer'; see also: ikba; (ER tokba 'warm weather')
lokooli	(plural stem, lokoo=li, ci-set del.aux) stand; see: hacaali (sg)
lommi	(lom=li, ci-set del.aux) hide
loopi	(am-) liver; var: lopi
looska	lie, tell a falsehood
laconatka	(FD plant: water oak)
lakaca	(FD plant: back haw)
lakənistilbi	(FD med. plant: flowering ash)
lakayyo	(ca-) sweat
laakfi	(am-) woman:s brother
laki	arrow lakhonni (ER 'blood'; ER also gives lakhani 'blood')
laʔo	fish
laʔo imaihise	(FD med.plant: wormseed, fishbait weed)
lapeeli	(lapee=li, ci-set del.aux) cover something
likayya	(stative) wet
likeeli	(likay=li, ci-set del.aux) wet, soak
likhanti	muddauber, dirtdauber
lokaswa	(dual, lok-aswa) be alone
lokwiika	(singular, lok-wiika) be alone
lolopi	(FD 'ghost')
lolopi intokpo	(FD plant: dandelion)
lopotle	(FD med.plant: Sebastian bush)
lopotli	(FD plant: Indian cherry)
maa-	(locative prefix) maafa 'there'
mahli	wind
maʔatli	scare
maʔatlici	(is-set aux) cause to scare, scare something or someone
maaʔo	only
manka	(man=ka, is-set inf) say
mattacakhi	(is-set aux) follow, go after, catch up; var: maatacakki
maatibi	(maat-(i)bi, derived verb; is-set basic conj. of root ibi, with prothetic vowel) hunt; see: ibi
maawaliika	run there; see waliika
maawiili	(maa-wii=li, ci-set del.aux) expect, look for; see: wiili
mikko	chief

mobilka	(borrowed term) car
moosi	(am-) uncle
naaho	be
naka/aci	(is-set aux) lose, lose something; var: naka/aci
naksi	(interrogative pronoun; with -o 'emph' and case) who, whom, where
nampo	(stative) several, more than two
naani	man
naasi	(interrogative pronoun) what
nasika	(FD med.plant: dogwood)
naaskila	dogwood
naspakaali	flower
naati	see: innati
nih/aali	nih/aali
ni/aaliko	this morning
nihta	day; compounds: nihtahoolo 'Sunday', nihtahoolo innihta 'Monday', nihtahooloscaffaaka 'week' nihtahoolosi 'Saturday', nihtama 'tomorrow' (MRH 'meat')
nipo	
nita	bear
nita imilpa	(FD med.plant: kind of plant)
niya	(stative) be fat, fat; any kind of fat
nocl	(stative) be asleep
nooci	(is-set basic) sleep; var: nocl
nok-	(emotive prefix)
nokbi	neck
nok/ikisli	(nok/ikis=li, ci-set del.aux) scare, scare something
nota	under; var: notta
o-	(locative prefix) into water
obali	(locative postposition) behind
oobi	(ca-, with metathesis of patient prefix) thigh, leg
oca	nuts, hickory; compound: ocabaski 'pecan'
oca	(FD med.plant: upland hickory)
ocabaski	(FD plant: pecan)
ocacala	(FD plant: hickory)
ocatakba	(FD plant: water hickory)
oco-	(body-part prefix relating to mouth, o=co-, initial /o/ is ---does not occur with patient prefix)
ocokalbi	(ca-) mouth; see: oco-
ocokhiska	(ca-) beard; see: oco-
ocolaksi	(ca-) tongue; see oco- oofa (ER 'sew') see: onoffa
ohompa	eat
oiha	all; var: oiya
oyba	rain, storm
okbaali	(okba=li, ci-set del.aux) close, shut something
okcakho	green, blue; var: okcakko
okcaako	watermelon; var: okcawko okcaaya (MRH 'alive')
okci	sap
okcopi	string beads
okhica	door
oki	water; var: ooki; compound: oki otalaaka 'lake', oki tatka 'sea'

