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THE ELEMENTS OF CHOCTAW

by
Thurston Dale Nicklas

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Linguistics)
in The University of Michigan
1972

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To Wade

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It is impossible to name all the people and institutions who helped in the preparation of this grammar. The contributions of those who can be named cannot be adequately described.

Viola McCurtain, Talihina, Oklahoma, worked hard and patiently for twelve months to teach me the basics of Choctaw grammar. Justin and Lucy Hardy, Lawrence, Kansas, have cleared up most of the difficult points which remained, in work for the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program. These three people are responsible for almost all of the substantive material on Choctaw.

Several other Choctaws made significant contributions to the substantive material on Choctaw. Louisa Tims (now deceased) and John Durant, both of Ft. Towson, Oklahoma, provided numerous texts. Betty Jacob and Cynthia Billy of Broken Bow, Oklahoma, and Sarah Tubby, Lawrence, Kansas, cleared up several points of grammar. Louie Morris, Bok Chito community, Mississippi, Deloris Cox, Tucker community, Mississippi, and Roy Willis, Bethel, Oklahoma, contributed material on dialect variations. Additional material on dialect variation was obtained during visits with the many people who welcomed me into their homes.

It is convenient and comfortable for a field worker to believe that his success in meeting and working with people is a product of his own personal charm. In retrospect, it is clear to me that I owe much to the people who introduced me to Choctaw speakers. Special

thanks are due Arlene D. Burgess, Lawrence, Kansas, Frances R. Brown, Muskogee, Oklahoma, Rev. Edgar Tims, and Pierce and Dorothy Martin, Broken Bow, Oklahoma.

Rev. Oliver Neal very gently began the difficult job of opening my eyes to the nature of Indian-White relations. Rev. Jasper Scott, Atoka, Oklahoma, carried me part of the way. Rev. Randy Jacob, Broken Bow, Oklahoma, has finally driven the main point home.

During the year of field work in Talihina, Cecil and Ruth James, now of Muskogee, Oklahoma, provided Mrs. McCurtain and me with a good place to work. During the two summers I worked on this grammar and a draft of an introductory textbook, Keith Percival gave me the use of his office in the linguistics department of the University of Kansas.

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Whatever good can be said of the coverage and format of this grammar may be traced to the instruction of three of my teachers. Kenneth Pike showed by example what can be done in an hour's field work

and an hour's desk work. I did not appreciate many of his theoretical maxims fully until I began organizing my material for this grammar. William Bennett kept before me as models of linguistic description the grammatical works of the Nineteenth Century Germanicists. Kenneth Hill has often impressed on me the usefulness of descriptive grammars, as opposed to highly theoretical works, for conveying the fundamental facts about a language in a way that can be easily understood. Where this work falls short of their standards, I am responsible.

I must express my deepest gratitude to my extended family, which has to a person supported me, financially and by a show of interest and confidence. Special thanks are due my parents, Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Nicklas, my wife's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Eldon A. Rogers, my aunt, Gertrude Sidener Phillips, and my aunt and uncle, June and J. D. Stokes. Finally, for their many willing sacrifices, I thank Janice, Kari, and Peter.

TDN

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INTRODUCTION

0.1. The Choctaw language

In historical times much of the southeastern United States was occupied by tribes speaking Muskogean languages. These languages can be traced back to a common ancestral language which linguists call Proto-Muskogean. Proto-Muskogean was spoken perhaps 1500 to 2000 years ago. In the course of time Proto-Muskogean broke up into a number of dialects, each with its own peculiarities of pronunciation and grammar. The modern Muskogean languages are descendants of these dialects. These languages are Choctaw and its dialect Chickasaw, Alabama, Coushatta, Miccosukee and its dialect Hitchiti, Creek-Seminole, and the extinct Apalachee.

The Choctaw homeland included much of the present States of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Today Choctaw communities exist scattered throughout this area, with the main concentration near Philadelphia, Mississippi. There is an outlier near Tallahassee, Florida. As a result of the removals of the 1830's, many Choctaws live in southern Oklahoma, in the former Choctaw Nation. The number of Choctaws in all these areas who can speak Choctaw must be well in excess of 20,000.

There is considerable dialectal variation in modern Choctaw. One often hears that Mississippi Choctaw is a different dialect from

Oklahoma Choctaw, but this is not the case. In both states there are dialects which closely resemble the language of the Choctaw Bible and Hymnal. The prominent variations from this dialect are found in both states, too. I believe that a dialect study would probably show that there are three main groups of dialects, with each group represented in both Oklahoma and Mississippi.

0.2. Earlier works

Used with care, a number of earlier works are essential references for the student of Choctaw. These are the following:

Cyrus Byington, "Grammar of the Choctaw Language," ed. by Daniel Brinton, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XI (1970), pp. 317-367.

Cyrus Byington, A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, ed. by John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 46 (Washington, 1915).

Cyrus Byington, An English and Choctaw Definer, (New York, 1852).

Ben Watkins, Complete Choctaw Definer, (Van Buren, 1892).

Allen Wright, Chahta Leksikon, (St. Louis, 1880).

The main weakness of these works is that they use the traditional orthography. This orthography has several shortcomings, described in Chapter One. In addition, Swanton made several modifications to Byington's spellings, which he describes in his introduction. One of these was wrong. Swanton changed all of Byington's hl's to ɬ. Some of these hl's did represent the sound linguists write as ɬ, but others

represented the sound h followed by the sound l. Swanton did not write lh as ɫ, although this is always the sound lh represents.

In spite of their shortcomings, all of these works are monumental. Byington's grammar covers almost all of the material we cover here. Sometimes Byington failed to see grammatical patterns because of the inaccuracy of his spelling. Often his explanations are confounding, and cannot be understood without fieldwork. Even in these cases he points the way for the fieldworker.

Byington's dictionary gives English translations of Choctaw words. I have encountered few words which were not included in the dictionary. Swanton added an index; in this you start with an English word, and are given one or more Choctaw words to look up in the dictionary proper where the actual translations will be found. The Choctaw words must be looked up in the dictionary to get an accurate translation.

Wright's dictionary also goes from Choctaw to English. Wright is more consistent in writing double consonants than Byington.

Watkins' dictionary is a very useful companion to either of the other two dictionaries, because only it goes from English to Choctaw. That is, you look up an English word, and are given its Choctaw translation.

The largest part of Byington's definer consists of word lists organized around central topics, like plants, trees, parts of trees, animals, birds, tools, diseases, medicines, and tools. There are also lists of common adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. Finally, there is some grammatical information not contained in Byington's grammar.

0.3. Purpose and scope of this work

The purpose of this work is to provide an accurate, comprehensive, and clear handbook of modern Choctaw. I have written it with two audiences in mind, linguists and Choctaws. For Choctaws, I have tried to avoid linguistic terminology where possible, and tried to rely on examples to carry much of the weight of explanation. Sometimes technical explanations could not be avoided. Choctaws who have read parts have found it easy to understand. For the linguist, I have never sacrificed accuracy and comprehensiveness for clarity. Many of the basic facts of Choctaw are very hard to grasp. This grammar should be very helpful to future fieldworkers, and provide a bird's eye view of the language for other linguists.

The scope of this work can be seen in the summary of the table of contents. Chapter One sets up an orthography which can be used to write Choctaw accurately and easily. Part Two lists some of the fundamental elements of Choctaw words, and explains how they are combined to form words and phrases. Part Three treats the structure of sentences, and phrases which express sentence parts. I have followed mainly the dialect which most closely resembles that of the Bible and Hymnal, but have noted prominent dialectal variants.

PART ONE

ORTHOGRAPHY

CHAPTER ONE
THE STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

1.1. Introduction

The traditional Choctaw orthography, or spelling system, was introduced by American missionaries in the early eighteen hundreds. This is the orthography used in the Choctaw Testament and Choctaw Hymnal. The same orthography was used by the missionaries to write Cherokee and Creek. The Cherokees later adopted the syllabary invented by Sequoya, and in 1853 the Creeks adopted a revision of the traditional orthography which is still in use. Choctaws have continued to use the traditional orthography to the present day.

Modern writers do not bind themselves to the spellings of even common words as they are found in the Testament and Hymnal. Instead, they use what they have learned of the principles of the orthography from reading these books to spell words as they sound. The result is a simpler and more consistent spelling system. Unnecessary inconsistencies and irregularities remain, however.

In 1970 the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program adopted a standard orthography for use in its publications which eliminates these inconsistencies and irregularities. We use this standard orthography in this work.

In the bulk of this chapter we explain the principles of the standard orthography, how the sounds of Choctaw are written with it or

The basic short vowels are i, a, and o. Each of these has two pronunciations which can be described approximately with English examples. Short i is pronounced like i in tipi or like i in tip. Short a is pronounced like a in father or like a in sofa. Short o is pronounced like o in go or like u in put. In general, the first pronunciation is used when the vowel ends a syllable, and the second is used when the vowel is followed by a consonant in the same syllable.

Choctaw words containing these vowels are

<u>Chahta</u>	'Choctaw'
<u>alla</u>	'child'
<u>iti</u>	'tree'
<u>iyyi</u>	'foot'
<u>sokko</u>	'muscadine'
<u>lokchok</u>	'mud'
<u>hapih</u>	'salt'
<u>hika</u>	'to fly'
<u>kallo</u>	'hard'
<u>shokha</u>	'hog'
<u>chilok</u>	'hole'
<u>ofi</u>	'dog'

The basic long vowels are ī, ā, and ō. These are pronounced approximately as in tipi, father, and go, but they are drawn out, or held, twice as long as the basic short vowels. Choctaw words containing these vowels are

<u>nowa</u>	'to walk'
<u>oti</u>	'to kindle'
<u>achi</u>	'to say'

<u>chāha</u>	'tall'
<u>shībli</u>	'to stretch'
<u>hīli</u>	'for several to fly'

The lengthening of short vowels because of their position within a word is described in Sec. 12.10. The rule presented there is complicated when written, but easy to learn to apply. In a twelve hour crash course in Choctaw, all students learned it, or picked it up, without its being mentioned. The lengthened vowels are pronounced like the corresponding basic long vowels. Examples are found in tamaha [tamāha] 'town,' ohoyo [ohōyo] 'woman,' and binili [binīli] 'to sit.'

For general writing purposes, the macron does not need to be written over basic long vowels or lengthened vowels. The lengthening does not need to be written because it is automatic. The long vowels do not need the macron because there are few, if any, words which are distinguished by vowel length alone. For example, chāha can be written simply as chaha; it will still be recognized as the word meaning 'tall,' because there is no other word it could be. In this work and in instructional materials for people who are learning Choctaw, the macron is used only over basic long vowels.

The traditional orthography provided different letters for the long and short vowels. These letters, and the corresponding letters of the standard orthography, are as follows:

<u>i</u>	for standard	<u>i</u>
<u>v</u>	for standard	<u>a</u>
<u>u</u>	for standard	<u>o</u>
<u>e</u>	for standard	<u>ī</u>

a for standard ā

o for standard ō

That is, the pairs of short and long vowels were i e, ɥ a, and u o. In practice the missionaries seldom used e, and very often used a and o where they should have used ɥ and u. In other words, the rule in practice was to use i, a, and o for both long and short vowels, but to sometimes use e for long i, and ɥ and u for short a and o. Modern writers carry this tendency farther, using almost exclusively only i, a, and o; they use u for both ɥ and u. The standard orthography makes this tendency the rule; u is used only in English loanwords like yusa 'to use.'

1.3. The consonants

There are fifteen consonants. The following fourteen letters and combinations are used to spell sounds which are quite similar to the corresponding sounds of English: p t ch k b f s sh h m n l y w. In general these letters and combinations are used in the same way in both the traditional and standard orthographies.

There is a sound written lh in the standard orthography. In some dialects this is pronounced like th in the English word think. In other dialects it is a lateral fricative, something like a combination of th and l; some Choctaws write it thl. The missionaries wrote it as lh before consonants, as in alhtaha 'ready,' and as hl before vowels, as in hlampko 'strong,' and ahli 'edge;' some modern writers follow this practice. This provides two spellings where one will do, so the standard uses only lh. Lh was chosen for two reasons. First, it is parallel with the other combinations ch and sh. Second, the

combination hl must be used when the sound h is followed by the sound l, as in tahli 'to finish.'

In the standard orthography double consonants are written consistently as double consonants. In the Hymnal and Testament they are often written as single consonants; for example hattak 'man,' lhakoffi 'to heal,' and kanimmah 'somewhere' appear as hatak, hlakofi, and kanima. In addition, yy and ww were written iy and uw where they were noticed. For example, sháwwa 'bush' and bayyi 'white oak' were written shauwa and baiyi.

The missionaries usually omitted y after i and w after o. Hikiya 'to stand' and talowa 'to sing' were written hikia and taloa, for example.

Many Choctaw words end in h. The missionaries knew this, but generally omitted the h or wrote it as part of the following word. Thus, the common words shákchih 'crowdad,' sinih 'sycamore,' oklah 'people,' fowih 'bee,' and hapih 'salt' were written without h; the h was written as the first sound of the article osh when it followed, as in okla hosh. Nanah 'mountain' and cholah 'fox' were written with final h.

1.4. The accents

There are two pitch accents, high and falling.

The falling accent occurs only in the intensive forms of certain words; examples are found in Secs. 9.2.8 and 9.4. It falls only on long vowels, which are written as ie, aa, and oo. Examples are biekah 'always,' baanoh 'alone,' and iktaloowoh 'for him not to sing at all.'

The traditional orthography wrote ie, but did not mark the falling accent on ā and ō.

We call the high accent simply 'the accent.' Some words have the accent, others do not. If a word has the accent, the vowel carrying the accent is pronounced with a higher pitch or note. If there is no accent, all vowels are spoken with about the same mid pitch. When a word is spoken in isolation, an unaccented first syllable or vowel may have a low pitch; the final syllable or vowel has a rising pitch if preceded by an accented syllable, otherwise a high pitch.

The following are examples of words with the accent, and similar words without the accent.

<u>oka</u>	'water'
<u>ópa</u>	'owl'
<u>ahi</u>	'potato'
<u>ápi</u>	'trunk, stem'
<u>shinok</u>	'sand'
<u>chílok</u>	'hole'
<u>íshi</u>	'to pick up'
<u>hísni</u>	'hair, fur'
<u>wīki</u>	'heavy'
<u>shíki</u>	'buzzard'

The accent was not written in the traditional orthography, and for general purposes it is not needed. If one writes opa instead of ópa there can be no confusion; opa can only be 'owl.'

1.5. Variations of the vowels

The vowels i and a each have a variant pronunciation [e] which is similar to the e of the English word let.

The sequence ia has several possible pronunciations. The word siah 'I am' (Sec. 3.4.3) may be pronounced [siah], [sieh], [seah], or [seeh]. The same variations are found in other words if the i and a of ia belong to different word elements. When the i and a belong to the same word element only one of the four possible pronunciations is used, depending on the word. The known examples are tiak [tiak] 'pine,' shiápha [shiépha] 'blueberry,' and ittiábi [itteéibi] 'lip.' The last is probably derived from itti 'mouth (obsolete)' and *halbi 'skin (obsolete).'

In some dialects ayy can be pronounced [ayy], [eyy], or [iyy] in certain words and forms of words. The intensive form of a verbal can take any of these variants; áyyāsha 'for several to be there' can be pronounced [áyyāsha], [éyyāsha], or [íyyāsha]. Aside from the intensive forms, the pronunciation of ayy depends on the word and the dialect. Iláyyōka 'various' is either [iléyyōka] or [ilíyyōka] depending on dialect. Hayyip 'lake' is [heyyip]. Kayya 'to be full after eating' is [kayya], and sayyi 'my foot' is [sayyi].

In sayímmi 'I believe,' and only in that word, ayi is contracted to a long æ, the sound of a in English cat, giving the pronunciation [sǽmmi].

1.6. Nasalization

A vowel followed by one of the nasal consonants n or m can be symbolized VN. Under certain conditions, described in Sec. 12.17, VN is pronounced Vⁿ; that is, the nasal consonant is lost, and the vowel is nasalized.

In the standard orthography, a nasalized vowel at the end of a word or followed by a nasal consonant is written with an underline; in this work we use a raised n after the vowel instead. In other cases a nasalized vowel is written as a vowel followed by m or n; m is used before p and b, and n is used before other consonants. If the vowel is a basic long vowel, it remains long when nasalized; if it is a basic short vowel, it is lengthened if followed by one consonant. Examples are

<u>cholhkan</u>	[cholhkan]	'spider'
<u>yamma</u> ⁿ	[yamma ⁿ]	'that'
<u>tákkon</u>	[tákkon]	'peach'
<u>o</u> ⁿ	[o ⁿ]	(Ch. 10)
<u>ónna</u>	[ónna]	'to dawn' (Sec. 9.3.3)
<u>o</u> ⁿ na	[o ⁿ na]	'to arrive there' (Sec. 9.3.4)
<u>homma</u>	[homma]	'red'
<u>hó</u> ⁿ mi	[hó ⁿ mi]	'bitter' (Sec. 9.3.4)
<u>hallons</u>	[halló ⁿ s]	'leech'
<u>okchank</u>	[okchá ⁿ k]	'cucumber'
<u>pánki</u>	[pá ⁿ ki]	'grape'
<u>tánkchi</u>	[tá ⁿ kchi]	'to tie' (Sec. 9.3.4)
<u>támbli</u>	[tá ⁿ bli]	'to cut' (Sec. 9.3.4)
<u>hámbli</u>	[há ⁿ bli]	'to kick' (Sec. 9.3.4)

The traditional orthography wrote nasalized vowels in the same ways, except that underlining was often used where the standard uses m or n.

For one final convention on the use of underlining, see the last paragraph of Sec. 9.3.4. Briefly, the incomplete form of a verbal like takchi 'to tie' is formed by accenting the next to the last vowel and inserting a nasal after it; in the case of takchi, tánkchi is formed, as in the above list. In a word like impa [iⁿpa] 'to dine,' which has a nasal consonant followed by a non-nasal consonant, and so nasalization, the incomplete is marked by the accent alone; the incomplete of this example is [iⁿpa]. Since the accent is not used in the standard orthography, but underlining is, the incomplete in these cases is written with underlining, as in iⁿmpa. (Remember that we use a raised n after a vowel instead of underlining in this work.)

1.7. Variations of the consonants

The pronunciation of the consonants is straightforward, with significant variation only in the case of k and h.

The sounds p t ch k are slightly aspirated word initially. Between vowels and finally they are softer, and may be partially or slightly voiced. This voicing is quite marked in the speech of some men.

The two sounds k and h are released when they are followed by b m n or i. The release takes the form of a very short vowel of the same quality as the vowel which precedes the k or h. Examples are pakna [pak^ana] 'top,' hokmi [hok^omi] 'to burn up,' tóklo [tók^olo] 'two,' ikbi [ikⁱbi] 'to make,' tohbi [toh^obi] 'white,' and tahli [tah^ali] 'to

finish.' K and h may then be softened as described in the preceding paragraph. If the vowel preceding k is nasalized, three pronunciations are possible. For example, the incompleted (Sec. 9.3.4) ínkbi 'to be making' can be pronounced [íⁿkⁱbi], [íngbi], or [íngⁱbi]; [ng] is like ng in singer in the second example, but like ng in finger in the third example.

In the sequences oka and aki, the k commonly has a vowel off-glide, as in oka [ok^oa] 'water,' wakili [wak^aili] 'to raise,' and akinih [ak^aiⁿlih] 'indeed.'

Before sh and ch, h has an sh off-glide, as in okahchi [okah^{sh}chi] 'to can,' hayínhchi [hayíⁿh^{sh}chi] 'kidney,' and apah chā tok [apah^{sh}chā tok] 'he eats it.'

The sound of f can be made as in English, or with the lower lip approaching the upper lip instead of the upper teeth.

1.8. Contractions

When one word ends in a vowel or h and the following word begins with a vowel, a contraction may occur. The form of the contraction depends on the nature of the words and the degree of care used in speaking.

If the first word is an independent pronoun (Sec. 3.2), the second word will be an article (Ch. X). In all but the most careful speech, the final vowel of the pronoun is lost, the first vowel of the article is accented, and lengthened if the article has more than one syllable. Examples are ano ato [an^áto] 'I (subjective case, emphatic),' ano ak osh [an^ák osh] 'I (subjective case, focus).'

If the first word is not an independent pronoun, and it is followed by an article, a y may be pronounced in the hiatus, or the vowel of the article may be lost. Examples are alla at [alla at]/[allayat]/[allat] 'a child (subjective case)' and alla osh (alla osh)/[allayosh]/[allash] 'a child (subjective case, focus).' If the first word ends in h, this h and the first vowel of the article may be lost. Examples are cholah at [cholah at]/[cholath] 'a fox' and balilih osh [balilih osh]/[balilish] 'running.'

If k or h end the first word, they syllabify with the initial vowel of a following article. Using a period to mark syllable boundaries, we have [cho.la.hat], [ba.li.li.hosh], and [a.ná.kosh] in the paragraphs above, and hattak at [hat.ta.kat] 'a man' and pínsalik at [píⁿ.sa.li.kat] 'that I see.'

If the two words are parts of a phrasal compound, the vowel ending the first word is lost in all but the most careful speech, as in aba anómpa íshi [abanómpíshi] 'preacher' (íshi 'to hold, keep') and aba anómpa [abanómpa] 'gospel' (aba 'above, up,' anómpa 'news, story, word').

This same type of contraction is common in other types of phrases, also. It always occurs in predicate expressions when the second word signifies potential (Sec. 14.4), or tense (Sec. 14.6). In these cases, the first vowel of the second word is written as the last vowel of the first word, in accordance with the rules of the traditional orthography. Examples of haklo 'to hear' with ahínlah (potential) and āchiⁿh (future tense) are hakla hínlah 'he can hear' and haklā chiⁿh 'he will hear.'

1.9. The distribution of sounds

We describe the distributions of sounds by listing the sounds which may begin and end a word, and by describing the sequences of sounds which may occur within a word. After that, we give the rules for syllable division, and the placement of the accent in accented words.

A word may begin with any vowel, long or short, or a consonant followed by a vowel. No word begins with two consonants.

The sounds which may end a word are more limited in number. Any short vowel may end a word; no long vowel may end a word, except in the roots ā 'give' and a 'to say.' Articles (Ch. X) may end with the suffixes -t, -k, -sh, and -n (pronounced as nasalization of the preceding vowel, Sec. 1.6). Verbals (Sec. 14.21) may end with the suffixes -t, -k, and -h. The tense element āchiⁿh (Sec. 14.6) ends with this suffix -h and a suffix -n. Otherwise, only nouns may end in a consonant.

A noun may end in p k f s sh h n l. Of these final consonants, k h sh are common, p is less common, f is uncommon, and s n l are rare. In some dialects, final sh has changed to s, which is then common. Hallons 'leech' and okchank 'cucumber' end in a nasal followed by a non-nasal consonant. The overwhelming majority of nouns end in vowels.

Within a single word element two vowels occur together only in tiak 'pine,' shiápha 'blueberry,' ittíálbi 'lip' (all discussed in Sec. 1.5), and lhiohli 'to chase.' Otherwise vowel clusters occur only when a word element ending in a vowel is prefixed to a word which begins in a vowel, as in siah 'I am' (si- 'I,' a 'be,' -h). Short vowels occur before any number of consonants; with a few exceptions, long vowels

occur only before one consonant. The few exceptions are active verb forms like háblí in Sec. 5.3, which have a basic long vowel in the passive.

Clusters of two or three consonants are very common within words. These can best be described by naming the first consonant, and then listing the consonants which can follow it. We will treat vowel nasalization as a nasal consonant following the vowel. The rules will treat the common types of clusters; other clusters do occur, but are uncommon.

When three consonants occur together, the first is always a nasal. Usually the nasal is the infix of the continuative (Sec. 9.34) or instantaneous (Sec. 9.35) form of a verbal. Other examples are lhampko 'strong,' hayínhchi 'kidney,' lonssa 'river bottom land,' biyónkko 'strawberry,' tínshkila 'bluejay,' and hayyonkpólo 'weed.'

A very common type of two-consonant cluster is the double consonant, such as pp, ll, chch, and yy. All consonants can occur in this type of cluster.

Ignoring now the double consonants, the vast majority of two-consonant clusters begin with one of the following sounds: n or m, k or h, l or lh, or sh. We will now list the sounds which can follow these.

The nasals m and n, as a class, can be followed by any consonant. We write m before p and b, otherwise n. These nasals are pronounced as nasalization of the preceding vowel (Sec. 1.6).

The consonants k and h can be followed by any consonant, except that ky occurs only when the prefix k- (Ch. VIII) is attached to a word beginning with y.

With exceptions, l and lh, as a class, can be followed by any consonant. The sound l occurs only before b, m, and w; lh occurs only before p, t, k, f, h, ch. The sounds s, sh, and y cannot follow l or lh. Where one would expect to find ln because of the rules of grammar, nn stands instead (Sec. 12.18).

The consonant sh can be followed by p, t, k, b, n, and m, within the same word element. In addition, sh as the last consonant of the prefixes ish- and hash- (Sec. 3.3) can be followed by any consonant.

Other clusters occur. The cluster bl, derived from *pl (Sec. 12.3), is very common. With p as the first consonant we have lapcho 'earthworm,' lhampko 'strong,' shíápha 'blueberry,' and taptowa 'cut in two (Sec. 6.2).' With t as the first consonant we have patha by metathesis of pahta 'broad,' and ithana, a dialect variant of ikhana 'to learn.' When ikhana has the prefix k- (Ch. VIII), forming -kikhana, the second k changes to t, giving -kithana; one dialect then generalizes the form with t. With f as the first consonant we have hofka 'to dry in the sun,' and náfka and lífka contracted from nā fókka and lifókka 'clothing.' With s as the first consonant we have paska 'to make bread' and its derivatives, pataspowa 'flat' (derived from patassa as taptowa is derived from tapa, Sec. 6.2), and losbi 'dark colored' derived from losa 'black.' The clusters with final w in aywa 'to gather,' ashwa 'for two to sit (Sec. 6.4),' akkwa 'to go down,' and chokkwa 'to go in' result from the loss of o in ayowa, *ashowa, akkowa, and chokkowa (Sec. 12.19).

The rules for dividing a word into syllables are fairly simple. The following general principles apply. Each syllable has exactly one vowel. The vowel may be preceded by one consonant, just as a word may

begin with one consonant; it may be followed by a single consonant or by a nasal and a single consonant, the same combinations which may end a word. The possible forms of syllables are, then,

V	CV
VC	CVC
VNC	CVNC

in which V is any vowel, C is any consonant, and N is a nasal consonant.

Ignoring prefixes for the moment, a word is broken into syllables in the following way. Each vowel is the nucleus of a syllable. If there is no consonant between two vowels, the syllable boundary falls between them, as in ti.ak 'pine' and lhi.oh.li 'to chase.' If one consonant is between the two vowels, it goes with the second vowel, as in a.pa 'to eat' and ha.bi.na.chi 'to present to.' If two or three consonants come between two vowels, the last goes with the second vowel, as in chok.ka 'house,' pin.ti 'mouse,' bash.po 'knife,' bi.yónk.ko 'strawberry,' lhamp.ko 'strong,' and tínsh.ki.la 'bluejay.'

When a prefix is attached to a word of one or two syllables the same rules apply. Examples are chi.pi.sa 'to see (pisa) you (chi-),' chi.ah 'you (chi-) are (a-h),' i.shi.shi 'for you (ish-) to take (ishi),' and i.mi.shi 'to take (ishi) for him (im-).

When a prefix is attached to a word of more than two syllables, the syllable boundary follows the prefix, and syllable boundaries occur within the prefix according to the general rule. Examples are ish.a.pi.la 'for you (ish-) to help (apila), im.alh.ta.ha 'for him (im-) to be ready (alhtaha),' ish.i.mi.shi 'for you (ish-) to take

(ishi) for him (im-),' and ha.chim.alh.ta.ha 'for you all (hachim-) to be ready (aihtaha).'

These rules should be compared with the rules for determination of the scope of the vowel lengthening rule (Sec. 12.10). Note also that consonants which end a syllable are often lengthened (Sec. 12.11).

There is little of interest to be said of the syllable structure of words. Words without prefixes have from one to four syllables; five or more syllables are rare. Most words have two or three syllables, not counting prefixes, but four syllables is also common. A number of common words have one syllable. Nouns of one syllable all have the structure CVC, with a long vowel; they are bōk 'river,' wāk 'cow,' tīk 'female,' and pāsh 'slap.'

The placement of the accent as a result of the grammatical structure of a word is described in Sec. 12.13. Apart from that, only nouns have an accent which is as much a part of the word as its consonants and vowels. In nouns, the accent, if there is one, falls on the next to the last syllable. The only known exception is tīnshkilah 'bluejay,' which has the accent on the third from the last syllable. This word may be imitative of the call of the bird.

1.10. Doublets

There are many common doublets, words with more than one pronunciation. With some doublets, one variation will be used in one dialect, and the other in a different dialect. In other cases, the variant pronunciations will be found in a single dialect, and even in the

speech of a single person. They can be grouped according to the sound changes which create the variants.

An h may assimilate to a preceding or following p, t, or k, as in Chahta/Chatta 'Choctaw,' bahta/batta 'sack,' and shokha/shokka 'hog.' Compare sound change (20) in Sec. 12.18.

Initial h may be lost, especially if followed by a, as in hofka/ofka 'to dry in the sun,' hakchoma/akchoma 'tobacco,' haksobish/aksobish 'ear,' and hatonfaláha/atonfaláha 'onion.'

Initial short i is lost in words of more than two syllables, as in issóbah/sóbah 'horse,' iskáli/skáli 'money,' ittola/tola 'to lie down.'

Initial short a is lost, but less frequently, as in atonfaláha/tonfaláha 'onion,' acháffa/cháffa 'one,' and akánka/kánka 'chicken.'

There is a tendency for all vowels in a word to be the same, as in shilosh/sholosh 'shoe,' achóffa/acháffa/chóffa/cháffa 'one,' iskitani/iskitini 'little bit,' akishtala/akashtala 'under,' okhinsh/ikhinsh 'medicine,' and ponaklo/panaklo 'to ask.'

S may replace sh as in shokha/sokha 'hog,' hashi/hasi 'sun,' oshi/osi 'son,' and haksobish/haksobis 'ear.'

S may replace lh before consonants, as in palhki/paski 'fast,' alhtaha/astaha 'ready,' and ilhkōli/iskōli 'to go.'

In a few words, nasalization is lost leaving a long vowel. Examples are shínki/shíki 'buzzard,' nántah/nātah 'what?,' píⁿni/píni 'train,' tanámpo/tanápo 'gun,' and hánwa/hāwa 'locust.'

Oh and ih may change to ow and iy, as in miha/miya 'to mean' and hofaloha/hofalowa 'long.'

Final h is lost from different words in different dialects. Examples are hapih/hapi 'salt,' kofih/kofi 'guinea fowl,' and

shákchih/shákchi 'crowdad.' A sizeable number of words retain final h in all dialects.

PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER TWO

PRELIMINARIES

Part Two presents certain of the structural elements of Choctaw selected for special treatment for the sake of convenience. Ideally, perhaps, all structural elements are best understood within the framework of syntax, or sentence structure (Part III). But the elements presented here are those which either undergo sound changes themselves, or provide the conditions under which other elements undergo sound changes. By treating these elements here, then, an overall picture of the Choctaw sound changes can be constructed. In addition, these elements appear again and again in sentences, so that the discussion of syntax can proceed more easily once they have been dealt with.

The construction of words, as presented here, is accomplished by the application of processes to bases. Bases may be certain kinds of elements called roots, or they may be roots to which some processes have already been applied. The meaning of 'root' will become clear from a study of the material. Several processes are used; they may be grouped into two classes, affixation and internal change. There are in turn two main kinds of affixation, prefixation and suffixation. In prefixation, an element called a prefix is attached to the front (left) of a base, while in suffixation an element called a suffix is attached to the end (right) of a base. A third type of affixation is infixation, by means of which a prefix or suffix is moved to a position within a base. For example, chinishkin 'your eye' is constructed by

prefixing chi- to the base nishkin 'eye,' pisalih 'I see' is constructed from the base pisa 'to see,' first by suffixing -li and then suffixing -h; from the base pisa 'to see,' the instantaneous aspect is formed by suffixing and then infixing -h-, giving pihsa, which is then accented, giving píhsa 'to glance.'

There are also two types of internal change, reduplication and replacement. By reduplication, some part of the base is repeated or duplicated. For example, bononoli 'to roll back and forth' is formed by reduplicating no of the base bonoli 'to roll;' tapa 'cut in two' (base tap, suffix -a) has a corresponding plural form taptowa constructed by reduplicating the t of the base, giving tapt, and then suffixing -oh and -a. In the first example, the duplicate was infixed, while in the second example, the duplicate was suffixed. By replacement, some part of the base is taken out, and a new element is put in its place. For example, the plural of foot is made by replacing oo with ee, giving feet. A special type of replacement is suppletion, in which the whole base is replaced. For example, the plural of hika 'to fly' is made by suppletion; hika is replaced with híli.

Accentuation is also a process used in Choctaw. By this process, a base lacking an accent is given an accent. This process is used for many purposes. For example, when a verb is changed into a noun, this change is accompanied by accentuation; compare apisachi 'to guard' and apisáchi 'a guard.' Accentuation is not easily categorized as either affixation or internal change. A similar process is vowel lengthening, a process which applies to certain forms of verbals. Examples are písa and apisáchi, derived from the bases pisa and apisachi. Vowel

lengthening is not always accompanied by accentuation, as in these cases, but other examples are too complicated to present here.

As the processes are applied to bases, combinations of sounds are created which are sometimes changed into other combinations by sound changes. These sound changes are similar to those presented in Sec. 1.10. But while the sound changes of that chapter were viewed as changes in the history of the language, the sound changes presented in this chapter are to be viewed as rules of pronunciation, and thus as part of the grammar of modern Choctaw. This can best be understood by taking an example. In modern Choctaw, two bases can be constructed from the base palhat 'split in two,' the one by suffixing -a, and the other by suffixing -li. Palhata 'to be split' and *palhatli 'to split it' then undergo certain sound changes. One of these changes the combination tl to ll, so that *palhatli changes to palhalli. In these chapters, such sound changes will be viewed as rules of pronunciation, saying, in this case, that tl is pronounced like ll. But if palhalli is compared to Koasati palhatli, it becomes apparent that this grammatical sound change is also a sound change from the historical point of view; that in Choctaw, but not Koasati, the sound t changed to l when followed by l, at some time in the past.

In the following chapters we discuss some of the processes used in the construction of pronouns, nouns, and verbals, and the sound changes that follow those processes. In Chapter XII, the sound changes are summarized, to provide an overall view of the sound pattern. In this chapter also the change of short vowels to long vowels is discussed (Sec. 12.10). This is reserved for the last chapter because it is complicated, and differs in important ways from dialect to dialect.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND AFFIXES

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a complete table of the personal pronouns and affixes, so that that information will be available for easy reference in the chapters which follow.

3.2. Independent pronouns

Chart One contains the personal pronouns, their translations, and the categories they represent.

CHART ONE: The Independent Pronouns

Categories	Pronoun	Translation
First Person		
Singular	ano	'I'
Paucal	pishno	'we'
Multiple	hapishno	'we-all'
Second Person		
Singular	chishno	'you'
Plural	hachishno	'you-all'
Third Person	----	'he, she, it, they'

Since these are the only pronouns, the actual translation in a given instance depends on the role of the pronoun in that instance. That is to say, sometimes ano must be translated as 'me' or 'my' instead of 'I.' The same applies to the translation of the personal affixes, since they have their meaning from the pronoun they echo in a given instance. The translations 'you-all' and 'we-all' are drawn for convenience from Southwestern English; they are simply plurals, and do not mean the same as 'all of you-all' and 'all of us-all.' 'We-all' is intended as a label, and not as an accurate translation, of the first person multiple.

The normal first person plural is pishno. Hapishno is a special first person plural which can be contrasted with pishno in three ways. In the first, hapishno is used by a spokesman for a group, such as a family, club, congregation, or tribe, when speaking to an outsider. In the second, pishno means 'we few' or 'the few of us,' while hapishno means 'we many' or 'the many of us.' It is this contrast which suggests the terms 'paucal' and 'multiple.' Derived from it is the third contrast, in which case pishno means 'some of us here' and hapishno means 'all of us here.' Whatever the meaning, these will be translated 'we' and 'we-all' in this work.

The analysis of these words is straightforward. The root is -no/
-shno. To this are added the prefixes a-, pi-, hapi-, chi-, and hachi-. These are the elements which give rise to the personal affixes. Hapi- and hachi- have ha- prefixed to pi- and chi-.

3.3. The forms of the affixes

Chart Two contains the independent pronouns and their various affixes.

CHART TWO: The Independent Pronouns and Affixes

'I'	ano	(s)a-	(s)ami	ámmi	(s)am-	-li
'we'	pishno	pi-	pimi	pímmi	pim-	il-/í-
'we-all'	hapishno	hapi-	hapimi	hapímmi	hapim-	iloh-/ího-
'you'	chishno	chi-	chimi	chímmi	chim-	ish-
'you-all'	hachishno	hachi-	hachimi	hachímmi	hachim-	hash-
'he, they'	----	(i-)	imi	ímmi	im-	----
Reflexive		ili-			ilim-	
Reciprocal		itti-			ittim-	
	Independent	Passive	Free Dative	Possessive	Bound Dative	Active

Certain formal features of the chart may be summarized briefly.

The independent pronouns consist of the prefixes of the passive series and the element -no/-shno. The free dative series consist of the passive and the element -mi. The bound dative is derived from this by loss of the final i. The possessive series is the intensive form (Sec. 9.4.1) of the free dative. The active series contains the only suffix, -li. Of the first person plural forms, il- and il-oh- precede vowels, and ī- and ī-ho- precede consonants. There is an alternate form of the first person multiple found in some dialects having īho- before consonants and īhoh- before vowels. In the two dative series, the first person singular begins with s when it follows a prefix. In the passive series, the presence of the s in the first person and the i- in the third person depends on the base which follows. The three combinations of singular elements are as follows: (a-, chi-, i-), (sa-, chi-, i-), and (sa-, chi-, \emptyset). There may be reflexive and reciprocal forms of the free dative.

In addition to the elements in the chart, there is an active prefix ho- (before consonants)/oh- (before vowels), or ho-/hoh-. This is the second element of the first person multiple of the active series. It is used to make polite commands in the plural, as in hominti 'you-all come on' and ohishi/hohishi 'you-all help yourselves (to the food)' (ishi 'to pick up'). It was used formerly as a respect form in speaking to or about in-laws (Byington 1870 § 20).

3.4. The uses of the affixes

The uses of the various series of personal affixes may now be catalogued. The passive series is arranged in terms of the three sets

of singular forms given in parentheses. The examples include first a sequence with an emphatic independent pronoun, then a sequence in which the pronoun has been deleted, and where helpful, additional examples.

3.4.1. Passive (a-, chi-, i-)

This series echoes the possessor of certain relationship nouns (Sec. 4.4.3) in some dialects, where (sa-, chi-, i-) is used in others. Examples are

<u>ano ano ashki</u>	'MY mother'
<u>ashki</u>	'my mother.'

This series also replaces the active series when the prefix k- occurs in a verbal, except in the first person plurals (Sec. 8.3). Examples are

<u>ano ato akp̄iso tok</u>	'I didn't see it'
<u>akp̄iso tok</u>	'I didn't see it'
<u>pisali tok</u>	'I saw it'
<u>īpisa tok</u>	'we saw it'
<u>kīp̄iso tok</u>	'we didn't see it'
<u>akp̄isa</u>	'let me see it'
<u>kīp̄isa</u>	'let's take a look.'

When there is no active affix in the affirmative, to be replaced by an element of this series, i- is used. Compare

<u>sachāhah</u>	'I am tall'
<u>iksachāhoh</u>	'I am not tall.'

3.4.2. Passive (sa-, chi-, i-)

This series is used with most relationship nouns (Sec. 4.4.1).

Examples are

<u>chishno ano chippókni</u>	'YOUR grandmother'
<u>chippókni</u>	'your grandmother'
<u>sappókni</u>	'my grandmother'
<u>sanishkin</u>	'my eye'
<u>satikba</u>	'in front of me.'

It is also used with the associative element -ba (Sec. 13.5.2).

Examples are

<u>ano ano saba impa tok</u>	'he ate with ME'
<u>saba impa tok</u>	'he ate with me'
<u>ano ano issaba impa tok</u>	'you ate with ME'
<u>issaba impa tok</u>	'you ate with me'
<u>ilittiba impa tok</u>	'we ate together.'

As can be seen from the examples, the forms of -ba immediately precede the verb, impa in this case, and are in turn preceded by the elements of the active series. The reciprocal ittiba 'together' can also take the passive (sa-, chi-, i-) elements, as in the following:

<u>ano ano issattiba impa tok</u>	'you ate together with ME'
<u>issattiba impa tok</u>	'you ate together with me'
<u>sattiba impa tok</u>	'he ate together with me'
<u>ittiba impali tok</u>	'I ate together with him.'

3.4.3. Passive (sa-, chi-, ∅)

This series echoes the patient of verbs and adjectives. With adjectives, the patient is always selected as subject (Sec. 13.3.2).

Examples are

<u>ano ato sachāhah</u>	'I am tall'
<u>sachāhah</u>	'I am tall'
<u>chāhah</u>	'he is tall.'

The subjects of certain verbs are patients using these affixes. One class of such verbs consists of bānna 'to want' and yīmmi 'to believe,' but not ahni 'to think' or ikhana 'to learn' (in the incomplete ikhāⁿna 'to know'). Another class consists of verbs which denote acts which may be voluntary or involuntary. When denoting an involuntary act, the subject is a patient, and this passive series is used; if the act denoted by the verb is voluntary, on the other hand, the subject is an actor, and the active series is used. Examples are

<u>ano ato sahotilhko tok</u>	'I coughed,' 'I had a cough'
<u>sahotilhko tok</u>	'I coughed'
<u>hotilhkoli tok</u>	'I coughed'
<u>sattola tok</u>	'I fell'
<u>ittolali tok</u>	'I lay down.'

The third class consists of the passive verbs (Chapter V). The fourth class is the copula a 'to be a,' 'to be the.' This verb is used only when there is an affix (that is, not in the third person), or a tense element. Examples are

<u>ano ato nakni siah</u>	'I am a man'
<u>nakni siah</u>	'I am a man'

<u>nakni chiah</u>	'you are a man'
<u>nakni</u>	'he is a man'
<u>nakni a tok</u>	'he was a man.'

This series of prefixes is also used with the preverbal element oⁿ 'on.' When this precedes a base beginning in a vowel, it has the form on, but is otherwise oⁿ by nasalization. Examples are

<u>ano ano ission ittola tok</u>	'you fell on ME'
<u>ission ittola tok</u>	'you fell on me'
<u>ishoⁿ binili tok</u>	'you sat on it.'

Finally this series is used with most nouns of orientation (Sec. 4.4.7) and postpositions (Sec. 15.9.3).

3.4.4. Free dative

The free dative is used with verbs to echo the beneficiary, the person on whose behalf something is done (Sec. 13.5.1). It precedes the verb, which has the third person prefix of the bound dative series, im-. As with -ba, the active prefixes precede it. Examples are

<u>ano ano ami inchompa tok</u>	'he bought it for ME'
<u>ami inchompa tok</u>	'he bought it for me'
<u>issami inchompa tok</u>	'you bought it for me'
<u>iksami inchómpo tok</u>	'he didn't buy it for me.'

3.4.5. Possessive

The possessive is used as a substitute for a noun with a possessive prefix. That is, instead of amófi 'my dog,' one can say ámmi 'mine' in appropriate circumstances. Examples are

<u>ano ano amófi</u>	'MY dog'
<u>amófi</u>	'my dog'
<u>ano ano ámmi</u>	'MINE'
<u>ámmi</u>	'mine'
<u>Yammát ano ano ámmi</u>	'that is MINE'
<u>Yammát ámmi</u>	'that is mine.'

3.4.6. Bound dative

The bound dative series is used to echo the person to whom something is transmitted, when prefixed to verbs. This is one type of specific location (Sec. 13.2.2). Examples are

<u>ano ano amā tok</u>	'he gave it to ME'
<u>amā tok</u>	'he gave it to me'
<u>iksámo tok</u>	'he didn't give it to me'
<u>issamā tok</u>	'you gave it to me'

It is also prefixed to ā 'at, from' to echo the person from whom something is received. The position of ā is similar to that of -ba and the free dative series (Sec. 13.3.1). Examples are

<u>ano ano amā chompa tok</u>	'he bought it from ME'
<u>amā chompa tok</u>	'he bought it from me'
<u>iksamā chómpo tok</u>	'he didn't buy it from me'
<u>issamā chompa tok</u>	'you bought it from me.'

It is also used with some adjectives. With takobi 'lazy' and pónna 'skilled, expert,' it is used in place of the passive series to echo the patient subject. With adjectives denoting emotions, the bound dative echoes the person towards whom the emotion is directed. The

person feeling the emotion may be echoed by either the passive or active series; in the reciprocal form, only the active is used.

Examples are

<u>ano ano anchihashayah</u>	'you are mad at ME'
<u>anchihashayah</u>	'you are mad at me'
<u>issanhashayah</u>	'you are mad at me'
<u>chihashayah</u>	'you are mad'
<u>anhashayah</u>	'he is mad at me'
<u>iksanhashayah</u>	'he isn't mad at me'
<u>ilittinhashayah</u>	'we are mad at each other.'

The bound dative echoes the owner in the ownership possessive (Sec. 4.4.8), and is also used with some relationship terms (Sec. 4.4.4, 4.4.5). Examples are given with the possessive series (Sec. 3.4.5).

The bound dative is also used to echo the subject of a few adjectives which have derived meanings. Compare siachokma 'I am good (a good person)' with amachokma 'I am fine,' siokpólo 'I am no good' with amokpólo 'things are going badly for me.' The adjectives kapassa 'cold,' libisha 'warm,' lashpa 'hot' are used to tell the approximate temperature of things; with the bound dative prefixes, they tell how one feels, as in ankapassa 'I am cold.'

There another important use of the bound dative treated in Secs. 13.4.7 and 13.4.8.

3.4.7. Active

Beside its use with adjectives denoting emotions, this series is used to echo the actor, which when present, is always selected as

subject, and the subject of numerals when these are used as predicates.

Examples of the first use are

<u>Chishno ato ishpa tok</u>	'YOU ate it'
<u>ishpa tok</u>	'you ate it'
<u>issakki tok</u>	'you caught up with him'
<u>īpa tok</u>	'we ate it'
<u>ilimpa tok</u>	'we ate.'

Examples of the second use are

<u>ano ato acháffalih</u>	'I am one (in number)'
<u>ītókloh</u>	'we are two'
<u>hashhánālīh</u>	'you-all are six'

3.5. The order of affixes

When more than one personal affix occurs with a verbal base, their order is always the same. In the formula below, we list the various series in this order, along with the order of the elements -ba (which itself must have a passive prefix), ā (which may have a bound dative prefix), and on (which has a passive prefix).

Active	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} \underline{-ba} & \underline{ā} & \underline{on} \\ & & \\ & \text{Free Dative} & \end{array} \right\}$	Bound Dative	Passive

In conjunction with this formula the following points must be remembered: (1) I have no examples of the free dative occurring with any of the elements -ba, ā, and on, so that it has to be listed as mutually exclusive with them; still, there seems to be no reason why something like ilittiba chimi inchompa tok 'we bought it together for you' could

not occur, or even hashittiba imi imoⁿ sabinilichi tok 'you all set me up on it for him together' or ittiba imi inchioⁿ sabinilichi tok 'they set me on top of you for him together.' (2) The free dative is always followed by the bound dative. (3) The first person singular active suffix -li follows the verbal base.

3.6. Sound changes

The personal affixes undergo only a few sound changes. As can be seen in the preceding examples, sh assimilates to a following s.

Compare

<u>ishpisah</u>	'you see it'
<u>issakkih</u>	'you overtake him'
<u>issapisah</u>	'you see me,'

which are hashpisa^h, hassakki^h, and hassapisah in the plural.

The bound dative prefixes undergo nasalization when followed by consonants. This nasalization is written as m before b and p, as n before n and m (underlining in the standard orthography), and as ñ before all other consonants. Before compound nouns, where these elements echo the possessor, they are not bound. Nasalization is written with ñ in these cases. An example is aⁿ issi hákshop 'my deer hide.' Compare this with amisht íshko 'my cup,' in which isht íshko is not a compound, but rather a nominalization of isht ishko 'to drink with it.'

The prefix sa- changes to si- before the vowels a and o. Examples are siachokmah 'I am good,' siapilah 'he helps me,' and siokpóloh 'I'm no good.'

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NOUN

4.1. Introduction

The two topics dealt with in this chapter are the formation of diminutives and augmentatives, and the inflection of nouns for possessor.

4.2. Diminutive

The diminutive is formed from a compound, the second element of which is oshi/osi 'son, little one.' The processes applied to the compound are accentuation (Sec. 12.13) and contraction (Sec. 12.15), which occur in all compounds. What distinguishes the diminutive from other compounds is that the second element becomes attached to the first, forming a base to which vowel lengthening is applied (Sec. 12.10. See also Sec. 12.16). In a few words, a final -k is affixed. Examples are

<u>issi</u>	'deer'
<u>issóshi</u>	'fawn'
<u>wāk</u>	'cow'
<u>wakóshi</u>	'calf'
<u>sóbah</u>	'horse'
<u>sóbóshi</u>	'colt'
<u>ibbak</u>	'hand'

<u>ibbakóshi</u>	'finger'
<u>akánka</u>	'chicken'
<u>akánkóshi</u>	'egg.'

The two examples with -k use osi with the incompletive infix -n- (Sec. 9.3.4). They are

<u>ofi</u>	'dog'
<u>ofónsik</u>	'puppy'
<u>talih</u>	'rock'
<u>talónsik</u>	'pebble'
<u>alla</u>	'child'
<u>allónsi</u>	'baby.'

Both oshi and osi occur in some dialects, while only osi occurs in others. Where both occur, osi intensifies the meaning of smallness.

4.3. Augmentative

The augmentative is formed in the same way as the diminutive from a compound whose second element is obah. These are not freely formed, as in the case of the diminutives; rather, obah is a method of derivation. Issóbah 'horse' is derived from issi 'deer.' Apparently it means something similar to 'like a deer, but larger.' Another example is yálah 'grubworm,' yalóba 'tadpole.'

4.4. Noun prefixes

For present purposes, nouns may be divided into two large classes, the relationship terms on the one hand, and all other nouns on the other. The relationship terms can in turn be divided into three

classes, the kinship terms, the body part terms, and the nouns of orientation. As a general rule, relationship terms take passive personal affixes, while all other nouns take bound dative affixes. But a few kinship terms and body part terms, especially those denoting body substances, take bound dative affixes.

4.4.1. Passive (sa-, chi-, i-)

Of the relationship terms which take passive prefixes there are four subclasses. Some add the echoes to a base containing what appears to be an initial prefix l-, while others do not. Some bases can be used without a prefix, while others must have one. The four classes are then

- (a) nouns which can be used without a prefix, and which do not take l- (nakfish 'younger sibling of the same sex,' nishkin 'eye'),
- (b) nouns which can be used without a prefix, but which add prefixes to bases with l- (pókni 'grandmother,' tahchi 'shoulder'),
- (c) nouns which must be used with a prefix, and which do not take l- (ipok 'granddaughter,' ikónla 'neck'), and
- (d) nouns which must be used with a prefix, and which add the prefix to a base with l- (iyyöp 'a woman's son-in-law,' iyyi 'foot').

These classes are illustrated in the charts below. The forms given are first person singular (1sg), first person paucal (1p), second person singular (2sg), third person (3), and the form without prefixes.

Charts Three and Four contain the kinterms and body part terms listed

in the classification above. These four types of noun bases can be symbolized in the following way: nakfish, nishkin, ppókni, ttahchi, -pok, -kónla, -yyöp, and -yyi, in which the dash indicates that the base must be used with a prefix, and an initial consonant cluster shows the form of the prefix l- with that base.

CHART THREE: Kinterms with Passive Prefixes

1sg	sanakfish	sappókni	sapok	sayyöp
1p	pinakfish	pippókni	pipok	piyyöp
2sg	chinakfish	chippókni	chipok	chiyyöp
3	inakfish	ippókni	ipok	iyyöp
	nakfish	pókni	---	---

CHART FOUR: Body Part Terms with Passive Prefixes

1sg	sanishkin	sattahchi	sakónla	sayyi
1p	pinishkin	pittahchi	pikónla	piyyi
2sg	chinishkin	chittahchi	chikónla	chiyyi
3	inishkin	ittahchi	ikónla	iyyi
	nishkin	tahchi	----	--

The missing forms are the first person multiple, which has hapi- in place of pi- (1p), and the second person plural, with hachi- in place of chi- (2sg).

4.4.2. The prefix l-

The identification of the base-forming prefix as l- is open to question. Two kinds of evidence point in this direction, comparative

and internal. The comparative evidence is the reconstruction of PM *-lk^wi 'hand' and PM *-lyi 'foot.' These give Ch -bbak (-bbi plus -ak) and -yyi, Koasati -lbi and -yyi, and Creek -nki and -lli. The internal evidence is that in large part the form the prefix takes in a given word can be produced by applying the same sound changes as are applied to the passive verb infix -l- (Sec. 12.18). After these sound changes are applied, l- appears as n before n, as in nnoti 'tooth,' and nnali 'back.' Before fricatives and sibilants, it appears as h, as in hshakba 'arm,' hhatip 'hip,' hshakha 'top of the back across the shoulders,' hchonkash 'heart,' hfóni 'bone,' hhayínhchi 'kidney,' and hhanali 'leg.' This h may then assimilate to the following fricative or sibilant. This happens in all words in some dialects. In one dialect, it is optional in the words immediately above, but occurs in chchoshshak 'back of the head,' -ssonlash 'tongue,' -ssish 'blood,' shshilombish 'soul,' and ssanáhchi 'wing.' Before y, the prefix appears as y (no examples of the verbal infix -l- before y have been found yet), as in -yyi 'foot' and -yöp 'a woman's son-in-law.' The result of these changes is that l- is changes either into a duplicate of the following consonant, or into h before fricatives and sibilants. Before voiceless stops, the infix -l- appears as -lh-. The prefix l-, on the other hand, appears as h- or a duplicate of the following stop, apparently by analogy with its forms before other sounds, and in particular, before fricatives and sibilants. An example with h- is htahchi 'shoulder;' examples with duplicates of the following stop are ttahchi 'shoulder,' ppanshi 'hair (of the head),' -ttakha 'mouth,' -tti 'mouth (obsolete),' -ttissópi 'cheek,' -kkíshi 'chest,' ttakóbba 'stomach (of an animal),' -ppohchi 'father-in-law,' and ttikchi 'wife.'

A few noun bases begin with a consonant cluster the first member of which is not l-. The only examples are -kfoka/-ffoka 'stomach (of humans),' -shki 'mother,' and -nki 'father.' This last is from PM *-θki. It is one of those words which takes the passive (a-, chi-, i-) echoes; the resulting forms anki, pinki, chinki, inki, etc. may in modern Choctaw be analysed as a root -ki using the bound dative echoes. Another possible member of this group is -kkishi 'chest,' which may consist of k- and a nominalization of pishi 'to suckle.' All of these are ipok and ikónla types.

4.4.3. Passive (a-, chi-, i-)

Words which have the passive (a-, chi-, i-) prefixes in some dialects are

-shki 'mother' (ashki/sashki)

ppókni 'grandmother' (appókni/sappókni)

-manni 'older sibling of the same sex' (amanni/samanni).

Words used only with these are

-nki 'father' (anki)

māfo 'grandfather' (amāfo)

monshi 'uncle' (amonshi)

mālak 'sister's husband' (amālak)

mālakoshi 'spouse's brother' (amālakóshi).

All of these words have their first person singular a- ultimately from the bound dative form am-. The Proto-Muskogean forms of 'father' were PM *caθki, *piθki, *hapiθki, *chiθki, *hachiθki, *iθki; by regular sound change, these developed into Choctaw *sanki, pinki, hapinki, chinki, hachinki, inki. All of these forms except the first could then

be analysed as a root -ki with bound dative prefixes, instead of a root -nki with passive prefixes. By this reanalysis, the first form *sanki is replaced by anki, the modern form. The roots for 'grandfather' and 'sister's husband' were originally -afo and -alak, from PM *ax^wo and *-alaka, taking the bound dative prefixes. The forms of -afo were then amafo, pimafo, hapimafo, chimafo, hachimafo, and imafo, which by vowel lengthening had a phonetically long vowel in the next to the last syllable. This was reanalysed as a root māfo with a long vowel, taking the passive (a-, chi-, i-) prefixes. The history of mālak and its diminutive mālakóshi, and monshi is the same. The original root of monshi is oshi 'son.' The course of development is amoshi → [amōshi] (with weak nasalization of the lengthened o after the nasal m) → monshi by reanalysis which includes making the nasalization strong. An obsolescent term -mombaláha 'a woman's husband's brother' apparently had a similar history. The root -manni has been reanalysed from -anni, but in this case the reanalysis has gone farther; in some dialects, this root can take the passive (sa-, chi-, i-) prefixes. The forms ashki 'my mother' and appókni 'my grandmother' arise in the following way. The only way to express 'parents' and 'grandparents' is by juxtaposition. From anki sashki and amāfo sappókni come anki ashki and amafo appókni. The forms ashki and appókni from these expressions replace sashki and sappókni in some dialects.

4.4.4. Bound dative

The following relationship terms take the bound dative prefixes:

lópi 'marrow, spinal cord,' níya 'fat,' híchi 'boil,' -hómi 'gall,'

ā nokfila 'mind,' shilop 'ghost,' lápish 'horn, antler,' hasimbish 'tail' (possessed, this word is accented), alla 'child,' ā oklah 'kinsman, tribesman,' oklóshi 'tribe,' -chokka cháffa 'husband' (literally, 'one house'), -háttak 'husband' (hattak 'man'), -kanóni 'kinsman,' -ohóyon 'wife' (ohoyoh 'woman'), and -tík 'a man's sister.' To these may now be added -ki 'father.'

Perhaps to this class belonged originally nakfi 'a woman's brother.' If so, all trace of nasalization is lost, the vowel of the prefix being left long. The forms are ānakfi, pīnakfi, hapīnakfi, chīnakfi, hachīnakfi, īnakfi.

4.4.5. Passive or bound dative

A few words, including some that have been already presented, alternate between the passive and dative prefixes. They are the following:

-sonlash 'tongue' (sasonlash/amisonlash)

hchonkash 'heart' (sahchonkash/anchonkash)

hfóni 'bone' (sahfóni/anfóni)

-ssish 'blood' (sassish/amissish)

hakshop 'skin' (sahákshop/anhákshop)

ssalákka 'liver' (sassalákka/ansalákka)

shshilóppa 'lung' (sashshilóppa/anshilóppa)

hokni 'aunt' (sahokni/anhokni)

ppókni 'grandmother' (sappókni/ampókni)

ttikchi 'wife' (sattikchi/antikchi).

4.4.6. Terms without prefixes

A few terms do not take prefixes. These are ákshish 'tendon,' muscle,' híshi 'fur, body hair,' anichíchi 'pus,' oka/okchi/oka hólba 'lymph,' lhachówa hákshop 'scab,' akni 'oldest sibling, first born,' and oshi/óshi 'son.' Possession of the body part terms can be expressed in the following way, for example: sabbak ákshish 'my wrist tendons,' sashshakba híshi 'my arm hair.' The kinterms are used like other kinterms, but simply do not take prefixes, as follows: hattak maⁿ óshi 'that man's son.'

4.4.7. Nouns of orientation

The nouns of orientation are the following:

<u>pakna</u>	'top'
<u>nota</u>	'bottom'
<u>tikba</u>	'front'
<u>anshaka</u>	'back, behind.'

These take the passive (sa-, chi-, Ø) prefixes. Tikba may optionally take passive (sa-, chi-, i-) prefixes. They can also be used as postpositions (Sec. 15.9.3), with paknaka in place of pakna.

4.4.8. Ownership

There is little to be said about the final class of nouns, those for which possession is the ownership type, since the forms of the prefixes have been given in Sec. 3.4.6. A few words are accented when possessed, perhaps with some change in meaning. The most common of

these are chokka 'house' and ofi 'dog.' With first person singular prefixes, these are anchókka and amófi. The accent in the first case is perhaps due to a shift in meaning from 'house' to 'home.' Compare chokfi 'rabbit' and chókfi 'sheep' (the use of 'rabbit' for 'sheep' is common in the Southeast). Compare also hattak 'man' with -háttak 'husband' and ohoyoh 'woman' with -ohóyoh 'wife.' The case of ofi is harder to understand, but there are other special treatments of words for 'dog' in the East. Some Algonkian languages have special bases for the possessed form, illustrated by Ojibwa -tay and enim 'dog.' There is an obsolete special possessed form in Choctaw, -paf, which took passive prefixes, alongside ofi which was not possessed. Perhaps -ófi has replaced -paf.

CHAPTER FIVE

VERBS: THE ACTIVE, PASSIVE, AND CAUSATIVE

5.1. Introduction

Passive verbals may be formed from some active verbs in three ways, by infixing -l-, by replacing the active suffix -li with -a, and by both infixation and replacement of these elements. Examples are

<u>amo</u>	'to gather a crop'
<u>almo</u>	'to be gathered'
<u>bashli</u>	'to gash'
<u>basha</u>	'gashed'
<u>awashli</u>	'to fry'
<u>alwasha</u>	'to fry'

The active forms are transitive or causative verbs, while the passive forms may be verbs in some cases, adjectives in some cases, and either verbs or adjectives in others. Compare the translations of these sentences which contain passives of awashli 'to fry,' tiwwi 'to open,' and kobaffi 'to break,':

<u>nípi at alwashah</u>	'the meat is frying'
<u>okhísa at tíwah</u>	'the door is open'
<u>iti at kobafah</u>	'the stick is breaking' or 'the stick is broken.'

Corresponding sentences with active forms are

<u>Bill at nípi aⁿ awashlih</u>	'Bill is frying the meat'
--	---------------------------

<u>Bill at okhísa aⁿ tiwih</u>	'Bill is opening the door'
<u>Bill at iti aⁿ kobaffih</u>	'Bill is breaking the stick.'

5.2. The type amo-almo

A selection of active and passive forms is given in Chart Five, with translations of the active forms.

CHART FIVE: Actives and Passives of the Type amo-almo

	Active	Passive
'to gather (a crop)'	amo	almo
'to plant'	hokchi	holokchi
'to barbeque'	abani	albani
'to weave'	tana	tanna
'to set a date'	apisa	alhpisa
'to place in a container'	āpitta	alhpitta
'to wash'	achifa	ahchifa
'to name'	hochifo	hohchifo

The infix -l- is placed after the first vowel, moving from the left. The following sound changes occur:

- (9) $VlCC \rightarrow VlVCC$; *hokchi \rightarrow holokchi, *talkchi \rightarrow talakchi
'to tie.' A free variant has double l: hollokchi, tallakchi.
- (17) $ln \rightarrow nn$; *talna \rightarrow tanna.
- (18) $lC \rightarrow lhC$, if C is voiceless; *alpisa \rightarrow alhpisa.
- (8) $\bar{V}lC \rightarrow VlC$; *āpitta \rightarrow *alpitta \rightarrow alhpitta.
- (19) $lhF \rightarrow hF$, where F is f or ch; *alchifa \rightarrow *alhchifa \rightarrow ahchifa; *holchifo \rightarrow *holhchifo \rightarrow hohchifo.

(20) hF → FF, where F is f or ch; ahchifa → achchifa, hohchifo
→ hochchifo.

5.3. The type bashli-basha

A selection of active and passive forms on the pattern of bashli-basha appears in Chart Six.

CHART SIX: Actives and Passives of the Type bashli-basha

	Active	Passive
'to gash'	bashli	basha
'to finish'	tahli	taha
'to dig'	kolli	kola
'to put inside'	fokki	fokka
'to put outside'	kochchi	kochcha
'to shave'	shanffi	shanfa
'to saw'	chanli	chanya
'to boil'	kōli	kowa
'to assemble'	it̄ta-hobbi	-hoba
'to pare'	loff̄i	lofa
'to spank'	fammi	fama
'to open'	tiwwi	tiwa
'to cut in two'	tabli	tapa
'to kick'	hābli	hāpa
'to bend'	bicholli	bichota
'to whittle'	cholhlhi	cholha

The following sound changes occur:

- (2) CC1 → CC, if the first C is not a nasal; *fokkli → fokki,
*kochchli → kochchi.
- (1) nGC → nC, where G is a glide; *chanyli → chanli.
- (4) VGC → VC̄, except when VG is iw; *kowli → kōli.
- (5) B1 → BB, where B is a labial sound, excluding p, but
including w; *-hobli → -hobbi, *lofli → loffi, *famli
→ fammi, *tiwli → tiwwi.
- (6) pl → bl and tl → dl → ll; *tapli → tabli, hāpli →
hābli, *bichotli → *bichodli → bicholli.
- (7) lhl → lhlh; *cholhli → cholhlhi.

5.4. The type awashli-awasha

In the third chart, Chart Seven, we present the known verbs of the type awashli-awasha, to further illustrate the sound changes.

CHART SEVEN: Actives and Passives of the Type awashli-awasha

	Active	Passive
'to fry'	awashli	awasha
'to parch (corn)'	aposhli	alhposha
'to prepare'	atahli	alhtaha
'to pay'	atobbi	alhtoba
'to stopper'	akammi	alhkama
'to patch'	akalli	alhkata
'to tell'	anōli	annowa
'to sew'	achonli	ahchonwa
'to wind around'	āfohli	affoha

We list again the sound changes by number, giving the examples which can be obtained from this chart.

- (17) *alnowa → annowa.
- (18) *alposha → alhposha, *altaha → alhtaha, *altoba → alhtoba, *alkama → alhkama, *alkata → alhkata.
- (19) *alchonwa → *alhchonwa → ahchonwa.
- (8) *ālfoha → *alfoha.
- (20) *alfoha → *alhfoha → *ahfoha → affoha, ahchonwa → achchonwa.
- (1) *achonwli → achonli.
- (4) *anowli → anōli.
- (5) *atobli → atobbi, *akamli → akammi.
- (6) *akatli → *akadli → akalli.

5.5. The suffixes -li and -chi

Causatives are formed from adjectives and verbs with the suffixes -li and -chi. The former is limited to certain words, while the latter can be used freely. There are a great many verbs which contain -li or -chi (or both) which do not have corresponding forms without them. Compare takchi 'to tie' with takali 'to get stuck, to hang,' and hokli 'to catch, to snag' with hokchi 'to plant,' whose roots tak- and hok- do not otherwise occur as non-causatives.

Examples of the use of these suffixes are the following:

<u>okcha</u>	'to wake'
<u>okchali</u>	'to awaken'
<u>homma</u>	'red'

<u>hommachi</u>	'to make red'
<u>pisa</u>	'to see'
<u>pisachi</u>	'to show'
<u>ishko</u>	'to drink'
<u>ishkochi</u>	'to make drink, to water (livestock).'

In some cases, there is a change from a to i or o when -li is added.

The known examples are

<u>sita</u>	'for ones hair to be tied up'
<u>sitili</u>	'to tie up the hair'
<u>anompa</u>	'to be said'
<u>anompoli</u>	'to say,' 'to talk'
<u>alhtoka</u>	'to be elected'
<u>atokoli</u>	'to elect.'

To these can be added the pair bina 'to be camped (obsolete), a camp' and binili 'to sit.' In all these cases, the vowel before -li is identical to the preceding vowel. A different case is wakaya 'to rise' and wakili 'to raise' (from *wakayli?).

CHAPTER SIX
PLURAL VERBAL BASES

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter Three the use of personal affixes with various types of verbals was described. In this chapter we discuss another way in which verbals are made to refer back to other elements in the sentence by using different bases, as illustrated by the following sentences:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <u>Nakni mat chitoh.</u> | 'That man is big.' |
| <u>Nakni mat hochitoh.</u> | 'Those men are big.' |
| (b) <u>Hoshi at hika tok.</u> | 'The bird took off.' |
| <u>Hoshi at h̄ili tok.</u> | 'The birds took off.' |
| (c) <u>Nakni at tamaha iya tok.</u> | 'The man went to town.' |
| <u>Nakni at tamaha ittiyachi tok.</u> | 'The (two) men went to town.' |
| <u>Nakni at tamaha alhk̄oli tok.</u> | 'The (several) men went to town.' |
| (d) <u>Nakni at bin̄inlih.</u> | 'The man is sitting.' |
| <u>Nakni at ch̄inyah.</u> | 'The (two) men are sitting.' |
| <u>Nakni at binohm̄anyah.</u> | 'The (several) men are sitting.' |

What these sentences illustrate is that although Nakni mat, nakni at, and hoshi at do not change in the dual or plural, the verbals later in the sentence do. Only a few verbals, however, have such dual and plural bases. We will describe here a few of the common ones.

6.2. Adjectives

A few common adjectives have plural bases constructed with a prefix ho- or a suffix -oh, or both. These are

<u>chito</u>	<u>hochito</u>	'big'
<u>achokma</u>	<u>hochokma</u>	'good'
<u>tapa</u>	<u>taptowa</u>	'cut in two'
<u>himitta</u>	<u>himithowa</u>	'young'
<u>falaya</u>	<u>hofaloha</u>	'long.'

The same method of plural formation is seen in the pair acháffa 'one,' achaffoha 'a few.' If the singular has a suffix -a, the plural suffix precedes it, the sequence being -oh-a. This sequence usually undergoes a sound change to -owa, as in taptowa and himithowa, and the alternate form achaffowa (Sec. 1.10). The bases tapt and himith end in duplicates of the initial consonant. There are alternate forms himittowa (without reduplication) and himitpowa. Note the difference between falay- (singular) and -fal- (plural).

6.3. Motion verbs

A few common motion verbs also have plural bases, usually formed by replacement or suppletion. Examples are

<u>iya</u>	<u>alhkōli</u>	'to go'
<u>hika</u>	<u>hīli</u>	'to fly'
<u>kochcha</u>	<u>kochawiha</u>	'to go out of'
<u>kanalli</u>	<u>hokanalli</u>	'to get out of the way, to detour.'

Hokanalli is formed with the prefix ho-. Kochawiha is formed from kocha 'outside, the outdoors' and wiha 'to move away, to migrate;' kochcha is formed from kocha in a way that is not understood.

The three motion verbs iya, ala 'to arrive here,' and ona 'to arrive there' form dual bases by prefixing itti- (reciprocal prefix) and suffixing -chi (causative suffix). The resulting bases are ittiyachi, ittalachi, and ittonachi. Literally, ittiyachi means 'to make each other go,' but in use it means 'for two to go together.' The other two are analogously translated.

6.4. Posture verbs

A group of verbs encountered again and again in a variety of uses is the posture verbs (Sec. 8.7). All of the common ones have plural forms, and all but one has a dual form. These are

<u>atta</u>	<u>ashwa</u>	<u>asha/māya</u>	'to sit, dwell'
<u>binili</u>	<u>chīya</u>	<u>binoh-</u>	'to sit'
<u>talaya</u>	<u>taloha</u>	<u>taloh-</u>	'to set'
<u>hikiya</u>	<u>hīli</u>	<u>yoh-</u>	'to stand'
<u>ittola</u>	<u>kaha</u>	<u>kah-</u>	'to lie'
<u>takali</u>		<u>takoh-</u>	'to hang.'

All of these verbs can be used to tell what posture something is in. Their meanings when the actor is animate (a human or animal) are those given in the list. Atta is used only in speaking of humans and birds, for the most part. Talaya is used only when speaking of inanimate objects. In speaking of inanimate objects, hikiya is used if the major dimension is verticle, ittola is used if the major dimension is horizontal, and talaya is used for globular objects.

All of these verbs can be used to tell what posture or attitude something is in. In this use, the plural bases are completed by suffixing -māya, a variant of asha, to give binohmāya, talohmāya, yohmāya, kahmāya, and takohmāya; and then all forms, singular, dual, and plural, undergo internal change, almost always appearing as incompletives (Sec. 9.3.4). Examples with binili appear in (d) above.

In addition, binili, hikiya, and ittola can be used to tell what posture or attitude something moves into; in this use they are better translated 'to sit down,' 'to stand up,' and 'to lie down.' Only the singular bases are used, regardless of how many things one is talking about. Thus, nakni at binili tok can mean either 'the man sat down,' or 'the (two) men sat down,' or 'the (several) men sat down.'

6.5. Posture verb causatives

The causatives have only singular and plural forms. These are

<u>binilichi</u>	<u>binohli</u>
<u>talāli</u>	<u>talohli</u>
<u>hīlichi</u>	<u>yohli</u>
<u>ittolachi</u>	<u>kahli</u>
<u>takalichi</u>	<u>takohli.</u>

These are formed by suffixing -chi to bases ending in -li, and by suffixing -li in other cases, removing the passive -a if it is present. Hīlichi is in form the dual, but is used for both singular and plural. Binilichi also is used for both singular and plural. The forms binohli, yohli, and kahli fit in the list in so far as their forms are concerned, but they have specialized meanings. Binohli means 'to settle' as in nanih bilinka ont binohlit tōk 'they went and settled

near the mountain' (literally 'mountain near go-and settle -ed').

Yohli is used for planting things like onions and trees, which are set into the ground vertically. There is also a dual form chīli 'to give birth, to fruit,' which like yohli may be used as a singular, dual, or plural. Kahli means 'to place bets.'

CHAPTER SEVEN

VERBAL BASES WITH INITIAL VOWELS

7.1. Introduction

In Chapter Five the changes undergone by personal affixes affixed to verbals were listed. In this chapter, we describe those changes undergone by verbals in the presence of personal affixes, excluding vowel lengthening (Sec. 12.10). These changes are restricted to verbals beginning with a vowel.

7.2. Verbals derived from PM *ka

The shortest verbals beginning with a vowel are a 'to be a,' -ā 'to give,' and ā 'to say.' The first of these is probably historically identical to the passive or intransitive suffix -a, which is from PM *ka. The verb ā 'to say' is from PM *ka 'to say.' This root was sometimes used in combination with PM *-chi and *-li (causative suffixes), which give Choctaw āchi and āli 'to say' and Creek keych- 'to say' (PM *kachi → *kaich- → *kaych- → keych-, the usual form of PM *-chi in Creek being -ich/-ych). The verb -ā 'to give' is always used with bound dative prefixes. It too is from PM *ka; compare Koasati and Alabama inka 'to give.' In Miccosukee, PM *im(i)ka (the dative prefixes may not have yet lost final i when affixed, hence the i in parentheses) was reanalysed as the root inka- 'to give,' which then takes dative prefixes anew (aminka-, pominka-, chiminka-, iminka-);

compare Choctaw amā, pimā, chimā, imā and Alabama-Koasati anka, ponka/
konka, chinka, inka. The same reanalysis was made in Creek, which also
lost the -ka element; the root is now im- 'to give.' None of these
elements derived from PM *ka undergo changes when prefixes are affixed
to them.

7.3. Verbals of the form aCV

The next class of verbals to be considered are certain verbs of
the form aCV. These include abi 'to kill,' ala 'to arrive here,' amo
'to gather (a crop),' and apa 'to eat,' but not ani 'to fill.' The
initial short a does not appear after prefixes. As examples, we give
forms of abi with active and passive prefixes, in both the affirmative
and negative (Chapter VIII), translating only the affirmative. These
forms are

<u>abilih</u>	<u>ákboh</u>	'I kill him'
<u>ībih</u>	<u>kīboh</u>	'we kill him'
<u>īhobih</u>	<u>kīhōboh</u>	'we-all kill him'
<u>ishbih</u>	<u>chíkboh</u>	'you kill him'
<u>hashbih</u>	<u>hachíkboh</u>	'you-all kill him'
<u>abih</u>	<u>íkboh</u>	'he kills him'
<u>sabih</u>	<u>iksáboh</u>	'he kills me'
<u>pibih</u>	<u>ikpīboh</u>	'he kills us'
<u>hapibih</u>	<u>ikhapīboh</u>	'he kills us-all'
<u>chibih</u>	<u>ikchīboh</u>	'he kills you'
<u>hachibih</u>	<u>ikhachīboh</u>	'he kills you-all'
<u>ilibih</u>	<u>ikilīboh</u>	'he kills himself.'

These verbs are perhaps best described as verbs of the form CV (bi, la, mo, pa) which prefix a- in the absence of other prefixes. This a- may be identical historically to another prefix a- used to distinguish such pairs as bánna 'to want' and abánna 'to need,' or tahli 'to finish' and atahli 'to prepare, make ready.' Alabama and Koasati have ibi 'to kill' and ipa 'to eat,' apparently with a different prefix i-; this prefix is also used only in the absence of other prefixes. Creek has pap- 'to eat,' a reduplication of pa.

7.4. The verb asha

The verb asha, the plural of atta 'to sit, perch' behaves as one of these verbs in the negative only. It is to be described as a root of the form sha which prefixes a- in all forms of the affirmative. The negative base is íksho, a third person form, which takes additional prefixes in an irregular way described in Sec. 8.11.

7.5. Verbals beginning with i

The third and final class of verbals consists of all other verbals beginning with a vowel. Of these, only those beginning with short i undergo a change conditioned by echoes. The change consists of loss of i after a vowel. Examples are

<u>saskitinih</u>	'I am small'
<u>chiskitinih</u>	'you are small'
<u>iskitinih</u>	'he is small'

sassoh

'he hits me'

chissoh

'he hits you'

issoh

'he hits him'

forms of iskitini 'little and isso 'to hit.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PREFIX K-

8.1. Introduction

Verbal bases which have been constructed according to the rules of the preceding chapters may take a prefix k-; when they do, they undergo further changes. These changes are the subject of this chapter.

8.2. The uses of k-

There are three common uses of forms with this prefix; followed by ok kiya the meaning is 'although it may be that' as in tamaha ikīyah ok kiya 'although he (may) go to town' (town he-may-go although); in the first and third persons followed by na the meaning is 'let,' as in tamaha ikīya na 'let him go to town;' and with a suffix -o which replaces the final vowel of the base the meaning is 'not' as in tamaha ikīyo tok 'he didn't go to town.'

8.3. Formation

The formation may be described in three steps. In the first step, k- is prefixed at the beginning of the verbal complex (this includes all elements of the chart in Sec. 3.5). In the second step, all active personal affixes except those of the first person plural are replaced by prefixes of the passive (a-, chi-, i-) series, which precede k-; if

there is no active affix, the third person prefix i- is used. In the third step, the base undergoes internal change to assume the lengthened form. This is described in Sec. 9.3.3 in detail; for our purposes here, it consists of a change in the next to the last vowel which is accented, and lengthened if followed by only one consonant. Alternatively, in the negative use, the base may assume the intensive form (Sec. 9.4).

8.4. Examples: iya 'to go'

The first set of examples consists of the root iya with the active affixes. In the first column are the forms after k- is prefixed; in the second, the forms after replacement of the active affixes by passive prefixes; in the third, after internal change. The examples are

<u>kiyali</u>	→	<u>akiya</u>	→	<u>akiya</u>
<u>kiliya</u>		<u>kiliya</u>		<u>kiliya</u>
<u>kilohiya</u>		<u>kilohiya</u>		<u>kilohiya</u>
<u>kishiya</u>		<u>chikiya</u>		<u>chikiya</u>
<u>khashiya</u>		<u>hachikiya</u>		<u>hachikiya</u>
<u>kiya</u>		<u>ikiya</u>		<u>ikiya</u>

By changing the final vowel to o (the negative suffix), one obtains the negative; by adding na to the first three and the last forms, one obtains 'let me go,' 'let's go,' and 'let him go.'

8.5. Examples: adjectives

For verbals which do not take active affixes, like adjectives, the prefix is in effect ik-. In the following examples, the k-forms of sabáanna 'I want,' chimpónna 'you are skilled,' and chito 'it is big' are constructed.

<u>ksabáanna</u>	→	<u>iksabáanna</u>	→	<u>iksabáanna</u>
<u>kchimpónna</u>		<u>ikchimpónna</u>		<u>ikchimpónna</u>
<u>kchito</u>		<u>ikchito</u>		<u>ikchító.</u>

The first two do not undergo internal change, as they always appear in the intensive form.

8.6. Examples: preverbals

The last set of examples contain the preverbals -ba, á, and on. We give first the plain affirmative, then the corresponding k-form. These are

<u>ishpiba impa</u>	'for you to eat with us'
<u>chikpiba ímpa</u>	
<u>chiba impali</u>	'for me to eat with you'
<u>akchiba ímpa</u>	
<u>imā chompa</u>	'for him to buy it from him'
<u>ikimā chómpa</u>	
<u>sioⁿ binili</u>	'for him to sit down on me'
<u>iksioⁿ biníli.</u>	

8.7. Atta ashwa asha

The verb atta ashwa asha 'to sit, perch' has extended meanings common to the posture verbs (Sec. 6.4); these verbs may be used to tell where something is ('to be there'), that something exists ('there is'), or that someone has something ('to have'). In these three extended meanings, the negative is based on asha regardless of how many things one is talking about. In the negative, asha is replaced by sha (Sec. 7.4). That something exists is expressed by

ántta (incompletive, Sec. 9.3.4)

ánshwa (the same)

áyyāsha (intensive, Sec. 9.4),

depending on the number of things one wants to say exist; in the negative, the only form is

íksho

'there are none' or 'there is none.' The derivation is ksha → íksha → íksha → íksho. In the meaning 'to be there,' the same bases are used with active affixes. The forms are

ánttalih 'I am there'

ishánttah 'you are there'

ánttah 'he is there'

ilánshwah 'we (two) are there'

hashánshwah 'you (two) are there'

ánshwah 'they (two) are there'

iláyyāshah 'we are there'

iloháyyāshah 'we-all are there'

hasháyyāshah 'you-all are there'

áyyāshah 'they are there.'