okʎi	mud, clay, something sticky
okʎimolo	muddy
okwaala	frog, toad; (ER okwala 'toad')
okwala	(FD plant: huckleberry)
okwani	oak, a kind of oak
okwanni	(FD plant: pin oak)
okwoʎa	(FD plant: rust berry)
ola	(ER 'chirp, crow')
ola	town
olposko	buttocks
omakaka	(FD med.plant: St. Peter's wort (JS), 'open eyes')
ombitiili	(ombiti=li, ci-set del.aux) bury
omi	(om=i, ci-set del.aux) be somewhere
ompa	(o=mpa, ci-set inf) eat, dine (patient implied)
on-	(locative prefix) upon
onaaʎi	marry, borrow; var: onaʎi
onaʎili	(onaʎi=li, ci-set del.aux) borrow something
onofa	(onof=a, ci-set del.aux, -ci 'plural in 3pl) sew, mend, string beads
onoolaci	clouds
ononkalika	climb (MRH on-oyya 'one to climb')
onostaaka	Thursday
onti	(MRH 'one to come')
ontocciina	eight
ontoklo	seven
opa	owl; var: oopa
opiiyasi	evening, late afternoon
ostaaka	four
owiiha	see: oiiha
paa-	(locative prefix) on, on top of
paabalaaka	lie on; see: balaaka
pacokooka	chair
pahacaaci	(is-set aux) place on, stand on
paahacaali	stand on
pakaali	flower
pali apkha	(FD plant: prickly pear)
palikkoci	(neg. form of palki) slow
palimpa	table (from ipa 'eat'); var: paalimpa, payalimpa, payolimpa
palki	fast
palokooci	(is-set aux) place on, stand on
paana	(locative postposition) on top of
paani	river, creek, lake; compound: paanicoba
papiʎka	put something on something
pasaalosi	boy; var: passaosi
pasaata	armadillo
paasofka	(stative) spilled on
paspacooba	bread
patha	(stative) flat; (MRH 'wide')
payolimpa	see: paalimpa
pici	mother
pihaako	yesterday
piili	take some of

pi/ka	keep, maintain (e.g. a dog, cat, etc.)
pi/la	boat
pinha	(locative postposition) far
pisi	milk
poci	(ER 'shoot') see: hocca
pokko	ball
pokkoli	ten
pokoosi	grandchildren
ponna	(stative) be smart, smart
ponhaalo	(periphrastic) listen
pontoklo	twelve o'clock
poskoha	children
posna	(pronoun) second person dual or plural; see: kosna
potooli	(potoo=li, ci-set del.aux) touch
poyatli	(poyat=li, ci-set del.aux) boil
saffi	(saf=li, ci-set del.aux) dig
sakba	(ca-) arm; compound: sakba bikno 'forearm'
sakco	(FD 'crawfish'; MRH 'crawfish')
sakco imito	(FD med.plant: button willow)
salotli	dry
saami-	(interrogative pronoun) why; saamifookon 'when'
sanco	sand
sat	(interrogative pronoun) why, what
satta	(MRH 'turtle')
sawa inkanta	(FD med.plant: southern smilax)
sawwa	raccoon; var: sawa
sayki	buzzard; var: seeki
sibeeli	see: sobayli
silopi	(FD med.plant: rosin weed, 'ghost medicine'; MRH 'ghost')
sinaphoba	(FD plant: skunk bush)
sittapaska	broom
sitoffi	(sitof=li, ci-set del.aux) untie
siwakola	(FD plant: cypress)
s/afka	(ER 'match')
sobayli	(sobay=li, ci-set del.aux) know; var: sobeeli, sibeeli
sooffi	(sof=li, ci-set del.aux) throw away, discard; var: soffi
sokca	pocket
sokha	pig; compounds: sokhahatka, sokhatka 'possum'
sokpa	light in weight
solokci	(FD 'shadow, soul')
solotka	(stative) be skinny; (ER 'dry')
solotli	(ER 'smooth')
soopasi	a store
sopatli	(sopat=li, ci-set del.aux) clean, clean something
sosakohci	(FD plant: huckleberry)
stafinapka	key
sta/la	(singular, ista/=ya, ci-set inf) take something along, transport, go ahead with, send
stamaaka	(plural, istamaa=ka is-set inf) take something along
stan/iya	(dual, istam/i=ya ci-set inf) take something along
stiapli	(istiap=li, ci-set del.aux) open