The negative forms, which contain an extra k- and have other peculiarities are

<u>iksákshoh</u>	'I am not there'
<u>ikchíkshoh</u>	'you are not there'
<u>íkshoh</u>	'he is not there'
<u>kilíkshoh/ikpíkshoh</u>	'we are not there'
<u>kilohíkshoh/ikhapíkshoh</u>	'we-all are not there'
<u>ikhachíkshoh</u>	'you-all are not there'
<u>íkshoh</u>	'they are not there.'

In the meaning 'to have,' the bases appear with dative prefixes for the persons who have the object or objects, and the bases atta ashwa asha are selected according to how many things he has. The forms all have incompletive internal changes, being

<u>amántta</u>	<u>amánshwa</u>	<u>amánsha</u>
<u>pimántta</u>	<u>pimánshwa</u>	<u>pimánsha</u>
<u>hapimántta</u>	<u>hapimánshwa</u>	<u>hapimánsha</u>
<u>chimántta</u>	<u>chimánshwa</u>	<u>chimánsha</u>
<u>hachimántta</u>	<u>hachimánshwa</u>	<u>hachimánsha</u>
<u>imántta</u>	<u>imánshwa</u>	<u>imánsha,</u>

in which, for example amántta means 'I have (one),' amánshwa means 'I have (two),' and amánsha means 'I have (several).' Again in the negative, only asha is used, and there is again an extra k- and other peculiarities. The negative forms are

<u>iksamíksho</u>	'I don't have any'
<u>ikpimíksho</u>	'we don't have any'
<u>ikhapimíksho</u>	'we-all don't have any'
<u>ikchimíksho</u>	'you don't have any'

ikhachimíksho 'you-all don't have any'

ikimíksho 'he/they don't have any.'

The simplest way to account for these forms is with a rule of thumb, as follows: to the base íksho prefix the passive (sa-, chi-, Ø-) prefixes as substitutes for the active affixes of the affirmative, and then prefix an additional ik- before each passive prefix; to the same base prefix the dative prefixes of the affirmative, and then prefix an additional ik-. The exceptions are the alternate first person plural forms kilíksho and kilohíksho, which begin with kil- and kiloh- as with regular verbs. The initial short i of íksho is then lost after a vowel; for example iksaíksho is reduced to iksáksho.

CHAPTER NINE

THE INTERNAL CHANGES

9.1. Introduction

There are at least five internal changes which are applied to verbs and adjectives to give them nuances of meaning of the sort often called 'aspect.' These meanings are hard to pin down; the general notion expressed by each internal change can be defined, but its actual meaning in a particular instance depends to some extent on the meaning of the base it has been applied to; in addition, some bases almost always appear with certain internal changes for no apparent reason, while other bases do not show internal change in circumstances in which one might expect it. In this chapter we will try to give some idea of the meanings of the internal changes, and tell how they are formed.

The forms the internal changes take are for the most part quite regular; only the form of the intensive varies in any significant way depending on the form of the base to which it is applied. Before defining the changes, it will be helpful to first illustrate their forms. As illustrations, then, we present the forms of takchi 'to tie,' falama 'to return,' and chito 'big.' These are

(Plain Form)	<u>takchi</u>	<u>falama</u>	<u>chito</u>
(Lengthened form)	<u>tákchi</u>	<u>faláma</u>	<u>chító</u>
(Incompletive)	<u>tánkchi</u>	<u>faláⁿma</u>	<u>chínto</u>

(Instantaneous)	<u>tahákchi</u>	<u>faláhma</u>	<u>chíhto</u>
(Iterative)	<u>tahánkchi</u>	<u>falaháⁿma</u>	<u>chihinto</u>
(Intensive)	<u>táyyakchi</u>	<u>fállāma</u>	<u>chieto.</u>

These bases were chosen for the following reasons: takchi illustrates the form the instantaneous takes when -h- would otherwise precede two consonants; takchi also illustrates the form of the intensive in words of two syllables when the changed vowel is a or o; chito shows the intensive form when the changed vowel is i, as it appears in the orthography; falama shows that the infix -n- is pronounced as vowel nasalization even before m and n; falama also illustrates the form of the intensive in certain bases of three syllables.

9.2. The meanings

The variations in meaning of the internal changes can be described to some extent in terms of the meanings of the bases to which they are applied. The primary distinction to be made between bases places adjectives in one group, and verbs in another. Secondly, a distinction may be made between verbs which denote activities which occur in an instance (for example, kobaffi 'to break') and verbs which denote activities which can be easily prolonged (for example awashli 'to fry'). In the examples which the plain form appears in parentheses following the form with internal change.

9.2.1. The plain and lengthened forms

The plain form is, of course, the form of the base when no internal changes have been applied. The lengthened form usually has no special

meaning; it is simply the plain form as it appears in certain contexts. One of these contexts is a following conjunction, cha/na 'and,' as in ápa cha iya tok 'he ate it and left' (apa) and pisáli cha iyali tok 'I looked at it and left' (pisa). The other context is the prefix k-, used in the negative and optative (Chapter VIII). Examples are íkpo tok 'he didn't eat it,' íkpa 'let him eat it,' akpíso tok 'I didn't look at it,' and akpísa 'let me have a look.' These contexts have the same effect on both adjectives and verbs.

The lengthened form is also used to form what may be called nomic tenses. These are not well understood at present. One very common use of the nomic is to tell what the general rule about something is. This is illustrated by the exchange

<u>Ónkof íshpa oⁿ?</u>	'Do you eat persimmons?'
<u>Aⁿ, apáli.</u>	'Yes, I eat them.'

This use has been noted so far only with verbs. In the past tense, the meaning seems to be 'have you ever' or 'I have . . . before' as in the exchange

<u>Ónkof íshpa tok oⁿ?</u>	'Have you ever eaten persimmons?'
<u>Kíyoh, apáli tok kiyoh.</u>	'No, I have never eaten them.'

or

<u>Aⁿ, apáli tok.</u>	'Yes, I have eaten them before.'
----------------------------------	----------------------------------

9.2.2. Incompletive

With adjectives, the incompletive is a comparative, similar to forms with -ish in English. Examples are chínto 'largish, larger than expected, larger than is usual for such things, larger than necessary' (chito), lánkna 'brightish yellow, a brighter yellow than expected.'

Notice that this is not so much a comparison with other things as a comparison with what something might have been like. It is something like a mild 'very,' or a mild emphatic ('pretty big').

With verbs denoting activities which can be easily prolonged, the incompletive expresses the prolongation, or focuses on the activity as it is happening, before it is completed. Thus pisali tok 'I saw it, I looked at it' focuses on the event as a thing completed, or as something which did not last long, while pínsali tok 'I saw it, I was looking at it' expresses a prolonged event, and pínsali hoⁿ 'while I was looking at it' focuses on the event as something which was not completed when something else happened.

With verbs denoting activities which cannot easily be prolonged, like kobaffi 'to break,' the incompletive has essentially the same meanings, but these require that the event be repeated (the normal meaning of the iterative). For example, if one were breaking a single stick once, the plain form kobaffi would be used. It might take some time to break the stick, and in English we might say something like 'while he was breaking that stick, I went and got a drink of water.' In Choctaw, kobaffi denotes only the final successful completion of the event, and one would have to say something like 'while he was trying to break that stick' or 'while he wanted to break that stick.'

If on the other hand, one were breaking up sticks for firewood, the incompletive could be used, as in iti kobánffi tok 'he broke the sticks' or iti kobánffih oⁿ 'while he was breaking the sticks.' Or if a single stick was to be broken up into several pieces, the same expressions would be translated 'he broke up the stick' and 'while he

was breaking up the stick.' Compare this use of the incompleted with that of the iterative.

9.2.3. Instantaneous

With adjectives this is again a kind of comparison, this time between what something was like previously and what it is like now; that is, it indicates an increase in the quality. Examples are chíhto 'a little larger' and lahákna 'turned more yellow.'

With verbs, the instantaneous is used with sudden or instantaneous events, events of especially short duration, or events which occurred without forewarning. Examples are pihsa 'to glance' (pisa), íhshi 'to grab, snatch' (ishi 'to pick up'), ónna 'to show up all of a sudden' (ona 'to arrive there').

9.2.4. Iterative

The idea behind the iterative is that an event is repeated, or occurs several times in a spacial series. The iterative adjective lahánkna could be used to describe a blinking yellow streetlight, or something which kept turning yellow.

With verbs denoting activities which can be prolonged, the iterative can be used to express a greater prolongation, something like 'to keep on . . . ,' or a repetition. For example, pihínsali tok can mean 'I saw it again and again' or 'I kept on looking at it.'

With verbs denoting activities which are not easily prolonged, the usual meaning is that the activity is repeated. Thus iti kobahánffi tok could mean either 'he broke the sticks ('he broke one stick, then

another, then another, . . .') or 'he broke the stick again and again.' As with the incompleted, this requires that several sticks be broken, or that the same stick be broken several times. The difference is that with the continuative, the process is seen as a single event consisting of the breaking of several sticks, or the breaking several times of one stick, while with the iterative, the process is seen as a series of events, breakings.

With either kind of verb, the activity can be viewed as incomplete, as in pihínsalih oⁿ, 'while I was looking them over' and iti kobahánffih oⁿ 'while he was breaking the sticks.'

9.2.5. Intensive

With adjectives, the intensive is a strong 'very,' as in láyyakna 'completely, very yellow,' chieto 'very big,' káwwasha 'really short.'

With verbs denoting activities which can be prolonged, the intensive expresses extreme prolongation, as in piesali tok 'I gazed at it' and bínnīli tok 'he sat in the same place for a long time.'

With verbs denoting activities which are not easily prolonged, the intensive expresses completion, finally, after a prolonged attempt, as in táyyakchi 'to finally get it all tied up,' kóbbaffi tok 'he finally got it to break,' and kóbbāfa tok 'it finally broke' (kobafa).

This analysis of the meanings of the internal changes does not do them justice, I am sure. They can be used to draw fine distinctions in meaning, and are apparently used with greater skill by some speakers.

9.2.6. Special uses

There are a few special uses of internal change which should be noted. Some verbs denote both the assumption of an activity or the activity itself. In the first use, the plain form is most common, while the inceptive is normal in the second. For example, binili might be translated 'to sit down,' and binínli might be translated 'to be sitting, to be seated;' hika might be translated 'to take off,' while hínka would be 'to fly, to be flying.' Notice that the first use is an activity that is not easily prolonged, so that binnīli means 'to finally get to sit down' and hieka means 'to finally get off the ground;' but in the second use, the activity is normally a prolonged one, so that binnīli means 'to sit for a long time' and hieka means 'to fly for a long time.'

9.2.7. Deficient bases

There are a number of common bases which are irregular in that they always appear with a particular internal change, or they never appear in the plain form. Hofáhya 'ashamed' always appears in the instantaneous form. Bánna 'to want,' yímmi 'to believe,' pónna 'to be skilled' always appear in the intensive form. The numerals tóchchīna 'three,' táihlhāpi 'five,' hānnāli 'six,' chākkāli 'nine,' and pókkōli 'ten' always appear in the intensive form. The forms of the verb 'to do' never appear in the plain form (Sec. 11.5).

9:2.8. Non-verbals

The internal changes are also applied to some bases which are not verbals. The best example is the derivation of the possessive pronouns from the free dative pronouns by applying the intensive change. The other examples are not as good in the sense that they may in fact be verbals which take sentences as subjects. The first instance is the change of the recent past tense element tok to the remote past element ttōk, which is intensive. To clarify this change, tok is to ttōk as ipita is to íppīta 'to feed (livestock),' except that tok has lost its initial and final vowels. The postverbal element póllah 'surely' is an intensive form; biekah 'always (every time, in every instance)' and bíllīyah 'always (all the time)' are also intensive forms, but they also appear in the lengthened forms bíka and biliya. The adverb fienah 'very' is an intensive form. The base moma apparently occurs only in the incompletive (móⁿmah 'still, more; all') and the intensive (móyyōmah 'every last one'). The numerals acháffa, 'one,' tóklo 'two,' and óshta 'four' are probably lengthened forms. Other examples exist.

9.3. The forms

9.3.1. Rules and sound changes

The rules for making internal changes are very simple for all forms but the intensive. These rules, for all forms but the intensive are as follows:

- (B) Infix -n- (Incompletive and Iterative),
- (C) Infix -h- (Instantaneous and Iterative),

(D) Vowel lengthening,

(E) Accentuation.

These rules are lettered rather than numbered to distinguish them from sound changes, with which they are intermingled. The sound changes which apply in the formation of the forms are as follows:

(8) $\bar{V}hC \rightarrow \underline{V}hC$; that is, a long vowel followed by h and another consonant is shortened.

(9) $\underline{V}hCC \rightarrow \underline{V}hVCC$; that is, when after -h- is infix, a cluster consisting of three consonants is created, the cluster is broken up by a copy of the preceding vowel.

(16) $VNC \rightarrow V^nC$ if either (a) C is a non-nasal consonant, or (b) C and N are parts of different word elements.

(16') $V^nNC \rightarrow V^nC$ if C is a non-nasal consonant. This is merely a reapplication of the preceding change.

(20) $\underline{h}F \rightarrow \underline{F}F$, optionally, when F is f, lh, s, sh, or ch.

9.3.2. The order of the rules

Before getting to the particular internal changes, a few remarks concerning the order of the rules must be made. Except for the intensive and some bases in the lengthened form, the placement of the infixes can be stated in terms of the form of the base, less the first person singular actor suffix -li. With reference to that form, it is convenient to say that the internal changes are made on the next to the last vowel. We will call this the changing vowel, and capitalize it in the following examples. The changing vowel is selected, and the internal changes made, after the root has been given its active or

passive form (Chapter Five), received its prefixes (Chapter Three and Chapter Eight), and undergone certain sound changes, namely the loss of initial short i (Sec. 7.5).

This can be demonstrated by constructing the incompletive and instantaneous forms for a selection of roots. The first group of roots to be considered are the aCV roots (Sec. 7.3), of which bi 'to kill' is an example. With no prefix, the changing vowel is the element a-, as in Abi 'for him to kill him' and Abili 'for me to kill him;' the continuatives are ámbi and ámbili, and the instantaneous forms are áhbi and áhbili. When there is a prefix, the changing vowel will be the vowel of the prefix, as in sAbi 'to kill me,' chIbi 'to kill you,' and Ishbi 'for you to kill.' The continuatives are sámbi, chímbi, and ínshbi, and the instantaneous forms are sáhbi, chíhbi, and ihíshbi. The negative bases take the lengthened forms; the bases Akbo, kĪbo, kĪhObo, chIkbo, hachIkbo, and Ikbo may be compared with their forms after internal change given in Sec. 7.3.

The second group of roots to be considered are those of two syllables beginning with an initial short i, of which isso 'to hit' is an example. Usually the changing vowel will be the initial i, as in ishIsso 'for you to hit' and Issoli 'for me to hit.' The continuatives are ishínsso and ínssoli, and the instantaneous forms are ishihísso and ihíssoli. If a prefix ending in a vowel is present, the i is lost, and the prefix vowel is the changing vowel, as in sAsso 'to hit me,' which has the forms sánsso and saháссо.

The third class consists of -á 'to give.' A 'to be a' does not undergo internal changes, and á 'to say' is discussed below as an irregular verb. This verb always has a bound dative prefix, and the

vowel of that prefix is the changing vowel, as in Amā 'to give me' and chImā 'to give you.' The continuatives are áⁿmā and chíⁿmā, and the instantaneous forms are áhⁿmā and chihⁿmā.

What these three classes of verbs show is that the internal changes are made after the prefixes are attached and have become part of the base, because sometimes the changing vowel is a prefix vowel.

We turn now to active, passive, and causative bases. From the bases Ishko 'to drink' and Okcha 'to wake' are formed the causatives ishkOchi 'to make him drink' and okchAli 'to awaken.' The continuatives are ínshko, ishkónchi, ónkcha and okchánli, and the instantaneous forms are ihíshko, ishkóhchi, ohókcha, and okcháhli.

Active-passive pairs like bAshli-bAsha are of no interest at present, because the same vowel is the changing vowel in both forms, and nothing can be learned about the ordering. Better are the pairs amo-almo 'to gather (a crop)' and hokchi-holokchi 'to plant.' What these pairs show is that the internal changes follow the formation of the passive with the infix -l-, and subsequent break up of the clusters lCC. The first point is made with amo-almo. In the active the changed forms are áⁿmo and áhmo, from Amo. If the passive infix was then added, the results would be *álahmo, from *álhmo, in the instantaneous form; it is hard to guess what the incompletive form would be. Instead, the internal changes are made on Amo and Almo, resulting in ánlmo and ahálmo in the passive.

With hokchi-holokchi this is even more clear. From the active hOkchi the internally changed forms are hónkchi and hohókchi. The passive is constructed from hokchi by infixation of -l-, giving *holkchi; the cluster is broken up giving holOkchi, to which the internal

changes are applied. The incompletive is holónkchi. The first step of the instantaneous gives *hol0hkchi; the cluster hkch is broken up giving *holoh0kchi; after accentuation, this is holohókchi.

What these examples show is that the internal changes are made following the formation of causatives and passives with -l-, because the vowels of the causative suffixes -chi and -li are counted in selecting the changing vowel, because in words like almo the infixes -n- and -ń- precede the infix -l- rather than follow it, while in other words the vowel used to break up the lCC clusters formed in the passive becomes the changing vowel.

Another point to be made with respect to the order of the rules and sound changes is that accentuation occurs rather late in the derivation. It was clear from the derivation of holohókchi above that accentuation occurs after the cluster hCC is broken up by inserting a vowel after h, because that vowel became the changing vowel for purposes of accentuation. In the discussion of the lengthened form, we will see that it also follows a sound change called vowel lengthening.

We turn now to the construction of the individual internally changed forms. We will continue to capitalize the changing vowels throughout.

9.3.3. Lengthened form

The two rules for the construction of lengthened forms are

- (D) Lengthen the changing vowel unless it is followed by two consonants, and
- (E) Accent the changing vowel.

The changing vowel is first selected as for the other internal changes. Then a sound change occurs which lengthens certain vowels; this sound change is described in detail in Sec. 12.10. In the derivations which follow, we will mark these lengthened vowels with $\hat{_}$. Finally, if the vowel to the right of the original changing vowel is now lengthened, it becomes the changing vowel for the application of (D) and (E), unless it is the last vowel of the word (Sec. 12.12). The derivations of the lengthened forms of tAkchi 'for him to tie,' tAkchili 'for me to tie,' aktAkchi 'to let me tie,' falAma 'for him to return,' falAmali 'for me to return,' pIsa 'for him to see,' pIsali 'for me to see,' and chipIsali 'for me to see you' appear in Chart Eight.

In the last line of the chart, we have not capitalized the changing vowels because it is no longer necessary at that point.

The following rule of thumb can be stated for the formation of the lengthened form: The changing vowel is the next to the last vowel of the base, not counting the vowel of the actor suffix -li, if it is present; if -li is present, and the last vowel of the base is lengthened by the vowel lengthening sound change, then that vowel becomes the changing vowel; make the changing vowel long, unless it is followed by two or more consonants, and accent it.

9.3.4. Incompletive

The rules and sound changes used in the formation of the incompletive are as follows:

- (B) Infix -n- after the changing vowel, and
- (E) Accent the changing vowel.

CHART EIGHT: Derivation of the Lengthened Form

Bases	tAkchi	tAkchili	aktAkchi	falAma	falAmali	pIsa	pIsali	chipIsali
(11) Vowel Lengthening		tAkchilî		falÂma	falÂmali	pIsâ	pIsâli	chipIsali
(0') Shift of Changing Vowel							pisÂli	
(D) Vowel Lengthening				falĀma	falĀmali	pĪsâ	pisĀli	chipĪsali
(E) Accentuation	tákchi	tákchili	aktákchi	faláma	falámali	písa	pisáli	chipísali

The derivations of the incompletives of Impa 'to eat (a meal),' chAnli 'to saw,' fAmmi 'to spank,' Ona 'to arrive there,' Ishbi 'for you to kill' and pIsali 'for me to see' appear in Chart Nine.

CHART NINE: Derivation of the Incompletive

Bases	Impa	chAnli	fAmmi	Ona	Ishbi	pIsali
(B)	Inmpa	chAnnli	fAnmmi	Onna	Inshbi	pInsali
(E)	ímpa	chánnli	fánmmi	ónna	ínshbi	pínsali
(16)	i ⁿ mpa	chá ⁿ nli	fa ⁿ mmi	ó ⁿ na	í ⁿ shbi	pí ⁿ sali
(16')	i ⁿ pa	chá ⁿ li				
Spelling	ímpa	chánnli	fánmmi	óna	ínshbi	pínsali

After the first change to nasalization, change (16), the infix has the form -ⁿ- in all cases. From this we take the rule of thumb for forming the incompletive, as follows: accent the changing vowel and infix -ⁿ- after it, and if the infix is then followed by NC (where C is a non-nasal consonant), then ignore that N. From this same stage in the derivations comes also the spelling of the iterative, by applying the rule on spelling nasal vowels. Note that if the spelling were based on the actual pronunciation, then the incompletive would be distinguished from the plain form only by the presence of the accent, which is not written for most purposes.

9.3.5. Instantaneous

The rules and sound changes for the formation of the instantaneous are the following:

- (C) Infix -h- after the changing vowel,
 (8) Shorten long vowels which precede hC,
 (9) Break up the cluster hCC by inserting a copy of the preceding vowel, to form hVCC,
 (E) Accent the changing vowel, and
 (20) Change hF to FF if F is f, lh, s, sh, or ch, optionally.

The vowel inserted by (9) is thereafter the changing vowel, since it is the next to the last vowel of the base, ignoring the actor suffix -li if it is present. Instantaneous derivations of wĀya 'to grow,' chĀha 'tall,' hĀbli 'to kick,' tAkchi 'to tie,' ona 'to arrive there,' sasso 'to hit me,' and ishbi 'for you to kill' appear in Chart Ten.

The last listed sound change is optional. Its operation is illustrated by the following pairs of instantaneous forms: hochĭhfo/hochĭffo 'to read, call by name,' ĭhshi/ĭshshi 'to pick up,' pĭhsa/pĭssa 'to see,' and pisáhchi/pisáchchi 'to show.'

The rule of thumb for constructing the instantaneous if the changing vowel is followed by only one consonant is as follows: shorten the changing vowel if it is long, infix -h- after it, and accent it. The rule where the changing vowel is followed by more than one consonant is as follows: shorten the changing vowel if it is long, and infix -hV- after it, where V is a copy of the (shortened) changing vowel.

CHART TEN: Derivation of the Instantaneous

Bases	wāya	chāha	hābli	tAkchi	Ona	sAsso	Ishbi
(C)	wāhya	chāhha	hāhbli	tAhkchi	Ohna	sAhssO	Ihshbi
(8)	wAhya	chAhha	hAhbli	tahAkchi	óhna	sahAsso	ihIshbi
(9)	wáhya	cháhha	hahAbli	tahákchi		sahássO	ihíshbi
(E)			hahábli				

9.3.6. Iterative

The rules for the formation of the iterative are as follows:

- (B) Infix -n- after the changing vowel,
- (C) Infix -h- after the changing vowel,
- (8) Shorten a long vowel followed by hC,
- (9) Break up the cluster hCC by inserting a copy of the preceding vowel to form hVCC,
- (E) Accent the changing vowel,
- (16) $VNC \rightarrow V^nC$, where N and C are not parts of the same element,
- (16') $V^nNC \rightarrow V^nC$, where C is not a nasal consonant.

As is apparent, these are the rules for the instantaneous and incomplete combined. Considering the order of (B) and (C), the iterative might be called the instantaneous incomplete. The iteratives of wāya 'to grow,' tAkchi 'to tie,' Impa 'to eat (a meal),' Ona 'to arrive there,' fAmmi 'to spank,' sAsso 'to hit me,' and Ishbi 'for you to kill' are given in Chart Eleven.

After (D) has applied, the internal change has the form -hV̂n- in all instances, with V a copy of the changing vowel. Nasalization always occurs to change this to -hV̂ⁿ-. From this we have the rule of thumb for forming the iterative as follows: shorten the changing vowel if it is long, infix -hV̂ⁿ- after it, and if the infix is followed by NC (where C is a non-nasal consonant), ignore that N. From -hV̂ⁿ- come also the spellings of the last row of the chart, by the rules for spelling nasal vowels. As was the case in the incomplete the spelling of the iterative forms of bases like impa and chanli spell the nasalization twice; in the case of impa, for example, the m belongs to

CHART ELEVEN: Derivation of the Iterative

Bases	wāya	tAkchi	Impa	Ona	fAmmi	sAsso	Ishbi
(B)	wānya	tAnkchi	Inmpa	Onna	fAnmmi	sAnso	Inshbi
(C)	wāhnya	tAhnkchi	Ihnmpa	Ohna	fAhnm̄mi	sAhnsso	Ihnshbi
(3)	wAhnya						
(9)	wahanya	tahAnkchi	ihInmpa	ohOnna	fahAnmmi	sahAnso	ihInshbi
(E)	wahánya	tahánkchi	ihínmpa	ohónna	fahánmmi	sahánsso	ihínshbi
(16)	wahá ⁿ ya	tahá ⁿ kchi	ihí ⁿ mpa	ohó ⁿ na	fahá ⁿ mmi	sahá ⁿ sso	ihí ⁿ shbi
(16')			ihí ⁿ pa				
Spelling	wahánya	tahánkchi	ihímpa	ohóna	fahám̄mi	sahánsso	ihínshbi

the base, and the underlining is redundant, but distinguishes the iterative from the instantaneous when accents are omitted.

9.4. The Intensive

It is difficult to formulate a series of rules for the construction of intensive forms similar to those set forth for the other internally changed forms. There appear to be two main methods of formation which we will call the simple and the complex. Since at least some bases can use either method, and since the Choctaw consultants who helped assemble this material often had difficulty deciding what the intensive form of a particular base should be, it is possible that the simple and complex methods of formation are in fact different internal changes with different meanings. At the same time, as will be made clear in the discussion of the simple method, it is possible that the two methods result from different ways of looking at the structure of certain bases, and that this was not understood because of my failure to note an accent.

9.4.1. By the complex method

The complex method is that applied to most bases. The general rule is

$VCV \rightarrow \acute{V}CC\bar{V}$ when followed by a single consonant,

$VCV \rightarrow \acute{V}CCV$ when followed by two consonants, and at the ends of words.

When the second V is long after this rule applies, it seems to have a falling accent; that is, the vowel begins on a high note and glides

down to a low note. This is very important to remember during the discussion of the simple method.

This rule is applied if at all possible to the verbal base less the personal affixes. These become involved, however, when the bases are those discussed in Chapter Seven. This will become clear in the following.

The first manner of applying the rule is seen in the intensive forms of verbals whose bases have at least three syllables. Examples are

VCV	→	ṼCCṼ	
<u>anoli</u>		<u>ánnōli</u>	'to tell'
<u>kobafa</u>		<u>kóbbāfa</u>	'to break'
<u>binili</u>		<u>bínnīli</u>	'to sit'
<u>okchamali</u>		<u>okchámmāli</u>	'blue, green'
<u>tokwikili</u>		<u>tokwikkīli</u>	'to shine'
<u>atokoli</u>		<u>atókkōli</u>	'to elect'

and

VCV	→	ṼCCV	
<u>atobbi</u>		<u>áttobbi</u>	'to pay'
<u>kobaffi</u>		<u>kóbbaffi</u>	'to break'
<u>talakchi</u>		<u>tállakchi</u>	'to be tied.'

In all of these cases, the two vowels undergoing change are the second and third from the end.

The second manner of applying rule (D) requires bases of two syllables, either CVCV or VCV, in which the last C is one of the resonants m, n, or l. The only known cases are

VCV	→	ṼCCV	
<u>pila</u>		<u>pílla</u>	'to throw'
<u>ami</u>		<u>ámmi</u>	(free dative)
<u>pimi</u>		<u>pímmi</u>	(free dative).

and the other possessive pronouns, even those of three syllables, formed from the free dative (hapímmi, chímmi, hachímmi, ímmi). Póllah 'surely,' a post verbal, can be added to this list; the base before internal change is theoretically *pola.

The third manner of applying the rule can be stated in two steps. The bases are those which do not have a form suitable for the other manners of application. The first step gives them such a form, and the second step is the general rule. Examples are

	VCV	→	ṼCCV	
V	→	VyV	→	ṼyyV
<u>takchi</u>	<u>tayakchi</u>		<u>táyyakchi</u>	'to tie'
<u>lawa</u>	<u>layawa</u>		<u>láyyāwa</u>	'many'
<u>ona</u>	<u>oyona</u>		<u>óyyōna</u>	'to arrive there'
<u>oktabli</u>	<u>oktayabli</u>		<u>oktáyyabli</u>	'to dam up'
<u>nokshōpa</u>	<u>nokshovopa</u>		<u>nokshóyyōpa</u>	'afraid'
<u>talakchi</u>	<u>talayakchi</u>		<u>taláyyakchi</u>	'to be tied'
<u>shāli</u>	<u>shayali</u>		<u>sháyyāli</u>	'to carry'
<u>chompa</u>	<u>choyompa</u>		<u>chóyyompa</u>	'to buy'
<u>pisa</u>	<u>piyisa</u>		<u>píyyīsa</u>	'to see'
<u>pila</u>	<u>piyila</u>		<u>píyyīla</u>	'to throw.'

Note that alternative intensives exist for talakchi (tállakchi/taláyyakchi) 'to be tied' and pila (pílla/píyyīla) 'to throw.'

There are two important sound changes that apply to forms constructed in this manner. After sh and ch, a and o change to i in some dialects, so that sháyyāli is pronounced shíyyāli and chóyyompa is pronounced chíyyompa, for example. In all but the most precise speech, íyyi changes to ie. The intensives of pisa and pila are then piesa and piela. In general, the effect is that of a long vowel with a falling accent, but in slow speech it is heard to be two long i's, the first being accented.

9.4.2. By the simple method

The simple method consists of changing the changing vowel to a long vowel with falling accent. In one set of examples, the changing vowel is preceded by two consonants. Some of these bases also form the intensive in the manner last described. Writing the long vowels with a falling accent as double vowels, the known examples are

<u>bokkanha</u>	→	<u>bokkaanha</u>	'to beat'
<u>toksali</u>		<u>toksaali/toksáyyāli</u>	'to work'
<u>chokkowa</u>		<u>chokkoowa/chokkóyyōwa</u>	'to enter'
<u>akkowa</u>		<u>akkoowa/akkóyyōwa</u>	'to climb down.'

Because these all have consonant clusters preceding the changing vowel, and because the changing vowel is long with a falling accent, these may actually be examples of the complex method in which an original double consonant or consonant cluster plays the role of the doubled consonant. If this is correct, then the first vowel should be accented. The forms would then be written tóksāli, chókkōwa, ákkōwa, and bókkānha, the same pattern as kóbbāfa.

There are other occurrences of long vowels with falling accents which were offered as intensive forms which cannot be similarly accounted for. In all of these cases, there are alternate intensive forms made by the complex method. Examples are

<u>taakchi</u> / <u>táyyakchi</u>	from <u>takchi</u> 'to tie'
<u>oona</u> / <u>óyyōna</u>	from <u>ona</u> 'to arrive there'
<u>falaaya</u> / <u>fállāya</u>	from <u>falaya</u> 'long'
<u>taahli</u> / <u>táyyahli</u>	from <u>tahli</u> 'to finish,'

and many more. It is possible that this is a new formation based on the relation between the plain and intensive forms of bases like pisa with the changing vowel i, illustrated by pisa-piesa. But because it appears to be applicable to any base, it is possible that it is an independent internally changed form, or simply the results of emphasizing the word. Word emphasis is commonly accomplished by lengthening the next to the last vowel and giving it a falling accent. Examples of this with nouns are ohooyo 'a WOMAN' and aalla 'a CHILD.' The same lengthening and falling accent are found at the ends of exclamations, as in yakokie 'thanks,' yakie 'look out,' pisali tok okie 'I did see it,' and ishtakchinnaa 'don't tie it!'.

9.5. Irregular bases

The three bases aywa 'to gather up,' akkwa 'to climb down, dismount, get out of a car,' and chokkwa 'to enter' are contracted from ayowa, akkowa, and chokkowa when no internal changes are to be made.

The forms are otherwise regular, being

(plain)	<u>aywa</u>	<u>akkwa</u>	<u>chokkwa</u>
(lengthened)	<u>áyowa</u>	<u>ákkowa</u>	<u>chókkowa</u>

(incompletive)	<u>ayónwa</u>	<u>akkónwa</u>	<u>chokkónwa</u>
(instantaneous)	<u>ayóhwa</u>	<u>akkóhwa</u>	<u>chokkóhwa</u>
(iterative)	<u>ayohónwa</u>	<u>akkohónwa</u>	<u>chokkohónwa</u>
(intensive)	<u>áyyōwa</u>	<u>akkóyyōwa</u>	<u>chokkóyyōwa,</u>

with possible alternative intensive forms akkoowa and chokkoowa, as described in the preceding section.

The base ā 'to say' forms internal changes regularly when it occurs with the causative suffixes -chi and -li (with this base, these suffixes do not have any meaning). Without these suffixes, only the iterative form occurs, as either aháⁿa [ahaaⁿ] or ahánya. Analogous remarks apply to mákā/mákāchi/mákāli 'to say so, to say that.' And although the forms without mák- occur with bound dative prefixes, still the prefixes are not used in the formation of the changed forms; that is, the iterative of imā is imaháⁿa or imahánya, not ihíⁿmā.

CHAPTER TEN

THE ARTICLES

The most confounding feature of Choctaw grammar is without question the use of the elements we will call articles. These uses are to some extent explained in Sections 13.3.2, 15.5, 16.3, 16.4, 16.5, and 18.2, and Chapter Nineteen. In this chapter, discussion is limited to the inflection of articles for case and emphasis.

The articles which undergo affixation, and the forms in which they appear, are given in Chart Twelve.

CHART TWELVE: The Forms of the Articles

'a/the'	a	ak	at	ato	a ⁿ	ano
'that'	ma	mak	mat	mato	ma ⁿ	mano
'this'	pa	pak	pat	pato	pa ⁿ	pano
(focus)	o		osh		o ⁿ	
'as such'	óká	ókak	ókat	ókato	óká ⁿ	ókano
	BASE	COMBINING FORM	Emph SUBJECT CASE		Emph OBLIQUE CASE	

The only sound change found in the chart is the change of final n to ⁿ; this is an instance of the general rule that final nasals are replaced by nasalization of the preceding vowel in all parts of speech except nouns.

The base forms are used in exclamations; examples are anki ma 'Oh, my father,' pisa tok a 'he did see it.' They are also used when an expression occurs in isolation, as in an answer to an information question. This is illustrated in the following sequence.

- (1) Kátah osh chinki? 'Who is your father?'
- (2) Hattak ma. 'That man.'
- (3) Hattak mat anki. 'That man is my father.'

The combining forms are used when another article follows, as in ak osh, mak ókat, and ókak osh.

The subject case forms are used in noun phrases when the noun is subject of the sentence, and in conjunctions when the subjects of the connected sentences are the same; while the oblique case forms are used in all other instances. This gives only a rough idea of the use of the cases; Part Three must be consulted for the details. The subject case element is -t, the oblique case element is -n. These may be followed by the emphasis element -o.

We will not try to define the bases; each has such a variety of uses that the translations given in the chart will have to serve here.

Two of the bases, ma and pa, comprise a class which we will call the demonstratives. They occur also in long forms, constructed by prefixing yaC- and ilaC-, where C is a copy of the following consonant. There are three patterns in which these prefixes are combined with the bases, each found in some dialects. These three sets of demonstratives are

<u>ma</u>	<u>ma</u>	<u>ma</u>
<u>yamma</u>	<u>yamma</u>	<u>ilamma</u>

pa pa pa
ilappa yappa ilappa.

These long forms take the case suffixes and emphasis suffix in the same manner as the short forms, as in yammat, yammato, yammaⁿ, and yammano.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
THE INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE PRONOUNS
AND THE PROVERBS

11.1. Introduction

The elements discussed in this chapter, with one exception, do not undergo sound changes, or provide the conditions in which other elements undergo sound changes, and so do not really fit the criteria for inclusion in Part Two as these were established in Chapter Four. They are included in this part because they illustrate a quite different use of the elements -t and -n discussed in the preceding chapter, and because they are so common, and so essential to the discussion of syntax, that it seemed best to assemble the material here for reference.

11.2. Meanings

The interrogative-indefinite pronouns are difficult to define, not because their meanings are difficult to pin down, but because the English indefinite pronoun system glosses over a number of distinctions in normal usage, some of which can be expressed only clumsily. For example, some books corresponds to Choctaw holísso when it is simply the plural of a book, and an answer to the question 'what?'; to Choctaw holísso kanóhmih when it might by improvisation be rendered some number of books or I don't know how many--some as an answer to the question 'how many?'; and to Choctaw holísso kanímmah as an answer to the

question 'which books?', in which case the rendering might be some certain books or some books or other depending on the context. In addition, some of the Choctaw interrogative-indefinite pronouns have more than one use, and consequently more than one meaning. For example, katímmah means 'which?' in holíссо katímmah oⁿ 'which book?', for which the answer might be holíссо hómma ak oⁿ 'the red one,' but 'where?' in katímmah iya tok? 'where did he go?', for which the answer might be tamaha iya tok 'he went to town.'

11.3. Forms

In Chart Thirteen interrogative-indefinite pronouns and proverbs are given with provisional translations; more suitable translations will emerge in Part Three.

CHART THIRTEEN: Interrogative-Indefinite Pronouns and -verbs

	Interrogative	Indefinite	
what?	náta.	nána	something
who?	káta	kána	someone
how come?	nátimi	nánimi	for some reason
what for?	kati	kani	for some reason
where? which?	katímma	kanímma	somewhere, some
which (of two)?	katímámpo	kanímámpo	one (of two)
when?	katími	kaními	sometime
do what?	katíomi	kaníomi	do something
do what to?	katiomíhchi	kaníomíhchi	do something to
how many?	katóhmi	kanóhmi	some number of

The diligent reader, one who does not pass over charts with reckless abandon, will have noted in due course that what distinguishes the interrogative forms from the indefinite forms is that where the former have t, the latter have n.

There are a number of variations of this chart which occur in different dialects. Beside the base nā- is found nān-, and consequently nānta nāⁿna and nāntimi nāⁿnimi. In some dialects, katími kaními and katimíhchi kanimíhchi replace katíomi kaníomi and katiomíhchi kaniomíhchi, respectively. In some dialects katíomi kaníomi replaces katímma kanímma in the sense 'which, some,' while in others katímma kanímma are pronounced katómma kanómma.

'What for?', 'how come?', and the corresponding indefinites, and the last four pairs of items are verbals and end usually in -h or -k or a tense element as these are called for by the context. 'What?', 'who?', and 'where?', and their indefinites are not verbals, but seem to always end in -h. 'Which?' and 'Which (of two)?' and their indefinites are used as adjectives in noun phrases, and end in -h normally, but in -k if the sense is partitive (which of is partitive, which is not).

11.4. Derivatives with kan- and nān-

The bases kan- and nān- are used in some derivations. From pila 'to throw,' iya 'to go,' and -chi (causative) are formed kāmpila 'to throw away,' kaniya 'to wander off, to go away,' and kanchi 'to sell.' Many verbs prepose nān and are then nominalized; nān occurs before vowels, nāⁿ before consonants, just as we find on before vowels, oⁿ before consonants (Sec. 3.4.3). Examples are nāⁿ nokshōpa 'wild animal'

from nokshōpa 'scared, undomesticated,' and nān okchānya 'creature'
from okchānya 'to be living.'

11.5. The formation of the proverbs

The fundamental base for proverbs is mi. From this is formed omi, which by itself is used as an interjection meaning 'okay, so be it.' With the causative suffix -chi it forms a base míhchi which always appears in the instantaneous form, meaning 'to do,' as in nāta ishmíhchih aⁿ 'what did you do?' and yammak oⁿ míhchili tok 'I did that.' With nāti and kati and their indefinites it forms nātimi and katími and their indefinites, and in the instantaneous nātihmi and katíhmi and their indefinites.

The base omi with kat- and kan forms katóhmi and kanóhmi, always in the instantaneous, except for the diminutive kanomósi 'a very few.'

The base omi also expands to yóhmi 'to be thus, to be likewise,' which usually appears in the instantaneous, but also occurs in the iterative, yohóⁿmi. The corresponding causatives yomíhchi and yomihínchi mean 'to do the same.' To these four forms are added kati and its indefinite to construct katiyóhmi, katiyohóⁿmi, katiyomíhchi, and katiyomihínchi and their indefinites, as they appear in the missionary works; these are shortened to katíomi, katihóⁿmi, katiomíhchi, and katiomihínchi in modern dialects which retain them. The non-causatives mean 'to do what?, to do it how?', and the causatives mean 'to do what to him?, to do it how to him?'

The base omi in the instantaneous óhmi is used to form mildly emphatic sentences, as in ishpah osh óhmih 'you sure are eating (good).'

The bases chóhmi, chóyyōmi are used as adverbs of degree, as in chichāha chóhmi 'you are pretty tall' and chichāha chóyyōmi 'you're REALLY TALL.'

There are a number of other proverbs which we will merely list, the reader being in a position to analyse them for himself, now. These are yokmíhchi/yakomíhchi 'to do it this way,' yakóhmi 'be thus,' yamíhchi 'to do that,' yamóhmi 'to be like that,' all based ultimately on mi, and nátíhchi 'to do what?' and the indefinite náníhchi 'to do something.'

CHAPTER TWELVE
A SUMMARY OF THE SOUND CHANGES

12.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters of Part Two we have presented certain structural elements of Choctaw words, their meanings, and the manners in which they are affixed to bases. Incidental to this, we listed and illustrated the sound changes which apply after the elements are affixed to the base. In this chapter we reverse the procedure; that is, we present the sound changes of Choctaw, their order with respect to one another and to the processes of word construction, and incidentally the structural elements and bases to which they apply.

A few remarks must be made concerning the sound changes as presented here as compared to their previous presentation. They retain the same numbering as in previous chapters, for ease of cross reference; in effect, this chapter was written first, and after the order of the changes had been determined, they were numbered accordingly. Then the other chapters were written, and the sound changes applying to the subject matter of each were inserted with the same numbers. But the statement of the sound changes was modified to include only such details as were needed in that chapter. Here, on the other hand, each sound change is stated with the greatest possible generality permitted by present knowledge of Choctaw. In addition, this chapter includes a discussion of vowel lengthening, which has up to now been ignored, and

nasalization, which has been only touched on. Irregular changes, such as the change of a to i or o before the causative suffix -li (Sec. 5.5), and the change of the echo sa- to si- before a and o (Sec. 3.6), are omitted from this chapter.

The rules of word formation and sound changes have been ordered according to the following principles, where the ordering was otherwise inconsequential: When the relative order of two sound changes depends on the way they are stated, the order is chosen which allows the most general statements. When the order of a sound change cannot otherwise be determined, it is grouped with other sound changes which apply to the same word element or elements.

12.2. Initial affixation

Before any sound changes are applied, several of the processes of word formation operate. It is essential for our presentation that the following operate initially:

suffixation of -li, -chi and -a in the formation of active and passive bases, and

the formation of plural and dual bases of verbals by prefixation of ho-, suffixation of -oh, and replacement.

It is possible to consider all formational processes except internal change to apply initially, but it is in some ways convenient not to do so.

12.3. Group One sound changes

Except for the third, all of these sound changes apply to consonant clusters created when the active suffix -li is suffixed to a base. Some of these must precede the infixation of the passive -l- and the Group Two sound changes; the others are included because they also apply to clusters created by -li. They are

- (1) CYC → CC, where Y is y or w; the semivowels y and w are lost between consonants.
- (2) C'CL → C'C, where C' is not a nasal; l is lost after two consonants, if the first is not n or m.
- (3) C'CC → CC, where C' is not a nasal; in a cluster of three consonants, the first is lost if it is not n or m.
- (4) VYC → V̄C, where Y is y or w, except where VY is iw. Except for the sequence iwC, a semivowel is lost before a consonant, and the preceding vowel is made long.
- (5) B₁ → BB, where B is b, f, m, or w; that is, b₁, f₁, m₁, w₁ change to bb, ff, mm, and ww, respectively.
- (6) p₁ → b₁, and
t₁ → d₁ → l₁.
- (7) l_{h1} → l_{h1h}.

Sound changes (1), (4), and (5) (insofar as it applies to w₁) operate to maintain the rule stated in Chapter One, that semivowels do not occur before other consonants. Sound changes (2) and (3) maintain the rule, also stated in Chapter One, that the only clusters of three consonants permitted are those in which the first is a nasal.

Sound change (1) is illustrated by the active forms of the bases achonw- 'to sew' and chany- 'to saw,' these being achonli and chanli;

compare the passive forms ahchonwa and chanya. These are the only two examples found, and they may be spurious. That is, the n may be an element added to the bases achow- and chay- later in the rules, after sound change (4). The derivations would then be, for example,

<u>chay-</u>	(Base)
<u>chayli</u>	(Initial affixation)
<u>chāli</u>	(4)
<u>chānli</u>	(Infixation of <u>-n-</u>).

After sound change (16) (nasalization), the results of chānli and chanli would both be [chāⁿli]. Compare chāli 'hoe,' which suggests that the root is in fact chay-. Compare with achonw- the base lhachow- 'to become a weeping sore,' which consists of lha- 'to ooze' and chow- ('perforate' ?), which suggests that the root may be chow-.

Sound change (2) takes care of the other cases in which clusters of three consonants are created by suffixing -li, when the first consonant is not a nasal. The only roots this is known to occur in are fokk- 'to be inside' and kochch- 'to go outside.' Compare the passives 'fokka' 'to be inside' and kochcha 'to go outside' with the actives fokki 'to put inside' and kochchi 'to put outside.'

Sound change (3) applies to the plural of himitta 'young.' The first plural form is himittowa, consisting of himitt-, -oh (plural suffix), and -a (passive suffix); the sound change does not, of course, apply to this form. The second is himithowa, consisting of himitt-, -h (duplicate of the first consonant), -oh and -a. Here, sound change (3) reduces tth to th.

Sound change (4) applies to a fairly large number of words. Examples of active and passive forms are kōli kowa 'to boil,' anōli

annowa 'to tell,' talāli talaya 'to set,' and lhipīli lhipiya 'to lay or lie prone.' The exceptional sequence iw is found in tiw- 'to open,' discussed in the next paragraph.

Sound change (5) also applies to a large number of words. Active-passive pairs are atobbi alhtoba 'to pay,' loffī lofa 'to husk,' fammi fama 'to spank,' and tiwwi tiwa 'to open.' The last is the only example of iw at the end of a root, so it is the only exception to sound change (4), and the only instance of the application of (5) to wl.

Sound change (6) also applies to a large number of words. Examples are the active-passive pairs tabli tapa 'to cut in two' and bicholli bichota 'to bend.'

Sound change (7) applies in a few cases; an example is nalhlhi nalha 'to sting, shoot.'

12.3.1. Order of the changes

A few remarks may be made concerning the order of the changes. Since (1) may be spurious, and (1), (2), and (3) are called for in only a small number of bases, nothing will be said about their order. If (4) precedes (5), the latter may be made to apply to all cases of wl, just as it applies to all cases of bl, fl, and ml. If (5) were to precede (4), on the other hand, (5) would apply to all cases of bl, fl, and ml, but to wl only if it was preceded by i. The order was based on a decision to make (4) rather than (5) contain the exception. Sound change (5) must precede (6); otherwise, after pl changed to bl it would change further to bb, which it doesn't. Sound change (7) could occur at any time, with the same results.

There are several reasons for listing the Group One sound changes first. One reason is that it is convenient to have out of the way the sound changes applying to the plural bases and the active and passive bases, so that these can be treated as elements rather than as sequences of elements in the remainder. In fact, the sequence mm which arises from ml is treated as though both m's were parts of the same element by sound change (16) (nasalization).

12.4. The passive infix

The next rule adds the infix -l- to certain passive bases. It is

(A) Infix -l- after the first vowel of certain passive bases.

The passive bases which take this infix must be listed (Chapter Five). The ordering of this rule, and illustrations, are discussed after the next two groups of rules and changes because of their ordering relationships. It can be said here, however, that this rule precedes General Affixation, because of the language we are using to describe word formation. We say that an element is added to a base, and that a base may consist of a root and other elements which have been previously added to it. When the infix -l- is added, the vowels of the prefixes added in General Affixation are not counted; the infix must be added then before those other affixes. Conceptually, then, the active and passive bases are completely formed before any other affixes are added.

12.5. Group Two sound changes

This small group of changes applies after (A), and then again after (B) and (C). They are

- (8) $\bar{V}C'C \rightarrow VC'C$, where C' is h or l; a long vowel is shortened before a consonant cluster if the first consonant is h or l.
- (9) $VC'CC \rightarrow VC'VCC$, where C' is not a nasal; a cluster of three consonants, the first of which is not a nasal, is broken up by inserting a copy of the preceding vowel after the first consonant.

A discussion of these changes is postponed temporarily.

12.6. General affixation

The next set of rules, which we will not letter, are the remaining rules of word formation, except those relating to internal change. In their approximate order, they are

the formation of compounds, including those that give rise to the diminutive and augmentative, then

the prefixation of -l- to certain relationship nouns as a preliminary to

the affixation of the personal affixes to bases, then

the prefixation of k-, with subsequent replacement of most active affixes, and the suffixation of the negative element -o, then

the prefixation of a- to roots of the form CV in the absence of other prefixes, and

the suffixation of the case elements -t, -sh, and -n, and the emphasis element -o.

Accompanying these process is the following sound change:

- (10) $\underline{V}i \rightarrow \underline{V}$; a short i is lost after another vowel.

The sequence Vi arises when a base with an initial short i receives a prefix ending in a vowel. For example, from the bases isso 'to hit' and iskitini 'little' we have sasso 'to hit me' and saskitini 'I am little,' with the prefix sa-.

12.7. The rule on the changing vowel

The internal changes, with the exception of the intensive, can be best described with reference to what we call the changing vowel. This is defined as follows:

- (0) Ignoring the suffix -li 'I,' the changing vowel is the next to the last vowel of the base. (But see Sec. 9.5.)

The changing vowel is not something constant; rather, it must be determined anew each time a rule of internal change is to be applied. It is a convention, introduced for convenience only, and so has no order in the rules and sound changes.

12.8. The aspectual infixes

The rules for affixing these elements, along with rules (D) and (E), are the rules for the formation of the internal changes. They are

- (B) Infix -n- after the changing vowel in the incomplete and iterative aspects.
- (C) Infix -h- after the changing vowel in the instantaneous and iterative aspects.

The rules and sound changes which have just been discussed apply in the following order:

The Passive Infix(A) -1-Group Two Sound Changes(8) $\bar{V}C'C \rightarrow VC'C$ (9) $VC'CC \rightarrow VC'VCC$

General Affixation

(the affixes, etc.)

(10) $V_i \rightarrow V$ The Aspectual Infixes

(B) -n-

(C) -h-

Group Two Sound Changes.

That is, after a derivation has gone through the rules as they have been presented, it goes through the Group Two sound changes a second time.

Sound change (8) is illustrated by the derivation of alhpitta 'placed in a container,' as follows:

<u>\bar{a}pitta</u>	Base
<u>\bar{a}lpitta</u>	(A)
<u>alpitta</u>	(8)
<u>alhpitta</u>	(18).

The derivation of wáhya 'to grow (instantaneous)' is as follows:

<u>\bar{w}aya</u>	Base
<u>\bar{w}ahya</u>	(C)
<u>wahya</u>	(8)
<u>wáhya</u>	(E).

The only time this sound change is called for is when C' is one of the infixes -l- or -h-. But it cannot be stated "where C' is an infix" because it does not apply to long vowels preceding the infix -n-. Still, the statement of the rule could be made more general, in that C' need not be limited specifically to l and h. This is because the occurrence of long vowels before consonant clusters is fairly restricted. In the absence of accurate knowledge of these restrictions, however, the change will have to remain as stated.

Sound change (9) is illustrated by the derivations of talakchi 'to be tied' and tahakchi 'to tie (instantaneous).'

The first is

<u>takchi</u>	Base
<u>talkchi</u>	(A)
<u>talakchi</u>	(9),

and the second is

<u>takchi</u>	Base
<u>tahkchi</u>	(C)
<u>tahakchi</u>	(9)
<u>tahakchi</u>	(E).

The relative order of sound changes (8) and (9) is established by the instantaneous forms of bases containing a long vowel before two consonants. The derivation of hahabli 'to kick (instantaneous)' is

<u>hāp-</u>	Base
<u>hāpli</u>	Active Suffix
<u>hābli</u>	(6)
<u>hāhbli</u>	(C)
<u>hahbli</u>	(8)

hahabli (9)

hahábli (E).

The plain form is hábli 'to kick.' One could, of course, reverse the order of (8) and (9), and restate (8) to apply to a long vowel followed by one of the infixes -h- or -l-. Stated in this way, the part played by change (8) in maintaining the rules of the distributions of sounds would be lost, since otherwise long vowels are found before hV and lV, but never before hC or lC.

Obviously, (8) and (9) must follow (A) and (C). That (B) and (C) must follow (8) and (9) is illustrated in the derivations of the incomplete, instantaneous, and iterative of the passive of takchi, talakchi. The derivation of talakchi appears at the top of the preceding page. The further derivations are, in the order listed above,

<u>talankchi</u>	<u>talakchi</u>	<u>talankchi</u>	(B)
	<u>talakchi</u>	<u>talahnkchi</u>	(C)
	<u>talakchi</u>	<u>talahnkchi</u>	(9)
<u>talánkchi</u>	<u>talahákchi</u>	<u>talahánkchi</u>	(E).

The point is that the vowel inserted by (9) to break up the cluster created by infixing -l- is the vowel with respect to which rules (B) and (C) apply, so (9) must precede (B) and (C). Thereafter, (9) applies again to insert a vowel to break up the clusters created by infixing -h-. To show that (B) and (C) follow the application of (8) before clusters involving the infix -l- would require a base of the form CV̄CCV, with the following derivation:

<u>CV̄CCV</u>	Base
<u>CV̄lCCV</u>	(A)

CV1CCV (8)

CV1VCCV (9),

the last line being the form of the passive to which (B) and (C) would apply. At present, no such base is known.

It is important to note that the correct results cannot be obtained by beginning with a sequence like lh, where l is the passive infix and h is the instantaneous infix, and then applying (9) repeatedly. This is so because while the derivation

<u>takchi</u>	Base
<u>tahkchi</u>	(C)
<u>talhkchi</u>	(A)
<u>talahkchi</u>	(9)
<u>talahakchi</u>	(9)
<u>talahákchi</u>	(E)

gives the correct results, the derivation

<u>hoba</u>	Base
<u>hohba</u>	(C)
<u>holhba</u>	(A)
<u>holohba</u>	(9)
<u>holóhba</u>	(E)

required by such an ordering does not. The correct result, hohólba 'to resemble' (instantaneous) is given by the order we have established.

The order of General Affixation is somewhat arbitrary, as explained, and may be wrong. The single bit of evidence that it is wrong is the passive of mo 'to gather (a crop).' If the passive infix were added before the empty prefix a- one would expect the passive to be *ilmo; compare in particular the passive of pa 'to eat,' with the derivation

ilpa → ilhpa 'to be eaten (obsolete),' which is nominalized to ílhpa/ílhpak 'food.' Instead, the derivation seems to be mo → amo → almo. In other words, it may be that the prefixation of a- to CV roots must precede (A). But since it is in turn dependent on the presence of other prefixes (the echoes), the affixation of these must then also precede (A).

It is clear that General Affixation and sound change (10) must precede (B) and (C). This is so because the changing vowel with reference to which the infixes are applied is very often a prefix vowel. This was discussed in detail in Sec. 9.3.2.

The relative order of (B) and (C) is settled by the iterative, to which both contribute. Applied in the order given, the resulting sequence of infixes is -h-n-, which is correct, while the reverse order gives the incorrect sequence -n-h-.

12.9. The intensive

Since there at present does not seem to be any good way to reduce the formation of the intensive form of verbals to a simple set of rules, we refer the reader to the prior discussion of these forms (Sec. 9.4). The accent of this internal change is accounted for, however, in the rule on accentuation as it appears below.

12.10. Vowel lengthening

Before the final rules for the construction of the internal changes can be given, a sound change which lengthens certain short vowels must apply to all bases. This sound change is easy to apply in practice, and

easy for people learning Choctaw to learn, but it is difficult to describe. It is perhaps easiest to take it piece by piece. The heart of the change is stated in (11).

- (11) Taking only syllables within the scope of the rule, beginning at the left, lengthen each short syllable which is preceded by a short syllable.

To fully understand this rule, one must know what a short syllable is, how a syllable is lengthened, what it means to begin at the left, and what the scope of the rule is.

A short syllable is a syllable ending in a short vowel. All other syllables are long.

A short syllable is lengthened by lengthening its vowel; hence the sound change is called vowel lengthening.

The sound change does not apply to all the syllables in a word, only to those within the scope of the sound change. This scope begins near the beginning or left of a word and extends to the end. The problem is to determine exactly where it begins. The first step is to find the inner base of the word, that part of the word consisting of the root, the elements added by initial affixation, the passive infix, and the aspectual infixes, but not including any of the elements added by general affixation except a-. The scope of the sound change begins either with the first syllable of the inner base, or with the first syllable of the prefix ili- (reflexive), or with the last prefix syllable before the inner base, depending on whether there are prefixes present, and if there are, their series and the number of syllables in the inner base.

If there is no prefix in the word, then the scope begins with the inner base, which is also the beginning of the word.

If the prefix ili- is present, the scope begins with that element.

If any other prefix is present, and ili- is not, and the inner base is three syllables or more long, then the scope begins with the inner base. But if the inner base is only two syllables or one syllable, then the scope begins with the last prefix syllable.

Rule (11) says to begin at the left. This means that the sound change applies first to the leftmost syllable in the scope, then to the next syllable, and so forth until it has applied to all syllables in the scope. For example, the change applies first to the syllable tok in |tokwikilichili| 'I shine a light,' (the straight lines enclose the scope) but since that syllable is long, the sound change has no effect. The next syllable is wi; it is short, but is not preceded by a short syllable, so the change again has no effect. The next syllable ki is both short and preceded by a short syllable, so the effect of the sound change is to lengthen it, giving |tokwikīlichili|. The next syllable is li; it is short, but since it is not preceded by a short syllable --ki having been lengthened to kī--the change has no effect. The next syllable, chi, is lengthened to chī since it is both short and preceded by a short syllable. This gives |tokwikīlichīli|. Finally, li is not lengthened for the same reason that wi and the first li were not lengthened.

In some dialects, when the inner base is three or more syllables long, and prefixes other than ili- are present, the sound change is applied first to the scope as it is defined above, and then again to a scope which includes an immediately preceding syllable of a prefix of the passive series. The effect of this second application of the sound

change is to an initial short syllable of the inner base. For example, sa-tikambi 'I am tired' has an inner base of three syllables, so the scope is shown by sa|tikámbi|. Applying sound change (11) there would be no change since each syllable in the scope is either long or not preceded by a short syllable. The second time around the scope is expanded to include the last syllable of the passive prefix giving |satikámbi|, and the sound change will now give [satīkám̄bi]. The corresponding multiple is [hapitīkám̄bi]. For hachi-notakfa 'your all's chins' the scope is first hachi|notakfa| with no lengthening. Then the scope is expanded to ha|chinotakfa| and the sound change is applied again to give [hachinōtakfa]. To give one more example, sa-mitafa 'I bleed' first has the scope sa|mitafa| which becomes [sa|mitāfa|] by application of sound change (11). Then the scope is expanded to [|samitāfa|], and the sound change is reapplied to give [samītāfa].

In dialects with this second application of the vowel lengthening sound change a problem arises in words to which sound change (9) has been applied. After that change has changed *talkchi to talakchi and *tahnkchi to tahankchi, those words have inner bases of three syllables, but no syllable liable to lengthening by (11). If, however, a passive series prefix is present, then the scope will be extended to include its last syllable, say |satalakchi| 'I am tied' and |satahankchi| 'he ties me repeatedly.' In both of these words the syllable ta is now liable to be lengthened. In fact, the sound change applies only in the first of these words, giving [satālakchi] and [satahánkchi].

Since the passive infix -l- follows the first vowel of the inner base, circumstances for the application of sound change (11) to that vowel arise only through the presence of prefixes. The aspectual infix

-h- on the other hand follows the penultimate vowel of the inner base with the result that after (9) has operated that vowel is often preceded by a short syllable and so liable to the application of (11). But (11) never applies. For example from kobahffi 'he breaks it suddenly' we get kobahaffi by sound change (9). Now the syllable ba is subject to lengthening by (11) since it is short and preceded by a short syllable. In fact, the correct form is [kobahaffi], not [kobāhaffi].

It appears from these examples that sound change (11) applies after sound change (9) applies to the passive infix, but before sound change (9) applies to the aspectual infix.

A second problem in the ordering of sound change (11) arises with verbs beginning with short i. By sound change (10) these verbs lose the i after passive series prefixes. In verbals of three syllables this does not affect the formulation of sound change (11). For example ipita 'he feeds him' will become [ipīta] and sapita 'he feeds me' will become [sapīta]. What would happen in a verbal of four syllables of the form iCVCVCV? With no prefix, (11) would give iCVCVCV̄; with a prefix like sa-, would (11) give [saCVCVCV] or [saCVCVCV̄]? That is, does (11) precede or follow (10)? I have no data to answer that question.

12.11. Consonant lengthening

A syllable final consonant ranges in length from short in normal rapid speech to the length of geminates in careful slow speech. For example, pakti 'mushroom' is pronounced [pakkti] in careful speech. The syllable boundaries of prefixes outside the scope of the vowel lengthening sound change fall at morpheme boundaries. As a result,

prefix final consonants outside the scope sound like geminates in careful speech. For example, the scope of ish-im-ishi 'you take it for him' is ish|imishi|, giving the pronunciation [ishshim̄ishi] in careful speech. The scope of ish-im-apila 'you help him' is ishim|apila|, pronounced [ishshim̄ap̄ila] in slow speech. Similarly, im-ohóyo 'his wife' is pronounced [immohóyo] in careful speech.

12.12. The lengthened form

Before this internal change is made, the rule on the changing vowel, rule (O), must be enlarged by rule (O').

- (O') If the vowel to the right of the changing vowel has been lengthened by change (11), and it is not final, it becomes the changing vowel except in the bases akkowa 'to go down,' chokkowa 'to go in,' and ayowa 'to gather.'

As a practical matter, the vowel in question will not be final only if -li 'I' is present.

The rule for the formation of the lengthened form is rule (D).

- (D) If the changing vowel is not already a long vowel, replace it with the corresponding long vowel, unless it is followed by two consonants.

The changing vowel is not a long vowel if it is either an original short vowel or a short vowel which has been lengthened by sound change (11). Long vowels are always long, while vowels lengthened by sound change (11) may be short in ordinary rapid conversation. Examples of the application of these rules appear in Chart Eight.

The first person singular forms for the three exceptions to (0') are akkówali, chokkówali, and ayówali, rather than the regular akkwáli, chokkwáli, and aywáli. See change (22) for the loss of the o.

12.13. Accentuation

Some words or elements always have an accent; in those cases, the accent is part of the word, on a par with its consonants and vowels. In other cases the accent is called for by the use or form of the word in a particular sentence. This is described in (E).

- (E) Accent the changing vowel of the following words: (a) the second member of compound noun phrases, including augmentative and diminutive elements, (b) adjectives used as modifiers in noun phrases, rather than as verbals, (c) verbals which are used as nouns, (d) verbals which have internal changes, (e) some nouns when used with bound dative echoes, and (f) some nouns when used in special senses.

The accent is also used in the formation of the intensive form of verbals, discussed in Sec. 9.4. Compounds are issi hákshop 'deer hide' and wak lápish 'cow horn.' Adding an adjective modifier we have issi hákshop chíto 'big deer hide.' In such phrases, which can be expanded indefinitely (nanih íssi hákshop chíto achókma 'a good and big mountain deer hide), each accent is higher pitched and louder than the preceding. Examples of diminutives and augmentatives appear in Chapter Four. The contraction from, say, issi óshi to issóshi is caused by sound change (15). Examples of verbals used as nouns are talówa 'singing,' balíli 'runner,' and lášpa 'heat.' The two types described in (e) and (f) may be the same; examples appear in Sec. 4.4.8.

12.14. Adjusting the length of final vowels

The length of vowels at the ends of words is determined by two sound changes. These are (13) and (14).

(13) $\bar{V}\# \rightarrow V\#$, where \bar{V} is a lengthened vowel and $\#$ is the end of the word, or final h ; final lengthened vowels lose their lengthening.

(14) $\#CV\# \rightarrow \#C\bar{V}\#$; a final vowel in a word of one syllable is lengthened.

Sound change (13) applies only to lengthened vowels, not to vowels which are originally long. For example, \bar{a} 'to give' and \bar{a} and $\bar{m}\acute{a}k\bar{a}$ 'to say' always have final long vowels as marked. But compare [pis \bar{a} lih] 'I see it' with a lengthened vowel with [pisah] 'he sees it' showing the vowel without lengthening. Similarly, *[pis \bar{a} chil $\bar{i}h$] 'I show it to him' has lengthened vowels by (11), but becomes [pis \bar{a} chilih] by (13). Sound change (13) could be eliminated if (11) were restated to apply only to nonfinal vowels. This is incorrect, as is shown in the section below on the relative order of sound changes (11), (13), and (15).

The operation of sound change (14) can be seen in the pronunciation of the particles pi 'just,' na 'and,' and cha 'and.'

12.15. Contraction

Basically a contraction is a drawing together of two words by loss of the boundary between them, so that with respect to sound changes they are treated as a single word. In Choctaw, the result of a contraction depends on whether the second word is an article, a diminutive or augmentative element, a post verbal element, or the second

member of a phrasal compound or some other word. The treatment of contractions involving articles is most distinct, and somewhat irregular. It has been adequately treated in Sec. 1.8. Here we will discuss only contractions of the other types.

Contractions involving the other types of elements are all accomplished by a single sound change, (15).

- (15) $(V^1)\#V^2 \rightarrow V^{2'}$, where $V^{2'}$ has the same quality as V^2 , but is long if either V^1 or V^2 is long; two words contract by removing the boundary between them, and if a vowel cluster results and the first vowel is long make the second vowel long if it is not already long, and in any case remove the first vowel.

As stated this sound change applies only when the second word begins in a vowel. In fact, contraction can occur if it begins in a consonant, a notable example being the contraction of the post verbal element ttök (remote past tense) to a preceding element. But aside from effects on syllable structure, such contractions have no important consequences.

Examples of contractions follow in the next section, which explains the different results of contractions with different kinds of second elements.

12.16. The relative order of (11), (13), and (15)

Contraction applies to the different types of elements in the following order relative to sound changes (11), vowel lengthening, and (13), loss of lengthening in final vowels:

- (a) (15) applies to diminutive and augmentative elements.
- (b) (11) applies to all words.

(c) (15) applies to post verbal elements which begin with vowels.

(d) (13) applies to all words.

(e) (15) applies to post verbal elements which begin with

consonants, to phrasal compounds, and to other types of words.

It should be pointed out that step (c) could be combined with step (a) were it not for the fact that a more complicated statement would have to be made for finding the scope of sound change (11).

The reason for placing step (a) before step (b) is that when the first element ends in a consonant, the length of the initial vowels of oshi and obah is determined by the syllable structure of the first element; that is, (11) applies to the unit of noun and diminutive or augmentitive, rather than to each separately. This can be seen by comparing [issóshi], [wākóshi], and [akánkóshi] with [sóbo^hshi], [ibbakó^hshi]; or [issóba^h] with [yalóba]. If step (a) followed step (b), one would find uniformly here [-óshi] and [-óbah].

Of the post verbal particles beginning with a vowel, all but ahínla and its variants begin with \bar{a} , so that contractions involving those elements will have as $V^{2'}$ \bar{a} . In ahínla, however, the length of the initial a depends on the structure of the preceding word; if that word has a final vowel lengthened by (11), then $V^{2'}$ is \bar{a} . For example, from [pisāchi ahínlah] 'he can show it' we get [pisāchahínla^h], but from [pisāchilī ahínla^h] we get [pisāchilāhínla^h]. In the future with āchiⁿ we would have pisāchāchiⁿ and pisāchilāchiⁿ. From imā ahínla 'he can give it to him' we get imahínla.

In these two types of cases we have just discussed, when the second word begins in a short vowel, the length of $V^{2'}$ is determined by the syllable structure of the first word as it is affected by (11). Where

the second word is one of those elements listed in step (e) this is not the case.

Contraction with post verbal elements tok (recent past) and ttök (remote past) does not protect the final vowel of the verbal from loss of lengthening by (13). So from [pisā tok] 'he saw it' we get first by (13) pisa tok, then by (15) pisatok.

As the example imā ahinla above shows, if V^1 is long at the time of contraction, V^2 will be long after contraction. This shows that step (e) follows (d) as far as phrasal compounds and other words are concerned. For example, from tali 'rock, metal' and anómpa 'speaking' the compound tali anómpa 'telephone' is formed. By (11) this becomes [talī anómpa], by (13) tali anómpa, and by (15) it becomes [talanómpa], not [*talānómpa].

12.17. Nasalization

Under certain conditions a nasal consonant (n or m) is expressed only as nasalization or length or both, imposed on the preceding vowel. This sound change is (16).

- (16) $VNC \rightarrow V^{\bar{n}}C$ and $VN\# \rightarrow V^{\bar{n}}\#$, where N is n or m, either N is part of an affix or particle or C is not n or m; and $V^{\bar{n}}$ is lengthened unless it is followed by two consonants.

Probably at an earlier time the length of the nasal vowel depended on whether the vowel was in an open syllable. That is the effect of the sound change as formulated in all but final syllables. For example, from omba 'to rain' we get [$\bar{o}^{\bar{n}}$ ba] with long $\bar{o}^{\bar{n}}$ because it is in an open syllable after the loss of the m. But lhampko 'strong' gives [lhaⁿpko] with short aⁿ in a closed syllable. But when a final syllable is

closed after nasalization, the nasalized vowel is long, not short as one would expect. For example, okchank 'musk melon' and hallons 'leech' are pronounced [okchāⁿk] and [hallōⁿs] with long āⁿ and oⁿ. Thus the sound change must be formulated 'unless it is followed by two consonants.' Still, in all cases like the last two, the word once ended in a vowel, so that the nasal vowel would have been in an open syllable. Compare okchanki 'green' (i.e. 'living' when said of a plant) with okchank, and allónsi 'baby' (diminutive of alla 'child') with hallons, which is probably also a diminutive form of some word now lost. The conditions for the loss of final vowels are not known.

In (16) the word 'lengthened' is used rather than 'long' because, while short vowels are lengthened in the stated circumstances, long vowels are not shortened. For example, the incompletive forms of hābli 'to kick' and nokshōbli 'to scare' are hāmbli and nokshōmbli, pronounced [hāⁿbli] and [nokshōⁿbli]. Compare the incompletive of tabli 'to cut in two,' tāmbli, pronounced [tāⁿbli].

Nasalization does not occur at the ends of nouns like yolhkon 'mole,' tākkon 'peach,' and cholhkan 'spider' because the N in those words is not 'part of an affix or particle.' This is true of nouns only. All other types of words ending in a nasal are particles, or the nasal is part of an affix. Examples are the objective case of the articles (Chapter Ten) and the future tense post verbal element āchin, pronounced āchiⁿ. Bound dative prefixes stand as words before compound nouns to show ownership, and nasalization occurs. An example is am issi hákshop 'my deer hide,' pronounced [aⁿ issi hákshop]. The preverbal particle on 'on' undergoes nasalization before consonants, but not before vowels; compare on ittola 'to fall on it' with oⁿ binili 'to sit

on it.' Perhaps this shows that contraction here occurs before nasalization.

In the interior of words, nasalization occurs (a) when N is part of an affix as in the incomplete forms of verbals (Sec. 9.3.4) and the forms of the bound dative prefixes (Sec. 3.6); (b) when C is not a nasal as in omba 'to rain,' lhampko 'strong,' and akánka 'chicken' (pronounced [\bar{o}^n ba], [lha^n pko], and [$aká^n$ ka]); and (c) when N is part of an affix and C is not a nasal as in the incomplete forms tánkchi 'to be tying' and wányá 'to be growing,' pronounced [$tá^n$ kchi] and [$wá^n$ ya]. Nasalization does not occur where N is not part of an affix and C is nasal, as in shatánni 'tick,' fammi 'to spank,' and binnīli 'to sit' (intensive form with doubled n).

Sound change (16) applies to a given syllable again and again until it can no longer apply. That is, after it has once applied, if the resulting nasal vowel is followed by NC, the sound change can apply again. The effect is that the nasal is lost and the vowel is lengthened. This can be stated as (16').

(16') $V^nNC \rightarrow \bar{V}^nC$, where N is part of an affix or C is not n or m. All examples are incomplete and iterative forms of verbals in which the infix -n- precedes NC. Thus omba 'to rain' forms the incomplete *onmba, which becomes [\bar{o}^n mba] by application of (16), then [\bar{o}^n ba] by application of (16').

12.18. Sound changes affecting l and h

The passive infix -l- undergoes several changes which depend on the character of the following consonant. By one, it becomes an h; this h, and the instantaneous infix -h-, then may undergo a common change.

The first of the changes affecting -l- is (17).

(17) $ln \rightarrow nn$.

For example the passive of tana 'to weave' is *talna \rightarrow tanna, and the passive of anōli 'to tell' is *alnowa \rightarrow annowa.

The remaining changes apply in the order given. These are (18), (19), and (20).

(18) $lC \rightarrow lhC$, where C is p, t, ch, k, f, lh, s, sh, h.

(19) $lhF \rightarrow hF$, where F is f, lh, s, sh, h, or ch.

(20) $hF \rightarrow FF$, where F is one of the sounds listed in (19), optionally.

An example of the changes applied to the passive infix is the passive of hochifo 'to call,' *holchifo \rightarrow *holhchifo \rightarrow hohchifo/hochchifo. The infix -h- with ishi 'to take' forms the instantaneous íhshi/íshshi.

These same changes apply to what seems to be a prefix *l-, which appears in certain nouns in the form of h- of F-. See Sec. 4.4.2.

12.19. Other sound changes

Three other sound changes which have appeared in the preceding chapters are worth listing.

When the prefixes ish- 'you' and hash- 'you all' appear before s, they change to is- and has-. This is accomplished by sound change (21).

(21) $shs \rightarrow ss$

This change is optional, but is usually applied in normal speech.

Examples are ishsakkih/issakki 'you catch up with him,' and ishsapisah/issapisah 'you look at me.'

If there is no internal change, the bases ayowa 'to gather,' akkowa 'to come down,' and chokkowa 'to go in' are contracted by loss of o, accomplished by (22).

- (22) ayowa, chokkowa, akkowa → aywa, chokkwa, and akkwa, if the changing vowel has undergone no internal changes.

Examples appear in Sec. 9.5.

The following change occurs in some dialects, but not all.

- (23) Sayy, Soyy → Siyy, where S is ch or sh.

This occurs in the intensive forms of verbals when the consonant before the changing vowel is sh or ch. Examples are the intensive of shāli 'to carry' and chompa 'to buy,' which are sháyyāli/shíyyāli and chóyyompa/chíyyompa.

Finally, the variant pronunciations of vowels listed in Sec. 1.5 and of consonants listed in Sec. 1.7 are produced by sound changes which could be listed here also.

PART THREE

SYNTAX

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

13.1. Introduction

In Part Three we outline the principles of sentence construction --how words are combined to make sentences. There are simple sentences and compound sentences. It will be helpful to illustrate the difference between them. Mary went to town and Bill stayed home are simple sentences; if we join them together with a conjunction, for example and, but, or or, the result will be a compound sentence; an example is Mary went to town, but John stayed home.

In this chapter we will discuss several basic types of simple sentences. We begin in Sec. 13.2 by listing and illustrating some of the meaningful parts of sentences. In Sec. 13.3 we set forth and illustrate the more important principles for combining these parts into sentences of proper form. These principles are illustrated further in Sec. 13.4, which lists several of the most common types of sentences. Finally, Sec. 13.5 shows how several meaningful parts not illustrated in Sec. 13.4 are expressed.

Each part of a sentence is expressed by a particular form of expression. We deal with three kinds of expressions, words, phrases, and clauses. A clause is a sentence which has been transformed so that it can express a sentence part, rather than stand alone as a sentence. For example, he came can be transformed into whether he came which can

then be used to complete the sentence I don't know. . . . A phrase is a group of words which is not itself a sentence or clause, like the old man and ought to be there. Chapter Fourteen describes expressions which are used as predicates. Chapter Fifteen describes phrases which express roles. Chapter Sixteen describes phrases which express other kinds of sentence parts. Chapter Seventeen describes the ways that sentences are transformed into clauses, and how these clauses are used. Chapter Eighteen treats the uses of the interrogative-indefinite pronouns and proverbs in phrases and clauses. Chapter Nineteen discusses the formation of compound phrases and sentences.

13.2. The sentence's meaningful parts

13.2.1. An English example

A sentence can be likened to a play. There may be a setting, consisting of a time (long ago) and a place (in a far land). There may be characters, either humans (a hunter) or animals (a deer), and props (an arrow). Finally there is the action (shooting). Each character and prop has a role in the action, such as actor (the hunter), patient (the deer), or instrument (the arrow). This analogy between the structure of a sentence and the structure of a play is good only for some sentences; but when we have learned to use it by working with some examples, we will see that it provides a method for describing the structure of other sentences, too.

"Once upon a time, far, far away, a hunter shot a large buck with an arrow."

This sentence could be the beginning of a story. We will use the analogy sketched above to analyse its structure, as follows:

Time	(long ago)	"once upon a time"
Place	(in a far land)	"far, far away"
Actor	(a hunter)	"a hunter"
Action	(shooting)	"shot"
Patient	(a deer)	"a deer"
Instrument	(an arrow)	"with an arrow."

This analysis can be done in the following way. First break the sentence up into its parts and set those down to form the third column. Then to make the middle column, identify what each part refers to. Finally in the first column name each part. Notice that the meaning of the sentence can be gathered from the first two columns; that is, if the third column was left empty, you would still be able to determine the meaning of the sentence. The third column, then, merely clothes with words or expresses the meaning contained in the first two columns. Therefore we will call the groups of words in the third column 'expressions.'

When we analyse Choctaw examples, we will fill the chart out a little differently. The expressions, of course, will be in Choctaw. The middle column, instead of identifying the referents of those expressions, will translate them into English.

13.2.2. A list of sentence parts

We will now give a nearly complete list of names for sentence parts which we will use in Part Three. The parts fall into groups, which are

also named. The section numbers indicate where the structure of the corresponding expressions is described.

Antecedent (Sec. 16.5)

Purpose (what for?)

Cause (how come?)

Condition (if what?)

Concession (even though what?)

Setting

Time (when?) (Sec. 16.3)

Place (where?) (Sec. 16.6)

Inner Core

Roles (Chapter Fifteen)

Actor

Patient

Specific Location (Sec. 15.9)

[Others in Sec. 13.5]

Predicate (Chapter Fourteen)

Copula (to be a . . . , to be the . . .)

Adjective

Numeral

Verb

Mode (Sec. 13.2.4)

Duration (how long?) (16.3)

Frequency (how many times?) (Sec. 16.2)

Order (when in the series?) (Sec. 16.2)

Manner (by doing what?) (Sec. 16.4)

The actor, patient, and specific location roles are difficult to define accurately, but their meanings can be suggested. The actor role is the role of the character who willfully does something. The specific location is the point at which, or the place to or from which an act is performed, or the person something is given to or taken from. The patient role is a passive one, the role of the prop or character that something happens to, or that is described or classified.

The roles, predicate, and mode make up the inner core of the sentence. Every sentence has a predicate and a mode; these are the irreducible minimum. Furthermore, the roles are more or less closely linked to the predicate in ways which will now be explained. The linkage is closest with the actor and patient roles, because each predicate implies in its meaning the presence or absence of these roles. For example, if the predicate is omba 'to rain,' there can be no actor or patient. If the predicate is impa 'to dine,' there must be an actor, but no patient. If the predicate is apa 'to eat,' there must be an actor and a patient. Some predicates, like imā 'to give' imply a specific location, a person to whom the patient is given. With other predicates the linkage to specific location is weaker, in that the predicate will permit a specific location but does not require one. An example is hikiya 'to stand;' a sentence may say merely that the actor is standing, not sitting or running, or it may go further and specify the point at which the actor is standing. On the other hand, a predicate like apa 'to eat' cannot have a specific location; if one wanted to tell the point at which the actor ate, one would have to say 'standing at . . . , he ate it.' The linkage with the other roles illustrated in Sec. 13.5 is weaker still, in that no predicate requires

any of them, but some predicates permit certain of them. Thus, mode and predicate are essential, and roles more or less follow along with particular predicates. So these elements of the sentence form the inner core.