stila	(ist=(i)la, is-set inf, with prothetic vowel in root, -ci 'plural' in 3pl) bring something
stilpa	something to eat with, e.g. fork (from ipa 'eat')
stinciyahka	(ist-im-ciyahka) walker (from ciyaali 'walk')
stincokooka	(ist-im-cokooka) seat (from cokooli 'sit')
stinhacaaka	(ist-im-hacaaka) tand, leg, support
stinpaacokooka	(ist-im-paa-cokoo=ka) seat (from cokooli 'sit')
stinsitoffi	(ist-im-sitof=li) untie
stintiapka	(ist-im-tiap=ka) opener (from tiapli 'open')
stintinooli	(ist-im-tinoo=li) someone's rolling thing, e.g. tire
stinyeelka	(ist-im-yeelka) tears (from yahka 'cry')
stinyooli	(ist-im-yoo=li) lace, e.g. shoelaces, (ci-set del.aux) tie
stittakeekahci	rake (from ist- 'instrumental', itto 'wood, stick')
stooba	(am-, ist=tooba) thought
stofilka	(am-, ist=tofilka) spit
stoolimpa	(ist-o=li=mpa) something to eat with
stonti	(ist-o=nti, ci-set inf, with -ci 'plural' in 3pl) bring
stopoyatlici	fry (from poyatli 'boil')
sumo	(FD plant: beggar's ticks)
syincaka	(ER 'window')
tabbatli	crawl
tabei	(FD 'leg')
taboso	(FD med.plant: sumac)
tafalooka	(stative) be married
tahci	shoulder
takka	catfish, mudcat
takas	(FD whiteman)
takastaya	(FD med.plant: redbud (JS))
takkola	peach; compound: takkolcoba 'apple'
takkosawa	plum
takosawa	(FD plant: wild plum)
taala	(FD med.plant: palmetto)
talaami	(stative) dirty
tali	rock
talibooli	(talibo=li ci-set del.aux) build
talkosa	knife
talwa	sing
ta//a	(locative postposition) next to
ta//aci	(periphrastic) weave
ta//aapi	five; var: ta//aapi; (ER tah//aapi)
ta//iipa	(MRH 'hundred'; ER tah//iipa)
tammihci	fall down
tanka	night, dark; compound: tankahasi 'moon, night sun'
tankasi	(diminutive of tanka) dusk, evening
tapasoola	daddy-long-legs
tapitapi	(FD med.plant: a fern)
tapitapi	(FD plant: ephiphitic fern)
taata	(am-) father
tatka	white person, white people
taya	(FD 'carry')
tayyaskosi	girl (from tayyi 'woman')
tayyi	(am-) woman, wife; (ER tayi)