The relations of the other sentence parts to the predicate can be compared with this. Any sentence may have an antecedent or setting, or both, or neither. This is the loosest linkage. The other parts, duration, frequency, order, and manner, are linked in the same way as the other roles listed in Sec. 13.5; some predicates permit certain of them, but no predicate requires any of them. They differ from those roles in two ways. In the first, they are adverbial where the roles deal with characters and props. In the second, they are permitted by large classes of predicates, while the roles in Sec. 13.5 are each permitted by relatively small classes of predicates.

13.2.3. Choctaw examples

The various parts of the sentence are thoroughly illustrated in the sections referred to in the list. It will be good at this point to see the method applied to a few odd examples, however, before going on to Sec. 13.3. In those examples, mode has not been indicated. This is explained in Sec. 13.2.4.

(1) Chilákki osh atoklaant Nanih Wáyya ā kochchat tōk oki. 'The

Cherokees came out of Nanih Waiya mound second.'

Actor 'the Cherokees' Chilákki osh

Order 'second' atoklaant

Spec. Loc. 'Nanih Waiya' Nanih Wáyya

Predicate	'came out there'	<u>ā kochchat tōk</u>
Mode	(emphatic)	<u>oki</u>
(2)	<u>Hopákik āsh Chahta ikmat Chiksha ittatóklok at hashi ā</u>	
	<u>okattola ímma áshat tōk miyah.</u> 'Long ago both the Choctaws and Chickasaws lived together to the west, they say.'	
Time	'long ago'	<u>hopákik āsh</u>
Actor	'both Choctaws and Chickasaws together'	<u>Chahta ikmat Chiksha ittatóklok at</u>
Spec. Loc.	'to the west'	<u>hashi ā okattola ímma</u>
Predicate	'lived, dwelt'	<u>áshat tōk</u>
Mode	'they say'	<u>miyah</u>

13.2.4. Mode and tense

Every sentence has mode and tense, so we will describe what we know about these two elements here, before getting into further examples.

Tense is not a sentence part, but rather a part of the predicate which refers or agrees with the sentence part time. For example, if the time expression of a sentence is onnahínlik maⁿ 'tomorrow,' the tense in the predicate must be āchiⁿh 'future tense;' if the time expression is pilāsh āsh 'yesterday,' the tense in the predicate must be tok 'recent past tense.'

All the tense elements can be illustrated with the predicate malahta 'to lightening,' as follows:

<u>Malahtā chiⁿh.</u>	'It's gonna lightening' (Future)
<u>Malahtah.</u>	'It's lightening' (Present)

<u>Malahtah.</u>	'It just lighteninged' (Immediate Past)
<u>Malahta tok.</u>	'It lighteninged.' (Past)
<u>Malahtat t̄ok.</u>	'It lighteninged.' (Remote Past)
<u>Malahtaⁿ chiⁿ tok.</u>	'It was going to lightening'
<u>Malahta tok āchiⁿh.</u>	'It will have lighteninged'
<u>Malahta tok ātok.</u>	'It had lighteninged.'

The last three tenses are compound tenses. These do not seem to be formed with the remote past -t t̄ok. The compound tense āchiⁿh āchiⁿh definitely does not occur, āchiⁿh alone being used instead. Contraction occurs between a final vowel and āchiⁿh (Sec. 1.8); traditionally, this is written by replacing the final vowel with the ā of āchiⁿh. Compare hakloh 'he hears' with haklā chiⁿh 'he will hear.' Some dialects have chiⁿh for the future, with lengthening of the preceding final vowel, as in haklō chiⁿh. The remote past tense is the intensive form of the past tense tok (Sec. 9.2.8). The spelling -t t̄ok is a convention based on the traditional spelling. The present tense and immediate past are distinguished in questions, as will be seen below.

Many of the words used in the predicate and mode parts of the sentence end in -h, unless they are followed by tok or -t t̄ok. This -h is a suffix. It simply marks the word as being part of the predicate or mode. The one exception is āhi (Sec. 14.4).

Mode indicates the use of the sentence to be (1) to make a statement, (2) to ask a question, or (3) to give a command.

If the mode is statement, there may be no expression; the sentence ends in the predicate, as in the examples with malahta above. The speaker can, however, add elements to show how credible he thinks his

statement is, or why he thinks it may be true. Some of these expressions are particles, others are predicates. The more common particles are

<u>tokāchīnih</u>	'apparently, I gather from what I have seen'
<u>póllah</u>	'it must be that'
<u>ánlhlhīh</u> , <u>mánlhlhīh</u> ,	'truly'
<u>hōmánlhlhīh</u>	
<u>chishbah</u>	'perhaps, I wonder whether it isn't so'
<u>okih</u>	'it is the case that'
<u>chīchih</u>	'I don't like it, but I will do it.'
	'I guess I will have to'

The first three of these can precede the tense, while the last three cannot. The sequence tok tokāchīnih is reduced to tokāchīnih alone. Examples are as follows:

<u>Malahta tok chishbah.</u>	'It may have lightened, it may not.'
<u>Malahta tokāchīni tok.</u>	<u>Malahta tokāchīnih.</u>
	'It appears to have lightened.'
<u>Malahta tok póllah.</u>	'It must have lightened.'
<u>Malahtah hōmánlhlhī tok.</u>	'Truly, it lightened.'
<u>Malahta tok oki!</u>	'It did lightning.' 'It lightened is what happened.'

The other class of statement mode expressions are predicates containing verbals ahoba 'to seem,' miya 'to say,' yímmi 'to believe,' and ahni 'to think.' The actual forms used are as follows:

<u>miyah</u>	'they say,' 'it is said'
<u>okla miyah</u>	'they say'

<u>ahobah</u>	'it seems'
<u>amahobah</u>	'it seems to me'
<u>pimahobah</u>	'it seems to us'
<u>sayímmih</u>	'I believe'
<u>piyímmih</u>	'we believe'
<u>ahnilih</u>	'I think'
<u>ilahnih</u>	'we think.'

Sentences with these predicates as modes must be distinguished from sentences which have these same expressions as predicates. The latter are treated in Sec. 13.4.12. Here we give one example of the difference in construction. In the following sentence, miya is the main verb, and the patient is expressed by a nominal clause describing what was said.

Kapassā chiⁿk aⁿ miyah. 'They say that it will get cold.'

When miya expresses mode, what was said is the main part of the sentence, and miya is simply appended to indicate the source, as in the following.

Kapassā chiⁿh miyah. 'It will get cold, they say.'

There are two main types of interrogative modes. The first is that of the information question, treated in Sec. 18.2. The other is the yes-no question, which can be answered yes or no. This is a complicated subject which I do not yet understand. The following remarks must be treated with caution.

The straightforward question is made by the article sⁿ in the immediate past, by the article oⁿ in the other tenses. Thus the questions for the first five tense forms of malahta given above are as follows:

malahtā chiⁿ h oⁿ?

malahtah oⁿ?

malahtah aⁿ?

malahta tok oⁿ?

malahtat tōk oⁿ?

Some Choctaws claim that there is a distinction between questions formed with aⁿ, oⁿ, and simply h which is not a tense distinction; they are not able to explain the distinction, however. There are also questions formed with a and o alone; these seem to be statements used as questions, as in ishla tok a 'It looks like you have arrived.'

Echo questions are formed with kiyoh oⁿ? 'isn't it?' and ācha? Examples are yammat chokka kiyoh oⁿ? 'that is a house, isn't it?' and yammat sholosh kiyoh ācha? 'that isn't a shoe, is it?'

The answers to yes-no questions are aⁿ and anhaⁿ 'yes,' and kīyo 'no.' Kīyo is the lengthened form (Sec. 9.3.3) of kiyo 'not.' Some people seem to use the intensive form (Sec. 9.4) kieyo.

A common question of the yes-no type is mih oⁿ? 'is that so?'; the answer is mihi o! 'it is so.'

There are several ways to form the imperative mode. The simple imperative consists of the predicate without active affixes, but with ho-/oh-/hoh- (Sec. 3.3) if the subject is plural. Examples are

<u>takchi!</u>	'you tie it up!'
<u>hotakchi!</u>	'you-all tie it up!'
<u>ishi!</u>	'you pick it up!'
<u>onish!;/hohishi!</u>	'you-all pick it up!'
<u>abi!</u>	'you kill it!'
<u>hobi!</u>	'you-all kill it!'

The corresponding negative form, or prohibitive, uses the active prefixes ish- and hash- and suffix -nna. Examples are ishtakchinna! 'don't you tie it!' and hashbinna! 'don't you-all kill it!'.

A more polite, encouraging or suggesting command is made by using -k maⁿ 'if,' with or without the active prefixes. Examples are fokkak maⁿ!/ishfokkak maⁿ! 'wear it!'. It is much more enthusiastic to use āchiki, which is based on the future element āchiⁿ, and seems to be generally used for enthusiastic predictions. Examples are ishfokkā chiki! 'you will wear it!' and falamat alalā chiki! 'I will come back!'. In other words, in the second person, this enthusiastic future tense form can be used as an enthusiastic command. Finally, there is a slightly threatening command formed with -k mak āllah, as in ishfokkak mak āllah! 'you better wear it!'

A final type of command translates English commands with 'Let' This is made with the prefix k- (Sec. 8.2) and particle na. Examples are akfókka na! 'let me wear it!' and ikfókka na! 'let him wear it.'

Finally, there is a mode element which is hard to place, but which probably is a command in its use, although it is a statement in form. The element is -k mak āchiki. Compare these two sentences:

Impalih.

'I am eating.'

Impalik mak āchiki!

'Just let me eat, first!'

The second would be said if you told me you wanted to go, but I wanted to stay until I was through eating. Another pair is the following:

Ombat isht iyah.

It is starting to rain.

Ombat isht iyak mak āchiki!

Just wait til it starts raining!

The second would be said if you told me to go out and get the clothes in because it looks like rain.

13.3. The form of the sentence

Having set down the principle meaningful parts of sentences, we now need to state the more important rules for combining these parts into sentences of proper form. In this section we will be very brief, so that the rules will be in a form useful for reference. In Sec. 13.4 the rules are illustrated at length.

13.3.1. Agreement

The predicate base is a copula, adjective, numeral, or verb. There may be other elements (Sec. 14.1), too. In addition, the predicate includes elements which agree with other parts of the sentence.

The tense elements agree with the part time, as discussed in Sec. 13.2.4.

Some verbs and adjectives have different forms for singular and plural, or for singular, dual and plural number. The forms are described in Chapter Six. If there is a patient in the sentence, the adjective or verb agrees in form with the number of the patient; if there is no patient, then agreement is with the number of the actor. For examples, see Sec. 6.1.

In addition the predicate can be made to agree with the number of the actor with the words okla (from oklah 'people') and tónkla/tókla/

toklo (from toklo 'two'). If the actor is plural, okla may be set before the verb; if the actor is dual, tónkla/tókla/tóklo may be set after it. Examples are:

<u>pisa tok</u>	'he looked, they looked'
<u>okla pisa tok</u>	'they (several) looked'
<u>pisa tókla tok</u>	'they (two) looked'
<u>okla īpisa tok</u>	'we (several) looked'
<u>īpisa tókla tok</u>	'we (two) looked'
<u>īpisa tok</u>	'we looked'

The third type of agreement element found in the predicate is the personal affix, discussed in Chapter Three. The use of affixes to bring the predicate into agreement with the actor and patient is illustrated in that chapter.

In Chapter Three we listed the uses of each series of affixes. Here, we will list the series of affixes used to show agreement with the actor, patient, and specific location, for each type of predicate.

- (1) The affix series used in the predicate for agreement with actor, patient, and specific location are the active, the passive (sa- chi- ∅), and the bound dative (Sec. 3.3).
- (2) If the predicate verbal is a copula, then the patient echo is from the passive series.
- (3) If the predicate verbal is an adjective, then the general rule is that the patient echo is from the passive series. The exceptions are as follows:

- (a) With a few adjectives, like takobi 'lazy' and pónna 'expert, skilled,' the dative series is used.

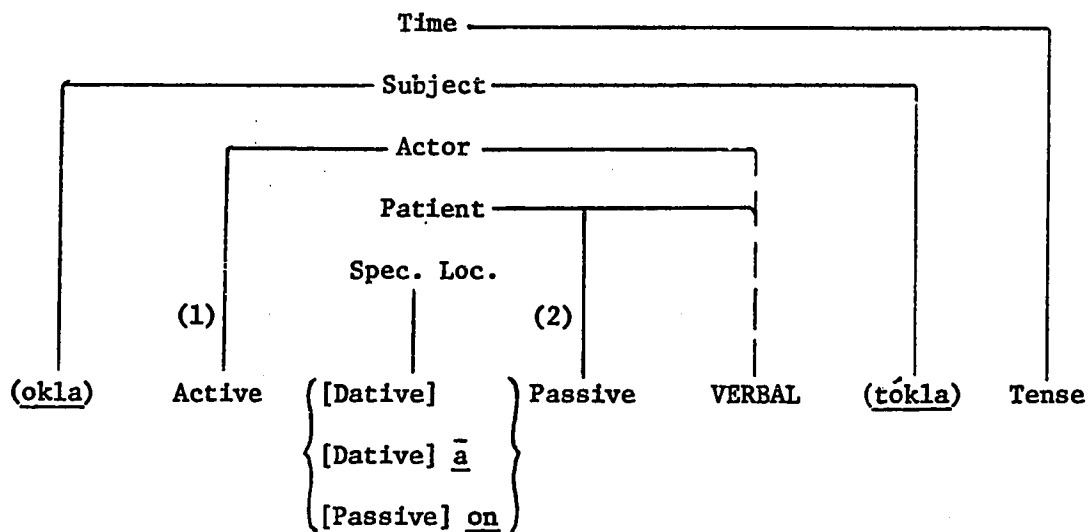
- (b) With achókma 'good' and okpólo 'bad' used to tell how someone is doing, and with kapassa 'cold,' libisha 'warm,' and lashpa 'hot' used to tell how someone feels, the dative series is used.
- (c) With adjectives of emotion like hashaya 'angry' and noktalha 'jealous,' if there is a specific location indicating towards whom the emotion is felt, then either the passive or active series may be used. If the specific location affix is ittim- (the reciprocal 'each other'), the active series is used.
- (4) If the predicate verbal is a numeral, then the patient echo is from the active series.
- (5) If the predicate verbal is a verb, then the patient echo is from the passive series, and the actor echo is from the active series with two exceptions. The exceptions are bánna 'to want' and yímmi 'to believe' which have actor echoes from the passive series.
- (6) The echo of the specific location which is a character (an animal or human) is
- (a) from the dative series alone, or
 - (b) from the dative series, affixed to the element á 'to, from, at,' or
 - (c) from the passive series, affixed to the element on 'on.'

The echo of other specific locations is

- (a) nothing, or
- (b) the element ā 'to, from, at,' or
- (c) the element on 'on.'

The tendency is to use (a) when the verbal requires a specific location to complete its meaning, and to use types (b) and (c) only when a specific location is not required but only permitted and the location is to be made still more specific.

The principles of agreement we have discussed are presented in abbreviated form in the diagram below.



Parts of the sentence appear down the center; elements of the predicate appear across the bottom in the order in which they always occur.

Elements in parentheses are optional. The braces enclose a choice.

The affixes in brackets are not used if the thing echoed is not animate.

The broken line shows control of singular, dual and plural verbal stems

to be first in the patient; it is in the actor only if there is no patient. Active, dative, and passive affixes are affixed to the next following element, except for the first person singular active element -li which is suffixed to the verbal. Glosses are as follows: okla 'plural,' tókla 'dual' (with alternative forms tóklo and tónkla), ā 'to, from, at,' and on 'on.' The numbers in parentheses refer to the following exceptions to the indicated role-echo relationships:

- (1) The actor echo with bánna 'to want' and yímmi 'to believe' is from the passive series.
- (2) The patient echo with takobi 'lazy,' pónna 'skilled,' achokma 'to be fine,' okpólo 'to be doing badly,' and kapassa 'cold,' lashpa 'hot,' and libisha 'warm' when used referring to sensations, is from the dative series. With adjectives of emotion, like hashaya 'angry,' the echo of the patient is always from the active series in the presence of the dative ittim- 'each other,' and is optionally from the active series with other dative affixes.

13.3.2. Subject selection

Most, but not all, sentences have a subject. The subject is one of the other parts of the sentence, selected according to the following rule.

If there is an actor, it is the subject; otherwise the patient is subject; if there is no patient, then Time or Place may be selected as subject, or there may be no subject.

In the analysis of sentences, we will suffix '-t' to the name of the sentence part which has been made subject,

Some types of sentences have two subjects, discussed in Secs. 13.4.7 and 13.4.8.

The chief difference between the subject and other sentence parts is that the articles of the subject expression are in the subject cast, while those of other expressions are in the oblique case (Chapter Ten).

13.3.3. The order of sentence parts

Sentence parts occur in the order of the list of parts in Sec. 13.2.2, with the following exceptions:

- (1) If the setting expressions are short, the subject may precede them.
- (2) Duration immediately precedes the tense element of the predicate expression.
- (3) Frequency, order, and manner immediately precede the predicate. Frequency and order can often be interpreted as time, and occur in that position.
- (4) Any sentence part can be tacked on to the end of the sentence as an afterthought, as in 'I saw him, that man we met yesterday.'

13.3.4. Emphasis and focus

Any part of a sentence may be emphasized or placed in focus, except perhaps the predicate. Emphasis and focus are expressed with the articles as described in Chapter Ten and Sec. 15.5.2. For purposes of

the following examples, we may say, referring to Chart Twelve, that emphasis is expressed by adding -o to an article, and focus is expressed by using osh (subject case) or oⁿ (oblique case) after a combining form of an article. This is illustrated in the following sequences.

- (1) Bill at kaniya tok. 'Bill left.'
- (2) Bill ato kaniya tok. 'BILL left.'
- (3) Bill ak osh kaniya tok. 'Bill is the one who left.'
- (4) Yammaⁿ hikinya tok. 'He was standing there.'
- (5) Yammano hikinya tok. 'He was standing THERE.'
- (6) Yammak oⁿ hikinya tok. 'There is where he was standing.'

Examples (1) through (3) have the article a; (4) through (6) have yamma.

It is difficult to explain the uses of emphasis and focus.

Basically, it may be that emphasis is used for contrasting; for example, (2) might be used to tell what Bill did, after one has already told what Joe did. Focus is used, on the other hand, where most of the content of the sentence is known, and the content of that specific sentence part is sought to be communicated; for example, (3) might be the answer to the question katah osh kaniya tok? 'who left?' Note that in the question, katah 'who?' is in focus. The person asking the question knows X kaniya tok 'X left,' and seeks the identity of X. The person declaring (3) knows that his addressee knows X kaniya tok, and speaks to identify X.

A sentence in response to a yes-no question usually ends in oki. For example, Chahta chiah oⁿ? 'are you a Choctaw?' will usually get the response Chahta siah oki! 'I am a Choctaw,' rather than simply aⁿ 'yes' as an answer. It is possible that oki is used, then, for sentence focus.

In the analysis of a sentence, a part emphasized is glossed in capitals, and a part in focus is enclosed in parentheses. Thus, (2) is analyzed as follows.

Actor-T	'BILL'	<u>Bill ato</u>
Predicate	'left'	<u>kaniya tok</u>

Example (3) has the following analysis.

(Actor-T)	'Bill'	<u>Bill ak osh</u>
Predicate	'left'	<u>kaniya tok</u>

13.3.5. Deletion

Deletion is the removal of an expression from the sentence, leaving the meaning to be implied from the circumstances, or from what has already been said. The deletion of unemphasized pronouns has been described in Sec. 3.4. Compare these examples.

(1) Bill at chipínsa tok. 'Bill saw you.'

Actor-T	'Bill'	<u>Bill at</u>
Patient	'you'	
Predicate	'saw'	<u>chipínsa tok</u>

(2) Bill at chishno ak oⁿ chipínsa tok. 'It was you Bill saw.'

Actor-T	'Bill'	<u>Bill at</u>
(Patient)	'you'	<u>chishno ak oⁿ</u>
Predicate	'saw'	<u>chipínsa tok</u>

From the analysis it is seen that the difference between these two sentences is that in the second the patient is in focus. The expression must be, then chishno 'you' with the article in combining form ak and focus element oⁿ. In the first example the expression would be chishno

'you' with the article in the oblique case aⁿ: chishno aⁿ. This pronoun is echoed in the predicate by chi-. But in the first sentence, since the patient is neither emphasized nor in focus, the pronoun expression is deleted or erased.

It is very common in all languages for the predicate to imply something which is not expressed in the sentence. For example, most sentences in a conversation probably do not have a time expression, but the predicate expression has a tense element which agrees with the implied time; a time must be implied, since everything we talk about occurs within a time. A sentence like paláska okla kanchih 'they sell bread' does not say who they sell bread to, although kanchi 'to sell' implies a specific location, a person to whom the patient is sold. The specific location is left unexpressed.

Probably we all feel that the deletion of an element which is part of the sentence is different from the failure to express something which is implied by the predicate. It is not easy to say just what the difference is. In our sentence analyses, we will treat deletion as in (1) above, and treat the failure to express a sentence part by omitting it from the analysis altogether. The example just given is analysed as follows:

Actor	'they'	
Patient	'bread'	<u>paláska</u>
Predicate	'sell'	<u>okla kanchih</u>

The actor expression is present in the meaning, but deleted because it is not emphasized. Still, okla appears in the predicate because of it. The implied specific location has been left out of the analysis altogether.

13.4. Examples of sentence types

One way to classify sentences is to first divide them into groups according to the kind of verbal they have as the inner core of their predicate expression (Sec. 14.2.1). These classes can be further divided in terms of the roles that are typically used with particular verbals. A final refinement is to further distinguish verbals which may have nominal clauses (Sec. 17.2) expressing a particular role. In a general way, we follow this method of classification here.

What emerges from this type of classification is a further classification of verbals along notional lines. For example, among verbs, there are two classes of verbs designating motion, verbs designating postures, and verbs which refer to verbal communication--speaking and hearing. It is from this that the names of the various sections are derived.

13.4.1. Identity and classification

This type of sentence identifies or classifies the patient.

Examples are as follows:

- (1) Hattak mat alíkchi. 'That man is a doctor.'
- (2) Anki at alíkchi tobā chíⁿh. 'My father is going to become a doctor.'
- (3) Hopóni satobah. 'I am becoming a cook.'
- (4) Chishno ato anki chiah oki! 'YOU ARE my father.'

Common verbals are the copula a (Sec. 3.4.3) and toba 'to become a . . . , to make a' The first three examples classify, by telling what kind of thing the subject is or is becoming; the fourth

identifies the subject as a specific thing. The analysis of (4) is as follows:

PATIENT-T	'you'	<u>chishno ato</u>
Identity	'my father'	<u>anki</u>
Predicate	'are'	<u>chiah</u>
Mode	(emphatic)	<u>oki</u>

The sentence parts which states the identity or class of the patient have not been given names in the list of sentence parts; we will use 'identity' and 'class.'

13.4.2. Classifying

This class is hard to label. Typical verbals are tobachi 'to make him into a . . . ,' atokoli 'to appoint, elect,' and hochifo 'to call.'

- (1) Bill aⁿ hopóni ītobachā chiⁿh. 'We will make a cook out of Bill.'
- (2) Oklah alhiha't Bill aⁿ minko atokoli tok. 'The people elected Bill chief.'
- (3) Chahta alhiha't yammaⁿ walákshi īhochifoh. 'We Choctaws call that walakshi.'

The analysis of (3) is as follows:

Actor-T	'We Choctaws'	<u>Chahta alhiha't</u>
Patient	'that'	<u>yamman</u>
Class	'walákshi'	<u>walákshi</u>
Predicate	'call'	<u>īhochifoh</u>

Chahta alhiha renders 'Choctaws' (Sec. 15.4); 'we' is rendered by the prefix ī in the predicate. Walakshi is dumplings made with wild berries.

13.4.3. Descriptive

Descriptive sentences have adjectives as main verbals, which describe the patient. There are several subclasses of adjectives and sentences.

The first subclass describes weather; members are kapassa 'cold,' libisha 'warm,' lashpa 'hot,' achokma 'good' and okpólo 'bad.' These take no patient, so time or place may be made subject.

- (1) Kocha aⁿ kapassah. 'It is cold out.'
- (2) Himmak nittak aⁿ kapassah. 'It is cold today.'
- (3) Himmak nittak at kapassah. 'It is cold today, today is cold.'

The analysis of (2) is as follows:

Time	'this day'	<u>himmak nittak an</u>
Predicate	'cold'	<u>kapassah</u>

Other descriptive sentences have patients which are described. Adjectives used include honna 'red,' chito 'big,' lombo 'round,' and the adjectives which can be used to describe weather.

- (4) Oka mat kapassah. 'That water is cold.'
- (5) Shokha mat hochitoh. 'Those hogs are big.'

The analysis of (5) is as follows:

Patient-T	'those hogs'	<u>shokha mat</u>
Predicate	'big'	<u>hochitoh</u>

The following adjectives designate emotions: hashaya 'mad,' nokowa 'angry,' nokshōpa 'afraid,' and noktalha 'jealous.' They may occur with a specific location describing the person one feels the emotion towards.

(6) Hattak mat nokshōpah. 'That man is afraid.'

(7) Hattak mat Bill aⁿ iⁿ nokshōpah. 'That man is afraid of Bill.'

(8) Īchiⁿ nokshōpah. 'We are afraid of you.'

Example (7) is analyzed as follows:

Patient-T	'That man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Spec. Loc.	'Bill'	<u>Bill aⁿ</u>
Predicate	'afraid'	<u>iⁿ nokshōpah</u>

Sentences with achokma 'good' and okpólo 'bad,' like *Walákshi at hattak maⁿ imachokmah. 'Dumplings are good to that man,' have given rise to the usual way of rendering 'to like' and 'to dislike.' What is in origin the specific location is now the subject of the sentence, as in these examples.

(9) Hattak mat walákshi imachokmah. 'That man likes dumplings.'

(10) Chahta alhiha't walákshi hapimachokmah. 'We Choctaws like dumplings.'

(11) Anki at tamaha iya imachokmah. 'My father likes to go to town.'

(12) Anki at tamaha iyalik aⁿ imachokmah. 'My father likes for me to go to town.'

In these examples, tamaha iya 'to go to town' and tamaha iyalik aⁿ 'that I go to town' are nominal clauses (Sec. 17.2).

A few more types of descriptive clauses can be noted. The adjectives achokma 'good,' okpólo 'bad,' and afina 'important' can have

nominal clauses expressing patient, as in hattak mat tamaha iyak aⁿ
achokmah 'It is good that that man is going to town,' analysed

Patient-T	'That that man go to town'	<u>hattak mat tamaha iyak aⁿ</u>
Predicate	'good'	<u>achokmah</u>

Hattak mat tamaha iyak aⁿ is derived from hattak mat tamaha iyah 'that man is going to town.' Adjectives designating measurements, like chāha 'tall,' kawasha 'short,' wiki 'heavy,' and shohhala 'light in weight,' generally occur with a patient. Chāha 'tall' and wiki 'heavy' can occur with a unit of measurement expressing degree (Sec. 14.2.2). An example is konokásha at alhpísa tóklo makállah oⁿ chāhah 'Elves are only two feet tall,' analysed as follows:

Patient-T	'elves'	<u>konokásha at</u>
Measure	'only two feet'	<u>alhpísa tóklo makállah oⁿ</u>
Predicate	'tall'	<u>chāhah.</u>

The measure expression consists of alhpísa 'measure, foot, cup,' tóklo 'two,' and makállah 'only.' The adjective abika 'sick' can occur with an instrument naming the disease, as in hattak mat chilíswa isht abikah 'that man is sick with the measles.' (See Sec. 13.5.3 for a description of the instrument.) Finally, the adjective pónna 'skilled' takes a sentence part, expressed by a nominal clause, which describes the activity the patient is skilled at. Examples are as follows:

- (13) Hattak mat talowak at impónnah. 'That man is good at singing.'
- (14) Walákshi ikbilik at ampónnah fienah kiyoh. 'I am not very good at making dumplings.'

Example (13) has the following analysis:

Patient-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Skill	'that he sing'	<u>talowak at</u>
Predicate	'skilled'	<u>impónnah</u>

The nominal clauses in the two examples are derived from talowah 'he sings' and walákshi ikbilih 'I make dumplings.'

13.4.4. Quantitative

Quantitative sentences tell how many individuals are described by the patient expression, or how much of a substance is described by it. The main verbal is a quantifier, either a numeral (acháffa, tóklo, tóchchína, óshta, etc.) or one of the following: lawa 'many,' iklāwo 'few,' lawa 'much, a lot of,' iskitini 'a little bit,' kanóhmi 'some, a few,' and kanomósi 'a few,' and achaffónha/achaffónwa/achaffoha/achaffowa 'a few, several.' The following are typical examples.

- (1) Oklah maⁿ áyyāshak at lawah. 'The people that are there are many in number.'
- (2) Hapishmo ato ilóshtah makállah. 'We are only four in number.'
- (3) Hattak maⁿ imófi at tókloh. 'That man's dogs are two in number.'

Example (1) has the following analysis:

Patient-T	'the people that are there'	<u>oklah maⁿ</u> <u>áyyāshak at</u>
Predicate	'many'	<u>lawah</u>

Maⁿ áyyāshak at 'that are there' is a relative clause (Sec. 17.3)

derived from maⁿ áyyāshah 'they are there.' Example (3) is analysed as follows:

Patient-T	'that man's dogs'	<u>hattak maⁿ imófi at</u>
Predicate	'two'	<u>tóklōh</u>

An alternative way of telling how many in number something is is to use a sentence of the identity type (Sec. 14.4.1) with a numeral or other quantity word expressing the part class. Compare (4) with (2).

- (4) Hapishno ato óshtha makállah hapiah. 'We are only four in number.'

13.4.5. Posture and location

The posture verbs (Sec. 6.4) have several uses, which we describe in this and the immediately following sections.

The basic meanings of the posture verbs appear in Sec. 6.4, which should be referred to. In the plain form these verbs refer to the act of assuming a posture, as in hattak mat binili tok 'that man sat down;' only the singular bases are used in this way. Singular, dual, and plural bases are used in the incompletive form to describe the posture something is in, as in hattak mat binínlī tok 'that man was sitting.'

The singular-dual-plural bases atta ashwa asha/māya can refer to the sitting of humans and the perching of birds, but this meaning is not common. One common sense of these bases is 'to dwell, to live there.' In this sense, these bases always assume the lengthened form of the nomic tense, giving áttā áshwa ásha/māya (Sec. 9.2.1, Sec. 14.6). An example is Chahta láwa't tamaha maⁿ áshah 'many Choctaws live in that town,' analysed as follows:

Actor-T	'many Choctaws'	<u>Chahta láwa't</u>
Spec. Loc.	'in that town'	<u>tamaha maⁿ</u>
Predicate	'dwell'	<u>áshah</u>

The first derived or extended use of the posture verbs is to tell where something is located. In this use, singular, dual, and plural bases are all used; all are general in the incomplete form except asha, which takes the intensive form, áyyāsha. Again, see Sec. 9.2.1 for an account of the ways the individual bases are used. Examples of the singular, dual, and plural of binili 'to sit' are the following:

- (1) Hattak mat kocha binínlíh. 'That man is (sitting) outside.'
- (2) Hattak mat kocha chínyah. 'Those (two) men are (sitting) outside.'
- (3) Hattak mat kocha binohmānyah. 'Those (three, several) men are (sitting) outside.'

The analysis of (1) is as follows:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Spec. Loc.	'outside'	<u>kocha</u>
Predicate	'is there'	<u>binínlíh</u>

If the speaker does not know which posture verb to use, because he does not know what posture the actor is in, he will use ántta ánshwa áyyāsha/mānya. The first three examples would then be hattak mat kocha ánttah, hattak mat kocha ánshwah, and hattak mat kocha áyyashah or hattak mat kocha mānyah. These bases are used in asking questions, as a result. For example, chinki at katímmah ánttah? 'where is your father?' could be answered either by kocha ánttah 'he is outside' or kocha binínlíh 'he is (sitting) outside.'

13.4.6. Existence

The second extended use of the posture verbs is to state that something exists. Sentences predicating existence have the form of location sentences, except that there need be no specific location, and the article of the actor expression is indefinite (Sec. 15.5.1). Note these examples.

- (1) Ofi tóklo't kocha ánshwah. 'There are two dogs outside.'
 (2) Ofi tóklo't kocha chínyah. 'There are two dogs (sitting) outside.'

Quantitative sentences can also be used to express existence, as in the final example.

- (3) Tamaha maⁿ Chahta't lawah. 'There are a lot of Choctaws in that town.'

This has the following analysis:

Place	'that town'	<u>tamaha maⁿ</u>
Actor-T	'Choctaws'	<u>Chahta't</u>
Predicate	'many'	<u>lawah</u>

Since quantitative sentences do not have specific locations, the sentence part place is used. The actor expression must have an indefinite article.

13.4.7. Sentences with two subjects

Under certain conditions a sentence with one subject can be transformed into a sentence with two subjects. To describe this process, we must make a distinction between ownership terms, body-part terms, and kinship terms, as was done in Sec. 4.4. Ownership terms

are nouns which designate things that can be owned, like ofi 'dog' and chokka 'house.' Body-part terms designate parts of the body and body substances, like iyyi 'foot' and hákshop 'skin.' Kinship terms designate kinsmen, like inki 'father' and tikchi 'wife.'

If the subject of a sentence is an expression consisting of a possessor (Sec. 15.8) and an ownership term, then the possessor may be made a second subject. If this is done, the ownership term loses its prefix, and a bound dative prefix (Sec. 3.3) is attached to the main verbal. Compare these two sentences.

- (1) Hattak maⁿ imófi't kaniya tok. 'That man's dog ran off.'
 (2) Hattak mat ofi't inkaniya tok. 'That man's dog ran off.'

Example (1) is analysed as follows:

Actor-T	'that man's dog'	<u>hattak maⁿ imófi't</u>
Predicate	'ran off'	<u>kaniya tok</u>

Example (2) has the following analysis:

Possessor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Actor-T	'the dog'	<u>ofi't</u>
Predicate	'his ran off'	<u>inkaniya tok</u>

There are two processes at work. In the first, the possessor is raised from a position as part of a role expression to a position as part of the sentence, and the ownership term loses its prefix. We refer to this as 'raising the possessor.' In the second process, a bound dative prefix is attached to the main verbal to echo the possessor. This is an independent process. In some dialects, it does not need to occur with the raising of the possessor. In all dialects, I believe, it can occur without raising the possessor. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (3) Hattak maⁿ iti kobaffili tok. Hattak maⁿ iti inkobaffili tok. 'I broke that man's stick.'
- (4) Pinchókka at lacha tok. Pinchókka at pinlacha tok. 'Our houses got wet.'

The possessors were raised in neither case. In (3) it could not have been raised in any case, because the subject of the sentence is a deleted (Sec. 13.3.5) ano ato 'I.'

The same rules apply when a body-part term is used in place of an ownership term. Examples are the following:

- (5) Hattak maⁿ ippánshi't kaniya tok. 'That man's hair fell out.'
- (6) Hattak mat pánshi't inkaniya tok. 'That man's hair fell out.'
- (7) Hattak maⁿ innóti kobaffili tok. Hattak maⁿ innóti inkobaffili tok. 'I broke that man's tooth.'
- (8) Hattak maⁿ iyyi't kobafa tok. Hattak maⁿ iyyi't inkobafa tok. 'That man's leg broke.'
- (9) Hattak mat iyyi't inkobafa tok. 'That man's leg broke.'

Examples (5) through (8) parallel (1) through (4). In example (9) we see what happens when the body-part term cannot occur without a prefix; the third person prefix is used. Compare (9) with (10), and with sayyi 'my foot.'

- (10) Iyyi't ankobafa tok. 'My leg broke.'

While these processes seem to apply with respect to ownership terms and body-part terms freely, they do not in general apply to kinship terms. The only main verbal I have found with which this occurs is illi 'to die,' as in (11) through (13).

- (11) Hattak maⁿ inki at illit tók. Hattak maⁿ inki at imillit tók. 'That man's father died.'

(12) Hattak mat inki at illit tōk. 'That man's father died.'

(13) Inki at amillit tōk. 'My father died.'

The structure of sentences like (2) has been given an extended meaning, illustrated by (14).

(14) Hattak mat ofi innóti't inkaniya tok. 'That man lost his dog tooth.'

The second subject has become the notional actor, instead of possessor, and kaniya renders 'to lose.' The structure is then as follows.

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient-T	'dog tooth'	<u>ofi innóti't</u>
Predicate	'lost'	<u>inkaniya tok</u>

In fact, (2) is ambiguous; it can also mean 'that man lost his dog.'

13.4.8. 'To have'

There are two main ways of expressing 'to have.' The first uses the verb ishi 'to take hold of' in the inceptive ínshi 'to have possession of' or iterative ihínshi 'to keep.' This can be applied only to patients expressed by ownership terms (Sec. 13.4.8). An example is (1).

(1) Hattak mat chintabi ínshih. 'That man has your cane.'

The analysis of (1) is as follows:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient	'your cane'	<u>chintabi</u>
Predicate	'has'	<u>ínshih</u>

The second way of expressing 'to have' is to form a sentence with a second subject. These sentences are not the same in form with those described in Sec. 13.4.7, as will be pointed out. They are invariably

and unhesitatingly translated with 'to have,' while those in Sec. 13.4.7 never are. Two characteristics of these sentences point to existence sentences (Sec. 13.4.6) as their historical source. First, what is originally the first subject has always an indefinite article (Sec. 15.5.1). Second, the main verbals are most commonly posture verbs or quantifiers. We may say, now, that 'have' sentences are derived structurally from existence sentences, as a manner of speaking about their structure.

As a starting point, we take an existence sentence which has as its subject an expression consisting of a possessor and an ownership term. As with the sentences in Sec. 4.4.7, raise the possessor, remove the prefix from the ownership term, and attach a bound dative prefix to the main verbal. In this way, (3) is derived from (2).

(2) *Hattak maⁿ imófi't ánshah. 'That man's dogs (three, several) exist.'

(3) Hattak mat ofi't imánshah. 'That man has some (three, several) dogs.'

The structure of (2) is as follows:

Patient-T	'that man's dogs'	<u>hattak maⁿ imófi't</u>
Predicate	'exist'	<u>ánshah</u>

The structure of (3) is as follows:

Possessor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient-T	'dogs'	<u>ofi't</u>
Predicate	'has'	<u>imánshah</u>

Note this further parallel with existence sentences: the forms of atta are ántta ánshwa ánsha as in existence sentences, rather than ántta ánshwa áyyāsha as in location sentences.

Existence sentences with quantifiers as main verbals are also structural starting points for the construction of 'have' sentences. Example (5) is derived from (4).

(4) *Hattak maⁿ imófi't lawah. 'There are many of that man's dogs.'

(5) Hattak mat ofi't inlawah. 'That man has many dogs.'

It is also possible to render (5) with a posture verb, as in (6).

(6) Hattak mat ofi lawak at imánshah. 'That man has many dogs.'

The structure of (5) is as follows:

Possessor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient-T	'dogs'	<u>ofi't</u>
Predicate	'has many'	<u>inlawah</u>

The structure of (6) parallels that of (3) as follows:

Possessor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient-T	'many dogs'	<u>ofi lawak at</u>
Predicate	'has'	<u>imánshah</u>

The main difference between 'have' sentences and other sentences with two subjects is that in the case of the former the attachment of the prefix to the main verbal always occurs in all dialects, while in the case of the latter sentences it need not occur in some dialects.

'Have' sentences are also formed with body-part and kinship terms in place of ownership terms, with this difference: with body-part and kinship terms, the article appears only in the case of emphasis or focus. That is, at is deleted, ato and osh remain. Examples are the following:

(7) Hattak mat ibbak imacháffah. 'That man has one hand.'

(8) Hattak mat ittikchi imacháffah. 'That man has one wife.'

In the negative, at remains.'

- (9) Hattak mat pánshi't íkshoh/ikimíkshoh. 'That man has no hair.'
- (10) Hattak mat inki't íkshoh/ikimíkshoh. 'That man has no father.' 'That man's father is dead.'

With all three types of nouns, 'have' sentences can be formed with adjectives as main verbs, if the adjective designates an inherent quality of the possessed thing. For example, size is an inherent quality of a house, but wetness is not. Color is an inherent quality of eyes. Compare these examples.

- (11) Hattak mat chokka at inlacha tok. 'That man's house got wet.'
- (12) Hattak mat chokka at inchitoh. 'That man has a big house.'

Example (11) is an ordinary sentence with a raised possessor, because the adjective lacha 'wet' does not designate an inherent property; (12) is a 'have' sentence because chito 'big' does designate an inherent property.