teto	(FD plant: locust)
tiapka	(stative) be open
tiapli	(tiap=li, ci-set del.aux) open, open something
tikba	fire
tikoba	(FD med.plant: kind of moss, 'fire')
tinna	(ER 'dull')
tiskhomma	cardinal
tiskila	coals, hot coals
tiskila	bluejay
tobiilaci	burn something
tocciina	three
tofilka	spit
tofka	(tof=ka, is-set inf) spit
tohibi	fog
tohowakoli	(FD med.plant: camphor weed)
tohto	(FD plant: cork-winged elm)
toklo	two
toknaawa	money
toktoki	(MRH 'spotted')
to/ka	(plural, to/=ka is-set inf) run; var: too/ka; see: waalika (sg)
to/pa	knee
to/toka	(to/to=ka, is-set inf) cough; var: to/tohka
tosbi	dull; (ER 'rotten')
waaka	cow; compounds: waakimpisi 'milk, cow's milk', waakimpisiniya 'butter'
wakha	back
wakta	(FD 'hip')
waktahopa	(FD med.plant: mullein, rabbit tobacco)
waaliika	(singular, waali=ka is-set inf) run
waanha	hard; (ER 'freeze'; MRH wanha)
wasaaali	(plural, wasaa=li ci-set del.aux) lose; see: naka/aaci (sg)
wasakoci	(FD plant: blueberry)
waso	wolf
wataleisaksumbici	(FD med.plant: birch)
watola intato	(FD plant: gum elastic)
watolo	(FD 'crane')
watolobaksa	(FD med.plant: French mulberry)
wiika	(singular, wii=ka is-set inf) live somewhere; var: weeka; see: iisa (pl)
wiili	hunt
wilo	shoes; (MRH wilo wanha)
ya	(demonstrative) this; var: yaa
yabooli	soft
yahka	(yah=ka is-set inf) cry
yaali	(locative pronoun or locative postposition) here
yammi	(stative) be drunk
yasaako	sweetgum
yaska	(yas=ka, is-set inf) chew
yissaako	(FD med.plant: sweet gum)
yon	(contraction of yaalon <yaali + o 'emph' + n 'obl') here; this (<ya + o + n)

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accept	imacaali	berry	bakco
accompanying	iba-	berry	bokcocako
agree	imacaali	berry, rust	okwo/a
agreeable	acaali	berry, twin	fitu imilpa
alive	innita	big	coba
all	oiiha	birch	wataleisaksumbici
alligator	haconcoba	bird	foosi
alone	-aalo	bitter	homa
alone	ʔokwiika	bitter weed	hasihomi
angry	illapalaalici	bittersweet	citi/homma
ankle	iyyi poksi	black	loca
answer	imacaali	black jack	cisa iloca
apple	takkolcoba	blackberry	bakco
arise	falanka, falammi	blood	ʔakhonni
arm	ilbi	blue	okcakho
arm	sakba	blueberry	wasakoci
armadillo	pasaata	bluejay	tiskila
around	attanahka	boat	pi/a
arrow	ʔaki	bobcat	kowaaci
ash, flowering	ʔakanistilbi	boil	poyatli
ash, prickly	itokasahatka	book	holisso
ashes	histo	borrow	imona/i
asleep	noci	borrow	onaa/i
at	a-	both	itaasa
aunt	koosi	bottle	acokba
autumn	cassicikiika	bow	ittobihi
awake	isfalammi	boy	pasaalosi
axe	caafi	brain	imalokha
azalea	apatili	bread	paspacooba
baby	aatosi	break	alwaali
back	wakha	break	kotaffi
bake	libatli	breast	impisi
ball	pokko	breath	isiposka
barbed wire	halappa	breathe with	isiposkatilka
basket	kolbi	briar	bakco
bass	caalo	bright	hastaali
bathe	haapka	bring	istila
bay, sweet	itohisikosoma	bring	istonti
be	naaho	bring	stila
be	omi	bring	stonti
bead, string	okcopi	broken	kotafka
bean, coral	ico incastoki	broom	sittapaska
beans	castoki	brother	in/akfi
bear	nita	brother	ittacikhi
bear grass	hasacoba	brother	ʔaakfi
beard	ocokhiska	buckeye	haiyuna
bee	foho	bug	iskani
bee	hoho	build	talibooli
before	bikno	bumpy	coffi
beggar's ticks	sumo	burn	libatli
behind	obali	burn	tobiilaci
belly	ikfi	bury	ombitiili
berries, red	citi/homma	butocks	olposko
berry	ati	butter	waakimpisiniya

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buy	coopa	crane	watolo
buzzard	sayki	crawfish	sakco
calf	ittabi conii/a	crawl	itabatli
camphor weed	tohowakoli	crawl	tabbatli
cane, switch	i/ani	creek	paani
cantelope	akomaali	crowded	alotka
car	mobilka	cry	yahka
cardinal	tiskhomma	cut	hoba
carry	taya	cut	koloffi
carry on back	cilili	cut	kooli
castrated	hoba	cypress	cowaala
catalpa	ikfi hopa ahissi	cypress	siwakola
catalpa	itotasikaya	daddy-lor g-legs	tapasoola
catch	isi	dance	bitli
catfish	lipti	dandelion	/olopi intokpo
catfish	takka	day	nihta
cedar	cowahala	deceive	looska
chair	pacokooka	deep	hayo
cherry	itocalikco	deer	ico
cherry, Indian	/opotli	deer peas	ico incastoki
chew	yaska	desire	banna
chicken	akaaka	destroy	alwaali
chief	mikko	dewberry	hasyo intalali
child	aatosi	die	illi
children	poskoha	dig	fikka
China tree	itowacina	dig	saffi
chinquapin	hacifakto	dine	ompa
chirp	ola	dirtdauber	/ikhanti
choke	isnokbila	dirty	talaami
clay	ok/i	discard	sooffi
clean	sopatli	dishes	ayampo
climb	ononkalika	doctor	aliksi
close	ayakka	dog	ifa
close	okbaali	dogwood	nasika, naskila
clothes	holikfa	door	okhica
clothes	ilokfa	down	ita-
clouds	onoolaci	dragonfly	hatokwaasi
clover, tick	hisi	drink	isilka
coals	tiskila	drink	isko
coffee weed	hasahalokpa	drunk	yammi
cold	kasotka	dry	salotli
come	onti	dry	solotka
contained	aa/ka	duck	coskani
cook	hoponi	dull	tinna
cook	libatli	gull	tosbi
corn	cassi	dusk	tankasi
cotton	baka ali	dwell	atta
cottonwood	hasmalmo	each other	itti-
cough	to/toka	ear	hakco
count	hotiina	earth	ihaani
cover	akofooli, akofiika	eat	ipa
cover	/apeeli	eat	ohompa
cow	waaka	eat	ompa
crabgrass	hasiwanha	eat with	stilpa

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eat with	stoolimpa	frog	cooto
egg	akaakacoski	frog	okwaala
eight	ontocciina	front	bikno
elbow	ilbi kowaasa	Friday	ata//aapi
elbow	koasa	fry	stopoyatlici
elder	basahaci	full	alotka
elderberry flower	basayyaci	full	kaya
elephant	atipacoba	gar fish	banta
elephant ear	itotasikaya	gather	cikiili
elephant ear	kfi hopa ahissi	get	isi
elephant guts	atipa coba incabei	get up	falanka, falammi
elm, cork-winged	tohto	ghost	lolopi
elm, water	itokomo	ghost	silopi
enter	cokkaaka	ginseng	ahisihatka
evening	opiiyasi	girl	tayyaskosi
evening	tankasi	give	inka
exit	asaliika	glass	kobli
expect	maawiili	go	a//a
extinguish	labosli	go outside	asaliika
eye	itta/i	goat	cowaata
face	ibitaala	goat weed	hasahalapo
fall down	tammihci	goldenrod	hatasipa
far	hopaaki	good	kano
far	pinha	grandchildren	ippokoosi
fast	palki	grandchildren	pokoosi
fat	niya	grandfather	-fosi
father	taata	grass	fiskacala
fence	holitta	grass	hassi, hasi
fern	tapitapi	grass, bear	hasacoba
fetch	isistonti	grass, carpet	hasi/opotli
fig	bihiloca	grass, sage	hasihomaci
fingernail	ilbaksa	grass, sand bur	hasihalokpa
finish	anooli	green	okcakho
finish	feeli	gum elastic	watola intato
fire	hassikba	gum, black	cikfititi
fire	tikba	gum, sweet	yissaako
fish	caalo	gum, water black	kosapa
fish	imokwayli	gun	bihi
fish	la/o	guts	incaabi, ncabei
five	ta//aapi	hackberry	kapko
flat	patha	hair	hissi
flower	naspakaali	hand	ilbi
flower	pakaali	happy	hayoppaaci
fly	hancokfala	hard	waanha
fly	iskani	haw, black	lakaca
fog	tohbi	haw, possum	conoskacoba
follow	acakki	haw, possum	itobitima
follow	mattacakhi	haw, red	ci//ihomma
foot	iyyi	he	ibisna
footprint	lapaali	head	isbakko
forearm	sakba bikno	hear	haalo
fork	stilpa	heavy	bayba
four	ostaaka	help	imapiila
fox	cola	here	yaali