Other examples are as follows:

- (13) Hattak mat nishkin imokchamalih. 'That man has blue eyes.'
- (14) Hattak mat ittikchi inchāhah. 'That man has a tall wife.'

There are sentences which differ from 'have' sentences in that there is no bound dative prefix attached to the main verbal. The meaning of these can best be illustrated. Compare (15) with (7), and (16) with (10).

- (15) Hattak mat ibbak acháffah. 'That man is one handed.'
- (16) Hattak mat pánshi íkshoh. 'That man is bald.'

The relationship between these last sentences and 'have' sentences is not clear. They may themselves have two subjects. For example, (18) can be derived from (17).

- (17) Shokháta ātok maⁿ hasímbish at híshi íkshoh. 'The possum's tail has no hair.'
- (18) Shokháta ātok mat hasímbish at híshi íkshoh. 'The possum's tail has no hair.'

13.4.9. Intransitive

There are several kinds of intransitive sentences and verbs. One kind describes motion; this is treated in Sec. 13.4.11. The others are dealt with here.

The following verbs deal with weather; and astronomical phenomena: onna 'to dawn,' tobokoli 'to reach noon,' oklhili 'to grow dark,' omba 'to rain,' oktoshá 'to snow,' mahli 'for the wind to blow,' hilooha 'to thunder,' and malahta 'to lightening.' These verbs take no roles, but may occur with other sentence parts, like time and place. Examples are (1) and (2).

- (1) Oktoshah. 'It is snowing.'
- (2) Pilāsh āsh oktoshá tok. 'It snowed yesterday.'

The verbs hotilhko 'to cough,' howita 'to vomit,' habishko 'to sneeze,' fiyopa/fihopa 'to breathe,' and other verbs which designate body functions which can be voluntary or involuntary, occur with an actor when the act is voluntary, and with a patient when involuntary. Compare these examples.

- (3) Chishno ak osh ishhotilhko tok. 'You are the one who coughed (voluntarily).'

- (4) Chishno ak osh chihotilhko tok. 'You are the one who coughed (involuntarily).'

A few other verbs, including nosi 'to sleep' and ittola 'to fall,' are used in these same two ways in one dialect, apparently.

Most intransitive verbs take either a patient or an actor, but not both. Verbs which take patients include hofanti 'to grow up,' okchánya 'to live, be alive,' and the passive verb bases described in Chapter Five. Verbs which take actors include tani 'to get up,' binachi 'to camp,' washoha 'to play,' toksali/tonksali 'to work,' and okshonolli 'to swim.'

13.4.10. Transitive

Transitive sentences have an actor and a patient; some also have a specific location.

Transitive verbs include isso 'to hit,' ikbi 'to make,' apila 'to help,' and the active verb bases described in Chapter Five. An example is hattak mat chokka ikbi tok 'that man made a house,' analysed as follows:

Actor	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient	'a house'	<u>chokka</u>
Predicate	'made'	<u>ikbi tok</u>

Transitive verbs with a specific location are verbs of giving and taking. Examples are -ā 'to give,' pila 'to throw,' pota 'to lend, borrow,' atobbi 'to pay,' kanchi 'to sell,' and chompa 'to buy.' Example (1) contains -ā.

- (1) Hattak mat ofi ohoyo maⁿ imā tok. 'That man gave that woman a dog.'

This sentence has the following analysis:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient	'a dog'	<u>ofi</u>
Spec. Loc.	'that woman'	<u>ohoyo maⁿ</u>
Predicate	'gave'	<u>imā tok</u>

Some of these verbs use the element ā with dative prefixes to echo the specific location. Sometimes this is rendered 'to,' other times 'from.' Compare these examples.

- (2) Hattak mat hakchóma ampota tok. 'That man loaned me some tobacco.'
- (3) Hattak mat hakchóma amā pota tok. 'That man borrowed some tobacco from me.'
- (4) Hattak mat tali ampila tok. 'That man threw a rock to me.'
- (5) Hattak mat tali amā pila tok. 'That man threw a rock to me.'
- (6) Hattak mat ofi chompa tok. 'That man bought a dog.'
- (7) Hattak mat ofi amā chompa tok. 'That man bought a dog from me.'

The difference between pota 'to loan to' (2) and ā pota 'to borrow from' is quite distinct. There seems to be little difference between pila 'to throw to' (4) and ā pila 'to throw to' (5). The difference between chompa 'to buy' (6) and ā chompa 'to buy from' (7) is that only the latter can take a specific location.

Not all verbs which may take a specific location have to. For example, one can say hattak mat tali pila tok 'that man threw a rock.' We have the same situation in English.

13.4.11. Motion

Motion verbs are intransitive verbs which designate movement across space. Some have plural or dual bases (Sec. 6.3). The main points to be made concern specific location.

Four basic motion verbs are iya, minti/mīti, ona and ala. Iya and minti focus on departure and transit, while ona and ala focus on arrival. Iya and ona designate motion away from the speaker or some point of reference, while minti and ala designate motion towards the speaker or point of reference. They may be translated, then, iya 'to leave going, to be on the way here,' ona 'to arrive there,' and ala 'to arrive here.'

A specific location used with one of these verbs always designates the destination or direction of travel, as in these examples.

- (1) Hattak at tamaha iya tok. 'The man went to town.'
- (2) Hattak at tamaha ona tok. 'The man got to town.'
- (3) Hattak at pinchókka mintih. 'A man is coming (on the way) to our house.'
- (4) Hattak at pinchókka alā chiⁿh. 'A man is coming to (will arrive at) our house.'

A second point to be made is that a sentence like (4) with a possessor in the specific location expression can be transformed into a sentence like (5).

- (5) Hattak at pimā alā chiⁿh. 'A man is coming to our place.'

That is, a bound dative prefix is attached to ā in the predicate expression, and the specific location expression is deleted.

Another set of motion verbs may be transitive verbs with patients instead of specific locations; my data is unclear on this point. These

are chokkwa 'to enter,' kochá 'to go out of,' lhopolli 'to go through,' apakfōpa 'to go around,' and tolobli 'to cross over.' The singular and plural bases fokka alhto 'to be inside of' may also be transitive. An example with one of the motion verbs is the following.

- (6) Ano ak osh chokka chokkwali tok. 'I am the one who went into the house.'

The analysis is as follows:

(Actor-T)	'I'	<u>ano ak osh</u>
Spec. Loc.	'house'	<u>chokka</u>
Predicate	'went into'	<u>chokkwali tok</u>

For a kind of specific location expression made from sentences of this type, see Sec. 15.9.5.

13.4.12. Communication

This section deals with sentences which have as their main verbals verbs designating acts of speaking, hearing, and thinking.

The verbs designating speech acts are ā/āchi/āli 'to say,' mākā/mākāchi/mākāli 'to say that,' anompoli 'to talk,' anōli 'to tell,' ponaklo/panaklo 'to ask.' Anompoli and the variants of mākāchi are used without patients. The other verbs can have patients and specific locations.

Patient expressions may be direct or indirect quotations. Only āchi and its variants can take direct quotations, as in (1).

- (1) Hattak mat "Katimāh ishiya?" āchi tok. 'That man said, "Where are you going?"'

The other verbs take indirect quotations in the form of nominal or relative clauses, as in (2).

- (2) Hattak mat kanímmah oⁿ iyalik aⁿ ponaklo tok. 'That man asked where I was going.'

Another common mode of expression is the following.

- (3) Hattak mat ponaklot "Katímmah ishiya?" āchi tok. 'That man asking said "Where are you going?"'

The analysis of (1) is as follows:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient	'"Where are you going?"'	<u>"Katímmah ishiya?"</u>
Predicate	'said'	<u>āchi tok</u>

The analysis of (2) is as follows:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Patient	'where I was going'	<u>kanímmah oⁿ iyalik aⁿ</u>
Predicate	'asked'	<u>ponaklo tok</u>

The analysis of (3) is as follows:

Actor-T	'that man'	<u>hattak mat</u>
Manner	'asking'	<u>ponaklot</u>
Patient	'"Where are you going?"'	<u>"Katímmah ishiya?"</u>
Predicate	'said'	<u>āchi tok.</u>

Indirect quotations are made in three ways. If the direct quotation is a statement, the indirect quotation is a 'that' nominal clause (Sec. 17.2). This is illustrated in (4) and (5).

- (4) Hattak mat tamaha iyā chiⁿh. 'That man is going to go to town.'

- (5) hattak mat tamaha iyā chiⁿ k aⁿ . . . 'that that man is going to go to town'

If the direct quotation is a yes-no question (Sec. 13.2.4), the indirect quotation is a 'whether' nominal clause (Sec. 17.2). This is illustrated by (6) and (7).

- (6) Hattak mat tamaha iyā chiⁿ h oⁿ? 'Is that man going to go to town?'
- (7) hattak mat tamaha iyak maⁿ nānā chiⁿ k aⁿ . . . 'whether that man is going to go to town'

If the question is an information question (Sec. 18.2.1), the indirect quotation is a relative clause with an indefinite pronoun base (Sec. 18.2.2). This is illustrated by (8) and (9).

- (8) Hattak mat katímmah iyā chiⁿ h? 'Where is that man going to go?'
- (9) kanímmah oⁿ hattak mat iyā chiⁿ k aⁿ . . . 'where that man is going to go'

These transformations from direct to indirect quotations parallel the English usage.

Other verbs which could be discussed here are pisa 'to see,' haklo 'to hear,' ikhana 'to learn,' akostinínchi 'to understnad,' ahni 'to think,' yímmi 'to believe,' ahaksi 'to forget,' and ahoba 'to seem.' With these two, the use of nominal and relative clauses parallels the English. For example, . . . -k aⁿ ishikaⁿ hah oⁿ? parallels 'do you know that . . . ?'; and . . . k maⁿ nānak aⁿ ishikháⁿ nah oⁿ? parallels 'Do you know whether . . . ?'

13.4.13. Comparison

There is a small set of verbs used to make comparisons between two qualities or events. It is not clear just how the resulting sentences are to be analysed, so the examples must speak for themselves.

Sameness or equality is expressed by lawínchi and ittiláwwi, illustrated in (1), and (2), and (3).

- (1) Hattak mat ohoyo maⁿ chāhak at lawínchi. 'That man is as tall as that woman.'
- (2) Hattak tóklo mat chāhak at ittiláwwi. 'Those two men are the same height.'
- (3) Chāhak at chilawínchii. 'I am as tall as you.'

Difference is expressed by ínla and ittimínla, illustrated by the following examples.

- (4) Hattak mat pisak aⁿ ínlah. 'That man looks different.'
- (5) Hattak tóklo mat pisak aⁿ ittimínlah. 'Those two men look different from each other.'
- (6) Hattak mat ínlah. 'That man is different.'

While both (6) and (4) are possible, and ínlali 'I am different' is possible, it does not seem to be possible to say 'I look different.'

There is no apparent reason for chāhak at in (1)-(3) to be in the nominative case while pisak aⁿ in (4) and (5) is in the oblique, unless it is the fact that, for example, Hattak mat would be the subject of chāha in (1), but not of pisa in (4). Compare (7) with (5).

- (7) Hattak tóklo mat talowak at ittimínlah. 'Those two men sing differently from each other.'

In (7), hattak tóklo mat would be the subject of talowa.

The comparative is formed with sháhli in the case of adjectives, with shalíhchi in the case of verbs. The first appears in (8) and (9); the second, in (10) and (11).

- (8) Hattak mat ohoyo maⁿ chāhak at insháhlih. 'That man is taller than that woman.'
- (9) Chāhak at issansháhlih. 'You are taller than me.'
- (10) Hattak mat ohoyo maⁿ talowak at inshalíhchih. 'That man sings better than that woman.'
- (11) Talowak at issanshalíhchih. 'You sing better than I do.'

In all of the preceding cases, the quality or act with respect to which the comparison was made appears without personal affixes before the main verb. This is not the case with the next pair of verbals.

Excessiveness is expressed with ātapa in the case of adjectives, and with ātabli in the case of verbs. Examples of the former are (12) and (13).

- (12) Hattak mat chāhak at ātāpah. 'That man is too tall.'
- (13) Sachāhak at ātāpah. 'I am too tall.'

It appears that these sentences consist of a nominal clause expressing the patient of a sentence with ātapa as main verb. If so the structure of (12) is as follows:

Patient-T	'that that man	<u>hattak mat</u>
	is tall'	<u>chāhak at</u>
Predicate	'is excessive'	<u>ātāpah</u>

To do something excessively is expressed with ātabli, the active form of ātapa. Its use is illustrated in the following examples.

- (14) Hattak mat talowak at ātāmblih. 'That man sings too much.'
- (15) Talowalik at ātāmblih. 'I overdo my singing.'

In some dialects, isht ilātabli is used instead; active prefixes precede isht, as in ishtalowak at ish isht ilātámblih 'you overdo singing.'

Alhpiesa 'to be enough' is used like ātapa, as in Hattak mat chāhak at alhpiesah 'that man is tall enough.'

The negative of ona 'to arrive there,' is used to render 'not enough.' The following are examples.

(16) Hattak mat chāhak at ikónoh. 'That man is not tall enough.'

(17) Ano ak osh chāhak at akónoh. 'I am the one who is not tall enough.'

13.5. Other roles

There are several other roles to be discussed. It will be clear from their meanings just what kinds of predicates they can be used with. It is possible to put together a sentence with five or six roles, but the sentence would not be acceptable in Choctaw; it would have to be broken up into smaller sentences, or into a compound sentence. For example, one cannot say 'I bought them from him for you' but has to say rather 'you asked me to, so I bought them from him,' or 'buying from him, I bought them for you.' In the examples of this section, we have kept roles to the minimum.

13.5.1. Beneficiary

The beneficiary is the person for whom something is done. It is echoed by the free dative (Sec. 3.3) followed by the bound dative form im-. These follow the active prefixes.

Bill at holisso Mary aⁿ imi inchompa tok. Bill bought a book for Mary.

Actor-T	'Bill'	<u>Bill at</u>
Patient	'book'	<u>holisso</u>
Benefic.	'Mary'	<u>Mary aⁿ</u>
Predicate	'bought'	<u>imi inchompa tok</u>

Holisso maⁿ issami inchompak maⁿ! Buy that book for me!

Actor-T	'you'	
Patient	'that book'	<u>holisso maⁿ</u>
Beneficiary	'me'	
Predicate	'buy'	<u>issami inchompa</u>
Mode	'command'	<u>-k maⁿ!</u>

13.5.2. Associate

The associate is the person with whom one does something. It is echoed by the passive (sa- chi- i-) prefixes affixed to ba. These follow the active echoes. This role must be distinguished from the companion (Sec. 13.5.4).

Bill at iksaba anompólo tok. Bill didn't talk with me.

Actor-T	'Bill'	<u>Bill at</u>
Associate	'me'	
Predicate	'didn't talk'	<u>iksaba anompólo tok</u>

Bill at Mary aⁿ ikiba anompólo tok. Bill didn't talk with Mary.

13.5.3. Instrument

The instrument is the role of the prop used to perform an act. The instrument role does not use an echo, but the presence of an instrument in the sentence is shown by the element isht/ishit in the predicate, before the active echoes. This is the t-form (Sec. 19.7) of the verb ishi 'to take hold of, to pick up, to hold.'

Tali isht issoli tok. I hit it with a rock.

Actor-T	'I'	
Patient	'it'	
Instrument	'a rock'	<u>tali</u>
Predicate	'hit'	<u>isht issoli tok</u>

Because isht is the t-form of ishi, one might think that the correct analysis of the example would be as follows:

Actor	'I'	
Patient	'it'	
Manner	'taking a rock'	<u>tali isht</u>
Predicate	'hit'	<u>issoli tok.</u>

In fact, the instrumental function derives from such a structure, and both exist in modern Choctaw. They can be distinguished by the fact that in the first isht is part of the predicate. Compare

Tali ont isht issoli tok. I went and hit it with a rock.

Actor-T	'I'	
Patient	'it'	
Instrument	'a rock'	<u>tali</u>
Predicate	'went and hit'	<u>ont isht issoli tok</u>

with

Tali ont isht issoli tok. I went and got a rock and hit him.

Going and getting a rock, I hit him.

Actor-T	'I'	
Patient	'it'	
Manner	'going, getting a rock'	<u>tali ont isht</u>
Predicate	'hit'	<u>issoli tok.</u>

Another way to point out the distinction is to note that in the first type, one adds the instrument tali . . . isht 'with a rock' to the sentence ont issoli tok 'I went and hit him,' while in the second type, one adds the manner tali ont isht 'going and getting a rock' to issoli tok 'I hit it.'

With abika 'sick' the instrument tells the name of the disease, as in chiliswa isht siabikah 'I am sick with measles.'

With verbs of motion of the actor, the instrument is something carried. From iya 'to leave, to be on the way' minti 'to be on the way coming,' ona 'to arrive there,' and ala 'to arrive here' one can form isht iya 'to carry, to take,' isht minti 'to bring, to come bringing,' isht ala 'to bring here' and isht ona 'to take there.' Note sasht ishiyak maⁿ! or: issasht iyak maⁿ! 'take me!', etc.

13.5.4. Companion

This is the role of the person with whom one travels. It can be thought of as the form of associative used with motion verbs. It is derived historically from a sentence like the following.

*Bill at Mary aⁿ awaya tok. Bill accompanied Mary.

Actor-T	'Bill'	<u>Bill at</u>
Patient	'Mary'	<u>Mary aⁿ</u>
Predicate	'accompanied'	<u>awaya tok</u>

From this the manner expression *Mary aⁿ awayat 'accompanying Mary' was formed, and awayat was contracted to awant. Adding this to Bill at iya tok 'Bill went,' we get Bill at Mary aⁿ want iya tok 'Bill went with Mary.' *Awaya is no longer used, but the forms of the companion expression still conform to their historical form. That is, describe the person as though it were a patient, and add awant with the correct prefix of the passive (sa-, chi-, \emptyset) series. This might be expressed as Patient Awant.

13.5.5. Substitute

This construction has an origin like that of the instrument and companion. The verb alhtoba 'to take his place, to substitute for him' is the basis of the construction, which is

patient alhtobat.

Alhtobat of course takes passive (sa-, chi-, \emptyset) prefixes. An example is the following.

Chisas at pialhtobat ihínllit tōk. Jesus died for us.

Actor	'Jesus'	<u>Chisas at</u>
Substitute	'us'	<u>pialhtobat</u>
Predicate	'died'	<u>ihínllit tōk</u>

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
PREDICATE EXPRESSIONS

14.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the structure of predicate expressions. This is done by listing all the parts of predicate expressions, and giving a complete list of the elements which express those parts. The account will provide for the great majority of predicate expressions used in narrative. I believe that it is a good account of predicate expressions used in conversation, too, as far as it goes. I believe that its main deficiency with respect to conversation is incompleteness of the lists.

Some of the parts of predicate expressions have already been discussed. A complete list of parts, with references to the sections which discuss them, follows.

Subject Plural (okla, Sec. 13.3.1)

Subject Motion (Sec. 14.3)

Inner Core (Sec. 14.2)

Main Verbal (Sec. 14.2.1)

Verbal Modifier (Sec. 14.2.2)

Auxiliary Verbs (Sec. 14.2.3)

Progressive Auxiliary (Sec. 14.2.4)

Subject Dual (tókla, 13.3.1)

Potential (Sec. 14.4)

Aspect (Sec. 14.5)

Tense (Sec. 14.6)

Negation (Sec. 14.7)

This list shows the usual order of the predicate expression parts. The known exceptions to this order are treated in the sections following.

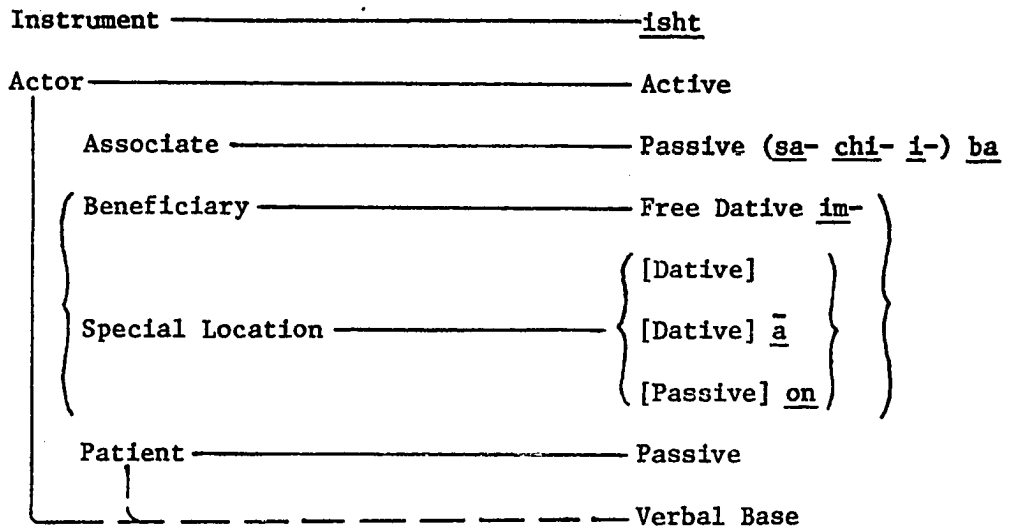
14.2. The inner core

14.2.1. The main verbal

The problems dealt with here are (1) the listing of the parts of the main verbal and (2) the classification of verbal bases for purposes of describing predicate expressions.

The main verbal consists of the verbal base and all elements of agreement charted in Sec. 13.3.1 except the subject plural (okla) and dual (tókla) and tense. In addition, it contains the associate echo. For convenience we copy that part of the chart here without further comment. The elements in brackets are not used if the thing echoed is not animate.

For the discussion of some parts of syntax it is convenient to classify the parts of speech which may appear as main verbals. This is a simple classification. The major classes are the copula, quantitatives, adjectives, and verbs. The two types of quantitatives are the numerals on the one hand, and words like lawá 'many,' iklāwo 'few,' lawá 'much,' iskitini 'little,' and móⁿma 'all.'



14.2.2. The verbal modifiers

There is a rough notional unity to the verbal modifiers in that they all express the degree to which the verbal base is being used correctly. For example, added to Bill at balilih 'Bill is running,' osh óhmih 'sort of' tells how appropriate it is to use balili 'to run' to describe what Bill is doing; Bill at balilih osh óhmih 'Bill is sort of running.' We list the known verbal modifiers, and give the types of verbal bases they seem to be used with.

The modifiers fienah 'very,' chóhmi 'pretty, somewhat' and chóyyōmi 'quite, really' modify adjectives and the quantitatives. Examples are lashpah fienah 'it is very hot,' lawah chóhmih 'they are pretty many,' and chāhah chóyyōmih 'he is really tall.'

The modifier osh óhmih performs a similar function with verbs. It can mean 'sort of' as in the example in the first paragraph, or 'quite, really.'

The modifier achokma 'good and . . . ' (from the adjective achokma 'good') is used with adjectives, as in lashpah achokmah 'it is good and hot.'

The modifier makálla 'only' is used with the numerals and the quantitatives iskitini 'little,' kanóhmi 'some, a few,' and kanomónsi 'few,' as in tóklloh makállah 'they are only two' and iskitinih makállah 'it is only a little.' Some Choctaws use baano for this purpose (see below). The modifiers fokka/fokkánli are used with numerals in the sense 'about, approximately.'

The modifier baano 'only, just' is used with adjectives and verbs with the indicated meaning. Examples are kallalih baano tok 'I only called on the phone (I didn't go over there)' and chāhah baanoh 'he is only tall (not fat, too).' This is distinguished from the adverb of resignation pi 'just' as in pi kallali tok '(I didn't know what else I could do so) I just called.' This in turn is not hímo 'just now' as in hímo kallali tok or hímo kallalih 'I just (now) called.' See Sec. 14.5 in the discussion of biekah for another possible meaning of baano.

The modifiers áníni^h, imánlihih, and hómánlihih are used with all types of predicates except, I believe, numerals proper. See Sec. 13.2.4 for their use as modals. As modifiers, they assert that the verbal base if being very appropriately used, as in chahah 'mánlihih 'he is truly tall.' I believe that the first form is used with verbs, the second with adjectives and quantitatives, and am uncertain about the use of the third.

The modifiers áhonsih, áonsih, nánhah, naháonsih, and náonsih 'almost' are used where one would find almost used in English. It sometimes follows tense.

Finally, with adjectives and quantitatives, the internal changes can act as modifiers. See in this regard the first paragraphs of Secs. 9.2.2, 9.2.3, and 9.2.5.

14.2.3. The auxiliary verbs

The auxiliary verbs are used to express starting, stopping, and finishing. Examples with the bases kobaffi 'to break something' and kobafa 'for something to break' are the following:

<u>kobaffilih</u>	'I broke it'
<u>kobafah</u>	'it broke'
<u>kobaffit isht iyalih</u>	'I started breaking it'
<u>kobaffit issalih</u>	'I stopped breaking it'
<u>kobaffilit tahlilih</u>	'I finished breaking it'
or <u>kobaffit tahlilih</u>	
<u>kobafat tahah</u>	'it is finished breaking,'
	'it is completely broken up'
<u>kobaffilit ā lhopollilih</u>	'I am through breaking it'
or <u>kobaffit ā lhopollilih</u>	

There are several points to be noted. Isht iya 'to start' and issa 'to stop' are used only when the main verb denotes an action. It is not possible to say, for example, siabikat isht iyah 'I'm starting to be sick;' instead you say siabikā chiⁿh 'I am going to be sick.' All but taha take the active affixes; with isht iya and issa the main verb loses its active affix: with tahli and ā lhopolli the main verb may or may not lose its active affix. The passive affix can be removed from the main verb to tahli and taha; compare satakchi tok 'he tied me' with

takchit satahli tok 'he finished tying me,' and satalakchi tok 'I was tied up' with talakchit sataha tok 'I was completely tied up.'

However satakchit tahli tok and satalakchit taha tok are also good.

These points can be summarized in the following list of formulas:

MAIN VERBAL-t	ISHT Active IYA
MAIN VERBAL-t	Active ISSA
(Active) MAIN VERBAL-t	Active TAHLI
MAIN VERBAL-t	TAHA
(Active) MAIN VERBAL-t	Active Ā LHOPOLLI

Active affixes can appear only in verbals as shown. Parentheses enclose optional affixes. A passive affix can be moved from the main verbal to tahli or taha. Except for the construction with taha, the main verbal must denote an action.

Since the auxiliary verbs are verbals, they can take verbal modifiers. An example is kobafat taha áonsih 'it broke almost completely up.'

14.2.4. The progressive

A formula can be given for the formation of the progressive analogous to that which was given for the auxiliary verbs. It follows.

(Active) MAIN VERB OSH	Active {	(Posture Verb)
		ANYA

In this formula, 'MAIN VERB' is either the main verbal, or a main verbal with auxiliary verb. '(Active)' refers to the affixes of both main verbal and auxiliary. Examples are

kobaffilih osh ánttalih .

'I am breaking it up'

or kobaffih osh ánttalih

kobaffilit tahlilih osh ánttalih

'I am finishing breaking it up'

or kobaffit tahlilh osh ánttalih.

The posture verbs and their meanings are listed in Sec. 6.4. The forms of atta ashwa asha 'to sit, perch; to be there' are described in Sec. 8.7. The verbs ánya (singular) and mánya (plural) 'to be going along, to be there' are used as listed in the incomplete, or in the iterative forms ahánya and mahánya. The posture verbs are used in the same forms, except for the proverb atta ashwa asha which appears in the incomplete as ántta ánshwa áyyāsha and in the iterative as ahántta ahánshwa ahánsha; that is, the plural intensive form is used in place of the incomplete. With the incomplete the simple progressive is formed; the iterative is usually translated 'keep on,' and is often used with móⁿma 'still.'

If the subject is in motion, ánya mánya is used; otherwise a posture verb is used in accord with the rules given in Sec. 6.4. With weather phenomena, hikiya is used, as in ombah osh hikínyah 'it is raining' and kapassah osh hikínyah 'it is being cold.'

The main verb is sometimes in the incomplete, sometimes in the plain form.

The active affixes are used on the progressive auxiliary to agree with the subject, even if the subject is a patient, and not an actor. An example is

sahohchafoh osh ánttalih

'I am being hungry.'

If the main verbal is a numeral used in the sense of 'to have,' then the dative affix goes on the progressive auxiliary. Compare these two examples:

Ofi't antóklōh.

I have two dogs.

Ofi't tókloh osh aⁿmányah.

I have two dogs.

If the main verbal is the copula, it is deleted. Compare alla himíttah síah 'I am a young child' with alla himíttah osh ahánttalih móⁿmah 'I am still a young child.'

14.3. Subject motion

The two elements ant (from ala 'to arrive here') 'come and, coming' and ont (from ona 'to arrive going') 'go and, going' are used to specify a direction the subject should travel either before or while performing the action designated by the main verbal. Examples are ont apila! 'go help him' and ant isht ishlā chiki! 'bring it here.'

14.4. Potential

There are two elements for the potential. We will first describe their forms, and then say what can be said about their meanings.

The first element occurs in several forms in different dialects. The known forms are the following:

<u>hínlah</u>	<u>ahínlah</u>	<u>ánlah</u>
<u>hínah</u>	<u>ahínah</u>	<u>ánah</u>

The oldest form is apparently ahínlah; it is written -a hínlah in accord with the traditional orthography. The first column arises by loss of initial a, the last column arises by contraction of ahí to á, and the bottom row arises by a change of nl to n.

The second element is āhi, written as -ā hi.

In one widespread dialect with the pair ánah and āhi, ánah is used in the affirmative, āhi in the negative. There seems to be no other difference in use.

In another widespread dialect there is a form of ahínlah and āhi which have different meanings. I cannot say what the difference is, but they are not interchangeable. Some Choctaws have a special negative form of āhi described in Sec. 14.7.

In general terms, these elements are used to express ability to do something, or possibility or potential for something to happen. The best that can be done is to give examples.

The following is said to small children to get them to behave.

Achokma'sh ishánttā hi kiyok maⁿ, Nahóllo't ant chihoklā chíⁿh.

'If you can't be good, the White Man will come get you.'

The analysis of the conditional clause is as follows.

Actor-T	'you'	
Predicate		
Main Verbal	'good'	<u>achokmah osh</u>
Progressive	'being'	<u>ishántta</u>
Potential	'can'	<u>āhi</u>
Negation	'not'	<u>kiyo</u>
Condition Article	'if'	<u>-k maⁿ</u>

As in this example, ahínlah and āhi render English 'can' as one of their uses.

A second use is in sentences with conditions which are counter-factual, or where the conclusions are speculative. The following examples are from a dialect in which ahínlah and āhi have different meanings.

Omba tok ok maⁿ, nān ahchífa at lacha tok ahínlah. 'If it rained, my wash must have gotten wet.'

Ombah ātok ok maⁿ, nān ahchífa at lacha hínlā tok. 'If it had rained, my wash would have gotten wet.'

Compare these with the following.

Ombah ok maⁿ, nān ahchífa at lachā chíⁿh. 'If it rains, my wash will get wet.'

Compare these two further examples.

Ahocha hínlah ok mat, apā hi tok. 'If he could find it, he would eat it.'

Ahochih ok mat, apā chíⁿh. 'If he finds it, he will eat it.'

14.5. Aspect

Aspect is expressed by the internal changes and by a few elements which follow potential. The internal changes, elements, and tenses interact in ways which have not been determined. Consequently, the meanings of these things can only be suggested.

The internal changes have been dealt with as thoroughly as possible in Sec. 9.2.

The element bíllīyah means 'always' in the sense 'all the time,' as in talowah bíllīyah 'he is always singing.'

The element biekah/bíkah means 'always' in the sense 'every time;' it signifies the customary, what is done when the appropriate occasion arises, as in talohónwah biekah 'he always sings (whenever we have an all-night singing).' The main verbal is usually in the iterative, except with the potential, when it is in the plain form. An example of

the latter is hoklā hi biekah 'he will catch them (whenever he sees one).' In the past tense the sense is 'used to (but not any more),' as one would expect.

The element mōⁿ mah regularly translates 'still.' The main verb is usually in the iterative, but often in the inceptive. An example is shāchahahānchih mōⁿ mah 'it is still rattling' and ínshkoh mōⁿ mah 'he is still drinking.'

A surprising use of biekah, but on reflection not illogical, is illustrated in Jones alhiha't hochitoh biekah 'the Jones' are all big (people).'

14.6. Tense

Tense is expressed by internal changes, particles, and combinations of these.

The nomic present and past have been described in Sec. 9.2.1. We repeat the examples here for reference.

ónkof íshpa oⁿ?

Do you eat persimmons?

Aⁿ, apāli

Yes, I eat them.

ónkof íshpa tok oⁿ?

Have you ever eaten persimmons?

Kieyoh, apāli tok kiyoh.

No, I have never eaten them.

Aⁿ, apāli tok.

Yes, I have eaten them.

The points to note are that the verb is in the lengthened form and does not have the predicate suffix -h.

The present tense is without special elements; the verbal may be in any appropriate internal form. The immediate past is distinguished from the present only by the fact that the interrogative mode is formed with aⁿ instead of oⁿ (Sec. 13.2.4). The recent past is formed with tok, and

the remote past is formed with the intensive form of this, ttök, written -t tök. The future tense is formed with āchiⁿh, written -ā chiⁿh. The ā replaces a preceding vowel (Sec. 1.8). In some dialects, the ā is lost and the preceding vowel is lengthened.

Examples of these tenses with haklo 'to hear' follow.

<u>haklolih</u>	'I hear'
<u>haklolih</u>	'I (just) heard, I heard earlier'
<u>hakloli tok</u>	'I heard (yesterday)'
<u>haklolit tōk</u>	'I heard (long ago)'
<u>haklolaⁿ chiⁿh/hakloliⁿ chiⁿh</u>	'I will hear'

Compound tenses are formed with āchiⁿh and tok as in these examples:

<u>hakloli tok āchiⁿh</u>	'I will have heard'
<u>hakloli tok ātok</u>	'I had heard'
<u>haklolaⁿ chiⁿ tok</u>	'I was going to hear.'

A perfect can be formed with bīkah/biekah and the plain form of the verbal. It implies that one has done something, but is no longer doing it. An example is nāni ishbih bīkah aⁿ? 'have you (just) been fishing?'

The element chātōk is used to form what might be described as a perfect continuing into the present. On the other hand, perhaps it is an aspect element. Examples are

<u>haklolih chātōk</u>	'I hear, I have heard and still hear'
<u>haklolih chātōk</u>	'I used to hear, I had heard and at that time still heard tell'

The habitual or customary overtones are those of an aspectual element. Like biekah (Sec. 14.5) it occurs most commonly with the main verb in

the iterative internal form. It differs from biekah in the past tense in that tok is deleted after chātok and chātok implies continuation into the present.

14.7. Negation

There are three ways to express negation, although some dialects use only two of them. To illustrate these, we give here the affirmative and three negative forms of the present, past, and future of pisali 'for me to see.'

<u>pisalih</u>	<u>pisali tok</u>	<u>pisalā chiⁿh</u>
<u>pisalih kiyoh</u>	<u>pisali tok kiyoh</u>	<u>pisalā chiⁿh kiyoh</u>
<u>akpīsoh</u>	<u>akpīso tok</u>	<u>akpīsā chiⁿh</u>
<u>akpīsoh kiⁿ</u>	<u>akpīso ki tok</u>	<u>akpīsoh kā chiⁿh</u>

These three types will be called 'type one,' 'type two,' and 'type three,' respectively. Type one is formed with the one element kiyoh 'not;' type two is formed with the two elements k- and -o; type three is formed with these two elements and a third one, kiⁿ/ki. A dialect with only two types has types one and three on the basis of meaning; but their type three loses kiⁿ/ki except before āchiⁿh.

There are limitations on the use of the three types. The nomic tense takes only type one negation. The same is true of the copula and the potential. The potential has other peculiarities. In some dialects, āhi is merely the form of ahīnlah (or rather the variant ānah) used in the negative. In all dialects, in the negative with āhi the element kiyoh immediately follows it, coming between it and the past tense element, as in pisalā hi ki^{yo} tok 'I couldn't see it.' This kiyoh is shortened by practically eliminating yoh, as indicated. In some

dialects, the negative potential further contracts to aíki or ayki in the past, to aíki^o or ayki^o in the present. In a type of speech I believe to be old fashioned, the negative potential is āhīt or āhīto in the present. The progressive auxiliary can take only type one negation, while the main verbal can take only type two. There are undoubtedly other restrictions. For example, in types two and three, the verbal is almost always in either the lengthened internal form, or the intensive form. This is likely to be the result of a restriction between the internal changes and negation.

In both systems with two types and three types of negation, type one seems to be used when something is wilfully not done, while type three is used when one was not able or didn't get to do something. Thus iyali tok kiyoh means 'I didn't go (what I did was not go),' while akiyo ki tok means 'I missed out on going.' Apparently this distinction can exist only where the verbal denotes a wilful act. It is an open question what the difference between type two and the other type is.

In type three, by replacing kiⁿ/ki with kínshah/kónshah, 'not yet' is expressed, as in akiyo kónshah 'I haven't gone yet.'

As mentioned, the main verbal of the progressive may be negated by type two, and the auxiliary by type one. The modifier fienah can take type one to express 'not very.'

CHAPTER FIFTEEN
ROLE EXPRESSIONS

15.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of role expressions, the expressions used to describe characters, props, and specific locations. The remarks in Sec. 14.1 on the validity and completeness of that chapter apply here equally.

The parts of the role expression and the sections in which they are described are the following:

Possessor (Sec. 15.8)

Inner Core (Sec. 15.2)

Quality (Sec. 15.3)

Quantity (Sec. 15.4)

Article (Sec. 15.5)

In addition, this chapter describes Partition (Sec. 15.6), the use of ilāyyōka (Sec. 15.7), and peculiarities of specific location expressions (Sec. 15.9).

15.2. The inner core

There is little to be said about the inner core of the role expression. It may be a noun, a phrasal compound noun, or an independent pronoun. Where in English we would say The tall one, that one, the

tall ones, or those three, in Choctaw one says 'the tall,' 'that,' 'the tall,' and 'those three.' That is, the noun is left out as in English, but 'one' and 'ones' are not used in its place.

15.3. Quality

In essence, quality is expressed by a main verbal which is an adjective (Sec. 14.2.1), with or without a following verbal modifier (Sec. 14.2.2). If the adjective has not undergone an internal change, it is accented (Sec. 12.13), and it loses the predicative suffix -h. The adjective agrees with the person and number of the inner core in accord with the rules of Sec. 13.3.1. These rules are illustrated by the following examples.

<u>Hattak mat chitoh.</u>	That man is big.
<u>Hattak chíto mat anki.</u>	That big man is my father.
<u>Hattak mat hochitoh.</u>	Those men are big.
<u>Hattak hochíto mat . . .</u>	Those big men . . .
<u>Hattak mat chíntoh.</u>	That man is largish.
<u>Hattak chínto mat . . .</u>	That largish man . . .

The most common modifiers are fiena 'very,' chóhmi 'quite, pretty,' chóyyohmi 'really,' achokma 'good and,' and fiena kiyo 'not very' which arises by the rule in the last paragraph of Sec. 14.7. I am not sure whether these words have the predicative suffix -h in this use.

15.4. Quantity

Quantity is expressed by a main verbal which is a quantifier (Sec. 14.2.1), with or without a following verbal modifier (Sec. 14.2.2). The

verbal agrees with the inner core in accord with the rules of Sec. 13.3.1, unlike quality expressions (Sec. 15.3), the verbal retains the predicative suffix -h and is not accented unless it has undergone an internal change. These statements are illustrated by the following examples.

<u>Alla mat lawah.</u>	Those children are many.
<u>Alla lawah mat . . .</u>	Those many children . . .
<u>Alla mat tókloh.</u>	Those children are two.
<u>Alla tókloh at . . .</u>	The two children . . .

The quantifiers used in this way are the numerals (acháffa, tóklo, tóchchīna, etc.), lawá 'many,' ikláwo 'few,' lawá 'much,' iskitini 'little' móⁿma 'all,' áyyōka 'every,' and alhíha/alhiha. This last item is used to designate a group, when something is to be said about the group which is true of each member in the group. It is used only with groups composed of humans or animals. For example, Smith alhíhah at 'the Smiths' alla alhíhah at 'the kids.'

The modifiers commonly used are fokka/fokkánli/fokánli 'about, approximately,' makálla 'only,' fiena 'very,' fiena kiyo 'not very,' chóhmi 'quite,' chóyyohmi 'really,' and móⁿmak a- 'more.' This last item consists of móⁿma 'still,' suffix -k and article a- (Chapter Ten). An example is alla tóklo móⁿmak at ala tok. Two more kids arrived.

15.5. The article

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 fieldworker to be utter chaos. Chapter Ten should be reviewed before continuing.