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here	yon	land	ihaani
hickory	oca	laurel, cherry	ishoma
hide	lommi	lazy	caamo
high	abaali	leg	ittabi
hill	bokko	leg	oobi
hip	wakta	leg	tabei
hit	batapli	let go	asalici
hoe	itto patha	lid	akofiika
hold	isi	lie	looska
holly	itishalokpa	lie down	balaaka
holly	kata imilpa	lie down	itabalaaka
holly	ito okcako	lie on	paabalaaka
honey	hoho incampoli	lightening	hassokmeeli
horse	cicoba	lights	apala
hot	ikba	lightweight	bakiboci
hot	lokba	lightweight	sokpa
hot, red	homi	like	imayokpa
house	iisa	like	immaloosi
huckleberry	okwaɬa	lion	kowa
huckleberry	scsakohci	listen	ponhaalo
hundred	taɬiipa	live somewhere	atta
hungry	illila	live somewhere	cokooli
hunt	maatibi	live somewhere	wiika
hunt	wiili	liver	inlopi
hurt	hopa	liver	loopi
husband	innani	locative	-fa
I	ana	locust	teto
ice	akmi	long	baski
ignite	apala	look for	maawiili
immediately	himaakayaalon	lose	nakaɬaci
Indian cherry	ɬopotli	loud	haksobaaci
Indian pipe	bakto	lungs	insokpa
inside	hayo	magnolia	kasaha
inside, go	cokkaaka	magnolia, white	kasɬahahatka
intestines	incaabi	maintain	piɬka
iron weed	hatasipa	maize	cassi
iron wood	ayahinnabe	man	naani
iron wood	itosankuci	many	lawa
irregular	coffi	married	tafalooka
it	ibisna	marry	annaɬi, onaaɬi
jasmine, yellow	holutke	marry	onaaɬi
jump	coffi	match	sɬafka
keep	piɬka	me	ana
kettle	aalipatka	meat	nipo
key	stafinapka	mend	onofa
kick	haɬapka	milk	pisi
kidney	imbolbo	milk	waakimpisi
kill	ibi	mint	cinoktiɬai ile
knee	toɬpa	mole	coksiniipa
knife	talkosa	money	toknaawa
know	sobayli	moon	hasi, tankahasi
laces	stinyooli	morning	naati
lake	oki otalaaka	morning glory	apafalala
lake	paani	moss	icokisko

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moss	tikoba	orange	lilaaha
mother	pici	osage orange	itolana
mouse	cissi	outside	aca-
mouth	icokkalbi	own	iyaa/i
mouth	oco-	palmetto	taala
move	kanatli	panther	kowi
mud	ok/i	part	alahka
muddauber	/ikhanti	paw paw	ico imbolbo
mulberry	bihala	pay	altobaaci
mulberry	bihe asikci	pay	imaltobaaci
mulberry, French	haka imba/ka	pea, butterfly	kowaike incastoki
mulberry, French	watolobaksa	peach	takkola
muscadine	cokko	peach, wild	ishoma
muscle	aasikci	peach, wild	itocakosi
myrtle, wax	itoni aci	peanuts	hayya/i
myself	anaalo	pear, prickly	pali apkha
name	hocifa	pecan	ocabaski
name	holcifa	pencil	holisso
navel	incokbi	pepper	homa
near	ayakka	perch	bilakhomma
neck	nokbi	persimmon	bi/ko
needle	coffa	picture	holba
nettle	atlebatle	pig	sokha
next to	ta//a	pine	ciyei
night	tanka	pine, loblolly	cuyei hoba
nightshade, Carolina	haponcoko	pine, long leaf	cuyei nannie
nine	cakkaali	pine, short leaf	cuyei taiyei
noise	aksobaaci	pipe, Indian	bakto
nose	ibisaani	place on	pahacaaci
numb	innoci	plant	aciili
nurse	alikci	play	hompani
nuts	oca	plum	takkosawa
oak	baya	plum, wild	ico intakasowa
oak	okwani	pocket	sokca
oak, cow	baiyacoba	poke weed	kosiba
oak, live	itowanh	possum	sokhahatka
oak, pin	okwanni	pot	aalipatka
oak, post	cisa	potato	aataksi
oak, red	ahlano	potato	aha
oak, shin	innanikso intato	pumpkin	coksilaana
oak, upland willow	innanikso intato	put in	aa/ka, a//i
oak, water	/aconatka	put on	papi/ka
oak, white	baiyo	put up	cikiili
obligation	-alpiisa	quail	kowaike
old	acooba	rabbit	cokfi
on	paa-	rabbit tobacco	waktahopa
one	caffaaka	rabbit tobacco	ahissi laksa
only	-aalo	rabbit tobaccos	icolape
only	maa/o	raccoon	sawwa
opa	owl	ragweed	hasi
open	tiapka, tiapli	rain	oyba
open eyes	omakaka	rake	stittakeekahci
opener	stafinapka	rat	lahka
opener	stintiapka	rattan	atipa coba incabei

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rattan	baʎa ipihci okcako	shut	okbaali
rattle box	atiswasaya	sick	hopa
read	innaʎika	sinew	incoswa
reciprocal	itti-	sing	talwa
red	homma	sister	fooni, ittacakki
red hot	homi	sit	cokooli
redbud	takastaya	six	hannaali
reflexive	ili-	skin	afakci
release	asalici	skinny	solotka
remember	akostanici	skunk	kono
right now	himaakayaalon	skunk bush	sinaphoba
river	paani	sky	abaali
road	hinni	sleep	noci
rock	tali	slow	palikkoci
roller	stintinooli	small	apeelasi, -osi
rope tree	baksa	smart	pona
rosin	itto okci	smell	hofna
rotten	tosbi	smilax, southern	kanta
round	bolotka	smilax, southern	sawa inkanta
run	waaliika	smile	ayoppa
rust berry	okwoʎa	smooth	halopatikko
St. Peter's wort	omakaka	smooth	solotli
sage grass	hasihomaci	snake	cinto
salt	hapi	snakeroot	asikcikosoma
sand	sanco	snakeroot	cintokacaʎe
sand bur grass	hasihalokpa	snap	kotaffi
sap	itto okci	snow	hibli
sap	okci	soak	ʎikeeli
sassafras	ciifkafo, cihkafo	sober	akostanici
say	innaʎika	soft	yabooli
say	manka	some	alahka
scare	maʎatli	soul	solokci
scare	nokʎikisli	sound	aksobaaci
scorpion	haciciliili	sour	kaskaha
scratch	kalaffi	sow	aciili
sea	oki tatka	speak	innaʎika
seat	stincokooka	spilled on	paasofka
Sebastian bush	ʎopotle	spit	stofilka
see	hiica	spit	tofilka
self	-aalo	spit	tofka
sell	iscoopa	spotted	toktoki
send	staʎʎa	spring	ito hissi fakopli
seven	ontoklo	spurge nettle	atlebatle
several	nampo	squash	coksi
sew	onofa	squirrel	ipʎo
shadow	solokci	stand	hacaali
sharp	halakpa	stand on	pahacaaci
she	ibisna	stand on	palokoci
shiny	haʎapli	star, falling	hociiʎi
shoes	wilo	stay	atta
shoot	poca	stick	halakpa
short	cakiihoci	stomach	intakba
shoulder	tahci	stop	isʎopitka
shoulder	apakha	store	soopasi