15.5.1. The basic articles'

The basic articles are ma- 'that,' pa- 'this,' a-, and \emptyset (nothing). The use of the latter two varies from dialect to dialect. In one, a- is the definite article 'the' and \emptyset is the indefinite article 'a.' In this dialect an indefinite subject is always in focus (Sec. 13.3.4, 15.5.2). This gives the following system:

Subject Case	Oblique Case	
osh	---	Indefinite
osh	o^n	Indefinite, Focus
at	a^n	Definite
ak osh	ak o^n	Definite, Focus

In a more common system, a- is used when ma- and pa- are not appropriate. This a- is then deleted if the expression is indefinite and a- is in either the oblique or non-final form. The following system results:

Subject Case	Oblique Case	
at	\emptyset	Indefinite
\emptyset osh	$\emptyset o^n$	Indefinite, Focus
at	a^n	Definite
ak osh	ak o^n	Definite, Focus

Finally, in a subtype of this latter system, definite aⁿ is deleted after a name. In both systems aⁿ is deleted before the copula.

15.5.2. Focus and emphasis

Focus (Sec. 13.3.4) is expressed by following the basic article with o-. The basic article will then appear in the combining form with -k and o- will take the case suffix. The focus forms of ma- and pa- are

mak osh and pak osh in the subject case, and mak oⁿ and pak oⁿ in the oblique case. The focus forms of a- and \emptyset appear in the preceding section.

Emphasis (Sec. 13.3.4) is expressed by suffixing -o after the case element of the basic article. This gives in the subject case ato, mato, and pato, and in the oblique case ano, mano, and pano. I believe that ano and ato may be either definite or indefinite in the second type of system discussed in Sec. 15.5.1.

All that is said of ma- and pa- is true of the long forms yamma-, ilamma-, yappa-, and ilappa-, except where noted.

Focus expressions can be further expanded by inserting between the basic article and o- one of the following words: āsh 'the aforementioned, you know the one I'm talking about' (from āchi 'to say?'), ínlih 'same, self,' fienah 'very,' biekah 'alone,' and baanoh 'alone.' The basic article ak is deleted before āsh. Examples are the following:

<u>hattak āsh osh</u>	the man, you know, . . .
<u>hattak ak ínlih osh</u>	the same man, the man himself . . .
<u>ano ak ínlih osh</u>	I myself . . .
<u>hattak mak fienah osh</u>	that very man
<u>hattak ak biekah osh</u>	the man alone, only the man . . .
<u>hattak mak baanoh osh</u>	only that man . . . , that man by himself . . .

15.5.3. With ōka-

This article may be preceded by the combining form of a-, ma-, or pa-. It shows case, focus, and emphasis. The subject case forms are

ókát, ókak osh, and ókato, and the oblique case forms are ókáⁿ, ókak oⁿ, and ókano.

The use of this article is difficult to explain. It may mean something like 'because it is a'

15.5.4. With ok

This element can precede ma-. Examples are ok mat, ok mak osh, ok mato, ok mak ókát, ok mak ókák osh, and ok mak ókato. The corresponding oblique case forms occur also.

It is difficult to define.

15.5.5. With ātok

This element can precede any article expression which has the basic articles a- and ma-. Examples are ātok mat, ātok mak osh, ātok mak ínlíh osh, ātok mato, ātok mak ókát, ātok mak ókák osh, ātok mak ókato, atok ok mat, atok ok mak osh, etc. It consists of ā 'to say' and tok (recent past tense).

This element means 'the aforementioned.' Some people use it with almost every role expression, when the character referred to has been previously mentioned.

15.5.6. Other article-like expressions

There are a few other elements which in their use are article expressions.

The numeral cháffa 'one' can mean 'a certain' or 'other,' as in hattak cháffa mat 'that other man' and hattak cháffa osh 'a certain man.'

The expression ā ienak ā- means 'too, also,' as in ofi ā ienak at 'dogs too.' See Sec. 19.6 for further examples.

The expression yakóhmik a- means 'such, such a.' It is based on yakóhmi 'to be or do like that.' An example is chokka hochíto yakóhmik at 'such large houses.'

The article ak kiya 'even' does not show case. Examples are Bill ak kiya ala tok 'even Bill came' and sintólló ak kiya apala hínlah 'I will even eat rattlesnakes.'

15.6. Partitions

A partition is a role expression which describes a part of something. It consists of

- (1) a role expression of the usual type which describes the whole,
- (2) a unit of measurement, optionally,
- (3) a quantity expression, and
- (4) an article.

There are two main types of partitions, one without (2), the other with (2). The following is an example of each type.

<u>hattak cháha máⁿ tóklok aⁿ</u>	'two of those tall men'
(1) <u>hattak cháha máⁿ</u>	'those tall men'
(3) <u>tóklo</u>	'two'
(4) <u>-k aⁿ</u>	(article)
<u>bóta at alhpisa acháffa fókka aⁿ</u>	'about one cup of flour'
(1) <u>bóta at</u>	'flour'
(2) <u>alhpisa</u>	'measuring cup'
(3) <u>acháffa fókka</u>	'about one'
(4) <u>-k aⁿ</u>	(article)

The only difference between these two types, aside from the presence of the unit of measurement, is that in the first type the part (1) is always in the oblique case, while in the second type it is always in the subject case.

The quantifiers used include the numerals (acháffa, tóklo, tóchchīna, etc.), lawa 'many,' iklāwo 'few,' lawa 'a lot, much,' iskitini 'little,' móⁿma 'all,' áyyōka 'each,' and words like kashápa 'part' and ikláanna 'half.' Compare the list in Sec. 15.4.

The modifiers used are fókka/fokkánli 'approximately,' makálla 'only,' fiena 'very,' fiena kiyo 'not very,' chóhmi 'quite,' chóyyohmi 'really very.'

The article is -k a- in non-focus, -h o- in focus. Compare alla tóklok at 'two of the kids' and alla tókloh osh 'it was two of the kids that . . .'. The case of the partition is determined according to the rule given in Sec. 13.3.2.

The quantifier expression agrees, in accord with Sec. 13.3.1, with the person and number of the role expression which describes the whole. For example, compare Chahta ohoyo cháffak at 'one of the Choctaw women' with Chahta ohoyo ícháffak at 'one of us Choctaw women.'

The rule for deleting aⁿ does not apply to the article which ends the partition, but it does apply to the article which ends the first part of the partition (Sec. 15.5.1). Compare hattak cháha tóklok aⁿ 'two of the tall men' (from *hattak cháha aⁿ tóklok aⁿ) with the first of the examples of this section.

The rule for deleting unemphatic pronouns (Sec. 13.3.5) also applies here. Compare hapishno ano ítóklok aⁿ 'two of US' with ítóklok aⁿ 'two of us.'

15.7. Iláyyōka

This element is much used, but does not seem to fit in completely with the structures we have described so far. Its use can be adequately conveyed by example.

<u>sinti iláyyōka ātok maⁿ</u>	'the various kinds of snakes'
<u>sinti iláyyōkak aⁿ</u>	'various kinds of snakes'

15.8. The possessor

The possessor precedes the inner core of the role expression. The possessor expression is itself a role expression. An example is the following:

<u>hattak maⁿ inchókka at</u>	'that man's house'
Possessor: <u>hattak maⁿ</u>	'that man'
Inner core: <u>inchókka</u>	'house'
Article: <u>at</u>	

With all but a few nouns as inner cores, personal affixes are used to bring the inner core into agreement with the person and number of the possessor. This has been thoroughly described in Sec. 4.4.

The principle of deletion of unemphatic pronouns applies to the possessor (Sec. 13.3.5). Compare ano ano anchókka at 'MY house' with anchókka at 'my house.'

When a possessed noun is deleted as described in Sec. 15.2, the possessive pronouns replace it. Compare ano ano ámmi at 'MY one, MINE' and ámmi at 'my one, mine' with the examples immediately above.

15.9. More on specific locátion

Role expressions of the type discussed in preceding sections are but one of a class of expressions used to express specific location. This section describes the whole class.

15.9.1. Some basic elements

Two basic elements are the demonstratives pa- 'this' and ma- 'that' in the oblique case, meaning 'here' and 'there.' Examples are paⁿ 'here,' ilappaⁿ 'here,' pano 'HERE,' pak oⁿ 'it is here that . . . ,' pak āsh oⁿ 'here at this aforementioned place,' pak ínlih oⁿ 'here at the same place,' and pak fienah oⁿ 'here at this very place.'

Another group of elements is the following: aba 'up, above,' akka 'down, below,' kocha 'outside, outdoors,' aboha 'inside, indoors,' mishsha 'on the other side,' and ola 'on this side.' These may be called 'orientationals.'

Orientationals may be combined with demonstratives as in these examples: aba maⁿ 'up there,' aba paⁿ 'down here,' mishsha maⁿ 'there on the other side,' ola paⁿ 'here on this side,' ola pak ínlih oⁿ 'here on this same side.'

Approximate place is described by placing fokálik aⁿ 'about, approximately' after the combining form of the demonstrative, as in pak fokálik aⁿ 'about here' and mak fokálik aⁿ 'about there.' Note also aba mak fokálik aⁿ 'about up there.'

The elements ola and mishsha have also the derived forms olánli 'near here,' olánlosi 'real near here,' and mishshíhma 'way off there in the distance.'

15.9.2. Ola intánnap, mishsha intánnap

Ola and mishsha are combined with tánnap 'side (of a boundary)' to render 'on this side of' and 'on that side of,' as in bōk ola intánnap 'this side of the river' and nanih mishsha intánnap 'the other side of the mountain.' The boundary marker is possessor; tánnap agrees with the possessor by means of the bound dative prefix. This can be followed by the demonstrative.

15.9.3. Postpositions

A role expression with a possessor and with a noun of orientation (Sec. 4.4.7) is used to specify position relative to the possessor. An example is

<u>Bill itikba maⁿ</u>	'there in front of Bill'
Possessor: <u>Bill</u>	
Inner core: <u>itikba</u>	'front'
Article: <u>maⁿ</u>	'there.'

In this use a noun of orientation is called a postposition. Most nouns of orientation are used only as postpositions. In this use they agree with the possessor by using the passive (sa-, chi-, \emptyset) series of prefixes (Sec. 3.4.3).

The postpositions are the following:

<u>paknaka</u>	'on top, above'
<u>nota</u>	'under'
<u>akishtala/akashtala</u>	'underneath, below'
<u>tikba</u>	'in front of, ahead of'
<u>anshaka</u>	'in back of, behind'

<u>olbala(ka)/okbala(ka)</u>	'in back of, behind'
<u>kócha/a kóchchaka</u>	'outside of'
<u>anónka</u>	'inside of'
<u>lapalika</u>	'on the side of'
<u>apata</u>	'beside'
<u>naksika</u>	'off to the side, off from'
<u>tánkla</u>	'in amongst'
<u>ittintakla</u>	'between'
<u>bilínka</u>	'near to'

The notion 'far from' is rendered by hopaki 'to be far.' It uses the bound dative prefixes (Sec. 3.3) and the article oⁿ. Historically, it is derived from a construction meaning 'being far from.' An example is Bill inhopakih oⁿ binili tok 'he sat far from Bill.'

The following remarks can be made about the forms of the post-positions. Paknaka (from pakna 'top'), anshaka, olbalaka, okbalaka, ā kóchchaka (from kochcha 'to go out'), anónka, lapalika (from lapali 'to be on the side of'), naksika (from naksi 'to be off to the side'), and bilínka all have a noun forming element -ka. Anónka, tánkla, and bilínka all appear in the incompleted (Sec. 9.1). By suffixing -ka and forming the incompleted of the result, kochánka 'just barely outside,' anokánka 'just barely inside,' and notánka 'just barely under' are formed from kocha, anónka and nota. By suffixing -chi to pakna and nota, paknachi 'on but not quite touching' and notachi 'under but not quite touching' are formed. Compare these results with tikbachi 'to get in front of,' olbalachi 'to get behind,' apatachi 'to get beside,' bilinkachi 'to get near, to get it near to,' hopakichi 'to get far from, to get him far from,' and lapalichi 'to put it on the side of.'

The article maⁿ or paⁿ used with these expressions can assume any of the forms listed in Sec. 15.9.1. The article follows either the postposition or the possessor. That is, 'near that town' is tamaha bilínka maⁿ, or tamaha maⁿ bilínka.

15.9.4. Directionals

There are two sets of directionals. The first consists of pit (from pila 'to send') 'thither,' and īt (from iya 'to go?') 'hither.' It may be that these are elements of the predicate expression, occupying the same position as the subject motion elements (Sec. 14.1), rather than elements of specific location. At any rate, they can follow other expressions to state the direction of the action relative to the position of the speaker. Examples are īt sapisa! 'look hither at me!', holísso pit imā! 'give him the book thither,' tali maⁿ aba pit pila! 'throw that rock up thither,' tali maⁿ aba īt (ab'īt) pila! 'throw that rock up hither!'

The following combinations of directionals and basic elements occur: akk'īt, aba īt/ab'īt, mishsh'īt, ol'īt, yamm'īt, ilamm'īt, yapp'īt, and ilapp'īt with īt, and akka pit, aba pit, mishsha pit, ola pit, yamma pit, ilamma pit, yappa pit, ilappa pit with pit. Note that in these combinations the demonstratives do not have a case suffix.

The other set of directionals consists of pilah 'towards, -wards' and ímma 'to, from (approximately),' and the more intense forms píllah and íhma. Motion is not necessarily implied, in spite of the translations. Idabel pilah áttah 'he lives towards Idabel' and Idabel pilah iya tok 'he went towards Idabel' are both acceptable.

These directionals are used only with other expressions of specific location. Examples of combinations with other basic elements are aba pilah 'upwards,' akka pilah 'downwards,' maⁿ pilah 'towards there,' tamaha pilah 'towards town,' tamaha pilah ímma 'around in there towards town,' ilappak ímma 'in about this direction,' yammak ímma 'in about that direction,' ilapp'ímma 'over this way,' yamm' ímma 'over that way,' pímma 'this way,' mímma 'that way,' aba ímma 'upwards, from above,' akka ímma 'downwards, from below.'

15.9.5. T-forms of verbs

Specific locations can also be described with expressions formed with the t-forms (Sec. 19.7) of the transitive motion verbs (Sec. 13.4.11). For example, from chokka chokkwa 'to enter the house,' we have chokka chokkwat 'into the house,' as in chokka chokkwat balilili tok 'I ran into the house.' Other common verbs used in this way are lhopolli 'to go through,' apakfōpa 'to go around,' kochcha 'to go out of,' falama 'to return to, to go back to,' and tanabli 'to cross to the other side.'

The form of the example given above is as follows:

chokka chokkwat balilili tok

Specific Location

Specific Location: chokka

Predicate: chokkwat

Predicate: balilili tok

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
OTHER SENTENCE PARTS

16.1. Introduction

There are several sentence parts listed in Sec. 13.2.2 whose expressions are to be described in this chapter. Many of these expressions will have forms analogous to those of role expressions. Another type of expression which is used is the clause. Because several of these sentence parts can be expressed with clauses, and because all clauses have some features in common, it will be worthwhile to summarize here for reference those common features.

For present purposes, we can say that a clause is a sentence used to express some part of another sentence. Usually it has a different form as a clause from what it would have as a sentence. For example, You left. is a sentence. If we change it to that you left we have a clause which is the patient of the sentence I know that you left. Just as this English clause added the article that at the beginning, Choctaw clauses add articles at the end. The common features of Choctaw clauses are features of these articles.

In Chapter Ten and Sec. 15.5.1 the case forms of the articles are described, and their uses explained. The article expressions which end clauses also appear in either the subject or oblique case, but the use is different. The basic rule is the same for all clauses and for the

article expressions which coordinate sentences (Chapter Nineteen). It may be stated as follows:

The basic rule for the case of clauses. The article has the subject case just in case either

- (a) the subject expression of the clause describes the same characters and props that the subject expression of the sentence describes, or
- (b) the subject expression of the clause describes all the characters and props that the subject expression of the sentence describes,

depending on dialect. Otherwise, the article has the oblique case.

We will follow the (b) type of dialect. To illustrate the rule, consider the following examples:

Bill at alah maⁿ, Joe at impa tok. 'When Bill arrived, Joe ate.'

Bill at alah mat, impa tok. 'When Bill arrived, he (Bill) ate.'

Bill at alah maⁿ, impa tok. 'When Bill arrived, he (Joe) ate.'

In the first example, the subject expression of the clause is Bill at, which describes Bill; and that of the sentence is Joe at, which describes Joe. Since Bill at doesn't describe Joe, the case must be oblique, maⁿ. In the second example, the subject expression of the clause is Bill at, and that of the sentence is either Bill at or mat 'he,' which have been deleted (Sec. 13.3.5), but both of which are meant to describe Bill. The characters described are the same, so the case must be the subject case, mat. In the third example, the expression Joe at has been deleted, but the sentence is otherwise like the first example.

These examples illustrate what the word same means in part (a) of the rule; this is in part what is meant by all in part (b) of the rule.

If the subject expressions describe the same characters and props, then the all is satisfied; but it can be satisfied by less. Suppose that when a bunch of men arrive, including Bill, Bill eats. This would be

Nakni alhiha't alah mat, Bill at impa tok.

Since nakni alhiha't 'the men' describes the men including Bill, and Bill at describes Bill, we can say that nakni alhiha't describes all the characters and props that Bill at describes, so the case must be subject, mat. But nakni alhiha't does not describe the same characters and props that Bill at describes, because it describes all the men. Suppose, on the other hand, when the men arrived, Joe, who was not one of the men, ate. This would be

Nakni alhiha't alah maⁿ, Joe at impa tok.

Since Joe was not one of the men, nakni alhiha't does not describe Joe, and so it does not describe all that Joe at describes. The case must be oblique, maⁿ. Compare these two examples, which further illustrate the rule.

Nakni alhiha't alah mat, impa tok. 'When the men arrived, he (one of them) ate.' Or 'When the men arrived, they (the men) ate.'

Nakni alhiha't alah maⁿ, impa tok. 'When the men arrived, he (someone else) ate.' Or 'When the men arrived, they (somebody else) ate.'

The sentence parts which are left to be described fall into groups according to similarities in expression. These groups, and the sections which discuss them, are the following:

Frequency and Order (Sec. 16.2)

Time and Duration (Sec. 16.3)

Manner (Sec. 16.4)

Antecedents (Sec. 16.5)

Place (Sec. 16.6).

16.2. Frequency and order

Frequency and order are expressed by the multiplicative and ordinal numerals. These are constructed from the cardinal numerals. The uses of the cardinal numerals are described elsewhere (Secs. 13.4.4, 13.4.6, 13.4.8, 15.4, 15.6), but their structure has not been described. Here, we describe the structure of the cardinal numerals (Sec. 16.2.1), how the multiplicatives and ordinals are made from these (Sec. 16.2.2), and finally, how the latter are used (Sec. 16.2.3).

16.2.1. The cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals from one to ten (the units) and eleven to twenty are as follows:

1	<u>cháffa/acháffa/achóffa</u>	11	<u>awah cháffa</u>
2	<u>tóklo</u>	12	<u>awah tóklo</u>
3	<u>tóchchīna</u>	13	<u>awah tóchchīna</u>
4	<u>óshta</u>	14	<u>awah óshta</u>
5	<u>tálhlhāpi</u>	15	<u>awah tálhlhāpi</u>
6	<u>hānnāli</u>	16	<u>awah hānnāli</u>
7	<u>ontóklo</u>	17	<u>awah ontóklo</u>
8	<u>ontóchchīna</u>	18	<u>awah ontóchchīna</u>
9	<u>chákkāli</u>	19	<u>abih chákkāli</u>
10	<u>pókkōli</u>	20	<u>pókkōli toklo</u>

Several points should be noted. The various forms of acháffa are dialectal variants; the form for eleven was given by a speaker who uses acháffa for one. Of the units, tóchchīna, tálhlhāpi, hānnāli, chákkāli, and pókkōli all appear in the intensive (Sec. 9.1); their bases are tochina, talhapi, hanali, chakali, and pokoli, respectively. It is possible that acháffa is also an intensive form. The units 'seven' and 'eight' are based on 'two' and 'three,' with the specific location echo element on 'on' (Sec. 13.3.1), and so mean 'two on top' and 'three on top.' The numerals from eleven through eighteen are formed from the units by preposing awah; nineteen is formed from nine by preposing abih. Twenty is 'two tens.'

The decades are built as follows:

10	<u>pókkōli</u>
20	<u>pókkōli tóklo</u>
30	<u>pókkōli tóchchīna</u>
40	<u>pókkōli óshta</u>
50	<u>pókkōli tálhlhāpi</u>
60	<u>pókkōli hānnāli</u>
70	<u>pókkōli ontóklo</u>
80	<u>pókkōli ontóchchīna</u>
90	<u>pókkōli chákkāli</u>
100	<u>talhipa cháffa</u>

The thousands follow the same pattern with talhipa sipókni 'old hundred' as 'one thousand,' and talhipa sipókni tóklo as 'two thousand.' The hundreds also follow this pattern except that 'one hundred' is talhipa cháffa, and not just talhipa. This may be based on the root lhip 'to be old and worn out.'

The thousands, hundreds, decades, and units are combined in that order by simple collocation, except that units are preceded by akóchcha (from kochcha 'to go out'). Examples are

1	<u>cháffa</u>
11	<u>awah cháffa</u>
21	<u>pókkōli tóklo akóchcha cháffa</u>
101	<u>talhipa cháffa akóchcha cháffa</u>
111	<u>talhipa cháffa awah cháffa</u>
121	<u>talhipa cháffa pókkōli tóklo akóchcha cháffa</u>
1001	<u>talhipa sipókni akóchcha cháffa</u>
1011	<u>talhipa sipókni awah cháffa</u>
1021	<u>talhipa sipókni pókkōli tóklo akóchcha cháffa</u>
6457	<u>talhipa sipókni hánnāli talhipa óshta pókkōli</u> <u>tálhlhāpi akóchcha ontóklo</u>

16.2.2. The multiplicatives and ordinals

The ordinals translate 'first,' 'second,' 'third,' and the multiplicatives translate 'once,' 'twice,' 'three times.' The units are the following (ordinals on the left)

1st	<u>ámōna, tikba</u>	1ce	<u>hímōna ha</u>
2nd	<u>ātónkla, ātoklánt</u>	2ce	<u>hitókla ha</u>
3rd	<u>ātóchchīna</u>	3 x	<u>hitóchchīna ha</u>
4th	<u>āyóshta</u>	4 x	<u>āyóshta ha</u>
5th	<u>isht tálhlhāpi</u>	5 x	<u>ont isht tálhlhāpi ha</u>
6th	<u>isht hánnāli</u>	6 x	<u>ont isht hánnāli ha</u>
7th	<u>isht ontóklo</u>	7 x	<u>ont isht ontóklo ha</u>
8th	<u>isht ontóchchīna</u>	8 x	<u>ont isht ontóchchīna ha</u>

9th	<u>isht chákka[̄]li</u>	9 x	<u>ont isht chákka[̄]li ha</u>
10th	<u>isht pókkó[̄]li</u>	10 x	<u>ont isht pókkó[̄]li ha</u>
last	<u>isht áyyó[̄]pi</u>	last x	<u>ont isht áyyó[̄]pi ha</u>

Some points may be made about these forms. From 'five' through 'ten,' and with 'last,' the multiplicatives are derived from the ordinals by preposing the subject motion element ont (Sec. 14.3) and postposing ha. All of the multiplicatives end with ha. The ordinals from 'five' through 'ten' are made from the cardinals by preposing the instrumental element isht (Sec. 13.5.3); the same element is found in 'last.' The numerals 'one' through 'four' follow a different rule. Here the dative element ā (āy before vowels, optionally) is preposed, to the ordinals 'three' and 'four,' to tónkla for tóklo 'two,' and to the base mona for acháffa 'one.' The resulting āmona assumes the intensive form ámmona. The multiplicatives for 'one' through 'three' replace ā with hi-, and himona assumes the intensive form. The alternate tikba is the noun of orientation meaning 'front.' The alternate ātoklánt may perhaps mean 'next.'

According to Byington there are to be distinguished cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, and multiplicative ordinals. Examples are

<u>chákkā[̄]li</u>	'nine'
<u>isht chákkā[̄]li</u>	'ninth'
<u>chákkā[̄]li ha</u>	'nine times'
<u>isht chákkā[̄]li ha</u>	'the ninth time.'

This may still be the case; I have not asked.

In the multiplicative, ont and ha are optional for some speakers.

The rule for higher numerals is this; if there is a unit or 'teen,' form the ordinal and multiplicative with it; otherwise form them on the whole numeral. Compare these examples of ordinals.

11th	<u>isht awah cháffa</u>
20th	<u>isht pókkōli tóklo</u>
21st	<u>pókkōli tóklo isht akóhcha cháffa</u>
100th	<u>isht talhipa cháffa</u>
101st	<u>talhipa cháffa isht akóhcha cháffa</u>
111th	<u>talhipa cháffa isht awah cháffa</u>

16.2.3. The use of the derivatives

The ordinals express the sentence part order. This part may precede or follow the subject. Examples are the following:

Mashkoki osh tikba Nanih Wáyya ā kochchat tōk. 'The Creeks came out of Nanih Waiya first.'

Actor	'the Creeks'	<u>Mashkoki osh</u>
Order	'first'	<u>tikba</u>
Spec. Loc.	'Nanih Waiya'	<u>Nanih Wáyya</u>
Predicate	'came out there'	<u>ā kochchat tōk</u>

Chilákki osh ātoklaant Nanih Wáyya ā kochchat tōk. 'The Cherokees came out second.'

Chiksha osh ātóhchīnat Nanih Wáyya ā kochchat tōk. 'The Chickasaws came out third.'

Chahta osh ont āyóshtah maⁿ Nanih Wáyya yammaⁿ isht áyyōpi ā kochchat tōk. 'The Choctaws came out there at Nanih Waiya fourth and last.'

Note that tikba 'first' and isht áyyōpi have been used as they are; ātóhchina is in the t-form (Sec. 19.7); ātoklaant may be merely the t-form of ātónkla; it is possible that ont āyóshtah maⁿ is a multiplicative ordinal meaning 'on the fourth time.'

As one would expect, ordinals can be used in role expressions. Expressions like nittak ātóchchīnak āsh 'the third day in the past, three days ago' occur as time expressions (Sec. 16.3.2). In role expressions, one finds expressions like hattak isht chákāli mat 'that ninth man' and hattak isht chákālik at 'the ninth man,' or hattak āmmōnak at 'the first man, the first of men.'

The multiplicatives generally precede the predicate, and take either no article, or the article o^n , with the predicative suffix -h. Compare hitóchchīnah o^n isso tok and hitóchchīna ha isso tok 'he hit it three times.' They express the sentence part frequency.

16.2.4. Modifiers

The modifiers makālla 'only' and móⁿma 'more' can be used in multiplicative expressions (Sec. 14.2.2). Examples are hímmōna móⁿma ha 'once more,' and hímmōna makālla ha 'just once.'

16.3. Time and duration

It is useful to treat time expressions which are clauses (16.3.2) separately from those which are not. The latter are constructed with much the same materials as are duration expressions, so these are discussed together (Sec. 16.3.1).

The form of time expressions varies according to tense. To describe this variation, however, it is only necessary to distinguish two classes of tenses, the past (immediate, recent, and remote past tenses) and the non-past (present, nomic, and future tenses) (Sec. 14.6).

16.3.1. Phrasal expressions

These expressions are for the most part constructed like role expressions with nouns denoting units of time as the inner cores (Sec. 16.1). We will first list these nouns, and other time terms, and then describe some of the more common types of expressions.

The days of the week are borrowed from English with more or less distortion in pronunciation, depending on the speakers knowledge of English. These are Manti, Testi, Winsti, Lhasti, Flaiti, Satiti, and Santi. Many use Nittak Hóllo 'Sunday (sacred day)' and Nittak Hóllo Nakfish 'Saturday (Sunday's little brother).'

The months are also borrowed from English. The seasons are toffa 'summer,' hashtola 'winter,' (from hashi 'sun' and ittola 'fall'), onafa 'winter,' toffáhpi 'spring,' and hashtoláhpi 'autumn.'

The time units are minit 'minute,' hashi kanálli 'hour (sun movement),' nittak 'day,' nittak hóllo cháffa 'one week,' hashi 'month (moon),' and afammi 'year.'

The parts of the day are nittak 'day,' onnahínli 'pre-dawn morning,' ónna/ónnaha 'dawn,' hashi kócha 'sunrise (sun coming out),' tobokóli 'noon,' okbiyaka pílah 'afternoon (towards evening),' okbiyaka/okkiyaka/oppiyaka 'evening' (this word does not undergo lengthening (Sec. 12.10), hashi okattóla 'sunset (sun falls down, falls into water),' oklhiláhpi 'dusk,' oklhilínchi 'dusk,' oklhíli 'darkness, nightfall,' and ninak 'night.' Some of these are noun forms of verbs; the verbs used are onna 'to dawn,' kocha 'to come out,' tobokoli 'to reach the top, the summit,' okattola 'to fall downwards, to fall into water,' and oklhili 'to get dark.' With these terms, the usual procedure is to form time expressions from clauses containing them, rather than to form phrases from the nouns.

Other time expressions are polánka/palánka 'at last, finally,' hímo 'just now,' himónasi 'right now,' himmōna 'often,' chíki 'a short time,' chíkkōsi 'a very short time,' ahchifa/ahchífa 'a while,' hopáki 'a long time,' pilāsh 'yesterday,' míshsha 'day before yesterday, day after tomorrow (from mishsha 'other side'),' himak 'today' hímuak 'hereafter,' and anónti 'then.'

We are now ready to see how expressions are formed with these terms. A few of them are simply used as they are; these are polánka/palánka, hímo, himónasi, himmōna, and anónti. Expressions formed with the other terms are more complicated.

The terms hopáki, chíki, chíkkosi, and ahchifa are used in the same way, more or less. As time expressions they take -k āsh or āsh in the past, -k maⁿ in the non-past. Examples are ahchifak āsh omba tok 'it rained a little while ago' and ahchifak maⁿ ombā chíⁿh 'it will rain in a little while.' Hopáki can also take predicative -h and chāsh, which indicates the remote past, as in hopákih chāsh 'a long time ago.' As duration expressions they have na preposed; duration precedes the tense element. Examples are ohⁿmba na ahchifa 'it is raining a little while,' ohⁿmba na ahchifa tok 'it rained a little while,' and ohⁿmba na ahchifā chíⁿh 'it will rain for a little while.' The aspect element billīya (Sec. 14.5) can also be used in this way, as in ohⁿmba na billīyā chíⁿh 'it is going to rain forever.'

Names of days and months as time expressions have āsh in the past, aⁿ in the non-past. Examples are Monday āsh omba tok 'it rained last Monday' and Monday aⁿ ombā chíⁿh 'it will rain this Monday.' The same articles are used when the expression ends in nittak, ninak, himmak, or himak, and when it contains himmak 'this.' Examples are ninak āsh 'last night,' himak aⁿ 'today, nowadays,' himmak aⁿ 'from now on,' Monday

nittak aⁿ, 'next Monday day,' Monday nittak āsh 'last Monday day,'
himmak ninak aⁿ 'tonight,' himmak afammi aⁿ 'this year,' himmak toffa
aⁿ 'this summer.'

Note that all of these expressions describe a time by naming it, rather than by counting back or forward. Four other expressions which describe in this way are pilāsh, 'yesterday,' míshsha 'day before yesterday,' míshsha 'day after tomorrow,' and onna 'tomorrow.' These have āsh in the past, -k maⁿ in the non-past, giving pilāsh āsh, míshsha ash, míshshak maⁿ, and onnak maⁿ. The same articles are used with afammi 'year,' and the names of the seasons. Examples are afammi āsh 'last year,' afammik maⁿ 'next year,' toffa āsh 'last summer,' and toffak maⁿ 'next summer.' Compare himmak afammi aⁿ 'this year' and himmak toffa aⁿ 'this summer.'

Another way to name a specific time is by naming the hour. These expressions begin with hashi kanálli 'hour,' then a numeral for the hour, ikláanna for half past the hour, and fókka 'approximately, about' always at the end. The article is -h oⁿ for focus, otherwise -k aⁿ, -k maⁿ, or maⁿ. Examples are hashi kanálli chákkaali ikláanna fókkak maⁿ 'at about nine-thirty,' and hashi kanálli hánnāli fókkak maⁿ 'at about six o'clock.' These expressions can be led off by stating the part of the day, as in okbiyaka pílah hashi kanálli óshta fókkak maⁿ 'at about four in the afternoon.' Or the day can be named, as in Tuesday aⁿ hashi kanálli óshta fókkak maⁿ 'Tuesday at about four o'clock' and ninak maⁿ hashi kanálli pókkōli fókkak maⁿ 'at about ten o'clock that night.'

Finally, the time can be named by using demonstratives (Sec. 15.5.1) when it has been mentioned before in the discourse. Examples are okbiyaka maⁿ 'that evening,' Tuesday ninak maⁿ 'that Tuesday night,' and

nittak óshta maⁿ 'those four days.' We add here the expression mak fókánlih maⁿ 'at about that time.'

Other time expressions describe the time by counting forward or backward. They are composed of a term for a unit of time, and a quantity expression (Sec. 15.4). The articles are -k āsh in the past and -k maⁿ in the non-past. In the remote past, -h chāsh can be used. Examples are afammi lawak āsh/afammi lawah chāsh 'many years ago,' afammi tóklo makállak āsh 'only two years ago,' nittak lawa kíyok maⁿ 'in a few days, in not many days,' afammi awah tóklo fókánlik maⁿ 'in about twelve years.'

Similar expressions are used to express duration. They are again preceded by na. Examples are ohóⁿmba na nittak tóchchīna tok 'it rained for three days,' ohóⁿmba na nittak tóklo makállā chiⁿh 'it will rain for only two days,' and ohóⁿmba na hashi kanálli tóklo fókka tok 'it rained for about two hours.'

An expanse of time, 'since' or 'until,' is rendered by naming a time period, followed by ātok áhlhik aⁿ in the past and ont áhlhik aⁿ in the non-past. Examples are míshshaha ont áhlhik aⁿ 'until day after tomorrow' and Tuesday ātok áhlhik aⁿ 'since Tuesday.' These are of course durative in meaning, as were some of the other examples above, but they express the sentence part we have called 'time,' in terms of their position in the sentence.

There are a few remaining time expressions. The article element áyyōka (Sec. 15.4) 'every' occurs with unit terms and the articles -k maⁿ and -k aⁿ, as in nittak áyyōkak aⁿ 'every day.' This can also be rendered nittak osh nittak ok maⁿ. The article-like element yakóhmik maⁿ (Sec. 15.5.6) 'such' is used to form expressions like ninak

oklhilika yakóhmik maⁿ 'in such darkness of night, on such dark nights,'
kocha libísha achokma yakóhmik maⁿ 'in such good and hot weather.' The
 postpositions can be used in various ways which I have not investigated.

One example is the following:

yammaⁿ hashi kanóhmi kíyok aⁿ itínkba aⁿ 'a few months before
 that'

Inner Core: yammaⁿ 'that'

Degree: hashi kanóhmi kíyok aⁿ 'a few months'

Postposition: itínkba 'before'

When tíkba is used in a time sense, it is in the incomplete form
 (Sec. 9.1). Compare satíkba 'in front of me' and satínkba 'before me,
 before I did.'

16.3.2. Clausal expressions

A sentence is changed into a clause expressing time by (1)
 removing its tense element, if any, (2) with one exception, suffixing
 the predicative suffix -h in place of the tense element, and (3) post-
 posing one of the articles osh/oⁿ, ak osh/ak oⁿ, and maç/maⁿ. The
 exception to (2) is the non-past with the article mat/maⁿ, which has
-k instead of -h. See Sec. 16.1 on the use of the subject and oblique
 cases of the articles.

A common kind of clause used in these expressions has a name of a
 time period (Tuesday, toffa, etc.), or a time unit and quantity
 expression, as subject without any article, and as predicate ona 'to
 arrive there,' ala 'to arrive here,' or iya 'to go.'

The article osh/oⁿ renders 'while' as in sanosih oⁿ omba tok 'while
 I was sleeping, it rained' and sanosih oⁿ omba chíⁿh 'while I am

sleeping, it will rain.' Preceded by móⁿma 'still,' the sense is during,' as in meeting imányah móⁿmah oⁿ omba tok 'during the meeting it rained,' that is, 'while we were still in the meeting, it rained.' With the predicate in the negative form, and with kóⁿsha/kiⁿsha 'yet' (Sec. 14.7), the sense is 'before,' or 'while not yet,' as in Tuesday ikóno kónshah oⁿ 'before Tuesday, before Tuesday arrived, while Tuesday had not yet arrived,' and ikómbó kónshah oⁿ 'before the rain, while it was not yet raining.'

The article ak osh/ak oⁿ renders 'after,' as in impah ak osh, kaniya tok 'after he ate, he left,' and Tuesday ont iyah ak oⁿ 'after Tuesday arrives and goes.'

The article mat/maⁿ renders 'when,' as in oklhilik maⁿ iyā chiⁿh 'when it is dark, he will go, he will go tonight,' oklhilih maⁿ iya tok 'he left when it got dark,' tobokóli onak maⁿ ilimpā chiⁿh 'We will eat when noon arrives, we will eat at noon,' himmak okbiyaka oklhilik maⁿ 'this evening at dark, when this evening gets dark,' ilimpak maⁿ iyā chiⁿh 'when we eat, he will leave.' With the verbal in the negative and the element kónsha/kinsha 'yet,' this article renders 'before,' as in ikóno kónshak maⁿ, ilimpā chiⁿh 'we will eat before it rains.' Note also expressions like Tuesday onak maⁿ 'on Tuesday, when Tuesday arrives' and nittak tóchchīna onak maⁿ 'in three days, when three days arrive.'

By taking a sentence, postposing áyyōka 'every,' and adding the article mat/maⁿ, 'every time that' is rendered, as in iliyā chiⁿh áyyōkak maⁿ ombah 'every time we are going to go, it rains.' Ok before mat/maⁿ renders 'whenever.'

'Since' and 'until' are not rendered in analogous ways, as they were with phrasal expressions. 'Since' is rendered by postposing

álhlik aⁿ/at, as in ala tok-álhlik aⁿ impalih 'I have been eating since he got here.' 'Until' is rendered by an expression analogous to that for duration, as in ohóⁿmba na Tuesday alā chíⁿh 'it will rain until Tuesday arrives.'

Finally, there are the story openers hímmōnak aⁿ and himónnah maⁿ 'once upon a time.'

16.4. Manner

The part of the sentence called 'manner' is used to describe how, in what way, or by doing what, something is accomplished or done. It is expressed by a clause which has the same subject as the sentence; the tense element is deleted, and the predicate expression ends in -h; the actor echo may be deleted; the article is osh. Since the subject of the clause is always the same as the subject of the sentence, it is never expressed. From Bill at salaha tok 'Bill was slow, Bill did something slowly,' the manner expression is salahah osh, as in Bill at salahah osh ánya tok 'Bill went along slowly.'

Historically, this construction must be derived from the use of osh/on to render 'while' (Sec. 16.3.2). It is a short step from Talowah osh Bill at imanōli tok 'while singing, Bill told him' to Bill at talowah osh imanōli tok 'Bill told him by singing.'

16.5. Antecedents

The antecedents are condition, cause, and purpose. A condition expression renders 'if,' a cause expression renders 'because' or 'since,' and a purpose expression renders 'in order that.'

Condition expressions are formed in the same way as time expressions are formed with the article mat/maⁿ. That is, the tense element is deleted, and -h (in the past) or -k (in the non-past) is suffixed to the last element of the predicate expression. The alternative with -h in even the non-past and ok before mat/maⁿ renders 'if ever.' Ok is more common in condition expressions than in time expressions.

Cause expressions are formed by placing the articles ókát/ókaⁿ and átok osh/átok oⁿ after the tense element. Then átok is deleted after tok and -t tók. Examples are omba tok ókaⁿ pilacha tok or pilacha tok, omba tok ókaⁿ 'we got wet because it rained,' ombā chiⁿh átok oⁿ íchokkwa tok 'it was going to rain, so we went in,' and omba tok oⁿ íchokkwa tok 'it rained so we went in.' As the translations indicate, the first of these articles indicates a real causal connection, and is always translated 'because' or 'since,' while the second can indicate a very loose causal connection, and degenerate to little more than temporal sequence.

Some speakers have a remote past tense form of átok when this occurs as an introducer, namely attók, as in Sapisat tók. Attók oⁿ chokkwalit tók. 'He saw me. So I went in.' Note that átok and attók do not require yóhmi, mi, i, or a in this use (Sec. 19.5). One can introduce with yóhmih átok osh/oⁿ, míh átok osh/oⁿ, íh átok osh/oⁿ, or simply átok osh/oⁿ.