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storm	oyba	tire	hoyapli
stretch berry	bokcocako	toad	cooto
strike	batapli	toad	okwaala
string beads	okcopi	tobacco	hakcomma
sugar maple	ahkomoci	toes	iyyi swaatali
sugarcane	campolapici	tomorrow	nihtama
sumac	taboso	tongue	icolaksi
summer	lokbaha	tonuge	ocolaksi
swallow	limitka	top	paana
sweat	lakayyo	top	paa-
sweet	campoli	touch	potooli
sweetgum	yasaako	town	oola
sweetgum	yissaako	transport	istinka
switch cane	ilani	transport	sta//a
sycamore	akhatka	Tuesday	atokla
table	ayolimpa	turkey	fito
table	palimpa	turn loose	asalici
tail	haci	turn off	labosli
take	isi	turn on	apala
take	istinka	turtle	satta
take	istissi	twelve o'clock	pontoklo
take along	sta//a	two	toklo
take and bring	isistonti	uncle	moosi
take away	imis	under	nota
take some	piili	untie	sitoffi
talk	inna/ika	untie	stinsitoffi
tall	caaha	up	abaali
teach	imaabaci	upon	on-
tears	stinyeelka	vine	a//ahatle
teeth	innati	vine	bata a//ole
tell	fatli	walk	cayaali
ten	pokkoli	walk	ciyaali
that	aki	walker	stinciyahka
them	ati-	walnut	haahi
there	maa-, maafa	walnut, black	hahe
they	ati-	want	banna
they	hoibisna	warm	ikbaci
thick	abooli	wash	aasiili
thigh	oobi	wasp	fohobaski
think	akostanici	water	o-
this	ya	water	oki
this	yon	watermelon	okcaako
thought	stoba	wax myrtle	itoni aci
three	tocciina	we	kosna, posna
throw	bakaali	weave	ta//aci
throw	isbakaali	Wednesday	atocciina
throw away	sooffi	weed, bitter	hasihomi
thumb	ilbi ikki	weed, coffee	hasahalokpa
thunder	kolkokka	weed, goat	hasahalapo
Thursday	onostaaka	weed, poke	kosiba
tick	lapaali	weed, smart	hasihomi
tie	acitiili	wet	likeeli
tiger	fitu	what	naasi
tiger leg	fitu itabei	what	sat

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when	saami-
where	naksi
whip	batli
white	hatka
white person	tatka
whiteman	takas
whitman	tatka
who	naksi
why	saami-
why	sat
wife	halki
wildcat	kowaacosi
willow oak, upland	innani ikso intato
willow, black	ito okowisa
willow, button	sakco imito
wind	mahli
window	syincaka
wing	falaaci
winter	kassatka
wire, barbed	halappa
with	iba-
within	aa/ka, a//i
wolf	waso
woman	tayyi
wood	itto
woods	abooli
work	iltoonoo
write	hosso
yaupon	hasi
yaupon	icosanafe
yaupon	katskimilpa
year	lokbah caffaaaka
yellow	laana
yesterday	pihaako
you	hasna

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Index

The following is a list of terms used in this work. Provided in parentheses are corresponding abbreviations, if any. Included also is a list of one or more sections where discussion of or reference to the particular term or associated morpheme is to be found. In general, the more extensive discussion is indicated first. This index is not a complete listing, but serves as a supplement to the list of abbreviatory conventions and the table of contents.

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