Purpose is rendered in two ways. The first way is by a nominal clause with the suffix -k on the last element of the predicate expression, and the article at/aⁿ. Examples are shápo chompák at, Bill at tamaha iya tok 'Bill went to town in order to buy a hat,' walákshi

ishikbā chīⁿk at 'in order for you to make dumplings, that you are going to make dumplings.' In the second way, the verbal of the clause takes the suffix -t, and the clause then immediately precedes the predicate of the clause is the same as the subject of the sentence. Examples are Bill at shápo chompat tamaha iya tok 'Bill went to town to buy a hat,' and walákshi ikbit 'to make dumplings.' Some verbals have special contracted t-forms, described in Sec. 19.7.

What may be called the concessive is formed from a clause ending in ak ínlīh kiya, illustrated by ohómba tok ak ínlīh kiya, pilacha tok kiyoh 'although it rained, we did not get wet.'

16.6. Place

There is nothing to be added concerning place expressions that is different from the expressions used for specific location, as described in Sec. 15.9. The difference between place and specific location is that place describes a general location for the event described by the rest of the sentence, and can precede the subject, while specific location complements the meaning of the predicate by describing the direction or destination or point of origin of the action, and always immediately precedes the predicate and follows the subject.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN
NOMINAL AND RELATIVE CLAUSES

17.1. Introduction

Clauses which express sentence parts other than those of the inner core have been discussed in Secs. 16.3, 16.4, and 16.5. In this chapter we discuss the nominal and relative clause types, which are in part similar in form. Nominal clauses express parts of the inner core, chiefly the patient. Relative clauses express the quality (Sec. 15.3) and quantity (Sec. 15.4) of role expressions.

17.2 Nominal clauses

There appear to be three forms of nominal clauses, but one may be spurious. The remaining two are the 'that' clause and the 'whether' clause.

There are several steps in the formation of 'that' clauses. The first involves the sequence of tenses. I have not investigated this. It involves the deletion of the final past tense element of the combinations tok, ttok, tok atok, tok attok, and achiⁿ tok when the sentence in which the clause will be used is in the past tense, and the deletion of the final future tense element in the combinations achiⁿh and tok achiⁿ when the sentence in which the clause will be used is in the future tense. More than that cannot be said at this time.

The second step is optional, although it is used more frequently in some dialects than in others. This is to replace the recent past tense element tok with -k āsh, and the remote past tense element with -h chāsh. This -h is the predicate suffix which is deleted before past tense elements. By this change, iya tok and iyat tōk 'he went' become iyak āsh and iyah chāsh.

The third step is to postpose articles. The article at/aⁿ is used if there is no focus, except after āsh and chāsh. It is preceded by -k, which is lost after tok and ttōk. The predicative suffix -h is lost before this -k. The forms iyah (present), iya tok (recent past), iyat tōk (remote past), and iyā chiⁿh (future) become, then, iyak at/aⁿ, iya tok at/aⁿ, iyat tōk at/aⁿ, and iyā chiⁿk at/aⁿ. The forms iyak āsh and iyah chāsh remain unchanged.

The article osh/oⁿ is used for focus, without -k. The forms are then iyah osh/oⁿ, iya tok osh/oⁿ, iyat tōk osh/oⁿ, iyā chiⁿh osh/oⁿ, iyak āsh osh/oⁿ, and iyah chāsh osh/oⁿ.

The choice of subjective (at, osh) and oblique (aⁿ, oⁿ) forms is described in Sec. 16.1. If the subject of the clause is the same as the subject of the sentence, then the subjective case is used; otherwise, the oblique case is used. Compare iya tok at āchi tok 'he said that he (himself) went' with iya tok aⁿ āchi tok 'he said that he (someone else) went.'

The 'that' clause has several uses. It is used to complete sentences like . . . ishikhāⁿ nah oⁿ? 'do you know . . . ?', . . . ikhāⁿ nalih 'I know . . .', . . . achokmah 'it is good . . .', and Bill at . . . bānnah 'Bill wants for . . . to . . .' It is also used to express

purpose (Sec. 16.5) and to express an indirect quotation when the direct quotation is a statement (Sec. 13.4.12).

With verbals like achokma (with dative prefixes) 'to like' and bánna 'to want,' if the subject of the clause is identical with the subject of the sentence, the article is not used. There is, of course, no tense element; I do not know whether there is a predicative suffix -h. Compare tamaha iyak at āchi tok 'he said that he was going to town' with tamaha iyak at and tamaha iya bānnah 'he wants to go to town' with tamaha iya. Compare the latter with tamaha iyalik aⁿ bānnah 'he wants me to go to town' with tamaha iyalik aⁿ.

The possibly spurious type of nominal clause is the simplest to form. There are no tense elements, so that the predicate expression ends in the suffix -h, followed by the focus element osh/oⁿ. For example, Bill at talowa tok 'Bill sang' is transformed to Bill at talawah oⁿ, as in Bill at talawah oⁿ hānkloli tok 'I heard Bill sing.' In form these clauses are similar in form to time clauses of the 'while' type (Sec. 16.3.2); note that in both of these cases there is a time relationship of contemporaneousness between the sentence and the clause expressing its part. In addition, this type is similar in form to the 'that' clause in focus.

The 'whether' clause is formed by interposing -k maⁿ nānah (Sec. 19.4) before the tense element, and adding the articles after the tense element as in the 'that' clause. Examples paralleling those given for the formation of 'that' clauses are as follows: iyak maⁿ nānak at/aⁿ, iyak maⁿ nāna tok at/aⁿ, iyak maⁿ nānat tōk at/aⁿ, and iyak maⁿ nāna chiⁿk at/aⁿ. The corresponding focus forms are iyak maⁿ nānah osh/oⁿ, iyak maⁿ nāna tok osh/oⁿ, iyak maⁿ nānat tōk osh/oⁿ, and

iyak maⁿ nānā^h chíⁿh osh/oⁿ. These clauses are used to complete sentences like . . . ishikhāⁿ nah oⁿ 'do you know . . . ?' and . . . akithāⁿ noh 'I don't know,' and to express an indirect quotation when the direct quotation is a yes-no question (Sec. 13.4.12).

17.3. The relative clause

The relative clause expresses a part of a role expression. For example, the man that went to town and the man who went to town are role expressions containing the relative clauses that went to town and who went to town. We can analyse the first as follows:

Article	<u>the</u>
Inner core	<u>man</u>
Quality	<u>that went to town</u>

As in this analysis, we will treat relative clauses as expressing quality.

In Choctaw, the relative clause comes between the inner core and the article. An example is hattak osh tamaha iya tok at 'the man who went to town,' analysed as follows:

Inner core	'man'	<u>hattak</u>
Quality	'who went to town'	<u>osh tamaha iya tok</u>
Article	'the'	<u>at</u>

The focus element osh/oⁿ serves the function of English that and who in the examples above. It can be omitted, giving hattak tamaha iya tok at.

The construction of a relative clause like osh tamaha iya tok is done in three steps. It begins with a sentence like hattak at tamaha iya tok 'the man went to town.'

The first step produces the element osh/oⁿ at the beginning of the clause. In our example, since it is the man we want to describe we take hattak at out of the sentence and replace it with osh, giving osh tamaha iya tok. Osh, the subject form, is used because hattak at was the subject of the original sentence. Suppose on the other hand we began with hattak maⁱ pínsali tok 'I saw that man;' then we would remove hattak maⁿ and replace it with oⁿ because it is not the subject of the sentence, giving oⁿ pínsali tok. In both of these examples, the focus element is at the beginning of the clause; if it were not, it would be moved to the beginning. For example, if we begin with the sentence Bill at hattak maⁿ pínsa tok 'Bill saw that man,' then replacing hattak maⁿ with oⁿ would give Bill at oⁿ pínsa tok. Oⁿ would then be moved to the left giving oⁿ Bill at pínsa tok 'that Bill saw.'

The second step involves changes in the past tense elements tok and ttök. These may be replaced with -k āsh and -h chāsh, as in nominal 'that' clauses. For example, osh tamaha iya tok can be changed to osh tamaha iyak āsh, and osh tamaha iyat tōk can be changed to osh tamaha iyah chāsh.

The third step involves changes in the article of the role expression when the relative clause is inserted. For example, any of the relative clauses we have been constructing could be inserted in the expressions hattak at 'the man' and hattak mat 'that man.' The changes depend on whether the article is at or mat (or another demonstrative), and on whether the tense is past or non-past.

We take first cases in which the article is at/aⁿ. As with nominal 'that' clauses, these are omitted after āsh and chāsh. That is, hattak osh tamaha iyak āsh at is reduced to hattak osh tamaha iyak āsh, and

hattak osh tamaha iyah chāsh'at is reduced to hattak osh tamaha iyah chāsh; both are 'the man who went to town.' If the tense is non-past (present or future), the article is preceded by -k, with loss of the suffix -h; this also occurs in nominal clauses. Thus hattak osh tamaha iyah at becomes hattak osh tamaha iyak at 'the man who is going to town,' and hattak osh tamaha iyā chiⁿh at becomes hattak osh tamaha iyā chiⁿk at 'the man who is going to go to town.' In the past tense this does not occur, or the -k is not pronounced, as in hattak osh tamaha iya tok at 'the man who went to town.'

If the article is mat/maⁿ or another demonstrative, the only change is the loss of the suffix -h in the non-past. For example, hattak osh tamaha iyah mat becomes hattak osh tamaha iya mat 'that man who is going to town,' and hattak osh tamaha iyā chiⁿh mat becomes hattak osh tamaha iyā chiⁿ mat 'that man who is going to go to town.' In the past tenses we find hattak osh tamaha iya tok mat, hattak osh tamaha iyak āsh mat, hattak osh tamaha iyat tōk mat, and hattak osh tamaha iyah chāsh mat, all rendered 'that man who went to town.'

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN
THE INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE PRONOUNS
AND PROVERBS IN SYNTAX

18.1. Introduction

The forms of the interrogative-indefinite pronouns and proverbs are described in Chapter Eleven. In this chapter we describe their uses.

There are two ways to look at the uses of these bases. From the first viewpoint we can look at a single base and see how it is used with articles to form a variety of pronouns or proverbs; this viewpoint is illustrated in Sec. 18.2, which shows how the interrogative base kátaḥ and its indefinite form kánaḥ are used to express 'who?', 'who,' 'someone,' 'someone or other,' 'anyone,' 'no one,' and 'whoever.' From the second viewpoint we can look at the ways interrogative-indefinite bases are used in the expression of the various sentence parts; the remaining sections of this chapter take this viewpoint.

18.2. Varieties of meaning

The interrogative-indefinite pronouns and proverbs have a wide range of meanings expressed with the aid of various articles. Peculiarities of expression are treated in the following sections; here we illustrate the general principles using the interrogative base kátaḥ and

indefinite base ká nah. In the following list three dots indicate where a relative clause may be used, and three dashes indicate where a relative clause must occur; all examples are in the subject case.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | <u>ká tah</u> osh | 'who?' |
| (2) | <u>ká nah</u> --- at | 'who ---' |
| (3) | <u>ká nah</u> --- ok mat | 'whoever ---' |
| (4) | <u>ká nah</u> . . . at | 'someone' |
| (5) | <u>ká nah</u> . . . <u>ókato</u> | 'someone or other' |
| (6) | <u>ká nah</u> . . . (ok) <u>kiya</u> | 'anyone, no one' |

The focus forms of the articles for (2) through (5) in the subject case are osh, ok mak osh, osh, ókak osh. The article kiya shows neither case nor focus. It seems that ok kiya renders 'anyone at all, no one at all.' The difference between the renderings 'anyone' and 'no one' is that the latter is used in negative sentences.

18.2.1. Ká tah osh

The interrogative pronouns and proverbs are used to form information questions. This type of question seeks information in the answer, while the yes-no question seeks only aⁿ 'yes' or kieyo 'no' as an answer (Sec. 13.2.4). The interrogative word is in focus, so if there is an article, the article includes the focus element. Like yes-no questions, these questions may end in oⁿ (or aⁿ in the immediate past tense), but they need not. The following examples illustrate these principles.

- (7) Hattak mat tamaha iya tok. 'That man went to town.'
- (8) Hattak mak osh tamaha iya tok. 'It was that man that went to town.'

- (9) Kátah osh tamaha iya tok? 'Who went to town?' Or: Kátah osh tamaha iya tok oⁿ?
- (10) Kátah oⁿ ishpisa tok oⁿ? 'Who did you see?' Or: Kátah ishpisa tok oⁿ?

The last example illustrates the fact that when the focus element is in the oblique case it may be omitted.

18.2.2. Kanah --- at

The indefinite pronouns and proverbs followed by a relative clause and the basic article a- form expressions like the following.

- (11) kanah osh tamaha iya tok at 'who went to town'

This type of expression has at least two uses. One use is the formation of indirect quotations when the direct quotation is an information question (Sec. 13.4.12), illustrated in (12) and (13).

- (12) Anki at "Kátah osh tamaha iya tok?" āchi tok. 'My father said, "Who went to town?"'

- (13) Anki at kanah osh tamaha iya tok aⁿ ponaklo tok. 'My father asked who went to town.'

A second use is with any communication verb (Sec. 13.4.12), as in (14) and (15).

- (14) Kánah osh tamaha iya tok aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know who went to town.'

- (15) Kánah osh tamaha iya tok aⁿ píⁿ sali tok. 'I saw who went to town.'

A possible third use is the translation of (15) as 'I saw the someone who went to town.' Here the idea is that I saw the person who (later)

went to town, while in (15) the idea is that I saw the person going to town and so know who it is.

18.2.3. Ká nah --- ok mat

This type of expression is derived from the preceding by replacing the basic article a- with ok ma-. The result is to change 'who,' 'where,' and 'how many,' for example, into 'whoever,' 'wherever,' and 'however many.' Examples are (16) and (17).

(16) Ká nah osh tamaha iya tok ok mat isht iya tok. 'Whoever went to town took it with him.'

(17) Ká nah osh tamaha iyah ok maⁿ pisalā chiⁿh. 'I will see whoever goes to town.'

18.2.4. Ká nah . . . at

This type of expression differs from (2) in that it need not have a relative clause, and it is rendered by 'someone.' Its relationship with statements and information questions is illustrated in the following examples.

(18) Hattak mat tamaha iya tok. 'That man went to town.'

(19) Ká tah osh tamaha iya tok? 'Who went to town?'

(20) Ká nah at tamaha iya tok. 'Someone went to town.'

(21) Ká nah oⁿ ishikháⁿ nak at tamaha iya tok. 'Someone you know went to town.'

18.2.5. Kánah . . . ōkato

This is derived from the preceding by replacing the basic article a- with ōka- in the emphatic form. This adds 'or other' to the rendering. Compare (22) and (23) with (20) and (21), respectively.

(22) Kánah ōkato tamaha iya tok. 'Someone or other went to town.'

(23) Kánah oⁿ ishikháⁿ nah ōkato tamaha iya tok. 'Someone or other you know went to town.'

18.2.6. Kánah . . . (ok) kiya

Indefinite pronouns and proverbs with kiya are used in sentences with the potential element (Sec. 14.4), in yes-no questions (Sec. 13.2.4), and in sentences with negation (Sec. 14.7). Compare the following examples with (20).

(24) Kánah kiya tamaha iya hírlah. 'Anyone can go to town.'

(25) Kánah kiya tamaha iya tok oⁿ? 'Did anyone go to town?'

(26) Kánah kiya tamaha ikíyo tok. 'No one went to town.'

If kánah at is used in place of kánah kiya in these examples, then (24) becomes 'someone can go to town,' (25) becomes 'did someone go to town,' and (26) remains 'no one went to town.'

These expressions can also be used with relative clauses. Compare the following examples with (21).

(27) Kánah oⁿ ishikháⁿ nah ok kiya tamaha iya hírlah. 'Anyone you know can go to town.'

(28) Kánah oⁿ ishikháⁿ nah ok kiya tamaha iya tok oⁿ? 'Did anyone you know go to town?'

- (29) Kánah oⁿ ishikháⁿ nah ok kiya tamaha ikiyo tok. 'No one you know went to town.'

18.3. Predicates

There are three indefinite-interrogative bases which are used as main verbals; the interrogative bases are katóhmi 'how many, how much,' katíomi 'to do what, for what to happen,' and katiomíhchi 'to do what to.' These cover all the types of main verbals for which information questions can sensibly be made, except one. We describe their uses in the following subsections.

The exception is the main verbal of descriptive sentences (Sec. 13.4.3), which is an adjective. An information question seeking an adjective main verbal as an answer must use some type of circumlocution. For example, to ask what something concrete is like, one can ask pisa katíomih? 'how does it look?'; to ask what color it is, one can ask inchónwa at nátah? 'what is its patterning?'

18.3.1. Katóhmi

This base, and its indefinite, are used as main verbals of sentence type which may have numerals as main verbals. There are three types of these sentences, the quantitative (Sec. 13.4.4), existence (Sec. 13.4.6), and 'to have' (Sec. 13.4.8) types.

The two types of quantitative sentence are described in the section referred to. The following examples illustrate the use of katóhmi and kanóhmi as main verbs.

- (1) Hachishno ato hashóshtah. 'YOU ALL are four in number.'
- (2) Hachishno ato hashkatóhmih? 'YOU ALL are how many in number?'
- (3) Hachishno ato hashkanóhmih. 'YOU ALL are some in number.'

The following examples illustrate the use of these bases to express class.

- (4) Hachishno ato óshta hachiah. 'YOU ALL are four in number.'
- (5) Hachishno ato katóhmih hachiah oⁿ? 'YOU ALL are how many in number?'
- (6) Hachishno ato kanóhmih hachiah. 'YOU ALL are some in number.'

In the third person there is, of course, no form of the copula, as in alla alhiha mat katóhmih? 'those children are how many in number?' In this case the two types of sentences appear the same.

Relative clauses are formed only from the second type of sentence, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (7) Kanóhmih oⁿ hachiak aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know how many you all are in number.'
- (8) Kanóhmik aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know how many they are in number.'
- (9) Alla alhiha mat kanóhmih ok maⁿ alhpiesah. 'However many those children are in number is enough.'

Example (8) shows that when there is no copula in the third person, the predicate suffix -k is attached to the last word. In (9) we see that the subject precedes the indefinite base, rather than follow it with the rest of the relative clause.

The following examples illustrate the use of these bases in sentences of the existence type.

- (10) Tamaha maⁿ Chahta't lawah. 'In that town there are a lot of Choctaws.'
- (11) Tamaha maⁿ chahta't katóhmih oⁿ? 'How many Choctaws are there in that town?'
- (12) Tamaha maⁿ Chahta't kanóhmih. 'In that town there are some Choctaws.'

The following examples illustrate the use of these bases in sentences of the 'to have' type.

- (13) Hattak mat ofi't inlawah. 'That man has many dogs.'
- (14) Hattak mat ofi't inkatóhmih? 'How many dogs does that man have?'
- (15) Hattak mat ofi't inkanóhmih. 'That man has some dogs.'

18.3.2. Katiómi

This base, and its indefinite, occur as the main verbals of sentences which have (a) neither actor nor patient, (b) only an actor, or (c) only a patient. If a sentence has (d) both an actor and a patient, then katiómihchi (Sec. 18.3.2) is used.

In conservative dialect these bases are used alone, but in modern usage they are accompanied by the interrogative-indefinite bases náta^h and naná^h. These are always used with relative clauses.

The following examples illustrate the usage in sentences without either actor or patient.

- (1) Hiloha tok. 'It thundered.'
- (2) Náta^h osh katiómi tok oⁿ? 'What happened?'
- (3) Naná^h kaníomi tok. 'Something happened.'
- (4) Naná^h osh kaníomi tok aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know what happened.'

(5) Nānah osh kaníomi tok ok maⁿ alhpiesah. 'Whatever happened is enough (i.e. OK).'

(6) Nānah kiya ikkaniōmo tok. 'Nothing happened.'

If a patient is added to sentences like these, the rendering is changed from 'to happen' to 'to happen to,' as illustrated in the following examples.

(7) Nātah osh chikatiōmi tok? 'What happened to you?'

(8) Nānah kiya chikaniōmi tok oⁿ? 'Did anything happen to you?'

With an actor, the rendering is 'to do what?' In the previous two uses, nātah and nānah were in form the subjects of the sentences; here they are not. The following are examples.

(9) Bill at tamaha iya tok. 'Bill went to town.'

(10) Bill at nātah katiōmi tok oⁿ? 'What did Bill do?'

(11) Bill at nānah kaníomi tok. 'Bill did something.'

(12) Nānah oⁿ Bill at kaníomi tok an ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know what Bill did.'

(13) Bill at nānah kiya ikkaniōmo tok. 'Bill didn't do anything.'

18.3.3. Katiomíhchi

When both an actor and a patient are used, this base and its indefinite are used. Again in modern usage nātah and nānah accompany them. The following examples illustrate this.

(1) Bill at sasso tok. 'Bill slugged me.'

(2) Bill at chikatiomíhchi tok oⁿ? 'What did Bill do to you?'

(3) Bill at nānah kiya iksakatiomíhcho tok. 'Bill did nothing to me.'

18.4. Role expressions

The interrogative bases kátaḥ 'who?' and nátaḥ 'what?' and their indefinites form with the aid of articles complete role expressions, illustrated in Sec. 18.2. The classification sentence part class (Sec. 13.4.1) is expressed by nátaḥ and nánaḥ. When the latter is followed by a relative clause of the form of a classification sentence, and there is no copula, the suffix -k which would attach to the copula is attached to nánaḥ. In addition, the subject precedes nánaḥ. This is shown in the following examples.

- (1) Hattak mat hopóni. 'That man is a cook.'
- (2) Hattak mat nánaḥ. 'That man is something.'
- (3) Hattak mat nának aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know what that man is.'
- (4) Nánaḥ oⁿ siak aⁿ ishikháⁿ nah oⁿ? 'Do you know what I am?'

The following subsections illustrate the use of interrogative-indefinite pronouns and proverbs to express parts of role expressions. These are, in the interrogative, nátaḥ 'what kind of,' katímma 'which?' katimámpo 'which of two?', and katóhmi 'how many?, how much?'

18.4.1. Nátaḥ

This base, and its indefinite, follow a noun, as in the following examples.

- (1) Okfochosh nataḥ oⁿ ishnalhlhi tok oⁿ? 'What kind of duck did you shoot?'
- (2) Okfochosh nánaḥ kiyá aknáhlho tok. 'I didn't shoot any kind of duck.'

- (3) Okfochosh nānah oⁿ pīnsalih ok maⁿ nahlhilā chiⁿh. 'I will shoot whatever kind of duck I see.'

18.4.2. Katímmah, katimámpoh

These bases, and their indefinites, express quality (Sec. 15.3) and the partition (Sec. 15.6).

Katimámpo and kanimámpo are used with two things as in the following examples.

- (1) Alla tóklo maⁿ katimámpok ak osh abikah? 'Which of those two children is sick?'
- (2) Alla katimámpoh osh abika? 'Which child is sick?'
- (3) Alla kanimámpoh at abikah. 'One child of the two is sick.'

Katímmah and kanímmah are used if more than two things is concerned, as in these examples.

- (4) Alla katímmah osh abikah? 'Which child is sick?'
- (5) Alla kanímmah at abikah. 'Some child is sick.'
- (6) Alla kanímmah osh abikak aⁿ ikháⁿnalih. 'I know which child is sick.'
- (7) Alla katímmak ak osh abikah? 'Which of the children is sick?'

If these words follow a personal pronoun, which is always deleted, they have the active affixes, as in hashkatímmak ak osh hopóni hachiah oⁿ? 'which of you all are cooks?'

18.4.3. Katóhmih

This base and its indefinite express quantity (Sec. 15.4) and the partition (Sec. 15.6).

The following examples illustrate the expression of quantity.

- (1) Okfochosh tóklo pisali tok. 'I saw two ducks.'
- (2) Okfochosh katóhmih oⁿ ishписа tok oⁿ? 'How many ducks did you see?'
- (3) Okfochosh kanóhmih kiya akpíso tok. 'I didn't see any ducks.'
- (4) Okfochosh kanóhmih osh maⁿ áyyāsha tok ok maⁿ pisali tok. 'I saw however many ducks were there.'

The following examples show the expression of the partition.

- (5) Okfochosh lánwak aⁿ pisali tok. 'I saw a lot of ducks.'
- (6) Okfochosh katóhmik ak oⁿ ishnalhlhi tok oⁿ? 'How many of the ducks did you shoot?'
- (7) Kanóhmik aⁿ nalhlhi tok. 'He shot some of them.'
- (8) Okfochosh kanóhmik ak oⁿ ishnalhlhi tok aⁿ amponaklo tok. 'He asked me how many of the ducks you shot.'

As with katímmah, these bases take the active affixes when they follow a personal pronoun; the pronoun is always deleted. An example is íkanóhmik ak osh iliyā chíⁿh 'some of us will go.'

18.5. Frequency and order

Since frequency and order expressions are formed from numerals, the corresponding interrogative and indefinite expressions are formed from katóhmi/kanóhmi. The following examples illustrate frequency.

- (1) isht ontóklo 'seventh'
- (2) isht katóhmih oⁿ 'how manieth?'
- (5) isht kanóhmih 'some manieth'

It is obviously difficult to translate these concisely. The following illustrate order.

- (1) ont isht ontóklo ha 'seven times'
- (2) ont isht katóhmi ha 'how many times?'
- (5) ont isht kanóhmi ha 'some (several) times'

18.6. Time and duration

In Section 16.3 a wide variety of types of time and duration expressions were discussed. The ways that information questions and indefinite expressions are formed from many of these can be determined from the principles laid down in the preceding sections. For example, expressions containing numerals can be transformed into questions by substituting katóhmih 'how many' for the numeral; from afammi lawak āsh 'many years ago' afammi katóhmik āsh oⁿ 'how many years ago' can be formed; and from ikómbo kónshah oⁿ 'before the rain, while it was not yet raining' nátah osh ikkatiómo kónshah oⁿ 'before what happened?' can be formed, by using katíomih 'for what to happen?'

The interrogative-indefinite bases which are specific for time and duration expressions are katímih and kanímih. The following examples show their use in duration expressions.

- (1) Ohómba na hopaki tok. 'It rained a long time.'
- (2) Ohómba na katími tok oⁿ? 'How long did it rain?'
- (3) Ohómba na kaními tok. 'It rained some time.'

In time expressions, the articles show a basic distinction between the past and non-past (Sec. 16.3). Compare hopakik āsh 'long ago,'

katímik āsh oⁿ 'when,' and kátímih maⁿ 'when' in the past with hopakik maⁿ 'a long time from now' and katímik maⁿ 'when?' in the non-past.

It is important to distinguish a time expression like Bill at alah maⁿ 'when Bill got here' from an expression formed with kanímih and a relative clause like kanímin mak oⁿ Bill at ala tok aⁿ 'when Bill arrived' as in kanímih mak oⁿ Bill at ala tok aⁿ ikháⁿ halih 'I know when Bill got here.'

18.7. Manner and antecedents

Manner expressions are truncated sentences (Sec. 16.4). For example tali pila tok 'he threw rocks' can be truncated to tali pilah osh 'by throwing rocks;' this may express manner as in tali pilah osh abi tok 'he killed it by throwing rocks.' Note the following questions which can then be formed.

- (1) Nátah pilah osh abi tok oⁿ? 'He killed it by throwing what?'
 - (2) tali katóhmih oⁿ pilah osh abi tok oⁿ? 'He killed it by throwing how many rocks?'
 - (3) Nátah katiómih osh abi tok oⁿ? 'He killed it by doing what?'
- Or: 'How did he kill it?'

The last example, using the interrogative proverb katiómi 'to do what,' should be considered the manner interrogative expression.

Antecedents are also formed from sentences (Sec. 16.5), and so have the same variety of possible information questions. Examples with katiómih are nátah osh katiómih ok maⁿ 'if what happens?', nátah osh katiómi tok oⁿ 'because what happened?', nátah katiómik at 'in order to do what?', and nátah katiómit 'in order to do what?'

In addition, the interrogative nátimih oⁿ 'how come?' can express cause, and kati na 'what for?' can express purpose.

All of these interrogatives have the expected indefinite counterparts.

18.8. Place

The interrogative base katímma and its indefinite base are used to form place expressions. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (1) Tamaha maⁿ Chahta't lawah. 'There are a lot of Choctaws in that town.'
- (2) Katímmah oⁿ Chahta't lawah? 'Where are there a lot of Choctaws?'
- (3) Kanímmah ōkano Chahta't lawah. 'There are a lot of Choctaws somewhere or other.'
- (4) Kanímmah oⁿ Chahta't lawak aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know where there are a lot of Choctaws.'
- (5) Kanímmah oⁿ Chahta't lawah ok maⁿ iya sabánnah. 'I want to go to wherever there are a lot of Choctaws.'

The last example shows the use of kanímmah and a relative clause to express specific location. Usually when this type of expression is used to express place or specific location, kanímmah oⁿ is deleted and the element ā is placed in the predicate expression (Sec. 13.3.1, 14.2.1, 13.6). Compare these examples.

- (6) Kanímmah oⁿ ishnosi tok aⁿ ikháⁿ nalih. 'I know where you slept.'
- (7) Ish ā nosi tok aⁿ nosili tok. 'I slept where you slept.'

CHAPTER NINETEEN
COMPOUND SENTENCES, PREDICATES,
AND ROLE EXPRESSIONS

19.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters of Part Three have dealt with the structure of simple sentences (Sec. 13.1). In this chapter we describe how simple sentences are combined with 'and' (Sec. 19.2), 'but' (Sec. 19.3), and 'or' (Sec. 19.4) to form compound sentences.

In form, a compound sentence is parallel in certain ways with a simple sentence which begins with a clause expressing time (Sec. 16.3.2), manner (Sec. 16.4), or an antecedent (Sec. 16.5). Simplifying the situation slightly, we can say that a compound sentence consists of a simple sentence (sometimes truncated) with an article expression postposed, a comma pause, and a second simple sentence, as in (1).

(1) Sentence Article, Sentence.

A simple sentence beginning with one of the types of clauses mentioned above has approximately the same form; the clause consists of a simple sentence (sometimes truncated) with an article expression postposed, a comma pause, and the remainder of the simple sentence which could stand as a simple sentence without the preceding clause.

There are two further parallels between these two types of structure. The first is that a form like (1) can be changed into a form like (2).

(2) Sentence. Proverb Article, Sentence.

This is treated in Sec. 19.5. The second concerns the case of the article, if the article shows case; the rules for the case of the article which ends one of the mentioned types of clauses are the same as those for the article which ends the first sentence of the compound sentence (Sec. 16.1). We repeat the rule here for compound sentences, for ease of reference; Sec. 16.1 should be referred to for examples. We will treat the case of the article as the case of the first sentence of the compound sentence.

The basic rule for the case of the first sentence of a compound sentence. The article has the subject case just in case either

- (a) the subject expression of the first sentence describes the same characters and props that the subject expression of the second sentence describes, or
- (b) the subject expression of the first sentence describes all the characters and props that the subject expression of the second sentence describes,

depending on dialect. Otherwise, the article has the oblique case.

Compound predicates (Sec. 19.7) and role expressions (Sec. 19.6) can best be understood in the context of compound sentences, so they are also treated in this chapter.

19.2. 'And'

There are three ways to join two sentences in the sense of 'and.'

The first way is to use ātok o-, the article expression which is used with clauses expressing cause (Sec. 16.5). Probably the causal sense is primary, as in (1); but like 'and so' in English, ātok o- can be used to indicate mere temporal sequence, as in (2).

- (1) Ombā chiⁿh atok oⁿ, īchokkwa tok. 'It was going to rain, so we went in.'
- (2) Aⁿnonwat ányat ala tok osh, ninak āsh birachi tok. 'He came to visit me, and so he spent the night.'

The second way is to use ma-, the article which is used with clauses expressing 'when' (Sec. 16.3.2). A past tense element in the first sentence is lost, leaving the predicate suffix -h, and -k is suffixed to the predicate expression in the non-past. This gives -h ma- in the past, and -k ma- in the non-past. An example is (3).

- (3) Bill at alā chiⁿk maⁿ, īmóyyōmak at tamaha iliyā chiⁿh. 'Bill will arrive, and then we will all go to town.'

The third way is to use cha (subject case) or na (oblique case). No tense element appears before these, and the main verb preceding them is in the lengthened form or intensive form. An example is (4).

- (4) Binīli cha, hakchóma shonka tok. 'He sat down and took a smoke.'

While the first two ways of expressing 'and' have an element of temporal sequence in their meaning, the sense of this way seems to be that while the act described in the first sentence continues, or immediately after it, the act described in the second sentence occurs. In (4), he sat down, and then right away while still seated, he took a smoke.

19.3. 'But'

The article used to render 'but' is ōkāk o-. A past tense element may be deleted before this. If the past tense element remains, ōkāk o- is reduced to ak o-. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (1) Tamaha iyah ōkāk osh, nānah kiya ikchōmpo ki tok. 'He went to town, but he didn't get to buy anything.'
- (2) Tamaha iya tok ak oⁿ, ānttali tok. 'He went to town, but I stayed.'

The concessive article expression ak inlih kiya (Sec. 16.5) is often equally rendered as 'but.' Compare (3) with (1).

- (3) Tamaha iya tok ak inlih kiya, nānah kiya ikchōmpo ki tok.

'Although he went to town, he didn't get to buy anything.'

Finally, āmba can begin a sentence, with the meaning 'but,' as in (4).

- (4) Āmba nānah kiya ikchōmpo ki tok. 'But he didn't get to buy anything.'

I do not know whether this has a specific meaning, distinct from that of the other article expressions rendering 'but.'

19.4. 'Or'

To render 'A or B' in Choctaw, one must say 'if A, if not, if B, something.' Compare the following sequence of sentences, in which (1) is A, (2) is B, and (3) is the compound sentence.

- (1) Hattak mat tamaha iya tok. 'That man went to town.'
- (2) Hattak mat inchōkka iya tok. 'That man went to his home.'

- (3) Hattak mat tamaha iyak mat, kiyok mat, inchókka iyak mat,
nána tok. 'That man either went to town, or he went home.'

Note that even though (1) and (2) are in the past tense, their predicates end with -k instead of -h. Note also that the tense is shown after nána. In (4) the tense is the future.

- (4) Ombak maⁿ, oktoshak maⁿ, nána chíⁿh. 'It will either rain or snow.'

This example also shows that kiyok ma- can be omitted.

19.5. Introdurers

As was explained in Sec. 19.1, instead of combining two sentences to form a compound sentence as in (1), the second sentence can begin with a proverb and article as in (2).

- (1) Sentence Article, Sentence.
 (2) Sentence. Proverb Article, Sentence.

The same can be done when 'Sentence Article' in (1) expresses time, manner, or an antecedent.

The proverbs used are yóhmi 'to be thus,' mi, i, and a. The proverb, in effect, refers back to the preceding sentence.

The time article o- 'while' can occur with yóhmi, as in (4).

- (3) Sanosih oⁿ omba tok. 'It rained while I was sleeping.'
 (4) Sanosi tok. Yóhmih oⁿ omba tok. 'I was sleeping. While I was, it rained.'

The article ma-, used to express sequence in time, condition, and 'and,' can occur with any of the proverbs, giving yóhmik ma-, mik ma-, ik ma-, and ak ma- in the non-past, and yóhmih ma-, mih ma-, ih ma-, and ah ma- in the past. The following examples illustrate this.

- (5) Ilonak mat, ilimpā chiⁿh. 'When we get there, we will eat.'
- (6) Ilonā chiⁿh, Yóhmik mat, ilimpā chiⁿh. 'We will get there. Then we will eat.'
- (7) Ombā chiⁿh, ahobah. Yóhmik maⁿ, pilacha hínlah. 'It seems like it is going to rain. If so, we could get wet.'
- (8) Bill at alā chiⁿh. Ak maⁿ, imóyyomak at tamaha iliyā chiⁿh. 'Bill will get here. And then we will all go to town.'

The manner article o- can be used only with yóhmi, as in (9).

- (9) Talowa tok. Yóhmih osh imanoli tok. 'He sang. By doing that, he told him.'

The cause article óka- can be used only with yóhmi; átok o- can be used with yóhmi or mi, or i, or alone. The following are examples.

- (10) Omba tok. Yóhmih ókaⁿ pilacha tok. 'It rained. Because of that, we got wet.'
- (11) Ombā chiⁿ tok. Mih átok oⁿ íchokkwa tok. 'It was going to rain. So we went in.'
- (12) Aⁿ nonwat ányat ala tok. Átok osh, ninak āsh binachi tok. 'He came to visit me. And so he spent the night.'

Ak ínlíh kiya, used for the concessive and 'but,' can be used with yóhmi, as in the following.

- (13) Tamaha iya tok. Yóhmi ak ín'^h kiya, nānah kiya ikchómpo ki tok. 'He went to town. Even so, he didn't get to buy anything.'

There is an irregularity here in that yóhmi does not have the predicate suffix -h, as one would expect.

The article cha/na 'and' can be used with yóhmi, mi, and i, as in the following.

- (14) Binili tok. Micha hakchóma shonka tok, 'He sat down. And then he smoked.'

The article ókak o- 'but' can be used with yóhmi. Yóhmi is in the past tense if the preceding sentence is in that case, ókak o- is reduced to ak o-. Compare these examples.

- (15) Tamaha iya tok. Yóhmi tok ak o¹ anttalitok. 'He went to town. But I stayed.'

- (16) Tamaha iyā chiⁿh. Yóhmih ókakat oⁿ anttalā chiⁿh. 'He is going to go to town. But I will stay.'

'Or' cannot be expressed as an introducer.

19.6. Compound role expressions

In a compound role expression, 'and' is rendered by yóhmik mat, yóhmi cha, mikmat, micha, akmat, or ikmat. Some people also use anónti 'again.' The compound expression may end in a numeral expression. This is shown in the following sequence.

A micha B ittitóklok a- 'A and B two together'

A micha B micha C isht ā tóchchínak a- 'A and B and C third'

A micha B micha C micha D óshtak a- 'A and B and C and D four'

As an alternative to numerals, ā ienak a- can be used when two or more expressions are joined, and yóhmik a- can be used with three or more. For the most part, ittitóklok a- is used for joining two, and yóhmik a- is used for three or more.

For focus, -k a- is replaced by -h o-, giving, for example, ittitókloh o-, a ienah o-, and yóhmih o-.

As in English, the forms of 'and' can be deleted but for the last. One can say A, B, micha C yóhmik at.

The numeral expressions take actor affixes. If one of the compounded expressions is a pronoun, it is deleted unless it is emphatic. These two principles are illustrated in the following examples.

- (1) ano micha sashki ilittitóklok at 'me and my mother'
- (2) sashki ilittitóklok at 'me and my mother'
- (3) Bill, John, Mary, micha chishno hashóshtak at 'Bill, John, Mary, and you, you four'

In some dialects, 'or' must be rendered at the sentence level. That is, 'either John or Bill went' would have to be rendered as in (4).

- (4) John at iyak maⁿ, kiyok maⁿ, Bill at iyak maⁿ, nāna tok.
'Either John or Bill went.'

In other dialects, kiyok mat can be used, as in (5) and (6).

- (5) John, kiyok mat, Bill at iya tok. 'John or Bill went.'
- (6) Hattak maⁿ, kiyok mat, hattak mat alíkchi. 'That man or that man is a doctor.'

Note that only the second role expression has the subject case.

19.7. Compound predicates

If two sentences are compounded with 'and,' the compound can be reduced to a simple sentence with a compound predicate. All but the last predicate ends in -t. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (1) Hattak mat tamaha iyah mat, shápo chompa tok. 'That man went to town, and he bought a hat (while there).'
- (2) Hattak mat tamaha iyat, shápo chompa tok. 'That man went to town and bought a hat.'

- (3) Biníllili cha, hakchóma shonkali tok. 'I sat down, and then I had a smoke.'
- (4) Binililit, hakchóma shonkali tok. 'I sat down and had a smoke.'

If a verb in the t-form has an active affix, it can be deleted. Thus

- (4) could be rendered binilit, hakchóma shonkali tok.

This same reduction can be made with a purpose expression. This is illustrated in the following.

- (5) Shápo chompak at tamaha iya tok. 'He went to town to buy a hat.'
- (6) Shápo chompat tamaha iya tok. 'He went to town to buy a hat.'

A few common verbs have contracted t-forms. The following list is not exhaustive.

<u>pisat</u>	<u>pist</u>	'to see'
<u>onat</u>	<u>ont</u>	'to arrive there'
<u>ishit</u>	<u>isht</u>	'to pick up; to hold'
<u>bashat</u>	<u>basht</u>	'gashed'
<u>alat</u>	<u>ant</u>	'to arrive here'
<u>chanlit</u>	<u>chant</u>	'to saw'
<u>binínlit</u>	<u>binínt</u>	'to be sitting'
<u>balilit</u>	<u>balīt</u>	'to run'
<u>hoyot</u>	<u>hōt</u>	'to seek'

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